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Chloe Sharpe. "Painting Photographed Sculpture: John Singer Sargent's Spanish Photographs and the Boston Public Library Murals."

In 1890, shortly after receiving a commission from the Trustees of the Boston Public Library to paint a series of murals on a subject of his choice,[1] John Singer Sargent (1856-1925) wrote gleefully to his friend Ralph Curtis: 'This Boston thing will be (entre nous) Medieval, Spanish, and religious and in my most belly achy mood – with gold, gems, and phosphorescent Hellenes. What a surprise to the community!'[2] As the project developed, this initial, enthusiastic expression of intent, suggesting Sargent's fascination with the perceived sensual excesses of Spanish religious imagery – metaphorically so rich that it was hard to digest – was succeeded by a more focused and methodical approach. George Santayana, Sargent's travelling companion in 1895, recalled that: 'He was then at work preparing his decorations for the Boston Public Library [...]; and in Spain he wished to re-examine the dressed wooden images of the Mater Dolorosa, in view of a Madonna that he meant to introduce into his design'.[3]

What form did this research take, and how did Spanish sculpture inform the Boston murals? This article examines some of the 'Spanish' aspects of Sargent's murals in the light of a major photographic collection once owned by the painter, and recently rediscovered in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Exploring the triangular relationship between sculpture, photography and painting, and drawing literary connections, I will argue that Sargent's murals incorporated and synthesised motifs drawn from Spanish religious statuary, and that the way in which this sculpture was mediated through photography was closely connected to the murals' meanings.

Sargent's travels and the Spanish photographs.

The Spanish photographs consist of around eighty prints from a larger collection of 611 photographs, donated to the Museum by Emily Sargent and Violet Sargent Ormond in

August 1925, shortly after the death of their brother.[4] In line with the institution's didactic philosophy, the collection – which mostly captures objects and places, rather than people[5] – was accepted and treated as a documentary resource.[6] The Museum wrote to thank the sisters, affirming that the prints would 'prove very useful in the Library Photograph Collection, and the Sculpture Department';[7] and the photographs were duly separated, and classified geographically and according to their content. The Sargent connection was effectively lost until 2015, when ongoing research into the sources of the Photographs Collection, carried out by V&A curator Ella Ravilious, re-established the link.

The V&A prints are not the first of Sargent's photographs to come to light, but they provide new evidence of how photography informed his artistic practice. It was previously known that Sargent bought, and, in later life, sometimes took, photographs of works of art and architecture which interested him.[8] However, little has emerged to suggest that these photographs were used as source material, since many of the sketches and paintings which he made of the same subjects were apparently created *in situ*, and they adopted different viewpoints from the photographs. Here, I will argue that, while some of the V&A's Spanish photographs may be categorised as 'artistic souvenirs', others were purchased with a different intention: as visual documentation to inspire a future design of the artist's own invention, the *Virgin of Sorrows* (fig. 1) in the Boston Public Library murals.

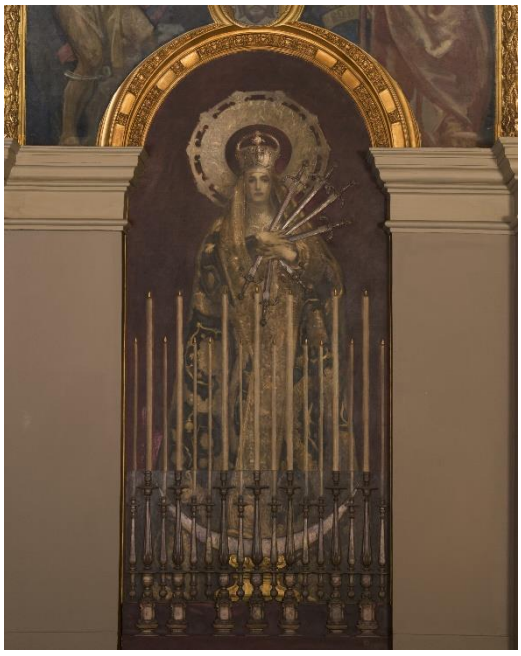

Fig. 1. John Singer Sargent, *Virgin of Sorrows,* part of *The Triumph of Religion* murals, installed 1916, oil on canvas with gilded and painted metal and wood reliefs, 310 x 136 cm. Trustees of the Boston Public Library, Boston (photo: © 2014 Sheryl Lanzel. Courtesy of the Boston Public Library).

Let us begin by considering how the photographs fit into the chronology of Sargent's travels to Spain. The painter's interest in Spanish art is well-known, although of the eight trips he made to the country as an adult,[9] it is his decisive first trip of 1879 which has received the most scholarly attention so far. It was on this artistic pilgrimage that he first copied the paintings of Velázquez at the Prado Museum, and created the sketches of gypsy flamenco culture in Seville, which became the basis for his major exhibition success, *El Jaleo* (1882).[10] Yet these aspects of Iberian art and culture are entirely unrepresented in the photographic donation, as are portrayals of the friends and family who accompanied the artist on later trips. Instead, the vast majority of the Spanish photographs – all apparently purchased from commercial photographers – depict religious sculpture and sculpted architectural decoration, some of which had impressed Sargent when in the country, and which he recommended to his friends. For example, in a letter to the sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens, dated 18 May 1899, and cited by Mary Crawford-Volk, Sargent urged his friend to 'spend a day at Burgos and see the magnificent gothic retablos at the Cartuja de Miraflores [...] and in the church of [crossed out: S. Tomé] [?] near the cathedral'.[11] Gil de Siloë's altarpiece in the Carthusian monastery of Miraflores is represented in the photographic collection,[12] as is the altarpiece of San Nicolás de Bari, which was almost certainly the church whose name Sargent had struggled to remember.[13] The letter went on to recommend the sculpted tomb of Cardinal Tavera by Alonso Berruguete, in Toledo, the subject of another photograph,[14] and to praise the paintings of El Greco. The latter's *Disrobing of Christ* and *Dream of Philip II*, which Sargent had probably seen first-hand in 1879, are also represented in the photographic collection.[15]

Sargent's interest in Spain's religious statuary was evidently sparked on his initial artistic voyage of 1879. Since he did not return to the country until 1892, it must have been on this occasion that he first depicted the sculptures of a crucified Christ and a Virgin which later appeared as illustrations in his friend Alma Strettell's book, *Spanish and Italian Folk Songs* (1887).[16] The origin for the Strettell illustration may well have been his oil sketch of a polychrome Virgin, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Hunting for Spanish Virgins in 1895.

Most of the Spanish photographs which capture sculptures of the Virgin and Christ are likely to have been acquired, however, on Sargent's 1895 trip, when he was sourcing material for his Boston Public Library mural cycle, *The Triumph of Religion* (1890-1919). Initially intended, as we have seen, to be a 'Medieval, Spanish and religious' extravaganza, *The Triumph of Religion* developed into a conceptually and visually complex scheme, composed of multiple panels representing subjects stretching from the Old to the New Testament. The mural's meanings have been convincingly elucidated in detail by Sally M. Promey, and will be addressed in greater detail later. Promey explains that Sargent's intention, which drew on recent writings on religion and art, was to show the idea of religious progression over time, from a more materialistic, institutionalised and ritualistic form of belief towards greater spirituality and individualism.[17]

With the future murals' 'Spanish' character at the forefront of his mind, Sargent had originally intended to visit Spain immediately after receiving the commission, in the spring of 1891, when he planned to experience Seville during Holy Week.[18] However, he became side tracked by the artistic wonders of Egypt, and decided to give Egyptian motifs greater prominence within the mural scheme;[19] so that, in the end, it was not until the summer of 1895, he began his Spanish research in earnest.

'Dressed wooden images of the Mater Dolorosa' were, as Santayana indicated, the focus of this 1895 research trip. The description points clearly to the *imagen de vestir* ('dressable image'), a type of devotional sculpture typical of (although not exclusive to) Andalusia, in which the wooden, polychrome, sculpted figure, often with articulated limbs, would be kitted out in rich, purpose-made clothes, and adorned with jewels, crowns, and other real objects. *Imagenes de vestir* could not generally be shown 'undressed', either because they had been carved wearing only undergarments, or because only the face and hands had been carved, and the body was substituted by an armature. However, the practice sometimes extended to the dressing of devotional statues which already had sculpted clothes.

The best-known *imágenes de vestir* were life-size sculptures which had been created expressly to be carried, in procession, through the streets during Holy Week.[20] Processional sculptures became popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and many date from this time. However, as they were often altered, adapted, replaced, and added to over subsequent centuries, they were difficult to tie to a particular historical period. Alone or in groups, the sculptures were fixed to large, rectangular bases for the purposes of the procession, and each mounted arrangement was known as a *paso*. The term was derived from the Latin word for 'Passion',[21] and it is episodes from Christ's passion which the *pasos* represent, from the anguish of his mother – the Virgin of Sorrows (*Virgen de los Dolores* or *Virgen de las Angustias*; in Latin, *Mater Dolorosa*) – to the Crucifixion and Deposition of Christ's body. For most of the year, the sculptures were housed in ecclesiastical buildings, either detached from their bases and on display in altarpieces and chapels, or not on show at all. It must be noted, however, that some devotional sculptures which were not Holy Week *pasos* were taken on more modest processions at other significant moments of the Catholic calendar.

The most famous Holy Week processions in Spain were precisely those which took place in Seville, and which Sargent had missed seeing on his cancelled 1891 trip. By travelling to Andalusia in the summer of 1895, he again failed to experience the celebrated *pasos* in action. Yet photographs of Holy Week processional sculptures, some of which he is unlikely to have seen in person, account for a large proportion of the prints which the painter purchased as documentation for his mural design (figs. 2, 6, 7 and 9 show a small selection of these). The year is consistent with the chronological evidence which indicates when many of the V&A photographs were probably taken. Sargent acquired two photographs of the sculpture of Our Lady of Regla in Seville,[22] one of which was inscribed with the year 1894, and which we can assume was readily available for purchase in the summer of 1895. Another print from Seville, showing the Virgin (*María Santísima de la Esperanza*) accompanied by Saint John the Evangelist and Mary Magdalene (fig. 2), cannot have been taken before 1890, the year in which processions of this *paso* were resumed after a break of over 30 years.[23] A photograph of a different *paso* with the same iconography[24] may be dated before 1903, after which the sculpture of the *Virgen del Valle* lost her

accompanying figures in the Holy Week processions.[25] Finally, the photograph of the Virgin of the Seven Sorrows in Salamanca (fig. 3) is inscribed with the name of the firm Viuda de Oliván y Hermano, only active under this company name between 1890 and 1904.[26] It remains unclear where this last photograph was acquired, since there are apparently no records of Sargent having visited Salamanca.

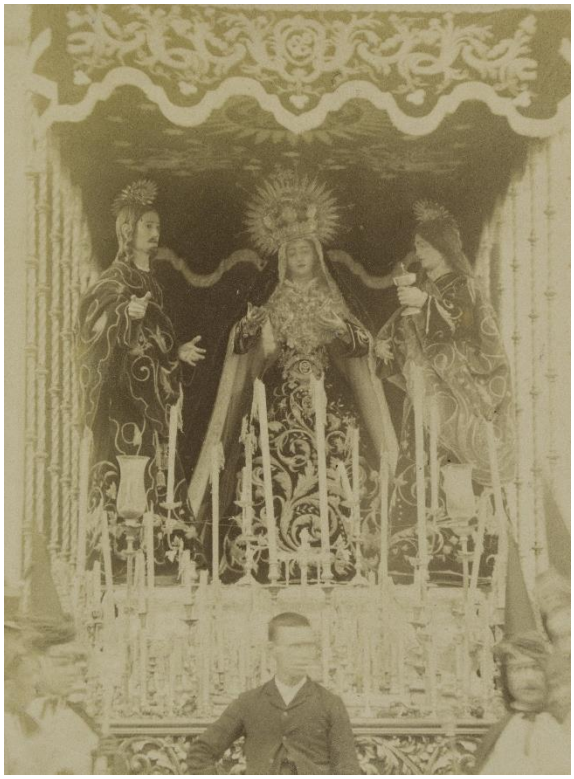

Fig. 2. Anonymous, *Processional sculptural group composed of figures of the Virgin (María Santísima de la Esperanza), Saint John the Evangelist and Mary Magdalene, from the parish of San Jacinto, Seville*, c. 1890-1895, photograph, 13.4 x 9.7 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (inv. no. 1079-1926). (photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

Fig. 3. Photographic firm of Viuda de Oliván y Hermano, *The Virgen de los Dolores, a sculpture by Felipe del Corral, housed in the Chapel of the Vera Cruz, Salamanca*, c. 1890-1895, photograph, 15.5 x 10.3 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (inv. no. 1924-1926). (photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

Documentary evidence supports the hypothesis that Sargent acquired photographs of Spanish sculpture on this 1895 data-gathering expedition. It is known that he copied sculptures of the Virgin in the churches of Granada,[27] and a visitor to his home recorded having seen 'the sketches and *Gothic stuffs* he brought back with him from Spain'.[28] This tantalisingly vague reference could well have alluded to these photographs. The word 'Gothic' may be read in a wider sense, as alluding to perceived archaism, since, alongside

the term 'medieval,' it was used by Sargent and his circle to refer to artistic manifestations of Catholicism which were deemed archaic.[29] Only occasionally, as in the print of the *Virgen del Sagrario* from Toledo Cathedral (fig. 4), did the Spanish photographs capture sculpture which really dated from the gothic period, although Sargent may not have known this.[30] Significantly, he appears not to have labelled or annotated his Spanish photographs, suggesting he was not overly interested in the historical context, identification, or dating of the sculptures.[31]

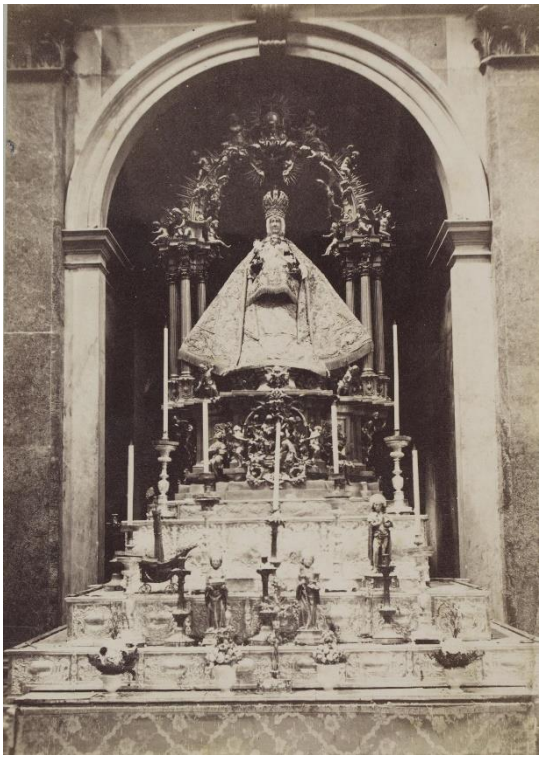

Fig. 4. Anonymous, *The Virgen del Sagrario, patroness of Toledo, a sculpture in the cathedral of Toledo*, c. 1890-1895, photograph, 21 x 14.4 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (inv. no. 1130-1926). (photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

Sargent's own *Virgin of Sorrows* for the Boston Public Library.

After returning from his research trip into sculpted Spanish Virgins, Sargent set about creating his own *Virgin of Sorrows* (fig. 1), installed in 1916, but completed some years before. Set against a deep red background, the crowned female figure is shown sumptuously dressed in a black and gold costume, from which only her face and hands emerge. She looks straight ahead with a blank expression; and her hands, placed over her heart, clasp seven metal swords which project in relief from the canvas. The figure stands on an unturned crescent moon, which rests upon a low gold pedestal. Forming a 'screen' in front of her are two tiers of candles, also rendered in relief.

Sargent's design drew on the Spanish models represented in his photographic collection in ways that were both direct and sophisticated. The particularly dense presentation of the lit candles strongly recalls the elaborate, symmetrical arrangements commonly placed before sculpted Virgins in processional contexts, which were captured in several photographs (for example, fig. 2). Worth noting, too, is Sargent's manner of doubly framing the Virgin's head in gold, firstly with a flat, circular halo on the canvas itself, and secondly by exploiting the architectural framing of the space into which the painting was inserted. This double curvature is reminiscent of the Strettell illustration and his oil sketches of Spanish Virgins of 1879, which Crawford-Volk has connected with the Boston murals,[32] but it also calls to mind the almost symmetrical photograph of the *Virgen del Sagrario* (fig. 4).[33] Both cases involved the re-introduction of some of the three-dimensionality of the original sculptures, through the use of plaster moulding, wood for the flames, and metal for the candlesticks. Indeed, Sargent's decision to enrich his oil on canvas with a variety of other media, and to incorporate actual metal swords,[34] recalled the combination of representation with 'real' objects, and of polychromy with relief, which characterised the Spanish *imágenes de vestir*.

In terms of iconography, Sargent's Virgin was a synthesis of two types of Catholic representation of the Mother of Christ. The first was the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception (the visual representation of the belief that the Virgin herself had been conceived without sin), whose principal attribute was a crescent moon, while the second was the Virgin of Sorrows, in distress at the death of her only son. Sargent owned several photographs of the former type, including Alonso Martínez's celebrated sculpture in Seville Cathedral, photographed by Jean Laurent.[35] Significantly, he also acquired two photographs of a sculpture from Granada which combined both iconographies very overtly: *Nuestra Señora de las Angustias*, who supports her dead son on her lap, and is visually cradled by an enormous, upturned crescent moon (fig. 5).[36] Sargent is likely to have seen this particular sculpture in person, on his 1895 trip to Granada, where it was displayed in the altarpiece of the Basilica of the same name.

Fig. 5. Anonymous, *Nuestra Señora de las Angustias, patroness of Granada, a sculpture made by Pedro Duque y Cornejo between 1714 and 1719, located in the Basilica of Nuestra Señora de las Angustias, Granada*, c. 1890-1895, photograph, 22.6 x 16.9 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (inv. no. 1059-1926). (photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

Sargent's Boston figure was a Virgin of Sorrows of a very particular kind: a Virgin of the *Seven* Sorrows, whose heart is pierced by seven swords or daggers. It is significant that, on his journey to Spain in 1895, Sargent had apparently discussed precisely this Marian type with his fellow traveller George Santayana, who later recalled that both men 'felt the force of what might be called the impure wealth of Spanish art, passion in black velvet and *seven gold daggers*'.[37] One of the most striking of the Spanish photographs (fig. 3) captures Felipe del Corral's treatment of the theme, a sculpture now in Salamanca's Chapel of the Vera Cruz, which was itself inspired by Juan de Juni's celebrated *Virgen de las Angustias* in Valladolid.[38] Given that Sargent's Boston Virgin was clearly a synthesis of various models, it seems likely that the watercolour of an unidentified composition, showing a Virgin of the Seven Sorrows surrounded by mainly female saints, published by Ormond and Kilmurray as *Virgin and Saints, Spain*,[39] was itself a composite invention.

While Sargent eagerly absorbed this multiple iconography, his own *Virgin of Sorrows* lacked precisely what gave meaning to her Spanish counterparts: she was emphatically not sorrowful. The iconography of the seven swords was supposed to be a bodily metaphor which attempted to make the spectator empathise more deeply with the Virgin's spiritual torture, which was already written on her face. The devotional and processional

Virgins had facial expressions which expressed deep anguish and vulnerability, and some of them – such as Juni's famous model, mentioned above – remain much-admired examples of Spanish baroque naturalism. Realistic tears (made of glass or resin) often flowed down their faces, and when the sculptures were taken to the streets, it was common for spectators to respond with tears themselves.

Pathos and emotional transparency, however, were entirely absent from Sargent's interpretation of the theme. His Virgin appears impervious to the pain of her pierced heart, since she does not writhe or moan, but stands rigid, her brow unruffled and her staring eyes tearless. Her stoic appearance is in marked contrast with the animated dancer of *El Jaleo*, the masterpiece which had resulted from Sargent's Spanish visit of 1879. Instead, the symmetrical face has the mask-like appearance of the sculpted Virgins Sargent had sketched in oil on his 1879 trip, and of two 'exotic', heavily made-up, female performers he had painted later: the *Javanese Dancer* (1889), and the celebrated Spanish dancer, *La Carmencita* (1890), whose air of power, detachment and even cruelty has been noted by Ormond and Kilmurray.[40] The *Virgin of Sorrows*'s close kinship with these earlier performing women is significant; she makes a show of suffering, but it is only skin-deep, and there is apparently no true feeling behind the mask.

Madonnas, morality and meaning in the Boston murals.

The Boston *Virgin of Sorrow*'s divergence from her sculpted sources reflects Sargent's moral stance towards Spanish religious sculpture. Neither his fascination with Spanish Virgins, nor his sensual attraction to the excess of gold and gems (which, as we have seen, he associated with a 'Spanish' aesthetic), meant that the American painter engaged spiritually with the Catholic sculpture which struck him on his travels. Indeed, although he gave little indication of being a deeply religious man – he has been described as an 'intrigued spectator' of religion rather than an 'active participant'[41] – there is an underlying Protestant ethic behind Sargent's approach to sculptural manifestations of Spanish Catholicism. The mural's theme of progression from materialism to spiritualism meant that, in the *Virgin of Sorrows*, Sargent could both satisfy his private delight in representing the abundance of wealth and detail in religious Spanish art, and simultaneously open its materialism up to

moral censure. In this respect, it is illuminating to contrast his sense of attraction-repulsion to the '*impure wealth* of Spanish art'[42] with the way in which the high economic value, and the material abundance, of the *imágenes de vestir* was, for many Spanish devotees of the time, a source of admiration and pride. For example, to describe a Sevillan *paso* captured in one of Sargent's photographs (fig. 6), the author of *Las Cofradías de Sevilla*, an illustrated book on Sevillan processions (c. 1887), noted approvingly that 'the clothes of all the images are luxurious, rich and in the best possible taste', while he marvelled at the colossal worth of the jewels which belonged to another of the processional Virgins (also featured among the painter's prints).[43] Outside Spain, in general, the *imágenes de vestir* were received with a distinct unease which has not entirely disappeared.[44] For example, French archaeologist-turned-hispanist Marcel Dieulafoy – who was travelling around Spain in preparation for his book, *La Statuaire Polychrome en Espagne*, at around the same time as Sargent (1890s) – was full of admiration for the naturalism which many of the sculptures displayed, but drew the line at *imágenes de vestir*, which he found profoundly distasteful.[45]

Fig. 6. Anonymous, *Processional sculptural group including figures of the Virgin, the dead Christ, the three Marys, and St. John the Evangelist, from the Parish of Santa Marina in Seville*, c. 1890-1895, photograph, 13 x 10 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (inv. no. 1083-1926). (photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

Vernon Lee's Spanish tale, 'The Virgin of the Seven Daggers' (1889).

While Dieulafoy's aversion to the *imágenes de vestir* was primarily aesthetic, for Sargent's British friend Vernon Lee, their rich appearance was inseparable from their perceived immorality. At this point, Lee's Spanish tale, entitled 'The Virgin of the Seven Daggers', must be introduced as a hitherto unrecognised, but highly plausible source for Sargent; one which may not only have inspired his own composite *Virgin of Sorrows*, but also influenced the kind of photographs he sought out in the first place, and even contributed to his entire moral stance on Spanish sculpture in the Boston Public Library project. Lee wrote the tale in 1889, following a trip to Andalusia the same year, but it was not published in English until 1909.[46] However, it is known that the two friends corresponded about Spain and their respective work, so Sargent could well have read the tale, or discussed it with Lee, before his 1895 trip; or, indeed, before receiving the mural commission.[47]

The supernatural tale was a synthesis of Lee's negative impressions of Spanish Catholicism and the Spanish myth of Don Juan, with elements of the Snow White story thrown in. It centred on the antihero's idolatry of a sumptuously-dressed statue of the Virgin of the Seven Sorrows in a church in Granada, which the author described with relish in a detailed passage (the following is only an extract):

Her face, surmounting rows upon rows of pearls, is made of wax, white with black glass eyes and a tiny coral mouth; she stares steadfastly forth with a sad and ceremonious smile. Her head is crowned with a great jewelled crown; her slippered feet rest on a crescent moon, and in her right hand she holds a lace pocket-handkerchief. In her bodice, a little clearing is made among the brocade and the seed pearl, and into this are stuck seven gold-hilted knives.[48]

There are suggestive similarities between the fictional, composite Virgins which Lee and Sargent created, particularly in terms of the iconographical synthesis of two Marian types, and the forward-facing rigidity of each. However, the comparison stretches further, into moral territory. In Lee's tale, Don Juan's adoration of the sculpture was presented as obscene Catholic idolatry and superficiality; for, in spite of his abominable sins, the vain

Virgin 'sculpture' rewarded him with heavenly immortality for publicly defending her as the fairest woman in the world. Though more imposing than frivolous, Sargent's Boston *Virgin* similarly represented the idolatry of the past within the mural scheme. As Promey has argued, she did so in conjunction with the image of the pagan goddess Astarté (installed in 1895), who also stood on a crescent moon, so that the visual link pointed to the conceptual parallel between the two figures.[49] More specifically, by giving his *Virgin* naturalistic 'human' hands, an ambiguously rigid face, and the plinth of a statue, Sargent made a sophisticated comment on the nature of 'primitive' religiosity, and its perceived inability to distinguish between deities and their representation. Furthermore, just as Lee presented her *Virgin* as engulfed in superfluous adornment, Sargent's choice to render only the ornamental aspects of the image (the candles and swords) in relief, so that the paraphernalia was more 'real' than the Virgin herself – and certainly more 'real' than her sorrow – furthered the sense of excessive materialism, which he associated with idolatry.

Spanish religious sculpture and photographic mediation.

The visual characteristics of Sargent's Spanish photographs, in terms of the ways in which they mediated sculpture, made them particularly appropriate sources for a figure designed to represent idolatry and materialistic religiosity within the mural cycle. To begin with, many of them captured the sculpted Virgins during the Holy Week processions, when they were at their most elaborately dressed and adorned; and when, as we have had cause to note, Sargent may not have seen them.[50] Moreover, in order to include the whole *paso*, including the base and often the canopy, the photographs were predominantly shot from a considerable distance, meaning that the facial expressions of the sculpted characters are difficult to appreciate. Caught head-on, and often in strongly contrasted lighting conditions which created an effect of simplified blocks of tone, the faces of the sculpted Virgins became more mask-like, and less emotionally affecting, than they are in reality (see, for example, fig. 5). Jean Laurent's photograph of Francisco Salzillo's Virgin of Sorrows in Murcia (fig. 7)[51] is a rare example of a sculpture captured at close range, although the sculpture is still considerably more moving when seen in the flesh, and with the benefit of colour. The photograph was probably the only medium through which

Sargent encountered this sculpture, since there is no record of him having ever visited Murcia.

Fig. 7. Jean Laurent and company, *The Virgen Dolorosa, a processional sculpture made by Francisco Salzillo (1756) for the Real y Muy Ilustre Cofradía de Nuestro Padre Jesús, in Murcia*, c. 1860-1886?, photograph, 32 x 24.4 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (inv. no. 1129-1926). (photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

Besides rarely capturing the sculptures' emotional potential, the photographs mediated Spanish religious statuary in other significant ways. As Promey has explained, the murals were meant to convey the idea of religious progression over time, and this progression was to have its parallel in the style adopted to create each section of the design.[52] Broadly speaking, naturalism and painterly spontaneity would be associated with religious advancement (intended to reach its apex in the unrealised *Sermon on the Mount* canvas), while stiffness and hieratic representation was reserved for scenes and themes belonging to an archaic past, such as the *Virgin of Sorrows*. It is perhaps no coincidence that rigidity, stasis and emphatic frontality were qualities present in the *photographs* of the sculptures, but less so in some of the sculptures themselves.

To appreciate this, let us consider the difference between how the *pasos* were experienced in their processional contexts, and how they were represented photographically. Susan V. Webster has argued that processional sculptures take on their full, intended meanings during the rituals for which they are expressly created, and that 'the single most important

experiential feature of the genre is its spatiotemporal dependence'.[53] Due to this particularity, the dominant discourses on sculptural viewing are disrupted when we attempt to apply them to processional sculpture. Take, for example, Alex Potts' now canonical work on the subject in *The Sculptural Imagination*, which largely assumes that works of art are static and require the circumvolution of the viewer.[54] Based on the idea that the viewer 'lingers' around the object, Potts affirms that 'the kinaesthetic viewing activated by three-dimensional work brings with it a heightened sense of temporality',[55] a problematic assertion given that the amount of time a viewer spends looking at a work of art in a museum or gallery is not dependent on its three-dimensionality. Spanish processional sculpture *does*, however, have a more valid claim on heightened temporality. The *pasos* are tied to particular moments in time, since processions take place on allocated days, at set times, and follow fixed routes through the streets, so that viewing can only occur in a limited window of time. Spectators select positions from which to watch the action; and, when the sculptures arrive, the objects move past the spectators, who must make do with the viewpoints they are afforded and the amount of time that the sculptures spend in their fields of vision. The experience is closer to that of watching participants at a parade than it is to viewing sculpture in a conventional art space, where it is the spectator who moves around the (usually immobile) object.

The frontal viewpoint adopted both in the photographs, and in Sargent's own *Virgin of Sorrows*, resembled how devotional sculpture might be encountered within the niche of an altarpiece, but did not reflect how spectators were most likely to experience processional sculpture. The spectators lining the sides of the streets would see the approaching *paso* from a constantly changing angle, but it was from the side view, when it passed directly before the eyes of the viewer, that the sculpture would be seen at closest range. The spatial context may be appreciated in the painting *Seville: Holy Week Penitents* (1914, fig. 8) by Sargent's friend Joaquin Sorolla (1863-1923),[56] which was part of the Spanish artist's own mural commission for the Hispanic Society of America in New York, and to which we will return in a moment.[57]

Fig. 8. Joaquín Sorolla, Seville: Holy Week Penitents, 1914, oil on canvas, 351 x 300.5 cm. Hispanic Society of America, New York (photo: courtesy of the Hispanic Society of America, New York)

The frontal viewpoint was precisely the vantage point which Heinrich Wölfflin (1864-1945) advocated in his writings on the correct photographing of sculpture, which date from around the same period as Sargent's photographs (1890s).[58] With Italian Renaissance sculpture in mind, the art historian advocated the selection of photographic viewpoints based on maximising beauty and clarity, which he felt must inevitably coincide with the primary viewpoint intended by the sculptor; and which he identified as decidedly frontal.[59] One of Wölfflin's complaints in his 1896 article was that 'present-day people allow their uncultivated eyes to put up with the most disagreeable overlaps and lack of clarity'.[60] Although he had *non-frontal* photographs in mind, however, he might well have been describing some of Sargent's photographs of processional sculpture where it is the severe *frontality* which sometimes makes the scene difficult to decipher (see figs. 6 and 9). The fact is that many of these multi-figure *pasos* become legible, and reveal themselves, only as they move past a viewer. If there is no choice but to capture a single image, greater clarity can be achieved in the three-quarter angle which M. Grima, the illustrator of *Las Cofradías de Sevilla*, adopted in most of his chromolithographs.[61]

Wölfflin's other reflections on how sculpture should be photographed correctly also provide a valuable framework with which to think about Sargent's Spanish photographs, and their relationship to his own *Virgin of Sorrows*. Just as the Boston figure was positioned against a plain background, many of the prints showed the sculptures entirely divorced from their processional contexts, through the deletion of the background in the negatives (see figs. 6 and 9). This practice resulted in somewhat crudely outlined objects positioned against black backgrounds, and was criticised by Wölfflin (1864-1945) for 'creating what he felt were false contours'.[62] The practical explanation for this deletion, in the processional context at least, was that such sculpture lost its advantage as an ideal subject for early photography, which was derived from its immobility and consequent ability to withstand long exposure times. Consequently, the sculptures in Sargent's photographs were generally captured just before the processions began, and the occasional participants who posed beside them appeared blurred unless they stood absolutely still (see fig. 2) – or were deleted out altogether along with the rest of the background.

Fig. 9. *Anonymous, Processional sculptural group of the Deposition, with the figures of Christ, Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus, St. John the Evangelist, the Virgin, and three other Marys, made by Pedro Nieto and Pedro Roldán in 1633 and 1659-70, from the confraternity of the Quinta Angustia / Parish of Santa Maria Magdalena (San Pablo) in Seville*, c. 1890-1895, photograph, 13.1 x 10.4 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (inv. no. 1080-1926). (photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

This detachment of the *pasos* from their processional and human context contributed to the sense of emotional detachment which characterised most of the photographs, and helped to present the sculpted Spanish Virgins as ritual, archaic objects. Sargent's *Virgin of Sorrows* adopted and accentuated this approach, so that references to current devotional practices

were removed, allowing the image to become an icon of an archaic era distant from the present, and divorced from contemporary believers. The rigid 'barrier' of candles helped to create this sense of severity and separation. The painter's presentation of Spanish religious sculpture as belonging to the past is brought into sharper focus when contrasted with Sorolla's aforementioned *Seville: Holy Week Penitents* (1914, fig. 8), part of his mural series dedicated to Spain's different regions, which was also created for a North American audience. As Crawford-Volk has noted, Sorolla had seen Sargent's *Virgin of Sorrows* among other paintings destined for the Boston murals in the American artist's London studio on 9 May 1908, and his appreciation of them was tempered by the fact that he considered them 'snippets of many other works'.[63] When he came to creating his own murals, Sorolla was apparently not concerned with producing an accurate, identifiable representation of one particular processional sculpture, either.[64] Unlike Sargent, however, the Spanish painter placed the sculpted Virgin at the centre of a dynamic, contemporary procession scene, reinforcing Anglo-American stereotypes of Spain as a place where pre-industrial traditions lived on into the present.

As we have seen, Sargent's photographs captured little of the uniqueness of the processional experience in which the sculptures took on their full significance, yet they may well have been only medium through which the painter encountered some of these devotional objects. The fact that Sargent adopted the frontality, stasis, and detachment which characterise many of his prints suggest that, in many ways, it may have been Spanish religious sculpture *mediated through photography* which served as Sargent's inspiration.

Personified *Church*, Sargent's second take on Spanish Virgins.

The combination of fascination and censure with which Sargent viewed Spanish sculpted Virgins continued to manifest itself in the Boston Public Library canvases, in the representation of personified *Church*, installed in 1919 (fig. 10). *Church* is even more impervious than the *Virgin of Sorrows*, her black-lined eyes and red mouth suggesting a sinister femme fatale, oblivious to the vulnerable and very human dead Christ who is sustained – or trapped – between her large thighs. Through this characterisation, and the

severe symmetry of the female figure, Sargent's criticism of the weight and rigidity of the institutionalised Church was particularly evident.

Fig. 10. John Singer Sargent, Church, part of The Triumph of Religion murals, oil on canvas, installed 1919, 241.3 x 160 cm. Trustees of the Boston Public Library, Boston (photo: © 2014 Sheryl Lanzel. Courtesy of the Boston Public Library).

Church has been widely understood as a symbolic, personal response to the death of his niece, Rose-Marie Ormond André-Michel, whose facial features some have seen reflected in the sculpture.[65] Connections have also been drawn to medieval sculptural allegories of Church and Synagogue in the cathedrals of Reims, Strasburg and Paris, based on the fact that Sargent cited these as a justification for the juxtaposition of his own *Church* and *Synagogue* in the mural scheme.[66] I propose, here, that some of the Spanish photographs are also highly plausible sources, especially given that *Church* almost qualifies as a Virgin of Sorrows in formal terms. The representation of the dead Christ slumped in the lap of his mother may have been suggested by photographs of Spanish sculptures of the Deposition (for example, fig. 6),[67] while the impassivity and solidity of the imposing matriarchal figure sustaining the corpse is reminiscent, again, of the sculpture of *Nuestra Señora de las Angustias* in Granada (fig. 5).[68] The photographs of the latter captured the Virgin at a distance, and her facial features became more strongly defined by light and

shade than by the painted lines and colours on the polychrome sculpture itself. The rigid face of *Church* echoes the curved eyebrows and long, thin nose of the photographed Spanish carving, but only close-hand observation of the original sculpture reveals the Virgin's intensely emotional expression and the life-like tears running down her cheeks**.** The pathos of the original object, and the spiritual engagement which it could produce in a devoted viewer, were again suppressed in Sargent's appropriation.

To create the female figure of *Church*, Sargent apparently delved yet deeper into his store of Spanish imagery, incorporating elements of a non-religious sculpture he had seen at the Prado Museum.[69] He owned a photograph (fig. 11), probably taken by Mariano Moreno García after 1892, of a marble bust of Eleanor of Austria, dowager queen of France, created between 1550 and 1555 by Jacques Dubroeucq, though previously attributed to both Leone and Pompei Leoni. It was this Prado bust, and not the sculpture of Eleanor's sister Mary of Hungary in the palace of El Escorial, as some have claimed, which Sargent represented in a sketch now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[70] The sketch was probably done *in situ* on one of his numerous visits to Madrid, since the shadows fall differently in the drawing than they do in the photograph. The wimple worn by Eleanor evidently made an impression on the artist, who exaggerated the way in which the fabric pressed against the wearer's cheeks, giving the face a sharp, triangular shape, and increasing her air of severity. Crucially, Sargent further accentuated this rigidity and formal stylisation when he chose to give his personified *Church* a costume similar to that used in the sculpted Prado bust. In the Boston context, it became a visual symbol of the almost dehumanising constraints of organised religion.

Fig. 11. Mariano Moreno García, *Bust of Eleanor of Austria, sculpted by Jacques Dubroeucq between 1550 and 1555, Prado Museum (inv. no. E-259),* after 1892 (c. 1893-1903?), photograph, 25.7 x 19 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (inv. no. 3417-1925). (photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

Fig. 12. Anonymous, Nuestro Padre Jesús del Gran Poder, a processional sculpture made by Juan de Mesa in 1620, now in the Basílica Menor de Jesús del Gran Poder in Seville, c. 1890-1895, photograph, 21.4 x 16.2 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (inv. no. 1065-1926). (photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

The contrast between Church's inhumanity and Christ's humanity in *Church* merits a closer look before this article is drawn to a close. Although Sargent went to Spain in 1895 in pursuit of dressed, wooden carvings of the Virgin, he also returned with several photographs which captured sculptural representations of the suffering and crucifixion of Christ. Some of the more emotive prints could have provided inspiration for his own portrayal of the dead Christ. In particular, I would draw attention to the photograph of Juan de Mesa's famous sculpture of Christ carrying the cross, known as *Nuestro Padre Jesús del Gran Poder* (fig. 12), which, most unusually, captured only a *detail* of the *paso,* and showed the facial expression at close range. Although photographed from the front, the sculpture itself was 'legible' both from the front and the side, and the head was captured almost in profile, tilted gently towards the viewer's left. Sargent positioned the head of his own Christ in a similar manner; and in doing so, broke with the rigid frontality which

characterised his representations of 'Spanish' Virgins, maintaining, instead, some of the pathos and vulnerability of the original sculptural renditions of Jesus.

This contrast between the pitiful dead male and the stoic female, in what was one of the last two canvases created for Boston, suggests that Sargent struggled to maintain a clear parallelism between religious and artistic progression in the mural scheme, since his integrated message was to be conveyed through stylistic differences *between* scenes, not *within* them.[71] It is possible to interpret the emotional distance between the figures as a suggestion that Christianity's 'human' core had been taken hostage by the Church as an institution. At the same time, *Church* implies the existence of gender nuances in Sargent's approach to Spanish devotional sculpture, and we are reminded of how the Protesant moral aversion to the *imágenes de vestir* was articulated in stereotypically gendered ways by Lee and Santayana, so that sculpted Spanish Virgins became superficial, vain and 'impure'. *Church*, and its selective use of photographic source material, appears to point to a Protestant aversion to Marian 'idolatry', compared with greater sympathy to Jesus' pain.

Conclusion.

The recent emergence of Sargent's substantial photographic collection invites a re-evaluation of the artist's working methods, in which greater emphasis is placed on photographic sources than has hitherto been the case. In the light of the Spanish subset of these photographs, it is now clear that Sargent's engagement with the art of Spain was more wide-ranging and nuanced than was previously thought. On his 1879 trip to Spain, the artist had approached Velázquez and Spanish Golden Age painting in a spirit of admiration and stylistic emulation, yet when he focused his attention on Spanish religious sculpture, from 1895, he clearly did so with a much more ambivalent fascination. His friend Vernon Lee's literary portrayal of *imágenes de vestir* probably helped to shape his renewed interest in, and moral stance on, Spanish sculpted Virgins. With the Boston Public Library murals in mind, we now know that Sargent acquired large numbers of commercially-produced photographs of devotional (and, in particular, processional) sculpture; and furthermore, that his incorporation of elements from these Catholic sculptures had a moral dimension which fit within a broadly Protestant conceptual

programme centred on the idea of religious 'progress'. An Anglo-Spanish art-historical approach proves essential in examining how, and why, some of the essence of the original sculptures was (deliberately) lost in translation – how, for example, in Sargent's own renditions of the Spanish Virgins which so fascinated him, the sorrowful female became a cold, false, idol. It is significant that Sargent encountered processional sculpture – which was mobile, emotive and emphatically three-dimensional – primarily through the medium of photography. The photographic representation of many of the sculptures as static, hieratic, flat, symmetrical, rigid, impassive, and, often, divorced from the present era, coincided exactly with how the painter wished to present ancient Catholic ritual and 'superstition' in the Boston Public Library murals. As a result, when he came to create his own 'Spanish' sculptures, in paint, Sargent took more than iconographical motifs from the photographs he had collected.

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[1] The contract for the commission was not signed until 1893. See S. M. Promey, 'Sargent's Truncated Triumph: Art and Religion at the Boston Public Library, 1890-1925', *Art Bulletin* LXXIX, 2, June 1997, p. 217.
[2] Letter from Sargent to Ralph Curtis, Sargent papers, Boston Athenaeum. Cited in T. Fairbrother, *John Singer Sargent: The Sensualist,* Seattle, Seattle Art Museum, 2000, p. 155.
[3] G. Santayana, *People and Places*, ed. W. G. Holzberger and H. J. Saatkamp, Jr., vol. I, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 1987, p. 450. Santayana mistakenly recalled this trip as having taken place in 1891, but, as Mary Crawford-Volk affirms, the correct year was 1895. See M. Crawford-Volk, 'Sargent: Los Murales para la Boston Public Library', in J. Arnaldo (ed.), *Sargent/Sorolla* (exh. cat.), Madrid, Fundación Colección Thyssen-Bornemisza, 2006, p. 180.
[4] London, Victoria & Albert Museum (hereafter, V&A), registry file for the bequests by Miss Emily Sargent, MA/1/5486. The full set of photographs can be viewed online on the museum database via 'Search the Collections'. Some of them were included in C. Sharpe, 'John Singer Sargent and Spanish processional sculpture', V&A Museum blog, 31 May 2016, http://www.vam.ac.uk/blog/factory-presents/john-singer-sargent-and-spanish-processional-sculpture-guest-post (accessed 30 June 2016).
[5] V&A inv. no. 1354-1929 is a striking exception, showing a nude male model perhaps connected with Sargent's charcoal drawing in Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum (inv. no. 1937.9.24).
[6] For more on the 'documentary' photograph, see G. A. Johnson, *'The Very Impress of the Object': Photographing Sculpture from Fox Talbot to the Present Day* (exh. cat.), Leeds, Henry Moore Institute, 1995, p. 3.
[7] London, V&A, registry file for the bequests by Miss Emily Sargent, MA/1/5486, as at note 4.
[8] There are photographs in an album which belonged to the Sargent, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. no. 50.130.154), and in a private collection. See R. Ormond and E. Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent: Complete Paintings,* vol. IV, *Figures and Landscapes 1874-1882*, New Haven and London, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2010, pp. 228 and 235; R. Ormond, 'Around the Mediterranean', in W. Adelson (ed.), *Sargent Abroad: Figures and Landscapes*, New York, Abbeville Press, 1997, pp. 122 and 130; M. Crawford-Volk, *John Singer Sargent's El Jaleo*, Washington, National Gallery of Art, 1992, pp. 97-98.
[9] Sargent visited Spain as a child in 1868 and, as an adult, in 1879, 1892, 1895, 1902, 1903, 1908, 1911 and 1912. See E. Kilmurray, 'Chronology of Travels', in W. Adelson (ed.), *Sargent Abroad: Figures and Landscapes*, New York, Abbeville Press, 1997, pp. 237-42; Ormond, 'Around the Mediterranean', in Ibid., pp. 115-80; Crawford-Volk, as at note 8, pp. 22-23.
[10] For more on *El Jaleo* and Sargent's 1879 trip to Spain, see Crawford-Volk, as at note 8; Adelson (ed.), as at note 8; M. E. Boone, *Vistas de España: American Views of Art and Life in Spain, 1860-1914*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2007; M. Simpson, 'Sargent, Velázquez and the Critics: Velázquez comes to Life again', *Apollo*, 439, September 1998, pp. 3-12.
[11] The letter is cited in Crawford-Volk, as at note 8, p. 88. One of Sargent's photographs represents Saint-Gaudens' Memorial to General Sherman (V&A inv. no. 1174-1929).
[12] V&A inv. no. 1937-1926.
[13] V&A inv. nos. 1938-1926 and 1939-1926.
[14] V&A inv. no. 1928-1926. Sargent later painted a watercolour of this tomb, now in the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence (inv. no. 1992.001.120). For a discussion of this watercolour, see Ormond and Kilmurray, as at note 8, p. 123.
[15] V&A inv. nos. 1350-1929 and 1351-1929. Sargent must have first visited El Escorial, where the *Dream of Philip II* was located, in 1879, since he commented on the art to be seen there in a letter to his friend Vernon Lee in 1888 (cited in Crawford-Volk, as at note 8, pp. 41-42) and did not return to the country until 1892.
[16] A. Strettell, *Spanish and Italian Folk Songs*, London and New York, MacMillan, 1887. Alma Strettell (1853-1939), a translator of poems and folk songs, was a close friend of Sargent, with whom she shared a love of music. For more on the relationship between the two, see R. Ormond and E. Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent: Complete Paintings,* vol. I, *The Early Portraits*, 1998, pp. 225-26. The Strettell illustrations are discussed in Crawford-Volk, as at note 3, p. 175.
[17] Promey, as at note 1, pp. 217-50.
[18] These plans were mentioned by Sargent in a letter to Curtis, November or December 1890, Boston Athenaeum papers, cited in R. Ormond and E. Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent: Complete Paintings*, vol. V, *Figures and Landscapes 1883-1899*, 2010, pp. 214 and 219.
[19] Ormond and Kilmurray, as at note 18, pp. 214-15.

[20] For more on processional sculpture in Spain, see S. V. Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain: Sevillian Confraternities and the Processional Sculpture of Holy Week*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1998, p. 59; M. Trusted, 'Moving Church Monuments: Processional Images in Spain in the Seventeenth Century', *Church Monuments*, 10, 1995, pp. 55-69.
[21] Trusted, as at note 20, p. 55.
[22] V&A inv. nos. 1062-1926 and 1063-1926.
[23] V&A inv. no. 1079-1926. I. Moreno Navarro, introduction to M. Grima, *Las Cofradías de Sevilla: En Cromo-Litografía*, Seville, Servicio de Publicaciones del Excmo. Ayuntamiento, 1983, XX (facsimile of the first edition, published c. 1887).
[24] V&A inv. no. 1066-1926.
[25] N. Rufo Mena, 'La Semana Santa Olvidada: La Sacra Conversación', A la luz del cirial (blog), April 2013, http://alaluzdelcirial.blogspot.com.es/2013/04/la-semana-santa-olvidada-la-sacra.html (accessed 30 May 2016).
[26] V&A inv. no. 1924-1926. M. J. Rodríguez Molina and J. R. Sanchis Alfonso, *Directorio de Fotógrafos en España (1851-1936)*, vol. 1, Valencia, Archivo General y Fotográfico de la Diputación de Valencia, 2013, p. 242.
[27] Ormond and Kilmurray, as at note 18, pp. 270-71.
[28] Letter written by the wife of the artist Edwin Austen Abbey, cited in C. M. Mount, *John Singer Sargent: A Biography,* London, Cresset Press, 1957, p. 176.
[29] See Promey, as at note 1, p. 226 and Boone, as at note 10, pp. 182 and 249.
[30] V&A inv. no. 1130-1926.
[31] The photographs were all pasted onto cardboard mounts when they were catalogued at the V&A in the 1920s, so the back can no longer be seen. However, there is a clear correlation between the photographs which the early cataloguer was able to identify, and the *pasos* included in a book in the Museum Library, which the cataloguer explicitly referred to when labelling the mounts: M. Grima, *Las Cofradías de Sevilla: En Cromo-Litografía*, Seville, L. Márquez y Echeandía, c. 1887. This suggests that Sargent himself left no identifying clues on the back of these photographs.
[32] M. Crawford-Volk, 'Sources and Inspiration', *The Sargent Murals at the Boston Public Library: History, Interpretation, Restoration,* 2003, http://sargentmurals.bpl.org/site/murals/14_sources.html. (accessed 11 June 2016).
[33] V&A inv. no. 1130-1926. This sculpture was not associated with Holy Week.
[34] K. Olivier, 'John Singer Sargent's use of Scale Models for his Triumph of Religion Murals (1890-1919) at the Boston Public Library', *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* VII, 1, 1999-2000, p. 43.
[35] V&A inv. no. 1072-1926.
[36] V&A inv. nos. 1058-1926 and 1059-1926.
[37] Letter from Santayana to Martin Birnbaum, 12 October 1895, in D. Cory (ed.), *The Letters of George Santayana*, London, Constable, 1956, p. 355, cited in Ormond and Kilmurray, as at note 18, pp. 210 and 213. The italics are mine.
[38] V&A inv. no. 1924-1926. For a discussion of Juan de Juni's sculpture, in English, see Trusted, as at note 20, p. 61.
[39] Ormond and Kilmurray, as at note 18, p. 284.
[40] R. Ormond and E. Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent: Complete Paintings*, vol. II, *Portraits of the 1890s*, 2002, p. 21. In contrast, when Sargent painted English actress Ellen Terry as Lady Macbeth, the powerful woman of theatre *par excellence*, hieratic and mask-like effects were avoided by de-centring the viewpoint.
[41] Promey, as at note 1, p. 222. For more on Sargent's religious beliefs, see also Fairbrother, as at note 2, pp. 178 and 222.
[42] Letter from Santayana to Martin Birnbaum, 12 October 1895, as at note 36. The italics are mine.
[43] Moreno Navarro, as at note 23, XX. The translation is mine. See V&A inv. nos. 1084-1926, 1083-1926 and 1064-1926.
[44] *Imágenes de vestir* were tellingly absent from the exhibition *The Sacred Made Real. Spanish Painting and Sculpture 1600-1700*, which took place at the National Gallery in London in 2009. For more on how Spanish devotional sculpture was represented at the exhibition, see T. Macsotay, 'Appropriations. Some Remarks on Secular and Religious Responses to Spanish Devotional Sculpture', in C. Rodríguez Samaniego, N. Aragonès and I. Gras (eds.), *L'Escultura a Estudi: Iniciatives i Projectes,* Barcelona, Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, pp. 21-40.

[45] M. Dieulafoy, *La Statuaire Polychrome en Espagne*, Paris, Librairie Hachette, 1908, pp. 196-98.
[46] V. Lee, *The Virgin of the Seven Daggers*, London, Penguin, 2008. Vernon Lee was the pseudonym of Violet Paget (1856-1935). For more on Lee's tale, see L. Barrera-Medrano, '"Dolls in Agony": Vernon Lee in Southern Spain', *Cahiers Victoriens et Édouardiens*, 23, Spring 2016, http://cve.revues.org/2457 (accessed 11 January 2017); S. Barnette, 'Vernon Lee's Composition of "The Virgin of the Seven Daggers": Historic Emotion and the Aesthetic Life', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century,* 23, 2016, http://dx.doi.org/10.16995/ntn.771 (accessed 11 January 2017).
[47] For more on their friendship, see R. Ormond, 'John Singer Sargent and Vernon Lee', *Colby*, IX, 3, September 1970, pp. 154-78. Following his 1895 Spanish trip, Sargent wrote to Lee that his 'Spanish reflections' had been 'refreshed' by the visit. The letter is cited in Boone, *Vistas de España,* as at note 10, p. 182.
[48] Lee, as at note 45, pp. 195-96. Lee's allusion to wax does not accurately reflect the material generally used in Spanish devotional sculpture, but rather her own sense of distaste towards wax sculpture, which had negative associations of baseness and sensationalism.
[49] S. Promey, 'Description and Interpretation', *The Sargent Murals at the Boston Public Library: History, Interpretation, Restoration,* 2003, http://sargentmurals.bpl.org/site/murals/14_sources.html. (accessed 11 June 2016).
[50] Sargent's trips to Spain in 1902 and 1903 appear to have occurred in the spring, but I have been unable to ascertain whether they coincided with Holy Week. See R. Ormond and E. Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent: Complete Paintings*, vol. VII, *Figures and Landscapes 1900-1907*, 2012, p. 113; Kilmurray, as at note 9, p. 240.
[51] V&A inv. no. 1129-1926. Sargent may have purchased the photographs from Jean Laurent's establishment on one of his numerous trips to Madrid.
[52] Promey, as at note 1, pp. 217-50.
[53] Webster, as at note 20, p. 58.
[54] A. Potts, *The Sculptural Imagination: Figurative, Modernist, Minimalist*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2000.
[55] Ibid, p. 9.
[56] For more on the relationship between both artists, see the exhibition catalogue *Sargent/Sorolla*, as at note 3, and M. Crawford-Volk, 'International Interlude: On Sargent and Sorolla', in J. L. Colomer, B. Pons-Sorolla and M. A. Roglán (eds.), *Sorolla in America: Friends and Patrons*, Dallas, Meadows Museum, 2015, pp. 207-41.
[57] For more on this project, see the exhibition catalogue *Visión de España: Colección de la Hispanic Society of America*, Valencia, Fundación Bancaja, 2007.
[58] H. Wölfflin, 'How one should photograph sculpture', translated by G. A. Johnson, *Art History*, XXXVI, 1, 2013, pp. 52-71. Johnson translates Wölfflin's three articles on the subject, originally published in 1896, 1897 and 1915.
[59] Ibid., 53-54**.** This argument was originally published in Wölfflin's 'Wie man Skulpturen aufnehmen soll', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, n.s, 1896. His views were influenced by Adolf von Hildebrand's position in *The Problem of Form in Painting and Sculpture* (first published in 1893).
[60] Ibid., p. 53**.**
[61] Grima, *Las Cofradías de Sevilla: En Cromo-Litografía*, as at note 31.
[62] G. A. Johnson, 'Using the Photographic Archive: On the Life (and Death) of Images', in C. Caraffa (ed.), *Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History*, Berlin, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2011, p. 155.
[63] Crawford-Volk, as at note 56, p. 216; B. Pons-Sorolla and V. L. Sorolla (eds.), *Epistolarios de Joaquín Sorolla*, vol. III, *Correspondencia con Clotilde García del Castillo (1891-1910)*, Rubí, Barcelona, Anthropos, 2009, p. 258. The translation is taken from Crawford-Volk.
[64] Sorolla may have drawn some elements of his painting from the *paso* of the *Virgen del Valle* from the Parish of San Andrés in Seville. This is the subject of Sargent's photograph, V&A inv. no. 1066-1926, in which the Virgin is shown accompanied by St. John the Evangelist and Mary Magdalene.
[65] S. M. Promey, 'John Singer Sargent's Triumph of Religion', Boston Public Library, http://www.bpl.org/central/sargenttriumph.htm (accessed 11 January 2017).
[66] Promey, as at note 1, pp. 226 and 233.
[67] V&A inv. nos. 1084-1926 and 1083-1926.
[68] V&A inv. nos. 1058-1926 and 1059-1926.
[69] Sargent was recorded as a copyist in the Prado Museum in 1879, 1895 and 1903. See Ormond and Kilmurray, as at note 50, vol. VII, *Figures and Landscapes 1900-1907*, 2012, p. 113.

[70] Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. no. 50.130.141r). The misidentification appears in S. L. Herdrich and H. B. Weinberg, *American Drawings and Watercolors in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: John Singer Sargent,* New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000, 164-65. Sargent was, nonetheless, apparently very interested in the Leoni sculptures in the Basilica of El Escorial, which are represented in the photographs with V&A inv. nos. 1946-1926, 1947-1926 and 1948-1926.

[71] Promey, as at note 1, pp. 217-50.