ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR
KUNSTGESCHICHTE

Sonderdruck
Heft 4 · 2009

Deutscher Kunstverlag Berlin München

Tara Zanardi

From Melancholy Pleasure to National Mourning: *Ruinas de Zaragoza* and the Invention of the Modern Ruin*

While smoke billows in the distance, a lone figure with a shovel stands in a rounded archway cast in deep shadow (fig. 1). In the foreground lie architectural remains, partially illuminated. Dramatic contrasts in lights and darks and the solitude of the single figure amidst the expanse of sky and architecture suggest an artfully constructed composition and a romantically-inspired sentiment. Both the title, *Vista de la yglesia del convento de S. José*, and the monumentality given to the buildings in comparison to the individual, seem reminiscent of Grand Tour imagery in which men and women are often inserted for scale and local color in relation to famous antique structures. The debris and the rising smoke, however, evidence a recent battle during the Spanish War of Independence (1808–14). Newly made by a modern war, these ruins were not created by centuries of inclement weather and the natural process of erosion. In fact, there is nothing really ›natural‹ at all about these ruins caused by explosives or artillery.

Vista de la yglesia del convento de S. José is one print from a series titled *Ruinas de Zaragoza* (1808–14) by Fernando Brambila (1763–1834) and Juan Gálvez (1774–1847). Although less recognized than Francisco de Goya's (1746–1828) *Los Desastres de la Guerra: Fatales consecuencias de la sangrienta guerra de España*, both represent the two most significant artistic print series that visualize the Spanish war against Napoleon. Because of the artists' relative unknown status outside the field, Brambila's and Gálvez's prints have been essentially overshadowed by Goya's more subversive *Desastres*. Generally *Ruinas de Zaragoza* has received passing mention in scholarship regarding Spanish printmaking or war-related imagery, but has not undergone sustained analysis. Composed and published at a critical period in European history, this series participated in a novel approach to the ruin category and, therefore, merits more critical evaluation. The artists reinvented the ruin genre by borrowing from eighteenth-century modes of representation and aesthetic categories and combined them with a highly politicized subject – new ruins fashioned by a modern war. While spectators in the 1700s observed ruined structures and monuments with a melancholic longing for the past, Brambila and Gálvez hoped viewers of the Spanish ruins would mourn the loss of Zaragoza's citizens and cultural patrimony. Ultimately, the artists legitimize contemporary ruins as a viable subject matter and use these prints to protest the horrors of war.

As a celebrated court artist and a native of Aragón, Goya was summoned by Captain-General José Palafox y Melzi (1776–1847) in 1808 to ›document‹ Zaragoza's war damage. The Captain-General then called for two members of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (hereafter, RASF), Brambila and Gálvez. Brambila was made a court artist and architect in 1799 by Charles IV and would later serve as the director of the academy's perspective studies. Gálvez taught in the drawing department, and under Fernando VII he became head of the painting department and a court artist. All three artists held prestigious posts in Madrid, making them natural choices for Palafox and his desire to

* I would like to thank the Historians of Eighteenth-Century Art and Architecture for the Travel and Research Subvention for Recent Ph.Ds. This grant assisted me with my research efforts at Harvard University's Fine Art's Library during the summer of 2004. Thanks also to Christopher M. S. Johns, Andrew Schulz, Sara Butler, and the readers of the *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* for their insightful suggestions and editorial comments.

have Zaragoza's ruined state recorded. Prior to answering Palafox's plea, both Brambila and Gálvez had collaborated with Luis Yappelli in the decoration of the Escorial in the 1790s.[1] Brambila, a Milanese artist residing in Madrid, had traveled with his Italian compatriot Alessandro Malaspina (1754–1809) on one of the most significant Spanish expeditions of the century.[2] From 1789–94 the celebrated explorer visited the majority of the Spanish colonies bordering the Pacific Ocean.[3] Contracted in 1791 for his expertise in depicting townscapes, Brambila's *View of Lima from Environs to the Bullring* is a characteristic example of his colonial activities.[4] In comparison, Gálvez had a traditional artistic development at the RASF in Madrid. As a student he won several notable prizes and quickly advanced through the academic system. Both artists also received the title of *Pintor de Cámara* from Fernando VII for their artistic endeavors during the war.[5] The contribution of each artist is a subject of debate, and Claudette Derozier has argued that Brambila was responsible for the views and ruins, while Gálvez produced the portraits and battles.[6] As an Italian artist who specialized in views and taught perspective, Brambila would have been deeply familiar with the eighteenth-century masters of ruin imagery. Regardless of each artist's expertise, both Brambila and Gálvez journeyed to Zaragoza in the summer of 1808. Their various adventures were later published as a memoir, *Pequeña memoria de las circunstancias que ocurrieron para egecutar la obra de las estampas del primer sitio de Zaragoza*, in 1832. During their travels they suffered arrests and other inconveniences, and after returning to Madrid they began working on the plates. Once the French discovered the purpose and subject of their series, the two fled the capital to the southern city Cádiz.[7] During the war Cádiz represented a vital, liberal stronghold that sought to solidify strength for a Spanish constitution to be instated once the monarchy returned. This site provided potentially influential sentiments in the *Ruinas*, which first saw publication there.

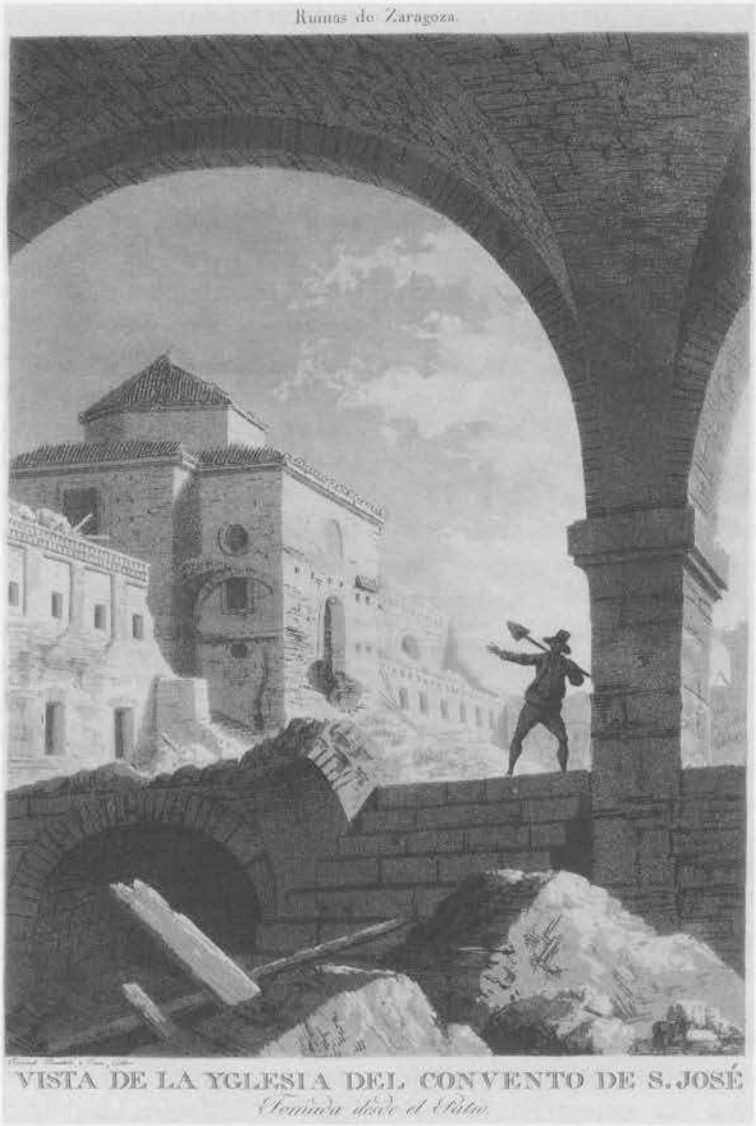
Despite the similarity in the three artists' summons to Zaragoza, *Ruinas de Zaragoza* and *Los Desastres de la Guerra* are remarkably different. While *Ruinas* (thirty-six etchings and aquatints) includes portraits, battles and ruins (some with lengthy inscriptions) of this northern location, the latter series reveals a less lucid organization and programmatic layout. Goya includes hints of specific events and persons, but these fixed particularities are veiled in a highly ambiguous manner. Goya, under the restraints of Fernando VII's repressive government newly-restored in 1814, decided to withhold his eighty-two etchings and aquatints from publication. Eventually, the RASF presented the series to the public in 1863. Brambila and Gálvez published *Ruinas* in c. 1812–1813 with the help of the Academia de Nobles Artes de Cádiz y de las Cortes, complete with one frontispiece, ten scenes devoted to military activity, thirteen images of ruined monuments, and twelve portraits – all of varying sizes. In the summer of 1812 the artists announced the series' forthcoming publication. The subscription information, signed not only by the artists but also by various notables (e.g., Don Mariano

1 See José Luis Morales y Marín, *Pintura en España 1750–1808*, Madrid 1994. The author states that Brambila was specifically hired to paint distinct views, a connection to his later contributions to the *Ruinas*.

2 For more information on Malaspina, see *Diario de viaje de Alejandro Malaspina*, eds. Mercedes Palau, Blanca Saiz and Aranzazu Zabala, Madrid 1984; John Kendrick, *Alejandro Malaspina: Portrait of a Visionary*, London 1999; Emilio Soler Pascual, *La aventura de Malaspina: La gran expedición científica del siglo XVIII por las costas de América, las Filipinas y las islas del Pacífico*, Barcelona 1999; and Blanca Sáiz, *Bibliografía sobre Alejandro Malaspina y acerca de la expedición Malaspina y de los marinos y científicos que en ella participaron*, Madrid 1992. Malaspina moved to Spain in 1774 after having traveled around the world.

3 An important precedent was Captain James Cook's journeys to Australia, New Zealand, Hawaii, and New Caledonia in the 1760s and 1770s.

4 Brambila's career had several advances after the voyage. He became an instructor in perspective at the RASF and published many academic treatises, including *Tratado de principios elementales de perspectiva, que publica la Real Academia de San Fernando para uso de sus discípulos*, Madrid 1817, and *Colección de vistas de los Sitios Reales/litografiadas por orden del Rey de Es-*



1. Juan Gálvez and Fernando Brambilla (Brambila), *Vista de la yglesia del convento de S. José, Tomada desde el Patio*, Plate 19 from the bound set, *Ruinas de Zaragoza*, 1812, etching and aquatint, sheet: 42.6 × 56.5 cm (16 3/4 × 22 1/4 in.), album cover: 44 × 57.5 cm (17 5/16 × 22 5/8 in.). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

paña/el Sr. D. Fernando VII de Borbón/en su Real Establecimiento de Madrid, Madrid 1832. For Brambila's voyage, see Carmen Sotos Serrano, *Fernando Brambila en la Expedición Malaspina*, Ph.D. diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid 1971.

5 Claudette Derozier, *La guerre d'indépendance espagnole a travers l'estampe (1808–14)*, Reproduction of thesis from Université Lille III, 3 vols., Paris 1976, here vol. I, 304.

6 Derozier (as note 5), 305. The author made this assessment from the evidence of the signatures on the original prints.

7 Eleanor A. Sayre, *The Changing Image: Prints by Francisco Goya*, Boston 1974, 126. She also contributes to the discussion of what parts of the series each artist executed, stating that Gálvez was known as an »expert aquatinter« at the RASF, 134.

López de Azlor, the count of Bureta), is lengthy and highly nationalistic. Describing the first siege of Zaragoza as the most »interesting« and »glorious« of all the rebellions against the French, this northern city also represents the site where its citizens »demonstrated the greatest love of their country« even when others fell to the enemy.[8] The language offers a partisan interpretation, which would be appropriate during wartime. In addition, the location of where the prints were published is of central importance. Cádiz's Academy of Fine Arts first served the country's interests and would naturally view the series as promoting the Spanish cause. Although the prints do engender such nationalistic sentiments, the artists treat the subjects in a more multifaceted manner than simple propaganda, making the reading of the prints as purely patriotic, problematic.

In this text I situate *Ruinas* in the intersection of two stylistic trends, Neoclassicism and Romanticism and between the political implications of the subject matter and the aesthetic pleasure provided by the ruins. I shall explore these particular tensions or dualities by considering how the artists attempted to balance the myriad issues, artistic and political. While *Ruinas* functions as an aesthetic response to the tragedies of the War of Independence, borrowing from both eighteenth-century ruin imagery and Romanticism, it also signals a patriotic purpose. I explore these potential conflicts to argue that *Ruinas de Zaragoza* serves as a key moment in the shift from Neoclassicism to the Romantic tendencies of the 1800s. Despite the call to ›document‹ ruins, the series demonstrates a nationalistic intention to visualize the damage caused by the French to Spain's material culture and to the Spanish people. Human suffering and loss complement the spoiled architectural backdrops in the images of ruins. By appropriating visual qualities from traditional view paintings, *capricci*, and artfully arranged ruin images and combining them with the Romantic desire to generate emotional responses to the damage in Zaragoza, Brambila and Gálvez both aestheticize and politicize the destruction of this northern city to comment on the effects of war.

Firstly, I address the major political and military events of the war to provide relevant contextual information in connection with the artistic issues under consideration. Secondly, I explore the important tradition of ruin imagery of the eighteenth century in relation to the series by discussing significant examples by Italian, French, and British artists, who would have been familiar to the Spanish printmakers. I then discuss Brambila's and Gálvez's images of ruins individually, examining their shared aesthetic with images from the 1700s. In addition, I compare *Ruinas* to Romantic depictions of ruins and themes of war and death, taking into consideration their modern subject matter. In the present context I use the term »ruin« loosely, adapting its broader signification to myriad subjects and meanings, and applying it to various types of ruins, both architectural and corporeal. Moreover, I underscore the aesthetic of architectural ruins in *Ruinas*, suggesting the artists' use of detail and grandiose proportions metaphorically heightened the sense of pleasure and loss from viewing recently and deliberately damaged structures. In presenting the *Desastres de la Guerra* as a foil to the *Ruinas*, I highlight the lack of architectural ruins in Goya's series and his emphasis on fragments. The distinction between ruin and fragment also play into the discussion of differing stylistic trends.

While the Spanish War of Independence naturally generated a wide variety of artistic responses in the print medium, the majority of these images promoted a nationalistic agenda and

8 »De todos los acontecimientos de la revolución española, ninguno hai mas interesante ni mas glorioso que el primer sitio de Zaragoza. Alli fue donde con mas vehemencia y mejor suceso se manifestaron el amor a la patria, el odio a la tiranía extranjera, y los recursos poderosos que estas grandes pasiones proporcionan a los pueblos mas desvalidos.« See José Pasqual de Quinto y de los Ríos, *Álbum Gráfico de Zaragoza*, Zaragoza 1985, 90.

9 See Andrew Schulz, *Goya's* Caprichos*: Aesthetics, Per-*

represented their subjects in a visually accurate manner for greater accessibility and appeal. With the rapid succession of events, swift and inexpensive dissemination was the central principle of printmaking during the war to address quickly changing topical subject matter. Such works foreground utility over artistic ingenuity and encourage patriotic sentiment, following many of the tenets of Spanish printmaking established in the 1700s.[9] At the prize-giving ceremony of the RASF in 1790 José de Vargas Ponce (1760–1821) delivered an oration, »Principios y progresos del grabado,« praising printmaking as a modern and useful medium. While notable eighteenth-century printmakers include Salvador Manuel Carmona and Juan de la Cruz Cano y Holmedilla, who had both studied abroad, key printmaking projects focused on national subjects, such as portraits of historical figures, illustrations of important texts (e.g., the eighteenth-century editions of *Don Quijote*), images of national types and dress, and engravings of coats of arms. For example, the campaign to preserve the royal collection of paintings in printed examples highlights the emphasis on utility and nationalism.[10]

In general, artists in Spain during the 1700s did not look to printmaking as a medium for imaginative expression, the major exception being Goya. Without a rich native printmaking tradition, Brambila's, Gálvez's and Goya's series attempt to bridge the gap between utility (i.e., Palafox's call to ›document‹ Zaragoza's ruins) and creativity. While *Ruinas* successfully integrates both nationalistic and aesthetic issues, *Desastres* more specifically challenges accepted printmaking tenets with its less obvious patriotic sentiments, gruesome imagery, subversive content, and ambiguous meanings, anticipating modernist trends. Both series reference academic guidelines, but Goya's prints often lack an easily decipherable message and direct relationship to the Spanish fight against the French. Instead, Goya places greater weight on universal themes of suffering and brutality so that the *Desastres* transcends the confines of its specific circumstances, allowing him to reflect upon the effects of war in general; this type of political and social commentary would have been familiar territory for Goya who used the print medium to critique various aspects and classes of society in *Los Caprichos* (1797–99).

While all three artists grappled with the new subject matter of modern ruins created by a devastating war, their choice of etching and aquatint speaks to their desire to make their images readily available to a large audience.[11] In the end, Brambila's and Gálvez's *Ruinas* had an obvious commercial value, while Goya's fear of publication limited the number of viewers who might have seen the plates. With the art historical weight placed on Goya's series, I hope to shed light on the significant contribution made by Brambila and Gálvez in the *Ruinas*. Although their series uses traditional methods and standard representation with easily understandable captions and/or commentary, these elements do not refute their innovative combinations of aesthetic and stylistic traditions in their attempts to treat highly-charged subject matter. In the context of combat and against the backdrop of Spain's limited printmaking tradition, all three artists elevate the status of the war-inspired print as more than just political propaganda or satirical critiques of individuals or situations. In so doing,

ception, and the Body, Cambridge/New York 2005, 83. He discusses these tenets as part of an overview of Spanish printmaking practices in the 1700s.

10 In 1789 the Compañía para el grabado de los cuadros de los Reales Sitios was established with financial support from many aristocrats. For more information on the RASF's role in encouraging such projects, see Tara Zanardi, Preservation and Promotion: The State of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century Spain, in: *Dieciocho* 27.2, 2004, 303–320.

11 According to Akira Kinoshita, Bartolomé Sureda (1769–1850) was an important figure for making aquatint popular in Spain. Having learned the technique in London in the early 1790s, in 1797 he presented several prints featuring this medium to the RASF. See Background to the Production of *Los Caprichos*: Goya as Creator of Original Prints, in: *Goya: Artista de su tiempo y artista único*, eds. Koji Yukiyama and Akira Kinoshita, Tokyo 1999, 362–367, here 364.

they also promote the position of the artist as a contributor to Spain's history as both a recorder and an interpreter of events.

Zaragoza and the Artistic Manifestations of War

Zaragoza was the site of key battles during the War of Independence and provided a rich source of artistic fodder. As the inspiration for the name of Brambila's and Gálvez's series, Zaragoza was under siege on and off for eight months with devastating consequences. This Aragonese town had been a vital religious center boasting two cathedrals, twenty-five monasteries, sixteen convents, and more than seventy smaller churches.[12] The French invaders targeted sacred architecture throughout Spain as part of their strategy to undermine the people's resolve to fight. Naturally because of this destruction, Zaragoza underwent a major rebuilding process after the war.

As artistic commissioner Palafox's proposal to have this city's ruins recorded shows a partisan bias to foreground the destruction inflicted by the French and to highlight Zaragoza's heroic efforts, including his own. The Captain-General assuredly hoped to generate sympathy for the Zaragozian cause and to promote nationalistic sentiments to rally against Napoleon. Instead of a traditional patron, Palafox served more as a conduit for the local government and the country as a whole. In the Iberian Peninsula, the generals who led the Spanish to victory operated under difficult conditions. Palafox headed the military campaigns around Zaragoza after serving as an officer of the Royal Bodyguard prior to the war.[13] Before he took up his new post, he was almost arrested for refusing to obey the orders of the French Council in Madrid and for his loyalty to Fernando VII (1808; 1814–33).[14] Upon agreeing to lead the rebellion in Zaragoza, Palafox initiated the training of new soldiers – many of them Aragonese volunteers. During the second siege that resulted in the capitulation of Zaragoza on February 21, 1809, the French captured and imprisoned Palafox for the duration of the war.[15] Brambila's and Gálvez's series answers Palafox's plea to gather support for the Spanish fight against the French invaders. The artists foreground the brutal aftermath of the French on Zaragoza, which acts metaphorically for all towns and cities affected by Napoleon's campaigns in Spain and elsewhere.

The deposition of the Spanish Bourbons by Napoleon and the French military sparked the War of Independence in 1808. Besides the written commentary on the popular uprising of May 2nd and the subsequent executions of hostages the following day, artists visualized these and other unfortunate events in various media, the most famous among many such images are Goya's celebrated canvases in the Prado. The war provided diverse topics and thematic possibilities for artists – most commonly representations of battles, Spanish and French brutality, satirical cartoons of the major political and military figures, portraits of notables, and patriotic celebra-

12 Raymond Rudorff, *War and Death: The Sieges of Saragossa, 1808–1809*, London 1974, 51. The enlightenment scholar Antonio Ponz devotes volume fifteen of his eighteen-volume *Viaje de España* to the history, culture, agriculture, landscape and architecture of Zaragoza. See *Viaje de España, ó Cartas, en que se da noticia de las cosas mas apreciables, y dignas de saberse que hay en ella*, Madrid 1772–94.

13 As in many other towns, the populace grew impatient with civil and military authorities' hesitation to take action against the French. In 1808 the military governor of Zaragoza, Don Jorge Juan de Guillelmi, a Knight of the Order of Santiago, resigned. The citizens chose in his place Palafox, son of the Marquises of Lazán, a scion of one of the oldest families in Aragón. See Rudorff (as note 12), 53–54. While the populace felt their superiors were not doing enough, they met in groups and demonstrated in the streets, calling for revolt. The two most prominent patriots who helped organize and lead the citizens of Zaragoza were Don Mariano Cerezo and Jorge Ibort (Tio Jorge), both farmers. Ibort was even made one of Palafox's unofficial guards, see Rudorff (as note 12), 55–61.

14 Rudorff (as note 12), 57–58. Fernando VII's father, Carlos IV, had stepped down in 1808 due to increased tension among various political factions at court.

15 For more information regarding Palafox's experiences as a military leader, see José de Palafox, *Memorias*, ed. Herminio Lafoz Rabaza, Zaragoza 1996.

16 Despite the influence and direct transmission of specific British examples, Spain also developed its own

tions. Jesusa Vega has discussed the popularity of satirical and political prints published primarily in Madrid for their eventual distribution throughout Spain. The majority of these overtly topical images were created for propagandistic purposes.[16] In many instances artists provided a ›useful‹ service during the War of Independence by documenting particular events. Additionally, royal edicts, manifestos and other publications appeared during the Bourbon restoration to legitimize the Spanish war endeavor and codify the patriotic spirit.[17]

Widely resented and hated as a military dictator and invader, Joseph Bonaparte (José I of Spain) became a fashionable target of satirical prints, many of which highlighted his purported alcoholism and womanizing. Nicknamed Joe Bottles or Pepe Botellas, the self-styled José I provided propagandistic opportunities for anti-French prints that often place him in compromising positions. In an anonymous print titled *Cada cual tiene su suerte, la tuya es de borracho hasta la muerte*, José I is depicted in a position of oration while immersed in a wine bottle. Four playful cherubs frame the centrally placed corked bottle, and a poem, which is equally inflammatory, lines the top part of the print. The print's title, »Everyone has his/her fate, yours is drunkenness until death,« and poem satirize the king's reputation as a drunkard who pays homage to the »mother of liqueur.«

Unlike the biting quality of satirical prints devoted to Joseph or others, *Ruinas* and *Desastres* feature various types of war imagery. The variety of painted and graphic responses has facilitated a deeper understanding of the complexity of the war and its multiple repercussions. Brambila, Gálvez, and Goya visited the war-torn city in late 1808 between the first and second sieges, examining its ruined urban fabric to gather material for their prints. In *Ruinas*, each print includes a caption with the title of the series and many provide additional inscriptions with details of the person or event depicted. This type of specificity gives the series a greater sense of immediacy than other war images such as those as Goya's *Desastres*. This aspect of the prints would seem to imply a journalistic reportorial intent. While *Ruinas* includes specific figures and locations, *Desastres* denies any such relationship to Zaragoza. Goya purposefully opts for a more universal vision of war. Such differences between the two series, reinforce the idea that the war inspired strong sentiments (of patriotism, outrage, and horror), which, in turn, served as artistic fodder.

Looking to *Ruinas*, Brambila and Gálvez share the eighteenth-century fascination with ruins and the picturesque. In the late 1700s the picturesque was closely tied to landscapes and gardens – either painted or actual. This aesthetic category emphasized the irregularity and variety of nature and was particularly appropriate for showcasing antique ruins. In scenes of modern ruins, Brambila and Gálvez call attention to the various architectural structures destroyed during the first

form of caricature and political printmaking. José Ribelles and Tomás López Enguídanos include four scenes in their respective print series that depict the events from the riots of the Second of May, visually immortalized by Goya. Ribelles' *Dos de mayo: Mueren Daoyz y Velarde defendiendo el Parque de Artillería* (1816–18) represents a heroic vision of war and the deaths of two Spanish captains of the artillery who aided the insurgents in the uprising against the French. See Jesusa Vega, La publicación de estampas históricas en Madrid durante la Guerra de la Independencia, in: *Art and Literature in Spain, 1600–1800: Studies in Honour of Nigel Glendinning*, eds. Charles Davis and Paul Julian Smith, London 1993, 209–232, here 210.

17 For example, *Manifiesto de todo lo ocurrido en Madrid con motivo del Decreto del Rey de 4 de mayo: A saber la derogación de la Constitución, la Solemnidad con que fue arrancada la Lápida de este nombre de la Plaza Mayor, la quema que se hizo en la misma plaza de la estatua de la Libertad; y también una recopilación de las funciones habidas en Madrid con motivo de la entrada de nuestro augusto Monarca Fern. VII*, Madrid 1814 and *Historia de la guerra de España contra Napoleón Bonaparte, escrita y publicada de orden de S.M. por la tercera sección de la comisión de jefes y oficiales de todas las Armas, establecida en Madrid a las inmediatas órdenes del Excemo. señor Secretario de Estado y del Despacho Universal de la Guerra*, Madrid 1818.

siege of Zaragoza; these buildings in their ruined state dominate the images in comparison to the figural element. Although the connection to the ruin imagery of Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–78), Giovanni Paolo Panini (1692–1765), Robert Adam (1728–92), and Hubert Robert (1733–1808), among others, is apparent, Brambila's and Gálvez's work differs in the timely documentation of newly-made ruins created by war. The emphasis on a modern subject links this series to Romantic visual culture. Romanticism, a movement beginning in the late eighteenth century, rejected the prominence of reason, a central tenet of the Enlightenment. Instead, Romantic writers and artists placed greater emphasis on emotion, intuition and the individual. *Ruinas* oscillates between these two distinct aesthetic traditions as the artists look to both styles to articulate visually the new subject of modern ruins.

In documenting these new ruins, the artists appeal to the viewer's sympathy. Despite the rendering of war's destructive effects, the prints reveal a melancholic beauty and artistry that offers viewers an opportunity to experience multiple emotions. Thus, as the spectator contemplates both the architectural damage and the grieving citizens of Zaragoza, he/she may also feel pleasure from the stunning lighting effects, the grand architectural remains, and the amount of detail used by the artists. The natural tension created by this dual reaction in part highlights the artists' difficulty in visualizing modern ruins fashioned by war. Moreover, the distinction between ›ancient‹ and ›new‹ ruins is absolutely crucial – not just in stylistic terms – ancient vs. medieval or ancient vs. baroque, but also the timeframe in which structures were destroyed by wars and/or ruined through the natural process of decay. Generally, buildings from antiquity would have had centuries to achieve the status of poetic grandeur and monumentality appreciated in the eighteenth century, but those ruins newly-created by a modern war did not share the same ›Romantic‹ history, regardless of their date of origin. These disparities and the manner in which Brambila and Gálvez attempted to tap into such a grandiose tradition, particularly in the context of prints of battles and heroic portraits need more scholarly scrutiny.

Ruin Imagery in the Eighteenth Century

The theme of the ruin has an extensive, complex history and was especially significant in the eighteenth century.[18] Long associated with a decline of civilization and moral corruption, ruins were widely understood as »metaphors for this inner decay.«[19] Essential to achieve the status of grandeur in its ruined state, the original intact structure or object had to possess a pronounced monumentality. In addition, the incompleteness of the ruined monument allowed the viewer to experience loss, while it also inspired the completion of the edifice or object in one's »imagination.«[20] Because monuments from centuries past

18 James Hall discusses ruins as originally referring to the New Dispensation (Christianity) growing out of or superseding the Old (Judaism). Often this idea was represented in later medieval art by the image of a building, the Synagogue, being dismantled and its bricks and stones used to construct a church – the New Jerusalem (sometimes used in themes of the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi). The revival of interest in Roman antiquity, especially in the sixteenth century, led to the representation of the ruins of classical architecture as a subject in its own right, without the symbolic overtones, *Dictionary of Signs and Symbols in Art*, New York 1974, 269. Also, the use of antique spolia in Christian churches was commonplace in Europe and Turkey.

19 Christopher Woodward, Scenes from the Future, in: *Visions of Ruin. Architectural Fantasies and Designs for Garden Follies*, ed. by Sir John Soane's Museum, London 1999, 15–17, here 15.

20 John Dixon Hunt, Picturesque Mirrors and the Ruins of the Past, in: *Art History* 4, 1981, 254–70, here 259.

21 Barbara Maria Stafford has argued that ruins behave more like works of nature than like works of art. See *Voyage into Substance: Art, Science and the Illustrated Travel Account, 1760–1840*, Cambridge (MA), 1984, 10.

22 The most well-known print series of the Lisbon ruins, *Colleção de algunas ruinas de Lisboa causas pelo terremoto e pelo fogo do primeiro de Novembro do anno 1755*, was engraved by the French artist Jacques-Philippe Le Bas in 1757. These were based on

generally required the passage of time to render them ruined, they also reveal a greater link to nature; as they become further entwined in the natural world, they literally become a part of the earth.[21] Such a conception of the ruin suggests a process of metamorphosis in which the structure gradually loses its original shape while it takes on new ones. In fact, ruins once admired in the Renaissance, would seem different – to widely varying degrees – two hundred years later, altered by weather erosion, natural or man-made disasters (e.g., the Colosseum in Rome, the Lisbon earthquake in 1755), possible restoration attempts, or other means.[22] Thus, any discussion of ruins has to be contextualized – what a structure resembled at one time does not mean that it will retain those same qualities in the future. Additionally, a representation of a ruin would not necessarily be an objective means to know the exact status of an edifice at a specific point in time.

According to Ingrid G. Daemmrich, many French poets of the picturesque favored ruins that intermingle with vegetation; Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre (1737–1814), for example, felt structures in harmony with their natural surrounding far superior to ruins made suddenly by some violent event.[23] In *Etude de la nature* (1784) Bernardin praises Gothic ruins in particular for their successful integration with various organic materials, making them more aesthetically pleasing and visually inspiring. Those like Bernardin who relish in nature's triumph over human accomplishments prefer architectural remains with a greater connection to nature. Daemmrich suggests that in the nineteenth century such writers as Victor Hugo and others continued to praise the value of ruins overtaken by flowers and other greenery. She states, »ruins repossessed by nature and protected by a strong plant life can appear as a dynamic force antagonistic to man.«[24] Modern ruins, however, would assuredly not have time to erode slowly or engender a poetic link to the earth.

The typical melancholic reverie associated with the ruin was commonplace in the eighteenth century. Rome in particular possessed monuments and sculptures in ruin that held enormous fascination for many scholars, tourists, poets, artists, and architects. Eighteenth-century debates focused on whether ancient Greece or Rome served as a superior model for western civilization, as measured in the remnants of their respective cultural patrimonies. In 1765 Piranesi participated in this discussion from a pro-Roman stance, arguing that Romans descend from an Etruscan heritage, not a Greek one. His assertion countered the idea that Romans merely copied Greek examples.[25] In a similar political vein, while many regarded the ruin as a theme of loss, Italy could use its ancient structures as »emblems of survival rather than decay« and as markers for the city's magnificence.[26]

Moreover, new developments in archaeology during the century considered the study of ruins as a way to understand ancient cultures and help

drawings by various artists and reveal a clear link to contemporary ruin imagery. For more information on the Lisbon earthquake and the reconstruction of the city, see Thomas Downing Kendrick, *The Lisbon Earthquake*, Philadelphia/New York 1957; Kenneth Maxwell, The Earthquake of 1755 and Urban Recovery under the Marquês de Pombal, in: *Out of Ground Zero: Case Studies in Urban Reinvention*, ed. Joan Ockman, New York/Munich 2002; and Angela Delaforce, *Art and Patronage in Eighteenth-Century Portugal*, Cambridge 2002.

23 Ingrid G. Daemmrich, The Ruins Motif as Artistic Device in French Literature, Part 2, in: *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 31, 1972, 31–41, here 32.

24 Daemmrich (as note 23), 33.

25 Piranesi's defense of Rome relates to Scipione Maffei's *Trattato sopra la nazione etrusca e sopra gl'itali primitivi*, Rome 1739. See John Wilton-Ely's introduction in *Giovanni Battista Piranesi: Observations on the Letter of Monsieur Mariette*, trans. Caroline Beamish and David Britt, Los Angeles 2002, 17.

26 Carolyn Springer, *The Marble Wilderness: Ruins and Representation in Italian Romanticism, 1775–1850*, Cambridge 1987, 3. Springer states that archaeology was used as a form of political rehabilitation in the early nineteenth century: »If Byron reads the ruins of Italy as the sign of an absence, both the Church and its democratic opposition celebrate antiquity as a palpable presence, daily restored through the agency of archaeology.«

disseminate this knowledge. That ruins could provide a didactic method to educate tourists, artists and scholars about ancient civilizations indicates their privileged position during the eighteenth century. For example, British architects commonly traveled to Italy to complete their education, and the study of ruins was an integral element of their professional development. Despite the attention to such sites, Frank Salmon questions the level of accuracy and instead argues that »the ruin had become a greater stimulus to the imagination of architects than any attempt at visual restoration,« especially when rendering ruins in *capricci*.[27] Ironically, because artists sometimes exaggerated the scale and striking effects in their prints, Grand Tourists expressed disappointment after seeing the actual monuments.[28] In a highly interdisciplinary manner Chloe Chard has written extensively on Grand Tourists' reactions to ancient sculptures and architecture.[29] Surveying the travel literature written by French and British voyagers (e.g., Lawrence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy*, 1768), Chard argues that while the experience of the foreign should differ dramatically from the familiar, it should also retain accessibility. Ruins should serve as sites of wonder, beauty, and mystery without losing all connection to the viewers' present.[30] If an artist chooses to enhance the weathered condition of an edifice or increase the scale of a monument for theatrical effect, the ruins should still bear some resemblance to its actual state. Such a common technique on the part of the eighteenth-century artist could be applied to newly-made ruins; both antique and modern ruins share nationalistic sentiments. While borrowing from this aesthetic tradition, however, the ruins in Brambila's and Gálvez's *Ruinas* more emphatically serve as a call to arms.

Although imaginative renderings may seem incongruous with truthful representations, they often went hand-in-hand in the eighteenth century. For example, Antonio Canaletto (1697–1768), a sought-after painter and draftsman of Venetian views, frequently privileged artistic concerns above topographical accuracy in works such as *Rio dei Mendicanti* (1723–24).[31] When ruins did not exist, for example, they could be invented to add picturesque elements and a sense of legitimacy to a person's property. The artificial ruins at Stowe Gardens in England, among others, evidence the power ruins possessed to create the illusion of a distinguished past.[32] In addition, Piranesi appropriated elements of the *capriccio* tradition in his illustration of archaeological publications of the 1750s and 1760s, such as *Antichità d'Albano*, which included a scholarly text and footnotes. The inclusion of Piranesi's images in an erudite text about ancient Rome visualizes »his beliefs regarding the role of the visual in the recovery or discovery of historical knowledge.«[33]

With a tourist spectator in mind, Piranesi's *Vedute di Roma* series features a number of prized buildings and monuments from the seventeenth century (modern Rome) and from antiquity.[34] In *Basilica of Maxentius* of 1774 (fig. 2) he visualized the ruin in sharp perspective from an oblique angle and emphasized the structure's decaying state with rich tonal varieties in a rather ›gothic‹ fashion. The basilica's heightened dra-

27 Frank Salmon, *Building on Ruins. The Rediscovery of Rome and English Architecture*, Aldershot 2000, 46.

28 Thomas J. McCormick, *Piranesi and the New Vision of Classical Antiquity in the Eighteenth Century*, Norton (MA), 1991, 6.

29 Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Geography, 1600–1830*, Manchester/New York 1999 and idem, Horror on the Grand Tour, in: *Oxford Art Journal* 6, 1983, 3–16.

30 Chloe Chard, Grand and Ghostly Tours: The Topography of Memory, in: *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31, 1997, 101–08, here 101.

31 J. G. Links, Canaletto's Venice, in: *Modern Painters* 7, 1994, 68–71.

32 For a comparison to the English tradition of the ruin and the picturesque, see Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (eds.), *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, Landscape and Aesthetics since 1770*, Cambridge 1994 and Louis Hawes, Constable's Hadleigh Castle and British Romantic Ruin Painting, in: *Art Bulletin* 65, 1983, 455–70.

33 Susan M. Dixon, Piranesi and Francesco Bianchini: *Capricci* in the Service of Pre-Scientific Archaeology, in: *Art History* 22, 1999, 184–213, here 187. Dixon

2. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Basilica of Maxentius*. 1774. Portland Art Museum, Oregon. Gift of Mrs. Robert L. Sabin

matic presence is achieved by the cast shadows playing off the coffered archway that towers over the individuals below. With the plants and vines that curl around the basilica's sides and top, the ruin is linked to its organic intruders; here, Piranesi has captured a building seemingly in the process of decay, yet new life grows despite its age and condition. Understandably, such etchings would have appealed to many tourists who were transfixed by the haunting beauty of the image and the poetic connection between the monument and natural processes. The basilica is more heroic in its ruined state and serves as a reminder of the majestic Roman past.

If questions of accuracy were not considered problematic in the eighteenth century, and artists had the subjective liberty to fragment objects and then reassemble them in new ways, then Brambila, Gálvez, and Goya could certainly profit from such historical rearrangement. Goya's own use of the term *capricho* in both his print series *Los Caprichos* and the »caprichos enfáticos« that make up the last portion of the *Desastres* suggests his understanding of the imaginative reconstructive potential of fragments and ruins. The link between Piranesi and Goya is further supported by the self-awareness of the artist constructing these ruins. In *Antichità* and other publications, Piranesi states that he himself illustrated the artifacts, »using the phrases ›I have portrayed‹, and ›I have drawn.‹«[35] In a similar vein, one print from Goya's *Desastres* entitled »Yo lo vi« (»I saw it«) emphasizes his role as a recorder of such events, literally as an eyewitness to the horrors depicted.

Opting for a different approach, Brambila and Gálvez followed the popular eighteenth-century trope of placing the artist/s within the work, shown in the process of sketching ruins. In *Ruinas del patio del hospital general de N.S. de Gracia* (fig. 3), Brambila and Gálvez position themselves in the debris.[36] While one artist sits with sketchpad in hand, the other stands. Both gaze intently toward the bombed-out structure to suggest their active interest in rendering every detail. Their presence in the print also promotes a greater reality, as if we, too, are in Zaragoza, watching them as they document these modern atrocities. Unlike the figures in Piranesi's *Basilica of Maxentius*, Brambila and Gálvez do not represent themselves in their etching merely for scale and local color. Their presence as witnesses to, and recorders of, the devastation of war – surrounded by workers, on-lookers, mourners, and the dead – suggests their vital importance as artists. In this capacity, they are involved with the ruins, but detached enough (unlike the citizens of Zaragoza) to consider aesthetic concerns. Moreover, in order to augment the emotional

states that Piranesi's *capricci* derive from a long tradition of »pictorial rendering of fancifully juxtaposed imagery, often distinguished by their sketchy or painterly quality,« primarily linked to the Venetian tradition of ruin (e.g., *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, 1499), 184–85. Paul Zucker connects Piranesi's *capricci* to the artist's work as a set designer for theatrical productions. See his *Fascination of Decay: Ruins, Relic, Symbol, Ornament*, Ridgewood (NJ) 1968.

34 The *Vedute di Roma* was a series of 135 single prints known collectively by this title and date from 1748–78. See Peter Murray, *Piranesi and the Grandeur of Ancient Rome*, London 1971.

35 Dixon (as note 33), 189.

36 On August 1, 1808, the French bombarded the hospital with canon fire. Although the construction of the church associated with the hospital dates to the end of the seventeenth century, the main altar was completed in the 1700s by the sculptor Joaquín Arali Solanas and the painter José Luzán Martínez. See *Guía histórico-artístico de Zaragoza*, Zaragoza 1982, 230–31.

3. Fernando Brambila and Juan Gálvez, *Ruinas del patio del hospital general de N.S. de Gracia, Ruinas de Zaragoza*. 1808–14. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional

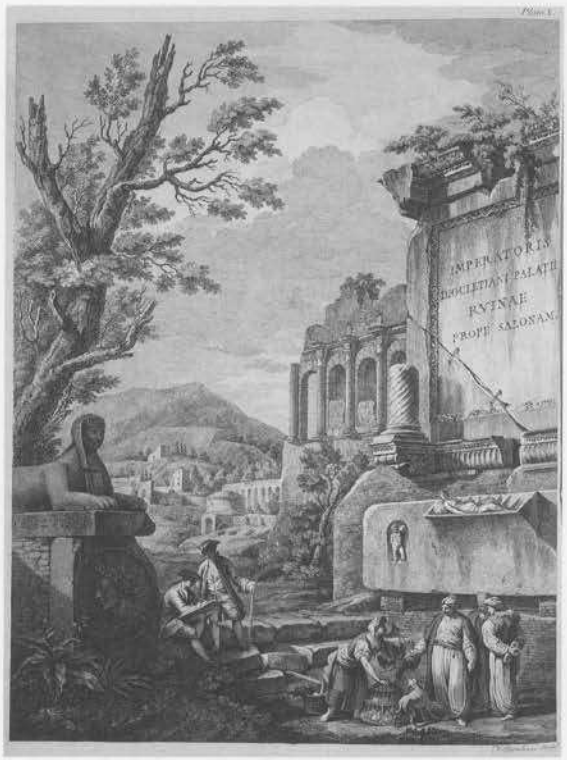
gravity of the ruins and the contextual destruction of war, the monuments take on metaphorical proportions – symbolically relating to the death and desolation that envelops them. Instead of foregrounding the dead themselves, however, the artists use architectural ruins to make the war less visceral, even to suggest that war can still produce beautiful results in the case of the ruined Aragonese capital, a goal wholly at variance with Goya's agenda in *Desastres*.

Many eighteenth-century artists placed themselves or others in their works in the act of sketching. Jean-Honoré Fragonard's *The Lover Crowned* from the *Progress of Love* (1771–73) series at the Frick Collection includes a figure in the lower right of the canvas busily gazing at the couple with sketchpad in hand. Although cast slightly in shadow the artist is dressed in equal refinement with opulent fabrics. The young woman casts a glance at the artist, fully aware of his intention to record the proceeding, before placing the garland on top of her admiring lover's head. Hubert Robert produced several images featuring working draftsmen, especially those on the Grand Tour (e.g., *The Draughtsman in an Italian Church*, 1763). The popular practice of visually recording monuments, especially antique ones, is celebrated by artists like Robert.

While some artists rendered ruins with a greater sense of imagination and freedom, others sought to capture them with a diligent accuracy. Archaeological enquiry and the reproduction of

findings were vital components of the taxonomic approach common to enlightenment thought and practice. The Scottish artist and architect Robert Adam, for example, made a trip to Spalatro (modern Split) to survey the previously unstudied ruins of the palace of Emperor Diocletian. Along with Charles-Louis Clérisseau and two draftsmen, he sketched these ruins in a methodical manner, including ruined architecture, plans of the varying structures, and potential reconstructions; this celebrated book, *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, was published in 1764.[37] Francesco Bartolozzi, a graphic artist and member of the Royal Academy in London, among others supplied the engravings. In the context of plans and reconstructions with their emphasis on realism, however, are images that relate closely to the picturesque tradition of ruins. For example, the frontispiece (fig. 4) features two men – one sits with a sketchpad and the other stands with a walking stick; the latter figure also gazes down at his companion's work. Both men are placed under a rustic tree next to a sphinx, while others in the right foreground provide a modern vignette of local life. Beyond the figural element, Adam depicts a landscape with various ruined structures. Just as Brambila and Gálvez emphasize their role as recorders of a ruined past, Adam distinguishes the artists in his frontispiece from the figures buying and selling wares – the artists are deeply engaged with the landscape and ruins.

France is home to numerous ancient ruins and several native artists, such as Clérisseau and Robert, depicted many of the more famous ones. Robert's four canvases, *Les Monuments de la France*, were commissioned to decorate King Louis XVI's new dining room at the palace at Fontainebleau. Exhibited in the Salon of 1787, the paintings are a playful interpretation of the monuments set in picturesque landscapes. In contrast, Clérisseau's 1778 *Antiquités de la France* is considered a more archeologically precise version of the same edifices.[38] Paula Radisich connects the increased popularity in landscapes to the popularity of views and the aesthetic of the sketch in the 1700s.[39] At the end of the eighteenth century, however, artists witnessed the formation



4. Francesco Bartolozzi, Frontispiece to Robert Adam's, *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*. 1764. London, The Royal Collection

37 For more information on Clérisseau, see Thomas McCormick, *Charles-Louis Clérisseau and the Genesis of Neoclassicism*, New York/Cambridge (MA) 1990.

38 Paula Rea Radisich, Dining Amid the Ruins: Hubert Robert's *Les Monuments de la France*, in: idem, *Hubert Robert: Painted Spaces of the Enlightenment*, Cambridge 1998, 97–116. For more information on the rise of archaeology in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Alain Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past*, New York 1997 and Francis Haskell, *History and Its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past*, New Haven (CT)/London 1993.

39 Paula Rea Radisich, *Eighteenth-Century Landscape Theory and the Work of Pierre Henri de Valenciennes*, Los Angeles 1977, 5.

5. Hubert Robert, *Violation of the Royal Tombs at Saint-Denis in October 1793*, c. 1793. Paris, Musée Carnavalet

of newly-created ruins with the French Revolution and subsequent Napoleonic Wars. As a precursor to the print series by Brambila, Gálvez and Goya, Robert and Pierre-Antoine De Machy (1723–1807) reacted to the damage inflicted on Paris during the French Revolution and its aftermath. John Bandiera notes, »Robert along with De Machy began to apply the sensibility of ruin painting to scenes of demolition and disaster in Paris.«[40] In images such as De Machy's *The Demolition of the Bastille* (1789), emphasis on the political implications of such newly-made ruins was overt. Under such politically-charged circumstances Robert's *Violation of the Royal Tombs at Saint-Denis* (fig. 5) may have been regarded as simply an example of the Revolution's wanton destruction, or even as ›proof‹ of his monarchist sympathies for which he was imprisoned for several months during 1793–94.[41]

Despite the topical and perhaps critical subject matter, Robert engages ruin imagery in several Revolutionary works.[42] Like Piranesi, Brambila, and Gálvez, Robert utilized archways to create contrasting areas of lights and shadow in *Violation of the Royal Tombs at Saint-Denis*. As men shift the stone wall of the tomb on the right, light penetrates the darkened space below, illuminating those who are desecrating the graves. Complementing the roughly-textured stones of the tomb that indicate their age, Robert highlights pointed arches, stained-glass windows, tracery, and groin vaults. These elegant effects form a compelling contrast to the disinterment taking place below. Regardless of the venerable age of the cathedral, these newly-created and man-made tomb ruins make an instructive comparison to the modern destruction caused by the battles between the French and the Spanish at Zaragoza. Robert's political motivations notwithstanding, the destruction of the royal tombs in St. Denis is still artfully composed and aesthetically pleasing. In part, Robert's Revolutionary images relate to contemporary French history, and are a means to document political iconoclasm and the effects of social destructive warfare. Even though he references eighteenth-century artistic traditions that normally treat subjects from the near or distant past, the destruction ordered by the Revolutionary government happened only shortly before the event depicted; just as they had in Palafox's commissions for views of the ruins of Zaragoza.

40 John Dean Bandiera, *The Pictorial Treatment of Architecture in French Art, 1731 to 1804*, Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1982, xxiii.

41 For more information on Robert's view images, see Radisich (as note 38).

42 For more information on Robert's Revolutionary images, see Catherine Boulot, Jean de Cayeux, and Hélène Moulin, *Hubert Robert et la révolution*, Valence 1989.

43 For a comparative study, see Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture*, New Haven (CT) 1999.

44 The printmaker Juan Barcelón (1739–1801) engraved many views of royal palaces, including those of Granada for the *Antigüedades árabes* series, while Luis Paret painted numerous canvases devoted to the Ports of Spain in the second half of the eighteenth century, similar to Claude-Joseph Vernet's series for Louis XV.

45 Michael S. Roth, Irresistible Decay: Ruins Reclaimed, in: idem, with Claire Lyons and Charles Merewether, *Irresistible Decay: Ruins Reclaimed*, Los Angeles 1997, 3.

46 Derozier (as note 5), vol. 1, 318.

47 Silvia Arbaiza Blanco-Soler and Carmen Heras Casas

In borrowing stylistic techniques from the eighteenth century artists could exaggerate the grandeur of modern ruins to associate them with the tradition of ruin imagery and the antique. By heightening the drama, Brambila and Gálvez, for example, could express pain and evoke empathy through the destruction of Spain's material culture. Such sensibilities, characteristic of the eighteenth century, could be exploited for patriotic purposes in the Romantic era. Moreover, the visual connection between the damage suffered by monuments, along with piles of cadavers strewn amongst the debris, would only enhance the viewer's empathy. Thus, the word ruin would have much broader implications.[43] As in France, the desire to preserve one's cultural heritage was a prime concern for a few in Spain, and the visualization of modern ruins from a war would only make this nationalistic project more important. The main promoter of preservation efforts was the scholar Antonio Ponz (1725–92); he details the architecture, art, and ruins of the various regions of Spain based on archival research and observation in his eighteen-volume text *Viaje de España* (1772–94). He also encouraged contemporary artists to contribute to the preservationist agenda by commissioning prints of Spanish architecture and masterpieces from the royal collection as a way to document significant sites and works in case of fire or other disasters.[44] In such a context, the artist could serve as a preserver of ruins – a useful activity for the benefit of the country. In so doing, the artist claimed the authority to protect the ruin from further decay.[45]

Fernando Brambila and Juan Gálvez: Ruinas de Zaragoza

In *Ruinas de Zaragoza* the picturesque sentiments have been altered, even though the link to eighteenth-century ruin imagery remains intact. Derozier argues that these artists added fantasy to the designs, making the monuments more ornamented and grand, likening them to Roman baths and basilicas despite the fact that the majority of Zaragozian structures are Medieval, Renaissance or Baroque.[46] Spain, however, does possess numerous ancient Roman ruins; thus, such an association would be appropriate. Considering Brambila's Lombard heritage and experience with the tradition of view imagery, Roman examples would be a natural reference. Roman ruins, like the amphitheater in Mérida and the aqueduct in Segovia, confirm the presence of this ancient culture in distinct regions of Spain. Therefore, the artists' visual link between Zaragozian structures and antique Roman ruins is a suitable one in terms of the Spanish examples' importance to the country's national heritage and constructed patrimony.[47]

In several examples from *Ruinas*, the edifices are rendered with an air of accuracy, and regardless of their ruined state, the buildings stay poetically and often hauntingly breathtaking. Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño, however, argues that Brambila and Gálvez deploy caprice in their series, despite the appearance of topographical accuracy.[48] *Ruinas del Seminario* (fig. 6) and *Ruinas del Seminario vista por la noche* (fig. 7)

discuss the change in attitude regarding antique monuments in Spain: »A partir de 1756 manifestó una gran preocupación por conservar y propagar las antigüedades y monumentos que pudiesen destruir con el paso de los años, sobre todo después del descubrimiento de unos retratos moros en la Alambra de Granada, que se encontraban un lamentable estado de conservación.« See Fernando Rodríguez y su estudio arqueológico de las ruinas romanas de Mérida y sus alrededores (1794–97), in: *Academia: Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando* 87, 2 semestre de 1998, 309–366, here 309.

48 Looking at the prints of the cloister of Santa Engracia – hit by artillery and a mine on the night of August 13th – he notes that the arches rendered by the artists do not correspond to Ponz's description of the Renaissance structure from the beginning of the sixteenth century and later remodeled by Juan Sanz de Tudelilla in 1536. That Ponz's text is still used as a means to test the accuracy of contemporary images points to the learned quality of his scholarship. See Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño, *La arquitectura Española en sus monumentos desaparecidos*, Madrid 1961, 348. For an eighteenth-century source on Santa Engracia, see *Historia del Subterráneo Santuario oy Real Monasterio de Santa Engracia de Zaragoza*, written by fray León Benito Marton in 1737. This text includes engravings by fray Ángel de Huesca.

6. Fernando Brambila and Juan Gálvez, *Ruinas del Seminario, Ruinas de Zaragoza*. 1808–14. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional

evidence the play between realism and imaginative renderings. In both the artists showcase the damaged buildings from the explosions of June 27, 1808. By taking the same subject and rendering it with distinct lighting effects and altering the viewpoint, the artists clearly favor aesthetic concerns over reality. Similarly the French author François-René de Chateaubriand (1768–1848) stressed the importance of viewing ruins during different times of the day and under varying weather conditions, making his emotional response dependent on such transient factors.[49] In the daytime version (fig. 6) of the seminary ruins, mourners, bystanders, and workers occupy the space, some in direct sunlight and others in shadow. The activity brings a sense of normalcy to the wreckage as figures cart out the rubble and help remove the dead. Wooden beams jut out aggressively from the buildings, producing a sense of unease. In Figure 7, the darkness of the night is interrupted by explosions in the background that create an unnatural glow. Menacing clouds heighten the drama as they billow up into the sky. Figures in the foreground continue the work of removing bodies and assessing the damage. That Brambila and Gálvez have emphasized architectural ruins over corporeal ones further links their prints to eighteenth-century view images in which the figural element is minor in relation to the monumental structures. Although the artists clearly delight in the compositional and stylistic possibilities of the subjects they visualize, the political significance of these modern ruins and the implication of their commission from General Palafox suggest a dual role for these prints.

49 Daemmrich (as note 23), 34.

50 Valeriano Bozal, El grabado popular en el siglo XIX,

7. Fernando Brambila and Juan Gálvez, *Ruinas del Seminario vista por la noche, Ruinas de Zaragoza*. 1808–14. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional

By including elements of caprice in their scenes of ruins Brambila and Gálvez give artistic and political concerns preference over a simple documentary recording of the events. Following Piranesi's example, exaggerating architectural elements is a useful tool to intensify the histrionic elaboration of the images' meaning. While their naturalism may imply an empirical study, it does not verify a topographical or an archaeologically precise portrayal of the Zaragozian ruins. Moreover, if the artists heightened the effects of these ruins to intensify the satisfaction in viewing them, it is also possible that Brambila and Gálvez altered reality purposefully to gain further sympathy for Zaragoza and Spain in general. By engaging the visual tradition of the ruin, the printmakers hoped to liken Spain's modern material losses to ancient examples in Rome, thus tempting travelers to the Iberian Peninsula with stunning images of architectural vestiges.

Valeriano Bozal, however, has argued that despite the similarities *Ruinas* shares with prints by Piranesi, the use of the word ruin in the title emphatically places the Spanish series in the nineteenth century. By incorporating the word ruin in individual images and in the title of the series, the artists emphasize desolation. Moreover, he suggests the prints lack the »heroic neoclassicism« of Piranesi.[50] Certainly, the series functions as a deeply Romantic work, despite

its eighteenth-century connections. The ruined monuments and grief-stricken figures relate to the other images of battles and portraits in the series, further linking the prints to their topical and political subject. Given that the ruins are modern their newly-made condition implies a direct result of war, since they were so forcefully and irreversibly altered from their former state. The artists also engage the sublime in the series with the play between overpowering and awe-inspiring architectural ruins in conjunction with the dead, mourning, or observers of the debris. By visualizing the ruins as fear-inducing yet stunning in their beauty, the artists hope to generate both an aesthetic sensation of pleasure and a nationalistic call to arms.[51]

In *Ruinas del interior de la yglesia del Carmen* (fig. 8) a heap of dead bodies occupies the center of the church directly beneath the dome and barrel vault. A shaft of light penetrates the top of the dome, dramatically highlighting the still life of decaying figures. The eerie effect is enhanced by the ominous shadows the concentrated shaft of light creates. This particular example focuses on the creative potential of the subject matter – atmospherically and metaphorically it relates the starkness and coldness of both the lifeless bodies and ruined church. Brambila's and Gálvez's interest in capturing the beauty of each structure – besides accentuating the appeal to the viewer by emphasizing the desolation caused by the French – not only ›documents‹ the damage, but also records the building's appearance, in varying degrees of accuracy, even in their ruined state. Brambila and Gálvez highlight the sublime effect of ruins with theatrical lighting, especially in *Ruinas del interior de la yglesia del Carmen* that has an almost Caravaggesque tenebrism; yet, despite the drama, the artists depict the ruins with an apparent realism, suggestive of an archaeological approach to the study of architectural design and structure, as if future onlookers will utilize the prints as academic sources on Spanish building techniques and historical forms.

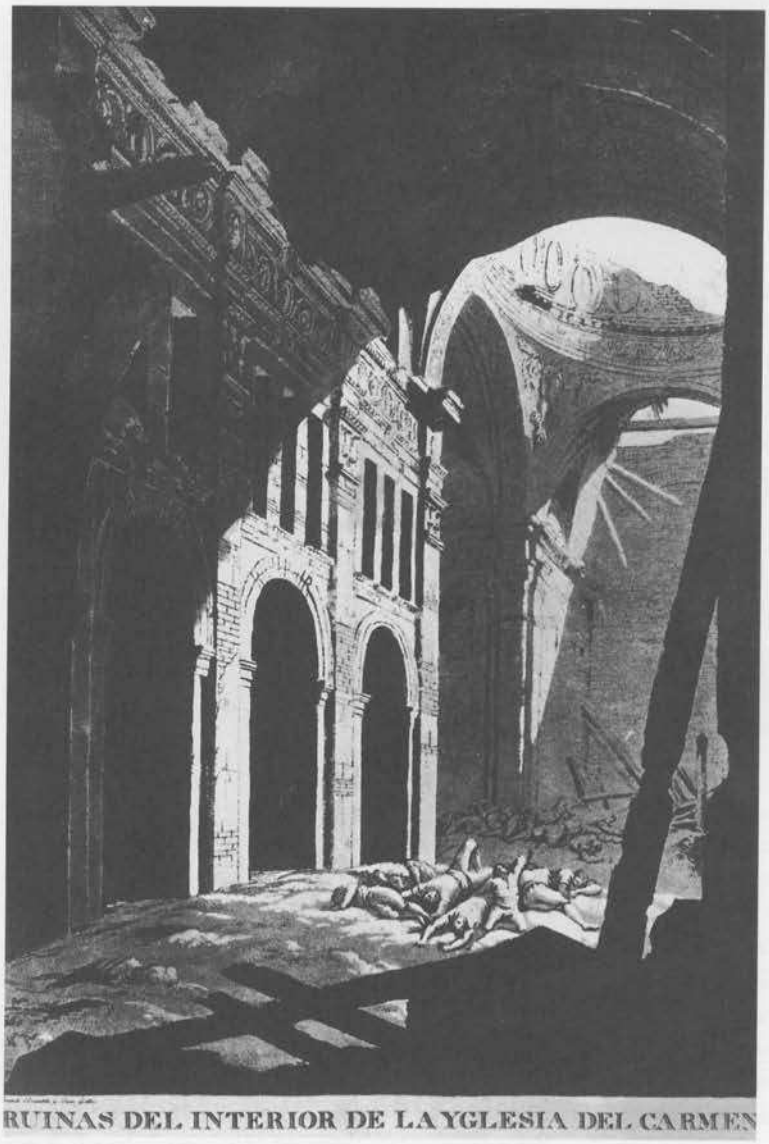
By foregrounding both the damage done to the citizens of Zaragoza and on Spain's material culture, Brambila and Gálvez promote a nationalistic agenda. In *Ruinas del interior de la yglesia del Carmen* the demolished church creates a more palatable presentation for the dead; yet, the print also reminds the viewer that such corporeal and architectural loss is a real effect of war. In comparing *Ruinas del interior de la yglesia del Carmen* to Théodore Géricault's painted images of death and corporeal ruin, such as *Study of Hands and Feet* from 1818–19, the relationship of Brambila's and Gálvez's series to Romanticism is evident. Despite the macabre subject matter of the print and the painting, the artists seem intent on rendering death in a visually compelling fashion. Regardless of the inclusion of human bodies and fragmented body parts, the viewer is moved by the careful lighting and compositional effects. Géricault's painting is a study of dark themes, first fragmented and then reassembled by the artist for aesthetic purposes. While many of the body parts belonged to executed criminals, others were drawn from live models, which underscores their importance to his aesthetic imagination.[52]

Several examples from Goya's *Desastres* also make instructive comparisons to Brambila's and Gálvez's *Ruinas del interior de la yglesia del Carmen*. Overall, Goya avoids portraits and identifiable locations and actual ruins. The artist populates his work with scenes of physical brutality – though generally not in the context of organized battles – and the ravages of these violent encounters, strange creatures, and beautiful decaying nudes. Goya repeats many of the same subjects and compositions, varying the images only slightly and often chooses a theme and

in: *Summa Artis. Historia General del Arte*, Madrid 1988, vol. 32, 274–78.

51 The classic text on the sublime is Edmund Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, London 1756.

52 For more information on the artist's fascination with death and execution, see Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, Géricault's Severed Heads and Limbs: The Politics and Aesthetics of the Scaffold, in: *Art Bulletin* 74, 1992, 599–618.



8. Fernando Brambila and Juan Gálvez, *Ruinas del interior de la yglesia del Carmen, Ruinas de Zaragoza*. 1808–14. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional

variation format. For example, in *Enterrar y callar* (fig. 9) and *Tanto y mas*, corpses heaped in piles are pushed to the foreground, forcing the viewer to observe the jumbled body parts up close. Unlike *Ruinas del interior de la yglesia del Carmen*, Goya shows more detail in the figures' facial expressions, contorted positions, and accessories – weapons, shoes, clothing. In addition, the artist does not give the figural mounds a grand or dramatic setting. By focusing on corporeal ruins, literally the bodily debris of the war, he encourages the viewer, like the two standing figures who hold handkerchiefs to their noses, to witness the atrocities of warfare. Just as the architectural views of *Ruinas* were compositionally calculated, Goya groups the cadavers in a visually persuasive fashion. In *Caridad* (fig. 10), a gaping grave welcomes the dead as clothed fig-

9. Francisco de Goya, *Enterrar y callar, Los Desastres de la Guerra*. c. 1812. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional

ures bury bodies stiff with rigor mortis. Despite the morbid topic, the artist treats the bodies with great care, like Géricault, giving them muscular definition, a sense of sculpted mass by varying the shading with different kinds of etched marks, and a classical beauty that coexists with their rigid forms. Unlike recently unearthed ancient objects, however, these corpses are being placed into the earth to decay completely. And similar to those sculptures from antiquity mutilated by man during restoration attempts, Goya's corpses have undergone torture or experienced disease at the hand of war.[53]

In Goya's *Enterrar y callar*, the decaying bodies are made more real because of the two figures' natural response to the stench; regardless of their revulsion, they stand over and gaze at the corpses. Reva Wolf regards these individuals as emblematic of Goya's play with voyeurism as a device to generate an emotional response, a characteristic component of Romanticism.[54] These witnesses to the mangled corpses (or other events) inflect the vital concept of empathy. The artist, however, does not offer any conciliatory or moralizing commentary. And unlike Brambila and Gálvez, Goya does not compensate for such

53 Barkan discusses the archaeological discoveries of ancient objects during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Once unearthed, these specimens of antiquity became part of the narrative of the Renaissance, inspiring both textual and artistic responses. He also examines the restoration process of fragmented works, arguing that the fragment is a »defining trope of neoclassicism.« See Barkan (as note 43), 119.

54 Reva Wolf, Onlooker, Witness, and Judge in Goya's *Disasters of War*, in: idem, *Fatal Consequences: Callot, Goya, and the Horrors of War*, Hanover (NH) 1990, 37–52 and 85–88, here 37–38.

55 For more information on Antoine-Jean Gros, see David O'Brien, Propaganda and the Republic of the Arts in Antoine-Jean Gros's *Napoleon Visiting the Battlefield of Eylau the Morning After the Battle*,

10. Francisco de Goya, *Caridad, Los Desastres de la Guerra*. c. 1812. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional

brutal imagery – there are no spectacular architectural ruins to contemplate. Also, Brambila and Gálvez often use long captions to describe the event in question, while Goya merely visualizes the suffering victims through corporeal means. Although he does include captions, the vague and enigmatic phrases he appends do little to illuminate the viewer. Thus, he relies on the up-close image of bodily ruin to convey the pain, suffering and anguish occasioned by war.

While *Ruinas* and *Desastres* show a variety of artistic responses from the Spanish side, several French artists working under Napoleon created prints and paintings of similar subjects. Typical of Napoleonic military imagery, artists such as Louis François Lejeune, Antoine Gros, and Carle Vernet, among others, rendered scenes of war, often featuring the emperor in a beneficent light, such as Gros' *Capitulation of Madrid, December 1808*.[55] Lejeune painted several battles on large-scale canvases and emphasized the landscape over the skirmish between Spanish and French forces. However, in *Assault on the Monastery of Santa Engracia, 8 February 1809* of 1827 (fig. 11) the monastery serves as a stage for the fighting in the foreground.[56] While the French (helped by a Polish regiment) emerge from the lush greenery on the left, Spaniards advance on them from the right. Dressed in standard military garb, the French contrast the Spanish forces whose sartorial items seem to come from prints of national dress showcasing billowing capes and colorful hair nets. Behind the clash the artist illuminates a sculpture of the pietà with an enormous cross supporting the Virgin with outstretched arms and upturned gaze. Christ complements her open pose with his head flung back and exposed body. Dramatically bathed in a white light, the sculpture seems ghost-like in comparison to the vibrant colors in the battle below. Moreover, the Virgin's supplication and suffering also relate to the corpses lying directly beneath the monument. In the background, more fighting takes place in and around Santa Engracia, although the structure is partially covered by trees and other vegetation. The ecclesiastical edifice and monument act as a kind of artistic and moral foil to the sheer military brute in the foreground. Lejeune's painting conveys an overwhelming sense of Romanticism, replete with theatrical lighting, an aggressive battle, and a murky sky. The building, however, is not cast as the most important character in the work: The partly ruined yet highly detailed structure takes a back seat to the overall mêlée below, which distinguishes his painting from prints dedicated to the same subject by Brambila and Gálvez. In *Ruinas del patio de S^ta. Engracia* (fig. 12) and in *Ruinas del patio, y costado de la yglesia de S^ta. Engracia* (fig. 13) the damaged structure is the central focus. The prints do not lack for any armed forced clashes or abundant foliage to participate in the Romantic tradition. By relying on the spoiled sixteenth-century arches, intricate architectural details, cast shadows, and a few figures, Brambila and Gálvez suggest that the material remains of Zaragoza are worthy of de-

in: *French Historical Studies* 26, 2003, 281–314 and Christopher Prendergast, *Napoleon and History Painting*, Oxford 1997.

56 Lejeune had military experience and participated in the majority of Napoleon's campaigns. For more information on Napoleonic war imagery, see Yveline Cantarel-Besson, Claire Constans, and Bruno Foucart, *Napoléon Images et Histoire: Peintures du château de Versailles (1789–1815)*, Paris 2001.

11. Louis François Lejeune, *Episode from the Second Siege of Saragossa in 1809, Assault on the Monastery of Santa Engracia, February 8th, 1809*. 1827.
Versailles, Musée National du Château de Versailles et du Trianon

12. Fernando Brambila and Juan Gálvez, *Ruinas del patio de S^ta. Engracia, Ruinas de Zaragoza.* 1808–14. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional

piction all on their own and are capable of making a patriotic plea.

By advocating that recently demolished architecture is a legitimate subject and by using it as a nationalistic call to arms, *Ruinas* takes on a distinctly Romantic and modern quality. The cultural patrimony lost during the two sieges is experienced communally by Zaragozians and serves as a metaphor for the losses incurred on a national level. Moreover, that which happened in this northern town makes an instructive comparison to the many towns and cities that also encountered hardships and demolition during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic campaigns. Peter Fritzsche has discussed the newly-felt, Romantic vision of and approach to the past as expressed and experienced by Europeans in the nineteenth century. Many felt a sense of disconnect to the past, viewed as eternally lost.[57] Because what was once considered so familiar and permanent was now threatened, »the restoration that followed Napoleon's fall remained fragile and even suspect« while images of the revolution and Napoleonic battles lingered as »evidence for the impermanence and indecipherability of the course of events.«[58] When called to document the wreckage, the foreign subject matter of newly-made ruins must have presented a difficult task for the artists. How do artists represent something seemingly unpre-

13. Fernando Brambila and Juan Gálvez, *Ruinas del patio, y costado de la yglesia de S^ta. Engracia, Ruinas de Zaragoza*. 1808–14. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional

cedented? The attacks on cultural sites in Zaragoza gave Brambila and Gálvez the opportunity to comment on the material loss from Spanish history, forever tainted by the invaders. By completing the series in Cádiz the artists participated in a nationalistic cause that could connect all Spaniards together against a common enemy.

In part because of the distinct rupture in European events from the turn of the century, Brambila's and Gálvez's images differ from those by Piranesi and his contemporaries. With a decided melancholy cast on the European imagination, the nationalistic quality of war-created ruins took on increased significance and closely tied the citizens of a particular place to their national and local identities.[59] Similarly Fritzsche states, »the very materiality« of fragments »was an unmistakable remainder of the ›historyness‹ of history, both the destruction and peril and also the survival of cultural entities.«[60] From an art historical perspective Beth S. Wright discusses the new ways artists conveyed history during the Restoration in France. With the recent upheavals

57 Peter Fritzsche, *Stranded in the Present: Modern Time and the Melancholy of History*, Cambridge (MA)/London 2004, 5–8.

58 Fritzsche (as note 57), 32.

59 For more information on the history of melancholic themes present in nineteenth-century art and literature, see William Hauptman, *The Persistence of Melancholy in Nineteenth-Century Art: The Iconog-*

artists lacked a novel approach to depicting history. They needed to conceive of styles that »privileged vivid description and psychic identification« forcing a »reevaluation of history painting.«[61] Ultimately, history had to undergo redefinition to make sense of the myriad horrific episodes and memories. Whether authors or artists, these individuals would be partly responsible for bringing meaning and ensuring closure so that the suffering would become more digestible and nations would mend. In order to preserve the memory of the past, Brambila and Gálvez began with the images of the troubled present. In addition, the subject matter was not the only new element to consider; a nineteenth-century audience could contemplate the Zaragozian ruins with modern eyes and consider them in their distinctly Spanish context. By politicizing the destruction of Zaragoza, the artists helped give value to the ruins as markers of Spanish survival and strength.

In the nineteenth century warfare continued to cause destruction and create more ruins. As Fritzsche states, »no longer part of the natural cycle of degeneration and regeneration, ruins were increasingly regarded as the sites of particular and knowable events,« emphasizing the point that the production of newly-made ruins was not the work of nature.[62] Despite the devastation, ruins still served as a source of pleasure, often creating a moral dilemma for spectators. Fernando Castro discusses the importance of Chateaubriand and his meditations on specific ruins as a way to contemplate more universal notions of death and decay.[63] In the context of the Paris Commune (1870–71) Alisa Luxenberg evaluates J. Andrieu's *Désastres de la guerre*, a series of photographs. Like *Ruinas de Zaragoza*, these images focus on architectural devastation and urban ruin, though the Frenchman suppresses figural elements. In response to these ruins Luxenberg argues that any pleasure experienced from witnesses was deemed appropriate in the nineteenth century, as if the evocation of beauty compensated for any loss and damage.[64] And despite the title's similarity to Goya's series – reproduced and sold in France after its initial publication in Madrid by the RASF – the Commune photographs have an even greater connection to the prints of Brambila and Gálvez. Like the Spanish series *Ruinas*, Andrieu places the viewer closer to the ruins, not at a safe distance typical of eighteenth-century views of ruined monuments.[65] By forcing the spectator to confront the architectural destruction directly in many of their prints, Brambila and Gálvez, like Andrieu, demand that the audience engage the horrors of war. Such manipulation of the prints devoted to ruins suggests that all three artists hoped to generate sympathy and to negate standard, ›unbiased‹ visual reportage.

Architectural ruins as visualized by Brambila and Gálvez hold valuable political and cultural significance. Because the artists foreground specificity and apparent realism, the ruins are recognizable despite their aesthetic enhancements. Any elements heightened for dramatic efforts, however, could certainly be used to further nationalistic causes among viewers of the prints. Unlike political prints that propagandize a particular cause with clearly understood symbols and meanings, Brambila and Gálvez use subtler

raphy of a Motif, Ph.D. diss., The Pennsylvania State University 1975.

60 Fritzsche (as note 57), 123.

61 Beth S. Wright, *Painting and History During the French Restoration: Abandoned by the Past*, Cambridge 1997, 17–18.

62 Fritzsche (as note 57), 101.

63 Fernando Castro, Chateaubriand en Roma o el espejo en Las Ruinas, in: *Fragmentos* 15, 1989, 4–25. Constantin-François Volney's *Les ruines, ou, Méditation sur les révolutions des empires* (1791) is another expository writing on the theme of ruins. For more information about the viewing of ruins, see Rose Macaulay, *Pleasure of Ruins*, London/New York 1953, rpt 1984.

64 Alisa Luxenberg, Creating *Désastres*: Andrieu's Photographs or Urban Ruins in the Paris of 1871, in: *Art Bulletin* 80, 1998, 113–37, here 119. For more information on the art during the Commune, see Albert Boime, *Art and the French Commune: Imagining Paris after War and Revolution*, Princeton (NJ) 1995.

65 Luxenberg (as note 64), 127.

means to evoke empathy in the viewer. Notwithstanding this Romantic desire, the artists underscore the melancholic beauty of the ruins, making the spectator's engagement with the consequences of the war more palatable. The artists also vary the compositions and subjects to enhance the artistic value of their prints. For example, comparing Figures 8 and 3 the *Ruinas del interior de la yglesia del Carmen* features people already dead, serving as an artistic meditation on decaying bodies and bombed-out architecture, whereas the *Ruinas del patio del hospital* includes animated individuals who contemplate the damage or begin the rebuilding process.

Conclusion

In contrast to the typical political prints that offered unmistakable partisan propaganda with recognizable notorieties and dogmatic allegories, Brambila and Gálvez present a series that is as much about the history of art (or art making) as it is about the Spanish War of Independence. The prints of destroyed public and ecclesiastical monuments establish a clear relationship to eighteenth-century view and ruin imagery as well as to the visual culture of Romanticism. Moreover, by placing themselves in the series in the act of sketching, the artists document their presence in Zaragoza *as artists*. More than mere observers, Brambila and Gálvez were called to Aragón for a specific reason, in a manner similar to war photographers beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, such as Matthew Brady during the Civil War. Although they document their presence to lend added authenticity to their series, the artists also emphasize their choice of composition in the depiction of mourning Spaniards, brave actions, and demolished structures. Unlike Goya, they focus their work on Zaragoza and the surrounding terrain, emphasizing geographical specificity. By referencing particular buildings, locations and individuals these artists highlight the events occurring in Aragón, borrowing from eighteenth-century ruin imagery normally associated with the antique to reinforce notions of loss. By participating in this tradition, they also foreground Spanish monuments' grandeur, suggesting, like Ponz in *Viaje de España*, that Spain's past is the equal of Italy's. Moreover, the importance given to the newly-created ruins in the context of war as a viable subject matter for art is emphatically modern. Ultimately, the prints demonstrate greater sensitivity to the nuances of war and its destructive effects on the landscape, buildings, and people. The Zaragozian ruins made by man are assuredly modern despite the artists' visual link between these recently-created material remains and those more closely tied to nature after centuries of slow decay. Such fragmentation of Spain's cultural patrimony allows viewers to feel horror and grief, yet also experience pleasure by the artists' manipulation of the subject. Their ambiguity and position between tradition and modernity remain their chief attractions and ensures their historical importance for scholars interested in the conjunction of art and warfare.

Photocredits: 1. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. – 2 Photo by: Paul Foster, 2005. – 3, 6–10, 12, 13 © Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. – 4 Image courtesy of the Digital Library for the Decorative Arts / UWDC. – 5 Photo: Agence Bulloz. InvP 1477. Musée de la Ville de Paris, Musée Carnavalet; Réunion des Musée Nationaux / Art Resource, NY. – 11 Photo. Daniel Arnaudet / Jean Shormans, MVG859. Châteaux de Versailles et Trianon, Versailles, France.