

Thurston Thompson



Espello venecián, ca. 1700, en Grove House
23 x 17,25 cms. (V&A 32608)

Charles Thurston Thompson e o proxecto fotográfico ibérico

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Índice / Contents

CHARLES THURSTON THOMPSON
E O PROXECTO FOTOGRÁFICO IBÉRICO

CHARLES THURSTON THOMPSON
AND THE IBERIAN PHOTOGRAPHIC PROJECT

APÉNDICE I: LISTA DE FOTOGRAFÍAS QUE
DEBE REALIZAR EN SANTIAGO O SR. THOMPSON

APPENDIX I: LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS TO
BE MADE IN SANTIAGO BY MR. THOMPSON

APPENDIX II: LIST OF ORIGINAL TITLES
OF THE PHOTOGRAPHS IN ENGLISH

DEDICATORIA

Para os moitos galegos cos que mantiven un agradable trato ó longo de máis dunha década.

MENCIONS

Gracias especiais a Christopher Titterington e Mark Haworth-Booth pola súa comprensión e atención ás miñas necesidades mentras estiven traballando no Museo Victoria & Albert. Tamén ó paciente e compracente equipo da biblioteca do V & A, que en moitas ocasións foron máis aló das súas obrigas para facilitárenme os voluminosos, mais de incalculable valor para min, informes de Robinson. D. José María Díaz, canónigo arquivista da Catedral de Santiago, tivo a sabiduría suficiente para reconecer a importancia da presente publicación e permitiu a reprodución das imaxes de Thurston Thompson propiedade do Arquivo Catedralicio. Tino Martínez fixo as excelentes reproducións das fotografías de Santiago que aparecen nesta edición.

CHARLES THURSTON THOMPSON E O PROXECTO FOTOGRÁFICO IBÉRICO

A HISTORIA DE Charles Thurston Thompson como fotógrafo profesional —e a de Thurston Thompson como fotógrafo en Santiago de Compostela en particular— debe observarse desde ángulos diferentes, co fin de apreciar a importancia do seu papel nunha historia xeral da fotografía. Foi, inevitablemente, un súbdito da política do Londres do seu tempo, aínda que el tiña pouco de político. Debémolo considerar como parte esencial do traballo preliminar desa grande empresa do século dezanove que foi a creación do Museo South Kensington (actual Victoria & Albert). Como tal, o seu traballo pode considerarse como un modelo histórico sobresaíente para a fotografía museística.

O mundo vense interesando progresivamente por este tipo de fotografía como xénero en si mesmo. É lóxico, posto que se pode afirmar que este tipo de fotografía ven sendo, ata hoxe, o máximo expoñente da reprodución documental. Como tal, a fotografía de Charles Thurston Thompson comeza a destacar hoxe, case sorprendentemente, como un fenómeno que só pode ser apreciado coa ampla retrospectiva histórica que, por fin, comezamos xa a disfrutar a respecto da fotografía. O esforzo fotográfico tremendamente humilde, case prosaico, que debeu de representar no seu día grande parte da obra de Thurston Thompson sorpréndenos paradoxalmente como case vangarda. Polo menos, cando temos en conta a cantidade de fotografía “tipolóxica” que se cultivou nas dúas décadas pasadas.

É sorprendente que a obra dun fotógrafo, que foi no seu momento tan importante, e que foi tan difundida, poida ter caído nun certo esquecemento. John Physick atribuíu isto ó feito de que Thompson traballou case exclusi-

vamente para o Departamento de Ciencia e Arte e rara vez tivo outros ámbitos nos que practica-la súa arte.¹ Charles Thurston Thompson era fillo dun gravador de madeira, John Thompson, profesión que tamén exerceu el inicialmente. Ós trinta e poucos anos, dirixiu o seu interés cara á fotografía, aínda unha arte nova, e traballou o colodión húmido anunciado por Scott Archer en 1851. Ese mesmo ano, ano de varios avances nos procesos fotográficos, Thurston Thompson tamén axudou a Henry Cole nos aspectos fotográficos da Grande Exposición de Kensington, mentres o seu irmán Richard traballaba como superintendente da Mostra.

Con seguridade foi o enxeño de Henry Cole o que converteu en todo un éxito os anos de proba do Museo de South Kensington. E foi John Charles Robinson (1824-1913), fillo dun director de museo, o que expresou a súa convicción de que na fotografía descansa a promesa dunha difusión da arte utilitarista e educativa, e que, explotando ese potencial, as novas galerías do Museo veríanse fortalecidas. A xulgar por afirmacións dese tipo, parecería que, a mediados dos anos cincuenta do século pasado, o traballo de Thurston Thompson encaixase perfectamente nesa idea, e que o sentido fundamentalmente utilitario do seu labor quedase establecido naquela época inicial do Museo.²

Existe un documento —un deses documentos de valor incalculable que, con seguridade, no seu día foi considerado efémero— que nos proporciona unha boa perspectiva das dotes de Thurston Thompson durante a súa primeira década de actividade formal. En 1864, máis ou menos cando John Charles Robinson, supervisor das coleccións do Museo, estaba a piques de face-la súa primeira xira por Iberia, o Departamento de Ciencia e Arte da Comisión de



LADY HAWARDEN. Charles Thurston Thompson e a súa dona (irmá de Henry Cole). (V&A PH 835.13-1987)

Educación elaborou unha *Price List of Mounted Photographs printed from negatives taken for the Science and Art Department by the Official Photographer, C. Thurston Thompson* [Lista de Precios de fotografías montadas, positivadas a partir de negativos realizados polo fotógrafo oficial do Departamento de Ciencia e Arte, C. Thurston Thompson] (London: Chapman and Hall). Decía que “as solicitudes para obte-los negativos deberían dirixirse á Secretaría, Departamento de Ciencia e Arte, Museo South Kensington, e os encargos de copias dos positivados ó Sr. C. Thurston Thompson, o Fotógrafo Oficial, 7, Gordon Terrace, Kensington.”³ Isto indicaba unha inversión dos dereitos de propiedade. Reflectía un cambio no status que disfrutara quen antes fora fotógrafo por conta propia, que vendía ó museo de South Kensington ata abril de 1859. E representaba, ademais, unha desviación do tipo de acordo que Roger Fenton tiña co Museo Británico, o seu ámbito de actividade fotográfica por encargo.⁴

A *Price List* en cuestión era un catálogo extraordinariamente meticuloso desde un punto de vista descriptivo. Aínda que o seguinte rexistro de contidos non reflicte esa

meticulosidade, dános unha idea sólida acerca da distribución cuantitativa da maioría dos temas que Thompson estivera fotografando moito antes da súa obra ibérica de 1866.

TEMAS FOTOGRAFICOS	NÚMERO DE FOTOGRAFÍAS POR TEMA
— Cartóns de Rafael en Hampton Court	8
— Estudos a partir dos cartóns de Rafael	30
— Debuxos de Rafael	33
— Retratos de Holbein de persoas da corte de Henrique VIII	66
— Retratos da familia Tudor realizados por Richard Burchett	28
— Esmaltes de Limoges, tallas de marfil e obxectos variados do Louvre	85
— Obxectos de cristal e outros materiais preciosos do Louvre	31
— Obxectos variados do Museo de South Kensington e obxectos prestados pola Raíña <i>et al.</i> para exposición temporal	52
— Mobiliario decorativo prestado pola Raíña <i>et al.</i> para a exposición na Grove House	74
— Colección de mobiliario, escultura, bronzes, mayólica, etc. de Soulages	54
— Estudos de árbores	20
— Obxectos do Museo de South Kensington	48
— Armas antigas e armadura	29
— Gravados de ornamentos por ourives, gravadores e decoradores	30
— Escultura italiana do Museo de South Kensington	50
— Debuxos de Turner (o seu <i>liber studiorum</i>); en dúas series	51
— Mostras de préstamo ó Museo de South Kensington para a exposición de 1862; en dúas series	218

En total, 907 fotografías diferentes, oito das cales (os cartóns de Rafael do Hampton Court) podían mercarse en cinco tamaños distintos.

O título das series de fotografías dos cartóns de Rafael de Hampton Court insiste en mostrar que estas fotografías son “tomadas dos orixinais”; non por casualidade, dado que para isto se construíu unha cámara especial e se creou un sistema para fotografar pezas de museo tomadas ó aire libre.⁵ John Physick describe o episodio en profundidade, para que poidamos apreciálo nas súas distintas ramificacións:

O principal logro do estudio fotográfico inicial de Henry Cole estivo en face-las primeiras fotografías dos cartóns de Rafael. Estes, en 1858, estaban no Hampton Court, e Thurston

Thompson encontrouse cunha tarefa de certa magnitude: a luz natural da Cartoon Gallery era moi insuficiente para fotografar. Cole transmitiu o problema ó enxeñoso Capitán de Enxeñeiros Francis Fowke quen, coa axuda de Richard Redgrave, Inspector Xeral para Arte do Departamento así como (afortunadamente para Cole) Supervisor das Pinturas da Raíña, encontrou unha solución. Os cartóns serían baixados un por un —en días adecuados— a través dunha fiestra a Fountain Court, e as fotografías tomadas ó aire libre. Levou moitos meses completa-lo traballo, pois Redgrave non permitía que as pinturas se expuxesen ó máis mínimo risco de mollarse pola chuvia.

Os preparativos de Fowke e a súa supervisión dos Zapadores, a quen se encomendou o traslado dos cartóns, non foron as súas únicas contribucións ó éxito da empresa. Thurston Thompson fora enviado a París con anterioridade, en xullo de 1857, para merca-las lentes adecuadas, e Fowke deseñara a cámara para levar a cabo o proxecto. Este instrumento encóntrase agora destruído, pero debeu de ser unha máquina impresionante, xa que os negativos de Thompson están en vidro groso de 1/4 de polgada, tres pes cadrados, e probablemente foron, naquel tempo, os negativos máis grandes que se fixeran nunca.

Physick sinala que, con toda probabilidade, foron os Zapadores (enxeñeiros militares) os que construíron a cámara nos talleres do Museo. El, por certo, estima que é menor o número de negativos existentes hoxe no Museo Victoria & Albert, aínda que, con razón, calcula que algúns deles están “en condicións dañadas.” A experiencia con estes negativos xigantes nunca debeu de olvidárselle a Thompson. En abril de 1859, cando a relación de Thompson co Museo pasou de ser fotógrafo por conta propia a empregado, o acordo consistiu en que el recibiría un anticipo anual de 100 libras. “Todo o seu labor consistía en facer os negativos e pasarllos ó Museo e ós Zapadores para que os positivasen. Ademais do seu anticipo, recibía un pago adicional de 3 peniques *por cada polgada cadrada* de negativo.” (o subliñado é meu; Physick, p. 10).

Con toda seguridade, o grupo de fotografías que máis nos semella fóra de contexto é o de “estudios de árbores.” Actualmente, o Museo Victoria & Albert conserva 18 fotografías que representan vistas de árbores e campo, con etiquetas como “Beech. Albury Park. Surrey” (num. 32.967) e “Shere Heath. Surrey” (num. 32.965). Presumiblemente, son o equivalente da maioría dos vinte estudos de árbores non detallados na *Price List* do século dezanove.⁶ Certas fotografías deste lote, como as últimas mencionadas, representan un motivo fotográfico en o cerca da finca de Henry Cole, unha coincidencia menor do

que pode parecer a primeira vista, xa que Charles Thurston Thompson casara coa irmá de Cole. Por tanto, Cole tiña un interese directo en protexe-las obras do seu cuñado, ben no museo de Londres, ben fóra.

¿Por que aparece este grupo de 20 fotografías coas outras 887 que representan obxectos de arte? De novo, Physick proporciona información que nos serve de axuda neste dilema. Como resposta á pregunta, entramos tamén na política do museo con respecto á venda e uso da fotografía. Exactamente seis anos antes de que Thompson fose a Iberia para facer fotografías en Portugal e en Santiago de Compostela, Henry Cole falaba ante un Comité da Cámara dos Comúns, constituído para indagar o futuro do Museo South Kensington. A sesión do 5 de xullo de 1860 (según relata Physick) deixa claro que o Departamento Fotográfico do Museo, segundo o punto de vista do Museo, tiña a obriga de facer accesibles a un vasto público as imaxes fotográficas que estaba a conseguir: esto tiña un propósito educativo, pero, para logralo, o Departamento Fotográfico tivo que decidirse a vender. Por unha banda, naquela idea había un aspecto comercial inescusable; pola outra, había un impulso democrático básico subxacente naquelas alegacións. Houbera preocupación polo mal uso de recursos que fixera Thompson na venda privada das vistas de Surrey, pero Cole saíu na súa defensa, declarando que o Departamento evitara fotografar calquera cousa que o público puidese fotografar por si mesmo. Agora ben, a razón pola que a serie de árbores saíu á venda co resto, uns anos despois da explicación de Cole ante o Comité de 1860, pode explicarse polo feito de que as vistas de árbores e campo estaban en terreo inaccesible para o público xeral. Como tales, entraron na categoría de non fotografables, agás por profesionais autorizados, e, por tanto, suxeitas á venda a través da *Price List*.

Tamén é posible que Thompson vise a árbore como monumento artístico ou “arquitectónico”, e así incluído onda outros obxectos artísticos feitos polo home. Se foi así, a súa sofisticación como fotógrafo era grande. Non importa como vexamo-la materia, a cuestión é que estes estudos de árbores se encontran entre as realizacións máis fascinantes de Charles Thurston Thompson. Creo, tamén, que nos preparan para comprender cómo Thompson, varios anos máis tarde, puido mergullarse sen problemas nas monumentais, por veces escénicas, vistas de Santiago de Compostela.



Shere Heath, Surrey; cerca da finca de Cole
24,25 x 28,75 cm. (V&A 32965)

Traballos como o de Thurston Thompson no South Kensington e o de Roger Fenton no Museo Británico marcaron unha política de portas cerradas ó público xeral que houbera desexado fotografiar obxectos na exposición. Aínda así, durante a Exposición Universal de París de 1855, ese mesmo goberno abriu as súas portas a Thurston Thompson para que tomase fotografías de obxectos de arte no Louvre (polo menos 116, a vulgar polo catálogo) e para fotografa-lo interior das salas de exposición da Mostra. Se por una banda, traballaba cun equipo de laboratoristas no Departamento do South Kensington; por outra, Thompson traballaba en París, en 1855, en colaboración con R. J. Bingham (de Chaussée d'Antin, 20, París) facendo fotografías da Exposición Universal. É difícil determinar — mesmo baseándonos nos 117 exemplos conservados no Museo Victoria & Albert— cal foi o fotógrafo que fixo cada fotografía en cada caso. É posible facer algunhas xeneralizacións. Se seguimo-la numeración das series da Exposición de París, por exemplo, vemos que estas non son series de fotografías feitas *por cada un respectivamente*, senón series que combinan os traballos de ambos fotógrafos (ver V & A, X365). Pode resultar correcto dicir que só Bingham estaba presente para fotografa-los aspectos de construción da Mostra; así mesmo fixo fotografías de edificios rematados, aínda que Thompson tamén fixo algunhas destas. Ás veces está moi claro que Bingham ou

Thompson foron autores individuais (ver V & A, X220, onde, dun total de 50, parece haber 10 que levan só a etiqueta de Bingham, a metade están sen etiquetar, e probablemente tódalas demais foran feitas por Thompson). As vistas de París da Exposición, naturalmente, *non* figuran no catálogo de fotografías á venda, aínda que as imaxes parisinas de obxectos do Louvre si figuran.

Outras sorpresas que podemos encontrar no conxunto de fotografías de Thompson do Museo Victoria & Albert, e que non figuran na *Price List* antes mencionada, son vistas exteriores como: a Catedral de Ely (num. 3446-1920), Hampton Court (num. 37.749), o exterior do Museo de Dijon (in X37B), Gore Lane (num. 33.962). A actividade fotográfica que ocupou a maior parte do tempo de Thurston Thompson foi o rexistro de obxectos artísticos. Pero outras fontes mostran —e as coleccións do Museo Victoria & Albert insinúan— que non foi o seu único traballo. *The Atronix Index: Photographs at Auction, 1952-84* (New York: Atronix Date Corp., 1986) rexistra baixo o seu nome, entre outros obxectos, 7 fotografías dos Kensington Gardens, unha vista do Crystal Palace e xardíns (1862), e as súas 12 ilustracións fotográficas para a obra de Andrew Murray *The Book of the Royal Horticultural Society, 1862-63* (London: Bradbury e Evans, 1863). No Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center (Austin, Texas), poden encontrarse tres grupos de fotografías feitas por

Thompson, un dos cales é *A Series of Portrait Miniatures Selected from The Loan Exhibition at the South Kensington Museum in 1865* (Londres: The Arundel Society), demasiado recente para figurar na *Price List*.

No feito de permitir o acceso, a través de fotografías, a un fondo de obxectos artísticos tales como, por exemplo, os cincuenta elementos que representan *The Art Wealth of England* (Londres: P. e D. Colnaghi, Scott and Co., 1862)⁷, non deixa de impresionarnos *qué é* o que se estaba democratizando exactamente. En xuño de 1861, reuniuse un comité dunhas setenta persoas para deseña-la exposición, que se inauguraría un ano máis tarde. A lista incluía nomes importantes como tres Rothschilds, John Murray, Sir Charles L. Eastlake e W. E. Gladstone. Naquel momento, John Charles Robinson era Superintendente de Coleccións de Arte (encargado de levar a cabo a exposición) e Henry Cole era o secretario da Comisión do Consello para Educación. Entre os arredor de 500 doadores de obxectos incluíanse nomes tan importantes como William Stirling, señor de Keir, oito Rothschilds, Lady Eastlake, o Rt. Honorable W. E. Gladstone, Lord Clifford e Lady Radcliffe. (Moitos dos contribuíntes eran mulleres.) Novecentos mil visitantes pasaron de xuño a novembro pola exposición de 9.000 obxectos, e publicouse un catálogo descritivo en tres partes separadas que utilizou para as súas detalladas descrições o catálogo de fotografías feitas por Thompson para o

Departamento de Ciencia e Arte.

Publicacións como *The Art Wealth of England* eran só unha maneira de medi-lo labor que o Museo de South Kensington levava a cabo na súa insistencia en educa-lo público na arte e na ciencia. Aínda que o motivo central —case inexcusable— para Thurston Thompson tiña que estar formado por obxectos británicos e estranxeiros adquiridos por Gran Bretaña, J. C. Robinson foi quen de explora-lo terreo, tanto o autóctono como o estranxeiro, na procura do que podería ser aceptado xustificadamente no Museo. Esta característica do seu departamento foi a que eventualmente o levou ó seu forte interese por Iberia.

Un dos dous historiadores máis impresionantes do proceso polo cal se levou a cabo o proxecto de Santiago, Matilde Mateo Sevilla, narrou a traxectoria dos feitos polos que os españois chegaron a coñece-la súa obra mestra do entón coñecido como estilo Gótico.⁸ Notablemente, John Murray, membro dalgunha das xuntas asesoras do Museo de South Kensington, publicou *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain*, de George Edmund Street, en 1865. Murray fora tamén o impulsor da obra de Richard Ford *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain and Readers at Home* (1845), que chamara a atención sobre o Pórtico da Gloria e se convertera na inspiración e “guía” de Street.⁹ Mateo argumenta con mestría como o interese específico do Pórtico pasou dunha preocupación polo artista que está detrás da obra (Mestre Mateo) —que fora



Exposición de Paris. 1855. Pazo de Belas Artes, entrada principal
18,25 x 26,75 cm. (V&A 33390).

a visión propagada por Antonio Neira de Mosquera a mediados de século— a un interese máis erudito, arqueolóxico e iconográfico arredor do 1866 —representado por José Villa-Amil y Castro [1838-1910; que de feito foi un dos intermediarios de Robinson (ve-lo seu Informe, 22 de maio, 1866)]. Ese importante cambio na maneira de ve-lo Pórtico coincidiu precisamente co seu baleirado en escaiola e é certamente correcto dicir que o Museo compartía a visión máis nova e erudita, menos sentimental e personalista, do Pórtico.

Se Mateo Sevilla delimitou para nós con tanta mestría o inicio dunha conciencia moderna acerca do Pórtico, Malcolm Baker foi o primeiro en traza-la empresa do Museo South Kensington en Santiago de Compostela e en chama-la atención sobre a contribución de Charles Thurston Thompson a dita empresa. Baker aclara que Domenico Brucciani, elixido para levar a cabo o baleirado en escaiola en Santiago, foi, de feito, “o principal produtor de baleirados en escaiola de Londres, que tiña o seu único rival na firma de Giovanni Franchi e fillo.”¹⁰ Brucciani, cunha idade aproximada de 51 anos na época do proxecto de Santiago, foi a elección lóxica para o traballo, pois era ben coñecido en Londres pola súa galería de baleirados, situada en Covent Garden. Brucciani describiu a súa viaxe nunha carta a Henry Cole (febreiro de 1867), tras volver de completa-la súa tarefa (Baker, 106). El e o seu

equipo partiran para España a bordo do buque Murillo o 2 de xullo de 1866. Logo de sufrir unha tormenta, un incendio a bordo do barco e unha corentena en Vigo (“unha localidade que provoca unha descrición abundante en porcalladas e desgracias [...] esta guarida da corrupción”), foron “apresados e apilados con algúns dos peores espécimes humanos que ningún ollo tivera nunca a desgracia de ver.” Tres semanas e media despois da súa partida, o 27 de xullo, chegaron a Santiago, viaxando por terra despois da corentena, pero non sen problemas relacionados coa importación de materiais. (Brucciani non consentiu tornar por mar, senon por terra, unha vez que o seu traballo estivo rematado.) Brucciani tiña de axudante a George Mould, un enxeñeiro supervisor das obras do ferrocarril Santiago-Carril.

O proceso de baleirado levouse a cabo con celeridade, observado pola poboación de Santiago congregada en tropel na Catedral. Entón, dalgún xeito, “difundiuse un informe ridículamente absurdo segundo o cal os *franceses* —como nos chamaban— os ían privar da súa Gloria e custou bastante traballo quitarlles da cabeza aquela ridícula opinión.” Para calma-los seu temores, Brucciani organizou unha exposición dos baleirados que fixera. “Os numerosos fragmentos foron situados en orde arredor da Catedral formando unha pequena Galería de Arte. Ben cedo, ás nove en punto da mañá, chegou o Arcebispo na súa carruaxe tirada por unha parella de boas bestas e coa súa bendición paterna! inaugurou a exposi-



Sala de venda de fotografías no Vello Edificio de Ferro do Museo de South Kensington; exposición fotográfica da Royal Photographic Society, 1858.
29 x 33,5 cm. (V&A 2715-1913).

ción.” (Baker, 106/108, citando documentos orixinais.)

A respecto das fotografías de Thurston Thompson en Santiago, Malcolm Baker atina ó sinalar que un dos aspectos principais do traballo do fotógrafo era tomar imaxes dos elementos contiguos e contextuais do Pórtico; isto é, aqueles elementos que quedaban fóra do traballo de Brucciani.¹¹ E distingue, correctamente, entre os importantes efectos do labor de Brucciani, que culminaron en 1873 coa erección do facsímile do Pórtico nas Salas de Arquitectura do Museo, e, por outra banda, as fotografías de Thurston Thompson, ás que “se lles dera un status e significación independente da súa relación co baleirado a través da súa publicación nun volume da Arundel Society en 1868” (p. 484).

En certo sentido, o “descubrimento” por parte dos británicos da importancia do Pórtico da Gloria pode fundamentarse en fontes como o comentario de Street. Pero había algo moito máis sutil, que tende a quedar sen mencionar, na historia deste “descubrimento.” Isto é, existiu unha competición entre británicos e franceses no nivel puramente comercial das adquisicións —como veremos, polo menos nun caso, neste meu traballo—, pero tamén no nivel menos obvio da estética. Un ten a impresión de que, xustamente porque os franceses eran competidores no terreo das adquisicións, os británicos non estaban dispostos a acepta-la cultura francesa como supremamente meritória a nivel estético e, ás veces, a nivel de importancia histórica. Ó final da primeira viaxe de Robinson a España (22 de xaneiro de 1864) fixo un alto en Poitiers e escribiu ó Museo un comentario detallado acerca da Catedral que alí había. Estaba desesperado porque a Catedral da cidade e as igrexas foran destruídas no século dezaseis (por calvinistas), e de novo en 1789. Pero, fose cal fose a causa, Robinson non puido senón lamentar “a ausencia nestas edificacións de monumentos ou accesorios decorativos cun mínimo carácter escultórico.”¹² Gran Bretaña semellaba impaciente por encontrar en Iberia elementos estéticos e históricos supremos que poñerían fin dunha vez por todas á supremacía potencial de calquera monumento francés. Esta actitude totalista por parte de Robinson debeu de infundir tódalas directrices que lle dira a Thurston Thompson. Así, cando menos, influíu indirectamente en Thompson, se é que non chegou, tamén, a dar forma a toda o labor de Thompson en Iberia.

A actividade de Charles Thurston Thompson na Península Ibérica sae á luz a través dunha lectura minuciosa dos Informes de John Charles Robinson ó Museo South Kensington; noutras palabras, na correspondencia que mantivo con Henry Cole, a xunta de asesores e outros oficiais do Departamento de Educación e Ciencia. A historia do derradeiro gran traballo de Thompson, Iberia, está inevitablemente unida ós Informes de Robinson, polo menos para o ano e medio finais de traballo de Thompson. Aínda que a primeira das tres viaxes a Iberia de Robinson data de setembro de 1863, non sería ata a terceira viaxe de Robinson cando Thompson comezou a figurar de maneira importante nos traballos ibéricos do Museo South Kensington.

As datas das viaxes de Robinson a Iberia foron como seguen: do 22 de setembro de 1863 ó 18 de xaneiro de 1864; de finais de agosto ou principios de setembro de 1865 a finais de novembro de 1865; de setembro de 1866 a principios de decembro de 1866. Na primeira destas viaxes, Robinson non visitou Portugal nin Galicia. Aínda que Thompson non foi a Iberia ata o verán de 1866, está claro que Robinson xa tiña a Thompson en mente como fotógrafo oficial para os proxectos en Iberia polo menos o 16 de outubro de 1865. Nesta data, Robinson telegrafou desde Lisboa á secretaría do Museo South Kensington vinculando a Thompson co proxecto de Santiago que el xa estaba planeando.

Robinson só parecía perde-lo tempo nas ocasións nas que se encontraba fisicamente incapacitado, como estivo ó comezo da súa estadía no Hotel Braganza de Lisboa. El, outro compañeiro e o seu mensaxeiro español, Matías Balcón, viaxando por terra durante dous días entre Porto e Lisboa, foron sacudidos por un “ataque de diarrea bastante serio.” (Parte do interese estilístico dos informes de Robinson radica en que son prosaicamente explícitos acerca dos momentos de enfermidade física ou malestar e nas expresións de desgusto e intolerancia por certos aspectos de Iberia.) Tamén o 16 de outubro, día en que comezou a funciona-lo telégrafo, Robinson escribiu a Londres, expresando a necesidade de prepara-lo camiño para a inevitable visita de Thompson. O rei consorte de María II, Don Fernando, dera permiso para que alguén fotografase “certa parte” dos principais obxectos artísticos da súa colección privada. Con isto, Robinson comezaría a facer un rexistro das pezas da colección merecedoras de ser fotografiadas, e tamén solicitaría permiso para reproducir

electrotípicamente entre 20 e 30 obxectos da colección. Tal foi o seu entusiasmo que case se sentiu tentado a telegrafar a South Kensington “para que envíen inmediatamente ó Sr. Thurston Thompson, pero pensandoo mellor semellaba haber moitas dificultades que impedían esa rápida acción.”

De feito, había unha razón de peso para que un atraso nese momento fose unha vantaxe para Thompson. En Madrid había 1.000 casos de cólera, que se espallara a algunhas localidades portuguesas. Por esta razón, os vapores que saían de Inglaterra tiñan que estar en corentena ó chegar a Lisboa, e os pasaxeiros que chegaban de Southampton tiñan que quedar en cuarentena no peirao durante cinco días antes de abandona-lo barco. O fotógrafo sabía que fora requirido para o traballo e unha semana máis tarde, o 23 de outubro, decidiuse que se enviaría un fotógrafo oficial “a Lisboa e cidades de España.” Aínda así, dous días despois disto, o día 25, Henry Cole informou: “o Sr. Thompson non será enviado de momento.”

Robinson conseguiu facilita-la futura viaxe fotográfica de Charles Thurston Thompson a Portugal. A mediados de outubro, Robinson encontrouse co *chargé d'affaires*, Edward Robert Bulwer Lytton (1831-1891), cónsul en Lisboa desde 1864 e fillo do novelista Edward George. Pero sobre todo, comezou a relacionarse co Marqués de Sousa-Holstein, fillo do Duque de Palmella. Este “xove nobre do máis alto rango, a quen parece ser encomendada a administración de tódolos asuntos relacionados coas Belas Artes en Portugal”, era un amante da pintura e fora nomeado Viceinspector da Academia Portuguesa de Belas Artes. Ese status acabaría facendo del o individuo designado para facilitar tódolos obxectos a Thompson en Portugal.

Curiosamente, nese mesmo ano, Robinson chegaría a decatarse de que, tanto para España como para Portugal, a Academia era o medio para conseguir tódalas licencias que puidese precisar co obxecto de reproducir obras artísticas para o South Kensington. Desde Madrid, o 23 de outubro de 1866, Robinson escribiu:

A independencia das autoridades catedralicias en España é de tal magnitude que non abondaría con acudir a elas a través das canles oficiais directas (aínda que isto *sería* requisito, en forma de solicitude do noso Embaixador en Madrid ó Ministro español “de Gracias y Cultos”). Sen embargo, existe en Madrid outro órgano autorizado, que podería superar tódolos atrancos; este é a “Real Academia de San Fernando.” Esta academia ven sendo unha institución moi augusta, con pouco máis que funcións nominais; os académicos son principalmente grandes per-

sonaxes da corte e os artistas están en franca minoría. De todos modos, ultimamente houbo intentos de reanimar esta institución, e recentemente conseguiu exercer unha especie de supervisión semioficial sobre tódolos monumentos antigos e as obras artísticas públicas do país. Tamén se están a nomear correspondentes e comisións locais nas cidades de provincias.

Robinson apunta máis adiante que Santiago de non haber presentado o asunto da moldura do Pórtico da Gloria ante unha comisión da Academia de San Fernando, “o Cabido de Santiago habería acabado por retirar o seu permiso.” Robinson, sempre interesado en facerse resaltar a si mesmo como o eixe arredor do cal xiraría calquera éxito concebible en Iberia, apresurouse a apuntar que os amigos persoais que tiña na Academia eran Carderera (Valentín Carderera y Solano; 1776-1880) e Madrazo (Federico de Madrazo y Kuntz; 1815-1894). A idea era, por suposto, que, sen os seus contactos persoais, a Academia podería decidir que non ó asunto do Pórtico e, por tanto, o Cabildo de Santiago habería retirado inevitablemente o permiso para face-los baleirados de escaiola. Isto podería non ser unha completa esaxeración. Realmente, Robinson estivera en tratos con Madrazo a finais de decembro de 1863 e a principios de xaneiro de 1864, cando o primeiro andaba cos preparativos para que Jane Clifford fixese reproducións do que hoxe chamamos os Tesouros de Dauphin, e Madrazo era director das Galerías Reais. Para facer máis forte a relación entre South Kensington e a Academia de San Fernando, Robinson consentiu en entregar ó consello da Academia para a súa discusión “unha carta ou memoria oficial acerca da moldura e reprodución en xeral.” De feito acabou sendo nomeado membro da Academia. Se aceptamos literalmente o que di Robinson, os seus xestos tiveron gran repercusión, pois cara ó final da súa segunda viaxe a Iberia, estaba totalmente convencido de que “fagamos o que fagamos no futuro en materia de reprodución en España, será co beneplácito” da Real Academia de San Fernando.

Con estas sospeitas desde principios de 1864, quedou loxicamente impresionado e gratificado ó coñece-lo Marqués de Sousa-Holstein en Lisboa. O 14 de novembro de 1865 o Marqués informara a Robinson de que “todas e cada unha das obras de arte de Portugal están enteiramente á nosa disposición para reproducilas por calquera método.” Para prepara-la visita de Thompson, Robinson comezou a facer bosquejos dalgúns obxectos que el quería reproducir, e “tomou nota de case todo o importante a este res-

pecto” das coleccións públicas e privadas de Portugal.

Por unha parte, a presunción que xacía tras tal observación —que en cuestión dun mes Robinson fose capaz de ver, estudar, e rexistrar descriptivamente “case todo o importante” ¡de tódalas coleccións portuguesas, públicas e privadas!— é abraiante. Considerado desde outro punto de vista, houbo algo no achegamento de Robinson que debeu de funcionar, e foi esa cualidade a que finalmente levou a que Thompson viaxase a Iberia. Como dixó Robinson:

A súa Maxestade o Rei Rexente, Don [sic] Fernando, foi moi amable e condescendente. Mostroume en varias ocasións tódalas obras de arte que posúe a Coroa Portuguesa, e a súa Maxestade está moi *desexoso de que enviemos un fotógrafo a quen el daría todo tipo de facilidades.*

Os Informes non indican con precisión cando se enviou a Iberia a Charles Thurston Thompson. Entre a determinación de Cole de envialo tan axiña, a finais de outubro de 1865, e o momento en que volvemos ter noticias da empresa de Thompson por boca de Robinson, hai moitos meses de diferenza. O que é obvio a partir da lectura do informe é que con anterioridade ó 3 de setembro de 1866, Thompson xa se encontraba en Portugal, presumiblemente fotografando os tesouros das coleccións de alí. A nota de Robinson do 3 de setembro dirixida ós oficiais do Museo é de grande importancia para os nosos propósitos, dado que marca o comezo de todo o traballo fotográfico de Thompson en Santiago de Compostela. Pero tamén é útil con respecto á cronoloxía dos acontecementos. Debemos concluír de aquí que Thompson estaba en Portugal en agosto, e que chegou a Santiago de Compostela entre o 27 de xullo (cando chegou Brucciani) e o 3 de setembro, xa que a nota do 3 de setembro indicaba que Thompson escribira ó Museo sinalando que sería mellor interrompe-lo seu traballo en Lisboa, asistir á cita fotográfica de Santiago e despois tornar a Lisboa para finaliza-lo seu labor alí.

Ademais da lista de instrucións sobre como fotografar, ás que chegaremos axiña, a nota de Robinson do 3 de setembro está chea de advertencias. Thompson debeu ir a toda présa a Santiago para alcanzar ó Sr. Brucciani (que estaba dirixindo o baleirado do Pórtico) antes de que éste marchase. (É unha maneira de estima-lo momento da finalización das obras no Pórtico.) Ó mesmo tempo, alguén debeu de escribir a Brucciani a Santiago para que éste escribise a Thompson a Lisboa, para chegar a verse con el.



Monasterio de Batalha. Capela Imperfeita, pórtico de entrada.
26,5 x 22,25 cm. (V&A 59599).

O Sr. Thompson tropezaría con problemas no norte de Portugal, pensou Robinson —quen o ano anterior viaxara por terra de Porto a Lisboa— e tivera que conseguir un intérprete, “un servente de viaxe,” en Lisboa, para ir cara o norte a Santiago. El non podería beneficiarse dos servizos do mensaxeiro de Robinson, Matías Balcón (da madrileña rúa dos Negros), porque Balcón decidira tornar a Madrid o 28 de agosto. Tanto máis, a necesidade apremiaba. Robinson consideraba o norte de Portugal case bárbaro; Thompson precisaría axuda para comunicarse e para a equipaxe e o equipamento, xa que ía sobrecargado.

Segundo as estimacións de Robinson, Thompson non era tan bo comunicador coma el mesmo fora o ano anterior. Non quería que parase en Braga nin en Guimarães de volta a Lisboa desde Santiago, “xa que o Sr. Thompson non parece ter aínda establecido relacións co Marquis de Souza [sic], como para ter negociado o permiso para poder fotografar nestas localidades.” Deixando á marxe máis dun comprensible toque de celos pola diplomacia de calquera que superase a súa propia, Robinson di prever “dificultades maiores do que quizais os resultados xustificarian tendo en conta as circunstancias.” Tampouco quería que

Thompson tomase fotografías en Évora nin en Viseu, pola razón mencionada. Ata novas ordes, Thompson, na súa volta a Portugal, ía centrarse só en Lisboa, Coimbra, Porto e Batalha, renunciando a tódolos demais lugares.¹³ Deste modo, Robinson expresaba unha dúbida acerca de realizar fotografías nos lugares que el prohibira, porque lle preocupaba por fotografar en lugares que non fosen favorables ó medio fotográfico. (Esta lóxica volvería xurdir máis tarde nos Informes, no contexto dun posible traballo en Burgos.) Fixo especial fincapé, sen necesidade, en que, cando documentara certos elementos, “pensei en reproducilos mediante *debuxo manual*, non mediante fotografías”. Aínda sen ser fotógrafo, Robinson presumía de dictaminar o que se podía e o que non se podía conseguir nas localizacións ibéricas desde o punto de vista técnico.

Robinson parecía rexeitar sempre o éxito posible dos demais e erixirse el, no seu lugar, como principal motor dos acontecementos, mesmo mentres a súa posición estratéxica estivo en Londres, e non no estranxeiro:

[...] cando o Sr. Thompson volva de Santiago, e reinicie as operacións en Lisboa, as súas experiencias de andar cos seus equipos por esas terras agrestes e a natureza das relacións, que despois dunha longa estada, dese establecido, capacitarano para facer un informe tan detallado do seu progreso e das dificultades ás que se houbo de enfrontarse, como para determinar con toda certeza a cuestión de ata onde chegar nas súas operacións.

Máis adiante, a resistencia de Robinson a que Thompson continuase acabaría por manifestarse na cuestión das fotografías a facer en Burgos, pero non de inmediato.

O comunicado de Robinson do 3 de setembro continúa a significativa “lista de fotografías para facer en Santiago polo Sr. Thompson.” Tras recibila, un funcionario do Museo, o Sr. Poole, considerou necesario facer dúas copias: Unha para enviar a Lisboa, directamente a Thompson; a outra, por se acaso, para enviar a Santiago, vía Brucciani. Dese xeito, Thompson sabería, pola unha ou pola outra, qué facer en Santiago segundo o que Robinson lembraba desde o setembro anterior. Noutras palabras, a lista significaba que Robinson confiaba máis, aínda sen ser fotógrafo, nos seus recordos dun ano para atrás que nos xuízos do fotógrafo profesional, mesmo estando o fotógrafo no lugar.

As directrices que Robinson deu a Thompson supoñen un irónico, pero moi importante, documento de fohistoria. Por esta razón, aparecen reproducidos na súa totalidade como apéndice a este texto. As súas implica-

cións en relación á motivación artística, independencia, autoexpresión, a vontade do fotógrafo e, finalmente, o contido da imaxe fotográfica *en canto* arte, son enormes, e son apreciables tanto directamente como polo que se infire dese documento.

É imposible contar as fotografías, compaxinándolas unha por unha con aquelas directrices, aínda que nalgúns é doado detectar que proveñen das instrucións de Robinson. En principio, Robinson non podía haberse imaginado que Thompson puidese fallarlle. O só feito de que Thompson fose quen de facer fotografías no interior da Catedral xa tería satisfeito e convencido a Robinson, que era un grande escéptico nestes asuntos. O 18 de decembro de 1866 escribiu:

En xeral, os interiores dos monumentos arquitectónicos en España son *todo* e os exteriores teñen pouca importancia. Ademais, unha gran cantidade de *vistas exteriores pintorescas* xa as tomaron fotógrafos residentes en España, e cada día hai máis. Así que non considero que sexa necesario manter ó Sr. Thompson en España para facer fotografías de *exteriores*.

Pero con respecto ós *interiores*, a cuestión é complicada. Non podería esaxerar a importancia de acometer [?] ou procurar fotografías dos mestres da escultura, ornamentacións relixiosas [?], que abundan en toda cidade antiga da Península. A única dúbida é se nestas condicións de semiescuridade que predomina en case tódalas igrexas españolas *é posible, dalgunha maneira, realizar fotografías satisfactorias*.

Unha vez vistas as fotografías do Sr. Thompson de Santiago, Coimbra e Batalha, serei quen de precisar máis as miñas recomendacións para as súas misións futuras.¹⁴

Burgos foi unha das primeiras cidades que Robinson visitou cando foi a España por primeira vez en setembro de 1863. Nunca o esqueceu. Mentres que a historia ibérica de Robinson case comeza en Burgos, a historia ibérica de Thompson finaliza, dalgún xeito, con Burgos. Na segunda viaxe de Robinson, cando estaba pensando en regresar a casa (17 de outubro de 1865), escribiu desde Lisboa que Brucciani tería que reunirse con el en Burgos cando Brucciani entrase no país. El esperara conseguir de Brucciani unha estimación do que custaría reproducir certos temas en Burgos, mesmo antes da viaxe de Brucciani a Santiago, dado que en Burgos a obra artística tiña un carácter diferente que en Santiago de Compostela. O 14 de novembro de 1865 Robinson telegrafara ó Museo South Kensington dicindo que chegaría a Burgos arredor do día 15, e que o Sr. Brucciani tiña que ir alí directamente desde Inglaterra para reunirse con el no Hotel del Norte. O disci-

plinado Brucciani partiu a mañá do venres día 14.

Deberon de encontrarse un tempo pésimo a finais de novembro, xa que trece meses máis tarde Robinson dubida se Thompson debe pasar por Burgos na súa viaxe de volta desde Santiago, ou facer outra viaxe a aquel lugar nun futuro. Desde un punto de vista tanto artístico como técnico, o apropiado sería que Burgos fose a seguinte aventura. O 18 de decembro de 1866 Robinson escribiu:

Recomendaría que Burgos fose o próximo lugar ó que enviar ó Sr. Thompson, e podería facilitarlle unha lista exhaustiva de fotografías e puntos de vista que habería que tomar alí, pero case todas serían *vistas interiores* da Catedral, igrexas, conventos da cidade. Mesmo así, todos estes edificios son *tan escuros* que considero que só se poderían face-las fotos *coa axuda de luz artificial*.

[...]

Sería moi conveniente elixir Burgos como seguinte localidade, pois está na liña do ferrocarril, no camiño á casa do Sr. Thompson, pero desgraciadamente nesta época do ano sería un lugar sumamente desagradable. O clima é horroroso, peor que o de Inglaterra nesta época do ano. Atréveríame a dicir que nestes momentos é permanente a chuvia, o vento, a brétema e a neve.

Conforme ó que escribe, Robinson sopesa os pros e os contras do traballo de Thompson en Burgos na súa viaxe de volta a Inglaterra, e acaba por desestimalo. Un aspecto positivo da parada en Burgos sería a boa reputación da que gozaban os ingleses diante das autoridades de Santiago. Esas autoridades poderían contribuir a conseguílos permisos necesarios para traballar en Burgos, razoa Robinson. Por outra parte, precisamente porque Burgos representaba a necesidade de traballar no interior de edificios, Robinson razoa que sería mellor que Thompson regresase a Londres, para informar alí acerca das “posibilidades de conseguir boas fotografías en lugares escuros e comezar de novo en España, ben na primavera ou a principios do outono do ano seguinte.” Nunha palabra, Robinson conclúe dándose por vencido: no sur de España podería levarse a cabo unha campaña fotográfica no inverno, pero el teme que, precisamente no sur de España, a cuestión do permiso para operar dentro das catedrais “implicaría moitas dificultades.”

Polo tanto, a máis dos seu traballos en Portugal e en Santiago, Thompson case chegou a entrar noutro proxecto de proporcións considerables: Burgos. E con respecto a outros proxectos secundarios do seu labor en Portugal e Santiago xurdiu outro que nada tiña que ver coa fotografía,

senón coa museoloxía; é dicir, un que formaba parte esencial dos aspectos máis secretos das funcións dos museos. O 12 de setembro de 1866 Robinson escribiu un memorándum desde o seu despacho de Londres ó Sr. Poole, do Museo, para informa-lo de que se dispoñía a volver a España (na súa terceira viaxe). Recomendou que Charles Thurston Thompson non saíse de Lisboa para Santiago sen asegurarse de que se enviasen os “mobles de Blumberg” ou, polo menos, se cargasen no tren para envialos a Inglaterra. Non era, nin moito menos, a clase de tarefa que Thompson esperaría cando o destinaran a Portugal e Santiago. Era, de feito, un asunto que obsesionara a Robinson case desde que comezara a conseguir algunhas das súas adquisicións de museo a través de Blumberg, a finais de 1865.¹⁵ Cando, a finais de 1865, Robinson deixou o asunto por un tempo, o Museo xa tiña na súa posesión unha cruz xaponesa e pequenas molduras esmaltadas; pero aínda se agardaba un envío de 165 libras (prezo de compra e transporte de quince pezas de mobiliario, incluíndo un armario e a súa restauración, e cadeiras sol-



Santiago. Catedral: Pórtico da Gloria; interior. 28,3 x 22 cm.
(Arquivo Catedral de Santiago)

tas). Un tal Sr. Van Zeller, ó que Robinson dera instrucións para o seu transporte, non levava a cabo o embarque. Robinson esforzouse na primavera por entrar en contacto con Blumberg por correspondencia, aínda que non sospeitaba que puidera ter ocorrido nada terrible, xa que o achacaba “ós hábituais retrasos deste individuo” (é dicir, Blumberg). Robinson acabou sabendo polo encargado de negocios en Lisboa, Bulwer Lytton, que un banco ó que Blumberg debía diñeiro se apropiara das pezas pagadas durante a viaxe de Robinson en 1865. Ó mesmo tempo, cando a nota de Robinson a Poole, Bulwer Lytton debeu de convencer ó banco para que renunciase ás pezas inglesas, e logrou que fosen carregadas nun barco con destino a Inglaterra.

Se se le entre liñas neste asunto de Blumberg, un comeza a ver motivos ocultos para que Robinson puidese sentirse nervioso; a parte, por suposto, de que o Museo non recibira as compras que fixera. O 21 de setembro de 1866, con Robinson partindo inmediatamente (e inevitablemente) cara a España, soubo que as pezas de Blumberg se encontraban nun barco “a piques de entrar no Canal”. Fixo unha petición para que o cargamento, unha vez descargado do barco, permanecese, sen ser aberto, nas mans dos Srs. MacCraken para el poder examina-la factura á súa volta. Robinson explica detalladamente como incluíu algunhas compras persoais no cargamento, e xustificaas baseándose en que a súa cualidade non se axustaba ó Museo e en que, ademais, xa esgotara os fondos que tiña asignados polo Museo cando realizara as súas compras persoais.

Podería parecer que Robinson se saíu coa súa neste asunto, aínda que a sospeita se reaviva o 1 de xaneiro de 1867. Aparentemente, as pezas de Blumberg incluían dez armarios taraceados procedentes de Portugal que eran de Robinson, xa que foran “mercados despois de esgotar os fondos do Museo,” volveu recalcar. Recomendou que o Museo mercase dous deles (por 29 libras, máis 2 libras por gastos de transporte), unha recomendación enganosa, dado que tres meses antes declarara que as pezas que el comprara particularmente non tiñan a cualidade necesaria para o Museo. Por unha razón ou outra, en xaneiro de 1867 Robinson non estaba sendo tratado polo Museo (é dicir, por Cole) como estaba afeito a que o tratasen. Xusto despois de regresar da súa terceira viaxe por Iberia, Henry Cole anuncioulle que xa non podería dispoñer dun despa-

cho para o seu uso exclusivo, como viña facendo. Resistíndose, Robinson escribiu, desde a súa residencia no número 16 de Pelham Crescent, que o uso exclusivo dese cuarto estaba estipulado no seu contrato, que durante os catorce anos que levaba traballando alí sempre o tivera. Aínda así, accedía a ceder este espazo temporalmente, sempre e cando puidese ter unha mesa para o seu uso exclusivo na biblioteca.

Resulta difícil saber se foi a natureza do cargamento de Blumberg, ou outras compras á parte do cargamento, o que desagradou ós administradores do Museo (posto que había pezas destas características) ou simplemente porque Robinson estaba deixando de gustar, o caso é que acabou sendo destituído por Cole. Fose o que for, chegados a este punto, Iberia deixou de ser importante, aínda que o legado fotográfico de Thompson foi posto á disposición do Museo de moi diversas formas, sendo a máis práctica das cales servir como punto de referencia para a comparación cualitativa entre compras futuras e as pezas rexistradas fotograficamente en Portugal. Por exemplo, nos informes do 24 de xaneiro de 1867 encontramos: o Sr. Woodgate de Holborn posúe “unha desas rarísimas bandexas de prata dourada da primeira platería portuguesa, do mesmo tamaño e período que as [...] na colección da S. M. Don [sic] Fernando de Portugal, que foron fotografadas polo Sr. Thompson.” Noutra ocasión, para rexeitar unha proposta de venda ó museo, Robinson recorda (23 de maio de 1867) que son dunha clase “común”, pois “vin moitas pezas similares, tanto en España como en Portugal, pero non as considereí o suficientemente valiosas como para que pagase a pena mercalas (aínda que fose a prezos moito máis baixos que o que pedían polas pezas que nos ocupan).”

Ás veces xustificando as súas opinións en referencia ás fotografías de Charles Thurston Thompson, Robinson, como procurador do South Kensington, viuse claramente a el mesmo como o experto ibérico permanente. Podía sentirse, a consecuencia do tempo dedicado a Iberia, que hubiera renunciado a outros mercados e culturas, xa que el planeara pasar un tempo de vacacións en Francia, en agosto de 1867, e quedar en París traballando para o Museo unha vez que rematara as súas vacacións. Henry Cole pediulle que engadise á súa viaxe os lugares seguintes, nos que podería “recoller fotografías de tódalas obras ornamentais pertencentes ás localidades”: Dantzig,

Quedlingburg (Harz), Elsen no Rhin, Halberstadt, Hildesheim, Schleswig Dome (Alterblatt) e Ilseburg. É interesante especular con que non atoparía nestes lugares, se cadra, o peculiar arrecendo dun período cultural que tanto confiara en atopar no Pórtico da Gloria en 1865.

Xa vimos que Robinson tiña unha mala opinión do norte de Portugal. En xeral, a súa actitude con respecto a España era similar desde a súa primeira viaxe. O 6 de decembro de 1863 Robinson propúxose partir ó día seguinte para Guadix, Baza, Lorca e Murcia. Xa estivera retido en Sevilla durante varios días por mor dun forte catarro que collera na súa viaxe a través da *sierra*. Iso explica por qué non se trasladara a Lisboa durante a primeira viaxe; ademais “fora informado de que había pouco ou nada que ver” en Lisboa. El sabía que indo cara a Murcia a viaxe sería lenta, por mor das montañas, o que provocou nel un comentario que chegaría a converterse nunha constante dos seus informes: “[...] necesítase un tempo interminable” para os tratos en España. Medio mes máis tarde (o 1 de xaneiro de 1864), estaba ansioso por concluí-lo traballo. A súa saúde era mala. Encontrábase canso. “O perigoso clima de Madrid” causáralle “inflamación de gorxa e conxestión.”

Con respecto a España (deixando Portugal a un lado), pode que houbera outra razón, a parte das inclemencias do tempo e da saúde, pola que Robinson preferiu ir a París en setembro de 1867. Sen embargo, se especulamos neste sentido, lémbremo-lo que nos di o 22 de xaneiro de 1864: pasou máis tempo en España que en ningún outro país, e non o consideraba un tempo perdido. Xa temos escoitado cousas acerca dos momentos baixos e as decepcións das viaxes de Robinson.

Foi cara ó final da súa terceira viaxe cando as circunstancias da vida real, e non as climáticas, afectaron irreparabilmente, na miña opinión, á súa experiencia ibérica. Durante o mes comprendido entre o 6 de setembro e o 5 de outubro de 1866, Robinson sentiuse acosado por un tal Sr. Baur de París, que aparentemente ía en dirección Lisboa-Madrid: “[...] e atreveríame a dicir que pronto haberá unha tribo de franceses en Madrid” (6 de setembro). Robinson ansiaba adquirir un cofre de marfil do século X, feito para un califa, pero estaba curto de diñeiro. Mentres agardaba por recursos, e temendo que Baur lle seguise a pista e intentase puxar máis alto que el, valoraba ó español co que el pensaba que fixera un trato sobre o cofre: “[...] a falta

total de confianza por parte dos españois con respecto ós negocios con estranxeiros.”

Se o seu vendedor de Madrid tivese aproveitado a situación deberíase posiblemente á desastrosa situación política e económica que atravesaba España nese momento. Tamén Robinson era consciente disto; de feito, tratou de sacar partido. Estas eran, realmente, as condicións baixo as que el e Thompson traballaban a principios de setembro de 1866, aínda que o problema debeu ser menor para o fotógrafo, dado que, conforme Robinson declaraba o 22 de xaneiro de 1864, as autoridades eclesiásticas españolas son “en xeral moi liberais e amables” e as consideraba “dispostas a facilitar máis que a impedi-las miñas observacións e investigacións.”

6 de setembro de 1866:

... as condicións tanto de Francia como do norte de España dificultaron a comunicación en tódalas direccións. [...] este país está en semi revolución, o diñeiro desapareceu, [...] O'Donnell [Leopoldo O'Donnell y Jorris, Conde de Lucena e Duque de Tetuán, 1809-1867] confiscou a cuarta parte do salario anual de todo o clero español e, a consecuencia disto, van vender mesmo as súas sotanas e mitras [...] e calquera obxecto minimamente artístico, ou saldrá á superficie calquera cousa pola que podan conseguir un chelín.

Na mesma misiva menciona ó Arcebispo de Toledo e, dalgún xeito, síntese abraiado de que “*el* teña cousas que vender.” O 13 de outubro, Robinson practicamente acababa de recuperarse (no Hotel Central de Madrid) do que chamaba “neumonía de Madrid.” Un tal Sr. Miró, que non era outro que o tallador de pedras preciosas de Isabel II, ofrecelle actuar como mediador nunha taxación de once “antigos tapices” deseñados segundo os cartóns de Rafael gardados en Hampton Court (sete) e no Vaticano (catro). Foran conservados nun convento dominico de Loeches, preto de Madrid, e foran levados alí polo propio Duque de Alba, que os depositara nese palacio/convento de mediados do século dezasete onde o Conde Duque de Olivares se retirara trala súa caída do poder. O Sr. Miró sentíase optimista coa compra inglesa dos tapices, a causa da “miseria, especialmente a das corporacións eclesiásticas nese momento.” (O 23 de outubro o consello do Museo decidira non presentar unha oferta polos tapices.) Os tapices poderían quedar pequenos ó lado doutro asunto que Robinson barallaba na súa cabeza antes de partir para Inglaterra: “[...] teño información de boa tinta de que o célebre

tesouro de ‘Nuestra Señora del Pilar’ en Zaragoza [...] sería cedido polo cabildo por unha cantidade suficiente [...]”.

Non hai dúbida de que a estancia de Robinson en Iberia foi agridoce. Podemos supoñer que o foi menos para Thurston Thompson, para quen prefixara tantas actividades e amañara tanto o terreo, que a súa estadía sería menos complicada. O 30 de maio de 1866 Robinson escribiu:

Estou máis convencido que nunca de que este país aínda é rico en obras de arte, agachadas por todas partes neste vasto territorio sen explorar, pero é necesario un grande desembolso de tempo e paciencia para atopalas. O tempo que pasei en Madrid non o gastei en balde e non me arrepinto da miña longa estadía aquí, por moi desagradable que fose.

E concluíu esa carta a Londres coa seguinte xeneralización acerca de España:

Desgraciadamente, é necesario un tempo interminable para calquera tipo de negociación, tódolos españois están dotados dunha inercia e unha lentitude innata e habitual, para a que non queda outra alternativa que deixarse levar. Por outra parte existe unha total ignorancia do valor e o mérito das obras de arte, e é evidente para min que só aquí, é dicir, en España, hoxe en día, onde aínda quedan obras de arte por descubrir.

Non me consta unha opinión de Charles Thurston Thompson sobre o mesmo punto en base á súa experiencia ibérica. Mesmo resultoume difícil segui-lo rastro da súa

actividade durante o derradeiro ano e medio da súa breve vida de tan só 52 anos. Morreu nalgunha data dos primeiros meses de 1868, xa que se lle dá como falecido nos libros de rexistro do Museo South Kensington o 7 de maio dese mesmo ano. É mágoa que Thompson nunca chegase a ve-la publicación do libro coas 20 fotografías resultantes do seu labor en Santiago:

Examples of Art Workmanship of Various Ages and Countries. *The Cathedral of Santiago de Compostella* [sic] in Spain. Showing especially the Sculpture of the Pórtico de la Gloria, by Mestre Mateo. A Series of twenty Photographs recently taken by the late Mr. Thurston Thompson. Under the Sanction of the Science and Art Department, for Use of Schools of Art and Amateurs. London: Published by the Arundel Society for Promoting the Knowledge of Art. 24, Old Bond Street. Sold by Bell and Daldy, York Street, Covent Garden. 1868.

Con seguridade, este volume saíu antes de finais de setembro de 1868 (pero moi posiblemente a principios dese mes), xa que os libros de rexistro do Museo proban que o día 21 se enviaron dúas copias ó museo.

Antes, o 18 de marzo, o Museo rexistrara un grupo de 86 fotografías de Santiago, sen dúbida trátase das mesmas 86 imaxes que constitúen o lote “completo” existente hoxe en Santiago, onde seleccionamos a maioría das que van a toda páxina neste libro. Pero isto ten pouco que ver coas 20 que figuran no libro da Arundel Society, e certa-



Santiago. Catedral: Hospital de Peregrinos, pazo episcopal e parte da fachada oeste da Catedral
31,2 x 39,8 cm.
(Arquivo Catedral de Santiago)

mente pouco que ver coas “mil fotografías de detalles” (!) mencionadas por Bernardo Barreiro en 1888 (Mateo Sevilla, “El descubrimiento...”, 457). Baseándonos nesa referencia do 18 de maio, que non pode aceptar como mera coincidencia de números coa colección de Santiago, eu diría que ese grupo de 86 fotografías debe considerarse como o grupo oficial, aínda que, como ocorre en tódolos casos deste tipo, de cando en vez, pode aparecer unha imaxe “allea” no canto de outra. Parece que hoxe en día o Museo Victoria & Albert só ten 60 das 86 que atopamos no álbum de Santiago de Compostela que utilizamos (deixando á marxe a publicación da Arundel Society de 1868). De feito, unha das vistas de lonxe da Catedral, que aparece no libro da Arundel e se conserva como unha fotografía solta na Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, non está entre as 86 de Santiago. Non é mais que un exemplo, aínda que hai poucos.

Os libros de rexistro tamén nos din que o 18 de marzo de 1868 chegaron ó Museo dous grupos de 306 fotografías cada un, reproducións fotográficas feitas por Thurston Thompson de obras arquitectónicas e obxectos artísticos españois e portugueses que se conservaban nos palacios de Lisboa. Menos de dous meses despois, o 2 de maio, chegaban ó Museo tres grupos de fotografías de obras arquitectónicas e obxectos artísticos españois e portugueses (grupos de 301, 140 e 58 fotografías cada un deles); con seguridade, repeticións das entradas do 18 de marzo. (É certo que as 90 fotografías de Thurston Thompson que entraron no Museo o 29 de setembro eran en parte copias dos primeiros grupos.) O 7 de maio, data na que se mencionaba a súa morte, rexistráronse dous grupos de 20 fotografías cada un deles: ambos grupos estaban constituídos por vistas de Batalha (Portugal).

Estes feitos ofrecen unha certa perspectiva para coñece-lo proceso do proxecto ibérico nas súas últimas fases, aínda que non nos deixa unha impresión totalmente clara do que debeu de se-la actividade de Thompson durante o derradeiro ano da súa vida. (Presumiblemente, non realizou el tódalas copias dos seus negativos, senón que se serviu do equipo formado con anterioridade no Museo.)

Hai que chama-la atención sobre tres fotografías pertencentes ó Museo V & A (Caixa XM76: 3451-1932, 1452-1932, 3453-1932), que mostran a exposición do Pórtico no seu estado de montaxe por pezas.¹⁶ Son tres foto-

grafías que, segundo os libros de rexistro, foron entregadas ó Museo o 22 de maio de 1868 (despois da morte de Thompson). Paréceme posible que estas puidesen non ser as fotografías de Thompson, senón as dunha fotógrafa, J. A. Cowper, que foi a persoa que as cedeu ó Museo en maio. Aínda que a que mostra o tímpano da entrada central ten certo interese, as dúas que mostran as arquivoltas esquerda e dereita chaman a atención polo seu contexto museolóxico: cristais que contrastan coa reprodución da pedra pre-gótica, unha marca escrita en inglés, etc. Son pezas fascinantes e a súa significación última ten que ver coa incorporación (¡o arroupo!) dun pre-Gótico estranxeiro doutra época nos confins protectores (¡absorbentes!) dun Museo de Londres do século dezanove. Mellor do que o fan as imaxes do propio Thompson, estas imaxes rexistran o anómalo do esforzo imperialista. Implican anacronismo e desviación cultural, sen importa-lo inocuas que sexan, ou a medida en que poidan servir ó público xeral, mesmo hoxe. Estas imaxes, aparentemente discretas, posúen unha contextualidade que non é común a tódalas fotografías realizadas por Thurston Thompson en Santiago, e moito menos ás súas reproducións de obxectos artísticos en xeral. É esa contextualidade o que nos lembra con precisión o que fixera o Museo South Kensington cando se lle encomendara a Brucciani o labor de face-los baleirados. En certo modo, a súa interesante contextualidade está na base da súa natureza anómala, e convértese, logo, en imaxes clave na historia de Thurston Thompson, foran ou non feitas por el.

E, séxano ou non, representan o inseparable da ciencia e da arte na época de Thurston Thompson. A lóxica do Museo está alí, na marca explicativa e na luz da fiestra; nas etiquetas moi descritivas e ben documentadas que aparecen con frecuencia nas publicacións que utilizaban as fotografías de Thompson.¹⁷ Non nos sorprendería que esta lóxica levase directamente das publicacións á *Price List* de 1862 xa mencionada. De feito, o propio xeito de ofrecer as fotografías de Thompson por parte do Museo para a súa venda é un indicativo da mesma mentalidade que, obviamente, confundía ciencia con arte. Este clasicismo fundamental, esa base estratificada en 1- admiración, 2- reprodución (imitación), e logo 3- a exposición ordenada constituía a premisa dos traballos de Thurston Thompson.

Nas fotografías de Thompson faise evidente, naquelas que teñen unha mínima ou nula contextualidade, que el é

en primeiro lugar un fotógrafo documentalista. O seu punto de partida foi, principalmente, a obra de arte fotografada, e non a propia fotografía, en e por si mesma. A representación era a forza motivadora que se agachaba detrás da súa fotografía desde o comezo, e raramente saía Thompson destes límites. (A serie de Surrey alude a unha desviación da norma.) Pero para que isto sexa así, debemos recoñecer que a técnica fotográfica debeu de ser tan importante para Robinson como a obra que fotografaba. Isto faise evidente nas súas vistas interiores, que tanta aprensión causaran a Robinson, tendo Thompson que encargarse de convencerlle da súa viabilidade. Aínda que pasase desapercibido, a actitude do fotógrafo está en perfecta harmonía co destino docente e libresco das fotografías de Thompson. Non son obxectos fotográficos para ser apreciados como fotografías; son fotografías para ver, *a través*, directamente o obxecto que está sendo fotografado. A falta de contextualidade axuda á consecución deste obxectivo, e tamén o feito de que Thompson traballase como funcionario cun traballo prefixado. Se cadra, isto nunca foi máis evidente como na misión de Santiago (ver Apéndice I).

En certo modo, isto cuestiona o carácter artístico de Thurston Thompson (á parte da técnica, se é posible). Cando depende tanto do que fotografía; cando o seu punto de vista está tan dirixido ó fotografar eses temas; cando a contextualidade é con frecuencia indesexable ou inadmisíble; cando a responsabilidade do fotógrafo pode ser, ás veces, moito menor que a que do fotógrafo que non traballa por encargo, entón, ¿ata que punto é ese fotógrafo un artista? En parte, a resposta pode estar no grao no que consideremos que os aspectos *técnicos* da fotografía constitúen *a arte e o aspecto personal* da fotografía. Noutras palabras, debe de estar no grao en que desexemos ser clásicos e non románticos, por citar —moi apropiadamente para a ocasión— un cisma de case douscentos anos de idade.

De feito, no caso das fotografías de Thompson en Santiago, a primeira vista parece tremendamente irónico que enviasen a Thompson a fotografar nesa cidade. É dicir, se, teoricamente, se considera que a reprodución en escaiola é considerada igual ó orixinal, ¿por que non agardar a fotografa-la reprodución no Museo de South Kensington? ¿Cal é a importancia de fotografar *in situ*, a non ser no caso de que o contexto orixinal constituía a base

da o principal argumento? Se a intención do coleccionista é destruí-lo contexto no que existira o obxecto orixinal reproducido, separando o obxecto do seu contexto e trasplantándoo a outro, entón ¿por qué enviar a Thompson a Santiago?¹⁸ ¿Foi entón Santiago secundario a Portugal, onde as obras de arte dos palacios reais non se puideron mover de lugar para fotografalas? Puido ser. Pero, se así foi, e a case século e medio de distancia, entón debemos ter en conta que a miúdo ansiamos ver o contexto orixinal para mellor entender o obxecto fotografado. Vista así, a recuperación fotográfica do contexto orixinal dunha obra de arte é un xeito de devolver esa peza ó seu lugar de procedencia; de non obrígala por máis tempo a mante-lo seu status de apropiación, senón de deixala quedar no seu lugar orixinal.

Nunha especulación deste tipo aparecen fondas implicacións culturais e políticas. Por exemplo, ¿é o acto da recolección outra face do imperialismo, cando as coleccións son inxentes e proceden do estranxeiro? Tamén existen profundas implicacións artísticas. Unha das máis importantes para o caso de Thurston Thompson ten relación co que eu chamaría os límites da documentación. Noutras palabras, ¿que podería ser, en tempos de Thompson, máis documental que a reprodución dun obxecto non contextualizado en si mesmo; que falase por si mesmo; que estivese simplemente alí, como se non estivese sendo mediatizado pola fotografía? Esta é, posiblemente, unha cuestión moi difícil para os que asociamos estreitamente as nocións de documentación e *compromiso* social. Pois o tema de Thompson era, case sempre, a arte, que para moitos é unha maneira de escapar do compromiso social, e con seguridade é así cando a materia artística carece dun referente social ben definido.

En realidade, a documentación completa e a necesidade imperialista de restablece-la orde onde foi desfeita conxúganse na obra de Thurston Thompson, e en outros que axudaron a construí-lo seu mundo profesional, como J. C. Robinson. (En España pode encontrarse certo paralelismo na obra de J. Laurent, a xulgar por boa parte do seu traballo.) A misión de ambos consistía na fragmentación do mundo e a súa posterior recomposición (o seu rexistro e recomposición ordenada) baixo o patrocinio do Museo South Kensington¹⁹. O coñecido comentario de Susan Sontag acerca de que a fragmentación fotográfica é un medio de apropiación é un pensamento que nos perseguirá

ó írmonos internando na obra de Robinson e Thompson²⁰. Pero debemos ter igualmente presente, se consideramos a Thompson individualmente, que este fotógrafo de arte, no desenvolvemento do seu propio labor, foi, por irónico que resulte, un dos mellores documentalistas fotográficos. Hoxe, a obra de Thompson debería sernos útil para promover novas revisións das nosas definicións de documento e, o máis difícil de todo, novos criterios para establecer estrictamente os puntos de unión entre a expresión artística e documental mesmo prosaica, entre arte e técnica e entre invención e imitación.

NOTAS

1. Ver John Physick, *Photography and the South Kensington Museum* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1975), 1. Desde un punto de vista bibliográfico, o libro de Physick é esencial. O presente estudio fai un amplo uso deste traballo, dado que mostra, sobre todo, os rexistros da Biblioteca do Museo Victoria & Albert, coñecidos como os Informes (J. C.) Robinson.

2. Virginia Dodier, experta en Lady Hawarden, suxeríume xenerosamente outro aspecto importante na obra de Thurston Thompson: a súa asociación profesional coa Vizcondesa Hawarden. Virginia Dodier descubriu tanto na Biblioteca Victoria & Albert como no Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center da Universidade de Texas (Austin) o anuncio da súa asociación, que indica o prezo dos seus retratos profesionais (unha guinea; probas extra, cinco chelíns cada unha) e a súa conexión coa Female School of Art. Dodier tivo tamén a amabilidade de comunicarme en xuño de 1988 que as fotografías de Thurston Thompson do álbum de Cole do Museo Victoria & Albert as fixera Lady Hawarden.

3. Exemplo excepcional desta práctica queda evidenciado nos fondos do HRHRC de Austin, Texas: unha carta de "D.G. Rosetti", datada o 5 de xullo de 1865, enviada desde o nº 16 de Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, e dirixida a "C.T. Thompson, Esq." A carta completa di:

"Querería 12 copias máis de *Mary Magdalene* e 12 da [?] *Escena* en canto lle sexa posible. Quedaría moi agradecido se amablemente me fixese saber cando podo contar con elas; pois tiven moitas peticións e teño prometidas copias ós amigos.

Creo que ten vostede un negativo dun debuxo meu da familia Borgia con 2 nenos bailando. Querería 6 copias deste tamén.

Non sei se vostede fotografiou para min un debuxo a pluma e tinta que representa a 2 amantes que se encontran coas súas aparicións ou dobres nun bosque. Se en efecto o fixo, querería 6

copias desta tamén.

P.S. As últimas probas da fotografía da Magdalena non eran tan finas como as anteriores, non tan profundas e ricas de cor."

4. Physick, 8-10. Curiosamente, Thompson tamén fixo ó principio fotografías no Museo Británico. O HRHRC de Austin, Texas, conserva unha carta (17 de outubro de 1856), asinada polo bibliotecario xefe do Museo Británico, notificando a recepción do regalo que Charles Thurston Thompson fixera ós fideicomisarios do Museo Británico (probablemente a modo de autopublicidade): "[...] fotografías tomadas por Thurston Thompson de deseños orixinais depositados no Museo Británico, viz.: cabeza dun vello, de Leonardo da Vinci; cabeza de perfil, de Angelo Gaddi; cabeza da Magdalena, de Roger Van der Weyden."

5. Esta non era a primeira vez que se fotografaban ó aire libre pezas de museo. John Hannavy [*Roger Fenton of Crimble Hall* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1975), 40-41] describe cómo, no verán de 1857, Roger Fenton, do Museo Británico, fotografaba bustos do Museo ó aire libre, salpicándoos enxeñosamente con arxila seca para evita-los fortes reflexos.

6. A diferenza da maioría do resto das pezas da *Price List*, os estudos de árbores non están listados e descritos individualmente, co que a comparación das fotografías existentes unha por unha resulta difícil, se non imposible.

7. Unha copia está no Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center (Austin Texas), e é case equivalente á que está rexistrada no catálogo do Science and Art Department de fotografías de Thompson como "A series of Fifty Specimens in the Special Loan Exhibition at the South Kensington Museum in 1862." O HRHRC posúe tamén a publicación de Santiago de Compostela de 1868 feita pola Arundel Society e *A Series of Portrait Miniatures Selected from the Loan Exhibition at the South Kensington Museum in 1865* (London: Arundel Society), con 49 fotografías.

8. "El descubrimiento del Pórtico de la Gloria en la España del S. XIX," en *Simposio internacional sobre "O pórtico da Gloria e a arte do seu tempo"* (A Coruña: Xunta de Galicia, 1988), 457-477.

9. Matilde Mateo Sevilla, *El Pórtico de la Gloria en la Inglaterra victoriana: la invención de una obra maestra* (Santiago de Compostela: Ministerio de Cultura/Museo Nacional de las Peregrinaciones, 1991), 34-39.

10. "A Glory to the Museum: the Casting of the 'Pórtico de la Gloria'", no *The V & A Album*, I (1982), 104.

11. "The Establishment of a Masterpiece: The Cast of the Pórtico de la Gloria in the South Kensington Museum, London, in the 1870's," en *Simposio internacional sobre 'O Pórtico da Gloria e a arte do seu tempo'* (A Coruña: Xunta de Galicia, 1988), 484.

12. Ironicamente, á luz do antes mencionado, críticos e historiadores dos nosos días como James D'Emilio e Michael L. Ward, respectivamente, encontran no Pórtico variantes estilísticas que inclúen "un vocabulario ornamental de orixe foráneo y, máis particularmente, borgoñón", e un "nárteix a la Borgoña" ["Tradición local y aportaciones foráneas en la escultura romá-

nica tardía: Compostela, Lugo y Carrión,” e “El Pórtico de la Gloria y la conclusión de la Catedral de Santiago de Compostela”, ambos en *Simposio internacional sobre ‘O Pórtico da Gloria e a arte do seu tempo’* (A Coruña: Xunta de Galicia, 1988), 83-90 e 43-47].

13. Parece que en xeral Thompson seguía estas direccións. Era lóxico, xa que se as súas dietas só lle chegaban ós poucos, como lle sucedía ó propio Robinson: por petición periódica e conforme as súas necesidades. As pezas almacenadas no Museo Victoria & Albert (antes South Kensington) fannos a supoñer que Thompson levou a cabo unha considerable cantidade de traballo en diferentes lugares de Lisboa e nos seus arredores: os Palacios de Necesidades e Ajuda; o convento de Belem; o mosteiro de Tomar e o castelo de La Penha en Sintra. Tamén existen evidencias que demostran que fixo fotografías en Batalha. E tamén fixo dabondo en Coimbra: o convento de Santa Cruz; a Universidade; a Catedral. Non hai evidencia de que traballase en Oporto, e isto pode explica-las saídas a lugares como Sintra e Tomar. En calquera caso, teríamos que asumir que Thompson seguiu as liñas que tan insistentemente lle marcara Robinson. Non vexo evidencia de que existise labor fotográfico ningún en Évora, Braga ou Viseu; aínda así, existe unha fotografía (V & A 303-1931) tomada na Igrexa de Nossa Senhora de Oliveira (Guimaraes) que podería estar feita por Thompson, pero non é seguro.

14. Ó menciona-las vistas exteriores, Robinson estaba a pensar, case con certeza, en Charles Clifford, J. Laurent e L. L. Masson; posiblemente tamén en Reynoso. Desde a súa primeira viaxe a España (1863), Robinson foi conseguindo moitas fotografías destes fotógrafos e, por suposto, escribe nunha ocasión acerca do status preeminente que ocupan entre os fotógrafos.

15. Blumberg foi só un dos catro comerciantes que Robinson utilizou como intermediarios para adquirir pezas para o South Kensington. Os outros foron Tavares, Cardozo e Silva.

16. O facsímile do *Pórtico*, como sabemos, non puido contemplarse ata 1873, cando se abriron as Architectural Courts (Baker, “A Glory...”, p. 108).

17. A obsesión pola documentación era evidente non só no propio Museo senón tamén nas publicacións de fotografías de Thompson sobre obras de arte en museos. Por exemplo, a publicación de 1862 feita por Chapman e Hall, na que se mostran as obras da escultura italiana existentes no Museo de South Kensington, ofrece: unha páxina enteira para cada unha das pezas “expostas” (en cada páxina exhibese unha); datos descriptivos pertinentes para cada unha das pezas representadas; o artista/deseñador de cada peza; a procedencia de cada peza; o século ó que pertencía; e, cómo non, a localización actual da peza (obviamente, sempre o Museo South Kensington). A copia que tiven ocasión de ver pertence a Santiago Saavedra y Ligne (Madrid): *Italian Sculpture of the Middle Ages and Period of the Revival of Art. A Series of 50 Photographs...* (London: Chapman e Hall, 1862).

18. Este argumento é desenvólveo ata certo punto por Mar Villaspesa, citando a Walter Benjamin. (“El coleccionista o la mirada turbadora” / “The Collector or the Disturbing Look”, en *Photovisión*, nº 24.)

19. Un artigo moi intelixente que toca estes puntos é

“Procedimientos de archivo” / “Filing Procedures” de José Ramón López, en *Photovisión*, nº 24.

20. *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus e Giroux, 1977).

**CHARLES THURSTON
THOMPSON AND THE
IBERIAN PHOTOGRAPHIC
PROJECT**

THE STORY OF Charles Thurston Thompson as professional photographer—and of Thurston Thompson as photographer in Santiago de Compostela in particular—must be seen from different angles, in order to appreciate the enormity of his role in a general history of photography. He was inevitably a subject of the politics of the London of his day, although he was hardly a politician. We should rightly consider him as part and parcel of the very groundwork of that grand nineteenth-century enterprise, the inchoate South Kensington Museum. As such, his work may be taken as an outstanding historical model for museum photography.

The world has grown increasingly interested in this type of photography as a genre unto itself. Understandably so, for it is arguable that this type of photography has been, up to the present, the ultimate test of documentary replication. As such, the photography of Charles Thurston Thompson comes to the fore today, almost surprisingly, as a far-seeing phenomenon which can only be appreciated with the broad historical retrospective that we have at last begun to enjoy with respect to photography. The strikingly unpretentious, almost pedestrian photographic effort that much of the work of Thurston Thompson must have represented in its day paradoxically strikes us in our own time as almost *avant garde*. It does, at least, when we consider the amount of “typological” photography that has been cultivated in the past two decades.

It is surprising that the work of a photographer who was once so prominent, and which was so broadly diffused, might have fallen into relative oblivion. John Physick has attributed this to the fact that Thompson worked almost exclusively for the Department of Science and Art and

scarcely had other locales in which to practice his art.¹ Charles Thurston Thompson was the son of a wood-engraver, John Thompson, and initially a wood-engraver himself. In his early thirties, he shifted his attention to photography, still a young art, and worked in the wet-collodion medium announced by Scott Archer in 1851. That year, a year of several advancements in photographic processes, Thurston Thompson also assisted Henry Cole with the photographic arrangements at the Great Exhibition in Kensington, while his brother, Richard, worked as superintending officer at the Fair.

It was surely Henry Cole’s bold ingeniousness that made a success of the test years of the South Kensington Museum. And it was John Charles Robinson (1824-1913), himself the son of a museum director, who expressed his conviction that in photography rested the promise of a utilitarian, educational diffusion of art, and that to tap that potential would be to tout the new Museum galleries. To judge by assertions of this sort, it would appear that by the mid-1850s, Thurston Thompson had his work cut out for him, and that the fundamentally utilitarian tenor of his work was set in the early stages of the Museum.²

There exists a document—one of those invaluable documents which in its day was surely viewed as ephemeral—which affords us considerable insight into the accomplishments of Thurston Thompson during his first decade of formal activity. In 1864, around the time when John Charles Robinson, overseer of the Museum’s collections, was to make his first tour in Iberia, the Science and Art Department of the Committee of Council on Education issued a “Price List of Mounted Photographs printed from negatives taken for the Science and Art Department by the

Official Photographer, C. Thurston Thompson” (London: Chapman and Hall). It was telling that “applications for obtaining the Negatives should be addressed to the Secretary, Science and Art Department, South Kensington Museum, and orders for copies of the positives to Mr. C. Thurston Thompson, the Official Photographer, 7, Gordon Terrace, Kensington.”³ For this was an indication of an inversion of rights of ownership. It reflected the altered status that the once freelance photographer had enjoyed, selling to the South Kensington Museum until April 1859. And it represented, as well, a departure from the kind of arrangement that Roger Fenton had with the British Museum, his locale of assigned photographic activity.⁴

The “Price List” in question was an unusually meticulous catalogue in its descriptive quality. While the following registry of its contents does not reflect that meticulousness, it does give us a solid idea about the quantitative distribution among the majority of subjects that Thompson had been photographing well prior to his Iberian work of 1866.

PHOTOGRAPHIC SUBJECTS	QUANTITY OF PHOTOGRAPHS PER SUBJECT
— Cartoons of Raffaele at Hampton Court	8
— Studies from the Cartoons of Raphael	30
— Drawings by Raphael	33
— Holbein portraits of persons at the Court of Henry VIII	66
— Portraits of the Tudor family executed by Richard Burchett	28
— Limoges enamels, ivory carvings, and miscellaneous objects in the Louvre	85
— Crystal objects and other precious materials in the Louvre	31
— Miscellaneous objects in the South Kensington Museum and objects lent for temporary exhibition by the Queen <i>et al.</i>	52
— Decorative furniture lent by the Queen <i>et al.</i> for the 1853 exhibit at Grove House	74
— Soulages collection of furniture, sculpture, bronzes, majolica, etc.	54
— Studies of trees	20
— Objects in the South Kensington Museum	48
— Ancient arms and armour	29
— Engravings of ornaments by goldsmiths, engravers, and ornamentalists	30
— Italian sculpture in the South Kensington Museum	50
— Turner drawings (<i>his liber studiorum</i>); in two series	51

— Specimens on loan to the South Kensington Museum for exhibition in 1862; in two series 218

This totaled 907 different photographs, 8 of which (the cartoons by Raphael at Hampton Court) could be purchased in any one of 5 different sizes.

The heading for the series of photographs of the Raphael cartoons housed at Hampton Court is very mindful to show that these photographs are “taken from originals”; not surprisingly, since these were the ones for which a special camera was constructed and a method for photographing museum pieces *en plein aire* devised.⁵ John Physick describes the incident sufficiently, so that we can appreciate it in its various ramifications:

The major achievement of Henry Cole’s early photographic studio was the taking of the first photographs of the Raphael Cartoons. These, in 1858, were at Hampton Court, and Thurston Thompson was faced with a task of some magnitude, as the natural light in the Cartoon Gallery was quite insufficient for photography. Cole put the matter to the ingenious Captain of Engineers, Francis Fowke, who, with the cooperation of Richard Redgrave, the Department’s Inspector-General for Art as well as being (luckily for Cole) Surveyor of the Queen’s Pictures, found a solution. The Cartoons would be lowered one by one —on suitably fine days— through a window into Fountain Court, and the photographs taken in the open air. The work eventually took many months to complete, as Redgrave would not allow the paintings to be exposed to even the slightest risk of being caught in a shower of rain.

Fowke’s arrangements and supervision of the Sappers, to whom the moving of the Cartoons was entrusted, were not his only contributions to the success of the enterprise. Thurston Thompson had previously been sent to Paris in July 1857 in order to buy a suitable lens, and Fowke designed the camera to fit it. This instrument is now destroyed, but it must have been a formidable piece of apparatus, as Thompson’s negatives are on 1/4 inch thick glass, three feet square, and were, at the time, probably the largest negatives ever made.

Physick points out that in all likelihood, the Sappers (military engineers) built the camera in the Museum’s workshops. He understates, incidentally, the number of negatives extant today in the Victoria & Albert Museum, although he does correctly assess that some are “in a somewhat battered condition.” The experience of these gigantic negatives must have remained with Thompson. In April 1859, when Thompson’s relation to the Museum was altered from freelance photographer to employee on retainer, the arrangement was such that he would receive an

annual retainer fee of 100 pounds. “All he had to do was to make the negatives, passing these to the Museum and the Sappers for printing. Besides his retainer, he received additional payment at the rate of 3d. *for every square inch of negative*” (underscore mine; Physick, p. 10).

Surely, the group of photographs that most strikes us as out of context is the “studies of trees.” Currently, the Victoria & Albert Museum holds 18 photographs which are views of trees and countryside, with labels such as “Beech. Albury Park. Surrey” (num. 32.967) and “Shere Heath. Surrey” (num. 32.965). Presumably, they are the equivalent of the majority of the 20 non-itemized, undescribed “Tree studies” in the nineteenth-century “Price List.”⁶ Certain photographs in this suite, such as the latter mentioned, represent a photographic occasion on or near the very estate of Henry Cole —less of a coincidence than it may offhand seem, since Charles Thurston Thompson had married Cole’s sister. So, it was in the indirect interest of Cole to protect his brother-in-law’s undertakings, whether in the London Museum or off-site.

Why does this group of 20 photographs appear alongside the other 887 which represent art objects? Again, Physick provides information that helps us out of this quandary. In responding to the question, we also touch upon the Museum’s legislated policy with regard to the sale and use of photography. Precisely six years before Thompson would go to Iberia to photograph in Portugal

and Santiago de Compostela, Henry Cole spoke before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, established to inquire into the future of the South Kensington Museum. The July 5, 1860 session (as reported by Physick) makes it quite clear that the Photographic Department of the Museum, in the eyes of that Museum, had an obligation to a vaster public to make available the photographic images it was securing: these were for educational purposes, but in order to be so on any but the smallest basis, the Photographic Department had to venture into sales. On the one hand, there was an inescapable commercial aspect to the suggestion; on the other, there was a fundamental democratizing impulse behind the above claims. There had been a concern about Thompson’s misuse of resources in the private sale of the Surrey views, but Cole came to the defense, claiming that the Department avoided photographing anything that the public was able to photograph on its own. Now, why the tree series appeared for sale along with the rest, just a few years after Cole’s explanation before the 1860 Committee, may be explained by the fact that the views of trees and countryside were on terrain inaccessible to the general public. As such, they fell into the category of unphotographable, except by the appointed professional, thereby subject to sale through the “Price List.”

It is also possible that Thompson could see a tree as an artistic or “architectural” monument, thereby include it



From the 1857 series of 54 Drawings by Raffaele: “Abraham Offering Up Isaac”, in the Royal Collection at Windsor. 14,5 x 34,5 cm. (V&A 34075)

even along with other man-made art objects. If so, his sophistication as photographer was great. No matter how we view the matter, it is the case that these tree studies are among the most fascinating realizations by Charles Thurston Thompson. I believe, as well, that they prepare us to understand how Thompson, several years later, could drift unproblematically into the monumental, sometimes scenic views of Santiago de Compostela.

Occupations such as Thurston Thompson's at South Kensington and Roger Fenton's at the British Museum would signal a closed-house policy to the general public who may have wished to photograph objects on exhibit. However, during the 1855 Universal Exposition in Paris, that government opened its doors to Thurston Thompson to make photographs of art objects in the Louvre (at least 116 of them, to judge by the catalogue) and to photograph the interior of the exposition halls at the Fair. Whereas Thompson worked with a team of photographic printers at the South Kensington department, he worked in Paris, in 1855, in conjunction with R. J. Bingham (of *Chausée d'Antin*, 20, Paris) in making photographs of the Paris Exposition. It is difficult to determine—even on the basis of the 117 such examples housed at the Victoria & Albert Museum—which photographer made which photograph in each individual case. Some generalizations are possible. If we follow the numbering of a series on the Paris Exposition, for example, we find that these are not series of photographs by *each respectively*, rather series that combine both photographers' work (see V & A, X365). It may be correct to say that Bingham alone was present to photograph the construction aspects of the Fair; he also made photographs of finished buildings, although Thompson made some of these, too. Sometimes, it is very clear that Bingham or Thurston Thompson are sole authors (see V & A, X220, where, out of total 50, there appear to be 10 bearing the Bingham label only, half are unlabeled, and probably all the rest are by Thompson.). The Parisian views of the Exposition naturally do *not* figure in the catalogue of photographs for sale, although Parisian images of objects at the Louvre do.

Other surprises which we find in the stock of Thompson photographs held in the Victoria & Albert Museum, and which do not figure in the aforementioned catalogue, are exterior views such as: Ely Cathedral (num. 3446-1920), Hampton Court (num. 37.749), the exterior of

the Museum at Dijon (in X37B), Gore Lane (num. 33.962). The photographic activity which occupied most of Thurston Thompson's time was the recording of art objects. But other sources show—and the Victoria & Albert Museum collections imply as much—that it was not his exclusive work. *The Atronix Index: Photographs at Auction, 1952-84* (New York: Atronix Date Corp., 1986) registers under his name, among other items, 7 photographs of Kensington Gardens, a view of the Crystal Palace and grounds (1862), and his 12 photographic illustrations to Andrew Murray's *The Book of the Royal Horticultural Society, 1862-63* (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1863). In the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center (Austin, Texas), one may find three suites of photographs by Thompson, one of which is *A Series of Portrait Miniatures Selected from The Loan Exhibition at the South Kensington Museum in 1865* (London: The Arundel Society)—too recent to have figured in the "Price List" at hand.

In making available through photographs a store of art objects such as—let us say for example—the 50 items that constituted a representation of *The Art Wealth of England* (London: P. and D. Colnaghi, Scott, and Co., 1862), exactly *what* was being democratized cannot fail to impress us.⁷ In June 1861, a committee of some seventy individuals met to design the exhibition, which would open a year later. The list included such prominent names as three Rothschilds, John Murray, Sir Charles L. Eastlake, and W. E. Gladstone. At the time, John Charles Robinson was Superintendent of Art Collections (charged with carrying out the exhibition), and Henry Cole was then Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education. Some 500 donors of items included such prominent names as William Stirling, Esq. of Keir, eight Rothschilds, Lady Eastlake, the Rt. Honorable W. E. Gladstone, Lord Clifford, and Lady Radcliffe. (Many of the names of contributors were women.) 900,000 individuals attended the June-November exhibit of 9,000 items, and a descriptive catalogue was published in three separate parts, from which the Science and Art Department catalogue of photographs by Thompson borrowed freely for its detailed descriptions.

Publications such as *The Art Wealth of England* were just one way by which to measure the task that the South Kensington Museum had undertaken in its insistence on



Paris Exposition. 1855. Interior
26 x 36 cm. (V&A 33505)

educating the public in art and science. Although Thurston Thompson's focus had —almost out of necessity— to be British items and foreign items acquired by Britain, J. C. Robinson was able to scan the field, both native and foreign, with a view toward what might justifiably be assimilated into the Museum. It was that characteristic of his office that led eventually to his intense interest in Iberia.

One of the two most striking historians of the process by which the Santiago project came about, Matilde Mateo Sevilla, narrated the trajectory of events by which Spaniards became cognizant of their so-called Gothic masterpiece.⁸ Notably, John Murray, a member of some of the advisory boards to the South Kensington Museum, published *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain*, by George Edmund Street, in 1865. Murray had also been the impulse behind Richard Ford's *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain and Readers at Home* (1845), which called attention to the Pórtico and became Street's inspiration and "guide."⁹ Mateo demonstrates expertly how the specific interest in the Pórtico shifted from a concern for the artist behind the work (Maestro Mateo), which had been the vision propagated by Antonio Neira de Mosquera at mid-century, to an interest that was more erudite, archaeological, and iconographic by 1866, and represented by José Villamil y Castro [1838-1910; who actually was one of Robinson's middle-men (see his Report, May 22, 1866)]. That significant shift in one's mode of viewing the Pórtico

coincided precisely with the making of the plaster casts of the façade, and it is certainly correct to say that the Museum shared in the newer, more erudite, less sentimental and personalistic view of the Pórtico.

If Mateo Sevilla so expertly has delineated for us the coming into being of a modern consciousness about the Pórtico, Malcolm Baker was the first to trace the very enterprise of the South Kensington Museum in Santiago de Compostela, and to call attention to the fact of Charles Thurston Thompson's contribution to that venture. Baker clarifies that Domenico Brucciani, chosen to carry out the plaster casting in Santiago, was, in fact, "London's leading producer of plaster casts, rivalled only by the firm of Giovanni Franchi & Son."¹⁰ Brucciani, approximately 51 years of age at the time of the Santiago project, was the logical choice for the job, for he was well known in London for his gallery of casts, located in Covent Garden. Brucciani described his journey in a report to Henry Cole (February 1867), after he had returned from completing his assignment (Baker, 106). He and his team had set out for Spain aboard the vessel "Murillo" on July 2, 1866. Having experienced a storm, a fire aboard ship, and a quarantine in Vigo ("a locality that defies description abounding with loathsomeness and wretchedness [...] this den of defilement"), they were "incarcerated, and compelled to herd with some of the worst specimens of humanity the eye ever had the misfortune to look upon." Three and a

half weeks after their departure, they reached Santiago on July 27th, having traveled overland after the quarantine, but not without problems concerning the importation of the materials of their trade. (Nor would Brucciani return to England by sea, rather overland, once his work was completed.) Brucciani was assisted by George Mould, a supervisory engineer of the first railroad project in Galicia, the Santiago-Carril line.

The casting process went ahead swiftly, watched by the population of Santiago who flocked to the cathedral. Then, however, “a ridiculously absurd report got out about that[sic] the *French people* —as they called us— were about to deprive them of their Gloria and it took no little explanation to disabuse their minds of this laughable notion.” To allay their fears Brucciani set up an exhibition of the casts he had taken. “The numerous portions were placed in order around the Cathedral forming a small Gallery of Art. As early as nine o’clock a.m. the Archbishop arrived in his carriage drawn by a pair of fine mules and with his paternal benediction open[ed] the Exhibition.” (Baker, 106/108, citing original documents)

With regard to the Thurston Thompson photographs



Monastery of Batalha. Capilla Imperfeita; view of towers above archway, from the North
38,75 x 31,5 cm. (V&A 58371)

of Santiago, Malcolm Baker does well to point out that a major aspect of the photographer’s assignment was to make images of the contiguous and contextual elements of the Pórtico; that is, those elements which would not fall under the purview of Brucciani.¹¹ And he appropriately distinguishes between the important effects of Brucciani’s work, which culminated in 1873, in the erection of the Pórtico facsimile in the Architectural Courts of the Museum, and, on the other hand, Thurston Thompson’s photographs, which “were given a status and significance independent of their relationship with the cast through their publication in a volume by the Arundel Society in 1868” (p. 484).

In a way, the “discovery” on the part of the British of the importance of the Pórtico de la Gloria can be traced to sources such as the commentary by Street. But there was something much more subtle going on that tends to go unmentioned in the historical tracings of that “discovery.” Namely, there existed a competition between the British and the French on the overtly commercial level of acquisitions, as we shall see in at least one instance in my presentation, but also on the less obvious level of esthetics. One gets the impression that just because the French were competitors in the realm of acquisitions, the British were indisposed to acknowledging the French culture as supremely worthy on the level of esthetics and, sometimes, on the level of historical importance. On the last leg of Robinson’s first trip to Spain (January 22, 1864), he stopped in Poitiers and wrote to the Museum a detailed commentary on the cathedral there. He despaired that that city’s cathedral and churches suffered destruction in the sixteenth century (by Calvinists), then again in 1789. But, whatever the cause, Robinson could not but lament “the absence in these edifices of any monuments or decorative accessories of a minor sculpturesque character.”¹² Britain seemed eager to find in Iberia supreme esthetic and historical elements that would put an end once and for all to the potential supremacy of any French monument. This thoroughgoing attitude on Robinson’s part must have infused all of his directives to Thurston Thompson. So, it influenced Thompson indirectly, at least, if it did not inform, as well, all of Thompson’s own undertakings in Iberia.

The activity of Charles Thurston Thompson on the Iberian Peninsula becomes apparent through a close perusal of John Charles Robinson’s Reports to the South Kensington Museum; in other words, in the correspon-

dence he held with Henry Cole, the board of assessors, and other officials of the Science and Education Department. The story of Thompson's last great assignment, Iberia, is inextricably linked to the Robinson Reports, at least for Thompson's final year and half of work. Although Robinson's first of three trips to Iberia dated back to September 1863, it would not be until Robinson's third trip that Thompson began to figure in any significant way in the South Kensington Museum's Iberian undertakings.

The dates of Robinson's trips to Iberia were as follows: September 22, 1863 to January 18, 1864; very late August or early September 1865 to the latter part of November 1865; September 1866 to very early December 1866. On the first of these trips, Robinson did not visit Portugal or Galicia. Although Thompson did not go to Iberia until the summer of 1866, it is clear that Robinson had Thompson in mind as official photographer for projects in Iberia at least as early as October 16, 1865. On this date, Robinson telegraphed from Lisbon to the Secretary of the South Kensington Museum, tying Thompson in with the Santiago project that he was already planning.

Robinson seemed to lose time only on the occasions when he was physically incapacitated, as he was during the beginning of his stay at the Hotel Braganza in Lisbon. He, another companion, and his Spanish courier, Matías Balcón, having traveled overland for two days between Oporto and Lisbon, were stricken with "a rather severe attack of diarrhea." (It is part of the stylistic interest of the Robinson Reports that they are prosaically explicit about moments of physical illness or discomfort, and very much so in their expressions of distaste and intolerance for certain aspects of Iberia.) Also on October 16th, the day the telegraph was issued, Robinson wrote to London, expressing the need to pave the way for Thompson's inevitable visit. The King Consort of Maria II, Dom Fernando, had graciously given permission for someone to photograph a "certain proportion" of the principal art objects in his private collection. That granted, Robinson would set about making a registry of the items desirable for photographing, and he would also ask permission to reproduce electrotypically some 20 to 30 objects in the collection. Such was his excitement at the prospect that he felt almost tempted to telegraph South Kensington "to send out Mr. Thurston Thompson at once, but on further consideration many difficulties seemed to stand in the way of such prompt

action."

As a matter of fact, there was a sound reason why a delay at that time was to Thompson's conceivable advantage. In Madrid there were reportedly 1000 cases of cholera, and that had spread to some Portuguese locales. On account of this, the steamers setting out from England were quarantined upon arrival at Lisbon, and those passengers arriving from Southampton had to sit in dock five days before leaving ship. The photographer knew that he was on call for the task, and it was decided a week later, on October 23, that an official photographer would be sent "to Lisbon and cities of Spain." Yet two days after that, on the 25th, Henry Cole reported: "Mr. Thompson will not be sent at present."

Robinson was thoroughly successful in facilitating Charles Thurston Thompson's eventual photographic trip in Portugal. In mid-October, Robinson met the *chargé d'affaires*, Edward Robert Bulwer Lytton (1831-1891), Consul in Lisbon since 1864 and son of the novelist, Edward George. Most importantly, he socialized with the Marquês de Sousa-Holstein, son of the Duque de Palmella. This "young nobleman of the highest rank to whom appears to be entrusted the administration of all matters connected with the Fine Arts in Portugal" was a lover of paintings and had been named Vice Inspector for the Portuguese Academy of Fine Arts. That status would eventually mark him as the individual designated to facilitate all objects to Thompson in Portugal.

Curiously enough, within the year, Robinson would come to realize that for Spain as well as Portugal, the *Academia* was the inroad to attaining all the licenses he might need in order to reproduce art works for South Kensington. From Madrid on October 23, 1866, Robinson wrote:

The independence of the Cathedral authorities in Spain is such that it would not be sufficient to apply to them through direct official channels (though this *would* be requisite in the form of an application from our Minister in Madrid to the Spanish Minister "de Gracias y Cultos"). There exists, however, another authoritative body in Madrid, which could probably surmount all obstacles; this is the "Real Academia de San Fernando." This academy has heretofore been a very august institution, with little better than nominal functions, the academicians being mainly great personages of the court, artists being in a small minority. Latterly, however, efforts have been made to reanimate this institution, and it has recently acquired a kind of semi-official supervision over all the ancient monuments and

public works of art in the country. Local corresponding members and committees are also being appointed in the provincial cities.

Robinson notes further that had Santiago not laid before a committee of the Real Academia de San Fernando the matter of the moulding of the Pórtico de la Gloria, then “the Chapter of Santiago would have ultimately withdrawn their consent.” Robinson, ever interested in aggrandizing himself as the axis on which all conceivable success in Iberia would turn, was quick to point out that his personal friends in the Academy were Carderera (Valentín Carderera y Solano; 1776-1880) and Madrazo (Federico de Madrazo y Kuntz; 1815-1894). The implication was, of course, that without those personal contacts of his, the Academy might have said no to the Pórtico affair, and, in turn, the Chapter of Santiago would have inevitably withdrawn its consent to make plaster casts. This may not have been a total exaggeration. Actually, Robinson had had dealings with Madrazo in late December, 1863 and early January, 1864, when the former was arranging for Jane Clifford make reproductions of what we call today the Treasures of the Dauphin, and Madrazo was Director of the Royal Galleries. To further tighten the bond between South Kensington and the Real Academia de San Fernando, Robinson consented to hand over to the council of the Academy for discussion “an official letter or memoir on the subject of moulding and reproduction generally.” As a matter of fact, he eventually was made a member of the Academia. If we are to take Robinson literally, his gestures were highly significant, for toward the close of his second trip to Iberia, he was thoroughly convinced that “whatever we do in [the] future in the matter of reproduction in Spain will probably come within the cognisance” of the Real Academia de San Fernando.

Having formed these suspicions since early 1864, quite naturally he was impressed and gratified that he made the acquaintance of the Marquês de Sousa-Holstein in Lisbon. By November 14, 1865, the Marquês had informed Robinson that “any and every work of art in Portugal is entirely at our disposition for reproduction in any manner.” In preparation for Thompson’s visit, Robinson set about making sketches of certain items that he wanted reproduced, and he “noted down nearly everything of importance in this respect” in the public and private collections of Portugal.

On the one hand, the presumptuousness behind such a

remark—that in a matter of a month, Robinson might have been able to see, assess, and register descriptively “nearly everything of importance” in the all Portuguese collections, public and private!—is staggering. Considered from another viewpoint, there was something about Robinson’s approach that must have worked, and it was that quality that led, ultimately, to Thompson’s incursion into Iberia. As Robinson said:

His Majesty the King Regent, Don[sic] Fernando, has been most kind and condescending. He has shown me himself at various times all the works of art in the possession of the Portuguese crown, and his Majesty is himself very *desirous that we should send out a photographer to whom he would give every possible facility.*

The Reports do not indicate precisely when Charles Thurston Thompson was sent to Iberia. Between Cole’s determination not to send him as early as late October, 1865 and the time when we again hear through Robinson about Thompson’s enterprise, many months go by. What does become obvious from reading the reports is that before September 3, 1866, Thompson is already in Portugal, presumably at work photographing the treasures in the collections there. The September 3rd communiqué from Robinson to the Museum officials is of immense importance for our purposes, since it sets up the entire photographic undertaking of Thompson in Santiago de Compostela. But it is also helpful in regard to the chronology of events. We must infer from it that Thompson was in Portugal in August, and that he arrived in Santiago de Compostela between July 27th (when Brucciani arrived) and September 3rd; for the September 3rd communiqué indicated that Thompson had written to the Museum mentioning that he would do best to interrupt his work in Lisbon, attend to the photographic assignment in Santiago, then return to Lisbon to complete the task there.

In addition to the list of specifications about how to photograph, which we will get to shortly, Robinson’s communiqué of September 3rd is full of caveats. Thompson was to go post-haste to Santiago, in order to catch Mr. Brucciani (who was directing the casting of the Pórtico) prior to Brucciani’s departure. (It is one way of estimating the time of completion of the casting of the Pórtico.) In turn, someone was to write to Brucciani in Santiago, in order that Brucciani write to Thompson in Lisbon, making the necessary arrangements for the two to meet. Mr.

Thompson was bound for trouble in northern Portugal, thought Robinson—who in the previous year had traveled overland from Oporto to Lisbon—so he had to find an interpreter, “a travelling servant,” in Lisbon, in order to make his way north to Santiago. He would not be able to make use of the services of Robinson’s own customary courier, Matías Balcón (of Madrid’s Calle de los Negros), since Balcón had intended to return to Madrid on August 28th. All the more, the need was pressing. Robinson saw northern Portugal as almost barbaric; Thompson would need help communicating and with the baggage and equipment that weighed him down.

In Robinson’s estimation, Thompson had not been the master of communications that he himself had been in the previous year. He did not want him to stop at Braga and Guimaraes on his return to Lisbon from Santiago, “as Mr. Thompson does not seem as yet to have established relations with the Marquis de Souza [sic], as to have negotiated for permission to photograph in these localities.” Notwithstanding more than a conceivable touch of jealousy about anyone’s diplomacy outdoing his own, Robinson claims to have foreseen “difficulties greater perhaps than under the circumstances the results would justify.” Nor did he want Thompson to photograph in Évora or Viseu, for the reason stated. Until further orders, Thompson, upon returning to Portugal after working in Santiago, was to focus on Lisbon, Coimbra, Oporto, and Batalha only, relinquishing all other venues.¹³ In so stating, Robinson expressed a hesitation about photographing in the venues which he forbade, because he was concerned about photographing in places unfavorable to the photographic medium. (This rationale would resurface later in the Reports, in the context of hypothetical work in Burgos.) He advanced the remark that when he had registered certain items, he “contemplated many of them being reproduced by *hand delineation*—not photography”—out of necessity. Although not a photographer himself, Robinson presumed to dictate what could or could not be achieved in the Iberian locales from a technical standpoint.

Robinson always seemed to disallow others’ potential successes and to set himself up, instead, as prime mover of events, even while his vantage point was London, and not the foreign site:

[...] when Mr. Thompson has returned from Santiago, and has recommenced operations in Lisbon, his experiences of

moving about his apparatus in the rough country, and the nature of the relations which, after a long stay, he will have established, will enable him to make such a definite report of his progress, and of the difficulties he has had to encounter, as to determine with more certainty the question how far his operations ought to extend.

Eventually, Robinson’s reluctance to have Thompson proceed would be stated in terms of the photography that might eventually be carried out in Burgos, but not immediately.

The September 3rd communiqué by Robinson contained the significant “list of photographs to be made at Santiago by Mr. Thompson.” Upon receiving it, an official of the Museum, Mr. Poole, deemed it necessary to have two copies made: one to be sent to Lisbon direct to Thompson; the other, just in case, to be sent to Santiago, via Brucciani. In that way, Thompson would know, one way or the other, just what to do in Santiago according to Robinson’s recollections from the previous September. The list meant, in other words, that Robinson more trusted his year-old memory as non-photographer than he did the



Santiago, Spain. Cathedral; the South Transept from the Plaza de la Platería, showing the old silversmiths’ shops
38,9 x 33 cm. (Arquivo Catedral de Santiago)

judgment of the professional photographer himself, even when the photographer was on the scene.

The directives Robinson gave to Thompson amount to an ironic but very important document of photohistory. For this reason, they are reproduced in their entirety as an appendix to the present text. Their implications concerning artistic motivation, independence, self-expression, the will of the photographer, and, ultimately, the content of the photographic image *qua* art, are enormous, and they are appreciable both directly and by inference in that document.

It is impossible to count the photographs, matching them one by one to the directives, although some are readily detectable as resulting from Robinson's prescription. As a general rule, Robinson could not have thought that Thompson failed him. The sole fact that Thompson was able to realize photographs in the interior of the cathedral would have been immensely gratifying and convincing to Robinson, who was a great skeptic in such matters. He wrote on December 18, 1866:

Generally speaking the interiors of the architectural monuments of Spain are *everything* and the exteriors of little moment [?] —moreover a great number of *picturesque exterior views* have been already taken by photographers resident in Spain, and they are being multiplied every day. I do not think therefore it would be necessary to keep Mr. Thompson in Spain for *out door* photographs.

But with regard to *the interior subjects* the case is difficult —I cannot overrate the importance of proceeding [?][...]ally or procuring photos of the chefs d'oeuvres of sculpture, ornamentation church[...][?], which abounds in every ancient city of the Peninsula. The only point to establish is whether under this condition of semi darkness which prevails in almost all Spanish churches, *it is possible by any means to produce satisfactory photographs.*

When I have seen Mr. Thompson's photographs from Santiago, Coimbra, & Batalha, I shall be able to advice[sic] with more certainty as to his future operations.¹⁴

Burgos was one of the very first Spanish cities which Robinson visited when he first went to Spain in September, 1863. He must never have forgotten it. Whereas Robinson's Iberian tale nearly begins with Burgos, the Iberian tale of Thompson ends with Burgos, in a sense. On Robinson's second tour, when he was thinking of heading home (October 17, 1865), he wrote from Lisbon that Brucciani would have to meet him at Burgos, on Brucciani's entrance into the country. He had hoped to

get from Brucciani a sense of what it would cost to reproduce certain items in Burgos, even prior to Brucciani's trip to Santiago, since in Burgos, the artwork was distinct in character from that in Santiago de Compostela. By November 14, 1865, Robinson had telegraphed the Museum in South Kensington that he would arrive on or about the 15th in Burgos, and that Mr. Brucciani was to head there right away from England and meet him at the Hotel del Norte. A dutiful Brucciani left on the morning of Friday the 14th.

They must have met with inclement weather in that late November, for thirteen months later, Robinson vacillates as to whether or not Thompson should proceed to Burgos on his return trip from Santiago, or go there on a trip sometime in the future. From both an artistic and technical viewpoint, Burgos would have been the appropriate next venture. On December 18, 1866, Robinson wrote:

Burgos would be the next place I should recommend that Mr. Thompson be sent to, and I could furnish an exact list of the photographs & points of view required to be taken there —but nearly all would be *interior views*; in the Cathedral, churches, convents & of the city— all these edifices, however, are *so dark*, that I apprehend photos could only be taken *by the aid of artificial light.*

[...]

Burgos would be a very convenient locality to take in hand next, being on the railway, on Mr. Thompson's road home, but unfortunately at this season of the year it would be a most uncomfortable place —the climate being detestable, worse than England at this time of the year— I dare say by this time almost continuous rain, wind, mist & snow prevail.

As Robinson writes, he weighs the pros and cons of Thompson's working in Burgos on his return trip to England, and he comes down on the negative side. A positive aspect of stopping in Burgos on this trip would be the sound reputation that the British currently enjoyed with the authorities in Santiago at that time. Those authorities would surely have helped in procuring permission to work in Burgos, reasons Robinson. On the other hand, precisely because Burgos represented the need to operate inside of buildings, Robinson reasons that it would be better for Thompson to return to London, to report there on "the chances of making satisfactory photographs in dark places and to commence again in Spain either in the spring or early autumn next year." In a word, Robinson concludes

that one can't win: in the south of Spain, one could carry out a photographic campaign in the wintertime, but he fears that especially in the south of Spain, the matter of permission to operate inside cathedrals "would be attended with much difficulty."

So, in addition to his assignments in Portugal and Santiago, Thompson nearly got involved in another project of considerable proportions: Burgos. And in regard of projects ancillary to his work in Portugal and Santiago, there arose another one entirely non photographic but quite museological—that is, one which was part and parcel of the most arcane aspects of museum functions. On September 12, 1866, Robinson wrote a memorandum from his London desk to Mr. Poole of the Museum, to the effect that he was about to return to Spain (on his third trip). He advised that Charles Thurston Thompson should not leave Lisbon for Santiago without making sure that the "articles of furniture from Blumberg" are sent off or, at least, loaded on the train to be sent to England. It was hardly the sort of task that Thompson had bargained for when he was assigned to Portugal and Santiago. It was, in fact, an issue that had plagued Robinson almost since he began securing some of his Museum acquisitions through Blumberg late in 1865.¹⁵ When late in 1865, Robinson dropped the matter for the time being, the Museum already had in its possession a Japanese cross and small enameled frames; yet it was awaiting a shipment worth 165 pounds (purchase price and shipping for fifteen furniture items, including a cabinet whose restoration was included in the sum, and individual chairs). A Mr. Van Zeller, having been given directions for shipment by Robinson, had not carried out that shipment. Robinson made efforts in the spring to prompt Blumberg through written correspondence, although he did not suspect that anything had gone terribly wrong, because he factored in "the delatory habits of the individual" (i.e., Blumberg). Robinson eventually learned through the *chargé d'affaires* in Lisbon, Bulwer Lytton, that a bank to which Blumberg owed money had seized the items which had been paid for during Robinson's 1865 tour. Coincidentally, around the time of Robinson's memo to Poole, Bulwer Lytton must have managed to convince the bank to relinquish Britain's items, and he got them loaded onto a boat to England.

If one reads between the lines in this matter of Blumberg, one begins to sense hidden motives as to why Robinson might have felt jumpy; that is, apart from the

Museum's not having received its purchases. On September 21, 1866, with Robinson leaving immediately (and inevitably) for Spain, he learned that the Blumberg items were on a vessel "now about entering the channel." He made a plea that the shipment, once unladed from the ship, remain unopened in the hands of Messrs. MacCracken, so that he might check the invoice upon his return. Robinson goes into great detail about how he included some personal purchases in the shipment, and he justifies these on the grounds that their quality was not suited to the Museum, and that, besides, he had already exhausted his imprest funds from the Museum when he made his personal purchases.

It would appear that Robinson got his way in this matter, although the slightly suspicious tale is revived on January 1, 1867. Apparently, the Blumberg items included ten inlaid cabinets from Portugal which were Robinson's own, since they were "purchased after my imprest funds were exhausted," he again pointed out. He recommended that the Museum buy two of them (for 29 pounds, plus 2 pounds shipping charge—a specious recommendation, since he had argued just three months before, that the items he purchased for himself were not of museum quality. For some reason or other, by January 1867, Robinson was not being treated by the Museum (i.e., by Cole) as he was accustomed. Right after Robinson returned from his third Iberian tour, Henry Cole announced to him that it would no longer be possible for Robinson to have a room for his exclusive use. Begrudgingly, Robinson wrote from his residence at 16 Pelham Crescent that it was a condition of his appointment to have such a room, that for the fourteen years he had been employed there he had a room for his exclusive use. He would, however, cede the space temporarily, provided he could have a private desk in the library.

It is hard to say whether it was because of the nature of the Blumberg shipment, other purchases apart from that cargo which displeased the Jurors (for there were indeed some such items), or just because Robinson was wearing out his welcome, that he appeared to have been deposed by Cole. Whichever the case, Iberia fell out of the spotlight at this point, although Thompson's photographic legacy was put to use at the Museum in a variety of ways, the most pragmatic of which was as a reference point for qualitative comparison between future purchases and those items photographically recorded in Portugal. For example, in the

Reports for January 24, 1867, we find: Mr. Woodgate of Holborn has “one of those very rare early Portuguese silver gilt salvers of the same size and period as the [...] ones in the collection of H. M. Don[sic] Fernando of Portugal, which have been photographed by Mr. Thompson.” Or, in rejecting a proposition of sale to the Museum, Robinson reminds (May 23, 1867) that they are of a “common” kind, for “I have seen many similar specimens, both in Spain and Portugal, but have not considered them sufficiently remarkable to be worth the purchase (although at much lower rates than the present specimens are offered at).”

Sometimes substantiating his opinions by reference to Charles Thurston Thompson’s photographs, Robinson, as procurer for South Kensington, clearly saw himself as the Iberian expert in residence. He may have felt that as a consequence of the time devoted to Iberia, he had neglected other markets and cultures, for he planned to vacation in France in August, 1867, then remain in Paris, working for the Museum right after he vacationed. Henry Cole asked that he add to his Parisian sojourn the following sites, in



Santiago, Spain. Cathedral; Pórtico de la Gloria; detail of Column at South wall.
27,9 x 23,2 cm. (Arquivo Catedral de Santiago).

which he would “collect photographs of all ornamental works which belong to localities”: Dantzig, Quedlingburg (Harz), Elsen on the Rhine, Halberstadt, Hildesheim, Schleswig Dome (Alterblatt), and Ilsenburg. It is interesting to speculate that he might not have found in these locales the rarefied essence of a cultural period that he had been so confident he had found in the Pórtico de la Gloria in 1865.

We have already seen that Robinson had a low opinion of northern Portugal. In general, his attitude with respect to Spain was similar from the time of his first trip. On December 6, 1863, Robinson proposed to leave the following day for Gaudiz (*sic*; Guadix), Baza, Lorca, and Murcia. He had already been laid up at Seville for several days with a severe cold, caught while making his way across the *sierra*. That explains why he did not move on to Lisbon during that first tour; also, he “was informed that there was little or nothing to be found” in Lisbon. He knew that in heading toward Murcia, the journey would be slow, because it was mountainous, which led him to utter a comment that would become a thread throughout his Reports: “[...] an interminable time is required” for dealings in Spain. Half a month later (January 1, 1864), he was anxious to conclude business. His health was bad. He was fatigued. “The dangerous climate of Madrid” had caused “inflammation of the throat and congestion.”

As regards Spain (Portugal aside, that is), there may have been quite another reason, apart from that of inclement weather and health, why Robinson preferred to be in Paris in September 1867. However, when speculating in this way, let us remember what he tells us as early as January 22, 1864: he has spent more time in Spain than in any other country, and he did not consider that time ill spent. We have heard already of some of the other low points and letdowns in the course of Robinson’s tours.

It was toward the end of his third tour that real-life circumstances, as opposed to climatal ones, affected his Iberian experience irreparably, in my opinion. During the month between September 6 and October 5, 1866, Robinson felt almost dogged by one Mr. Baur from Paris, who apparently moved in the direction Lisbon-Madrid: “[...] and I dare say there will soon be a tribe of Frenchmen in Madrid” (September 6th). Robinson craved to purchase a 10th-century ivory casket, made for a caliph, but he found himself short of funds. While waiting for resources, and fearing that

Baur was hot on the trail and would try to outbid him, he assessed the Spaniard who, he thought, had made him a deal for the casket: “[...] the entire want of confidence of Spaniards in regard to transactions with Strangers.”

If his Madrid dealer would have taken such advantage of the situation, it was likely due to the disastrous political and economic situation in which Spain found herself at the time. Nor was Robinson unaware of it; in fact, he tried to take advantage of it himself. These were, indeed, the conditions under which both he and Thompson were working by early September 1866, although the problem must have been a lesser one for the photographer, since, as Robinson noted on January 22, 1864, ecclesiastical authorities in Spain are “in general very liberal and obliging” and he found them “disposed to facilitate rather than impede my observations and researches.”

By September 6, 1866:

the conditions both in France and the north of Spain have intimidated communication in all directions. [...] this country is in semi revolution, money has disappeared, [...] O'Donnell [Leopoldo O'Donnell y Jorris, Count of Lucena and Duke of Tetuán, 1809-1867] has confiscated one fourth of the year's salary of all the clergy in Spain, & as a consequence they will sell their [?] cassocks & mitres even [...] & anything they have in the way of works of art, or anything they can make a shilling by will soon come to the surface.

In the same missive, he mentions the Archbishop of Toledo, and is, in a sense, astounded that “*he* has got things to sell.” By October 13th, Robinson had barely finished recuperating (in Madrid's central Hotel Paris) from what he termed “Madrid pneumonia.” A Sr. Miró, none other than Queen Isabella II's lapidist, offered to act as go-between for an assessment of eleven “ancient tapestries” designed on the basis of the Raphael Cartoons housed at Hampton Court (seven) and the Vatican (four). They were kept at a Dominican convent in Loeches, near Madrid, and had been brought there by none other than the Duke of Alba, who deposited them at that mid-seventeenth-century palace/ convent where the Count Duke of Olivares retired on his fall from power. Sr. Miró was sanguine about the British purchase of the tapestries, because of the “distress, especially of the Ecclesiastic Corporations, at this time.” (By October 23rd, the London Council had decided not to make an offer on the tapestries.) The tapestries might have been little booty in comparison with another prospect which Robinson

mulled over in his head before leaving for England: “[...] it has been hinted to me from a good quarter, that the celebrated treasury of ‘Nuestra Señora del Pilar’ at Zaragoza[sic] [...] would be ceded by the Chapter for a sufficient sum [...]”

There is no doubt that Robinson's stay in Iberia was bittersweet. We may presume that it was less so for Thurston Thompson, who had such a great portion of his activities prescribed for him, so many paths paved for him, that his stay would have been less complicated. On May 30, 1866, Robinson wrote:

I am more than ever convinced that this country is still rich in works of art, hidden in all parts of the great unexplored territory, but a great expenditure of time and patience is requisite in order to get at them. My time has not been ill spent in Madrid, and I do not regret my continued stay here, though it has been personally a very disagreeable one.

And he concluded that letter to London with the following generalization about Spain:

For all negotiations unfortunately an interminable time is required, all [?] alike in Spain are endowed with a force of inertia and innate and habitual slowness, which there is no alternative but to fall in with. On the other hand the most complete ignorance both of the value and merit of work of art prevails, and it is evident to me that it is here, i. e. in Spain alone, in the present day, that works of art of real importance remain still to be discovered.

I cannot report a parallel record of Charles Thurston Thompson's personal opinion of his experience in Iberia. And I have found it difficult to trace his activity during the last year and a half of his brief life of only 52 years. He died sometime during the first months of 1868, for in the registry books of the South Kensington Museum, on May 7th of that year, he is referred to as deceased. It is a pity that Thompson never saw the publication of the book with 20 tipped-in photographs, which resulted from his work in Santiago:

Examples of Art Workmanship of Various Ages and Countries. *The Cathedral of Santiago de Compostella* [sic] in Spain. Showing especially the Sculpture of the Pórtico de la Gloria, by Mestre Mateo. A Series of twenty Photographs recently taken by the late Mr. Thurston Thompson. Under the Sanction of the Science and Art Department, for Use of Schools of Art and Amateurs. London: Published by the Arundel Society for Promoting the Knowledge of Art, 24, Old Bond Street. Sold by Bell and Daldy, York Street, Covent Garden. 1868.

It is certain that this volume was issued before late September 1868 (but very likely in the beginning of that month), for the Museum registry books show that on the 21st, two copies were handed over to the Museum.

Prior to that, on March 18th, a set of 86 photographs of Santiago were registered by the Museum; no doubt the same 86 images that constitute the “complete” sets that are extant in Santiago today, and from which the majority of full-page selections have been made for the present book. But this is a far cry from the 20 that appear tipped into the Arundel Society book publication; and it certainly is a far cry from the “mil fotografias de detalles” (!) mentioned by Bernardo Barreiro in 1888 (Mateo Sevilla, “El descubrimiento...,” 457). On the basis of that March 18th entry, which I cannot accept as mere numerical coincidence with the number that exists in the Santiago album, I would guess that that set of 86 photographs must be considered the official set, although, as occurs in all cases of this sort, once in a while an “extraneous” image might appear *in lieu* of another. It appears that the Victoria & Albert Museum today possesses only 60 of the 86 that we find in the Santiago de Compostela album that we use (not taking into account the 1868 Arundel Society publication). In fact, one of the views of the Cathedral from afar, which is included in the Arundel book and exists as a single photograph in Madrid’s National Library, does not exist among the 86 in Santiago. It is not the sole such example, although there are few.

The registry books tell us also that on March 18, 1868, two sets of 306 photographs each came to the Museum: photographic reproductions made by Thurston Thompson of Spanish and Portuguese architectural works and of art objects housed in the Lisbon palaces. Less than two months later, on May 2nd, three sets (numbering 301, 140, and 58 photographs each) of photographs of Spanish and Portuguese architectural works entered the Museum; very likely, repetitions of the March 18th entries. (It is certain that the 90 Thurston Thompson photographs which entered the Museum on September 29th were partial duplicates of the first sets.) On May 7th, the date on which his death was mentioned, two sets of 20 each were registered: both sets, views of Batalha in Portugal.

These facts put in some perspective the pace at which the Iberian project was wrapped up, although it does not leave us with a perfectly clear impression of Thompson’s

activity during the last year of his life. (Presumably he did not do all of the printing of his negatives himself, rather used the team that had been long established at the Museum.)

I would call attention to three photographs housed in the V & A Museum (in Box XM76; 3451-1932, 1452-1932, 3453-1932), which depict the piecemeal exhibition of the pórtico.¹⁶ These are the three photographs which, according to the registry books, were turned over to the Museum on May 22, 1868 (after Thompson’s death). It seems plausible to me that these might not have been the photography of Thompson, rather of a woman photographer, Mrs. J. A. Cowper, who was the individual who surrendered them to the Museum in May. Although the one representing the tympanum of the central doorway possesses a certain interest, the two representing the left and right archivolts steal the day for their museological contextuality: window panes that contrast with the reproduction of pre-Gothic stone, a sign written in English, etc. These are fascinating specimens, whose most far-reaching significance has to do with the incorporation (the enveloping!) of foreign pre-Gothic of another age into the protective (absorbing!) confines of a nineteenth-century London Museum. Better than do the images of Thurston Thompson himself, these images underscore the anomaly of the imperialist effort. They signify anachronism and cultural deviation, no matter how innocuous they may be, or how much they may serve the general public even down to this day. These seemingly unobtrusive images possess a contextuality that is not common to all the photographs made by Thurston Thompson in Santiago, and not at all common to his reproductions of art objects in general. It is that contextuality that brings so to mind precisely what South Kensington had done, when Brucciani was assigned to make the casts. In a way, their interesting contextuality is at the root of their anomalous nature, and they become thereby key images in the story of Thurston Thompson, whether or not they are images made by him.

And whether or not they are, they depict the inseparability of science and art at the time of Thurston Thompson. The logic of the Museum is there, in the explanatory sign and in the window light, just as logic is there, in the highly descriptive, well-documented labels that usually appeared in the publications which used Thompson’s photographs.¹⁷ Nor should it be at all surprising that this logicity carried

over directly from the publications to the 1862 *Price List* previously mentioned. In fact, the very manner in which the Museum had offered for sale Thurston Thompson's photographs is an indication of the same mentality that would, quite naturally, confuse science with art. This fundamental classicism, this layered bedrock of 1) admiration, 2) reproduction (imitation), then 3) ordered exposition constituted the premise for Thurston Thompson's labors.

It is evident in Thompson's photographs of minimal or no contextuality that he is primarily the documentary photographer. His point of departure was, for the most part, the work of art he photographed, as opposed to his own photograph, in and for itself. Representation was the motivating force behind his photography from the start, and usually Thompson did not escape those boundaries. (The Surrey series hints at a deviation from the norm.) But in order for that to be so, we must recognize that photographic technique must have been as important to Thompson as the works he photographed. This is most in evidence, probably, in his interior views, which had made Robinson so apprehensive, and which Thompson had therefore to secure well enough to convince Robinson of their feasibility. In case it might go unnoticed, that stance on the part of the photographer is in perfect harmony with the bookish and/or docent destination of Thompson's photographs. These are not photographic objects to be appreciated as photographs; rather they are photographs to be seen *through*, directly to the object that is being photographed. Lack of contextuality assists in the achievement of that goal, and so does the fact that often Thompson was working as a functionary with a prescriptive assignment. On no occasion, perhaps, was this more evident than in the assignment for Santiago (see Appendix I).

In a way, this begs the question of Thurston Thompson's artistry (apart from technique, if one can conceive of that). When he is so dependent with respect to what he photographs; when he is so directed in his viewpoint when he photographs those subjects; when contextuality is often undesirable or physically inadmissible; when what rests on the photographer's shoulders may be, sometimes, so much less than what rests on the shoulders of the non-commissioned photographer, then in what degree is that photographer still artist? In some part, the response must rest on the degree to which we allow the *technical* aspects of photography to constitute the *art and*



MRS. J.A. COWPER (?). Installation in Museum South Kensington. May 1868. Archivolt of central doorway of Pórtico, right. (V&A 3452-1932)

personalism of photography. It must rest, in other words, on the degree to which we are willing to be classical as opposed to romantic, to cite—quite appropriately, for the occasion—a schism two centuries old.

In fact, in the case of Thompson's photographs in Santiago, it appears tremendously ironic at first glance that Thompson should have been sent at all to photograph in that city. That is, if, ideally speaking, the plaster reproduction is believed to *equal* the original, why not wait to photograph the reproduction in the Museum of South Kensington? What is the importance of photographing *in situ*, unless native context constitutes the basis for that argument? If it is the aim of the collector to destroy the context in which the reproduced object originally existed by removing the object from its native context and transplanting it in another, then why send Thompson to Santiago?¹⁸ Was Santiago, then, incidental to Portugal, where the art objects in the royal palaces could not be taken off site in order to be photographed? That may have been so. But if it was, then we must consider that with the retrospect of nearly a century and a half, we often crave a view of that native context in order to understand better the photographic subject. Understood in this way, the photographic recovery of an art object's native context is one means of restoring that object to its place of provenance; of obliging it no longer to its collected status of appropriation, rather allowing it its original home.

In a speculation of this sort, there exist profound cultural and political implications. For example, is the act of collecting another facet of imperialism, when collections are massive and from foreign lands? There exist, also, profound artistic ones. One of the most fundamental for the case of Thurston Thompson concerns what I would call documentary limits. In other words, what in Thompson's time could have been more documentary than a reproduction of a non-contextualized object that stood for itself; that spoke for itself; that was, simply, there, as if it were not being mediated through the photograph? This is likely a very difficult question for those among us who tightly associate the notions of documentary and social *engagement*. For Thompson's subject was, almost always, art, which appears to many to be an escape from social commitment, and surely so when the artistic subject matter does not have a clear social referent.

Actually, consummate documentary and the imperialist need to restore order to what has been undone meet in the work of Thurston Thompson, and in that of others who made up his professional world, such as J. C. Robinson. (In Spain, one might find a parallel in the work of J. Laurent, to judge by a good portion of his work.) The mission of Robinson and Thompson amounted to fragmentation of the world out there and its eventual recomposition (its registry and ordered rearrangement) under theegis of the South Kensington Museum.¹⁹ Susan Sontag's frequent reminder that fragmentation by photography is a means of appropriation is a thought that has to haunt us as we learn of the enterprise of Robinson and Thompson.²⁰ But equally haunting, if we consider Thompson alone, is the notion that this photographer of art was, in the performance of that very task, ironically enough, one of the first accomplished photographic documentalists. For us today, Thompson's work should serve to prompt new tests of our definitions of document and, most difficult of all, new criteria for the strict linkage between artistic and documentary (even prosaic) expression, between art and technique, and between invention and imitation.

NOTES

1. See John Physick, *Photography and the South Kensington*

Museum (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1975), 1. For biographical purposes, the book by Physick is essential. The present study makes ample use of this work, while it represents, above all, the records housed in the Library branch of the Victoria & Albert Museum, known as the (J. C.) Robinson Reports.

2. Virginia Dodier, expert in Lady Hawarden, generously pointed out to me another important aspect of Thurston Thompson's work: namely, his professional association with the Viscountess Hawarden. Virginia Dodier discovered in both the Victoria & Albert Library and in the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas (Austin) the announcement of their association, which indicates the price of their professional portraits (one guinea; extra proofs, five shillings each) and their connection to the Female School of Art. Dodier was also kind enough to point out to me, as early as June 1988, that the photographs of Thurston Thompson in the Cole album at the Victoria & Albert Museum were made by Lady Hawarden.

3. A stunning example of this practice is evidenced in the holdings of the HRHRC in Austin, Texas: a letter from "D. G. Rosetti," dated July 5, 1865, posted from 16 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, and addressed to "C. T. Thompson, Esq." The entire letter reads:

"I would be glad of 12 copies more of *Mary Magdalene* and 12 of the [?] *Scene* at your earliest convenience. I would be much obliged if you would kindly let me know when I might expect them; as I have had a good many requests and have promised copies to friends.

I think you have a negative of a drawing of mine of the Borgia family with 2 children dancing. Now, I would be glad of 6 copies of this at same time.

I am not sure whether you photogrd[sic] for me a pen-&-ink drawing representing 2 lovers meeting their own wraiths or doubles in a wood. If so, I should like 6 copies of this also.

P.S. The last proofs of the Magdalene photo were not quite so fine as previous ones —not so deep and rich in colour."

Thanks to Roy Flukinger for calling this item to my attention.

4. Physick, 8-10. Curiously, Thompson also photographed in the British Museum at an early date. The HRHRC in Austin, Texas, has a letter (October 17, 1856) signed by the head librarian of the British Museum, to the effect that they had received the present which Charles Thurston Thompson made to the British Museum Trustees (conceivably, in the manner of self-advertisement): "[...] photographs taken from original drawings in the British Museum by Thurston Thompson, viz.: Head of an Old Man, by Leonardo da Vinci; Profile head, by Angelo Gaddi; Head of the Magdalene, by Roger Van der Weyden."

5. This was not the very first time that museum objects were photographed out of doors. John Hannavy [*Roger Fenton of Crimble Hall* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1975), 40-41] describes how, in the summer of 1857, Roger Fenton of the British Museum was photographing Museum busts out of doors, ingeniously dusting them with dry clay powder to remove harsh highlights.

6. Unlike almost every other item in the "Price List," the stu-

dies of trees are not listed and described individually, so that comparison to extant photographs on a one-to-one basis is difficult, if not impossible.

7. A copy is at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center (Austin, Texas), and it is the near equivalent of what is registered in the Science and Art Department catalogue of Thompson's photographs, as "A series of Fifty Specimens in the Special Loan Exhibition at the South Kensington Museum in 1862." The HRHRC possesses, also, the 1868 Santiago de Compostela publication by the Arundel Society and *A Series of Portrait Miniatures Selected from the Loan Exhibition at the South Kensington Museum in 1865* (London: Arundel Society), with 49 mounted photographs.

8. "El descubrimiento del Pórtico de la Gloria en la España del siglo XIX," in *Simposio internacional sobre 'O pórtico da Gloria e a arte do seu tempo'* (A Coruña: Xunta de Galicia, 1988), 457-477.

9. Matilde Mateo Sevilla, *El Pórtico de la Gloria en la Inglaterra victoriana: La invención de una obra maestra* (Santiago de Compostela: Ministerio de Cultura/Museo Nacional de las Peregrinaciones, 1991), 34-39.

10. "A Glory to the Museum: The Casting of the 'Pórtico de la Gloria'," in *The V & A Album*, I (1982), 104.

11. "The Establishment of a Masterpiece: The Cast of the Pórtico de la Gloria in the South Kensington Museum, London, in the 1870's," in *Simposio internacional sobre 'O Pórtico da Gloria e a arte do seu tempo'* (A Coruña: Xunta de Galicia, 1988), 484.

12. Ironically in the light of the aforementioned, critics and historians of our own day, such as James D'Emilio and Michael L. Ward, respectively, find in the Pórtico stylistic variants which include "un vocabulario ornamental de origen foráneo y, más particularmente, borgoñón," and a "nártex a la borgoñona" ["Tradición local y aportaciones foráneas en la escultura románica tardía: Compostela, Lugo y Carrión," and "El Pórtico de la Gloria y la conclusión de la Catedral de Santiago de Compostela," both in *Simposio internacional sobre 'O Pórtico da Gloria e a arte do seu tempo'* (A Coruña: Xunta de Galicia, 1988), 83-90 and 43-47].

13. It seems that for the most part, Thompson heeded these directions. This was only natural, if his allowances were reaching him only piecemeal, as they used to reach Robinson himself: by periodic request and according to need. Items in store at the Victoria and Albert Museum (formerly South Kensington) lead us to surmise that Thompson carried out a considerable amount of work at various sites in Lisbon and in the general district of Lisbon: the Palaces of Necessidades and Ajuda; the convent at Belem; the monastery of Thomar; La Penha castle in Cintra. There is also evidence that he photographed at Batalha. And he did so quite extensively in Coimbra: the convent of Santa Cruz; the University; the cathedral. Evidence of work in Oporto is not there, and that may explain sorties to locales such as Cintra and Thomar. At any rate, one would have to assume from this evidence that Thompson heeded the fundamental guidelines set for him so insistently by Robinson. I find no evidence

of photographic work carried out in Évora, Braga, or Viseu; however, there does exist one photograph (V & A 303-1931) made in the Church of Nossa Senhora de Oliveira (Guimaraes) which could conceivably be by Thompson, although not certainly.

14. In mentioning outdoor views, almost certainly Robinson was thinking of Charles Clifford, J. Laurent and L. L. Masson; possibly also of Reynoso. From the time of his first (1863) trip to Spain, Robinson was acquiring many photographs by these photographers, and, of course, writes on one occasion of their pre-eminent status among photographers.

15. Blumberg was only one of four Lisbon merchants whom Robinson used as middle-men to secure items for South Kensington. Others were Tavares, Cardozo (sic), and Silva.

16. The *pórtico* facsimile as we know it was not on view until 1873, when the Architectural Courts were opened (Baker, "A Glory...," p. 108).

17. The obsession with documentation was evident not only in the Museum itself, but also in the publications of Thompson's photographs of art works from museums. For example, the 1862 publication by Chapman and Hall, depicting the works of Italian sculpture in the South Kensington Museum, affords: a single page for each object "exhibited" (i.e., each page an exhibit unto itself); descriptive data pertaining to each art object represented; the artist/designer of each art object; the provenance of each object; the century to which it belonged; and, no less, the present-day location of the object (not surprisingly, always the South Kensington Museum). The copy I have seen is owned by Santiago Saavedra y Ligne (Madrid): *Italian Sculpture of the Middle Ages and Period of the Revival of Art. A Series of 50 Photographs...* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1862).

18. This argument is cultivated to some extent by Mar Villaespesa, who is referring to Walter Benjamin is so doing ("El coleccionista o la mirada turbadora"/"The Collector or the Disturbing Look," in *PhotoVisión* 24).

19. A most intelligent article that touches on these matters is "Procedimiento de archivo"/"Filing Procedures," by José Ramón López, in *PhotoVisión* 24).

20. *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977).

APÉNDICE I

LISTA DE FOTOGRAFÍAS QUE DEBE REALIZAR EN SANTIAGO O SR. THOMPSON

J.C. ROBINSON, 3 DE SETEMBRO DE 1866

CATEDRAL. VISTAS EXTERIORES.

Desde o promontorio que hai f r a da cidade chamado Campo de Estrella , desde a estrada Camino del Campo de B veda.

Campo de Estrella:

1. Vista xeral da catedral e das edificacións adxacentes, desde entre a novena e a d cima r bore da estrada.

2. Outra vista desde entre dous dos vellos carballos que hai m is adiante na estrada; hai unha abertura entre a reixa que forman as rbores onde se atopar con facilidade o punto de vista adecuado.

Vistas da catedral e entorno desde o extremo oeste plaza de frente :

Plaza de frente :

3. Vista da fachada tomada desde ou baixo os arcos do seminario (cuarto arco desde o sur), mostrando o frontal da catedral, a fachada do claustro, o ngulo inferior dos claustros e o lateral sur da *plaza*.

4. Outra vista frontal, o m is aproximada posible a unha elevación xeométrica do extremo oeste. O punto de vista ou punto de apoio para a c mara, un pouco sur desde o centro da fachada, para que as casas [?] do fondo poidan verse separadas da parte frontal.

5. Vista que re na o N.E. desde preto do centro dos arcos do *seminario*, mostrando a fachada do hospital, o palacio do bispo e parte do frontal oeste da Catedral.

6. Vista desde o final da terraza do Hospital, mirando Sureste desde preto do ngulo do edificio, preto do cuadrante do sol que se proxecta, para incluír, se posible, o lateral do hospital que se proxecta co balcón que se proxecta en primeiro plano, e mostrando parte da fachada oeste central da Catedral.

7. Portal do hospital mostrando os dez [dous?] grandes escudos da Catedral e a balconada e cornixa superiores.

8. Portal do edificio a car n da praza fronte hospital; imitación do S. XV dun dos arcos da Gloria.

9. Arco baixo o palacio arcebispal, mirando a través del, mostrando as tendas e postos a cada lado.

10. Detalles da entrada da cripta ou capela baixo a entrada oeste da Catedral. Tómome que estea demasiado escuro para fotografa-los detalles interiores desta capela; do mesmo período que a Gloria.

N.B. Todas estas vistas exteriores do oeste deben tomarse pola *tarde*, cando o sol brilla directamente sobre o edificio.

Plaza della[sic] Plater a :

12. Entrada e escultura beira daquela maior escala posible, para mostrar detalles desta ltima.

13. Vista do claustro sur desde o ngulo da Plaza della Plater a , mostrando a fonte do centro da praza. ngulo dos claustros e prater as inferiores, o chapitel do transepto ascendente e perspectiva da torre dos claustros.

N.B. Poder an tomarse d as ou tres vistas m is desde distintos puntos desta parte do exterior da Catedral.

Plaza no lado norte. Praza do lado norte da Catedral diante do transepto norte.

14. A Catedral menos importante por este lado, pero deber an tomarse unha ou d as boas vistas xerais de esta parte.

CLAUSTROS

Claustros:

15. Vista de d as torres da Catedral oeste desde o ngulo sudoeste dos claustros, se posible desde debaixo dos arcos do claustro, que poder an formar unha especie de marco para a imaxe.

16. Elevación dun oco a cada un dos lados.

17. Unha das pequenas fiestras circulares con moldura do muro interior, con friso *plateresco* tallado arredor da cabeza a modo de fita no arco. (Fotografar a boa escala para que se aprecien os detalles da ornamentación.)

18. Vista perspectiva longo dos claustros, mostrando a bveda (lado norte).

CATEDRAL. VISTAS INTERIORES

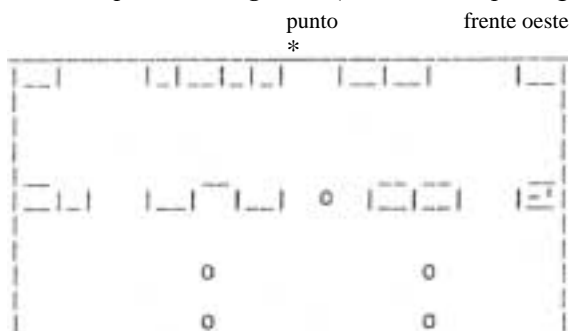
Puerta della[sic] gloria:

19. *Puerta della gloria.*

20. Vistas e detalles diversos, e particularmente as portas e arcos exteriores ou de apoio [?] e todas as demais partes non moldeadas por Brucciani.

21. Vista do interior, extremo oeste ou muro da Catedral, mostrando a cara interna da *Puerta*.

22. Místrunha vista do interior da Catedral mirando este para variar efectos de luz e desde distintos puntos de vista unha das vistas máis impresionantes a que hai que tomar na *puerta della gloria*. (ver boceto do plano grande)



23. Das vistas da cruz dos transeptos.

24. Vistas dun oco de nave a xeito de elevación xeométrica para mostra-los detalles; tamén dun oco dos transeptos.

25. Interior da Capilla Mayor ou coro desde debaixo do *cimborrio* ou cúpula, na cruz da nave.

26. Interior do coro ou Capilla Mayor mirando este.

27. Detalles do espléndido traballo de madeira tallada e *dourada* da Capilla Mayor.

28. final da nave lateral oeste, terminando nos transeptos do norte, dicir, no muro oeste do transepto, fiestra *normanda* [?] ou oco arqueado, con rica fita de arco e imaxe de Santiago no tímpano do arco: a unha boa escala para mostra-los detalles.

29. Plipito de bronce a cada lado da *reja* do *coro*;

quizais ser a mellor facer unha a boa escala e a outra a unha escala menor, para mostra-la s a colocación en relación p a e *reja* ou pantalla.

30. Limpadas de prata penduradas fronte altar maior.

CAPILLA DEL PILAR (DO ARCEBISPO MONROY).

Capilla del Pilar:

31. Cinco ou seis negativos do interior incluíndo vista xeral, *retablo*, tomba do fundador e prensas[?] de bano.

CAPILLA DEL MARQUÉS DE SANTA CRUZ:

32. Capilla del Marqués de Santa Cruz (lado interior [?] esquerdo [?] do coro, o seguinte despois da capela de Monroy). Reja ou pantalla do Gótico de transición.

33. Grupo de tombas do altar, figuras de tamaño natural en terracota.

CAPILLA DEL RELICARIO.

Relicario:

34. Vista xeral do interior, coas tombas dos reis.

35. Elevación do *retablo* do *relicario*.

35[sic]. Detalles do *retablo*, en especial os dous baixos relevos a cada lado da base.

36. Parella de candelabros de parede, de ouro ou prata dourada, regalo da Raíña Mariana de Austria.

37. A *custodia* de prata dourada.

38. Colargótico arredor do colo da cabeza relicario de Santiago.

39. Cruz de ouro con [?] e filigrana do s. X.

40. Figura gótica calada de prata da Virxe e o Neno, de 6 [?] de altura.

41. Relicario gótico ramificado.



Debuxo do cayado co que Robinson "asinou" unha comunicación súa. (20 de setembro de 1866).

SANCRISTIA.

Sancristia:

42. Cruz procesional de prata, arredor de 1580.

SALA CAPITULAR.

Sala capitular:

43. Mesa tallada e dourada superficie de mármore.

44. Baldaquinos sobre dosel do trono do Arcebispo de fino tapiz.

45. Teito abovedado do cuarto.

46. *Brazero* [sic] Grande [?] en bronce e prata.

O HOSPITAL DE PLAZA DE FRENTE .

Hospital:

47. O altar central con catro altares góticos menores e esculpidos nos ángulos da cruz da capela.

48. *Patio de la botiga* [?], a fonte do centro.

CONVENTO DE SAN MARTIN.

Convento de San Martín:

49. Vistas exteriores deste convento. Compreendendo o frontal oeste da igrexa e as fachadas dos edificios fronte praça, fronte Catedral.

50. *Interior*: Unha serie de fotos do *retablo* principal, os dous *retablos* final dos transeptos, os órganos, os sitios do coro e unha vista xeral do interior, en especial do coro ou Capilla Mayor.

N.T. O que aparece en castelán no orixinal vai en *cur-siva* ou entrecorrido.

APPENDIX I
LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS
TO BE MADE IN SANTIAGO
BY MR. THOMPSON

J.C. ROBINSON, SEPTEMBER 3, 1866

CATHEDRAL. EXTERIOR VIEWS.

From the eminence outside the city called the Campo de Estrella, from the road Camino del Campo de B veda.

Campo de Estrella:

1. General view of the cathedral and its adjoining buildings, from betwixt the 9th & 10th tree at the roadside.

2. Another view from betwixt two of the old oak trees higher up the road there is an opening in the screen of trees where the right point of view will be easily found.

Views of Cathedral &c. from the place at the west end plaza de frente :

Plaza de frente :

3. View of fa ade taken at or under arcade of seminario (4th arcade from S. end), showing the front of Cathedral, cloister fa ade, angle lower of the cloisters, and south side of the plaza.

4. Another front view, treated as nearly as possible as a geometrical elevation of the W. end the point of view, or stand point for camera, to be a little south from centre of fa ade, so as to allow the [?] houses in background to be seen detached from the front.

5. View linking N.E. from near centre arcade of seminario, showing fa ade of hospital, Bishop s palace, and part of W. front of Cathedral.

6. View from end of terrace of Hospital, looking S.E. from near the angle of the building, near projecting sun dial, to include, if possible, the side of the hospital with projecting balcony for foreground & showing the centre Western fa ade of the Cathedral.

7. Portal of hospital showing the ten [two?] large shields on Cathedral, and the balcony and cornice above.

8. Portal of building on the side of plaza opposite to the hospital a 15th century imitation of one of the arches of La Gloria.

9. Archway under bishop s palace, looking through it, and showing the shops and the stalls on each side.

10. Details at entrance of crypt or chapel under the western entrance of the Cathedral. I fear it would be too dark for the interior details of this chapel to be photographed; it is of the same period as the Gloria.

N.B. All these western exterior views to be taken in the *afternoon*, when the sun is shining directly on the building.

Plaza della[sic] Plater a :

12. Doorway & sculpture near it to a larger scale, to show details of the latter.

13. View of south transept from angle of the Plaza della Plater a, showing the fountain in centre of the piazza. Angle of cloisters and old silversmiths shops beneath the lofty transept steeple and angle tower of cloisters.

N.B. Two or three other views from different points of view might be taken of this part of the Cathedral exterior.

Plaza on North side. Piazza on the North side of Cathedral in front of N. transept.

14. The Cathedral is less important on this side, but one or two good general views should be taken of this part.

CLOISTERS.

Cloisters:

15. View of two western towers of Cathedral from the southeast angle of Cloisters, if possible from underneath one of the cloister arches, which would form a species of frame work to the picture.

16. Elevation of one bay on each of two different sides.

17. One of the small circular beaded windows in inner wall, with plateresco frieze carved round the head as an archband. (Photo to a good scale so as to details of ornamentation.)

18. Perspective view down the cloisters, showing vaulting (north side).

CATHEDRAL. INTERIOR VIEWS.

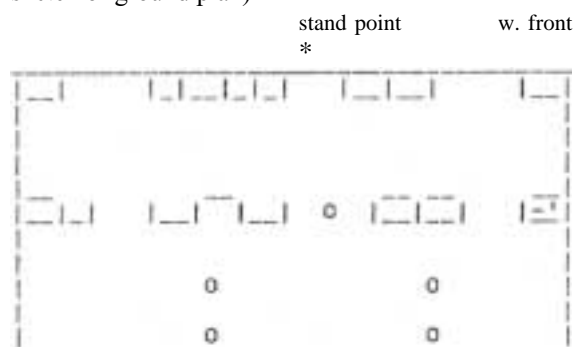
Puerta della[sic] gloria:

19. Puerta della gloria.

20. Various views and details & particularly of the outer or respalding supporting [?] piers & arches, and all and any other portions not moulded by Mr. Brucciani.

21. View of the interior, west end or wall of the Cathedral, showing the inner face of the Puerta.

22. More than one view of the interior of the Cathedral looking East for varying effects of light & from different points of view one of the most striking views is to be obtained within the puerta della gloria, (see sketch of ground plan)



23. Two views cross transepts.

24. Views of one bay of nave in the nature of a geometrical elevation to show details also of one bay of transepts.

25. Interior of the Capilla Mayor or choir from beneath the cimborio(sic) or dome, at the crossing of nave & transepts.

26. Interior of the choir or Capilla Mayor looking East.

27. Details of the splendid carved & gilded wood work of the capilla mayor.

28. At end of west aisle, abutting into the north transepts (i.e., in West wall of the transept) *Norman* [?]

window or arched niche, with rich arch band and figure of Santiago in the tympanum of the arch: to a good scale to show details.

29. Bronze pulpit on each side of reja of coro perhaps one would be best done to a good scale, & the other to a smaller scale, so as to show its collocation in reference to the pier and the reja or screen.

30. Silver suspended lamps in front of high altar.

CAPILLA DEL PILAR (ARCHBISHOP MONROY S).

Capilla del pilar:

31. Five or six negatives of interior including general view, retablo, founder s tomb & ebony presses [?].

CAPILLA DEL MARQU S DE SANTA CRUZ:

32. Capilla del Marqu s de Santa Cruz (on left [?] interior [?] side of choir, next one beyond the Monroy chapel). Transitional gothic reja or screen.

33. Altar group of the entombments life sized figures in terra cotta.

CAPILLA DEL RELICARIO.

Relicario:

34. General view of the interior, with tombs of Kings.

35. Elevation of the relicario retablo.

35(sic). Details of the retablo, especially the two bas reliefs on each side at basement.

36. Pair of gold or silver gilt wall sconces, given by Queen Mariana de Austria.

37. The silver gilt custodia.

38. Gothic collar round the neck of the reliquary head of Santiago.



Sketch of a pilgrim's staff, with which Robinson "signed" a communiqué, September 21, 1865.

39. Gold cross set with [?] and filigree work 10th century.

40. Gothic silver fret statuette of the Virgin & child about [?] 6 high.

41. Branched gothic reliquary.

SACRISTY.

Sacristy:

42. Silver processional cross circa 1580.

SALA CAPITULAR.

Sala Capitular:

43. Carved and gilded table with marble top.

44. Baldachins on canopy of Archbishop's throne of fine tapestry.

45. Vaulted ceiling of the room.

46. Large [?] brazero [sic] [...]rand in ebony and silver.

THE HOSPITAL IN PLAZA DE FRENTE.

Hospital:

47. The central altar with four gothic sculptured minor altars at angles of the crossing in the chapel.

48. Patio de la botiga [sic], the fountain in centre.

CONVENTO DE SAN MARTIN.

Convento de San Mart n:

49. Exterior views of this convent. Comprising West front of Church and facade of buildings fronting the plaza, opposite to the Cathedral.

50. *Interior*; a series of photos of the principal retablo, the two retablos at ends of transepts, the organs, the choir stalls, and general view of the interior, especially of the coro or Capilla Mayor.

APPENDIX II
LIST OF ORIGINAL TITLES
OF THE PHOTOGRAPHS
IN ENGLISH

PAGE 4: *Venetian mirror, ca. 1700, in Grove House.*

PAGE 10: *LADY HAWARDEN, photog. Charles Thurston Thompson and his wife, sister to Henry Cole.*

PAGE 12: *Shere Heath, Surrey; near Cole's estate.*

PAGE 13: *Paris Exposition, 1855. Palace of Fine Arts, entrance door.*

PAGE 14: *Photographic sale room in the Old Iron Building of The South Kensington Museum; photographic exhibit of the Royal Photographic Society, 1858.*

PAGE 17: *Monastery of Batalha. Capilla Imperfeita, entrance archway.*

PAGE 19: *Santiago. Cathedral: P rtico de la Gloria; the interior Doorway.*

PAGE 22: *Santiago. Cathedral: Pilgrims Hospital, Bishop's Palace, and part of the West Front of Cathedral.*

PHOTOGRAPHS ON PAGES 29, 31, 32, 35, AND 41 bear titles in English.

PAGE 47: *Beech tree, Albury Park, Surrey.*

PAGE 48: *Palace of Necessidades, Lisbon. Amulets of solid gold, excavated from banks of Tagus river.*

PAGE 49: *Bel m. Convent and cloister, two of the arches.*

PAGE 50: *Monastery of Batalha. General view from the old coach road.*

PAGE 51: *Monastery of Batalha. View of spire and east roofing of transept.*

PAGE 52: *Monastery of Batalha. Capilla Imperfeita, detail of west arch (#2).*

PAGE 53: *Monastery of Batalha. Fountain in a corner of cloisters.*

PAGE 54: *Coimbra. Cathedral. General view of south side.*

PAGE 55: *Coimbra. Cathedral. Exterior of chapel at east end.*

PAGE 57: *Santiago. General View of the Cathedral and adjoining buildings.*

PAGE 58: *Santiago. General View of Cathedral, part of the West Front, from the Terrace of the Pilgrims Hospital.*

PAGE 59: *Santiago. Cathedral; view from Cathedral Stair, with Statues of David and Solomon.*

PAGE 60: *Santiago. Portal of the Pilgrims Hospital (Hospicio de los Reyes).*

PAGE 61: *Santiago. Cathedral; Cathedral Stairs at Western entrance.*

PAGE 62: *Santiago. Portal of Front of the Pilgrims Hospital (Hospicio de los Reyes).*

PAGE 63: *Santiago. General View of the Pilgrims Hospital (Hospicio de los Reyes).*

PAGE 64: *Santiago. Hospital; Doorway in Cloister..*

PAGE 65: *Santiago. The Pilgrims Hospital, from the Bishop's Palace.*

PAGE 66: *Santiago. Portal of the convent of St. Jer nimo.*

PAGE 67: *Santiago. Convent of St. Jer nimo, general view.*

PAGE 68: *Santiago. Cathedral; Wrought-iron work over the Western gateway.*

PAGE 69: *Santiago. Cathedral: the Pilgrims Gate at the East side.*

PAGE 70: *Santiago. Cathedral; View of the North side.*

PAGE 71: *Santiago. Convent of San Martin; Front facing the Cathedral.*

PAGE 72: *Santiago. Fountain in the Plaza de la Plater a.*

PAGE 73: *Santiago. Cathedral; base of large tower, from the Plaza de la Plater a.*

PAGE 74: *Santiago. Cathedral; View from the Plaza de la Plater a.*

PAGE 75: *Santiago. Cathedral; Entrance to Crypt, front view.*

PAGE 76: *Santiago. Cathedral; Entrance to Crypt under the West entrance.*

PAGE 77: *Santiago. Cathedral; P rtico de la Gloria; outer Columns and Doors.*

PAGE 79: *Santiago. Cathedral; Interior of the Cloisters.*

PAGE 80: *Santiago. Cathedral; circular-headed window in the Cloisters.*

PAGE 81: *Santiago. Cathedral; one of the Bays of the Cloisters.*

PAGE 82: *Santiago. Cathedral. Sala Capitular. Canopy of Archbishop's throne.*

PAGE 83: *Santiago. Cathedral. Silver Processional Cross, date about 1580. In the Sacristy.*

PAGE 84: *Santiago. Altar in the Cathedral, East end.*

PAGE 85: *Santiago. Cathedral; Bronze Pulpit, and Statue of the Mother of St. Iago.*

PAGE 86: *Santiago. Interior of the Cathedral; part of Nave.*

PAGE 87: *Santiago. Cathedral; Norman window, with figure of St. Iago.*

PAGE 88: *Santiago. Cathedral; P rtico de la Gloria; Statues of Apostles.*

PAGE 89: *Santiago. Cathedral; P rtico de la Gloria; details of Doorway. (No. 3.)*

PAGE 90: *Santiago. Cathedral; P rtico de la Gloria; details of Doorway. (No. 2.)*

PAGE 91: *Santiago. Cathedral; P rtico de la Gloria; detail of base of piers.*

PAGE 92: *Santiago. Cathedral; P rtico de la Gloria; Sculpture on North wall.*

PAGE 93: *Santiago. Cathedral; P rtico de la Gloria; Columns against North wall.*

PAGE 94: *Santiago. Cathedral; P rtico de la Gloria; Sculpture on the South wall.*

PAGE 95: *Santiago. Cathedral; P rtico de la Gloria; Vaulting, South end.*

PAGE 96: *Santiago. Cathedral; P rtico de la Gloria; Sculpture on pier.*

PAGE 97: *Santiago. Cathedral; P rtico de la Gloria; Sculpture on the South wall.*

PAGE 98: *Santiago. Cathedral; P rtico de la Gloria; interior face of responding pier.*

PAGE 99: *MRS. J.A. COWPER, photog. (). Installation in South Kensington Museum, May 1868. P rtico de la Gloria; tympanum, central dorrway.*