



Macartney, H. (2019) Lingering over graphic descriptions of grand state ceremonials and festivities: Stirling Maxwell and the role of the artist in Golden-Age Spain. *Bulletin of Spanish Visual Studies*, 3(2), pp. 189-204. (doi: [10.1080/24741604.2019.1621097](https://doi.org/10.1080/24741604.2019.1621097))

There may be differences between this version and the published version. You are advised to consult the publisher's version if you wish to cite from it.

<http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/186884/>

Deposited on 9 August 2019

Enlighten – Research publications by members of the University of Glasgow
<http://eprints.gla.ac.uk>

Lingering over Graphic Descriptions of Grand State Ceremonials and Festivities: Stirling Maxwell and the Role of the Artist in Golden-Age Spain^{†*}

HILARY MACARTNEY
University of Glasgow

As the first contextual history of Spanish art, the *Annals of the Artists of Spain* (1848), by Sir William Stirling Maxwell (1818–1878), was a landmark in the emerging discipline of art history. This article focuses on the development of Stirling's interests in festivals and fine art, and their interrelationship, as reflected in his early travels, and his publications and collections of Spanish art and festival books. His approach can be seen to anticipate modern interdisciplinary methodologies to the arts, and though he never used terms such as theatricality and performativity, his descriptions and observations provide useful pointers for our understanding of Early Modern mentalities today.

The three-volume text of the *Annals*, with its fourth, limited-edition volume of Talbotype photographs, which made it the first photographically illustrated book on art, was followed by *Velazquez and His Works* (1855), a modest volume by comparison but, nevertheless, the first monograph on the artist.¹ The great German historian of Spanish art Carl Justi (1832–1912), in his seminal *Velazquez und sein Jahrhundert* of 1888—translated into English in 1889—adopted a different approach, and his detailed and rigorous

[†] Published in *Bulletin of Spanish Visual Studies*, Volume III, Number 2, 2019; <https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1080/24741604.2019.1621097>.

^{*} This article forms part of the project I+D ART-ES 'Apropiaciones e hibridaciones entre las artes plásticas y escénicas en la Edad Moderna', HAR2015-70089P (MINECO/FEDER).

¹ William Stirling, *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, 3 vols of text & conventionally printed illustrations (London: John Ollivier, 1848), & 1 vol. of photographic illustrations (published privately); and *Velazquez and His Works* (London: John W. Parker & Son, 1855).

analysis of artworks provided a dominant model for art historical methodology throughout much of the twentieth-century.² Of Stirling's *Annals* and his Velázquez monograph, Justi complained that the Scottish author 'lingers rather over graphic descriptions of grand State ceremonials and festivities than on artistic processes'.³

What Justi was referring to was, for example, the fact that nearly fourteen of the 250 pages of *Velazquez and His Works* were taken up with the celebrations during the meeting of the Spanish and French courts on the Isle of Pheasants on the Bidasoa river for the dynastic marriage of Infanta María Teresa to Louis XIV in 1660.⁴ Stirling sought to understand what the role of the recently knighted painter-courtier consisted of on such an occasion. By focusing on Velázquez's involvement in the preparations (assisted by his son-in-law and successor as court painter, Juan Martínez del Mazo), the decoration of the pavilion, and even what he and everyone else wore, he conveyed the important relationship between the visual arts and politics, though he admitted that much of the artist's task was 'upholstery work, better suited to the capacities of a carpenter'.⁵

Stirling's source in this instance was Leonardo del Castillo, *Viage del Rey [...] Don Felipe Quarto el Grande, a la frontera de Francia [...]* (1667), which he clearly valued as a document—albeit a construction—, not only of the celebrations and Velázquez's role within them but also for the artist's biography, as his last act in the service of his king before his death in August 1660. Also valuable for Stirling as a visual record of the spectacle was the folding engraving showing a bird's-eye view of the buildings on the islet, surrounded by a bustle of infantry, cavalry, carriages, flotilla and onlookers, and set within the river topography and border settlements. This was reproduced as one of the photographic illustrations to the *Annals* (Figure 1).⁶ A copy of this volume is listed among Stirling's purchases during his 1845 trip to Spain in preparation of the *Annals*, and is one of his first known acquisitions of books commemorating royal and religious celebrations, processions and entrances, which formed part of the extensive library he built up over his lifetime.⁷

2 See Hilary Macartney, 'Faith in Facsimile? The Invention of Photography and the Reproduction of Spanish Art', *Art in Translation*, VII:1 (2015), 95–122 (pp. 97–106), for Stirling and Justi on reproductions of art.

3 Carl Justi, *Velazquez and his Times*, trans. Augustus Henry Keane (London: H. Grevel, 1889 [1st ed. Bonn: Cohen, 1888]), 11.

4 Stirling, *Velazquez*, 180–94. See also Stirling, *Annals*, II, 655–67.

5 Stirling, *Velazquez*, 185.

6 Stirling, *Annals*, IV: *Talbotype Illustrations to the Annals of the Artists of Spain*, photographed by Nicolaas Henneman, 1847, Plate 35. In fact, the copy photographed belonged to fellow Hispanophile Richard Ford, see *Copied by the Sun: Talbotype Illustrations to the Annals of the Artists of Spain by William Stirling Maxwell*, ed. Hilary Macartney & José Manuel Matilla, 2 vols (Madrid: Museo del Prado/ CEEH, 2016), I, 214.

7 William Stirling, Travel Journal, 1845, Stirling of Keir Papers, Glasgow Archives, T-SK/8/11. Further references to the papers are cited by call reference including prefix T-SK.

Figure 1

Attributed to Pedro de Villafranca, *Unionis domus super flumen Vidasoa* [Union of Houses on the River Bidasoa]. Salt print from calotype negative by Nicolaas Henneman (1847), of Leonardo del Castillo, *Viage del Rey nuestro señor Don Felipe Quarto el Grande, a la frontera de Francia [...]* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1667), folding engraving preceding 271. Bradford: National Science and Media Museum, Talbot Collections 1937-3449. © Science and Society Picture Library.

Stirling's broad range of interests, and the ways in which he combined and applied these through exploration of the relationship between word and image in his writings on art and artists in Spain, was unusual for his time. They included the role of art and artists, the collaboration of the different arts, the use of emblems, and the role of printing in the transmission of images and ideas. These interests emerged during his early travels in Europe, including Spain, in the 1840s, following his studies at Trinity College, Cambridge, where, according to his friend and relation Francis, Baron Napier, he had been known for his 'harmless craze for Elizabethan drama'.⁸

Some passages in Stirling's letters home to his sister Hannah-Ann during his travels help to explain his fascination for historical festivals and his use of festival books as sources on the role of art and artists in Golden-Age Spain. At Innsbruck in 1839, for example, he was impressed by the funerary monument of Emperor Maximilian I in the Hofkirche, begun in 1502, and designed by Jörg Kölderer and Albrecht Dürer and others.⁹ His description of the monument was the first record of his interest in the Habsburgs, as well as an early indication of his response to theatrical and performative aspects in commemorative art. In addition to the bronze statues of real and legendary ancestors in perpetual mourning for the emperor, Stirling admired the 'delicatest marble bas reliefs' on the tomb itself, 'representing the principal events in his life—which seems to have abounded in births & marriages, interspersed with battle, murder & sudden death'.¹⁰ Of the marriage of Philip the Fair, he noted not only the accurate and graceful delineation of the main figures of about six inches each, but also the

long galleries full of interested spectators & every one of them 'with a face to himself', & none put off with the usual allowance made by painters &

See also Hugh Brigstocke, *British Travellers in Spain, 1766–1849*, The Walpole Society, 77 (Huddersfield: Charlesworth Group, 2015), 254. For Stirling's library, including festival books, see Hilary Macartney, 'A University Set on a Hill Overlooking One of the Richest Cities': Stirling Maxwell, Spanish Culture and the University of Glasgow', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* (2018), <https://doi.org/10.1080/14753820.2018.1457871> (consulted 20 February 2019). [add printed ref]

⁸ Letter from Francis, Baron Napier to William Stirling, 15 October 1848, T-SK 29/49/81.

⁹ See Thomas DaCosta Kauffmann, *Court, Cloister and City: The Art and Culture of Central Europe 1450-1800* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1995), 70–71.

¹⁰ Letter from William Stirling to Hannah-Ann Stirling, 30 September–5 October 1839, T-SK 29/1/34.

engravers to the members of their vulgar crowds, of a circle with four dots (thus [draws a face]) by way of physiognomy.¹¹

In Paris the following year, he witnessed the state funeral of Napoleon, whose remains had been returned from St Helena. The heroic depictions of this emperor, including ‘a huge allegorical design in canvas painted bronze colour, representing Napoleon in a car drawn by heavy horses & surrounded by Fame [&] Victory’, were described by Stirling, who also recounted some particularly theatrical and performative elements:

The great galleries [...] of ‘Les Frrrrrrançais’, the lines of statues, the vast canopy of black velvet [...] seen by the red light of a winter setting sun, made a noble picture of a national solemnity [...] I not only had a very near view of the procession as it passed, but also could see it as it went streaming down the Champs Elysées, in the middle of the sea of heads that flowed & surged thro’ the leafless Allées.¹²

Most revealing of his appreciation of the combination of media and sensory stimuli involved in festivals, however, was his account of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception in Seville cathedral in December 1842, during which the dance of the Seises was performed in front of the high altar by boys in sixteenth-century costume. Here, he focused on audience or worshipper response following the performance itself:

The dance over, the crowd dispersed amongst the dim mists of the church, the priests & children returned to the vestries & the players & instruments to the orchestra of the theatre, leaving the altar alone with its pearly blaze of wax-lights. Taking a few turns amongst the mighty columns, I chanced some minutes after on one of the grandest cathedral scenes I ever beheld. Standing on the dark side of one of the pillars of the illuminated altar, I stopped to observe the effect of the light pouring into the forest of columns & losing itself far off in the gloom. Meanwhile some thirty or forty women had remained or returned to say their prayers at the shrine [...] The flood of radiance streaming through the gilt railings of the lofty screen fell full on their fair faces & black mantillas, discovering their fine forms as they knelt apart, or in groups of two or three in every variety of devotional attitude. It was like a company of fair penitents, released from Purgatory or coming from this lower world, waiting for the opening of the Golden Gates of the Blessed Mansions [...] Architecture, and the genius of religious decoration had each done its utmost and these fair worshippers had come in, unconsciously to

11 Stirling to Hannah-Ann, T-SK 29/1/34. Note also the performative function of these letters home, which would have been read aloud by his sister to their father and others.

12 Letter from William Stirling to Hannah-Ann Stirling, 19 December 1840, T-SK 29/1/43.

complete & embellish the grandest devotional picture poetry could conceive.¹³

Given the impact of the architectural space and lighting of the cathedral on Stirling on that occasion, it seems fitting that a festival book recording ‘the greatest religious festival ever held in Seville’ and encompassing so many of his interests became the centrepiece of Stirling’s collecting in this field.¹⁴ The *Fiestas de la S. Iglesia metropolitana y patriarcal de Sevilla al nuevo culto del Señor Don D. Fernando el tercero de Castilla y Leon [...]* (1671–1672) commemorated the festivities held in 1671 for the canonization of the thirteenth-century king who had conquered Seville from the Muslims and whose remains were housed in the cathedral.¹⁵

The principal artists involved in the celebrations were the painter Juan de Valdés Leal (1622–1690), the designer Bernardo Simón de Pineda (1638–c. 1702), and the sculptor Pedro Roldán (1624–1699). In the *Annals*, Stirling lauded the volume as ‘the finest of its kind that ever issued from a Spanish press’, and ‘one of the most beautiful books of Spanish local history’, noting the prints by Valdés Leal of the *Triunfo* or ephemeral monument (Figure 2), and of the principal door of the cathedral (Figure 3 [Detail]).¹⁶ Though he did not use the term ‘theatrical’, and the style label ‘Baroque’ was not yet in use, he referred to the *Triunfo* as ‘a structure of fantastic architecture, profusely adorned with statues and emblematical carvings’.¹⁷ Thus, he conveyed a similar sense of the ‘integración de todas las artes’ that Emilio Orozco Díaz, in his important study of theatre and theatricality in the Baroque, later argued was so fundamental in Baroque religious contexts.¹⁸

13 Letter from William Stirling to Hannah-Ann Stirling, 3 January 1840, T-SK 29/1/66.

14 Stirling, *Annals*, III, 1096.

15 Fernando de la Torre Farfán, *Fiestas de la S. Iglesia metropolitana y patriarcal de Sevilla al nuevo culto del Señor Don D. Fernando el tercero de Castilla y Leon [...]* (Sevilla: Viuda de Nicolás Rodríguez, 1671–1672). The title-page states 1671 but licences and some plates are dated 1672. The key facsimile edition is Fernando de la Torre Farfán, *Fiestas de [...] Sevilla*, ed. & intro. by Antonio Bonet Correa (Sevilla: FOCUS, 1985). Relevant modern studies include Rosemarie Mulcahy, ‘Celebrating Sainthood, Government, and Seville: The *Fiestas* for the Canonization of King Ferdinand III’, *Hispanic Research Journal*, 11:5 ((2010), 393–414; Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, ‘Santidad y pintura: Francisco L. Caro y Bartolomé E. Murillo en el proceso de santificación del rey Fernando’, *Academia*, 117 (2015), 185–224; Fernando Quiles García, *Teatro de la Gloria: el universo artístico de la Catedral de Sevilla en el Barroco* (Sevilla: Diputación de Sevilla/ Universidad Pablo de Olavide, 2007); Fernando Moreno Cuadro, ‘Humanismo y arte efímero: la canonización de San Fernando’, *Traza y Baza*, 9 (1985), 21–98.

16 Stirling, *Annals*, III, 1097; and II, 901.

17 Stirling, *Annals*, III, 1096.

18 Emilio Orozco Díaz, *El teatro y la teatralidad del Barroco: ensayo de introducción al tema* (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1969), 122.



Figure 2

Juan de Valdés Leal, *El Triunfo* (1671). Etching.

In Fernando de la Torre Farfán, *Fiestas de la S. Iglesia metropolitana y patriarcal de Sevilla al nuevo culto del Señor Don D. Fernando el tercero de Castilla y Leon [...]*

(Sevilla: Viuda de Nicolás Rodríguez, 1671–1672), folding plate facing 122.

Reproduced by courtesy of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, S.M. 1701.



Figure 3

Juan de Valdés Leal, *Artists and Canons with a Plan of the Triunfo*,
 Detail of *Puerta principal de la Iglesia* (1672). Etching.
 In Fernando de la Torre Farfán, *Fiestas de la S. Iglesia metropolitana y patriarcal de Sevilla
 al nuevo culto del Señor Don D. Fernando el tercero de Castilla y Leon [...]*
 (Sevilla: Viuda de Nicolás Rodríguez, 1671–1672), folding plate facing 132.
 Reproduced by courtesy of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, S.M. 1701.

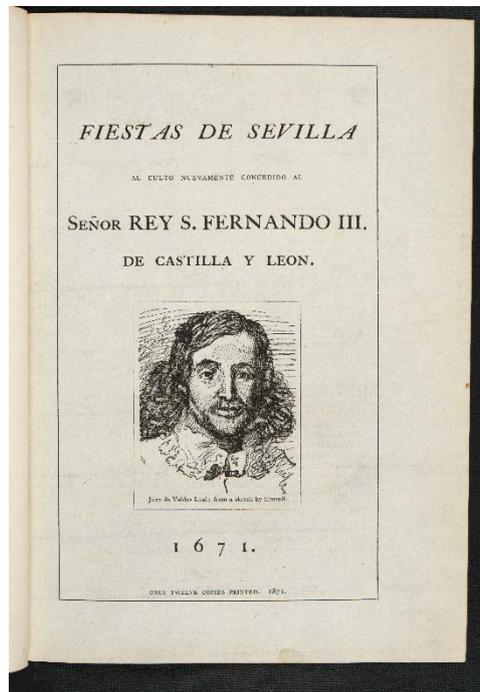


Figure 4

William Stirling Maxwell, *Fiestas de Sevilla al culto nuevamente concedido al Señor Rey S.
 Fernando III. de Castilla y Leon*. 1671 (s.l.: privately printed, 1871), title-page.
 Reproduced by courtesy of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, S.M. 1701.

Stirling collected—and reassembled—as many as twelve copies of the *Fiestas*, to judge from his printed privately preface of 1871, the second centenary of the celebrations and the rare volume commemorating them (Figure 4). The preface is bound into four copies located to date, each of which has been conserved according to ideas of the time, including bleaching and mending damaged pages, reinforcing the folding plates with linen, and rebinding.¹⁹ The volume was believed to have been produced for the cathedral chapter as presentation copies, and it is likely that most of Stirling’s reissued copies were also intended for presentation.²⁰ Two copies were kept by Stirling for his own library. One of these, now in Glasgow University, has a bookplate with a design borrowed from the print by Matías Arteaga after Murillo in the volume. In it, Stirling’s coat-of-arms replaces the portrait, or *vera effigies*, of St Ferdinand.²¹ His other copy, at Pollok House, is a large-format volume in which the folding plates are stored in an unfolded state to prevent further deterioration along the folds, and the rest of the pages have been carefully feathered into large sheets of paper. These forms of conservation, hybridization and customization were in line with other bibliophile ventures Stirling was engaged in during the 1860s and 1870s, including privately printed facsimile editions of sixteenth-century festival and commemorative books, and the study of new techniques of reproducing images.²²

Stirling illustrated his title-page with a lithograph of a pen-and-ink drawing, then in his possession, and believed to be a *Self-portrait* of Valdés Leal (Figure 4).²³ The other three pages of the preface provide bibliographical notes, a table of contents and list of the 21 plates (which were lacking in the

19 University of Glasgow, Sp Coll S.M. 1701; National Library of Scotland, RB.m.407; British Library, 487.i.36; and Pollok House, 7D.

20 BL 487.i.36 is inscribed ‘To the Library of the British Museum./W.S.M.’; NLS RB.m.407, from the library of Archibald, 5th Earl of Rosebery, has his Barnbougale Castle stamp; inscribed in pencil ‘Stirling’ and ‘Only 12 copies issued by Sir/ William Stirling-Maxwell/ in 1871/ exceedingly rare.’

21 See Hilary Macartney, ‘Accessing Murillo: Stirling Maxwell’s Contribution to Scholarship, Collecting and Taste’, in *Collecting Murillo in Britain and Ireland*, ed. Xavier Bray, José Luis Colomer & Isabelle Kent (London: Wallace Collection/ Madrid: CEEH, 2019), Fig. 12. [forthcoming – add p. ref]

22 Examples include William Stirling Maxwell, *The Chief Victories of the Emperor Charles the Fifth* (London & Edinburgh: privately printed, 1870), based on prints designed by Martin Heemskerck (1555), with additional prints and notes; and *Examples of the Engraved Portraiture of the Sixteenth Century* (London & Edinburgh: privately printed, 1872), showcasing photomechanical reproduction processes.

23 William Stirling Maxwell, *Fiestas de Sevilla al culto nuevamente concedido al Señor Rey S. Fernando III. de Castilla y Leon. 1671* (s.l.: privately printed, 1871), [i]. For the drawing, see Sotheby’s, *Catalogue of Important Old Master Drawings*, London, 21 October 1963, lot 16; now Museo del Prado, D003789. According to Stirling’s inscription, it was in Baron Taylor’s collection, sold June 1853. Stirling Maxwell, *Fiestas*, [iv] also reproduced Richard Collin’s engraved portrait of Murillo from Joachim Sandrart, *Academia nobilissimae artis pictorae* (Nürnberg: Froberger, 1683), Plate 8, facing 392.

original edition), and a brief commentary. His role as editor paralleled that of Antonio Bonet Correa, who edited and introduced the 1985 facsimile of the *Fiestas*. For Bonet, just as they had been for Stirling, the quality of printing and the style of typography were important in complementing the ‘espléndidas láminas estampadas’ accompanying the text and these, in turn, reflected the richness of the ephemeral art and architecture they described.²⁴ Likewise, Stirling valued the fact that the volume was ‘illustrated wholly by artists of Seville’,²⁵ whilst Bonet emphasised the conjunction of talent available in the city at the time.²⁶

In his commentary, Stirling observed of the etching of the monument (Figure 2): ‘the figures in front of the *Triunfo* are probably portraits, and amongst them we may suppose Valdes to have placed his own, and that of the architect, Bernardo Simon de Pineda.’²⁷ In the central group, the figure at the right, presumably Valdés Leal himself, shows the ground plan of the monument to two robed canons, one of whom adjusts his spectacles for closer examination. Behind, to the right, two figures, probably Bernardo Simón de Pineda and an assistant, are measuring the building, in a scene cleverly superimposed over the ground plan of the cathedral. A similar group is represented at lower right in the other etching signed by Valdés Leal, of the main door of the cathedral (Figure 3 [Detail]). This time, the artist shows a plan of the elevation of the monument to two canons, one of whom glances toward the spectator, and another, to the right, converses with the architect-designer. In both prints, the features of the artist presenting the plans appear broadly consistent with Valdés Leal’s *Self-portrait* (Figure 4). The two canons holding or pointing to the plans may represent Justino de Neve and Juan de Loaysa, who supervised the designs for the *Triunfo*.²⁸ At any rate, these depictions function as a visual record of this example of ephemeral art, and show the role of artists as learned and gentlemanly, consulting plans and interacting with clients. Their significance, soon after many of the artists involved in the celebrations had founded the first academy of art in Seville, would have been clear to Stirling.²⁹

Figure 5
Juan de Valdés Leal and Workshop, *Virgin of the Kings* (c. 1671–1685).

24 Antonio Bonet Correa, ‘Torre Farfán y la fiesta de la canonización de San Fernando en Sevilla en 1671’, in Torre Farfán, *Fiestas*, 1985, vii–xx (p. vii).

25 Stirling Maxwell, *Fiestas*, [iv].

26 Bonet, ‘Torre Farfán y la fiesta’, viii.

27 Stirling Maxwell, *Fiestas*, [iv].

28 See Mulcahy, ‘Celebrating Sainthood’, 397, 402–03, 407.

29 For the Seville Academy, see Stirling, *Annals*, II, 847–51; and Hilary Macartney, ‘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*, 4 (1999), 48–57. Further context in Javier Portús, ‘Discourses on the Art of Painting in Seville in Justino de Neve’s Time’, in *Murillo & Justino de Neve: The Art of Friendship*, ed. Gabriele Finaldi (Madrid: Museo del Prado/ Sevilla: Fundación Focus-Abengoa/ London: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 2012), 47–59.

Oil on canvas. Stirling Maxwell Collection, PC62.
© CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection.

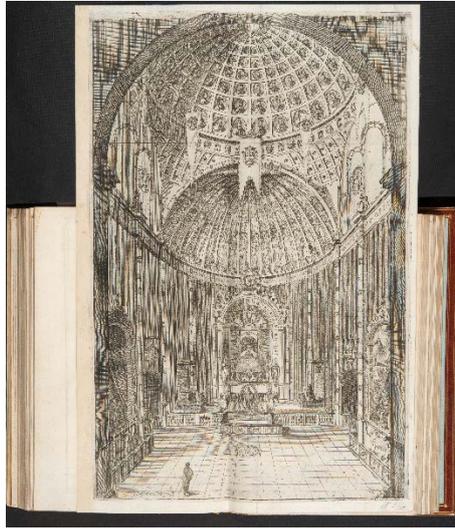


Figure 6

Matías Arteaga, *La Capilla Real* (1671-1672). Etching.

In Fernando de la Torre Farfán, *Fiestas de la S. Iglesia metropolitana y patriarcal de Sevilla al nuevo culto del Señor Don D. Fernando el tercero de Castilla y Leon [...]* (Sevilla: Viuda de Nicolás Rodríguez, 1671-1672), folding plate facing 152.

Reproduced by courtesy of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, S.M. 1701.

Stirling's interest in Seville Cathedral, its religious festivals, and Torre Farfán's book, must have informed his acquisition of a painting of the dressed image of the *Virgin of the Kings* (Figure 5) at the sale of King Louis-Philippe's Spanish Gallery in 1853.³⁰ Stirling would have known the painting from his visits to the *Galerie espagnole* during preparation of the *Annals* in the 1840s. It was then thought to be by Juan de Valdés Leal's son, Lucas Valdés (1661-1724), to whom at least one other painting of this subject, c. 1690-1700 (Marchena: church of San Sebastián,) has been attributed.³¹ Both paintings record the appearance and iconography of the new altar, designed and executed by Luis Ortíz de Vargas in 1643-1649, which replaced the silver tabernacle that had housed the revered image of the *Virgin of the Kings* since medieval times.³² With variations in detail, they are also comparable with the depiction of the altar in Matías Arteaga's etching of the *Capilla Real* in

³⁰ Christie & Manson, *Catalogue of the Pictures forming the Celebrated Spanish Gallery of [...] King Louis Philippe*, London, 6-7, 13-14 & 20-21 May 1853, lot 347, as Lucas de Valdés.

³¹ See José Fernández López, 'Nuevas pinturas de Lucas Valdés', *Laboratorio de Arte*, 2 (1989), 80-81 (pp. 77-90).

³² On the earlier tabernacle, see María Jesús Sanz, 'Imagen del antiguo tabernáculo de plata, de la Capilla Real de Sevilla, a través de dos sellos medievales', *Laboratorio de Arte*, 11 (1998), 51-67 (p. 60).

Torre Farfán's *Fiestas* (Figure 6). Another painting, by Bernabé de Ayala, signed and dated 1662 (Lima: Instituto Nacional de Cultura), shows there was a market for the subject before St Ferdinand's canonization, but others of later date indicate an increased cult of the image following the 1671 celebrations.³³ The picture bought by Stirling was reattributed to Juan de Valdés Leal, presumably by Stirling himself, as it was already labelled as such in the 1880s. The quality of the paint handling in the decorative and architectural details of the altar appears to support the attribution to Valdés Leal, possibly with workshop assistance, and a dating of 1670s or early 1680s.³⁴

Another painting relating to Stirling's fascination for themes of theatricality and performativity also demands consideration here. *Philip IV and Isabel of Bourbon and Entourage in a Colonnade* (Figure 7) was purchased in 1851 by Stirling at the sale of the late General John Meade, former British Consul General in Madrid, as by Velázquez and representing the interior of the palace of Buen Retiro.³⁵ In the 1936 *Catalogue of Pictures at Pollok House*, it appeared as School of Velázquez, though with the suggestion that it was more probably by a seventeenth-century Flemish painter. The setting was suggested to be the theatre of the Buen Retiro, 'in which Philip IV and his family used to appear'.³⁶ The association of the Pollok picture with theatrical culture at the Buen Retiro is likely to have been shared by Stirling and to have influenced its purchase. In this huge canvas, the royal family, with a dwarf and a dog, look out at the spectator looking in, framed within the central bay of a grandiose architectural structure with Salomonic columns. Their progress, conducted by Count Duke Olivares, in the bay on the left, is followed, in the right-hand bay, by a young girl and a lady, the latter probably Inés de Zuñiga y Velasco, Olivares' duchess, lady-in-waiting to the queen and governess to the prince.³⁷ Baltasar Carlos (1629–1646), presented here as a little version of his father in stance and dress,

33 Fernández López, 'Nuevas pinturas', 80, mentions painted versions by Matías Arteaga and Francisco Meneses Osorio.

34 See James L. Caw, *Catalogue of Pictures at Pollok House* (Glasgow: privately printed, 1936), 32, no. 49, as Juan de Valdés Leal, an attribution followed in *Pollok House: Catalogue of Paintings and Sculpture* (Glasgow: Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, 1977), 17, no. 62. The attribution to Valdés Leal and his workshop was proposed to the present writer by Enrique Valdivieso during a visit to Pollok in 1996.

35 Christie & Manson, *Catalogue of [...] Pictures Formed by the Hon. General John Meade [...]*, London, 6–8 March 1851, lot 394.

36 Caw, *Catalogue of Pictures*, 33, no. 52. Caw's source was not cited, though other hypotheses were credited either to notes in Stirling's hand on the backs of paintings, or to notes by Ramón Pérez de Ayala, then director of the Prado, in 1935.

37 It seems unlikely that the girl represents María (1609–1626), daughter of the Count-Duke and Duchess, as suggested by, among others, Inmaculada Rodríguez & Víctor Mínguez, 'Olivares y la escenificación del poder a través de la arquitectura: un lienzo de Juan de la Corte en Pollock House', *Potestas*, 7 (2014), 159–77 (p. 163).

looks older than in Velázquez's portraits of him on horseback and as a hunter, 1634–1636 (Prado, P001180 and P001189).

Figure 7

Spanish School, *Philip IV and Isabel of Bourbon and Entourage in a Colonnade* (c. 1642).
Oil on canvas, 181 x 303.8 cm. Stirling Maxwell Collection, PC71.
© CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection.

Stirling's interpretation of his painting might have been similar to that of Velázquez's *Riding Lesson of Baltasar Carlos* (Cheshire: Grosvenor Estate), which he had seen in the Grosvenor Gallery, London.³⁸ He described this as 'the last portrait of the Count-Duke, painted by Velasquez while the favourite was still in his pride of place', in which the prince was 'a boy of twelve or thirteen' and, therefore, datable to 1641–1642, shortly before Olivares' fall from grace.³⁹ He also noted the Count-Duke's prominent position, and the presence of the king and queen who 'look down upon the scene' from a balcony at the Buen Retiro. The 'little Infanta' in pink beside them would, then, be María Teresa (1638–1683). Might the girl in pink at the right in Stirling's painting represent the same infanta?⁴⁰

Stirling would certainly have recognised the grand colonnade in his picture as typical of ceremonial and triumphal architecture. The design was probably from a Flemish print source, such as by Hans Vredeman de Vries.⁴¹ Though the architecture of the courtyard behind does not match designs for the Buen Retiro, the composition must surely relate in some way to Olivares' grand scheme for the new palace complex, as was recently argued by Inmaculada Rodríguez and Víctor Mínguez.⁴² Its depiction of Olivares' power in relation to the king would have appealed to Stirling, who had observed:

Olivares, who loved power for its own sake, dextrously turn[ed] the weakness of his master to his own account [...] While province after province raised the standard of rebellion, and his superb empire was crumbling to dust, the king of the Spains and the Indies acted farces in his private theatre, [...] sate in solemn state in his balcony at bull-fights,

38 William Stirling, *Travel Journal, 1843–1848: Notes on British and Dutch Collections*, T-SK 28/10; and Brigstocke, *British Travellers in Spain*, 281.

39 Stirling, *Annals*, II, 629. Further discussion of Stirling's possible interpretation in Hilary Macartney, 'La colección Stirling Maxwell en Pollok House, Glasgow', *Goya*, 291 (2002), 345–56 (pp. 349–51).

40 Counter-arguments include the fact that she appears taller than Baltasar Carlos. Her separation from other members of the royal family might indicate that she was not heir to the Spanish throne.

41 For a Flemish engraving after Martin de Vos as possible source, see Martin Soria, 'Velázquez and *Vedute* Painting in Italy and Spain, 1620–1750', *Arte antica e moderna*, 1961, 439–47 (pp. 440–41).

42 Rodríguez & Mínguez, 'Olivares y la escenificación del poder'. The authors proposed an earlier date of c. 1635, and argued that the painting represents a fantasy related to Olivares' projected or idealized design for the Buen Retiro, with the colonnade symbolizing the Count-Duke's concept of the palace as a new temple of Solomon.

or autos de fé, or [...] devise[d] improvements on his gardens and galleries.⁴³

An attribution of the Glasgow picture to Juan de la Corte, an artist of Flemish origin who settled in Spain from 1613, was proposed by Martin Soria in 1961.⁴⁴ However, the range of style and quality of the numerous ceremonial, history, battle and street scenes attributed to this artist is problematic.⁴⁵ The series of *Victories of the Emperor Charles V* in the Spanish Embassy in London includes one canvas signed by the artist, and looks stylistically quite different from Stirling's picture.⁴⁶ It seems likely that more than one workshop was producing works of this type at the time, and that multiple hands worked on different areas of such paintings. Technical examination of the painting at Pollok would be useful in helping us to understand how such works were created.

Over the past decades, Stirling's contextual approach to art history and his use of festival books as sources has been vindicated by a number of authors: Enriqueta Harris Frankfort, in an article of 1964, became the first modern art historian to recognise the relevance of his use of festival books;⁴⁷ while Jonathan Brown's 1986 monograph on Velázquez was tellingly subtitled *Painter and Courtier*, and devoted substantial content to the latter role, thus echoing Stirling's reasoning that the role of the court painter could not otherwise be understood.⁴⁸ Nowadays, increased emphasis on the value of interdisciplinary approaches has also encouraged the study of Early Modern festival books, and means that a project to catalogue the Stirling Maxwell collection of these may at last be viable.⁴⁹ *

43 *Annals*, 592–93. See also José Deleito y Piñuelo, *El rey se divierte* (Madrid: Alianza, 1988, 162–245).

44 Soria, 'Velázquez and *Vedute* Painting', 440–41, nos. 513–16.

45 For the range of works associated with Juan de la Corte, see Diego Angulo & Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, *Pintura madrileña: primer tercio del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Instituto Diego Velázquez, 1969), 352–68; and Matías Díaz Padrón, 'Pintura de los siglos XVI y XVII', in *Colección Central Hispano: del Renacimiento al Romanticismo*, ed. Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez (Barcelona: Fundación Banco Hispano Americano, 1991), 46–51 (pp. 25–70). Angulo & Pérez Sánchez were not convinced by the attribution of the Pollok picture to Juan de la Corte. It was supported by Antonio Martínez Ripoll in 'Juan de la Corte: un pintor flamenco en el Madrid de Calderón', *Goya*, 161 (1981), 312–20 (pp. 318–19); and by Rodríguez & Mínguez, 'Olivares y la escenificación del poder', 165–69.

46 The last painting in the series in London, representing the *Diet of Augsburg*, is signed. I am grateful to the then Spanish ambassador to Britain, Sr. Mora-Figueroa y Williams, Marquis of Tamarón, for his permission to study the series in 2002.

47 See Enriqueta Harris, 'Sir William Stirling-Maxwell and the History of Spanish Art', *Apollo*, 79:2 (1964), 73–77.

48 Jonathan Brown, *Velázquez: Painter and Courtier* (New Haven & London: Yale U.P., 1986).

49 Much of Stirling's collection of festival books, numbering around 350–400 volumes, is now in the University of Glasgow Library. A project to catalogue it is being planned, in collaboration with the University of Málaga.

* Disclosure Statement: No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.