

# Goya and the X Numbers: The 1812 Inventory and Early Acquisitions of “Goya” Pictures

JULIET WILSON-BAREAU

THE INITIAL X followed by a number, applied in white paint in a lower corner of a picture, appears on paintings (or in old photographic documents of them) that include many of Goya's best-known masterpieces. It was assumed until recently that the marks corresponded with works painted by Goya and listed in an inventory drawn up in 1812, and that they were therefore a reliable proof of attribution. However, recent investigations have confirmed doubts about the authenticity of many of these paintings. This problem was addressed in the recent exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum (September 12–December 31, 1995)<sup>1</sup> and in a symposium held at that time, where this expanded essay was originally presented. Although many issues remain to be resolved, further research has already enabled more questions to be asked or solutions proposed,<sup>2</sup> and the investigation of Goya's oeuvre is now gathering momentum to such an extent that many more results and conclusions can be expected in the near future.

In 1964, as a result of what then appeared to be a breakthrough discovery, it seemed to scholars that the “attribution” problem relating to Goya's work was as good as solved. The Spanish scholar F. J. Sánchez Cantón had already published an inventory of the contents of Goya's home, drawn up in 1812 after the death of his wife. Two principal documents have been quoted relating to the “Estate of Doña Josefa Bayeu.” One of them includes a copy of the will made by Goya and his wife and dated June 3, 1811, followed by the inventory, with valuations, of their joint property at the time of her death. This inventory, divided into various categories, was established and dated day by day, each section being signed by Goya, his son who signed himself Francisco Xavier, and the relevant expert. In the case of the paintings and prints, the expert was Felipe Abas and this part of the inventory was signed and dated on October 26, 1812 (Figure 1).<sup>3</sup>

Although the inventory clearly includes a number

of the artist's most famous paintings, many of the works listed remained unidentifiable or at least uncertain, particularly where the description gives no clue as to the subject of the picture or group of pictures, referring to them simply as “two sketches,” “four pictures of the same size,” “another six of various subjects,” “four of other subjects,” “a head,” and so on. The breakthrough came when Xavier de Salas related the pictures in the inventory to works that were marked, or were known from old photographs to have been marked, with an X and a number added in white paint in a lower corner of the work.<sup>4</sup> This enabled a great many more works to be linked with the inventory, thus theoretically establishing both their authenticity and their pre-1812 date. Although in many cases the inventory marks had been removed, no doubt as unsightly, further investigation led to traces of them being found on works such as Goya's still-life pictures which, on the authority of the early biography by Laurent Matheron, had previously been dated to the very end of his life when he was living in Bordeaux.<sup>5</sup>

Over the years, however, more inventory marks came to light on some clearly very questionable works; at the same time other pictures, hitherto universally accepted, began to be seen as no longer fitting the canon when compared with Goya's indisputably documented paintings or his splendidly individual prints and drawings. Groups of works with the inventory numbers began to be questioned, in effect challenged to prove themselves “Goyas” by something more convincing than a painted mark added at a date which it had been assumed, but with no actual proof, was contemporaneous with the inventory document itself. When all these comfortable notions began to be questioned, a disquieting picture started to emerge and has led to investigations into the ways in which Goya's paintings left his studio after his death, and works by or attributed to him came to be included in early inventories of private or dealers' collections.

Apart from the inventory of 1812, from which it is clear that many of Goya's finest paintings remained in his own home, there are relatively few documented

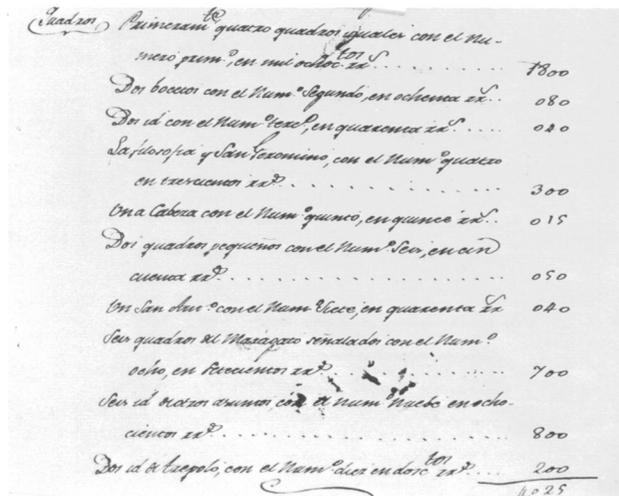
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references to the ways in which pictures other than commissioned works were acquired.<sup>6</sup> We know from Goya's correspondence with Martín Zapater, his childhood friend who lived in Zaragoza, that his sketches for tapestry cartoons were sought after from an early date, and the sketches for large religious works as well as small pictures on religious themes also found their way to private patrons who were often his friends and colleagues.<sup>7</sup> A large group of his finest tapestry sketches was purchased by the duke and duchess of Osuna in the 1790s,<sup>8</sup> and he himself, in celebrated letters of 1794, written after the illness that would leave him stone deaf for the rest of his life, made it clear that he was painting small imaginative pictures, singly or in sets, for sale to collectors.<sup>9</sup> There are several early references to such pictures, above all the group of eight canvases that belonged to the marqués de la Romana by 1811 and is still, uniquely, intact in the hands of his descendants.<sup>10</sup>

After Goya's death if not earlier, the artist's only surviving son and sole heir, Javier, who in 1812 still signed his name Xavier, began to dispose of his father's works. Little had previously been known about this, apart from the notable sale of some of the artist's most important works in 1836 to Baron Taylor for the collection of Louis-Philippe, the French emperor. Recently, however, a clearer picture of Javier's activities has begun to emerge, particularly since the publication of two letters that throw an intriguing and unsuspected light on his dealings.

Goya died in Bordeaux on April 16, 1828. Javier had arrived too late to see him alive, and he swiftly returned to Madrid with most of his father's possessions, including all his recent work. Just five weeks later, on May 23 and 24, Javier wrote letters (now signed Javier) offering pictures from his father's collection to the Infante Sebastián Gabriel, a great-nephew of Charles III. The letters are addressed to



Figures 1a, b. Inventory of Goya's property, dated October 1912: a, first page of the inventory of paintings (fol. 302r); b, final page of the inventory of paintings and prints, signed by Goya, his son Francisco Xavier, and the expert Felipe Abas (fol. 303v). Madrid, Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Protocolo no. 22.879 (photo: Lines)

Figure 2. Vicente López y Portaña (Spanish, 1772–1850).

Portrait of Goya, 1826. Oil on canvas, 93 × 75 cm. Madrid, Cason del Buen Retiro, Museo del Prado (photo: Museo del Prado)

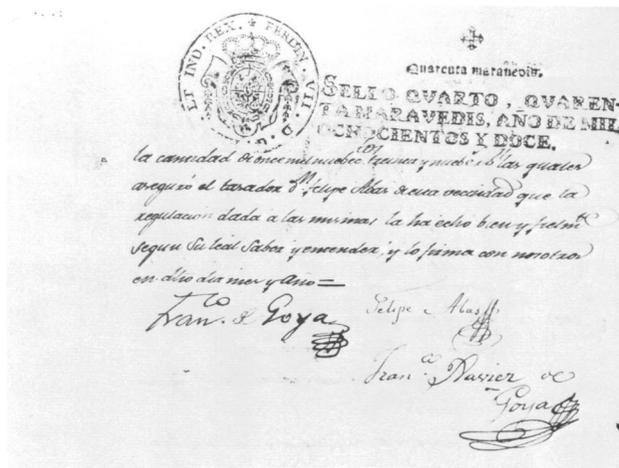




Figure 3. Francisco de Goya (Spanish, 1746–1828). *Friar Pedro Wrests the Gun from El Maragato*, ca. 1806. Oil on panel, 29.2 × 38.5 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago (photo: The Art Institute of Chicago)

Vicente López, then the most important court artist, who had recently painted a portrait of Goya in his old age (Figure 2), and was evidently acting on behalf of the infante. Even allowing for the formalities of the period, Javier’s letters are characterized by a curiously unattractive mixture of ingratiating flattery, pious sentiments and special pleading (see Appendix).<sup>11</sup>

The Infante Sebastián, well known for his artistic tastes and talents, had been elected Académico de Mérito of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando just a year earlier and was an ardent painter and competent lithographer.<sup>12</sup> He had evidently been angling for works from Goya’s collection, since Javier writes as if the paintings had already been seen by him or by López, offering for sale “the two recent series [*coleccion*es] he painted as well as the Maragato series,” and, as a gift, “one of the miniatures he made recently and which so delighted him.” The next day he wrote again saying he had already sent on approval “the six sketches of Bulls [*bocetos de los Toros*] and the six Maragato subjects,” and also “the Mass” [*la Misa*] of which he added, “I have heard my Father repeat over and over again that it was one of the few things of his that had turned out successfully, in his opinion, and I can assure you that when Prince Kaunitz, the Austrian ambassador, told him in my presence that he wanted to acquire it, my Father refused to let him have it, saying that he would not let it go even for 3,000 *duros*.” Javier added, although quite untruthfully: “These and

a few other pictures are the only inheritance I have received from my Parents, but it gives me the greatest pleasure to be able sincerely and willingly to offer His Highness the most precious things that I possess.” Of the works mentioned, the Maragato panels (Figure 3) telling the tale in “cartoon strip” form of the capture of a notorious bandit in 1806, are well known, appearing as item 8 in the inventory of 1812, and immediately identifiable, even though they have lost their inventory mark.<sup>13</sup> As to the two “recent series” of pictures, presumably painted by Goya in Bordeaux and no doubt including “the six sketches of Bulls,” these are not readily identifiable.

As we now know, the Infante Sebastián got the wrong pictures. He acquired not the marvelous Maragato series but the Metropolitan’s *Majas on a Balcony* (Figure 4) and a dubious *Monk* and so-called *Nun*, all of which were recorded as in his collection in 1835.<sup>14</sup> This means that the Metropolitan’s version of the *Majas on a Balcony* was already in the collection of the Infante Sebastián before Javier sold his father’s original painting, with the inventory mark, to Baron Taylor for Louis-Philippe’s collection.<sup>15</sup> Given the now widely accepted view that the Metropolitan’s picture is not by Goya, this implies that the nonautograph version was made with Javier’s knowledge if not his active participation and raises the question of the son’s activities in the exploitation of his father’s estate. Who was copying or making variants or pastiches of Goya’s work at



Figure 4. 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

such an early date? The *Mass* that Javier offered the infante seems equally unlikely to have been an autograph work, since the various paintings with which it has been tentatively identified—a *Mass*, a *Churching of Women*, even the *Wedding of the Ill-assorted Couple*—all of them known in more than one version, are considered by many critics and connoisseurs to be of insecure attribution.<sup>16</sup>

The 1812 inventory included the magnificent group of genre subjects believed to have been executed during the period of the Spanish War of Independence, using previously painted, seventeenth-century canvases from a set of the Four Elements. *Time*, also known as *Les vieilles*, (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille), the *Majas on a Balcony* (private collection, see Figure 2 in the Tomlinson essay in this volume), and *Maja and Celestina on a Balcony* (Figure 5) still show their inventory marks: X 23 on *Time* and X 24 on both the balcony pictures (now lightly touched out on the *Maja and*



Figure 5. Goya. *Maja and Celestina on a Balcony*, 1808–12. Oil on canvas, 166 × 108 cm. Madrid, private collection

*Celestina*).<sup>17</sup> Another notable work in this inventory is the much earlier portrait of the *Duchess of Alba* (Hispanic Society of America, Figure 24 in the Muller essay), lacking its X number but clearly identifiable as “*Un retrato de la de Alba*” (a portrait of the [Duchess] of Alba), and also sold by Javier to Louis-Philippe’s agent in 1836.<sup>18</sup>

The inventory estimates valued the *Duchess of Alba* at 400 reales, the second highest figure for a single work in the whole list, while the large genre pictures of the *Majas* were marked at 200 reales each and *Time*, perhaps regarded as less attractive than the others, at 150. Inventory valuations, often themselves difficult to evaluate, take into account size, complexity (that is, the number of figures), and “finish,” but they can also be of notorious inconsistency. Nevertheless, one can readily appreciate the relatively high value of 150 reales placed on each of two smaller but superb paintings of “*Una Aguadora y su compañero*” (a watercarrier and her companion) at no. 13 (Figure 6). These pictures, as

well as the bizarre genre episode of the *Lazarillo de Tormes* (private collection, Madrid), identified by its prominent X 25 as corresponding with the 1812 inventory and valued at 100 reales, are all on reused canvases and all identifiable from the inventory descriptions, and so, at 100 reales each, are the “twelve still life pictures” (*doce bodegones*), of which nine are now securely identifiable, two of them still retaining a trace of the X mark.<sup>19</sup>

Several “named” paintings in the 1812 inventory cannot now be identified and appear to have been lost: these include *Philosophy and Saint Jerome* under no. 4, as well as a *Saint John*, valued at 150 reales, a *Saint Peter* at 80, and a *Saint Anthony* at 40. There are also pictures of *Women Spinning* and of *Drunkards*, nos. 15 and 22, both valued at 100 reales, whose proposed identification in the more recent catalogues remains very much to be proved.<sup>20</sup> However, a significantly large number of pictures that still bear an inventory mark correspond with items that are undefined in the list and are simply designated as “four pictures of the same size,” “another six of various subjects,” “four of



Figure 6. Goya: *The Watercarrier*, ca. 1808–12. Oil on canvas, 68 × 52 cm. Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum (photo: Szépművészeti Múzeum)

other subjects,” and so forth. And it is these pictures, above all, that are proving to be the problem works, of uncertain or unsustainable attribution to Goya.

The most highly valued of all the pictures in the 1812 inventory, at 450 reales each, are those listed under item 1 simply as “four pictures of the same size.” The inventory mark X 1 appears on two pictures in a set of four: one representing a *Greasy Pole* (Figure 7), with foreground figures and a great rock in the background right (a picture formerly in the Tamames collection, Madrid, of which there is a free replica in Berlin), the other showing a *Procession* (see Figure 13). The Metropolitan Museum’s *Bullfight in a Divided Ring* (see Figure 11) also belongs with this group since, although it has long lost its inventory mark, its provenance parallels that of the *Procession*. The attribution of all of these works has long troubled art historians.<sup>21</sup>

The same attribution question concerns item 9 in the inventory: “six [pictures] of various subjects,” now identified as a group of small, sketchy paintings on panel, which would have been highly valued at 133 reales each; of these, five still bear the X 9 mark and have recently been the subject of close scrutiny. After an attentive analysis of their style and technique, and considerable indecision, they were finally excluded from the 1993–94 exhibition of Goya’s small paintings and, in the course of a symposium held in London in the context of the exhibition, there was almost unanimous agreement that they could not be by Goya.<sup>22</sup> However, if some at least of the so-called inventory pictures are judged not to be by Goya, where can the line be drawn? And what criteria should be used in assessing the inventory list as a whole?

Progressing down the scale of valuations in the list, after the group of pictures at 100 reales comes an unidentified *Immaculate Conception* at 95 reales, then a *Gigante* (Giant) at 90, which may or may not be the celebrated *Colossus* in the Prado (a picture whose provenance is unknown prior to its acquisition as part of the Fernández-Durán bequest in 1930). “Two sketches” at 40 reales each (no. 2) are followed by “two small pictures” at 25 reales each (item 6) and a further “two [sketches]” at 20 reales each (item 3), while “four [sketches] of other subjects” are valued at only 15 reales each (no. 28). The identifiable paintings that appear to relate to these groups are particularly worrying and succeed in destroying what confidence one may still have in the inventory as a trustworthy document.

Item 6 corresponds with an unpublished painting (Figure 8), with the X mark, whose attribution to Goya appears unsustainable: it is a wild and messy “stormy landscape,” with swirling, palette-knife impasto, which

cannot even be ascribed to a “romantic” follower such as Eugenio Lucas Velázquez. Of the four pictures valued under no. 28 at a mere 15 reales each, one is a *Village on Fire*, identified by the inventory mark (Figure 9); it approaches the dimensions and complexity of the Metropolitan’s *Bullfight* and the other paintings related to no. 1 (with the top valuation of 450 reales each). This painting, together with three others, was offered for sale by auction in 1866, with a provenance from Goya’s grandson.<sup>23</sup> Doubts about the attribution of these works to Goya are expressed not only in the Gassier and Wilson catalogue: their authenticity was challenged two years after they had been offered for sale, as recounted in Aureliano de Beruete’s monographs, based on intimate knowledge of the Spanish art scene in the later nineteenth century.

Beruete told the story of “the pictures that belonged to Luis de Madrazo, whose sale gave rise to a lawsuit. As a result, Goya’s grandson was obliged to come to Madrid in 1868, and admirers of the artist’s work took advantage of the visit to learn a good deal about Goya’s life from his grandson.” Beruete went on to describe “four pictures [corresponding with those in the X 28 group under discussion] . . . Goya’s grandson said they were original works and that he remem-

bered having seen the first of them [a *Procession Interrupted by Rain*, now lost] being painted when he was a child, and that it had been executed using thin canes opened out at the end, instead of brushes.”<sup>24</sup> The four works in question are “goyesque” compositions with many figures, often in dramatic movement as they are shown imploring, lamenting, gesticulating with outflung arms. This is a type of composition now usually ascribed to Eugenio Lucas Velázquez (1817–1870), the best known of Goya’s followers and imitators. However, if the connection between these paintings and the 1812 inventory predates the death of Javier Goya in 1854, they may have been painted at the same time as other works, including those sold to the Infante Sebastián and possibly to Louis-Philippe’s agent as well, whose attribution is now open to question.<sup>25</sup>

Mariano Goya y Goicoechea, Goya’s grandson, was only six years old in 1812. He seems to have had something of his grandfather’s impulsive and energetic temperament but was also capricious and eccentric (purchasing the title of Marqués del Espinar and speculating imprudently in mining interests and property) and was chronically short of funds. However, while Beruete questioned the four works belonging to Luis

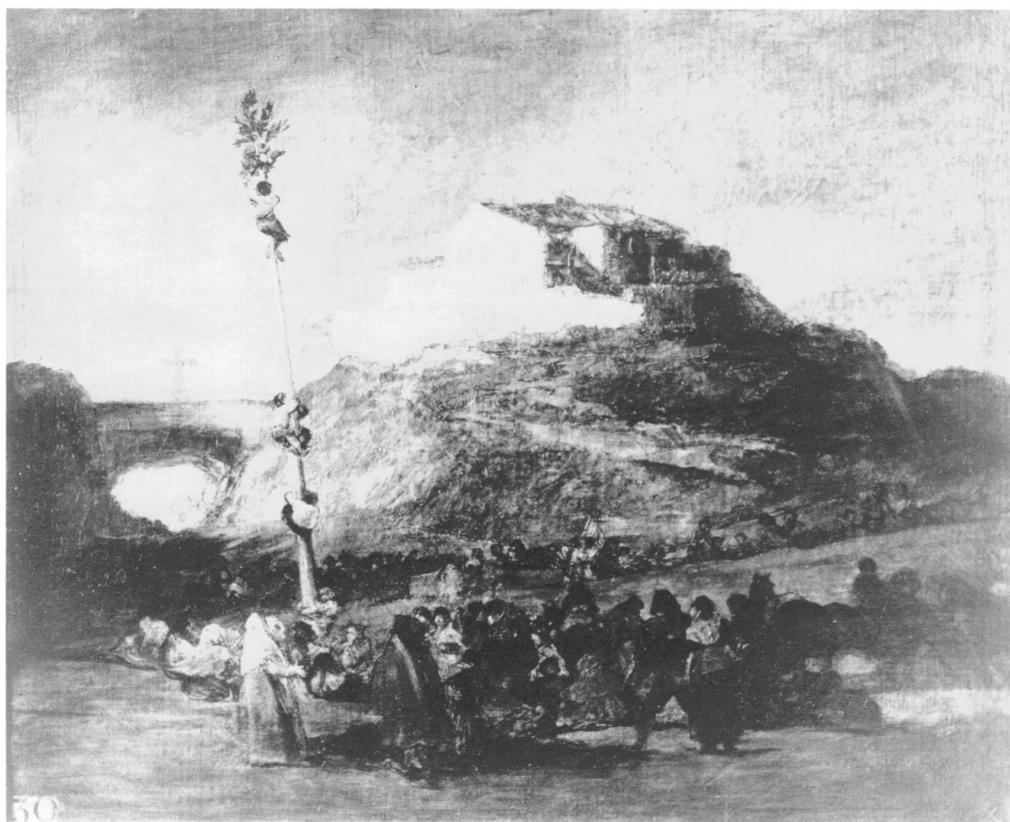


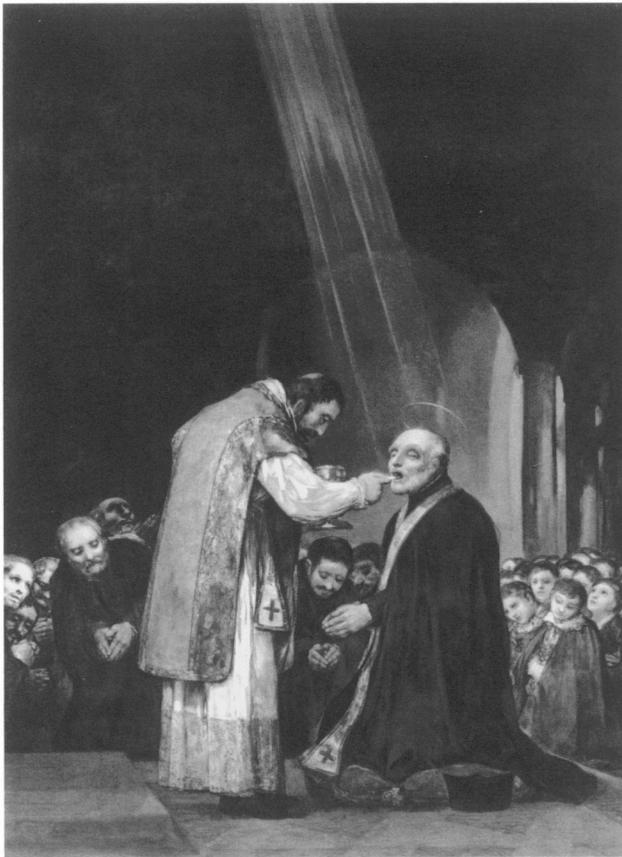
Figure 7. Attributed to Goya. *The Greasy Pole*. Oil on canvas, 80 × 103 cm. Present location unknown (photo: Moreno)



Figure 8. Attributed to Goya. *Stormy Landscape*. Oil on canvas. Private collection



Figure 9. Attributed to Goya. *Village on Fire*. Oil on canvas, 72 × 100 cm. Buenos Aires, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes (photo: Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes)



Figures 10a, b. Goya.  
*Last Communion of Saint  
 Joseph of Calasanz*, 1819.  
 Oil on canvas. Madrid,  
 Escuelas Pias (photo:  
 Manso)



de Madrazo that Mariano was required to authenticate in 1868, he could not bring himself to doubt other paintings in the collection of Luis's celebrated artist brother, Federico de Madrazo, for many years director of the Prado, which had all come from the Goya family collection and had been included by Charles Yriarte in his 1867 catalogue.<sup>26</sup> Federico de Madrazo owned six pictures, three of which were described by Beruete as "indisputable originals": *La misa de parida* (the Churching of Women), *Un capricho* with a donkey, bull, and elephant, and *El globo* (the Balloon), "a large kind of sketch," as he described it.<sup>27</sup> These works, now widely regarded as imitations and pastiches, were sold by Madrazo to the comte de Chaudordy, who was the

French ambassador in Madrid in 1874 and who bequeathed the six pictures to his native town of Agen.

This complex and unsettling situation is further complicated by another document, hitherto considered to have the status of an inventory. Known as the "Brugada inventory of 1828," it details Goya's celebrated Black Paintings on the walls of the Quinta del Sordo (the country property known as the House of the Deaf Man) that lay outside the city, across the Puente de Segovia, and it also itemizes the pictures in the Goya home in Madrid. There is, however, no proof of the date of this informal list, which was apparently drawn up by Antonio Brugada, a young Spanish artist who became a companion to the aged and infirm Goya in Bordeaux.<sup>28</sup> It is noteworthy that while the list of works includes, among a variety of family portraits, the two superb full-length likenesses of Javier and his bride painted in 1805 (private collection, France), it lacks any of the artist's great imaginative figure compositions, whether those from the inventory of 1812 (which had passed to Javier at that date) or presumably later works such as the *Young Women* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille) and the great *Forge* (Frick Collection, New York), which were included in the major group of paintings sold to Baron Taylor for Louis-Philippe's Galerie Espagnole in 1836. This would suggest that the Brugada inventory must post-date the 1836 sale and may even have been drawn up on the death of Javier. The Quinta was given by Goya to Mariano in 1823, but was ceded by the grandson to his father in 1832, so an inventory of works in the two properties, "in the country and in Madrid," could logically have been combined for Javier only after 1832 or for Mariano after the death of his father.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, the Brugada inventory appears to identify a number of the more dubious compositions that have been linked with the earlier inventory through the X numbers but whose authenticity has been questioned, such as the X 1 *Procession* and the Metropolitan's *Bullfight*, or the X 28 Lucas-like "sketches" that were "authenticated" by Mariano. At the same time, while it appears not to include any works known to have been sold before 1854, the year of Javier's death,<sup>30</sup> the document refers to large quantities of prints and drawings and also to "seven chests" that held Goya's copperplates (other than those of *Los Caprichos*, already in the Calcografía), most of which were printed and published for the first time in 1863 (*Los Desastres de la guerra*) and 1864 (*Los Proverbios*).

While many of the works now considered suspect are characterized by a markedly "romantic" use of the palette knife, this is a technique that occurs only occasionally in Goya's documented oeuvre, and then main-

ly in his later years in Spain. The great altarpiece of the *Last Communion of Saint Joseph of Calasanz*, recently cleaned and studied at the Prado, is a good example of his bold yet judicious and carefully calculated use of this method of applying paint (Figure 10). Nevertheless, in Goya's own lifetime there was already a legend about his wild and unorthodox handling of paint, and his use of a spatula or of his fingers. This was commented on in 1815 by the Swedish envoy to Madrid, who remarked on the artist's lively imagination and on the pictures' execution as "bold and peculiar—several paintings were done without using a brush, just with his fingers or the spatula," habits that were deplored by Goya's academically inclined friend Ceán Bermúdez, who watched him paint one of his last great altarpieces in 1817.<sup>31</sup>

It may prove to be significant that Goya's own son and grandson constantly drew attention to works that they described as having been painted with knives or spatulas and whose authenticity is now questioned. In a biographical note sent to the Real Academia de San Fernando in 1831, Javier Goya wrote of his father that "his own predilection was for the paintings he kept in his house, since he was free to paint them as he pleased. In this way he came to paint some of them with a palette knife instead of brushes. These were always his special favorites and he enjoyed looking at them every day."<sup>32</sup> And at some unspecified date, Javier's home was visited by a Carthusian monk from Zaragoza who noted "among the pictures he owns, a collection of *panels* . . . depicting the *horrors of war*, which Goya himself valued very highly. There are eight or ten on canvas . . . painted *without brushes*, the color being applied with little cane knives which he made himself, a method he was proud of having invented." The good monk was no doubt repeating what he was told at the time, and referred to these works as representing "bullfights and popular customs."<sup>33</sup>

Javier Goya's letters to Vicente López, written in 1828, suggest a possible connection between the growth of the legend about the romantic excesses of Goya's technique and the introduction into his oeuvre of dubious pictures whose authenticity appears to be borne out by inventory marks or other evidence. The very early appearance of such works suggests that Javier Goya was at least a party to this falsification of his father's oeuvre. And since he was documented on various occasions as an artist himself, one may wonder whether he was not tempted to extend his "only inheritance," as he misdescribed it, by substituting works—either directly or indirectly—to replace those already sold and which could conveniently be supported by reference to the document of 1812.<sup>34</sup>

Other artists may also be considered as candidates, even the Infante Sebastián himself, of whose work we currently know almost nothing,<sup>35</sup> or Valentín Carderera, who had wanted to become a pupil of Goya and is known to have copied his paintings and drawings. Born in 1795, Carderera wrote years later that "the celebrated Palafox presented and recommended him to the great artist, but because of his deafness he never wanted to take pupils." Carderera's text also confirms the secrecy that surrounded Javier's dealings, suggesting that little was known of the artist's inheritance until "Le temps, qui découvre tout, la mort du fils de Goya, qui tenait presque cachés et conservait avec un respect filial tous les dessins, tableaux, gravures ou planches de son père . . . nous ont mis à même de connaître une foule de productions du maître aragonais, jusqu'alors ignorées."<sup>36</sup> Javier had evidently exercised careful control and provided limited access to the works in his collection. Apart from the sale of a number of masterpieces as well as the dispersal of other, less trustworthy works that entered collections with the label "Goya" in the 1830s, paintings, prints, and drawings from Goya's estate were acquired principally by Carderera, the Madrazo family, and other privileged people after Javier's death in 1854, from his eccentric and unreliable son, Mariano.

In a much earlier article of 1838, Carderera gave an impressively perceptive analysis of Goya's painting based on works then available for study, mainly portraits and religious paintings, or the imaginative pictures in the Alameda of the dukes of Osuna and those, now largely unidentified, in the collections of his friends and colleagues. Carderera's description of Goya's distinctive style and manner of painting may still serve as a guide to our assessment of Goya's art. He wrote, with particular relevance to Goya's mature style, of his

effective use of chiaroscuro, the superb sense of space between figures, and finally, the realistic and luminous coloring, whose harmonious treatment was entirely his own. Having developed a keen interest in Rembrandt, Goya made his scenes darker, yet the illuminated areas produce an astoundingly powerful effect as a result. Always a close observer of Nature, he came to understand the space between figures as admirably as Velázquez, his favorite painter, and he would treat minor passages in a sketchy way so that they would not spoil the ensemble. He painted strongly lit surfaces with solid blocks of color, unmixed by the brush, and sometimes applied the paint with the flexible point of a palette knife. Although he was very experienced, his deceptive fluency and those daring touches, which have proved dangerously seductive to the



Figure 11. Style of Goya. *Bullfight in a Divided Ring*. Oil on canvas, 98.4 × 126.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Catharine Lorillard Wolfe Collection, Wolfe Fund, 1922, 22.181



Figure 12. Goya, *Corrida*, before 1812? Oil on panel, 45 × 72 cm. Madrid, Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (photo: Manso)

younger artists of our own day, were carefully planned and worked out in advance [adding, as Goya's son had also written, that] in many of his pictures the last bright touches were applied by artificial light.<sup>37</sup>

Goya's finest paintings and the magnificent body of his graphic work, of which the Metropolitan Museum's collection offers such a superb selection, are the guide to excellence that should enable critics and connoisseurs to reject those works that fail to match or actively go against the criteria defined so early on by Carderera. The confrontation between the Metro-

politan's *Majas on a Balcony* (see Figure 4) and the original version that bears the genuine reference to the 1812 inventory (Figure 1) has thrown a new light on the qualities that can be expected of a major Goya painting. As has already been noted,<sup>38</sup> a Goya work is always firmly structured, with a "message" or intention, or simply a focal point (as in a portrait), that is expressed through formal means and the energy and equilibrium of all its parts. Surface tensions and patterns hold the composition together and direct the spectator's eye, as do the interplay of positive and negative forms, the relationships of tone and color, and



Figure 13. Attributed to Goya. *Procession*. Oil on canvas, 105 × 126 cm. Zürich, Bührlle Foundation (photo: Bührlle Foundation)

Figure 14. (below left) Goya. *Procession of Flagellants*, before 1812. Oil on panel, 46 × 73 cm. Madrid, Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (photo: Manso)

Figure 15. (below) Goya. *Crowd in a Circle*. Drawing from Album F, p. 42. Brush and brown wash, 207 × 143 mm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1935, 35.103.29



the rhythms of the brushstrokes. These tend to be rapid and “impressionistic” and may vary from the most delicately fluid washes or exquisitely detailed handling to the broadest sweeps of the brush, with touches of rich impasto as and when these are required. Only occasionally did Goya employ the palette knife, and then never to produce a noticeable effect on its own, but simply to reinforce the passage in hand. These are all characteristics that inform the original *Majas on a Balcony* and contrast conspicuously with the characteristics of the Metropolitan’s picture, which in the final analysis is so lacking in energy and

aplomb that it is difficult to see it even as a work from the master’s studio. And Goya’s studio production as it affects the many, particularly official, portraits that were commissioned from him is another whole area that remains to be investigated.

Similarly, the Museum’s *Bullfight in a Divided Ring* (Figure 11) does not stand comparison with the *Corrida* in the Real Academia de San Fernando (Figure 12). The weakly drawn figures, the lack of spatial coherence, and the crudely intrusive, palette-knife impasto in the background of this and the pendant “X 1” *Procession* (Figure 13) cannot come from the hand

that organized the figures in the Academia's *Procession of Flagellants* (Figure 14) or the spaces and crowds, with figures so full of life and meaning, in the drawings from Album F in the Metropolitan's collection (Figure 15). Although one must await a full technical analysis of all these works that would confirm the apparent dissimilarities between them, it may prove to be the case that the four outstanding panels in the Academia were in fact the "four paintings of the same size" that headed the 1812 inventory, their complexity and extraordinary power of invention fully justifying their exceptionally high valuation in relation to all the other works. Although this would bring forward the date usually assigned to them, recent revisions to the chronology of Goya's paintings have already led to the placing of the Romana pictures closer to 1800 than to the years of the war.<sup>39</sup>

If this hypothesis is correct, then Javier must have been a party to the substitution of other works, to which the X 1 inventory number was added after the original group had been sold to the collector who bequeathed them to the Academia in 1836.<sup>40</sup> One may also cite the case of the sketch for the tapestry cartoon of the *Women Watercarriers* (private collection, Madrid). This bears an X 13 marked on the verso, suggesting that the tiny canvas may have been substituted for the impressive *Watercarrier* (Figure 6), which had been sold in Goya's lifetime to Prince Alois Wenzel Kaunitz (1774–1848), the Austrian ambassador to whom Javier referred in his letter to Vicente López. Kaunitz's collection was auctioned in Vienna as early as 1820, so Javier—or Goya on his son's behalf (since all the 1812 inventory pictures already belonged to him)—must have given in to Kaunitz's pressing requests and sold him the *Watercarrier* together with the companion *Knife Grinder*, probably during Kaunitz's return to Madrid in 1815–16.<sup>41</sup> In this case, the substitution of the small sketch, although reprehensible and absurd, at least did not introduce a foreign body into the oeuvre.

The Goya exhibition at the Metropolitan, preceded by the research already conducted by Gary Tinterow and Susan Alyson Stein for the catalogue of the Havemeyer collection,<sup>42</sup> has thrown open the door to a full-scale revision of Goya's oeuvre. The investigation of further inventories and dated acquisitions will continue, and above all the many doubtful works must now be carefully analyzed for their exact relationship to the prints and drawings and also to the Black Paintings in the Quinta. In the end, only this kind of research, accompanied by clear and detailed analysis of the aesthetic and material characteristics of the "true oeuvre," will enable the works of Francisco de

Goya y Lucientes to be distinguished from those of his obscure and as yet unnamed imitators.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Besides many colleagues at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, I am indebted for practical help and valuable comments concerning this article to Belén Bartolomé, Fernando Bouza, Xavier Bray, Enriqueta Harris, Manuela Mena, and Elena Santiago.

## NOTES

1. Colta Ives and Susan Alyson Stein, *Goya in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, exh. cat. (New York, 1995).

2. See Juliet Wilson-Bareau, "Goya in the Metropolitan Museum," *Burlington Magazine* 138 (1996) pp. 95–104.

3. F.J. Sánchez Cantón, "Como vivía Goya," *Archivo Español de Arte* 19 (1946) pp. 103–107 (citing a copy dated 1814, in private hands, of the original document); P. Gassier and J. Wilson, *The Life and Complete Work of Francisco Goya* (New York) 1971, p. 381, Appendix I (transcription of the inventory as published by Sánchez Cantón); José Manuel Cruz Valdovinos, "La partición de bienes entre Francisco y Javier Goya a la muerte de Josefa Bayeu y otras cuestiones," *Goya Nuevas Visiones. Homenaje a Enrique Lafuente Ferrari*, (Madrid) pp. 133–153 (this is the fullest account of the 1812 inventory to date). In the documents relating to the "Testamentaria de D.<sup>a</sup> Josefa Bayeu" (Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid, Escribano Antonio López de Salazar, Protocolo no. 22.879, ff. 289–309), the inventory is repeated with an error in the numbering of the list of "Paintings," in which *atorce* (fourteen) and *quince* (fifteen) are repeated so that the subsequent numbering is two digits in arrears. Although the figures were corrected in the 1814 copy and are those given in most publications, José Manuel Arnaiz has recently drawn attention to the discrepancy, although without explaining the reason for it (see note 12).

4. Xavier de Salas, "Sur les tableaux de Goya qui appartiennent à son fils," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 63 (1964) pp. 99–110.

5. Laurent Matheron, *Goya* (Paris, 1858) chap. III, n. p. [pp. 91–92]; Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, p. 254, nn. 903–912.

6. Nigel Glendinning has drawn attention, in numerous publications, to works by or attributed to Goya in collections in Spain before or shortly after the artist's death. See his recent article "Spanish inventory references to paintings by Goya, 1800–1850: originals, copies and valuations," *Burlington Magazine* 135 (1994) pp. 100–110.

7. See the catalogue entries and provenance notes in *Goya: Truth and Fantasy. The Small Paintings*, exh. cat., Prado, Royal Academy, Art Institute of Chicago (Madrid/London, 1993–94); no. 7 is the only authentic surviving sketch for the twenty or so principal tapestry cartoons from Goya's earlier series; nos. 10–17 include the sketch for the *Immaculate Conception*, given by Goya to Jovellanos, who had commissioned the altarpiece and other paintings for the college of Calatrava in Salamanca.

8. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 256–261, 272–275; *Goya: Truth and Fantasy*, cat. nos. 19–28.

9. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, pp. 108, 382, Appendix IV; see also Ángel Canellas López, ed., *Diplomatario de Francisco de Goya* (Zaragoza, 1981) pp. 314–316, nos. 188–190.

10. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 914–921; *Goya: Truth and Fantasy*, cat. nos. 74–81.

11. José Manuel Arnaiz, “Francisco de Goya, goyescas y gollerías,” *Antiquaria* 12 (1994) pp. 39–41.

12. On the Infante Don Sebastián Gabriel de Borbón y Borbón and his collections, see Mercedes Agueda, “La colección de pinturas del Infante Don Sebastián Gabriel,” *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 3, no. 8 (1982) pp. 102–117. The infante’s collection was confiscated, and an inventory was drawn up and dated July 31, 1835. The works were incorporated into the collections of the Museo de la Trinidad, where they were exhibited from 1842 until the infante’s property was returned to him in 1861 (see *Museo del Prado. Inventario General de Pinturas*, II, *El Museo de la Trinidad* [Madrid, 1991] nos. 76, 78–123). For the text of the Goya items in the inventory, see also Glendinning, “Spanish inventory references,” pp. 103, 109.

José Manuel Arnaiz (“Nuevas andanzas de Goya. Majas en el Metropolitan,” *Antiquaria* 14 [1996] pp. 76–87) gives a misleading account of the infante’s collection and its transfer to the Museo de la Trinidad (referring instead, erroneously, to its confiscation in 1868 and transfer to the Museo del Prado). The article misidentifies and confuses the provenance of the various works mentioned, mistakes the Museo de Madrid (the short-lived Museo de la Trinidad) for the Museo del Prado, and does not cite either the catalogue of the Trinidad collection or that of the collection of Louis-Philippe (see note 15).

13. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 864–869; *Goya: Truth and Fantasy*, cat. nos. 84–89.

14. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 960, 1668, and 1669; see also *Museo del Prado Inventario General*.

15. Jeannine Baticle and Cristina Marinas, *La Galerie espagnole de Louis-Philippe au Louvre. 1838–48. Notes et documents des musées de France* (Paris, 1981) IV, p. 83, “Notice” no. 103.

16. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 975–978 and notes. Some of these have been ascribed to Eugenio Lucas Velázquez by José Manuel Arnaiz, *Eugenio Lucas. Su vida y su obra* (Madrid, 1981) nos. 412–415.

17. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 958, 959, and 961; Baticle and Marinas, *La Galerie espagnole*, p. 83, “Notice” no. 103; p. 271, “Annexe” no. 24.

18. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, no. 355; Baticle and Marinas, *La Galerie espagnole*, p. 88, “Notice” no. 107.

19. For all these works, see (in the order cited here) Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 963 and 964, 957, 903–911; Baticle and Marinas, *La Galerie espagnole*, p. 87, “Notice” no. 106.

20. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 870, 871. See the list of “lost” works in Wilson-Bareau, “Goya,” p. 97, n. 11.

21. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 951–953; the Berlin replica is included in Arnaiz, *Eugenio Lucas*, as no. 362. See Wilson-Bareau, “Goya,” pp. 100–101 and n. 16.

22. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 930–935; the title of 935 (taken from an earlier source) probably relates to 934, and 935 would be the version on panel (in a private collection) of Gassier and Wilson 944. The debate concerning authorship continues,

and nos. 930, 931, and 934 were recently exhibited as works by Goya, with a discussion of their attribution in the exhibition catalogue *Francisco Goya. Maleri-Tegning-Grafikk*, Nasjonalgalleriet (Oslo, 1996) nos. 25–27. The study day, organized by *Burlington Magazine* and the Royal Academy of Arts, London, in connection with the exhibition *Goya. Truth and Fantasy*, was held on June 3, 1994.

23. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 947–950; Eustaquio Lopez Sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 25, 1866, nos. 3–6; see Xavier Desparmet Fitz-Gerald, *L’Oeuvre peint de Goya* (Paris, 1928–50) II, pp. 260–261.

24. Aureliano de Beruete, *Goya. Pintor de retratos*. (Madrid, 1915) p. 67; idem, *Goya. Composiciones y figuras* (Madrid, 1917) p. 97. On Mariano Goya, see Marqués de Saltillo, *Goya en Madrid: su familia y allegados (1746–1856)*, (Madrid, 1952); Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, *Antecedentes, coincidencias e influencias del arte de Goya* (Madrid, 1947; reprint 1987), pp. 295–300.

25. The four works in Luis de Madrazo’s collection passed to Argentina (Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 947–950). Of the paintings acquired by Baron Taylor from Goya’s son and listed in the inventory drawn up in Paris, three are presently unknown and have never been identified or reproduced. They include two works whose titles are identical with those in the so-called Brugada inventory of 1828 (see note 30 below), and whose authorship remains to be determined. See Baticle and Marinas, *La Galerie espagnole*, p. 82, “Notice” nos. 101, 102; also p. 272, “Annexe,” no. 25.

26. Charles Yriarte, *Goya. Sa biographie, les fresques, les toiles, les tapisseries, les eaux-fortes et le catalogue de l’oeuvre* (Paris, 1867) p. 137. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 201, 876, 902, 956 (and note), 975.

27. De Beruete, *Goya. Composiciones*, pp. 97–98.

28. Desparmet Fitz-Gerald, *L’Oeuvre*, I, p. 53, n.1, giving an account of the original document, of which only two out of four recto-verso pages survived when he transcribed it. See Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, p. 381, Appendix II. Antonio Brugada (1804–1863) gave an account of Goya’s activities in Bordeaux (see Laurent Matheron, *Goya*, chap. XI).

29. On the Quinta, see Nigel Glendinning, “Goya’s Country House in Madrid. The Quinta del Sordo,” *Apollo* 123 (1986) pp. 102–109.

30. The works acquired by Baron Taylor from Javier Goya in 1836 included a *Reo en capilla* (prisoner in a cell) and *Un entierro* (a burial), both titles that appear in the Brugada list (items 17 and 21). See Baticle and Marinas, *La Galerie espagnole*, cited at note 25. It is possible that the works on the Brugada inventory were replicas.

31. Nigel Glendinning, *Goya and his Critics* (New Haven/London, 1977) pp. 54–55, citing Per Bjurström’s publication of the journal of Count Gustaf de la Gardie and Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez’s comments in his manuscript “Historia de la pintura.”

32. The texts of these biographical notes are given in Saturnino Calleja, ed., *Colección de . . . reproducciones* (Madrid, 1924) p. 60, and by Pedro Beroquí in *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología* 3, no. 7 (1927) pp. 99, 100; translation based on that in Glendinning, *Goya and his Critics*, p. 68; see also Enriqueta Harris, *Goya* (London, 1969) pp. 23–24.

33. Padre Tomás López, “Noticias tradicionales de D. F. Goya,” in Conde de la Viñaza, *Goya: su tiempo, su vida, sus obras* (Madrid, 1887) p. 463 (the translation follows the italics of the Spanish text); see also Xavier de Salas, “A Group of Bullfighting Scenes by Goya,” *Burlington Magazine* 151 (1964) p. 37.

34. When Goya handed over his copperplates and unsold sets of *Los Caprichos* to Carlos IV for the Royal Calcografía in 1803, he requested a pension for his son Javier; the ensuing royal order specified that the pension was granted so that the son should be enabled to distinguish himself as an artist as had his uncle and father before him. And on the occasion of his marriage in 1805, Javier gave his profession as “artist” (documents in Canellas López, *Diplomatario*, pp. 360–361, nos. 223, 224; pp. 477–478, nos. cviii, cix). In his monograph and catalogue published in 1867 Charles Yriarte referred to a painting by Javier Goya that had already been removed from the Quinta del Sordo before his visit there to see the Black Paintings in situ (Yriarte, *Goya*, pp. 94, 141; Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, p. 384, Appendix VI, no. 7a).

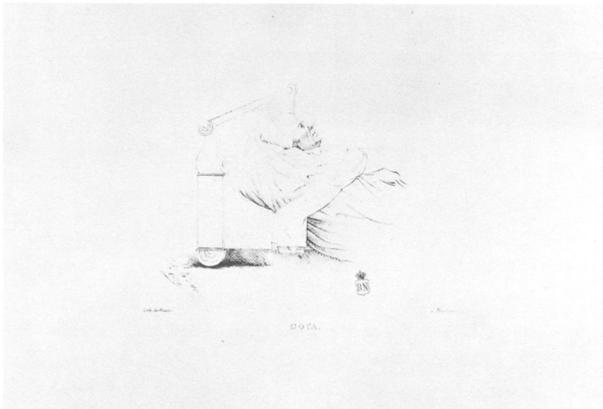


Figure 16. F. de la Torre. *Goya on his Death Bed*, 1828. Lithograph, 128 × 164 mm (image). Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional

35. See note 12, and the references in José Luis Diez, ed., *Federico de Madrazo. Epistolario* (Madrid, 1994) I, pp. 131, 284. A number of the infante’s works are in the collections of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid.

36. Valentín Carderera, “François Goya. Les eaux-fortes,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 15 (1863) pp. 238, 242.

37. Valentín Carderera, “Goya,” *El Artista* (1838) reprinted in Lafuente Ferrari, *Antecedentes*, pp. 306–307; translation in Glendinning, *Goya and his Critics*, Appendix I, II, p. 292.

38. See *Goya: Truth and Fantasy*, passim; Wilson-Bareau, “Goya,” pp. 98–100.

39. See *Goya: Truth and Fantasy*, p. 84 and nos. 74–81.

40. The four panels, together with the markedly different and less coherent *Burial of the Sardine*, were bequeathed to the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando by Manuel García de la Prada, whose portrait by José Madrazo, signed and dated 1827, is in the same collection (see Fernando Labrada, *Catálogo de la Pintura* [Madrid, 1965] p. 53, no. 699). The five works went on display there in 1839, providing models for other artists from that date onward. The following year an inventory was made of the pictures owned by the collector-dealer Serafín García de la Huerta; see El Marqués del Saltillo, “Colecciones madrileñas de pinturas: La de D. Serafín García de la Huerta (1840),” *Arte Español* (1951) pp. 169ff., citing Protocolo 24.340. It included a number of works by

Leonardo Alenza (1807–1845) that were described as “copies,” “imitations,” or works “in the style” of Goya, alongside works by the master: e.g., nos. 58, a copy by Alenza of Goya’s *Retrato de Maíquez*; 183 *Unas manolas al balcón*, por Alenza and 184 *Otras manolas vestidas de majas . . . de Goya*; 358 and 732 both titled *Un sacerdote dando la comunión*, the first by Alenza, the second by Goya; 737 *Un asunto de Inquisición* and 738 *Una procesión de Viernes Santo*, both described as *por Alenza, imitando a Goya* (the numbers, corrected by Saltillo, differ from those of the manuscript document); see also Glendinning, “Spanish inventory references,” for the paintings attributed to Goya (transcribed from a different document, Protocolo 25.050, with its original numbering). Apart from the works clearly related to Goya, there are also compositions on many themes, such as a *Mass*, a *Forge*, etc., that may prove to be further imitations and pastiches of Goya’s work.

41. Gassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 295, 963, and 964; *Goya: Truth and Fantasy*, cat. nos. 30, 92, 93. See Th. von Frimmel, *Lexikon der Wiener Gemälde-Sammlungen* (Munich, 1914) II, pp. 331–356; Marianne Harasti-Takács, “Scènes de genre de Goya à la vente de la collection Kaunitz en 1820,” *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts* 44 (1975) pp. 107–121.

42. *Splendid Legacy: The Havemeyer Collection*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1993) nos. 296, 300.

## APPENDIX

### THE SALE OF PICTURES FROM GOYA’S ESTATE

Two letters from Francisco Javier de Goya to Vicente López Portaña, dated May 23 and 24, 1828, offer paintings and miniatures by his father for the Infante Sebastián Gabriel. A copy of a note by Vicente López advises the infante on his response. They are given here in the original Spanish text and in an annotated English translation.<sup>1</sup>

#### I. Letter dated May 23, 1828

Sr. D.<sup>n</sup> Vicente Lopez.// Mi apreciable amigo; no siendome posible pasar à ver à vmd por el mal estado de mi pierna, tengo el gusto de contestar à su muy apreciable de hayer, haciendole presente la gran satisfaccion que recivo al saver el particular aprecio que S.A. el Srmo Sr Ynfante D.<sup>n</sup> Sebastian, desea hacer à los bocetos hechos por mi amado Padre, al que tengo un honor en contribuir con los mejores sentimientos de gratitud, y al efecto puede vmd hacer presente à S.A. que de las dos colecciones que ultimamente hizo y la del Maragato puede S.A. disponer como sea de su agrado.

El trastorno que he sufrido por la irreparable perdida de mi S. Padre, me ha impedido presentar a S.A. en el momento de mi llegada, una de aquellas miniaturas que ultimamente hizo y que mas le gustaban, à cuyo efecto he contado con la amistad de vmd y que molestaré en cuanto me sea posible, esperando se

digne S.A. admitir este cortisimo obsequio à mi reconocimiento.

Acompaño a vmd. tres exemplares p.<sup>a</sup> vmd y sus Srs hijos del retrato de su verdadero amigo, que se hizó despues de su fallecimiento con el fin de presentar à las personas que mas le apreciaron y por esta misma razon si vmd quisiera tomarse la molestia de hacer pasar à manos de S.S.M.M. y A.A. un exemplar, tendria esta doble recomendacion y yo una prueba mas de la amistad que nos dispensa. En ese caso tendrá vmd la bondad de decirme los exemplares q.<sup>c</sup> necesita para mandarselos à su casa.

Deseo la salud de toda su amable familia à quien me hará vmd presente mientras mi pierna me permite hacerlo personalmente y recibiendo el af[ec]to de mi Esp[os]a e hijo se repite de nuevo su mas reconocido S[ervito]r y am[ig]o // Q.S.M.B. [que sus manos besa] // fran[cis]co Javier de Goya // Mayo 23. 1828.

#### *Translation*

Señor Don Vicente López // My dear friend, given the sorry state of my leg which makes it impossible for me to visit you, it is a pleasure to be writing in reply to your very kind letter of yesterday. I must tell you how pleased I was to learn of the singular appreciation expressed by His Serene Highness the Infante Don Sebastián for the sketches executed by my beloved Father, to which I am honored to respond with feelings of deepest gratitude. In this regard, you may tell His Highness that the two recent series he painted<sup>2</sup> as well as the Maragato series<sup>3</sup> are at his entire disposal.

The distress and upheaval caused by the irreparable loss of my Father prevented me from presenting His Highness, on my arrival,<sup>4</sup> with one of the miniatures he made recently and which so delighted him. I am therefore counting on your friendly offices and will now test them to the limit, in the hope that His Highness may be kind enough to accept this small token of my gratitude.<sup>5</sup>

I am also sending you, for you and your family, three copies of a likeness of your dear friend which was made after his death with the idea of giving it to his closest friends and admirers.<sup>6</sup> If you were prepared to take the trouble to ensure that one of the prints reaches Their Royal Majesties and Highnesses, it would thereby gain double recognition, and I yet one more proof of the friendship you have always shown us. In this case, be kind enough to let me know how many copies you will need so that I can send them to your home.

Please give my regards and best wishes to your dear family whom I shall hope to visit in person as soon as

my leg permits, and to the affectionate greetings of my wife and son I add repeated and most grateful compliments from your servant and friend // Yours sincerely // Francisco Javier de Goya // May 23 / 1828.

#### II. Letter dated May 24, 1828

Sr d<sup>n</sup> Vicente López // Mi apreciable Amigo; al momento del recivo de su muy estimada de hayer tarde remití con el dador de ella à S.A. el Srmo Sr. Ynfante D. Sebastian los seis bocetos de los Toros y los seis del Maragato, de cuyo merito nada puedo decir y queda al conocimiento é inteligencia de vmd.

Ygualmente remití la Misa y sobre este me tomo la libertad de decir à vmd que he oido decir mil veces à mi Sr. Padre era de lo poco que habia hecho con algun acierto, segun su juicio, y puedo asegurar à vmd con toda verdad que à mi presencia le pretendió el Principe Kounitz [*sic*], Embajador de Austria y no permitió cederselo, diciendole que no lo haria por tres mil duros. Este y otros varios cuadros forman la unica legitima que recivo de mis Padres pero estoy en el agradable momento de poner à disposicion de S.A. lo mas precioso que poseo con la mas sincera voluntad.

Siento en el alma los enfermos de su casa y nos interesamos sobremanera en el alivio de Luisito y conbalencia de la S[eñori]ta quedando à disposicion de los demas individuos de tan apreciable familia, à quien no pude hacerlo personalm[en]te al entregar la de hayer y estampas mi hijo p.<sup>t</sup> la situacion de los enfermos.

Cada momento tengo nuevos motivos de ser à vmd su mas rec[onoci]do am[ig]o y S[ervit]or // Q.S.M.B. // fran[cis]co Javier de Goya // Mayo 24 / 1828.

#### *Translation*

Señor Don Vicente López // My dear Friend; on receipt of your kind letter of yesterday afternoon, I handed to the bearer for His Serene Highness the Infante Don Sebastián the six sketches of Bulls<sup>7</sup> and the six Maragato subjects, on whose merits I am unable to comment and am waiting to hear that you have seen them and to know your views. At the same time I sent the Mass<sup>8</sup> and as regards this picture I will take the liberty of telling you that I have heard my Father repeat over and over again that it was one of the few things of his that had turned out successfully, in his opinion, and I can assure you absolutely truthfully that when Prince Kaunitz, the Austrian ambassador,<sup>9</sup> told him in my presence that he wanted to acquire it, my Father refused to let him have it, saying that he would not let it go even for 3,000 *duros*. These

and a few other pictures are the only inheritance I have received from my Parents, but it gives me the greatest pleasure to be able sincerely and willingly to offer His Highness the most precious things that I possess.

My heart goes out to the sick ones in your home and we are particularly concerned for the recovery of little Luis and the convalescence of your little girl. We would like to be of any help we can to the other members of your dear family to whom my son was unable to express this personally when he came yesterday with the letter and prints, given the state of the sick children.

Constantly aware of fresh reasons to remain your most obliged friend and servant, I am, Sir // Yours sincerely // Francisco Javier de Goya // May 24 / 1828.

### III. Note by Vicente López, undated

Señor // Soy de parecer q.<sup>e</sup> segun la Carta de Goya no quiere desacerse de la Misa y corridas de Toros, de modo q.<sup>e</sup> los del Maragato y los del ultimo tiempo q.<sup>e</sup> dice no son los mejores, y si los primeros, por consig[nien]te yo soi de opinion q.<sup>e</sup> lo mejor y mas acertado sería el q.<sup>e</sup> pasase el Señor Tordera y tratase francam[en]te con dicho Goya respeto a la carta q.<sup>e</sup> me ha enviado y tiene V. A. // A L R P de V A [A los reales pies de Vuestra Alteza] Lopez // P.S. Repito q.<sup>e</sup> no dando el paso q.<sup>e</sup> llevo dicho no se sacara partido como lo desea V.A.

#### *Translation*

Sir // It seems to me that according to Goya's letter he does not want to relinquish the Mass and the Bullfights, so he is saying that the Maragato pictures and the most recent ones are not his best works, whereas the earlier ones are, so my view is that the best course would be for Señor Tordera<sup>10</sup> to visit him and speak frankly with Goya about the letter he sent me and which Your Highness has. // At Your Highness's royal command López // P.S. I repeat that if my advice is not followed Your Highness will not be able to get what you want out of this.

### NOTES TO APPENDIX

1. The original documents are preserved in the Archives of the Royal Palace in Madrid (Archivo del Infante Dn. Sebastián, Anexo, Legajo 8). The Spanish text of the letters was first published by José Manuel Arnaiz, "Francisco de Goya, goyescas y gollerías," pp. 39–41. Thanks to the assistance of Xavier Bray, it is given here in an exact transcription. In the letters to López, Goya's son signs his name Javier, with a J instead of the X that appears on the legal documents connected with the inventory of 1812.

2. The "two recent series" appear to have included the "six sketches of Bulls" referred to in the second letter and as yet unidentified.

3. The six panels representing the capture of the bandit known as "el Maragato" by the young friar Pedro de Zaldivia are one of Goya's most brilliant and celebrated series of pictures (Figure 3; see note 13).

4. See text. Writing to Leandro Fernández de Moratín in Paris on April 28, 1828, Leocadia Zorrilla told him that the Goya family, who had stayed in Bordeaux for the funeral, were leaving for Madrid that day (they included Goya's son and daughter-in-law and their son Mariano). Javier was therefore back in Madrid in the early part of May.

5. The Infante Sebastián's collection, inventoried in 1835 after its confiscation, included under nos. 159 and 160: "Two small miniatures . . . A *picador* executing different manoeuvres with the lance" (see Glendinning, "Spanish inventory references," pp. 103, 109). Although miniatures with bullfighting themes are known, none have yet been convincingly attributed to Goya (see Eleanor A. Sayre, "Goya's Bordeaux Miniatures," *Boston Museum Bulletin* 337 [1966] p. 115, Appendix II, "1846 Two Miniatures").

6. This probably refers to the naive, lithographic "portrait" of Goya on his deathbed, signed and dated *F. de la Torre / 1828*, and lettered *Lith. de Gaulon, à Bordeaux, GOYA*. (Figure 14).

7. No set of six bullfighting scenes is known, although many works on the theme have been attributed to Goya (see Cassier and Wilson, *The Life*, nos. 1673–1675), and also to Lucas (see Arnaiz, *Eugenio Lucas*, nos. 344–346).

8. No positive identification has been made of this painting. In the so-called Brugada inventory of 1828 (see text and note 28 above), is a work described as *La misa de parida, cuadro* (Mass for the churching women, picture). The definition of the work as a "picture" rather than a "sketch" implied that it was of reasonably large size. Such a work, entitled *Messe de relevailles* and described as a "magnifique esquisse" and a "Toile de premier ordre, importante dans l'oeuvre de Goya," passed from Javier Goya's collection to that of Federico de Madrazo (see text and note 26) and is now in the Musée d'Agen, France (Cassier and Wilson, *The Life*, no. 975).

9. See text and note 41.

10. José Luis Tordera was the Infante Sebastián's Secretario de Cámara in Madrid (see A. Mut Calafell, *Inventario del Archivo del Infante Don Gabriel de Borbón* [Madrid, 1985]). I am grateful to Fernando Bouza for information concerning this archive.