Catalan Modernism in Fin-de-Siècle Spain: Culture and Medicine

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ABSTRACT

The Spanish empire lost the last of its global colonies in 1898, prompting a variety of responses on the peninsula. Perhaps the most recognizable of these is the literary movement of the Generation of 1898, which regarded the military loss as a disaster. A different reaction came from the intellectual, artistic, and industrial elites who shaped Catalan Modernism, a cultural and political movement that challenged assumptions of Spanish disaster, crisis, or backwardness.

Taking the form of a prosopography, this dissertation examines a cohort of Catalan elites who were active in cultural, economic, social, political, and intellectual life in fin-de-siècle Barcelona and Madrid. The figures moved between circles, connecting liberal politics with medical science, or visual culture with the ascendant class of industrial entrepreneurs. This study situates Catalan Modernism separately from Castilian Spanish intellectual and cultural movements through analysis of works from the Renaixença and the Generation of 1898. Visual art, literary
magazines, memoirs, and treatises on urbanization, architecture, and medicine reveal an elite Catalan culture that celebrated non-Castilian achievements rather than lamenting the loss of empire. Catalan Modernism expressed a desire to boldly face the post-colonial future. However, it gained much of its confidence and strength from nostalgic reflection upon its own medieval past. Events like the Exposición Universal of 1888 in Barcelona revealed the Catalan desire for economic prosperity and modernity, featuring the urbanization efforts of Ildefons Cerdà and the architecture of Lluís Domènech i Montaner. Yet, these men both aimed to revive something of the Catalan past through their work. Domènech’s projects improved public and private spaces, including the Institut Pere Mata, a mental hospital established by proponents of asylum reform advocated by its namesake, physician Pere Mata i Fontanet. Both Mata and Santiago Ramon y Cajal studied the brain, arriving at different conclusions regarding the mind, the role of physiology, and free will within the emerging fields of psychiatry and neuroscience. Their writings contemplated the implications of liberal governance and the nature of the modern self, their pioneering works fueled by the unstable Spanish political climate in which they were conceived.

INDEX WORDS: Barcelona, Ramon Casas, Catalonia, Ildefons Cerdà, Institut Pere Mata, Domènech i Montaner, Exposition 1888, Generation of ‘98, Modernisme, Pere Mata i Fontanet, Pedro Mata, José Ortega y Gasset, Santiago Ramon y Cajal, Reus, Urbanization
CATALAN MODERNISM IN FIN-DE-SIÈCLE SPAIN: CULTURE AND MEDICINE

by

HELEN QUIÑONES GREESON

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

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in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

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CATALAN MODERNISM IN FIN-DE-SIÈCLE SPAIN: CULTURE AND MEDICINE

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Office of Graduate Studies
College of Arts and Sciences
Georgia State University
May 2019
DEDICATION

For my family.

A mis padres.
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Simply put, my graduate work would not have been possible without generous funding through the Department of History at Georgia State. Assistantships not only funded my Master and Doctoral programs, they provided me with crucial experience that helped me define my research and teaching goals. I remain indebted to my committee members and professors, past and present. I am also grateful for the legacy of GSU alumni Tony G. Holcombe, whose travel grant provided welcome support of my overseas research.

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INTRODUCTION

An ornate gated entryway constructed of red brick, cheerful blue and white colored tiles, and iron doors was inaugurated in the town of Reus outside of Tarragona, near Barcelona, in 1906. Behind the gate were several pavilions, including a large brick building that was also decorated with blue and white tiles. Tall windows of stained glass cast colored fragments of light upon the interiors. These were lavished with intricate plasterwork and fine tile work done in tromp l’oeil ribbons and botanical motifs, or the newest methods for stamping the ceramic into the shape of flowers. The region’s most elegant residents paid a hefty price to stay in private suites, some with elegantly tiled baths outfitted with fine porcelain decorated with tiny flowers. Adjoining rooms were provided for manservants. Built-in furniture following the soft lines of the French Art Nouveau style outfitted the cheerfully painted and stenciled rooms with upholstered couches and armoires with concealed sinks. The residents of this space may have appeared to have gone on retreat for a relaxing stay at a spa or fine hotel, but they were, in fact, patients admitted to a psychiatric hospital.

That same year, a medical doctor and researcher from Spain met with colleagues far from home. He had come from a humble family and had worked hard to obtain his education, as had his father. He had given up his dream of being an artist to focus on his medical training, a decision his father had insisted upon, one he rebelled against from time to time. After a tumultuous nineteenth century, the Spanish scientific establishment had lost much of its prestige on the international stage. Seven years before his 1906 gathering, the doctor had attempted to gain the attention of brilliant researchers from the European scientific community who were gathered in Berlin for an academic conference. As he presented his key discovery, they had not taken him seriously, at first. By 1906 the situation had changed. On a chilly December night in
Stockholm, the doctor appeared before a hall of intellectual elites from around the world to accept the Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine.

Both of these examples challenge notions of Spanish backwardness that arose in connection with the loss of colonial territories throughout the century. This loss of military and commercial status placed the state on the periphery of a European identity that focused on the “new” imperialism. For a state that had defined its existence and purpose in terms of empire and Catholicism, it seemed that modernity, in whatever shape it would take, must include these vital components of Spanish identity. However, the old notions of empire clashed with liberal politics, republican governance, and the emerging reality of the Spanish post-colonial state. Secular and even anti-clerical movements posed further challenges to the old Catholic Spanish imperial identity. Regional narratives with pasts centered on areas other than Madrid further challenged the baroque Spanish identity centered on Castile. The *Manicomio de Reus* (1897-1912), or asylum of Reus described above was renamed in 1910 after a prominent resident of Reus, Dr. Pere Mata i Fontanet (1811-1877), a physician who advocated for more humane treatment of the mad, patients he termed mentally ill. He lectured extensively in his native Catalunya and in Madrid, where the leading Spanish medical school was located in the 1840s and 1850s. He had developed some of these medical ethics after his stay in Montpellier in France during his exile, which came as a result of his criticism of the absolutist policies of Ferdinand VII (1784-1833). He was a liberal man of science, but he struggled to reconcile these ideas with his Catholic faith, as he argued and deduced anatomical and physiological purposes for the soul, accepting its existence *a priori*, as if it were another organ within the body.

The heavily ornamented pavilion within the asylum was part of a campus designed by the premier Catalan architect of the time, Lluís Domènech i Montaner (1850-1923), who was a
founder of the local counterpart to French Art Nouveau known as Catalan Modernisme. Domènech designed the asylum’s pavilions in a way that recalled the pavilions of the 1888 Universal Exposition of Barcelona, of which he designed the Grand Hotel and Café-Restaurant. He was also politically active, coming from a family of publishers who printed materials that were part of the Romantic revival of Catalan literary culture in the middle and late decades of the nineteenth century, a period known as the Renaixença. Domènech was a regionalist, favoring autonomous Catalan political and cultural institutions. He was part of a significant movement in the nineteenth century that strengthened Catalan regional identity, recalling its golden age, a time before Columbus when the Crown of Aragon and the County of Barcelona dominated Mediterranean trade. This, along with various eighteenth and nineteenth-century antagonisms with Madrid distinguished Catalan identity from that of Catholic, imperial Castile. For this reason, the loss of territories in Cuba, the Philippines, Guam and Puerto Rico were only truly received as the “Disaster of 1898” in parts of Spain that had identified with the empire and would miss its loss. Domènech and his cohort of Catalan regionalists did not share this identity with Madrid or Castile, and celebrated those parts of their historical memory and culture that supported Barcelona’s ascendant industrialization, rather than Madrid’s perceived stagnation. However, this modern bourgeois group looked backward too, reviving medieval values of the County of Barcelona, a city-state with republican civic values similar to those of its counterparts on the Italian peninsula. As is instantly apparent in their print culture, Catalans did not share the same language with Castile, publishing extensively in the Catalan language rather than in Castilian.

The famous scientist who received the Nobel in 1906 for Physiology or Medicine was Santiago Ramón y Cajal, (1852-1934), who developed the Neuron Doctrine, which dramatically
changed the way the structure of the nervous system was understood. He identified the terminations of individual neuron cells, using his artistic skill to draw them in ink on paper in stunning detail, noting how they were separate from their surrounding cells and not part of network or web, as had been previously thought. He was Professor of Histology and Pathological Anatomy at Barcelona at the time when the Universal Exposition took place in 1888. Rather than pitch his discoveries to scientists at the Pavilion of Science at the fair, mere blocks away from the college, Cajal instead went to great effort to promote his work to scientists operating in Germany. He knew Spain lacked international clout on the world stage when it came to science, and other fields. In his youth, Cajal had been deployed to Cuba as part of the Spanish attempt to quiet the push for independence. He saw first-hand the condition of the army and how the government was operating at the time. This colored his perception of Spain, and contact with Catalan regionalists did not lift his spirits regarding his home. Like many who saw Castile and Madrid as the heart of Spain, for Cajal, 1898 was a disaster. Cajal did much to lift the Spanish reputation in the sciences with his many achievements, contributing toward the resurgence in Spanish science that marked the last half of the nineteenth century, which is sometimes referred to as the Silver Age of Spanish culture and science. The Golden Age was, of course, the Baroque. Like Mata, Cajal was also a liberal, but cautious if not pessimistic about human nature and its ability to practice science ethically and implement democratic institutions equitably. He also made public his struggles with Catholic teachings. Despite its reputation for peripheral scientific progress, Spain had pioneering researchers working in the field of medicine, especially the emerging disciplines of psychology and neuroscience, who changed the way people thought of madness, its treatment, the brain, and the self.
Purpose of Project

Cajal, Domènech, and Mata were part of an emerging group of educated, liberal, bourgeois elites who worked to improve key components of life in Spain. Domènech was part of a powerful cohort of Catalan bourgeois families who had risen in influence within the city following its industrialization. This group was instrumental in remaking and reshaping the urban landscape of Barcelona in a way that was distinctly modern. These leaders looked back to the Crown of Aragon’s golden age of commercial success and civic engagement while confidently moving forward. They also planned the Universal Exposition of 1888, which at first glance seems odd for a country undergoing colonial losses. Fairs were places to showcase imperialism, industrialization, and liberal governance. As a whole, Spain did not fit into this mold. However, Barcelona’s cohort of bourgeois elites felt they had much to be proud of, as they showed off their newly expanded city, freed of its restrictive medieval city walls, modernized as Catalan industrial manufacturing grew more successful. This same group moved between circles of writers, politicians, artists, musicians, and engineers responsible for technological advances. They worked with these and other fields that served to remake Barcelona into a modern capital after centuries of conflict and defeat against Madrid. This Catalan cohort showed that as long as the political, intellectual, and artistic elites felt empowered to move forward unencumbered by the Castilian past, empire was no longer a requirement for industrialization, urbanization, and modernization.

Methods

This dissertation approaches these topics in the manner of a prosopography so that the common characteristics of the figures’ seemingly separate fields become clear. These individuals have their own biographies written about them, focusing on their medical, artistic, or
architectural contributions. However, for all of these men, their political views were a factor in their lives. The class and the education they experienced linked them in terms of their vocabulary and the means by which they articulated the knowledge they acquired and disseminated for Spain. Many of the same names reappear in different contexts, whether discussing liberal governance, mental health care, architectural design for public and private spaces, urban planning, the Exposition of 1888, or the structure of the nervous system. There are, of course, notable differences between these men. Cajal, for example, did not agree with Catalan separatism, or even regionalism, which many others had at least entertained. However, all of these men redefined their respective fields while holding new political beliefs, what Domènech described as a new organizing principle that necessitated changes in artistic production.¹ Concurrent with these changes, the production of medical knowledge and treatment also changed. Setbacks to the Spanish liberal republican program included the short-lived First Spanish Republic (1873-1874) and the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy that followed. In Catalunya, what makes this period after the republican failure of 1874 interesting is this group of politicians, artists, professionals, and bourgeois industrialists who took their civic responsibilities seriously and worked toward changing the urban landscape of Barcelona in ways that affected all of its residents, even as labor began to organize in the final decade of the nineteenth century. Rather than relying on French experiences of republicanism, they looked deeply into their own medieval past for models for their own modernization. Connecting and analyzing these figures together yields results that are more than the sum of their parts. In this approach, my chief inspiration is Carl Schorske for his interdisciplinary collection *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics*

Two of the many scholars he guided also shaped the way I conceptualized this study, including Deborah Silverman and her *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France: Psychology Culture and Style*, and Matt K. Matsuta’s *Memory of the Modern*. Finally, Stephen Kern’s *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918*, helped me to interpret this varied collection of historical evidence with an eye for the different paradigms in place in the fin-de-siècle. These studies reveal a conformist bourgeoisie in central and northern Europe, which had its notions of culture, psychology, history, and even time and space shattered by modernism in the fin-de-siècle. While attempting to introduce Spain into this conversation, it became clear to me that modernism, as it developed in Catalunya, emerged as a product of the Catalan bourgeoisie that despite its liberal political tendencies was socially conservative in many regards.

Historians writing about the European midcentury and the fin-de-siècle have focused upon the experiences of other European states, including Austria, Britain, France, Germany, and Russia. Their works present these decades as a time of crisis of modernity, framed in large part by the political tensions arising between proponents of liberalism and aristocratic interests. Spain shared significant cultural, political, economic, and social conditions with these states, yet historical narratives tend to characterize it as a weak, divided, backward nation bound for failure and disaster that would culminate in civil war. Before beginning to challenge this notion, it is important to recall that Spain lacks a single narrative to describe its origins and history. The modern capital of Madrid attempted to refine a national memory of a single Spanish past during the fin-de-siècle, yet Madrid itself did not play a role in this past prior to the Baroque period of

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the seventeenth century. Instead scholarly Toledo, seafaring and commercial Barcelona, and the Andalusian cities of Cordoba, Seville, and Granada took precedence. Heavily pro-Catholic visions of the past construed the retreat of Muslim power from the peninsula as the Christian Reconquista. This interpretation of Spanish history gained popularity, and increasingly crusader-like and anti-Islamic tones, which peaked during the years of Falangist dominance in the twentieth century. These narratives and characterizations are often strikingly incompatible, and Spain “differs viscerally over much of its own history.” Spain was nothing like a homogenous, centralized, unitary state with a singular identity and vision for the future. Descriptions of backwardness and failure may apply to some aspects of the Spanish experience at the time, but certainly not all. With this in mind, the chapters that follow challenge assumptions that political stability is necessarily good for a nation, and that a country perceived as peripheral such as Spain is incapable of producing scientific innovation and rich culture. Indeed, the Silver Age of Spanish culture and science emerged amid the political instabilities of the nineteenth century, led by organizations like the Ateneo de Madrid and Barcelona’s bourgeois Liceo Filarmónico de Isabel II, the opera. The post-colonial peripheral status of Spain in this period is significant, perhaps even more significant than the core in terms of this culture of modernism. Spanish cities, particularly Barcelona, can be viewed as peripheral European “social laboratories” of modernity, in the spirit of the literature inspired by Paul Rabinow’s French postcolonial studies. In exploring the contradictions and transformations involved in constructing modernity in Spain,

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these chapters demonstrate that “peripheral” and “backward” regions can tell us as much or more than the supposed “centers” of modernity.

Chapter Organization

At the time of this writing, news outlets covering Spain featured daily updates on the polemical interviews and writings of former Catalan president in exile Carles Puigdemont (1962—). The journalist and politician argued for independence, defending the concept of the patria, which he felt the state’s borders should conform to, and not the other way around. Chapter One examines print culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and two dramatically different takes on Spain in the fin-de-siècle, that of disaster on the one hand, and renewal on the other. The chapter addresses the creation of the modern Catalan patria, linking it to the rise of Catalan-language print culture in the middle to late decades of the nineteenth century. The imagined community of Catalans aligns with Benedict Anderson’s work on the rise of identity and bourgeois print culture. This movement to revive literary Catalan in Spain came to be known as the Renaixença, and it led to hundreds of periodicals printed in Catalan. This literary Catalan entertained the bourgeois class of Catalunya, who were experiencing a robust return to commercial success while enjoying medieval epic poetry and other works that strengthened their distinct identity, separate of that from Castile and the capital, Madrid. Much of the rest of Spain struggled economically, and writers in Madrid and its region of Castile remained concerned over the continued loss of colonies in the Americas and the Pacific. This linguistic separation between Catalan and Castilian heightened cultural divisions that allowed Catalan nationalism to crest and eventually attain a sense of superiority. Many Castilian-

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language publications printed in Spain were gripped by a critical tone that contrasted sharply from the Catalan language of revival and success. This talk is apparent in the popular term for the military defeat that ended a century of colonial losses beginning with the invasion of Napoleon in 1808, and ending with the loss of the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Guam in 1898. This final defeat was known as el Desastre del ’98, the Disaster of 1898. Castilian was linked with the faltering monarchy, the Catholic church, Madrid, and the failed empire. Many Castilian-language publications addressed domestic political and cultural concerns as a result, including a fear of degeneration. These publications focused on Madrid as the political, cultural, and even moral center of the Spanish state, yet the writers who addressed these concerns, known as the Generation of ’98, were from the Basque Country, Galicia, Andalusia, and other regions outside of Castile and far from Madrid. This Madrid-focused literary cohort believed their identity, international prestige, and financial success were all tied closely to the recently defunct post-Columbian Atlantic empire. These Castilian and Catalan-language print cultures described their respective patria or nation as undergoing a profound sense of disaster or renewal during the late nineteenth century, as the Disaster of ’98 was received and interpreted asymmetrically.

Chapter Two analyzes these historical differences more deeply, focusing on the dissimilar ways Madrid and Barcelona experienced the Peninsular War (1808-1814) known in Spain as the war for independence from France, and the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714), which ended centuries of Catalan autonomy under the incoming Bourbon monarchy. These major events, along with a few minor rebellions in favor of liberal politicians, shaped the way these regions of Spain saw themselves and each other, influencing their interactions in ways that became apparent in the decades leading up to the Universal Exposition of 1888. A major component of the city’s modernization process was the urbanization plan of Catalan Ildefons
Cerdà (1815-1876), who expanded the city after its medieval walls were pulled down, along with the star fortress that had been used by authorities in Madrid to force the city into compliance. The city’s planners chose to remove and build specific structures and monuments, and their decisions say much about memory in terms of what they chose to remember, and what they allowed to be forgotten.

The 1888 Exposition itself is the subject of Chapter Three. The event took place in the final years of military activity aimed at retaining Spain’s last global colonies, and at first glance, hosting an Exposition seems an odd decision. This was a time when the values these fairs represented were bound up in European nationalism and the desire to showcase the best specimens an empire could offer, whether industrial, agricultural, or human. However grim the situation for Madrid, Catalans were exuberant as they displayed their newly expanded and modernized city before the elite company of Europeans they wished to join, namely London and Paris, and also the ascendant United States, which had recently held an exhibition in Philadelphia. The Exposition served as a gateway to the modern future, as the city shed the remnants of the Bourbon Ancien Régime and embarked upon liberal republican modernity. The primary aims of the fair’s organizers were to showcase the modernized industrialized city, including its scientific, technical, and architectural advances. Applied and medical sciences had dedicated spaces that aimed to re-create the environment of an academic conference, revealing the commitment of the planning commission to host elite scientific researchers. However, lowbrow entertainments were present and popular, bringing in the pesetas. This display was to inspire pride in Spanish achievement not only abroad, but also in an otherwise anxious Spanish public who saw Spain’s place in world affairs growing increasingly peripheral. Two key structures constructed for the fair, the Grand Hotel Internacional and the Café-restaurant, were
designed by Lluís Domènech i Montaner, who through his distinctive style, came to be known as the father of Catalan Modernisme. It was his use of exposed red brick, decorative ironworks, stained glass, and tile that gave the psychiatric asylum the Institut Pere Mata its ornate character. The asylum was not Domènech’s only project in the town of Reus. In fact, of Spanish cities, Reus is second only to Barcelona in terms of its modernist patrimony, for which he was largely responsible. Reus was the home town of one of Domènech’s students, Antoni Gaudí (1852-1926), who along with Domènech and other one of his famous students, Josep Puig i Cadafalch (1867-1956), designed Barcelona’s most iconic modernist buildings.

Chapter Four examines modernist architecture and interior decoration, looking beyond the temporary structures of 1888 to Barcelona’s elegant private homes and public spaces, structures commissioned by the city’s elites, who prospered from industrialization. As steel frameworks characteristic of industrial production became visible in architectural design aesthetics, these changes were met by a revival of craftsmanship and interest in visual arts. The industrial production that led to the accumulation of wealth allowed these bourgeois elites to invest in Spain’s version of the arts and crafts movement, a revival that all levels of government supported through contests that continued after the Universal Exposition of Barcelona in 1888. The Paris World Exhibition of 1889 the following year is perhaps best known for its unveiling of the iconic Eiffel Tower. This fair continued the momentum of the Barcelona event, although the Parisian dominance of modernism, evident in the French Art Nouveau movement, emerged a few years later in the Exposition Universelle of 1900. This group of Spanish architects, craftsmen, and artists came from bourgeois families and were not avant-garde bohemians looking to smash the social order. Instead, they challenged it subtly from within, particularly in terms of gender roles and nationalist architecture that characterized the development of Catalan Modernisme.
Chapter Five continues the discussion of bourgeois-supported public spaces, focusing on the asylum and the manner in which the modern secular version came to be built. A group of local politicians, many of whom were also scientists or architects, collaborated with bourgeois industrialists to reshape urban spaces to their liking. In this situation, the purpose was much more than merely aesthetic. These educated bourgeois professionals attempted to address the collapse of mental asylums and other charitable works in Spain, a problem that arose as a result of the disentail or sale of church lands under Isabel II (1843-1870). This type of neglect was not at all characteristic of Spain. Since early in the fifteenth century, Valencia, Zaragoza, and Barcelona were home to ecclesiastically managed asylums that were closed as the lands upon which they sat were sold. The chapter traces these closures and land sales, which were billed as part of a program of liberal reforms that aimed to address serious financial concerns for ministers in Madrid. The process of disentail made land available for purchase by emerging industrialists, who improved their financial position and elevated their social status even as the landed aristocracy continued its decline. Midway through the nineteenth century, Reus physician Pere Mata i Fontanet advocated for the mad, whom he termed mentally ill, arguing that they should not be incarcerated, as was the practice. He presented a series of suggestions for proper management of an asylum. These stand in contrast to the disastrous administration of the “model” asylum built in Leganes, outside Madrid, which was named Santa Isabel, after the Queen.

Chapter Six examines the relationships between two educated physicians who rose to prominence within a social order that had become increasingly meritocratic. Pere Mata i Fontanet and Santiago Ramon y Cajal both struggled with the changing concept of the self. As a product of the Enlightenment, the notion of the self underwent change concurrent with the rise of
liberal secular republicanism. These two men of science considered the role, if any, of the soul in defining the self, and how its function or physiology might be mapped to anatomical structures of the body. These concerns went beyond the old Cartesian mind-body problem to consider new roles for anatomy that might resolve some of these old questions, namely the structure and function of the nervous system. These struggles also spoke to the role and relevance of the Catholic church at the time. Cajal’s drawings delineated nerve endings and the synaptic gap, highlighting the individuality and equality of cells within a given sample of nervous tissue. In his works of fiction and in the introduction to one of his key medical texts, he used language that anthropomorphized the neurons and granted them agency, further highlighting their resemblance to individuals and their role in democratic governance during this age of increasing mass political awareness.

**Historiography**

Between 1962 and 1969, toward the end of the Franco period, the Minister for Propaganda and Tourism Manuel Fraga Iribarne (1922-2012) launched a successful campaign to attract vacationers from the United States and Britain, focusing on the slogan “Spain is different.” This campaign capitalized on the sort of orientalism written about by Edward Said, setting apart the very visible architectural legacy and the less visible intellectual heritage of Islamic Golden Age Al-Andalus as “other.” This movement reflects Francoist policies of state Catholicism and anti-Islamic sentiments recycled during Spain’s ardent defense of its last

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9 The regime of Francisco Franco Bahamonde (1892-1975) remained in force in Spain from 1939, when the Spanish Civil War prompted by his military coup ended, until his death in 1975, at which time a constitutional monarchy that remains in effect today emerged.
colonial possession throughout the twentieth century, in Ceuta and Melilla in Morocco. This type of Catholic interpretation of history, one that heavily influenced historians writing during the troubled twentieth century, had its most influential scholar in nineteenth-century historian Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo (1856-1912) of Salamanca in Castile. His iconic *History of the Spanish Heterodox* fills nearly a dozen volumes with millennia of peninsular history. Menendez y Pelayo’s intense support of Catholicism and criticism of liberal constitutional reforms influenced conservative thought, eventually offering a model of historical writing to authors of now discredited national histories of Spanish exceptionalism produced during the Franco period. Respected scholar Raymond Carr opens his history of Spain by describing these national histories as exceptional and deterministic, perspectives historians of Spain have worked to counter in the years after Franco. Catholic identity is at the core of these nationalist histories, which tended to downplay or overlook the influence of Jewish and Islamic cultures within Spain, a trend Spanish historian Americo Castro worked to counteract in his writings produced from exile in the United States during the 1950-1970s. Despite these attempts at adding nuance to the historiographical legacy of Menendez y Pelayo, Catholicism remains linked with the backward-looking monarchists who made up much of the Spanish elite. This focus on traditional conservative forces tends to neglect Spanish participation in the Enlightenment, an omission scholar Jesus Astigarraga works to counteract in his recent essays and published collection. Catholic heritage appears exclusive to Spain, rooted in the reigns of such Catholic monarchs as

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Ferdinand and Isabella or Phillip II. This exceptional approach overlooks similarities with French counterrevolutionaries\(^\text{16}\) whose opinions of the role of Catholicism aligned with that of many Spaniards. Historians of Spanish science tend to focus on biological discoveries in the American empire during the baroque period, and the legacies of Jesuit science.\(^\text{17}\) These contributions offer invaluable insights into the period preceding my own, yet the historiography of Spain in the nineteenth century assumes that science must necessarily be both liberal and secular. While this does characterize much of the bourgeoise of Barcelona, the general description of Spain as slow to industrialize makes the Catalan bourgeoisie appear unique, rather than merely ahead of other parts of the country. The Catholic faith of Spanish figures is not situated in relation to comparable beliefs found in the French Third Republic or the Italian Risorgimento. In short, the modern, intellectual bourgeois climate present in much of late nineteenth-century Spain appears underrepresented in the literature.

Recent works on Catholic modernity credit the Peninsular War with creating a Spanish identity in which the state itself, as a political entity, was largely absent. Instead, the rallying point of conservative popular support was the distinction of Spain as defender of post-Tridentine Catholicism against French republican atheism.\(^\text{18}\) Supporters shouting for the defense of God, patria, and king soon found that even absolutist Ferdinand VII was not politically conservative enough for their tastes. Jose Alvarez Junco attributes this failure to the notion of patria, which he argued was not the same as the concept of the nation. Instead, it represented a desire to return to the traditions of the Ancien Régime as they played out across all of Europe.\(^\text{19}\) The Basques, who

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\(^{19}\) Alvarez Junco, 239–41.
are often characterized as exceptional or mysterious on account of their isolated geography and unusual and challenging language, supported this kind of formalism, wishing to return to the times of seigneurial obligations when local lords administered their fueros or traditional local legal codes. This was not a desire to be backward or avoid modernization in and of itself. Instead, the Basques were singularly focused on retaining local governance, which they believed they could have a hand in directing, rather than joining the apparatus of the centrally-administered modern state. Works focusing on language and separatism tend to address these feelings of “otherness.”

Indeed, independence from Napoleon was less important in areas of the north than practical concerns over the defense of agricultural lands that provided families’ livelihood.

While Carlism gained adherents beyond the Basque country and Catalunya, the quaint image of the Basque farmer wearing a beret persists. Even the respected historian of Spanish history Stanley Payne characterizes the organization of the first Carlist uprising as motivated by Basque nationalism, where matters of inheritance and royal succession remained a “nominal” concern.

Historian David Ringrose breaks from this tendency toward Basque exceptionalism and places Spain within a European context. He argues that for local elites in agricultural areas, economic relationships were not unlike those of the Ancien Régime throughout Europe at large. Much of his work focuses on the non-industrial south. This approach is most useful for understanding the appeal of such conservative views beyond the Carlist movement, but these works tend to align Catholic beliefs along conservative ideological lines, something that certainly cannot be said for

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figures like Pere Mata and others I discuss, who supported liberal republicanism while writing in support of Catholicism or at the very least avoiding anti-clerical debates.

In the late twentieth century, Spanish liberalism appears in the literature as a force unto itself, and much of its coverage is critical. The reign of Isabel II was even more permissive of liberalism, enough that it motivated the forces of conservatism to organize against her government in its early years, many of whom joined forces with the Carlist movement. Yet, in its later years, her administration was not liberal enough for those who pressed for a republic and persuaded the military to withdraw their support of the monarch at various times. Several works detail these attempts at undermining the ability of the monarchy to articulate its power within Spain. However, when these works describe the weakened or disordered condition of the monarchy and the democratic political institutions that were lacking in Spain at the time, these works assume that instability had been detrimental for Spain as a whole.24 My approach does not make this assumption, as my evidence indicates some groups were inspired by these moments of political fluidity in the nineteenth century. The failure of the First Spanish Republic was not seen as a cataclysmic defeat by all liberals. In fact, a strong centralized state was not desirable for Catalan and Basque regionalists who sought to preserve their own autonomy through local legal codes. The republic’s failure gave hope to the leaders of these regionalist movement, as it became clear that Catalan and Basque cooperation would be necessary for the state to survive. Also, many of the period’s political elite who had visited, studied, or been exiled abroad understood that failed attempts at reforming the government were part of a process that was also taking place in other parts of Europe. This perspective is also underrepresented in the literature,

which tends to define liberal success in terms of creating a durable republic and democratic institutions. The concept of liberalism I use in this project is broader, including political efforts toward constitutionalism and popular sovereignty, economic and religious changes including sale of church and aristocratic lands as part of a larger transfer of authority and certain functionality from church to government. This broader conceptualization of liberalism aligns with Ringrose’s economic arguments against notions of Spanish backwardness. Spain can be viewed as a place undergoing several significant transitions caught up in the ongoing struggles between supporters of liberalism and conservatism. Many of these tensions were part of the larger conflicts taking place across the continent, rather than uniquely Spanish catastrophes.

The loss of colonies was not universally seen as ruinous by all Spaniards, either. This emphasis on Spanish political disorder, punctuated by references to the “Disaster” of ’98 are critical in ways that seem perhaps overstated when compared to similar political tensions between forces of liberalism and conservatism in other Catholic parts of Europe, particularly in France and in the Austro-Hungarian empire. Spanish history tends to appear in volumes written exclusively about Spain, or Spain and its colonies. This separation makes it difficult to conceive of Spain as a part of Europe with much in common, artistically and intellectually, with its neighbors. The writings of Ramon y Cajal and Mata include mention of these intellectual links with Paris, Montpellier, Berlin, and the United States. These men of science visited and even resided in these places at times, making enduring connections with the academic communities in these cities. Accounts of modernist artists read as if they spent more time in Paris than in Barcelona. Spain may have been peripheral, but it was still very much a part of Europe.

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study aims to examine these sources to provide this European interconnectivity lacking in the present literature.

Works in the history of Spanish science focus heavily on the impact of colonial encounters and discoveries of the baroque periods, with emphasis on the practice of collecting and identifying specimens from the Americas. Key works on this subject were produced by Daniela Bleichmar. Most of these examine botanical studies from newly colonized territories in the Americas, including *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires: 1500-1800* and the lavishly illustrated *Visible Empire*. While these works predate my subject by centuries, they offer a vocabulary and precedent for discussing the way anatomical discoveries were illustrated by the hand of artist-researchers. While Bleichmar focuses on the Spanish and Portuguese Atlantic empires, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra places the discoveries of the Spanish empire before the age of Napoleon in a European context with a discussion of Alexander von Humboldt. This emphasis on the advances in Spanish imperial science during the baroque age of imperial gains can be taken to imply that the period of imperial losses in the nineteenth century would present a reduction in scientific achievements. Relatively few works exist on the history of science in nineteenth-century Spain. Recent work by Claudia Schaefer studies the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in terms of technologies of observation that were important in post-Colonial Spain, and throughout Europe. She includes Ramon y Cajal as one of her case studies, which focuses on the persona of the scientist he cultivated by engaging in self-portrait photography in his laboratory,

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with his microscope by his side. My sources urged me to highlight Spanish scientific production during the nineteenth century, in a state divested of its empire but not its curiosity or resolve.

The loss of Spanish colonies is the subject of many studies, most of which include some reference to the “disaster” or “crisis” or “debacle” of 1898 in the title. These works tend to focus on the perceived loss of political and economic status surrounding the emancipation of Cuban, Philippine, and Puerto Rican colonial possessions. Economic histories link the loss of the colonies to Spanish backwardness, particularly the writings of Jordi Nadal Oller. In his work, Nadal connects colonial losses with what he dramatically terms the failure of the industrial revolution in Spain. Language of failure and a crisis of identity are common themes. As narratives of decline and loss, these tend to focus on the political shortcomings of the Spanish fin-de-siècle. This study relies on some of these works for their role in connecting Spanish thought to European social criticism. However, these narratives of disaster, often influenced by the catastrophizing language of the Generation of ‘98 in Spain, miss opportunities to present the country as entering into a post-colonial phase well before the first wave of imperial re-structuring was to strike Europe in 1919. This move toward regeneration is generally presented in works on modernism, as is the case in studies of other parts of Europe.

Catalan Modernism is an artistic style deploying glass, steel, and curved designs derived from natural forms. It flourished between 1886 and 1911. European counterparts include French Art Nouveau, the British Victorian modern style and Arts and Crafts movement, the Austrian

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Secessionist movement, and the German Jugendstil. However, these comparisons are not common in the literature, and the origin of Catalan Modernisme in the revival or Renaixença literary movement are also understated. English-language texts tend to emphasize that no manifesto exists for Catalan Modernisme, yet Spanish and Catalan-language texts note that Lluís Domènech i Montaner called for a new national architectural style in response to the rise of republicanism, despite its failure. This style should include an eclectic mix of old and new Iberian traditions, and he detailed these, both in his work and in the literary magazine\textsuperscript{31} that bears the name of the movement, \textit{La Renaixença}.\textsuperscript{32} Domènech’s important Catalan-language article was reprinted in Spanish but tends to be overlooked in English-language studies. Connections between artists and their bourgeois patrons tend to be understated in literature that opts to focus on the more rebellious avant-garde that followed this period, in the early twentieth century. The Amatller family, the Batlló family, the Guëll family, and other successful bourgeois industrialists made possible the construction of public parks and spaces within Barcelona, as well as and dozens of fine private homes and other notable structures. This commercial relationship is mentioned in art books that focus on the aesthetic of modernism,\textsuperscript{33} and this genre of interior décor and architecture tend to appear in general publications about cultural patrimony or information for travelers. Artists and writers from the period that followed mine aligned themselves with radical movements, forming what is sometimes referred to as the Generation of

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  \item \textsuperscript{31} Domènech i Montaner, “En Busca d’una Arquitectura Nacional.”
  \item \textsuperscript{32} I use the term “Renaixença with the “ç” cedilla character to refer to the name of the cultural and literary movement itself. This form represents the standardized modern spelling of the term following Catalan normative spelling reform, resulting from the publications of grammar and spelling guides between 1911 and 1919 by Catalan linguist Pompeu Fabra (1868-1948). The literary magazine used an older variant of the spelling, Renaixensa, and this spelling is used here when referencing this publication, but not the movement itself.
\end{itemize}
’27. This avant-garde radicalism did not take hold in the fin-de-siècle. However, the colorful halls and homes produced by Barcelona’s modernist architectural and artistic milieu did not reflect a conformist or uninspired bourgeoisie, either. The modernist creative figures in my sources operated within consumerist culture, reacting to its peculiarities without rejecting it in favor of radical ideologies.\textsuperscript{34} Additionally, the artists and architects themselves were often from bourgeois families. These characteristics are noted in biographies of individual artists, architects, and writers.\textsuperscript{35} By discussing them together in this study, these trends are revealed and contextualized in ways individual biographies, however more in-depth, cannot. My study reveals connections between the laboratory work of Ramon y Cajal, the fieldwork of Pere Mata, and the modernist structures built by the bourgeois cohort these educated professional men belonged to. In the case of midcentury medicine and psychiatry, Paris was the European center, pioneering practices Mata referenced repeatedly in his psychiatric treatises as the clinical standard to which he aspired. His struggles with the soul and the nature of human reason are better understood after reviewing Jan Goldstein’s work on the self and the rise of psychiatry in France.\textsuperscript{36} Literature on Ramon y Cajal tends to fall into two general categories, that of biography and medical text.\textsuperscript{37} Yet he, like Mata, and the writers, artists, and architects of the period, was politically active and wrote much about the social, political, and even cultural concerns of the time. The advent of

\textsuperscript{34} de Riquer and Llimargas, \textit{Modernismo}; McCully and Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, \textit{El Quatre Gats}.


liberal republican governance in Spain colored their artistic and intellectual production, revealing attitudes toward individual agency and selective memory of aspects of the Spanish past that informed this cohort’s approach to the modern era of mass politics.

_Tertulias, Café Culture, and Language_

As Carl Schorske noted in his essays on fin-de-siècle Vienna, elites from cities like Paris, Berlin, or London tended to be isolated by the specialized technical vocabulary and venues that separated the literary figure from the craftsman, the artist from the scientist. Schorske credited the persistence of salons and café culture in Vienna with keeping these varieties of high culture in contact with each other. Much can be said of Barcelona as well, with cafés like Els Quatre Gats hosting the likes of Ramon Casas, Pablo Picasso (1881-1973), and Rubén Darío (1867-1916). _Tertulias_ were gatherings frequented by intellectuals like Ramon y Cajal, offering busy professionals opportunities to exchange information on the latest shows at the opera, chorale performances at the concert hall, the latest literary essays or novels, and countless political matters. This mélange of culture is evident in the writings of figures like Mata and later Cajal, who wrote their scientific papers in a style much more literary than technical by today’s standards. Not only that, they both produced works of fiction, as well. The multiple roles of architect and political figure, industrialist and patron of arts and hand craftsmanship reveal the kinds of overlap among these fields that characterized the cultural production and political climate of places like Barcelona and Madrid. This intersection of bourgeoisie and artistic production affected the variety of Catalan Modernisme that developed in Barcelona, one that challenged certain notions of conformist style and gender roles subtly, but not dramatically, as the avant-garde would attempt in the 1920s. Schorske’s discussions of Vienna also note that the

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38 Schorske, _Fin-de-Siècle Vienna_, chap. Introduction.
“alienation” that fed into the avant-garde movement took hold late in the Austrian capital. While different experiences and forces influenced the Spanish avant-garde movement, including the rise of organized labor in Barcelona and Spanish neutrality during World War I, it can be said that avant-garde “alienation” from all of society was late to arrive in Spain, as well. The same names appear repeatedly in the source materials, whether discussing the construction of a concert hall, the mass-production of luxury delights like chocolate, the design of an urban plaza, the functionality of a neuron, or the need for psychiatric and charitable facilities. Such interconnectivity could not have been possible in societies that divided up these fields with separate institutions and technical language. However, language became increasingly important in Barcelona throughout the nineteenth century, as the revival of literary Catalan that became such a crucial point of pride served to isolate its adherents from the rest of the Spanish. The literary culture that arose from this division animates the discussion that follows in Chapter One.

1 DISASTER AND RENEWAL IN SPANISH FIN-DE-SIÈCLE PRINT CULTURES: THE GENERATION OF 1898 AND THE CATALAN RENAIXENÇA

1.1 Imagined “Patria” in the Modern Spanish State

In an interview published on YouTube on March 5, 2018, Catalan president Carles Puigdemont spoke from exile in Brussels about nations and states. Specifically, he addressed the need to periodically review and revise the boundaries of states to reflect the realities of changing nations. Nations were bound to shift and vary over generations, he argued, because the patria or nation was an imaginary construct, and not some divinely pre-ordained entity.¹ The imagined

nation Puigdemont referenced in his talk arguably may have originated in the medieval age of Catalan Mediterranean dominance, or during any number of military engagements that pitted the Catalans against a common enemy. These may have been external in the case of the French in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or internal in the case of Franco’s Falangists during the twentieth century. Taking inspiration both from Puigdemont’s phrasing of the imagined patria and scholar Benedict Anderson’s notion of imagined communities, the most proximate cause of the creation of the modern Catalan nation can be linked to the rise of Catalan print culture in the middle to late decades of the nineteenth century. This revival differs from the situation in neighboring France, where local languages and dialects were weeded out in the manner Eugen Weber described in connection with the expansion of roads and railways, schools, and military service, which all favored Parisian French. This movement to revive literary Catalan in Spain is known as the Renaixença, and in addition to hundreds of publications in Catalan, it gave birth to a generation of philologists charged with orthographic reform and other practical concerns that would encourage the language’s use in everyday situations. The elevated literary Catalan language would serve to entertain the educated managerial class of Catalunya, a bourgeois social set who were experiencing a robust return to commercial success, distinguishing them from the rest of the Spanish who struggled to industrialize while fraught with concern over the continued loss of colonies in the Americas and the Pacific. This linguistic separation heightened cultural divisions that allowed Catalan nationalism to crest due to a sense of superiority. This tendency toward linguistic separation, even among the bourgeoisie who had much else in common and otherwise intermingled, is something Anderson recognized in his own research when he wrote of

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the loss of Latin in the face of nineteenth-century vernacular print capitalism. Anderson observed that “one can sleep with anyone, but one can only read some people’s words.”

At present, when citing their reasons for supporting separatism, politicians and citizens alike often reference the fact that Catalans speak a different language, as if that alone were reason enough to justify independent statehood. Puigdemont’s imaginary patria echoes Anderson’s imagined communities, a concept so central that it made its way into the title of the scholar’s seminal work. The rest of the Spanish state was made of other linguistic groups that persist, including the Basques in the northeast who spoke Euskera, and the Galicians of the northwest who spoke Gallego. Even this is an oversimplification as Asturian, Cantabrian, Leonese, Aragonese, Valencian, Occitan, Romani, Mozarabic, and Ladino, plus their variants and dialects, existed and persist. Yet the only official language of the entire Spanish state is Castilian. Linked with the Catholic church, the monarchy, Madrid, and the faltering empire in the Americas and the Philippines, many Castilian-language publications originating in Spain focused on domestic political and cultural concerns in a quest to understand and process the loss of colonial possessions. These losses, which began after Napoleonic occupation in 1808, spanned the century, culminating with the loss of territories in the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Guam, an event referenced in literary and cultural circles of the time as the Desastre, the Disaster of ‘98. As was the case with several Austrian publications from the fin-de-siècle, Spanish literary figures became concerned with the relationships between modernist decadence, the loss of empire, and cultural regression. Spanish social critics argued that cultural degeneration was responsible for the decline of the empire. This was the approach taken by the Madrid-focused

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Castilian literary cohort, who felt their identity, international prestige, and commercial success were all tied closely to the recently defunct post-Columbian Atlantic empire. To re-imagine Spain meant reorienting Spanish identity away from overseas colonies and back to the capital, Madrid. In doing so, Catalan, Basque, and Galician nations would be relegated to the Spanish periphery. This situation is not unlike that of Austria, which lacked overseas territorial possessions in the British or French sense. The Austrian empire was limited to the continent, including minority nations along its southern borders that had marked linguistic and cultural differences from the north. The literature includes studies of Austrian writers who imagined these peripheral nations as having utopian colonial relationships with the capital, Vienna. Indeed, the founder of a Basque separatist nationalist party felt a similar internal colonial relationship was already present in Spain. Catalans, on the other hand, felt their industrial success was once again elevating them to the levels they enjoyed during their pre-Columbian age of Mediterranean dominance. Literary traditions that made up the print culture of this period are marked by linguistic differences that delineated these varied Iberian pasts, identities, and memory. These Castilian and Catalan-language print cultures described their respective patria or nation as undergoing a profound sense of disaster or renewal during the late nineteenth century, as the Disaster of ’98 was received and interpreted asymmetrically. At times, Catalans and Castilians expressed themselves in ways that were distinctively Iberian, and in others, their concerns echoed those of the European fin-de-siècle, in general.

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1.2 Print Culture in Spain in the Nineteenth Century: Texts and Approaches

Newspapers and literary magazines, many of them claiming to be apolitical in nature, were published in profusion in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in Spain. These writings reflect the drastically different conditions Spaniards experienced during industrialization and urbanization, to name just two key processes underway during the period. As was the case in other parts of Europe during the fin-de-siècle, Spaniards were concerned with the changing political climate, new definitions of class resulting from industrialization, the declining aristocracy, the state of the Catholic church, separatist nationalism, and the changing landscapes of science and technology. In the face of this tremendous change, fear of the degeneration of culture and the arts took hold. The most often-discussed topic of conversation was the military loss of Spanish colonies, notably Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. Poetry, essays, short stories, and plays struggled to make sense of the event, which came to be known as a “disaster” and specifically, the Desastre del 98. This event triggered intense introspection, much of which looked to the past to redefine Spanish identity. Still, not all regions of Spain looked to the past at the same angles and with the same lenses. Not all Spaniards expressed concern with the loss of colonies that had been slipping away since the time of Napoleon, when Latin America asserted its independence. For Catalans, the fin-de-siècle was a time of industrial change, ushering in welcome economic renewal following decades of linguistic and cultural resurgence. Many of the writers of the so-called Disaster of 1898 were intellectuals, writing to an elite audience that ingested their works through monographs, play libretti, or books of poetry, sometimes with press runs under fifty. For Catalans, literary magazines took the form of inexpensive newspapers with low page counts, typically published weekly, which had the

opportunity to reach a wider audience through larger press runs and potentially greater circulation. These publications varied, with some of them like Pèl i Ploma or La Renaixensa, running for over one hundred issues across decades. Others were ephemeral in nature, appearing and vanishing after only a few appearances like Futurisme, which lasted only three issues, or Arte y Letras with fifteen issues.

Studying these texts poses special problems. While it is impossible to know how these publications were received by the reading public, some inferences can be drawn from their financial success, or lack thereof, in the form of lengthy press runs. Rather than focus on reader interpretation, or even in-depth interpretation of the texts themselves, this analysis contextualizes these publications with regard to their authors, the cohort to which they belonged, and the sentiments prevalent at the time of writing. Reception theory serves as a caution against using present analysis to interpret how a text was encoded by the author or decoded by the intended reader,9 processes taking place over a century ago. With these concerns in mind, the pages that follow attempt to offer a survey of the voluminous print media produced during this era of mass politics and mass audiences, presenting observations about the nature of these texts, their longevity, the philosophies of key authors, and what these factors may illuminate about the fin-de-siècle and the first decade of the twentieth century.

1.3 Disaster: The Generation of ’98

Perhaps the most well-known group of writers addressing Spanish concerns from this period is the Generation of ’98. This is a term used to describe a group of intellectuals who were born in the 1870s and came of age around 1898, when Spain suffered military defeat at the hands

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of Cuban, Filipino, and American forces, resulting in the loss of remaining global colonial possessions. Much scholarly work has examined this group, including work arguing whether such a group even existed as characterized.\textsuperscript{10} Indeed, this is a valid concern since several of the authors who are generally categorized as Generation ’98 were also part of the international cohort of Spanish-language \textit{modernismo}, which resembled other fin-de-siècle modernist styles like symbolism.\textsuperscript{11} This makes sense considering that many of the fin-de-siècle anxieties about modernity, morality, and degeneration that were present in other parts of Europe were also true of Spain, where the Generation of ’98 and others wrote of these themes. What this group wrote and how they imagined regeneration in Spain is what makes them distinct. These writers were generally critical of various aspects of Spain without directly tackling the military failures’ proximate causes. These included political instability, economic developmental deficiencies, military incompetence, and outdated equipment. While journalists and other writers criticized topics including these, as well as problems related to newly urbanized industrial centers and provincial agricultural life, the Generation of ’98 tended to write of Spain’s problems in abstract terms, chiefly that of mindset.\textsuperscript{12} Problems related to crises of morality, degeneration, and spiritual concerns were their primary topics. Analysis of their work is and has been conducted by traditional historical approaches and literary criticism. Other designations of generations have been proposed, including ’14, and ’27, but ’98 is referenced most often. The writers of ’98 were caught up in the general shock, criticism, and nostalgia over the colonial “disaster” of 1898, a position that can oversimplify the complex concerns of this philosophically diverse group.


\textsuperscript{11} Harrison and Hoyle, 10–11 In particular, Rubén Darío belonged to this group of Spanish-language modernistas, in Latin America and Iberia.

These intellectuals were generally pro-republican, opposed to the restoration of the monarchy after the exile of Isabel II in 1868 and the short-lived First Spanish Republic. They analyzed morality, standing apart from earlier Catholic apologists like conservative Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo who criticized secularism in Spain, convinced Catholicism was at the core of the state’s identity. Instead, Generation of ‘98 writers criticized what they felt to be the immoral actions of monarchs and the highest levels of government, although this too was tempered by mitigating circumstances. They may have opposed the restoration of monarchy, but they held Catalan General Prim i Prats in some esteem for his modernizing work in Barcelona. And at least Prim had the presence of mind to arrange for a member of the House of Savoy to rule in Spain, instead of another Bourbon. This criticism of France was typical of Madrid around 1898, which Nicaraguan poet and father of literary modernism Rubén Darío (1867-1916) noted differed markedly from the Francophile Barcelonés, who were proud of their reputation of “Paris of the south.”

Darío is associated with this movement, along with other writers who were not from Madrid, but identified the capital and its surroundings – isolated, poor Castile – as the Spanish heartland. This is significant because it places their notions of Spanish identity in a place that was far less culturally idiosyncratic than the industrial Basque, Galician, and Catalan north, or the Andalusian agricultural south. It was also a location where the dominant language was and had been Castilian. As a literary movement, the Generation of ‘98 assumed Spanish identity was linked with the Castilian language, which had established its dominance at the close of the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714). Castilian was regulated by the Real Academia de la Lengua Española, the Royal Academy of the Spanish Language.¹³ This is a formal institution dedicated

¹³ See Alonso Zamora Vicente, La Real Academia Española, ed. Real Academia Española (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1999) for a history of the RAE, commissioned to mark the institution’s third centenary.
to defining and preserving the language. It was established in 1713, at the end of the war, as Catalan territories were subsumed by force into accepting a Bourbon rather than Habsburg monarch, and in so doing lost the power of their Corts to enforce the fueros, or local laws. This event involved more than just a changing of royal dynasties; it marked the end of Catalan regional autonomy, and it also signaled a consolidation of the Spanish state in a modern sense that was far more bureaucratic and centrally administered than the early modern union of Castile and Aragon in 1469. While the Catholic monarchs defined early modern Spain along religious lines that blurred ethnic or racial differences, the eighteenth century saw Spain redefined under Castilian linguistic unity. It was this linguistic unity that proponents of the Catalan language struggled against over a century later through the Renaixença. The formation of Basque identity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries echoed the old racial and ethnic tests dating back to the Catholic monarchs. These were familiar notions equating race and ethnicity, and defining these in terms of blood, with Catholicism as the category of difference. In the Baroque period, the limpieza de sangre of Christianity defined communities as Spanish, rather than Muslim or Jewish.\textsuperscript{14} This old concept came to guide Basque nationalism, which relied less upon language during the fin-de-siècle than the Catalan case.

However, the exclusive official use of Castilian and centralization were not the only methods implemented to unify the state. Well before the founding of the Real Academia, identity was imagined around a relatively young capital, dating back to the when the Habsburg Philip II moved his court from Toledo and Valladolid, both Castilian cities, to Madrid. This change in capital that was made official in 1606, and the historical capitals of Toledo, Cordoba, and Granada, and their significance as Jewish centers and as capitals under Muslim Emirate,

\textsuperscript{14} Américo Castro, \textit{The Spaniards: An Introduction to Their History} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), chap. The Spaniards as the Consequence of the Intermingling of Three Castes of Believers.
Caliphate, and Taifa kingdom tended to be forgotten by late nineteenth century writers of the Generation of ‘98. While religious differences may be responsible for forgotten pasts in Granada or Toledo, the same cannot be said for Barcelona. It was a capital of the Visigothic kingdom, which was Christian, as was the composite Crown of Aragon, which came to include much of southern Italy, Sardinia, Corsica, and Malta. The formal capital of Aragon was in Zaragoza where the crown itself was housed in the cathedral, but its councils and administrative offices were based in Barcelona. The pro-Madrid contingent tended to downplay or overlook Aragon entirely, despite its superior economic position and Mediterranean presence at the time of the joining of Aragon with Castile in the fifteenth century. This tendency continued as writers of the Generation of ’98 looked to these early modern origins of Spain in order to examine Spanish identity during the time of colonial crisis. With Madrid at the center of an imagined centralized Spanish identity, one defined by writers of the Generation of ’98 who were not from the capital, other traditions and pasts were excluded, their identities and strengths marginalized to the periphery, or subsumed.

By 1898, the Catalan language had enjoyed decades of literary success, and regionalist tendencies were on the rise. The Basque language had also experienced a modest revival, while the Basque people remained keenly focused on local legal autonomy.\footnote{See Lilli, “Basques, Catalans, Primordialism and Violence” for a comparison of Basque and Catalan regions in terms of linguistics, violence, and transfers of authority to the present.} This period coincided with the rise of separatist nationalisms in other weakened European empires marked by linguistic differences, notably in Austrian territories of south central and southeastern Europe, particularly in the Balkans. At a time when Iberian linguistic diversity was on the rise, defining separate identities for regions that extended into the realm of politics. In short, a Madrid-centered identity of ’98 was not representative of those communities within the peripheries of the Spanish state.
However, the movement’s Madrid-centered focus did not come from within. Indeed, most of the writers who made up the Generation of ’98 were not even from Madrid, hailing instead from linguistically distinct separatist regions like the Basque Country.

The Generation of 1898 and its writings were received unequally and asymmetrically throughout early twentieth-century Spain. This served to further emphasize the diverse experiences that shaped industrial non-Castilian places like Barcelona differently than Madrid. Notions of disaster and loss of Columbian possessions resonated completely differently for Catalans, who saw the repercussions of the Columbian experience as the proximate cause of shifts toward the Atlantic world and away from the Mediterranean, which they had dominated economically and to a lesser extent, politically. It was central governance in Madrid that had lost the colonies that purchased large portions of Catalan industrial exports, and while this certainly affected urban centers like Barcelona and smaller towns like Reus in the province of Tarragona, the fault for this economic hardship lay with Madrid. With their sights set on industrial renewal, Catalan modernist identity shared different shames and different points of pride from Madrid. Basques and their Generation of ‘98 literary figures struggled with the monarchy that had resulted in destruction and violence in the region as a result of the Carlist wars. Decoupling Catholic faith from this corrupt perception of monarchy posed challenges, as did reconciling that salvaged faith with liberalism. These literary figures, national characteristics, linguistic differences, religious concerns and tensions over changes in politics, class, and gender were difficult to reconcile during this challenging period of modernization and rapid change.

1.4 Peripheral Writers, Core Concerns

The chief intellectuals of this period were not actually from Madrid, though they focused their literary energies on the capital. These key figures included Antonio Machado y Ruiz (1875-
1939), a poet from Seville in Andalusia, Ramón del Valle-Inclán (1866-1936), a playwright from Galicia, and Pío Baroja y Nessi (1872-1956), a novelist from the Basque country. Perhaps the most widely-read of the cohort is Miguel de Unamuno y Jugo (1864-1936), a Basque professor of Greek who wrote of existential and religious concerns in various formats, including plays, novels, poetry, and essays.\(^\text{16}\) Despite being classified together in an intellectual cadre, these men disagreed on key matters, sometimes even contradicting themselves. Toward the end of the reign of Alfonso XIII (r. 1886-1931) the dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera (1870-1930) led to support for the creation of the far-right Falange under Primo de Rivera’s son Jose Antonio (1903-1936). The literature of the Spanish Civil War reveals the extent to which political opinion shifted and became polarized in Spain. This shift appears to have begun earlier in Barcelona, where anarchism and labor movements like syndicalism had gained popularity since the 1890s. Between July 25 and August 2 of 1909, a tense general strike grew into a revolt as orders arrived from Madrid calling up Catalan military reserves to ship out of the Port of Barcelona on a mission to retain Spanish territorial possessions in Morocco. The Catholic Church, which had long been associated with Madrid, the monarchy, and imperialism, became a target. The disturbance escalated with the burning of churches and the disruption of burial sites in what is known as the Setmana Tràgica, the Tragic Week.\(^\text{17}\) This conflict heightened disagreement among separatist groups, as masses of Catalan-organized radicalized labor groups clashed in the streets with police. This early class conflict highlights key issues including militarism, imperialism, republicanism, and anti-clericalism, which would become volatile in other parts of Spain.

\(^{16}\) See Shaw, *The Generation of 1898 in Spain*; and Harrison and Hoyle, *Spain’s 1898 Crisis* for analysis of Basque writers Baroja and Unamuno. These works differ fundamentally in the way they regard the Generation of ’98 and the tone of its literary production, whether regenerative and modernist, or pessimistic.

\(^{17}\) See Temma Kaplan, *Red City, Blue Period: Social Movements in Picasso’s Barcelona* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) for nuanced analysis of social movements and the organization of labor in Barcelona during this period.
including Madrid, in the late 1920s. In either case, it is important to distinguish these writers of the Generation of ’98 and their concerns from the later, more divergent ideological situation that would escalate in the 1920s. Some of these ideological changes are more specifically articulated by the Generation of ’14 and ’27, but the writers of 1898 were diverse in their varied assessments and suggestions for Spain after military loss. Their positions on labor, religion, the appropriate form of government for Spain, and numerous other subjects did not fall along neat ideological lines.

Miguel de Unamuno offers an example of the complexity of philosophical thought in Spain in the early twentieth century. He opposed the restoration of the monarchy, called for abdication once it was restored, and supported a Spanish republic.\(^\text{18}\) Despite his support of liberal constitutional government and a professed loss of faith, he remained spiritual and did not align himself with anti-clerical movements or Basque regionalist or nationalist movements. This loss of faith to reason plagued him throughout his life, as he longed nostalgically for the comfort and security that faith had provided him in childhood.\(^\text{19}\) His existentialism led him to see no point in progressive movements since he believed life was too fleeting to bother with changing the way things were, a peculiar stance for a self-identifying liberal. Further shaping his narrow liberal perspective was his sense that Spain’s regeneration should follow a path befitting the Spanish national personality, something scholars have described as a kind of *Völksgeist* that drew upon golden age *castizo* or pure Castilian identity.\(^\text{20}\) This claim has been generally disputed since Unamuno’s concept of a “simple fixed national character” has been heavily criticized.\(^\text{21}\) Indeed,

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\(^\text{19}\) Shaw, 43.
\(^\text{20}\) Shaw, 44–45.
\(^\text{21}\) Harrison and Hoyle, *Spain’s 1898 Crisis*, 22.
Puigdemont spoke of the changing national character, with his plea that generations, as they changed, be permitted to decide what constitutes the nation, and how it should be governed.\textsuperscript{22}

In general, the Generation of ’98 is characterized as negative and critical, and while they did engage in social criticism to a large degree, Rubén Darío, for example, was positive about the chances of Spanish recovery and regeneration, and wrote as much in his reports for the newspaper \textit{La Nación}, published in his home country of Nicaragua.\textsuperscript{23} Galician Ramón de Valle-Inclán was the most radical of this cohort, moving to Mexico in the early twentieth century and even becoming involved in revolts, although much of his life was spent living in Madrid as a bohemian with little in the way of funds, despite his family’s noble titles. Antonio Machado from Andalusia wrote poems about provincial landscapes with their charm that was nonetheless backward.\textsuperscript{24} Pío Baroja was a Basque who also rejected regional separatism, but he was an atheist and anti-clerical, positions that estranged him from deeply Catholic Basque Carlists. He refused to engage in social conventions like marriage or maintaining a stable career.\textsuperscript{25} In addition to the Basque country, Baroja lived in Madrid and Valencia in his youth, where he earned his medical degree and published works dealing with pain and its psychological and physical connections.\textsuperscript{26}

These writers have varied opinions of the roles of government and church in Spain, and what these could be expected to accomplish, but they all rejected separatism and placed Madrid at the center of Spain politically, if not culturally. In so doing, they appear to reorient the geography of Spanish influence away from the Atlantic world and back into an Iberian and

\textsuperscript{22} \textit{En España Les Esta Quedando Una “Democracia” Basada En El Miedo, La Amenaza y El Chantaje.}
\textsuperscript{23} Rubén Darío, \textit{España Contemporánea} (Paris: Garnier Hermanos, 1907).
\textsuperscript{24} Harrison and Hoyle, \textit{Spain’s 1898 Crisis}, 42.
\textsuperscript{25} Shaw, \textit{The Generation of 1898 in Spain}, 96.
\textsuperscript{26} Pío Baroja, “Estudio Acerca Del Dolor” (Universidad Central de Madrid, Facultad de Medicina, 1896).
perhaps North African orbit. This inward look toward Madrid also separated Spain from its European neighbors, ignoring the cultural similarities modernism, industrialization, organized labor, and the revival of crafts movements presented. These writers struggled with what it meant to be from Spain and attempted to elevate the core by subsuming the character and diversity of the regions of the periphery. Still, even this cohort, which earned its reputation for criticism, did not dwell at length on narratives of disaster and loss. Rather, they struggled with many of the same political, religious, economic, and scientific concerns of the fin-de-siècle, as did much of Europe. They also appeared engaged in what Ortega y Gasset would later term a “collision with the future,” which in this case meant an encounter with postcolonial twentieth-century modernity, a condition the rest of Europe would come to face after Spain.

1.5 Basque Language, Identity, and Nationalism

For historians of late twentieth-century Spain, Basque separatists were of primary concern, rather than Catalans. In the years after the adoption of the 1978 constitution that ended decades of authoritarianism, Catalunya retained a level of autonomy that was generally accepted. Until 2006, when changes to this arrangement worked their way through the state judiciary, Catalans were relatively quiet when it came to expressions of regionalism, displays of separatist nationalism, and independence movements. Instead, Basque separatists made front-page news as the ETA, Euskadi Ta Askatasuna or Basque Homeland and Freedom group founded in 1959, carried out campaigns of kidnappings, car bombings, and assassinations. This group, its past, and its political affiliations are a complicated narrative of their own. Basque and Catalan movements, ranging from those seeking a stop to the erosion of autonomy to those working for independence, have grown vocal and quiet at different times. The Basque independence movement is worth mentioning here because like the Catalan case, it is also driven by peripheral minority
nationalism and a linguistic tradition separate from that of Castilian-speaking Madrid. One other significant linguistic minority, that of speakers of Galician or Gallego, did not connect linguistic identity with nationalist movements, and the late nineteenth-century Romantic literary revival of Gallego remained cultural, rather than venturing into politics. However, there are significant differences between Basque and Catalan linguistic traditions that affected the way these nationalisms were shaped.

Linguistically, Catalan has a literary heritage and historical identity that are not present for the Basque language. A wealth of Catalan-language literature dates to the twelfth and perhaps even eleventh centuries, a distinction that is difficult to make since it is a Romance language that gradually emerged from vulgar Latin. There was much written material to revive, when the desire to do so arose in the mid nineteenth-century. One late and famous example is the work of epic chivalric romance Tirant lo Blanch, written by a Valencian in the fifteenth century, around a century before pre-eminent Castilian writer Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616) published his Quixote, which mentions the earlier work. As Cervantes and other Siglo de Oro or golden age writers rose in prestige, Catalan literature fell into decline, which was worsened by war and the Real Academia after 1713.

The Basque language did not share an interrelated relationship with Castilian or with Catalan. It is not a Romance language, and indeed, it is a language isolate, since it pre-dates the Indo-European language group found throughout western Europe. This isolated nature of the language mirrors the reputation of its people, whose history famously includes military defense

28 Joanot Martorell, Tirant Lo Blanch (Valencia, 1490).
29 Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote de La Mancha, 1615.
from Roman, Visigothic, and Islamic conquerors, but dates much farther into the prehistoric past. This murky past serves to grant them a primordial national ethnicity.\textsuperscript{30} It is this notion of ethnicity or race that drives the different identities between Basques and Catalans or Castilians, not language.\textsuperscript{31} The Basque geographic and genetic isolation is old, so much so that a kind of mystique surrounded the Basques, which is further expressed in discussions of ethnic uniqueness. This veil of mystery (at least as far as outsiders are concerned) has been welcomed by the Basques, as evident in an old Basque saying, “The Basques are like an honest woman, they have no history.”\textsuperscript{32} Beginning in the 1880s, when the state Civil Code encroached on local legal customs known as the \textit{fueros}, Basque literary culture had a small revival. During this period, intellectuals from around Navarre and Bizkaya-Viscaya concentrated on Basque philology, history, and law.\textsuperscript{33} This movement was short-lived, and Basque identity and nationalism were not connected with literary or bourgeois capitalist print culture in the way that the Catalan language was. While all the Iberian minority languages yielded to Castilian, Basque was a language of people who resisted invasion, their territory contracting with retreat. Catalan was the language of people encouraged by the crown of Aragon to expand into the Mediterranean, and Catalan spread as far east as Greece, and as far south as northern Africa, with areas in Italy and Sardinia speaking variants of Catalan as far back as the eleventh century.\textsuperscript{34}

Modern Basque nationalism was launched by Sabino de Arana y Goiri (1865-1903) a Basque who envisioned an ethnically pure Catholic Basque state. Arana took the language from a largely oral tradition to a written one. This task went beyond the sort of orthographic reform

\begin{footnotes}
\item[31] Daniele Conversi, \textit{The Basques, the Catalans and Spain: Alternative Routes to Nationalist Mobilisation} (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1996), 53–55.
\item[33] Conversi, \textit{The Basques, the Catalans and Spain}, 52–53.
\item[34] Mar-Molinero and Smith, \textit{Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula}, 76.
\end{footnotes}
languages periodically undergo. Arana had the creation of a Basque nation in mind when he invented a series of words, neologisms, to describe concepts and items related to his vision of Basque nationalism. Some of these neologisms attempted to fix his set terms to describe abstractions that had previously been expressed through spoken language, often by compounding and declining words, similar to the process in German or Latin but with different functions for the declensions. This was a dramatic grammatical change for political reasons that did not reflect simplifications or streamlining of the language for ease of use. His neologisms included a new place name for the Basque homeland, Euzkadi, the Land of the Basques. Arana enlisted his brother Luis to help with designing a flag known as the *ikurriña*, resulting in a green, red, and white design that resembles the British flag of union. Five Basque provinces were to be united under it, two in France and three in Spain. Arana also created a national anthem and other key national symbols. These symbols were items he invented, and they were not part of a revived intellectual tradition from earlier periods of Basque history. While it is true that many European flags and national anthems came into existence during the nineteenth century, there is a lack of an apparent connection with a Basque past, a lack of a revival in Arana’s contrived nationalism. These factors distinguish the Basque linguistic trajectory from that of the Catalans, who had several decades’ head start connecting their rich medieval literary traditions with their nineteenth-century nationalism.

Catalans who busied themselves reviving their linguistic culture during the middle to late decades of the nineteenth century valued autonomy and bristled at times when Madrid attempted

35 Arana coined the name Euzkadi rather than reviving the older term Euskal Herria, which had been used since at least the early nineteenth century. Euskal Herria is the term used at present in this post-ETA era, both within and outside the Basque homeland. Spelling and terminology of names sometimes varies, and the most popular place names have traditionally been identified by either Basque or Spanish names, sometimes as a point of contention. In some of these instances, both place names are now used to smooth over these tensions and assert national pride, as in the case of Donostia-San Sebastian.

to impose bureaucratic or other controls upon Catalunya, but there was a certain pride and
enjoyment in revisiting the old culture for its own sake that was not present in the Basque cases.
This is due largely to the Basque sense of ethnic or racial primordialism. The chief authority on
Basque nationalism was writer Evangelista de Ibero, whose 1906 monograph dedicated to the
memory of then-recently deceased Sabino Arana, stated at the very start that nationality was, “in
the first place the blood, race or origin; in the second place, the language.” This perspective
differs profoundly from the notions of patria held by Anderson and Puigdemont. It was as if
Basques felt no need to prove to themselves, or anyone else, what it meant to be Basque, and that
this was, in fact, what they were. The Basques had backed political parties, factions, and even
potential monarchs who would ensure the preservation of the fueros, their local autonomous law.
The fueros were their focus, rather than celebrating works of literature or art of a particularly
Basque flavor. This motivation to protect the fueros was the driving force behind the Basques
across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and much earlier. Whether they were nineteenth-
century Carlists backing an estranged heir apparent who was quick to make promises in order to
consolidate power away from his niece Isabel II, or violent twentieth-century criminals termed
terrorists by news broadcasts, aiming to gain autonomy during the uncertain early years of the
post-Franco era, the Basques did what they did, and felt justified in doing so, for the autonomy
represented by the fueros. These entities, the Carlists and the ETA, were divisive. Compared
with the Catalans who lost their autonomy in 1714, the Basques retained their fueros much
longer, until the 1888 Civil Code was implemented, giving the Basques less reason to clash with
Madrid or develop literary nationalistic identity during that period than their Catalan
counterparts. This defense of the fueros has been termed fuerismo or foralism by some scholars,

38 Evangeslita de Ibero, Ami Vasco (Bilbao: E. Arteche, 1906), 5.
to distinguish it from nationalism. Whereas nationalism tends to follow its own trajectory, toward national autonomy or statehood, the Basques who single-mindedly protected the *fueros* were not promoting the interests of the nation. In fact, they were actually defending the *Ancien Régime*, because that system had supported locally-administered family law like the *fueros*. In the face of the Basque north’s profitable mining and other modernizing industries, this foralism, combined with the divisive violence of Carlism, carried the Basques down a very different arc from the cultural and capitalist interests of the neighboring modernizing Catalans. This Basque foralism grew increasingly at odds with the liberal politics of Madrid, which was modernizing, examining its past, and consolidating itself after the colonial losses of 1898. Even those Basque writers who formed part of the Generation of ’98 looked to Madrid as the political center of a unified Spanish state, and did not write prominent tracts in favor of Basque independence.

### 1.6 Faro: The Liberal Lighthouse of Ortega y Gasset

The term Generation of ’98 came not from within this cadre of intellectuals, but from a social critic positioned outside of the group who published his ideas in the press. The first mentions of a liberal generation or group of intellectuals appeared in a newspaper intended for mass consumption in Madrid. The newspaper was published weekly on Sundays, and it took the name *Faro*, which means lighthouse. Its founder was José Ortega y Gasset, (1883-1955) with liberal Bernardo Rengifo y Tercero (d. 1928) as its managing director. From its first edition, in which Ortega y Gasset attempted to define and support liberalism, a polemical discussion began with conservative Gabriel Maura y Gamazo (1879-1963), who was himself of the age of the Generation of ’98. Maura accused Ortega y Gasset of being part of that generation of disaster, a

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group of intellectuals who claimed to be liberals, but in fact, were not because of the vagueness and idealism that plagued their definition of liberalism. Maura wrote:

Sr. Ortega Gasset is one of the most valuable representatives of the generation that is forthcoming, a generation born intellectually at the root of the disaster, patriotic without patriotism, optimistic but not candid, because lessons and adversity have dulled in it the potential passions of juvenile faith. Sr. Ortega Gasset has traveled, has studied, has meditated, and has an ideal, an intellectual affiliation that does not correspond, neither more nor less, with the intellectual affiliation of Spanish liberals because he was shaped by different procedures, born of different premises, because he has arrived at different conclusions; what’s more, instead of recognizing that he is not a liberal, in the usual, actual sense of the word, Sr. Ortega Gasset has opted to ask liberals to be what he thinks they should be.  

Maura made an example of Ortega y Gasset in his confrontational letter, but in so doing he set apart a different kind of liberal, who he claimed had its liberal idealism dulled due to its birthright during the decline that led to the military losses of 1898. This notion of disaster is a conservative position, the term used repeatedly by conservative writers in less polemical pieces than this, making their own social criticism of the final three decades of the nineteenth century as periods of decline and cultural degeneration that would necessarily require regeneration in the early twentieth century. Maura also asserted that Ortega y Gasset was not a true Spanish liberal because of his travels, causing intellectual affiliation that did not “correspond” with that of the legitimately Spanish, who presumably never traveled or read the foreign press. Whether Spain should look to the Americas or to Europe for models of renewal was another matter, but regeneration was a chief concern, appearing repeatedly across all editions of Faro from 1908.

40 Gabriel Maura Gamazo, “La Reforma Conservadora,” Faro, March 1, 1908, Yr. 1, No. 2 edition, 1. “El Sr. Ortega Gasset uno de los más valiosos representantes de la generación que ahora llega; generación nacida intelectualmente á raiz del desastre, patriota sin patriotería, optimista, pero no cándida, porque las lecciones de la adversidad moderaron en ella las posibles exaltaciones de la fe juvenil. El Sr. Ortega Gasset ha viajado, ha estudiado, ha meditado y tiene ya un ideal, una filiación intelectual … que no corresponde ni poco ni mucho á la filiación intelectual de los liberales españoles, porque se formó de premisas diferentes, porque ha llegado á conclusiones distintas; mas en vez de reconocer que no es liberal, en el sentido corriente, actual, de la palabra, el Sr. Ortega Gasset opta por pedir á los liberales que sean lo que él cree que deberían ser.”
The term is used differently between conservatives and liberals, with talk of “degeneración moral” by conservatives, countered by “falta de moral” or lack of morals in the monarchy, as argued by liberals. Although both groups discuss “la moral” as a key to whatever their vision of regeneration would entail, definitions of “la moral” varied as much as the political views themselves. Even within secular frameworks of political discussion, the moral character of dynastic leadership and bohemian artists concerned different groups who wished for a heathier Spanish future.

Following the Maura polemic, textual analysis of 1908 editions of *Faro* revealed many instances of the term “generación,” but its primary use was rooted not in politics but in the field of physics and the applied science of technology, whether describing the generation of force through electrical or physical processes related to the use of scientific equipment or industrial machinery. Mathematical equations and engineering schematics of machine equipment were regular fixtures in publications of this time. Another frequent, though less common use is its inclusion in the term “regeneration,” which in this liberal publication appeared often in those articles discussing political or social conditions. For these writers focused on progress and regeneration, the key date was not 1898 but 1808 and the war of independence from Napoleonic forces, known elsewhere as the Peninsular War. This war, which led to the 1812 Constitution served to rally proponents of liberal constitutionalism in *Faro*. Conversely, it drew critical argumentation from conservatives who preferred look inward toward Madrid, seeking spiritual if not Catholic inspiration for what was nevertheless a progressive movement. Again, these conservatives are the writers using the term “desastre” to describe 1898 in their narratives of degeneration. Of course, Ortega y Gasset would later prove Maura was not entirely incorrect, writing in favor of governance by an educated, professional elite in ways that were out of step
with such hallmarks of liberal democracy as the full expansion of the franchise even to the potentially unschooled. But the writings of Ortega y Gasset in 1908 are not those of his 1929 La Rebelión de las Masas or The Revolt of the Masses, a work associated not with the Generation of ’98, but that of ’27. In 1908 Ortega y Gasset wrote for his liberal newspaper under a liberal managing editor, attracting the arguments of vocal conservatives. Though Maura stopped short of identifying the disaster generation as that of 1898 specifically, it is understood that the disaster was the loss of Spanish colonies in the Americas. Subsequent writers picked up on Maura’s generation nomenclature, made the connection, and the trend of naming and dating generations, beginning with the Generation of ’98, caught on.

Polemical conservative retorts by high-profile writers like Maura were frequent features in this liberal newspaper. These highlight key tensions of the period. In 1908, Unamuno expressed his undeniable pique at the mayor of Barcelona for daring to address King Alfonso XIII (1886-1941) in Catalan during his state visit to the city.

The mayor tells him: «Allow me to address you in our own language, since through it we give full expression to our feelings and by it the children of the catalan land serve to address God and those most beloved to us.»

First, our language. Ours?, belonging to whom. It says it below, the children of the catalan land. Worse, the mayor of Barcelona does not represent the children of the catalan land, rather he stands for the neighbors of Barcelona, many of whom are not catalan, and the neighbors of Barcelona, represented by the mayor, all know Spanish, and not all know catalan.42

42 Miguel de Unamuno, “Su Majestad la Lengua Española,” Faro, November 1, 1908, Yr. 1, No. 37 edition, 1–2. “El alcalde le dice: «Permitidme que os dirija la palabra en nuestro idioma propio, ya que por medio de él damos toda expresión á nuestro sentir y de él nos servimos los hijos de la tierra catalana para dirigirnos á Dios y á nuestros seres más queridos. » Primero, nuestro idioma. ¿Nuestro?, de quienes. Lo dice más abajo: de los hijos de la tierra catalana. Pero es que el alcalde de Barcelona no representa á los hijos de la tierra catalana, sino á los vecinos de Barcelona, muchos de los cuales no son catalanes, y los vecinos de Barcelona, representados por el alcalde, saben todos español, y no todos saben catalán.”.
Unamuno did not propose the teaching of Castilian in Catalunya as a remedy for a lack of Castilian knowledge. On the contrary, he insisted no such lack of knowledge existed.

Pure pedantry. Because one of the many pedantries of the catalanists is to pretend that they don’t know how to express themselves properly in Spanish. And they say this well in Spanish! Especially when making demands.\textsuperscript{43}

These strong feelings against the use of the Catalan in place of Castilian, sentiments that Unamuno expressed in \textit{Faro}, are echoed in recent times. Similar comments regularly appeared in coverage of the 2017 Catalan referendum vote on RTVE, a Spanish state-owned media company.

Unamuno was also critical of the revival of Catalan literary forms, and of the teaching of Catalan history, which had been left out of history lessons that focused on Castile and the Columbian era.

In the face of those who want to resume the Middle Ages, erasing four centuries of the History, there must be a struggle on behalf of the people, even against our own people. And leave the sentimental romanticism, which buries its roots in the dust of archives, to make legends of the Conde Arnau or quartets of Troubadour-era poetry.\textsuperscript{44}

This is a particularly disparaging comment. The Comte l’Arnau was a mythical Catalan literary character, not an example of a significant historical figure like Jaume I (1208-1276) who despite reclaiming Barcelona, southern Languedoc, and Occitan territories from the French, tended to be overlooked from Spanish history lessons that focused on Castilian achievements. Unamuno chose an extreme example to make his case. He also criticized Catalan interest in \textit{serventesios}, lines of rhyming verse used to tell epic tales, a literary genre associated with the French Troubadours. Yet the first major work of literature in vernacular Castilian, studied by students of

\textsuperscript{43} Unamuno, 1.“Pedantería pura. Porque una de las muchas pedanterías catalanistas es la de pretender que en español no saben decir bien lo que piensan y quieren. ¡Y tan bien como lo dicen!... Sobre todo, cuando hay que pedir.”

\textsuperscript{44} Miguel de Unamuno, “Por el Estado á la Cultura: Clasicismo del Estado y Romanticismo de la Región,” \textit{Faro}, March 22, 1908, Yr. 1, No. 5 edition, 1–2. “Frente á todos esos que quieren reanudar la Edad Media, borrando cuatro siglos de la Historia, hay que luchar por el pueblo, hasta contra el pueblo mismo. Y quedese el romanticismo sentimental, que hunde sus raíces en polvo de archivos, para hacer leyendas del Conde Arnau ó serventesios.”
the language to the present, is a twelfth-century epic poem. *El Cantar de Mio Cid* tells of eleventh-century Castilian noble Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar, referred to as El Cid Campeador, in a series of tales of his reportedly heroic exploits against Iberian Muslims. These narratives were transmitted orally in song or *cantar*, not unlike the tales of the Comte l’Arnau, or the analogous Catalan epic poem Unamuno did not mention, *Tirant lo Blanch*. These articles, which were published in Madrid, indicate that the parity Catalans felt they held with Castile and sought to highlight through both linguistic and historical means around 1900, clearly frustrated Unamuno. Despite his Basque heritage, Unamuno conceived of Madrid as the center of a singular Spanish state and nation bound by one common history, literary culture, and language. This homogenous vision of Spain simply did not exist.

1.7 Ramon y Cajal, Cuba, Degeneration and Regeneration

Certainly, intellectuals existed outside of the Generation of ’98 who held informed and valuable opinions on the state of the Spanish military. In fact, one such prolific writer focused much of his political criticism on the military’s flaws, which he blamed, in large part, on the need for modernization of the educational system. The famed pioneer of neuroscience Santiago Ramon y Cajal wrote extensively within his field, commented on politics in his memoirs, and delivered much of his criticism of the Spanish state in his works of fiction. He wrote short fictional stories in a genre he called “pseudoscientific narrative.” His 1906 *Cuentos de Vacaciones* deal with medical and scientific ethics, serving as morality tales.45 Written under the pseudonym “Doctor Bacteria” these short stories reveal Cajal’s respect for the expertise and achievements of scientists in Germany, the United States, Switzerland, and France over those of

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his native Spain. In his introduction, which reads as an apology or disclaimer, he confessed to having written them around 1885-1886, but kept them private due to what he terms their outlandish nature and undisciplined style. He changed his mind in 1906, and had them published in a limited press run he distributed to friends, but failed to reveal what made him do so. The last story, “El Hombre Natural y el Hombre Artificial” or “The Natural Man and the Artificial Man” which he describes as the “menos malo” or least bad of the lot, served as criticism of the deficiencies Cajal perceived in the educational system of Spain, “with a focus on routines, enervations, and decadence of national education.” It was this subject matter, Catholic schooling in particular, that later figured prominently in the narratives of his youth included in his memoirs, first published in 1917. As well as Cajal’s admonitions, the key word, “decadence,” placed this work of literary fiction within the larger body of social criticism of the fin-de-siècle if not the Generation of ’98, with its focus on correcting Spanish decadence not with improved morality or general mentality, but specifically with modern scientific education, knowledge, and processes in the incoming century.

Cajal experienced the events of 1898 with an intimacy many intellectuals lacked, due to his military service in Cuba in the decades preceding the ultimate military defeat. Before embarking for Cuba in 1873, he also served in a similar capacity of sanidad miliar or military health, for operations to suppress Carlists and anarchists in Catalunya, a mission and destination he found profoundly boring compared with his exotic notions of “tropical America,” with locations like Havana and Port au Prince. He found Havana “marvelous and unforgettable” in its natural beauty, drawing comparisons between the colonial architecture and that of Andalusia,

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46 Ramón y Cajal, Cuentos de Vacaciones, 4.
47 Santiago Ramón y Cajal, Mi Infancia y Juventud (Buenos Aires: Espasa Calpe, 1939).
considering how similar the Morro fortification was to that of Montjuic in Barcelona.\textsuperscript{48} He made a blunt criticism of the type of people who colonized Cuba, not just colonial administrators or Creoles who the Spanish preferred to replace with trusted Peninsulares. Cajal wrote:

Perhaps it was grave mistake for the economic prosperity of Spanish America to not have, from the start, shown a preference in the selection of the colonizing cohort for our strong northern races, laborious, economic and with an abundant birth rate, instead of resorting favorably to the Andalusian and Extremaduran people, intelligent, generous and capable of all heroism, as accredited by their history, but of inferior aptitude for the numerous struggles of commerce and industry.\textsuperscript{49}

This type of regionalist bias against the agricultural south in favor of the industrial north is present in places outside of Spain, including parts of Italy, Germany, and the United States. He found other sources of disappointment in less contentious areas of Havana, including the virgin forests of Romantic poetry, which Cajal somehow expected to find despite discussion of industrialization, urbanization, and commercial activity. But his greatest disappointment came to him as he recalled his time in Spain facing the Carlists, as once again he saw and heard tell of officers who stayed up late drinking and chatting in public bars where they could easily have been overheard. This was expected, but those who had helped implement the First Spanish Republic, even during the brief tenure of the republic itself, were treated as if this were something to be ashamed of, and they acted accordingly.\textsuperscript{50} His disillusionment with the corrupt state of the military led him to check his national pride at this experience. After nearly perishing from complications following malarial infection, he convalesced in Port au Prince before returning to Spain to a post as a medical professor. This experience allowed Cajal to express his


\textsuperscript{49} Ramón y Cajal, \textit{Recuerdos de mi Vida} 1:273. “Quizás fue grave mal para la prosperidad económica de la América española el no haber, desde el principio, aprovechado preferentemente para la empresa colonizadora nuestras fuertes razas el Norte, laboriosas, económicas y desbordantes de natalidad, en lugar de recurrir predilectamente a la gente andaluza y extremeña, inteligente, generosa y capaz de todos los heroísmos, según acredita la historia, pero de inferior aptitud para las fecundas luchas del comercio y de la industria.”

\textsuperscript{50} Ramón y Cajal, \textit{Recuerdos de mi Vida} 1:278.
concerns about the state of the Spanish political system and military in different terms from that of the Generation of ’98. His was no spiritual journey, no return to an older and stricter morality. His criticisms were practical, dealing with the types of failures in character, such as alcoholism, and leadership that ultimately led to his placement, despite his position as a medical doctor, on the front lines.\textsuperscript{51} This military failure can be linked to Cajal’s criticism of the educational system, which forced rote memorization of Latin poetry and other unimaginative exercises\textsuperscript{52} ill-suited to preparing military personnel for strategic or leadership roles. This criticism resembles that of the Generation of ’98 in that it addresses the same core problem of military readiness, but the causes of this failure are characterized as systemic and culturally decadent by the intellectuals of ’98, in contrast to Cajal’s specific concerns about the role of education in readying the military. Cajal himself was spared further exposure to the ossified curriculum he criticized in his memoirs thanks to a school of medicine funded by the Ayuntamiento of Zaragoza that was part of the liberal program of the Revolution of 1868.\textsuperscript{53}

1.8 Renewal: Spain in the European Fin-de-Siècle: Asymmetric Experiences of 1898

The process of self-criticism and analysis the Generation of ‘98 encouraged in Spain, and the anxieties they exposed over the state’s entry into modernity, were issues the rest of Europe contended with concurrently during the fin-de-siècle. Spain had familiar problems, ones the Generation of ’98 wrestled with through their essays, poems, and plays. If we consider these issues as systemic throughout much of Europe at the end of the nineteenth century, it should not come as a surprise that Spain should experience a similar period of anxious introspection. The key event setting off these changes in thought is the First Spanish Republic that followed the

\textsuperscript{51} Ramón y Cajal, Recuerdos de mi Vida\textsuperscript{1}:283, 290.
\textsuperscript{52} Ramón y Cajal, Recuerdos de Mi Vida.
departure of Isabel II, despite and perhaps because it was so short-lived. This opening of a new increasingly liberal era, which brought with it sweeping changes that would be reflected down to the way people designed the interiors of their homes, was described by architects Lluís Domènech i Montaner and Josep Puig i Cadafalch, who wrote in clear, unambiguous prose about the need for new organizing principles in the new age of republicanism.\textsuperscript{54} It is said that modernism did not have a manifesto, and it did not in the sense of the most famous of the avant-garde movements that would follow. But essays by Domènech and Puig serve as if they were manifestos, sometimes more directly articulating their understanding of the modern that the literary works that would follow from the Generation of ’98. But Domènech and Puig were Catalan, and their writing drew from the literary traditions of the Renaixença, which had revived the literary culture of Catalan language decades earlier than the Generation of ’98. For Catalans, whether aware of the Renaixença or not, the so-called “disaster” of 1898 was of muted importance, at best. Their introspection and self-evaluation was already well under way by 1898, when those who identified with the rest of Spain looked to Madrid as the soul of the country, in need of saving. Indeed, some scholarship has emphatically denied the existence of a Generation of ’98, with a sense of painful loss, national essence, and an energizing of the present with memory of the past.\textsuperscript{55} Even for the writers considered to be part of the Generation of ’98, these three criteria are too narrow to describe the diversity of their philosophies. For Catalans and others who preferred look to Europe or their own regional past rather than Madrid, industrialization and republicanism presented opportunities for renewal, rather than disaster.


\textsuperscript{55} Harrison and Hoyle, \textit{Spain’s 1898 Crisis}, 123–24.
1.9 Renewal: The Renaixença, Linguistic Revival, and Catalan Identity

In the years after the hardships of the Napoleonic war, Catalunya experienced a Romantic period similar to that taking place in other parts of Europe, which led to a revival of regional pride. La Renaixença is a term used to describe a Romantic cultural and literary movement among Catalans, which served to strengthen regional and later national identity decades before political nationalism gained prominence. The Renaixença or Catalan renaissance, began as early as the 1840s, gaining much popularity around the late 1850s, and continuing into the 1880s, when Catalan Modernisme subsumed it. The Renaixença was a key predecessor to cultural movements like Modernisme and the founding of later political organizations like the Lliga de Catalunya (1887) the Unió Catalanista (1891), and the Lliga Regionalista (1901), after the failure of the First Spanish Republic. As a literary movement, it centered on the Catalan language, raising awareness of linguistic variance as a category of difference, distinguishing the Catalan-speaking regions of Spain from the rest. To speak of a renaissance is to signal the end of a period of cultural decadence. This revivalist tendency, and the nostalgic view of a lost national past is also customary of Romanticism. For Catalans, this decline, known as La Decadència, had begun with the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714) when Catalan Corts, their political governing bodies, and their fueros, their autonomous legal codes, were suspended under the new Bourbon monarchs who defeated the Habsburgs the Catalans had supported in the war. Use of the Catalan language had also been suppressed as Madrid attempted to strengthen the state after the war. The nineteenth-century Renaixença was a Romantic movement and revivalist

56 I use the term “Renaixença with the “ç” cedilla character to refer to the name of the cultural and literary movement itself. This form represents the standardized modern spelling of the term following Catalan normative spelling reform, resulting from the publications of grammar and spelling guides between 1911 and 1919 by Catalan linguist Pompeu Fabra (1868-1948). The literary magazine used an older variant of the spelling, Renaixensa, and this spelling is used here when referencing this publication, but not the movement itself.
movement, looking back with nostalgia to portions of its medieval past when times were thought
to have been brighter than the era of decline. This nostalgic memory of Catalan-speaking areas as
commercially successful and civically-minded, with representative governing bodies not unlike
those of Italian city-states became a source of inspiration for nineteenth-century Catalans looking
for regional exemplars of identity and pride from which to grow their movement.

Thus, the cultural movement allowing literary and artistic expression of Catalan national
pride gradually moved into political expression. By 1880, architects and artists from prominent
bourgeois families participated in a range of political activities, whether writing treatises with
political implications or simply discussing Catalan concerns at cafés. This educated bourgeois
cohort moved between cultural and political circles in the fin-de-siècle. They wrote of what it
meant to be part of this group who identified as Catalan, but their work was expressive and
emotional. Architecture especially tended to emphasize the significance of individual families
who could retreat to the interior of their homes, to enjoy personalized spaces. In this way, some
aspects of Modernisme were connected with the earlier Renaixença.

However, unlike the Basque writers of the Generation of ’98, who looked toward Madrid
as the center of Spanish authority and history, Catalan literary figures of the Renaixença chose
not to subsume their own regional identities in favor of Madrid. It is sometimes overlooked that
Spain did not have a singular vision of its own past, particularly during the medieval period. The
focus on its modern capital in Madrid disregarded the scholarly traditions of Islamic and Jewish
academics in Toledo, marine and commercial traditions of Barcelona, and the Andalusian cities
of Cordoba, Seville, and Granada with their Jewish and Islamic pasts. Heavily pro-Catholic
visions of the past muted the cultural heritage of these traditions, which re-emerged in modern
movements, such as the Mudéjar tendencies of Catalan Modernisme. The Renaixença sought to
revive these non-Castilian traditions and identities, but this was not just a reaction to their location at the periphery of centrally-situated Madrid. By 1898, Barcelona had recently experienced a successful Universal Exposition in 1888, an event that served as a bridge from the Renaixença and the past it recalled, to the modern industrial future Catalans faced with increasing confidence. There was no room for narratives or concerns about disaster or about colonial pasts in this vision of the modern future. The loss of Atlantic colonies lamented by other parts of Madrid represented the welcome end of an era in Barcelona, one that had brought hardship upon the town that had linked its economic well-being so closely to the Mediterranean commerce Atlantic trade had subdued. Madrid’s gains in Atlantic commercial trade had presented crippling financial losses. Thus, the Catalan notion of disaster identified with various dates, but rather than 1898, these included 1714 and 1492. With the revival of industrial, artistic, and commercial life in fin-de-siècle Catalunya, the crisis of the state applied to the government apparatus in Madrid and portions of the state that struggled to industrialize, not to Catalans. To those fully identifying with a Catalan stateless nation, the loss of colonies and international esteem was someone else’s problem, that of Madrid.

While visual fine and industrial arts and music were part of the Catalan cultural revival, the literary movement associated with the Renaixença was centered on poetry at its start, expanding to essays and eventually to novels. A key means of promoting Catalan language poetry were the Jocs Florals, which were literary games events including competitions and with recognition and awards for the winners. This method of planning contests and awarding prizes was popular in Catalunya and continued throughout the nineteenth century and beyond, for both cultural and practical purposes. The original Jocs Florals were contests held centuries earlier by

57 Mar-Molinero and Smith, Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula, 75.
French troubadours, in which contestants would memorize long stretches of verse and repeat back, usually by singing or chanting the words. The contest’s name, which translates as “floral games” is an Occitan-language phrase, originating in the Languedoc, the southern part of France that neighbored Catalan-speaking French territories. In medieval times, the *Jocs Florals* were popular throughout Iberian Catalan-speaking areas as well, including Barcelona and Valencia. They were re-established in Barcelona in 1859 during this Romantic era by historian and writer Antoni de Bofarull i de Brocà (1821-1892) and writer, journalist, historian, and elected representative Víctor Balaguer i Cirera (1824-1901). Major prizes were given for poetry related to *patria*, love, and religion. Speeches were delivered by invited guests, including Domènech i Montaner.\(^\text{58}\)

The literary magazine *La Renaixensa* was published several decades after the cultural movement itself had caught on. Its first iteration appeared in 1871. Led by a complicated array of parties and factions, including volatile radical parties, politically minded Catalans advocated for regional autonomy under what was expected to be a federalist republican system. Many of these politically active Catalans were located in urban centers like Barcelona, and frequently they came from bourgeois families, were educated, and became involved in cultural and artistic activities. The First Spanish Republic only lasted from February 1873 to the final days of December 1874. After the failure of the republic the literary magazine emerged in another stage of its development, which began in 1881. This fall of the republic and the political realignments resulting from this change shifted the political opinions of the key figures of the movement. Some writers from earlier in the Renaixença movement aligned themselves with the nationalist group the *Lliga de Catalunya*, a group that saw some internal shuffling as opinion changed as to

what should come next after the fall of the republic. Among Catalans organizing for greater local political agency, parties and factions split and renamed and recast themselves, while members left, were expelled, or were invited to lead. After 1881 and after the republic, several members of the editorial staff of *La Renaixensa* literary journal became affiliated with the politically conservative *Unió Catalanista*, and this publication took on a more political tact than its namesake cultural movement. Still, the emphasis was on elevating and drawing attention to the culture and the nation through its language, Catalan.

The glorification of poetry posed a problem by the fin-de-siècle however, since it encouraged a type of high literary Catalan suited more to the language’s *belles-lettres* tradition than practical everyday concerns. A movement emerged proposing orthographic and grammatical reform to standardize aspects of the language as Castilian and French had done, so that the language could be used for scientific, technological, commercial, and other useful purposes. But Catalan Modernists did not wish to hand over control of their language to a central authority, and the reform process was delayed until Modernisme gave way to Noucentisme, the aesthetic and political movement that followed.

Noucentisme, which loosely means “new century,” an at-times separatist Catalan aesthetic movement, grew in popularity in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Noucentisme was generally more politically conservative, and practical rather than Romantic in its endeavors. It was during the rise in popularity of this movement that chemical engineer and linguist Pompeu Fabre i Poch (1868-1948) finally led a normative reform of the language. He collaborated with attorney and writer Joaquim Casas i Carbó (1858-1943), first cousin of modernist painter and promotional poster artist Ramon Casas, who made individual sketches of

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59 Conversi, *The Basques, the Catalans and Spain*, 34.
60 Conversi, 34–35.
each of the two men. Fabre made a frank statement in the prologue of his 1912 grammar book, which was intended for Castilian speakers. Fabre wrote:

There does not today exist a grammar book for use of those who speak Castilian; and in reality, it is hardly necessary, since there are few Spaniards of Castilian language who feel the desire to learn a language that is spoken by more than three and a half million Spaniards and includes authors like Llull and Auzias March among the older set, and Maragall and Verdaguer among the more modern.61

Fabre continued in a fairly defensive tone, correcting misguided notions that Catalan was a provincial dialect, a type of *patois* used by the uneducated lower classes. Such was the case in France with the replacement of Catalan and provincial *patois* with normative Parisian French, and Fabre was careful to defend Catalan against such generalizations. Instead, he advocated for Castilian speakers to learn of Catalan because of its status as a full language, not a dialect, as fully and directly derived from Latin as French or Castilian or any other major romance language. This is an important detail because is reflects, by extension, that the Catalan nationality, located mostly within the state of Spain, was on equal footing as that of Castilian-speakers, with its origin just as old, if not in fact older, than that of Castilian speakers who identified as fully Spanish. Fabra’s efforts were the culmination of decades of revival of the Catalan language that not only celebrated the language, but heightened Catalan national identity as separate from that of Madrid and Castile, using language as a category of difference.

Returning to Anderson’s understandings of imagined community and the creation of a politically aware public, the desire to fix the language was not simply a matter of convenience. Bourgeois print capitalism was a crucial component in establishing a sense of a post-

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61 Pompeu Fabra, *Gramática de La Lengua Catalana* (Barcelona: L’Aveniç; Massó, Casas & Companyia, 1912), V-VI.”No existe actualmente ninguna gramática catalana para uso de los castellanos; y, en la realidad, apenas hace falla, pues contados serán los españoles de lengua castellana que sientan deseos de conocer un idioma que es hablado por más de tres millones y medio de españoles y cuenta con autores como Llull y Auzias March entre los antiguos, y como Maragall y Verdaguer entre los modernos.”
Enlightenment “public,” who despite reading and writing individually, still arrived at an awareness of consensus.\textsuperscript{62} This public, or imagined community, was best served by orthographic and grammatical reform norms. This had already been achieved for Castilian by the founding of the Real Academia in 1713, whose role it was to “cleanse, fix, and give splendor” to the language. The Real Academia was particularly effective not only for its role as the language of the state apparatus and army, but because of its use by the Catholic church, which controlled the elementary educational system.\textsuperscript{63} The Catalan literary language, which had been respectful and inclusive of variants of the language like Valencian, Balearic, Sardinian Algherese, and French Occitan, needed the type of orthographic and grammatical fixing, at least for official practical purposes, that were ultimately granted to it by Fabra.

1.10 Els Quatre Gats, Pèl i Ploma

Some French Catalan-speaking lands are included in the stateless Catalan nation, but these are not areas Catalans turned to in the late nineteenth century when refining their relationship with, and opinion of France. In the fin-de-siècle, Catalans in Barcelona came to admire Parisian cultural models of modernism, to which they looked for inspiration, as did much of the rest of Europe. However, this was not a case of simply emulating the Parisian style, as Catalan arts clearly drew from their own pasts as inspiration. The intellectual and artistic Catalan elite traveled to the French capital, making connections between the two modernist cities that served to exchange artistic styles and political ideas between the respective cohort of the two cities. One such Parisian connection is the self-described “beer hall-tavern-boarding house” Els Quatre Gats, which opened June 12, 1897. The name translates directly as “four cats,” which is a


\textsuperscript{63} Mar-Molinero and Smith, Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula, 74.
Catalan and Spanish idiom for “hardly anyone here,” often used as an understatement to describe an after-party or the turnout at an impromptu gathering. The establishment was founded by Catalan Pere Romeu (1862-1908), an entertainment presenter and waiter at the famous Parisian Le Chat Noir, whose founder Rodolphe Salis (1851-1897) had recently died. Romeu selected an intimate location that was more like a bar than the Parisian cabaret. The building that housed the tavern was new construction known as Casa Martí added on to an old city block, designed by modernist architect Josep Puig i Cadafalch. Casa Martí is situated in the Ciutat Vella, the old previously walled-in part of town. It has been re-opened in its old location and at present, its windows and iron and glass doors open onto a small side street off the Portal de l’Angel. This is a heavily traveled broad avenue running from the Barri Gotic by the sea to the Avinguda Diagonal, which as its name suggests, cuts the city in half at an angle, dividing it into old and modern. Although newly built in the modern 1890s, the building was constructed with pointed arches and ornate heavily decorated iron and concrete sculpted balconies framing the French doors leading on to them. This was the neo-gothic style, which was popular during the fin-de-siècle for construction in parts of the city located inside the old walls, but elements of this style made their way into the new modernista part of town, as well. It was, as many buildings of the time were, described as “a mixture of archaeology and modernism.” This comparison was given within Barcelona as a compliment for this balance of old and new, not as Austrian architect Otto Wagner (1841-1918) had written in his guide to modern architecture, which expressed relief that the practice was ending and no longer would archeology pull art around “by its nose.”

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64 Raimundo Casellas, “José Puig i Cadafalch,” Hispanidad, 1902. No. 73 edition, 78–79.
65 Otto Wagner, Modern Architecture: A Guidebook for His Students to This Field of Art, Texts & Documents (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1988), 117. Wagner remained
There were four men who frequented *Els Quatre Gats* and lent it their personalities, and these were also involved, to some degree, with *Le Chat Noir*. At *Els Quatre Gats*, Romeu assumed much of the financial liability himself, and received financial backing from bourgeois fine artists, including Ramon Casas (1866-1932). Casas was a fellow Catalan who had studied in Barcelona and Paris. His family had acquired their wealth through textile manufacturing and trade with Cuba. Romeu and Casas were the most visible of the cohort, appearing in several of Casas’s fine art pieces, including the famous painting of the two men on a tandem bike, which was displayed in the café. Well known painter, playwright, poet, and leader of Catalan Modernisme Santiago Rusiñol (1861-1931) also frequented the café, as did Miguel Utrillo (1862-1934), another modernista artist and art critic whose portrait Rusiñol painted in Paris around 1890, when the two and Casas were living there. The three artists and Romeu were also four cats, of sorts, who lingered at the café in search of companionship and diversions.

The beer hall hosted many of the same activities as its Parisian inspiration. It held art shows with pieces by modernists like Rusiñol, produced its own literary magazine, and put on shadow plays with puppets designed by Casas. It also had menu covers designed by young Malagan Pablo Picasso (1881-1973) at age seventeen, and eventually hosted his first exhibition. Casas created publicity posters and other materials to promote the place. Musical entertainment was provided by Catalan pianist from the outskirts of Girona, Isaac Albéniz (1860-1909), who had gained acclaim for his performances during the 1888 fair in Barcelona. The café

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67 Ramon Casas i Carbó, *The Tandem*, 1897, Oil on canvas, 188 cm x 215.5 cm.
became the epicenter of bohemian artistic life in Barcelona, which was Romeu’s intention and aim. He linked the Parisian bohemian scene from Montmartre with similar artistic stirrings in Barcelona, and the wealthy and more prominent of this cohort traveled between Barcelona and Paris, transporting artwork, literature, and other cultural production, further strengthening cultural ties between the two cities.

Such emulation was as popular as it was obvious, making *Els Quatre Gats* a hive of activity in Barcelona. This was noted by Rubén Darío, who lived in Barcelona during this period. He spoke affectionately of the place, but referred to its staff and clientele as “títeres” or puppets, for their imitation of Parisian culture. Darío noted that the café was the place to go to attempt a chance meeting with artists and writers, and he described his attempts to locate Santiago Rusiñol. Darío was interested in Rusiñol’s works, noting that they and those of other artists on display, were good. Darío commented on this or that person having just arrived from or departed for Paris, noting the unpretentious hairstyles and dress of the women present, who nonetheless he described favorably. He described Romeu as slender and tall, with long hair in the style popular in Paris’s Latin Quarter. The café was decorated with posters, ink drawings, sepia works, and etchings done by local talent. But Darío was unable to comment in detail on the animated conversation taking place, since the language in use was not Spanish or French, languages he spoke, but Catalan. He contrasted this scene with what he would encounter in his upcoming trip to Madrid, which would be marked by “a different atmosphere, since Franco-philia had entered in this place [Barcelona] as if through a window open to the universal light, which without doubt is more valuable than locking oneself up behind four walls and living with the odor of old things.”

As a modernist, Darío placed the cultural milieu of Els Quatre Gats within that

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70 Darío, *España Contemporánea*, 18–19.
71 Darío, 18–20.
tradition, placing it in flattering opposition to fin-de-siècle Madrid, with its tendency to look backward.

Ramon Casas, Pere Romeu, and Catalan artist and art critic Miguel Utrillo shared editorial responsibilities for three modernist Catalan-language literary magazines published in Barcelona around 1900. The three differed slightly in terms of scope, but all advanced the bohemian modernist movement. Visual and literary arts combined in the fifteen issues of *Els Quatre Gats*, published by Pere Romeu between February and May of 1899. Its successor, *Pèl i Ploma*, enjoyed a lengthier press run of 100 issues, printed between June 3, 1899 and December 1, 1903 by Miguel Utrillo and Ramon Casas. Utrillo served as literary director, with Casas as artistic director. The title translates directly as “bristle and feather,” likely references to paintbrushes and pens, setting the tone for the content of the literary magazine. Its successor publication *Forma*, directed by Miguel Utrillo ran from 1904-1908, with some irregular gaps between publications. The three directors collaborated to different degrees across all three publications in various capacities, whether contributing artwork, written text, or editorial services. Visual artists made repeat appearances in these works, most notably Ramon Casas and Picasso, chiefly in *Pèl i Ploma*, with its longer press run. The publications’ directors took linguistic concerns into account, eventually widening the possible audience and scope of magazine contents. *El Quatre Gats* was published in Catalan, making it a source and expression of Catalan national pride, but limiting its readership. Concerns along these lines were voiced by Ruben Darío regarding his visits to the café, which left him similarly excluded from the conversation. *Pèl i Ploma* briefly ran exclusively Castilian or Spanish-language editions from 1900-1901, choosing instead to include works in Castilian in its regular, primarily Catalan edition. *Forma* published submissions in Catalan, Castilian, and French. The format of the three
publications is straightforward and similar in terms of page layout. The 1901 editions of *Pèl i Ploma* differ markedly from the rest, as Ramon Casas took on a greater role in direction, providing many more illustrations than in previous editions.

The inaugural edition of *Els Quatre Gats* featured cover artwork from Casas and the introductory editorial text was penned by Pere Romeu. In his address to all, “A Tothom,” Romeu announced that the magazine included the winners of the inaugural literary contests decided in January of the same year, with cats as its theme. Romeu welcomed “all lovers of Catalunya, the powerful and the poor, bourgeois and bohemian, artists and craftsmen, prose writers and poets” to *Els Quatre Gats*. Romeu claimed the magazine was to be a purely artistic and literary venture, without a trace of politics. The issue included prize winning poetry and local advertisements. Subsequent issues included announcements of exhibits of oil paintings by local artist including Ramón Pichot (1871-1925) who was a friend to Picasso and Salvador Dali (1904-1989). Pichot made frequent trips to France, and the announcement notes that following the event, his works were bound for Paris. After only a year of publication, *Els Quatre Gats* ceased print production. According to its successor of sorts, *Pèl i Ploma*, the decision was based on dwindling finances, a condition that plagued the café as well. Romeu reportedly valued patrons for their character and artistic contributions, and those who could not pay continued to visit the café. This is not unlike the situation of literary coffee house culture in 1890s Vienna, when paper was left out on tables for the Jung Wien, so they could use the coffee houses as their offices or living rooms, setting the cultural tone of these establishments.

The bohemian artistic and cultural milieu who frequented the café and submitted works for publication was composed in part of sons of bourgeois industrialists, who chose not to carry...

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on the family business. This was the case of Santiago Rusiñol, who left his family’s textile business to become a painter, achieving considerable international recognition for works of fine art that still fetch fair sums in auctions at present. Ramon Casas was also of a financially comfortable bourgeois family who made their home on Barcelona’s most fashionable avenue. Class consciousness contributed to the political orientation of modernisme, injecting the interests of industrialists into the mix, while rejecting some of the moral and social values associated with bourgeois urban life in other cities. The explicit desire to exclude politics from these magazines is unsurprising considering the complexity of political ideologies and philosophies within the modernist movement. As labor organized and some segments of society became politically active and even polarized in their views, these magazines expressed the views of members of the Catalan intellectual elite who managed to avoid obvious political characterizations. After nearly six years of artistic exhibitions and exciting cultural conversations, the café itself fell into decline in 1903, as many of the modernista artists began to spend longer stretches of time in Paris. The closure of the café came after its time had passed, indicating that the moment had passed for Catalan Modernisme.74

These associated printed publications, while professing an apolitical nature, served as vehicles of Catalan Modernisme, whether visual or literary. By its nature, Modernisme aimed to bring Catalan culture on par with its European counterparts, both by encouraging higher levels of cultural production and by gaining attention for its achievements in other cultural hubs, of which Paris was the most important. Expressions of Catalan modernisme were necessarily regionalist, the result of decades of cultural exploration that followed the Renaixença. These two publications claimed no political discussion, yet the difference implicit in the use of the Catalan

language and the national pride it engendered would become politicized, especially after the fall of the First Spanish Republic.

1.11 Futurisme: Artistic Manifestos and Ephemeral Publications

Few literary periodicals enjoyed the longevity and circulation of La Renaixensa or even Pèl i Ploma. Many publications appeared briefly, printed a few issues, and vanished. Some only managed a single press run. These periodicals, which amount to ephemera, usually dedicated their first and sometimes only issue toward stating their claim, whether political, social, or artistic. These failed experiments in printing offer glimpses into movements that perhaps could not capitalize on their popularity or articulate their core tenets in a way that attracted mass appeal or circulation. But they are philosophies that perhaps because of their inelegant expression, strike with a sense of unscripted sincerity.

One of the most short-lived publications took on the provocative name Futurisme: Revista Catalana. Its three issues were published in June and July of 1907 by Gabriel Alomar i Villalonga (1873-1941) a modernist from conservative Palma in the Balearic Islands. The entire annual press run pre-dates the Manifesto of Futurism by Italian F.T. Marinetti, written in 1908, and published the following year. There are significant political differences as well. Years after the publication of Futurisme (1907), the more politically conservative Catalan Futurist Manifesto, entitled “Against Poets Who Write Their Names in Lowercase: The First Catalan Futurist Manifesto” was published in 1920 by members of the same cohort as Alomar and Marinetti. Still, neither of these publications, despite their use of the term “Futurism,” advocated the type of glorified violence or overt misogyny that Marinetti wrote of in the Italian manifesto. The first issue of Futurisme: Revista Catalana (1907) includes an editorial note that amounts to a

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manifesto of an artistic movement steeped in nationalism, which as the name suggests, was forward-looking. Some of the same artists who provided illustrations for modernist publications also contributed to *Futurisme* (1907), most notably Ramon Casas of *Els Quatre Gats* and *Pèl i Ploma*. However, this variant of Catalan Futurism rejected and criticized the gothic backward-looking tendencies of the earlier Romantics of the Renaixença moviment, as celebrated in that earlier magazine. The editorial note featured in the first issue of *Futurisme* (1907), entitled “Escalat per la Redacció” or “Outbreak by the Writing” reads:76

The word that leads these plans makes it clear who we are. We are the men of tomorrow; We are the future, the youth that rights itself full of life, eager to elevate the Catalan soul, our country, above the depths into which the passions fall. Our spirit anticipates a new life, but we cannot define it; because man is not given the knowledge of the future. Define it, why? If today we define it, tomorrow our definition would already be old-fashioned, since time continuously evolves, and we always want to be young.77

Here the movement clearly identifies itself as forward-looking, and establishes its fixation with youth. This contrasts from the earlier Renaixença celebration of the gothic, and the dignity age granted to Catalan aesthetics and traditions. The note continues:

We put at the service of Catalan art all our energies, all our youth. It is useless to say that we are nationalists, because by making art we make the homeland. We want for our art to bear the mark of our Catalan land, with its own character, so that when someone views one of our works, in it is reflected the air that we breathe. We never need to allow the foreign arts to influence our works; we cannot allow this malady to continue for much longer, while many intellectuals suffer from the cosmopolitanism, fouling the personality of our art. For what

76 *Futurisme* and other publications discussed here are written in Catalan that pre-dates the orthographic reform of Pompeu Fabre (1868-1948), which took place following the publication of his 1913, 1917, and 1918 books on spelling and grammar. These pre-reform literary texts tended to draw on sometimes obscure or arcane meanings as a way of reviving artistic uses of the language, and this formed part of the movement. These practices pose some translation challenges. This translation is my own.

77 “Escalat per la Redacció,” *Futurisme*, June 1, 1907, Vol 1 No 1 edition, 1. “El mot que encapsala aqueixes planes ja diu ben clar qui som. Som els hòmens del demà; som l’avenir, la joventut que’s redressa plena de vida, desitjosa d’enlairar l’ànima catalana, nostre patria, per damunt de les baixeses en que fan caure les passions. El nostre esperit, pressent una nova vida, mes no la podem definir; car no li es dat al home esser sabedor del pervindre. Definirla, per què? Si avui la definíssim, demà la nostra definició ja fóra vella, ja que’l temps continuament evoluciona, y nosaltres sempre volem esser joves.”
reason do we eagerly marinate ourselves in foreign art? Do we not know enough?\textsuperscript{78}

This text expresses a clear preference for Catalan aesthetics and art, condemning the influence of foreign artistic movements. This view is not entirely incompatible with Catalan Modernisme.

The writers, artist, bourgeois patrons, and other actors involved in the modernist movement in Barcelona had connections, sometimes rather close, with Paris, and French Art Nouveau and Catalan Modernisme are related movements that influenced each other. Yet at the same time, Catalan Modernisme was defined by the eclectic and idiosyncratic styles of Domènech i Montaner and his protégé Puig i Cadafalch. Their works looked toward Catalan gothic and Mudéjar pasts, which were local Iberian aesthetic movements, rather than international styles.

Still, although they were Catalan in terms of their heritage, they were from the past. \textit{Escalat} detailed how this Catalan focus should be:

Yes, Catalans, get this pile of objects back, all of that infinity of works that scatter our personality, dismissing them from our land by that foreign decoration; our homes must be quite Catalan; our furniture, our ornaments, that is to say everything, even the most insignificant thing, the smallest detail. Do we not have a Catalan tradition of theater, literature, music? Therefore, we must also have an architecture and a decorative style that is quite Catalan. Once we have that, there is no doubt that our nationalism will have captured all of its personality. To that end we ask all for help, from all, it is necessary that we come together in this effort of the youth. We in turn will welcome in to our home all of those who work for the good of the art of our homeland, whoever they may be. Art must demonstrate that life is beautiful and that one must love, and this we will try to do. Therefore, our hearts and our hands are joined to begin the task.\textsuperscript{79}

\textsuperscript{78} “Escalat per la Redacció,” 1. “Nosaltres posèm al servei de l’art català totes les nostres energies, tota nostra jovenesa. Inútil dir que som nacionalistes, ja que fent art se fa patria. Nosaltres volem que’’ I nostre art tingui el sagell de la nostra terra catalana, que posseeixi el seu caràcter, que quan un vegi una obra nostra pugui veurer en ella reflexada l’ambient que respirèm. Jamai tenim de permetre que les arts forasteres influeixin en les nostres obres; no podèm soportar per inèss temps que aqueixa malaltia, que pateixen molts intelectuals del cosmopolitisme, malmeti la personalitat del nostre art. Quina es la raó de que siguem nosaltres els que anem a assaonarnos de l’art extranger? Es que no’ n sabèm prou?”.

\textsuperscript{79} “Escalat per la Redacció,” 1. “Sí, catalans, enerra tot aquest pilot d’objectes, tota aqueixa infinitat d’obres que’ns destrien nostra personalitat; desterrem de nostra terra aqueixa decoració extrangera; les nostres llars han d’esser ben catalanes; els mobles, els ornaments, es a dir, tot, fins lo més insignificant, el més petit detall. No tenim un teatre català, una literatura, una musica catalana?, doncs també hem de tindre una arquitectura y una decoració ben catalana. Quan tinguem això, no hi ha cap dubte que’l nacionalisme haurà assolit tota la seva personalitat. Ab
In this last portion of the text, the author was emphatic in his loyalty to the Catalan homeland, and the need for Catalan nationalist art. The language speaks of scattering what is Catalan, as if it were diluted in foreign artistic styles with their heavy ornamentation. The call for Catalan architecture recalls the very desire of architect Lluís Domènech i Montaner. Domènech felt that republican governance, despite its rapid failure in the First Spanish Republic, represented a new organizing principle, one that necessitated a new artistic and architectural style. This emerging aesthetic movement would become a new national style, that of Catalan Modernisme. These aims, published in the magazine *La Renaixensa* in 1878, exploded onto Catalan consciousness with the Universal Exposition of Barcelona in 1888, which received largely favorable press within Spain. These kinds of ideas offered regionalist and later, separatist Catalans hope. But while Domènech looked to Iberian pasts for inspiration, *Futurisme* called for artists to look only forward, their fetishized youth a preventative measure to keep them from retaining enough memory to be able to look to the past. Yet there is a contradiction implicit here, a paradoxical sense that to reject the past, the youthful artists must know of the past, and then act to deliberately avoid it.

The final statements most clearly distinguished this movement from its later Italian counterpart. Rather than talk of speed, violence, and resentment toward women, these Catalans called for art that reflected the beauty of life, and the necessity of love, articulated through the hands that channel these sentiments from the heart to the work of art itself. This piece expresses

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*això a tots demanèm ajuda, a tots; es necessari que’ns apleguem en aquest esforç de la joventut. Nosaltres al nostre entorn acullirèm a tots els que treballin en bé de l’art de la nostra terra, sigui el qui sigui. L’art ha de demostrar que la vida es hermosa y que s’ha d’estimar, y això procurarem ferho. Per lo tant, nostres cors y nostres mans s’han aplecat per començar la tasca."

80 Domènech i Montaner, “En Busca d’una Arquitectura Nacional.”
modernist views but it also begins to articulate the nationalist ideas of the more conservative aesthetic and political leanings of Noucentisme.

The Catalan Manifesto of Futurism was written by Joan Salvat-Papasseit and published in 1920, and while different from its Italian counterpart, it took the ideas of *Futurisme* (1907) several steps farther. Salvat-Papasseit identified himself as fully avant-garde, and he criticized Modernisme for its tendency toward ornamentation, decadence, and celebration of aspects of the past. The 1920 manifesto does not stop at referencing the distinctiveness of Catalan culture, and in fact, it asserts is superiority over that of Spain. It disparages the Spanish Generation of ’98 as decadent, mentioning Valle-Inclán and Rubén Darío by name, accusing them of arrogance by colorfully describing them as “cats bloated by wine and full of hot air,” as was true of all of Hispano-American culture, in his opinion. The first lines of text address Iberia as a place fractured into various nations rather than a unified Spanish state, consisting of Catalunya, Castile, Galicia-Portugal, Andalusia, and Euzkadi (Basque Country). Salvat-Papasseit took care to use the place names preferred by political leadership of those areas, rather than the names and orthography imposed by Madrid. However, these are finer points, given in a piece that focuses its attention on the revival of poetry, and of poets, who were to distinguish themselves, making themselves boldly worthy of printing their names in capital letters. However, he was somewhat vague as to what exactly they were to do or celebrate to achieve this, other than utilizing their youth to produce works worthy of valor and truth. His style is not fluid as that of *Futurisme* (1907), and despite publishing his manifesto after the orthographic and grammatical reform, he retained some idiosyncratic spellings and word usage, sprinkled with frequent em-dashes that break up the text. To imagine hearing it read aloud suggests of staccato delivery, packed with

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81 Joan Salvat-Papasseit, *Contra Els Poetes Amb Menúscula: Primer Manifest Català Futurista.* (Barcelona, 1920), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/ucbk.ark:/28722/h2704t.
pauses alternating with sped-up speech. The writing style itself is very different in Salvat-Papasseit’s 1920 work from what appeared in Futurisme in 1907, and indeed it stands out in terms of literary style from Renaixença and fin-de-siècle era works. Despite his appeal to young people, he praised Joan Maragall (1860-1911) a modernist Catalan poet from a bourgeois family who won the Jocs Florals literary competition in 1904, and Gabriele d’Annunzio (1863-1938) an Italian aristocrat, writer, war hero, and protofascist who influenced Italian Futurists. As much as Salvat-Papasseit esteemed Catalan culture to the exclusion of Spanish or American influences, he did connect himself with this Italian figure. Toward the end of the 1920 manifesto, Salvat-Papasseit finally referenced Marinetti and noted his tendency to “sing the praises of battleships, frenetic aeroplanes, and fire from the muzzles of monstrous cannons.” He compared this to the epic poetry of Homer, which did much the same in terms of praising rowed galley ships, something he felt was an appropriate thing to do then since galley ships were what won battles in Homer’s day. The Italians were only doing as Homer had done in praising their current technology, so what then, was Catalunya doing still singing the praises of galleys? The galleys that had brought wealth through trade to the crown of Aragon did not figure in Salvat-Papasseit’s vision, and he demanded of Catalans, “Would they free Catalunya by force of oars?” However, Salvat-Papasseit retains complete faith in the power of the writer, claiming that “These our poets, who have pawned the sword by the walking stick, will one day liberate Catalunya with a reverence.” He mystifies their work, exalting the power of literature with his claim that “We should not be able to understand the Poet’s footprint but rather the dignity that leaves it

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82 Salvat-Papasseit “Homer si va cantar els remes de la Victoria, fou perquè en el seu temps per la força dels remes s’obtenien victòries; En Marinetti avui cantarà els cuiracats, els aeroplans frenètics i les boques de foc dels monstruosos canons.”
83 Salvat-Papasseit “Lliurarem Catalunya per la força dels remes?”
84 Salvat-Papasseit “Aquests poetes nostres, s’han penyorat l’espasa pel bastó de passeig, lliberaran un dia Catalunya amb una reverencia.”
preserved.” In these passages, Salvat-Papasseit rejected nostalgia for Aragon’s medieval maritime commercial success, therefore appearing to also reject the hopes of architect Puig i Cadafalch and other Catalan nationalists who felt that industrialization and the revival of trade that it brought would revive Catalan republican autonomy. Rather, he placed his blind faith in culture, specifically in poets, who would free Catalunya, albeit opaquely.

Although Salvat-Papasseit is credited with conveying different styles of Italian poetry into Spain and Madrid, he did not fully advocate for Italian-style futurism in terms of its glorification of violence and misogyny. His newspaper, Un Enemic del Poble: Fulla de Subversió Espiritual which means, “An Enemy of the People: a Sheet of Spiritual Subversion” ran eighteen issues, and these were indeed one leaf of paper printed front and back, over the course of 1917-1919. He wrote of the importance of expression and independent thought, making space for him and his friends to explore the ideas of futurism, within which they often contradicted themselves or made little sense. The 1920 manifesto provided a contrast to its earlier counterpart, not as much for what it actually said, but for the way it dared young people to think and write with pride in their own nationality, safely behind the security of its superiority, all while looking to the future, rather than the past. This connection with Italian Futurism and the publication of futurist writing took place in Barcelona, but it did not catch on in the print culture of Madrid in the early years of the twentieth century. When Madrid chose to look beyond itself, it turned toward modernist Spanish-language writers from the Americas, rather than avant-garde Europeans.

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85 Salvat-Papasseit “No sabriem entendre la petja del Poeta sinó en la dignitat que hi deixa segellada.”
87 Ascunce, 70–71.
1.12 Castilian and Catalan Bourgeois Print Cultures and Identities in the Fin-de-Siècle

To differing degrees, the Spanish fin-de-siècle included pride in the empire’s remaining colonial possessions. Their commercial significance for the empire was celebrated without much visible concern for its decline until after the military defeat of 1898, when Madrid lost the last of the most lucrative territories. This loss was felt most acutely by those who identified with the capital of Madrid, who referred to this event as the *Desastre del ‘98*. How different populations within Spain reacted to this loss is suggestive of the effect of this event upon their region, but it also served to highlight diverse Iberian identities. The loss was expressed to varying degrees in literature of the time, which included vibrant alternative national narratives of identity, ones outside of the imperial persona. The chief examples of narratives concerned with loss were written by the Generation of ’98, intellectuals who while largely not from Madrid, identified the capital as the heart of both the modern state and the Baroque past they regarded as Spain’s golden age. The Madrid-focused Castilian literary cohort felt their identity and commercial success was closely linked with the Atlantic world, and they struggled with revising the mentality of failure that they felt had led to 1898. Catalans, who held successful commercial relationships with independent and wealthy South American republics like Argentina, did not feel dependent upon colonial trading relationships in the Atlantic world. Indeed, Catalans felt they were in a moment of resurgence, their industrial success once again elevating them to the levels enjoyed during their pre-Columbian age of Mediterranean dominance, when the county of Barcelona was united with the Crown of Aragon, before its union with Castile. Literary traditions that marked the print culture of the Spanish fin-de-siècle were characterized by linguistic differences that further distinguished these varied Iberian pasts, identities, and memory. The
Castilian-language print culture tended to regard the end of the century as a time of disaster for the state. However, the stateless Catalan nation saw its literary traditions focus on renewal.

At times, these groups expressed themselves in ways that were distinctively Iberian, as in the case of the Catalan Jocs Florals. In other instances, their concerns echoed that of the European fin-de-siècle in general, as seen in social criticism of degeneration and excessive ornamentation associated with modernist style. Spaniards experienced dramatically diverse conditions during industrialization and urbanization, and concerns that arose from these were not addressed in the often moralistic and vague criticism of the military. Rather than analyzing the military’s performance and carrying out a quantifiable postmortem on failures with the aim of taking corrective action, the Generation of ’98 wrote instead of problems of mentality and morality across Spanish society. Resonating with other parts of Europe during the fin-de-siècle, Spaniards were concerned with many aspects of political and economic life. Among these political concerns included the status of the monarchy in the liberal political climate, efforts to establish enduring democratic institutions, and the extent of the franchise. Economic tensions begged for examination of new definitions of class that emerged from varying degrees of industrialization, the vanishing of the agrarian landed aristocracy, and the rising collective political power of the emerging working class. These problems of modernization were all part of the larger process of transition from the Ancien Régime to modern liberal state, a challenge for much of Europe during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.88 This chapter discusses the different ways the writers of the Generation of ’98 and the Catalan Renaixença responded to one such change, the nineteenth-century collapse of the Spanish imperial system, which they characterized in terms of disaster or renewal. The next chapter examines these anxieties and

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88 For narratives of the early decades of this transition, see Carr, Spain, 1808-1975, chap. III. The Crisis of the Ancien Regime.
tensions about the future in terms of late nineteenth-century industrial fairs, which prompted introspection as Spain continued to participate in these events that placed such heavy emphasis on colonial possessions and economic achievements. At these events, Spain took pride in its colonial past. However, when Barcelona set its sights on hosting the Universal Exposition of 1888, it added its own identity and past to the mix. There was no single cohesive past all Spaniards could call their own. This diversity resurfaced in the nineteenth century as Catalans and other minority nationalisms chose to distance themselves from the failed Spanish state’s Castilian, colonial, Madrid-focused identity. Catalan hopes during the fin-de-siècle centered around renewal that might have come from various sources, whether economic and industrial, scientific and technological, or artistic and architectural. These areas overlapped and intersected, but they were all contemplating these fields outside of the moment, looking backward while thinking of the future, as the actors involved negotiated a specifically Catalan modernity.

The vernacular language had always varied across the Iberian Peninsula. Still, in the late nineteenth century, as print culture and the concept of the politically aware educated public emerged, language became a category of difference within Spain, ultimately defining the identities associated with Castilian, Catalan, Basque, and Gallego, what would become the official languages of modern Spain. This making of an official language was usually accompanied by a process of formal “fixing” of the language through normative reform. This had already taken place for Castilian in 1714, after the defeat of the Catalans, when the Real Academia de la Lengua Española was established. This political maneuver posed a challenge to the survival of minority languages in the face of Catholic schooling and the state army’s use of Castilian as their official language. Survival of the language was not always cast as desirable. Indeed, in France, peasants came to realize it was preferred to speak Parisian French rather than
local *patois*.

This was not always the case in Spain, since Madrid’s failures of 1898 brought it no sense of Castilian pride. In the liberal era, the notion of popular sovereignty was complicated by the different languages used by this liberal conception of the public. After the Romantic-era revival of old lost nationalisms and their corresponding identities and languages, liberal publics in the plural, emerged. Different nations chose how to represent themselves in ways that were reflective and sensitive to difference. Print culture of the period, which for Catalans appealed to the educated, cultured, urban elite, encouraged the formation of this stateless Catalan nation, what Benedict Anderson referred to as an “imagined community.” This was a flexible entity. As culture, class, and the language itself changes, what constitutes this community or nation could necessarily change. This differed from the Basque notion of ethnic or racial or primordial national identity, which remains an undercurrent of Basque separatist politics that assert or quiet themselves, as in the case of the 2017 ETA disarmament, without fundamentally altering the sense of the Basque *patria*. The Catalan *patria* that emerged post-Renaixença was flexible, further refined by bourgeois print capitalism we today refer to as media. Within months of Basque ETA disarmament in 2017, Catalan *independentistas* made their political plays. As Catalan president Puigdemont continued to assert through the media during his exile and after his arrest, this concept of imagined community still applied in 2017, when demands for popular Catalan sovereignty reached a tipping point for Madrid: a referendum on the matter of independence. Madrid declared the October 1 referendum illegal, and the election was marred by police violence against voters that resurfaced bitter echoes of 1714.

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2 BARCELONA: MEMORY AND URBAN MODERNIZATION IN THE FIN-DE-SIÈCLE

2.1 Modernity, Memory, and Spanish Pasts

London’s 1851 Great Exhibition of the Works of the Industry of All Nations presented Paxton’s Crystal Palace to the world, opening an era of international expositions dominated by England, France, and the United States. These events were heralded as glorious occasions for Europeans to present their cities and countries in the best light, whether as hosts or exhibitors. The side-by-side display of international products invited comparison and competition. Spain participated as an exhibitor in 1851 in London, and again in 1862. Participation required preparation, as the involved states decided how to represent themselves to the world, a process that was linked to the rise of nationalism and imperialism in the mid to late nineteenth century. Ultimately, the decisions involved in representing a participating state came down to a committee that would select which cultural, scientific, and agricultural products would be catalogued, crated, and shipped to the appropriate pavilion. In a larger sense, the spirit of hosting, exhibiting, and attending fairs captured the imagination and inspired much introspection.

Studying the Spanish fairs helps to illuminate the ways different regions and cities within Spain shaped the narratives of their own histories, a process that grew contentious and even competitive during the late nineteenth century. The first city in Spain to host a universal exposition was Barcelona in 1888. The fair acted as a prompt, driving political elites in Barcelona and in the modern capital of Madrid to decide how they would present modern Spain to the world. As these efforts got under way, it became apparent that multiple visions of the Iberian early modern and medieval past existed in Spain’s diverse regions. As Madrid attempted to narrate one cohesive memory of the Spanish past, one that focused on Castile and its
achievements, the key events and perspectives of other regions were excluded. These regions developed their own narratives, reviving cultural influences and commemorating events that mattered to them from their own historical memory. The Universal Exposition of 1888 in Barcelona offers insight into the historical narrative that was relevant to Catalans in the fin-de-siècle. The multiple visions of the past that these cities presented were bound up with regional or national identity. These identities invoked larger understandings of issues that sometimes arose in opposition to each other. This process of self-assessment encouraged sentiments of greatness and pride, but also of decline. During this period, supporters of liberal republicanism clashed with monarchists, as they did across much of Europe in the nineteenth century. The First Spanish Republic (1873-1874) had failed after little more than a year. The state that descended from the deeply Catholic Baroque Spain of Philip II (1527-1598) was forced to redefine itself in an era of increasing secularism. Spain had already engaged in a series of colonial wars following the Napoleonic conflict of 1808, and these had resulted in the loss of most colonial possessions in the Atlantic. The continuing conflicts in the Philippines, Cuba, and Morocco posed further threats to the remaining Spanish global empire.\footnote{For a detailed narrative of the period following the collapse of the First Spanish Republic through 1898, see Raymond Carr, \textit{Spain: A History} (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), chap. IX. The Restoration and the Disaster.} These issues meant different things to people living in the different cities and regions of Spain, and they shaped the decisions made when creating historical narratives, as certain points of the past were deliberately remembered, and others were forgotten. Many historian-archaeologists in Madrid attempted to create a single Spanish historical narrative, but they assumed a level of cohesion, of historical and cultural homogeneity that was not present, especially in this age of separatist nationalisms. Events traditionally credited with unifying the Spanish were experienced and remembered differently in
Madrid from Barcelona or the Basque region. The previous chapter on print culture discussed these differences as they related to the varied literary responses to the colonial crisis of 1898. This chapter examines these diverse regional identities as they relate to historical memory, specifically, tracing how they shaped the modernization of Barcelona.

The 1888 Exposition unfolded in an unsettled landscape. As the Exposition was being planned, Spaniards were debating the political, economic, and cultural future of the nation. Discussions surrounding preservation, commemoration, creation, and demolition of monuments and other structures served to highlight the different narratives and identities held by diverse communities of Spaniards. These debates revolved around topics including the memory of Islamic Al-Andalus, Columbus’s relationship to the Catholic monarchs, the French Bourbon victory over the faded Habsburg dynasty in 1714, the relationships between Madrid and Barcelona, and the future direction of urban planning in Barcelona as the city expanded beyond the confinement of its medieval walls. Nineteenth-century events, including the Napoleonic wars and the recent Revolution of 1868, served to stir vigorous debate over the Spanish political future, particularly with regard to the state’s democratic institutions and the monarchy. Catalans had experienced these events differently from Castilians in Madrid, and other Spaniards. The Exposition was to represent Spain, but as Barcelona modernized in the style of Parisian and Viennese urbanization projects, designing pavilions in a modernist style that was Catalan and European all at once, the vision of Spain that prevailed was not that of Madrid’s archeologists with their love of the Baroque. Catalans also looked to the past, but it was their own distinctive past. They chose to revive and celebrate gothic and Islamic architectural styles that had flourished long before the founding of Madrid or the creation of the modern Spanish state. For the Exposition, Barcelona presented itself, and Spain, as a modern European city that while
peripheral, was poised for industrial commercial success, aspiring to join the likes of London or Paris.

The most diverse components of Iberia’s pasts pre-dated the colonies, Columbus, and the Catholic monarchs. The modern capital of Madrid attempted to refine a national memory of a single Spanish past, yet Madrid itself did not play a role in this period. Instead scholarly Toledo, seafaring and commercial Barcelona, and the Andalusian cities of Cordoba, Seville, and Granada took precedence. Heavily pro-Catholic visions of the past construed the retreat of Muslim power from the peninsula as the Christian Reconquista, an interpretation of Spanish history that gained popularity, and increasingly crusader-like and anti-Islamic tones that peaked during the years of Falangist dominance in the twentieth century. These narratives and characterizations are often strikingly incompatible, and Spain “differs viscerally over much of its own history.” Spanish architecture was influenced by the medieval past to a degree that is “impossible to measure and difficult to overestimate.” Works connected with the 1888 fair were designed and constructed during the fin-de-siècle, as Catalans sought different pasts from that of Castilian Madrid. Perhaps the most well-known examples of this influence are the works of modernist Antoni Gaudi (1852-1926) in and around Barcelona, which drew upon medieval Christian architecture of the region, including Romanesque Cistercian monasteries to the north of the Catalan capital. The less commonly known works designed by Gaudi’s instructor Lluís Domènech i Montaner (1850-1923), discussed here, reflect the architectural heritage of the Islamic Mudéjar style. Domènech wrote of Islamic influence in the flagship publication of the Catalan literary revival, La Renaixença, discussed in the previous chapter. Iberia’s Islamic and gothic pasts also shaped the

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3 Tremlett, Doubleday and Coleman, xv.
work of other Catalan modernist architects working at the time, including Domènech’s student Josep Puig i Cadafalch and Gaudi’s collaborator Josep Jujol (1879-1949). Visigothic influences, present in the example of the Cathedral of Cuenca and in archeological findings under the Mesquita or mosque of Cordoba, also inform Catalan narratives of the Spanish past.

These overlapping pasts are referenced in the Catalan Charter of autonomy of 2006. Yet because of the political contentiousness of this recent document, and the diverse history in which it grounds itself, this memory of varied historical pasts within Spain, influenced by a variety of peoples and faiths operating in Iberia, is also rejected in contemporary accounts. Local historical traditions, notably the medieval crown of Aragon, served as the source of representative bodies such as the Corts, which became the Generalitat in the 14th century, resembling Florentine and Genoese representative civic governing bodies. These instruments of local authority raise tense questions of sovereignty. After the 2006 Charter, those who rejected claims of Catalan autonomy and relegated these democratic (for their time) institutions to the dustbin supported narratives promoting the value of absolutism, or at the very least monarchy, as well as national unity at the expense of enlightenment principles and cultural plurality. These kinds of editorial decisions were made frequently and at different times, and were reflected in the late nineteenth-century decisions to build, or demolish, public or civic structures connected with remnants of the past.

Yet this diversity and plurality of cultures, whether religious or linguistic, was readily sensed by glancing at the architecture or listening to locals speak. Its influence was felt outside of Spain’s modern borders, yet this heritage was not commemorated by central governance in

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4 Tremlett, Doubleday and Coleman, xvi.
Madrid. The capital made deliberate choices to avoid celebrating non-Castilian or non-Castizo\textsuperscript{6} culture, for example, the use of Catalan in Sardinia, a living example of Aragonese influence on the Mediterranean, which reached its peak in the fifteenth century, when the crown also ruled Sicily, Corsica, and much of the modern Italian mainland. Central authorities in Madrid chose not to celebrate, not to claim these enduring cultural gains, instead focusing on direct military losses. The Peninsular War for Spanish independence (1808-1814) has been compared with narratives of holy war used to describe the so-called Reconquista of Islamic Al-Andalus and its struggle for Catholic religious and political supremacy.\textsuperscript{7} Immediately following the war, the hated French, with their post-Revolutionary secular and anti-clerical, even atheistic fervor, were seen as a threat to Spanish Catholic absolutism by large numbers of Spanish. Yet this opinion of the French changed at varying rates throughout the nineteenth century, as support for absolutism dwindled. Catalan views of the French, who after all were their neighbors geographically and linguistically, differed on this point in ways that call for deeper discussion. In the nineteenth century, the primary chosen narrative of a triumphalist Castile, of the Atlantic rather than Mediterranean world, of empire instead of enlightenment democracy, of Catholicism over non-Christian pasts or secular futures, all contributed to the colonial crisis by narrowing the definition of what Spain was and had been.

Like many Europeans, Spaniards concerned with degeneration examined themselves during the fin-de-siècle. This introspection was carried out in a way that was modern, taking

\textsuperscript{6} The term Castizo is used here in a domestic rather than a colonial sense. By Castizo I mean from Castilla la Mancha and Leon, the territories Isabella I brought to her marriage to Fernando of Aragon, whose crown had once focused on Mediterranean territorial holdings. Castizo came to indicate Spanish ethnic parentage during the colonial period, as opposed to creoles or mestizos. Someone fully Castizo was from Castile, and unmixed with other groups. In my context, Castizo refers to a cultural identity connected with Castile and Madrid, its monarchy, and Catholicism as integral parts of what it means to be Spanish.

their then-present moment and looking backward to the diversity of Spanish narratives in order to solidify the memory that would shape their future. With different pasts to reflect upon, and different values and objectives for the future, it stands to reason that Spaniards from different regions of the peninsula developed different memories and different conceptualizations of the variant of modernity they anticipated pursuing. Even within a particular community unified by common historical narratives like Catalunya, fears of degeneration and anxieties about the accelerating effect of technologies made this modern self-analysis a paradoxical pursuit. Catalan nationalists, including Domènech i Montaner, wrote of a republican future without serious panic or worry over the state of Spanish colonial holdings. When he looked backward for inspiration, gleaning cultural remnants from the golden ages on the peninsula, he selected both the gothic and Islamic Mudéjar styles of architecture seen in key cities of the old Al-Andalus. These included the cathedral of Seville’s bell tower La Giralda, a structure so closely linked to its residents’ identity that it still serves as symbol of the city in tourism marketing, festival poster art, and other media. This Catalan preference for medieval Islamic heritage is important to note because it highlights the decisions that were made when selecting parts of Iberia’s cultural heritage to remember. These decisions, which determined what should be remembered and what would be forgotten, sometimes yielded seemingly contradictory results. This Janus-face of modernity, both backward and forward looking, characterizes the conflicted nature of memory in places like France during the fin-de-siècle. It holds true for Spaniards as well, as they struggled to redefine themselves, their pasts, and their futures. This desire to define and represent the patria grew even more pronounced in this era of international expositions, when host cities and their states saw local political, economic, and artistic figures work to actively choose how to present the urban

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center and country to the rest of the world. The 1888 Barcelona Exposition served as a bridge between the old and the modern, the past and the future. It was a moment of heightened decision-making, as different groups decided what would be presented to the world to be celebrated and remembered, and what would be forgotten. In addition to the Catalan elites who planned and hosted the 1888 Exposition, authorities in the capital of Madrid also constructed their own historical narratives, in harmony with their Madrileño identity.

### 2.2 Madrileño Identities in the Fin-de-Siècle

In the late nineteenth century, Spanish fine artists outside of Catalunya, particularly in Madrid, created works of visual art that chose to celebrate Christian Spanish strength in military victories over Muslims. This was a different approach from that of the Catalans, who celebrated the knowledge, engineering skill, and aesthetic Islam had brought into Al-Andalus. During this period of military embarrassments in the colonies, fine artists turned to narratives of military victories Madrid could be proud of, commemorating the historical figures credited with these successes. Specifically, when Castilian Madrileños patronized artists, they supported those who chose to celebrate this Castizo golden age, another past with a cultural heritage distinct from that of Catalans. But the past these artists chose to remember was problematic on various accounts, including Catholicism in the liberal age, and Columbus in this era of colonial loss.

Predictably, early monarchs of Spain, including Ferdinand II of Aragon, Isabella I of Castile, and their daughter Joanna I of Castile, made popular subjects for works of fine art during the Spanish fin-de-siècle. The designation “Catholic monarch” or “the Catholic” are often noted in the works’ titles. The permanent collection of the Museo Nacional del Prado in Madrid

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9 See also Natalia Sobrevilla Perea, “How (Not) to Make a Durable State,” in *Spain in the Nineteenth Century: New Essays on Experiences of Culture and Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 14–18 for a narrative of the evolution of the Spanish, or Hispanic monarchy, as Sobrevilla Perea terms it.
includes groups of large canvases from this period, many of them depicting corpses or body parts resulting from violent acts and other macabre interpretations of foundational historical events.\textsuperscript{10} Though conceived decades later, these works follow in the frank, dark style of romantic painter Francisco de Goya (1746-1828), who attempted to re-define the nation after the Peninsular War through visual art that featured violent, gothic spectacles.

Some of these works were produced in conjunction with contests sponsored by what was then the Museo Nacional, which would eventually merge collections with other entities to form the Museo Nacional del Prado. Some of the most prominently displayed of these works feature Queen Joanna I of Castile (1479-1555), known as Juana la Loca or Joanna the Mad. She was the daughter of Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon, consolidators by marriage of the early modern Spanish state. These works depicting her in stark madness can be seen from multiple historical angles rooted in the nineteenth, rather than sixteenth centuries. These frameworks include Carlist rejection of Salic Law, absolutist criticism of Isabel II, or more general narratives of decline of the empire that began soon after its ascendancy. Two key works by Francisco Pradilla y Ortiz feature Joanna. Pradilla’s 1877 work takes as its subject the stark scene of Joanna traveling with the body of Philip the Fair, also known as Philip of Ghent, her late husband, (fig. 2.1).\textsuperscript{11} Pradilla also painted Joanna in her seclusion in Tordesillas in 1906.\textsuperscript{12} In the earlier of these two works, Pradilla included a traveling retinue in a bleak landscape with billowing smoke lifting from a smoldering fire. Candles flank the casket as Joanna stands apart from the black-clad group to contemplate her husband’s remains, her expression a blank stare.

\textsuperscript{11} \textit{Francisco Pradilla y Ortiz, Doña Juana La Loca Ante El Sepulcro de Su Esposo, Felipe “El Hermoso,”} 1877, Oil on canvas, 500 cm x 340 cm, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.
\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Francisco Pradilla y Ortiz, La Reina Doña Juana La Loca Recluida En Tordesillas Con Su Hija, La Infanta Doña Catalina,} 1906, Oil on canvas, 146 cm x 85 cm, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.
Joanna seems a peculiar choice, since her much more famous sibling was Catherine of Aragon, who would marry Henry VIII, making her mother of Mary I of England. Joanna was the last of the Trastámara dynasty of Castile, the last of the domestic Iberian royal house before centuries of Austrian Habsburg and French Bourbon monarchs would rule all of Spain. The collection features Joanna’s mother as a subject in *Queen Isabella the Catholic Dictating Her Will* (1864) by Eduardo Rosales Gallinas (1836-1873), an earlier romantic but thematically similar work that has been displayed in the same room as these by Pradilla. These artists, who worked and died in Madrid, reached to the Spanish monarchy and the seeds of the Spanish empire when searching for subjects to commemorate as part of Spanish national memory.

Further, the emphasis on these monarchs can be attributed to their roles in attempting to consolidate the early modern Spanish state, through a policy of *rapprochement* with Aragon, under the Trastámara dynasty of Castile. These works and the monarchs they depicted were deeply connected with religion and military victories. Pradilla made the capitulation of Granada the subject of his 1882 work, which is currently displayed in the palace of the Senate. Ferdinand and Isabella appear resplendent upon gleaming white horses, while the last Nasarid leaders prepare to demurely relinquish the keys to the city from atop their tired black mounts. This work serves as an example of the type of nationalism and patriotism promoted by the clergy, connecting the empire with Catholicism. During the late nineteenth century, when Spain faced repeated military failure, these artists chose to reflect upon historical figures who rose to

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13 Eduardo Rosales Gallinas, *Doña Isabela La Católica Dictando Su Testamento*, 1864, Oil on canvas, 287 cm x 398 cm, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.
14 For a fuller treatment of the Crown of Aragon and its rapprochement with Castile, see Bisson, chap. VI. The Trastámaras.
15 Francisco Pradilla y Ortiz, *La Rendición de Granada*, 1882, Oil on canvas, 330 x 550cm, 1882, Palacio del Senado, Madrid.
supremacy in Iberia through “military prowess” rather than any cultural or intellectual superiority over Jewish or Mudejar leaders. This remembrance of military superiority was linked with religious identity, and these connections helped feed the fervor of Catholic orthodoxy, spurred on by Basque conservative historian of Catholic heterodoxy Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo, during late nineteenth-century struggles with liberal secularism. These Catholic monarchs make a revealing choice of subject matter for their role in closely linking the Spanish state, and its national identity, with Catholicism. The policies of the Catholic monarchs, including the violent repression and expulsion of Jewish Conversos and Moriscos and the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition, all focused on Catholic purity and orthodoxy, programs that were continued and amplified when the Habsburg dynasty succeeded the Trastámara, and the Spanish empire expanded beyond the Caribbean to much of the Americas post-Tordesillas (1494) and to the Philippines. Habsburg methods of enforcing religious conformity and orthodoxy included public auto da fe, torture, and execution by hanging or garrote in the Plaza Mayor. This violence communicated power, the brute force Spanish monarchs and ministers in positions of authority had once wielded. Recalling this power during the fin-de-siècle could imply that the state, with or without the church, might again articulate such power.

However, these chosen Catholic commemorations were problematic during an era of increasing secularism, a situation compounded by the fact that medieval and early modern Spanish notions of race were closely linked to religiously-defined castes, consisting of Catholicism, Islam, and Judaism. This system of castes was different from notions of race that focused upon ethnicity, national origin, or skin tone, categories of difference that dominated

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nineteenth-century notions of race elsewhere. This complicated the already complex matters of identity, *patria*, and what it meant to be Spanish at during the late nineteenth century. These ideas of Catholicism, Spanish castes, and the founding monarchs of the Spanish state are linked with Columbus due to his interaction with Isabella I, who ultimately backed his initial expedition. Raising a statue to Columbus in the late nineteenth century recalled much more than just the Spanish empire in the Americas, and these notions were out of step with the political and social realities of much of modern Spain.

Consequently, liberals and Catholics were in tension during the nineteenth century due in part to the centuries-long association between absolutists monarchs, empire, and the Catholic church. The empire, born of Isabella I of Castile, credited with the 1492 expulsion of Jews and 1502 end to toleration of Muslims, treated Catholicism as an impetus (or more cynically, an excuse) for empire in the Americas. From the defeat of Muslim and Jewish populations during the so-called Reconquista, to missionary work in the Americas, to seventeenth and eighteenth-century wars of religion that unsuccessfully attempted to retain the Spanish Netherlands, Catholicism drove Spanish politics and identity. Catholicism was closely tied to notions of absolutist power and empire. De-coupling the empire from Catholicism separates faith from politics in a way that, while in keeping with the French enlightenment, does not feel historically Spanish. This posed a problem for liberal movements in nineteenth-century Spain, and especially its capital Madrid, since Catholicism had been a core indicator of Castilian identity. As the monarchy transitioned from Trastámara to Habsburg to Bourbon dynasties, rulers strengthened the ties between the monarch, the emerging Spanish state, and its capital in Madrid. Reinforced through memory of the Habsburgs at the Plaza Mayor and the Bourbons at their royal palace, Castilian identity ignored or subsumed components of non-Castizo identity. One such group that
was left out of the Madrileños’ Castilian national narrative was the crown of Aragon and the county of Barcelona, the nation without a state known as Catalunya.

2.3 Catalan Identities in the Fin-de-Siècle

As Catalan nationalists are quick to note, Catalunya is neither Spain nor France, yet the region is comprised of territory from both states, linking Spanish and French subjects and citizens under a single linguistic, cultural, and historical identity that transcended borders. This identity is a result of key historical events in Catalan memory that were remembered and re-interpreted as the rest of Spain reassessed its identity in the years leading up to 1898. By the late nineteenth century, Catholicism was growing increasingly unpopular among Catalans, particularly among the urban working class of newly industrialized cities. Catalans tended to link the church with monarchy, specifically the Bourbon monarchy in Madrid, which aside from clashing with liberal republicanism, was connected with painful eighteenth-century events Catalans had not forgotten. The last monarchy Catalans had identified with was the old Kingdom of Aragon, dating from the fifteenth century and earlier. These different political experiences are reflected in Catalan visual arts and literary production, further revealing the differences and tensions between Spanish Castilian and Catalan identities.

Some of the violent subjects represented by works housed in the Prado were also recalled by Catalan artists working in the late nineteenth century, however the way these events were remembered tends to reflect a different regional character. The cultural work done by these images is different in a Catalan context. Violent acts of state and church control that were once visited upon fragile bodies were remembered in the fin-de-siècle, as garroting continued to serve as a method of capital punishment throughout Spain and its possessions, a practice that would
continue under much controversy until 1974.\textsuperscript{19} Barcelona’s modernist fine artist and graphic
designer Ramon Casas i Carbó documented a public execution by garroting that took place in
1893, producing two surviving paintings connected with this event. The two works are housed in
different museums hundreds of miles apart. The collection of the Museu Nacional d’Art de
Catalunya in Barcelona includes an oil on canvas study of the courtyard of the Barcelona prison
(ca. 1894).\textsuperscript{20} This work features the site of the execution, but with no people present, only the
businesses located to the background and the eerie, almost skeletal looking bare trees in the
courtyard itself. Originally displayed in the Museo Nacional del Prado and later moved to the
Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, also in Madrid, Ramon Casas’s 1895 work Garrote
Vil (fig. 2.2) features the same courtyard setting but with a large crowd present for the execution
of an anarchist.\textsuperscript{21} Casas had taken to visual studies of crowds during this period of his career, and
crowds as well as the mass political movements they implied were a source of fascination during
the fin-de-siècle, not only for artists but for writers like the French philosopher Gustav Le Bon
(1841-1931) and later Jose Ortega y Gasset (1883-1955) of Madrid. The authorities carrying out
the execution look stern in their all-black robes, with some dressed as penitents wearing the
ominous-looking gowns in black with tall pointed caps and hoods. Yet this group of authorities is
surrounded by the larger crowd, with its modern hats and caps, collars and cuffs, making the
garroting taking place at the center seem anachronistic and secondary to the power of the crowd
itself.

\textsuperscript{19} Henry Giniger, “A Spanish Anarchist, 26, Is Executed by Garroting,” The New York Times, March 3,
garroting-a-spanish-anarchist.html.
\textsuperscript{20} Ramon Casas i Carbó, Pati de l’Antiga Presó de Barcelona (Pati Dels Corders), ca 1894, Oil on canvas,
60.5 x 73.5 cm, Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya, http://www.museunicacional.cat/ca/colleccio/pati-de-lantiga-
preso-de-barcelona-pati-dels-corders/ramon-casas/004033-000.
\textsuperscript{21} Ramon Casas i Carbó, Garrote Vil, 1895, Oil on canvas, 127 x 166 cm, Museo Nacional Centro de Arte
Through his visual art, Casas drew attention to individuals who were not part of the Spanish state apparatus, who like their medieval counterparts, were instrumental to the success of Catalan commerce. These elites were active in shaping their region’s cultural and political identity during this period of industrialization. Casas was part of Barcelona’s educated bourgeois artistic and intellectual milieu, and the national museum of Catalan art in Barcelona includes many of his works, including dozens of portraits in charcoal and pastel on paper, made of Barcelona’s notables and other Spaniards who spent time there, including Basque political writer of the Generation of 1898 Miguel de Unamuno. Catalan subjects include the aristocratic artist and lithographer Alexandre de Riquer (1856-1920) who designed poster art for the 1896 Industrial and Bellas-Artes Exposition in Barcelona, Catalan modernist architect Llúis Domènech i Montaner, and many others who frequented cafés and tertulias. He made self-portraits in which he rode a tandem bicycle or drove a motorcar wearing voluminous furs with Pere Romeu (1862-1903) who had worked at the famous Le Chat Noir in Paris and was inspired to open Els Quatre Gats, a similar modernist café as a meeting space for this cohort, and younger bohemian artists like Pablo Picasso, in Barcelona. This was a group that concerned itself with the Catalan past and the Catalan future, with little interest in reviving Madrid’s Habsburg past, Catholic power, or colonial pride. The golden age Domènech, his student Puig i Cadafalch, and other modernists concerned themselves with was unconnected with the dissolving empire so often written about by the Generation of 1898, and others. Quite the contrary, these modernists were inspired, even pleased to face a new era in which Barcelona might gain back status it had lost as a result of the Trastámara-Columbian, and subsequent events. An inherent optimism pervaded this Catalan view of the future, something not present in the grim works displayed in Madrid. Not all of Spain’s identity was linked to the Columbian empire of the Americas.
Indeed, when Barcelona’s elite looked inward and into the past, they celebrated the city’s medieval merchant marine past, a time when the *drassanes reials*, the Kingdom of Aragon’s royal shipbuilders, produced the elaborate galleys that drove the city’s commercial and military success in the Mediterranean world. The wealth and power of Barcelona and Catalunya were centered on the newly expanded Plaça Sant Jaume (1823), which housed the Ajuntament de Barcelona, the town hall, and the Palau de la Generalitat, home of the offices of the governor of Catalunya. With a sense of civic pride, the city and region looked back upon the Consell de Cent, or Council of the One Hundred, which represented merchants as well as guilds and other laborers in the local government, dating back to at least 1249 during the long reign of Jaume I (Aragon r.1213-1276).22 The Catalan parliament was also a distinctive and celebrated arm of government. These institutions pre-dated the 1469 marriage of Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile, the symbolic if not legal unifiers of Spain, and the 1560s movement of the royal court of Phillip II from Toledo to Madrid. In 1901, a compendium of lessons, presented using the Socratic method of questions and answers, was published to aid teachers in providing a basic education of Catalan heritage to students. The *Breu Compendi d’Historia de Catalunya*23 is two hundred and forty-seven pages long. One hundred and ninety-eight of these pages cover the time period before 1714, when the Bourbon dynasty took power. Over a third of the total pages, numbering one hundred and eight, cover the history of the crown of Aragon from roughly the tenth through the fifteenth centuries, emphasizing this period as one of key importance to Catalan identity. As Spanish shipping and wealth shifted from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic world, Barcelona saw its status within the peninsula decline. Catalunya as a whole, and


Barcelona specifically, had centuries to redefine the region and attempt to recover from the loss of wealth and power. The golden age for this region was the time it held a dominant role as part of the Kingdom of Aragon with strategic access to the Mediterranean. What followed were centuries of decline and lost autonomy. By the end of the nineteenth century, Catalunya had recovered and re-created its cultural identity, and its industrial and commercial ascendancy within Spain granted it economic prestige independent from Madrid. However, the Spanish state had only recently lost significant portions of its geographic relevance in the Atlantic, a blow that struck the Spanish political ego, and led to talk of crisis and panic.

In the nineteenth-century age of nationalism, Catalan nationalism saw a revival that would color the way Barcelona, its largest city, would represent itself for the 1888 Universal Exposition. Following decades of romanticism, its revived literary and visual culture developed distinctive ways to express this identity, which differed from that of Madrid and the rest of Spain. Due to its historical connections with the crown of Aragon, and its Mediterranean rather than Atlantic commercial connections, Catalunya reacted differently to the problem of colonial loss than Madrid. The existential crisis of the Spanish state and sense of imperium failure that was articulated through the literature of the Generation of 1898 centered on the capital, Madrid. Conservative Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo called for Spain to turn to the past and rediscover its Golden Age when the Spanish crown ruled the Atlantic and cultural production yielded the likes of Cervantes and Velazquez. This lost Castizo past that was centered in Castile and Madrid was not something Catalans identified with. The decision by intellectual elites to make this the chosen past for all of Spain excluded communities like the Catalans, who recognized different golden ages and other pasts in their sense of collective memory.
2.4 Economic and Military Losses

Despite its ascendancy and optimism, Catalunya was not indifferent to the troubles of 1898. For Catalans who had historically felt separate from the Spanish crown, the loss of the state's overseas colonies was of little intellectual or existential concern. Rather, the immediate impact was economic, shaped to varying degrees by military factors throughout the nineteenth century. These were described in historical accounts and memoirs written by men of science. In the late nineteenth century, this concern related to the increasing ascendancy of the United States and its involvement in the Cuban independence movement. If the United States interfered with Spanish colonial relationships in Cuba, the island’s elites might be forced to make concessions. Chief among these was the possible emancipation of enslaved persons, to the ruin of Catalan and Cuban landowners and industrialists. As it happened, workers of African origin were unfree in Cuba until 1886, before independence could become a factor, but the perceived threat was present. The need to renegotiate or re-establish trade agreements to include the United States could also complicate connections between Cuba and the many Catalan industrialists who frequently traveled across the Atlantic to tend to factories and other commercial interests that lay on either side of the ocean. In fact, many Catalans and Basques chose to reside in Cuba, at least for stretches of time, as they managed their export and diverse import activities from homes they kept on the island. As a major exporter of textiles, Barcelona stood to lose commercial rather than political power due to the loss of tariff agreements and a ready market in Cuba.24 By 1894, some sixty percent of Catalan exports were bound for Cuba.25 Many of these included brandy, vermouth, and fabrics, and quantities of sugar and related cane products also returned bound for

Barcelona, exported by Catalans living in Cuba. Catalans profited on both sides of the Atlantic, but those business ties could become complicated if the United States was permitted to exert its influence on Cuba. Commercial and colonial arrangements served to complicate existing tensions between Madrid and Catalans. In the final two decades of the nineteenth century, the working class in Barcelona, who depended on nonetheless exhausting industrial jobs like those in factory mills, felt disaster seemed imminent, and labor agitation rose. Catalan industrialists believed it was patriotic to extract as much as possible from the working class in order to maintain Catalunya’s economic superiority over Madrid.26 These concerns however, were of an immediate and practical rather than existential nature, and Catalan identity was secure during this period in a way that cannot be said for Spain at large.

Costly military losses, the kind that Spain faced in attempts to retain colonial possessions in the final decades of the nineteenth century, were part of a long tradition of difficult efforts at retaining territory dating back to the period of Baroque Spain, in the early years of the empire. Following the reign of Philip II (1527-1598) the succeeding Habsburg monarchs found themselves entangled in European wars of religion that drained Spanish coffers of Peruvian and Mexican silver. The incoming French Bourbon monarchy was involved in its own series of eighteenth-century wars over succession and land. In the nineteenth century, the Napoleonic period ushered in an era of economic uncertainty, as Spain saw its commercial activity limited by warfare, much of it consisting of naval blockades.27 The central administration in Madrid chose whether to side with the English or French during various stages of these conflicts, often making decisions that while expedient for inland Madrid, were economically painful for port cities like

Bilbao in the Basque country, Malaga in Andalusia, and Barcelona. While these commercial losses were similar to patterns elsewhere in Spain during this time of war, the impact of these decisions affected different urban centers and regions unevenly within the peninsula.

Internal political clashes had an important effect on military efficacy due to the system of *pronunciamientos* that was implemented in Spain. Following independence from Napoleon (1808-1814) guerilla factions rose in status as saviors of the Spanish since these “freedom fighters” and “underdogs” had battled to defeat the French. This tradition of legitimizing guerilla groups gradually leant a certain level of autonomy to the army, which would support the political faction of its choice, applying pressure on the monarch to lean toward favored policy. One instance of military defiance went too far, and this early example of shifting military allegiance contributed to colonial losses early in the nineteenth century. In 1820, Rafael del Riego (1784-1823) issued a *pronunciamiento* that exploded into a mutiny among the military forces in the south, near Cadiz, kicking off what is known as the *Trienio Liberal*, three years of liberal governance in defiance of Ferdinand VII, by refusing to follow the monarch’s orders to suppress independence movements in Latin America. Riego demanded a return to the Constitution of 1812, which Ferdinand had rejected during the early unstable absolutist years of his reign. The rebellion was the subject of a romantic historical account translated by one R. Stirling and Catalan physician and liberal political figure Pere Mata i Fontanet. In the introduction, which was added to the text by its translators, Mata and Stirling called for recognition of Riego for his leadership role as a defender of liberalism who perished at the hands

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28 Ringrose, 146.
of Spanish absolutism. Ultimately the French intervened to help reinstate Ferdinand, creating further economic tensions with a major trading partner. The episode is significant because it shows how early Spanish liberalism began its convulsions early in the nineteenth century, when it was driven by the military rather than mass political movements of armed peasants or urban working class. The rebellion also shows how quickly military forces and other organized groups could shift from despising Revolutionary liberalism and all other things French as the culture of their oppressor in 1814 to accepting liberalism by 1820, as liberation morphed into liberalism.

The incident also reveals rifts between the monarch, the army, and the ability of these authorities to secure colonial possessions and execute military victories. This last legacy of 1820 would persist throughout the nineteenth century, as those enlisted by the army, including histologist Santiago Ramón y Cajal, criticized the training of military officers as well as corruption and character flaws like alcoholism, that pervaded their ranks. This lack of efficiency and lack of success was costly not only in terms of failed operations, but in terms of lost revenue.

Domestically, as Spain struggled to industrialize in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, its mined products like copper, iron, mercury and lead were in high demand throughout other parts of Europe that had already attained greater levels of industrialization. European investors who allocated capital to these extractive pursuits in Spain pushed the state to operate as an underpaid debtor nation, struggling under chronic trade deficits to industrialized foreign creditors. In this way, Spain was economically peripheral, and some have even argued (with caveats) that it was a “de facto colony of industrialized Europe.”

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further complicated the cultural tendencies within the peninsula. This is especially true in the case of the writers from the Generation of 1898, who chose to make Madrid the cultural heart of Spain, relegating its many regions, and all of their historical significance and contributions, to the periphery. Add to this the colonial relationship, and these perceptions of dependency take on complex cultural and economic natures.

Consequently, the language and attitude of “us and them” proliferated as Madrid’s political and military failures, both abroad with the colonies and domestically with the Carlists, continued. Losses, not just of territory in the Caribbean and Philippines, but also of Peruvian mines, the source of much of the monarchy’s wealth in previous centuries, all reflected increasingly poorly on the capital. Military maneuvers supported by conservative leader Antonio Cánovas y Castillo (1828-1897) were aimed at reigning in rebellious independence movements in colonial possessions like Cuba. Though Spain managed to retain Cuba in the Ten Years War (1868-1878) that followed the abdication and exile of Isabel II, it was a costly victory, and Cubans were inspired, rebelling with greater fervor in the intervening years. Political and military weakness of the unitary state were linked, and these threatened the economic well-being of places outside of Madrid, places that were industrializing, urbanizing, and prospering during this period. Barcelona was one example of such a place, and its elites tended to perceive association with declining, impoverished Madrid as unfavorable. Memory of these economic tensions, both new and old, resurfaced as Spanish and Catalan identities diverged and nationalist sentiments rose, Barcelona underwent urban reform, and the city planned its exposition.

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34 Carr, Spain, 1808-1975, chap. IX. The Restoration and the Disaster, 1874-98.
2.5 1808: Napoleon and Catalan Culture

A distinctively Catalan memory of key events that took place in Spain re-emerged during this period of nineteenth-century urban planning and preparation for the 1888 fair. Napoleonic invasion early in the nineteenth century appeared to have brought intellectual elites and common people together throughout Spain in support of the defeat of a common enemy, but Catalan memory of this event differed from this Madrileño narrative of unification. These differences are apparent in the press from the early nineteenth century and in Catalan-language historical accounts written later, around 1900. Catalans were not the only ones with diverse memory and experiences. The intellectual elites who made up the constitutionalists, assembling in Cadiz to promulgate the 1812 Constitution, had a sense of ethnic patriotism and national identity that was not present in rural centers. The countryside was lacking in literacy and access to Spain’s limited supply of national cultural production, and therefore these provincial areas primarily felt the pull of town and regional, rather than national identity.35 This appears to have contributed to the formation of local guerillas and the practice of guerilla warfare, a term that has taken on its modern meaning from this experience of Spanish with French. In this sense, a guerilla is “the irregular war of civilians against the occupation of forces of a foreign power or an unpopular regime.”36 Common people who made up the guerillas continued to fight the French in Madrid after being abandoned by their own government and its proper army earned a place in what would become the political mass public. These events were commemorated in Goya’s El 2 de Mayo and El 3 de Mayo, famous works by the Spanish master whose career spanned

Enlightenment and Romantic eras, which emphasized guerilla heroics, casting them as martyrs for the *patria*. However, this was not the primary motivation in other parts of Spain outside of Madrid, particularly in Navarre, where Basque-speaking peasant guerillas organized under juntas to defend their self-interests, namely their lands and its produce, rather than for “king, country, and religion” or any cohesive sense of *patria*. This rise in populism led to the involvement of uneducated peasants, rather than political elites, in the process of shaping the nation. This provincial ignorance of national culture meant that in these non-Castilian Spanish regions, the public did not imagine the war along the lines of Goya. It was not a formative unifying event centered around Madrid, to them.

For Catalans, whose experience with the neighboring French was also different, Madrid’s political public was not something with which they identified. Catalans found themselves caught between the French military’s land forces and English commercial naval blockades. Either enemy, as defined by Madrid, would aggravate Catalan struggles while Madrid remained in its relatively safer position at the center of the peninsula. Spain had been at war with revolutionary France since the time of The Terror in 1793, and the Catalan, Basque, and Navarrese borderlands were the site of conflict and violence well before Napoleon’s invasion came to directly affect Madrid. Once treaties were signed in 1796, Spain allied itself with France against England in what was a serious blow to Anglo-aligned Catalan commercial shipping interests. In this way, Catalunya entered the nineteenth century and the Napoleonic age from a position of hardship and weakness made worse by the decisions of central administration in Madrid. Historians agree that

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37 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *El 2 de Mayo de 1808 En Madrid* o “La Lucha Con Los Mamelucos,” 1814, Oil on canvas, 268.5 x 347.5 cm, Museo Nacional del Prado; Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *El 3 de Mayo En Madrid* o “Los Fusilamientos,” 1814, Oil on canvas, 268cm x 347cm, Museo Nacional del Prado.


the war was horrific and savage, but those writing about Catalan losses note that the fighting was especially fierce in these territories that shared a common recognized political border and shared Catalan territory. The remaining Catalan *sometenis* or “citizen volunteers” that had been officially banned with the arrival of the Bourbons in 1714 were left to defend the territory and restore order after the retreat of the French, before the Spanish state apparatus reemerged. These strategic decisions made by Madrid resulted in costly military defense and commercial losses, and these came at the expense of Catalans. Memory of these hardships lingered, contributing to tensions between Catalans and the capital.

Napoleonic forces acting within Spain noted these tensions and exploited them, stirring lasting feelings of resentment and rivalry between the two regions that contributed to the formation of late nineteenth-century Catalan identity. At the same time the Constitution of 1812 was being drafted in Cadiz, unifying all of Spanish territories under limited liberal governance, Napoleon annexed Catalunya and divided it into two departments, taking steps to deepen the divisions between Catalans and Castilians. In an effort to quiet the anger of the occupied and win their loyalty, the French allowed certain concessions, reversing Spanish restrictions against the use and teaching of the Catalan language and local customs including performing the *Sardana*, the regional dance. Most significantly perhaps, Napoleon’s representatives allowed the publication of the *Diario de Barcelona*, which had been published in Spain since its founding in 1792, in Castilian, French, and Catalan under the name *Diario del Gobierno de Cataluña y de Barcelona*. Seeing the newspaper’s text appear side by side, with French on the left and Catalan on the right, drew attention to the elevated status of Catalan, distinguishing it from the provincial *patois* the French government was phasing out behind its own borders. The paper recognized

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41 Joan Oliva i Mila, *Breu Compendi d’Història de Catalunya* (Vilanova y Geltrú Oliva, 1901), 205.
Catalan as the official language of the government, which was that of Cataluña, not Spain, though it remained in a state of siege by the French. The paper published some provocative anti-Spanish messages from Napoleon’s Marshal Pierre-François-Charles Augereau, the Duc de Castiglione (1757-1816) during their occupation, which the Catalans largely disregarded at the time. Augereau promised Catalans the French would “reestablish your ancient commerce with the Orient,” a tantalizing offer he raised with the promise of a new life as a nation, “NAPOLEON EL GRAND will grant you a new life.” This vision of what Catalunya could be resurfaced at the end of the nineteenth century, as Catalan industrialization led to the reestablishment of its trade within the Mediterranean and beyond. This successful position contributed to separatist desires to disassociate the region, indeed the Catalan nation, from Castile and its decline.

Augereau continued, “He has you fixed in his grand paternal sight, and has taken an interest in your fate, and you are under his powerful protection.” Augereau even went on to refer to Catalans as “los Franceses de Espanya” and “les Français de l’Espagne,” that is, “the French of Spain.” This notion assumed that Catalans would prefer to be French over being Spanish, without considering that perhaps Catalans would just rather be Catalan. The French were in a unique position to make these kinds of tempting offers promoting Catalunya during their occupation since northernmost Catalan territories are located on the French side of the border. Still, the French were successful in this divisive maneuver over the longer term. Catalan literary and philological culture was revived and studied, along with a cultural history and identity that was distinct from that of Madrid. This sparked an interest in the Catalan language that gained

44 Capitalization is preserved as in original text of the *Diario de Barcelona*, which featured the upper case in both French and Catalan language versions of the declaration.
45 “Declaració de Augereau,” *Diario de Barcelona*, March 19, 1810, 314. ‘Si, vencedors de Atenas y Neopatria, se va á restablir vostre ántich comers d’Orient.’; “NAPOLEON EL GRAND vos va á donar un nou ser. Las suas paternals miradas vos han fixat; vostre sort lo ha interest, y sou baix sa ponderosa protecció.”
momentum after the war, growing into the *Renaixença*, a significant cultural and literary movement that fueled the rise of Catalan nationalism by the fin-de-siècle.

Although Catalans and Madrileños shared their rejection of the hated French, educated Catalans took an interest in secular republicanism of the French variety, something that was not present in the 1812 Constitution, which asserted Catholicism was the only true faith and the faith of the Spanish. Anti-clerical sentiment gained momentum throughout the nineteenth century, despite the Constitution, because of the close association of Catholicism with the failed absolutists. The inadequacy of the Spanish monarchy had allowed the Napoleonic war and all its violent losses to happen to Catalunya, feeding disdain for Madrid’s absolutism, and Catholicism, in the region. However inadvertently, Catalans began emulating French-style politics. One move was anti-clerical far earlier than the startling social unrest of the Setmana Tragica of 1909. As early as the 1820s, Barcelona city officials began ordering crews to pull down several convents, churches, and other ecclesiastical buildings, ostensibly to make room within the crowded old city walls, room that was used to construct bisecting streets, the Plaça Sant Jaume where the Generalitat and Ajuntament were located, and the residential Plaça Reial off the Ramblas.\(^{46}\) The city was, in fact, densely populated, a fact that was corroborated decades later in research undertaken by urban planner and Catalan Civil engineer Ildefons Cerdà. However, the decision to take down ecclesiastical buildings with such little regard for preservation efforts is telling. The legacy of the constitution and the contact with the unpopular French helped set a trend that would guide political factions within Catalunya (and other parts of Spain to a lesser extent) on a liberal trajectory during the nineteenth century. By weakening the monarchy and the authority of the state apparatus, Napoleonic occupation ended a century of Bourbon repression of Catalan

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culture, begun when the French royal family ascended to the Spanish throne early in the eighteenth century. These two very different contacts with France helped shape Catalan memory and identity.

2.6 1714: The Ciutadella, Site of Catalan Memory

Tensions between Madrid and Catalunya go back farther than Napoleon. Much of the Catalan resentment toward Madrid that resulted from the early nineteenth-century French annexation of Catalunya had its roots in the outright belligerent relations between Castilians and Catalans during in the eighteenth century. Nearly a hundred years had passed, yet these resentments remained in collective memory. In time for the 1888 fair, monuments were built to Catalan patriots connected with the event. Indeed, the events of 1714 are so significant to Catalans that they are still commemorated in the present in their most important national holiday. Architectural evidence of past clashes between Barcelona and Castilian military forces contributed toward keeping the wounds fresh, as nineteenth-century residents of Barcelona could glance up at the enormous structures that made up the Ciutadella, which had become a symbol of repression and loss of autonomy. In the eighteenth century, it had served as a military prison where dissidents were executed, a repressive past so painful that when Catalan General Juan Prim i Prats (1814-1870) became Prime Minister after the exile of Isabel II in 1868, his welcome gesture toward Barcelona was to allow locals to demolish the old citadel. These resentments bound up in memory contributed to the eagerness of mid-nineteenth century urban planners, who aimed to remove the site of memory and reclaim the needed seafront space. The Ciutadella had been more than merely a defensive fortification for Spain. It and the Castell de Montjuïc were key sites in the plan of Spanish state-building that took place during the early eighteenth-century

47 Hughes, 355.
Hapsburg-Bourbon transition, a process that ended autonomy within the region. The Ciutadella was built on the southeastern corner of the city walls under Philip V (1700-1724 r.), the Versailles-born Prince Philip of Anjou, first Bourbon to rule following the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714). The decisive military engagements took place in Barcelona, as the city came under attack from both sides. These attacks took a heavy toll, and Catalans paid dearly in the battle between the forces of the Austrian Hapsburg Duke Charles and Philip’s Bourbon French royal house. The Austrian military (and the English, Portuguese, Prussian, and Dutch military) encouraged the city into allegiance to Habsburg Duke Charles. Then, the French and French-supporting Spanish fought the Catalans and Valencians of the old Crown of Aragon, who found themselves backing the losing side in Charles. The Catalans and their neighbors fought in defense of the Hapsburg Austrians and ultimately for themselves.

The French and Spanish besieged Barcelona from the fortress of Montjuïc for fourteen months, ending September 11, 1714, a date still commemorated to the present with the significance of a national independence day, on the holiday known as the Diada de Catalunya, Catalunya Day. Additionally, a monument to the Mayor of Barcelona, Rafael Casanova i Comes (1660-1743), was completed in the new Eixample in 1888, the year of the fair, highlighting how central these issues of autonomy and repression were to the people of the late nineteenth century. Ceremonies are still held on September 11, including laying flowers at the monument. Following his victory, Philip V had much of the La Ribera neighborhood commandeered and turned out its residents, building the Ciutadella opposite from Montjuïc. From there, the absolutist grandson of Louis XIV had his ministers implement the Nueva Planta

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48 Joan Oliva i Mila, Breu Compendi d’Historia de Catalunya, 192–93.
49 Rossend Nobas, Josep Llimona, and Alexandre Soler i March, Monumento a Rafael Casanova i Comes, 1888, Bronze, Marble. Nobas completed the bronze statue, Llimona the bas-relief bronze panels, and Soleri the marble pedestal.
of 1716, a Royal Decree that replaced autonomous institutions with centralized state control from Madrid.⁵⁰ Universities were closed, Catalan-language publications were banned, and fortifications not already controlled by the Bourbon crown were commandeered or pulled down.⁵¹ These losses are key among those commemorated on the Diada de Catalunya, and in the late nineteenth-century monument to mayor Casanova.

While the fortress of Montjuïc was respected as a key component of the area’s naval defense against outside attack, the Ciutadella, which was built after 1714, set its sights inland rather than out to sea. The Ciutadella was a five-pointed star fortress with bastions designed by Flemish military engineer Prosper Marquis of Verboom (1665-1744). It was, after all, in this concluded War of Spanish Succession that the Spanish Netherlands, Naples and other Italian territories left Spanish control. The bastion was the best design for visibility and maximum surveillance available at the time (fig. 2.3).⁵² It was a visible, hated symbol of centralized governance from the absolutist French crown of Madrid. In the century that followed, Charles III (1759-1788) son of Philip V, brought some principles of enlightened despotism into Spain, which included creating a sense of a unified Spanish nation under a national flag rather than the white Bourbon monarchical flag that had also used by the French, the military march that would later become the national anthem,⁵³ and a single language: Castilian Spanish. These changes, which may have been good for national unity, resulted in further repression of Catalans and other linguistic minorities. The Ciutadella came to house dissenters and political prisoners in the eighteenth century but fell out of use during the more liberal decades of the nineteenth century,

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when the monarchy’s ability to maintain absolutist control waned, and the Romantic Renaixença movement revived the use of the Catalan language after Napoleon.

By the 1840s, the Generalitat openly discussed demolishing the fort. Madrid abandoned and attempted to preserve it alternately, only allowing smaller peripheral buildings to crumble under lack of repair. Madrid, which had begun tending toward bureaucratic rather than militaristic control over Catalunya, took its time with Barcelona’s repeated appeals to demolish the old city walls and Ciutadella, projects that likely cost more than Madrid cared to spend. The multi-leveled terraces designed to resist heavy artillery and cannon fire stepped up and away from the sea, taking up land that could have been used to greatly expand the shipping capacity of the overcrowded old port. This last argument, the commercial one, was compelling because of Barcelona’s successful industrialization, which was nevertheless slowed by the city’s old infrastructure. A brief respite came during a liberal outburst in 1848 as General Baldomero Espartero (1793-1879) ordered the firing of artillery at the fort from Montjuïc, and again in 1869 during the period of the First Spanish Republic that followed the Glorious Revolution of 1868, when Prime Minister General Prim i Prats turned the citutadella over to the local authorities, who finished demolishing all but a few buildings that were then repurposed. It appeared that Spain was easing its control over Catalunya, and indeed, militarized state control throughout the Spanish peninsula and empire was not as it was in the previous century. However, as this liberal trend continued, Barcelona came under more bureaucratic control, particularly during the planning and construction of its extensive urban reform, which greatly enlarged the urban center between the 1860s and 1910s.

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54 Hughes, Barcelona, 355.
2.7 Reclaiming Time and Space: Barcelona’s Urban Reform

In the 1840s, around the same time urban sanitary reform gained attention in London, officials in Barcelona pled with ministers in Madrid to allow them to pull down the old walls that hemmed in the cramped city. This trend toward opening cities, which historian of Germany Yair Mintzker refers to as “defortification,” ended centuries of definitive separation of European cities from their surrounding countryside. The process of crossing a moat or the walls of a raised bastion in order to show a passport at the gate and pay a fee to gain entry to a city is something decidedly not modern.56 The cities that do retain their walls to date do so for historic or touristic, rather than practical reasons. Many such surviving city walls in Spain were of Roman or Visigothic origin. Toledo’s partial walls and Avila’s complete set of walls are noted examples of the type of urban fortifications that pre-dated cannon and other heavy artillery, with tall curtain walls and rounded observation towers rather than the pointed ones later built to defend against gunners. The newest walls in Barcelona were from the era of cannon, but they replaced or enclosed much older walls, devoting a large footprint of land that could have been used for other purposes, to defense. Fragments of walls reportedly dating back to Roman times are still contained within basements and interior courtyards of buildings in the Ciutat Vella, indicating previous points of urban expansion. However, historic preservation of city walls, particularly those from the seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries, was not a concern for Barcelona’s nineteenth-century leadership, who were desperate to open the city. The decision to tear down city walls for various reasons was common across Europe, but it was by no means evident or given.57 Maps and plans of the city during these stages of construction and demolition survive,

57 Mintzker, 4.
and they, as well as the expansion plans themselves, combined with treatises written about urbanization, offer much insight into the decisions that were made as to the modernization of Barcelona, whether in terms of practical concerns or problems connected with memory. This presence of the Ciutadella inside the crowded city walls was another source of tension between the two cities, as Madrid’s perceived indifference to Barcelona’s concerns meant the walls stayed up, leading to increasingly difficult conditions inside the city while hindering economic and urban development.

The land outside the walls was not a blank slate. From an engineering standpoint, far more was involved in this project that just removing the walls. Where the new urban expansion was to be built held not only defensive walls, but also aqueduct systems bringing fresh water into the urban center and sloped earthen ramparts built for defense. This area also included towns that would need to be integrated into the new expanded city, at which point they would become neighborhoods. The gates themselves were distinctive architectural features which vanished, but some are remembered. The most notable is the bastion and gate Portal de l’Àngel, which was the northernmost point of entry, allowing traffic into the city from the town of Gracia to the north and Clot to the northeast. The site of the former gate is located south of the present-day Plaça Catalunya, and the broad pedestrian avenue that extends south from the site toward the sea is now the Avignuda Portal de l’Àngel. Like other streets that connected to the old gates, it emerges onto an irregularly shaped open space where the bastion once stood, connecting with angled streets that follow the paths of the old walls.58 However, only the name survives, indicating that

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58 Cos d’Enginyers Militars de l’Exèrcit Francès, *Place de Barcelona 1823-1827*, 1:1,000 (Barcelona, 1827), Service Historique de la Défense, Institut Cartogràfic i Geològic de Catalunya. During the 1823-1827 occupation of Barcelona by French absolutist forces known as the Hundred Thousand Children of Saint Louis, new French cartographic techniques were used to map the city to scale more accurately than had been possible before. A recent collaboration between French and Catalan historical societies lays the 1820s-era French map over recent maps and photos of the city, a helpful resource for situating where military defenses once stood in relation to present-day Barcelona.
the desire to end the nuisance traffic for commercial interests and residents was of greater importance than efforts to preserve the source of resentment.

Barcelona had expanded numerous times from its first iteration of walled town in Roman days, with additions and fortifications added to defensive walls enclosing the settlement in the tenth, thirteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The seventeenth-century walls, built to withstand early modern artillery and cannon fire, were especially formidable, measuring as much as three meters in width in some areas. In other areas, multiple layers of walls were retained rather than allowing the city to expand to the outermost wall’s limits, so that the spaces between them, some the size of city blocks, were unusable. These later walls prevented the city from expanding outward, making rising population density and corresponding sanitary crises even worse. In 1840, physician and Professor Pere Felip Monlau (1808-1871) presented his findings to the Ajuntament, arguing vigorously for demolition of the walls on account of the city’s high density, for reasons of hygiene and sanitation. Monlau revealed that “where there should only be four or five [inhabitants], there are ten.”

This increased urbanization was due in large part to the city’s successful industrialization of the textile industry. In the 1840s, Barcelona’s density of 856 persons per hectare more than doubled that of Paris, and life expectancy had dropped to twenty-three for the working class. Catalan Civil engineer Ildefons Cerdà became concerned about the declining health and quality of life experienced by the wealthy and the working poor in the city, and began to devise plans to alleviate the overcrowded city center through the process of planned “urbanization,” a field of study he is credited with

60 Eloi Babiano i Sánchez, Antoni Rovira i Trias, Arquitecte de Barcelona, Viena Edicions (Barcelona: Editorial Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2007), 48–49.
pioneering and naming. Cerdà’s ideas presented a dramatic departure from the way cities had generally developed, in terms of the methods of expansion. Previously, cities tended to either expand geographically at will, or if contained by geographic barriers or defensive walls like Barcelona, they would increase in density. With city walls in place, increased density was the only solution to increases in population in Barcelona, as housing for all classes, schools, factories, and markets all jammed themselves in at random, while serving ever larger numbers. With the exception of early modern experiments including Torino and Catania in present-day Italy, urban development was generally carried out on an ad-hoc basis, and cities developed more or less organically, without master plans. Increased industrialization and population made it impractical and disruptive to lay the infrastructure required of modern cities in areas that were already densely populated. Without interconnectivity of utilities, communications, inhabitants, and fresh air, Barcelona could be left behind the rest of Europe. This was the primary problem architects and engineers like Cerdà attempted to address.

While the proximate cause of the problem was industrialization and the urban overcrowding it caused, possible solutions reveal attitudes toward urban modernization, and judgements about what was best, from social and public health perspectives. It is easy to assume that since engineers attacked this problem with enthusiasm, they were necessarily approving of the speed and scale of urbanization, but this assumption would be wrong. Certain key features of the proposed plans, including renovation and expansion of old parts of town and public green spaces, in particular, revealed interest in restoring some aspects of a pre-modern past, when pastoral life brought health, and civic duties encouraged local governance. In the face of inevitable industrialization and increased movement of population from the countryside to the

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62 Bausells.
urban centers, whatever could be done to preserve the old way of life, even in small or symbolic measures, was worth pursuing. Proposed plans included courtyard gardens, parks filled with green space, and of course upgrades to sanitation that would allow residents to enjoy fresh air once again.

The goal of engineers and architects who were intent on planning the urban expansion of Barcelona was to preserve as much of the healthful pre-industrial past as possible, rather than willingly embracing the future. The fact that urban planning was undertaken at all, rather than simply allowing the development to occur in a state of benign neglect, implies some willful control, some agency about shaping the future. However, this should not be interpreted as approval on the part of the town council and other planners, about what the future would hold. Attempts to expand Barcelona were necessary in order to improve quality of life, an essence expressed in the working-class life expectancy of twenty-three. If these improvements could halt or even reverse the harmful effects of modern industrialization and urbanization, then that pursuit held value for what it could do to arrest this seemingly harmful process. Still, this was not a clear attempt to revert to an entirely idealized past. After all, the pre-modern lack of urban planning had allowed haphazard urbanization to occur for centuries, leading to the troubles faced in the last half of the nineteenth century. The concern here is with time, chiefly the speed at which its passage was perceived. These attempts at modernization can be seen as aimed at curtailing the effect of the accelerating passage of time,63 whether ultimately slowing that pace or reversing the trend. This focus on time is connected to the process of memory, whether deciding what to commemorate and remember and what to forget.64 Initially, the expansion project focused on largely practical concerns centered on improving the sanitary and other functionality of the city.

64 Matsuda, *The Memory of the Modern*, 5.
and the quality of life of its residents, rather than architectural style or character. When these aesthetic concerns were addressed later in the process, decisions were made in terms of whether city blocks should blend with the old gothic style or look new and modern. Yet, even the new and modern city blocks reinterpreted and reflected memory of the Catalan past in their varied styles.

2.8 Urban Plans: Barcelona’s That were Not

While the problem was local and regional, Barcelona’s expansion and commercial success was of financial concern to Madrid, as well. In 1844, as news arrived that Barcelona’s old city walls would indeed come down, the Ajuntament, the town council, held a competition to select a plan for urban renewal, but Cerdà’s entry was not the winner. The plan by city native Antoni Rovira i Trias (1816-1889) won the favor of the council. Rovira had promoted the demolition of the city walls in the interest of sanitation and health, as well as the removal of the old Ciutadella.65 He was respected by the council for his work on other municipal projects including markets by the sea at Barceloneta and in the old neighborhood of El Born. Rovira’s design consists of a series of radiating streets, connecting the new expansion district to the old center at its core. The city would appear to evolve from old to new through a gradually expanding design, without attempting to grow the city’s footprint too quickly.66 The plan integrated the old city into the new and was popular. The announcement that the competition would be ending early attracted attention, as did news that Cerdà’s plan, the one favored by Madrid, would guide the urban expansion project. This move by Madrid to override local autonomy represents just one example of the kinds of administrative decisions that regularly...

65 Babiano i Sànchez, Rovira i Trias, Arquitecte, 52.
irritated Catalans at the time, and form part of the emotionally-laden collective memory in support of self-determination and even separatism. Books were still being published as recently as 2007 detailing the decision-making process and Madrid’s role, with nostalgic analysis and criticisms of Rovira’s plan, entertaining notions made possible by the many “what if” and “if only” scenarios that the outcome allowed.67 Another plan won a contest held in 1905, designed to break from the orthogonal street design of the Eixample. French architect Leon Jaussely (1875-1932) aimed to combine the diagonal cross streets of the Cerdà plan with Rovira’s notions of how the bourgeoisie wished to order space, that is, with boundaries delineating public spaces and decorative elements ornamenting these spatial markers.68 This was known as the General Plan for the Connections Project, and it and the Rovira plan both disagreed with Cerdà’s notions of egalitarian circulation and the modern conceptualization he held about the time it would take to traverse a particular space, as evidenced in motion studies he would undertake in 1867, implementing modern methods to solve modern urban problems. The Cerdà Plan has been studied and is respected as a pioneering work in the science of urbanization, before the field received recognition. During the nineteenth century, Madrid’s role in the process opening the city and planning its expansion was a source of tensions for officials in Barcelona, whose plans did not agree with those of the capital, but were nonetheless overridden.

2.9 Cerdà Plan for Urbanization

Barcelona was one of several prominent European cities that underwent urban reform in the late nineteenth century. In the case of Paris, Georges Haussmann (1838-1891) had led an


68 Resina, Barcelona’s Vocation of Modernity, 66–67.
urban redesign project that concerned itself not just with sanitary infrastructure and the removal of cluttered medieval neighborhoods but with social control and grand avenues that would facilitate military mobilization and discourage the building of barricades by republicans and others opposed to the rule of Napoleon III. Aspects of this project would change with defeat at the hands of the Germans, and republicanism and the Paris commune would seek to revise some of the changes ordered by the emperor. These construction projects are moments of accelerated activity that allow for the shaping of memory according to the identity of the group doing the tearing down of old commemorative monuments and the building of new ones.69 The construction of the Ringstrasse in Vienna had also presented an example of what city planning could do to improve the mobility of the military and the lives of residents, at least the wealthy ones who could afford the new apartments and trips to the opera.70 The Ringstrasse itself is located on lands that previously held Vienna’s old city walls, but instead of attempting to integrate the new expansion with the center, the grand avenue separated the two areas into urban and suburban zones, further inconveniencing and marginalizing the lower class.71 Cerdà attempted to do something different by planning urban expansion that would change the quality of life for all social classes residing in the city, not just the political and economic elites. He used scientific techniques to alleviate anxieties caused by living modern life in an old city, but he did so in ways that looked back to a pre-industrial pastoral ideal.

In his 1867 treatise, Cerdà expressed a concern for the inefficiency of movement and the cramped conditions experienced in Barcelona not just by the wealthy, but also by the working classes, groups whose needs were often not addressed in other city plans. This seemed a simple

71 Schorske, 32–33.
engineering case study of efficiency, like the later time and motion studies of Frederick Winslow Taylor (1856-1915), Frank Gilbreth (1868-1924), and Lillian Gilbreth (1878-1972) or even English economist Charles Babbage (1791-1871). But Cerdà undertook field research, finding more than just slow passage. He described himself as disoriented after alighting from a steam ship at the port of Barcelona, where he observed people of all social designations struggling to make their way down halls and through narrow doorways, a simple problem of transport that he saw as fundamental to the progress of humanity caught between the new modern age and what came before.

The result of this struggle, I told myself, is not in doubt. The new epoch with its new elements, whose use and predominance are extended every day with new applications, will eventually bring us a new civilization, vigorous and fruitful, which will come to radically transform mankind's way of being and functioning, the industrial order, as well as economic, political, and social order, and which will eventually dominate the entire world. … After a brief glimpse of these great centers of population, which grow like organisms, the product of other almost passive civilizations, had to confront difficulties and obstacles and obstructions to the new host who requires and demands greater space, greater freedom for the sprawling manifestation of the unusual movement and feverish activity that distinguishes him, obstacles and setbacks that he could not suffer, which he will destroy rather than condemn himself to a sluggishness incompatible with its essential and constituent elements.

72 Kern, The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918. Kern discusses these time and motion studies by Taylor and the Gilbreths in great detail. The concept of time and its perception is central to his work and influenced my own interpretation of Cerdà’s writings.

73 Ildefons Cerdà, “Teoría General de la Urbanización, y Aplicación de sus Principios y Doctrinas a la Reforma y Ensanche de Barcelona” (Imprenta Española, Madrid, 1867), 7-8. “El resultado de esta lucha, decía para mí, no puede ser dudoso. La nueva época con sus elementos nuevos, cuyo uso y predominio se estiende todos los días con nuevas aplicaciones, acabará por traernos una civilización nueva, vigorosa y fecunda, que vendrá á transformar radicalmente la trianeta de ser y de funcionar la humanidad, así en el orden industrial, como en el económico, tanto en el político, como en el social, y que acabará por enseñorearse del orbe entero… después de echar una rápida ojeada sobre esos grandes centros de población que, estos por su organismo, producto de otras civilizaciones casi meramente pasivas, han de oponer dificultades y obstáculos y enorpecimientos al nuevo huésped que requiere y exige mayor espacio, mayor holgura, mayor libertad para la manifestación expansiva del inusitado movimiento y febril actividad que le distingue, obstáculos y estorbos que no podrá sufrir, que destruirá antes que condenarse á un quietismo incompatible con sus elementos constitutivos y esenciales.”
Cerdà saw the residents of Barcelona, who he characterized as bursting with energy to live vigorously, caught between the old and the modern, held back by the physical constraints of their surrounding city. He described their plight in emotional terms, emphasizing the lack of freedom and the value of their efforts, as well as the inevitability of the process that would eventually invade all corners of the world. A rapid steam boat journey was confusing to people who alighted to surroundings that trapped them, seeming to slow down time, even as their movements and motions grew more rapid. The old, however beloved and dear, necessarily had to make way for the new accelerated “feverish activity” of the modern.

Of course, there were practical concerns as well, aimed at reversing dire effects on public health and life expectancy. Only after the Great Stink of 1858 in London when the aroma of the Thames overwhelmed the houses of Parliament did London begrudgingly direct engineering efforts toward health and sanitary reform. Population density and disease had gone hand in hand for centuries, but during the nineteenth century, the rampant advance of diseases such as cholera and typhoid in cities like London concerned officials and civil engineers like Cerdà, who saw the crowded living conditions and impractical limited access to markets and workplaces as a serious problem that could no longer be overlooked.

2.10 The Emerging Science of Urban Planning

Since Cerdà had been undertaking field research that would inform his plan for the orderly expansion of the city, once the urban population inevitably spilled over the foundations of the old city walls, he wished that they would do so in an organized, practical way. His plan was forward thinking, considering not just present but future needs in the fields of transportation, utilities like gas for lighting, storm water runoff, and as yet unimagined technologies that would need to branch out across the city like a network. He used the modern terms red or network and
sistemas or systems, to describe the connections between regional, urban, and surrounding areas. But Cerdà also invoked nostalgia for a simpler, healthier, pastoral past. He compared these networks and systems, in their modern urban function, to the interconnectivity of agricultural lots and irrigation and drainage channels branching out to serve farm lands. Different entities connected by the various systems, whether storm water, sewage, or fresh running water, would each bring their own requirements in terms of infrastructure, and the resulting built environment would have a profound social effect upon residents, something Cerdà understood.

In a dramatic departure from the narrow winding streets of the medieval Ciutat Vella or old town, Cerdà’s plan arranged the city expansion along a grid with diagonal streets creating intersecting points where public parks and plazas would be located (fig. 2.4)\textsuperscript{74} The original 1859 plans called for more public green space, more private gardens, and lower building heights than what was actually built. The city was to keep from becoming too modern, too artificial for its residents who needed sunshine and green spaces. Deviations became necessary in cases where population density grew unexpectedly, or business interests won out over public well-being.

Beginning in 1849, Cerdà’s field research allowed him to conduct statistical analysis of populations and utilization, studying how people moved, what businesses required, how carriages and other transport functioned, ultimately even calculating how much air an individual would require for breathing. He measured distances in his plans, ensuring housing was located within practical reach of hospitals, markets, and schools for increased accessibility by all. Cerdà was concerned for public health and enjoyment of life, believing that people deserved better, and

\textsuperscript{74} Ildefons Cerdà, \textit{Plano de Los Alrededores de La Ciudad de Barcelona y Proyecto de Su Reforma y Ensanche}, 1861, Cartographic plan, Institut Cartogràfic i Geològic de Catalunya.
that they would feel better and live better in a more pleasant space. His utopian socialist ideology contributed to this notion of equal access to healthful air, light, and public works, but he backed these ideas up with his field work studies. His efforts were in keeping with Haussmann’s concepts of circulatory and respiratory functions of the city, but they went beyond thanks to his studies, analyzing how spaces were actually used, and how people struggled to go about their everyday business with their efficiency and time perception hampered. He referred to his data collection studies as “science.” This was data that went beyond the standard topographical surveys undertaken at the time. His comprehensive view of the use cases of the built environment contributed to the up and coming science of city planning, something Cerdà acknowledged. He explained in his 1867 manifesto why Spanish philologists should add this new word, urbanización, to the language.

Under this concept, urbanization is a collection of knowledge, principles, doctrines and rules, focused on teaching how all groupings of buildings should be ordered, with the aim of responding to its goal, which is ultimately for its inhabitants to be able to live comfortably and lend their reciprocal services, contributing in this manner to the general welfare.

Cerdà also influenced the planned expansion of Madrid, but ultimately the Castro plan, proposed by Carlos Maria de Castro (1810-1853) was implemented by royal decree on April 8, 1857. Madrid’s transformation was not as dramatic since the city was not as old as Barcelona, and

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76 Ildefons Cerdà, “Teoría General de la Urbanización, y Aplicación de sus Principios y Doctrinas a la Reforma y Ensanche de Barcelona” (Imprenta Española, Madrid, 1867), 8-9. In his General Theory of Urbanization, “science” is mentioned repeatedly, so I include the first reference from the introduction.


78 Cerdà, “Teoría General de la Urbanización,” Introducción, 31. “Bajo este concepto, la urbanizacion es un conjunto de conocimientos, principios, doctrinas y reglas, encaminados á enseñar de que manera debe estar ordenado todo agrupamiento de edificios, á fin de que responda á su objeto, que se reduce á que sus moradores puedan vivir cómodamente y puedan prestarse recíprocos servicios, contribuyendo así al comun bienestar.”
older neighborhoods had wider streets with fewer cases of houses extending over roadways, blocking sunlight and airflow. Still, the city quadrupled in size. What were once unpaved highways leading to the edge of town were continued as the Calle de Alcalá and Calle de Hortaleza, streets that led directly into the center of the city to the Puerta del Sol.79 The Puerta del Sol was once a gate that made up part of the city’s walls, as was the Puerta de Alcalá, which was marked by a surviving eighteenth-century triumphal arch. At Sol, kilometer zero marks the origin point for the city and national highways, a site that is today indicated by a plaque that was affixed in the mid twentieth century. Traffic circulates radially from this central hub, taking the emotional focus of the city away from the Hapsburg Plaza Mayor, site of auto de fe and executions by garroting, and moving it within the modern consumerist hub of Sol. The plan is strikingly like the Rovira plan for Barcelona, the expansion plan most favored by the town council, but overridden in favor of the Cerdà plan by the central administration from Madrid. Unlike Barcelona’s Cerdà Plan, which aimed to integrate older surrounding neighborhoods into the Eixample, connecting rather than bisecting them with its three diagonal avenues, Madrid pulled down modest residential districts in order to bring the major avenues of Gran Via and Alcalá into the very center of the city. The original expansion plan did not include the connection of Gran Via with Alcalá, prompting more demolition later on. Still, these areas are now the site of iconic buildings that lend distinctive personality to the center of Madrid, a personality that was defined during this time of introspection and struggle around 1898.

In Barcelona, the ruta del modernisme highlights some of the most colorful and distinctive architecture of the city, including the section termed the Block of Discord on Passeig de Gracia, the wealthiest part of the Eixample. This was not always the case from the time of

79 Cerdà, 559.
expansion. The buildings as they sit today are not the same as those built under the original Cerdà Plan, which called for regularly-spaced windows, standardized façade designs, and consistent roofline elevations. Passeig de Gracia had connected the old walled city center with Gracia, which had been a separate town from Barcelona, before the expansion plan integrated it as a neighborhood. By the 1890s, houses built under the Cerdà plan on Passeig de Gracia were purchased and renovated by wealthy bourgeois families who hired architects to implement designs that broke radically with the Cerdà guidelines. The most famous renovated houses of the Block of Discord include the Casa Batlló (1904) of Antoni Gaudí (1852-1926), Casa Amatller (1898) by Joseph Puig i Cadafalch (1867-1956), and Casa Leò Morrera (1905) by Lluís Domènech i Montaner (1850-1923). It is this bourgeois architectural heritage that redeems the Eixample from the monotony of its egalitarian and rigid order, which varies substantially from the old city center. The formerly walled-in Ciutat Vella, with its old neighborhoods of El Raval, La Ribera, El Born, and El Barri Gotic, for all their spontaneity, still contain the administrative, political, and historical heart of the city. Had Cerdà’s plans for greater green space and open gardens been carried out, varying the appearance of facades and structures, perhaps the repetitive effect of the blocks could have been minimized. Cerdà’s careful southwest orientation of apartment flats to ensure they would receive adequate hours of sunlight and other thoughtful gestures were enjoyed by residents of diverse economic means, not just the bourgeois families who built grand homes in the new part of town, but these came at the expense of the vast onslaught of block after chamfered-edge block.

2.11 Parc de la Ciutadella: Monuments and Modernity

In the 1870s, where the old citadel had once stood, between the old city and the new Eixample, a major construction project led to the creation of the Parc de la Ciutadella, which
later became the setting for most of the exhibition halls for the 1888 Universal Exposition. Its legacy remains, at least in part, into the present, with features and monuments added to replace the fair’s temporary structures, and to commemorate specific persons or events. The park includes the fittingly-named monumental fountain, a tropical lake with rowboats, open fields suited for picnics, a grand promenade flanked by iron electrified street lights, botanical hothouses, and monuments. The entire park is a site of memory, not only for the 1888 fair, but for the citadel that predated it following the War of Spanish Succession ending in 1714. With the old fort gone, the Parc de la Ciutadella offered an empty space, presenting an opportunity to make decisions as to what parts of the past it would help the city and its visitors remember, and what would be forgotten. The park and its monuments articulate liberal, bourgeois, and Catalan nationalist values from the 1870s and 1880s when it was built, both through the monuments present, and the structures that are absent.

Before the park could be built, the old absolutist fort had to go. The Glorious Revolution of 1868 led to the exile of Isabel II to Paris and replaced the monarchy with a short-lived republican government, interrupting Bourbon rule by six years. This period of liberalism, remembered as the Sexenio Liberal, had an impact upon the political imagination that greatly exceeded the longevity of the First Spanish Republic itself. Additionally, it showed how the army had further decoupled itself from the monarchy in the decades following the mutiny of Rafael del Riego. In 1868, the army issued a pronunciamiento and declared its loyalty to General Joan Prim i Prats of Reus, who promptly made a gesture toward Barcelona. The following year, in 1869, the Ajuntament of Barcelona was legally given control over the Ciutadella, and the walls were pulled down. The collapse of the Torre de Sant Joan was documented in illustrated

80 Carr, Spain.
newspapers of the day, with images showing delighted crowds that gathered to watch the military prison come down. By 1871, a contest was announced by the Ajuntament, seeking a plan for redevelopment of the area as a public park. The winner of this competition was Josep Fontserè, and his designs for the park tend to be overshadowed by the fair, even though the park stood for over a decade before construction began for the fair. Park construction required adjustments to the Cerdà plan, in part because the park design made no effort to follow the footprint of the old fort in any way. Fontserè’s work with municipal architect Miquel Garriga i Roca show these designers were greatly concerned with integrating the Ciutat Vella, the old town, with the Cerdà expansion, and the neighborhood market and surrounds of El Born, which were caught geographically between old and new.\textsuperscript{81} Significant portions of this area, including street frontage near the Via Laietana and Portal de l’Àngel were actually rebuilt during this period, but in a neogothic style. These streets were wider and less crowded, but the building elevations were in keeping with the aesthetic of the Ciutat Vella, rather than the Eixample.

Within the park, sculptural projects were planned to commemorate notable historical figures. These monuments represent a series of calculated decisions made in the 1870s and 1880s that included the choice of designer awarded the project, the aesthetics involved, the physical location of the object, the materials used, funding, and how the structure would likely be viewed or received and by whom. The thinking behind these acts of creation or destruction reflect the time in which these projects were undertaken, perhaps even more than the time in which the honoree lived. Two key monuments were created in time for the 1888 Expo. One was located inside the park on the fairgrounds proper, the other in the adjacent waterfront, near the naval warfare and maritime exhibits. One was a locally born and recently deceased political figure

\textsuperscript{81} Jordi Boladeras et al., \textit{L’Exposició Universal del 1888: la modernització de Barcelona} (Barcelona: Graó, 1990), 34.
generally known only to Spaniards, and chiefly Catalans, at that. The other was Columbus, a man whose long memory was linked to Spanish colonial struggle in the nineteenth century, but who held a different significance within Catalunya in 1888.

2.12 1868: Prim i Prats and the Glorious Revolution

Visitors entering the park of the Ciutadella by its southeast entrance are greeted by a bronze equestrian statue on a decorated pedestal honoring General Joan Prim i Prats of Reus (fig. 2.5). Prim was a military figure who was caught up in the political machinations and mass radicalization that marked the late nineteenth century age of assassinations, both in Europe, and globally. This monument to Prim was completed in 1887 by sculptor Lluís Puiggener i Fernández (1851-1918) in time for the Universal Exposition. Despite the politically contentious end to Prim’s life in 1870 at the hands of assassins and conspirators who were never identified, Puiggener made a safe choice for a monument in the fair’s grounds by 1888. Prim was a local Catalan, hailing from the nearby town of Reus, home of the emerging Gaudi and site of much of Domènech’s work, distinguishing it as the region’s second city of modernisme. He was a liberal. On one side of the statue’s base, a bronze bas-relief plaque commemorates his retreat from Mexico. This was a kind of safe liberalism overseas, one that did not threaten the social order of the bourgeois elite of the city or its mayor at the time, Francesc Rius i Taulet (1833-1889), who supported constitutional monarchy. On the opposite side of the monument’s base, a similar bas-relief bronze celebrates Prim as the military hero of the 1859 war for Spanish control of Moroccan possessions in the battle of the Castillejos, gaining him the honorary title of Marqués de los Castillejos. This representation of Prim as defender and protector of the Spanish empire was in line with the positions of the fair’s visiting monarchs, as was his ultimate support of the restoration. Possessions in northern Africa, and the desire to retain them, took on a desperate
character after 1898. The Setmana Tràgica agitation in 1908 was due, in part, to Madrid’s reinstatement of conscription, by which troops drawn largely from the working class embarked from Barcelona for Morocco much as they did for Cuba twenty years earlier, to face another potential colonial loss.\textsuperscript{82} But in 1887, when the statue was completed, the city was at the height of civic pride, and Prim’s Moroccan victory lacked controversy. Instead, it was a military success worthy of dedicating an ornamental triumphalist equestrian bronze. The key event of 1868 was its revolution, \textit{la gloria}, as it was called. When the army made its \textit{pronunciamiento}, it rescinded its loyalty to Isabel II and declared its support for Prim. He found himself atop the unsteady Spanish government, leading the \textit{progresistas}, moderate liberal constitutionalists aiming to end corruption and expand civil liberties.\textsuperscript{83} He was popular among much of the local Barcelonés for his role in securing Madrid’s approval for the demolition of the Ciutadella, and while this certainly had some sway in the decision to dedicate such a prominent statue to the man on the site of the old fortress, his reputation highlights the tensions that remained between the different political factions and regional cultures in Spain in the fin-de-siècle. Prim was a champion of liberal governance, but he was not a radical, and this position became clearer as more radical political figures gained prominence among the mass public, which was made up of the working class, namely fellow Catalan Francisco Pi i Margall (1824-1901). Pi was born into a working-class family, had been active in the Renaixença as a political philosopher and literary critic, and was involved in rebellious activity well before 1868. Pi was aligned with the \textit{demócratas}, and he agitated against Prim and the \textit{progresistas}, anticipating they were too


Pi served as president of the republic for little over a month and became a source of inspiration for the radical working class of Barcelona. Perhaps his most significant legacy was both political and literary, since he translated the works of the father of anarchism, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865) from French into Spanish.

Pi’s prediction turned out to be correct. In fact, Prim did become involved in the restoration of the Spanish monarchy, which made him a persona non grata among radical and liberal factions, culminating in his assassination while serving as president of the government after the revolution. Despite his military success in Morocco, as commander of Spanish expeditionary forces, he angered the British and the French military for sympathizing with Benito Juarez and Mexican liberals and ordering a retreat. It seemed he was too liberal for his political surroundings in his youth, and too conservative toward the end of his life. He was one of many political elites who attempted to secure a replacement for Isabel II, who despite her long reign had not entirely quieted the violence between liberal constitutionalists and absolute monarchists like the Carlists. The differences were difficult to reconcile. The endurance of Carlism indicates that monarchs, or branches of their dynasties, were recipients of loyalty and identity that were not granted to the state. Loyalty, not ethnic Patria or constitutionalism, marked this identity. To avoid appeasing, and alternatively angering, either the constitutional monarchists or the Carlists, someone outside of the immediate royal family would need to rule. Prim had a hand in the election of Italian Amadeo I of Savoy to reign as a constitutional monarch over Spain on November 6, 1870. This restoration of the monarchy was unpopular, and not just among republicans. Basques remained in support of the Carlists, who were deeply Catholic.

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84 Esdaile, 123–24.
85 Alvarez Junco, Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations, 42–43.
absolutists, and continued to promise restoration and protection of the fueros, or local legal traditions and structures, which were also present in Catalunya. Others favored Maria Luisa, sister to Isabel II. A few liberal Catalans, like architect Domènech i Montaner, saw the failure of the republic to centralize a strong unitary state as a relief, even going so far as to consider it a promising sign that they might be able to more successfully pursue autonomous regionalist models, possibly even separatist or independentista agendas. Finally, war in Cuba and unpopular policies of military conscription allowed for further mass agitation. In 1870, the same year as the restoration, Prim was shot at close range on December 28 in an assassination attempt. He survived the shooting and subsequent surgery, but was later found dead in his hospital bed. Theories as to his suspicious death implicated various political camps. After surviving increasingly harrowing assassination attempts, Amadeo abdicated and the brief First Spanish Republic was declared in February of 1873. The later restoration of the monarchy after the failure of this republic may have softened resentment against Prim for his role in bringing Amadeo to power. Ultimately, the monument and the honor it conferred made sense given Prim’s role in the demolition of the hated Ciutadella, despite his tenancies to anger a variety of political factions. The monument stood throughout the 1888 fair and the decades that followed unmolested until the twentieth century, when political radicalism took aim at Prim’s memory. The currently installed bronze components are replacements done by Frederic Marés i Deulovol (1893-1991), commissioned after the Spanish Civil War and installed in 1946. While the marble pedestal remained throughout, the original bronze equestrian figure and bas-relief plaques were commandeered early in the war, in 1936, by a youth division of the FAI, who were anarcho-syndicalists. They openly claimed responsibility. The decisions made to erect the monument,

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86 Esdaile, Spain in the Liberal Age, 128.
later deface it, and eventually restore it reflect the complexity of Prim’s memory. Each time a change was made to the monument, a drastically different regime was revisiting Prim’s memory and renegotiating what liberal governance, the monarchy, the role of the military, and democratic representation meant to them at the time. These issues were deeply felt by Restoration, Second Spanish Republic, and Francoist societies, and to varying degrees, they remain the subject of debate at present, under the constitutional monarchy of 1978.

2.13 Memory of Columbus: Barcelona

For an event so focused on celebrating Catalan pride and medieval Aragon as counter-narratives to Castilian Spanish supremacy and identity, it seems counterintuitive for the fair to have included a monument honoring Columbus. Urban expansion in the Eixample had produced street names honoring medieval Catalan figures and institutions like Gran Via de les Corts Catalanes (rather than the usual Gran Via de los Reyes Católicos) and Carrer Consell de Cent, or directional names like Paral·lel and Diagonal. The earlier nineteenth-century transverse street made to cut across the old walled city was named Jaume I after Jaume el Conqueridor of Aragon (r.1213-1276), who was a key supporter of the development of the Catalan language, and a military leader with a heavy presence in the Languedoc and Occitan. The monument to Columbus would provide a reference to Castile and the Spanish empire while highlighting his return to Barcelona after his first Atlantic crossing, in 1493. It was built at the southeastern end of Las Ramblas, where the land meets the sea and was easily accessible from the park by the Puente metallico, a metal-framed viaduct that led visitors over the railroad interchange serving nearby Estacio de Francia toward the exhibition halls dedicated to naval warfare and local maritime history. The street that was later developed along with the waterfront boardwalk on land reclaimed from the sea was named Passeig de Colom. The bronze figure stands atop a 130-
foot tall Corinthian cast iron column set upon a decorated octagonal base. An elevator lift carries visitors to the top where a mirador or viewing platform offered panoramic perspectives of the city. The base is adorned with eight lions, groups of stone statues, and four bas-relief bronze scenes.

While the monument honored the empire, the base of the column drew attention to Catalan residents who were connected with Columbus’s travels. These include Fray Bernat de Boïl, an Aragonese priest credited with celebrating the first mass in the Americas, who is shown praying with a kneeling native American, casting the indigenous peoples in a sympathetic light. Another statue honors Captain Pere Margarit, who accompanied Columbus on his second trip and later criticized him for poor governance. Also featured are Lluís de Santángel, finance minister and Jewish convert from Girona who is credited with persuading Isabella I to finance Columbus’s travels, and navigational expert Jaume Ferrer de Blanes of Girona, who conducted mapmaking revisions following Columbus’s expeditions. Figures symbolic of the kingdoms of Spain as they existed during Columbus’s lifespan mark four of the eight sides of the monument base, representing Aragon, Leon, Castile, and Catalunya. However, the decision to include Catalunya among these kingdoms took a liberty, since the region had been governed by the crown of Aragon, appearing on some fifteenth-century maps as the “corona Catalano-Aragonesa.” Finally, the four bas-relief bronze plates at the base of the column show different events associated with the planning and carrying out of the Columbian expeditions. The figure gestures expansively toward the water on the edge of town, pointing southwest with his right hand toward the Balearic Islands and the Mediterranean while holding a map in his left hand.

The Expo committee commissioned the statue from Catalan architect Gaietà Buïgas i Monrovà (1851-1919), who is also known for designing the neo-Mudéjar Balneari Vichy Catalan building, now a hotel in Girona. The hotel features rounded arches constructed of two-toned stone reminiscent of the Great Mosque of Cordoba and other structures of Al-Andalus. Buïgas is also credited with influencing the work of his son Carles, who designed the hydraulic magic fountains of Montjuïc, which were visible from the Columbus column at the time. This monument to Columbus honors the man, but his memory competes for attention with the Catalan figures at the base, which are easier to see despite their less prestigious placement lower on the structure. The monument is not the most emblematic of the fair, since the monument to Prim i Prats was prominently located within the park, as was the beloved Dama del Paraigües (1884) the Lady with the Umbrella, who was crafted in the style of bourgeois dress of the 1880s, rather than the classical drapes preferred for sculpture at the time. Compared to the attention the man’s memory received from planners for the fairs in Madrid and Chicago in 1892 and 1893, his monument in Barcelona is geographically removed from the center of the action. Perhaps more significantly, the presence of sculpted Catalan figures suggests that those planning the fair felt he was important enough for the city to stake its own claims on his past.

2.14 Memory of Columbus: Madrid

In 1892, Madrid hosted its own international exposition in commemoration of the four hundredth anniversary of the Columbian encounters, which it called the Exposición Histórico-Americana. Triumphant language of “discovery” and colonial riches communicated a desire to cling to the idea of empire and American colonies, even as the majority of these had already gained independence. According to their respective catalogs, many of these exhibits from the Madrid fair were then shipped to Chicago to form part of the Spanish pavilion at the 1893
Columbian Exposition, displaying a similar nostalgia for the lost empire, but this time from within its rival, the ascendant United States. Commemorative replicas of the Niña, Pinta, and Santa Maria left from Spain for the Americas in a re-enactment of 1492, and the replica of the Santa Maria was presented to the Department of State as a goodwill gesture. Nevertheless, the United States would intervene in the war of 1898, leading to the “disaster” Madrid’s intellectuals would bemoan, and the aphorism that was often used after failures, large and small, “mas se perdió en Cuba,” more was lost in Cuba. Much has been written on the Columbian Exposition of 1893, which attracted attention within the United States for a host of reasons that had nothing to do with increasingly peripheral Spain. Perhaps if Barcelona had held its fair in 1892, organizers may have chosen to place more visual emphasis on Columbus, and less on the gothic kingdom of Aragon, the Islamic period, or naturalistic Parisian styles. Given what we know about Cerdà, Domènech, and other influential Catalans of the age, this seems unlikely.

The question of Columbus’ role and relevance is indicative of the concerns of this period, when the last of Spain’s empire was clearly breaking away, and the nation would have to find a different way to self-identify now that it was no longer an imperial power. A present-day traveler to Spain may be surprised to note that sixteenth-century monuments referencing 1492 were usually not placed in honor of Columbus. Typically, commemorations of 1492 refer to the Spanish military victory over the Emirate of Granada, which came under Spanish control that year. The most famous and prominent monuments to Columbus date from the late nineteenth century. The large ornate tomb built for Columbus within the enormous Cathedral of Sevilla was


89 Conversely, Cubans tend to say “más se perdió en la guerra,” which means more was lost in the war.
installed in 1899, after the remains were transferred several times, before finally being removed from the lost colonies and sent back to Spain. The statue of Columbus and Isabella I in Granada, the city of her burial beside Ferdinand II in the cathedral, dates to 1892. The monument honoring Columbus in Barcelona (1888) and another in the heart of Madrid’s financial district on Paseo de la Castellana (1893) both date to late nineteenth-century expositions, which celebrated different Spanish pasts and different visions of what modernity and the future would hold. The Columbus column in Barcelona marked the city’s role in this significant historical event, which had enormous implications in 1493. Columbus’s return signaled the end of the era of Catalan and Aragonese commercial naval power in the Mediterranean, as the galley ships gave way to caravels and galleons that traveled the Atlantic world. Rather than dwelling on loss, the Universal Exposition of 1888 in Barcelona presented a modern city to the world, one that, however contentiously, espoused liberal democratic values and was on its way to reclaiming its previous commercial wealth and power, through industrialization.

The later Madrid Exposition of 1892 and the similar (in terms of cataloged specimens) Spanish pavilion at the Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago both commemorated the 400th anniversary of 1492. The 1892 fair’s organizers could have been more positive and chosen to celebrate the deep and lasting influence of Spanish culture and language during those centuries, when it reshaped enormous swaths of the global population in ways that can hardly be understated. Or, they might have chosen to commemorate the consolidation of peninsular Spain and Catholic religious exclusivity with the capitulation of Granada, an Iberian territory still firmly under Spanish control in 1892. And, they might have chosen to emulate Barcelona’s success by emphasizing modern industrial production and the expansion of Madrid, which was still in progress. Any of these positions could have highlighted past strengths for what they were,
but the loss was too fresh. It seemed Madrid could not help but choose to emphasize its insecurity, which relegated Spain to a European periphery during these decades of “new” imperialism and nationalism. Madrid’s commemoration of Columbus turned attention to Spanish influence Ultramar, beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, but this view was limited to a powerful past whose future seemed to lay only in the waning empire. The choices these event planning committees made reveal the values of the wealthy elites in their respective cities, as certain past events were commemorated and other deliberately forgotten. These were conscious decisions made to promote Spanish national cohesion on the part of Madrid, and Catalan nationalism in Barcelona. This was a time of change, when the old empire of the deeply Catholic Philip II lost both its territory and its Catholic identity. Secular republicanism and the political factions surrounding it led to conflicts illustrated in the lives of figures like General Joan Prim i Prats, who was quite liberal in the 1850s in a national context, but not liberal enough in the 1870s in the Catalan setting. The state’s chosen narrative of Columbian Catholic triumphalist Castilian victory was too narrow, and this posed problems as losses in the Atlantic world, secularization with the rise of liberal enlightenment democracy, and regionalism all forced Spaniards to redefine what it meant to be Spanish. The new narratives did not fit the old model. What constituted the patria became an increasingly important question, one that was more difficult to answer in Barcelona as the fair succeeded in promoting Catalan nationalism. The age of international expositions prompted planning committees of political elites and wealthy industrialists who financed these events to make key decisions as to how the host city and country would present itself to the rest of Europe and the world. This cohort of elites was a product of liberal republicanism as well as modern economic change, driven by industrialization and the technology that facilitated it. This group of bourgeois leaders moved within political and
cultural circles, influencing the execution of projects that both recalled and shaped modern Catalan identity. The following chapter on the fair itself examines the efforts of these planning commissions, who aimed to connect aspects of the Catalan past they took pride in with the bold steps the city undertook in order to make itself modern. The 1888 Universal Exposition in Barcelona was a turning point for Spain, and just as the Bourbon dynastic victory, the Napoleonic Wars, or the Glorious Revolution can be considered turning points, so too is the fair and the urbanization project it showcased, for connecting the modern with the old, the future of the city with its medieval past, and things remembered with things forgotten.
Fig. 2.1 Pradilla, Doña Juana la Loca Ante el Sepulcro de du Esposo
Francisco Pradilla y Ortiz, Doña Juana la Loca Ante el Sepulcro de du Esposo, Felipe “El Hermoso.”
From the permanent collection of the Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.
Fig. 2.2 Casas, Garrote Vil
Ramón Casas i Carbó, Garrote Vil. From the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, Madrid.
Fig. 2.3 Moulinier, Plano de Barcelona
Moulinier, Plano de La Ciudad y Puerto de Barcelona. From the Institut Cartogràfic i Geològic de Catalunya.
Fig. 2.4 Cerdà, Plano de Barcelona
Ildefons Cerdà, Plano de Los Alrededores de La Ciudad de Barcelona y Proyecto de Su Reforma y Ensanche. From the Institut Cartogràfic i Geològic de Catalunya.
Fig. 2.5 Prim i Prats
Frederic Marès i Deulovol and Lluís Puiggener i Fernández, Monumento a Prim i Prats, Parc de la Ciutadella, Barcelona. Photo by author.
3 THE 1888 INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION OF BARCELONA: A GATEWAY TO SPANISH MODERNITY

3.1 Barcelona: The Modernized City

On September 18, 1987 newspapers hit newsstands all over Barcelona expressing the city’s exuberant joy for being allowed to showcase itself, and its region of Catalunya, to the world. The announcement the day before signaled a continuing period of introspection, as the organizing committee worked out plans to renew the city following decades of decay under Franco, so that it could present itself in its best light. Starting on New Year’s Day of 1981, Barcelona had made known its intentions to bid for the role of host city for the 1992 Olympic Games. By 1987 the COOB92 nonprofit organizing committee was at work convincing the IOC, the International Olympic Committee, that Barcelona’s urban infrastructure and event venues would make the games a success. While the Olympic stadium would occupy the same site as the 1929 Barcelona International Exposition, on the other side of the Ramblas, an urban development project was planned for an area that sat adjacent to the Parc de la Ciutadella, home of the Exposición Universal Barcelona had hosted in 1888. Talk of reviving the Barceloneta neighborhood became reality in the 1990s, as the Olympic Village was built. Residential streets returned to the area, and a broad boardwalk was added on land reclaimed from the sea, replacing the industrial yards that had emerged there in the middle decades of the twentieth century during the Franco period. The unsightly industrial zone had displaced an earlier set of residences that were built before the Exposition of 1888, which had their surroundings improved in preparation for the fair. This triangular stretch of land on the Mediterranean was a contentious urban space that Barcelona’s residents took back following periods of political and cultural repression. The organizing committees for the 1888 Exposition and the 1992 Olympics remade these areas in a
way that brought satisfaction and pride to their city, making it into an international stage and a source of pride not only for the urban center, but for the Catalan region and the Spanish state, as well.

The International Expositions, the modern Olympic movement, and the values they represented were bound up with the rise of late nineteenth-century European nationalism and the desire to showcase the best national specimens a state could provide, whether industrial, agricultural, or human. The modernization and urban renewal Barcelona carried out for the 1992 Summer Olympic Games came as the city reinvented itself after Franco. A little over a century earlier, ahead of the 1888 Expo, Barcelona also underwent urban expansion and modernization projects it wished to celebrate. Many of these advances were carried out during a brief period of liberalism between 1868 and 1874 that inspired the development of republicanism as well as Catalan regional and even separatist national pride. These are not exact parallels, and the Exposition of 1929 is most often used as a point of comparison to 1992 because of the overlap of venues hosting these two events. The 1888 Exposition is worthy of discussion because of the ambitious urbanization project that was undertaken before its opening. It is also notable because of the cohort of bourgeois elites who planned and carried it out, merging industrial progress and science with the distinctly regional aesthetic and identity of Catalan Modernisme. These leaders were educated, part of the managerial class, and took on political roles that blurred the lines between artistic, academic, commercial, and political matters.

This desire to celebrate and display Barcelona’s urbanization project to the world came after the city had some time to adjust to the change. Initially, the nineteenth-century expansion plan for Barcelona, engineered by progressive Catalan Ildefons Cerdà, drew criticism for its
repetitive use of orthogonal streets and octagonal intersections. L’Eixample, the expansion, was the dull new part of town. Yet this very lack of variation, the absence of distinctive landmarks, and the even pacing of the city’s population distribution was a revelation. In what were relatively socialist tendencies for this bourgeois city, Cerdà planned for all social classes to have access to markets, schools, hospitals, and other necessary facilities, but especially space. All classes had regular distances to travel measured out by the evenly spaced city blocks. Whatever influence Madrid had on the plan, and the early bitterness this decision caused, Barcelona’s residents moved into the new modern part of town, renovating it and making it fashionable. These included fine artist Ramon Casas, who moved out of the Ciutat Vella or old town into the new district and enjoyed riding his bicycle, and later motorcars, around the Eixample. The sameness of the consistent rooflines, the uniformity of the elevations, and the regular spacing of equally-sized windows begged to be disrupted. The wealthy would commission sumptuous buildings for this very purpose, including the ones on Passeig de Gracia at the Block of Discord, and the initially ill-received La Pedrera, the Casa Mila designed by Antoni Gaudí. These iconic structures, and the interior decorative movements they belonged to, are discussed in greater depth in the next chapter. The Cerdà plan is still studied by students at the University of Barcelona and the Autonomous University. The new city embraced its own emerging strain of modernism, known as Catalan Modernisme, its design produced with modern scientific principles and shaped by regional Catalan republican nationalism. As noted in depth in the previous chapter, memory played a significant role in deciding on what would remain and what

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2 Resina, 21.
would be demolished during the urbanization projects of the 1860s and 1870s. Barcelona’s industrial capacity could expand into this new space with greater port capabilities. The detested ciutadella fortress, locus of lost political autonomy to Madrid, and the equally noxious unhealthy city walls were gone. What buildings remained from the complex, an old church, a governor’s residence, and the fortress’s armory, were repurposed to suit the needs of the local administration and population. The armory, a site where Catalan rebels had been executed by Spanish military officials, would later house the Parlament de Catalunya. These structures were all situated within the city’s new green lung, the spacious Parc de la Ciutadella. It was on this site of modern regional renewal that Barcelona welcomed the world in 1888.

This Universal Exposition of 1888 served as a gateway to the future, as the city shook off the remnants of the Bourbon Ancien Régime and embarked upon liberal republican modernity. The modernization of this Spanish city and its industrial commercial successes were cause for celebration, which was precisely the purpose of the 1888 Expo. The primary aims of the fair’s organizers were to showcase the modernized industrialized city, including its scientific, technical, and architectural advances. This display was to inspire pride in Spanish achievement not only abroad, but in an otherwise anxious Spanish public who saw Spain’s place in world affairs growing increasingly peripheral. However, Barcelona inspired a specific flavor of Spanish pride, as regionalist architects drew from medieval pasts that differed from those of Madrid and the Atlantic World, which distinguished the style of Catalan Modernisme from the Parisian and other variants. The style’s legacy would persist in its surviving structures, lending the city its distinctive character for subsequent events like the Exposition of 1929, and the 1992 Olympics. Newspapers, poster artwork and other ephemera provide evidence of these efforts on the part of the city to appear industrialized, urban, and relevant among fellow Europeans. Barcelona
attempted to situate itself among the elite European cities who also hosted such events. This chapter examines how Barcelona’s solidly bourgeois elite won over critics despite construction delays, how publicity efforts were aimed at raising Spanish pride both domestically and abroad, and ways the pavilion designs popularized Catalan Modernisme as a style that would persist beyond 1888. Much exhibit space was allocated within pavilions to applied sciences and medicine, with plans to focus on serious science despite the presence of spectacles and pseudoscientific practitioners who nevertheless drew crowds. The chapter ends with a discussion of architectural legacies and the implications of Catalan Modernisme, which characterized the design of many of the buildings at the 1888 Expo, as a regional and even national style.

3.2 A Showcase of Spanish and Catalan Modernity

The 1888 Universal Exposition in Barcelona allowed the city to display its modernized layout as well as its artistic and industrial achievements, placing it in the company of London, Paris, Vienna, and Philadelphia. The fair also served as a kind of rite of passage for Barcelona into an elite group of industrial capitals, while carrying hopes of keeping Spain in the European sphere during this time when empires were so important to European states, and decidedly lacking for the Spanish. It is appropriate to say the city inserted itself into the European milieu, especially considering the decision-making process involved in selecting host cities for nineteenth-century fairs.

Early fairs were planned in a much less regulated manner than their twentieth-century counterparts, particularly when it came to deciding on the host cities. In 1928, thirty-one countries created the Bureau International des Expositions (BIE) headquartered in Paris, and all subsequent expositions would be awarded at regular intervals to one of its member states.

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The BIE also designates an exposition as agricultural, industrial, or specialized, and the process of bidding, researching, and sending out decision-making committees is not unlike that of the modern Olympic movement that was organized into the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in 1884 at the Sorbonne in Paris by historian Baron Pierre de Coubertin (1863-1927). In fact, several fairs coincided with early Olympic games, including Paris in 1900, St. Louis in 1904, and London in 1908. Given the tremendous costs of construction and infrastructure upgrades involved, combining these two events was practical. This arrangement made use of increased traffic, offering participating nations the opportunity to exhibit their very best specimens, whether industrial, artistic, agricultural, or human. The fairs and Olympic games were a stage for tremendous displays of pride and power during this age of rising nationalism and “new” imperialism.

However, during the late nineteenth century, no such organizing entity existed, and some disorder in terms of the timing of the fairs contributed to the need to centralize the decision-making. Barcelona’s fair, originally scheduled for 1877, was one such case. Political figures from local, regional, and national levels, tended to decide for themselves whether a city would host a fair, and the details of time and place would be arrived at by informal agreement with leaders from other cities, who promised to promote the fair to their constituents. Paris had already embarked on construction for its 1889 fair, which would debut the Eiffel Tower, when Barcelona’s construction plans for autumn of 1887 became seriously delayed. The fair’s opening was rescheduled until April of 1888 and finally May 20, when it became clear its tenure would overlap with the Paris fair if it were delayed any further. These difficulties were attributed in part to the leadership of the fair’s self-appointed promoter, Eugenio Rufino Serrano de Casanova, a Galician Carlist who pitched the idea to prominent businessmen and politicians while in Paris,
proposing the event to the Ajuntament of Barcelona in 1885, less than two years before the proposed opening date of autumn of 1887.\textsuperscript{5} There is some disagreement as to the extent of Casanova’s labors, with some recent scholarship expressing hopes history would remember the man with more kindness, noting his eventual burial in a common grave in Montjuïc. Whatever the reasons, the fair could not have come to pass as planned, privately funded by Casanova, and new leadership took on a significant role in making the fair a reality. The official planning committee, made up of powerful and well-connected local professionals led by the Mayor of Barcelona, Francesc Rius i Taulet, took control from Casanova and embarked on a frenzied campaign with a team of architects, to complete construction.

3.3 Exposition of 1888: Early Criticism and Response

The decision to stage the exposition at the Parc de la Ciutadella seemed logical given that it was a new park in a freshly cleared green space that was laden with meaning for Catalans. Yet this plan did not sit well with a few of the city’s prominent residents. One such early critic was the architect and planner who had been working on the park since the demolition of the old fortress. Josep Fontserè i Mestre (1829-1897) of Barcelona had designed the well-known market adjacent to the park in El Born. Fontserè had proposed plans for other structures within the park and had been closely involved in projects aiming to repurpose buildings that survived the demolition, including a church, a royal governor’s residence, and the old armory that would house the Parlament of Catalunya. He had also drawn up his own plans for the expansion of the city, which did not win the local contest, or favor from Madrid.\textsuperscript{6} Fontserè’s concerns were overlooked as gas lights were installed on the streets leading to the park, and the Avinguda del

\textsuperscript{5} Jordi Boladeras, Pau Farràs, and Jesús Mestre i Campi, \textit{L’Exposició Universal del 1888: la Modernització de Barcelona} (Barcelona Servei d’Ensenyament i Investigació: Graó, 1990), 40–41.

\textsuperscript{6} Josep Fontserè i Mestre, \textit{Mapa de La Ciudad de Barcelona y Proyecto de Ensanche}, 1859, Museu d’Historia de la Ciutat, Barcelona.
Marques de l’Argentera adjacent to the park was the first street in the city to receive electric lights.\(^7\) Other infrastructure projects planned for areas outside of the park itself included a maritime exhibition, requiring a large bridge connecting the southern edge of the park with the port. For the area near the endpoint of this viaduct, at the end of Las Ramblas, a monument to Columbus was discussed with the specific purpose of highlighting his return to Barcelona in 1493.

Fontserè was certainly not alone in his disagreement with the plans the committee, the Ajuntament, and Madrid had worked out for the city. Labor groups, who were beginning to organize in the bourgeois city, took note of working hours, pay, and conditions. Teams of workers were hired under heightened public attention to labor around the clock by gas and electric light. They built structures like the enormous Hotel de la Exposición in less than two months. As a result of these long hours and questionable safety conditions, labor grew more inspired to organize to promote the eight-hour day. One of Spain’s largest trade unions, the socialist syndicalist UGT (Union General de Trabajadores) was founded in 1888, a product of rising tensions between the classes within the city, tensions the fair heightened with its demands upon local sources of labor. Not all opposition came from the left, as radical-turned-conservative Diari Català journalist and social critic Josep Mañé i Flaquer (1823-1901) expressed serious doubts the town hall would succeed at a project of such magnitude.\(^8\) Negative publicity for the fair was on the rise.

offers insight into the progress the event planning committee wished to make known.

Predictably, it presents the purposes and anticipated results of such an event in the most positive light. Still, the newsletter concedes that news of the arrival of the fair in Spain did not meet unanimous approval. In this inaugural issue, Director Salvador Carrera and his editor E. B. Greiner remained vague as to the identity of those who opposed the fair, but they did offer insight as to why. The editors criticized the fair’s detractors for failing to appreciate the sacrifices made by those who worked to bring the fair to Barcelona. These critics of the fair are characterized as cowardly, “fearing a failure” and lacking in “soul and faith” necessary to overcome obstacles and put on a successful event.9 Barcelona residents who feared failure did so with good cause. The city impressed the rest of Spain with its industrial technological “firsts.” Spain’s first steam engines, gas lights, rail transport, and other achievements originated in Barcelona. It was a modern city by Spanish standards, and despite its costal presence, it was the commercial and industrial core of Spain. However, Spain was itself peripheral to the rest of Europe, and “the gap between Barcelona and the rest of the peninsula was enormous.”10 While Barcelona was referred to in artistic circles as the “Paris of the south,” the European south still carried with it the stigma evident in the still-repeated aphorism attributed to Voltaire, “Africa begins at the Pyrenees.” This realistic assessment of Spain’s position among its European counterparts is something the fair’s detractors understood, even if its organizers and committees answering to Madrid failed to acknowledge it publicly.

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9 “Las Exposiciones,” La Exposición, Organo Oficial de La Exposición Universal de Barcelona, No. 1, August 27, 1886, 2, “Temorosos de un fracaso”; “pocos sintieron en el alma la fe tan necesaria para vencer una dificultad.”
While some criticism of the fair persisted, it became disadvantageous for the most vocal parties. An outspoken critic of the fair, Valentí Almirall i Llozer (1841-1904) was a Catalan attorney and politician who published the first daily newspaper in the Catalan language, *Diari Català*.\(^{11}\) He also wrote a treatise of social criticism outlining regionalist concerns, technical problems, and some possible solutions centered around federalism. This treatise was published the same year as the opening of the fair (1888) and was titled, *Lo Catalanisme*.\(^ {12}\) In it, Almirall broke from the republican tradition of Catalan political theorist Francesc Pi i Margall, who had briefly served as president during the First Spanish Republic (1873). Almirall lost the support of increasingly conservative bourgeois elites, and experienced a loss of status made worse as a result of his opposition to the fair. These industrial elites made up the planning committee led by Barcelona’s conservative mayor Francesc Rius i Taulet, and they were all in support of the fair.\(^ {13}\) The Eixample was an enormous urban planning project that expanded the city’s limits as far as the mountainous terrain would permit. Public works projects and improvements to sanitation would need to be placed on hold while talent, energies, and funds were diverted toward the exhibition and its mostly temporary structures. Admirall’s concerns focused on these decisions of how to best employ resources, which he felt would only benefit the bourgeoisie that was working with Madrid to bring the fair to Barcelona.\(^ {14}\) Even if the city managed to hold its own among Europe’s capitals, the fair was a costly investment for Barcelona. It remained to be seen how much Madrid would contribute to this project, which would certainly benefit the reputation for underdevelopment attributed to the capital, and the rest of the Spanish state. Admirall’s fears

\(^{11}\) *Diari Català*, for which conservative Josep Mañé i Flaquer also wrote.


of a Madrid-sympathizing Barcelonés bourgeoisie appeared to have been proven wrong the year after the fair when the Lliga de Catalunya, led by architect Lluís Domènech i Montaner (1850-1923), defended the Catalan Civil Code against pressure from Madrid to eliminate regional and local legal codes. The Centre Català group, led by Admirall, was dissolved in 1890.15 This is only one example of the many political groups that rose and fell, representing the divisions among Catalans who nevertheless shared aims of autonomy, if not separatism under a system of federalism like the one proposed by Admirall.

Predictably, the fair’s organizers published rebuttals to these and other criticism. In La Exposición, within the section titled “Origin of Expositions,” columnist E.B. Greiner claims that critics fail to see the long-term benefits of the investments made in putting on such a fair, benefits that would improve the comfort and enjoyment of residents in everyday life. He writes, “the industrialist, the artist, the sage, and the farmer all experience the need to submit the fruits of their labor for approval or criticism by friends, acquaintance, and the public. This emotional need is one of the fundamental bases of human solidarity.”16 This is suggestive of the full confidence the organizers professed in Barcelona’s ability to stand alongside London, Paris, Vienna, and other European capitals. Greiner places this burden upon the city by saying, “in effect, self-esteem, even when in danger of excess and degeneration into pride or fatal and blind passion displacing all other sentiments, still serves as an incontestable stimulant, encouraging the

15 Conversi, The Basques, the Catalans and Spain, 21. The Catalan Civil Code had its origins in the medieval period of the Crown of Aragon, and although it survived the Nueva Planta following the War of Spanish Succession in 1714, it was not updated for decades since the Cortes were not permitted to assemble per orders from Madrid.

16 “Las Exposiciones,” 2-3. “El industrial, el artista, el sabio como el agricultor, experimenta la necesidad de someter los frutos de su trabajo á la aprobación ó á la crítica de sus amigos, de sus conocidos, del público. Este sentimiento es una de las bases fundamentales de la solideridad humana.”
production of beautiful actions, great works, and labors of merit.”

This statement disregards the perspective of the city and region. Representatives of the royal family and Spain as a whole would take pride in these accomplishments, but as critics had noted, the work, from technological achievements to manual labor, would be carried out by the capital of one of its regions, not by the state.

3.4 Official Publicity Efforts

While the fair itself was to exhibit Barcelona to Europe and the world, this inaugural issue of La Exposición was published in Spanish. It addressed Spaniards as its intended audience, not just the Catalans residing in the region where the event was to take place. Although the editors wrote about satisfying curiosity with the production of the newsletter, their decision to address Spaniards revealed a desire to lift Spanish self-esteem by promoting achievements in the fine arts and industrial pursuits throughout the state, aims that had been articulated throughout the print culture of Barcelona since the 1860s. This was an ambiguous goal in terms of the national identities involved, since both Spanish and Catalan pride was to be celebrated at the fair. This position could easily cause confusion in an era that extolled the virtues of the nation-state. The newsletter celebrates Catalan advances as Spanish, which were “introduced daily in the arts and industries, for the greater comfort and enjoyment of our existence.” If Barcelona’s achievements could lift the spirits of Madrileños in the midst of an existential colonial crisis and

17 “Las Exposiciones,” 2-3. “En efecto; si el amor propio, en llegado al exceso y degenerado en orgullo, se convierte en pasión fatal y ciega, que domina todos los demás sentimientos, no deja de ser tambien el estimulante incontestable de las bellas acciones, de las grandes obras, de los trabajos de mérito.”


distract from the increasing divisions between industrial and agricultural, urban and rural, then all the better for the Spanish patria.

With this aim in mind, the newsletter includes architectural elevations of various pavilion facades, stirring up excitement for these structures among Spanish readers. The description of the construction of the Fine Arts Pavilion speaks to the public spectacle of municipal building projects in advance of the fair. The construction of such elaborate structures with exposed ironwork would not only make a favorable impression upon foreign visitors, but on locals as well. The paper notes that, “the act of lifting these frameworks attracts many curious onlookers who anxiously observe the difficult tasks at hand, and compliment the sure-handedness and mastery with which the task is carried out.”20 Language used in the descriptions of various pavilions and the triumphal arch is that of achievement, pride, and cooperation that would motivate greater prestige for Spain. The organizing committee aimed to foster a friendly competitive spirit by planning contests that would award cash prizes and medals in gold, silver, and bronze, plus honorable mention.21 This practice was later adopted by the organizers of the modern Olympic movement, when they began their planning sessions for the 1896 Olympiad in 1894. Repeated mention of cities that previously hosted similar exhibits, including London, Paris, Philadelphia, and Vienna indicate a desire on the part of the organizers to situate themselves, and Spain, among the larger exposition culture of the capitals of Europe. They attempted to foster a sense of nationalism, but in doing so, they would need to allow Barcelona to shine as a capital in its own right, as a Catalan rather than Castilian one.

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20 Josep Lluís Pellicer, “Cartel: Exposición Universal,” 3. With regard to the Fine Arts Pavilion, “El acto de levantar esas armaduras atrae multitud de curiosos que siguen con ansiedad tan difícil operacion, y elogian la seguridad y maestria con que se lleva a cabo.”

3.5 Visual Media

The inaugural edition of *La Exposición* included a promotional poster for the event (fig. 3.1), which was likely distributed as a broadsheet with the newspaper.\(^{22}\) The poster includes a pair of figures flanking a statue in front of a decorated gothic style building façade inscribed with the name and date of the event. The structure recalls the older parts of Barcelona near the sea, areas previously situated behind the old city walls, with their unsystematically arranged winding narrow streets, and the old gothic style buildings supplemented with neo-gothic designs, all recalling Aragon’s golden age. The figure on the left has a compass and triangle at hand and is engaged in an engineering task. On the right, an artist holds her brush and paint palette at the ready. Together, the pair represents arts and industries. The text “labor is the highest virtue” appears on a column supporting a statue. Emblems placed on the structure bear the names of various sources of pride for the region, including mining, seafaring, commerce, education, agriculture, and industry. The design includes much symbolism, including the painter figure that sits with one breast bared, reminiscent of allegories of republican virtue. A display of medieval heraldic arms from various Iberian kingdoms including Castile, Leon, Aragon, Navarre, and Granada recall the patchwork of political and cultural entities that make up modern Spain. The bat perched on the doorway arch is a symbol of Jaume I of Aragon, namesake of the plaza on which the city hall and regional administrative center for Catalunya are located in the heart of Barcelona’s gothic quarter. Smokestacks appear in the distance to the rear left of the structure, and on the right the silhouette of the Columbus column is just visible. The poster suggests a compromise on the part of its designers, indicating a desire to recognize Spanish national pride while highlighting and celebrating the distinctive characters of cultural and laboring traditions in

the region and city. At a glance, the poster strikes the viewer as looking like Barcelona’s old city center the Ciutat Vella, placing this aesthetic of neo-gothic medieval revival at the forefront of the imagery of the modern industrial fair.

3.6 Exhibiting at the Periphery

Amid these efforts at positive publicity and criticism, the planners of the Barcelona fair entered a highly competitive space, one occupied by well-attended fairs with a wide range of exhibitors in London, Paris, Vienna, and others. While hosting was a new experience for Spain in 1888, the Spanish had been present as exhibitors in other fairs held in these major European capitals, starting with the first modern industrial fair in London in 1851. This was the Great Exhibition, when Paxton’s Crystal Palace made its debut at the first of this type of modern industrial fair. Despite its precarious colonial situation in 1888, Spain had been a great empire, and it was still part of old Europe, giving it a certain cachet that the ascendant industrializing United States lacked, for all its might. Still, it was the republic of the United States that was making a name for itself, in part, at the expense of Spanish colonial possessions. Cities in the United States were newcomers on the international stage compared with these European urban centers steeped in centuries of history. Yet the expositions put on by these North American cities are generally not described as peripheral or aspirational, terms sometimes attributed to the Barcelona fair of 1888. Philadelphia retained some of its prestige as former capital of the United States, despite that distinction passing to the District of Columbia in 1800. Chicago would make a name for itself in the Columbian Exposition of 1893, and St. Louis would go on to host an enormous fair commemorating the Louisiana Purchase in 1904, the largest yet at 1,272 acres.

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which ran concurrently with the games of the summer Olympiad, the modern Olympic games as revived in 1896. The appearance of the US on the international exhibition scene, with its industrial strength and increasingly aggressive foreign policy, served to reorient geographic notions of what it meant to be Western and where the periphery was located.

However, comparing numbers with the US fairs seems less useful than looking back at the expos that pre-dated the Barcelona fair, in cases where the number of exhibitors, attendees, and days of duration are available. Still, these numbers tend to reflect poorly on Barcelona. The Bureau International des Expositions, which convened after 1888 but still retains records about the earlier fairs, reports 2,300,000\textsuperscript{25} visitors at the Universal Exposition of Barcelona in 1888, a figure slightly higher than the 2,240,000\textsuperscript{26} reported by the Ajuntament of Barcelona. Per the Ajuntament, only 12,223 exhibitors were present in 1888, a figure lower than the next lowest turnout, that of 13,917 in London, 1851. However, London saw an estimated 6,039,000 visitors that same year, compared with 2,240,000\textsuperscript{27} in Barcelona in 1888. Philadelphia had 9,857,000 attendees for its centennial celebration in 1876. The figure for Spain likely underestimated attendance somewhat due to several factors. These included the sale of passes at twenty-five pesetas that were good for entry throughout the 245-day tenure of the fair, and these repeat entrants were not always counted. Also, local firms arranged for their employees to attend, and these entries were sometimes sold in bulk and not always counted. But even given these irregularities, attendance figures are much lower for Barcelona than London 1851, or even the relatively lightly-attended Paris fair of 1855 with 5,162,000 attendees.\textsuperscript{28} Some other reasons for

\textsuperscript{25} “Exhibition of 1888 - Bureau International Des Expositions.”
\textsuperscript{26} José María Garrut Romá, \textit{L’Exposició Universal de Barcelona de 1888}, Col·lecció A. Duran i Sanpere 3 (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, Delegació de Cultura, 1976), 49.
\textsuperscript{27} Garrut Romá, 49.
\textsuperscript{28} Garrut Romá, 49.
this low turnout include delays in the opening of the fair from its initial start date of Fall 1887 to 1888, which pushed it too close to the Paris expo of 1889, when the Eiffel Tower was scheduled to make its debut. This could have discouraged potential visitors and exhibitors, who may have decided to just wait until Paris. Also, the summer heat and other fairs scheduled throughout Europe may have lowered exhibitor and attendee figures, as noted below. The Ajuntament and the official newspaper of the fair make no mention of Spain’s lesser status among European states, but the foreign press, particularly the press of more successful exhibiting cities, was critical of the fair’s organization and execution in ways that reinforced notions of Spain as backward or at the very least, peripheral.

3.7 Criticism on the Eve

As the fair opened quietly and the official inauguration was delayed, more criticism appeared in the press, both domestically and internationally. The correspondent for The Times of London, stationed in Barcelona, gave his scathing assessment of the state of affairs in the Catalan capital on the eve of the official inauguration. The fair had opened, largely to local traffic, in April, well ahead of the scheduled May 20 inaugural. Despite this, there was a struggle to ready the site in time for the inauguration. The correspondent wrote:

> It has been my lot to see a good many Exhibitions upon the eve of their opening, and to find them all in various stages of unpreparedness, but I never saw one so utterly and hopelessly backward as that which, nominally opened on the 8\textsuperscript{th} of April, will be officially opened by the Queen Regent of Spain this day week. It is not merely that this department or that is in a backward state, or that such and such a nation has been late in sending its exhibits, but it may be said without any exaggeration that, both inside and outside the still unfinished buildings all is chaos and confusion, except in the galleries of two or three countries, such as Austria and Belgium, which have set an example of punctuality under difficulties which ought to put the Spaniards themselves to shame.\textsuperscript{29}

\textsuperscript{29}“The Barcelona Exhibition,” The Times, May 16, 1888, 15, The Times Digital Archive.
Other sources, including illustrations made in April of 1888, corroborate that various spaces were not ready at the fair’s opening, but the Austrian tableau was indeed readied before the inaugural (figs 3.2-3.8).\(^{30}\) It also seems likely this was the case out of respect for the Archduchess, who was Austrian, allowing her to appear in a completed area during her visit.\(^{31}\) This type of criticism is typical of the sort aimed at Spain during this period. Yet the correspondent clarifies that this disorder was not due to a lack of effort on the part of the Spanish, but rather taking on too tall an order in a short span of time. He notes that “The backwardness of this Exhibition is due not to any lack of zeal and organizing power on the part of the municipality which is now responsible for the Exhibition, but to the late period at which they took it in hand.”\(^{32}\)

The correspondent offers some backstory as to the reason for the delay, rush, and chaos, presenting the mayor of Barcelona, Rius i Taulet as the hero who saved the fair from disaster. Rius i Taulet, who served several non-consecutive terms as mayor and was a prominent attorney and political figure in the city for decades, championed the fair and was the planning committee’s honorary president from the start of the planning phase in 1886. He was identified as “President” without qualifier, in the listing of planning committee members as it was reorganized closer to the opening date of the fair. Some turnover took place within the original group, and few of the original planners who started in 1886 under Casanova stayed on through

\(^{30}\) Figs. 3.2-3.8 include reproductions of these illustrations made before the inauguration of the fair, and photographs of the same areas taken after the event was fully under way. “Barcelona: Exposición Universal—Estado Actual,” *La Ilustración: Revista Hispano-Americana*, May 13, 1888; Pau Audouard, *Puente de Ingreso á La Sección Marítima*, 1888, Photograph, black and white, 1888, Case File AFB4-210, Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona; Pau Audouard, *Palacio de Ciencias, Exterior*, 1888, Photograph, black and white, 1888, Case File AFB4-210, Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona; Pau Audouard, *Palacio de Bellas Artes, Interior*, 1888, Photograph, black and white, 1888, Case File AFB4-210, Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona; A. Garcia Llansó, “La Exposición Universal de Barcelona: La Instalación Japonesa,” *La Ilustración: Revista Hispano-Americana*, May 13, 1888; Llansó.

\(^{31}\) “La Ilustración,” 312.

\(^{32}\) “The Barcelona Exhibition,” 15.
The correspondent from The Times makes note of this shakeup within the fair’s leadership, while citing other factors like the hot climate, that could account for low turnout.

When the idea of an Exhibition in Barcelona was first mooted, it was a purely speculative project, and the Exhibition was to have been opened last autumn. But the promoters of the scheme were unable to carry it out, and it would have been abandoned altogether but for the intervention of Señor Rius y Taulet, the Alcalde of Barcelona, who induced the municipality to take up the matter and carry it through to a successful issue. The only pity is that they did not defer the opening of the Exhibition until the autumn, not only because at that time everything could have been completed, but because it would have proved much more remunerative to the city. For the heat is very trying at Barcelona during the summer, and there would be comparatively few visitors in June or July even if the Exhibition were as near completion as it is the reverse.

In this way, the correspondent offers excuses and explanations, backpedaling somewhat from his initial harsh assessment of the disorder on the eve of the fair’s inauguration. He offers some sense of the magnitude of the planning and coordination involved in organizing a project on the scale of an international exposition, even one as reduced as the Barcelona fair.

I cannot but think, however, that it will eventually be very interesting, thought he fact of there being Exhibitions this year at Bologna in Italy, at Brussels in Belgium, and at Copenhagen in Denmark, exclusive of those being held in England, must affect the number both of exhibitors and visitors.

Finally, readers are left with a sense that the correspondent is making a polite assessment of the fair as “interesting,” with excuses in the form of other competing fairs in more northern, cooler European capitals.

Indeed, as the correspondent to The Times of London noted, the Exposition was set to open April 8, 1888, months after the original plan to launch the event in autumn of 1887. Construction was delayed, and organizers had pushed back the opening repeatedly, as far as they could. Ultimately, they were obligated to open before the site was as complete as they preferred,

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33 Garrut Romá, L’Exposició Universal de Barcelona de 1888, 22.
34 “The Barcelona Exhibition,” 15.
since Paris was scheduled to host its own expo the following year, in spring of 1889. According to the hand-drawn illustrations included in the May 1888 issue of *La Ilustración*, a Spanish and Latin-American newspaper based in Barcelona, the hall of fine arts, the bridge leading to the maritime exhibition at the port, and the hall of science still had significant scaffolding on their exteriors and even on the interiors.\(^{36}\) The columnar monument to Columbus appears in illustrations loosely encased in scaffolding, and Vilanova’s triumphal entry arch was still in need of plaster work in late April.\(^{37}\) Display articles for the Japanese pavilion arrived in time, with porcelain, fabrics, and other products listed in detail that praised the European-style manufacturing processes and technical achievements these represented. They are described as unique and ingenious, but not exotic, and the equivalent of a full page of text is devoted to coverage of Japan’s contributions to the fair.\(^{38}\)

### 3.8 Opening and Inauguration

Despite these setbacks, according to the local press, the exhibition halls, hotel, and other pavilions were readied for the public just in time. These events, described by the official paper as “solemn” and “majestic” were presided over officially by King Alfonso XIII, who was only two at the time. He was accompanied by his mother, Austrian Archduchess Maria Cristina, who ruled as Queen Regent. In *La Exposicion*, nine column inches of text were dedicated to listing the clergy present for the benediction of the fair’s many structures. Many of these spaces were not merely completed, but lavishly appointed. In anticipation of the arrival of the Austrian Archduchess from Madrid, pains were taken to ensure the Austrian pavilion would be completed in a timely fashion. By late April, the tableau was finished with the arrival of crates of Bohemian

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36 “La Ilustración,” 305, 313.
lead crystal. The display included a raised platform adorned with heavy draperies drawn behind plush upholstered furnishings, originating from a high gilt carved wooden canopy. Potted palms lined the rear of the dais and pots densely lined the carpeted stairs leading up to the platform.

The Queen was characterized by the press in terms befitting a refined hostess, as the moved “tirelessly” among the displays with a compliment or kind word for everyone, and comments demonstrating her knowledge and interest in industrial production. In an account of her visits with fellow Austrians, Germans, and Hungarians, she reportedly socialized within the Austrian section, chatting in German and Hungarian. She moved energetically among displays of bronzes and ceramics, showing “visible interest” in these, before retiring to the royal pavilion for the evening.

The descriptions of these spaces in La Exposicion are picturesque, taking the reader through the red bricks of the Mudéjar Arc de Triomf onto the broad main promenade with its electric star lights, past the park gates into the warmly lit entryway of the industrial arts building, flanked by dignitaries standing before various tableaux decorated with enormous arrangements of fresh flowers, voluminous draped bunting, coats of arms, and dozens of precisely arranged flags. Theatrical works and bullfights provided entertainments, as did the inevitable banquets. It was these extracurricular sorts of delights that caught the attention of the editorial staff of local Barcelona newspaper La Vanguardia, which took care to offer its apologies to the Queen Regent and the exhibitors, because they felt that the music of the fair was the very best part of the

39 “La Exposición Universal,” 2.
40 “La Ilustración,” 312.
42 “La Exposición, Organo Oficial de La Exposición Universal de Barcelona,” April 10, 1888, 4–5.
43 The term “Arabesque” is sometimes included in both primary materials and in the literature. I use the adjective Mudéjar, to indicate a mix of Islamic, as well as gothic stylistic elements. The term Mudéjar, as a reference to style, is also more inclusive than Arabesque in terms of non-Arabic Islamic communities like the Berbers of northern Africa.
44 “La Exposición, Organo Oficial de La Exposición Universal de Barcelona,” 10.
inaugural day. The paper’s reporters use emotional language to reveal the pride they felt in the proceedings, especially in the description of music. The writers championed the virtuosity of the musicians and the visitors who joined into military marches, hymns, and the anthem for the enjoyment of Maria Cristina.45

3.9 Through the Gates: Parc de la Ciutadella

As the setting for most of the 1888 fair’s exhibition halls, the Parc de la Ciutadella itself was a major construction project whose legacy remains, at least in part, to the present. The Ajuntament retained the name of the old star fortress that once occupied the space, and the park continues to offer a large open green space within the otherwise densely developed urban center. Its proximity to the sea made it a wise choice for showcasing Barcelona’s naval and other maritime exhibits, and it was already under construction at the time the fair was planned. The space was laden with meaning and memory, and it was remade by Barcelona’s leadership, who took pride in it and the successful future it represented for the city, a future heralded by the 1888 Expo. The mix of architectural styles included several examples of Catalan Modernisme, presenting the style to the world. A long walk through the park promised views of an enormous fountain, a tropical lake with rowboats, fields for picnicking, commemorative statues, a grand promenade lined by iron gas lights, and a café. This site was the central public meeting space for the exposition, and it appears illustrated, along with many structures located both within and outside its gates, in Spanish-language papers including La Exposición and La Ilustración Hispano-Americana, and other newspapers. The park was also the subject of photographic studies carried out by photographers and students, and many of these images survive, as well. These publications from the period focus their attention on the fair’s pavilions and their state of

45 “Inauguración de la Exposición Universal,” 2.
completion, attendees, and spectacles connected with the fair.\textsuperscript{46} Later analysis and scholarship takes a different approach, and tends to look past the displays and décor, recalling instead what was not visible, the old star fortress that was demolished to make way for the park that hosted the exposition.\textsuperscript{47} The two most dominant structures were the main fan-shaped exhibition hall, which housed the Grand Palace of Industry, and the Grand Hotel Internacional of Lluís Domènech i Montaner. Both were demolished shortly after the conclusion of the fair.

Visitors entered the fairgrounds by walking under the Arc de Triomf, completed in Mudéjar style by local Barcelona architect and friend of Domènech i Montaner, Josep Vilaseca i Casanovas (1848-1910). Illustrations emphasized how the monument dwarfed pedestrians below, and the size of the arch makes it visible from the opposite end of the park.\textsuperscript{48} The arch is faced in red brick and tan stone with four parabolic towers capped with crowns. Bas-relief sculpture of female allegorical figures, some with wings, decorate the horizontal lintel portion of the arch, with the arms of the crown of Aragon and other Spanish provinces, incorporating medieval and Islamic influences into the design. The grand promenade led visitors toward the park gates, flanked by prominent cast-iron electric lights, the Palace of Justice, the Palace of Science, and the Pavilion of Fine Arts. Statues on either side of the main gates feature classically draped allegorical sculpted figures, male and female, also posing with a shipping crate and a mechanical gear, recalling the promotional poster from the fair, elevating industrial labor to the status of fine art and highest virtue.

\textsuperscript{46} “Inauguració de la Exposició Universal”; Llansó, “La Ilustración”; “La Ilustración.”
\textsuperscript{47} Garrut Romá, L’Exposició Universal de Barcelona de 1888; Boladero, Farràs, and Mestre i Campi, L’Exposició Universal del 1888.
Once inside the gates, visitors were greeted by the *Castell dels Tres Dragons*, designed by Lluís Domènech i Montaner (figs. 3.9-3.10). The building was officially billed as café and restaurant during the fair, but took its name, meaning the castle of the three dragons, from a comic theatrical play that parodied the medieval chivalric ideal. The play was published in Catalan in 1865 under that title by Barcelona native Frederic Soler i Hubert (1839-1895), under the pseudonym he made famous, Serafí Pitarra.\(^{49}\) Construction began in 1887, and the structure has fulfilled many purposes since, including housing zoological and biological collections, and survives to date. Like the Arc de Triomf, the castell also features Mudéjar-style ornamentation. Domènech’s castell is made largely of exposed red brick on a steel frame, ornamented with ceramic tiles in white and cobalt blue. Domènech would go on to include cobalt blue and white ceramic tiles in his future works. Battlements along the roofline resemble that of a castle, as do the shape of the towers, but these ornaments are whimsical rather than practical. Iron used to decorate the towers gives them an industrial feel when paired with the steel framed windows that resemble those used in factories. On the façade facing the promenade, the tile artwork features women of all social ranks drinking wine or holding a bottle or carafe. The side of the building facing the glass greenhouse includes tiles decorated with botanical and animal specimens. Other tiles affixed to the towers include workers propping up large gears used in industrial machinery. This structure’s ornamentation, like the statues at the nearby gate, combine classical styles, the virtues of industry and work, craftsmanship and care from earlier eras, and Islamic architectural heritage. This mélange of styles showcased at the fair helped to launch Catalan Modernisme into its own distinct style.

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Adjacent to the Castell, three buildings sat near each other, including l’Hivernacle and l’Umbracle of Josep Amargós Samaranch (1849-1918), and the Geological Museum of Antoni Rovira i Trias, Barcelona’s first museum. Both geology and archeology, and their corresponding specialists, were featured in the general catalog of the fair, as well as publications of academic and cultural societies that took a keen interest in these fields of inquiry in the fin-de-siècle. It was Rovira who had submitted the plan favored by the Ajuntament for the expansion of the city, though the Cerdà plan was ultimately implemented. The nearby Hivernacle and Umbracle are similar in purpose, with both serving as greenhouses, or winter gardens sustaining tender non-native botanical specimens, often from colonial possessions. These plants were not mere ornaments, as botanical specimens were often used for chemical or pharmaceutical manufacturing purposes. This allocation of space for scientific pursuits is part of a larger process of utilizing the park for the purpose of natural sciences. The Hivernacle was constructed of glass and steel, loosely resembling some of the greenhouses and crystal palaces popular during this era of world’s fairs, which emulated Paxton’s Crystal Palace of London in 1851. It was used to grow specimens that preferred full sun. The Umbracle was built to house part shade-loving plants that grew along forest floors, and its style is much more distinctive. Its ceilings are curved, with steel louvers filling the rounded spans framed by curved iron girders and brick. While both buildings are considered modernist, the Umbracle is perhaps more indicative of this industrial period in terms of its unusual use of iron, steel, glass, and brick. These buildings make up a cluster of structures dedicated to scientific purposes that were included in Fontseré’s original

plans for the park. Museums and hothouses were characteristic of imperial capitals, where botanical and archeological samples from colonial possessions were studied, harvested, and showcased. By constructing these facilities, Barcelona attempted to elevate itself into the cadre of European imperial cities. This is more of a point of pride than a practical concern since the Spanish empire had been cataloging and studying botanical samples from the Americas all throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Images of these specimens were housed in the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid, and in the library collection of the Escorial of Phillip II, where texts of Islamic scientific significance are also stored. Both of these places are located in Castile, associated with the old Habsburg empire rather than the “new” imperialism of the fin-de-siècle.

In contrast to these Mudéjar structures made of heavy brick or light glass framed by steel, the Monumental Fountain designed by Joseph Fontserè is neoclassical in style. The *cascada monumental* is located opposite the hothouses and the Pavilion of the Colonies, and includes Neptune enthroned as its centerpiece, surrounded by cherubs, topped with the gilt horses of Aurora’s chariot, framed by ornate columns. Hydraulics allowed water to circulate down the artificial cascade of waterfalls that formed a kind of grotto, and back to the top. Sprays of water adorned the winged statues positioned within the fountain, which were credited to Antoni Gaudi. Other than displaying hydraulic capabilities, the fountain’s purpose was primarily aesthetic, invoking a sense of grandeur and architectural heft evident in its description as “monumental.”

Belles-Artes and Medicine were two key pavilions that did not survive, and they were also built in this somewhat generically European neo-classical style. The other main water feature in the

53 Garrut Romá, *L’Exposició Universal de Barcelona de 1888.*
park was the centrally located tropical lake, a much quieter affair that visitors could enjoy on rowboats available for hire. Shady, weepy, tropical trees rose from the water.

While the water features, hothouses, and café survived, the main exhibition halls were temporary structures, many of them hastily built for the fair and rapidly removed once the spectacle concluded. These included the main fan-shaped pavilion, the Grand Palace of Industry and Commerce, which was the central meeting place of the fair, home to the royal delegation from Madrid. It stood at the far end of the park from Villaseca’s Arc, in a large area that today houses a zoological park and open green space. Adjacent galleries displayed machines and agricultural equipment. Behind the Palace of Industry, the Puente Metallico viaduct led visitors out of the park to the naval warfare and maritime displays near the port at the waterfront, which allowed views of foreign fleets that sent representatives to the fair. Gaudí also contributed a major component of this maritime exhibition, located near the port. He designed the pavilion for the Compañía Transatlántica Española, a major commercial passenger ocean liner company founded in 1850 in Cuba. The building housed models of European naval fleets, and its exterior emulated the Nasrid style, of which the most famous example in Spain is the Alhambra of Granada. Gaudí’s design recalled the Court of Lions within the Alhambra palace.54 This late Islamic Iberian style featured intricate plaster ornamentation in the form of crenulations and abstract chasing that made stone and masonry appear as light and fragile as lace. The structure was later demolished to make way for the city’s seafront boardwalk, removing the most distinctly Islamicate-styled facility constructed for the fair. The demolition also erased a reminder of the significance of steam ship travel that connected the industrial Barcelonés with their factories in the Americas, many of which were located in Cuba and Argentina. Many

54 Exposició Universal, Catálogo Oficial Especial de España.
Catalan businessmen chose to take up residence in the key cities of Havana, Santiago, Cordoba, and Buenos Aires, which was also referred to as “Paris of the South.” Adjacent to the maritime displays, at the foot of the Ramblas, the Columbus column faced the sea, marking the spot of his return to Europe in 1493, at the old port of Barcelona.

Installations located outside of the larger pavilions offered demonstrations of noisy and messy industrial processes, displayed large items, and provided refreshments and entertainments for visitors. The outdoor industrial displays highlighted the manufacturing processes of a variety of products. These included ceramics, concrete and mortar, wood products, artificial stone, marble and explosives from Bilbao, Carbon from Cordoba, and glassmaking demonstrations. The kiosks serving consumable goods carried out their mission in ways that served to highlight points of pride in terms of manufacturing processes or local agricultural produce. The food, drink and smoking paraphernalia were cast as novel or luxury goods. Consumables manufactured or finished on site included horchata, gas-infused soda water, smoking papers, hand-rolled cigars made in a replica of a Philippine factory, breweries, as well as Turkish and other assorted coffees. Scientific and technological equipment was featured in its own pavilion, but a captive balloon and astronomical observatory were situated in the park’s outdoor space. There were smaller galleries devoted to work, the promotion of work, and the promotion of Spanish production.55

Notably, the pavilion reserved for products from the colonies was a relatively small structure at 1620 m². In fact, the plan for the September 1877 opening (which was later delayed until the following spring) indicates that the adjacent market, the Mercat de El Born, was about twice the size of the pavilion of the colonies.56 These structures and the spaces allocated within them were

55 Exposició Universal, Plano General.
56 Exposició Universal, 5, 9. The catalog includes a scale drawing, indicating the Pabellón Supletorio assigned to the colonies was significantly smaller than the “Mercado Borne” known as the Mercat de El Born, adjacent to the Estacio Francia train station. The station was later rebuilt.
the result of a series of decisions made by the organizing committee to emphasize Spanish and Catalan production, whether industrial, agricultural, scientific, maritime, or cultural. These values of labor and productivity that so marked the economies and reputations of northern European states were emphasized in the Barcelona Expo as a way of including the city, region, and state within its commercially successful exhibiting counterparts. For the bourgeois city expanding and remaking itself in a new modern image, the virtues of work and production were central, and these did not always align with colonial economic patterns. The pavilions and their displays were required to appeal to a variety of spectators, from dignitaries to wealthy travelers to local members of the working class. These exhibits struck a balance, attempting to cut across as many of these audiences as possible by displaying traditional goods produced in modern industrialized fashion. This was the case for the sherry display shipped from Jerez de la Frontera, which appealed on economic, aesthetic, industrial, and gastronomic levels, while at the very least offering visitors a libation.

3.10 Palaces and Pavilions: Medical and other Sciences Applied

The quantities of exhibition floor space allocated to different pursuits and disciplines reflect the organizers’ attempts to cater to these different fields and their audiences. These decisions as to space allocation suggest which fields the planning commission felt were of importance at the time. While industry and machinery were dominant, medicine, with its practical pursuits, was considered a practical or applied science, situating it among the applied sciences or technologies presented at the Expo. In terms of exhibition floor space, the largest single structure was the fan-shaped Palace of Industries. At 50,000m², the exhibition hall dominated the park, taking up much of the 400,000m² of total built floor space, as indicated in
the official catalog. The importance of applied science is evident in this large quantity of space dedicated to industrial technologies. However, this significance is also made clear in the nearby Palace of the Sciences, which presented much applied rather than theoretical sciences, due to the heavy presence of medical arts. Its central semi-circular salon was a gathering space for hosting public scientific conferences, surrounded by smaller spaces reserved for displays of medical-related equipment and products. The total space of the structure, including an irregularly-shaped trapezoidal section, was 3,010m². The smaller salons surrounding the large central conference space included an area reserved for chemical products and pharmaceuticals, totaling 151m². Of these, 96m² belonged to Barcelona, and the rest was divided between fourteen provinces of Spain, England, and Switzerland. Materials related to pharmacy, medicine, orthopedics, and related materials listed as “etc. etc.” occupied 79m² of space, of which 67m² belonged to Barcelona, with the rest divided between four provinces of Spain and again, England and Switzerland. Medical education and teaching occupied the largest of the relatively smaller spaces surrounding the conference salon, at 203m², indicating a commitment to showcasing, advancing, and educating about science to scientific audiences. Scientific and medical devices occupied 45m², with only sixteen of these square meters reserved for Barcelona, most likely to allow space to display English precision instruments, which were highly prized at the time.

The United States, which occupied a key portion of the Palace of Industries, was not included in the Palace of Sciences. Germany is also lacking in this space, despite rapid industrialization following the establishment of the German Empire after victory in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871. These absences seem a weighty oversight, as the importance of German scientists is apparent in the work of Santiago Ramon y Cajal. In his writing from and

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57 Exposició Universal, 5.
58 Exposició Universal, 9.
about this period of his early career, Cajal made multiple references to German scientists and their advances. He expressed frustration at his inability to read German since it was “the language in which were published the best works on anatomy and histology,” settling for French translations until he learned to read German himself.\textsuperscript{59} His scholarship included citations of German, US, French, and Scandinavian works, predominantly. His 1899 three-volume work \textit{Textura del Sistema Nervioso} includes multiple in-text references to German scientists, and a great many of his citations feature German scholarship.\textsuperscript{60} Cajal acknowledged the scientific and technological achievements of the US, undoubtedly aware of military successes and threats the ascendant US posed for Spain with regard to the colonies in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. Yet the US, Germany, and France were not listed in the general catalog of the 1888 Expo as present in the Palace of Sciences. These exhibits, which included anatomical and orthopedic devices, as well as chemical and pharmaceutical developments, all promoted applied uses of science as it related medical practice at the time. The lack of German participation, particularly in chemical and pharmaceutical matters, was a serious loss for the exposition and its attendees.

The large domed Sala de Conferencias in the Palace of Science was indeed used to host international meetings, as well as local presentations. The Ateneo Barcelonés, a cultural and intellectual club, featured presentations and published papers from its Archeological Section, which includes much of the material culture of historians and hobbyist collectors alike, including

\textsuperscript{59} Santiago Ramón y Cajal, \textit{Recuerdos de Mi Vida}, vol. 2 (Madrid: Nicolas Moya, 1917), 5, 10, 7, 34, 66, 76. “Escaso andaba de los primeros, á causa de no traducir el alemán, idioma en que corrían impresos los mejores Tratados de Anatomía á Histología.”

\textsuperscript{60} Santiago Ramón y Cajal, \textit{Textura del Sistema Nervioso del Hombre y de los Vertebrados: Estudios sobre el Plan Estructural y Composición Histológica de los Centros Nerviosos Adicionados de Consideraciones Fisiológicas Fundadas en los Nuevos Descubrimientos} (Madrid: Nicolás Moya, 1899), v–vi, 9, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 27, 28, 29 to give only a few examples.
manuscripts, numismatics, tapestries and textiles, ceramics, furniture, paintings, and jewelry.\textsuperscript{61} The section on painting and sculpture, made up largely of the Circulo Artístico of the city acknowledged the “embarrassing and difficult” planning phase of the fair, which nonetheless managed to cloak itself with solemnity once the event itself came to pass. Still, the artists felt rushed, with insufficient time to think and feel the works they hurried up to the park to display.\textsuperscript{62} Sections on photography, industrial arts, social statistics, engineering, agriculture, economics, and hygiene published papers in connection with the fair. These publications from the Ateneo indicate that organizers were successful at fostering the environment of an academic conference within the fair, which was something that appealed to a small minority of highly educated visitors who nonetheless valued its presence. To appeal to broader audiences, organizers included less rarefied entertainments. These appear in a series of analyses that were published by the Ateneo as a kind of post-mortem of the Expo, including criticism of some of the more vulgar spectacles, like that of the hunger artist discussed below.\textsuperscript{63}

\textbf{3.11 Spectacles and Science}

Literature on the 1888 expo has tended to focus on the architecture of buildings constructed specifically for the fair, particularly the absence of the ciutadella, the Islamicate style of the Transatlantic Company Pavilion by Gaudí, and the construction of Domènech’s Gran Hotel Internacional, at over 5, 250 meters\textsuperscript{2} on land reclaimed from the Mediterranean. These technical and cultural achievements, however proud for Spain, are often characterized as peripheral. Indeed, the 1888 fair in general, its exhibited science in particular, tends to be cast as

\textsuperscript{61} Coroleu, \textit{Ateneo Barcelonés: Conferencias Públicas Relativas a La Exposición Universal de Barcelona.}  
\textsuperscript{62} Coroleu, 183. “Nuestra Exposición Universal tuvo una gestación penosa y difícil.”  
\textsuperscript{63} Coroleu, \textit{Ateneo Barcelonés: Conferencias Públicas Relativas a La Exposición Universal de Barcelona.}
a peripheral replica of Parisian and London counterparts. Emphasizing the less reputable science on exhibit seems perhaps a bit critical, given that the more sensational exhibits in Barcelona were also present in the more famous fairs, where they were given less press in favor of larger headlining acts that failed to make the trip to Spain. Several of the more notorious exhibitors were from Italy and France, and not a product of Barcelonés science. As the allocated floor space in square meters indicates, organizers assigned generously sized and visually prominent spaces with the aim of hosting scientific conferences and promoting scientific education. However, as the inauguration grew closer and budgets were exceeded, organizers appeared to take the opportunity to profit from crowd-pleasing spectacles, and their affiliated admissions fees, when exhibitors more suited to a sideshow appeared in the exhibition space.

The two different audiences, that of hard scientists on the one hand, and popular scientific or pseudoscientific spectacles, on the other, interchanging information that popularized science. It is worth noting the commitment the city’s elites made toward allowing space for scientific, and not just general popular audiences. Additionally, the Ateneo Barcelones argued that the catalog should be taken as proof of the intentions of the planners to provide adequate space for materials worthy of display, despite the large numbers of items that were mis-categorized or absent from the catalog at the time of exhibition. Still, these expositions were not scientific conferences; they relied on foot traffic from the general public if they wished to be financially viable, and that meant popular attractions in an era of lowbrow entertainments.

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The details of some of these controversial displays make for some amusing reading, as exhibits veered away from science into popular performance art at this public spectacle. One well-documented example is the appearance in late August 1888 of Italian hunger artist Giovanni Succi (1853-1918), who was one of many such performance artists operating in Europe, seeking fame at large gatherings like these expositions. The Barcelona fair was one of five such appearances he made in 1888. He attained peak notoriety around 1890, and is considered the main inspiration behind Franz Kafka’s 1922 story “The Hunger Artist,” which briefly revived the fad in Berlin. Succi was drawn by illustrators who captured him reclining on the made bed placed on the dais in his exhibition space. Written accounts and criticism described him walking around the park as proof of his health despite his ingesting nothing but water. This was part of the spectacle, but so too were medical exams carried out in search of any physical problems as a result of his fast. A series of Italian professors of medicine carried out tests while Spanish students, photographers, and interpreters served as witnesses. These included an examination of the room and furniture, a physical exam of the man himself in the nude, an exam of his clothing, and tests of his “intellectual faculties, senses, thorax, abdomen, and extremities, revealing in this exam that this subject did not suffer, physically or morally, any disorder.” Yet not all was rosy. The account of Succi’s first night in Barcelona, following a last meal of lobster, indicated the change of venue and diet had not agreed with him. It was these kinds of salacious details that captured the attention of the public. The literature tends to regard Succi’s presence an example of the peripheral nature of the Barcelona fair, emphasizing its poor scientific quality. While it is

67 Coroleu, Ateneo, 666. “Acto seguido se pasó al exámen y registro de la habitación, muebles y cuantos objetos estaban destinados á Succi; se le hizo desnudar examinándose todas sus ropas haciendo lo propio con su cabeza, facultades intelectuales, sentidos, torax, abdomen y extremidades, revelando dicho exámen que dicho sujeto no sufría, física ni moralmente, trastorno alguno.”

certainly true that Succi’s performance was popular, and that the man and his handlers must have imagined the Spanish would receive their act enthusiastically enough to make the trip financially viable. His presence is a measure of the public’s tastes and of popular science, rather than the quality of research science carried out by professionals and academics in Spain.

Succi was not the only visible and publicized magnet for criticism. Mishap and embarrassment marked the debut of Barcelona’s captive balloon. After the Parisian debut of the more elegantly netted and tethered grand balloon created by French engineer Henri Giffard (1825-1882) at the Tuilleries in 1878, the appearance of another French-designed balloon in Barcelona eleven years later seems a bit anti-climactic. The initial announcement of the balloon’s inflation made front page news in La Vanguardia, but the write-up was a small piece, stating guests could visit from seven to twelve in the morning and three until eleven in the evening, after paying the five-peseta fee by day, ten pesetas by night, to ascend in the balloon’s large basket. The interest appears to be on viewing the city from the aerial perspective, rather than on the technical merits or the spectacle presented by the balloon itself. Measuring 4,500 cubic meters, the balloon was constructed in Paris by men identified as “engineer aeronauts” Messiers Gabrial Yon and Louis Godard.69 La Vanguardia included another report on the captive balloon June 25, in the its evening edition, after disaster struck. Captive balloons such as these were not hot air balloons; they were inflated with hydrogen, as was the later Hindenburg, which met its highly publicized end in 1937. As is sometimes the case when discussing the Hindenburg, a sense of hindsight and judgement pervades talk of the French balloon event, something that even the local paper took part in, in 1888. The paper reported of a violent storm over the city:

The rain was torrential; along Fernando Street toward Llobregat, and along the arroyos of la Rambla ran something like the canals built for the maritime displays. At six a dry clap of thunder sounded, strident, long, and in three parts, which gave

rise to thoughts of whether its corresponding bolt of lightning, after tearing through the clouds, had maybe ripped through the Palace of Industry, the pipe organ of the Palace of Fine Arts, or the captive balloon. It was the thunderclap of the season; it was the big one.\textsuperscript{70}

Setting the scene like this, describing the storm with such strength and violence, seems to excuse those responsible for the fair from any goods damaged in this uncontrollable mayhem. It was after this introduction that the outcome of the captive balloon was revealed:

It was predictable for the captive balloon to fall victim of this storm. At a quarter past five, an electric spark lit the balloon, destroying it in the briefest of moments; the poor thing has ended its days as it lived, tied to the cable that restrained it. Perhaps it would have fared better, had it been granted its liberty.\textsuperscript{71}

This account prompts an emotional response, with its expression of pity toward the charred remains of the French wonder. That such a magnificent thing should meet as dramatic an end underscores a kind of “technological pessimism” acknowledged in the literature.\textsuperscript{72} This sentiment reared its head during this time when these instruments of practical science subjected users of these machines to speeds, heights, and spans of time that were lethal to frail human bodies. There is a sense of anxiety in the certainty of death from such a height, but deaths frequently resulted from falls from horses or carts or single-story rooftops, so perhaps the pessimism mounted in excess of the risk. The paper reported that a new balloon was promised by Monsieur Godard to the fair, identical to the first, so that visitors could continue to ascend over the city. It is at this point that the newspaper names the two balloons, before noting that the spark

\textsuperscript{70}“La Tempestad,” \textit{La Vanguardia}, June 25, 1888, Evening edition, 2. “La lluvia fue torrencial; por la calle de Fernando corría un mediano Llobregat y por los arroyos de la Rambla algo parecido al canalillo de la Sección marítima. A las seis sonó un trueno seco, estridente, largo, y en tres partes, que hizo pensar si el rayo correspondiente, luego de rajar las nubes habría tajado el Palacio de la Industria, el órgano del palacio de Bellas Artes o el globo cautivo. Fue el trueno de la temporada; vamos, un trueno gordo.”

\textsuperscript{71}“La Tempestad,” 2. “Era de presumir que fuera víctima de la tormenta el globo cautivo. A las cinco y cuarto un a chispa eléctrica le incendió destruyéndole en breves momentos; el pobre ha concluido sus días como vivió, amarrado al cable de retenida. A caso hubiera salido mejor librado estando en libertad.”

\textsuperscript{72}Nieto-Galan, “Scientific ‘Marvels’ in the Public Sphere: Barcelona and Its 1888 International Exhibition.”
entered through the valve used to meter the insertion of the gas. The names, given in satirical fashion, were reported: “The balloon España has died; we hope the balloon Cataluña will have a longer life.”73 This was in jest, and criticism of the Spanish for this failure was misplaced since the balloon met its end due to an act of nature, and ultimately, both aerial devices were French.

Although Barcelona can hardly be blamed for the damages done by the storm, the mishap was an embarrassment that reflected poorly on the city’s attempts to showcase its modern industrial power. There is certainly plenty to be critical of in terms of the science exhibited at the fair. It may be characterized as peripheral or otherwise lacking by London, Parisian, present-day, or other standards. Such comparisons overlook the fact that fairs such as this were representative and performative events, with specimens and other content provided by visiting exhibiting nations. The Italian hunger artist, an unapproved gathering of spiritualists, and the failed French captive balloon were products of their home countries, yet their presence at the fair associates their criticism with Barcelona. Criticism of these attractions is unfortunate since the host city was, in fact, not responsible for much of what visiting countries exhibited at expositions.

3.12 Ramon y Cajal in Barcelona

Critical takes on scientific displays at the Exposition made a significant point. In retrospect, some of the science present at the exposition was perhaps not the finest Barcelona, or its European exhibitors, had to offer. Indeed, at the very time that the fair was underway, histologist Santiago Ramon y Cajal was working within walking distance of the Palace of Sciences, conducting the most productive year of research of his life’s work,74 modifying Camilo Golgi’s (1843-1926) tissue-staining methods for use on neurons. With the tissue staining process

73 “La Tempestad,” 2. “El globo España ha muerto: esperemos que tenga más larga vida el globo Cataluña.”
74 Ramón y Cajal, Recuerdos, Vol. 2, 2:97. 1888 was the most productive year of Cajal’s professional life, as noted in this and other autobiographical works.
sufficiently stabilized and improved, Cajal began work on neurological tissues of embryonic chickens, research that would lead him ultimately to disprove Golgi’s reticular theory, which featured an interconnected mesh-like network of neuron cells rather than the divided, individual cells Cajal was able to see, understand, and draw for others. This was important work that would lead to the Nobel he shared with Golgi in 1906. Yet Even as Cajal worked on his tissue samples and ink drawings, blocks away from the fairgrounds, he knew that he needed to get his work out of Spain and into the hands of more influential men of science if his discoveries were to gain international attention. For example, many of the scholars he cited in his own works were German, and Germany did not exhibit in the Palace of Sciences. In May of 1888, as the fair was officially inaugurated, Cajal self-published a journal on histology, including six articles he had written and importantly, six lithographic prints he had produced. He shipped out sixty copies to scientists abroad, all he could afford. In August, he published a second journal. Even as England and the US claimed to send their most elite technical and industrial leaders to interact with each other in Barcelona for the fair, Cajal sent his work outside of the country. He understood the reputation and prevalence of scientists operating outside of Spain, and did not assume that interacting with those present at the fair would be sufficient. However, he did not ignore the fair, either. The School of Medicine of the University of Barcelona was present in the Palace of Sciences, and as a faculty member he was expected to participate. The University of Barcelona collections contain histological tissue samples he prepared for exhibition at the fair, which won gold medal prizes. Yet Cajal does not mention the Barcelona exposition in his memoir, instead detailing his interest in the 1889 meeting of the Anatomical Society of Germany in Berlin, which he attended at considerable financial sacrifice. He described his presence as

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amusing to the German scientist who found him something of a novelty, as a man of science from Spain. This came to a stop once he placed samples on the ad hoc laboratory set up on site, where several German scholars were captivated by his modifications of the Golgi method of staining tissues, a process they had struggled to improve upon, but which Cajal had mastered.\textsuperscript{76}

As it happens, Cajal was a private man who eschewed the public and the spotlight for his quiet laboratory and microscope, and he worked without fanfare to reshape what was known about the nervous system. Cajal was particular about the company he kept, preferring to interact with his microscope and educated colleagues in \textit{tertulias}, or learned discussions because they helped him to entertain new ideas, breaking intellectual deadlock or \textquotedblleft enquistamiento.\textquotedblright This talks were popular among intellectuals and generally educated middle class men, as well. Cajal valued these talks, led by experts from different fields, bringing knowledge of politics, business, literature, physics, and even of the theater and casinos to the researcher who was otherwise too engrossed in work to explore these subjects independently. Research, teaching, and learning were Cajal’s passions, but he spent pages of his autobiography listing the names of worthy colleagues and teachers whom he admired as collaborators, rather than expressing interest in addressing an anonymous public. His tenure at the Hospital of Santa Creu in one of the old Gothic Quarter neighborhoods of Barcelona had given him ample patients, and ample opportunity for clinical instruction and practicum, at the expense of the laboratory time that he prized dearly.\textsuperscript{77} It was at one such recurrent gathering near Plaça Catalunya where he heard Lluís Domènech i Montaner speak, and in this description in his memoir, we get a sense of Cajal’s measured tone when it came to political matters, including Catalan regionalism and nationalism, something he experienced throughout his stay in Barcelona during this time. In his memoir, he described

\textsuperscript{76} Ramón y Cajal, \textit{Recuerdos} Vol. 2, 144-146.
\textsuperscript{77} Ramón y Cajal, \textit{Recuerdos} Vol. 2, 92–94.
Domènech as “a good instructor of geometry and architecture and a fervent and partisan Catalanist, ultimately in favor of the annexation of France by Catalunya (he was known to say Catalunya was to be called the Belgium of the South), a position he is rumored to have abandoned, along with his other radical nationalisms, which I celebrate infinitely.” It is possible that this attitude toward Catalan separatist nationalism, as well as his introverted, lab-centered tendencies, may have dissuaded him from interacting with organizers, fellow scientists, or the public at the fair. Not only did Cajal not mention the 1888 fair in his memoir, Cajal himself is not cited in connection with the fair in the official catalog. Newspaper coverage of the fair’s events make little of his participation.

While the fair’s science may have been questionable by today’s standards, and eccentric even for its time, it was popular. The Salon of Conferences was designed to bring together great minds to discuss cutting-edge, specialized research, but what sold tickets and brought in the pestas and the press were the spectacles, the demonstrations of popular science that captivated the public’s imagination, regardless of the soundness of the science involved. To date, Cajal’s work on the neuron doctrine, which disproved Golgi’s reticular theory, is specialized research assigned to students of neuroscience who must ingest over a thousand pages spread across three volumes of *Textura del Sistema Nervioso del Hombre y de los Vertebrados* (1899-1904). Even if it had been published at the time of the fair, this knowledge was not intellectually accessible to those seeking easy, lowbrow amusements and entertainments, and the fair catered to both extremes and everything in between. To judge its organizers for allowing these spectacles

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79 Cajal, *Textura del Sistema Nervioso del Hombre y de los Vertebrados*.
80 Mercedes Vilanova and Xavier Moreno, “Analfabetismo y Censos de Población de España de 1887 a 1981,” *Historia y Fuente Oral*, no. 7 (1992): 171-172. Literacy rates were low in nineteenth-century Spain. The 1887 census was the first to collect data regarding literacy. Catalunya historically was above the state median literacy rate from 1887 to the 1980s. In the 1877 national census, 50% of the population of Spain self-reported as illiterate.
seems harsh, perhaps. After all, even Cajal was associated with science that has since been discredited. In February 1888, before the opening of the fair, a brief newspaper blotter item connected Cajal with a hypnosis session. The piece notes that “various doctors, attorneys, engineers and journalists” attended to verify “experiences of hypnotism at the Medical Institute of Dr. Audet, under the direction of Dr. Ramón y Cajal.” The experiences were verified and found to be “satisfactory” leading to future experiments to be conducted at public gatherings.81 Spectacles such as these drew crowds, and pesetas. Hard science did attract some public interest in terms of its entertainment value. The anatomy theater at the Royal College of Medicine in Barcelona, where Cajal taught, opened its doors to the public in the cooler months, offering a spectacle for those who dared gaze upon its marble dissection table. Still, it is important to note that based on Cajal’s example alone, the scientific work undertaken in Barcelona in 1888, whether amenable to a less-educated, less-informed public attending the fair or not, was central to modern science and medicine, not peripheral to it.

3.13 Domènech i Montaner and Regionalism

As Cajal noted in his memoir, one of the key architects of the 1888 Exposition was a local with connections to the Catalan regionalist movement. Lluís Domènech i Montaner was a native of Barcelona who studied physics and mathematics before settling on architecture. Following his graduation from the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, he traveled extensively throughout Europe for two years, conducting architectural field research. Upon his return to Spain, he became an instructor at the School of Architecture in Barcelona, rising to professor shortly afterward. He undertook a variety of tasks including the design of typefaces,

81 “Notas Locales,” La Vanguardia, February 22, 1888, Morning edition, 2. “Con asistencia de varios médicos, abogados, ingenieros y periodistas, se verificaron ayer experiencias de hipnotismo en el Instituto médico del doctor Audet, bajo la dirección del doctor Ramón y Cajal. Parece que las experiencias verificadas son satisfactorias, y que los experimentadores se proponen dar pronto una reunión pública de hipnotismo.”
bookbinding, and extensive writing. His works appeared in architectural and cultural
publications, and his political commentary was also featured in newspapers and magazines of the
time. Domènech wrote for *La Renaixença*, a political, scientific, and literary magazine that
embodied the Catalan Romantic Movement. He became involved in national politics, serving in
Madrid while on sabbatical from the architectural school in Barcelona. After returning to
Catalunya, his political interests focused on Catalan regionalism, a cause he advanced politically
later in life. His early architectural commissions included a renovation of the Barcelona
Ajuntament, or city hall, but his real break came with commissions for the Exposition. Fittingly,
it was this event, which served to promote both Spanish and Catalan nationalism, that elevated
his career.

Domènech’s designs for the fair included the enormous Hotel de la Exposición
Internacional, which reportedly was constructed in fifty-six days, and was pulled down a year
later.\(^{82}\) One of his most memorable designs from the fair endured, and it remains within the Parc
de la Ciutadella, on the site of the old star fortress. The restaurant and café from the fair, the
*Castell dels Tres Dragons*, located just inside the main park gates on the side near the Arc de
Triomf. The structure was later repurposed as the city Zoological and Natural History Museum.
In the years following the fair, Domènech designed the buildings located on the campus of the
Institut Pere Mata, then known as the Asylum of Reus, near Tarragona. Following the asylum’s
completion, he deployed similar design principles of brick and ceramics on the modernist
pavilions that make up the *Hospital Sant Pau* in Barcelona, and its accompanying modern
asylum in the mountainous northernmost limits of the city.\(^{83}\) Along with *Sant Pau*, Domènech’s


\(^{83}\) See Chapter “The Asylum: Liberalism, Mental Health, and the Bourgeois Catalan Modernist Cohort in Nineteenth-century Spain”
most famous achievement, the Palau de la Musica Catalana, was recognized as a single UNESCO world heritage site in 1997. While he is often recalled as architect of the fair, Domènech’s influence far exceeded that of the exposition. He shaped the urban built environment and bourgeois interiors not only through his own work, but through that of the generation of architects he trained, who cemented the style of Catalan Modernisme he founded. The well-known Catalan modernists he trained, particularly Josep Puig i Cadafalch, and Antoni Gaudí, brought a modern aesthetic to Barcelona and other surrounding towns and cities that reflected upon the Catalan region’s medieval Visigothic and Mudéjar pasts, styles that came to define both old and new parts of the expanding city.

Additionally, Domènech became involved in political activity focusing on Catalan national identity and regional pride around 1900. In 1901, along with his student and celebrated modernist architect Puig i Cadafalch, Domènech served as founder of a minority party, the Centre Nacional Català which merged to form the Lliga Regionalista de Catalunya, and Uniò Català, another minority political faction. His role as a founding member of these organizations demonstrates his dedication to Catalan nationalist pride, but this political motivation does not appear explicitly separatist or pro-independence, at least not in prominent extant publications. The decision to merge with a group describing themselves as regionalists also reflects aims to appeal more broadly to voters and avoid arousing alarm in Madrid. Yet those who interacted with Domènech in person at tertulias knew of his eccentric separatist feelings, as Cajal attested to in his memoir. Domènech was part of a faction of politicians who were educated members of the professional class. These representatives of chambers of commerce and other industrial

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85 Santiago Ramón y Cajal, Recuerdos de Mi Vida, vol. 1 (Madrid: Nicolas Moya, 1917), 94-95. Ramon y Cajal noted that Domènech spoke of Catalan annexation of France, making it the “Belgium of the South,” a notion absent from the architect’s published treatises.
societies included owners of Catalan businesses, who managed these regionalist political groups. This was a meritocratic, industrial, scientifically trained milieu working to gain control of governance in Barcelona and throughout the Catalan region. They worked to change the way power was articulated in Spain in the nineteenth century, when key posts were largely occupied by military figures, clergy, or other members of old aristocratic families.

3.14 Domènech: A Catalan National Style for the Exposition of 1888

Catalan Modernisme is said not to have a manifesto. Nevertheless, I propose that the writings of Domènech serve as an unofficial manifesto, defining the political and aesthetic movements that became Catalan Modernisme. The style gained international exposure during the Exposition of 1888 since several pavilions and other key structures were designed by Domènech and Gaudí, who was his student at the Barcelona School of Architecture. Domènech heralded the style, which he sometimes called Modernisme Arquitectònic, in his writings. These tended to mix political regionalism with architectural treatises. Domènech’s best-known essay, “In Search of a National Architectural Style” first appeared in the Catalan-language political and literary newspaper La Renaxensa in February of 1878, a decade before the Expo in Barcelona.86 There, Domènech first declared the beginning of a new era of artistic production. He observed that art was necessarily moving in a different direction. For Domènech, changes in commercial and political life affected the social and moral character of the period. The Renaixença87 or romantic rebirth of Catalan nationalism during the nineteenth century certainly contributed to this change.

87 I use the term “Renaixença” with the “ç” cedilla character to refer to the name of the movement itself. This form represents the standardized modern spelling of the term following Catalan normative spelling reform, resulting from the publications of grammar and spelling guides between 1911 and 1919 by Catalan linguist Pompeu Fabra (1868-1948). The literary magazine used an older variant of the spelling, “Renaixensa,” and this spelling is used here when referencing this publication, but not the movement itself.
Domènech had lent his editorial experience to the newspaper bearing this name, *Renaxensa*, in addition to penning various works on politics and aesthetics. To Domènech, what distinguished a work of art from some other form of production was the energy used to produce it, and this energy drove everything about the architectural form, from its conception to its completion as a physical object.

The architectural monument, as well as that of other human creations, needs the energy of a productive idea, a moral medium in which to live and lastly a physical medium from which it can be formed, allowing it [the energy] to be a perfect instrument, more or less perfectly derived from the idea, molding the artist to this, and the moral and physical media, and the architectural form.  

His purpose in writing the article is not only to signal the start of a new era of style, but to address why the style changed at all. To Domènech, the style must change because the environment in which art is produced, and the energy resulting from this shift, has changed. This energy is as valuable a component material as the physical goods that enter into production.

Early in the piece, he introduces the proximate cause of the change in style, energy, and environment, as a political one. Domènech opens his essay by arguing that “whenever a new organizing principle seizes the public, whenever a new civilization arises, there appears a new artistic epoch.” The final years of the nineteenth century were a new period in which architecture would no longer aim for the exclusive approval of monarchs or the church. Instead, the final judges of artistic style would be the people. This change is suggestive of the influence of liberal reform, and indeed poses a pronounced break from the past, as Domènech presents it.

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89 Domènech i Montaner, “En Busca de Una Arquitectura Nacional,” 71.

90 Domènech i Montaner, “En Busca d’una Arquitectura Nacional,” 150.
Before discussing the new republican “civilization” making inroads in Europe and Spain, Domènech contextualizes his discussion by reviewing previous civilizations, ancient and modern. His experience as an instructor of architecture and his knowledge of the history of architecture is apparent in this key work. Domènech considers how political systems affected the type of monuments constructed by certain populations, and who these structures were built by and for. He begins with the ancient dynastic system of Egyptian monarchs, whose theocratic governance and concern with the afterlife influenced the construction of monuments on Karnak. The ancient Greek Parthenon reflected humanist values of civic duties, and the Roman coliseum communicates state power and the importance of a hierarchical social order. Societies with strong opinions as to where they came from and what kind of future they planned left monuments. Those in flux, looking backwards with little hope for a future, did not bother to leave behind monuments.\footnote{Domènech i Montaner, “En Busca de Una Arquitectura Nacional,” 72.}

Domènech takes a different approach to the modern, and questions whether it is even possible to talk about a national architectural style in an era of such rapid change. With borders shifting between multi-national political entities and methods of transport and communication increasingly linking different populations, he doubted whether anyone could truly speak of having a national style. He further complicates his discussion by bringing Spanish history into the mix, a past he describes as marked by no singular unifying political or cultural experience. The empire was merely one identity, and Domènech rejected the revival and admiration of any single period, as the Romantics in other parts of Europe and in the capital cities of the United States had done in the case of the popular Greco-Roman revival. Instead he called for a kind of eclecticism that included all the best practices that characterized successful Catalan buildings...
across the centuries. These included past non-Castizo cultures within Spain. Language, laws, customs, climate, topography, and political histories all varied. Andalusia is home to majestic buildings in Mudéjar style from seven centuries of Islamic civilization, a style and period Domènech called Arabe. In the northeast, the gothic prevails in a romantic sense, recalling distinctively Catalan Gothic architectural styles, seen in revered fourteenth-century basilicas Santa Maria del Pi and Santa Maria del Mar. Central portions of the country bear structures from the Hapsburg and Bourbon monarchies, though Domènech does not classify them as Baroque or platteresque. The key is that each area’s prevalent architectural style reflects the dominant political and cultural force of the region. The caliphate, kingdom, and empire marked celebrated architectural forms throughout Spain. At the end of the nineteenth century, as Spain shed its colonies in the Atlantic world, the era of empire seemed to be coming to a close. Rather than characterize this change as a disaster or crisis, Domench reflects upon the era of kingdoms and caliphate, and uses these as his inspiration for a national Catalan style that includes Mudéjar, gothic, and industrial influences. When combined with new building methods and materials including iron, glass, and ceramic, something modern and distinctly Catalan emerged. Merging these styles into something new is not an easy task in terms of physics or aesthetics. He illustrates this in his description of the incompatibilities between the styles. The popular “block of discord” on Passeig de Gracia in the Eixample is evidence of these clashes in styles. Yet they are modern in their disagreement and in their reflection upon pasts that differed politically from the future Catalans anticipated. This eclecticism was the prevalent aesthetic inspiration in the designs of the pavilions constructed for the 1888 Expo. Even before unpacking a single exhibit,

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93 Domènech i Montaner, “En Busca de Una Arquitectura Nacional,” 78.
the Mudéjar, gothic, and neoclassical styles that characterized these structures represented Spain, Catalunya, and Barcelona to visitors from much of the world.

### 3.15 Catalan Modernisme Among European Counterparts

Domènech argued that no style was truly national, and heavy involvement in architectural projects for his native Catalunya did not prevent him from seeing this type of modern architecture within a larger European context. After all, he was well traveled within Europe. “Catalan” Modernisme is reminiscent of the naturalistic forms present in French Art Nouveau and in some cases the Austrian Symbolists’ works. Glass and ceramic works present in Domènech’s ceiling design in the *Palau de la Musica* and the Institute Pere Mata recall curved lines and naturalistic, often botanical motifs. Doorways feature curved stone and cement ornaments over iron structural supports. Sensuous women bearing ambivalent expressions serve as decorative motifs and allegorical figures in his works. Painted swirls and lines add splashes of flair to the otherwise repetitive designs of the multistory buildings that occupy the large Eixample. Many of the structures located near the old gothic quarter, the *Ciutat Vella*, were rebuilt or renovated in a gothic revival style. One such structure is Barcelona’s *Els Quatre Gats* café, designed by Domènech’s student, Josep Puig i Cadafalch. The café’s founder Pere Romeu of the Parisian *Le Chat Noir*, and both locations housed art exhibitions and served as social spaces for modernists artists, the most notable of which were Pablo Picasso and Ramon Casas. 94 Modernist artists were linked to the Parisian cultural milieu, traveling between Barcelona and the French capital by train, making connections between the two modernist cities.

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Liberal constitutional republicanism gripped the majority of nineteenth-century Europe, so that this organizing principle fed the creative energies of more populations than just that of Spain or Catalunya. What he created was part of a style he saw sweeping across European civilization, rather than flowering in place behind a national border. Domènech described frontiers as permeable, with different groups assimilating each other. This assimilation of smaller regions by larger nations is something Domènech would have been aware of from the French example. The late nineteenth century saw the rise of the steam train and telegraph make tremendous increases in the speed and ease of interaction between different peoples. If a national style was an unlikely achievement, a regional style stood even less of a chance of survival. Yet the style Domènech helped pioneer, both through his own designs and his instruction of architects like Gaudi, did just that, and became Catalan Modernisme. While it resembles French Art Nouveau, the German Jugendstil, the British Victorian modern style, and the Austrian Secessionist Movement, Catalan Modernisme is its own distinctive style. Through the legacy of his essays and his enduring projects for the Parc de la Ciutadella, Domènech helped to lead Catalan aesthetics from romantic Renaixença to a national style of Catalan Modernisme that gained international attention at the Exposition of 1888.

3.16 After 1888: Legacy of a Style

Following the closing of the Barcelona fair, the 1889 Exposition in Paris introduced the iconic Eiffel Tower and other structures featuring metalwork and glass. Deborah Silverman opened her study of Art Nouveau by contrasting the linear metalwork and clear plate glass of the 1889 Paris fair with the organic shapes in the colored, curved glass of the 1900 Paris
Exposition. She placed the appearance of Parisian Art Nouveau after the international industrial style that marked the 1880s. Given the body of work Lluís Domènech i Montaner produced prior to and for the 1888 Barcelona Exposition, and considering his publications dating back to the late 1870s, Catalan Modernism, while aesthetically similar to Art Nouveau, developed its own trajectory during the late nineteenth century, influenced by political changes in Spain including liberal parliamentary reform, and the failed attempt at consolidating an enduring republican unitary state. The Catalan response to the loss of colonial power was not one of mourning or loss, in contrast to the reaction in Madrid. Still, it is clear that Catalan Modernisme resembles Parisian Art Nouveau stylistically, and each responded to similar anxieties and concerns during the fin-de-siècle. This, and the interaction between artists who traveled between Paris and Barcelona place both Spanish and French styles within the same cultural milieu of the late nineteenth century.

Given the opportunity to celebrate Barcelona as a modern industrialized city, the 1888 International Exposition inspired pride not only from visitors from abroad, but in the Spanish public, as well. These sources of pride varied between Spanish and Catalans, highlighting the differences between the region and the state as a whole during this time of introspection and reflection upon the past, and aspirations for the future. As Barcelona’s new architectural designs recalled Islamic and Visigothic styles, artistic and intellectual bourgeois elites remembered the time before Columbus, before Madrid with its imperial dominance of the Atlantic World, when this Aragonese medieval walled city on the sea earned wealth and status through naval distinction and commercial success. Again, at the end of the nineteenth century, the city found itself succeeding commercially, this time thanks to industrial progress and urbanization.

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celebrated at the 1888 Expo. But Barcelona was part of Spain, and Madrid could take pride in its eastern city, the site of Columbus’s return to Spain in 1493. While the science exhibited at the fair was more aligned with applied sciences, technologies, and popular spectacles, space was made for serious research science. Much of this took place away from the site of the fair thanks to the work of Santiago Ramon y Cajal. Yet Cajal knew Spain was becoming increasingly peripheral, even as his distinguished career helped to salvage its reputation abroad. As Cajal refined the view of neurons through his microscope, sketching what he witnessed through his eyepiece, so others could share in his micrographic discoveries, architects made countless technical drawings that would bring their bourgeois vision of the new modern city to life. Their style, Catalan Modernisme, was at once similar to other European styles from around 1900, yet as distinct as Barcelona’s experience. As was also the case in France, Spanish architects carried the modernist style indoors, encouraging a revival of interior craftsmanship. This is the subject of the next chapter, which highlights the ways all levels of government took part in encouraging this revival of hand craftsmanship even as they also encouraged industrial mass-production. Members of the same group of artistic and bourgeois elites who were behind the 1888 Exposition went on to influence the design of other modernist spaces, both private and public, with diverse purposes and missions to carry out that were entangled with the political and economic affairs of the age. The following chapter examines several of these projects, which were planned with the aim of addressing social issues that arose or worsened due to changes in the political structure of the state. The legacy of this architectural style and the cosmopolitan nature of this city, this “Paris of the South,” would persist long after the International Exposition of 1888.
3.17 Figures

*Fig. 3.1 Pellicer, Cartel*

Josep Lluís Pellicer, Exposición Universal
Fig. 3.2 Estado Actual Puente

Fig. 3.3 Audouard, Puente
Pau Audouard, Puente de Ingreso á La Sección Marítima. From the Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona.
Fig. 3.4 Estado Actual Palacio de Ciencias, Bellas Artes
Fig. 3.5 Audouard, Palacio de Ciencias
Pau Audouard, Palacio de Ciencias, Exterior. From the Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona.
Fig. 3.6 Audouard, Palacio de Bellas Artes
Pau Audouard, Palacio de Bellas Artes, Interior. From the Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona.
Fig. 3.7 Estado Actual Instalación Japonesa
Fig. 3.8 Audouard, *Instalación Japonesa*

Pau Audouard, *Instalación Japonesa*. From the Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona.
Fig. 3.9 Castell dels Tres Dragons
Lluís Domènech i Montaner, Café-Restaurant Castell dels Tres Dragons, Parc de la Ciutadella. Photo by author.
Fig. 3.10 Castell dels Tres Dragons, Detail
Lluís Domènech i Montaner, Café-Restaurant Castell Dels Tres Dragons. Detail. Photo by author.
4 BOURGEOIS SPACES AND PLACES: ARTS AND INDUSTRIES IN THE CATALAN FIN-DE-SIÈCLE

4.1 Catalan Republicanism and the Fin-de-siècle Bourgeois Aesthetic

Politically-active Catalan modernist architect Lluís Domènech i Montaner wrote of a new organizing principle necessitated by the modern era of republican governance.1 The fact that the unitary state had failed to survive as a republic did nothing to deter separatist Catalans who knew their region of Spain was industrializing and modernizing at a rate that was unmatched in the capital and rivaled only in the Basque and Asturian north, other areas known for separatist regionalism. With industrialization came a rise in the power of the bourgeoisie, and with the decline of absolutism and disentail of lands the aristocracy contracted. Accordingly, as the prevalence of steel frameworks characteristic of industrial production became visible in architectural design aesthetics, these were balanced by a revival of craftsmanship. The industrial production that accumulated wealth for the bourgeois managerial class allowed these elites to invest in Spain’s version of the arts and crafts movement, a revival that all levels of government worked to encourage through contests and fairs including the Universal Exposition of Barcelona in 1888, as discussed in the previous chapter. This chapter looks to the larger influence of this movement beyond that of 1888, as it shaped private and public spaces and the art that filled them. The Paris World Exhibition of 1889, the year after the Barcelona Exposition, is perhaps best known for its unveiling of the iconic Eiffel Tower. This fair continued the momentum of the Barcelona event, with its own Gallery of Machines and celebration of advanced industrial processes. Key figures from Spain spent considerable time in France, particularly Barcelona’s

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elite, who preferred Paris. The Parisian elite too were having similar discussions of how to redefine aesthetic standards and promote different types of beauty in the wake of republicanism. Barcelona and Paris both incentivized the advancement of heavy industry and technology through various means.2 Domènech and his cohort of Catalan artists and literary figures, who were well-versed in Parisian styles of the period, helped to define Catalan Modernisme as a movement related to Parisian Art Nouveau, which would explode onto the European scene at the Exposition Universelle of Paris in 1900. This group consisted of urban elites, and even the artists and architects tended to come from well-to-do families, rather than truly bohemian roots. Perhaps predictably, their works were modern in the sense that they looked forward in this period of republican possibilities, but in so doing they also looked backward toward Barcelona’s own civic values as a late medieval city-state, in the style of Florence. These were not avant-garde artists looking to break radically with the past, and their reliance on bourgeois financial support shaped their works. Much has been written on the rise of syndicalism and radical political groups like the violent anarchists who struck Barcelona and Spain repeatedly between 1893 and 1906. What makes this period after the republican failure of 1874 interesting is this group of politicians, artists, professionals, and industrialists who took their civic responsibilities seriously and worked toward creating functional and pleasant parks, hospitals, and cultural centers that appealed to all segments of society. Promotional artwork created by artists marketed luxury consumable goods produced by these industrialists. Many of these images pushed the boundaries of gender representations and roles within their own class, without treading on the volatile social pressures related to class. While they were bourgeois and therefore fairly conformist by

definition, they were still progressive in ways their more reactionary absolutist counterparts from
earlier decades (including the Carlists) were not.

This bourgeois group, however concerned with civic responsibilities and literary prowess,
was nonetheless wealthy. Accordingly, these elites spent on splendid homes exquisitely
appointed both inside and out, and on luxurious consumables like champagne, spirits, liqueurs
and tobacco products. Fine artist Ramon Casas i Carbó figured prominently in this milieu,
producing both fine art portraiture and promotional lithographic posters that served to fuel
consumer consumption of industrially produced goods with imagery of elegant women behaving
in a piquant manner for the time. This aspirational consumerism not only encouraged the
purchase of drink and chocolate and even motorcars, it placed images of women doing slightly
racy things in public spaces. These risqué activities included having a drink in the open, reclining
suggestively, riding a bicycle, or even driving alone in an open car. Printing technology and
advances in four and five color lithography allowed these posters to be reproduced and
distributed in quantity. It is impossible to measure the effect of such imagery, and whether it
served to outrage or desensitize the public to such nonconformist behavior on the part of
bourgeois women. What these representations of women do show is that Casas imagined his
subjects looking feminine and desirable while engaging in these activities, suggesting that
enjoyment of these masculine luxuries need not pose any threat to femininity during these years
of tension and change during the fin-de-siècle.

While technology allowed for improved efficiency in the speed and scale of industrial
production, it also created wealth that allowed craftsmen to find demand for their skilled trades
in the new Eixample suburbs of Barcelona. Of its elegant streets, Passeig de Gràcia was the most
acclaimed, where many bourgeois families, including that of artist Ramon Casas, made their
homes. A single home separates Casa Casas-Carbó from Antoni Gaudí’s famous Casa Mila on the grand avenue. The architect responsible for updating the Casas’s home in 1898 was Antoni Rovira i Rabassa (1845-1919), son of the famous architect Antoni Rovira i Trias, who was responsible for much work both within the Cituat Vella and in the Eixample. The elder Rovira i Trias designed numerous urban markets, monuments, balustrades, and plazas, and he also refurbished historic homes and façades in the Ciutat Vella, preserving their old gothic style at a time when the more fashionable jobs were in the Eixample, working on modernist homes for bourgeois families. Rovira i Trias is most famous for designing the prize-winning layout for the new Eixample, as chosen by the Ajuntament of Barcelona. However, this contest did not go without controversy, since following intervention from Madrid, the plans of Ildefons Cerdà were chosen instead. This reveals the desires on the part of central administration in Madrid to remain bureaucratically in control and connected with the modernization of Barcelona, a project it would undertake on its own, in what was admittedly a newer city with less archaic infrastructure to contend with. This one case, and the effect it had on Barcelona’s enormous urban expansion also shows just how impactful and enduring these contests and civic improvement projects could be.

This cohort of bourgeois elites made up of industrialists, architects, and artists drove the modernization of urban spaces according to a new organizing principle inspired by Catalan republicanism. Through government-sponsored fairs and competitions, both private domestic and public shared spaces were remade in this style of Catalan Modernisme. Bourgeois industrialists funded much of this change, and the success of their mass-produced luxury goods was linked, in part, to publicity artwork that was created by artists in this style, featuring images of elegant women challenging established notions of gender in the fin-de-siècle.
4.2 Government Sponsorship and Promotion of Arts and Industries

Although private individuals did much to promote visual arts and custom craftsmanship, they were not the only ones encouraging its production. Various levels of government administration organized contests to serve as talent searches when engineering or architectural problems arose. These were organized by individual schools, town councils, regional, and even national authorities. The technique was especially popular in Catalunya, where the practice has continued, including the relatively recent construction of the Igualada Cemetery outside Barcelona, with a design selected in a competition held in 1984. The major expansion and urbanization project that extended Barcelona beyond its old medieval city walls was chosen by the town council from plans submitted by several engineers, and infamously, was overridden by central administration in Madrid. Some controversy also marked the urbanization of Plaça Catalunya, located at the northern end of the Ramblas, where the old town met the new Eixample or expansion, a process that was also governed by contest. Barcelona-based La Vanguardia newspaper ran multiple pieces clarifying the rules of the competition, specifying the requirements for the new design, and clarifying why unnamed plans were rejected for not meeting these criteria.\(^3\) These printed pieces note that they were repeating and revisiting these criteria, which suggests that the public paid close attention to the decision-making process that governed these projects, and questioned the outcome when it seemed out of line with the requirements as initially announced.

However, these contests promoted more than public social spaces or ornamental products, and not all were centered around Barcelona. Madrid announced a national contest for naval artillery gun deck design in 1887, calling specifically for a deck compatible with the

“Tallerie” type of artillery, designed in the style of respected Spanish naval engineer Tomas Tallerie y Ametller (1828-1900). Competitions like these existed throughout the nineteenth century, but leading up to the exposition of 1888 in Barcelona, and for some time after, these fairs and their associated contestants took on an important role in advancing arts, industries, and agricultural production, and for generating national pride at the exhibition of these products. The 1892 announcement of religious festivals continued this trend by using language that celebrated industrial production, connecting these points of pride with commemorations of the anniversary of the Columbian excursion of 1492. *La Vanguardia* reported, “We recognize the need for Barcelona, as well as other capitals, to celebrate with great festivities the centenary of the discovery of America.” Gone were the days of Catalan festivals with ornamentation limited to “papier mâché arches.” The 1888 exposition had placed hopes, both within Spain and abroad, in Barcelona’s ability to create new spectacles to attract more attendees, producing more contests with more goods. This was the character these festivals should assume, one that was “modern, original, and worthy of applause, not just for the local Barcelonés but for all Spaniards and foreigners…who will see these economic plans come to life.” Activities should appeal to all social classes and would vary from floral arrangement competitions to the ceremonial firing of marine cannon, to be organized by the Ayuntament or city government.

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5 José Pascó y Mensa, “Primer Proyecto de Fiestas de Nuestra Senora de Las Mercedes y Conmemorativas Del Descubrimiento de América,” *La Vanguardia*, March 9, 1892, 1-2. “Reconocida la necesidad de que Barcelona, como otras capitales, celebre con grandes festejos el centenario del descubrimiento de América, el que subscribe preesenta el siguiente plan de los mismos, razonando al propio tiempo su punto de partida. Hay que convenier, desde luego, en que han pasado ya los tiempos en que Barcelona limitaba sus fiestas al ornato de las calles con miserables arcos de cartón, mezquinas iluminaciones, y diversiones que más que populares podrian denominarse de barrio.”


7 Pascó y Mensa, “Primer Proyecto de Fiestas de Nuestra Senora de Las Mercedes y Conmemorativas Del Descubrimiento de América,” 1-2. “A este fin y con el objeto primordial de que éstas tengan principalmente este carácter moderno, original, y digno de aplauso, no únicamente para los mismos barceloneses, sino para todos los españoles y extranjeros, el que suscribe ha atendido en primer lugar á los siguientes puntos de vista, que expone
Even after the expense and difficulty of carrying out the 1888 fair, Barcelona was expected to continue providing spectacles and entertainments that appeared as mere amusements on the surface, but that tied in deeply with national pride. In 1892, that source of pride was connected with the Americas. Even Catalans like art professor José Pascó y Mensa advocated before the Ajuntament of Barcelona for dramatic celebrations and festivities in connection with the fourth Columbian centennial. As attention and resources were desperately needed to improve Spanish odds against the United States, the public was distracted with the type of bread and circuses atmosphere these fairs encouraged, improving the quality of their festival decorations rather than concerning themselves with the loss of the key Columbian achievement that was cause for celebration.

4.3 Fairs and Contests: Barcelona

Barcelona’s contests in support of ornamental arts, both fine and industrial, were sponsored by members of the royal family, local aristocrats, and bourgeois heads of industry. These prizes were endowed by national and local notables and businesses. The emphasis on the twin goals of art and industry reflects a desire to modernize, while doing so in an aesthetically pleasing way. What pleased the eye was distinctively Catalan but also modernist in a larger European sense. The prizes were frequently connected with fairs. From April through June of 1896, Barcelona hosted its third such local fair, with prizes listed on the promotional poster (fig. 4.1) created by Catalan aristocrat Alexandre de Riquer (1856-1920). Awards were promised, to be given by their royal majesties (sus majestades, notated as SSMM), Alfonso XIII and his

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8 Pascó y Mensa, 1.
9 Alexandre de Riquer, *Cartel de La 3ra Exposición de Bellas Artes e Industrias Artisticas*, 1896, Color lithograph on paper, 148cm x 93.3cm, 1896, Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya.
regent mother and queen regnant, Maria Cristina, who were present at the Universal Exposition of 1888 in Barcelona. In addition, prizes would also be awarded from local authorities, corporations, and notable individuals. A grand prize award of 10,000 pesetas was promised, and other awards totaling 65,000 pesetas were destined for award winners, at the Palace of *Bellas-Artes*.\(^\text{10}\) The style of the poster recalls other modernist art featuring allegorical feminine figures, in this case bearing an artist’s palette, a classical sculptural work, and a modernist domestic water pitcher. Riquer’s use of gothic-style lettering, the arms of the crown of Aragon, and the bat device of the house of the medieval king Jaume I (1208-1276) all recall civic pride in medieval Barcelona, when its commercial and political impact upon the Mediterranean was at its height. This poster visually promotes the arts while recalling handicrafts and guilds, yet its references to industry are limited to the text itself. *La Vanguardia* also ran a series of announcements, offering cash prizes for the city-organized fair showcasing the fine (bellas) and industrial arts. “The Queen has agreed to establish a prize of 2,500 pesetas, to be awarded at the upcoming Exposition of Fine and Industrial Arts. The Duchess of Denis has also offered a prize for the contests, to be awarded to a work of art that will become property of the Town Hall.”\(^\text{11}\) This announcement focused on civic art projects, aimed at producing works that would be placed in public spaces rather than private homes, in this case, the town hall. Although the political and economic elite sponsored these competitions, larger segments of the public could anticipate an encounter with the resulting product, particularly in the case of architectural design or the decoration of public spaces. Members of the aristocracy were joined in their patronage, with members of the clergy

\(^{10}\) Alexandre de Riquer, *Cartel de La 3ra Exposición de Bellas Artes e Industrias Artísticas*, 1896, Color lithograph on paper, 148cm x 93.3cm, Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya, Barcelona.

\(^{11}\) “Notas Locales,” *La Vanguardia*, March 7, 1896, 2. “La Reina ha concedido para la próxima Exposición de Bellas Artes e Industrias Artísticas, un premio de 2,500 pesetas. También ha ofrecido la duquesa de Denis otro premio para dicho certamen, con destino á una obra artística que quedará de propiedad del Ayuntamiento.”
and several artistic organizations offering prizes. These included the Cardinal Bishop of the province of Urgel and the Bishop of the nearby town of Vic. Associations sponsoring prizes include the Provincial Academy of Fine Arts, the Artistic Association of Barcelona, and the Association of the Liceu, Barcelona’s Opera. The catalog of the fair lists seventeen such prizes limited to certain types of media, or centered around specific purposes, like the promotion of the virtue of work.\footnote{Ayuntamiento Constitucional de Barcelona, \textit{Catálogo Ilustrado de La Tercera Exposición de Bellas Artes é Industrias Artísticas} (Barcelona: J. Thomas & Ca., 1896), 21–25, Biblioteca Digital d’Historia de l’Art Hispànic.}

The aim of these public fairs and contests was to source fine artwork for civic purposes, so that citizens of all classes could experience craftsmanship and art enjoyed by social elites. The illustrated catalog for the 1896 Industrial and Fine Arts Exposition in Barcelona lists involved parties, from dignitaries and patrons to little-known local artisans. The catalog categorized these projects in terms of media or skill required, rather than sorting them by the type of venue in which they would ultimately be placed. Therefore, a wrought iron lamp could find its way into a church, public park, or factory. The general category of architectural entries reveals a few projects that were designed for spaces frequented by chiefly bourgeois visitors, like the decorative ceiling and theatrical curtain proposals for the Liceu. Illustrated submissions consist mostly of paintings and sculpture, traditional works of fine art, but they also include some examples of domestic furnishings for elegant spaces. One of these was a heavily carved wooden sideboard by Juan Riera y Casanovas, with an ornate crown of castle-like crenulations suited for a grand dining room.\footnote{Ayuntamiento Constitucional de Barcelona, 60.} However, a great many design proposals were for articles bound for major churches, including altars, royal chapels, and memorial monuments. Smaller communities that had been swallowed up by Barcelona’s urban expansion were the target of proposals for new
parish churches, including one planned for the former town of Gràcia, located north of the Ciutat Vella. Projects directly benefitting the lower classes included a low-cost housing project for sixteen working-class families proposed by Bartolomé Ferrá y Perelló for Palma de Mallorca, and a school for poor orphans submitted by Manuel Vega y March. Federico Soler Catarineu registered his entry for “a reduced plan for infirmaries, lazarettos, disinfection and hydrotherapy, for an asylum serving both sexes.”\textsuperscript{14} In this category alone, several of these architectural proposals identified areas of great social concern given the inequalities present in Barcelona and other industrializing cities. Still, they were outnumbered by requests for decorative, rather than functional projects in what was ultimately a fair about aesthetics and ornamentation for the modernizing city.

### 4.4 Fairs and Contests: Madrid

Even as Barcelona focused on economic revitalization through economic and technological modernization, Madrid became increasingly concerned with the past, namely commemorating the Columbian journeys. The emphasis on arts, industry, and modernity characteristic of the fairs hosted by Barcelona was notably absent in the planning process for the 1892 Histórico-Americana Exposition held in Madrid, as well as smaller local fairs. The focus of the fair was the fourth centenary of the first Columbian voyage. The general catalog of the fair listed six out of eight planning committee delegates from the national museum of archeology, who produced an introduction to the catalog establishing the character of the fair as backward-looking. The fair would recall not only the “glories” of the “discovery” carried out by Columbus and his Spanish crew, with the prayerful support of a Spanish queen, but of the artistic

\textsuperscript{14} Ayuntamiento Constitucional de Barcelona, 145-150. “Reducción de un proyecto de enfermerías, lazarettos, desinfección y h idroterapia para un manicomio de ambos sexos.”
achievements of Spain and Portugal, and all of Iberia, in those prior centuries. Agricultural produce dominated the page listings throughout the catalog, while listings of machinery were buried in the small print of the dense volume. Aside from the 1892 Exposition, Madrid hosted contests for various industrial projects, including the redevelopment of its city center and aspects of its urban expansion projects.

Extant programs, promotional posters, and newspaper announcements indicate that of all the fairs that were organized in the final decades of the nineteenth century in Madrid, a relatively small portion of these were dedicated to industrial and fine arts compared with Barcelona. This is likely due, in part, to shifts in the meaning of the Spanish word for “fair.” The Spanish term “feria” translates directly as fair, but the traditional feria was a fair in the sense of a what is known in the United States as a county or state fair, promoting agricultural rather than industrial production. Madrid’s events merged the modern meaning of a fair as an industrial exposition with the traditional nature of local religious feasts and agricultural fairs. Extant programs and promotional posters printed for various fairs planned by the Ayuntamiento de Madrid often exhibited agricultural produce, including botanical and animal specimens, rather than industrial advances or arts. These events were scheduled around religious feast days, which were already días no-laborables, or non-working days. Programs and posters reveal social activities at these Madrid fairs not advertised for industrial fairs in Barcelona. For the 1880 Feria de Madrid, the Ayuntamiento sponsored an exhibition of flowers and birds in Retiro Park. The venue had been the private gardens of the royal family since Phillip II (r. 1556-1598) moved the royal court to Madrid in 1561 but were opened to the public during the republican period following the

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16 Programa de La Feria de Madrid de 1880, May 20, 1880, Ayuntamiento de Madrid.
abdicacion and exile of Isabel II in 1868. Organizers arranged for live music to be performed in outdoor gazebos. The lower classes could dance at the city-sponsored functions, but privately sponsored social engagements were also promoted during these festival and fairs. These included grand balls for social elites, some of which were risqué affairs promoted by popular artwork used to announce similar events in Paris, notably Mardi-Gras. Posters promoting these types of events promised themed fancy dress, masks, and even cross-dressing.17

Madrid did host some fairs in the sense of the modern industrial exposition. From May to August of 1883, Retro Park held an industrial fair showcasing the Spanish mining industry. Its official title, The National Exposition of Mining, Metallurgical Arts, Ceramics, Lead Crystal and Glass, and Mineral Waters, indicates that this was indeed an arts and industries fair. This fair predates the construction of what is perhaps the park’s most iconic structure, the Crystal Palace. The glass and metal greenhouse was completed in 1887 to exhibit specimens from the Philippines, which were still Spanish possessions at the time. Like l’Hivernacle in Barcelona, these hothouses recall Paxton’s Crystal Palace from the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London’s Hyde Park, but on a far smaller scale, and similar in purpose to Kew Gardens, outside London. The only surviving structure is the main exhibition hall from the fair, known then as the Palacio de Mineria, now the Palacio de Velazquez. The palace is a red brick building with ceramic tiles including abstract curved shapes. In terms of style, its ceramic ornamentation recalls some of the works from the 1888 fair in Barcelona. The resemblance stops there, and the building’s neoclassical columns lack the Mudéjar and gothic influences that mark Barcelona’s architecture. The palace is centrally located within the park, near a lake that feeds into a smaller pond and

waterfall grotto built for the 1887 fair near the site of the future crystal palace. The Palacio would go on to host other expositions in Madrid following the success of the 1887 fair.

Printed programs promoting individual companies included domestic and foreign industrial manufacturers (fig. 4.2). These differed dramatically from Riquer’s richly illustrated poster for Barcelona and were composed of typeset text and logotypes of participating manufacturing companies, rather than stylized artwork. One such example is the brochure promoting the Morgan Crucible Company of Battersea, London. Awards for the company listed all of the key industrial fairs to date, including Paris 1878, Philadelphia 1876, Moscow 1872, Paris 1867, Amsterdam 1869, London 1862, Dublin 1865, New Zealand 1865, and Frankfurt 1881. A local Madrid ironworks company was listed between the logotype and maker’s mark for Morgan, implying collaboration between these entities. The program pages that follow include text-only testimonials of local metallurgists, as well as other English iron and metalwork specialists.18 The Royal Asturian Mining Company brochure is similar in format, promoting northern Spanish carbon production, which had recently been expanded to include zinc. The history of the company appears first, noting its honorific designation as “Real” was given in 1883, for advances leading to large scale production of carbon in Spain.19 As these pamphlets suggest, participation in these types of fairs was important to these companies, who sought out the gold, silver, and bronze medals awarded for their achievements, which they would later proudly announce in their own promotional materials.

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4.5 Bourgeois Industry, Craftsmanship, and Domestic Space in Barcelona

Both industrial and artistic production existed in a kind of tension toward the end of the nineteenth century, as each found their own niche markets. As in other parts of Europe, the industrialized mass production of everyday goods followed changes in the way things were made, using iron, steam, coal, and heavy machinery. These changes were driven by investments from a wealthy managerial class or bourgeoisie, operating in areas that already were or would become key urban centers. The factories managed by this emerging middle-class elite worked to produce goods at a speed and scale previously impossible under the old methods of individually handcrafted products. As prices of consumer goods fell, a kind of democracy of possessions emerged. Yet even as wealthy elites profited from this process of lower quality and lower cost goods, they sought out distinctive and thoughtfully designed items, often requiring much labor from skilled craftsmen, as status symbols for themselves. Frequently, homes and furnishings fulfilled this role. In the case of Domènech i Montaner, the role of architect, industrial designer, and interior designer all tended to overlap, with cabinet makers, upholsterers, and other craftsmen carrying out the work (fig. 4.3). The expansion plan prompted a sharp increase in the quantity of construction work, and architecture as a profession organized under the Associació d'Arquitectes de Catalunya in 1874, which helped to establish the Col·legi d’Arquitectes de Catalunya the following year, where he became an instructor and eventually its director in 1900. Domènech joined after years studying architecture as well as a prescribed track of “ciencias exactas” in Madrid, which included mathematics, natural science, and physics. As was customary for men of his social position, he went on a Grand Tour of Europe after completing his formal education, adding to his architectural knowledge. From an early age he learned graphic design principles from his exposure to bookbinding, his father’s trade, through the
He was a polymath, dabbling in such diverse interests as iron forging, history, and heraldry. Of his most famous students, Antoni Gaudí and Josep Puig i Cadafalch, Puig had a similar educational background in exact sciences and architecture, and later pursued archaeology, published extensively, and went on to teach strengths and materials to architecture students. Gaudí also received a traditional and religious education, but after attending the provincial architecture school he entered the workforce rather than pursue an academic career. In its early years, Barcelona’s architecture association and school refined educational and professional standards for a field dominated by men from financially secure families who received classical, rather than technical training. The changes carried out by these architects, both in the Ciutat Vella and in the Eixample, gave Barcelona some of its most distinctive examples of Catalan Modernisme.

Decades after Barcelona expanded in accordance with the Cerdà Plan beginning in the 1860s, the bourgeoisie remodeled these uniformly-designed houses in the new Catalan modernist style, especially on the city’s new grand avenue, Passeig de Gràcia. The Cerdà plan for the expansion of Barcelona was proposed after much research by Catalan Ildefons Cerdà, who is considered the father of the science of urbanization. His socialist leanings have some bearing upon the uniformity of design he envisioned for the new Eixample, and bourgeois families looking to make status symbols out of their homes in a way that reflected their elevated social standing undid this egalitarian aesthetic with ornamentation. Decorative materials like ceramic tiles and ironworks for balconies and windows were produced with the aid of modern industrial

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21 See chapter, “Barcelona: Memory and Urban Modernization in the Fin-de-Siècle.”
machinery, but it was the expertise of artisans, craftsmen, and architects who made these works one-of-a-kind commissions. This duality continued between arts and industries, as machinery capable of producing identical, blandly designed goods was used with the guidance of professionals with artistic flair, who machine crafted unique and limited-run items to serve as ornamental status symbols. Still, this investment in homes and interiors served for more than just status or even personal enjoyment. This trend toward interiority and the soft curves and botanical motifs deployed in modernista design mark a period in which bourgeois home life in Barcelona sought to separate the public space of commerce and industry from the domestic space of family and comfort. This trend resembled similar developments in Paris and London following industrialization.22

Notably, the iconic Illa de la Discòrdia or Block of Discord on Passeig de Gràcia is an example of non-structural ornamentation taken to its extreme, with interior and façade surfaces covered with materials characteristic of Catalan Modernisme. Just north of Plaça Catalunya and the Portal de l’Angel, site of the main gates to the old city walls, the street was home to wealthy bourgeois families, offices affiliated with the companies owned by the wealthy families living nearby, and elegant shops. The block runs between Carrer del Consell de Cent and Carrer Aragó. The address on the corner, Passeig de Gràcia 35, is the Casa Lleó Morera (fig. 4.4), renovated by Catalan architect Lluís Domènech i Montaner in 1906. The original house was built in 1864 in the early construction phases of the Cerdà Plan for urban expansion. The building’s owner was Francesca Morera i Ortiz, heiress to wealth gained from commercial activity in the Americas. She commissioned the work in 1902, but died in 1904, before it was completed. Her son Albert Lleó i Morera resided in the house instead, and as a Doctor of medicine and surgery and a

22 Silverman, Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France, 8–9; Joan Ramon Resina, Barcelona’s Vocation of Modernity: Rise and Decline of an Urban Image (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2008), 46–47.
practicing microbiologist, he formed part of the professional and industrial bourgeois milieu that helped shape the city during and shortly after the fin-de-siècle. Master craftsmen were hired to complete plasterwork, three bay windows of stained glass, bas-relief, mosaics, and built-in cabinetry, all unique and fully customized. In addition to the botanical motifs typical of modernisme, Domènech and his craftsmen included allegorical feminine figures, cherubs, and images of San Jordi or Saint George, one of the patrons of Barcelona. Mulberries appear on the interior and on the building façade, a play on the meaning of the patron’s last name, Morera. This emphasis on interiority recalls the Parisian brothers Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, who agonized over their decor and interior design selections as a way of escaping the frenetic modern pace of the nineteenth century while recalling the rococo curves and detail of the aristocratic eighteenth century. It also visually resembles the work of William Morris (1834-1896) of London, who was a textile designer, but like Domènech, also concerned himself with politics, social issues, and literature. Morris was a pioneer of the English Arts and Crafts movement and despite his family’s bourgeois status, is considered a socialist. He advocated for real artistry and craftsmanship in construction work in the tradition of medieval guild work. However, Morris’s transcribed published lecture “The Beauty of Life” warns against excessive ornamentation:

Believe me, if we want art to begin at home, as it must, we must clear our houses of troublesome superfluities that are forever in our way: conventional comforts that are no real comforts, and do but make work for servants and doctors: if you want a golden rule that will fit everybody, this is it: ‘HAVE NOTHING IN YOUR HOUSES THAT YOU DO NOT KNOW TO BE USEFUL OR BELIEVE TO BE BEAUTIFUL.’ And if we apply that rule strictly, we shall in the first place show the builders and such-like servants of the public what we really want, we shall create a demand for real art, as the phrase goes; and in the second place, we shall surely have more money to pay for decent houses.24

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23 Silverman, Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France, 80.
Domènech was the more conservative of the two, focusing his social and political attention on Catalan regionalism, Morris on class inequity. Yet both men were keenly aware of liberal economic and political change of their time and knew the importance of bringing thoughtfully designed meaningful art into the interior spaces of the projects on which they worked. Both men contributed to the designs of complete interiors that brought the skilled level of style and craftsmanship from building façades indoors through light fixtures, wall tile and stencil work, stained glass and other window artistry, and furnishings. Extant examples of Domènech’s furniture designs, most completed by cabinet maker Gaspar Homar, are present at Casa Lleó Morera in Barcelona, Casa Navàs and the Institut Pere Mata in Reus. These designs for custom built-in cabinetry, upholstered benches, paneled marquetry, and inlay work took advantage of the skills of skilled woodworkers, fabric designers, and upholsterers. These projects employed members of these skilled trades, promoting a method of manufacture that was deliberate in its painstaking detail and the amount and quality of labor required. This revival of techniques that pre-dated industrial machinery had parallels not only in the English, but also in French crafts movements, which promoted these methods in the face of increasingly efficient industrial mass production.

Further up the avenue, Casa Amatller occupies Passeig de Gràcia 41 (fig. 4.5), an 1875 Cerdà Plan building that was remodeled in 1898 by an architecture student of Domènech i Montaner, Catalan Josep Puig i Cadafalch. These were extensive renovations that like the rest of the block, required permits to vary from the original Cerdà Plan requirements. The renovation involved significant redistribution of interior space, allowing for the inclusion of an elevator and storage for the owner’s Hispano-Suiza motorcar. The façade changed from a blank, flat front to a

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25 Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de Barcelona, Lluís Domènech i Montaner.
26 Silverman, Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France.
showpiece of gothic revival ornamentation (fig. 4.6), as commissioned by Antoni Amatller Costa (1851-1910), a chocolatier who used industrial production methods to mass-produce sweets. Like many industrialists, Amatller had varied interests including travel photography, and taking photographic portraits and self-portraits. He collected works of industrial arts like glass and ceramics, as well as fine arts including oil paintings by Ramon Casas. Like so many elites from this period, he was a sort of Renaissance man, interested in industrial machinery and delicate ceramics, combustion engines and feminine portraits. Like Domènech, architect Puig i Cadafalch was involved in Catalan politics, founding the autonomist organization Solidaritat Catalana in 1906, elected to the Corts Catalanes, and publishing works on Catalan national culture in *La Renaixensa*. In connection with these political activities, he exiled himself to France during the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, from 1923-1930. Puig i Cadafalch was part of a political cohort that saw industrialization as a method of renewal through which Barcelona and Catalunya could regain the commercial success the region enjoyed during its medieval maritime past. The façade’s redesign included neo-gothic filigree shutters in green and Islamicate arches over the windows. This eclecticism extends to styles popular outside of Iberia, present in the stair-stepped roofline and façade designed in the style of the Netherlandish baroque, a period when the Dutch territories were part of the Spanish empire. This decorative style served a purpose, creating an elevated space in which Antoni Amatller could have a photographic studio. The interior more clearly expressed gothic influences, with dark stained wooden arches, but with a whimsical air reminiscent of Domènech’s work for the café of the Barcelona 1888 fair. Puig i Cadafalch also

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27 I use the term “Renaixença with the “ç” cedilla character to refer to the name of the movement itself. This form represents the standardized modern spelling of the term following Catalan normative spelling reform, resulting from the publications of grammar and spelling guides between 1911 and 1919 by Catalan linguist Pompeu Fabra (1868-1948). The literary magazine used an older variant of the spelling in its name, Renaixensa, and this spelling is used here when referencing this publication, but not the movement itself.
integrated the owner’s name into his designs, repeating the A-shape in the façade, interior, and decorative elements.

Perhaps the most dramatic deviation from the uniformity of the original Cerdà Plan elevations is Passeig de Gràcia 43, Casa Batlló (fig. 4.7). The original was built in 1877, remodeled at the request of owner Josep Batlló Casanovas (d. 1934) in a project that was completed in 1906 by Antoni Gaudí, who was also a student of Domènech i Montaner. Gaudí increased the height of the building and made it an irregular shape that resembles the spine of a lizard, a motif he used in several of his works. The structure is decorated with ceramics, a popular material in modernist architecture, but Gaudí worked his mosaics in three dimensions, not just bas-relief or flat mosaic. These mosaics were made up irregularly shaped ceramic shards, and the practice, known in Catalan as *trencadís*, resembles that of *pique assiette*, a method used in France during this period. The windows were redesigned into irregularly curved openings, inspiring locals to refer to the building as the house of yawning mouths, and the balconies similarly prompted references to the house of masks. Joseph Batlló was also an industrialist, leading the textile industry in Barcelona. He married into the family that founded the prominent local newspaper, *La Vanguardia*. Batlló is remembered as a focused businessman, unlike Amatller with his collections and photographs. Gaudí took on a very different life outside of architecture from Domènech or Puig i Cadafalch. He was absent from the Catalan nationalist cohort, leaving behind dandyism of the fin-de-siècle while growing increasingly conservative and even ascetic in his Catholicism.

These are iconic buildings, and yet, the industrial leaders responsible for these renovations circumvented Cerdà’s urbanization, choosing to break from his plan’s rectilinear façade uniformity with heavily ornamented, naturalistic, and even fanciful creations. The key
architects of the turn of the century worked with these wealthy families to remake the city’s grand avenue in the new Catalan modernist style. In so doing, their building façade designs had an impact on civic life, changing the landscape by injecting botanical motifs and naturalistic curves into the structures in ways Cerda did not, despite his inclusion of patios and parks for green space. The bourgeois families recreated their domestic space, integrating their family histories and names into the interior ornamentation, while bringing botanical and other motifs from nature inside their urban homes. In the case of Antoni Amatller, his photographic studio allowed the industrialist himself to enter into the artistic space of Barcelona, activities financed by the luxury consumables he made available to increasing segments of the city population. These renovations reflect the desire of bourgeois families to circumvent the more egalitarian aspects of Cerda’s plan by commissioning highly customized exteriors that reshaped the character of the city while communicating status. These homes brought the ornamentation of the façade indoors in a tendency that is suggestive of larger movements toward interiority and domestic spaces as a refuge from the crowded, fast-paced city. These projects also employed craftsmen, which was part of this trend toward looking back at Barcelona and Catalunya’s medieval heyday. By supporting skilled laborers in the tradition of guildsmen, these patrons not only treated themselves to custom homes and furnishings that served as status symbols, they also aimed to revive a key aspect of Barcelona’s prosperous past. This nostalgia flourished despite the fact that the Eixample itself was necessitated by industrialization, and these wealthy patrons were themselves beneficiaries of the factory system.

4.6 Bourgeois Industry, Arts, and Consumable Luxury Goods

Indeed, much of this urban, aesthetically-minded cultural milieu invested its wealth in artistic endeavors as part of its experience of bourgeois life. With wealth derived from industrial
production and agricultural improvements, this cohort concerned itself with such needful things as custom crafted homes and luxury consumer goods. The modernist ornamentation they commissioned found its way into public and domestic spaces through other means, as well. Even something as mundane as a poster advertisement, affixed to the side of a building in a dirty alley, could be a piece of art. Commercial advertisements promoted more than just the product. They disseminated modernist graphic art, conceived for mass viewer-ship during a time that afforded expanded awareness, if not participation, in mass politics. Producers of these consumer goods solicited modernist works from fine artists, which speaks to the mass appeal of the artists’ designs. Beyond their aesthetic value, advertisements used modern lithographic printing techniques to popularize local and international talent. The goods they promoted, items that were luxuries once reserved only for royalty and later the high aristocracy, could be enjoyed regularly by the middle class, and even on special occasions for those with little disposable income, thanks to the availability of cheaper mass-produced goods of lower quality. These consumer goods were made to appear even more enticing by commercial advertisements that turned desires into necessities as part of the rise of consumerism. Their function, however economically motivated, was urged on by the artistic compositions that drove up consumer demand.

Talent for this promotional artwork was often recruited by contests connected with the arts and industries expos, which were sponsored by a variety of civic and commercial entities. Private donors also endowed exhibitions of fine and publicity art, which were held in the artists’ studios or in cafes like Els Quatre Gats. Fine art that was not intended to promote a specific consumer good could be adapted or revised to include the product placement desired by the company, in exchange for the artist’s or lithographic company’s fee. Prominent business-owning families were often patrons of the arts, sponsoring art institutes and architectural schools that
produced craftsmen who went on to build the city in the new aesthetic. While the new fashionable parts of the city were renovated in modernist style, buildings in the older gothic-style districts became canvases for modernist publicity posters, which were funded by the wealthy families’ successful businesses.

4.7 The Arts and Marketing: Ramon Casas

One of the most successful branding and marketing campaigns of the period was carried out by the Anis del Mono anisette company, based in Badalona, a sea town near Barcelona. The Anis del Mono advertising campaign is an example of several that brought together supply problems related to colonial crises, industrial production capabilities, modernista ephemeral art from fine artist Ramon Casas, and an understanding of the tastes of its bourgeois customer base.

The company had dealt in cognac and rum, but the possibility of Cuban independence posed a potential supply problem when it came to sugar cane, the raw material needed for rum production. Anisette is a liqueur made from readily obtainable anise seed, providing a local alternative in case of difficulty obtaining supplies. Anisette’s flavor and cloudy color (when combined with water or ice) is part of a larger Mediterranean tradition including the Greek ouzo, but it also recalls French Absinthe, which was associated with the Parisian bohemian milieu. The Spanish counterpart lacked absinthe’s green color and herbal components including wormwood, which had gained notoriety for supposedly causing hallucinations and erratic behavior that may have been due to the high alcohol content of the spirit. Still, locally produced anisette held a certain cachet in the taverns and cafes of Barcelona.

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28 For a discussion of trade from Catalan ports to Cuba, see Raymond Carr, Spain, 1808-1975 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 397. Carr situates Catalan trade to Cuba at sixty percent, consisting chiefly of manufactured goods.
Accordingly, the Anis del Mono company distilling floor, executive offices, and the salon containing the archive of samples were constructed in the modernist style at the request of founder, Vicente Bosch. Its polished marble floors and copper stills gleam in the light allowed in by a grid of windows typical of factories built at the end of the century. What sets this window apart is the circular logo of the brand, set in stained glass. The focal point of the glass logo is the figure of a monkey with distinctly human-looking features. His hairline is receding, and he has a full beard emerging from beneath large ears. His face is that of a man. The monkey-man holds a bottle of the anisette in one hand, and an opened scroll in the other. Rumors perpetuated by the company claim that the founder, Vicente Bosch, received an actual monkey as a gift as part of a business transaction on one of his many travels to the Americas, and the monkey roamed the premises. A monkey appears in several of the promotional posters, looking realistically small and cuddly, in contrast to the monkey-man in the stained glass, which appears in similar humanoid form on the bottle’s label. The scroll he holds reads, “It is the best. Science said so. And I do not lie.” Rumors encouraged by the company claim that the monkey-man’s face bears a resemblance to Charles Darwin. The viewer is left to infer that Anis del Mono anisette is a more highly evolved form of the liqueur than its competitors, yet the text also takes a playfully cynical jab at the assumed infallibility of scientific authority. The overall message is that this is a modern luxury.

In fact, the Anis del Mono company website still relies on visual culture at present. It relays its own history by using a comic-strip cartoon to tell the tale of how the monkey, bottle design, and publicity art came to be. The last pane of the comic addresses the highlight of the

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company’s publicity history. The artwork features two gentlemen in old-fashioned hats admiring
the iconic Anis del Mono poster from the fin-de-siècle. The comic’s text notes that founder
Vicente Bosch was a fan of all art, and so he was moved to organize a contest in 1897, by which
an artist could win the chance to have his design displayed on the world’s first electrically lit
promotional posters. Two of these would be displayed, one at the Puerta del Sol, the new hub
and heart of Madrid, and the other on Passeig de Gràcia, the new grand avenue of Barcelona’s
Eixample.\footnote{“Anís Del Mono.”}

After much fanfare, the prize-winning artist was announced: Ramon Casas. His work,
known as \textit{Mona y Mono} features a woman wearing a blue dress with a yellow shawl, leading a
monkey by the hand as if he were a child (fig. 4.8).\footnote{Ramon Casas i Carbó, \textit{Mona y Mono}, 1898, Color lithograph on paper, 220.5 x 110cm, 1898, Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya, http://www.museunacional.cat/es/colleccio/anis-del-mono-mono-y-mona/ramon-casas/000391-c.} The monkey carries a bottle of anisette, and
the woman sips from a small cordial glass while gazing flirtatiously at the viewer. The title,
\textit{Mona y Mono} is a wordplay on the Spanish word “mona” which is given in the feminine gender
and means cute, and “mono,” the word for monkey, which can also be used to describe someone
who clowns around and cannot be trusted. The campaign was a success. This and other similar
images Ramon Casas created for the company remain iconic and are still reproduced today.

Without the product placement, this work could have sold as a piece of fine art. Indeed, this was
the fate of the majority of works by Casas. These posters were pasted to buildings in public
spaces throughout the country, placing the image of the upper-class woman and her drink in the
public sphere. While working and lower-class women had already moved into visible, public
view in Barcelona, an elegant woman would not be caught drinking on the street. To date,
traditional Spaniards reject “to-go” drinks, even water, and particularly for women, considering
it impolite to ingest any kind of beverage on the sidewalk, instead of in a café, bar, or restaurant. The figure’s presence represents a modern artistic rendition of behavior carried out by a modern woman, reproduced by modern printing methods that allowed the work’s distribution in large quantities, across major cities, for consumption by the politically and socially aware masses.

After his success with Anis del Mono, artist Ramon Casas also attempted to win over the Paris Cigarette company. Anis del Mono was a locally-produced Catalan product, promoted by a local Catalan artist, but contests were open to international participants, who competed and sometimes won. Famous advertisements for chocolates and cookies were created by French and central European artists. For example, the parent company of Paris cigarettes and several other brands was founded by Manuel Malagrida, who grew up in a small town near Barcelona, and moved to the city in his youth. From there he visited Paris, where he learned the tobacco trade, and then moved to Argentina, where he took advantage of lower overhead costs and started his cigarette business with a European target market. In 1900 he sponsored a commercial advertising art contest, which by 1901 became the most publicized of its kind. A total of 22,000 francs was to be divided among eight winners, with a grand prize of 10,000 francs for first place.33 Ramon Casas entered the contest with the appropriately Parisian title, *Montmartre*. The composition features a female figure dressed in a carefully nuanced shade of delicate pink, with a large black hat and scarf. She sits backward in a cafe chair, casually gazing back at the viewer while holding a cigarette almost at arm’s length. The background is the hill of Montmartre, home of the Parisian bohemians, blurred in a gray haze. The brand’s slogan “Paris Cigarettes are the Best,” is the only text in the design. According to Malagrida, the cigarette company founder, Casas did

not win first prize, despite his mysterious, ambivalent lady in pink, because her cigarette smoke plume was indistinguishable from the background.  

The winning submission was far more suggestive than Casas’s work. It did indeed include swirls of smoke above the woman’s head, a design that also appears in advertisements for Job cigarette papers sold in Paris and promoted by posters designed by Alphonse Mucha. The winner was Milanese artist Aleardo Villa (1865-1906), who titled his work Amor. Beyond the smoke swirls, Villa’s style differs substantially from Casas’. Rather than appearing in a built environment, the female subject is surrounded by a naturalistic setting. The swirling smoke, vertical flower stems, and typography are characteristic of French Art Nouveau. Additionally, the figure reclines suggestively onto a hill of flowers that bears the text of the brand slogan. Her languidly upheld hand holds the cigarette, following a line formed by her collarbones and the dramatically plunging neckline of her dress. The subject matter depicts risqué behavior for a woman of the elite class, on all counts. Yet the piece was displayed publicly, with a seal certifying its first-place finish in the 1901 contest. The styling suggests that both the company founder, who had lived outside of Spain for years before selecting the artwork, and the Milanese artist who created it, preferred a more ornamental, Parisian Art-Nouveau look. For all his experience with fine art and publicity imagery, Casas’ design was relegated to third place.

Despite the availability of local talent in both cities, Barcelona and Paris made use of the popular works of Czech painter Alphonse Mucha for publicity artwork. Mucha’s promotional artwork was emblematic of the period, receiving international attention and success. However, his son, Jiří Mucha (1915-1991), described his father as disillusioned by his experience, becoming the “most admired and fashionable decorative artist in Paris” over the course of five

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years, while his many cycles of fine art paintings celebrating Czech nationalism, the *Slav Epic*, went largely unnoticed despite taking twenty-five years to complete.\(^{35}\) This experience of working as a publicity artist and graphic designer while hailing from a fine art background resembles the career of Ramon Casas, who busied himself with fine art subject matter of a more bourgeois nature including portraits and scenes of women in domestic pursuits. However, Casas took a different and lighter approach to minority nationalism, the material that made up Mucha’s fine art body of work, with a somewhat heavy-handed approach. Casas made dozens of sketches in pencil, charcoal, and pastel, and his subjects were the bourgeois professionals, entrepreneurs, artists, and intellectuals who frequented Els Quatre Gats and other cafes where *tertulias* or educated discussions would take place, often with Catalan nationalism as their central topic. These works are primarily of men, since they made up the educated and entrepreneurial class and moved about freely in public along the city’s sidewalks and alleys at night.

In the less-regarded field of publicity artwork, Mucha rose to fame for the designs he created to promote French stage actress Sarah Bernhardt in 1894. Additionally, he produced a large number of poster designs from 1895 to 1905 and participated in decorative efforts for the Exposition Universelle of Paris in 1900. All of these efforts established him as a key influence upon the French Art Nouveau style. His work featured women in naturalistic settings with flowing tendrils of hair and clinging, if not revealing classically draped dress. Like other poster artists of the time, he used stylized, hand-drawn text instead of commercially produced typefaces. This typography became an art form in itself. A few popular works appeared in different permutations in Paris and Barcelona from 1896 to 1900 through a print licensing scheme carried out by the print shops. One design includes a woman browsing through an open

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magazine or book, with flowers in her hair and in the background. A stylized decorative
nameplate at the top appears blank. This piece was licensed by the Parisian print and lithography
shop, F. Champenois, for the printer to use as filler or in a calendar. The piece does not promote
any particular commercial interest and is titled Reverie, dated 1896. In 1889, the same print
appeared promoting the print house itself, F. Champenois. The print firm’s text is included at
the top of the piece, and the artwork itself remains essentially unchanged from its incarnation as
Reverie. This collaboration of fine artist and lithographer serves as a reminder of the production
processes involved in converting artwork so that it could be reproduced onto posters. Canvases,
watercolor papers, illustration boards, or other media used by the original fine artist would be
converted by the lithographer into a format the commercial printer could reproduce on a large
scale. These generally involved grease pencil drawings on a series of limestone plates, one for
each color, which would repel one color of water-based ink at a time. The process is somewhat a
reversal of present-day commercial offset printing. Thus, the poster the public saw was a version
of the original fine art filtered through the technical limitations and eye of the lithographer and
printer. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, significant technical advances allowed for
greater use of color and detail in lithography, helping to expand the popularity of publicity poster
art.

In 1900 in Barcelona, Mucha’s Reverie reappeared, promoting the centennial anniversary
of the Amatller family chocolate enterprise. Barcelona is proud of its heritage as a producer of
fine chocolates, and its long relationship with the art form continues through the preservation of
the Casa Amatller on the block of discord and the activities of the chocolate museum, which lies a short walk from the Picasso museum nearby in the Ciutat Vella. Chocolates Amatller was one of many successful industrial enterprises that financed the lifestyles of Barcelona’s urban bourgeois class. Thanks to this industrial advancement, increased supply of the product made its way into the hands of other upper and lower middle-class families, making this luxury good much more widely available than before. Chocolates Amatller was founded in 1797 as a small-scale operation in the old part of town, located within the medieval walled city, near the church of Santa Maria del Mar. In 1878 the company relocated, and eventually built their new shop and factory on the elegant new grand avenue, Passeig de Gràcia. The new plant was equipped with what the company described as “the most modern German and French machinery.” In the chocolate company’s publicity posters, Mucha’s Reverie displays slight modifications to the design beyond that of the text at the top of the image. The female figure holds a magazine, and the version Amatller used includes Spanish language text announcing the centennial anniversary of the house of Amatller, along with the year, 1900. To date, Chocolates Amatller produces its dark and milk chocolates molded into the shape of leaves and packed into decorative tins featuring Mucha’s work, primarily Reverie. These chocolate tins are common enough to be had in duty-free shops. The company still does not disclose the price paid in licensing fees.

4.8 Gender, Publicity Art, and Fine Art in Fin-de-siècle Spain

In the late nineteenth century, the works of Catalan Ramon Casas and Czech artist Alphonse Mucha were used in print advertising to promote a variety of luxury consumables.

39 The MX or Museu de la Xocolata http://www.museuxocolata.cat/ and Museu Picasso http://www.museupicasso.bcn.cat are located blocks away from each other in a part of town whose buildings date from the thirteenth through eighteenth centuries.

Female figures featured prominently in these images, taking on a largely ornamental quality in keeping with the dominant style of Parisian Art Nouveau. However, both men were fine artists as well, and their work helped define modernism from the southern peripheries of western Europe, even as French printmakers and lithographers like Jules Cheret (1836-1932) and Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (1864-1901) shaped the style more visibly from the Parisian core. Each of these men, individually, in different contexts from coffee table art books to academic journals, have been termed the “father” of the publicity poster by authors, as if there were only one. Of course, they have much in common. Their representations of women, particularly in Casas’s portraits and other works unrelated to marketing, show women looking feminine and graceful in domestic circumstances, living interior lives at home. Yet they are nonetheless as sensual as the “new woman” of the fin-de-siècle marketing posters who pushed the boundaries of private and public spheres. Not all of his fine art dealt with women as subjects. Casas also did several studies of crowds, articulating the importance of the formation of mass political participation in this post-republican period of regionalist and even separatist Catalan nationalism. Both Casas and Mucha also allowed their fine art to examine their respective minority nationalisms, as Catalan and Czech identity surged within their respective empires. But a great deal of his work did feature women, both in domestic and public spaces.

Additionally, Casas was one of the artistic and financial backers of Els Quatre Gats, the modernist café built in the neo-gothic style in an alley off Portal de l’Angel, one of two widened roads running from the sea to the Eixample, just south of the site where one of the city gates that made up part of the old medieval walls once stood. It was a place where artists, writers, and bohemians gathered to talk Parisian style and Catalan politics. Casas came from a family that had built upon its wealth with investments in industry and trade with Cuba and was an active
participant in the bourgeois and artistic and political milieu of the fin-de-siècle in Barcelona.\textsuperscript{41}
Like many others of this cohort, he traveled to Paris periodically, and lived there most of the year 1883, displaying his work and studying under Carolus-Duran (1837-1917) who painted many portraits of aristocratic and bourgeois clients during the Third French Republic. It was from Carolus-Duran that Casas picked up a certain formality to his work that he later rejected. This early influence recalled the more severe styles of portraiture from the Spanish \textit{Siglo de Oro}, the Golden Age of the sixteenth century baroque.\textsuperscript{42} Although he spent some time in Madrid, when in Spain he tended to stay in his native Barcelona. His visits to Paris allowed him to show his work and gain attention, building fine art credentials that, combined with his family’s wealth, placed him among Barcelona’s elite. He set many of his portraits and advertising works in Paris, although it is difficult to say whether these were imposed upon Parisian backgrounds or posed on site. One portrait of Pablo Picasso at around age nineteen, with Sacre Cœur and the Moulin of Montmartre in the background (fig. 4.9) done around 1900 was likely posed on site since the two were in town for the Exposition Universelle that year.\textsuperscript{43} Another work set in Montmartre at the Moulin de la Galette, a popular setting for impressionist works, features a female figure. \textit{Plein Air} from around 1890-1891 (fig. 4.10), includes a woman seated at a bistro table by herself, gazing at a man some distance from her, to her left. It is unclear whether she patronizes the café alone or with the gentleman, who has merely gotten up to examine something that has caught his eye. She is well dressed in her two-piece day suit and buttery yellow hat, an elegant lady enjoying a drink and a snack.\textsuperscript{44} These works are both housed in the Museu Nacional d’Art de

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[35]{Ramon Casas y el Cartel (Valencia: Museu Valencià de la Illustració i de la Modernitat, 2005), 34–35.}
\footnotetext[36]{Ramon Casas i Carbó, \textit{Portrait of Pablo Picasso}, ca 1900, charcoal and pastel on paper, 69cm x 44.5cm, Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya.}
\footnotetext[37]{Ramon Casas i Carbó, \textit{Plein Air}, ca. 1890, Oil on canvas, 50.5cm x 65.5cm, Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya.}
\end{footnotes}
Catalunya in Barcelona, along with much of Casas’s work, from conventional portraits to shadow puppets used to put on shows at Els Quatre Gats. *Plein Air* was acquired by the museum following a *belles-arts* exhibition held in Barcelona in 1891.

In the course of his less formal artistic production, Casas generated numerous sketches and portraits of bourgeois women. Many of these appeared in the Catalan-language literary magazine *Pèl i Ploma*, in which the women are set in both private and public spaces, though they appear much more relaxed in domestic settings. Casas produced all of the artwork for the magazine, including front cover art, which most often featured an image of a woman engrossed in the act of writing. In the most commonly seen version from August of 1899, the woman sits behind a stack of papers that obscures much of her face, quill in hand, ready to write. This version is often used as a kind of nameplate for the magazine. Another popular subject was the bicycle, and many men and a few women in riding bloomers appear in the magazine’s artwork riding, walking next to, or repairing their bicycles. A poster designed to promote the magazine features a more beguiling female figure than the ones included in the magazine itself. The figure on the poster is shown reclining on a couch, her red hair fluffed on a cushion, looking long and slender in her black dress with a pink bow falling from her neck (4.11). She holds papers in one hand, quill and paintbrush, as befit the title *Pèl i Ploma*, in the other that trailed languidly near the floor. This poster was produced around the same time as a similar fine art painting of oil on canvas, in which the model lacks the pink bow and has more of a dark auburn hair color than the eye-catching strawberry blonde of the poster’s figure (fig. 4.12). She also does not hold the quill and brush in her left hand, but still holds a book in her right, and the work’s title *Después del*

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Baile or “After the Dance” offers some explanation as to her collapse on the sofa. The full title, *Joven Decadente. Después del Baile* identifies her as a decadent, part of a culture of moral decline and feared degeneration that marked the fin-de-siècle and the Spanish Generation of ’98. The reclining figure post-dance is suggestive of contradictory extremes of this period, through the overnight revelry of the dance paired with later exhaustion and boredom.

While Casas designed promotional posters of women dressed respectfully while smoking and drinking in public, poster art of women in domestic settings showed them carrying on similarly, indulging in consumable luxuries, while reclining suggestively. However, his fine art pieces showed another side to women in domestic spaces, a side they could only show within the sanctuary of the home, in the private sphere. These included the often-seen female subject reclining or incompletely dressed in domestic space. Intimate settings such as the toilette bench, dressing table, or bath offered opportunities to show women in a more sensual light, but they also reveal the artifice of the care women took in order to appear presentable. Works that included women dressing might show petticoats, corsets and their covers, or the chore of tidying and pinning up long hair into a bun. A woman who chose to stay at home on a given day might decide to remain in her dressing gown rather than going to the trouble of donning the requisite underpinnings and corset, even if it meant claiming a bout of nerves in order to excuse her behavior. *Far Niente* which means “do nothing” in Italian, sometimes translated as the more flattering *Idle Hours*, is believed to have been one of two works Casas presented at the 1905 VI International Exhibition of Venice. Its subject is a woman dressed in what might be a nightgown.

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46 Ramon Casas i Carbó, *Joven Decadente. Después Del Baile*, 1898, Oil on canvas, 46.5 x 56cm, Museo de la Abadia de Monserrat.
47 See chapter, “Disaster and Renewal in Spanish Fin-de-siècle Print Cultures: The Generation of 1898 and the Catalan Renaixença.
48 Ramon Casas i Carbó, *Study. Woman Dressing*, 1899, Oil on canvas, 42.5cm x 40.5cm, Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya.
of pale blue but with her hair up in a bun as was customary at the time, resting face-down on a bed. She embodies the leisure class with her pose, but there is no joy in her rest.

Several intimate portraits, laden with heavy sensuality, feature his muse, Júlia Peraire i Ricarte (d. 1941), a lottery ticket seller from the Ramblas over twenty years his junior, who he met around 1905 and married much later, without the approval of his bourgeois counterparts or family, in 1922. Júlia appeared in a range of attire from simple drape to elaborate costume. Her hairstyles included a peineta or tall hair comb paired with a bolero characteristic of Goyesca dress, or white and black lace mantillas. She was also shown wrapped in a mantón or large embroidered silk piano shawl. The traditional combs and mantilla were part of the trend toward producing typical, if not stereotypical, images of Spanish life when these themes were popular in Paris as part of a trend known as espagnolade. The shawls were traditional luxury goods typically made in China but imported through the Spanish port in Manilla in the Philippines, so they were known as “mantónes de Manilla.” The most famous of these paintings of Júlia is an early work. La Sargantain features her in an aggressive stance, with a fierce smoldering expression in a dramatic chartreuse drape. La Sargantain is part of the Col·lecció Cercle del Liceu, the society charged with caring for the Liceu, Barcelona’s opera house. Various mantónes also appear in different Anis del Mono print campaigns by Casas, and one of these is part of the costume collection of the Museu del Traje in Madrid. The promotional prints are displayed, but many of the fine art paintings of Júlia in her mantón are in storage at the Museu Nacional d’Art

49 Ramon Casas i Carbó, Far Niente, 1898-1900, Oil on canvas, 65cm x 54cm, Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya.
50 Ramon Casas i Carbó, Trini, ca 1916, Oil on canvas, 92.5cm x 73.5cm, Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya.
51 Ramon Casas i Carbó, La Sargantain, 1907, Oil on canvas, 91cm x 63cm, Col·lecció Cercle del Liceu, Barcelona.
52 Mantón “a La Moronga, ” ca 1900, Textile, ca 1900, Traje Regional, CIPE, MT009136, Museo del Traje, Madrid.
where they form part of the Casas collection. Several semi-nude studies show Júlia and other female models undressing for the bath or for sleep in ways that still convey personality and relaxed comfort in their domestic settings. They stand apart from the obvious sort of nude studies of posed figures intended for practice.

Perhaps to an even greater degree than the figures featured in his publicity posters, Casas gave these female subjects power over their own sensuality, charging their expression and poses with nuanced expressions of seduction that remained feminine. This femininity runs contrary to the French fear of the *femme nouvelle*, or new woman. The end of this fear is articulated by the French novelist, critic, and member of the Académie française Victor Cherbuliez (1829-1899), writing as Georges Valbert in his essay *L’Âge des Machines* for the literary journal *Revue des Deux Mondes*, “having become equal to men, exercising the same trades, cultivating the same studies, delivered also from all prejudices, become strangers to all coquetry, as to all false modesty, will no longer be women, but ‘hommesses,’” that is, androgynous men-women. This French fear, rooted as it was in the rapidly ascendant German Empire, was not as well-developed in Spain. Still, imagery of female figures in fine art portraiture and publicity lithographic poster prints pushed the boundaries of what bourgeois women could do and where, but not without social criticism. This was clear not only in the posters that placed women drinking and making merry in the public sphere, but through Casas’s *Pèl i Ploma* works featuring women riding bicycles, and his fine art commissioned for the Auto-Garage Central car show, or the Hispano-Suiza motorcar company headquarters, placing female figures behind the wheels of cars wrapped

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53 Ramon Casas i Carbó, *Semi-Nude Study*, 1893, Oil on canvas, 44cm x 35.5cm, Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya.
in fine woolen coats and kid gloves, or in luxurious furs paired with jaunty chauffeur’s hats.\textsuperscript{55} Many of the women in Casas’ works appeared feminine and sensual, but they were active in their compositions, entertaining themselves and moving freely rather than only passively displaying themselves for the male gaze.

The representations of women visible in the publicity art discussed here suggest that elite women played a largely ornamental role within society. They were picaresque and sensual, but in these publicity posters they also appeared as objectified desires, as were the luxury consumables they promoted. These new women seem idealized embodiments of the pleasure-seekers of the day, the ideal complement to the fin-de-siècle dandy. They fit into the culture of hedonistic aesthete-degenerates that so deeply concerned Hungarian Physician Max Nordau (1849-1923) in his 1895 work of social criticism, \textit{Degeneration}. Nordau lived and died in Paris, and his opinionated critique of art of the period can be translated onto Barcelona’s Catalan Modernisme, with its similarly sensual and ornate rococo style. He argued that art of the fin-de-siècle (a term he rejected) reflected the social degeneracy of the younger generation he deemed to be morally drained and sexually lewd, failing to rein in primal urges so that it might purposefully embrace the promise of the future.\textsuperscript{56} His language was sexual, finding perversion and vice in unexpected areas of cultural production, even everyday items of interior décor. He turned to his medical training to describe cases of neurasthenia and hysteria, exacerbated by this weariness with the correct and the anxious search for excitement. This philosophy of medicalizing morality and behavior was also practiced in Spain and was favored by Arturo Galcerán i Granés (1850-1919), a physician who worked at the modernista Institit Pere Mata in Reus, designed by Domènech.

\textsuperscript{55} Ramon Casas i Carbó, \textit{Auto-Garage Central}, 1901, Lithography, 89cm x 51cm, Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya; Ramon Casas i Carbó, \textit{Hispano Suiza, Proyecto}, 1904, Pencil, Watercolor, and Ink on Paper, 99cm x 71cm, Fábrica de Automóviles Hispano Suiza.

Galcerán supported the hygienists’ movement, which linked hygiene in life with hygiene of the soul, moral hygiene, and hygiene of the brain that guided the goals and types of therapeutic treatments. These therapies were to allow rest and repose of the psyche in order to rest and settle the anxious nervous system. In the case of the asylum, the modernist design was an asset, providing an environment that settled the nerves, even from within the moral hygiene movement. This suggests that the sensuous curves and heavily detailed designs of modernism were not problematic sources of degeneration in and of themselves. This leaves the emergence of the new woman visible in these advertisements and works of fine art, and the changing gender roles within society they represented, at the heart of these concerns over degeneration. It is worth noting though, that not all representations of women created at this time were of the kind that concerned social critics on the lookout for degeneration. Allegorical figures were often given feminine characteristics and were featured in posters connected with industrial fairs, where they embodied virtues such as industry and craftsmanship. Such was the case with the artwork promoting the 1888 Universal Exposition in Barcelona or the 1896 Fine Arts and Industries Exposition also in Barcelona. The Parc de la Ciutadella includes two sculptural figures on the gate posts leading from the grand promenade and Arc de Triomf to the park itself, and the female one has an industrial gear at her back. And the ceramic tiles on Domènech’s Castell dels Tres Dragons show men women in dress of the time, eating and drinking and carrying out activities that were completely ordinary.

Much of the bourgeois clientele Casas associated with, both for companionship and patronage, was more conservative than the bohemian cohort represented by younger artists who

58 de Riquer, Cartel de La 3ra Exposición de Bellas Artes e Industrias Artísticas.
would make up the next generation of avant-garde artists, like Picasso. In the 1890s, bourgeois Catalan nationalism and political separatism was articulated through the *Unio Catalanista* (founded 1891) and similar groups that followed. These groups were liberal in terms of politics and economic policy, while cautiously avoiding the rising radicalism of the lower classes with a desire for social order that was apparent in the panic that ensued following bombings by anarchists, particularly that of the Liceu in 1893, discussed below. Architect Lluís Domènech i Montaner was the first president of the *Unio*, revealing the links between these artists, architects and craftsmen and the bourgeois elite they not only were a part of, but depended on for the continuation of their art or craft. These relationships between artist and patron would change in the early years of the 1900s with the rise of avant-garde movements and even greater social unrest, but in the fin-de-siècle the artists and patrons that defined Catalan Modernisme were markedly bourgeois.

### 4.9 Domènech, Shared Spaces, and Bourgeois Sponsorship in Barcelona: Music

In addition to renovating Casa Morera on the block of discord in Barcelona, and other private homes, architect Lluís Domènech i Montaner worked on other projects that created or improved shared public spaces. Other non-domestic architectural projects involved structures that would be opened to interaction with different segments of the public in urban centers and industrial towns, sometimes taking an even larger role in providing works of social beneficence. Some of these were funded not only by bourgeois industrialists, but by educated professionals who made up the emerging liberal elite that was replacing the old aristocracy. This cohort placed great importance upon the virtues of civic duties. One of the most famous of these buildings is the Palau de la Música Catalana (1908) in Barcelona (fig. 4.13). The music palace is a concert hall, distinct from the opera house, the Gran Teatre del Liceu or Lyceum, both in terms of design
and intended use. Still, the two have some factors in common. The Liceu is located blocks from the sea on the Ramblas, within the old Ciutat Vella that was contained within Barcelona’s defensive walls at the time of its construction. It suffered several fires that resulted in significant rebuilding projects since its original construction in a former convent. The Liceu was completed in 1847 by an improbable group of politically liberal theater aficionados: the National Militia made up of armed citizens. This was a time when democratic institutions and elections had not come into prominence, and the support of the military, through pronunciamiento, signaled the legitimacy of the reigning monarch and officials. The full title of the society in charge of the building was the *Liceo Filarmónico Dramático Barcelonés de S.M. la Reina Isabel II*, which recognized the liberal queen’s support, but the design allowed aristocratic echoes of the *Ancien Régime* to persist. The opera house’s u-shaped balconies were divided into boxes that were sold to wealthy shareholders who owned and held them as private property. It allowed this elite group, who exerted power within their own city, another place to articulate their wealth and strength outside of national politics, which denied them autonomy.\textsuperscript{59} It was an elegant, bourgeois answer to Madrid’s lowbrow *zarzuela* operetta productions. Italian and German opera was popular, and obviously not a source of Spanish pride. It was a place for bourgeois box-owners to enjoy something of elite non-Iberian European culture, where they could see and be seen, due to the narrow u-shape of the building and its multiple levels of balconies. This design resembles that of La Scala in Milan or the Vienna state opera. The balconies served to separate the different social strata. Remaining aristocrats occupied the lowest balcony, while bourgeois industrialists, the military officer corps, and civil servants were permitted to purchases boxes on the upper levels.\textsuperscript{60} Yet despite the aristocracy’s presence in the place of honor, its reduced numbers

\textsuperscript{59} Resina, *Barcelona’s Vocation of Modernity*, 56, 58.
\textsuperscript{60} Resina, 58.
signaled the social change taking place in these decades of industrial progress and somewhat liberal constitutionalism under Isabel II, following the ineffective absolutist approach of Ferdinand VII.

Whether bourgeois or aristocratic, the opera and its attendees became the target of an anarchist’s bomb on November 7, 1893. Two Orsini bombs designed to detonate upon impact were dropped during the season-opening performance of Rossini’s *William Tell* by anarchist Santiago Salvador Franch (1862-1894). One device exploded, killing at least twenty people. The unexploded bomb is on display at the Museu d’Història de la Ciutat, where it serves as a powerful symbol of the violence and terror that came to mark this period.61 The bombing, its fears, and its disruption of day-to-day affairs in the city made the bourgeoisie’s fears of anarchism reality, including Barcelona in the wave of bombings and assassination attempts that took place across Europe. Along with London and suburban Paris, some of Barcelona’s neighborhoods provided sanctuary to Spanish anarchists, many of whom were uneducated members of the peasantry or working class.62 The 1893 Liceu bombing targeted the city’s bourgeoisie, as did the 1894 attack carried out in Paris by anarchist Émile Henry. Salvador was thirty-two at the time of his execution, Henry only twenty-one. Salvador’s family were somewhat comfortable peasants, but still peasants, while Henry came from the low end of the bourgeoisie. Both men emerged from the margins of urban social life, aiming to kill and wound as many Barcelonés and Parisian bourgeois opera patrons as possible. Henry changed his plans when he found the Paris Opera was not a full house that evening, instead targeting the bustling Café Terminus where one patron was killed and over twenty were wounded. These revolutionary

deeds, which have been characterized as modern acts of terror, arose as conditions of social inequality grew even more glaring, and the demands of the state, whether through taxation or military service, grew increasingly onerous upon the marginalized.\textsuperscript{63} In Maresme, just outside of Barcelona, the working class had organized into the Unió General de Treballadors, the General Union of Workers (UGT) trade union. They did so in August of 1888 during the Universal Exposition, which had made heavy demands upon the labor markets of Barcelona and its nearby areas, in celebration of the city’s flourishing bourgeois culture. Members of the UGT were affiliated with the Partido Socialista Obrero Español, the Socialist Worker Party of Spain (PSOE). Anarchists tended to disagree on all manner of topics with these socialist organizations, and their political acts were carried out on the streets through strikes, or in public spaces in the case of the Liceu bombing. The May Day festivities of 1890 were a source of tensions between socialists and anarchists, and other groups on the left who were uneasy with the event’s carnival-like atmosphere and its resemblance to church feast days.\textsuperscript{64} These disagreements are just a few examples of the many rifts that divided the left, further frustrating its members.\textsuperscript{65} Anarchists continued to carry out their bombing attacks and assassination attempts, their “propaganda by the deed,” aiming to bring down the ruling class and ultimately, the state.

The Liceu bombing targeted the elite in the places they tended to frequent, and in this case, that cemented the connection between the wealthy and the Liceu opera house, perhaps even exaggerating the relationship. The persistence with which local authorities attempted to locate the guilty party, Santiago Salvador, throughout the country showed how committed the political

\textsuperscript{63} Merriman, 3–4, 2016 Preface.
\textsuperscript{64} Temma Kaplan, Red City, Blue Period: Social Movements in Picasso’s Barcelona (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 23–24.
establishment was to maintaining order even as radicalizing forces of unionized syndicalist workers and anarchists gathered momentum in their attempts to rise above their economic misery. Following his trial, Salvador faced public execution in Barcelona by garroting, in the same courtyard in which artist Ramon Casas painted his crowd study of a different public execution that took place months earlier, *Garrote Vil*. Some disagreement exists as to the identity of the person executed in Casas's work. Art critic Robert Hughes asserted that the Liceu bomber, Santiago Salvador, was the subject of the work. The catalog entry in the collection of the Museo Reina Sofia, which houses the work, makes no mention of the identity of the executed. Independent art historian Carmen Belen Lord offered the most comprehensive details, dating the event depicted to July 12, 1893, when Aniceto Peinador was executed at the age of 19. *La Vanguardia* articulated in its lead paragraph what the bombing attack meant to the city when it listed the “consternation and fear” of the Barcelonès above the tragic loss of the victims’ lives. The event generated shockwaves within and outside of Spain, as a dramatic color illustration of the Liceu bombing made front page news in Paris. These visualizations brought the violence and death connected with these events into the public eye, even as the local newspaper ran straight text bemoaning the disruption to the “tranquility of the evening” and the increased presence of mourning dress as “even nature grieved, covering the sky with a shroud of

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gray.”72 The gap between the lower classes and the bourgeois elite was evident, and it would only appear to widen in the early years of the twentieth century, as tensions were heightened through further violent and destructive events.73

Notably, the Liceu and the Palau de la Música Catalana differed significantly in terms of the type of music performed on its stages and access to these performances by the city’s various classes. Given that they were founded only decades apart and with liberal support, the differences between the two facilities are pronounced. The Palau was funded on a subscription basis, offering short-term patronage rather than ownership of box seats.74 The Palau was built after the bombing of the Liceu, between 1905 and 1908, off the Via Laetana. This was just a block south of where the city walls and bastions once had stood, in a part of town that was largely rebuilt in the neo-gothic style after the walls were pulled down around 1860. The spirit

72 “El Atentado del Liceo,” 1. “Todo respiraba de tristeza ayer en Barcelona. Hasta el cielo, como si la naturaleza sintiese el duelo que embargaba los corazones de este pueblo noble y generoso, se cubrió de un sudador gris, y durante todo el día cayó desde las nubes una lluvia menuda y persistente.”

73 Spain’s crisis went beyond its loss of colonial possessions to domestic political instability. The monarchy was relatively stable despite the abdication and exile of Isabel II (r.1843-1870), and the short tenure of the unpopular Amadeo of Savoy (r.1870-1873). The Italian ruler was succeeded by the short-lived First Spanish Republic, and restoration of Alfonso XII (r.1874-1885) following a military coup. After the death of Alfonso XII, his wife Maria Cristina of Austria (r. 1886-1902) ruled as regent for his posthumous son, the young Alfonso XIII (r.1902-1931). Maria Cristina was popular and respected. After reaching his majority of age sixteen in 1902, Alfonso XIII was enthroned, and later married the English royal Victoria Eugenie “Ena” of Battenburg (b.1887-1969). Anarchists took aim at the monarchy in order to further disrupt the Spanish state and succeeded. An assassination attempt on May 31 of 1906 marred the wedding festivities of Alfonso and Ena, though the couple was unharmed. It is believed that Catalan anarchist Mateu Morral threw a bomb from a window of a building’s upper floor, targeting Alfonso’s carriage in the wedding cortege below as it paraded through the Calle Mayor of Madrid. The bomb, concealed in a floral bouquet, reportedly bounced off the royal carriage into the crowd where according to Spanish abc news, it killed twenty-four and wounded over one hundred (“Se cumplen 109 años del atentado contra Alfonso XIII,” abc, May 31, 2015, http://www.abc.es/cultura/20150531/abei-cumplen-anos-atentado-contra-201505302013.html). The purported suicide of the attacker and the public display of his cadaver, both in person and in newspaper photographs, were publicized in a way that recalled the 1894 attack on the Liceu opera house in Barcelona when police and the press worked to calm an agitated public and rapidly restore order, perhaps more enthusiastically than they pursued justice and clarification of the facts of the case. Alfonso XIII faced other assassination attempts in the years that followed. While Spain was in good company among other European states suffering these attacks and assassination attempts, the extent of the monarchy’s unpopularity among other groups besides the anarchists became clear during the Second Spanish Republic (1931-1939), when the Calle Mayor, the street on which the attack was carried out, was renamed in honor of the bomber, Mateu Morral.

and intent of the Palau are of a much more inclusive or democratic nature than that of the opera. The term “palau” translates as “palace,” but its use in the Catalan language does not imply the structure is intended for royalty. Most often, it is used to indicate a large public, rather than privately-owned building, in much the same way “hall” is used in English. The purpose of the Palau was not to attract the elite performers of the Italian and German-led international opera scene, but to encourage participation by its own citizens in works that would celebrate Catalan nationalism. Choral societies of varying levels of expertise shared time performing in the Palau, which is set up like a concert hall with a single upper level situated over the lower level. The public sat side by side, without narrow balconies or boxes creating separations between social groups. The main performance company was the Orfeó Català, an Orphean society of choral performers closely linked with Catalan nationalism and the Renaixença, founded by music instructor Lluís Millet (1867-1941) in 1891. The musical repertoire left the works of Wagner, Puccini, Verdi and others to the Liceu, instead preferring traditional Catalan folk music or cançó popular.

The décor reflects this decision to celebrate popular folk music. The exterior features allegorical sculpted figures of the heroes highlighted in song, produced in collaboration with well-respected local artists and craftsmen. On the interior, ceramic ornamentation guides attendees up staircases flanked with transparent balustrades of yellow glass and fanciful tiled motifs. Once inside the concert hall, female figures adorn the rear wall of the stage in the Palau in a distinctive way. The background of the wall and the lower halves of their bodies were done in trencadís mosaic of irregularly broken tile, a decorative art typical of Catalan modernisme. The upper halves of the figures’ bodies protrude from the wall in sculpted forms, as do the

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musical instruments they play. Their dresses are styled in medieval fashion, mixing the modern with the old. They remain visible, with none of the draping or curtains commonly used in theatrical stage productions. The entire ceiling is made of a giant sunburst of stained glass, with feminine faces arranged in a circular pattern around the center that swoops down into the main volume of the hall. Even during rehearsals, it becomes clear that the acoustics of the building are affected by the enormous glass roof, glass side walls, and the heavily ornamented stone proscenium arch. But despite its idiosyncrasies, at the time of its inauguration, it supplied a source of Catalan and civic pride and was open to local urban spectators and performers from more diverse social position than those likely to frequent the opera. Still, this project was funded, in part, by local industrialists and other wealthy patrons who purchased shares through a bond-financing scheme. Chief among these was Joaquim Cabot (1861-1951) a jeweler who also funded literary magazines that were central to the revival of Catalan nationalism, including La Renaixensa. This is yet another example of this cohort of bourgeois entrepreneurs, managers, and others who owed their success to industrialization, craftsmanship, and consumerism, contributing to the distinctly Catalan and modern architectural and cultural legacy of the city.

4.10 Domènech, Shared Spaces, and Bourgeois Sponsorship in Barcelona: Medicine

Domènech designed other major projects in and around Barcelona opened their doors to larger segments of the urban population. The clearest example of this is the Hospital Sant Pau, a larger project Domènech undertook after completing his work on the Asylum of Reus, later renamed the Institute Pere Mata, in the neighboring Catalan town of Reus. Although it is Gaudí’s place of birth, the town of Reus bears the mark of Domènech’s style of Catalan modernisme in its many fine homes. This makes Reus second only to Barcelona for its examples of modernista

architecture from this period, largely due to the bourgeois tastes of industrialists who lived there, and owned factories producing brandy and other spirits, mineral water, or vineyards. The Institut Pere Mata was completed in the modernist style and funded by local industrialists in the distilled spirits and brandy trade, as well as by medical doctors who saw the social importance of such a facility. The Sant Pau project aimed to expand hospital bed capacity in Barcelona in response to increased need following industrialization and expansion of the city under the Cerdà Plan. The main urban hospital of Santa Creu (1401), located in the district of El Raval within the boundaries of the old city walls, was overcrowded and unable to keep up with changes in medical practice and the disciplines included within the larger field of medicine. Besides, it had suffered a fire just months before the fair came to town, in 1887. Surgery and the treatment of madness were two significant branches of healing that had previously not been included in generalized medical practice, but once added, hospital facilities needed to expand to accommodate the specific needs of these two specialties. Bourgeois and aristocratic families helped to fund these projects, again attesting to their sense of civic responsibility at the time. These added students to the medical college, and patients to already overcrowded wards.

Consequently, the Saint Pau project attempted to alleviate these limitations by building a large updated facility. Planners received private funding from wealthy patrons, chiefly Pau Gil i Serra (1816-1896), a banker and philanthropist from Barcelona of aristocratic origin who lived in Paris, where he and his brother Pere Gil i Serra established Banca Gil in 1847. Banca Gil contributed toward a multi-building campus with numerous pavilions designed by Domènech in his characteristic variant of the modernist style, resembling the Reus asylum and the pavilions of the 1888 fair. The main campus of the Hospital de Sant Pau took up a large area, nine blocks of the Eixample, and was completed during two phases of construction. The first took place 1905-
1911 under the direction of Domènech i Montaner, and the second from 1914-1930 was supervised by the architect’s son, Pere Domènech i Roura (1881-1962). The complex of old and new hospitals, known as Santa Creu i Sant Pau, included an asylum as well, considered a model at the time, but as was the practice, this was located away from the main campus, in what was then the far edge of town. The Asylum of Sant Pau was also not designed by Domènech and was not built in his ornamental style. Sant Pau was to alleviate and eventually take over the patient burden of the old hospital Santa Creu, adjacent to the old College of Surgery and later of Surgery and Medicine. The main ward of the old or *Antic* Santa Creu currently houses collections and reading spaces of the national library of Catalunya. These facilities look antique, lending a sense of permanence that is perhaps more welcome to those seeking collections of documents than those availing themselves of modern medical care. Records of the Antic Santa Creu hospital dating back six centuries, including archives of the Royal College of Surgery, are housed in the archives of Santa Creu and Sant Pau, and these, combined with the modernist architectural patrimony represented by Sant Pau and the Palau de la Música Catalana, led to the listing of both of these works by Domènech as UNESCO World Heritage Sites in 1997. The asylum closed in 1986 and the rest of the hospital has moved into newer facilities farther north of town, again updating and expanding its capacity and technologies. The modernist campus of Sant Pau continues to undergo renovation, opening some areas to visitors as a museum of art and history of medicine.

As was the case with the architect’s Reus asylum project, Sant Pau’s buildings were designed to serve as pavilions within the landscaped campus grounds. This recalls the general layout plan of the 1888 Universal Exposition in Barcelona, which like the hospital, assigned a particular specialty to each pavilion, for instance, keeping dignitaries away from dynamite
demonstrations carried out by mining firms. The different buildings allowed specialized staff to concentrate its efforts within its pavilion, while allowing patients and visiting relatives the opportunity to stroll through the prominent campus gardens.\(^77\) The garden aesthetics followed those walking the grounds indoors, as floral motifs climbed the walls, providing two and three-dimensional floral experiences through stamped tiles embossed with botanical and other natural designs. This layout allowed for the establishment of spaces like the gardens that were fully open to the public, areas like the pavilions that were often closed off to those who had business inside, and the wards themselves that were further closed off to patients and caregivers. Domènech aimed to avoid the standard rectilinear orientation of parallel hallways that, in his estimation, made modern hospitals resemble prisons. This was the case for the grid design of the Eixample, as well. His solution was to make service passageways subterranean, leaving the hospital’s forty-eight pavilions filled with decorative spaces including fanciful tile mosaics, domes, and much natural light.\(^78\) The same techniques of *trençadis* with its broken tiles, stamped ceramic tiles, red brickwork, stencil work, and botanical motifs adorn the Reus asylum, the Palau de la Música, and the Hospital Sant Pau. These materials were also used by craftsmen in the private bourgeois homes of Reus and the Eixample in Barcelona. Clearly these were cheerful materials, highly desired by the city’s wealthiest residents for their private homes. Fittingly, these were bound to improve the experience of those unfortunate enough to require hospital care at either facility. Catalan modernisme links these public spaces with this bourgeois aesthetic that was steeped in Catalan civic values. Public spaces mattered, as evidenced by the use of these expensive materials and techniques, sponsored by industrialists who took on these funding tasks as part of their civic duties. Even as they promoted the preservation and reconstruction of building façades


\(^{78}\) Hughes, *Barcelona*, 402–3.
in the Catalan gothic style within Ciutat Vella, the old town, they revived the sense of responsibility to the community resulting from material successes that marked the republican city-states of Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This is no coincidence, since Barcelona considered itself, and its democratic (for their time) medieval institutions as part of that legacy associated with Florence, Venice, or Milan.

4.11 Industrial Technology and the Triumph of Craftsmanship

The Catalan bourgeois elite was busily remaking the city of Barcelona according to the aesthetics of its architects and engineers, led by Lluís Domènech i Montaner and his student Joseph Puig i Cadafalch. These men were more than just designers, and they brought their political beliefs in Catalan nationalism and republicanism into their late nineteenth and early twentieth-century work. Domènech i Montaner had claimed these political advances necessitated a change in aesthetics toward a new national style, and Puig i Cadafalch saw industrial commercial success in terms of a revival of Barcelona’s past economic successes. Guided by these principles, these architects and their fellow bourgeois patrons responded to the advances in materials and techniques ushered in by industrialization, countering with a Catalan variant of the English and French arts and crafts movements. Labor intensive hand-craftsmanship recalled the tradition of medieval guilds and aligned with the philosophy of the Catalan Renaixença. But custom goods were within reach of only the wealthiest bourgeois families, and thus became a marker of status. The commodification of goods, a result of industrial production that concerned itself with speed, scale, and a kind of democratization of possessions was tempered by these bourgeois industrialists with their elegant custom tastes, who nevertheless tended to support republican governance. This was a more progressive group than the Carlists of prior generations, but they were not radical by any means. As the reaction to the bombing of the Liceu indicates,
there was a fear or social reorganization, of disruption of the economic processes that afforded the elites their elevated status. The crafts movement and industrialization were in tension with one another as the managerial class channeled the proceeds of their production into artistic endeavors, patronizing artists who produced distinctly Catalan works in this age of industrial commodification. These efforts included architectural projects that defined a key aesthetic characteristic of Barcelona to the present. These architectural projects included private homes and factory facades, but they also reflected a profound sense of republican civic responsibility in designs for buildings like public markets, public parks, fine arts performance centers that encouraged participation and spectatorship by all classes, and even public and private hospitals. The medieval urban life recalled by the movement moved past the feverish interest in the crown of Aragon that marked the Renaixença. Instead, it recalled the city-state or County of Barcelona, which was republican in ways that resembled that of the Italian cities of Florence, Venice, or Milan, while still distinctly Catalan in its aesthetic. On the national level, the Spanish state had been unable to establish an enduring republic, but this did not stop Catalan republicans from infusing their local municipal life with such values.

Government sponsorship of competitions and fairs promoted both industrial and fine arts side by side on national, regional, and local levels. Medals and cash prizes were awarded to the recipients in recognition of their work. Catalogs from these events, notably the Industrial and Fine Arts Exposition of 1896 in Barcelona, reveal that much of the work proposed was bound for churches in the form of side chapels for notable families and a few provincial parish churches. Some projects proposed balustrades and lampposts for sidewalks and plazas, which were generally in the interest of public safety. A few proposals addressed social problems that had worsened with industrialization and urbanization, including sanitary conditions and the
unattached poor. These projects aimed to build or renovate facilities for the sick and poor houses for orphans and other disadvantaged. They made up a small number of the projects proposed as part of the competitions of 1896, but they joined the likes of Domènech i Montaner’s Hospital Sant Pau, which was an enormous construction project in the Eixample, that replaced the archaic medieval hospital with a modern facility in the ornamental style of Catalan Modernisme. Domènech i Montaner pioneered the use of steel reinforced framework in Spain, which he deployed in the construction in these new buildings, perhaps most notably in the large stained-glass ceiling of the Palau de la Música Catalana, with its own golden sun at the center. These modern materials and techniques in structural design were concealed by the old methods of craftsmanship that produced the heavy ornamentation characteristic of these spaces.

Labor-intensive craftsmanship was displayed to great effect in the fine homes purchased by bourgeois families on the most fashionable avenue of the Eixample, Passeig de Gràcia. The most famous of these homes on the so-called Block of Discord were only about thirty years old when their new owners brought in Domènech i Montaner, Puig i Cadafalch, and Antoní Gaudí to erase the measured, egalitarian sameness imposed by engineer Cerdà in favor of some of the most whimsical and diverse designs Catalan Modernisme produced. Behind their ornate façades, these domestic spaces brought the heavy ornamentation indoors in what Domènech and William Morris of the English arts and crafts movement referred to as “total architecture.” Wood paneling with heavy marquetry work, custom built-in furnishings, elaborate windows, and sculptural chimneys were designed in large part by the architects who turned the plans over to craftsmen to complete. These domestic spaces conveyed status while offering refuge from urban life, and the monotonous regularity of the Cerdà plan. Especially in the case of Puig i Cadafalch’s design for
Casa Amatller, revival of the gothic style recalled Catalunya’s medieval economic dominance, a status the architect felt industry had revived.

Amatller was a chocolatier, one of several manufacturers in and around Barcelona who made luxurious consumables more accessible to people of limited funds. Marketing of mass-produced goods brought fine art into the service of industrial production and consumerism. Fine artist Ramon Casas, considered the father of the promotional poster, produced lithographs of bourgeois women during this polemical time, as anarchism took hold in Barcelona, which came to be called the “City of Bombs.” Casas’s fascination with women subjects led to memorable campaigns for companies like Anis del Mono, which Chocolates Amatller chose to feature the works of Alphonse Mucha on their chocolate tins, where they still appear to date. These images of women may well have helped to inspire the advertising maxim of “sex sells,” but their behavior is only mildly racy by bourgeois standards of the time. Still, enjoying a drink in public or driving a car were acts that pushed the envelope of acceptable gender roles for respectable women in the fin-de-siècle. Casas showed that women could partake of these activities and still retain their femininity. These posters placed fine artwork in public spaces, making it an accessible and routinely-seen part of urban life. Madrid joined Barcelona in these publicity campaigns. The modern heart of Madrid, the Plaza del Sol, was marked by illuminated billboards, the first in Spain, and it is still characterized by its beloved neon promotional signs. In contrast, the pre-expansion heart of Madrid, the Plaza Mayor, still features engravings of auto-da-fe and garroting.

Perhaps the most republican of these architectural pursuits were the designs for public spaces carried out by Domènech i Montaner for the Palau de la Música Catalana and the Hospital Sant Pau. The Palau did away with exclusive balconies and boxed seats like those purchased by
families at the Liceu opera house. The musical program itself was different from that of the Liceu. Rather than installing a committee to entice international vocalists, the Palau’s primary purpose as a concert hall, rather than an opera house, was to host performances by the local Orfeó Català. To the present, most Catalan schoolchildren are given the opportunity to perform in the Palau, and adults of differing skill levels also participate. Spectators from all but the city’s poorest could purchase a ticket and enjoy a performance. The Orfeó Català promoted performances of Catalan folk songs, and Domènech’s design reflects these medieval and folk tastes in the building’s sculptural program with its allegorical beasts and figures in folk dress. This project heavily promoted the revival of Catalan culture, yet it was modern in terms of its structural materials and techniques, which were hidden beneath modernist ornamentation. As a modern health care facility, Sant Pau addressed sanitary social concerns with its gardens, large window, and pavilions spaced apart to allow in plenty of light. Its campus met the need for additional hospital beds in the growing city, but it also allowed space for the expansion of medical fields with new laboratory space and new therapies with spa baths and pharmaceutical labs. This allocation of space for medical purposes and new therapeutic technologies is the subject of the next chapter, which focuses specifically on the lack of mental asylums in Spain, a problem entangled in the political changes at the highest levels of the state, which were addressed locally in Catalunya by several members of the group of civically-minded bourgeois and artistic Catalans who lent their expertise to the 1888 Exposition and the industrial arts movement. At the Institut Pere Mata in nearby Reus, the finer rooms were designated for the wealthy, but their fees allowed for beneficence houses to operate, so that all could receive care and experience the modernista façades and gardens of the much-needed mental asylum. These modernist designs in these bourgeois spaces were modern in the sense that they were both
forward-thinking and nostalgic at once. They deployed methods that were industrial in some respects, hand-crafted in others. Groups of politically active artists, architects, and industrialists looked beyond 1888. They worked to reshape Barcelona in the image of a republican Catalunya that was eager to make its mark on the twentieth century, while well aware of its revered past. This new organizing principle of republicanism came to shape the urban landscape, public spaces, and the most intimate of domestic interiors during this time of change and introspection.
4.12 Figures

![Image of Cartel de La 3ra Exposición de Bellas Artes e Industrias Artisticas]

*Fig. 4.1 de Riquer, Cartel*
Alexandre de Riquer, Cartel de La 3ra Exposición de Bellas Artes e Industrias Artisticas. From the Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya.
Fig. 4.2 Exposición de Minería
Exposición Nacional de Minería, Artes Metalúrgicas, Cerámica y Cristalería. From the Biblioteca Nacional de España.
Fig. 4.3 Institut Pere Mata, Bench
Lluís Domènech i Montaner, Institut Pere Mata. Upholstered bench and marquetry. Photo by the author.
Fig. 4.4 Casa Lleó Morera
Lluís Domènech i Montaner, Casa Lleó Morera. Part of the Block of Discord in Barcelona, occupying 34 Passeig de Gràcia. Photo by the author.
Fig. 4.5 Casa Amatller
Josep Puig i Cadafalch, Casa Amatller. Part of the Block of Discord in Barcelona, occupying 41 Passeig de Gràcia. Photo by the author.
Fig. 4.6 Casa Amatller, Detail
Josep Puig i Cadafalch, Casa Amatller. Detail of window showing proximity of Casa Battló. Photo by the author.
Fig. 4.7 Casa Batlló
Antoni Gaudi, Casa Batlló. Part of the Block of Discord in Barcelona, occupying 43 Passeig de Gràcia. Photo by the author.
Fig. 4.8 Casas, Mona y Mono
Ramon Casas, Mona y Mono. From the Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya.
Fig. 4.9 Casas, Portrait of Pablo Picasso
Ramon Casas, Portrait of Pablo Picasso. From the Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya.
Fig. 4.10 Casas, Plein Air
Ramon Casas, Plein Air. From the Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya.
Fig. 4.11 Casas, Pèl i Ploma
Ramon Casas, Pèl i Ploma. From the temporary exhibition "Ramon Casas: La Vida Moderna," at the Museo del Modernisme Català, Col·lecció Marc Codina.
Fig. 4.12 Casas, *Joven Decadente*
Fig. 4.13 Palau de la Musica
Lluís Domènech i Montaner, Palau de la Musica Catalana. Photo by the author.
5 THE ASYLUM: LIBERALISM, MENTAL HEALTH, AND THE BOURGEOIS
CATALAN MODERNIST COHORT IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN

5.1 Mental Health Facilities and Bourgeois Ascendancy

As was the case with other civic construction projects undertaken in the final years of the
nineteenth century in Catalunya, a cohort of local politicians, many of whom were also scientists
or architects, collaborated with bourgeois industrialists to reshape urban spaces to their liking in
the town of Reus in the district of Tarragona. One site stands apart from the rest of the town’s
fine homes on account of its purpose. The Institut Pere Mata (built 1897-1912) includes a series
of buildings heavily decorated with the type of floral and ceramic ornamentation that
characterized the style of Catalan Modernisme. In fact, the upper-class pavilion more closely
resembles an elegant bourgeois residence or spa resort than a mental institution. This effort to
make patients comfortable and surround them with an aesthetically pleasing environment,
complete with fresh air and plenty of natural light, represents a new direction in psychiatric care.
These pleasant surroundings are striking, particularly considering how inadequate madhouses
and mental asylums were throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This one
facility is part of a much larger series of political changes that took place in other parts of Europe
as well as Spain, which had far-reaching social implications as well. As the old system of royal
support for Catholic charitable work collapsed, the modern state struggled to replace these as
part of the new liberal political order. Social issues like public sanitary care became more
pressing with rising rates of industrialization and urbanization, and a series of difficult transitions
urged Spain along from traditional realm to modern state. The changes discussed here include

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1 Olga Villasante and Tom Dening, “The Unfulfilled Project of the Model Mental Hospital in Spain: Fifty
Years of the Santa Isabel Madhouse, Leganes (1851-1900),” History of Psychiatry 14, no. 1 (March 2003): 4.
reductions in royal funding and status for the Catholic Church and its charitable works or *obras pias*, expansion of the role of the monarchy and its royal institutions in terms of addressing social concerns, and the increasingly active role of liberal bourgeois industrialists and medical and other scientifically educated professionals who led privately and regionally funded projects of social improvement like the Institut Pere Mata, a modern psychiatric asylum that was completed in the Catalan Modernista style.

These shifts in the roles of church, monarch, and class engaged individuals who were themselves affected by dramatic changes taking place in Spain and other parts of Europe in the nineteenth century. After the Napoleonic invasion and Peninsular War that began in 1808, Spanish politics were seized by struggles between forces of liberalism and those of traditional absolute monarchy. These political disagreements, when combined with military expenses, waning tax revenues, and a declining landed aristocracy all led to the disentail or sale of lands at auction that had once belonged to the Church or to families who were part of the nobility. Throughout the middle decades of the nineteenth century, the sale of lands that were previously off-limits permitted much-needed capital to circulate throughout the Spanish economy. It also prompted the gradual closure of madhouses or asylums that were located on Church lands. During the reign of Isabel II, the increasingly liberal political climate combined with a movement toward more humanitarian care of the insane known as the “moral cure” credited to French physician Philippe Pinel (1745-1826). These political, social, and scientific factors helped to shape the work of Catalan physician and forensic and legal medical expert Pere Mata i Fontanet, who spent time in France early in his medical career. The literature is lacking major works dedicated to Mata, which is surprising considering his prolific publishing credits

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concerning legal medicine, his extensive speaking engagements, and his dedication to improvements in the curricula of medical schools of Spain. A few large collections of biographical sketches of key figures from the history of medicine and psychology in Spain include entries on Mata. Criticism of his approach tends to include mention of his connections to phrenology, a field that was being challenged, but was still considered acceptable science during Mata’s time. Mata himself argued against phrenological tenets that would later be discredited. As an expert in legal medicine, Mata searched for indicators of physiological function in the morphology of observable anatomical structures, an approach that perhaps explains the initial appeal of phrenology. One entry in the such a collection of medical professionals asserts that Mata deployed a “highly lax medico-psychological criterion for viewing all issues related to the differential diagnosis of passion and madness and the degree to which acts could be attributed to mad and estranged individuals.” The entry further criticizes Mata’s efforts toward decriminalization of madness and the use of madhouses instead of jails. However, not all such biographical sketches were critical, a different collection was sympathetic to Mata’s intentions. Mata took on a challenging task that attempted to apply diagnostic tools of assessment in a consistent manner for use within the legal system. This was especially difficult since there was no clear definition to establish the limits of human reason and madness. When it came to religious concerns, Mata seemed inadequately Catholic to Spain’s most devout, yet he clung dearly to medical explanations of the soul for a liberal man of science, a matter taken up in the following chapter.

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3 Juan José López Ibor, Carmen Leal Cercós, and Carlos Carbonell Masiá, Images of Spanish Psychiatry (Barcelona: Editorial Glosa, S.L., 2004), 238.
4 Milagros Saiz and Dolores Saiz, Personajes para Una Historia de la Psicología en España (Barcelona: Servei de Publicacions de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1996), 138–45.
In Spain, Mata was not alone in his desire to remove psychiatric patients from prisons and offer them actual therapies. This renewed interest in the well-being of the mad led to the opening of a state-financed madhouse, the Casa de Dementes Santa Isabel, in Leganes in 1851.\(^5\)

While the facility in Leganes was plagued by problems of infrastructure and overcrowding, the desire to improve patient care picked up even more momentum in the 1890s thanks to a group of liberal professionals who embarked on their privately-funded project with republican fervor. The architect chosen for the Institut project is Lluís Domènech i Montaner, mentioned in the previous two chapters for his support of Catalan regionalism, republicanism, and the design of bourgeois spaces. These included private homes in both Reus and Barcelona, as well as public spaces like the Palau de la Musica Catalana and the Hospital Sant Pau. These were all modernist structures, as were his designs for pavilions from the Universal Exposition of 1888 in Barcelona. Domènech was part of the ascendant professional class that came to take on such civically-minded concerns as health care facilities, social problems, and public spaces. Collaboration between physicians, wealthy industrialists, and local political figures led to the construction of facilities like the Institut Pere Mata in Reus, a project led by the passion and energy of physician Emili Briansó i Planes (1863-1923). The Institut was characterized by its Catalan modernist design and its commitment to modern methods of treatment for psychiatric pathologies. The ambitious aesthetic of the facility and its tendency to outfit patient residential spaces on par with fine bourgeois homes proved expensive, and many of its pavilions, separate single-purpose structures inspired by the Universal Exposition of 1888 in Barcelona and designed by the same architect, were never actually built. The women’s first-class pavilion, as well as second-class buildings for both sexes, only went as far as pencil on paper. Still, this privately-funded facility was founded

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\(^5\) Villasante and Dening, “The Unfulfilled Project of the Model Mental Hospital in Spain.”
in the tradition of Mata and others’ aims of providing humane treatment for the mad while under confinement. This focus on making confinement a benevolent, pleasant experience represents a different trajectory from the conceptualization of the asylum as a vehicle for the articulation of power and state control, as described in the work of Michel Foucault. Mata’s defense of the insanity plea further places him outside of the concepts of moral failure and religiously-tinged guilt discussed in Foucault’s seminal work. Both the Institut and the madhouse in Leganes are examples of social projects whose vision exceeded available funding, an unsurprising problem for a system that was forced to reinvent itself for a changing society as such authorities as the state, church, and science also underwent dramatic change in the nineteenth century.

5.2 Long Traditions of Charitable Medical Care in Aragon

The Spanish system of ecclesiastically administered charitable works collapsed, as it did throughout much of Europe. However, the sense of inadequacy this failure produced was especially acute in Spain, but not because it added to the general sense of state weakness. The Spanish system of public sanitary care, and particularly its humane care for the mad, had been a source of pride dating back to the early decades of the fifteenth century. Scholars of the history of medicine recognize the kingdom of Aragon, in what would later become Spain, as the birthplace of European psychiatry. Texts on the establishment of psychiatric practice in Europe credit the presence of Islamic scholars and their academic traditions with transmitting the works of Galen and other Greek classics to Iberia, along with their own progress in the field. Al-Andalus in the south, Toledo, and the Mediterranean coast in the Kingdom of Aragon were key points in the transmission of this knowledge of natural science. These narratives of the history of

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medicine also identify the Iberian Spanish kingdoms as creating an investigative climate not as readily present in other parts of the European continent. Spanish hospital settings for psychiatric patients predate the asylums that arose during the Enlightenment by centuries. Most notable among these is the Hospital de Folls de Santa María dels Pobres Innocents, the Hospital for the Mad of Saint Mary of the Poor Innocents, founded in Valencia in 1410, which is credited with being the first in Europe. This facility proved to be the Spanish model, not the exception, as construction of mental hospitals spread throughout the peninsula. Islamic medical expertise and influence is often connected with these facilities, which also included Nuestra Señora de Gracia, or Our Lady of Grace, in Zaragoza (1425), Seville (1436), as well as Toledo, Valladolid, and even viceroyalties of New Spain in North America. The hospital in Valencia was blessed by Joan-Gilabert Jofré, a priest ordained to the Royal order of the Virgin Mary of Mercy, who reportedly took pity on the plight of the mad and pled for a place where they could seek refuge. Father Jofré had preached for safe spaces for the mad after witnessing them suffering persecution as well as sexual and physical abuse. He then helped persuade Martin I (1356-1410) of Aragon to offer his approval. He is thought to have taken inspiration from his observations of how the mad were treated in Islamic Morocco during his travels there. The city’s asylum became closely associated with Christian iconography of Our Lady of the Forsaken, who became patron saint of Valencia. Following a fire in 1545, Valencia fell out of regular use, and Our Lady of

8 Juan José López Ibor, “The Founding of the First Psychiatric Hospital in the World in Valencia,” *Actas Españolas De Psiquiatría* 36, no. 1 (February 2008): 5. This author refers to the Valencian facility as the first psychiatric hospital in the world, a designation I have not yet encountered elsewhere.
Grace in Zaragoza in Aragon, became the leader in psychiatric care in Spain. The hospital in Zaragoza (often spelled “Saragossa” in the late medieval and early modern periods) resembled that of Valencia, also earning its reputation for care and treatment of the insane, who often traveled there for that purpose. The inscription above the doorway of its entry façade is referenced frequently in the literature. It read, *Domus infirmorum urbis et Orbis*, which means hospital of the city and of the world. Zaragoza was a refuge, but not only for the mad. The city was home to other residential facilities that fed and housed individuals whose need, in large numbers, posed social problems the Church addressed through an orphanage, pilgrim’s hospital for travelers, poorhouse, soup kitchen, reformatory school for children, and several hospices.\(^{12}\)

These hospitals and other *obras pías*, in addition to addressing social concerns, carried out corporeal as well as spiritual works of mercy for the Church, relying on medical knowledge that came from diverse sources. Both Christian influence and Islamic medical knowledge appear to have been at work in the establishment of asylums for the mad or lunatics, as they were called. They established a centuries-long tradition of facilities belonging to the church and staffed by the clergy, who applied principles of natural science in the care they administered. Christianity, and attending members of religious orders were seen as “not in conflict with psychology or science because for centuries, natural science and its study provided a means to understand and appreciate creation.”\(^{13}\) As was the case with physical ailments, the clergy were qualified to minister to the sick spiritually, if not physically. Theologically, mental illness entered into the understanding of suffering, allowing clerics to provide a counseling ministry as part of their


responsibilities for supplying pastoral care. In the sixteenth century, religious mysticism had earned respect and admiration in Spain, and figures such as Teresa of Avila (1515-1582) and John of the Cross (1542-1591) were revered and eventually canonized for their faith, their work for the Carmelite religious order, and for their writings. These works addressed struggles within the soul that resemble mental perturbations not unlike those that were later regarded as medical concerns in the nineteenth century. Religiously-administered charitable care was not limited to Spanish Catholics. French priest Vincent de Paul (1581-1660), who was also later canonized a saint, is recorded as saying, “mental disease is no different [from] bodily disease, and Christianity demands of the humane and powerful to protect, and the skillful to relieve the one as well as the other.” The Reformation altered opinions across Europe as to the role of the Church in carrying out these charitable models of Christian communitarian care. This likely due in part to Protestant distaste for the expectation that Christians perform good works and seek merit in order to gain justification and salvation. Yet these requirements of good works figured prominently in Catholicism, a theological requirement that had far-reaching social implications. Catholic Church teachings provided the charge for communities to care for those who could not do so for themselves, addressing such social problems as addiction, poverty, and prostitution, in addition to madness. Church infrastructure and the privileges and protections it received from the political order, in this case the monarchy, offer an example of the many implications of the union of Church and state in Catholic countries under the Ancien Régime.

Dating back to the psychiatric hospital in fifteenth-century Valencia, Spain had earned a reputation for humanitarian care that has been overshadowed by the period in which deteriorating economic and political structures threatened these once-protected church benefices.

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14 Entwistle, 43.
15 Vincent de Paul quoted in Entwistle, 44.
and eventually led to their closure. This propelled psychiatric facilities into the secular state-run, and even private sector, where they yielded uneven results. Despite Spain’s reputation for inhabiting Europe’s scientific periphery during the nineteenth century, the hospital in Zaragoza “had an enormous influence” on French psychiatric reform during the French revolution, a time when French medical care began a years-long process of reform. Philippe Pinel, the French physician who was seen as essential to this movement toward more humanitarian care for the insane, wrote about the asylum of Zaragoza in favorable terms, describing how the facility was open to “all the sick, and especially for the insane of all nations, of all governments, and of all religions.” These patients were encouraged to take part in manual labor for curative purposes, leading to the popular belief of the time that work would help them to find a “counterweight to what was misplaced by the soul, finding joy in cultivating the fields, relying on natural instinct that induces mankind to make the earth productive, providing for all of his necessities with the fruits of his industry.” The soul or âme in French was a versatile term that captured not only the theological understanding of the soul but also the “mind, spirit, mental life, and consciousness.” This terminology changed in favor of the self, but not before Pere Mata, who had studied in France and referenced French philosopher Victor Cousin (1792-1867) and Pinel, struggled to defend the soul before the medical community. Thus, with royal support granted through the protected status of entailed Church lands, these ecclesiastically-run facilities were successful, and indeed, were among the finest in Europe.

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While this union promoted charitable ministries to those in need for several centuries, this social, economic, and political arrangement came into question with the rise of liberalism in the nineteenth century. Possible solutions to the social problem presented by madness changed after the Enlightenment and French Revolution, and in some parts of nineteenth-century Europe religion was regarded more as a cause of madness than the means of administering treatment.\(^{19}\) The move toward secular treatment that followed the rise of liberal politics came with the shift to scientific diagnosis and treatment. However, the state and its apparatus, including the penal system, would need strengthening and reform so that the mad would no longer find themselves incarcerated. Instead, they would be diagnosed, their pathology medicalized and treated in institutions that again, required a much stronger state to administer.\(^{20}\) In Spain, figures like Pere Mata worked to change the way the causes of madness were understood and the manner in which it was treated, using Enlightenment terminology, chiefly the concept of reason. Humanitarian care was certainly not new to Spain, but the methods of addressing these social problems changed over the course of the nineteenth century with the rise of the liberal state and changes to the study and practice of medicine. The political and economic conflicts of the nineteenth century severely complicated these efforts. The starting point of this crisis was the complete destruction by bombing of the Hospital of Zaragoza on August 3, 1808, as French invading forces entered the city.

5.3 Early Nineteenth-Century Liberal Constitutional Secularism in Spain

At the start of the nineteenth century, the Spanish system of mental asylums and other ecclesiastically-run residential benefices or poor-work houses virtually collapsed amid the

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\(^{20}\) Goldberg, bks. 15–16.
struggle for independence from Napoleon during the Peninsular War (1808-1814). Even after the
difficult Spanish victory, political crises followed.\textsuperscript{21} Given the uncertainty of the survival of the
Spanish state, the relationships between the Church, the monarchy, and landed property were
called into question, leaving the fate of the mentally ill and other recipients of charitable services
up in the air. While a restoration of pre-Napoleonic order in Spain was supported by a series of
elites who aligned themselves with the Spanish heir, the absolutist Ferdinand VII (1784-1833),
intellectuals and elites who favored a more liberal vision of Spain gathered in the southern city of
Cádiz, an area Joseph Bonaparte’s forces had brought under French control. The notables present
in Cádiz drafted a constitution for Spain that supported the monarchy but with constitutional
limits. It established Catholicism as the only religion for Spain while limiting clerical power. The
Spanish Constitution of 1812 or the Constitution of Cádiz is known affectionately as “La Pepa”
since it was promulgated on the feast day of St. Joseph, March 19, 1812.\textsuperscript{22} The document
addressed specifically Spanish concerns rather than imitating the kinds of liberal reforms that
were associated with the then-hated French. Rights and liberties were of secondary concern to
questions of Spanish identity. Article Two was of particular interest to the Spanish, as it defined
the Spanish nation as “the collection of all Spaniards of both hemispheres.”\textsuperscript{23} Article Five
claimed Spaniards were defined as “all free men, living and residing in the dominions of Spain,
and their children.” This broad designation emphasizes lineage of Spanish persons, regardless of
geographic or political claims, although those territories belonging to Spain at the time are listed
in the document, as well. The Napoleonic period, a time of existential crisis for Spain, included

\textsuperscript{21} Charles J. Esdaile, \textit{Spain in the Liberal Age: From Constitution to Civil War, 1808-1939}, A History of
Spain (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000). Esdaile provides a detailed narrative of the period of liberal struggle in
Spain, from 1808-1939, including political divisions on all sides, as well as Carlism.

\textsuperscript{22} See also Gregorio Alonso, “How to Be Religious Under Liberalism,” in \textit{Spain in the Nineteenth Century:
New Essays on Experiences of Culture and Society} (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 89–92 for a
discussion of Catholic identity and authority communicated in the 1812 Constitution.

\textsuperscript{23} “Constitución Política de La Monarquía Española” (Imprenta Real, Cádiz, March 19, 1812).
these colonial claims phrased in a way that focused on heritage, circumventing the political reality of the day, that Spain was unable to govern itself, much less colonies. Other phrases reflected liberal ideas of the time. Notions of popular sovereignty are also present in the document. Article Three established that sovereignty resides in the nation, rather than the monarch’s person. Article Two defined that nation as “free and independent and it is not, nor can it be, the patrimony of any family or person.” At least on paper, this phrasing paves the way for the sale of lands once associated with the monarchy and aristocratic families. These efforts to implement constitutional governance depended on Spanish success in the violent struggle with Napoleonic forces, but when that victory ultimately arrived, constitutionally limited liberal governance clashed with revived absolutism, as was the case throughout Europe. These conflicting political philosophies had implications for how social problems like sanitary treatment and care for the mad were carried out. The transition from sovereignty residing in the monarchy, an institution that had financially supported Catholic obras pias to popular sovereignty meant new state institutions would need to be established and funded through taxation or some other means. These new state institutions would then address the social issues that had previously fallen under pastoral care and church ministry. As political disagreements slowed this process and hindered its progress, the fate of some of Spain’s most vulnerable hung in the balance.

Following the grisly Napoleonic war, the restoration of the Spanish King Ferdinand VII ushered in a decade of politics aligned against the forces of liberalism that were perceived to have influenced the country during the years of French rule. This period is sometimes referred to as the “decade of absolutism,” but this absolutist government was precariously dependent upon military support, since Spain no longer possessed a powerful landed aristocracy of the kind that

24 “Constitution, 1812.”
marked the height of the *Ancien Régime*. The Constitution of 1812 remained at least nominally in force, but by 1814, a group of elites demanded that Ferdinand put a stop to French-style liberalism by publishing the *Manifesto de las Persas*, which demanded a rolling back of the Constitution of Cádiz of 1812. In other intellectual and elite circles, support for the Constitution of 1812 and pride in its generous definition of Spanish nationhood led to vigorous demands that the document be fully implemented by the restored monarch. As was the case across nineteenth-century Europe, struggles between the forces of liberalism and absolutism gripped Spanish politics, and the government moved back and forth into different camps. Rebellion led by Rafael del Riego in 1820 brought three years of liberal rule, and perhaps more importantly, reprieve from military engagement in the Americas. Liberal rule ended in a restoration in 1824 assisted by the French, highlighting the weakness of the absolutist crown. Efficient governance was predictably hampered by these shifts, and the role of the state in government-run institutions was unclear in the years immediately following the restoration of Ferdinand VII to the monarchy. The mentally ill found themselves caught in this struggle between impaired conservative institutions and liberal state-run social programs that had not yet materialized.

Of the imperiled institutions that fell through the cracks between Church and state administration, mental hospitals are the most tragic example. The fate of mental institutions was entangled with the role and funding of the Church during this period, and this topic was contentiously politicized. Conservative elites and clergy found popular support in devoted Catholics for a rejection of French-style liberalism and its anti-clerical components. One of those key tenets was the disentail of Church lands, which included control of hospitals for the mad and

26 Ringrose, 325.
other charitable facilities constructed upon these lands. In Spain, French-style politics was seen as unpopular immediately following war against French invaders. These anti-French sentiments heightened opposition to principles of the French Enlightenment that called for public support, administered through the apparatus of the secular state, of the mentally infirm. Attempts at liberal reform on the part of the Bourbon monarchs in Spain created more problems as notables became divided into several camps, the most prominent of which were those who recognized Spain’s deficiency and wished to labor to improve in order to keep up with France, and those who refused any change, however beneficial, that originated with or was deployed by the hated French.²⁷ Whatever the course of action, it would be unpopular with large numbers of persons in power. As Ferdinand VII carried out an increasingly absolutist rule, liberalism would again find its support through resistance, and Ferdinand would find himself pressured to expand the process of disentail of Church lands. This posed a problem, because without further plans for those facilities, it removed the administration of mental hospitals from the institution most capable of managing them at the time, the Church.²⁸

5.4 Disentail: Funding the Modern Liberal State

The cathedral of Seville has a long and varied artistic patrimony that includes two enormous altarpieces or retablo. One is the high altar gilt in gold, and the other is located in a large side chapel, clad in silver. Both are decorated with precious metals that made their way from mines in the Americas to Spain during the Spanish Baroque period, when much of this type of extracted wealth entered Europe through Seville. In 1899, this church came to house the

remains of Columbus, and it bears much ornamentation as a result of his expeditions. The silver-clad Altar del Jubileo, constructed by various artisans over the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries, is admired by present-day visitors who are told rumors in hushed whispers that the altar used to be far larger, but much of it was melted down to finance the wars against Napoleon. Whether or not the silver altar itself was dismantled to fight the French, the tale communicates the types of fiscal sacrifices and changes that were made as the crown gave up old Catholic possessions in order to rebuild the weakened Spanish state. After the Napoleonic experience, liberal changes were, in the minds of many, crucial for the state’s very survival. As the role of the Catholic Church in state affairs shifted in the early decades of the nineteenth century, so did the model for sanitary care, which would no longer fall under the Church’s responsibilities, and would need to be reestablished on a new footing, administered by different authority figures. Chief among these changes are the documented sales of land that began in the final years of the eighteenth century. Up until this point, a private person or entity could not simply purchase a parcel of land, so these sales were a marked departure from the political, social, and economic structures that came before.

The sale of lands belonging to the church make up only a portion of this movement toward modern liberal notions of landed property through which anyone could come to own the things that money could buy, particularly industrialists willing to part with the funds the crown sought desperately. However, the buying and selling of real property, and the concept of private property in general, are such integral parts of our modern outlook that they merit a moment to consider the significance of this decision to begin the process of disentail of land. The liberal model of land use so familiar to us at present assumes that land is a commodity that can be
owned, sold, and used by private entities or individuals. Land may change hands, moving from one private party or individual to another, so long as financial agreements are made to the satisfaction of all involved. This is not how land was held or thought of during the time of the Ancien Régime, which saw its decline begin with the French Revolution. Under the Ancien Régime, “property, political authority, social hierarchy, and social responsibility were bound together.” The land itself was not owned; it was merely used as permitted by complicated structures of seigneurial obligations. Generally, the thing that was owned in this system was an agreed-upon share of what the land itself produced, and the change to ownership of the land itself, legally and officially, came as “a major shock.” This process of decoupling the land from social obligations formerly connected with it, and allowing for its sale, is known as disentail or desamortizaciones. There were significant economic, political, and social consequences to this shift in ownership of land in Spain, which transferred Church and regional or municipal lands into privately held property.

It is so commonplace to hear the aphorism attributed to Klemens von Metternich (1773-1859) from around the time of the Congress of Vienna (1815), “when France sneezes, Europe catches cold,” that it can be easy to overlook the specifics of processes that may have inspired such phrasing. The establishment of the French Republic that followed the revolution was a change that affected the Spanish, as the French declared war on the Spanish in 1793. Financing the conflict served as motivation for the disentail of Church lands tied to the crown of Charles IV (1748-1819). Thus, the initial move to sell lands commonly held with the Church and crown

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29 Ringrose, Spain, Europe, and the “Spanish Miracle”, 1700-1900, 163.
31 Ringrose, Spain, Europe, and the “Spanish Miracle”, 1700-1900, 163.
were not part of a politically liberal reform movement, as financial necessity and rising national
deficits prompted the Spanish to take drastic measures to preserve their credit. However, liberal
economic principles, chiefly that of market forces that drove up the cost of land, were at play.
Years of alternating war and alliance with France, culminating in Napoleonic invasion and the
Independence War in 1808, caused terrible strains on Spanish shipping, making the Spanish
economic situation ever more desperate. Attempts at circulating paper money and tax reform
failed, but Charles IV would not allow Spain to fall into the sort of social upheaval France was
experiencing with its widespread disentail of lands. Instead, Charles called for desamortizaciones
or sale of small percentages of land, mostly lands that were off the market due to mayorazgo or
limited to inheritance of an entire often unwieldy estate by primogeniture, and manos muertas, or
Church lands, so that they could be sold to those who would actively work it, yielding produce
that could then be taxed.33 The percentages were small in some, but not all cases. The literature
includes analysis of the records of ecclesiastical property subject to disentail in Castile between
1798 and Napoleonic invasion in 1808. These data indicate what percentage of total Church
lands were sold. These percentages for royal ecclesiastical lands went as low as six in La Mancha
and Leon, as high as twenty in Salamanca, and thirty in Murcia, with an average of fifteen for all
of Castile.34 The corresponding figures for royal secular entails sold in Castile reveal truly small
percentages. In La Mancha and Leon these totaled one percent, seven in Salamanca, and two in
Murcia, with an overall figure for Castile of three percent.35

These figures suggest that Charles IV was not looking to placate the peasantry through
drastic changes in the way land was held and administered through seigneurial obligations. His

33 Herr, 97–98.
35 Herr, 128–34.
motivations were not social but financial, aimed at generating revenue for the state. This enhanced revenue would come not only from sales, but from taxes assessed based on the land’s improved productivity. But as these figures suggest, this effort was very small in the years before Napoleon’s invasion of Spain, during the first wave of disentail under the administration of Prime Minister Manuel de Godoy (1767-1851). In this first wave of disentail of Church lands that came before 1800, hospitals, orphanages, asylums, and other obras pías, were considered public property subject to sovereign authority, which spared them from sale and closure. Enough agricultural land had sat unworked that the ministers for Charles IV found other places where market forces and financial incentives could boost the productivity and enhance revenue. However, surveys and inventories of these church assets were taken, a process that caused resentment among the clergy.\textsuperscript{36} It must have been unsettling, wondering if the property a particular monastery or other beneficence sat on would soon be up on the public auction block. Yet the percentages of ecclesiastical land sales were low even as Napoleonic invasion destabilized the system of obras pías. This suggests that that the collapse of the church-run asylum system prior to the expanded disentail of the 1830s may be owed to Napoleonic invasion or other factors beyond the sale of the lands themselves. The destruction of the flagship hospital in Zaragoza by French invading forces in 1808 is but one instance of this collapse. The French presence itself brought about another wave of property sales, including land in the hands of the clergy and aristocrats who resisted French control.\textsuperscript{37}

In the decades that followed war with the French empire, sweeping land reforms along liberal ideological lines did take place. These were carried out by the controversial figure of Juan

\textsuperscript{36} Herr, 115.
\textsuperscript{37} Gabriel Tortella Casares, \textit{The Development of Modern Spain: An Economic History of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries} (Harvard University Press, 2000), 53.
Álvarez Mendizábal (1790-1853), who is credited with helping finance the liberal mutiny of 1820 carried out by Rafael del Riego (1784-1823). Mendizábal implemented the disentail that took place during the reign of Isabel II, between 1835 and 1837. These later desamortizaciones targeted church lands, further fueling Carlist discontent with the secularizing component of the liberal program. This wave of disentail was somewhat utopian, but it was motivated less by modern liberal notions of rights to private property than by the belief that market forces and entrepreneurial discipline could revitalize agriculture and incentivize production as markets tended to do, and actually had been doing in unofficial capacities by an increasingly planter-minded peasantry. The monarchy under the Ancien Régime had rested upon these social obligations tied to the land, so the sale of these royal lands to private individuals, however loyal these subjects may have been, seemed to present a kind of dissipation of the monarch’s actual power. This problem was not specific to Spain, since any state implementing liberal democratic reform would need to weigh the importance of land ownership when determining who would be enfranchised. The economic causes of disentail were not specific to Spain either. The French began selling Catholic lands in 1791 after nationalizing all church properties in 1789, while Austria sold Catholic convents and monasteries in the 1780s, retaining regular parish churches despite the “voracious” market for land. In Spain, the disentail of secular lands caused small percentages of total holdings to change hands under Godoy, before the Napoleonic invasion in 1808. The later sales carried out by Mendizábal in the 1830s under Isabel II were more complete, and as viceroyalties in the Americas gained their independence, this process was part of the decoupling of land from royal power that came with the rise of political, not just economic

38 Ringrose, Spain, Europe, and the “Spanish Miracle”, 1700-1900, 164–66.
liberalism. While this process of land sales was crucial to the economic change underway in the nineteenth century, the low percentages of early land sales under Godoy indicate that these sales alone were not responsible for the collapse of the state-sponsored and ecclesiastically-administered mental health care system. Rather, its failure appears tied to the Napoleonic invasion of 1808 and the ensuing war, since the beneficence houses that survived treated low numbers of patients, as discussed in detail below.

5.5 Royal Decrees of Isabel II and the Collapse of Obras Pías

The land and revenues that could be derived not just from its use but from its sale, were at the core of the liberal economic reforms enacted during this period. Royal programs nonetheless recognized that charitable works such as those carried out by the Church were part of the social component of the liberal program. Isabel II was the first modern monarch to address the needs of charitable obras pías serving social purposes through royal decrees and legislation, but the process was ad-hoc rather than systemic or centralized, and problems multiplied. The January 23, 1820 Charity Law and further regulations issued on February 6, 1822 required the asylums to come under the control of new local entities. These charitable benefices are referred to as Juntas de Beneficencia or Municipal Boards of Charity, in the text of the many royal decrees that came in the years that followed, as the state administration attempted to organize locally-run efforts with the obras pías. These juntas failed to recognize the rising power and ambition of the Spanish bourgeoisie, which was busily buying up disentailed land at auction. Juntas were organized around publicly-funded secular models, administered by Diputaciones Provinciales, or provincial delegations. Isabel’s moderate liberal supporters wished to keep these charitable benefices in public hands, but by doing so, they limited their reach into the increasing

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wealth the bourgeois class was accumulating and investing, instead relegating these projects to what the Spanish budget could spare. When private or public funding was available, the secular public officials remained involved. This was a moderate liberal position, and one that was not generally popular among those who preferred that the Catholic Church remain more closely affiliated with the monarchy. Isabel remained Catholic, supported Catholic charitable efforts, and certainly continued to participate publicly in Catholic services and festivals. However, she found herself caught between the deeply Catholic Carlists, who were never going to accept the legitimacy of her reign on account of her sex, the moderate liberals who embraced her reforms and encouraged her restoration of constitutional limitations, and later in her reign the radical republicans who would not accept any monarch.

One example of these efforts is the record of Royal decrees from 1836, which shows how the administration under Isabel was concerned for these liberal social needs, and how they would be addressed by means besides the Church and crown alone. These decrees implemented additional plans for obras pías, including private patronage by individual families, but even in these cases of private funding, a representative of the local town ayuntamiento or town council, the mayor, and the ranking pastor or local parish priest were appointed to administrative committees. Predictably, there was some confusion, since individual royal orders were given for specific provinces, defining who would make up what commission, and these committees and corporations held a variety of different names with dissimilar purposes. These reveal how complicated this system became as it attempted to fill needs ad-hoc. However, it is important to note that it did attempt to fulfill needs. In one example, an 1836 decree references an 1833 Real

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41 Juan Sisinio Pérez Garzón, Isabel II: Los Espejos de la Reina (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2004), 125.

42 Josef Maria de Nieva, “Coleccion de los Reales Decretos de la Reina Nuestra Señora Doña Isabel II” (Ministerio de Gracia y Justicia, 1837), 171–73.
Orden that called for the creation of Juntas Superiores de Caridad, without specifying what “superiors” actually meant. The decree notes that by March of 1834, this junta was no longer attending to houses of Misericordia and Hospicios, or houses of mercy and hospices, “despite the lack of any Royal disposition ordering them to do so.” In this manner, failures separated by mere months were documented, followed by a new order approved by Isabel, laying out a new series of organizations with instructions as to which local government officials and priests would be involved.43 This is just one case of many from 1836. The decentralized and idiosyncratic nature of this program makes its inevitable failure predictable and perhaps understandable. It is worth emphasizing that the process of disentail itself did not simply close the doors on all of these charitable projects, particularly those that housed populations in need. But however well-intended, these programs eventually failed recipients, as the numbers of needy rose while the state lacked a centralized apparatus to tackle such social problems as mental illness.

By late 1848, the state made efforts to assess the need for specialized facilities for the mad by way of royal degree calling for a report listing the number of mad persons throughout the state. Respected Madrid Doctor of Medicine and Surgery Pedro María Rubio y Martín de Santos (1801-1868) published a census he undertook on behalf of the Consejo de Sanidad del Reino, the Council of the Health of the Realm. The census report appeared in the Gaceta de Madrid, and it attempted to count the number of “dementes” or mad throughout Spain. Rubio noted that his report included some figures furnished to him by the ministry, some “datos oficiales,” for which he expressed his profound gratitude. Despite the lack of corroboration, these figures still offer valuable insight into this population that was becoming increasingly difficult to quantify. As the mental health system administered by the Church collapsed in Spain, as well as other parts of

43 Maria de Nieva, 263–66.
Europe, the mad sought refuge in other places, as noted in Rubio’s report. First, he provided a total, broken down into forty-nine provinces, of 7277 mad persons in Spain. Then he tallied totals by province for different types of housing situations, and within each city he sometimes noted the different major facilities in which they resided. For example, under public facilities he listed Barcelona, and its totals were divided between 227 as general patients in the Hospital de Santa Cruz and 286 in a charity house in the same city. He noted a few especially low figures for beneficence houses specializing in “dementes” including the Hospital de Nuestra Senora de Gracia in Zaragoza, the Hospital de Nuestra Senora de Visitacion in Toledo, the Casa de Inocentes Dementes of Valladolid, and the Casa de Dementes in Merida, each with a single patient, for a total of four. Beneficence houses that did not specialize in accommodating the mad totaled forty-four patients. One patient was documented as living in a convent, and seventeen were recorded as imprisoned.\(^4^4\) Rubio then subtracted the number of patients living in such facilities from his original figure of the number of mad in Spain, and categorized these patients as living in their own private homes or with their families. To return to the example of Barcelona, of its total of 588 mad, 513 were housed in the city hospital or charity house, leaving a total of 75 mad persons ostensibly living in private homes. Totals for Spain included 7277 mad with 1626 in public facilities, beneficence houses, and religious establishments. This left a difference of 5631 mad persons who Rubio classified as living in private homes with family.\(^4^5\) Since door-to-door head counts were not taken, it is difficult to say whether these mad persons were, in fact, living at home, or under what conditions. Rubio went on to express these numbers in terms of ratios of the number of inhabitants per “demente” for each province, broken down by sex when known. Even

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\(^{4^5}\) Rubio, 2.
given the use of “datos oficiales,” the official figures provided by the Ministry for this report, the numbers reveal a large proportion of mad persons who were underserved under the newly emerging liberal system.

For all its pages of figures, the report makes an important point by what it does not explicitly say. The population of mad persons was a social problem that existed and persisted, despite not always being visible. This became increasingly true with the decentralization of housing for the mad away from Church facilities that had previously received royal funding. However much or little the crown may have contributed, the figures were known to them since they funded the Church facilities and could hold them accountable. In the absence of those arrangements, a report like this was an important first step, guiding the liberal administration toward modern solutions to this social problem. To carry out works of social improvement for the public good, the agencies involved, whether public or private or ecclesiastical, would need to start with reports like Rubio’s and ensure recipients of charity had actual facilities situated on land that they could use, administered by knowledgeable persons who had access to adequate funding, whatever the source. As a provider or facilitator of these items, the state failed, but this mission was a highly complicated one, with stop-gap efforts the Royal decrees revealed. One example of failure was the asylum near Madrid named for Isabel II, the so-called “model” mental asylum of Santa Isabel.

5.6 After Obras Pías: Asylum Reform and the Model Mental Asylum of Santa Isabel

This shift in the governance of asylums from ecclesiastical to secular administration, however dramatic, did not necessarily initiate a significant change in terms of the goals and nature of the treatments provided at these facilities. In these decades before Freud’s works on the “talking cure” of psychoanalysis, Mesmerism and spiritualism were contentious but accepted
fields of natural science, as were phrenology and physical morphology or conformation, as diagnostic tools.46 Madness was a nebulous ailment that generally went untreated, but when attempts at intervention were made, these generally involved removing the individual from society, resulting in confinement in what were often overcrowded, poorly-maintained asylums or in prisons. The “moral cure” of French physician Philippe Pinel aimed to establish more humane psychiatric treatment. Pinel was famously cast in works of art as calling for the unchaining of patients and the removal of shackles from their limbs, but the painted images show this dramatic moment, and not what came after. Pinel and his supporters’ vision, although noble, was limited by the availability and efficacy of facilities capable of humanely confining and adequately treating the mentally afflicted. In the absence of psychiatric asylums, confinement was limited to prisons that housed hardened criminals, addicts, and alcoholics. These were places where adequate medical care for psychiatric illness, however vague, was unavailable.

In nineteenth-century Spain, physicians and local political figures aspired to improve sanitary conditions, which had fallen into sharp decline. The proud tradition of ecclesiastically-run asylums which dated back to the Hospital of the Innocents in Valencia had collapsed, but it was not forgotten. Influenced by Pinel and Catalan physician and hygienist Pere Felip Monlau i Roca (1808-1871), the Barcelona City Corporation, a division of the Ajuntament de Barcelona or town council, made efforts to bring back asylums. Local experts in the field were heavily involved in the politics of their time. In the 1830s and 1840s, a series of medical professionals, including Monlau and physician Pere Mata i Fontanet contributed to and edited the liberal newspaper called *El Vapor*, a reference to modern steam power. The paper identified itself as

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political, mercantile, and literary, eventually publishing pieces revealing the editorial board’s concern for sanitary conditions, health, and hygiene among the working class. Over the course of its run, the newspaper leaned toward socialist utopian philosophy, as Monlau became more closely associated with utopian groups in Barcelona. The experience influenced Monlau, and throughout his career he remained engaged with individual and interpersonal hygiene, military hygiene, and the appalling sanitary conditions inside the walled city of Barcelona. He joined the cry of other educated bourgeois notables demanding to have the medieval walls torn down so the city could expand. Although his works in the field of hygiene and sanitation were respected, his views on psychology were based on religious premises he attempted to merge with scientific principles, mainly that of the soul as the primary recipient of attention in the field of psychology. His 1864 work, a course he co-wrote with fellow romantic-era philosopher José María Rey y Heredia (1818-1861) on psychology and logic, describes the role of psychology. This work indicates that a shift was underway, one that would place psychological and psychiatric treatment within the hands of medical specialists, rather than religious authorities. This shift from clerical to medical treatment was not a sudden break, and for a period during the middle decades of the nineteenth century, religious and medical beliefs and terminology overlapped. In Monlau’s time, the practical needs for medical, rather than clerical involvement were a result of the realities of land disentail, but the philosophy behind this shift appears unchanged. Monlau wrote:

Psychology is the science that concerns itself with the soul. Psychology is divided into experimental and rational. The term “psychology” is composed of the Greek psyche (literally butterfly, and metaphorically soul, spirit), and logic, logos (reasoned discourse about). The division of psychology is based on the fact that of the many things that can be known about the soul, some can be studied experimentally, by way of observation, of experience, like its existence, its

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attributes, its faculties, and its functions; and others cannot be studied except through deductive reasoning, like its origin, its essence or nature, its destiny, etc.48

Here Monlau took a stance that rejected the exclusive authority of experimental science, instead looking toward deductive logical reasoning reminiscent of medieval scholastic traditions in his call for the use of logic to deduce certain things he determined as impossible to directly observe. These included the brain, which indeed did not pose a wealth of observable information as to human behavioral sciences, at the time. In this way, Monlau refuses to commit to one side or the other, whether experimental psychologists who focused on empirical scientific evidence drawn from the fields of biology and medicine, or mental philosophers who wrote and spoke of “forces” affecting the soul, which was too sublime a thing for such “vulgar” methods as laboratory experimentation.49

While psychology as a field was within the realm of science, according to Monlau, the focus of its treatment was the human soul. This stance is representative of an intermediate stage when terminology defining the soul, psyche, or mind was at times scientific, and others religious. This inconsistency in terms illuminates the nuanced way these fields came into existence, influenced by the Enlightenment and animated by the French Revolution.50 As mental ailments were pathologized using psychological terms and calling for psychiatric treatment, these sciences moved the problem of madness from the authority of the Church to new institutions. These included state and local prisons and later an educated class of politically active bourgeois

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48 Pedro Felipe Monlau and José María. Rey y Heredia, Curso de Psicología y Lógica: ...Para Uso de Los Institutos y Colegios de Segunda Enseñanza (Madrid: Imprenta y Estereotipia de M. Rivadeneyra, 1864), 6–7, http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000091867. “La psicología es la ciencia que trata del alma. La psicología se divide en experimental y racional. La voz psicología se compone de las dos griegas psyché (literalmente mariposa, y metafóricamente alma, espíritu), y logia, logos (tratado de). La division de la Psicología se funda en que de las varias cosas que hay que saber en órden al alma, las unas pueden estudiarse experimentalmente, por medio de observacion, de la experiencia, como su existencia, sus atributos, sus facultades y sus operaciones; y las otras no pueden estudiarse sino por medio del raciocinio, como su origen, su esencia ó naturaleza, su destino, etc.”


50 Goldstein, The Post-Revolutionary Self, 9.
professionals. This cohort nonetheless retained the theological terminology and some of the philosophy embedded in the French âme, the Catalan ànima, and the Spanish alma, or soul. Despite the less than entirely empirical approach he took to psychology, the literature and historical societies promoting the work of Catalan physicians recall Monlau’s legacy as one promoting liberalism mainly because of the social implications of his work on public and individual hygiene. Monlau’s reliance on Catholic theological terminology could be the result of personal faith, but it may have also stemmed from a simple lack of an alternative framework and vocabulary available to locate and treat the source of psychological problems within the physical body. This philosophical dilemma, however important, did not address the needs of those who had nowhere to turn but madhouses or prison, and the Ajuntament of Barcelona did not present a solution to this problem in the middle years of the nineteenth century. This lack of resolution was the norm given the decentralized administration and arcane funding methods available for carrying out such a project.

Finally, after over twenty years of discussion, debate, and delays, the Madrid Beneficence Board attempted to address the lack of asylums and the social problems the situation posed. It was an immense undertaking made worse as other asylums continued to close. In 1851, the commission purchased a palace that had once belonged to a duke on a large provincial estate outside of Madrid near Leganes. Men’s and women’s wards were set up inside the estate’s walls and gates. Much intellectual debate had been devoted to what was termed the “model” mental asylum, and the Santa Isabel Madhouse in Leganes (named for Isabel II) offered an opportunity to enact more humane treatment of the mentally infirm. Unfortunately, the project faced challenges before the doors even opened. Infrastructure was inadequate. The old palace structure

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was in poor condition and plumbing and sanitation were out of date and entirely inadequate, a problem that diverted precious funding from patient care to keeping the facilities functioning at a bare minimum level. These sanitary shortcomings caused serious hygienic problems once the facility was occupied, and these sewage discharge troubles made the asylum even less welcome by its neighbors.\textsuperscript{52} Overcrowding was a problem from the start, in part because patients were confined but not treated or rehabilitated in a modern sense. Soon after the asylum opened its doors, it received patients from the ward of “the disturbed” from the General hospital in Madrid.\textsuperscript{53} Sections of the men’s and women’s wards were designed to temporarily house incoming patients, but without treatment, these patients generally did not improve, and they remained in the short-term wards, sometimes for over three years.\textsuperscript{54} Intake staff was overwhelmed and overcrowding forced employees to turn people away. Plans to build multiple such facilities were canceled, and few options remained. The Nuncio Seminary in Toledo and what was left of \textit{Nuestra Señora de Gracia} Hospital in Zaragoza accepted patients, but these were not facilities specifically designed for the mentally ill, and in the case of the seminary, it was equipped only for the occasional ailing traveler. In the census of 1848 discussed above, these facilities reportedly housed only one patient each.\textsuperscript{55} Zaragoza was nothing like what it had been when it inspired Pinel’s writings, before Napoleonic forces destroyed it. Under these conditions, Santa Isabel in Leganes became a national asylum, facing growing needs the facility could not possibly meet. The failure was not for lack of talent. In fact, respected psychiatrist Luis Simarro (1851-1921) was placed in charge of the department of patient care, but the facility did not

\begin{footnotes}
\item[52] Villasante, “The Unfulfilled Project of the Model Mental Hospital in Spain: Fifty Years of the Santa Isabel Madhouse, Leganés (1851–1900),” 8–9.
\item[53] Villasante, 7.
\item[54] Villasante, 7.
\end{footnotes}
improve. Rather than performing as a model mental asylum, the facility served as an example of the failure of secularized mental health care at the time. Faced with chronic overcrowding, patients unable to enter Leganes were confined in jails.

5.7 Surgeons and Physicians: Mata’s Reform of Medical School Curricula in Spain

In the mid to late nineteenth century, changes within the field of medicine led some of its most pioneering practitioners to vary the scope of disciplines it came to include. Though sparked by a liberal devotee, this move was motivated not by changing notions of the role of the church or liberal concerns for social well-being. Rather, it was led by shifts within medicine to include psychology and psychiatry as ways of treating rather than indefinitely confining the mentally infirm. The declining state of medical care in Spain was not limited to psychiatric treatment. Much of the way medicine operated in Spain needed reform, from its educational system to its practices. These problems were not exclusive to Spain. French physicians were renewing their approaches to medicine, including new standards of clinical practice and the division of hospitals into wards. These ideas made their way into Spain and into the papers and treatises physicians wrote after their visits to France. However incremental, new ideas emerged, and progress was made in this struggle to reform Spanish medicine. Perhaps the broadest change came in terms of shifting conceptualizations of what constituted the field of medical practice itself. Physician, legal medicine expert, and psychiatric specialist Pere Mata was a key figure in the professionalization of psychiatry and the decriminalization of madness in Spain. During his time at the Royal College of Medicine in Barcelona, Mata questioned the standard practice of separating the field of surgery from that of general medicine, as taught at educational institutions.

56 Pere Mata i Fontanet was also referred to as Pedro Mata or Pedro Mata y Fontanet in publications produced outside of Catalan-speaking areas and in many Spanish-language publications produced within Catalunya.
and practiced by physicians. Even as late as the 1840s in Barcelona, the old divisions between physicians and the less prestigious surgeons remained. Joseph Lister (1827-1912) did not publish his work on the antiseptic benefits of carbolic acid until 1867, and until antiseptic practices in operating theaters were adopted, surgeons earned a poor reputation due to the prevalence of infection, gangrene, and other often fatal complications of surgical procedures. Despite the extensive and well-received field work performed in harrowing conditions by surgeons during the era of Napoleonic warfare, they were still regarded separately as surgeons, anatomists, and barbers, not physicians or medical doctors. Particularly in terms of the structure of the educational system in Spain, this disunity was inefficient, depriving one set of professionals the expertise gained by the other.

In Barcelona, the old Reial Col·legio de Cirurgia, the Royal College of Surgery had been used by surgeons, and some who still referred to themselves as barbers. The surgeons’ facility was located across the courtyard from the original Hospital de Santa Creu (the original Holy Cross Hospital now known as Antic) that was relocated and expanded in the modernist style around 1900. Santa Creu hospital was chartered in 1401, occupying a complex of gothic-style buildings that now houses the national library of Catalunya. As far back as 1442, cadavers are documented coming from convicts executed by the city. These references appear in the Dietari Antich Consell Barceloni, a collection of minutes from the old Consell, or local council, which was typeset and printed on modern equipment in the 1880s and 1890s, as a response to renewed interest in this Catalan democratic entity. In one example, the March 1442 minutes tell of a convict from Valencia who went by the name of G. Lobech. After some confusion as to his identity and whether he was actually a nobleman, which might have called for execution by beheading at the time, he was hanged, “by the neck in such a way that he would naturally die.”
Following his death, the council ordered that his body be turned over to the “surgeons and barbers” so that they could “make their anatomy” by studying the convict’s corpse.⁵⁷

In the 1760s an amphitheater named the Sala Gimbernat was constructed for the college’s anatomy lessons, and after falling into disrepair and subsequent renovation in the decades that followed, the theater remained within the purview of surgeons, rather than physicians. This continued well into the nineteenth century, when the college changed its educational track. Both the public and researchers took renewed interest in medicine in the years leading up to the Universal Exposition of 1888, and pathologist Santiago Ramon y Cajal was deeply involved in his research in Barcelona at that time. He considered 1888 to be his most productive year. Renovations in the early twentieth century included the inscription of the name of four famous medical professionals from Spain on its oval domed ceiling. These include Catalan anatomist and surgeon Antoni Gimbernat (1734-1816) pioneer of hernia repair, for whom the structure is named. Also named is Miguel Servet, more commonly known as Michael Servetus (d.1553) famed theologian, physician, and humanist who was executed for heresy in Geneva, and who received renewed attention in Spain around 1900. Also included are Santiago Ramon y Cajal, and finally Pere Mata i Fontanet. The theater designated times when it opened its doors to the visiting public, and the curious could gaze down upon the marble dissection table from the third and uppermost level of the college. Screens were installed that could be raised and lowered. These were ornate gilt panels designed in lacy patterns that could conceal the viewers from professors and students below. As medical and scientific knowledge grew in popularity, the

⁵⁷ D. Frederich Schwartz y Luna and D. Francesch Carreras y Candi, eds., Dietari Del Antich Consell Barceloni 1390-1446, vol. I, originally I to IX (Barcelona: Henrich y Companyia, Comissio del Ajuntament, 1892), 431–32, https://archive.org/details/manualdenovellsa01barcuoft. “era trobat que fos penjat pel coll en tal forma que naturalmente moris ... lo dit home fou penjat e fou liurat als metges e barbes a instancia lur per ço que de aquell fahessen nothomia.”
educated public chose to take part in informative (and morbid) activities such as this. However, unlike the case of the Paris morgue, which attracted visitors without benefit of gilt modesty panels, Barcelona provided these in the event that genteel visitors, those who felt unsteady at the sight, or those of the “gentler sex,” wished to remain incognito. The amphitheater is located several blocks from Las Ramblas, but it is inside the college of surgery building and is not readily identifiable from the street. The public viewing level is above street level, requiring visitors to climb flights of stairs. In other words, this was not a casual activity that evening strollers could wander into accidentally without knowing what they were encountering. A person gazing down upon the dissection slab had to have made a deliberate choice to actively spectate this creation of scientific knowledge.

Pere Mata lectured and wrote chiefly on two subjects: liberal politics and medicine. He had made a name for himself in the 1830s for his political publications and activities, which led to his exile in southern France. His heavy criticism of Ferdinand VII appeared primarily in El Propagador de la Libertad (1835-1836), an anti-absolutist and liberal newspaper. He took advantage of this period in Marseilles and Montpellier, writing prolifically about the management of communicable diseases. In the early 1840s he served as mayor or Reus in Tarragona and was named professor at the Reial Col·legi in Barcelona, the same college that housed the Sala Gimbernat anatomy theater. In 1843 he relocated to the capital to accept the first professorship in Legal Medicine at the Universidad de Madrid. Through his extensive writing and lecturing, he established a network of professors of medicine throughout Spain who helped him carry out a dramatic change in the curriculum of medical schools. Mata worked to close the

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colleges of surgery, and instead promoted the design of a national curriculum that would incorporate surgical knowledge and include surgeons in medical practice. In 1843 the *Reial Col·legi de Cirurgia*, the Royal College of Surgery in Barcelona that included the Sala Gimbernat theater became the *Facultad de Medicina*, the School of Medicine at the University of Barcelona. The facility underwent another name change and finally settled on the *Reial Col·legi de Medicina i Cirurgia*, The Royal College of Surgery and Medicine, as its name. It is presently called the *Reial Acadèmia de Medicina de Catalunya*. This change to the curriculum, and to the status of surgeons, came with some disagreements, but these were not the first or last that Mata faced. Mata was no stranger to polemical disagreements, and professional disagreements with colleagues, some of them heated, figure prominently in his later treatises on mental health. It was this same zeal for change and fearlessness in the face of criticism that drove Mata toward changes in the way psychiatric patients were treated in the late nineteenth century.

### 5.8 Mata, the Rising Liberal Spanish State, and Asylum Reform

Pere Mata’s experience publishing *El Propagador de la Libertad* acquainted him closely with liberalism, primarily in terms of the purpose and role of law. The first several issues of the paper spent pages reviewing what legislation was, what the limits of the law were, how these were able to ensure liberty, and what it meant for there to be equality under law. Echoes of the philosophy behind these printed discussions appeared in Mata’s later career, as he specialized in legal medicine, a field that included what is now known as forensics. It was from this legal perspective that Mata worked to end the practice of incarceration of the mad, often arguing vigorously for changes to the law. The plight of the incarcerated mentally infirm drew the attention of Pere Mata later in his career, as he worked to publish his voluminous field manuals.
for practitioners of legal medicine.\textsuperscript{60} While compiling and revising these works, he carefully noted how symptoms presented, and he then systematically identified, classified, and described them. Since the system of confinement in place during the mid-nineteenth century treated the mad and criminals the same way, by housing them in the same prison facilities, there was little motivation to learn how to distinguish between these populations. Pere Mata changed this, since he did see a need to differentiate between the mentally afflicted and criminals, so that the ill could be confined separately and treated, rather than incarcerated. Mata’s efforts toward more humane psychiatric care are in the tradition of Pinel’s moral cure, but with a focus on differentiating and pathologizing mental ailments clearly as medical illnesses rather than failures of conscience, the soul, or will.

Mata’s writings address the efficacy of incarceration and other punishments for individuals who, in his estimation, lacked the ability to reason. His attention turned to drunkards and the mad, who were frequently imprisoned with a hodgepodge of violent criminals and thieves. These and other social problems were criminalized in Spain, as was the case across major European cities Mata studied and visited. As he compiled his field manuals, Mata began to distinguish between those individuals he deemed were responsible for the behavior they freely and rationally chose to engage in, and those whose actions resulted from a failure, due to no fault of their own, of their capacity to reason. This represents a shift in Spain to pathologizing madness and alcohol addiction as medical ailments. This focus on restoring the ability to reason and practice judgement using free will were part of moral therapy.\textsuperscript{61} Mata drew upon this treatment. Talk of reason also moved beyond intangibles with his discussion of work in

\textsuperscript{60} Pedro Mata y Fontanet, \textit{Tratado de Medicina y Cirugia Legal Teórica y Práctica} (Carlos Bailly-Bailliere, 1857).
\textsuperscript{61} Saler, \textit{The Fin-de-Siècle World}, 482.
physiological or anatomical medical pathology. In a series of lectures delivered in the 1850-
1860s, Mata shared his concerns with medical and legal practitioners, primarily in Madrid. These
lectures were later published as collected treatises, with additional and sometimes extensive
commentary from Mata and others included in the front matter. In one such work, the *Treatise of
Human Reason in the State of Illness: Madness and its Different Forms with Applications for the
Practice of Law*, Mata lent his field manual style to his goal of correctly differentiating a
diagnosis of madness, based on his criteria of a healthy sense of human reason.62

Mata began with a plea in a lecture delivered in 1858 in Madrid, which stressed the
“urgency and necessity” of criminal reform, citing the “vicious terminology employed by legal
codes to describe the lack of comprehension or judgment.”63 This impassioned argument for
legal reform recalls the early issues of the liberal newspaper Mata helped to produce, *El
Propagador de la Libertad*. The paper explained what the law should be under the new liberal
program in the first pages of its inaugural issue in 1835. The first piece, *Legislacion*, notes that
“the law should be just and beneficial, discussed and approved by the representatives of the
nation.” It was this path that Mata followed, presenting his concerns to representatives, when he
felt the laws were unjust and not beneficial to those who lacked the ability to reason. According
to the newspaper, not only should the law be just, it should “be known and loved by the laborer
who would have the opportunity to know the law,” an aspiration for education and literacy not
present in early nineteenth century Spain, which was part of the emerging liberal program.64 The
newspaper piece describes the purpose of law using Enlightenment terms of natural law and the

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62 Pedro Mata y Fontanet, *Tratado de la Razón Humana en Estado de Enfermedad: ó sea de la Locura y de
sus Diferentes Formas con Aplicación á la Práctica del Foro* (Madrid: Bailly-Bailliere, 1878),
https://books.google.com/books?id=SglRkKAPxzIC&pg=PA3#v=onepage&q&f=false, Biblioteca Nacional de
Catalunya, Dipòsit General A 61-8-1628.
63 Lección V, February 13, 1958 Mata y Fontanet, 72.
General Will or *voluntad general* of French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), while describing fundamental rights to liberty, security, property, and resistance against oppression. It was this political and legal background that informed and shaped Mata’s philosophy some twenty years before publication of his lectures opposing the incarceration of the mentally infirm. Despite the substantial shift in legal definitions and the role of medicine implied by Mata’s ideas, his lectures and publications, like this treatise, are practical and concrete works rooted in legal codes, their language, and accepted legal and medical practices of the time. This work led Mata to move between medical and political circles, and he made use of effective argumentation and public speaking abilities in both. Regarding madness, Mata argued against criminalization, and also in favor of institutionalization in a facility capable of addressing medical needs.

Mata observed prison populations he encountered while practicing legal medicine. Perhaps his greatest challenge came in convincing judges and other members of the Spanish criminal justice system, so that the mad would be treated as medical patients, not as criminals. He argued vigorously for isolation and treatment of the mad, despite the lack of adequate facilities in the decades following the closure of Spanish Catholic-run asylums. He described the impaired persons he encountered not as criminals, but as mentally ill.

The mad should be isolated. First, for their security, for that of their family, and for public order. Second, to remove the ill from the activities and external causes that have produced the delirium and may prolong its presence. Third, to conquer their resistance to curative methods. Fourth, to submit them to a regimen appropriate to their state. Fifth, to urge them to return to their intellectual and moral habits.

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65 Raull et al., 6.
66 Huertas, “Pedro Mata y Fontanet.”
67 As early as 1858 Mata used the term, “enfermos mentales,” or “mentally ill,” to describe the mad.
This final point of returning the mentally ill to their habits is the key to what set Mata’s philosophy apart from the standard psychiatric practice of indefinite incarceration. His arguments for isolation assumed that rehabilitation was possible, a sentiment also expressed by prison reform movements of his time. To insist on isolation in order to impose therapeutic methods on reluctant patients implies faith in the validity and success of these methods. Submitting patients to a treatment program befitting their state indicates that these ailments can be differentiated and treated clinically with standardized methods to suit the condition. These statements seem standard practice in the present, but they place Mata at the forefront of the decriminalization and medicalization of mental illness in Spain in the late nineteenth century. His treatises demanded modern, humane diagnosis and treatment of mental ailments. He reimagined the asylum as an entity run by professionally trained medical staff who could be secular rather than ecclesiastical authorities. Yet neither his pursuit of science nor his passion for liberal democratic governance overshadowed his Catholic faith. Mata imagined a modern medical practice in which science worked in concert with faith, allowing medicine to heal the infirm mind, by addressing the physiology of both the brain and the soul.

Mata set out suggestions for what would constitute an effective asylum, addressing the chaos and disorder commonly reported at such facilities. He wrote,

A house or a hospice consecrated to those alienated and disposed of by society must have a rule to which all are subjected, to serve as a response to all objections, to aid in overcoming all protests, while at the same time allowing obedience to the rule to serve as a motive, since the rule is less offensive than the will or caprice of an authority figure. In these houses there is a movement, an activity, a whirlwind, in which each of the newly admitted is absorbed; the most stubborn maniac, the most distrustful, finds himself, unknowingly, forced to live outside himself, carried away by the general movement, by example, by the


While his emphasis falls more heavily upon the role of surveillance than rehabilitation, see Michel Foucault, Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison (Vintage, 1995).
extravagant impressions, which perpetually wound his senses; the same maniac arrested, seeing the harmony, the order, and the rule of the house is more successful at defending himself against his impulses, abandoning himself less often to his eccentric actions.\textsuperscript{70}

His solutions indicated he felt the facilities lacked an effective administration of discipline, and what was imposed upon patients tended to incite anger and resentment on the part of the infirm against the asylum staff. This is further apparent in his recommendation that each asylum be run by a single authority figure or “jefe,” who would take full control in order to avoid confusion caused by too many persons issuing directives at once, often conflicting with each other. Mata wrote, “There are too many authority figures who give orders; the spirit of the insane does not know who to obey, and becomes lost in the vacuum, without establishing trust; without trust, well, there is no healing.”\textsuperscript{71} Mata went on to explain that this giving of orders served a specific therapeutic purpose, that of replacing the lost capacity for judgement. He wrote, “the ill are grown children, children who have been given false ideas and wrong directions.”\textsuperscript{72} For these children to be restored to reason, judgement, and mental health, they needed to see their doctor often. Mata called for doctors to see all of their patients on a daily basis, a demand that only well-staffed asylums with adequate facilities for the number of patients could hope to fulfill. To provide the level of care Mata described, the asylums needed significant funding, and with ecclesiastical-turned-government resources all but dried up, privately funded mental institutions

\textsuperscript{70} Mata y Fontanet, \textit{Tratado Enfermedad}, 134. “Una casa ó un hospicio consagrado á los enajenados debe tener un reglamento, al cual todos estén sometidos, que sirva de respuesta á todas las objeciones, que ayude á sobrepasar todas las repugnancias, al mismo tiempo que prestan á la obediencia motivos que repugnan menos que la voluntad ó el capricho de un jefe. En esas casas hay un movimiento, una actividad, un torbellino, en el cual entra poco á poco cada nuevo entrado; el lipemánico mas terco, el mas desconfiado, se encuentra, sin saberlo, obligado á vivir fuera de si, arrastrado por el movimiento general, por el ejemplo, por las impresiones, por lo comun extravagantes, que hieren perpétuamente sus sentidos ; el mismo maníaco detenido, al ver la armonia, el orden y la regla de la casa, se defiende mejor contra sus impulsos y se abandona menos á sus excéntricas acciones.”

\textsuperscript{71} Mata y Fontanet, \textit{Tratado Enfermedad}, 134. “Hay muchos jefes que ordenan; el espíritu de los locos no sabe á quién obedecer, se pierde en el vacío, no se establece la confianza ; sin confianza, pues, no hay curacion.”

\textsuperscript{72} Mata y Fontanet, \textit{Tratado Enfermedad}, 134. “Los locos son niños grandes y niños que han recibido ya falsas ideas y malas direcciones.”
were founded in the 1870s and 1880s. Like Santa Isabel, some of these included members of religious orders on staff. The higher standard of care Mata called for required far lower ratios of patients to physicians. Privately funded institutions aimed to accomplish this, but the expenses involved brought this option within reach of only the wealthiest families.

5.9 Bourgeois and Local Politics and the Asylum of Reus

In the years following Mata’s death in 1877, another physician and forensic expert from Reus worked to address the lack of mental health care facilities by revisiting the concept of the modern humane asylum and taking steps to make it a reality, this time through private funding. Dr. Emili Briansó Planes persuaded thirty-five local successful businessmen to become shareholders in the society of the Manicomio de Reus, founded in 1896. This entity aspired to fund a psychiatric facility that would place it among the finest in Europe. The asylum would be built in Reus, a town located about ten miles from Tarragona, which would later be known for being the birthplace of architect Antoni Gaudi. At the time of the construction of the asylum, it was known as the birthplace of Joan Prim i Prats, a liberal political figure who was assassinated while serving as leader of the Spanish government but was remembered for his efforts at urban renewal in nearby Barcelona. Reus was chosen for the site, not because of Mata, Gaudi, or Prim, but because bourgeois families lived in the town, and were willing to fund the asylum that could serve their needs and that of the community. In mid to late nineteenth-century Catalunya, Reus was second only to Barcelona in terms of industrial success, chiefly from the area’s thriving international vermouth and brandy trade. Catalunya was rapidly becoming the wealthiest region of Spain, along with several cities along the Atlantic coast of the mining and industrial north.

Through his earlier political activity, Mata himself had worked to create the administrative district of Tarragona that contains the city of Reus, keeping local control over locally-sourced funding for projects such as these. Mata had also founded three psychiatric clinics in the administrative district of Tarragona, though these were not on the scale of the asylum conceived by Briansó that would come to bear his name. Local political figures worked with physicians and wealthy investors in a kind of combination public and private venture between these educated bourgeois industrial and professional elites.

Like Mata, Briansó was also active in political life, and was well-connected with notable residents of this wealthy district. These local benefactors, who had their names published in the local press in gratitude, saw their grants fund the construction work of Briansó and Pau Font de Rubinat (1860-1948), who was a lawyer, politically active Catalan regionalist, the first president of the asylum’s board of directors, and later mayor of Reus. Briansó and Rubinat were friends of architect Lluís Domènech i Montaner, who was chosen for the project. Both Gaudi, who was a native of Reus, and Domènech saw much of their modernist architectural design work completed in Barcelona, located about sixty miles north of Tarragona. Domènech’s primary modernist architectural achievements include the popular Palau de la Musica Catalana concert hall, the Hospital Sant Pau, with its similar design of pavilions separated by gardens, casa Albert Lleó i Morera (1905) at 35 Passeig de Gracia on the Block of Discord in Barcelona, and both the primary hotel and café buildings from the 1888 Universal Exposition in Barcelona. Domènech was popular in Reus, both for his vocal political support of Catalan nationalism and for his work designing private homes of prominent wealthy families, making Reus second only to Barcelona in terms of architectural examples of Catalan Modernisme. Domènech’s influence extended farther through the work of his students, who included Josep Puig i Cadafalch and also Gaudi,
who all left the mark of Catalan modernisme throughout the Eixample, the expanded urban center of Barcelona. This style was national, a political statement Domènech made in his article for *La Renaixensa* literary magazine long before embarking upon these building projects.\(^{74}\)

According to Domènech, this national style arose necessarily after the failed First Spanish Republic opened the era of liberal republicanism, laying out a new organizing principle the architect believed necessitated a new “national” regional separatist Catalan style, that of Modernisme. Domènech planned the asylum as a series of eighteen pavilions not unlike those featured at the fair. These buildings and their surrounding gardens made up the campus of what was originally named the *Manicomio* or Asylum of Reus, but the facility was re-named after Dr. Pere Mata in 1910, as a posthumous honor. Around this time Briansó was elected mayor of Reus, again indicating the connections between medical and legal professional, bourgeois, industrial, artistic, and political interests. As was the case in Barcelona during the planning of the 1888 Exposition, this bourgeois cohort was active in the design and function of urban spaces, with an interest in improving the sanitary and social aspects of community life, while encouraging the standards of distinctive Catalan visual and artistic appeal. The facility was constructed between 1897 and 1912, although not all the proposed structures were completed.\(^{75}\)

Domènech’s designs for the world’s fair presented a series of single-purpose buildings made of brick, steel, and tile, arranged within walking distance of each other. The asylum campus in Reus recalls this layout, but this was a functional, as well as a visual decision. At the time, medical buildings were believed to best serve the patients and ease the burden of caregivers


\(^{75}\) For original site and floor plans, see Jordi March, Josep M Casanoves, and Lluís Domènech i Montaner, *L’Institut Pere Mata de Reus, de Lluís Domènech i Montaner* (Barcelona: Pragma, 2004); Josep Poca i Gaya and Institut Pere Mata (Reus), *Institut Pere Mata cent anys d’història (1896-1996)* (Reus: Institut Pere Mata, 1996).
if they were focused upon a single purpose per structure. This was one of the aims of the original aspirations for the model mental asylum of Santa Isabel in Leganes, which ultimately did not come to pass. This preference for pavilions stands in contrast to the large open hospital wards in that were in use in general hospitals like Santa Creu in Barcelona. These large wards came to be implemented, in much larger sizes and numbers, within Spain and in Europe in response to the first world war and the 1918 influenza pandemic.

For the fair, this meant individual pavilions separated the fine arts from the machines, isolating the hotel from these exhibition hall spaces, and placing the café near one end of the large promenade where visitors went to see and be seen. Similarly, Domènech designed the asylum of Reus so that it was made up of a series of buildings with specialized medical purposes, separated by green spaces for taking exercise and fresh air in a way that echoed the promenading visitors to the fair. These structures made up a kind of small city. The generous spacing between the buildings themselves allowed ample light and fresh air to enter the structures, principles that were crucial to the engineer of the Eixample of Barcelona, Ildefons Cerdà. The architectural design of these structures, both in terms of exteriors and interiors, resembles that of the grand houses Domènech designed in Reus and Barcelona, providing therapeutic spaces for patients that resembled the residential spaces to which they were accustomed. Briansó supported the creation of these attractive spaces and was assisted by his distinguished psychiatrist colleague Arturo Galcerán i Granés and physician and hygiene specialist Rafael Rodríguez Méndez (1845-1919). Galcerán was the founder of the first Catalan and Spanish neurological society, the Society of Psychiatry and Neurology of Barcelona, precursor to the Catalan Society of

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76 See March, Casanoves, and Domènech i Montaner, *L’Institut Pere Mata de Reus, de Lluís Domènech i Montaner* for photographs of preserved spaces, elevations, and floor plans of the facility.
Neurology, and the recipient of many honors. Like Mata, he was an expert in legal medicine.\(^77\) These physicians influenced the architectural design of the facility with their knowledge of their medical specialties. However, the concept of separate pavilions had already been deployed by Domènech and other architects involved in the Exposition of 1888, and he used it again in his design for the general-purpose Hospital de Santa Creu i Sant Pau in Barcelona, which had its cornerstone laid in 1902. Decades after city planning and urban expansion dramatically changed Barcelona, this interest in creating a city within the city that could be engineered and controlled by its politically connected bourgeois leadership grew in popularity at the turn of the twentieth century.\(^78\)

At the asylum in Reus, separate buildings were planned to serve first, second, and third-class pensioners who were also separated by diagnosed ailment and gender. For example, epileptics were housed in their own pavilion, where staff specialized in their care could devote their energies to treating them. The pavilion number six, the pavelló dels distingits or the pavilion of the distinguished or notables, showcased the very best work regional arts and industries could produce with bourgeois support. It stands apart for its well-preserved modernist interior, and ultimately, it was the only building to receive the full lavish treatment of Domènech’s ornate, modernist style.

### 5.10 Form: Architecture and Interiors

Although pavilion number six was the only building appointed in the most luxurious manner, the facility as a whole was still true to Catalan modernisme, integrating highly ornamented decorative styles with the work of craftsmen and modern industrial production methods. The campus is dotted with attractively appointed buildings that do not immediately

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betray their purpose. The gated fence surrounding the area is similar to those enclosing agricultural properties in the area, including wineries and distilleries. Upon closer inspection, pale blue iron grates cover the windows, but even this patient safety measure is highly decorative. What appears before the visitor or patient resembles a fine home rather than what might be expected of a medical facility. The exteriors of the asylum buildings were made of exposed red brick, a trend Domènech and other modernist architects followed. The Mudéjar style Arc de Triomf and café of the 1888 Barcelona fair are surviving examples of the use of red brick in this style. Façades are decorated with white and blue tiles in a manner that resembles the Castell dels Tres Dragons from the 1888 fair. As part of Domènech’s modernist vision, he included glimpses of the past, among these Iberia’s Islamic past, which had shared a wealth of knowledge in architecture and natural philosophy with other Iberians centuries ago. These ornamental ceramic tiles are reminiscent of the ceramic work of areas inhabited for centuries by residents of Muslim Al-Andalus, including Seville, Cordoba, and Granada, and are part of the Mudéjar style. In contracting Domènech, bourgeois investors and physicians connected with the project involved the most respected architect of the period in Catalunya, responsible for many fine homes within the town of Reus, site of the asylum campus. The founders’ aim was to build a residence within the asylum project for members of the bourgeoisie, allowing them to receive treatment in surroundings that were on par with the rest of the well-appointed residences in town, and perhaps their own homes.

Following restoration efforts, the elaborately decorated building number six is the only campus facility presently open to the public. The pavilion showcased the best work that regional craftsmen, artisans, and industrial processes could produce with bourgeois support. The main public entrance today is located at what was once the rear façade, which opens to a garden
designed for patients to take some exercise, fresh air, and sunshine (fig. 5.1). Plaster flowers and stone filigree make up much of the botanically-themed ornamentation (fig. 5.2), and symbols of heraldry like the lion also flank the old entrance on the opposite side of the building. Three allegorical feminine figures are featured on the ceramic tile mosaics of the rear façade, draped in classical robes and surrounded by curved botanical ornaments typical of the period (fig. 5.3). Similar blue ceramic tiles were used on other structures on site, including the gate at the main entrance of the complex (fig. 5.4). Windows include ornate patterned glass designs decorated with the blue iron grates for safety. Pavilion number six was a block built for male patients, and the fees associated with it ensured the wealthiest gentlemen of the region occupied its rooms. In 1903 these ran 180 pesetas minimum for first class patients, but those seeking residence in number six would need to pay additional fees for the number of required servants and for particular features of the desired room. The price for the second-class pavilion was fixed at 125, third class at 90 pesetas. Beneficence and special rates for the indigent were as low as 45 pesetas, with reductions possible for work completed on site. The first-class revenue funded indigent care throughout the rest of the facility, where patients could stay and receive attention for a reduced fee.

As is the case in other buildings Domènech designed, the ceilings are heavily decorated with ceramic ornamentation, much of it produced in Barcelona. Images of opulent peacocks fill the corners of the room. The focal point at the very center of the ceiling in the main vestibule of number six is a figure of a woman in an allegorical design (fig. 5.5). The text reads de nou lluïra which means to see again. The figure is blindfolded, unable to see the light emerging from the burning oil lamp in her hand. A stained-glass design on the upper level window (fig. 5.6) bears a

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similar motif. In this design (fig. 5.7), which patients could more easily view and approach, the feminine figure is not blindfolded, and she pours oil into the smoking, burning lamp she holds. Reason, cast as a female figure in both works, can be blinded, unable to see the light of truth, but as the artwork suggests, the veil can be lifted. This imagery is laden with implications about the efficacy of curative methods, recalling how Pere Mata’s treatises defined mental illness as an inability to reason while outlining standards of care with firm conviction that the mentally ill could recover with proper treatment.

Other interior appointments are less didactic, but just as luxurious. Living quarters for the gentlemen patients included much ceramic ornamentation from the Reus porcelain and ceramics factories of asylum board shareholder Ipolit Montseny. Ceramic tiles were installed on corridor walls (figs. 5.8-5.9), often paired with stenciled plasterwork, and used as ornaments on the ceilings and moldings. Not all materials were locally sourced in Reus. Floor tiles from Barcelona were made by Pugol i Balcisc, steel framed windows by Barcelona glaziers Rigald and Company. The floor tiles are mosaics that mimic the appearance of oriental rugs, but their tiled construction allowed ease of cleaning. Despite their location within this facility designated for men, many of the tile designs feature flowers and other botanical motifs, and generous use of shades of pink and coral, all reflecting the modernist style. Domènech sampled materials his suppliers made using new factory production methods. One new process of tile production involved the use of metal plates to stamp dimensional tiles made of concrete into a kind of bas-relief. The dining room (fig. 5.10) is bathed in natural light from the large windows at one end, and surrounded by botanically-themed plaster, stenciled plaster and paint, and ceramic mosaic work in yellow, orange, and pink with blue tromp l’oeil ribbons. The overall look is characteristic of modernisme, with its feminine flourishes and delicate, airy ornaments. The
billiards room across the corridor included a masculine table custom crafted in France, and curved modernist wood paneling, but these are situated under an ornate ceramic ceiling and a light fixture complete with a profusion of dangling tubular glass pendants. Upstairs, the bath fixtures were crafted in painted porcelain, with one bathroom heavily decorated in pink flower-shaped tile. The armoires in the bedrooms included built-in sinks. New production techniques from local factories were paired with craft traditions, and these deployed the modernist design. Clearly the quality of locally sourced materials and the comfort of patient surroundings were key to the founding board of directors, and Briansó. In part, this kind of showcasing may be related to the funding the local industrialists contributed toward the project, but it also reveals a desire to be modern and to take the conditions of the mental asylum as far away as possible from what they had become. The design also reflects a certain catering to bourgeois sensibilities of interiority and domestic spaces with naturalistic influences and well-ventilated gardens, as well as servants’ rooms and spaces for receiving guests, for respectability. If it were not for the comforts of pavilion six and their ability to persuade families of the upper class to entrust their relatives to the Institut, it is difficult to say whether revenues would have been sufficient to fund the beneficence wards for indigent patients. In the absence of a state or even a Catalan-wide system for managing this type of social problem, the town of Reus relied on Tarragona’s local resources and professionals who themselves were politically connected. Briansó, Domènech, and Mata all wrote of political topics and either ran for political office or supported those who did. Politics, aesthetics, industrial capitalism, and medicine all intersected in the planning and construction of the Institut project.
5.11 Function: Practical and Therapeutic Design

As a result of this collaboration between architect and medical professionals, the asylum’s designs follow their therapeutic functions. The aesthetics of the Asylum of Reus were designed to please its wealthiest residents, but the architectural design of the site also served practical therapeutic purposes, and these were integral to the aims of the facility. The premise of making an asylum a pleasant place with gardens and fresh air was not exclusive to the Institut, as there were several facilities in and around Barcelona designed to allow pleasant surroundings and calm to ease agitated nerves. These included the Manicom Sant Boi (1854), the Frenopàtic de les Corts (1862), Nova Betlem (1873) directed by Briansó’s colleague and esteemed Catalan physician Joan Giné y Partagás (1836-1903), and L’Institut Mental de Santa Creu (1915). However, surviving images of these facilities indicate that their interiors were not decorated as was number six in Reus. Galcerán noted that beautiful surroundings had their own benefits for patient progress. He wrote, “The aesthetic condition is also a curative condition in such establishments, in relation to the influence beauty exerts on the ethic of the psyche.” Like hydrotherapy and the taking of exercise and fresh air, beauty was a remedy for the type of madness that presented in the fin-de-siècle, namely frenetic anxiety or neurasthenia resulting from the stress and shock of the speed and newness of modern life. Indeed, when describing the best facilities at the Institut, both Galcerán and Briansó referred to the facility as a “frenocomio,” a term for which there is not an exact English equivalent. The term “frenocomio” implied a focus on psychiatric treatment a patient elected to check-in to, while de-emphasizing confinement, as connoted in the older term “manicomio” or asylum, to which a patient was “condenado” or

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80 See Campos Marín, Curar y Gobernar for discussion of other facilities linked to the hygienic movement.
condemned. The comfortable residential design of number six allowed its wealthy bourgeois patients to be removed from society and the source of the trouble, as Mata had recommended in his treatises, while allowing them to live in a place that bore a resemblance to the comforts and secure interiority of home. Clusters of patient rooms were situated off a central lounge that included a nurses’ station for close access and observation of patients. Some patient rooms even featured small adjoining bedrooms for servants or visiting business associates. If families tended to “dispose” of their problematic relatives in facilities such as these, they could do so in this attractive facility with perhaps less of a burden upon their consciences. It is important to note though, that the Institut also accepted patients with epilepsy, developmental disorders, and illnesses like schizophrenia. These patients were housed in more modest accommodations in their respective pavilions.

Other pavilions housed less glamorous but essential functions of the facility. For example, number six included a dining room, but no kitchen. Patients from indigent or beneficence wards were encouraged to work in the kitchens, which were located in their buildings and in a separate facility so that the upper and lower classes did not interact. Part of Briansó’s therapeutic methods included work, but not in excess. Work was agricultural in nature, or sometimes involved laundry service or kitchen duty. It was to mimic that of the world outside the asylum, so patients could feel a sense of community purpose and accomplishment and better adjust to life after treatment. Work, particularly outdoor agricultural work, was considered an advanced form of treatment, as were hydrotherapy and electrotherapy, which were also available at the Institut.82 Revenues from residents of number six, and this work detail, would presumably help pay for their care. However, it did not ultimately pay for the construction of such lavishly

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82 March, Casanoves, and Domènech i Montaner, *L’Institut Pere Mata de Reus, de Lluis Domènech i Montaner*, 248.
appointed quarters beyond that of number six. Unexpected construction expenses also drove up costs, including the combined kitchen and laundry facility that was not part of the original plan or budget, which was built frugally in a utilitarian modernist design. Many of the other pavilion’s interiors were left in exposed brick or simply plastered, and in recent years they have been renovated with wallboard and other modern materials better suited to heavy day-to-day use. Members of the Community of Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul worked on site, but they did so in a supportive capacity, backing the doctors whose scientific authority guided the mission of the Institut. The board of directors aimed to make a modern facility as part of their civic duties, and it was modern in terms of its design, medical care, and its funding source, which made it a product of bourgeois philanthropy.

During this period, treatment options for asylum patients were not focused on pharmaceuticals. While bromides, opium, morphine, cocaine, and lithium were administered in limited cases, often for sedative purposes, reliance on drugs for psychiatric care would not come fully until the psychopharmacological revolution of the mid-twentieth century. In the late nineteenth century, Spain implemented treatment options that were in use in other parts of Europe and the United States, which consisted of other practices and physical treatments beyond pharmaceuticals. Some of these involved consuming special diets or tonics. However, a great many of these were focused on soothing the nerves. Nervous exhaustion, neurasthenia, and nervous disorders all seemed more palatable in the fin-de-siècle than admitting to mental illness.

Hygiene was of particular interest, with hydrotherapy especially, and also electrotherapy gaining

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popularity as the hygienist movement caught on in Spain and other parts of Europe. Joan Giné y Partagás popularized the use of tepid or cool water baths in Spain, as well as synapistic baths which were mustard-based. These therapeutic baths were popular in and outside of Spain as important forms of physical treatment. Giné had specific use-cases for each, with a cold bath calming the sadness of melancholic patients, while reducing agitation in cases of mania, for example. The interaction between patient and doctor became pleasant and kind. This “spa” style of treatment took Pinel, Mata, and the “moral cure” to their natural end, at least, for the bourgeois families who could afford it. However, years before the talking cure of psychoanalysis was popularized by Freud, Pere Mata’s simple suggestions that patients see their doctors frequently provided opportunities for the institutionalized to discuss their conditions and ideally receive some guidance, comfort, or encouragement.

5.12 Catalan Bourgeois Scientific, Political, and Artistic Cohorts in the Fin-de-siècle

The Institut Pere Mata in Reus was conceived during the fin-de-siècle and is an unusual example of Catalan Modernisme because of its purpose as a mental asylum. The ceramic work and textured botanical motifs that ornament the Institut are reminiscent of the Islamic period in Spain, recalling not only aesthetics but Islamic medical and scientific achievements. This knowledge informed and inspired the founding of the Hospital of the Innocents in Valencia, the birthplace of psychiatric hospitals in Europe. Although the modernista-style Institut is a small facility serving the municipal district of Tarragona, it remains characterized by the inspiration, funding, design, construction, medical premises, clientele, and treatment methods it involved at a time when Catalunya looked to all things modern while reviving nostalgic glimpses of its past.

85 Domingo and Rey-González, 143.
The asylum project embodies the dramatic changes experienced in Spain after the defeat of Napoleonic forces in the Peninsular War. Major institutions changed as Enlightenment principles and French-style liberalism gained popularity in Spain. This occurred despite a brief period of failed absolutism immediately following the war, which arose as a kind of counterbalance to things associated with the then-hated French. Supporters of absolutism and liberalism continued to clash throughout the century, as was the case throughout much of Europe. In Spain, the declining landed aristocracy and waning revenues available to the monarchy led to the disentail of aristocratic and church-administered lands, raising funds for the crown as these land parcels were sold at auction. This advanced a significant and dramatic change from the hierarchical obligations that marked the old order of the Ancien Régime to a rising liberal order that included constitutional governance, legal equality, and an ascendant bourgeoisie. However, this change meant that the church-managed obras pias, charitable benefices that had addressed such social problems as madness and poverty, were no longer able to continue their missions. Replacement institutions needed to be re-created under the modern liberal state that itself was just emerging. Tragically, Spanish society’s weakest members were victims of these gaps in social programs, and many mentally ill were incarcerated, mistreated by family who lacked the knowledge of how to care for them, or left on their own.

The establishment and administration of poor workhouses, asylums, and orphanages fell upon regional and municipal authorities toward the fin-de-siècle. The Institut in Reus was one example of a privately-funded facility administered by a new cohort of educated bourgeois professionals who took it upon themselves to create modern institutions to deal with social problems in a way that aligned with secular liberal philosophy, rather than older models of Christian communitarianism. Funding for the Institut Pere Mata came not from church or royal
coffers but from donations made by wealthy families from the region who were eager to contribute to this modern institution. It should be noted that in addition to taking on charity cases, the Institut would cater to members of the bourgeoisie. Upper class patients were subjected to less social shaming and a far more humane and pleasant experience than their predecessors, who were condemned to prisons or horrific asylums that treated the mad for what was seen as failings of the soul. Heavily influenced by Enlightenment-era French science, Asylums like Santa Isabel in Leganes made significant shifts in terms of attempting to treat the mind through science, instead of the soul through religion. However, the failure of the facility in Leganes due to overcrowding, poor infrastructure, and lack of funding, overshadowed this notable shift from theological to scientific authority. The Institut Pere Mata in Reus was more successful, but even with funding from wealthy patrons, the ambitious aims of the Institut were only partially fulfilled, as the planned administration building and first and second-class facilities for female patients were never built. Still, at the Institut, patients would be met with modern comforts, aesthetics, and spa-like treatments for ailments characteristic of the fin-de-siècle, like neurasthenia. Key figures in this movement, including the Institut’s namesake Pere Mata, were inspired by French philosophies from figures like Philippe Pinel. Catalan Emili Briànsó, founder of the Institut, admired his predecessor Pedro Monlau and his colleague Joan Giné, men who both embraced the hygienic movement, which itself was progressive and liberal.  

These educated medical authorities employed what were then the most advanced scientific premises of the time, eclipsing the old authority of the church over science with the soul as the recipient of treatment, by adopting modern psychiatry and its study of the mind or psyche. The chapter that follows examines this restructuring of the modern self through the works of Pere Mata and

87 Campos Marín, Curar y Gobernar.
Santiago Ramon y Cajal. The modern self, as a product of enlightened thinking and liberal 
republican governance, was of great importance and frustration to these two men who came from 
both educated and religious backgrounds. Their works trace changes in the notion of the self that 
represented an enormous transformation taking place in Europe, one that related to fundamental 
changes in the way humanity viewed itself.
5.13 Figures

Fig. 5.1 Institut Pere Mata, Distingits
Lluís Domènech i Montaner, Pavelló dels Distingits, Institut Pere Mata. Original rear façade; currently the main entrance. Photos that follow are all by the author.
Fig. 5.2 Institut Pere Mata, Distingits Entry
Lluís Domènech i Montaner, Pavelló dels Distingits, Institut Pere Mata. Original main entry; currently closed.
Fig. 5.3 Institut Pere Mata, Distingits, Detail
Lluís Domènech i Montaner, Pavelló dels Distingits, Institut Pere Mata. Detail of rear façade.
Fig. 5.4 Institut Pere Mata, Gate
Lluís Domènech i Montaner, Gate, Institut Pere Mata.
Fig. 5.5 Institut Pere Mata, Ceiling
Lluís Domènech i Montaner, Pavelló dels Distingits, Institut Pere Mata. Ceiling of main hall.
Fig. 5.6 Institut Pere Mata, Window
Lluís Domènech i Montaner, Pavelló dels Distingits, Institut Pere Mata. Second-floor corridor window and balustrade overlooking lower level of main hall.
Fig. 5.7 Institut Pere Mata, Stained Glass
Lluís Domènech i Montaner, Pavelló dels Distingits, Institut Pere Mata. Stained glass detail, windows from corridor overlooking central hall.
Fig. 5.8 *Institut Pere Mata, Corridor*
Lluís Domènech i Montaner, Pavelló dels Distingits, Institut Pere Mata. Second-floor corridor with metal-reinforced exterior window glass.
Fig. 5.9 Institut Pere Mata, Stairway
Lluís Domènech i Montaner, Pavelló dels Distingits, Institut Pere Mata. Stairway landing between upper floors.
Fig. 5.10 Institut Pere Mata, Dining Room
Lluís Domènech i Montaner, Pavelló dels Distingits, Institut Pere Mata. Dining room.
6 PERE MATA AND SANTIAGO RAMÓN Y CAJAL:
REDEFINING THE MODERN SELF

6.1 The Sciences of Consciousness

In nineteenth-century Spain, a wide range of medical fields that have since been discredited were respected as legitimately scientific. These fields included phrenology, which attempted to determine characteristics of a patient by palpating or feeling for lumps on the skull. Another field, one often used by police forces, was that of physiognomy, which correlated specific physical characteristics with personality traits and tendencies, including the inclination toward certain criminal acts. Hypnotism seemed to bypass the conscious mind, but in the decades before Freud’s notions of the unconscious mind, hypnosis was thought to reveal something of the soul instead, which was the purview of the spiritualist movement. These activities gradually fell out of favor in the early twentieth century, yet these medical fields continued their efforts to understand three entities whose roles and functionality were of key concern when it came to human consciousness: the mind, the body, and the soul. Two Spanish men of science – Dr. Pere Mata i Fontenet and Santiago Ramón y Cajal – attacked these problems in ways that would refine and redefine their respective disciplines.

Dr. Pere Mata i Fontanet took an interest in politics during the decades of the Spanish Romantic era, in his youth. In his career he retained an interest in the fields of phrenology and physiognomy. He primarily worked in legal medicine, pioneering what is now known as forensic anthropology and toxicology in Spain, and he founded the state’s first chair in the field at the University of Madrid in 1843. The early development of this field in Spain was influenced by Mata’s time in exile in France, and by the Société d’Anthropologie de Paris, established by contemporary Paul Broca (1824-1880). In addition to his forensics experience, Broca was a
surgeon and anatomist credited with tracing the location of speech production within the frontal lobe of the brain, a structure that has been termed “Broca’s area.” Both Mata and Broca took interest in physiology and mapping disorders to particular organs or regions within the brain, while also referencing craniometry, a metric used by phrenologists. However, Mata did not participate in the debates on “scientific racism” Broca was connected with. Mata’s writings on the soul and Catholic morality also broke from Broca’s secular views. Through his work with prisons and their patient populations, Mata helped to legitimize psychiatric treatment and decriminalize mental illness. He did so during a time when the mad had scarce hope for recovery and were often incarcerated. Additionally, he argued for the inclusion of the teaching of anatomy and surgery at medical schools, since anatomists and surgeons were considered separate from physicians in Spain until the 1850s. The Institut Pere Mata in Reus in Catalunya was named for Mata, and his calls for the legalization and pathologizing of madness, as discussed in the the previous chapter, inspired the next generation of liberal republican elites to establish the asylum and continue the mission of delivering humane psychiatric treatment. In terms of Mata’s achievements, this chapter looks beyond the asylum and the medical curriculum, focusing instead on what Mata did and did not locate on the dissection table as he attempted to relate the brain to the self.

Histologist Santiago Ramón y Cajal rose from humble beginnings to specialized in microscopic study of tissue samples, which in his case were made up of neurons. He explored brains and other nervous tissue, both animal and human, and produced hundreds of stunning ink-on-paper drawings that illuminated the anatomy of the brain and other parts of the nervous system with acclaimed clarity, a skill and talent cultivated from the artist he had wished to

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become in his youth. These, and his prolific writings addressed the structure and function of the brain and nervous system. Like Mata, Cajal was a pioneer in his own field, highly visible and influential, in part, due to his fine illustrations. He is considered the father of neuroscience.

This study of the mind, body, and soul circled the problem of the self, a notion that for western Europeans was as old as the ancient classical philosophical works. The dichotomy, whether real or perceived, between the mind and the body was expressed in the philosophy of Rene Descartes (1596-1650), which influenced much of early modern European thought. While Mata addressed the mind-body problem, the primary notion of the self that Mata and Cajal worked to understand was a product of the Enlightenment and the rise of republican governance. The self that Mata and Cajal searched for regulated human reason, agency, and free will. For these two men of science, the limitations of their medical fields often shaped their approaches. For example, Mata had access to brain tissue due to his specialty in legal medicine, where he took part in cranioscopy procedures and the extraction of the brain during postmortem medical examinations. Yet his inability to understand the functionality of this tissue left him frustrated, and rather than allowing his notion of the self to reside fully within the mysterious brain tissue, he placed it within the soul and the mind, entities he defended through deduction, often with rather gymnastic argumentation. Cajal rested his description of the self on the neurons he understood empirically and much more clearly than Mata, yet even he was fascinated by dreams and hypnosis. He wondered whether the brain alone contained the essence of what it meant to be human, struggling with the concept of the soul from his much more secular beliefs. Both men wrote works of literary fiction that explored free will and what it meant to be human even as their respective fields of psychiatry and neuroscience were joined by a third approach in the fin-

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de-siècle, the previously discredited field of psychology. Mata and Cajal both worked toward understanding the self in terms of where the ability to reason resides. Ultimately, both dealt with culpability and agency, expertly deploying the tools of their respective fields toward a major paradigm shift that would refocus attention from the human soul to individual neurons. These neurons behaved in a way that seemed modern. They mirrored the status and actions of the atomized individual, their tiny bodies driving frenzied activity within the larger whole, all without even coming into contact with one another. Yet they had strength in numbers and as a collective, they housed human consciousness and self-awareness.

It was this understanding of neurons as individual cells that did not touch and were not physically attached to a larger anatomical structural network, that led to Cajal’s Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine in 1906. He shared the prize with Italian Camillo Golgi even though the two disagreed fundamentally about the physiology of the neurons they studied.³ Golgi was honored for contributing his techniques for staining tissues for microscopic observation using silver nitrate, known as reazione nera for the black color they stained cells through biochemical reaction, which he published in 1873.⁴ Golgi’s methods are still in use to date with far more sophisticated electron and other microscopes.⁵ Cajal deployed Golgi’s methods in his laboratory, and eventually refined them to suit his own work. Golgi’s stain allowed Cajal to observe a single neuron cell as if it were isolated.⁶ Cajal observed where each cell ended, and others began, highlighting the gaps in between. Even though Cajal had formulated what would later be known

as his Neuron Doctrine between 1884-1888\(^7\) with illustrations demonstrating how the individual cells were separated by synapses of empty space, Golgi remained true to the earlier Reticular Theory, which construed a network or reticule of attached neurons, instead. In fact, Golgi used the opportunity of his laureate speech before the King of Sweden to fiercely criticize Cajal’s (correct) findings.\(^8\) Thus Golgi was honored by an award he shared with the man responsible for a theory he disagreed with viscerally. Cajal’s work is considered fundamental, and he is remembered as the father of neuroscience, but his relationship with Golgi illustrates how difficult his ideas were to accept. He was young, from a socially insignificant family in a country that lacked scientific trailblazers, and yet he dared initiate a profound change that shook the scientific community. Cajal was honored with a range of prestigious international scientific awards of the highest ranking. As it happens, the decades that followed revealed that his theories about neurons and how they communicated and worked had even larger implications for human agency and the self. Although Mata’s attempts to describe the anatomy and physiology of the soul indicated a reliance on *a priori* Catholic teachings rather than empirical scientific observation in the laboratory, his views on the soul appealed to those who preferred to cling to the notion of the self as more than just a collection of neurons, electrical impulses, and biochemical neurotransmitters.

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\(^7\) Santiago Ramón y Cajal, *Textura del Sistema Nervioso del Hombre y de los Vertebrados: Estudios sobre el Plan Estructural y Composición Histológica de los Centros Nerviosos Adicionados de Consideraciones Fisiológicas Fundadas en los Nuevos Descubrimientos* (Madrid: Nicolás Moya, 1899). After self-publishing a mini-journal of his works and sending them abroad in 1888, Cajal traveled to the Congress of the German Anatomical Society in Berlin in 1889, where his work with a modified version of Golgi’s staining method gained the attention of researchers who would later refer to his conclusions as the Neuron Doctrine. Chief among these scientists was Swiss Anatomist Albert von Kölliker (1817-1905), who realized the value of Cajal’s conclusions and worked to promote them. Cajal’s findings were integrated into his seminal work, *Manual de histología normal y técnica micrográfica* (Valencia: Libreria de Pascual Aguilar, 1889), http://archive.org/details/b21779995 Cajal also included descriptions of tissues and cells in his laboratory manual.

This paradigm shift that Cajal initiated remains the subject of much contentious debate within the fields of neuroscience and psychiatry.⁹

6.2 Spanish Enlightenment, Liberalism, and Medicine

These notions of the self that Mata and Cajal worked to define and understand are closely related to concepts of reason that arose from the French Enlightenment. Despite, or perhaps because of its proximity to France, Spanish intellectual activity does not immediately spring to mind when thinking of the advances of the French Enlightenment. The Peninsular War (1808-1814) is often cast as a flashpoint for Spanish backwardness, when the influx of Napoleonic forces prompted a Spanish war of independence that led to a rejection of the French Enlightenment. While it is true that conflict with France did lead to an increase in anti-French sentiments, while broadening support for Spanish absolutists, this Spanish distaste for the French is perhaps overstated. While under control of the French, the Spanish Cortes Generales in Cadiz drafted and promulgated a liberal constitution in 1812 that opposed to the French empire while supporting French-style liberalism. So, the opinions of the Spanish with regard to the French Enlightenment and liberalism are a bit more complex than a simple aversion to all things French. Despite revivals of the Carlist movement in support of male absolute monarchs with various degrees of alignment with the Catholic church, the long reign of Isabel II contributed to the popularity of French-style liberalism in Spain. Her base of fervent support was narrow, leading to political compromises with liberal groups, ultimately allowing their polities to be enacted.¹⁰

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This focus on the Peninsular War also understates the influence of French thought upon Spain pre-dating Napoleon, back to 1700. Spanish-French connections had been strengthened by the arrival of the first Bourbon monarch, Versailles-born Philip V (1683-1746), which triggered the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714). The defeat of supporters of Archduke Charles of Habsburg, recognized by his Spanish supporters as Charles III of Spain, meant that French influence and French connections with Spain would increase in the eighteenth century, carrying Enlightenment thought into Spain. Indeed, French and German ideas traveled to the Americas as well, by way of Spanish elite professionals who wished to renew the country after the long sixteenth-century of inefficiency under Hapsburg monarchs and their “personal favorites.”

Yet this support for Enlightened thought in the eighteenth century and liberal political ideals in the nineteenth century tended to polarize the population, creating a back and forth struggle that often is characterized as Spanish in its extremes.

However, France and many of the German states faced similar struggles, culminating with the revolutions of 1848. While intellectual activity varied by class and educational levels, the Spanish were politically aware. Spain had a large uneducated class or populacho, which was nonetheless opinionated and populist. This populacho complicates the simplistic notion of two Spains, one liberal and progressive, the other absolutist and Catholic. These large numbers of uneducated could easily throw their weight in support of whatever program was most likely to avoid military engagements, behaving pragmatically rather than remaining loyal to ideologies.

This lack of education and its accompanying mentality persisted into the early twentieth century, a matter that gravely concerned José Ortega y Gasset, who wrote of the political power of the

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masses and their implications on what might become majoritarian democratic regimes. On the other hand, some Spaniards were well-read followers of Enlightenment thought, and were known as *ilustrados*, while still other educated members of the growing middle class participated in local political and cultural discussions at *tertulias*. These *tertulias* recalled the salons of the French enlightenment but were popular among the professional class rather than aristocrats. This professional and managerial class contributed to the political factions that would develop over the nineteenth century, sometimes countering the uneducated *populacho*. The professional class took active roles in local and national politics, helping to build and shape the modernized urban landscapes of the capitals, port cities, and other commercially-significant centers. Both this educated middle class and *populacho* came into mass political awareness at the time when science was exploring the consciousness of the self. Even as the political masses became self-aware and grew in strength, the self and its consciousness became ever smaller, shrinking down from the indefinable immortal soul to the brain to the individual neuron, which came into contact with none of its neighbors.

In recent years, scholars and journalists have devoted some attention to the treatment of Cajal’s colleagues and supporters in the years following his death in 1935, as the regime under Franco investigated intellectuals, who generally tended to favor liberal secularism. During Cajal’s lifetime, scientists and intellectuals tended to see their work as part of liberal secular progress, and their ideas existed simultaneously with traditional Catholic beliefs in Spanish society, a balance that shifted with the rise of the deeply Catholic regime. Scientific progress

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was disrupted by civil war beginning in 1936, and a purge began in 1939. Several full professors associated with Cajal exiled themselves, while others who chose to stay were divested of their professorships, banned from practicing, and fined, following a more general purge of the educational system. A specific target of these investigations was the Cajal Institute.\footnote{Manuel Ansede, “Franco contra Ramón y Cajal,” \textit{El País}, May 30, 2016, sec. Ciencia, https://elpais.com/elpais/2016/05/27/ciencia/1464368392_307898.html.} It was Spain’s oldest neuroscience research center, initially called the Laboratorio de Investigaciones Biológicas, established by a royal decree from Alfonso XIII (1886-1941), after Cajal received the Moscow Prize in 1900. A later decree led to the construction of a new building for the renamed Cajal institute, directed by Cajal himself beginning in 1920. This focused targeting of Cajal’s successors can be viewed as a reaction to the association of science with liberal notions of progress, but they also seem to imply a closer relationship between Cajal, his scientific production, and secular liberal republicanism than his memoirs account for.

Cajal tended to limit the expression of his political opinions to matters directly related to his personal experience. For example, in his earlier memoir, \textit{Recuerdos de mi Vida: Historia de Mi Labor Científica}, he discussed the inferior state of the Spanish military based on his experiences in Cuba.\footnote{Santiago Ramón y Cajal, \textit{Recuerdos de Mi Vida: Historia de Mi Labor Científica}, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Madrid: Nicolas Moya, 1917).} His criticism of Carlism, directed at Basques and Catalans who sought independence from Spain, was drawn from his time on military campaign, and based on his stay in Barcelona, where he completed the research that led to his recognition among the European scientific communities.\footnote{Santiago Ramón y Cajal, \textit{El Mundo Visto a Los Ochenta Años: Impresiones de Un Arteriosclerótico} (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 2000); Santiago Ramón y Cajal, \textit{Recuerdos de Mi Vida}, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Madrid: Nicolas Moya, 1917).} During his time in the Catalan capital, he was disappointed by talk of separatism that took place at the tertulias he enjoyed, which he noted in his 1917 memoir.\footnote{Ramón y Cajal, \textit{Recuerdos de Mi Vida}, 1:94-95. Ramon y Cajal noted that Catalan architect Lluís Domènech i Montaner spoke of Catalan annexation of France, making it the “Belgium of the South,” a notion absent}
While Cajal did not engage in political polemics, his work on the Neuron Doctrine, and the Degeneration and Regeneration of the nervous system did come to have some political implications. Specifically, Cajal’s tendency to work independently in his home laboratory is suggestive not only of the man’s private nature, but of the importance of the individual as an agent of change. Looking at the Neuron Doctrine itself, the notion of individual neurons operating within their own space, separate from the surrounding cells in the tissue, echoes this idea. This idea of the individual could be applied to sociological concepts of atomization, with implications for fields outside of biological sciences. He granted these individual cells agency, as discussed below, freeing them from the reticular network in a way that resonates with political concepts of rights of the individual. This was politically significant for enfranchised men who could rise above the status of uneducated populacho to carry out legitimized action within the state. Chief among these was voting, rather than taking part in guerilla or mob-like activities that so concerned Cajal’s friend, the journalist and political theorist José Ortega y Gasset.

6.3 Pere Mata and a Liberal Age of Medicine

Physician and legal medicine expert Pere Mata i Fontanet was one of many educated professionals who became involved in politics despite coming from non-political fields. Mata was a key figure in the professionalization of psychiatry and the decriminalization of madness in Spain. He wrote about politics during his early career, and his liberal political publications and activities led to his exile to France in 1836, during the First Carlist War. In 1840 he returned to Spain, serving in various political capacities including Mayor of Barcelona and a Governor of Madrid. In addition to his political writing, Mata also produced Romantic-era epic poetry and

from the architect’s published treatises. See also, chapter: The 1888 International Exposition of Barcelona: A Gateway to Spanish Modernity.
histories of liberal political figures from his own time like Rafael del Riego, and free thinkers from other much older historical periods, like Peter Abelard and Heloise. In addition to his medical writings and lectures, Mata wrote works of fiction, an essay on the need for the creation of a universal language before the 1887 development of Esperanto, and mnemonic aids to memory and retention. Mata’s interests merged science and medicine with the humanities, and his influences came from all of these fields and the areas in which they overlapped. The Glorious Revolution of 1869, which saw the exile of Isabel II to Paris and the First Spanish Republic, however short-lived, placed a dramatically different bookend on the end of his life from the formative experience of the early Carlist wars and Rafael del Riego. These early events affected Mata deeply, as they shaped his early years of political and professional life, but the rise of Spanish liberalism in his later years gave him hope that the change he had anticipated throughout his life had finally arrived.

Exposure to French scientific philosophy shaped much of his career. In his 1860 work on Spanish medical philosophy, he identified his work and the general direction of Spanish medicine in the nineteenth century as a positivist, in the style of August Comte. The literature is not in complete agreement as to the extent of Mata’s positivist leanings, and this view may derive from critical readings of Mata’s medical encounters with the soul in his later collections of treatises on madness. By describing himself as positivist, Mata aligned himself with traditions

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of empirical scientific inquiry, free of the type of *a priori* judgements that could color experiments and their interpretations. In other words, he welcomed a change in world view at this time of political turbulence when rupture from the monarchical past became a real possibility. He vigorously called for new medical philosophies, which would correspond with other philosophical and cultural changes that were already taking effect at the time. In his *Doctrina Médico Filosófica* Española of 1860 he wrote:

> The hour has arrived; the moment is brimming with opportunity; the incubation has reached its final stage; Spain has entered into a new historical epoch of art; the metamorphosis, finally, is ready to become reality. A piece of writing, whatever it may be, does not stir the spirit, if the spirit is unwilling to allow it. A man, whoever he may be, does not bring about a revolution of ideas with a single cry. If this cry resonates, it is because it has found an echo, and echoes come before all sounds.  

Mata sensed this opening of a new era, of new cultural and scientific forms that must follow as a result of liberal democratic change already in progress. These changes, these revolutions in thinking, could only take effect among an audience that was already willing to open itself to new ideas. This is much the same talk of the inevitability of change due to liberalism proposed by architect Lluís Domènech i Montaner some two decades later in his influential essay, *In Search of a National Architectural Style.* Mata called upon the press to disseminate this news, claiming it is of “great necessity and urgency” that this information be made available to the public. Liberal democratic advances, if modeled on the French, would include state-run public schooling independent of the Catholic institutions that were charged with education in Spain. This change

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22 Mata, *Doctrina*, 7. “Es que ha llegado la hora; es que el momento rebosa de oportunidad; es que la incubación ha tocado á su último periodo; es que la España ha entrado en una nueva época histórica del arte; es que la metamorfosis, en fin, está ya para realizarse. Un escrito, sea el que fuere, no agita de esa suerte los ánimos, si estos no están dispuestos á ello. Un hombre, sea quien fuere, no hace una revolución en las ideas con su solo grito. Si este grito resuena, es que encuentra eco, y los ecos preexisten á los sonidos.”


24 Mata, *Doctrina*, 7. “La publicidad de todo lo que forma parte de ese movimiento tan preñado de esperanzas, es una necesidad urgente.”
would presumably bring a higher educational standard to the public, that of positivist free thinking. As Mata’s interest in Abelard and Heloise suggests, these notions of free thinking are centuries old in their conception, yet waves of these kinds of empirical ideas re-entered deeply Catholic Spain from France, influencing Spanish philosophy even into Mata’s time. However, Mata’s writings about the soul, which lacked empirical evidence, reveal limits to his positivist leanings. Mata’s philosophies, rooted in the humanities, were paired with his medical training, all contributing to his notions of the self. His influences, including ideas of the French Enlightenment, Romanticism, and scientific medical training disagreed with each other at times, and Mata turned to one field at the expense of others at various points throughout his career as his medical experience and philosophy developed.

6.4 Empathetic, Humane Medicine

In a manner befitting Mata’s Romantic-era upbringing, his writings express his deep feelings of empathy toward those who suffered from ailments, underscoring their fears, their humanity, and his mission as a medical doctor to find the best ways to alleviate this misery. He also recognized the fear healthy individuals experienced in the face of these maladies of as-yet unknown causes. While he may not have offered adequate solutions to these problems, he recognized the need for change, and argued passionately on behalf of sufferers who could not. In one of his early medical works, he considered the plight of those affected by Indian cholera in deadly pandemics that struck globally in multiple waves throughout the nineteenth century. For Mata, the affected included not just those who had contracted the disease, but all who feared succumbing to it. These psychological symptoms are also worth noting. Preventative measures, even the ineffective ones, served a purpose if they helped calm the sense of helplessness that plagued the healthy. A lack of knowledge of the disease’s bacteriological cause prevented the
creation of effective remedies. This failure of medical professionals fueled confusion that surrounded the terrible outbreaks. With a lack of rational solutions, and the failure of one proposed cure after another that came and went, nature and its orderly methods appeared to hide beneath a “veil of mystery.” With this lack of scientific solutions, the cordon sanitaire was deployed, a “barbarous method” from olden days that “encourages mass panic.” Mata recognized that humanity should have moved beyond these methods, that Europe should have done better for the physical and mental suffering of the public who he clearly felt concern for. Yet, he did not have the bacteriological solution either. That would not come until the 1870s, when Robert Koch (1843–1910) of Saxony began a golden age of bacteriology with his studies of livestock infected with anthrax. Mata’s interest extended beyond that of humane treatment of the body. At the time of publication in 1837, he made clinical descriptions of symptoms and their universality across different areas affected by epidemic, showing that even though the bacteria at fault had not been identified, a single ailment was causing the illness. This aligns with the French medical practices he observed during his exile in Marseilles and Montpelier, by which standardized practices of treatment and convalescence were designed, rather than tailoring treatment to the individual patient, as was the case when the theory of the humors was prevalent. Mata’s sensibilities were egalitarian, showing care and concern for those who suffered from diseases like cholera, which hit the lower classes living in crowded urban centers especially hard.

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25 Pere Mata i Fontanet, Reflexiones Sobre La Grippe (Barcelona: J. Estivill, 1837), 5–7. “Naturaleza, causas y método curativo, todo se presentaba cubierto con el velo del misterio, y bien pronto se llenó la Europa de ideas vagas, de dictámenes caprichosos, de sistemas encontrados que por una parte llenaban de confusion á los prácticos mas expertos á par que de terror á todas las poblaciones; y por otra desacreditaban, cuando no el arte, á sos profesores, dignos á la verdad hasta cierto punto de las chufletas que les han dirijido en todas épocas los satíricos, por la poca armonía que se trasluce en sus doctrinas.”; “Desde entonces ya no se pensó en otra cosa que en establecer cordones sanitarios; medida bárbara, ineficaz y altamente característica de los siglos de inhumanidad y de ignorancia. Introducido el miedo en todos los corazones, nadie razoció y la anarquía sanitaria tomó mas incremento á proporción que el cólera fué ganando las capitales europeas.”

26 Mata i Fontanet, Reflexiones Sobre La Grippe, 5–7.
This empathetic quality present in Mata’s medical interests would continue to drive his career toward the pathologizing of madness, classifying the afflicted as mentally ill patients who lacked the ability to reason through no fault of their own, and therefore should receive treatment rather than prison stays.

6.5 The Soul in Differential Diagnosis

In the mid to late nineteenth century, several disciplines attempted to address social problems that were amplified by urbanization. These concerns included crime and madness, two areas that came under increasingly centralized, albeit sometimes reluctant, state control. Mata worked within and defended some of the more contested fields of the time, including phrenology and morphology, which have since been relegated to pseudoscience. Yet at the time, they held the promise of predicting certain tendencies toward criminal behavior. Much of Mata’s work on this subject, which he carried out with his usual methodical approach, drew conclusions based on easily observable anatomical structures about the state of the mind and soul, which were poorly understood. More importantly, the criteria were also based on observable and quantifiable behaviors. His 1858 lectures, collected and published in 1878, were intended as a guide to administrators in the legal system in diagnosing whether a suspect was sane, and therefore culpable for any crimes allegedly committed. Such an important determination needed to be made based on scientifically defined, quantifiable observations, which could be recorded in a manual of diagnosis to aid in differentiation. In this work, Mata defended the disputed practice of physiognomy by linking physical facial characteristics to the brain by way of the nervous system. As was already understood at the time, nerves “radiated outward throughout the muscles of the face.” Mata added that, “in this manner, we may easily understand how the morbid
scenarios originating in the brain and other organs may be painted upon the face.” However, even in this discussion of the nervous system and brain, and their supposed outward manifestations in the physical appearance of the body, Mata retained his spiritualist beliefs. When writing of the infinite variation observable in faces and bodies, he did not turn to familial inheritance, or Charles Darwin (1809-1882), or even the mixing of previously isolated populations over rail lines. Instead, he described physical characteristics as “expressions of the movements of the soul” of which there were no two alike. Despite this uniqueness of the soul, physiognomy was a viable field to Mata, because predispositions toward particular behaviors always manifested in specific physical characteristics. These observable features could then be categorized into types associated with specific behaviors that always accompanied them. Among those most often studied were “the shape of the skull, hair, eyes, nose, lips, the way the muscles moved together on the face and neck, and skin color,” and such socially-regulated traits as timbre of voice or mode of dress. Despite this support for the practice of physiognomy, Mata spent the pages that followed clarifying each of these areas of observation, beginning with the shape of the skull, often arguing against specialists of his time who associated madness with darker skin color, for example. He made the simple deduction that darker skin could not be an outward sign of madness because if that were the case, countries populated largely by people of color would have overwhelming rates of madness, which was not at all true. Instead, temporary changes in
skin color were associated with specific ailments, for example pallor associated with states of nervous agitation, except for those episodes leading to paroxysm, which were accompanied by a flushed appearance. Mata listed a great variety of symptoms and specific associated ailments in large numbers. This discussion began to tread toward more traditional diagnostic tools rather than physiognomy since the characteristics described, and the states they are affiliated with, were acute rather than chronic. Mata credited other factors besides the movement of the soul in shaping physical characteristics. Among these he listed heredity, degeneration within families, and poor hygiene or care of the body.\(^{32}\) He wrote at much greater length about these types of influences and manifestations than the soul, but when he did write about the soul he did so in spiritualist and even vitalist terms, granting it primary control over the functions and actions of the brain and body. Vitalism might have explained the physiological functions Mata assigned to the soul. However, despite his efforts with phrenology, cranioscopy, and physiognomy, Mata failed to decode the brain. It is this shortcoming that seems to have been most frustrating to him in terms of empirical observation, and its limit, in the mid to late nineteenth century.

### 6.6 Mind, Brain, and Soul

In spite of his methodical approach throughout his career, Mata struggled to understand where the faculties of human reason resided. The terminology Mata chose for his treatises revealed one of the central problems of the mid to late nineteenth century. Charles Darwin, T. H. Huxley (1825-1895), and Alfred Russel Wallace (1823-1913) shaped the field of biology into one that endeavored to study humans using frameworks previously reserved for non-human animals. An understandable response to this approach is to wonder what, if anything, separated humanity from the beasts of the wild. For a pious believer, the soul might accomplish this

function. For a promoter of Enlightenment philosophy, reason could serve this purpose. For a scientist, the size and complexity of the human brain might set humankind apart from other animals. Mata refused to limit himself to just one of these frameworks, and his terminology and understandings moved between biology, faith, and Enlightenment reason. Human reason was the fundamental quality that distinguished the sane from the mad, the rational human from the bestial, through powers of discernment that could be healthy, ill, or in some indeterminate state.\textsuperscript{33} Yet, his voluminous writings do not clearly specify whether reason was a function of the mind, spirit, or brain. This appears a peculiar stance for a medical doctor heavily experienced in anatomical dissection and autopsy for educational and legal purposes. If a physiological function must be assigned to a particular human organ, even one as imperfectly understood as the brain, then abstractions like the mind or the soul can be difficult to reconcile before a dissected body. Indeed, this mind-body debate is a chief concern of philosophy, and it was present in nineteenth-century spiritualism.

These scientific and religious tensions operated within political debates over secularization and nationalizing of public works previously handled by ecclesiastical authorities, as was true in the case of psychiatric medical institutions. As Isabel II continued to sanction liberal constitutional reforms, those conservatives who opposed these types of changes tended to align with what they perceived to be a maligned Catholic church, rather than the forces of atheistic French-style liberalism. As was the case throughout much of nineteenth-century Europe, Spain too was caught up in the struggle between the proponents of liberalism and conservatism. Mata’s work was conducted during this debate, yet his support of liberal governance, which cost him years of exile as a political dissident in his youth, did not prevent

\textsuperscript{33} Mata y Fontanet, \textit{Tratado Enfermedad}, 31–32.
him from referencing faith, God, and the soul in his works. The use of the term “soul” appeared as a rhetorical convenience in some of Mata’s shorter lectures. It seemed as if Mata turned to the soul when his anatomical questions went unanswered, a technique reminiscent of proponents of vitalism. During the 1830s, Mata spent part of his exile in Montpellier, home of Paul Joseph Barthez (1734-1806), a chief advocate of the Montpellier school of vitalism. Vitalism was a philosophy that attributed a force, termed élan vital, that infused living tissues and distinguished them from those of inanimate objects. However, from the 1840s on, Mata attempted to separate himself from this school of thought through his work in anatomy and physiology, and by turning to his Catholic faith. Written essays published from his longer talks indicate he explicitly assigned a complex role for the soul, a materialist one ascribed to an organ: the brain. His faith is not merely implied in his work; it formed an integral part of his medical research. When Mata discussed the components of care required to restore physiological function and health to different organs and systems of the body, he also referenced the important functions of the soul in governing the capacity of human reason. Mata’s 1868 Criterio Médico-Psicológico, a collection of lectures intended as a manual for differentiating “passions and madness,” articulates his position on the role of psychology within the fields of medicine and the function of the soul. He wrote:

It is necessary to prove theoretically and practically that there is no separation between psychology and physiology; that one is within the other, as the species within the genus; that biology, as a science of life, includes this way of existing, not only of the body, but of the soul; that the manifestations of the spirit are functions, and therefore, are physiological; that, like any function, they must forcibly be carried out with a material condition, with an instrument, with one or more organs to these assigned manifestations, and that both the normal and the abnormal exercise of those functions, that reason and madness, as well as their intermediate states, have reason to preserve their spiritual nature, which is degraded, materialized, from the moment the organization [organ] is dispensed
with, to explain and understand the diverse functions of psychic faculties, and their different degrees of lack of development, of abolition or of loss.\textsuperscript{34}

Mata disagreed with the scientific community for regarding psychology as a non-scientific field, one that dealt with the soul as an immaterial entity without physiology. His background as an anatomist likely colored this perception. He categorized spiritual activity as physiological, assigning it to an organ, a material organization of tissues within the body, charged with carrying out this work. He argued that it was a mistake to separate psychology from physiology, to separate the care of the soul from the care of the body. Psychology should not be separated from physiology, because it dealt with function of the soul, where reason resided. But if the soul housed the power of human reason, this begs the question of who should provide care for the soul. In this passage, Mata claimed psychologists should treat the soul, while in others he used the term “alienist” or “modern alienist” interchangeably.\textsuperscript{35} These fields required clarification because for Spain, the clergy had claimed pastoral care of the soul as one of its chief purposes. If the soul housed the capacity for human reason, then the curing of insanity was a priest’s work.

Mata did not even consider this as a possibility in his writings, most likely since disentail of Catholic church lands in Spain had closed down ecclesiastically-run asylums in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Mata’s career falls within this transitional period of secularization, when matters of spirituality and the soul became decoupled from organized religion. Mata

\textsuperscript{34} Pedro Mata y Fontanet, \textit{Criterio Médico-Psicológico para el Diagnóstico Diferencial de la Pasión y la Locura} (Madrid: R. Berenguillo, 1868), 46–47, http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/criterio-medico-psicologico-para-el-diagnostico-diferencial-de-la-pasion-y-la-locura. “Es necesario demostrar teóricamente y práctico que entre la psicología y la fisiología no haya divorcio; que aquélla está dentro de ésta, como la especie dentro del género; que la biología, como ciencia de la vida, comprende este modo de existir, no sólo del cuerpo, sino del alma; que las manifestaciones del espíritu son funciones, por lo tanto, son fisiológicas; que, como toda función, han de realizarse forzosamente con una condición material, con un instrumento, con uno o más órganos á esas manifestaciones destinados, y que tanto el ejercicio normal como el anormal de esas funciones, que la razón y la locura, lo mismo que sus estados intermedios, tienen su razón de ser quiera conservar á esta su naturaleza espiritual, la que se degrada, se materializa, desde el momento en que se quiere prescindir de la organización, para explicar y comprender el diverso juego de las facultades psíquicas, y sus diferentes grados de falta de desarrollo, de abolição ó de extravío.”

\textsuperscript{35} Mata y Fontanet, \textit{Criterio Médico-Psicológico para el Diagnóstico Diferencial de la Pasión y la Locura}, 134, Mata used the terms “alienista” or “alienista moderno.”
attempted to reassign responsibility for these functions to physiology, making the matter solidly medical. This left the mind and the brain, and distinguishing between the two, or whether anyone even should, was a contentious topic for Mata at the time.

6.7 From Materialism, Spiritualism, and Vitalism to Psychiatry

Even as Spanish Catholic institutions distanced themselves from the management of social problems in the mid nineteenth century, supernatural beliefs that were not strictly Catholic seemed to sublimate themselves into the spiritualist movement, which remained distinct but not removed from science. This led to a deeper separation between faith and science, one that was evident in the 1888 exposition in Barcelona, as the spiritualists drew large crowds, but only on the park lawn outside the pavilion dedicated to science, since they were not allowed space indoors. This separation of the fields complicated understandings of the mind, body, and soul. Mata did not align himself with Cartesian philosophy and its resulting debates on the separation of the mind from the body. He blamed the spiritualists for separating the emotions and soul from the body and giving it to philosophers, while leaving the body and the brain to science. This posed a problem for the medical community, which thanks to the popularity of spiritualism, felt compelled to abandon the soul and attribute multiple functions to the brain. According to Mata, this created even more contradictions. He wrote, “every physiological function has its own organ, exclusively.” Therefore, the brain must be made up of multiple organs in order to carry out its various roles for the human. Mata referenced the phrenologists Franz Joseph Gall (1758-1828), Johann Spurzheim (1776-1832), and François Joseph Victor Broussais (1772-1838) who was a proponent of the theory of the humors, but Mata refused to align himself either with them.

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36 Mata y Fontanet, Tratado Enfermedad, 12. “Sentado que el cerebro es un órgano múltiple, que cada facultad fundamental tiene en él su órgano propío y exclusivo.”
or with their critics. He discussed phrenology as a method of understanding the brain as observed from outside of the body. Mata understood that the inability to successfully use the senses to study the mind, brain, or soul was an unsettling dead-end that underpinned the popularity of phrenology and physiognomy, fields that attempted to study the brain using the data readily available: outward physical appearance. Later, Mata’s discussion moved beyond this type of outward physical analysis to his experience the cerebral matter of with living subjects through cranioscopy. Yet this also thwarted researchers because even for physiologists, the functions of the brain, and additionally which ones were governed specifically and exclusively by the brain, were not visible.

Researchers lacked a way to “read” the brain, and thus, it was impossible to attribute all of the faculties that constituted the moral human self to the brain, even while under the deductive assumption that it was a multiple organ. In light of this shortcoming, Mata looked to actions committed by patients as outward manifestations of the state of their brains. Mata’s tone is confident in this portion of the text, which is typical of him in this type of lecture directed at general audiences peppered with university professors, physicians, and surgeons. In his 1878 Tratado, there is a hint of frustration evident in this lack of ability to definitively understand the way the brain functioned, as Mata noted the inconclusive nature of cranioscopy, and how the autopsy scalpel was unable to detect material alterations in the brains of the mad. In his Criterio, he insisted that this matter of the material nature of the soul, which governed the state of reason, was settled and there was nothing to discuss anymore. However, he did discuss this very topic for nearly three hundred pages, reprinting lectures from 1863 in which he argued vigorously before the Academia de Medicina de Madrid, against one Joaquin Quintana who

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37 Mata y Fontanet, Tratado Enfermedad.
38 Mata y Fontanet, Tratado Enfermedad, 184–85.
apparently lacked Mata’s certainty that the brain was the organ carrying out the physiology of the soul, instead assigning the function of reason to the conscience, and passions to the entrails.\textsuperscript{39} This lack of experimentally-based visible knowledge of the brain itself posed a problem that was physiological as well as philosophical. At the time, it would appear the very organ that allowed humankind to engage in study of itself was inscrutable. If a researcher could not know the brain, then humankind could not know itself.

With these limitations in mind, Mata argued that the study of patient behavior in the emerging field of psychology held the promise to understand the way humans think. This was a bold move at the time, since unlike phrenology, the field of psychology was then widely criticized as disreputable. Mata addressed critics who tended to lump psychology together with spiritualism and phrenology, fields that were accepted as science, if contentiously or peripherally. He called for the inclusion of psychology among the core respected fields of biology, anatomy, and physiology, while arguing against unnamed parties who tended to relegate psychology and human behavioral sciences to the soul. In his 1878 \textit{Tratado} he wrote:

I showed the sterility of what the philosophers from the spiritualist, sensualist and eclectic schools had said about human reason, I trust this, that they have not studied the entire man, that they have established a divorce as gratuitous as it is absurd between the psychic and the physical or somatic; that they are not physiologists; that instead of looking at psychology as part of the science of life or biology, they have rejected it to the functions of the soul; that finally, they have not analyzed all the faculties of man, nor have they presented them concretely, but in abstraction.\textsuperscript{40}

\textsuperscript{39} Mata y Fontanet, \textit{Criterio Médico-Psicológico para el Diagnóstico Diferencial de la Pasión y la Locura.}
\textsuperscript{40} Mata y Fontanet, \textit{Tratado Enfermedad}, 8-9. “Os dije y demostré, que la esterilidad de cuanto habian dicho los filósofos de todas las escuelas espiritualistas, sensualistas y eclécticas sobre la razon humana, depende de que no han estudiado al hombre entero, de que han establecido un divorcio tan gratuito como absurdo entre lo psíquico y lo físico ó somático; de que no son fisiólogos; de que en vez de mirar la psicología como una parte de la ciencia de la vida ó la biología, la han recusado como agena á las funciones del alma; de que por último, no han analizado todas las facultades del hombre ni las han presentado en concreto, sino en abstracto.”
Mata argued in favor of the acceptance of psychology as a respected science for several reasons. Chiefly, he wanted to prevent the exclusion of the field of psychology from medicine, which would have put it outside of Mata’s fields of expertise, as broad as they were. Additionally, Mata bitterly acknowledged that for many, the soul was no longer generally regarded within the realm of medical science. To counter this argument, Mata referenced French philosophy from Victor Cousin (1792-1867), one of Cousin’s students Théodore Jouffroy (1796–1842), and Maine de Biran (1766-1824). Mata wrote of the soul in terms of physiology, as if it too were an anatomical structure with a discrete function within the body. Spiritualists were too awash in Platonic a priori arguments to do the work of sensory investigation into the brain, Mata wrote. He was the physiologist. He would define the function of the human soul.

However, he chose not to engage in such anatomical rigor when he defined human reason, which was the primary human ability governed by the physiological functions of the brain and soul. Mata wrote:

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\text{Having failed to locate, in my long analytic examination of all the phenomena fundamental to man, in all of the periods of his life, any concrete or particular faculty that could be called reason; I separated myself from the philosophers and schools, not classifying it as a faculty but as a state, as a voice of the sense that was most exact, most comprehensive, most synthesized, and I said: human reason should be understood as that state of man in which he has the power to direct, by means of his faculties both reflective and auxiliary, the enactment of his interior impulses according to the laws of his organization.}\]

\[41\] Pedro Mata, *Filosofía Española. Tratado de la Razón Humana con Aplicación a la Prática del Foro* (Madrid: Bailly-Bailliere, 1858), 182.

\[42\] Mata y Fontanet, *Tratado Enfermedad*, 10. “No habiendo hallado en mi largo exámen analítico de todos los fenómenos fundamentales del hombre, en todos los periodos de su vida, ninguna facultad concreta ó particular que pudiera llamarse razon; me separé de todos los filósofos y de todas las escuelas, no calificándola de facultad, sino de estado, como voz de sentido mas exacto, mas comprensivo, mas sintético, y dije: que por razon hu mana debia entenderse aquel estado del hombre en el que este tiene el poder de dirigir, por medio de sus facultades reflexivas y auxiliares, la realizacion de sus impulsos interiores con arreglo á las leyes de su organización.” Italics are present in original text.
In a move that arguably could have separated psychology farther from anatomy and other physical biological sciences, Mata did not characterize reason as a physiological function linked to a specific organ in the body, but rather as a state. Still, he used the term “poder” or “power” as if discussing an ability. He wrote, “reason is the power that man has to voluntarily direct his actions.” In this way, as he wished, he distanced himself from the materialists, who looked solely to matter and its physical properties as the fundamental substance in nature. However, this language of “power” seems to contradict his claim that reason is a state, and instead he turned toward faith and even vitalism, claiming an indefinable power for tissues he was unable to understand.

6.8 Physiology of the Soul

Presumably, this quest to assign the function of the soul to a bodily organ would satisfy the vocal criticism Mata and other Catholics received from the secular researchers Mata referred to as materialists. These materialists reflected the philosophical stance of materialism in the atomic and corpuscular sense, with their claims that physical organs, tissues, cells, or atoms were the forces ultimately responsible for the health of the body. With the medicalization of mental health, materialism complicated the spiritualist and vitalist components of Mata’s arguments, not only in terms of where reason as a function of the soul resided, but in terms of where irrationality and the passions were housed within the body. If, as Mata argued, human reason was housed within the soul, and the soul’s functions were contained within the brain, which it governed, it could be said that the passions, which were irrational and therefore not governed by human reason, could be controlled by an organ residing elsewhere in the body. Entrails or other viscera

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43 Mata y Fontanet, Tratado Enfermedad, 10.
were referenced in these discussions, as the brain’s control over sensory perception, circulation, digestion, and other bodily functions were, he believed, not connected with the passions.\textsuperscript{44}

In his essays, Mata engaged with colleagues at the Academy of Medicine in Madrid, sometimes agreeing with and other times arguing against these increasingly complex understandings of the causes of human behavior, whether moral, as Mata sometimes termed healthy actions, or the result of the passions, which he categorized as pathological.\textsuperscript{45} When colleagues or rivals in the anatomical or medical field challenged the physiological functions that Mata assigned to the soul, Mata took a spiritual approach. When faced with a lack of visible physical evidence supporting the functionality of the soul within the brain, Mata could have easily fallen back on the lack of knowledge of how the brain and neurons worked. Indeed, at some points in these talks, he did call for more research into not only gray matter of but “white matter outside of the brain,” the neurons of the nervous system themselves. As an anatomist, he wrote of physiology that could be mapped to specific organs or portions of organs, a position that aligned with Broca’s work in France, leading to the mapping of speech disorders to what came to be called Broca’s area in the frontal lobe of the brain. But in this instance the focus of Mata’s attention was the approach of the materialists, whom he discredited for their belief that only those things that could be observed by the scientists were important. This statement cemented Mata’s rejection of exclusive materialism and his self-proclaimed beliefs in spiritualism and vitalism. It also accounts for Mata’s insistence on the presence and importance of the soul, despite his inability to extract its physical structure from a body on a dissection table, hold it in

\textsuperscript{44} Pedro Mata y Fontanet, \textit{De la Libertad Moral ó Libre Albedrio: Cuestiones Fisio-psicologicas Sobre Este Tema y Otros Relativos al Mismo con Application a la Distinción Fundamental de los Actos de los Locos y los de los Apasionados o Personas Responsables} (Madrid: Carlos Bailly-Bailliere, 1868), 23.

\textsuperscript{45} Mata y Fontanet, \textit{Criterio Médico-Psicológico para el Diagnóstico Diferencial de la Pasión y la Locura}; Mata y Fontanet, \textit{Tratado de la Razón Humana, Enfermedad}. 
his hands, and read it. However, these beliefs were rooted not only in Mata’s philosophical or religious beliefs but in his anatomical practice, since he explained evidence of a physical lesion on the brain was not a requirement for the diagnosis of pathology, and that although the brain controlled psychic and intellectual faculties, mental illness could be diagnosed in patients whose brains contained no observable physical abnormalities. This acknowledgement of psychiatric and psychological pathology existing invisibly in histological studies of tissues is a key and enduring legacy of Mata’s work.

6.9 Mata’s Legacy, Menendez-Pelayo, and the Catholic Church in the Spanish Fin-de-siécle

Subsequently, Mata’s self-assessment and refusal to categorize himself with materialists was examined and contested in the work of eminent conservative Spanish literary critic, philologist, and historian of ideas, Marcelino Menendez Pelayo. Menendez Pelayo wrote a history of Spanish science, published in 1887, which notably did not include Pere Mata. However, he did include Mata in his voluminous *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles* of 1880, a history of Catholicism and heresy in Spain, which he submitted to Catholic authorities for official church approval. Menendez Pelayo emphatically presented Mata as a materialist when he wrote, “in later years, the most illustrious, eloquent, convinced and honest propagator of materialism was Dr. D. Pedro Mata.” Menendez Pelayo described Mata in less than glowing language as a popularizer or vulgarizador of science, who taught at the expense of spending time

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46 Mata y Fontanet, *De la Libertad Moral ó Libre Albedrio*, 46–47.
48 Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles* (Madrid: La Editorial Católica, 1978), 1115. “En años posteriores, el propagador más ilustre, elocuente, convencido y honrado del materialismo fue el Dr. D. Pedro Mata, catedrático de Medicina Legal y Toxicología en la Universidad de Madrid.”
in a lab or anatomy theater. Menendez Pelayo claimed to have understood Mata’s philosophy better than the man himself, as he audaciously corrected Mata’s own position on materialism:

Of course, materialism was virtually included in Dr. Mata’s denials, and with slight effort we could deduce it from them. He does not deny the soul, he does not skimp on its faculties, but it is certain that the soul in his system is superfluous. His observation is not the psychological experience, it is the observation of the encephalic mass and the nervous system. He does not deny psychology, but he recasts it in physiology, as a part of it.49

Menendez Pelayo’s assessment of Mata’s role for the soul overlooked the fact that whether Mata located the soul and could assign anatomical features to the physiological functions he claimed it carried out is perhaps not as significant as the fact that Mata clearly wished for the soul to be present and gave it a role, albeit a physiological one. Despite Mata’s claims of discarding a priori beliefs and engaging fully in positivist empiricism, he retained his faith in the existence of the soul, even when faced with a lack of sensory evidence. This is something Menendez Pelayo noted quickly before moving on, possibly due to the fact that he was writing from a religiously conservative, even Catholic apologist’s perspective, in the fin-de-siècle. For Menendez Pelayo, the medieval scholastic understanding of the unity of the body and soul stood firm, even in 1880.50 He saved his most scathing criticism for last, in his questioning of Mata’s defense of the mentally ill. By regarding the brain as a collection of multiple organs in one, Mata assigned physiological functions to each individual organ within the collection that is the brain. Menendez Pelayo criticized this view of the divided brain as if it were responsible for moral laxity in mental patients, something he believed they should have been held responsible for. His writings reveal a

49 Menéndez y Pelayo, Heterodoxos Españoles, 1115. “Claro que el materialismo iba incluido virtualmente en las negaciones del Dr. Mata, y con leve esfuerzo podia deducirse de ellas. No niega el alma, no le escatima sus facultades, pero es lo cierto que el alma en su sistema sobra. Su observación no es la experiencia psicológica, es la observación de la masa encefálica y del sistema nervioso. No niega la psicología, pero la refunde en la fisiología, como una parte de ella.”

50 Menéndez y Pelayo, Heterodoxos Españoles, 1115–16.
blunt lack of empathy, as he claimed that mental patients were being too easily allowed “off the
hook.” He wrote:

This assumption that the passions and feelings result exclusively from the
organization [of the multi-part brain], leads to Dr. Mata, a sincere man of much
logic in his own way, to ominous consequences for moral freedom, while
establishing an extremely lax medical-psychological criterion in all matters
relating to differential diagnosis of passion and madness and the imputability of
acts attributed to madmen and alienated people.51

The term Menendez Pelayo used here, “imputabilidad,” is laden with implications about morality
and responsibility, and is often used in reference to Catholic teaching. It appears that this
perceived moral laxity, which Mata ostensibly permitted and defended, offended Menendez y
Pelayo, who relegated the empathetic life’s work Mata undertook to decriminalize psychiatric
pathology as “pure phrenology.”52 Menendez Pelayo wrote in defense of the church at the end of
a century of struggle between forces of liberalism and conservatism, secularism and deeply
Catholic Spanish identity. As a conservative force, Menendez Pelayo criticized Mata’s medical
and moral principles regarding reason, agency, and free will. Ultimately, he neglected to include
Mata in his three-volume set on science in Spain, including him only in his historical work on the
church, where he could be judged in terms of morality, theology, and heterodoxy (heresy). This
rigid moral stance on psychiatric illness that was championed by conservative men like
Menendez Pelayo did not last, however, and the church has since recognized several hindrances
to moral imputability, among these “psychological or social factors.”53

51 Menéndez y Pelayo, Heterodoxos Españoles, 1116. “frenología pura”; “No es el único pensador en quien
la parte negativa vale mucho más que la positiva. El suponer las pasiones y los sentimientos resultado exclusivo de
la organización, lleva al Dr. Mata, hombre sincero de mucha lógica a su modo, a consecuencias ominosas para la
libertad moral y a fundar un criterio médico-psicológico sumamente laxo en todas las cuestiones relativas al
diagnóstico diferencial de la pasión y la locura y a la imputabilidad de los actos atribuidos a locos y personas
enajenadas.”

52 Menéndez y Pelayo, Heterodoxos Españoles, 1116.
53 “Catechism of the Catholic Church,” Vatican Website, 1991, chaps. 1, Article 3, Item 1735,
http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/__INDEX.HTM.
6.10 Ramón y Cajal in Spanish Historical Context: 1888 and 1906

Santiago Ramón y Cajal faced many of the same dilemmas as Mata, but his methods and approach differed, as did the political climate in which his career unfolded. Like Mata, Cajal’s father was also a doctor, but their social positions differed greatly. Cajal possessed an exceptional work ethic, and the many honors he received attest to this dedication, particularly given that his childhood was exceedingly modest. Cajal wrote extensively, filling shelves with over twenty large published books, many of which serve as standard texts for neuroscientific study to the present. He gave numerous speeches, as was customary for Mata and other key scientists of the mid to late nineteenth century. Like Mata, he also wrote works of fiction, though Cajal’s did not enjoy much critical success at the time of their limited publication in 1905. They fit loosely into the larger genre of tragic morality play, and were somewhat contrived and didactic, as many of these types of works tend to be. Still, they are works of science fiction that press the reader to consider ethical and moral dilemmas surrounding scientific capabilities and the perils they may pose to humankind. Cajal’s suggestions for handling these ethical matters reflects the importance of human agency and intelligence in handling concerns that institutions like the church or the monarchy likely would have assumed control of in earlier times. It is here, in reference to the Catholic church and the role of science in Spain, that Cajal and Mata differ most dramatically. Cajal’s keen sense of medical ethics and the potential dangers science could pose to humanity manifest in the dystopian worlds he created for his fiction. This treatment of science revealed his empathy for humankind, which he urged readers to protect. This is a different approach from the kind of emotional and romantic appeals Mata used. Through his fiction, Cajal communicated that science should discipline itself because the alternative would present a nightmare world for humankind, and not because of religious doctrine. Cajal’s
criticisms of Catholic education and its connections with the Spanish scientific establishment he found lacking are likely behind his decision to write under the pseudonym “Dr. Bacteria” and give copies of the first edition of his Cuentos de Vacaciones exclusively to friends.\(^5^4\)

Cajal’s most famous text was his first major work, known as Textura, properly titled: Textura del Sistema Nervioso del Hombre y de los Vertebrados [Texture of the Nervous System of Man and Vertebrates: Studies on the Structural Plan and Histological Composition of Nerve Centers Added to Physiological Considerations Based on New Discoveries].\(^5^5\) The three-volume set was first published in Spanish in 1899, and a version revised and updated by Cajal was then translated into French by Cajal’s friend Leon Azoulay for publication in 1909 and 1911 under the title Histologie du Système Nerveux de l’Homme et des Vertébrés. This text has since been re-issued in Spanish under the title Histologia del Sistema Nervioso del Hombre y los Vertebrados [Histology of the Nervous System of Man and Vertebrates].\(^5^6\) Hand-drawn ink illustrations from this set are still reproduced in neuroscience texts to this date. His most productive histological work toward the development of his Neuron Doctrine was completed during his stay in Barcelona, the same summer of the 1888 Universal Exposition. Spending the bulk of his time in the laboratory, much of it working on chicken, bird, and other animal embryos, Cajal worked to corroborate and publish his findings. Rather than focusing his energies on socializing with the scientific cohort at the Barcelona fair, who were gathered just blocks away from the laboratory he fashioned himself, Cajal broke from this establishment. Using his limited personal financial resources, he self-published and printed his own journal and sent it

\(^{54}\) Santiago Ramón y Cajal, Cuentos de Vacaciones: Narraciones Pseudocientíficas (Zaragoza: Emilio Casañal, 1906).

\(^{55}\) Santiago Ramón y Cajal, Textura del Sistema Nervioso del Hombre y de los Vertebrados: Estudios Sobre el Plan Estructural y Composición Histológica de los Centros Nerviosos Adicionados de Consideraciones Fisiológicas Fundadas en los Nuevos Descubrimientos (N. Moya, 1904).

ahead of his attendance at the annual meeting of the German Anatomical Society in Berlin in 1889.\(^{57}\) While it appears Cajal was actively circumventing the scientific establishment in Spain, it could also be said that there was not much of an establishment for Cajal to trouble himself. He was not resisting the standard practice of peer review. Cajal was aware of the scientific deficiencies present in Spain, an environment that tended to discourage science, and recognized the importance of reaching international audiences. He wrote repeatedly about science in Germany and the United States, and his scholarship included citations of German, American, and French works, predominantly. He was undoubtedly aware of the military threats the ascendant US posed for Spain with regard to Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. His Neuron Doctrine, which he articulated in papers that would ultimately contribute to *Textura*, was largely formulated in 1892-1893, when Madrid struggled to conjure Spanish imperialist pride for the fourth centenary of the Columbian voyages, just years before losing its last colonial territories to the United States in 1898.

The major tenets of the Neuron Doctrine identified the neuron as the fundamental structural unit of the nervous system, distinguishing it from its surrounding tissue. Cajal’s modifications of Golgi’s silver nitrate staining techniques allowed him to see that neurons were individual cells that terminated, so that they were not connected to each other or any larger network, as Golgi had argued. The final two tenets identified the parts of the neuron, including the cell body of soma, the dendrites, an axon, outlining the direction of communication transition involving all three of these parts.\(^{58}\) These points are so often referenced in neuroscience texts that


it can be easy to overlook what a change this was from the science of the time. Chiefly, there was no field of neuroscience at the time, and Cajal was a histologist, a type of pathologist who studied tissues. Scientists like predecessor Pere Mata studied phrenology and physiognomy, particularly in connection with prison populations. A few of Cajal’s contemporaries, who he admired, reportedly espoused racist views backed by phrenological studies in order to justify Catalan separatism, positions Cajal disagreed with on all counts. Cajal broke from Mata’s eighteenth-century dilemma over the mind-body problem, as well as issues such as the materiality of the soul, by studying tissues he could observe, describe, and visually reproduce in pen and ink. He discussed these more esoteric matters in his memoirs, but his scientific papers and books focused on the individual cells rather than larger structures of tissues or the brain as a whole. He also arrived at these findings through embryological studies of chickens and other birds. Therefore, the individual cells were what mattered, and these cells had agency to act independently or in concert with the larger tissue or organ within the organism. Human neurons and tissues were like those of animals like birds. These assumptions and findings express a certain sense of individualism, egalitarianism, and agency that reflect the political notions of republican governance and the expansion of the franchise, subjects of contentious debate among the educated elite to which Cajal belonged. However, at this time, the liberal democratic political apparatus was in crisis, and the nineteenth century, while liberal in terms of some of its philosophies and aspirations, lacked the infrastructure to implement functioning democratic institutions within the state, through which individuals could act in accordance with their own agency. These ideas came from a man who rose from a family of humble social position, who rejected the Spanish scientific establishment with its Catholic and royal support in an attempt to

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gain international attention for the findings he arrived at through merit and a devoted work ethic. Through his findings and the way he presented as a researcher, he both addressed and embodied the liberal secular ideal of the modern scientist operating within a republican state.

Unfortunately, he was operating in Spain, which failed to establish an enduring republic.

The 1906 Nobel laureate was an award that bestowed international prestige not just on Cajal himself, but on Spain as well. This good publicity came as Spain’s existential crisis went beyond its loss of colonial possessions into repetitive lapses of political instability. This was evident in the four Prime Ministers who served in the single year of 1906, and this came after four governed in 1905. Parliament, and the governments it formed, saw its key political figures exit and sometimes return, only to exit again, inspiring little confidence. Politically, the monarchy was relatively stable despite the abdication and exile of Isabel II after her long reign (r.1843-1870), and the short tenure of the unpopular Amadeo of Savoy (r.1870-1873). The Italian ruler was succeeded by the short-lived First Spanish Republic, and restoration under Alfonso XII (r.1874-1885) following a military coup. After the death of Alfonso XII, his wife Maria Cristina of Austria (regent 1886-1902) ruled as regent for his posthumous son, the young Alfonso XIII (r.1902-1931). Maria Cristina was popular and respected and was often referred to as Queen Regnant during this relatively stable period. After reaching his majority in 1902, Alfonso XIII was enthroned, and later married the English royal Victoria Eugenie “Ena” of Battenburg (b.1887-1969). This event did not garner positive international attention for the royal families, and it ushered in decades in which the monarchy no longer offered a sense of stability to Spain.

In what remained the most violent terrorist attack in Madrid until the 2004 bombing of the Atocha train station, an anarchist assassination attempt on May 31 of 1906 marred the
wedding festivities, though the couple was unharmed. In the months that followed the wedding attack, as conspiracy theories shook Madrid, Cajal received sixty-five nominations for the Nobel. Most of these came from Spanish nominators, with a large number of German and Swedish nominators, and some from the United States and Chile, as well.\textsuperscript{60} The year 1906 ended on this high note, with the December 10 presentation speech referencing the complex system of neurons that permit the “center of consciousness” to receive signals transmitted in response to stimuli acting upon other parts of the organism, allowing this consciousness to interact with the outside world.\textsuperscript{61}

\textbf{6.11 Neurons, the Soul, and the Self}

In his later years, Cajal wrote reflective, autobiographical accounts of the escapades of his youth, and the whimsical description of his experiments with a cannon he fashioned himself are well known.\textsuperscript{62} However, most of the descriptions of his youth dwell on what he felt to be the frustrating and impractical education provided by Catholic schools, and the level of poverty experienced in the countryside, namely in his native Petilla de Aragon in mountainous Navarre. He left the small town at age two, and upon his return as a young adult was struck by the extent of its provincial poverty and isolation, which he identified as “symbolic of Spain.”\textsuperscript{63} He described himself as “antipatico,” disagreeable in his youth, but despite this, he harbored resentment toward the clerics charged with providing him Catholic education.\textsuperscript{64} His accounts of being locked in closets and having to sneak out for food make his reflections of the key

\textsuperscript{62} Santiago Ramón y Cajal, \textit{Mi Infancia y Juventud} (Buenos Aires: Espasa Calpe, 1939), chap. 10.
\textsuperscript{63} Ramón y Cajal, \textit{Mi Infancia y Juventud}, 8. “La pobreza de mis paisanos, un pueblo pobre y aislado parece símbolo de España”.
\textsuperscript{64} Ramón y Cajal, \textit{Mi Infancia y Juventud}, 16.
formative experiences of his youth that much more significant. He recalled lightning striking his schoolhouse, an event that impressed upon him the power of the cosmos, and of nature, even as his classmates prayed for mercy. The priest, who rang church bells during the storm, was struck and later died from his injuries. This was, he recalled, the first time he examined his spiritual consciousness. He was “moved profoundly, [by] the idea of disorder and disharmony.” At age eight he felt fearful and confused, feelings that persisted despite the presence of priests and other religious who might have served in a pastoral capacity, offering spiritual comfort. The solar eclipse of 1860 further cemented these ideas of the power of nature, but this time he did not mention availing himself of any spiritual comfort. Cajal claimed that at the time of the eclipse, he came to realize that “mankind, helpless and unarmed in the face of the unshakeable power of the forces of the cosmos, has in heroic and redemptive science a universal instrument of protective power.” For Cajal, science clearly held promises for humanity’s improvement, promises he believed his religious upbringing had failed to keep.

These secular ideas, and others Cajal wrote about in his many works, aligned with attitudes toward God or a Supreme Being that were seen in the Enlightenment. He was clearly critical of Catholic education and anti-clerical, but he took on agnostic, and sometimes deist thoughts about divinity, rather than the atheism that came to prevail in republican circles in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The literature supports this, noting that Cajal’s concept of God was not incompatible with scientific ideas, and his respect for the immortality of the soul persisted despite his criticism of the defects of the church as an institution. These beliefs seem

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65 Ramón y Cajal, Mi Infancia y Juventud, 23.“profundamente conmovido, la idea del desorden y de la inarmonia.”
66 Ramón y Cajal, Mi Infancia y Juventud, 26–27.
67 Carlos Lorenzo Lizalde, El Pensamiento de Cajal (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1991), 113.
a step beyond those of Mata, who probed at the physiology of the soul in ways Cajal did not address, though clearly both men struggled with their faith, the comfort it brought or failed to deliver them, and the relationships between these beliefs and the science they pursued. Ideas about the Book of Nature and personifications of nature as mechanisms like clocks put in motion by a deist God were no longer controversial topics during Cajal’s youth, as theories of natural selection published by Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer shifted responsibility for creation from the Enlightenment’s deist clockmaker to such biological forces as reproduction, mutation and death. This spiritual struggle Cajal underwent became more acute as his understanding of the brain and the function of neurons grew. As scientists came to know more about the anatomy and physiology of the brain, fewer purposes and functions were left to the soul. As a histologist, Cajal dealt with the material realities of cells on slides, and his work was composed primarily of empirical observation, something that cannot be said for the soul, despite Mata’s efforts.

As was the case during different parts of the early modern period, when physics and mathematics posed a profound paradigm shift that changed western cosmology, the years immediately before and after 1900 were a time when science was, rapid-fire, answering or disputing many of the questions previously addressed by Church authority. These shifts in knowledge were not limited to the biological sciences. In the physical sciences, the work of Ernst Mach (1836-1916), Albert Einstein (1879-1955), and Max Planck (1858-1947) changed notions of such fundamental concepts as mass, space, and time. Pioneering discoveries related to the electromagnetic spectrum carried out by Marie Curie (1867-1934) revealed invisible radioactivity, and doctors were able to see human bones without breaking the skin. Technologies that applied late nineteenth-century science seemed to shrink distances through train travel and photography allowed light to make images of loved ones appear immortal. Even in the case of
psychological treatment, where psychoanalysis, at least at face value, seemed not so different
from Church ministry and pastoral care of the perturbed soul, this shift in the authority involved,
from Church to scientific specialists, could itself be disconcerting.

By the early 1920s, Cajal was living in Madrid where he was part of a professional cohort
that supported republicanism, secularism, and even anti-clericalism. He maintained a lifestyle of
austerity as far as his home and family life were concerned, and he spent both his spare time and
income on research.68 As they had since the 1890s in Barcelona, Madrid, Malaga, and major
urban centers, professionals and educated bourgeois met at tertulias. Cajal took part in these,
catching up on many topics he tended to ignore in favor of research. Politics, literature, science,
technology, and economics were popular subjects at these gatherings. In 1921, Cajal published a
series of essays titled Charlas de Café, talks over coffee, covering diverse topics related to
medicine and spirituality.69 In these essays, he discussed the physiology of the brain and soul,
rather than contend directly with the role of the divine in shaping nature. Cajal considered where
character and personality reside, whether in the soul or in the brain. If the soul alone were
immortal, this would pose problems if other components of the self were contained in the brain.
Thus, at the time of death, if the brain were left behind, humans would lose their sense of self.
He wrote, “only comprehensive immortality, that is to say, the persistence of the soul and the
body, would satisfy us completely, because it is the only kind that saves the personality, that is,
the specific reconstruction of the individual brain with its miseries and limitations, together with
the memory of our triumphs, loves, and failures.”70 Through this passage especially, we see

69 Santiago Ramón y Cajal, Charlas de Café: Pensamientos, Anécdotas y Confidencias, 187 (Espasa-Calpe
Argentina, 1944).
70 Ramón y Cajal, Charlas de Café, 83. “De todas las inmortalidades … solo la inmortalidad integral, es
decir, la persistencia del alma y del cuerpo, nos satisface plenamente, porque es la única que salva la personalidad,
esto es, la reconstrucción específica del cerebro individual con sus miserias y limitaciones, juntamente con la
memoria de nuestros triunfos, amores, y fracasos.”
clearly that Cajal’s understanding of the soul is limited to spiritual purposes and spiritual functions. According to Cajal, human consciousness and the self are contained not within the soul, but within the brain.

Cajal’s view differs from Mata’s understanding of the soul, mind, and brain. Unlike Mata, Cajal’s discussion in Charlas de Café eliminated the entity of the mind as a factor, further, Cajal did not assign physiological functions to the soul, a clear departure from Mata, who located reason within the soul at the time of editing his Tratado, a published collection of lectures given at the Ateneo Científico y Literario de Madrid, the Athenæum Scientific and Literary Society of Madrid. Indeed, Cajal was especially troubled by what he perceived to be conflicts between dogma and materialism in ways that did not seem to concern Mata’s physiology of the soul. This became clear in Cajal’s discussion of Christian bodily resurrection after death, at the time of the last judgement. On this Cajal wrote:

Despite my respect and veneration for orthodox Christianity, there are dogmas, for example, that of the resurrection of the body, that submerge me in a sea of confusion. Why regenerate a stomach that cannot digest, eyes that cannot see, ears that cannot hear, and a brain that without dynamic and sensory nourishment, cannot serve as the instrument of the mind?

Cajal conveys his frustration with the expectation that Catholics believe in something so fundamentally incompatible with science. This was just one of the conflicts he wrestled with, problems that took him farther way from not just Catholicism, but Enlightenment deism, as well. Cajal’s struggles with these apparent discrepancies between religious teaching and scientific knowledge are part of larger movements that questioned the efficacy of Catholic education and promoted public schooling. Indeed, Cajal supported educational reform and the implementation

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71 Ramón y Cajal, Charlas de Café, 87. “A pesar de mi respeto y veneration hacia la ortodoxia cristiana, hay dogmas, por ejemplo, el de la resurreccion de la carne, que me sumen en un mar de confusiones. Para que regenerar un estomago que no ha de digerir, ojos que no han de ver, oidos que no han de oir y un cerebro que, falto alimento dinamico y sensorial, no podra servir de instrumento de la mente?”
of public schools so that Spain could instruct young people from even the lowest social classes in science and culture on the level with the rest of Europe. This, he believed, would make the best use of Spain’s intellectual capacity, and would benefit the state. Yet there is some sense in this passage that the brain alone, namely its resurrection from death at the end of time, would serve no purpose without the senses or other parts of the body to interact with it. Both body and soul would need to be resurrected, in order to retain the self.

These passages from Charlas de Café suggest that in his later years, Cajal, like Mata, still assigned some purpose to the soul in defining and containing the sense of the self, even while assigning the specifics of what constituted the self to the brain. This leaves a spiritual and perhaps psychological purpose to the soul, rather than an anatomical or physiological one as Mata outlined. When it came to the brain, Cajal went even farther, assigning the self to the neurons of the brain, which would carry out this neuro-histological purpose. Human behavior owed its activity to the capabilities and characteristics of the cells themselves, a description he used as a literary device in his fictional writing, reducing humans to the nature of their cells, whether powerful, humble, or weak. This perspective strayed farther from Mata’s notions of human reason, agency, and free will. Cajal relied so heavily on biology and materialism that by eliminating the mind, what remains to house the self was a collected network of neurological cells. This notion of the self seems to diminish human agency in situations where evolutionary biology had predetermined the path of behavior. This notion of cells having agency even appeared in his medical texts, with some caveats. In one of his most famous works, Degeneration and Regeneration of the Nervous System, Cajal began with an introduction

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72 Rodríguez, Así era Cajal, 26.
73 Signs of Science: Literature, Science, and Spanish Modernity Since 1868 (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2001), 84–85.
focusing on the cell, specifically, the neuron. He introduced us to the nervous system by giving it characteristics of human agency, a practice that, as indicated by his language, Cajal understood was not acceptable in such scientific texts.\textsuperscript{74} In 1913, he wrote:

\begin{quote}
If in matters where the physico-chemical forces reign entirely, it would be permitted to use anthropomorphic expressions, we would say that the nervous system, leader and protector of the living hive, is deeply aware of its responsibility. Docile to his mandates, he immediately occupies the position of honor and danger, bravely facing the struggle with the cosmic forces and the pathogenic agents.\textsuperscript{75}
\end{quote}

While Cajal characterized the cells with human qualities, it also appears as though he made the cells the true actors determining human behavior. It is the cell that fights honorably against cosmic forces, not the individual, or his or her brain. Agency and free will come down to the cellular level, which Cajal famously noted that neurons are separate structures, exquisitely sensitive, that do not even come into contact with one another. The exact electrical and chemical means by which they communicated and acted in concert with each other would not be known until after Cajal’s lifetime. His work, which he continued while in the final months of his life, sought to understand these electrical and chemical means of transmission and communication. This materiality made it ever more difficult to pinpoint the exact location in which consciousness was no longer present in the material nervous system, but rather in the metaphorical soul.\textsuperscript{76} This differs significantly from Mata’s more abstract notion of reason as a state or power, the source of human agency and free will, a perspective that would contribute to the emerging field of psychiatry and psychology, rather than Cajal’s incipient track of neuroscience.

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\textsuperscript{74} Signs of Science, 126.
\textsuperscript{75} Santiago Ramón y Cajal, Estudios Sobre La Degeneración y Regeneración Del Sistema Nervioso, vol. 1 (Madrid: Hijos de Nicolas Moya, 1913), Introduction, I. “Si en materias en donde reinan por entero las fuerzas fisicoquímicas, fuera lícito emplear expresiones antropomórficas, diríamos que el sistema nervioso, rector y protector de la colmena viviente, tiene profunda conciencia de su responsabilidad. Dócil á sus mandatos, ocupa inmediatamente el puesto de honor y de peligro, afrontando bravamente la lucha con las fuerzas cósmicas y los agentes patógenos.”
\textsuperscript{76} Signs of Science, 127.
\end{flushleft}
Cajal softened his apparently deistic, agnostic, or even atheistic stance later in his life, after the death of his wife. She had requested a Catholic burial, and it is possible that Cajal wished for Catholic final arrangements for himself, so that he could be buried with her. It could be his pursuit of Catholic burial was simply a matter of convenience, and nothing more. But Cajal may have reassessed his position upon arriving at his eighties. It was a subject he avoided, as he explained in a letter he wrote in the final months of his life to his long-time friend the philosopher and political essayist José Ortega y Gasset. In a 1934 letter to Ortega y Gasset, Cajal thanked him for sending copies of his most recent books, part of exchanges the two men carried out for years. He mentioned Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), who both men had referenced in several letters. Cajal wrote, “No one is interested in others’ pain … nor the opinion of an old man who questions today the Christians of yesterday. Well, I do justice to the great modern developments, both in the field of science and in that of some cultural affairs. I am only annoyed by the bias encouraged by art, which works against its very essence.” This is a curious comment coming from the man at the end of his life, one which began with the desire to be an artist. He disliked modern avant-garde art for the conflict Cubism and abstract expressionism encouraged, with their fractured representations of nature. Yet his own ink drawings of nervous tissue and neuron cells may strike the untrained eye as an abstraction. For Cajal they conveyed visual truths, a mission modern art carried out through interpretation rather than lifelike representation. It could be that Cajal, who was eighty-two at the time and living in the Second Spanish Republic, felt it wise to confine his published viewpoints to science, but his interaction

77 Santiago Ramón y Cajal, “Santiago Ramón y Cajal, agradece a José Ortega y Gasset el obsequio de los libros, hace comentarios al respecto.” (Madrid, 1934), 1., Cajal Papers: 20203 19164, Instituto Cajal. “A nadie le interesa el dolor ajeno ni la admirable opinion de un anciano que enjuicia el hoy con el criterio de ayer. Bien que yo hago justicia a los grandes progresos modernos así en el campo de ciencia como en la de algunas costumbres. Solamente me enfade el sesgo tomado por el arte, que se insurrecciona contra la misma esencia.”

78 Larry W. Swanson et al., The Beautiful Brain: The Drawings of Santiago Ramón y Cajal (Abrams, 2017), 28.
with Ortega y Gasset indicates that he continued to engage critically with matters of religion, science, and art, despite his lack of published works on these subjects toward the end of his life. With his decision to pursue the soul as an anatomical structure, Mata also varied his position regarding the role of the soul in medicine over the course of his career. These are the viewpoints of two individual men with different life experiences, reared in dissimilar regions of Spain, who had access to distinctive medical knowledge to shape their views of the self. However, they are worth comparing in this manner because of their impact upon psychiatry and neuroscience. Each of these fields would define and provide medical care for the self in different ways, as part of the legacy of these scientists. These two men both worked in Barcelona at different times, and also in Madrid, navigating the elite educational institutions of the two capitals. They reflect, and even shape, the perspectives of their respective times, the late romantic period for Mata, and the fin-de-siècle and early decades of the twentieth century, for Cajal.

6.12 Material and Immaterial: Neurocentrism and Psychoanalytic Theory in the Fin-de-Siècle

The shift toward granting neurons agency has even farther-reaching implications for the utility of psychological therapeutic practices. The most notable of these is the “talking cure” or psychoanalytic practice pioneered in Vienna during the 1890s by Sigmund Freud (1856-1939). Cajal had taken an interest in hypnosis, or Mesmerism as it was still sometimes called, during his early career in Valencia. Like Mata, he evaluated and sometimes agreed with practices and approaches that would later be rejected from the field of medicine as pseudoscience. Similarly, Cajal evaluated, and later came to disagree with Freud’s dream interpretation theory, and components of Freud’s psychoanalytic theory of personality development. Instead, Cajal explained dreams in terms of the affected regions of the brain and the physiological cause of the
images that are produced on the cellular level. Intriguingly, he also kept a journal from 1918 to
the time of his death in 1934, in which he made note of his dreams. Over one hundred of these
dreams have been published in an edited collection. The formatting and layout of the work
itself seems to reinforce Cajal’s notions on the subjectivity of dream interpretation since the
dream account manuscripts appear separately at the end of the printed book so that the reader
may experience them without the influence of the editors’ comments and interpretations, if
desired. In one of his first recorded dreams, from May 1918, he disputes Freud’s claims of
dreams serving as conveyors of repressed desires. He recorded a dream in which he left a
diplomatic soiree and his pants fell down, which he relates with the text “¿Es deseo?” This
translates, “Is this a desire?” In the same section of his journal, he recorded a dream in which he
was drowning while holding one of his young daughters, and wakes from the nightmare as he
manages to grip a wall, perhaps one he touched on an earlier trip to Santander. The implication
in this example is that this is not a desire, either. These personal dreams that begin the journal
are followed by dreams of lecturing to a class or giving talks among colleagues.

Perhaps the most notable of these dream journal entries deals with the nature of humanity
and is dated December 12, 1926. As with many other dreams, it began with Cajal ending a
lecture on some philosophical topic. Then, before his group, he took on an authoritarian tone and
argued vehemently that the theories of the individuality of humans were nothing more than una
illusion, an illusion, and that there were only four types of humans. The first of these is the
“hombre ganga” made up of connective tissue, bone, and intracellular tissue that served as the
façade and content of the building. The second human was the “hombre glandular y simpatico,”

80 Rallo Romero, Martí Felipo, and Jiménez Arriero, 368.
who was made of organs and lymph nodes that exuded fluids and were subject to emotions and synesthesa. The third man, “hombre nemónico y consciente” was cerebral, consisting of the nervous system and serving as the repository of sensory information and memory. He was reflective and intuitive, and also self-critical, with a strong sense of the self and consciousness and “yo” meaning “I.” A self-critical “I” that seems to run narration through the dream, like a voice-over that directs the action, told Cajal to wake up. The dream account ends here, before the fourth type of man is explained, unless we presume that the fourth type of man is the voice-over that directs the conscious self.81 This dream account is suggestive of Cajal’s struggles with Freud’s psychoanalytic theory of personality development, including the tripartite id, ego, and superego, published in 1923. While Cajal rejected the notion of repressed desires from the id revealed in these dream accounts, these entries suggest a struggle or at least the potential for one owed to the hierarchical relationship between the ego and voice-over from the superego. It also indicates a shift from materiality and basic anatomy of bones and lymphatic structures to advanced physiology and intangible, perhaps invisible functions of different parts of the body or brain, regulating things like emotions and synesthesa, and finally ending in the self, which appears fractured into consciousness and somewhat external self-critic, not unlike the ego mediating between id and superego. It was this intangible functionality that seemed to trouble Cajal the histologist, the most.

Yet when it came to neurons, Cajal freely ascribed similarly intangible functions and agency to them, without the kind of struggle he faced with Freud’s theory. Cajal’s skeptical approach to psychoanalysis arose from its inherent conflict with his understanding of neurons as the center of human decision making and agency. This is even more notable considering that

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81 Rallo Romero, Martí Felipo, and Jiménez Arriero, 377–78.
Freud’s earliest published works (1884-1878) were histological studies of nervous tissues. It was these works by Freud that Cajal cited in his French edition of Histologie in 1909, expressing agreement with Freud on matters related to tissue-staining techniques, the fibrous nature of nervous tissues, distinguishing between white and gray matter, and Freud’s discovery of intramedullary neuron cells. At the heart of neurocentrism is this focus on the neurons, the physical nerve cells that made up the brain and nervous system, and their biochemical systems, to the exclusion of any other more philosophical notions of mind, conscience, or soul. In a manner that recalls Mata’s work in legal medicine, which defined madness as a lack of reason and the ability to discern right from wrong due to no fault of the patient, neurocentrism can resolve matters of culpability and judgement based on cellular physiology, by assessing whether the cells were operating normally. This is a tidy explanation that still rouses polemical discussion to date, as matters of consciousness and agency continue to elude humankind. Mata struggled with his inability to “read” the brain, even as he held the organ in his hand. As much as Cajal, and scientists in the field of neuroscience he pioneered, have done to examine the brain and its biochemical processes like neurotransmitters and their functions, these metaphysical problems persist, and humankind continues to work through numerous fields of inquiry in science and medicine, in attempts to study their own brains, and the nature of the self.


83 Ramón y Cajal, Histologie du Système Nerveux de l’Homme & des Vertébrés, On stains and Golgi 26, 558; fibrous nature of nervous tissue 368, 455; white and gray matter 561; intra-medullary neuron cells 566.

6.13 Neuronas Ilustradas, the Enlightened Illustrated Neurons

Then and now, what distinguishes Cajal’s works at a glance are his extensive, detailed illustrations, which map out the cellular structures of the tissues he studied. Most of these are managed by the Cajal Institute in Madrid, a neuroscience research center that was founded by Cajal himself. The institute has moved several times and is now part of a larger government-administered council for science, but it still contains Cajal’s artwork, personal library, papers, and his furniture arranged so as to recreate his laboratory. Collections of drawings are loaned out periodically as traveling exhibits, but there is something to be said for the Cajal Institute’s vignette, allowing visitors to view these small sheets of yellowed paper, covered in finely detailed ink drawings, resting on Cajal’s old wooden desktop beside glass bottles and jars that once held the chemicals that made up the Golgi stain. Cajal’s rebellious behavior and secular approach to nature contributed to his career, but the most formative of his youthful experiences was his interaction with his father regarding his interest in art. Cajal described his father, who had worked to put himself and Cajal through medical school, as having a severely ascetic academic lifestyle with no patience for pursuits as frivolous as art or ornamentation. Tired of confiscating his son’s pencils and paper, Cajal’s father paid a visit to a local art critic, who was devastating in his assessment. With no hope of making a living with art, there was no point in continuing, and the pastime was forbidden. Of course, this only sharpened Cajal’s interest, and he continued sketching.85 This turned out to be fortunate later in his career, since his artistic ability allowed him to draw what he saw in his microscope in a way that set him apart, earning the attention of his contemporaries in Spain, and the scientific elite abroad he wished to impress.

85 Ramón y Cajal, Mi Infancia y Juventud, 40, 44.
In 1888, as Barcelona’s Parc de la Ciutadella hosted the Universal Exposition, Cajal entered into a frenzy of work just a few blocks away at his home laboratory and at the Royal College of Medicine and Surgery. He concerned himself with divisions, of central and autonomic nervous systems, of the different parts of the brain, and of neurons and whether they were enmeshed together, or separate.\textsuperscript{86} Camillo Golgi had pioneered a method of dying the various tissues of the nervous system for study. Cajal built upon this method, improving it, and in May of 1888 as the fair was inaugurated, the self-published journal of histology he sent abroad contained the results of the most productive period of his career.\textsuperscript{87} Even as Europe and the U.S. sent their most elite technical and industrial leaders to interact with each other in Barcelona for the fair, Cajal sent his work outside of the city and country. He then began work on embryonic neurological tissues, writing of his work on avian, dog, and cat tissues in papers that would lead him to ultimately disprove Golgi. The older reticular theory Golgi championed featured an interconnected mesh-like network of neuron cells connected throughout tissues. The divided, individual cells Cajal was able to see, understand, and draw for others formed the basis of his Neuron Doctrine.

Cajal looked both forward and backward simultaneously, as he relied on drawings while embracing modern photographic methods. His biological drawings made during this period of Spanish introspection and reflection upon the American colonial situation recall the age of Jesuit scientific inquiry in the early colonial and early modern era. The findings of these botanical studies linger thanks to the many technical illustrations made during the period. Cajal’s drawings follow in this long Iberian tradition of scientific inquiry and faithful artistic rendering. Cajal


\textsuperscript{87} Cannon, 136–37.
preferred his photographic portrait show him in the laboratory, before his microscope, and the literature supports this crafting of the professional scientific persona, at his behest. Rather than rely on a photographer for his portraiture, he took self-portraits using his own tripod and a timer or cable-release bulb to actuate the shutter. Yet despite this modern use of photography to depict himself, when it came time to disseminate his work, Cajal still relied on the early modern tools of scientific communication: paper and ink. Cajal brought together early modern micrografia, boosting its visual power with his skill in microscopy and ink, with modern photographic methods. Still, the photographs were there for the purpose of documenting himself as scientist through self-portraiture, not for publishing his findings. In his person, he merged early modern scientific methods with concerns of the modern era, with his rise from traditional society’s provincial poverty to the growing professional urban upper middle-class that was active in bringing modernity to the Spanish fin-de-siècle.

6.14 Mata, Cajal, and the Immateriality of the Modern Self

Mata and Cajal took separate tracks toward understanding human anatomy, the self, consciousness, and agency. Both were products of Spanish nineteenth-century schooling and religious instruction, which impressed upon them a certain interest in the soul. Each debated and struggled with matters of faith, science, and reason within a state that did little to foster their work. But the two medical doctors, who devoted their careers to lines of work that did not involve clinical duties treating patients, took different approaches to the self, one rooted in the material cells of the brain, the other in the metaphysical presence of the mind and soul. As it was understood in the increasingly secular fin-de-siècle, which was nonetheless taken with religion,

89 For more on Cajal’s visual legacy, see Susan Larson and Eva Woods Peiró, Visualizing Spanish Modernity (Oxford: Berg, 2005); Schaefer, Lens, Laboratory, Landscape.
the self should reside somewhere other than the soul. Yet even Cajal, the premier navigator of
the human brain at the time, took another look back at the soul in his final years, after a lifelong
fight to place the self within the materiality of the neurons he studied.

For Mata, reason, free will, and judgement were the qualities that distinguished the sane
from the mentally ill. Reason was what distinguished humans from beasts, and it lay at the heart
of his understanding of the self. Despite his lengthy field manuals for differentiating states of
madness and reason, these were mere measurements of outward manifestations of the internal
self, housed in the soul. Mata conceived of the function of the soul in a manner that was more
rhetorical than anatomical. He could argue for its existence in the tradition of the medieval
scholastics, describing its physiology based on deduction, syllogism, or *a priori* statements rather
than empirical laboratory findings. This is curious since he seemed to have turned to the soul and
the mind as the locus of the self because the knowledge of his time failed to allow him to make
sense empirically of the brain or nervous tissue. Perhaps the study of the soul could be held to a
different standard, and if that was the case, housing the self within it provided a neat solution to
the old Cartesian mind-body problem. Psychology, even more than the field of psychiatry that
Mata helped pioneer, concerned itself with the immaterial, something Cajal, in his career as a
histologist, a specialized form of anatomist, resisted. Yet this metaphysical component is still the
subject matter of psychology and psychiatry as these fields are understood at present. While they
are indeed connected with the physical and with human anatomy and physiology, it is still
acceptable to speak of the self, consciousness, and the mind as if these intangible things were as
physical as the liver or spleen.

In a life so rich with achievement and detail, one minor point is worth noting about
Cajal’s training. Upon his return to Spain from war and grave illness in Cuba in 1875, he
The hospital’s current address is 68 c/ Ramón y Cajal, where it serves as an addiction treatment center. During the early decades of the nineteenth century, this hospital in Zaragoza was one of few places in Spain that ministered to the mad, whether through the Catholic church or patronage from local wealthy families. This tradition of service dates back to its founding in 1425. Alcoholism and mental illness were key concerns for Mata, who after all had argued that those suffering from these ailments should be treated medically, rather than face the usual consequence of incarceration. This happened with an increasing frequency that troubled Mata, as state support for Church charitable works dwindled under liberal policies he supported. Whether in Zaragoza, the Royal College of Medicine in Barcelona, or the Faculty of Medicine in Madrid, Cajal labored within some of the same spaces Mata had occupied. And while he wrote of the self and the soul, his primary concern was clearly material cells. With productivity that has been described as an “obsessive-compulsive proclivity,” neurons were what he kept his eyes on through his microscope, and what he wrote of and drew when he put pen to paper. Cajal’s concern with the cellular level of human agency was well ahead of the science of his time, posing ethical dilemmas that he rightly made into the stuff of frightening science fiction.

Cajal is referred to as the father of neuroscience, a field that still struggles with Mata’s area of interest, human reason and its role in judgement and criminal culpability. As imaging technologies have improved, they seem to generate more debate and concern over dysfunction on the cellular level in which Cajal dealt, particularly when it comes to matters of human agency. So

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91 Zaragoza is sometimes also spelled Saragossa.
much of human reason, judgement, and behavior may be dependent upon cells and neurotransmitters graced with human agency as to strip that self-determination from the individual. This has captivating implications in terms of impulse control and recovery for those suffering from addiction. The debate has brought back talk of the mind-body problem, as even titles of articles such as “Distinguishing Brain from Mind” directly refer to the mind as a discrete entity separate from the brain. Agency is at the heart of this discussion, which further compartmentalizes the psychological component of addiction, attributing it to the mind, claiming that “it is the minds of addicts that contain the stories of how addiction happens, why they continue to use, and, if they decide to stop, how they manage. The answers can't be divined from an examination of his brain, no matter how sophisticated the probe.” Even as this new imaging capability allows humankind to study itself with unprecedented clarity the likes of which Cajal and Mata could only dream of, as was the case with these two physicians, other specialists in the field are reticent about accepting not just what the images show, but what they do not show. Though the mind appears nowhere on these scans, specialists insist that “While the scans are dazzling and the technology an unqualified marvel, we can always keep our bearings by remembering that the brain and the mind are two different frameworks.” However, even at present, imaging has yet to locate the mind. It is easy to imagine Cajal’s colleagues making similar statements about the mind and soul, in his own day. Recently published works tend to dispute rather than agree with neurocentrism, examining free will and consciousness through popular culture and classics of philosophy, rather than studies of the brain.

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94 Satel.
95 Gabriel, I Am Not a Brain.
The neurocentric model initiated a shift away from the soul or an immaterial mind toward the brain. This is a dramatic change that is far from complete, and it remains unclear whether it will be, as most paradigm shifts must seem while science and society adapt to the shock. If heliocentrism took humankind out of the center of the universe and left the sun there instead, then neurocentrism takes the soul and even the mind out of the body, leaving only neurons, neurotransmitters, and electrical pulses behind. The present discussion of neurocentrism regards this theory as if it were new, dating back only to 2003, at the earliest. Yet back in 1889 when Cajal first published Textura and again in 1921 in Charlas de Café, he wrote of neurons as having agency, making them responsible for human behavior. This motivated him to reveal their structure and processes, research that would become his life’s work. Still, at present, debate rages as to whether the brain, or more specifically its cells, hold responsibility for such things as addiction or violent behavior. In much the same way that Mata argued controversially for decriminalization of the insane based on their lack of ability to reason, so malfunctioning neurons, misfiring electrical signals, and neurotransmitters are now being blamed for socially unacceptable human behaviors. As more of the brain’s anatomy and physiology is known, it seems the neuron is too small, too inscrutable to contain the essence of the self. Empathy is absent in the arguments of those who like Menendez Pelayo, view this talk of neurotransmitter failures as a way to get the guilty “off the hook.” Those who argue against neurocentrism look outside of the cells for humanity and reason. Like Mata, they look to psychiatric and psychological treatments for unwell individuals who may have perfectly healthy neuron cells, at least, as far as medical science can see at the time. As more is seen and less remains unseen, these fields may again shift. Talk of the mind may become as metaphorical and poetic as celestial firmament. The success of these fields Mata supported in Spain served to underscore the
power of the mind to such an extent that the language surrounding this problem seems trite. Still, if those working with cutting-edge imaging technologies agree that reason and the self are absent from biological structures, then the old Cartesian mind-body problem Mata and so many others have struggled with is far from solved.
6.15 Figures

Fig. 6.1 *Cajal’s Microscope*
Microscope of Santiago Ramón y Cajal, Legado Cajal. From the Instituto Cajal, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC) in Madrid. Photos by the author.
Fig. 6.2 Sala Gimbernat, Ceiling
Sala Gimbernat, Reial Acadèmia de Medicina de Catalunya. Ceiling honoring Pere Mata and Santiago Ramon y Cajal,
Fig. 6.3 Sala Gimbernet, Dissection Table
Sala Gimbernat, Reial Acadèmia de Medicina de Catalunya. Dissection table located on the floor of the anatomical theater.
7 CONCLUSION

In his collection of essays on fin-de-siècle Vienna, Carl Schorske opened with a discussion of what it means to be modern. For the historian, the term signaled something that was not of the classical period, not from antiquity. Things had emerged “out of the past” or even “against the past.” However, this usage changed around 1900, and something that was modern came to mean it was independent from the past. The Viennese intellectual elites Schorske discussed seemed to declare their independence from their nineteenth-century past. This Viennese cohort was a cohesive elite who met in the salon and the café.¹ This was also the case with the historical figures from Spain who met in cafés and tertulias as discussed in the preceding chapters. Members of the Spanish elite wrote of cataclysmic rupture with the past, boldly calling for the new and modern, yet they did so while reaching into an even older past. This tendency toward moving forward while looking backward recalls the work of Matt Matsuda, who described nineteenth-century France in terms of the “Janus Face” of modernity, which faced backward and forward at once.² Matsuda discussed memory in terms of groups and the way they perceived their own identity, which tended to prevent historical events from standing alone, instead casting them as recurring events that needed to be re-memorialized. This notion seems to make it impossible to leave the past behind, move forward, and be modern, yet both memory and rupture marked the way Spanish, and notably Catalan intellectual elites operated in the fin-de-siècle.

These exercises in perception of the past and conceptualization of the future are intimately linked to notions of time. In his work on the cultural effects of fin-de-siècle

technologies, Stephen Kern noted that both time and space are universal to the human condition, although they are experienced and understood differently. Kern also observed particular behaviors when people found themselves out of phase with the flow of time, focusing too closely on the past, present, or future to the exclusion of all others. Kern’s concept of time and Matsuda’s notions of memory can be applied to much of the work of intellectual elites in the Spanish fin-de-siècle. Chief among these is the Catalan preoccupation with reviving aspects of the past even as local elites made and carried out ambitious plans for what they conceived would be a bright future. These ideas also speak to the anxieties that arose outside of Catalunya regarding the end of the Spanish empire, the unstable nature of the monarchy, and the failure of republicanism that all seemed to present the future as something unknowable at best, and most commonly described as disastrous. These disparate responses arose in response to this time of great change.

Kern noted that in works of cultural history, an arrow of causation tends to run from technology to culture. However, he specified that this was not always the case, citing Picasso’s cubism and its role in the development of camouflage as a model of his research method. According to Kern, technology, understood as applied science, fundamentally changed the way humans perceived the passage of time. Official time kept by states according to clocks and legally-enforced time zones replaced nature’s perception of time with socially-ordered quantification. Transport forever changed the perception of time and what Kern terms “lived distance” as railroad cars hurried past the miles that would have been subject to scrutiny on foot or by horse-drawn coach. Such fundamental changes in the perception of time and space formed

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4 Kern, xxvi.
5 Kern, xi–xii.
a disconnect between the way people were and the way they would need to be if they were to adapt to the new circumstances prompted by these technological changes. This was something urban planner Ildefons Cerdà understood. For places like Austria-Hungary, the mass and inertia of the empire made something as fundamental as placing a phone call a difficult task, as the titles and niceties between dignitaries ran out the time limits of early long-distance calls. If this technology so fundamentally changed the perception of people living in these rapidly evolving societies, then it stands to reason that their political situations would also necessarily change. This poses a kind of paradox, though, since technology can certainly change human perception, leading to political change. However, political change also drives changes in science, in economic factors, and in the social order. This raises the question of whether science is the engine of change for politics, or whether political changes drive changes in science and other intellectual or cultural fields.

Lluís Domènech i Montaner, architect and mathematician, wrote about the advent of republicanism in Spain, and how despite the failure of the short-lived First Spanish Republic, a new organizing principle must direct and drive the architecture of Catalunya into a modern national style. With its new uses of structural steel, forming skeletal frameworks with a skin-like decorative layer of brickwork and ceramics on display, this style would become Catalan Modernisme. For Domenech the matter was clearly one of politics driving cultural and technological change. Pere Mata, physician and legal medicine expert, argued for the decriminalization of madness and the humane treatment of mental and other types of illness. He was also motivated by the rise of liberal politics in Spain, aiming to care for the ill in ways previously administered by the Catholic church. He shaped science to fit the changing political realities as he saw them, chiefly by pathologizing the social problem of madness and advocating
for its decriminalization. This allowed medicine to fulfil the civic duties of a society to care for its own members in their hour of need. Political changes may have been the proximate cause of the rupture for these two pioneers of the Catalan romantic revival, but it is unclear what caused these political changes to unfold precisely when they did. Catalunya had wished for autonomy from Spain since at least 1714 when the Bourbon dynasty replaced the Habsburgs, ending centuries of loose confederations of regions with attempts to consolidate a unified Spanish state under a singular Spanish identity. This policy chafed the Catalans, without a doubt, but it was economic change that allowed any real hope for autonomy in the nineteenth century. This came, in large part, as a result of industrialization, which was entangled with technology.

The preceding chapters are about these questions of causation and engines of change. Even something as purely scientific as the act of viewing a neuron through a microscope is laden with the social, political, and even artistic implications of the day. Santiago Ramon y Cajal was well received, his findings accessible and approachable in large part due to the detailed ink and paper drawings he produced of what he saw in his microscope. This is more like producing a painted portrait of the neuron than taking a photograph, since Cajal’s knowledge informed what his eye perceived and what his hand produced. His anthropomorphic textual description of neurons, with agency like that of individual humans makes these images even more meaningful. This process recalled the youthful Cajal who wanted to be an artist, and later in life used this skill as a scientist. He drew his histological findings by hand despite his interest in photography, which is evident given his habit of self-portraiture. Many of his photographs survive, and in these he has deliberately photographed himself with his microscope in his laboratory. In this way, he cultivated his persona as the lab-coated scientist. Still, his neurons merited drawings.

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The individuality of the cells he drew, with all their complexity, recall the human individual, a single being yet part of the larger organism of the social order. He presented these drawings and doctrines at a time when enlightenment political thought gripped Spain. This was a time of expanded enfranchisement and engagement with the state, a time when the individual was both atomized and part of a larger political public.

The figures discussed here struggled with the passage of time, memory, and what they viewed to be the engines of change. Sometimes their approaches seem contradictory. Catalan identity emerged as a nationalist movement connected with improving economic conditions for the region as industrialization benefited its key city, Barcelona. Its sense of cultural identity was on the rise, and it was breaking free from the Spanish imperial order, embracing its profitable industrial technologies and newly urbanized landscape in time for the Exposición Universal of 1888. The fair offered a welcome end to the oppression of Bourbon statecraft and Castilian nationalism, presenting a glimpse of modernity the city welcomed. By contrast, the writers of the Generation of '98 offered social criticism in response to the loss of the proud Spanish imperial past centered on Madrid in Castile. These intellectuals, most of them not from Madrid, identified the capital as the heart of both the modern state and the golden age past. With their concerns of degeneration, moral failure, and other social critiques, these writers who identified with Madrid seemed to have longed for a return to a previous grand past. In fact, this was not the case. While technological and economic prowess was certainly on the rise in Barcelona, outpacing Madrid, when it came time to search for identity, Catalans reached deeply into their past, a time that was, in fact, much older than the imperial days of Castilian grandeur since they recalled Islamic architectural styles, the County of Barcelona with its Italian-style city-state civic organization, and the Crown of Aragon, under a series of monarchs recalled with benevolence, if not
reverence. Jaume I was the most notable, and a nineteenth-century plaza and twentieth-century Metro station are named for him. The crafts movement recalled medieval guilds, and the revival of medieval heraldic symbols, neo-gothic architecture, and republican civic values indicate that Barcelona was very much centered on its own past, in fact, an even older past that the one Madrid recalled. The literary movement La Renaixença was inspired by this revival of the past, reflected in its references to epic poetry like Tirant lo Blanch and the gothic style decorative illustrations that adorned the mastheads of publications like La Renaixensa. Catalans attempted to revive a lost past they felt they had been deprived of by the early Bourbon monarchy’s efforts at Spanish statecraft. Nineteenth-century revivals mirrored eighteenth-century prohibitions on the use of the Catalan language, including literary contests like the medieval Jocs Florals, and cultural forms like the traditional dance, La Sardana.

If anything, Madrid was left with little option but to look forward precisely because it had been allowed to enjoy its past and define its own identity around Catholic empire, and it had failed. After 1898, modernity was difficult and painful to face, as it meant letting go of the familiarity of empire that had guided Spain’s trajectory and shaped its identity since the sixteenth century. There was no lost past to cling to, unless they searched back to military victories the pre-dated the Atlantic empire. These included the expulsion of Islamic kingdoms from what was once Al-Andalus in the south, and the union of the Kingdom of Castilla-Leon with the Crown of Aragon. Some of these motifs made their way into fine art serving up a sense of nostalgia that was not useful for Madrid, Castile, or Spain’s encounter with the future. Sixteenth-century monuments referencing 1492 were usually not placed in honor of Columbus. Instead, these markers refer to the Spanish military victory over the Emirate of Granada that year. In was in the late nineteenth century that the most prominent monuments to Columbus were commissioned.
For both the 1888 Barcelona Exposition and the 1893 Exposición Hispano-Americana in Madrid, the question of Columbus’ role and relevance surfaced. Particularly for the Madrid fair, with its American theme, the planners could have been more positive and chosen to celebrate the deep and lasting influence of Spanish culture and language during those four centuries, when it reshaped enormous swaths of the global population in ways that can hardly be understated. Or, they might have chosen to commemorate the consolidation of peninsular Spain and Catholic religious exclusivity with the capitulation of Granada, an Iberian territory still firmly under Spanish control in 1892. Instead, the many archeologists on the planning commission evoked nostalgia and loss.

These instances of medieval revival were sometimes productive, providing more than just nostalgia or divisive nationalism. The memory of fifteenth-century mental asylums served as a point of pride and an inspiration to improve the state of nineteenth-century psychiatric care and other social problems in Spain following the collapse of church works or obras pias under the process of disentail of land. Valencia’s psychiatric hospital, remembered as the first such facility founded in Europe, had earned a reputation for humanitarian care from its opening in 1410, until a fire in 1545 prompted Our Lady of Grace in Zaragoza to lead care in Spain and much of Europe. Even as late as the eighteenth century, Spanish psychiatric facilities in Zaragoza had impressed Philippe Pinel. Initiated by the destruction wrought by invading French forces in 1808, the progressive liberal political program encouraged, as an unintended consequence, the collapse of charitable benefices. Pere Mata, who was exiled briefly from Spain for his liberal writings, attempted to correct this problem with treatises outlining ideal mental facilities. Yet these existed only on paper. It was not until the Catalan bourgeois cohort of his home town of Reus accumulated the capital, and the desire for recognition for fulfilling their civic duties, that
the project became a reality, in all of its modernist splendor. Politics appears to drive the progress of science in this case, yet economic change, enabled by liberal political policies, was the most proximate cause to the ultimate outcome. In both regards, the theoretical and the practical, the construction of the Reus asylum is a reflection of liberal values and the attempt of this local political, social, intellectual, and artistic elite to correct the shortcomings of the state apparatus when it came to humanitarian concerns. Political economy was entangled with science, and liberalism appears to have driven scientific change, in this case. Still, this was a modestly-sized facility in a town that, however wealthy or important to the region, was not of national or continental significance.

Spanish science, in general, tended to be cast as peripheral, replicating that of Paris or London. This was most apparent in the case of the 1888 Exposition, as Barcelona received critical press for prestigious foreign exhibitors who did not show, and for lowbrow entertainments that did manage to exhibit. Some of the more sensational displays in Barcelona were also present in the more famous fairs, so this criticism is perhaps overstated. Some of these notorious exhibitors were from Italy and France, and not a product of local science. As the allocated floor space in square meters indicates, organizers planned on hosting scientific conferences and promoting scientific education. However, the crowd-pleasing spectacles, and their admissions fees, were given space, as well. Regardless, in retrospect we know that Cajal’s most famous work on the Neuron Doctrine was not featured at the Exposition, where the Spanish scientific establishment had gathered. Even though the research was conducted in Barcelona, mere blocks from the park that hosted the fair, Cajal looked to Germany for an audience. While political expression and economic progress drove the display of technology at the Exposition, the
production of scientific knowledge, in the case of Cajal, arose outside of the Spanish
technological and scientific establishment.

Despite criticism of the exposition, the modernization of the city under the Cerdà Plan
was a success story, but only in hindsight. This urbanization project presented a series of
political, scientific, economic, and artistic acts. Elites in these fields brought together the locally-
administered contest for deciding on the expansion plan, which was, in true political fashion,
overridden by authorities in Madrid. Cerdà, who is recalled as the father of urbanization, was
somewhat of a socialist, studying the amount of air and sunshine each person required, while
mapping out distances to markets, schools, and places of employment for members of all classes.
Within decades of this change, the elite bourgeoisie chose to remake several of the city’s façades
in what are some of Barcelona’s most iconic modernist structures, which nonetheless serve to
undo some of the egalitarian goals of the expansion plan. Art, whether produced for interior
accent or publicity posters, reflected new tastes and new pastimes as mass production brought
down the price of luxuries so that all but the humblest urban dwellers could partake of these fin-
de-siècle indulgences.

These political, social, economic, cultural, and scientific factors affected the most
intimate ways humankind regarded itself. The way the body and its components work, the nature
of consciousness, and the understanding of the self were at stake in fin-de-siècle Spain, evident
in such mundane things as newspapers, advertising posters, and interior décor, and in such
celebrated places as historical monuments in parks, and amusements at the world’s fair. The
changing concept of the self appeared in medical tracts that were inscrutable to much of the
illiterate or poorly educated population. Mata wrote of the soul in ways that conflicted with his
otherwise empirical medical approach as an anatomist. He engaged in deductive argumentative
exercises so that he could justify the existence of the soul despite his failure to locate its physical presence in the body. For this, he was criticized. Yet, a similar deductive model held true in cases of psychiatric maladies, as obviously mentally ill patients failed to present physical signs of pathology in their brain tissue. He was unable to “read” nervous tissue and define its parameters. Cajal’s work picked up on this lead, addressing the brain tissues themselves and attempting to understand how they work, what they do, and what they cannot do. Yet Cajal also struggled with matters of the soul, despite granting agency to neurons and seeming to make them responsible for the actions of humankind. This turning away from the soul and the mind to the brain remains a contentious field. If Mata aimed specifically to end the incarceration of the mad, ending the criminalization of the mentally ill, Cajal did not specifically write to exonerate addicts or sociopaths for carrying out what their neurons decided for them. Both of these men of science, politics, and Spanish society struggled with notions of free will. These are ideas laden with post-Enlightenment political concepts of the individual, freedom, responsibility, social order, and ethical concerns that Cajal entertained in his works of fiction. He wrote of these matters precisely because he knew the revelations of science and medicine had the power to reshape human interactions, and not always for the better. Some of these enlightenment ideas were also present in the Catholic theology that was still deeply ingrained in Spanish thought, but these could easily fall through the cracks as secularism took hold. Even Cajal, who with his artist’s hand stood on the cutting edge of medicine, indeed pioneering his field of neuroscience, disliked avant-garde art. Cajal criticized this modern artistic movement, which as Schorske later asserted, sought to exist independent of its nineteenth-century past. His neurons offered a bold new understanding of the self, but they were also rooted in the past. The Castilian-language term for “enlightened” is
“ilustrado,” which also means illustrated or drawn. The neurons Cajal unleashed onto the modern world are both.
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