

Discerning Goya

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WITHOUT LOANS, few American museums could project a major exhibition of Goya's work; and even then, only by including prints and drawings as well as paintings. Fewer would choose to put forth both the certain and the controversial in a search for further insight. It is to be hoped that the decision to do so, as seen in the exhibition held at the Metropolitan Museum in 1995, will inspire other institutions to emulate the experience. For, the general public, like specialists, are fascinated by quite respectable works perhaps only attributable: Is it by Goya? If not, by whom? and by the responses—confident, assured, or arguable—these questions provoke. And, as this exhibition demonstrated, paintings now thought controversial include at least a few whose appeal has hardly diminished if they originated with a less inventive, though only scarcely less capable, artist.

While exhibitions limited to Goya's creativity alone illustrate (or presume to define) a basic core of his extraordinarily diverse oeuvre, confrontation with questionable works, repetitions, copies, and even fakes—all rarely met in loan exhibitions—can heighten discernment and understanding of the essences of originals, of works by artists close to Goya, and by those who followed in his path.

In Naples the fairly recent Ribera exhibition, for example, offered in an adjacent gallery paintings by artists associable with Ribera, granting an aid to comparison denied audiences in Madrid and in New York.¹ In this sense, none of the many recent Goya exhibitions has equaled that seen in Madrid in 1932: "Antecedentes, coincidencias e influencias del arte de Goya." With loans predominantly from Spanish collections, it examined—as invaluable documented in LaFuente Ferrari's catalogue and study published some fifteen years later (and recently reprinted)—not only Goya's art but that of his predecessors, contemporaries, followers, and imitators.²

As the attribution history of *A City on a Rock* (Figure 1) testifies, precisely what is believed "controversial"

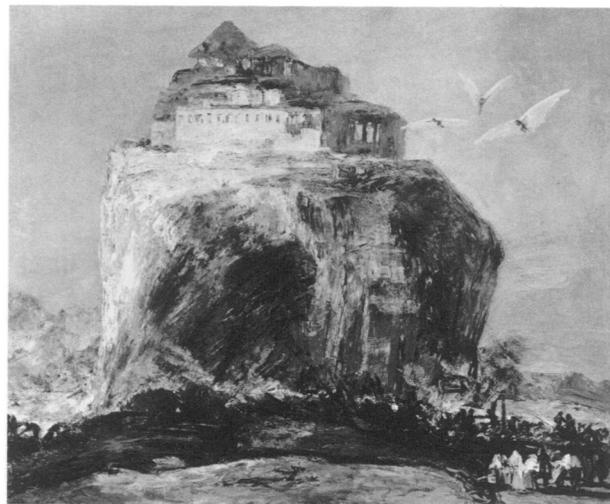


Figure 1. Style of Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (Spanish, 1746–1828). *A City on a Rock*. Oil on canvas, 83.8 × 104.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929, 29.100.12

varies as each generation and its members seek to discern the "true" Goya amid originals, repetitions, copies, school works, works "after" Goya, the Goyesque, and fakes. And as new comprehensions emerge, the once credibly affirmed may beg revision.

As we observe, examine, and seek to discern, we might recall how Goya and those around him looked upon original, repetition, copy, and—yes—fake.

Ceán Bermúdez (Figure 2), Goya's friend and admirer, writer on art and artists, collector, and connoisseur, in a "letter to a friend on knowing original paintings and copies" published in 1806 or 1807, categorized five kinds of "copy painting," or painting imitating an original or another copy: the inexact; the servile (or slavish) imitation; that "touched" by the original artist; the exact (or unvaryingly precise); and that by the author of the original, insisting that the last be called *not* a copy but a repetition (*replica* is now the preferred term). He considered a good copy to be useful in the absence of the original, more valuable than a mediocre original, and sometimes better than the original (here invoking Velázquez's teacher, Francisco Pacheco [1564–1644], who found an early-seventeenth-

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 31

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Figure 2. Goya. *Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez*. Red chalk on paper, 12.2 × 9.8 cm. Madrid, private collection (photo: courtesy of Servicio de Reprografía de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid)

century copy superior in color to its sixteenth-century original, a *Crucifixion* by Pedro de Campaña). But aware of copyists' and pasticheurs' imitations in Spanish collections, some boasting supposed signatures of original artists and thus purportedly originals, Ceán thought it a pity that great *concedores* were not also about to recognize false attributions and prevent their perpetuation. He warned his prospective collector that "in no art is there such charlatanism . . . nor so much deception as in the buying of pictures."³

To Ceán's categories we should add others that are potentially problematic: copies made by developing artists studying and replicating respected originals; an artist's small-scale sketches for a composition to be rendered, or "copied," in a larger format, like Goya's large tapestry cartoons and those he submitted in accommodating fresco commissions—for both of which replicas and/or copies survive;⁴ and small oils, anticipatory or preparatory, for a larger work and frequently held for reference should a "repetition" be requested, as are known in El Greco's oeuvre as well. Some of the small works may become confounded with "reductions," presumably small-size copies of larger paintings.

Goya's experience and views concerning copies are well known. Despite his contention that a God-created Nature furnished models far superior to any by mere human hands (here referring specifically to antique sculptures academy students were to copy rather than to draw from life),⁵ Goya also copied (if reluctantly) while a student, primarily from prints. As a young



Figure 3. Goya. Etching after Velázquez's *Los borrachos*. Etching, 315 × 430 mm. The Hispanic Society of America (photo: The Hispanic Society of America)



Figure 4. Goya. Etching after Velázquez's *Las Meninas*. Etching, 405 × 325 mm. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional (photo: Biblioteca Nacional)



Figure 5. Goya. Self-portrait, detail from *The Family of Charles IV*. Oil on canvas, 280 × 336 cm. Madrid, Museo del Prado (photo: Arxiu Mas)

artist aware that a greater appreciation of works in Spain's royal collections could be gained via reproductive prints, he copied and translated paintings by his revered Velázquez (Figures 3, 4) into monochrome prints.⁶ As a mature artist and teacher, he apparently had no objection to the inclusion in the 1804 academy exhibition of six drawings copying his own prints; these were submitted by the young Luis Gil Ranz (1787–1867), who had come to Madrid to study with him.⁷

Further muddling considerations of original and copy among paintings are the actions of time and the restorations these make imperative. Goya vehemently expressed his feelings on the subject. As he argued in criticizing a restorer's efforts early in 1801 (shortly after painting this self-portrait included in *The Family of Carlos IV*; (see Figure 5), the more pictures are "touched" under the pretext of conservation, the more they are destroyed; even the artist himself, if brought back to life, could not perfectly restore his pictures, their color tones having aged by time; nor could the freshness, fleeting imagination, and harmony engendered on initial creation be retained. "Time also paints!" as he put it.⁸ Or, as Dryden said in lines dedicated to Sir Godfrey Kneller, England's seventeenth-

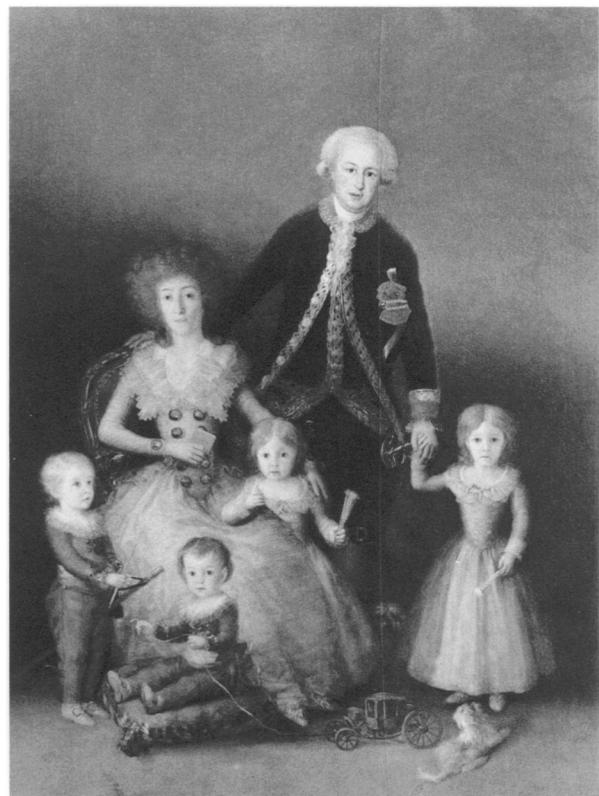


Figure 6. Goya. *The Osuna Family*, 1788. Oil on canvas, 225 × 174 cm. Madrid, Museo del Prado (photo: Arxiu Mas)

century royal portraitist: ". . . time shall with his ready Pencil . . . / Retouch your figures, [and] with his ripening hand / Mellow your colours, and imbrown the Teint, / Add every Grace [and] give more Beauties than he takes away."⁹

In July, Goya again felt forced to contend: "I . . . repeat my opinion that with restored pictures, time is not so destructive as are the restorers/. . . each day shows more clearly where they have put their hands. . . it is not that some [pictures] do not require relining and restoration but that the restorer's brush should not extend beyond that which is 'roto' (damaged or destroyed), nor be held by one who neither knows nor respects the work he restores."¹⁰

With Goya's painting, challenges arise on considering degrees of original, repetition, copy, pastiche, and fake, all of which can suffer the effects of time and human intervention. Yet until photography could transport multiple images abroad, copies—as Ceán appreciated—played a legitimate role and were valued whether by the artist or by others working with, or after, him.

With the proclamation of Charles IV and María Luisa as Spain's king and queen in January 1789,



Figure 7. Goya. *María Luisa, Queen of Spain, in Court Dress*. Oil on canvas, 210 × 130 cm. Madrid, Palacio Real (photo: Arxiu Mas)



Figure 8. Copy after Goya. *María Luisa of Parma, Queen of Spain*. Oil on canvas, 110.5 × 85.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929, 29.100.11



Figure 9. Goya. *María Luisa, Queen of Spain, with Black Mantilla*. Oil on canvas, 210 × 130 cm. Madrid, Palacio Real (photo: Patrimonio Nacional)



Figure 10. Copy after Goya. *María Luisa, Queen of Spain, with Black Mantilla*. Oil on canvas, 46 × 30 cm. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (photo: National Gallery of Art)

Goya, a Painter to the King soon to become Court Painter, was called upon for numerous portraits of each: two pairs in half and in full length,¹¹ pairs for the Academia de Historia,¹² and others for display before the Campomanes palace during the king and queen's solemn entry in September.¹³ The Osunas, portrayed by Goya in 1788 (Figure 6), also owned a pair,¹⁴ and a pair belonging to the Prado are replicated in a pair in Seville (with Goya's receipts of May 1789) as well as in other surviving repetitions and copies.¹⁵ Over a decade later, Goya within a few days in June 1800 painted still another portrait of the queen, since, as she commented, "the rest" were finished and very suitable (*propio*).¹⁶

A year later, although ill, Goya worked in mid-summer 1801 on two copies of full-length portraits of the king and queen, which he completed for their viewing on August 11.¹⁷ The portrait of María Luisa was stipulated as *not* to be that in which she wore a yellow dress—the one in the Palacio Real (Figure 7), of which a three-quarter-length copy appeared in the Museum's exhibition (Figure 8) and a "reduction" was once in Madrid¹⁸—but a previous one in which she wears a black dress and mantilla (quite probably the portrait also in the Palacio Real [Figure 9], which is also known in several copies) and in a "reduction" (Figure 10), perhaps by Esteve, in the National Gallery of Art, Washington.¹⁹ More painstakingly literal than the larger portrait, the dress more opaquely black, and the background greenery more rigidly defined, this "reduction" is assuredly a copy, perhaps intended as a more transportable likeness.

Writing to her favorite, Manuel Godoy, in October 1799, María Luisa recalled his having liked the portraits Goya painted of her in September, one "with mantilla" (see Figure 9) and the other picturing her upon her horse, Marcial (Figure 11). She hoped that a copy Goya was painting for him would turn out well, and she also wanted Godoy to have copies of the "mantilla" and equestrian portraits "made" by Esteve.²⁰

Unquestionably, among replicas and copies denied attribution to Goya are copies by Agustín Esteve,²¹ who began working with Goya during the 1780s. Triumphant in Madrid academy competitions during the 1770s while a student, he preceded Goya as a painter favored by the Osunas, and his career, primarily as a portraitist, continued into the second decade of the nineteenth century.²² A Madrid "agent" asked to arrange for a portrait in June 1814 advised his client that while public opinion thought Goya the best portraitist, Esteve, too, was highly regarded.²³ Appreciating Esteve's talents as portraitist, copyist (and miniaturist), Goya quite matter-of-factly wrote to



Figure 11. Goya. *María Luisa, Queen of Spain, astride Marcial*. Oil on canvas, 335 × 279 cm. Madrid, Museo del Prado (photo: Museo del Prado)

the minister Miguel Cayetano Soler in October 1803 that his portrait and its copy by Esteve were finished.²⁴ Both would have been painted almost simultaneously, Goya working from his model and Esteve most probably from Goya's picture.

As Esteve's failing eyesight caused him to retire to Valencia by 1820, Goya sought others to copy his paintings. Thus Asensio Juliá, another Valencian, twice repeated (reportedly in Goya's studio) Goya's *Self-Portrait with Dr. Arrieta* of 1820 (Figure 12).²⁵ In 1821, a Zaragoza painter, Narciso Lalana, signed and dated one of three known versions (Figure 13) of Goya's presumably lost portrait of Ramón Pignatelli painted about 1790.²⁶

Copies of royal portraits, whether by Goya, Esteve, or others, and, for example, Esteve's copy of the Soler portrait, Lalana's of the Pignatelli, and Juliá's of the *Self-Portrait with Dr. Arrieta*, fall within three—if not four—of Ceán's five categories of copy painting: the artist's own repetition, the "exact" copy, the copy "touched" by the artist himself, and possibly the servile imitation. For Ceán and others of the time, these would represent "good" copies, useful stand-ins for originals, perhaps better, and possibly even more valuable than a mediocre (or, in Goya's case, a hurried?) original.



Figure 12. Goya. *Self-Portrait with Dr. Arrieta*. Oil on canvas, 117 × 79 cm. Minneapolis Institute of Art (photo: Minneapolis Institute of Art)

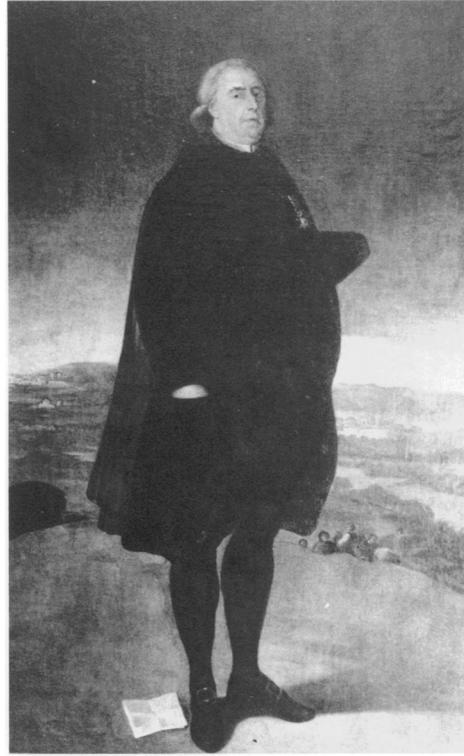


Figure 13. Narciso Lalana. Copy after Goya's *Portrait of Ramón Pignatelli*. Oil on canvas, 219 × 137 cm. Zaragoza, Museo de Bellas Artes (photo: Arxiu Mas)



Figure 14. After Goya. *Sabasa García and an Unknown Gentleman*. Oil on canvas, 39.8 × 32 cm. England, private collection (photo: courtesy of the owner)



Figure 15. Goya. *Sabasa García*. Oil on canvas, 71 × 58 cm. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (photo: National Gallery of Art)

But what of the inexact or inaccurate? the pastiche or fake? And what of student-artists' copies, small preliminary oils, and "reductions"? Several examples illustrate their disparate character.

Clearly "inexact," an unsigned, small version of the portrait of Sabasa García in Washington (Figures 14, 15) seemed merely curious when brought to me several years ago. However, an old inscription on its verso added information concerning Sabasa, which inspired me to study and examine both paintings.²⁷ The results suggest that the smaller canvas may have originated in Goya's studio while the lower right area of the larger portrait remained unresolved. Having a smaller, unfinished version, possibly a *boceto*, the adulterator(s) subsequently overpainted Sabasa's image (as X rays prove) and, with verifiably later pigments, added the male profile head in what had been the unresolved area. Its features seem evocative of those seen in paintings by Asencio Juliá (as in the small canvas, *The Shipwrecked*, of ca. 1815; Figure 16), who, as we have noted, reportedly copied Goya's *Self-Portrait with Dr. Arrieta* in Goya's studio in 1820.

A Goyesque *Village Bullfight* (Figure 17) has qualified as both fake and pastiche. But although technically a fake while exhibited through the late 1930s as by Goya and carrying a false Goya signature,²⁸ it was not so created. Rather, it is one of many Goyesque paint-

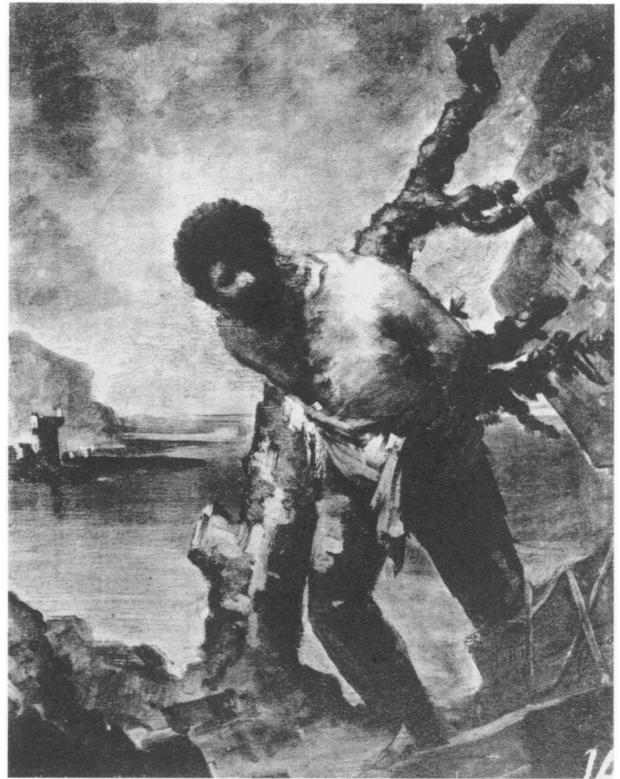


Figure 16. Asencio Juliá Alvarrachi. *The Shipwrecked*. Oil on canvas, 58.2 × 44.7 cm. Valencia, Museu Sant Pius V (photo: Arxiu Mas)

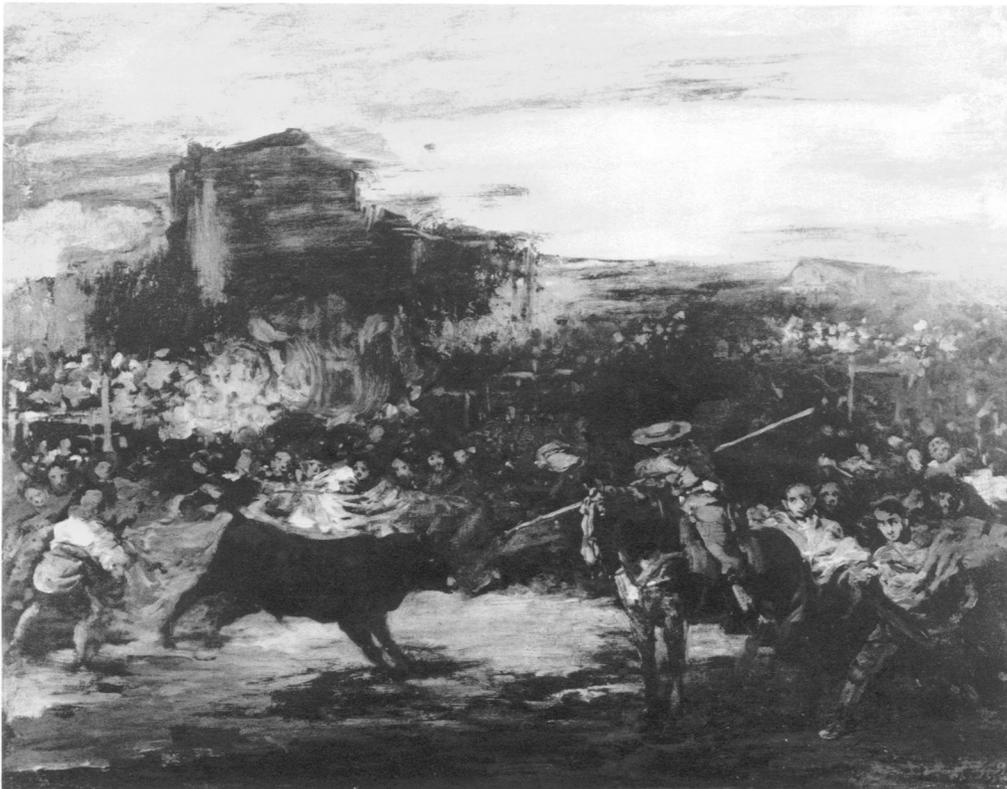


Figure 17. Eugenio Lucas Velázquez. *Village Bullfight*. Oil on canvas, 56 × 73 cm. New York, The Hispanic Society of America (photo: The Hispanic Society of America)



Figure 18. Attributed to Goya. *Majas on a Balcony*. Oil on canvas, 194.9 × 125.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929, 29.100.10

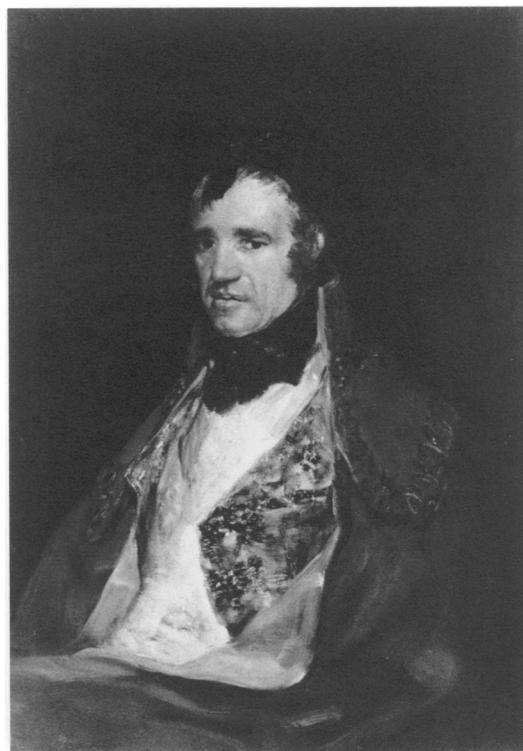


Figure 19. Goya. *Pedro Mocarte*. Oil on canvas, 78 × 57 cm. New York, The Hispanic Society of America (photo: The Hispanic Society of America)

ings by Goya's most prolific imitator, Eugenio Lucas Velázquez, as was clear before his scratched-out signature was covered with a more marketable "Goya" (now removed). During the 1860s Lucas satisfied the Goyesque taste shared by a clientele that included the wealthy José de Salamanca—and he copied the Infante Don Sebastián's version of the *Majas on a Balcony*, now in the Metropolitan (Figure 18),²⁹ though apparently not Salamanca's version that Yriarte in 1867 thought might be a repetition (that is, a replica) or possibly a copy by Leonardo Alenza,³⁰ whose copies and imitations of Goya's paintings found a ready market among Spanish collectors.

While in Madrid in 1867–68, the young Mariano Fortuny was differently inspired, copying paintings by Velázquez and Goya to refine his own considerable talent. With Goya's portrait of *Pedro Mocarte* (Figure 19) painted about 1805, then in the home of Luis de Madrazo, his soon-to-be uncle-in-law, Fortuny painted a copy nearly identical in size (Figure 20).³¹ Some years after acquiring Goya's *Pedro Mocarte* in 1906, Archer M. Huntington, founder of The Hispanic Society of America, where both Mocarte portraits remain, bought Fortuny's copy through the deceased Fortuny's brother-in-law, Raimundo de Madrazo, from

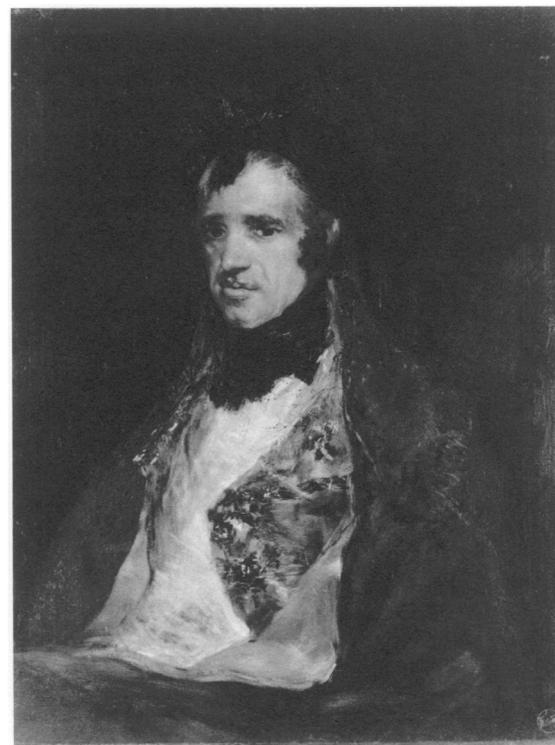


Figure 20. Mariano Fortuny. Copy after Goya's *Pedro Mocarte*. Oil on canvas, 75 × 56.5 cm. New York, The Hispanic Society of America (photo: The Hispanic Society of America)



Figure 21. Goya. *The Marchioness de Santa Cruz*. Oil on canvas, 147 × 97 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)



Figure 22. After Goya. *The Marchioness de Santa Cruz*. Oil on canvas, 52 × 34 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)

whom Huntington had bought the original as well. He kept Goya's original, a favorite of his, in his Fifth Avenue home, though in 1908 and 1910 he lent it to the Metropolitan.³² Since it did not reach the Hispanic Society until 1925, Fortuny's masterful copy (like Sargent's after a then-believed Velázquez, and others after equally unattainable Velázquez works in the Prado)³³ could serve in the absence of the original—a usefulness Ceán had acknowledged.

Recalling Goya's comments on restoration, we may note how the Mocarte portraits, painted some seventy years apart, differ (if less so in actuality than in reproductions). Finding an asphaltum-impregnated varnish shading and balancing excessive light-and-dark contrasts in the original, a conservator only partially removed it; a yellowed varnish mollifying Fortuny's copy was wholly removed, however, exposing precisely those imbalances.³⁴

Turning to "reductions," or small versions of portraits by Goya, none as such entered the October 1812 listing of paintings Goya assigned to his son, Javier, nor Brugada's later listing of paintings left behind in Goya's *Quinta del Sordo* country house.³⁵ But not all Goya's works were included: small pictures (such as the tapestry-cartoon sketches), drawings, prints, and works in progress were omitted in 1812, possibly as being of inconsequential value or works that might still be needed or furthered and were therefore withheld by Goya.

Curiously, small versions exist of three female portraits dating from 1797 to 1799. The three women, prominent at the court (Queen María Luisa, see Figures 9, 10, and two who opposed her, María Anna Waldstein, marchioness de Santa Cruz, and the duchess of Alba), are each represented in an outdoor setting wearing a black dress and mantilla.

Provenance, surface appearance, and technical examination of the large and small versions of the *Marchioness de Santa Cruz* portrait (Figures 21, 22) establish that the "reduction," although inscribed "Goya 1799" on its verso³⁶ is, like the Washington *Queen María Luisa* (see Figure 10), a copy. Once owned by Ferdinand Guillemardet, the French ambassador in Madrid portrayed by Goya in 1798–99 (Figure 23), this "reduction" may have been created for him as a portable souvenir (for he was strongly attracted to the marchioness, who, incidentally, was a painter—and a niece by marriage as well as a reported coconspirator of the duchess of Alba).³⁷

The more widely known portrait of the *Duchess of Alba* in the Hispanic Society (Figure 24), dated 1797 and inscribed "*Solo Goya*" (the "*solo*" reemerging in 1959),³⁸ a painting Goya still held in 1812,³⁹ also exists



Figure 23. Goya. *Ferdinand Guillemardet*. Oil on canvas, 118.5 × 125 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)



Figure 24. Goya. *The Duchess of Alba*. Oil on canvas, 210.2 × 149.5 cm. New York, The Hispanic Society of America (photo: The Hispanic Society of America)

in a small version (Figure 25) not recently cited in the Goya literature. A promised gift to the Hispanic Society, its size and the inscription—transcribed by Viñaza, who by 1887 had seen the picture in a Seville collection—identify it as a small portrait of the duchess known in Spain since the early 1830s as by Goya, though not located there by 1915.⁴⁰ In fact, it reached England, where it was sold at auction in 1939 by Lady Sybil Grant, a daughter of the earl of Rosebery, and was acquired by a Philadelphia dealer.⁴¹ Unlike the *Queen María Luisa* in Washington, and the small *Marchioness de Santa Cruz* in Paris, this “reduction” is not clearly a repetition or copy. Although both the large and the small portraits of the duchess have been somewhat affected by restoration, surface cleaning of the large portrait has lightened her once duskier appearance. Yet the more subdued expression observed in the small version, the red sash more hidden by the lacy black mantilla, the two extended, ringed fingers once more clearly holding a fan (as do *Queen María Luisa* and the *Marchioness de Santa Cruz*)⁴² rather than pointing to the sand or the inscription traced in it,⁴³ and X-ray study disclosing a working-through of details, indicate that this “reduction” evolved independently. And in both, the artist struggled in representing the duchess’s face, reworking its shadowed side. With the



Figure 25. Goya. *The Duchess of Alba*. Oil on canvas, 49.5 × 34.3 cm. New York, private collection (photo: courtesy of the owner)



Figure 26. Goya. "Aún aprendo." Black chalk, Madrid, Museo del Prado (photo: Museo del Prado)

large portrait most probably painted in Goya's Madrid studio after his return from Andalusia in May 1797, was the small version produced earlier, at the duchess's San Lucar estate, as a preliminary study to be perfected in Madrid?—just as Goya painted in Madrid royal family portraits he had sketched from life in royal country residences? Or was the small version to be another portable visual souvenir? Whichever, so-called reductions realizably may represent preliminary studies as well as repetitions (replicas) and copies.

Several close to Goya could meet a demand for copies and works in his manner: his known collaborator and pupils, and possibly his son, Javier (a self-declared painter who, as Mariano, Javier's son, asserted), had authored one of the "black" paintings removed from the Quinta del Sordo after Goya's death.⁴⁴ And Javier, within a month following his father's death, was negotiating sales of Goya's works.⁴⁵ Later, others such as Alenza and Lucas satisfied Goya aficionados, as may have as well the adept painter and copyist María del Rosario Weiss, daughter of Leocadia Weiss, the elderly Goya's companion in Bordeaux.

Just as Rembrandt Research Project scholars striving to discern the true Rembrandt by observation, examination, and consensus find some certainties elusive, as members of each generation gain a confidence that

they alone have come to discern and know Goya, new insights and revelations may yet demand reassessments. As the problematic seems resolved for some, if not all, let the "controversial" not become confrontational but informational and remind us that, like the infirm though alert bearded elder drawn by Goya (Figure 26), all must always continue to learn.

NOTES

1. The supplementary exhibition is omitted in Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez and Nicola Spinosa, *Josepe de Ribera, 1591–1652*, exh. cat. (Naples, 1992).

2. Enrique LaFuente Ferrari, *Antecedentes, coincidencias e influencias del arte de Goya, catálogo ilustrado de la exposición celebrada en 1932* Sociedad Española de Amigos de Arte, exh. cat. (Madrid, 1947; repub. 1987).

3. Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, "Carta . . . a un amigo suyo en Madrid, sobre el conocimiento de las pinturas originales y de las copias," *Minerva, Bellas Artes* 6 (Jan. 21) pp. 3, 24, 27, 29, 30, 33 (trans. by author); Antonio de Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del Libroero Hispanoamericano* (Barcelona, 1958) no. 170223, gives the date "1806?" though notes *Minerva* 6 as of 1807.

4. See, for example, Pierre Gassier and Juliet Wilson, *The Life and Complete Work of Francisco Goya* (New York, 1971) cat. nos. 154–159, 185–187, 299, 719–721.

5. Goya, Oct. 14, 1792, report to the Real Academia de San Fernando, Ángel Canellas López, ed., *Francisco de Goya, Diplomatario* (Zaragoza, 1981) pp. 310–312, doc. no. 184.

6. See also Gassier and Wilson, *Life and Complete Work of Goya*, cat. nos. 90, 92–97, 99, 101, 103, 104, 105, 109, 111, 112.

7. Jeannine Baticle, *Goya* (Paris, 1992) p. 290. After Gil Ranz's death, copies of Goya's prints he had penned remained with his son; see Manuel Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de artistas españoles del siglo XIX* (Madrid, 1868 [Madrid, 1975, facs. of Madrid, 1883, ed., p. 287]).

8. Goya, Jan. 2, 1801, report to Pedro Cevallos (Canellas López, *Goya, Diplomatario*, pp. 331–332, doc. no. 217).

9. John Dryden (1631–1700), "To Sir George Kneller," 1694, ll. 176–181, 4:466 (quoted by David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* [New York, 1986] p. 159).

10. Goya, July 19, 1801, report (Sotheby's London sale, May 5–6, 1988, *Music . . . Printed Books . . .*, cat. no. 199, reproduced; Julián Gállego, "Una carta inédita de Goya sobre la restauración de pinturas," *Academia, Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*, 76 (1st sem., 1993) pp. 172–178.

11. Valentín de Sambricio, *Tapices de Goya* (Madrid, 1946) pp. xci–xcii, doc. no. 125; idem, "Los retratos de Carlos IV, y de María Luisa por Goya," *Archivo español de arte* 30 (1957) pp. 85–113.

12. Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, "Los cuadros de Goya en la Academia de Historia," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia* (Madrid, 1946) p. 10.

13. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Yriarte e su época* (Madrid, 1897) p. 375.

14. Baticle, *Goya*, p. 150.
15. For the pair in Seville, copies, and repetitions, see Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, "Los Goyas de Tabacalera," in José M. Rodríguez Gordillo, José Morales Sánchez, and Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, *Goya, Retratos para la Real Fábrica de Tabacos de Sevilla* (Seville, 1985) pp. 59–73; Gassier and Wilson, *Life and Complete Work of Goya*, cat. nos. 281–286; Rita de Angelis, *L'opera pittorica completa de Goya* (Milan, 1981) cat. nos. 237–242.
16. Carlos Peyrera, ed., *Cartas confidenciales de la Reina María Luisa y Don Manuel Godoy* (Madrid, 1935) p. 304.
17. Sotheby's (London), sale, Nov. 17–18, 1985, p. 85, nos. 223 (ill.), 224, and 225 (Goya's letters of July 29, 30, and Aug. 10 to Pedro Cevallos concerning the copies of the royal portraits).
18. Gassier and Wilson, *Life and Complete Work of Goya*, cat. no. 781 (note).
19. *Ibid.*, no. 775 (note).
20. Peyrera, *Cartas*, pp. 233–237.
21. Other than the copies mentioned by María Luisa, see, for example, Sambricio, *Tapices*, pp. cxxxvi–cxxxvii, docs. 209–211, regarding payment to Esteve for six "repetitions" of Goya originals of full-length portraits of the king and queen.
22. Concerning Esteve, see Martín S. Soria, *Agustín Esteve y Goya* (Valencia, 1957).
23. Canellas López, *Goya, Diplomatario*, p. 486, doc. no. 125.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 360–361, doc. no. 224.
25. Rafael Gil Salinas, *Asensi Juliá* (Valencia, 1993) pl. 8 (copy in a private collection, Madrid).
26. Conde de la Viñaza (Cipriano Muñoz y Manzano), *Goya, su tiempo, su vida, sus obras* (Madrid, 1887) pp. 240–241; Nigel Glendinning, *Goya, la década de los Caprichos, Retratos, 1792–1804*, exh. cat., Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (Madrid, 1992) p. 119, pl. 12, Lalana's presumed authorship omitted, and the portrait absent from the exhibition (as noted by José Manuel Arnaiz, "Goya, La década incongruente," *Antiquaria* 101 [Dec. 1992] p. 71); regarding the copies, see *Goya*, exh. cat., Electa España (Zaragoza 1992) p. 68. More recently, it has been proposed that the full-length portrait of Ramón Pignatelli (Figure 13) is in fact Goya's original which, although thought to have disappeared, would instead have been damaged during the War of Independence and repainted by Lalana in 1821 (see Juan J. Luna, *Goya en las colecciones españolas*, exh. cat., Banco Bilbao Vizcaya [Madrid, 1995–96], p. 78, cat. no. 14).
27. See Priscilla E. Muller, "Goya's Portrait of Sabasa García," *Burlington Magazine* 1079 (1993), pp. 99–101.
28. Elizabeth du Gué Trapier, *Eugenio Lucas y Padilla* (New York, 1940) pp. 45, 58, pl. xxx; exhibited as by Goya in Sept. 1936 in New York (Wildenstein & Co.) and in museums in San Diego and Philadelphia prior to its purchase from Wildenstein in 1939.
29. Trapier, *Lucas y Padilla*, p. 60 (partly confounding the MMA and private collection *Majas on a Balcony*), this Lucas copy is a brush drawing; Nigel Glendinning, "Variations on a Theme by Goya: *Majas on a Balcony*," *Apollo* 103 (1976) pp. 42, 46, nn. 4, 6.
30. Charles Yriarte, *Goya* (Paris, 1867) p. 90.
31. Aureliano de Beruete y Moret, *Goya as Portrait Painter* (Boston/ New York, 1922) pp. 105–106; Elizabeth du Gué Trapier, *Catalogue of Paintings (19th and 20th Centuries) in the Collection of The Hispanic Society of America* (New York, 1932) I, pp. 155–116; Carlos González López and Montserrat Martí Ayxelá, *Mariano Fortuny Marsal* (Barcelona, 1989) I, p. 58.
32. Archer M. Huntington correspondence, The Hispanic Society of America, archives; Susan Alyson Stein, "Goya in The Metropolitan, A History of the Collection," *Goya in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, exh. cat. (New York, 1995) p. 39.
33. John Singer Sargent, copy after *A Dwarf with a Dog*, the original formerly ascribed to Velázquez; Francis Lathrop (1849–1900), copies of Velázquez's "*Las Meninas*" (*The Royal Family*) and "*Las Hilanderas*" (*The Tapestry Weavers, or The Fable of Arachne*), all three in the collection of The Hispanic Society of America.
34. Conservation reports note the background of Goya's *Pedro Mocarte* as well as Mocarte's black cap and collar as having been "totally inpainted"; asphaltum as having been used to hide surface skinning suffered in previous cleanings; and the white shirt as also glazed with asphaltum to tone it down, the "good effect" this produced causing the conservator to remove the glaze only partially.
35. Gassier and Wilson, *Life and Complete Work of Goya*, pp. 381–382, appendixes I, II.
36. Jeannine Baticle, "Le portrait de la Marquise de Santa Cruz par Goya," *La Revue du Louvre* 3 (1977) pp. 153–163; I thank Claudie Ressort of the Paintings Department and members of the Conservation Department of the Musée du Louvre for aiding with examination of the "reduction."
37. Baticle, *Goya*, pp. 281–284.
38. Elizabeth du Gué Trapier, *Goya and His Sitters: A Study of His Style as a Portraitist* (New York, 1964) p. 14, noting the "*solo*" as revealed during a cleaning of the portrait in 1959. However, the "*solo*" was visible years earlier to the Spanish painter Ignacio Zuloaga (1870–1945), who translated it as "alone," or "lonely" Goya, and not "Goya only" as has become more frequent (Mercedes de Acosta [y de Alba], "'Only' v. 'Lonely,'" letter to the editor, *Time* [Aug. 3, 1959]). As traces of the "*solo*" appear in old photographs and the "*solo*" differs somewhat in paint tonality from the balance of the inscription, it may be that Goya, "lonely" following the duchess's death late in July 1802 and still holding the painting, then added the "*solo*" rather than having hidden it with overpainting, as has been believed.
39. Gassier and Wilson, *Life and Complete Work of Goya*, p. 381, appendix I.
40. New York, private collection, oil on canvas, 49.5 × 34.3 cm, technical examination and radiography facilitated by the Conservation Department of the Hispanic Society; Viñaza, *Goya, su Tiempo . . .*, p. 261, cat. no. cxiii, as oil on canvas, 52 × 42 cm and inscribed *María Luisa [sic] de Silva, Duquesa de Alba*, Manuel de Urzáiz collection, Seville; Aureliano de Beruete y Moret, *Goya, pintor de retratos* (Madrid, 1915) p. 175, no. 150; idem, *Goya as Portrait Painter*, p. 209, no. 158, noting the Urzáiz collection painting as a smaller version of the Hispanic Society portrait though acknowledging that he knew the small canvas only from the citation by Viñaza. Although 620 paintings from the Urzáiz collection were sold in Madrid in 1862 to Émile Pereire, who transported them to Paris (Enrique de Leguina, *Impresiones artísticas* [Madrid, 1895] pp. 79–85), only a "half-length" portrait of the duchess of Alba said to have belonged to Urzáiz appeared in the Pereire sale, Paris, March 6–8, 1872.
- Other pertinent references include Valentín Carderera's 1834–40 listing of portraits by Goya, no. 6, *The Duchess of Alba*,

approximately 47 cm high, Serafín de la Huerta collection (Javier de Salas, "Lista de cuadros de Goya hecha por Carderera," *Archivo español de arte* 20 [1931] p. 175). When inventoried, as by Goya, following Serafín García de la Huerta's death in Aug. 1839, the small full-length portrait was valued at 1,500 *reales* and noted as 2½ *cuartas* high by 1½ wide (approximately 52.2 × 31.3 cm); Marqués del Saltillo, "Colecciones madrileñas de pinturas, la de D. Serafín García de la Huerta (1840)," *Arte Español* 18, no. 2 [1951] p. 201, no. 784); Nigel Glendinning, "Spanish inventory references to paintings by Goya, 1800–1850: originals, copies and valuations," *Burlington Magazine* 1091 (February 1994) p. 106, comments on the difficulty of correlating the listed picture with any known portraits of the duchess by or attributed to Goya.

41. *Catalogue of Important Paintings . . . Goya's Duquesa de Alba, The Property of Lady Sybil Grant . . .* Sotheby & Co. London, July 26, 1939, p. 20, no. 74 (ill.); sold to Feldman, apparently Baruch Feldman, a

Philadelphia dealer, as the picture remains in a frame provided by McClee's Galleries, Philadelphia, which boasts an ornamental label asserting artist (Goya), subject (Duchess of Alba), and provenance ("From Coll. of Lady Sybil Grant"). I thank James Holloway of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery for assistance with the Grant-Rosebery data and collections, and M. Schweitzer of New York for the Feldman identification. The picture reappeared in New York (William Doyle Galleries, May 8, 1985, no. 44) as "attributed to Goya" and without provenance although reportedly from a New England estate.

42. Viñaza, *Goya, su tiempo . . .*, p. 261, noted the partly opened fan held in the duchess's right hand.

43. See note 38 above.

44. Yriarte, *Goya*, p. 141 (painting titled "****").

45. Javier's letters of May 23 and 24, 1828, in: José Manuel Arnaiz, "Goya, Goyescas y Galerías, Capricho e invención en El Prado," *Antiquaria* 113 (Jan. 1994) pp. 39–40.