

*The Royal Image and Modern Spanish Iconoclasm*  
[La imagen real y la iconoclasia española moderna]

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From the nineteenth century onward a considerable number of hostile actions against the portraits of royalty and religious art have been recorded. This iconoclasm which, before the nineteenth century, was blamed on foreigners, began to become more common among Spaniards early in the century, increasing with the Carlist wars. Due to their increased frequency, such violent actions against these types of representation, both monarchical and religious, came to acquire a very characteristic social function, becoming rites dramatizing popular support for progress. The moments of greatest violence against these works took place during the Spanish civil war, including burning and sacking of churches and even murders of priests. With the rise of Francoism, the dictator cast the blame on foreign governments, which seems to suggest a generalized tendency by the Spanish authorities to attribute such acts alien forces.

*Keywords:* iconoclasm; religious art; monarchical portraits; Spain; Contemporary Period.

A partir del siglo XIX detectamos un gran número de acciones hostiles contra los retratos de la realeza y el arte religioso. Esta iconoclastia, de la que se culpó al extranjero antes del siglo XIX, comienza a adquirir fuerza dentro del pueblo español a principios del mismo siglo, con las guerras carlistas. Las acciones violentas contra este tipo de representaciones, tanto monárquicas como religiosas, debido a su auge llegan a adquirir una función social muy característica: ritos que escenifican el apoyo al progreso por parte del pueblo. Los momentos de mayor violencia hacia estas obras se sitúan durante la guerra civil, cuando se llegó a quemar iglesias, saquearlas o matar a clérigos. Con el ascenso del franquismo, el dictador culpó a mandatarios extranjeros de dichos comportamientos, lo que permite considerar que existe una interpretación generalizada respecto a estos actos por parte de las autoridades españolas.

*Palabras clave:* iconoclastia; arte religioso; retrato monárquico; España; Edad Contemporánea.

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## THE ROYAL IMAGE AND MODERN SPANISH ICONOCLASM

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In modern Spain, royal portraits suffered a number of iconoclastic affronts. These events, marking the ebb and flow of monarchical authority, first occurred regularly in politically turbulent moments of the nineteenth century. For example, people effaced portraits in the critical years of 1868 and 1873, with varying degrees of order or violence.<sup>1</sup> Alongside this hostility to ruler portraits, attacks on sacred images began to figure in domestic politics. With incremental steps through the reign of Alfonso XIII (1886-1931), religious art was a joint victim of attacks and progressively surpassed portraiture as the principal target of iconoclastic fury. What had developed as a method of opposing royalty ultimately outlasted the dynasty and culminated with extraordinary violence against sacred imagery during the Second Republic (1931-1939).

The history of early modern Spain (c.1500-1750) would not have suggested a path toward iconoclasm. Royal portraiture captured the essence of the monarchs and commanded the respect of audiences. Juan Bautista Maíno (1581-1641) illustrated this principle in *The Recapture of Bahía*, which depicts a portrait of Philip IV, ruling 1621-1665, presiding at a military victory in Brazil in 1625. The Dutch enemy troops have joined their Portuguese and Spanish captors in deference to the image surmounted by an elaborate canopy. Although Maíno here illustrated a fictional account of the triumph, he evoked actual methods of honoring royal portraits.<sup>2</sup> For

<sup>1</sup> "Iconoclasm" generally refers to the breaking of images, yet here the term also encompasses their orderly removal from public view. The notion that this phenomenon may develop violently or peacefully has found support in studies about, for example, the Netherlands, where the destructive outbreaks of 1566 were followed in Antwerp by the *Stille Beeldenstorm*, or quiet iconoclasm, of 1581. See David Freedberg, *Iconoclasm and Painting in the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1566-1609* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1988), 18.

<sup>2</sup> Jonathan Brown and John H. Elliot, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 184-187; and Javier Portús, "El retrato vivo.

instance, Diego Velázquez (1599-1660) composed a painting of Philip IV victorious after a battle at Fraga. The canvas promptly went to Madrid and received honors underneath a gold-embroidered canopy at the church of San Martín on August 10, 1644. Viewers beheld the portrait alongside an image of the Virgin of Montserrat, thereby perceiving a political and sacred alliance in the pairing.<sup>3</sup>

In this spirit of veneration for princely imagery, Spaniards also opposed the mistreatment of religious art. In one of his rare references to Spain, Giorgio Vasari narrated an act of destruction and its aftermath. Pietro Torrigiano (1472-1528), a Florentine sculptor active in Seville, had made a statue of the Virgin Mary for the Duke of Arcos. The patron reportedly angered the artist with an unusually low payment, which spurred Torrigiano to destroy his own work. Instead of entering the judicial system as a contractual dispute, the case of the ruined Virgin went to the office of the Inquisition. Torrigiano, now an alleged heretic, refused the authority of this court and starved himself to death. The veracity of this account, like so many others by Vasari, has been reasonably called into question, yet it suggests that Spain had an international reputation for protecting the integrity of religious art.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, by highlighting the misdeed of a foreigner in Seville, this episode conforms to a pattern of blaming outsiders for the destruction of images. For example, around 1630 authorities in Madrid charged members of a crypto-Jewish family of Portuguese descent for desecrating a crucifix. Although they were nominally Catholic, the perpetrators stood outside the norms of Spanish identity and unity. Their public punishment in an *auto de fe* in 1632 helped to reinforce the notion that mistreating images was fundamentally alien to Spain.<sup>5</sup>

Fiestas y ceremonias alrededor de un rey y su palacio,” in *El Real Alcázar de Madrid: dos siglos de arquitectura y coleccionismo en la corte de los reyes de España*, ed. Fernando Checa (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid and Nerea, 1994), 115-117. The regal painting of 1634-1635 by Maíno is today at the Prado Museum (catalogue no. P00885).

<sup>3</sup> José Pellicer [de Ossau y Tovar], *Avisos históricos*, ed. Antonio Valladares de Sotomayor, vol. 3 (Madrid: Blas Román, 1787-1788), 215. The portrait by Velázquez is at the Frick Collection in New York City (accession no. 1911.1.123).

<sup>4</sup> Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, trans. Gaston Du C. de Vere, vol. 2 (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1979), 862. I thank Daniel Puertas Márquez for bringing this account to my attention and offering his thoughts on its significance.

<sup>5</sup> A large painting of c.1647-1651 by Francisco Rizi in the Prado Museum (catalogue no. P03775) depicts the abuse of the crucifix; Juan Ignacio Pulido Serrano studies the incident in *Injurias a Cristo. Religión, política y antijudaísmo en el siglo XVII: análisis de las corrientes antijudías durante la Edad Moderna* (Alcalá de Henares: Instituto Internacional de Estudios Sefardíes y Andalusíes, Universidad de Alcalá and Servicio de Publicaciones, 2002). In Jeffrey Schrader, *La Virgen de Atocha: los Austrias y las imágenes milagrosas*, trans. Teresa Sans and Fabián Chueca (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2006), 16, 17, 56, 57, 113, I analyze the ascription of attacks on sacred images to culprits

Ascribing iconoclasm chiefly to foreigners did not remain tenable in the nineteenth century. In the first Carlist War of 1833-1840, Spaniards unequivocally took part in destroying images. The conflict arose from a dispute over whether Ferdinand VII (d.1833) would bequeath the throne to his brother or daughter. The former, the *infante* Carlos (1788-1845), advanced a conservative vision of the union of altar and throne. By contrast, the infant Isabel, born 1830, ruling 1833-1868, in the care of the Regent María Cristina, became identified with relatively liberal causes.<sup>6</sup> Reports and rumors began to circulate, alleging that religious establishments were supporting Carlos against Queen Isabel II. On July 17, 1834, as Carlist forces were said to approach Madrid, mobs attacked several religious communities with the objective of preventing them from working against the queen. For example, at San Francisco el Grande, the assailants murdered more than forty Franciscans and specifically mutilated images of saints. The cloisters were littered with items ransacked from the cells and the church.<sup>7</sup> At Santo Tomás, seven Dominicans were killed, and the art likewise suffered damage.<sup>8</sup> An eighteenth-century *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception*, probably taken from this establishment, offers rare evidence of the vandalism. Reassembled after having been shattered, it bears an inscription on the reverse that ascribes its destruction to this rampage of murderous liberals.<sup>9</sup>

The example of Madrid inspired events in other cities, including Barcelona. Here people attacked several monasteries on July 25, 1835. Sixteen priests died; in some cases, spectators cheered their deaths while voicing support for Queen Isabel II.<sup>10</sup> Despite his attempts to restore order, the military governor of Barcelona, Pedro Nolasco Bassa, was himself killed on August 5. People immediately turned their attention to the only bronze equestrian statue in the city, namely that of Ferdinand VII in the Plaza de Palacio. The captain general Charles d'Espagnac (1775-1839), also known as the *Conde de España*, had commissioned this portrait from a French artist,

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outside Spanish Catholicism. More recently Felipe Pereda, *Las imágenes de la discordia: política y poética de la imagen sagrada en la España del 400* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2007), 354-356, has studied similar dynamics in sixteenth-century Granada.

<sup>6</sup> Gloria Martínez Dorado and Juan Pan-Montojo, "El primer carlismo, 1833-1840," *Ayer*, no. 38 (2000): 54-56, identify dynastic succession as one of several related disputes that fueled the war.

<sup>7</sup> Manuel Revuelta González, *El anticlericalismo español en sus documentos* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1999), 39-45; José Salvador y Conde, "Objetos artísticos desamortizados del Real Convento de Atocha, de Madrid," *Archivo Dominicano*, no. 26 (2005): 163.

<sup>8</sup> Salvador y Conde, "Objetos artísticos", 163.

<sup>9</sup> *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception*, ink on ivory, 27 × 17 cm, Convent of Santa Isabel, Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (catalogue no. XX-9291P, inventory no. 00630929).

<sup>10</sup> Antonio Moliner Prada, "El anticlericalismo popular durante el bienio 1834-1835," *Hispania Sacra* 49, no. 100 (1997): 524-525.

and the ceremonial unveiling had taken place in November 1831. About three meters tall, the image towered over viewers from a pedestal of nearly equal height. Both the captain general and the king had been repressive, unpopular figures, and people gladly placed a rope around the neck of Ferdinand VII in order to tear him down. In its stead arose a portrait of Isabel II.<sup>11</sup> The removal of the equestrian statue constituted the most significant attack on an image in the city for years.

Despite the early identification of Isabel II with liberalism and the enthusiastic introduction of her portraits throughout Spain, she became increasingly conservative and reliant on the Church as a source of power. This trajectory culminated in February 1868, when Pope Pius IX conferred upon her the Golden Rose for her leadership and defense of Catholicism.<sup>12</sup> The papal award, of medieval origin, had previously gone to other distinguished figures, including the exemplar of Spanish Catholic queenship, Isabel of Castile, ruling 1474-1504.<sup>13</sup> Yet the blessing from Rome brought no lasting benefits to Isabel II; she faced growing pressure from liberals, who regarded the Golden Rose unfavorably and soon guided her into exile in September 1868.<sup>14</sup> This development took an unusual twist when no Bourbon successor assumed the throne, leaving the monarchy in an ambiguous state.

With this power vacuum, the image of the queen disappeared around the country. For instance, portraits in the *casa consistorial* and public offices of Valladolid were destroyed, and the same fate befell the royal coat of arms in other establishments in this city.<sup>15</sup> In one case here, a progressive figure at the *gobierno civil* came to “feel iconoclastic” and tossed a bust-length statue of the queen from a balcony; a rowdy mob beheld the portrait as it

<sup>11</sup> Judit Subirachs i Burgaya, *L'escultura del segle XIX a Catalunya: del romanticisme al realisme* (Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat, 1994), 183-185; *Gaceta de Madrid*, no. 145, November 26, 1831, 642; Joaquín del Castillo y Mayone, *La ciudadela inquisitorial de Barcelona, ó las víctimas inmoladas en las aras del atroz despotismo del Conde de España* (Barcelona: Librería Nacional de D. M. Saurí, 1835), offers a representative, if polemical, viewpoint of the leadership of the captain general.

<sup>12</sup> *Gaceta de Madrid*, vol. 207, no. 45, February 14, 1868, 1-5.

<sup>13</sup> Álvaro Fernández de Córdova Miralles, “Imagen de los Reyes Católicos en la Roma pontificia,” *En la España Medieval*, no. 28 (2005): 293, 299, describes the award to Isabel of Castile. For a history of the Golden Rose, see Marina Caffiero, “L’antico mistero della Rosa d’Oro: Usi, significati e trasformazioni di un rituale della corte di Roma tra Medioevo e età contemporanea,” in *Le Destin des rituels: faire corps dans l’espace urbain, Italie-France-Allemagne*, ed. Gilles Bertrand and Ilaria Taddei (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2008), 41-72.

<sup>14</sup> Gregorio de la Fuente Monge, “El enfrentamiento entre clericales y revolucionarios en torno a 1869,” *Ayer*, no. 44 (2001): 127.

<sup>15</sup> *La Correspondencia de España*, vol. 19, no. 3,972, October 3, 1868, 1.

smashed to pieces in the plaza.<sup>16</sup> In Arenys de Mar (Barcelona), a new junta was formed at the *casa consistorial*, where the queen's portrait was thrown into the street and set ablaze.<sup>17</sup> In the city of Barcelona, people incinerated her portraits and, at different buildings, defaced crowns sculpted in stone to demonstrate "not only their hate for the woman, but also for the institution."<sup>18</sup> News of the revolution advanced from Catalonia to Menorca; the port city of Mahon celebrated the departure of Isabel II by destroying her portraits and attacking royal escutcheons on public buildings.<sup>19</sup> In Málaga, images drew violence on at least two occasions. On September 22, a group went through the *ayuntamiento* and reduced a portrait of the queen to pieces. Three days later, large groups ran through the streets and converged on the Príncipe Alfonso Theater with the intention of eliminating her image there.<sup>20</sup> For its part, the municipal government of Seville, newly reconstituted after the political turmoil had prompted resignations, quickly took down her portrait at the *ayuntamiento* and ripped the canvas.<sup>21</sup> In other places, the methods of attacking her image included beheading and stabbing.<sup>22</sup>

Evidence suggests that sacred images also experienced setbacks after the departure of Isabel II, if not with the same intensity as in the wartime disturbances of 1834-1835. For centuries, the monarchs had been the foremost defenders of the faith, yet this position now went vacant in Spain, leaving the sacred patrimony vulnerable. Municipal and provincial governments undertook a number of reforms that entailed the destruction of churches or the curtailing of ecclesiastical authority and symbols. For instance, a worker dislodged an image of the Virgin from the façade of a building in Seville but accidentally sent it smashing on the ground, prompting applause and cheers from some of the witnesses.<sup>23</sup> Sacrilegious thefts and the shooting

<sup>16</sup> Gregorio de la Fuente Monge, *Los revolucionarios de 1868: élites y poder en la España liberal* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2000), 110.

<sup>17</sup> *La Esperanza*, no. 7,354, October 3, 1868, 3.

<sup>18</sup> *La Discusión*, vol. 13, no. 41, November 21, 1868, 1.

<sup>19</sup> *Diario de Mahon*, vol. 1, no. 177, October 3, 1868, 2.

<sup>20</sup> José Velasco Gómez, "Federalismo republicano en la Málaga de 1868," *Revista Jábega*, no. 17 (1977): 14, 15.

<sup>21</sup> María del Carmen Fernández Albéndiz, *Sevilla y la monarquía: visitas reales del siglo XIX* (Universidad de Sevilla, 2007), 140.

<sup>22</sup> De la Fuente Monge, *Los revolucionarios*, 43, 92, 94, 97, 100-104, 106, 110, provides additional details and instances of iconoclasm.

<sup>23</sup> José María Tassara y González, *Apuntes para la historia de la revolución de septiembre del año de 1868, en la ciudad de Sevilla. Noticia de los templos y monumentos derribados y de las iglesias clausuradas, de orden de la Junta Revolucionaria, durante el mando del Ayuntamiento popular interino* (Sevilla: Gironés, 1919), 25-26.

of religious images also happened in 1868-1869.<sup>24</sup> These developments unfolded against the backdrop of an occasionally tense dialogue of national authorities with the Spanish clergy and the ecclesiastical hierarchy in Rome, all of whom were closely watching any changes to the juridical status, privileges, and possessions of the Church in Spain.<sup>25</sup>

A little more than two years passed before another king, namely Amadeo I, ruling 1870-1873, would arrive to fulfill the traditional role of defending the faith. Upon assuming the throne, one of his initial tasks had been to define his public image, which rested in part on the dissemination of portraiture.<sup>26</sup> Considerable assistance came from the machinery of state and commerce. It was an urgent mission for the Italian-born monarch, who had reached power through the unprecedented mechanism of a parliamentary vote. Even before his arrival in Spain in December 30, 1870, the central government reportedly sent portraits of him to all cities.<sup>27</sup> Newspaper advertisements subsequently named the different types of portraits for sale by photographers and lithographers. In the weeks after Amadeo I reached Madrid, the principal shops of the city, especially in areas with the greatest pedestrian traffic, were displaying a variety of his portraits.<sup>28</sup> Artists experienced a burst of productivity:

The Interior Minister ordered that all municipal governments (*ayuntamientos*) place a portrait of the king at the front of their session halls. To this end, commissions rained down on modest painters and the most advanced students of the Academy of San Fernando; in a few days in Madrid alone, more than a thousand portraits were painted of Don Amadeo in the uniform of captain general, with white breeches and riding boots, and one hand on a red velvet-covered table, on which rested a velvet cushion with the royal crown and scepter. Some municipal governments asked for the book of the Constitution of 1869 to be highlighted on the table.<sup>29</sup>

When the king began a journey in September 1871 around the nation, the ephemeral decoration at major cities and minor towns along his itinerary sometimes included his image. A canopy or structure might

<sup>24</sup> Vicente Cárcel Ortí, *La gran persecución: España, 1931-1939* (Barcelona: Planeta, 2000), 40.

<sup>25</sup> Vicente Cárcel Ortí captures some of these developments in *Iglesia y revolución en España (1868-1874): estudio histórico-jurídico desde la documentación vaticana inédita* (Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 1979), 134, 135, 137-142, 150, 152.

<sup>26</sup> Alicia Mira Abad, "La imagen de la monarquía o cómo hacerla presente entre sus súbditos: Amadeo y María Victoria," *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, no. 37-2 (2007): 173-198.

<sup>27</sup> *El Combate*, vol. 1, no. 28, November 28, 1870, 2.

<sup>28</sup> *El Imparcial*, vol. 5, no. 1,313, January 13, 1871, 3.

<sup>29</sup> "Hoy hace sesenta años," *El Imparcial*, vol. 66, no. 22,109, May 10, 1931, 3.

frame his likeness, or, in the case of Castellón de la Plana, the portrait was paraded and acclaimed.<sup>30</sup> These public honors were important in light of the novel, even tenuous authority of Amadeo I. For example, many monarchists favored rule by the more familiar Bourbons rather than the Savoyard. Moreover, a significant number of Republicans were skeptical of the monarchy altogether. Then there were other parties who simply disagreed with the king's policies. By coalescing around portraiture, however, Spaniards demonstrated their adherence to a ruler at the helm of a nation democratic and monarchical at the same time.

The portraits issued throughout Spain in 1870-1871 did not enjoy their prominence for long. Despite the initial public tolerance of Amadeo I, he had little support during his brief, troublesome reign, which historians now subsume in the *sexenio revolucionario* (1868-1874).<sup>31</sup> Intractable problems weakened his authority, leading him to abdicate suddenly in February 1873. A parliamentary majority, seeking to bring forth a republic, hastened to end the monarchy altogether.<sup>32</sup> Reactions suggest widespread readiness for parting ways with the king. In Villa Carlos (Menorca), residents promptly destroyed his portrait in the *ayuntamiento*.<sup>33</sup> In Barcelona, the *casa consistorial* quickly displayed a portrait of George Washington where royal portraits previously had received ceremonial honors.<sup>34</sup> In Montilla (Córdoba), an image of Amadeo I had been on display underneath a canopy; it was swiftly thrown to the ground and ripped to pieces.<sup>35</sup> In Seville, the proclamation of the Republic led to the gathering of his portraits from the halls of the *diputación* and the *ayuntamiento* for an “*auto-de-fe*.”<sup>36</sup> These deeds anticipated the bureaucratic initiatives of the following months. For example, the *Junta Provincial de Barcelona* ordered teachers to remove portraits of Amadeo I from the schools and to leave Republican emblems in their stead.<sup>37</sup> As late

<sup>30</sup> Antonio Pirala, *El rey en Madrid y en provincias* (Madrid: Quirós and Impresor de Cámara, 1872), 198 (Mogente), 241 (Puzol), 245 (Burriana), 250 n.1 (Castellón de la Plana), 254 (Amposta), and 357 (Binefar).

<sup>31</sup> Carmen Bolaños Mejías, *El reinado de Amadeo de Saboya y la monarquía constitucional* (Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 1999), provides an account of this king.

<sup>32</sup> Francisco Martí Gilabert, *La primera República española, 1873-1874* (Madrid: Rialp, 2007), 17-24.

<sup>33</sup> *El Menorquín*, vol. 5, no. 1,073, February 14, 1873, 1. The town of Villa Carlos is today Es Castell.

<sup>34</sup> *La Flaca*, vol. 2, no. 52, February 14, 1873, 4; *La Correspondencia de España*, vol. 24, no. 5,558, February 16, 1873, 2.

<sup>35</sup> *La Época*, vol. 25, no. 7,493, April 6, 1873, 1. This account explains the developments in Montilla that began on February 12, 1873.

<sup>36</sup> *La Correspondencia de España*, vol. 24, no. 5,558, February 16, 1873, 3.

<sup>37</sup> *El Magisterio Balear: Periódico de Primera Enseñanza*, vol. 1, no. 9, March 30, 1873, 6.



as May 1873, the press reported an order to remove the remaining portraits in the offices of the Ministry of War.<sup>38</sup> A combination of violent acts and orderly procedures led to the disappearance of many of the king's images, although several survived and were later modified so that the face of Alfonso XII, ruling 1875-1885, replaced that of Amadeo I.<sup>39</sup>

No contemporaries drew up comprehensive lists of iconoclastic acts, yet this brief compilation is representative of incidents throughout Spain. These developments permit a few observations. The speed with which people responded to the changes in government is remarkable. For example, in the hours and days after the announcement of his abdication, Spaniards acted against the portraits of Amadeo I. The absence of nationwide coordination might lead historians to perceive spontaneity in these steps, yet these gestures are not without historical foundations. The simple fact that Sevillians gathered his portraits for an *auto de fe* indicates a ritualistic character to the destruction. These proceedings, derived from the memory of the Inquisition, provided Spaniards with a rich frame of references. The theatricality assured maximum visibility for a ceremony that, in the eyes of the inquisitors, reinforced the divinely established order of the world and punished transgressors.<sup>40</sup> In nineteenth-century politics, however, the collective burning of royal images suggested that the king had violated the social order. Other methods of punishing images likewise featured high visibility, yet this inflammatory technique seemingly shone more brightly than the others in the historical record. Fifty years after Isabel II had to leave Spain, a Republican newspaper approvingly cited how the revolution of 1868 had led to the massive burning of her portraits in the public square.<sup>41</sup>

Although iconoclasm gained currency in social and political discourse in the nineteenth century, there is little information on the identities or objectives of the perpetrators. Individual names are exceptionally rare, and it is difficult to develop elaborate conclusions about intellectual or political motives. It is tempting to speculate that only Republicans attacked images of the king and queen. This viewpoint finds support in the words of Francisco Pi y Margall (1824-1901), who presided briefly over the First Republic in 1873. When giving an account of the Glorious Revolution of September 1868, the statesman affirmed that monarchists initially had promoted the event as a method of placing a new ruler on the throne. The

<sup>38</sup> *La Correspondencia de España*, vol. 24, no. 5,634, May 4, 1873, 1.

<sup>39</sup> "Hoy hace sesenta años" (as in n.29).

<sup>40</sup> Francisco Bethencourt, "The Auto da Fé: Ritual and Imagery," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 55 (1992): 155-160.

<sup>41</sup> *El Luchador*, vol. 6, no. 1,518, April 17, 1918, 1.

transition between different members of the Bourbon dynasty, however, ostensibly spun out of control when the *pueblo* intervened, “Not only were portraits of the monarchs torn up everywhere, but what in earlier times had been the representation and symbol of the monarchy, namely the crown, disappeared from all the coats of arms and all the public buildings.”<sup>42</sup> This characterization depicts divided monarchists falling before a monolithic Republican *pueblo*, the unity of which Pi y Margall likely wished to exaggerate. By contrast, a historian has suggested a more limited political statement, “The fact that the people burned a portrait of Isabel II [...] could only be interpreted by politicians as a festive way of demonstrating support” for the post-Isabeline revolutionary juntas. These local and provincial authorities often featured monarchist and Republican coalitions, proving that the elimination of royal portraits did not always unfold in concert with uniformly antiroyal political institutions.<sup>43</sup>

The departure of Amadeo I in 1873, however, permits a reasonably solid interpretation of the fortunes of the equestrian portrait of Philip III, ruling 1598-1621, in the Plaza Mayor. Giambologna (1529-1608) and Pietro Tacca (1577-1640) had created the statue in 1606-1614 at the behest of Ferdinando I of Tuscany, ruling 1587-1609. It stood within a tradition of equestrian imagery featuring an “imperial theme, which suggests a dynastic right to rule by associating the sitter with emperors of the past, and secondarily by identifying the sitter with the contemporary ruling class, which made aristocratic use of the horse.”<sup>44</sup> Philip III received the portrait in 1616, upon which he sent it to the gardens of the Casa de Campo just outside Madrid. The monumental image had the ability to define the character of its environment, in this case by transforming a bucolic *villa de placer* into a *villa de poder*.<sup>45</sup> Yet this transformative power did not reach its full potential until March 1848, when Isabel II completed the transfer of the equestrian

<sup>42</sup> Francisco Pi y Margall, *El reinado de Amadeo de Saboya y la República de 1873* (Madrid: Seminarios y Ediciones, 1970), 105-106.

<sup>43</sup> Gregorio de la Fuente Monge, “La revolución de 1868 y la continuidad del personal político,” *Ayer*, no. 29 (1998): 170.

<sup>44</sup> Walter Liedtke, *The Royal Horse and Rider: Painting, Sculpture, and Horsemanship 1500-1800* (New York: Abaris Books in association with the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989), 38, 70, 204-205.

<sup>45</sup> Javier Rivera Blanco, “Juan Bautista de Toledo y la Casa de Campo de Madrid. Vicisitudes del Real Sitio en el siglo xvi,” in *A propósito de la agricultura de jardines de Gregorio de los Ríos*, ed. Joaquín Fernández Pérez and Tascón Ignacio González (Madrid: Real Jardín Botánico, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Área de Medio Ambiente and Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1991), 122; cited by Alberto Sanz Hernando, who analyzes the Casa de Campo and provides illustrations of seventeenth-century views of the statue at the estate, in *El jardín clásico madrileño y los reales sitios* (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid and Área de Las Artes, 2009), 109-122.

statue from the marginal villa to the central Plaza Mayor.<sup>46</sup> Although she united the statue with the plaza that had taken shape under Philip III, she was not merely celebrating seventeenth-century art and architecture. The queen surely knew that the portrait, originally bearing a message of dynastic continuity, would assume new currency after the French Revolution of February 1848. The revolt had spurred King Louis Philippe to abdicate, raising the risk of upheaval in other European lands. Spaniards, who were debating the merits of republicanism, no longer saw the monarchy as an uncontested form of government.<sup>47</sup> With the threat of instability, Isabel II enlisted Philip III to advance her cause.

The subsequent history of the Habsburg portrait confirms the perception of an anti-Republican meaning. After Amadeo I abdicated in February 1873, the Plaza Mayor was renamed the Plaza de la República.<sup>48</sup> This step obscured the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century origins of the square as a symbol of royal government and authority.<sup>49</sup> It would have been discordant to then retain the statue of Philip III, elevated on a pedestal above the people newly free from monarchical rule. By June 21, the municipal government decided to remove the portrait, prompting a complaint about the peril to additional statues in public sites.<sup>50</sup> By the symbolic anniversary of July 7, authorities had escorted Philip III from the plaza.<sup>51</sup> On that date in 1822, Spaniards in favor of constitutional government had fought successfully against forces seeking to expand the authority of Ferdinand VII. One periodical illustrated the unceremonious removal of the king's likeness and criticized the mistreatment of images:

<sup>46</sup> *Diario Oficial de Avisos de Madrid*, no. 151, March 30, 1848, [4]. *El Heraldo* (Madrid), no. 1,584, August 8, 1847, 4, reports that the pedestal was to be completed in September or October 1847. The work inexplicably dragged on into the following year, with no discernible progress until the pedestal suddenly became ready for the equestrian statue in March 1848.

<sup>47</sup> *El republicanismo en España (1830-1977)*, ed. Nigel Townson and Alicia Alted Vigil (Madrid: Alianza, 1994).

<sup>48</sup> Wifredo Rincón García, "La Plaza Mayor española, espacio para la sociedad y el poder," in *Arte, poder y sociedad en la España de los siglos xv a xx*, ed. Miguel Cabañas Bravo and Amelia López Yarte *et al.* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008), 269.

<sup>49</sup> Jesús Escobar, *La Plaza Mayor y los orígenes del Madrid barroco*, trans. Mercedes Polledo (Donostia, San Sebastián: Nerea and DL, 2007), 93-101, 109-117, 125-129, 206, explains how Philip II and Philip III oversaw the development of this public square and imparted a royal character to its architecture and ceremonial life.

<sup>50</sup> *La Iberia*, vol. 21, no. 5, 128, June 21, 1873, [3]: "Los intransigentes están de enhorabuena; pronto desaparecerán de la capital cuantas estatuas adornan los paseos públicos."

<sup>51</sup> *La Correspondencia de España*, vol. 24, no. 5, 698, July 7, 1873, [2].

Why the determination to break and abolish or efface crowns and coats of arms, to vandalize or demolish monuments and statues wherever they may be found? [...]

The statues and the monuments belong to humankind. Peoples since olden times have them and conserve them as a sacred and inviolable repository, which must be handed down to future generations.

Do not humiliate or tear down statues, but rather raise them diligently and care for them with love and respect, as all civilized peoples and the most distinguished capitals of the Old World and the New World do.<sup>52</sup>

Despite this attempt to reclassify the royal monument with the neutral status of an artwork, the portrait was banished initially to a municipal warehouse. The absence from the square was brief. Following the collapse of the First Republic on January 3, 1874, the municipal government decided on January 19 to restore the statue to its pedestal.<sup>53</sup> By March 15, Philip III was back in the saddle, so to speak, although visitors to the Plaza Mayor noticed that his dagger and spurs had gone missing.<sup>54</sup>

The Habsburg king and his kin were not as fortunate in 1931. Many Spaniards viewed the elections this year as a referendum on the monarchy, which found itself in a precarious situation. After the vote of April 12 led to the declaration of the Second Republic, Alfonso XIII hastily left the country. People celebrated in the streets and public urban spaces. In contrast to the orderly developments of 1873, crowds swiftly wrecked the portrait of Philip III in the Plaza Mayor by April 15.<sup>55</sup> Shortly thereafter, the national newspaper, *ABC*, cited this act when denouncing the conduct of *iconoclastas*.<sup>56</sup> One can neatly link the removal of this image in 1873 and 1931 to Republicanism. Likewise, the responses in the press attest that such initiatives never drew universal acclaim from Spaniards. Despite the gap of nearly sixty years between these two incidents, the similarities attest to a common iconoclastic tradition in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Moreover, the punishment of a seventeenth-century portrait reveals that old artworks assumed fresh political meanings during their passage through the

<sup>52</sup> *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, vol. 17, no. 27, July 16, 1873, 436, 446.

<sup>53</sup> *La Época*, vol. 26, no. 7,771, January 20, 1874, [3].

<sup>54</sup> *La Época*, vol. 26, no. 7,824, March 15, 1874, [4].

<sup>55</sup> *La Voz*, vol. 12, no. 3,213, April 15, 1931, 1.

<sup>56</sup> *ABC* (Madrid), vol. 27, no. 8,844, April 30, 1931, 17. The *Ayuntamiento de Madrid* returned the statue of Philip III to the Plaza Mayor in August 1934; see "Ayer quedó de nuevo Felipe III cabalgando en la plaza Mayor," *La Libertad*, vol. 16, no. 4,500, August 24, 1934, 1-2. The Republican municipal government restored it as an artistic rather than political monument, although the return of the statue to the Plaza Mayor may have responded to the rightward turn of the national government following elections in November 1933.

centuries. Almost simultaneously with the attack in the Plaza Mayor, crowds tore down a full-length portrait of Isabel II from its pedestal near the Royal Theater. This bronze, commissioned in 1850 from José Piquer Duart (1806-1871), was itself several decades old and had no immediate bearing on the Second Republic; however, it represented the deceased grandmother of Alfonso XIII and accordingly deserved removal to the Puerta del Sol for mocking and abuse.<sup>57</sup>

Broad hostility to royal images predictably accompanied the collapse of the monarchy in 1931. On April 13 students entered the University of Valencia, flung a portrait of Alfonso XIII from a balcony, and introduced the flag of the Federación Escolar Universitaria, an organization with an antimonarchist character.<sup>58</sup> On April 14 in Barcelona, several portraits of “the ex-king who stupidly prided himself on being the heir of Philip V” were tossed into the streets amidst an outpouring of enthusiasm for the Republic.<sup>59</sup> That same day, in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, people surged into the *Casa Consistorial* and threw the portraits of the king into the street; the crowds, however, magnanimously pardoned one painting in order to display it alongside mummies in a museum.<sup>60</sup> The destructive acts, by now a ritual in periods of upheaval, drew scorn in one Spanish newspaper as a convenient device for local leaders to preserve their own power:

The same individuals who were liberals and conservatives under the ancien régime, and then became dictatorial when the dictatorship arose, and who began the last year confusingly, because they did not perceive clarity in the politics of Madrid, now pass unashamedly to the Republic, and they transform their committees and associations, and they get rid of the portraits of Don Alfonso and deliver devastating speeches.<sup>61</sup>

Despite the passing reference to Alfonso XIII, the Republican author of this passage advanced a compelling critique of iconoclasm. Effacing royal portraits ostensibly accredited the perpetrators as agents of change, yet it

<sup>57</sup> *Heraldo de Madrid*, vol. 41, no. 14,104, April 15, 1931, 8; *Estatuas de Madrid*, ed. Gloria Esparraguera Calvo and Carmen Rojas Cerro (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid and Área de Las Artes, 2011), 56.

<sup>58</sup> *Arena numerosa: Colección de fotografía histórica de la Universitat de València*, ed. Daniel Benito Goerlich (Universitat de València, 2006), 167.

<sup>59</sup> Lluís Capdevila, “Crónica: Història del dia 14,” *L’Esquella de la Torratxa*, vol. 55, no. 2,702, April 17, 1931, 243.

<sup>60</sup> C.P., “De cómo, antes que en Madrid, se proclamó la República en Las Palmas,” *Crónica*, no. 79, May 17, 1931, 9; Pedro Almeida Cabrera, *Néstor (1887-1938): un canario cosmopolita* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, 1987), 30, 138.

<sup>61</sup> “Los pueblos y el régimen,” *La Voz*, vol. 12, no. 3,232, May 8, 1931, 1.

had become a facile enterprise that authorities had co-opted throughout Spain. Moreover, iconoclastic deeds offered the illusion of progressive action and distracted the *pueblo* from whether the local hierarchy truly had made substantive improvements. The solution to this misguided emphasis on images was to concentrate instead on replacing those leaders with authentic Republicans, thereby yielding a genuine change of government.<sup>62</sup>

The removal of princely imagery, then, required new strategies in order to continue projecting a clear message. And the Second Republic seemingly gave rise to a practice that Spaniards had not yet pursued or recorded in historical accounts. Authorities extended their reach and forced private individuals to surrender or withdraw images unwillingly. When reports of these incidents surfaced in the press, the tenor of the language suggested that such images had been criminalized.

One instance of July 1932 implicated visitors from Oviedo to José María Albiñana Sanz, a doctor whose monarchist politics had led to his recent confinement in the poverty-ridden region of Las Hurdes (Extremadura). Although his supporters were purportedly bearing charitable goods for distribution at their destination, the governor of Oviedo ordered the detention of people in at least one car and had them taken to a police station. Among the items seized were brochures and “bicolor flags, portraits of the ex-king, rosaries, a pistol and other utensils of the monarchical cult.”<sup>63</sup> The reference to worship suggested that these images retained a numinous quality, even after the departure of Alfonso XIII. Albiñana had envisioned an evangelical mission that would convert the people of Las Hurdes to his right-wing views,<sup>64</sup> so the material seized in Oviedo presumably would have supported that objective.

Other cases confirm that images remained highly polemical, either in public or private spaces. In April 1932, two passengers on a train to Vigo reportedly displayed the portrait of Alfonso XIII along with the bicolor monarchist flags above a mirror. Their offense came to the attention of another passenger who was a deputy for a Galician Republican party in the *cortes*. The politician alerted the Civil Guard, who obliged the ladies to take down the items.<sup>65</sup> In reports like these, it is not clear what law is being enforced. Speculation would lead one to suggest the Law for the Defense

<sup>62</sup> “Los pueblos y el régimen,” *La Voz*, vol. 12, no. 3,232, May 8, 1931, 1.

<sup>63</sup> The description of the confiscated items is from *Foment*, no. 384, July 6, 1932, 4. The incident received wide press coverage, including in *Heraldo de Madrid*, vol. 42, no. 14,485, July 4, 1932, 1; *La Vanguardia*, vol. 51, no. 21,328, July 5, 1932, 23.

<sup>64</sup> Jordana Mendelson, *Documenting Spain: Artists, Exhibition Culture, and the Modern Nation, 1929-1939* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 77-78.

<sup>65</sup> “Los enemigos de la República,” *La Libertad*, vol. 14, no. 3,763, April 10, 1932, 4.

of the Republic, implemented in October 1931, which, among other things, forbid all “apology for the monarchy or its leaders, and use of emblems or insignia associated therewith.”<sup>66</sup> This rule apparently informed extrajudicial acts as well. In Sabadell, young Republicans searched the residences of conservative figures, including a former mayor from the period of dictatorship (1923-1931). In his possession they found a large portrait of the ex-king, which they seized and took to the *ayuntamiento*. After the mayor granted permission, the young Republicans threw the portrait from a balcony into a street. The audience below trampled the figure and set it aflame, shouting their support of the Republic.<sup>67</sup> This event of April 1933, which took place two years after the fall of the monarchy, prompted a curious remark that there were still portraits of Alfonso XIII in Sabadell; presumably none would have survived the purge of 1931. According to a Republican newspaper that reported this incident, the proper course of action was to throw from balconies anything that stank of royalty as well as anyone who defended the ex-king.<sup>68</sup>

After the outbreak of the Civil War in July 1936, certain images became liabilities for their bearers. In a series of raids on right-wing figures in Madrid in September, the Linceos de la República, a security force acting on behalf of the government, seized at one residence items including “jewels, silver coins, two-hundred dum-dum cartridges, subversive propaganda destined for the army, and a portrait of the ex-king with an inscription in which he called them *amigos predilectos*.”<sup>69</sup> Another militia, known as the Escuadrilla del Amanecer, took possession of a “great quantity of silver objects, church ornaments, portraits of the ex-king, monarchist flags, reactionary books, and documentation of political nature” at the home of José Martínez de Velasco, a former minister killed weeks earlier in wartime repression. This militia group then went on to search the Madrid residence of Francisco Franco; while no compromising portraits surfaced here, the press coverage leaves no doubt that royal imagery threatened the integrity of the state and needed to be taken from the hands of individuals.<sup>70</sup> By this late date, however, Bourbon portraiture cannot have offered many opportunities for

<sup>66</sup> Stanley G. Payne, *Spain's First Democracy: The Second Republic, 1931-1936* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), 73, summarizes the introduction and scope of the law.

<sup>67</sup> “Unos jóvenes republicanos descubren en varios domicilios de Sabadell retratos, emblemas y banderas monárquicas,” *Heraldo de Madrid*, vol. 43, no. 14,731, April 17, 1933, 13.

<sup>68</sup> *LEsquella de la Torratxa*, vol. 57, no. 2,807, April 21, 1933, 254.

<sup>69</sup> “Milicianos y policía: nuevas detenciones y registros,” *La Libertad*, vol. 18, no. 5,134, September 12, 1936, 6.

<sup>70</sup> “Milicianos y policía: algunos simpatizantes con la subversión preparaban ya el recibimiento a los ‘triunfadores,’” *La Libertad*, vol. 18, no. 5,135, September 13, 1936, 6; *Milicia Popular: Diario del 5.º Regimiento de Milicias Populares*, vol. 1, no. 44, September 15, 1936, 4. For a brief description of

destruction. The fact that these examples came to light through forceful searches suggests that they had largely disappeared from public view.

From an art historical perspective, this iconoclastic tradition would be of limited consequence if it had not come to inform the destruction of sacred art. Despite its prevalence, royal imagery constituted a discrete subset of portraiture and, judging from the reports of mass production, generally did not feature exemplary aesthetic qualities. Few scholars, museum-goers, or collectors today will bemoan those lost portraits of Isabel II, Amadeo I, Alfonso XII, or Alfonso XIII. As indicated above, however, religious art had suffered alongside princely imagery during 1834-1835 and 1868-1869. Further incidents surfaced throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with greater frequency in moments of change or conflict.

During the First Republic (1873-1874), when clerical figures reportedly opposed the government or otherwise favored conservative forces,<sup>71</sup> Catholic artworks sometimes assumed a political charge and provoked a variety of responses. Incidents in Catalonia deserve further research, in light of events that began on March 30, 1873. A troubling Carlist military victory at the town of Berga prompted some residents of Barcelona to occupy numerous churches, for the sake of preaching against the Carlists and punishing conservative Catholics. While the reports coincide on the fact that the crowds had disrupted liturgical services, differences arise on whether the protestors were armed, whether they threatened arson by soaking churches with oil, or whether they looted.<sup>72</sup> These inconclusive accounts suggest that sacred images might have been targets; efforts were simultaneously underway in Barcelona to withdraw portraits of Amadeo I,<sup>73</sup> so some Catalans may have cast a critical eye on religious art as well. Later that month in Seville, the Virgin of La Macarena allegedly went on procession in Holy Week wearing not her crown but rather a Phrygian bonnet, which was symbolic of the French Revolution.<sup>74</sup> Although denials

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the Linceos de la República and the Escuadrilla del Amanecer, see Pedro Montoliú Camps, *Madrid en la Guerra Civil: la historia*, 2 ed., vol. 1 (Madrid: Sílex, 2000), 96-97.

<sup>71</sup> Francisco Martí Gilabert, "La cuestión religiosa en la I República," *Hispania Sacra* 50, no. 102 (1998): 742-743.

<sup>72</sup> *La Época*, vol. 25, no. 7,487, March 31, 1873, 2; *La Esperanza*, vol. 29, no. 8,698, April 3, 1873, 3; *El Imparcial*, vol. 7, no. 2,110, April 3, 1873, 3.

<sup>73</sup> *El Magisterio Balear: Periódico de primera enseñanza*, vol. 1, no. 9, March 30, 1873, 6 (as in n. 37).

<sup>74</sup> The report surfaced in *El Imparcial*, vol. 7, no. 2,115, April 8, 1873, 1. See Isidoro Moreno Navarro, "Las cofradías sevillanas en la época contemporánea: una aproximación antropológica," in *Las cofradías de Sevilla: historia, antropología, arte*, 3 ed. (Seville: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla and Servicio de Publicaciones del Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1999), 43-44.



quickly spread throughout the press, this anecdote may have reflected contemporary developments. Other complaints circulated, for example, about how “on the divine head of the Son of God has been placed not the crown of thorns but rather the Phrygian bonnet.” This blasphemy was one of several that motivated a polemical response, “Anathema upon the new iconoclasts and every kind of enemy of our holy religion!”<sup>75</sup> This imprecation did not perturb the newly anathematized iconoclasts in Cádiz, who were then toppling prominent, centuries-old images of the Virgin Mary as well as the patron saints Servando and Germán. The sacrilege shocked some viewers, including the author of a plea for the heavens to pardon the port city.<sup>76</sup> Shortly after the First Republic expired in January 1874, the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Toledo circulated a comparable prayer to seek the forgiveness of the Virgin for, among other things, the profanation of her images throughout Spain.<sup>77</sup>

Nineteenth-century Spaniards had developed closely related traditions of hostility to religious art and royal portraiture, and the destruction persisted in the absence of any consensus against it. For instance, military defeats and the death of Spanish conscripts in Morocco provoked anger against the authorities in July 1909. The ensuing disturbances of the *Semana Trágica* in Barcelona caused significant harm to sacred images, since attacks on ecclesiastical establishments constituted an indirect method of vengeance against the monarchy. Violence at churches overshadowed other developments of the Tragic Week, yet town halls and courts also suffered in the rebellion in Catalonia.<sup>78</sup> It was therefore newsworthy that a portrait of the king had escaped damage in a courtroom at Sabadell;<sup>79</sup> presumably some of its counterparts had disappeared in assaults on civic buildings elsewhere. Likewise, after royal portraiture experienced setbacks with the birth of the Second Republic in April 1931, a monarchist assembly in Madrid on May 10 provoked reactions that spiraled into a crisis through several cities. Málaga featured the most remarkable *quema de conventos* of these disorders, which,

<sup>75</sup> “¡Anatema!” *El Semanario Católico: Revista Religiosa, Científica y Literaria*, vol. 4, no. 126, April 19, 1873, 189.

<sup>76</sup> *La Esperanza*, vol. 29, no. 8,713, April 22, 1873, 1; *El Semanario Católico: Revista Religiosa, Científica y Literaria*, vol. 4, no. 131, May 24, 1873, 243-247; José Gras y Granollers, *El honor de María Inmaculada: solemne desagravio nacional a nuestra patrona la Santísima Virgen infernalmente injuriada en Cádiz*, 2 ed. (Lérida: Imprenta de Carruez, 1873).

<sup>77</sup> “Oración a la Santísima Virgen,” *El Consultor de los Párrocos*, no. 5 extraordinary, January 30, 1874, 36.

<sup>78</sup> Gemma Rubí, “Protesta, desobediencia y violencia subversiva. La Semana Trágica de julio de 1909 en Cataluña,” *Pasado y Memoria. Revista de Historia Contemporánea*, no. 10 (2011): 245, 257.

<sup>79</sup> *El País*, vol. 23, no. 8,0[9?], August 9, 1909, 2.

according to a document of May 30, precipitated the burning of nineteen churches and the looting of twenty-two others. Assailants cast a wide net and included sacred images among the principal targets. At least five major statues by Pedro de Mena (1628-1688) disappeared during the destruction of a stunning quantity of artworks.<sup>80</sup>

In the tense years of the Second Republic, attacks on churches continued intermittently until the start of the Civil War. Despite the palpable concerns about royal portraiture, attention turned to religious art as the primary victim of iconoclasts throughout Spain. In March 1936, for example, the town of Yecla (Murcia) experienced the burning of several churches and the destruction of hundreds of images.<sup>81</sup> Around the same time, a similar attack on images occurred in Logroño (La Rioja).<sup>82</sup> Many additional incidents could lead one to affirm that, prior to the military rebellion of July 1936, the nation had already defined its political discourse in part around church-burning and the attendant iconoclasm.

Francisco Franco likely alluded to this phenomenon among the justifications for the fateful uprising of his forces. Selected newspapers circulated a manifesto, originally broadcast on radio on July 18, 1936, in which he charged that “monuments and artistic treasures are subject to the most bitter attacks by revolutionary hordes, who obey the instructions that they receive in foreign directives.”<sup>83</sup> When interpreting this statement, it is hard to sidestep the issue of iconoclasm, especially in light of the historical practice among Spaniards of blaming outsiders for the phenomenon. José Calvo Sotelo, a monarchist leader, had spoken recently in parliament about the need for public order under the leadership of Manuel Azaña. In his appearance of April 16, three months before the start of the war, Calvo Sotelo described dozens of religious buildings among the sites attacked throughout the country from February 16 to April 2. The parliamentary *Diario de las Sesiones* recorded this itemization, which some newspapers then published for their national readerships. Numerous sacred images figured

<sup>80</sup> José Jiménez Guerrero, *La quema de conventos en Málaga, mayo de 1931* (Málaga: Argual, 2006), 47-49, 342-343. This publication includes abundant information on the losses of religious art.

<sup>81</sup> José Ramón Hernández Figueiredo, *Destrucción del patrimonio religioso en la II República (1931-1936) a la luz de los informes inéditos del Archivo Secreto Vaticano* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2009), 204-207.

<sup>82</sup> Roberto Germán Fandiño Pérez, “Logroño, 1936. La quema de conventos, mitos y realidades de un suceso anticlerical,” *Hispania Nova: Revista de Historia Contemporánea*, no. 2 (2001-2002): 2a parte.

<sup>83</sup> The text of the manifesto is included in, for example, “Información de la Comandancia Militar,” *La Prensa*, vol. 26, no. 9,897, July 23, 1936, 4; “La patriótica alocución del general Franco al iniciar el movimiento,” *ABC* (Seville), vol. 32, no. 10,342, July 23, 1936, 1-2.

among the casualties, yet the list included no royal portraits.<sup>84</sup> Although Spaniards had not completely forgotten about Bourbon portraiture, religious art had moved to the forefront of an urgent political debate on image-breaking and public order. It seems likely that this parliamentary session informed the concern of Franco for the artistic patrimony of Spain.

With his address to the Spanish people, Franco based the military uprising in part on these “artistic treasures.” In his view, the democratically elected government had squandered its legitimacy through its failure to preserve public order, at great cost to the cultural patrimony of Spain. By imparting a new political dimension to art, however, Franco may have increased the risk for religious images. Moreover, the public would have associated his rebellion with the monarchists, who were seething at the assassination of Calvo Sotelo on July 13. Under the monarchy, there had been tight bonds between the crown, the church, and sacred images. A combination of factors drew fresh attention to religious art as symbolic of the historical union of altar and throne. Iconoclasm then reached unprecedented levels in the Civil War. Even with incomplete records, one could readily speculate that the sheer scale of destruction in the year-long period beginning on July 18, 1936, surpassed all combined previous nineteenth- and twentieth-century incidents within Spain.

Modern royal portraiture, although generally not known for artistic brilliance, had surprisingly consequential roles in Spanish visual culture. Paintings and statues stood as proxies for royalty in public sites and governmental buildings, often receiving honors or occupying ceremonial settings. The political character of these images, however, exposed them to peril in times of discontent with the monarch or the monarchy. While the ensuing outbreaks of destruction were infrequent, the practice became endemic and therefore assumed predictable, ritualistic qualities. In all likelihood, this secular iconoclasm provided crucial support for the development of comparable gestures against sacred art. This latter corpus of imagery offered a richer array of targets and ultimately bore the brunt of Spanish iconoclasm.

<sup>84</sup> *El Siglo Futuro*, vol. 61, no. 18,581, April 17, 1936, 13-14; *ABC* (Madrid), vol. 32, no. 10,265, April 17, 1936, 37-38.