DIONISIO VISCARRI

Augusto Ferrer-Dalmau: Nostalgia, Cultural Angst, and the Recovery of Aesthetic Carlism

La representación artística de las guerras carlistas disminuyó a medida que el movimiento fue perdiendo agencia política y discursiva. No obstante, en el presente siglo, el pintor neo-historicista Augusto Ferrer-Dalmau ha reconfigurado los parámetros del legitimismo español, reposicionando sus significantes ideológicos y culturales. Este artículo explora cómo la reaparición del carlismo estético ejerce como repositorio nostálgico de una trayectoria histórica imaginada en contraposición a discursos políticos contemporáneos. Asimismo, examina como dichos textos visuales funcionan como reafirmación, desvinculada del legado franquista, de la identidad unionista del Tradicionalismo y como lamento contemplativo ante la desaparición de un sistema de valores culturales.

Palabras clave: *Augusto Ferrer-Dalmau, carlismo, pintura española contemporánea, nostalgia cultural, arte militar*

Artistic representations of the Carlist wars waned as the movement relinquished its political and discursive agency. In our present century, however, neo-historical painter Augusto Ferrer-Dalmau has reconfigured the aesthetic parameters of Spanish legitimism, while reallocating its ideological and cultural signifiers. This article explores how the resurgence of Carlist military imagery serves as a nostalgic repository of an imagined historical trajectory challenging contemporary political discursive practices. It also examines the visual texts' function as a reaffirmation of Traditionalism's unionist identity, decoupled from the legacy of Francoism, and as a contemplative lamentation of a vanishing cultural value system.

Keywords: *Augusto Ferrer-Dalmau, Carlism, contemporary Spanish painting, cultural nostalgia, military art*

Por Dios, por la Patria y el Rey
lucharon nuestros padres.
Por Dios, por la Patria y el Rey

lucharemos nosotros también.
—Ignacio Baleztena Ascárate

The opening verses of the Carlist anthem, the "Oriamendi," encapsulate the most salient and codified features of Southern Europe's longest continuous ideological project.[1] Since 1833, the Carlist movement has unsuccessfully challenged the legitimacy of Ferdinand VII's line of heirs to the Spanish crown.[2] Carlism's ideological underpinnings, however, precede and transcend the dispute over legitimacy.[3] They stem from the confessional, anti-modern, centrifugal, and counterrevolutionary resistance to progressive ideas, embedded in the Enlightenment and its derivations, and their perceived threat to the Old Order.[4] Constructing itself as a populist, retro-reformist socio-political crusade against liberal trade, tributary, and land policies, Carlism ignited three protracted armed insurrections.[5] Precociously mobilized in 1934, its militias also played a critical role in enabling General Franco to achieve his objectives in Spain's last civil conflict.[6]

Predictably, given its prolonged socio-cultural footprint, the Carlist struggle produced a vibrant and ample artistic legacy.[7] Joaquin Agrasot, Victor Morelli, Enrique Esteban, Valeriano Domínguez Bécquer, Antonio María Lecuona Echániz, and the French-Catalan Josep Cusachs were among an array of nineteenth-century artists who were attracted to Carlist subject matter, and in the case of Bécquer and Lecuona, who overtly identified with the legitimist cause. Although not devoid of ideological content, these works generally emphasized a documental or purely aesthetic intent rather than a political one. Following either Romantic or Realist representational models, they also reflected the privileged space, narrative authority, and ubiquity military themes still enjoyed in late nineteenth-century European art.

Timidly consolidated as a sub-genre of Spanish historical painting, Carlist-themed pictorials were revitalized and updated in the Civil War and postwar periods. Overall, these latter pieces were mythicized interpretations of traditionalist history by artists like Gustavo de Maéztu and Ramón Stolz Viciano, who collaborated with the victorious side. But perhaps the most prominent graphic illustrator of Carlist imagery was Carlos Sáenz de Tejada, who in an effort to expedite the Franco regime's consolidation of power, created several murals and posters fallaciously representing an unqualified harmony among the various political families. Art mimicked political reality, as Carlism was denuded of its agency, its historical identity appropriated and placed at the service of the interests of the budding State.

Notwithstanding the nuanced historical contexts distinguishing conventional artistic representations of Carlist military action during the first one hundred and fifty years of the movement, all share an intimate chronological immediacy to the events portrayed, which understandably conditioned their ideological and aesthetic perspectives. At the turn of the twenty-first century, however, this temporal correspondence was elided as the creation of Carlist combat imagery unexpectedly resurfaced unto the Spanish cultural milieu.

For the past two decades, self-taught painter Augusto Ferrer-Dalmau (Barcelona, 1964), has generated spirited depictions of eight hundred years of martial history, placing particular emphasis on the legitimist wars.[8] Endowed with considerable linear, compositional, and chromatic flair, his images have been internationally acclaimed and he has been publicly recognized by various branches of the Spanish armed forces, as well as by several foreign governments.[9] Thematically, his works can be loosely categorized as: a) panoramic front line actions, emphasizing kinetic and emotive intensity; b) collective scenes of passive engagement in the rearguard or of non-combat movement, which like the first category, are usually centered on concrete historical referents and/or personalities; c) full-body equestrian portraits, highlighting uniformology; d) anecdotal/symbolic, focused on anonymous episodes that are heavily reliant on projecting contemplative reflection and are frequently presented in romanticized spatial settings.

The artist constructs a visual narrative anchored in traditionalist versions of Carlist history, while channeling manifestations of unionist identity. His paintings run counter to the antimilitarist, pacifist vein prevalent in modern Spanish society, but satisfy a mainstream yearning to recuperate historicity in contemporary art.[10] They can also be read as a sharp contestation of the cultural undercurrents that have shaped modern aesthetic norms. Populist in their appeal to the non-specialized viewer, they rebel against the abatement and fragmentation of figurative, realist representations. In some ways, his body of work highlights dominant narratives of Spanish exceptionalism, a version of national history punctuated by gallant defeats, remarkable victories, and globally civilizing enterprises, driven by mostly male patriotic protagonists.[11] This rendition of the past is also the discursive paradigm adopted by the Francoist educational and cultural establishments and cemented in the filmic epics of the state-controlled television programming of the artist's formative years. Paradoxically, his canvases overhaul obsolete styles, renewing collective interest in the medium, while reconstituting it as a platform to assemble provocative views. As linguistic plurality, multiculturalism, and political

correctness have attained greater currency in Spanish society, unionist national expression has been displaced, becoming just another competing force within Peninsular culture.[12]

Yet it would be reductivist to dismiss Ferrer-Dalmau's pictorial representations as sheer expressions of ultra-right wing zealotry and revivalism. Cognizant of the potential for a politicized backlash, for example, he has mostly refrained from portraying the last civil war. Moreover, although his depictions of Africanist units (e.g., *Columna legionaria*, and *La carga de Igán*) and of the Blue Division (e.g., *Voljov* and *Que en Rusia están*) could be deemed controversial, the presence of Othered, mostly invisible foreign enemies tempers their domestic perceptive impact. To a large degree, the refurbished nationalism in his works celebrates an imagined conception of the historical past. In addition, it espouses a pedagogical intent by introducing and disseminating themes that, from the artist's perspective, have been erased from national collective memory. Superseded by the politico-cultural impact, chronological proximity, destructive dimensions, and transformative implications of the conflict fought in the 1930s, the civil wars of the nineteenth century were relegated to a condition of dormant memory text. Nevertheless, they transpired at a pivotal moment in Spain's nation-building project, when the tensions between centrifugal and centripetal forces that extend to the present were particularly acute.

Suggestively religious in content, *Calderote* (2010) depicts a Carlist infantry charge during the Royal Expedition of 1837, a feat that took the claimant's forces to the outskirts of the Spanish capital. A mounted commander, with his sword pointing towards the heavens, is the central focus. He is placed perpendicularly to the line of the advancing troops, creating a geometric spatial effect that arranges the visual elements into a cross-shaped composition. Facing the viewer and surrounded by fallen combatants, he gazes at the crucifix held by a bellowing warrior priest. The officer's exaggerated symbolic stance, as he restrains his white charger, evokes iconographic representations of Spain's patron saint, Santiago Matamoros, defending Christian culture at the battle of Clavijo. The play of diagonal and vertical lines and the containment of negative space also exhibit a technique similar to that used by José de Ribera in *Martyrdom of St. Phillip*. Reinforced by dark and reddish tonal contrasts, against a smoke-filled, crepuscular combat background, the image represents a recognition of the self-sacrificial ethos so prominent in Carlist historical and political culture. It also serves to underscore the displacement of sacred themes in art by contemporary secularism and implies its correlation to the waning of religious practice.

In some ways, Ferrer-Dalmau's paintings can be read as an exercise in historical nostalgia: a longing for an idealized temporal space pregnant with alternative possibilities and outcomes. They fetishize a historical period when the great utopian narratives of modernity still had currency, even if they were affixed to retrograde paradigms, as the traditionalist project envisioned. Alongside democracy, material prosperity, and socio-cultural and personal freedoms, the onset of the postmodern era and globalization is construed by cultural conservatives as bringing to Spain lingering unemployment, substance abuse, moral relativism (understood as same-sex marriage, pornography, the disintegration of the traditional family unit, violent crime, etc.), undocumented immigration, plummeting birth rates, Islamic terrorism, and the loss of rural communities and of traditional and religious values. Consequently, the artist's configuration of intense visual experiences, mediated through communal historical violence, responds to a climate of cultural anxiety. "Amar a España y al Ejército no está de moda en la España de *Gran Hermano,*" he states, deriding mass-culture's misplaced priorities (Ferrer-Dalmau, *La Razón*). Faced with an ambiguous present and future, he finds solace in the constancy of an imagined, mythicized past: "Soy un hombre de otro tiempo, me gusta más el pasado que el presente" (Ferrer-Dalmau, *La Razón*). Snubbing civic nationalism, his images seek to consolidate national identity around a past common martial experience and the collective sacrifices it entailed: "Mis pinturas abordan la cuestión de España como un concepto global, de nación. Antes que nosotros hubo muchos soldados que lucharon por este país. Algunos murieron para que estemos donde ahora nos encontramos. Mi intención es recuperar su memoria" (Expósito 63). His assertions imply a recognition of the economic and political development enjoyed in the present (despite the cultural consequences) and of the culmination of a historically linear process towards the establishment of the nation-state. This premise subverts any hypothetical postulation for the reinstatement of a regressive ideological paradigm. As the quote makes clear, he seeks to legitimize and defuse his thematically conservative texts by using the discursive signifiers of the modern restorative justice movement, similarly appealing for collective cultural rememoration.

In her pivotal study, Svetlana Boym differentiates between two modes of nostalgia, which she categorizes as reflective and restorative. The former is inherently passive and denotes a melancholic contemplation of a vanished past and of the transitory structure of time as it privileges personal and collective memory within a cultural framework. In contrast, restorative nostalgia seeks the factual recuperation of a misrepresented past and the active reestablishment of an original essence and/or values that have been

diluted or lost (49). In Ferrer-Dalmau's works, both manifestations of longing appear and are contained within "displaced nostalgia." Coined by Tom Vanderbilt, the term refers to the yearning for a past outside the experiential lifespan of the subject (Wilson 89). For example, the reinvigorated modes in which Carlist armed engagements are crafted denote signs of restorative nostalgia. An emphasis on physicality, alacrity, raw power, speed, and skillful use of weaponry complements the aesthetic and emotive appeal of the visual texts. As Antonio Gómez López-Quiñones observes:

> La violencia del pasado se torna en un motivo de añoranza y fascinación porque sus proporciones y sus intenciones despiertan, bastantes años después, tanto respeto como nostalgia. Nostalgia por viejos héroes capaces de realizar actos de abnegación y generosidad (algunos extremadamente violentos) por una causa política: toda una actitud generacional tenida hoy por inaudita. (179)

As we will note shortly, ensconced in Ferrer-Dalmau's compositions communicating restorative nostalgia lies a resistance to externally imposed constructions of Carlist identity and a denunciation of a fragmented collective cultural self that requires mending. It comprises a consistent subtext that attempts to reconstruct a sense of Spain's historical exceptionalism through aesthetic spectacle and symbology within the modern democratic framework.

In contrast, canvases like *Morella en la lejanía* (2010) or *El regreso* (2012) convey elements of reflective nostalgia, as they allegorically focus on the passage of time and the isolation brought on by the loss of hope. The former depicts a solitary mounted lancer on a hill, contemplatively returning to the Levantine town. The vastness separating the Carlist figure from his destination conjures romantic tropes of ideological unattainability and melancholy. In the second painting, two quiet riders, with their backs turned and disengaged from the viewer, passively survey the horizon. Both paintings capture the end of armed struggle, metaphorically signified by the dissipated smoke of the smothered campfires and by the static postures of the protagonists. A pastoral yet somber crepuscular atmosphere of lamentation envelops both scenes, absorbing the human images into the much larger natural environment. The emotional focus is transferred from human agency to metaphysical inevitability. Reflecting Carlist ideals, only sections of the symbolic firmament remain chromatically bright. Weapons are at rest as the wind sweeps across the barren landscape, signifying change and historical distance. In addition, the presence of dogs as companions foreshadows a return to domesticity and the warriors'

impending old age. The blended opaque colors and faint lines, as well as the figures' distance from the viewer reinforce a concept of a fading collective memory. Yet, the paintings deliver a scopophilic effect through the revisiting, from a detached, comfortable distance, of a shared communal past, and through the savoring of an emotional space of remembrance.

Arguably this mode of figurative painting may be viewed as retrograde and counter to the trajectory towards the abstract and the conceptual that Spanish art had reaffirmed in the latter stages of modernity and beyond. However, implicit in Ferrer-Dalmau's work is a notion of history that longs for a return to narrativity and to referential re-centering. This position runs parallel to the subject's displacement in contemporary globalized society. Accordingly, the paintings may be read as a symbolic mirror where the collective self recognizes its image in the historical portrayals it experiences, and thus reconstructs its communal identity.

His canvases also present an indirect affront to the controversial Law of Historical Memory, as they convolute historical responsibility through disassociation, temporal displacement, and ideological minimalism. Although the 2007 legislation was principally designed to redress the inequities and injustices engendered by the Spanish Civil War and Francoist eras (it was recently invoked, for example, to exhume and relocate Francisco Franco's remains), its critics allege that one of its provisions to remove all contentious historical remnants from that period, including public statues, monuments, street names, and other external symbols, constitutes a reopening of social fissures and a draconian attempt to officially erase from Spain's collective memory what they perceive to be important vestiges of the national past. This view is synthesized by conservative historian Pío Moa, "Diversos políticos y partidos propugnan una determinada visión de nuestro pasado … [que] constituye un ataque a las libertades públicas y la cultura … La falsificación del pasado corrompe y envenena el presente … La sociedad no puede aceptarlo sin envilecerse: los pueblos que olvidan su historia se condenan a repetir lo peor de ella" (*Libertad Digital*). Although Moa's denunciation is explicitly directed against what he perceives as the artificial repositioning of historical roles, the capricious attribution of culpability, and the whitewashing of the crimes committed by members of the Republic that the law entails, the premise and its implications are equally applicable to the marginalization of the Carlist movement's trajectory, for its links to the Francoist enterprise.[13] While the merits of the argument are open to debate, what is pertinent is the prevailing sense of loss of identity and historical authenticity experienced by certain sectors of Spanish society.

Ferrer-Dalmau's aesthetic recovery of traditionalist Carlism and deliberate disassociation from the legacy of the Franco regime is partially grounded on historical premises. While it is true that a substantial sector of Carlists collaborated in establishing the ideologically polymorphous regime that followed the conflict and served in cabinet posts and as token members of the rubberstamping *Cortes* until its demise, others conspired against it. The majority of legitimists, however, resigned themselves to an imperfect outcome, finding solace in their role of having safeguarded the Catholic Church's protagonism in Spanish culture and society. Although partially financed by Mussolini on the eve of the civil conflagration, the Comunión Tradicionalista adopted a pro-Allied stance during the Second World War. In fact, Carlists largely refrained from joining the *Blue Division*, the predominantly Falangist contingent that fought within the *Wehrmacht* during Hitler's Russian offensive. The embattled leader, Manuel Fal Conde, exiled to Portugal by the Nationalists during the Civil War for planning a military academy for *requeté* officers and for rejecting the unification decree, explicitly instructed his followers not to enlist. In 1943, and with the passive complicity of the Franco regime, the legitimist regent-claimant, Javier de Bourbon-Parma, was arrested by the Gestapo and sent to Dachau. Six years earlier, he had been banished by the Nationalist government for resisting the integration of Carlism into the New Order. Ironically, their emblematic red beret was donned by the members of the expeditionary force bound for the Leningrad sector, as it had been incorporated into the official uniformology of the Regime following the forced merger of all political parties under Franco in April of 1937. Like their Falangist counterparts, a sizeable percentage of Carlists lamented having won a pyrrhic victory in the 1936 war. Nevertheless, they remained generally forbearing of the regime until their hopes of a Carlist successor to Franco were dashed by his designation of Juan Carlos for the position in 1969. The previous year the Bourbon-Parmas had been expelled from Spain. Aware of what was developing, the *Carlohuguista* branch of the movement had entered a phase of active resistance, informally supporting the Grupos de Acción Carlista, a terrorist organization that collaborated briefly with ETA. Their newspapers were sequestered and the annual pilgrimage of Carlist affirmation and memorial observance to Montejurra prohibited. These events signaled the final rupture between the reformist sector of Carlism and the regime (Clemente 139-89).

Defined by a consistent narrative of selective remembrance and a strong sense of spectacle, Ferrer-Dalmau's Carlist wars project the idea of a glorious defeat. In a parallel with Confederate constructions of the myth of "The Lost Cause'' and its copious artistic representations, he creates a

similar space, where nostalgia for an alternate historical narrative is nurtured as "an active engagement with the past, and as a juxtaposition of past and present" (Wilson 157). Interestingly, the artist's limited incursions into subject matter beyond the national scope extends to the nineteenth-century American conflict. It includes a depiction of Virginian historical figure, Thomas Jonathan "Stonewall" Jackson, escorted by his general staff in the heat of battle. Simply titled *General Jackson* (2011), the work portrays the renowned cavalryman somberly surveying his troops, somewhere in the Eastern Theatre of operations. With his gaze fixed on the viewer, his overall demeanor implies that he is pondering questions that transcend the canvas. Notwithstanding the image's biographical focus, the tempered kinetic contrasts seem to suggest that only a biological nuance separates the fighters from the surrounding dead corpses. In a representational parallel to some of the artist's Carlist themed works, a partially furled Confederate battle flag, signifying the ultimate defeat of the Southern cause, and the ensuing impugnment of its legacy (including the flag itself), highlights the chromatic contrast of the background. Ferrer-Dalmau's aesthetic engagement with the secessionist cause underscores the painter's adoption, in spite of his own unionist leanings with respect to the peninsular context, of a romanticized construal of Western history that both Carlist and Confederate collective narratives embrace.

In fact, the appeal of linking both historical movements transcends the aesthetic. In recent years, unsubstantiated allegations of Carlists fighting for the Confederacy have surfaced.[14] Such claims promote a romantic narrative in which two geographically distant populist movements, hampered by numerical and technological inferiority rise to preserve a culturally distinctive way of life, resisting the imposition of homogeneity from a central authority. Nonetheless, the factually discredited attempts to link both causes reflect an aspiration to establish historical correspondence and continuity between shared agrarian, traditionalist, religious, and patriarchal belief systems. Compounding these similarities is a dually mythicized martial legacy, complete with roaming guerrilla exploits, strong historical personalities, hard-fought engagements, and perceived historical injustices and betrayals. Lastly, in recent years legacy advocates of both movements have felt quite threatened by modern revisionism and cultural scrutiny.

The patterns of remembrance employed by the nostalgic preservationists of both causes rely on fragmenting the past into selective episodic instances and/or aesthetic impressions. Such rearrangement promotes continuity as "it allows us to displace ourselves from the present in a matter that, when understood and examined, allows us to construct

memory … in a manner that compels discovery instead of erasure, diversity instead of monolithic systems of power" (Powell Kennedy 200). It is precisely through this repositioning and aestheticization of communal rememorative material that Ferrer-Dalmau's nostalgized re-imagined past lays claim to cultural currency.

As mentioned earlier, the paintings endeavor to evoke a yearning for national identity through the aestheticization of collective historical memory. However, the observer's gaze is displaced by overwhelming considerations of figurative precision, referential accuracy, perspectival complexity, and chromatic opulence, which offset the perception of any overt ideological content. The violent aesthetic appeal is intended for the male gaze. Consistent with the patriarchal ethos of traditional Carlism, women are depicted only in passive and supporting roles: the mother who devotedly bids farewell to her warrior son, the peasant girl who brings water to the resting officers, etc. Even the artist's unrelated static depiction of Augustine of Aragón accentuates her physical attributes over her historical agency. It is through this objectification of femininity and the emphasis on difference that a discourse of martial virility is articulated. Conversely, the thematic content of the paintings reinforces a reductionistic narrative, propagated by many historians and artists alike, that constrains the representation of the Carlist movement exclusively to its military legacy.

Ferrer-Dalmau's works also constitute a performative act of historical affirmation, as the subtext is predicated upon the notion of history as identity. It suggests a medium for enacting nationhood at a time when unionist nationalism feels besieged. Akin to a theatrical or cinematic production, the figures are arbitrary representations of historical events that in turn have been subjectively constructed through narrative and discourse. In other words, they are representations of previously represented events. Yet in spite of their synthetic construction, the corporeal and spatial compositions, the chromatic and tonal selections, and the geographic and architectural landmarks configure an emotional locus offering a privileged visual space, where a particular version of the national past can be contemplated and venerated.

As Jo Labanyi explains, historical art in the nineteenth century served a pivotal function in facilitating a polyphonic dialogue around the nation-building project, a role that was later appropriated by the centripetal discourse of Francoist cinema (69). The gradual shedding of the authoritarian legacy in cultural practices, during the last four decades, and the societal impetus for transcending its effects have destabilized the emphasis on cementing a cohesive, monolithic construction of national identity. By revisiting nineteenth century Carlism and distancing it from its

Francoist past, Ferrer-Dalmau's works seek to restore historical legitimacy to the movement, while reaffirming the role of art in configuring national narratives.[15]

In the kinetically powerful *Carga de Zumalacárregui* (2008), at full gallop and poised to strike, the emblematic Guipuzcoan general leads a group of equally determined riders. The painting is an evident appropriation of *Scotland Forever!*, Lady Elizabeth Butler's iconic, yet apocryphal representation of the Royal Scots Greys charge at Waterloo. Whether interpreted as palimpsest, homage, or pastiche, the image is experienced by the viewer in first person, as if it were the intended objective of the oncoming attack. It is an unconventional representation of combat that can be read as a metaphor where the supposedly deluded historical conscience of modern Spanish society is the designated target of aggression. Appearing to transcend the spatial demarcations of the canvas, the image projects an uncompromising and aggressive posture that represents the most formulaic assumptions associated with the Carlist movement. Moreover, it projects a transgressive ethos in relation to current conventional representational modes. The compositional symmetry of the image, amidst the turmoil of battle, yearns for a world of cultural and societal order.

On the other hand, the aesthetic embellishment, revamped thematic content, and temporal distance from the portrayed events exert a sanitizing effect on the images that diminishes the psychological and physical impact of war. The harmonized corporeal construction of the figures celebrates a direct and intimate combat experience, punctuated by hand-to-hand engagements with bladed weapons that are reminiscent of the epic heroes of the Medieval and Renaissance periods. Conversely, the arresting protagonism of equestrian imagery in a military context reinforces the concept of longing for an idealized pre-modern past, when wars were supposedly instinctive, telluric, gallant, virile, and simple, a time when warrior and steed were expected to function as a unit enveloped in a life bond of mutual loyalty. They are also representative of a nostalgic sense for a hierarchically defined society, based on spiritual, moral, and patriotic correlative values, rather than on the accumulation of capital wealth. Moreover, it suggests a period when painting and artists as a whole enjoyed a privileged position in the Western cultural realm. Displaced from its hegemonic role by the artistic mediums produced in the classical to later stages of modernity and its aftermath (photography, film, digital art, etc.), and by its own failure to renew tired models, painting has been consigned to the margins of cultural production.

Intermittently, Ferrer-Dalmau's paintings delve deeper into intertextual cultural referents. *Oriamendi* (2006), for example, depicts the Carlist rout of Lacy Evans' British Legion in the battle of the same name, the source of the movement's anthem. On the lower right hand of the canvas, an older Carlist officer with his arms outstretched in a winged fashion, as if about to take flight, has turned in the middle of the mêlée formation, sword in hand and faces his onrushing troops. The displaced position of the figure and his awkward movement disrupt the natural flow of the action and focus the viewer's gaze on the compositional imbalance of the scene. They evoke Walter Benjamin's interpretation of Paul Klee's renowned monoprint, *Angelus Novus*:

> This is how one pictures the angel of history. His face is turned toward the past. Where we perceive a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe, which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet. The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing from Paradise; it has got caught in his wings with such violence that the angel can no longer close them. The storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned … This storm is what we call progress. (257-58)

Flanked by a battle standard with an inscription upholding religion and the name of the first Carlist pretender to the throne, the segment reinforces a narrative of a vanished historical trajectory, of cultural decline accentuated by the abandonment of traditional values and of a particular conceptualization of national identity. The transformation of Klee's abstract figure into an explicitly personified entity seeks to reinstate the legitimacy of relapsing forms of representation. Central to that pre-modern imagining of identity is a fixed notion of tribal allegiance and its function in contemporary society. In the era of digital hegemony, multiculturalism, interconnected economies, and mass migration, tribalism is being redefined. As new communities and relationships are forged across national boundaries and cultures, ancestral paradigms of identity are being reconstituted and/or reconfigured. Consequently, traditionalist Carlism's genetic, communal, and geographically entrenched parameters of identity are perceived to be under existential peril.

Expressing an outmoded conviction in the mimetic properties of painting and in the infallible representability of events, the artist claims that he merely captures history as it really happened, "lo que hago es fotografiar el pasado … reconstruyo el pasado" (Ferrer-Dalmau, *Primera Hora*). Undoubtedly, the referential transparency and compositional quality of the paintings have a populist appeal devoid of the exegetic exigencies of non-

figurative art. In fact, the artist derives his representational authority from his aesthetic refinement (through realist and cinematic techniques) of the historical legacy of nineteenth-century artistic renditions of the Carlist wars and from the corpus of traditionalist historiographic literature. Publicly emphasizing the meticulous research invested, his selection of subject matter also affords him a safe space of representation. Through temporal displacement, unionist patriotic referents, such as the *roja y gualda*, can be unapologetically flaunted. Moreover, Carlist troops are reimagined to always be in a commanding position on the battlefield. Taking the tactical initiative, they are aesthetically constructed overcoming the enemy. From the revisionist content of the images, the viewer could in fact falsely deduce that the legitimist armies had been victorious in all three wars. Clearly, the representation of vanquished Carlist fighters would be incompatible with a discourse promoting a heroic martial identity. In contrast, Liberal troops are conspicuously absent and/or appear as fallen or retreating adversaries.

There are, however, a limited number of paintings devoted to Isabelline military heroes, like the four canvases depicting the precocious hussar commander, Diego de León, a recipient of the Cruz Laureada de San Fernando, who was renowned for exposing himself to Carlist fire during frontal linear assaults. Prosecuted for sedition by the Espartero government after his armed involvement in the O'Donnell coup of 1841, he was given permission to command his own firing squad. Featuring Diego de León's name in the various titles that comprise the collection, the images celebrate his martial and personal qualities beyond his ideological positioning. Portrayed in non-combat scenes, exhibiting his self-designed ostentatious uniforms, complete with leopard-skinned saddle, and surrounded by phallically suggestive artillery pieces and lances, he personifies the spirit of heroism with which the era is nostalgically constructed. The absence of explicit adversaries facilitates his enshrinement without having him compete with the broader narrative of Carlist aesthetic gallantry. It also serves to advance a discourse of collective national valor that pursues forging a reconciled communal identity.

Paradoxically, with an unassuming apolitical demeanor, Ferrer-Dalmau fashions himself in the Romantic mold of the professionally sacrificed, culturally misunderstood artist.[16] Yet through his regressive style and choice of thematic content, he is responding to what he perceives is an incongruent and displaced temporal reality, all while subverting the established cultural and ideological norms. In August of 2009, he opted for self-imposed exile from his native Catalonia and settled in Valladolid and Madrid.[17] In a letter addressed to conservative media personality César Vidal, read on the air, the painter articulates his integrist ideological

leanings. Pointing to what he considers the institutional oppression against the challengers of Catalan nationalism, he resents the lack of financial support from the *Generalitat* for his artistic endeavors as well as what he views are the restrictive linguistic policies, historical manipulation, political corruption, and hostile cultural environment in the region. Reverting to an ethno-genetic concept of identity, he emphasizes the Catalan lineage of his surnames and his familial links to the region's haute bourgeoisie, while denouncing the "inmigrantes acomplejados que se avergüenzan de sus orígenes y se unen a esa doctrina antiespañola" ("Es la noche de César"). Hence, the artist relies on historical precedent as the legitimizing element in establishing the parameters of an "authentic" Catalan identity, while simultaneously upholding the validity of a fused national construct.

Central to his position is the association of the Carlist movement with the trajectory of cultural and political Catalanism. As with many cultural recovery enterprises, the nostalgically contoured linguistic and literary nationalism of the *Renaixença* was tinged with political undertones. More progressive articulations of identity affirmation and territorial self-government, like Valentí Almirall's republican federalism, were subsequently destabilized by the conservative bourgeoisie's prioritization of entrepreneurial economic sovereignty as embodied by Francesc Cambo's and Prat de la Riba's *Lliga Regionalista*. In 1906, several Catalan Carlist factions joined the latter in *Solidaritat Catalana*, a cross-sectional coalition that espoused a platform of limited autonomy. Following the Tragic Week, the socio-economic ideological fissures between conservative and progressive forms of political Catalanism dismantled the short-lived alliance. It heralded the gradual rise of the region's left-wing militancy that would become the main expression of Catalan nationalism in the 1920s and 1930s. It also prefaced the conflicting alignment of much of conservative Catalanism, including the region's Carlists, with centripetal forces in 1936. Reacting against the Republic's enterprise of social, national, and religious de-centering, they reverted to their culturally and economically conservative origins:

> Encara que no admetien el feixisme com a sistema de govern, creien que tenia efectes positius per a la civilització europea. Era una ideologia idònea per a extirpa la revolució a Espanya, frenar l'avenç soviétic i inculcar als ciutadans i a la classe obrera un fort sentiment patriòtic, i fer-li oblidar la repugnant lluita de classes. (Vallverdú, *El carlisme* 221)

> [Although they did not accept fascism as a system of government, they believed that it had positive effects on European civilization. It was an optimal ideology to eradicate revolution in Spain, to halt Soviet progress and instill in citizens and the

working class a strong patriotic sentiment, and to make them forget the abhorrent class struggle].

In a parallel manner, Ferrer-Dalmau's conception of the region's identity is anchored on the traditionalist interpretation of political Catalanism, where the restitution of historical privileges and the respect for local customs comprised the maximum extent of self-government ambitions. It is a version of Spain where difference was contextually predicated on provincial and socioeconomic diversity, rather than on multicultural, self-determinist, and non-Catholic religious affiliation. In the global era, however, the spectrum of Catalan nationalism itself has undergone a profound transformation based on inclusivism, interclass involvement, transversal political activism, and cultural populism. In contrast to its original nativist propensities, contemporary political Catalanism counts on heavy support from recently arrived immigrant populations, from both inside and outside the boundaries of the Spanish state, as well as from second-generation citizens of the region. Moreover, many historically Carlist rural voting districts transitioned to become hotbeds of Catalan (and Basque) independentism, prompting critics to correlate the presumed radicalism of both movements. This premise, on the other hand, overlooks their considerable historical value as viable mediums for localized sociopolitical mass expression and collective identity affirmation. Although the Partido Carlista supports the region's right to self-determination, its traditionalist counterparts oppose the secessionist project.

Painted in 2009, as Catalonia's Statute of Autonomy was being impugned by the Constitutional Court, *La batalla de la Seu d'Urgell* crystalizes the artist's construction of a cohesively envisioned national imagined community. It portrays the charge of Carlist Catalan volunteers into the ancient Lleidan town during the third war. Donning their traditional *barretinas*, the most recognizable sartorial signifier of Catalanism, they are presented uncompromisingly fighting and dying under the colors of the Spanish national flag. By conjoining both referents in a visual-spatial mode, there is a deliberate emphasis to metonymically allocate Catalonia's identity well within the historical construct of the Spanish state. The image is an enactment of nationhood facilitated through the reiterative inclusion of diverse collective entities. It presupposes that Spain's pluricultural makeup is embedded within the framework of a concept of nation, rather than signifying a source of difference. Addressing the current political climate, the visual contrast attempts to undermine the currency of contemporary peripheral nationalist discourse, while distancing the Carlist movement from narratives that view it as one of its ideological precursors. The unit's

commander, Rafael Tristany, an adroit tactician and revered veteran of all three Carlist wars, appears frozen in the middle of the action and is posing as if it were a photographic image. Directing his gaze directly at the spectorial subject, he seems to acknowledge the role that photography had in the collapse of realist representation in the nineteenth century, which would lead to non-figurative modes of expression, the so-called death of art, and the postmodern era. Attaining its symbolic agency from historical referents known to the contemporary viewer, the general's stern stare can also be read as an extradiegetic, anachronic admonishment towards proponents of the most revolutionary forms of Catalan political assertiveness and the displacement of limited autonomy centered discourses in the following century. Appointed president of the briefly revived *Generalitat*, following Carlos VII's sworn commitment to restore *fuero* privileges in Catalonia and the Basque Country, Tristany is appropriated to embody a compromised interpretation of political Catalanism. A symbol of unyielding commitment to the Carlist cause and of the intergenerational familial bond that permeates through its fabric (his four brothers and his uncle Bernat, who was executed by a Liberal firing squad, played notable roles in the struggle), Tristany's portrayal in a static posture also presages the gradual demise of the legitimist movement itself.

In the lower right quadrant of the image, a bareheaded rider scrambles from the neck of a collapsed mount while his eyes are transfixed on the red beret that has fallen outside of his reach. The centrally displaced iconic object can be viewed as a metonymy of Carlism's diluted identity, which as the cavalryman's efforts suggest is on the fringes of irrecoverability. Extending across the background of the image lies the skyline of the town, highlighted by its Romanesque cathedral, Santa Maria d'Urgell. At its core, nineteenth-century Carlism was nostalgic of the Medieval period and the Spanish Golden Age, a temporal space when the Monarchy, the Catholic Church, and local laws had been the structuring pillars of Spanish society. In some aspects, Carlism also channeled the political and cultural manifestations of traditionalist Romanticism. Alongside a retrospective respect for tradition and the institutions that sustained it, both movements shared a cult of action, a reverence for individualism, a rejection of modernity and its socio-political implications, a defense of regional differences, and a myth-based discourse. Ferrer-Dalmau's canvases synthesize and refurbish these legacies, aesthetically integrating them into the present cultural context.

Endeavoring to establish a consensus of how Carlism should be remembered, his visual texts resist the iterations identity undergoes over time. This fixedness produces an adulterating effect on the perceived

continuity between past and present. Through his paintings, the artist refashions an unpolluted concept of Carlist identity. Military berets are ubiquitous and are both metonymical and national identity referents. Along with the pervasive religious iconography, hero-worship, and martial narrative they conform to a performative paradigm that reinforces Carlist notions of exceptionality. Ironically, the first to use the red colored variation of the article were Guipuzcoan miquelets serving in the Christine forces. After 1838, General Baldomero Espartero abolished its use in public in all Spanish territories, as the red beret had become a signifier of the Carlist insurrection. Its multilayered signification, as underscored in the "Oriamendi," encompasses parameters that are familial (the generational transmission of Carlist ideology), religious (a symbol of the Eucharist), military (the blood shed by martyrs to the cause), and political (the dynastic legitimacy transmitted through paternal blood). In conjunction with other spatial features like the landscape and architecture, it prolongs the idea of a timeless identity.

Other examples further illustrate the intricate nuances in Ferrer-Dalmau's representations and his effective deployment of biographical referents. In the nostalgically contemplative, *General Cabrera en Morella* (2009), the leader of the Levantine Carlist army reviews on horseback the passage of his troops on the outskirts of the town that served as his headquarters. Nicknamed the *Tiger of the Maestrazgo* for his military exploits, he also achieved notoriety following his mother's execution by Isabelline forces for spying. Credited with ordering the killing of civilians, irrespective of gender, and of captured officers, he resisted for almost a year after the peace accord at Vergara was signed. His iconic status eclipsed only by the martyrdom of Zumalacárregui, in the 1870s he accepted the Alphonsine monarchy. Centrally positioned on a slight topographical elevation, the elegantly presented officer commands the visual focus of the composition. Surrounded by his staff he is signified by predominantly white tones, which, although historically accurate, also has a cleansing effect on his image and political trajectory. In contrast, the majority of the figures are marching away, with their backs turned, from the plane of vision, resulting in an illusion that empathetically integrates the spectorial subject into the Carlist column, as it induces a sense of communal identification.

A similar model of visual aestheticization of Carlist themes is present in José Maria Tuduri's films, *Crónica Carlista* (1988) and *Santa Cruz, el cura guerrillero* (1990), as well as in José Maria Sáenz de Heredia's *Diez fusiles esperan* (1959), but with disparate results. The former interlaces the Carlist movement and Basque identity within a unitary framework in which the characters' use of Euskera and the emphasis on the region's distinct

landscape are not incompatible with a cohesive notion of the Spanish state. Unsurprisingly, given its director's trajectory and Francoist cultural context, the latter film uses the legitimist movement merely as an exotic background in which to portray Spain's folkloric idiosyncrasies.

As we have seen, central to the restorative narrative offered by Ferrer-Dalmau's visual texts is the recovery of Carlist military icons and their re-inscription into the popular imaginary. Yet these historical figures are constructed to represent noble ideals of ecumenical appeal, such as Zumalacárregui's gallantry and determination or Cabrera's redeeming dignity and sophistication. By embodying a principled, heroic era that is juxtaposed against modern society's ambiguity, fragmentation, and fragility, they underscore the paradoxes of postmodernity, highlighting it as a signifier of western decline.

In contrast, the overwhelming absence of depictions of Carlist claimants in Ferrer-Dalmau's pieces serves to decouple the movement from discourses that define it based on a dynastic exegesis. After the death of Alfonso Carlos in 1936, the last direct line heir to the Carlist crown, the movement suffered an identity crisis brought on by ambivalent aspirants, adulterated allegiances, and the obvious contextual volatility of the last century. However, the dynastic cause had always been a mere rallying point to the worldview of the movement. In fact, it is reasonable to assume that, if Isabella II had embraced traditionalist doctrines, the legitimacy question would have been avoided. By foregoing the representation of the figureheads of the movement, the artist partially de-historicizes and transforms it into a mythic atemporal continuum predominantly defined by its core values. Moreover, it obscures the severe historical and political divisions experienced by Carlism, while offering an ostensibly uniform and cohesive narrative that is pitted against the fragmented setting of postmodernity.

Yet, the corpus of his work is not devoid of contemporary cultural influences and modes of representation. In the full body portraits entitled *Quijotada carlista* (2008) and *Quijotada coracera* (2009), the quintessential Cervantine character appears mounted on different steeds, neither representing the scrawny *Rocinante*, while respectively wearing Carlist and government issued apparel. The deviation in horses could allude to the instability of loyalties and ideologies. An accompanying, non-uniformed Sancho, riding his archetypal anonymous donkey, serves to underscore the contrast between ideological Quixotism, in all of its forms, and the existential, drab reality of the ordinary citizen. The portraits subvert the stylistic integrity associated with Ferrer-Dalmau's creations, but reinforce a dependence on Castilian-centric cultural models to perform notions of

nationhood. Moreover, the blurring of genre and spatio-temporal lines establishes a heterogeneous, open-ended diegetic paradigm that is absent in his other works. While engaging in postmodern parody, the artist uses the iconic figures in order to construct an allegorical image of the country defined by collective bipolarity and schizophrenia. Delving into the socio-cultural trope of an ideologically bifurcated Spain, he reminds the modern viewer that the source and trajectory of the pathology well antecede the twentieth-century conflict.

Read in their totality, the paintings highlight and modernize dominant narratives of the legitimist wars with arresting portrayals of combat and episodes of less mediated slaughter than in earlier representations. They also reflect an interpretation of Carlism that is congruent with an orthodox version of the movement in which the cultural and religious components are centrally positioned. As the historical and political context unfolded, Carlism underwent various manifest permutations, while retaining some of its core principles and characteristics. Its complex trajectory witnessed the splintering into a series of doctrinal families within the movement that dissented regarding the legitimacy of a particular candidate, the role of religious doctrine, and/or the viability of political positions on concrete issues. However, the depictions are not focused on lamenting the absence of historical continuity, but rather on fomenting a nostalgic appreciation for a heroic version of national trajectory. It imagines a cohesive, ancestrally guided, and communally centered past. Shaped by a mostly homogeneous narrative, Carlist warriors are depicted as patriotic Christian outlaws whose romantic quest is signified as a rebellion against uniformity, external influences, and bureaucratic centralization. Evading the ideological intricacies, evolutional complexities, and internal contradictions of contemporary Carlism, Ferrer-Dalmau aesthetically transforms the movement into the nostalgic embodiment of a waning cultural value system.[18] His visual reconstructions of events situated at the historical crossroads of integrist identity formation challenge what in the painter's view is contemporary Spain's prevailing moral relativism, territorial fragmentation, ultra-secularism, and commemorative opacity.

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NOTES

1 Originally written in Euskera, its title derives from an 1837 Carlist victory on an eponymous hill. The tripartite motto, however, was adapted from Miguelism.

According to Carlist lore, the musical score was war booty subsequently modified with partisan lyrics. The original version excluded the first lines, incorporated in the twentieth-century Castilian rendition. After February 1937, the "Oriamendi" became one of the official anthems of the New State.

2 Upholding an orthodox construal of the Salic law, which precluded female successors to the Crown, the faction rejected the enthronement of the monarch's eldest offspring, Isabella, and coalesced around his pious younger brother, Carlos María Isidro, and his erratically fertile descendants.

3 Although the restitution or preservation (depending on the geographical context) of local *fueros* (ancestral laws, privileges, and rights) did not initially constitute an overt motive for Carlist mobilization, it was one of its underlying aspirations and rapidly became an integral component of the group's platform. During the 1870s conflict, the movement achieved the maximum extent of its governing influence. In the regions conquered by pretender Charles VII, parallel judicial, legislative, educational, coinage, and postal service systems, based on autochthonous traditions, were implemented, entirely displacing the authority of the Madrid government.

4 Carlism's centrifugalism, defined as administrative decentralism mediated by each region's *fueros* and traditions, could be interpreted as an intermediate position, compatible with a federalist model and, thus, politically situated between regional independentism and centralized rule. It was the Spanish rendition of a tide of equally futile analogous movements that included the French Vendée, Portuguese Miguelism, and Neapolitan Brigantism (Canal 11-21). Advocating ancestral regional rights and privileges as it contested bureaucratic absolutism, the Carlist cause championed a traditionalist societal model grounded on the organizational patterns of the Hapsburg period. The partisan fragmentation surrounding the Cadiz Constitution, and the Royalist dissent against Ferdinand VII's accommodative policies, during the Ominous Decade, galvanized the faction into a geographically nuanced coalition of rural proletariat and small landowners, artisans, lower nobility, and lesser clergy (MacClancy 1-8).

5 1833-40, 1846-49 (circumscribed mainly to Catalonia), and 1872-76. There were also ephemeral and localized insurgency attempts in 1841, 1855, 1860, 1869, 1900, and 1906. Jordi Canal considers that the limited scope and development of the 1846-49 conflict preclude it from being classified as a war (128-35). Despite attaining parliamentary representation after 1868, the party continued to conspire through its primary cultural organizations, the Carlist Circles and a network of provincial newspapers.

6 In the mid-1960s, Carlism experienced a radical ideological transformation, as it bifurcated into two antipodal branches: the Partido Carlista, a rupturist, Titoist-modeled, progressive faction under Carlos Hugo de Bourbon-Parma,

and a purist, culturally conservative bloc, with continuist tendencies, led by his younger brother, Sixto Enrique. However, these converse efforts to make Traditionalism more relevant and appealing to a democratic electorate after 1975 failed as the movement's identity continued to be linked with its ambivalent historical trajectory. In May of 1976, they clashed during the annual pilgrimage to Montejurra, a Navarrese mountain site of several Carlist military feats. International neo-fascists and Spanish far-right organizations joined Sixto Enrique's supporters. The ensuing confrontation resulted in the death by gunfire of two members of the Partido Carlista, officially recognized in 2004 as victims of terrorism, and the eventual pardon of the perpetrators under the general amnesty law of 1977 (MacClancy 179-81). For further readings on Carlism, see Jordi Canal's epilogue and comprehensive annotated bibliography (402-79).

7 There is a fairly rich corpus of Carlist themed novels written by such canonical authors as Ramón del Valle-Inclán, Benito Pérez Galdós , Pío Baroja, Emilia Pardo Bazán, Miguel de Unamuno, Rafael García Serrano, and, more recently, by Joan Perucho and Miguel Sánchez-Ostiz, among others. See Rafael Botella and Juan Manuel Rozas's "El carlismo en la novela."

8 In his initial phase, he portrayed urban and maritime settings consonant with Antonio López García's photographic approach. In fact, his early hyperrealist compositions share stylistic features with other contemporary painters like Gonzalo Goytisolo Ruiz and Pedro Campos. Guided by Cusachs's works, and by the academic style of Ernest Meissonier and Édouard Detaille, since 2002, he has positioned himself at the vanguard of the historically themed genre. An audience-specific field, it includes illustrators such as the Americans Keith Rocco, Mort Kunstler, and Don Troiani, as well as Spanish-Frenchman José Ferre Clauzel, whose works are largely propagated through virtual galleries and printed sources.

9 Among only a handful of members of the prestigious *International Society of War Artists*, several of his paintings enjoy permanent exhibition status at various military galleries, including Madrid's Naval Museum, the museums of the Royal Guard, and of the Army, Ávila's Museum of Intendance, Valladolid's Royal Palace Museum, and Zaragoza's Military Academy Museum. In 2016, he was also selected by the mentioned Transcaucasian government to depict a scene from the twelfth-century battle of Didgori, for display at the Museum of Modern Art in Tbilisi.

10 This view is echoed in an opinion column by José María Carrascal, who after classifying Ferrer-Dalmau's work as, "un regreso a los orígenes de un arte que se ha ido por los cerros de Úbeda o del Kilimanjaro," launches an invective against contemporary art modes, "Porque estamos llegando a un extremo en que cualquier cosa puede ser arte. Un cordero degollado y metido en formol …

O un tiburón, que es lo último, de momento. ¿Será lo siguiente una ballena? No me extrañaría, pues más que récords artísticos, parece que se trata de batir récords olímpicos. O más bien, de extravagancias. Lo que convierten galerías y museos en barracas de feria" ("¿Es un globo, es una ballena?").

11 In 2014, he was commissioned by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Georgia to pictorially capture its peace mission in Afghanistan, a task he had performed for the Spanish Ministry of Defense two years earlier (and that would be followed by analogous artistic expeditions to Lebanon and Mali). In contrast to the mostly imaginative properties of his period canvases, the modern conflict paintings are conditioned by the official capacity of the artist's position and his role of testimonial observer. Both share, however, the same reverence towards armed service and patriotic duty.

12 In his namesake magazine *FD*, he not only contextualizes his paintings with patriotic narratives, but also promotes causes linked to the preservation of a conservative cultural legacy. He has also illustrated and prefaced several volumes published by El Gran Capitán Ediciones. With titles such as, *Cuando éramos invencibles* and *Los invencibles de América* (which was advertised as "23 países, una misma cultura, una lengua y una sola madre: España"), and in consonance with the publishing firm's name, the series underscores a nostalgic sentimentality for an epic and imperialist historical trajectory. The back cover of the first title, for example, reads, "un alegato positivo de quienes fuimos" (*Cuando éramos invencibles*). This emphasis on loss of identity and cultural centripetalism permeates his works.

13 Among the Carlist cultural referents designated for ideological scrutiny are Pamplona's Monument to the Fallen (officially known as "Navarra a sus muertos en la Cruzada"), and Stolz Viciano's fresco depicting the military trajectory of the legitimist movement, painted on the interior cupola of the Valle de los Caídos basilica.

14 Although it is true that several thousand Spaniards joined units like the Louisiana Tigers, the European brigades, and various Alabamian, Texan, and Floridian units, there is no clear connection between them and the legitimist armies.

15 The artist's sympathetic approach to the subject matter denotes deference toward historical Carlism that is punctuated by familial links. His great uncle Melchor Ferrer-Dalmau was a renowned Carlist journalist and author of a multi-volume history of the movement. Due to his uncompromising royalist orthodoxy, he was marginalized by many sectors of the movement, which diminished the recognition of his work until recent times.

16 Evidence of this image can be found in his interviews, "Yo dedico veinticuatro horas al día, los trescientos sesenta y cinco días del año a trabajar … Acabas muchas horas solo. Vives en una soledad … Vivo solo. Y este es el precio que

tienes que pagar por tu trabajo" (Ferrer-Dalmau, *El Distrito TV*). In a public talk, held at the Reina Sofia Museum, he half-jokingly reiterates the intimate engagement with his subject matter, "Me paso la vida solo. Hablo con Agustina, 'que guapa estás' y hasta con los caballos" (Ramos). When asked by another interviewer about his reaction to being labeled a reactionary by some sectors of the Spanish public, the artist's response is positioned between resigned victimism and defiant indifference, "Me llaman de todo. Si alguien me califica así, no me importa lo que diga esa persona. Además, no es verdad" (Ferrer-Dalmau, *La Razón*).

17 This action mirrors the resolution taken by Albert Boadella, founder of the antiestablishment theatrical group, *Els joglars*. Although a defender of Catalan identity during the Franco years, he later became critical of the performance of post-Tarradellas governments. In September of 2008, he moved to Madrid denouncing the *Generalitat's* politicization of Catalano-centric cultural practices. More recently, he has parodied the independence project, proclaiming himself president of Tabarnia, a satirical integrist area comprised of Barcelona and Tarragona.

18 Modern Carlism, in all of its permutations and despite its bellicose legacy, upholds a pacifist line, publicly opposing the intervention of the Spanish Armed Forces in non-peacekeeping roles. However, only the Partido Carlista recognizes the current Carlist pretender, Carlos Javier de Borbón-Parma (b. 1970). Advancing a federalist, multicultural, plurilingual, Europeanist, and environmentalist platform, its affiliates reject the established political system for representing, in their view, the continuing legacy of Francoism. For their part, the followers of the octogenarian Sixto Enrique downplay the group's collaborationist past but retain the core ideological principles of the movement. It remains steadfastly anti-progressive and views itself as the sentinel of Spanish Catholicism. Reconstituted in the mid-eighties, the Comunión Tradicionalista Carlista, from which the previous group splintered, also maintains an orthodox line but does not recognize any existing viable pretender to the Carlist crown (Vallverdú , *La metamorfosi* 273-81). Yet, as with Ferrer-Dalmau's creations, all three factions share and dispute a claim to a historical legacy whose currency remains endemically affixed to its aesthetic referents.

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