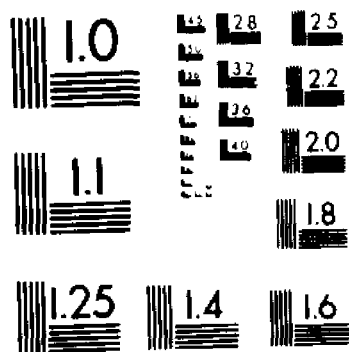


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ASPECTS OF CATALAN REALISM. (VOLUMES I AND II)

City University of New York

Ph.D. 1986

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ASPECTS OF CATALAN REALISM

by

JOAN LIPTON

VOLUME I

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty
in Art History in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1986

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THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Abstract

ASPECTS OF CATALAN REALISM

by

JOAN LIPTON

Advisor: Distinguished Professor Linda Nochlin

Mid-nineteenth century Catalan Realism is the region's first artistic movement that can be considered modern. It coincides with catalanismo: Catalonia's socio-political and economic self-identity and with the Renaixença: Catalonia's cultural emergence in language, literature and the visual arts. It reflects the ethnic pride of the people, their accomplishments, their daily activities and their varied landscape.

The present study emphasizes the career of Ramón Martí Alsina who introduced Realism into Catalan art, having rejected the timeless, idealized and often spiritualized figures and settings of traditional academicism and Nazarene Romanticism. Instead, he chose to represent the here and now and the matter of fact appearance of his specific time and place in directly observed, truthfully rendered canvases. A proud catalanista, Alsina visually described all aspects of his beloved region in the many genres that art offered: history, portraiture, peasants,

landscape, seascape, cityscape, still-life and animal life. As the "Catalan Courbet," he was certainly aware of the advance made by the principal French Realist. Indeed, Alsina's best works--unidealized, unadorned and robust country folk and country life--readily conjure up his counterpart's works. He must have also known about the alternative realist styles of Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot and Jules Breton because a number of his campestrial interpretations closely parallel theirs.

The early chapters of the dissertation trace the historical, literary and artistic background of Spain in general and Catalonia in particular, from the early nineteenth century to the onset of Realism. The subject of the final chapter is the continuation of Realism by the pupils and followers of Martí Alsina. In his seven private studios and at the Academy of Fine Arts in Barcelona, he taught his innovative Realist methods to two generations of Catalan landscape painters who later helped to bring about modernismo, a vanguard art movement which was no longer regional but international in scope and reputation.

Although Catalan Realism has been treated at some length by native writers, it has been virtually ignored in American art historical discourse. The Catalan variety of the style is now added to the investigations that previously centered upon France, Germany, Switzerland and Italy.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The idea of a dissertation on Catalan Realism grew out of my study of French Realism in a seminar presented by Distinguished Professor Linda Nochlin at the City University of New York's Graduate Center and at the Brooklyn Museum of Art where an exhibition of the style was then in progress. As a teacher of Spanish by profession and as a hispanophile by avocation, I wished to investigate the concurrent artistic activity of Spain at mid-nineteenth century. Spain's contribution was not represented at the above exhibition nor was it included among that of other European nations in art historical texts. I soon came to the realization that in Spain the artistic center which reflected the innovations of the French Realists was Barcelona in Catalonia rather than Madrid in Castile.

During the summers of 1984 and 1985 I did research at the library of the Museum of Modern Art in Barcelona. The museum's director, Cristina Mendoza, although on vacation during the first summer, greatly facilitated my work there by having me call upon the extremely helpful technical conservator, Mercé Doñate. The librarians and secretarial

staff gave me every attention, which included access to and duplication of many fragile monographs dating from the early nineteenth century. I was able to purchase hundreds of photographs from the museum's collection and from the very extensive files of Archivo Mas, also located in Barcelona.

Doctor Francesc Fontbona, Conservator of Prints at the Library of Catalonia, helped direct my focus and clarify my judgment of his region's art and aesthetics. My enormous debt to him is evident throughout the present study. Other scholars, such as Doctor Santiago Alcolea, Director of the Casa Amatller, and Doctor José Garrut, Director of the Verdaguer Museum, also gave me the benefit of their specializations in Catalan art. I was indeed fortunate to spend an afternoon with Enrique Martí Chillida, the ninety two year old son of Catalan Realism's initiator, Ramón Martí Alsina. Surrounded by paintings and photographs, rarely seen even by the Catalans themselves, I was treated to fascinating accounts of his father's family and career.

At the City University Graduate Center's Department of Art History my mentor has been the Distinguished Professor Linda Nochlin. I consider myself very fortunate to have studied with her for the majority of my course work and to have written my dissertation under her superb direction. I am also grateful to Executive Officer Professor Rose-Carol

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Introduction

Ramón Martí Alsina (1826-1894) initiated Catalan Realism in the middle of the nineteenth century at a time when Barcelona's leading painters continued to emphasize traditional academic art, medievalism and Romantic landscape. His independent artistic vision and innovative methods rejected idealized 'formula' settings and figures and brought about dramatic changes in the depiction of his region's topography and inhabitants. He was the teacher of two generations of landscape painters who were to further Catalonia's international artistic reputation by the end of the century.

Martí Alsina's personal life and writings, as well as his public art, reflected the continuing changes in social, political and artistic institutions of Catalonia. Although the thirty five year reign of Isabel II (1833-1868) produced decades of internecine conflict and an aftermath of further turmoil in Spain, Martí Alsina saw his region come into its own at that time and he played an active role during its emergence. He became affiliated with a group of avowed liberals whose political position helped to bring about the First Republic in 1873. He participated in the Catalan Renaissance of the Arts which began early in the nineteenth

century and reached its peak during the Restoration (1875-1902). As his region reexamined its past heritage and committed itself to future self-identity in government, language, literature and the visual arts, Alsina emphasized the newly found ethnic pride of his people, their daily life and their land in his realistic canvases.

An American and a Catalan art historian have concluded that Realism was the inevitable consequence of the Catalan Renaissance:

Scrupulous examination of the past ultimately led logically to a similar examination of the present--with realism the result.¹

That discovery of historic Catalan monuments, especially medieval, brought [artists] to also discover natural aspects of the pure landscape of Catalonia. . . .²

Perhaps these assertions overstate the case, especially when one considers that the cultural movement started out conservative, backward looking and primarily concerned with the revival of medieval spiritualism and Christian idealism. Indeed, the naturalist aesthetics of Martí Alsina and some of his contemporaries were developed in opposition to such mainstream thinking and in the relative absence of Spanish and Catalan precedents.

This study will examine the various aspects of Catalan pictorial Realism--or realisms--as manifested in the works

of Martí Alsina and his generation. In order to place the style into the history of Catalan art, it will also describe its forerunners, followers and patrons as well as contemporary French influences, parallels and contrasts.

Because of the lack of English language books dealing with nineteenth century Spanish art in general or Spanish regional art in particular, one might ask: Why have there been no--great or otherwise--Spanish painters between Goya and Picasso? Although Modernism has been studied with a certain degree of scholarly thoroughness, its forerunner, Catalan Realism, has been totally ignored by American and European art historians with the exception of the Spaniards themselves. Up until the very recent present, an upsurge of exhibitions and publications on European Realism, which provided exposure of German, Austrian, Swiss and Italian contributions to a field which was formerly monopolized by French works, did not turn up one Spanish name from either Madrid or Barcelona. Such publications include: Richard and Carolyn Brettells' Painters and Peasants in the Nineteenth Century, 1983; Robert Rosenblum's and H. W. Janson's The Nineteenth Century, 1984; and Gabriel Weisberg's The Realist Tradition, 1981; and The European Realist Tradition, 1982. Catalan Realism did not fare any better in the two definitive treatments previously published by Linda Nochlin: Realism and Tradition in Art: Sources and Documents, 1966, and Realism, 1977.

Two American scholars of Catalan art have recently written dissertations on Modernism which include Realism. Joseph Phillip Cervera's Modernismo: The Catalan Renaissance of the Arts, 1976, contains several pages of description of Catalan Realism: its replacement of the official Nazarene style, its leader in Barcelona, Martí Alsina, and his most famous pupil, Joaquín Vayreda (1843-1894), who founded a school of landscape painting in the nearby town of Olot.³ Marilyn McCully's Els Quatre Gats and Modernista Painting in Catalonia in the 1890's, 1975, briefly discusses the role of Francisco Javier Parcerisa's engravings of Catalonian monuments and landscapes as antecedents of mid-century Realism but then immediately jumps to Vayreda's attainments with no mention of Martí Alsina at all.⁴

A long overdue introduction to nineteenth century Spanish art was provided by the exposition of more than fifty works at the National Academy of Design in New York City from November 1984 to January 1985. Entitled "Painters in Search of Light: 1850-1955," the collection included six paintings by the Madrid-based leader of the Realist school, Carlos de Haes, three paintings by Martí Alsina and two by Vayreda, examples which hardly scratched the historical or artistic surface. The half-day symposium, held in collaboration with the exhibition, did not touch

upon any of these artists. Again, Modernism was its raison d'être.

In histories of Spanish art, written in Spanish, Catalan Realism is surveyed. However, the discussions are limited to several pages.⁵ Beginning in 1951 and continuing to the present, Catalans are publishing fully illustrated and documented books about their own art but only a very few are restricted to Realism or naturalist landscape. The earlier treatments are written in Spanish; more recent books are in Catalan. Some are translated into Spanish from Catalan.⁶

Two important studies by Francesc Fontbona, El Paisatgisme a Catalunya, 1979, and Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, 1983, give perceptive coverage to Catalan Realism but they are surveys of large areas, necessitating limitations on the particular style in question. Two pioneer articles by Vicent Maestre, "El Primer Romanticisme artístic a Barcelona: el retorn a'el medieval," 1979, and "Idees i pintura a la segona meitat del segle XIX," 1978, address the subject of Catalan aesthetics and relate them to the region's nineteenth century art and literature. This dissertation attempts to enlarge the focus of the two authors.

There is no recent monograph in Spanish or in Catalan about Martí Alsina or Vayreda. The basic texts on each were published in 1920 by Joaquín Folch y Torres⁷ and in 1922 by Rafael Benet, respectively. The present investigation utilizes these as well as the methodologies of more recent inquiries into European Realism in order to update and enrich the understanding of the Catalan variety. Moreover, it includes the social, political and literary backgrounds in Catalonia to place the movement and its participants into a wider context.

Aspects of Catalan Realism is divided into five sections. Part I deals with the historical background of Spain in the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century and examines how Catalonia's political and social self-identity developed in relation to it. It summarizes the reigns of Fernando VII and his daughter, Isabel II, the interim period before the First Republic and the Restoration of the Monarchy.

Part II looks at the literary background in Catalonia from the second quarter of the century when the Catalan language and literature--particularly poetry--were revived. It discusses the chronological development of the Spanish regional novel from costumbrismo to realismo.

Part III traces the artistic and aesthetic backgrounds in Catalonia. It describes Neo-Classic art instruction at Barcelona's School of Lonja, later re-named the Academy of Fine Arts of San Jorge. It continues with the school's teaching of Romantic Nazarene purism which resulted from the impact of the German Nazarenes in Rome upon Catalan artists who studied there: Claudio Lorenzale (1815-1889) and Pablo Milá y Fontanals (1810-1883). It contrasts the particular brand of Catalan Romantic aesthetics--medievalizing, spiritual and idealist--with incipient Realist concepts which stressed the present, the specific and the natural. It then analyses the work of early romantic landscapists: Francisco Javier Parcerisa (1803-1875), Luis Rigalt (1814-1894) and Aquiles Battistuzzi (?-1891). Affected by Nazarenism, they depicted the region's ruins and monuments which they integrated into relatively imaginary sites, preceding natural landscape painting.

Part IV centers on Martí Alsina's role as the initiator of Realist art. It demonstrates his affirmation of his catalanismo, or regional self-awareness, in paintings of observed urban views, landscapes and figures engaged in everyday events at a time when most painters pursued traditional subjects and past styles. It includes his biography, his social and political outlook and his wide variety of genres. His themes and styles are compared with

contemporary French images made by Gustave Courbet, Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot and Jules Breton.

Part V examines the teaching of Martí Alsina at the School of Lonja, which became The Academy of Fine Arts of San Jorge, and in his seven private studios. It discusses the continuation of Realism by his pupils and followers in the next two generations. Joaquín Vayreda (1843-1894), the founder of the School of Olot, is emphasized along with other painters who adhered to the naturalist principles promulgated by their teacher: Francisco Torrecassana (1845-1918), Jaime Pahissa (1846-1928), José Armet (1843-1911), Modesto Urgell (1839-1919), and José Luis Pellicer (1842-1901). Finally, the next generation is represented by Dionisio Baixeras (1862-1943) and Juan Llimona (1860-1926) who integrated social messages into their scenes of the countryside and the sea.

Since this is the first detailed English study of nineteenth century Catalan Realism, an attempt has been made to provide a significant number of translations of critical statements and descriptive passages from past and present Catalan and Spanish sources. It also includes an unusually large number of visual examples of the works of forerunners, practitioners and followers of the style. In this way, important writings and reproductions, which have never

before appeared outside Barcelona, will be introduced into American art historical scholarship.

The main collection of nineteenth century Catalan art in Spain is in the Museum of Modern Art in Barcelona. Other works are scattered throughout the region: in private collections and in private dealerships. Therefore, reproductions from the Museum of Modern Art and Archivo Mas, particularly, must often serve for analysis rather than the original works. The list of illustrations includes the locations of paintings whenever possible. When omitted, it is to be assumed that such information is unknown. Unfortunately, Martí Alsina's manuscripts have not been stored and catalogued. Neither his son nor art historians know where they may be found. The documentation supplied by the artist's biographer and the accounts written by several of his students provide the background material instead of the preferred primary source.

All citations from Catalan and Spanish have been translated by the author. Where a Catalan proper noun is commonly interchangeable with Spanish and more recognizable as such, the latter has been used. Where it was apparent that Catalan art historians and literary figures chose to use their Catalan names exclusively, such preferences were respected and maintained.

Notes to Introduction

1. Joseph Phillip Cervera, Modernism: The Catalan Renaissance of the Arts, New York, 1977, p. 20. The quote continues: "Action, reaction and the examination of the present, led to its rejection and initiated a flight into fantasy, but they also gave rise to the affecting of social reform and to increased social awareness."
2. Francesc Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració: 1808-1888, Barcelona, 1983, p. 84.
3. Cervera, op. cit., pp. 36-41.
4. Marilyn McCully, Els Quatre Gats and Modernista Painting in Catalonia in the 1890's, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1975, pp. 5-9.
5. See Valeriano Bozal, Historia del Arte en España: Desde Goya hasta Nuestros Días, Madrid, 1978; Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño, Ars Hispanae: Arte del Siglo XIX, Madrid, 1958; Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, Breve Historia de la Pintura Española, Madrid, 1953; and Pedro Navasqués, et. al., Historia del Arte Hispánico: Del Neoclasicismo al Modernismo, Madrid, 1979.
6. See Joaquín Folch y Torres, L'Art Català, Barcelona, 1961; Juan Subías Galter, Un Siglo Olvidado de Pintura Catalana, Barcelona, 1951; José María Garrut, Dos Siglos de Pintura Catalana, Madrid, 1974; Daniel Giralt-Miracle, Cataluña vista por sus artistas y escritores, Barcelona, 1981; José Gudiol, Cataluña, Barcelona, 1955; Enric Jardí, El Romanticismo, el Realismo y Tendencias Eclécticas, II: Cataluña, Madrid, 1978; Bernardino de Pantorba, Los Paisajistas Catalanes, Madrid, 1975; and José Francisco Ráfols, Diccionario Biográfico de Artistas de Cataluña, I, II, III, Barcelona, 1953.
7. All references to Folch y Torres are to his biography of Martí Alsina unless otherwise indicated.

I. THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

Chapter I

The Historical Background of Nineteenth Century Spain

During the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century Spain's political history was fraught with conflict characterized by: a succession of absolute monarchs and prime ministers, uneasiness among political parties, sporadic popular uprisings and growing regional opposition. Because this history is relatively unknown to non-Spaniards, it is important to present a schematic account of the turbulent background that often provided the context for Spain's literary and visual arts. Martí Alsina's and his followers' Realist themes were shaped by contemporary history. His active political life brought him into personal contact with Spain's rulers and his writings revealed his reactions to the national and regional events that were taking place around him. He personally embodied the advanced political and social attitudes that he artistically represented in his Realist paintings.

The years 1808 to 1813 saw the struggle of the Spanish nation to gain independence from Napoleonic France. This was finally achieved but at the expense of a heavy toll of lives and property. According to the historian, Stanley Payne, Spain suffered more than any other European country from this francescada.¹ After the fall of Napoleon, Fernando

VII was restored to the throne where he ruled from 1814 until 1833. With him, absolutism also returned and severely curtailed intellectual life in Spain.² He totally ignored the Liberals' desire for reform, driving many into secret sects at home³ and more than twenty thousand into exile in France and England.⁴

When the king died in 1833 chaos erupted because of the problem of succession. His brother, Carlos, had logically assumed that he would inherit the throne when, after three marriages, Fernando had had no children. But in 1829 the latter married María Cristina of Naples and became the father of a daughter, Isabel. Carlos still believed that the throne would be his, charging that the 1713 Salic Law--which prohibited the succession from passing to a female--guaranteed him his right as the male next in line. This law had been revoked by the monarchy in 1789, but since it was not officially withdrawn by the Court at the time, it was considered to be still in effect. Fernando finally made it null and void in 1833.

Carlos was exiled to Portugal where he began to scheme against his rival, Isabel. This was to result in the series of Carlist Wars which shook the central government for more than four decades.⁵ Carlos was recognized as the king by his supporters, most of them guerillero peasant farmers from the rural northern areas of Spain: the Basque Provinces,

Navarre, Aragon and Catalonia. Their inaccessible topography was difficult to conquer, but their limited strongholds proved insufficient to compete with those held by the adversary. Payne has additionally pointed out that Carlos was a military leader who lacked competency and resolve and a politician who lacked perception.⁶

Isabel II was named queen in 1833; because of her age her mother acted as regent until 1842. Since their reign was constantly undermined by the Carlists in the back country, the rulers had to curry the support of moderate Liberals in the urban districts.⁷ In fact, the years 1835 to 1840 have been labeled "The Triumph of Liberalism,"⁸ although "a dogmatic administrative centralism"⁹ continued to ignore the interests of the many regions that made up the country. Carlists, Moderates and Progressives vied for power. The result was a continuous change of governments until the end of Isabel's power in 1868.

Both Moderates and Progressives were considered liberal parties which supported a central administration. The wealthy upper and upper-middle classes were attracted to the Moderates who favored powerful property holders. They sought a representative government which would adhere to a constitution rather than to the absolute rule of a monarchy which had proved to be "capricious and inefficient."¹⁰

The lower-middle and middle-middle classes made up the Progressives. They insisted upon the voice of broader sections of the society which would imply desire for some local self-government. They planned to reform the economy and the tax system. Neither party was very efficiently organized in the 1840s and 1850s. Divisions in each were the rule; thus, there evolved official, purist and ultraconservative Moderates and radical and moderate Progressives. Then, left-wing Progressives split to form the Democratic party. In the late 1860s some dissatisfied Democrats would move even further to the left to establish a Republican or Federal movement, totally opposed to a monarchy."¹¹

The leaders of the political parties, one after another and often in rapid succession, served as prime ministers in the queen's cabinet. They were also generals in the queen's army. General Baldomero Espartero commanded government forces in the north and for a time headed the Progressives, rising to political power in 1842 and 1854.¹² General Ramón María Narváez led the reserve forces in central Spain before he became the queen's political ally in 1845, 1856, 1864, and 1866 as leader of the Moderates. General Leopoldo O'Donnell staged a military revolt in Madrid against the government in 1854 to further the cause of the Moderates and gained power to rule that year and again in 1856 and 1865.

This "race of political generals"¹³ was needed to support the policies of the queen and her cabinet. However, when unhappy with such policies or when in disfavor with the queen, the generals were able to exert their influence through a unique Spanish military tool, the pronunciamiento. As explained by Payne, a small group of officers would retaliate without directly attacking the government; they "pronounced" or raised a flag of revolt. The success of this action depended upon the decision of the monarch or the present government to reach a compromise or the willingness of other military or political groups to join in support. It was not unusual for pronunciamientos, rather than elections, to effect political change.¹⁴

As has already been indicated, between 1856 and 1868 the triumphs and downfalls of the parties alternated so often that there was little stability. The continuing Carlist Wars also drained the strength of the government. A severe economic crisis between 1866 and 1868 further weakened the political situation. Through all this, Queen Isabel did not show herself to be a strong leader. Her verbal portrait as painted by scholars was not very imposing. The words most often used to describe her are: capricious, headstrong, frivolous, overly pious yet sensuous, undisciplined, unprincipled and not very intelligent.¹⁵ In a country where revolutions had been frequent before, the general decline of the Isabeline regime during the last

twelve years hastened the actions of those who sought the queen's dethronement.

In 1868, after the Progressives had been neglected by Isabel, their leader, the popular military hero of the Moroccan war, General Juan Prim, and a group of officers initiated a pronunciamiento. Afterwards, they defended their actions with a manifesto, "Spain with Honor." It indicted Isabel when it asserted that "the person charged with the defence of the Constitution should not be its irreconcilable enemy."¹⁶ In addition, it criticized her scandalous private life. Several historians have detailed her escapades;¹⁷ Nicholson B. Adams has emphasized that these became the primary reason that she was deposed by a revolution.¹⁸

Known as the Gloriosa, the Revolution of 1868, in the words of Raymond Carr, was "the most important of nineteenth century revolutions--which influenced the whole history of Spain from 1875 to 1923."¹⁹ However, for Albert Balcells and Valeriano Bozal, the Revolution was a failure, principally because its program was vague and the Republic which followed it was unable to carry out its ideals.²⁰ What is certain is that political turmoil ensued for seven more years. Well-intentioned leaders could not maintain control long enough to resolve conflict and curtail frenzy.

The provisional governments of Generals Francisco Serrano and Juan Prim were intended to last until a representative monarchy could be established. By 1870 Prim was still in power but he had already lost popularity in all sectors of the political arena. He hoped to find a constitutional monarch who would stabilize the divisive ranks of the society. He accepted the liberal Italian Prince Amadeo of the House of Savoy as his coalition candidate. The tension increased when Amadeo was elected king by only one vote and when a short time later, Prim was assassinated. Strong factionalism among Conservatives, Progressives, Republicans, Radicals and Carlists, disobedience by the military and ostracism of Amadeo by the aristocracy prevented any success in the king's reign. His abdication took place in 1873; he had served for only two years.

It seemed ominous when the First Republic was voted in by only forty percent of the electorate.²¹ Payne finds that this amounted to the smallest proportion in all Spanish history.²² The government would rule by a federal rather than a centralized constitution. But its short survival--it lasted only eleven months and had four different presidents--²³ prevented its experimental political and social program from making substantial practical gains.

This federal constitution was designed by one of the

four presidents, the Catalan Francisco Pi y Margall (1824-1901). His advanced social thinking was revealed not only in his role as a national leader but also in his later participation as a spokesman for Catalan "selfhood." His socialist ideas were reflected in his Realist aesthetics. He insisted that art record observable events and places and transmit contemporary social meaning. He criticized those painters whose themes and styles were based on past models. Such views conflicted with those held by leading aestheticians in Barcelona. They coincided, however, with Martí Alsina's concept and practice of Realist art and writing at that time. Whether or not the two had direct contact is unknown but the similarity of their ideas and acts is striking. This will become apparent when the aesthetics of both men are discussed in Part III of this study and when Alsina's naturalist paintings are examined in Part IV.

Pi had become a federalist as early as 1854. He was inspired by the writings of the anarchist, Pierre Joseph Proudon. In fact, Pi had translated into Spanish Proudhon's Du Principe Fédératif et de la Nécessité de reconstituer le parti de la Révolution of 1863, an undertaking that had an immense influence on the Spanish Revolution of 1868.²⁴ To Pi the Frenchman's book proved that a federation, "the ultimate evolution of the political idea, is the only one that can guarantee nations dignity, peace and order."²⁵

Thus, it was logical that the Catalan's concept of federalism, as it appeared in the constitution, would be similar to the Frenchman's.

In his first political book, La Reacción y la Revolución, published in 1854, Pi presented the principles of his doctrine which anticipated by several years the federalist theories of Proudhon.²⁶ Exclaiming that "every man who has power over another is a tyrant," he realized that "true order cannot be obtained by applying force."²⁷ Therefore, when in a government role, he would not use violence to effect change as had been the historical norm in his country. He preferred persuasion and gradual reform.

While a writer for the magazine, La Razón (Reason), in 1856, Pi further developed his political ideas: "Democracy is incompatible with monarchy. . . government must be decentralized, giving part to the municipality and part to the provinces."²⁸ The magazine was short-lived; it was censored and then suppressed. Between 1857 and 1864 he worked on the magazine, Discusión, as a writer and then as an editor, continuing to argue for federalism.²⁹

In two essays, "Mis ideas federales" and "Mi procedimiento" ("My legal procedure"), written after his short term as president of the First Republic and included in his El Reino de Amadeo de Saboya y la República de 1873,

Pi y Margall still defended the concepts that he had created in 1854. He explained why he had adopted federalism for Spain:

I considered {federalism} as the most adequate organization for our nation's particular idiosyncrasy, a nation formed from provinces that at another time had been independent kingdoms and even today are separated by what most divides some towns from others: laws and customs. . . . This nation seems, as is wont to be said, cut out to be a Republic like those of Switzerland and the United States. . . . Federalism, as etymology defines it, is a pact of agreement, a pact through which completely autonomous towns unite and create a power that defends their common interests and their common rights. . . . The federal movement should begin with the constitution [to create] States of the old provinces. . . . During the period of the conversion into States. . . . in order to avert dangers and to conserve the unity and integrity of the fatherland. . . . in the first moments of a federalist revolution, there should be created a transitory but strong and robust central power that, dispensing the same authority that it dispenses today, should maintain order in all parts of the nation until the provinces are reorganized. . . .³⁰

Although such utopian--and regionalistic--thoughts were very acceptable to many of Pi's fellow Catalans, they did not work when put into practice in his federal government in 1873. A. Ramos Oliveira describes the political theorist as a pantheistic philosopher like Proudhon and Rousseau because, like them, he believed in the innate goodness of man. But this historian reminds us that under Pi's rule, "Spain was convulsed with tumult from coast to coast."³¹

After the fall of the First Republic, Spain miraculously enjoyed a decade of relative political peace

and economic prosperity. The Catalans appropriately named the period Febre d'or (Gold Fever). The Restoration returned a Bourbon monarch to the throne. He was Isabel's twenty-one year old son, Alfonso XII, who ruled until his death in 1885. The leader of the Liberal Conservative party then in command was Antonio Cánovas del Castillo,³² a professional politician and an amateur historian. He was admired for his responsible direction of the government and his impartial adoption of a more liberal and broad-based constitution.³³

The cooperation of the majority of the 1868 revolutionaries and the 1874 monarchical restorers greatly facilitated Alfonso's task at the outset.³⁴ The common goals were to reform the political system and to assure that many social and economic interests of the country would be satisfied.³⁵

For the moment, political rumblings in Madrid had been stilled. It is time to turn our attention to Catalonia and the rise of catalanismo.

Notes to Part I, Chapter I

1. Stanley G. Payne, A History of Spain and Portugal, Wisconsin, 1973, p. 423. For the reaction of Napoleon to the steadfast heroics of the Spanish popular resistance, see pp. 422-423.
2. Nicholson B. Adams, The Heritage of Spain, New York, 1958, p. 396.
3. Jaime Vicens Vives, Approaches to the History of Spain, Berkeley, 1970, p. 119.
4. E. A. Peers, A Companion to Spanish Studies, Norwich, England, 1963, p. 80. The author has also pointed out that "after the Revolution of 1830 in France, a number of attempts were made by exiled Spanish Liberals to cross the frontier and revolt once more against Ferdinand. The last and most tragic of these, led by Torrijos, an ex-officer living in London, resulted in the betrayal and slaughter of the leader and his fifty-two companions, and was the occasion for renewed severity." See also pp. 164-165 for a discussion of other activities of this group which comprised the future Romantics of literary Spain. José Francisco Ráfols, El Arte Romántico, Barcelona, 1953, p. 12, mentions other rebellions initiated by the Liberals against King Fernando, particularly one in 1820. According to the Liberals, 1823 to 1833 was "the ominous decade" of absolute monarchy.
5. The dates for the Carlist Wars differ with various scholars. This is because many of the revolts were sporadic, short-lived or inconclusive. The following years have been grouped together: 1833-1840, 1846-1849, and 1872-1876; some scholars combine the first two sets of dates for the first Carlist War and consider the last years as the second one. See Payne, op. cit., pp. 470-471. The author indicates that the chief motivations of Carlism were localism, religious and political

traditionalism and ruralism. See p. 439. A. Ramos Oliveira, Politics, Economics and Men of Modern Spain: 1808-1946, New York, 1972, pp. 66-67, presents this interesting analysis of the multi-faceted background of Carlism: "Carlism has very little to do with the dynastic quarrel which arose on the death of Ferdinand VII. A social movement of much greater importance than if it had sprung from a mere vulgar dispute over the succession, its appearance goes back to the days which followed on the restoration of absolutism by the troops of Angoulême (April 1823). Six years before Ferdinand VII married María Cristina de Borbón, seven years before the birth of Isabel II, and ten years before the King passed to another world, Carlism was already in existence. It was created. . . when the Church discovered that the monarchy of Ferdinand was opposed to Spain becoming that ideal theocracy of which the fanatics had been dreaming since the destruction of all the political institutions. . . Long before the death of Ferdinand VII, therefore, the Court of Don Carlos was set up in Madrid--an intimate, unofficial Court as opposed to the official and legitimate Court. The monarchy favored by the Church found there its complete expression. Don Carlos was the supreme civil head of the Apostolic Party and The Avenging Angel. . . But Carlism had another facet. It was not only an ecclesiastical movement; it was at the same time the reaction of the countryside against the city."

6. Payne, op. cit., p. 439.
7. Peers, op. cit., p. 80.
8. Payne, op. cit., pp. 436, 440.
9. Raymond Carr, Modern Spain 1875-1980, Oxford, 1980, p. 5. Ramos Oliveira, op. cit., pp. 19-20, observes that "since the middle of the last century, in spite of its strong local and provincial feelings, Spain has had one of the most centralized governments in Europe and that every country postman, village schoolmaster and customs official has owed his appointment to the minister in Madrid. All these petty functionaries, together with a host of government clerks and

officials, down to the humblest hall porters and hangers-on, have obtained their posts through being the retainers of some political person."

10. Payne, op. cit., pp. 453-454, has furnished a brief but clear analysis of the two political parties on which I base my following comparisons.
11. The Federalists' views will be amplified in the discussion of the First Republic later on in this chapter.
12. Espartero's role in the politics of Barcelona will be noted later on in the chapter on Catalanism.
13. Carr, op. cit., p. 2.
14. Payne, op. cit., p. 430.
15. Peers, op. cit., p. 82, and Payne, op. cit., p. 456.
16. Vives, op. cit., p. 134.
17. Payne, op. cit., p. 457, reports that "The sensuous queen, her consort proving a hopeless husband, drifted away into a series of scandalous liaisons that resulted in seven (probably all illegitimate) children." Ramos Oliveira, op. cit., p. 73, describes the queen as one "whose ambition was limited to converting night into day, to embracing her lover of the moment and then receiving absolution from her favorite confessor."
18. Adams, op. cit., p. 339.
19. Carr, op. cit., p. 2.
20. Bozal, op. cit., p. 47 and Albert Balcells, Cataluña Contemporánea: 1815-1900, Madrid, 1983, p. 55. Jeremy T. Medina, Spanish Realism: The Theory and Practice of a Concept in the Nineteenth Century, Maryland, 1978, p. 71, cites Donald L. Shaw's view of the Revolution of 1868 as a "watershed of the two Spains, dividing an earlier, optimistic complacency and desire for armonismo from a decade of ideological ferment."

21. Payne, op. cit., p. 469. Vives, Industrials i Polítics del Segle XIX, Barcelona, 1983, p. 282, notes that "To Catalonia the proclamation of the Republic had fallen like the blow from a hammer; not even the Republicans expected it. The Republic came from where we least were expecting it. 'From the night before to the morning. . . ,' wrote Pi i Margall in a short souvenir treatise."
22. Payne, op. cit., p. 469. The author indicates further gloom and doom: "While a new constitution was being prepared, the reductio ad absurdum of Federalist localism began in the summer of 1873. Federalist city and provincial governments began to declare complete autonomy--in effect, independence--all over southern and eastern Spain. These were essentially localist political revolts by officeholding cliques, town radicals, and the local mob. . . . Save for freedom of association, protection of individual rights, and the elimination of consumos [certain taxes], the Federalists scarcely had any more of a social program than did the anticlerical Radicals."
23. The four presidents were: Estanislao Figueras, Francisco Pi y Margall, Nicolás Salmerón and Emilio Castelar. Three of the leading figures of the revolutionary and republican periods were Catalan: Prim, Pi and Figueras. Peers, op. cit., p. 84, noted the following: "Pi y Margall, Castelar and Sagasta were better statesmen than the generals of the preceding generation, but they must all have seen that Spain would only be content with a monarchy."
24. Gerald Brenan, The Spanish Labyrinth, Cambridge, England, 1967, p. 358.
25. Francisco Pi y Margall, El Reinado de Amadeo de Saboya y La República de 1873, Madrid, 1970, p. 116. Pi had gone to Paris in 1866 where he had contact with Proudhon's theories, unknown at the time in Spain. Ramos Oliveira, op. cit., pp. 102-103, adds that Pi "never followed the master faithfully onto the social ground of pure anarchism. What attracted him chiefly in Proudhon was federalism, which was already an obsession with him." See Brenan, op. cit., p. 358, who

notes that many anarchists considered Pi one of them and his books, part of their bibliography.

26. Brennan, op. cit., p. 358, gives the sources of Pi's doctrines as Herbert Spencer's Social Statistics, 1850; Proudhon's Idées Générales, 1851, and possibly Stephen Pearl Andrew's The Science of Society, 1851.
27. Francisco Pi y Margall, La Reacción y La Revolución, Barcelona, 1854, p. 153. The quote continues: "Order supposes arrangement, harmony, convergence of all individual and social elements; order refuses all humiliations and sacrifices. Can you call order that fictitious peace which you obtain by cutting with the sword all that you are too stupid to organize with your limited intelligence? . . . True order, let me tell you, has never existed and will never exist so long as you make such efforts to obtain it, because true order supposes cohesion, yet not a cohesion obtained by the presence of exterior causes, but an intimate and spontaneous cohesion. . ."
28. Quoted in Vives, Industrials i Polítics, p. 420.
29. Ibid., p. 421. The author adds that another magazine, La Democracia, was edited by a member of a group of the Democratic party and that he and Pi argued daily about political doctrine. Their discussions went in two directions with regard to socialism: the collectivism of Pi and the individualism of the other.
30. Pi y Margall, El Reinado de Amadeo de Saboya y La República de 1873, pp. 115-118.
31. Ramos Oliveira, op. cit., p. 102. The author, p. 103, continues the negative interpretation of Pi's concepts and finds fault with his definition of Federalism: "The Spanish Federalists were not proposing to constitute a nation, but to make of one nation in crisis, several. The word 'federal' was improperly used, because it derives from the Latin foedus, that is, a covenant; whereas the federalism which Pi offered Spain was a breaking away; it disrupted, rather than bound together. As might have been expected, such a doctrine

dissolving the bonds of the State meant--though this was not Pi's intention--a revolt against the State. And the worst of it was, as Pi himself proved from his personal failure, that the Spanish federalist movement, once on the march, could not stop at regionalism, but, urged by its unconscious libertarian impulse, was to go on accentuating the division of territory, subdividing regions into cantons, cantons into villages, villages into tribes. Faithful to its Rousseauian origin, it was a return to nature, the total disappearance of the concept of the State, the realization of the anarchist's dream."

32. Payne, op. cit., p. 470. Peers, op. cit., p. 84, calls Cánovas del Castillo the greatest statesman of his age. Vives, Approaches to the History of Spain, p. 136, provides this background to the period: "The Restoration was, essentially, an act of faith in Hispanic coexistence. Even today one can admire the tact with which Cánovas proceeded to draw up the Constitution of 1876 and the impartiality with which he directed the preparation of the great legal codes--the civil law code, the mortgage law, the legislation governing civil and criminal trial procedures. Cánovas wanted to establish a legal state, not an arbitrary one, but one that would be backed by the vital forces of the nation--agricultural landowners, industrialists, and bourgeoisie--and by an army with no capricious desires for a pronunciamiento. Thus his policies were conservative, making only such concessions as were necessary to provide the machinery for an active dialectic in the parliamentary game but limiting any concession to minor issues."
33. Payne, op. cit., p. 491. Peers, op. cit., p. 85, briefly summarizes Alfonso XII's and Canova's reign as one of slow but steady progress. He then addresses the King's tragedies: "The young King . . . married his cousin, to whom he was devoted, and who died of fever a few months later. In the next year he married María Cristina, daughter of an Austrian archduke, and six years later died, leaving his queen with two infant daughters and in expectation of another child, pending the birth of which Spain was in effect without a sovereign."

Alfonso XII was a well-meaning ruler, of undoubted culture, vicious habits and indomitable bravery,-- a King for whom one cannot but feel sympathy, the more so in view of his troubled life and private sorrows."

34. Balcells, op. cit., p. 66.
35. See Payne op. cit., pp. 490-500, for further information on the structure of restoration politics.

Chapter II

The Rise of Catalanismo

A sense of the particular problems and aspirations of Catalonia is essential to an understanding of the achievement of the artists like Ramón Martí Alsina and his followers who felt deeply rooted in their native region. Their Realism consisted of detailed, particularized views of Catalonia rather than of Spain because they wanted to represent their region as an entity unto itself. This region includes the provinces of Barcelona, Tarragona, Lérida and Gerona, bordered on the east by the Mediterranean Sea, on the north by France, on the west by Aragon and on the south by Valencia.

Throughout the early nineteenth century the Catalan people developed their industrial potential and became the richest region in their country. They began to consider themselves distinct from, if not superior to, the rest of pre-industrial Spain. In addition to commercial leadership and a modernizing social structure, they had their own language, an important medieval literature in that language, a glorious political, economic and artistic history¹ and particular traditions and customs. Yet they continued to

suffer political and cultural neglect by the central powers in Madrid. They even lacked basic representation in government. It was this political injustice and the desire to control their own destiny that occupied them throughout the nineteenth century and up to the present day.

Catalanisme, in Catalan, or catalanismo, in Spanish, is the term generally used to designate the self-awareness of the Catalan people as a unique regional entity. Some historians use it to include cultural self-consciousness as well. For the purpose of this study, catalanismo will be restricted to the socio-political-economic phenomena and the "Renaissance of the Arts" or La Renaixença--it is used only in Catalan, even by Spaniards--will refer to the co-existent cultural aspects.²

Often there was a symbiotic relationship between the two movements as social, political and artistic leaders interchanged their roles or joined together in projects during the modernization of Catalonia. They were stimulated by an atmosphere of pride in past and present regional accomplishments and confidence in future endeavors. Thus, it was not unusual that an artist was motivated to take up political action, that a doctor and a journalist painted canvases, that a political theorist developed aesthetics, that an economist and a priest wrote poetry and that a critic described architecture.

First we will look at the modification of the social structure in Catalonia as it was affected by the expansion of industry throughout the nineteenth century. Thereafter, significant social and political writings and actions--also affected by industrialization--will be examined and their consequences assessed.³

In a country that was still basically tied to a subsistence economy at mid-century, Catalonia's economic success stood out as the startling exception.⁴ First in textile, metallurgical and chemical enterprises, it accounted for one-third of Spain's entire industrial production and profit. Such growth brought about the establishment of an industrial bourgeoisie⁵ and a proletariat where before the traditional groups had been a military and agrarian aristocracy and peasants and rural farmers. The latter classes still existed in the rest of Spain.⁶ Such growth also transformed the geographical distribution of the population. The mountain areas gave way to coastal regions; towns and cities attracted former peasants-turned factory workers, artisans, public officials and intellectuals.⁷ In the words of Jaime Vicens Vives: "We can say that the history of Catalonia of the nineteenth century went out the doors of the masías [solidly built farmhouses of the rural Catalan landscape], with a last goodbye of the owner's sons to their casa solariega [ancestral home]."⁸

This does not mean that agriculture stopped in Catalonia. Indeed, vineyards, olive groves and wheatfields continued to be cultivated in the central and coastal areas.⁹ The Catalans' capacity to make "soil out of rock" was proverbial¹⁰ and some peasant farmer families still worked themselves up to a type of petty nobility.¹¹

The industrialist bourgeoisie or upper-middle class dominated the economic and social life and taste of Catalan towns and cities. It was comprised of the old families of the urban mercantile aristocracy and the new financiers, entrepreneurs, manufacturers and merchants, particularly of the cotton and iron factories. At first many had owned family firms but continued prosperity allowed them to increase the size of their businesses. Nevertheless, they remained on the whole conservative and paternalistic to their employees as they tried to maintain the status quo of their position and power.¹²

Below the Catalan aristocracy and the upper bourgeoisie and not as socially or politically coherent was the middle-middle class. In a state of flux, it often merged with the lower-middle class, depending upon the rise or fall of the wages of the workers. As Carr has indicated, many had to keep up appearances by means of "double employment."¹³

Public officials and university educated professionals, among them doctors, pharmacists, lawyers and journalists, formed a subgroup of this class. For the most part progressive and liberal, they were the first to be concerned with the negative changes brought about by industrialization and to seek remedies for the insufficient salaries, working conditions and housing of the proletariat. Artists, while they began to realistically portray members of the lower classes such as the peasant and farmer--who had never before been considered worthy of more than folklore--rarely represented this ever-increasing proletariat or the ubiquitous factories of their employment.¹⁴ On the other hand, there were writers who described some of the problems of the urban workers, albeit in a mollified tone, sometimes devoting complete novels to their particular life styles.

Small merchants and independent artisans, so long as their trades could withstand the competition, were also part of the middle-middle class. They had previously operated modest stores and workshops in which relatives and several outside assistants also worked. But they entered on the threshold of the nineteenth century con mal pie, on poor footing, since each new factory could uproot thousands of such modest enterprises.¹⁵ At first conservative, it is small wonder that these men eventually became the radical agitators of their society due to the economic instability of their lives.

The lower-middle class contained the urban and semi-rural workers. As has already been mentioned, the expansion of Catalan industry forced many former independent artisans to join this group. Workers became 'qualified' when they knew how to use specific machines. Until the recently arrived country workers assimilated this training, they were relegated to the caste of miserables.¹⁶

At the end of the nineteenth century, the factory was regarded as "the cathedral of the world of production."¹⁷ Annual national and provincial expositions paid tribute to the industrial and agricultural fruits of labor¹⁸ but the workers' lot remained one of unjust treatment by feudalistic bosses, job insecurity, deplorable working conditions, especially for women and children, over-crowded housing and lack of medical assistance for illness, childbirth and old age.¹⁹

Economics and politics often go hand in hand. Certainly this was recognized, albeit in different ways, by Catalan industrialists and workers alike in the nineteenth century. For the industrialists, economic success in Catalonia depended upon political action in Madrid. As long as the central government was willing to prohibit foreign imports--textiles from England, for example--the Catalans had a guaranteed monopoly of the domestic market.²⁰ Of course, the price demanded for this protectionism was

continued political support of the central government,²¹ or rather, political apathy with regard to regional concerns. The lack of Catalan bourgeois participation in national politics or in support of local self-government as late as the 1870s²² was directly proportional to its economic security.²³

For the Catalan industrial workers, economic improvement depended upon socio-political change in Madrid. As long as the conservative central government ignored the plight of the proletariat and refused to enact beneficial laws or allow protective associations, workers would have to organize their own reform movement which often became entangled by politics. Vives stresses that between 1808 and 1868 it was difficult to make distinctions between worker movements and political movements--some clandestine, some public--initiated or supported by the proletariat.²⁴

As early as 1827 manufacturers in Barcelona began to recognize textile workers' complaints.²⁵ By 1830 Catalan textile trade unions--sociedades de resistencia al capital--had been established to be followed by various cooperatives and associations throughout the 1830s and 1840s.²⁶ However, all such advances were at the mercy of political vicissitudes: at a given moment a progressive government did pass 'workers directives' but once that government fell into disfavor and was replaced, so were the 'directives.'²⁷

Discernible growth of the Catalan union movement took place between 1854 and 1855 when worker agitation was at its strongest level and included the first strikes in Barcelona. According to Balcells, such activity was so repugnant to the Spanish Court in Madrid that it met to seriously discuss the possibility of dissolving Catalan industry which seemed to pose such a threat to the prevailing structure of the country.²⁸ Government antipathy towards Catalan industry was to continue through the century.

By 1868 further reforms had come about, including the foundation of more cooperatives and workers' congresses. The establishment of workers' newspapers and the creation of cultural centers and other voluntary associations, such as the workingmen's choirs of José Clavé, helped to bring Catalan culture to these people.²⁹ It was not until the formation of the First Republic in 1873 that the first protective laws were enacted for the working class but they were annulled in 1874 when the Republic failed and were not renewed until the beginning of the twentieth century.

The development of a "sentiment of Catalan collectivity" was in evidence in the political, social and economic discourse dating from the middle years of the nineteenth century.³⁰ A sampling of titles from books and articles indicates that regional concerns were taken up by writers decades earlier than what some historians consider

to be the manifest origins of Catalanism of the 1880s:³¹ Jaime Balmes' "La suerte (fate) de Cataluña" of 1843; Juan Illas Vidal's Cataluña en España and Duran y Bas' "Catalanismo no es provincialismo," both of 1855; Idelfonso Cerda's Monografía estadística de la clase obrera (working class) de Barcelona en 1856 and Juan Cortada's Cataluña y los catalanes of 1860. Between 186^e and 1874 thirty two new newspapers were published in Catalan; the first daily in Catalan appeared in 1879.³²

The fervent pro-Catalan themes of these books contrasted greatly with the anti-Catalan political attitudes of the central government. Throughout the century it was always Catalonia against Castile. "We in Catalonia must sweat and toil so that ten thousand drones in the Madrid Government offices may live," quoted Gerald Brenan, who added that this and other complaints were the same as their Catalan ancestors had expressed as long ago as 1640.³³

Between 1822 and 1837 Catalonia had lost its penal and commercial laws, its coinage, its special tribunals and its right to use the Catalan language in its schools.³⁴ Nevertheless, the region could not lobby on its own behalf since the central government even chose its parliamentary representatives. Furthermore, many of the representatives were not Catalan nor did they live in the districts or provinces that they had to represent. They were primarily

lawyers, civil servants and newspapermen rather than farmers and industrialists as were the Catalans who needed their support.³⁵ The Catalans were being heavily taxed for their prosperity but they were not being represented politically.³⁶

It is revealing that between 1833 and 1901 a total of nine hundred and two government officers served Spain of whom only twenty four were Catalans. The industrial leaders may have acted as a pressure group within the Spanish state on occasion, but they were generally not able to advocate or exercise regional control.³⁷

If one had to choose key moments in the development of Catalan political action in the nineteenth century there would be a minimum of three: the early 1840s and the rule of General Espartero and 1873 and the First Republic created by Pi y Margall, both of which foreshadowed the battle for Catalan separatism of the late 1880s.

Between 1840 and 1843 Barcelona first became a viable political center when the Progressive Party led by General Espartero forcefully brought about the overthrow of the Spanish regent, María Cristina. Vives has pointed out that the general's widespread support by the workers and artisans from the lower classes of Barcelona as well as by the bourgeoisie signified Catalonia's belief in him. He would convert Spain into the image of Catalonia itself: a

country of economic and administrative efficiency in which the central government would respect the idiosyncracies of each of its regions.³⁸ However, in 1842, when such aspirations failed to materialize, the frustrated Catalans rose up against Espartero who responded with severe repressions, including the bombardment of Barcelona.

It was not until 1873, with the arrival of the short-lived First Republic, that the Catalans exerted themselves politically for a second time, much to the disgust of the central government. Furor was voiced in the Spanish press. Such remarks included: "Spain has come to be the patrimony of Catalonia" and "The Catalans are not to blame, but the Castilians, the Aragonese, the Valencians, Andalusians, those from Extremadura, Galicia and the rest of the Spaniards who suffer it and consent to it."³⁹ The others could not accept that thirty two of the forty nine provincial governors were now Catalans.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, throughout the rest of the century, only one percent of the top regional administrators given positions in Catalonia were Catalan.

By the 1880s there existed three firmly established schools of thought about the resolution of the Catalan problem.⁴¹ The Federalists, led by Pi y Margall, wanted co-existence with the central government rather than a separatism of the region as a whole.⁴² Members of the

conservative Lliga de Catalonia, under the direction of Àngel Guimera, also favored co-existence; they urged an autonomy restricted to the region's past heritage. The Catalanist Congress, headed by Valenti Almirall, a former pupil of Pi, wanted complete autonomy for Catalonia. It should be noted that the Congress had broken away from the Federalists and the Lliga had severed its ties with the Congress during the upheavals of Catalanism.

Autonomy was the word on everyone's lips. The dilemma was the degree of autonomy that the majority of Catalans wanted: either Catalonia should seek co-existence within the Spanish monarchy or it should disassociate itself completely from the rest of the country. Although the first concept was the most widely held, there was enough resistance to it to prevent a compromise. If the three main factions could not present a united front to the central government, there would be little chance for Catalanism to become regional self-will politically, socially and economically.

The desire for separatism did not abate at the end of the century. Socialist-separatist-anarchist radicalism increased in Catalonia during the 1890s. If the Restoration had brought about the peace needed for the cultivation of a Renaissance, the next decades created enough war to destroy it.⁴³

Catalonia's concept of patria chica⁴⁴--the little country--remains stronger than in any other region and is reflected in Barcelona's assertive role as the first city of Spain, in its insistence on the use of Catalan as its first language and in its sporadic political revolts. Therefore, it continues to be the most unsettling element in the "supposed unity of Spain," according to E. Allison Peers, who notes that even the Catalan's spelling of its territory as Catalunya instead of Cataluña builds separatism right into the language.⁴⁵

Notes to Part I, Chapter II

1. Catalonia's former period of historical and economic prosperity had been the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries when first ruled by the Counts of Barcelona and then added as a kingdom to the Crown of Aragon which then included Valencia, Mallorca, Aragon and Barcelona. Brenan, op. cit., p. 25, states that the Crown of Aragon ruled Naples and Sicily and monopolized trade of the Western Mediterranean. Furthermore, "each [kingdom] had its own laws and parliament and the King could neither raise money nor send foreign (i.e. Castilian) troops into their territory without obtaining their permission. So foreign indeed was Castile to a member of the Aragonese Confederation that the Catalans maintained consuls in Andalusia and were not permitted to trade with America." Brenan makes a provocative hypothesis in a footnote when he writes: "It is interesting to speculate on what would have happened had it been Ferdinand [of Aragon] and not Isabella [of Castile] who put down the money for Columbus' voyage. It would then have fallen to the Catalans and the Valencians to open up America, and Castile would have been excluded. One can hardly doubt that the whole course and character of Spanish history would have been different. . ."
2. Some historians stress that the Renaissance of the Arts preceded and prepared the way for (political) Catalanism and that the latter did not take place until the end of the nineteenth century with the advent of federalism. Representative of such an opinion are Brenan, op. cit., pp. 27-29, and Payne, op. cit., pp. 505-507. The latter asserts that the political self-consciousness stemmed from cultural romanticism, "beginning slowly with a revival of literature in the Catalan vernacular in the 1830s and 1840s. . . Catalonia had played no special role in Spanish politics during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. . . during the Isabeline regime there was little or no sense of Catalanist political particularism. . . During the mid-century years, specifically Catalanist feeling had been concentrated on cultural activity. . . Almirall's

Lo Catalanisme (1886) was the first clear exposition of Catalan political nationalism, though it was couched in terms of close federal association with the rest of Spain." See also p. 378, where the author states that "The political drama did not begin till the latter end of the nineteenth century." Both Balcells, op. cit., pp. 88-89, and Jaime Vicens Vives, Historia social y económica de España y América, Vol. V., Barcelona, p. 368, more correctly assert that political concern in Catalonia developed along with cultural awareness. According to Balcells, "a purely cultural movement, mainly directed by conservative scholars and poets, who were motivated by Romanticism, did not bring about political Catalanism," although "it would be absurd to deny the importance of the so-called cultural Catalanism, but we cannot consider it as the determining phenomenon of the political evolution of Catalonia. . ." Referring to political concerns, Vives also acknowledges that the phenomenon has been considered generally literary, but he presents an opposite view: "The recuperation of the Catalan personality was legitimized, it is true, by poetry, history and philosophy. But it existed as a phenomenon of the whole, as a reaction to an inconvenient formula of the government and administrative incompetence. Catalanism, as a source of the restructuring of Spanish reality is defined in 1854-1855, years before the reestablishment of the festival of the Floral Games [poetic contests in Catalan], through the mouths of thinkers of Catalan liberal conservatism and through the realizations of social dynamics."

3. Balcells, op. cit., p. 84, notes the tensions caused by particular Catalan economic, social and political growth and general Spanish lack of progress.
4. Ibid., p. 83. Ramos Oliveira, op. cit., pp. 22-23, presents this sad commentary on nineteenth century Spain: "Spain was. . . a country of shepherds. She not only lacked a middle class, but her economy was directed to the profit of the stock-farmer. And the shepherds of sheep ruled the nation in conjunction with the shepherds of souls. . . The Spaniard had resigned himself to

living without industry, without commerce and almost without agriculture; he had turned himself into a hidalgo [a noble man], or a soldier, or a monk, and had left the care of his food and clothing to foreigners. . ."

5. Vives, Historia social y económica de España y América, p. 126, notes that there had been no bourgeois revolution in Spain in the eighteenth century, as in other countries, simply because there did not exist more than an elemental bourgeoisie there. Throughout the nineteenth century, the impact of the Catalan industrial revolution--provoked by the invention of the steamship and the establishment of the textile factory around 1831--caused the development of a Catalan industrial bourgeoisie.
6. For excellent quantitative and qualitative analyses of the traditional social classes in Spain and the newly formed classes in Catalonia, Vives' Historia social y económica de España y América and Industrials i Polítics are indispensable. These two studies influenced countless historians such as Balcells and Malerbe who confess their indebtedness to him.
7. Vives, Approaches to the History of Spain, pp. 132-133, reports that there was "a rush of people from rural areas to the city. Barcelona grew in an unorganized fashion amid riots and turmoil."
8. Vives, Historia social y económica de España y América, pp. 166-168.
9. Carr, op. cit., p. 18, informs us that it was from other areas, i.e. the poor mountain regions, that Catalan industry first recruited its cheap labor. Peers, op. cit., p. 7, adds that: "Catalonia is both poor agriculturally and minerially, yet the love of toil and the will to succeed have converted it into a vast manufacturing region, where industries flourish even in towns distant from the sea and lacking alike in coal and in raw materials."
10. Carr, Spain: 1808-1939, Oxford, 1966, pp. 20-21.

11. Ibid., p. 20. For Carr the agriculture crisis of the 1880s "resulted from the incapacity of traditional agriculture--the Mediterranean triad of wheat, wine and olives--to meet new market conditions. This was a result of poverty, conservatism, and the lack of alternative crops."
12. Carr, Modern Spain, p. 36, describes the industrialists' mentality: "The general conservatism was a reflection of the paternalism of the Catalan industrialists: their factories were the casas [homes] of the employers with the workers as an extended family. Some employers lived up to this ideal, providing everything from toys at Christmas and sickness benefits to cheap housing. They were to foster Catholic unions and adopt the philosophy of social Catholicism as a tactic to solve the social questions. But for many paternalism was merely a device to resist organized labor and the attempts of the state to regulate hours and working conditions. The employer's relation with his individual employee was direct; neither a union nor the state should come between them."
13. Carr, Spain, p. 287, adds that "Civil servants and officers worked as copyists and business agents; journalists wrote for several papers and could only support a family when given political posts by their party. . . ." An example is Pi y Margall who was born into the lower-middle class and had to live very humbly. By accepting small jobs as a private teacher, a journalist and a bank clerk during his youth, he was able to support himself and study law.
14. Robert Herbert, "City vs Country: The Rural Image in French Painting from Millet to Gauguin," Artforum, VII, 1970, p. 44, notes that in nineteenth century French painting the visualization of the urban-industrial revolution was not common either. He adds that there was not a direct association between an artist's known social feelings and the subjects that he chose to paint. Although painters avoided depictions of factory workers and their corresponding machinery, illustrators did not. Various mid-century Spanish periodicals, such as La Ilustración, El Museo

Universal and La Ilustración Española y Americana, included illustrations of industrial themes, beginning in the 1850s. See Vives, Historia social y económica de España y América, pp. 218-219, 237, 255, and 268, for such examples. See also p. 211 for a lithographic example from Gustave Doré's L'Espagne. Carr, Spain, p. 199, asserts that the concentration of the cotton industry changed the appearance of Barcelona and that the prints of the 1850s show the port "ringed round by factory chimneys."

15. Vives, Historia social y económica de España y América, pp. 187-189.
16. Carr, Spain, p. 206, lists dockers, quasi-mendicant street hawkers and the mass of urban poor as miserables and reports that their presence on the streets of Barcelona provided "an unforgettable experience to the sensitive mind even in the late nineteenth century." Vives, Historia social y económica de España y América, p. 188, includes sellers and traveling musicians in the bajo pueblo or lowest class.
17. Vives, Historia social y económica de España y América, p. 105.
18. See Ibid., pp. 254 and 257, for illustrations.
19. Vives, Approaches to the History of Spain, pp. 211-213.
20. Although the cotton industry in Catalonia was large enough for Ramos Oliveira, op. cit., p. 376, to call the region "a miniature Lancashire," its profits were limited to the domestic market in Spain and therefore had to prevent competition from other countries.
21. Carr, Spain, p. 201.
22. Payne, op. cit., pp. 473 and 507.
23. Vives, Historia social y económica de España y América, p. 160, reports that the bourgeoisie was content with its relative liberty, prosperity, a

certain cultural progressivism and its cult of money, to the point that a member of its class could exclaim in 1854: "poverty is a sign of idiocy." From that time on, the bourgeoisie also enjoyed foreign trips, facilitated by the railroad, careful education in exclusive centers of learning and cultural gatherings in círculos, tertulias and the Liceo Opera House.

24. Ibid., pp. 215 and 218.
25. Ibid., p. 367.
26. Vives, Approaches to the History of Spain, p. 139.
27. Vives, Historia social y económica de España y América, p. 218.
28. Balcells, op. cit., p. 85. See also Fernando Díaz-Plaja, Historia de España en sus documentos: Siglo XIX, Madrid, 1983, pp. 269-270, for an example of a document of a petition of rights by Catalan workers in 1855.
29. Payne, op. cit., p. 507.
30. Balcells, op. cit., p. 91. Selections from many of the cited texts may be found in Balcells.
31. Such books include Pi y Margall's La Federación, of 1880; Mañé y Flaquer's El Regionalismo, of 1886; Almirall's Lo Catalanisme, of 1886; and Prat de la Riba y de Muntanyola's Compendi de la doctrina nacionalista, of 1895. This phase will be discussed later in this chapter.
32. Balcells, op. cit., p. 62, notes that the majority of these Catalan newspapers were leftist, such as La Campana de Gràcia and La Renaixença.
33. Brenan, op. cit., p. 29.
34. Ibid., p. 27.
35. Cervera, op. cit., pp. 26-27.
36. Brenan, op. cit., p. 29, adds that ". . . although their population was only one-eighth of that of

Spain, they paid one-quarter of the State taxes and. . . only one-tenth of the total budget came back to their province."

37. Balcells, op. cit., p. 84.
38. Vives, Historia social y económica de España y América, p. 366. Vives contradicts himself about Espartero's support in another of his books. See his Approaches to the History of Spain, p. 129: ". . . Espartero felt bold enough to confront Marie Christine and force her to renounce the regency. This was essentially a victory of the lower classes--concretely, of the workers and artisans of Barcelona--over the urban bourgeoisie. . . [they] could not forgive Espartero for supporting the workers and they, in turn, would not forgive his failure to keep his promises."
39. Balcells, op. cit., p. 61.
40. Payne, op. cit., p. 491.
41. Cervera, op. cit., pp. 26-35, presents a concise and perceptive description and explanation of the factionalism. My summary is indebted to him.
42. Carr, Spain, p. 543: "Though Pi himself, as an (sic) Catalan, felt the pull of local interests, Catalonia as such had no special place in Federalist theory: it was but one province in an all-federalist Spain, a logical deduction from the premises of individualism, not from those of culture, language, or race."
43. Cervera, op. cit., pp. 18, 35.
44. Brenan, op. cit., p. IX: "Spain is the land of the patria chica. Every village, every town is the centre of an intense social and political life. As in classical times, a man's allegiance is first of all to his native place, or to his family or social group in it, and only secondly to his country and government. In what one may call its normal condition Spain is a collection of small, mutually hostile or indifferent republics held together in a loose federation. At certain great periods (the Caliphate, the Reconquista, the Siglo de Oro) these

small centres have become infected by a common feeling or idea and have moved in unison: then when the impetus given by this idea declined, they have fallen apart and resumed their separate and egoistic existence. It is this that has given its spectacular character to Spanish history. Instead of a slow building up of forces such as one sees in other European nations, there has been an alternation between the petty quarrels of tribal life and great upsurges of energy that come, economically speaking, from nowhere."

45. Peers, op. cit., p. 7.

II. THE LITERARY BACKGROUND

Chapter I

The Renaissance of the Catalan Language and Poetry

It is impossible to understand Catalan Realist art of the nineteenth century without knowing something about Catalan culture in general, an issue which centers around language and literary production as well as the visual arts. The optimistic and cohesive climate of the Renaixença during that century inspired scholars, poets, novelists and artists to turn to the native language and subject matter of their own region for their self-expression.

Catalan is a complete, fully developed Romance language of the provinces of Barcelona, Gerona, Tarragona, Lérida, Valencia, part of Aragon, Andorra and the Balearic Islands. By the ninth century it was in use in written documents; in the twelfth century it became the vehicle for the highest forms of literature. After that time, the central government of Spain, desiring to solidify its own power, imposed the Spanish (Castilian) language on all its peoples. For centuries Catalan was suppressed except in the country districts.¹

Interest in the codification, standardization--indeed

in a "decastilianization" of Catalan--to make it once again a self-supporting language,² became apparent in the eighteenth century when several Defences of the Catalan Language appeared. In 1813 another Defence summarized this linguistic work published to date. Its impassioned prologue called for the revival of Catalan as the voice of modern life and extolled its tradition and potential:

Oh rich and exceedingly valuable language, that for lack of cultivation has been less known and celebrated. . .! Oh language worthy of the greatest esteem and which we appreciate for its gentleness, sweetness, acuteness, grace, variety and abundance! In oratory it has energy and strength to persuade with eloquence! In poetry it is admirable, acute and fluent. . . In philosophy, in medicine, in law and in theology it does not lack abundance, gravity and eloquence to express itself with dexterity and facility. What sciences, what arts are there in society for which the Catalan language does not have its own words to express machines, instruments, handiwork, artifacts? . . .

Had it not been for the war with France between 1808 and 1814, the Renaissance of the Catalan language might have begun earlier.⁴ Even at that time examples of poems written in Catalan have been found. "Laments of the Sad City of Barcelona" patriotically decried the harm that France inflicted on the city and the country:

Oh, accursed France;
You should remember
the harm that you have done to Spain!
.
Noble Barcelona
--that great city
that, for all who knew her

had their hearts stolen--,
accursed France
is usurping her from us.
She is no longer a shadow of what she was,
certainly it makes one cry.

. . .
Oh, native Catalans,
does this not enflame your hearts
to take up all your arms
against all those traitors?
we must take revenge
against injustice of this kind. ⁵
. . .

The first official moment of the Renaissance of the Catalan language is considered to be 1833 when Buenaventura Carlos Aribau (1798-1862) published his "Ode to the Fatherland." The author had been living and working in Madrid for seven years and he wished to express his nostalgia and love of his native Catalonia: the hills, mountains, sky, streams and beaches where he had tried to return in vain in his dreams:

If a tree was transplanted to unknown lands
its fruit loses its taste; its flowers, its perfume.

What does it matter that my fate
brings me to splendid Castile if it robs me of
the native soil on which I was born? ⁶

When he evoked his childhood memories, Aribau remembered with emotion his use of Catalan:

I still adore speaking the language of the wise men
who inundated the world with customs and laws;
the language of the knights, the pride of their kings. . .
Catalan ⁷ was my first language, and no other,

when I took nourishment from the soft maternal breast.
In Catalan I prayed to God each day.
And I dreamed of Catalan songs each night. . .⁷

Aribau was one of several writers invited to compose poems as birthday tributes to the Catalan banker, Gaspar de Remisa, then also living in Madrid but missing his native region. "In an anxious attempt to compete with more securely established languages,"⁸ the poet chose to express his "Ode to the Fatherland" in Catalan. Since his other Catalan works were judged to have little literary value compared with his Castilian output, he must have been quite surprised when the "Ode" actually initiated a new movement.⁹ The symbolic date is made more ironic by the fact that Aribau never again wrote in Catalan, having decided to become an agent for Catalan business interests in Madrid.¹⁰

It was not unusual for many Catalans to continue to write in Castilian, producing "some of the most original writing of the period,"¹¹ while others expressed themselves alternatively in both languages. Indeed, the Renaissance had been created by a minority of scholars and poets; the majority was not yet ready to replace the ubiquitous national language with a local one.¹²

As late as the 1880s Spanish writers from other regions criticized the use of Catalan in literature. Thus, Benito

Pérez Galdós, one of the century's leading authors, wrote to Narcisco Oller, Catalonia's most admired novelist:

You cannot imagine the affliction that I feel when I see a novelist of your really exceptional talent writing in a language distinct from Spanish, which is, do not doubt it, the language of languages. . . . The admiration that I feel for you is great enough to make me struggle with the rigours of a language whose beauties I do not understand and whose resurrection as a literary language I cannot explain. . . . Castilian is the language of the gods. . . . Catalan, for the little that I understand of it, does not have its own construction. . . . The syntax, the construction are ours. They only differ in the words, whose coarseness and hardness wound the ear. That is why translation is so easy. It is like pulling off a mask that is held by only one thread.¹³

On the other hand, the novelist Emilia Pardo Bazán did show understanding of the importance of Catalan in a literature where it was the author's mother tongue. In a letter to Oller her positive reaction is emphasized:

I understand what you tell me, that you cannot write except in Catalan. It is natural. We only write literally. . . . the language that we use to pray, the language that we use as children. Do not be discouraged because of the controversies that may disturb you nor the contradictions that may constrain you: all of us have. . . . some small stone that obstructs the road and we tread over it and we continue intrepidly.¹⁴

José María de Pereda, another novelist, once tried to convince Galdós of the efficacy of the use of Catalan:

Catalan writers think in Catalan, speak in Catalan and live in a society that does not speak another language at home. Therefore, the Catalan idiom is the sap of its literature. . . . Therefore, there is no other

way but to accept [the writers] as they are, with their sin of origin, sufficient punishment because of the small market that they have for their books and the unjustified disdain with which the literary public of Castile regards them.¹⁵

However, this positive attitude did not last for Pereda soon confessed to Oller that it was a great effort to read Catalan, a "strange language." ¹⁶

The decisive figure in the Catalan literary and spiritual Renaissance movement was Manuel Milá y Fontanals (1818-1884). A professor of Latin, history and literature, he was also an authority on epic poetry, folklore and comparative language and literature. He spent his entire life in rigorous, scientific investigations of the erudite and popular origins and evolutions of the Catalan language and of the early relationship among Catalan, Castilian and Provençal in literature. Thus, he discovered that Catalan and Castilian were as much primary sources of medieval epic poetry as Provençal had always been considered.¹⁷ Among his pivotal studies are: Compendio del arte poética, of 1844; Observaciones sobre la poesía popular, of 1853; De los trovadores en España, of 1861; Poesía heroico-popular castellana, of 1874 and Romancercillo Catalán (Collection of Romances), of 1882. He, himself, wrote a trilogy of Catalan verse about the past heroes of his region, veritable metrical ballads based on the models of the earliest medieval epics.¹⁸

Milà's rather patronizing stance regarding the possible replacement of Castilian by Catalan, in light of his profound devotion to it as a literary medium, was symptomatic of the dichotomy of attitude then, even among the Catalans.¹⁹ In 1854 he declared his lack of confidence in the incipient literary resurgence of Catalan:

To enclose philosophical, cosmopolitan and universal thoughts in the rustic and accidental expressions of local dialects seems to us to demand of a peasant girl the correct expressions of the Meditations of Lamartine or The Ideal of Schiller.²⁰

At the time Milà still wanted to "infuse all of the characteristics of the genius of Catalonia into the Castilian language."²¹ He did not change his mind until he became the first president of the region's Jocs Florals (Floral Games) or annual poetic contests. Dating from the Middle Ages and restored in 1859, they became an important means of the recuperation of the prestige of the Catalan language and the creation of self-awareness in Catalan society. Such competitions attracted large audiences and thus diffused culture among many: the peasant class, the middle class and the petit bourgeoisie in large measure and the working class, the high bourgeoisie and the aristocracy in smaller numbers.²²

The contests' triple motto of "Faith, Fatherland, Love" inspired the participation of countless popular poets.

In the words of Antoni Carbonell: "It was the time in which to be a Catalanist, for almost all who were or believed to be so, consisted of making verses in Catalan."²³ Many of these verses, however, showed a range of defects, including rusticism, mannerism, archaism, imitation, lack of originality and even poor use of language,²⁴ but as a cultural undertaking the Jocs Florals were invaluable.²⁵ Only a minimum of prose-writing was contributed to the competitions. Catalan plays were not produced until the 1860s and novels, not until the 1870s.

A poet whose mission also included the restoration of Catalan was the folklorist, philologist, historian and critic Mariano Aguiló (1825-1897). He gave two speeches in Catalan at the Jocs Florals in 1867 and 1889 and earned the title of "apostle of the language."²⁶

Born in Palma, Mallorca, Aguiló came to Barcelona at an early age and formed friendships within the city's intellectual circle which included Manuel Milá y Fontanals and the poet-critic Pablo Piferrer.²⁷ When the latter became ill, Aguiló took his place as librarian in the Library of San Juan, Barcelona. He also held that position at the Universities of Valencia and Barcelona.

Popular poetry was Aguiló's interest from his early years when he began collecting the songs of the rural

people, traveling throughout Catalonia, Valencia and Mallorca, talking with shepherds, farmers, old women, young people and children²⁸ in an attempt to gather many samples which eventually totalled ten thousand. This resulted in his Romancer popular de la terra catalana. His pride in his venture is reflected in this verse:

The poetry of the people
has the light of truth:
one cannot want for a nobler title
than 'poet-commentator' of the town.²⁹

Aguiló was able to combine the collected treasures of spoken poetry with the originality of his own creation to produce patriotic as well as intimate, sentimental poems about love, death and nature. As was the case of other contemporary writers, his love of Catalan did not prevent his having difficulties using it, which he confessed in his poems, Focs Follets (Jack-a lanterns).³⁰

A step further in the reestablishment of the tradition of Catalan verse was taken by Joaquín Rubió i Ors (1818-1899) who was also a historian, critic and professor of literature and history at the Universities of Valladolid and Barcelona. In the preface of his first volume of Lo Gayter del Llobregat (The Bagpiper of Llobregat), completed between 1839 and 1841, he wrote of the limited success of Catalan in its initial stage; in the preface to his second volume, of

1858, he ascertained that the movement had progressed significantly.³¹

The simplicity of Rubió's language and the evocation of local landscape gave his poetry popular appeal, as can be seen in a fragment from one of the sixty poems in Lo Gayter del Llobregat, which he also took as his pseudonym:

If a king gave you his crown,
his silver sceptre;
his soft scarlet cape
and his throne and title of majesty,
by being king, would you forget
your amorous ballads,
your luxuriant mountains
and your happy-Llobregat?

If a Moorish king promises you
rich and elegant pearls,
his seraglio of sultanas
and his palace in Bagdad,
bagpiper, would you exchange it
for your cottage and the bed
that has been made for you
upon the pure sands
by the river of Llobregat?

If a sorcerer regaled you
with castles and palaces
of marbles and topazes
and bronzes of fine quality,
would you emigrate, for them,
from the snows and the rivers,
from the refreshing airs of the summers,
from the young girls of Llobregat?³²

His fervent patriotism is emphasized in the poem, "Barcelona." Like his fellow Catalans during the Renaissance of the Arts, he wants to see the comeback of his city:

Rise up, oh Barcelona,
you have been humbled and made abject enough!
See that a crown
as great as the one lost
is kept for you by heaven to grace your forehead!
Rise up now from your agony!
Think that your sons, with a severe look,
will ask you one day:
"What have you done with your banner?
Where are your kings? Your brave leaders, where are
they?" 33

Called the "Dante of Catalonia,"³⁴ and the "first
major Catalan poet of the nineteenth century,"³⁵ Jacinto
Verdaguer (1845-1902), a young priest, became famous when he
won the first prize at the Jocs Florals in 1877 for his epic
poem in ten cantos, the legend of Atlántida (Atlantis).³⁶
His second admired work was Canigó, of 1885, a shorter epic
which romantically recounted the legendary origins of
Catalonia. It contained many specific references to the
local landscape of the Pyrenees, where the poet had
personally made excursions.³⁷

Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, perhaps Spain's greatest
nineteenth century critic and himself a Catalan, wrote to
Verdaguer in 1886, acclaiming his talent as a descriptive
poet of nature:

I have received and I have just read Canigó, and I
am still under the spell of astonishment. . . the entire
poem abounds in examples of gigantic power. The
Pyrenees acquire human and titanic forms under your
astonishing chisel. As in the Atlántida you felt the
poetry of the oceans and of the submerged continents;
thus in this new poem you feel and express with a vigor
and a graphic precision, that to my understanding has no

equal in any language, all the accidents of the landscape of the mountain, and all the impressions, now solemn and severe, now smiling, now melancholy, now grandiose, that the contemplation of the mountain range stirs up, seen with eyes of love and with that divine poetic intuition that knows how to discern and read the hidden meaning beneath the signs of nature.³⁸

Verdaguer, like many Catalan writers and painters of his time, wished to commemorate the physical beauties of Catalonia. These artists recognized the potential of their native language and the uniqueness of their native soil. Their artistic regional self-consciousness began as idealized Romanticism and ended as objective Realism. This came about when the segment of the society that was able to own art and read literature sought canvases and books that spoke to them of themselves and their surroundings, rather than of mythical, fantasized places that never existed.

Notes to Part II, Chapter I

1. Peers, op. cit., pp. 8-9. Carr, Spain, p. 540, links this early disregard of the Catalan language by Castile with later retaliation which eventually led to Catalanism: "This belief in the alien and uncomprehending hegemony of 'Castile,' exercised at the expense of Catalan vitality, was and is the psychological root of Catalanism; to Catalans there was an element of pure contempt in Castilian attitudes which produced in Catalonia a sense of outraged virtue."
2. Peers, op. cit., p. 9.
3. Antoni Carbonell, Literatura Catalana: Dels Inicis als Nostres Dies, Barcelona, 1979, p. 273. The author of the Grammar and Defence of the Catalan Language was Pau Ballot.
4. Idem.
5. Carbonell, op. cit., pp. 283-284. The poem was written by José Robrenyo (c. 1780-1838) who also produced bilingual sainetes (farces or short dramatic compositions). Arthur Terry, A Literary History of Spain: Catalan Literature, London, 1972, p. 71, believes that Robrenyo, "despite his lack of literary pretensions, deserves the credit for having created a genuine popular theater in touch with the events of the time."
6. See Josep Vilanova Comerma, Historia de la Literatura Catalana, Barcelona, 1923, p. 310, for selections from the poem in the original Catalan and Feliz Ros, Antología Poética de la Lengua Catalana: Puesta en Versos Castellanos, Madrid, 1965, pp. 161-162, for selections translated into Spanish.
7. Aribau uses the word Lemosí (French=limousin) to stand for 'Catalan.' Terry, op. cit., p. 71, explains lemosí as the name given to one of the areas most closely associated with medieval

Provençal poetry, and for a long time wrongly regarded as synonymous with 'Catalan.'

8. Ibid., p. 72.
9. Manuel de Montoliu, Cuatro Etapas en la Evolución de la Literatura Catalana Moderna, Madrid, 1956, p. 11.
10. Carr, Spain, p. 540. Balcells, op. cit., p. 128, discusses Aribau's lesser known role as economist.
11. Terry, op. cit., p. 71, and Montoliu, op. cit., p. 11.
12. Carr, Spain, p. 541, adds that: "the bourgeoisie, like the aristocracy and the working classes, was for the most part, indifferent to the renaissance of Catalan culture and no Catalan daily attempted to support itself until 1879."
13. Quoted in Juan Reglá, Historia de Cataluña, Madrid, 1981, pp. 180-181.
14. Ibid., p. 180.
15. Ibid., p. 179.
16. Ibid., p. 182.
17. Montoliu, op. cit., p. 46, provides the background for an understanding of Milá's important contribution: "In those days it was a current axiom, in the literary history of the Middle Ages, that the only Romanesque town which had had in that remote time a national epic was France, and that Spain had not had it because the manifestations of it, as in the poem of "The Cid," were a product of an erudite imitation of the French metrical romances. Milá, using a method conformable to his talent, demonstrates the falsity of such a supposition and follows the evolution of the principle cycles of popular epic poetry in Castile until its ultimate manifestation in the romances."
18. Ibid., p. 49, and Carbonell, op. cit., p. 288. The titles of the trilogy are "La mort de Galind," "La

canço del pros Bernat" and "La complanta d'En Guillem."

19. Montoliu, op. cit., p. 40, judges that Milá regarded Catalan as: "a reliquary from ancient times, condemned to forever lead an obscure life in the sphere of family life. . . an archaeological reliquary, a live remembrance of a past greatness that should be deposited in an urn worthy of its past magnificence to which all Catalans should bring a fervent tribute of tears."
20. Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, Estudios y discursos de crítica histórica y literaria, Madrid, 1884, p. 165.
21. Montoliu, op. cit., p. 40.
22. Carbonell, op. cit., p. 290.
23. Ibid, p. 283.
24. Comerma, op. cit., p. 327.
25. Terry, op. cit., p. 73, sets the contests into their historical context: ". . . before this, it is difficult to speak of a school of Catalan poetry, but from now on, there is a much greater sense of collective enterprise, as well as an assured audience and easier means of communication. For all this, the Jocs Florals had their drawbacks: . . . [they] encouraged countless untalented poets to express themselves in naive and conventional terms and, at their worst, they merely confirmed the basic conservatism of the Renaixença. Yet their importance is beyond question; without them, it would probably have taken much longer for the new poetry to find an audience and, above all, they provided a starting-point for those writers of the next generation--Verdaguer, Oller, and Guimerà--whose work was to render their further existence superfluous."
26. Montoliu, op. cit., p. 35.
27. The tremendous influence of Milá y Fontanals, Piferrer and other aestheticians upon Romantic and Realistic Catalan art and literature will be

presented as a prelude to the study of the realist regional novel later in this section. Piferrer's role as writer of descriptions to accompany lithographs of medieval architectural treasures will be discussed in Part III.

28. Montoliu, op. cit., p. 32. The poet's activity of traveling throughout the regions in search of popular poetry is similar to that of the early landscape lithographers, painters and writers who attempted to document every known ruin and monument in Spain. Their comprehensive projects will be studied in Part III. See note 27 above.
29. Quoted in Catalan in Montoliu, op. cit., pp.38-39. The author explains the exact meaning of glosador which was expediently translated by me as "poet-commentator." "Glosadores in Mallorca are poets who improvise a dialog on a theme previously agreed upon."
30. Ibid., p. 37. The author comments upon the poet's linguistic dilemma: "The poem of the interior struggle of the poet who, wanting to sing the glorious tradition of his fatherland, finds himself with his fantasy restrained and tied down in its flight by a language which, ill after a long decadence, becomes rebellious at the expression of sentiment. "Focs Follets" is a sad drama of the Catalan language in its first effort to elevate itself. Clamors of hope and groans of dejection succeed each other in the course of the poem, expressing the sentiments of this battle of the poet with his style of language."
31. Terry, op. cit., p. 72, gives this summary: "In the first, Rubio proclaims the need to create a new literature which will reflect the spiritual independence of the Catalan people. At this point, he admits that he is an almost solitary figure; seventeen years later, in the second preface, he is able to refer to a whole series of new poets who are following his example." Aribau's "Ode to the Fatherland" had been an "isolated monument" in the quest for the recognition of the Catalan language. The Castilian school in Catalonia was still omnipotent as such important writers as Milá and Piferrer influenced the younger generation to

continue using the more established language. Rubio i Ors fought against this tendency and published poems in Catalan although the critics hardly took notice. He is credited with having converted many of his fellow Catalans.

32. Quoted in Spanish in Ros, op. cit., pp. 170-171.
33. Quoted in Catalan in Carbonell, op. cit., p. 286.
34. Carr, Spain, p. 540.
35. Terry, op. cit., p. 73. See also pp. 73-74 for an account of Verdaguer as a priest and the difficulties that beset him in that role.
36. Ibid., p. 74. Terry characterizes the work thus: "Verdaguer knits his materials into an intensely personal rendering of the basic myth. . . the story of Hercules and the destruction of Atlantis is told to the young Columbus, so that the discovery of the New World appears to restore the cosmic unity which was broken by the legendary disaster. . . its underlying theme is power, and Verdaguer's Romantic affinities are nowhere so clear as in his attempt to fuse the pagan and Christian worlds in a pattern of cosmic retribution and renewal."
37. Ibid., p. 75. The author provides this summary: "Again, there is a direct confrontation of pagan and Christian themes: the folk-tale atmosphere which surrounds the enchantment of a young Christian knight by the mountain spirits of the Pyrenees is set against the background of the Moorish invasion of Roussillon, and the final defeat of the pagan spirits is symbolised by the founding of the Benedictine monastery of Sant Martí del Canigó. Part of Verdaguer's intention, clearly, was to convey the workings of Providence in the formation of the Catalan national consciousness. The epic dimension of the poem comes from his deliberate attempt to recreate the spirit of the chansons de geste; compared with the Atlantida, however, much more importance is given to the lyrical episodes and to the re-working of popular poems and legends." An example, quoted in

Catalan and then translated into English in a footnote in Terry, op. cit., p. 76, is:

"When he comes to the ridge of the mountains,
he remembers Guifre and his troops.
Regretfully, he looks back;
how beautiful Roussillon seems to his eyes,
encircled by a line of beacons
set one by one on every peak.
On each hilltop which surrounds
the plain of Ruscino, there is a tower,
a fair tower which reaches to the sky,
bearing aloft the star which crowns it like a jewel.

38. Carbonell, op. cit., pp. 301-302. See Terry, op. cit., p. 77, for mention of Verdaguer's collections of lyric poetry and Carbonell, p. 309, for his prose, which was scattered in various journals, newspapers and magazines of the time.

Chapter II

The Realist Novel in Spain

Costumbrismo was the name given to the popular, small sketches of Spanish life that were written in the late eighteenth century and continued throughout the Romantic period. In prose or verse and frequently satirical or philosophical, they described social types rather than created plots. Most were regional pieces that dealt with local customs, traditions, manners, politics and administration in the city and country.¹ By the 1870s they were to develop and expand into full-length novels of society.²

The projects of the costumbrista writers were similar to those of contemporary landscape painters, engravers and lithographers. All were concerned with recording landmarks and architectural treasures and with preserving the traditional Spanish way of life before it disappeared.

Almost every writer of the time contributed artículos or cuadros (pictures) to the genre. These appeared primarily in periodicals and leaflets.³ There was also a well-known anthology in two volumes, Los españoles pintados

por sí mismos of 1843. Its collaborators totalled more than fifty.⁴ Its contents included slice of life scenes and character types from all of the provinces. Folkloric drawings accompanied many of the descriptions.

Spanish precedents were the sixteenth and seventeenth century picaresque novels, the twelve Novelas Ejemplares of Miguel de Cervantes and his epic masterpiece, Don Quijote--all realistic reactions to contrived, idyllic chivalry and pastoral tales. The picaresque novels featured young rogues who usually served a variety of masters and could thus satirize a cross-section of society. The Novelas Ejemplares--written for exemplary or ethical purposes--followed the pattern of the picaresque genre and presented a variety of localized life styles. One example cited as a particular influence on the costumbristas was Rinconete y Cortadillo, or two rogues among professional thieves in Seville.⁵

The two volumes of Don Quijote, rich in episodes and characters, would inspire not only costumbristas but countless novelists up until the present time. Its synthesis of chivalric idealism and picaresque realism became a Spanish literary trait. Indeed, the idealism of Don Quijote and the realism of his squire, Sancho Panza, subtly shifted throughout so that at times there resulted

what Salvador de Madariaga has called the "sanchification" of Don Quijote and the "quixotification" of Sancho.

French authors who wrote travel books about Spain were also models for costumbrismo. In fact one Spanish poet wrote of them: "From 1830 to 1850 one can say that the Spaniards saw their own country through French reminiscences."⁶ French writers of "physiologies" also encouraged Spaniards to portray their own types. Jouy's descriptions of Parisian life under the First Empire⁷ had their counterparts in contemporary Spanish treatments of city life and regional country life under the reign of Isabel II.

The most famous costumbrista was Mariano José de Larra (1809-1837). He wrote under various pseudonyms, the best-known being Fígaro. His sharp wit and satire critically delved beneath the surface of Madrid society in particular and Spain in general.

Ramón de Mesonero Romanos (1803-1882) named himself El Curioso Parlante and chronicled the Madrid of his day: its history and its daily life, its streets, plazas, churches and monuments. His description of his method was typical of his fellow costumbristas:

to write for all in a plain style, without affectation or negligence; most times to paint; few times to reason;

never to make one cry; almost always to laugh. . . and in the end to aspire. . . to the reputation of a truthful observer.⁸

Serafín Estébanez Calderón (1799-1867), who was also called El Solitario, kept alive the picturesque life-style of his southern province of Andalusia. Like all costumbristas he exclaimed that he had "a blind passion for all that smells of Spain."⁹

Catalonia produced only one representative costumbrista, Emili Vilanova (1840-1905), who humorously dealt with the city life of Barcelona. For the most part, Catalan writers continued to use Castilian and were therefore contributors in that language to periodicals that specialized in the genre.

Costumbrismo was the closest attempt at realistic description in the early nineteenth century. During the Romantic period such realism ceased as authors generally used literature as a vehicle for history, legend and imaginative fantasy. When the first realist novels appeared they harkened back to costumbrismo and at first were not more than a series of folkloric scenes joined together by an innocuous plot.

The mature Realist novel came much later to Spain than to France and England. It was tied to the development and

rise of the bourgeoisie which did not exist in Spain before mid-century. This middle class became the major source of its reading public and the subject matter of its writers. It was now more interested in practical and objective realities--in economic, social and ideological preoccupations--than in the continuation of romantic exaggerations.¹⁰ However, as in art, the Romantic influence did not suddenly disappear. Between 1850 and 1868 the novel was a combination of both romantic and realistic elements. It was during the Restoration that it became fully developed. The Realist novel's themes were expanded multi-dimensional observations of daily life that were covered by costumbrismo. The general state of nineteenth century society continued to be explored: social classes, customs and contradictions, livelihood, morality, the political situation and other forces in tension.¹¹

At the outset foreign influences played only small roles as models. The Spaniards re-read their own native literature--the picaresque novels and Don Quijote--depending upon their tradition and subject matter.¹² There were translations of French novelists in the 1840s: Balzac, George Sand, Alexandre Dumas, père, Eugene Sue, for example,¹³ but the characteristic aspects of French Realism and Naturalism were not accepted in Spain until later in the century.¹⁴

Spanish novelists differed from their European counterparts in a variety of ways, due to their particular temperament, history and their own realistic tradition in literature.¹⁵ Firstly, the Spanish Realist novel was a regional novel. The patria chica was always a most important concept in the political, social and economic life of the country and was deeply reflected in its literature.¹⁶ Spain continued to be a rural society throughout the nineteenth century. The different regions' life styles, customs and manners varied markedly from place to place and were virtually unconnected physically and psychologically.¹⁷ A writer from a particular area knew it best and limited his creativity and concern to that locale.¹⁸

Harsh realism tended to be mitigated by idealism. Writers held the concept that art must combine the ideal and the real. For them there was a realism of life and a realism of art. The remarks of three novelists at mid-century sum up this view:

Art must be more than a mere window that looks out on the street.¹⁹

Realism is the inclination of presenting in a book passions, human characters and pictures of nature, within the decorum of art.²⁰

If the novel were limited to narrating what normally happens, it would not be poetry, nor would it offer us an ideal, nor would it even be a worthy history, but false, low-dragging history.²¹

In short, reality had to be embellished or it would prove depressing, perhaps immoral and certainly inartistic.²² The insistence upon a combination of realism and idealism had its effect upon other tendencies. Spanish novelists were generally more subjective²³ but they were more optimistic than other Europeans. They always managed to inject some humor into their works and they were rarely pessimistic.²⁴ Finally, many novelists often focused upon religious or clerical matters or stressed spiritual elements.²⁵

Similar characteristics mark most of the work of Spanish Realist novelists. They used observation, often very detailed, as they defined and described regional locations, temporal settings and ordinary activities and characters. During the Restoration they added another dimension to their works: social criticism with reformist intentions.²⁶

The earliest novels were termed transitional because they still strongly recalled costumbrista scenes or betrayed marked Romantic orientation. They may have evaded the genuine reality of their society--individual, social, physical and psychological--but they did evoke the general atmosphere of the region.²⁷

Fernán Caballero or Cecilia Böhl de Faber (1796-1877) is known as the George Sand of Spain. With La Gaviota (the go-between) she produced the first regional novel in Spain in 1849. A surgeon, a bull-fighter and a village barber are all involved in a love story with a lowly peasant girl who becomes a famous opera singer. The situation is trite and improbable but the Andalusian characters and the social pattern of life are colorful and well-defined. The author was the first to take an interest in the artistic talents of the peasants and the working classes. She collected their stories and coplas (ballads or couplets) and incorporated them into her fiction.²⁸

Pedro Antonio de Alarcón (1833-1891) shared with Fernán Caballero a love of Andalusia and its types. His Sombrero de Tres Picos, 1874, is another simplistic plot with humorous incidents, detailed local color and observant character traits. The folk-tale about a jealous husband who suspects his provocative wife and goes through many antics to ascertain her innocence or infidelity has also been adapted for the ballet and the opera. Alarcón's fame began with his travel books: Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África, 1860, and De Madrid a Nápoles, 1861.

With Juan Valera (1824-1905), José María de Pereda (1833-1906), and Benito Pérez Galdós (1843-1920), the Realist novel further evolved. Now costumbrista elements

were heightened by increased psychological depth, more natural dialogue and credible plots.

Valera's diplomatic career added to his cosmopolitan knowledge of people and places. He was an official in London, Brussels and Washington. His regional novels concentrated on a small circle of the landowning class in Andalusia. Aspects of country life were ignored.²⁹ Pepita Jiménez, 1874, his most famous novel, was constructed through the revealing letters of a student for the priesthood to his clerical uncle. Throughout, the youth suffers in the battle between his church vows and his love for Pepita. Finally earthly love wins and he marries the heroine. Written five years later, Doña Luz deals with a similar theme: an older monk falls in love with a young woman but his affection is not reciprocated.

Spain's northern Cantabrian mountain district is meticulously explored by Pereda and depicted as an exemplary place to live. The author did not like city life nor the middle class.³⁰ His themes stress the need to move from the negative, disillusioning city to the rural highlands and farms. This is evident in Pedro Sánchez, 1883, an account of unscrupulous journalists and politicians in Madrid. His best novel, Sotileza, 1885, describes the uncomplicated down-to-earth life and customs of the fishermen of his region as well as the relationship of two young people from

different social backgrounds in Santander. Little by little this old city is modernizing, much to the author's regret. Peñas Arriba, 1895, tells of the responsible and enjoyable life of the farmers in the hilly areas.

The major figure of Spanish literary Realism and one of the leading novelists of the nineteenth century was Galdós whose vast production was rich in subject matter and character delineation as well as partial to regional locale and social reform. Galdós is often referred to as the Charles Dickens of Spain.

Galdós averaged four books per year. Like the French Realists, Honoré de Balzac and Emile Zola, many of his novels appeared in series. For example, Episodios Nacionales, beginning in 1873, took more than thirty years to complete and comprised five series of ten volumes. They spanned the complex political, social and national struggles of Spain throughout the nineteenth century and contained more than five hundred characters.

Every province of mainland Spain--the exception is the Canary Islands--appears in Galdós' novels. He traveled throughout his entire country in a third-class carriage to make his observations personally. He supplemented these excursions with exhaustive investigations in archives and libraries for early nineteenth century events. He studied

clothing, customs, advertisements and laws so that he could use them in his stories.³¹

A small sampling of the novels of Galdós includes a variety of themes. Doña Perfecta, 1876, emphasizes conflicts between progress and tradition and between religious bigotry and liberalism. Gloria, 1877, analyzes the problem of intermarriage between a Catholic and a Jew while La Familia de León Roch, 1879, describes the religious differences that divide a married couple. Fortunata y Jacinta, 1886-1887, treats the life of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the capital. Ángel Guerra, 1890-1891, is the more modern version of Don Quijote. The protagonist, for whom the book is named, seeks a better world and dies when he interacts with the concrete reality of this world. Galdós' later novels take on more naturalistic tendencies.

The founder of the Catalan novel and the most important talent in his time was Narcisco Oller (1846-1930).³² He wrote in Catalan and he described the society of the Restoration. La febre d'or, 1890-1893, showed the effect of financial rise and fall on a Catalan family. An earlier novel, Estudi d'una passió, 1884, dealt with a society that was passing from the pre-industrial to the industrial state. Later novels presented single characters whose problems were studied in detail, as in La bogeria, 1899, and Pilar Prim, 1906. A psychopath is the protagonist in the former novel;

a young widow, who falls in love with a younger man, is the character for whom the latter novel is named.

Oller's novels, while they were written in the chronological period of naturalism, continued the basic characteristics of Spanish realism: they combined realism with Romantic idealism, morality and some regional sentimentality.

Within the limitations noted, Spain did participate in the Realist literary movement and did come to grips with contemporary life. However, Naturalism did not gain a firm foothold in the country because writers were adverse to the relatively scientific reporting of the disagreeable and banal aspects that were emphasized in that style. They continued to assimilate the characteristics that had been prevalent before and used them to provide an even stricter objectivity or a "purer Realism."³³

Realist painters steered a parallel course. They certainly were concerned with contemporary life and found their subject matter in the directly observed, everyday happenings among the various social classes. Yet they, too, avoided disagreeable aspects. At times, as we shall see, Martí Alsina expressed political and social negativism in his personal actions and writings but he generally gave a positive outlook to his painted figures and their activities.³⁴

Notes to Part II, Chapter II

1. Donald L. Shaw, A Literary History of Spain: The Nineteenth Century, London, 1972, p. 45, mentions that as the writers dealt with Spanish life, they also defended Spanish traditional values. Therefore, moralism was a fundamental feature of costumbrismo. He adds that it is no accident that "one costumbrista, Mesonero Romanos, was one of the leaders of the reaction against the supposed immorality of Romanticism."
2. Richard E. Chandler and Kessel Schwartz, A New History of Spanish Literature, Baton Rouge, 1961, p. 203: "Even after the Romantic spirit dominated the Peninsula, costumbrismo continued and was cultivated by those authors who found Romanticism unsuited to their genius, and even by some confirmed Romanticists." The authors present the opinion of a school of thought that states: ". . . one reason for the comparative lateness of the development of the Realistic novel in Spain in the nineteenth century was that the artículo de costumbres. . . served the purpose of fiction and satisfied the readers. Thus it may be argued that rather than helping its growth, it may well have delayed it."
3. Adams, op. cit., p. 343. The author, p. 344, notes that most of this work still lies buried in the files of old periodicals.
4. Shaw, op. cit., p. 47, lists the following examples of two generations of authors and gives the total number of contributors as thirty: Rivas, Mesonero, Estébanez, Bretón, Hartzenbusch, García Gutiérrez, E. Gill, Ochoa, and Zorrilla.
5. Ibid., p. 44.
6. Carr, Spain, p. 209. The poet is Bretón de los Herreros.

7. Jouy's pseudonym was L'ermite de la chaussée-d'Antin.
8. Quoted by Shaw, op. cit., p. 46.
9. Ibid., p. 47.
10. Vives, Historia social y económica de España y América, p. 442. See also Medina, p. 57.
11. Carbonell, op. cit., p. 343.
12. Medina, op. cit., pp. XVII, 41.
13. Carbonell, op. cit., p. 345.
14. Shaw, op. cit., p. 52, notes that it was not until 1882 that a first translation of Zola was made in Spain. Medina, op. cit., p. 88, states that Spanish journalists understood little about the Naturalist movement in France.
15. Medina, op. cit., p. 347. I base my summary of the particular characteristics of the Spanish novelists on the study of Medina.
16. See the rise of catalanismo in Part I of this study for a discussion of the patria chica.
17. Adams, op. cit., pp. 370-371.
18. Payne, op. cit., p. 505, adds that: "In Galicia, as in Catalonia, there emerged during mid-century, a school of romantic regional historians who tended to exaggerate the accomplishments of and the injustices done their native region. . . Literature in the Castilian language expressed a more moderate regionalist culture that was not directed toward any potentially political concern."
19. Quoted by Medina, op. cit., p. 346. Said by Alarcón.
20. Quoted by Shaw, op. cit., p. 151. Said by Pereda.
21. Ibid., p. 123. Said by Valera.

22. Medina, op. cit., p. 346, and Shaw, op. cit., p. 151.
23. Medina, op. cit., p. 64.
24. Adams, op. cit., pp. 370-371, points out that the pessimism in France and Russia does not appear in Spanish novels.
25. Medina, op. cit., p. 65.
26. Ibid., pp. 63, 56.
27. Ibid., p. 58.
28. Gerald Brenan, The Literature of the Spanish People, New York, 1958, p. 380.
29. Shaw, op. cit., pp. 153-154. See Alarcón's novels, Las ilusiones del Doctor Fausto and El Comendador Mendoza.
30. Adams, op. cit., p. 375.
31. Ibid., p. 377.
32. Carbonell, op. cit., p. 343, explains that there was not an important novel published in Catalan until 1862 and that this was not due to the lack of a novel-reading public nor interested editors. There was simply a lack of novelists. See Guillem Díaz-Plaja, Tierras de España: Cataluña II. Introducción Literaria, Barcelona, 1978, pp. 52-53, for a list of other Catalan novelists. Their relative lack of importance in comparison to the Castilian-writing novelists puts them beyond the limited scope of this section of the dissertation.
33. Medina, op. cit., pp. 57, 88.
34. In the decades after Realism, some Modernist painters, particularly Pablo Picasso and Isidro Nonell, concentrated on the poverty and misery of the lower classes. However, their output is beyond the scope of this study.

III. NEO-CLASSICISTS AND ROMANTIC NAZARENES

Chapter I

Neo-Classicists and Romantic Nazarenes

For hundreds of years the power and glory of the fine arts in Spain emanated from its capital in Madrid. The impact of official art was felt beyond the doors of the Academy of San Fernando because its sanctioned artists represented the Spanish Court and the Spanish art tradition at international exhibitions and world fairs.¹

By mid-nineteenth century regional art academies had been founded throughout Spain. Although they were to become independent sources of style, theme and technique thereafter, at the outset they paralleled Madrid's conservative painting. Thus, Barcelona's title of "Paris of the Iberian Peninsula"² was not to become a reality until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. First it took the objective vision and innovative teaching of a Martí Alsina as opposed to entrenched Academic traditionalism and purist Nazarene aestheticism to bring about the renovation of artistic production. This could be seen at the School of Fine Arts as well as in the artistic, intellectual and patronage circles of Barcelona.

Official artistic instruction in Barcelona was provided by the School of Lonja which was patronized, or rather, ruled, by a non-royal body, the industrial elite of the bourgeoisie, the Junta de Comercio. It opened in 1775 with the initial goal of creating a free school of design to aid the cotton and silk industries, particularly, in their production of printed calicos.³ A year later it expanded to offer instruction in artistic theory and practice to students of architecture, sculpture and painting. The school occupied space in the building of La Lonja which also housed major commercial, economic, scientific, pedagogical and other artistic activities. The Junta de Comercio also founded the Schools of Navigation, Botany, Shorthand, Chemistry and Mechanics, but the School of Fine Arts "was, among all, the preferred, the one which gave more glory to the Junta de Comercio in the Principality of Barcelona during the last years of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century."⁴

Some of the professors of art held the title of académico from the Academy of San Fernando or from other academies in Spain.⁵ Its first director, the engraver Pascual Pedro Moles (1775-1797),⁶ a member of the Academy of San Fernando, enriched Lonja's collections of instructional material by traveling to Paris and bringing back sketches and drawings which he added to the many original paintings,

reproductions, bas-reliefs and statues by eminent Spanish artists of the time.⁷

As the student population increased--there were six hundred in 1837--two deputy directors were added. Contests among the students were held periodically and the prizes awarded helped to create an atmosphere of competition and perfection not only in the "noble arts" but in the silk and cotton factories as well.⁸ In addition, the city's only artistic expositions were held in Lonja's galleries on a yearly basis.

"It is certain that all Europe does not have a provincial capital that sustains professorial chairs of exact sciences and fine arts in equal number and with equal splendor as in the Casa Lonja in Barcelona," proudly exclaimed the author of an essay about the Junta de Comercio published in 1837.⁹ Nevertheless, he lamented the fact that information about the school was vague, inexact and limited, concluding that "what is not known is not appreciated."¹⁰ He wished to remedy the situation by writing a guide to inform the public and to remind the students not to "scorn instruction that is granted to you with such generosity and to take advantage of the occasion to receive it from professors who keep vigil over you and who glory in your improvement."

As explained in the guide, the academic year began the first of October and ended the last day of June. A pupil enrolled at the school might take the following classes:

Natural flowers, from 6:00 to 8:00, from February 15 to June 15. Decoration, during the same hours, from March until the conclusion of the course. Oil painting, engraving and casting of statues, from 10:00 to 12:00 all year. Outlines, shading, heads, figures, plaster casts, flowers and handiwork, perspective and landscape, every morning from 10:00 to 12:00 and in the evening during the months of October to February from 6:00 to 8:00. In March, from 6:30 to 8:30. In April and May, from 7:00 to 9:00.¹¹

Among the paragraphs that described techniques of the various media was one on oil painting:

When the students have learned to prepare colors, they are taught the selection of the objects that are placed in a picture; they are given an exact idea of the form and circumscription of the objects, and they are instructed in the coloring or in the manner of imitating the color of those same objects with all the hues and gradations with which nature has embellished them.¹²

The Junta put forth specific artistic requirements for the student; indeed, it even dictated how he should lead the good and moral life:

The great men in all subjects have not been formed without incessant study and, therefore, they have not owed their perfection to their natural genius, but to the study and the severe application with which they have helped their particular disposition; thus it is that the artist must be a constant spy of nature, must comprehend it in every sense in order to be able to perfect it and not copy it slavishly, and for this perfection, he must study the remains of the best period of the arts, that is, that of the Greeks. He must also

be a profound philosopher and universal expert in history, and therefore will probably be a lover of reading, which is the dew of all human understandings. He must not be less than courteous;. . . artistic works always reveal their authors. If he is careful, we see neatness in his prepared colors; if refined, purity in his compositions; if rigorous, strength and grandeur in the forms, and if sublime, that general perfection that has distinguished very few talents. . . Envy, pride and vanity must be estranged from him since sooner or later the merit that he has will be seen, admired and rewarded proportionally.¹³

The Neo-Classic aesthetic was emphasized up to mid-century, introduced into Catalonia by the Neo-Classic sculptor Damián Campeny (1771-1855) who had studied in Rome where he shared a strong friendship with Antonio Canova. Upon his return to Barcelona in 1815, he occupied the chair of sculpture instruction at the School of Lonja, influencing generations of students in his idealizing style of art.

A two volume Curso completo técnico práctico de diseño y pintura, published in 1837 by José Soler Olivera (1808-1840), a painter as well as a lawyer, provided a detailed document of the notions of idealism promulgated at the time. For example, to portray the human figure an artist was supposed to "correct or hide the miseries of our decrepit nature," and in so doing, "standardize the method of drawing the expressions of the human face." To depict landscape, the artist was encouraged to "look directly at nature but to follow the classical tradition of delimiting the background with large rocks or tree trunks from the foreground and to

place between himself and the scene to be painted a reixeta [an apparatus that contained a frame divided into squares uniform in size] so that he could plot his study in correct proportion.¹⁴

The School of Lonja provided its outstanding aspiring Catalan artists with scholarships to study abroad. Thus, foreign influences of style and content as taught at the academies in Madrid, Rome, Paris, Munich and Dusseldorf made their way into Barcelona via returning students.¹⁵ Between the 1830s and 1840s one group of young Catalans studied in Rome and became the nucleus of artistic propaganda in Barcelona for many years thereafter.

The highly regarded Neo-Classic sculptor Antonio Solá was the official director of this group of pensionados in Rome.¹⁶ He continued to stress the aesthetic ideal and practice of Neo-Classicism but the artistic and theoretical influence of the Nazarene painters there proved much more persuasive. Friedrich Overbeck was the fervent leader of the Germans Franz Pforr, Peter von Cornelius, Friedrich Wilhelm Schadow, Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld as well as of the Italians Tomaso Minardi, Professor of Composition, and Pietro Terani, sculptor. He was soon to be the inspirer of Claudio Lorenzale (1815-1889) and Pablo Milá y Fontanals (1810-1885), the most important and representative Catalans

who would inculcate German Nazarene art and art theory, respectively, into the cultural atmosphere of Barcelona.¹⁷

Overbeck and his followers wanted to revitalize and purify Christian art which they saw in crisis after Renaissance sensuality, Baroque decorativeness and Neo-Classic rationalism.¹⁸ They sought to re-establish the spirit of medieval art along moral, philosophical and religious lines as well as through intellectual study and historical and critical analysis.¹⁹ Although for Overbeck the Italian primitives had painted the essence of the Christian ideal, he still recommended that his students investigate antique art to overcome technical difficulties.²⁰ Evidently a Neo-Classic substratum played an important role in the aesthetic concepts and practices of the Catalan artists in Rome along with the tenets of the new doctrine.²¹

Totally won over to the teachings of Overbeck²² which emphasized the purity of Sienese and Florentine painting of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries generally as well as that of the early Raphael, the Catalan group decided that pilgrimages to Tuscany and Umbria would complement what they were learning in Rome. They devotedly copied Giotto and other pre-Renaissance masters, filling notebooks that were to serve as concrete inspirations once back in Barcelona. Their mature repertory of works, which consisted mainly of Biblical episodes, literary themes, historical events and

idealized secular and religious portraits, became the first manifestations of Catalan Romanticism, also known as Nazarene purism.²³

Pictorially then, the principal characteristics of Romanticism in Catalonia were to come from the initial contact of the Catalan students with the German Nazarenes in Rome. Their historic, religious, portrait and landscape paintings would be inspired by Overbeckian doctrines and would be expressed through rigid Neo-classic forms. The contemporary artists in Madrid were to follow French Romantic painting and would be affected by the themes and free, loose and sketchy brushstrokes of the school of Delacroix.²⁴

The German Nazarenes had broken away from the rules of the Academy of Vienna, where they had previously studied, to pursue an independent art in Rome. Instead, the future Catalan Nazarenes were sent there by the official School of Lonja and were encouraged to incorporate the new movement into that school upon their return to Barcelona. Their appearance came at a time when Lonja was suffering from a kind of stagnation and decline. Therefore, Nazarenism was viewed as a way of enlivening the curriculum and inspiring the faculty which was then grappling with economic problems and pedagogical uncertainty.²⁵

By 1849 the School of Lonja had been re-named the Provincial Academy of Fine Arts of San Jorge. It had become re-vitalized and re-oriented by these newly acknowledged teachers of art and aesthetics who replaced the long established Classicism with the romantic vision of Nazarene purism, mysticism and marked linearity.

Barcelona was a growing commercial and cultural center by mid-century. It was here that the Catalan Renaissance of the Arts took root and flourished: a retrospective Renaissance that emphasized regionalism, tradition, religion and medieval spirituality. In comparison with cosmopolitan Madrid or Paris, Barcelona still seemed quite rural and conservative, lacking the international cultural ferment of the two capitals. A contemporary description by Gregorio Amado Larrosa in the Revista de Cataluña reflected its small-town atmosphere while revealing its virtues:

Barcelona is full of people as at court, and nevertheless its life enfolds as in a hamlet. It has magnificent theaters and luxurious caf  s but those who spend the night in pleasure and go to bed at daybreak are the rare exceptions. The millionaire, like the day laborer, works and lives with his family; salons are very scarce and the intimate ties of domesticity are so solidly maintained that the traveler who visits Barcelona and sees its inhabitants hastily run to their homes once the performances are over, smiles to himself and with disdain exclaims: 'And they said that Barcelona was at the level of Madrid and Paris!' No: if you understand that by being on the level of Madrid and Paris is to make night into day, to flutter about in pursuit of unproductive worldly affairs, to run in frenzy in search of pleasure, to desert the domesticity of the home to populate restaurants, to convert 'Damas de Comelias' into personifications of fine deportment

and to weaken the vigour of the body and the soul in material pleasures; if you understand it in this way, Barcelona is not at the level of those presumptuous cities.²⁶

A group of Catalan scholars--small in number, conservative in taste and powerful in influence--ruled the aesthetic and artistic life of the city.²⁷ Highly educated and each interested in several intellectual fields, they were the leading teachers, critics, historians, poets, writers, lithographers and painters.²⁸

Manuel Milá y Fontanals, whose scholarship in language and poetry has already been discussed, developed and defined literary and artistic aesthetic doctrines throughout his life. In addition to pronouncements made at the University of Barcelona and at special interest gatherings, he published his ideas in Manual de estética of 1848; Principios de Estética of 1857; Principios de teoría estética y literaria of 1869; "De lo real e ideal en el arte," of 1877; and Arte Poética of 1884.

Milá's brother, Pablo, had spent eight years in Rome with the German Nazarenes as a student-artist turned theorist. Upon his return to Barcelona, he became a professor of art history and theory at the Academy of Fine Arts, which he helped to turn into a center of Romantic Nazarene purism. His artistic experience complemented Manuel's insights on literary aesthetics. Together with the

poet and critic Pablo Piferrer and the painter and teacher Claudio Lorenzale, they were the key figures who formulated concepts of beauty and the sublime, based primarily on the ideals of medieval history and the Christian religion.

The men had become aware of Catalonia's past supremacy through three important historical texts in circulation at the time: Antonio de Capmany's Memorias sobre la marina, comercio y artes de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona, which dated from the eighteenth century but was still held in high esteem; Torres Amat's Diccionario de los escritores catalanes and Prospero Bufarull's Condes de Barcelona vindicados, both of 1836. They firmly believed in Capmany's aphorism: "He cannot love his nation who does not love his province." In fact, Manuel was known to quote the statement frequently.²⁹ They wanted to effect a return of that supremacy, beginning with a restoration of the Catalan language, literature and the visual arts.

The pride of the Catalans in their multiple accomplishments was reflected in the exuberant words of Bertrán d'Amat, a contemporary writer:

In the decade of 1835 to 1845. . . a springtime sun shone on our horizon and, when because of its beneficent heat so many and such fragrant flowers opened in the gardens of the sciences, of historic investigations and of poetry, it was not possible for the seeds of the other fine arts to remain barren for a long time.³⁰

Beyond sources in Catalonia, the men took inspiration from German, English and Italian Romanticism. They had been nurtured on the critical and philosophical ideas of Goethe, Schiller and the Schlegels. August Wilhelm Schlegel's role as formulator of his fellow Romantics' ideas and publicizer of those ideas in such lectures as Über schone Literatur und Kunst and Über dramatische Kunst was similar to Manuel Milá's with regard to the Catalan group.

Two pivotal examples that the Catalans were to follow came from the literature of the Scottish Walter Scott and the Italian Alessandro Manzoni. Both Romantic novelists devoted themselves to specific recreations of their respective countries' past histories: the atmosphere, the legends, the culture and the people. During the Catalan Renaixença, many leading writers, poets, lithographers and painters would follow Scott and Manzoni, transferring the patriotic overtones of their works to Catalonia.

Affected by his country's lost political independence, Scott attempted to preserve the old Scotland--the old Highland way of life--that he knew personally or had heard about from others. He made excursions into the countryside where he added to his collection of ballads and legends and to his knowledge of his countrymen. His method was to use actual detailed events and places to set off fictitious romances of colorful characters. In Scott's novel, Rob Roy,

the Highland brigand is involved in a series of adventures at the Scottish border in the early eighteenth century; in his Ivanhoe, a Saxon hero participates in the age of chivalry in the late twelfth century and in Quentin Durward, a Scottish archer seeks his fortune in France during the reign of Louis XI. Queen Elizabeth I and the Earl of Leicester act out their historic relationship in Kenilworth.

Perhaps an even more important source for the Catalans was Manzoni, because in addition to history, religion, morality and language played large parts in his artistic sensibility. There was already a cult of Manzoni in the 1820s in Catalonia.³¹ His works were translated into Spanish and Manuel Milá frequently referred to them in his own writings.³²

Throughout his life the Italian was surrounded by spiritual advisors who influenced his literary efforts as well as his religious obligations. Between 1812 and 1822 he wrote Inni Sacri, a series of hymns or odes on the major festivals of the church and Osservazioni sulla morale cattolica, a work of Christian apologetics.

The first draft of Manzoni's masterpiece, the novel, The Betrothed, was written between 1821 and 1823 but it was not published until 1827 after it had undergone many revisions. The author was grappling with the questione

della lingua in Italy. The dilemma was whether literature should be based on the Tuscan dialect used by past Italian writers or whether it should allow for a synthesis of all the Italian dialects then in use. When Manzoni decided to re-write the final version of his book in Tuscan in 1840, he paved the way for its acceptance as the refined modern Florentine. Such linguistic efforts recall those of the contemporary Catalan poets and scholars.

Manzoni also made an intensive study of Italian history, particularly of all levels of seventeenth century society which formed the background of The Betrothed. He wove together accurate historical fact with overtones of poetic imagination and strong Christian values in this rich tapestry-like chronicle of many episodes and diverse personalities. Although the characters seem very true to life, their actions were often governed by divine providence. Thus, The Betrothed stood at the crossroads between Romanticism and Realism. It was a blend of the ideal, the universal and the imaginative as associated with Romanticism and the ordinary, the particular and the observable as indicative of Realism.³³

One effect that Manzoni had on Milá and his group was to encourage by example a mediation between the two stylistic movements. The Catalans did continue to infuse their purist Nazarene Romanticism into the curricula of the

University of Barcelona and the Academy of Fine Arts and into the artistic taste of the upper middle class of Barcelona society. But after mid-century, they did acknowledge and address the turn towards science or positivism with its objective documentation of observable reality.³⁴ Their acceptance of a modified version of Realism is suggested by their writings.

Several of Pablo Milá's verses deal with the relationship between art and science. They appeared in Estética Infantil, a collection of his aesthetic and philosophical notions that he published at the end of his life.³⁵ Some pertinent examples are:

Science speaks, art sings;
one explains, the other enchants.
Science explains life,
but art makes it beautiful.

Art is not to make the real as it is
it is to make something else.

Not all that is in sight
has equal value for the artist.

The physical world is small
compared with that of the spirit.

Art far from being imitative
is essentially creative.

Not all the flowers in the fields
are good enough to be bouquets.

To conserve its high rank
art must not place itself in mud.³⁶

Manuel Milá also considered the problems of idealism versus realism and art for art's sake versus didactic art. He believed that art had a mission to perform based on both aesthetic and moral objectives: it should convey--indeed teach--significant social, moral and political ideas.³⁷

According to Milá:

The work of art should be good. As all of man's productions, it should contribute in its way to the triumph of goodness, to universal order.

[Art produces] a subjective reality whose strength originates in the aesthetic character of the work and not only in the imitative talents of the artist but in his moral and intellectual talents as well.³⁸

Beauty is the fundamental goal of art, believed Milá. Realistic art must select and organize experience according to the norms of beauty. Imagination is called upon to substitute for harshness, ugliness and misery wherever they exist. They must be omitted from art because they create a false realism. The artist must always find the ideal hidden beneath the real.³⁹

The poet and critic Piferrer provided a general explanation of his group's way of seeing art which held true throughout its existence:

. . . before execution we look for poetry and philosophy, we consult the epochs and history, and we consider nothing insignificant, even though it may seem

so according to the rules, if it carries with it something that characterizes art itself or offers interest for the study of apparel or details. . . we admire the beauty of forms and perhaps only with exceptions of certain modern genres we are exclusionists. We love the Byzantine. . . The Gothic is the object of our cult. . . and for us [it is] the most spiritual, profound, philosophical, beautiful and especially the most Christian. . .⁴⁰

For these men art was a religious experience. That characterization pervaded the art produced in Catalonia well into the second half of the century. In the words of Manuel Milá:

religious sentiment. . . gives [art] impulse, animates it and penetrates into its forms and even into its smallest parts. One does not try here to exaggerate its importance, nor to confuse the artist with the priest, nor art with Religion. . . The true artist takes from Religion what Religion grants to him, and he takes it and carries it between his hands with respect and he guards himself from dishonoring it, if for no other superior reason, in order not to lessen the virtue of his own words and convictions. In the creation or contemplation of the first [the work of art], the [devout] son of the Church finds the confirmation of his instruction and a certain reward and inducement to virtue, and the not so religious man, feels a sensibility awaken in his heart which from that moment expands to alleviate selfishness and haughtiness.⁴¹

Pablo Milá's thoughts on religion and art paralleled his brother's:

There is nothing like religion
to give art direction.

For art a sincere faith
is the raw material.

Without beliefs or faith
Arts do very little or nothing.

What art has done best
it owes to Religion.⁴²

In comparison with these fervent, spiritual exclamations, which allowed for little modification, the pronouncements of the Realists would have seemed literally blasphemous. And indeed they did. The first appearance of the realist aesthetic doctrine of Pi y Margall was rejected with ecclesiastical furor and critical disbelief. It offered too strong a contrast to that of the Romantic Nazarene-inspired writers, artists and teachers. In fact, Vicent Maestre has asserted that it was the only discordant note that was struck against the comfortably entrenched and widely accepted ideas of Milá and his group.⁴³ It is within the context of Pi's insights on art and its function in society that Martí Alsina's realistic canvases, modern teaching methods and personal writings may be situated and better understood. The relatively radical aesthetic ideas of the writer were put into practice and then expanded upon by the painter.

Francisco Pi y Margall was known primarily as a political figure who translated and followed Proudhon's theories which he incorporated into his concept of federalism during his presidency of the First Republic. His writings on art were relatively ignored by art historians

until quite recently.⁴⁴ Yet their value as a barometer for the emergence of Catalan Realism cannot be overestimated.

Pi had received the classic education of Latin, Greek, rhetoric, philosophy and history.⁴⁵ In addition, he studied law. When he first began to write about art he reflected the mainstream thinking of the Nazarene group. He knew the Milá brothers, Piferrer and Lorenzale, and he became a follower of their ideals.⁴⁶

In 1842, at the age of eighteen, his highly regarded lectures on architecture opened the door to an invitation to edit the accompanying literary sections of a series of texts that would artistically describe and illustrate Spain's cultural landmarks. Entitled España Pintoresca, the first volume to be published would be about his own region, Catalonia. The illustrations were newly based on the daguerrotype which had been introduced into Spain in 1839. The engraving process had been refined and the results were more spontaneous than before because more nuance and tone could be captured.⁴⁷ In comparison, Pi's romantic descriptions seemed more conservative than the illustrations.⁴⁸

In 1848, upon the death of Piferrer, who had been contributing similar architectural descriptions to another, more extensive illustrated series, Recuerdos y Bellezas de

España, Pi was asked to continue the monumental task. He completed the unfinished manuscript for the second volume on Catalonia, again submitting essays in a Romantic style no different from his predecessor's.⁴⁹

For a second time Pi's collaboration in one enterprise led to his nomination for another. In 1851 he was asked to produce a History of Painting. But by this time he had completely changed his aesthetic notions and florid style. In the very first paragraphs of the introduction to the history his radical concepts and denunciations shocked the very readers who had been subscribers and advocates of the España Pintoresca and Recuerdos y Bellezas publications. Using heated words he attacked the artists of his day who chose their material from the past and avoided all reference to the present:

Our artists, especially the painters, have enclosed themselves in a circle, the circumference of which they do not break except rarely with a certain timidity and lack of confidence. They do not find sources of information except in history; and as if they did not have their own lives, they ceaselessly reproduce the creation of other centuries, imitating them in expression, in form, in style. Those who have never left our region, have made themselves slaves of our ancient school; those who go to study art under the Italian sun, have come to sit on the spoils of a society already dead, the mystical-purist school of the Middle Ages, an epoch that is separated from us by four centuries of doubt, two centuries of indifference, one century of revolutions. Up to now, some of them have not known how to be painters of their own time. . . the complaints of humanity have resounded everywhere; but our artists, or so it seems, have eyes that do not see, ears that do not hear. . . Artists: you who sincerely esteem art, close before you the doors of the past. . .

follow the singers of your century. Take away the background from the miseries of the towns and make them appear on the surface so that they may tremble before their own work. . . . If you paint no more than the present, you will be recognized as artists of the nineteenth century; if you encompass more, to include the future within the circle of your productions, you will be eternally considered artists and precursors...⁵⁰

He was not only ready to criticize the retrospective artists; he wished to determine what the ideological program of their art should be:

a reflection of man [which] varies with the centuries. projects a facsimile of all the political and social revolutions, determines the character of the times through which it passes, is entrusted with the aspirations of the society in which it lives. . . . [art] walks with humanity, sings with it: the triumphs of law over force, liberty over slavery, intelligence and virtue over ignorance and vice. . . .⁵¹

Such words, written in 1851, were ahead of their time not only in Spain. They coincided with the declamations of Courbet, Champfleury, Castagnary and Proudhon in the same decade.⁵² Only a few years later they would become the central issue of the Catalan Realist painters. Martí Alsina rarely dealt with themes of the idealized past or the Christian religion, choosing instead to concentrate on his own times in his own region. He also taught his many pupils to paint the here and now that was directly before them in Catalonia's landscapes and cityscapes.

The pronouncements of Pi y Margall were strongly echoed in the keynote speech given by Martí Alsina in 1863 at the Academy of Fine Arts to an audience of students who were there for the distribution of annual prizes. Also in attendance were the Romantic Nazarenes, Claudio Lorenzale and Manuel Milá y Fontanals, who must have been jolted by Alsina's message of art's contemporaneity as they had been by Pi's similar exclamations, written twelve years before. Alsina emphasized throughout that the painter was "an artist of light," dedicated to the present and to the representation of the present, one whose art "fundamentally treated the nature of man." He observed that the painter followed man's sensations, impressions and deeds in order to transfer them to the canvas:

The artist is with you; he sees, he feels, he endeavors with you; he is gladdened by your pleasures and cries because of your tears. . . . What more has this artist done than to live with all of you on your streets, in your houses, in your palaces, alternating with both the frank and the dishonest man, observing modesty as well as pride, examining the hypocrite, hearing your voices, your outcries, your shouts of pleasure and of agony, walking among your battles, exalting in your religious aspirations, suffering for the victims, engaging in the chaos of your politics, receiving with you the influences of Philosophy, suffering with you the eternal struggle between good and bad? The artist comes from you, from your senses, from your understanding, from your judgments, from your soul, from your life; it is only that the fire that animates the human being and the breath that moves him, and the force that impells him are in their most [heightened] vigor in [the artist].⁵³

In the first chapter of The History of Art, which examined the art of the Middle Ages, Pi's emphatically

negative religious views made their appearance. Since the publication's subscribers included bishops, it soon received official prohibition.⁵⁴ He condemned Jesus Christ and his doctrines, the church and its work and the influence of Christian ideals.⁵⁵ Having once studied German philosophy, Pi had accepted an ideology tied closely to Hegel. He had abandoned orthodox Christian faith in order to examine it rationally and pantheistically.⁵⁶ He adopted Hegel's view of reality as a dynamic process of conflicting impulses and interests rather than as a reflection of static ideals. Again, such unorthodox reasoning, to the transcendently motivated group headed by Manuel Milá, must have caused palpitations. And when Pi exclaimed that it is a "selfish society that escapes into the past in order not to contemplate the wounds of the present,"⁵⁷ he must have deeply insulted them. They had been the unselfish preservers and defenders of Catalonia; now they were being charged with a lack of concern.

When Pi discussed art as seen through the temperament of the artist he came upon an interpretation ahead of its time, one that is very close to Emile Zola's later concept used to describe the art of Edouard Manet:

[art] is the manifestation of the mysterious harmonies that flow on the general surface of the earth. It is not the reproduction nor the imitation of nature: it is embodied in the essences that surround it but it does not reproduce them nor imitate them; it creates them, it gives them a new existence, imparting to them the

impressions, the sensations and the sentiments of the artist. . . We find ourselves, therefore, very far from "art for art's sake." 58

Francisco Pi y Margall's brother, Joaquín, was an important engraver who also concerned himself with the role of contemporary art.⁵⁹ In the revolutionary year of 1868, Joaquín made a significant speech before the Academy of Fine Arts at the end of which he faulted current art for not responding to the needs of the present:

For a new generation--new art. Our epoch requires something useful, instructional or moral along with the diversion that art can produce.⁶⁰

He was totally against the large Academic compositions that he felt "signified nothing and customarily carried extravagant titles." However, he did acknowledge that the last official exhibition had taken a decisive step against such works when it recognized and bestowed a gold medal upon a landscape--a simple and daily life scene that was so different from the usual award winners. Fontbona sees this moment as a testimony of generalized uneasiness felt in sectors of the Catalan Academic art world, uneasiness already so pronounced that it was able to seek the example of Courbet. Although a foreigner, Courbet had become very popular in Catalonia, ironically because the newspaper, Campana de Gràcia, had dedicated first page coverage to him

in one issue when it had erroneously believed that the famous French Realist had died.⁶¹

There were not too many voices of protest heard from pro-Realist advocates until the period of the Restoration. One other has been included although his name remains unknown. In 1872 this anonymous art theorist continued and amplified the concept of art's function. In La Federación he noted that:

Art has as an objective: to present to us in the form of images what morality tells us in commandments. . . . Art will have to have true, real and natural form and the rightful idea that leads. . . to the elevation of all that is useful and equitable.⁶²

Martí Alsina was not alone in his defence of the form and content of Realism. Although only a few writers concerned themselves with an art that went against the established norms of Catalan Romanticism, their words did reach an audience that would soon change its emphasis on Catalonia's past to the immediate present. Alsina would add to the success of Realism as he, too, made speeches, wrote articles, trained pupils and, of course, produced innumerable works of Realist art.

In order to understand the radicalism of Martí Alsina's Realism one has to be aware of the entrenched and opposing characteristics of the reigning Nazarene School. Its

leaders emphasized the representation of religious and historical events permeated by the idealized and spiritualized atmosphere of the Middle Ages and insisted upon Neo-Classic forms and subject matter. Alsina dared to emphasize contemporary country folk, country ways, local land, sea and urban views and to insist upon direct contact with and objective treatment of his subject matter. The aesthetic texts of the Romantic Nazarenes have been analyzed and compared to Realist concepts. Now it is their practice that will be investigated: their background, artistic style and impact upon Barcelona's academic world and art-buying public.

Claudio Lorenzale (1815-1889) was the most characteristic of the Catalan Nazarene artists,⁶³ "having all the defects and qualities of the School of Overbeck"⁶⁴ and having unhesitatingly submitted to the cold, idealizing canons and color of that School.⁶⁵ Born to an Italian father and a Spanish mother, Lorenzale began his artistic studies in Murcia in 1828 and continued in the School of Lonja from 1830. Although little is known about his life in those years,⁶⁶ his successes in competitions are documented. In 1832 and 1837 he won prizes at Lonja for some of his paintings.⁶⁷ However, the 1837 prize was not accompanied by the expected award of the pensión to study in Italy for which his father then had to pay.⁶⁸

In Rome from 1837 to 1841, he studied with the Germans and copied the Italian primitives, especially Giotto, filling notebooks with his sketches. For him, Giotto, Masaccio, Monaco, Lorenzetti, Fra Angelico, Perugino, Raphael and Leonardo were the fundamental artists of expression and simplicity.⁶⁹ He traveled throughout Italy, searching for the true medieval spirit of many towns and monuments. Upon his return he would repeat those sojourns throughout Spain with the same intent, visiting Madrid, Burgos, Segovia, Toledo, Cordoba, Granada and Seville.

Although the Catalans were fully indoctrinated while in Rome, the strong attachment to Nazarene purism did lessen somewhat once they were back in Barcelona. At first Lorenzale embodied the Nazarene spirit even in his physical appearance. In a self-portrait of 1840 (Fig. 1), he reflected their pose and dress. In another self-portrait, made three years later, he was to choose the daily wear of contemporary Barcelona (Fig. 2).⁷⁰ The Nazarene program of large and ambitious historical, allegorical and religious paintings also underwent change. Such works were shown in 1844 at the first important art exhibition ever held in Barcelona.⁷¹ They were mainly restricted to obligatory works of the pensionados in Rome and to certain official commissions. However, they were soon superseded by smaller canvases of portraits which could more easily be sold to the well-to-do bourgeoisie for the decoration of their homes.⁷²

The Nazarenes had to bow to supply and demand as far as individual patrons were concerned. They had to await government and ecclesiastical commissions to be able to produce their preferred large historical and religious scenes.

Lorenzale was appointed "supernumerary professor" at Lonja in 1840. He was pensioned in Toledo and Madrid by the Junta de Comercio from 1842 to 1843 where he carried out sketching projects similar to those in Rome. At that time he also accepted positions of "supernumerary academician" at San Fernando in Madrid and at San Luis in Saragossa.

Having returned to Barcelona in 1844, he obtained the position of professor of color and composition at Lonja. In 1845 he founded an independent school of Nazarene art and transferred its doctrines to the Academy in 1851 when he became a professor of painting. In 1857 he was named professor of drawing from the antique and from the natural.⁷³ As its director from 1858 to 1885 he continued to influence many students, among them, Mariano Fortuny. A favorite pupil of Lorenzale, Fortuny painted along Nazarene lines at the beginning of his career.⁷⁴ Joseph Phillip Cervera deduces that, as the director of the prestigious Barcelona Academy, Lorenzale "was in the unique position of being able to keep Nazarene art alive on Spanish soil as the official style."⁷⁵

As a teacher Lorenzale was extremely devoted and perhaps even more successful in that capacity than as an artist.⁷⁶ Bertrán d'Amat, a contemporary critic who personally knew Lorenzale and Pablo Milá, revealed that both "were like fathers to their students; their houses and their wallets were open to all."⁷⁷ D'Amat heard from students that Lorenzale contributed more than anyone to their formation. His pedagogy included practical as well as technical instruction for achieving correct drawing, clear and harmonious composition without monotony and natural likeness without prejudicing the ideal.⁷⁸ He proclaimed the necessity of studying both nature and the antique. He carried out not only educational but civic projects. For example, in 1861 he proposed that the collections of the Academy be opened as a museum to the public.⁷⁹

The majority of Lorenzale's paintings were religious or historical themes, mainly "medievalized." In Italy, the German Nazarenes had emphasized an artistic re-evaluation of the Middle Ages; thereafter, the Catalan Nazarenes continued this re-evaluation, substituting an exaltation of their own medieval past. An important example of the "new mythology"⁸⁰ was Lorenzale's Creation of the Coat of Arms of Barcelona, in 1843, which depicted the legendary formation of the shield (Fig. 3). The Milá brothers, whose group often influenced painters in their choice of themes, termed this the most poetic, national or Barcelonian example.⁸¹

Using clear, concise gestures and almost frozen postures, the artist has his secondary figures lead up to center stage where the main event takes place, an event which could have been painted in the fourteenth or fifteenth as well as in the nineteenth century. This work contains the essential characteristics of Lorenzale's aesthetic. In the words of José Gudiol, it embodied "the idea of art as a mystical exercise, the predominance of drawing, the gently decorative tendency and the taste for compositions subjected to a theme with a pretension of an extra-pictorial message."⁸² Similarly, Saint Barbara (Fig. 4), whose dress and attributes and whose upward glance and contrapposto stance are reminiscent of countless Italian versions as well as Goya-inspired types, is stylistically traditional. Not every painting of Lorenzale is strictly Nazarene in spirit but his technique is more sculptural--or more academic--than painterly. His so-called Shepherd (Fig. 5), seated on the rocks in a landscape, could be the well-modelled classic body of a Renaissance-inspired saint or mythological god.

Of the four allegorical female figures representing the seasons, Winter (Fig. 6), hiding behind thick, flowing draperies, best represents the linear, mystical bent of Lorenzale's Nazarenism or anti-naturalism. In Portrait of a Woman (Fig. 7), the linearity and idealized simplicity--indeed, the starkness--of the pose, the dress and the facial expression of this person harken back to Overbeck.

The latter's Vittoria Caldoni of 1821, for example, could be her not-too-distant relative (Fig. 8).⁸³

In Portrait of the Family of the Artist (Fig. 9), he presents his wife and two children in the coziness of their home. His wife's warm, unidealized facial expression and the sleeping baby's totally relaxed body contrast markedly with their other son's faraway look, adult-like costume and contrived pose. Lorenzale is here between two worlds of form and content. As the century progressed, Nazarenism and Academicism did become diluted before they disappeared, even in the staunchest of followers. The emergence of competing naturalist painters and a buying public interested in their production would eventually be the primary cause for their demise.⁸⁴

Another member of the "spiritual delegation from Catalonia"⁸⁵ who trained under Overbeck and who became a follower of Nazarene art and theory was Pablo Milá y Fontanals (1810-1885). At the age of twenty two, he was the student leader of the Catalan artists in Rome, encouraging their contact with artistic German Romanticism and later influencing their involvement in aesthetic, philosophical and literary concomitants of the movement within the wider developing Catalanismo in Barcelona.⁸⁶

Awarded a stipend to study and paint in Rome, Milá lived there from 1832 until 1840. His principal instruction was with Overbeck and Minardi with whom he maintained contact all his life. He traveled beyond the capital to copy pre-Renaissance images, valuing Giotto and his contemporaries for their particular and, at the same time, national art.⁸⁷ He returned to Barcelona, converted into a theoretician of painting, a veritable apostle of the romantic purism of Nazarene art, "the Catalan Ruskin."⁸⁸ He became a professor of theory and art history at the Academy of Fine Arts, carrying out a role parallel to that of his brother, Manuel, professor of literary history. Both emphasized Catalonia's glorious medieval past and the need to preserve it through the conservation of its monuments and through painting and literature. At the moment Barcelona seemed to them "a lost territory, but possible to rescue."⁸⁹ Unfortunately, according to Menéndez Pelayo, who witnessed such negative activity: "For each vulgar and prosaic building that is raised in these years, it is certain that a dozen were destroyed that were true artistic jewels."⁹⁰

Pablo Milá's active membership in the provincial Commission of Monuments,⁹¹ his frequent contributions to periodicals--particularly an article about Giotto⁹²--and to intellectual clubs, such as the Ateneo Catalan--particularly his speeches about Greek art, Overbeck's paintings⁹³ and

"The excellence of Gothic architecture in its application to Christian art"--are examples of his fervent role as cultural propagandist of his region.⁹⁴ It is said that just before dying, he was still engaged in artistic rescue missions; he was dictating a list of monuments that he had seen disappear with the intent of alerting the public to prohibit further devastation.⁹⁵

Apart from copies made from pre-Renaissance works, Milá's paintings were few and the majority of them has disappeared.⁹⁶ Whenever writers do mention the subject matter of his production, they refer to themes from the Bible or from classic literature (Fig. 10).

Milá's most highly considered accomplishments in art corresponded to his tenure at the Academy of Fine Arts. The triumverate of leadership there consisted of Lorenzale, Luis Rigalt, the Romantic landscape painter, and himself. An artist in attendance at the school summarized: "Milá teaches with the word, Lorenzale with the pencil."⁹⁷ The presence of the three motivated other professors to better their own performance in a school which had previously seen a loss of commitment.⁹⁸

As was customary, in order to qualify for a professorship, Pablo Milá had to enter a state examination or oposición, against other candidates. From 1851 until

1856 he taught his class, officially entitled: "Theory and history of the fine arts, costumes and customs of the diverse towns." Bertrán d'Amat learned from students that Milá not only lectured on the works of great artists but that he also provided a total picture of international culture and civilization by, among other activities, reading Biblical texts, reciting from the classics and giving his observations on music, finding in all the humanities common elements of beauty and morality. He taught that lines, forms, colors and movements expressed ideas that, combined in the human figure, reflected the entire soul.⁹⁹ His interdisciplinary concept seemed central to his pedagogy.¹⁰⁰ However, his main aim was to implant and develop romantic doctrines impelled by his two most profound sentiments: religion and the love of his region.¹⁰¹

Beauty was the goal of this art, but beauty that was idealized.¹⁰² And idealized beauty also contained the facets of majesty, solemnity and sublimity. Like Overbeck, he was convinced that "Nature cools."¹⁰³ Therefore, nature by itself, as it appeared unadorned by the artist, could not be the goal of art.

Milá's classes did not generally attract would-be aspiring artists. Rather, they were more like adult education courses of today which motivated adults from all walks of life attended to add certain fields to their

knowledge. Bertrán d'Amat described the teacher's rapport with these students:

In order to form an idea of what the teachings of Don Pablo Milá were, it is necessary to remember the state of ignorance. . . about the plastic arts that existed in this capital when [his teachings] began. . . His speech was easy, animated and picturesque. . . His real pupils were not lawyers, nor artists with an academic title, nor publicists nor professors from the University. A young carpenter. . . employees in the mechanical arts. . . sons of other painters. . . With these and others, generally of similar preparatory education, Milá and Lorenzale formed the artists who afterwards have been called Fortuny and Caba, the Vallmitjana brothers. . . and other renowned names. Most of these youths were going to learn drawing at La Lonja as a trade or as an aid to some mechanical profession. . . The greatest good that Milá and Lorenzale produced, was to extend the horizons of the artistic sphere of this capital.¹⁰⁴

Another contemporary documented the achievement of Milá as professor and mentor:

"I am not eloquent," he said to his pupils the first day; "I will explain with simplicity all that I have read or heard from illustrious artists, wise men whom I had the honor to know or study." Of course he won the hearts of his pupils, offering them his home, his advice, books and prints, and outside of class, his friendship. . . When these young pupils had acquired a certain level of instruction and they knew the diverse pictorial schools. . . he reunited them in a type of academy in which he proposed a monthly theme that the students developed in sketches, presenting and criticizing each without knowing the author.¹⁰⁵

His official teaching lasted only six years because he resigned his professorship after a dispute that took place at the Academy. In an inflammatory speech that he presented

there, he voiced harsh opinions against the exigencies of the court in Madrid. There happened to be in the audience an artist of the court who had been expressly sent by the central government to inspect the Academy.¹⁰⁶ Once Milá ended his academic teaching, he gave private lessons. Manuel Benach Torrents colorfully described such lessons as those "which were to bring forth much diversion, in order to end up with cudgel blows with the realists, in the moonlight and in the shadow of the Cathedral of Barcelona."¹⁰⁷ Now that Milá's artistic theory and practice have been examined, it is not difficult to imagine such a confrontation between his Romantic Nazarenism and the Realism of Martí Alsina and of his similarly motivated contemporaries. There will also be a logical confrontation between Catalan Romantic landscape painting--strongly influenced as it was by Nazarenism--and Realist landscape painting that was to follow. This development will occupy the next chapter.

Notes to Part III, Chapter I

1. Cervera, op. cit., p. VII-VIII.
2. Ibid., p. 36.
3. Federico Marés Deulovol, Dos Siglos de Enseñanza en el Principado, Barcelona, 1964, p. 39.
4. See César Martinell, La Escuela de la Lonja en la Vida Artística Barcelonesa, Barcelona, 1951, pp. 1-5, 13-17, and Marés, op. cit., pp. 31-33, for an account of antecedents of this school from 1680-1775, including the first guild workshops, the later private academic-type studios of the sculptor Lázaro Tramulles and painters Antonio Viladomat and Manuel and Francisco Tramulles as well as the relationship between artists and apprentices then.
5. Martinell, op. cit., p. 23. See Santiago Alcolea, "La pintura en Barcelona durante el siglo XVIII," Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona, Vols. XIV, 1959-1960, and XV, 1961-1962, pp. 272-276, for a discussion of the teachers of each discipline.
6. See Marés, op. cit., pp. 31-38, for a description of the School of Lonja under the direction of Moles.
7. See Luis Bordas, Memoria Acerca de la Erección y Progresos de la Junta de Comercio de Cataluña, Barcelona, 1837, pp. 38-39, for complete listings of such artists.
8. Marés, op. cit., p. 40.
9. Bordas, op. cit., p. VII.
10. Ibid., p. X.
11. Marés, op. cit., p. 103. Quoted from Bordas.
12. Bordas, op. cit., pp. 42-43.
13. Marés, op. cit., p. 107.

14. Fontbona, op. cit., p. 102. The first sentence is quoted by the author in the original Spanish from volume II, p. 12 of Olivera's treatise; the second sentence is paraphrased by him in Catalan from the same treatise. The page is not given. The author reproduces an illustration from the treatise in which the reixeta appears. See p. 101.
15. Idem. See this for the Neo-Classic themes painted as admission pieces to the Academy of Rome, such as scenes of Minerva, Dido, Pandora, Caligula, Horatii, Ulysses, Cato, Moses, Abraham, Absalom and Samuel.
16. Marés, op. cit., p. 106. Solá enjoyed many triumphs in Rome. He was named president of the Circle of Saint Luke, a distinction that not many Spaniards earned.
17. Because of the limits of this study only Lorenzale and Milá y Fontanals will be discussed. They are considered the main followers of the Nazarenes and they carried out their full careers in Barcelona as exponents of the style. See Jardí, op. cit., pp. 136-137; Alcolea, op. cit., p. 277; Fontbona, op. cit., pp. 86, 88, 103, 112, and 187, for considerations of Joaquín Espalter (1811-1880), Francisco Cerdá (1814-1881) and Pelegrín Clavé (1811-1880), who, while they studied in Rome with Lorenzale and Milá and adopted the Romantic-Nazarene principles there, spent their productive years in Madrid or Mexico. See also Fontbona, p. 101, for a discussion of Jaime Battle Mir (1801-1865) whom he considers, along with Lorenzale, the most prestigious painter of Nazarenism. See also Jardí, op. cit., pp. 136-137, for a discussion of José Arrau y Barba (1802-1872), a doctor of science, whose work on the theory of colors rivaled in quality his output of paintings.
18. Vicent Maestre, "El Primer Romanticisme artístic a Barcelona: el retorn a 'el medieval,'" Daedalus, I, 1979, p. 49.
19. Ibid., pp. 49, 52.
20. Ibid., p. 51.

21. Fontbona, op. cit., p. 104.
22. Overbeck's aesthetic doctrines were in turn influenced by the Schlegels whom the Catalans also knew. See Maestre, op. cit., pp. 49, 51.
23. See Bertrán d'Amat, Del Origen y Doctrinas de la Escuela Romántica y de la participación que tuvieron en el adelanto de las Bellas Artes en Barcelona, los señores don Manuel Milá y Fontanals y D. Claudio Lorenzale, Barcelona, 1891, pp. 48-49, and Fontbona, op. cit., p. 104, who quotes him.
24. Ibid., p. 102, and Joaquín Folch y Torres, El Pintor Martí i Alsina, Barcelona, 1934, p. 34.
25. Fontbona, op. cit., pp. 100, 112.
26. Quoted in Ráfols, El Arte Romántico, p. 62.
27. Maestre, op. cit., pp. 45-48, 51. See also p. 43, where the author emphasizes that the art and the Romantic society of Barcelona were intimately related then.
28. See Vives, Industrials i Polítics, pp. 195-205, where the groups of intellectuals are divided into three generations: the Romantic, the Floral Games and the Renaissance generations.
29. Menéndez Pelayo, op. cit., p. 162.
30. In El Europeo, the newspaper of sciences, arts and literature, 1823-1824, Aribau and other collaborators reported the past history of Catalonia as well as the current romantic tendencies that were circulating in Europe at the time. Aribau also published in El Europeo in 1824 "Estética. Teoría de Schiller sobre la causa del placer que excitan en nosotros las emociones trágicas." See Maestre, op. cit., pp. 43-44.
31. Menéndez Pelayo, op. cit., pp. 150-151.
32. Montoliu, op. cit., p. 48.
33. Medina, op. cit., pp. 20, 21.

34. Montoliu, op. cit., p. 48. See also Medina, op. cit., pp. 23-24, for a brief survey of the scientific inventions and their application to literary production. See p. 25 for the Spaniards' first reaction to positivism.
35. The very modest author did not sign his name to the book. Alexandre Cirici Pellicer, "Los nazareños catalanes y sus dibujos en el Museo de Arte Moderno," Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona, Vol. III, Barcelona, 1945, p. 19, bases his attribution of this text to Milá on the Prologue of the 1904 edition. There are many subjects contained in the couplets of this book, among which are: the meaning and conditions of art, the absence of art, morality, love, simplicity, truth, materialism, sculpture, painting, music, poetry and the role of the artist.
36. Translated from the Catalan couplets quoted in M. Benach Torrents' Pablo Milá y Fontanals, gran figura del romanticismo catalán, Vilafranca del Penedes, 1958, where an extensive collection is included.
37. Medina, op. cit., p. 330.
38. Menéndez Pelayo's edition of Milá's Estética, Obras Completas I, Barcelona, 1880, pp. 94, 107, respectively.
39. Medina, op. cit., p. 331.
40. Francisco Parcerisa and Pablo Piferrer, Recuerdos y Bellezas de España, Barcelona, 1839, Introduction to Mallorca, Volume III, p. 4. See other examples of Piferrer's writings in Maestre, op. cit., pp. 54-56.
41. Quoted in Maestre, op. cit., p. 56, from La Civilización, Volume I, pp. 471-474.
42. The aesthetics were further elucidated in Pablo's two articles on Giotto which he wrote in a Madrid magazine, El Renacimiento. See Maestre, op. cit., p. 56.

43. José de Manjarres, another theorizer of "modern" art connected with the European currents of the moment, is introduced by Maestre, "Idees i pintura a la segona meitat del segle XIX," L'Avenç, 1978, p. 71.
44. These are Vives, Maestre and Fontbona whose contributions will be noted where appropriate.
45. Vives, Industrials i Polítics, p. 417.
46. Ibid.
47. Fontbona, op. cit., p. 93.
48. Vives, Industrials i Polítics, p. 418.
49. See Chapter II of this section for a discussion with examples of Piferrer's style.
50. Maestre, "Idees i pintura a la segona meitat del segle XIX," pp. 72-73.
51. Ibid., pp. 71-72.
52. Linda Nochlin, Realism and Tradition: Sources and Documents, New Jersey, 1966: Courbet, "The Realist Manifesto," 1855, p. 34; Champfleury, "A Letter to Madame Sand about Courbet," 1855, p. 38; Castagnary, "The Importance of Courbet," 1863, pp. 47-48; Proudhon, "The Aim of Art," 1865, pp. 50-51.
53. Ramón Martí Alsina, "Los Orígenes Naturales Del Arte," Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona, 1944. This is the complete text of the speech of November 8, 1863, presented to the students of the Academy who won prizes in the state examination.
54. Vives, Industrials i Polítics, p. 419. See also Ráfols, El Arte Romántico, p. 178, who adds that Parcerisa and many of the subscribers felt that Pi should no longer be involved in Recuerdos y Bellezas de España since he attacked its "romantic traditionalist character."
55. Vives, Industrials i Polítics, p. 419.

56. Idem.
57. Maestre, "Idees i pintura a la segona meitat del segle XIX," p. 73.
58. Idem. The author wishes to show that Alsina's Realism developed apart from--perhaps earlier than--Courbet's. He points out that Courbet did not acclaim his social Realism: "I am objective and subjective; I make my synthesis" until 1861.
59. Fontbona, op. cit., pp. 136, 138.
60. Ibid., p. 136.
61. Ibid., p. 138.
62. Idem.
63. Maestre, p. 43, feels that Lorenzale might have possessed the most representative characteristics but not the highest qualities of the group.
64. Galerías Layetanas, Cent Anys de Retrat Femení en la Pintura, Barcelona, 1933, p. 49.
65. Gran Enciclopedia Catalana, Vol. 9., Barcelona, 1976, p. 360.
66. Maestre, "El Primer Romanticisme artistic a Barcelona: el retorn a 'el medieval,'" p. 49.
67. Idem. See this for the biblical theme painted by Lorenzale in the category of "violent deaths."
68. See Marés, op. cit., p. 114, for the report of Lorenzale's mother's plea on behalf of her son as a candidate for one of the three pensiones in Rome that year.
69. Maestre, "El Primer Romanticisme artistic a Barcelona: el retorn a 'el medieval,'" pp. 53, 56. The author includes many of Lorenzale's notebook drawings made during his trips throughout Italy and Spain. The medieval buildings and elongated flat figures, rendered in authentic medieval dress, indicate the artist's inspirations throughout his career.

70. Fontbona, op. cit., pp 107, 112.
71. Ibid., p. 112. Organized by the Junta de Comercio, this was a general exposition of Spanish industry in which the fine arts were well represented. Included with Lorenzale were Milá, Cerdá and Clave.
72. Ibid., p. 125.
73. Gran Enciclopedia Catalana, op. cit., p. 360.
74. Fontbona, op. cit., p. 196.
75. Cervera, op. cit., p. 38.
76. Bertrán d'Amat, op. cit., p. 96. Garrut, op. cit., p. 61, also deduces this from the number and quality of Lorenzale's students.
77. Bertrán d'Amat, op. cit., p. 101. The book is valuable because it is written from personal experience and wide artistic contacts in Catalonia. For example, the author knew that Lorenzale never charged Fortuny for lessons and even found ways for the struggling Fortuny to earn money.
78. Ibid., p. 93.
79. Gran Enciclopedia Catalana, op. cit., p. 360.
80. Fontbona, op. cit., p. 106.
81. Idem. See Garrut, op. cit., p. 58, for an illustration of a similarly disposed and enacted historical scene, Ramon Berenguer IV and Dona Petronila. See Cervera, op. cit., p. 271, for the longer, more descriptive title: The Death of Wilfredo at Pilos, and the Origen of the Escutcheon of Catalonia.
82. Guidiol, op. cit., p. 88.
83. See Richard Brettell and Carolyn B. Brettell, Painters and Peasants in the Nineteenth Century, New York, 1983, pp. 18-19, for a description and reproduction of the work.

84. Garrut, op. cit., p. 105.
85. Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 30.
86. Alcolea, op. cit., p. 276, adds that Milá created small discussion groups among his friends in the Catalan intelligentsia, influencing literary and political movements. Benach Torrents, op. cit., p. 3, mentions an unedited novel by the painter José Arrau that describes the atmosphere in Rome at the time. This novel was read by Cirici Pellicer and its contents used for his study, "Los nazareños catalanes y sus dibujos en el Museo de Arte Moderno," where the novel is kept.
87. Fontbona, op. cit., p. 104.
88. Cervera, op. cit., p. 37.
89. Benach Torrents, op. cit., p. 4.
90. Idem. The author quotes Menéndez Pelayo, the leader in the field of critical literary analysis after the generation of the Milá brothers.
91. This commission will be further discussed in this section in the chapter on romantic landscape.
92. Cirici Pellicer, op. cit., p. 18, notes that Milá's article on Giotto came at a time in Catalonia when no one remembered those who preceded Raphael.
93. Idem. The author writes that: "The fidelity of Milá to Nazarenism was prolonged throughout his entire life. In the eighth decade of the nineteenth century he was still placing Greek art at the top of plastic form and that of Overbeck at the [top] of content." See Fontbona, op. cit., p. 102, and Maestre, "El Primer Romanticismo artístico a Barcelona: el return a 'el medieval,'" p. 56, for Manuel's scholarship on the purist school.
94. Garrut, op. cit., p. 64. In a discussion of Milá, the author brings up the name of a Nazarene painter, Francisco Santacana, who, also in the middle of the nineteenth century, was extremely sensitive to the destruction of important monuments. He gathered together many of the

treasures that others had scorned: Romanesque and Gothic pieces from ruined convents and palaces, reliefs containing mythological themes or portraits and much ceramic work. With time he converted his house in Martorell into a museum, later acquired by the Provincial Deputation of Barcelona.

95. Idem.
96. Ibid., p. 60. Garrut mentions an Annunciation carried out for the bishop of Barcelona for the chapel of his palace. Jardí, op. cit., p. 137, notes some drawings inspired by the Divine Comedy and Benach Torrents, op. cit., p. 22, writes that all the known works were dated before 1850. He lists a Virgin and Child in the Byzantine style, an angel with a crown of thorns, The Assumption of Mary and six paintings of the history of Catalonia, among others, in "a true arsenal of works."
97. Quoted in Benach Torrents, op. cit., p. 11.
98. Fontbona, op. cit., p. 112. The author adds that this was the case of Dr. Jerónimo Faraudo, who was to occupy the chair of anatomy, the assignment that Solá in Rome proved was losing vigor excessively in past years. Faraudo based his work on a premise that announced Realism: ". . . beauty. . . consists of the representation of truth whose only copy is nature." Ironically, this view was the opposite of that held by Milá.
99. Bertrán d'Amat, op. cit., pp. 46, 78.
100. Fontbona, op. cit., p. 112.
101. Benach Torrents, op. cit., p. 9.
102. Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 44, presents here a typically worded artistic analysis of the 1920s in Spanish art historical scholarship: ". . . the complex precept of Pablo. . . is like a class of innocent pharmacology. There all the relationships and elements of beauty are classified and divided into miniscule doses, and one could say that the creation of the beautiful work is like a chemical

compound in which, with the diverse ingredients that mediate, can produce actions and reactions."

103. Cirici Pellicer, op. cit., pp. 15-16.
104. Bertrán d'Amat, op. cit., pp. 80-82.
105. Ibid., pp. 82-83, and Benach Torrents, op. cit., p. 10. Both quote from an article written by a Sr. Ribó, the source not given.
106. Ibid., p. 86; Jardí, op. cit., p. 137; and Fontbona, op. cit., p. 107.
107. Benach Torrents, op. cit., p. 19. The author's statement is meant to convey the battles between the two opposing groups of aestheticians and artists. The Cathedral of Barcelona--the Gothic structure that symbolized the retrospective spirit of the Romantic Nazarenes--would be an appropriate site for such battles.

Chapter II

The Romantic Landscapists

Landscape painting had never been favored in Spain, or, specifically, in Catalonia. To borrow the words of Bernardino de Pantorba:

. . . the authors of figure paintings--religious and historical compositions, portraits, scenes of customs--were in Spain much more numerous than those dedicated to landscape, a genre. . . somewhat disparaged and therefore, much poorer.¹

The root of nineteenth century Catalan landscape painting lay in a regional desire to record the traces of its medieval past. A direct catalyst for this was the aftermath of the Revolution of 1835. At that time many medieval buildings in Barcelona, particularly convents, were burned and their contents destroyed or ruined. The region, which had just begun to recognize its linguistic-cultural heritage, now began to reflect upon the significance of these architectural and artistic losses. A result was the establishment in 1844 of the Commission of Historic and Artistic Monuments of the Province of Barcelona by Isabel II. The Commission had three tasks: to define historic monuments and treasures as priceless, to protect them from further destruction after "the hand of revolution and of greed had passed over many of them and had caused the

disappearance of. . . what had been the glory of the country"² and to save forever the existing precious and fragile relics. To effect this, artists and architects were appointed to serve on the Commission.

Some were to preserve the historic treasures while others were to document them in literary and painted works. The early peripatetic landscapists made comprehensive journeys around Catalonia to study and depict monuments and ruins, especially medieval,³ in their particular physical settings. Of course they observed nature directly but they allowed their vision to be governed, or even altered, by their imagination.⁴ They were strongly influenced by Nazarene aesthetics. However, as Francesc Fontbona has pointed out, since they wished to discover their tangible country and the Nazarenes wished to rediscover their ideal country, these landscapists in effect began a second historicist Romantic school.⁵ This school produced the first specifically Catalan views and were the immediate and only precedents of Martí Alsina's naturalist landscapes.

Francisco Javier Parcerisa (1803-1875), a member of the Barcelona Commission of Historic and Artistic Monuments, was the first of the Romantic landscape artists of Catalonia, known primarily for his numerous lithographs.⁶ His 'landscapes with ruins' were more often imagined and composed than visually perceived. Popular in other European

countries as well, the works of Pannini, Piranesi and Hubert Robert are similar in scope and intent.⁷

Parcerisa had studied in the School of Lonja and had won various prizes there in 1828 and 1829. In his youth he was greatly affected by the descriptions of architecture in Spain by such foreign visitors as Chateaubriand, Baron Taylor⁸ and David Roberts.⁹ He wanted to be involved in a project that would pair critical writings of the most salient of Spain's monuments with detailed accompanying lithographs. This undertaking was difficult but its difficulty was increased because Parcerisa had never before worked in that medium. Moreover, in order to sketch the many monuments to be found throughout twenty eight provinces, he would have to travel at risk within a country engaged in a civil war. Finally, since his public did not yet appreciate such art, he would have to search to find a writer to join him in an activity of doubtful economic success.¹⁰

Recuerdos y Bellezas de España, the ambitious result of thirty three years of Parcerisa's continuous work, were definitive albums of views of interiors and façades of buildings in urban and rural settings throughout Spain. They were based on extensive studies of the complete repertory of each province's architectural treasures. The text by Pablo Piferrer was also a landmark: it contained

the first literary descriptions of Catalan topography, natural and man-made.¹¹ Begun in 1839, the albums were first sold by select subscription.¹² Each was dedicated to a different region beginning with Catalonia.¹³

When Parcerisa was dissatisfied with his first attempt in the first volume, he repeated all the lithographs in a second printing.¹⁴ Unwittingly, he had proven the more successful marketability of lithography over engraving. Although the latter process produced brighter and more precise results, lithography was a cheaper and more rapid means of reproduction.¹⁵

The span of years that was required to complete the encyclopedic project witnessed the artistic growth of Parcerisa. By mid-century the series was half completed and he had already moved from a romantic emphasis on the imaginative and the heroic to one of more marked objectivity or realism.¹⁶ Throughout, his main interest was not nature but the antique buildings,¹⁷ then either in a partially ruined state or in complete destruction, in which case he would consult the archives for past descriptions.¹⁸

Having previously worked alongside his father, painting and drawing "in the manner of medieval artists,"¹⁹ and having once opened a store where he carried out meticulous renditions of flowers and other decorations for laces and

fabrics, Parcerisa's eye was trained to see the smallest details. In the Casa Gralla lithograph (Fig. 11), the entrance archway is quite sumptuously rendered; fluted columns are encrusted with geometric patterns, plant life and figured medallions in bas-relief. Above the lintel is the coat of arms, surrounded by cherubim, cornucopias, fruit and garlands. The three conversing women in the right foreground function only to relieve the horror vacui of the structure behind them and to indicate a sense of scale. In fact, the lithographer was not very concerned with figures, leaving their rendition to an assistant.²⁰

The two monks and the secular gentleman in the now demolished Convent of the Dominicans (Fig. 12) share the same space as those in the Casa Gralla. However, their animated conversation, stressed by gesticulating hand and arm movements, create a narrative that is further emphasized when two other monks eavesdrop from a gallery above. Six soldiers occupy the former Convent of the Franciscans, authentically restored in the lithograph (Fig. 13). Again, the reading soldier on the left in his tilted back chair and the three avidly conversing soldiers in their varied relaxed postures on the right add the category of anecdotalism or costumbrismo to the work.

Most of the time the figures are static and dwarfed by the towering monuments. In the scenes of the Cathedral of

Barcelona, for example, maximum attention is drawn to the vastness and height of the interior with its complex, slender and intricately carved supporting structures, its grillwork, its candelabras, its main altars and various pulpits (Figs. 14, 15, and 16).

When pure landscapes appeared in the series they took the form of idealized and theatrical stage sets. In the General View of Barcelona, seen from the Bridge of Las Vigas on the Horta Road (Fig. 17), the city rises up panoramically in the far background, framed by repoussoirs of stylized trees and plant growth. A vehicle and two horses are led to the left and a man on horseback on the bridge, surrounded by four figures, will soon exit right. San Miguel Del-Fay (Fig. 18) is a majestic fantasy of waterfalls, rocks and botanical gardens. The Hermitage of San Miguel Del-Fay (Fig. 19), which stands amid mighty overhanging cliffs, a waterfall and varied plant life, takes on an air of exoticism rather than one of expected contemplation.²¹

The stylistic progress of the writer of the accompanying text was noted as the volumes multiplied. According to Bertrán d'Amat, Parcerisa had first approached the Milá brothers to write the text but they felt that it was better suited to their poet-critic friend, Piferrer. At the outset, Piferrer did not consider himself competent enough to undertake such a tremendous descriptive

responsibility. Pablo Milá then promised to share his knowlege and provide concrete sources of the plastic arts.²²

In the very first pages on Barcelona in the first volume, Catalonia, the author created an emotional nostalgia for the past, a nostalgia always intensified by frustration with the present:

That Cathedral, those churches, those cloisters, those patios, those ramparts; so many balconies, so many windows of delicate structure. . . . Wherever we may turn our gaze we find remembrances of the most glorious days for the Catalan name. . . . with our souls dejected by the present we enter a wide street more or less straight, around us flutter about a thousand figures who indifferently pass by and vanish in oblique directions of the immense labyrinth. . . .; there creak the wheels of the coach of the powerful man who lives hurriedly, and hurriedly marches to his death; we raise our eyes, and a line of monotonous and almost uniform houses tires them--but between two modern houses perhaps there appears a low cottage with a single window, and that window is Gothic, it is antique! We recover our serenity upon contemplating the freshness of those reliefs; those gracious lines that separate and intermingle forming the rich border around the aperture delight our sight and compensate it for the painful anxiety with which it previously contemplated the modern buildings. . . .²³(Fig. 20)

Piferrer must have gladdened the hearts of his fellow Romantic Nazarenes as he piled up page after page of optimistic looks backward to the ideal past and negative looks forward to the dismal real present. Today such florid nostalgia as is evident in the opening pages of the second volume on Catalonia is judged rhetorical exaggeration.

Historically, however, it is a reminder of the taste of the time:

Now we fulfill our offers, and with the album in your hand we invite you to continue the splendid excursion. Our enthusiasm is as ardent as before; our affection for the souvenirs of our fatherland, greater; and the inclination towards Art has come to be in us the only one to which we would wish to dedicate our existence. The misery of all the present now more than ever takes us to the contemplation of our past glories; and the heart, wounded by the undeceiving and bitter experiences of life, more than ever craves with anxiety that very sweet balm. . . the harmonic spectacle of nature pours forth for the enthusiastic man, forcing him to listen to that immense sound of love in which all sounds are joined. . . Has the saintly flame of enthusiasm and of love for the beautiful and for the antique perhaps cooled in your heart, which so truly we tried to kindle in you during the previous journey? . . . with more arder we will work at the exposition of the past, so that the life and the vigor of the viril and robust age will rekindle your enthusiasm and communicate vigor and life to your soul. And fortunately our good will will be powerfully aided by the material itself; and if all that we admired together in the first trip served you as consolation and honest pleasure, now the interior of Catalonia invites you for more frequent and varied occasions to admire and enjoy. . . (the modern part of it may be) ugly, [artistically] sterile and poor [but]. . . in its abundance [it] opens to you the very rich treasure of its beauties, its monuments and its brilliant historical accounts.²⁴

Throughout the series, each article begins with a short appropriate quotation about Spain's cultural attainments, written by such eminent authors as Miguel de Cervantes and Mariano José de Larra. The capital letter of the first word in each chapter is copied from medieval books stored throughout Catalonia, many found by the collaborators "already half consumed by their old age, and laid aside as useless."²⁵ Within the hundreds of pages of text are poetic

wanderings and thorough lessons on history, geography and customs throughout the Principality of Catalonia which then included Barcelona, Gerona, Tarragona and Lérida. Monuments are enveloped by the effects of nature as sounds, fragrances, textures and colors are evoked:

Now pick up your album; abandon your sheltered room: the occasion is propitious; let us undertake the excursion now for winter is dying. Spring is now serenading the sky: the snows decrease on the mountaintops, which become tinged with green: the brooks lose themselves again under the dense shadow of the flowering brambles: the breezes restore to the woods their harmonies, and to the mountain, its soft echoes: the clouds pass rapidly, and, at intervals, stamp shades of dark color upon the grass of the meadows; and raindrops beneficently adorn the branches or dampen the bosoms of the roses. The hunter leashes his hounds and cleans his arms; the wild goat regains security in the narrow valleys of the Pyrenees. . . The Spring calls all nature to life and nature responds to her with the immense and creative perfume that swells and embalms the air: Will you close your heart to the harmony and to the perfume of the season that invites you? Let us run through the happy surroundings of Llobregat; let us disturb with respect the silence of the cloisters and of the tombs; let us go up to pick the wild flowers that grow on the mouldering tops of walls; let us ask the castles and the villas what those ruins, those windows and those buildings remember.²⁶

There is a perfect stylistic concordance between text and lithograph. Both artist and writer succeeded in paying homage to the Catalonia that was and to the ideology that aimed to keep the memory of that Catalonia alive.

An equally notable cultivator of the academic-romantic Catalan landscape was Luis Rigalt (1814-1894).²⁷ In

keeping with the conventions of his time, he conceptualized nature as a "state of the soul."²⁸

Rigalt was born in Barcelona into a family of artists. His grandfather was a painter and gilder. His uncle was a Neo-Classic architect and a designer of monuments. His father, Pablo, was a famous Neo-Classic landscape painter²⁹ and the first professor of perspective and landscape at the School of Lonja where Luis began his studies. In addition, he was a designer of scenery, a decorator of houses, a portraitist and a history painter. Raimundo Casellas, a critic and personal friend of the Rigalt family, held the opinion that Pablo was "the first or one of the first who was beginning to cultivate landscape as landscape, landscape for its own sake, not as a background for a picture of figures but as a separate genre, independent, as a special branch of painting."³⁰

Although trained in an atmosphere of rigorous Neo-Classicism, the son was soon provoked by the new current of Romanticism which did away with the taste for the classical antique.³¹ Nevertheless, vestiges of the latter style remained in the curriculum. Conservative and stereotyped, lessons omitted nature studies in situ as well as color effects.³² Luis' talent brought forth what his training lacked. Without a background in color, he would capitalize on drawing: values and their subtle gradations.³³

Having traveled to Madrid around 1850, Rigalt would have been acquainted with the popular romantic landscapes of Jénaro Pérez Villaamil (1807-1854), the leading painter of the genre there.³⁴ He probably took some landscape classes that Villaamil was giving at the time at the Academy of San Fernando.³⁵ According to the memoirs of Martín Rico, Villaamil's well-known pupil, the time-honored method consisted simply of the painting of scenes inside the classroom, copying lithographs with pencil, ink and sepia, without anyone, neither teacher nor students, going out-of-doors even to "get oxygen. . . from the countryside."³⁶

Villaamil painted eight thousand oils in twenty two years, or one picture per day, along with a "portentous quantity" of sketches and lithographs.³⁷ Between 1842 and 1850, while in Paris, he published España Artística y Monumental,³⁸ views and descriptions of his country's most memorable sites and buildings (Figs. 67 and 68), following the formula of Parcerisa's Recuerdos y Bellezas de España. Compared with Parcerisa's, many of his images lacked fidelity because they tended toward more spectacular, fantasized panoramas or oversized theatrical settings where the human personality and activity were overshadowed.³⁹

Rigalt was not able to break away from the Romantic models of Villaamil or from the classical Italian landscapes until well into his career.⁴⁰ Another important influence

on him was a man known vaguely as the Swiss painter Robert.⁴¹ Son of the Swiss consul to Barcelona, he supposedly came to that city in 1850 or in 1855.⁴² The friendship that developed between the two was based both on love of art and a similar temperament.⁴³ It was Robert who introduced his friend to Alpine landscape⁴⁴ as well as to general European countrysides. His name often appears in texts that deal with Catalan landscape painting although almost nothing is known about his biography or attributable paintings.

Rigalt solicited employment as a professor in 1840 when he submitted to the Junta of Lonja plans to rebuild the partly destroyed Convent of Santa Catalina.⁴⁵ Coincidentally, a current professor, Jaime Batlle, was to leave for Switzerland and Rigalt was named to replace him. In 1845 he moved into the position that his father had held, that of professor of perspective and landscape. Later on he was to serve as that school's director from 1870 to 1887.⁴⁶

Claudio Lorenzale was Rigalt's colleague at the School of Lonja and then at the Academy from the time of its establishment. Both teachers were quite different in their approaches to their students and to their art. Rigalt's pupil, the draftsman Apelles Mestres, noted the following:

While [Lorenzale] had a preference for more literary themes carried out entirely in the studio, Rigalt. . . already carried the problem to a greater realism, to look for it directly in the natural. . . on

the majority of occasions he took advantage of his drawings [made out-of-doors]; that made the students regard Lorenzale as a man subjected to a past and enfeebled style and Rigalt as a man of the vanguard. . . and looking toward the future.⁴⁷

From the time that he became director of Lonja, Rigalt taught his students to go into the landscape and to sketch in natural surroundings.⁴⁸

Rigalt was sent to Paris in 1855 as part of a commission from Spain charged with installing his country's art works in the International Exhibition there. He surely would have seen the works of Daubigny and Corot; the lessons learned from them are to be found in his drawings which were thereafter considered to have become more spontaneous and atmospheric.⁴⁹

The Royal Academy of San Jorge owns approximately seven hundred drawings of the master. The landscapes among them are small gems of lyricism and warmth. Rigalt no longer needed to emphasize mighty nature; wonderment could be found in isolated sections of meadows (Fig. 21), in spots where water joined with rocks (Figs. 22 and 23), or in corners where the random growth of trees formed pleasing shapes and textures (Figs. 24, 25, and 26).

Since Rigalt's urban drawings were also of a meticulous observation and execution, many areas of Barcelona of the second half of the nineteenth century can now be

reconstructed on the basis of them: the streets, lanes, walls, gardens, structures, especially churches and convents. His renditions included many buildings "condemned to disappear;"⁵⁰ he also previewed some of the first silhouettes of new buildings. He caught the colors and shadows of the quaint alleys and plazas (Figs. 27 and 28); the still proud palace, now fragmented and surrounded by fallen masonry (Fig. 29); and the all-encompassing walls that bound the city, although in part already demolished (Figs. 30 and 31).

The following verse was placed next to a Rigalt drawing of a monastery in a Catalan art history text. It sums up the sadness that resulted from the destruction of architecture:

It was a temple, it was an altar
where weeps the helpless man:
I wept, I passed by again
It was consumed dust
which also made me weep. ⁵¹

These losses were a result not merely of the passage of time, but of specific political and social causes. In 1835 the consequences of the Revolution had moved artists to preserve in paint crumbling or destroyed buildings. In 1859 the plan of ensanche, or the widening of the city by joining suburbs to it, caused radical physical transformations in Barcelona. In 1868 hostilities erupted against the queen;

in 1870 an insurrection took place and in 1872 the third Carlist uprising was fomented and terrorist acts plagued the entire region. By 1875 the city was tired of revolutions and other frenetic outbursts and finally chose renovation during the much needed period of peace, the Restoration. Rigalt's drawings span the negative as well as the dynamically positive periods of Barcelona's life. In their number and variety they form a visual history of an epoch. Fontbona has perceptively explained Rigalt's thematic change on the basis of changes brought about during the Restoration:

During that epoch Rigalt fixes his attention more on natural landscape than on the old monuments that constituted his most frequent subject matter [previously], because in that epoch [of the Restoration] the preservation of historic architecture was no longer an urgent problem, for the country, conscious of the value of those buildings, no longer threatened them with destruction as when the young Rigalt rushed out along the roads of Catalonia to save them.⁵²

In comparison with his freer drawings, Rigalt's oil paintings were relatively conventional, of imaginary or contrived panoramic settings. Yet they do epitomize many of the grandiose vistas and monuments of Catalonia. It is a land of startling contrasts that suddenly appear, almost spectrally, to the uninitiated visitor. One who has climbed the Montserrat mountain is not so suspicious about the veracity of the towering Landscape with Small Castle (Fig. 32), the Landscape with Rocks (Fig. 33), or the gigantic

monolith in another Landscape.⁵³ Upon first contemplation of the sheer majesty of the Landscape with Ruins (Fig. 34), one feels that it is a painted exaggeration. The peasants and their herd of goats almost disappear into the overwhelming totality. Yet when extracted from their surroundings and studied in detail (Figs. 35 and 36), these figures and animals prove to be sensitively and objectively portrayed. They betray the intuitive realist touches that will expand into the predominant concerns of the next generation of landscapists, the generation of Martí Alsina.

Born in Trieste or Venice, Aquiles Battistuzzi (?-1891) was an artist in residence in Barcelona for many years beginning about 1865. Like Parcerisa and Rigalt he specialized in landscapes and cityscapes of the region of Catalonia and like them his art stood between imagination and naturalism. It would be difficult to differentiate his oil paintings of ruins and monuments (Figs. 37, 38, and 39) from theirs. The three men's works are so similar in accuracy of detail and in mild overtones of anecdotalism. And in many of them the tiny staffage figures parade themselves unobtrusively among the impressive architectural stage sets.

In the interior of the Church of Barcelona (Fig. 40), where no participants are present, the partially achieved mood of revery is diminished by a photographic insistence:

the background is detailed as precisely as the foreground. The distant panoramic view of the City and Port of Barcelona (Fig. 41) and a close-up view of the nucleus of a town, with its complex of church and adjacent buildings, set in a hilly landscape (Fig. 42), suggest Battistuzzi's move toward a more relaxed handling of his compositions, achieved by looser brushstrokes, blurrings and atmospheric effects.

In 1877 the artist established in Barcelona a school of perspective and watercolor where he continued the vedute tradition of his origins in the manner of Guardi and Canaletto, thus influencing a second generation of painters and scenographers.

As we have seen, at mid-century the official style and sentiment of history, religious and portrait paintings was Romantic Nazarene purism. Landscapes and cityscapes were depicted in a panoramic Romanticism in transition from a primarily imaginary composition to an incipient direct observation. During the second half of the century, however, the increased realism of Martí Alsina and his followers became the dominant position in Catalan art.⁵⁴ The change was conditioned by economic as well as aesthetic factors. As Catalonia's industrialization increased and its bourgeois class expanded in size and capital, art patronage formerly reserved for the Academy, the salons and the Church moved to ubiquitous private homes. The major paintings of

the first half of the century had been large and intended for the salon, thematically ambitious and technically virtuoso demonstrations. They had been produced primarily as art for art's sake by men who otherwise earned salaries as professors at the School of Lonja and as portraitists of the upper classes.

Many major paintings of fifty and sixty years later were of smaller dimensions, more natural in style and of intimate everyday scenes. They were produced more appropriately for living rooms by men desirous of private commissions.⁵⁵ Twenty years later still, during the Restoration and its Febre d'or prosperity, many major paintings were to become visual reflections of the even greater triumphs and successes achieved by the bourgeoisie. Such paintings were produced to accentuate those patrons' heightened social status through their interior decoration.⁵⁶

If in the preceding generations art was primarily for art's rather than for the artists' sake, the Restoration brought about a professionalism for artists along with the proliferation of their paintings. José Yxart, a contemporary critic, verified that art was no longer "practiced as a mission but as a profession. . . ," but he added that the new status obligated "the artist to follow the general current and to mold himself to its customs."⁵⁷

Martí Alsina's profession corresponded to the new definition of art. But he did not merely follow the general current noted by Yxart; he helped to bring it about. He made sure that his artistic production appealed to the industrialist bourgeoisie by offering Realism as an alternative to the two types of Romanticism still in vogue.

Francesc Fontbona has adroitly linked up the onset of Realism in Catalan painting with the realism of industrialism whose leaders' taste and buying power influenced the art field more than ever before. He noted that at mid-century "the hard-working and competitive bourgeoisie 'consumed' the direct and simple works of a Martí Alsina."⁵⁸ At that time Alsina was certainly the "Catalan Courbet."⁵⁹ His optimistic naturalist style and his contemporary, everyday subject matter stood for the Catalan land and people.

Fontbona then characterized the bourgeoisie of the next generation as "more potent, its collective spirit, more powerful." He correctly asserted that such a society preferred a realism "in which the factors of elegance and distinction were accentuated."⁶⁰ Martí Alsina made sure to direct his later efforts to that type of audience also.

It was in the first phase of his Realism that Alsina made his greatest contribution to Catalan art. His numerous

and varied descriptions of the topography of Catalonia, both in the countryside and in the city, attest to his innovative talent. Once he realized that to paint the out-of-doors meant to work out-of-doors, he became decisively and permanently an observer of nature. He recorded the details of the sites as they appeared to him at a given moment and then as they changed before his eyes.

The proto-Realists--Parcerisa, Rigalt and Battistuzzi--also made accurate on-the-spot recordings. But those were usually restricted to the details of the architectural treasures that they were preserving. The sites that contained them remained imaginary, theatrical--Romantic--places. In order to determine in what ways Martí Alsina achieved the designation of Realist it is instructive to compare his artistic vision and pictorial results with theirs.

For Parcerisa, a moonlight view of gigantic rocks that formed eerie shadows on the waters between served as an excuse to create a romantic fantasy⁶¹ (Fig. 43). For Rigalt, towering thick trees that almost obliterated the sky provided an evocation of awesome nature (Fig. 44). For Martí Alsina, trees, rocks, water, animals and people in an equilibrium of scale and importance made up an everyday, down-to-earth scene (Figs. 45 and 46). Nature was a rich source of art but it need not be overwhelming. He, too,

depicted hilly vistas (Fig. 47), waterfalls (Fig. 48), and mountains (Fig. 49), which were meant to please by their truths rather than to startle by their effects.

Like Parcerisa, Rigalt and Battistuzzi, Alsina was also an advocate of the documentation in paint of his region's past. He also presented monuments and ruins in carefully observed but now matter-of-fact renditions, integrated into the landscapes and like them, affected by time and the elements (Figs. 50, 51, and 52), very much like Corot.

Barcelona and its suburbs were frequently represented by Alsina. His innovative decisions about site, angle and local color were what made his cityscapes relatively modern. A garden patio between buildings provided a private spot normally not glimpsed by the passerby (Fig. 53). A series of rooftops offered easily overlooked but unusual vantage points (Fig. 54). Rooftops in snow would change their typical shapes, colors and textures (Fig. 55). A close-up of a single rooftop, already covered by but still subjected to more falling snow, had an additional dimension (Fig. 56). Such unexceptional but painterly and atmospheric choices had not been a part of the proto-Realists' vocabulary and surely owe a debt to Impressionism.

When Parcerisa showed a busy city street--Plaza de la Boquería (Fig. 57)--each brick, window, balcony and lantern

of each building was accounted for. The street was indeed accurate but totally static as its inhabitants stood interminably in their same places. Painted about thirty years later, Battistuzzi still painted essentially in the veduta tradition. He selected the same street but seen from above and looking toward another intersection (Fig. 58). The view was more complex but the result was relatively the same: the architectural detail was simply astounding which caused the buildings to seem more alive than the pedestrians whose possible movement had frozen in its tracks. The next step would have to be the still camera and telescopic lens rather than the realist's brush and palette.

Martí Alsina's scene of the large boulevard, the Ramblas, as though viewed through a wide angle lens, emphasized the human dimension of a cosmopolitan city where individual citizens moved variously among the stationary elements (Fig. 59). The spectator immediately perceived that buildings, trees, people and pets were in natural scale to each other. In another interpretation of the Ramblas (Fig. 60), the increased hustle and bustle of a large crowd--part individualized and part lost in a background blur--produced a slice-of-life excitement during the rooster fair. Framed by heavily foliated trees which hid the buildings almost completely, the wide street was a place of action and reaction of people and animals in all shapes, sizes and movements.

The same view of the exact same locality was presented by both Rigalt and Martí Alsina when they chose the Plaza of Saint Sebastian in Barcelona (Figs. 61 and 62). A comparison of the two works points out the radical differences between them. Rigalt's version is a precise architectural blueprint of buildings, almost like a perspectival stage set. Depicted at day-break, there are few people to be found. All is silent and lifeless. Martí Alsina's contains the same buildings but the area is enlivened at noon by a local market: many types of people and animals animatedly fill the space. Some stand at ease, others stride with purpose, lean, gesture and bend. They are portrayed in varied and convincing attitudes but they are not anecdotalized. They are anonymous but they are not stereotyped. Fontbona sees here the ideal and romantic Barcelona of Rigalt as the antithesis of the real--or realistic--Barcelona of Martí Alsina.⁶²

This same dynamism filled other exterior scenes--most often market scenes--by Martí Alsina. He placed his crowds of people logically among buildings, in stalls and under awnings rather than merely in front of them as with the backdrop of a stage set. Their activities were the main focus of the composition and their sizes and positions reflected this (Figs. 63, 64, and 65). Rigalt's market (Fig. 66), in contrast, was much smaller in scope, less cluttered and not lively at all. Villaamil, his Madrid

counterpart, placed markets at the foot of national monuments where the participants did little more than direct the spectator's eye toward them (Figs. 67 and 68). Parcerisa's large group of urban figures, arrayed along the steps and arcade of a government building and interspersed by venders and children, also served to point out the particular architecture rather than their particular existence (Fig. 69).

The romantic tendencies of the proto-Realist artists did not totally disappear with the arrival of the Realists. In fact, some art historians were moved to label Martí Alsina romantic when in his canvases an ocean was very turbulent (Fig. 70), a sky, quite threatening (Fig. 71), or atmospheric lighting, too harsh (Fig. 72). On the other hand, one might suggest that often the drama was more inherent in the theme itself rather than in the interpretation.⁶³ It was Alsina's method that essentially differentiated him from his predecessors. He arrived at his truths about nature through analysis and experimentation instead of through their intuition and historical conventions.

Notes to Part III, Chapter II

1. When four Spanish art historians examined the cultivation of landscape painting in their country throughout the centuries, they each underlined its absence there. Before the nineteenth century, Spanish art showed few traces of naturalism. See Pantorba, op. cit., p. 18. The following summary, light and informal, comes from María Elena Gómez-Moreno in Pintores Españoles de la Luz, Museum of Modern Art, Barcelona, 1983, p. 24: "Like other countries, Spain also obeyed the dictates of Neo-Classicism. We produced no landscapists (Velázquez was an exception when he painted his Villa Medici gardens, as was Goya) nor genre painters (Murillo is another exception) . . . On the whole Spanish art smacked of closed chambers, incense and damp velvets. It is a melancholy, elegantly funereal art, the most enigmatic, hermitic and inward-looking of all arts. French art, on the contrary, from the cheerful Books of Hours down to the works of the Barbizon group, depicts life as a long-drawn vital smile, with picaresque ladies bathing in the nude to the delight of minstrels and country girls or courtesans indulging in amorous frolics behind haystacks or in boudoirs. After the Neo-Classical interlude, these girls throw away their crinolines and go to enjoy themselves at the Moulin de la Galette or bathe naked in the river exposing their velvety pink skin to the air and sun. . . With the afore-mentioned exceptions, 17th and 18th-century Spanish art had nothing to offer the 19th-century painter in the way of naturalistic, healthily sensuous inspiration." See also Alejandro Cortada, "Martí y Alsina," Vell y Nou, 1920, p. 46, for an evaluation that specifically relates to Catalan landscape: "the Catalans in the course of their history never had cultivated landscape. . . The painting of the towns of Southern Europe was a religious and courtly painting and the Renaissance considered the reproduction and elevation of the human figure as the most notable end of art. . . We

can say that Catalonia has had to create the landscape of the Southern countries."

2. The artistic contents of the convents were primarily Baroque religious objects. See Fontbona, op. cit., p. 84, who refers to José Grahit y Grau's Comisión Provincial de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de la Provincia de Barcelona. According to Payne, op. cit., p. 441, "The beginning of the great disamortization of church land completed the total estrangement of the Spanish Catholic Church from liberalism. . . . As a result of this tension between church and state, thirty-two of the sixty-two sees in Spain were vacant by 1840. Payne, pp. 484-485, adds that between 1800 and 1840 about one-third of the clergy renounced their vows. The monastic orders were reduced by legislation and confiscation.
3. See Fontbona, op. cit., p. 99, for the public's acceptance of medieval monuments popularized by the Romantic artists as compared with the public's estrangement from Greek-Latin models as emphasized by the Neo-Classic artists.
4. Guidiol, op. cit., p. 89.
5. Fontbona, El Paisatgisme a Catalunya, Barcelona, 1979, p. 40. The author further contrasts Romantic Nazarenism and Romantic landscape painting: "The most homogeneous and influential school of Catalan Romanticism, the Nazarene school, is also the least interested in landscape. . . . The Nazarenes. . . . reclaimed the Middle Ages, but more than reclaiming the monuments, those painters reclaimed religion, the mystery of medieval faith, and pictorially, they wanted to return to the purity of Raphael and of the painters before him. Therefore, it is understandable that landscape was not one of their favorite themes, for neither was it a suitable genre of the art of the quattrocentro because via [landscape] it was hardly easy to transmit a moralizing message. . . ."
6. McCully, op. cit., p. 7, considered Parcerisa's lithographs "within the context of Spanish art history as examples of the earliest 'romantic' landscapes in a painting tradition which until mid-

nineteenth century rarely included landscape at all."

7. Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 84.
8. See Chateaubriand's descriptions of the Arabic architecture of the Alhambra in Granada in his Les aventures du dernier abencerage. See Fontbona, El Paisatgisme a Catalunya, pp. 22-23, for Baron Taylor's "View of Barcelona," 1826, which the author calls a typical exponent of Romanticism's militar-viatger or "military traveler."
9. See Gudiol, op. cit., p. 89, and Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 89, who refer to the latter's Picturesque Sketches in Spain.
10. M. Ossorio y Bernard, Artistas Españoles del siglo XIX, Madrid, 1884, p. 511.
11. McCully, op. cit., p. 6.
12. Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 125.
13. The dating of the volumes is still quite imprecise. In his first book, El Paisatgisme a Catalunya, Fontbona dates some of the volumes by the first year of their publication and some by the last. In his second book, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, he includes the entire span of the years of publication. Since the first writer of the series, Piferrer, died in 1848, the dating is important to determine his exact contributions. For example, in El Paisatgisme a Catalunya the issue of Catalonia Volume II is dated 1848 whereas in Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, it is dated 1844-1850. Although Pi y Margall is credited by Fontbona with the text of Volume II, it is more likely that Piferrer would have begun the work in 1844. McCully, op. cit., pp. 6-7, footnote 6, states that the first volume was compiled in 1839 and that the second bi-monthly series, also dedicated to Catalonia, was completed by Pi y Margall following the death of Piferrer, and appeared as a second volume in 1849. The books

themselves bear the dates of 1839 and 1843, respectively.

14. Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 92. Some of the lithographs were exhibited at the Universal Exposition in Paris in 1855 and in the National Exposition in Madrid in 1856, where Parcerisa earned an honorable mention. In the Exposition of 1860 in Madrid the artist submitted a painting of the exterior view of the Cathedral of Burgos which won a prize of third class and purchase by the government for the National Museum. His Main Chapel of the Cathedral of Barcelona Seen from the Choir won another third class medal in 1862 and his Interior of the Cathedral of Tarragona received a third class medal in 1866. See Ossorio, op. cit., p. 511, for these and other works exhibited up to 1871 but which did not win prizes.
15. Ibid., pp. 91-92, illustrates differences between the two media by comparing illustrations by the engraver Antonio Roca and lithographer Parcerisa, of 1842 and 1839-1841, respectively.
16. Ibid., p. 128, illustrates the back of the Choir of the Cathedral of Oviedo of 1857 to show the progression of Romanticism to a beginning Realism.
17. Fontbona, El Paisatgisme a Catalunya, p. 29, notes that the passion for the antique on the part of Parcerisa, especially medieval art, was less valued in general by illustrators and Neo-Classic artists. Medieval art was in peril at the time because the churches, convents and monasteries which housed it had been abandoned after the decree of Mendizábal in 1836.
18. Recuerdos y Bellezas de España parallels the Monuments Historiques series in France. Headed by Mérimée, Corot was the leading painter who traveled throughout his country to nostalgically preserve national landmarks. This will be further discussed when Corot's work is contrasted with Martí Alsina's in Part IV.
19. Garrut, op. cit., p. 69. See Ossorio, op. cit., p. 512, for information on Parcerisa's son, José, a painter and lithographer, who was to contribute

various plates to the publications on the regions of Spain.

20. Fontbona, El Paisatge a Catalunya, p. 29, provides the following background: "Parcerisa would have considered those human groups as secondary or complementary in his scenes even to the point of drawing the landscape or monument [himself] and having the figures made by someone else--Vicente Urrabieta--[figures] more successful than his own, opposite from many classic painters who, when they painted figures, had the backgrounds painted by an assistant."
21. It should be noted that the impressive waterfalls and cliffs of San Miguel del-Fay lent themselves to romantic depictions by other illustrators as well. See Fontbona, El Paisatge a Catalunya, p. 19, for the general view of the site by Legier and Schroeder for the Voyage Pittoresque (1806-1820) of Alexandre de Laborde. This example underlines the fact that Parcerisa's interpretation was not any more exaggerated. See Baron Taylor's French counterpart, Voyages Pittoresques for prototypes and differences. See Fontbona, El Paisatge a Catalunya, p. 29, for the illustration of The Road of Collbato to the Monastery, which the author chose as one of the many lithographs of Parcerisa that does not have recourse to excessive romantic effects. See Alcolea, op. cit., p. 278, for another example of a relatively naturalistic rendition. It is in such examples that the foreshadowing of proto-Realism links up with the advent of Realism.
22. Bertrán d'Amat, op. cit., pp. 56-59. The author, like fellow contemporaries, was enthralled with Piferrer's descriptive floridity and emulated it in his own evaluation: "[It was soon evident that Piferrer's] prodigious intuition revealed to him what he had not even learned and he rose to a great height. . . his soul was created to enjoy the enchantments of beauty; he covered with his innate artistic sentiment all the deficiencies of his technical knowledge; thus he kept growing in the publication. . . in the second volume, upon occupying himself with the monuments and landscapes of Mallorca, he greatly surpassed the first [volume

on Catalonia], and in the third. . . the genius of the architecture and that of the poetry were newly united in a single inspiration at once grave and impassioned. . . One does not know what to admire more, the artist who perceives the most eminent architecture that medieval centuries produced or the poet who sings it."

23. Parcerisa and Piferrer, op. cit., I, pp. 9-10.
24. Ibid., II, pp. 2-3.
25. Ibid., I, p. 9.
26. Ibid., II, pp. 7-8.
27. See Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 86, for his high opinion of another contemporary artist, Joaquín de Cabanyes (1799-1876): "Among the discoverer-painters of physical Catalonia, Rigalt is, without a doubt, the most important name, but not the only one. Among the others, Cabanyes stands out. . . His presumed oldest works--often views of Mallorca--have a certain romantic aura; the others, possibly more recent and therefore belonging to another historical period, are close to the style of the great realist Ramón Martí Alsina." Since Cabanyes' paintings depict Mallorca rather than the mainland--which is the primary focus of this study--and since Rigalt is considered the most important landscape painter of the period, Cabanyes has been omitted from this chapter.
28. Jardí, op. cit., p. 138.
29. Pablo Rigalt had been a pupil of José Flaugier who imported French Classicism to Catalonia.
30. Raimundo Casellas, El dibuixant Paisatgista Lluís Rigalt, Barcelona, 1900, p. 6. Much of the information on Rigalt and his family is based on a biographical talk that this author gave in 1899. He knew the artist personally as well as his son, Agustín, and his friend, the Swiss painter Robert, all of whom supplied accounts.
31. Antonio Ollé Pinell, Dibujos de Luis Rigalt, Barcelona, 1956, p. 6.

32. Casellas, op. cit., pp. 11-14, gives a perceptive account of the state of landscape studies during Rigalt's student years: "In that scholastic center, so full of prints to copy. . . , our youngster is going to learn early to paint landscape as it was [traditionally] painted. A dry, hard landscape, sheltered, all flat and symmetrical, without relief, without light and dark, bituminous. . . . lacking air. . . . transparency, light. It could be a type of sad manger or a scene with some ruins of a Roman temple or a pastorate setting of Arcadia or some other sediment from the classicist cloakroom. Our Luis, who from secrets brought about by his own temperament, carried within [himself] the intuition of great natural spectacles, full of vibration, of life and light; he did not have to be able to understand well what that routine instruction meant or rather he already felt his contrary confused ideals about true nature. . . . what is certain is that from the layer of classic studies the young artist has left nothing that revealed his own personal future work. . . . Prepared as a youngster by the interminable lessons of Lonja. . . if he is not going to learn about color--because color is not going to be a thing of the classicists then, but of the romantics later--he is going to accustom himself, on the other hand, to the dominance of line."
33. Casellas, op. cit., p. 21, evaluates Rigalt's drawing skill: ". . . Luis Rigalt was a complete draftsman by the work and grace of Nature and had not been born a painter. It resulted that he was much more a colorist with the pencil in his hand than when he held the palette. With the vigor or weakness of a stroke, with correct relationships of values obtained by the graduation of ink or sepia, he arrived at more intense effects of color than [he would have] with brushes."
34. Pantorba, op. cit., p. 16.
35. Garrut, op. cit., p. 72, reports that Rigalt obtained a pensión to go to Madrid and study there with Villaamil from whom he obtained "wise counsel and teachings." Pantorba, op. cit., p. 16,

believes that Rigalt could have been "one of the badly directed students of Villaamil, although there is no proof."

36. Pantorba, op. cit., p. 16.
37. Ossorio, op. cit., p. 527.
38. Pantorba, op. cit., p. 11, notes the very important influence of the Scottish David Roberts (1796-1864) on Villaamil, "his imitator and continuer." The latter was enthusiastic about the detailed and elegant prints of his friend and he "attached himself to him and followed him, always at his side, noting all that the teacher was doing." Roberts had spent time in Burgos, Segovia, El Escorial, Seville, Jerez and Granada. Once Roberts had left Spain, Villaamil continued working within the style of Roberts--"the decorative route, the resplendent style, of romantic exaltation" in which the master had been a guide of drawing as well as watercolor.
39. Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 92. See Robert Rosenblum, The Nineteenth Century, New York, 1984, p. 274, for a brief discussion in English of this "artist-voyageur" and his "tourist's-eye records," the only Spanish artist of this period mentioned by Rosenblum.
40. Cortada, op. cit., pp. 45-46. See also Folch y Torres, op. cit., pp. 46-47.
41. Casellas, op. cit., p. 23. Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 301, footnote 182, admits that he cannot place the painter with assuredness. He offers the following possibilities: Adolf Robert (1798 Geneva-1852 Barcelona), as reported in Rafols, Diccionario Biográfico de Artistas de Cataluña, II, p. 451, or Alphonse Robert (Neuchatel 1826-?1853). Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 129, includes a reproduction by Alphonse (?) Robert: Landscape, 1849.
42. Folch y Torres, op. cit., pp. 34-35, gives the date as 1850; Casellas, op. cit., p. 24, gives that date as 1855.

43. Casellas, op. cit., p. 26: "The Catalan landscapist, as melancholy and at times as delicate of health as the Swiss, admired with all the silent fervor of his soul that initiator of modern landscape. On the other hand, the foreign painter also felt a very vivid admiration for our draftsman."
44. Garrut, op. cit., p. 72. See Casellas, op. cit., p. 25, for an example of Robert's alpine landscape. Also see Casellas, pp. 22-23, and Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 126, for other instigators of change in local landscape depiction in the 1860s: the engravings and etchings of François Diday, Johann Wilhelm Schirmer and especially Alexandre Calame.
45. Marés, op. cit., p. 113.
46. Pantorba, op. cit., p. 16, gives the dates as 1870-1887; Garrut, op. cit., p. 72, gives the dates as 1877-1887.
47. Garrut, op. cit., p. 73.
48. Pantorba, op. cit., pp. 16-17, quotes from Maragall's Historia de la Sala Parés, where Rigalt is credited as the first important and innovative landscapist: "If before Rigalt landscape was fantasy, invention or reproduction of old prints, starting with him there begins the naturalist vision, still influenced by romanticism, but already open to new possibilities. . . Basically, Rigalt opened the doors to all our landscapists."
49. Olle Pinell, op. cit., p. 8. The author studied the collection of drawings in the Academy of San Jorge and wrote the catalog to it. See also Fontbona, El Paisatge a Catalunya, p. 36, and Garrut, op. cit., p. 72. Rigalt would have also seen the works of Courbet there. However, Courbet's robust style is not taken up by Rigalt.
50. Olle Pinell, op. cit., p. 9. See also Casellas, op. cit., p. 17.
51. Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 84. The drawing by Rigalt is Monastery of Sant

- Cugat del Vallès, 1842. The poem, "Fue un convento," was by Juan Arolas.
52. Ibid., p. 214. See Olle Pinell, op. cit., pp. 9-10, for the brief summary of political and social actions and dates.
 53. Ibid. Reproduced on p. 127. See also Fontbona, El Paisatgisme a Catalunya, pp. 38-39, for the illustration of Rigalt's Montserrat.
 54. McCully, op. cit., p. 5, footnote 4, completely disregarded the importance of the art of Martí Alsina and stressed the continuing influence of the Nazarenes well into the second half of the nineteenth century: "Lorenzale and Milá y Fontanals returned to Barcelona to take over the Academia de Bellas Artes and, hence, represented the strongest force behind official artistic teaching in the last half of the nineteenth century in Catalonia."
 55. Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, pp. 132-133, and El Paisatgisme a Catalunya, p. 53.
 56. Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, pp. 211.
 57. Ibid., p. 213, note 278, where José Yxart is quoted from Antonio Fabres, Arte y Letras (Barcelona), n. 4 (10-XI-1882), pp. 25-26.
 58. Ibid., p. 211.
 59. The title was suggested by Lafuente Ferrari, op. cit., p. 439, although he used it with reservation: ". . . Martí y Alsina, who is not a specialist of landscape, but a complete painter, is in Barcelona the initiator of realism, and if the denomination were not somewhat exaggerated, we could call him the Catalan Courbet. . ."
 60. Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 211.
 61. Fontbona, El Paisatgisme a Catalunya, p. 26. This painting is very reminiscent of the scenes of Caspar David Friedrich.

62. Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, pp. 130, 132, and El Paisatgisme a Catalunya, p. 51. My summary of the differences between the two works owes a great deal to this author.
63. For example, Fontbona, El Paisatgisme a Catalunya, p. 47, feels that many of Alsina's canvases devoted to landscape and seascape were "a veritable epic poem to Nature, seen with objectivity but also with passion. . . continuing the romantic-objective tradition of Luis Rigalt."

IV. THE DEVELOPMENT OF CATALAN REALIST PAINTING:
THE INITIATIVES OF RAMÓN MARTÍ ALSINA

Chapter I

Life and Training

Information about the personal life of Ramón Martí Alsina is imperfectly gleaned from his unpublished manuscripts and detailed notes, some now lost, others scattered or perhaps filed away in unknown places. The artist had an almost lifetime obsession with composing his memoirs. He wanted to be able to leave documents of his personal and artistic life for his children so that "they might know him and his love for them."¹ Although he began writing them many times, his intentions were never fully realized.

Joaquín Folch y Torres personally studied Alsina's writings in preparation for a full-length biography which he published in 1920. He included selections from the writings but he never specifically identified their sources. On occasion he noted only that Alsina's family shared them with him.² It was the artist's painter-son, Ricardo Martí y Aguiló (1868-1936), who provided the biographer with these memoirs. Ricardo had studied with his father at the outset³ and he painted in a similar realistic style.⁴ Since this was the only personal documentation about Alsina, every art

historian who followed Folch y Torres was forced to repeat without further elucidation the facts in his book.

We are told that Martí Alsina's manuscripts reflected the atmosphere of his life and times. Optimistically and sincerely written by a cultured man who expressed his thoughts well,⁵ they included plans for early dramas, examples of romantic verse, first drafts and corrections of speeches, many lists of things to do, works to sell and projects to undertake during his busy life. Mentions of themes, names of people, humorous items, desultory ideas, notations about colors and details in landscape--these would form a voluminous archive if they could be gathered together and organized. Unfortunately, the present location of the manuscripts is unknown. Since information on Martí Alsina's life and writings, as well as his art, has not been reported in this country, this study will include an English summary, albeit a scanty one, of the account which has endured.

Ramón Martí Alsina was born in 1826, the son of a porter who worked for the city of Barcelona. Despite humble beginnings and the death of his father when he was eight years old, he was expected to continue his schooling. He was encouraged by Ramón Tenas, his godfather and family doctor, who took charge of his early education and later suggested that he study philosophy at the University of Barcelona.⁶ It is not certain whether he obtained a

bachelor's degree there,⁷ but if he did, it would have been a remarkable achievement for one of his social class at the time.

Although intellectual by nature, the youth's real inclination was always toward drawing and painting. His is the classical story of the artist: "he learned drawing with affection and letters by force."⁸ He once wrote that in his youth he had no vocation for study. His sketching was persecuted not only by his godfather but also by the elementary school teacher who severely punished those who drew in the margins of books or on loose pieces of paper.⁹

Alsina's only formal artistic training lasted for five years. At the age of fourteen, he attended special night classes at the School of Fine Arts of Lonja. His fellow classmates were adult workers who wished to learn to draw in their leisure hours. Neo-Classicism was the style in vogue at his birth. Nazarene purism was the predominant style taught in those years at Lonja.¹⁰ Alsina certainly knew about the rigors of both but his temperament and vision kept him from following either. Xavier de Salas asserts that in surroundings that catered to students for whom art was no more than an avocation, Alsina was only exposed to, rather than indoctrinated with, artistic conservatism.¹¹ If he was "mediocrely taught" there, he was not forced to adhere to weighty examples as he would have been at a more prestigious

school "with a long tradition and illustrious cultivators [of art]."¹² In short, his instruction may have been deficient but he had the advantage of not having to un-learn later on.¹³ Supposedly, he met Lorenzale at this time, but he was not susceptible to or contaminated by the fervent Nazarenism and anti-naturalism imposed by the latter upon the majority of the students whom he taught there.¹⁴

By nineteen the would-be Realist painter had decided that his future lay in his independence of any formal discipline and in his artistic inspiration from the natural landscape and daily life of semi-rural and semi-urban Catalonia itself. He would also visit neighboring France--perhaps even Holland and Belgium, although this has not been officially documented--to acquaint himself with the current artistic trends there. He never sought the inspiration of the Academy in Rome although many of his predecessors and contemporaries had gone to that prestigious place.

To support himself and his aged godfather, who had helped him during his childhood,¹⁵ Alsina painted portraits by day and at night translated books from French.¹⁶ Despite the painting commissions and translations, he must have had difficulties earning enough money. In his notes he alluded to his incapacity to help his mother as she probably would have wanted and to his failure to clear the way for his "artistic illusions."¹⁷ He wrote:

Imagine what a palette mine was, produced as it was in such rough independence. Imagine one who suffers, having to learn all alone. Those who came from Rome encouraged me and some did give me courage and stimulated me.¹⁸

Martí Alsina was married to Carlota Aguiló in 1850 at the age of twenty six.¹⁹ Family misfortunes began in 1872 when his son Camilo, "a precocious artist," and his daughter Carlota, called "la Niñeta," died of typhus within twenty four days.²⁰ His wife died in 1878. Ten years later, at the age of sixty two, during the time of his greatest economic difficulties and of his most productive, if less inspired and successful period, he married Francisca Chillida and had two more children.²¹

The artist's character called forth a torrent of purple prose. Writers Joaquín Folch y Torres and Rafael Benet, among others, have used colorful adjectives and phrases to describe his personality, aided by the extant accounts left by his pupils. He was of a "great dramatic temperament"²² and his life, although unlucky, was a "crackling and agitated flame of noble fevers and lively passions."²³ "Everything is passion in that man."²⁴

To these writers the passion and vitality of the artist accounted for his frequent practice of "a certain polygamy [which was] not too secret."²⁵ However, we are assured that despite the many infidelities that continued throughout his

married life, he supposedly loved each wife and all his children sincerely. An interpretation is that "the romantic impulse of his painting could explain something of the impulsiveness of his life."²⁶ Finally, he was "one of the strongest of men. . . His painting is strong. . . strong when bad and when good. . . in color and in emotion, in drawing and in vision."²⁷

In the last years of his life the painter spent some time at Vilamajor to escape his creditors and to convalesce from a serious illness. Once improved, he returned to Barcelona. One day in December, despite cold weather and a threatening sky, he could not resist going to the port of La Barceloneta where he had one of his studios and from where he could study and paint the beach and the impending storm. He fell ill with pneumonia and died a few days later²⁸ while he was retouching a portrait of his second wife.²⁹

Both his precursor Rigalt and his most distinguished pupil Vayreda died in the same year as Alsina. Unfortunately, "his glory was extinguished at his death."³⁰ Except for a small notice in the Diario de Barcelona, his death went unnoticed in the press.³¹ And except for the words, célebre pintor, written by Juan Pellicer Montseny³² on his death sketch of the artist, his status was then very questionable. His work was out of style. The young Isidro Nonell, who was twenty two years old at Alsina's death, spit

on the floor when the artist's name was mentioned.³³ He was virtually unknown until 1920 when the first official exposition of his work in the Palace of Fine Arts in Barcelona resurrected his name and a biography documented his life and work.

The emphatic pride and optimism of Martí Alsina's Catalan figure paintings and landscapes complemented his personal patriotism. Described as "not only a great painter but a strong fighter,"³⁴ his passion for politics and his concern for Catalonia were visually reflected in his socially conscious paintings of workers and the lower bourgeoisie³⁵ as well as in his ideological commitments that at times took precedence over his professional activities. In the words of Maestre: "The artist felt. . . the need to participate in his own reality, to think, feel and act under definite conditions, to certify, in a determined way, his reaction to concrete events. . . ."³⁶

In 1854 a climate that would foster Catalan Realism was brought into being by active, evidently progressive society members: they caused the medieval walls surrounding the city of Barcelona to be torn down, resulting in a radically new urban perspective. The demolition of the city walls served to break down the barriers between the big city and the countryside. And familiarity with the countryside encouraged the urban public and painters to develop an interest in

natural landscape painting.³⁷ Fontbona has correctly observed that:

It was a moment of profound renovation; romantic idealism was no longer effective; real solutions were needed for urban problems and the individual, each time more of a protagonist, demanded an art that spoke a real, immediate language.³⁸

Martí Alsina was the representative of this type of art.

Surrounded by intelligent and politically oriented friends, Martí joined them in their preoccupations with the progress, the morality and the culture of their region.³⁹ His own humanistic writings included an essay on the philosophy of art,⁴⁰ one on lyric poetry of the nineteenth century,⁴¹ adaptations of the verses of Giacomo Leopardi⁴² as well as notes on atheism.⁴³ As a staunch republican or Catalanist,⁴⁴ he also committed to paper his thoughts on the renovation of political ideas which were current in Spain and which reflected the impulse toward revolution and the preparation for the arrival of a republic.⁴⁵

An indirect indication of Martí Alsina's political leanings was the praise accorded his paintings exhibited in Madrid by the advanced liberal magazine, El Museo Universal, which also published radical works of literary revolutionaries.⁴⁶ Finally, the themes of some of Alsina's paintings, whether actually carried out or merely projected,

betrayed his outlook. They were revealed in his notes. Two triptychs have been pointed out as the most representative: Carlism: Abductors, Diabolical Smiles, Papal Apparitions and Great Fantasy on the Crusaders: Platoons of Bishops, Diabolical Smiles, Destroyed Women and Children.⁴⁷ Unfortunately, only the provocative titles remain; there is no certainty that Alsina ever painted them.

During the reign of Isabel II, Alsina was very sensitive to the confrontations that were taking place between conservative and progressive forces. Artistically and politically he aggressively represented the latter.⁴⁸ As a liberal he could not support the tenaciously conformist Madrid Academy nor the central government. When Isabel II visited Barcelona in 1859, he would not pay her homage, willing to treat her as a lady but not as a queen.⁴⁹ She had once offered him the position of court painter, an honor which he refused.⁵⁰ Cervera believes that it was because of such political actions that the Catalan was never accepted into the Madrid Academy.⁵¹

In 1866, while at the Academy of Lonja, Alsina gave up the position of academician for political reasons.⁵² In 1870, he was obligated as an employee of an official institution to swear allegiance to the Constitution of 1869, which, he believed, had "falsified the revolutionary principles of the year before."⁵³ Since this document did

not represent his political and social convictions, he refused to take the oath, thus making for a second time the noble gesture of resigning from his professorship. In his notes he discussed one's moral duty to defend and to save his freedom of conscience against all threats.⁵⁴ He recognized the special situation that caused one to sacrifice his economic security for a political example.⁵⁵

During the time of the Revolution, Martí Alsina rose in defence of the necessary conservation of artistic monuments. The new Revolutionary Junta wanted to destroy such "monuments of reaction." The artist's entreaty revealed a knowledge of the practices of conservation of antique monuments then in force in the rest of Europe.⁵⁶

When the Republic was established, Alsina purportedly wrote an article of civil idealism entitled "The Critical Hour" because he deeply felt the seriousness and the responsibility that all citizens had just contracted.⁵⁷ In 1873 the Republic restored his professorship. Thereafter, he accepted, albeit half-heartedly and only after requests from influential sources, the commission from the municipal government of Barcelona to paint the portrait of Alfonso XII, the new king of Spain.⁵⁸

The painter's friends shared his political and social positions: they were republican leftists, atheists and anti-

clericals. Professionally they were artists, scientists, writers and industrialists.⁵⁹ They were together from 1850 to 1875 in a dynamic atmosphere which was a stimulus for the renovation of Barcelona life.⁶⁰ This was the group that ultimately helped to bring about the First Republic and was similar in intent and practice to the European revolutionaries of 1848.⁶¹ De Salas reiterates a frequent interpretation of his country's political position when he states that: ". . . political and social phenomena came about in Spain much later [than in the rest of the continent]."⁶²

Since the documented facts of Martí Alsina's biography are very limited in number, the relationships that he established among the Barcelona bohemians are also incompletely described. Most writers mention that the Catalan artist was involved with men who played active roles in the political and social scene but they rarely give their names and affiliations.⁶³ Even when such identifications are made, they are restricted to a mere few lines.

Narcisco Monturiol (1819-1885), an inventor and republican activist of "advanced ideas and active intervention,"⁶⁴ was one of the painter's closest friends for many years. Because of his participation in political events in Barcelona in 1848, he had to emigrate to France.⁶⁵ In 1855 he had found refuge in Cadaqués where he took particular

interest in painting.⁶⁶ In 1859 he published a newspaper, La Fraternidad, whose mission was "to deplore social ills, to point out the cause of them and to investigate what method would eradicate them."⁶⁷ Alsina's biographer points out that his subject was like a brother to Monturiol--"The money of one was the money of the other"⁶⁸ and that he shared the glories, the illusions, the hopes and the pains of the inventor.⁶⁹

Another friend, Dr. José de Letamendi (1828-1897), was a pupil of the artist. A progressive liberal, philosopher, orator, composer, poet and economist, he was also preoccupied with the political and social development of his region.⁷⁰ As a doctor, his main interest was human and animal anatomy, particularly of the brain. He published a text entitled Sistema nervios del cervell. Because of his experience in art, he was able to provide his own prints reproduced from his original oils. As a positivist, he considered man's superiority over animals from a developmental rather than from a metaphysical point of view.⁷¹

Roberto Robert, a Catalan newspaperman who lived in Madrid for the major part of his life, also figured in the group related to Martí Alsina in Barcelona. In Madrid he founded many newspapers which espoused his extreme leftist views.⁷²

The coherent group of realist artist-pupils and artist-followers which was associated with Martí Alsina for many years will be studied in Part V.⁷³

Notes to Part IV, Chapter I

1. Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 6. The author was the Director of the Museums of Barcelona at the time that he wrote the biography.
2. Xavier de Salas, "Sobre el pintor Martí Alsina," Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona, Vol. II, 1944, p. 9. This author criticizes Folch y Torres for "having kept quiet more than he revealed" with reference to Martí Alsina's documents.
3. Ossorio, op. cit., p. 419.
4. See Gran Enciclopedia Catalana, op. cit., p. 644, and de Pantorba, op. cit., footnote, p. 23, for further information on Ricardo Martí. Since both father and son painted similar themes in a similar manner and since both men's initials were the same--Ricardo often signed his paintings: "R. Martí y A.--" the son's works were confused at times with his father's and often passed for them. See Ossorio, op. cit., p. 419, for information on honors that Ricardo received for specific paintings. Enrique Martí Chillida, the only surviving son of Martí Alsina's second marriage, remembers having sat with both Folch y Torres and Ricardo to help corroborate the facts of the artist's entries. This was told to me during a visit with Enrique in Barcelona in July 1984.
5. Folch y Torres, op. cit., pp. 10-11.
6. Alsina's father had made a very modest living, variously called a "funcionario del Ayuntamiento" by Gaya Nuño, op. cit., p. 346; "porter de Casa de la Ciutat" by Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 38; and "porter municipal" by Cirici Pellicer, op. cit., p. 74.
7. Gaya Nuño, op. cit., p. 346, and Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 45. Rafols, Diccionario Biográfico de Artistas de Cataluña, p. 113, writes that Alsina

dropped his philosophy courses when he entered the night classes of the school of Lonja.

8. Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 42.
9. Ibid., pp. 38-39.
10. de Salas, op. cit., p. 2. Cortada, op. cit., p. 44, notes that the two dominating forces were the Romantic school and the followers of Goya.
11. de Salas, op. cit., p. 2, writes: "Let us add that with Rigalt Barcelona had a mediocre teacher of landscapes, from which Martí in his youth did take something and that Lorenzale maintained among us the instruction from the School of Dusseldorf."
12. Idem.
13. Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 44.
14. José María Junoy, Ramón Martí y Alsina, Barcelona, 1941, p. 16, and Josep Selva, "La Pintura," in L'Art Catala, Barcelona, 1958, p. 372.
15. Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 49.
16. Ibid., pp. 43,45. One such book, translated in 1846 for his editor-friend, Narcisco Monturiol, was entitled Ingleses y Chinos. See also p. 134, footnote, 16: "The friendship with Martí Alsina dates from that time. The inventor [Monturiol]. . . knowing the rare gifts of the artist. . . helped him on many occasions with affectionate and brotherly generosity to which our artist reciprocated."
17. Junoy, op. cit., p. 16.
18. Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 43, footnote 17. The biographer is unsure as to whether Alsina referred to Pablo Milá y Fontanals or to the Swiss painter, Robert.
19. See Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 51, and Ráfols, Diccionario Biográfico de Artistas de Cataluña, p. 113, for the only account that involves this first marriage. "It is said that after his wedding night

he got up and left the bed of his new wife. . .and painted daybreak; his painting occupied first place in his life."

20. Folch y Torres, op. cit., pp. 91-92, and Ráfols, Diccionario Biográfico de Artistas de Cataluña, p. 114. Both briefly discuss the two children and their father's frequent portraits of them.
21. There is a discrepancy about the number of children in each of the marriages. For example, Pantorba, op. cit., p. 21, wrote that there were three children in the second marriage.
22. Benet, "Ramón Martí y Alsina," Destino, December 1962, p. 55.
23. Folch y Torres, "El Centenari de Martí y Alsina," Gaseta de les Arts, No. 64, 1927, p. 1.
24. Folch y Torres, Martí i Alsina, p. 70. See also pp. 72-73 for the artist's interests, including the guitar, the café, picnics, food and wine.
25. Pantorba, op. cit., p. 19. This is quoted by the author who does not name the source.
26. Benet, "Ramón Martí y Alsina," Destino, p. 55.
27. Folch y Torres, "El Centenari de Martí y Alsina," Gaseta de les Arts, p. 1.
28. Junoy, op. cit., p. 25; Ráfols, Diccionario Biográfico de Artistas de Cataluña, pp. 114-115; Cortada, op. cit., p. 112; Folch y Torres, "En el sesenta aniversario de la muerte del pintor Martí y Alsina," Destino, December 18, 1954, p. 29. All give the same data except that the latter states the month as November.
29. This was reiterated to me by Enrique Martí who owns the portrait and permitted me to photograph it.
30. Folch y Torres, Martí i Alsina, p. 8.
31. Junoy, op. cit., p. 25.

32. Folch y Torres, "En el sesenta aniversario de la muerte del pintor Martí y Alsina," Destino, p. 28, identified the sketcher, Juan Pellicer Montseny, as the nephew of Alsina's pupil, José Luis Pellicer.
33. Ibid., pp. 28-29.
34. Bozal, op. cit., p. 51. The author quotes Gaya Nuño but does not give the specific source.
35. Idem. See also de Salas, op. cit., p. 9.
36. Maestre, "Idees i pintura a la segona meitat del segle XIX," p. 68.
37. Fontbona, El Paisatgisme a Catalunya, pp. 51-52, relates urban planning to art: "It was no longer necessary for the men from the city to return at a fixed hour from their excursions [into the countryside] because the doors of the walls would no longer be closed because they no longer existed. The freedom of travel was greatly increased thanks to that urban reform and, on the other hand, the mentality of the Catalan Renaissance continued to impel the rediscovery of its own land, to know itself physically, to recover its own identity. The excursion as a consciously patriotic activity had its source in the plastic arts, in the intensification of creativity on the part of the painters and in the interest of the public for natural themes in painting."
38. Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 126. The quote continues thus: "That demand of the society had a clear philosophical support: Auguste Comte with his Cours de philosophie positive (1830-1842), Ernest Renan with L'avenir de la Science (1845-1849), the theories of Saint-Simon, Fourier and Proudhon, who had given content to the French Revolution of 1848, had prepared the road for the appearance of an art different from the romantic, an art based on the observation of reality and not on the idealization of concepts or mythical episodes. It is that art which finds in Courbet its maximum representative in France, and from there the entire western world."
39. Folch y Torres, Martí i Alsina, p. 68.

40. Idem. See footnote 29 with regard to the article's appearance in the magazine, El Ateneo, cited by Menéndez Pelayo in his biography of Milá y Fontanals.
41. Idem. This refers to an article supposedly published in a magazine of the time, the source not given.
42. Count Giacomo Leopardi (1798-1837) was a scholar and poet of Italy. In his "Ode to Italy," he mourned the degraded political condition of his country. Perhaps it was this that inspired Martí.
43. Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 68: "Atheism, which is like a type of measles of the age." See also p. 87 where the author mentions that in his notes Martí makes an implicit confession of his atheism apropos of a commentary having to do with Leopardi that he finds published in a magazine of the time. As usual, the exact reference is omitted.
44. Benet, "Ramón Martí y Alsina," Destino, December 1962, p. 55.
45. Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 68.
46. de Salas, op. cit., p. 10. The magazine published the radical works of the Catalan poet-revolutionary Antonio Ribot, among others. Ribot lived for a long time in exile in Paris. "He began as a Christian and ended as a republican; in some of his works he exalts Saint-Simon."
47. Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 65, and de Salas, op. cit., p. 12.
48. Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, pp. 133, 136, has correctly observed that: "the aesthetic concept of those forces [which destroyed the monarchy of Isabel II in 1868] was unequivocally realist. Those forces realized that art was not a simple ornament in the life of the country but that it was, on the other hand, or could be, an important tool to change it. Thus, there came about the idea of making a 'useful' art."

49. de Salas, op. cit., pp. 10, 26, and Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 89.
50. Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 89. Here Alsina is like his French counterpart, Courbet, in refusing honors on political grounds. The two artists will be further compared later on in this chapter.
51. Cervera, op. cit., p. 40.
52. Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 132.
53. Gaya Nuño, op. cit., p. 351. See also Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 132, who reiterated: "It was a constitution which Alsina "considered a degradation of the ideals of the Revolution of 1868."
54. Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 89.
55. Ibid., pp. 77-78 and footnote 33.
56. Ibid., p. 90. The author bases this on the text which appeared in a first draft among the artist's manuscripts. The artist is credited with having saved from destruction the chapel of San Miguel and the Convent of Jerusalem.
57. Ibid., pp. 88-89. The author does not know whether the article was ever published but deems that it constitutes "a very beautiful page of journalism."
58. Ibid., p. 89. See also Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 214: "He would end by painting the portrait of Alfonso XII, a monarch who. . . represented a greater degree of conservatism than Amadeus de Savoya, whose monarchy the painter did not accept in 1870."
59. Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 68.
60. Junoy, op. cit., p. 16.
61. de Salas, op. cit., pp. 10, 26.
62. Ibid., pp. 10, 18.

63. Folch y Torres, Fontbona and de Salas are the exceptions whose identifications of Alsina's friends follow below.
64. de Salas, op. cit., p. 10. See also p. 22 for a mention of Alsina's portrait of Monturiol.
65. Idem.
66. Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 138, and Garrut, op. cit., p. 73. See Galerías Layetanas, op. cit., p. 53, for a brief biography of Monturiol as an artist and the reproduction of an early portrait by him, no. 115.
67. de Salas, op. cit., p. 10. The author also mentions Monturiol's other journalistic affiliations.
68. Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 69.
69. Garrut, op. cit., p. 73, credits him with the invention of the submarine and many more things "which only brought him griefs and displeasures."
70. de Salas, op. cit., p. 10. Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 86, notes that Dr. Letamendi was also preoccupied with the lack of moral Christian practice.
71. The text was published in 1862. See Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, pp. 133 and 138. The author reproduces one of the artist-doctor's oil paintings of the details of the brain which served a pedagogical rather than a decorative purpose.
72. de Salas, op. cit., p. 10, adds that Robert was the translator into Spanish of Bastiat which, he believes, "clarifies his political affiliation and the source of his socialist ideas." De Salas also includes the names of Elías de Molins, a biographer of Catalan writers; Soler y Rovirosa, an artist; and Font y Guitart to complete the known group, but he admits that he is unable to determine their ideas and political leanings. See Folch y Torres,

op. cit., p. 68, and Fontbona, El Paisatgisme a Catalunya, pp. 46-47, footnote 39, for information about Soler y Rovirosa.

73. Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 143, describes other groups with realist principles which included participants from all the arts and those who met in tertulias, or interest clubs, on various occasions.

Chapter II

Themes, Styles and Relation to French Realism

From the very beginning of his career Martí Alsina was interested in every genre that painting could include: history, portraiture, nudes, peasants, landscape, seascape, cityscape, still-life and animal life, often expressing in his manuscripts that he wanted to master them all. Therefore, whenever he submitted his works for an exhibition, he chose those that would represent his versatility. Between 1860 and 1870 two extensive art projects, destined for Paris and London, occupied the major portion of his time. To present himself as the complete artist--" with the varied aspects of my personality," as he expressed it--he first sent a large selection of his oeuvre to the Universal Exposition in Paris. Due to a lack of space, the secretary of the Exposition informed Alsina that not all of his contribution could be accepted. Rather than show a partial representation, the artist withdrew it all. At great expense and difficulty of transportation, he attempted the same coverage in London, with the same negative results.¹

Although Alsina painted the different genres throughout his life, depending on his personal whim and on the commissions that he earned, his biographer has attempted a general grouping of his production into three approximate

chronological periods: 1850-1870, where portraits, cityscapes and landscapes predominate; 1870-1880, where the above subjects are added to seascapes, daily life scenes, history and allegory paintings; 1880-1894, where the output of all themes was more abundant than ever but generally less inspired.

Apart from this designation very few of Martí Alsina's paintings have been specifically dated. His biographer did not provide a single date nor did he name titles of any paintings in the body of his text.² However, he did include in the text a few pages of illustrations, all of which were grouped into a "first period" or a "second period."³ In the former category appear: Portrait of the Children of the Artist (Fig. 73), Portrait of the Daughter of the Artist (Fig. 74), The Lady and the Mirror (Fig. 75), a sketch for The Group of Gypsies (Fig. 76), Lioness (Fig. 77), and Road to Granollers (Fig. 78). In the latter category are: Autumn (Fig. 79), Seascape (Fig. 80), Landscape of Poplars (Fig. 81), and a sketch for The Heroines of Gerona (Fig. 82). Thus, a sampling of Alsina's themes was represented pictorially if not commented upon critically.

Although most recent writers have not concerned themselves with the dating of paintings either, they have added more works to the periods already established. Since the chronology is still so inconclusive, this study will

concentrate on Alsina's themes and his stylistic treatments of them.

The main characteristics of the Catalan Realist's most important works were centered in the style of a direct, simple naturalism which stood for his conception of the land and people of Catalonia. Produced at the height of his fame and self-confidence, they coincided with the flourishing Renaixença and expressed both his and his region's highest ideals. They included his closely observed and objectively rendered land, sea and townscapes, rural workers, nudes, portraits of himself, his family and fellow artists and animal and flower paintings. When he attempted to represent large-scale nineteenth century events in Catalonia's history, he chose a dramatic, bravura treatment reminiscent of Delacroix and Vernet. He even fell back on Nazarenism for the few biblical themes that he probably produced at a very early age. It is when he paralleled the Academic painters to turn out uninspired formal, idealized portraits or sentimentalized and anecdotalized compositions of the upper bourgeoisie--often mass-produced variations on insipid themes--that Martí Alsina's production is criticized as "art for money's sake."

As the initiator of Catalan Realism in painting, Martí Alsina's name is immediately associated with that of Gustave Courbet.⁴ Indeed, both men resembled each other in their

careers and in their private lives. They shared similar thematic concerns and artistic forms, methodological and instructional innovations, volatile personalities, political activism and social consciousness.

One cannot be sure if the Catalan painter was directly inspired by Courbet or whether he developed independently of his French contemporary. Each painted at almost the same time but in different countries and under different socio-political circumstances. Nevertheless, Spain in 1868 and the years leading up to its revolution did recall the political position of France in 1848. The art of Catalonia was certainly influenced by revolutionary and socialistic currents as Parisian art had been, with Realism the result.

The following questions, often posed by art historians and often answered in opposite ways, sum up an ongoing dilemma: What relationship did Martí Alsina's vigorous rural men and women have with the great figures of Courbet with whom they have been paired by past and present writers? How was it possible that, without precedents, Martí Alsina's landscapes exhibited the on-the-spot observation of nature, the specificity of time and place and the alive, tactile surfaces so reminiscent of Courbet?

There has been a temptation to link the number and importance of Alsina's trips to Paris with a personal

connection with Courbet. However, certain inaccurate scholarship has led to false conclusions. Cervera's assertion that the Catalan first went to Paris in 1848 and was then "directly influenced by Courbet" seems exaggerated since Courbet was then only just beginning to abandon romantic for realist tendencies.⁵ José María Garrut's and Josep Selva's notion that he first went to Paris in 1849 and saw the Enterrement à Ornans then is incorrect.⁶ That work was not exhibited until the Salon of 1850-1851.⁷ José Francisco Ráfols' dating of Alsina's Paris Boulevard during a Snowstorm (Fig. 286) as 1849 instead of 1879 would make his Impressionist-like scene pre-date his Realism.⁸

More logically, Martí Alsina might have known Courbet or of Courbet during a trip to Paris in 1855. The radicality of the French Realist was in full swing and his newly constructed Palace of Realism physically and ideologically opposed the first official International Exposition nearby,⁹ although he showed there also. A possible trip by Martí Alsina in 1878, during another International Exposition, is also offered as the artist's first tangible encounter with French art.¹⁰ Finally, it has been stated that Alsina made a last trip in 1889 and stayed there for a long time.¹¹ Unfortunately, there is no documented evidence that irrefutably supports any of these dates.¹²

Many early twentieth century Spanish art historians as

well as current scholars believed that Martí Alsina was influenced by Courbet, whether directly or indirectly. José Gudiol's recent comment is representative of this view:

Martí Alsina takes the influence of Courbet to create his own style, analytic, of maximum formal realism in his drawing, of color and light, with themes that tried to reflect with all the objectivity possible the world that surrounded the artist, that is to say, the landscape of Catalonia and its inhabitants.¹³

Others see a parallel between the two artists rather than the influence of Courbet on Alsina. According to Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño:

Martí Alsina's intense figures: . . . Involuntarily one thinks of the strength and honesty of Courbet, the great contemporary of our man but not the teacher. Nor could he be nor is anything known about contacts between both illustrious and energetic fighters. . . but contacts are not necessary to dictate similar roads toward the robustness and truth of life. . . . When Courbet painted his workers and when Martí Alsina, from Barcelona, embarked upon painting the workers, the humble and the obscure, they thought and felt in the same way.¹⁴

José María Junoy even dares to place the best of Alsina's output above Courbet's:

If we compare concrete and resolved works of Courbet of a positive excellence with other works no less resolved and excellent of Martí Alsina, we would see that both result almost exactly on the same level. Moreover, in some aspects, we could confirm that some of the works of our Martí Alsina possessed a pictorial value, a classic density [that was] superior.¹⁵

The majority of Martí Alsina's Realist works share thematic and stylistic resonance with Courbet's. Some others shift toward an intimacy or a softness or a sentimentality--even a gentle eroticism--that suggests alternative realist concepts. They conjure up the paintings of Camille Corot on some occasions and Jules Breton on others. Examples of these types will be discussed and illustrated.

Rural Catalans had been raised to the level of protagonists in the paintings of Martí Alsina. With the exception of the precedent set by Francisco Goya in works such as the Milkmaid of Bordeaux, they had been small, supporting folkloric figures in gradiose landscapes or in panoramic views of streets and markets. Now they achieved life-size importance--at times, larger than life-size--in canvases devoted exclusively to them and to the daily agricultural activities that they performed. The laborers were more than likely to be females. Alsina's preference for female forms was well-known. They received top billing as his choices for urban figures, nudes, historical and allegorical personifications.

The female Catalan Peasant (Fig. 83) is plain, proud, determined and optimistic. She strides forward, bearing the accoutrements of her existence: the rustic farm tools of her trade, the bountiful produce of her land and the simple,

homespun outfit of bodice, skirt and kerchief associated with her region and her station in life. She is located in a landscape but she looms far above it. Although not identified by name, she is an individualized, objectively rendered portrait. She confronts the spectator straightforwardly, even patriotically, but not anecdotally.

The country woman who sits at the well (Fig. 84) and the ones who momentarily pause with their baskets along the road (Figs. 85 and 86) belong to the same cast of Alsina-Courbet characters. Additionally, the somber faces of Grandmother and Grandchild (Fig. 87) and of the Male Peasant (Fig. 88) reflect but do not judge the hard work and deprivation that are the lot of their humble class. All of these imposing rural figures appear matter-of-factly and frequently in an art form until only recently reserved for the idealized images of powerful and wealthy citizens of Catalonia.

It was early in his career that Martí Alsina identified with and chose to emphasize the strong, heavy and assertive peasants who toiled on the land of Catalonia. They relate socially and pictorially to Courbet's stone-breakers and grain sifters, for example. In that regard, much of what has been written about Courbet and his treatment of the French country workers could apply to Alsina. For Linda Nochlin: ". . . the style of Courbet and the social factors

which helped to shape it are worthy of comprehensive and serious investigation."¹⁶ For Meyer Schapiro, too, Courbet's figures must be placed within a wider context:

Courbet's taste for the people was thoroughly personal and in his blood. But it was also nourished and directed by the artistic and social movements of his time. Before 1848, he had painted romantic, poetic subjects as well as his provincial world; after 1848, the realistic representation of the people became for him a conscious program.¹⁷

Martí Alsina's painting was also affected by artistic and social movements of his time and place. We have seen that he rejected the current aesthetics of the Nazarene purists who wished to depict past events in past styles. Instead, he embodied the advanced Realist aesthetics of Pi y Margall and others who insisted upon contemporary events in a true-to-life style. We have discussed the socio-political problems of Alsina's country and the rise of Catalanism in his region during the reigns of monarchs and republicans. Alsina chose to confront these problems and actively participated in their solutions. His political, professional and artistic actions confirmed this.

Most of Martí Alsina's peasants seem hard-working. They have an intense, proud bearing and a natural, unselfconscious demeanor. Some of his other rural personae seem merely to pose with the products of the soil or sea without having had to labor to obtain them (Figs. 89, 90,

91, and 92). Their expressions are more self-reflective and carefree. They have ceased to be industrious workers; they almost seem emblematic or allegorical figures. The young Woman with the Jug (Fig. 93) languishes against the edge of a wall and dreamily observes nearby swans. The attractive bearers of baskets of grapes in The Vintage (Fig. 94) and Return to the Town (Fig. 95) saunter along; they seem oblivious of the weight of their burdens and of the difficult tread of their bare feet along the unpaved road. Although the artist had often studied and could certainly draw the logical effect of heavy objects on the stance or movement of peasants (Figs. 96, 97, and 98), those mentioned above are visibly unaffected by it. Such are reminiscent of certain of Francisco Goya's works in which the enjoyment of life is also emphasized rather than the hardship of labor. The titles of the latter's paintings may denote hard work and even deprivation but the contents are about picturesque, attractive rural figures having a nice time: The Grape Harvest and The Flower Women, both of 1786; Country Girls with Pitchers, 1791; The Water Seller, 1808-1810; and The Milkmaid of Bordeaux, 1827.¹⁸

Other Alsina female peasants are coquettish and physically very well-endowed. They have stepped out of their expected rural character and are changed into prettified symbols of the cycles of life. Such stylizations include: Autumn (Fig. 99); Countrywoman with a Basket of

Oranges (Fig. 100), in essence a second version of the former; Allegory of the Orchard (Fig. 101); Allegory of the Sea (Fig. 102); and The Four Seasons (Fig. 103). These paintings no longer stand for objective Realism. Instead, their softened, sentimentalized subject matter is found in alternative realisms. Courbet's early Peasant Girl with a Headscarf (Fig. 104), termed a "dreamy peasant with her rustic sentimentality,"¹⁹ is an example of this tendency but it is the rare example in his oeuvre.

Corot's seductive Reaper Holding Her Sickle, Her Head Resting on Her Hand (Fig. 105)²⁰ and Jules Breton's alluring Reapers (Fig. 106)²¹ make life in the fields seem quite satisfying. His Returning from the Fields (Fig. 107),²² The Close of the Day (Fig. 108),²³ and The Vintage at Chateau Lagrange (Fig. 109)²⁴ evoke pleasant and nostalgic associations with the rural countryside and secure his role as "an idolizer of peasant and rustic life."²⁵ His attitude, or perhaps his apathy, toward the social and political institutions of his time was the opposite of Martí Alsina's. In addition, where Breton's works continue the traditional slick academic style, the latter's technique is freely, temperamentally charged.

Urban women of the bourgeoisie often appear informally in Martí Alsina's paintings. More often than not, they hold baskets of fruit or bouquets of flowers. Only their more

sophisticated clothing, fancier hair styles and "well-bred" facial expressions differentiate them from the lower class subjects who were depicted in the same way (Figs. 110, 111, 112, and 113). Courbet's fondness for the addition of flowers to urban portraits can be seen in Head of a Woman with Flowers (Fig. 114),²⁶ Mère Grégoire (Fig. 115),²⁷ and Lady in a Black Hat (Fig. 116).²⁸ In his Young Girl Arranging Flowers or The Trellis (Fig. 117), he glorified youth and nature, giving equal compositional importance to both,²⁹ as Edgar Degas would do in Woman with Chrysanthemums. The leisure time of such women was captured by the Catalan artist as they sat under parasols in a sunny garden (Figs. 118 and 119), leaned on a patio wall (Fig. 120), mused and read (Fig. 121), chatted with friends (Fig. 122), or prepared to go out for a social call (Fig. 123). Courbet's The Lady of Frankfurt (Fig. 124),³⁰ in its more extensive setting and size, is a comparable treatment of one such subdued moment of relaxation.

Women who posed semi-reclining were either a favorite motif of Martí Alsina himself, or as was more likely, of his willing-to-pay customers. In either case, these women are too often variations on the same insipid theme (Figs. 125, 126, 127, 128, and 129). In two such pictures, the only difference between them is the slight change of decoration on the back wall (Figs. 130 and 131).³¹ The motif was a common international one in the last quarter of the

nineteenth century, as, for example, in works by Edouard Manet and James Whistler who raised their aesthetic level considerably.

The artist's more successful characterizations were of sleeping figures, completely relaxed and unpretentious, as in The Sleeping Child (Fig. 132) and in a series of well-observed studies (Figs. 133 and 134). A drawing of a woman asleep in a chair (Fig. 135) recalls Courbet's charcoal version in mood and posture (Fig. 136). Perhaps Alsina's most famous work is the small but powerful Siesta (Fig. 137). Its general tonality and handling of form and brushstroke, more than any of his paintings, conjure up a vision of Courbet.³² The Catalan did not paint a version of Courbet's Sleeping Spinner (Fig. 138),³³ but his Lady Leaning on Her Elbow (Fig. 139) vividly resembles the other's natural pose, body and facial type and hair style. She even rests on the same striped shawl that the sleeping spinner wears around her shoulders.³⁴

Martí Alsina was not one to hide his frank, exuberant preference for the body of a heavy woman; neither was he to depict any other type in his canvases--it seems that in this respect he and his clients were of one mind. Whether seen from the front or from the back, these corpulent standing models unabashedly exhibit their ample hips, thighs, buttocks and breasts. They are among his most truthful

drawings and oils (Figs. 140, 141, and 142). Reclining women, displayed in teasing, half-dressed states (Fig. 143), or in scanty, clinging fabrics (Figs. 144 and 145), joined the production line of look-alike canvases that could be sold easily and quickly. Alsina copied Fortuny's Odalisque (Fig. 146) and he modified that pose, alternating front and back views (Fig. 147), industrially serializing it for supply and demand. Other frequent poses include the seated nude with one leg tucked under her body (Fig. 148) or folded behind her other leg (Fig. 149). By the number of these in oils and sketches, one can surmise that male patrons found women to be most seductive when so positioned. Because of the lack of documentation, such patrons must remain nameless.

Various pertinent observations have been made with regard to Martí Alsina's nudes. Alejandro Cortada believes that the painter was quite daring in his conception of them since there were no precedents for the type in his country. He further theorizes that had Alsina been born in another time and place, he would have devoted himself more exclusively to this genre.³⁵ Gaya Nuño's comparison of the nudes of Alsina and Courbet also explains their relationship to the spectator:

. . . as in the case of Courbet, the nudes by Martí Alsina are not forms of exemplary models or Venuses. Very often, [they exist for their] well characterized amorous and sexual function. . . their tendency to show

off flesh of excessive opulence. . . with the deliberate incitation of voluptuousness. . . the mental and physical health of the great painter did not care to hide defects, the wrinkles of fat. . .³⁶

Alsina's best nudes recall Courbet's types, such as The Source and The Bather.³⁷ However, he did not give them the overtones of eroticism that Courbet did in The Sleepers, Woman with a Parrot and Woman in the Waves.³⁸ Perhaps the requests of Courbet's patrons brought about the creation of these themes. We do not know about the specific audience of Martí Alsina nor about any prearranged choices of subject to be able to make a similar conjecture.

Like Courbet, Martí Alsina could be a perceptive portrait painter, especially when he studied himself. From his earliest self-portrait, dating from his youth to his last rendition of himself as an old man, one can follow the optimism and pessimism of his introspective life. One freely associates The Artist (Fig. 150)--possibly his first self-portrait--with Courbet's early and still romanticized counterparts of the 1840s.³⁹ Later on, and again like Courbet, he produces more objective, straightforward depictions.⁴⁰ In three examples, he stares fixedly at the viewer with the unconcealed pride and temperament of a painter who recognized his worth and his mission in life (Figs. 151, 152, and 153). At other times, the self-portraits seem more troubled and less confident (Figs. 154 and 155). His last attempt, like the intense Rembrandts

that he admired, is his saddest. He has suffered yet he is resigned (Fig. 156).

The known portraits of the artist's family are few. His first wife does not appear in any of them. He was completing the mature portrait of his second wife, Francisca Chillida, before his death (Fig. 157). Although he owned various photographs of her at a younger age (Figs. 158 and 159), he apparently did not choose to paint her then.⁴¹

In a double portrait, Alsina's children of his first marriage, Carlota and Camilo, tenderly embrace (Fig. 73). They were to die early of typhus. A second unnamed daughter, more formally posed and dressed, in hat and gloves, is shown slightly older (Fig. 74). There is no documented portrait of his artist-son, Ricardo. The only other portrait of one of his children is that of Enrique Chillida as a baby (Fig. 160). All of these family pictures may be considered within his mature Realism.

Other portraits of children continue the relaxed naturalism (Figs. 161 and 162). On occasion, there are examples of the strict, cold and linear treatments that harken back to the followers of Nazarenism (Fig. 163)⁴² or to contemporary Academicians who favored anecdotalism (Fig. 164).

Alsina made three portraits of fellow artists. The Portrait of Ramón Tusquets, dated 1862, is relatively innovational for its time and place. While others depicted their subjects in conventional poses and fully lit, he decided to show a standing figure whose facial features are made more intriguing since only they receive the light (Fig. 165). Looser brushwork and increased casualness define the Portrait of Francisco Torrecassana who once studied with the master (Fig. 166).⁴³ The caricature of another artist-pupil, Luis Pellicer, surrounded by canvases, drawings and brushes, is so like Courbet's The charity of a beggar at Ornans⁴⁴ that it may be more than a coincidence. They may play very different roles but the painter and the beggar each display the same unusual stance and wear similar clothing (Fig. 167). Their appearances simply stand out as truly bizarre.

There are innumerable "official portraits," male and female, produced by Martí Alsina. They range from royalty--King Alfonso XII and his Queen Mercedes (Figs. 168 and 169)--to well-known society members (Figs. 170 and 171). The importance of such people is pictorially reflected in their pose, dress and studied aloofness. They contrast with less formal and more objective examples, albeit fewer in number (Figs. 172 and 173).

Finally, most Biblical, historical and mythological figures appear among the artist's most derivative canvases. David and Abigail (Fig. 174) and Eliezer and Rebecca (Fig. 175) closely follow the Nazarene tradition and could be mistaken for the works of Lorenzale.⁴⁵ Alsina's anticlericalism made him adverse to painting such subjects; the Praying Nun and Cain and Abel are his only other known religious works. All of these are probably quite early as can be deduced from their derivative style.

As a patriot, Alsina was interested in scenes that faithfully described key moments in the history of Catalonia.⁴⁶ He depicted the bravery of groups of male rural figures who defended their region in The Somatén (A Catalan war cry) or Defence of Bruch, dated 1866 (Figs. 176 and 177); he emphasized the participation of females who aided the wounded in The Company of Santa Barbara: The Battle of Gerona of 1808, of 1891 (Figs. 178 and 179), and The Heroines of Gerona (Fig. 180). These paintings, strong and emotionally charged, represent the province's furious skirmishes against the French and are reminiscent in color and movement of the sweeping battle and death canvases of Delacroix⁴⁷ and Horace Vernet. Such dramas also conjure up another event in Spanish history which was rendered in 1865 by Antonio Gisbert: The Execution of General Torrijos and His Companions.

Martí Alsina's culminating historical painting was to be the grandiose and panoramic Great Day of Gerona (Figs. 181 and 182) which he began in 1865 but never completed.⁴⁸ Of enormous proportions and with life-size figures,⁴⁹ he made it one of the major concerns of his artistic life.⁵⁰ He supposedly took his students and assistants for full days to the studio to work on it, all regarding the activity as a big romería or pilgrimage.⁵¹

The Liceo Theatre in Barcelona was the cultural and social mecca of the industrial bourgeoisie. First built in 1848 it was refurbished after a fire in 1861. At that time, the most important Catalan decorators and artists adorned the ceilings between the gilded mouldings.⁵² Among those who painted the eight literary and mythological medallions in the official Academic style were Antonio Caba, Agustín Rigalt, son of Luis, and Martí Alsina. The latter contributed three scenes: Shakespeare's Macbeth, Aeschylus' The Persians and Aristophane's The Frogs.⁵³

There were various 'exotic' figure types that Martí Alsina placed in genre scenes throughout his career. The Bandoleros or Bandits inhabit a sinister moonlit and fire lit landscape (Fig. 183). Groups of Gypsies engage in the activities associated with their colorful life styles (Figs. 184 and 185). A Moroccan lady, seated on the floor, plays the tambourine (Fig. 186). Itinerant musicians entertain a

crowd on the street (Fig. 187). A shipwreck, with its dead and dying, is the vehicle for heightened drama, tumultuous seas and contorted poses of victims (Fig. 188).

It is the everyday workers, however, who are more usually seen in Alsina's painted repertory. They generally toil in the wheatfields and vineyards, gathering produce and filling baskets (Figs. 189, 190, 191, and 192). Or they work as fisherfolk on the beaches, mending nets and readying their boats (Figs. 193 and 194). They may hunt with dogs in the thick woods and streams (Fig. 195), they may go marketing in the old quarters of the town (Fig. 196), or they may draw water from the public well (Fig. 197). The latter, one of the most charming small townscapes, is in the private collection of Alsina's son and therefore rarely seen and little known.

Like Corot, Martí Alsina was continuing here the preservation in paint of time-honored rural tasks and nostalgic, picturesque landmarks of town and country.⁵⁴ Both artists traveled extensively throughout their respective lands to commemorate and record their acknowledged glorious heritage. They no longer chose examples from the mythical or classical past; rather, they concerned themselves with the tangible historical past. Both stressed the timelessness, the folkloric. Both avoided the visual symbols of the Industrial Revolution--factories,

steamships, smokestacks--and instead presented a "tempered contemporaneity."⁵⁵ In such scenes of local color their canvases were mainly small, intimate and lyric.⁵⁶

When Martí Alsina painted large-scale landscapes and seascapes, almost devoid of figures engaged in daily activities, he returned to his other realist style. He emphasized the strength, the roughness and the drama of nature as did Courbet.⁵⁷ Catalonia mountain passes are steep and craggy (Figs. 198 and 199). Trees are thick and gnarled.⁵⁸ Plains are windswept and rocky (Fig. 200). Stormy seas beat against the coast; boats pitch and skies threaten (Figs. 201 and 202).⁵⁹

The textures of nature's elements are handled with thick impasto and lively, rapid brushstrokes. They are combinations of the artist's direct observation and temperamental personality. Such can also be said about Alsina's handling of animals to which he devoted many sketches and oils.⁶⁰ There are objective portraits of lions and tigers (Figs. 203, 204, 205, and 206)--he studied many of them in the circuses that came to Barcelona--as well as goats and dogs (Figs. 207, 208, 209, and 210). There are still-lives of rabbits and game birds (Figs. 211, 212, 213, and 214). There are action scenes at bullfights and horse races (Figs. 215, 216, and 217). Finally, there are many studies of groupings of fruits and flowers that are rich in

color, tactility and composition (Figs. 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, and 223).⁶¹

Throughout his career the Catalan artist had tried many genres and several variations of the Realist style. He had often changed directions to suit his themes, his patrons' preferences, his own whims and the influences of others. His followers would take many of his works as their models as they continued and elaborated upon his artistic program.

Notes to Part IV, Chapter II

1. Folch y Torres, op. cit., pp. 64-65. Ráfols, Diccionario Biográfico de Artistas de Cataluña, p. 114, reports that "it was then [after the failure to exhibit in London and Paris] when, resigning himself to the blows of destiny, he decided not to exhibit any more abroad and to paint only to fulfill commissions of his city."
2. Folch y Torres, op. cit., pp. 104-105, established this vague grouping and all other art historians have since copied it. On p. 125 he mentions the titles of several projected works or several completed works--the designation is not clear--for which there is now no visual documentation.
3. Ibid., after pp. 48, 64, and 96. The author did not include photographs of any works designated as the "third period" although he wrote of it as "the busy and sad, abundant and cold period." See pp. 126-127.
4. Cortada, op. cit., p. 51, sees Martí Alsina as an innovator for more than Catalonia: "He founded an art that with forms more or less renewed, will constitute not only Catalan landscape painting but all landscape painting of Southern Europe."
5. See Linda Nochlin, Gustave Courbet: A Study of Style and Society, New York, 1976, pp. 59-71, for a discussion of Courbet's first realist works. See Cervera, op. cit., p. 39, for Courbet's supposed influence at that time. The author more correctly believes that Alsina was also influenced by Corot then. See Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 130, for the possibility of Vernet's influence during that trip to Paris.
6. Selva, op. cit., p. 373, and Garrut, op. cit., p. 105.

7. Nochlin, Gustave Courbet, p. 129. The author reminds me that Alsina could have seen Courbet's Après Dînée à Ornans.
8. Ráfols, Diccionario Biográfico de Artistas de Cataluña, p. 113.
9. Benet, "Ramón Martí y Alsina," Destino, December 1962, p. 55; Selva, op. cit., p. 373; and Junoy, op. cit., p. 24. According to the latter, Alsina had arranged to show a large number of works then, a plan which was not carried out "for reasons not all known." Cirici Pellicer, op. cit., p. 74, gives the date as 1878 and believes that Alsina "is invited to bring a collection of works but he could not due to economic difficulties." As with the trip of 1848, not all scholars include the trip of 1855 which is noted in Benet's article, op. cit., p. 55, and Selva, op. cit., p. 373.
10. Folch y Torres, op. cit., pp. 71-72, and de Salas, op. cit., pp. 15-19. The latter notes that in 1877 Courbet's workshop was being sold and in 1878 the critic Paul Mantz had written various articles of extensive information on the life and work of Courbet in the Gazette des Beaux Arts.
11. Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 72, and Benet, "Ramón Martí y Alsina," p. 55. Neither writer amplifies this contention.
12. Trips to Holland and Belgium have been mentioned without documentation.
13. Fontbona, El Paisatgisme a Catalunya, p. 46, quoted Gudiol's "Ramón Martí i Alsina" in Gran Enciclopedia Catalana, Vol. 9, pp. 644-645. See also the following: de Salas, op. cit., p. 26: "A certain reiteration of attitudes is owed to a knowledge of Courbet;" Destino, 1962, p. 50: "Martí Alsina precociously, and with his powerful personality, translated Courbet to our climate;" Benet, "Ramón Martí y Alsina," p. 55: "Martí gathers something Courbetian that, throughout [his] phases. . . is in constant battle with something feverish, fugitive Delacroix-ian. . .

and which, in his moments of equilibrium, produces [his] most potent works;" Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 116: "Martí Alsina's production of 1865-1870 initiates realist painting of customs that Courbet was practicing;" and Ibid., p. 128: "The determined introduction to a militant realism was the personal work of Martí Alsina, the veritable representative of the art of Courbet in Catalonia."

14. Gaya Nuño, op. cit., p. 351. See also the following: Navascués, op. cit., p. 311: "In his work one can find a parallel with Courbet although he might not have gotten to meet him, but with whom he was ideologically very close" and Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 120: "Courbet makes [one] feel all the poetry of contemporary life and Martí Alsina feels that interest in his world and with all the force of his temperament, he advances with audacity, raising [his] flag against the artistic precedents that still lived half-asleep. . . at Lonja: Neo-Classicism and Overbeckian aesthetic." See Nochlin, Realism and Tradition: Sources and Documents, New Jersey, 1966, p. 95, for her assessment of a parallel between Ford Madox Brown's Work and Courbet's Atelier, phraseology that is applicable to such an assessment between Martí Alsina and Courbet as well as between 1848 France and 1868 Catalonia: ". . . While there is no overt relation to Courbet or French Realism in general, one almost feels that similar social currents, contemporaneous in France and England--humanitarian, labor-loving, popular--may at times give rise to a similar confrontation of reality. Though infinitely more complex and literary than Courbet's Artist's Studio, Brown's Work is, like it, an Allegorie réelle, a real allegory or, more accurately, an allegory based on reality--the reality of the social climate of the times and the personal life of the artist himself."
15. Junoy, op. cit., p. 24.
16. Nochlin, Gustave Courbet, pp. 2, 5. The beginning of the quote is so provocative that it should be included: "It would seem . . .

incontestable that the works of Courbet created in the period from about 1848 to about 1855 exhibit a homogeneity of form, content and attitude which, taken together, may be characterized by the term 'realism.' This style embodies features which distinguish it from the works of the preceding years of his career, and, with certain exceptions, from the character of the works of the later part of Courbet's life.

It is the contention of this thesis that the 1848 Revolution and the climate of ideas associated with it played a crucial role in determining the development and character of this style. Before the revolution, although certain elements of realism appear as potentials, Courbet's oeuvre generally reflects a conflict or vacillation between his innate 'naive materialism' and a rather superficial and provincial romanticism imposed by the climate of the times. After the middle fifties, Courbet turns increasingly to non-controversial subjects, especially landscape, with concomitant formal and attitudinal changes. Since an examination of Courbet's paintings makes it obvious that 1848 marks the turning point in the artist's career, it is therefore relevant to include an examination of the effects of the revolution and the ideas surrounding it on art, in order to provide a background for the emergence of the new style.

Yet if Courbet is really the crucial figure in French painting of the mid-nineteenth century rather than merely the first artist to paint pictures of peasants on a large scale, and if the true inheritors of the revolution in style and attitude brought about by his art are . . . the masterpieces of Manet, Monet and Renoir in the decade of the sixties, in which themes of everyday life, this time urban and bohemian rather than rustic, are treated seriously as high art, on a large scale in informal, freely grouped, loosely cohesive compositions, and if the echo of Courbet's awkward and unarticulated representation of country people and his fresh and intractable vision are found not in the work of a painter like Jules Breton, but in the card-

players of Cézanne, then surely. . . the style of Courbet and the social factors which helped to shape it are worthy of comprehensive and serious investigation."

17. Meyer Schapiro, "Courbet and Popular Imagery," in Modern Art: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, New York, 1978, p. 54. See also Herbert, op. cit., pp. 44-46: "In 19th-century painting, direct references to the urban-industrial revolution are not common. . . This does not mean that the artists were unaware of the way in which city and man's life were being altered. . . My general thesis. . . is that the peasant was among the most important subjects for the embodiment of artists' attitudes toward the urban-industrial revolution. . . It is against [the] background of the sudden rise to prominence of the depopulation of the countryside that we must place the exactly parallel rise of peasant art in mid-century France." Nochlin, Realism, New York, 1977, pp. 112-115, again provides a stimulating and concise commentary about the Realist worker and the Realist myth: ". . . the 1848 Revolution had raised the issue of labour as a major issue for the first time. . . After the 1848 Revolution, the worker becomes the dominant image in Realist art, partaking of both the grandeur of myth and the concreteness of reality. . . the choice of the image of the peasant to embody contemporary labour was also a function of Realist myth. For while it is true that the peasant still accounted for the largest proportion of the working force in Europe, nevertheless, he and his life, his habits and customs, were already beginning to be recognized as part of a vanishing reality. . . But in general the relation of the peasant to the soil provided Realist art with a positive and sympathetic, if not an idyllic, image of rural life."
18. Rita de Angelis, L'Opera Completa di Goya, Milan, 1974, illustrates the five examples and numbers them, respectively: Figs. 198/199; Figs. 194/195; Figs. 253/254; Fig. 481; and Fig. 691/Plate LXIV.

19. Royal Academy of Arts, Gustave Courbet, Great Britain, 1978, p. 94.
20. Yvon Taillandier, Corot, New York, n.d., p. 53.
21. Hollister Sturges, Jules Breton and the French Rural Tradition, Omaha, 1982, pp. 72-73.
22. Ibid., pp. 88-89.
23. Ibid., pp. 76 and 78.
24. Ibid., pp. 76-77.
25. Gabriel P. Weisberg, "Jules Breton's 'The Gleaners' of Courrieres: A Traditional Aspect of Regional Life," Arts, January 1981 and "Jules Breton's 'The Grape Harvest at Chateau-Lagrange,'" Arts, June 1981.
26. Bruno Foucart, Courbet, New York, 1977, p. 85.
27. Royal Academy of Arts, op. cit., pp. 120-124.
28. Ibid., pp. 221-223.
29. Ibid., pp. 144-145.
30. Ibid., pp. 134-135.
31. Foucart, op. cit., p. 30.
32. Lafuente Ferrari, op. cit., p. 439, relates The Siesta to the works of Manet. There is certainly a similarity between the Siesta of Martí Alsina and the Convalescent of Charles-Emile Carolus-Duran, who, according to Weisberg, The Realist Tradition, Indiana, 1980, p. 16, "is known to have seen Courbet's 1855 exhibition and the similarity of the sleeping, introspective pose here suggests that he may have studied Courbet's Wounded Man. Carolus-Duran's realism here is anecdotal where Alsina's is not. Sleeping figures had previously been portrayed by Catalan artists. An example, as illustrated in Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 125, is The Sleeping Guardsman of the Woods, c. 1866, by Ramón Vives.

33. Royal Academy, op. cit., pp. 102-103.
34. See Aaron Sheon, "Courbet, French Realism and the Discovery of the Unconscious," Arts, February 1981, pp. 114-125, for a provocative discussion about Courbet's sleeping figures and the discovery of the unconscious as well as his "Tentative Checklist of Courbet's Paintings Related to the Theme of Sleep, Dreams and the Unconscious," pp. 124-125. The author refers to the catalog numbers from Robert Fernier, La Vie et l'oeuvre de Gustave Courbet: Catalogue raisonné, 2 vols., Lausanne-Paris, 1978:
 1. Sleep, p. 532
 2. Le hamac, p. 53
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35. Cortada, op. cit., p. 48.
 36. Gaya Nuño, op. cit., pp. 351-352.
 37. These are illustrated in Royal Academy of Arts, op. cit., pp. 179 and 105, respectively.
 38. Ibid. See illustrations, pp. 166, 168 and 180, respectively.
 39. Ibid. See the following illustrations: Small portrait of the artist with a black dog, 1842, p. 80; Self-portrait entitled Courbet with a black dog, 1844, p. 83; The sculptor, 1844, p. 86; The lovers in the country, after 1844, p. 88; Self-portrait entitled 'Man with a leather belt', 1845-1846, p. 90; The Cellist, Self-portrait, 1874, p. 92; and Portrait of the artist known as the wounded man, 1844-1854, p. 109.
 40. Ibid. See the following illustrations: The meeting or 'Good day, Monsieur Courbet', 1854, p. 111; Self-portrait known as Courbet in a striped collar, 1854, p. 112; and Self-portrait at Sainte-Pelagie, 1873-1874?, p. 194.

41. These photographs were given to the author by the artist's son, Enrique Martí Chillida.
42. See, for example, Fig. 9 in Part III.
43. For a similar treatment, see Delacroix's Frédéric Chopin of 1838.
44. See Royal Academy of Arts, op. cit., p. 182, for Courbet's painting of 1867-1868.
45. See, for example, Fig. 3 in Part III.
46. de Salas, op. cit., p. 24, notes that Alsina's list of his history paintings is more extensive than his known works.
47. The following paintings by Delacroix would be the models: The Massacre of Chios, 1824; Greece Expiring on the Ruins of Missolonghi, 1826; The Death of Sardanapalus, 1827 and Liberty Guiding the People, 1830. See Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 130, who feels that in style, rather than in theme, these paintings reflect the influence of Courbet's Realism. He also mentions the parallel enterprise of Fortuny in his Battle of Tetuán of 1863 and feels that perhaps Alsina tried to 'do one better' than Fortuny's tour de force.
48. Folch y Torres, op. cit., pp. 75-77, reports that Alsina did extensive research of texts and memoirs of Gerona to document his epoch painting. Navascués, op. cit., p. 311, exclaims that this painting "says absolutely nothing." Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 130, quotes a satiric verse about the painting that was written in 1865 by Joaquín Asensio de Alcántara and Teodoro de Mena in Calabazas y Cabezas, Barcelona, p. 65: "With the Siege of Gerona/he dreamed of obtaining glory/ either he lacked genius or time/ and the picture is in Barcelona."
49. The painting measures 5.40 x 11.90 meters. In the December 3, 1983 issue of El Noticiero, 18, it was reported that it has been kept rolled up

in a wooden cylinder in the Museum of Art of Catalonia for forty years because the building lacks adequate wall space and air conditioning. It would take eight men to extract it from the cylinder.

50. Rafols, Diccionario Biográfico de Artistas de Cataluña, p. 116. According to Rafols, Alsina had to rent a room of the Casino de Sans for entire months, even years. In addition, he had other considerable expenses, including the renting of outfits and accessories. He had to pay the many models on a weekly basis.
51. de Salas, op. cit., p. 9.
52. Cirici Pellicer, La Pintura Catalana, Vol. II., Palma de Mallorca, 1951, p. 13.
53. The three works are reproduced in Antoni Sabat, Gran Teatro del Liceo, Barcelona, 1979, pp. 14-16.
54. Fontbona, El Paisatgisme a Catalunya, pp. 54-56, notes that Alsina had an ample public for these works.
55. I owe the notion of "tempered contemporaneity" and its explanation to Linda Nochlin.
56. In addition to the visual examples presented above, see also Alsina's historic monuments, figs. 50-53, and his market scenes, figs. 63-65, all in Part III. Other Alsina compositions that parallel Corot's may be found in the following sources: Cortada, op. cit., p. 42; Pantorba, op. cit., plate 3 and colorplate 6; Fontbona, El Paisatgisme a Catalunya, pp. 54-56. For paintings of Corot that are similar to Alsina's in style and content, see Taillandier, op. cit., pp. 16, 23, 29, 40 and 91. Courbet also painted tranquil, bucolic and lyric compositions on occasion. See examples in Foucart, op. cit., p. 68, and Royal Academy of Art, op. cit., pp. 152, 175 and 176.

57. For similar landscapes and seascapes by Courbet, see Foucart, op. cit., pp. 53, 54, 68, 70 and 76 and Royal Academy of Arts, op. cit., pp. 71, 153, 165, 187 and 228.
58. See Cortada, op. cit., p. 49, and Fontbona, El Paisatge a Catalunya, pp. 134-135.
59. See also Pantorba, op. cit., colorplate 2, and Cortada, op. cit., pp. 41 and 49.
60. Benet, "Ramón Martí y Alsina," p. 55, and Gaya Nuño, op. cit., p. 351, cite Delacroix and Barye as influences on Alsina with regard to his animal paintings. Courbet is the closer influence. For examples of this, see Foucart, op. cit., pp. 47 and 55, and Royal Academy of Arts, op. cit., pp. 130, 139, 160, 171 and 181. Selva, op. cit., p. 383, points out that with rare exceptions animal paintings did not before hold much attraction for Catalan artists.
61. For Courbet examples, see Foucart, op. cit., pp. 50 and 51, and Royal Academy of Arts, op. cit., pp. 143, 188 and 189.

V. THE CONTINUATION OF CATALAN REALIST PAINTING:
THE IMPACT OF RAMÓN MARTÍ ALSINA

Chapter I

Methodology and Production

Martí Alsina received his training at the School of Lonja which became the Provincial Academy of Fine Arts of San Jorge in 1849. He returned there in 1852 to teach line drawing at the age of twenty six and figure drawing at twenty eight. Two years later, he was appointed an academician. He occupied a chair of drawing and remained in the school for his entire life except for several intermittent political interruptions.¹ Thus, he maintained an affiliation with official instruction and patronage in Barcelona, admired by the academic faculty, students, critics of the press and the artistic and intellectual milieu.² In addition, he exerted influence upon other painters and scholars who would form the bohemia barcelonesa of the beginning of the twentieth century.³

In 1880 he was the first to reform the artistic pedagogy of Lonja,⁴ in his capacity as professor at an annex of that school.⁵ His basic concern was for qualified instruction in which the collective faculty contributed artistic and aesthetic ideas. He wrote: "If a class needs more than one teacher it is necessary that there be one

single system because otherwise confusion is instilled in the mind of the student."⁶

Martí Alsina often kept notes and made speeches about his artistic preoccupations: his instructional devices, his frustrations with the traditions of his time and his concepts of Realism. In addition, two of his pupils, Joaquín Vayreda and Federico Damians Manté, have left detailed written records of their experiences in his studios. Thus, first-hand documentation of Alsina's methods as painter and teacher are available.

He was against well-worn academic formulas and new romantic theories promulgated by Overbeck and preached at Lonja.⁷ Whenever he could present his opposing views, he did. In a speech for the opening of an art exposition at the Ateneo Catalán, an intellectual club in Barcelona, he rallied against the restrictions of Nazarene purism, a dominating force in Catalan artistic life:⁸

Oppose meekness, cold science, the Christian philosophy of Overbeck with the arms and vigor of Vernet. . . There are among us contradiction and conflict; this does not matter, because there is no life, there is no progress without oscillation and without conflict. We observe ourselves and criticize ourselves. . . Good are the conflicts between those who study in Paris and those who study in Rome. Good are the defences and the refutations that result from opposing pictures. . . The young artists of our painting walk forward and it will be their turn to arrive helped by science.⁹

He was against artistic education which had students excessively copy engravings and prints of antique objects and figures. He admitted the benefit of such reproductions only upon condition: "The School of Lonja, which had begun with the routine of prints of better or worse style, has established the use of fragments as well as entire figures of the human body. Let such prints in a good style be used, not in order to learn to draw but in order to see and know."¹⁰ He also recognized that although an artist needed "sentiment or instinct in his work, he must not allow himself to act freely without a solid preparation."¹¹

Damians Manté remembered another of Alsina's instructional concerns. Students should deal with true form, plastic form as soon as possible because "this would accord with the vision of nature." Thus, at the beginning, they were given molds of fragments and masterpieces of sculpture, pure or decorative, depending upon the professional needs of each one.¹²

Alsina's most important pedagogical innovation was his introduction of observation: direct confrontation with nature and with the living model. Instead of continuing the practice of painting imaginary landscapes in studios, based upon engravings and composed according to past formulas, he had his students go out into the countryside and paint there.¹³ The notion of sketching and painting in front of

reality was new for its time and place. A priori solutions were replaced by the attentive and analytical study of surrounding nature.¹⁴ In Catalonia, the only precedent could be found in Luis Rigalt's drawings but his method still generally relied on convention. It was the first time that a Catalan artist and his students personally and systematically examined objects in nature at different times of day and in different atmospheric conditions. However, it contradicted Alsina's own "mass production" techniques which he employed at the end of his career. Ironically, many of the same students who had been nurtured on the master's plein air concept would later find themselves as his assistants, helping to paint parts of his landscapes in assembly line fashion within the confines of his seven studios.¹⁵

Alsina's curiosity about light and color change was translated into graphic and written annotations. He discussed the rapid change of nature with its resultant infinite nuances, such as the sun when suddenly covered and affected by a cloud. He recognized the dominating aspect of light--atmospheric light--and its relationship to true and local color. He questioned why a simple sky was material enough for the average viewer--if sun broke through the clouds it caused more heightened emotion.¹⁶ He emphasized that to study an object in nature, one must account for its color in all its states: the color of the object, the color

of the surrounding light and all its reflections and the color of the air en masse and as atmosphere.¹⁷ In other personal notes the painter decided upon the order in which elements were to be sketched:

One must know land, sky, trees, man, light and space. . . One must know geography to paint landscapes and know the position of the sun and the form of the masses and the effects of the light above them. One must know trees in order to know from afar the typical signs of their foliage and their branches. . . The best system is to sketch them in parts--first a mass together, then a section of branches without leaves, to see position and direction; then a branch alone, determining the position of the leaves and finally a studied detail of the. . . trunk. The trees grow in the direction of the solar rays that touch them. Therefore, the trees of my garden are straight because the sun only touches them when it is high [in the sky]. The wind modifies this.¹⁸

Students must be trained to reproduce only what they saw. Their teacher cautioned: "However good models may be, they incite mannerism. . . It is necessary never to forget to sketch and to paint from nature in order not to adopt affectation."¹⁹ He wanted his students to imitate no one, not even their teacher.²⁰ Indeed, his most famous followers produced very personal mature works.²¹

Joaquín Vayreda's positive beginnings in landscape painting under Alsina are representative of his other students' experiences:

I entered the studio of Martí Alsina where I made rapid progress although it cost me alot of work to

abandon the bad habits of my first education. . . During the first lessons of my master, I saw that impenetrable curtain tear away and the spectacle of a limitless horizon open wide. In the middle of this immeasurable space my spirit was flying with vehement desires to dominate its light and its spendors.²²

Vayreda's initial training in Olot was typical of the program offered at Lonja before Martí Alsina's renovations. Traditional Neo-Classicism and the new medievalizing ideas of Nazarene purism were the order of the day. Vayreda's first teacher, Narcisco Pascual, had an obsession with copying and the conviction that nothing new could be expressed in art. Having to draw classic profiles of eyes and noses copied from prints, Vayreda wrote about Pascual's "absurd and routine system:"

And that was not the worst but it tacitly seems to stem from the axiomatic principle that all that could be done was already carried out by those who had lived in a Golden Age, whose times could never again return, obligating us, poor mortals, to resign ourselves to imitate their works.²³

Soon Vayreda was advised by Pascual to seek instruction elsewhere. His words betray his helplessness in front of a talent far greater than his own as well as the futility of his own methodology:

My son, I have taught you all that I know. You have copied the best models of the school. You have reproduced pictures of the shepherd's cottage, of the baby goat, of the fallen tree and even of the very difficult port of Ambers. I do not have others. With what you know, you can devote yourself to composing,

that is to say, with various fragments [you can] make pictures of your own invention. If you go to Barcelona, you will be able to copy some pictures that will teach you something more. After which you will be able to be on your own, if your family cannot send you to Rome, where you will find many more things to see and copy.²⁴

Ironically, Pascual had never spoken to his pupils of the landscape of Olot although it was in such proximity. That was because his former professors at Lonja had taught him nothing of landscape either nor had the prints and engravings that he had used there.²⁵

Martí Alsina convinced the seventeen year old Vayreda not to be afraid of abandoning the artificial and facing the natural,²⁶ a concept which changed that pupil's entire approach to painting. Such a concept, radical at the time, soon clashed with the traditional aesthetic norms of other professors²⁷ and resulted in a polarization of pedagogies. In fact, art soon became divided into such camps as "those who study in Paris," "those who study in Rome" and between such rivals as "those who study with Martí" and "those who study with Serra."²⁸

José Serra Porson (1828-1910) was more important as a teacher than as an artist, having become the exponent of a "post-romantic conventionalism"²⁹ and remembered as a teacher "with long white hair, well-kept, and with a bad disposition as an old man and with his demands of drawing from prints. . ."³⁰ In contrast, Martí Alsina, as the

representative of the Realists, was remembered as a teacher who:

dominated his students with his powerful head, somewhat leonine, topped by abundant hair already gray, an energetic and expressive face illuminated by lively and intelligent eyes. . . His language was simple; his eloquence was piquant and persuasive and he immediately possessed the soul of his young audience as he communicated optimism and enthusiasm.³¹

Alsina was not alone in his attack on the artistic establishment. Pere Borrell (1835-1910), another Realist, had established a private school of drawing in 1868. He, too, had trained at Lonja and had been disenchanted with the practice of copying reproductions. He determined that his students would sketch immediately and directly from the living model.³²

As an artist-teacher Alsina was not only dedicated to outdoor sketching and painting of the landscape; he was anxious to have it accepted as an important genre. Among his papers was found his criticism of those who did not take it seriously:

Those who through pedantry, through ignorance, or through drought of the soul, relegate [landscape painting] to the background of art, forget that, by acting thus, they relegate with it the descriptions of nature that the greatest poets of humanity have written.³³

Another of his interests was the improvement of the profession: the independence of the artist in Catalonia. It was he who began a project to provide for art expositions separate from those held at the Academy. Artists needed a permanent site. The Society of the Friends of the Fine Arts had attempted to exhibit in the ex-convent of San Juan de Jerusalem in Barcelona but that had ended in 1859. From then on, the Catalan artists were left without exposure for their works.³⁴ On the board of directors with Martí Alsina were the banker Ignacio Gerona, who was to finance the project, and Pablo Milá y Fontanals, among others.³⁵ Plans were finalized in 1868 when a constitution empowered the new society to erect a building at the intersection of two main boulevards, Paseo de Gracia and Rambla de Catalunya.³⁶ Thus, the artists now had direct contact with the public. According to Fontbona, this benefitted the new Realist painters who were able to introduce their style in a neutral atmosphere.³⁷

Patrons played a large role in Martí Alsina's stylistic and technical decisions and in the selection and frequency of his subject matter.³⁸ His biographer and other Catalan writers have emphasized this fact, but they have not been able to uncover the specific names and requests of such patrons. In his youth, he painted the likenesses of the townsfolk of his mother's birthplace of Mataró. The sums that were paid were very modest but the commissions were

plentiful and the requests, undemanding. This public consisted of his relatives and clients of families of sailors, shipowners, merchants, farmers and retired financiers returning from the Americas.³⁹ Work was carried out "according to the humor of the moment, the sympathies. . . , the haste of the artist."⁴⁰ He often had so much to do that he compromised with the lesser commissions, painting throughout the night to complete "dress coats and waistcoats, harmoniously united with. . . gaudy earrings, embroidered handkerchiefs, floral bows. . . worn by the Mataró bourgeoisie." ⁴¹

The artist's tireless creative energy and rapidity of hand were proverbial. The following two anecdotes illustrate this:

One day he was crossing the street when he came upon a young girl who was going to church. Captivated by her beauty and her genteel bearing, he asked permission to sketch her. She and her family did not have time because they wanted to attend the religious service. He persisted, begging them to allow him only a few minutes. When they returned from church, the portrait was finished and was hanging on one of the walls of their home.⁴²

In order to test the competence and dexterity of two eminent artists, both were given compositions with biblical themes. Martí Alsina was to paint Eliezer and Rebecca and the other artist, Moses Saved from the Waters. The latter appeared before the judges on the designated day, declaring himself beaten because he had not been able to finish the work. Martí Alsina, having completed his in advance, also painted The Daughter of Jephthah by the due date.⁴³

At the height of his career, the artist enjoyed the patronage of high-ranking Catalans. Unfortunately, only one of these has been mentioned by name: Sebastián Pascual, a Barcelona landholder, who then supplied many of Alsina's needs and wants.⁴⁴ However, as he earned more money he incurred more expenses to such an extent that he became ruled by them. He was constantly forced to increase his output to keep pace with his rising impecunity. Soon he had to take loans from Pascual even against future canvases.⁴⁵

A total of four thousand oil paintings and between twelve thousand and fourteen thousand studies and sketches have been attributed to Martí Alsina's hand.⁴⁶ However, so dispersed are the relatively few known paintings, most of them in private collections, that no catalog yet exists.⁴⁷ The artist's prolific talent did not always yield successful results. Forced because of continued financial problems to accept more commissions than he could complete, he painted many mediocre works that greatly damaged his prestige.⁴⁸ Among art historians there are differences of opinion about the onset of this uneven production. The period of the last twenty years has been cited⁴⁹ but Alsina's biographer insisted that there had been only six years involved.⁵⁰ Another viewpoint suggests that Alsina changed his course in his last two years and returned to more serious painting.⁵¹ Most writers emphasize that the artist himself brought about his deteriorated economic situation. Others place blame on

the lack of social respect for the profession of art and the resulting small fees paid.⁵² According to Cervera: "In the 1870's and 1880's there was no place in the academic world of art for these Catalan realist painters."⁵³

There was a time when Alsina maintained seven studios.⁵⁴ Each of them became a factory of production for the payment of the master's debts. He devised a complete plan for the assembly line of works in diverse genres. He specified themes, dimensions, the time calculated to carry out each one and the price for which each should be sold. The rough draft of this plan was found among his private papers. After seeing it, one can accept that not one but several daily paintings came out of each of the seven studios.⁵⁵ Alsina, the entrepreneur, stipulated the following:

To annotate and classify designs and arrange them in the form of marketable works, destined for a specific person.

Plan for saleable history paintings to public corporations. . . [to] a Commission. . . [to] the Municipal Government. . .

Selected collection of sketches: re-touch them and make them marketable.

Make a series of surprising pictures for the public.

[Put] finishing touches on many pictures at the same time, especially those of mists.

Make expressive pictures of the partial figure or of small figures--two or three--handled freely and energetically. Picture to be completed in a day.

Themes [to satisfy] the taste of the public: "The Poor Widow," "Pendants."

Pictures that sell for at least fifty duros for a day's work; [To look] very impressive; made without difficulty.

Seascapes of about three hands' length. Contrasts.

Dark rocks. Clear sky. Foam. Half-size figures from the back. Fine result in a day.

Seascape. Grand effects of skies and waters. A figure. Made in two days. One hundred duros for one.

A woman. Grand conclusion and result. Made in twenty days. One thousand duros.

Little seascapes for twenty five duros.

Compositions from nature. Half-size. One hundred duros. And others of rapid execution and great effect.

Prepare work for the assistants.⁵⁶

Martí Alsina was intent upon selling every one of "his" works. Therefore, he signed them all, whether they were created by him or by his studio assistants who followed his notes or sketches.⁵⁷ Sometimes he added only four or five brushstrokes to a canvas that another had painted.⁵⁸ One of the master's last students reported how, along with others, he produced a series of landscapes, following models that were distributed by Martí. The paintings kept on passing from the hands of the less advanced assistants to the more advanced so that at the end of the day he merely had to give some final touches or corrections with brush or spatula before adding his signature. In the meantime, he had spent the day in a contiguous room chatting with a model and sketching.⁵⁹

Notes to Part V, Chapter I

1. Although no definite dates have been given, Martí Alsina has also been named a professor of painting as well as a sub-director at the School of Lonja. See Folch y Torres, Destino, p. 28, and Goya, p. 53:326.
2. Folch y Torres, Destino, p. 28.
3. Bozal, op. cit., p. 52.
4. Folch y Torres, Martí i Alsina, p. 80.
5. Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 216, and Selva, op. cit., p. 375. The annex was located on Carrer [street] Dr. Dou. Among his students there were Vayreda and Torrescassana.
6. Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 80.
7. Ibid., p. 108.
8. Ibid., pp. 120-122. Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 129, identifies this as the draft of Alsina's entrance speech as an academician in San Jorge in 1856 rather than as a speech to the Ateneo Catalán.
9. The quote is a combination of phrases from Folch y Torres, op. cit., pp. 120-121; Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 129; and Fontbona, El Paisatgisme a Catalunya, p. 46.
10. Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 80.
11. Ibid., p. 81.
12. Federico Damians Manté, "En Ramon Martí i Alsina, professor," Butlletí dels Museus d'Art de Barcelona, November 1934, p. 352.
13. The precepts developed by Martí Alsina may have been based on others' pedagogy--perhaps on French

teachers'--but this documentation has not appeared in the literature on him.

14. Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 108.
15. Ibid., pp. 46, 48.
16. Ibid., pp. 108-111. He further comments, p. 112: "all the mother of pearl changes of the light of the hour are explained with the effects that they produce on the volume of things. . . Not a nuance nor a light effect escapes him. . . he has the solid professional base and the audacity of his pencil [and] brush. He eviscerates the optic and pictorial problem. . . with a clear and simple objectivity."
17. Ibid., p. 111.
18. Ibid., pp. 113-114.
19. Ibid., p. 81.
20. Cortada, op. cit., p. 52.
21. Folch y Torres, op. cit., pp. 82-83, summarizes the particular themes and variations on the Realist style of the pupils of Alsina. These will be studied more in depth in Chapter II: "In his private school, not at Lonja, the best fruits of his teaching labors could be found. It was a true garden where diverse personalities flourished: Armet and Pahissa and pebbled landscapes; Vayreda and soft visions of Olot; Urgell and meditated melancholy evenings; Galofre and his Italianisms or Napolitanisms which do harm to our paintings; Tusquets and great vigor and temperament underlining his 'machines' of history; Torrescassana; José Luis Pellicer, to name only the most representative. A whole generation is to pass through the studio of the master, forming a veritable school of Catalan landscape painting of our mid-nineteenth century."
22. Quoted in Cortada, op. cit., pp. 50-51.
23. Quoted in Benet, La Figura patricia y el arte de Joaquín Vayreda, Barcelona, 1963, p. 18. The

School of Olot's director, Juan Carlos Panyó, had been a pupil of Lonja's first director, Pedro Pascual Moles, and a collaborator of Tramullas. Vayreda's father had received some lessons from Panyó. Panyó's daughter, who was also an artist, married Narcisco Pascual. The latter, at the death of his father-in-law, succeeded him in the Olot School of Drawing.

24. Quoted in Benet, La Figura patricia y el arte de Joaquín Vayreda, p. 19.
25. Idem.
26. Gudiol, op. cit., p. 239.
27. Ráfols, Diccionario Biográfico de Artistas de Cataluña, p. 113.
28. Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 121; Fontbona, El Paisatgisme a Catalunya, p. 56, Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 187, notes that upon closer observation, the differences between Serra and Martí were not too great. Urgell and Pellicer were students of both masters.
29. Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, pp. 140, 187-188.
30. Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 82.
31. Damians Manté, op. cit., pp. 352-353. Gaya Nuño, op. cit., p. 352, translated some of that student's Catalan description into Spanish.
32. Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 138: "As a creator, Borrell was less aggressive than Martí Alsina. He painted landscapes, still-lives and 'illusionistic realism' that already announced the evolution of Realism towards a virtuoso anecdotalism that triumphed in the epoch of the Restoration."
33. Quoted in Fontbona, El Paisatgisme a Catalunya, p. 51.
34. Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 145, and Bohigas Tarragó, "Apuntes sobre la

historia de las Exposiciones de Arte en Barcelona: 1786-1888," Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona, 1945, pp. 30-31.

35. Not on the Board of Directors but participants in the undertaking were Alsina's contemporary, Simón Gomes, and his pupil, Torrecassana.
36. Bohigas Tarragó, op. cit., p. 31. The first exhibition took place in December 1868 in the Neo-Classic building which included a large central hall, eight additional rooms and sufficient land for the later construction of another room, similar to the central hall.
37. Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 145.
38. de Salas, op. cit., p. 13.
39. Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 43. Later on in his career, the artist had numerous commissions from Catalans who had moved permanently to South America and who wanted visual remembrances of their homeland. This was told to me by Enrique Martí Chillida, son of the artist, during a visit in Barcelona in July 1984.
40. de Salas, op. cit., p. 13.
41. Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 44.
42. Junoy, op. cit., p. 17. This portrait is said to be of Josefa Payarols who was later the wife of Pedro Arderiu, a well-known member of the high society of his day.
43. Ibid., pp. 17-18. The anecdote was told by the renowned Alejandro María Pons, who kept the three canvases in one of the halls of his house as a souvenir of the artistic competition.
44. Few specific patrons' names appear in the literature. See Benet, Destino, p. 55, for a mention of the Amat family which purchased a number of Alsina's paintings and many of his landscape studies.

45. Ráfols, Diccionario Biográfico de Artistas de Cataluña, p. 114. See also Folch y Torres, Destino, p. 28: "In the intimate papers of the artist we find the reflections of his economic preoccupations and the idea that, free of them, he could carry out those great works of his dreams that would give him glory and wealth. That idea was carried out toward the end of his first period when he made a contract with an admirer of his painting, a banker friend who, during several years, kept a portion of his production in exchange for the monthly allowance that would cover his expenses. "The biographer adds, later: "At the end of his life. . . when Martí was a celebrated artist, he did not earn enough to cover the budget of a modest life."
46. Folch y Torres op. cit., p. 100, and Selva, op. cit., p. 375.
47. See Cortada, op. cit., p. 41, who explains that many works disappeared al extranjero, or abroad, and that others, especially sketches, most probably have been lost completely.
48. Cervera, op. cit., p. 40; Benet, Destino, p. 55; and Goya, p. 53:326.
49. Cortada, op. cit., p. 52.
50. Folch y Torres, Destino, p. 29: "Chronologically the production of Martí begins in 1860 and the consequences of the economic disaster begin between 1886 and 1888. The artist dies in 1894 so that, in total, within a production that extends throughout thirty six years, six--only six--correspond to paintings destined to pay debts."
51. Ráfols, Diccionario Biográfico de Artistas de Cataluña, p. 114, believes that this took place in Vilamajor where the artist went to recuperate from an illness and to escape his creditors.
52. The industrialization of Alsina's art will be discussed later on in this chapter.
53. Cervera, op. cit., p. 41. Folch y Torres, Destino, p. 29, adds that: "the parsimonious

citizens of Barcelona of the day, who in the majority considered a painter someone not much more than an artisan, said that painting was not worth much more and it was true."

54. Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 70, reports that there were three or four studios on the Riera de San Juan that communicated with one in Sanos and that there were two in Barceloneta. Gaya Nuño, op. cit., p. 351, believes that these were established "in order to face the necessities of his home and other complementary necessities, those of his lovers." Benet, Destino, p. 55, reports that they were established "to satisfy the needs of his family and seemingly, those of his not less disposed amatory needs which were somewhat more complicated." Cervera, op. cit., p. 40, notes that "Like Corot, during the last twenty years of his life, Martí Alsina had seven studios turning out hundreds of landscapes and bourgeois interiors for popular consumption."
55. Cortada, op. cit., p. 41. See also Folch y Torres, Destino, p. 29: "He was a man sure of himself and trusted his proven capacity to paint in one day a good canvas that would be valued at two hundred duros [the equivalent of two hundred dollars, approximately]. He often happily spent the two hundred duros without painting the canvas. . . ."
56. Folch y Torres, op. cit., pp. 129-130; Destino, p. 29; and de Salas, op. cit., p. 13.
57. Cortada, op. cit., p. 41.
58. Ibid., p. 44, and Fontbona, El Paisatgisme a Catalunya, p. 53.
59. Jardí, op. cit., p. 152. Folch y Torres, op. cit., p. 67, has left piquant observations on the artist's models and friends and the studios that housed them: ". . . The studio is at once a small atheneum where. . . intellectual questions are investigated; a small school where one learns, works and discusses, and also a club and a spot to relax where friendly activity takes place, in which there is often the presence of the pleasing

and interesting figure of a pretty model. . . . always a type that excites curiosity, . . . of feminine charm, interested in the artistic work and herself an artistic, lively and generous entity. . . ." See also pp. 67-68 and Destino, p. 29, in which he quotes José Plá: "The female models. . . at times were more expensive than the male models. Some of them. . . were very beautiful, such as la Pilar and la Llaunereta, who were the kind who cause rain and thunder." Finally, "the models attracted Alsina's friends to his studio."

Chapter II

The Continuation of Catalan Realism:

The Followers of Ramón Martí Alsina

Catalan Realism, initiated by Ramón Martí Alsina, was continued and expanded by two generations of his many pupils.¹ Some closely followed the master's Realist style and themes, others participated in a new school of naturalist landscape painting while several took up fin de siècle artistic directions such as symbolism and modernism. Although he had renovated artistic pedagogy at the official Academy of Fine Arts of Lonja, Alsina was able to effect even more innovative methods in his private studios where he was free from any academic restrictions. It was from these studios that his most famous pupils emerged. From the first generation are: Joaquín Vayreda (1843-1894), Francisco Torrecassana (1845-1918), Jaime Pahissa (1846-1928), José Armet (1843-1911), Modesto Urgell (1839-1919), and José Luis Pellicer (1842-1901). From the second generation the most representative are: Dionisio Baixeras (1862-1943) and Juan Llimona (1860-1926).

Among Alsina's followers, Joaquín Vayreda received the most attention for having established the Olot School of landscape painting in 1869, the first such artistic community outside of Barcelona.² No one before Vayreda had

depicted this valley situated in the Pyrenees mountains. He had been awakened to the painterly possibilities of a particular locale and to the communal cooperation of artists living and working together by the example of the Barbizon School which he visited during three trips to France in the 1870s.³ The work of Rousseau, Daubigny, Millet and Corot influenced him greatly and he described the importance of what he had learned from them:

. . . from the great masters I have learned in landscape, above all, what attracts and fascinates us is the impression of the whole. The great masses, within great harmonies, are those which speak in landscape--those which infuse sadness, happiness, tranquility, terror, melancholy, solitude--and with regard to details, they only contribute when they cooperate in the triumph of the whole. I have never seen anyone, in ecstasy before Nature, become enthusiastic over a little stone, a leaf or a flower; on the contrary, I have heard them always burst forth with phrases of enthusiasm upon contemplating the gradiose spectacle of the admirable totality of Nature. To convey these emotions⁴ to the canvas is for me the mission of the landscapist.

He would also convey these emotions to the other participants in the School of Olot which is why it has been called the "Barbizon of Catalonia."⁵ Although the Olot School of Fine Arts had been established as early as the eighteenth century, the curriculum stressed neo-classic idealism. Would-be artists always worked indoors, copying prints of what was considered to be perfection in figures and settings. They were never encouraged to seek inspiration from their immediate outdoor surroundings. Vayreda's creation of the Centro Artístico of Olot in the

1870s--attended by local painters and those who traveled annually from Barcelona to spend the summer--made landscape painting preeminent in the town.

Vayreda personally acknowledged his indebtedness to the encouragement and instruction of his first teacher of landscape, Martí Alsina.⁶ Indeed, his earliest canvases, dated between 1868 and 1871, show very close affinities with Alsina's: rustic landscapes with groves of trees, rocks and riverbanks and picturesque costumbrismo peasant scenes⁷ although some have pronounced overtones of a "narrative naturalism"⁸ that were not part of Alsina's vocabulary. The First Pair of Shoes (Fig. 224), The Singing Lesson (Fig. 225), both of 1871, Children Play-Acting a Religious Procession (Fig. 226), and Peasant Girl Knitting Stockings (Fig. 227) are examples of Realist themes and techniques still in the manner of Alsina. An Old Woman Knitting (Fig. 228) and a Seated Country Girl (Fig. 229) also parallel the teacher's renditions.⁹ In all of them Vayreda's liberal handling of paint in thick, visible brushstrokes emphasized vigorous provincial figures engaged in everyday life activities. He continued to paint such "homespun" events throughout the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s in the same straightforward, objective way, even though he was to concurrently use a softer, more sentimentalized treatment for his Olot landscapes.

Among other genre scenes are Holy Friday at Olot, 1875 (Fig. 230); The Baptism, 1885-1886 (Fig. 231); The Funeral Dinner (Fig. 232); and The Offering (Fig. 233), neither dated. In their emphasis upon contemporary religious sociology rather than upon Christian faith, they are reminiscent of Corot's Calvaire at Honfleur¹⁰ and in their assertion of rural bliss they are more like Breton's or Bastien-Lepage's idealizations. Some canvases harken back to the eternal life cycles as portrayed by Millet; such have a fatalistic, melancholy gravity about them as the workers carry out time-honored tasks or go through the motions of their unquestioning existence. Among the many examples are Peasants in the Snow (Fig. 234); Sorrow, of 1876 (Fig. 235); Flock of Sheep, of 1891 (Fig. 236); The Departure of the Flock, of 1880 (Fig. 237); Ruth and Boaz (Fig. 238); After the Rain (Fig. 239); and The Harvest, of 1881 (Fig. 240).¹¹ Vayreda's drawings come even closer to Millet's timeless images because they are isolated from competing, picturesque landscapes, as in Family Meal (Fig. 241), Peasant (Fig. 242); and Peasant Children (Fig. 243).¹²

At other times, Vayreda used attractive figures to decorate his landscapes. Martí Alsina had also adopted a prettified realism in some of his works¹³ but Vayreda seems to have preferred the example of Corot, such as the Frenchman's Recollection of Mortefontaine, of 1864, and Recollection of Castelgandolfo, of 1865.¹⁴ His versions

(Figs. 244, 245, 246, 247, and 248) enlarged Corot's figures and then followed the activities, the mood and the coloration of the inventor of nineteenth century poetic views.

As a figure painter, Vayreda also treated the urban upper bourgeoisie. Like Alsina, he often showed them in moments of relaxation:¹⁵ at home on the terrace (Fig. 249), on the Ramblas Boulevard (Fig. 250), or chatting by a botanically oriented lake (Fig. 251). In the manner of Fortuny, or Goya before him, he produced elegant recreations of eighteenth century high society (Figs. 252 and 253) and one of the lower class imitating it (Fig. 254).

Vayreda is best remembered for his mature landscapes which are softer in tone and more lyrical in mood than Martí Alsina's. This is attributed to the particular humid, light-filled Olot countryside¹⁶ as well as to Vayreda's more docile temperament,¹⁷ delicate health,¹⁸ and desire to fuse his romantic perception with the realistic elements of nature.¹⁹ José María Garrut interprets the Olot landscapes as "a world of suggestion. . . a bridge between the world of Martí and Impressionism."²⁰ Benet, who knew Olot since he was a child--he was born in 1889, during Vayreda's lifetime--recalls its meadows of constantly moist grasses, of the quality of velvet, its marshes, its poetic banks of the Fluvia River, its century-old oaks, its silver weeping

willows and other trees as majestic as cathedrals and its delicate grays and pastel greens.²¹ Fontbona stresses that these elements rarely appeared in the works of former Catalan landscapists.²² A selection of the renditions of Vayreda proves that he captured in paint the form and content of the Olot terrain. Many of his compositions, with their flowering trees, beeches, poplars, wheatfields, interspersed by country homes, recall the subdued, harmonious works of Corot. Moreover, his choice of the warmer seasons of the year and the very early and twilight hours of the day increases the association with Corot (Figs. 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, and 260).

Like Corot's, even when Vayreda's paintings are large, they have the freshness and directness of sketches. Because of this quality, which was not appreciated in academic circles at the time, both artists' works were criticized for their lack of finish. Vayreda, who developed during the period of Impressionism but never adopted plein-air techniques--he painted in his studio from visual memory or from photographs²³--was still negatively labelled an Impressionist. His response, which recalls Baudelaire's famous declaration about works of Corot, was: "I prefer that one says of my landscapes that they are not finished rather than what can be said of others' works: that they were finished without ever having been begun."²⁴

As the son of a nouveau-riche industrialist, Vayreda did not have to depend upon acceptance by the critics or commissions by the buying public. However, his works sold well because many Catalans found his Olot compositions very appealing²⁵ as they had found predecessor Martí Alsina's depictions of neighboring sites.

Ráfols has perceptively summarized the colors that Alsina used to represent the topography of his region in order to bring out its variety and uniqueness, mentioning the land's red hot color, the distant mountains' blacks and violets, the trees' raw greens and the atmosphere's absolute transparency.²⁶ In line with this treatment, pupil Francisco Torrescassana,²⁷ rather than Vayreda, came closest to the master in his tempestuous as well as tranquil landscapes. His robust descriptions of the thickly foliated and craggy terrain of Catalonia are so similar in composition and technique to Alsina's that they can be easily mistaken for the latter's (Figs. 261 and 262).²⁸ In more than one canvas entitled Catalan Landscape (Fig. 263),²⁹ two figures walk along a hilly rural path surrounded by thick, large rocks, very like the road taken by the couple in Alsina's Road to Granollers (Fig. 78).³⁰ Both artists also chose scenes of dense woods (Fig. 264) or clearings (Fig. 265) where shepherds and other rural folk worked (Figs. 266 and 267). Torrescassana depicted old towns with their quaint streets and crumbling buildings (Figs. 268 and

269), as did Alsina (Figs. 196 and 197). His thickly and freely brushed Houses (Fig. 270), seen as a series of angles interlocked by walls and foliage, can be easily associated with his teacher's urban views (Figs. 54 and 56).³¹

Torrescassana had studied at the School of Lonja where he was a student "especially of Martí Alsina."³² Thereafter, he went to Rome to continue his training, pensionado by Lonja, and then to Paris. Back in Barcelona, he gave private lessons in sketching and painting.³³ Along with landscapes and seascapes--or rather beach scenes with bathing figures (Fig. 271)³⁴ --he also painted historical compositions, portraiture and genre scenes.³⁵ A trip to Egypt yielded depictions of the desert, pyramids and the Suez Canal.³⁶

Jaime Pahissa and José Armet are the two other landscapists who most clearly adhered to Martí Alsina's Realism in technique and composition. Unfortunately, little has been written about them and few of their works have been illustrated in art historical texts.³⁷ Called the "Spanish Gustave Doré,"³⁸ Pahissa began as a draftsman, sketching landscapes which he sold at very low prices. Supposedly Martí Alsina purchased one, recognized Pahissa's talent and took him on as a student.³⁹ His rocky mountain landscape, in oil (Fig. 272), and his forest scene, in charcoal (Fig. 273), seem very close to his teacher's renditions, at least as they appear in reproductions.

Armet's Souvenirs of the Pyrenees⁴⁰ and Landscape with a Flock of Sheep⁴¹ represent the steep, almost inaccessible Catalanian mountains while In the Woods⁴² and Landscape⁴³ portray the region's towering, thick trees. Armet also painted tamed landscapes where peasants could more easily live and work. Examples are Landscape of Huesca (Fig. 274), its houses on stilts with wooden balconies, picturesquely situated over the water;⁴⁴ The Watering Place (Fig. 275), with its grassy marshes and cattle and Landscape (Fig. 276), with its country figures protected by a tall wooden cross among the trees at the water's edge.⁴⁵ In addition to landscapes, Armet painted genre scenes and portraits.⁴⁶

Modesto Urgell studied at Lonja under the direction of Martí Alsina and in Paris under Courbet with whom he was thought to have shared a strong friendship.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, in his mannered artistic production he is the furthest in style and subject matter from his Realist teachers. Urgell's preferred themes were solitary, melancholy places: rural cemeteries,⁴⁸ deserted streets (Figs. 277 and 278), landscapes at twilight (Fig. 279),⁴⁹ sleepy villages and beaches with abandoned boats⁵⁰ which he often repeated with variations.⁵¹ Bernardino de Pantorba has noted the following two anecdotes about Urgell: If someone asked him what he was going to paint or what he was already painting, the artist would answer unflinchingly: "lo de siempre" or "the same as always." He painted from memory, without

preliminary sketches, always inventing as he went along. Those who saw him in Madrid reported that, in order to complete his many commissions, he used to paint his cemeteries and seascapes on the balcony of an inn where he was staying.⁵²

Because of his poetic-symbolic vision, based on the beauty of sadness, Urgell attracted the attention of avant-garde artists. According to Alexandre Cirici Pellicer, he was to exercise a powerful influence on Miró and Dalí as Boecklin had done with de Chirico.⁵³ In fact, he has been called the Catalan Boecklin. Garrut explains that Urgell's work belonged to fin de siècle literature and that it was appreciated and applauded for being "a translation of the literary into the plastic." In addition, he was the author of various literary works that paralleled his paintings.⁵⁴

Among all of Martí Alsina's pupils José Luis Pellicer came closest to the master's political and social leanings.⁵⁵ And more than did Alsina, he often put his well-observed depictions at the service of his militant leftist outlook.⁵⁶ He entitled his most famous painting with words uttered by the Italian patriot and general, Giuseppe Garibaldi: Zitto, silenzio, che passa la ronda, (Hush, quiet, the night patrol is passing), of 1869 (Fig. 280).⁵⁷ This twilight landscape, like his other realistically rendered settings, is secondary to the narrative.

Known mainly as an illustrator or graphic chronicler, particularly of very detailed episodes in the Carlist and Crimean Wars⁵⁸--sometimes sketched at the first line of fire--⁵⁹ Pellicer earned an international reputation and was sought after by Spanish, English and French periodicals alike. He also wrote numerous articles about art and is acknowledged as the first Catalan to recognize the importance of Impressionism. In 1880, from Paris, he wrote for Diari Catala and extolled the work of Monet and his "pieces of nature."⁶⁰

Pellicer's paintings and graphic contributions to newspapers and magazines included daily urban scenes of Barcelona, such as The Art Exposition (Fig. 281), The Interior of the Café Tío Nelo (Fig. 282) and Flower Stand on the Ramblas.⁶¹ His observant eye did not miss rural happenings either, as is evident in The Burial of a Poor Man (Fig. 283), Sunday in a Town (Fig. 284), and A Traveler (Fig. 285). Finally, he supplied accompanying illustrations for such famous literary masterpieces as Don Quijote, El Poema del Cid and Galdos' Episodios Nacionales.⁶²

Having first studied in one of Martí Alsina's workshops, Pellicer became one of his collaborators before moving to Rome to further his art studies. At the death of his teacher, he tried to take over the former mentor's professorship at Lonja but was unsuccessful.

As we have seen, Martí Alsina's introduction of Realist art and aesthetics into Catalan painting began at mid-century. Thirty years later, his production and that of his pupils already reflected the innovations of Impressionism recently assimilated from trips to Paris. The subjects of local Catalan landscape and everyday regional events still predominated but now they were rendered by looser brushstrokes, a lighter palette, more casual compositional arrangements and an emphasis on light and atmosphere,⁶³ as seen in Alsina's Boulevard in Paris during a Snowstorm, of 1879 (Fig. 286), and Vayreda's Procession of the Schoolgirls, of about 1890 (Fig. 287). Vayreda expanded upon Alsina's Realism at his School of Olot and inspired some of the future Modernist landscapists who worked with him. According to Joseph Phillip Cervera, he was the idol of Santiago Rusiñol (1862-1931),⁶⁴ who, along with Ramón Casas (1866-1932), would become the leaders of modernismo which began in Paris around 1890 and moved to Barcelona where it flourished until 1903.⁶⁵ Dionisio Baixeras and Juan Llimona, second generation disciples of Martí Alsina⁶⁶ and then followers of Vayreda at the School of Olot, were to turn away from Rusiñol's more progressive outlook on life and art and, as a result, were to establish in 1893 the Círculo Artístico de San Lucas, organized as a medieval craft guild.⁶⁷ Thus, after having been trained by avant-garde Realists, both came to be considered among the conservative branch of Catalan artists.

Like Martí Alsina and Vayreda, Baixeras' Realism covered a cross-section of social classes in the Catalonia of his time: country and urban workers as well as the members of high society.⁶⁸ His favorite themes, however, were rural mountain landscapes⁶⁹ and seascapes⁷⁰ which served as backgrounds for the humble laborers, primarily shepherds (Figs. 288, 289, and 290) and fisherfolk⁷¹ (Figs. 291, 292, 293, and 294).⁷² Their presence, in turn, was often an excuse for anecdotalism (Fig. 295) or social comment, sometimes with political overtones.⁷³ As depictions of down-to-earth, simple yet dignified Catalans they are similar to their French counterparts painted by François Millet.⁷⁴ And like Martí Alsina and Vayreda, Baixeras indulged at times in a sentimentalized realism, producing such examples as Little Country Girl (Fig. 296), Knitting (Fig. 297), and Shepherdess (Fig. 298) that bring forth associations with Jules Bastien-Lepage, particularly, and Leon Lhermitte and Jules Breton.⁷⁵

In projects similar to those of Parcerisa, Rigalt and Battistuzzi at mid-century,⁷⁶ Baixeras depicted in great detail the many architectural and other picturesque treasures--old streets, markets, stalls and houses--that were in danger of disappearing with the modernization of Barcelona at the beginning of the twentieth century. Sponsored by the city's town hall in 1908, a contest was held with awards for the best entries. Baixeras' series of

fifty drawings won first prize (Figs. 299, 300, 301, and 302).⁷⁷

Baixeras' artist-colleague, Juan Llimona, first studied architecture and then changed to painting at the School of Lonja before accompanying his brother, the sculptor José (1864-1934), to Rome in 1880 where he spent the next four years.⁷⁸ He converted to Catholicism in 1890 which greatly influenced the content of his paintings.⁷⁹ From then on Catalans were portrayed not only as modest, dignified human beings but as those with very pious convictions,⁸⁰ as in Nun (Fig. 303) and The Devoted One (Fig. 304). Religious moralizing Realism is emphasized in the otherwise modest domestic interior, The Visit of the Parish Priest (Fig. 305) and Old Men's Home (Fig. 306), where the grandchildren of one of the occupants hug and kiss him goodbye as two nuns enter the courtyard from the far right. Even in the agricultural scene, Return from Work (Fig. 307), a young toiling couple and an aged mother are seen carrying a rosary and a cross in addition to their farming implements.⁸¹

Llimona did paint secular canvases of daily life in the country and city similar to those of other Catalan Realists, although he rarely painted landscapes per se.⁸² Weaving,⁸³ The Fountain⁸⁴ and Washing at the Stream (Fig. 308) are strictly rural activities with no religious overtones, the latter reminiscent of what Vayreda and his brother, Mariano

(1850-1903), highlighted in The Washerwomen (Fig. 309).⁸⁵ Lady in Her Room (Fig. 310), The Letter (Fig. 311) and On the Terrace (Fig. 312) characterize the upper class women, all resembling the versions of Martí Alsina and Vayreda (Figs. 120 and 249, respectively), particularly Llimona's last one. Where these two artists sometimes chose prettiness and sentimentality as alternatives to their otherwise Realist paintings, Llimona tended toward fin de siècle and early twentieth century symbolist or art nouveau compositions with their moods of reverie, dream and mystery and their stylized, decorative patterns and rhythmic harmonies (Figs. 313, 314, and 315). Realism may have been the starting point of these works but they are already imbued with a certain subjectivity rather than with the directness of observation drawn from nature.

Notes to Part V, Chapter II

1. Due to the limits of this study only the best of Alsina's followers will be discussed and their work illustrated. Lesser known names are included in texts by the following art historians. See Pantorba, op. cit., p. 27, for José Masriera (1841-1912); Garrut, op. cit., p. 110, for José Tamburini y Dalmau (1856-1932); p. 111, for Sebastián Junyent y Sans (1865-1915); p. 112, for Baldomer Galofre (1849-1902); p. 108, for Gaietà Benavent y Rocamora (1843-1903); p. 109, for Jaime Pons y Martí, Martí Alsina's nephew (1855-1931); p. 109, for Juan Vila y Cinca (1856-1938). See Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 224, for Enrique Serra y Auque (1859-1918); p. 235, for Francisco Miralles (1848-1901); p. 145, for Juan Rabada (1850-1899); El Paisatgisme a Catalunya, p. 81, for Ricardo Martí y Aguiló, Martí Alsina's son (1868-1936).
2. Vayreda started the Centro Artístico with his friend and fellow artist, José Berga Boix (1837-1914). McCully, op. cit., pp. 7-8, quotes a description of the colony written by the painter Tamburini in 1890: "A regular colony of artists, for the most part from Barcelona, get together there every year in the summertime. They scatter in search of notes of color and themes to develop. Each one takes a little box of colors in one hand and a canvas in the other, and ferrets out a point of view or takes possession of a place appropriate for making a sketch or beginning a painting. It reminds us of the classic example of Barbizon--the meeting place for artists who fled from Paris in order to study a Nature full of vigor and poetry in the foliage of Fontainebleau."
3. Ibid., p. 8. The author mentions that Vayreda went to France in 1871, 1878, and 1880. See Benet, La figura patricia y el arte de Joaquín Vayreda, p. 33, for the places that he visited there.

4. This citation is from the combined sources of McCully, op. cit., p. 8, and Pantorba, op. cit., p. 28.
5. Fontbona, El Paisatgisme a Catalunya, p. 72.
6. See the section on Martí Alsina's teaching in Chapter I of this section.
7. Benet, Vayreda's biographer, indicates the influences of Martí upon Vayreda in his lists of illustrations. See La Figura Patricia y el Arte de Joaquín Vayreda, Fig. 14 and p. 79, for the illustration and description of Arboleda or grove of trees. In Joaquín Vayreda: Antecedants, L'Ambient, L'Home, L'Artista, Barcelona, 1922, pp. 39-46, see all the other Alsina-based works of Vayreda. See pp. 57-58 for a discussion of the combined Realism of Delacroix, Courbet and Rembrandt that Alsina brought to his teaching.
8. Juan Eduardo Cirlot, Pintura Catalana Contemporanea, Barcelona, 1961, p. 9.
9. See the following illustrations of Alsina in this study: Figs. 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, and 90.
10. This was pointed out by Linda Nochlin in a lecture on Corot.
11. For additional illustrations that show Vayreda's Millet-like themes, see Benet, La Figura Patricia y el Arte de Joaquín Vayreda: The Staff, Fig. 20, and the Swineherd, Fig. 22. In Joaquín Vayreda: Antecedants, L'Ambient, L'Home, L'Artista, see p. 58, The Laborer, 1871-1876, and p. 75, The Burial of the Dog.
12. For additional Vayreda drawings with Millet-like themes, see Benet, Joaquín Vayreda: Antecedants, L'Ambient, L'Home, L'Artista: Resting Sheep, p. 11; Shepherd and Sheep, p. 22; Mother and Child, pp. 24, 27; Reaper in a Field, p. 25; and Workers Resting, p. 32.
13. See the following illustrations of Alsina in this study: Figs. 92, 93, 94, 95, 99, 100, 101, 102, and 103.

14. Illustrated in Taillandier, op. cit., pp. 67 and 63, respectively.
15. In Part IV of this study, see the following illustrations of Alsina: Figs. 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, and 125.
16. Cervera, op. cit., p. 40, states that Vayreda differs from Martí Alsina in his "more tonal palette and more careful delineation of flora and fauna." Lafuente Ferrari, op. cit., p. 440, notes that "Olot is one of the most propitious regions to capture the delicacy of tones, lights, vegetation of all the regions of Spain."
17. Gudiol, op. cit., p. 89, believes that Vayreda was "más amable than Martí Alsina." Benet, La Figura Patricia de Joaquín Vayreda, p. 21, adds that in comparison with Alsina's, Vayreda's personality was more delicate, less arrogant."
18. Benet, La Figura Patricia de Joaquín Vayreda, p. 30, writes that all his life Vayreda suffered from a cardiac condition that he bore with melancholy and that suddenly and prematurely killed him. See pp. 28-29 for a description of Vayreda's physical appearance.
19. McCully, op. cit., p. 9, provides the following summary of Vayreda's vision and his place as a precursor of Modernism: "Vayreda held the conviction that while miniaturists and photographers could adequately record nature, the artist must go beyond mere observation. The painter's mission, then, was to impart his own state of mind and soul to the natural spectacle he recorded. This conviction was the principal distinguishing element of the Catalan landscape school which attracted young artists such as Santiago Rusiñol. In fact, this romantic fusion of the artist's perception and the realism of nature before him is a principal component of the modernista landscape and, hence, it may be credited to Vayreda.
20. Garrut, op. cit., p. 121.
21. Benet, La Figura Patricia de Joaquín Vayreda, pp.

- 45-47, laments that Olot was sadly converted into an industrial city.
22. Fontbona, El Paisatgisme a Catalunya, p. 72.
 23. Benet, Joaquín Vayreda: Antecedants, L'Ambient, L'Home, L'Artista, p. 11, includes one of the photographs of Olot that Vayreda consulted.
 24. See Benet, La Figura Patricia de Joaquín Vayreda, pp. 36-37 and p. 43, for Vayreda's Olot "Impressionist" phase. According to Benet, "Vayreda essentially intuitis Impressionism better than the other Catalans who were in contact [with the movement]."
 25. See Ráfols, Diccionario Biográfico de Artistas de Cataluña, pp. 205-206, for the approval of Vayreda by the public. For his exhibitions and awards, see Pantorba, op. cit., p. 29, and Ossorio, op. cit., p. 687.
 26. Ráfols, Diccionario Biográfico de Artistas de Cataluña, p. 160. He feels that Torrecassana did not follow Martí Alsina completely, choosing instead Neopolitan naturalism "with its maximum correctness of drawing and exaggeration of color." The examples reproduced in the consulted studies--including Ráfols' "Exposió d'Homenatge a Torrecassana"--do not bear this out. Perhaps the artist's stay in Rome influenced some of his succeeding compositions which this writer has not been able to see.
 27. See Martí Alsina's Portrait of Torrecassana, Fig. 166.
 28. See Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 143, for Torrecassana's Landscape with Rocks of 1864 and Ráfols, "Exposió d'Homenatge," p. 54, for his Landscape which may be compared with Martí Alsina's work: Figs. 47, 196, and 197 of this study.
 29. See another version in Ráfols, "Exposió d'Homenatge," p. 58.

30. See another similar Alsina painting illustrated in Pantorba, op. cit., Fig. 3.
31. See also Pantorba, colorplate 3, for Alsina's Garden of San Gervasio.
32. Ráfols, "Exposició d'Homenatge," p. 52. Jardí, op. cit., p. 667, mentions that in 1875 Torrescassana was named professor of drawing at the College of Deaf Mutes in Barcelona.
33. Ossorio, op. cit., p. 667, mentions that in 1875 Torrescassana was named professor of drawing at the College of Deaf Mutes in Barcelona.
34. See Pantorba, op. cit., Fig. 14, for the similar At the Edge of the Sea and Fig. 4, for Martí Alsina's Costa Brava.
35. See Gudiol, op. cit., p. 111, for a reproduction of Cinderella in a farm setting.
36. Fontbona, El Paisatgisme a Catalunya, pp. 62-63, illustrates one of the scenes of Egypt. See Ossorio, op. cit., p. 667, for expositions, prizes and titles of other works by Torrescassana.
37. For Pahissa: Ráfols, Diccionario Biográfico de Artistas de Cataluña, p. 290, and Garrut, op. cit., p. 112, devote a mere paragraph while Fontbona, El Paisatgisme a Catalunya, includes two paragraphs of information and two illustrations which are reproduced in this study. For Armet: Ráfols, Diccionario Biográfico de Artistas de Cataluña, p. 53, and Garrut, op. cit., p. 79, write one paragraph; Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 145, a half paragraph and one illustration and in El Paisatgisme a Catalunya, p. 60, one paragraph and two illustrations.
38. This title probably refers to Pahissa's illustrations of Don Quijote which Doré also made.
39. Pantorba, op. cit., p. 33. Ráfols, Diccionario Biográfico de Artistas de Cataluña, p. 290, notes that Pahissa "went out into the country and sketched on paper all that he saw: trees and plants, houses and mountains, roads and rough and

pathless places. . . . To provide for his needs he decided to sell these sketches. . . . one was bought by Martí Alsina. . . . who gave him lessons and then admitted him into his studio. . . . His charcoal sketches reproduced faraway corners of Catalan landscape, shady and craggy places, abounding with leaves and centuries-old oaks and rural scenes. . . . Many were reproduced in contemporary magazines."

40. Reproduced in Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 142.
41. Reproduced in Pantorba, op. cit., Fig. 15.
42. Ibid., Fig. 12.
43. Reproduced in Fontbona, El Paisatge a Catalunya, p. 58.
44. See Pantorba, op. cit., Fig. 13, for another version of this scene.
45. Ibid., colorplate 11, reproduces the illustration of Catalan Landscape.
46. Ráfols, Diccionario Biográfico de Artistas de Cataluña, p. 53, lists the following titles of paintings: Return from the Bullfight, Description of the Bullfight, Harlequins and The Dog Seller.
47. Ráfols, Diccionario Biográfico de Artistas de Cataluña, p. 181. Urgell also lived and worked in Madrid, Tarragona, Olot and Gerona.
48. See Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 220, for an illustration of this theme.
49. See Garrut, op. cit., p. 113, for an illustration of Twilight.
50. For some examples of beaches with abandoned boats, see Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 219; El Paisatge a Catalunya, pp. 90 and 99; and Cirici Pellicer, El Arte Modernista Catalán, p. 305.
51. Navascués, op. cit., p. 312, called Urgell a monotonous and repetitive painter.

52. Pantorba, op. cit., p. 25.
53. Cirici Pellicer, El Arte Modernista Catalán, p. 306. The author also notes that for years Urgell's paintings were refused in expositions and that for seven years he did not earn anything for his work.
54. See Garrut, op. cit., p. 113, for a list of his literary works. Pantorba, op. cit., p. 25, adds that as the son of a wealthy manufacturer, and as many Catalan artists, Urgell received a thorough literary and artistic education and was always inclined toward the cultivation of the arts. He quotes from someone who knew him: "Don Modesto Urgell always considered himself a great dramatist and conceded to painting a purely secondary value."
55. Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, p. 146. Vayreda, for example, was a Carlist. For the political leanings of Alsina's other pupil-friends, see the section on his social and political outlook in Part IV of this study.
56. Fontbona, El Paisatgisme a Catalunya, p. 58. Pellicer was a member of the local committee of the Democratic Party and of the Federal Republican Party. At the first Spanish Congress of the International Association of Workers, celebrated in Barcelona in 1870, he helped decorate the stage of the Circ Barcelonès.
57. Garrut, op. cit., p. 187.
58. See Fontbona, Del Neoclassicisme a la Restauració, pp. 154 and 155, for illustrations of two of Pellicer's war drawings.
59. Ráfols, Diccionario Biográfico de Artistas de Cataluña, p. 319.
60. Fontbona, El Paisatgisme a Catalunya, p. 58.
61. Made in 1884 and reproduced in Luis Almerich, El Hostal La Fonda, La Taberna y El Café en La Vida Barcelonesa, Barcelona, 1945, not paginated.
62. Ráfols, Diccionario Biográfico de Artistas de Cataluña, pp. 119-120. Pellicer was also one of

the founders and twice president of Instituto Catalán de las Artes del Libro. After the Universal Exposition of 1888 he helped to create and was named director of the Museo de Reproducciones.

63. McCully, op. cit., p. 236, uses these characteristics to define modernismo; however, they had already been adopted as techniques by Martí Alsina and Vayreda. The other characteristics that she includes--"compositional elements are sometimes flattened and are thus converted into decorative patterning"--do, indeed, belong to the later style.
64. Cervera, op. cit., p. 69.
65. McCully, op. cit., p. 235. The author, p. 10, characterizes Rusiñol as a product of the School of Olot and as the herald of a new approach to landscape painting which came to be called modernismo. She cites, p. 235, Raimundo Casellas' definition of a modernista painter which he published in a Credo in 1891: "an artist true to nature in which he found an endless source of material; an artist who permitted his own perception of nature to give feeling to his work; content would be subjects of modern life and a de-emphasis on themes from the past." Cervera, op. cit., p. 22, notes the eclecticism of modernismo with its acceptance of "all and any style as long as it was believed to be in the service of modernismo. . ."
66. Cervera, op. cit., p. 58, states that Baixeras studied under Martí Alsina at the School of Fine Arts and, p. 55, that Llimona studied there with Martí Alsina and with Antonio Caba, the academic painter. Other art historians do not directly say that Alsina was a teacher of either artist. For example, Garrut, op. cit., p. 141, mentions, with regard to Baixeras, that "more than an Impressionist, without doubt the child of the Rigalts, Martí Alsina, Lorenzale and Caba, he is a naturalist fugitive from Impressionism, whose discoveries he understood and integrated into part of his work." With regard to Llimona, p. 190, he mentions that he "frequented the lecture halls of Martí Alsina and Antonio Caba." Ráfols,

Diccionario Biográfico de Artistas de Cataluña, p. 74, and Pantorba, op. cit., p. 53, list Agustín Rigalt as Baixeras' teacher. Nevertheless, because of the continuation by both these artists of the subject matter of rural Catalonia and its countryfolk, together with the Realist style which was in line with Martí Alsina's vision, they have been included in the present study.

67. Cervera, op. cit., pp. 59-69, discusses Llimona's "deep religiosity [that] was antithetical and antagonistic to Rusiñol's pantheism and to his vision of the Free Artist." The Círculo Artístico, in addition to Baixeras and Juan Llimona, included José Llimona (1864-1934), Enrique Galwey (1864-1931), Alejandro de Riquer (1856-1920) and Antonio Gaudí (1852-1926). Cervera also points out that there was as little stylistic consistency among them as among other Modernista groups.

68. Baixeras also produced various history paintings, among them the following for the University of Barcelona: Court of Abd-er-Rahman, Caliph of Cordoba; Court of Alfonso el Sabio; Fourth Council of Toledo and Cardinal Cisneros.

69. See examples of Baixeras' mountain landscapes in Pantorba, op. cit., Fig. 42, and Rodríguez Codolá, "Dionisio Baixeras," Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona, 1944, p. 13.

70. See Pantorba, op. cit., colorplate 16, for an example of a Baixeras seascape.

71. Ráfols, Diccionario Biográfico de Artistas de Cataluña, p. 74, while stating that the mountains and the sea were secondary to the figures, noted that from the beginning, Baixeras did follow the landscape movement initiated by Vayreda. See Ráfols, Modernismo y Modernistas, Barcelona, 1949, Fig. 132, for another illustration of a Baixeras landscape. Rodríguez Codolá, op. cit., p. 12, provides the background of Baixeras' direct contact with the shepherds when he painted. In a florid style the author recounts that Baixeras went "to the Pyrenees mountain summits to live with shepherds and their flocks of sheep in order to search in the sky the mystery that the clouds hide

in their bosom, which he takes delight in sketching, following the fugitive variations that they [the clouds] show and thus get to know what they foretell. And when. . . the severity of winter imposes on him his return to the city, on occasions he makes a stop on the road to watch the farmland submerged in work activities which may offer up some pictorial interest. If he had interrupted some picture in the process of completion or if he were not satisfied with the result, upon returning to the studio he placed it facing the wall and waited until the following year to go again, at the appropriate season, to finish it. . . ."

72. See also Ráfols, Diccionario Biográfico de Artistas de Cataluña, Fig. 3, and Gudiol, op. cit., Fig. 136, for additional Baixeras examples of fisherfolk. Fig. 294, illustrated in the present study, has the distinction of being one, if not the only, Catalan Realist painting in a permanent museum collection in America, in this case, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City.
73. Cervera, op. cit., p. 58, illustrates, Fig. 34, and discusses the example of The Letter, News of the War, 1899: "The rugged old fisherman resignedly listens while his daughter-in-law reads him a letter from his son fighting in Cuba. The symbolism of the warships in the background and the empty fishing boats in the foreground spoke eloquently to Baixeras' contemporaries."
74. See also Rodríguez Codolá, op. cit., p. 15, for drawings of Baixeras that are very similar to Millet's.
75. Gudiol, op. cit., p. 242, asserts that, like Llimona, Baixeras "integrates naturalism and idealism and a vision of a photographic realism, although simplified. . . ."
76. See Part III of this study.
77. See Carlos Soldevila, Un Siglo de Barcelona: 1850-1930, Barcelona, 1946, and Barcelona vista pels seus artistes, Barcelona, 1957, for examples. The

collection is now housed in the Museo de Historia de la Ciudad in Barcelona.

78. Cervera, op. cit., p. 56, notes that in Rome Llimona worked under Enrique Serra, a Catalan artist, a disciple of Fortuny.
79. Rafols, "La sinceridad en la pintura de Joan Llimona," pp. 18-20, presents examples of the criticism against Llimona's super-Catholicism by such writers as Francisco Miguel y Badia and Raimundo Casellas.
80. Cervera, op. cit., pp. 56 and 237, note 69, sees a similarity to works of François Millet and Fritz Von Uhde whose productions had been frequently reproduced in Catalonia. He also writes that Llimona's countryfolk "won him popularity with the conservative Catalanists as well as with the radicals, since his art, exalting the simple working man, applied to both."
81. Ibid., p. 44. He found that, although very religious and politically conservative, Llimona did produce works of social protest. He illustrates The End of the Century, 1900-1901, Fig. 33, and calls it Llimona's "bitter statement about the plight of the poor as victims of totalitarianism. On p. 57 he interprets Llimona's Labor Moved by Faith (now destroyed): "Llimona replaced saints and martyrs with peasants, factory workers, masons, fishermen, seamstresses, etc., paralleling in their parade around the cupula, their marches for social reforms down the Ramblas."
82. For one example of the few "pure" landscapes of Llimona, see Rafols, Modernismo y Modernistas, Barcelona, Fig. 139.
83. Illustrated in Rafols, Modernismo y Modernistas, Fig. 142.
84. Illustrated in Rafols, Diccionario Biográfico de Artistas de Cataluña, Fig. 5.
85. Vayreda's younger brother, Mariano, was also a landscape and figure painter and once studied with Gérôme in Paris. In the Washerwomen, Mariano

supplied the figures for his brother's landscape. Mariano is now better known for his political novels, particularly of the Carlist Wars, in which he and two other brothers participated. Joaquín, because of his heart condition, could not fight but he had fled to France for political reasons on one of the three times that he went there.

Conclusion

The two phenomena of the nineteenth century in Catalonia are unquestionably catalanismo--the socio-political-economic self-awareness and self-assertiveness of the Catalan people--and the Renaixença--the emergence of the literary and visual arts as unique Catalan accomplishments. Further cultural achievements in the twentieth century may have brought Catalonia its international reputation but those depended heavily on what took place in Barcelona as early as 1840 in the optimistic and cohesive climate that inspired writers and artists to seek self-expression through the subject matter of their own region. At first these Catalan poets and painters looked back to their idealized, medieval history, traditions and architecture for inspiration. They also attempted to preserve tangible cultural treasures of the past in danger of disappearing by combing the towns and countryside for landmarks and lifestyles which they then evoked in verse and on canvas.

As Catalonia increased its industrial wealth and became the richest region in Spain, the people were encouraged to assess and then to change their former historical status: they would now speak and write their own native tongue rather than continue to accept an imposed language; they would insist upon more equal representation in the central

government rather than continue to have their interests ignored; recognizing their uniqueness, they would seriously consider the question of regional separatism from the rest of Spain rather than continue to be regarded as second class citizens of that nation. In short, they would examine every aspect of their social, political, economic and cultural life--in the light of progress made earlier by neighboring countries--and realistically deal with the modernization of their present. Catalan intellectuals from many fields often joined together or interchanged professional roles in a symbiotic relationship during this modernization of Catalonia, motivated by pride in past regional accomplishments and confidence in future endeavors.

In the arts, it was the costumbrista writers who first observed daily life around them and in short essays described present-day, local social types, institutions and customs. They were followed by regional novelists who enriched costumbrismo with lengthy and more detailed plots in which fully developed literary characters were seen in all of life's complexities in the patria chica. Concurrently, the early landscapists--lithographers and engravers as well as painters--also went out into the towns and countryside to examine picturesque local figures, sites and daily activities. However, back in their studios, they still portrayed them ideally and imaginatively, rather than

realistically, continuing academic formulas and romantic concepts.

At mid-century Ramón Martí Alsina introduced Realism into Catalan art, a style that would best characterize the contemporary events that were taking place in his region. The best of his naturalist painting--based on direct observation and unidealized rendition--replaced the traditional notions of the early landscapists and the followers of the Academic and Romantic Nazarene Schools and made Catalan art modern. He gave unprecedented prominence to rural landscape, country folk and country life, themes that the aristocracy and the upper bourgeoisie had historically ignored or had merely tolerated as folklore of secondary importance. He was interested in the many genres that art offered: history, portraiture, nudes, peasants, landscape, seascape, cityscape, still-life and animal life. He wished to be a complete painter who could visually describe all aspects of his beloved Catalonia. In touch with the advancements made by the French Realist, Gustave Courbet, Alsina also chose to emphasize here and now and matter-of-fact appearances in truthful, unadorned and robust forms in the majority of his canvases. He must have also been aware of the alternative realist styles of Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot and Jules Breton for some of his bucolic works are similar to their particular interpretations of rural life in the French countryside.

Alsina's realist outlook on art was duplicated in his personal life by his active participation in Catalan social and political activities. As a member of the Barcelona bohemia he formed friendships with artists, scientists, writers and industrialists who were also outspoken republican leftists, atheists and anti-clericals. As a staunch Catalanist he wrote in favor of the renovation of political ideas, civil idealism and republicanism. As an objector of the policies of the central government he gave up professional employment and economic security when they conflicted with his political convictions: he refused to work as court painter to the queen of Spain and he resigned his position of academician rather than swear allegiance to a constitution that falsified his beliefs. He also attempted to improve the art profession when he initiated a project for independent art expositions that would provide opportunities for all beyond the confines of the official Academy of Fine Arts in Barcelona. He particularly wished to have landscape painting accepted as a major genre and criticized those who saw it as mere background material.

As an innovative teacher Martí Alsina reformed sketching and painting instruction at the School of Fine Arts and at its annex as well as in his private studios, insisting upon a system of qualified instruction that would have students copy in front of nature itself rather than in front of engravings and prints of imaginary locations. He

encouraged the serious study of color and light which took into account different times of the day and various atmospheric conditions. He wanted his students to paint what they observed in front of them and not what others' students had previously been told to observe. He trained two generations of Catalan artists in Realist techniques; they, in turn, were among the artists who brought about modernismo, a vanguard art movement which was no longer regional but extended beyond Catalonia's boundaries to become international in scope. Modernismo--its characteristics, its innovations and its relations to the art of its time--has already been studied at length by European and American art historians. Its forerunner, Realism, has been investigated as a movement in France, Germany, Switzerland and Italy. It is time that such an investigation include Spain's contribution, particularly the Catalan variety. Martí Alsina and his followers are central to this discourse.

All artists may be placed into three general categories. At the highest end of the spectrum are the few geniuses whose vision transcends their present milieu and who are able to forge eternal universals. Spain produced two such geniuses--Goya and Picasso--at the beginning and end of the nineteenth century. From Goya's reaction to the horrors of the Napoleonic War and to the unmitigated misery of the lower classes at the mercy of the decadent Spanish

monarchy and aristocracy, he invented an artistic world of biting caricatures, even phantasmagoric monsters. Intermittently, he chose to also create an iconography of full-scale popular types engaged in everyday activities of labor and recreation, an iconography that would reappear with increased prominence and frequency in mid-century Realist art. Picasso saw the Angst and the moral distortions of the human race even before the onslaught and consequences of the First World War and invented an artistic world of disfigured, demonic forms which existed in a reality transformed by the artist's premonitions. At the same time, he also chose to create iconographies of tender love between mother and child and between man and woman, iconographies that reaffirmed the essential value of human life amid the increased futility and chaos of the modern world.

At the other end of the spectrum are the numerous academic artisans, the official duplicators of established themes and techniques who remain within their present milieu and choose to perpetuate the artistic worlds that have already proven comprehensible and popular with the majority of the public. The followers of Goya in the nineteenth century and the followers of Picasso in the twentieth century are well known cases in point. They resemble the great masters only in choice--certainly not in originality--of style and subject matter.

Finally, there are the artists who neither forge nor follow but who correctly assess artistic deficiencies in their present milieu and choose to replace them with the introduction of alternative concepts that more appropriately construct a visual representation of their specific time and place. They are not the seers and they are not ranked among the artistic geniuses. Nor are they the complacent copiers and therefore they are not relegated to the level of the academic artisans. Rather, they are the catalysts of artistic movements whose talents and efforts bring about needed change. By his radical impact upon the entire artistic institution of Catalonia--its aesthetic, style, themes, instruction and professionalism--Ramón Martí Alsina played the key role in Catalan Realism in the nineteenth century.

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