GOYA



GOYA: DRAWINGS FROM THE PRADO MUSEUM

Edited by Petra Kayser, *with* contributors



GOYA

NGV

GOBIERNO DE ESPAÑA · MINISTERIO DE CULTURA Y DEPORTE

MUSEO NACIONAL DEL **PRADO**

GOYA: DRAWINGS FROM THE PRADO MUSEUM

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DIRECTORS' FOREWORD

Francisco de Goya y Lucientes is considered one of the first truly modern artists. Goya's pursuit of truth makes his commentaries on human nature as relevant today as they were in his own time. Following a near-fatal illness that left him profoundly deaf, Goya turned to drawing to record his thoughts, visions and dreams, and continued this practice until the end of his life. It is in his drawings that Goya's astonishing powers of observation and imagination are most clearly evident.

This publication presents 170 works by Goya, including drawings from the artist's earliest albums of social satire and pages from the late albums, which contain some of his most complex and surreal images. The drawings come from the renowned holdings of Goya's works at the Prado Museum, Madrid, with which the NGV has partnered on the exhibition *Goya: Drawings from the Prado Museum*. The images are accompanied by essays detailing Goya's life and his exploration of issues that continue to resonate with contemporary audiences, such as violence, corruption, relations between the sexes, and the primacy of individual experience.

We acknowledge the commitment and ongoing support the NGV receives from the Victorian Government, through the Honourable Daniel Andrews MP, Premier of Victoria; and the Honourable Danny Pearson MP, Minister for Creative Industries. We thank Presenting Partner Creative Victoria and the Department of Jobs, Precincts and Regions, in particular, Simon Phemister, Secretary; and Andrew Abbott, Deputy Secretary, Creative, Sport and Visitor Economy.

We also thank Major Partner ACCIONA for their support of this exhibition.

It is important to note that this exhibition is part of a long tradition of collaboration between the Prado Museum and the NGV. We acknowledge the cooperation, enthusiasm and ambition of the teams at our respective institutions in presenting the single largest group of Goya's drawings ever to be seen in Australia.

From the Prado Museum, we thank José Manuel Matilla, Senior Curator of the Department of Drawings and Prints; Karina Marotta, General Curatorial Coordinator; Gracia Sánchez, Chief Registrar; Lucía Villarreal, Head of the Temporary Exhibitions Service; Lola Gómez de Aranda, Chief of the Publishing Department; Ana María Écija, Head of the Photography Archive; and their respective teams. We also thank Andrés Úbeda, Deputy Director for Conservation and Research; and Marina Chinchilla, Deputy Director for Administration. Additionally, we are grateful to the Prado Museum's Board of Trustees for their support of this significant loan project.

From the NGV, we thank the curatorial team for this project: Cathy Leahy, Senior Curator, Prints and Drawings; Petra Kayser, Curator, Prints and Drawings; and Jessica Cole, Assistant Curator, Prints and Drawings. We also thank Andrew Clark, Deputy Director; Don Heron, Assistant Director, Exhibitions Management and Design; Donna McColm, Assistant Director, Curatorial and Audience Engagement; Misha Agzarian, Assistant Director, Fundraising and Events; and Jane Zantuck, Assistant Director, Marketing and Corporate Partnerships, for their leadership and support.

In addition, we gratefully acknowledge the Art Gallery of South Australia for generous loans that make this exhibition as comprehensive a presentation of Goya's prints and drawings as possible.

Finally, we thank our many contributors to this publication, each providing new perspectives on Goya's life and times and the universal themes encompassed in his work.

Our two institutions are proud to be working in partnership to present this comprehensive insight into the creative genius of Goya to a new audience in Melbourne.

Tony Ellwood AM
Director, National Gallery of Victoria

Miguel Falomir
Director, Prado Museum

MAJOR PARTNER'S MESSAGE

ACCIONA is delighted to join with the National Gallery of Victoria in supporting the exhibition *Goya: Drawings from the Prado Museum*. This world-exclusive exhibition presents the work of one of the most significant European artists of any period whose unique vision speaks directly to the modern day.

Goya is recognised as an artist whose social conscience informed an exceptional body of work that held out hope for a better world. At ACCIONA we too believe in striving towards a better future and we want to encourage social awareness about sustainability in a way that resonates with authorities, society and businesses. We will continue to #InvestInThePlanet and strive to lead, accelerate and complete the transition towards a decarbonised economic model.

We trust that you and your family will enjoy *Goya: Drawings from the Prado Museum* and this sumptuous catalogue that commemorates the exhibition.

ACCIONA

GOYA:
A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Cathy Leahy



Francisco de Goya y Lucientes was born in 1746 near Zaragoza in the province of Aragon in north-eastern Spain and closely identified with this region throughout his life.[1] His father and older brother were gilders, and at age thirteen Goya was apprenticed to Zaragoza painter José Luzán Martínez, where he learnt the principles of drawing by copying prints. Goya also studied with Francisco Bayeu, a fellow artist from Zaragoza who was called to Madrid in 1763 by the recently appointed court painter Anthony Raphael Mengs.[2] Bayeu helped Goya in his early career, and the two families were formally united when Goya married Bayeu's sister, Josefa, in 1773.

Goya is first recorded as being in Madrid at the end of 1763, when he competed, unsuccessfully, for a stipend offered by the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando (hereafter Royal Academy).[3] Three years later his entry in the Royal Academy's triennial painting prize competition was also unsuccessful, and Goya ended the decade by embarking on a two-year, self-funded study tour to Italy from mid 1769. He stayed in Rome, travelled through numerous Northern Italian towns and in 1771 received an honourable mention for a painting he entered in a competition in Parma. He used a small notebook while travelling in which he recorded places visited, prints purchased and paintings and artists that impressed him. The notebook (held at the Prado Museum, Madrid) also includes the artist's earliest known drawings, which range from copies of paintings and classical sculptures to ideas for paintings of his own.[4]

By mid 1771 Goya was back in Zaragoza and received his first important painting commission, to decorate the ceiling of the choir in the city's Basilica of El Pilar. Goya would continue to receive public commissions for religious paintings right through until the late 1810s. A new chapter in his career opened when he moved to Madrid in January 1775, called there by Mengs, as Goya later claimed, to paint cartoons for the Royal Tapestry Factory of Santa Barbara.[5] Goya arrived in Madrid with Josefa and their infant son, Antonio Juan Ramón y Carlos, the first of seven children born to the couple (only one, Javier, survived to adulthood). The move also marked the start of a remarkable correspondence between Goya and his close friend Martín Zapater, a Zaragoza businessman. Warm, lively and at times ribald, the letters provide extraordinary insight into Goya's character and interests, and reveal much about his aspirations and disappointments as he made his way at the court of Madrid.[6]

Goya's cartoons, which were initially made under Bayeu's instruction, were for tapestries to decorate the royal residences of El Escorial and El Pardo, and earned him royal approval and a salary of 8000 *reales de vellón* per year.[7] From 1776 Goya's cartoons were of his own invention and soon reflected the new taste for genre subjects showing scenes of contemporary life. He depicted popular amusements such as picnics, fairs and dances, and introduced *majos* and *majas*; colourful Madrid types in Spanish dress whose boisterous pastimes and costumes were fashionable with the

1 Forty-two years after he had settled in Madrid, Goya signed an altarpiece for the Cathedral of Seville, identifying himself as 'Cesaraugustano', or 'from Zaragoza'. See Janis Tomlinson, *Goya, A Portrait of the Artist*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2020, p. xxi.

2 Goya was described as a student of Bayeu's in documentation relating to his entry in the painting competition at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Parma in 1771. See Pierre Gassier & Juliet Wilson, *The Life and Complete Work of Francisco Goya*, 2nd English edition, Harrison House, New York, 1981, appendix III, p. 382.

3 Tomlinson, p. 11.

4 Goya used this notebook occasionally until the late 1780s.

5 This claim first appeared in the petition that Goya made following the death of Mengs in June 1779 for a position as court painter. Tomlinson has suggested this was an exaggeration and that it was more likely that Bayeu recommended Goya to Mengs. See Tomlinson p. 50.

6 A total of 147 letters from Goya to Zapater spanning the years 1775–1800 are known. 118 of these are housed in the collection of the Prado Museum and are available online on the *Goya en el Prado* website: 'Documentos / Cartas a Martín Zapater'.

7 Salary granted by Mengs in June 1776 'for now'. See Tomlinson, p. 40.

aristocracy. Goya's admiration for the paintings of the great Spanish master, Diego Velázquez (1599–1660), which he had access to in the royal collection, are reflected in the new pictorial qualities of his tapestry paintings, particularly those of the 1780s.[8] In 1778, he also published a much-admired series of etchings after the master's paintings. These preceded by two decades his first original print series, *Los Caprichos* (published 1799).

Goya's growing reputation was consolidated in the 1780s with his appointment to official positions both in the Royal Academy and at court. He was elected an honorary member of the Academy in 1780 and five years later appointed to the position of Deputy Director of Painting. Then, in July 1786, he was appointed Painter to the King (*pintor del rey*), to the enlightened monarch Carlos III. This salaried position of 15,000 *reales de vellón* consolidated his employment at the Court of Spain, which continued throughout his life.[9] Through these elite circles in Madrid, Goya met Spain's enlightened intellectuals and statesmen (the *ilustrados*), who aimed to modernise the country through social, religious, educational, agrarian and economic reform. Goya came to count as friends leading figures such as statesman and philosopher Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, scholar and collector Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, and writers Leandro Fernández de Moratín and Juan Meléndez Valdés, among others, and through them gained familiarity with the new liberal and reformist ideas that would inform the social critique of his later work.

Goya's movement within these circles also led to his increased activity as a portrait painter, and portraits became a mainstay of his sixty-year career. In addition to his ongoing production of tapestry cartoons and religious paintings, he began receiving commissions for portraits from bankers, ministers of state, aristocratic families such as the Duke and Duchess of Osuna and, in 1783, from the brother of Carlos III, the Infante Don Luis, for a family portrait. Goya was deeply admired, sought after and, as he boasted to Zapater, able to paint for only those of the highest rank or others of his choosing.[10] His success was such that after the death of Carlos III in 1788 and the subsequent accession of his son Carlos IV and María Luisa, the forty-three-year-old artist was appointed Court Painter in April 1789.

This appointment coincided with the French Revolution (1789–99) and the beginning of a complex and volatile period in Spanish politics. The situation in France, Spain's worsening financial crisis, palace intrigues and the rapid rise and fall of ministers including, notoriously, the Queen's favourite, Manuel Godoy, all contributed to the political turmoil. Goya also suffered personal crises, most seriously a grave illness in early 1793, from which he emerged after several months' recuperation in Cádiz totally and incurably deaf. This still unidentified illness has been credited with inspiring Goya's turn inward to his imagination and thoughts as the wellspring for a new vein of private works. His description in early 1794 of a series of cabinet pictures he had painted during his convalescence, which included scenes of lunatics, thieves and bullfights, is noteworthy in this regard: 'I have managed to make observations for which there is normally no opportunity in commissioned works, which give no scope for fantasy ("*capricho*") and invention'.[11] It is at this time that Goya began making drawings as a private, autonomous practice, in which he could give free rein

8 Goya painted sixty-three cartoons for tapestries for El Escorial and El Pardo. See Gassier & Wilson, p. 45.

9 Except for the period of the Peninsular War (1808–14), Goya received an annual salary, taking great care never to lose it, even when he was in Bordeaux in the last years of his life.

10 Letter from Goya to Zapater, August 1786, quoted in Manuela B. Mena Marqués, 'The "brilliant and magic harmony" of Goya', in Hiroya Murakami (ed.), *Goya: Luces y Sombras. Obras Maestras del Museo del Prado*, National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, 2011, p. 310.

11 Goya described the panels in a letter of 4 January 1794 to Don Bernardo de Iriarte, Vice-Protector of the Royal Academy of San Fernando, when he sent them to the Academy. The letter is in the British Museum and is reproduced and translated in Gassier & Wilson, p. 108 and Appendix IV, p. 382.



ABOVE:
Francisco Goya y Lucientes, Painter
plate 1, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799

p. 2:
Phantom dancing with castanets 1824–28 (detail)
Album H, 61
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

to his powers of invention and fantasy to critique and comment upon the world around him. He would continue this practice throughout his life and his works on paper remain some of the most remarkable and original in his oeuvre.

By 1795 Goya was again taking commissions and, following Bayeu's death in August of that year, was appointed to the position of Director of Painting at the Royal Academy. Manuel Godoy, secretary of state from 1792, commissioned works from Goya in the later 1790s, as did increasing numbers of aristocrats, including the Duke and Duchess of Alba, who commissioned several portraits. The myth of Goya's romantic involvement with the Duchess, fuelled by, among other things, later readings of the famous portrait of 1797, *The Duchess of Alba* (Collection of the Hispanic Society of America, New York), is no longer credited by scholars, who point out that the rings on her fingers inscribed 'Goya' and 'Alba' are later additions.[12] Goya's first albums of drawings date from this period (Album A, 1794–95, and Album B, 1796–97,) and were the brilliant vehicles in which he first explored subjects featured in *Los Caprichos*. Published in 1799, this series of eighty etchings satirised human foibles, the social and political corruption rife in contemporary Spain, as well as ignorance and superstition. These imaginative and caustic images featured a diverse cast of characters including sex workers, dandies and lovers, immoral clergy, doltish aristocrats, witches, goblins and other supernatural creatures. Goya's intention to 'banish harmful, commonly-held beliefs and to perpetuate in this work of *caprichos* the sound testimony of truth' reveals the proximity of his liberal attitudes to those of his reformist friends.[13] The brief liberal interlude in 1797–98 when he etched these plates must have led Goya to think it safe to publish such a critical series, but by the time he advertised them in early 1799 the climate had deteriorated and he rapidly withdrew them from sale.

The last years of the 1790s were highly productive ones for Goya, who resigned his post at the Royal Academy in 1797 after only two years, citing ongoing ill health. He received important private and public commissions, from the series of small witchcraft scenes painted for the Duke and Duchess of Osuna in 1797–98 (these attest to the intelligentsia's fascination with this subject), to the major fresco cycle for the Madrid church of San Antonio de la Florida. The latter was Goya's third and last cycle of frescoes, and his most important work in the medium, which he completed in only four months. Among the many portraits he painted in these years are a group of his liberal friends – Moratín, Meléndez Valdés and others – that are remarkable for their sympathetic handling and intimacy.

In the dying days of the eighteenth century, Goya attained the peak of his public career when, in October 1799, he was appointed First Court Painter, a position that paid him 50,000 *reales de vellón* and was the highest rank possible for his profession. The vast royal family portrait that he painted in the years immediately following, *The Family of Carlos IV*, 1800 (Prado Museum, Madrid), marks the spectacular highpoint of his career as official court painter. It pays tribute to the grandeur of Velazquez's royal portraits and is extraordinary for both its technical virtuosity and unflinching realism in the characterisation of its subjects.

Portraiture continued as a major preoccupation between 1800 and the outbreak of the Peninsular War (known in Spain as the War of Independence) in 1808. In addition to court commissions, Goya painted more than fifty portraits in these years – of aristocratic patrons as well as of members of the expanding Spanish middle class – providing him with private income on top of his court salary. The years before the War were quiet ones for Goya as the deteriorating political situation meant many of his friends had left Madrid or were in exile, and his dear friend, Martín Zapater, had died in 1803. In this same year Goya negotiated to hand over his etching plates for *Los Caprichos* together with unsold prints to the royal printing establishment, the Calcografia, in exchange for an annual pension of 12,000 *reales de vellón* for his son Javier. Javier married in 1805 and Goya executed fine full-length portraits of him and his wife, Gumersinda Goicoechea, at this time, as well as a group of miniatures on copper of members of her family. He also executed the only documented portrait, in black chalk on paper, of his wife Josefa.

Goya was sixty-one when Napoleon's troops entered Spain in late 1807 and the military occupation, together with the political upheaval that had preceded it, influenced the increasingly private nature of his artistic activity at this time.



Self-portrait c. 1796
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Following the abdication of the monarchs in 1808 and Napoleon's installation of his brother Joseph Bonaparte on the throne, the Spanish people rose up against the invading army and there followed six long years of bloodshed, guerilla combat, heroic resistance and savage reprisals. Goya began working on a new etching series, the *Disasters of War*, probably in 1810, in which he graphically portrayed the atrocities of war as well as the terrible sufferings of civilians during the devastating famine in Madrid of 1811–12. When the French were finally expelled in 1813 and Ferdinand VII restored to power in May 1814, a new reign of terror began. Rather than the longed-for peace and stability, Ferdinand outlawed the liberal constitution of 1812, persecuted its supporters, and reinstated the Inquisition and the old systems of government. This dark period is reflected in a

12 See Tomlinson, pp. 141–51. See also Manuela B. Mena Marqués, 'Perspectives through history: truth and fiction', in this volume.

13 Goya inscribed his famous Sueños drawing, *Dream 1. Universal language. The author dreaming*, 1797 (Prado Museum, Madrid), thus: 'The author dreaming. His only intention is to banish harmful, commonly-held beliefs and to perpetuate in this work of *caprichos* the sound testimony of truth'.

sequence of allegorical plates savagely attacking the abuses of Church and State that Goya later added to the war and famine scenes. Although he expended considerable effort on this series of eighty prints over about a five-year period, the *Disasters of War* were never published in his lifetime, presumably because of the dangerously satirical nature of some of the plates.[14] In this series Goya brings us closer to the horrors of war than any other artist before him. While inspired by the events unfolding around him, these plates present a timeless vision of the sufferings and cruelties of war and of humanity's capacity for violence.

Goya remained in Madrid during the war years and, as a court official, was made to swear an oath of obedience to the new king, Joseph Bonaparte, and to serve the French government. He painted a few portraits of French administrators, assisted in compiling inventories of paintings in the royal collection and in March 1811 received the Royal Order of Spain from Joseph Bonaparte (which, however, he never wore). The following month Goya and Josefa signed their will, naming Javier as sole heir. Josefa died a year later, in June 1812.

Goya skilfully weathered the dangerous political climate following Ferdinand VII's return, surviving the purge in 1814 of court officials who had collaborated with the French. He was announced 'purified' and had his salary restored but was summoned before the Inquisition the following year to answer obscenity charges in connection with the two paintings of the naked and clothed *majas* formerly in Godoy's collection (*Naked maja*, 1797–1800, and *Clothed maja*, 1800–07, both Prado Museum, Madrid). While Goya continued in his post of First Court Painter and received several court commissions, these ceased from 1816 when he was supplanted in the king's favour by the younger artist, Vicente López (1771–1850). In these repressive postwar years Goya turned increasingly to his drawing albums to express his innermost thoughts and imaginative creations. Four albums – C, D, E and F – are difficult to date with precision but belong to the years following the Peninsular War through to Goya's departure for Bordeaux in the 1820s. More than three hundred drawings range across diverse themes, both enigmatic and explicit. The underprivileged, the deranged, victims of war or persecution, elderly women, witches, bandits, monks and duelling men give voice to themes of human misery, violence and destiny as well as humour, eroticism and absurdity. He also undertook another etching series in these years that he did release publicly – the set of thirty-three bullfights, the *Tauromaquia*, which he published in 1816. Once thought to have been a straightforward visual history of the bullfight, more recent commentators link the artist's focus on scenes of horror and violence to a condemnation of the barbarism of this national pastime.[15]

As the political climate worsened in the latter 1810s, a number of Goya's liberal friends fled the country while in 1819 Goya bought a property on the outskirts of Madrid that was known as the Quinta del Sordo (House of the Deaf Man). He was accompanied there by Leocadia Zorrilla (Weiss), a politically radical young woman who had lived with him since 1817 either as a housekeeper, or possibly a companion.[16] Goya painted an extraordinary series of murals on the walls of the house, known as the Black Paintings (now Prado Museum, Madrid), which depict among other things Saturn devouring one of his children, a witches' sabbath and multitudes fleeing from the plague. In their enigmatic subject matter and dark tonalities, these paintings have an affinity with another series of large prints that Goya probably began working on in 1815 and completed over the next few years. Goya inscribed some proofs with titles beginning with the word '*disparate*', which translates as 'folly' or 'absurdity', and these enigmatic prints, which are known as the *Disparates*, continue the themes of violence, superstition and the nightmarish visions of his earlier etched series, but with a darker, more irrational inflection. Like the *Disasters of War*, this set of prints was never published in Goya's lifetime, the first edition only appearing in 1864.[17] They remain the most powerful, original and mysterious of all of Goya's printed works.

The renewed hopes of the three years of constitutional government, the Liberal Triennium, that followed the liberal uprising in 1820 were dashed when Ferdinand was restored to power in April 1823. A period of repression and reprisals ensued that was so harsh that Goya went into hiding for three months, from January to April 1824. One day after an amnesty for liberals was declared on 1 May 1824, Goya petitioned the king for six months' leave of absence (with full pay), on the grounds of ill health, to take the waters in Plombières, France. He left in June of the same year and settled in Bordeaux after a brief trip to Paris and was soon joined by Leocadia and her two children. Here he remained for the final four years of his life, with three documented return visits to Spain. One was to seek an extension of his formal leave of absence and another, in May 1826, to request retirement on full salary, both of which were granted, suggesting that his departure from Spain was not a forced exile but rather a choice to leave his home country.

Goya's years in Bordeaux represent a final burst of creativity in which his powers of invention and taste for technical experimentation remained undiminished. He had tried lithography several years before in Madrid but, now with the guidance of an expert printer, produced a powerful suite of bullfight scenes in 1825, known as the *Bulls of Bordeaux*, that set a new benchmark for this relatively new print medium. He also executed an exquisite series of small miniatures on ivory, which are remarkable for their freedom of handling and unusual technique, while his last two albums of drawings were executed in a greasy crayon that was influenced by his use of lithographic crayon.

Goya died in Bordeaux in 1828 at the age of eighty-two. One of his late drawings, which can be seen as a symbolic self-portrait, shows an old man who has to support himself on sticks to walk, and is inscribed, 'I am still learning'.

14 Goya took many proofs from the plates while working on them, but the first edition was not published until 1863 by the Royal Academy. This edition comprised eighty plates. Two further plates, numbered 81 and 82, were added to the eighty etchings and bound into an album along with three small prints of prisoners, which Goya presented to his friend Céan Bermudez (British Museum, London).

15 For an overview, see Laurie Benson, 'Goya's *Tauromaquia*', in this volume.

16 Leocadia Zorrilla (married name Weiss) lived with Goya in his later years in Madrid and also in Bordeaux, whether as a housekeeper only or also as a companion remains unclear. See Tomlinson, pp. 294–95, and Mena Marqués in present volume.

17 When Goya left for Bordeaux, the plates for the *Disparates* series were left in the Quinta del Sordo. Very few contemporary proofs are known. The first edition of eighteen prints was published in 1864 by the Royal Academy of San Fernando, with the title *Los Proverbios*, inspired possibly by the belief that the prints illustrated specific proverbs. Four additional plates, which had become separated from the others, were first published in the French magazine *L'Art* in 1877.



Siesta 1794–95
Album A, g
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



Maja on a stroll 1794–95
Album A, h
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



Young woman with arms uplifted
1794–95
Album A, i
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



Young woman pulling up her stocking
1794–95
Album A, j
preliminary drawing for
Los Caprichos, plate 17
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



Maja before three companions 1795–96
Album B, 20
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



Young man looking through a magnifying glass at a maja 1795–96
Album B, 19
preliminary drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 7
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



Merry caricature 1796–97
Album B, 63
preliminary drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 13
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



She is waiting for him to come 1796–97
Album B, 64
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



Dream 19: The old women laugh themselves sick because they know he hasn't a bean 1797
preparatory drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 5
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



Two of a kind
plate 5, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



They carried her off! c. 1797
preparatory drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 8
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



There they go plucked c. 1797
preparatory drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 20
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

GOYA: CRITICAL VISION OF AN ERA

José Manuel Matilla



Introduction

As a prolific draughtsman Goya made approximately 1000 drawings throughout his career, of which around 850 are extant today. They include observations of people and situations, visions and dreams, and preparatory drawings for his prints. Many of these were made in albums that remained in Goya's possession throughout his life. The earliest dates back to Goya's travels through Italy in 1769–71, and this is the only notebook that remains in its original binding. The others, made between the 1790s and 1820s, are known by the letters of the alphabet and names assigned by art historians: Album A (Sanlúcar Album), Album B (Madrid Album), Album C, Album D, Album E (Black Border Album), Album F, Album G (Bordeaux Album I) and Album H (Bordeaux Album II).

The albums were disbound by Goya's son Javier after the artist's death, and compiled into three books. After Javier's death, they were separated and sold by Goya's grandson Mariano in 1859. Through a succession of sales and auctions, the sheets ended up in various public and private collections in Europe and the United States. Around half of Goya's drawings are held by the Prado Museum in Madrid, making this the largest repository of his graphic work.

Goya's subjects

A chronological survey of Goya's works on paper draws attention to themes that recur throughout his career. Some of these themes have endured in popular culture from the mid nineteenth century to the present, perpetuating the image of Goya as the sympathetic chronicler of Spanish society, depicting *majas* and bullfighters and, at the same time, as the imaginative and tortured creator of scenes populated by witches and monsters. Although the most significant studies of Goya reject such superficial interpretations of his work, this view still persists in the collective imagination. A careful look, however, shows that in most cases Goya's *majas* are not *majas* at all, but young women forced into sex work; that witches, rather than casting spells, are engaged in the carnal trade of children and juveniles; and that bullfighters, although worthy of admiration for their courage and popularity, risk their lives in a dangerous pursuit that goes against their most basic survival instinct.

What we now know of Goya's life and work allows us to recognise an artist who was familiar with the most progressive aspects of the cultural and social politics of his time, in addition to being a connoisseur of literature and, of course, of art in its various forms. In some instances, Goya's work is a straightforward reflection of his era, while in other cases his vision appears with a subtlety that requires attentive and intense scrutiny of details that may at first sight appear insignificant. As court artist and chronicler, Goya never flattered the privileged class, nor did his satirical art make light of everything. Rather, the profundity of his vision presents extraordinary scenes, filled with subtle nuances, in which we sometimes find a positive meaning that contradicts the dubious actions of the protagonists. This conjunction of critique and positive consideration is present throughout his entire oeuvre, and ensures the viewer is never indifferent to what they see. In this context, the themes addressed in Goya's work could be said to contain the essence of humanity.

The status of women: pleasure, submission and domination

Women play a key role throughout Goya's oeuvre. They are so central that the evolution of the artist's thought could be traced just by looking at his various depictions of women. Goya is rarely critical of his female protagonists – for the most part, they are portrayed as submissive to the men who have relegated them to a secondary status. Some have become victims of abuse. Scholars have commented that in the *Disasters of War*, 1810–15, female characters are the only ones who are seen in a positive light, either because they are innocent victims (who also include children and the elderly) or because they maintain dignity and show courage in defending themselves and their families. Even though it has been recognised on various occasions that a number of the female figures in the *Caprichos*, 1797–98, are involved in sex work, existing interpretations of these works have not addressed the issue of violence against women. To understand

the drawings of sex workers in Album A and Album B, and in the *Caprichos* prints, they must be interpreted as images of submission and abuse, if not rape. The repetition of such scenes clearly reveals Goya's concern for the injustice, suffering and distress that sexual slavery and unequal marriage caused for women, and which, according to Enlightenment thinkers, could be a prison full of penalties, as Goya was intent on showing.

Goya's modernity, as is frequently emphasised, resides in the novelty of his approach, most clearly evident in his uncommissioned work, in which he gives free rein to his thoughts. It is evident in his critique of male behaviour, as articulated in the revolutionary Olympe de Gouges's *Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the* [*Female*] *Citizen*, 1791, which sadly remains relevant today:

> Fourth article: liberty and justice consist of restoring everything that belongs to others; thus, the exercise of the natural rights of women is limited only by the perpetual tyranny that men impose; these limits must be corrected by the laws of nature and reason.[1]

The degradation of women, and their objectification by men, had also been criticised by Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, who in 1785 wrote on the inequality of the sexes: 'Accustomed to looking at them as born only for our pleasure, we [men] have segregated them from actively working, we have locked them up'.[2] Goya's view is not ambiguous; the tone of his images is unquestionably critical and leaves no doubt as to where his sympathies lie.

The Enlightenment years and Goya's critique of education

Goya's work reflects the themes that preoccupied progressive thinkers of the Enlightenment period. The reform of childhood education was discussed in articles published in magazines such as *El Pensador* (*The Thinker*), *El Censor* (*The Censor*), and in the work of Jovellanos and José Cadalso. Many of Goya's prints and drawings must be understood in the context of this call for reform, and in relation to the new educational model devised by Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, which was implemented in Spain. This model focused on developing children's intellectual and physical abilities through their own experience, rather than through authoritarian teaching methods. Goya knew of these reforms because he produced works for the Instituto Pestalozziano, which was inaugurated in Madrid in 1806 and promoted by the politician Manuel Godoy. One of the recurring themes in Goya's critique of poor education was the way in which parents instilled fear in children with tales of ghosts and other non-existent beings that would haunt them throughout their lives. The meaning of the drawing and the print *Here comes the bogeyman* (pp. 38, 39) is clear from the title, which is corroborated in the commentary in the Prado manuscript: 'lamentable abuse of early education to make a child fear the bogeyman more than his father, and thus make it afraid of something that does not exist'.[3] A more critical commentary in the National Library manuscript[4] makes mothers responsible for the poor education of their children. It reflects the view that some mothers, according to numerous anecdotes of the time, used the figure of the bogeyman to get rid of their children when they wanted to be with their lovers: 'The foolish mothers make their children afraid by imitating the bogeyman; other worse ones use this figure when they cannot push aside their children to be alone with their lovers'.[5] The figure of the bogeyman already appeared in the *Diccionario de autoridades* (*Dictionary of Authorities*) from 1726–39, as a frightening, ugly figure that causes children to become faint-hearted and fearful.

The so-called Black Border album (Album E, 1816–20) includes a drawing whose subject is education based on punishment. *Severity is not always good* (p. 29), shows a boy who is trying to do his homework, burying his head in his hands to protect himself from an old woman threatening him with a lash. The brutality of the punishment is clearly highlighted by her authoritarian attitude: she sits with her legs and arms open, her dominant figure contrasting with the small size of the child. The quasi-animalistic characterisation of the woman's face reflects the irrationality of violence in education, based on the then already outdated maxim 'to spare the rod is to spoil the child', though corporal punishment was nevertheless still practised by many. In a drawing from Album C, 1814–23,[6] *What idiocy to decide their destinies in infancy!* (p. 28), Goya critiques the education that prepares children to be compliant adults, forced to work for others and destined for marriage, the church, the army or a trade. The scene is a rural setting and, in this case, the children have undoubtedly been abandoned by their parents and handed to a family friend who will take them to the city, where they will work in the service of wealthy families. Goya's critique of this practice is evident in the figures; the way in which the woman holds the hands of the young children and their resistance, most visible in the child on the left, reflects a situation of submission to force.

The impact of poor education on society is the subject of numerous works, including satires veiled as dream images, a device frequently used in this period. *Dream 27: Witches disguised as ordinary doctors* (p. 41), which anticipates *Of what ill will he die?* (plate 40, *Caprichos*, p. 152), features donkeys, a common symbol of ignorance. In this ruthless satire aimed at doctors, the title associates the donkeys with witches, who also embody ignorance and backwardness. Without a doubt, these images of donkeys are the most significant examples of the world turned upside down, inspired both by the caricatures that circulated at the end of the century and by numerous literary references that satirised human vices through animals. Similarly, *Neither more nor less* (p. 40) addresses themes of adulation and vanity by presenting an ape-artist painting the portrait of a donkey-aristocrat, whose large ears are concealed by a wig in the painting. The commentary on the related *Caprichos* print (plate 41, p. 153) in the Prado manuscript is tremendously ironic: 'He does well in portraying him: that way those who do not know him or have not seen him, will know who he is'.[7] The National Library comment is more explicit: 'An animal portrayed in such a way does not cease to look like an animal, even if it is painted with its ruff and affected seriousness'.[8] Thus it is a general satire about sycophants, here embodied in the painter's ability to falsify appearances in order to satisfy patrons and politicians who, due to their vanity and ignorance, expect to be flattered.

1 Olympe Gouges, *Les droits de la femme*, Paris, 1791, p. 8.
2 Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, 'Informe dado a la Junta General de Comercio y Moneda sobre el libre ejercicio de las Artes', Madrid, 1785, in Cándido Nocedal (ed.), *Obras publicadas e inéditas de Don Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos*, vol. II, M. Rivadeneyra, Madrid, 1859, p. 3.
3 Prado Museum, ODG65.
4 From the time of their publication, the *Caprichos* were subject to differing written interpretations, of which many survive. The Prado manuscript is considered to be in Goya's hand, and thus a faithful reflection of the ideas expressed in the prints. The National Library manuscript was not written by Goya, and identifies some well-known personalities in Spanish society in the prints.
5 National Library of Spain, Madrid, Ms. 20258.
6 Until recently this album was thought to have been made between 1808 and 1814. However, it has now been re-dated to 1814 to 1823, based on the new discovery of a watermark in the Valderrobles Archive, where the paper was manufactured. The watermark (Gaudo and Son) was used from 1814. The date range of 1814 to 1823 is related to the end of the Liberal Triennium (1820–23), which corresponds to the subjects in the last drawings of the notebook.
7 Prado Museum, ODG65.
8 National Library of Spain, Madrid, Ms. 20258.



ABOVE:
What idiocy to decide their destinies in infancy!
1814–23
Album C, 13
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

p. 24:
Young man looking through a magnifying glass at a maja 1795–96 (detail)
Album B, 19
preliminary drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 7
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



Severity is not always good 1816–20
Album E, 13
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

Emblems of ignorance: superstition and religious fervour

Ignorance is not the only result of poor education. Other consequences include the teaching of false beliefs, particularly those that demonstrate a misunderstanding of religion. In the *Caprichos*, which were subject to possible censorship upon publication, critiques of religion are coded in scenes featuring witches and goblins. In the drawing *Dream 2: Witches' first attempt to fly, and nervously they try to make it work* (p. 42), on which *Trials* (plate 60, p. 162) is based, witches symbolise the ignorance that governs human behaviour. A billy goat presides over the scene, in which two naked witches levitate, amused and erratic, leaving the instruments used in their spells on the ground. Monks also adopt the appearance of grotesque creatures of the night. Sometimes they are depicted as elf-like and friendly; at other times they appear hideous and, at the same time, ridiculous. However, in the albums of drawings, the unflattering representations of the repressive clergy are explicit and hardly require a second reading. This is the case in numerous drawings in Album C; for example, the depiction of Orosia Moreno, a woman who was condemned for her verbal outpourings and her alleged magical powers (p. 210). Goya is also explicit in depicting the clergy as leading unproductive lives and subjecting the majority of the population to their false beliefs. This can be seen in a drawing from Album F, 1812–20, that Goya left untitled, and which has subsequently become known as *Exorcism* (p. 32).

Violence and its consequences

Goya dedicated a large part of his creative energies to denouncing violence, though he depicts it as a fundamental component of human nature. Both in the preparatory drawings for his series of prints, and in the numerous pages of his albums, especially those made during and after the Spanish War of Independence, extreme violence is a recurring theme. It is shown in various contexts: war, crime, bullfighting and education. But in all cases, it is the result of irrationality, which gives Goya's compositions the characteristic of a denunciation. In this regard, Goya's attitude aligns with European thinkers and jurists of his time, such as Cesare Beccaria or Manuel de Lardizábal y Uribe, who, in his *Discourse on the acquired sentences to the criminal laws of Spain, to facilitate their reform* (1782), commented:

> The persistent passions of men, and the infinitely variable malice that encloses the human heart deep in its chest naturally produce duplicity, deceit, dissent, injustice, violence, oppression and all other vices and crimes, which disturb the peace and security of individuals, and also put the Republic in danger and at risk of upheaval.[9]

The works in Album F all depict situations in which misery, violence and tragedy prevail. Drawing predominantly on real events – not always contemporary ones – the artist presents a panoramic view of the oppressive climate during the War of Independence and the immediate postwar period. It begins with violent scenes and old-fashioned duels, and concludes with hunting scenes; in between these are various episodes that convey a disturbing mood. Many of the compositions are closely linked to other prints, paintings or drawings from this period. *Challenges: On guard!* (p. 33) is one of six drawings at the beginning of the album that represent duels with characters dressed in historical attire. Within the context of the subsequent drawings, they can be interpreted as the historical antecedents of the various instances of human violence that follow.

However, it was in the *Disasters of War* that Goya fully developed his ability to represent violence. This series is based on the events of the War of Independence, but it has universal relevance as a fully modern vision of the violence of war and its tragic consequences. Made from an independent and apolitical perspective, Goya captured the irrationality of war and its devastating effects in all its rawness. The series remained unpublished until 1863, although Goya printed a set that he gave to his friend Juan Agustín Céan Bermudez, with the following title on the front cover: *Fatal Consequences of Spain's Bloody War with Bonaparte. And Other Emphatic Caprices, in 85 Prints*.[10]

The first part shows scenes of bloody clashes, abuse, executions and death, while the second part offers insight into the dire consequences of the famine in Madrid during the war. The last part, allegorical in nature and known as the *caprichos enfáticos* (emphatic caprices), confronts the viewer with the political repression during the reign of Ferdinand VII. The preparatory drawings, drawn in red chalk, show Goya's ability to represent the beauty of male and female bodies in a naturalistic way. These figures fall victim to violent men capable of the most hideous acts, their lifeless bodies strewn across city and country alike. Goya is also intent on showing institutional violence which, taken to an extreme, deprives individuals of their liberty or their life. The death penalty had been heavily criticised by many of Goya's contemporaries, and his views on the issue are repeatedly expressed in his work. For example, in *It's a hard step!* (p. 68), a cleric is seen blessing the terrible scene. Seeming to anticipate cinematography, Goya shows the individual moments of an execution: in the foreground we can see the path towards the gallows; corpses lie on the ground and others are still hanging on ropes. The figures' hand gestures effectively express the drama of the moment: the hands of the executioners that hoist the condemned man display tension; the prisoner's hands, tied by the wrist, make a gesture of submission or prayer; those of the priest bless authoritatively; and those of the recently hanged prisoners in the background remain inert as their bodies sway. Their faces reflect various attitudes – authority, effort, surprise or dejection. The title is eloquent: the step that leads to death is so hard that the condemned man cannot take it by himself.

Goya also shows the consequences of war for the most disadvantaged citizens. His depictions of the elderly in *This is how useful men usually end up* (p. 321), from Album C, and families in *Poverty* (p. 70), from Album F, show Goya's concern with the fragility of life after war.

Bullfighting as an allegory of violence: the postwar period

The third of Goya's print series, the *Tauromaquia* (*The Art of Bullfighting*), c. 1815–16, was a resounding commercial failure. Nobody seemed willing to buy images of terrible violence, in spite of their evident beauty and formal and technical complexity. The images sit within the critical and dramatic context of the *Disasters*, with which they coincide chronologically. Goya's *Tauromaquia* reflects the debate about the legitimacy of bullfighting within enlightened society. Throughout the series, he traced the history of the bullfight from antiquity up to his own time. To illustrate the practice in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, he chose renowned bullfighters and scenes from contemporary bullfights which ended tragically.

The links between *Tauromaquia* and the *Disasters* are evident in the preparatory drawing for plate 12, *The rabble hamstring the bull with lances, sickles, banderillas and other weapons* (p. 72), which depicts violence in a similar manner to the war images. The mob, which is ready to attack the bull with pikes and sickles, evokes the furious Spaniards ready to kill French soldiers with their axes and knives, an analogy that is reflected in Goya's description of the participants as a 'rabble'. Bullfighting treatises of the period mention the courage of bullfighters and their skills. In his images of contemporary bullfighters, Goya represented this heroic aspect, but also his ambivalent attitude to the fight, in which visual beauty is mixed with risk and fear. In *The highly skillful student from Falces, wrapped in his cape, tricks the bull with the play of his body* (p. 75), Goya conceives the image like a dance in which the bullfighter teases the animal, moving around it, and at the same time conveys a tension in which both figures stand out in a vacant space before an audience whose reactions we cannot make out.

9 Manuel de Lardizábal y Uribe, *Discurso sobre las penas contraídas en las leyes criminales de España para facilitar su reforma*, prologue, Madrid, 1782, p. iii.

10 The Céan Bermudez Album (British Museum, London, 1975, 1025.421.1-87) includes two additional prints (plates 81 and 82) and three prints showing prisoners, also by Goya, which were not published in the 1863 edition.



Exorcism 1812–20
Album F, 27
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



Challenges: On guard! 1812–20
Album F, 11
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

The violence reaches its expressive heights in scenes that show the goring of the bullfighters, assistants and horses, as seen in *A picador is unhorsed and falls under the bull* (p. 74). Thrusting at the bull from a horse to weaken the animal through the loss of blood was one of the most tense and risky moments of the bullfight. Given the drama of the thrust, it is not surprising that Goya chose this moment to exemplify the violence involved. Throughout his work, from the 1790s to the Bordeaux years, Goya referred to the iconography of warfare to represent the bullfight.

Nightmares and dreams: between absolutist repression and liberal constitutionalism

The vision we have of Goya in the years immediately after Ferdinand VII's return to the throne is of an isolated and pessimistic man. His grief over the death of his wife was compounded by the deaths of some of his Enlightenment intellectual friends, such as Jovellanos, Francisco Cabarrús and Bernardo de Iriarte, while others, including Leandro Fernández de Moratín and Juan Meléndez Valdés, went into exile in France. Goya, however, remained in Spain, undergoing a process of atonement as a court painter in 1814, having served King Joseph I, to whom Goya had pledged allegiance in 1811, and from which he was ultimately absolved. Goya critically reflected on the restoration of the absolutist regime in these years in the so-called 'emphatic caprichos', the final prints in the *Disasters of War*.

Along with his personal problems, worsened by financial difficulties, further professional difficulties arose. The new king's artistic taste was different from that of his parents, and he gave the most important commissions to the painter Vicente López. Goya's great days as a portraitist to the aristocracy, bourgeoisie and intellectuals were in the past.

On 1 January 1820, Spanish troops stationed in Cabezas de San Juan waiting to leave for the Spanish territories in the Americas revolted against the absolutist rule of Ferdinand VII, and with lieutenant colonel Rafael de Riego at the helm they proclaimed the Constitution of 1812, forcing the king to restore it. For the next three years, an attempt was made to establish a new regime, which failed due to disagreements among the liberals, their inability to attract major popular support, and external and internal opposition led by the king. In 1823, a French army, the Hundred Thousand Sons of Saint Louis, invaded Spain and restored absolute power to Ferdinand VII. Goya's drawings and prints reach an intense personal engagement with the events of this period which few artists have achieved. It is impossible to understand them without considering his state of mind and this dark period in Spanish history. *The consequences* sums up the disastrous effects of the war and the subsequent absolutist repression: a man lies on the ground, semiconscious, while a vampire sucks his blood. The artist highlights the contrast between the serenity of the man's face and the wild eyes of the predator. Goya would use these staring eyes throughout his work to characterise creatures and humans who had lost their sanity. He highlights the contrast between victim and predator with the symbolic use of light, illuminating the victim and darkening the body of the creature.

In nine pages of Album C, Goya illustrates several burlesque visions that occurred in one night. The captions of the drawings *Burlesque vision* (p. 90) and *The fifth* [*burlesque vision*] (p. 91) reflect the sequence in which they occurred. These drawings show a move away from the analysis of the real world to the world of dreams. In Goya's time, the word 'vision' was associated with nightmares and terrifying images. Goya's tendency to provide titles with double meanings opens these drawings up to interpretation: they could be the representation of a dream, or an allegorical image of contemporary Spain. What he presents, in the form of a rigorous catalogue, is the ridiculous behaviour of various social groups: the military, nobility, peasants and friars, young and old.

Following these visions, in the last part of the album, are various drawings in which the main subjects are liberty, reason and justice, depicted either as allegories or textual references. As they are situated next to the images of prisoners and victims of the Inquisition, we can connect them with Goya's hope for the reformist liberal politics of the Cortes of Cádiz, established by the Spanish parliament in 1812 to proclaim a Constitution informed by advanced, liberal laws. The figure in the drawing *Divine Liberty* (p. 45) joyfully receives 'liberty', symbolically represented



The consequences 1814–15
preparatory drawing for *Disasters of War*, plate 72
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

in the form of celestial light. At his feet, an inkwell and a half-written sheet of paper allude to the freedom of the press promoted by the liberals of the Cortes. Near the end of the album, in the drawing *Divine reason. Spare no one* (p. 44), the female figure is an allegorical representation of reason, whose foundations are based on truth and justice. With a scale in her left hand and a whip in her right, she strides forward, whipping the crows that symbolise the forces of darkness, probably a reference to the need to abolish religious orders and the Inquisition. While the previous drawings were generally dark, here the paper shimmers symbolically, as reason has illuminated the world.

A grotesque vision of life: last years in Madrid and exile in Bordeaux

During his last years in Madrid, Goya carried out the most personal of his pictorial series, which he created between 1820 and 1823 on the walls of the Quinta del Sordo, the country house next to the Manzanares river, which he had bought in 1819. The Black Paintings are the culmination of the 'capricho' panel paintings that Goya had started in the 1790s, which he described as works of 'fantasy and invention'.[11] The fourteen Black Paintings occupied two rooms. The most interesting aspect of these works is, without a doubt, the way in which they demonstrate the evolution of

11 Goya, letter to Bernardo de Iriarte, 4 Jan. 1794, collection of The British Museum.

Goya's painting. In some paintings Goya returns to subjects he addressed in the past, but now he omits references to specific stories, stripping them of any anecdotal detail, thus making them difficult to interpret. He focuses instead on sensations of fear and hallucination, which he achieves by using dark colours and distorted expressionist figures. A few years earlier he had begun work on the print series *Disparates*, featuring images with a hermetic meaning.[12] Like the *Disasters*, they were published long after Goya's death, in 1864 in Madrid; the plates had been in storage at the Quinta del Sordo after Goya moved to Bordeaux and remained there for many years.

There have been numerous interpretations of these extraordinarily modern images: they have been seen as satires of customs and society, similar to those in the *Caprichos* series, or commentary on the complex and turbulent political climate under Ferdinand VII, which alternated between absolutist repression, and brief periods of liberty and hope during which the king temporarily re-established the Constitution. *Folly of fear* (p. 92) shows soldiers falling over and running from an enormous ghost that they cannot confront. However, the ghost is nothing more than a disguise: a small figure appears through the sleeve, mocking the soldiers' fear. Their moustaches and beards are in keeping with the fashion of 1820, while the uniforms with wide white belts, the sabres, and the shape of the coats, trousers and caps remind us of the national militia created after Riego's pronouncement in January of that year. With this announcement began the Liberal Triennium, a period of greater freedom; however, the king's threats to the Constitution and political instability continued.

In the preparatory drawings for the *Disparates*, Goya applied wash with different kinds of brushstrokes and combined them with the white of the paper to create vibrant scenes. For example, in *Merry folly* (p. 94), joy and folly are combined in a dance, in which the men cannot keep up with the women dancing to a festive rhythm. The men's deformity and their enormous sex organs contrast with the youthful beauty of the women in a commentary on the incompatibility between men's libidinous desire and women's interests and needs. Again, the omnipresent themes in Goya's work reappear – falsity, lies and mismatched desires.

The obscurity of meaning in this series is most directly exemplified in *Two people looking into a luminous room* (p. 93). The darkness of the world inhabited by the men is joined with the hopeful prospect of an escape into a new space dominated by light, which may represent Goya's need to depart for France in search of the freedom he was denied at home. After the French invasion in 1823, and the subsequent restoration of absolute power to Ferdinand VII, many liberals went into exile. On 2 May, with the unmistakable intention of leaving Spain, Goya petitioned the king, requesting leave of absence of six months to bathe in the mineral springs of Plombières in France, for health reasons. On 27 June, Moratín records Goya's arrival in Bordeaux:

> Goya in fact arrived, deaf, old, awkward, and weak, and without knowing a word of French, and without a servant (that no one needs more than he), and so content and so desirous to see the world.[13]

In Bordeaux, Goya would live with Leocadia Zorrilla, with whom he had already shared a house in Madrid, together with her children. The mature artist made some of his most interesting works in this period of intense activity. The drawings in Albums G and H, both 1824–28, stand out, and his series of lithographs *Bulls of Bordeaux*, 1825, demonstrate Goya's unlimited capacity to continue learning and experimenting, in spite of his deteriorating health, his advanced age, and the distance from family and friends.

12 It is possible that Goya continued to work on the *Disparates* until his departure for France in 1824.
13 Leandro Fernández de Moratín, letter to Juan Antonio Melón González, Bordeaux, 27 June 1824.

The Bordeaux drawings, very likely related to a planned series of lithographs, once again reveal the essence of Goya's oeuvre, halfway between observed reality and fantasy, and of undoubtably critical character although, as has been pointed out, the satirical tone of the *Caprichos* gives way to the grotesque, which we sometimes fail to understand. In the *Caprichos* the themes changed within an internal structure of thematic repetition, though it was not always ordered, and a similar pattern is evident in the Bordeaux albums. Fantastic animals alternate with street characters, and absurd scenes that incite laughter precede or follow the most barbarous instances of unimaginable yet authentic and real violence. Even so, it is easy to see Goya's empathy with objects of ridicule, as in *Literate animal* (p. 304); with the vulnerable, such as the man in *The enema* (p. 97); victims of insanity, as depicted in *Bad dream* (p. 98); monstrous beings that try to go against their evil essence, like the creatures in *They love each other very much* (p. 305); and the old character who is going to be brutally murdered by a mad man in *Man murdering a monk* (p. 96), which is reminiscent of the depiction of Spanish patriots in Goya's painting *The Second of May 1808*, 1814 (Prado Museum, Madrid).

Despite the grotesque and dramatic quality of the drawings in this album, there is an underlying intention to incite laughter, as in *Phantom dancing with castanets* (p. 99). It reminds us that in Goya's work nothing is what it seems, that his oeuvre allows for multiple readings, and that there is no single correct interpretation, since the artist speaks to us from the depths of his feelings and thoughts. It is up to us whether we are able to comprehend the comedy and tragedy of this era, which is in many ways not so different from the world we live in today.



Here comes the bogeyman c. 1797
preparatory drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 3
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



Here comes the bogeyman
plate 3, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



Neither more nor less c. 1797
preparatory drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 41
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



Dream 27: Witches disguised as ordinary doctors 1797
preliminary drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 40
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



Dream 2: Witches' first attempt to fly, and nervously they try to make it work 1797
preparatory drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 60
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



They spruce themselves up c. 1797
preparatory drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 51
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



Divine reason. Spare no one 1814–23
Album C, 122
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



Divine Liberty 1814–23
Album C, 115
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

PERSPECTIVES THROUGH HISTORY: TRUTH AND FICTION

Manuela B. Mena Marqués



A carpet of yellowing leaves, a metaphor for time, conceals the great artists of the past. Disjointed fragments that speak of their lives and ideas occasionally resurface, fragments that reflect the changes in culture, philosophy, society and art that have taken place in distinct historical periods from the moment of the artist's death to the present. A complex image of the artist emerges: a blurred figure composed of diverse parts, a Frankenstein made in the eyes of viewers, historians and other artists who have searched for the true Goya in the context of their time.

Goya's 'critics'

Goya is an example of this historical phenomenon. Until around the mid twentieth century, the only available documents related to him were court records, similar to those we have on almost every artist who worked at the Spanish court in the latter half of the eighteenth century. They contain interesting administrative details, but art-historical research, especially that carried out since the 1970s, has revealed a wealth of new information about Goya's life and art in the context of his time. Art historians working in the past fifty years have published essential new documentation; identified previously unknown sources of influence, including the critical role of Classical antiquity for an artist of the Neoclassical period; and established vital links to the culture, literature and poetry of the artist's time. Detailed technical analysis of Goya's works has also begun to expose the numerous paintings erroneously attributed to him, a process of misattribution that began almost immediately after his death and which has contributed to a distorted impression of his art. Curiously, many popular publications on Goya insist on selecting works that were *not* painted by the artist for their cover design, perhaps because it is believed that these sentimental images may be easier to understand for the general public. In contrast, art historians in recent decades have tried to locate the figure of the artist in its historical, cultural and pictorial contexts, and to uncover the truth of Goya's life amid the fictions.[1] Goya is finally becoming less dependent on the interests of those connected to the art market, who from the beginning encouraged misattributions and forgeries.

In Goya's case, however, the question of authorship sometimes appears to be of almost secondary importance, despite its significance in art history and other disciplines. It must be said that the search for truth with respect to Goya's works has many detractors; among them are those for whom every painting that has ever been called a 'Goya' must be a Goya forever, without question. Nevertheless, new avenues of investigation are helping to dismantle the myths and preconceptions about Goya's art and thinking that persist into the present. Despite these advances, he is still called a 'war reporter' in relation to the universal metaphors in his *Disasters of War*, 1810–15, for example, or described as a painter who lacks technique or understanding of composition; his depiction of hands has long been derided, although he was professor of anatomy at the Royal Academy of San Fernando in Madrid for much of his life. For some clarity on the *Disasters* we can turn to the British writer Aldous Huxley, writing in 1943:

> The *Desastres*, though for the most part it represents real happenings under the Napoleonic terror, represents them in a way which, being generalized and symbolical, rather than directly documentary, permits of, and indeed demands, a treatment no less broad and dramatic than is given to the fantasies of the other collections.[2]

1 Janis A. Tomlinson, *Goya: A Portrait of the Artist*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford, 2020. This excellent biography of Goya reviews the artist's life and work through a modern lens, while also taking into account the historical period in which he lived.

2 Aldous Huxley, 'Variations on Goya', in *Themes and Variations*, Chatto & Windus, London and Toronto, 1950, p. 217. Huxley's introduction appeared in *The Complete Etchings of Goya*, Crown Publishers, New York, 1943.

On the other hand, Nicholas Penny, art historian and Director of the National Gallery in London from 2008 to 2015, in his review of the Australian art historian and critic Robert Hughes's Goya biography of 2003, points to Goya's apparent carelessness when drawing:

> Goya's vivid portraits, in complete contrast to those by Mengs, which skilfully graft the melting graces of Correggio onto court sitters, look as if they were painted with little premeditation. Hughes describes Goya as 'one of the greatest draughtsmen in European history', but this claim is made with reference to the sketches intended for or used in his prints. There are hardly any surviving drawings for his portraits, and many passages in them are, in the conventional sense, ill drawn.[3]

Despite recent moves towards greater historical accuracy, however, it is surprising that journalists and even art historians writing about Goya today continue to use the term 'critic' to refer to authors who have considered Goya from a historical perspective. Very different, of course, is the excellent encyclopaedic compilation *Goya and His Critics*[4] (1977) by Nigel Glendinning, who collected everything from the greatest thoughts to the most minor words expressed on the artist since his death. Perhaps the confusion exists because in Spanish the term 'critic' is associated with reviews of contemporary art, music, theatre and film, written by experts in their field who, nonetheless, tend to express their subjective opinions about a new work of art or composition. A 'critic', in the Spanish sense, will bitterly disagree with opposing views, and their commentary can reveal more about their ego than about the quality of the artwork. In Goya's case, it can seem as though his artistic corpse had somehow been kept in hibernation from the instant of his death, that he is an artist to be 'criticised' as though he were still alive in the present day, when the works of contemporary artists, incomprehensible for many because of their modernity, are often 'reviewed' by 'critics' but rarely explained by means of more objective analysis from an art-historical perspective. In such terms, Goya sometimes appears to be judged as harshly as a radical and misunderstood artist working in the twenty-first century.

That is not to say, of course, that a critic cannot comment on Goya's art and life. Hughes, for example, wrote one of the most popular books about Goya of the past twenty years, prompted by the nightmares that followed a near-fatal car accident. Written from a contemporary and occasionally autobiographical perspective, it is highly researched and yet manages to appeal to a wide audience. The introductory comments to the accompanying documentary film begin much like the book: 'To me he is one of the defining figures of the nineteenth century, because he looks forward into the twentieth, and he tells us what we have in common with our past and with our ancestors … in the visual arts, in that department, Goya reigns supreme'.[5]

Myths and fictions

In 1801, Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, a leading Enlightenment thinker in Spain, praised qualities in Goya's work very different from those that came to define assessments of his art after his death in 1828: 'The intensity of the chiaroscuro, the inimitable beauty of his colours, and that certain magic of light and hue that no other brush can attain'.[6] In the years following Goya's death, several biographies and biographical essays appeared, some of them well researched, others not. Many of these biographies contributed in some degree towards the creation of a fictionalised persona that has persisted in some circles to the present day.

The first two important biographies of Goya appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century – the first by Laurent Matheron in 1858 and the second by Charles Yriarte in 1867.[7] However, by the mid 1830s, news of the Spanish artist had arrived in cultural magazines read by the French and Spanish bourgeoisie. An anonymous piece appeared in France's *Le Magasin pittoresque* in 1834, although it has been suggested that it was in fact written by the Bordeaux painter Adrien Dauzats. The previous year, he had accompanied author and philanthropist Baron Taylor on a trip to Madrid to acquire works for the Louvre gallery dedicated to Spanish art, created by French King Louis Philippe. Dauzats had in fact written to Federico de Madrazo, a young Spanish artist well placed in Madrid society and son of the court painter José de Madrazo, on 29 September 1834, requesting information for a biography about



RIGHT:
Vicente López Portaña
The painter Francisco de Goya 1826
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

p. 48:
The consequences 1814–15 (detail)
preparatory drawing for *Disasters of War*, plate 72
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

3 Nicholas Penny, 'The people's Goya: *Goya* by Robert Hughes', *London Review of Books*, vol. 26, no. 18, 23 Sep. 2004. Also see Nigel Glendinning, 'Goya and England in the nineteenth century', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 106, no. 730, 1967, pp. 13, n. 55, which quotes similar opinions by English art historians in relation to Goya's portraits.

4 Nigel Glendinning, *Goya and His Critics*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1977. The Spanish edition was published in 1982, with a second edition in 2018, including essays by Valeriano Bozal, Sarah Symmons and Jesusa Vega. See also Glendinning, 'Goya and England in the nineteenth century', pp. 4–14.

5 Robert Hughes, *Goya*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 2003; *Goya: Crazy Like a Genius*, Ian MacMillan, Oxford Film & Television, United Kingdom, 75 mins, 2002.

6 See Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, *Obras completas*, vol. viii, Instituto Feijoo de Estudios del siglo XVIII, Ilustre Ayuntamiento de Gijón, Oviedo, 1999, p. 384. Diary 10 records the journey into exile from Gijón to Mallorca according to various authors, in collaboration with Andrés de Lasauca, and mentions Monte Torreros on 7 April 1801.

7 Laurent Matheron, *Goya*, Schulz et Thuillié, Paris, 1858; Charles Yriarte, *Goya: Sa biographie, les fresques, les toiles, les tapisseries, les eaux-fortes, et le catalogue de l'œuvre, avec cinquante planches inédites*, Henri Plon, Paris, 1867.

Goya: 'It is an homage we want to pay to one of Spain's most celebrated painters'.[8] The illustrations in the *Magasin pittoresque* biography included the Goya self-portrait that opens the *Caprichos*, 1797–98 (p. 5), already well-known in France, and two etchings by the great French caricaturist Grandville. The selection reveals the image of Goya that was forged in the mid nineteenth century: the creator of the *Caprichos*, and a man who enjoyed bullfights and *majas*, and who led a generally dissolute life. The author stated that Goya was largely unknown in France, even among artists, but that in Spain his name evoked 'respect and pride'. Those early expressions of admiration, however, also alluded to Goya's supposed passion for bullfighting and his friendships with bullfighters (something of a cliché about Spaniards, even at the time). The biography blamed certain aspects of his life – his illnesses, deafness and later exile – on the licentious behaviour at the court of Carlos IV: 'Often, when returning late at night from the Queen's circles, or those of the Princess of Benavente or the Duchess of Alba, he would use brush or chisel to express his contempt for the courtiers' frenzied pleasures, which he depicted in bloody satires, thus paving the way for his exile'.[9]

This is also perhaps the first time that the Duchess of Alba is mentioned in connection with Goya, although the idea of his passionate love affair with her – one of the myths surrounding Goya's life most staunchly maintained even today – had not yet been introduced. Goya was frequently depicted as a passionate lover, an aspect of his fictionalised character that has long captured the public's imagination, but it was the twentieth-century film director Luis Buñuel who first suggested that the Duchess of Alba had fallen for Goya's charms. In the script for an unrealised film to mark the centenary of the artist's death in 1928, Buñuel introduced certain fictional elements to 'enliven' the plot, including a story about Goya embarking on a love affair with the Duchess.[10] On the other hand, Goya's real and long-lasting relationship with his childhood friend, Martín Zapater, evidenced in the expressions of profound mutual affection found in their correspondence, has not been acknowledged until recently.[11]

Another idea that appears for the first time in the *Magasin pittoresque* biography is that Goya was exiled to France in 1824. Many Spanish liberals were forced into exile after having served King Joseph Bonaparte in the War of Independence; among these were several friends of Goya, including the writer Leandro Fernández de Moratín, the politician Francisco Silvela, and his daughter-in-law's father, Martín Miguel de Goicoechea, who had been living in Bordeaux since 1812. Moreover, Goya's drawings, particularly those in Album C, contain scenes of people incarcerated after the abolition of the Constitution of 1812, though they were not known at the time and all were in the artist's possession. Nevertheless, in one drawing in Album E (the Black Border album), a brutal character knocks down a statue almost certainly symbolising the constitution. However, in a biographical note written in 1835, Valentín Carderera referred to Goya's departure with the same explanation the artist had given King Ferdinand VII when he requested permission to leave Spain: that he needed to take the waters in France for health reasons. Glendinning also notes that references to Goya's political ideas and his liberalism are absent from Carderera's early biographies. Moreover, unlike other Spaniards, Goya was able to make three trips from Bordeaux to Madrid during his years of 'exile' without being exposed to any danger,[12] and his pension as a retired court painter was paid until his death. As such, Goya's 'exile' in Bordeaux has more often been explained as a consequence of the frenzied and unrestrained life he criticised in his etchings, rather than as a result of his political ideas, recalling notions about his character first introduced by the anonymous French biographer of *Le Magasin pittoresque*. Biographers searching for other reasons for the exile have identified the possible role played by Leocadia Zorrilla, who had been Goya's housekeeper in Madrid since 1817. She left Spain for Bordeaux because her son belonged to the liberal guard – the ever-fictionalised biography of the artist presents Leocadia as his lover late in life.

Although there is little evidence to support the theory that Goya's move to Bordeaux was for political reasons, his political ideas nevertheless became a central theme in late nineteenth-century evaluations of his life and art. In the nationalist fervour created by the Gloriosa (the revolution of September 1868), followed by the proclamation of the First Spanish Republic in 1874, Goya was identified as a martyr in the struggle for freedom. Hence the myth of his exile and death outside Spain, revived again in the twentieth century as a result of the Spanish Civil War (1936–39) and its many political refugees, including the popular writer Ramón Gómez de la Serna. When he went into exile in 1937, Gómez de la Serna added an autobiographical epilogue to his book on Goya, originally written for the centenary of the artist's death in 1928: 'When, some months ago, I was forced to wait long days in Bordeaux for the departure of my ship bound for the Americas, I found myself walking the streets of the old city with the figure of Don Francisco de Goya y Lucientes'.[13]

Carderera's account of Goya's life was published in the journal *El Artista* at the end of 1835, some months after the publication of the highly fictionalised French biography. Carderera was a Spanish painter, historian and archaeologist with links to Madrid's high society and important French intellectuals. In his writings, he championed Goya's work – Carderera had also, in fact, acquired a remarkable number of drawings and prints from the artist's family. Together with Federico de Madrazo, he was responsible in large part for Goya's growing international reputation, which came about through the sale of his works in Paris. Carderera based his biography on an autobiographical text written by the artist and published in the 1828 Prado Museum catalogue,[14] as well as on a letter written by Goya's son Javier to the Royal Academy of San Fernando in 1831.[15] In contrast to French views on Goya, Carderera recognised the artist's 'moral qualities', an aspect of his character that has not always been acknowledged by biographers, and this despite the fact that Goya was well-liked and admired by his many friends as well as by his wealthy and aristocratic patrons: 'Since an artist's work is often the most vivid reflection of his soul, it seems pointless to describe the moral qualities of our distinguished painter … His many friends and admirers are pleased to attest to and confirm his frank, modest, courageous, carefree and original character'.[16]

Carderera attributed Goya's originality to his sense of freedom: 'Fortunate is he who, whilst well aware of his genius, does not allow himself to be pulled along by the crowd, nor by the doctrines and concerns of his contemporaries, but rather follows his vocation, strives to improve

8 See 'Goya', *Le Magasin pittoresque*, no. 41, 1834, pp. 252–5. See also Paul Guinard in 'Baudelaire, le musée espagnol et Goya', *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*, Presses Universitaires de France, no. 2, 1967, p. 323, n. 2, and Paul Guinard, *Dauzats et Blanchard, peintres de l'Espagne romantique*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1967.

9 See *Le Magasin pittoresque*, pp. 252, 254.

10 See Manuela B. Mena Marqués & Gudrun Mühle-Maurer, *Goya y la duquesa de Alba: El mito y la historia*, Prado Museum, Madrid, 2006.

11 Goya's correspondence with Zapater was published in its entirety in 1976, after having been censored by Zapater's heirs, his nephew and his grand-nephew in the nineteenth century. It has only recently been analysed thoroughly by Roxana Pagés-Rangel, in *Del dominio público: Itinerarios de la carta privada*, Rodopi, Amsterdam, 1997.

12 Gudrun Mühle-Maurer, 'Biografías enlazadas: Goya y los duques de Alba', in Mena Marqués & Mühle-Maurer, pp. 165–259.

13 For this quote, see Manuel García Guatas's excellent article 'Goya en el ojo de la modernidad', *Goya: Revista de Arte*, Madrid, no. 340, 2012, p. 262.

14 *Noticia de los cuadros que se hallan colocados en la Galería del Museo del Rey Nuestro Señor, sito en el Prado de esta corte* (*Daughter of Francisco Martínez Dávila, printer of His Majesty's Chamber*), Madrid, 1828, pp. 67–8.

15 Biography of Javier Goya sent to the Royal Academy of San Fernando, 13 March 1831, in Ángel Canellas López, *Diplomatario*, Institución Fernando el Católico, Zaragoza, 1981, pp. 518–19.

16 Valentín Carderera, 'Biografía de Don Francisco Goya, pintor', *El Artista*, vol. 2, no. 19, 1835, p. 255.

himself, and struggles to attain his objective'.[17] In a 1790 letter to Zapater, Goya himself commented on the desire to follow his own path: 'I would choose freedom, and I still work to attain it'.[18] The impulse towards freedom was one of Goya's most profound and personal characteristics. Freedom was part of Diderot's definition of beauty in art – 'the artist's application of the laws of order, but with freedom' – a freedom he described as 'that strange beauty they call *capricho*'.[19] In the eighteenth century more generally, freedom was celebrated in all artistic and philosophical endeavours – from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's 1787 opera *Don Giovanni*, where the antihero proclaims 'Viva la libertá!' in an electrifying aria; to the French revolutionaries with their motto 'Liberté, égalité, fraternité'; or to Friedrich Schiller, who introduces the concept as the artist's highest aspiration in the second volume of his *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man* (1795): 'Art is the daughter of freedom'. As early as October 1792, Goya asserted in a letter to the Royal Academy that: 'There are no rules in painting, and the oppression, or servile obligation, of making everyone study or follow the same path is a great impediment to the young people who practise this difficult art'.[20] This statement can be read as a legacy for the future.

Aside from his positive appraisal of Goya's character in the first edition of his biography, Carderera also described Goya's distinctive technique:

> His great skill in oil painting is well known … it was so simple that he regularly used nothing but vermilion, black and white ochre and, confident of the touch required, he applied it with such ease and daring that he produced admirable results, even if to those who understand little, many of his major pieces may appear the result of hasty and careless work.[21]

The Spanish biographer also appeared to refute here some of the claims made in *Le Magasin pittoresque*, where the paintings on the walls of Goya's country house on the outskirts of Madrid – later known as the Black Paintings – were first described:

> Sometimes he would put various colours into a candle holder, then hurl them against a vast white wall. He liked to extract from these chaotic splashes imposing scenes of contemporary history. That is how he painted the fresco depicting the famous massacre of our soldiers by the inhabitants of Madrid, with a spoon instead of a brush.[22]

However, in the 1838 edition of the publication *Semanario Pintoresco Español*, Carderera was carried away by the taste for Romanticism rapidly emerging among the writers and journalists of the mid nineteenth century. Carderera associated Goya with a peculiarly Spanish style of Romanticism, and with some of the favourite subjects of the new bourgeoisie – folkloric themes and dark nights populated by witches:

> So much truth in those popular scenes, in those bullfighters and *manolas*, in those muleteers and bucolic picnics! … This was Goya's favourite genre, as well as witches' sabbaths, scenes of thieves, etc., all of which stand out for their extraordinary naturalness and air of truth … Goya would become a different person on bullfighting days, with his wide-brimmed hat, his jacket and cape, and his sword under his arm … he used to strike up relationships with the most renowned of bullfighters.[23]

In Spain, there was a proliferation of small cabinet paintings showing scenes of bulls and burlesque phantasmagorias, bandit attacks and village processions. Spanish artists of the early Romantic generation, such as Leonardo Alenza or Eugenio Lucas Velázquez, and later artists including Eugenio Lucas Villaamil and Francisco Domingo Marqués, as well as numerous anonymous imitators of lesser quality,[24] altered the profound symbolism of some of Goya's later subjects, which always embodied universal metaphors. This generation of mid nineteenth-century artists, also called *costumbristas* (a style of Spanish folkloricism), based their compositions on works by Goya, such as those displayed at the Royal Academy of San Fernando in 1838,[25] or in the album drawings, which were first seen only after Goya's death, and after they had passed from his son's and grandson's possession into various collections, including those of Valentín Carderera and Federico de Madrazo. The real Goya, who was neither *costumbrista* or phantasmagorical, was obscured by these paintings, which had a lasting impact on his image. Misinterpretations of his art and character included the use of the term 'Goyesque', which was seen as the essence of 'Spanish' identity: the rabble, the processions, the bandits and the witches, the bulls and the bullfighters, all painted with quick brushstrokes and in dark colours, with none of the critical intention that exists in Goya's works. In truth, these visions of the artist could not be further from the reality of Goya. His *Tauromaquia*, c. 1815–16, for example, was consistent with the ideas of enlightened Spaniards like Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, a politician and intellectual, or José de Vargas Ponce, an enlightened military man, historian and director of the Royal Academy of History, who were opposed to bullfighting and considered it a form of anachronistic barbarism. In Goya's series of four lithographs, *Bulls of Bordeaux*, 1825, human brutality is depicted in the face of the beasts' nobility – Goya ironically called one of these prints *Spanish entertainment*.

On the other hand, the view of Goya as an artist who used exclusively dark tones would eventually also shape perceptions of his personality. As early as the 1830s he was being characterised as coarse and uneducated, a cliché that continued well into the twentieth century. Even the Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset describes the artist in an essay from 1950, 'Goya and the popular', as a *mozancón baturro*, or a rough peasant from Aragon, pointing to his reputed ignorance and crude humour.[26] Ortega y Gasset had significant influence on Goya's image in the twentieth century, an image which in certain spheres persists to the present day. For instance, he described the Goya of the exquisite eighteenth-century tapestry cartoons as a common Castilian, 'because he has learning deficiencies and will never manage to overcome a certain insecurity of the hand that makes him almost always that strange beast: a great but stammering painter'.[27]

17 Carderera, 'Biografía de Don Francisco Goya, pintor', p. 253.
18 Letter 123, Dec. 1790, in Mercedes Águeda & Xavier de Salas, *Cartas a Martín Zapater*, Istmo edition, Tres Cantos, Madrid, 2003.
19 Denis Diderot, 'Beau', in *Encyclopédie*, 1751–72.
20 Goya to the Royal Academy of San Fernando, Madrid, 14 Oct. 1792, in Canellas López, p. 311, n. 184.
21 Carderera, 'Biografía de Don Francisco Goya, pintor', p. 255.
22 *Le Magasin pittoresque*, p. 324. The deep technical documentation and high-resolution photographs of the Black Paintings that were done at the Prado Museum show only brushwork. See Carmen Garrido, 'Algunas consideraciones sobre la técnica de Las pinturas Negras de Goya', *Boletín del Museo del Prado*, no. 5, 1984, pp. 4–40.
23 Valentín Carderera, *Semanario Pintoresco Español*, no. 120, 1838, p. 653.
24 Enrique Lafuente Ferrari had already pointed out the imitations by workshops, especially in Valencia and Madrid, which had been producing 'Goyas' since the mid nineteenth century, when sales of his works began to increase in Spain and abroad. See Sociedad Española de Amigos del Arte & Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, *Antecedentes, coincidencias e influencias del arte de Goya catálogo ilustrado de la Exposición celebrada en 1932*, The Society, Madrid, 1947.
25 For example, the four paintings donated by Manuel García de la Prada in his will in 1836 – *Bullfight*, 1824 (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles); and *The inquisition tribunal*, *A procession of flagellants* and *The Madhouse*, all 1812–19 (all Royal Academy of San Fernando, Madrid), which could have been due to the themes of the Liberal Triennium (1820–23), as well as *The Burial of the Sardine*, 1812–19 (Royal Academy of San Fernando, Madrid).
26 José Ortega y Gasset, 'Goya y lo popular' (1950), in *Goya*, Revista de Occidente, Madrid, 1958, pp. 27, 42.
27 Ortega y Gasset, p. 26.



Mariano Benlliure Gil
Goya c. 1902
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



Gaetano Merchi
Goya c. 1795
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

The idea of Goya's uncultivated personality had already appeared in works by acclaimed nineteenth-century Spanish writers such as José Somoza (1781–1852), who described him as 'one of the most choleric men in Europe' in the context of a supposed confrontation with General Wellington in Madrid during the summer of 1812, when the artist was painting his portrait. This undocumented anecdote, during which Wellington apparently criticised the portrait, was further embellished by Ramón de Mesonero Romanos, another popular writer and journalist, who added that the artist had kept a pair of pistols at his side throughout the encounter.[28] Nevertheless, the historical evidence suggests something different: in the Wellington collection in London there was a first edition of the *Caprichos*, sold in the 1960s; the collection, however, retains a list of commentaries on the *Caprichos* in Goya's hand, indicating that the edition may well have been presented to the General by the artist himself.

Nineteenth-century artists' depictions equally reflect the idea that Goya had an aggressive personality, forever altering the serene dignity and self-confidence of his self-portraits, two facets of his character that were also reflected in Vicente López's 1826 portrait, now in the Prado Museum (p. 51). Goya's features were distorted in Federico

28 See Leonardo Romero Tobar, 'Goya in *El artista* y el *Semanario Pintoresco Español*', *Arbor: Ciencia, Pensamiento y Cultura*, vol. 188–757. Sep.–Oct. 2012, pp. 979–87. For quotes by José Somoza, see 'La duquesa de Alba y fray Basilio', *Semanario Pintoresco Español*, 1838, pp. 644–5, and Carlos Seco Serrano & Ramón Mesonero Romanos, *Memorias de un setentón*, vol. v, Atlas, Madrid, 1967.



Federico de Madrazo y Kuntz
Portrait of Francisco de Goya 1835
Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid

de Madrazo's illustration for Carderera's article in *El Artista*,[29] for example, as well as in an anonymous work published in *Semanario Pintoresco Español*.[30] With time, these images came to represent the artist's 'real' physiognomy. Thus, in the popular perception Goya is forever the genius trapped in the confines of a dark, pessimistic mind teetering on the edge of madness. This mythical vision of the artist was behind Mariano Benlliure Gil's 1902 sculpture for the entrance to the Prado Museum, which was widely copied and became the 'absolute truth' of Goya. However, the difference between this and the Italian Gaetano Merchi's work – sculpted from life around 1795 – is immediately evident. Merchi's sculpture shows Goya's fine features as they appear in all his self-portraits, capturing his determined expression, and the clear intelligence revealed by his direct and noble gaze.

The most thorough French nineteenth-century biography was undoubtedly Charles Yriarte's from 1867. It was a model of modern research, for which Yriarte travelled to Spain, where he was able to see many of Goya's most important works. He also interviewed everyone who knew anything about Goya, read all the material available at the time, and included his paintings, prints and drawings. Above all, Yriarte attempted to stay away from the Spanish inventions that had become attached to Goya's image.

29 *El Artista*, vol. 2, no. 19, 1835, p. 252.
30 Article by Valentín Carderera, with illustrations based on the anonymous portrait of Vicente López, signed with the initials F. B., *Semanario Pintoresco Español*, no. 120, 1838, p. 650.

However, despite his efforts, he was unable to adopt a sufficiently critical distance from his era and from the ideas that informed the art and art history of the period. A single sentence reveals what his readers were looking for in Goya's works: 'Goya disturbs us and makes us shudder … In his works demons howl and the wretched scream, there is sickening debauchery and a constant concern for the lurid, all of which disturb the mind and confound the imagination.'[31]

Ut pictura poesis: artists, poets, writers and Goya

The admiration for Goya felt by poets, writers and artists is reflected in the Roman poet Horace's maxim *Ut pictura poesis*, or 'as is painting so is poetry' (*Ars poetica*). There is a profound bond between Goya and even artists working today – artists who find common ground with his works, but also aspects they must critically confront, accept or reinterpret. Those who have been inspired by Goya in the almost two centuries since his death often reveal their attraction to a specific work, to a particular technique or use of colour, through the different aspects they adopt in their own work – passing judgement, if you will, on Goya's art. On a recent visit to the Prado Museum, British artist David Hockney said of Goya's tapestry cartoons, which somehow recall the luminous work of his early California years: 'I would like to live in these rooms for a month!'

The first poet to draw attention to Goya was Manuel José Quintana (1772–1857), a figure of some importance in Spain and a younger friend of the artist, who sent Goya his book entitled *Poems* around 1804–05. A dedication anticipated Goya's future fame: the poet announced that the public's veneration of Raphael, which endured far into the nineteenth century, would one day be transferred to Goya:

> Yes, there will come a day / it will come, Oh Goya! / when the ecstatic foreigner bows to your name … to the blissful audacity / of your ardent brush, the gallantry / the handsome gesture, the tender grace / the brilliance and magical harmony / of your exquisite colours … and your spirited daring.[32]

Half a century later, in 1858, Laurent Matheron published the first modern biography of Goya, predating Yriarte's by almost a decade. It was dedicated to Eugène Delacroix, with whom he had corresponded about a prologue the artist was to write (in the end, Delacroix never did). However, Matheron used a similar expression to Quintana's in reference to Goya: 'Today, we turn our gaze to an artist who appeared exactly a hundred years ago to act, so it seems, as a link – across a vast distance – between the old masters and the masters to come'.[33] Thus, authors writing in the past and the present have seen Goya as bridging the gap between the art that came before him and the art of the future, an aspect of his work that Robert Hughes, for example, also understood. The German and Austrian organisers of a 2005 exhibition – a collaboration between the Prado Museum, the Nationalgalerie in Berlin and the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna – revealed a similar vision of Goya when they named the show *Goya: Prophet of Modernity*.

Poets and novelists were some of Goya's earliest admirers, and among the first to abandon the picturesque romanticism and caricatured darkness espoused by critics and 'opinion leaders'. In their writing one finds an understanding of the human dimension in Goya's art. The British poet W. H. Auden, in his *Letters from Iceland* (1937), extolled Goya for having placed analysis of the human condition at the very centre of his work: 'To me Art's subject is the human clay, / And landscape but a background to a torso; / All Cezanne's apples I would give away / For one small Goya or a Daumier'.[34] Goya himself appeared to view his art in a similar light, and in the advertisement for the sale of his most important work, the *Caprichos*, in the *Diario de Madrid*, he wrote:

> Since the artist is convinced that the censure of human errors and vices (though they may seem to be the province of Eloquence and Poetry) may also be the object of Painting, he has chosen as subjects adequate for this work from the multitude of follies and blunders common to every civil society.[35]

Quintana anticipated the promise Goya's art held for the future, even though the artist had not yet etched the famous *Disasters of War* or painted the Black Paintings, which became the 'leitmotif' of Goya's art for the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, including for many artists. Goya's witches and witches' sabbaths had early on attracted the attention of French artists and writers like Victor Hugo, but the interest in the *Disasters of War* and in the Black Paintings did not fully emerge until the final decade of the nineteenth century, in the period known as *España negra* (*Black Spain*), which revolved around the so-called 'Generation of '98'. The movement was made up of writers, poets and scholars as well as artists, whose work reveals a critical vision of Spain following its defeat in the 1898 war with the United States, and the loss of the last colonies in Puerto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines. Late nineteenth and early twentieth–century artists in Spain, such as Darío de Regoyos, José Gutiérrez Solana[36] and Ignacio Zuloaga, captured the idea of *España negra* in publications, paintings, prints and magazine illustrations. In a sombre palette dominated by black, they composed scenes of ignorant villagers subjected to the oppressive power of religion, or images of processions and bullfights, no longer superficial or purely *costumbrista*, as the mid nineteenth-century Spanish cabinet paintings had been. The artists of the *España negra* movement revealed their debt to Goya's Black Paintings, which had been shown at the Prado Museum for the first time in 1889 and included in the catalogue of 1900. Photographs of the Black Paintings had been exhibited in the Spanish Pavilion at the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1878, but had not attracted buyers' attention; they were rarely mentioned in the press,[37] and did not influence French artists of the period.[38] It was only after the 1889 exhibition at the Prado that the perception of Goya began to be dominated by his Black Paintings – they defined his oeuvre for years to come.

The work of Goya is considered a precursor to twentieth-century artistic movements including Expressionism and Surrealism, influencing artists essential to their early development, such as Georges Rouault, James Ensor, Edvard Munch, Salvador Dalí and Luis Buñuel. Goya is in fact directly referenced in an almost *costumbrista* manner in Picasso's *Tauromaquia* of 1959, and much later in Dalí's *Caprichos*. The Black Paintings

31 Yriarte, p. 4.

32 Quintana most likely wrote the poem dedicated to Goya in 1805; it was published for the first time in the Spanish edition of Matheron's biography, *Goya*, trans. Guillermo Belmonte Müller, Dirección y administrácion, Madrid, 1890, pp. 173–6: 'To my friend D. Francisco Goya. Sending him the book of my poetry.'

33 'Prologue', in Matheron, unpaginated.

34 Wystan Hugh Auden, 'Letter to Byron', in W. H. Auden & Louis MacNeice, *Letters from Iceland*, Faber & Faber, London, 1937, p. 103.

35 *Diario de Madrid*, 6 Feb. 1799; see Canellas López, n. 211, pp. 327–8.

36 Darío de Regoyos's *Black Spain* (*España Negra*), Madrid, 1888, brings together the albums of the trip through Spain, from San Sebastián to El Escorial, in the company of his friend, the Belgian poet and writer Émile Verhaeren, in which he highlights the darkest and most backward aspects of that period. Later, in 1920, the artist José Gutiérrez-Solana published *La España Negra*, the book that gathered together previous publications about this idea.

37 See P. H. Hamerton in 'Goya', *Portfolio Papers*, London, 1889, pp. 119–60 (quoted in Glendinning). Hamerton registered that they were not fresco paintings, but oil paintings, which was finally fully recognised through the analysis executed by the Prado Museum conservation department (see note 22).

38 Carlos Teixidor Cadenas, photograph of the 1878 Exposition Universelle in Paris, showing the Spanish section, including Goya's *Witches' sabbath*, 8 Feb. 2015, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Exposición_Universal_de_Par%C3%ADs_de_1878,_Palacio_del_Trocadero,_arte_español,_El_Aquelarre_de_Goya.jpg>, accessed 23 Dec. 2020.

also had an impact on the work of Spanish artist Antonio Saura, who produced a series of images based directly on Goya's painting *The drowning dog*, 1820–23 (Prado Museum, Madrid), while he was based in Paris from 1967. *Saturn devouring his son*, 1820–23 (Prado Museum, Madrid), became another iconic composition in Goya's body of work. Aside from its influence in artistic circles, it was fundamental to the ideas of the French novelist and art theorist André Malraux, an important figure of mid twentieth-century European thought. His *Saturne: Le Destin, L'Art et Goya* (1957) delved into the absurdity of the human condition before even Jean-Paul Sartre or Albert Camus explored it. It was, above all, in this French cultural milieu that Goya's works were analysed not just as original and inventive compositions with links to the violent conflicts of the twentieth century, but also as expressions of the artist's personality. Twentieth-century philosopher Michel Foucault, for example, associated representations of madness in Goya's works, which appear from the end of the eighteenth century and continue with the drawings made in Bordeaux, with the supposed madness of the artist himself. Nevertheless, Foucault and others often ignored the intense interest in madness as a theme of philosophical and moral discussions in the Enlightenment and early Romantic periods, a theme also explored, for example, by Théodore Géricault.

French artists and writers have shown a special interest in Goya from the very beginning. Alongside the early 'fictional' approaches to Goya's life that can be found in the first biographies, a distinctive view developed among French artists such as Delacroix. French Romantic painters already admired seventeenth-century Spanish artists like Jusepe de Ribera, Francisco de Zurbarán, Diego Velázquez and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, whose works had arrived in France with the return of Napoleon's troops from Spain. Later on, in the mid nineteenth century, the sale of works by Goya at Paris auction houses, together with the opening of the aforementioned Louis Philippe gallery at the Louvre with works by Spanish artists, including Goya, only contributed to a growing fascination with his art. Delacroix was one of the first foreigners to recognise Goya – by 1824, he had copied several figures and groups from the *Caprichos* etchings,[39] and it is even possible that he had seen the *Portrait of Ferdinand Guillemardet*, c. 1798–99 (Louvre, Paris), at the home of Guillemardet, whose sons were friends of his. This interest in certain figures from the *Caprichos* is as revealing as a reference in a letter written in Seville on 24 January 1832, as Delacroix was making his way to North Africa: 'My surroundings heaved with Goya'.[40] Surely, at such an early stage in his life, he was referring to scenes from the *Caprichos*. It is difficult to believe that Delacroix was by then familiar with Goya's paintings, which, incidentally, he was never particularly enthusiastic about, though he noted in the diary of his trip to Africa that he had seen *Saints Justa and Rufina*, 1817, in the sacristy of Seville Cathedral.[41]

Delacroix's interest in Goya continued throughout his life. In 1845, the French artist visited the Bordeaux workshop belonging to the lithographer and printer Cyprien-Charles Gaulon. This was where Goya had made his lithographs, portraying Gaulon in one of the most fascinating prints of his late period. It was here that Delacroix must have acquired some of the works listed in the collection inventory made after his death, including the portrait of Gaulon and the *Bulls of Bordeaux*. In 1855, Delacroix wrote to Laurent Matheron: 'I have tried several times to acquire as many of his works as I can. I am referring to his etchings, which seem to me more admirable than his paintings.'[42] When he received Matheron's book in 1858, which was dedicated to him, Delacroix expressed his appreciation for the biographer's words and repeated his own opinion of Goya: 'A great artist, whose compositions and verve have so often inspired me'.[43] While Matheron's biography contained descriptions that conformed to the romantic ideas forged in Spain about Goya, his prologue accurately described him as a 'strange, whimsical character … a bold thinker, a daydreamer, a sharp storyteller with a free language'.[44]

The *Caprichos*, so loved by Delacroix, were Goya's best known and most admired works in nineteenth-century France, but they also continued to influence artists in the latter half of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. British artists Jake and Dinos Chapman, for instance, who describe their studio as 'a sediment of Goya pictures',[45] have produced interpretations of the *Caprichos* and of *Disasters of War* – one unnerving and provocative sculpture in particular brings to life the most terrible of Goya's war scenes, *Great feat! With dead men!* (plate 39, p. 223).[46] The Chapman piece, first shown in a small Venetian gallery for the 1996 Biennale, used torn, bloody mannequins to convey the horror of the violence that Goya had condensed into a small black-and-white image.

It is equally interesting to consider what Édouard Manet, who is among the most important French artists of the nineteenth century, may have thought of Goya's paintings and prints. He visited Madrid in 1865, mentioning Goya in passing in a letter to Charles Baudelaire:

> My dear friend, I discovered Vélasquez [sic] and I must tell you that he is the greatest painter who ever lived. In Madrid, I saw thirty or forty of his portraits and other paintings which are all masterpieces … I saw some very interesting works by Goya, some of them very beautiful.[47]

There are no 'masterpieces' in Goya's case, and it is impossible to know from his brief words what exactly Manet – who had fled Paris that year, following the terrible reaction of critics to his *Olympia*, 1863 (Musée d'Orsay, Paris) – found 'interesting' or 'beautiful' in Goya. And yet two of Manet's great works, *The execution of Maximilian* (Kunsthalle, Mannheim) and *The balcony* (Musée d'Orsay, Paris), both from 1867 to 1869, clearly reveal his familiarity with Goya's *The Third of May 1808*, 1814 (Prado Museum, Madrid, p. 124), as well as with *Majas on a balcony*, 1808–12,[48] which was exhibited from 1838 to 1848 at Louis Philippe's Spanish gallery at the Louvre (although Manet always claimed not to have visited it).

39 See Paula Fayos-Pérez, 'The Politics of the Grotesque: Goya's "Caprichos" and French Literature and Graphic Art in the Nineteenth Century, 1799–1868', doctoral thesis, unpublished, University of Cambridge, 2019.

40 See Manuela B. Mena Marqués, 'Delacroix y el hechizo de la "Belle École Espagnole"', in Sébastien Allard, *Delacroix: de l'idée à l'expression (1798–1863)*, Caixa Foundation, Madrid-Barcelona, 2011–12, pp. 78–89, particularly n. 9, p. 80.

41 For nineteenth-century France's interest in Spanish painting, see Geneviève Lacambre et al., *Manet-Velazquez: La manière espagnole au xixème-siècle*, Réunion des musées nationaux, Paris, 2002.

42 André Joubin (ed.), *Correspondance générale d'Eugène Delacroix: 1858–1863*, vol. 4, Plon, Paris, 1938. See Delacroix, letter to L. Matheron, 10 Dec. 1855, at Musée Delacroix, *Correspondance d'Eugène Delacroix*, <http://www.correspondance-delacroix.fr/correspondances/bdd/correspondance/106>, accessed 18 Jan. 2021.

43 Delacroix, letters to L. Matheron, 10 Dec. 1855 and 27 Nov. 1858, Musée Delacroix, *Correspondance d'Eugène Delacroix*, <http://www.correspondance-delacroix.fr>, accessed 23 Dec. 2020.

44 Matheron, chapter 1, unpaginated.

45 Christopher Turner, '"I'd like to have stepped on Goya's toes, shouted in his ears and punched him in the face": Jake and Dinos Chapman', *Tate Etc*, no. 8, 1 Sep. 2006, <https://www.tate.org.uk/tate-etc/issue-8-autumn-2006/id-have-stepped-on-goyas-toes-shouted-his-ears-and-punched-him-face>, accessed 18 Jan. 2021.

46 Robert Hughes, in his book on Goya, highlights the Impressionist character of the artist, for example in his *The meadow of San Isidro*, 1788 (Prado Museum, Madrid), and abhors the interest in the works of the Chapman brothers, especially in sculpture.

47 Manet, letter to Baudelaire, 14 Sep. 1865, in E. & J. Crépet, *Baudelaire*, A. Messein, Paris, 1906, pp. 392–3.

48 This was Goya's original, and is now in a private collection in Switzerland. It is not one of the various known copies of this singular work, which appear in several collections, including that of the Metropolitan Museum, New York. It was last exhibited at the Prado Museum in the *Goya in Times of War* exhibition, 2008.

The poet Charles Baudelaire, a friend of Manet's and a key figure in Parisian cultural life, in particular as a result of his criticism of and writings on the Salon, may have had the most fascinating and forward-thinking view of Goya in the nineteenth century. Like many French artists and thinkers in the second half of the nineteenth century, Baudelaire had admired the originality of the images in the *Caprichos* as early as the 1840s. However, his unique sensibility enabled him to see far into this distinctive world of images, and to express his ideas about art in a language very different from that of literary prose. It was perhaps this way of seeing that allowed Baudelaire to recognise instantly what remained obscure to many others. The French art historian Paul Guinard, a distinguished specialist in Spanish art, who was particularly interested in the cultural links between France and Spain, disentangled the highly complex perception of Goya that existed in nineteenth-century France:

> From the beginnings of Romanticism, the French had come to know several Goyas, both successively and simultaneously. In the Restoration period, [Victor] Hugo and his followers surrendered to a simple fantasy, and wanted nothing more than devilry and witchcraft: Boulanger surpassed him in representing the *Round of the Sabbath* and the *Ghosts*. Delacroix likened Goya to Michelangelo because of his energetic plasticity: he copied the *Caprichos* by isolating and simplifying the figures in order to highlight their shapes and expressions … with travellers returning from Spain, the picturesque and the sociological enter the scene. The Taylors and the Gautiers recognise in Goya a witness and judge of a world that will die with him: monarchic Spain, clerical and picaresque, a country of *majas* and bullfighters.[49]

Guinard, however, also succeeds in illustrating how Baudelaire understood, almost before anyone else, that in Goya's *Caprichos* 'those contortions, those bestial faces, those diabolical grins are filled with humanity'. In his essay 'De l'essence du rire', Baudelaire describes the different types of laughter that existed in various European countries. About Spain he writes: 'The Spanish are gifted at comedy. They quickly arrive at cruelty, and their most grotesque fantasies often contain something quite sombre'.[50] As Baudelaire had never been to Spain, his analysis of the Spanish sense of comedy, satire and caricature appears to have been taken directly from Goya's *Caprichos*, which, in the Spanish fashion, have little to do with caricature or even with the grotesque.

In Baudelaire's poems and letters, in the criticism in *Salons* (1845, 1846) and in the major work *Caricaturistes étrangers* (1857), dedicated to Goya, we discover the poet's interest in an artist who represented the same modernity he conceived of in his prose and in his poetry. In *Les Fleurs du Mal*, Baudelaire explored themes and individual characters in a fashion very similar to how Goya approached the scenes in the *Caprichos*, and his description of the series in the *Diario de Madrid* advertisement. Many poems in *Les Fleurs du Mal* (1857) have been associated with Goya, although Baudelaire does not copy or represent scenes from Goya in his poetry. However, their ideas emerge from a similar poetic and artistic sensibility, as with Baudelaire's use of demonic figures in 'Destruction', for example: 'The Demon is always moving about at my side / He floats about me like an impalpable air / I swallow him, I feel him burn my lungs / And fill them with an eternal, sinful desire.'[51] Baudelaire cites works such as *Majas on the balcony*, *The forge*, c. 1815–20 (The Frick Collection, New York), and *Young woman reading a letter*, 1814–19 (Palais des Beaux-Arts, Lille), paintings that Goya's son – in fact the first 'modern artist's son', who did not mind forging his father's 'work' in order to survive – had sold to Baron Taylor. For Baudelaire, Goya's paintings anticipated the urban life and workers later depicted by Manet and Constantin Guys.

Guinard also points to a strange account by Baudelaire, which has never before been cited by Goya scholars despite its intriguing connotations. In a curious letter to his friend and photographer Félix Nadar, written on 14 May 1859 while the poet was at Honfleur, Baudelaire mentions two Goya paintings he had seen in Moreau's shop on rue Laffitte, a street in Paris renowned for its galleries, antique shops and the auctions at the Hôtel Drouot. The works he alludes to were small and had been sold, he believed, by the artist's son – an eager Baudelaire describes them as 'arch-Goya' and 'arch-authentic'. From his account, it is clear Baudelaire was referring to the *Majas*, both the clothed and the naked versions, which he believed depicted the Duchess of Alba:

> One of the paintings shows the Duchess in national costume, while in the matching work she is naked and in the same position, lying on her back. The very triviality of the pose increases the charm of the paintings … If you were a very rich angel, I would advise you to purchase them; the occasion will never repeat itself.[52]

Expressing himself in ways that leave witches and phantasmagorias far behind, Baudelaire also wrote that 'the beauty of Goya is generally misunderstood', a beauty he defines as 'fierce and gallant'. The poet was unable to purchase the longed-for paintings, even though, at only 2400 francs, they were quite cheap for the time. Instead, he asked Nadar to photograph them and requested that two medium-sized copies be made for ease of viewing – one for the photographer and another for himself. Some days later, he wrote to Nadar again, thanking him for his quick reply, and expressing hope that he would be able to take the photographs. In the following year, Baudelaire remained obsessed with these works, insisting that Moreau lower the price, and even offering his publisher Auguste Poulet-Malassis money to buy them. The paintings seen by Baudelaire in the rue Laffitte were almost certainly never bought by the poet, and the story ends there.

Nevertheless, several tantalising questions stem from Baudelaire's obsession. One of them relates to the fact that the dealer, Moreau, claimed that the paintings had been sold by Goya's son, Javier. This gave the paintings (or so they thought) the guarantee of originality, especially since Baron Taylor had bought several works from Javier Goya for the Spanish gallery at the Louvre. For his part, Javier cited the 'Venuses [Goya] painted for the Prince of Peace' among the few works mentioned in his 1832 biography of his father.[53] The *Majas* once belonged to the all-powerful politician Manuel Godoy. After his downfall in 1808, they were confiscated by the Inquisition, which referred to them as 'gypsies', and they were thereafter kept hidden in a private room at the Royal Academy of San Fernando. However, it appears that the poet, writer and journalist Théophile Gautier managed to see and copy them during his stay in Madrid in 1840 – perhaps thanks to an intervention by his friend Carderera?

It would be interesting to find, however, the lost *Majas* so admired by Baudelaire, or the photos taken by Nadar, or perhaps even the copies that Manet was rumoured to have given to the poet. However, it is enough, in a sense, to know that the great Manet may have seen the *Majas* in 1859, the works so admired by his friend Baudelaire, who, with his obsessive requests for her purchase, enters fully into the greatest appreciation of Goya's modernism, which to a certain degree

49 Guinard, 'Baudelaire, le musée espagnol et Goya', p. 326.

50 Charles Baudelaire, 'De l'essence du rire et généralement, du comique dans les arts plastiques', (1855), 2014, *Expositions: les galeries virtuelles de la bibliothèque nationale de France*, <http://expositions.bnf.fr/daumier/antho/03.htm>, accessed 18 Jan. 2021.

51 Charles Baudelaire, 'Destruction', in *Les Fleurs du Mal*, Poulet-Malassis et de Broise, Paris, 1861, pp. 257–60. See English translation in William Aggeler, *The Flowers of Evil*, Academy Library Guild, Fresno, CA, 1954. For Baudelaire's ideas about the contemporary use of the devil in art, see Jonathan Culler, 'Baudelaire's Destruction', *MLN*, Johns Hopkins University Press, vol. 127, no. 4, Sep. 2012, pp. 699–711.

52 Baudelaire, letters to Nadar, quoted in Guinard, 'Baudelaire, le musée espagnol et Goya', n. 4, p. 327, drawn from F. Nadar, *Charles Baudelaire intime*, Paris, 1911.

53 Pedro Beroqui, 'Una biografía de Goya escrita por su hijo', *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, no. iii, Madrid, 1927, pp. 99–100, mentioned in Canellas López, p. 517, after the document in the Royal Academy of San Fernando, Madrid.

anticipated that of Manet's *Olympia*. The art historian imagines or intuits that Manet may have seen Baudelaire's *Majas* (even if only copies) just before *Olympia* came into existence. Manet's *Olympia* is different from Goya's *Majas*, of course, but there are similarities in the insolent gaze and irreverent nakedness. The painting caused an outcry at the Salon of 1865, forcing Manet to leave Paris only a day later. The artist, however, did not travel towards Italy or Belgium or Holland, choosing instead to go to Spain. Despite the cholera epidemic he encountered on the way, he journeyed to the Spain of Velázquez and Goya as though to find there the justification for his artistic freedom.

'And I know that even Plutarch will never capture Alexander' – these melancholic words belong to Marguerite Yourcenar's Roman emperor in her *Memoirs of Hadrian* (1951). Such a curse – although perhaps it is simply constant uncertainty – belongs also to the art historian who attempts to reconcile the fragments of an artist that resurface from the depths of time. In Goya's case there are many of those fragments; many more than have been assembled for this brief text. There are few artists who have yielded such a plethora of commentaries, explanations, passions and arguments on the enigma of their art.

OPPOSITE:
Dream 27: Witches disguised as ordinary doctors 1797 (detail)
preliminary drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 40
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid





The beds of death 1812–14
preparatory drawing for *Disasters of War*, plate 62
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



All this and more 1810
preparatory drawing for *Disasters of War*, plate 22
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



It's a hard step! 1810–14
preparatory drawing for *Distasters of War*, plate 14
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



It's a hard step!
plate 14, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863
Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide



Poverty 1812–20
Album F, 22
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



Better to die 1814–23
Album C, 103
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



The rabble hamstring the bull with lances, sickles, banderillas and other weapons 1814–16
preparatory drawing for *La Tauromaquia*, plate 12
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



The rabble hamstring the bull with lances, sickles, banderillas and other weapons
plate 12, *La Tauromaquia*, c. 1815–16, published 1816



A picador is unhorsed and falls under the bull 1814–16
preparatory drawing for *La Tauromaquia*, plate 26
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



ABOVE:
The highly skillful student from Falces, wrapped in his cape, tricks the bull with the play of his body 1814–16
preparatory drawing for *La Tauromaquia*, plate 14
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

OVERLEAF:
The rabble hamstring the bull with lances, sickles, banderillas and other weapons 1814–16 (detail)
preparatory drawing for *La Tauromaquia*, plate 12
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



LOOKING AT GOYA

Mark McDonald



Goya's reputation as an artist rests on the originality and breadth of his work and his intriguing biography, which coincides with tremendous political turmoil and social change in Spain.[1] Among his most remarkable works are his prints and drawings: Goya made over 300 prints and about 850 drawings survive. Recognising context and appreciating Goya's artistic yield allows us to establish basic facts, but this does not address the artist's complex visual strategies, which distinguish him from his contemporaries and render his art unique. How does Goya engage with his subjects and how does he guide the viewer? These are difficult questions and a full analysis is beyond what is possible in this brief essay, but by proposing the challenge of looking closely in order to see more clearly, we can better appreciate Goya's visual intelligence, the acuity of his intuition and the richness of his imagination.[2]

None of Goya's prints and drawings were commissioned and this allowed him the freedom to explore subjects that interested him. Commissioned works – painted portraits, for example – were predicated on an established range of social and visual values. Despite the freedom that working on paper enabled, we need to take into account the presumed or anticipated audience for Goya's series of prints – those published in his lifetime (*Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799; *Tauromaquia*, 1814–16, published 1816; *Bulls of Bordeaux*; 1824–25, published 1825), and those that were not (*Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863; *Disparates*, c. 1815–19, published 1864) – and the bulk of his drawings that formed private albums for his personal reflection.[3] Matters of audience invariably influenced Goya's conception of subject, etched and drawn. In this essay, taking Goya's graphic process into consideration will elucidate what makes his art striking and memorable. This is by no means an exhaustive or finite enquiry, but more a proposition leading to a question. What keeps us returning to Goya, bestowing upon him a relevance and perspicacity that few artists manifest?

Goya uniquely heightens expression both with regard to the poignancy of subject and its execution. His broad formulation of meaning derives from the world in which he lived, through observing society, its behaviours and beliefs, ignorance, stupidity, violence, cruelty, and relations between the sexes, among other things. Goya's art has been described as embracing universal themes or appealing to a 'universal language'.[4] This implies that it transcends the particular to embody significance that is both wide-ranging and existential, and as such, has enduring relevance. Conflict and violence, idiocy and superstition, for example, are conditions with which we can readily identify. Goya lived at a time when personal morals and social values, individual actions, and political intrigue and conflict were endlessly discussed and analysed. Similar conversations take place today involving participants on actual and virtual platforms, on a scale that would have been unimaginable for Goya. How does the relevance of Goya's subjects influence how we regard his art? Do we acquiesce to its authority simply because it represents an earlier expression of shared attitudes and ongoing circumstances? What is it about Goya's work that makes it a reliable point of reference?

Goya stands apart because of his commitment to get at the essence of the human condition. The prints and drawings are not contrived or based on the need to observe and report in a journalistic sense. They speak of his immense

1 Janis A. Tomlinson, *Goya: A Portrait of the Artist*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2020.
2 Mark McDonald, *Goya's Graphic Imagination*, Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, New York and New Haven, 2021.
3 For introduction to Goya's albums, see Juliet Wilson-Bareau, *Goya: Drawings from His Private Albums*, Hayward Gallery in association with Lund Humphries, London, 2001.
4 The phrase 'Ydioma Universal' appears in one of Goya's drawings for the *Caprichos* (Museo Nacional del Prado, D3923). See also Juliet Wilson Bareau & Elena Santiago Páez, *'Ydioma Universal': Goya en la Biblioteca Nacional*, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid; Ministerio de Educación y Cultura, Biblioteca Nacional; Barcelona; Lunwerg Editores, Barcelona, 1996.



LEFT:
Fernando Brambila
Juan Gálvez
View of the ruins of the interior of the Church of Nuestra Señora del Carmen in Zaragoza bombed by the invading French army during the Napoleonic war 1808–14
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

p. 80:
Get them well, and on to the next dated 1810 (detail)
plate 20, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863

compulsion to probe ideas and feelings as a means of catharsis. Goya was also very much a man of his time, enmeshed in a complex society and not the lone or troubled genius, as he is sometimes cast.[5] This is important to recognise, because much of Goya's work focuses on the human being whose essence he is able to penetrate with discernment and disarming clarity. Goya's understanding of essential qualities is revealed by comparing his work with that of his contemporaries. In 1808, Goya travelled to Zaragoza with fellow artists Fernando Brambila and Juan Gálvez to depict its ruins after the destruction wrought by Napoleon's army. At this time, Goya presumably began preparing drawings that would serve as the basis for *Disasters of War*, which comprises eighty-two etchings. The contrast between both Brambila and Gálvez and Goya could not be more pronounced. The former produced large, beautifully executed sweeping views with dramatic effects that convey a romantic sensibility and artificially stage the site of war, where destruction is at a remove and the heroic fallen appear like carefully arranged actors.[6] Goya's considerably smaller prints expose the torment and the incommensurable pain suffered by anonymous victims (for example, *And there is no remedy*, plate 15, p. 214; *On account of a knife*, plate 34, p. 221; and *Nor in this case*, plate 36, p. 261). Many other comparisons can demonstrate Goya's acuity and originality – for example, in the realm of satire – but equally, it must be noted that he represented subjects that had few precedents, or at least none that provide meaningful comparison.

The *Disasters of War* were etched on small plates, and we focus in detail on what is depicted. Creating intimacy and projecting immediacy was clearly Goya's intention. The first group of plates from the series (2–42) deal with the violence of war, the dead and the wounded. What is notable about these plates is the delicacy and the variety of etching, the marks that guide how we read the subject. The stippling of the naked and violated bodies in etchings such as *This is worse* (plate 37, p. 222) differentiate the figures and focus our attention on their corporeality, reminding us that they are human, thereby reasserting dignity that has been eliminated through death. In other prints, such as *Get them well, and on to the next* (plate 20, p. 205), elements such as blasted branches of trees echo the broken limbs of victims. Goya's painstaking attention to the consequence of marks and motifs empowers the images and expresses what is inexpressible about the pain and violence wrought upon individuals in times of conflict.[7] These are not isolated examples, and throughout Goya's etched work we encounter the close correlation between technique and subject.[8] In *The rabble hamstring the bull with lances, sickles, banderillas and other weapons*, plate 12 of *Tauromaquia* (p. 73), for example, the variety and density of the marks brilliantly capture the agitated movement of the men at right about to launch their attack and the bull that is rendered as a dense, immovable black mass. Differentiating visual elements through technique encapsulates the nature of the contest.

A key feature of Goya's prints is his use of aquatint to create crepuscular atmospheres and liminal zones (sites of transformation). He first began using aquatint with the *Caprichos* in the mid to late 1790s.[9] In plate 3, *Here comes the bogeyman* (p. 39), the darkened background underscores the terror of children confronted by a bogeyman. Elsewhere, aquatint conveys the depth of night or the breaking of day against which nefarious activities unfold (*They spruce themselves up*, plate 51, p. 161, and *When day breaks, we will be off*, plate 71, p. 179). In the group of prints from the *Disasters of War* that deal with the 1811–12 famine in Madrid (plates 48–64), Goya exploits aquatint's viscosity as emotional metaphor that saturates each scene to emphasise the desperation of those it envelops, and to suggest the collapse of time, where it is not possible to differentiate between night and day (*Unhappy mother!*, plate 50, p. 213, and *The beds of death*, plate 62, p. 226). Human existence and behaviour are suspended in this world. The ambiguity of space and the potential for transformation – of people, physical situations, context, landscapes, beliefs and so on – is clearest in the prints from *Disparates* that are close to the so-called Black Paintings Goya painted on the walls of his house on the outskirts for Madrid from about 1819.[10] The prints are set within a hermetic and gloomy atmosphere: figures dance with demented poise (*Merry folly*, plate 12, p. 95); people sit on the branch of a tree listening to an orator while simultaneously absorbed in their own world (*Ridiculous folly*, plate 3, p. 276); others with wings fly against a background of complete darkness (*A way of flying*, plate 13, p. 296). With greater subtlety, the aquatint in the *Tauromaquia* on which Goya was working around the same time evokes ambiguous spaces against which are set transparent acts of tremendous violence. Goya refined his

5 See Jesusa Vega, 'Goya in context', in Mark McDonald, pp. 42–59.
6 For the *Ruinas de Zaragoza*, see Tara Zanardi, 'From melancholy pleasure to national mourning: Ruinas de Zaragoza and the invention of the modern ruin', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 72, no. 4, 2009, pp. 519–44.
7 On this subject, see Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1985.
8 On Goya's technique in his prints, see Carmen Garrido Sánchez, 'Goya: De la pintura al grabado; la técnica goyesca de grabado', PhD diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1989.
9 Goya was probably coached in its use by the artist Bartolomé Sureda. Jesusa Vega, 'Bartolomé Sureda y las técnicas gráficas', in Isabel Tuda Rodríguez (ed.), *Bartolomé Sureda (1769–1851): Arte e industria en la ilustración tardía*, Museo Municipal, Madrid, 2000, pp. 176–85.
10 See Valeriano Bozal, *Pinturas negras de Goya*, Tf. Editores, Madrid, 1997.



They got the confessor to climb in by the window 1796–98
Album B, 78
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



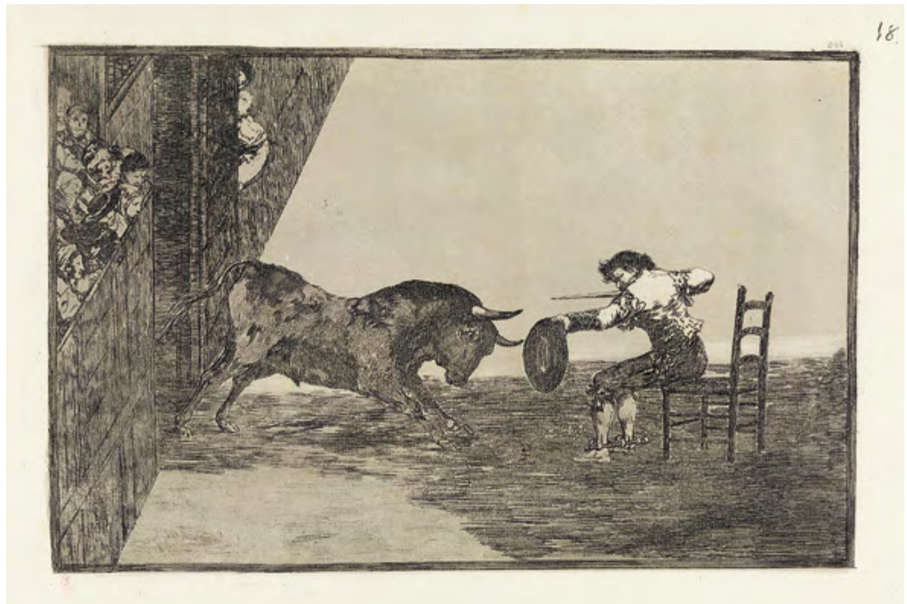
He wakes up kicking c. 1819–23
Album D, 13
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



Bitter to be present
plate 13, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863

use of aquatint through each of his etched series: increasingly it transcended its technical capacity to become a device for reinforcing the meaning of his images. With the exception of printmakers like Rembrandt (whom Goya greatly admired), and members of the Tiepolo family (whose prints he encountered in Madrid), few artists exploited the relationship between technique and the surface of the paper with as much purpose as Goya. He did not regard the sheet as a passive surface; it was integral to formulating imagery, building compositions, embellishing meaning and conveying emotional resonance. Goya's acknowledgment of the surface (as substance and attribute, potentiality and actuality) is pronounced in his early drawings from Albums A and B made in Madrid (1794 – c. 1797). The areas of untouched paper (the reserve) on page 78 from Album B (*They got the confessor to climb in by the window*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) articulate the figures illuminated by moonlight, highlighting the women disguised as nuns, and contributing to the satire that hinges on the complicity between this group. *And there is no remedy*, plate 15 from the *Disasters of War* – one of the most well-known prints from the series – brilliantly demonstrates the way in which Goya exploited unetched parts of the sheet. Illuminated like a religious martyr, the bound man is echoed by the similarly lit dead figure on the ground. The whiteness of the paper symbolically anticipates and confirms the prisoner's fate. In Goya's drawings as well, the reserve activates effects and defines subject, for example *Two people looking into a luminous room* (p. 93), where figures gaze into a mysterious resplendent entrance or exit. In drawings from Albums D (c. 1819–23) and E (1816–20) in particular, the reserve intensifies the subject of each scene. The emotional tenor of the figure in *He wakes up kicking* from Album D (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), for example, is intensified by the absence of any other drawn detail and the fact that the figure floats on the page.

Like the materials and techniques that powerfully enabled Goya to articulate his subjects, composition transcends its structural or organising function to assume symbolic significance and compel narrative. Dramatic situations and conspicuous circumstances are often reinforced through composition. Differentiating areas of light and dark and incorporating different types of structures (arcades, walls, abstract forms, et cetera) communicates emotionally. In *They carried her off!* (plate 8, *Caprichos*, p. 258) the division of the composition into two unequal halves, and the dramatic angle at which the woman is positioned with her head thrown back, create a highly charged scene. Why is she being carried off? Are the same men also responsible for her condition? In plate 10 from the *Caprichos*, *Love and death* (p. 119), the ascending blocks that form a wall and culminate behind the pair emphasise the woman's despair as she holds her dying lover. In plate 13 from the *Disasters of War*, *Bitter to be present*, the monumentality of



The daring of Martincho in the ring at Zaragoza
plate 18, *La Tauromaquia*, c. 1815–16, published 1816

the arches reinforces the inequality of the struggle and especially the strength of the assailants. Goya often used incomplete structures or partial interior views to amplify anxiety or allude to wider circumstances. On page 103 from Album C, the darkened opening at the left that resembles an entrance to a tomb anticipates the fate of the prisoner, while the grille above articulates his lack of freedom (p. 71).

Throughout the *Tauromaquia*, composition greatly intensifies the confrontation between man and beast. The etchings were printed from large plates, enabling Goya to explore spatial effects on a wider scale. T*he daring of Martincho in the ring at Zaragoza*, plate 18, for example, depicts the famous bullfighter Martincho (Antonio Ebassun), his ankles shackled and sitting on a chair about to lance the charging bull. The composition is noticeably abstract. The flattened bleachers at left that house the captivated audience dramatically rise diagonally and echo the bull's propulsion as it exits the enclosed barn below. The even and smooth surface in the upper part of the print throw both figures into high relief, whereas the darker patch of etching along the bottom heightens the anticipation of their imminent clash. Abstraction, insofar as it frees the composition from contextual restrictions of representation, is even more pronounced in other plates from the series. With plate 10, *Charles V spearing a bull in the ring at Valladolid* (p. 243), the articulation of space and depth created by the delicate gradations of aquatint and the presence of an etched frame suggest an infinite stage upon which the figures move in rhythmical sequence.

A defining component of Goya's prints and drawings is the captions that accompany most of them. He attached great significance to the organic relationship between word and image. It is important to distinguish between caption and title. Goya's inscriptions are not titles in the sense that they identify subject. The captions are generally meant to guide meaning or to provoke interpretation. Some captions are satirical, others direct or critical, many are ambiguous and are modified through their context. Captions that appear on Goya's published series of prints were intended to be read by an anticipated audience, whereas inscriptions on the drawings are Goya communicating with himself and reflect his compulsion to interpretatively embellish. Were it not for the presence of captions, many images would remain impenetrable, such as the complex scenes from Album B. We would not know that the male figure in *They got the confessor to climb in by the window* actually represents a 'confessor'. He is clearly not a religious figure, but a *majo*, and his presence implicates the illicit activity of those represented. Using a different ink Goya added the caption sometime after he composed the drawing, probably to clarify its meaning. Other captions in the same medium as this drawing were inscribed at the same time.

There is enormous variety in the structure and tenor of the captions, revealing their different purposes. Throughout the *Caprichos*, many have the feel of aphorisms or popular sayings; they provoke a reaction or prompt interpretation of a scene. After the series was published in 1799, several explanations appeared. A manuscript in Goya's hand, now in the Prado Museum, provides a commentary on each print.[11] It seems that the commentary and the captions were intended to stimulate conversation rather than provide transparent explanations. Some have double meanings, others are witty. *It is nicely stretched* (plate 17, p. 108) probably alludes to prostitution, whereas *Until death* (plate 55, p. 259), which accompanies an image of an elderly woman trying on a bonnet in the company of a sniggering entourage, refers to her enduring vanity. Another caption, *Those specks of dust* (plate 23, p. 132), is based on a Spanish proverb, and alludes to the disproportionate magnitude of consequences of minor events.

The captions on the *Disasters* – like those on the *Caprichos* – are diverse. Some allude to violence and acts of resistance; others comment on the injustices endured by the innocent with a bitterness and irony that pierces their graphic subject. One example is *This is what you were born for* (plate 12, p. 202), where a man vomits upon encountering a pile of dead bodies. The caption calls attention to their ignominious deaths. Several captions visually link images. Plates 9, 10 and 11 depict women being attacked and are captioned, respectively, *They do not want to* (p. 199), *Nor do these* (p. 200), *Neither do these* (p. 201). Later in the series, captions transparently describe what is shown. *Harvest of the dead* (plate 63, p. 227) relates to those who perished during the Madrid famine. The banal caption fittingly describes a tragic and hopeless scene. Ending the *Disasters of War*, allegorical images related to the repressive regime of Ferdinand VII (plates 1, 65–82), have captions that chime with their allegory. Throughout the entire series the captions reflect the artist's repugnance at the consequences of conflict and corruption. Sometimes they read like a personal statement rather than detached or critical observation. On a proof impression of a print associated with the *Disasters* depicting a chained man in a cell, Goya inscribed *The custody is as barbarous as the crime* (p. 129), revealing his unambiguous attitude to incarceration.[12] From several years later, captions on his unpublished *Disparates* explain nothing of what is shown.[13] For example, in the print inscribed

11 Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (ODG65). René Andioc, *Goya: Letra y figuras*, Casa de Velázquez, Madrid, 2008; José Manuel Matilla and Manuela B. Mena Marqués, *Goya: Drawings: Only My Strength of Will Remains*, trans. Laura Suffield, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, 2019.

12 The print with the inscription was included at the back of the album of proof impressions of the *Disasters* that have Goya's handwritten inscriptions. Goya gave the album to his friend Juan Agustín Céan Bermúdez. It is in the British Museum, London (1975,1025.421.1–87). See *Disasters of War: Etchings by Francscio de Goya y Lucientes, from the Unique Album of Proofs Printed by the Artist, in the Collection of the British Museum*, vol. 1, facsimile; vol. 2, commentary and catalogue by Mark McDonald, Folio Society, London, 2014.

13 The captions are based on proofs with Goya's manuscript title. For a catalogue of the proofs, see C. Barrena, J. Blas & J. M. Medrano in Carrete Parrondo & Matilla, pp. 105–9.



You'll see later c. 1816–20
Album E, 24
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Merry folly, we see a group of elegantly dressed women and older men, one of whom resembles a monkey, dancing awkwardly in a circle. Their strange unease undermines the merriment announced by the caption. What exactly is the nature of their folly and how has it brought them to this caper?

We encounter some of Goya's most ambiguous captions on his drawings that, as suggested earlier, evolved from intense personal reflection and his unceasing need to create. Page 24 from Album E, captioned *You'll see later* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), shows a woman trying to restrain a man from guzzling wine from a bladder. His hat and cloak have been cast on the ground and the actions of the two figures convey a sense of urgency. But what is the future state the caption alludes to? Is it meant to warn of the probability of a hangover, or something more serious and far-reaching? Ambiguity operates differently in Goya's drawings. Some inscriptions have a critical, ironic or bitter tone, such as page 17 from Album C, *This is how useful men usually end up* (p. 321), which depicts an elderly man on a pair of crutches, bent and struggling. There are many ways in which this drawing might be interpreted. Is he a war veteran who, after great personal sacrifice, has been abandoned by society, or does he represent a dispossessed worker (a farmer?) who, after a life of toil, has been left with nothing? The plight of the rural populations and agrarian reform were contentious subjects in Spain and were addressed by Goya in a number of his prints and drawings.

The elements of Goya's work described above have independent agency, yet they combine to produce engaging visual and intellectual experiences and reveal the artist's profound commitment to graphic expression as a means to affect the viewer. As we have seen, it is not always possible to discern the meaning of Goya's images and even where we can, his acuity and invention complicate what might appear to be a direct subject or clear narrative. Because Goya's artistry reflects his search for the essence of being, it is entirely possible for meaning to exist in the absence of specific subject, thereby offering boundless opportunities for new meaning to emerge. This is Goya's existential promise.[14]

14 The following publications were consulted. For the prints, see Tomás Harris, *Goya: Engravings and Lithographs; Text and Illustrations*, vol. 1; *Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. 2, Bruno Cassirer, Oxford, 1964; Juan Carrete Parrondo & José Manuel Matilla (eds), *Disparates: Francisco de Goya, tres visiones,* Calcografía Nacional, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid, 1996, (*Disparates*); Javier Blas, José Manuel Matilla & José Miguel Medrano, *El libro de los* Caprichos, *Francisco de Goya: Dos siglos de interpretaciones (1799–1999); catálogo de los dibujos, pruebas de estado, láminas de cobre y estampas de la primera edición*, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, 1999, (*Caprichos*); *Desastres*, Javier Blas & José Manuel Matilla, *El libro de los Desastres de la Guerra: Francisco de Goya,* vol. 1, *Coincidencias y discrepancias en torno a los Desastres. El proceso de creación gráfica: Dibujos, pruebas de estado y Album de Ceán*; José Manuel Matilla & Isla Aguilar, *Elenco de referencias críticas. La difusión de la imágenes: Láminas de cobre y estampas de la primera edición*, vol. 2, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, 2000, (*Disasters of War*); José Manuel Matilla & José Miguel Medrano, *El libro de la Tauromaquia, Francisco de Goya: La fortuna crítica, el proceso de creación gráfica; dibujos, pruebas de estado, láminas de cobre y estampas de edición*, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, 2001, (*Tauromaquia*).
For the drawings, see Pierre Gassier & Juliet Wilson, François Lachenal (ed.), *The Life and Complete Work of Francisco Goya: With a Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings, Drawings, and Engravings*, Reynal in association with William Morrow, New York, 1971; Pierre Gassier, *Francisco Goya: Drawings; the Complete Albums*, trans. James Emmons & Robert Allen, Praeger Publishers, New York, 1973; Pierre Gassier, *The Drawings of Goya: The Sketches, Studies and Individual Drawings*, Harper & Row, New York, 1975; José Manuel Matilla & Manuela B. Mena Marqués (eds), *Francisco de Goya (1746–1828): Dibujos, catálogo razonado*, vol. 2, 1771–1792, Fundación Botín–Museo Nacional del Prado, Santander, 2018 (continuing).



Burlesque vision 1814–23
Album C, 39
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



The fifth [*burlesque vision*] 1814–23
Album C, 43
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



Folly of fear c. 1815–19
preparatory drawing for *Los Disparates*, plate 2
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



Two people looking into a luminous room c. 1815–19
additional drawing related to *Los Disparates*,
not known to have been etched
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



Merry folly c. 1815–19
preparatory drawing for *Los Disparates*, plate 12
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



Merry folly
plate 12, *Los Disparates*, c. 1815–19, published 1864



Man murdering a monk 1824–28
Album H, 34
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



The enema 1824–28
Album H, 42
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



Bad dream 1824–28
Album G, 12
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



Phantom dancing with castanets 1824–28
Album H, 61
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

OPPOSITE:
The sleep of reason produces monsters (detail)
plate 43, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799

1.

SATIRE AND SOCIETY

‘EVEN THUS HE CANNOT MAKE HER OUT’: SATIRE, SEX AND GENDER IN *LOS CAPRICHOS*

Angela Hesson

In a shadowy room, two masked figures are engaged in a perplexing interaction. A person in masculine attire approaches a seated woman. He extends a hand, his eyes fixed upon her face, his lips parted. Her hands remain firmly pocketed, her gaze distant, elusive. Her costume, her expression, her deportment give little away. Bent double in an awkward caricature of chivalrous posturing, her admirer’s form is curvaceous, even feminine. His coiffure is as elaborate as hers. Is ‘he’ a he at all? What other secrets might their masks conceal? Above them, an older man in masquerade costume watches, his expression contemptuous. At the bottom of the composition is inscribed its title: *Nobody knows himself* (plate 6, *Caprichos*, p. 118).[1]

In this darkly ambiguous social satire, symptomatic of its time and place and brimming with carnivalesque obscurities and inversions, the subjects understand neither themselves nor one another.[2] As Goya proclaimed in his notes on plate 6 – ‘The world is a masquerade … all wish to appear what they are not’.[3] Numerous plates in *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, allude to problems of identity, of communication, and to broader misconceptions, presumptions and prejudices. When Goya commenced work on the *Caprichos* in the mid 1790s, Spain was immersed in a period of radical transformation, culturally and politically. Goya’s set of eighty plates offers a wide ranging, acerbic and often disturbing critique of the moral and intellectual shortcomings of late eighteenth-century Spanish society – as the artist himself proclaimed, ‘the innumerable foibles and follies to be found in any civilized society … the common prejudices and deceitful practices which custom, ignorance and self-interest have made usual’.[4]

This aspiration was very much in tune with those of Enlightenment thinkers including Voltaire, Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Denis Diderot, who from the mid eighteenth century had subjected many of society’s governing codes and hierarchies to scrutiny, with satire a powerful ingredient in their critiques. The search for truth had sown seeds of a new understanding that many aspects of identity (including gender and sexuality) might exist as functions of performance and expectation as much as of instinct or nature. Within this context, the spectacles of the masquerade and the carnival, with all of their attendant intrigues and reversals, gained new philosophical and artistic currency, operating as potent reflections of contemporary society. The Enlightenment ideal of intellectual progress had originated in the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century, and from

1 An important distinction exists in the original Spanish title, *Nadie se conoce*, which is not gender-specific – ‘se’ can mean himself or herself.
2 See Victor I. Stoichita & Anna María Coderch, ‘The third sex (or neither and both)’, in *Goya: The Last Carnival*, Reaktion Books, London, 1999, pp. 38–73.
3 Quoted in Pierre Gassier & Juliette Wilson, *The Life and Complete Work of Francisco Goya*, 2nd English edition, Harrison House, New York, 1981, p. 131. As Gassier and Wilson observe, the commentaries (now held by the Prado) provided broad explanations for each *capricho*, and were perhaps authored in part in an attempt to deflect accusations that the works constituted a series of personal attacks.
4 Quoted in Robert Hughes, *Goya*, New York, Knopf, 2003, p. 181.

the mid eighteenth century, the rise of the New Science progressively undermined established conceptions of the world and humans' place in it. The superstition, presumption and intellectual inertia that had constrained earlier philosophical enquiry were increasingly interrogated, and the parameters of roles and identities previously perceived as fixed became more permeable.[5]

Women, whose role had been restricted predominantly to the private sphere, became more visible in life and in art, as wide-ranging social and cultural shifts enabled greater access to public roles. For working-class women, employment opportunities broadened substantially, and female members of the aristocracy enjoyed stronger public presence and influence as hosts, connoisseurs and patrons.[6] With an increased public presence came greater interest in self-presentation – costume, gesture and conversation all took on new importance. The emergent custom of *marcialidad* was defined by Goya's contemporaries as 'speaking freely and of liberating oneself from the old-fashioned honesty and modesty of past generations'.[7] Accordingly, representations of women in art also underwent substantial shifts. Women had, of course, been prominent as artistic subjects throughout the preceding centuries; however, their depictions had for the most part been coloured by a range of political, religious, erotic and aesthetic impulses that imposed degrees of codification and homogeneity, and limited expression of individual subjectivity. As art historian Francisco Calvo Serraller observed, in the artistic climate into which Goya emerged 'more and more "real" women seem to be represented, doing what they really used to do'.[8]

Goya was very much a part of this transformation, depicting women of diverse ages, and social and class backgrounds, and challenging many established artistic conventions surrounding the representation of gender. Yet his meanings are as varied as the types he produces, and as subject to interpretation. As art historians Victor I. Stoichita and Anna María Coderch have contended, 'the flexible relationship between irony and moralism has been one of the main problems involved in interpreting *Los Caprichos*'.[9] Conceived as works of satire and allegory, the plates are never simply documentary, nor are they, for the most part, generous to their subjects. The potential to infer progressiveness is often complicated by a pervasive tone of pessimism: in the dark and allusive world of the *Caprichos*, desire is rarely present without deception, pleasure without payment, or love without loss. In his grotesque caricatures of purportedly ubiquitous types and behaviours, and his cynicism surrounding the transactional nature of relationships, Goya casts light not so much upon individual failings or misdeeds, as upon the universally destructive presumptions and prejudices surrounding gender and sexuality.

The social scripts governing identities and relationships are perhaps the primary focus of Goya's satire in the *Caprichos* – power relationships that exist between men and women; elder and younger; clergy and congregation. The mercenary nature of marriage was a particular target. Likewise, the ubiquity of sex work, which made manifest the sexual economy of which marriage was also, arguably, a part. Processes of initiation played an important role in the artist's critique of the inherently transactional nature of sexuality in his time, with intergenerational instruction (and corruption) at the heart of this. In plate 17, the suggestively titled *It is nicely stretched* (p. 108), Goya depicts a young woman receiving advice from an older mentor (or procuress) on the art of seduction. In Goya's world of masks, codes and deceptions, what appears at first glance as a lightly voyeuristic boudoir scene is in fact the laying of a snare. Many of the prints in the series include onlookers on the margins of the central narrative. In their absence, we as viewers take their place. Willingly or not, we are positioned as voyeurs, complicit in the acts of spectatorship, exploitation and judgement that Goya ostensibly seeks to critique. The individual titles of the plates, many framed as questions, reinforce the viewer's subjective role in the narratives, directly inviting critical interpretation.

For Goya, as for many of his contemporary commentators, rituals of courtship, flirtation and seduction are rife with risk, and danger is often implied within desire. The absence of reason is a common theme, in the context of which ill-matched couples and unwanted advances abound. In *Which of them is the more overcome?* (plate 27, p. 136) a besotted male admirer is comically compared to an excitable lap dog. In plate 9, *Tantalus* (p. 109), Goya satirically reinvents the Greek myth of unquenchable desire. An ageing man is depicted, hands clasped, rocking to and fro in a state of despair, while across his knees is draped the unresponsive form of a beautiful and much younger woman, whose passion cannot be aroused. The plate's subversiveness is amplified by the familiar composition, which echoes that of the pietà, in which the Virgin Mary cradles the body of Christ. In Goya's universally irreverent *Caprichos*, the gap between lover and martyr is never very great.

5 The Enlightenment context of Goya's work has been richly elaborated elsewhere. For a wide-reaching account of the subject, see Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez & Eleanor A. Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit of the Enlightenment*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1989.

6 Goya's work was supported by many important female patrons during his lifetime, including Queen María Luisa, the Duchess of Alba and the Duchess of Osuna. It is widely accepted that it was on a sojourn to the Sanlúcar estate of the Duchess of Alba in 1797 (shortly after the death of her husband) that Goya began sketching women, including the Duchess, in a variety of poses, many of which would subsequently be adapted for the *Caprichos*. See José Gudiol, *Goya*, Harry N. Abrams, New York, 1964, pp. 31–2.

7 See Janis A. Tomlinson, 'Images of women in Goya's prints and drawings', in Janis A. Tomlinson (ed.), *Goya: Images of Women*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, 2002, p. 56.

8 See Francisco Calvo Serraller, 'Goya's women in perspective' in Tomlinson, pp. 25–50, 27. The increasingly public role of women in eighteenth-century Spain and in Europe more broadly is also discussed in Manuela B. Mena Marqués, 'Falseness and inconstancy: the image of women from the Sanlúcar album to the private cabinet', in Hiroya Murakami (ed.), *Goya: Luces y Sombras. Obras Maestras del Museo del Prado*, National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, 2011, pp. 340–1.

9 See Stoichita & Coderch, p. 51.



It is nicely stretched
plate 17, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



Tantalus
plate 9, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799

Irreverence, in combination with unremitting cynicism, was arguably the unifying characteristic of Goya's portrayals of marriage in the *Caprichos*. *They say yes and give their hand to the first comer* (plate 2, p. 116) depicts the wedding of a young woman and an older man, his features made comically grotesque. The title, borrowed from Spanish Enlightenment poet Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, suggests a pecuniary motivation for the union. The couple, it seems, have knowingly engaged in a charade which will see each rewarded in their separate way – the lustful older man with an enviably beautiful bride, the younger woman with financial security. The cost of such transactions is made explicit in *What a sacrifice!* (plate 14, p. 127). Here, the grotesquely caricatured, much older and lecherous bridegroom eagerly leans in to the anxious but submissive bride, while the hypocritical priest smiles beatifically on a union clearly destined for unhappiness. As art historian Janis A. Tomlinson has observed, such unions were often associated, in Goya's time, with the broader failures of a generation of young men too preoccupied with self-indulgence to take on the responsibilities of marriage and family.[10] The inadequacies of this privileged group are targeted more explicitly in *Nanny's boy* (plate 4, p. 117) in which a fully grown, moustached man, clad absurdly in bonnet, skirt and bloomers, is borne away by an exhausted servant. *Can't anyone untie us?* (plate 75, p. 181) considers the aftermath of poorly conceived unions, in the context of the church's unbending insistence upon the indissolubility of marriage. Struggle as they might, the desperate couple are firmly bound together beneath the auspices of the owl (clad in old-fashioned spectacles), a creature of darkness associated with unreason and superstition, also symbolic of the anachronistic laws prohibiting divorce.

Elements of darkness and tragicomedy are similarly prevalent in Goya's depictions of sex workers and their clients. Sex work had been tolerated in Spain throughout the medieval period, until a decree by Philip IV in 1623 imposed closure on the *mancebías* (brothels), and the women who had been employed in them were forced onto the street, and/or into the 'protection' of procuresses. The decision remained unpopular, but it was not until the reign of Isabel II in the nineteenth century that regulation was introduced.[11] This context of criminalisation, in addition to longstanding religious condemnation of adultery and fornication, meant that secrecy, deception and codification remained intrinsic aspects of sex work in Goya's lifetime. Within this framework, Goya never presents culpability as one-sided; all are self-serving, and the roles of villain and victim are shifting and not determined by gender. In *Two of a kind* (plate 5, p. 19) the flirtatious woman and rakish man are presented as two sides of the same coin, both compromised by their separate desires. The haggard elderly figures who gossip gleefully in the background are seemingly equally complicit in the scene's impending depravity.

10 See Tomlinson, 'Images of women in Goya's prints and drawings', in Tomlinson, pp. 55–6.

11 See Jean-Louis Guereña, 'Prostitution and the origins of the governmental regulatory system in nineteenth-century Spain: the plans of the Trienio Liberal, 1820–1823', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, vol. 17, no. 2, May 2008, pp. 216–34.

Even thus he cannot make her out (plate 7, p. 113), sees a well-dressed man leaning in to inspect a beautiful young woman through a magnifying glass. As an allegory of a sex worker and her client, Goya presents two people clearly experienced in their pre-choreographed roles, where the theme is one of mutual and self-deception. The woman cannot undermine the romantic illusion of courtship by revealing that she is a sex worker, while her admirer is seemingly also quite prepared to suppress the truth in favour of the more flattering fantasy of mutual desire. The work's title highlights its irony – that the male subject could ostensibly look so closely, while missing the bigger picture, of which all others, including the viewer, are clearly aware. Here, as in Goya's many critiques of marriage, both participants are winners, and losers, in their distinct ways. In the context of Enlightenment discourse, the image also operates as a broader critique of the wilful denial of truth in favour of fleeting pleasure or personal advantage.

The shifting power dynamics inherent in the sexual economy are a recurrent theme of the *Caprichos*, their consequences ranging from comic humiliation to violence. The visual pun of the plucked bird appears several times – the word *desplumar* carried not only the literal meaning 'to pluck', but was also a colloquial term meaning to 'fleece' or rob. In *There they go plucked* (plate 20, p. 130), two young women and their older procuresses shoo away a flock of featherless chickens with men's heads. The metaphor requires little elaboration. The fragile nature of this power dynamic, and the mutuality of danger, is shown in plate 21, *How they pluck her!* (p. 131). Here, a young woman has been arrested and is depicted restrained and brutalised by a magistrate and notaries; cruelty is inflicted by the very people tasked with upholding morality.

The numerous anxieties and contradictions that infused Goya's explorations of sexuality, gender and power are most darkly and acerbically realised in the group of works relating to witchcraft. For all that a majority of these are possessed of degrees of absurdity, their theme was one treated with great seriousness in Goya's lifetime; in his native region of Aragon, stories of witchcraft were prevalent well into the nineteenth century.[12] Supernatural subjects were a popular focus of eighteenth-century Spanish literature, favoured by writers including Benito Jerónimo Feijóo, Diego de Torres Villarroel and Jovellanos.[13] One of Goya's close friends, the dramatist Leandro Fernández de Moratín, was beginning research on a satirical retelling of a notorious Spanish witchcraft trial, the auto-da-fé of 1610 in the village of Logroño, around the time that Goya was embarking upon the

12 Near Barahona in the province of Soria, the plain known as the 'Campo de Brujas' (Witches Field) was described as a meeting place of witches. In Madrid were 'haunted' mansions, including 'La Casa del Duende' (The House of the Goblin). See Luis Bonilla, *Historia de la Hechicería y de las Brujas*, Biblioteca Nueva, Madrid, 1962, pp. 278–9, cited in Frank I. Heckes, 'Goya's Caprichos', *Art Journal of the National Gallery of Victoria*, no. 19, 2014, <https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/essay/goyas-caprichos/>, accessed 21 Jan. 2021.

13 See Heckes.

Caprichos.[14] Both Feijóo and Moratín had employed the theme as a point of departure for meditations upon society's unequal and often cruel treatment of women, and though Goya's offerings on the subject are arguably more ambiguous, they are interpretable within the same context. Stories of witchcraft, and the aspects of prejudice and superstition they exposed, would remain an enduring preoccupation for the artist, realised on a grand scale in the series of paintings executed for the Duke and Duchess of Osuna in 1797–98.[15]

Many of the *Caprichos* relating to the subject offer multi-pronged critiques, satirising, simultaneously, contemporary stereotypes around gender, sexuality and relationships, hierarchies of age and class, and the irrationality of superstition. The Latin title of *They have flown* (plate 61, p. 163), *Volaverunt*, refers to something that has flown away or permanently departed, and is thus interpretable in part as a metaphor for romantic abandonment. In a contemporary play by Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla, *What the Marqués de Villena Wanted to See*, the term is also linked to witchcraft, when a sorcerer attempts to convince another character of the existence of witchcraft by uttering 'Volaverunt!' and thereby making objects and other characters fly away.[16] On a more universal level, this butterfly-winged woman may be read as an allegory of vanity, impermanence and inconstancy. Goya's commentary states:

> The group of witches who act as a support to this fashionable fool is more of a decoration than a necessity. Some heads are so swollen with gas that they can fly without the aid of balloons or witches.[17]

A critique of ambition and social-climbing is possibly also present, with the central figure literally crushing others beneath her to maintain her position. In a similarly themed composition, *There it goes* (plate 66, p. 175), a witch rides on the back of another, who struggles beneath her weight. Their positions are mirrored by their familiars (in a nod to the traditional iconography of witchcraft), with a cat riding upon the back of a snake.

In the ironically titled *Pretty teacher!* (plate 68, p. 176), two witches straddle a broom, the sagging skin and hunched posture of the elder contrasted with the curvaceous form of her young trainee. The subjects' nudity, coupled with the presence of the phallic broom, confers a sexual element, which parallels that expressed

14 See Edith Helman, *Trasmundo de Goya*, Revista de Occidente, Madrid, 1963, p. 63. The influence of Moratín's other writings on *Los Caprichos* is discussed in Tomlinson, 'Images of women in Goya's prints and drawings', in Tomlinson, p. 57.

15 The Duchess of Osuna's commission is discussed by Aileen Ribeiro in 'Portraits', in *Tomlinson*, pp. 162–4. The Duchess also purchased four copies of the first edition of *Los Caprichos* when it was published for private sale in 1799. See Gassier & Wilson, pp. 130–1.

16 See Julio Caro Baroja, *Teatro popular y magia*, Revista de Occidente, Madrid, 1974, pp. 61–2, cited in Heckes.

17 Quoted in Helman, p. 225.



Even thus he cannot make her out
plate 7, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799

in some of Goya's depictions of old procuresses initiating younger women. The presence of the *búho* (a species of owl) reinforces the association: *búho* was a slang term for a sex worker.[18] The work's title also serves to undermine notions of trust and authority – the 'teacher', a traditional figure of respectability and protection, is made malevolent and monstrous. The theme is continued in plate 69, *Blow* (p. 177). This work is among the most disturbing of the series, depicting, as it does, an act of child abuse. As one witch carries two babies to the conclave, her expression incongruously tender, the senior witch summons the flatulence of another child to revive the brazier. The theme of indoctrination is again present. In a diabolical inversion of the traditional, idealised dynamic of maternal care, the control of children enables the perpetuation of evil.[19]

Plate 65, *Where is mother going?* (p. 174), sees a naked witch borne away by a group of other demonic creatures while her familiar, a tabby cat, clings to the parasol still clasped in her hand. The full-figured witch (far removed from the wizened, seemingly sexless figures who preside over many of Goya's other diabolical rituals) assumes recognisable maternal form, a suggestion consolidated by the title. The nightmarishly grotesque creatures that bear her away comprise among them a recognisable visual language of diabolism, all obscene grimaces and distorted limbs. Yet the image is complicated by the fact of its absurdity, which undermines the seriousness of preconceived fears of diabolical femininity. Since the medieval period, tales and images of witchcraft had been employed as versatile devices onto which anxieties around female power could be mapped. Interpreted in the context of Goya's satire of 'common prejudices … custom, ignorance', neither witchcraft nor motherhood is the true target of this *capricho*, but rather the irrational forces of superstition that govern preconceptions of both.

In his 1784 essay 'An answer to the question: what is Enlightenment?' Immanuel Kant defined the term as a process of release from self-imposed immaturity; 'immaturity is the inability to use one's intelligence without the guidance of another'.[20] The notion of maturity is not without its complications in the context of the *Caprichos*, replete as they are with suggestive puns and scatological humour. Yet within their visceral, unflinching exploration of sex, gender and relationships, the imperative of independent thought emerges as a powerful unifying thread. Goya was by no means an unambivalent champion of women. As Oto Bihalji-Merin has observed, the artist's work

> still carries the baggage of the patriarchal mentality's traditional prejudices. Woman is goddess and witch for Goya: sinner and saint, lover and procurer, worker and aristocrat, mysterious and enigmatic, tender and maternal, greedy and, when necessary, as tough as a man.[21]

Viewed within the context of his self-proclaimed project of social critique, however, Goya's repeated, caustic depictions of avaricious and exploitive procuresses; manipulative sex workers; absurd, self-deceiving suitors; cruelly hypocritical lawmakers; and evil witches serve as more than reinforcements of an inflexible and reductive gender binary. In the grotesque exaggeration and stylisation of these types and behaviours, they are denaturalised, undermined, made mutable. As constructs of religion, politics, society and culture, they are, Goya suggests, neither true nor fixed, and in the recognition of this exists the imperative to question, and the possibility of progress.

18 See Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez & Eleanor A. Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit of the Enlightenment*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1989, p. 125.

19 Analysis of this composition's origins can be found on the Prado Museum website: 'The initial idea for Capricho 69, *Blow*, already appears in drawing 57 of *Album B*, and its descriptive title, *Aunt Oilstains lights the Hearth, Witches to Gather Up*, conferred a greasy echo to the name of the head witch who uses a child as the bellows for fanning the fire in their den. A second pen-and-ink drawing (D04192), which Goya titled *Dream of Consummate Witches*, presents the definitive scene.' See <https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/blow/b54e54e5-0c72-433d-a117-10333351ead2>, accessed 21 Jan. 2021.

20 Immanuel Kant, 'An answer to the question: what is Enlightenment?' (1784), in Marvin Perry et al., *Sources of the Western Tradition*, vol. II, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1995, pp. 56–7.

21 Oto Bihalji-Merin, 'Goya y Gea', in Isabel García de la Rasilla & Francisco Calvo Serraller (eds), *Goya: Nuevas visiones: Homenaje a Enrique Lafuente Ferrari*, Amigos del Museo del Prado, Madrid, 1987, pp. 101–18, 117–18; Serraller in Tomlinson, pp. 25–50, 47.



They say yes and give their hand to the first comer
plate 2, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



Nanny's boy
plate 4, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



Nobody knows himself
plate 6, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



Love and death
plate 10, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



Out hunting for teeth
plate 12, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



All will fall
plate 19, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799

GOYA, THE PROTO-CINEMATIC

Adrian Martin

In Jean-Luc Godard's *Passion* (1982), an acclaimed Polish film director named Jerzy (played by Jerzy Radziwilowicz) is shooting, in France, a project based on the tableau vivant restaging of famous paintings. One of them is Goya's *The Third of May 1808*, 1814 (Prado Museum, Madrid, p. 124), which he recreates meticulously with a cast of 'extras'. These costumed actors patiently pose, as Jerzy seeks the best way to frame, light and film them. The director's overall project is a mystery to the crew, his producer, and all the understandably nervous financial backers. Jerzy has set up numerous tableaux around the large studio, and he seems to be filming them all at once – as well as letting characters from one painting wander (as it were) into another. Day after day, he plays with this elaborately built set-up, sometimes abruptly calling a halt to the shoot (as Godard himself is known to do) so that he can ponder his artistic task in solitude.

Jerzy's beleaguered assistant keeps prodding him to formulate a narrative: 'You must have a story and follow it'. But predetermined scripts are not his style; cinema is, for him, a matter of searching, tinkering, refining the material of images and sounds, places and people. When called upon to assume his responsibility as creator or auteur of this strange film – to complete it on time and within budget – Jerzy dismisses any notion of mastery: 'I transform, I transfer, I file down the rough edges. That's all'.

Godard, too, transforms and transfers. In the three minutes of *Passion* devoted to *The Third of May 1808*, he explores the cinematic possibilities inherent in Goya. Offering the complicated story of the indecisive Jerzy is Godard's own alibi for suspending, punctually, all linear, driven narrative. He does not 'animate' Goya's painting into an eventful scene with dialogue, as Luis Buñuel did in his looser but entirely recognisable re-creation of the same image at the beginning of *The Phantom of Liberty* (1974). But he does introduce various kinds of movement: the tracking camera traces the line formed by the soldier's raised rifles, and it wanders among the huddled bodies and faces of those about to be shot, emphasising particular patterns and configurations of shape, expression, colour. And he allows the actors to minimally *arrive* at their given gestures and postures: he shows a hand clasping a leg, or a head turning to adopt its position in the tableau.

But Jerzy, for all this tinkering, is dissatisfied. 'The lighting isn't working,' he proclaims before he walks off set. 'It doesn't go anywhere, or come from anywhere.' He has yet to find a properly cinematic equivalent for the various elements that Goya so masterfully arranged within his own artistic practice: light, gesture, the positioning of bodies, the arrangement of a scene so as to suggest a story and elicit an emotion. Let us here take up Jerzy's search once more, by returning to the source. What is this special affinity between Goya and cinema?

There are several evident connections. There are, for instance, the biopics, often fanciful and melodramatic, made in many different styles, by Henry Koster (*The Naked Maja*, 1958); Konrad Wolf (*Goya*, 1971); Bigas Luna (*Volavérunt*, 1999); Carlos Saura (*Goya in Bordeaux*, 1999); and Miloš Forman (*Goya's Ghosts*, 2006). In them, we can study the mythologies that have grown up around and sometimes



The Third of May 1808 1814
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

obscured the artist and his achievement, and the ways in which the society of his time has been subsequently depicted and considered.

There is also a more diffuse influence of Goya on filmmakers, including the avant-gardist Ulrike Ottinger in contemporary Germany (another exponent of the tableau vivant), or Hollywood legend Josef von Sternberg in his baroque design of the statues adorning Catherine the Great's palace in *The Scarlet Empress* (1934). In both cases, it is Goya's picturing of the monstrous and grotesque (as in, for example, *You will not escape* [plate 72, p. 180] or *Can't anyone untie us?* [plate 75, p. 181] from the *Caprichos*, 1797–1798) that clearly appeals to these directors.

I wish to emphasise another type of connection here. My interest in Goya, as a film analyst, is that so many of the aesthetic techniques he used and developed in his images can be considered proto-cinematic, a preview of the filmic language to come in the twentieth century.

Let's begin with Jerzy's precise problem in *Passion*: the light. In conventional cinema production, a barrage of coordinated lighting devices often lends a highly unrealistic, wholly artificial effect to any interior or nocturnal scene. The light, as Jerzy rightly complained, neither goes to nor comes from anywhere specific. Some directors have rebelled against this convention: Terrence Malick places his actors near a window to catch the available light in *A Hidden Life* (2019), while Stanley Kubrick included candles in the frame as the sole illumination for certain scenes

of *Barry Lyndon* (1975), using a special, high-speed camera lens to capture the expressively faint, flickering result.

What Jerzy (and, through him, Godard) sees as the lesson of Goya in this regard is evident in a work such as *Because she was susceptible* (plate 32, *Caprichos*, p. 137): as in *The Third of May 1808*, the light source of a large oil lamp is included within the image, and the treatment of bright and dark tonal contrast follows this cue. Even when a source is not made explicitly visible, Goya's treatment of light, and the contrasts it creates, skilfully straddles realism and stylisation. This is observable in (to take further examples from the *Caprichos*) *It is nicely stretched* (plate 17, p. 108), *Which of them is the more overcome?* (plate 27, p. 136) and *Nanny's boy* (plate 4, p. 117), among many others. The implied shaft of light in these images is always perfectly placed as well as poetic in its effects.

The question of lighting brings us to the wider framework of aesthetic form or style in cinema. A principal element that this medium took and developed from theatre and other performing arts is mise en scène.[1] This refers to the staging or choreography of bodies in relation to the surroundings of the decor or setting. Mise en scène frequently plays (if it is well done) on the expressive relations of closeness and distance between those bodies.

This highly emotive phenomenon of the dramatic (or comic) spatial intervals between people is described in twentieth-century sociology by the term 'proxemics'. Goya, however, must have possessed an intuitive and intimate knowledge of this concept long before it was duly named. Study *What a sacrifice!* (plate 14, p. 127), for instance. Three heads are jammed together in the darker background of the image, plus two more – a man positioned lower down in the frame, and a woman – that are illuminated in the foreground. Yet the four heads (the three men and the woman) trace an indivisible, horizontal line (this is the effect that Godard emphasised in the Goya scene of *Passion*), and the configuration of all five bodies forms a distinct, complex, pictorial mass. Notice here how ready Goya is to sacrifice the realistic details of body and costume (the three background men scarcely figure beyond three faces, one hand and one leg), when his primary concern is to picture a particular, sharply pointed relationship between the elements.

This alerts us to something crucial. In Goya's art, mise en scène swiftly becomes what is known as social mise en scène – the interaction of bodily figures involving not only the universal or timeless drives of attraction and repulsion, but also historically specific and local factors of class distinction, gender roles, seduction and deceit, power and resistance. Let's look at plate 7 from the *Caprichos*, *Even thus he cannot make her out* (p. 113), which is an elaboration of *Young man looking through a magnifying glass at a maja* (p. 15).

1 For an extensive account of this term and the changing uses of it in arts criticism, see my *Mise en scène and Film Style: From Classical Hollywood to New Media Art*, Palgrave, London, 2014.

A social scenario plays itself out, with a typically comical exaggeration: the inscrutability of woman to man is signalled not only by the latter's extreme physical closeness, but also by the fact that he is studying her through a magnifying lens. In this case, however, ultra-proximity brings no greater knowledge, insight or intimacy. Meanwhile, the woman's seemingly coy, 'innocent' expression hints at her own opportunistic performance of feminine wiles. Goya underlines the abyss between the sexes in his choice of black clothing for the woman and white for the man.

But this is not yet the entire scene as depicted by Goya. Where, in theatre, the practice of mise en scène, with its choreographed proxemics, must direct the action to multiple vantage points scattered around the audience, film can create a single viewpoint through the camera, whether static or mobile. And, here again, Goya offers a fine, proto-cinematic lesson. For the exact angle adopted by the artist in the way he positions the figures creates a perspective in all senses of the word, just as occurs in cinema. The pertinent detail here in *Even thus he cannot make her out* is the exact placement of a background head in the space created between the man's arm and the woman's dress. If (to speak cinematically) a camera-eye moved around the central figures even slightly to the left or the right, this superb effect would be lost – as well as the implied comment about the public, judging, social gaze always visited upon ostensibly private matters. Goya's work will often stage this type of mordant entanglement of public and private.

In *Passion*, Jerzy shuns the idea of elaborating a narrative to extend his Goya tableau into a scripted scene. Godard expresses here, through his stand-in, a very modern suspicion of storytelling in its traditional, Hollywood mode: he would prefer to put the brake on a linear, driving plot and instead linger with the openness and suggestiveness of the details that Goya pictured.[2] However, there are other ways in which we can fruitfully connect Goya's work with the power and significance of narrative.

In 1944, the American film critic Manny Farber speculated on the possible narrative sequences that could be read if – like the frames in a comic strip – certain of Goya's drawings were placed in a chronological progression and 'animated' in the viewer's mind.[3] His speculative example begins with plate 36 of the *Disasters of War* series of 1810–15, *Nor in this case* (p. 261), which shows a man being hanged. Farber imagines that the man's feet are too close to the ground for this to be completely effective, so he will have to be cruelly removed from the tree, rope still around his neck, and progressively tortured to death.

2 I explore this modern scepticism towards narrative more fully in my book *Mysteries of Cinema: Reflections on Film Theory, History and Culture 1982–2016*, University of Western Australia Publishing, Perth, 2020.

3 Manny Farber, '83-year tantrum', reprinted in Michael Almereyda, Jonathan Lethem & Robert Polito (eds), *Manny Farber: Paintings and Writings*, Hat & Beard Press, Los Angeles, 2019, p. 75. This review of the book *The Complete Etchings of Goya* originally appeared in *The New Republic*, 31 Jan. 1944.



What a sacrifice!
plate 14, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



May the cord break
plate 77, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863
Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide

Indeed, even without such potential sequencing, much of the *Disasters of War* series provides singular dramatic snapshots of similarly gruesome situations, akin to Henri Cartier-Bresson's notion of the 'decisive moment' in still photography. It is little wonder, in this light, that one contemporary commentator went so far as to praise Goya, hyperbolically, as the 'original war photographer'.[4]

More generally, Goya often uses recognisable tropes and devices of narrative such as suspense – *May the cord break* (plate 77 from *Disasters of War*) is a striking example, in which the image fully captures the crowd's collective tension in the face of an imminent catastrophe. Another trope (to which Godard was sensitive) is Goya's ability to suggest a gesture that is in the process of forming itself, and is perhaps doomed to repeat itself in vain, as with the implied movement of the chained prisoner's hands in *The custody is as barbarous as the crime* (one of three plates of prisoners made around the same time as the *Disasters of War*).

4 Ruben Stift, 'How Francisco Goya invented war photography without ever touching a camera', 3 May 2020, *Debat*, <https://www.debatmagazine.nl/how-francisco-goya-invented-war-photography-without-ever-touching-a-camera/2313/>, accessed 2 Nov. 2020.



The custody is as barbarous as the crime
c. 1815
published 1867

Finally – and as an ultimate result of all the proto-cinematic techniques I have inventoried here – there is the strong emotion contained in, and triggered by, Goya's art. *Truth has died* (plate 79, *Disasters of War*, p. 230) could easily be the basis for a filmic scene; the woman's dead body 'radiates' in the lower portion of the frame, while the members of the crowd around her are drawn into a close-knit mass. Nonetheless, specific 'close-up' details pop out from this mass: a woman's hand obscuring her face in grief, a man's raised finger. Whether a Jean-Luc Godard or a Steven Spielberg, a canny film director would find much to be moved and inspired by, to work with and prolong, in Goya.



There they go plucked
plate 20, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



How they pluck her!
plate 21, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



Those specks of dust
plate 23, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



There was no remedy
plate 24, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



If he broke the pot
plate 25, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



They've already got a seat
plate 26, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



Which of them is the more overcome?
plate 27, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



Because she was susceptible
plate 32, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



Might not the pupil know more?
plate 37, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



And so was his grandfather
plate 39, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799

GOYA AND SPANISH MUSICAL IDENTITY

Michael Christoforidis

Spanish musicians were repeatedly drawn to the life and works of Francisco de Goya in their attempts to construct a national style in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In doing so they were often enticed by the world of the *majos* and *majas* depicted by Goya, viewing this milieu and its artistic representation as early exemplars of Madrid identity, and at times, by extension, national identity. However, the life of Goya also coincided with the emergence of a distinctive Spanish style in music and dance, and the artist was both an aficionado and astute observer of the dance-related musical forms that would shape perceptions of Spanish music in the century following his death.

Many of the features that are commonly considered peculiar to Spanish music crystallised during Goya's lifetime and were widely disseminated through song and dance forms, as well as instrumental music. These characteristics, which would underpin the evolution of flamenco in the nineteenth century, include the music's rhythmic vibrancy (linked most often to a series of dance forms), its harmonic and melodic idiosyncrasies, and its close association with the guitar. As noted by Goya expert Janis A. Tomlinson, '[P]rior to his deafness [in the early 1790s], Goya had a keen interest in music',[1] which encompassed a range of musical styles. While Italian and French musical influences predominated at the Spanish court for much of the eighteenth century, particularly in the realms of opera and concerted instrumental music, it was in the theatrical arena that a more popular style of music set to Spanish texts evolved. This style of music, embraced by Goya, proliferated in the short music dramas or comedies that would often be performed between acts or at the end of an extended theatrical work. The most important of these short forms were the *tonadilla escénica* and the *sainete*, many of which were based on texts by Ramón de la Cruz and drew on incidents from everyday life or current affairs. These 'sketches of manners … made fun of the pride of the higher classes as well as the vulgarity of the lower ones, with an outstanding presentation of different elements of *majismo*'.[2] Originally consisting of solo songs (often accompanied simply with a guitar and castanets), the *tonadilla* developed into a short musico-dramatic sketch for one or two characters, which juxtaposed spoken text with music and dance numbers based on popular forms such as the *seguidilla*, *bolero*, *jota* or *tirana*.

The dances included in the *tonadilla* were usually performed in the manner of the *Escuela bolera* ('Bolero School'), which presented Spanish folk or popular dances in a style that also referenced elements of Italian and French courtly dances. Initially associated with the Southern Spanish region of Andalusia, the *Escuela bolera* gained more widespread dissemination throughout Spain during the eighteenth century, with the introduction of castanets and particular dance forms such as the *seguidilla* and the fandango. These dances became more pervasive

1 Janis A. Tomlinson, *Goya: A Portrait of the Artist*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2020, p. xxv.

2 Ruth Piquer Sanclemente & Gorka Rubiales Zabarte, 'Music representation and ideology in the paintings of Francisco de Goya and his contemporaries', *Music in Art: International Journal for Music Iconography*, vol. 34, no. 1–2, 2009, p. 104.



Dance on the banks of the Manzaneres 1776–77
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

across all classes of society by the second half of the eighteenth century and were integral to the cultural phenomenon of *majismo* as portrayed by Goya.

Through Goya's extensive correspondence with his oldest friend, Martín Zapater, we are aware of his taste for popular forms of music, dance and theatrical entertainment, even to the extent of asking Zapater to send him copies of *seguidillas*, very possibly including some by his contemporary, the prolific *tonadilla* composer Blas de Laserna. The most famous of Goya's numerous depictions of the types of dances that formed part of the *Escuela bolera* and that were staged as part of the *tonadilla* is probably the tapestry cartoon *Dance on the banks of the Manzanares* of 1776–77 (Prado Museum, Madrid). Here Goya presents the viewer with two couples dancing a *seguidilla* accompanied by a singing guitarist, a bandurria player and another person clapping to the rhythm.[3] The dancers are clearly upper-class people impersonating *majos* and *majas*, who also mark the rhythm of the dance by playing their castanets. This rarefied and stylised depiction of a *seguidilla*

3 Piquer Sanclemente & Rubiales Zabarte, p. 105.



Italy
Luigi Boccherini c. 1764–67
National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne

was in line with the demands of the royal commission: the tapestry was ordered to adorn the dining room of the Infante, the future Carlos IV. Goya was well aware of negotiating the fault lines of high and low culture in his representations of music and dance, but he was also attuned to the expectation that he forgo more popular musical pleasures once his status as royal painter had been assured. Referring to contemporary popular songs, he writes to Zapater:

> I haven't heard them and probably never shall because I no longer go to the places where one could hear them, for I have got into my head that I should maintain a certain presence and air for dignity [...] that a man should have, and you can imagine that I'm not very happy about it.[4]

It is only later in his life – particularly in some of the *Caprichos*, 1797–98, *Disparates*, c. 1815–19, and the Black Paintings – that we find less rarefied representations of music and dance, which at times recast some of the compositions of his tapestry cartoons, as is the case with the *seguidilla* performed in *Merry folly* (p. 95) from the *Disparates*.

4 Sarah Simmons (ed.), *Goya: A Life in Letters*, trans. Philip Troutman, Pimlico, London, 2004, p. 219.



Majo with a guitar 1779
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

Goya's employment by the Infante Don Luis de Borbón (brother of Carlos III) in 1783–84 at his exile retreat in the Palace of La Mosquera brought the artist to one of the epicentres of concerted instrumental music in Spain. His painting *The Family of the Infante Don Luis de Borbón*, 1783–84 (Magnani-Rocca Foundation, Parma) incorporates members of the household of the Infante (including the painter himself at the easel) with the Italian cellist and composer Luigi Boccherini given a prominent position. One of the leading instrumentalists and chamber music composers of his generation, Boccherini spent much of his life in Spain. While he composed largely within a classical European musical language, some of Boccherini's works include Spanish idioms and forms – such as the fandango – and on occasion even incorporate the guitar. The (Neo)classical framing of popular Spanish dance music in such works parallels the stylised presentation of music and dance in the tapestry cartoons of Goya. The NGV Collection includes two of the finest extant portraits of Boccherini and Don Luis: *Luigi Boccherini*, c. 1764–67 (p. 143), and Anton Raphael Mengs's *Don Luis Jaime Antonio de Borbon y Farnesio, Infante of Spain*, c. 1774–78.

The clearest evidence of Goya's engagement with the music of his time was through his intimate knowledge of the guitar, which confirmed its status as the national instrument of Spain during the eighteenth century.[5] In a letter to Zapater foreshadowing his move to Zaragoza in 1780, Goya writes:

5 Ricardo Jorge de Sousa Aleixo, 'La guitarra en Madrid (1750 – ca. 1808): fuentes y difusión', PhD, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2017, pp. 82–8.



The pilgrimage to San Isidro 1820–23 (detail)
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

I do not need much furniture for my house. I think a print of the Virgin of El Pilar, a table, five chairs, a frying pan, a wine bag and a small guitar, a grill and a lamp, all the rest is superfluous.[6]

Goya's works provide a rich source of musical iconography for the late eighteenth-century instrument and its performance practices,[7] during a critical time in the development of the Spanish guitar. This is especially true of his portrayal of *rasgueado* – the strummed chordal style that underpinned the harmonic and rhythmic momentum of the popular songs and dances of the period. The technique of *rasgueado*, along with the vocal and percussive animation of dance music, would evolve further during the nineteenth century as integral components of flamenco and its precursor, the *género andaluz*.

The guitar was also an important accessory of *majismo* and features as such in Goya's tapestry cartoon *Majo with a guitar*, 1779 (Prado Museum, Madrid), intended for the entrance to the bedroom of the Infante (future king Carlos IV), who was also an avid aficionado of the instrument. The guitar appears in less elevated settings in some of Goya's later works, most notably at the head of the procession in the Black Painting *The pilgrimage to San Isidro*, 1820–23 (Prado Museum, Madrid), as well as in a number of prints. In *Bravo!*, plate 38 from the *Caprichos* (p. 147), Goya presents an

6 *Francisco Goya (1746–1828): Letters of Love and Friendship in Translation*, trans. Jacqueline Hara, Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston, 1997, p. 27.
7 De Sousa Aleixo, pp. 186–90.

allegory of ignorance and blindly (or in this case 'deafly') following fashion, which takes the form of a donkey listening to a monkey playing a guitar back to front. Despite the satiric intent of *Bravo!*, there is still a sense of verisimilitude in Goya's depiction of the structure and handling (albeit inverted) of the late eighteenth-century instrument, which is not dissimilar to that found in *Majo with a guitar*.

Goya and *majismo* would also be coupled with the rise of musical nationalism in nineteenth-century Spain. This movement gained impetus with the establishment of the *zarzuela grande* – a form of musical theatre including spoken dialogue in the local language – and the construction of Madrid's Teatro de la Zarzuela in the 1850s. While the *zarzuela grande* reflected in music the turbulent politics of the period, the issues were often presented through the prism of historical plots set in the eighteenth century, a less dangerous mode of social critique that was nonetheless widely understood by audiences. In this context *majismo* would play an important role in defining the genre, as would the musical allusion to Spanish forms of music made popular at that time, such as the *seguidilla* and the *jota*. Goya even figures as a key character in one of foundational works of the genre, Francisco Asenjo Barbieri's *Pan y toros* (*Bread and bulls/circuses*), a *zarzuela* charged with images and personages depicted in the artist's works.

Majismo would become even more pronounced in Spanish musical theatre of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, particularly after the sesquicentenary of Goya's birth in 1896, when a number of works explicitly drew inspiration from images by the artist.[8] The most renowned of these works was the opera *Goyescas* (1915) by the Catalan composer Enric Granados. The music for the opera was drawn from a landmark piano suite entitled *Goyescas: Los majos enamorados* (1911), with a number of movements evoking specific works by Goya, including *The straw mannequin*, 1791–92 (Prado Museum, Madrid, p. 148) and *Love and death* (plate 10, *Caprichos*, p. 119). In *Goyescas*, as well as in his *Tonadillas* for voice and piano (1914), inspired by scenes from Goya's tapestry cartoons, Granados engages with Spanish musical forms and idioms of the eighteenth century through a late Romantic lens. These *Tonadillas*, composed in a less elevated style, were aimed at the songstresses, or *cupletistas*, who incarnated the Hispanic popular music style of the Belle Époque and were fixtures of international theatrical entertainment. The most famous of the *cupletistas*, Raquel Meller, presented Granados's *Tonadillas* within an elaborate Goyesque theatrical setting in 1914 and would later adopt the look and persona of a black *maja*, infused with elements of the vamp, to enormous international acclaim.[9]

8 Walter A. Clark, '"Spain, the eternal maja": Goya, majismo, and the reinvention of Spanish national identity in Granados's *Goyescas*', 2005, *Diagonal*, <https://cilam.ucr.edu/diagonal/issues/2005/majismo.html>, accessed 2 Oct. 2020. The disastrous Spanish-American War of 1898 furthered the reappraisal of Goya by Spanish writers and intellectuals advocating a national identity steeped in the idea of Castile.

9 Geraldine Power, 'Raquel Meller: maja in post-war Paris', in Luisa Morales, Michael Christoforidis & Walter A. Clark (eds), *Enrique Granados in Context: The Spanish Piano School and Pre-war Artistic Movements*, FIMTE Festival Internacional de Música de Tecla Española, Garrucha, 2020, pp. 241–55.



Bravo!
plate 38, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



The straw mannequin 1791–92
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

The widespread engagement of fin-de-siècle Spanish visual artists with the legacy of Goya and *majismo* also shaped theatrical representations of music and dance, most notably in the case of the Basque artist Ignacio Zuloaga. Having already drawn inspiration from the work of Goya in his depictions of *majas* and bullfighters, and channelled the tones and themes of the Black Paintings in his own paintings, Zuloaga brought these influences to bear on his modernist designs for the 1920 Paris premiere of *Goyescas*.[10] He had previously painted the famous Spanish exotic dancer Tórtola Valencia as a *maja* and created various outfits for her recreation of Spanish dances. The Goyesque *maja* also underpins Zuloaga's 1906 costume designs for Georges Bizet's *Carmen*, created for his friend, the internationally renowned Catalan diva Maria Gay. Through her

10 Jesús Pedro Lorente Lorente, 'La pasión por Goya en Zuloaga y su círculo', *Artigrama*, vol. 25, 2010, pp. 165–83.



Postcard of Goya's *El pelele* with musical annotations by Manuel de Falla addressed to Serge Diaghilev, Madrid, 21 October 1918
Ayuntamiento de Granada

unique interpretation (and appearance) in the title role of *Carmen*, Gay sought to Hispanicise and 'authenticate' that most enduring French musical and dramatic stereotype of Spain.[11]

A modernist reinterpretation of Goya and the music of his time pervades Manuel de Falla's ballet *The Three-Cornered Hat* (1919), one of the most internationally successful orchestral scores by a Spanish composer. The story is based on Pedro Antonio de Alarcón's novel of the same name and is set around 1800, during the reign of Carlos IV. The Ballets Russes, under the aegis of Serge Diaghilev, brought together the talents of Falla, choreographer and dancer Léonide Massine, and Pablo Picasso, who stylised elements of Goya's work and the musical culture of his time.[12] Diaghilev's interest in the visual arts was an important catalyst in the creation of the Ballets Russes, and when the company arrived in Madrid in May

11 Michael Christoforidis & Elizabeth Kertesz, *Carmen and the Staging of Spain: Recasting Bizet's Opera in the Belle Epoque*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2019, pp. 228–9.
12 Michael Christoforidis, 'In the wake of *Granados*: Manuel de Falla's artistic reorientation (1916–1919)', in Morales, Christoforidis & Clark, pp. 221–9.

1916 he sought inspiration at the Prado Museum. He immediately attempted to create a 'Spanish' ballet based on Diego Velázquez's *Las Meninas*, 1656, reimagined by Catalan artist Josep María Sert, to the music of Gabriel Fauré.

In the conception of *The Three-Cornered Hat*, however, the imagery of Goya was brought to the fore, and Picasso's embrace of this is evident in the drop curtain and costume designs. Falla's music likewise draws heavily on styles prevalent in the eighteenth century, such as the *seguidilla* and *jota*, with the addition of flamenco elements at the insistence of Diaghilev. This music is stylistically recast by Falla in line with emerging Neoclassical trends in music while occasionally hinting at the musical primitivism of Igor Stravinsky. The guitar is also evoked throughout the orchestral textures of the score. At one point in the score Falla even intimates an extended lineage of references to Goya and the music of his time: the opening theme of the 'Danza de los vecinos' (*seguidillas*) from *The Three-Cornered Hat* suggests the melodic and rhythmic contour of the second theme of 'Los Requiebros' from Granados's *Goyescas*, which was in turn adapted from Blas de Laserna's *Tirana del Trípili*. Goya's art is overtly referenced in the ballet's denouement, when *The straw mannequin* is recreated on stage to the strains of Falla's epic 'Jota'. The exuberance and subversive nature of tossing the disgraced lascivious magistrate in a blanket at the end of *The Three-Cornered Hat* is akin to Goya's later reworking of *The straw mannequin* as *Feminine folly*, plate 1 from the *Disparates* (p. 274). While Goya has continued to inspire Spanish musical creativity, the final moments of *The Three-Cornered Hat* serve as a remarkable capstone to the artist's multifaceted impact on the renaissance of Spanish music in the century following his lifetime.

OPPOSITE:
Feminine folly (detail)
plate 1, *Los Disparates*, c. 1815–19, published 1864



Of what ill will he die?
plate 40, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



Neither more nor less
plate 41, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



Thou who canst not
plate 42, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



The sleep of reason produces monsters
plate 43, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



There is plenty to suck
plate 45, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



A gift for the master
plate 47, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



Tale-bearers, or, Blasts of wind
plate 48, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



Hobgoblins
plate 49, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



The Chinchillas
plate 50, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



They spruce themselves up
plate 51, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



Trials
plate 60, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



They have flown
plate 61, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799

PRODUCING MONSTERS: GOYA AND THE GROTESQUE BODY

Jessica Cole

Goya made two preparatory drawings for the renowned etching *The sleep of reason produces monsters* – initially conceived as the frontispiece, but published as plate 43 of the *Caprichos*, 1797–98, (p. 155). The first of these drawings (p. 166), an energetic sketch in pen and ink, is an important statement of Goya's artistic aspirations at this crucial moment in his career. Like the print, it depicts the artist slumped in a chair, head resting face down on his desk, which here is a printing press. An etching plate leans against the artist's chair, the image on which has been identified as one of Goya's etchings after Velázquez, made twenty years earlier.[1] The most significant detail in this drawing, however, is the jumble of disembodied heads – presumably new ideas for future prints – drawn as though bursting from the artist's active imagination. At least two of these heads resemble Goya's own likeness, while the rest are a mixture of strangely distorted, animalistic and grimacing faces – of a type that Western art history would classify as 'grotesque'. Projecting upwards and outwards, this cloud of inspired and unsettling imagery turns into a dark shadow at the right side of the drawing, in which lurk animals and nocturnal creatures – the monsters (*monstruos*) we find in the final print.

What makes these strange heads 'grotesque'? A recent guide to the use of this complex literary and artistic trope stresses that it has no one meaning or form, and as such any attempt at a modern definition is bound to fail: 'For if there is any one thing that defines "the" grotesque it is precisely that it is hybrid, transgressive and always in motion'.[2] Notwithstanding, those who have attempted to define the grotesque, from Charles Baudelaire onwards, have used Goya's work as an example, if not the paradigm, of its manifestation in art – particularly his representations of the grotesque body (one that deviates from the norm) and monsters.[3] By depicting *ab*normal figures, through exaggeration, distortion or bizarre combinations, Goya questioned the boundaries of tradition and normalcy. Moreover, while not a word Goya is known to have used, it is significant that the definition of grotesque (*grutesco*) in late eighteenth-century Spanish was closely related to that of *caprichos* and *monstruos* – that is, they all connoted the transcription of inventive, unusual or fantastic ideas.[4]

1 The print, made in 1778, is after Velázquez's *Equestrian portrait of Margarita of Austria* (c. 1635, Prado Museum, Madrid). See Eleanor A. Sayre, 'Design for a frontispiece to a set of *Sueños* (*Dreams*), first version', in *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1989, p. 110, no. 50.

2 Justin D. Edwards & Rune Graulund, *Grotesque*, Routledge, Abingdon, 2013, p. 15.

3 Charles Baudelaire, 'On the essence of laughter', and 'Some foreign caricaturists', in Jonathan Mayne (ed. & trans.), *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays* (1964), Phaidon, London, 1995, pp. 147–65, 190–93. See also Wolfgang Kayser, *The Grotesque in Art and Literature*, trans. Ulrich Weisstein, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1966, p. 18; Peter Fingesten, 'Delimitating the concept of the grotesque', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, vol. 42, no. 4, 1984, pp. 419–26; and Frances S. Connelly, *The Grotesque in Western Art and Culture: The Image at Play*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2012, pp. 104–6, 115–16.

4 Esteban Terreros y Pando, *Diccionario Castellano con las voces de Ciencias y Artes* (1786–87), Arcos Libros, Madrid, 1987, vol. 1, p. 348; vol. 2, pp. 242, 612–13.



The sleep of reason produces monsters 1797
preliminary drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 43
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

In light of this, and the preliminary drawing described above, we might interpret plate 43 and its ambiguous title as Goya's manifesto for the latter half of the *Caprichos*, which is an ode to the grotesque and monstrous figure, and to the etching and aquatint mediums. This position is echoed in the advertisement announcing the publication of the *Caprichos* in February 1799, in which it is stated that

> Painting [art] ... combines in a single, fantastic figure circumstances and characteristics which in nature appear spread over many; and by this combination, ingeniously contrived, is achieved that happy imitation by which a good artificer acquires the title of inventor, rather than of servile copyist.[5]

This essay considers the transgressive strategies of deformation and subversion that Goya employed to create the extraordinarily original figurative imagery in the *Caprichos*. It is proposed that in the etched image of the grotesque body, Goya discovered a powerful vehicle of visual expression that was completely at odds with prevailing tastes in Spanish art at the time.

5 Reproduced and translated in Tomás Harris, *Goya: Engravings and Lithographs*, Alan Wofsy Fine Arts, San Francisco, 1983, p. 95.

Goya's earliest explorations of the grotesque body take the form of caricature – that is, images of people with exaggerated or distorted physical features, signifying their moral condition, usually for comical or satirical effect. These caricatures first appear midway through Album B (1794–95), and may have been inspired by Goya's viewing of prints by James Gillray and other English satirical artists in the private collections of his friends: the businessman Sebastián Martínez, with whom he stayed in 1792–93 while convalescing from an unidentified illness, and the satirical writer Leandro Fernández de Moratín. One of the most explicit of these caricatures is a crude satire of the clergy (p. 168) that, after some alterations, formed the basis for *They are hot* (plate 13, *Caprichos*, p. 169). Done in ink and wash and inscribed with the title *Merry caricature*, it depicts two monks dining at a table, shovelling food into their open mouths and being waited on by attendants. The cleric on the left is endowed with a phallic nose so enormous it requires propping up, while his less deformed companion boasts a disproportionately large nose and drooping eyelids. This drawing shows the artist giving free rein to his anti-clerical views, particularly in the deformation of the monk's face. Unsurprisingly, given the very real risk of indictment by the Inquisition for heresy, Goya withheld the priapic feature from the final print in the *Caprichos*, choosing instead to emphasise the monks' gaping mouths and thus their insatiable appetites and extravagance.

While Goya uses bodily deformation for comic effect at times in the *Caprichos* – for example, the ridiculous hunchbacked and buck-toothed suitor in the ill-matched marriage scene, *What a sacrifice!* (plate 14, p. 127) – more often it implies something far more sinister. In some of these distortions, he exaggerates the scale of individual body parts, resulting in absurdly disproportionate limbs that have an unnerving effect, such as the oversized hand of the grinning 'hobgoblin' in *Hobgoblins* (plate 49, p. 159). But the physical feature he exaggerates more than any other, to the point of deformity, is the open mouth. Following its first appearance in the image of monks in *They are hot*, the gaping mouth becomes a ubiquitous motif in the second half of the *Caprichos*, and one that Goya uses to critique the shortcomings of unenlightened society.

A central tenet of the Enlightenment rationalism that swept through Europe in the eighteenth century was the primacy of empirical knowledge. Embedded in this was the hierarchy of the human senses, which invested sensory perception with cultural and social values. According to this hierarchy, the mouth, in its association with the 'lower' senses of smell, taste and touch, was viewed as a symbol of our animalistic nature. Indeed, for philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin, whose groundbreaking study of the grotesque in medieval carnivals (that is, the temporary inversion of reality and social hierarchy), the gaping mouth, which he describes as a 'wide-open bodily abyss', is the most essential feature of the grotesque body.[6]

6 Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky, Indiana University Press, Bloomington IN, 1984, p. 317.



Merry caricature 1796–97 (detail)
Album B, 63
preliminary drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 13
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

In the *Caprichos*, Goya, through the depiction of the open mouth, draws attention to bodily functions such as eating, drinking, vomiting, screaming, laughing and yawning – all primal physical actions, and therefore considered 'vulgar'.

At the top of the hierarchy of the senses was sight, which was associated with intellect and the highly valued faculty of reason. Goya makes use of this symbolism in the *Caprichos*, particularly in the plates that follow *The sleep of reason produces monsters*, by depicting humans with impaired vision or closed eyes – invariably religious fanatics or members of the aristocracy, for example, *A gift for the master* (plate 47, p. 157) and *The Chinchillas* (plate 50, p. 160) – who are 'blinded' by ignorance or their own sense of superiority. Conversely, the non-human creatures that appear in this latter half of the series are mostly depicted with their eyes open. By emphasising or closing off the human senses in this way, Goya subverts the conventional hierarchy, thus representing the absence (or 'sleep') of reason he perceived in the archaic customs and practices of Spanish society.

A consistent expression of grotesque imagery is the mingling of two species in one coherent form – typically, human and animal, or human and plant. Indeed, it was the discovery of ancient hybrid forms on the walls of the Domus Aurea in Rome, when it was excavated in the 1480s, that led to the coinage of the word,



They are hot
plate 13, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799

'grotto-esque' (*grottesche*) at the beginning of the Renaissance. From this moment on, bizarre and fantastic hybrid creatures became a core component of architectural ornamentation and the decorative borders of paintings, most famously exemplified by the frescoes of the Vatican loggia, painted in 1517–19 under the supervision of Raphael. The taste for this grotesque 'style' – often described as 'capricho' – still prevailed at the Spanish court at the end of the eighteenth century, particularly under the reign of Charles IV, who appointed Goya as his court painter in 1799. This perspective was not, however, shared by Goya's fellow members of Madrid's Royal Academy who, following the influential sentiments of Anton Raphael Mengs and Johann Joachim Winckelmann, viewed this 'frivolous' style as degenerative and an undermining of the core principles of Neoclassicism: that is, restraint, simplicity and idealism.[7] In his *Caprichos*, Goya deliberately subverts Neoclassical taste in academic painting by selecting elements from the natural world to create deformity and disunity in his figures, rather than beauty and harmony.

Nowhere is this subversion more visible than in the *Caprichos* images that meld human and animal, or multiple species, in one figure, such as *Look how solemn they are!* (plate 63, p. 172). Goya's interest in depicting such imaginary creatures completely disregards the well-known warning against the imprudent imitation of nature by the Roman poet Horace, whose *Ars Poetica*, translated into Spanish by Bernardo de Iriarte in 1771, opens with the following tirade:

> Supposing a painter chose to put a human head on a horse's neck, or to spread feathers of various colours over the limbs of several different creatures, or to make what in the upper part is a beautiful woman tail off into a hideous fish, could you help laughing when he showed you his efforts?[8]

Appearing towards the end of the *Caprichos* are two monstrous scenes that confuse the boundaries not only between the human and non-human, but also between one body and multiple bodies. In *Bon voyage* (plate 64, p. 173), an assemblage of howling, indeterminate creatures, some apparently bodiless, tumble through the night sky on the back of a devilish bird-winged man. Apart from a small amount of burnishing to distinguish one form from the next, the print is created almost entirely with layers of aquatint, resulting in one of the most tonally dark images in the series. In the equally disturbing but aesthetically very different subsequent print, *Where is mother going?* (plate 65, p. 174), an obese witch is transported through a terrestrial landscape by three goblins, like a female drunken Silenus, creating a fleshy mass of conjoined and flailing limbs. Adding to the grotesque incongruence of the scene, the absurd caravan of bodies defies its own immense weight by floating in midair on the back of an owl. In stark contrast to its preceding neighbour, this print includes hardly any aquatint at all. Instead, Goya displays his virtuosic handling of the etching needle to create volume and shading, as well as detailed rendering of anatomy, facial expressions and background.

The emphasis on line over tone, along with the appearance of Goya's signature, in this and several other prints in the *Caprichos*, has led to their identification as the first in the series to be realised, around 1797.[9] Significantly, these early *Caprichos* plates mostly depict grossly deformed bodies or supernatural creatures, like the hybrids and witches in *Look how solemn they are!* and *Where is mother going?* The delicate etching style and imaginative subject matter in these early prints recall the inventive etchings of Goya's predecessors, particularly Giambattista Tiepolo, who worked at the Spanish court in the 1760s and had created his own series of enigmatic etchings titled *Vari Capricci*, and Jusepe de Ribera, who had produced a small but celebrated group of etchings of male saints and grotesque heads. But the artist Goya looked to most of all was Rembrandt, whose masterful technique and striking compositions demonstrated what could be achieved with etching needle and printing ink.

The fact that Goya undertook the labour-intensive work of designing and printing the *Caprichos* tells us that he recognised the scope for invention that the etching medium and grotesque figures offered. As he neared the completion of the series, Goya resumed his interest in depicting monsters, by which time he had mastered the aquatint process – a technique well suited to the elusive, dark and ambivalent forms characteristic of the grotesque. And it is this abnormal and exceptionally original imagery that made him worthy of 'the title inventor, rather than of servile copyist'.

7 Andrew Schulz, *Goya's Caprichos: Aesthetics, Perception and the Body*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2005, pp. 168–72.

8 Reproduced in David Rosand, *Drawing Acts: Studies in Graphic Expression and Representation*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002, p. 351; translation taken from T. S. Dorsch, *Classical Literary Criticism*, Penguin Books, Baltimore, 1965, p. 79.

9 Janis A. Tomlinson, 'Los Caprichos', in *Graphic Evolutions: The Print Series of Francisco Goya*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1989, pp. 11–23.



Look how solemn they are!
plate 63, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



Bon voyage
plate 64, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



Where is mother going?
plate 65, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



There it goes
plate 66, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



Pretty teacher!
plate 68, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



Blow
plate 69, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



Devout profession
plate 70, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



When day breaks, we will be off
plate 71, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



You will not escape
plate 72, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



Can't anyone untie us?
plate 75, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



What one does to another
plate 77, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



Be quick, they are waking up
plate 78, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



No one has seen us
plate 79, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



ABOVE:
It is time
plate 80, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799

OVERLEAF:
There isn't time now (detail)
plate 19, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863



2.

WAR AND VIOLENCE

DISASTERS OF WAR, THEN AND NOW

Eric Campbell

The first time I saw Goya's *Disasters of War*, 1810–15, I was itching to get to Afghanistan to cover the 'war on terror'.

It was October 2001 and I'd organised a holiday in Spain just before the September 11 attacks. I was a distracted tourist. I was trying to hunt down copies of *The International Herald Tribune* or watch CNN in the hotel room rather than explore Madrid. Even visiting one of the world's greatest art museums seemed a needless diversion.

I had seen enough of armed conflict to think I understood its horror and was becoming obsessed with covering it. Based in Moscow from 1996, I had made regular trips to Chechnya, where a war on the edge of Europe had degenerated into medieval violence. I had done two stints in Afghanistan during sporadic fighting, one in Taliban-controlled Kabul. In 1999 I spent months in the former Yugoslavia covering ethnic cleansing and the invasion of Kosovo. By 2001 I was based in Beijing. I was covering China and Central Asia and had finished a shoot in Uzbekistan on Salafist terrorism the day the Twin Towers collapsed. In my cockier moments, I figured myself a seasoned war correspondent.

Seeing the *Disasters of War* at the Prado Museum was a revelation. These images seemed as much documentary as art, evoking the worst of anything I had seen. They were classical but modern, devoid of false nobility or mawkish heroism. This was raw, passionate rage at the dirty, bloody, savage inhumanity of war.

Years later, I would read Robert Hughes's description of Goya as 'the first modern visual reporter on warfare'. That day, walking around the museum, I remember marvelling at a long-dead artist who could condemn modern conflict as well as, and perhaps better than, anyone alive.

The Peninsular War, known in Spain as the Spanish War of Independence, would have been a fascinating conflict to cover if the mores and technology of modern journalism had been present in 1808. The Spanish king joins a plot by Napoleon to invade Portugal, only to find he has been double-crossed and the French invade Spain. Napoleon installs his brother Joseph as king … and the court of the old king, even the painters, have to swear allegiance to him! But the Spanish fight back, not just for their king but for national liberation. Peasants fight alongside aristocrats and liberals. Full-scale guerilla warfare is born, with its hit and run attacks, asymmetric strategy and crazy-brave ambushes. Victory comes at a tragic cost. Then, as always, comes betrayal … the Spanish king rejects the liberal constitution and the new humane order so many had dreamed of and died for.

But of course, Goya didn't cover this as a reporter. He never went out in the field to witness the fighting. He never saw injuries or heard the screams of the dying. Even if there had been means for an artist to visit the battles, Goya would not have been physically able to. By the time of occupation, he was in his sixties, profoundly deaf and in failing health.

That's not to say he was cloistered from the conflict. In 1808 he was commissioned to record the suffering of Zaragoza, which repelled a bloody siege before succumbing to the French in early 1809. It's possible he passed refugees on the road to the Aragon city and heard detailed stories of what had happened. Perhaps his

claim *I saw it* (*Yo lo vi*), the title of plate 44 (p. 224), is true or partially true. We'll never know. But it's certain the vast majority of his scenes were imagined, even if inspired by accounts of atrocities relayed firsthand or through retelling.

Perhaps that makes them both less reliable and more powerful. Reality is never as clear-cut as a construct. A snapshot of a violent scene can rarely distil the full horror of confict. Australia's first great war photographer, Frank Hurley, made no secret of combining negatives of battles. In the *Australasian Photo-Review* of 1919 he fended off claims of fakery, writing:

> None but those who have endeavoured can realise the insurmountable difficulties of portraying a modern battle by the camera. To include the event on a single negative, I have tried and tried, but the results are hopeless [...] Now, if negatives are taken of all the separate incidents in the action and combined, some idea may then be gained of what a modern battle looks like.[1]

Goya left no such written clues to his thinking. Throughout the war, he appears to have kept his stance on the French occupation neutral and his thoughts private. Any chronicling was done in secret. His paintings *The Second of May 1808* and *The Third of May 1808* (both in the Prado Museum, Madrid, p. 124) are vivid depictions of the popular revolts, but he waited until 1814 to paint them, after the war had been won and Ferdinand restored to the throne. The print series *Disasters of War* was only published thirty-five years after he died.

It seems Goya was compelled to record what had happened for posterity, to protest its barbarity for history, to show what humans are capable of and to ensure it would never be forgotten. But he did not see it as his role to alert the world to it as it was happening.

Like most reporters, I've always felt a duty to get as close as possible to events I'm reporting on. In conflict, that's extraordinarily difficult and dangerous. Only a fool moves towards gunfire. Some reporters I know have been embedded in combat units, wielding a camera among men wielding weapons and hoping not to be shot by chance or mistaken for combatants.

But most conflict reporting focuses on the aftermath of fighting – the streams of refugees, the overcrowded makeshift hospitals, the traumatised victims sitting silently alone. As a young news reporter, I imagined my stories were important, but had to gradually accept they were of limited interest to Australian audiences and a compelling two-minute package on internally displaced Chechens would likely be dropped for a breaking Sheffield Shield cricket result.

The Australian critic Robert Hughes, as avid a fan of Goya's work as any historian, wondered in his 2003 book *Goya* whether blanket news coverage deadened both the public's interest and the capacity of artists to cut through.

> Was it rather that an age of mass media, our own age, so overloaded with every kind of visual image that all images were in some sense replaceable, a time when few things stood out for long from a prevailing image fog, had somehow blurred and carried away a part of the memorable distinctness the visual icon once had?[2]

Certainly, some images do cut through. The blurry photograph of the Tiananmen Square Tank Man, shot from a balcony of the foreign journalists' compound where I lived for two years in Beijing, will forever be more famous than any picture of the Peninsular War. But they are rare and accidental.

Perhaps the greatest weakness in contemporary war reporting is how quickly it is forgotten. As the daily news cycle moves on, so do people's attentions. Yet the suffering continues long after the battles. Sixteen of Goya's images in the *Disasters of War* portray the poverty and famine caused by the conflict. These problems were as relevant to the Spanish people at the time the prints were published in 1863 as they were during the fighting. Likewise, Goya's images still resonate long after the Peninsular War, because they capture the essence of the violence of war and its traumatic consequences.

If there is a weakness in the argument that Goya was the first great visual reporter on warfare, it is this. The images came from his justified outrage at Napoleon's invasion and disgust at the Bonapartists' savagery. However, they omitted the savagery of Spain's defenders.

Rape was endemic to all sides in the conflict, not just the victims portrayed in *They do not want to* (plate 9, p. 199), *Nor do these* (plate 10, p. 200) and *Neither do these* (plate 11, p. 201). Whatever stories Goya heard that inspired these images, there were others to be told of what guerillas did to prisoners or civilians suspected of collaboration.

Does that matter in the context of the timeless work of a groundbreaking artist? If the enduring gift of Goya is to make us focus, two centuries later, on the inhumanity of war, then surely it must.

One of the ironies of Spain's reverence for Goya is the country's continued reluctance to truly remember the disasters of its wars. The Spanish Civil War of 1936 to 1939 was its most turbulent period since the Spanish War of Independence and ushered in the stain of General Francisco Franco's long dictatorship. Pablo Picasso's 1937 painting *Guernica* (Reina Sofia Museum, Madrid), a devastating response to the carpet-bombing of the Basque town by Franco's Nazi allies, became part of the Spanish collective imagination. But after Franco's death in 1975, parties from the left and right agreed to the 'Pacto del ovido' – the Pact of Forgetting. There were no prosecutions for war crimes, no accountability for the deaths of millions, no punishment for decades of repression, all in the name of leaving the past behind.

1 'Frank Hurley's World War I photography', *State Library of New South Wales*, NSW Government, <https://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/stories/frank-hurleys-world-war-i-photography/truth-and -photography>, accessed 12 Aug. 2020.

2 Robert Hughes, 'Driving into Goya', in *The Spectacle of Skill: Selected Writings of Robert Hughes*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 2015, p. 330.

I saw the effects when I moved to Barcelona in 2016, renting an apartment in the historic old town opposite the Palau de la Música. Over the course of three years, I watched how the unresolved legacy of the past gave an emotional underpinning to the rising Catalan independence movement. Franco had not only punished the city for its defence of the Republic, he stripped its autonomy and spent more than three decades trying to erase its linguistic and cultural differences from Madrid. Three decades later, Catalans still felt the sting.

I heard young people talk of how their grandparents had suffered in the dictatorship and I heard my neighbours banging pots and pans to drown out the sound of a concert attended by the king. At an FC Barcelona match at Camp Nou, the crowd started chanting 'Índependencia' at 17 minutes and 14 seconds to mark the fall of Barcelona to the Bourbon king's forces in 1714. As an Australian, it seemed bizarre, even absurd for a prosperous region to be trying to separate from the centre. But when Spain's Civil Guard crushed the Catalans' attempted independence referendum in 2017, I saw blood spilled in the streets of one of Europe's most sophisticated cities. At one polling station, where voters had moments earlier been clubbed and dragged by police, a man shouted to me: 'They are fighting against us as they did 305 years ago'. (He was two years off in his arithmetic, but it was stunning to hear a reference to three centuries earlier in the middle of an adrenaline-fuelled street tussle.)

If decades of covering conflicts have taught me one thing, it is that trauma crosses generations. Locking it down and trying to forget it never stops it rising. I don't expect any of my own or my colleagues' work will be remembered in 200 years. Certainly, none of it will be collected or displayed. Francisco de Goya was no reporter, but he was an unrivalled chronicler of the darkness of which humans are capable. May those disasters never be forgotten.

OPPOSITE:
They do not want to (detail)
plate 9, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863
Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide



Sad presentiments of what is to come
plate 1, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863
Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide



The women give courage
plate 4, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863



And they are wild beasts
plate 5, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863



They do not want to
plate 9, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863
Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide



Nor do these
plate 10, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863



Neither do these
plate 11, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863



This is what you were born for
plate 12, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863



They do not agree
plate 17, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863



There isn't time now
plate 19, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863



Get them well, and on to the next dated 1810
plate 20, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863



‘I SAW IT’: GOYA, REPORTER

Gideon Haigh

In *Homage to Catalonia* (1938), George Orwell describes the arrival in the Spanish city Tarragona of his train full of wounded, simultaneous with the departure for the front of another train of troops and artillery pieces. Those of his colleagues in the Workers’ Party militia well enough to do so gather at the carriage windows to cheer and whistle; those in the other train, faces smiling, scarves fluttering, gallantly reciprocate the salutes as they draw away. ‘It was like an allegorical picture of war’, Orwell recalls. ‘The trainload of fresh men gliding proudly up the line, the maimed men sliding slowly down … reviving that pernicious feeling, so difficult to get rid of, that war *is* glorious after all.’[1]

Orwell was a soldier; he had known men who had died; he had been wounded himself. Yet even this most scrupulously unillusioned of writers could not shake off the feeling he knew to be ‘pernicious’. His own war, fleetingly dangerous, often uncomfortable but largely dull, had spared him direct horror; there remained, he was forced to admit, scope for fantasies of combat’s nobility. It was Orwell who famously remarked on the ‘constant struggle’ to ‘see what is in front of one’s nose’. Further away than that, it seemed, and the seeing grew harder still. One had to look and look hard, insistently and unflinchingly. Which is what lends such force to the caption of plate 44 in Goya’s *Disasters of War*, 1810–15: *Yo lo vi* (*I saw it*, p. 224)

‘I saw it’: the words relate specifically to Goya’s etching of a column of villagers retreating before the advance of the Peninsular War, which roved over the same countryside as Orwell’s war 130 years later. But the words could frame the whole series, substantiating the claim for verisimilitude asserted in the work’s full title: *Fatales Consecuencias de la Sangrienta Guerra en España con Buonaparte. Y otros Caprichoes Enfaticos* (‘Fatal Consequences of Spain’s Bloody War against Bonaparte. And other Emphatic Caprices’). From ‘I saw it’, of course, can be inferred qualification elsewhere. To claim eyewitness status in one instance is to imply its absence in others. It also conveys the difficulty of being an observer to the subject matter of *Disasters*, reinforced by the caption to plate 26, where patriots, in anticipation of Goya’s *The Third of May 1808*, 1814 (Prado Museum, Madrid, p. 124), crumple before a disembodied firing squad: *One can’t look* (p. 219).

How many of the events in *Disasters* Goya actually ‘saw’ is the subject of considerable conjecture. It is known, for instance, that the Spanish commander Palafox invited Goya to tour Zaragoza after the city’s ruinous siege; the toll of the damage was the more meaningful for it being a locality with which Goya was familiar from his youth. Goya is known to have travelled with sketchbooks in which he recorded preliminary impressions; in later albums, he began adding terse, sometimes astringent captions, in the custom of English caricaturists such as James Gillray. One caption, accompanying the sketch of a woman on trial for witchcraft and titled *They put a gag on her because she talked. And struck her in the face. I saw her, Orosia Moreno, in Zaragoza. For knowing how to make mice.* (p. 210),

1 George Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia*, Penguin, London, 2013, pp. 151–2.



ABOVE:
They put a gag on her because she talked. And struck her in the face. I saw her, Orosia Moreno, in Zaragoza.
For knowing how to make mice. 1814–23
Album C, 87
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

pp. 206–7:
I saw it (detail)
plate 44, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863

repeats the claim in *Disasters*: *I saw her*. A similar grim fate awaited the women shown in *Those specks of dust* (plate 23, p. 132) and *There was no remedy* (plate 24, p. 133) in the *Caprichos*, 1797–98.

But *Disasters* also contains scenes to which Goya can hardly have been in proximity. One can, for instance, hardly conceive of him standing by, pen and paper in hand, recording the grisly work of the lynch mob in *It's a hard step!* (plate 14, p. 69) and another firing squad in *And there is no remedy* (plate 15, p. 214). Perhaps he read about, was told of, or saw the aftermath of the events depicted; the implied caption is: 'I know this'. The female figure aiming the cannon from atop the pyramid of corpses in *What courage!* (plate 7, p. 212) is evidently inspired by the lone defiance of the Catalan heroine Agustina of Aragon in defending Zaragoza; the bodies, purportedly, included that of her lover. But how close his depiction hewed to reality is anyone's guess – it would have been Goya's guess also.

In one sense, of course, this is entirely by the way: in no sense does appreciation of *Disasters* depend on certification of Goya's presence and the faithfulness of his transcription. Nor need one know anything of the Peninsular War to share Goya's revulsion for the depravity depicted. Yet there's also no doubt that the plates in *Disasters* are enriched by their status as strivings for realism; works of reportage, of identification with real suffering, of testament to true horror. They were so confronting and unsparing, in fact, that they could not be published for decades after Goya's death; it matters, and Goya knows it, that 'I saw it', if not perhaps everything. He presents as getting out of truth's way, to offer us unimpeded access to the facts. 'With Goya we do not think of the studio or even of the artist at work', noted Lord Kenneth Clark. 'We think only of the event.'[2] It is the most artful of deceptions. Robert Hughes called Goya 'the artist who invented a kind of illusion in the service of truth: the illusion of being there when dreadful things happen'.[3]

Disasters is regularly described as anticipating, on the eve of the invention of photography, the realm of vivid, camera-can't-lie pictorial journalism. It anticipates this so successfully, I would argue, as to dramatise this genre's dilemmas – those that arise out of simultaneously extracting authority from claims to authenticity and obtaining memorability from quality of image. Say it soft, but great photographers have never been averse to improving on nature: think of Arthur Rothstein carefully choreographing 'Fleeing a dust storm' (1936) for *Life*, or Walker Evans moving the Alabama sharecroppers' furniture around their sparse cabins for the book *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (1941, with James Agee). Truth being regarded as war's first casualty, there is a long tradition of interpretative scepticism about the photographing of it. Were the cannonballs *really* like that when Roger Fenton found them in the Crimea? Did the marines *really* raise the

2 Kenneth Clark, *Looking at Pictures*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1968, p. 123.
3 Robert Hughes, *Goya*, Vintage, London, 2004, p. 272.



What courage!
plate 7, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863
Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide



Unhappy mother!
plate 50, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863
Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide



ABOVE:
And there is no remedy
plate 15, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863
Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide

p. 217:
Sad presentiments of what is to come (detail)
plate 1, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863
Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide

flag the way Joe Rosenthal depicted them at Iwo Jima? Did Robert Capa's Spanish soldier *really* die? Every photograph from Gaza these days seems to run a conspiracist gauntlet. It caused the documentary maker Errol Morris, in his *Believing Is Seeing* (2011), to wonder aloud: 'Why does moralising about "posing" take precedence over moralising about the carnage of war?'

Even journalism of a non-pictorial nature faces such challenges. Journalists are only very seldom actual eyewitnesses to what they describe. Our business is imaginative reconstruction based on primary documentation, participant testimony and also a balance of probabilities – the 'ring of truth'. We take a lot on trust; we exaggerate the significance of what we know; we minimise and obscure what we do not; we rely, sometimes more than we care to admit, on prejudice. The English journalist Claud Cockburn once observed that the way people speak about 'facts', it was as though they lay around like nuggets in the Klondike, just waiting to be picked up. Nothing worth knowing comes the journalists' way so easily.

But war, in particular, presents almost insuperable obstacles to its firsthand reporting. The 'front line', reserved by definition for combatants, remains virtually out of reach. Reporting defaults to accenting the interludes of conflict, the



'Firing squad in Iran' (1979) by Jahangir Razmi

befores and afters: soldiers in reserve awaiting deployment or on patrol preliminary to potential engagement; the aftermath of devastation; the chronicling of loss. Within these parameters, pictorial journalism has achieved powerful effects: Mathew Brady's body-strewn Civil War battlefields; Bernard Hoffman's images from the ruins of Hiroshima; Margaret Bourke-White's stark postlude of Buchenwald. But those celebrated images of actual conflict represent a vanishingly small proportion of the overall genre, not least because of their potentially propagandistic content. So emotive were certain images of the Vietnam War – such as Eddie Adams's 'Saigon execution' (1968) and Nick Ut's 'Napalm girl' (1972) – that warring nations have been on guard ever since to prevent their replication. The notorious 'Collateral murder' video showing the slaying of a dozen people in Baghdad in July 2007 by two Apache helicopters only ever saw the light of day thanks to WikiLeaks. The reporting of war, meanwhile, may be wrapped in romance, but it is also practical, and in its way sanitised for our consumption, summed up in the title of Edward Behr's classic memoir: *Anyone Here Been Raped and Speak English?* (1978).

Goya, whether he saw it, or heard it, or knew it, felt no such inhibitions, operated under no such constraints. He faithfully recorded his own forebodings in *Sad presentiments of what is to come* (plate 1, p. 196), which in its way is also a last warning to the viewer that what follows will be as pitiless as war itself – and so it is. The Peninsular War was notable for being waged to considerable degree between Napoleon's Grande Armée and local militias who were the first to be known by the name *guerrilla* – the diminutive of *guerra*, Spanish for war. The result was unexampled

civilian casualties, reprisals and atrocities; bodies twisted and bundled; bodies displayed as emblems of summary justice; bodies defiled as an additional sentence on the already dead. Goya features them all. The tone of the titles is as urgent as the content is uncompromisingly explicit. Colour is absent, background minimal, stark effect repeated. And black and white being the traditional hues of war photography, comparison is unavoidable.

Sometimes the visions are so paradigmatic that they seem to prefigure certain canonical images since captured. More often, however, Goya's scenes await a factual counterpart as compelling as they are. Women other than Agustina of Aragon found themselves involved in the resistance to Napoleon, and Goya was with them, paying tribute in *The women give courage* (plate 4, p. 197) and *And they are wild beasts* (plate 5, p. 198), counting the toll in *And this too* (plate 45, p. 225) and *Unhappy mother!* (plate 50, p. 213). Has there been a more tragic and affecting child in all of art than the bereft little girl in the last of these?

Certainly no photographer and arguably even reporter has so powerfully depicted rape in war as Goya in *They do not want to*, *Nor do these* and *Neither do these* (plates 9, 10 and 11, respectively, pp. 199, 200, 201). Only gradually have we come to an acknowledgement of sexual assault and violation as a battlefield weapon; historians and investigators have slowly identified and documented especially notorious campaigns, in Germany, in Bangladesh, in Bosnia, in Darfur. But the actuality of such horror has continued to elude us. One seemingly breakthrough image that purportedly showed Serbian soldiers raping an Albanian woman in Kosovo during the 1998–99 war was brandished last year by peace activist Flora Brovina – it quickly emerged as a fake downloaded from a pornographic website. In *Disasters*, Goya visualises the weaponising of lust as nobody since; indeed, he accords it an importance that has until very recently eluded war's popular chroniclers. Goya mourns over the prone figure of 'Truth' in *Truth has died* (plate 79, p. 230); she will always need reviving, requiring us to go on bearing witness, there or not, as best we can.

There remains something incomparably raw and rare about *Disasters*; perhaps we should not wonder why. In looking back on the Spanish Civil War, Orwell pointed to conflict's standard division of labour: 'It is the same in all wars; the soldiers do the fighting, the journalists do the shouting, and no true patriot ever gets near a front-line trench, except on the briefest of propaganda tours'.[4] Goya goes on being, perhaps, the exception that proves this rule.

4 Orwell, appendix 1.





All this and more dated 1810
plate 22, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863
Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide



One can't look
plate 26, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863



Ravages of war
plate 30, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863
Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide



On account of a knife
plate 34, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863
Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide



This is worse
plate 37, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863
Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide



Great feat! With dead men!
plate 39, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863



I saw it
plate 44, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863



And this too
plate 45, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863
Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide



The beds of death
plate 62, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863
Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide



Harvest of the dead
plate 63, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863



Against the common good
plate 71, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863



The consequences
plate 72, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863
Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide



Truth has died
plate 79, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863
Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide



Will she rise again?
plate 80, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863



GOYA'S *TAUROMAQUIA*

Laurie Benson

On 28 October 1816, Goya advertised for sale in the daily paper *Diario de Madrid* a series of prints that he had made on the subject of bullfighting, which came to be known as *Tauromaquia*, c. 1815–16. It comprised thirty-three large (27 x 37 cm sheet size) landscape format images to be sold as single sheets or as a bound volume.[1] It illustrated bullfighting in Spain from its medieval origins onwards, and featured many legendary and famous bullfighters, as well as scenes showing the intricacies of the sport. It was informed by events that Goya would have witnessed at the many bullfights he attended, drawn from memory and his imagination. The principal techniques were those he had used for other prints up to that point – etching, drypoint and aquatint. Preliminary drawings, predominantly in red chalk, exist for all the plates; the many refinements Goya made between the drawings and the prints attest to his genius with the graphic medium, and his creativity when engaging with the copperplate itself. It is the third of his five series of prints and the second of only three that were offered for sale in his lifetime.

In his youth, Goya was an unabashed aficionado of bullfighting. His own amateurish experiences fighting bulls are recorded in letters and contemporary accounts, and he painted himself in a matador's costume in his *Self-portrait at his easel*, c. 1790–95 (Royal Academy of San Fernando, Madrid, p. 284).[2] Throughout his career, he produced numerous images of bullfighting and portraits of notable bullfighters, such as Pedro Romero, who also appears in *Tauromaquia* (*Pedro Romero killing the halted bull*, plate 30, p. 247). Goya painted bullfighting scenes among his early tapestry cartoons, and continued to create sets and one-off scenes over many decades, such as *Amateur bullfight*, 1780 (Prado Museum, Madrid, p. 236). A mock bullfight appears in the *Caprichos*, 1797–98, titled *What one does to another* (plate 77, p. 182), and the memorable final plate of the *Disparates*, c. 1815–19, *Fools' folly* (p. 299), features a vortex of startled flying bulls. Goya's lithographs *Bulls of Bordeaux*, 1825, round out his graphic treatment of the bullfight.

Thus, Goya had decades of very specific experience as participant, spectator and artist to draw upon when he produced *Tauromaquia*. The images are invested with a sense of authenticity and appear convincing and uncontrived. His artistry only enhances the drama or poignancy of each scene. Most notably, he pared back unnecessary detail that would have distracted the viewer from the essential elements of a work. For instance, his primary focus in plate 12, *The rabble hamstring the bull with lances, sickles, banderillas and other weapons* (p. 73), is the

1 In 1876, a further seven prints were added by the French publisher Eugène Loizelet for the third edition. The additional sheets were struck from images rejected by Goya that were on the verso of plates used for *Tauromaquia*. Trial proofs of a further five unpublished prints were also made. Today, the plates reside in the Calcografía Nacional in Madrid.

2 Nigel Glendinning, 'A new view of Goya's *Tauromaquia*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Jan.–June 1961, vol. 24, p. 124.



LEFT:
Amateur bullfight 1780
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

pp. 232–3:
The highly skillful student from Falces, wrapped in his cape, tricks the bull with the play of his body (detail)
plate 14, *La Tauromaquia*, c. 1815–16, published 1816

defiant bull. In order to reinforce this, he thinned out the 'rabble' seen behind the bull in the drawing (p. 72) to only the four seen in the finished print. In every plate, he employed shadows, light and shade, demonstrating his inventive and complete mastery of aquatint, to augment the narrative and create atmosphere. For plate 14, *The highly skillful student from Falces, wrapped in his cape, tricks the bull with the play of his body* (p. 244), he reduced the extensive shadows seen in the preliminary drawing (p. 75) to only that of the bull and a dark diagonal motif that cuts across the print, drawing our eye to and sharpening our focus on the protagonists.

As a set, they are gripping and pulsate as the viewpoints, angles, scale and light vary from sheet to sheet, which lends dynamism to the series. In his typical fashion, Goya did not sanitise the spectacle or skirt around the inherent violence in bullfighting. He captured the existential threat that may only be one breath away



A picador caught by a bull
from the *Bulls of Bordeaux*, 1825
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

for all participants; the fundamental tension of bullfighting. He featured gored horses and bullfighters as well as bulls being stabbed and tormented with an array of weapons, including firecrackers (*Banderillas with firecrackers*, plate 31, p. 248). Seven plates show the chilling fatal thrust of pike or sword, illustrating a clean kill delivered between the shoulder blades, and eighteen depict the death or imminent death of people or animals.

The production of *Tauromaquia* was a gamble by the then sixty-nine-year-old Goya during a period when he was struggling financially.[3] The cost of purchasing the copperplates and engaging a printer, as well as buying the paper required for proof sheets and the 320 strikes of the first edition, would have weighed heavily on him. *Tauromaquia*'s lack of commercial success must have been a disappointment, as the vast majority of the sets were unsold and he kept them until his death. However, this failure hardly compromised his unique vision, or willingness to create confronting and controversial images intended for public sale. He was at the time working on the *Disasters of War*, which included images far more shocking than even the most violent and tragic scenes in *Tauromaquia*. He had yet to embark on the psychologically disturbing *Disparates*.

3 Juliet Wilson-Bareau, *Goya's Prints, The Tomás Harris Collection*, British Museum Publishing, London, 1996, pp. 71, 74.

Despite its level of graphic violence, *Tauromaquia* is the least controversial series of prints that Goya produced. It did not attract the kind of negative scrutiny from officialdom that plagued the *Caprichos* and prevented or discouraged him from publishing *Disasters of War* and *Disparates*. *Tauromaquia* is not as enigmatic or confronting as his other series and consequently it has garnered the least attention from writers and scholars.[4] The narrow subject matter no doubt also affected its reception, as Aldous Huxley observed in 1943.[5] It has even attracted a degree of derision: some writers maintain that Goya's technique is sometimes lacking and inconsistent in *Tauromaquia*, indicating that he was possibly less invested here than in other series, notions that this author vehemently rejects. Yet there are many puzzling aspects to *Tauromaquia*. Intriguingly, although it was described in the advertisement as a history of bullfighting in Spain, Goya abandoned chronology after the ninth plate, compromising it as a strict linear narrative. Nor are the works obviously grouped by theme, so there is a scattergun or surprise element as the pages are turned. Each image stands alone, and is not reliant on the previous one to convey its meaning.

What has engaged most historians, critics and the public with regard to *Tauromaquia* is an attempt to ascertain Goya's intent. Is the series a critique or satire of bullfighting; the glorification of the spectacle; or a neutral, objective recording of this sport? Does it possess underlying metaphorical, sociopolitical agendas, making it thematically consistent with his other prints? Eminent historians such as Nigel Glendinning and Frank Heckes maintained that Goya's view of bullfighting had shifted by 1815; that he moved from being an aficionado to an enlightened critic, exposing bullfighting's facile nature through his art.[6] Robert Hughes, on the other hand, expressed with absolute certainty that Goya remained an aficionado to the end and not a critic of bullfighting at all.[7] Hughes felt that with *Tauromaquia* Goya created 'an invaluable record [of bullfighting], not least for the peculiarities it pays tribute to'.[8] Art historian Janis A. Tomlinson has suggested that with the war still vivid in Goya's mind, his depiction of the violent conflict between man and animal in *Tauromaquia* expresses broader concepts: 'Goya's original documentary intent soon gave way to conveying a more universal theme: in one, the atrocity of war, the other, man's will to dominate'.[9] Tomlinson recently expanded on this reading, seeing the bulls in *Tauromaquia* as symbolic of Spain and the bullfighters as representing the Bonaparte regime, noting, 'If Goya could publish neither his scenes of war and famine nor his *caprichos emphaticos*, their spirit persisted in the *Tauromaquia*'.[10] She acknowledged that the bull had already become emblematic of an independent Spain before *Tauromaquia* was published, lending weight to the idea of the possible symbolism in the series.[11]

What seems consistent with readings of Goya's bullfighting images is that personal opinions on the sport often colour one's assessment of his work. Both critics and advocates of bullfighting have used Goya's art to support their arguments of it as cruel, inhumane and thus unnecessary, or as fundamental to Spanish identity, too important to be prohibited. Bullfighting had many critics in Enlightenment circles, which included friends and associates of Goya's such as José de Vargas Ponce, Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos and Leandro Fernández de Moratín (who all sat for portraits by Goya).[12] In modern times, Goya's work has appeared in advertisements promoting bullfights. When published, *Tauromaquia* could equally have fuelled the critics of bullfighting and satisfied those who were thrilled to see it re-established in 1810 after being proscribed by Carlos IV in 1804. As scholars have examined in some detail, both positive and negative commentaries on bullfighting influenced *Tauromaquia*.[13]

Still, Goya's motivation for making the series is unclear. All but a few of the scenes depicted in *Tauromaquia* are alarming. If this were a modern film, it would be given the most restrictive and commercially disastrous rating. Goya spared nothing in depicting the most gruesome and horrifying consequences of the bullfight, for man, woman and animal.[14] Even spectators were not spared, as seen in plate 21, *Dreadful events in the front rows of the ring at Madrid, and death of the mayor of Torrejon* (p. 246), which shows a bull that has leapt the fence and is rampaging through the crowd, a spectator impaled on his horns. This plate was based on a real incident and proves that the elite – in this case a mayor – are not immune to the inherent risks of the bullfight. Goya further personalised the violence for his audience by adding crushing pathos, depicting or referencing the death of much admired and loved bullfighters such as Rendón and Pepe-Hillo. Indeed, most of the professional bullfighters identified by name or unique

4 For instance, in 1948, F. D. Klingender devoted less than one full page to *Tauromaquia* in his 235-page *Goya in the Democratic Tradition* (Sidgwick and Jackson, London). This is not untypical in early Goya scholarship.
5 Aldous Huxley, *The Complete Etchings of Goya*, Crown Publishers, New York, 1943, p. 11.
6 Glendinning, p. 127. Frank I. Heckes, 'Goya's "Tauromaquia" a criticism of bullfighting?', *Print Quarterly*, vol. 18, no. 1, March 2001, pp. 41–63.
7 Robert Hughes, *Goya*, The Harvill Press, London, 2003, p. 357.
8 ibid. p. 363.
9 Janis A. Tomlinson, *The Graphic Evolutions: The Print Series of Francisco Goya*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1989, p. 38.
10 Janis A. Tomlinson, *Goya: A Portrait of the Artist*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2020, p. 262. The *caprichos emphaticos* ('emphatic caprices') are plates 65–82 of the *Disasters of War*, which refer to the absolutist regime of Ferdinand VII.
11 ibid. p. 261.
12 Glendinning, p. 125.
13 Heckes, p. 42.
14 There were some female bullfighters active in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, most notably the picador Nicolasa Escamilla, known as La Pajuelera. She is the subject of plate 22 of *Tauromaquia*, *Manly courage of the celebrated Pajuelera in (the ring) at Zaragoza*.

manoeuvre had perished, gored to death in the ring. As if to accentuate these tragedies, Goya concluded the series with a bull delivering the coup de grâce to the limp body of the popular Pepe-Hillo (*The unlucky death of Pepe Hillo in the ring at Madrid*, plate 33, p. 249). The bullfighter was killed in 1801 and all of Spain would have known of his fate and that of the other bullfighters who feature. Goya hardly left his audience on a high.

Nor did Goya compromise with the violence meted out to the most innocent victims of bullfighting – bulls and the horses being ridden in the fight. With such brutal imagery, just who was Goya's audience? Was he hoping to tap into an element of Spanish society that had endured years of a long bloody war and were immune or inured to its horrific extremes? Perhaps they were relieved that they were no longer suffering the violence Goya recorded so vividly in the *Disasters of War*. Was he simply appealing to lovers of the sport? Unfortunately, Goya left no categorical expression of his own views and no letters in his hand; there is also no commentary from him in which he unequivocally condemns bullfighting. When first issued, the plates carried no captions, leaving interpretation purely to the viewer. The current captions and titles are neutral, or just descriptive.[15] Goya could have easily loaded them with critical sentiments, but he would have run the risk of alienating a potentially large audience of fans. The extant preliminary drawings for *Tauromaquia* contain no direct clues as to his stance, nor do annotations on trial proofs. However, Heckes, in particular, was adamant that Goya tipped his hand against bullfighting through his uncompromising imagery, and that by concluding the series with Pepe-Hillo's death, Goya reminded his audience in the most direct way of the grim reality of this blood sport.[16] Many authors have noted Goya's empathy for the victimised and doomed bull, and have interpreted his depiction of the animal's intelligence and dignity as an expression of his critical sentiments.[17]

15 It is widely accepted that Goya's friend Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez authored the captions we know today. Nigel Glendinning felt that like other Enlightenment figures, Bermúdez was also opposed to bullfighting. Glendinning, note 29, p. 125.

16 ibid. pp. 47, 63.

17 J. Blas Benito noted that the aligning of bulls and bullfighting with Spain and Spanish character was a construct created after Goya's time and that his bullfighting images contributed to the perception of it as part of national identity. J. Blas Benito, 'Prólogo. La Tauromaquia de Goya', in José Manuel Matilla & José Miguel Medrano, *El libro de la Tauromaquia: Francisco de Goya*, Prado Museum, Madrid, 2001, pp. 11–13.

Tomlinson perhaps summarised best the enigma that is *Tauromaquia* when she wrote, 'In fact, the thirty-three plates of *La Tauromaquia* offer evidence for and against any single interpretation that might be suggested'.[18] Perhaps, then, the outstanding feature of *Tauromaquia* is Goya himself. His intimate knowledge and years of experience observing and depicting bullfighting, and his refusal to sanitise the spectacle, is what makes this series so compelling. He loads every figure with expression and meaning, and his capacity to freeze the most climactic moment in each scene holds the viewer's attention. These are aspects of his art that are often taken for granted and are qualities exemplified in the much overlooked *Tauromaquia*.

18 Tomlinson, *The Graphic Evolutions*, p. 35.



The way in which the ancient Spaniards hunted bulls on horseback in the open country
plate 1, *La Tauromaquia*, c. 1815–16, published 1816



Charles V spearing a bull in the ring at Valladolid
plate 10, *La Tauromaquia*, c. 1815–16, published 1816



The highly skillful student from Falces, wrapped in his cape, tricks the bull with the play of his body
plate 14, *La Tauromaquia*, c. 1815–16, published 1816



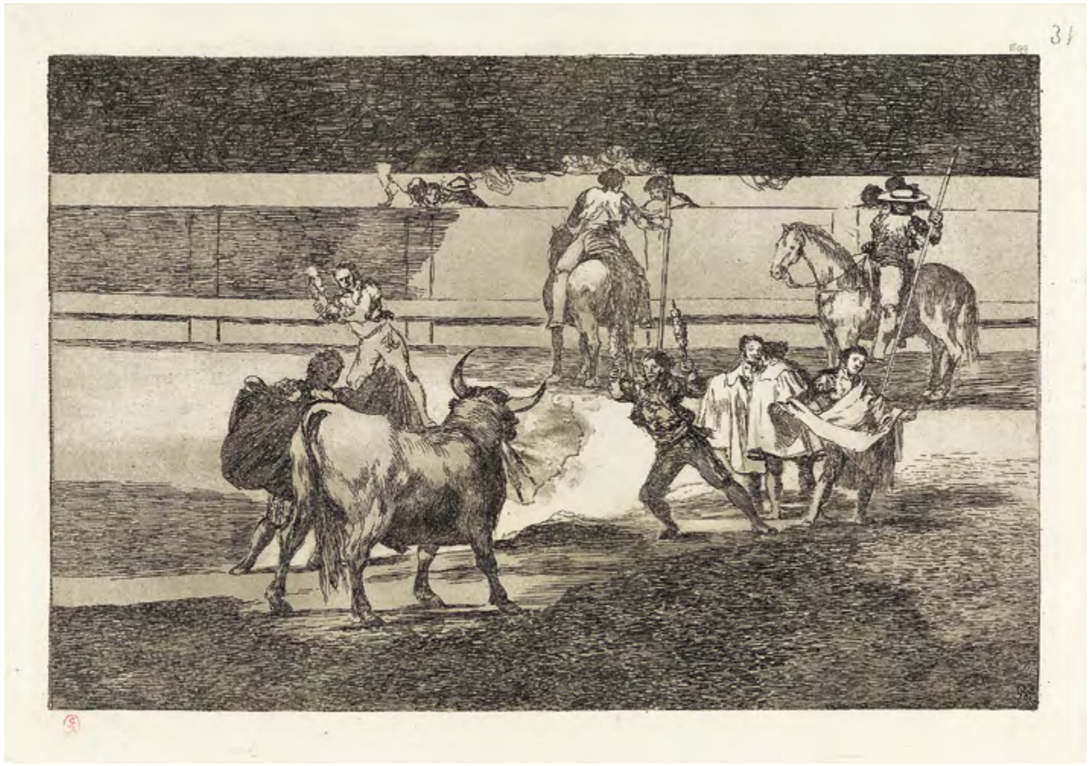
The agility and audacity of Juanito Apiñani in [the ring] at Madrid
plate 20, *La Tauromaquia*, c. 1815–16, published 1816



Dreadful events in the front rows of the ring at Madrid, and death of the mayor of Torrejon
plate 21, *La Tauromaquia*, c. 1815–16, published 1816



Pedro Romero killing the halted bull
plate 30, *La Tauromaquia*, c. 1815–16, published 1816



Banderillas with firecrackers dated 1815
plate 31, *La Tauromaquia*, c. 1815–16, published 1816



The unlucky death of Pepe Hillo in the ring at Madrid
plate 33, c. 1815–16, published 1816



3·

VISIONS

DAYDREAMS AND NIGHTMARES

Colm Tóibín

Art begins as daydream. Something occurs to you – an image, an emotion, a thought, a memory – something half-formed and fleeting. For some reason, it sticks in the mind, becoming more substantial or more mysterious. It moves from its original free-floating state to some more fixed space within the psyche or the imagination. And there, it attaches to an element of experience or a part of the self that has been seeking shape or affiliation. The outcome cannot be predicted, which is where the excitement lies; it can be comic as much as dark, can depend on whim as much as will, on caprice as much as resolve, on fear as much as determination.

Goya's drawings and etchings offer us a superb illustration of the mind's capacity to wander and be amused, to linger on glimpses and glances, and also to focus on material that is almost unbearably dark. As an artist, Goya relishes daylight as much as dreams; his dreams, in turn, allow in great lightness and amusement as much as what is grotesque and frightening and cruel.

There are two ways of looking at Goya, who was born near Zaragoza in 1746 and died in exile in France in 1828. In the first version, he was a serious and ambitious artist interested in mortality and beauty, but also mischievous at times, until politics and history darkened his imagination. In this version, history took Goya by surprise and deepened his talent.

In the second version, it is as though a war was going on within Goya's psyche from the very start, so, while interested in many subjects, he was ready for violence and chaos. This means that even if the war between French and Spanish forces between 1808 and 1814 and the insurrection in Madrid in 1808 had not happened, Goya would have found some other source and inspiration for the dark and violent images he needed to create. His imagination was ripe for horror.

It was also ripe for laughter. In his famous series of etchings and aquatints called the *Caprichos*, done between 1797 and 1798, there is a lovely worldliness. While Goya relishes foolishness and vanity, he offers also a biting satire on how the world is run, its large and petty cruelties. There is even an edge of earnestness in these etchings as he suggests that the body politic is in need of reform. While he allows in haunting shadows from a spiritual or unearthly world, it is not to pay homage to them, but to satirise their appearance as superstition. It is clear in these works that Goya's interest in this world exceeded his interest in the one to come.

But nothing in Goya is ever that simple. He created works with otherworldly creatures to mock them. His attitude was rational. But this attitude was tempered by a fascination with the visual possibilities of haunting, ghostly figures in works such as *They spruce themselves up* (plate 51, p. 161) and *There is plenty to suck* (plate 45, p. 156). Goya laboured not only to enlighten but also to engage the eye with wings and shadings and figures that reach beyond the human and thus emit a great deal of visual energy.

His primary aim, thus, was not to teach or satirise, but to create images that were exciting, that began with a figure in a pose of normality and then set about usurping that air of ease. Goya could have false suitors or old gossips to liven up the visual moment, but his playing with more ethereal shapes offered a more

satisfying and mysterious edge to the image. He enjoyed creating different textures against the stable central figure, made with more solid lines.

This conflict between figure and ghost is at its most intense and affecting in *The sleep of reason produces monsters* (plate 43, p. 155), where the desolate lone man is haunted by birds of night done with various forms of solidity and ghostliness. It is an exercise in competing textures, made all the more intense by the presence of a large, frightened-looking cat on the right-hand side.

Goya's restless spirit came in many guises. In the *Caprichos*, he stood up for life in all its variety – its beauty and its loose ends as much as its lunacy and cruelty. He used clothing and domestic setting with considerable skill to establish his world and then he sought to put the stamp of his personal vision on it. He loved pure theatricality, the conflict between figures, or the idea that one of his characters was being tricked or was the trickster.

Vanity interested him because it allowed him to play beauty against the grotesque. Women interested him more than men because he could do more with the dress, but also because images of how women were looked down upon or deceived created rich drama and also had an aura of danger.

Many of the etchings have an atmosphere of innocence. A young woman is in her boudoir, for example. Her face and hair and dress are created with richness, something approaching seriousness. The mischief comes in the guise of another figure – an old crone, an unsuitable mother, an over-ardent suitor.

The satire on the vanity of human wishes is sometimes gentle, but it can also be biting and bitter. In *They carried her off!* (plate 8, p. 258), more stark in the etching than the preparatory drawing (p. 20), the image catches the very act of the woman being abducted, all the more dramatic because of her white dress and her head hanging back, the hair hanging limply down.

Putting a mask on the man gives the image a graphic charge, but also intensifies the aura of deception and intrigue. Of all these etchings, the most powerful and startling is *Until death* (plate 55, p. 259), in which an old crone examines herself in the mirror as though she were a young beauty while two men snigger.

If there are versions of love and innocence here, they often come as sheer excitement or hilarious satire on what many others hold dear, as in *Can't anyone untie us?* (plate 75, p. 181), in which a distressed young woman and man seem to have been soldered into each other at the waist, with a thorny tree behind them, and a huge owl on their shoulders with its wings outspread.

The images of young women have a comic element, but they are also satires on the marriage market and on the idealisation of youth and beauty. So, too, some of the images of childhood here seem designed to raise awareness of cruelty and ill-treatment.

There is, for example, a vicious-looking mother slapping a child's bare behind with a shoe, holding up his shirt by her teeth. And the teacher in another plate comes in the form of a donkey. These works have all the signs of having been made by Goya to amuse, engage, educate, annoy. But, in their wit and in the freedom with which they are made, there is an element of atonement. Goya created too



RIGHT:
María Antonia Gonzaga, Dowager Marchioness of Villafranca c. 1795
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

pp. 250–1:
A way of flying (detail)
plate 13, *Los Disparates*, c. 1815–19,
published 1864

many bucolic cartoons for court tapestries and too many respectful portraits of the powerful. It must have been a relief to give other aspects of his talent free rein.

Sometimes, his etchings and his portraits suggest that he inhabited two different worlds. In the portrait of María Antonia Gonzaga, Marchioness of Villafranca, for example, done around 1795 (Prado Museum, Madrid), the subject emerges as a figure of fashion – her white shawl is painted in sumptuous and delicate detail, as is her dark dress with dark blue stripes and the blue rosette in her hair and the rose with blue ribbons on her chest.

But what is captured more than her age, or her clothes and jewellery, is a sense of an inner life, a sort of guardedness which implies rich experience and deep intelligence. This guardedness is combined with a dark gaze, which is alert, and an expression which is almost sardonic. The brushwork becomes more intense and delightful as it moves from the sitter's hands up through the brilliant and decorated shawl towards her face.

Goya, in making this portrait, had to show respect and be serious. The *Caprichos*, begun two years later, allowed him, on the other hand, to display lack of respect, independence of mind, to follow his own whims. In these etchings he could mock his betters or give vent to his anger or make jokes at the expense of others. He could have his revenge on the world.

Because some of these etchings are dark, sometimes cruel, they can make the viewer recoil. They are satires as much as comedies. They underline the idea that Goya's imagination was haunted, sombre, uneasy, open to demons. This is also apparent in the self-portraits he made. In the self-portrait painted in 1815 (Prado Museum, Madrid), when Goya was almost seventy, there is a great tiredness, an



They carried her off!
plate 8, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



Until death
plate 55, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



Self-portrait 1815
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

exposed sadness, in the face. The expression is raw, unchallenging, suggesting a vast vulnerability with much kept in reserve. While this painting is filled with inwardness, it is also a hushed proclamation of selfhood. Despite illness, deafness (Goya was functionally deaf from 1793, when he was forty-six) and loss (all of his children except one died soon after birth), he kept working, producing, for example, the great late lithographs of bullfighting in Bordeaux.

Goya was opposed to dull composition and preordained structure. He liked disruption. His late drawing, *Man murdering a monk* (p. 96), startling and mischievous, comes from a line of Spanish anti-clericalism that stretched to the work of the film director Luis Buñuel.

In an ink and wash, *Challenges: On guard!* (p. 33), it is easy to see how much Goya likes the outstretched arm, the raised swords, the posed figures. Here, he is almost inclined to favour symmetry. Arms and wings, things in movement or in flight, fascinated him. It is no surprise, then, to see his figures dancing in a ring or sitting precariously on the branch of a tree in the series *Disparates*, done between 1815 and 1819. Perhaps the apotheosis of this sense of movement in his work is *A way of flying* (plate 13, p. 296), in which his figures have wings and are sailing in the dark upper air.

Goya's series of eighty etchings and aquatints, *Disasters of War*, done between 1810 and 1815, in the aftermath of what became known as the Peninsular War, allow the unsparingly dark element in his sensibility to emerge most strongly. Some of the actual fighting took place in the streets of Madrid, and included executions of Spanish insurgents and civilians, some of them occurring close to where Goya lived. The war was followed by famine.

These etchings are stark. In *Nor in this case* (plate 36), there is an image of a man hanging from a low tree. In death he has a fierce dignity. In the distance,



Nor in this case
plate 36, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863

like shadows, are two other figures hanging. The cuts of the needle to make the etching seem to add to the graphic human drama of this moment. And then to the right in this etching there is a French soldier relaxing, chillingly amused by it all. In another etching called *The consequences* (plate 72, p. 229), nightmare birds, in the same poses as the ones that haunted Goya's dreams, now feast on a dead body.

In all of these prints and etchings there is a sense of the figure as fully alive, vulnerable, terrified. But what is also there, as in all the work, is the play of light against darkness first as an idea, but then, more profoundly, the conflict between the two, which is at the very heart of Goya's work with the needle as a printmaker. By leaving things blank, he could stir up energy as long as the surrounding shading and the lines were precise.

There is a wash and chalk piece called *Two people looking into a luminous room* (p. 93) that gives us a clue about Goya's essential impulses as an artist. Human folly interested him, as cruelty impelled him to depict its consequences unsparingly, and dark thoughts hovered close to his imagination, but what interested him more than anything was the power of the image itself. He worked with line to capture the power of darkness and the power of light, not only as moral forces, but as phenomena with an intense visual impact.

It was that gap, and that connection, between the image in all its purity and the ambiguous image, that brought fresh news about the world, that animated Goya's talent as a graphic artist and ensured that the legacy of his work would last beyond the time in which the images were made.



DREAM, ALLEGORY AND TRUTH

Petra Kayser

In the 1790s Goya made preparatory drawings for a series called *Sueños* (*Dreams*). The first in the sequence, *Dream 1. Universal language. The author dreaming*, 1797 (Prado Museum, Madrid, p. 266), includes an explanatory caption below the image: 'The author dreaming. His only intention is to banish harmful, commonly-held beliefs and to perpetuate in this work of caprices the sound testimony of truth.' This statement could be taken as an explanation of Goya's entire oeuvre – in his drawings and prints, as well as his portraits and many subjects painted in oil, Goya aimed to reveal what lies behind appearances. He used satire, allegory and the device of the dream to present a 'universal language' that speaks of general truths.

The *Sueños* drawings were the basis for the etching series *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, and the intended frontispiece, *Dream 1*, developed into Goya's best-known print, *The sleep of reason produces monsters* (p. 155). The image is an allegory of the creative process. It shows the artist/author asleep at his desk; imagined nocturnal creatures surround him, and an owl has taken one of his pens (p. 267). This is a crucial detail because it is where the dream meets reality, and the point of connection is the tool of the artist. Goya's comment on the print, recorded in a manuscript in which he wrote brief explanations of each *Caprichos* plate, sheds further light on its meaning: 'The imagination [*fantasia*] abandoned by reason, produces impossible monsters. United with it, it is the mother of the arts and origin of all wonders.'[1] For Goya, the act of invention is subject to competing forces in the real and the imagined world, and it is the artist's task to strike a balance between imagination and reason. If the vision is not controlled by the rational mind, it is solipsistic, inaccessible and meaningless to anyone but the dreamer.

This print is widely accepted as a self-portrait, and the strongest evidence for this is an earlier preparatory drawing in which the sleeping figure rests on an etching press, and Goya's own face is among the dream apparitions (p. 166). But in the final published set of prints, it is not *The sleep of reason produces monsters*, but a more literal portrait of the artist that introduces the *Caprichos* (plate 1, p. 5). Here, Goya presents himself in fashionable French-inspired dress, wearing the recently invented top hat. His attitude and attire are those of a modern flâneur.[2] Casting a sideways glance, Goya observes the world around him from a critical distance, and the prints that follow present a portrait of Spanish society featuring men, women and children of all social ranks. Goya's series title is based on the Italian genre of the capriccio, which was fashionable in eighteenth-century music, art and literature. The term describes a playful invention, rather than a work composed according to conventional norms. Thus, the name of the print series is not far removed

1 'Comentarios a los Caprichos', Prado Museum, ODG65, <https://www.goyaenelprado.es/obras/ficha/goya/comentarios-a-los-caprichos/>, accessed 1 Nov. 2020.

2 Manuela B. Mena Marqués, 'This is how I am – Self-portraits', in Hiroya Murakami (ed.), *Goya: Luces y Sombras. Obras Maestras del Museo del Prado*, National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, 2011, p. 338.



LEFT:
Dream 1. Universal language. The author dreaming 1797
preparatory drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 43
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

pp. 262–3:
Animal folly (detail)
additional plate, *Los Disparates*, c. 1815–19, published 1877

from Goya's first title, *Sueños*, which had previously been used in Francisco de Quevedo's literary satire *Los Sueños* (1627), and whose full title translates as *Dreams and discourses of truths that reveal abuses, vices and deceptions in all professions and states of the world*. Goya's satires had similar targets, drawing attention to inequality and the abuse of power. When the *Caprichos* went on sale, an advertisement, most likely written by Goya himself, appeared in the newspaper *Diario de Madrid* on 6 February 1799, stating that:

> The artist [*el autor*], persuaded that the censure of human errors and vices – though it seems to belong properly to oratory and poetry, may also be the object of painting – has chosen as appropriate subjects for his work, among the multitude of extravagances and follies which are common throughout civilised society, and among vulgar prejudices and frauds rooted in custom, ignorance, or interest, those which he has believed to be the most apt to provide an occasion of ridicule and at the same time to exercise his imagination.[3]

3 Quoted from the English translation in Robert Goldwater & Marco Treves, *Artists on Art*, Pantheon Books, New York, 1947, pp. 203–4.



The sleep of reason produces monsters (detail)
plate 43, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799

With his astute observation of facial expressions, body language and social codes, Goya created scenarios in which the hidden motivations and true character of a person are exposed. For example, in *Two of a kind* (plate 5, p. 19), a fashionable man flirts with a young woman, whose dress and mantilla suggest that she is a middle-class woman. However, gestures including the open fan in her left hand and the outstretched foot signal that she is a prostitute. A different title is inscribed on the preparatory drawing, *Dream 19: The old women laugh themselves sick because they know he hasn't a bean* (p. 18), which reveals that the two women in the background can see through the young man's deceptive attire. Furthermore, they are implicated in the interaction between the pair: in the etching, one of them is pointing at the young woman, and the other is holding a rosary, which identifies her as a procuress. This character type is based on the Spanish literary figure Celestina, who appears numerous times in Goya's work.

The *Caprichos* scenes frequently feature bystanders who are complicit in a deceit, or laughing behind someone's back. This theatrical trick positions the viewer in the privileged position of seeing 'the whole picture', which the actors themselves are not aware of. *Until death* (plate 55, p. 259) shows a similar scenario, in which an old woman dresses in inappropriate attire for someone of her age, to the amusement of three onlookers. Absorbed in her own reflection, she is unable to see how she appears to others. This dynamic of seeing and being seen occurs throughout the social satires, and is most clearly expressed in Goya's

images of people wearing masks and disguises, masquerading and role-playing in the theatre of the world.

The *Diario de Madrid* advertisement explains Goya's approach to characterisation: 'Painting, like poetry, selects in the universe whatever she deems most appropriate to her ends. She assembles in a single fantastic personage circumstances and features which nature distributes among many.'[4] This strategy of 'assembly' creates a composite that encapsulates a character type or a particular human trait. It is a generalisation that points away from specific individuals or events. The device of the *capricho* ('non-reality') and the 'universality' of the themes enabled Goya to take critical risks. The most pointed satires are those in the second part of the *Caprichos*, introduced by *The sleep of reason produces monsters*. The etching retains its original function as a frontispiece to a group of images depicting witches, goblins and fantastical hybrid creatures. The 'monsters' produced by the sleep of reason are allegories of vice, falsehood and fear. Included in this group are images of the clergy engaged in deception. Like the monstrous creatures of the night, the friars must conclude their secretive activities before daybreak, as is suggested in the last three prints – *Be quick, they are waking up* (plate 78, p. 183), *No one has seen us* (plate 79, p. 184), and *It is time* (plate 80, p. 185). Perhaps it is the light of reason that makes them retreat into darkness; a comparable grand allegory concludes Goya's subsequent etching series, the *Disasters of War*, whose final images are titled *Truth has died* and *Will she rise again?* (plates 79 and 80, pp. 230, 231).

Goya's allegories of folly and vice feature numerous animals, including bats, cats, apes and asses. The use of animals as symbols of human character traits, such as wisdom, slyness or ignorance, has a long tradition in fables, emblems and images of carnivalesque role reversal in the genre of the 'world upside down'.[5] Goya modernised these animal allegories in his mockery of figures in positions of authority. Through an inversion in the hierarchy of the Great Chain of Being, whereby animals are placed above humans, he depicts asses as doctors and teachers. For example, in *Might not the pupil know more?* (plate 37, p. 138), a young ass is taught to read a book in which the letter A is repeated across the pages. The futility of this rote learning symbolises the lack of pedagogical care and competence in late eighteenth-century Spain. Education was the most powerful tool of the Enlightenment, and Goya attacked educational practices in schools and within the family. *Here comes the bogeyman* (plate 3, p. 39) is one of numerous prints and drawings that show the ways in which parental lessons perpetuate superstition and fear. In his commentary on the print, Goya wrote that it is a form of 'lamentable abuse of early education to make a child fear the bogeyman more than his father, and thus make it afraid of something that does not exist'.[6] In such 'lessons' children are initiated into a world of masquerade and deception. Some learn to exploit the ignorance of others, while many continue to be fooled by disguises and governed by fear. An example of this susceptibility to fear in adulthood is *What a tailor can do!* (plate 52, p. 270), in which a woman kneels before an idol that is nothing more than a cape draped over a tree trunk, the sleeves around the raised 'arms' revealing branches. A terrified child and a group of figures in the background submit to the illusion, which seems to be created by demonic creatures flying through the air.

The credulity of the crowd is also the subject of the subsequent plate *What a golden beak!* (plate 53, p. 271). Its title is a Spanish expression, *Que pico de Oro!*, which describes an eloquent speaker. In Goya's literal depiction, the orator is a parrot speaking from a pulpit to a group of men. Parrots typically mimic what they have heard, and 'talk' without understanding what they are saying. The scene satirises the extent to which people are seduced by words, and take them as truths without questioning the authority of the speaker. It is this blind faith that Goya's satire exposes.

Some of Goya's titles, including *What a golden beak!*, explain the meaning of the image, while others create an incongruous relationship between caption and image. Such multi-layered verbal and visual puzzles function like an emblem, a rhetorical device through which the reader/viewer progressively works through a series of associations to arrive at the kernel of truth. Goya's inventions are just that: truths presented in code.

Goya's late etchings, *Los Disparates* (*Follies* or *Absurdities*), c. 1815–19, are more analogous to dream scenarios than any of his earlier prints. While most of the *Caprichos* images can be understood by decoding their visual allusions and titles, the meaning of the *Disparates* remains enigmatic. The series was published in 1864 by the Royal Academy of San Fernando, Madrid, under the title *Los Proverbios*, because the prints were thought to depict proverbs. It was only after their publication that fourteen of Goya's proofs with the inscription *disparate* were discovered and the series title was changed. Throughout the *Disparates*, figures and motifs from earlier works reappear. *Folly of fear* (plate 2, p. 275) is set in a dark landscape that evokes a feeling of threat. Both in subject and technique, this print recalls the *Disasters of War*: in the foreground three French soldiers have fallen to the ground, and one is fleeing in fear of a giant clothed in a cape and hood. The giant is a man-made construction, its artifice revealed by a man's head looking out from the voluminous right sleeve. The scene refers to the Catalan resistance to French troops, in particular their construction of 'cannons' from tree trunks, which tricked enemy soldiers into thinking that the Spanish had numerous artillery.[7] However,

4 ibid.
5 Victor Stoichita & Anna Maria Coderch, *Goya, The Last Carnival*, Reaktion Books, London, 1999, pp. 14-25.
6 'Comentarios a los Caprichos', *Goya en el Prado*.
7 Frank I. Heckes, *Reason and Folly: The Prints of Francisco Goya*, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 1998, p. 78.



What a tailor can do!
plate 52, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



What a golden beak!
plate 53, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799

the meaning of the print extends beyond this specific reference, and it becomes a critique of misdirected fear, a subject previously depicted in *Here comes the bogeyman* and *What a tailor can do!*. But in *Folly of fear* the effect is different, and an unsettling sense of dread remains, even when we have seen through the artifice of the cloaked figure.

Animal folly, one of four additional *Disparates* plates published in 1877, presents a conundrum. The elephant looks as if it has walked onto a stage set; it faces a group of four men in oriental robes, one of whom is holding up a large document, as if to instruct the animal. The barren landscape with a luminous circular space in the centre provides a surreal backdrop to this strange encounter. The elephant has been interpreted as an allegory of the Spanish people, its arched back symbolising an act of resistance against the oppressive political forces embodied by the men in oriental dress.[8] While this may have been the original intention, it is not an exhaustive explanation, nor does it take away from the staged and deeply mysterious mood of the image. It has the quality of a dream, in which disparate elements are brought together in puzzling combinations. Unlike the *Caprichos* or the *Disasters of War*, the *Disparates* prints have no narrative structure that indicates what might happen next. There is no relationship of cause and effect, nor a code with which to interpret the symbols. Whereas *The sleep of reason produces monsters* depicts both the dreamer and his dream, outward reality and the imagination, there is no such distinction in these late etchings. Here we have entered the dream – and we no longer have a privileged viewpoint from which we can distinguish reality from illusion.

While the *Disparates* prints appear to present a kind of 'post truth', they can also be interpreted as an exploration of a very complex and almost inexpressible aspect of truth. In this fusion of the real and the imagined, Goya explores wonder, horror and absurdity as central aspects of life. The images are strongly evocative of moods and emotions. They convey a vivid sense of being subjected to forces beyond our control – bodies are tied down, or pushed and pulled in different directions, conveying sensations that are familiar from nightmares or states of fear. One such example is the grotesque figure, one half male, the other female, in *Disorderly folly* (plate 7, p. 278). Goya had earlier depicted a man and woman tied together in an allegory of unhappy marriage, *Can't anyone untie us?* (plate 75, *Caprichos*, p. 181) – in *Disorderly folly*, however, the bodies are forever joined at the torso and head, a source of eternal anguish, expressed in the female face.

The crowd is made up of grotesque creatures – one has the head of a toad, another resembles a lion and the majority of faces appear masked or deformed. The monstrous figures that populate these images come out of a long tradition of visualising vices in medieval art and later prints by artists such as Albrecht Dürer and Jacques Callot. In the early modern world, monsters and witches were thought of as external forces that interfered with the God-given laws of nature and caused people to carry out malicious acts. In Goya's vision, however, the monstrous is within us. As he explained in a letter to his friend Martín Zapater in the early 1790s: 'I fear neither witches, goblins, ghosts, giants, idlers, scoundrels, etc, nor any kind of bodies but humans'.[9] It is this complex world of the human psyche and its inventions that Goya explores. Follies, visions, dreams, nightmares and delusions – all are facets of our personal and collective imagination, and central to Goya's portrayal of humankind.

8 A. de Beruete y Moret, *Goya grabador*, Blas y Cía, Madrid, 1918, p. 117, cited in Heckes, p. 81.

9 Letter no. 123 cited in Mercedes Águeda & Xavier de Salas, *Francisco de Goya. Cartas a Martín Zapater*, Turner, Madrid, 1982, p. 210.



Feminine folly
plate 1, *Los Disparates*, c. 1815–19, published 1864



Folly of fear
plate 2, *Los Disparates*, c. 1815–19, published 1864



Ridiculous folly
plate 3, *Los Disparates*, c. 1815–19, published 1864



Simpleton
plate 4, *Los Disparates*, c. 1815–19, published 1864



Disorderly folly
plate 7, *Los Disparates*, c. 1815–19, published 1864



The kidnapping horse
plate 10, *Los Disparates*, c. 1815–19, published 1864



‘I MUST TAKE THIS’: REASON, MADNESS AND REVERSAL IN GOYA’S WORK

Richard Read



RIGHT:
Crazy skates 1824–28
Album G, 32
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

pp. 280–1:
Fools’ folly (detail)
additional plate, *Los Disparates*,
c. 1815–19, published 1877

A well-dressed lunatic is talking to himself in the street, but then you see he’s on a mobile phone: your alarm was a hallucination, the imputed insanity your own. Still, you might feel derision towards someone so unaware of the public spectacle they are making. But how would you recognise such folly unless you had committed it yourself, overwhelmed in public by some private urge, hypocritically rationalised as ‘Sorry, I must take this’?

Perhaps an equivalent hallucination is Goya’s *Crazy skates* (*Locos patines*) (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), which shows a man losing control on rollerskates, sketched between 1824 and 1828 during a visit to Paris, where rollerskates were first patented in 1819. It is one of his responses to new technologies: guerilla warfare, the metallic garotte, flying machines, etching (new to Spain) and lithography. ‘Locos’ in the Spanish title can mean anything from ‘insane’ to ‘unusual behaviour’, hence, like fortune itself, the stakes of this craziness rise and fall between banality and tragedy, as they often do in Goya’s oeuvre. So, is this drawing the mechanised version of the banana-peel joke, an elderly artist’s ridicule of a new fad, or something more serious? Would an aficionado of bullfighting etched in the *Tauromaquia* print series, c. 1815–16, have baulked at this fall guy’s risk of injury?[1] Still, there is terror in the victim’s face.

1 Opinions differ on whether the *Tauromaquia* series condemns or applauds bullfighting. Compare Frank I. Heckes, ‘Goya’s “Tauromaquia” a criticism of bullfighting?’, *Print Quarterly*, vol. 18, no. 1, March 2001, pp. 41–63, and Robert Hughes, *Goya*, Harvill Press, London, 2003, pp. 350–65.



Self-portrait at his easel c. 1790–95
Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid

The technology was new, but the outstretched arms, the dramatic shadow dividing the front of the body from the back and the sickening vertigo of bouleversement ('a confused reversal of things') recall countless earlier agonies dimly reminiscent of the Crucifixion, and the occasional ecstasy: the out-flung arms of the white-shirted, as yet unbloodied victim of the firing squad in *The Third of May 1808*, 1814 (Prado Museum, Madrid, p. 124); the arms akimbo of the supplicant fallen to his knees as he receives the welcome light of divine liberty in the ink drawing of that name (p. 45); the credulous believer in *Exorcism* (p. 32); or the total backflips of the two shadowy victims displaced by a transient victor in the wheeling fortunes of *To rise and to fall* (plate 56, *Caprichos*, p. 288), where the victor's ankles are secured not by rollerskates but by the fickle grasp of a muscle-bound satyr about to upend him like the others. For all their singularity, Goya's images hybridise visual memories, which is how, as Baudelaire observed: '[T]he eye which he casts upon things translates them naturally into the language of fantasy'.[2]

2 Charles Baudelaire, 'Some foreign caricaturists', in Jonathan Mayne (ed.), *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, trans. J. Mayne, Phaidon, London, 1995, p. 190.



Diego Velázquez
Las Meninas 1656
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

The creation of *Self-portrait at his easel*, c. 1790–95 (Royal Academy of San Fernando, Madrid), spans the French declaration of war on Spain and the onset of Goya's terrible illness (1792–93), which together fuelled the horrors depicted in his subsequent work. The portrait is carefully observed, while its dualities of front and back, writing and painting, light and dark are relatively fixed and stable. Framed by blazing light from the window behind him, the circle of metal candle-clips around his hat prepare this dynamically confident figure for nocturnal battle with the representation either of his own image reflected in a mirror or the sitter he observes: us. The question of the subject is eclipsed, however, by the clarity of the artist's role as *ilustrado*, avatar of the Enlightenment, undaunted by the darkness of madness, ignorance and superstition penetrated by his eyes and

recorded with his brush. Those eyes embody 'the look', that traditional gaze of ferocious concentration that the fraternity of professional painters from Annibale Carracci onwards adopted when they captured their own appearance at work. It illustrates Nicolas Poussin's distinction between 'two kinds of looking at objects. One is simply seeing them and the other is considering them attentively'. Only the latter counts as 'an office of reason',[3] since attentive consideration engages the mind, dislodges preconceptions and fosters understanding of the visual world.

But it is exactly in that prominent tie to tradition that an unseen reversal takes place. The format is a blow-up of the doorway in the back wall of Diego Velázquez's *Las Meninas*, 1656 (Prado Museum, Madrid), a painting Goya had reverently drawn and etched slightly earlier. Like the twelve colours on his palette from which the rest of his vastly smaller painting (42 x 28 cm) is composed, Goya has redistributed many components of Velázquez's group portrait into a flamboyant declaration of Romantic individualism that is yet also an expression of unity with the people. In *Las Meninas*, the chamberlain, José Nieto Velázquez, the artist's namesake and the only figure who can see the front of Diego's canvas turned against the spectator, hoists a curtain in the doorway in a revelatory act. Goya transforms that doorway into a window and takes over José Nieto's position there, while also bringing Diego's gigantic reversed canvas from the left side of *Las Meninas* to form an ink-black silhouette against the light.[4] Goya's oeuvre includes four other self-portraits in which his canvas is reversed, and in two of them, *Conde de Floridablanca*, 1783 (private collection) and *The family of Carlos IV*, 1800 (Prado Museum, Madrid), the artist shrinks behind it in craven sycophancy towards his superiors as Velázquez, his great predecessor at court, never did, for one of the constants in Goya's career is the crossfire in which he stood, between monarchs on whom his livelihood depended and the liberal intelligentsia from which he drew friends and ideas. But in this transposition of *Las Meninas*, Goya sports his matador's waistcoat (he would later compare painting with bullfighting) to identify himself with the people as a fearless *majo*. Thus, he unambiguously substitutes Enlightenment values for the divine right of monarchy that Velázquez never questioned. Hence, the prominent sight lines leading to the writing desk on which a sheet of paper next to a glistening black inkstand and pens is fashioned out of a single swipe of the brush that clinches the art of painting and the new literacy that introduced European education, philosophy and political reform to benighted Spain. So too the complicity of his intelligent gaze with John Locke's hierarchy of the senses in which, as an 'office of reason', vision served as the chief portal of empirical knowledge from the outside world to the Enlightened mind.[5] Thus Goya unambiguously stands in and with the light in the painting's profoundly symbolic contrast between darkness and light, even though it casts his body in shadow.

While some of these stark thematic oppositions persist beyond the periods of his illness, war and monarchical reaction, many will collapse into each other or reverse themselves. Thus, literacy will fall into the hands of monsters inscribing reactionary laws in ponderous books (*Against the common good*, plate 71, *Disasters of War*, 1810–15, p. 228). Light will intensify the darkness of archways in which lunatics or prisoners are incarcerated, manacled and tortured in isolation from each other and the outer world, or will blaze from an open crate that signifies a delusionary other world observed by priests or witches (*Two people looking into a luminous room*, p. 93), or it streams from a gigantic lantern in *The Third of May 1808* to help soldiers train the vicious fusillade on their victims ('The lantern is Death', Picasso said of it).[6] So too sight's position at the top of the empirical hierarchy of the senses will be inverted. Although that hierarchy is implicitly reinforced in many *Caprichos* satires on the evil and stupidity of clergy and aristocrats whose hearing and sight are bridled in favour of lust and greed (*The Chinchillas*, plate 50, p. 160; *It is time*, plate 80, p. 185), in the famous ambiguity (reason asleep or reason as dream?) of the title *The sleep of reason produces monsters* (plate 43, p. 155) dreams triumph over the waking senses as monsters burst out of the artist's sleeping head. So too untrustworthy captions destabilise signifying systems by failing to elucidate their images, leaving us unsure as to whether their verdicts are the artist's or other parties'.[7] And while Goya never loses his ability to compose lucid Neoclassical compositions, they increasingly serve as foils for Romantic effects of random obscurity, floating vagueness, erratic linearity or speckled, bristly or spinous textures.

Many of these tendencies shape *And still they don't go!* (plate 59, p. 289). In the final proof, Goya has added a coarser grain of aquatint to the delicate tone of the working proof so that it forms a diagonal segment of darkened sky whose intersection with the tombstone forms a clear trapezoid framework that accentuates the dark and doodled indeterminacy of the distorted supernatural creatures grovelling within its confines. These figures tenuously coagulate without cohering into intelligible relations with each other. It is an effect which, together with the gnomic title (which fails to explain who 'they' are, why they remain, or who wants them to leave) has generated the usual surfeit of conflicting interpretations

3 Nicolas Poussin, quoted in Pierre Georgel and Anne-Marie Lecoq, *La Peinture dans la Peinture*, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon, Dijon, 1987, p. 134, author's translation.

4 See Victor I. Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Meta-Painting*, trans. Anne-Marie Glasheen, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997, p. 255.

5 See Andrew Schulz, 'Satirising the senses: the representation of perception in Goya's *Los Caprichos*', *Art History*, vol. 23, no. 2, 2000, pp. 153–81.

6 Pablo Picasso, cited in T. J. Clark, 'Picasso, The Vollard Suite', *London Review of Books*, vol. 34, no. 15, 2012, <https://www.lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v34/n15/t.j.-clark/high-step-with-a-bull>, accessed 2 June 2020.

7 See C. Christopher Soufas, '"Esto si que es leer": learning to read Goya's *Los Caprichos*', *Word & Image*, vol. 2, no. 4, 1986, pp. 311–30.



To rise and to fall
plate 56, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



And still they don't go!
plate 59, *Los Caprichos*, 1797–98, published 1799



The sleep of reason produces monsters
1797 (detail)
preliminary drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 43
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

that Goya's works typically attract. Nineteenth-century intellectuals thought the heavy slab symbolised reason crushing the forces of reaction, but if the warlock lost his struggle to lift it then not all his companions would be crushed. Charles Baudelaire thought that the witches and goblins were in league to prevent 'a desperate and solitary monad' from escaping the tomb;[8] others, that the gremlins have accepted a bribe from the recumbent corpse to help it escape. And what of the bouleversement theme, the reversal of things, particularly of images?

The reading I favour supplements these possibilities without necessarily contradicting them. It regards these creatures as personifications of the artist's private obsessions. They are intent on pressing on a gravestone that is also an etching plate. It represents a condition at odds with *Self-portrait at his easel*, where the artist behind the reversed canvas imposed his will through reason. Here his worst fears impress themselves upon the etching plate as psychical forces beyond his control, an unmastered discharge of inner drives. The interpretation of the sepulchre lid doubling as an etching plate is supported by the

8 Baudelaire in Mayne, p. 192.

etching plate bearing the reversed image of a woman, which slants at a similar angle against the printing press beneath Goya's sleeping head in the first drawing for *The sleep of reason produces monsters*. Here those monsters 'will not leave', as the title affirms, but instead take 'control of their own production, to imprint themselves rather than to be imprinted'.[9] It is another expression of a private urge in public: 'I *must* etch this'. The overt reflexivity of what Goya, in his famous letter to the Academy of 14 October 1792, called 'the fantasy of artifice', ensures our imaginative participation in the artistic process by obscuring its message under the obtrusive means of its transmission: etching and aquatint. John Ruskin, the English Victorian critic who smugly burnt a set of the *Caprichos* to thwart its influence upon the British public, brilliantly summed up this modus operandi in a different context:

> A fine grotesque is the expression, in a moment, by a series of symbols thrown together in bold and fearless connection, of truths which it would have taken a long time to express in any verbal way, and of which the connection is left for the beholder to work out for himself; the gaps, left or over-leaped by the haste of the imagination, forming the grotesque character.[10]

The excitement of reversals in Goya's work is that their significance goes well beyond the literal backs of things. This is because it originates in the traditional cycle of the European Carnivalesque in which, after the French Revolution, social protest against repressive hierarchies was no longer an annual safety valve for revolutionary ferment, but a state of perpetual reversal.[11] Hence the modernist 'end of art' does not begin with Hegel's philosophical negation of art or with Duchampian anti-art (the urinal in the art gallery), but with Goya's post-Enlightenment, post-revolutionary situation of the artist out of control, the victim of inner and outer compulsions, but also of the artist as facilitator of viewers' imaginations, not merely agent of his patrons' power.

Goya's academic manifesto is also revolutionary, for in the face of the Enlightenment doctrines of, firstly, Neoclassicism – the elegant moulding of fragments into ideal wholes (Venus assembled from different women) – and secondly, imitation – accurate knowledge recorded through the senses – he promulgated a chaotic ferment of dissonant, hybridised images that anticipate the smiting agonistic collocations in works by such Dada artists as John Heartfield and Hannah Höch. Moreover, in a further assault on academic norms, he advocated in place of painting the choice of more popular and spontaneous 'new media' such as etching (new

9 Soufas, p. 327.
10 John Ruskin, Modern Painters IV, in Edward T. Cook & Alexander Wedderburn (eds), The Works of John Ruskin, 39 vols, George Allen, London, 1903–12, 5: p. 132.
11 See Victor I. Stoichita & Anna Maria Coderch, *Goya: The Last Carnival*, Reaktion Books, London, 1999, pp. 25–38.

to Spain when he started) and lithography, of which he became a virtuoso late in life in the courageous spirit of the drawing entitled *I am still learning*, 1824–28 (Prado Museum, Madrid). Thus, it is no coincidence that his head sleeps on the closed lid of his printing press in the earliest version of *The sleep of reason produces monsters*, for as the very technique he is using, it suggests that etching, not painting, is the best medium for conveying his dreams and engaging his viewers' imagination.

Although the *Disasters of War* series is closest in Goya's oeuvre to the jarring realism of today's war reportage, the conspicuous artifice of his graphic techniques is crucial to their meaning. Etching, we remember, entails a literal reversal not only of the design but also of its black, white and intervening tones, so that dark becomes light and vice versa. Here it is also the vehicle for reversals of values. The title of one of the *Disasters* asks 'Why?' of a *guerrillero* being manually hanged by soldiers on a low tree. In fact, there were reasons, if not justifications, for the unprecedented atrocities of the Peninsular War. The new European post-revolutionary armies were composed of citizens rather than despised subjects. Being more passionately committed to their governments' reformist causes, they were prepared to do more to win them. By the same token, in their patriotic zeal to defend their country, for the first time in history, Spanish loyalists invented guerilla warfare wherein disregard for conventional rules of engagement enraged professional soldiers. This led to mutual recriminations that reduced the value systems of both sides to indistinguishable barbarity.[12] Goya knew well that body parts left on trees were already the crudest kinds of signs whose purpose was to terrify opponents, so in his most obscene treatment of this theme, *This is worse* (plate 37, *Disasters*), he dignified a truncated body skewered on a branch through the anus by lending it the semblance of the Belvedere torso. Through a play of black and white marks reversing high and low values, conspicuous artifice became an enlightening form of alienation. It cleaves to the horrific truths portended in early prints such as *The garrotted man*, c. 1778–80, which was intensified by the confluence of public events and personal illness that darkened Goya's art after 1793.

A comprehensive diagnostic approach by well-credentialled specialists in neurobiology and ear, nose and throat disease identified the rare disorder of Cogan's or Susac's syndrome as the most likely cause of the central and peripheral neurological lesions that doctors agree afflicted Goya in a series of attacks in 1790, 1796, 1819 and 1825, but most crucially in 1792–93, when permanent deafness isolated and depressed him.[13] Where understanding art is concerned, the medical aetiology matters less than how Goya's deafness, vertigo and

12 See Margaret MacMillan, 'War and humanity' and 'Fearing and loving: making sense of the warrior', *The Reith Lectures*, BBC Radio 4, 26 June and 3 June 2018, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b0b7f390> and <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b0b88hl4>, accessed 13 July 2020.

13 Phil E. M. Smith et al., 'Goya's deafness', *Practical Neurology*, no. 8, 2008, pp. 370–77.



This is worse
plate 37, *The Disasters of War*, 1810–15, published 1863
Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide

hallucinations prompted him to reposition art within contemporary discourses on madness and reason. Much Goya criticism justifiably draws on Michel Foucault's thesis that, just as medicine and philosophy divided madness and reason into mutually defining opposites, so opposites came to half-resemble each other in creating the Romantic stereotype of the crazy genius that Goya, William Blake, Henry Fuseli and others came to embody.[14]

My opening theme of the discovery of one's self in targets of satire (the mobile-phone user, the rollerskater) underlies the universalisation of reversal and insanity in Goya's later works. In the *Disparates*, c. 1815–19, the spinning, twirling, plunging or falling figures of earlier etchings no longer have a common ground or specific scenario to break or contextualise their falls. Individual incidents from earlier etchings billow into huge groupings of indifferently human, animal or supernatural beings whose compositions rival the achievement of traditional history painting but eschew their intelligible stories (*istorie*). Scholars have worked hard to find

14 Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (1961), Routledge, London, 1997, pp. 201–2, 208–9, 279–89. See also Stoichita & Coderch; and Peter K. Klein, 'Insanity and the sublime: aesthetics and theories of mental illness in Goya's Yard with lunatics and related works', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, no. 61, 1998, pp. 198–252.

evidence of impassioned social critique of Ferdinand VII's oppressive regime in these works, but, if it is there, it takes such complex and outlandish forms that the works are as likely to have bewildered as motivated early viewers.[15] What social context explains the midair swirling of *Fools' folly* (p. 299), also known as *Madness of bulls*? It is better translated as an 'Absurdity of bulls', because a collective noun reflects the artist's more than the animals' state of mind. In the bullring these *toros de lidia*, or prime fighting bulls, command the centre of the crowd's and matador's attention, but here their varied foreshortenings unfix a coherent viewpoint and force our attention to float as they do within a solipsistic nightmare whose setting is the inner rather than the outer world. Produced in the Quinta del Sordo (House of the Deaf Man), where Goya cut himself off from the world in 1819, the *Disparates* are like horror movies distributed without soundtracks.

At a time of mass psychosis, when everyone is mad and all consensus lost, the artist's flight from manic denial into the darkest reaches of nihilistic fantasy arguably becomes the new standard of 'Universal language' inscribed on the plinth of the second preparatory drawing for *The sleep of reason produces monsters* (p. 266). Foucault exhorted his readers to understand the madness of the *Disparates* and the Black Paintings as emanations from nothingness articulated in artistic language that reorganised the world into an accusation. That this includes self-accusation is shown by the many lunatics and miscreants in Goya's work who bear his facial features.[16] His lifelong preoccupation with the visual representation of cognitive dissonance, emotional splitting and schizoid double binds – a woman's revulsion from the corpse from which she pulls gold teeth (*Out hunting for teeth*, plate 12, *Caprichos*, p. 120), allied cavalry officers locked in heated disagreement during battle (*They do not agree*, plate 17, *Disasters*, p. 203), spouses in perpetual conflict grown inseparably apart like conjoined twins (*Can't anyone untie us?*, plate 75, *Caprichos*, p. 181; *Disorderly folly*, plate 7, *Disparates*, p. 278) – may dramatise Goya's own turmoil about his role as yes-man to a series of monarchs, for example, or guilt about possible venereal disease. To those of us who are shielded from the quotidian experience of mortality[17] – and we are far less so than we were – the visceral sensationalism of Goya's work, the spectator's experience of its 'sharp shock to the core of his brain',[18] may seem more consistent with a would-be publicist's morbid fascination with bloody or sexual or sordid effect than with a reformer's call for moral outrage and political solidarity, despite the fact that his productions were beyond the pocket of the masses.[19] But if modern science tells us that nothingness implies the absence of the presence of something,[20] then the equivalent lesson for mental life might be that nihilistic depression cannot be felt as such without the implied existence of a better state from which depression is measured. This is no Hegelian dialectic driven by reason to some 'higher unity', whatever that might be, but something altogether more quixotic, oneiric and intuitive, in which both the rational and the irrational are subsumed. And if, as the philosopher Immanuel Kant claimed, enlightenment requires the maturity to challenge outworn orthodoxies,[21] then art that finds an expressive form for such feelings in times of collective crisis, while keeping interpretation open, may be one of sanity's highest achievements. Observe the spread-eagled legs of the tormented creatures in *Fools' folly*. They stretch in vain for solid ground, yet the hooves on the hind legs of the leftmost bull appear to gain traction on the void itself. They do not propel the bull so much as the sickening gyrations of the overall composition, as it lucidly evokes the invisible maelstrom that takes us in with the bulls to where no one can hear us scream.

Thanks are due to Garry Marvin and Siong Tan for their advice, respectively, on the bullfighting and medical themes of this essay.

15 See, for example, Michael Armstrong Roche, catalogue entries in Alfonso E. Pérez Sanchez & Eleanor A. Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment*, Bullfinch Press, Boston, 1989, pp. 304–21.

16 See Stoichita & Coderch, pp. 284–7; and Andrea Pop, 'Goya and the paradox of tolerance', *Critical Inquiry*, no. 44, 2018, pp. 242–74.

17 See Peter Schjeldahl, 'Mortality and the Old Masters', *The New Yorker*, 6 April 2020, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2020/04/13/mortality-and-the-old-masters>, accessed 2 June 2020.

18 Baudelaire in Mayne, p. 190.

19 Nicholas Penny explores this view in 'The people's Goya' (review of Robert Hughes's *Goya*), *London Review of Books*, vol. 26, no. 18, 2004, <https://www.lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v26/n18/nicholas-penny/the-people-s-goya>, accessed 2 Aug. 2020.

20 The contemporary physicist Lawrence Krauss, cited by Tibor Molnar, 'Are theoretical physicists mad?', *The Science Show with Robyn Williams*, ABC Radio, 4 July 2020, <https://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/scienceshow/are-theoretical-physicists-mad/12420660>, accessed 8 July 2020.

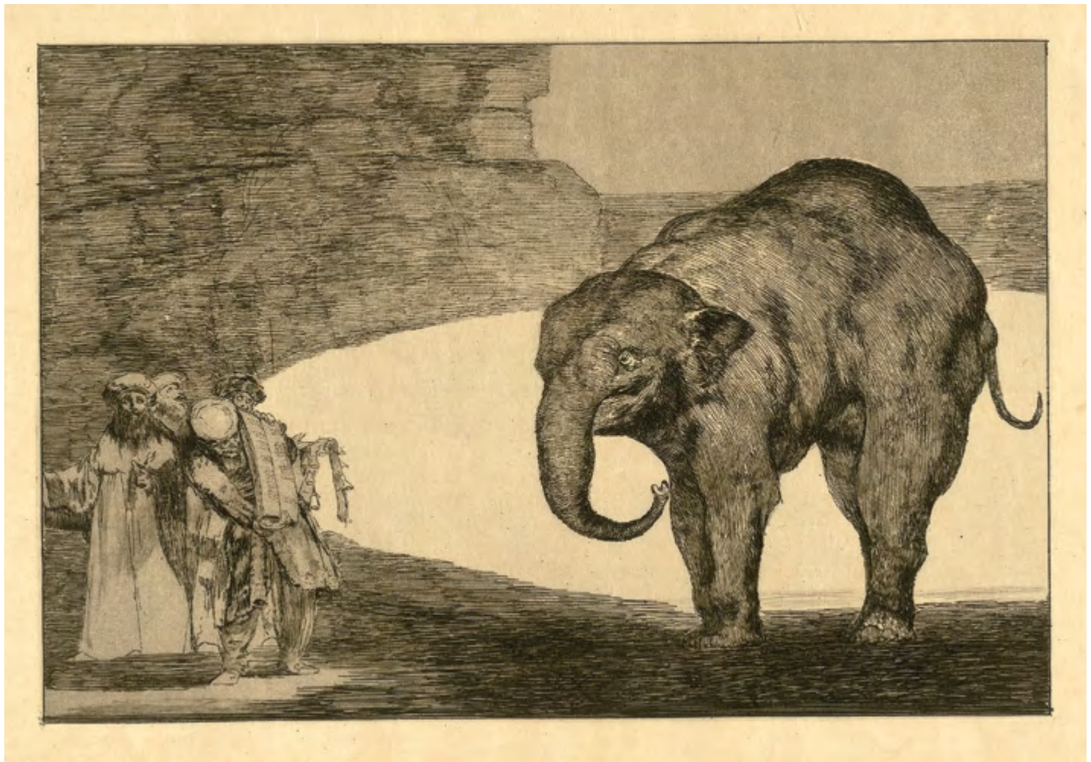
21 See Immanuel Kant, 'An answer to the question: What is enlightenment?', in Mary J. Gregor (ed.), *Practical Philosophy: The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 11–12; and Michel Foucault, 'What is enlightenment?', trans. Catherine Porter, in Paul Rabinov (ed.), *The Foucault Reader*, Penguin, London, 1991, pp. 32–50.



A way of flying
plate 13, *Los Disparates*, c. 1815–19, published 1864



Punctual folly
additional plate, *Los Disparates*, c. 1815–19, published 1877



Animal folly
additional plate, *Los Disparates*, c. 1815–19, published 1877



Fools' folly
additional plate, *Los Disparates*, c. 1815–19, published 1877

GOYA IN BORDEAUX

Ted Gott

On 24 June 1824 the Sous-Préfet de Bayonne in south-western France wrote to the Ministre de l'Intérieur to inform him that 'Don Francisco Goya, Spanish painter whose passport is enclosed, has received from the town hall of Bayonne a provisional pass for Paris. He proceeds to that city to consult with doctors and to take the waters that have been prescribed for him'.[1] At age seventy-eight Goya had applied, in May 1824, to the Spanish authorities for permission to undertake six months' leave from his position as court painter in order to receive medical treatment at the hot springs of Plombières-les-Bains in the Vosges department in eastern France. He is not known to have visited Plombières or sought water therapy elsewhere in France, however. His departure from Spain was surely linked to the return of the despotic Ferdinand VII as king of Spain, and the subsequent repression of liberal and democratic ideals, in 1823. As Goya biographer Robert Hughes has observed, Ferdinand VII's

> hunt for suspected 'traitors' soon attained manic proportions. Arbitrary arrest, imprisonment, confiscation of goods, arraignment by the newly restored Inquisition, the sundering of families, torture sometimes; these were the common fate of *liberales*.[2]

Assassination of liberal-thinking citizens by pro-royalist forces also became commonplace, with some 2000 *liberales* murdered in Barcelona alone between October and December 1824.[3] Goya had already faced interrogation by the Inquisition in 1815. And while as court painter he had produced several state portraits of Ferdinand VII after his first accession to the Spanish throne in 1808, and also after his first restoration to the throne in 1814 (following Joseph Bonaparte's temporary rule as invader-king), it was obvious to Goya that his denouncement as a *liberale* and an *afrancesado* (a supporter of French anti-royalist views) was only a matter of time. Flight was the only viable option.

A prosperous French trading port made rich from the profits of slavery, Bordeaux at this time was also home to a significant population of mostly liberal Spanish émigrés. Goya's Francophile friend Leandro Fernández de Moratín, who had moved to Bordeaux himself in 1821, enthusiastically praised the city's 'theaters, walks, the beautiful river, the streets, the shops, the people, and an infinity of things'.[4] Thanks to Moratín, we have a firsthand description of Goya's arrival in the city towards the end of June 1824:

1 Sous-Préfet de Bayonne, letter to the French Ministre de l'Intérieur, 24 June 1824, cited in Janis A. Tomlinson, *Goya: A Portrait of the Artist*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford, 2020, p. 287.
2 Robert Hughes, *Goya*, The Harvill Press, London, 2003, p. 324.
3 ibid. p. 378.
4 Leandro Fernández de Moratín, letter to Juan Antonio Melón González, Bordeaux, Oct. 1821; quoted in Tomlinson, p. 283.

> Goya in fact arrived, deaf, old, awkward, and weak, and without knowing a word of French, and without a servant (that no one needs more than he), and so content and so desirous to see the world.[5]

Goya departed almost immediately for Paris, where there was another lively community of Spanish refugees who had fled their war-torn and troubled homeland, many of whom he had known before their relocation to the French capital. Hughes states that 'there was little to detain him in Paris', yet Goya spent two months in the capital, soaking up its many sights, which hardly suggests boredom or disinterest.[6] Certainly, a contemporaneous secret police report on his movements in Paris suggests that, rather than frequenting the company of exiled Spanish royals, he delighted in strolling the city's streets, embracing the time-honoured tradition of the French flâneur:

> This foreigner arrived in Paris on June 30, and settled at rue Marivaux, no. 5. The surveillance of which he has been the subject has not been able to uncover that he had any regular relations with any of his compatriots; he never receives anyone at his lodgings, and the difficulty he has in speaking and understanding French keeps him often at home, which he leaves only to visit the monuments and stroll in public places.[7]

Goya did, however, meet in Paris with Martín Miguel de Goicoechea, his son Javier's father-in-law, who had fled Spain in 1823 and who was soon to settle in Bordeaux and become part of Goya's entourage in the last years of the artist's life (taking care, in particular, of Goya's finances).[8] He also, significantly, met with another artistic exile, the lithographic printer José María Cardano, who had founded the Establecimiento Litográfico in Madrid in 1819, and who had worked with Goya on his first experimental lithographs in that year.[9] The two are believed to have visited lithographic workshops in Paris together, to see the considerable advances that French technicians had made with that printmaking technology, which was quite new at the time, having been invented in Germany in 1796. It has been suggested that Goya's hurry to reach Paris in June 1824 was directly related to Cardano's presence there.[10]

Goya returned to Bordeaux in early September 1824, where, except for occasional and brief return visits to Madrid, he was to remain for the rest of his life. He was soon joined there by Leocadia Weiss, his former housekeeper in Madrid who was possibly now his partner, her teenage son Guillermo and her then nine-year-old daughter Rosario, a promising young art student whom Goya called 'this celebrated child [who] wants to learn to paint in miniature' and treated 'as if she were [his] daughter'.[11] When Goya arrived in Bordeaux, the city was still an active participant in the international slave trade – ships leaving the French port were laden with goods that were exchanged in Africa for slaves who were transported to the French colonies to perform forced labour. The transport ships would then return to Bordeaux filled with exotic by-products of slave labour, such as sugar, tobacco, coffee and ivory. It was perhaps access to an unusual new product, rather than pure concern for Rosario's pedagogical instruction, that led Goya to create a striking new series of miniatures on ivory during his first winter in Bordeaux. As he recalled a year later, 'It is true that last winter I painted on ivory, and I have a collection of some forty experiments'.[12] His remarkable series of miniature paintings, roughly executed on small pieces of ivory around half the size of a mobile phone, have all the grandeur and gravitas of the artist's earlier paintings of *majas*, monks and nudes, captured now on a private and miniscule scale.

Goya's stay in Bordeaux was extended, first by another awarded leave of absence from the Spanish court and finally by a retirement on full salary granted by Ferdinand VII in June 1826. As Hughes has observed, 'in this way Fernando [Ferdinand] proved that he had no further quarrel with Goya and that he had realized, at last, that the old man posed no menace, not even so much as an inconvenience, to him'.[13] Meanwhile, doubtless inspired by his conversations with José María Cardano in Paris, Goya turned his attention to mastering the medium of lithography. In Bordeaux he discovered another master printer, Cyprien Gaulon, who collaborated with him on the production of four majestic depictions of bullfights, known today as the *Bulls of Bordeaux*. Printed in an edition of 100 in November and December 1825, these prints met with little commercial or popular success; Goya's hope of finding buyers for them in Bordeaux and Paris was misguided.[14] A bullring was

5 Leandro Fernández de Moratín, letter to Juan Antonio Melón González, Bordeaux, 27 June 1824; quoted in Tomlinson, p. 289.
6 Hughes, p. 389.
7 Report from the Préfet de Police in Paris to the Ministre de l'Intérieur, 15 July 1824; quoted in Tomlinson, p. 290.
8 Jonathan Brown, '"I am still learning": Goya's last works, 1824–1828', in Jonathan Brown & Susan Grace Galassi, *Goya's Last Works*, Yale University Press, London and New Haven, 2006, p. 12.
9 Julia Blackburn, *Old Man Goya*, Vintage, London, 2003, p. 171. Brown, p. 6. See also Esther Alcaraz Belzunces, 'José María Cardano: Marino cartagenero, introductor de la litografía en España', *Cartagena histórica*, no. 29, 2009, pp. 50–64, <https://archivo.cartagena.es/gestion/documentos/19774.pdf>, accessed 17 Nov. 2020.
10 Michel Florisoone, 'La Raison du voyage de Goya à Paris', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol. 68, Dec. 1966, pp. 327–32, cited in Jonathan Brown, 'The Bordeaux lithographs', in Brown & Galassi, p. 147.
11 Goya, letter to Joaquín Ferrer, Bordeaux, 28 Oct. 1824, quoted in Tomlinson, p. 295.
12 Goya to Joaquín Ferrer, Bordeaux, 20 Dec. 1825, quoted in Eleanor A. Sayre, 'Goya's Bordeaux miniatures', *Boston Museum Bulletin*, vol. 64, no. 337, 1966, p. 84.
13 Hughes, p. 400.
14 Eugène Bouvy, 'L'Imprimeur Gaulon et les origines de la lithographie à Bordeaux', in *Revue Philomathique de Bordeaux et du Sud-Ouest*, Société Philomathique, Bordeaux, 1917, p. 252. Bouvy noted tellingly that 'the brutality of the facture of these lithographs was in perfect harmony with the scenes they depicted' (p. 253).



Literate animal 1824–28
Album G, 4
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



They love each other very much 1824–28
Album G, 59
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

not to be established in Bordeaux until 1863, and the violence of Goya's *corrida* depictions was perhaps not to the taste of Parisians, who could still remember the arbitrary brutality of the Terror years of the 1790s, as well as the more recent Napoleonic campaigns. It is disconcerting for modern viewers to realise that Goya enjoyed the bloodshed and gore of bullfighting, a taste that was not shared by his previous royal Spanish patrons Carlos III and Carlos IV, who had both attempted to prohibit the sport. The commercial failure of the *Bulls of Bordeaux* was not really a fiscal problem for Goya. While he lived modestly in Bordeaux, this was by choice rather than necessity, and he remained financially well off in his final years, especially after his full salary as court painter was restored in 1826.[15]

It is true that painting took a back seat during the artist's Bordeaux years, but he had other interests to occupy him in this prosperous, bustling city. Reporting on his daily regimen in 1827, Moratín noted that 'Goya is well; he keeps himself busy with his sketches [*borradores*], he takes walks, he eats his midday meal and takes his siesta'.[16] Aside from wanting to sate his own curiosity, it has been speculated that Goya missed none of the travelling circuses and fairs that visited Bordeaux because of Leocadia's restless personality and love of horse sports.[17] The many sights these events afforded the artist, such as a female giant or the shockingly emaciated Claude Ambroise Seurat, the celebrated 'living skeleton', were recorded in two albums that Goya filled with more than 120 drawings during his time in Paris and Bordeaux, which are known today as Album G and Album H (both dated 1824–28).[18] The drawings were executed in a medium that was relatively new for the artist – black lithographic pencil, a greasy crayon-like substance perfectly suited for shading and gradations of tone that was normally used for drawing on lithographic stones, and which reflected Goya's ongoing dialogue with the Spanish lithographer Cardano and his Bordeaux counterpart Gaulon.[19]

15 Goya lived in several well-appointed premises during his time in Bordeaux. Paul Courteault, 'A propos du séjour de Goya à Bordeaux', in *Revue Philomathique de Bordeaux et du Sud-Ouest*, Société Philomathique, Bordeaux, 1908, p. 4.

16 Leandro Fernández de Moratín, letter to Juan Antonio Melón González, Bordeaux, May–June 1827, quoted in Tomlinson, p. 309.

17 Paul Lafond, 'Les dernières années de Goya en France. Premier article', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, year 49, vol. 37, no. 596, 1 Feb. 1907, p. 120.

18 See, for example, Richard H. R. Park & Maureen P. Park, 'Goya's Living Skeleton', *BMJ: British Medical Journal*, vol. 303, no. 6817, 21–28 Dec. 1991, pp. 1594–96.

19 Manuela B. Mena Marqués, 'Grotesque fables – human folly and animal dreams in the Bordeaux Album G', in Hiroya Murakami (ed.), *Goya: Luces y Sombras. Obras Maestras del Museo del Prado*, National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, 2011, p. 352. Juliet Wilson-Bareau, *Goya: Drawings from his Private Albums*, Hayward Gallery and Lund Humphries, London, 2001, p. 22. After his return from Paris to Bordeaux, Goya maintained direct correspondence with Cardano, in addition to sending him one of the *Bulls of Bordeaux* prints via another Spanish émigré friend in the French capital, Joaquín Ferrer. Paul Lafond, 'Les dernières années de Goya en France. Deuxième article', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, year 49, vol. 37, no. 597, 1 March 1907, p. 242.

In Album G many of the drawings bear short titles inscribed by the artist, although it has been noted that 'these short texts frequently are ironic and initiate a reciprocal relationship between word and image. Nevertheless, the subtitles do not always explain the drawings; sometimes they only deepen the mysteries.'[20]

The title of *Literate animal* (p. 304) from Album G is clearly ironic, as there is of course no such thing. This exquisite drawing is a beautiful study in pathos; the humanoid animal it depicts is clearly incapable of reading the book it clutches in its clawed paws, as it is egged on in this pointless exercise by a leering figure wielding a stick in the background. This drawing might reflect Goya's knowledge of the 'wonder dog' Munito, a cross between a hound and a water spaniel that visited Bordeaux in the winter of 1824, and amazed audiences on both sides of the Channel with its supposed knowledge of French and Italian, and ability to 'read' letters of the alphabet and solve numerical problems.[21] *Literate animal* has also been interpreted as a satire on the rapaciousness of lawyers and 'learned' men in general, who destroy the lives of less educated people with animalistic greed.[22]

Equally satirical is the title of *They love each other very much* (p. 305), a grotesquely comic study in Album G of two decrepit witches cavorting erotically in mid-air. The sex of these demonic creatures is difficult to determine, an ambiguity that adds to the drawing's sardonic sting. Goya seems almost to admire the senescent sexuality of the pair, and art historian Edward Payne has observed how 'the skill with which he handles the crayon suggests his own affection for these fantastical, lustful creatures'.[23]

Sexual ambiguity also hovers over the drawing *Phantom dancing with castanets* (p. 99) from Album H, whose apparition has been said to depict not a spectre but a lusty Carthusian monk revelling in a life of wanton disorder in a religious institution.[24] Reflecting on 'the suggestive shapes of the castanets to which he swings and dances', art historian Juliet Wilson-Bareau has commented that this monk's 'morphology coincides with the broad, grinning faces associated in Goya's work with homosexuality and lust', an observation that mirrors the prejudicial association of sexual difference with depravity that was common in Goya's time.[25]

20 Jonathan Brown, 'The Bordeaux drawings (Albums G and H)', in Brown & Galassi, p. 168.

21 Blackburn, p. 185. See *Notice historique sur la vie et les talens du savant chien Munito, par un ami des bêtes*, Cabinet d'illusions, Paris, 1817; trans. as *Historical Account of the Life and Talents of the Learned Dog Munito, by a Friend to Beasts*, T. Maiden, London, 1817.

22 Michael Armstrong Roche, entry on *Animal of letters* from Bordeaux Album G, in Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez & Eleanor A. Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1989, pp. 368–9.

23 Edward Payne, entry on *They love each other very much* from Bordeaux Album G, in Juliet Wilson-Bareau & Stephanie Buck (eds), *Goya: The Witches and Old Women Album*, The Courtauld Gallery and Paul Holberton Publishing, London, 2014, p. 167.

24 Entry on *Phantom dancing with castanets* from Bordeaux Album H, in José Manuel Matilla & Manuela B. Mena Marqués, *Goya: Drawings: Only My Strength of Will Remains*, trans. Laura Suffield, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, 2019, p. 270.

25 Entry on *Phantom dancing with castanets* from Bordeaux Album H, in Wilson-Bareau, p. 204.

Goya's critique of the clergy continues in *Man murdering a monk* (p. 96) from Album H, if indeed that is what is depicted in this drawing. Several other narrative possibilities have recently been proposed for this work, including that it might show a man fiercely killing a woman.[26] If its subject is violence against women, then balance is provided by *The enema* (p. 97) from Album H, a drawing in which a trio of women exact revenge by inflicting anal punishment on a man who may himself be a murderer (one of the women is wrestling a sharp knife from his right hand), the youngest of whom inspects his bottom with expectant glee. Such savage images show us Goya, in his final years, reflecting upon the darkness and depravity of human nature with a strength of vision unimpaired by his advanced age and increasing ill health. As Goya scholar José Manuel Matilla has aptly summarised them, the Bordeaux albums

> once again focused on the major themes of Goya's oeuvre but now with a different tone that ranges from the satirical to the grotesque, and from the trust in the perfectibility of man present in the *Caprichos* of 1799 to disillusionment with the possibility of human progress. We thus encounter the familiar themes: the falsity of relations between people, inequality and poverty, the irrationality of human behaviour and passions, individual and collective violence, and madness.[27]

Madness seems to hover around the electrically charged *Bad dream* (p. 98) from Album G, which shows its protagonist's hair literally standing on end as he witnesses a horrific vision of another man's face being eaten alive by a flock of predatory birds, while two cats patiently await their own chance to devour the birds in turn. Album G contains several drawings inscribed *locos* (mad people) and *loco furioso* (raging lunatic), which are consistent with Goya's earlier fascination with painting depictions of Spanish asylums for the mentally afflicted. He may possibly have visited the Hospice des Aliénés in the Grande Rue St Jean in Bordeaux, run by the Sisters of Charity of Nevers – for its day, a relatively advanced care facility for people with mental health issues – although this has been recently disputed.[28] Be that as it may, *Bad dream* has been cogently described as 'a masterful analysis of the madness that may emerge with age or illness'.[29] It is tempting

26 Entry on *Man murdering a monk* from Bordeaux Album H, in Matilla & Mena Marqués, p. 267.

27 José Manuel Matilla, 'Only my strength of will remains', in Matilla & Mena Marqués, p. 37.

28 Peter K. Klein, 'Insanity and the sublime: aesthetics and theories of mental illness in Goya's Yard with lunatics and related works', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 61, 1998, p. 250. Klein here argues that 'there is not the slightest proof' of the arguments for Goya visiting the Hospice des Aliénés put forward in Bernard Antoniol, 'Goya, peintre de la folie', in Francis Ribemont & Françoise Garcia (eds), *Goya, Hommages: Les Années bordelaises, 1824–1828*, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Bordeaux, Bordeaux, 1998, p. 112.

29 Entry on *Bad dream* from Bordeaux Album G in Matilla & Mena Marqués, p. 265.



Bad dream 1824–28 (detail)
Album G, 12
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

to read this powerful drawing almost as a self-portrait of the artist confronted by the irrepressible urgings of his own boundless imagination. Goya himself, however, remained sane until his dying breath, passing away at age eighty-two in Bordeaux in April 1828.

The final story from Goya's Bordeaux days is as comically macabre as any of the artist's own *Caprichos*, 1797–1798, or *Disparates*, c. 1815–19. Following his death, Goya was buried in Bordeaux's Chartreuse Cemetery in a tomb already occupied by the body of his colleague Martín Miguel de Goicoechea, who had passed away in 1825. This was probably more for reasons of the old friendship that had linked them than out of any financial concern (although the miserliness and greed of his son Javier, Goicoechea's son-in-law, may have had some bearing upon the matter). By the 1880s, with Goya's reputation as a major Spanish artist now firmly established, support grew for the idea of repatriating his body to Spain, and on 16 November 1888 the Chartreuse tomb was opened for this purpose. Gustave Labat, a member of Bordeaux's Académie, who was present at the exhumation with the Spanish consul to Bordeaux, described how the remains of two bodies were found – a smaller skeleton that was presumed to be Goicoechea (who was known to have



Jean Veber
Goya's return to his homeland 1899
The Art Institute of Chicago

been of modest height), and a much taller one, 'the debris of a colossus [with] a strong arched backbone', that surely had to be Goya: 'Only, our emotions ran very strong: the gravediggers found only one head, that of Goicoechea, among the debris of his body … Goya's head had disappeared, a sacrilegious hand had stolen it, but where, when and how?'[30]

Labat himself theorised that the artist's head had been souvenired by a grave-robbing doctor who wished to test Goya's cranium against the theories of cranioscopy (later called phrenology) that had been popularised in the early nineteenth century by the German physiologist Franz Josef Gall. Be that as it may, the remains of both Goya and Goicoechea were rehoused in new coffins and the tomb was resealed. Bureaucracy then delayed the return of Goya's body to Madrid for another eleven years. Meanwhile, lamenting that 'Goya has not found, even after his death, the rest that he hardly knew during his life', the main Bordeaux newspaper *La Gironde* suggested that a reward should be offered for the return of the master's head.[31]

31 Argus, 'Causerie bordelaise', *La Gironde*, 18 Nov. 1894, p. 1.

In June 1899, Labat and the Spanish consul attended a second opening of the Goicoechea tomb at the Chartreuse Cemetery, and the remains of Goya and his colleague were finally transferred back to Spain, although not without further speculation and ridicule in the French press. In Bordeaux, *La Gironde* and *La Petite Gironde* discreetly avoided mentioning the missing skull.[32] In Paris, however, the newspapers *Le Temps* and *L'Aurore* pointed out that the remains of both bodies were being sent to Madrid since there was no way of telling which skeleton was actually that of Goya himself.[33] In *Le Journal*, the prominent critic Gustave Geffroy reflected upon how the whole debacle was 'a macabre comedy … which suits the terrible satirist of human glory … not *one* Goya, but *two* Goyas, two skeletons and only one head! Take your pick.' Which skeleton, Geffroy asked, deserved this visit from the Spanish authorities, a dedicated train and sleeping car on the return voyage to Madrid and reinterment there with ceremonial flags, speeches and a fancy new tomb? 'This final chapter in Goya's biography', he declared, 'is like a final plate added to the *Caprichos* suite. Could Goya himself have organised this posthumous publication?'[34]

As if in direct response to this article, the popular Parisian caricaturist Jean Veber then published a satirical etching, *Goya's return to his homeland*, executed in the Spanish master's own style, which showed the artist leading his headless remains back home, watched by a coterie of characters drawn directly from the *Caprichos*.[35] It is to be hoped that Goya might have appreciated the grotesque irony of this final story from his days in Bordeaux.

32 'Exhumation des restes de Goya', *La Petite Gironde*, 6 June 1899, p. 3. 'Exhumation des restes de Goya', *La Gironde*, 7 June 1899, p. 3.
33 'Exhumation des restes de Goya', *Le Temps*, 7 June 1899, p. 3. 'Les Restes de Goya', *L'Aurore*, 7 June 1899, p. 1.
34 Gustave Geffroy, 'Les Restes de Goya', *Le Journal*, 19 June 1899, p. 1.
35 See Pierre Veber & Louis Lacroix, *L'Oeuvre lithographié de Jean Veber*, Librairie Floury, Paris, 1931, pp. 15–16.



Cruel folly
plate 6, *Los Disparates*, c. 1815–19, published 1864



Carnival folly
plate 14, *Los Disparates*, c. 1815–19, published 1864



Clear folly
plate 15, *Los Disparates*, c. 1815–19, published 1864



Loyalty
plate 17, *Los Disparates*, c. 1815–19, published 1864



Funereal folly
plate 18, *Los Disparates*, c. 1815–19, published 1864



Well-known folly
additional plate, *Los Disparates*, c. 1815–19, published 1877

REFLECTING ON GOYA

Phillip Adams

Though an antipodean atheist I often made pilgrimages when visiting the northern hemisphere, to genuflect at the altars of my two favourite, most honoured artists.

In London, I'd take a taxi to the Tate to gaze in wonderment at the golden, glowing canvases of Joseph Mallord William Turner. In Madrid, I'd head straight for the Prado, to be as awestruck as ever by the Black Paintings of Francisco de Goya y Lucientes.

Though they were born and died a few years apart (Goya 1746–1828, Turner 1775–1851) and were presumably ignorant of each other's work, they were more than mere contemporaries. They dominated the artistic lives of their respective countries. Both began life in the respectable middle class and both would die unrespectable deaths in the company of women who might have been their mistresses. Yet the two geniuses could hardly have been more different – the former so reclusive and eccentric, the latter at the centre of his society, simultaneously social critic and social climber.

One was primarily a painter of English landscapes, the other a painter of Spanish nightmares. One was enchanted by storms at sea, the other by the storms of human affairs, by the disasters of war and revolution.

United by the grandeur of their gifts both Turner and Goya shared a comparable daring of expression and bold theatricality. No suffocating 'still lifes' for them. No tidy, timid bowls of fruit, no flattering, complacent portraits. They depicted their very different worlds with artistic and personal courage.

I'm tapping out these few words of awe and gratitude in a room full of Turner and Goya etchings. And two paintings, one by each artist.

I found my tiny Turner in a Melbourne junk shop almost sixty years ago – a preparatory sketch for the *View of Orvieto*, 1828, hanging in the Tate. The etchings? At best glum mass-produced hints of his great seascapes. The Goya painting? The full-scale *Portrait of a Madrid matron* purchased at Sotheby's fifty years ago – catalogued by that snootiest of auctioneers as 'painted in whole or in part' by the master. Bought sight unseen I wasn't disappointed when she emerged from the claustrophobia of the crate, blinking in the bright Australian light, though the woman I look at most days is, let it be said, a charmless grump. Her portrait is honest to the point of cruelty. One marvels that Goya got commissions, that the Madrid elite didn't prefer the caressing brushstrokes of a flatterer.

Framing her frame? Twenty-four first-edition Goya etchings, mostly from the *Caprichos*, 1797–98. Decades ago the late Kerry Packer, then our richest man, hired me to be a columnist for *The Bulletin*, an historic Australian magazine. For the preceding century it had been home to many of our most famous political cartoonists, so it seemed oddly appropriate that I demand payment in cartoons. Only Goya's. Only first editions.

A puzzled Packer agreed and for the next few years a Goya etching would arrive every month. They now surround the Madrid matron in a farmhouse almost as remote from Sydney as it is from Spain. As fresh, vital and haunting as ever. I like to think Francisco would be amused.

Later Spain would be home to famous Surrealists – few with a scintilla of Goya's graphic gifts, his preposterous fantasising, his enigmatic images and metaphors. In this regard Goya has the phantasmagoric fecundity of a Bosch, one that dwarfs Dalí's. The theatricality we see in the Black Paintings scaled down, yet losing little of the power to confront.

I think Freud would agree that the interpretations of Goya's images are as problematic as the interpretation of dreams. Though I've seen them up close and personal for much of my long life, they remain enigmatic and retain their inexhaustible interest.

Why does a writer in Australia have this strange addiction to Spanish art? Goya is not alone. A few etchings of his countryman Picasso also hang in my office, works done towards the end of his long life, bleak with intimations of personal mortality. Feelings well understood by this Australian octogenarian.

When it comes to virtuosity only Picasso belongs in Goya's company; his *Guernica*, 1937 (Reina Sofia Museum, Madrid), painted in response to the Nazis' bombing of the Spanish city on the eve of civil war comparable in scale and horror to Goya's response to revolution and the invasion by Napoleon.

The formidable Marxist critic John Berger once wrote that Picasso's epic canvas seemed illuminated by exploding bombs – that *Guernica* was the only time Picasso had confronted a subject that truly challenged his skills, the curse of his cleverness. At least once, Berger believed, Picasso was more than an entertainer.

No one could accuse Goya of ever being a mere entertainer, though some of the etchings are funny in their bizarre way. Witty, yes, but weaponised wit. Choosing exile from Spain in 1824, Goya's health further deteriorated, his work became ever darker and angrier. No 'happy ever after' here. Goya raged against the dying of his light.

So he's perfect company for this old man, who shares some of his deafness and, I hope, some of his defiance. Now that I can no longer make my pilgrimage to the Prado I thank that mightiest of museums for bringing him to our magnificent NGV.

OPPOSITE:
This is how useful men usually end up 1814–23
Album C, 17
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

OVERLEAF:
Simpleton (detail)
plate 4, *Los Disparates*, c. 1815–19, published 1864





GLOSSARY OF TECHNICAL TERMS

The majority of Goya's prints were created using intaglio processes, in which the image is printed from lines manually incised or chemically etched into a metal plate. Etching and aquatint were the techniques most commonly employed by the artist, but his plates also reveal the inventive use of a variety of tools, including the burin and drypoint, as well as the burnisher and scraper to achieve the wide range of effects that distinguish his printed work.

Goya also experimented with the then new technique of lithography and produced a handful of prints that are still considered masterpieces of the medium.

Etching: Etching is one of the major methods of intaglio printing. The lines in the plate are 'bitten' (etched) by acid, rather than manually cut with a tool as in engraving. The first step in making an etching is for the artist to cover a copper plate with a thin ground that is impervious to acid, and then to draw the desired image through this ground with a pointed etching needle. The drawing exposes lines in the metal plate, which are then eaten away by the chemical action of the acid when the plate is immersed in an acid bath. The length of time the plate is left in the acid determines how deeply the line is bitten and how dark the printed line will be. Different depths of line can be achieved in the one composition by 'stopping out', with an acid-resistant varnish, those lines that are to remain light and by rebiting (applying another application of acid to) the plate until lines of sufficient depth are attained. In this way the artist's design is turned into a series of grooves in the copper plate that are capable of holding ink. The etching ground is then removed, ink rubbed into the grooves and the plate's surface cleaned of any surplus ink. Finally, a sheet of dampened paper is placed over the plate, which is then passed through a roller press under extreme pressure, forcing the paper into the grooves to pick up the ink.

Aquatint: Aquatint, like etching, is another of the intaglio processes that relies upon the chemical action of acid to create indentations in a metal plate. Whereas etching is used primarily for linear work, aquatint is used to create areas of tone. A variation of the etching ground is used for the aquatint process and this consists of minute particles of powdered resin that are dusted onto a metal plate and then fused to it by heating. When the plate is etched the acid bites around each of the particles, creating tiny channels that deposit a regular pattern of ink on the paper at the time of printing. This granulated pattern of ink resembles a wash and can vary greatly in texture depending on the coarseness of the resin particles. It can also vary in strength of tone, according to the length of time the plate is etched. The artist can achieve gradations of tone within the one composition by using stop-out varnish to reserve those areas that are to remain light and by repeatedly biting the plate for the darker tones.

Lavis: Lavis is another intaglio process used to create areas of tone, but unlike aquatint it does not require the use of a granular ground. Instead, acid is applied directly onto the unprotected metal plate either with a brush or feather, or by immersing the plate in an acid bath. The acid lightly pits the plate's surface so that it will hold ink and print as a wash. Like both etching and aquatint, more than one tone can be achieved by selectively stopping out areas already bitten and by subsequently rebiting the plate.

Burin: The burin is a sharp metal tool used to manually engrave lines in the metal plate. Held in the palm of the hand, it is pushed through the copper and incises a deep, V-shaped groove in the plate that produces a line of great clarity and evenness. Because of the resistance of the metal against the burin during cutting, the engraved line also has a deliberate quality that contrasts with the freedom of the etched line. The burin can be used entirely on its own, as in the engraving process, or can be used in conjunction with etching. Goya used the burin in the latter way to strengthen etched lines or to make small alterations or additions to the plate.

Drypoint: The drypoint is a pointed steel needle that, like the burin, is used to incise lines in the metal plate by hand. It is held like a pencil and leaves a sharp scratch in the metal surface. Unlike the burin, which completely removes the metal shaving from the groove as it proceeds, the drypoint pushes it to the sides of the line. It is this metal shaving, known as the burr, which gives the drypoint line its distinctive character. When the plate is inked, the burr holds ink and prints as a rich, velvety line. Because it protrudes above the surface of the plate, the burr has a short life and quickly flattens as a result of the great pressure with which the plate is printed. Like the burin, the drypoint can be used on its own or with other intaglio processes. Goya often used it to accentuate areas of his images or to make small additions and corrections.

Burnisher: The burnisher is a tool used to make changes on the metal plate by effacing areas that have already been worked. Slightly curved at one end, the burnisher is rubbed across the plate's surface, smoothing down the indentations and thereby removing the unwanted work. Goya not only used the burnisher in this way to make corrections, but also used it extensively in his aquatinted plates to produce highlights and half-tones. By burnishing back the pitted surface, he produced areas that would hold less ink than surrounding parts, thus creating tonal modulations.

Roulette: The roulette is a hand tool with a wheel at one end that has one or more rows of spiked teeth. It is wheeled back and forth across the plate to create areas of small indentations that, when printed, give the effect of stippling. Goya used this tool only in some of his very earliest plates; it was, however, used after Goya's death by the French printer, Eugène Loizelet, to rework worn areas of the *Tauromaquia* plates at the time of their reprinting.

Lithography: The technique of lithography is founded upon the principle of the natural antipathy between grease and water. The artist uses a greasy lithographic crayon or lithographic ink (tusche) to draw upon the surface of a specially prepared slab of limestone. This drawing is then stabilised on the stone's surface by treating it with a solution of gum arabic and nitric acid. Before printing, the surface is thoroughly sponged with water and then rolled with a greasy ink of stiff consistency. The wet areas of the stone's surface repel the greasy ink, while the crayon marks attract it and yield the printed image. The image is finally transferred onto a sheet of paper by running both the inked stone and the paper together through a press.

Lithography appeals to artists because the image can be drawn directly onto the stone and does not need to be cut away from, or gouged into, the surface of a printing matrix. In addition to this graphic immediacy, it also offers artists an extensive range of tonalities from the densest blacks through luminous greys to sparkling highlights. Goya's lithographs show a masterly handling of tone that he built up with the lithographic crayon. He also used a sharp implement known as a scraper to scratch highlights into his compositions and to model the dark areas.

LIST OF WORKS

Note to the reader

All works are by Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (Spanish 1746–1828, France 1824–28) unless otherwise stated.

This list of works is arranged by medium and then chronologically within the medium divisions: drawings from the Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, are followed by prints from the collections of the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, and the Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide.

Spanish titles for prints are those assigned by Goya, being either engraved on the plate, inscribed by the artist on working proofs or preparatory drawings, or published on a title sheet. For drawings, the Spanish titles are Goya's inscriptions. The spelling, capitalisation and diacritics used in these titles have been retained. Titles in square brackets are designated titles, assigned in the absence of titles by Goya. English titles for the prints generally follow Harris.

All measurements are in centimetres to the first decimal point, height x width.

Numbers in brackets at the conclusion of the caption are accession numbers of the National Gallery of Victoria or the lending institution.

Catalogue raisonné abbreviations and numbers have been included and refer to the following:

GASSIER I
Pierre Gassier, *The Drawings of Goya: The Complete Albums*, Praeger, New York, 1973.

GASSIER II
Pierre Gassier, *The Drawings of Goya: The Sketches, Studies, and Individual Drawings*, Thames and Hudson, 1975.

GASSIER & WILSON
Pierre Gassier and Juliet Wilson, *Goya: His Life and Work, with a Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings, Drawings and Engravings*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1971.

HARRIS
Tomás Harris, *Goya: Engravings and Lithographs*, 2 vols, Bruno Cassirer, Oxford, 1964.

MATILLA & MENA MARQUÉS
José Manuel Matilla and Manuela B. Mena Marqués, *Goya Drawings*, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid; Thames and Hudson, London, 2019.

SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN
Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, *Los dibujos de Goya reproducidos a su tamaño y su color. Tomo II, Dibujos para* Los Disparates, *dibujos no grabados, estudios para pinturas y varios*, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, 1954.

Drawings

Siesta (*La siesta*) 1794–95
Album A (Sanlúcar Album), g
brush and carbon ink wash
17.2 x 10.1 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 363; Gassier I.7; Sánchez Cantón 428; Matilla & Mena Marqués 29
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Federico de Madrazo y/o Román Garreta, Madrid, c. 1855–60; Museo de la Trinidad, Madrid, 1866; Museo del Prado, 1872.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04342r)

Maja on a stroll (*Maja de paseo*) 1794–95
Album A (Sanlúcar Album), h
brush and carbon ink wash
17.2 x 10.1 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 362; Gassier I.8; Sánchez Cantón 466; Matilla & Mena Marqués 30
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Federico de Madrazo y/o Román Garreta, Madrid, c. 1855–60; Museo de la Trinidad, Madrid, 1866; Museo del Prado, 1872.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04342v)

Young woman with arms uplifted (*Joven de espaldas levantando los brazos*) 1794–95
Album A (Sanlúcar Album), i
brush and carbon ink wash
17.2 x 10.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 364; Gassier I.9; Sánchez Cantón 427; Matilla & Mena Marqués 223
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Federico de Madrazo y/o Román Garreta, Madrid, c. 1855–60; Museo de la Trinidad, Madrid, 1866; Museo del Prado, 1872.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04185)

Young woman pulling up her stocking (*Joven estirándose la media*) 1794–95
Album A (Sanlúcar Album), j
preliminary drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 17
brush and carbon ink wash
17.2 x 10.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 365; Gassier I.10; Sánchez Cantón 467; Matilla & Mena Marqués 224
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Federico de Madrazo y/o Román Garreta, Madrid, c. 1855–60; Museo de la Trinidad, Madrid, 1866; Museo del Prado, 1872.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04186)

Young man looking through a magnifying glass at a maja (*Joven mirando con un anteojo a una maja*) 1795–96
Album B (Madrid Album), 19
preliminary drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 7
brush and carbon ink wash
23.3 x 14.8 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 389; Gassier I.34; Sánchez Cantón 424; Matilla & Mena Marqués 192
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Valentín Carderera, Madrid, c. 1861; Mariano Carderera, Madrid, 1880; Museo del Prado, 1886.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04339r)

Maja before three companions (*Maja ante tres compañeros*) 1795–96
Album B (Madrid Album), 20
brush and carbon ink wash over traces of black chalk
23.3 x 14.8 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 390; Gassier I.35; Sánchez Cantón 462; Matilla & Mena Marqués 193
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Valentín Carderera, Madrid, c. 1861; Mariano Carderera, Madrid, 1880; Museo del Prado, 1886.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04339v)

Merry caricature (*Caricatura alegre*) 1796–97
Album B (Madrid Album), 63
preliminary drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 13
brush and carbon ink wash
23.2 x 14.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 423; Gassier I.68; Sánchez Cantón 443; Matilla & Mena Marqués 47
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Valentín Carderera, Madrid, c. 1861; Mariano Carderera, Madrid, 1880; Museo del Prado, 1886.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04369r)

She is waiting for him to come (*Aguarda que benga*) 1796–97
Album B (Madrid Album), 64
brush and carbon ink wash, pen and brush and iron gall ink, traces of black chalk
23.2 x 14.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 424; Gassier I.69; Sánchez Cantón 452
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Valentín Carderera, Madrid, c. 1861; Mariano Carderera, Madrid, 1880; Museo del Prado, 1886.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04369v)

Dream 2: Witches' first attempt to fly, and nervously they try to make it work (*Sueño 2: Ensayo de brujas primerizas de primer vuelo, y con temor se prueban para trabajar*) 1797
preparatory drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 60
pen and iron gall ink over traces of black chalk
23.0 x 17.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 572; Gassier II.40; Sánchez Cantón 36; Matilla & Mena Marqués 195
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Valentín Carderera, Madrid, c. 1861; Mariano Carderera, Madrid, 1880; Museo del Prado, 1886.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04202)

Dream 19: The old women laugh themselves sick because they know he hasn't a bean (*Sueño 19: Las viejas se salen de risa porque saben que el no lleva un quarto*) 1797
preparatory drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 5
pen and iron gall ink with wash of carbon ink over traces of black chalk
24.6 x 18.6 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 460; Gassier II.54; Sánchez Cantón 27; Matilla & Mena Marqués 239
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Valentín Carderera, Madrid, c. 1861; Mariano Carderera, Madrid, 1880; Museo del Prado, 1886.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04199)

Dream 27: Witches disguised as ordinary doctors (*Sueño 27: Brujas disfrazadas en físicos comunes*) 1797
preliminary drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 40
pen and iron gall ink over traces of black chalk
24.6 x 18.4 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 531; Gassier II.58; Sánchez Cantón: 26; Matilla & Mena Marqués 54
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Valentín Carderera, Madrid, c. 1861; Mariano Carderera, Madrid, 1880; Museo del Prado, 1886.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04198)

Here comes the bogeyman (*Que viene el Coco*) c. 1797
preparatory drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 3
red chalk over traces of black chalk
Gassier & Wilson 456; Gassier II.68; Sánchez Cantón 48
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Valentín Carderera, Madrid, c. 1861; Mariano Carderera, Madrid, 1880; Museo del Prado, 1886.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04208)

They carried her off! (*Que se la llevaron!*) c. 1797
preparatory drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 8
red ink wash over traces of black chalk
19.0 x 13.7 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 466; Gassier II.71; Sánchez Cantón 92
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Valentín Carderera, Madrid, c. 1861; Mariano Carderera, Madrid, 1880; Museo del Prado, 1886.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04231)

There they go plucked (*Ya van desplumados*) c. 1797
preparatory drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 20
red chalk
24.1 x 17.9 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 492; Gassier II.80; Sánchez Cantón 434; Matilla & Mena Marqués 26
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Valentín Carderera, Madrid, c. 1861; Mariano Carderera, Madrid, 1880; Museo del Prado, 1886.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04352)

Neither more nor less (*Ni más ni menos*) c. 1797
preparatory drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 41
red chalk
20.5 x 14.6 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 533; Gassier II.99; Sánchez Cantón 61
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Valentín Carderera, Madrid, c. 1861; Mariano Carderera, Madrid, 1880; Museo del Prado, 1886.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04381r)

They spruce themselves up (*Se repulen*) c. 1797
preparatory drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 51
red chalk
20.8 x 14.6 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 554; Gassier II.109; Sánchez Cantón 70
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Valentín Carderera, Madrid, c. 1861; Mariano Carderera, Madrid, 1880; Museo del Prado, 1886.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04219)

All this and more (*Tanto y más*) 1810
preparatory drawing for *Disasters of War*, plate 22
red chalk over black chalk
17.9 x 23.7 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1030; Gassier II.182; Sánchez Cantón 127
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Valentín Carderera, Madrid, c. 1861; Mariano Carderera, Madrid, 1880; Museo del Prado, 1886.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04243)

It's a hard step! (*Duro es el paso!*) 1810–14
preparatory drawing for *Distasters of War*, plate 14
red chalk
15.1 x 20.8 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1014; Gassier II.174; Sánchez Cantón 121; Matilla & Mena Marqués 214
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Valentín Carderera, Madrid, c. 1861; Mariano Carderera, Madrid, 1880; Museo del Prado, 1886.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04384)

The beds of death (*Las camas de la muerte*) 1812–14
preparatory drawing for *Disasters of War*, plate 62
red chalk
14.8 x 20.6 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1099; Gassier II.211; Sánchez Cantón 154; Matilla & Mena Marqués 128
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Valentín Carderera, Madrid, c. 1861; Mariano Carderera, Madrid, 1880; Museo del Prado, 1886.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04262)

The consequences (*Las resultas*) 1814–15
preparatory drawing for *Disasters of War*, plate 72
red chalk
14.8 x 20.8 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1119; Gassier II.220; Sánchez Cantón 162; Matilla & Mena Marqués 130
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Valentín Carderera, Madrid, c. 1861; Mariano Carderera, Madrid, 1880; Museo del Prado, 1886.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04267)

Challenges: On guard! (*Desafíos: en guardia!*) 1812–20
Album F, 11
brush and iron gall and grey-brown ink washes over traces of pigment
20.5 x 14.9 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1439; Gassier I.285 ; Sánchez Cantón 285
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Federico de Madrazo y/o Román Garreta, Madrid, c. 1855–60; Museo de la Trinidad, Madrid, 1866; Museo del Prado, 1872.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04030)

Poverty (*Pobreza*) 1812–20
Album F, 22
brush and iron gall, grey-brown and light grey ink washes
20.5 x 14.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1450; Gassier I.296 ; Sánchez Cantón 258
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Federico de Madrazo y/o Román Garreta, Madrid, c. 1855–60; Museo de la Trinidad, Madrid, 1866; Museo del Prado, 1872.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04005)

Exorcism (*Exorcismo*) 1812–20
Album F, 27
brush and grey-brown, light brown and iron gall ink washes and chalk wash
20.5 x 14.7 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1453; Gassier I.299 ; Sánchez Cantón 316
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Federico de Madrazo y/o Román Garreta, Madrid, c. 1855–60; Museo de la Trinidad, Madrid, 1866; Museo del Prado, 1872.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04059)

The rabble hamstring the bull with lances, sickles, banderillas and other weapons (*Desjarrete de la canalla con lanzas, media-lunas, banderillas y otras armas*) 1814–16
preparatory drawing for *La Tauromaquia*, plate 12
red chalk
18.7 x 31.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1175; Gassier II.254; Sánchez Cantón 217; Matilla & Mena Marqués 217
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Valentín Carderera, Madrid, c. 1861; Mariano Carderera, Madrid, 1880; Museo del Prado, 1886.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04295)

The highly skillful student from Falces, wrapped in his cape, tricks the bull with the play of his body (*El diestrísimo estudiante de Falces, embozado burla al toro con sus quie-bros*) 1814–16
preparatory drawing for *La Tauromaquia*, plate 14
red chalk
17.4 x 29.5 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1179; Gassier II.256; Sánchez Cantón 221; Matilla & Mena Marqués 137
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Valentín Carderera, Madrid, c. 1861; Mariano Carderera, Madrid, 1880; Museo del Prado, 1886.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04299)

A picador is unhorsed and falls under the bull (*Caída de un picador de su caballo debajo del toro*) 1814–16
preparatory drawing for *La Tauromaquia*, plate 26
red chalk
18.0 x 27.4 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1203; Gassier II.268; Sánchez Cantón 235; Matilla & Mena Marqués 140
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Valentín Carderera, Madrid, c. 1861; Mariano Carderera, Madrid, 1880; Museo del Prado, 1886.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04313)

What idiocy to decide their destinies in infancy! (*¡Qué Necedad! Darles destinos en la niñez*) 1814–23
Album C, 13
brush and washes of carbon ink and light grey-brown ink
20.5 x 14.3 (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1254; Gassier I.63; Sánchez Cantón 15; Matilla & Mena Marqués 76
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Federico de Madrazo y/o Román Garreta, Madrid, c. 1855–60; Museo de la Trinidad, Madrid, 1866; Museo del Prado, 1872.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D03915)

This is how useful men usually end up (*Así suelen acabar los hombres útiles*) 1814–23
Album C, 17
brush and carbon ink wash
20.6 x 14.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 572; Gassier II.40; Sánchez Cantón 36; Matilla & Mena Marqués 77
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Federico de Madrazo y/o Román Garreta, Madrid, c. 1855–60; Museo de la Trinidad, Madrid, 1866; Museo del Prado, 1872.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D03929)

Burlesque vision (*Visión burlesca*) 1814–23
Album C, 39
brush and carbon ink wash
20.6 x 14.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1277; Gassier I.186; Sánchez Cantón 264; Matilla & Mena Marqués 88
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Federico de Madrazo y/o Román Garreta, Madrid, c. 1855–60; Museo de la Trinidad, Madrid, 1866; Museo del Prado, 1872.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04010)

The fifth [*Burlesque vision*] (*5a* [*Visión burlesca*]) 1814–23
Album C, 43
brush and carbon ink wash
20.5 x 14.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1281; Gassier I.190; Sánchez Cantón 268
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Federico de Madrazo y/o Román Garreta, Madrid, c. 1855–60; Museo de la Trinidad, Madrid, 1866; Museo del Prado, 1872.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04014)

They put a gag on her because she talked. And struck her in the face. I saw her, Orosia Moreno, in Zaragoza. For knowing how to make mice. (*Le pusieron mordaza por que hablaba. Y le dieron palos en la cara. Yo la bi en Zaragoza à Orosia Moreno. Por que sabia hacer Ratones.*) 1814–23
Album C, 87
brush and iron gall and grey-brown ink washes over traces of black chalk
20.5 x 14.4 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1323; Gassier I.232 ; Sánchez Cantón 312; Matilla & Mena Marqués 96
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Federico de Madrazo y/o Román Garreta, Madrid, c. 1855–60; Museo de la Trinidad, Madrid, 1866; Museo del Prado, 1872.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04055)

Better to die (*Mejor es morir*) 1814–23
Album C, 103
brush and carbon, iron gall and grey-brown ink wash
20.5 x 14.3 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1339; Gassier I.248; Sánchez Cantón 341
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Federico de Madrazo y/o Román Garreta, Madrid, c. 1855–60; Museo de la Trinidad, Madrid, 1866; Museo del Prado, 1872.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04080)

Divine Liberty (*Divina Libertad*) 1814–23
Album C, 115
brush and washes of carbon, iron gall, and grey-brown ink over traces of black chalk
20.5 x 14.3 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1350; Gassier I.259; Sánchez Cantón 346; Matilla & Mena Marqués 103
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Federico de Madrazo y/o Román Garreta, Madrid, c. 1855–60; Museo de la Trinidad, Madrid, 1866; Museo del Prado, 1872.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04085)

Divine reason. Spare no one (*Divina Razón. No deges ninguno*) 1814–23
Album C, 122
brush and washes of carbon and grey-brown ink
20.5 x 14.4 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1357; Gassier I.266; Sánchez Cantón 409; Matilla & Mena Marqués 106
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Federico de Madrazo y/o Román Garreta, Madrid, c. 1855–60; Museo de la Trinidad, Madrid, 1866; Museo del Prado, 1872.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04144)

Severity is not always good (*No es siempre bueno el rigor*) 1816–20
Album E (Black Border Album), 13
brush and carbon ink wash
26.4 x 17.8 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1389; Gassier I.117; Matilla & Mena Marqués 220
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Federico de Madrazo, Madrid, c. 1855–60; sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 1877; Fiantance (?) or Fontaine (28 francs), Paris, 1877; Antonio María de Orléans, Duke of Montpensier (?), Puy-de-Dôme, 1877; María Isabel de Orleáns, Duchess of Montpensier (?), Puy-de-Dôme, 1891; Fernando Francisco Felipe de Orleáns, Duke of Montpensier (?), Puy-de-Dôme, 1919; María Isabel González de Olañeta e Ibarreta, Dowager Duchess of Montpensier and Marchioness of Valdeterrazo, Madrid, 1924; José María de Huarte y Jáuregui, Marquis of Valdeterrazo, Madrid, 1958; Alberto Huarte Myers, Pamplona, 1999; Museo del Prado, 2007.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D07407)

Folly of fear (*Disparate de miedo*) c. 1815–19
preparatory drawing for *Los Disparates*, plate 2
brush and red wash over traces of red chalk
23.4 x 33.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1574; Gassier II.291; Sánchez Cantón 186; Matilla & Mena Marqués 154
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Valentín Carderera, Madrid, c. 1861; Mariano Carderera, Madrid, 1880; Museo del Prado, 1886.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04274)

Merry folly (*Disparate alegre*) c. 1815–19
preparatory drawing for *Los Disparates*, plate 12
brush and red wash
21.4 x 31.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1590; Gassier II.298; Sánchez Cantón 193; Matilla & Mena Marqués 242
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Valentín Carderera, Madrid, c. 1861; Mariano Carderera, Madrid, 1880; Museo del Prado, 1886.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04376)

Two people looking into a luminous room (*Dos personajes asomándose a una salida luminosa*) c. 1815–19
additional drawing related to *Los Disparates*, not known to have been etched
brush and red wash over red chalk
22.4 x 31.8 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1610; Gassier II.308; Sánchez Cantón 197
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Valentín Carderera, Madrid, c. 1861; Mariano Carderera, Madrid, 1880; Museo del Prado, 1886.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04283)

Literate animal (*Animal de letras*) 1824–28
Album G (Bordeaux Album I), 4
black crayon
19.1 x 15.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1714; Gassier I.368; Sánchez Cantón 398; Matilla & Mena Marqués 160
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Federico de Madrazo y/o Román Garreta, Madrid, c. 1855–60; Museo de la Trinidad, Madrid, 1866; Museo del Prado, 1872.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04135)

Bad dream (*Mal sueño*) 1824–28
Album G (Bordeaux Album I), 12
black crayon
19.1 x 15.1 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1720; Gassier I.417; Sánchez Cantón 396; Matilla & Mena Marqués 250
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Federico de Madrazo y/o Román Garreta, Madrid, c. 1855–60; Museo de la Trinidad, Madrid, 1866; Museo del Prado, 1872.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04133)

They love each other very much (*Se quieren mucho*) 1824–28
Album G (Bordeaux Album I), 59
black crayon
19.1 x 14.9 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1763; Gassier I.415; Sánchez Cantón 392: Matilla & Mena Marqués 198
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Federico de Madrazo y/o Román Garreta, Madrid, c. 1855–60; Museo de la Trinidad, Madrid, 1866; Museo del Prado, 1872.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04129)

Man murdering a monk (*Hombre asesinando a un monje*) 1824–28
Album H (Bordeaux Album II), 34
black crayon
19.1 x 15.3 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1796; Gassier I.450; Sánchez Cantón 403; Matilla & Mena Marqués 177
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Federico de Madrazo y/o Román Garreta, Madrid, c. 1855–60; Museo de la Trinidad, Madrid, 1866; Museo del Prado, 1872.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04140)

The enema (*La ayuda*) 1824–28
Album H (Bordeaux Album II), 42
black crayon
19.1 x 15.4 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1803; Gassier I.457; Sánchez Cantón 383; Matilla & Mena Marqués 176
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Federico de Madrazo y/o Román Garreta, Madrid, c. 1855–60; Museo de la Trinidad, Madrid, 1866; Museo del Prado, 1872.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04121)

Phantom dancing with castanets (*Fantasma con castañuelas*) 1824–28
Album H (Bordeaux Album II), 61
black crayon
19.1 x 15.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1818; Gassier I.473; Sánchez Cantón 385; Matilla & Mena Marqués 180
Provenance: Javier Goya, Madrid, 1828; Mariano Goya, Madrid, 1854; Federico de Madrazo y/o Román Garreta, Madrid, c. 1855–60; Museo de la Trinidad, Madrid, 1866; Museo del Prado, 1872.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D04123)

Prints

Los Caprichos (***The Caprices***) **1797–98**
published Madrid, 1799, 1st edition
series of 80 plates
Harris 36.III.1–115.III.1
Provenance: Private collection, Switzerland, c. 1935; Thomas Agnew & Sons (dealer), London.
National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne
Felton Bequest, 1976 (P1.1–80-1976)

plate 1:
Francisco Goya y Lucientes, Painter (*Fran.co Goya y Lucientes, Pintor*)
etching, aquatint, drypoint and burin printed in sepia ink
13.7 x 11.3 cm (image) 21.5 x 15.2 cm (plate)
22.2 x 16.0 cm (sheet, trimmed within lower platemark)
Gassier & Wilson 451; Harris 36.III.1
(P1.1-1976)

plate 2:
They say yes and give their hand to the first comer (*El si pronuncian y la mano alargan al primero que Illega*)
etching and burnished aquatint printed in sepia ink
18.0 x 12.3 cm (image) 21.4 x 15.2 cm (plate)
23.8 x 17.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 454; Harris 37.III.1
(P1.2-1976)

plate 3:
Here comes the bogeyman (*Que viene el Coco*)
etching and burnished aquatint printed in sepia ink
19.2 x 13.6 cm (image) 21.4 x 15.2 cm (plate)
25.0 x 18.4 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 455; Harris 38.III.1
(P1.3-1976)

plate 4:
Nanny's boy (*El de la rollona*)
etching and burnished aquatint printed in sepia ink
18.3 x 13.0 cm (image) 20.5 x 15.1 cm (plate)
24.1 x 17.6 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 457; Harris 39.III.1
(P1.4-1976)

plate 5:
Two of a kind (*Tal para qual*)
etching, aquatint and drypoint printed in sepia ink
17.4 x 11.6 cm (image) 19.7 x 14.9 cm (plate)
23.1 x 16.4 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 459; Harris 40.III.1
(P1.5-1976)

plate 6:
Nobody knows himself (*Nadie se conoce*)
etching and burnished aquatint printed in sepia ink
19.0 x 12.0 cm (image) 21.5 x 15.2 cm (plate)
24.6 x 16.7 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 461; Harris 41.III.1
(P1.6-1976)

plate 7:
Even thus he cannot make her out (*Ni asi la distingue*)
etching, aquatint and drypoint printed in sepia ink
17.5 x 11.5 cm (image) 19.8 x 15.0 cm (plate)
23.2 x 16.3 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 463; Harris 42.III.1
(P1.7-1976)

plate 8:
They carried her off! (*Que se la llevaron!*)
etching and aquatint printed in sepia ink
18.5 x 13.6 cm (image) 21.5 x 15.0 cm (plate)
24.4 x 18.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 465; Harris 43.III.1
(P1.8-1976)

plate 9:
Tantalus (*Tantalo*)
etching and burnished aquatint printed in sepia ink
18.2 x 12.8 cm (image) 20.6 x 15.0 cm (plate)
23.8 x 17.4 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 466; Harris 44.III.1
(P1.9-1976)

plate 10:
Love and death (*El amor y la muerte*)
etching, burnished aquatint and burin printed in sepia ink
19.0 x 13.4 cm (image) 21.6 x 15.2 cm (plate)
24.8 x 17.9 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 469; Harris 45.III.1
(P1.10-1976)

plate 11:
Lads making ready (*Muchachos al avío*)
etching, burnished aquatint and burin printed in sepia ink
18.4 x 12.0 cm (image) 21.6 x 15.2 cm (plate)
24.2 x 16.6 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 472; Harris 46.III.1
(P1.11-1976)

plate 12:
Out hunting for teeth (*A caza de dientes*)
etching, burnished aquatint and burin printed in sepia ink
18.2 x 11.9 cm (image) 21.5 x 15.1 cm (plate)
23.9 x 16.4 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 473; Harris 47.III.1
(P1.12-1976)

plate 13:
They are hot (*Estan calientes*)
etching and burnished aquatint printed in sepia ink
18.6 x 12.0 cm (image) 21.5 x 15.2 cm (plate)
24.5 x 16.6 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 476; Harris 48.III.1
(P1.13-1976)

plate 14:
What a sacrifice! (*Que sacrificio!*)
etching, burnished aquatint and drypoint printed in sepia ink
17.6 x 12.1 cm (image) 20.0 x 15.0 cm (plate)
23.2 x 16.6 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 479; Harris 49.III.1
(P1.14-1976)

plate 15:
Pretty teachings (*Bellos consejos*)
etching, burnished aquatint and burin printed in sepia ink
18.0 x 12.5 cm (image) 21.6 x 15.2 cm (plate)
23.6 x 17.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 481; Harris 50.III.1
(P1.15-1976)

plate 16:
For Heaven's sake: and it was her mother (*Dios la perdone: Y era su madre*)
etching, aquatint and drypoint printed in sepia ink
17.6 x 12.5 cm (image) 19.9 x 14.9 cm (plate)
23.1 x 17.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 483; Harris 51.III.1
(P1.16-1976)

plate 17:
It is nicely stretched (*Bien tirada está*)
etching, burnished aquatint and burin printed in sepia ink
18.6 x 12.7 cm (image) 21.6 x 15.2 cm (plate)
24.2 x 17.3 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 485; Harris 52.III.1
(P1.17-1976)

plate 18:
And his house is on fire (*Ysele quema la Casa*)
etching and burnished aquatint printed in sepia ink
18.0 x 12.0 cm (image) 21.6 x 15.2 cm (plate)
23.8 x 16.8 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 487; Harris 53.III.1
(P1.18-1976)

plate 19:
All will fall (*Todos Caerán*)
etching and burnished aquatint printed in sepia ink
18.8 x 13.1 cm (image) 21.6 x 14.5 cm (plate)
24.5 x 17.7 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 489; Harris 54.III.1
(P1.19-1976)

plate 20:
There they go plucked (*Ya van desplumados*)
etching, burnished aquatint and drypoint printed in sepia ink
19.7 x 13.4 cm (image) 21.7 x 15.2 cm (plate)
25.4 x 17.8 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 491; Harris 55.III.1
(P1.20-1976)

plate 21:
How they pluck her! (*Qual la descañonan!*)
etching and burnished aquatint printed in sepia ink
18.2 x 12.8 cm (image) 21.5 x 14.8 cm (plate)
23.8 x 17.4 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 494; Harris 56.III.1
(P1.21-1976)

plate 22:
Poor little girls! (*Pobrecitas!*)
etching and burnished aquatint printed in sepia ink
18.2 x 13.0 cm (image) 21.6 x 15.2 cm (plate)
24.0 x 17.6 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 496; Harris 57.III.1
(P1.22-1976)

plate 23:
Those specks of dust (*Aquellos polbos*)
etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint and burin printed in sepia ink
18.5 x 13.0 cm (image) 21.5 x 14.9 cm (plate)
24.0 x 17.6 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 498; Harris 58.III.1
(P1.23-1976)

plate 24:
There was no remedy (*Nohubo remedio*)
etching and burnished aquatint printed in sepia ink
19.1 x 13.6 cm (image) 21.4 x 15.0 cm (plate)
24.8 x 18.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 499; Harris 59.III.1
(P1.24-1976)

plate 25:
If he broke the pot (*Si quebró el Cantaro*)
etching, aquatint and drypoint printed in sepia ink
18.0 x 13.4 cm (image) 20.6 x 15.0 cm (plate)
23.7 x 18.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 500; Harris 60.III.1
(P1.25-1976)

plate 26:
They've already got a seat (*Ya tienen asiento*)
etching and burnished aquatint printed in sepia ink
19.2 x 14.0 cm (image) 21.4 x 15.1 cm (plate)
25.0 x 18.6 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 502; Harris 61.III.1
(P1.26-1976)

plate 27:
Which of them is the more overcome? (*Quién más rendido?*)
etching, aquatint and drypoint printed in sepia ink
17.8 x 12.4 cm (image) 19.5 x 14.9 cm (plate)
23.4 x 16.8 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 504; Harris 62.III.1
(P1.27-1976)

plate 28:
Hush (*Chiton*)
etching, aquatint and burin printed in sepia ink
19.0 x 12.9 cm (image) 21.6 x 15.2 cm (plate)
24.6 x 17.4 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 506; Harris 63.III.1
(P1.28-1976)

plate 29:
This certainly is reading (*Esto sí que es leer*)
etching, burnished aquatint and drypoint printed in sepia ink
18.1 x 12.7 cm (image) 21.5 x 14.7 cm (plate)
23.8 x 17.4 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 508; Harris 64.III.1
(P1.29-1976)

plate 30:
Why hide them? (*Porque esconderlos?*)
etching, burnished aquatint and drypoint printed in sepia ink
18.5 x 12.5 cm (image) 21.5 x 15.1 cm (plate)
24.1 x 17.1 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 510; Harris 65.III.1
(P1.30-1976)

plate 31:
She prays for her (*Ruega por ella*)
etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint and burin printed in sepia ink
18.4 x 13.4 cm (image) 20.6 x 15.1 cm (plate)
24.1 x 18.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 513; Harris 66.III.1
(P1.31-1976)

plate 32:
Because she was susceptible (*Por que fue sensible*)
aquatint printed in sepia ink
17.7 x 12.0 cm (image) 21.5 x 15.2 cm (plate)
23.4 x 16.5 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 515; Harris 67.III.1
(P1.32-1976)

plate 33:
To the Count Palatine, or, Count of the Palate (*Al conde Palatino*)
etching, aquatint, drypoint and burin printed in sepia ink
18.3 x 12.2 cm (image) 21.6 x 15.2 cm (plate)
24.0 x 16.9 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 517; Harris 68.III.1
(P1.33-1976)

plate 34:
Sleep overcomes them (*Las rinde el Sueño*)
etching and burnished aquatint printed in sepia ink
19.0 x 13.6 cm (image) 21.5 x 15.3 cm (plate)
24.8 x 18.1 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 518; Harris 69.III.1
(P1.34-1976)

plate 35:
She fleeces him (*Le descañona*)
etching and burnished aquatint printed in sepia ink
19.5 x 13.6 cm (image) 21.7 x 15.3 cm (plate)
25.2 x 18.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 520; Harris 70.III.1
(P1.35-1976)

plate 36:
A bad night (*Mala noche*)
etching and burnished aquatint printed in sepia ink
19.0 x 13.3 cm (image) 21.6 x 15.2 cm (plate)
24.6 x 17.8 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 521; Harris 71.III.1
(P1.36-1976)

plate 37:
Might not the pupil know more? (*Si sabrá más el discípulo?*)
etching, aquatint and burin printed in sepia ink
18.8 x 12.4 cm (image) 21.5 x 15.2 cm (plate)
24.6 x 16.9 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 522; Harris 72.III.1
(P1.37-1976)

plate 38:
Bravo! (*Brabísimo!*)
etching, burnished aquatint and drypoint printed in sepia ink
15.8 x 13.0 cm (image) 21.6 x 15.2 cm (plate)
24.0 x 17.6 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 524; Harris 73.III.1
(P1.38-1976)

plate 39:
And so was his grandfather (*Asta su Abuelo*)
aquatint printed in sepia ink
20.2 x 14.0 cm (image) 21.4 x 15.2 cm (plate)
25.8 x 18.4 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 526; Harris 74.III.1
(P1.39-1976)

plate 40:
Of what ill will he die? (*De que mal morira?*)
etching and aquatint printed in sepia ink
18.6 x 13.2 cm (image) 21.4 x 15.0 cm (plate)
24.4 x 17.7 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 529; Harris 75.III.1
(P1.40-1976)

plate 41:
Neither more nor less (*Ni mas ni menos*)
etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint and burin printed in sepia ink
18.0 x 13.0 cm (image) 19.8 x 15.0 cm (plate)
23.6 x 17.6 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 532; Harris 76.III.1
(P1.41-1976)

plate 42:
Thou who canst not (*Tu que no puedes*)
etching and burnished aquatint printed in sepia ink
19.0 x 12.3 cm (image) 21.6 x 15.2 cm (plate)
24.6 x 17.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 534; Harris 77.III.1
(P1.42-1976)

plate 43:
The sleep of reason produces monsters (*El sueño de la razon produce monstruos*)
etching and aquatint printed in sepia ink
18.3 x 12.2 cm (image) 21.5 x 15.1 cm (plate)
24.2 x 16.7 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 536; Harris 78.III.1
(P1.43-1976)

plate 44:
They spin finely (*Hilan delgado*)
etching, aquatint, drypoint and burin printed in sepia ink
19.0 x 12.9 cm (image) 21.5 x 15.2 cm (plate)
24.8 x 17.4 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 539; Harris 79.III.1
(P1.44-1976)

plate 45:
There is plenty to suck (*Mucho hay que chupar*)
etching and burnished aquatint printed in sepia ink
18.4 x 12.6 cm (image) 20.6 x 15.0 cm (plate)
24.1 x 17.1 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 541; Harris 80.III.1
(P1.45-1976)

plate 46:
Correction (*Correccion*)
etching and burnished aquatint printed in sepia ink
19.2 x 13.1 cm (image) 21.4 x 14.9 cm (plate)
24.8 x 17.6 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 543; Harris 81.III.1
(P1.46-1976)

plate 47:
A gift for the master (*Obsequio á el maestro*)
etching, burnished aquatint and burin printed in sepia ink
18.7 x 13.0 cm (image) 21.6 x 14.9 cm (plate)
24.2 x 17.6 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 545; Harris 82.III.1
(P1.47-1976)

plate 48:
Tale-bearers, or, Blasts of wind (*Soplones*)
etching and burnished aquatint printed in sepia ink
19.0 x 12.9 cm (image) 20.5 x 15.1 cm (plate)
24.6 x 17.4 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 547; Harris 83.III.1
(P1.48-1976)

plate 49:
Hobgoblins (*Duendecitos*)
etching and burnished aquatint printed in sepia ink
18.8 x 13.2 cm (image) 21.5 x 15.1 cm (plate)
24.6 x 17.7 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 549; Harris 84.III.1
(P1.49-1976)

plate 50:
The Chinchillas (*Los Chinchillas*)
etching, burnished aquatint and burin printed in sepia ink
17.5 x 12.4 cm (image) 20.4 x 15.0 cm (plate)
23.0 x 16.9 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 551; Harris 85.III.1
(P1.50-1976)

plate 51:
They spruce themselves up (*Se repulen*)
etching, burnished aquatint and burin printed in sepia ink
18.2 x 12.8 cm (image) 21.1 x 14.8 cm (plate)
23.6 x 17.4 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 553; Harris 86.III.1
(P1.51-1976)

plate 52:
What a tailor can do! (*Lo que puede un Sastre!*)
etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint and burin printed in sepia ink
19.5 x 12.5 cm (image) 21.5 x 15.1 cm (plate)
25.1 x 16.9 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 555; Harris 1964, 87.III.1
(P1.52-1976)

plate 53:
What a golden beak! (*Que pico de Oro!*)
etching, burnished aquatint and burin printed in sepia ink
19.3 x 13.7 cm (image) 21.5 x 15.6 cm (plate)
25.0 x 18.1 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 557; Harris 88.III.1
(P1.53-1976)

plate 54:
The shamefaced one (*El Vergonzoso*)
etching and aquatint printed in sepia ink
18.8 x 12.0 cm (image) 21.6 x 15.1 cm (plate)
24.6 x 16.5 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 559; Harris 89.III.1
(P1.54-1976)

plate 55:
Until death (*Hasta la muerte*)
etching, burnished aquatint and drypoint printed in sepia ink
19.0 x 13.3 cm (image) 21.6 x 15.2 cm (plate)
24.6 x 17.7 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 561; Harris 90.III.1
(P1.55-1976)

plate 56:
To rise and to fall (*Subir y bajar*)
etching and burnished aquatint printed in sepia ink
18.9 x 12.4 cm (image) 21.6 x 15.0 cm (plate)
24.6 x 17.5 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 563; Harris 91.III.1
(P1.56-1976)

plate 57:
The filiation (*La filiacion*)
etching and aquatint printed in sepia ink
19.0 x 11.8 cm (image) 21.5 x 15.2 cm (plate)
24.8 x 16.3 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 565; Harris 92.III.1
(P1.57-1976)

plate 58:
Swallow it, dog (*Tragala perro*)
etching, burnished aquatint and drypoint printed in sepia ink
19.1 x 12.5 (image) 21.6 x 15.3 cm (plate)
Gassier & Wilson 567; Harris 93.III.1
(P1.58-1976)

plate 59:
And still they don't go! (*Y aun no se van!*)
etching, burnished aquatint and burin printed in sepia ink
19.6 x 13.4 cm (image) 21.6 x 15.2 cm (plate)
25.5 x 17.5 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 569; Harris 94.III.1
(P1.59-1976)

plate 60:
Trials (*Ensayos*)
etching, aquatint and burin printed in sepia ink
18.4 x 12.4 cm (image) 20.8 x 16.5 cm (plate)
24.2 x 17.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 571; Harris 95.III.1
(P1.60-1976)

plate 61:
They have flown (*Volaverunt*)
etching, aquatint and drypoint printed in sepia ink
18.7 x 13.0 cm (image) 21.6 x 15.0 cm (plate)
24.5 x 17.6 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 573; Harris 96.III.1
(P1.61-1976)

plate 62:
Who would have thought it! (*Quien lo creyera!*)
etching, burnished aquatint and burin printed in sepia ink
18.7 x 13.2 cm (image) 20.6 x 15.1 cm (plate)
24.4 x 17.7 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 575; Harris 97.III.1
(P1.62-1976)

plate 63:
Look how solemn they are! (*Miren que grabes!*)
etching, aquatint and drypoint printed in sepia ink
18.5 x 12.3 cm (image) 21.2 x 16.3 cm (plate)
24.3 x 16.8 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 577; Harris 98.III.1
(P1.63-1976)

plate 64:
Bon voyage (*Buen Viage*)
etching, burnished aquatint and burin printed in sepia ink
18.8 x 12.8 cm (image) 21.6 x 15.2 cm (plate)
24.6 x 17.3 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 579; Harris 99.III.1
(P1.64-1976)

plate 65:
Where is mother going? (*Donde vá mamá?*)
etching, aquatint and drypoint printed in sepia ink
18.2 x 11.9 cm (image) 20.6 x 16.2 cm (plate)
23.9 x 16.4 cm (sheet trimmed within plate-mark at left edge)
Gassier & Wilson 581; Harris 100.III.1
(P1.65-1976)

plate 66:
There it goes (*Allá vá eso*)
etching, aquatint and drypoint printed in sepia ink
18.6 x 12.3 cm (image) 20.7 x 15.8 cm (plate)
24.3 x 16.1 cm (sheet trimmed within plate mark at right edge)
Gassier & Wilson 583; Harris 101.III.1
(P1.66-1976)

plate 67:
Wait till you've been anointed (*Aguarda que te unten*)
etching, burnished aquatint and drypoint printed in sepia ink
18.9 x 13.1 cm (image) 21.5 x 15.1 cm (plate)
24.6 x 17.6 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 585; Harris 102.III.1
(P1.67-1976)

plate 68:
Pretty teacher! (*Linda maestra!*)
etching, burnished aquatint and drypoint printed in sepia ink
18.5 x 12.3 cm (image) 21.1 x 15.0 cm (plate)
24.2 x 16.9 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 587; Harris 103.III.1
(P1.68-1976)

plate 69:
Blow (*Sopla*)
etching, aquatint, drypoint and burin printed in sepia ink
17.6 x 11.8 cm (image) 21.2 x 15.0 cm (plate)
23.2 x 16.3 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 589; Harris 104.III.1
(P1.69-1976)

plate 70:
Devout profession (*Devota profesion*)
etching, aquatint and drypoint printed in sepia ink
18.6 x 12.6 cm (image) 20.7 x 16.5 cm (plate)
24.2 x 17.1 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 591; Harris 105.III.1
(P1.70-1976)

plate 71:
When day breaks, we will be off (*Si amanece, nos Vamos*)
etching, burnished aquatint and burin printed in sepia ink
17.3 x 12.7 cm (image) 19.8 x 15.0 cm (plate)
23.0 x 17.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 594; Harris 106.III.1
(P1.71-1976)

plate 72:
You will not escape (*No te escaparás*)
etching and burnished aquatint printed in sepia ink
19.5 x 13.7 cm (image) 21.4 x 15.0 cm (plate)
25.2 x 18.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 596; Harris 107.III.1
(P1.72-1976)

plate 73:
It is better to be lazy (*Mejor es holgar*)
etching, burnished aquatint and burin printed in sepia ink
19.2 x 13.1 cm (image) 21.4 x 15.0 cm (plate)
24.9 x 17.6 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 599; Harris 108.III.1
(P1.73-1976)

plate 74:
Don't scream, stupid (*No grites, tonta*)
etching and burnished aquatint printed in sepia ink
18.9 x 13.0 cm (image) 21.5 x 15.2 cm (plate)
24.7 x 17.5 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 600; Harris 109.III.1
(P1.74-1976)

plate 75:
Can't anyone untie us? (*No hay quien nos desate?*)
etching and burnished aquatint printed in sepia ink
19.4 x 14.0 cm (image) 21.5 x 15.1 cm (plate)
25.1 x 18.6 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 603; Harris 110.III.1
(P1.75-1976)

plate 76:
You understand?...well, as I say...eh! Look out! Otherwise!... (*¿Está Um^d...pues, Como digo... eh! Cuidado! si nó!...*)
etching and burnished aquatint printed in sepia ink
19.4 x 13.1 cm (image) 21.5 x 15.2 cm (plate)
25.1 x 17.8 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 605; Harris 111.III.1
(P1.76-1976)

plate 77:
What one does to another (*Unos á otros*)
etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint and burin printed in sepia ink
19.4 x 13.3 cm (image) 21.4 x 15.1 cm (plate)
25.1 x 17.9 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 607; Harris 112.III.1
(P1.77-1976)

plate 78:
Be quick, they are waking up (*Despacha que despiértan*)
etching and burnished aquatint printed in sepia ink
19.1 x 13.6 cm (image) 21.5 x 15.2 cm (plate)
25.0 x 18.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 609; Harris 113.III.1
(P1.78-1976)

plate 79:
No one has seen us (*Nadie nos ha visto*)
etching, burnished aquatint and burin printed in sepia ink
18.9 x 13.7 cm (image) 21.4 x 15.1 cm (plate)
24.5 x 18.3 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 611; Harris 114.III.1
(P1.79-1976)

plate 80:
It is time (*Ya es hora*)
etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint and burin printed in sepia ink
19.7 x 13.7 cm (image) 21.6 x 15.2 cm (plate)
25.6 x 18.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 613; Harris 115.III.1
(P1.80-1976)

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***Los Desastres de la Guerra* (*The Disasters of War*) 1810–15**
published by the Real Academia de San Fernando, Madrid, 1863, 1st edition
15 plates from the series of 80
Provenance: Craddock & Barnard (dealer), London.
Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide
South Australian Government Grant 1965

plate 1:
Sad presentiments of what is to come (*Tristes presentimientos de lo que ha de acontecer*)
etching, burin, drypoint and burnisher
14.6 x 18.9 cm (image) 17.5 x 22.0 cm (plate)
24.0 x 34.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 993; Harris 121.III.1
(6512G56)

plate 7:
What courage! (*Que valor!*)
etching, aquatint, drypoint, burin and burnisher
13.5 x 18.6 cm (image) 15.3 x 20.5 cm (plate)
24.0 x 34.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1000; Harris 127.III.1
(6512G62)

plate 9:
They do not want to (*No quieren*)
etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint, burin and burnisher
14.0 x 19.6 cm (image) 15.5 x 21.8 cm (plate)
24.2 x 34.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1005; Harris 129.III.1b
(6512G64)

plate 14:
It's a hard step! (*Duro es el paso!*)
etching, burnished lavis, drypoint and burin
12.7 x 15.5 cm (image) 14.1 x 16.0 cm (plate)
24.2 x 34.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1013; Harris 134.III.1
(6512G69)

plate 15:
And there is no remedy (*Y no hai remedio*)
etching, drypoint, burin and burnisher
12.7 x 15.5 cm (image) 14.0 x 16.5 cm (plate)
24.2 x 34.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1015; Harris 135.III.1
(6512G70)

plate 22:
All this and more (*Tanto y mas*)
dated 1810
etching, lavis and burin
12.2 x 19.9 cm (image) 15.8 x 24.8 cm (plate)
24.1 x 34.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1029; Harris 142.III.1
(6512G77)

plate 30:
Ravages of war (*Estragos de la guerra*)
etching, drypoint, burin and burnisher
13.0 x 15.5 cm (image) 14.1 x 16.8 cm (plate)
24.1 x 34.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1044; Harris 150.III.1
(6512G85)

plate 34:
On account of a knife (*Por una navaja*)
etching, drypoint, burin and burnisher
13.5 x 18.5 cm (image) 15.4 x 20.5 cm (plate)
24.1 x 33.9 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1049; Harris 154.III.1b
(6512G89)

plate 37:
This is worse (*Esto es peor*)
etching, lavis and drypoint
13.1 x 18.4 cm (image) 15.0 x 20.4 cm (plate)
24.1 x 33.9 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1052; Harris 157.III.1
(6512G92)

plate 45:
And this too (*Y esto tambien*)
etching, aquatint or lavis, drypoint and burin
13.3 x 19.0 cm (image) 16.5 x 21.5 cm (plate)
24.1 x 33.9 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1066; Harris 165.III.1
(6512G100)

plate 50:
Unhappy mother! (*Madre infeliz!*)
etching, burnished aquatint and drypoint
12.8 x 17.3 cm (image) 15.0 x 20.4 cm (plate)
24.1 x 33.9 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1074; Harris 170.III.1
(6512G105)

plate 62:
The beds of death (*Las camas de la muerte*)
etching, lavis, drypoint, burin and burnisher
14.2 x 18.6 cm (image) 17.4 x 21.5 cm (plate)
24.1 x 33.8 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1098; Harris 182.III.1
(6512G117)

plate 72:
The consequences (*Las resultas*)
etching
14.5 x 18.7 cm (image)17.5 x 21.6 cm (plate)
24.1 x 33.9 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1118; Harris 192.III.1
(6512G127)

plate 77:
May the cord break (*Que se rompe la cuerda*)
etching, burnished aquatint or lavis, drypoint, burnisher
15.4 x 19.5 cm (image) 17.5 x 21.7 cm (plate)
24.1 x 33.7 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1128; Harris 197.III.1
(6512G132)

plate 79:
Truth has died (*Murió la Verdad*)
etching and burnisher
14.4 x 18.2 cm (image) 17.0 x 21.5 cm (plate)
24.1 x 33.6 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1132; Harris 199.III.1
(6512G134)

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***Los Desastres de la Guerra* (*The Disasters of War*) 1810–15**
published by the Real Academia de San Fernando, Madrid, 1863, 1st edition
bound volume of 80 etched plates, with lithographic titlepage and letterpress introduction
25.3 x 34.5 x 3.7 cm (closed) 25.3 x 67.5 x 5.0 cm (open) 24.4 x 33.2 cm (sheet) (each)
Harris 121.III.1–200.III.1
Provenance: P. & D. Colnaghi & Co. (dealer), London.
National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne
Felton Bequest, 1966 (1684-5)

The custody is as barbarous as the crime (*Tan bárbara la seguridad como el delito*) c. 1815
published in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Paris, 1867, 1st edition
etching and burin
9.7 x 7.4 cm (image) 10.8 x 8.9 cm (plate)
28.0 x 19.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 986; Harris 26.III.1
Provenance: Sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 27 September 1995, lot 124.
National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne
Purchased through The Art Foundation of Victoria with the assistance of Mr Bret Walker SC, Member 1995 (1995.671)

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***La Tauromaquia* (*The Art of Bullfighting*) c. 1815–16**
published Madrid, 1816, 1st edition
series of 33 plates
Harris 204.III.1–236.III.1
Provenance: C. L. Rutherston, London, 1918; Red Cross sale, Christie's, London, 8 April 1918, where acquired for the National Art-Collections Fund.
National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne
Presented by the National Art-Collections Fund, 1919 (1998.255.1–33)

plate 1:
The way in which the ancient Spaniards hunted bulls on horseback in the open country (*Modo con que los antiguos españoles cazaban los toros á caballo en el campo*)
etching, burnished aquatint and drypoint and burin
21.2 x 31.0 cm (image) 25.1 x 35.2 cm (plate)
26.8 x 36.8 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1149; Harris 204.III.1
(1998.255.1)

plate 2:
Another way of hunting on foot (*Otro modo de cazar á pie*)
etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint and burin
19.9 x 30.7 cm (image) 24.2 x 34.6 cm (plate)
26.7 x 37.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1151; Harris 205.III.1
(1998.255.2)

plate 10:
Charles V spearing a bull in the ring at Valladolid (*Carlos V. lanceando un toro en la plaza de Valladolid*)
etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint and burin
20.8 x 30.7 cm (image) 24.9 x 34.9 cm (plate)
26.7 x 37.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1167; Harris 213.III.1
(1998.255.10)

plate 12:
The rabble hamstring the bull with lances, sickles, banderillas and other weapons (*Desjarrete de la canalla con lanzas, medias-lunas, banderillas y otras armas*)
etching, burnished aquatint and drypoint
21.0 x 31.1 cm (image) 25.0 x 35.0 cm (plate)
26.8 x 37.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1174; Harris 215.III.1
(1998.255.12)

plate 14:
The highly skillful student from Falces, wrapped in his cape, tricks the bull with the play of his body (*El diestrísimo estudiante de Falces, embozado burla al toro con sus quiebros*)
etching, aquatint, drypoint and burin
20.2 x 30.6 cm (image) 24.9 x 35.6 cm (plate)
26.8 x 37.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1178; Harris 217.III.1
(1998.255.14)

plate 18:
The daring of Martincho in the ring at Zaragoza (*Temeridad de Martincho en la plaza de Zaragoza*)
etching, burnished aquatint and drypoint
20.4 x 31.5 cm (image) 24.8 x 35.5 cm (plate)
26.8 x 37.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1186; Harris 221.III.1
(1998.255.18)

plate 19:
Another madness of his in the same ring (*Otra locura suya en la misma plaza*) dated 1815
etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint and burin
20.7 x 32.0 cm (image) 24.5 x 35.4 cm (plate)
26.8 x 37.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1188; Harris 222.III.1
(1998.255.19)

plate 20:
The agility and audacity of Juanito Apiñani in [*the ring*] *at Madrid* (*Ligereza y atrevimiento de Juanito Apiñani en la de Madrid*)
etching and aquatint
20.4 x 31.1 cm (image) 24.2 x 35.0 cm (plate)
25.6 x 36.6 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1190; Harris 223.III.1
(1998.255.20)

plate 21:
Dreadful events in the front rows of the ring at Madrid, and death of the mayor of Torrejon (*Desgracias acaecidas en el tendido de la plaza de Madrid, y muerte del alcalde de Torrejon*)
etching, burnished aquatint, lavis, drypoint and burin
21.1 x 32.2 cm (image) 24.8 x 34.9 cm (plate)
26.8 x 37.1 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1192; Harris 224.III.1
(1998.255.21)

plate 26:
A picador is unhorsed and falls under the bull (*Caida de un picador de su caballo debajo del toro*)
etching, burnished aquatint and drypoint
20.4 x 31.0 cm (image) 24.4 x 35.5 cm (plate)
25.2 x 37.1 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1202; Harris 229.III.1
(1998.255.26)

plate 30:
Pedro Romero killing the halted bull (*Pedro Romero matando á toro parado*)
etching, aquatint, drypoint and burin
21.0 x 30.9 cm (image) 24.8 x 35.0 cm (plate)
26.7 x 37.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1210; Harris 233.III.1
(1998.255.30)

plate 31:
Banderillas with firecrackers (*Banderillas de fuego*) dated 1815
etching, burnished aquatint, lavis, drypoint and burin
21.0 x 32.0 cm (image) 24.5 x 35.3 cm (plate)
26.7 x 37.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1212; Harris 234.III.1
(1998.255.31)

plate 32:
Two teams of picadors thrown one after the other by a single bull (*Dos grupos de picadores arrollados de seguida por un solo toro*)
etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint and burin
20.2 x 31.0 cm (image) 24.0 x 35.2 cm (plate)
26.7 x 37.1 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1214; Harris 235.III.1
(1998.255.32)

plate 33:
The unlucky death of Pepe Hillo in the ring at Madrid (*La desgraciada muerte de Pepe Illo en la plaza de Madrid*)
etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint and burin
20.1 x 30.7 cm (image) 24.7 x 35.2 cm (plate)
26.8 x 37.1 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1217; Harris 236.III.1
(1998.255.33)

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***Los Disparates* (*The Follies*) c. 1815–19**
published by the Real Academia de San Fernando, Madrid, 1864, as 'Los Proverbios' (The Proverbs), 1st edition
series of 18 plates
Harris 248.III.1–265.III.1
Provenance: Frederick Mulder (dealer), London.
National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne
Felton Bequest, 1981 (P23.1–18-1981)

plate 1:
Feminine folly (*Disparate femenino*)
etching, aquatint and drypoint
21.4 x 32.1 cm (image) 24.5 x 35.1 cm (plate)
33.0 x 50.1 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1571; Harris 248.III.1
(P23.1-1981)

plate 2:
Folly of fear (*Disparate de miedo*)
etching, burnished aquatint and drypoint
22.0 x 31.9 cm (image) 24.5 x 35.2 cm (plate)
33.0 x 52.1 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1573; Harris 249.III.1
(P23.2-1981)

plate 3:
Ridiculous folly (*Disparate ridiculo*)
etching, aquatint and drypoint
21.2 x 32.2 cm (image) 24.3 x 35.2 cm (plate)
33.0 x 50.1 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1575; Harris 250.III.1
(P23.3-1981)

plate 4:
Simpleton (*Bobalicón*)
etching, burnished aquatint, burin and drypoint
22.1 x 32.1 cm (image) 24.3 x 35.4 cm (plate)
33.0 x 52.1 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1576; Harris 251.III.1
(P23.4-1981)

plate 5:
Flying folly (*Disparate volante*)
etching, aquatint and drypoint
21.7 x 32.6 cm (image) 24.4 x 35.2 cm (plate)
33.0 x 50.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1578; Harris 252.III.1
(P23.5-1981)

plate 6:
Cruel folly (*Disparate cruel*)
etching and burnished aquatint
21.7 x 31.8 cm (image) 24.4 x 35.1 cm (plate)
33.0 x 52.1 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1579; Harris 253.III.1
(P23.6-1981)

plate 7:
Disorderly folly (*Disparate desordenado*)
etching, aquatint and drypoint
21.7 x 32.3 cm (image) 24.4 x 35.0 cm (plate)
33.0 x 50.1 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1581; Harris 254.III.1
(P23.7-1981)

plate 10:
The kidnapping horse (*El caballo raptor*)
etching, burnished aquatint and drypoint
21.3 x 31.7 cm (image) 24.5 x 35.2 cm (plate)
33.0 x 52.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1585; Harris 257.III.1
(P23.10-1981)

plate 11:
Poor folly (*Disparate pobre*)
etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint and burin
21.7 x 32.2 cm (image) 24.5 x 35.2 cm (plate)
33.0 x 50.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1587; Harris 258.III.1
(P23.11-1981)

plate 12:
Merry folly (*Disparate alegre*)
etching, burnished aquatint and drypoint
21.5 x 32.6 cm (image) 24.6 x 35.2 cm (plate)
33.0 x 52.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1589; Harris 259.III.1
(P23.12-1981)

plate 13:
A way of flying (*Modo de volar*)
etching, aquatint and drypoint
21.7 x 32.5 cm (image) 24.5 x 35.1 cm (plate)
33.0 x 50.1 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1591; Harris 260.III.1
(P23.13-1981)

plate 14:
Carnival folly (*Disparate de Carnabal*)
etching and aquatint
20.9 x 32.0 cm (image) 24.5 x 35.2 cm (plate)
33.0 x 52.1 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1593; Harris 261.III.1
(P23.14-1981)

plate 15:
Clear folly (*Disparate claro*)
etching, burnished aquatint and lavis
21.0 x 31.9 cm (image) 24.4 x 35.5 cm (plate)
33.0 x 50.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1594; Harris 262.III.1
(P23.15-1981)

plate 17:
Loyalty (*La lealtad*)
etching and burnished aquatint
21.8 x 32.3 cm (image) 24.5 x 35.3 cm (plate)
33.0 x 50.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1598; Harris 264.III.1
(P23.17-1981)

plate 18:
Funereal folly (*Disparate fúnebre*)
etching, burnished aquatint and burin
20.9 x 31.8 cm (image) 24.5 x 35.2 cm (plate)
33.0 x 52.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1600; Harris 265.III.1
(P23.18-1981)

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Additional plates for *Los Disparates* c. 1815–19
published in *L'Art*, Paris, 1877
trial proofs before letters
Harris 266.II–269.II
Provenance: Frederick Mulder (dealer), London.
National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne
Felton Bequest, 1982 (P1-1983–P4-1983)

Well-known folly (*Disparate conocido*)
etching and burnished aquatint on Japanese paper
21.8 x 32.9 cm (image) 24.8 x 35.6 cm (plate)
28.5 x 39.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1601; Harris 266.II
(P1-1983)

Punctual Folly (*Disparate puntual*)
etching, aquatint and drypoint on Japanese paper
21.9 x 32.8 cm (image) 24.8 x 35.8 cm (plate)
28.1 x 38.7 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1602; Harris 267.II
(P2-1983)

Animal folly (*Disparate de bestia*)
etching, burnished aquatint and drypoint on Japanese paper
21.7 x 32.7 cm (image) 24.7 x 35.6 cm (plate)
28.0 x 38.6 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1603; Harris 268.II
(P3-1983)

Fools' folly (*Disparate de tontos*)
etching, aquatint and drypoint on Japanese paper
21.2 x 32.5 cm (image) 24.6 x 35.2 cm (plate)
28.2 x 38.7 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1604; Harris 269.II
(P4-1983)

* * *

Comparative illustrations

Mariano Benlliure Gil
Spanish 1862–1947
Goya c. 1902
cast bronze
57.0 x 40.0 x 38.0 cm
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid
(E000407)

Fernando Brambila
Spanish 1763–1834
Juan Gálvez
Spanish 1774–1846
View of the ruins of the interior of the Church of Nuestra Señora del Carmen in Zaragoza bombed by the invading French army during the Napoleonic war 1808–14
etching and aquatint
64.0 x 36.0 cm (sheet)
45.5 x 27.8 cm (plate)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1959 (59.630.3)

Francisco de Goya y Lucientes
Spanish 1746–1828, France 1824–28

Dance on the banks of the Manzaneres 1776–77
oil on canvas
272.0 x 295.0 cm
Gassier & Wilson 74
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid
(P000769)

Majo with a guitar 1779
oil on canvas
137.0 x 112.0 cm
Gassier & Wilson 140
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid
(P000743)

Amateur bullfight 1780
oil on canvas
259.0 x 136.0 cm
Gassier & Wilson 133
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid
(P000787)

Self-portrait at his easel (*Autorretrato ante su caballete*) c. 1790–95
oil on canvas
40.0 x 27.0 cm
Gassier & Wilson 331
Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid, Madrid (1166)

The straw mannequin 1791–92
oil on canvas
267.0 x 160.0 cm
Gassier & Wilson 301
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid
(P000802)

María Antonia Gonzaga, Dowager Marchioness of Villafranca c. 1795
oil on unlined canvas
87.0 x 72.0 cm
Gassier & Wilson 348
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid
(P002447)

Self-portrait c. 1796
brush and point of brush, carbon black ink on laid paper
15.3 x 9.1 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 666; Gassier II.331
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1935 (35.103.1)

They got the confessor to climb in by the window 1796–98
Album B (Madrid Album), 78 (verso)
brush and point of brush, carbon black washes on laid paper
23.5 x 14.6 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 436; Gassier I.81
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1935 (35.103.15)

Dream 1. Universal language. The author dreaming (*Sueño 1. Ydioma universal. El Autor soñando*) 1797
preparatory drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 43
pen and iron gall ink over preliminary outline drawing in black chalk on laid paper
24.8 x 17.2 cm
Gassier & Wilson 537; Gassier II.39; Sánchez Cantón 39
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D3923)

The sleep of reason produces monsters 1797
preliminary drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 43
pen and iron gall ink over preliminary outline drawing in black chalk on laid paper
Gassier & Wilson 538; Gassier II.101; Sánchez Cantón 470
22.9 x 15.5 cm
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (D4162)

The Third of May 1808 1814
oil on canvas
268.0 x 347.0 cm
Gassier & Wilson 984
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (P000749)

Self-portrait 1815
oil on canvas
45.8 x 35.6 cm
Gassier & Wilson 1551
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (P000723)

You'll see later c. 1816–20
Album E (Black Border Album), 24
brush, carbon black and grey ink and wash, scraper on laid paper
26.8 x 18.9 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1397; Gassier I.125
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1935 (35.103.18)

He wakes up kicking c. 1819–23
Album D, 13
brush, carbon black and grey ink and wash, touches of black chalk, scraper on laid paper
23.6 x 14.6 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1373; Gassier I.101
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1935 (35.103.26)

The pilgrimage to San Isidro 1820–23
mixed method on mural transferred to canvas
138.5 x 436.0 cm
Gassier & Wilson 1626
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (P000760)

Crazy skates (*Locos patines*) 1824–28
Album G (Bordeaux Album I), 32
black crayon on blued [Prussian blue] white laid paper
19.1 x 15.2 cm.
Gassier & Wilson 1737; Gassier I.390
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Arthur Tracy Cabot Fund (53.2377)

A picador caught by a bull
from the *Bulls of Bordeaux* series, 1825
published by Cyprien Charles Marie Nicolas Gaulon
crayon lithograph and scraper
31.1 x 41.6 cm (image)
41.0 x 53.0 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1708; Harris 284.II
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Rogers Fund, 1920 (20.60.2)

Italy
Luigi Boccherini c. 1764–67
oil on canvas
133.8 x 90.7 cm
National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne
Everard Studley Miller Bequest, 1962 (1210-5)

Vicente López Portaña
Spanish 1772–1850
The painter Francisco de Goya 1826
oil on canvas
94.0 x 78.0 cm
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (P000864)

Federico de Madrazo y Kuntz
Spanish 1815–1894
Portrait of Francisco de Goya (*Retrato de Francisco de Goya*) 1835
lithograph on China paper
28.2 x 19.7 cm (sheet)
Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid (29421)

Gaetano Merchi
Italian 1747–1823
Goya c. 1795
cast bronze
46.0 x 25.0 x 22.0 cm
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (E000768)

Jahangir Razmi
Iran born 1947
Firing squad in Iran 1979
photograph
Courtesy of Magnum Photos / Snapper Images

Unknown
Postcard of Goya's *El pelele* with musical annotations by Manuel de Falla addressed to Serge Diaghilev, Madrid, 21 October 1918
Ayuntamiento de Granada

Jean Veber
French 1864–1928
Goya's return to his homeland 1899
lithograph from two stones in black (pen and crayon) and beige (tint) on greyish-ivory China paper
31.4 x 45.3 cm (image)
41.9 x 54.1 cm (sheet)
The Art Institute of Chicago
John H. Wrenn Memorial Collection (1941.140)

Diego Velázquez
Spanish 1599–1660
Las Meninas 1656
oil on canvas
320.5 x 281.5 cm
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (P001174)

NGV Goya prints illustrated (not in exhibition)

Francisco de Goya y Lucientes
Spanish 1746–1828, France 1824–28

***Los Desastres de la Guerra* (*The Disasters of War*) 1810–15**
published by the Real Academia de San Fernando, Madrid, 1863, 1st edition
bound volume of 80 etched plates, with lithographic titlepage and letterpress introduction
25.3 x 34.5 x 3.7 cm (closed) 25.3 x 67.5 x 5.0 cm (open) 24.4 x 33.2 cm (sheet) (each)
Provenance: P. & D. Colnaghi & Co. (dealer), London.
National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne
Felton Bequest, 1966 (1684-5)

plate 4:
The women give courage (*Las mugeres dan valor*)
etching, burnished aquatint, lavis, drypoint and burnisher
13.6 x 18.7 cm (image) 15.5 x 20.5 cm (plate)
24.4 x 33.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 997; Harris 124.III.1

plate 5:
And they are wild beasts (*Y son fieras*)
etching, burnished aquatint and drypoint
13.4 x 18.3 cm (image) 15.5 x 20.5 cm (plate)
24.4 x 33.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 998; Harris 125.III.1

plate 10:
Nor do these (*Tampoco*)
etching and burin
12.5 x 19.2 cm (image) 14.9 x 21.5 cm (plate)
24.4 x 33.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1006; Harris 130.III.1

plate 11:
Neither do these (*Ni por esas*)
etching, lavis, drypoint and burin
13.9 x 18.8 cm (image) 16.1 x 21.1 cm (plate)
24.4 x 33.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1007; Harris 131.III.1

plate 12:
This is what you were born for (*Para eso habeis nacido*)
etching, lavis, drypoint and burin
12.6 x 19.3 cm (image) 15.9 x 23.6 cm (plate)
24.4 x 33.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1009; Harris 132.III.1

plate 13:
Bitter to be present (*Amarga presencia*)
etching, lavis, drypoint, burin and burnisher
13.0 x 16.1 cm (image) 14.2 x 16.9 cm (plate)
24.4 x 33.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1011; Harris 133.III.1

plate 17:
They do not agree (*No se convienen*)
etching, drypoint, lavis, burin and burnisher
12.9 x 19.4 cm (image) 14.5 x 21.7 cm (plate)
24.4 x 33.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1019; Harris 137.III.1

plate 19:
There isn't time now (*Ya no hay tiempo*)
etching, lavis, drypoint, burin and burnisher
13.2 x 20.0 cm (image) 16.4 x 23.9 cm (plate)
24.4 x 33.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1022; Harris 139.III.1

plate 20:
Get them well, and on to the next (*Curarlos, y á otra*) dated 1810
etching, lavis, burin and burnisher
12.3 x 19.5 cm (image) 16.0 x 23.5 cm (plate)
24.4 x 33.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1024; Harris 140.III.1

plate 26:
One can't look (*No se puede mirar*)
etching, burnished lavis, drypoint and burin
12.2 x 18.7 cm (image) 14.2 x 20.6 cm (plate)
24.4 x 33.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1037; Harris 146.III.1

plate 36:
Nor in this case (*Tampoco*)
etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint, burin and burnisher
14.1 x 19.0 cm (image) 15.6 x 20.7 cm (plate)
24.4 x 33.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1051; Harris 156.III.1b

plate 39:
Great feat! With dead men! (*Grande hazaña! Con muertos!*)
etching, lavis and drypoint
13.8 x 18.7 cm (image) 15.5 x 20.7 cm (plate)
24.4 x 33.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1055; Harris 159.III.1b

plate 44:
I saw it (*Yo lo vi*)
etching, drypoint and burin
12.4 x 19.6 cm (image) 15.8 x 23.6 cm (plate)
24.4 x 33.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1064; Harris 164.III.1

plate 63:
Harvest of the dead (*Muertos recogidos*)
etching and burnished aquatint
13.3 x 17.9 cm (image) 15.1 x 20.4 cm (plate)
24.4 x 33.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1100; Harris 183.III.1

plate 71:
Against the common good (*Contra el bien general*)
etching and burnisher
14.9 x 19.2 cm (image) 17.5 x 22.0 cm (plate)
24.4 x 33.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1116; Harris 191.III.1

plate 80:
Will she rise again? (*Si resucitará?*)
etching and burnisher
14.4 x 18.7 cm (image) 17.5 x 22.0 cm (plate)
24.4 x 33.2 cm (sheet)
Gassier & Wilson 1134; Harris 200.III.1

* * *

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Eric Campbell has been reporting internationally for the Australian Broadcasting Corporation for twenty-five years. He was the ABC's Moscow correspondent in the late 1990s and was posted to Beijing in 2001 to cover China and Central Asia, until he was injured in a suicide bombing in Iraq in 2003. Since recovering from his injuries, Eric has been the roving reporter for the ABC's *Foreign Correspondent*, working in more than 100 countries and on every continent, including Antarctica.

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Jessica Cole is Assistant Curator of Prints and Drawings at the NGV. She worked on the exhibition *Escher X nendo: Between Two Worlds* (2018) and has contributed to numerous publications and research projects in Australia and the UK. She holds Master of Arts degrees from the University of Edinburgh and the Courtauld Institute of Art in London, where she specialised in European print culture.

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Gideon Haigh has been a journalist since 1984, has contributed to more than 100 newspapers and magazines, and is the author of forty-one books, of which the latest is *The Momentous, Uneventful Day: A Requiem for the Office* (2020).

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José Manuel Matilla is Senior Curator of Drawings and Prints at the Prado Museum, Madrid. Previously, he worked at the National Museum of Chalcography in Madrid (1988–98). His research focuses mainly on Goya; he has co-authored several monographs devoted to the artist's prints, coordinates the online catalogue of Goya's printed oeuvre at the Prado, and is co-author of the catalogue raisonné *Goya Drawings* (with Manuela B. Mena Marqués, 2020). In addition to his Goya projects, he has curated numerous exhibitions on the history of seventeenth-century Spanish prints, international collections of Spanish drawings, and historical photographs.

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Colm Tóibín is the author of nine novels, including *The Master* (2004) and *Brooklyn* (2009), and two collections of stories. He is a contributing editor at the *London Review of Books* and Chancellor of the University of Liverpool.

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(cover)
Dream 19: The old women laugh themselves sick because they know he hasn't a bean 1797
preparatory drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 5
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

(pp. iv–v)
Two people looking into a luminous room c. 1815–19 (detail)
additional drawing related to *Los Disparates*, not known to have been etched
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

(p. xi)
They carried her off! c. 1797 (detail)
preparatory drawing for *Los Caprichos*, plate 8
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

Published to coincide with the National Gallery of Victoria exhibition *Goya: Drawings from the Prado Museum*, this richly illustrated book features 170 works by Francisco de Goya. These span a period of thirty years, and include examples from the artist's private albums, in which he recorded his observations, visions and dreams, as well as preparatory drawings made for his etched series the *Caprichos*, the *Disasters of War*, the *Tauromaquia* and the *Disparates*. In these uncommissioned drawings and prints Goya had the freedom to create works of 'fantasy and invention', which had no equivalent in the art of his day.

This publication features essays by Australian and international curators and writers, including Goya specialists from the Prado Museum, and contributors from the worlds of fiction, journalism, broadcasting, musicology and film studies. All explore Goya's life and work, shedding light on this complex and fascinating artist.

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