

El siguiente documento es un resumen de la tesis doctoral *Ways of Being Modern in Madrid: Urban Change, Street Life and Customs in Late Nineteenth-Century Print Culture* por Vanesa Rodríguez Galindo. Contiene los siguientes apartados:

Resumen

Contenidos

Introducción

Conclusión

Obras citadas (archivos, periódicos y revistas, fuentes primarias)

Resumen en español

The document that follows is a summary of the doctoral dissertation *Ways of Being Modern in Madrid: Urban Change, Street Life and Customs in Late Nineteenth-Century Print Culture* by Vanesa Rodríguez Galindo. It is comprised of the following sections:

Abstract

Table of contents

Introduction: Reformulating Nineteenth-Century Modernity and Madrid's Cultural Representations

Conclusion

Works cited (archives sources, newspapers and periodicals, primary sources)

Abstract in Spanish

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**WAYS OF BEING MODERN IN MADRID:
URBAN CHANGE, STREET LIFE AND CUSTOMS IN
LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY PRINT CULTURE**

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Ways of Being Modern in Madrid: Urban Change, Street Life
and Customs in Late Nineteenth-Century Print Culture

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Abstract

From the mid-nineteenth century Madrid saw the effects of technological progress, urban renovation, and the development of an incipient mass print culture. However, on account of Spain's peripheral location in Europe and in the historiography of modernity, readings of Madrid's modernizing process continue to raise questions regarding the overlapping of local and foreign elements that were persistent in its cultural production. This thesis tackles this issue and explores the ways in which meanings of the modern were mediated and constructed in Madrid's visual and print culture during the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Focusing on representations of city life, urban views, and street types reproduced in the capital's illustrated and comical press from the 1870s to the mid-1890s, this study posits that conceptualizations of the modern were articulated in relation to visual memory and cross-cultural influences, rather than through binary divisions such as local and foreign, tradition and progress, old and new.

The thesis focuses on two interrelated aspects. Firstly, it looks at the manners in which visually initiated citizens manifested a profound and aware involvement with urban change and the capital's position in an increasingly globalized setting. Reflections on intercultural relations were at the core of representations of Madrid, which explored the implications of urban transformation on ideas of socio-spatial relations, nostalgia, and the construction of meaning in an interconnected world-system. Secondly, it reframes representations of street types and customs rooted in the conventionalized genre of *costumbrismo* in terms of amalgam and fusion, which permits examining remembrance and nostalgia beyond perspectives of methodological nationalism (De Cesari and Rigney, 2014). These sketches were not merely remnants of an outmoded style, but instead reworked pre-existing visual tropes and infused them with contemporary meaning, which generated productive associations between notions of the past and the present. This sheds light on the prevalence of these images in the press and reveals that they were fundamental in setting the conceptual and technological grounds that eased the transition toward the early mass-produced magazine, in which illustrations, satirical sketches, and photography coexisted.

Underpinned by *costumbrista* collections, journalistic articles, city guides, and other printed ephemera, this thesis promotes a fluid understanding of Madrid's urban and visual experience from an interdisciplinary perspective. It also contributes to the scholarly literature that proposes dislocating the concept of modernity with the objective of gauging how local perceptions of change related to broader contexts and processes.

Contents

Note on Translations and Abbreviations	9
Introduction: Reformulating Nineteenth-Century Modernity and Madrid's Cultural Representations	10

PART I CAUSES AND CONTEXTS

Chapter One

Reframing Spanish Modernity and its Archetypes: Madrid's Print Culture and the Urban Experience	22
1. The Revaluation of Nineteenth-Century Spanish Studies: From Myths of Failure to Cultural Studies	24
1.1. The Restoration Period and the Farewell to its Negative Histories	24
1.2. New Perspectives: Normalcy, Continuity, Contextualization, and the End of Binary Divides	30
2. Locating Madrid in Cultural and Urban Studies	37
2.1. Interdisciplinary Approaches: An Overview	37
2.2. Reading the City: Urban history, Spatial Theories, and Madrid's Ties to Cultural Modernity	42
3. Demystifying and Refiguring Madrid's Modernity and its Archetypes	45
3.1. Rethinking Ideas of the Modern and Depictions of Madrid's Customs	45
3.2. Key Concepts: Retrieving Meaning, Dislocating Modernity, Visual Memory, and Self-Awareness	52
4. Image-Making and Identifying the Forces at Work: Vision, Spectatorship and the Visual Culture of the press	55
4.1. Visual Methodologies: The Two-Way Street of Cultural Production	55
4.2. The Interculturality of Images: Reading the Visual Landscape and Popular Culture	60

4.3.Madrid and Its Periodicals: On The Selection of Images, Words, and Other Sources	63
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PART II

FEELING MODERN / DISLOCATING MODERNITY: VISUALLY AWARE *MADRILEÑOS*
AND IMAGES OF THE URBAN EXPERIENCE

Chapter Two

Speaking to the Eye and the Visual Lure of Illustrations	72
1. The Blind Man, the Visual Imagination, and an Educated Gaze	75
1.1.On Seeing, Knowledge, and Memory Through the Eyes of “the blind man”	75
1.2.From Street Vendors to Billboards: Visual literacy and Madrid’s Landscape in the Second Half of the Century	85
1.3.What People Looked at: Enticing the Gaze and Playing with Pictures	90
2. The Illustrated Press and its Visual Objectives	93
2.1.Cross-Connections Between Illustrated Periodicals	93
2.2.“ <i>Hablar a los ojos</i> .” Reflections on Observation, Image-Making, and the Urban Spectacle	98
3. Visualizing and Picturing Modern Madrid: Space, Movement and Change	108
3.1.(Re)presenting the Modern City: Events, Spaces and Vistas	108
3.2.Mapping Movement and Urban Change	125

Chapter Three

“La verdad en su lugar.” Nineteenth-Century Meanings of the Modern	134
1. What is in a Word? Modernity, Modernisation and Other Words in the Making	140
1.1.Watching our Tongues: Some Notes on the Language of Modernity	140
1.2.The Meanings, Myths, and Predicaments of “Modernity”	142
1.3.Going back to the roots: Figuring “Modernisation”	147
1.4.“Smugglers of foreign words:” Constructing Meaning and New Terms	153
1.5.Articulating Meaning through Words and Images: “el <i>skating-rink</i> ”	159

2. Globally Aware <i>Madrileños</i> : Dislocating Modernity	168
2.1.Modernisation’s Absences: Reading (between) the Lines and Rethinking the Shock of the New	168
2.2.The Bandwagon of Progress: Some Notes on Spanish Urbanisation and Awareness of Change	174
2.3.Towards a Global and Un-Shocking Understanding of Modernisation	178

Chapter Four

The <i>Flâneur</i> Interrupted: Notions of Streetwalking, Sociability, and the Quotidian in Madrid’s Squares and Promenades	195
1. Meanings of <i>Flânerie</i> in Madrid	197
1.1 “Not the flâneur again:” Some Theoretical Considerations on the Urban Archetype and its Prehistory	197
1.2 “So the word doesn’t exist . . . then we will introduce it:” <i>Flanear</i> , <i>Callejear</i> , <i>Pasear</i> , and Other Debates Surrounding the Archetype	203
2. A Sociable <i>flâneur</i> ? Strolling, Public-Private Spaces and <i>Flânerie</i> in Madrid	207
2.1. <i>Flânerie</i> as a Narrative Device and the Porous Limits Between Private and Public Space	207
2.2.Strolling in the Puerta del Sol: Walking, Movement, and Remembrance in Madrid's Streets and Squares	216

PART III

TRADITIONALLY MODERN: CONTEMPORARY CUSTOMS, *LA MUJER MADRILEÑA*, AND OTHER REPERTOIRES OF TYPES

Chapter Five

Dissecting the Past, Reality, and the Workings of Memory: Types, Customs and Tradition in a Global Context	236
1. The Benefits of Nostalgia and the Fountain of Memory: Globally Aware <i>Madrileños</i> Looking toward the Past	240

1.1. Restructuring Memories: Some Introductory Notes on <i>Costumbrismo</i> and its Updated Repertoires	240
1.2. “Cualquier tiempo pasado fue mejor”: The Knowledge of Tradition and the Awareness of Nostalgia	251
1.3. Fountains of Memory, Trains of Movement: Popular Culture in the Making	264
2. Very Aware Types: The Visual-Verbal Dynamics of the Press and the Fluctuating Meanings of Truth	279
2.1. “Stereotyped conversations:” Rethinking the Visual Lexicon of <i>costumbrismo</i> and its Links to Reality	281
2.2. The Actuality of Types, Customs, and Drawings “ <i>del natural</i> ”: From Sketch-Journalism to Photojournalism	301
 Chapter Six	
On and Off the Streets of Madrid: Tracing His and Her Steps	321
1. From <i>Pollos</i> to <i>Coquetones</i> and from “Angel in the House” to Angel on the Street	325
1.1. Female Presence in Public Space and Print Culture	325
1.2. Flirtation and Respectable Women on the Streets of Madrid	335
2. Trajectories of Devotion: From the Tram to Mass and Back Again	350
Conclusion	362
Works Cited	368
APPENDIX	404
Resumen	405
Conclusión	407

Note on Translations and Abbreviations

Translations from Spanish to English are my own unless otherwise noted. The abbreviations of the four periodicals listed below are used in references in the footnotes, with the complete or abridged title being used in the body of text.

B y N *Blanco y Negro*

IEA *La Ilustración Española y Americana*

IM *Ilustración de Madrid*

MC *Madrid Cómico*

RAE Real Academia Española

Introduction:

Reformulating Nineteenth-Century Modernity and Madrid's Cultural Representations

To say that two people belong to the same culture is to say that they interpret the world in roughly the same ways and can express themselves, their thoughts and feelings about the world, in ways which will be understood by each other. Thus culture depends on its participants interpreting meaningfully what is happening around them, and “making sense” of the world, in broadly similar ways . . . Culture is about feelings, attachments and emotions as well as concepts and ideas.

—Stuart Hall¹

Is there any one way of interpreting a city—its habits and culture, the emotions and feelings it elicits, and the representations it inspires? One could say that there are as many accounts of the city as there are ways of writing, experiencing and envisioning it. It can be idealised and imagined, planned and represented, shared collectively or navigated individually. These are just some of the actions associated with the urban experience and its cultural representations, each of which points to a certain methodological trend or theoretical leaning. To make matters more complex, studying the development of Western, industrialised cities in the nineteenth century brings into the picture an elusive yet unavoidable term used in the study of urban and visual culture: modernity. And, as usually occurs with matters influenced by trends and fashions, understandings of modernity (as well as those of the city and of culture) have tended to change alongside our perpetually evolving disciplines and historic and historiographical needs, in large part due to a number of “turns,” be they linguistic, visual, cultural, or affective. With these changes, the pitfalls and inevitability of multi-, inter- or transdisciplinary approaches are exposed, all the more so when studying processes that

¹ Stuart Hall, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage, 1997), 2.

occurred over a century ago. But such twists and turns do, nonetheless, fulfil their purpose: they respond to the historiographical needs of the present, in other words, to the unremitting task of setting out to “negociar la tensión constante entre el análisis del pasado y los retos del presente” (negotiate the constant tension between analysis of the past and the challenges of the present)² and to resolve the tensions between our present context and an always elusive past.³ For historians of the twenty-first century, contextualisation (or globalisation), vision, and consumption have become key concepts in explaining how our surroundings and cultural contexts are in continuous flux. They shape how we look at the past and the parameters we choose in describing our historical subjects in a continuous negotiation that is not so different from how nineteenth-century citizens brought ideas of the past into dialogue with their contemporary concerns.

This thesis explores the ways in which meanings of the modern were mediated and articulated in the visual and print culture of Madrid from the 1870s to the mid-1890s. It studies the visual culture that was produced by the conditions of modernity in conjunction with perceptions of the past and pre-existing spatial and aesthetic practices at a time when cross-cultural influences were being weighed up and discussed. I argue that conceptualisations of the modern were constructed in relation to visual memory and intercultural influences, rather than through polarised readings that are bound to the experience of modernity in cities, and Madrid in particular: the past and the present, the global and the local, tradition and newness.

From the mid-nineteenth century Madrid saw the effects of technological progress, urban renovation, and the development of an incipient mass print culture. However, on account of Spain's peripheral location in Europe and in the historiography of modernity, readings of Madrid's modernising process continue to raise questions regarding the overlapping of the local and foreign elements that were persistent in its cultural production. This thesis will tackle the ways in which the print culture of nineteenth-century Madrid exposed the fluctuating limits between notions of the past, its visual lexicon and the concerns triggered by urban change and foreign influence, thus suggesting the boundaries between the two were more complex and porous than is usually considered. Rather than positioning itself

² Mónica Burguera, “Introducción. El atraso y sus descontentos: entre el cambio social y el giro cultural,” in *Historias de España contemporánea: Cambio social y giro cultural*, eds. Mónica Burguera and Christopher Schmidt-Novara (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2008), 11.

³ Georges Didi-Huberman, *Ante la imagen: pregunta formulada a los fines de una historia del arte* [1990], trans. Françoise Mailler (Murcia: CENDEAC, 2010), 54.

within these familiar binary divides, this work hopes to lay bare the ways in which specific cultural representations and perceptions of modernisation were brought into conversation with earlier aesthetic conventions, ideas regarding the past, and processes occurring elsewhere in Europe in a productive and incisive way. In doing so, emphasis is placed on concepts like globalisation, intercultural relations and continuity rather than on otherness, comparison and difference. Concerns regarding modernisation and European influence are therefore treated as expressions that questioned the validity of prevalent discourses and as a means of re-centring debates regarding the urban experience.

To this end, the thesis focuses on two interrelated aspects. Firstly, it looks at the manners in which visually initiated citizens manifested a profound and aware involvement with urban change and the capital's position in an increasingly globalised setting. Reflections on intercultural relations were at the core of representations of Madrid, which explored the implications of urban transformation on ideas of place, nostalgia, and the construction of meaning in an interconnected world-system. In this sense, it is extremely important to retrieve nineteenth-century understandings of what being modern meant and to attempt to go back to the origins of the term. The overarching goal lies in freeing the concept of modernity from its historical and historiographical baggage and unearthing its nineteenth-century foundations and the workings of how signification was constructed. In doing so, I hope to contribute to the scholarly literature that proposes dislocating the concept of modernity with the objective of gauging how local perceptions of change related to broader contexts and processes. This approach challenges ideas of modernity framed in terms of a break or rupture and instead favours a more fluid reading of the urban experience that suggests that in everyday life urbanisation was not confronted in a dramatic manner. Secondly, this study reframes representations of street types and customs rooted in the conventionalised genre of *costumbrismo* in terms of amalgam and pluralism. This permits the examination of remembrance and nostalgia using approaches that go beyond perspectives of methodological nationalism.⁴ These sketches were not merely remnants of an outmoded style, but instead reworked pre-existing visual tropes and infused them with contemporary meaning, thus generating productive associations between notions of the past and the present. They drew attention to the forms and media of representation being deployed, aspects that have been

⁴ Chiara de Cesari and Ann Rigney (eds.), *Transnational Memory: Circulation, Articulation, Scales* (Utrecht: De Gruyter, 2014).

linked to nineteenth-century cultural modernity.⁵ The visual-verbal dynamics of the press reveal how these images operated in myriad ways both on the surface of the page as well as beyond the meanings that may have been initially considered by the illustrators or editors. This sheds light on the prevalence of these images in the press and reveals that they were fundamental in establishing the conceptual and technological grounds that eased the transition toward the early mass-produced magazine, in which illustrations, satirical sketches, and photography coexisted.

This thesis applies an interdisciplinary approach combining the methodologies and theoretical underpinning of cultural, urban and visual studies, and is also informed by spatial, gender and literary theory. It studies the forces at work that contribute to the construction of images and meaning. Cultural representations of Madrid are therefore understood as both reflections of social practices and agents that were capable of moulding perceptions of everyday life and definitions of what being modern meant in an increasingly globalised context. In many ways this thesis constitutes a methodological inquiry, an attempt to put into practice a framework that warrants more attention in the context of the visual culture of late nineteenth-century Madrid. In addition to dissecting Madrid's modernising process and the responses it generated, an underlying interest of the present study is that of analysing the workings of theory when applied to a Spanish case study.

These matters are explored by focusing on representations of city life, urban views, and street types, and on scenes reproduced in the capital's illustrated and comical press from the 1870s to the mid-1890s. This timeline spans part of the so-called *Sexenio Democrático* (1868-1874) and the early decades of the Restoration period that commenced in 1875. While the focus is mainly on the cultural production of this particular historical period, it is important to note that I also explore the print and visual culture that predated it. This is because this study is concerned with more far-reaching processes linked to modernisation and the development of popular and visual cultures, which tend to transcend the boundaries of historical eras and specific formats. For this reason, in addition to focusing on the illustrations and sketches reproduced in the press, this study is also underpinned by other expressions of printed ephemera and historical sources, such as postcards, maps, city guides and treatises, journalistic articles, novels, and *costumbrista* collections. Issues regarding the meanings and effects of modernisation in everyday life crossed the boundaries of media and moved

⁵ Andrew Ginger, *Painting and the Turn to Cultural Modernity in Spain: The Time of Eugenio Lucas Velázquez (1850-1870)* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 2007), 20.

between multiple discourses, between lived experience and objectivity, between memory and presence.

In addition to the methodological experiment conducted by the thesis and the points already outlined above, I also hope to contribute to scholarly literature by shedding light on three other fronts: the late nineteenth-century visual culture of Madrid, the presence of street types and customs that was prevalent in Madrid's illustrated and comical press until the turn of the century, and the complex yet unavoidable concept of modernity. Until the late 1990s and early 2000s Madrid had been somewhat overlooked by urban, visual and cultural studies alike. I follow a recent path of scholarship that argues that interpreting the local and quotidian is integral to Madrid's modernising process and the forms of cultural production it yielded.⁶ While building on the pioneering work of these authors, I differ on various points. I will further expand on these four core issues in the following chapter, but wish to outline them at this point as they synthesise my approach and contribution to the field.

Firstly, the visual and print culture of the period under study here, mainly the first decades of the Restoration, has been somewhat overlooked, perhaps, as suggested by Jorge Uría, because of the fact that it was sandwiched between two seminal events, the *Sexenio Democrático* and the 1898 Spanish-American War.⁷ Or possibly because, when tackling the issue of Madrid's cultural modernity, studies have tended to focus on the early twentieth century, a period that is viewed as a watershed in the capital's transition towards becoming a modern metropolis. Thus, while fundamental for the establishment of a modern infrastructure and popular culture industry, certain aspects of late nineteenth-century Madrid are in need of more in-depth investigation.

Secondly, I hope to ascertain the role that the city's illustrated and comical press played in shaping ideas of modernisation and intercultural exchange during the final decades of the nineteenth century. The illustrated and comical press were fundamental in setting the conceptual and technological grounds for a mass-produced print culture as well as providing valuable information as to how this related to the capital's broader cultural and visual

⁶ See, for example, Noël Valis, *The Culture of Cursilería: Bad Taste, Kitsch and Middle Class in Modern Spain*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002); Deborah Parsons, "Fiesta Culture in Madrid Posters, 1934-1955," in *Constructing Identity in Twentieth-Century Spain*, ed. Jo Labanyi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 178-205; Susan Larson, "Stages of Modernity: The Uneasy Symbiosis of the *género chico* and Early Cinema in Madrid," in *Visualizing Spanish Modernity*, eds. Susan Larson and Eva. Woods (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2005), 263-282; Edward Baker, *Madrid Cosmopolita: La Gran Vía, 1910-1936* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2009). A literature review will be conducted in the next chapter. For the benefit of fluidity and to avoid reiterations, further bibliographical references and theoretical discussions mentioned throughout this introduction will be detailed and commented in depth in the following the chapter.

⁷ Jorge Uría, *La España liberal (1868-1917): cultura y vida cotidiana* (Madrid: Síntesis, 2008), 9-10.

landscape. Furthermore, themes that were presented in the illustrated press were also prevalent in other forms of cultural production, from painting and postcards to theatrical and musical pieces such as *género chico*, thus exposing the ways in which the cultural landscape was connected. While many of these forms of cultural production did not receive critical acclaim, they were nonetheless popular among the growing middle classes, particularly at the turn of the century and, as a result, became increasingly geared towards these sectors of society. Late nineteenth-century print culture is particularly interesting in that it provides new ways of looking at how citizens engaged with broader preoccupations from the perspective of leisure and humour. Illustrated and comical periodicals are explored as a stepping stone leading to a burgeoning mass-produced print industry, rather than as an obsolete and compliant precedent.⁸ Ultimately, one of the objectives of this thesis is to put these depictions of Madrid into their rightful place in critical readings of modernity and European cultural history.

Linked to the previous point is the third contribution I hope to make to the current literature. I propose a rethinking of depictions of street life and customs and the *costumbrista* themes that characterised late nineteenth-century print culture. Frequently viewed as portraying and validating a static, nostalgic or conservative vision, I hope to reveal the ways in which this type imagery expressed a serious and self-conscious interaction with modernisation and Spain's role in an increasingly global context. A large part of this thesis will be spent exploring how the images reproduced in the press reveal a dialectical interplay between notions of past traditions and contemporary practices, as well as an incisive use of pre-existing forms of expression infused with present-day sentiments. I argue that the persistence and updating of *costumbrista* elements yielded a visual lexicon that brought a growing readership closer to the effects of urban and social change. Furthermore, similar developments can be appreciated in print cultures elsewhere in Europe, thus revealing that issues commonly seen as being linked to Madrid's specificity were in fact connected to more far-reaching, global practices. To further explore this process, two themes run through the thesis: self-awareness and visual memory. Pre-existing *topoi* and visual tropes, already embedded in cultural memory and visual imagination, were reworked in new ways that engaged with the past and rearticulated meanings of the modern. This gave way to

⁸ Scholars like Margot Versteeg, have stressed that while the comical press became outdated towards the end of the nineteenth century in terms of its ideology and style, magazines like *Madrid Cómico* were fundamental as a transition towards publications like *Blanco y Negro*. See *Jornaleros de la pluma: La (re)definición del papel del escritor-periodista en la revista Madrid Cómico* (Madrid: Iberoamericana / Vervuert, 2011), 98.

attentiveness to the self,⁹ a sense self-awareness that often translated into self-referential visual manifestations that continuously drew attention to form, language and the construction of meaning. Thus, the behaviours of discourse were unfolded, which allowed questioning and reflection on the visual-textual codes being used and the narrative being created or resisted. Many factors thus come into play, since the dynamics of remembrance and collective memory were in constant negotiation with the concerns of the present, recasting how certain places and their associated representations were presented and thought about.

By exploring the layers of meaning inherent in illustrations reproduced for a growing middle class, it becomes clear that Madrid's modernising project was articulated alongside pre-existing perceptions of urban identities and customs. Representations of street life and popular customs have not been sufficiently assessed and are examined within the greater process of state formation and national identity.¹⁰ However, attending to popular imagery and the practices of everyday life reveals that, while the subject of conviviality and collective street life may seem banal, its effects and links to the modernising process have not yet been fully formulated. This entails questioning notions that are central to the nature of modernity and at the same time contributing to the ongoing task of building scholarly literature on the subject of the Spanish capital while questioning the literature of modernity based on the North-west European axis.

In addition to the exploration of Madrid's cultural practices, there is an underlying question that surfaces throughout the thesis: the thorny concept of modernity. I have deliberately avoided using the term in the title of this thesis since words like modernity and modernisation were in the process of being defined during these decades, giving way to a debate that exposed how citizens mediated and constructed signification. While I do attend to critical debates regarding modernity and its changing meanings in historiography, my intention is to explore the roots of the notion and retrieve nineteenth-century conceptions of what being modern meant to citizens in their everyday lives. While the subject of modernity may seem a well-trodden one and requires that we rethink the labels and structures we use to

⁹ In relation to the Spanish middle class, Jesús Cruz has recently noted that it is precisely an awareness of class and the adoption of certain life styles that characterized perceptions of being modern in nineteenth-century Spain. See *The Rise of Middle-Class Culture in Nineteenth-Century Spain* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011), 16

¹⁰ On this subject, see, for example, Imman E. Fox, "Spain as Castile: Nationalism and National Identity" in *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Spanish Culture*, ed. David T. Gies (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 21-36.

talk about its inescapability,¹¹ I believe exploring ideas of the modern is an unavoidable task, especially in light of its overriding presence in Madrid's cultural production, which this thesis will discuss.

Thus, the question that must be addressed is whether alternative readings of Spain's modernity are relevant and compelling. Among the scholars who have addressed the question of Spanish modernity is Andrew Ginger, who summed up the crux of the question when he suggested that studying nineteenth-century Spain may undermine canonical narratives of European modernity.¹² Like other peripheral countries, Spain's cultural output has been overlooked in histories of European urban and cultural modernity, mainly on account of the dominant presence of Paris and London in the construction of narratives of the modern. Rather than attempting to situate or include Madrid in the history of modernity, I aim to challenge the canonical concepts that have relegated certain themes of cultural production to a secondary position in the first place, while at the same time emphasising the cultural interchange that occurred between European centres. Enquiring into what being modern meant in nineteenth-century Madrid through the prism of visual and popular print culture ultimately implies dislocating the concept of modernity.

In this sense, I will consider the Spanish capital as having been "at once a vital *and* marginal site for the renovation of multiple modernisms... as an integral part of a European and internal process of modernization."¹³ And while I use this enlightening stance as a point of departure, I attempt to take it one step further by rethinking what we understand to be "vital" and "marginal," that is, how we encounter modernity in general and Madrid's specificities in particular. Interpretations of urban modernity are not only bound to particular locations like Paris, but are also tied to the authors that have come to define our understanding of the modern experience through ideas such as shock, rupture or difference. Reactions to urban transformation in the Spanish capital showed signs of interdependence between the past and the present. In Madrid, these concerns merged in new ways, producing forms of artistic expression that revealed sings of continuity rather than a break from former practices. Moreover, this vision of the modern as an amalgam of temporalities conveyed through visual culture has also been explored in relation to dominant capitals like nineteenth-

¹¹ See, for example, Nigel Thrift, "'Not a straight line but a curve,' or, Cities are not mirrors of modernity," in *City Visions*, eds. David Bell and Azzedine Haddour (London: Longman, 2000), 233-63.

¹² Andrew Ginger, "Spanish Modernity Revisited: Revisions of the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* 13 (2007): 131.

¹³ Gayle Rogers, *Modernism and the New Spain: Britain, cosmopolitan Europe, and literary history* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 11-2.

century London.¹⁴ Not only do such revisions of modernity reformulate lived experience and image-making, they also allow us to establish fresh links between European cities and the ways in which urban change was encountered and recorded.

Talking about nineteenth-century modernity and Madrid is no simple task and the pairing of the words brings to mind Spain's uncomfortable position on the periphery of Europe, on the margins of nineteenth-century industrialisation and urbanisation, and, until recently, on the fringes of European cultural studies. The present study follows a recent path of scholarship that revises Spain's cultural history with the objective of stepping away from certain negative views that have characterised histories of Spanish modernity. In fact, there are several aspects of the nineteenth-century capital that cannot be brushed aside. Madrid's industrialisation was weak and belated, its middle class lacked the industriousness of its European counterparts, and the political system disguised a stagnant structure. Even so, what cannot be denied is that various objective were achieved in the capital by the turn of the century: the improvement of its infrastructure and layout, the establishment of a small yet prosperous bourgeoisie, and a surge in mass consumption and entertainment targeted at the growing middle classes. Nevertheless, it is important to insist that this thesis does not concern itself with putting this kind of development under discussion but instead focuses on the expressions that exposed an acute awareness of what being modern entailed and the systems of representation that questioned, lay bare, and shaped meaning in relation to both a local and global context.

This study is divided into three interrelated parts. Taken together, these parts work toward the same goal—they expose how ideas of the modern were articulated in the illustrated press. Some case studies or specific works have warranted more attention than others, but the overall objective has been to provide a thorough idea of the themes treated in the press and the ways in which responses to modernisation were conveyed. Since in many ways it is a methodological inquiry and combines the approaches of several disciplines, Part I will be spent threading out its methods and theoretical scaffolding which draws from a variety of disciplines, from urban history to Spanish cultural and visual studies. Analysing the workings of theory when applied to a specific place sheds light on how the illustrations considered here interacted with the capital's broader cultural and visual landscape. This first chapter therefore expands on the theoretical topics outlined in this introduction and outlines

¹⁴ For a convincing take on this approach, see Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon. People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-century London* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

the state of the academic treatment of the question and serves as a roadmap for the rest of the thesis.

Part II, comprised of Chapters Two to Four, is devoted to studying how visually initiated citizens expressed ideas on the subjects of seeing, urban change and modernisation in relation to the European context. The objective of Chapter Two is to contextualise Madrid's urban culture and its illustrated press from the perspective of spectatorship and visual practices. It serves as a conceptual foundation for subsequent chapters, in which the capital's print culture and modernising process are explored starting from the contention that urban residents drew on their visual memory and knowledge in the process of mediating images, space and urbanisation. The chapter focuses on cross-connections between illustrated magazines and assesses concepts like visual imagination, memory and literacy with the objective of retrieving how attitudes towards sight and image-making related to spatial practices. The aim of the third chapter is to retrieve nineteenth-century understandings of what being modern meant and to go back to the origins of the term and the ways in which the press approached new words and practices linked to urbanisation and European typologies. This is an important step in dismantling and dislocating modernity as a site-specific phenomenon. Chapter Four concentrates on locations like Madrid's main square, the Puerta del Sol, and how strolling the city's streets was conceptualised in relation to sociability and debates regarding European patterns of behaviour. Discussions surrounding the urban archetype of the *flâneur* and the adoption of terms like *flaner* or *flânerie* by the Spanish language had a profound implication on the process of negotiating meaning that was occurring across Europe. This archetype, customarily bound to the French capital, also contributes to dislocating modernity in order to articulate a more integrated and inclusive understanding of urban change, thus once again calling into question the idea of the modern as a break or disruptive experience.

Chapters Five and Six comprise the third and final part of this thesis, which examines the importance of memory and nostalgia and its links to the depiction of street scenes, types and customs represented in the style of *costumbrismo*. Chapter Five analyses how a key issue in the press rested in the constant references to the forms of expression deployed and the ways in which conventionalised motifs were being reworked. Ideas of the past were brought into dialogue with present-day concerns in innovative and productive ways that drew attention to systems of representation and signification. This is vital in reformulating interpretations of modernity, as it shows that notions of the modern concerned with everyday life were constructed visually in popular culture through conceptual associations that lay bare

the workings of language. A second issue this chapter explores is the way in which illustrations, sketches, and photography coexisted in a fluid way on the pages of the press at the turn of the century and how the illustrated and satirical press played a role as a point of transition toward mass print culture. A crucial aspect in redefining sketches of Madrid's types and customs reproduced in the late nineteenth-century press lies in tracing the conceptual origins of photojournalism back to the sketch of manners. The final chapter explores the fundamental presence of women on the pages of the illustrated and comical press, and the way that they were presented as integral components of the capital's urban landscape that pointed to changing gender and spatial relations. Through the case study of female presence in public space, the chapter condenses issues investigated throughout the thesis, namely modernisation, changing socio-spatial relations, and the deployment of an aesthetic rooted in the visual lexicon of street types and customs. I hope that the interconnected themes outlined here ultimately open new pathways of investigation regarding modernity and the urban experience, and provide a fluid account of how notions of change were mediated in daily life and through objects produced for entertainment and consumption.

Conclusion

Boundaries are the markers not of finitude but of the site of a plurality of crossings. Crossings between text and context (at the levels of production and reception), between text and intertext, between a multitude of discourses (aesthetic, economic, political and scientific), between subjectivity and objectivity, between different disciplines, between the life of texts and life itself.

—Federico Bonaddio¹

This thesis has attempted to shed light on Madrid's visual culture and the capital's modernising process during the final decades of the century. By studying representations of Madrid reproduced in the illustrated and comical press from the 1870s to the early 1890s, it has sought to address two straightforward yet complex questions: What mechanisms were used to construct notions of the modern in late nineteenth-century Madrid? And, how were the conditions and effects of Madrid's modernisation mediated and expressed in the capital's visual and print culture? Although these issues may seem well-trodden, scholars continue to explore the implications of Spain's so-called uneven modernity and the uneasy coexistence of local and European elements in its cultural production. The overarching goal of the present study has been to provide an alternate analysis of Madrid's visual culture and to respond to what I believe the sources under scrutiny called for: a more nuanced reading of the narratives of the modern that emerged in images depicting the capital. Considering their status as antecedents of turn-of-the-century mass media, one of the principle drives of this study from its onset has been to provide more insight into the systems of representation employed in

¹ Federico Bonaddio, preface to *Crossing Fields in Modern Spanish Culture*, eds. Federico Bonaddio and Xon de Ros (Oxford: Legenda, 2003), ix.

these images and the ways in which ideas of modernisation were formulated, even when at first glance they seemed to reproduce a familiar narrative of modernity as one that confronted tradition to newness, the past to the present. Looking at images of Madrid—from sweeping vistas and depictions of urban life to sketches of street types and customs—, this thesis has explored how these depictions were interconnected by way of their persistent concern with urbanisation and the capital's role in an increasingly integrated world system. This has involved a framework that moves beyond methodologies of nationalism and interprets nostalgia and collective memory in a productive way, that is, as vessels that created communality and transcended ideas of time, space and aesthetic conventions.

This study has therefore addressed the subject of Spain's modernising process and its visual and print culture by paying special attention to the manner in which definitions of the modern were mediated and constructed at a time when the influence of foreign models was being weighed up and negotiated. Various key concepts have run throughout this thesis, all of which have privileged a fluid understanding of lived experience and its manifestation in visual culture: cross-cultural relations, globalisation, self-awareness, and dialogue. By dialogue I mean the ways in which pre-existing visual codes and notions of tradition were brought into conversation with contemporary concerns and ideas of present-day habits. These concepts have been common threads throughout the thesis in its aim to demonstrate that the experience of modernisation was not mediated and constructed through strict binary divides—such as tradition and newness, the past and the present, the European and the local—, but instead was articulated in a more porous manner that took into account previous systems of representation as well as Madrid's position in an increasingly global system. This has been a fundamental argument in this thesis, as polarised conceptualisations run the risk of hindering a coherent understanding of societies at the crossroads of multiple traditions, influences and cultures. It becomes evident, then, that this work has built on current scholarship that suggests stepping away from negative readings of nineteenth-century Spain in favour of studying Spanish cultural modernity, as well as other so-called peripheral modernities, from an approach that puts the spotlight on cross-cultural relations and ideas of continuity rather than rupture. This approach has implied looking beyond national, ideological and disciplinary boundaries and, as a result, has not assessed the failure or success of the capital's modernising process by comparing it to the projects carried out in other cities, but has instead explored how this process was negotiated and conveyed in the context of everyday life.

To this end, I have attempted to shed light on two subjects that have emerged throughout the six chapters of this study: the thorny concept of modernity and the late nineteenth-century visual culture of Madrid. The subject of modernity has been referred to throughout this work, from the first chapter dealing with the theoretical underpinning and interdisciplinary method that has been applied and especially throughout the second part, comprised by Chapters Two through Four. This section examined the ways in which visually initiated citizens expressed ideas on the subjects of seeing and urban change in relation to the European context with the objective of exploring how notions of the modern were constructed in visual and spatial terms. The subject of modernity has also surfaced throughout the third and final part, which encompassed Chapters Five and Six. Focusing on the depiction of street types and customs, this section has analysed the ways in which notions of the past and pre-existing practices were infused with a new sense of dynamism and contemporary meaning. These depictions were shrewd reflections on both past and contemporary issues and brought notions of tradition and the modern into dialogue in innovative ways. Furthermore, these illustrations were conceptual antecedents to twentieth-century mass media and paved the way for the hybrid of styles and commercial demands that popular culture would come to epitomise.

The subject of modernity, therefore, has been studied from two interrelated perspectives. On the one hand, the thesis has attempted to shed light on the historiographical construction of the concept, which tends to be centred in specific loci, such as Paris, as well as on the idea that nineteenth-century industrialisation signified a break from previous forms of lived experience. By assessing the methods of urban and cultural modernity, I have created a framework that would allow me to study the co-existence of local and foreign elements and of older aesthetic conventions and contemporary concerns as intertwined processes. In doing so, I have attempted to explore the concept of modernity and the phenomenological experience that it generated beyond this idea of rupture. Both textual and visual evidence have shown that notions of the past and the present were brought into a productive dialogue, which allows us to rethink the concept of modernity beyond the commonplace idea that it signified a break from previous aesthetic practices and quotidian experiences. As a result, apparently contradictory aspects of Madrid's cultural production, like the co-existence of modern vistas and settings anchored in *costumbrismo*, can be gauged as integrated components of the same, unique process. In this sense, Madrid's cultural production has been framed in terms of fusion, amalgam, and interdependence, rather than approaching the depiction of archetypes and customs as outmoded aesthetic features or signs of nostalgia. As

can be inferred, the study has not intended to situate Madrid within the literature of modernity, but instead has endeavoured to unpack this concept from its historiographical baggage and dislocate the concept in favour of a more fluid and inclusive study of what being modern meant to nineteenth-century citizens. It has therefore acknowledged the historiography of the concept and its methodological tools with the objective of, to a certain degree, challenging it. In this sense, I have followed recent scholarship that advocates for dislocating the concept of modernity, an approach that opens new pathways of investigation that relate not only to Madrid but to other so called peripheral modernities. Thus, an underlying objective has been to propose a novel methodological framework that admits examining modernity, memory, and cities previously deemed second-rate in a new light. As a result, the discourse of difference that has characterised the history Madrid's modernity can be significantly undermined

This does not imply ignoring the concept of modernity, as this would be incongruent with accounts offered by the sources studied here, which focused on the subjects of urbanisation and the socio-spatial practices it altered. For this reason, another aspect that I have considered in my approach to modernity is how meanings of the modern and new practices were expressed and mediated in the nineteenth-century illustrated press, a medium that privileged transmitting current information in a timely manner. A large part of the thesis has been spent looking at the ways in which meanings of the modern were continuously questioned, shaped, and articulated in visual and lexical terms. By paying attention to the visual-verbal dynamics of the press and the interplay between text and image, I have exposed how representations of Madrid constituted reflections on intercultural exchange and conveyed concerns regarding the effects urbanisation and European influence had on daily life. This was a time when meanings of the modern and novel practices were in the midst of being negotiated and articulated. Chapters Three and Four explored how foreign words, expressions and practices like strolling, *modernización* or *flâneur* were perceived, rejected or adjusted. Overall, these cultural representations displayed a profound awareness of the notion that concepts linked to urban life were not fashioned in isolation but in conjunction with an increasingly global setting. Chapters Five and Six looked at the manner in which illustrations drew attention to the visual language and aesthetic codes being used. Conventionalised street types and scenes, including the city fountain, *horchateros*, or *chulos*, tapped into the readership's memory and brought attention to the ways in which the modern was being mediated and a pre-existing visual lexicon being employed and reworked. At the same time older tropes were updated to better convey the implications of subjects like urbanisation,

immigration, and memory through contemporary sites like the tram and street types like the flirtatious man or the well-to-do female stroller. Rather than interpreting these depictions in relation to projects of nation building or as a nostalgic look towards the past, I have attempted to shed light on their popularity and their fundamental role in building the conceptual and technological foundations for the development of the mass media at the turn of the century. In these illustrations, special focus was given to the visual and verbal language being used, which resulted in images referring to conventionalised tropes in a specific manner and bringing attention to the systems of representation being used to do so. The visually initiated reader was probed to question and think about the elusive notions of truth and the changing boundaries between representation and reality at a time when the illustrated press was crucial in disseminating photographic innovations and setting the conceptual and technological foundations for mass media. This lay bare the workings of discourse, the ways in which meaning was constructed and also exposed the vital role vision played in this process.

A second objective of this thesis has been to shed light on the late nineteenth-century visual and print culture of Madrid, a rich field of study that provides insight into patterns of consumerism, the merging of high and low culture, and the establishment of the foundations of a mass media. The present work has explored only a small part of the thematic lines and pathways of enquiry these sources offer to cultural critics. These illustrations have proved to be valuable documents in the examination of Madrid's urban modernity and the visual and spatial practices of its citizens. Having completed my work, I remain more convinced than ever that there is fertile ground for further, more nuanced inquiries into how certain themes spanned the various forms of popular culture in nineteenth-century Spain. Much more remains to be said on the ways in which concerns regarding urbanisation and globalisation permeated other forms of cultural production and popular entertainment of the later decades of the century, including postcards, printed ephemera, or theatre. The conceptual and stylistic connections between European periodicals or how the capital's urban identities were perceived and mediated in the press produced in other Spanish cities could also contribute to illuminating these sources and broadening our knowledge of print culture and modernisation.

The images examined throughout this study are representative of how the capital was depicted in the city's press and have ranged from sprawling views, cityscapes, and maps to scenes of street types and contemporary customs including religious activities, strolling, or riding public transport. Taken as a whole, they provide a valuable and coherent picture of how Madrid was depicted in popular print culture and the fundamental presence illustrations of public life had across visual media. I have put into relation the seemingly disparate formats

of illustrations, cartoons and photoengraving to see how similar concerns were conveyed in the press. By the final decades of the century, readers were familiar with a variety of forms of print and visual culture and managed different formats with ease. The interdependence and coexistence of illustrations and photography on the pages of the press during the final decades of the century illuminates the actuality of illustrations and caricatures of street life and customs and their agency in conveying fluctuating ideas of reality and setting the conceptual foundations for twentieth-century mass media and popular culture. In sum, it is my hope to draw attention to the value of these oft-neglected illustrations and texts in critical discourse. These illustrations can be valued as artefacts, repositories of memory, and cultural texts that admit being read on many levels, relating to subjectivity and objectivity, collective experience and individual mediation, remembrance and presence.

It could be understood that this thesis represents somewhat of an optimistic reading of the print culture and urban identity of Madrid. Indeed, it has aimed to provide a reading of the capital's modernising process that steps away from the narratives of failure that characterised studies of nineteenth-century Spain until not long ago. My main goal, however, rests in providing an additional interpretation that I believe these sources required: one that explained the visual culture of late nineteenth-century Madrid in relation to the ideas concerned with the modern that were so persistently explored in the press. Mine is a reading just as valid as those offered by the scholars whose work I have commented throughout this thesis. It is my hope to offer another side to the complex story that was lived experience and the cultural output produced in Madrid. Studying the points of intersection between cultural texts generates as many and varied interpretations as experience permits. In this sense, I have striven to bridge the gaps between the divisions that so often surface in historical study—boundaries between different disciplines and methodologies, between lived experience and text, between representation and reality—and approach them as sites where multiple influences intersected. That said, in doing so one takes the risk of creating new types of boundaries. As eloquently summed up in the quotation that opened the first chapter of this thesis, many things are gained and left behind in our methodological experiments, but this is a risk one must take in order to advance and provide further readings of the historical sources we have access to. This thesis is one more stone in this path towards comprehending how urban change, the construction of meaning, and the role of visual and print culture were experienced in late nineteenth-century Madrid.

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Resumen

Desde mediados del siglo XIX, Madrid vivió los efectos del progreso tecnológico, la reforma urbana y el desarrollo de una incipiente cultura impresa de masas. Sin embargo, debido a la situación en cierta medida periférica de España en la historiografía de la modernidad y en los estudios culturales, el proceso modernizador de Madrid continúa siendo un terreno fértil de análisis, especialmente en lo relativo a la superposición de elementos locales y extranjeros que existía en su producción cultural. La presente tesis aborda este tema y estudia como lo moderno fue mediado y construido en la cultura visual e impresa de Madrid durante las últimas décadas del siglo XIX. Centrándose en representaciones de espacios públicos, vistas urbanas, y tipos y costumbres reproducidas en la prensa cómica e ilustrada de la capital desde la década de 1870 hasta mediados de la década de 1890, el presente estudio plantea que las conceptualizaciones de lo moderno no se experimentaron a través de relaciones binarias como tradición-progreso, local-extranjero, viejo-nuevo, sino que fueron articuladas en relación a la memoria visual y a las influencias transculturales.

Con este fin la tesis se centra en dos aspectos interrelacionados: En primer lugar, analiza la forma en la que ciudadanos visualmente iniciados manifestaron una profunda y consciente implicación en la transformación urbana y la situación de la capital en un contexto cada vez más globalizado. Las representaciones urbanas de Madrid eran, ante todo, reflexiones en torno a las relaciones interculturales que exploraban los efectos que la modernización ejercía sobre ideas como la nostalgia, las relaciones socio-espaciales, y la construcción de significados en un contexto europeo cada vez más interconectado. En segundo lugar, este estudio aborda las expresiones visuales enraizadas en el género costumbrista desde una perspectiva de multiplicidad y pluralismo, lo que permite examinar la nostalgia y el recuerdo más allá de las perspectivas metodológicas del nacionalismo (De Cesari y Rigney, 2014). Más que vestigios de un estilo anterior, estas ilustraciones son estudiadas como reflexiones y reformulaciones de una gramática visual preexistente que fue

imbuida de nuevos significados contemporáneos, lo que dio lugar a un diálogo fructífero entre nociones del pasado y del presente. Esta perspectiva ayuda a comprender la persistencia de estas imágenes en la prensa, a la vez que analiza cómo fueron un importante antecedente conceptual que sirvió de punto de transición hacia lo que sería una cultura impresa de masas, en cuyo primer momento coexistieron ilustraciones, viñetas cómicas y fotografías.

Esta tesis se apoya tanto en ilustraciones impresas así como en colecciones costumbristas, novelas, artículos periodísticos, guías de la ciudad y diversa *ephemera* impresa con el objetivo de ofrecer una aproximación a la cultura visual y urbana de Madrid desde una perspectiva interdisciplinaria. También se pretende aportar al cuerpo de estudio que aboga por descentrar el concepto de modernidad de sus lugares canónicos y así desentrañar cómo percepciones de cambio ocurridos en lugares específicos estaban imbricadas en procesos y contextos más amplios.