

# COPIED BY THE SUN

TALBOTYPE  
ILLUSTRATIONS TO  
THE ANNALS OF  
THE ARTISTS OF SPAIN  
BY SIR WILLIAM  
STIRLING MAXWELL



STUDIES AND CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ

EDITED BY HILARY MACARTNEY  
AND JOSÉ MANUEL MATILLA

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### The Volume and the Project

The use of illustrations of artworks “copied by the sun” (Preface, p. vii) in the limited edition fourth volume which accompanied the three text volumes of the *Annals of the Artists of Spain* (1848) by William Stirling (Sir William Stirling Maxwell) made this the first book on art history to be illustrated with photographs.<sup>1</sup> The edition consisted of just fifty copies and was intended as an experiment.<sup>2</sup> The resulting volumes were given to friends, family, fellow Hispanophiles and libraries. Stirling’s Preface opens with an enthusiastic explanation that the illustrations were produced by the “beautiful photographic process invented by Mr. Fox Talbot” and a gracious acknowledgement of their photographer, Nicholaas Henneman, as the “intelligent agent of the inventor”, whilst at the same time clarifying his own role of “superintendence” of the enterprise (p. v). It closes with an invitation to other contributors to the history of art to illustrate their books with photographs, in which his use of the phrase “the pencil of nature” (p. viii) shows how he was consciously seeking to apply and extend Talbot’s own presentation of the possible uses of his new invention in *The Pencil of Nature*, issued in fascicles in 1844–46.

Despite the optimism conveyed by Stirling’s comments in his Preface, the enterprise was fraught with difficulties, as our studies here will show. Nevertheless, the *Annals Talbotypes* volume pointed the way towards the use of photography as the essential tool of Art History, and more particularly, to its use in the illustration of books on art, whether aimed at the scholarly community or providing wider access to art for a growing popular market. As Helene E. Roberts observed in her Preface to *Art History through the Camera’s Lens* (1995), “the ability to communicate with image and words together may be the greater influence of photography on the discipline of art history, greater even than the use of photographs to study works of art during the initial research process.”<sup>3</sup> This was certainly Stirling’s aim in both the text volumes and the *Talbotype Illustrations* of the *Annals*, and in their intended relationship with each other, as we seek to demonstrate.

Until now, assessment of the significance of the *Annals Talbotypes* volume has been hampered by its rarity and the deterioration of the photographs. Most scholars, even specialists, are unlikely to have seen a copy, or at most have formed their impressions from one copy. Our project, with its aim of reaching an understanding of the “ideal copy” discussed below, enabled us to examine twenty-three of the fifty copies produced and now housed in public and private collections in Britain, Spain, France and the United States. Our findings are presented here and, using specially commissioned, high-resolution digital images, form the basis for the digital reconstruction in the facsimile volume. Its publication at last enables much wider access to the volume and its images.

Our collaborative project also provided a unique opportunity for the volume’s significance to be assessed in the light of valuable knowledge exchange across several different fields. Thus, we brought together historians of early

## CHAPTER 1

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# STIRLING, THE *ANNALS* AND THE REPRODUCTION OF SPANISH ART

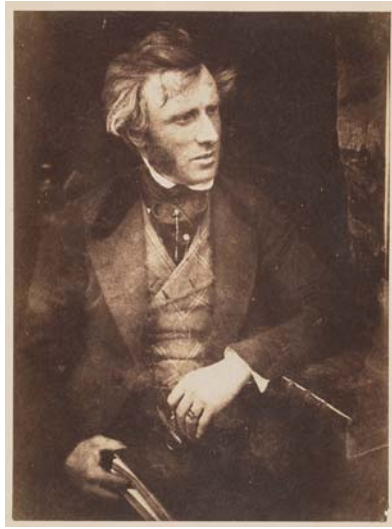
HILARY MACARTNEY

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SIR WILLIAM STIRLING MAXWELL 1818–78<sup>1</sup>

William Stirling (fig. 1) was one of the most significant figures in the history of British scholarship and collecting of Spanish art. He was born into two of the ancient landowning families of Scotland: the Stirlings of Keir in Perthshire and the Maxwells of Pollok, to the south of Glasgow.<sup>2</sup> He entered Trinity College, Cambridge in 1835, graduating B.A. in 1839 and proceeding M.A. in 1843. At Trinity, his tutor was William Whewell (1794–1866), one of the great historians of science of the day, and his friends included his countryman and relation Francis, Baron Napier (1819–98), and Ralph W. Grey (1819–69), to whom he dedicated the *Annals Talbotypes* volume.<sup>3</sup> Like most young men of his class, he followed university with a Grand Tour, during which he visited Germany, Switzerland, France and Italy in 1839–40. His hopes of an early entry into Parliament were dashed when he failed to be selected as a Tory candidate at that time. He was bitterly disappointed and embarked on a more extensive journey in 1841–43, which this time also included Spain and the Middle East. Many of his scholarly and collecting interests emerged at this time and were developed in the following years.

Between 1841 and publication of his major work, the *Annals of the Artists of Spain* in 1848, Stirling made just three short trips to Spain.<sup>4</sup> By the end of the second of these, at the beginning of 1843, he had resolved to write a history of Spanish art. He visited Paris more frequently and was familiar with Spanish art collections there, especially the Galerie Espagnole of King Louis-Philippe in the Louvre. In addition, he had visited collections in Britain and elsewhere on the Continent. The *Annals* was well received overall and Stirling visited Spain again in 1849 to prepare a second edition which, however, appeared only posthumously in 1891. Other publications on Spain and Spanish art included *Velazquez and his Works* (1855), *The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth* (1852), *Don John of Austria or Passages from the History of the Sixteenth Century*



3. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, *Mark Napier*, c. 1845–46. Salt paper print from calotype negative. Edinburgh, Scottish National Portrait Gallery

sonnet in memory of El Greco. They shared an interest in art, and as a diplomat in Naples, Lord Napier went on to develop a particular interest in Ribera. Mark Napier (1798–1879; fig. 3), a lawyer and writer on Scottish history who was likewise related to Francis Napier and Stirling, played a major role in the illustrations for the *Annals*. His letters to Stirling reveal his wit and powerful personality. They shared interests in history and book illustration, though his lack of objectivity in the former was highlighted by his biographer, who complained of the “controversial tone and violent language”, his “fanatical” Jacobitism and the “exaggeration” of his representations.<sup>42</sup>

#### THE ANNALS TALBOTYPES: RECONSTRUCTING THE PHOTOGRAPHIC EXPERIMENT

In Autumn 1845, Mark Napier heard from Francis Napier about Stirling’s plans to include illustrations in the *Annals*, and on 2 October he wrote to Stirling to offer his assistance by contacting: “A young man of the name of Bell [who] used to engrave for my idle works.”<sup>43</sup> His offer was evidently accepted and, by March 1846, Mark Napier was almost satisfied with the engraving Robert Charles Bell (1806–72) had been commissioned to make of Murillo’s *Guardian Angel* (fig. 3, Chapter 2), from a copy of 1809 by Salvador Gutiérrez after the original in Seville Cathedral, though it seems to have been a difficult process:

I have done my best to instil into our friend Bell the propriety of making that winged figure only a *little lower* than the Angels. I do think it is much better than when you saw it last; and that the engraving will by no means disgrace your book. The fault which he has still to redeem is a certain hardness of outline and harshness



5. Unknown photographer, *The Immaculate Conception of the Franciscans*. Albumen photographic print of the original painting by Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, replacing *Annals Talbotype* no. 46, of the copy by José Roldán in Census S4. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Romanticismo

described his surprise on opening the packet to discover “your beautiful Talbotype illustrations!” He rubbed his eyes and asked his wife “if it were possible that, short-lived as your beautiful volumes have been, their generative power was such as to have produced a Baby?” After discussing the heraldic motifs of the cover, he concluded: “The binding with its sevenfold crowns will perish, but the Book itself certainly will never do so.”<sup>56</sup> The Honourable Mrs Rashleigh (Census S18) recognised the difficulty of producing such illustrations, and part of her response was to the printed slip inviting recipients to return any faulty impressions to Henneman for exchange: “What a great acquisition the talbotypes are to the book, & what trouble they must have caused you—but how nicely they are done! I have no wish to *change* any of them.”<sup>57</sup> Others such as the philologist and Biblical scholar J.W. Donaldson (1811–61; Census L9) were more critical, observing that though “[s]ome of them are very good [...] there are decided inequalities”.<sup>58</sup>

One of the most cautious though informed responses came from John Gibson Lockhart (1794–1854), whose copy (Census S8), now in the Prado, is one of the best preserved.<sup>59</sup> The translator of *Ancient Spanish Ballads*, which had been

and the concern to preserve the values of the traditional arts of the book apparent in the design and production values of the text volumes. Stirling was unlikely to have considered himself an art historian by any definition of the term today. Nevertheless, the publication of the *Annals* transformed him overnight into “the” authority on Spanish art in nineteenth-century Britain and, along with the author of the *Hand-book for Spain*, Richard Ford, into “the other” great Hispanophile and authority on “*cosas de España*”. Despite its limited circulation and in spite of all its problems, the *Annals Talbotypes* volume pointed a way for the use of photography as an essential tool of the art historian. Given the limited access to Spanish art that Stirling himself had had by the time of publication of the *Annals*, his achievement in his book without the aid of photography was remarkable. Although, of course, its production was prohibitively expensive at the time, except as the experiment of a very wealthy man, the *Annals Talbotypes* volume also pointed towards a future in which art would become much more widely accessible, and not just to scholars and connoisseurs, through photographically illustrated books.

- 1 For Stirling’s biography, see also Macartney 2003c. For an overview of Stirling’s scholarship and collecting of Spanish art, see E. Harris 1964a, reprinted in Glendinning and Macartney 2010, pp. 220–27. On his collection of Spanish art, see Macartney 2011a, and on his library, Macartney 2002a, pp. 266–70. On Stirling’s travels and correspondence relating to Spain in the 1840s, see Brigstocke 2015; and Brigstocke 1999.
- 2 For the Stirlings of Keir, see Fraser 1858; and for the Maxwells of Pollok, see Fraser 1863.
- 3 For Whewell, see Yeo 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/29200?docPos=1> [accessed 29 January 2016]. For Francis Napier, see Arbuthnot 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/19752?docPos=2> [accessed 29 January 2016]. For Grey, see Boase 1892, vol. I, 1242.
- 4 For preparation of the *Annals*, see Macartney 2003c. Stirling’s travel notebooks and much relevant correspondence have recently been published in Brigstocke 2015.
- 5 For the Spanish translation of Stirling’s monograph on Velázquez, see Stirling 1856a and Stirling 1999. For those in French, see Stirling 1855 and Stirling 1865a; and for the German, Stirling 1856b. For the abridged Spanish version of his life of Charles V, see Herrera 1958.
- 6 For the architectural history, see Rowan, 1975.
- 7 Waagen 1857, p. 453.
- 8 For the sale of the library furniture, see Christie’s 1995, lots 123–31.
- 9 See Maver 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/75306?docPos=1> [accessed 29 January 2016].
- 10 Outlined in Stirling 1872, pp. 428–34.
- 11 For the Manchester Art Treasures exhibition and its significance, see Pergam 2011.
- 12 For Caroline Norton, see Reynolds 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/20339?docPos=1> [accessed 29 January 2016]. See also Atkinson 2012.
- 13 Stirling is unlikely to have known of the manuscript of the unpublished *Historia del arte de la pintura* compiled by Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez in the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando. See Ceán 1951–53; and Lafuente 1951.
- 14 Stirling 1848, pp. 3–4.
- 15 For the camera lucida, see T-SK 29/1/50, William Stirling to his sister Hannah-Ann, 7 November 1841. References to T-SK are to the Stirling of Keir Papers, owned by Glasgow Archives.
- 16 T-SK 29/1/52, Stirling to Hannah-Ann Stirling, 2 December 1841. Stirling would have been familiar with the original of the Murillo *Gipsy Madonna* in the Corsini Gallery from his visit to Rome in 1839–40. For the copy formerly at Keir House, see Keir Survey 1977, H2902.
- 17 For the engravings, by Henry Adlard, see Stirling 1848, facing 768 and 780.
- 18 T-SK 29/55/7, Juan Antonio Bailly (on behalf of José Roldán) to Stirling, Seville, 14 September 1845.
- 19 T-SK 29/55/14, José Roldán to Juan Antonio Bailly, 19 June 1845, and forwarded to Stirling.

## CHAPTER 2

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# REPRODUCTION AS INTERPRETATION OF ART: THE VISUAL SOURCES FOR THE ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE *ANNALS*

JOSÉ MANUEL MATILLA

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When reconstructing the process of selecting the illustrations to the four volumes of the *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, three containing text and one Talbotypes, a number of questions arise about Stirling's intentions and the use to which the illustrations were put, as well as about which works were available to him and which ones could be reproduced in photographs. It is evident that, as a bibliophile and scholar, the Scotsman was aware of the role played by images in books and put this knowledge into practice when he illustrated the *Annals*, his first major work. This experience enabled him to assess their usefulness from a twofold perspective: for their ability to adorn and make the book an attractive and coveted object; and for their semantic value as enhancers of the meaning of the words. Illustrations have served these purposes ever since printing was invented, the three main types of images contained in books—frontispieces, portraits of authors and illustrations of the text—being determining factors in enabling readers to grasp the full meaning and significance of a book. Stirling's volumes consciously continued this tradition.

### THE *ANNALS*

Imitating the appearance of old books, Stirling began each of the three text volumes of the *Annals* with an architectural frontispiece. He struck an unusual, very scholarly note in using a reproduction of a drawing then attributed to Alonso Cano, which had passed from the Standish collection to the Galerie Espagnole of Louis-Philippe (1838–48) in the Louvre.<sup>1</sup> The choice of Cano may have been a symbolic way of summing up his book in a single image, as the artist embodied in his own practice the various disciplines covered by Stirling in his





3. Robert Charles Bell after Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *Guardian Angel*. Steel engraving, reproduced in William Stirling, *Annals of the Artist of Spain*. London: John Ollivier, 1848, vol. II, facing p. 880

copied using the steel engraving technique. There are two paintings in Seville Cathedral which Stirling held to be masterpieces: Alonso Cano's *Our Lady of Bethlehem*, engraved by Adlard, and Murillo's *Guardian Angel*, engraved by Robert Charles Bell (1806–1872) (fig. 3). In both cases, the sources were oil copies painted by Sevillian artists. *Our Lady of Bethlehem* is based on a copy by José Roldán y Martínez (1808–1871) that was commissioned in 1845 while Stirling was in Seville and was also used as a model for a photograph not included in the Talbotypes volume (no. A). That year Roldán likewise made copies of the two drawings in the Hospital of Charity included in the second volume,<sup>15</sup> as well as copies of Murillo paintings used as models for the Talbotypes, which will be examined later on. The *Guardian Angel* is based on a copy by Salvador Gutiérrez that was painted in 1809 and was at Keir House when Stirling wrote his text.<sup>16</sup> Stirling underlined the novelty and interest of this engraving, which he described as “the first attempt that has yet been made to make one of the gems of the Cathedral known beyond the walls of Seville.”

The rest of the illustrations scattered throughout the pages of the three volumes, interspersed with the text, were mostly reproduced by means of simple woodcuts, nearly all of them executed by W. G. Mason from Stirling's own drawings<sup>17</sup> or, in a few cases, sketches made from life, such as the *View of Lebrija* and



## CHAPTER 3

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# (RE)CONSTRUCTING THE *ANNALS TALBOTYPES* VOLUME

HILARY MACARTNEY AND DAVID WESTON

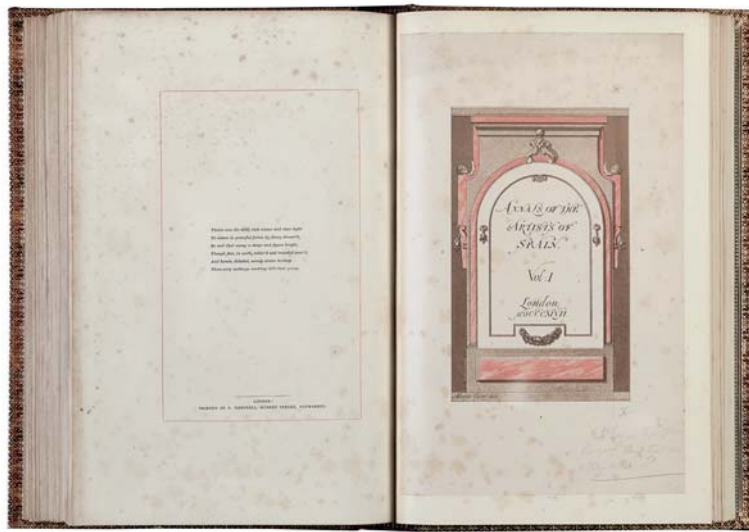
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After the draft of the text of the *Annals of the Artists of Spain* was turned down by the publisher John Murray in 1845, Stirling persevered. The form in which his book finally appeared in 1848 was much more elaborate than Murray or any other commercial publisher would have been likely to consider viable. Instead, like many of the most ambitious illustrated books produced in Britain in the nineteenth century, it was self-funded.

### THE *ANNALS* TEXT VOLUMES

Stirling's *Annals of the Artists of Spain* was published in London by John Ollivier (1812–1893), who had set up in business as a bookseller and stationer at 59 Pall Mall in 1840. By 1845, Stirling had an account with him and purchased a wide range of books from him, including some of direct relevance to his research, such as Richard Ford's *Hand-book for Travellers in Spain* (1845) and Captain S. E. Cook's (or Widdrington's) *Sketches in Spain* (1834).<sup>1</sup> By the mid-1840s, Ollivier was also publishing on a small scale, mainly short tracts of a political nature, although he did publish a handful of more substantial volumes with illustrations.<sup>2</sup> In 1848, he also published the second edition of Stirling's *Songs of the Holy Land*, poems inspired by the latter's journey to the Middle East in 1841–42.<sup>3</sup> The *Annals* was by far the most lavish product to be issued under his imprint.

With 1400 printed pages, extensively illustrated with woodcuts and fifteen engraved and lithographed plates, the three-volume *Annals* was a complex undertaking in itself, quite apart from the additional photographic volume. Stirling's own close involvement with the design can also be traced in the proofs of the page illustrations and ornaments which have been preserved in copy L23 of the *Annals Talbotypes* volume, including the layout of the lettering of the frontispiece adapted from the design for an altarpiece attributed to Cano (fig. 1).



1. *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, vol. 1, frontispiece designed by William Stirling, c. 1845–46, adapted from a drawing for an altarpiece, attributed to Alonso Cano. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Standish Collection. Colour lithograph by J. Jobbins

This colour lithograph also reflects interest in other new printing techniques in the 1840s in Britain, as did the chromolithography designs by Owen Jones for Talbot's *Pencil of Nature*, or John Murray's 1841 edition of John Gibson Lockhart's *Ancient Spanish Ballads*, and in many ways encapsulates the hybrid of old and new approaches to the arts of the book that Stirling created in his *Annals of the Artists of Spain*.

Ollivier's account shows his role in managing the production of the edition, including outsourcing the many specialist processes involved (see Appendix 2). Although he was not funding the venture himself, his role nevertheless involved managing the flow of work and cash as Stirling made payments on account, and his letters to Stirling frequently hint at the precariousness of his situation.<sup>4</sup> Ollivier continued in business in Pall Mall until his bankruptcy in 1852, after which he emigrated to New Zealand in 1853.

In common with most London publishers, Ollivier would not have had any printing capacity, instead employing the services of an established trade printer, in this case Thomas Brettell of Rupert Street in Haymarket. A typical edition size in the mid-nineteenth century for the first printing of new books of fiction, history, biography and travel was 750–1,250 copies, and so in that regard the *Annals* is not exceptional.<sup>5</sup> Ollivier's bill confirms that there were three states of the three-volume published text, namely:

1. the ordinary, standard paper size of which 750 were printed;
2. the small presentation copy, of the same size as the standard paper copy but printed in a finer "India" ink and with two additional plates, of which 25 were printed; and

## CHAPTER 4

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# CAPTURING THE SHADOWS: PHOTOGRAPHY AT THE TIME OF THE *ANNALS*

LARRY J. SCHAAF

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### THE INVENTION

Photography was just a nine-year-old child at the time of the publication of the *Annals of the Artists of Spain*. Like many a precocious youngster, it scamp-ered between a crystal-clear perception of the present, a great potential for the future and, periodically, an unexpectedly cantankerous temperament. Apply-ing photography to the *Annals* was a boldly pioneering venture requiring both great imagination and no small amount of bravado. William Henry Fox Talbot (1800–1877) had set out to invent photography out of necessity since in spite of many accomplishments, he was hopeless as a draughtsman (fig. 1). When photography was announced to the public in 1839, Talbot relied heavily on as-sistance from his Dutch-born valet, Nicolaas Henneman (1813–1898; fig. 2).<sup>1</sup> Henneman's imagination was so fired up by the new art that within a few years he struck off on his own, establishing the world's first manufactory specifically designed to produce photographs for publications. This became the crucible for William Stirling's groundbreaking volume.

Several years before, in the autumn of 1833, Talbot was on the shores of Lake Como in Italy, travelling with his new wife and several other family members. He had been a precocious child himself, brought up by his widowed mother Lady Elisabeth (1773–1846), a daughter of the Earl of Ilchester with a formi-dable intellect and a burning ambition for her son. By the time of this grand tour, Henry Talbot had already substantially realised his mother's ambitions.



1 Antoine Claudet, *William Henry Fox Talbot*, c. 1844. Daguerrotype. London, The British Library [Talbot Photo 4 (2)]



5 and 6. Attributed to Benjamin Cowderoy or Calvert R. Jones, *The Reading Establishment*, left-hand view, and right-hand view, 1845–46. Salt prints from calotype negatives. Bradford, National Media Museum, Talbot Collection, 1937-3151, and 1937-3150/3

the image of the original to whatever size was needed, all done by Nature and thus completely true to the original.<sup>7</sup> It is little wonder that William Stirling saw in photography the potential for radically altering the way that the history of art could be presented to the public.

#### THE READING ESTABLISHMENT

The scene in the famous views of *The Reading Establishment* (figs. 5 and 6) shows Henneman's photographic establishment in 1846, around the time the idea for photographic plates for the *Annals* was being conceived. This obviously staged *tableau vivant* demonstrated the various components of an emerging nineteenth-century industrial operation, one dependent on the synchronised actions of specialist workers. It is an idealised view of what Talbot and Henneman hoped for, and it expresses the atmosphere of confidence and optimism in which this project was born. It is also the best descriptor we have of the production of the photographic volume of the *Annals of the Artists of Spain*. Even as this photograph was being taken, Henneman was shifting his business to the metropolis of London, and it would in fact have been at his London studio that the photographic plates for the *Annals* were printed. In the autumn of 1847 he went into partnership with Thomas Augustine Malone (1823–1867), a chemist who had started assisting him at Reading. We have no comparable visual documentation of the new operation at 122 Regent Street in London, but the basic procedures would have been the same as those depicted here. For such an elaborately choreographed production as would be needed for this image, surprisingly little is known with certainty about this pair of photographs. The brick buildings in the background remain recognisable in Reading, proving the photograph's location, but the glass house was subsequently sold and knocked down.

The original calotype negatives survive in very good condition but are unmarked save for pencil 'X's in the corners.<sup>8</sup> This alignment technique was utilised

## CHAPTER 5

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# DOCUMENTING THE PHOTOGRAPHY FOR THE *ANNALS* *TALBOTYPES*

HILARY MACARTNEY  
WITH BRIAN LIDDY AND COLIN HARDING

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### SOURCES OF INFORMATION

In addition to the valuable though constructed image of the process of photographing art provided in the Reading Establishment views, much fascinating information about the specific commission for the *Talbotype Illustrations to the Annals of the Artists of Spain* can be gleaned from photographic and documentary sources.

Nicolaas Henneman's photography for the *Annals Talbotypes*, or certainly much of it, can be documented as having taken place between March and June 1847, according to his statements of account to Stirling, and the latter's own lists of items given to Henneman for photography (see Appendix 5). A few letters also provide valuable additional information. Henneman's statements variously give Reading and London addresses, reflecting the period of transfer of location of the business. Many of the entries in the statements are simply for "Talbotypes", subject unspecified, and usually supplied in batches of twenty-five, though occasionally singly.<sup>1</sup> However, up to thirty-four of the named subjects in the statements can be identified as referring to Spanish artworks, although four of these were not used in the final volume.<sup>2</sup>

The paper negatives of the *Talbotype Illustrations to the Annals of the Artists of Spain* have unfortunately never been located, though they clearly still existed in 1850 when Stirling gave Edward Vernon Utterson, the bibliophile and compiler of the album now in the British Museum, permission to make new positives from "negative proofs".<sup>3</sup> However, Henneman's stock of positive proofs and variants directly associated with Stirling's commission of photographs for the *Annals*, or what seems to have remained of it in his studio after the fifty volumes were bound up, has survived and is now in the Talbot Collection in the National Media Museum. This remarkable cache of around 485 salt prints is further outlined in the individual catalogue entries. Combined with the archival evidence, these working proofs, which appear to include rejects and failed experiments,

## CHAPTER 6

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# QUESTIONS OF FADING: SCIENCE, DEBATE AND ANALYSIS IN THE *ANNALS TALBOTYPES*

JIM TATE AND HILARY MACARTNEY  
WITH MAUREEN YOUNG

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### THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY DEBATE

#### Introduction

In the years since the invention of the calotype or Talbotype process, much has been written about the deterioration of the salt prints produced by it, most notably their tendency to fade, often dramatically and particularly around the edges. This chapter examines for the first time some of the questions of fading and other difficulties of the technique with specific reference to the *Talbotype Illustrations to the Annals of the Artists of Spain*. We present here the results of initial analysis carried out on examples of the *Annals Talbotypes* bound edition and related material using current scientific technology, and study these in the light of the debate that has surrounded the question of fading since the nineteenth century, including the different theories put forward to explain it. The Stirling Maxwell Research Project provided a remarkable opportunity for examination of the *Annals Talbotypes* and comparative photographs. Although the time available for analysis was short, it did enable sufficient measurements to be made to reveal for the first time significant variations in elemental composition across the images. The conclusions that have been drawn must be regarded as preliminary in the absence, to date, of more extensive measurements. Nevertheless, they point the way for further work on a larger sample from these images and offer scope for the application of further analytical techniques to enhance and extend these early results.

#### Stirling and the Testimony of the *Annals Talbotypes*

Both Henneman and Stirling must have been aware of potential shortcomings in the photographs for the *Annals Talbotypes* volume by the time they were distributed, as a printed slip was inserted into the bound volumes advising recipients: “The faulty Impressions in this volume may be exchanged for others, on application to Mr. HENNEMAN, 122, Regent Street.”<sup>1</sup> The problems they anticipated

CATALOGUE  
RAISONNÉ  
OF THE PHOTOGRAPHIC  
PLATES IN THE *ANNALS*  
*TALBOTYPES*  
VOLUME

HILARY MACARTNEY AND JOSÉ MANUEL MATILLA  
WITH BEATRIZ NARANJO

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NOTES TO THE READER

This *Catalogue Raisonné* provides the following information:

**Talbotype Number:**

As shown on the numbered plates.

**Artist & Title:**

Text from the *Contents* (pp. vii–xii).

**Reconstruction based on example(s):**

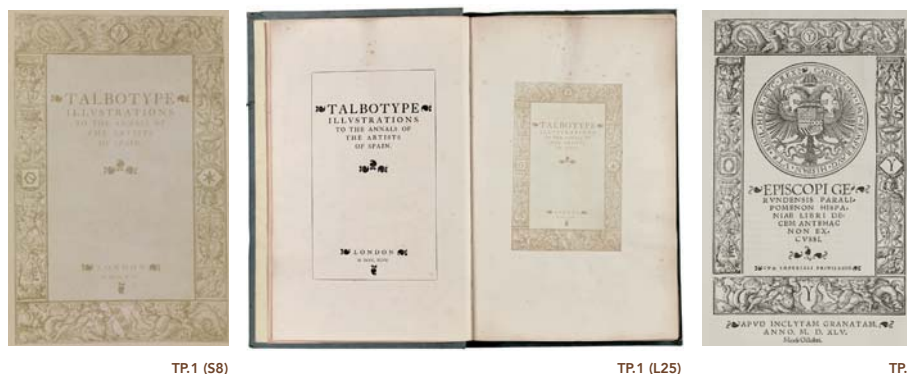
Lists the example(s) from the Edition Plates and/or the proofs from Henneman's Stock that were used in the digital reconstruction for the ideal facsimile volume.

The examples reproduced in each catalogue entry are identified by the number(s) shown in this section. The example from the Museo Nacional del Prado copy (S8) will always be reproduced as the default, as well as the proof from Henneman's Stock (if any) used in the facsimile reconstruction. In the case of original or intermediary artworks that exist in multiple copies (books and prints), the source of the example illustrated is given at the end of the book (Photographic Credits).

The catalogue entry continues with information presented in numbered sections preceded by the *Talbotype Number* (2.2, 2.3, etc.). Only relevant numbered sections are included for each entry. Thus, for example, if no variants have been found, no section 4 will be shown.



**TP** | TITLE PAGE [...]. Borders taken from the title pages of *Chronica Aelii Antonii Nebrissensis Rerum a Fernand. et Elizab. Hisp. Reg. gestarum, &c.* fol. Granat. 1545



Reconstruction based on example(s): S8 and L25

**TP.1 | Edition Plates**

14.4 x 9.3 cm

Inscription: TALBOTYPE / ILLUSTRATIONS / TO THE ANNALS OF / THE ARTISTS / OF SPAIN. // LONDON / M. DCCC. XLVII.

All examples studied are relatively pale, with few, if any areas of rich or darker brown tone. Many copies show a noticeable fade pattern, with greater loss of density of tone at one or both sides, or at corners. In some cases the image is largely faded overall.

Many copies examined have lines of retouching in brown ink on the decorative border.

**TP.5 | Artwork Photographed**

Decorative Border to the Title Page of *Episcopi Gerundensis*, 1545

Woodcut, 23.9 x 15.5 cm

Book: Juan de Margarit y de Pau, *Episcopi Gerundensis Paralipomenon Hispaniae libri decem antehac non excussi*. Included in: Fernando del Pulgar, *Habes in hoc volumine amice lector Aelii Antonii Nebrissensis Rerum a Fernando & Elisabe Hispaniarum foelicissimis Regibus gesta[rum] Decades duas: Necnō belli Nauariensis libros duos, Annexa insuper Archiepi Roderici Chronica aliisq[ue] historiis antehac non excussis [...]*. Granada: Sancho y Sebastián de Nebrija, 1545, title page.

**TP.7 | References in *Annals of the Artists of Spain***

And as the best engravers, in the great artistic days of Spain, were chiefly employed on the frontispieces of books, I have made myself // acquainted with, at least, the title pages of a considerable phalanx of Castilian authors. (Vol. *Talbotypes*, "Preface", pp. v–vi)

**TP.9 | Notes**

Juan de Margarit y de Pau's *Episcopi Gerundensis* [...] was one of five historical works in Latin included in Fernando del Pulgar, *Habes in hoc volumine amice lector* [...], referred to by Stirling as *Chronica Aelii Antonii Nebrissensis* [...]. See Catálogo Colectivo del Patrimonio Bibliográfico Español (CCPB) for full titles ([http://ccpb\\_opac.mcu.es/CCPBopac/](http://ccpb_opac.mcu.es/CCPBopac/)). For his title page, Stirling borrowed and adapted several elements from the sixteenth-century

2 | JUAN DE YCIAR, f. 1550

His Portrait. From his book, *Arte subtilissima par la qual se enseña a escrevir*, 4to. Çaragoça, 1550



2.1 (S8)

2.1 (L23)

2.3 (/1)

2.5

Reconstruction based on example(s): S8, L23, and NMeM 1937-3360/1

2.1 | Edition Plates

10.2 x 6.7 cm

The overall tonality of the image in L23 remains dark brown, despite some apparent loss of density. In other copies, the image retains areas of dark brown or red-brown tone (notably in L10, S12, L1, L12, S2, L16), within a pattern of significant edge or lateral fading. In a number of copies the image has faded almost completely to tones of green, pale green and pale brown. A white spot at left, below the hat, on all copies indicates a defect on the negative.

Several copies have small spots or lines of retouch in dark brown/black. L23 and L12 copies have two tiny spots of retouch at top left on the hat.

2.3 | Henneman's Stock

NMeM 1937-3360/1-3

10.1 x 6.7 cm

Three untrimmed proofs from the trimmed negative. Proof /1 has a dark brown tone overall, as in the L23 of bound edition, and with similar unevenness of tone at corners. White mark at upper right on cap. Proofs /2 and /3 are pale and yellowed.

2.5 | Artwork Photographed

Juan de Vingles (1498–act. Zaragoza, 1547–1552)

*Portrait of Juan de Iciar*, 1548

Woodcut, 15 x 10.5 cm

Inscription: IOANNES DE YCIAR AETATIS SVE ANNO XXV

Book: Juan de Iciar, *Arte subtilissima, por la qual se enseña a escreuir perfectamente / hecho y experimentado, y agora de nuevo añadido, por Juan de yciar vizcayno*, Zaragoza: Pedro Bernuz, 1550, page v. A4.

- 6 | JUAN BAUTISTA DE TOLEDO, d. 1567  
JUAN DE HERRERA, d. 1579

General View of San Lorenzo del Escorial [...] / From the *Coleccion de diferentes vistas del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial* ; por J. Gomez de Navia ; Madrid, 1800



6.1 (S8)



6.3 (/3)



6.5

Reconstruction based on example(s): S8, L10, L23 and NMeM 1937-3376/3

#### 6.1 | Edition Plates

8.6 x 13.5 cm

In the best examples studied (including L10, S8, L23, L15 L25), the image exhibits a classic edge fade pattern, with darker, richer tones of brown or red-brown at the centre, and green, pale green or pale brown at the periphery. The extent and density of the area of richer tone varies between copies. In other cases, the image is almost completely pale overall. Some copies have tiny white spots on the shaded side of the building. To judge from the very rich tone remaining at the centre of the building in examples such as L10 and L15, the Talbotype image, at least in these cases, would have been more uniformly rich and dark than the engraving photographed, which shows more distinction in tone between foreground and middle ground.

Most copies studied share a dark brown retouch covering a white spot, almost half way along the shaded left side of the building.

10 | DOMENICO THEOTOCOPULI, “EL GRECO,” d. 1625

Portrait of his daughter. At Paris, in the Louvre; Galerie Espagnole, No. 259.  
From a drawing by William Barclay, Esq.



10.1 (S8)

10.3 (/2)

10.5

Reconstruction based on example(s): S8

10.1 | Edition Plates

6.7 x 5.4 cm

The remaining tone is often patchy and paper looks abraded in some instances studied, giving the image a rather muddy appearance. Nevertheless, some examples, including S8, S12, L10, S14 and L11, retain substantial brown or red-brown tone overall with only slight edge fade. Many others are pale brown overall, often in combination with edge fade and little if any richer tone remaining. S1, though otherwise pale, retains two central areas of rich brown tone on hands and face.

Copies examined show a number of small blackish retouch spots, many occurring in the same areas in each copy. Two at top right, to the right of the head, correspond with white spots on untrimmed examples in Henneman's stock.

10.2 | Albums

BM 1857.0228.71

Inscribed in black crayon below centre: "10", and in pencil "71". The example in Utterson's album is pale brown overall with several small blackish retouch spots, including two to the right of the head, and a larger patch at top right.

10.3 | Henneman's Stock

NMeM 1937-3379/1-2

6.7 x 5.5 cm

Two untrimmed proofs from the trimmed negative. Proof /1 is on thicker paper with distinct woven texture visible on verso and has areas of yellowing and abrasion. Proof /2 has some foxing-type staining and a crease at upper left. A few little stains, including on the face, mar the image. Two white dots at upper right in both examples indicate flaws on the negative.

10.5 | Artwork Photographed

William Barclay (1797–1859) after El Greco (1541–1614)

*The Daughter of Theotocopuli by her Father*, c. 1844–46

13 | JUAN MARTINEZ MONTAÑES, f. 1508–1640

Our Lord and St. John Baptist [...]. From two bas-reliefs in *barro*, painted clay or terra cotta, each 5 inches high by 4 inches wide, in the possession of Richard Ford, Esq.



13.1 (S8)



13.3 (/1)



13.5

Reconstruction based on example(s): S8 and NMeM 1937-3391/1

13.1 | **Edition Plates**

7.7 x 5.9 cm

The best examples examined, notably S8 and L10, show only slight edge fade and otherwise retain good rich brown or red-brown tone. Others show a combination of edge and general fading, or appear to have lost density of tone overall.

Many examples have small dark retouch spots. Some, such as L10, also (or instead) have larger areas or lines of retouching. In others, such as L20, S12 and S1, lines have been added to give greater definition to forms and background.

13.2 | **Albums**

GM 84.XZ.574.154

7.8 x 6.1 cm

In the example in the Brewster album, the image is pale brown overall with a few small retouches.

13.3 | **Henneman's Stock**

NMeM 1937-3391/1-7

7.7 x 5.9 cm

Seven untrimmed proofs ranging from pale brown to rich grey-brown tone: /1 and /4 have rich tone; /2 and /3 are dark; and /5 and /6 lighter. Proof /7 is torn and the image is reversed.

13.5 | **Artwork Photographed**

Circle of Juan Martínez Montañés (1568–1649)

*The Christ Child and Infant St John the Baptist*, c. 1620–50

Polychromed terracotta relief, 13.2 x 10.3 cm; 28.9 x 28.7 cm (with frame)

Pendant to no. 14

London, Ford Collection

Insription: On label on reverse, in Richard Ford's hand: "Painted terracotta Christ and St John by Montanes. A rare specimen bought by me at Seville in 1832 ex Collection

D | FRANCISCO DE GOYA Y LUCIENTES, b. 1746, d. 1828

*Children at Play (Soldiers)*



D.4 (/22)



D.5

D.4 | **Variants Henneman**

NMeM 1937-3197/1-23

9 x 12.7 cm

Twenty-three proofs, which include both trimmed and untrimmed examples and a wide range of tones, from extremely pale to very dark. Lighting also appears to have varied, as the texture of the canvas and the paint is more prominent in some. In a number of cases, detail is lacking, notably on faces. Several are torn or have chemical damage.

D.5 | **Artwork Photographed**

Attributed to Francisco de Goya (1746–1828)

*Boys Playing at Soldiers*, c. 1777

Oil on canvas, 29.2 x 41.9 cm

Glasgow Museums, Pollok House, Stirling Maxwell Collection

D.7 | **References in *Annals of the Artists of Spain***

I possess four of [Goya's] hasty sketches of children at play, in which are introduced some small urchins, equipped as miniature friars and pummelling one another with all the ardour of Dominicans and Capuchins bickering about the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, or the right of vending of indulgences. (Vol. III, Chap. XVI: "Reigns of the Bourbons", p. 1265)

D.8 | **Documentation of Photography**

28 April and 28 June 1847 (see Appendices 3/1 & 5/4).

D.9 | **Notes**

Stirling apparently purchased these four oil sketches of boys playing in Seville in 1842, his first known purchases of Spanish art.

The set of sketches are (Gassier and Wilson 1971, nos. 154–57): *Boys Playing at Soldiers* and *Boys Playing at See-saw* (Pollok House), *Boys Scrambling for Chestnuts* and *Boys Bird-nesting* (formerly at Keir, see Douglas [n. d.], nos. 7–8).

For an assessment of issues of attribution and dates surrounding these and other versions of compositions of boys playing, see Rose-de Viejo 2003 and Macartney 2003b.



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**S12**

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| <b>Recipient</b>     | John Stirling of Kippendavie  |
| <b>Collection</b>    | Austin, University of Texas, Harry Ransom Center, Inv. 964:1007:0001-0066   |
| <b>Provenance</b>    | Helmut Gernsheim Collection; purchased by the University of Texas in 1963. Helmut Gernsheim (1913-1995) was one of the most influential historians and collectors of photography. His collection at the University of Texas at Austin also contains his notes and archives, including his record card on this volume, f/TR/395/T243.  |
| <b>Inscriptions</b>  | Vol. IV: presentation page inscribed in ink by Stirling: "To/ John Stirling/ Keir, Aug. 12/ 1848."  |
| <b>Binding</b>       | The volume is in the original binding.  |
| <b>Condition</b>     | The plates show typical signs of deterioration, including edge fade. Nevertheless, a number that still show good tone and density include the following: 49, 55, 57 and 58. Nos. 37 and 42 are wrongly numbered. Several show signs of retouches. According to Gernsheim, this copy had one of the printed slips advising the recipient: "The faulty impressions in this volume may be exchanged for others, on application to Mr. Henneman, 122 Regent Street."  |
| <b>Biography</b>     | John Stirling (1811–1882), 7th laird of Kippendavie, JP, and Depute Lieutenant for Perthshire, Burgess of Stirling, was descended from Archibald Stirling, whose title to the barony of Kippendavie had been established in the sixteenth century. John Stirling was chairman of the North British Railway Co. and Director of the Royal Bank of Scotland. He succeeded his grandfather to his estates in 1816, and in 1839, married his cousin, Catherine Mary Wellings. [Source: Fraser 1857, pp. 113–14] |
| <b>Documentation</b> | T-SK 29/49/99, 29 July 1848.  |

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**S13**

|                   |  |
|-------------------|--|
| <b>Recipient</b>  | Mrs Stirling of Gargunnoch   |
| <b>Collection</b> | Present whereabouts unknown  |
| <b>Biography</b>  | Christian Hamilton (d. 1890) married Charles Stirling (1796–1839) of Gargunnoch, a Glasgow merchant, and son of John Stirling, 6th Laird of the nearby lands of Kippendavie. [Source: Fraser 1857, pp. 103–14] |

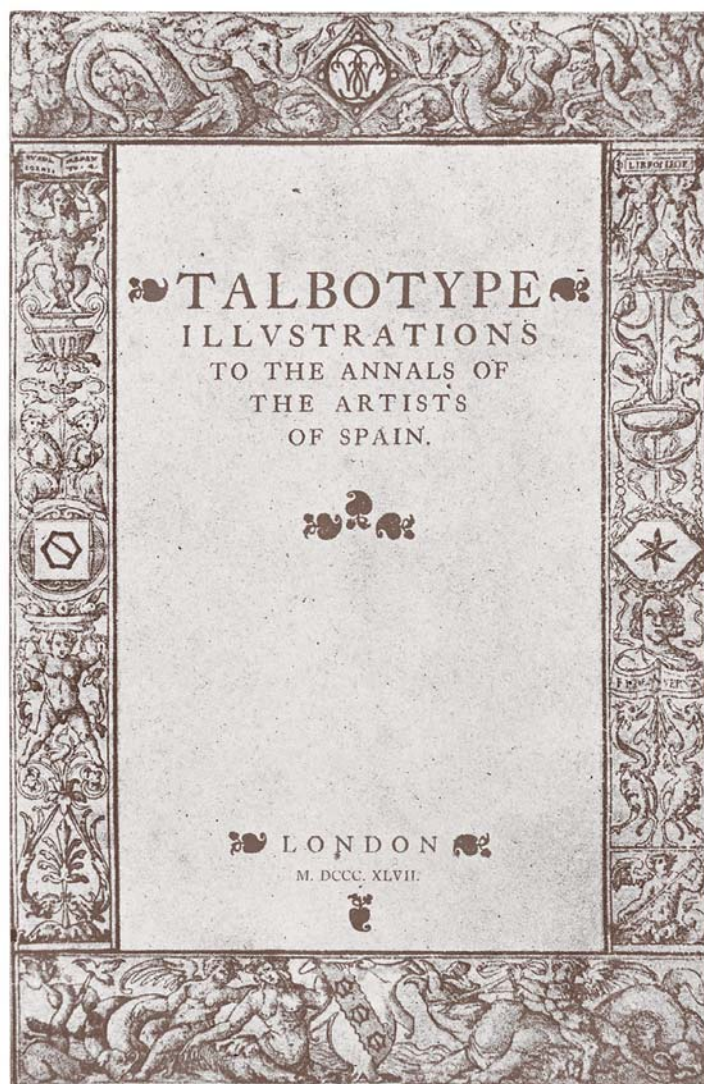
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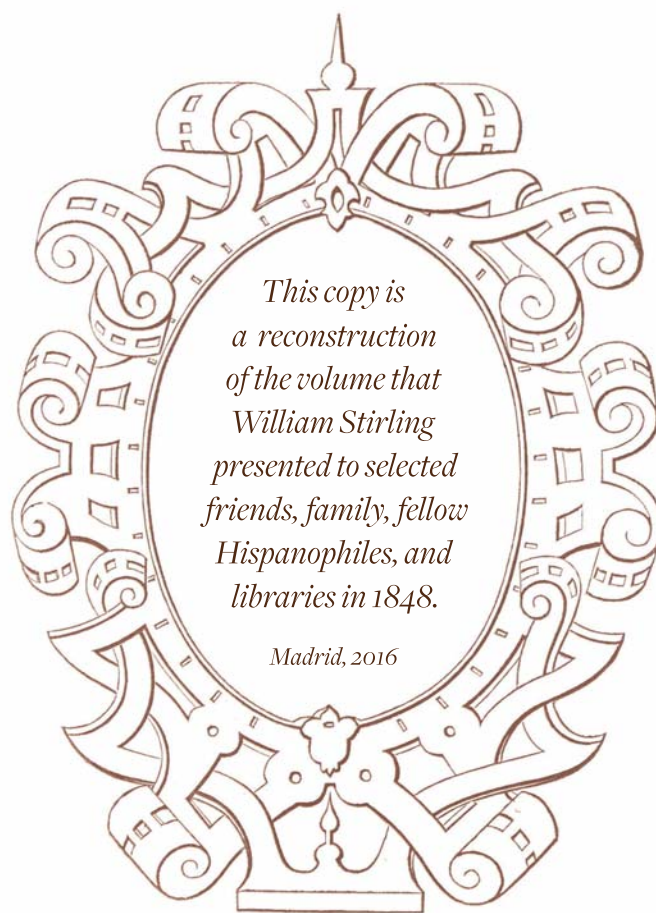
**S14**

|                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| <b>Recipient (</b>  | Countess of Leven  |
| <b>Collection</b>   | Los Angeles (CA), Getty Museum, Inv. 84. XO. 1367.4  |
| <b>Provenance</b>   | The Getty copy formed part of the collection of the photographer Arnold Crane (1932-2014) and entered the Getty Museum soon after its photography collection was begun, and Weston Naef (b. 1942) was appointed its first curator.   |
| <b>Inscriptions</b> | Vol. IV: front flyleaf, right, in ink: "Melville House. The Countess of Leven & Melville". No message in Stirling's hand.  |
| <b>Binding</b>      | Vol. IV with original binding. Vols. I-III do not appear to have been part of the set to which it originally belonged. They are also small size with red-letter printing but lack the two additional plates that distinguish the smaller presentation set. They are currently bound in dark blue leather with gilt lettering on the spine. Inside back |









## Preface.

*For the following illustrations my friends are indebted to the beautiful photographic process invented by Mr. Fox Talbot. They were executed here, under my superintendence, by Mr. Nicolaas Henneman, the intelligent agent of the inventor. Being arranged in chronological order, and each under the name of a person or a place, they may be easily consulted in connection with the ANNALS OF THE ARTISTS OF SPAIN, by means of the index and table of contents to that work.*

*In the selection of subjects I have been guided by a desire to exhibit, as far as possible, the genius both of the Spanish pencil, and of the less known Spanish graver. Whenever a print, executed in the Peninsula, was to be had, I have preferred it on that account, even to a better work produced on this side the Pyrenees. And as the best engravers, in the great artistic days of Spain, were chiefly employed on the frontispieces of books, I have made myself*



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PRESENTATION PAGE. Border taken from an armorial shield on the title page of *Commentaria in Apocalypsin Divi Joannis Evangelistæ auctore Magist. F. Gasparo à Melo Agustin. Rect. Coll. D. Gabrielis*; fol., Pintie, 1589.

PREFACE. Border taken from the *Libro que se llama confusion de la secta Mahomatica y del Alcoran, compuesto par Mossen Juan Andres*, 4to. Valencia, 1515; one of the black-letter curiosities of the Grenville library in the British Museum.

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| GIL DE SILOE, flourished 1494.  | NO. |
| Marble Tomb of King Don Juan II. in the Chartreuse of Miraflores near Burgos. <i>España Artistica y Monumental, por Don G. Perez de Villaamil y Don P. de la Escosura</i> ; 2 tom. fol. Paris, 1842-7, tom. ii.   | 1   |
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| His Portrait. From a woodcut on the back of the title page of his book, <i>De Commensuracion para la Esculptura y Architectura</i> , fol. Sevilla, 1585.  | 4   |
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| LUIS TRISTAN, b. 1586, d. 1640.   |     |
| Head supposed to be his portrait, in the small picture of the Last Supper, formerly in the Prior's cell in the convent of La Sisla at Toledo, and afterwards in the collections of the Duke of Híjar and Henry Southern, Esq. From a pen and ink sketch by W. Barclay, Esq. | 11  |

## Illustrations.

ONLY TWENTY-FIVE COPIES PRINTED.





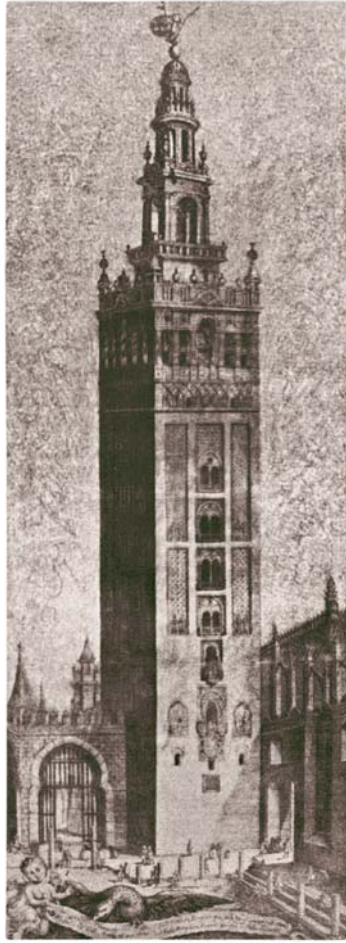
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