

The Solemnity of Shadows: Juan Laurent's Vision of Spain

National Gallery of Art

November 7–December 30, 2011

Checklist of the exhibition

Unless otherwise noted, all photographs are by Juan Laurent and are albumen silver prints made from wet collodion negatives; dates are those of the collodion negatives.



1 Entrance to Toledo by way of the Alcántara Bridge, c. 1864–1870

Toledo is the ancient capital of Castile. Dominating the skyline in this photograph is the sixteenth-century Alcázar on the site of old Roman, Visigoth, and Moorish citadels. The Puente de Alcántara, the most famous of the city's bridges, was begun in 1259 and rebuilt several times. In 1870, Laurent began printing a catalogue number at the bottom of each photograph in a distinctive label that included the name of the city or art collection, the title of the subject, and his trade name. At first, the trade name on the labels was simply J. Laurent, but in 1875 it became J. Laurent y Cia.



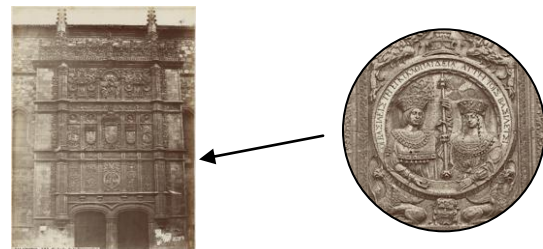
2 The Roman Aqueduct, Segovia, c. 1865–1867

This photograph formed part of the *Obras Públicas de España*, the five albums of Spanish public works presented at the 1867 Exposition Universelle in Paris. The albums included ancient public works in Spain, like this famous Roman aqueduct at Segovia. It was built during the reign of the emperor Trajan in the second century and still brings water into Segovia from the Aceveda River fifteen miles away in the mountains. Under the aqueduct, nineteenth-century travelers could catch mule-drawn *diligencias*, or stagecoaches, which were the basis of Spain's intercity transportation system before the railroads were built.



3 Plaza de la Constitución, Valencia, 1870

Recent research suggests that this photograph, previously attributed to Juan Laurent, was actually taken by Julio Ainaud (1837–1900), a French-born photographer working for the Laurent Company in the eastern Spanish provinces in 1870–1872. The two churches in the background are the Basilica de la Virgen de los Desamparados (begun in 1652) and the Seu, or Cathedral of Valencia (consecrated 1238). Between them is a 1566 addition to the cathedral known as the Obra Nueva, a tribunal gallery for viewing ecclesiastic spectacles. José Martínez Sánchez, with whom Laurent collaborated on public works projects and with whom he shared the discovery of Leptographic paper (a collodion-based printing-out paper), hailed from Valencia.



4 J. Laurent and Company, Facade of the University, Salamanca, 1878

Salamanca is 125 miles west of Madrid and 50 miles from the Portuguese border. Its university, the oldest in Spain and the fourth oldest in Europe, was founded in 1134 and given a royal charter by Alphonse X the Wise in 1254. In the Laurent photograph, the busts of Ferdinand and Isabella share a single scepter in the medallion above the paired entrances of this delicately ornamented Spanish Renaissance facade in the sixteenth-century Plateresque style. The two Catholic monarchs were protectors of the university. This photograph was published in Laurent's 1879 catalogue, *Guide du touriste en Espagne et en Portugal, ou itinéraire artistique à travers ces pays au point de vue artistique, monumental et pittoresque*.



5 *Lower part of the facade of the Monastery of San Pablo, Valladolid, c. 1875*

Valladolid is an ancient Castilian city in north central Spain that served briefly (1601–1605) as the capital of the Spanish empire during the reign of Philip III. It prospered as a center for gold- and silverwork during the Renaissance and baroque periods, with artisans producing finely wrought chalices, crosses, and ewers. The same taste for intricate decoration, as evidenced in its metalwork, can be seen here in the Hispano-Flemish-style facade of the Monastery of San Pablo by Simón de Colonia (1497). Many of Spain's religious and military orders were forcibly closed by the Spanish government in the nineteenth century and their lands, libraries, and art sold at auction.



6 *The University, Valladolid, c. 1865*

In 1715 the Carmelite Fray Pedro de la Visitación designed this solemn facade to preside over the new quadrangle of this thirteenth-century university. The main entrance is three stories high and was designed to resemble a *retablo* (altarpiece) with statues representing the arts and sciences taught at the college. In front, a row of eighteen small lions on pillars bear the arms of the university and of the Spanish monarchy. Along the roofline are four statues of Spanish kings who sponsored the university, including Philip II. Adding to the rarity of this photograph is the fact that no corresponding collodion negative for it exists in the Archivo Ruiz Vernacci, which preserves all the Juan Laurent negatives in Madrid.



7 *General view of the Cathedral from the Alcázar, Seville, c. 1866*

Santa María de la Asunción is the largest medieval church in the world. When Christians seized control of Seville in 1248, they transformed the city's enormous mosque into a cathedral. But after earthquakes in the fourteenth century damaged that building, planning began for a new cathedral that would eventually replace all but the splendid twelfth-century minaret (now known as the Giralda) with a blend of austere Gothic and elaborate Renaissance Plateresque architecture.



8 *El Giralillo, Seville, c. 1866*

The Statue of Victorious Faith (1566–1568) that crowns the top of the Giralda, the twelfth-century minaret-turned-belltower of the Seville Cathedral, measures thirteen feet high (twenty-three feet including its pedestal) and rotates according to the wind. It is known as the Giraldillo (Spanish for weather vane).

The figure of a woman holding a palm frond in one hand and a shield in the other derives from a classical Pallas Athena or Minerva, and is one of the most important sculptures of the Spanish Renaissance. It was cast in bronze by the metalworker Bartolomé Morel after a model attributed to Juan Bautista Vázquez (documented 1552, died 1589). It is not known if this photograph was shot from the roof of the cathedral using a strong lens, enlarged from another albumen print, or is perhaps even a composite of different views arranged like a collage.



9 *View of the Royal Monastery of El Escorial from the reservoir, c. 1876*

Taken from above, this Laurent photograph shows the square structure of the royal monastery of El Escorial. Built of gray granite by the Spanish Habsburg Philip II, it was conceived as a mortuary monument to Philip's father, Charles V, and to subsequent Spanish kings and queens. It included a palace for living monarchs, a magnificent basilica (seen here rising from the center), and a monastery on its southern side for members of the Hieronymite Order. There was also a university, a seminary, and a world-renowned library. By importing teams of Flemish and Italian artists and commissioning Spanish artists to decorate the walls of El Escorial, Philip launched a golden age of Spanish art.



10 J. Laurent and Company, *The Sacristy of the Royal Monastery of Saint Lawrence of El Escorial, c. 1867*

At the back of this Laurent photograph of the sacristy of El Escorial is Claudio Coello's 1685–1690 masterpiece of Spanish baroque painting, *La Sagrada Forma*. The monumental painting combines a ceremonial group portrait, religious allegory, and political propaganda in an exaltation of the Habsburg monarchy. The donation of the painting and the altar that encloses it was the price various members of the government of Charles II paid to escape excommunication after they forcibly entered the monastery and arrested a member of the opposition who had been granted sanctuary there.



11 *General view of the Puerta del Sol, Madrid, 1862*

Spain in the 1850s underwent great economic and political change. In the race to catch up with an increasingly industrialized Europe, the government succeeded in modernizing the nation's transportation infrastructure and initiating ambitious urban renewal projects. One such project was the reforming of the Puerta del Sol in central Madrid. In Laurent's presentation, the recently completed plaza is expansive and exceedingly clean, a bright symbol of Spanish urban renewal. The Puerta del Sol (Spanish for "Gate of the Sun") is the Times Square of Madrid and literally the center of Spain, being the hub of the radial network of Spanish roads.



12 J. Laurent and Company, *General interior view of the new bullring, Madrid, c. 1874*

The Plaza de Toros de la Carretera de Aragón was Madrid's bullring on the Aragón highway. It opened in 1874 in a barely completed suburb that was not accessible by public transportation and very poorly lit at night. With a diameter of 196 feet, it seated from twelve to fifteen thousand spectators. After it was demolished in 1934, a larger Mudéjar-style bullring opened at Las Ventas that could seat twenty-five thousand. This bold image, composed of stark contrasts and geometric elements, is best understood as an offshoot of Laurent's work in the public works arena. The monumental sweep of the double-tiered arcade across the stadium brings to mind Laurent's expansive images of railroad bridges and rail sheds of the 1860s.



13 *North Station, Barcelona (Zaragoza to Pamplona and Barcelona Railway), c. 1864–1867*

This photograph came from a public works album that Laurent published in 1870 from negatives he and his Spanish partner, José Martínez Sánchez, prepared between 1865 and 1867 for the *Obras Públicas de España*. Known as the Zaragoza Station when it opened in 1862, this station was renamed the North Station in 1878. It remained in operation until 1972. For the 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games, it hosted the table tennis competitions, and the same year became Barcelona's principal bus station.



14 *Tower of Rapsamblanc of Mr. Conde de Luna, Elche, Alicante, 1870*

This view of the ancient city of Elche is another by Julio Ainaud, the French-born photographer working for the Laurent Company. Six miles from the southeast seacoast, Elche was an exotic stopping point on the picturesque voyage since the beginning of the nineteenth century, when European tourists favored Spain as a romantic destination. Its sprawling palm groves and historical roots in a distant preclassical past lent it an air more akin to the ancient Near East than to classical Greece or Rome. After the Christians took back Elche from the Moors in the thirteenth century, they built a ring of watchtowers around the city center to warn of attacks by Barbary pirates. The fifteenth-century Tower of Ressemblanc, as it is known locally, is one of the best known of these original watchtowers. The water channel at the right was part of an ancient Moorish irrigation system that allowed the date palms— as many as 115,000 in 1901— to grow to heights of eighty-five feet. The two figures in white in the photograph are *huertanos*, or orchard tenders.



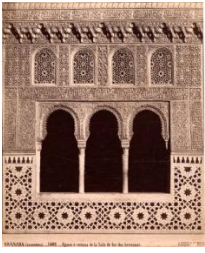
15 *Rear or niche of the gallery leading to the Hall of the Ambassadors, Alhambra, Granada, 1871*

The Alhambra, a complex of fortifications and luxurious palaces set on a hill above Granada, was the last bastion of Moorish rule in Spain. Christopher Columbus met in the Hall of Ambassadors with Ferdinand and Isabella after the Alhambra fell to Christian forces. The Arabic calligraphy that graces the ornamental bands above the arch and also at its sides translates as “There is no conqueror but God,” the famous motto of Muhammad I that is repeated endlessly on the walls of the Alhambra. In the photograph, the disrepair evident in the material of the floor of the niche bears testimony to the dilapidated state of the monument that persisted through much of the nineteenth century.



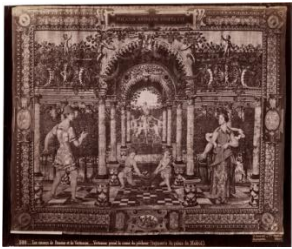
16 *J. Laurent and Company, Interior of the gallery and west pavilion of the Court of the Lions, Alhambra, Granada, 1871*

The Court of the Lions in the Garden Palace of the Nasrid sultan Muhammad V (died 1391) was conceived as a paradisaical garden, with sunken flowerbeds, waterways symbolizing the rivers of paradise, and pillars representing palm trees growing in an oasis. The court, with its alabaster fountain supported by twelve stone lions taken from a Caliphal palace in Córdoba, became synonymous with the Alhambra— due in no small degree to Juan Laurent's widely marketed images of the monument. From 1857 to 1887, the firm produced more than three hundred plates of the Alhambra in a thirty-year campaign that systematically explored everything from the finest details of its stucco work to the larger structural changes that occurred over time as conservators finally came to grips with the Alhambra's physical deterioration.



17 J. Laurent and Company, *Mullioned windows of the Hall of the Two Sisters, Alhambra, Granada, c. 1874*

This is a photograph of a plaster cast. Toward the middle of the nineteenth century, the decay of the Alhambra had reached critical mass. In 1847 Queen Isabella II of Spain appointed Rafael Contreras the first official restorer of the Alhambra, a position he held for forty years. He operated a successful plaster casting studio in Granada and his specialties were exact reproductions of the ornaments and scale models of the rooms of the palaces. His restorations at the Alhambra sometimes involved replacing whole walls of the original stucco with new plaster panels, replete with ornaments and inscriptions.



18 J. Laurent and Company, *Vertumnus as a Fisherman, c. 1879*

This photograph shows the seventh in a set of eight Flemish tapestries housed in the Royal Palace of Madrid, called the *Loves of Pomona and Vertumnus*. The series illustrates the various guises donned by Vertumnus, the Roman god of the seasons, in his attempt to win the heart of Pomona, the goddess of fruits and gardens, and is based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Charles V acquired the series in the 1550s from Georg Wezeler's workshop in Antwerp. In 1879, after the Laurent company photographed it intact, the tapestry was cut into three pieces. The central fragment was framed to decorate the state dining room of the royal palace for the wedding of King Alphonse XII and Maria Christina of Austria, where it hangs to this day.



19 J. Lacoste, *Emperor Charles V at Mühlberg by Titian*, albumen silver print from gelatin dry plate negative, 1900–1915

Joseph Lacoste was a French-born photographer who moved to Spain in 1890. He took over Laurent and Company from Juan Laurent's stepdaughter, Catalina Dosch de Roswag, in 1900 and ran it until World War I, when he was drafted by the French. During the time he ran the company he was, like Juan Laurent before him, an important photographer at the Museo del Prado. Many early Prado catalogues are printed with Lacoste images. Though he controlled all the Laurent negatives of the museum's collections, Lacoste photographed the collections again himself, using the new gelatin dry plate process for his negatives but keeping the albumen process for his prints.



20 *Helmet with gorget of Philip III, made in Pamplona, 1863–1868*

This elaborate helmet with gorget (or collar) from the Royal Armory in Madrid was made at the Royal Arsenal in Pamplona in 1620 for King Philip III of Spain (reigned 1598–1621) to present to the duke of Savoy. Pamplona, in the northern kingdom of Navarre, had been a flourishing metalworking center since the fourteenth century. In 1868 Laurent published 187 of his photographs of the Royal Armory in his *Catalogue des objets du musée des armures de S. M. La Reine*, in Madrid. The number 2491 stamped below the gorget was an early Royal Armory inventory number.

The Laurent company's photographs of three-dimensional decorative art objects feature totally black backgrounds that give the objects a sense of other-worldliness. This dramatic effect was achieved by scraping away all the collodion layer of the background areas of the exposed glass negatives. Laurent seems to have inherited this approach to photographing arms and armor from Charles and Jane Clifford, whose Madrid studio Laurent occupied after Charles' death in 1863.



21 J. Laurent and Company, *Arab vase of the Alhambra, Granada, 1872–1878*

"The water vase within me, they say, is like a devout man standing toward the Kiblah of the Mihrab, ready to say his prayers." — epigraphic inscription in a niche for a water cooler in the Hall of the Two Sisters

Many of the poetic inscriptions on the walls of the Alhambra are written as though the buildings or rooms themselves are speaking. In this case, the niche may have been describing this vase, one of two discovered in the Alhambra and now in the Museo de la Alhambra. Also known as the Antelope Vase, it stands four and a half feet tall and is a fine example of the luster ceramics produced in Málaga on the seacoast during Nasrid times (1238–1492).



22 *The Harvesters, Córdoba, before 1871*

In the mid-nineteenth century, a growing public interest in exotic subjects resulted in numerous French and English photographers beginning to offer photographs in the so-called *études d'après nature* genre, which posed regional people in their natural surroundings—sometimes in very

staged compositions. But none of these other photographers came to explore the genre with as much comprehensiveness and energy as Juan Laurent, who launched his Spanish *d'après nature* series in 1872. Laurent's works included photographs of such popular types as gypsies, peasants, shepherds, water sellers, fishermen, and *huertanos* (orchard tenders) in their traditional dress in natural settings like rocky mountainsides, beaches, and palm groves. Part of an album produced for the French market and sold from Laurent's sales outlet in Paris, this photograph of three women performing their hard labor against the harsh backdrop of a dominating cactus plant native to southern Spain shows aspects of a *tableau vivant*.



23 *Young Girl with a Guitar, Córdoba, before 1871*

As well as Córdoba, Laurent made photographs for his *d'après nature* series in Toledo, Segovia, Sevilla, and Valencia. Artists found these photographs particularly appealing as economical alternatives to hiring live models. This photograph of a young gypsy, or *bohémienne*, brings to mind the wistful compositions of Barbizon school painter Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot.



24 *Saint Mary City Gate, Burgos, c. 1863*

The facade of this fourteenth-century city gate, or *arco*, was refurbished in 1553 by Juan de Vallejo in honor of Emperor Charles V. In the central figural group conceived as a *retablo* (altarpiece), a sculpture of the emperor in the top tier is flanked by El Cid and the Count Fernán González. Above is the custodial angel of the city, and at the top in a vaulted niche is the Holy Virgin, the patroness of Burgos. At present it houses a two-story arcaded interior space for temporary art exhibitions, a historical museum with a Mudéjar coffered ceiling, and a small museum of apothecary jars.



25 *The Gate of Pardon, Seville, c. 1866*

This is the principal entrance to the Patio of the Orange Trees, today an annex of the Cathedral of Sevilla, but originally the *sahn*, or ablutions court of the ancient mosque built by the Almohad Dynasty in the twelfth century. The gateway, an original Almohad horseshoe arch preserved from the old mosque, was embellished with Renaissance sculptures of saints Peter and Paul in the 1500s. The relief above the archway, *Christ Cleansing the Temple*, refers to an actual sixteenth-century struggle between the cathedral chapter and the Moorish merchants who insisted on their right to continue the Islamic practice of selling their wares on the steps of the old mosque.



26 *Interior of the Great Mosque or Cathedral, Córdoba, c. 1866–1867*

The Great Mosque of Córdoba grew significantly during the Umayyad period (929–1031), when its prayer hall underwent three major expansions. This view shows the final and largest addition ordered by the all-powerful vizier al-Mansor in 987. In the background can be seen the Gothic screens of the tabernacle of the cathedral which was inserted into the mosque in the sixteenth century. Laurent first offered this photograph in his sales catalogue of 1867.



27 J. Laurent and Company, *Interior of the Mihrab or Sanctuary of the Great Mosque, Córdoba, c. 1896*

This view shows the addition to the Great Mosque ordered by the Umayyad caliph al-Hakam II (reigned 961–976). Al-Hakam achieved an unprecedented splendor in the complex hierarchies of the structure's intersecting arches, as well as in the decorative forms and materials of the mihrab (the niche that indicates the direction of Mecca). This photograph was first published in the 1896 catalogue by Juan Laurent's successors, his stepdaughter and her husband.



28 J. Laurent and Company, *Cibeles Fountain, Madrid, c. 1875*

This wet collodion negative from the Gramstorff photograph and glass plate negative collection in the Gallery's department of image collections was made around 1880 by the Soule (later Gramstorff) Art Publishing Company of Boston. Compared to other negatives of this period, the plate has an unusually thick and dense collodion layer. The areas completely scraped away around the periphery may be from plate holders in the printing-out process, when the plate was joined to an albumen paper and exposed to daylight.

Before the spread of snapshot photography in the 1890s, companies like Juan Laurent in Spain and John P. Soule in the United States were the sole purveyors of art, architecture, and topographical photographs. The Soule Art Publishing Company of Boston (active 1859–c. 1906) specialized in views of Europe for the American market, which they reproduced from albumen prints purchased from European companies. Soule may have acquired the print shown in this negative by mail order, which was another way Juan Laurent marketed his photographs.

Whether the distribution by Soule in the United States was authorized by the Madrid company is not known. Photographers during this period followed dubious standards, and Soule appears to have been no exception, publishing images by American photographers without crediting them. The Laurent company filed a legal injunction to remedy a case of piracy in Cádiz in 1883—though Laurent himself had published photographs by his partner José Martínez Sánchez without crediting him.



29 J. Laurent and Company, *Cibeles Fountain, Madrid, c. 1875*

This modern inkjet positive from a digital scan of the collodion negative (28) by the Soule (later Gramstorff) Art Publishing Company shows the albumen print by the Laurent company lying on a larger sheet of paper. The lower right-hand corner of the Laurent print has been torn off. The swirling pattern at the upper right of the negative was left when the glass plate was hand coated with the liquid collodion solution.

Since 1895 this fountain has been on a traffic island in the center of one of Madrid's best-loved plazas, the Plaza de Cibeles. Until then, it had been in front of the nearby Palace of Buenavista, where it was placed during the Salón del Prado urban beautification project of 1777–1782. It was designed by the project's architect, Ventura Rodríguez, and shows the goddess Cybele in a chariot drawn by lions. The goddess and the chariot are the work of Francisco Gutiérrez; the lions are by Robert Michel. The fountain dispensed drinking water from this earlier location to the citizens of Madrid from 1792 to 1895.

The Palace of Buenavista, seen in the left background, was built by the thirteenth duchess of Alba in 1777. The National Gallery of Art *Alba Madonna* by Raphael hung there until the early nineteenth century. The palace was considered as a possible location for the royal art collection before the final decision to house it in another building several blocks away, in what is now the Museo del Prado.

Juan Laurent (1816–1886) is one of the most recognized figures in the history of Spanish photography. In his late twenties he moved from his native France to Madrid, where he lived and worked for forty-three years.¹ Initially, he worked as a luxury paper and cardboard manufacturer, receiving a bronze medal at the 1845 *Exposición de Industrias* in Madrid and a silver medal at the 1850 *Exposición Española* for his marbled papers. Later, in 1856, he opened a photography studio on the Carrera de San Jerónimo in Madrid and quickly established a thriving portrait business, photographing prominent politicians and artists. His reputation as a skilled photographer led to his appointment as “Photographer to H. M. the Queen,” a title he prominently displayed in his trademark until 1868 when Queen Isabella II of Spain was dethroned. In 1858, in collaboration with the British photographer Charles Clifford, he was commissioned by the Spanish government to photograph the construction of the railroad line from Madrid to Alicante. This was the first of extensive projects Laurent undertook photographing Spanish public works, including railroad stations (13), bridges, ports, canals, and lighthouses. One such project was the preparation of five presentation albums of Spanish public works for the *Exposition Universelle* held in Paris in 1867.

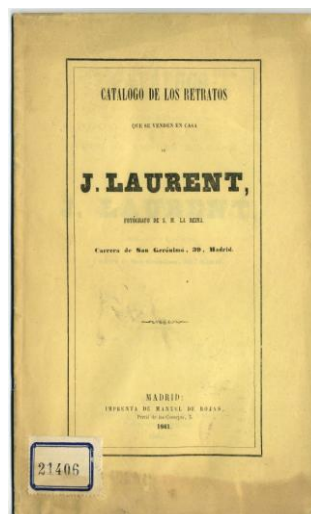
In the early 1860s Laurent launched his encyclopedic photographic survey of Spanish and Portuguese architecture, which he initiated without institutional support. Laurent hired and trained professional photographers to travel all over the Iberian Peninsula to help with this vast undertaking. He soon had an archive of more than 6,340 negatives of Spanish and Portuguese city views, architecture, museum collections, and the contemporary art exhibited in national expositions. Photographs of regional inhabitants dressed in the traditional costumes of the Spanish provinces and situated in their native surroundings formed another facet of his repertoire (22 and 23). Notably, Laurent's was the first commercial firm to photograph the art collections of the Prado Museum (19), the Royal Armory (20), and the Academy of San Fernando, earning him a place of honor with other distinguished European photography houses like Alinari in Italy and Adolphe Braun in France.

Over time, Laurent assumed the role of editor and delegated much of the actual photographic work to his partners, associates, and assistants. He used the new Spanish railroads to transport his field laboratories and the new telegraph system to manage communications. He also acquired existing collections of negatives from other professional photographers like his peer and associate José Martínez Sánchez (1808–1874) for his archive. In 1868 he opened a sales outlet in Paris, where his views of Spain reached an ever-widening European market.

By 1878 he had thirty correspondents selling his photographs across Spain and abroad. To expand his business further, he advertised on handbills and in newspapers; between 1861 and 1879 he published numerous photographic catalogues assembled from his offerings. Laurent made available a range of products appealing to every taste, from low-cost *cartes de visite* and stereoscopic prints to large single sheets that could be compiled into albums according to customer preference. He became the most important and recognizable trade photographer in nineteenth-century Spain through the successful commercialization of his excellent archive of Spanish art and architecture.

Long after Laurent had retired from business, family members and successor administrators continued to commercialize his archive of glass negatives. Images from the archive were published in postcards, newspapers, periodicals, guidebooks, encyclopedias, and art history tomes well into the twentieth century. In 1881 Laurent ceded his share of Laurent and Company to his stepdaughter, Catalina Melina Dosch de Roswag, who then managed it with the help of her husband, Alfonso Roswag, Laurent's longstanding business partner. After Laurent's death in 1886 at age seventy the firm eventually foundered, and was sold.² Another Frenchman, Joseph Lacoste (born 1872), bought the archive in 1900 and profitably administered it for the next fifteen years. When Lacoste left Spain to fight for the French armed forces in 1915, the archive passed to various new owners such as Juana Roig and Joaquín Ruiz Vernacci. The family of Ruiz Vernacci sold the twelve thousand glass negatives to the Spanish Ministry of Culture in 1975, where today they are a treasured resource for the study and conservation of Spanish national patrimony.

The National Gallery of Art Library and department of image collections gratefully acknowledge Carlos Teixidor Cadenas of the Fototeca del Patrimonio Histórico Ruiz Vernacci, Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España, for his invaluable contributions to this exhibition.



Juan Laurent's 1861 retail catalogue—courtesy of Carlos Teixidor Cadenas

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Notes

¹ Some writers have erroneously theorized that Juan Laurent began as a daguerreotypist in Paris and moved to Spain in 1856. Researchers have found evidence in Spanish municipal records that proves Laurent established himself as a luxury paper manufacturer in Madrid in 1843 or 1844. Priego et al., *Jean Laurent en el Museo Municipal de Madrid*, 26–36.

² Laurent's date of death was unknown or thought to be 1892 until Ana Gutiérrez Martínez of the Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España announced in 2005 that she had discovered his grave in the Cementerio de La Almudena in Madrid. The tombstone, which is ruined and fragmented like a jigsaw puzzle, is inscribed with the date November 25, 1886. A marble piece of the stone with lead letters affixed to it was later found by Carlos Teixidor, allowing the first name engraved on it to be read. The missing piece proved that Laurent was buried with the Spanish form of his first name, Juan, and not the French Jean. Priego et al., *Jean Laurent en el Museo Municipal de Madrid*, 31–32. For a discussion of the continuing effort in 2011 to conserve Laurent's tomb and have it named an historic site, see Gil-Díez Usandizaga, *Las fotografías de J. Laurent (1816–1886) y La Rioja*, 13–18.

Checklist of the exhibition *The Solemnity of Shadows: Juan Laurent's Vision of Spain*,
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