

## Sir William Stirling Maxwell: Scholar of Spanish Art

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### RESUMEN

*Este artículo tiene el propósito de aumentar la escasa información ya publicada sobre Sir William Stirling Maxwell (1808-1878), y de considerar si son justas las opiniones que sobre él se han expresado. Estudia las traducciones de sus obras al castellano incluso el proyecto para una versión española de los Annals of the Artists of Spain. Se enfoca en algunos aspectos de sus primeras visitas a España, especialmente su romanticismo al principio y su pronto rechazo del mito orientalista de España que promulgaban muchos escritores británicos, como Richard Ford. No obstante, Stirling y Ford terminaron por ser gran amigos durante las últimas etapas de la preparación de los Annals. A partir de 1847, Stirling podía libremente satisfacer su afición al coleccionismo de arte y libros. Su interés, como historiador del arte, en el mecenazgo real y la posición social del artista en España se hacían eco en muchos de los cuadros que coleccionó. Se examina*

### ABSTRACT

*The aims of this article are to add to the little information already published on Sir William Stirling Maxwell (1808-1878) and to examine whether common views of him are fair. It discusses Spanish translations of his works, including the project for a Spanish edition of the Annals of the Artists of Spain. Some aspects of Stirling's early visits to Spain are highlighted, particularly his initial romanticism and early rejection of the Orientalist view of Spain popular in Britain amongst writers such as Richard Ford. Stirling's friendship with Ford, however, developed during the final stages of preparing the Annals. After his father's death in 1847, Stirling could indulge his love of books and art. Many of the paintings he collected reflected his art historical interests in royal patronage and the status of artists in Spain. His collecting of Goya, and his contacts with Valentín Carderera are discussed, as is his acquisition of works such as Martínez*

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*su coleccionismo de Goya y su trato con Valentín Carderera, así como su adquisición de obras tales como el Retrato de Felipe IV, por Martínez de Gradilla que subrayan su interés por el valor histórico, y no siempre artístico de las obras de arte. Con todo, su coleccionismo de Goya demuestra que era también un conocedor con gustos e ideas modernas.*

*de Gradilla's Portrait of Philip IV which epitomise his interest in the historical, rather than necessarily the artistic value of works of art. His collecting of Goya nevertheless shows that he was also a connoisseur with modern tastes and ideas.*

## AIMS

This article sets out to fill in some of the many gaps in the published information available on William Stirling, later Sir William Stirling Maxwell (fig. 1), and to examine whether some of the common views of him as an



Fig. 1 Sir William Stirling Maxwell, photograph, c. 1865.

art historian and collector of Spanish art do him justice. Karl Justi, in his great monograph on Velázquez, published in 1888, was critical of Stirling overall and considered him «*more of a historian ... than a connoisseur*»<sup>1</sup>. Recently, Hugh Brigstocke has likewise suggested that: «*su enfoque era más el de un antecuario*»<sup>2</sup>.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY AND TRANSLATIONS OF STIRLING'S WORKS

The bibliography on Stirling is slight. Only a few articles on him exist and he has received relatively brief coverage in longer studies on the reception of Spanish art in Britain<sup>3</sup>. In the 1850s, two of his books were translated into Spanish. *The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth* appeared in instalments, as did *Velázquez and his Works*, translated by Joaquín Maldonado y Macanaz, and serialised in the *Gaceta de Madrid* in 1856. The new bilingual edition of *Velázquez and his Works* reproduces Maldonado's 1856 translation and is the first edition of any of Stirling's books since 1891<sup>4</sup>.

Stirling does not appear to have been consulted about the translations of the *Cloister Life* and *Velázquez and his Works*. Maldonado, however, in his first letter to Stirling, informed him of both translations:

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<sup>1</sup> JUSTI, K., *Velázquez und sein Jahrhundert, Bonn 1888; quoted from the English edition, Velázquez and His Times*, tr. A.H. Keane, London 1889, pág. 10.

<sup>2</sup> BRIGSTOCKE, H., «El descubrimiento del arte español en Gran Bretaña», *En torno a Velázquez. Pintura española del Siglo de Oro*, Oviedo 1999, pág. 11.

<sup>3</sup> The main bibliography on Stirling includes the following: HARRIS, E., «Sir William Stirling-Maxwell and the History of Spanish Art», *Apollo*, vol. LXXIX, no. 23, Jan. 1964, págs. 72-7; GLENDINNING, N., «Goya and England in the Nineteenth Century», *Burlington Magazine*, vol. CVI, no. 730, Jan. 1964, págs. 4-14; HARRIS, E., «Velázquez and Murillo in Nineteenth-Century Britain: an Approach through Prints», *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 50, 1987, págs. 148-159; MACARTNEY, H., «A Portrait of Sir William Stirling Maxwell (1818-1878): 1. His Writings on Spanish Art and History» & «2. His Collection», *Anglo-Spanish Society Quarterly Review*, no. 141, Autumn 1987, págs. 12-15; & no. 142, New Year 1988, págs. 23-27; HARRIS, E., «El Greco's 'Fortuna Crítica' in Britain», in *El Greco of Crete: Proceedings of the International Symposium ... Iraklion, Crete, ... 1990*, ed. Nicos Hadjinicolaou, Iraklion 1995, págs. 481-497; GARCÍA FELGUERA, M. S., *Viajeros, eruditos y artistas. Los europeos ante la pintura española del Siglo de Oro*, Madrid, 1991 págs. 124-32; BRIGSTOCKE, H., *Op. cit.*, págs. 5-25.

<sup>4</sup> STIRLING, W., *Velázquez and his Works*, English text and Spanish translation with a prologue by Enriqueta Harris, Madrid, 1999. See also the partial translation of STIRLING, W., «The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth», *Fraser's Magazine*, Part I: vol. 43, no. 256, April 1851, págs. 367-80; Part II: no. 257, May 1851, págs. 528-545, in HERRERA DE COLLANTES, I., *Evocación asturiana de Carlos V y relato romántico de su vida en Yuste*, Madrid, 1958. The *Works of Sir William Stirling Maxwell*, Bt., 6 vols., London, 1891, contained a revised edition in 4 vols. of his *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, 3 vols., London, 1848; a reprint, vol. V, of *The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth*, London, 1852; and *Miscellaneous Essays and Addresses*, vol. VI. All references in this article are to the 1891 edition.

*La obra de V. titulada «Vida de Carlos V. en el claustro» única de las varias q.º ha dado a luz que ha sido traducida en España, le ha dado a conocer aquí como uno de los más distinguidos literatos extranjeros que se dedican al estudio de nuestra historia, de nuestras arte y literatura. La persona que tiene el honor de dirigirse a V. tradujo y publicó ha poco tiempo en la Gaceta de Madrid la Vida y obras de Velázquez q.º fue recibida con singular aprobación de todos cuantos algo entienden en materias literarias* <sup>5</sup>.

Maldonado now proposed a more ambitious project, a translation of Stirling's major work on Spanish art, the *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, 3 vols., London, 1848.

Maldonado knew that it would be very costly to have new plates made to illustrate the Spanish version but that «*dar la obra sin láminas será privarla de una de sus mejores circunstancias*». He therefore asked Stirling to send him the plates, «*a condición de reintegro según se vayan publicando los tomos*». He suggested that these were all that was now lacking for a high-quality edition worthy of the original one and claimed that he had already «*logrado dar con un impresor excelente q.º está decidido a darla a la imprenta con todo el lujo tipográfico q.º es posible en esta capital*». He also realised that Stirling would probably consider the book to be out of date and asked him «*si conceptúa útil aumentar algunas notas*» or «*cualquier mejora*» which would give «*nuevo brillo*» to the Spanish edition.

Stirling was at first unenthusiastic about Maldonado's plan. He replied:

*Of course it would be very gratifying to a foreigner, who is also a lover of the «Cosas de España» to have his work take its place in the literature of Spain. But my Annals were written a long time ago and every year has made me more sensible of their many defects of omission. Some of these I have endeavoured to supply in my separate life of «Velázquez» and I hope ere long to supply a few more in a separate life of Murillo. The entire «Annals» however it is not likely I shall ever reprint* <sup>6</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Letter from Joaquín Maldonado y Macanaz to William Stirling, now on deposit with Stirling's other papers at Glasgow City Archives, Stirling of Keir Papers, T-SK 29/64/6A (the papers are hereafter referred to by their catalogue number and the prefix T-SK). The letter is undated but must have been written at the end of 1856 or beginning of 1857. It was received by Stirling before 17 January 1857.

<sup>6</sup> T-SK 29/64/6D contains a copy of Stirling's letter to Maldonado, 24 Jan. 1857. Despite his remarks to Maldonado, Stirling did appear to have been planning another edition of the *Annals* before his death. His corrections were incorporated into the 1891 edition, along with those of the editor, Robert Guy. The life of Murillo never appeared, though there is a folder relating to it amongst his papers and some of the material was used in *An Essay towards a Catalogue of Prints Engraved from the Works of ... Velázquez and Murillo*, London, 1873.

The main reason he gave against a new edition in English was the cost. The original edition, he told Maldonado, had hardly «*paid its own expenses*». Similarly, the high cost of the edition «*de lujo*» that Maldonado was planning was perhaps a major factor in its eventual failure. Stirling at first suggested that Maldonado publish instead a new combined edition of Ceán Bermúdez's *Diccionario* with the *Noticias de los arquitectos y arquitectura en España* edited by the same author. He nevertheless agreed to help Maldonado if he was determined to go through with the translation of the *Annals*.

Maldonado replied in English on 17 February 1857: «*I persist in my old plan of translating your 'Annals', a work which is much more concrete, more methodical & above all infinitely much more philosophical & picturesque than the others*». <sup>7</sup> Stirling had asked for assurances that his plates would not be lost or damaged. Maldonado's new plan was for Stirling to have the illustrations printed in Britain at the former's expense. Stirling offered Maldonado only six of the 13 illustrations, all portraits of artists, and gave a price of ten shillings per hundred <sup>8</sup>. He ordered a total of 400 copies of each illustration <sup>9</sup>.

Maldonado sent payments for the prints in April and May 1857 and seemed anxious to press ahead with publishing as soon as possible. In February he had projected rather optimistically that the «*two first volumes will be translated by the end of next month*» <sup>10</sup>. On 5 April, he suggested he only awaited the arrival of the illustrations:

*La traducción va muy adelantada, y aun cuando la estación del verano no es la más apropiada para dar principio a esta clase de publicaciones, todavía podríamos acometerla en el mes próximo, si a tiempo llegasen las láminas* <sup>11</sup>.

He also appears to have begun publicising the work and was confident of its reception:

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<sup>7</sup> T-SK 29/6/67, Maldonado to Stirling.

<sup>8</sup> The more expensive copies of the *Annals* had 35 illustrations. At the top of Maldonado's second letter, T-SK 29/64/7, Stirling listed the portrait illustrations he sent: «D. Theotocopuli, P. de Céspedes, V. Carducho, Velázquez, A. Cano, Murillo». Some of them, for example the Cano, were supposed portraits of artists with little or no evidence of the identity of the sitters.

<sup>9</sup> A note by Stirling on Maldonado's second letter, T-SK 29/64/7 said he had ordered only 200 of each. He then ordered another 200 which were sent in May 1857, according to a note by Stirling on Maldonado's last letter of 8 Jan. 1859, T-SK 29/64/12.

<sup>10</sup> T-SK 29/64/7.

<sup>11</sup> T-SK 29/64/8 Maldonado to Stirling, 5 April 1857.

*El anuncio de la publicación de los «Anales» ha sido perfectamente acogido entre la gente literata; y ... me persuade de que la obra será popular dentro de muy poco tiempo de haber visto la luz.*

The prints had finally arrived when Maldonado wrote on 10 May<sup>12</sup>. The translation, he said, was finished and he was now checking the footnotes. Publication he now expected «*a principios de noviembre*» but he wanted one or two more prints. On 29 January 1858, he persisted with his request for more prints<sup>13</sup>. Publication was now expected to commence «*en principios de febrero*». Stirling did not send the other prints till March 1858. He heard no more from Maldonado until 8 January 1859, when the latter explained the further delay as due to «*una larga enfermedad del editor*»<sup>14</sup>.

After Stirling's reply of 14 March, 1859, the correspondence appears to have ended and the whole project, which seems to have been all but ready for publication came to a permanent halt<sup>15</sup>. Maldonado's concern to match the quality of the original edition was understandable but if he had gone ahead when he received the six portraits, this important project might actually have come to fruition<sup>16</sup>. It is just possible that his translation of the *Annals* survives somewhere<sup>17</sup>.

#### EARLY VISITS TO SPAIN AND REJECTION OF ORIENTALIST VIEW

Stirling's first brief visits to Spain took place in 1841 and 1842 on his way to and from Egypt and the Middle East. The first was in November of 1841, when he visited Cadiz and Seville. It lasted only seven days, just one of which was spent exploring Seville<sup>18</sup>. Stirling's ideas about Spain

<sup>12</sup> T-SK 29/64/10 Maldonado to Stirling, 10 May, 1857.

<sup>13</sup> T-SK 29/64/11 Maldonado to Stirling, 25 Jan. 1858. Stirling's letter of 20 Nov. 1857 had been delayed. Similarly, Maldonado's previous letter, T-SK 29/64/10, had been delayed.

<sup>14</sup> T-SK 29/64/12, Maldonado to Stirling, 8 Jan. 1859. Valentín Carderera told Stirling (T-SK 29/59/14 Madrid, 23 Jan. 1858) that the publisher was Martínez, who also published Carderera's *Iconografía española*, Madrid, 1855 and 1864. Carderera claimed to have seen parts of the translation.

<sup>15</sup> A note by Stirling on T-SK 29/64/12 gives the date of his last letter to Maldonado.

<sup>16</sup> Maldonado does not appear to have worked on any other art historical topics. The Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid contains a number of his published works, mainly on colonialism and the Bourbons in Spain. He was elected to the Real Academia de la Historia in 1893 and died in 1901. See SIETE IGLESIAS, Marqués de, *Real Academia de la Historia. Catálogo de sus individuos. Noticias sacadas de sus archivos*, vol. I, *Académicos de número*, Madrid, 1981, no. 202, págs. 309-310.

<sup>17</sup> A descendant, Ramón Maldonado y Cocat, was interested in his grandfather and corresponded with the Real Academia de la Historia about him. Since his death, one of Ramón Maldonado's sons has undertaken to go through his father's papers.

<sup>18</sup> The dates of his journeys are listed in his notebook, T-SK 28/9.

had been formed by his reading. That year, he had read *Don Quixote* and Dumesnil's *Histoire de Don Juan d'Autriche*. Of the latter, he commented not only that «a good history of him in English would be popular», but that his «amour with Diana de Falanga ... would make a pretty ballad»!<sup>19</sup> He took with him William Beckford's *Italy, with sketches of Spain and Portugal* and told his sister he knew John Gibson Lockhart's *Ancient Spanish Ballads* «by heart»<sup>20</sup>. He was also very familiar with David Roberts's lithographs, *Picturesque sketches in Spain*<sup>21</sup>. Above all, he would have seen Spain through Byron's eyes. He was a great fan of Byron's poetry which he had «spouted» as he sat for his portrait in 1839, and had found in Italy that «as Childe Harold is the best guidebook in Italy generally, so it is the best and truest illustration of Rome»<sup>22</sup>.

His first account of Seville certainly had much of the exuberance of Byron's «Oh, lovely Spain! renown'd, romantic land!» in *Childe Harold* in 1812<sup>23</sup>. He thought Seville Cathedral «the finest Gothic Church in the world» and described his awe on seeing its choir and high altar for the first time:

*Standing at the entrance of the choir & looking along the vista formed by [the] dark masses of sculpture to the golden shrine which encompassed the altar, you would have fancied yourself on the threshold of the New Jerusalem or at least at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple*<sup>24</sup>.

The Murillo painting, *Moses striking the rock*, in the Hospital de la Caridad, beloved by all British visitors of the period, provoked a similar response: «I fell down & worshipped and shall remain I trust a firm convert». He also declared that «Moses is to my taste the finest picture in the world» and that it was finer than the best Raphaels, Correggios, or masterpieces of the Flemish school<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>19</sup> Section headed «Hints on Things in General» in *ibidem*. See also STIRLING MAXWELL, Sir W., *Don John of Austria or Passages from the History of the Sixteenth Century*, 2 vols., London, 1883. This posthumous edition was the only one of any size. An earlier one of 10 copies was printed 1859-64.

<sup>20</sup> T-SK 29/1/54. BECKFORD, W., *Italy, with Sketches of Spain and Portugal*, London, 1834; LOCKHART, J. G., *Ancient Spanish Ballads* was first published in *Blackwood's Magazine* and appeared in a separate volume in 1822, the first of many editions during the century.

<sup>21</sup> ROBERTS, D., *Picturesque Sketches in Spain*, 1837.

<sup>22</sup> T-SK 29/1/34, Stirling to his sister, Hannah-Ann, Geneva, 30 Sept.-8 Oct. 1839 and T-SK 29/1/37, to Hannah-Ann, Rome, 17-29 Jan. 1840.

<sup>23</sup> BYRON, Lord, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Canto I, stanza 35, in MCGANN, J. (ed.), *Complete Poetical Works*, vol. 2, of Oxford, 1980.

<sup>24</sup> T-SK 29/1/52, to Hannah-Ann, Valetta, 2 Dec. 1841.

<sup>25</sup> *ibidem*.

Stirling left Spain vowing to return the next year on a longer visit. When he spent two months there from November 1842, he was able to shake off some of his romantic preconceptions and move to a new seriousness in his interest in the country. A comment about Seville illustrates the change. He wrote to his sister that «*I have not discovered a sufficient pretext for my last year's descriptions*», though he nevertheless felt that «*[as] regards its beauties natural & architectural, and its treasures of art, I am still as much in love with Seville as ever*»<sup>26</sup>.

More surprisingly, given the increasing British enthusiasm for 'Moorish' Spain in general and the Alhambra in particular, Stirling's impressions of that great monument to Spain's Muslim past were directly contrary to those of most other British visitors:

*I was at first perfectly enchanted by the new fairy world of architecture ... But I confess my eye was soon wearied of the endless combinations of lines & angles & of vainly endeavouring to discover the beginning, middle & end of hopelessly complicated arabesques*<sup>27</sup>.

Stirling had returned to Spain after a journey through the Middle East, where in Syria in particular, he had admired Muslim architecture. His problem with the Alhambra, then, was not that he disliked Islamic style, but that he had already become more interested in Renaissance Spain, as was clear when he committed the ultimate sin, as far as the current British taste was concerned, of preferring Emperor Charles V's palace, one of the first and finest Renaissance buildings in Spain:

*I sighed for the simple graceful lines of Greek architecture on which the eye reposes upon a beautiful familiar face. I hastened from the Moorish courts into the stately circus surrounded by a double colonnade of plum pudding stone pillars, which forms the centre of Charles V's palace. It is impossible to conceive a more perfect contrast than this plain edifice presents to the embroidered walls of the Arab. The architect has chosen a happy medium between the sombre style afterwards adopted in the Escorial & the fluttering topperies of Italian designs*<sup>28</sup>.

When Stirling left Spain in January 1843, he had already conceived the idea of writing a history of Spanish art.<sup>29</sup> In rejecting many of the

<sup>26</sup> T-SK 29/1/66, to Hannah-Ann, Seville, 3 Jan. 1843.

<sup>27</sup> T-SK 28/9, travel notes, Granada, 6 Dec. 1842. British interest in the Alhambra in the 19th century is studied in RAQUEJO, T., *El palacio encantado*, Madrid, 1989.

<sup>28</sup> T-SK 28/9, Granada, 6 Dec. 1842.

<sup>29</sup> *Annals*, Preface, pág. xv.



romantic and Orientalist myths of Spain, Stirling set himself apart from other contemporary British writers on Spain, such as Richard Ford and N. A. Wells<sup>30</sup>. It is possible that the later close friendship between Stirling and Ford modified or obscured the differences in their perceptions of Spain but when Ford's *Handbook* was published in 1845, there was no doubt that in considering Spain «*the most romantic and peculiar country in Europe*», Ford also regarded it as «Other», or non-European: «*Test [Spain], therefore, and her natives by an Oriental standard, how analogous does much appear that is strange and repugnant, if compared with European usages!*»<sup>31</sup>.

### STIRLING, FORD AND THE ANNALS

Over the next two years after his return from Spain, Stirling continued his studies of Spanish art. He also made another tour of Spain in early 1845 this time lasting nearly ten weeks, his last visit before the publication of the *Annals*. Just before he went, he submitted a draft or an extract of his manuscript to John Murray, the publisher of Ford's *Handbook* which was about to appear. Murray, not surprisingly, sent Stirling's piece to Ford, who dismissed it as «*dross & commonplace*»<sup>32</sup>. His own *Handbook*, he believed, was more accurate and informative on Spanish art: «*What you have in the Handbook, although I say it who ought not, is worth double this MS*»<sup>33</sup>. His most damning criticism was that: «*There is no attempt to touch the philosophy of Spanish art, its character or the peculiarities of its artists*». He also complained that it introduced too many artists still unknown in Britain: «*The few new names are not worth knowing: people will only go to a very limited number of Spanish artists*». Amongst his other detailed objections, Ford claimed that «*Titian was in Spain*»<sup>34</sup>.

Stirling's draft for the *Annals* unfortunately does not survive but the only objection raised by Ford that can definitely be said to have been justified was

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<sup>30</sup> FORD, R., *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain and Readers at Home*, London, 1845, references are to the three-volume edition, Carbondale, Ill., 1966; WELLS, N.A., *Picturesque Antiquities of Spain*, London, 1846. For the Orientalist view of Spain, see CALVO SERRALLER, F., *La imagen romántica de España: Arte y arquitectura del siglo XIX*, Madrid, 1995, especially págs. 62-7.

<sup>31</sup> FORD, *Op. cit.*, págs. 1 and 3.

<sup>32</sup> Letter from Ford to Murray, 11 Feb. 1845, Archives of John Murray, London, no. 88. I am grateful to Tom Bean for drawing my attention to this letter.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>34</sup> See *Annals*, vol. I, pág. 134 for Stirling's examination of this question and conclusion, contrary to his Spanish sources, that Titian had not visited Spain.

that Stirling had confused the terms «Churrigueresque» and «Plateresque» in Spanish architecture. Murray replied to Stirling on 12 February, 1845, mentioning none of Ford's criticisms but pointing out that he was already committed to publishing Sir Edmund Head's work on Spanish art and therefore could not publish Stirling's<sup>35</sup>. It is difficult to estimate to what extent the *Annals* as eventually published in 1848 reflected the draft rejected in 1845 but it seems likely that its attempt at encyclopedic coverage and its broad historical and socio-historical perspective were already there, although of course Stirling still had not seen much of Spain or Spanish art, matters which he attempted to remedy on his 1845 visit.

Despite Murray's rejection and the news that he would be competing against another book on Spanish art, albeit less detailed, Stirling persevered with the *Annals* and found another publisher, John Olliver. Late in 1846 and unaware of Ford's opinion of his draft, he contacted Ford to ask if he would review the *Annals*<sup>36</sup>. The two men had already met in Rome in 1840, when Stirling thought Ford to be «*of great talent and much apparent disposition to be agreeable*»<sup>37</sup>. Ford did eventually review the *Annals* very favourably, apparently having changed his mind about the lack of attempt to touch the philosophy of Spanish art and the «*peculiarities*» of its artists. Instead, using a culinary image, he found that «*an olla podrida is set before us, stuffed with savouries, the national garlic not omitted*»<sup>38</sup>. Ford's enthusiasm in his review was no doubt partly because had been closely involved in the final stages of preparation of the *Annals*. Perhaps his criticisms in 1845 then, were influenced by the fact he had not been consulted at that stage.

## ART COLLECTOR AND BIBLIOPHILE

After the death of his father in 1847, Stirling became one of the richest landowners in the country. The composer Chopin gave a description of him in 1848, soon after publication of the *Annals*:

... from the window I am writing at, I have under my very nose a most lovely view of Stirling Castle ... The owner of the house is called Stirling ...

<sup>35</sup> T-SK 29/4/92, letter from Murray to Stirling, Albemarle St., London, 12 Feb. 1845; HEAD, Sir E., *Handbook of the History of the Spanish and French Schools of Painting*, London, 1848.

<sup>36</sup> T-SK 29/4/128, reply from Ford to Stirling, Hevitre, 7 Nov. 1846.

<sup>37</sup> T-SK 29/1/39, letter to Hannah-Ann, Naples, 14-17 Feb. 1840.

<sup>38</sup> FORD, R., Review of Sir Edmund Head, *Op. cit.* and Stirling's *Annals*, *Quarterly Review*, vol. LXXXIII, June-Sept., 1848, pág. 11.

*and is the head of the family. I made his acquaintance in London. He is a rich bachelor and has numerous fine pictures ... of the Spanish school. He has lately published an expensive volume (you know how well they do that sort of thing here) on the Spanish school. He has travelled widely and has been in the East: he is an intelligent man. Whenever members of English society are visiting Scotland they come to see him. He keeps open house and there are usually about thirty people to lunch*<sup>39</sup>.

Chopin's account is probably rather exaggerated to impress his correspondent, but he nevertheless creates a useful picture of the new «Laird» (Lord) of Keir as both a scholar and a popular society man.

Stirling was already a confirmed bibliophile and had been collecting pictures since he first travelled to the Continent in 1839-40. In the early 1850s, he commissioned major alterations to the house and grounds at Keir, and installed a spectacular two-storey library in the bow front at the centre of the house. (fig. 2) The mottoes carved on shelves and furniture were des-



Fig. 2. Keir House, Perthshire, Scotland.

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<sup>39</sup> HEDLEY, A. (trans. and ed.), *Selected Correspondence of Fryderyk Chopin*, London, 1962, no. 318, letter from Chopin to Wojciech Grzymała, Keir, 1 Oct. 1848.

cribed by Dr. Waagen who found it «too remarkable a room not to be mentioned» in his *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain* <sup>40</sup> (fig. 3). His book collection covered everything from Spanish art to proverbs and



Fig. 3. *The Library, Keir House, frontispiece, Miscellaneous Essays and Addresses, vol. V, in The Works of Sir William Stirling Maxwell, London, 1891.*

<sup>40</sup> WAAGEN, G., *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain*, 1857, pág. 453.

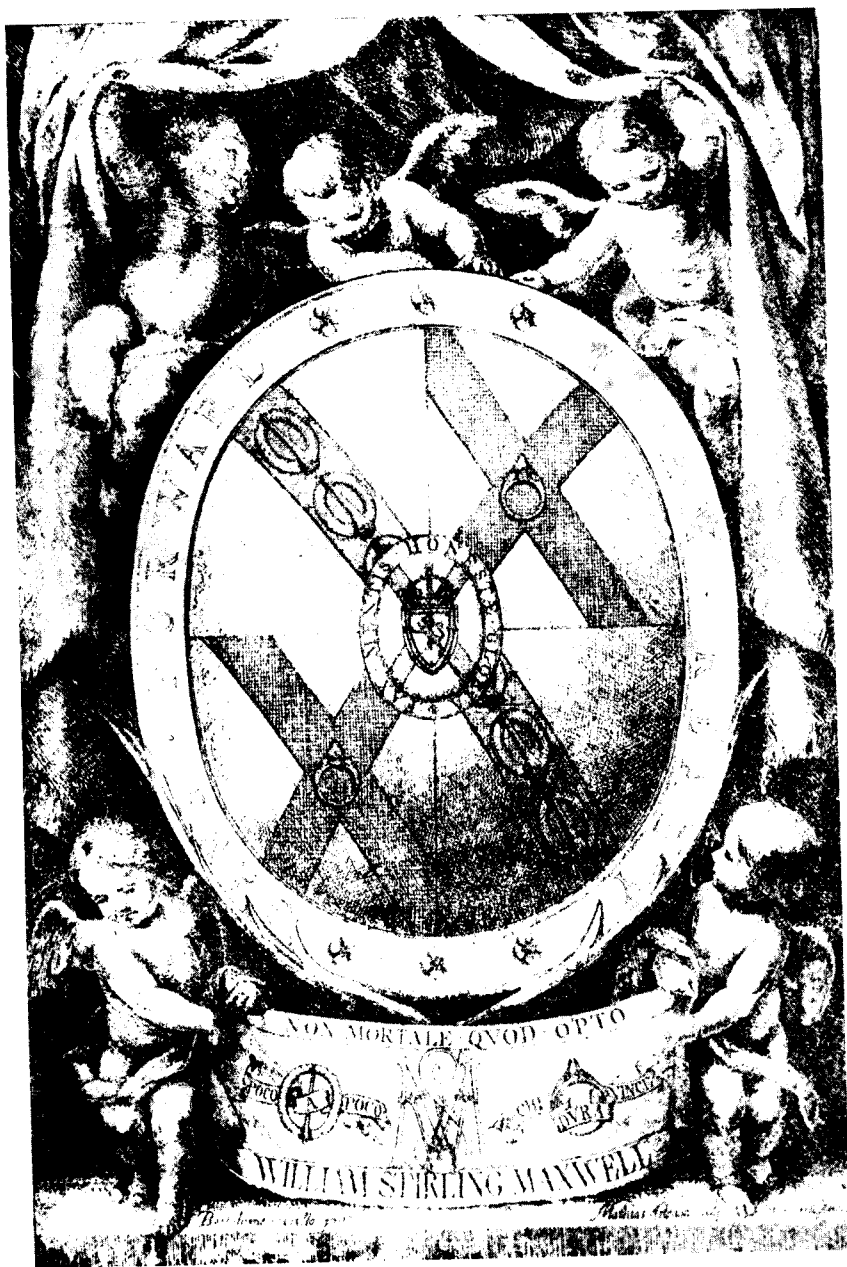


Fig. 4. William Stirling Maxwell, *Ex-libris Slip*, incorporating his coat-of-arms on a print after Murillo.

mottoes<sup>41</sup>. Perhaps most important was his collection of emblem books numbering more than 1200 which are now at Glasgow University and are thought to be the largest single collection in the world<sup>42</sup>. His designs for his bookplates and ex-libris slips contained the family coat-of-arms and the family mottoes he adopted, such as «*Gang Forward*» and, reflecting his interest in Spanish mottoes, «*Poco a Poco*»<sup>43</sup> (fig. 4).

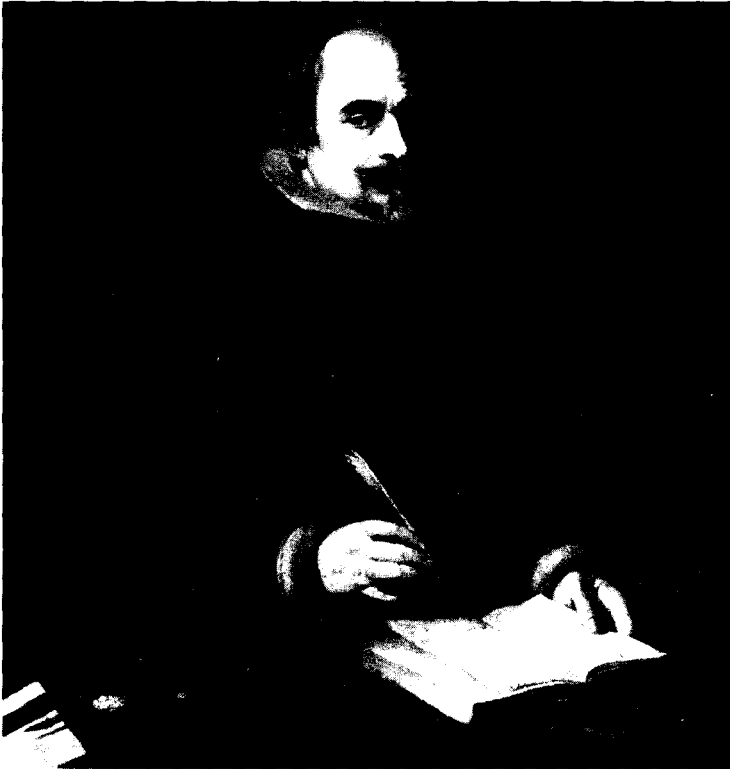


Fig. 5. Vicente Carducho, *Self Portrait*, Glasgow Museums: *The Stirling Maxwell Collection*, Pollok House, Glasgow.

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<sup>41</sup> See his catalogues of his book collection: STIRLING, W., *An Essay towards a Collection of Books relating to the Arts of Design ... at Keir*, 25 copies, London, 1850, 2nd ed. 1860; *An Essay towards a Collection of Books relating to Proverbs, Emblems, Apophthegms, Epitaphs and Ana ... at Keir*, 75 copies, London, 1860.

<sup>42</sup> See BLACK, H., and WESTON, D., *Short Title Catalogue of the Emblem Books and Related Works in the Stirling Maxwell Collection of Glasgow University*, Aldershot, 1988; WESTON, D., *Sir William Stirling Maxwell and the European Emblem*, exhibition catalogue, Glasgow, 1987.

<sup>43</sup> For these kinds of medievalising influences in 19th-century Britain, see GIROUARD, M., *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman*, New Haven and London, 1981, págs. 40-41.

Stirling's collection of Spanish art was acquired in several ways. The majority of the important pictures came from several major sales of Spanish paintings in London in the late 1840s and early 1850s, most notably those of Louis-Philippe's Galerie Espagnole and the collection of Frank Hall Standishwhich, the French king had also owned, in 1853. Stirling, who had focused on the role of artists in his *Annals*, was particularly interested in the portraits of artists in these sales, such as Vicente Carducho's *Self Portrait*, an engraving of which had been one of the illustrations in the *Annals*<sup>44</sup> (fig. 5). Also of particular interest to him were portraits of the Spanish Habsburgs,



Fig. 6. *Alonso Sánchez Coello, Portrait of Philip II, Glasgow Museums: The Stirling Maxwell Collection, Pollok House.*

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<sup>44</sup> Carducho's *Self Portrait* was no. 44 in the sale of Louis-Philippe's collection. The engraving was one of those he supplied to Maldonado, see above note 8.

such as the *Portrait of Philip II* by Sánchez Coello, bought at General Meade's sale, 1850 (fig. 6). His *Annals* were arranged around royal patronage and his fascination for Charles V and Don John of Austria, as has been noted, was already developing.

Before he succeeded to his father's estates, his collecting was more limited and had included some paintings bought in Spain, such as four oil sketches by Goya of boys playing, purchased in Seville in 1842 from an unknown source<sup>45</sup>. Later, as we shall see, he bought some works through his Spanish contacts. He also occasionally picked things up at dealers. When he bought the supposed *Portrait of Isabel de Malcampo* (fig. 7) and



Fig. 7. after Murillo, *Portrait of a Lady (Doña Isabel de Malcampo?)*, The Stirling Maxwell Collection, Pollok House.

<sup>45</sup> Two of these are at Pollok House. The other two were recently sold by Lindsay Fine Art, London.



the *Portrait of Philip IV* (fig. 10) discussed below, Stirling knew what these were because of his experience as an art historian. In the case of the *Portrait of Isabel de Malcampo*, Stirling said he had bought it through the Spanish bookseller, Salvá in Paris and that its provenance could be traced to the collection of Bernardo de Iriarte. Through Stirling's knowledge of Ceán Bermúdez's *Carta ... sobre ... la pintura de la escuela sevillana*, he deduced that «it might be the portrait of Doña Isabel de Malcampo painted by Murillo ... If not the original it is probably a copy of that picture»<sup>46</sup>. Modern scholars have agreed with this view.

### STIRLING, CARDERERA AND GOYA

Stirling and Valentín Carderera formed part of an Anglo-Spanish network of scholars and bibliophiles which included Richard Ford, Pascual de Gayangos, the authority on Muslim Spain, and the bibliographer, Bartolomé Gallardo. Carderera not only supplied books to Stirling, but he also played an important role in the formation of Stirling's art collection. His tastes and interests were particularly close to Stirling's. Both, for example, were interested in portraits as historical documents. Stirling regarded portraiture as «the most useful and valuable department of painting, which lightens the labour and points the tale of the historian and the biographer»<sup>47</sup>. Carderera, a portrait painter who became increasingly interested in collecting historical portraits, explained in the preliminary notes to his *Iconografía española* that he valued portraits as fragments of information on how people had lived<sup>48</sup>. Both were also obsessive in their collecting. Stirling, for example, collected all the portraits he could find of the subjects of his historical monographs, Emperor Charles V and Don John of Austria<sup>49</sup>. Carderera knew that their obsession was difficult for others to understand:

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<sup>46</sup> Note by Stirling formerly on the back of the picture and recorded in CAW, Sir J., *Pictures at Pollok House*, Glasgow, 1936, no. 26. See also ANGULO, D., «Murillo: el retrato de Nicolás Omazur adquirido por el Museo del Prado», *Archivo español de arte*, vol. 37, 1964, págs. 172-3; CEÁN BERMÚDEZ, J. A., *Carta ... a un amigo suyo sobre el estilo y gusto en la pintura de la escuela sevillana*, Cadiz, 1806, pág. 105.

<sup>47</sup> STIRLING, W., *Annals*, vol. I, págs. 40-41.

<sup>48</sup> CARDERERA, V., *Iconografía española. Colección de retratos, estatuas, ... y demás monumentos inéditos de reyes, reinas, grandes capitanes*, 2 vols, Madrid, 1855 and 1864, vol. I, Notas Preliminares. For biographical details of Carderera, see SIETE IGLESIAS, Marqués de, *Op. cit.*, no. 126 and MADRAZO, P., «Elogio fúnebre de D. V. Carderera», *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Madrid, 1882, vol. II, págs. 5-12 y 105-126.

<sup>49</sup> In T-SK 29/59/11, Paris, 5 Nov. 1856 (or 57), Carderera offered Stirling an engraved portrait of Charles V which he (Carderera) had never seen before. Stirling, however, already had it (see T-SK 29/59/16, Carderera to Stirling, 26 Nov. 1856 (or 57)).

*Muchos estrañarán y acaso censuren la superabundancia de retratos de un mismo personaje ... No me sorprenderá tal extrañeza, siendo tan pocos los amantes de estas curiosidades, llámense maniáticos si se quiere*<sup>50</sup>.

Of greater interest today in the friendship between Carderera and Stirling is the former's influence on Stirling's collecting of Goya. Carderera's importance as one of the earliest biographers and collectors of Goya in Spain was mirrored in Britain by Stirling, albeit on a smaller scale and, through Stirling, Carderera's role in building Goya's reputation was continued in Britain<sup>51</sup>.

There are no letters from Carderera to Stirling before 1849, and so it is unlikely that Stirling knew Carderera's articles on Goya when he wrote his entry on the artist in the *Annals*<sup>52</sup>. Stirling was not wholly complimentary about Goya, particularly his religious works. Significantly, although in 1845 Stirling had found Ford's dismissal of Goya's *Sta. Justa and Sta. Rufina* (Seville Cathedral) unfair, writing in his diary that it was «*much better than [the] Handbook allows*», in the *Annals* he seems to have modified his opinion, presumably under Ford's influence. Ford had called the painting a «*David-like abomination*»<sup>53</sup>. Stirling was more polite but likewise regretted that Goya had adopted «*that hard sculptural style in which David and his French followers painted their wearisome delineations of Greek and Roman story*»<sup>54</sup>.

More importantly, though, what Stirling did admire was the «*dashing boldness*» of some of Goya's later work in which he believed: «*His colours were laid on as often with sticks, sponges, or dishcloths, as with the brush ... Sometimes he would execute an entire piece with his palette-knife*»<sup>55</sup>. He also greatly admired Goya as a satirist of monks, the Holy Office and the Court and as «*an inventor of horrible monsters, cloudy shapes suggestive of deeper horrors, or malicious frisking devilkins*»<sup>56</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> CARDERERA, V., *Catálogo y descripción sumaria de retratos antiguos coleccionados por D. Valentín Carderera*, Madrid, 1877, pág. 11.

<sup>51</sup> See GLENDINNING, N., *Op. cit.*, for Stirling and Goya, and the same author's *Goya and his Critics*, London, 1977, for an assessment of both Carderera's and Stirling's role in Goya's reputation.

<sup>52</sup> CARDERERA, V., «Biografía de D. Francisco Goya, pintor», *El Artista*, 1835 and «Goya», *Semanario Pintoresco Español*, 1838.

<sup>53</sup> FORD, R., *Op. cit.*, vol. I, pág. 383.

<sup>54</sup> STIRLING, W., *Annals*, pág. 1477. Nevertheless, Stirling had greatly admired Vicente López's neoclassical style during his visit to Spain in 1845 and had bought a version of Gérard's portrait of Napoleon in his emperor's robes in Paris in 1840.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*, págs. 1477-8. Stirling here followed very closely GAUTIER, T., «Fran.<sup>co</sup> de Goya y Lucientes», *Le Gabinet de l'Amateur et de l'Antiquaire*, I, pág. 339. I am grateful to Nigel Gelndinning for pointing this out to me, and for other valuable suggestions in this article.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibidem*, pág. 1480.



Fig. 8. Francisco de Goya, *Disparates* Plate 4: *Bobalicón*, Glasgow Museums: The Stirling Maxwell Collection, Pollok House.

By the time the *Annals* were published, he was also fascinated by Goya's etchings, though he did not yet know *Los Disparates* and had not seen the *Desastres de la Guerra* <sup>57</sup>.

Stirling's discussion of Goya's prints in the *Annals* contained an interesting footnote:

*As yet (January 13th, 1848) no work of Goya is to be found amongst the prints in the British Museum; but Mr. Carpenter is happily about to turn his attention to him and the other engravers of Spain* <sup>58</sup>.

In fact the British Museum did begin collecting Goyas's prints later on that year with the purchase of a first edition of the *Caprichos*, containing a rare working proof, and continued actively collecting his prints and drawings over the next few decades, interestingly, up to 1878, the year of Sir William Stirling Maxwell's death. To what extent this aspect of the Museum's col-

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<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*, pág. 1481.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibidem*, pág. 1482.

lecting policy was influenced by Stirling at the time of the *Annals*, or even when he became a Trustee of the Museum in 1872, would be hard to assess but it would be fair to suggest that Stirling had some impact<sup>59</sup>.

Stirling's very first known purchase of Spanish art had been the four small Goyas in 1842. By 1850, he had a set of *Los Caprichos*, also probably from a Seville source<sup>60</sup>. On 8 January 1856, Carderera wrote to Stirling with the news that he was sending him a rare set of *Los Proverbios (Los Disparates)*:

*Avant hier j'ai pu trouver un exemplaire des Proverbes qui forment 18 feuilles in fol. plus grands que les taureux [sic]. C'est la première et unique édition qui a été faite par le feu fils de Goya en tres petit nombre d'exemplaires. On m'a dit que un Duc (je ne sais pas qui) a acheté [sic] les planches sans vouloir en faire des tirages. Mr Gayangos m'a parlé de quelques feuilles que s'était [sic] trouvés en double dans une suite des toros. Je suis sorti hier pour savoir s'il serait facile de en trouver des pièces détachés [sic], mais sans aucun succès. Je détacherai mon exemplaire et je vous le remettrai [sic] dans la même petite caisse ou iront toutes les autres*<sup>61</sup>.

Carderera's most likely source of the prints was Goya's grandson, Mariano<sup>62</sup>. The set referred to was presumably the one now at Pollok House, Glasgow<sup>63</sup> (fig. 5). The prints in it certainly differ from those in the editions later in the century. They are on very white wove paper which is typical of the mid-19th century and the ink is blacker than the brownish ink on later sets<sup>64</sup>. The date of Carderera's letter and the fact that there are only 18 prints suggests that the four additional plates were separated from the rest of the set earlier than has sometimes been thought<sup>65</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> For a summary of the British Museum's collecting of Goya in the 19th century, see WILSON BAREAU, J., *Goya's Prints*, 1981, págs. 99-106.

<sup>60</sup> *Los Caprichos* are listed in STIRLING, W., *Arts of Design*, London, 1850. A letter from Juan Antonio Bailly to Stirling, T-SK 29/29/1 Seville, 2 May 1854, also mentions the purchase of *Los Caprichos*.

<sup>61</sup> T-SK 29/59/1, Madrid, 8 Jan. 1856. See also CARDERERA, V., «Francois Goya: sa vie, ses dessins, et ses eaux-fortes», II, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol. 15, 1863, pág. 244, where he said there was an edition c. 1850; and ACKLEY, C.S., «The Disparates», in SAYRE, E.A., *The Changing Image: Prints by Francisco Goya*, Boston, 1974, pág. 251, nota 3, for the date 1849 on two impressions at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris and «*hacia 1848*» on a set at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

<sup>62</sup> See WILSON BAREAU, J., *Op. cit.*, pág. 99.

<sup>63</sup> HARRIS, T., *Goya: Engravings and Lithographs*, Oxford, 1964, vol. II, nos. 248-265 II, 1, as one of five sets of trial proofs, c. 1854-63.

<sup>64</sup> I am grateful to Jesusa Vega for this information. She saw the Pollok set in 1996 and examined one out of its frame. See also VEGA, J., «Los Disparates. Una colección de veintidós láminas grabadas», *Disparates. Tres visiones*, Madrid, 1996, págs. 19-32.

<sup>65</sup> See GLENDINNING, N., «La problemática historia de los Disparates y su interpretación carnavalesca», in *Francisco de Goya grabador: Instantáneas. Disparates*, Madrid, 1992, págs. 21-22.



Fig. 9. Juan Martínez de Mazo, *Landscape with Figures*, Glasgow Museums: The Stirling Maxwell Collection, Pollok House.

Apart from their artistic value, the *Proverbios* would have been of interest to Stirling because of the title of the series, before the discovery of manuscript titles referring to «Disparates». Tomás Harris, however, continued to refer to them as *Los Proverbios*, citing the artist's interest in proverbs<sup>66</sup>. Stirling had also believed them to be illustrations of proverbs and included them in his catalogue of that area of his book collection<sup>67</sup>.

Stirling also acted as intermediary for Carderera on at least one occasion. Around 1856, Carderera, through Stirling, attempted to sell a set of 76 working proofs for the *Desastres de la Guerra* to the British Museum<sup>68</sup>. Given Stirling's footnote in the *Annals*, it is possible that the

<sup>66</sup> HARRIS, T., *Op. cit.*, vol. I, págs. 193-6. For other early titles, see GLENDINNINS, N., in *Instantáneas*, págs. 21 & 23.

<sup>67</sup> STIRLING, W., *Books relating to Proverbs*.

<sup>68</sup> In many of the letters from Carderera to Stirling on this matter, the year in which they were written is not specified but they are datable to 1856-1858 or 1859.

idea came initially from Stirling, rather than Carderera. When this plan failed, Stirling acquired them for himself, perhaps because he did not want to let Carderera down, though he was, no doubt, very happy to own them<sup>69</sup>. Carderera obviously put considerable trust in Stirling, as he gave him authority to reduce the price to Mr. Carpenter of the British Museum if necessary<sup>70</sup>. He was, however, very worried about being denounced for illegal export of works of art and warned Stirling twice that he did not wish his identity as the seller to be published<sup>71</sup>.

In 1850, Carderera had asked Stirling to use his influence to help him to sell a Zurbarán painting of the *Encarnación* to the National Gallery:

*Mr. George Moffa[t] membre de Parlement (103 Eaton Square) m'a promis qu'il en parlerait pour l'acheter par la National Gallery. Je vous prie de faire conversation avec ce Monsr. ou avec Mr. Charles Eastlake Peintre - quand l'occasion [sic] se présentera*<sup>72</sup>.

This venture also failed, but Stirling would surely have been happy to support the idea, since in the *Annals*, he had lamented the fact that «Murillo alone of Spanish painters has as yet effected an entrance»<sup>73</sup>. Three years later, he welcomed the National Gallery's first acquisition of a Zurbarán, the *St. Francis in Meditation* from Louis-Philippe's Galerie Espagnole in 1853<sup>74</sup>.

From Carderera, Stirling also received other news about art. When Carderera saw the catalogue of the *Manchester Art Treasures* exhibition in

<sup>69</sup> These prints were sold to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston in 1951. See HARRIS, T., *Op. cit.*, vol. II, nos. 122-203, I.

<sup>70</sup> T-SK 29/59/16 undated, «Je vous laisse la liberté, si le prix on le trouve trop cher, d'en faire quelque diminution»; T-SK 29/9/17, 1 July (1858 or 59), «Si par hasard ce monsieur ne les veut à ce prix, je vous laisse faculté de faire un petite remise».

<sup>71</sup> T-SK 29/59/16 Paris, 26 Nov. (1856?), «Si je cède cette collection je ne veux point que hors du registre des achats, soit écrit mon nom ou dit que je les ai vendus [sic]. C'est à cette condition que je les vendrai seulement»; T-SK 29/59/8 Paris, undated (1858 or 59), «souvenez vous Monsr. de ma condition de ne pas inscrire mon nom ou on puisse le publier, soit dans quelque catalogue soit en quelque autre endroit».

<sup>72</sup> T-SK 29/5/168, Madrid, 6 Nov. 1850. Charles Eastlake became Director of the National Gallery in 1854.

<sup>73</sup> STIRLING, W., *Annals*, vol. I, pags. 78-79. In fact, Velázquez's *Tela real* had been purchased in 1846, see MACLAREN, Neil and BRAHAM, Allan, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Spanish School*, London, 1970, no. 197.

<sup>74</sup> MACLAREN and BRAHAM, *Op. cit.*, no. 230. Stirling and Ford publicly supported the purchase when it was criticised by another art collector, William Coningham. Their exchange of views about the picture was carried out in letters to *The Times*. See BRAHAM, A., *El Greco to Goya: The Taste for Spanish Paintings in Britain and Ireland*, exhibition catalogue, National Gallery, London, 1981, pags. 34-5.

1857, he wrote to Stirling about two little oil sketches, then attributed to Velázquez, which Stirling had purchased in London at the sale of General Meade's collection:

*J'ai vu que vous possédez les deux petits tableaux de groupe[s] des figures qui ont été coupé[es] d'un tableau de l'entré[e] de Philippe IV. à Pampelune. J'ai acheté il y a 4 année[s] le reste du tableau qui raprésante [sic] la vue de la ville et la car[r]osse du roi précédé[e] de plusieurs gardes, et suivie de troupes de chevalerie etc. etc. Il est assez gâté mais on y voit toujours le grand maître. Les figures sont beaucoup plus petites que les vôtres qui devaient ap[p]artenir au premier plan du tableau <sup>75</sup>.*

Carderera's claim that these two very damaged little pictures of figures in a landscape (fig. 6) were fragments from the large painting of the *Entry of Philip IV into Pamplona* is a fascinating idea. The large picture was damaged (if not destroyed) by fire in 1734. It was mentioned by Lázaro Díaz del Valle in 1657, as having been commissioned by Philip IV, along with the *View of Saragossa* (Prado). A painting in Apsley House, London, is believed to be a small contemporary replica, though it would be difficult to judge its accuracy <sup>76</sup>. The large composition of Pamplona was always attributed to Mazo, like the *View of Saragossa*, though it was often suggested that some of the smaller figures in the latter were by Velázquez <sup>77</sup>. Carderera appears to have thought this was also the case with the *Entry of Philip IV into Pamplona*. The supposed fragments from it and Stirling's two pictures are now also attributed to Mazo.

Although it is clear from the correspondence that Carderera was buying and selling art, his relationship with Stirling was much more than that of a dealer with his client, as is demonstrated by the fact that he was largely instrumental in Stirling's election as Honorary Member of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando in 1872 <sup>78</sup>.

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<sup>75</sup> T-SK 29/59/15 Madrid, 20 Oct. (1857). Meade had been Consul General at Madrid. His sale was held at Christie's, London, 6-8 March 1850. The two pictures were lot 362 as by Velázquez, though they were decribed as «a pair of sacred subjects».

<sup>76</sup> For Stirling's two pictures, see LÓPEZ-REY, J., *Velázquez: A Catalogue Raisonné of his Oeuvre*, London, 1963, nos. 146 and 147; for fragments relating to the lost *Entry of Philip IV into Pamplona*, see nos. 154 and 155; for Díaz del Valle's reference, see no. 152; and no. 153 for the supposed small replica of the lost picture. See also the review by HARRIS, E., «Spanish Painting from Morales to Goya, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, 19 Aug. - 8 Sept. 1951», *Burlington Magazine*, vol. XCIII, no. 583, Oct. 1951, pág. 313, where she noted the similarity of two of the figures to two in Mazo's *Fountain of the Tritons, Aranjuez* (Prado).

<sup>77</sup> LÓPEZ-REY, J., *op. cit.*, no. 153.

<sup>78</sup> T-SK 29/22/57, Madrid, 9 July 1872.

## THE THEME OF THE NOBILITY OF ART IN PAINTINGS

In 1851, Stirling bought Juan Martínez de Gradilla's *Portrait of Philip IV* (fig. 10) in London<sup>79</sup>. Few, if any, other collectors in Britain at the time would have recognised that this rather strange Spanish picture had any importance at all. It is one of the most interesting pictures in his collection and epitomises the scholarly aspect of his collecting which has been overlooked by those interested exclusively in connoisseurship of style rather than the content of his pictures. An analysis of this painting and its relevance within Stirling's collection therefore forms the last part of this article. Within his collection, the painting can be related to Stirling's interest, in the *Annals*, in the social status of artists in Spain and their attempts to increase this through the setting up of academies<sup>80</sup>. Vicente Carducho's *Self Portrait* (fig. 5) also exemplifies this interest and shows the artist at work, not on a painting, though his palette, brushes and drawing implements are seen at bottom left and a canvas can just be seen in the background to the right, but writing his *Diálogos de la pintura* published in 1633<sup>81</sup>.

Martínez's picture was painted for the Seville academy founded by Murillo in 1660<sup>82</sup>. Martínez, one of the founder members, became *mayordomo* in 1662 and 1666 and *cónsul* in 1668-69. He presented the portrait to the Academy in 1666 when he was *mayordomo*. It is signed and dated on the left of the parapet: «Juan Martínez de Gradilla f. año de 1666», and inscribed on the right: «Píntolo a la Academia el dicho año»<sup>83</sup>. It is documented twice in the records of the Academy. The second entry states that Martínez gave

<sup>79</sup> A label in Stirling's hand was formerly on the back of the picture and stated: «I bought the picture in Wardour St. in the summer of 1851. W.S.M.». The painting had been transferred to the Capilla de San Lucas, in the Church of San Andrés, after the Seville Academy ceased to function. When the Hermandad de San Lucas was dissolved in 1809, the paintings from the Chapel were sold to the collector Antonio Bravo. See SANZ, M.J., and HEREDIA, M.C., «Los pintores en la Iglesia de San Andrés», *Archivo Hispalense*, no. 177-179, 1975, págs. 71-81; GUERRERO LOVILLO, J., «La Capilla de los Pintores de la Hermandad de San Lucas, de Sevilla», *Archivo Hispalense*, vol. XVII, 1952, págs. 123-133, no. 367; GONZALEZ DE LEÓN, F., *Noticia artística y curiosa de todos los edificios públicos de la ciudad de Sevilla*, Seville, 1844, vol. I, pág. 254, no. 18.

<sup>80</sup> For Stirling on attempts to set up an academy in Madrid in the reigns of Philip III and Philip IV, see *Annals*, vol. II, págs. 598-9; the Seville Academy, vol. III, págs. 1.008-1.013; and the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, vol. IV, pág. 1.400.

<sup>81</sup> CARDUCHO, V. *Diálogos de la pintura*, Madrid, 1633.

<sup>82</sup> The painting, and its relationship to the Seville Academy, is discussed at greater length in an article by the present writer, «The Nobility of Art: the Seville Academy founded by Murillo and a Portrait of Philip IV at Pollok House», *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History*, vol. 4, 1999, págs. 48-56.

<sup>83</sup> Only one other signed and dated work by Martínez is known, see VALDIVIESO, E., *Historia de la pintura sevillana*, Seville, 1986, pág. 255 and fig. 210.





Fig. 10. Juan Martínez de Gradilla, Portrait of Philip IV, Glasgow Museums: The Stirling Maxwell Pollok House.

the portrait «*para siempre jamás sin que se pueda enagenar ni bender [sic] ni sacar de la dicha Academia con todo el tiempo que dicho lienço durare*»<sup>84</sup>. He perhaps wanted to distinguish his gift from one by Cornelis Schut, who in 1663 gave a painting of the Virgin to be sold to raise funds<sup>85</sup>.

<sup>84</sup> DE LA BANDA y VARGAS, Antonio and ROMERO TALLAFIGO, Manuel (eds.), *El manuscrito de la Academia de Murillo*, Seville, 1982 (hereafter *MS Academia*), fol. 34 and 34 v.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 22.

The painting shows Philip, as protector of art, surrounded by attributes of drawing (on his left) and painting (on his right). Philip had died the previous year and, on one level, the portrait is a memorial to a king who had been a major patron of art. Martínez's somewhat flat composition is unusual in a painting, being much closer in conception to the portrait engravings designed as frontispieces of books, or the allegorical portraits which featured in temporary decorations for special occasions, such as the royal exequies for Philip IV in 1665<sup>86</sup>. The likeness of Philip is vague and was obviously based on a print whose source in turn would have been a painted portrait, probably the portrait painted by Velázquez at Fraga, 1644 (Frick Collection, New York).

Below the portrait is the following *quintilla*:

FUI CON TAL GUSTO EN MI GREI  
DE TAL ARTE PROFESOR  
QUE ENTRE LA UNA Y OTRA LEI  
POR SER SIN DUDA PINTOR  
AUN DEXARA DE SER REI.

As noted by Julián Gállego, the term *profesor* was used in the literature in defence of the nobility of art to suggest that artists followed a profession rather than a trade, thus distinguishing them from *oficiales*, denoting artisans<sup>87</sup>. The inscription gives further evidence of the nobility of art. It suggests that Philip not only ennobled art and artists through his patronage but that, by practising it himself, he proved that it was noble.

This argument was used by all the writers who defended the nobility of art during Philip's reign. In particular, the verse echoes the defence of art by eminent writers in the case against Carducho, Cajés and others demanding payment of the purchase tax or *alcabala* on paintings<sup>88</sup>. Lope de Vega, for example, claimed that: «*el Rey nuestro Señor ... supo, y exercito el Arte de la pintura en sus tiernos años, que esto solo bastaba, para*

<sup>86</sup> See, for example, the frontispiece engraved by Pedro de Villafranca for DE LOS SANTOS, F., *Descripción breve del Monasterio de S. Lorenzo el Real del Escorial ...*, Madrid, 1657; or the allegorical portrait of the King for the royal exequies by Sebastián de Herrera Barnuevo and engraved by Pedro de Villafranca (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid), reproduced in ORSO, S.N., *Art and Death at the Spanish Habsburg Court*, Colombia, 1989, fig. 9.

<sup>87</sup> GALLEGO, J., *El pintor, de artesano a artista*, Granada, 1995, pág. 122.

<sup>88</sup> See GALLEGO, J., *Op. cit.*, especially Ch. I-II on the *alcabala*, pp. 13-29; and Ch. IX, «El pleito de Carducho», págs. 115-139. The writers' testimony in defence of art in the case was published in *Memorial informatorio por los pintores en el pleyto ... sobre la exempción del Arte de la Pintura*, Madrid, 1629 (hereafter *Memorial*). It was reprinted, with some changes, as an appendix to CARDUCHO, V. *Op. cit.*

que, quando no lo hubiera sido, fuera libre desde entonces»<sup>89</sup>. Most writers, like Lope, suggested the activity had taken place in the King's youth, before he became king<sup>90</sup>. This is also implied by the use of the past preterite «*fui*» in the Martínez inscription which, nevertheless, is bolder than other claims about Philip as an artist in its use of the first person to suggest a direct quote from the King himself. The exaggerated claim that he would give up the throne to be an artist is simply a way of conveying Philip's esteem for art.

The other elements in Martínez's painting all symbolise the theory and practice of art. Practice is represented by the two putti holding pencil and measuring implements for drawing, and paintbrush, palette and easel for painting. The number of books shown, however, suggests that Martínez wished to emphasise the importance of theory and learning within the ideology of the Seville Academy.

Two of the books are Renaissance studies of the human body and would have been of special use to students of life drawing. The scroll held by the putto who symbolises drawing shows one of Dürer's famous figures from his book, shown open at the side, on proportions of the human body. Across it is written: «*SIMMETRIA DEL CUERPO HUMANO LIB II*» and «*DE ALBERTO DURERO*». As there was no Spanish edition, the reference must be to the Italian translation, *Della simmetria dei corpi umani*, Venice, 1591. Dürer's book was well known in Spain and had been used by Pacheco as one of the main sources for his own discussion of human proportions<sup>91</sup>.

The spine of the book at top left reads: «*Composición del Cuerpo Hum. de Valverde*» and refers to Juan Valverde de Hamusco's anatomy book, *Historia de la composición del cuerpo humano*, published in Rome in 1556. Valverde's book was recommended by both Pacheco and Carducho because of its illustrations which they convincingly attributed to the Spanish artist Gaspar Becerra, a Michaelangelo follower who worked with Vasari in Rome. Pacheco praised Becerra for «*tan grande demostración de lo que sabía de músculos (como singular imitador de Miguel Angel)*»<sup>92</sup>. His anatomical models or *écorché* figures were, according to

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<sup>89</sup> *Memorial*, fol. 20.

<sup>90</sup> But see the description of the picture in the collection of the Conde de la Unión, of the King painting, where he is shown aged around 50, in GALLEGO, J., «Felipe IV, pintor», *Estudios sobre arte y literatura, dedicados al profesor Emilio Orozco Díaz*, Granada, 1979, págs. 537-49.

<sup>91</sup> PACHECO, F., *Arte de la pintura*, Seville, 1649, Book II, Ch. VI-VII. Page references are to the recent edition, BASSEGODA I HUGAS, B. (ed.), Madrid, 1990.

<sup>92</sup> PACHECO, F., *Op. cit.*, pág. 350.

Pacheco, still in use in the 17th century by almost all artists and sculptors

<sup>93</sup>

The other three books were probably the most famous books on art at the time, but they may also have had special relevance to the Academy. To the left of the portrait of the King, with the lettering: «*Pacheco de la Pinta.*», is Francisco de Pacheco's own book, *Arte de la pintura*, published in Seville in 1649. Its presence in a painting for the Seville Academy is hardly surprising. It covered all the main issues of the day in the theory and practice of art, and discussed drawing as the «*parte principal de la pintura*»<sup>94</sup>. Pacheco recommended drawing from the life wherever possible, though it was also to be combined with study of the «*buena manera*» of Italian Renaissance artists, and knowledge of proportions, anatomy and perspective<sup>95</sup>.

If Jonathan Brown is right in his interpretation of the comments by Palomino and Rodrigo Caro that Pacheco ran an academy, there may be another reason for the inclusion of Pacheco's book. According to Brown, Pacheco's academy developed out of the informal literary academy begun in the late 16th century by Juan de Mal Lara, the poet and humanist scholar and Pacheco's *Arte de la pintura* was «*a chronicle of the Seville academy as well as a theoretical tract*»<sup>96</sup>.

Next to the Pacheco is Carducho's *Diálogos de la pintura*, published in Madrid in 1633. Carducho had proudly advertised his membership of the Florentine Accademia di Disegno on the titlepage<sup>97</sup>. Also significant is the book's presentation as a dialogue between a master painter and his pupil. For Calvo Serraller, who identified Carducho as the author of the petition, as well as of the very detailed proposal to the Cortes seeking royal support for an academy of painting in Madrid, the *Diálogos* represent «*un tratado especialmente académico, tanto en su concepción doctrinal como en su estructura y finalidad*»<sup>98</sup>. Carducho's book is shown open here, revealing the illustration

<sup>93</sup> *Ibidem*, pág. 384.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibidem*, pág. 347.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>96</sup> BROWN, J., «A Community of Scholars», in *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting*, Princeton, 1978, pág. 33. But see BASSEGODA I HUGAS, B., Introduction to PACHECO, *Op. cit.*, pág. 21 for a different interpretation.

<sup>97</sup> After his name he added: «*DE LA ILLUSTRE ACADEMIA DE LA NOBILISSIMA CIUDAD DE FLORENCIA*».

<sup>98</sup> CALVO SERRALLER, F., «Las academias artísticas en España», epilogue to the Spanish translation of PEVSNER, N., *Academies of Art: Past and Present*, Cambridge, 1940, as *Las Academias de Arte*, Madrid, 1982, pág. 212. See also CALVO SERRALLER, F. (ed.), *Este memorial se dio al Rey D. Felipe III and Memorial que se dio al Reino por los pintores* in *Teorías de la pintura del Siglo de Oro*, Madrid, 1981.

from the Fifth Dialogue, representing the triumph of Painting over death<sup>99</sup>. As she paints, a number of figures, including two kings, rise from the grave. The illustration is, of course, appropriate in a portrait of a dead king.

The other book shown at top right is Vasari's *Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori et architetti*, here shown as «*Basari Opere*». A third edition of this work appeared in 1647<sup>100</sup>. Vasari was one of the most frequently quoted sources in the Spanish literature in defence of the nobility of art but his role as founder of the Florentine Accademia di Disegno may be the main reason for referring to him here. According to Pevsner, the beginnings of «*la evolución de las modernas academias de arte*» were due to «*un solo hombre, Giorgio Vasari*»<sup>101</sup>. Carducho had tried to continue his reforms in Madrid. Since Martínez later accepted an important office in the guild, he possibly did not wish to see the older systems superseded by academies, unlike Vasari and Carducho, though the painting makes clear that he certainly shared their desire to raise the social status of artists<sup>102</sup>.

As Diego Angulo pointed out, the surviving documentation gives little insight into the activities or ideology of the Seville Academy, apart from the life drawing class:

*No existe referencia alguna concreta a sesiones especulativas sobre temas de arte, ni a enseñanzas teóricas para la más completa formación del artista. Es decir, con los datos que poseemos, aunque de hecho se especule en las reuniones o fuera de ellas entre los asistentes sobre temas artísticos, no consta que se impartiesen más enseñanzas que las de la práctica del dibujo y del modelado*<sup>103</sup>.

Martínez's *Portrait of Philip IV* shows conclusively that the theory of art was indeed considered, by the artists who ran the Academy, to form an important part of its role in persuading both artists and patrons in Seville to accept painting as a noble art.

Stirling had all the tools required to understand the painting's message. He had learned about the Seville Academy from Ceán Bermúdez's *Carta*, a copy of

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<sup>99</sup> See KUBLER, G. «Vicente Carducho's Allegories of Painting», *Art Bulletin*, vol. 47, Dec. 1965, pág. 443.

<sup>100</sup> VASARI, G., *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori et architetti*, 3 vols., ed. Carlo Manolesso, Bologna, 1647.

<sup>101</sup> PEVSNER, N., *Op. cit.*, págs. 42-3.

<sup>102</sup> In 1671, he was elected *alcalde* of the guild of painters. See ORTEGA POSTIGO, F., *Atrio*, no. 1, 1989, Seville, p. 109 and *Ms Academia*, fol. 36 v.

<sup>103</sup> ANGULO INIGUEZ, D., *Murillo: su vida, su arte, su obra*, Madrid, 1980-81, vol. I, pág. 66.

which he owned and knew well, as we have seen <sup>104</sup>. He also owned at least one copy of all the books referred to in Martínez's painting <sup>105</sup>. He was well aware of Carducho's legal battle to have paintings exempted from the *alcabala*, and even owned a copy of the extremely rare *Memorial* of 1629 containing the defence of art by Lope de Vega and others, as well as many other books relating to the nobility of art. <sup>106</sup>. Without a doubt, the portrait belonged in Stirling's collection.

## CONCLUSION

Martínez's *Portrait of Philip IV* is of course the supreme example of Stirling collecting to satisfy his historical interests. Nevertheless, this did not mean that he was not also a connoisseur. In the case of Goya's prints, for instance, his interests in proverbs or in Goya as a satirist were additional to, not instead of, his appreciation of them as works of art. Similarly, the fact that his enjoyment of Goya's etchings was related to his own involvement in the revival of printing and the arts of the book in the 19th century only added to his connoisseurship in this area <sup>107</sup>. Stirling was an historian and an antiquarian but these tendencies, like his advanced tastes and ideas, need to be seen in the context of the man as a whole. Otherwise, we are in danger of underestimating his important contribution to the historiography and collecting of Spanish art.

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<sup>104</sup> CEÁN BERMÚDEZ, J.A., *Carta ... a un amigo suyo sobre el estilo y gusto en la pintura de la escuela sevillana*, Cadiz, 1806.

<sup>105</sup> STIRLING, *Arts of Design*, 1850 and 2nd ed., 1860.

<sup>106</sup> Stirling discussed the *alcabala* and the supporting testimony by the writers in his short account of the *Diálogos*, in *Annals*, vol. II, págs. 492-495. He also mentioned Carducho's membership of the Florentine academy, pág. 492.

<sup>107</sup> See for example Stirling's privately printed facsimile books using the new photolithographic methods, such as *Examples of the Engraved Portraiture of the Sixteenth Century*, 1872.