

Salvador Dalí's references from Catalonia and the Empordà

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ABSTRACT

Salvador Dalí was born in Figueres, an open-minded city with republican ideals at a time when the myth of the Empordà as the heart of Catalonia, as the poet Joan Maragall described this place, was being forged. The friends of his father, the notary Salvador Dalí Cusi, commissioned his first works, which bore the symbols of the Empordà, such as *sardanes* (the traditional circle dance). Figueres is also where the revolutionary Dalí emerged, a close friend of Martí Vilanova and Jaume Miravittles. And the landscape of the Empordà, with its clear blue sky, is the driver behind his creative works. Referents to Catalonia and the Empordà appear throughout his entire career and become the essence of his oeuvre; today, many of them have become universally recognised thanks to this genius from the Empordà. In this paper, we shall reveal these referents.

KEYWORDS: Salvador Dalí, Empordà, Figueres, Cadaqués, Josep Puig Pujades, Joan Subias, Jaume Miravittles, Francesc Pujols

The earliest Salvador Dalí i Domènech (Figueres, 1904-1989) is the product of Figueres in the early 20th century, the capital of the *comarca* of the Alt Empordà, in Catalonia, the city of civic art which was open to all major transformations, especially in cultural matters. Thanks to its literary contests, and primarily the first *Concurs Artístic Català* (Catalan Art Contest) held in Figueres as part of the *Festa de la Bellesa* (Festival of Beauty) on the 5th of May 1906 – in which the guest of honour and president of the jury was Joan Maragall – Dalí's birthplace fuelled the myth of the Empordà that had been successfully formulated by the great Catalan poet. In his speech in Figueres, Maragall defined the Empordà as the “the heiress of the Pyrenees and the sea; crown of the fatherland, mirror of Catalonia [...] the land of liberty”,¹ and he conferred upon it a singularity which, in his opinion, made it more than just a physical space: “The Empordà has given Catalonia the symbol of its spirit in a beautiful dance, so we could say that the Empordà is like the heart of Catalonia”.² Precisely two years later, the plains, the sea and the mountains became the perfect inspiration for the poet to give shape to his perception of this corner of the country as he wrote the lyrics to the *sardana* “L'Empordà” by Enric Morera. That mythical day in 1906, the *Festa de la Bellesa* paid tribute to the musician Pep Ventura,³ and Joan Maragall, the writer Josep Pous i Pagès and the playwright and poet Ignasi Iglésias all attended. These ele-

ments emerged as the first creative symbols in the earliest alphabet of the young Salvador Dalí. He grew up in a small border city which was undergoing a transformation driven by a group of men who strove to give their Figueres a personality of its own. Even though they were the first admirers of the artwork by the notary's son, they could never have imagined that the rebellious, outrageous young man would carry the name of Figueres all over the world.

THE SHAPING OF THE GENIUS FROM THE EMPORDÀ

When discussing the shaping of Salvador Dalí, it is essential to bear in mind the emerging social and cultural context in the city of Figueres. The notary Salvador Dalí i Cusi, the painter's father, and his group of friends – including the merchant, cultural promoter, writer and Republican leader Josep Puig Pujades, the chemist Joaquim Cusi and the silviculturist Josep “Pepito” Pichot – were involved in different projects to transform the city, which became the backdrop of the painter's upbringing. From his facet as a politician and intellectual,⁴ Josep Puig Pujades was the person who played the most prominent role in defining and materialising the new Figueres. Dalí's father, along with Carles Costa, Josep Pichot and others, were also members of the executive committee of the monument to Narcís Monturiol installed in 1911; the goal of this committee was to raise funds and bring the tribute

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to the Catalan inventor of the submarine and Republican politician to fruition. Finally, in 1916 the contest was announced to find the best sculptural project, with Josep Berga i Boada, Josep Clarà⁵ and others present alongside Enric Casanovas. Dalí most likely kept close track of the conflicts that emerged when choosing the winning project, and he was on hand for the fanfare of the unveiling of the monument on the 2nd of May 1918.⁶ The sculpture by Enric Casanovas ended up defining the Rambla de Figueres, one of the most important civil works by the architect Ricard Giralt Casadesús, which reflects the philosophy of civic art, a movement which had spread throughout all of Europe in the early 20th century. The sculptures and reliefs of the monument to Narcís Monturiol inspired some of the figures in the charcoal drawings that Dalí executed in 1919: "I'm drawing with charcoal. I've done *Aus de nit* (*Night Birds*). The figures spring from the strong emotion that I felt for the monument to Casanovas; I also have a very impressionistic *Crepuscle* (*Dusk*) and a few of my own compositions".⁷

In the words of the architect Giralt, the Rambla de Figueres was supposed to be a boulevard that reflected "the expression of the soul of the Empordà",⁸ and most likely for this very reason he defined it with these words in an article published in 1917 in *La Veu de l'Empordà*: "The gold and silver of the sky serve as its ceiling, whilst on land the hearts of the citizens, day after day, sow the vision of a new city, the city of art, the vision of the city that has dreams, aspirations and hope to be fulfilled".⁹ The architect of civil art was one of the young Dalí's conversation partners, as the painter hinted at in his personal diary,¹⁰ which is essential to understanding the local world nearest to Dalí.

One key presence shaping Dalí was the progressive politician, writer, art critic and intellectual Josep Puig Pujades, nicknamed Peixera, a close friend of Dalí's father. His important art collection brought Dalí into direct contact with exquisite oil paintings and pencil and charcoal drawings, a true feast for the senses: "[...] we went to Peixera's house, where we greeted him and his wife. We spoke about art. Costa, the two Bonateras, the Guanas, with Guatxindango, the girls who were going to perform in the concert and others kept coming in. [...] They went up to a kind of courtyard where Peixera keeps all his art relics acquired by dint of money and patience. [...] In front of me was a painting by Zubiaurre."¹¹ Dalí was recounting a concert that was held in the house of Puig Pujades as he raptly admired some of the prized treasures in his collection and discussed the painting by Joaquim Sunyer. Puig Pujades was one of the first people to prophesy Dalí's future as an artist and to praise his paintings in the local press.

José Pichot, nicknamed Pepito, who also belong to Dalí's father's inner circle, was another personality who was part of the painter's childhood. In his book *The Secret Life of Salvador Dalí* written in 1941 and published in 1942, Dalí devoted much of the chapter "Real memories

of childhood" to his stay in Molí de la Torre, an estate owned by the Pichot family which Josep Pichot kept watch over. The young Salvador accompanied him in a stay there in 1916 to recover from a severe fever, according to Anna Maria Dalí in her memoirs.¹² "Pepito" had a magnificent garden with a windmill in this country home by the lighthouse of the Empordà. That sojourn became Dalí's induction into the Impressionist painting of Ramon Pichot and everything it contained: pigment in its pure state, the universe of freedom and disinhibition. "Those lunches were my discovery of French Impressionism, the school of painting that truly made the deepest impression on me in my life, since it represented my first contact with an anti-academic and revolutionary aesthetic theory. [...] I wrung from those first paintings all the literary residue of 1900 whose eroticism seared my throat like a shot of Armagnac choked down. I particularly remember a dancer from the Bal Tabarin who was getting dressed. Her face was perversely ingenuous and she had red hair in her armpits."¹³ The works that decorated Molí de la Torre provided Dalí with direct knowledge of Ramon Pichot's entire artistic experience, of his stint with the Colla del Safrà and of bohemian scenes with guitarists and dancers, keepsakes from his time in Paris and Barcelona. He also discovered the pure pigments that thrilled him, which he later applied in all the -isms possible in his views of the coves of Cadaqués. Dalí also used Ramon Pichot's experiences in Figueres to capture the gypsies and bohemian atmospheres of cafes from the early 1920s in his gouache stage.

On the other hand, Josep Pichot was the author of numerous photographs conserved of the Dalí siblings, Anna Maria and Salvador, taken in the garden of the Pichot family home on Carreró de la Barceloneta in Figueres, a magical place for the painter which he recalled years later. A mix of the vegetation in that house and in Molí de la Torre is present in Dalí's text *Rêverie*¹⁴ from 1931, and in some of his most important paintings from the 1930s.

Joan Subias i Galter, a tirelessly curious historian who was in touch with all the aesthetic events in Barcelona and with the avant-gardes that were cropping up around Europe in the early 20th century, is cited several times in Dalí's personal diary, as the two were close friends. As Eduard Puig Vayreda claimed in an article published in the *Revista de Girona*,¹⁵ Subias, along with other illustrious men from the Empordà, acted as the older brothers, the inevitable cultural referents for an entire series of younger men from Figueres, including Salvador Dalí, Alexandre Deulofeu and Jaume Miravittles. It was precisely at Subias' request that the Figueres Town Hall commissioned Dalí to make the posters for the 1921 Fires de la Santa Creu (Holy Cross Fair), and together they had decorated the float of the Wise Men with the assistance of Miravittles in December 1920.¹⁶

Just like all boys, Dalí was a sponge, with an able, quick, lively, open, determined mind fed by everything around it. The cultural context of his father's Figueres was vital in

shaping him. From a very young age, he knew without doubt that he wanted to be an artist, and despite his father's misgivings, his friends encouraged him, commissioned him works and purchased his first pieces. Therefore, the city of his birth welcomed and celebrated his early steps, prophesying a brilliant future for the young painter.

In 1908, Salvador enrolled in the public nursery school with the teacher Esteve Trayter. In *The Secret Life of Salvador Dalí*, this school emerges as the place of his first dreams. To Salvador Dalí, Trayter was the teacher with the long beard and his first point of contact with gadgets that produced optical illusions and double images.¹⁷ Two years later, he was enrolled at the Col·legi Hispanofrancès of the Immaculada Concepció, and finally he attended the religious school of the marist Brothers, where he met Jaume Miravittles, with whom he was friends for many years. In 1916, he began to pursue his baccalaureate at Ramon Muntaner secondary school along with his friend Jaume Miravittles. Two years later, Alexandre Deulofeu and Ramon Reig were there; together they were destined to shift the future artistic and cultural course of Figueres. Curiously, Dalí's school records show that one of the courses in which he repeatedly excelled was religion, which is somewhat surprising given that from quite a young age he had started to explore Nietzsche's *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* and that his lack of religious faith hounded him throughout his entire life.

In January 1919, Dalí and four other students from the secondary school created the monthly magazine *Studium*, six of which were issued during that academic year. The editorial team was made up of Ramon Reig, Jaume Miravittles, Joan Turró, Dalí and Joan Xirau as the editor-in-chief, who later went on to become a reputed chemist and scientist. In this publication, which was funded by Xirau's father, Dalí examined the classical artists who drew his attention, including Velázquez, Goya, Michelangelo, Dürer and Leonardo da Vinci, and he most likely worked with Núñez.

Salvador Dalí was enrolled in the Municipal Drawing School in 1915.¹⁸ There he shared a classroom with Ramon Reig, and from the very start they fully connected in their quest to find places to paint, create and enjoy the landscape. This atmosphere is hinted at in Jaume Miravittles' memoirs: "When we were studying for our baccalaureate in Figueres, Gaudí was one of our heroes and his name often appeared in the pages of our writings. That was our romantic period as federal republicans, and our idols were Abdó Terrades, Monturiol, the inventor of the submarine who had been born in Figueres, and Pi i Margall. Gabriel Alomar, the great Mallorcan poet, was our literature teacher at the secondary school."¹⁹ At the request of Dalí *père*, Miravittles taught Salvador a maths class and together they exchanged revolutionary ruminations.

DALÍ THE ARTIST IN THE EMPORDÀ IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

Carrer de Monturiol in Figueres was one of the prime arteries in the painter's life. Salvador Dalí was born in the entresol of the house at number 20 (today number 6), whose gallery figured quite prominently, as Anna Maria Dalí describes it in her memoirs: "Our childhood took place less inside the flat and more on the gallery that enlarged it. It was decorated with large pots of tuberose and lilies and a gazebo filled with birds. Our mother liked them so much that she loved to raise canaries and turtle-doves in a shed, which provided mild shade at the exit from the dining room."²⁰ In 1912, the family moved to the second floor of number 24 (today number 10), which is once again recalled in the memoirs of the painter's sister: "I spent so many years there it's like I can see it. When you entered, there was a small foyer lit by coloured glass windows. The gallery didn't have stone banister but an iron one, and it looked out onto a large, spacious square, behind which we could see a strip of the Gulf of Roses, Palau-saverdera and the mountains of Sant Pere de Roda from the gallery. It was on Plaça de la Palmera [Palm Tree Square], and this palm tree existed and was taller than our home. That was where the Fires de la Santa Creu were held."²¹ This is precisely the view that Dalí portrayed on one of his canvases, *Noia de Figueres (Girl from Figueres)*, in which a female figure is doing embroidery on the house rooftop with the magnificent sign of the Ford dealership²² with cars in front, a clear harbinger of Pop Art. As Anna Maria Dalí explained it,²³ the Fires de la Santa Creu were set up in the Plaça de la Palmera, which the Dalí siblings could see from their house, and from which the young painter made a few of the sketches for his numerous posters and gouaches on the most popular festival in the capital of the Alt Empordà.

Dalí temporarily used a small room at number 4 Carrer de la Muralla as his first working space. This was the gathering place of a group of intellectuals who published the humorous-satirical magazine *El Sanyó Pancraci*, only three issues of which came out between 1919 and 1920. The group was made up of the secondary school teacher and printer Josep Soler Grau, the owner of the house; the revolutionary politician, Martí Vilanova; the architect, Pelai Martínez; the writer, Antoni Papell; the poet, Jaume Maurici; and the teacher, Rafael Ramis, among others.²⁴ The meetings there were famous, and some ended in complaints and arrests.²⁵ "Vador", as Dalí's closest friends called him, came up with a series of murals in this house. Unmistakably Catalan elements appeared in the one depicting the group, such as the dragon, the wine flask and the onion. These paintings, which only survive today in a few photographs, reflected a kind of acerbic Noucentisme similar to the representations in the frescoes by Xavier Nogués which decorated Barcelona's Galeries Laietanes.

Dalí had his studio in Figueres in the same building where he lived: "The two spacious rooms in my brother's



FIGURE 1. Salvador Dalí, *Noia de Figueres* (*Girl from Figueres*), 1926. Oil on wood, 20.8 × 21.5 cm. Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, Figueres. © Salvador Dalí, Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, VEGAP, Barcelona, 2018

studio in Figueres gave onto Carrer Monturiol. Every afternoon, when the sun started to set, it would enter the studio obliquely, projected onto the tempera canvases like a reflector illuminating the bright colours. The two rooms were always filled with little gypsies who worked as his models, who looked like they were made of copper with the orangey light spreading through the studio.”²⁶ In *The Secret Life*, the painter himself referred to another of his work and meditation spaces on the rooftop of his house, from which he could spot much of Figueres and the mountains of Sant Pere de Rodes, where he spent many hours: “My parents never tired of answering the invariable question that their friends asked whenever they stopped by: ‘Where’s Salvador?’ ‘Salvador’s on the roof. He says that he set up his first painting studio in the sink. He spends hours and hours there alone.’ ‘Up there!’ [...] As soon as I reached the roof I felt unique: the scenic views of the city of Figueres, spread out at my feet, more than stimulated the pride and limitless ambition of my sovereign imagination.”²⁷ Jaume Maurici was one of the friends who went to see them, and in an article written under the pseudonym of One in the publication he oversaw, *Alt Empordà*, he recounted one of those visits, accompanied by Joan Subias, in September 1921: “So how about stopping by to see Dalí?” our friend Subias asked. When we reached the young painter’s house mid-after-

noon, we surprised him working in his studio, with the room flooded with that September light which came in through the wide-open balcony. He was working with a tempera when he got up to welcome us with his hair slightly mussed – Dalí’s hair, the only insurgent note on our streets.”²⁸ It was probably around the time of that visit that Jaume Maurici commissioned him to paint the cover of the biography of Ramon Muntaner by Carles Rahola, which is conserved in the Centre d’Estudis Dalinians, Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, although it was never published because the biography was ultimately issued by Publicacions Empordà in October 1922 without Dalí’s drawings.²⁹ On the other hand, the covers and illustrations of the poetry books of Jaume Maurici were made in the early 1920s, but not published until many years later, such as *Estrelles caigudes*, which was not published until 1954, with a drawing on the cover and an inside illustration from Dalí’s early years. In 1921, Dalí designed the cover for *Poemes amb ocells*, which was not published with his drawing until 1965.

Figueres is present in Dalí’s work through its people, the personalities he portrayed, the friends around him who took care of his day-to-day life: the portrait of Josep Puig Pujades with the city behind him, the portrait of Jaume Miravittles wearing the uniform of the Unió Esportiva de Figueres, both of which are in the Teatre-Mu-

seu Dalí in Figueres, and the portrait of Joan Xirau soaking up the sun in a bathing costume with a very elegant car behind him. The painter displayed this latter canvas with *Retrat de Luis Buñuel (Portrait of Luis Buñuel, 1924)* and other works at the First Exhibition of the Sociedad de Artistas Ibéricos which was held in Madrid's Retiro Park between May and June 1925. This show signalled the painter's launch outside Catalonia.

In Figueres, Dalí experienced the Fires de la Santa Creu intensely; he peered carefully at the sunsets from Sant Ferran castle; he fell in love strolling through its streets; he explored the outskirts of the city to practise *plein air* with Ramon Reig in Vilabertran and Roses; and he also experienced one of his keenest and most unfair heartbreaks: the death of his mother. Figueres was where his political leanings in favour of the Russian Revolution were sparked along with "Met" (Jaume Miravittles), both spurred by the Figueres politician Martí Vilanova, as Miravittles himself recalled upon his death: "Under the impetus of Martí Vilanova, Salvador Dalí experienced the most romantic, generous period in his existence. Later, led by Martí, we founded a group, *Renovació Social*, which belonged to the 3rd International. It was most likely the first cry in favour of Russia in Spain. Even today I can read the issues where there are wonderful articles by Martí, Dalí and Ramis."³⁰ They both embarked upon their revolutionary trajectories, got involved in the events that characterised that period (such as the burning of a Spanish flag in 1919³¹) and positioned themselves in the formation of the *Renovació Social* group.³²

The other setting of the painter's life was Cadaqués, more specifically Es Llaner, where the family had a summer home and where Dalí spent month upon month steeped in the sun, saltwater and entrancement. This may well be where the young painter's mind was set the freest, unhindered by prejudices. It is possible that the whimsical forms in the mineral formations of Cap de Creus had a great deal to do with his aesthetic change secretly forged in around 1926. In this sense, his "surrealism", his maliciously detailed "cold nature", are more closely related to Cadaqués than to Figueres.

Figueres was the paradigm of culture, learning, the organisation of ideas, the republic of the arts; it was a bustling city which was laying the groundwork for the next 100 years. By the late 19th century, Cadaqués had become a paradise for many painters: pure nature, inspiration, creation and a passion for light. Testimonies of this are the works by Roig Soler, Eliseu Meifrèn, Ramon Pichot and Siegfried Burmann. Dalí experienced these two worlds in constant parallel; unquenchable as he was, he was trained and learned from both sources near him. He evoked his creative side in Vilabertran, Cadaqués and his urban world in Figueres, three microcosms which succeed one another in the same creative discourse.

At the two places where the young Salvador went to learn drawing, he had the same teacher: Juan Núñez: in 1915 at the Escola Municipal de Dibuix and after 1916 at

the secondary school in Figueres. Without the shadow of a doubt, Juan Núñez was one of the people who made the greatest impression on him as an artist during his childhood and adolescence, the teacher that "picked him out from hundreds of students in his class and invited him to his home", where he explained "the mysteries of chiaroscuro and the 'savage lines' (this was his expression) of an original Rembrandt engraving that he owned."³³ Núñez inevitably appears in Dalí's personal diary and in *The Secret Life*; he was the young painter's first artistic referent in Figueres and taught him the underpinnings of art within a classical conception. With the eclectic collection of the museum at the secondary school in Figueres, Núñez availed himself of an outstanding working tool that today we know he used, as confirmed by an oil painting by Carme Roget, Dalí's girlfriend during his long apprenticeship in Figueres. It is a copy made in 1917 of the Lluís Rigalt piece *Camino de Vallvidrera, en el fondo Barcelona*, which entered the school museum in 1877 with a donation from Joan Tutau, and which is currently in the collection of the Museu de l'Empordà. It is telling that Núñez used this painter as a model in his classroom, since Rigalt – along with Martí Alsina – was one of the pioneers in practising *plein air* in Catalonia. Núñez invited his students to directly engage with the landscape around Figueres, at Vilabertran lake, as shown by the somewhat famous images of Vilabertran by Núñez and his disciplined disciples Ramon Reig and Salvador Dalí. This is the kernel of what later would be called the "Empordà School", or more specifically, the "Figueres School".

Dalí mirrored himself on Núñez and wanted to follow in his footsteps: "I'll finish my baccalaureate quickly, if I have to I'll do the two years that still remain in one. Afterwards I'll go to Madrid, to the Fine Arts Academy. There I'm planning on spending three years working like mad. The academy is also beautiful. It's never too much to sacrifice and subjugate myself. Later I'll earn a scholarship to spend four years in Rome; and when I get back from Rome I'll be a genius and the world will admire me."³⁴ With the help of Núñez and other friends of his father such as Puig Pujades, Dalí managed to make his dream of going to the *Escuela Especial de Pintura, Escultura y Grabado de la Academia de Bellas Artes* come true in the autumn of 1922. This move meant breaking up with Carme Roget, the sweet Isabel in *Tardes d'estiu (Summer Afternoons)*,³⁵ who was also present in the caricatures of his study books and in *Els primers dies de primavera (The First Days of Spring)*. In this latter composition, Dalí depicts himself embracing Carme Roget and recalls days past in Figueres by depicting easily identifiable scenes, such as his sister seated on the balcony doing embroidery or the city's emblematic buildings, including the French nuns' school and the Art Nouveau house in Plaça de la Palmera which he could see from his home. In his personal diary, Dalí jotted down Núñez's guidance with regard to the Fine Arts Academy of Madrid; he defined Núñez as a weary man who had abandoned his art career

and fully immersed himself in his teaching; this may be why not too many of Núñez's works still remain. In this diary, specifically a passage from the 14th of November 1920, the proud adolescent Dalí emerges speaking about Núñez with a touch of disdain. But in his other autobiographical writings, Dalí never ceases to praise and support his teacher, whom he profoundly admired: "He only does it for entertainment. More than anything, he is a very skilled engraver and has an artist's temperament. But this doesn't mean that he is one. I am beginning to show him my works. He finds lots of fantasy in them, but he is getting enthusiastic about them and is ending up being encouraging. He likes some of them a lot. He says that I've got talent and should drop everything to be a painter. After that he complains bitterly... 'If my son were so skilled, even half as skilled, no!, one-third as skilled! I mean, when I see your father I'm going to tell him not to be a fool. He and his books can go to hell. Work, work, work... never stop... You have an admirable vision of colour', and I think about the bohemians ('You'll get there, I'm behind you'), because I'm told that he'll recommend me to men of art when I get to Madrid, men who will know how to understand me. My teacher's words encourage me."³⁶ Without a doubt,

Núñez saw in Dalí's works of art his old youth and boldness back when he had just gotten his start, and he clearly helped with all arrangements so that the young Dalí could go to Madrid. He also celebrated his sweetest victories, such as the dinner he held in Barcelona in 1925 on the occasion of Dalí's successful exhibition at the Galeries Dalmau. He also taught him private engraving classes in the family home on Carrer de Monturiol in Figueres, where Dalí *père* had a press installed, as Anna Maria Dalí recalled.³⁷

One of the most important exhibitions to be held in Figueres was the Expo d'Art Antic i Modern in 1921, organised by Salvador Dalí and his friend Joan Subias in the Sala Edison, which featured works belonging to Puig Pujades, including a Zubiaurre and a *maja* by Gustavo de Maeztu. Joan Subias' unpublished memoirs mention that part of an altarpiece from a church located at the foot of Mare de Déu del Mont was in the exhibition, perhaps the Segueró church,³⁸ which contained an altarpiece by Pere Mates which depicted the image of Adam and Eve. "In around 1920, it was taken down from the parish church at the foot of Mare de Déu del Mont and exhibited by me and Dalí, the highlight of a successful EXPO D'ART ANTIC I MODERN in Figueres. [...] None of it was easy: we had to



FIGURE 2. Salvador Dalí, *Els primers dies de la primavera* (*The First Days of Spring*), c. 1922. Watercolour and ink wash on paper, 20.8 × 15 cm. Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, Figueres. © Salvador Dalí, Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, VEGAP, Barcelona, 2018

overcome the objections posed by the patriarch of El Noguer, despite the facilities gotten from the leading Church authority with road of oxen and successive paths! But seeing the ADAM AND EVE in Figueres was worth all of our efforts.”³⁹ The show also displayed oil paintings by Eusebi de Puig, one of the most prominent painters to practise Impressionism in his paintings depicting the environs of Figueres.

In fact, Dalí was personally familiar with the work of the “primitives of the Empordà” – Marià Llanera, Eusebi de Puig and Josep Bonaterra – who at some point he used as a reflection when striving to capture the same landscape. He coincided with these painters at numerous shows, such as the first exhibition in which he took part, which was held at the Teatre de Figueres. It was organised by the Societat de Concerts between December 1918 and January 1919, and he hung his paintings next to those of Josep Bonaterra and J. Montoriol Puig.⁴⁰ The latter presented four pieces there which followed the footsteps of French Impressionism, with references to Pissarro and Monet, just like two other artists in the gallery. In this show in December 1918, Dalí exhibited *Dona portant el doll i acompanyant, davant de sa punta des Baluard, Cadaqués* (*Woman Carrying a Jug and Accompanying, before Sa Punta des Baluard, Cadaqués*) where he showed influences from some of Gustavo de Maeztu's *Samaritanas* (Samaritan Women),⁴¹ which also depicted women carrying earthenware jugs with lost gazes. In *Fulla Artística d'Alt Empordà*, Puig Pujades published an extensive article on Impressionism in order to introduce the aesthetic of the pieces on display to the audience, and when referring to Dalí he exclaimed with emotion: “We're among those who believe that Dalí shows the mettle of a great artist, and in this sense we claim that the drawings and oil paintings displayed are indisputable. Now, our belief is conditioned upon the discipline that our young friend must impose on himself in order to gain qualities which are so powerful that they become dangerous if they are not subjected to a severe regimen which can elevate them to perfection without mishandling or diminishing them.”⁴² The politician and intellectual from Figueres publicly noted the young painter's high artistic value and warned that he had to continue working under rules that could guide him. And that was precisely what Núñez gave Dalí, academic discipline, systematic rules that allowed him to gain altitude and speed when he did take off.

FAIRS AND SARDANES IN SALVADOR DALÍ'S EARLIEST COMPOSITIONS

Winters in Figueres was too long for Dalí. The young painter yearned for the summer to come, the season when he and his family went to Cadaqués, to Es Llaner, so he could capture all the colours of that stretch of the Empordà on his canvas. But his compositions on themes from Figueres, devoted to its festivals and bohemian ven-

ues, is where Dalí painted his most festive, poster-like works, echoing those of Ramon Pichot. *Escena nocturna a Figueres* (*Night Scene in Figueres*) dates from this period, a work that is reminiscent of Pichot's compositions with dancers, as well as the Fires de la Santa Creu poster from 1921, which features the city's giants. This is probably one of the posters advertising the fair that sparked the most criticism and astonishment in Figueres' society, prompting an article by Subias explaining and providing the rationale behind his close friend's compositions: “Dalí's posters are novel, and outstanding. They leave plenty of room for discussion, which should please the author because there is no greater honour than sparking controversy.”⁴³ After that, Subias referred to the history of poster art from Jules Chéret to Toulouse-Lautrec to Edgar Degas. This series of names should be joined by Ramon Pichot, as Dalí himself noted in *The Secret Life*: “The oldest painting by R. Pichot was reminiscent of the stylistic and iconographic formulas characteristic of Toulouse-Lautrec”.⁴⁴

The work *Fires de la Santa Creu* (*Holy Cross Fair*) falls within the same aesthetic as the posters for the fair and is one of the different compositional studies that the painter made in his gouaches, some of which, after a culling, ended up being featured on the covers of the programmes of the fair or on posters. In this piece, there is a festive air and a joyful crowd, in which we can distinguish individuals within the painter's milieu, such as the footballer who appears behind some girls wearing the uniform of Unió Esportiva Figueres, his good friend Jaume Miravittles. His sister, Carme Roget and Dolors Carré no doubt appeared among the “girls from Figueres” which he mentioned in *The Secret Life*.⁴⁵ And the elegantly-dressed couple whose back is facing us may be Josep Pichot and his wife, Angelita, who always attended the city's social events. On the back of the same piece, Dalí painted *La festa de l'ermita* (*The Festival of the Hermitage*), another work in a festive tone spotlighting the Sant Sebastià hermitage in a Cadaqués.

Dalí placed two footballers in the foreground of the composition of *Les Fires de Figueres* (*The Fair of Figueres*), most likely Jaume Miravittles and Joan Maria Torres, as noted by Josep Playà and Xavier Jiménez in an article published in the *Revista de Girona*.⁴⁶ Right in the centre of the composition we again see a well-dressed couple, Josep Pichot and Angelita Gironès, as confirmed by Rafael Santos Torroella,⁴⁷ probably the painter's tribute to one of the referents from his youth who died in July 1921. This composition illustrated the cover a trade fair programme from 1922⁴⁸ which was printed by Minerva, a printer owned by the father of Salvador Dalí's classmate, Joaquim Serra. The same year, a more ground-breaking image of the Fires de la Santa Creu appeared on the cover of the programme of festival events printed by J. Vila. The painter synthesised the composition, streamlining it to eliminate all the aforementioned personalities, such that the volumes and geometry ended up coming to the fore. Refer-

ring to this drawing, Santos Torroella⁴⁹ cites its relationship with the work by the Uruguayan painter Rafael Barradas, who had exhibited his works at Barcelona's Galerías Dalmau several times. Dalí was always on the lookout for Barradas' shows, and later the two artists struck up a friendship in Madrid.

Regarding Dalí's facet as an illustrator in these early years, the cover of *Empordà Federal* dated the 15th of October 1921, devoted to the *sardana* dance, is particularly significant. He said that the dance was "embodied by Pep Ventura, who created it, and Enric Morera, who brought it to life".⁵⁰ This work came on the occasion of the tribute that the association was offering to the composer Enric Morera. Inside the same issue was a reproduction of *La sardana de les bruixes (The Witches' Sardana)*, with the village of Cadaqués and the sea in the background.

During those years, Dalí was working on the series of symbols of the Empordà, the poems and *sardanes* of an entire generation of writers from Catalonia and the Empordà led by Joan Maragall, which became "Mitologies empordaneses" (Mythologies of the Empordà), as cited in the catalogue of the exhibition held in Figueres on the occasion of the centennial of the painter's birth.⁵¹ These symbols are the outcome of the environment in which the Dalí siblings were raised, and in her memoirs Anna Maria recalled from her childhood that her father had the *sardanes* of Pep Ventura played by the musicians of the city, and that he published some of their scores with lyrics by Joan Maragall and Ignasi Iglésias.⁵² In 1906 and 1908, Dalí père and the Figueres-based bookseller Dalmaci Presas published two issues of a collection of *sardanes* by Pep Ventura: "Per tu ploro", with lyrics by Joan Maragall, and "La capritxosa", with lyrics by Joan Llongueras.⁵³

In 1922, Pere Coromines commissioned Salvador Dalí to make a series of illustrations for the second edition of his essay *Les gràcies de l'Empordà. Poema en prosa*,⁵⁴ in which everyday scenes from his boyhood in Figueres appear, including a *sardana* dance. The work was not published until 1994. Afterwards he illustrated *Les bruixes de Llers*⁵⁵ by Carles Fages de Climent, which was published in 1924; in it, we can glimpse Cubist lines and plays of volumes. By that time, Dalí was living at the Students' Residence in Madrid, but despite the distance, he remained in close contact with the people in the Empordà, as shown by a letter that Joan Subias sent to Dalí in which he said: "[...] Puig asks you to send drawings; I'm guessing, since I haven't seen them, that they're really good; I'd like to know what you're up to".⁵⁶ Subias was most likely referring to the drawings that went with the Josep Puig Pujades novel *L'oncle Vicenç*,⁵⁷ which was published in 1926, including the skyline of the city of Figueres, the giant cloud and the dining room scene.

The more Noucentista feel of Dalí's work from the early 1920s in the illustrated books to which he contributed was described by the poet Jaume Maurici, who also chose them to give shape to his words: "His drawings identify with ancestral and civilian experiences of all times. The

old dome and belfry of Sant Pere, which have since been replaced, set under a puff of clouds, which idealise the scenic views in 'L'oncle Vicenç'; the steep streets of Llers, the land of witches, through which the Holy Thursday procession is wending; agaves, haystacks and a cemetery, insinuated more than drawn, with a skilled hand [...]"⁵⁸

From Madrid, Dalí also corresponded with Joan Xirau, to whom he described the cultural atmosphere in the capital of Spain on the request of his brother, the philosopher Joaquim Xirau: "In Madrid, unlike in Barcelona, modern avant-garde painting has not only had no repercussions but isn't even known (except for a core of poets and literati which is whom I'll talk about)".⁵⁹ Dalí spent many hours with the Xirau brothers, especially the younger one, Joan, who often kept him company as he painted, as Joaquim Bech de Careda recalled.⁶⁰ Joan Xirau often visited Dalí in his studio, where he watched him work. Together they shared experiences in Figueres, such as the night they both spent in the city cemetery. Even today Maria Xirau, the daughter of the chemist from Figueres, recalls this anecdote that her father used to tell her.

In 1923,⁶¹ Dalí painted the portrait of Ramon Muntaner for the Gallery of Enlightened Men of the Empordà of the Library of Figueres (this portrait was destroyed in one of the bombardments that the city of Figueres suffered from throughout the Spanish Civil War). The Gallery of Enlightened Men of the Empordà project included portraits of Pep Ventura, Anicet de Pagès, Frederic Rahola, Damas Calvet and Bosch de la Trinxeria.⁶² Dalí's work was unveiled to the public by Puig Pujades, president of the Board of the Library of Figueres, on the 16th of February 1923 as part of the tribute that this institution was paying to Ramon Muntaner. At the same event, Carles Rahola, who had published a biography of the chronicler from Peralada, delivered a lecture on "L'Empordà en la crònica d'en Muntaner".⁶³

THE NEW DALÍ TAKES OFF IN THE EMPORDÀ

If Ramon Pichot was partly behind Salvador Dalí's early Impressionist, Fauvist stage spattered with light and colour, he was also behind his aesthetic shift sparked by the influx of the new avant-gardes. Through his brother Josep, in around 1920 Ramon Pichot gave Dalí the *Futurist Manifesto*, accompanied by works by Umberto Boccioni, Carlo Carrà, Luigi Russolo, Giacomo Balla, Gino Severini and Ardengo Soffici. But Futurism had previously been mentioned in the Figueres press in July 1919, when Ricard Giralt Casadesús published the article "Futurisme arquitectònic!" in *Fulla Artística de l'Alt Empordà*.⁶⁴ Articles and poems by Marinetti and Apollinaire also appeared on the literary page of the weekly *Alt Empordà*, directed by Jaume Maurici, in January 1920.⁶⁵ In parallel, Dalí got hold of the magazines *L'Esprit Nouveau* and *Valori Plastici* thanks to the finagling of his uncle, Anselm Domènech, the owner of the Verdaguer bookshop in Bar-

celona, as well as other Catalan magazines specialising in painting which reported on the painters of Italy's Novecento, such as Felice Casorati and Ubaldo Oppi. It was a time of taste and intersecting aesthetics which he experienced through the landscapes of his life around Figueres and Cadaqués. *Gitano de Figueres* (*Gypsy from Figueres*), conserved at the Museo Reina Sofia in Madrid, stands as a signpost of this juncture in the artist's career, revealing the influence of Paul Cézanne, Pablo Picasso, Juan Gris and Cubism. Another piece crafted in his workshop on Carrer de Monturiol in Figueres is *Natura morta, sífó i ampolleta de Rhum* (*Still Life, Siphon and Small Bottle of Rum*), in which the influences of the Italian metaphysical painters and the pure nature of Le Corbusier and Amédée Ozenfant are visible. In an article published in the magazine *Alfar* in 1924, his friend Joan Subias described this moment of metamorphosis:

Moment – fauve – and of decorative Cubism. In a feverish output – with primary colours in tempera – and tumultuous compositions with motifs like the circus, fairs, country picnics, he gets greater sensuality of col-

our with greater sensuality of matter. [...] First appearance of the geometric scheme. Simultaneously, nature studies-still lifes *almost aseptic* landscapes with a bare recollection of dreaminess... Change in atmosphere; futuristic attempts begin. Scenes of slums – misery, night-time, vice – which are reminiscent of the decompositions of Marc Chagall. As a reaction from the Futurist extreme, the first attempts at “pure paint” appear [...]. The vision from half-closed eyes has become a “precise” vision from dilated pupils. Colour is back, stripped down; he admires Raphael, Poussin, Ingres and patient drawings – *heroic lessons* – of anything, bereft of lyricism.⁶⁶

However, to define the scope of action of Dalí's art, Subias needed just one word: “Cadaqués”, the place where Dalí was free to develop his painting. There, he forged the technique in the quest for his own language, and he abandoned himself to the struggle to master nature by recreating a parallel universe of his own until it was possible to count the number of waves in its everyday sea, as he staked his distance from Figueres.



FIGURE 3. Salvador Dalí, *Gitano de Figueres* (*Gypsy from Figueres*), 1923. Oil and gouache on cardboard, 104 x 75 cm. Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid. © Salvador Dalí, Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, VEGAP, Barcelona, 2018

Of the works he executed in Figueres, worth highlighting is *L'estació de Figueres* (*The Figueres Station*) from 1924, a canvas painted in Joan Subias' house located on Carrer de Rubaudonadeu, across from the train station.⁶⁷ This painting shows a metaphysical aesthetic made solely of geometric lines, trees bare of leaves and the human presence marked merely by two silhouettes, shadows reminiscent of the shadows in Giorgio de Chirico's works.

One example of the new direction on which the painter embarked is *Retrat de Pep Ventura* (*Portrait of Pep Ventura*) from 1927, a far cry from the 1922 drawing which he made for the cover of the book by Joan Llongueras, *Pep Ventura i les belles tonades de la raça*,⁶⁸ which was never published. At that time, the painter was revving his engines to sign the *Yellow Manifesto*, an attack on all the underpinnings of bourgeois and Noucentista culture. The portrait was published in January 1928 to illustrate the article by Puig Pujades, "Quan va néixer en Pep Ventura".⁶⁹ There Dalí showed a Pep Ventura similar to the images of the "putrefactes" (putrid ones). In fact, this word emerged for the first time among his peers in his birthplace, Figueres, to describe the kind of society they rejected, and it also appeared in his personal diary in 1920. It may well be distilled from the work by Nogués: "Afterwards, before going to draw, we went to the Rambla where we studied some *putrefactes*. We've discovered a few gems. The world is inexhaustible!"⁷⁰ Dalí continued to work on this concept with Federico García Lorca and other classmates from the Student Residence. The *putrefactes* also appeared in the book by Jaume Miravittles *El ritme de la revolució*,⁷¹ published in 1933, and had been reproduced for the first time in 1931 in the magazine *Hora* on the occasion of a rally of the Bloc Obrer i Camperol, to which Miravittles belonged, at the Capcir Gallery of Barcelona.

Therefore, this Dalí was now distant from the city where he had been raised. It is the Dalí who joined the Surrealist, artistic revolution, thoroughly prepared to break with all the norms and develop his own, local universe that was, nonetheless, fed by the light of the Empordà.

The Provincial Fine Arts Exhibition held in the Casino Menestral during the 1928 Fires de la Santa Creu, organised by Josep Puig Pujades, Joan Subias, Sebastià Escapa, Juan Núñez and the architect Pelai Martínez,⁷² was one of the last major events in which Dalí was present in Figueres before he broke off relations with his family. Parallel to the show, a lecture series was held with talks by some of the most important critics from the capital of Catalonia, including Rafael Benet, Feliu Elies and Salvador Dalí himself, who spoke about "super-realism".⁷³ It must have been quite interesting to observe the aesthetic clash between Benet and Elies on the one hand and Dalí on the other, given the latter's radicalisation process since the publication of the *Yellow Manifesto* in March 1928, which he, Lluís Montanyà and Sebastià Gasch signed in Cadaqués. The *Yellow Manifesto* was written after a long public

dispute between Rafael Benet from *La Revista*⁷⁴ and Sebastià Gasch and Salvador Dalí from *L'Amic de les Arts*.⁷⁵

The most important artists from the *comarques* of Girona who were working at the time participated in the Provincial Fine Arts Exhibition held in Figueres. On the one hand were painters who followed the Olot School, from whom Dalí had distanced himself considerably for some time, including Joaquim Vayreda, Marian Vayreda, Josep Berga i Boix, Josep Berga i Boada, Pere Gussinyé, Iu Pascual and Francesc Vayreda. On the other were painters from different places who followed a more Impressionist and Post-Impressionist style: Manuel Pigem from Banyoles; Josep Aguilera, Francesc Gallostra and Pons Martí from Girona; and Josep Maria Mascort, Francesc Vidal Palmada and Lluís Medir from the Baix Empordà. Finally, among the painters from the Alt Empordà with whom Dalí grew up, the "Primitives from the Empordà" participated, namely Marià Llanvenera, Eusebi de Puig and Josep Bonaterra, along with his classmates, Ramon Reig and Marià Baig.

The works that Dalí showed there, *Aparell i mà* (*Apparatus and Hand*), *Arlequí* (*Harlequin*) and *La mel és més dolça que la sang* (*Honey is Sweeter than Blood*), among other "Figures", revealed the abyss between him and his fellow artists at the show. He was at a point of no return, yet he wholly depended on the Empordà. Figueres was still a presence in Dalí's life until the painful break with his family. His father tried to force him to stay away from Cadaqués, never fully achieving it, and Dalí seldom returned to his family home in Figueres again, although he was concerned about the paintings, drawings and manuscripts that remained there, which he tried to get back multiple times.

In February 1929, months before the family tumult broke out, Dalí published "La dada fotogràfica" in the magazine *Gasetta de les Arts*,⁷⁶ in which he publicly expressed his admiration for his friend Joan Subias. The article was based on the images of the Vilabertran cross rendered by Subias, and he reflected on how photography brings much more visual information since it offers an unfiltered reality: "I am pleased to be able to remark on the effort of Joan Subias, who merges the primordial conditions of the spirit (generally so scarce among those who work in archaeological research) with great erudition, which allows him to be a spectator of a work by Max Ernst and a Romanesque sculpture simultaneously. For example, Joan Subias has captured the head of the Christ of Vilabertran, which is equivalent to its wholesale invention; this photograph, the process of painstaking craftsmanship and various attempts, shows us the first real detail of the both non-existent and famous Cross of Vilabertran."⁷⁷ Good proof of the friendship between Dalí and Subias is the wedding gift that the painter gave his friend in 1923, the painting *Cadaqués* (1923), which is currently conserved at the Dalí Museum in Saint Petersburg, Florida. The events that transpired in the summer of 1929 distanced the painter from his circle of friends in

the Figueres of his birth and youth. He met up again with Joan Subias many years later, once Dalí's American years were behind him. It was a coincidental encounter at Barcelona's Palau de la Virreina, yet a very effusive one perhaps because of the memory of the cultural pursuits they had shared in Figueres more than thirty years earlier.⁷⁸

Figueres is also where Salvador Dalí and Luis Buñuel carried on with the project *Un chien andalou*,⁷⁹ as they themselves recounted in an interview with Josep Puig Pujades published in *Empordà Federal* in February 1929.⁸⁰ The film has ended up being remembered as much for the famous scene of the knife cutting the eye as for the two priests, Dalí and Miravittles, being dragged by a man who is also dragging two pumpkins, two rotting donkeys and two grand pianos. The capital of the Alt Empordà was one of the first cities where *Un chien andalou* premiered on the 10th of January 1930⁸¹ in the midst of the father-son feud in the Dalí household. Figueres never ended up understanding this feud, and the painter did not return to settle in his city until 1948, after he had spent long stretches in Europe and the United States. However, some bonds were never broken, such as his relationship Josep Puig Pujades, who could be regarded as one of his spiritual mentors; the two exchanged letters until the death of the republican federal leader, who had been exiled with no return in France upon the entry of the nationals.

The politician and writer Jaume Miravittles was one of the friends from Dalí's youth who best weathered the artist's shift in aesthetics, thinking and concepts. Indeed, this intellectual made this very clear in the open letter that he published in *La Vanguardia* in 1980, which represented the conclusion of the relationship between the two. Miravittles asserts this by saying: "I have known and loved Dalí with sentimental, virile love many more years than you, Gala. [...] We immediately became 'close friends'. I would go to his house every afternoon to help him study maths and science, which were totally impenetrable to him."⁸² Miravittles respected most of the painter's transformations, and they held each other in mutual admiration, which allowed them to continue their friendship almost until the end of the painter's life. They both shared a revolutionary and republican spirit, they were both imprisoned, but historical events eventually broke their dreams. In this letter, Miravittles revealed the proposal he had made to his good friend when he found out he had been appointed Propaganda Commissioner of the Generalitat de Catalunya in 1936: "the creation of a special department that he personally ran from La Pedrera. His mission would be 'the irrational organisation of everyday life'".⁸³ In the study entitled "Dalí i Miravittles, profetes i empordanesos",⁸⁴ Josep Playà clarified many details of the relationship between the two, especially in New York after 1945. The end of the open letter from Miravittles to Gala could be considered a sincere confession of the friendship that existed between the two men, despite the artistic genius's extravagance. The politician from Figueres did not mince words in expressing his an-

noyance at the obstacles that Gala put up to him visiting Dalí: "But I love Dalí and I accept him the way he is, without expecting any benefit. [...] If the memories of childhood and adolescence are negative to him, let a physician tell me so in front of you and in Port Lligat, in that 'cabin' which he and I used for the first time many years before you even met him."⁸⁵

Despite the distance, Figueres was still a strong presence in Dalí's heart throughout his long stay in the United States. For example, every Thursday morning, the market day in Figueres, he ran errands, went shopping and got together with his Catalan friends in order to maintain his life routines. Jaume Miravittles confirmed both friends' recollection of Figueres as an architectural space from the city of skyscrapers, and he recounted how they tried to imagine them along the Rambla of Figueres, comparing it to the size of the streets in the Big Apple: "After comparative studies, we reached the conclusion that it would have to be around 1,000 metres long and around 250 wide. At a minimum, Dalí insisted in all seriousness."⁸⁶

Figueres was the beginning and became the end of Dalí's life, and he owed part of his essence and personality to the city where he was born. He consciously and premeditatedly chose it as the site of his artistic legacy, the Teatre-Museu Dalí, and he only felt properly recognised when the Cercle Sport, his father's social milieu, paid tribute to him as a person and an artist. This was the great yet fragile Dalí. Gala must have taken much of this fragility in her attempt to marginalise the painter's past in Figueres. This would explain the discord between Salvador Dalí and his old peers from Figueres and his sister, Anna Maria, who remained implacable in her blatant opposition to her brother's relationship with Gala, an attitude that did not contribute to the unity of the Dalí family. Nonetheless, Salvador Dalí repeatedly showed his recognition of Figueres in small details, and at the end of his public speeches, he always exclaimed "Visca Figueres" ("Long live Figueres!"). In a letter to the painter, Alexandre Deulofeu discussed the importance of Figueres, the capital of the Alt Empordà, so closely tied to his theory outlined in his book *L'Empordà, bressol de l'art romànic*,⁸⁷ a copy of which he sent Dalí with the following missive: "I'm sending you this book so that you have material support for your brilliant 'VISCA FIGUERES', which has no meaning other than considering our town an exceptional place".⁸⁸ Those were the years when Dalí was resuming his friendship with old acquaintances from his birthplace, including Alexandre Deulofeu himself and Ramon Reig.

The confirmation that Figueres was always present in the painter's universe becomes clear in the decision to locate his Teatre de la Memòria there,⁸⁹ his legacy to the world. In the 1960s, he, Miquel Mateu and Ramon Guardiola⁹⁰ started a series of complex arrangements to make this museum come to fruition. All of this finagling made it possible for construction on the future Teatre-Museu Dalí to be approved in 1970. Dalí wanted recognition at home. In the early 1970s, he and Antoni Pitxot visited

what had been Dalí's second home in Figueres – with views of the Plaça de la Palmera – as well as the Molí de la Torre estate by the lighthouse of the Empordà, seeking the sensations and memories of their childhood. In this way, Dalí continued to travel back to his past. Through this universe of lived experiences and captured sensations, he was able to reinvent himself and fabricate the “false memories” which figure prominently in his entire artistic and literary oeuvre, at the end of which was always his beloved Empordà.

Inherent in the sharp edges of the of Cap de Creus depicted on his canvases is Dalí's thinking, as he sought to understand the concept of divinity within the laws of logic. And over the years the philosopher Francesc Pujols became an essential referent for the painter in this quest, with everything this meant regarding the thinking of Ramon Llull and his great *Ars Magna*, based on the underpinnings of religion in science, as also seen in Dalí's works. The painter from the Empordà met Pujols back in the 1920s at the gatherings at the Ateneu Barcelonès, and they shared a defence and admiration of Gaudí, another of his aesthetic mainstays. Pujols' great work, the *Hiparxiologia* (Science of Existence) became his lodestar: he devoted several paintings to it, such as the oil *Cel Hiparxiològic* (*Hyparxiological Sky*). He also drew the angelic stamp represented by the staircase of understanding for the philosopher's tomb, and published the book *Pujols per Dalí*.

And since his life and history are one wondrous circle, as his good friend Alexandre Deulofeu envisioned them, one year after the Teatre-Museu Dalí opened, in 1975 the painter erected a monument to Pujols with a plaque that read: “To Francesc Pujols, genius of Catalan philosophy”, which is tantamount to a confession of the Catalan thinker's importance in his oeuvre. In 1982, a new plaque was installed with an inscription by Pujols that is reminiscent of the vigour of those men of the Empordà who fought for the principles of the Catalan nation and love of the land, with whom the painter, despite all his contradictions, grew up and who shaped part of his creative oeuvre: “Catalan thinking will always spring up again and survive its illustrious buriers.”

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- [1] Joan MARAGALL. “Del discurs llegit a la Festa de la Bellesa de Maig de 1906, celebrada a Figueres”. *Empordà Federal* [Figueres], no. 39 (23 December 1911), p. 1.
- [2] Idem, p. 2.
- [3] “Crònica General, Homenaje á Pep”. *El Ampurdanés* [Figueres], no. 1355 (10 May 1906), p. 2.
- [4] For more detail, see Enric PUJOL, “Ideologia i cultura a la Figueres republicana, 1900-1936”. In: *Figueres, 1900-1936. Imatge i història de la Catalunya republicana*. Museu de l'Empordà, Figueres 1999, pp. 76-97. Exhibition catalogue of the same name.
- [5] Jaume Miravittles mentions that the candidates who participated in the contest for the monument to Narcís Monturiol included the sculptor from Olot, Josep Clarà. Jaume MIRAVITLLES. *Gent que he conegut*. Destino, Barcelona 1980, p. 17.
- [6] The president of the Mancomunitat de Catalunya, Puig i Cadafalch, the civil governor, Jiménez Soler, and many mayors from around Catalonia attended the unveiling of the monument to Narcís Monturiol on the 2nd of May 1918, as well as an official delegation of seafaring officers from the Companyia Transatlàntica and Casa Trayà, who laid a wreath of flowers at the foot of the monument. Josep Puig Pujades, one of the driving forces behind the tribute to Monturiol and the author of a fascinating biography of the inventor, *Vida d'heroi*, published one month before the monument was unveiled, played a crucial role in bringing it to fruition.
- [7] Anna Maria DALÍ. *Salvador Dalí vist per la seva germana*. Edited by Mariona Seguranyes. Viena, Barcelona 2012, p. 70.
- [8] Ricard GIRALT CASADESÚS. “Lo que deu ésser la Rambla de Figueres”. *La Veu de l'Empordà* [Figueres], no. 643 (3 February 1917), p. 2.
- [9] Ricard GIRALT CASADESÚS. “La Rambla”. *La Veu de l'Empordà* [Figueres] no. 641 (20 January 1917), p. 2.
- [10] Salvador Dalí mentioned Ricard Giralt several times as one of his fellow conversationalists, always watchful of what the youngsters in the city were up to. Salvador DALÍ. *Un diari, 1919-1920. Les meves impressions i records íntims*. Destino and Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí. Barcelona 2003, “Textos autobiogràfics” collection, no. 1, pp. 92, 98, 116-118, 121-122, 125, 127 and 131-132.
- [11] Salvador DALÍ. *Un diari, 1919-1920...*, op. cit., p. 158.
- [12] Anna Maria DALÍ. *Salvador Dalí...*, op. cit., pp. 97-98.
- [13] Salvador DALÍ. *Vida secreta*. Destino and Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, Barcelona 2003, pp. 361-362.
- [14] *Rêverie* was published for the first time in December 1931 in the magazine *Le Surréalisme au Service de la Révolution*, pp. 31-36.
- [15] Eduard PUIG VAYREDA. “Joan Subias, conservador de l'art gironí”. *Revista de Girona*, no. 254 (January 2008), pp. 64-67.
- [16] “La Festa dels Reis”. *Empordà Federal* [Figueres], no. 519 (31 December 1920), p. 3.
- [17] Salvador DALÍ. *Vida secreta*, op. cit., p. 293.
- [18] *La Veu de l'Empordà* [Figueres], no. 558 (19 June 1915), p. 5.
- [19] Jaume MIRAVITLLES. *Gent que he conegut*, op. cit., p. 208.
- [20] Anna Maria DALÍ. *Salvador Dalí...*, op. cit., p. 76.
- [21] Idem, p. 93.
- [22] The Ford dealership belonged to Enriqueta Soler Bofill, the daughter of Joan Maria Bofill, a republican politician at the same time as Pi i Margall.
- [23] Anna Maria DALÍ. *Salvador Dalí...*, op. cit., p. 93.
- [24] For more detail, see Josep PLAYÀ. “Cronologia Ultralocal”. In: *El país de Dalí*. Figueres Town Hall and Consorci Museu de l'Empordà, Figueres 2004, p. 294.

- [25] The incidents that sparked these gatherings are outlined in a diary of Josep Soler Grau himself, the earliest information on whom can be found in the following articles: Josep PLAYÀ and Xavier JIMÉNEZ. "Els documents de Pere Garriga i Camps (I)". *Hora Nova* [Figueres], no. 353 (28 February 1984), p. 8; Josep PLAYÀ and Xavier JIMÉNEZ. "Els documents de Pere Garriga i Camps (II)". *Hora Nova* [Figueres], no. 354 (12 March 1984), p. 6.
- [26] Anna Maria DALÍ. *Salvador Dalí...*, op. cit., p. 134.
- [27] Salvador DALÍ. *Vida secreta*, op. cit., pp. 345-346.
- [28] ONE. "En S. Dalí Domènech". *Alt Empordà* [Figueres], no. 234 (17 December 1921), p. 2.
- [29] This biography of Ramon Muntaner won the Jocs Florals of Girona in November 1921. At that time, Maurici was the secretary of the Jocs Florals of the Empordà. The Girona City Council granted the publishing rights to the Ateneu Empordanès of Barcelona, which spearheaded Publicacions Empordà. In the article "Les relacions del jove Dalí amb els intel·lectuals del seu temps" (*Revista de Girona*, no. 58, July-August 1992, pp. 59-63), Josep Playà noted that on that visit to Dalí, Maurici got the idea of commissioning him to make the cover of the biography of Ramon Muntaner, even before he won the Jocs Florals of Girona, and that Maurici already knew this. What remains a mystery is why the work by Carles Rahola was published without the illustration by Salvador Dalí on the cover.
- [30] Jaume MIRAVITLLES. "Martí Vilanova, el meu germà gran...". *La Rambla de Catalunya* [Barcelona], no. 46 (9 February 1931), p. 13.
- [31] Jaume Miravittles offers his version of events and explains that in the middle of celebrating the Allied victory in World War I, he and Dalí went to the secondary school and burned a Spanish flag. Jaume MIRAVITLLES. *El que jo he vist a Madrid*. Forja, Barcelona 1938. In contrast, in his version of the events, Dalí states that he accidentally came upon the flag. Salvador DALÍ. *Vida secreta*, op. cit., p. 432.
- [32] This group, led by Martí Vilanova, published a magazine by the same name in December 1921.
- [33] Salvador DALÍ. *Vida secreta*, op. cit., p. 461.
- [34] Salvador DALÍ. *Un diari, 1919-1920...*, op. cit., p. 111.
- [35] Salvador DALÍ. *Tardes d'estiu*. Vol. III. Destino and Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, Barcelona 2004.
- [36] Salvador DALÍ. *Un diari, 1919-1920...*, op. cit., p. 111.
- [37] Anna Maria DALÍ. *Noves imatges de Salvador Dalí*. Columna, Barcelona 1988, p. 101.
- [38] Despite the reference to "parish church" in Subias' memoirs, it may well be Segueró church, because in a letter to Salvador Dalí dated the 30th of July 1920, Subias mentioned it: "This stuff about Segueró is already beginning to... etc., I think that if we do it simply as a manifestation of what we have, right now it would be considered literature". *Salvador Dalí, lletres i ninots. Fons Dalí Museu Abelló*. Edited by Joan Maria Minguet Batllori. Museu Abelló, Mollet del Vallès 2001, p. 139. The explicit reference to the Noguer family also leads us to believe that it was Segueró church. This altarpiece by Pere Mates is currently conserved at the Museu d'Art de Girona.
- [39] Joan SUBIAS. *Memòries inèdites. "Museus"*. Institut d'Estudis Catalans. Joan Subias i Galter collection, box 3.2, Originals.
- [40] "J. Montoriol Puig" was most likely Dr Joaquim Montoriol Puig, the nephew of Puig Pujades, brother of the poet Carme Montoriol Puig, who lived in Barcelona and specialised in children's surgery at the poor children's hospital in that city. He married the daughter of Josep Pous i Pagès, Esther Pous Gómez, in Barcelona in 1923.
- [41] Gustavo de Maeztu and Zubiaurre were two of the painters whom Puig Pujades admired and whose works he purchased.
- [42] Josep PUIG PUJADES. "L'impressionisme". *Fulla Artística de l'Alt Empordà* [Figueres], no. XIII (January 1919), p. 2.
- [43] Joan SUBIAS GALTER. "Cartells a Salvador Dalí Domènech". *Alt Empordà* [Figueres], no. 214 (2 May 1921), p. 3.
- [44] Salvador DALÍ. *Vida secreta*, op. cit., p. 362.
- [45] Idem, p. 362.
- [46] Josep PLAYÀ. "Dalí, el futbol i la Unió Esportiva". *Revista de Girona*, no. 117, (1986), p. 80.
- [47] Rafael SANTOS TORROELLA. *El primer Dalí, 1918-1929*. Edited by Maria Teresa Bermejo and Ricard Mas Peinado, Barcelona 2005, p. 110.
- [48] In 1928, Joaquim Serra devoted two articles to the painter in *La Veu de l'Empordà* in which he explained his friend's concept of art and made reference to Dalí's aesthetic sensibility, not as Catalan, Spanish or European but as "human", and he documented his referents: "Picasso, Togoies, Mallo, Villa, Mense, Smith, Kars, etc.". See Joaquim SERRA VILA. "L'art de Salvador Dalí". *La Veu de l'Empordà* [Figueres], no. 1250, (22 September 1928), pp. 5-6.
- [49] Rafael SANTOS TORROELLA. *El primer Dalí...*, op. cit., p. 128.
- [50] "El nostre homenatge". *Empordà Federal* [Figueres], no. 560 (15 October 1921), p. 1.
- [51] See the catalogue of the exhibition that was held in the Museu de l'Empordà in Figueres, curated by Josep Playà, *El país de Dalí*, op. cit.
- [52] Anna Maria DALÍ. *Noves imatges...*, op. cit., p. 35.
- [53] See *Pep Ventura abans del mite. Quan la sardana era un ball de moda*. Consorci del Museu de l'Empordà, Figueres 2010. Catalogue of the exhibition of the same name.
- [54] Pere COROMINAS. *Les gràcies de l'Empordà*. Altés, Barcelona 1919.
- [55] Carles FAGES DE CLIMENT. *Les bruixes de Llers*. Pòrtic de Ventura Gasol. Políglota, Barcelona 1924.
- [56] Roger TINELL. "Joan Subias Galter escriu a Salvador Dalí". *Revista de Catalunya* [Barcelona], no. 249 (April 2009). Unpublished letter found in the archive of the Federico García Lorca Foundation in Madrid.
- [57] Josep PUIG PUJADES. *L'oncle Vicenç*. Políglota, Barcelona 1926.
- [58] Jaume MAURICI. "Salvador Dalí en els meus records". *Revista de Girona*, no. 68 (1974), p. 76.
- [59] Letter from Dalí to Joan Xirau, perhaps written when the painter had just arrived in Madrid, that is, in the summer

- of 1923. It reveals glimpses of a series of positions which will eventually lead him to write the *Yellow Manifesto* in 1927. Salvador Dalí, *lletres...*, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
- [60] Josep PLAYÀ. "Joaquim Bech de Careda". *Hora Nova* [Figueres], no. 350 (7 February 1984), p. 7.
- [61] See *Empordà Federal* [Figueres], no. 629 (10 February 1923), p. 2.
- [62] *Empordà Federal* [Figueres], no. 625 (13 January 1923), p. 3.
- [63] Carles RAHOLA. *En Ramon Muntaner: l'home, la Crònica*. Publicacions Empordà and Ateneu Empordanès, Barcelona 1922.
- [64] Ricard GIRALT CASADESÚS. "Futurisme arquitectònic!". *Fulla Artística de l'Alt Empordà* [Figueres], no. XVII (July 1919), p. 1.
- [65] Jaume Maurici oversaw the weekly *Alt Empordà*, which had an extraordinarily high-quality literary page. "Pàgina literària". *Alt Empordà* [Figueres], no. 145 (17 January 1920), p. 3.
- [66] Joan SUBIAS. "Salvador Dalí". *Alfar* [La Corunya], no. 40 (1924), pp. 390-391.
- [67] His daughter, Pilar Subias Fages, recalls that her father had told them that Dalí had worked with small canvases in the Subias house on Plaça de l'Estació several times as they discussed aesthetic topics. [Interview on 21 September 2012].
- [68] The book was supposed to be published by Publicacions Empordà. The manuscript is currently held in the Joan Llongueras i Badia collection in the Biblioteca de Catalunya, and the drawing by Dalí is part of a private collection in Barcelona.
- [69] Josep PUIG PUJADES. "Quan va nèixer En Pep Ventura". *La Dansa més Bella* [Figueres], no. 2 (February 1928), p. 5.
- [70] Salvador DALÍ. *Un diari, 1919-1920...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-170.
- [71] Jaume MIRAVITLLES. *El ritme de la revolució*. Documents, Barcelona 1933.
- [72] *El Ampurdán* [Figueres], no. 63 (28 April 1928), p. 6.
- [73] Dalí's lecture was announced with the title "Algunes dades per a la comprensió de la pintura més recent" and it discussed super-realism. "L'Exposició Provincial de Belles Arts". *Emporion* [La Bisbal d'Empordà], no. 3 (1 June 1928), p. 69.
- [74] This dispute reached its apex in Rafael BENET. "En el centenari de Goya". *La Revista* [Barcelona], not numbered (July December 1927).
- [75] Benet's response can be read in *L'Amic de les Arts*. Sebastià GASCH. "Comentaris. Al marge d'un article de Rafael Benet"; Salvador DALÍ. "Nous límits de la pintura". *L'Amic de les Arts* [Sitges], 29 February 1928.
- [76] Salvador DALÍ. "La dada fotogràfica". *Gasetta de les Arts* [Barcelona], no. VI (February 1929).
- [77] *Idem*, p. 42.
- [78] At this encounter, Dalí kissed Joan Subias on both cheeks since Subias' second surname was Galter ("galtes" means "cheeks" in Catalan). Rafael SANTOS TORROELLA. "Joan Subias y Salvador Dalí". *Empordà* [Figueres], no. 306 (25 April 1984), p. 45. The encounter is also recalled by the daughter of Joan Subias, Pilar Subias Fages, who stated that they met up again at the Palau de la Virreina in Barcelona.
- [79] The film was initially supposed to be called *Dangereux de se pencher dedans*. Josep PUIG PUJADES. "Un film a Figueres. Una idea de Salvador Dalí i Luis Buñuel". *La Veu de l'Empordà* [Figueres], no. 1269 (2 February 1929), p. 5.
- [80] Josep PUIG PUJADES. "Un film a Figueres...", *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.
- [81] Josep Playà devoted several articles to the film's premiere in Figueres; among others: "L'estrena d'Un chien andalou es va fer a Figueres". *Hora Nova* [Figueres], no. 1271 (3 July 2002); "La discreta acollida d'Un chien andalou a Figueres". *Hora Nova* [Figueres], no. 1273 (13 August 2002).
- [82] Jaume MIRAVITLLES. "Carta abierta a Gala Dalí". *La Vanguardia* [Barcelona], no. 35497 (31 July 1980), p. 6.
- [83] *Ibidem*.
- [84] Josep PLAYÀ. "Dalí i Miravittles, profetes i empordanesos". In: *La revolució del bon gust. Jaume Miravittles i el Comissariat de Propaganda de la Generalitat de Catalunya (1936-1939)*. Viena and Figueres Town Hall, Barcelona 2006, pp. 225-231.
- [85] Jaume MIRAVITLLES. "Carta abierta...", *op. cit.*, p. 6.
- [86] Jaume MIRAVITLLES. *Més gent que he conegut*. Destino, Barcelona 1981, p. 240.
- [87] Alexandre DEULOFEU. *L'Empordà-Rosselló: bressol de l'escultura romànica*. Emporitana, Figueres 1968.
- [88] Letter mentioned in Juli GUTIÉRREZ DEULOFEU. "Amb 'D' de Dalí... i Deulofeu". *Setmanari de l'Alt Empordà* [Figueres], 23 January 1991, p. 33. For more information on the relationship between Alexandre Deulofeu and Salvador Dalí, see Enric PUJOL. "Alexandre Deulofeu i Salvador Dalí: dos genis heterodoxos". *Revista de Girona*, no. 221 (November-December 2003), pp. 32-37.
- [89] By locating the Teatre-Museu Dalí in the city of Figueres, in the same place where he publicly exhibited his work for the first time, Dalí somehow sought to continue the myth of the Figueres that the painter had experienced in his childhood and adolescence. Dalí was convinced that this centre would become an international site of art pilgrimage, as in fact it has. This idea is upheld by Enric Pujol in the research he is carrying out for his study *El mite de Figueres*, which he shared in a lecture in November 2012, as part of the series entitled "Figueres dins la història de Catalunya" organised by Òmnium Cultural Alt Empordà and the Institut d'Estudis Empordanesos.
- [90] Inés Padrosa tells about the interview with Miquel Mateu, Ramon Guardiola and Salvador Dalí in "Miquel Mateu i Salvador Dalí". *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Empordanesos* [Figueres], no. 37 (2004), pp. 203-222. To track the different phases in the Teatre-Museu Dalí, see Ramon GUARDIOLA. *Dalí y su museo: la obra que no quiso Bellas Artes*. Empordanesa, Figueres 1984.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Mariona Seguranyes (Figueres, 1972) is an art historian with a PhD in humanities, a Bachelor's in Art History and a Master's in the specialisation of Management of the Cultural Heritage. She has intensively researched Catalan art from the 19th and 20th centuries. She is the author of numerous books on Catalan painting and has studied painters like Francesc Gimeno and Francesc Vayreda, although she has particularly focused on Dalí's relationship with the Empordà and with his family. Her doctoral thesis, *Malenconia i Salvador Dalí, passat i futur d'un estat d'esperit*, analyses melancholy in Dalí's works.

She is the author of several books which talk about catalan art, such as *Una visió artística de l'Empordanet* (2006), *Josep Pla i els pintors* (2006), *La mirada persistent. Història de la pintura a Figueres (1892-1960)* (2013), *Pintors a la porta d'entrada al cap de Creus* (2015).

She has been the curator of several exhibitions, including *Evarist Vallès* (2000), *El Dalí de Lacroix* (2004), *Francesc Gimeno i els paisatgistes del Montgrí* (2007), *Francesc Vayreda* (2013), which have resulted in several publications. She has been the curator of the book *Atles Paisatgístic de les terres de Girona* (2010) and of the writing of Anna Maria Dalí's book, *Salvador Dalí vist per la seva germana* (2012). Also she has published *Els Dalí de Figueres. La família, l'Empordà i l'art* (2018).