

## ***Risignificazione di un luogo di sepoltura romantico: contesto urbano e cambiamento dei ruoli alla tomba John Moore a La Coruña, Spagna***

### ***Resignification of a Romantic Burial Place: Urban Context and Changing Roles at John Moore's Tomb in Corunna, Spain<sup>1</sup>***

*Il Giardino San Carlos o Jardín de San Carlos (La Coruña, Spagna) è presieduto dal 1809 da l'ultimo luogo di riposo del tenente generale Sir John Moore. In linea con i desideri di Moore, dopo la battaglia combattuta alla periferia di La Coruña contro i francesi del corpo del generale caduti, è stato frettolosamente sepolto nel mura esterne della città, e alcuni mesi più tardi trasferito a un bastione nel centro storico. I primi monumenti e la tomba costruita per rendere omaggio a Moore ha aperto la strada per l'idea di cambiare l'aspetto del enclave militare, ristrutturato nel 1839 come giardino botanico. Da allora, il luogo di sepoltura e i giardini hanno lavorato insieme per aumentare l'atmosfera romantica di questo luogo di malinconia, un raro esempio di un luogo di sepoltura unica trasformata in un giardino pubblico — catalogato come giardino storico nel 1944 — proprio nel cuore di una vecchia cittadina.*

*The San Carlos Garden or Jardín de San Carlos (Corunna, Spain) is presided since 1809 as the last resting place of Lieutenant General Sir John Moore. In keeping with Moore's wishes, after the battle fought on the outskirts of Corunna against the French the body of the fallen general was hastily interred in the city's outer ramparts, and some months later transferred to a bastion in the old town. The first monuments and tomb built to pay homage to Moore paved the way for the idea of changing the appearance of the military enclave, remodelled in 1839 as a botanical garden. Since then, the burial site and the gardens have worked together to heighten the Romantic ambience of this melancholic spot, a rare example of a unique burial site converted into a public garden — listed as historic garden in 1944— just in the heart of an old town.*



**Jesús Ángel Sánchez-García**

Ph.D. in Art History (1995), and University Lecturer (since 1998) in the Art History department, University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain. Research especially focused on nineteenth century architecture, and garden history. In the year 2000 won "Galicia Award for Young Researchers" (Regional Government of Galicia, Spain).

Parole chiave: **Tomba; Eroe, Romanticismo; Giardino; Città vecchia**

Keywords: **Tomb; Hero, Romanticism; Garden; Old town**

The first thing that catches your eye when visiting the best preserved parts of Corunna's fortifications is the prominent bastion that looms over the bay in line with the fortress on the islet of San Antón that once protected the entrance to the port. The high, granite stone walls of the bastion, raised in different periods in history, are today crowned by dense vegetation dotted with sturdy trees. The secret that lies at the heart of this special place is revealed when one ascends the curve of these walls towards the old town. Entering through the main gate, you will discover the tomb of Scottish General John Moore, who has presided over this ancient fortified compound of Corunna's old town for more than two centuries in the shady and secluded San Carlos Garden.

#### The Background to a Military Enclave: From Mediaeval Fortress to Eighteenth-Century Bastion

The place now visited as a Romantic garden was originally a fortress built in the late Middle Ages as the principal defence of the old town or *ciudad alta* of Corunna (Fig. 1). Erected on a natural platform at the end of the town, facing the beach and Parrote harbour, this polygonal fortification boasted a moat and six round towers set in to the outer walls.<sup>2</sup> The weak masonry city walls and fortress were repaired on several occasions between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, in

particular after the attack of the English Armada captained by Sir Francis Drake in 1589. Following the work executed after that attack, the so-called "old fortress" was as a store for gunpowder and munitions. The serious explosion of 3 April 1658 caused the death of more than 200 people and left the fortress in ruins. The walls then disappeared almost entirely, most probably used as a source of stone for other building works. On plans dating from the eighteenth century, such as those of the engineer Francisco Montaigú from 1726 (Fig. 2),<sup>3</sup> just one of the mediaeval towers that reinforced the rocky perimeter near the western side of the rocky outcrop left by the explosion is still visible. As of the first years of the eighteenth century, the new Bourbon dynasty promoted Corunna's position as Atlantic stronghold, undertaking intense work to improve the fortifications to constitute a double defensive belt: a first line of walls protecting the densely populated neighbourhood of fishermen's or *Pescadería*, the so-called *Frente de Tierra*, and a second, more complete circuit that surrounded the old town as the seat of government and military institutions. Even though the site of the ruined fortress served no defensive purposes in comparison with the new system of bastions and ravelins, it was once again enclosed within thick walls as of 1757. The reconstruction was promoted by Captain General Carlos Francisco de Croix

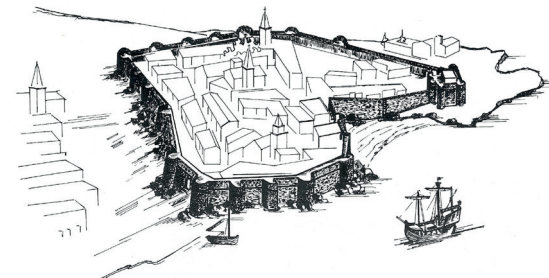


Fig. 1. Old Town of Corunna in the late Middle Ages. The fortress is located to the right side (Juan Antonio Rodríguez-Villasante Prieto, *Historia y tipología arquitectónica de las Defensas de Galicia*, Ediciós do Castro, Sada-A Coruña, 1984, pl. 1)

Fig. 2. Plan of Corunna by F. Montaigú, 1726. Old Town and site of the ruined fortress marked with number 7 (Archivo del Centro Geográfico del Ejército, Madrid)

(Fig. 3), most likely with the aim of improving the poor state of the site, so close to the new palace that was the headquarters of de Croix as Governor and Captain General of Galicia. In fact, the Marquis de Croix had ordered the construction of a stairway leading directly down from the east side of the palace to the small gardens that extended to the foot of the fortress.<sup>4</sup> This project was completed in 1764 thanks to the work of convicts employed to reconstruct the walls and even out the surface of the area within that would later become known as the Don Carlos bastion or plaza.<sup>5</sup>

### Corunna, 1809: Death, Burial and First Homages to a Hero

In the early morning of 16 January 1809, when the last echoes of the battle against the French forces had died away, the lifeless body of General John Moore, Lieutenant General of the British Army during the Peninsular War, was carried to his chosen place of burial. Following a painful retreat from Castile, aiming to set sail with his troops for England, Moore was mortally wounded in the left shoulder by a cannon ball fired during the battle fought on the outskirts of Corunna in the small village of Elviña against the French troops led by Marshal Jean de Dieu Soult.

After many hours of debate, it was decided to respect Moore's wish to be buried where



Fig. 3. View of the bay of Corunna with the old fortress rebuilt as a bastion by Captain General Carlos Francisco de Croix in 1764. Mariano R. Sánchez, 1785 (Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid)

he fell in battle, something he had often repeated to his old friend Colonel Anderson.<sup>6</sup> Although various interpretations have been given of the exact place of this first burial, the most precise accounts suggest it was in the ramparts of the outer fortifications or *Frente de Tierra* that defended the *Pescadería* neighbourhood. Documents referring to the "Citadel" of Corunna agree on the aforementioned location of this fortification with respect to the defences of the old town or *ciudad alta*.<sup>7</sup> The funeral and burial were a hurried affair that took place at around 8 in the morning on the 17th, since those gathered were already exposed to French artillery fire from the nearby high ground, something only made possible by the location of the city's first line of defence. Moore's body, dressed in full general's uniform, was wrapped in a blanket and covered with his military cape, then lowered into a shallow grave. The location of this first grave would be confused by the majority of historians with the definitive resting place to which Moore's remains were taken some months later, the bastion of Don Carlos,<sup>8</sup> probably because the central sector of the "Citadel" was known as the San Carlos bastion or cavalier.<sup>9</sup> Following his entry to the stronghold, Marshal Soult ordered an inscription to be placed on a rock near the place where Moore had been fatally wounded.<sup>10</sup> Although it is thought that Soult intended to build a monument over the

commander's tomb, these supposed plans were never executed due to the Marshal's swift departure from the city. Months later when Spanish troops regained Corunna in June 1809 their commander, the Marquis of La Romana, fulfilled the wish to pay homage to his ally. La Romana ordered for Moore's body to be disinterred and transferred to a "more elegant place" he had already set aside for a monument in his honour.<sup>11</sup> Given the impossibility of burying a Protestant on the city's holy ground, the bastion reconstructed by the Marquis de Croix in 1764 offered acceptable conditions, a vantage point and esplanade free from buildings, where the future space for the commemoration of a hero could be established.

The first monument raised on the orders of the Marquis of La Romana took the form of an obelisk supported on a square base, constructed entirely from wood and resting on three stone platforms. The designer of this monument is unknown, although it may be the work of a local architect from Corunna, Fernando Domínguez Romay, who trained at the San Fernando Royal Academy. Painted in colour to imitate stone in order to improve its appearance and durability, the monument was finished by July 1809, according to a drawing accompanying a letter written by Captain William Parker Carrol when he passed through the city (Fig. 4 a).<sup>12</sup> The slim monument some 5 m high was decorated

with garlands, military trophies and artillery bombs on four sides and completed with four cannons embedded in the corners of the stone steps (Fig. 4 b). Two of the faces of the rectangular base featured inscriptions of the following texts: "A la Gloria del General Inglés Sir John Moore K.B. y sus valientes compatriotas. La España agradecida" and "Memoria del día 16 de enero de 1809".<sup>13</sup> Contemporary eyewitness accounts such as those of General Walker lead to the conclusion that the Marquis of La Romana's intention was for this wooden monument to be replaced with another, more permanent structure in marble or local granite. The idea did not find support among the Spanish authorities and was abandoned due to the Marquis's brief stay in the city and subsequent death in 1811.<sup>14</sup> In any case, the obelisk crowning the first memorial dedicated to Moore is interesting since it shares a format with a select group of funeral memorials erected to commemorate military heroes, including the tomb of John Campbell, Duke of Argyll, in Westminster Abbey (1749), the monument to General James Wolfe in Quebec (1762), whose death was compared to that of Moore as soon as the story was known of his fatal wounding in combat,<sup>15</sup> the tomb of Marshal Maurice de Saxe, the work of Pigalle located in the Church of Saint Thomas of Strasbourg (1777), or the later cenotaphs dedicated to Turenne (also the victim of a cannon

ball) where he died in Salzbach (1829), and the heroes of the *Dos de Mayo* Uprising in Madrid (1821-1840), as well as the monuments in Somerset (1817-1854) and Dublin (1817-1861) dedicated to the Duke of Wellington. Monuments combining obelisks and sarcophagi were already very common from the eighteenth century onwards. In contrast, obelisks were rarely used in tombs and memorials for British officers killed in the Napoleonic Wars.<sup>16</sup> For this reason, the use of the obelisk format on a square base for the tomb of Lieutenant General William Parker Carrol (1842), a monument raised by his son in Kilkeary Churchyard (Tipperary, Ireland) is striking, since it was Carrol that had taken the trouble to draw and report on that first monument to Moore at Corunna.<sup>17</sup>

### Resignification and Formal Changes: Cenotaphs, Cemetery and Gardens

The effects of the damp and rainy climate of the local area swiftly damaged this provisional monument, which by the start of 1811 was in a very poor state (Fig. 5). Given its deteriorated aspect, the British intervened to ensure appropriate respect was paid to the memory of their hero. General Walker gained permission from Captain General Mahy in February of the same year to built a tomb that would provide a more compelling representation of Moore's memory. Designed by Captain William Willermin, construction

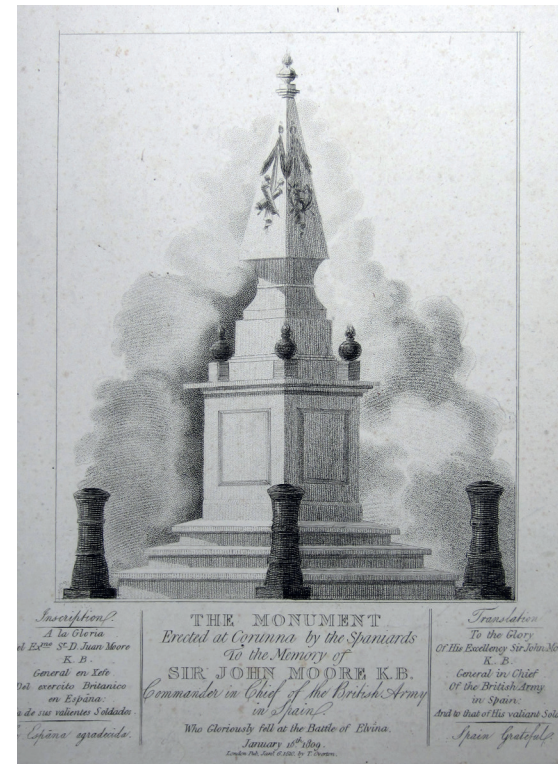
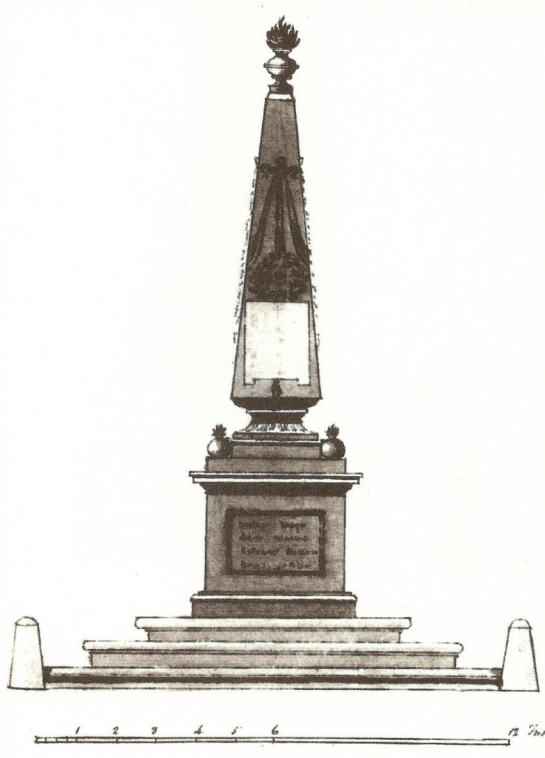


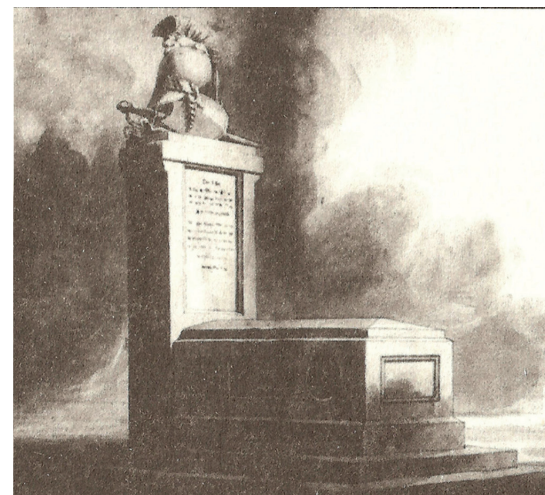
Fig. 4. First monument in memory of John Moore ordered by Marquis de La Romana. a) Drawing by Captain William Parker Carrol, 1809 (Guscini, Moore...) b) Drawing by Thomas Overton, 1810 (Bradford, *Sketches of the Country...*)

work began in September, commissioned to the local stonemason Cipriano Fernández.<sup>18</sup> The cenotaph is rectangular, rendered in granite and measuring 1.8x0.8m, with a four-sided roof and geometric embellishments in the form of alternating circular and rectangular recesses. It is once again raised on three stone platforms, the same that had supported the wooden obelisk. Colonel Charles Stevens was able to see the finished work, an austere, robust tomb, when he visited Corunna in 1812, although the outer fence had not yet been erected and – more importantly – the monument did not yet bear an inscription (Fig. 6 a). The gravestone was to be supervised by James Moore, brother of the dead general, who had commissioned the text to Dr Samuel Parr.<sup>19</sup> It was not possible to fit the lengthy text, with its passage in Latin along with Moore's service record and his last words in battle, on the front panel of the tomb, and the tablet was therefore projected in a stele attached to the headstone with a sculpted ornamental top featuring symbols alluding to the fallen soldier, such as a helmet, shield and sword (Fig. 6 b). This addition, which would have increased not only the size but also the symbolic power of the monument, was never actually executed. The English authorities placed two stone inscriptions on two sides of the cenotaph with a brief Latin text "JOANNES MOORE/ EXERCITUS BRITANNICI DUX/ PROELIO

Fig. 5. Deterioration of the first monument built to John Moore in 1811. Drawing by Captain William Willermin (Wyld, *Maps and Plans...*)



Fig. 6. a) John Moore's tomb built in 1811 (*The Illustrated London News*, 14 January 1843). b) Project for a stele attached to the tomb (Richard Westmacott, ca. 1813).



OCCISUS/A.D. 1809", in the year 1814. Faced with the simplicity of this solid tomb, it is clear that the hero's relatives (and in particular his brother James) were more interested in the memorial approved in 1809 for St. Paul's Cathedral which, in those first years of the nineteenth century, had become a national sanctuary for honouring the fallen heroes of the Napoleonic Wars. The winner of the contest called by the Committee of Taste was the sculptor John Bacon Jr., whose theatrical design depicted the moment of Moore's burial, attended by the allegorical figures of Valour and Victory, who lower the body into a sarcophagus (Fig. 7).<sup>20</sup> It was officially unveiled in 1815. Bacon had rejected the common trend of depicting the living subject in a moment of triumph to render a more realistic scene in keeping with the dramatic burial far from home, evoking compassion rather than glory.<sup>21</sup> Returning to Moore's resting place, following the end of the Napoleonic Wars and during the first decades of the nineteenth century the number of British visitors coming to Corunna began to rise. Of the monuments, poems and songs dedicated to the hero, one of the most compelling factors driving these visitors was the increasingly popular poem written by the Irish Reverend Charles Wolfe, *The Burial of Sir John Moore at Corunna*, published in 1817. Inspired in the story of the battle and the death of Moore as recorded

by Robert Southey, the poem became one of the most highly regarded and well-known poems in nineteenth-century literature.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, this growing cult around Moore was in stark contrast with the rather gloomy aspect of his solitary mausoleum, in the middle of a wasteground, in particular following the new invasion of Corunna by French troops in 1823, this time the military expedition of the *Cien Mil Hijos de San Luis* (Hundred Thousand Sons of Saint Louis army), which put an end to three years of liberal government and re-established Ferdinand VII as absolute monarch. Whether due to the close installation of artillery pieces by the invaders, damage by soldiers and animals, or even the behaviour of visitors in previous years,<sup>23</sup> the decision was made to repair the cenotaph and surround it with a stone parapet some 1.2 m tall, arranged on the outer face of the monument with pilasters that separated the sections with the same simple circle and rectangle motifs. A plan made in 1824 by Colonel Perreau shows the small battery installed by the French looming over the bay and the tomb with the new barrier (Fig. 8 a). The work was ordered by Consul Richard Bartlett, according to the inscription placed on the west-facing inner wall: "THIS BARRIER BUILT AND THE/MONUMENT REPAIRED BY/ORDER OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT/A.D. 1824/RICHARD BARTLETT/CONSUL".<sup>24</sup>



Fig. 7. John Moore's memorial at St Paul's Cathedral, London, 1815 (Graphic Archive J.A. Sánchez-García)

The parapet not only served to protect Moore's tomb: it delimited a distance of respect for this space which was used for some years as a burial ground for any British subjects who died in the city.<sup>25</sup> The fact that Protestants were not admitted to the city's general cemetery, opened in 1812, was the reason why this private funeral ground was tolerated,<sup>26</sup> starting with the burial of the wife and daughter of Richard Bartlett himself, interred at the foot of Moore's tomb in 1830 following their death during childbirth.<sup>27</sup> The resting place of the military hero's remains thus became a private cemetery for British subjects in a situation similar to that of those medieval Christians who sought to be buried near the sanctuary or tomb of an apostle in burial grounds considered to be "ad sanctos".

The grounds surrounding the cenotaph were not afforded the same care by the local authorities. In the 1830s, the Don Carlos plaza or bastion was a wasteground used by children as a playground, as somewhere to hang clothes to dry and, at night, as a meeting point for prostitutes and soldiers from nearby barracks, with no effort made to prevent dirt and rubbish from accumulating there.<sup>28</sup> This situation did not change until the military leader Brigadier Francisco Mazarredo Gómez de la Torre visited the plaza in 1838. From a noble family with a distinguished military and police background, Mazarredo

had participated in the Peninsular War on various missions in England. Having been punished for his liberal political ideas during the reign of Ferdinand VII, when the King's successor – a minor – Isabel II was placed on the throne, he was appointed governor of Corunna. Shortly after his arrival, Mazarredo proposed remodelling Moore's burial place in order to provide local residents with a garden for leisure time and pay homage to the death of a hero defending a city that had lent strong support to liberal views. In fact, these new works may also be related to the events of the year before Mazarredo's arrival, when Corunna had received the mortal remains of another Peninsular War hero, General Francisco Espoz y Mina, in April 1837. The General's embalmed body and heart (in a separate urn) were kept by his widow Juana de la Vega, a native of Corunna, in the salon of her home in Real street until her own death.<sup>29</sup>

The recent end of the civil war against the supporters of Infante Don Carlos doubtless encouraged the newfound hopes of peace that allowed the military grounds of the old defensive bastion to be converted into garden. Moreover, the initiative driven by the liberal Mazarredo could also be interpreted as a prelude to the transformations that would break away from the city of the Old Regime to suit the new leading role and interests of the bourgeoisie now in power. This meant the

conversion of the orchard of the nationalized San Agustín Convent into a market (1839), the opening of the Teatro Principal (1840) and, above all, the demolition of the now useless walls enclosing the *ciudad alta*. The last of these works began in 1840 and paved the way for a new plaza design linking the lower and upper parts of the city.

In all likelihood inspired by funerary monuments but also by the squares and urban gardens he would have seen in London, Mazarredo came up with the idea of changing the appearance of that military enclave with the money contributed by the British Consul and some wealthy residents by means of a private subscription. The sunny, south orientation and views over the bay lent themselves to the planting of a small garden, the first public space with greenery in the old town. The work began in autumn 1838.<sup>30</sup> Documents on the so-called "Paseo Jardín del Campo de San Carlos" or "Jardín de San Carlos" do not reveal whether the first planting done there followed a tree-lined avenue format.<sup>31</sup> But a plan of the city dating from 1842 shows the organization of the garden as having two concentric sections of flowerbeds with straight sides, with paths between them and avenues in a cross shape leading to the central space of the tomb (Fig. 8 b). This initial layout must have been maintained during the improvements made up to 1843 when the paths between the



parterres were paved, taking advantage of the remains of the water cistern from the old fortress to create a well, and creating a shelter for the gardener. The perimeter wall of the ramparts was also reconstructed using stone from the demolished walls enclosing the *ciudad alta*. Six windows were opened to make the most of the panoramic views.<sup>32</sup>

Pairs of cypress trees were planted on the four corners of the space, enclosing the cenotaph. These perennials were able to resist frequent storms in autumn and winter and were also very fitting to the funerary nature of the location. According to Vincenti, these cypresses, along with the myrtles and shrubs, were the first to be planted in the garden. They were combined with herbaceous borders and deciduous trees, as can be appreciated in the drawing featured in his book (Fig. 09). As confirmed by Vincenti, by around 1857 the garden was circular in shape. The first mention about this circular layout can be found in Madoz, and is also reflected in town plans from the end of the 1840s onwards, with four curved parterres crossed by other radial paths leading to the central plaza (Fig. 10).<sup>33</sup> It was then decided that the format of the monument should be changed once more in order to avoid Moore's grave from being hidden by nearby bushes and trees, and retaining it as a central focus of veneration. The cenotaph built by the

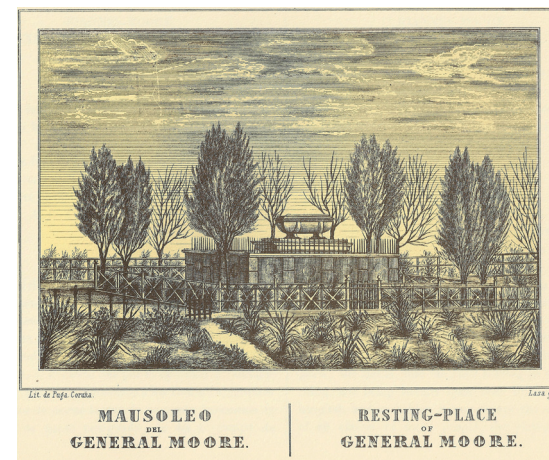
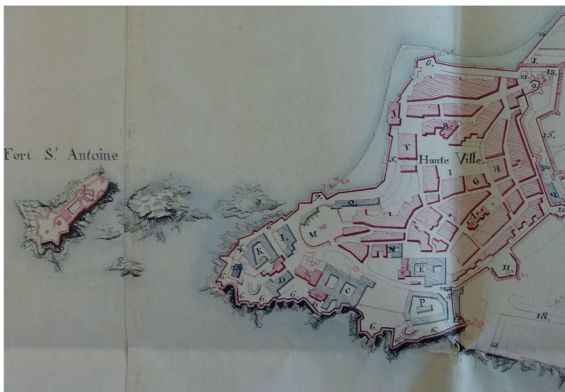


Fig. 8. a) Plan of Corunna by F. Perreau, 1824 [Service historique de la Défense, Château de Vincennes, Paris] b) Plan of Corunna by J.M. Ferrater, 1842 [Archivo del Centro Geográfico del Ejército, Madrid]  
Fig. 9. John Moore's tomb with the stone sarcophagus added in 1839 [Vincenti, *El sepulcro de Moore...*]

English in 1811 was used as the basis for an elegant stone sarcophagus very similar in format to the monument to the heroes of *Dos de Mayo* in Madrid, with curved shorter sides and supported on two pairs of feet, extended on the longer sides, which the local architect José María Noya would have known about, given his training at the San Fernando Academy.<sup>34</sup> On the four corners of the inner steps, four mortars were buried face down which, along with the cannons set into the corners of the outer parapet, worked to reinforce the military symbolism befitting a funerary monument in remembrance of a soldier.<sup>35</sup>

During the 1850s and 1860s, more exotic species were planted, including 120 camellias acquired in 1865. Ordered by the subscribers (who were also allowed to cut and take blooms home in exchange for their contribution), the flowering shrubs led to the garden's definitive reorientation as a botanic garden.<sup>36</sup> While José María Abella was mayor, and with the support of a councillor with a particular interest in gardening, the lawyer Fabián Vicente Vázquez, between 1861 and 1866 the layout was changed once more in order to allow for eight curved parterres (today there are just seven), as can be observed in the 1874 plans of engineers Barón and Yáñez (Fig. 11). As a new emotive attraction for visitors, opposite the window offering the best views of the bay on the

north-south axis of the site, a polygonal pavilion in the neo-Arabic style was erected in 1862. The structure provides shade and shelter for those enjoying the panoramic views, as well as serving to evoke Moore in the form of a bust placed in the entrance arch of the avenue in line with the tomb.<sup>37</sup> In relation to the mix of trees and ornamental plants, which was very in line with Romantic sensibilities, this blend was emphasized with the planting of two lines of robinias or black locust trees, one following the line of the perimeter wall and another in the central space with cenotaph. The concentric distribution of these rings of trees is echoed by the wrought iron fence erected around the cenotaph in 1864 to replace the previous wooden fence.

The garden's renewed image is depicted in a print from 1878 (Fig. 12) showing the cenotaph decorated with vases of flowers on the corners of the parapet, the various sections of the parterres enclosed with wooden fences interspersed with iron spikes, the two concentric rings of black locust trees and other complementary elements such as the pavilion or a fountain.<sup>38</sup> The robinias were substituted with elms in the early years of the 1900s. As the trees grew (in particular the elm trees, but also some exotic palms near the tomb) they contributed to creating the intense, Romantic atmosphere that still pervades this tranquil refuge at the heart

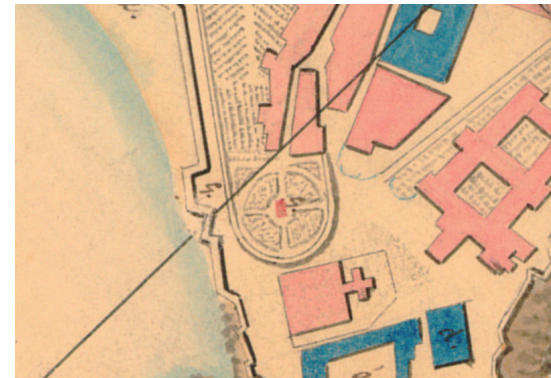


Fig. 10. Plan of Corunna by J.B de Aguirre, 1847 (Archivo del Centro Geográfico del Ejército, Madrid)

Fig. 11. Plan of Corunna by Barón and Yáñez, 1874 (Archivo Histórico Municipal de A Coruña)

of the old town today. In contrast with the clear lines and sparseness evident in the 1878 illustration, over time the San Carlos Garden became a kind of shady, melancholy scene presided over by the powerful image of a tomb that emerges from among the foliage spilling out of the flowerbeds. In the presence of death and immersed in the natural world, the garden is a late but faithful approximation of the model of tombs in picturesque parks expounded by Alexandre Laborde in the châteaux of Morfontaine and Plessis-Chamant (Fig. 13).<sup>39</sup>

With regard to the funerary symbols, the British Consul handed down an order in 1891 to erect a marble tablet dedicated to Moore on the front of the stone parapet, making the hero's name more visible following the installation of the fence, which kept visitors at a distance. Another marble tablet was placed in March 1891 on a wall near the entrance gate, in this case to remember the victims of the shipwreck of the English battleship *Serpent*, which sank in Camariñas in November 1890, adding further memorial significance to the fated British cemetery. Near the end of the nineteenth century, the San Carlos Garden still belonged to the military. The grounds were ceded to the City Council in 1907, although local authorities and the British Consuls were in charge of maintaining and improving the site. The oldest photographs



Fig. 12. San Carlos Garden in 1878 (*La Ilustración de Galicia y Asturias*, 15 September 1878, p. 67)

Fig. 13. Tomb at Morfontaine's Park (Laborde, *Description des nouveaux jardins...*, pl. XVI)

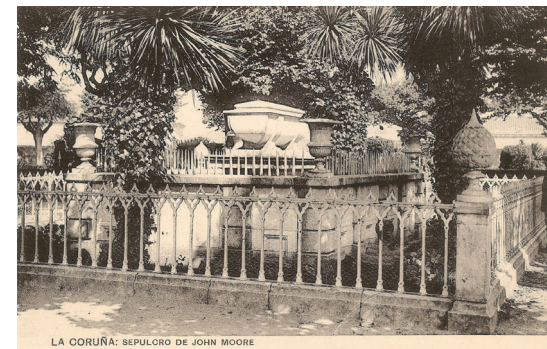


Fig. 14. San Carlos Garden in the final years of the nineteenth century (Graphic Archive J.A. Sánchez-García)

Fig. 15. San Carlos Garden in the early twentieth century (Graphic Archive J.A. Sánchez-García)

of the garden, from the end of the nineteenth century (Fig. 14) show the sharp contrast created when the cenotaph was painted white and the sarcophagus decorated to imitate marble. This technique, first used in 1865 and repeated in 1882 with the aim of highlighting the tomb against the sombre tones of an increasingly thick vegetation, was complemented with garlands of ivy hung between the trees flanking the tomb on the occasion of the centenary of the Battle of Elviña in 1909 (Fig. 15).

The last significant improvements were made in 1927 when a stone plaque inscribed with Wolfe's poem was placed on the wall opposite the garden entrance. Another Romantic poem – *Na tomba do xeneral Sir John Moore* – published in 1880 by the Galician poet Rosalía de Castro, accompanied the inscription, rounding off the set of literary references forming part of the memorial. While the painter Fernando Álvarez de Sotomayor served as Mayor of Corunna, the stretch of wall featuring the poems was remodelled in order to construct a viewpoint over a medieval stone balcony overlooking the bay. This reform work preceded the declaration of the San Carlos Garden as a Historical and Artistic Monument in 1944, along with the walls enclosing the old town, to make it one of the first public parks in Spain to be considered a heritage site.<sup>40</sup>

The mortal remains of John Moore, initially abandoned in foreign lands, “alone with his glory”, as the last lines of Wolfe's poem lament, were eventually sheltered and given a dignified place of rest as the centrepiece of a Romantic *lieu de mémoire* combining the successive tombs and gardens to become one of the most singular burial places in Europe.

1. This study has been carried out as part of the research projects, “La visión del artista. Ciudad y arquitectura en Galicia desde la Edad Media hasta la irrupción de la fotografía” (HAR2011-24968) and “Memoria, textos e imáxenes. La recuperación del patrimonio perdido para la sociedade de Galicia” (HAR2014-53893-R). Main researchers: Alfredo Vigo Trasancos and Jesús Ángel Sánchez-García.

2. The Roman city of *Brigantium* was reborn as *Crunia* following the concession of rights and the recognition of the city as property of the Crown by King Alfonso IX of León in 1208. The extramural location of the fortress proposed by Estrada Gallardo, had been revised by Soraluze Blond, who has argued convincingly that it would not have been built until the second half of the fourteenth century and would have been already integrated into the walled perimeter that extended along the coastline. Félix Estrada Gallardo, “Datos para la confección de un atlas histórico de La Coruña”, in *Revista del Instituto José Cornide*, 1969-1970, 5-6, pp. 37-66; and José Ramón Soraluze Blond, “Las murallas de A Coruña: la historia como elemento de regeneración urbana” in *Abrente*, 2013, 45, pp. 183-215.

3. Featured as item number 7: “Almacén de artillería llamado La Torre” [“artillery warehouse called The Tower”]. Alfredo Vigo Trasancos (Dir.), *Galicia y el siglo XVIII. Planos y dibujos de arquitectura y urbanismo (1701-1800)*, Fundación Barrié, A Coruña, 2012, plan 6.

4. The classicist tastes of the illustrious Marquis de Croix are evidenced by the public works he promoted in Galicia. He also expressed disapproval of the aesthetic weaknesses of the new palace façade, which he had the fortune to inaugurate in the year 1757. Alfredo Vigo Trasancos, “El siglo XVIII y la ‘Ciudad Alta’ coruñesa. Nueva imagen para un centro de poder”, in *Memoria Artis*, Xunta de Galicia, Santiago de Compostela, 2003, pp. 559-574; and *A Coruña y el Siglo de las Luces. La construcción de una Ciudad de Comercio (1700-1800)*, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela/Universidade de A Coruña, Santiago de Compostela, 2007, pp. 114 and 238.

5. The Marquis de Croix's initiative was commemorated in a heraldic carving and inscription bearing his name and the date of dedication flanking the new entrance onto the road leading to the arsenal or *Maestranza de Artillería*. Plans of the city dating from 1769 produced by the master builder Pedro Fontenla show the wasteland designated “Plaza de San Carlos”, which was perhaps used for walks by convalescents at the nearby hospitals of Rey and Buen Suceso.

6. Moore's desire to emulate Achilles and the Greek heroes of the Battle of the Marathon could only be fulfilled by choosing the place closest to the battlefield – which had already been taken by the French – yet within the double ring of city defences. These circumstances are reflected in the accounts of participants in the battle such as Captain Gordon, as well as witnesses to the death of Moore, including Reverend Henry John Symons, as collected by Mark Zbigniew Guscín, *Moore, 1761-1809. Biografía de Sir John Moore*, Librería Arenas, La Coruña, 2000, pp. 145-164.

7. Nevertheless, some eyewitness accounts and plans identify the “Citadel” as the *ciudad alta*, which doubtless contributed to subsequent confusion. Carola Oman makes this very mistake, although she is correct in situating the burial site in a bastion overlooking the battleground next to a grave that had been dug the day before for General Robert Anstruther, killed during the retreat. Carola Oman, *Sir John Moore*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1953, p. 601. Anstruther dying before Moore is another key to interpreting events, as recorded the inscription on the former's memorial tablet in Abercrombie Kirk: “HE WAS BURIED ON THE N.E. BASTION OF THE CITADEL OF CORUNNA, WHERE HIS FRIEND AND COMMANDER, SIR JOHN MOORE, IN COMPLIANCE WITH HIS WISH, LIES BY HIS SIDE”. The text supports the idea that Moore, in his final hours, insisted on being buried in Corunna, not only to remain close to the battlefield but also by the side of an admired compatriot who gone before him on the path to a tragic fate

fulfilled with honour. Janet and David Bromley, *Wellington's Men Remembered*, Praetorian Press, Barnsley, 2012, Vol. 1, p. 16.

8. Vincenti and Tettamancy locate the first burial place of Moore in the bastion of the old town later known as the San Carlos Garden. Another local historian, Rey Escariz, even claims that Moore was buried in fort of San Antón, affirming that Moore's body remained on the islet at the bay's entrance for some time. He is, in all likelihood, misinterpreting Vincenti, who draws a distinction between a first burial opposite the Castle of San Antón, at the foot of the Don Carlos bastion, and the definitive resting place in the old fortress or "Fortaleza Vieja". Juan Pedro Vincenti, *El sepulcro de Moore, Coruña, 1857*, pp. 34-37; Antonio Rey Escariz, *Historia y descripción de la ciudad de La Coruña*, Coruña, 1886 (Ed. Santiago Daviña Sáinz, Ayuntamiento de La Coruña, 1996, p. 205); Francisco Tettamancy y Gastón, *Britanos y Galos (páginas de la Guerra de la Independencia, 1808-1809)*, Imp. y Fot. de Ferrer, La Coruña, 1910, pp. 137-147.

9. Richard Ford refers to the existence of two different graves in his clarifying text: "Moore was interred by a party of the 9th on the ramparts, in his martial cloak; the body was afterwards removed by the Marquis Romana...". Richard Ford, *Handbook for Travellers in Spain, and Readers at Home*. Vol. II. John Murray, London, 1845, p. 596.

10. The inscription in Latin has been lost, but its text appears in Soult's memoirs: "HIC CECIDIT JOHANNES MOORE, DUX EXERCITUS IN PUGNA JANUARI XVI, 1809 CONTRA GALLOS A DUCE DALMATIAE DUCTOS". Jean de Dieu Soult, *Mémoires du Maréchal Soult: Espagne et Portugal*, Hachette, Paris, 1955, pp. 53-55.

11. Guscín, *Moore...*, pp. 169-170. It was by no means dignified for Moore to remain interred in the first line of fortifications, most likely adjacent to the only tree-lined avenue that ran along the interior wall of the *Frente de Tierra*.

12. In a letter dated 25 July 1809, Carrol described this first monument as "very elegant and appropriate to perpetuating the memory and heroic actions of General Sir John Moore". Guscín, *Moore...*, p. 169.

13. Another drawing of this first monument is found in the diaries of Sir Graham Moore (Cambridgeshire University Library), as well as the engravings by Thomas Overton included in William Bradford's book, *Sketches of the Country, Character, and Costume in Portugal and Spain...*, Printed for John Booth, London, 1809-1810; and *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce...* Vol. III, February 1810, plate 1.

14. A letter sent by General Walker from Corunna to Colonel

Bunbury dated 20 February 1811 provides a source of more precise information on the initial burial and monuments to Moore. Walker confirms that no sooner had the Marquis of La Romana entered the city, he ordered for Moore's body to be disinterred – which was seen to be dressed and wrapped as when buried – to place the body in a coffin and transported to its new resting place in the Don Carlos bastion, as documented by Guscín in *Moore...*, p. 173.

15. According to the report drafted by Lieutenant General John Hope, printed in the "London Gazette Extraordinary" in The Times, 23 January 1809, p. 3.

16. Some noteworthy obelisks are those dedicated to Captain Francis Ralph Thomas Holbourne (1814), over his tomb in the Third Guards Cemetery, Bayonne (France), or to Colonel John Cameron (1815), in Kilmallie Churchyard, Corpach (Scotland), both of which are mentioned in the exhaustive work of the Bromleys, *Wellington's Men...*, Vol. 1, pp. 458 and 136.

17. Bromley, *Wellington's Men...*, Vol. 1, pp. 156-157.

18. Another letter from General Walker dated 20 August provided this information, although unfortunately the accompanying drawing of the monument has been lost. Guscín, *Moore...*, pp. 174 and 185. Willermin travelled to Corunna from February to March 1811 in order to work on a plan of the Battle of Elviña, which was eventually published in James Wylde's atlas entitled *Maps and Plans showing the Principal Movements, Battles and Sieges in which the British Army was engaged during the War from 1808 to 1814 in the Spanish Peninsula and the South of France*, London, 1840.

19. According to a letter written by James and reprinted by Guscín, the text was commissioned to Parr, a close family friend, in May 1813. Guscín, *Moore...*, pp. 181-186. James also represented the family when confirming that his brother's remains would be interred in A Coruña instead of being repatriated.

20. As Irwin states, Bacon must have known the account of Moore's burial written by the poet and historian Robert Southey for the *Edinburgh Annual Register*, as reflected by the fact that he described Moore's body being lowered "dressed as it was", just as John Bacon depicted it in the central section of his memorial. Robert Southey, "History of Europe" in *Edinburgh Annual Register, for 1808*, Ballantyne, Edinburgh, 1810, Vol. 1, First Part, pp. 442-459; David Irwin, "Sentiment and Antiquity: European Tombs, 1750-1830" in Joachim Whaley (Ed.), *Mirrors of Mortality. Studies in the Social History of Death*, Routledge, Abingdon, 2011, pp. 131-153.

21. The monument, situated in the south transept of St Paul's, elicited the praise of Antonio Canova when he visited London in November 1816. Irwin, "Sentiment and Antiquity..."; Ingrid Roscoe,

Emma Hardy and M.G. Sullivan, "John Bacon II" in *A Biographical Dictionary of Sculptors in Britain, 1660-1851*, 2010. Available online at: [http://217.204.55.158/HENRYMOORE/SCULPTOR/browse record.php?action=browse&recid=94&from\\_list=true&x=2](http://217.204.55.158/HENRYMOORE/SCULPTOR/browse record.php?action=browse&recid=94&from_list=true&x=2) [Accessed on: 08/09/2015].

22. Catherine Robson, "Memorization and Memorialization: The Burial of Sir John Moore after Corunna", in Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net, February 2009, 53. doi: 10.7202/029901ar; and Jesús Ángel Sánchez-García, "The Cult of the Romantic Hero: Literature and Memorials", in Culture, 2015, 10, pp. 21-34.

23. The military engineer José María Segovia, who lived in A Coruña between 1822 and 1823, described the square still named "Plaza de San Carlos" as follows: "It is not a diminutive square surrounded by buildings but a spacious esplanade enclosed by the parapet over the bay and ogee coping, while the embankment is shored up by thick stone wall to avoid unevenness". Javier López Vallo, "El diario nº 2 de José María Segovia: La Coruña vista por un ilustrado tardío durante el Trienio Liberal", in Nalgures, 2004, 1, p. 227.

24. This was also mentioned by Alfredo Vigo Trasancos, *La arquitectura de la Ilustración. Clasicismo y neoclasicismo (1700-1834)*, Vía Láctea, La Coruña, 1995, pp. 82-84. It stands as evidence of the concern with preserving the tomb that the Mayor of A Coruña issued an edict on 24 August 1824 establishing a fine of 20 ducats for any person who desecrated or defiled the monument. This was inscribed on another stone tablet situated on the eastern side of the interior of the parapet.

25. It would be most interesting to find out whether the remains of Brigadier General Robert Anstruther who, according to Carola Oman, was buried the day before the battle in a grave alongside the space dug for Moore's first grave (see Note 7), were also taken to the Don Carlos bastion as per La Romana's orders. Documental evidence seems to confirm that the first monument was placed not only over Moore's remains but also those of his comrades, Anstruther and Lieutenant Colonel John McKenzie (the latter killed in a skirmish before the battle on 15 January), meaning that a small cemetery of British officers had already been established in 1809. The exhaustive compilation of Peninsular War memorabilia put together by the Bromleys transcribes the inscriptions that could prove that Anstruther and McKenzie were buried alongside Moore: Bromley, *Wellington's Men...*, Vol. 1, pp. 15-16; and Vol. 2, p. 23.

26. It was not until 1830 when the British Consul in A Coruña, following the example set by the Consul of Málaga, petitioned King Ferdinand VII for a designated piece of land where British natives might be buried. This was authorized by a Royal Decree of 13

November 1831, which also granted the same right to all places with British consuls and residents. Situated to one side of the general cemetery, the precinct was first used in this way for the burial on 31 July 1836 of an officer on the frigate *Endymion*. A.H.M.C. Obras municipales. "Exp. Sobre señalamiento de terreno para cementerio de súbditos ingleses. Año 1836".

27. It is clear that in order to fit the gravestone of Anne Bartlett into the limited space it was necessary to cut away a small section of the second stone step at the foot of Moore's cenotaph. As in the case of the aforementioned inscriptions, this text was cited by Antonio de la Iglesia González, "Inscripciones del Jardín de San Carlos" in *Estudios arqueológicos* [Ed. María Rosa Saurín de la Iglesia, CSIC, Madrid, 2008, pp. 725-727].

28. The dilapidated aspect noted by Vincenti was confirmed in Richard Ford's criticisms: "the granite monument raised by the British was soon neglected by the Cornunese, and long remained a temple dedicated to Cloacina Gallega". Ford, *A Handbook...*, p. 597. Meanwhile, George Borrow, passing through the city in 1837, highlighted the views offered by the site, along with the use of this "small battery" and its sparse trees as a recreational area. Borrow describes Moore's tomb as being made of "marble" – perhaps due to its painted surfaces – while praising its sublime epitaphs, erroneously attributed to the "chivalrous French", as well as the four cannons on the corners of the parapet. George Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*, John Murray, London, 1843, Vol. II, Chapter XXVI, p. 170.

29. The importance of A Coruña as a political haven for liberals in Spain in the nineteenth century is also evident in that it provided a resting place for the remains of General Juan Díaz Porlier, a liberal who claimed to be La Romana's nephew executed in 1815 for proclaiming the Cádiz Constitution. A funeral urn was installed in his place of burial, the small Chapel of San Roque, on the occasion of the triumph of the liberal uprising in 1820. The urn rests on four spheres and is topped with a pyramid, all in white painted wood and with a layout very similar to the first cenotaph in Moore's memory. Manuel Murguía, Galicia, Establecimiento tipográfico-editorial de Daniel Cortezo y Cía, Barcelona, 1888, Chapter III [Reed. Xerais, Vigo, 1982, p. 279, n. 2].

30. Jorge García Barros, *Medio siglo de vida coruñesa, 1834-1886 [del Miriñaque al Tren Veloz]*, La Coruña, 1970, p. 149. Just like his predecessor, the Marquis de Croix, Mazarredo ordered a tablet to be installed recording his initiative, dated 1839. It was set into a side wall to the left of the main entrance where the gardener's shelter was erected.

31. Ford said that an avenue of trees was planted in the "Campo de San Carlos", alluding to the space as one for strolling and leisure: "Gen. Mazarredo, who had lived much in England, raised a subscription among the English, cleansed the tomb, and planted some two acres for a public Alameda, having had the greatest difficulty to induce the *jefe-político* to give his consent; the walk is a fashionable lounge". Ford, *A Handbook...*, p. 597.

32. Under the direction of local architect José María Noya, these works were documented by Santiago de la Puente Vaquero in the degree thesis *Historia de los jardines públicos de A Coruña*, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2001, pp. 91-93. The first director of the new garden was the Englishman Joseph Elstner, followed by José Kulman in 1849. Local historian Enrique de Vedia confirmed the success of the small garden and its maintenance by means of private subscription and the funds contributed by the governors of the plaza, who continued with Mazarredo's project following his departure in 1844. Enrique de Vedia y Goossens, *Historia y descripción de la ciudad de la Coruña*, Coruña, 1845, pp. 293-295.

33. Vincenti, *El sepulcro de Moore...*, pp. 40-41; Pascual Madoz, *Diccionario Geográfico-Estadístico-Histórico de España y sus posesiones de Ultramar*, Madrid, 1847, t. VII, p. 105.

34. The format of a sarcophagus standing on a rectangular base, which was in fashion in the 1830s and 1840s, is repeated in the austere chest tombs erected in honour of British military figures such as Lieutenant General Sir John Keane (1844) at St Michael's Churchyard in Sopley, Hampshire, or Colonel James Hughes (1845), present at the Battle of Corunna, in the English Cemetery of Florence. Both of these examples appear in Bromley, *Wellington's Men...*, Vol. 1, pp. 507 and 472.

35. A contemporary comment published in *The Times* says a great deal about feelings on the death of Moore at the time, cited as an event well known by all readers and even over-mythified: "His glorious death and picturesque burial have shed such a halo round Sir John Moore's memory, that it may startle and almost displease our readers to hear him spoken of in other terms than those of excessive eulogy". "The Nelson Despatches and Letters", in *The Times*, 22 January 1845, p. 7.

36. Puente Vaquero, *Historia de los jardines...*, p. 103. For an account of the floral varieties grown in the garden – which include spindle, cheesewood, saxifrage, fuchsia, lantana, spirea, oleander, azalea, calla lily, acanthus, September bush, and more – see Carlos Rodríguez Dacal, *Alamedas, jardines y parques de Galicia*, Xunta de Galicia, Santiago de Compostela, 2001, pp. 69-77.

37. The work, designed by José María Noya and completed in October 1862, was one of the first examples of nineteenth-century revivals in Galicia. Xosé Fernández Fernández, "Una arquitectura desaparecida: kioscos de refrescos y tinglados de feria de los jardines de Méndez Núñez de La Coruña", in *Boletín Académico E.T.S.A. de La Coruña*, 1989, 10, pp. 40-57.

38. The engraving did not show the greenhouse attached to the gardener's building or the bower and wooden benches situated near the garden entrances leading to the old quarter, a shady spot that was doubtless very popular before the trees became as large as they are today.

39. Alexandre de Laborde, *Description des nouveaux jardins de la France et de ses anciens châteaux...*, Imp. de Delance, Paris, 1808, pp. 74-75, pl. XVI, and pp. 133-134, pl. LXVIII. See also James Stevens Curl, *A Celebration of Death*, Constable, London, 1980, pp. 180-181; and Luigi Latini, *Cimiteri e Giardini. Città e paesaggi funerari d'occidente*, Alinea, Firenze, 1994, pp. 37-58 for a discussion of the introduction of references to death in the form of sarcophagi or memorials within landscapes and gardens during the eighteenth century and their spread into public cemeteries.

40. The declaration, which referred to the walls surrounding the Parrote area with its gates and old ramparts converted into garden, was promoted by the Provincial Monuments Committee and was approved on November 1944. Francisco Álvarez Ossorio, "Murallas y jardín de San Carlos de la ciudad de La Coruña", in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 1944, 115, pp. 15-20.