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The Strange Translation of Goya's 'Black Paintings'

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an armchair of a very different shape from that at Saint-Cloud but like it, ornamented with swans as arm-rests.²² One can speak of a regular dovetailing of ideas in the minds of these contemporaries.²³

The x-shaped stool which Percier drew at the same time as his armchair, and which he intended to be painted white and gold in order to give unity to the ensemble of the chairs in the boudoir, is also designed to bear the stamp of the antique. Its form recalls the numerous chairs, also x-shaped, which are familiar from Greek vases, Etruscan and Roman mural paintings, and coins, and more particularly the type of curved legs, known as the 'curule' chair (*sella curulis*); but whereas in the antique stools that are known, the cross supports the entire chair, in Percier's case, the upper extremities of the crosses form arm-rests and the chair descends to the level of the joint. We are therefore in the presence of a kind of compromise between an antique model and certain medieval x-shaped armchairs without backs, sometimes known as *faudesteuils* (or *faldistaires*), which in turn derive from the Episcopal or Royal folding chair.²⁴

however, that MME LENORMANT, in her *Souvenirs et Correspondances tirées des papiers de Mme Récamier* [1860], t. I, p.25, tells us that 'Berthault se fit aider dans son entreprise par M. Percier' (*ibid.*, p.178).

²² C. NORMAND: *Nouveau recueil en divers genres d'ornemens et autres objets propres à la décoration*, Paris [year XI-1803], pl.No. 2b.

²³ Innumerable are the examples in drawings, and carried out in furniture and furnishings in the periods of the First Empire and Restoration, decorated with swans (and not only for the personal use of Josephine, as is too often believed). As for goldsmith's work (and also for furniture), it is sufficient to refer to the collection of the musée des Arts décoratifs entitled '*Dessins originaux d'orfèverie et de meubles ornés de bronzes provenant de l'atelier de Biennais, orfèvre de Napoléon I et attribués à Percier*', published in part by E. HESSLING: *Documents de style Empire. Dessins d'orfèverie de Percier conservés à la bibliothèque de l'Union centrale des Arts décoratifs de Paris*, s.d. [1911]. (Cf. pls.1, 3, 5, 8-10, 12-16, 18-20 and in the original collection folios 15, 17, 33, 35, 49, 55, 58, 68). One example among others of the diffusion of the theme as part of the whole complex of the arts of decoration and furnishing under the Empire is at the hôtel de Beauharnais, rue de Lille, richly fitted out for Prince Eugène. It appears everywhere, in the wall decoration and in the furniture: cf. E. DRIAULT: *L'Hôtel Beauharnais à Paris* [s.d.], pls.5, 6, 18, 22-24, 27, 42, 45, 47, 48, 53, 54, 56, 58, 66, 68, 70, 71, 74, 79; and H. DEMORIANE: 'Splendeur retrouvée à l'hôtel de Beauharnais', in *Connaissance des Arts*, No.196 [June 1968], pp.72-79. For the continuation of the theme under the Restoration, see in particular LA MÉSANGÈRE, *op. cit.*, t. III and IV, *passim*; D. LEDOUX-LEBARD, *op. cit.*, pl.CXIX, 1 (armchair by Rastier). As for examples abroad, cf. S. GRANDJEAN, *op. cit.*, figs.47, 57, 91.

²⁴ Cf. RICHTER, *op. cit.*, fig.527 (x-shaped *sella curulis* from Pompeii, in Museum at Naples). On the faudesteuil, cf. HAVARD: *Dictionnaire de l'ameublement et de la décoration*, t. II, col. 638.

What, finally, are we to say about the candelabrum with winged figures? Here again we have the case of a modern transposition of an antique model, this time a quite faithful one. It is the *Nike*, personification of Victory, a type of which mounted on a sphere is repeated by Percier, no doubt after a small bronze of the Hellenistic period,²⁵ which he adapts as his lamp-carrier. The *Nike* raises her two arms, holding neither crown nor palm, but a torch, from which spring the cornucopiae and the antlers with dolphin heads.

These few examples of Percier's activity, a mere selection, suffice to explain his purposes, inseparable from those of his colleague Fontaine, along the lines that the two authors elaborate in the preliminary passages of the *Recueil de décorations intérieures*: '*Notre ambition serait satisfaite si nous pouvions nous flatter d'avoir concouru à répandre et à maintenir . . . les principes du goût que nous avons puisé dans l'Antiquité*'; and later: '*le concert de tous les âges et de tous les hommes éclairés s'accorde à donner le prix aux anciens dans ce qui tient à l'imagination et au sentiment du vrai*' (our emphases).²⁶ In the *Recueil* as in the drawings published above, the 'archaeological' intention is constantly reiterated.

But however numerous their borrowings may be from the antique Greco-Roman heritage (thanks, above all, to their knowledge of the sources both of Roman and of South Italian decorative schemes, and of those of the Renaissance), the fidelity of the two architects to their sources does not inhibit them from personal embellishments. The forms and motifs are adaptations, recreations, a new language born of a new aesthetic attitude, defined in this very preliminary passage from which we have quoted: '*Persuadés que cette maladie [fashion] qui est celle du goût moderne . . . doit trouver son traitement et ses remèdes dans les exemples et les modèles de l'Antiquité, suivis non en aveugle, mais avec le discernement que les moeurs, les usages, les matériaux modernes comportent, nous nous sommes efforcés d'imiter l'antique dans son esprit, ses principes, et ses maximes qui sont de tous les temps. Nous n'avons jamais eu la fantaisie de faire du grec pour être à la grecque.*'²⁷

²⁵ The closest among antique types is represented by a small bronze found in the Tiber (s. REINACH, *op. cit.*, t. V, Vol.I [1924], p.202, No.1) (Fig.47) and a bronze at Cassel (*ibid.*, t. II, Vol.1, p.385). Many examples of *Nike* can be found in the *Recueil de décorations intérieures*, pls.1, 4, 5, 12, 20, 39, 40, 43, 62.

²⁶ [Ed. 1812], pp.1-2, 16.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.18.

NIGEL GLENDINNING

The Strange Translation of Goya's 'Black Paintings'

IT is just over 100 years since Cruzada Villaamil published the first article on Goya's Black Paintings.¹ It came out in

1868, three months after the September Revolution had overthrown the régime of Isabel II. The paintings were then very little known and deserved some publicity. The 1854 edition of the main guide-book to the Spanish capital—*Ramón de Mesonero's Manual de Madrid*—had mentioned the artist's house across the river Menzanas to the west

¹ GREGORIO CRUZADA VILLAAMIL: 'La casa del Sordo', *El Arte en España*, vii [1868], pp.265-67. Bibliographical and internal evidence suggests that the article appeared in the number which came out in December.



48. Photograph of Goya's *Doña Leocadia*, by J. Laurent. (Witt Collection, Courtauld Institute of Art).



49. Photograph of Goya's *Doña Leocadia* after restoration, by J. Laurent. From glass negative in possession of Ruiz Vernacci, Madrid.



50. Photograph of water-colour copy of Goya's *Doña Leocadia*, by J. Laurent.



51. Photograph of Goya's *Dog*, by J. Laurent (?). From Calleja's *449 reproducciones . . .* (1924).

of the city, and referred to the 'beautiful and imaginative (or capricious)' paintings in it.² Laurent Mathéron, in the first book on Goya (1858), had included the mural paintings on the walls of the artist's 'summer residence' in his *Essai de Catalogue*, describing them somewhat surprisingly as '*scènes de mœurs locales*'.³ Yet relatively few art lovers or tourists seem to have seen them. Since the *adobe* brick walls on which they were painted were in a poor state in the 1860's, Cruzada thought that they could never be transferred to canvas, and he commissioned a set of engravings from Eduardo Gimeno y Canencia to introduce them to a wider public. Three etchings were completed by Gimeno before he died in the summer of 1868, and these were published with Cruzada's article in *El Arte en España* in December that year: *Saturn*, the *Promenade of the Holy Office* and *Men Reading*.⁴ Early the previous year Charles Yriarte, in his book on Goya, had included less accurate copies of the same three paintings and reproduced the *Manola* (or *Doña Leocadia*) at the head of a chapter. Yriarte also planned a pamphlet on the series, aimed at perpetuating works which he expected to disappear altogether materially speaking, within a short space of time.⁵ At that period the reproductions of Gimeno and Yriarte, and the latter's verbal descriptions of the murals, were the nearest the majority of people could get to the paintings themselves. A second and less detailed verbal description of the pictures was published by P. L. Imbert in 1875.⁶

The fears about the transfer of the paintings, which all experts shared in the 1860's, proved misplaced as everyone knows. The French banker of German origin, Baron Frédéric-Emil d'Erlanger, who apparently bought Goya's house in March 1873 in the belief that property to the west of Madrid was ripe for development,⁷ paid about 42,500

pesetas for the paintings to be transferred to canvas (£1,700 at the period; twenty to thirty times as much today), showed them at the Great Exhibition in Paris in 1878, and gave them to the Spanish government three years later.⁸ Salvador Martínez Cubells (1845-1914), an artist who had been appointed Chief Restorer at the Prado in 1869 at the age of twenty-four, supervised the transfer and restored the paintings between 1874 and 1878. Five of them were listed for the first time in the 1889 edition of the Prado catalogue,⁹ and these were the only ones publicly on view in the 1890's in the museum.¹⁰ Subsequently the complete set of fourteen paintings was hung, and although they were not prominently placed and still not much visited in the 1930's,¹¹ what student of art, let alone of Goya, does not know them today?

throw light on his attitude. The idea that the Baron bought the house for primarily speculative reasons has much to support it. A scheme for the urbanization of the area had been put forward by Segundo Colmenares in 1852, and there was further talk of development in 1867 when Louis Rodolphe Coumont owned the Quinta del Sordo. It was from Coumont that Baron d'Erlanger acquired the estate in March 1873.

A rather different reason for the Baron's acquisition of the house was, however, given by Alfredo Escobar in July 1878. The source of Escobar's version was Baron Weisweler, who is likely to have known d'Erlanger since he was the Rothschild representative in Madrid. According to him, d'Erlanger went to see Goya's house when he learnt it was for sale and was pleasantly surprised to find the murals. He bought the house 'with the sole intention of owning an original work by the author of the *Caprichos*' (*La Ilustración Española y Americana*, xxvii [22nd July 1878], pp.43-44). This view is also supported by the Conde de la Viñaza who states that d'Erlanger was willing to have the house taken apart to save the paintings (*Goya. Su tiempo, su vida, sus obras*, Madrid [1887], p.278).

There is no way of knowing which of the two stories is correct, but one thing is certain. Baron d'Erlanger was in no sense a philistine where aesthetic matters were concerned; and his children were highly artistic. His first son, Émile-Beaumont (b.1866), wrote sensitive poetry in French and English; the second, Frédéric (1868-1943), was a distinguished composer; and the youngest, Rodolphe-François (1872-1932) was both a painter and an historian of Arab music. The three were later to give a fine portrait by Drouais to the National Gallery in London in memory of their father.

From Escobar's article it would seem that business had taken Baron d'Erlanger to Madrid. He was after all one of the leading European financiers of the period. The American confederacy had negotiated a loan of three million pounds with his father in Paris in 1862 (and Frédéric-Emil had subsequently married the daughter of the American negotiator, John Slidell, the Louisiana politician and diplomat). Subsequently he took an interest in railway finance in the United States and South America and was a major shareholder in the London and South African Exploration Company. Cecil Rhodes tried to get him involved in the De Beers mine, and he helped the Beira railway project. In England, he was to be a strong proponent of the Channel Tunnel.

⁸ Cf. EMILIANO AGUILERA: *Las pinturas negras de Goya*, Madrid [n.d. (1935)], pp.31 ff.; also XAVIER DE SALAS's appendix to F. J. SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN'S *Goya and the Black Paintings*, London, Faber and Faber [1964], pp.79 ff.

⁹ Cf. PEDRO DE MADRAZO: *Catálogo de los cuadros del Museo del Prado de Madrid*, 6th edition, Madrid [1889], pp.409-410 (Nos.2166a-2166e). Xavier de Salas has noted that MS additions to the fifth edition of Madrazo's catalogue (Madrid [1885]) cited five of the fourteen paintings for the first time, although the whole series had been inventoried (Nos.529 to 542). Conceivably all the paintings were on view in the rotunda of the Prado for a short time, since the Conde de la Viñaza claims they were there in 1887 (*Goya*, Madrid [1887], p.278). A note to the 1889 catalogue entry gives incorrect information about the paintings and asserts (contrary to fact) that Baron d'Erlanger had sold them to the Spanish government. It also described them as 'skillfully transferred to canvas'. Martínez Cubells acquired wide fame as a restorer in the 1870's, particularly after his restoration of two paintings by Murillo in Seville Cathedral in 1875. He is said to have restored 1,400 paintings in his lifetime.

¹⁰ Cf. z. ARAUJO SÁNCHEZ: *Goya*, Madrid [n.d. (1895?)], pp.97-98 (Nos.69-81). Araujo believed that all the paintings other than the five in the Prado had been taken out of the country. In fact there were five in store and four on loan to one of the Spanish ministries. These last were handed over to the Prado in 1898. All fourteen were listed in the ninth edition of Madrazo's Catalogue (Madrid [1904], pp.114-15: Nos.2166a-2166n).

¹¹ Cf. E. AGUILERA, *op. cit.*, pp.7 ff.

² RAMÓN DE MESONERO ROMANOS: *Nuevo manual histórico-tipográfico-estadístico y descripción de Madrid*, Madrid [1854], reprinted in *Obras de Don Ramón de Mesonero Romanos*, ed. CARLOS SECO SERRANO (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Continuación, vol.201), Madrid [1967], p.472.

³ LAURENT MATHÉRON: *Goya*, Paris [1858], no pagination. The *Catalogue* is to be found at the end of the volume. Perhaps Mathéron described the paintings as '*scènes de mœurs locales*' because such subjects would have been considered conventionally appropriate for the walls of a country house. But if one or two of the Black Paintings fit such a category - the *Duel with clubs* and the *Festival of San Isidro*, for instance - the majority do not. It seems unlikely that Mathéron was familiar with the series.

⁴ M. OSSORIO Y BERNARD, in the articles on Gimeno and Goya in his *Galerta biográfica de artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, Madrid [1868], I, p.314 (footnote) and p.288, suggests that Gimeno made etchings of all the paintings in Goya's house. Only the three published in *El Arte en España* are, in fact, known and the obituary article on Gimeno in the same periodical states that death overtook him when he was in the middle of the series (*op. cit.*, vii, p.236).

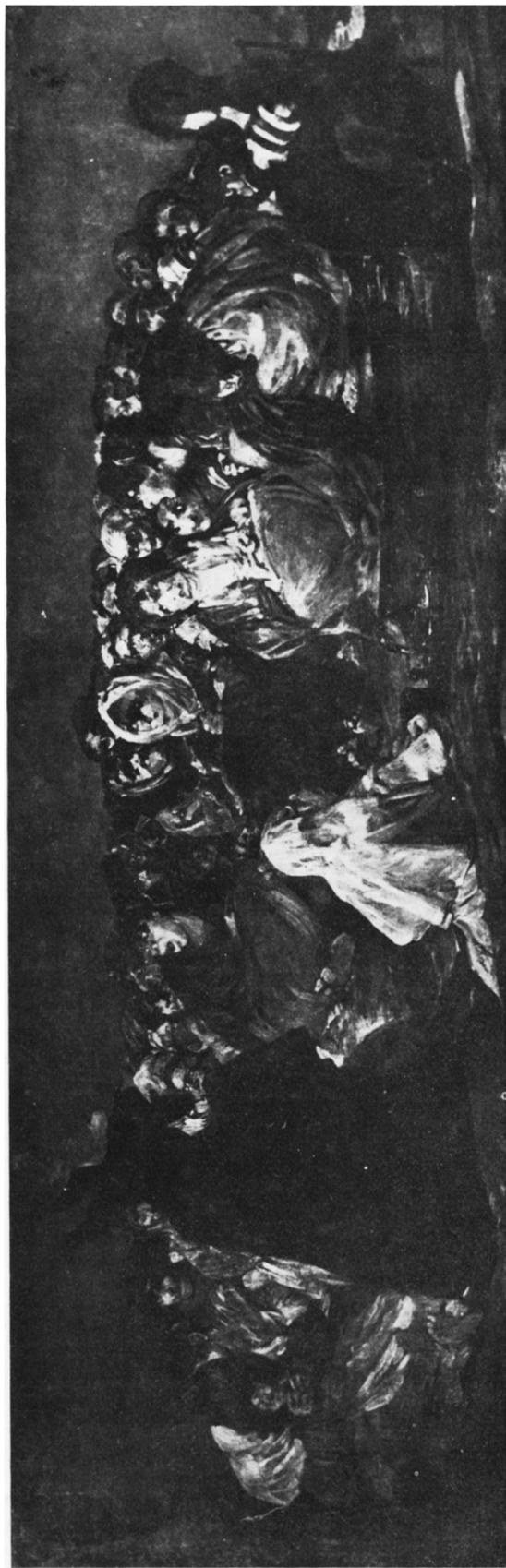
⁵ CHARLES YRIARTE: *Goya. Sa biographie, les fresques, les toiles, les tapisseries, les eaux-fortes*, Paris, Plon [1867], p.92.

⁶ P. L. IMBERT: *L'Espagne. Splendeurs et misères*, Paris, Plon [1876], 'Autour de Madrid', pp.326 ff. A footnote states that the author visited the house in 1873 when a retired journalist called Baron Saulnier lived there. I have not been able to trace this person and he does not appear to have owned the house. Presumably Imbert's visit occurred in January or February before the house was sold to Baron d'Erlanger.

⁷ According to the grandson of Frédéric-Emil d'Erlanger, the Baron enjoyed telling the story of the acquisition of the Goyas as a joke at his own expense. He had theories about the west-end development of cities and had had earlier successes with similar property elsewhere. He gave the Goyas to the Prado to forestall any public outcry about the profits accruing from development of the site. Unfortunately Madrid developed to the east, no profit was made on that particular transaction, and a large loss was sustained on the restoration of the paintings. Mr Leo F. A. d'Erlanger, who told me this story when he generously answered my enquiries, felt that his grandfather would not have taken any interest in the details of the restoration process. No correspondence survives to



52. Photograph of Goya's *Witches' Sabbath*, by J. Laurent. First and second fragments.



53. *The Witches' Sabbath*, by Goya as it is today. (Museo del Prado, Madrid).



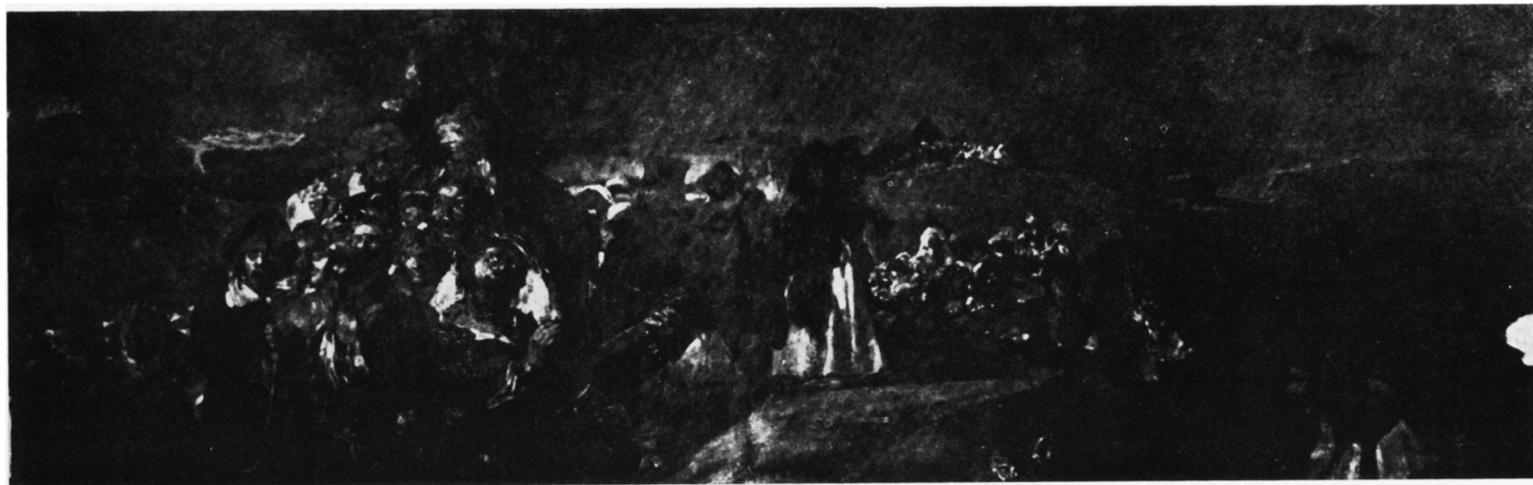
54. Photograph of Goya's *Saturn*, by J. Laurent.
From Calleja's *449 reproducciones . . .* (1924).



55. Photograph of Goya's *Judith*, by J. Laurent.
From Calleja's *449 reproducciones . . .* (1924).



56. Photograph of Goya's *Two Monks*, by
J. Laurent (?). From Calleja's *449
reproducciones . . .* (1924).



57. Photograph of Goya's *Festival of San Isidoro*, by J. Laurent (?). From Calleja's *449 reproducciones . . .* (1924).

The present essay asks how well in fact we know them. How accurate was the translation that Martínez Cubells gave us? The early verbal descriptions and reproductions suggest that the paintings to be seen in Goya's house in the 1860's and early 1870's differed in a number of minor respects from the works now in the Prado. In the painting of *Doña Leocadia* (or the *Manola*), for instance, Imbert saw pompons on the lady's satin shoes that are now no longer there,¹² and perhaps more uprights were visible on the railings.¹³ The lower part of the legs of the two men in *Duel with Cudgels* could be seen through the grass, if we are to believe Yriarte.¹⁴ And the mountainside, which rises sheer in the middle of the *Promenade of the Holy Office*, was less packed with trees according to Yriarte's and Gimeno's engravings,¹⁵ than it is today. What are we to make of these discrepancies? Some could obviously be the result of errors on the part of the critics and illustrators concerned, but Martínez Cubells's reputation for personalised retouching is not reassuring, and there are grounds for uncertainty.

At first sight it would seem impossible to reconstruct the state of the paintings before restoration, and that is certainly the case so far as their colour is concerned. If the descriptions and reproductions already mentioned were the only sources of information, there would be little more to say. Fortunately the existence of early photographs puts a different complexion on the problem. A set was made for Monsieur Rodolphe Coumont between November 1863 and early 1867, and Yriarte and his illustrators had access to it.¹⁶ Four photographs by J. Laurent, now in the Witt Photographic collection of the Courtauld Institute evidently show the paintings before restoration and almost certainly before their removal from the walls of Goya's house.¹⁷ Laurent may well have

been the photographer employed to make the negatives for M. Coumont in the 1860's, and by a stroke of luck a complete set of early photographs – seven definitely and at least two more probably made by Laurent¹⁸ – was used by the publisher Saturnino Calleja in 1924 when printing his *Colección de 449 reproducciones de cuadros, dibujos y aguafuertes de Don Francisco Goya*. The present notes on the probable differences between the pre-restoration and post-restoration state of the Black Paintings are based very largely on the plates of that volume and the Laurent photographs in the Courtauld Institute.

The problems raised by these early photographs should not be minimised. At the time when the negatives were made, yellow and red tones appeared darker than normal on photographic plates; blues and violets, lighter. Yet artists in Spain as elsewhere in Europe commonly used photographs to reproduce their own pictures: artificial lighting and magnesium flash was available to supplement daylight, and special collodions, time-exposures and retouching helped to reduce the problems of accurate tonal values. The interpretation of such photographs is fraught with difficulty, and some of the conclusions reached in this article will inevitably be open to question.

then worked through the smaller ones. If this were the case the sequence could have begun as follows: 2565, *Festival of San Isidro*; 2566, *The Witches' Sabbath* (both in the ground-floor room); 2567, *Asmodea*; 2568, *The Holy Office*; 2569, *Duel with Clubs*; 2570, *The Fates* (all four in the first-floor room). According to this hypothesis Laurent would have gone on to make the photographs of the smaller paintings on the first floor. Thus: 2571, *Women laughing*; 2572, *Men reading*; 2573, *Dog*. The series would have been completed with the small pictures on the ground floor: 2574, *Judith*; 2575, *Saturn*; 2576, *Two Monks*; 2577, *Old People eating*; 2578, *The Maja*. The existence of Laurent photographs of the whole set of Black Paintings is attested by VALERIAN VON LOGA's book *Francisco de Goya* (Berlin [1903 and 1921]). The paintings are listed together under Catalogue No.447 with the collective title *Fantastic Scenes (Phantastische Darstellungen. Malereien aus Goyas Landhaus . . . Photographien Laurent)*, and there are separate entries for *Judith* (Catalogue No.12) and *Saturn* (No.60, '*Uranos seine Kinder speisend*') which also refer to Laurent photographs. However, the three Black paintings illustrated in the 1921 edition are all taken from post-restoration negatives, so it seems likely that Laurent made two sets of photographs of the series at different periods. The glass negatives of the firm that survive – at present the property of Ruiz Vernacci in Madrid – are also post-restoration, and very similar to early post-restoration photographs made by Moreno which can be examined in the Jacques Doucet library in Paris. I have not so far been able to find copies of the earliest Laurent photographs of the Black Paintings other than those in the Witt Collection. An attempt to trace the plates used by the firm of Saturnino Calleja in 1924 for the 449 reproducciones . . . proved fruitless.

¹⁸ The Black Painting illustrations are difficult to find in the Calleja publication. They are therefore listed here in the order in which they are discussed: *Doña Leocadia*, plate 295 (supposedly, but not in fact Prado No.754); *Witches' Sabbath*, Plates 324 and 325 (Prado No.761); *Saturn*, plate 229 (Prado No.763); *Judith and Holophernes*, plate 220 (Prado No.764); *Festival of San Isidro*, plate 254 (Prado No.755); *Two men*, plate 227 (Prado No.759); *Atropos*, plate 321 (Prado No.757); *Two old people eating*, plate 322 (Prado No.762); *Duel with Cudgels*, plate 312 (Prado No.758); *Men reading*, plate 323 (Prado No.766); *Two young people and a man*, plate 334 (Prado No.765); *The Holy Office*, plate 255 (Prado No.760); *Asmodea*, plate 320 (Prado No.756); *Dog*, plate 339 (Prado No.767). The rights to reproduce all these photographs came from the firm of J. Roig. But, in fact, three of the four Laurents in the Witt Collection are identical with Plates 324–5, 321 and 255. Furthermore, plates 229, 220, 322 and 312 are identical with Laurent photographs reproduced as such by DR RICHARD OERTEL in 1907 (*Francisco de Goya*, Beilefeld-Leipzig [1907], Pls.112, 113, 114 and 111 respectively, all described as '*nach einer Originalphotographie von J. Laurent Cie, Madrid*'). Although the photograph of *Doña Leocadia* is not the same as the one by Laurent in the Witt, it is definitely a Laurent photograph (probably based on a water-colour version of Goya's painting) since there is an early copy of it amongst the Laurents in the Ateneo at Barcelona. And two further plates – Nos.227 and 334 – can be traced with some confidence to the same source. They are visibly stamped Lacoste, the firm which took over Laurent's negatives.

¹² Cf. P. L. IMBERT, *op. cit.*, p.329.

¹³ This is suggested by the wood-cut in Yriarte's book on Goya (Paris [1867]) which shows nine uprights along the front of the railing as opposed to the seven visible today. A photograph made by J. Laurent, probably from a water-colour copy, also shows nine uprights. There is an early print of this photograph in the Ateneo at Barcelona with the reference 'J. Laurent 1375–3 (IV^o29 6 pag.)'. Don Manuel Blanch of Archivo Mas kindly had a copy made for me and gave me the relevant information about it. The photograph was included in a supplement to J. Laurent's catalogue in 1878. For further information, see below p.470.

¹⁴ CHARLES YRIARTE: *Goya*, Paris [1867], p.141.

¹⁵ Cf. 'Promenade de l'Inquisition' in YRIARTE's *Goya*, Paris [1867], p.95. Gimeno's etching is bound up with G. Cruzada Villaamil's article in volume vii of *El Arte en España* on unnumbered pages. Gimeno shows a patch of damage in the centre of the scene which Yriarte's illustrator seems to have ignored. It is, of course, just possible (though unlikely) that the crack and flaking occurred between the time when Maurand made his illustration for Yriarte (1866) and 1868 when Gimeno made his etching.

¹⁶ Cf. CHARLES YRIARTE, *op. cit.*, p.92: '*M. Coumont a même fait photographier cette œuvre entièrement inconnue et nous l'a communiqué*'. Since Coumont bought the house in November 1863 and the text of Yriarte's book was deposited with the Ministry of the Interior in Paris in April 1867, the first known photographs of the Black Paintings can be dated 1864–66.

¹⁷ The Laurent photographs in the Witt are of *The Witches' Sabbath* ('*Sabbat ou réunion de sorciers*'), *The Holy Office* ('*Arrivée des sorciers au Sabbat*'), *Atropos* or *The Fates* ('*Sorciers voguant en l'air et opérant des maléfices*') and *Doña Leocadia* or *La manola* ('*Une Maja*'). Since the captions on the Witt copies (Laurent's own labels) describe the paintings as being in the Prado they could not have been printed much before 1889. But the state of the paintings depicted is obviously pre-restoration. The four Witt photographs bear the following Laurent serial numbers: 2566, 2568, 2570 and 2578. These suggest that the photographs were part of a set of at least thirteen, and it is hard to believe that Laurent did not make negatives of all fourteen Black Paintings at the same time. From the numbering it seems possible that Laurent began with the larger paintings and

*The Ground-Floor Room*1. *Doña Leocadia* (or *The Manola*)

It seems reasonable to start with the pictures on the walls of the main room downstairs in the Quinta del Sordo. This was the most important room in the house, and the paintings there appear to have had a more decorative plaster border than those on the upper floor.¹⁹ *La manola* was to the left of the door on entering. Brugada, in 1828, called the subject *Leocadia* (i.e. Leocadia Weiss, Goya's housekeeper, companion and possibly mistress); later in the century many mistakenly believed the painting to portray the Duchess of Alba.²⁰

Three photographs purporting to represent *La manola* were made by J. Laurent at different periods. The negative of which there is a print in the Courtauld Institute was clearly taken before restoration while the painting was still on the walls of Goya's house, since the surface is seriously worn, a crack in the plaster is visible, and the original edging or framing can be seen. I shall refer to this photograph as M. 1 (Fig.48). Another photograph of which copies are still available from Laurent's old glass negative, is evidently post-restoration since the canvas backing is visible and the paint surface is even. I shall call this photograph M. 2 (Fig.49). A more problematical photograph by Laurent survives in the Ateneo in Barcelona and is referred to as M. 3 in the present article (Fig.50). The Ateneo copy has the inscription 'F. Goya . . . 1239 . . . *La Maja* (de la Quinta de Goya près de Madrid). J. Laurent. Madrid'. And since both the number and the title coincide more or less exactly with those given in the Supplement to a catalogue published by Laurent in 1879, the negative must have been one of the 'immense collection . . . formée à grands frais par M. Laurent en vingt années de labeur' between 1860 and 1879.²¹ A

In the view of the present writer plates 312 and 339 are also Laurent's work, since they appear to have traces of the photographer's monogram (interlocking capital J and L) at the right hand and top edges respectively. Laurent seems to have carried on his profession in Madrid from about 1860. He was already photographer to the Queen in 1863 and issued a catalogue that year from the Madrid address 'Carrera de San Jerónimo, 39'. He formed a company c.1870 and apparently continued to work until 1899 (cf. A. PALAU Y DULCET: *Manual del librero hispanoamericano*, Oxford-Barcelona [1954], vol.VII). The firm of Lacoste continued Laurent's work, and Roig later acquired Lacoste's and Laurent's negatives. The firm of Ruiz Vernacci, which operates today from virtually the same address in the Carrera de San Jerónimo as Laurent over 100 years ago (No.35 instead of No.39), now holds such glass negatives of Laurent's as survive.

¹⁹ José Peláez, who went to value the paintings in 1855, speaks of 'the principal reception room on the ground floor' and 'another [reception] room on the first floor in Goya's large house' (literally 'palace house' - 'casa palacio'). Both the Laurent photographs in the Witt which show paintings from the downstairs room reproduce the framing or edging of the picture. It is exactly the same in both cases: two rows of bobbles; close together at the edge of the painting,

and more widely spaced further away: o o o o etc. To judge from

the photograph of *The Witches' Sabbath*, the edging was made of plaster moulding. There is no reason to suppose that this edging was not placed there when the paintings were completed. Stylistically, the pattern dates from the late eighteenth century. It occurs, for instance, in well-known rooms at the Casa Pajuol at Villanueva near Barcelona (cf. ARTHUR BYNE and MILDRED STAPLEY: *Spanish Interiors and Furniture*, 3 vols [1921-25], republished in one volume, New York [1969], Plate 240). The pattern of the edging in the first floor room was simpler to judge from Laurent's photographs. VALERIAN VON LOGA speaks of a 'fillet' round the paintings (*Francisco de Goya*, Berlin [1921], p.131).

²⁰ Brugada's titles for the paintings were first published by X. DESPARMET FITZ-GERALD in *L'Œuvre peint de Goya*, Paris [1928-50]. They are also given in Appendix VI of PIERRE GASSIER and JULIET WILSON'S *Goya. His Life and Work*, London [1971], pp.384-85. YRIARTE also calls the picture *La Leocadia* (*op. cit.*, p.140) and rejects the view that it is the Duchess of Alba (*id.*, pp.92 ff.). His reproduction of the painting at the head of Chapter 8 is erroneously entitled '*Ramera Morena - Maison de Goya*'. In the text of Yriarte's book the model supposedly called by this name (i.e. Dusky Whore) is only mentioned in connection with *Judith*.

²¹ Cf. the catalogue cited: *Guide du touriste en Espagne et en Portugal . . . Catalogue des chefs-d'œuvre de peinture ancienne et moderne* [1879]. I am grateful to Professor

comparison of the measurement ratios in the three photographs of *Doña Leocadia* carried out by Miss Hilary Diaper of the University of Leeds suggests that M. 3 is not in fact a photograph of the same painting as M. 1 and M. 2.²² Most probably the negative was taken from a water-colour copy of the original made when the painting was still on the walls of Goya's house and difficult to photograph. Clearly there may be an element of poetic licence in the copy, and it can only be used in the same way as the early etchings and woodcuts, as a rough guide to detail and condition.

Some of the details shown in M. 3 are, nevertheless, corroborated by M. 1, and together the two photographs provide some new facts about the original painting which cannot be deduced from the post-restoration state of the picture. At least eight significant details appear in M. 1 and M. 3 which seem to have been lost or modified when the painting was removed and retouched, namely: (1) The strong diagonal line running down the earth in the foreground from Leocadia's elbow to the bottom right-hand corner; (2) The general pattern of the earth, and more particularly the curved white patch just below the *maja*'s elbow, the curved streaks on a level with the hem of her dress, and the shape of the zone of shadow at her side; (3) The bird-like leaf, or leaf-like bird, perched on the railing at the extreme right; (4) The position of the knob in relation to the upright beneath it at the corner of the railing nearest to the *manola*; (5) The heavy outlining of the lower half of the knob and its general shape which is less rounded in M. 1 and M. 3 than in M. 2; (6) The dark lines on the *manola*'s skirt which appear to mark a pattern; (7) The shape of the zone of highlighting on the skirt; and (8) The shaping of the tip of the *maja*'s nose, and the arrangement of her hair, which appears to come down much nearer to the shoulders in M. 2 than in M. 1 or M. 3.

The differences between M. 1 and M. 3 raise other problems. Were some of the details peculiar to M. 3 actually present in the original painting before it deteriorated and was retouched? How was the ironwork of the railings painted for instance? This is more delicate and precise in M. 3 than in M. 2 and M. 1, although equally impressionistic in the general treatment of detail. Did Goya paint like that?²³ And what about the face and blouse, and also the feet, where the paint seems to have become particularly worn by the time the negative of M. 2 was made? Were there really pompoms on the slippers as shown in M. 3 and as described by Imbert? One thing at least is certain. The bank of earth lost some of its shape, pattern and contours in restoration and acquired new patches and forms apparently of Martínez

John R. Polt for finding a copy of this catalogue and drawing it to my attention. The title of the *Manola* photograph in the catalogue is '*La maja, d'après la fresque de la Quinta de Goya*'; the reference number is 1239, as it is in the copy in the Ateneo in Barcelona. The fact that the photograph was included in the Supplement suggests that the restored original must have attracted attention when shown at the Paris exhibition in 1878.

²² I am grateful to Miss Diaper for her work on copies of the three Laurent photographs purporting to represent *Doña Leocadia*. The analysis was carried out at the suggestion of Professor Lawrence Gowing at the University of Leeds. A comparison of ratios was made by Miss Diaper between measurements in the three photographs. Five pairs of measurements were compared for the purposes of the analysis. The conclusion reached was that Laurent's No.1239 was a photograph of a different original from his No.2578 and the post-restoration negative. The comparison also established that No.2578 was made from the same original as the post-restoration photograph, although in a different condition. I am most grateful to Professor Gowing for his advice in connexion with the photographs.

²³ Some *pentimenti* (or restorer's alterations) are visible in the railings today, and can even be seen in some reproductions. It is possible that the ovals between the uprights were less carelessly painted than the present condition of the painting suggests. The corner upright and knob have certainly lost quality (and accuracy) in the retouching process.



58. Photograph of Goya's *Two old people eating*, by J. Laurent (?). From Calleja's *449 reproducciones . . .* (1924).



59. Photograph of Goya's *Atropos or The Fates*, by J. Laurent. From Calleja's *449 reproducciones . . .* (1924).



60. Photograph of Goya's *Duel with Cudgels*, by J. Laurent. From Calleja's *449 reproducciones . . .* (1924).



61. Photograph of Goya's *Men Reading*, by J. Laurent (?). From Calleja's *449 reproducciones . . .* (1924).



62. Woodcut after Goya's *Men Reading*, by C. Maurand, from C. Yriarte's *Goya* (1867).



63. Etching after Goya's *Men Reading*, by E. Gimeno (1868).



64. Photograph of Goya's *Two young people and a Man*, by J. Laurent (?). From Calleja's *449 reproducciones . . .* (1924).

Cubells's own devising. The basic triangular lines of the whole composition vanished on the right-hand side.

2. *Witches' Sabbath (Aquelarre)*

The painting of a *Witches' Sabbath* was on the long wall to the left of the door in the ground-floor room. Laurent made two overlapping photographs to cover this painting, and these are reproduced by Calleja in 1924 with the titles 'First' and 'Second Fragment' (Fig.52).²⁴ The original was not, however, in two sections when the photographs were taken, and it was clearly still on the wall. The edging, damaged in places, is still visible in the Courtauld Institute copy of the photograph. It is possible to calculate the original overall dimensions of the picture since Laurent includes a metre rule in the photograph against the border of the painting. Its height was 141-144.6 cm.; and width 577-585.4 cm. The restored painting in the Prado (Fig.53) measures 140 by 438 cm.

Evidently the restorer decided to cut down the painting radically in this instance, when he transferred it to canvas, eliminating a large area of mysterious dark space to the right of the young girl in the chair. By doing this, Martínez Cubells concentrates the whole picture around the coven itself and simplifies the composition. Unfortunately, it is impossible to tell what originally lay in the ill-defined space the restorer removed. The lines of shadow appear to have been prolonged in that area, but the other patches of dark and light are beyond interpretation. Yriarte speaks of the girl as being in the centre of the picture, surrounded by a 'foul cess-pool' ('*un cloaque immonde*').²⁵ There seems to be no doubt then that the space beyond the girl was indeed part of the painting. Furthermore, all of it falls within the original frame or edging.

Martínez Cubells appears to have restored the coven itself fairly faithfully. Starting at the left of the painting, the contrasts of light and shade in the shawl and apron of the first seated figure seem more marked in Laurent's photograph, the shadow on the forehead is less intense, and the brushwork was originally even bolder, still more Van Goghuesque. There are *pentimenti* in the treatment of both the goat's horns and not just the further away of the two (still visible today), and the animal's eye seems different in the Laurent version when it is compared with the restored painting. It would seem that the pupil was formerly central, and that the eye did not look downwards (almost apprehensively) as it does today. The folds in the cape draped over the goat were also better defined, and the same is true of the white snood covering the head of the figure sitting in the foreground. The group of heads in the distance to the right of the goat's muzzle were also more clearly differentiated, and four dark circular patches marked the tops of heads. On the other hand some new detail has been provided in blurred or detailless areas: some new faces have been invented and there are one or two minor differences in expression on faces in the background. Originally there was virtually no sign of the chair on which the young girl or neophyte now sits. Black outlines are less prominent around the eyes of faces in the photograph, and features are less crudely moulded, with a subtler handling of light and shade. More especially, those faces which are seen over the back of the crouching witch on the right, nearest the neophyte, have lost some quality in the restoration process.

3. *Saturn*

The figure of Saturn devouring his children was painted on the far wall from the door, at the opposite end of the room from *Leocadia*. The photograph in Calleja's volume (Fig.54) presumably derives from a negative made by Laurent,²⁶ almost certainly before the removal of the picture from the wall. A line, perhaps marking the lower edge of the painting, is partially visible at the bottom of the photograph.

In this case Martínez Cubells has been decidedly less successful. The fluent contrasts of dark and light which moulded the rounded knee in the photograph have gone. In their place there are now flat and unmodulated patches of highlight and shadow. The restored left knee seems particularly crude by comparison with the photograph. The well-defined sweep of the brush along the right leg above the knee has vanished completely.

Because of the apparently poor state of the painting, it is more difficult to judge the restorer's treatment of the upper limbs. But it looks as if the contours of the left shoulder have been wrongly rendered by Martínez Cubells,²⁷ and he has obviously improvised the right forearm and the right leg also to some extent. The configuration of the shoulder is more effective (though evidently damaged) in the photograph, and the shading throughout is more even in tone in the restored painting, producing a flatter rather than a rounded or moulded effect in many areas. Highlights appear to have been handled more subtly in the original painting.

The photograph also suggests that the back, buttocks and legs of Saturn's child were originally more sensitively painted: the shaded lines of the spinal column and shoulder blades are more convincing, and the body hangs more clearly at a slight angle in the photograph. Martínez Cubells seems to have exaggerated the shadow under the buttocks and along the thighs. Thus, whereas the photograph suggests that the legs hung limp, the restored painting implies that the knees are slightly drawn up and the buttocks larger.

Martínez Cubells also appears to have put more detail into the hair than was there originally: it is fluffier in the photograph, with fewer noticeable individual strands. To the left of the face it stands out tensely in the photograph; in the restored painting it hangs down. The restorer has also lost the curved line of the lid over the staring right eye, increased the size of the left pupil in relation to the white, which makes it less staring and violent, and substituted dark eyebrow lines for patchier wisps of grey. More highlight seems to have been added to the forehead in the restoration process, the salient highlight on the tip of the nose has been botched and its effect diminished by increasing the lighting on both cheeks.

One last point requires comment: Saturn's genitals. In the restored painting the penis is strangely placed: apparently sprouting and hanging down in an improbable fashion from the stomach with unlikely highlighting on the root. The photograph seems to suggest that the painting originally showed an erect or partially erect penis, with a highlight on the foreskin. The lack of detail naturally raises problems, but Gimeno's etching of the painting implies a similar interpretation:²⁸ as if Saturn were taking a perverse and sadistic pleasure in 'destroying and consuming his own offspring.

²⁴ Photographs based on the two negatives are in the Witt Collection, with the title '*Sabbat ou réunion de sorciers*' and Laurent's number 2566. The size of the two overlapping photographs is more or less the same as the other large Laurents in the Witt: 30.8 by 14.9 cm. and 29.5 by 14.9 cm. (as against 31.5 by 15.4 for *The Holy Office*, and 30.8 by 15.75 for *Atropos*). The *Manola* photograph is smaller, measuring 20.4 by 22.3 cm.

²⁵ CHARLES YRIARTE: *Goya*, Paris [1867], p.93.

²⁶ Laurent's photograph of *Saturn* is reproduced with the title *Allegorie* in RICHARD OERTEL: *Francisco de Goya*, Beilefeld-Leipzig [1907] (Pl.112).

²⁷ Gimeno's and Maurand's versions (the latter is reproduced in Charles Yriarte's book) both put the left shoulder marginally closer to the head than Martínez Cubells. Gimeno however, is less successful in rendering Saturn's eyes.

²⁸ Cf. *El Arte en España*, vii [1868]: '*La casa del sordo. Frescos de Goya, No.1*'.

4. *Judith and Holofernes*

There are no evident signs of canvas grain in the photograph reproduced by Calleja (Fig.55), and it is reasonable to assume that it was made before the transfer and restoration process.²⁹ In the case of Judith herself, Martínez Cubells would seem to have muted Goya's more intense chiaroscuro treatment. In the photograph the highlights are everywhere stronger and more sustained: on the forehead, the right cheek and right shoulder, the right hand, wrist and forearm; also on the head-dress, the pommel of the dagger, the folds of the dress across the breasts and the underskirt. It seems unlikely that exposure or printing conditions in relation to the photograph could entirely account for these disparities. The contrasting areas of shadow are also often deeper and more defined in the photograph. Some of the vigour of the original brushwork, which remains visible in the photograph, appears equally diminished in the restored painting. The bow at the waist, the line of the dress across the bosom, and the dark streaks across the skirt are weakened or distorted as a result of the transfer to canvas. The highlight touches on the attendant's head-dress (or cowl) and collar no longer seem to reflect the rhythms and cross-rhythms of brushstrokes as they do in the photograph. There is a consequent loss of dynamism in the painting. For Goya had originally intensified the sense of violent movement in the central figure by accentuating the diagonal from top left to bottom right with highlights.

In certain instances Martínez Cubells seems to have added unnecessary touches or improvised. The photograph shows that Goya used one barely curved dark stroke for the end of the nose, defining the bridge and nostrils with touches of shadow on the cheeks. The restorer, on the other hand, has rounded out the end of the nose with an evenly dark line and cruder shadow, introducing a heavy curve that simplifies the definition of the nostrils' contours. In a similar way, the shadow above as well as under the lowered eye-lids has been rendered by a uniformly black line, ringing the eye in the restored painting. Goya, to judge from the early photograph, only marked the line under the eye with a full black stroke, and he built up the shadows under the brow and beneath the eye with two other tones. The breasts and the left shoulder are also more sensitively, and more sensuously, modelled in the photograph. Gradations of dark and light appear to have moulded the curves of the flesh far more seductively in the original than in the restored painting. The patterns of light in the hair have also been simplified by the restorer.

In three places the photograph leads one to question Martínez Cubells's interpretation of detail. Firstly, under the right arm, where the photograph shows a rising zone of shadow, which the restorer has replaced by a descending line of drapery. Secondly, on the skirt, where he appears to have toned down the sharp contrasts of dark shadow under the bosom and beneath the bow. And thirdly, lower on the skirt, where he has introduced a curved line in the centre of the overskirt or apron, although there are no signs of one in the photograph.

An area of more doubtful interpretation requires comment. At the bottom of the photograph there is a triangular patch of light, with, apparently, a stroke of highlighting down the centre. This could be seen as an area of light background between and beyond Judith's legs, marking the divide at the level of the calf. The patch could also be an area of damaged paintwork. At all events it seems clear that the folds in the cloak of the figure on the left had to be improvised, because of the general vagueness in that part of the picture. The addition of these lines hardly improves the

painting, and Goya may well have left the clothes of this figure undefined. In his own work Martínez Cubells showed a liking for concrete detail, and this may have affected his judgement as a restorer. He seems to have blurred the contrasts of dark and shadow in this particular painting, and added a highlight to the folds of Holofernes's neck at the right.

5. *La romería de San Isidro (Festival of San Isidro)*

The photograph reproduced by Calleja shows no signs of canvas grain (Fig.57). Minor cracks and a piece of paint that seems to have flaked off entirely at the extreme right suggest that the negative was made before the removal and restoration of the picture. The painting appears to have lost a good deal of quality with the passage of time. Inevitably, therefore, the restorer had to improvise more in this instance than in some other cases.

Obvious modifications of the restorer affect the breadth and tilt of the top hat on one of the figures in the middle distance at the left, the contours of the rock in the centre foreground and the hills at the back on the right. The round hats on the heads of two prominent figures in the foreground group do not seem to follow the indications of the photograph exactly, and the left-hand one may not have had such a hat at all. His face has also had to be guessed, and he may have been facing the front and not looking sideways in the manner of the man immediately below him. Contrasts between light and dark, particularly in the folds of garments, have been muted by restoration it would appear. A patch of highlighting under the guitar-player's left hand has been darkened.

A major area of doubt about the restoration concerns the horizon line. It is by no means clear that Martínez Cubells was right to show a steep hill at the rear on the left. The photograph suggests gentler undulations in the background, and patches of light along the horizon on the left could be interpreted as buildings on the skyline, balancing those which are more plainly visible on the right in both photograph and restored painting. The most interesting patches are two small white touches just to the left above the round black hat at the top of the foreground group. Given the general angle of light from the front and to the left, these touches could well define a cupola and its lantern: that of San Francisco el Grande, for example, seen from the heights near San Isidro on the other side of the river Manzanares, not far from Goya's house. The other light patch at the extreme left could then be the Royal Palace, and the horizon as a whole would be close to that in *The Meadow of San Isidro*, viewed in a very different light: late evening, presumably, with a low and fast disappearing western glow. These patches may, on the other hand, be nothing more than damaged paintwork. It is certainly difficult to explain the odd-shaped white area to the left of the main foreground group in any other way.

6. *Dos frailes viejos (Two Monks)*

A serious and untouched crack in the plaster is visible in the Calleja photograph (Fig.56), so the negative would again appear to antedate transfer and restoration. The lower part of the picture and the left-hand side suggest that the painting had considerably deteriorated before its removal.

In this case the addition of highlights on the forehead, the beard and the knuckles of both hands of the monk in the foreground has led to a loss of quality as a result of restoration. The modelling of the face is far more impressive in the photograph, and the superbly simple painting of the right hand has been destroyed by the elaborations of the restorer. Modification of the shadow around the nose and eyes has also weakened the powerful effect of the original as shown in the photograph. The left eye and the one visible ear have been particularly poorly retouched.

²⁹ Laurent's photograph of *Judith* is reproduced with the title *Die Mörderin* in RICHARD OERTEL: *Francisco de Goya*, Beilefeld-Leipzig [1907] (Pl.113).

Martínez Cubells has apparently had to invent the folds of the cape under the forearm and guess at the lines of the sash.

The head of the man at the right has also been heavily restored, and the lines of the fingers resting on the first man's shoulders seem to be pure guesswork. A line of shadow across the bald head of the man in the background no doubt gave the restorer pause. He has removed it almost entirely and given the visible eye an arched eyebrow of his own devising. He has also altered the position of the eye itself. An alternative way of interpreting the line across this man's forehead and the angle of the eye in the photograph would be to see *two* heads rather than just one on the right. This was probably the construction put on that part of the painting by P. L. Imbert in 1872, since he speaks of more than one 'monk' in attendance on the principal figure.³⁰ There may also, of course, have been a further figure on the left. Brugada's title 'Two old men' (1828) is certainly no proof that there was not.³¹ Martínez Cubells's fondness for black lines and simple outlines is particularly apparent in his restoration of the hair and eyes of the main bearded figure. Especially regrettable is the strong eyebrow line inserted over the right eye, which is not present in the photograph at all. Goya's skill at moulding forms with different tones of dark colour – evident in the photograph – has been obscured by the restoration.

The bottom of the painting must remain open to question. Were the dark shapes visible under the hem-line in the photograph feet? Was there more highlighting at the bottom on the right, and on the right hand side of the picture in general? It is impossible to be certain, and so it would be unreasonable to quarrel seriously with Martínez Cubells's solutions in these instances.

7. *Two old people eating*

Lines which could indicate canvas weave can be seen in the photograph reproduced by Calleja (Fig.58). Similar lines, however, occur on the interior walls of Spanish houses when the original lime wash has been applied with a coarse brush. It is therefore impossible to say whether the original negative was made before or after the transfer. The discrepancies which exist between the Calleja photograph and other early photographs suggest that it predates some if not all of Martínez Cubells's restoration work.

The most blatant loss of detail in the restoration process is of a dark cowl or hood which originally covered the top of the head of the left hand figure, and provided a pronounced semicircular shape on that side of the picture. The face of the same figure has also been modified by the restorer. The shape of the highlight on the nose has been altered, and the lines on the forehead are now less marked than they were formerly. The strength of the simple line indicating the mouth has been weakened at the left, and wrongly accentuated on the right. Some tonal effects have also been lost as a result of retouching. The line of black which runs completely round the right eye of the same old hag or man in the restored painting is broken under the eye in the photograph. Conversely, the restorer has eliminated the ring of black which defines the other eye in the photograph, and has added a pupil of his own invention. Black lines have been added to indicate folds over the right shoulder – the side where the snood originally lay – and some areas of lighter tone have also been

added there. Martínez Cubells has also placed a more marked outline under the chin, and apparently modified the tones on the left hand side of the face and neck, and on the left hand itself. Some folds have been muted across the chest, and a patch of lighter tone on the table to the left of the shadow cast by the bowl has been lost altogether.

The Upstairs Room

8. *Atropos (The Fates)*

The Fates were painted on the wall to the left of the door in the first-floor room. The photograph by Laurent in the Witt Collection – the same negative was used by Calleja in 1924 (Fig.59) – was almost certainly made before the transfer operation. The photograph shows that the top part of the painting was cut down slightly during the restoration; there was originally more dark sky above the line of the clouds. The zone of the white clouds formerly balanced the area of water beneath the floating figures and more or less equal bands of dark tone were placed above and below it. The picture had a simpler style border than the paintings in the ground-floor room, and other pictures were no doubt framed in the same way.

The photograph suggests that the restorer mistook the lines of the clump of trees on the left, at the edge of the river or lake. Martínez Cubells has merged two trees into one, and extended the trunk of the left hand tree further down into the foreground than was originally the case. So far as the three Fates and the additional floating figure are concerned some highlighting and some areas of shadow have been exaggerated by the restorer on the shoulder of the Fate on the left, and the back and buttocks of the Fate with scissors. In general the lines of the drapery have been faithfully followed, although there are some very minor variations in the treatment of folds. The line of the shift running over the right shoulder of the Fate with scissors has, however, been omitted altogether. Originally it flowed over her head. The shape of the right breast of the figure facing the spectator has been modified, and some of the lines across the stomach have also lost definition. The pattern of the clouds above the Fates has been simplified.

9. *Duel with Cudgels*

The photograph reproduced by Calleja in 1924 shows two cracks in the plaster and the negative was almost certainly made before the picture was transferred to canvas (Fig.60). Although the reproduction is rather dark and details of foreground and middle distance are difficult to interpret, it is evident that the sky and cloud effects were formerly more lively; the recession of the hills was better caught. The highlighting on the coat of the man on the right has been modified by the restorer, and the elbow, bent to parry the blows of the opponent, was presumably more successfully rendered in the painting prior to restoration. The treatment of the folds in the right sleeve of the same figure was also superior, and the shading across the buttocks gave a better idea of the twisting position of the man. The restorer has retouched the clubs, and the lines of the two weapons seem simpler in the photograph than in the restored work.

Two other points deserve comment. Firstly, it seems plain from the photograph that the restorer has cut down the painting slightly at the top, in the same way as *Atropos*. Secondly, the lower portions of the combatants' legs – beneath the knee – which are partially visible in the photograph, have been covered almost completely by Martínez Cubells. It should be noted that Charles Yriarte felt that Goya had intended to show that part of the leg. He described it as 'sketchily done' ('*peu indiqué*') and thought that the artist's intention had been to convey legs seen through long grass.

³⁰ P. L. IMBERT: *L'Espagne . . .*, ed. cit., p.330: 'Un magicien, vêtu d'une robe bariolée à larges manches, cause, sa baguette à la main, avec quelques figures accessoires'.

³¹ Brugada's numbers mostly relate to the main figures in any composition, but even then he frequently underestimates. In the first floor room he gives the title '*Dos hombres*' ('Two men') to the painting usually called 'Men reading', which has several background figures on the left.

10. *Men Reading*

The photograph reproduced by Calleja (Fig.61) is another that seems to have been taken before the removal of the painting from Goya's house. There may have been a patch of damage affecting the hair of the man on the right and the face of the man in the background immediately to the left of this. The hair in question appears to have been light in tone, and the restorer has made it dark. The face in the background is grotesquely shaped with eyes that smile towards the spectator. The restorer has worked out a completely new face, sharply defining the nose and mouth, inserting a moustache, and using the dark patches which could have been eyes as eyebrows. Martínez Cubells makes the person in question look upwards, although there is nothing to suggest that this was originally the case in the photograph. The faces of minor figures on the left have also been given more specific detail by the restorer, and in consequence they are less imaginative or fantastic now than they seemed to Yriarte in the 1860's. It is interesting to contrast the engravers' solutions to the same problem at the period: Gimeno and Maurand.³² The French artist's reproduction for Yriarte's book (Fig.62) supplies a lot of original detail and is much more explicit than Gimeno's etching (Fig.63) which is closer to the photograph. Both, however, tend to put in facial features where these are not clear in the original, and Martínez Cubells no doubt followed them in this.

Photograph and restored painting are at variance on a number of other points. The photograph seems to show the white of an eye in the man with the white shirt; this is not there in the restored painting. Tonal contrasts in the highlights on the shirt and book (or newspaper) have been muted by the restorer, and the partially lit objects in the foreground are more clearly defined in the photograph. The object on the right is almost certainly a basket with clothing in it, or a cloth covering other items. The curve of the handle is plainly visible, although it has disappeared in the restoration process. There appears to be another basket with a cloth in it on the left. Some implement with a handle lies on top of the cloth, and this too has been eliminated during the transfer of the painting. To judge from the photograph, the man on the right probably wore a stock of the kind commonly found in Goya's male sitters between 1810 and 1820. Martínez Cubells, following Maurand, gives him a shirt with an open neck.

Finally the photograph seems to show a window opening in the background, or a ledge with some dim light falling on the space above it. If this light patch is not just a flaw in the photograph it suggests that Goya originally played the same kind of compositional trick here that had been a source of pride to him in 1781, when he wrote to the Conde de Floridablanca about his painting of *St Bernardino Preaching*.³³ The eye passes across the objects on the floor, rises along the main diagonal from bottom right to top left, and curves across to the lighter area in the background on the right. This sense of receding space has been almost entirely lost as a result of restoration.

11. *Two young people and a man*

The photograph in the Calleja volume is affected by shine on the paint surface from the left (Fig.64). This lights up what could be canvas grain, but might also be the broad and coarse brushstrokes with which coats of linseed oil and other prepara-

tions were laid on prior to the application of the paint itself.³⁴ Equally of course the same irregularities could be caused by an earlier application of lime-wash to the wall. Since there are noticeable variants between the photograph and the restored painting, it is likely that the former was made before the picture was removed from Goya's house.

Because of the shine on the paint surface in the photograph, the face on the left is particularly difficult to read. The restorer seems, nevertheless, to have added some dark crease lines in that area, and muted one or two highlights. He has also slightly varied the painting of the left eye of the man on the right. Originally this was composed of a black right angle under an inverted circumflex of two paler tones. Martínez Cubells has lost the directness of this passage in his retouching. He also appears to have eliminated what looks like a woman's hand on the man's shoulder at the extreme right. The rolled-up sleeve of the man's shirt has been outlined by the restorer with a rather heavy tone, where Goya used a less dark and less sharp line to create the sense of shape and recession. The tonal distinction between the dark dress and the shawl over the head of the woman in the centre of the painting has been affected by the restoration. Finally, dark lines on the 'paper' in the man's hand – perhaps simulating writing – have disappeared, although in fact their presence makes the picture a more obvious pendant to *Men Reading*.³⁵ And shading lines at the very top and bottom of the painting, which give it a sense of depth, have also vanished.

12. *The Holy Office*

Calleja, in this instance has certainly reproduced a Laurent photograph. There is a copy of the Laurent photograph in the Witt collection (Fig.65) and the negative must have been the same. At the time when Laurent made his photograph there was a serious crack and a good deal of flaking in the centre of the picture. Gimeno recorded a similar area of damage in the etching he made of the same subject in 1868, so there can be little doubt that Laurent photographed the painting prior to restoration. The painting was then edged or framed in the same way as *Atropos*.

In order to cover the crack and the flaking, Martínez Cubells had to improvise in the hillside area, and he appears to have inserted a rising pile of trees on the mountain slopes (Fig.66). The photograph suggests that these trees did not exist in the original painting. Maurand, who made the woodcut of the picture for Yriarte's book, did not put them in either. He put trees on the hill in the middle distance, as shown in the photograph, but left the mountainside entirely bare.

Working from the foreground figures at the right towards the background, it is evident that Martínez Cubells's retouching has introduced a number of minor distortions: in the heavy eyelids of the Inquisitor and the outlining of his face, for instance; the eyes of the hag at his side and the folds of her cape. In the second group, the lines of the folds for the figure to the left of the crack

³⁴ Cf. FRANCISCO PACHECO: *Arte de la pintura*, ed. F. J. SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN, Madrid [1956], 2 vols, Libro III Cap. V, pp.72 ff: 'Del modo de pintar a olio en pared, tablas y lienzos y sobre otras cosas'.

³⁵ P. L. IMBERT noted that the two paintings were pendants (*op. cit.*, pp.330–331). When facing them, *Men reading* (with a strong diagonal from top left to bottom right) would be balanced by *Two young people and a man*, which Brugada called *Two women* (with a strong diagonal from top right to bottom left). Their contrast is obvious, and was noted by Imbert. The one on the left shows a serious group; that on the right hilarity. Both could in fact be reading scenes, though it is common to see the one on the right as a satire on onanism. I accept the possibility of the onanism theory, but feel that the right hand could be supporting a paper. It is also, of course, possible that Brugada was right in thinking that the so-called onanist was female rather than male.

³² Cf. *El Arte en España*, vii [1868]: 'La casa del sordo. Frescos de Goya, No.II', and YRIARTE, *op. cit.*

³³ Cf. *Antecedentes, coincidencias e influencias del arte de Goya. Catálogo de la exposición celebrada en 1932 . . . con un estudio preliminar sobre 'La situación y la estela del arte de Goya'* por ENRIQUE LAFUENTE FERRARI, Madrid [1947], pp.318–19.



65. Photograph of Goya's *The Holy Office*, by J. Laurent. (Witt Collection, Courtauld Institute of Art).



66. Photograph of Goya's *The Holy Office* after restoration, by J. Laurent. From glass negative in possession of Ruiz Vernacci, Madrid.



67. Photograph of Goya's *Asmodea*, by J. Laurent (?). From Calleja's *449 reproducciones . . .* (1924).



68. Photograph of Goya's *Asmodea* after restoration, by J. Laurent. Glass negative in possession of Ruiz Vernacci, Madrid.

have been slightly modified; and the rocky area above the group has been extensively re-worked. There are a few variations in the sky and trees on the right-hand side of the picture, and some small discrepancies on the left. On the other hand Martínez Cubells seems to have caught very adequately the tonal arch in the sky on a level with the line of hills in the centre. He may have deepened the blue sky over the horizon slightly and has perhaps treated the lines on the left of the outcrop of rock differently. In the photograph the 'ledge' on the left of the rock would seem to be a separate and more distant peak. Martínez Cubells has joined the two together more palpably. Yet apart from the large area of doubt in the middle of the painting, the restorer has hardly exceeded his brief.

13. *Asmodea*

The Calleja photograph of *Asmodea* (Fig.67) – sometimes called *Fantastic Vision* or *To the Witches Coven* – may have been made while the painting was still on the wall.³⁶ Part of the cloud effect over the hill and to its right appears to have been lost when the painting was restored, and the treatment of shadow on the right hand side of the hill itself is rather different. Martínez Cubells has sharpened a few outlines on the figures and retouched the creases in the material over the legs of the flying figure on the left (Fig.68). There are some minor variants in the buildings on the mountaintop, and the descending line of the hill behind the two soldiers in the foreground has been reconstructed. The mountain in the distance on the left has been given a clearer shape, and the contours of the green hill immediately to the left of the feet of the flying figure nearest the centre have been altered. The areas of highlight and shadow on the shoulder straps of the two Spanish soldiers in the foreground have evidently lost some of their quality in the restoration, but the most serious loss is in the foot-hills close to the rock which seem flatter and cruder in the retouched painting than they do in the photograph.

14. *Dog*

The photograph reproduced by Calleja (Fig.51) is significantly different from post-restoration photographs, and it seems reasonable to suppose that it was made before the painting was moved.³⁷ The mysterious dark form to the right of the dog, which has progressively lost tone in successive cleanings, is fairly sharply defined. This looming form – perhaps that of a man bending over the dog – gives a certain logic to the expression on the animal's face as it looks up. Goya liked these vague forms, as we can see from other paintings in the series, some of the wash drawings and the *Disparates*. Charles Yriarte, however, felt that the painting was unfinished, and it is certainly the case that the subject is no easier to interpret in the photograph than it is in the restored painting. There are several variants to note between photograph and the post-restoration state of the picture. The zone of light in the background against which the dog's head and the dark shape stand out, appears to have lost its contrastive force in the transfer

process. The strongly lit top of the ear, which visibly extends the dog's head to the left in the photograph, has vanished entirely. The dark edge of the ear flap seems to have vanished too. Before restoration the line of rock (?) in the foreground seems to have flattened out at the right, and the transfer eliminated the slight variations in tone which conveyed its sense of volume.

It is difficult to generalise about the restoration of the Black Paintings. For the most part the photographs suggest that Martínez Cubells carried out a well nigh impossible task with remarkable success. At the same time his retouching reveals certain tendencies which are worth bearing in mind when looking at the paintings in the Prado today. In the first place he seems to have liked strong outlines and unmodulated tones, and there are a number of instances in which he has lost the sense of rounded forms or failed to recapture the advancing or receding planes that Goya had constructed.³⁸ In this way he diminished the naturalistic ends of Goya's brushwork, and obscured some of its subtlety, for in the Black Paintings as well as in the *Caprichos* and *Disparates* Goya showed an incredible ability for giving rational form to irrational or imaginary subjects. Martínez Cubells also toned down some of Goya's audacity. There are one or two instances in which the sensuality or sexuality of the original has been veiled by the restorer, as one might have expected in the 1870's. There are other cases in which the restorer has weakened the compositional force of the original or attempted to make mystery less mysterious. Sometimes he has sacrificed line to detail, as in his treatment of the bank of earth in *Doña Leocadia*. At others compositional patterns have been changed by cutting passages which may have presented particularly recalcitrant problems for the restorer. Martínez Cubells's elimination of a sizeable part of the right hand side of *The Witches' Sabbath* has converted an unconventional composition which balanced an empty space against an area filled with figures, into a conventional oval. Frequently, when looking at the early photographs and then at the restored paintings one has a sense of difference that is extraordinarily difficult to define. The restored brushstroke has the same outline and shape, and yet there is something not quite right about it. Rather like a demagnetized piece of metal, the molecules are all there, but they are not in line. Goya knew where his brushstrokes were going and there is a feeling of rightness about the photographs which is not always present in the restored paintings. Since brushstrokes are the life of a painting as much as colour, the photographs of the Black Paintings, for all their deficiencies, will merit further attention in the future.

³⁶ I have not found a copy of Laurent's photograph of this painting (which seems to be cited by VON LOGA, see note 17 above), and so cannot say whether Calleja's photograph was based on Laurent's negative.

³⁷ I have not found any other copies of the photograph used by Calleja. The slightly unusual title used by Calleja – 'Fragment of a panel with the head of a dog' – derives from the Prado catalogue entry (No.2166 n in 1904; No.767, with the same title, in 1910). A mark which could be Laurent's monogram in relief is visible in the middle of the top edge.

³⁸ Martínez Cubells's weaknesses as an original artist were picked out in a review that mentioned his 'Education of Prince John' in *Los Lunes de El Imparcial* [11th February 1878]. 'There is a certain lifelessness in his painting of flesh, which leads to a lack of variety in the faces in this picture. One has only to look at the faces of the ladies-in-waiting behind the Queen, which are extraordinarily similar'. The article goes on to praise his draughtsmanship and colour but notes deficiencies in perspective and errors in the depiction of facial expression.