

1. Retrato de David Roberts (litografía)
por Charles Baugniet, 1844.

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LAS VISTAS DE ESPAÑA DEL VIAJERO DAVID ROBERTS, PINTOR DE PAISAJES Y ARQUITECTURAS, HACIA 1833

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1 / GIMÉNEZ CRUZ, A.: *La España pintoresca de David Roberts. El viaje y los grabados del pintor*, Málaga 2002.

2 / BALLANTINE, J.: *The life of David Roberts R. A.*, Edimburgo 1866.

3 / SIM, K.: *David Roberts R. A., 1796-1864. A Biography*, Londres 1984.

4 / GUITERMAN, H. / LLEWELLYN, B.: *David Roberts*, Phaidon Press and Barbican Art Gallery, London 1986.

David Roberts (Fig. 1) fue un pintor escocés que recorrió España entre diciembre de 1832 y septiembre de 1833, realizando innumerables vistas de ciudades y monumentos, especialmente de Andalucía, en gran parte reelaboradas tras su vuelta a Inglaterra. Dichas vistas, de indudable calidad y anteriores a la aparición de la fotografía, aportan datos gráficos de enorme interés para conocer mejor nuestro patrimonio paisajístico y arquitectónico, en parte desaparecido o transformado.

Gracias a los dibujos, acuarelas y óleos de Roberts, publicados con gran éxito como litografías y grabados, el público culto de Europa accedió durante el siglo XIX a vistas de lugares apenas conocidos en dichos momentos previos a la fotografía. De este modo se conformaría una imagen de nuestros territorios que ha marcado su personalidad hasta tiempos actuales. Además nuestro artista ejerció una notable influencia sobre destacados pintores, especialmente sobre Jenaro Pérez Villamil, primer gran paisajista español de su tiempo.

En un reciente libro de Antonio Giménez Cruz **1** se reconstruye el viaje de Roberts por España, sin estudiar sus vistas, usando textos de autores coetáneos y cerca de 60 cartas del pintor conservadas, muchas publicadas en 1866 por su primer biógrafo, James Ballantine **2**. Además hay otros dos importantes libros sobre Roberts, la biografía de Katharine Sim **3** (1984), y el catálogo de una exposición en Londres (1986) en la que Helen Guiterman y Briony Llewellyn **4** trataron de compendiar la prolífica obra del pintor en sus viajes por Escocia, Inglaterra, Francia, Bélgica, Holanda, Alemania, España, India, Orien-



5 / GIMÉNEZ CRUZ, A.: *La España pintoresca...* p. 21 y ss., 2002.
 6 / QUESADA, L.: *Pintores españoles y extranjeros en Andalucía*, p. 86 y ss, Sevilla 1996.
 7 / GIMÉNEZ CRUZ, A.: *La España pintoresca...* p. 28 y ss., 2002.

8 / GIMÉNEZ CRUZ, A.: *La España pintoresca...* p. 56 y 218, 2002.
 9 / QUESADA, L.: *Pintores españoles y extranjeros en Andalucía*, p. 87, 1996.

te Próximo e Italia. En dicho catálogo aparece un listado de vistas originales de Roberts sobre España, que aquí se ordenan, se comentan y se completan con otras obras localizadas, considerando además sus vistas publicadas como litografías o grabados.

Por tanto, el presente artículo plantea una breve aproximación a la obra gráfica de David Roberts en España, intentando enumerar y valorar incontables vistas de difícil localización, dispersas en museos, en colecciones particulares, o en publicaciones objeto de abundantes reediciones y plagios. Se espera que en el futuro estas referencias puedan ampliarse y que nuevas investigaciones permitan conocer mejor el enorme legado gráfico de Roberts y cada uno de los paisajes o monumentos plasmados por dicho autor, que hoy se encuentra entre los más grandes pintores del siglo XIX en la reciente ampliación del Museo del Prado en Madrid (Figs. 5 y 10).

La formación del pintor y los antecedentes de su viaje a España

David Roberts (1796-1864) nació en Edimburgo en el seno de una familia muy humilde: su padre trabajaba como zapatero remendón y su madre era lavandera. Tuvo que trabajar duramente para abrirse camino en su profesión. A los doce años entró como aprendiz en el taller de un pintor y decorador de mansiones escocesas, y tras siete años de arduo trabajo encontró empleo como pintor de escenografías en una compañía de teatro ambulante, que le permitió viajar y

pintar escenas a gran escala, dibujando los sitios visitados. Según el propio autor, al dibujar la catedral de York descubriría su vocación como pintor viajero 5.

Desde 1816 y hasta cerca de 1830 Roberts se dedicó a la escenografía, trabajando en los teatros más importantes de Escocia e Inglaterra, y resolviendo múltiples composiciones gráficas con gran inventiva, inmediatez e intensidad expresiva, lo que le hizo madurar como pintor. Al gozar de una posición económica más cómoda pudo dedicarse a la pintura. Fue miembro de la recién creada “Society of British Artists” desde 1824 6, donde exhibió muchos cuadros ejecutados con motivo de sus viajes. Tras exponer en la “Royal Academy” el cuadro “West Front of Notre Dame, Rouen”, pintado para Lord Northwick, uno de sus primeros y más generosos mecenas, Roberts recibió suculentos encargos y llegaría a presidir la citada Sociedad de Artistas Británicos.

Entre las razones que motivarían el viaje de Roberts a España deben considerarse sus circunstancias personales. Contrajo matrimonio en 1820 y tuvo su única hija un año más tarde. El fracaso de dicho matrimonio, que llegó a una posterior separación, le llevaría a buscar un cambio en su vida, en lo personal y en lo artístico 7. Hacia 1830 el pintor tenía una edad y unas condiciones físicas idóneas, cierta experiencia en viajes, así como recursos económicos para iniciar su aventura por España, que también emprendieron algunos de sus amigos y destacados pintores ingleses del momento, como David Wilkie, John Fre-

derick Lewis, u otros personajes, como Richard Ford. La oportunidad de contemplar obras de maestros como Velázquez, Murillo o Zurbarán ejercería un atractivo considerable. Por entonces España “estaba de moda” y existía una notable demanda del público inglés por asuntos españoles, poco conocidos o considerados como exóticos. Ello haría pensar a Roberts que los considerables esfuerzos y gastos de su viaje se verían ampliamente recompensados al comercializar sus imágenes españolas a su regreso, como de hecho ocurrió.

Un prolífico pintor de paisajes y arquitecturas

Roberts emprendió su viaje con la intención de aprovechar al máximo su tiempo, sin dejar jamás a un lado su lápiz o pincel. Cuando llevaba un mes y medio escaso en España, en una carta escrita desde Córdoba decía: “*mi portfolio va enriqueciéndose más y más, siendo los temas no sólo buenos, sino también originales, y lo único que me preocupa es si seré capaz de pintar la mitad de ellos. Suman aproximadamente un centenar, y todavía tengo previsto visitar seis ciudades, por lo que me temo que lo mejor está todavía por llegar*”. Unos dos meses después, cuando el pintor pasó por Gibraltar en otra de sus cartas dice: “*muchos de los dibujos son muy originales, y sin contar los pequeños cuadernos, tengo ya doscientos seis bocetos terminados, la mayor parte en color*” 8. Se ha llegado a estimar que sólo sobre Andalucía Roberts realizó cerca de 250 vistas 9. En nuestro pa-

10 / SIM, K.: *David Roberts R. A., 1796-1864. A Biography*, p. 68, 1984.

11 / BALLANTINE, J.: *The life of David Roberts R. A.*, p.231, 1866.

12 / GALERA ANDREU, P.: *La imagen romántica de la Alhambra*, El Viso 1992.

13 / GUIETERMAN, H. / LLEWELLYN, B.: *David Roberts*, p. 108 (cat. 85), 1986.

14 / SIM, K.: *David Roberts R. A., 1796-1864. A Biography*, p. 80, 1984.

15 / GAMIZ GORDO, A. / ANGUIS CLIMENT, D.: "Imágenes cordobesas: los Molinos y la Albolafia", *El Legado Andalusi* nº 22, p.80-89, Granada 2005.

16 / CALVO SERRALLER, F.: *La imagen romántica de España. Arte y Arquitectura del siglo XIX*, p. 22 y ss., 95-96, 1995.

17 / GALERA ANDREU, P.: *La imagen romántica de la Alhambra*, p. 134-37, 1992.

18 / "En las artes visuales no existe un estilo romántico si con eso se quiere aludir a un lenguaje común de formas visuales y medios de expresión comparable al barroco o al rococó. No hay una única obra de arte que encarne los objetivos y los ideales de los románticos...". HONOUR, H.: *El romanticismo*, p. 15-16, 1981; QUESADA, L.: *Pintores españoles y extranjeros en Andalucía*, p. 72, 1996.

is no acometería óleos, salvo dos en Sevilla, por la lógica dificultad de su transporte a Inglaterra. Los cuadernos para sus bocetos eran "de bolsillo", de reducidas dimensiones (unos 10 por 17 cm.), resultando asombroso, según Katharine Sim, como se servía de ellos para después plasmar escenas complejas y detalladas: "lo que maravilla de estos bocetos, la mayoría a lápiz o aguada en papel ligeramente coloreado, no es sólo la nitidez y delicadeza del trazo, sino también la sorprendente exactitud de los sutilmente esbozados detalles" 10.

Según Ballantine, amigo personal de Roberts, éste "tenía la capacidad de fotografiar objetos con la vista, porque una y otra vez yo le he visto hacer bocetos de estructuras muy complejas o de panorámicas muy amplias, y le bastaba una ojeada rápida para captar la totalidad del conjunto, no necesitando nunca más volver a mirar en esa dirección hasta que había finalizado el boceto. Otros artistas se ven obligados a mirar de forma repetida, porque sólo son capaces de captar aspectos parciales. Roberts, gracias a ese extraordinario don, que bien pudiera ser natural o quizá aprendido, lograba materializar el doble de trabajo con la mitad de esfuerzo" 11. La rapidez exigida a nuestro pintor al ejecutar decorados teatrales en su juventud, explicaría cómo llegó a dotarse de esa facilidad para captar y plasmar sus imágenes.

Tras su viaje a España, Roberts acometió abundantes vistas de los mismos temas dibujados, reproduciendo una y otra vez los más solicitados por sus clientes, con variantes que a veces introducía con gran precisión, como un verdadero constructor gráfico, con el

fin de satisfacer las peticiones recibidas. Puede afirmarse que las deformaciones o manipulaciones de sus vistas no respondían a un "gusto por lo fantasioso" ni a un supuesto carácter "romántico" sobre el que tanto se ha especulado 12, sino a la demanda de quienes le pagaban por obras únicas y exclusivas, a partir de reducidos bocetos, y a veces ejecutadas mucho después de su viaje (1833), como ocurriría con un cuadro sobre Carmona que Roberts regaló a su dentista, fechado en 1853 13.

Según Sim, biógrafa del pintor, "lo que a él le interesaba siempre es sacarle provecho a su extraordinaria habilidad como dibujante rápido y fiel a la realidad" 14. No obstante, como buen escenógrafo a veces quitaba y añadía sin reparo elementos arquitectónicos o paisajísticos a sus fieles bocetos de viaje, con el fin de acentuar teatralmente los efectos de la composición, los contrastes de luces exteriores o interiores (atardeceres, vistas nocturnas...), a veces reconstruyendo arquitecturas perdidas 15, forzando proporciones, alterando escalas de personajes, o inventando elementos no recogidos en sus bocetos por falta de tiempo. A pesar de todo ello Roberts siempre mantuvo las cuestiones esenciales de los temas representados. Haciendo uso de un viejo dicho popular aplicado a los buenos tomeros, en sus dibujos a veces Roberts "engaña, pero sin mentir".

Por tanto resulta inexacta la siguiente afirmación de Calvo Serraller sobre las vistas de ciudades españolas de nuestro pintor: "en estas representaciones predomina lo fantástico sobre lo real..." 16, pues justamente ocurre lo contrario, predomina lo real sobre lo fantástico. Ello tiene gran trascendencia al consi-

derar el valor documental de sus imágenes, nunca desvinculadas de la realidad, cuyos detalles deben analizarse uno a uno y sin prejuicios. Asimismo debe cuestionarse la opinión de Galera Andreu sobre Roberts: "la objetividad, el realismo o la exactitud, no son valores a tener muy en cuenta en esta forma de mirar y de reflejar el paisaje o decorado" 17. Entre los innumerables ejemplos que demuestran lo contrario pueden citarse las litografías de la Giralda o de la Torre de Comares (1837) (Fig. 6) que a pesar de incluir ciertas manipulaciones, se encuentran entre las más bellas y fidedignas vistas de estos monumentos en su historia gráfica, hasta que llegó la fotografía. Así pues, deben evitarse "etiquetas" o generalizaciones inadecuadas y analizarse sus vistas con el mayor rigor, una a una, comparándolas con otros dibujos del XIX (Laborde, Ford...) o con fotografías –si ello es posible– para emitir en cada caso juicios precisos sobre su veracidad.

De todas formas, si hubiese que elegir un calificativo para Roberts y su obra, puede decirse que fue un gran pintor de paisajes y arquitecturas, un constructor gráfico con expresivos puntos de vista y sofisticados recursos en sus escenas, un verdadero paisajista, y no un romántico, pues este calificativo ofrece una visión sesgada de su fecunda obra. El término "romántico" ha resultado productivo en investigaciones literarias, pero su utilidad en el análisis de imágenes gráficas es discutible, según indica Honour 18. Nuestro artista nunca profesó la literatura, a diferencia de otros viajeros "románticos" que escribían con desbordada fantasía, y a veces dibujaban pintorescas o trasnochadas visiones de lo real. Una nota de



19 / GIMÉNEZ CRUZ, A.: *La España pintoresca...* p. 185-186, 2002.

20 / ROSCOE, T. (texto) / ROBERTS, D. (dib.): *The tourist in Spain*, R. Jennings, 4 vol. Londres 1835-38. Entre sus abundantes reediciones hubo una francesa del tomo de Granada, titulada "*L'Espagne. Royaume de Granada*", 1835.

21 / Existe copia en la Barbican Art Gallery. GIMÉNEZ CRUZ, A.: *La España pintoresca...* p. 369-70, 2002.

2. Paisaje sin identificar (dibujo a lápiz).
Colección particular D. Luis Lara, Sevilla.

16 de marzo de 1833 en el diario del Cónsul inglés en Málaga, William Mark, amigo personal de Roberts que le acompañó en esta ciudad, incluye una afirmación muy clara: "*El Sr. Roberts ha venido a España para hacer un estudio fiel y alejarse en su obra de lo meramente pintoresco y es, en este sentido, inigualable*" 19.

El itinerario por España y las vistas realizadas

Seguidamente se reseña el recorrido que Roberts siguió por España y las vistas acometidas, citando primero sus imágenes publicadas y después sus originales conocidos. Debe considerarse que muchos originales se encuentran en paradero desconocido o fueron reelaborados para publicar las 26 litografías de la obra "*Picturesque sketches in Spain. Taken during the years 1832-1833*" (1837) y los cerca de 70 grabados al acero (más pequeñas viñetas, aquí omitidas por razones de espacio) incluidos en 4 tomos de "anuarios sobre paisaje" editados por R. Jennings con el título, "*The tourist in Spain*" 20 (1835, 1836, 1837 y 1838). Para ello se contó con los mejores grabadores del momento, e incluso con dibujos originales que no eran del propio autor, según veremos.

Respecto al itinerario seguido por Roberts en su viaje por España, muchos pormenores se conocen por sus cartas y por un diario personal conocido como "Record Book" 21, donde anotaba variadas cuestiones, como los cuadros que pintaba, compradores, etc. En dicho diario se reflejan los primeros pasos de su viaje en 1832, que estuvo marcado por calamitosas epidemias:



"El 18 de octubre, partí de Londres hacia España, y después de quedarme unos días en París, continué el viaje pasando por Orleans, Tours y Burdeos, permaneciendo en esta última ciudad durante algún tiempo. De allí fui a Bayona, en donde estuve retenido en cuarentena durante veinte días, para, por fin, serme permitido abandonar la ciudad, seguir mi camino y entrar en España. Al llegar a Irún, primera ciudad española, estuve internado en un lazareto durante 14 días por causa de la epidemia de cólera, en aquel entonces, muy extendida en Francia. En el mes de diciembre, crucé los Pirineos y, tras pasar Vitoria llegué a Burgos".

Existe poca información de sus primeras etapas por España. En el tomo

III de "*The Tourist in Spain*" (1837) aparecen tres grabados sobre el País Vasco: **Fuenterrabía** desde San Juan de la Luz, una vista del Bidasoa mirando hacia Irún, y la Plaza Mayor de **Vitoria**, ciudad en la que Roberts pasó una noche. Siguiendo su camino hacia Burgos tomó una vista de **Miranda del Ebro** y otra del desfiladero de **Pancorbo**. En una colección particular de Sevilla se conserva un delicado dibujo original de Roberts que aquí se reproduce (Fig. 2) con un paisaje sin identificar que recuerda al de Pancorbo, y que seguro se elaboró con la intención de grabarlo, aunque nunca se publicaría.

Roberts estuvo una semana en **Burgos** y el citado tomo III incluye cinco grabados (1837): una vista de la en-



3. La Catedral de Burgos (grabado).
Colección particular del autor.

22 / GUITERMAN, H. / LLEWELLYN, B.: *David Roberts*, p. 48, 57, 107-108 (cat. 81, 82, 83, 84), 1986.

23 / MESONERO ROMANOS, R.: *Manual de Madrid*, p. 13-26 (2ª ed.), 1833.

24 / GIMÉNEZ CRUZ, A.: *La España pintoresca...* p. 83, 2002.

25 / Carta enviada desde Córdoba el 30 de enero de 1833.
GIMÉNEZ CRUZ, A.: *La España pintoresca...* p. 102, 2002.

trada a la ciudad, las ruinas del Convento de los Carmelitas, la fachada oeste de la Catedral (Fig. 3), la Escalinata en el crucero norte de la Catedral y la torre de la Sala Capitular. En el British Museum se conserva una acuarela del exterior de la Catedral (1836) base del grabado de 1837; y en una colección privada otra vista exterior a lápiz (1836), que dio lugar a una litografía en 1837 (lám. VII). Sobre la Escalinata interior de la Catedral existe un óleo (1835) en la Tate Gallery, y una acuarela (1836) en la Whitworth Art Gallery 22, base del grabado que cuenta con dos variantes. Un dibujo de la Capilla del Condestable (1845) se encuentra en The Courtauld Institute of Art, y un óleo sobre este tema en el Museo del Prado de Madrid.

Roberts llegó a Madrid el 16 de diciembre de 1832 y pasó allí las navidades. Según Mesonero Romanos 23 la ciudad tendría por entonces cierto encanto pueblerino, en comparación con capitales europeas como Londres, París o Roma. En una carta escrita por Roberts a su hermana decía “*la ciudad no tiene más que iglesias y conventos, y he realizado numerosos bocetos*” 24. Quizás echaba de menos una gran catedral como la de Burgos. Nuestro pintor disfrutaría de los grandes maestros españoles de su interés en el Museo del Prado (Velázquez, el Españoleto...) y se encontraría con pintores de la época como Federico Madrazo o Vicente López, mencionando críticamente la situación de la pintura de paisaje en España en aquel momento: “*es una calumnia darle ese nombre*” 25. Su estancia de tres semanas dio lugar a seis grabados (1837): Entrada a Madrid por la Puerta de



4. Vista de Toledo (grabado).
Colección particular del autor.



Fuencarral, calle de San Bernardo, calle de Alcalá, el Palacio Real, el Altar Mayor de la Iglesia de San Isidro, y la Fuente en el Prado. Además, realizó dos litografías (1837): la puerta de Alcalá (lám. XVIII) y el puente de Toledo sobre el Manzanares (lám. XX). Se conocen dos dibujos originales: uno de dicho puente de Toledo en The Royal Collection, y una acuarela de la fuente del Prado base del citado grabado en el Denver Art Museum.

El 9 de enero de 1833 Roberts salió de Madrid y llegaría a Córdoba el 12 ó 13 de enero. Allí permaneció tres semanas y fruto de su trabajo se publicaron cuatro grabados (1836): la ciudad mirando hacia el Guadalquivir, interior de la Mezquita, el Alcázar o Cárcel de la Inquisición, la torre de

la iglesia de San Nicolás; más cinco litografías (1837): una vista general del puente y el río con la Mezquita al fondo (lám. XXIV), un molino y el puente sobre el Guadalquivir (lám. XXII), la portada de acceso a la ciudad (lám. XII), el pórtico del patio de la Mezquita (lám. XXI), y la capilla de la Mezquita (lám. XIII). Más tarde grabó otra vista general con el puente y la Mezquita. Se conocen un total de doce originales de Roberts sobre Córdoba, de los que siete son vistas exteriores: una acuarela del Alcázar en el Dudley Museum; otra del Alcázar, base del grabado citado, en la Whitworth Art Gallery; un dibujo de la Albolafía en una colección particular granadina; un óleo de la torre de la Calahorra en otra colección privada; más tres va-

26 / GUITERMAN, H. / LLEWELLYN, B.: *David Roberts*, p. 60, 61 y 108 (cat. 86, 87, 88, 89), 1986. CATÁLOGO: *Artistas Románticos Británicos en Andalucía*, 2005.
27 / GIMÉNEZ CRUZ, A.: *La España pintoresca...* p. 141-143, 2002.

riantes de la iglesia de San Nicolás, una acuarela (1835) en The Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, otra en el National Museum of Wales, y un óleo (1834) en la Wakefield Art Gallery. Los otros cinco originales se dedican a la Mezquita: el pórtico del patio (1833) base de la litografía antes citada y “la capilla de Mahomed” (1833) más otra acuarela parecida, en colecciones privadas; “El Santuario del Korán” (1849) en Leicester Galleries; y un óleo en el Museo del Prado (Fig. 5) 26.

Desde Córdoba Roberts prosiguió su camino y tomó vistas para grabados (1835) en Luque, y en Alcalá la Real, llegando a Granada en febrero de 1833. Allí permaneció unas dos semanas. Maravillado por la ciudad, por su emplazamiento y por la Alhambra, en una carta a su hermana le decía: “*hay tanta belleza, que para el pintor es una tarea ardua decidirse por esto o aquello en el momento de tomar el pincel. Generalmente, termino de desayunar a las ocho, momento en el que comienzo a dibujar. Almuerzo a las dos, y vuelvo a mi tarea nuevamente. Aunque no tengo con quien conversar, siempre me falta tiempo; en verdad, si de algo puedo quejarme es de que los días parece que pasan con excesiva rapidez. La arquitectura es tan elaborada y original que llevaría meses representarla con justicia.*” [...] “*Y ahora voy a fumarme un cigarro, acostarme y soñar con moros y cristianos, con torneos y batallas, con la pintura y arquitectura. Por la mañana me acercaré al patio de los Leones [...] el cual espero acabar de dibujar después de pasar todo el día hoy en ello*” 27.

Granada fue la ciudad española que acaparó mayor número de grabados





< 5. Interior de la Mezquita de Córdoba.
© Museo del Prado, Madrid.

6. La torre de Comares y el Peinador en la Alhambra (litografía), 1837. Col. particular D. Carlos Sánchez.
7. El patio de los Leones en la Alhambra (grabado). Colección particular D. Eduardo Páez.



28 / FORD, R.: *Las Cosas de España*, p. 294 y ss., Madrid, 1974.

29 / Towneley Hall Art Gallery and Museum, Burnley. Pudo basarse en dibujo de R. Ford conservado por la familia Ford.

(1835), un total de quince: vista general de la Alhambra, vista desde la ribera del Genil, el palacio del Generalife, las Torres Bermejas, descenso al llano y vista de Granada, la torre de Comares, la Puerta de la Justicia, el patio de la Alberca, restos del puente moro sobre el Darro, la casa del Carbón, la torre de los Siete Suelos, la sala de los Abencerrajes, la puerta árabe de Bibarrambla, el patio de los Leones y la sala de la Justicia. Además hay cinco litografías (1837): entrada a la Capilla Real (lám. I), el corral del Carbón (lám. IX), torre de Comares (lám. X) (Fig. 6), viejos edificios en la ribera del Darro (lám. XI) y la tumba de los Reyes Católicos (lám. XVI). Existe un raro grabado del patio de los Leones (Fig. 7) y otras vistas originales, objeto de una in-

vestigación monográfica que el autor de estas líneas espera publicar pronto.

Roberts tuvo que abandonar Granada tras prohibírsele continuar dibujando una panorámica de la ciudad y los alrededores de la Alhambra. Este sería el único percance que nuestro artista tuvo por la intransigencia de las autoridades militares, algo frecuente en la época, según indican expresivos comentarios de Richard Ford: “no hay nada que en toda la Península sea más sospechoso que un extranjero dibujando o tomando notas; todo el que lo ve “sacando planos, mapeando el país” —que estas son expresiones que se usan al hablar del más sencillo dibujo a lápiz— supone que es un espía, o un ingeniero, y, desde luego, no está allí con buenas intenciones. Las clases ba-

jas, a semejanza de los orientales, dan un sentido vago y misterioso a esta conducta, para ellos ininteligible, y en cuanto ven a alguien dedicado a los trabajos antedichos le conducen ante las autoridades civiles o militares, y de hecho, en los sitios apartados, en cuanto llega un desconocido es objeto de vigilancia por todo el mundo, dado lo raro de la ocurrencia” 28.

Roberts saldría de Granada, camino de Málaga, el 25 ó 26 de febrero, y debió pasar por Loja, ya que sobre esta ciudad y su Alcazaba existe un grabado (1835) y un dibujo original 29. Sobre Málaga hay dos grabados (1836): una vista desde Gibralfaro, y otra de la Catedral; más una litografía (1837) de la ciudadela y el puerto (lám. XIX). Además realizó una singular litografía

8. El Peñón de Gibraltar (litografía), 1837.
Cortesía de Grabados Frame, Madrid.

30 / GIMÉNEZ CRUZ, A.: *La España pintoresca...* p. 173-177, 2002.

31 / Parece basada en dibujo de R. Ford conservado por la familia Ford. La acuarela se reproduce en SIM, K.: *David Roberts R. A., 1796-1864. A Biography*, 1984. GUITERMAN, H. / LLEWELLYN, B.: *David Roberts*, p. 109 y 110 (cat. 96 y 97), 1986.

32 / GIMÉNEZ CRUZ, A.: *La España pintoresca...* p. 215, 2002.

33 / GUITERMAN, H. / LLEWELLYN, B.: *David Roberts*, p. 109 (cat. 90), 1986.

34 / QUESADA, L.: *Pintores españoles y extranjeros en Andalucía*, p. 88, 1996.

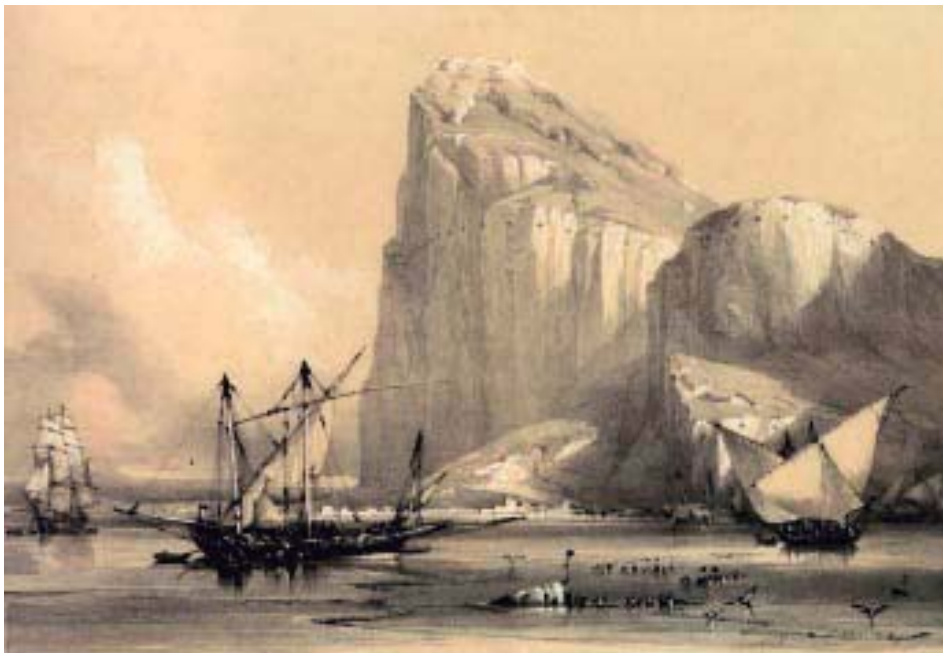
35 / Se reproduce en las páginas centrales de SIM, K.: *David Roberts R. A., 1796-1864. A Biography*, 1984.

36 / ARIAS ANGLÉS, E.: *El paisajista romántico Jenaro Pérez Villaamil*, C.S.I.C., Madrid 1986

37 / CATÁLOGO: *La Sevilla de Richard Ford 1830-1833*, p. 64-65, 69, 288 (cat. 123, 125, 126), 2007.

38 / VARIOS: *Iconografía de Sevilla, 1790-1868*, p. 159, 178, 188, 189, El Viso 1991.

39 / GUITERMAN, H. / LLEWELLYN, B.: *David Roberts*, p. 107 (cat. 80), 1986.



sobre el Cementerio Inglés 30. En su camino a Gibraltar pasó por Ronda, cuya situación en la montaña, según decía Roberts, es una de las más extraordinarias de España y del mundo. Le dedicó dos grabados (1835): una vista general de la ciudad amurallada y otra del singular puente sobre el Tajo. Se conserva una acuarela previa de la vista general (1834) en la Tate Gallery 31 y un óleo (h. 1835) con similar punto de vista en la Huntington Library and Art Gallery de California. Otro grabado (1836) incluye el pueblo de Gaucín mirando hacia Gibraltar.

Roberts llegaría a Gibraltar el 19 ó 20 de marzo, y desde allí cruzó el Estrecho para visitar Tánger, Tetuán y otras ciudades del norte de África. A su regreso a Gibraltar, en otra de sus car-

tas dice que el gobernador de Gibraltar “insiste también en hacerse cargo de mis dibujos y de enviarlos directamente a Inglaterra, con el fin de evitar el riesgo de que tengan que pasar otra vez por España. Este amable ofrecimiento lo he aceptado gustosamente, ya que mis dibujos pasan ya de doscientos” 32. Allí tomó una vista convertida en grabado (1836) y una litografía (1837) del Peñón (lám. XXV) (Fig. 8). Además se tienen referencias de un óleo de Gibraltar desde Ronda (1853) 33.

El 23 de abril prosiguió su rumbo hacia Cádiz, que dio lugar a un grabado de Tarifa (1836) y otro de Cádiz (1836). Sobre Jerez hay tres grabados (1836), una vista desde la muralla, el interior de la iglesia de San Miguel, y el Monasterio de la Cartuja; más dos

litografías (1837), una de San Miguel (lám. IV) y otra de la iglesia de Santiago (lám. VI). Hay un dibujo de la entrada a Jerez en Agnew and Sons 34; un original de las vistas de San Miguel en el British Museum 35; más un dibujo de la torre de la Atalaya adosada a la iglesia de San Dionisio en la National Gallery of Scotland.

A principios de mayo Roberts llegó a Sevilla, donde permaneció cinco meses. Allí mantuvo encuentros con jóvenes pintores y ejerció una notable influencia sobre el paisajista Jenaro Pérez Villaamil 36. Sobre Sevilla se publicaron siete grabados (1836): Plaza Real y Procesión del Corpus Christi, vista desde la Cruz del Campo, la Giralda, entrada al patio de los Naranjos de la Catedral, entrada a la Sala de Embajadores del Alcázar, la torre del Oro, y la Plaza de Toros. En 1837 se publicó otro grabado del interior de la Catedral. Y en 1837 cuatro litografías: dos del Altar Mayor de la Catedral (lám. II y III), la Giralda (lám. XIV) (Fig. 9) y una corrida de toros (lám. XXVI). Roberts realizó en Sevilla dos grandes óleos, hoy en Downside Abbey, un interior de la Catedral y otro de la Giralda. Existe una aguada sobre una corrida de toros en la Maestranza en Windsor 37; una vista desde la Cruz del Campo en Leeds; una vista interior de la Catedral en Birmingham; una aguada de la Torre del Oro en Nueva York 38; y un óleo con la Torre del Oro en el Museo del Prado.

En los alrededores de Sevilla realizó un grabado (1836) sobre las Ruinas de Itálica, y se conserva un dibujo a lápiz y acuarela del castillo de Alcalá de Guadaíra 39 (1833) que daría lugar a un espectacular óleo con una puesta de sol, hoy en el Museo del Pra-



9. La Giralda de Sevilla (litografía), 1837.
Cortesía de D. Laurence Shand, Sevilla.



40 / QUESADA, L.: *Pintores españoles y extranjeros en Andalucía*, p. 88, 1996.

do (Fig. 10). También se conocen bocetos de tipos populares de dicha población (1833), en el Denver Art Museum, similares a otros de la Royal Academy of Arts. En Carmona Roberts realizó un grabado sobre la entrada a la población (1836) basado en una acuarela con otra puesta de sol (1833) hoy en el Museo de Bellas Artes de Oviedo; existiendo referencias de un óleo similar (1853) ya citado, que Roberts regaló a su dentista. También realizó dos litografías (1838): sobre la capilla de la Virgen (lám. XV) y la plaza del mercado (lám. XVII), de la que hay un dibujo previo en el Dudley Museum. Además en el Victoria and Albert Museum hay una acuarela sobre el Alcázar de Carmona **40**.

Estando en Sevilla Roberts tuvo que abandonar precipitadamente nuestro país, según se indica en su “Record Books”: *“la epidemia de cólera se declaró en Sevilla, y ésta puso fin a todas mis actividades. Pretendía entonces volver hacia atrás y retomar el curso de mi viaje a través de España, pero habiéndose establecido un cordón sanitario, logré, con grandes dificultades, obtener pasaje a bordo de un barco inglés. Tras una larga y accidentada travesía de cinco semanas, llegué a Falmouth a finales de octubre de 1833”*.

Vistas basadas en bocetos de otros autores

Dado que Roberts no pudo completar su viaje, para el tercer y cuarto tomo de “The Tourist in Spain” decidió usar bocetos de otros viajeros sobre lugares que no visitó, reseñados a continuación. Debe advertirse que a pie

- 41 / GIMÉNEZ CRUZ, A.: *La España pintoresca*... p. 109-115, 2002.
 42 / "He hecho muchos bocetos –que quizás no sean gran cosa, pero sí son fieles a la realidad– de la mayoría de los lugares que Vd. no ha visitado, los cuales podría Ud. Utilizar para hacer sus propios dibujos". GIMÉNEZ CRUZ, A.: *La España pintoresca*... p. 342-343, 2002.
 43 / ROSCOE, T. (texto) / ROBERTS, D. (dib.): *The tourist in Spain*, prefacio, p. V, 1838.
 44 / SIM, K.: *David Roberts R. A., 1796-1864. A Biography*, p. 64, 1984.
 45 / GUITERMAN, H. / LLEWELLYN, B.: *David Roberts*, p. 56 y 110 (cat. 98, 99), 1986.

- 46 / SIM, K.: *David Roberts R. A., 1796-1864. A Biography*, p. 63 y ss., 1984.
 47 / GUITERMAN, H. / LLEWELLYN, B.: *David Roberts*, p. 50 y 111 (cat. 106), 1986.
 48 / Se reproduce en CATÁLOGO: *La Sevilla de Richard Ford 1830-1833*, p.39, 2007.
 49 / Dibujos conservados en la actualidad por la familia Ford.
 50 / Se reproduce en CATÁLOGO: *La Sevilla de Richard Ford 1830-1833*, p. 40, 2007. El dibujo de Roberts de Santiago de Compostela se encuentra en The Wallace Collection.

- 51 / GIMÉNEZ CRUZ, A.: *La España pintoresca*... p. 346-348, 2002.
 52 / Palabras de Roberts en una de sus cartas desde Sevilla. GIMÉNEZ CRUZ, A.: *La España pintoresca*... p. 273, 2002.

de todos los grabados del tomo III se dice que fueron dibujados por Roberts; pero existen serias dudas sobre ello en tres ciudades: Segovia, El Escorial y Toledo. Aunque pudo desplazarse a ellas desde Madrid, Giménez Cruz 41 cree que es poco probable, ya que no se citan en el "Record Book", y en carta escrita por Roberts desde Córdoba expresaba su intención de visitarlas en su viaje de regreso, que finalmente hizo en barco, lo que hace pensar que no estuvo allí. Debe advertirse que el propio Richard Ford ofreció sus dibujos a Roberts, que pudo usarlos en el tomo I (1835) para sus grabados de Loja y Ronda ya citados 42.

En el tomo IV (1838) se citan los siguientes autores de bocetos base de los grabados 43: Richard Ford; el Coronel Harding, y otros dos militares, Smith y Edridge, de los Royal Engineers. Según Katharine Sim "es muy probable que alguno de sus amigos más sensatos –quizás el ingenioso Richard Ford– le comentara [a Roberts] estas omisiones del *Annual correspondiente a 1837* [t. III] y le sugiriera que era mucho más acertado incluir los debidos reconocimientos" 44.

Sobre Segovia se publicaron 3 grabados en el tomo III (1836), una vista de la ciudad, una de su Acueducto y otra del Alcázar; y en tomo IV (1838) una vista más. Se conocen los siguientes originales de Roberts: una acuarela del Alcázar (1836) en el Birmingham City Museum, una acuarela con el Acueducto en el British Museum, y otra de dicho tema en la Whitworth Art Gallery 45. Respecto a El Escorial, se publicó un grabado (1836) más una litografía (1837) (lám. XXIII). Según Sim 46, las vistas de Segovia y El Escorial in-

cluyen incongruencias que hacen pensar que Roberts no las tomó del natural. Respecto al grabado de la vista de Toledo (1837), su dibujo preparatorio pertenece a la Ingram Family Collection, y al parecer se inspira en un boceto de Sir Edmund Head 47. Existe una variante de dicho grabado (Fig. 4) con cambios en los primeros planos.

En el tomo IV (1838) aparecen otros grabados: una vista de Salamanca, cuyo original es de Richard Ford 48; otra vista de Plasencia también basada en bocetos de Ford 49, aunque se conserva el original de Roberts base del grabado en el British Museum; al igual que ocurre en el grabado de Santiago de Compostela (1838) 50. Según se indica en los propios grabados, en base a bocetos de los militares citados se ejecutaron tres vistas de Valencia: la Plaza y Catedral, la puerta de los Serranos, y la torre de Santa Catalina; más otra vista de la torre inclinada de Zaragoza.

El gran éxito y popularidad de las vistas

David Roberts nunca volvería a España, aunque desde su regreso a Inglaterra, en plena madurez como persona y como artista, y hasta 1838 dedicó cinco años a sacar fruto de los bocetos del viaje. Roberts cobró una cifra astronómica por el primer tomo de "The Tourist in Spain" (1835): por veinte dibujos más la portada cobraría cuatrocientas veinte libras, siendo los grabadores de su elección y los textos de Thomas Roscoe. Según Giménez Cruz, a excepción del pintor Turner, sería el precio más alto pagado en su tiempo por dibujos de esta naturaleza. Algo similar ocurrió con las lito-

grafías publicadas en 1837, que Roberts supervisó y perfeccionó durante siete meses. Tras su publicación, en los dos primeros meses se venderían doscientos mil ejemplares y aún se imprimían veinte años más tarde 51. Sus vistas fueron objeto de incontables reediciones y plagios.

Dicho fenómeno supuso el nacimiento de muchas ciudades de nuestro entorno como paisajes turísticos dibujados y difundidos entre un público cada vez más amplio. Así, antes de la llegada de la fotografía se popularizaron imágenes que dieron a conocer rincones de nuestro país hasta entonces lejanos o exóticos. El mundo se hacía más pequeño y accesible desde el salón de las casas burguesas europeas. Aún hoy no hay tienda de grabados que se precie que no tenga en sus fondos grabados o litografías de Roberts.

En 1838 Roberts inició la segunda gran empresa de su vida, su famoso viaje a Egipto y Tierra Santa, del que volvió en 1839 con 272 bocetos y dibujos, usados durante diez años como base de su apasionado y sofisticado trabajo. Entre 1842 y 1849 se publicaron seis volúmenes titulados "The Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt and Nubia", con un total de 247 litografías magistralmente resueltas por Louis Haghe.

Desde el convencimiento de que "los efectos de la perspectiva y las sombras son la verdadera esencia del Arte con mayúscula" 52, David Roberts llegaría a la cúspide de su carrera profesional en 1841, al ingresar como miembro de la "Royal Academy", el galardón más prestigioso al que podía aspirar entonces un pintor en Inglaterra. Nuestro artista siguió trabajando hasta su muerte en 1864.



10. El Castillo de Alcalá de Guadaira (Sevilla).
© Museo del Prado, Madrid.





documented exception: *maesse Mahomad, Juan Martínez and Yuceff 'el carpintero'* and the Christian worker *Ruy Gil* worked there (MUÑOZ VÁZQUEZ, M. Documentos inéditos para la Historia del Alcázar de Córdoba de los Reyes Cristianos. *Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba*, nº 72. Año 1955, 69-88. Córdoba, 1955. También, MUÑOZ VÁZQUEZ, M. Historia del Repartimiento Urbano de Córdoba. *Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba*, nº 81. Año 1961, 71-94. Córdoba, 1961).

15 / The stonework constructs with an ashlar placed alongside followed by a transversal one has a precedent in Córdoba since Roman times and it was still used during Christian and Islamic periods. However, it is not detected

The German stonemason L. Lechler wrote on page 44 of his book *Unterweisung* (1516): "Use the thickness of the choir's wall, and in this way you will find all the templates...". Thus, we obtain the Gothic framework's main pieces and the spaces' dimensions. For example, the German stonemason got the chapel's wall as a tenth of the space's width.

In our case, the rules used are different. The building's metrical pattern is a powerful system, more useful than the relations of proportion or the spaces' size. These parameters usually do not conform to integer values²⁸. The Gothic builder gives the highest validity to metrical pattern and he assigns it to the entire building's floor, its spaces and the constructive elements' design. This allows to consider practically the same the Magdalena, a modest and small building, and the largest churches in the group, S. Marina or St. Peter; their differences should be seen as a simple change of scale, motivated by the different metrical pattern adopted for the building's floor. Once this pattern is established, all the constructive elements are generated the same way in all buildings.

The floor's design contains all the potential to generate the architectural complex organism. If the plant is formalized by the rules, the building will always be available, even with integrated minarets in the *Santiago* and *S. Lorenzo* churches. Other factors are considered in the subsequent building's execution: structural issues, artistic aspects, media and construction process, downtime, unexpected incident, and so on; all these factors are solvable with a good design of the floor. The Vitruvian's old *ichnographia*, one of his three great ways to design the architecture, becomes the only medieval projecting mechanism²⁹. Since the drawing's completion, building's erection would be as a trade's matter.

FIGURES

FIG. 1. Parochial churches: *La Magdalena, Sta. Marina* and *S. Lorenzo* (downward)

FIG. 2. Cordovan Typical church's floor and transversal section. The studied elements are indicated: H – Gable end's wall, ML – Aisle's wall, MA – Apse's wall, C – Buttress y P – Pillar.

FIG. 3. Used stonework.

FIG. 4. Structural elements' typical constructive solutions: walls (with the corner's resolution), pillars and apse's buttresses.

FIG. 5. Pillar (*S. Lorenzo* church).

FIG. 6. Major chapel's buttresses (*S. Lorenzo* church).

FIG. 7. Medieval yardsticks' partitions and graphical increase.

FIG. 8. Pillars', walls' and buttresses' dimensions and their metrological interpretation according to the building's metrical pattern (P/P'/P'').

either in other churches in the *Córdoba's* province, neither in *Sevilla, Úbeda* or *Baeza*. It does not exist either in Castilian contemporaries buildings, those are constructed with a simple bond (JIMÉNEZ MARTÍN, A. La primera cantera andalusí. *Actas del Tercer Congreso Nacional de Historia de la construcción*, Vol. II, pp. 549-555. Sevilla, 2000).

16 / The transversal ashlar is usually not unique in the local Islamic construction. Some examples of unique transversal ashlar can be found in the first Emirate architecture (DE LOS SANTOS, S. La Ermita de San Bartolomé o Capilla del Hospital del Cardenal Salazar (cont.). *Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba*, nº 30. Año 1931, pp. 33-48. Córdoba, 1931).

17 / The samples taken in *S. Pedro* church detect two stone walls of 40 cm each. The interior padding is also of similar thickness (VORSEVI, S. A. *Estudio de la iglesia de S. Pedro de Córdoba* (inédito), pp. 14 y 42, Sevilla, 1991).

18 / GARCÍA ORTEGA, A. J. y RUIZ DE LA ROSA, J. A., op. cit. pp. 100-107.

19 / GARCÍA ORTEGA, A. J. Las parroquias medievales cordobesas. Su traza a la luz de 'Villard', *EGA*, nº 7, p. 27-35. Valencia, 2002. También, GARCÍA ORTEGA, A. J. *Traza de la planta en el modelo parroquial cordobés bajomedieval*, tesis doctoral inédita. Dpto. de Expresión Gráfica Arquitectónica. Universidad de Sevilla, 2008.

20 / E. Sunderland's studies about Charliou and Anzy-le-Duc churches (XI century) show that the wall is four feet thick. This value, in turn, is the metric pattern that generates the building's floor. These criteria also operate in the Hispanic Gothic. For example, a J. Carrasco's and A. Millán's study discusses the Catalans temples' constructive thickness. These authors base their arguments on the building's general metrical pattern (SUNDERLAND, E. R. More Analogies between Charliou and Anzy-le-Duc. *J.S.A.H.*, vol XVI, Nº 3, Octubre 1957, 16-21. También, CARRASCO HORTAL, J. y MILLÁN GÓMEZ, A., op. cit.).

21 / RUIZ DE LA ROSA, J. A. *Traza y simetría de la Arquitectura*. Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla. Sevilla, 1987, pp. 263-344.

22 / About the metrology system based on the Castilian stick, see: DE SOPRANIS FAVRAUD, F. S. Las medidas castellanas en las reglas de trazado. *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 49-50. Enero-Febrero 1946. Año V, 15-8. Dirección General de Arquitectura. Madrid, 1946.

23 / LECHLER L. *Unterweisung*, 1516, ms copia en Colonia Stadbibliothek. Traducción August Reichensperger, Leipzig, 1856, fol 51v.

24 / The half-column's measures have not been interpreted, so that we only study the pillar's total size.

25 / The *S. Nicholas*, *S. Lorenzo* and *La Magdalena's* walls are not reduced. Its thickness is equal to the aisles' walls. However, the gable end's wall surpasses all of them.

26 / The stone could be extracted from the quarry in its net size, so that its final size would derive from Islamic measure units. F. Hernandez's studies detect that the Cordovan Great Mosque's wall, two elbows thick, is constructed with two adjacent ashlars. Each ashlar's width would be one elbow (*rassasi* or *mamuni*, as appropriate).

However, the Islamic stoneworks' evolution meant increasing the number of transversal ashlars, reducing the blocks' width; this would justify the Christians ashlar's thickness, preferably equivalent to a half *mamuni* elbow (23.07 cm) (HERNÁNDEZ JIMÉNEZ, F., op. cit., pp. 11 y 32-52. HERNÁNDEZ JIMÉNEZ, F. *El alminar de 'Abd Al-Rahman III en la Mezquita Mayor de Córdoba*. Génesis y repercusiones. Patronato de la Alhambra. Granada, 1975, pp. 40-4. TORRES BALBÁS L. *Arte Hispanomusulmán*. Hasta la caída del califato de Córdoba. *Menéndez Pidal, Ramón (dir.). Historia de España. España musulmana 711-1031, 333-788. Instituciones y arte*. Espasa Calpe. Madrid, 1973).

27 / The Santiago church's case is somewhat unique, since two metrical patterns are involved in the overall design. The Castilian stick (83.59 cm) was the walls' metric pattern and the value of 89.04 cm was used for the pillars' dimension.

28 / GARCÍA ORTEGA, A. J. y RUIZ DE LA ROSA, J. A., op. cit., p. 106.

29 / CABEZAS GELABERT, L. *Ichnographia*, la fundación de la arquitectura. *EGA*, nº 2, pp. 82-94. Valladolid, 1994. También, GENTIL BALDRICH, J. M. *Traza y modelo*. Universidad de Sevilla. Instituto Universitario de Ciencias de la Construcción. Sevilla, 1998, pp. 86-8.

1 / GIMÉNEZ CRUZ, A.: *La España pintoresca de David Roberts. El viaje y los grabados del pintor*, Málaga 2002.

2 / BALLANTINE, J.: *The life of David Roberts R. A.*, Edinburgh 1866.

3 / SIM, K.: *David Roberts R. A., 1796-1864. A Biography*, London 1984.

4 / GUIETERMAN, H. / LLEWELLYN, B.: *David Roberts*, Phaidon Press and Barbican Art Gallery, London 1986.

THE VIEWS OF SPAIN BY DAVID ROBERTS, PAINTER OF LANDSCAPES AND ARCHITECTURE, AROUND 1833

by Antonio Gámiz Gordo

David Roberts (*fig. 1*) was a Scottish painter who travelled around Spain between December 1832 and September 1833, sketching numerous views of cities and monuments, especially of Andalusia, which he largely reworked after his return to England. These views, of exceptional quality and predating the advent of photography, provide graphic information of enormous interest for a greater understanding of our landscape and architectural heritage, much of it either vanished or transformed.

Thanks to Roberts' drawings, water-colours and oils, which were hugely successful when published as lithographs and engravings, the educated European public of the 19th century had access to views of places which in the pre-photography age were little known. In addition, Roberts exercised a notable influence over some important painters, especially Jenaro Pérez Villaamil, the foremost landscape painter of his day.

A recent book by Antonio Giménez Cruz¹ reconstructs Roberts' travels in Spain, without studying the views, using the writings of contemporaries and around sixty letters which have survived, many of them published by the first biographer of the painter James Ballantine (1866)². There exist in addition two important books on Roberts, the biography by Katharine Sim³ (1984), and the catalogue of a London exhibition (1986) in which Helen Guiterman y Briony Llewellyn⁴ sought to bring together the prolific work from Roberts' travels in Scotland, England, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Spain, India, the Near East and Italy. A list is provided there of Roberts' original views of Spain, which are here sequenced and commented on together with other works which have been traced. Those views published as lithographs or engravings are also taken into account.

The present article therefore offers a brief estimation of David Roberts' graphic work in Spain, and aims to identify and evaluate numerous views not easily traceable, which are scattered in museums, private collections, or in publications that were often reedited and plagiarized. It is hoped that in future these references can be expanded and that new research may throw fresh light on the enormous graphic legacy and each one of the landscapes and monuments recorded by an artist who is today among the greatest painters of the nineteenth century to be found in the recent extension of Madrid's Prado Museum (*fig.5 y 10*).



5 / GIMÉNEZ CRUZ, A.: *La España pintoresca...* p. 21 et seq., 2002.

6 / QUESADA, L.: *Pintores españoles y extranjeros en Andalucía*, p. 86 and ff., Sevilla 1996.

7 / GIMÉNEZ CRUZ, A.: *La España pintoresca...* p. 28 et seq., 2002.

8 / GIMÉNEZ CRUZ, A.: *La España pintoresca...* p. 56 y 218, 2002.

9 / QUESADA, L.: *Pintores españoles y extranjeros en Andalucía*, p. 87, 1996.

10 / SIM, K.: *David Roberts R. A., 1796-1864. A Biography*, p. 68, 1984.

11 / BALLANTINE, J.: *The life of David Roberts R. A.*, p.231, 1866.

12 / GALERA ANDREU, P.: *La imagen romántica de la Alhambra*, El Viso 1992.

13 / GUITERMAN, H. / LLEWELLYN, B.: *David Roberts*, p. 108 (cat. 85), 1986.

14 / SIM, K.: *David Roberts R. A., 1796-1864. A Biography*, p. 80, 1984.

15 / GAMIZ GORDO, A. / ANGUIS CLIMENT, D.: "Imágenes cordobesas: los Molinos y la Albolafia", *El Legado Andalusi* n° 22, p.80-89, Granada 2005.

16 / CALVO SERRALLER, F.: *La imagen romántica de España. Arte y Arquitectura del siglo XIX*, p. 22 y ss., 95-96, 1995.

17 / GALERA ANDREU, P.: *La imagen romántica de la Alhambra*, p. 134-37, 1992.

18 / "In the visual arts there is no such thing as a Romantic style if by this we mean a common language of visual forms and means of expression comparable to the Baroque Rococo. *There is not a single work of art that embodies the*

1. Education and the background to the tour of Spain David Roberts (1796-1864) was born into a poor family in Stockbridge, near Edinburgh: his father was a shoemaker and his mother a washerwoman. Roberts had to struggle to make his way in his profession. At the age of twelve he entered as apprentice in the workshop of painter and decorator of Scottish country houses, and after struggling for seven years he found employment as a painter of stage scenery in a travelling theatre, which allowed him to travel and paint scenes on a large scale and to draw the places he visited. According to the author himself, it was while drawing York Cathedral that he discovered his true vocation as a painter-traveller⁵.

From 1816 until around 1830 Roberts devoted himself to scene-painting and worked in the most important theatres in Scotland and England, executing numerous graphic compositions with great inventiveness, immediacy and expressive intensity, all of which allowed him to mature as an artist. As his financial circumstances improved, he was able to devote himself to painting. In 1824 he became a member of the newly formed Society of British Artists⁶, where he exhibited many paintings relating to his travels. After exhibiting *West Front of Notre Dame, Rouen* at the Royal Academy, painted for Lord Northwick, one of his first and most generous patrons, Roberts received a number of very attractive commissions and in 1831 the Society of British Artists elected him as their president.

Among the reasons that inspired his journey to Spain were Roberts' own personal circumstances. He married in 1820 and his only daughter was born a year later. The failure of his marriage and subsequent separation led him to seek a change in both his personal life and artistic direction⁷. Around 1830 Roberts was in an ideal condition, physically and financially, as well as in terms of age and travelling experience, to undertake an adventure in Spain. Some of his friends and contemporary British artists such as David Wilkie, John Frederick Lewis, or other figures, like Richard Ford had done the same. The opportunity to stand before works by masters such as Velázquez, Murillo or Zurbarán exercised an obvious appeal. At the time Spain was in vogue and there was considerable public demand in England for all things from Spain, then little known or considered exotic. This convinced Roberts that the substantial effort and expense involved in the journey would be amply rewarded by the sale of his Spanish work on his return, as indeed was the case.

2. A prolific painter of landscapes and architecture Roberts embarked on his journey with the intention of making the fullest possible use of his time, and had pencil or paintbrush always to hand. After scarcely six weeks in Spain, in a letter written from Córdoba, Roberts could write: "My portfolio is getting rich, the

subjects are not only good but of a very novel character. I begin to doubt whether I shall be able to paint half of them, they already amount to over 100, and I have yet six towns to visit, from which I expect many fine subjects". In another letter two months later, while passing through Gibraltar, Roberts remarks: "many of the drawings are very original, I have no fewer than two hundred and six finished drawings, the greater part coloured, in addition to others in my small sketch-book"⁸. It has been estimated that in Andalusia alone Roberts made as many as 250 views⁹. However, he would not paint oils in Spain, with the exception of two in Seville, on account of the obvious difficulties involved in transportation to England. Given that his sketch-books were "pocket-sized" (10 by 17 cm.), Roberts' ability to use them to create complex and detailed scenes is remarkable. According to Katharine Sim, "what is astonishing in these sketches, the majority in pencil or wash on lightly tinted paper is not only the simplicity and delicacy of the line, but also the surprising accuracy of subtly rendered details"¹⁰.

According to Ballantine, who was a personal friend of the painter, "He seemed to have the power of photographing subjects on his eye, for I have again and again been with him while he was sketching very elaborate structures or very extensive views, and he took in a large mass at one glance, not requiring to look again at that portion until he had it completed in his sketch. Other artists caught small bits at a time, and required to be renewing their glances continually. Roberts, by this extraordinary faculty, either natural or acquired, got over more than double their work with half their labour"¹¹. The rapidity required in the scene-painting of his youth would explain how Roberts came to have such facility in capturing and recording his images.

Following his extended visit to Spain Roberts produced numerous views of the same scenes, reproducing again and again those most in demand from his clients, with variations which, like a proper graphic architect, he introduced with great precision, with the aim of satisfying the requests he received. Arguably the distortions or manipulations of the views were the result not of a "taste for the fantastic" or an allegedly "Romantic" character, which has been the object of so much speculation¹², but of the requirements of those who paid him for works that were unique and exclusive, elaborated on the basis of small sketches, sometimes long after the journey itself (1833), as was the case with a view of Carmona, dated 1853, which Roberts gave as a present to his dentist¹³.

According to Sim, the painter's biographer, "what interested him was always to take advantage of his extraordinary ability as draughtsman, rapid and faithful to reality"¹⁴. Nevertheless, like the excellent

scene-painter he was, he had no hesitation in sometimes removing and adding elements of architecture or landscape in the faithful travel sketches, with the aim of accentuating theatrically the effects of the composition, or contrasts of outdoor and indoor light (evenings, night views ...), sometimes reconstructing lost architecture¹⁵, skewing proportions, altering the scale of the human figures, or inventing elements that were not included in the sketches because of a lack of time. In spite of all this, Roberts was always true to the essence of what he represented. To use an old adage applied to the skilful bullfighter, in his drawings Roberts sometimes "deceives but without lies".

It is therefore inaccurate to state of the views, with Calvo Serraller, that: "in these representations of Spanish cities the fantastic predominates over the real ..."¹⁶, since exactly the opposite is the case, the real predominates over the fantastic. This is of great importance when consideration is given to the documentary value of the illustrations, the details of which need to be analysed one by one with an unprejudiced eye. Likewise open to question is the opinion of Galera Andreu on Roberts: "objectivity, realism or accuracy are not values much taken account of in this way of looking at and reflecting landscape or scenery"¹⁷. Among the numerous examples which demonstrate the opposite are lithographs of the Giralda or the Tower of Comares (1837) (fig.6), which despite containing certain alterations, are among the most beautiful and faithful representations of these monuments prior to the advent of photography. Thus "labels" or inappropriate generalizations should be avoided and greater rigour applied to the views taken individually and compared with other drawings of the 19th century (Laborde, Ford...) or – where possible, with photographs – so as to be able to make precise judgements in each instance on their veracity or otherwise.

In any case if one had to sum up Roberts and his work, it can be affirmed that he was a great painter of landscapes and architecture, a graphic architect with expressive points of view and sophisticated resources in his scenes, a true landscape artist, and not a Romantic, since such a label implies a partial vision of a rich body of work. The term "Romantic" has proved productive in literary research but is questionable when applied to the graphic arts, according to Honour¹⁸. Roberts never engaged in literature, unlike other "Romantic" travellers who wrote with a teeming imagination, and sometimes gave picturesque or antiquated versions of reality. An entry of 16 March 1833 in the diary of the British Consul in Malaga, William Mark, personal friend of Roberts', who accompanied him around the city, states clearly: "Mr Roberts has come to Spain to make a faithful study and to distance himself in his



objectives and ideals of the Romantics ...". HONOUR, H.: *El romanticismo*, p. 15-16, 1981; QUESADA, L.: *Pintores españoles y extranjeros en Andalucía*, p. 72, 1996.

19 / GIMÉNEZ CRUZ, A.: *La España pintoresca...* p. 185-186, 2002.

20 / ROSCOE, T. (text) / ROBERTS, D. (art.): *The tourist in Spain*, R. Jennings, 4 vols. London 1835-38. Among the numerous editions there was a French edition of the volume dedicated to Granada entitled "*L'Espagne. Royaume de Granada*", 1835.

21 / A copy exists in the Barbican Art Gallery. GIMÉNEZ CRUZ, A.: *La España pintoresca...* p. 369-70, 2002.

22 / GUITERMAN, H. / LLEWELLYN, B.: *David Roberts*, p. 48,

work from the merely picturesque, and is in this regard unsurpassed"¹⁹.

3. The itinerary in Spain and the views executed In what follows, an account is given of Roberts' itinerary in Spain and the views he executed, first the published illustrations followed by the known originals. It should be mentioned that the whereabouts of many of the originals are unknown or they were reworked for publication as the twenty-six lithographs of "*Picturesque sketches in Spain. Taken during the years 1832-1833*" (1837) and the approximately seventy steel engravings (smaller vignettes, omitted here for reasons of space) included in the four volumes of "*Landscape Annuals*" edited by R. Jennings with the title "*The tourist in Spain*"²⁰ (1835, 1836, 1837 and 1838). For this project the finest engravers of the time were employed and use made of original drawings not by the author himself, as we shall see.

Regarding the route followed by Roberts on his journey through Spain, many details can be gleaned from his letters as well as from a personal diary known as the "Record Book"²¹, in which he noted down various matters, such as the paintings he was working on, buyers and sellers etc. The diary records the first stages of this trip in 1832, which was marked by disastrous epidemics: "*On October 18th, I left London for Spain and after some days in Paris, continued on my journey, passing through Orleans, Tours and Bordeaux, remaining in this last for some time. From there I proceeded to Bayonne where I was detained in quarantine for twenty days. I was finally allowed to leave and continue my journey and enter Spain. On arriving in Irun, the first Spanish town, I was in a lazaretto for fourteen days on account of the cholera, then very prevalent in France. In the month of December I crossed the Pyrenees and after passing through Vittoria, came to Burgos*".

There is little information concerning the initial stages of Roberts' journey. Volume III of "*The Tourist in Spain*" (1837) contains three engravings of the Basque Country: *Fontarabia from St Jean de Luz*, a *View on the Bidasoa looking towards Irún*, and the *Great Square of Vitoria*, where Roberts spent a night. En route to Burgos, Roberts made a view of Miranda del Ebro and another of the Pass of Pancorvo. A delicate original drawing, reproduced here (fig.2), is preserved in a private collection in Seville. It depicts an unidentified landscape resembling that of Pancorvo and was no doubt executed with the intention of producing an engraving, although this was never actually published.

Roberts spent a week in Burgos and volume III includes five engravings (1837): *Entrance to the city of Burgos*, *Ruins of the Convent of the Carmelites*, *West Front of the Cathedral* (fig.3), the *Staircase in the North Transept* and *Tower of the Chapter House*. The British Museum contains a water-colour of the ex-

terior of the Cathedral (1836) basis of the engraving of 1837; and in a private collection there is another outdoor view in pencil (1836), which gave rise to a lithograph in 1837 (pl. VII). There is an oil of the *Staircase in the North Transept* (1835) in the Tate Gallery, and a water-colour (1836) in the Whitworth Art Gallery²², on which two variant engravings are based. A drawing of the Chapel of the Condestable (1845) can be found in The Courtauld Institute of Art, and an oil-painting on the same subject in the Prado in Madrid.

Roberts arrived in Madrid on 16 December 1832 and spent the Christmas period there. According to Mesonero Romanos²³, the city had a certain small-town charm, in comparison with European capitals such as London, Paris or Rome. In a letter to his sister "*the town consists almost entirely of churches and convents and I have made a number of sketches*"²⁴. Perhaps he missed a large cathedral like that of Burgos. Roberts enjoyed the great Spanish masters in the Prado (Velázquez, Jusepe de Ribera...), met painters of the period such as Federico Madrazo or Vicente López, and was critical of the state of landscape painting in Spain at the time: "*it's an insult to give it that name*"²⁵. His three-week stay gave rise to six engravings (1837): *Entrance to Madrid by the Gate of Fuencarral*, *Street of San Bernardo*, *Street of Alcalá*, *the Royal Palace*, *the High Altar*, *Church of San Isidro*, and *the Fountain on the Prado*. In addition he made two lithographs (1837): the *Gate of Alcalá* (pl. XVIII) and *Bridge of Toledo on the Manzanares* (pl. XX). Two original drawings are known: one of the *Bridge of Toledo* in The Royal Collection, and a water-colour of the *Fountain on the Prado*, basis of the above-mentioned engraving in the Denver Art Museum.

Roberts left Madrid on 9 January 1833 and arrived in Córdoba on 12 or 13 January. He remained there three weeks and fruit of his labour were four engravings: (1836): *Cordova: Looking down the Guadalquivir*, *Interior of the Great Mosque*, *The Alcazar or Prison of the Inquisition*, and *The Tower of the Church of St Nicholas*; also five lithographs (1837): a general view of the bridge and the river with the Mosque in the background (pl. XXIV), a watermill and the bridge over the Guadalquivir (pl. XXII), the entrance gate to the city (pl. XII), the portico of the Courtyard of the Mosque (pl. XXI), and the chapel of the Mosque (pl. XIII). Later he recorded another general view of the bridge and the Mosque. A total of twelve originals of Córdoba by Roberts are known, of which seven are outdoor views: a water-colour of the Alcazar in Dudley Museum; another of the Alcázar, basis of the above-mentioned engraving, in the Whitworth Art Gallery; a drawing of the Albolafia belonging to a private collection in Granada; an oil of the Tower of Calahorra in another private collection; three more versions of the Church of St Nicholas, a water-colour

basarse en dibujo de R. Ford conservado por la familia Ford.

30 / GIMÉNEZ CRUZ, A.: *La España pintoresca...* p. 173-177, 2002.

31 / It appears to be based on a drawing by R. Ford in the possession of the Ford family. The watercolour is reproduced in SIM, K.: *David Roberts R. A., 1796-1864. A Biography*, 1984. GUITERMAN, H. / LLEWELLYN, B.: *David Roberts*, p. 109 y 110 (cat. 96 y 97), 1986.

32 / GIMÉNEZ CRUZ, A.: *La España pintoresca...* p. 215, 2002.

33 / GUITERMAN, H. / LLEWELLYN, B.: *David Roberts*, p. 109 (cat. 90), 1986.

(1835) in the Fitzwilliam Museum, another in the National Museum of Wales, and an oil (1834) in Wakefield Art Gallery. The other five originals are devoted to the Mosque: the portico of the Courtyard (1833) basis of the above-mentioned lithograph, and "the chapel of Mahomed" (1833) together with another similar water-colour in private collections; "The Sanctuary of the Koran" (1849) in Leicester Galleries; and an oil in the Prado (fig.5)²⁶. From Córdoba Roberts continued his journey and drew views for engravings (1835) en Luque, and Alcalá la Real, arriving in Granada in February 1833. He remained there two weeks. Awed by the city, its position and the Alhambra, he remarks in a letter to his sister that "*there are so many beautiful objects that I am at a loss which to take first. My breakfast is generally over by eight o'clock, when I go out to draw. I dine at two, and out to work again. Although I have nobody to speak to, I never feel the time long; indeed, if I feel inclined to grumble at all, it is at the shortness of the days. The architecture is so peculiar and elaborate that it would take months to do it justice*" [...]. "*And now I am going to smoke a cigar and go to bed, to dream of Moors and Christians, tournaments and battles, painting and architecture. In the morning I go to the Court of the Lions [...]. and I mean to finish a drawing of it which has already taken me all this day*"²⁷.

Granada was the Spanish city that inspired the greatest number of engravings (1835), a total of fifteen: a general view of the Alhambra, *Granada from the banks of the Xenil*, *the Palace of the Generalife*, *the Vermillion Towers*, *Descent into the Plain and View of Granada*, *Tower of Comares*, *the Gate of Justice*, *the Court of the Alberca*, *Remains of the Old Bridge across the Darro*, *the Casa del Carbón*, *the Tower of the Seven Vaults*, *the Hall of the Abencerrages*, *Moorish Gateway leading to the Viva Rambla*, *Court of the Lions and the Hall of Judgement*. There are in addition five lithographs (1837): *Entrance to the Ferdinand and Isabel* (plate I), *the Casa del Carbón* (pl. IX), *the Tower of Comares* (pl. X) (fig.6), *Old Buildings on the Banks of the Darro* (pl. XI) and *the Tomb of the Catholic Monarchs* (pl. XVI). There is a rare engraving of the *Courtyard of the Lions* (fig.7) and other original views, the subject of a forthcoming monograph by the present author.

Roberts was forced to leave Granada when he was prevented from continuing a panoramic view of the city and the surrounding country from the Alhambra. This was the only setback Roberts encountered on account of the intransigence of the military authorities, which was frequent in the period, as the following graphic comments of Richard Ford make clear: "*Nothing throughout the length and breadth of the land creates greater suspicion or jealousy than a stranger's making drawings, or writing down notes*"

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34 / QUESADA, L.: *Pintores españoles y extranjeros en Andalucía*, p. 88, 1996.
 35 / Reproduced in the central pages of SIM, K.: *David Roberts R. A., 1796-1864. A Biography*, 1984.
 36 / ARIAS ANGLÉS, E.: *El paisajista romántico Jenaro Pérez Villaamil*, C.S.I.C., Madrid 1986
 37 / CATÁLOGO: *La Sevilla de Richard Ford 1830-1833*, p. 64-65, 69, 288 (cat. 123, 125, 126), 2007.
 38 / VARIOS: *Iconografía de Sevilla, 1790-1868*, p. 159, 178, 188, 189, El Viso 1991.
 39 / GUIETERMAN, H. / LLEWELLYN, B.: *David Roberts*, p. 107 (cat. 80), 1986.

in a book: whoever is observed sacando planes, "taking plans," mapeando el país, "mapping the country," – for such are the expressions of the simplest pencil sketch — is thought to be an engineer, a spy, and, at all events, to be about no good. The lower classes, like the Orientals, attach a vague mysterious notion to these, to them unintelligible, proceedings; whoever is seen at work is immediately reported to the civil and military authorities, and, in fact, in out-of-the-way places, whenever an unknown person arrives, from the rarity of the occurrence, he is the observed of all observers.⁷²⁸

Roberts left Granada for Málaga on 25 or 26 February, and must have passed through Loja, since there is an engraving of the town and its Alcazaba as well as an original drawing²⁹. Of Málaga there are two engravings (1836): a view from the *Moorish Fortress of Gibralfaro*, and another of the *Cathedral*; also a lithograph (1837) of the fortress and the port (pl. XIX). He also produced an engraving of the English Cemetery³⁰. On his way to Gibraltar, Roberts passed through Ronda, whose mountain setting Roberts said was one of the most extraordinary in Spain and the world. He depicted it in two engravings (1835): a general view of the walled town and another of its remarkable bridge over the gorge (Tajo). A watercolour antecedent to the general view (1834) is preserved in the Tate Gallery³¹ and an oil (c. 1835) from a similar perspective in the Huntington Library and Art Gallery, California. Another engraving (1836) includes the town of Gaucín looking towards Gibraltar. Having arrived in Gibraltar on 19 or 20 March, Roberts crossed the Strait to visit Tangiers, Tetuán and other cities of North Africa. On his return to Gibraltar, he remarks in another of his letters that the governor "insists on taking charge of my drawings and sending them direct to England to avoid the risk of their passing through Spain, and this offer I gratefully accepted as my sketches now exceed two hundred"³². In Gibraltar he produced a vignette converted into an engraving (1836) and a lithograph (1837) of *Gibraltar from the Neutral Ground* (pl. XXV) (fig. 8). There are also references to an oil-painting of Gibraltar from Ronda (1853)³³.

Roberts set off in the direction of Cádiz on 23 April; there is an engraving of Tarifa (1836) and another of Cádiz (1836). There are three engravings of Jerez (1836), *Xerez, from the Ramparts*, the *Interior of San Miguel*, and *Monastery of the Cartuja*; also two lithographs (1837), the *Interior of San Miguel* (pl. IV) and another of the church of Santiago (pl. VI). There is a drawing of the entrance to Jerez in Agnew and Sons³⁴; an original of views of San Miguel in the British Museum³⁵; also a drawing of the tower of the Atalaya attached to San Dionisio in the National Gallery of Scotland. At the beginning of May Roberts arrived in Seville, where he remained five months. There he met young

40 / QUESADA, L.: *Pintores españoles y extranjeros en Andalucía*, p. 88, 1996.
 41 / GIMÉNEZ CRUZ, A.: *La España pintoresca...* p. 109-115, 2002.
 42 / "I have made many sketches – which are perhaps not up to much, but they are true to reality – of the majority of the places you have not visited, which you may use to make your own drawings". GIMÉNEZ CRUZ, A.: *La España pintoresca...* p. 342-343, 2002.
 43 / ROSCOE, T. (text) / ROBERTS, D.: *The tourist in Spain*, prefacio, p. V, 1838.
 44 / SIM, K.: *David Roberts R. A., 1796-1864. A Biography*, p. 64, 1984.

painters and exercised a notable influence on the landscape painter Jenaro Pérez Villa-amil³⁶. Seville was the subject of seven engravings (1836): *Plaza Real and the Procession of the Corpus Christi*, *Seville from the Cruz del Campo*, *Moorish Tower called the Giralda*, *Entrance to the Court of the Orange Trees*, *Entrance to the Hall of the Ambassadors of the Alcázar*, the *Golden Tower*, and the *Bull Ring*. In 1837 another engraving of the interior of the Cathedral was published. And in 1837 four lithographs: two of the High Altar of the Cathedral (pl. II y III), the Giralda (pl. XIV) (fig. 9) and a bullfight (pl. XXVI). Roberts painted two oils in Seville, today in Downside Abbey, an interior of the Cathedral and another of the Giralda. There is a water-colour of a bullfight in the Maestranza in Windsor³⁷; a view from the Cruz del Campo in Leeds; an interior of the Cathedral in Birmingham; a gouache of the Torre del Oro (Golden Tower) in New York³⁸; and an oil of the same subject in the Prado. In the surroundings of Seville, Roberts made a sketch of the *Ruins of Italica*, later converted into an engraving (1836), and a drawing in pencil and a water-colour is preserved of the castle of Alcalá de Guadaíra³⁹ (1833) which would result in a spectacular oil-painting of a sunset, today in the Prado (fig. 10). There are also sketches of *Two Spanish Peasants* of the same town (1833), in Denver Art Museum, similar to others of the Royal Academy of Arts. For Carmona there is an engraving of the entrance to the town (1836), based on a water-colour with another sunset (1833) which is today in the Museum of Fine Arts in Oviedo; there is evidence of a similar oil-painting (1853) already mentioned, which Roberts gave to his dentist. There are also two lithographs (1838): on the chapel of the Virgin (pl. XV) and the marketplace (pl. XVII), a prior sketch of which is preserved in Dudley Museum. There is also water-colour of the *Alcázar de Carmona* in the Victoria and Albert Museum⁴⁰. While he was in Seville, Roberts had to leave the country hastily, as his "Record Books" indicate: "the cholera epidemic was declared in Seville, and this put an end to all my activities. I intended then to go back and take up again my journey through Spain, but a cordon having been thrown up, I succeeded with great difficulty in obtaining a passage aboard an English ship. After a long and troublesome crossing of five weeks I arrived in Falmouth at the end of October of 1833".

4. Views based on views by other artists

Given that Roberts was unable to complete his journey, for the third and fourth volumes of "The Tourist in Spain" he decided to use other travellers' sketches of places he had not visited himself, described in what follows. It should be borne in mind that Roberts' name appears beneath all the engravings in Volume III; but there are serious doubts in three instances: Segovia, El Escorial y Toledo. Although he might have

45 / GUIETERMAN, H. / LLEWELLYN, B.: *David Roberts*, p. 56 y 110 (cat. 98, 99), 1986.
 46 / SIM, K.: *David Roberts R. A., 1796-1864. A Biography*, p. 63 y ss., 1984.
 47 / GUIETERMAN, H. / LLEWELLYN, B.: *David Roberts*, p. 50 y 111 (cat. 106), 1986.
 48 / Reproduced in CATÁLOGO: *La Sevilla de Richard Ford 1830-1833*, p. 39, 2007.
 49 / Drawings in the possession of the Ford family.
 50 / Reproduced from CATÁLOGO: *La Sevilla de Richard Ford 1830-1833*, p. 40, 2007. Roberts' drawing of Santiago de Compostela is held in The Wallace Collection.

visited these places from Madrid, Giménez Cruz⁴¹ believes it is unlikely, since they are not mentioned in the "Record Book", and in the letter written from Córdoba he expressed his intention to visit them on his return journey, which he finally made by ship. This suggests that he did not actually go to these places himself. It should be pointed out that it was Richard Ford who offered Roberts his own drawings, which he was able to use in Volume I (1835) for the engravings of Loja and Ronda already mentioned⁴².

In volume IV (1838) the following authors of the sketches for the engravings are cited⁴³: Richard Ford; Colonel Harding, and another two military men, Smith and Edridge, of the Royal Engineers. According to Katharine Sim "it is very likely that one of his more sensitive friends – perhaps the resourceful Richard Ford – mentioned [to Roberts] these omissions in the *Annual corresponding to 1837* [vol. III] and suggested that it would be more sensible to include the due acknowledgements"⁴⁴.

Three engravings were published of Segovia in volume III (1836), *City of Segovia*, the *Great Roman Aqueduct*, and the *Alcázar*, and another view in volume IV (1838). The following originals by Roberts are known: a water-colour of the Alcázar (1836) in Birmingham City Museum, a water-colour of the Aqueduct in the British Museum, and another on the same subject in the Whitworth Art Gallery⁴⁵. With regard to the El Escorial, an engraving was published (1836) and a lithograph (1837) (pl. XXIII). According to Sim⁴⁶, the views of Segovia and El Escorial contain incongruities that lead one to believe he did not make them directly himself. Regarding the engraving of the view of Toledo (1837), his preparatory drawing belongs to the Ingram Family Collection, and seems to have been inspired by a sketch by Sir Edmund Head⁴⁷. There is a variant of this engraving (fig. 4) with alterations in the foreground.

Other engravings appear in volume IV (1838): *Salamanca, from above the River Zerguen*, on an original by Richard Ford⁴⁸; a view of Plasencia also based on sketches by Ford⁴⁹, although Roberts' original, the basis of the engraving in the British Museum, survives; the same occurs with the engraving of Santiago de Compostela (1838)⁵⁰. As is indicated in the engravings themselves, on the basis of sketches made by the army officers already mentioned three views of Valencia were executed: *Plaza Cathedral*, the *Gate of the Serranos*, and *Tower of Santa Catalina*; together with the view of the *Leaning Tower* at Zaragoza.

5. The great success and popularity of the views David Roberts would never return to Spain, though on his return to England, at the height of his powers as a person and an artist, and until 1838, he devoted five years to exploiting his travel sketches. Roberts received an astronomical sum for "The Tourist in Spain" (1835): for twenty drawings and the cover, with



51 / GIMÉNEZ CRUZ, A.: *La España pintoresca...* p. 346-348, 2002.

52 / Letter of 2 July 1833 from Seville. Quoted in GIMÉNEZ CRUZ, A.: *La España pintoresca...* p. 273, 2002.

his own choice of engravings to text by Thomas Roscoe, he received ?420. According to Giménez Cruz, with the exception of Turner, this would be the highest price paid in the period for drawings of this type. It was a similar story with the lithographs published in 1837, which Roberts supervised and perfected over six months. After their publication, 200,000 copies were sold and they were still being printed twenty years later⁵¹. His views were the object of countless reeditions and imitations.

This phenomenon meant that many Spanish cities emerged as tourist landscapes, drawn and disseminated among an ever-expanding public. Thus, before the arrival of photography illustrations put on the map areas of Spain which had until then been remote and exotic. The world became smaller and more accessible from the parlours of European middle-class households. Even today no respectable engraving shop would be without its stock of Roberts lithographs or engravings.

In 1838 Roberts embarked on the second great adventure of his life, his famous trip to Egypt and the Holy Land, from which he returned in 1839 with 272 sketches and drawings, which were to serve him in the decade to come as the basis for his passionate and sophisticated work. Between 1842 and 1849 six volumes were published entitled "The Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt and Nubia", with a total of 247 lithographs magnificently executed by Louis Haghe.

Out of his conviction that "*the effects of light and shadow [are] all that is great in art*"⁵², David Roberts would reach the height of his career in 1841 when he was elected member of the Royal Academy, the highest accolade to which a British painter could aspire. Roberts continued to work until his death in 1864.

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Fig.2. Unidentified land (pencil drawing). Private coll. D. Luis Lara, Sevilla.

Fig.3. The Cathedral of Burgos (engraving). Author's private collection.

Fig.4. View Toledo (engraving). Author's private collection.

1 / Beautiful composure of this lower and varied architecture, which, between shadows and distance, usurps these heavenly reflections.

THE OTHER

by Joaquín Arnau Amo, Elia Gutiérrez Mozo

*Hermosa compostura
Desta inferior y varia arquitectura
Que, entre sombras y lejos,
A la celeste usurpas los reflejos!*
Pedro Calderón de la Barca.

The work of Javier García Solera is impregnated and sustained with a sort of *basso continuo*: or *beautiful composure*. This beautiful word, which in Spanish describes the difficult balance between *posture*, which is something natural, and *composition*, which is inevitably artificial. The word connotes a polite, friendly, serene and graceful manner together with a firm, determined and very personal, highly unusual and almost arrogant posture. This *beautiful composure* of architectural technique is founded on the impeccable execution of this architect (from whom we have been led to expect nothing less) whose art is expressed in the form of buildings.

A combination of elegance and attention to detail is a constant element in the work of this architect, whose career has included many awards, the latest being from the 10th Spanish Architecture and Urbanism Biennial for the building of 40 apartments under the Official Protection of the State.

In surroundings such as those of Benidorm, a sort of *warriors' garden*, a parody of that which covers Gaudí's *Pedrera*, there suddenly appears a UFO, supported only by clouds and the sun, with a little disturbed earth at its base with the occasional bush in the garden that is soon bound to appear. And he, the *rara avis*, gratefully responds to the elements with noisy metallic reflections and opaque concrete silences, in a perfect replica of Calderón's metaphor. But the others, the warriors, assault it. Because they are warlike and because they are where they are. They are like the forces (in war, as in war, and in the market as in the market) that impose a (false) peace by war. They threaten and are ridiculously arrogant. They all have different gestures, but all display the same aggressiveness that is magnified by their ominous shadows. And on viewing this city-fiction, the newly arrived traveller perhaps is reminded of that redeeming parallelepiped which, in *2001 Space Odyssey*, was a symbol of human reason.

By the geometry in the sand of the apparently deserted island, Vitruvius has the shipwrecked Aristippus recognise that intelligent beings live in that place. If they are geometers, Aristippus says to himself, the inhabitants must be human (it was Euclidean geometry and of course not fractal geometry). Today's traveller now remembers that there was once a civilisation, or perhaps more than one, who knows? And there was architecture to sustain it. The proof is that

it still exists, even if it is a little strange. We refer to strict, sober architecture, which keeps its spells (and it has many of these among its resources) to itself, in the warmth of its peace-loving interior and in the secret whisperings of its contented neighbourhoods. This is the architecture that rescues the ground on which it leaves its trace and restores it, but not on the roof, as did the master, but at the appropriate height, where those who live above meet those who live below, and to which public spaces are no strangers. The residents of the upper floors are in the majority (there are more floors above), but those who live below are no fewer, since the next floor down includes passers-by and neighbours. And that which is common to them is neither up nor down, at the beginning or at the end, but halfway up, at the crossroads which acts as a neighbourhood *landing*. Neither too high (because they are not looking to admire a view) nor too low (because neither do they wish to meet at ground level).

This collective third floor, between the second and the other private ones, stands out, as is only natural, in the geometry of the block. It bites, but not too hard. This is the effect that the common good always has on individuals when they move into the heart of well chosen company.

Other services, the laundry and its surroundings, not shared, but connected, promote contact between those who live on the same floor and invite to play in the corridors. These are semi-private spaces that encourage community living in the abstract domain known to lawyers as *horizontal property*.

With these and other services, a whole community of people, but not too many, organised with common sense but also with their own individual sense (both of which are indispensable) lives, moves and exists in an economic space (in the real sense of being subject to domestic and social norms that rule out both want and waste) to which architecture fits, in each case, the discreet scale which it knows better than anything else in the world. We are not in either a closely restricted space or in the unlimited space of those who suffer from delusions of grandeur. We have, after all, to live within our means.

Thus, the block of officially protected flats, abstract in the best sense, that is to say concise, satisfies from within modern discipline the classical Albertian ideal of the *conciñnitas*, which Lozano translates as *composure* (Calderón): "Let nothing be in excess and nothing lack and everything be in its place". Which, in surroundings with mad figures and dreams of commercial fantasy is provocative (like Ulysses within range of the Sirens, or the ardent Baptist in the presence of the chaste Salome). The zeal of this quiet and discreet architecture, measured and pondered, simply modern, stokes the fires of the post-modern images that dispute its name.