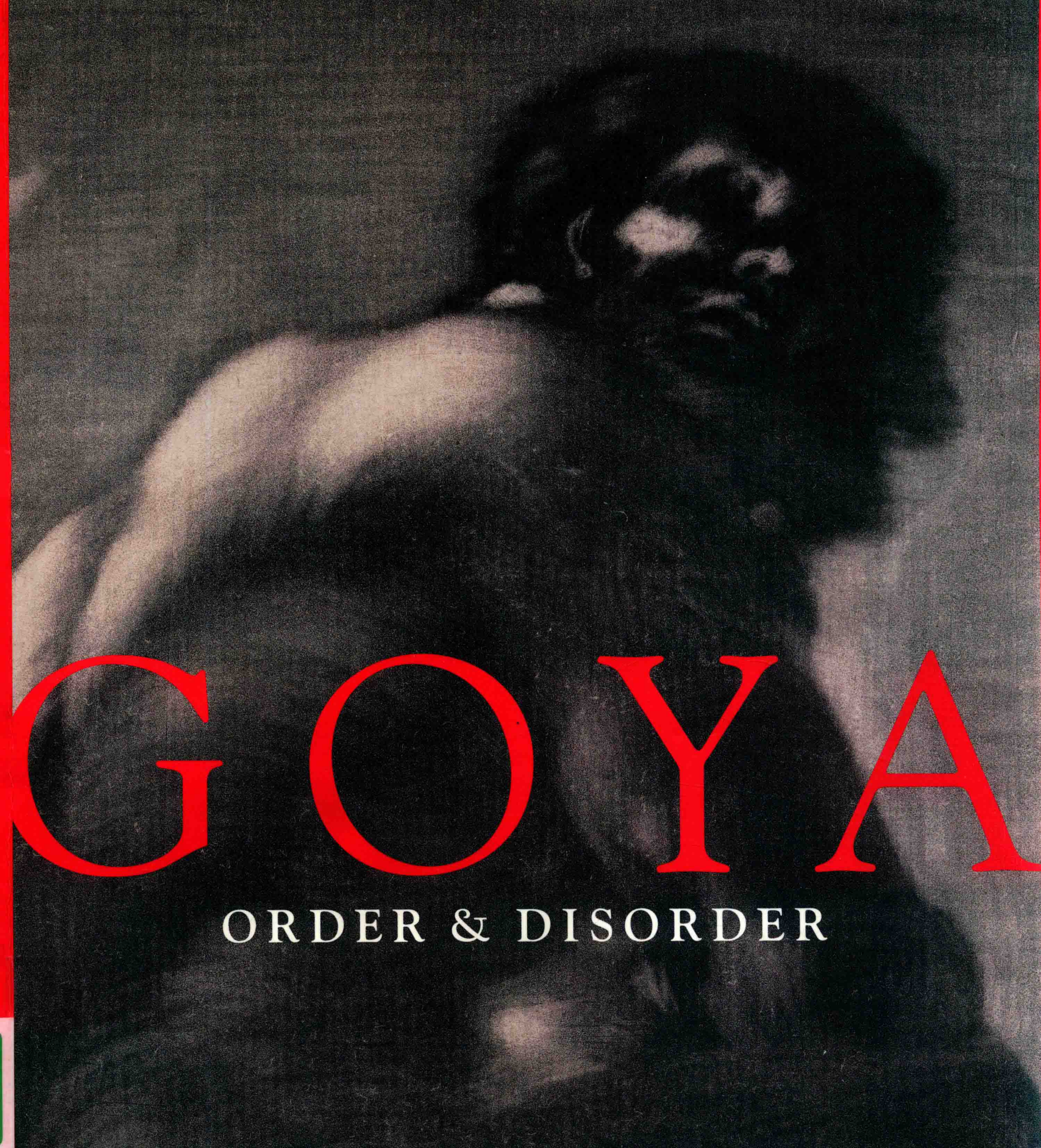

GOYA

ORDER & DISORDER

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MFA PUBLICATIONS
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Contents

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Stephanie Loeb Stepanek and Frederick Ilchman, curators
Janis A. Tomlinson

With contributions by Clifford S. Ackley, Jane E. Braun, Manuela B. Mena Marqués, Gudrun Maurer, Elisabetta Polidori, Sue Welsh Reed, Benjamin Weiss, and Juliet Wilson-Bareau

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El sueño
de la razon
produce
monstruos.

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Director's Foreword

ONE OF THE GIANTS OF Spanish and indeed European art, Francisco Goya (1746–1828) was a witness to a time of revolution and radical transformation in thought and behavior. As the eighteenth-century world gave way to what we consider the modern era, little of the human condition escaped his penetrating gaze. His works tell a story of turbulent times and new artistic possibilities, from depictions of sweeping political and social shifts to the microcosm of his remarkable imagination. In *Goya: Order & Disorder* we are pleased to present the largest and most important assembly of Goya's art in North America in a quarter century. Thanks go to the curators, Stephanie Loeb Stepanek, Curator of Prints and Drawings, and Frederick Ilchman, Chair, Art of Europe, and Mrs. Russell W. Baker Curator of Paintings, who have been ably assisted by Nicole Maria Evans and Jane E. Braun. This project draws on the MFA's deep collection of works on paper as well as masterpieces in a wide range of media from museums around the world, foremost among them the Museo Nacional del Prado in Madrid. We are also pleased to include a number of important works from the holdings of several New England institutions.

Among the other museums that have been generous to this project, we are particularly grateful to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the National Gallery of Art in Washington, the Art Institute of Chicago, the Hispanic Society of America, the Meadows Museum in Dallas, and the Biblioteca Nacional de España. These and many more institutions, as well as private collectors in Europe and North America, have agreed to lend prized works. We are indebted to the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities for an exceptional indemnity, and to its administrator, Patricia Loiko. We are grateful for the help of His Eminence Cardinal Seán O'Malley and the Honorable Alan D. Solomont, former Ambassador to Spain. Our thanks to our exhibition sponsor, Santander, as well as to the Highland Street Foundation and the Thompson Family Foundation, who generously provided funds to implement the exhibition, with additional support coming from the Samuel H. Kress Foundation.

Support for scholarly research was provided by Claire W. and Richard P. Morse, and by Lia and William Poorvu. This publication was made possible with generous support from the Andrew W. Mellon Publications Fund and from Isabelle and Scott Black, whose funds also underwrote a public colloquium on Goya.

Goya: Order & Disorder marks a high point in the strong relationship between the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Museo Nacional del Prado. I wish to salute this partnership and particularly the extraordinary leadership of Miguel Zugaza Miranda, Director, and Gabriele Finaldi, Deputy Director for Collections and Research; their personal attention and support were indispensable. The present exhibition and publication simply would not have been possible without the generosity and scholarly assistance of the Prado and its staff, especially Manuela Mena Marqués, whose admiration for the MFA was sparked during an internship at this institution in 1976. We are honored to acknowledge the Prado's special collaboration. We hope that with their help we have been able to invite readers and viewers to take a new look at the work of this boundlessly creative artist.

MALCOLM ROGERS
Ann and Graham Gund Director
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Curators' Preface

IT IS DAUNTING TO SEEK THE ESSENCE of an artist who produced some eighteen-hundred works in a wide range of media, treating an unprecedented variety of subjects, both seen and unseen. Still more challenging is to fathom the subtleties of his inventions, since Goya's achievement is more than a matter of quantity and diversity, but also encompasses the nuances of expression. Although this study is indebted to generations of previous scholarship, we have eschewed traditional organizing approaches, for example by chronology or medium, in favor of new categories that strive to unlock Goya's imaginative powers.

The catalyst for this exhibition and book was Stephanie Stepanek's consideration of two drawings in the MFA's collection. *Ice Skaters* and *Crazy Skates*, created ten years apart, depict figures losing their balance as they move on blades on a bright winter's day, or on the newfangled technology of roller skates. The second drawing, however, does double duty within a cluster of private drawings Goya made in Bordeaux. The roller skater teetering on the brink of a fall ends a sequence of curious modes of transport while also introducing the next group, one that delves into the manifestation of insanity. The artist's caption, *Locos patines* (*Crazy Skates*), makes the viewer wonder what is crazy here: potentially hazardous contraptions, the mind of someone who puts them on, or both? Goya's preoccupation with states of balance became evident as we began to assemble images of people falling or balanced precariously, which then led to the larger organizing concepts of order and disorder. Furthermore, it became apparent that these two drawings serve as a microcosm of Goya's art: of wildly different appearance, but each offering a fresh interpretation of an unusual theme, underscoring the coherence of Goya's creativity.

As we traced additional key themes and compositional devices to which Goya returned again and again, we realized it was crucial to include works in all of his media and formats: paintings—from cabinet pictures to portraits to altarpieces—drawings in wash and chalk, etchings, aquatints, lithographs, miniatures, tapestry designs, and even the tapestries themselves. Although Goya frequently recorded his artistic ideas in sequences, notably in his album drawings or in famous print series like the *Caprichos*, we made the fundamental decision to break up series in order to juxtapose individual prints or drawings alongside paintings or other works on paper. We believe that comparisons across the span of Goya's career and media will provide a valid framework for understanding this multifaceted and profound artist and enable original observations and conclusions. Beginning with the skating drawings, this study evolved into an ambitious but selective review of Goya's creativity, creating, in effect, a reshuffled retrospective.

Our thematic approach allows us to highlight the often surprising and illuminating relationships between works of completely different periods in his career. All the same, chronology has not been ignored, and our account of events in the artist's life, many details of which remain

uncertain, has benefited from the contributions of numerous scholars. Gudrun Maurer's detailed chronology, summarizing her new assessment of published evidence and her own archival research, is here presented for the first time. Other contributions include new summaries of the provenance of most of the works presented in this volume, undertaken by Nancy Fresella-Lee and advised by Victoria Reed, Monica S. Sadler Curator for Provenance at the MFA. Elisabetta Polidori's glossary gives new definitions of graphic techniques, focusing particularly on Goya's methods. The techniques and materials of the many works on paper at the MFA have been freshly examined by Katrina Newbury, Saundra B. Lane Associate Conservator, who has provided new descriptions for the List of Illustrations. Finally, an impressive international team of authors presents original research, telling observations from a range of perspectives, and useful synthesis through the texts in this volume. We are deeply grateful to all our authors, and note especially the numerous contributions of Janis A. Tomlinson. Our colleagues in MFA Publications, Emiko K. Usui and Jennifer Snodgrass, expertly created a cohesive book from these many parts.

THIS PUBLICATION IS DEDICATED to the memory of Eleanor A. Sayre, who was a curator in the department of Prints, Drawings, and Photographs at the MFA from 1945 until her death in 2001. A world-renowned Goya expert, her many contributions included groundbreaking articles on his drawing albums, the first comprehensive catalogue of his miniatures on ivory, and two international exhibitions, *The Changing Image: Prints by Francisco Goya* (1974) and *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment* (1988–89, jointly organized with the Museo Nacional del Prado and the Metropolitan Museum). These exhibition catalogues remain landmarks in the literature. During her tenure at the MFA, Sayre also increased substantially the Museum's already rich holdings of Goya works on paper, including many donations from her own collection. Stephanie Stepanek worked with Eleanor Sayre for thirty-five years and played a key role in both exhibitions; Frederick Ilchman never had the good fortune to know Eleanor Sayre, but was deeply influenced by viewing *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment*. Both of us continue to benefit from her scholarship and connoisseurship, as do all who seek to explore the challenges and rewards of Goya's art.

STEPHANIE LOEB STEPANEK
Curator, Prints and Drawings
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

FREDERICK ILCHMAN
Chair, Art of Europe
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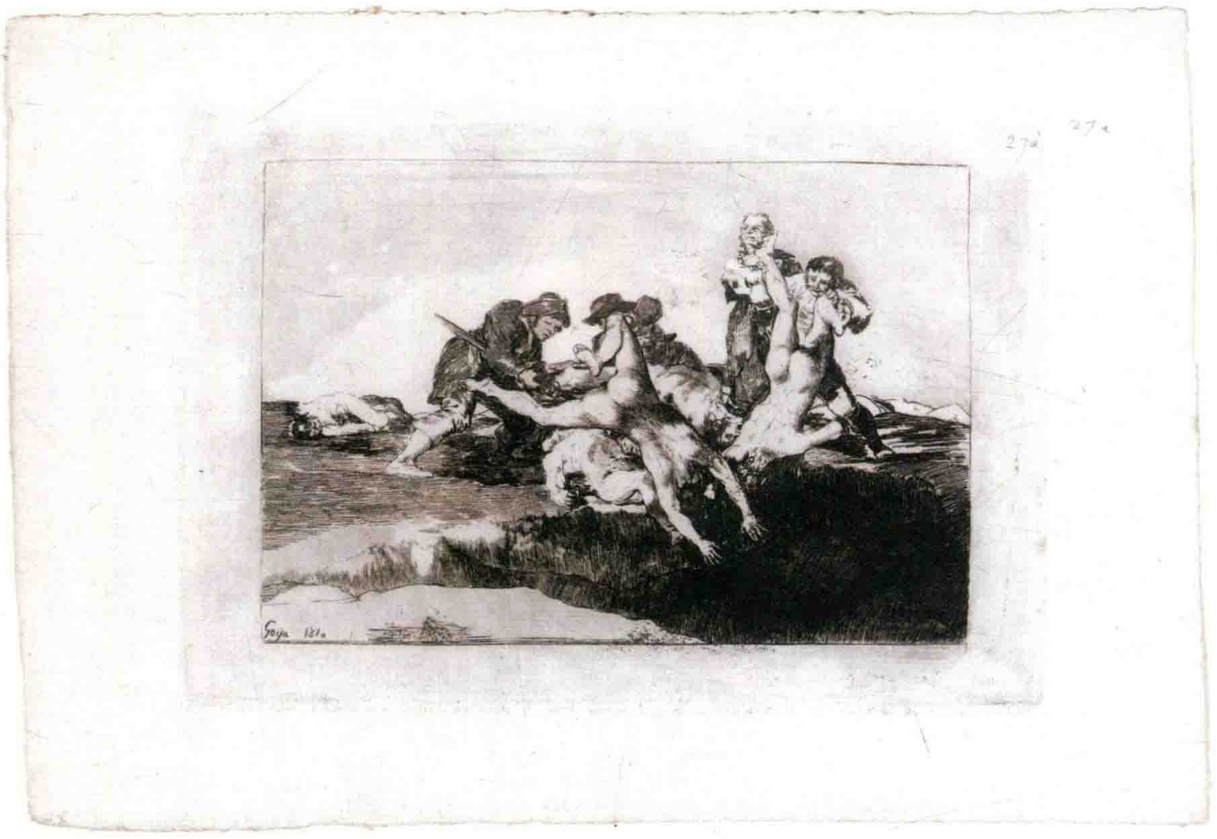
Goya between Order and Disorder

STEPHANIE LOEB STEPANEK and FREDERICK ILCHMAN

FRANCISCO GOYA (1746–1828) continually challenged himself and his contemporaries. Two centuries after it was created, his art still poses questions that intrigue and trouble us. Goya worked with equal fluency in painting, drawing, and printmaking, exploring an extraordinarily wide range of subjects, genres, and formats. Four successive monarchs of Spain employed him, and he could count many influential statesmen and cultural figures as acquaintances or friends. Living in a time of revolution and radical social and political transformations, Goya witnessed drastic shifts from relative peace and prosperity to wartime chaos, famine, crime, and retribution. Among the works he left for posterity—some eighteen hundred oil paintings, frescoes, miniatures, etchings, lithographs, and drawings—many are not easy to look at, or even to understand. They can be in turn provocative, ambiguous, seductive, and repellent. Little of the human condition escaped his penetrating gaze and imaginative interpretation, even the most extreme behavior and emotional states.

How can we make sense of this remarkable diversity of subject and technique? The dual concepts of order and disorder provide one way to approach Goya's apparently boundless creativity. These two poles, and the fertile territory in between, can be discerned across his chronology, subject matter, and media. Through his art, he sought order in the world around him, as he arranged compositions, defined human behavior, and characterized the sitters of portraits. But he did not shy from disorder, depicting the social upheaval, revolution, war, and repression that marked Spain in his lifetime, as well as venturing into imaginative realms of fantasy, nightmare, and madness. In some works, either harmony or chaos prevails, but most exhibit a disquieting tension between these competing forces.

On first appearance, a painting like the *Duchess of Alba* stands for aristocratic dignity, a portrayal of a noblewoman dominating her surroundings and commanding the attention of the artist (*opposite*). By contrast, the etching *Charity* from the *Disasters of War* series shows a perversion of an act of mercy, corpses being stripped naked and tossed in a pit for burial (fig. 1). Yet it would be simplistic to declare that the Duchess of Alba personifies order, while *Charity* characterizes its breakdown. As we move away from the duchess's face, we realize that the artist is present in his signature, written in the sand in the foreground—"Solo Goya"—to which she gestures. The assertion that only Goya was worthy of this commission, and that only Goya could have pulled off such a dramatic likeness, changes the painting's focus from aristocratic prerogative to artistic mastery. Similarly,



1
Charity, Disasters of War 27, 1810
Etching, direct etching with burnishing, drypoint, and engraving, platemark: 16.1 x 23.1 cm (6 5/16 x 9 1/8 in.)

2
What a Great Deed! With Corpses!, Disasters of War 39, 1811–12
Etching, burnishing, and direct etching, platemark: 15.6 x 20.8 cm (6 1/8 x 8 3/16 in.)

in the print, the act of charity in burying the dead is diminished by the haste and lack of decorum, though this may be unavoidable in times of war. As in the portrait, the artist is also present: the tall witness in the background has his features. He disregards the mayhem, and does not halt the desecration.

Order and disorder as organizational concepts are of course not unique to this artist. Most humans look for structure, and governments and institutions place a premium on order. Yet we are also fascinated by disorder, whether it takes the form of chaos, uncertainty, irrationality, or simply the unknown. Even in his more conventional works, Goya tempers individual evocations of order with an undercurrent of disorder. He injects portraits of the high aristocracy with vulnerability and compositional idiosyncrasies. For example, in the *Family of the Duke and Duchess of Osuna*, although the duke completes the compositional circle with his paternal gestures, he also stands somewhat off-kilter and seems removed, not clearly in charge of his cherubic brood grouped about their mother (see fig. 111). More dramatically, Goya's sacred depictions often break with convention to emphasize their subjects' humanity. His *Young Saint John the Baptist in the Desert* appears more like a youth from the streets, posing in the studio, than the earnest herald of Christ (see fig. 154).

Goya's renderings of even the most vile and chaotic events can nonetheless yield beauty, structure, and insight. In *What a Great Deed! With Corpses!*, another print from the *Disasters of War*, dead bodies and body parts—themselves as well-formed as the body of the healthy young Baptist—artfully adorn a tree, in a display of death more grisly than any crucifixion (fig. 2). Who deserves credit for such artistry: a French soldier, a Spanish guerrilla, or Goya himself? The focus in this, as in other images, is on the aftermath of an atrocity; while the killing itself may have lasted only an instant, the consequences are often contemplated by witnesses who serve as our surrogates, for example the figure of the reclining French soldier contemplating with detachment a row of hanged men in *Nor This* (see fig. 199). Goya thus challenges the viewer's own detachment.[1]

Certain thematic preoccupations persisted throughout Goya's working life. These concerns went beyond simply specialization in a certain subject matter, in the way that Tintoretto painted Last Suppers or Watteau repeatedly treated the *fête galante*. For example, Goya played over decades and across media with the theme of figures engaged in the physical struggle for balance: grasping a pole for dear life, in a painting from the mid-1780s, *Greased Pole*; poised precariously, in an etching from 1815–16, *Agility and Audacity of Juanito Apiñani*; or beginning to fall backward, in a drawing from his last years, *Crazy Skates* (see figs. 142, 136, 139). Goya also returned repeatedly to depictions of states of mind, perhaps most conspicuously disordered ones, as in a 1794 painting on tinplate, *Yard with Madmen*, and a drawing of clustered *Lunatics* from three decades later (see figs. 172, 175). Tracing such themes allows us to grasp essential and enduring threads in his creativity, as well as to explore the connections the artist habitually made between his work with brush, crayon, or etching needle.

Knowledge of the major events of Goya's life and times can illuminate his choice of themes and his artistic practices. For example, the onset of deafness, possibly affecting his sense of balance, in 1793 following an illness, may help explain his fascination with

the theme of stability and imbalance. Social isolation after hearing loss may also have encouraged Goya to begin intensive work on drawings in albums for himself as well as on ambitious series of prints destined for the public.

Even in brief, Goya's hard-fought rise to the summit of artistic achievement reads like a nineteenth-century novel. Born in 1746 in the village of Fuendetodos to José Goya, a gilder, and Gracia Lucientes y Salvador, of the lower aristocracy, Francisco benefited from some elementary schooling and then trained for four years under José Luzán Martínez (1710–1785), a respected painter in Zaragoza. In school Goya met his friend and later intimate correspondent Martín Zapater. While in Luzán's studio he may well have encountered Francisco Bayeu y Subias (1734–1795), a rising painter who encouraged Goya and was to become his brother-in-law. The young artist moved to Madrid, where he assisted Bayeu, who was in turn helping the court painter Anton Raphael Mengs (1728–1779) to produce decorations for the Royal Palace. In 1763 and 1766 Goya was unsuccessful in competitions at Madrid's Royal Academy. To advance his career, he embarked in 1769 on a study trip to Italy, at his own expense, basing himself in Rome. In 1771, the Academy of Fine Arts in Parma gave favorable mention to his submission to a history painting competition on the set subject of Hannibal (see fig. 182).

Returning to Spain, Goya married Josefa Bayeu, Francisco's sister, in 1773; they went on to have seven children, of whom only one, Javier (1784–1854), survived to adulthood. In 1775, Mengs called Goya to Madrid to help design cartoons—full-scale preparatory paintings on canvas for tapestries to be installed in the royal palaces of Charles III. He was invited in 1778 to take part in a campaign to publish prints after important paintings by Spanish artists in the royal collection. His assignment to reproduce famous works by Diego Velázquez (1599–1660), the most important Spanish painter of the seventeenth century, indicates that Goya's abilities were being recognized; in 1780, his painting of *Christ on the Cross*, indebted to Velázquez, secured his admission as a member in the Royal Academy. Following an ambitious full-length portrait of the Count of Floridablanca in 1783 and a group portrait of the family of the king's brother, the Infante Don Luis, the next year, commissions for painted portraits gathered momentum, and by the end of the decade Goya was the portraitist of choice for Spain's aristocracy and government officials, painting nearly every sitter of note in Madrid. Some of them, such as the Duke and Duchess of Osuna, soon purchased other kinds of pictures from him, including cabinet paintings and other decorations for homes and churches. In 1786 Goya was appointed one of several Painters to the King; royal portraits soon followed, as did more tapestry cartoons.

The death of Charles III in 1788 led to a hiatus in tapestry commissions, and a series of illnesses, beginning in late 1792, rendered Goya completely deaf.[2] During his recuperation he created a number of innovative small-format paintings on tinplate, which he described as "inventions," including *Shipwreck* and *Yard with Madmen* (see figs. 131, 172). This insistence upon artistic freedom was a watershed moment in his career. Nonetheless, the preference for choosing his own subjects seems not to have hindered continued portrait commissions from statesmen and lofty aristocrats, such as the Duke and Duchess of Alba and the Duke of La Roca, as well as foreign dignitaries. One of his new patrons, Manuel Godoy, a court favorite and on-and-off prime minister, had an adventurous taste for art: he owned the *Naked Maja* and may well have commissioned it.