

**GOYA AND THE INTERNATIONAL ART MOVEMENTS
OF HIS TIME**

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**by
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Francisco de Paula José Goya y Lucientes (1746-1828) was one of the greatest artists ever produced by Spain. Living a long and productive life, Goya was able to participate in and contribute to many contemporary and future international art movements, while remaining a traditional Spanish artist. If this seems to be a contradictory statement, all one has to do is examine his life and work to discover a man capable of astonishing transformations. He was a chameleon, changing his colors against the political and artistic landscape of his world. However, he never did this in an obsequious way; he was just not content with the status quo and was always open to new ideas. His mature art is always original and daring, yet could contain aspects of the prevalent style.

As with any brilliant, passionate artist, it is sometimes difficult to separate myth from reality about his life in the 1700s and early 1800s. Part of his character can be divined from the company he kept, intellectuals and liberals who wanted Spain to step out of the dark ages and into the age of Enlightenment. Goya himself was not a learned man; he did not keep a diary from which we can find what he thought about his life and his art. He did leave behind letters to friends and titles, hundreds of titles for drawings and prints mostly, written to explain, but somehow seeming to obscure their meanings. From these titles we know that Goya hated superstition and ignorance, war and its inhumanity, and cruel and stupid leaders; but we know also from these titles that he thought there was hope for his fellow man.

As a young man, Goya participated in the Enlightenment and the Rococo, giving meaning to this frivolous art style, as had Watteau before him. He also borrowed ideas from the Neoclassicists. He probably was unaware of the Romantic movement, but it is this style, more than any other, which was kindred to his soul because of its intense privacy. The Romanticists created works of art solely to please themselves, not the public or anyone else. Goya did the same thing, but unlike them it was not vanity that moved him, but an intense desire to express feelings and emotions unexpressible except through his art. Not only did

he not want anyone to see these works, he actually hid them. No other artist of his time would have even conceived of this notion of exorcising his own demons in art works.

My main objective in this study has been to separate from the thousands of Goya's works those that reflect the international art movements of his time and those that anticipate Romanticism. The text includes a biographical study, a discussion of Spain's participation in international art movements and typical Spanish attitudes and characteristics. In conclusion I find that Goya was not only able to keep up with contemporary art movements and be a precursor of many modern art movements, but was a classical artist as well, in every sense of the word. His art speaks to us today about the universal themes of freedom or lack of it and the alienation of the modern world, where there is no sense of community, each man and woman is as separate and apart as though each of us lived in a separate world with no shared values or ideas. It is extraordinary that such a man could have lived in the eighteenth century in Spain, one of the most repressive and backward countries in Europe.

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Introduction

In this paper I have attempted to explore how the Spanish artist Francisco Goya (1746-1828) was simultaneously traditional and experimental, reflecting the art of the past and present in Spain and international art movements, while at the same time anticipating and contributing to many modern art movements, specifically Romanticism. When he did borrow ideas from other art movements, such as the Rococo, he did not copy them slavishly but incorporated them into his own style.

The first chapter is a brief biographical summary of the artist's life from his lowly beginnings in Fuendetodos, Aragon to his appointment as First Court Painter in 1799 to his exile in France as an old man. In this chapter I try to dispel any romantic notions about Goya, such as his reputation as a lover and bullfighter. He was not a Don Juan with scores of lovers and illegitimate children. He had one lover during his marriage and no illegitimate children. Although he loved to watch bullfighting, he did not participate. The only things that were larger than life about him were his talent and his ambition.

In Chapter 2, I discuss the Spanish tradition, beginning in Section A with Spain's participation in international movements from the cave art at Altamira to the Baroque Age, and how Goya

continues the secular humanism of the Greeks and the realism of Roman art. The religiosity of Spain of the Romanesque through the Gothic age was not continued by him, because he did not excel at Christian art, except for those subjects that especially interested him. He did continue the idea of the Renaissance of the autonomy of the individual. Mannerist artists were his true soul mates in their depiction of the alienation of man from the world and their dependence on the human figure for subject matter. He also continues the Baroque tradition with its emphasis on visual realism.

In Section B of Chapter 2, I discuss the traditional Spanish attitudes and characteristics of religiosity, realism, emotionalism, individualism, respect for authority, conservatism, and pessimism. He does continue all of these, except for religiosity. His respect for authority could be dampened by authority figures who did not deserve their roles and he was not always conservative, being willing to take chances with his life to create art works which were denigrating of the church and state.

In Sections III-VI, I discuss in chronological order the effect of the Rococo, the Enlightenment, and Neoclassicism on Goya and Romanticism and its effect on him. The influence of the Rococo on Goya can be seen in his light and airy, pink and grey palette of the 1780s and his depiction of life as happy and idyllic in his early tapestry paintings. Even in his Rococo portraits, he can not help

but make a statement to us about women who are only like dressed up dolls with no thoughts in their heads.

As a member of Charles III's court, Goya knew of and was friends with many nobles who were proponents of the Enlightenment. Goya came to believe in their ideas, such as the advancement of education and their opposition to religious fanaticism and superstition. We can see their ideas in visual form in the Caprichos and many other works by Goya, as well as in his writings. Another influence of the Enlightenment was his continued learning and development as an artist and person.

Neoclassicism's influence is first felt in the Caprichos whose dark and sinister mood, as well as their name, can be traced back to Goya's study of Piranesi's Carceri, whose frontispiece to the first edition was called Capricci (Caprices). Goya made drawings after Flaxman and his Caprichos and Disparates contain many hooded figures and the theme of hypocrisy borrowed from Flaxman.

Goya contributed to Romanticism in many ways, with its pessimistic, revolutionary ideas and its emphasis on the individual. It was the first modern art movement and Goya spawned it. He was the link between the art of the past and the art of the present. I conclude in Section VII that like Greek and Roman art, Goya's art is classical, because it endures and speaks as well to us today, as it did the day he put the paint on the canvas. In this way Goya was the first truly modern artist.

Biographical Summary

Francisco de Paula José Goya y Lucientes was born in Fuendetodos, a small town in the province of Aragon, in the northwest section of Spain. Baptized on 30 March 1746, he was the son of José Goya, a master glider of altarpieces (Sánchez Cantón, 1965). Goya's family on his father's side consisted mostly of craftsmen; his great-grandfather and his great-great-grandfather were both master builders (Glendinning, 1977). According to Sánchez Cantón (1965), his mother Gracia Lucientes was permitted to place the title Doña before her name, because she came from a family of hidalgos, nobility not rich enough to be members of the aristocracy, but too proud to earn a living doing any type of trade (Holland, 1961). When Goya became an artist, he was allowed to use the title Don (Glendinning, 1977), and he did so, but he usually referred to himself as Francisco Goya or simply Goya (Sánchez Cantón, 1965). José and Gracia had five children; Francisco was their fourth child and second son (Glendinning, 1977).

Some writers and critics have labeled Francisco Goya as unsophisticated, because he was born in a small town; however, his family moved to Saragossa in March 1747, a year after he was born. Rich and important, Saragossa was considered the second city in Spain after Madrid in the eighteenth century. A strong arts and crafts tradition flourished in this city, along with strength in

important areas like commerce, industry, and agriculture. Located halfway between Barcelona and Madrid, Saragossa was described by travellers as a beautiful city "with wide, straight, well-built streets" (Glendinning, 1977, p. 328). The emphasis on arts and crafts in Saragossa, and his father's being a gilder, may have influenced Goya to go into painting--an honorable profession. Gilding and painting had been practiced together in the sixteenth century in Spain (Glendinning, 1977).

Little is known about Goya's childhood and adolescence (Sánchez Cantón, 1965). There were two public schools in Saragossa, both run by religious groups; it is not known definitely which one he attended (Glendinning, 1977). A document found in 1962, concerning a priest's beatification and a young student, may prove that Goya went to the public school run by the Jesuits (Sánchez Cantón, 1965) (although it had long been thought that Goya went to the other public school in Saragossa, the Priarist Institute). Evidence for the latter assertion was gleaned from one of Goya's letters to his friend Martín Zapater; however, the text of the letter actually refers to Zapater's schooling and not Goya's. It has also been commonly thought that Zapater and Goya were old friends from school days spent together at the Priarist Institute, but actually Goya was seven years older than Zapater, so they could not have gone to school together (Glendinning, 1977). Whichever

school Goya attended, he was probably taught reading, writing, and about the Christian religion (Holland, 1961).

Goya's art training may have begun with what his father could teach him, but his first official art teacher was José Luzán, "A mediocre painter, but a good teacher" (Sánchez Cantón, 1965, p. 335). Luzán was from Aragon, like Goya, but had received his art training in Italy. Glendinning (1977) has found that Goya began studying under him at the age of thirteen. With Luzán for four years, Goya copied Luzán's "best" prints as part of his training (Sánchez Cantón, 1965). Luzán had probably been trained to copy in Italy, where the art academies had their students draw from classical sculpture. Goya was allowed to paint original works only towards the end of his apprenticeship. Most young painters were made to copy certain academically accepted painters at this time, not always those whom, we today, would consider the best painters. Goya's early paintings, especially the religious paintings, show the influence of French or Italian engravings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, probably the result of his training by Luzán (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

Goya studied with Luzán until 1763, when he was seventeen. It is known that at the end of that year, in December, he was in Madrid; he took part in a painting competition for scholarships initiated by the Royal Academy of San Fernando. He did not receive

any votes. Little is known about his activities after the contest until January 1766, when he returned to Madrid to compete in another painting contest at the Royal Academy of San Fernando. Again, the painting he submitted received no votes (Sánchez Cantón, 1965).

It is not clear what Goya did for the next four years of his life, from 1767 until 1770. He later recorded that at some point during this time, he had gone to Rome to study art, and had made the trip on his own initiative and with his own money (Sánchez Cantón, 1965). He was in Rome for as long as a year (Gassier & Wilson, 1981), but it is not known what artists' paintings Goya saw and studied. Sánchez Cantón sees the influence of Italian mannerism in two paintings with pagan themes painted by Goya in Italy--the Sacrifice to Vesta and the Sacrifice to Pan--with their elongated, corpulent figures and small heads, as in Parmigianino's paintings. Sánchez Cantón (1965) also sees the influence of the Italian painter Salvator Rosa in Goya's creation of "atmosphere and clear, fine brush stroke" (p. 336). During the years 1767-70, Goya may have painted his first paintings of actual events in Madrid. The two paintings attributed to Goya, The Esquilache Riot and Charles III Promulgating the Edict for the Expulsion of the Jesuits, have to do with the expelling of the Jesuits from Spain in 1767. During the same years, Goya painted a series of religious paintings for the chapel walls of a palace owned by the counts of Gabarda in

Saragossa. The compositions for these paintings are based on seventeenth-century French and Italian works (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

Gassier and Wilson (1981) have discovered that Goya wrote a letter in Italian on 20 April 1771 to the Secretary of the Academy of Parma announcing that he had sent a painting for the competition they were having. For the first time, Goya was fairly successful in a painting contest: he received six votes and the judges praised his effort in writing. When Goya traveled overland to Italy, he not only learned some Italian, but also learned some French in order to be better prepared for that part of his journey (Sánchez Cantón, 1965). Although his early education was limited, Goya was a man who was continually learning.

By the age of twenty-five, Goya had painted only about twelve religious paintings, the two pagan sacrifices, and the two paintings about the Jesuit expulsions. Two more paintings with pagan themes done in 1771 were attributed to Goya by Xaviere Desparmet Fitz-Gerald in the magazine Pantheon in 1964 (Sánchez Cantón, 1965).

Back in Saragossa, on 21 October 1771, Goya was asked for sketches by the people who commissioned him to paint the vault of the choir of the church of Our Lady of the Pillar. On 11 November 1771, he began the fresco after he had pleased the committee with

his sketches for it. The theme was "The Glory of the Name of God" (Sánchez Cantón, 1965). Part of the reason why the committee was so pleased with Goya and his sketches was that he asked for a low sum to do the finished work. He had to do this in order to compete with better-known and more established artists.

Successful completion of the fresco on 1 June 1772 served as a boost to Goya's career. He soon began to receive more commissions, many of which were religious. One of these religious commissions was for the charterhouse of Aula Dei, near Saragossa; these paintings have been much changed by damage and restoration. Of eleven oil paintings on plaster that Goya did for the monastery only seven are still intact and these are heavily restored. The paintings' subject is the life of the Virgin (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

Glendinning (1977) contends that Goya moved to Madrid sometime around 1772-73, probably at the suggestion of Francisco Bayeu, Goya's friend and perhaps teacher at one time. The Goya and Bayeu families had known each other in Saragossa for many years. Francisco Bayeu was born in Saragossa in 1734 and, like Goya, had been taught by José Luzán. After working for two years under an established academic painter, Bayeu was asked in 1763 by the neoclassicist Anton Rafael Mengs to help in the decoration of the new royal palace. In 1765 Bayeu was named a painter to the

king.¹ Besides the closeness of the Bayeu and Goya families, other evidence discovered by Glendinning (1977) points to the fact that Francisco Bayeu helped Goya in his career. When Goya entered the painting competition of the Royal Academy of Arts of Parma in 1770-71, his references speak of him as a "pupil of Signor Francisco Vajeu" (Glendinning, 1977, p. 308). On 25 July 1773 Goya married Josefa Bayeu, the younger sister of Francisco. Many critics feel that this marriage was a cold-blooded, calculated move on Goya's part to get closer to Francisco Bayeu. Evidence for those who believe that Goya never loved Josefa is the fact that, in almost forty years of marriage, he never painted her portrait or did any etchings of her; he did one drawing of her on the occasion of their only son's marriage when she was fifty-eight. The oil portrait that has been traditionally identified as Josefa is of a much younger woman than Josefa would have been in 1790 (when the portrait was painted) (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

The first advancement in Goya's career came through A. R. Mengs. In 1774 Mengs was the director of the Royal Tapestry Factory of Santa Barbara in Madrid (founded in 1720 by Philip V). Mengs offered Goya a job as a painter of tapestry cartoons; it is not unlikely that Francisco Bayeu, who worked under Mengs, might have influenced him to offer Goya this position (Gassier & Wilson, 1981). Mengs may have met Goya while the young artist was in

Rome, and, if this is so, Mengs may have seen Goya's work for the first time there. Several royal palaces had been rebuilt in the eighteenth century, and they needed decoration, which the factory provided. The painted cartoons were usually the same size that the finished tapestry was to be (Glendinning, 1977).

From 1774, when he took the job at the tapestry factory, it is easier to keep track of Goya's movements. There are many documents that record his official relations with the court. It is known that Goya lived with his in-laws, the Bayeus, from the time of his and Josefa's marriage in 1773 until their first child was born on 15 December 1775. Goya's early cartoons reflect Francisco Bayeu's artificial neoclassical style.² Sánchez Cantón (1965) believes that one of the reasons these early cartoons are not successful is that they are of hunting and fishing subjects, which did not move Goya as did human subjects. Despite Goya's seeming success in obtaining a position as cartoon painter, he, at the age of thirty, was virtually unknown as a painter and was under the thumb of Bayeu. This can be seen in the receipts for Goya's first five cartoons which were made out to Francisco Bayeu and specified that the cartoons had been painted under Bayeu's direction (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

Happily for Goya, Mengs allowed his tapestry painters a great deal of freedom, asking only that the cartoons' subject matter reflect the feasts and customs typical of Madrid. This freedom

combined with this type of subjects matter especially suited Goya's temperament (Sánchez Cantón, 1965). Cartoon painters were not restricted by the factory to submit original designs; however, they were paid more for original designs. It was also commonly thought that craftsmen or artisans copied, but true artists were original (Glendinning, 1977). In the late 1770s, Goya's paintings for tapestries began to reflect the joie de vivre associated with these paintings. His compositions are spacious and coherent, and his palette is full of bright, rich color; these compositions truly reflect an original style (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

On 18 June 1776 Mengs wrote a letter recommending that Goya receive a fixed annual salary from the king; he described Goya as "a person of talent and intelligence, who is capable of making great progress in his art, supported by the Royal munificence, and at the present time he is already proven himself useful in the service of the King" (Gassier & Wilson, 1981, p. 46). Mengs asked that the king pay Goya eight thousand reales a year.³ Goya worked for the tapestry factory for eighteen years (1774-92), from the ages of twenty-eight to forty-seven (Sánchez Cantón, 1965). Valentín Sambricio has deduced that during that time, Goya painted sixty-three tapestry cartoons to decorate two royal palaces, San Lorenzo de El Escorial and El Pardo palace just outside of Madrid, and that thirty-nine of those cartoons were done before 1780 (Gassier &

Wilson, 1981). While painting for the tapestry factory, Goya slacks off in his production of tapestry cartoons on two occasions in the years 1780-86 and the years 1789-90. The first break was caused by an illness in 1778, which Goya wrote about in a letter to his friend Zapater. While recovering, Goya probably began his first series of engravings, the seventeen etchings after paintings by Velázquez (Sánchez Cantón, 1965). According to Gassier and Wilson (1981), Goya might have begun to study Velázquez at the suggestion of Mengs, who, in an open letter to the Secretary of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, wrote that beginning artists should study the great master. The Velázquez paintings Goya chose to copy were ones in the royal palaces; Goya probably knew of and studied the great schools and masters through the paintings in the palaces. He could draw them whenever he wanted to (Sánchez Cantón, 1965). Eleven of these prints after Velázquez were advertised for sale in 1778 in the Madrid Gazette. Only seventeen prints are now known; however, there are four preparatory drawings that do not match any existing prints. The work was received well by the public (Glendinning, 1977); he did not publish all of the prints, because some of the plates had been damaged through his experimentation with the newly invented technique of aquatint (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

On 5 May 1780 Goya submitted a painting of the Crucifixion to the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando in order to become a member of the academy. The directors voted unanimously to make him a director on 7 May 1780. With this election to a respected institution, his career gained credibility; he was thirty-four years old. Also in May 1780, he received confirmation from the board members of the Pilar Cathedral in Saragossa that he had been chosen to paint two cupolas with their arches. Ramón Bayeu, Francisco's younger brother who was also an artist, received a commission to paint two cupolas. All three painters, the Bayeu brothers and Goya went to Saragossa together to carry out the commission. An argument exploded between Francisco Bayeu and Goya, when Bayeu tried to change Goya's preliminary sketches. Goya stubbornly refused to alter the sketches; a priest friend interceded and convinced Goya to give in, Goya painted new sketches, and Bayeu corrected or changed them as he saw fit. Goya wrote to Zapater ". . . when I think of Saragossa and of painting, I feel as though I'm burning alive" (Sánchez Cantón, 1965, p. 340). What Bayeu, the building committee, and the public objected to most in Goya's work was his sketchiness; they were used to the smooth, finished look of paintings by academicians. The free and spontaneous execution of these sketches was

shocking to the building committee who said that the sketches "lacked care and taste" (Gassier & Wilson, 1981, p. 53).

On returning to Madrid in 1781, Goya did not immediately begin working on the tapestry cartoons, perhaps he did not want to encounter Bayeu. His argument with Bayeu soon was forgotten in the excitement he felt on 25 July 1781; he wrote to Zapater about "the greatest engagement in painting which had been offered in Madrid; and it is in competition" (Sánchez Cantón, 1965, p. 345). He had received a commission to paint one of seven large altarpieces in the church of San Francisco el Grande in Madrid; Francisco Bayeu and five other respected academicians were to paint the other six altarpieces. Goya was permitted to choose the theme of his painting--St. Bernardino of Siena preaching before Alfonso V of Aragon. Goya took extreme care with the painting's composition, because he was trying to prove himself. Taking two years to complete, the painting was well-received by the public. With the successful completion of this altarpiece, Goya began to receive religious and secular commissions from many rich and important Spaniards, many of whom became his friends and patrons. His first important portrait commission was from Count Floridablanca, the First Secretary of State under Charles III from 1777 until Charles's death in 1788 and under Charles IV until 1792 (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

Goya's most attentive early patron, according to Glendinning (1977), was the brother of King Charles III, the Infante Don Luis, who was formerly Cardinal-Archbishop of Toledo, but was forced to give up the church position after his marriage. The Infante and his family lived away from Madrid at Arenas de San Pedro (Avila). While working on their family portrait and separate portraits of the family members, Goya stayed with them (Gassier & Wilson, 1981). The Infante was a sophisticated, but friendly man; he and Goya went hunting together (Glendinning, 1977). Goya's first masterly portrait was of the Infante's two-year-old daughter María Teresa, "a masterpiece of childish grace, in pure rococo style" (Gassier & Wilson, 1981, p. 61). In addition to the warmth and respect Goya received from the Infante and his family, Don Luis gave Goya expensive gifts for himself and Josefa. The Infante remained a patron of Goya's until the old man's death in 1785 (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

Another important commission, received in 1785, was for six official portraits of shareholders of the Bank of San Carlos. These portraits are not successful, but are dull and boring. Their poses are stiff and their facial expressions are bland. Goya's best portraits during this time are of women and are rococo in feeling. Those of the Marchioness of Pontejos (ca. 1786) and of the Countess-Duchess of Benavente (1785) seem to capture their sitters'

personalities; the former is delicate, the latter intelligent and witty. The rococo palette of pinks and grays in these two portraits is completely different from the palette of the tapestry cartoons. These portraits hint at the sensitive portraitist to come (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

In 1786 Cornelio Vandergoten (director of the royal tapestry factory after Mengs) died; this led to a shake-up in the organization of court painters. Francisco Bayeu and Mariano Salvador Maella, both court painters, recommended that Ramón Bayeu and Goya be appointed painters to the king with a salary of fifteen thousand reales annually. Francisco Bayeu and Goya seem to have made up after their argument in Saragossa; family unity is very important to Spaniards. This was a peaceful and happy time in Goya's life. He had a secure annual salary and his first child, the only one to live beyond infancy, was two years old in 1786 (Gassier & Wilson, 1981). Goya's wife Josefa gave birth to five children, but only Francisco Javier Goya y Bayeu, born in 1784, was to live (Glendinning, 1977). Also in 1786, Goya resumed working at the tapestry factory, and he was receiving many public and private commissions (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

Charles III, an intelligent and enlightened absolute ruler, died in 1788. Shortly afterward, his son Charles IV (who unfortunately shared none of his father's fine qualities) took the throne and

appointed Goya court painter. In 1789 the French Revolution began; sympathetic Spaniards, nicknamed afrancesados (meaning pro-French), were threatened by the Spanish court with persecution and exile. Many men and women who sided with the French were Goya's friends and were among the most enlightened members of Spanish society. Goya was probably torn between loyalty to his friends who had helped him so much in his career and loyalty to the king to whom Goya had pledged his service and devotion (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

After his appointment as court painter, Goya refused to paint any more tapestry cartoons; he thought this was beneath him now. But the king threatened to withhold his salary, and he was forced to submit. Work on a new series of tapestry cartoons was interrupted by a trip to Andalusia and an illness in 1792 that almost killed him. Most writers and critics agree that this brush with death produced a profound change in Goya's life and art. He became more serious and more pessimistic. Just before Goya became sick, a foreboding of this pessimism was perhaps expressed in a tapestry cartoon that he had painted, El Pelele (straw mannikin). The cartoon depicts a group of gaily laughing women tossing a dummy into the air and catching it with a blanket; this cartoon has the lightheartedness of the earlier cartoons, but there is a touch of sarcasm. Goya became ill while visiting his friend Don Sebastián Martínez, who wrote to

their mutual friend Zapater on 19 March 1793, "the noises in his head and his deafness have not improved, but his vision is much better and he is no longer suffering from the disorders which made him lose his balance" (Gassier & Wilson, 1981, p. 106). Goya stayed with Martínez for about six months. While he was recovering from this unidentified illness, he may have studied Martínez's art collection, which included Piranesi's Carceri (Prisons) (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

According to Gassier and Wilson (1981), on 4 January 1794, Goya sent some paintings to Don Bernardo de Iriarte, who was Vice-Protector of the Royal Academy of San Fernando. He explained the paintings in a letter, saying:

Most Excellent Sir, in order to occupy my imagination mortified by the contemplation of my sufferings, and in order to compensate in part for the considerable expense which they have caused me, I devoted myself to painting a set of cabinet pictures in which I have managed to make observations for which there is normally no opportunity in commissioned works which give no scope for fantasy and invention. (108)

These eleven paintings, which Goya submitted to Iriarte, go beyond the academic, rigid styles popular at the time.⁴ Along with this series of paintings, of "real or imaginary subjects which the artist

recalled or invented" (Glendinning, 1977, p. 25), Goya began to work more with black and white mediums--drawing and etching. In the drawings he expresses ideas about politics, society, and the Church which were unexpressible in public, commissioned work. Many of these drawings were later used as preparations for etchings (Glendinning, 1977). On 6 February 1799, there was an announcement in the Diario de Madrid concerning the sale of prints by Francisco Goya. The set of prints included eighty etchings and was called Los Caprichos (The Caprices). Goya described them in the announcement in the paper as "the multitude of follies and blunders common in every civil society, as well as . . . the vulgar prejudices and lies authorized by custom, ignorance, or interest, those that he [Goya] has thought most suitable matter for ridicule . . ." (Sánchez Cantón, 1965, pp. 78-79). The way Goya ridiculed society through a series of macabre, dreamlike etchings is typical of Spanish literature. The Spanish writer Quevedo wrote Sueños (Dreams) in 1726; in it he criticized Spanish society through a series of stories that are dreams. This fantastical, supernatural element in the Caprichos also mirrors eighteenth-century Spanish superstition and belief in witchcraft. In 1803 Goya was forced to turn over the copperplates of the Caprichos and 240 unsold sets of prints to the king, in order to

avoid persecution from the Church, which objected to their anticlericism (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

The Caprichos are more than just a satirical look at society; they embody an overall feeling of isolation and alienation of one man from another. These feelings of Goya's, in part a reaction to his near-fatal illness, could also spring from the abrupt end of a love affair. In the summer of 1796, Goya began an affair with the Duchess of Alba (one of the most sought after women in all of Spain); he was fifty and she was thirty-four. They were both married. He did drawings and etchings of her. One full-length portrait in oil shows her wearing two rings on her fingers, one saying "Goya" and the other "Alba"; she points to a message written at her feet in the dust "Solo Goya" (Only Goya). Lovers for only a year, they broke off their relationship in the winter of 1796-97 (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

In 1798, a year before he published the Caprichos, Goya received an important religious commission from the church of San Antonio de la Florida in Madrid (Glendinning, 1977). This little church had been attached to the chapel of the royal palace which had been granted the status of an independent parish. Because of this, the frescoes Goya was commissioned to paint were not subject to the approval of the chapter or academy. Goya was able to interpret the subject--the miracle of St. Anthony--with the "freest

and fullest expression of the painter's genius" (Gassier & Wilson, 1981, p. 145). The result of this freedom of expression is one of the most beautiful religious paintings ever conceived; the brushstrokes are large and sweeping, and the colors rich and vibrant.

Goya's career reached its peak in October 1799 with a promotion to the title of First Court Painter, the most honorable position an artist could attain in Spain (Glendinning, 1977). Twenty-five years after Goya had first come to court in 1774, he finally achieved the title he had dreamed of. As the top painter at court, Goya made fifty thousand reales a year. Before, as one of many court painters, he had made only fifteen thousand reales a year (Gassier & Wilson, 1981). With this appointment came more commissions from King Charles IV and Queen María Luisa. The king and queen commissioned portraits of themselves, of Manuel Godoy (the Queen's lover, unbeknownst only to the king), and a portrait of Godoy's wife (the Countess of Chinchón, whom Goya had painted once before when she was two years old as the daughter of the Infante Don Luis). One of Goya's most famous paintings, the portrait of the whole family called Charles IV and his Family (1800) was done at this time (Glendinning, 1977). After June 1801, Goya received no more commissions from the king; the reason is unknown (Gassier & Wilson, 1981). Many have speculated that

perhaps the royal family were shocked by Goya's brutally realistic portrait, almost a caricature of them, but, if so, they never voiced their displeasure publicly.

During the years 1800-1808, Goya concentrated on private works, such as imaginative drawings and etchings. He could afford to be selective about which commissions he received (Gassier & Wilson, 1981). Besides his ample salary as First Court Painter, Goya had made a fortune in the 1780s and 1790s from shares he owned in the Bank of San Carlos. During the late 1700s, Goya became friends with leading Spanish intellectuals: the writer and lawyer Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, the poet and lawyer Meléndez Valdés, the dramatist Leandro Fernández de Moratín, and the writer Juan Antonio Ceán Bermúdez. Goya learned of the Enlightenment through these men and like his friends was opposed to religious fanaticism and superstition, and was especially critical of the Inquisition and some of the monastic orders (Glendinning, 1977). The portraits that Goya chose to paint during the years 1800-1808 are richer and lusher in the application of paint than are the earlier portraits and are penetrating studies of character. Many of these portraits are of close friends or people he admired. Goya did a portrait drawing of his wife Josefa on the occasion of their son Javier's marriage in July 1805. He did a series of drawings of the family of his daughter-in-law Gumersinda

Goicoechea at this time also. The young couple lived with Francisco and Josefa for about six months after they were married. On 11 July 1806, the couple had a son, Mariano, who was to be their only child (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

Although events in Goya's personal life in the early 1800's were peaceful, the same cannot be said of events taking place at the Spanish court. In November 1792 Godoy was named Secretary of State; this nomination scandalized both the aristocrats, the intellectuals, and the common people of Spain, who began to think that unenlightened despotism with the queen's favorite lover as the real head of state was not the way to achieve reforms (Bergamini, 1974). This state of affairs was not to last long; in March 1808, a mob forced Charles IV to dismiss Godoy and to abdicate in favor of his son Ferdinand VII. Ferdinand, who was plotting behind everyone's back with Napoleon Bonaparte, was subsequently tricked into going to France, where Napoleon forced him to give up the throne in favor of his brother Joseph. In the summer of 1808, the people began a national revolution to reinstate Ferdinand; they wanted the French out (Carr, 1966).

After the war began, many Spaniards had trouble choosing sides. Occupation by the French might mean enlightened reform; a return of the exiled Spanish ruler Ferdinand might mean a return to an absolute monarchy. During the war, the liberals developed a

democratic constitution, and vowed that the king would have to sign it before the Spanish people would recognize him as their leader (Carr, 1966). Goya was also torn between the two sides and was, "like so many of his friends and compatriots, in such a web of contradiction and internal conflict that he could not be resolutely for or resolutely against anyone or anything" (Gassier & Wilson, 1981, p. 213). Goya chose by not choosing. He aligned himself with Joseph Bonaparte by accepting the Order of Spain (a French invented decoration); at the same time he aligned himself with the Spanish cause by going to Saragossa to draw official pictures of the city's heroic resistance during the first siege (Glendinning, 1977). Goya also painted in 1814 two paintings that commemorate events that led to the war between Spain and France; they are called The Second of May 1808 and The Executions of the Third of May 1808. Earlier, traditional paintings of war were meant to glorify and uphold the right of a country to go to war if it was for a good cause; they are little more than propoganda. These paintings by Goya are an indictment of all war, The Executions of the Third of May 1808, a masterpiece of composition, especially emphasizes the tragedy of the individual in war (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

During the years 1810-14, Goya also produced a series of prints called Los Desastres de la Guerra (The Disasters of War). These prints depict horrible, cruel acts perpetrated by both the

French soldiers and the Spanish soldiers and citizens during the war. Here the emphasis again is on the tragedy of the individual. Goya did not take sides in his illustration of the atrocities man imposes against his fellow man; he recognized the barbarity of all men and women during war. These prints were never published by Goya in his lifetime; he probably thought they were too controversial. While he was producing these prints in solitude, he was also painting portraits of Joseph Bonaparte, a French general and his nephew, and portraits of some Spanish afrancesados. He also painted two paintings of Spanish guerrillas in action: the Making of Gunpowder and the Making of Shot in the Sierra de Tardienta (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

Two years before the end of the war, on 20 June 1812, Josefa died. Shortly afterward, on 28 October 1812, Goya divided his property between himself and his son Javier. Goya may have been planning to leave the country, because on 3 November 1812 the British occupied the country. Their mission was to reinstate Ferdinand; Goya probably knew what that portended (Gassier & Wilson, 1981). After Josefa's death, Goya seemed to become increasingly isolated; his age of sixty-six and his deafness may have contributed to this (Glendinning, 1977).

The war came to an end in 1814 after the Briton Wellington forced out the French troops. King Ferdinand returned triumphant

to Spain (Carr, 1966); the new king did not accept the liberal constitution. He began a series of restorations of old, despotic governmental and religious institutions and laws; these restorations climaxed with the reestablishment of the Inquisition on 21 July 1814 (Licht, 1973). Ferdinand forced alleged collaborators with the French to go through a "purification" process. Many of Goya's friends were persecuted, imprisoned, or exiled. In March 1815 Dr. Zorilla de Velasco of the Inquisition in Madrid summoned Goya to his office. He wanted an explanation for why Goya painted the Naked Maja (a painting of a reclining nude); he also wanted to know who had given Goya the commission (Glendinning, 1977).

With Ferdinand as the head of the Spanish nation, Goya was forced to work for him as First Court Painter. Goya painted a few official portraits of the new king and his ministers and also a painting of Ferdinand presiding over a meeting of the Royal Phillipine Company. Ferdinand's reign was characterized by cruelty and disregard for the true needs of the Spanish people. Goya could not publicly express his feelings about the new regime, but his private drawings (of which there were many at this time), and the later prints of the Disasters of War testify to his feelings about Ferdinand's repressive measures (Glendinning, 1977). Most of the drawings done at this time can be grouped into series, because of their technique, style, size, and subject matter.

The next series of prints, which Goya produced and published in 1816, was the Tauromaquia (the art of bullfighting). This series consisted of thirty-three etchings depicting contemporary and past events in the history of bullfighting (Gassier & Wilson, 1981). Bullfighting had been banned by Charles IV in 1805, but was reinstated by Joseph Bonaparte, and under Ferdinand VII bullfighting underwent a revival (Glendinning, 1977). Between the years 1815 and 1824, Goya produced his last great series of intaglio prints--the Disparates (Absurdities). Engraved on the same plates as the Tauromaquia etchings, the Disparates have the same subject matter and mood as the Caprichos. The larger scale of the Tauromaquia plates gives the small figures an overwhelming sense of insignificance and alienation; this sort of feeling is not as apparent in the Caprichos. The Disparates are among the most enigmatic of all Goya's works; although many of them were entitled by him, the titles do not make clear their meaning, but obscure their meaning still more. Goya evidently did not intend to make these prints public (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

In the years 1817-19, Goya received many religious commissions. Two of the most successful of these are the Last Communion of St. Joseph of Calasanz and the Christ on the Mount of Olives. Even though Goya did not agree with the strangle-hold the Church had on the people of Spain, he could honor and

appreciate such men as Joseph of Calasanz, who had devoted their lives to the service of others. Goya sent back most of the money that he had received for the painting of St. Joseph, saying, "I am returning this to the person ordered to make the payment, or to the rector, and tell him that D. Francisco Goya must do something in homage to his countryman the Saintly Joseph of Calasanz (Gassier & Wilson, 1981)."

The year 1819 was an important one in Goya's life. He bought a house on the outskirts of Madrid, across the Manzanares river from the palace. The house was called the Quinta del Sordo (house of the deaf man, not referring to Goya). He stayed there for five years. At the age of seventy-three, in 1819, he began experimenting with lithography, newly introduced to Spain. Late in the year, Goya became very sick and almost died (Glendinning, 1977). A friend who was a doctor saved his life; in honor of him Goya painted a moving portrait of the two together, with Goya on his sickbed, called Goya and His Doctor Arrieta. A woman named Leocadia Weiss came to stay with Goya while he lived in the Quinta. It may have been that they were lovers at one time; she was officially his housekeeper (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

On 1 January 1820, there was a revolt against Ferdinand VII led by the liberals headed by a soldier named Rafael Riego. Ferdinand, frightened for his life, did all that Riego demanded; he

swore allegiance to the Constitution of 1812, closed the convents, forced the Jesuit religious order to leave the country, secularized church property, and abolished the Inquisition. On 4 April 1820, Goya swore his allegiance to the Constitution; his drawings of this time testify to the joy he felt. This political liberalism was to last only three years, from 1820 until 1823. In 1823 Ferdinand asked other monarchists to come to his aid. The French invaded and the constitution was abandoned. This liberal political movement was doomed from the start, because there was no organized group of Spaniards who knew what they wanted or how to achieve it.

Society was in chaos for those three years. During those years of liberation, Goya painted fourteen paintings in oil directly on the walls of two rooms in the Quinta, called the Black Paintings for their mood (Gassier & Wilson, 1981), as well as for their color scheme. After Ferdinand was again placed on the throne, many liberals were forced to leave Spain as punishment for their rebellion or were tortured or imprisoned (Glendinning, 1977).

Goya could have been punished for treason; he had in his house the final series of the Disasters of War, the Disparates, (which also had many political and religious overtones) and many incriminating drawings. In 1823 Goya gave the Quinta del Sordo to his grandson Mariano (Gassier & Wilson, 1981); he then hid himself in the house of a friend between January and April 1824 to avoid retribution.

Ferdinand announced a political amnesty in May 1824. Goya immediately asked for permission to go to France for health reasons. This permission was granted by the king on 30 May (Glendinning, 1977).

After leaving Madrid, Goya traveled to Bordeaux, where he visited old friends who had been exiled from Spain. He then traveled to Paris, staying there for two months, from June until August 1824. It is not known what he did while in Paris, but there were many Spanish exiles living there. The French police kept watch of Goya's movements (as a Spanish exile) and recorded that, "he only goes out to visit the monuments and walk about in public places" (Gassier & Wilson, 1981, p. 340). It is possible that he visited the Louvre or the Luxembourg Museums; he might have visited the Salon Exhibition of 1824 which included Ingres' Vow of Louis XIII (and a retrospective of the work of Ingres), Delacroix's Massacre of Chios, and Constable's Haywain (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

After visiting Paris, Goya returned to Bordeaux, where Leocadia Weiss and her two children (by her former marriage) joined him. Artistically, Goya was still very active. During the winter of 1824-25, he painted forty miniatures with wash on ivory. He also did many drawings using black chalk and lithographic crayons (Gassier & Wilson, 1981). About every six months, Goya

had to ask for permission from King Ferdinand to stay in France. In 1825, having mastered the technique of lithography, he did a set of four lithographs on bullfighting, called the Bulls of Bordeaux (Glendinning, 1977). He did some etchings at this time, but they do not seem to form a series, being of various subjects--majas, old people, a man with a gun (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

In the spring of 1825, Goya was in poor health; Javier asked Ferdinand for another year's leave for his father. This was granted on 4 July 1825 (Gassier & Wilson, 1981). In 1826 Goya, at the age of eighty, made the perilous journey across the Pyrenees Mountains to ask the king for permission to retire. Ferdinand granted Goya's retirement on 17 June 1826. Goya then returned to France and to Bordeaux. He made yet another trip to Spain in the summer of 1827 (Glendinning, 1977). Back in France in 1827, Goya painted a wonderful, richly-painted portrait of his friend, Juan Bautista Muguiro, and a beautiful portrait of a young woman, which is called the Milkmaid of Bordeaux (Gassier & Wilson, 1981). His drawings and paintings from his last years prove that his skill was not diminished because of his age (Glendinning, 1977), nor was his belief in the goodness of mankind. Goya painted man's most horrible, degraded side, and also his most honorable, dignified side.

On 28 March 1828, Javier's wife and Goya's grandson Mariano came to Bordeaux. Goya had become ill again; on 2 April he became

paralyzed on his right side. On 16 April 1828, at 2 a.m., he died. Although his first burial place was in Bordeaux, Goya was moved to his final resting place in the little church of San Antonio de la Florida in Madrid in 1919. The angels in the frescos that he painted in 1789 dance above him (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

Footnotes

¹Anton Rafael Mengs, a German academic painter, had been summoned to Charles III's court (along with Tiepolo from Italy) in 1759 to save Spain from the mediocrity its painters had fallen into. (Gassier & Wilson, pp. 39-42, 18).

²Nine of the early cartoons painted by Goya for the Escorial palace were formerly attributed to Francisco Bayeu or his younger brother Ramón Bayeu, who was also a painter. (Gassier & Wilson, p. 44).

³Reales were the standard monetary unit of Spain in the eighteenth century, and are equal to one quarter of a peseta, the standard monetary unit in use today in Spain. (Gassier & Wilson, p. 46).

⁴Gassier and Wilson assert that the eleven paintings Goya submitted to Iriarte were selected by him from a group of fourteen which included eight bullfight scenes, the Yard with Lunatics, Strolling Players, the Marionette Seller, Brigands Attacking a Coach, the Shipwreck or the Flood, and the Fire at Night. The authors have three arguments against the five paintings--The Burial of the Sardine, The Bullfight in a Village, The Inquisition Scene, The Procession of Flagellants, and The Madhouse--having been painted after his illness of 1792.

Their first argument is that in a second letter to Iriarte, Goya described the final picture of the series, which was still unfinished, as representing, "a yard with lunatics and two of them fighting completely naked while their warden beats them, and others in sacks." This description seems to fit the painting Yard with Lunatics which is approximately the same size (43 x 32 cm.) as the other thirteen paintings which Gassier and Wilson group together. The five later panel paintings are about 46 x 73 cm., except for The Burial of the Sardine which is 82.5 x 62 cm.

Their second argument is that the style of the five paintings, with their anti-clerical feeling, corresponds more to the period 1808-19, especially to the later etchings of The Disasters of War series and his drawings of 1812-19.

Their third argument is that the members of the Royal Academy of San Fernando upon seeing the eleven paintings described them as "various scenes of national diversions." They believe they called them this because of the predominance of bullfight scenes. Then the authors go on to say that The Inquisition Scene and The Procession of Flagellants could hardly be described as "national diversions." This is a flawed argument; however, because the Yard with Lunatics, the Shipwreck, the Fire at Night, and Brigands Attacking a Coach could not be described as "national diversions" either.

In my opinion, the Yard with Lunatics, the Shipwreck and Fire at Night, and Brigands Attacking a Coach are paintings dramatic and frightening enough to have been painted by a man just back from the brink of death, but the eight bullfighting scenes, the Strolling Players, and the Marionette Seller are mediocre. One would be tempted to deny that they were even painted by Goya, much less directly after his almost-fatal illness. (pp. 108-112, 169, 230-231, 241-242, 266)

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Spain's Participation in International Movements

Spain has always participated in international art movements, from the cave paintings of Altamira to the present day. The Greeks and Romans not only left their own works of art and architecture in Spain, but also influenced such native works as the famous "Dama de Elche." The characteristic forms of Romanesque and Gothic art are found in Spain, for example, in the cloister of San Juan de la Peña, late twelfth century, and León Cathedral, 1258-1303. Spain was touched by the Renaissance with such structures as the University, Alcalá de Henares, 1537-53, and such sculpture as Alonso Berruguete's The Resurrection, c. 1517, in the Cathedral of Valencia. Mannerism is found in the Escorial, 1563-82, and the paintings of El Greco. Fine examples of Baroque architecture can be seen in the Hospice of San Fernando in Madrid, c. 1722-30, by Pedro de Ribera, and the Trasparente by Narcisco Tomé, 1728-32, in Toledo Cathedral (Myers, 1969). Baroque painting reached its peak in Spain with such masters as Velázquez, Ribera, and Zurbarán.

The ancient Greeks were humanists; they believed in the dignity and worth of man and his ability to attain self-knowledge through the use of his mind. These ideas of man are what the modern Western world is based on. To the Greeks, man was the

most important form in nature. Although still unsure how nature functioned, they were egotistical enough to believe that gods looked and acted as men and that men looked and acted as gods. This was a profound step away from the animal-men-gods of the ancient Egyptians. To the Greeks man was the most important thing in the world and the world was an understandable place.

In all Greek art forms, ceramics, sculpture, painting, and architecture (in a decorative sense) the human figure is most important. The most characteristic art form is figural sculpture. Although many Greek statues are of individuals, they are not true portraits. The figure and face of the person, while realistically done, is at the same time idealized, so that the statue becomes a "god-like" man, because no man was perfect enough to copy from life.

Now in the Archaeological Museum in Madrid, the Spanish Dama de Elche, may date from the fifth century B.C. It reflects Greek influence, either directly or by way of the Romans. Like Greek art, the face is naturalistic, but the features are idealized. Unlike Greek sculpture, the bust wears an elaborate headdress, necklaces, and earrings. This rich ornament is more typical of ancient Spanish art than of Greek art. The Spanish also made sculptures, thought to represent a mother figure, which are reminiscent of archaic Greek Kore statues (Myers, 1969).

Like the Greeks, whom the Romans admired and emulated, the Romans were concerned with the important place of man on earth. More pragmatic than the Greeks, the Romans were able to organize and govern a large diversified group of people, in contrast to the quarrelsome Greek city-states. Part of this ability to govern was linked to their ability as master planners and builders to meet their peoples' needs through architecture. The most characteristic type of Roman art, architecture, is a social art. Roman buildings were constructed for housing, entertaining, business, and public services, such as roads, bridges, and water systems. Greek temples were meant for ceremonial uses only and to be appreciated as works of art.

In large Roman cities, one of the most pressing needs was an adequate water supply. The Romans devised a system of carrying water from its source to the cities through the flow of gravity with structures called aqueducts. Many aqueducts remain intact, such as the fine Segovia aqueduct in Spain, which is ten miles long and has a maximum height of over thirty yards (Myers, 1969).

Aside from practical structures, the Romans also created structures for a more emotional reason. Triumphal arches were built to commemorate great military victories over a defeated country and were meant to be marched through by the conquering Romans. These triumphal arches are made up of a single arch with

massive piers, sometimes with arches in the piers creating a triple arch. Usually they are decorated with sculptural relief and decorative columns. The Arch of Bará in Spain has only one large passageway and has no sculptural reliefs. The only decoration is two fluted pilasters on either side of the doorway. Unlike the triumphal arches in Rome, those in Spain were not meant to proclaim the greatness of a military victory, but were used to commemorate the dead. The Arch of Bará was built with money willed by a Roman general, who was an advisor to the Emperor Trajan. Much less ornate than most triumphal arches, the Arch of Bará has a stark beauty. It has all the grandeur of a triumphal arch without the elaborate decoration (Myers, 1969).

In sculpture, the Romans borrowed the realism of the Greeks, but combined it with individualism. They wanted their sculpture to look like the person it depicted. Unlike the Greeks, the Romans usually did portrait heads rather than the whole figure. The Greeks would have thought that only doing the head of a person was not complete. This Roman interest in capturing a specific likeness can be traced back to the custom of keeping wax masks of the dead in their home (Gardner, 1980). Later this desire for literalness went beyond mere truth of physical appearance to a desire to capture the character of the person. Portraits of the ruling class in Rome were idealized to a certain degree during

different periods in Roman history. This verity can be found in Roman sculpture from Spain, as in a Male Head in white marble from the second century A.D., Museo de Historia de la Ciudad, Barcelona, which includes a very realistic treatment of the facial features with a melancholy expression (Myers, 1969).

After the disintegration of the Roman Empire, the people of Europe were left without unity. Two institutions emerged which made them cohesive: Christianity and feudalism. Monasticism reached its peak in the eleventh and twelfth centuries through a series of reform movements intended to combat the worldliness of the church. Monks sought lives of quiet contemplation and prayer bound by vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Since they rejected the temptations of the world, their monasteries were often built in remote and isolated places (Mittler, 1986).

Mittler (1986) describes one such monastery, built c. 922, near Jaca, Spain, the Monastery of San Juan de la Peña. It is built under a cliff at the end of a narrow gorge in the Pyrenees Mountains. Like most Romanesque architecture, this monastery has a block-like appearance and easily definable geometric masses and is made of cut stone to avoid fire damage. It has thick, stone walls and small windows which give protection, but fail to give adequate light and ventilation, adding to the cave-like feeling of the monastery, relieved only by the cloister.

The Romanesque period saw the beginning of the Crusades, when thousands of people traveled from western Europe to the Holy Land. It was the duty of all Christians to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of a saint, such as that of St. James (Santiago) at Compostela in Spain. Many churches were built along the route so that priests and other pilgrims could say their daily prayers. Relief sculpture was used on the outside of churches to tell Bible stories to the illiterate masses who came through, most of which was found on the tympanum and the capitals of columns (Mittler, 1986). The Monastery of San Juan de la Peña has fine sculpture typical of Romanesque pilgrimage churches. The capitals in the cloister wall are carved with animal and male figures, which are full of life and freedom, but fit the structure very well (Myers, 1969). Besides scenes from the Bible, the sculptural decorations also include fantastic creatures, half-animal and half-man, evil spirits or devils. Examples of these can be found in a relief carving from the cloister of the Santes Creus Monastery, near Tarragona, Spain, twelfth century A.D. (Mittler, 1986).

During the Romanesque period, landholding was the basis of the economy. There were only two ways that a nobleman could gain more land and therefore wealth and power: through marriage, or, if this was impossible, through warfare. In order to protect their holdings, the nobles, lords, and kings built stone castles. These

structures, built for defense, consisted of thick outer stone walls, pierced by narrow slots; the rooms were cold and drafty, stairways, dark and narrow. There are many such castles in Spain, specifically that of Peñafiel, c. fourteenth century, and castle ruins near León, thirteenth century (Mittler, 1986).

The growth of trade and industry brought about a movement from isolated castle life to city life. The need for protection led to the building of walls around the new towns; one of which was built around the city of Avila, Spain, during the eleventh century. It was and is an impressive sight, measuring more than 1.5 miles and containing eighty-eight towers and nine gates (Mittler, 1986).

Cities continued to grow in importance during the Gothic period. Cities, like Florence, were the centers of intellectual and artistic progress. The Gothic period lasted from about the middle of the twelfth century to the end of the fifteenth and is noted for the growth of trade, cities, and the power of kings. Feudalism was brought to an end and religion became more important than ever. The building of churches became the chief goal of the medieval town and the Gothic cathedral was medieval architecture's greatest triumph. The Romanesque style did not die as the Gothic emerged, but rather the two styles merged together, so that many buildings began as Romanesque were finished in the Gothic style. The innovations of the pointed arch and flying buttress by the

French enabled builders to build churches higher than ever dreamed of before (Mittler, 1986).

The Cathedral of León is the best example of the French High Gothic style in Spain. The cathedral has the characteristic elevation of arcade, triforium, and high clerestory linked by a single shaft. Its elaborately carved front door and extensive use of stained glass are reminiscent of the cathedrals at Chartres and Reims in France (Myers, 1969).

In Gothic sculpture there was a growing concern for realism seen in the search for figures in natural poses and with real expressions on their faces. This naturalness can be seen in statues of the Virgin Mary, such as the one on the south portal of Amiens Cathedral, in France, c. 1250-70, called the Golden Virgin. This subject is common in Gothic art because of the way the Virgin was venerated during this time. The medieval people sympathized with and identified with Mary, as a mother, who had undergone great happiness and sorrow (Mittler, 1986). The White Virgin of León Cathedral was modeled after the famous Golden Virgin at Amiens, which shows Mary holding the child in a contrapposto pose and with a warm, friendly expression on her face (Myers, 1969).

Another very realistic piece of sculpture from the Gothic period is the Tomb of Don Martín Vázquez de Arce, c. 1495, in Sigüenza Cathedral. It is a sculpture of a young knight, killed at

twenty-five. Resting in a reclining position on his side with an open book in front of him, he is dressed in chain mail and armor with a red cross. His squire at his feet is very small and out of proportion to the size of the knight, reflecting the hieratic scale, common to art of this time. This Spanish sculpture reveals the influence of the realistic, sensitive sculpture developed by the Fleming Claus Sluter, and shows how Spanish art has always been open to innovative ideas (Myers, 1969).

The search for realism in sculpture can also be seen in painting during the Gothic period. Spanish painting was influenced much by the northern painters who were concerned with capturing the hard-edged, clear detail of objects. This concern with minute detail may have found its roots in the International Style with its sophisticated gracefulness and rich color.

Many different influences can be seen in the painting of St. Dominic of Silos Enthroned (1474-77) by Bartolomé Bermejo of Cordova. The painting shows the saint sitting on an elaborately exquisite throne and wearing a richly decorated robe. The minute detail of the robe and throne, and the rendering of the saint's face and delicate fingers are entirely Flemish. Other influences can be seen; the gold background is Byzantine and the tiny figures of the Seven Virtues surrounding the saint are evidence of an archaic hieratic scale (Myers, 1969).

The thirteenth through the sixteenth centuries saw the emergence of the Renaissance in Italy and then in other parts of Europe. There was a move away from spiritualism to secularism, from the life of the spirit to the life of the mind. Men became more aware of the world around them instead of the world beyond them. This change in thought was brought about in part by many changes in the world; power shifted from countryside barons to kings, from medieval feudalism to centralized city governments. The economy became based on money, rather than barter. Religion was controlled more by kings than by popes (Gardner, 1980).

Along with these changes, there were many discoveries made during this time that changed man's outlook. Many artists revived stories of the classical past, from the Greek and Roman tradition. The ancient Greeks and Romans were thought to have been very close to nature. The deciphering of the secrets that had obscured nature brought about a belief in man's ability to understand the world. Artists during the Renaissance carefully observed nature; this scientific attitude, towards art, created a natural relationship between the two. The search for truth to nature made realism the dominant characteristic in art and made paintings very clear and simple in design. These artists believed that the world was an orderly, harmonious place, unlike the Gothic period when artists

thought of the world as a confusing, complex place (Gardner, 1980).

If men were able to understand and explain the world around them, it follows that men would develop self-confidence. Therefore, the individual man and his accomplishments became important. The greatest role models were sophisticated, intelligent men of the world. This superiority of some men to others was recognized as genius and its holders were entitled to fame and adulation. The tombs of these men were huge memorials to their greatness. Men were able to seek fame and fortune, because free will was seen as more important than divine will; your rise or fall was up to you, not to God (Gardner, 1980).

However, God was still very important to the Renaissance man and, especially so, in Spain, where religion has and always has had a strong foothold. The University at Alcalá de Henares was one of the finest in Europe; there they combined classical learning with humanist thought, as Myers (1969) found, yet turned out one of Spain's most potent religious leaders in Ignatius Loyola, (Setton, 1977), founder of the Society of Jesus. The University while retaining many Moorish and Gothic influences was one of the first secular buildings in Spain to have Renaissance features, such as a facade of super-imposed orders topped by a pediment. The clear, orderly design loved by Italian Renaissance architects was not

assimilated completely by Spanish architects because of their love of ornament. Usually the features of a building would be Renaissance, but more exuberantly sensual in the surface decoration as in the University, Alcalá de Henares (Myers, 1969).

Spanish painters and sculptors more easily incorporated Renaissance ideas into their work, than did architects, especially artists who travelled to Florence. The sculptor Alonso Berruguete traveled there in 1504 and came under the influence of Michelangelo. This influence can be seen in his relief sculpture, The Resurrection, c. 1517, in the heavy, muscular figure of the sleeping guard as opposed to the slender, graceful figure of Christ (Myers, 1969). Although Renaissance motifs are found in Spanish art, there is something about the rational, intellectual ideas behind Renaissance art that does not appeal to the Spanish character, which is more emotional and spiritual. The spirituality and emotionality typical of Spanish art lends itself well to the next stage of art unfolding in Europe at the time--Mannerism. This style of art took place from about 1520 (the death of Raphael) until 1600 (Gardner, 1980).

The High Renaissance was a time of great achievement for man, but also a time of great innocence. Man believed in himself and his ability to control his own destiny. In many ways Mannerism reflects a loss of innocence. The first degradation that innocence

was to suffer was the Sack of Rome in 1527. Protestant soldiers mutinied, because they had not been paid, and went to Rome, where they raped nuns, murdered priests, looted, and destroyed treasures. This horrible atrocity set the pace for one of the most disturbed and unsettled times in history, with religious, political, and economic upheavals. There was a conflict between and within Protestantism and Catholicism. Many scientific discoveries created a conflict between science and religion, such as the discovery by Copernicus that the sun does not revolve around the earth, meaning that the earth was not the center of the universe. Kings gained absolute power and modern capitalism emerged.

Because of all these changes, man lost his naiveté, and began to feel hopeless, powerless, and alienated. The individual was no longer important; the rights of the state became more important than the rights of the individual. The prevailing feeling was one that modern man is familiar with, the feeling that there is no real meaning to existence. Man became more introverted, looking inside himself, rather than to the world and nature as had artists during the Renaissance. Mannerist art reflected this dark, pessimistic mood. Mannerism rejected the classical spirit, in favor of a return to qualities of Medieval art. In Spain, Gothic art had never really died, because Spanish artists never really had the Renaissance spirit; they were uninterested in abstractions and

geometrical combinations. Mannerist art is anti-naturalistic, having no emphasis on reality or beauty; it is more spiritualized.

There were two different currents of Mannerism, one was very courtly and refined, the other was more emotional. Both of these styles can be seen in Spain; the first is exemplified by the court painter, Alonso Sánchez Coello. Sánchez Coello's portrait of Philip II, c. 1575-80, has the smooth, glass-like surface typical of court painting in Europe at this time. Spain, under Philip II, was one of the most powerful nations in Europe. Philip was a fanatical Catholic; he shoved the church down the throat of the state. Sánchez Coello's cold perfectionism in this portrait matched the king's personality completely. The king stands rigidly in his austere and elegant dress, gazing aloofly at the viewer. His pale complexion tells the story of a man who eschewed the outdoors, preferring to study religion and government (Myers, 1969). Mannerist portraits are typically austere and formal, cool and nonchalant, revealing the rank and station of the person, but not his personality. Also typical of Mannerist portraits, like that of Philip II, is the admiration for men of learning, the intellectual (Gardner, 1980).

More even than in his portrait, Philip's personality is reflected in the monastery, mausoleum, chapel, and royal residence he had built--El Escorial. Its first architect, Juan Bautista de

Toledo, attempted to copy the High Renaissance style, but did not succeed. The building has classical details, but does not have Renaissance balance, being overwhelmingly monotonous in feeling. High Renaissance art is formal and dignified, but never sterile as in El Escorial with its long flat stretches of walls without alleviation. The structure is cold, severe, and authoritarian, revealing a neurotic suppression of warmth and emotion, typical of its owner (Myers, 1969).

Although Spain and its artists participated in international movements, it was not until the sixteenth century and the advent of Mannerism that one artist did more than just participate. He was not a Spanish-born artist, but after his move to Toledo in 1577, El Greco adopted the Spanish spirit as his own and became one of the most famous Spanish artists in the world. El Greco's art is the culmination of the Mannerist style. Born in 1541 in Crete, El Greco was already a Venetian, because Crete was ruled by Venice, that great city of painters. In 1558, at seventeen, he left Crete for Venice and there became a Venetian painter, influenced by Titian and Tintoretto and the great colorists of Venice. Rich, vibrant color became a very important part of his painting (Myers, 1969).

In 1577, El Greco went to Spain; it is not really known why he went. He first went to Madrid, perhaps thinking that he could gain employment with Philip II, who was looking for artists to

decorate the Escorial. In 1580, he was commissioned to paint two paintings for Philip, but the king disliked El Greco's painting of The Martyrdom of St. Maurice and the Theban Legion and hid it away as a failure (Mittler, 1986). Finally, El Greco settled in Toledo in 1577 and stayed there the rest of his life. Toledo was the intellectual and religious center of Spain at the time. In Toledo lived some of the greatest minds of the century, such as St. Teresa and Miguel de Cervantes.

The two styles of Mannerism, seemingly so at odds, found expression in Spain, the austere, frigid, cold intellectualism in the art of Sanchez Coello and the exuberant, passionate emotionalism as epitomized in El Greco's art. There is one thing that these two trends have in common, both reveal an alienation from the world around them. This alienation is revealed in many different ways. One way is the dominance of the human figure as subject matter as opposed to still life or landscape painting, El Greco's View of Toledo being one of the few exceptions. The reason for this is that man did not love and copy nature as did the Renaissance artists. To the Mannerists, the world was a frightening, complex place. Even in figural paintings, there is little or no environment shown around the figures. They exist in an ambiguous space, which is two-dimensional and shows no real sense of recession into the distance. The figures are usually crowded together in one part of

the painting, while there is a huge gaping void in another part. These extremes in the space structure, from a close-up view to oblivion, is very unsettling; it creates a push-pull relationship which is mirrored in the subject matter. Both are interesting and both clamor for the viewer's attention. The people seem cut off from their environment; they are not comfortable in this claustrophobic world in which yawns the abyss. This attitude is reminiscent of the Gothic period and of most of primitive art.

The alienation of Mannerist art is revealed in its singular choice of subject matter--humanity. However, not only are the people out of touch with the world around them, they are out of touch with themselves. Their introspection reveals nothing. The main characters in the painting are usually not emphasized; the viewer has to learn their story and search for them. Usually the figures' gestures have nothing to do with the story. The figures glance out from the painting in all directions with anxious, worried expressions on their faces. The faces, hands, and feet are artificially elegant and delicate. Their hands flit to and fro in gestures which have no significance or meaning. Weightless and floating in the air, the bodies of the figures are distorted and elongated. Since the figures do not exist in a real world, it makes sense that the figures themselves are not natural or realistic. It is

almost as if they are puppets controlled by an outside force beyond their control.

Within the intricate composition, there is no clear relationship between the size of the figures. To increase confusion, there is often more than one scene of an event being portrayed in the same painting at the same time. This discrepancy in figure-scale and story sequence is typical of Medieval and early Renaissance art. Another ambiguity can be found in the clothing the figures seem sometimes to be wearing and sometimes not to be wearing. This gauze-like material often reveals more than it conceals. In many cases if it were not for the addition of collars and sleeves the figure would seem to be nude.

This distortion of the human figure through distortions of form and space was one way of showing his alienation with the world. Another way was through the distortion of color, as John Canaday (1982) discovered. This distortion of color reveals itself when a Renaissance painting, such as Raphael's Alba Madonna is considered. In it, Raphael used the three primary colors to bring harmony to his balanced composition. The colors do not clash, but complement one another (Myers, 1969). On the contrary, Mannerist art sets out to use conflicting, unnatural, acid-toned colors placed close together to set the viewer's teeth on edge (Gardner, 1980).

Gardner's Art Through the Ages (1980) describes how mannerist artists turned away from nature for inspiration and turned to art for inspiration, to the masters of the High Renaissance, especially Michelangelo. The Mannerist artist's love of art reflects the individual's interior experiences. This reaching towards the inside, rather than the outside, is also reflected in an increase in mysticism--the belief that an individual can attain direct knowledge of God and union of the soul with Christ through his own subjective experience. Although the individual can gain spiritual union by himself, the ultimate goal of this search was the merging of the individual into the all, into one unified being. So this was actually an anti-individualistic trend. To mirror this yearning to merge, figures became elongated and spiritualized. No longer did figures seem three-dimensional and solid as in Renaissance art. Renaissance naturalism gave way to Mannerist supernaturalism (Mittler, 1986).

The culmination of Mannerism can be seen in the art of El Greco, who was influenced by Italian Mannerism, especially by the work of Tintoretto. Many of the characteristics of Mannerist art can be seen in the Martyrdom of St. Maurice and the Theban Legion. This painting illustrates El Greco's early Mannerist style. In it, Michelangelo's influence is revealed clearly in the round, solid, muscular figures, even though, he stated, while in Rome, that

Michelangelo's Last Judgment would have been painted much better by him (Mittler, 1986).

In the painting Maurice and his soldiers are faced with a dilemma. They must choose between loyalty to the Roman emperor, who has decreed that all must show allegiance to the pagan Roman gods, and loyalty to their Christian religion. In the end they choose their religion and are beheaded. There are many things about the painting that are characteristic of Mannerism. The most striking thing is his illustration of three scenes of the story in one painting, which is a Medieval trait. In the first scene, Maurice and his soldiers are shown standing in the foreground, discussing the situation. His men crowd around him in a shallow, frontal space, gesturing erratically; they point in all directions. There is a small figure standing beside Maurice who is supposedly a child, but whose disproportionate, small head makes him look like a tiny adult. Five soldiers bunch up on the right side of Maurice. All you can see of them are their heads which seem to be unattached to their bodies. The uniforms of the soldiers seem to be made of gauze in their transparency. It is hard to tell whether they are naked or clothed. Mannerist art thrives on ambiguity.

There is then a huge leap back into space to Maurice giving moral support to his soldiers as they each come forward to be beheaded. They line up, calmly accepting their fate. On the ground

before them awkwardly lie two naked men with their decapitated heads before them. Their nudity is mirrored in the men in the far distance awaiting their turn. There is no real reason for their nudity.

In the third and final scene are shown the angels who wait up above in the left-hand corner to receive the souls of the Christian martyrs. The odd poses of the angels and the dead soldiers are reminiscent of Tintoretto. The whole painting is suffused with unreality. The figures do not exist in any real environment. Maurice and his men stand on a ledge which seems to float above the scene of the martyrdom. There is no believable feeling of recession back into space. A sense of imbalance is created by the picture plane being split into equal parts and the dramatic movement from a very shallow space to an extremely deep space (Myers, 1969).

El Greco's early style of Mannerism can be distinguished by his solid, three-dimensional, realistic figures, his late period by figures that are elongated, dematerialized, and spiritualized. These two periods come together in his greatest painting--The Burial of the Count of Orgaz. The Count of Orgaz was a pious person and a patron of many churches, the church of Santo Tome in Toledo being one. The count had ordered his subjects in Orgaz to pay tribute of whatever sort they could afford to the church every year

(Mittler, 1986). When the count died in 1323, legend had it that St. Stephen and St. Augustine came down from heaven to lower his body into his grave. After many years, the villagers stopped paying their annual tribute to the church of Santo Tomé, according to Canaday (1982). The church brought a suit against the people of Orgaz and won (Mittler, 1986). In 1586, the church commissioned El Greco to paint the scene of this great man's death on a wall in the church (Canaday, 1982). The painting was meant as a reminder to the people of their debt to Santo Tomé. In the contract, El Greco agreed to illustrate the miracle and its witnesses, a priest saying Mass, and heaven opening in glory (Mittler, 1986).

With only that criterion to go on, El Greco freely interpreted the fourteenth-century event as contemporary (Canaday, 1982). In the center of the painting, dividing it literally in half and figuratively between heaven and earth, is a row of heads of contemporary Spaniards--actual portraits of people who lived in Toledo. He painted the priest of Santo Tomé as the priest who says the Mass. A little boy in the foreground is thought to be a portrait of El Greco's illegitimate son. In the row of heads, there is only one man who looks directly out of the painting at us. This man is thought to be a self-portrait.

The painting illustrates the exact moment when St. Stephen and St. Augustine are lowering the count's dead body into his grave.

The grave site is somewhere outside the painting where we are. The three are in the center of the foreground in a shallow space and are flanked on the left by a monk and the little boy and on the right by the priest. Behind them stand the men who are witnesses to the scene and above are the opened heavens with Mary, St. John the Baptist, many other heavenly figures, and Christ at the pinnacle. An angel is in the process of taking the count's soul to Christ.

The whole composition is based on a diamond shape, which is very precarious. This type of unstable composition is completely antithetical to Renaissance design. The diamond's bottom tip is formed by the body of the dead count and is carried up through his head to the outstretched arm of the priest. It then travels up in the direction of the priest's gaze to heavenly ectoplasmic cloud shapes through the body of St. John the Baptist to its pinnacle in Christ. It descends on the other side of Christ through the body of Mary, down to another ectoplasmic cloud to the bowed head of the monk through St. Stephen's body to the count again. Many subsidiary actions take the viewer up to Christ: many of the men's heads in the crowd look upward, and all of the heavenly figures, except Mary, look towards the count and gesture elegantly towards him.

The whole painting is suffused with an unnatural, ethereal feeling, fitting to a supernatural event. But El Greco distinctly separates earth from heaven with the row of heads, which seem to

have no bodies. Below, on earth, the figures that we can see are solid and three-dimensional. The textures of their clothing, such as the gauzy, white robe that the priest wears and the heavy, golden ecclesiastical garments of the two saints, are done with such precision and attention to detail that they are firmly bound to earth. Except for the two golden robes, the clothing of the onlookers is quite drab and dark, mostly black and gray. In contrast, in heaven, everyone wears brightly-colored, flowing robes, whose colors are reflected in the clouds about them. Their bodies are elongated and spiritualized.

The space in the painting is very shallow. There is no feeling of recession. The scene takes place on a narrow stage with no logical indication of where the onlookers are standing. There is an extreme filling of the space. The little boy in front ties us to the scene by looking at the viewer and pointing to the count. Even though the witnesses are all crowded together, each is clearly defined as an individual and maintains his isolation from the others. Below everything is very serene, stable, and static, above everything moves and flows in an unceasing rhythm. The soul of the count is pushed by the angel up through an opening in the clouds. This opening resembles a birth canal. The count's soul is being reborn.

The two different styles El Greco uses for heaven and earth are illustrative of his early and late periods. The gorgeously

painted, golden robes of the saints and the realism of the figures on earth are indicative of his early style with its roots in Byzantine and Venetian art. The abstract and distorted figures of the heavenly scene are to be seen in his late period (Gardner, 1980).

Gardner (1980) describes how in his later period, all of El Greco's figures are distorted, whether of earthly or heavenly origin. With his later paintings, El Greco seems to embody the spirit of a true mystic. Each painting is an ecstatic, quivering avowal of his love for and unity with Christ and the supernatural. In The Resurrection (1608-10) (Myers, 1969), as in many of El Greco's late paintings, there is a dynamic vertical thrust by Christ to the top of the painting, as he emerges triumphant from the grave. His body is elongated and distorted as are the bodies of the soldiers who fall haphazardly to the ground around him. The painting throbs with an unearthly, greenish glow which pulsates from the serene body of Christ. As in most Mannerist paintings, it is difficult to tell where the ground is or where anyone is standing. There is no real space to speak of. The figures of the soldiers are out of proportion to each other. The large, muscular figure in front is reminiscent of Michelangelo. Their clothing looks like their skin in some places; the colors are those of death and decay, acid greens and yellows. The surroundings are dark, and the only light comes from Christ. The gestures of the soldiers are exaggerated, wild with no meaning.

The color is subdued and somber to create a luminous feeling, as everything is absorbed and melted by the light of Christ. This is the visual counterpart of the mystical experience. One's individuality is extinguished when absorbed into God's essence. El Greco's later work is more abstract than anything done during the Middle Ages. His work is a high point in the history of religious art.

Although Spanish artists participated in the Renaissance and Mannerist movements; they remained isolated from the rest of Europe and did not embrace these movements fully. However, the Baroque period, which lasted from about 1600 to 1750, engaged more Spanish artists than any other style up to that point and many great Spanish painters emerged, such as Velázquez, Zurbarán, and Ribera. During the nineteenth century, Baroque art was thought of as just degenerative Renaissance art, wild, barbaric, and poorly crafted. This attitude changed as scholars recognized the variety and complexity of this period and its art. This was the time period of great absolute monarchies. Kings, such as Louis XIV, thought themselves divinely placed on their thrones. Their power was absolute. Just as powerful as the kings were the popes, whose church had given up on recapturing protestant areas and also on regaining political power, but they had a lot of influence nevertheless. The pomp and circumstance of the church shows through the art of the period; it advertises the majesty and

grandeur of the church. A papal court rivaled a king's court. This was also an extremely important scientific period, since Newton, Galileo, and Kepler all lived during this time. Analytical geometry, the telescope, the microscope, and the thermometer were invented. Man became conscious of his power to understand and affect his environment, but just as in the sixteenth century, there was still an overwhelming feeling of how complex the world is.

Just as the period was very complex, so was the art. There is no single Baroque style, but three different variations can be singled out. They are usually merged, but sometimes separate. The first is Baroque naturalism, which is particularly typical of the Netherlands and Spain, and is characterized by an emphasis on the ordinary and visual realism. The second type is Baroque classicism, most typical in France, with an emphasis on composure, balance, and restraint. The third is what is called baroque "with a small b." There is an emphasis on unrestrained emotion; it is exuberant and dynamic.

There are some things that are common to all three currents. There is always a certain element of the other two currents in a work. Also, there is an underlying feeling in Baroque art of the anguish, torment, and estrangement in Mannerist art. However, Baroque art expresses a liberation and release from those feelings, whereas Mannerist art brings no release from them. Baroque art involves the viewer in something outside of himself, while

Mannerist art estranges the viewer from it. Baroque art is very imaginative and theatrical, but at the same time there is a very strong verisimilitude. Mannerist art is complicated and esoteric, and there is no attempt to make the viewer believe in it. Another thing that all Baroque art has in common is that there is a great interest in a sense of the infinite quality of space, light, and time. The artist wanted to give the impression of unboundable, fluid space and light all around. This, too, is related to their interest in dynamic, unbounded, violent movement, because you can not have movement without time.

There is also an interest in another kind of time, the kind that is permanent and endures in stillness and silence, without movement. The last and most important thing that all three styles of Baroque art have in common is that even though the art is very complex, it is still strongly unified. This achievement of unity is what most distinguishes it from Mannerist art.

The Mannerist period was the period of greatest political and economic power in Spain. In the seventeenth century, there was a decline in power. Despite its decreasing influence in the world, the Baroque period was the most brilliant period of Spanish art. Some of the greatest geniuses of Spanish art lived during this time. Of the three styles of Baroque art, Baroque naturalism is typical of Spanish art, because Spanish artists are not interested in abstract

speculation, but in the real, the immediate, the actual. That is why Spanish sculpture is usually of a higher quality than Spanish painting; sculpture is an art of the self. Another characteristic of Spanish art which is typical of painting and sculpture is that it is very religious. Almost all Spanish Baroque art has a religious theme.

Spanish Baroque painting was much influenced by the paintings of the Italian Caravaggio. Caravaggio's art is characterized by an interest in naturalism by showing important religious figures as plain, ordinary people and also by tenebrism. Most of the figures are lost in shadow, except a few who are brilliantly illuminated by a concentrated beam of light which comes from an unidentifiable, supernatural source. The three greatest Spanish Baroque painters were José de Ribera, Francisco de Zurbarán, and Diego Velázquez.

José de Ribera (1591-1652) was especially influenced by Caravaggio (Myers, 1969). He went to Italy in 1615 and stayed there for the rest of his life. Ribera went beyond Caravaggio in naturalism; he was a virtuoso in showing wrinkled, old decrepit people. Even in representations of St. Sebastian, who legend states was very beautiful, he shows us an ordinary-looking person. Ribera's Spanishness comes out in his sensitive portrayal of the martyrdom of these saints as something dignified and holy. There is a sense of the divine spirit in every part of nature.

One of his greatest masterpieces is The Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew (1630). The martyrdom is shown at its most horrible stage; they are getting ready to hoist him up to be skinned alive. The saint looks like a man of the people, large and coarse (Myers, 1969). The figure has a Michelangelesque monumentality and takes up most of the space in the painting. This painting reveals Ribera's move beyond Caravaggio; the forms seem to emerge from the darkness, but the space is more open than in Caravaggio's work. Even though this painting shows the saint at his weakest, most vulnerable point, he still seems courageous and superior to the surrounding men whose features he shares.

Of all the Caravaggist painters, Francisco de Zurbarán (1598-1664) was the greatest (Myers, 1969). He is also the best Spanish religious painter, with the possible exception of El Greco. He was trained in Seville, but it is unknown where he learned about Caravaggio. His paintings are characterized by naturalism and tenebrism. There is a plastic, sculptural look to his work. This sculptural solidity makes a direct and immediate appeal to the senses.

Zurbarán seems to effortlessly combine Spanish realism and mysticism. His subjects are usually austere saints shown in devotion and sharply illuminated from one side (Gardner, 1980). Zurbarán did secular portraits, but was more adept at religious

portraits. He was much in demand among monastic communities in Seville (Myers, 1969). One such commission was a series of paintings representing the life of St. Peter Nolasco. The Vision of St. Peter Nolasco shows the saint in quiet prayer. There is a stillness that Zurbarán creates that is eerie in its spirituality. These silent, still portraits reflect the life of the monasteries. Removed from the world, the monks glided serenely through their world without a sound. There are two types of mystical experience, one is overpowering in its thrilling ecstasy, the other is the quietude of experiencing God deep within yourself. This latter type is what Zurbarán illustrates.

If Zurbarán's paintings mirror the soul of seventeenth century Spain, the paintings of Velázquez mirror its mind and heart. Diego Velázquez was born in Seville in 1599 and stayed there until 1623. He moved to Madrid after the succession of Philip II to the throne. Trained in Seville under a minor artist, but great teacher, Velázquez was soon made court painter by Philip and retained the post for the rest of his life.

Velázquez, like many prolific artists, had two different styles throughout his career. His early period from 1616 to 1629 is known as his Caravaggist period. One example of this period is The Adoration of the Magi. The three most important characteristics of this period are a solid, massive monumentality, realism, and

tenebrism. The figure shapes in The Adoration of the Magi are very concrete and plastic; they are wearing heavy garments that seem to weigh them down. This gives the figures a sculptural look. The figures also have an austere grandeur, because of their weightiness and also because of a very somber color scheme. The second characteristic, realism, helps bring the religious experience down to a more earthly level. The faces of the people look like ordinary Spanish people (Myers, 1969). The last characteristic that originated with Carravaggio is a strong chiaroscuro. Strong lights and darks serve to point out the most important characters, which is unlike Caravaggio, who used this for dramatic effect.

Velázquez did not paint many religious or mythological paintings. One reason for this may have been his realism. Religious and mythological subjects need to be idealized and he was not willing to do this. The subjects in his paintings are always bluntly real (Gardner, 1980). Paradoxically, Velázquez gave genre subjects a religious feeling, such as in his Old Woman Cooking Eggs. The eggs, bread, wine, and water can be seen as religious symbols, but the spirit of the painting is most important. Velázquez gives the old woman and her solid, weighty movements a dignity and spirituality much above the simple task she is performing. He gave religious subjects down-to-earth interpretations and common subjects a heavenly meaning.

Velázquez made two trips to Italy after his appointment as court painter. The first was from 1629 until 1631 and the second was from 1649 until 1651 (Held & Posner). As a court painter, a position Velázquez very much enjoyed and was proud of, he was required to keep up with the new trends in art which originated in Italy. One work that came out of his first trip to Italy was Los Borrachos (1629) or "The Drinkers," one of the few mythological paintings done by him. This painting is still in his Caravaggist style with its strong lights and darks, monumental figures, and sculptural plasticity. It is supposed to represent Bacchus and his followers, but looks more like the rough, coarse crowd at a local tavern. Each figure looks like an individual; Velázquez was a great portraitist. These gods are not god-like; Velázquez could not idealize them. Velázquez rejected the academic styles of Baroque Italy as pretentious, insincere, and pagan (Gardner, 1980).

The Italian trips were beneficial to Velázquez ultimately, because there he was able to study the great masters who influenced him to abandon his early hard-edged realism for a softer, looser touch and a lighter, more luminous palette. Velázquez also studied nature, which could be said to be his greatest teacher. His later works are masterpieces of optical realism. Light and tone become the substance of his paintings and the solid forms are only suggested (Gardner, 1980).

As a court painter, Velázquez was primarily a portraitist. It was at this that he truly excelled. A great portraitist reveals more than the facial and physical characteristics of a person; he reveals the person's character. Velázquez had a very good relationship with the king, who was a connoisseur of art. The king came frequently to visit him and watch him paint. He awarded Velázquez the Order of Santiago, one of the highest distinctions in Spain. In a portrait of the king, Philip IV on Horseback (1634-1635), Velázquez shows the king in the pose of the statue of Marcus Aurelius in the Capitoline Square in Rome. In this portrait as in many others done for the king and his family and entourage, Velázquez reveals the esteem in which he held the king (Myers, 1969).

One of Velázquez's greatest masterpieces, "Las Lanzas" or The Surrender of Breda (1634) (Myers, 1969), was commissioned by Philip to memorialize the surrender of the Flemish city of Breda to the Spanish after a long siege in 1625. The Flemish had to surrender or starve to death. It illustrates the Spanish commander receiving the key to the city from the Dutch commander. Masterful in its composition, the painting is meant to reveal how wonderful and honorable the Spanish were to their conquered foe. The horror of war is not even whispered. In this painting, Velázquez is a propagandist for the state.

His greatest painting and one of his most obscure is "Las Meninas" (1656) (Myers, 1969), or The Maids in Waiting. No one knows exactly what is taking place, because of the ambiguity of the actions of the figures. The most reasonable explanation is that Velázquez is painting the portrait of the little princess, Margarita, when there is a surprise visit to his studio by the king and queen. They are not shown directly in the painting, but are reflected in a mirror in the background. They are supposedly standing in our space. At the left, Velázquez turns from his huge canvas to greet them; he is wearing the red cross of the Order of Santiago. The little princess turns towards her parents, one of her ladies begins to curtsy, while the other attends to her mistress. At the right, two dwarfs stand; one has just noticed the royal couple, while the other pokes playfully with his foot at a dog who lies in the foreground. Behind them stand two other figures, a man and a woman dressed simply. In the deep background stands a man who is either coming down or going up stairs through a doorway out of the room. He also turns to gaze at the royal couple. The meaning of what is taking place in this painting is not important. What is important is the feeling of this painting. The colors and tones subtly change from light to dark and there is a feeling of daylight and atmosphere and spaciousness. Everything is very calm and dignified. It is as if Velázquez is trying to sum up all of his feelings of honor and worth

and the great esteem in which he was held and in which he held the king. He asks of the viewer, "Isn't this glorious?" And we have to answer, "Yes."

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Typical Spanish Attitudes

In looking at Spanish art and life as a whole, there are certain typical characteristics which stand out from the rest: religiosity, realism, emotionalism, individualism, respect for authority, conservatism, and pessimism. These attitudes are difficult to separate and analyze, because each seems to be connected with another, even when they seem to cancel each other out. For example, when discussing individualism, it seems strange to then talk about respect for authority. However, each of these traits is closely interwoven in the Spanish character. These characteristics are much different from other nationalities in Europe with a strong artistic tradition, such as France and Italy. One of the basic differences between French and Spanish art is that Spanish art prefers directness and an immediate impact on the viewer's emotions. It is impatient, strong, and powerful, whereas French art is contemplative and restrained.

There are three characteristics that tend to be most dominant when talking about Spanish art and life--religiosity, realism, and emotionalism. The first characteristic that I am going to discuss is religiosity. Religion is very important to the Spanish people; most are Christians. Perhaps seventy-five percent of Spanish art is religious in function due to the fact that vast

quantities of it were commissioned by the Church. The people of Spain tend to throw themselves into Catholicism with a fervor not seen in many countries. The religious experience to them is a felt experience, not a cerebral one. This attitude can be seen in a Holy-Week procession. Although the Baroque period was the golden age of processional sculpture, many of the typical pasos or processional floats can still be seen today. During Holy Week in Seville, for example, the most venerated sculptures are brought out at the same hour and on the same day. These polychrome wood processional sculptures are usually life-size and very lifelike. These processions are very powerful theatrical experiences. Every sense of the viewer is intoxicated--sight, smell, and sound. A heavy aroma of carnations and incense surrounds you. The statues are carried very slowly and solemnly through the streets. To the people, the sculpture becomes Christ; they speak to him. A statue of the Virgin is spoken to even more familiarly, because she, as a mother, is identified with more readily. They pay her compliments. These sculptures are not venerated for their symbolic values, but for their ability to be Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary. This quest for personal identification with Christ and Mary is an example of how individualism and respect for authority can be intertwined. On the one hand the individual Spaniard venerates the Church and its symbols, but also wants to be affected by Jesus and Mary personally,

without interference by a priest or go-between. Paradoxically, Catholic services are the most ritualized of any religion's, thereby interfering with a person's ability to communicate directly with God.

Another characteristic that seems readily apparent in Spanish life and art is realism. Spanish writers and artists do not shy away from the everyday, the ordinary, in fact they embrace it. The level of most painting in Spain is mediocre, despite such brilliant painters as El Greco, Velázquez, Goya, and Picasso. However, they are diamonds in the rough. This banality cannot be seen in Spanish sculpture, which is of a high calibre. The reason for this is because sculpture is real and solid; you can touch it, unlike painting, which is an illusion. Most often, wood is the material chosen for sculpture, because it is warmer, physically and emotionally, than stone or metal. Spanish artists are not interested in the abstract, but in the actual. Classicism and idealism, so important to France and Italy, never quite took hold in Spain.

One international movement that took hold in Spain with a vengeance was the Baroque. There was a flowering of Spanish art of all types during the Baroque period. One of the aims of Baroque art is to involve the viewer directly and immediately by eliminating psychological barriers between him and the work of art. This directness is ready-made for the Spanish temperament, because

one way it is accomplished is through a dramatically lit type of realism, begun in Italy by Caravaggio. Baroque painters, like Zurbarán and Velázquez, used realism to bring religious experience down to an earthly level. Naturalism is the main spirit of the art of Velázquez. He gives ordinary people a feeling of the divine and religious subjects a down-to-earth quality. This is the main tendency of Spanish religious art in general, the portrayal of the familiar with such reality and sensitivity that everything is holy. Velázquez painted few religious paintings, but when he did he made the Virgin a beautiful Spanish woman, not an ideal one. His painted children are charming, never sweet or cloying. Velázquez did not do well with mythology. Mythological subjects are rare in Spain, because of their paganism and idealism. The myths of ancient Greek and Rome painted by Velázquez are not reverential, but comical. The story chosen may have been humorous, such as The Forge of Vulcan, but what is also wry is the way Velázquez paints the gods. They are not perfect, beautiful beings, but rough, coarse-looking Spanish ruffians. To Velázquez, the beauty or ugliness of the ancients was real, not ideal.

Another example of the realism inherent in the Spanish character is the representation of human deformity in paintings. The Spanish court, as did other royal courts, kept dwarfs and monstrosities for amusement. Velázquez, Ribera, and other

Spanish artists did several paintings of this type of person. They are not represented in a derogatory fashion however, but are painted realistically and with dignity. The Spanish painter would not reject a subject as unsuitable, merely because of its ugliness.

Ugliness of subject matter was not confined to painting; Baroque sculpture is often startling in its realism, whether it be physical ugliness or man's inhumanity to man. The subjects are usually religious and vary between two themes: scenes of divine sweetness or scenes of graphic torture. This graphic realism aims at profoundly affecting the viewer. To achieve his goal, the sculptor used anything he could to make the sculpture seem more real; he used wigs, real costumes, false eyelashes, glass eyes and tears. Some sculptures even had movable parts. The effect of this profound realism was an emotional response from the viewer.

This brings us to another characteristic of Spanish culture-- emotionality. Spanish passion can be seen in their intense religious fervor. Spanish religious sculpture with its two opposing themes of the very sweet and endearing, such as those of Mary and the Christ child, and the violent and gruesome, such as scenes of a saint's martyrdom or Christ's crucifixion, are two ways that the sculptor appeals directly to the viewer's senses. Their favorite subject was the Pietà, because it combined the loveliness of the Virgin with the horrible death of Christ--the bitter and the sweet, the agony and

the ecstasy. In the writings of St. Teresa, a famous Spanish mystic, there is a yearning to be united with Christ that is like a sexual desire, so well depicted by the Italian Bernini in his sculpture of her. The conservatism of Spanish art can be seen in that Spanish sculptures are extremely emotional, but avoid expansive gestures seen in Bernini's sculptures. Like Bernini, the Spanish placed their sculptures in a rich, golden surrounding and illuminated them by candlelight, anything to heighten the awe-inspiring effect of the scene. The sculptor wanted to literally take your breath away. He wanted the individual viewer to be united with Christ through a physical, sensuous experience with the sculpture.

This emphasis on the individual is another important characteristic of the Spanish character. And is another reason why sculpture is generally of a higher quality than painting, because sculpture is the art of the self. This emphasis on human endeavor explains the lack of landscape painting in Spain, which is the art furthestest away from the self.

Another characteristic, closely tied to individualism, is respect for authority. The Spanish have a deeply ingrained veneration for those above them. They know their place. Even Goya, who seems rebellious for his time, never openly lampooned the king and queen, as French artists, like Daumier, did of their monarchs. When we look at Goya's famous portrait of Charles IV

and His Family, we can clearly see in the king's blank expression that of an idiot and in the ugly queen's placement in the center of the brood, a statement of the true power of the court. However, from the queen's diary, we know that the portrait pleased her. Goya's evident psychic turmoil, unable to be relieved in public works, exiated itself in private works. Even works like the Caprichos, in which no direct assault is launched at the church or state, were removed from sale most likely through the Inquisition, which may have objected to their emphasis on the immorality of the church and on witch-craft, even in the most obscure terms (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

Veneration of authority was much easier in an earlier time than Goya's, when the monarch was a man to be admired. An artist like Velázquez could be genuinely proud of his position as court painter. King Philip gave Velázquez the medal of the Order of Santiago; he respected Velázquez and visited his studio often. Even with this reciprocal admiration, Philip used Velázquez to propagandize the authority of the Spanish state with his Surrender of Breda painting. In this work, the horrors of war are reduced to a diplomatic action between two gentlemen. Poussin, the French contemporary of Velázquez, resisted using his art for the glorification of the French state.

An outstanding example of this Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde duality of individualism versus respect for authority is the story, in the poem "Un castellano leal," by the Duque de Rivas, of a Spanish aristocrat who was forced by King Carlos I to take the Duke of Bourbon into his home. This duke was a French aristocrat who had deserted the French and fought with the Spanish during a war between the two. The Spanish hated this traitor. Asked by the king to entertain the scoundrel, the count obliged lavishly. After the duke left, the count razed his home, because to him it was disgraced. An exaggerated, highly individual act, set against a deference for authority, that is the Spanish character.

Conservatism is another very important attitude of Spanish art and life. While originality and uniqueness of spirit can be seen in the great Spanish geniuses, such as Cervantes or Picasso, the status quo is highly regarded. Traditions passed down for hundreds of years remain intact. The polychrome, wooden sculpture of the Spanish Baroque period was a continuation of medieval art, relinquished by Italy and France for marble. The quiet, still dignity of the Baroque painting of Spain reflects the religious belief that fluctuation and change were not important, but that permanence was. St. Teresa wrote, "God never changes." We will die, but God goes on. This is the reason that the contemplation of skulls by Spanish saints was a popular subject during the Baroque period.

This conservatism combined with Hispanic machismo explains the popularity of the depiction of the Virgin in painting and sculpture. The Spanish have an exaggerated respect for women, but at the same time believe that women are beneath men. They put women up on pedestals, but by doing so remove their humanity. The woman becomes inhuman thereby allowing her complete oppression. This oppression of women continues today in the Hispanic world. Men may be sexually active, but women may not. The Catholic church, one of the most repressive religions, keeps women down by their disbelief in birth control, therefore relegating the woman to a life of poverty and subservience. Catholic priests and bishops may speak out against poverty and tyranny in El Salvador and South Africa, but not in Spain. The church has a history of silence in Spain, allowing the state to rule with an iron hand. Another way Spanish art and life is conservative is that open sexuality is frowned upon. That is why there are few nudes in Spanish art.

Related to Spanish machismo and characteristic of the Spanish world is the Spanish "death-wish." Spanish literature is replete with lone male heroes who must prove their manhood through some horrific death-defying act. What could make this more evident than the fact that the national sport of Spain is bullfighting. The Spanish sculptor and painter in the Baroque age

reveled in scenes of crucifixion, martyrdoms, severed heads, and mortuary portraits. This obsession with death and dying can be seen as a defiance of it. Death can be overcome through confrontation and acceptance of it.

The typical Spanish characteristics of religiosity, realism, emotionalism, individualism, respect for authority, conservatism, and pessimism described here are of course only a cursory examination of each. There is much more that could be said about each in a more prolonged study. And to say that these are the only things that make up the Spanish character would smack of stereotyping. Hopefully, the discussion of these characteristics and attitudes is enlightening of a race, not a tightening of a bias.

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Goya and the Rococo

Rococo is derived from the French word rocaille, which refers to the shell and rockwork found on fountains and grottoes in the eighteenth century. During the mid 1700s rocaille, along with grotesque and other derogatory words became synonyms for the "baroque." In the late 1700s, one of David's students united the words rocaille and barocco to create "rococo." This term later became attached only to the art of the eighteenth century and not to the seventeenth century Baroque. The Rococo originated in Paris as a reaction against the pompous, formal style of the court of Louis XIV (Held & Posner).

In the tradition of the monarchical system, Louis XIV had controlled European taste and customs in politics and art for almost a century. He established the Académie des Beaux-Arts in the seventeenth century. Any artist who wanted to have a career had to study the style put forward there, which was a conglomeration of Greek and Roman art, the Renaissance, and the Baroque, called Baroque Classicism. Trying to create a style out of the great art of the past was not successful. What the artists ended up with was a formula for creating art with none of the spirit and originality which made those former styles so wonderful (Schwarz, 1971). This rigid, derivative style became sanctioned throughout Europe, as other art academies sprang up. Even today, the term

"academic" when applied to art has come to mean that which is technically well-done, but feels artificial, cold, and lifeless.

According to Helen Gardner (1980), the Rococo style lasted from about 1715 (when Louis XIV died) until 1789 when the French Revolution began and was the last great international art movement. That is not to say that it began immediately after Louis died; seeds of the Rococo have been traced back to the late 1600s (Held & Posner). However, his death brought about a great sense of relief. The aristocrats that had been dominated by the court could now breathe a little easier with Louis XV and Marie Antoinette at the helm (Gardner, 1980).

Rococo art is known for its pastel color, delicate figures, and pretty and sensual playfulness. It strove to amuse and delight its clientele, the aristocracy. Rococo artists rejected history subjects (taken from mythology, ancient history and Christian iconography) preferred by the academicians and chose subject matter from everyday life (Schwarz, 1971). But this everyday life was not ordinary, far from it, it was a lifestyle enjoyed by the privileged few. Helen Gardner (1980) points out that Rococo is genre painting, but it is a special type of genre painting, set in "the salon, the theatre, and the boudoir" (p. 696).

Although completely different, Rococo and Baroque art had similar patrons in the aristocracy and the monarchy. Rococo art

was made for the sophisticated few who could understand and appreciate its little witticisms. This may seem undemocratic and contrary to the age of the Enlightenment, but in actuality, there has never been an art for the people. One major difference between the Rococo and the Baroque is that the church did not dominate art as it had during the Baroque age. Another similarity, besides patrons, that the two styles shared, was that neither criticized upper class society in any way. On the contrary, through portraiture, the power and influence of the nobility was emphasized and even glorified. The sitter was shown as he would have liked to have been, and not how he actually was. By flattering the sitter, the portrait became propaganda for the state in both the Rococo and Baroque age (Schwarz, 1971). Rococo art was made of and for the aristocracy, but this complete emphasis on one segment of society reveals its inevitable decline. Their self-destructive lack of touch with reality will lead to the French Revolution.

Before the people rebelled against the luxurious life-styles of their rulers, however, the Rococo reigned supreme in Europe, and especially in France where it began and was spread internationally mostly through the work of one man, Antoine Watteau (1684-1721). One of Watteau's most important themes was the theater. This theme, more than just a choice of subject matter, can be seen as the basis of the elegant, stylized life-style of the aristocracy. Their

lives were theater. Nothing was real, everything was an art, a diversion, anything to save them from boredom (Held & Posner).

Watteau's most famous painting, the Pilgrimage to Cythera (1717), shows typical aristocratic lovers of delicate, tiny features and elegant, shimmering costumes as they are about to leave the island of love, Cythera. They went there to make an offering to a statue of Venus; she was said to have risen from the sea there. Unlike other Rococo painters that were to follow Watteau's lead, Watteau's paintings have a wistful melancholy that pervades the scene of seemingly frivolous play. The participants look back sadly at Cythera as they board their ship. This sadness could be Watteau's intuitive response to the waning influence of the aristocracy. Perhaps, he was able to see that their way of life could not last forever. Watteau's influence can be seen in other artists' use of his graceful, decorative compositions, tiny elegant figures, and delicate, soft color (Held & Posner).

When one thinks of Rococo art, one does not think of sadness, however; sensual playfulness seems more appropriate. This can be seen in two artists who were influenced by Watteau, but not by his intellect or spirit; they were François Boucher (1703-1770) and Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806). Boucher's paintings are extremely seductive and pretty, being mostly of nude, beautiful women. His paintings could be mediocre at times, but he

created an ideal world of fun and play. Fragonard, who had studied under Boucher, went beyond him in artistic integrity. His paintings are never banal; they create a fantasy world dominated by joyful abandonment to the pleasures of passion. The Happy Accident of the Swing of 1767 illustrates more completely than any other painting the spirit of the Rococo. In it we see a young, pretty girl aloft in a swing, pushed by a bishop. Her lover, hidden from the holy man, is lying in the bushes enjoying the view up her dress as she rises in the air. A statue of cupid to the side whispers to us to keep the secret with a forefinger touched to his lips. The decadence of the subject matter is aided by the plush, verdant foliage which surrounds the lovers, as gay and frivolous as the subject matter. In his paintings of nudes, Fragonard's paint surface is even more sensuous and rich, his landscapes very enchanting and beautiful (Held & Posner).

Enchanting and beautiful are two adjectives that can also be applied to the work of another great Rococo artist, Giambattista Tiepolo (1696-1770) of Venice. If Watteau, Boucher, and Fragonard are the names that come to mind when describing the Rococo movement in France, Tiepolo's is the only name from Italy that will suffice. By 1730, he had created a sunny, luminous color filled with blues, golds, pinks, and lemon yellows, that separated him from his contemporaries, and recalled the great Venetian colorists of the

sixteenth century, like Veronese. Tiepolo was an energetic and tireless painter whose artistic output is overwhelming. Besides canvas paintings, he also did drawings (many caricatures) and etchings. But, what he is best known for are his many ceiling and wall paintings in churches and palaces. Tiepolo's brilliant color, inventiveness, and sketchy, light touch were admired throughout Europe, especially in Spain (Held & Posner).

In 1761 Tiepolo and the neoclassicist Anton Rafael Mengs were asked by Charles III to come to Spain to work. Native Spanish painting was mediocre at the time. Goya got to see and study Tiepolo's bright, clear color and his carefree way of painting (Gassier & Wilson, 1981). Through Tiepolo, Goya learned of the grace and elegance of the Rococo. Tiepolo had international impact because of his patrons in Austria, Germany, Spain, and Italy (Gardner, 1980). Mengs had been trained in Italy, like Tiepolo, but was an advocate of classical art, instead of the Rococo. Goya's brother-in-law and supposed mentor Francisco Bayeu was known as a Rococo artist, but it is not believed that Goya was influenced by this mediocre painter (Schwarz, 1971).

The influence of the Rococo can be clearly seen in Goya's work, even though his career began in the 1770s when the Rococo was waning as an influence in many European countries, France and England especially. But Spanish art is traditionally slow to change.

The Rococo touch can be seen in the tapestry cartoons and the early portraits of the 1780s and 1790s. His early tapestry cartoons reflect the aristocratic view of life as happy and idyllic (Sutton, 1981). This viewpoint is more clearly shown in his cartoons for the El Pardo palace, painted between 1776 and 1778. The then twenty-five year old future queen María Luisa was probably responsible for choosing the subject matter which suited Goya's talents very well, young people, especially majas and majos, enjoying outdoor entertainments (Gassier & Wilson, 1981). As in France, where Marie Antoinette and her aristocratic friends played at the simple life as shepherds and shepherdesses with her in her rustic village, according to Held and Posner, so in Spain the aristocrats played at majismo, but they preferred going right to the streets of Madrid to frolic with the populace and enjoy their drinking and dancing. This series of cartoons includes the best ones ever painted by Goya, the young people are very pretty and charming, the colors are brilliant, bright reds, yellows, and blues, and the figures and landscapes fit harmoniously together. The joie de vivre felt in these paintings can not only be because of the commissioned subject matter, but was clearly felt by him at this time in his life when everything, his career and his family life, was going so well. One of the most beautiful cartoons of this time was The Parasol (1777) which shows a young, beautiful woman sitting on the ground with her little dog

on her lap. Her lover is standing behind her holding an umbrella to shield her from the sun. It is very graceful and enchanting in its gestures and coloring, and typical of the feeling of the Rococo (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

In paintings like The Meadow of San Isidro (1788) and Harvesting (1786), Goya continues the pastoral tradition of such Rococo artists as Boucher and Fragonard (Sutton, 1981). The Meadow of San Isidro, although not intended to be a finished painting, as it was only a sketch for the palace of El Pardo, is still a very beautiful painting. In its feeling of infinite space, light, and air and its quick, sketchy brushstrokes, it is a direct ascendant to Impressionism. Its luminous surface is breath-taking. The painting captures completely the feeling of a bright May morning and the ceaseless activity of a large group of people who have come out to celebrate the feast of the patron saint of Madrid (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

However, more than any other types of paintings, his early portraits truly capture the Rococo spirit. One of his most brilliant early portraits is that of María Teresa de Borbón y Vallabriga (1783), who was the two-year old daughter of the Infante Don Luis, the brother of Charles III. The little girl is shown standing stiffly and regally on a terrace before a mountainy landscape which recedes far into the distance. Included at her feet is a little dog

whose scruffy, furry face adds humor to the scene. The silvery blues and greens reflect a step away from the palette of the tapestry cartoons and have a more Rococo feel. Goya's portraits of children are always sympathetic and very beautiful. He admired their innocence and charm and parodied this innocence in his portrait of Manuel Osorio de Zúñiga (c. 1788) (Gassier & Wilson, 1981), another masterpiece of childhood grace. In it, the little boy holds his pet bird on a leash, while, unknown to him, two cats in the background gaze evilly at their imagined lunch.

The epitome of the Rococo style can be seen in Goya's painting of The Marchioness of Pontejos (c. 1786). The young petite woman stands stiffly in an elegant garden, arms out to her sides, a flower held awkwardly in one hand, her pinky extended. Her beautiful, shimmering gray dress is all lace and pale pink flowers. More than just the trappings of the Rococo in setting and coloring, this is a great psychological portrait and reveals Goya's budding genius as a portrait painter. The portrait supplies us with the woman's character or lack of it; she seems like a painted china doll, huge, dark eyes staring out of a porcelain face and rigid body (Gassier & Wilson, 1981). Goya studied the great Baroque masters, such as Titian, Rembrandt, and Velázquez who were great portraitists (Hamilton). Goya continues the tradition of these great artists by revealing a person's inner character, as well as their outer appearance.

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Goya and the Enlightenment

The Age of Reason or the Enlightenment lasted from about 1715 (death of Louis XIV of France) until the French Revolution in 1789. The Enlightenment was a European movement, and the intellectuals who created it referred to themselves as Europeans, but they were primarily Frenchmen. France became the center of intellectual discussion, and French philosophers called philosophes developed the ideas behind Enlightenment (Manuel, 1951). Sánchez Cantón (1965) wrote that Goya learned some French and might have studied some French painting on the way to Italy sometime between the years 1767 and 1770. Through close political and geographic ties, France has influenced Spain more than any other European country.

The Enlightenment did not affect the majority of European society directly. Most people lived in rural areas and under some type of feudalism. Although most were free men who owned their own land, they were made to pay exorbitant feudal dues. An increasing number of people were moving to the cities because of job availability and improved transportation, even though the large urban areas, like London and Paris, were full of disease. The mass of people, regardless of social class, did not know about or share in the ideas of the Enlightenment (Manuel, 1951).

The basic premise of rationalism was that religion, based on a man-made doctrine, was false and hypocritical, while reason sought through identification with rules of the natural world was true. Great discoveries in science, by men like Isaac Newton (1642-1727), had proven that the universe was ruled by indisputable laws of nature. Scholars believed that one's spiritual and physical life should also be ruled by natural laws. The intellectuals believed that Christianity fostered superstition and ignorance. For the first time, men questioned the existence of God. This attack on the church was unofficially sanctioned by some monarchs because they wanted to take away the power of the church. Early in the eighteenth century, such blasphemy could have earned the utterer torture, imprisonment, and/or execution. After the 1760s, the church had lost the support of the state and so their ability to punish (Manuel, 1951). The rest of Europe allowed such atheistic ideas to flow more freely than did Spain, which has been dominated by Christianity since the fifteenth century. The Enlightenment was a French movement that did not translate well into Spanish.

As these men lost faith in the afterlife, they found consolation in a search for temporal happiness. The contemporary discovery of the pagan people of Tahiti, untouched by and unneedful of the teachings of Christianity with its taboos against sensual pleasure, lent credibility to their search for individual happiness on earth.

Emotion and passion became vital. Man could only be happy as he coexisted with nature. Natural, moral laws were changeless, universal, easily understood, and easily discovered (Manuel, 1951).

Self-happiness as the supreme goal of one's life was recognized by the philosophers as being detrimental to society. The British philosophers believed that this self-love was balanced in man by a benevolent force that was just as strong as the selfish force. This humanitarianism could cancel out self-interest and move man to action because of the suffering or happiness of others. Self-interest could even benefit society if an individual was allowed to compete freely in the market place without prohibitive medieval restrictions (Manuel, 1951).

According to Manuel (1951), the new ideas advocated by the intellectuals were revolutionary, but, in actuality, these men did not want to overthrow society. They put their faith in gradual change; all they wanted was a stable monarchy with liberal ideas and a loosening of the stranglehold of the church. However, freedom and reason were what they preached, unknowingly laying the groundwork for the French Revolution. A few monarchs, such as Charles III in Spain, did try to rule fairly with the people uppermost in their minds, but most did not.

As naive as the eighteenth century philosophers were about government, they held many ideas in common, such as the

horribleness of war and the ultimate goodness of man, that have become generally accepted as being sound and true. The most important contribution of the philosophes was their ability to look objectively at the institutions of church and state and their teaching of others to do the same (Manuel, 1951).

Spain's Charles III was one of the few monarchs of Europe who was enlightened. Extremely hardworking, religious, and dedicated, Charles became king of Spain in 1759. His interest in art was great; he was responsible for bringing A. R. Mengs and Tiepolo to Spain to reinvigorate painting. Charles supported educational and economic reform and freedom of the press. Charles's reforms were far-reaching and successful because the Spanish people respected him for his piety, celibacy (after the death of his beloved wife), abstinence from luxury, and devotion to his staff. Intelligent and intuitive, Charles was aware of the Spanish people's resistance to change, saying, "they are like children who cry when their faces are washed" (Bergamini, 1974, p. 95). He did persevere and change many things for the better. Charles III died in December 1788, knowing that Charles IV, his oldest living son, was foolish and lazy, but would be the future king (Bergamini, 1974).

Charles III and his ministers were honorable men who supported gradual social, economic, and political change, but not

revolution. A successful social movement, however, should not rely on the government, but on its citizens. The citizens of Spain were ignorant of rationalism or reform movements, moving the reformer Jovellanos to call the people "vulgar and idiotic" (Carr, 1966, p. 71). When an absolute monarchy was reestablished in Spain after the War of 1808 to 1814, the people greeted their new king by chanting, "Long Live the Absolute King," "Long Live the Inquisition," "Down With Liberty," and "Long Live Our Chains" (Bergamini, 1974, p. 165), well earning the censure of Jovellanos.

Early in his career, Goya thought of painting only as a way to gain the success that he coveted. Ironically, at a time in his life when Goya was at his most venal, he was surrounded by people who were just the opposite. As a painter at court, he could see the honesty and goodness of Charles III up close. The last years of Charles III's reign, from 1783 until 1788, were good ones for Goya (Gassier & Wilson, 1981). During this time, he began to move in the circles of the great intellectuals of the Spanish court, like the writer and lawyer Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos and the writer Juan Antonio Ceán Bermúdez. Through these men and others like them, Goya learned of the ideas of the Enlightenment, and like them was opposed to religious fanaticism and superstition, the Inquisition, and some of the monastic orders (Glendinning, 1977). He received commissions from the enlightened families of Madrid,

the Medinacelis, Benavente-Osunas, and Altamiras. This liberal and intellectual environment laid the groundwork for his later master works, but it took his illness and a change at court to bring them into play (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

Seventeen hundred and eighty-nine was an important year for Goya and the world. He became Court Painter, the French Revolution began, and Charles IV and María Luisa became the king and queen of Spain. Fear of a Spanish revolution caused the king to exile many afrancesados from Madrid, many of whom were Goya's friends, like Jovellanos and Ceán Bermúdez. By April 1790, Goya had openly defied the king by refusing to paint any more tapestry cartoons, probably thinking this was beneath his new title. The king threatened him with the withdrawal of his salary and he succumbed. He painted seven more cartoons for a series for the Escorial palace in 1791. Twelve cartoons had been planned, but he only completed seven, because of his serious illness of 1792. In two of these cartoons, we can see Goya begin to assert his own style and taste by his insertion of a bit of salt into the usually sweet recipe. In El Pelele, (The Manikin), there is a scene of four girls gaily tossing a manikin into the air with a blanket. Three of them gaze sweetly at the male dummy as it bounces up in the air; however, the girl directly opposite the viewer grins maliciously at it as if to illustrate the evil fun some women have in toying with men.

In La Boda (The Wedding), Goya lets us in on the malignant joke of a beautiful girl being forced into marriage with a grotesquely ugly, middle-aged man; spectators grin malevolently in the background. This evil grinning face is to recur in Goya's work from this time onwards. The sarcasm evident in the two cartoons could be explained partly by the fact that the king had asked for something rural and humorous (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

In the winter of 1792, Goya left Madrid without permission from the king; the reason is unknown. While visiting a friend in Cadiz, he became ill and almost died. Ill for many months, Goya went to great lengths to conceal his absence from the king (Gassier & Wilson, 1981). France declared war on Spain in March 1793; there was a subsequent crackdown on liberals in Madrid, which Goya may have foreseen (Bergamini, 1974). His illness at forty-four was the turning point in his life and career. This brush with death brought about a turning inwards to private forms of expression, especially drawings and prints (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

The drawings he did after his illness seem to have been sketched directly from life because they are not finished drawings. Later these drawings acquire a finish that qualify them as works of art in their own right. In 1797 Goya resigned as Director of Painting at the Royal Academy of San Fernando, probably in order to spend more time doing drawings, because by the end of 1797 he

had 100 drawings in the Madrid album. These drawings eventually became the Caprichos (Gassier & Wilson, 1981). This began a pattern of working that continued throughout his life, careful drawing for a series, then the completion of a group of etchings and aquatints on the same theme.

The proof of Goya's liberal and humanitarian views, and so the influence of the Enlightenment, is in his work. Goya's liberalism is inferred from the Caprichos, rather than directly stated, as for example in the sharp contrast of light and dark, which symbolizes the difference between enlightenment and ignorance. The influence can be seen less obliquely in the title of Capricho 43; El Sueño de la Razón Produce Monstruos, (The Sleep of Reason Brings Forth Monsters), which was to be the frontispiece for the set. It can also be detected in the text that he wrote to go along with this print, "The Author dreaming. His only intention is to banish harmful common beliefs and to perpetuate with this work of caprichos the sound testimony of truth" (Gassier & Wilson, 1981, p. 125). One of the more confrontational prints of the series is Capricho 42; Tú Que No Puedes (You Who Can Not) in which two men bend to the ground from the weight of two asses on their backs. The men's eyes are closed as if they do not realize what burden they carry--the aristocracy and the church. Years later, sometime between the years 1814 until 1823, in a series of

drawings labeled Album C, Goya takes the same theme and makes a direct attack on the church. Drawing C. 120 (?) ¿No Sabrás Lo Que Llebas a Questas? (Will You Never Know What You're Carrying on Your Back?) depicts a farmer hoeing, oblivious to the clergyman who sits comfortably on his back (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

Goya's work with printmaking may have been an attempt to reach more people with his ideas, and they were what reached the people first, beginning with France, then in England (Gassier & Wilson, 1981). The art of the print fit the democratic spirit of the nineteenth century; it was an art form that could be easily and cheaply reproduced for distribution among the people. Goya probably wanted to reach a larger audience, among the average citizens of Spain. None of his series of prints were commissioned, and Spain does not have a history of printmaking. Not only did Goya revive printmaking in Spain, he also experimented with newly invented printing techniques, such as aquatint and lithography, and mastered them. It is not known when or how aquatint arrived in Madrid, but its French inventor did not publicize the process until 1782. Goya's first attempts at using aquatint were not successful. In 1778 Goya released a series of etchings after paintings by Velázquez. Six prints published in a later edition were etched with tones of aquatint; it is not known when he completed them because they are not dated. He had technical problems with the process,

and only one print, that of Don Juan de Austria, could be considered a success. Not until 1797 through 1798, when Goya etched the Caprichos, did the artist gain mastery of the aquatint technique. Two of the prints from the series were done with aquatint alone, Capricho 32; Por Que Fue Sensible (Because She Was Sensitive) and Capricho 39; Asta Su Abuelo (As Far Back as His Grandfather) (Sayre, 1974).

In 1808 France and England fought the War of Independence on Spanish soil. During the war, Goya engraved Los Desastres de la Guerra (The Disasters of War) series from 1810 until 1814. He also painted many patriotic scenes of the war, such as The Third of May, 1808 (1814), in which is depicted the vicious massacre of Spanish citizens by French soldiers, which happened on that date. In this painting Goya reveals the truth of war with its horrors. At the same time as Goya was making a courageous stand against the war, he painted portraits of Joseph Bonaparte, French soldiers and citizens, and afrancesados. He swore allegiance to Joseph Bonaparte (along with 30,000 other heads of families in Madrid). Although he hated the destruction of the war, he remained neutral; he never takes sides in the Disasters prints and illustrates cruel acts of the French and the Spanish. Later when the evil Ferdinand was reinstated as King of Spain, Goya painted portraits of him and took great pains to clear his name and make sure he was still in the king's employ

(Gassier & Wilson, 1981). Not a selfless patriot, Goya was a great artist and man in a difficult situation. Despite his abhorrence of the war, he could not openly defy the government or church without risk of prison, torture, exile, or death.

Documentation of his true feelings about the war can be seen in his private work. A direct attack on the church can be seen in the caprichos enfáticos of the Desastres de la Guerra prints. Goya gave a complete set of numbered proofs to his friend Ceán Bermúdez. He wrote on the title page, "Fatal consequences of the bloody war in Spain with Bonaparte and other striking caprichos" (Gassier & Wilson, 1981, p. 220). The 'striking caprichos' appear to be plates 65 through 82 and were probably added to the war and famine scenes around 1815 to 1820. In Desastres 76; El Buitre Carnívoro (The Carnivorous Vulture), a giant vulture, symbol of the church, is driven away by a procession of people, whose leader aims a pitchfork at the bird's hind parts. Between the bird's legs and beneath its rump, the head of the pope can be seen. It looks like the bird is laying her egg or defecating--the head of the pope (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

Two of the caprichos enfáticos seem to be pendants in their attack on the clergy. Desastres 71; Contra el Bien General (Against the General Good) shows a decrepit clergyman with bat wings who is hunched over a large book into which he is writing. In Desastres

72; Las Resultas (The Consequences), bats are attacking a man who is lying supine on the ground, eyes closed, one monstrously huge bat is perched on his body and is sucking on his chest; the other bats move in (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

Goya began to do these private drawings and prints, which are very critical of the church and the government, around 1815 when Ferdinand had been reinstated and was at the height of his cruelty. The drawings were meant to be works of art by themselves; they are not preparatory drawings. Most of them have titles and are numbered and arranged in series, called 'albums' by later historians. Album C is the largest series with 124 known drawings and one of them is numbered 133. This series is also the most political (Gassier & Wilson, 1981). Gwyn Williams (1976) believes that the drawings from this album prove that Goya was a committed anti-clerical liberal. Thirty drawings from this series beginning with number 85 deal with the victims of the Inquisition and the reign of Ferdinand VII. Many of these drawings show a person being tortured and beneath the drawing is the title with the reason for the torture: C. 85; Por Haver Nacido en Otra Parte (For Being Born Somewhere Else), C. 88; Por Linage de Ebreos (For Being of Jewish Ancestry), C. 94; Por Descubrir el Movimiento de la Tierra (For Discovering the Motion of the Earth), which depicts Galileo's torture, and C. 98; ¿Por Liberal? (For Being a Liberal?).

These drawings seem to demand justice and liberty. Goya's titles seem to converse with us and with the figures in the drawings, as in C. 104; Muchas Viudas An Llorado Como Tú (Many Widows Have Wept Like You). In this drawing, a woman cries into a handkerchief, head lowered, while her little child, frightened, pulls on her arm. They stand in front of a prison which has the armorial insignia of the Inquisition painted above its door. Another drawing, C. 97 (?), asks, ¿Te Conformas? (Are You Persuaded?) of a man who is being tortured (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

Private prints of about 1810 until 1820 include three etchings of a single prisoner bound hand and foot in a jail cell; these were included in the set of Desastres prints given to Ceán Bermúdez. Their titles also state Goya's views unequivocally, Tan Bárbara la Seguridad Como el Delito (The Custody is as Barbarous as the Crime), La Seguridad de un Reo No Exige Tormento (The Custody of a Criminal Does Not Call for Torture), and Si Es Delincuente Que Muera Presto (If He Is Guilty Let Him Die Quickly) (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

Goya realized that not only were the church and state conspiring to keep the people in chains, but that the people were too. In one drawing from the group called Album E or the 'Black Border Series,' Goya depicted the unconscious destruction by the people of their own liberty and happiness. In E. 19; No Sabe Lo

Que Hace (c. 1806-12) He Doesn't Know What He Is Doing, a man of the people stands on a ladder which is erected against the base of a statue. He points with one hand at the remains of a bust which he has just destroyed with a pick. It is hard to tell if his eyes are open or closed, but either way it does not matter; his mind is closed.

The drawings from Album E are the most finished of Goya's drawings. They are drawn on a fine quality Dutch paper which must have been difficult to obtain after the war (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

These pessimistic, derogatory prints and drawings are balanced by optimistic, inspirational prints and drawings. Two of the last prints of the Desastres de la Guerra series seem to suggest cynicism, Desastres 79; Murió la Verdad (Truth Has Died) and Desastres 80; ¿Si Resucitará? (Will She Rise Again?). Desastres 79 shows a young, beautiful girl (symbol of truth) lying awkwardly on the ground, arms crossed in front of her. Rays of light emanate from her body. A crowd of evil-looking people, clergymen, and ordinary citizens, gather around her in the darkness. One woman in the crowd puts her hand to her face either in anguish or to ward off the light. In Desastres 80, there is a similar scene, but the ghouls have moved in closer, and the rays of light come only from the face and chest of Truth. The rest of the print is in darkness. Not included in the edition published by the Royal Academy of San

Fernando, but included in the set given by Goya to Ceán Bermúdez, is Desastres 82; Esto Es Lo Verdadero (This Is The Truth).

Desastres 82 depicts the figure of Truth standing in a field talking to an old farmer. Her light has not been extinguished. The print is filled with light--the light of day and her light. This final print of the Desastres is Goya's reaffirmation of his hope for peace and goodness to triumph for mankind (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

The last print of the Desastres and some of Goya's most optimistic drawings may have been done during the period of liberalism that lasted from 1820 until 1823 in Spain. The later drawings of Album C are very encouraging. Drawing C. 114; Pronto Serás Libre (You Will Soon Be Free) addresses a prisoner who sits on a bench, his head lowered. Goya's most exultant drawing of this time is C. 115; Divina Libertad (Divine Liberty). In this drawing, a man kneels on the ground, his arms outspread, palms upward, welcoming the rays of the light of liberty, a smile of joy on his face. The inkwell and sheet of paper on the ground beside him represent freedom of expression. In another drawing from the same group, C. 122; Divina Razón, No Deges Ninguno (Divine Reason, Don't Spare One of Them), a young woman in a white dress with a wreath of flowers on her head, strikes out at black birds which scatter before the whip she brandishes. In her other hand she holds a set of scales. The divine light of reason will punish

those who embrace ignorance and superstition (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

Further proof of Goya's continuing interest in learning and the influence of the Enlightenment was his experimentation with lithography at the age of seventy-three in 1819. He had first used the technique in Madrid, but none of his prints were well-done technically at the time. Invented in 1792, lithography was not well-known until 1815. The first lithographic printer in Madrid, José María Cardano, did not establish his shop until 1819. All Goya's Madrid lithographs were probably printed at Cardano's shop. The Madrid lithographs do not seem to be part of a series; their size and subject matter are varied. It was not until 1824 in Bordeaux that Goya achieved brilliance in this technique. Late in 1825, Goya printed his now famous Bulls of Bordeaux. He also was working on two new groups of prints, one in lithography and one in etching, before his death (Sayre, 1974).

The influence of the Enlightenment can be seen in two ways in Goya's work--the first in his reaction against superstition and ignorance, and the repressiveness of the church and state. The second can be detected in his ability to continue learning and developing as an artist and human being. The former influence has been shown in the political content of his work, mainly in prints and drawings. The latter is illustrated by his continuing interest in

new techniques of printmaking, such as in aquatint and lithography and in the fact that his painting technique also underwent change and development. In portraits, no longer was he content to achieve a superficial likeness, he also wanted to let us know something about the character and personality of the sitter--this quality alone makes him a great portraitist. The psychological probing can be seen in his portraits as early as 1800, such as in The Family of Charles IV and The Countess of Chinchón, whose fragile shyness seems all the more poignant when you find out that she was carrying Godoy's child at the time of the portrait.

Not only did his approach to portraiture change, he also changed his style. Early in his career, he painted in a rigid, academic way using muted color. Surrounded by mediocre painters, like Luzán, Mengs, and Bayeu, he could have well become the David of Spain. On the contrary, his art work became diametrically opposed to theirs, anti-academic and anti-neoclassical (Gassier & Wilson, 1981). As a tapestry painter, he used bright, undiluted primary color. In his early portraits, he adopted the soft, delicate, diaphanous colors of the Rococo. Gradually his color became richer and more brilliant and his brush strokes became looser and freer, anticipating Impressionism. By changing his approach to his work as an artist, Goya tried to insert meaning into

his existence. What he accomplished was greatness as a man and as an artist.

As in the drawing from Album G. 54 states, Aun Aprendo (I Am Still Learning) this can be seen as Goya's personal credo, even though this drawing of an old man with a long white beard slumped over two canes as he walks, is not seen as a self-portrait. Rather it is his way of telling us that even as an old man, which he was when this was drawn sometime between 1824 and 1828, he was still able to continue reading and discovering new ideas and techniques. This ability was the real benefit of the Enlightenment that Goya took to heart and enjoyed to the fullest (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

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Goya and Neoclassicism

The Rococo was an international art movement with specific characteristics that touched many European artists. However, the self-indulgence of Rococo art did not match the revolutionary spirit of the nineteenth century. There was a call for reform of the institutions of church and state. People wanted an equalization of privileges, instead of a few having a lot and many having little (Gardner, 1980). Artists and thinkers rejected the authority of societal institutions and embraced the idea of individual autonomy. They expounded on their own ideas, not on those generated by authority. From these ideas sprang the French Revolution and the Romantic movement in art.

The first style to gain attention and to influence other artists after the Rococo was Romantic Classicism or Neoclassicism. The main inventor and advocate of this style in painting was Jacques Louis David (1748-1825); he yearned for a contemporary art which would uphold the seriousness and democratic spirit of the art of the Greeks and Romans (Hamilton). David's paintings glorify self-sacrificing devotion to a cause, and were used by him as propaganda to promote the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Empire (Gardner, 1980).

David's life span echoes Goya's, but Goya was not influenced stylistically by Neoclassicism, even though A. R. Mengs was devoted

to Classicism. Mengs developed his ideas about the fusion of classical art and nature to create an ideal art through his friendship with another German, Johann Joachim Winckelmann, called the father of art history (Schwarz, 1971). Winckelmann's writings on art history helped ignite the Neoclassical movement, especially his History of Ancient Art (1763). Winckelmann was the first art historian to classify and describe art on the basis of general stylistic traits instead of merely being a biographer (Gardner, 1980).

Besides Winckelmann's writings, another impetus for renewed interest in the art of antiquity was the discovery and excavations in the 1730s and 1740s of the ancient Roman cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum in southern Italy, near Naples. These cities held the most complete archeological record of Roman life in A.D. 79 ever encountered. There was an exhibition and publication of paintings, sculpture, and household furniture from the excavations after 1748. Apart from the historical importance, this was doubly inspirational for Romantic artists because it evidenced the tremendous destructive force of nature. Both of these great civilized cities (Pompeii had a population of 20,000) were completely destroyed by the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius (Gardner, 1980). The Romanticists loved the idea of nature overtaking human institutions--reclaiming what man dared to own.

The ruins of Greece and Rome inspired awe. The idea that these great civilizations, based on democracy, had been brought low by a combination of barbaric forces thrilled and touched the Romantic artists. Because of their overwhelming size and feeling of timelessness, these ancient monuments were inspirational to artists and architects. The Italian architect Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778) published imaginative drawings based on Roman ruins (Hamilton). In the late 1740s, Piranesi published about 135 prints depicting ancient monuments of Rome, entitled Views of Rome, which were very popular and generated much interest in Roman art. In 1750 Piranesi published imaginative architectural drawings called Carceri (Prisons); these are very different from his early prints (Gardner, 1980). In 1760 Piranesi republished the Carceri with an even more sinister feeling added (Clark, 1973). Piranesi's Views of Rome are wistful and melancholy, lightly etched and filled with light. His Carceri have no basis in any real edifice and depict a dark, cavernous interior of a menacing and hopeless prison (Gardner, 1980). As described by Kenneth Clark (1973, p. 48), the tiny human figures seem lost in the, "super-imposed arches, the interminable staircases, the pointless and vertiginous galleries." Piranesi entitled the frontispiece to the first edition, Capricci (Caprices) (Clark, 1973).

The intellectual, objective side of Romanticism can be seen and felt in the work of David, Piranesi, and John Flaxman; the latter two influenced Goya's work. When Goya became ill in 1792, he stayed with his friend Sebastián Martínez in Cadiz for about six months. Sebastián Martínez had a large art collection of about 300 paintings and several thousand engravings which included Piranesi's Carceri. Goya must have studied these prints because their sinister, melancholy, suffocating mood is mirrored in the Caprichos, published six years later in 1799 (Gassier & Wilson, 1981). The similarity of the titles is also interesting.

The influence of John Flaxman (1755-1826) goes even deeper than the generality of a title or mood. Flaxman used as his model Greek and Etruscan vase painting and Greek sculpture, for his method of drawing in pure contour linen with no shading. He illustrated themes from works by Homer, Hesiod, Aeschylus, Dante, and other western classics (Gardner, 1980). In 1792 Flaxman illustrated Dante's Divine Comedy. Flaxman's drawing of Caiaphas and the Hypocrites is a striking image and was inspirational for other artists. The most interesting element in the drawing is the long, monk-like robes which the hypocrites have to wear for their punishment, beautiful on the outside, but heavy with the weight of their sin. These robes hang down around their heads so that you can not see their faces. In 1795 Goya made at least five drawings

after Flaxman. His drawing Procession of Monks (1795) seems to have been inspired by the drawing of Caiaphas and the Hypocrites, although Goya's monks are more shadowy and sinister than are the hooded hypocrites of Flaxman's drawing (Chan, 1981).

The Romanticists liked Dantesque themes because of their relationship with dreams, nightmares, apparitions, and the demonic. Flaxman's hypocrites with their mysterious and faceless figures fit into the Romantic preoccupation with inner stress, the incomprehensible, and the terrifying. All the figures in Dante's Inferno are ghosts; for that reason, they convey anguish, terror, and impending death. Goya's work includes many hooded figures; it is in the Caprichos and the Disparates where the best examples are found. In Capricho 3; Que Viene el Cocò (Here Comes the Bogey-Man), children are driven screaming into the arms of their mother by a hooded, motionless figure, while the mother stares idiotically at the spectre. In Capricho 52; Lo Que Puede un Sastre (Fine Feathers Make Fine Birds), several people kneel before a large hooded figure which is actually a tree stump draped with a cloth in order to resemble a person. In Los Disparates, an image much like Capricho 52 is Disparate 2; The Folly of Fear in which a group of soldiers run terrified away from a giant hooded figure which is again a huge tree with a drapery over it. This combination of a hooded image with the colossal is truly terrible. Probably, the most

frightening hooded image ever created by Goya is Capricho 8; Que Se La Llevaron (And So They Kidnapped Her) in which two hooded men have violently picked up a woman and are carrying her away; brutality and rape are implied (Chan, 1981).

Capricho 22; ¡Pobrecitos! (Poor Little Things!), also springs to mind as a masterful use of the hooded figure; two women whose faces are completely covered by hoods are being led off to jail by two coarse-looking men. Another use of the hooded figure with relationship to imprisonment can be seen in Capricho 34; Las Rinde el Sueño (They Are Overcome with Sleep) in which four women in prison, two hooded, are sleeping. Here, as in Capricho 22, the hood connotes embarrassment and shame. In the latter half of the Caprichos there are many figures wearing hooded, monk-like garments, and many are in a devotional pose. These figures assume the guise of goodness, but are hypocritical because they worship evil. In these Caprichos, not only has Goya used the image of the hooded figure of Caiaphas and the Hypocrites, he has also taken up the theme of hypocrisy. From about Capricho 59, the nude figure predominates as if the hood has been removed to reveal the horrifying bestiality that lurks beneath the surface. Capricho 65; ¿Dónde Va Mama? (Where is Mama Going?) shows a disgustingly fat naked woman being carried through the sky by three even more repellent half-human men.

Flaxman and Piranesi were precursors of Neoclassicism, rather than actual adherents of the style. Interest in the art of antiquity, of Greece and Rome, waned after Neoclassicism became the official art style of the European art academies. David was the only Neoclassicist whose works had the life and spirit which Greek and Roman art had, and this can be truly said of his early work only. Napoleon's downfall in 1815 (Courthion, 1961), also, hastened the decline of Neoclassicism because his regime was closely associated with David and his art. David intended to exalt and propagandize Napoleon. Totalitarian art must be some sort of classicism because the state which is founded on order and subordination must also have an art which is orderly and subordinate (Clark, 1973).

Neoclassicism's decline was inevitable because of the very freedom of individual expression which had produced it. Artists began to believe that individual experience was more important than ideas generated by outside authority. There was also an increasing awareness of color's expressiveness and a decreasing interest in careful drawing. Nature and the individual's experience of nature also came to be regarded as a suitable subject for art.

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Goya and Romanticism

The art movement known as Romanticism is rather obscure. Each Romantic artist had his own style and could have many different styles throughout his life and included in his oeuvre. The dominant theme of Romantic art is freedom. The artist created art that came from his own intense, personal experience. For this reason, Goya is seen as the epitome of the Romantic artist. Apart from his early career, he always seems to have created art which was more an effort to please himself than an effort to please the noble or monarch. Also, every time something horrible happened in his life, he was compelled to create art which had roots in his imagination and feelings. This creation of work solely to exorcise his own demons was an extraordinary idea for an artist in the late 1700s.

Goya is usually placed under Romanticism in any grouping of artists into categories; however, he had probably never heard of the term and would not have categorized himself as such. Romanticism was being discussed in Spain by intellectuals after 1814 (Glendinning, 1977), but Goya had already created most of the art work identified with the Romantics by that time.

Broadly defined, Romantic art could be thought of as the opposite of Classical art. Classical art emphasizes order,

permanence, and timelessness. It is satisfying intellectually. Romantic art emphasizes disharmony, change, and momentariness. It is appealing emotionally. Classical painting uses restrained color; Romantic painting overwhelms the senses with its sensual color (Clark, 1973). Romanticism as a separate, distinct art movement encompasses a period from about 1750 until 1850; however, the first artists to actually identify themselves as Romanticists and to define what that meant were a few avant-garde French artists, active from about 1800 until 1840 (Gardner, 1980).

The main goal of these artists was freedom of expression, and they rejected authority in any form, whether from the church, state, or public. Around the late 1700s, the bourgeoisie began to replace the aristocracy, state, and church as art patrons (Schwarz, 1971), primarily due to industrialism. Mass production was an abomination to the Romanticists; they preferred the careful craftsmanship of the Medieval Age. This yearning for the Dark Ages is absurd, but it illustrates how forcefully these men abhorred their society. The church was rejected because of its hypocrisy, but it had been losing power gradually since the eighteenth century and Enlightenment. The Rococo artists did not actually defy the church, but had ignored it as a nonentity. The Baroque was the last great period of religious art. These young, revolutionary men also believed in the religious values and ideals of the Middle Ages

(Courthion, 1961). The Romanticists rejected the government and government-run institutions, such as art academies. Most of these men believed that radical action towards the abolition of the monarchical system was called for. They did not believe democracy could be achieved except through drastic means (Gardner, 1980). Even altruistic reforms on the part of the government, such as educational reform, were looked upon with suspicion. They did not believe that education could save the masses from inequity.

Although they were extremely anti-authoritarian and anti-government, the Romanticists were nationalistic; they loved their country, but not its rulers. They loved revolution, anarchy, and war. Romanticism links two directly opposing forces--cynicism and fanaticism. There was a movement from the objective to the subjective (Clark, 1973), from the rational to the irrational. The Enlightenment had preached reason over passion, while Romanticism preached passion over reason.

Artists began to turn inwards towards worlds other than reality, from symbols of expression with a universal meaning to symbols with meaning only for themselves. This insistence on individual expression has led to the modern alienation of the artist from society. The public does not understand or appreciate the artist's views (Hamilton). These artists also alienated themselves from society in another way, through their bizarre behavior. Not

only demanding freedom of thought, these artists also demanded freedom in their personal lives. They rejected society's standards for correct conduct; many of them never married and were sexually promiscuous. Many of these artists and writers died at a young age, either through reckless living or through suicide.

As Kenneth Clark (1973) states, freedom of expression included the artist's free choice of subject matter and freedom to experiment with style and technique. The Romanticists chose subject matter from mythology and the Orient; there was a renewed interest in ancient Egyptian, Classical, and Gothic art. The irrational was a major theme, either from the nightmare world of dreams or from the real nightmare of the insane. Many artists were drawn to themes which dwelt below the conscious, outside the world of reality--the sublime. Burke's Inquiry into the Origins of the Sublime, published in the 1750s, argued that fear was the origin of the sublime because, "whatever is in any sort terrible, is a source of the sublime" (Clark, 1973, p. 45). Friedrich von Klinger's Sturm und Drang (Storm and Stress) aptly names the turmoil felt by these artists in search of transcendence through revolution and emotionalism. This interest in the irrational was part of the reaction against the rationalism of the eighteenth century. One belief that was shared by the advocates of Enlightenment and those of the Romantic movement was that the natural was better than the

artificial and the conventional (Gardner, 1980). There was a renewed interest in landscape painting because nature could be terrible and wonderful at the same time. Also, nature is free from man's laws and institutions.

The common denominator that distinguished the Romantic movement from former art movements was the importance of the individual artist. Each Romantic artist created his own style of painting, far removed from the rigid, formal style of the academies. One could not confuse the paintings of one Romanticist with those of another. Romanticism can be thought of as the first truly modern art movement with its pessimistic view of society, its revolutionary ideas, and its emphasis on the individual. This criticism of society had never been seen before in art (except in an oblique way through Goya in Spain and William Hogarth in England) (Schwarz, 1971).

One of the first artists to develop a series of paintings related to the nightmare was the Swiss Henry Fuseli (1741-1825). Macabre subjects fascinated Fuseli; he was thought of as a master of the sublime, even though much of his work is mediocre. Fuseli began teaching art in England in 1778 when the supernatural was in fashion. Shakespeare's Macbeth was very popular. Fuseli's subjects were those that later became typical of Romantic art, ghosts, witches, giants, and horses. Fear and sex were the

dominant themes of his work, very often depicted in dreams. Fuseli, like Piranesi, Flaxman, and Goya, was a precursor of Romanticism (Clark, 1973). Artists like Théodore Géricault and Eugène Delacroix, who are traditionally thought of as Romanticists, were actually more conservative in their technique and subject matter than were precursors of Romanticism, like Fuseli.

Almost all of David's students, whether consciously or unconsciously, broke away from Neoclassicism in true Romantic spirit. David looked for subject matter in Plutarch's Lives of the Great Greeks and Romans and instructed his students to do the same. One of David's most talented students was Baron Antoine Jean Gros (1771-1835). Gros chose subjects from contemporary life. The exotic setting in his Pest House at Jaffa (1804) takes a mundane event, Napoleon visiting sick soldiers, (there is no evidence that he actually ever did this) and turns it into a religious experience. Napoleon becomes a deity, calm and god-like, he goes among the plague-ridden without fear. Gros's exaltation of Bonaparte is pure propaganda; David, at least, had veiled his political message by using events from ancient Greece and Rome (Gardner, 1980). Gros was Napoleon's official painter for a time, and he did his best painting then; when Napoleon fell, Gros drowned himself (Clark, 1973).

Another follower of Neoclassicism, who eventually went in a completely different direction, was Théodore Géricault (1791-1824) (Gardner, 1980). Influenced much by Gros, Géricault was the epitome of the Romantic artist, uneasy, restless, rebellious, and suicidal (Courthion, 1961). Géricault's masterpiece, The Raft of the Medusa (1819), unlike his earlier work, was based on an actual tragedy. Passengers on the ship Medusa were forced by the ship's officers to set sail on makeshift rafts because it was thought that the ship was sinking. The people on the rafts were left wandering for days without food and water. One raft of people was rescued, but not before all sorts of grisly events took place, such as cannibalism. Ironically, the Medusa had not even sunk.

This event scandalized the French public and was embarrassing for the government. Géricault chose this event for a painting because of its opportunity for depicting physical and mental suffering, its exotic setting, and its political overtones (Hamilton). In the painting, Géricault uses dynamic Baroque devices, such as strong contrasts of dark and light, crisscrossing diagonal movements, and violent twisting of figures. Géricault was as accurate in the depiction of the event as he could be; he interviewed survivors and made studies of dead and dying men. Géricault tries to shock us with the horribleness of it all. A raft of civilized people when left to fend for themselves had become

animals, scratching and clawing to stay alive. This was the true state of man in nature (Gardner, 1980).

Gardner (1980) also reveals that Géricault did drawings and paintings of the insane. He was interested in how mental states affected physical states; he believed that one could tell a person's character by looking at his face. Also, insanity revealed nature's formless and destructive side. According to Licht (1973), interest in physiognomy was widespread in the eighteenth century. Physiognomy is the belief in a relationship between moral and mental qualities and physical traits. This interest can be traced back to Aristotle. Hogarth, in England, caricatured human passions and behavior in The Analysis of Beauty in 1753 (Licht, 1973).

Johann Kaspar Lavater (1741-1801), a minister from Zurich, put together a system which grouped certain physical and mental traits together, physiognomically. First published in 1775 through 1778, his papers were republished later in the eighteenth century in French and English. Goya may have read one of the French editions or could have found out about these ideas through one of his learned friends. One of the illustrations in Lavater's Essays shows the physiognomist with a lighted torch tracking down a sinister figure dressed in a habit. Lavater did not believe that man could be saved from his moral and mental degradation. He believed that heredity, rather than environment, determined a person's

character. In this way Lavater's views are similar to the Romanticists and dissimilar to Goya's. Goya was a staunch believer in Jovellanos's view that education was of prime importance in the battle against ignorance and superstition (Licht, 1973).

While working on the Caprichos, Goya drew sixteen animal-like human heads. On the bottom of the sheet is written Goya's name and the date of 1798. In other drawings, Goya not only compares facial characteristics of man with animal, but also compares man and woman to animal in pose and clothing. In these drawings, the person is depicted standing before either a mirror or a canvas in which the image is reflected back as an animal. Within these drawings, Goya also uses recognized, traditional symbols to illustrate the low moral character of the person depicted. López-Rey (1970) suggests that Goya's Caprichos are his illustrations of man's debasement because of the prevalence of passion over reason. Goya's views on man are antithetical to Lavater's because he felt that man could overcome his mental and moral degradation through the use of his mind. Goya used physiognomy to illustrate how man could become if he lacks intelligence and goodness. Lavater used physiognomy to illustrate that ugliness and deformity are indicators of criminality and stupidity (Licht, 1973).

The repulsive and the ugly were themes that Géricault was drawn to, unlike most French artists. While visiting London,

Géricault did a series of lithographs depicting the squalor of the streets, one of which includes a public hanging. While in England, Géricault attempted suicide. Obsessed with suffering and death, Géricault also did a series of decapitated heads. This type of morbid subject matter is common in Spanish painting and art (Clark, 1973). Courthion (1961) relates that in a letter to a friend, Géricault wrote, "suffering is real, pleasure a will-o'-the-wisp" (p. 19). He died in his early thirties (Courthion, 1961).

Whenever one speaks of Romanticism, one name springs to mind as the supreme embodiment of that movement--Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863). Delacroix wrote in his diary, "if by my Romanticism is meant the free expression of my personal feelings, my remoteness from the standardized types of painting prescribed in the Schools, and my dislike of academic formulae, I must confess that not only am I a 'romantic' but that I already was one at the age of fifteen!" (Courthion, 1961, p. 21). Courthion (1961) also reveals that Géricault had written of his belief in the artist's right to freedom of expression and had protested the teaching at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the Prix de Rome competitions. Glendinning (1977) states that in 1792 the San Fernando Academy in Spain revised its teaching program. Goya, asked for his opinions regarding the new curriculum, recommended that the students should study and imitate nature and also stressed the right to

independence of the artist, "I know of no better way to advance the arts . . . [than] by allowing students of art to develop their abilities in their own way, without making them adopt a particular style of painting if it is against their inclination" (Glendinning, 1977, p. 46).

As a boy, Delacroix learned to draw by copying prints, much like Goya's early training, and in this way Delacroix became a great draftsman (Clark, 1973), as was Goya. As a young artist, Delacroix was influenced by Rubens and the masters of the seventeenth century Baroque (Hamilton), so much so that he was labeled a 'Rubeniste.' Delacroix believed that color was the most important element in a painting. Géricault had also used Baroque elements in his painting, but he used somber, traditional color (Gardner, 1980). Delacroix used traditional color in his early work, such as in the Dante and Virgil in Hell (1822). Later, his color became rich, lush, and vivid; color creates movement in his work. The theme of death and destruction pervades his work and that of the Romanticists. An intellectual, Delacroix used traditional subject matter for inspiration, such as stories from the Bible, Greek and Roman mythology, as well as the classical literature of Shakespeare and Dante and contemporary writers like Goethe, Scott, and Byron (Hamilton). Sometimes contemporary events were the impetus for a work. The revolt of the Greeks against the Turks in the 1820s prompted his Scenes of the Massacre at Chios (1824). He painted

Liberty Leading the People (1830) after the uprising of the people of Paris against the Bourbon Charles X who had been restored to the throne (Gardner, 1980).

Delacroix repainted Scenes of the Massacre at Chios, after having seen a landscape painting by John Constable (Clark, 1973). Constable's landscapes are full of bright, fresh color; instead of mixing color on his palette, he would place little dots of color directly on the canvas. This bright, unmixed color was a revelation to Delacroix; he strove to make his color as fresh as Constable's (Gardner, 1980). The critics were shocked by this painting because of its bright color, its asymmetrical composition, and its subject matter. There were a few critics, like Baudelaire and Gautier, who were staunch supporters of Delacroix and his work, but most were not (Courthion, 1961).

Unlike most artists, Delacroix kept a diary from which we can discover his views directly (Courthion, 1961). He believed that civilization, as he and his contemporaries knew it, where a man could achieve anything he wanted, was so delicately balanced that it could easily be destroyed by barbaric forces. In his painting The Entry of the Crusaders into Constantinople the men on horseback trample over the ruins of the great city with a dazed look on their faces, as if struck dumb by their victory. This triumph of barbarism

over civilization seems more confusing than glorious to the victors because they do not understand what they have done (Clark, 1973).

The theme of death and destruction was most easily depicted in scenes of war, which was a very common Romantic subject. The Romanticists believed that one way of making the sublime visible was to show human suffering--mental and physical; that is why so many Romantic themes are morbid (Gardner, 1980). The glorification of war is a traditional theme of art. Paintings of military might and splendor extend back into ancient eras. Many Romantic artists and writers actually did become soldiers. The poet Lord Byron died in 1824 while fighting for the Greeks at Missolonghi. An admirer of Byron and his poetry, Delacroix painted The Death of Sardanapalus (1826) in tribute to Byron's drama of the same title written in 1821 (Courthion, 1961). In this painting Delacroix seems to have been thrown into a bacchanalian frenzy. A potent sensuality is created through the violent contortion of pink and black fleshed men and women slaves, blood, jewels, silk, all in an orange and red vortex. The official critics hated this painting very much (Clark, 1973). The fascination for military themes culminated in the early 1800s with several paintings of Napoleon in battle, a scene painted by David, Gros, and many others (Courthion, 1961). The Romanticists believed that war was beneficial to society; they could not understand the horror of war. A realistic

view of war can be seen in Goya's Desastres de la Guerra--the chaos, death, and destruction.

Part of the fascination of the Romanticists for painting soldiers and battles was the opportunity it provided for painting the horse, alternately the friend of man or a wild beast. The horse became a symbol of the fantastic because of Fuseli's Nightmare; the Romanticists preferred to depict it realistically, as in works by Delacroix, Géricault, and Gros (Courthion, 1961). Goya used the horse symbolically in the Disparate print El Caballo Rapto (Gassier & Wilson, 1981), in which a smiling girl is being carried away by a wild-eyed rearing horse. In search of sensual pleasure, men and women allow themselves to be caught up in destructive passions.

One may draw parallels between Goya and many artists and movements, but few other artists studied Goya as did Delacroix. Delacroix was an intellectual; he loved books, music, and art, and knew a lot about all of those subjects. He was copying figures from the Caprichos in the 1820s, eight years before Goya's death (Glendinning, 1977). In 1830 France began the colonization of Algeria; Delacroix accompanied a French ambassador to the court of the sultan in 1832 (Courthion, 1961). According to Courthion (1961), on seeing Tangiers for the first time, he wrote in his journal, "all Goya had come to vivid life around me" (p. 78). Disgusted with the classical art teaching of Rome, he also wrote

that young would-be artists ought to travel to Africa to study, instead of Rome (Courthion, 1961).

Delacroix produced some of his most visually exciting and richly colored work as a result of his visit to Africa. His paintings of lion and tiger hunts, in which men on horseback test their skill and cunning against wild, untamed nature, are among his best works. These hunting scenes spin dizzyingly around in a whirl of lush color, his sense of color and form impetuous and instinctive (Gardner, 1980).

Glendinning (1977) writes that most of the official critics despised his work, but a few, like the poet Baudelaire, praised him. In Baudelaire's Phares (Beacons) of 1857, there is a stanza devoted to Delacroix and just above it one devoted to Goya:

Goya, nightmare world of the unknown,
Foetuses cooking where the witches meet;
Hags at mirrors; children bare; girls shown
For devils stretching stockings on their feet.

Delacroix, pools of blood where angels lie,
Shaded by pine-woods of dark evergreen;
Strange trumpets sound a stifled Weber sigh
And die away, beneath the sky's dark spleen. (84)

Courthion (1961) states that by the mid-1800s in France, there was a movement away from Romanticism and towards Realism. Delacroix was one of the few artists still producing Romantic works; his brushwork continued to evoke "rapid, convulsive, slashing rhythms" (p. 111). On the same page

Courthion (1961) says that this freedom of brushwork was owed in part to his study of Goya, who was one of the first artists to abandon traditional "finish" in his paintings.

The Romanticists and Delacroix, especially, looked to Goya as a symbol of their artistic and philosophical beliefs. However, Goya believed in Rationalism, and there are many differences between Rationalism and Romanticism. Rationalism is based on liberalism of ideas and the importance of reason in developing those ideas.

During the Enlightenment, men and women opened their minds to new ideas about human worth and dignity and rejected superstition and ignorance fostered by religious teachings. Romanticism was developed during an age that had narrowed its views of humanity's worth and had reverted to ideas of the past, such as the religious ideas of the Middle Ages. Rational thinkers developed ideas about what was good for all people; it was universal. Romantic philosophers developed ideas about what was good for the individual; it was nationalistic. Rationalism was a reaching outward; Romanticism was a turning inward. The egocentrism of the Romanticists was a natural result of the increasingly complex world that the Romanticists faced; there is a tendency to retreat in the face of hostility.

The Romanticists found in Goya's work and life the freedom from authority, freedom of expression, and freedom of thought and

action they were searching for. The French Romanticists were nationalistic, but they longed to rule their country their way. Goya shared French love of country, but was not as anti-authoritarian as they. Beginning with his depiction of majas and majos in the tapestry cartoons, Goya chose subject matter from contemporary Spanish life and customs. Others chose similar themes, but no one could match his joie de vivre, which makes his world come alive for us. His obsession with witchcraft in the Caprichos and other works reflects the Spanish preoccupation with it in the eighteenth century (Gassier & Wilson, 1981), like the Dukes of Osuna who commissioned a set of witchcraft paintings from Goya in 1795 (Glendinning, 1977). One recurring theme in Goya's work that reveals his Spanishness more than any other is bullfighting, masterfully captured in the Tauromaquia (1815-16), the Bulls of Bordeaux (1824-25), and in many paintings (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

The Spanish Romantics did not write about Goya's Romantic qualities until 1838. The first was José Somoza who in that year discussed how Goya's portrait of the bullfighter Pedro Romero proved Goya's nationalism. The artist and historian Valentín Carderera also wrote about Goya's Romanticism. Both he and Somoza had met Goya once, but Valentín Carderera also collected Goya's work, and he had studied others' collections. Carderera's

articles discuss Goya's influence on the French Romantics because of his realism, originality, emotion, and nationalism. Valentín Carderera also wrote that Goya was uninterested in social and academic status, but this was not true. No critic in conservative Spain discussed Goya's liberalism and anti-clericism at this time because of their inherent respect for authority, and because they were likely to get into trouble with the government or church (Glendinning, 1977).

Although Goya loved his country, he was aware of its faults. There is no doubt that he intended to criticize his society in the Caprichos. As he stated in the Diario de Madrid, his purpose was to choose "from the multitude of follies and blunders common in every civil society, as well as from the vulgar prejudices and lies authorized by custom, ignorance, or interest" (López-Rey, 1970, p. 79), in order to ridicule them. This criticism of society must have been very shocking in Spain, where adherence to and respect for authority is part of the national character. After only a few days on the market, the prints were withdrawn from sale by either the church or the government (Williams, 1976). This suppression of criticism in 1799 was a legacy of the censorship that followed the beginning of the French Revolution in 1789. The Reign of Terror in France produced a tightening of the reins in Spain. All newspapers had been shut down, except for the Diario de Madrid,

which was allowed to keep printing, but only under strict rules (Bergamini, 1974).

After this attempt at public criticism had failed, Goya restricted himself to privately denouncing society in drawings and in two series of etchings not published in his lifetime--Los Desastres de la Guerra (c. 1810-23) and Los Disparates (c. 1815-24) (Gassier & Wilson, 1981). The Royal Academy of San Fernando published the two sets in 1863 and 1864, respectively (Licht, 1973). An attempt by Goya to publish either series has never been documented. Like the Romantics, Goya criticized his society, but unlike them, he could not openly defy the state or church without fear of losing his life or liberty.

Even though the Spanish respect authority, paradoxically, they also pride themselves on independence of action and thought. In Goya's age, as well as that of the Romantics, originality and imagination were characteristics highly praised in an artist. Asked for a biographical summary in the 1820s for the Prado, Goya put more emphasis on his independent development than on his early training by copying models in Saragossa. When Mengs wrote a report about Goya's progress in 1776, he used the word espíritu to describe Goya, a description reserved only for him and not for José del Castillo or Ramón Bayeu, whom he also reviewed at that time. Also, Mengs allowed Goya to paint original designs for cartoons, but

made Castillo and Bayeu copy from famous paintings (Glendinning, 1977).

According to Glendinning (1977), in the late 1790s, Goya was thought of as an international artist. Many critics praised him highly, but there were two aspects of his work that were continually ridiculed, his unconventional painting technique and signs of shoddy craftsmanship. The latter criticism was aimed at Goya's sketches for paintings for the pendentives of Pilar Cathedral in Saragossa. Goya's subsequent argument with the board, the humiliation of being made to submit new sketches, and Bayeu's supervision of the final painting was too much for the artist, and he quit in disgust. The church board preferred the smoother, more finished look of work by Bayeu to the sketchy, bravura painting of Goya. Goya was sometimes criticized for his haste in doing portraiture, as well. Ceán Bermúdez received a letter from a friend in 1803 which asked him to persuade Goya to take his time and to do a good job in the execution of his portrait. The Italian diplomat Count Brunetti summed up these criticisms in 1818, saying of Goya, "They call rashness, freedom; negligence they hold to be boldness (Glendinning, 1977, p. 44). Many Spaniards and the Romanticists realized that Goya's technique was innovative and imaginative (Glendinning, 1977).

Goya's contemporaries found fault with his technique, rather than with the content of his work; they accepted his unconventional and irrational subject matter. However, this was the aspect of his work that most intrigued the Romanticists. Although the Caprichos were quickly taken off the market when they were first printed and published, twenty-seven sets were sold. The French ambassador Guillemardet (whom Goya had painted in 1798) bought a set and took them back to France. This set was the one studied and copied by Eugène Delacroix--his godson (Williams, 1976)! Glendinning (1977) says that Delacroix first saw the set in March 1824, and in April he wrote in his diary that he wanted to draw "caricatures after the style of Goya" (p. 14). Delacroix copied Caprichos 3, 5, 6, 7, and 8. He also wrote in his diary that Goya was one of the "people of the present time," and that he used "the lash of satire" (Glendinning, 1977, p. 14). Besides original editions of the Caprichos in France, mediocre copies of the prints were available from various publishing companies. The first to publish a copy was the Motte firm which printed a set of ten lithographs after the series in 1825, calling them, Caricatures Espagnoles. Ni Plus, Ni Moins, Par Goya (Gassier & Wilson, 1981).

Glendinning (1977) believes that it was the dark satire of the prints which appealed to the French Romanticists. The French were the first to write about Goya's Romantic qualities. As the

French woman Adelaide de Montgolfier wrote in 1831, Goya's "jokes make one shudder. Laughter is too lukewarm a sensation for him" (Glendinning, 1977, p. 72). Another French writer, Isidore Justin Severin Taylor, known as Baron Taylor, was able to study Goya's work in Spain in the years 1820 through 1823. He helped obtain some of Goya's work for the Spanish Gallery, which opened in the Louvre in 1838. Taylor acknowledged the popularity of the Caprichos in an article on Goya and was among the first in France to praise his painting, admiring his originality, imagination, and passion (Glendinning, 1977).

Another important French critic, Théophile Gautier, was appreciative of Goya's nationalism and humanism, which he saw in the Tauromaquia and the Caprichos. Gautier also continued and elaborated on distortions about Goya's methods of working, making Goya into an action painter. Delacroix and others, like the writer Charles Yriate, realized that Gautier's elaborate descriptions of Goya's work and technique were mostly fabrication and not true illumination of the artist. Gautier liked Goya's use of contrasting styles and moods, part of the Romantic reaction against Neoclassicism (Glendinning, 1977).

Glendinning (1977) reports that the French historian Jules Michelet visited the Spanish Gallery in June 1839 and had a typical Romantic reaction to the portrait of the Duchess of Alba, calling

her, "a modern Spanish lady, elegantly beautiful, queen and tart at one and the same time" (p. 81). Glendinning (1976) in an article in Apollo studied Goya's variations of the maja theme in depth and discovered that one version of Goya's Majas on a Balcony hung in the Spanish Gallery from 1838 until 1848. The Romanticists liked this painting for its nationalism and its unorthodox and anti-academic subject matter. The French were enamored of anything Spanish at the time (Glendinning, 1976).

The most insightful descriptions of Goya's work, given by a French Romantic, were by the poet Charles Baudelaire. He did not make up stories about Goya's work as Gautier did. In the poem Phares, quoted earlier, he describes how Goya in the Caprichos creates art and beauty out of the foulest and most debased elements of human life. The Romanticists loved the paradox of the ability to create beauty out of ugliness; formerly ugliness had been used in art to indicate evil. Baudelaire believed that the mixture of beauty and ugliness could be seen as the summation of man's character--good and evil at the same time. Baudelaire also wrote an article about Goya's Caprichos in which he discussed Goya's use of fantasy and political allusion (Glendinning, 1977). Licht's book (1973) includes Baudelaire's whole article and in it he points out how Goya mixes fantasy with realism to produce possible monsters, "All those monks yawning or stuffing their stomachs, those bullet-headed cut

throats preparing for matins, those brows as crafty, hypocritical, sharp, and evil as profiles of birds of prey . . . witches, sabbaths, scenes of devilry, children roasting on the spit . . . every debauchery of dream . . . all those distortions, those bestial faces, those diabolic grimaces of his are impregnated with humanity" (pp. 33-35). As Baudelaire discovered, it is impossible to separate the real from the unreal in this great work (Licht, 1973).

Although Baudelaire was the last Romantic writer to reveal anything new about Goya, other writers in France continued to write about him as a Romanticist. The first book written about Goya was by Laurent Mathéron, who made Goya a Romanticist in two ways, the first through his realism which is in the tradition of Spanish art and so proved his nationalism. The second way was also through his realism, which proved that any subject, even repulsive, could be made into great art. The next book written about him was also by a Frenchman, Charles Yriarte. Yriarte was the first writer to emphasize Goya's liberalism, going beyond the generally held view of his anti-religious and anti-social image. Yriarte wrote that Goya was a philosopher, in agreement with and knowledgeable of the ideas of Enlightenment and the French Revolution. Yriarte's study of Goya's painting convinced him that Goya was not a careless craftsman, and he tried to convince others that this image of Goya was false, that this was only part of his

Romantic image. Both Mathéron and Yriarte were not content to speculate about Goya's life, but made up wild stories about him. Yriarte wrote that Goya used whores as models for his religious paintings; he also was the first to write that the Clothed Maja was the Duchess of Alba. In trying to fit Goya into the Romantic mold, Yriarte even put the Black Paintings into the category of realism, which is absurd. Yriarte's favorite work of Goya's was the Disasters of War, which he categorized as realistic, overemphasizing the nationalism of the prints, and ignoring Goya's larger statement. Yriarte's book was the peak of Romantic views of Goya. No other country, besides France, advanced the Romanticist view of Goya as well; no other country had such important artistic ties with Spain (Glendinning, 1977).

The Romantic writers and artists in Spain were able to see a great variety of Goya's work. Many of them carefully chose works to write about and study that proved his Romanticism. They were the first to exaggerate Goya's adventures as a lover and a fighter. The Romanticists thought that Goya's interest in bullfighting and his love affair with the Duchess of Alba were very exciting and indicative of the lifestyle a Romanticist should lead--independent and individualistic (Glendinning, 1977). There is actually no evidence that Goya ever did any bullfighting, although he did like to watch bullfighting, and he produced several works with this theme.

Goya and the Duchess of Alba did have an affair, but this was the only time during his marriage that he was unfaithful, and contrary to popular belief, he had no documented illegitimate children. He and his wife Josefa only had five children, not twenty as many writers still insist on reporting (Glendinning, 1977).

As Glendinning (1977) points out, Goya's conduct in his early career was completely antithetical to the rebelliousness of the Romanticists. As a young, aspiring artist, Goya ingratiated himself with the court and aristocracy in order to become successful. His early submission is documented in a letter of 5 January 1779 to his friend Zapater, "I have been honored by the king (Charles III) and the prince and princess who by the grace of God allowed me to show them four pictures, and I have kissed their hands which I never had the good fortune to do before" (Glendinning, 1977, p. 105). The information taken from these letters, however, has to be considered with the fact that a letter's contents reflects the person to whom it is written as well as the letter writer. Goya told his friend things that he knew would interest him (Glendinning, 1977). Also, the ruler of Spain, at the time, was Charles III, a man worthy of honor. Be that as it may, Goya did work hard at becoming well-liked and well-known at court. His marriage to the sister of the then successful painter Francisco Bayeu may have taken place solely to further his career. Before becoming a cartoon painter,

Goya had chosen subject matter from traditional, academic fields, such as religion, mythology, and history. His early tapestry cartoons are so artificial-looking that nine from the series for the Escorial had formerly been attributed to Francisco or Ramón Bayeu (Gassier & Wilson, 1981). Even when his tapestry cartoons began to show originality and imagination, they reflect an aristocratic view of life as happy and idyllic (Sutton, 1981). It was not until 1786, when Goya was forty, that he was made Painter to the King with a regular salary; previously, he had had to rely on private commissions (Gassier & Wilson, 1981). He may have incorporated the Rococo into his style in order to please aristocratic patrons (Sutton, 1981).

The Romantic view of Goya has lasted longer than any other view of him, primarily because of the characteristics that fit him into the category--his nationalism, liberalism, anti-clericism, and rebelliousness, but Goya goes beyond nationalism and individualism in all his works. There is no doubt that he intended to criticize society in works like the Caprichos and the Desastres de la Guerra, but at no time while looking at a print or a drawing does one feel that he is only ridiculing his own society. His prints are an indictment of all ignorance, superstition, cruelty, and evil. In the announcement to the sale of the Caprichos, he wrote, "In none of the compositions which form the series has the artist had in mind any one individual, in order to ridicule particular defects" (López-

Rey, 1953, p. 79). The Romantic writers and critics invented a lot of tall tales about Goya that also take a long time to dissipate (Glendinning, 1977). Goya shares many characteristics with the Romanticists, but he was a believer in Rationalism. His art reveals universal and human themes, more often than national and individual ones. The Romanticists wanted democracy with representation for the masses, yet they rejected educational reform and wanted to return to the repressive values of the Middle Ages. Goya was a believer in education and liberal reform of the church and the papacy. The Romanticists had a sentimental view of war and the good that revolution can bring. Goya abhorred war and its destruction.

Despite their rebelliousness, the Romanticists were still firmly rooted in the art of the past. Their painting techniques and subject matter were less modern and more academic than Goya's. Their search for the "sublime" in subject matter that would terrify and awe seems naive. They did make discoveries in the use of color and motion in painting that were new and exciting, but many times to understand their paintings, one first had to know the story behind it. This is not true of Goya's art which seems to live beyond the time period in which it was made and speaks to us directly. His paintings, drawings, and prints have a freshness and vitality that is felt only in the presence of great art. Many of the

Romanticists were men of genius, and they created masterpieces, but their work can not compare to the spirit and seriousness of Goya's greatest works.

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Conclusion

Francisco Goya's art work maintains and reflects the tradition of art in Spain, but also goes beyond the tradition to anticipate and contribute to many movements of modern art. His work is as relevant today as in the time when it was made. In this way Goya is truly a classical artist, because classical art includes a feeling of timelessness, of sentience, a living quality that knows no time period. His masterpiece The Burial of the Sardine does not need an explanation. The viewer may not have any idea what is taking place in this macabre dance, but he can tell well enough that it is evil. What is real and what is unreal become blurred together as in the modern world where everyday life has a sinister, surreal quality and we feel alienated and uneasy.

This feeling does not begin with the twentieth century, however; it can be traced back to the Hellenistic period and the age of Mannerism, when there was an intense feeling of hopelessness and instability after the grandeur of the Greek and Renaissance ages, as nations crumbled and became weak. Here too, the human figure dominates, as in Goya's work, but this domination does not prove man's superiority; quite the contrary, he is a puppet controlled by outside forces he has no power over. Goya continues this theme in The Burial of the Sardine as the people dance with

jerky, puppet-like movements, arms in the air as if jerked up by strings.

Goya's mediocre work as a young man did not reveal the genius he was to become, partly because of his great ambition. He copied the styles of others in his quest to become rich and well-known. The regard he began to feel in his mid-forties for his fellow man was not apparent early on. His tragic illness of 1792 at age forty-two spurred him on from the banal to the superb. An ordinary man grasping for recognition became an extraordinary man seeking for some meaning for his existence. It is very likely that even without this brush with death, he would have still become a great artist, but it gave a nudge to divine providence.

Goya's education was sparse and undiversified, but he was a very intelligent man; he could see the wickedness and stupidity of María Luisa and Charles III which was recorded in his great portrait of them and their family. Only for the little children could Goya feel pity and they are treated with dignity, but the rest are shown for what they were. In Goya's ability to give children's portraits honor and sweetness, we see the influence of his Spanish heritage in the characteristic love and death themes.

The themes of love and death are so typical of Spanish art because of their extremism. Their characters and their great art are not defined by an evenness of temperament. On the one hand,

the artist will depict the most beautiful, enchanting thing you have ever seen, and on the other he will depict the most horrible and disgusting thing you have ever seen. Goya's great work seesaws between these two extremes when he is at his best. His pessimistic, dark side can be seen in the two tapestry cartoons, El Pelele and La Boda, in the Caprichos, the 'caprichos enfáticos,' the Disasters of War, the Disparates, and the Black Paintings. In El Pelele we see the evil, grinning face for the first time which is to recur in his work and emerges triumphant in The Burial of the Sardine. All these dour, dark works are balanced throughout his life, however, by his optimistic, lively works, such as his paintings and drawings of children, friends, and family, the bulk of his tapestry cartoons, the two bullfighting series, and at last by the Milkmaid of Bordeaux. Even in the dark works, there is hope to be found, as in the 'caprichos enfáticos' in Desastres 82; Esto Es Lo Verdadero (1820-23) and in drawings done at the time, such as album drawing C.115; Divina Libertad. Goya knew that there was good and evil in the world and he never descended into the black hole that his Black Paintings ominously illustrate. In the tradition of Spanish realism, he gives us an honest portrait of ourselves, the good and the bad in equal doses.

Goya was not a religious man, even though he felt good will towards his fellow man. He despised superstition and ignorance

and he believed as did the great thinkers of the Enlightenment that religion fostered those two things. This secular humanism can be traced back to the ancient Greeks. In this way too, he continues the tradition of the Great Spanish genius Diego Velázquez, whose religious works lack divine inspiration, but whose secular works seem very spiritual and holy. Goya's lack of religious fervor was one of the only Spanish characteristics that he does not continue. His realism (a continuation of Roman realism), emotionalism, individualism, respect for authority (when it was warranted), conservatism, and pessimism are all typical of the Spaniard.

Although he did not know about the ideas of Romanticism, Goya was the epitome of the Romantic artist creating art to exorcise his own demons and to please himself. The great volume of his work with printmaking alone is astounding, considering that there is no history of printmaking in Spain. His ability to keep learning and developing as an artist and human being attests to the greatness of his spirit. Goya developed into a great artist during a dismal time in Spanish and world history, but this did not defeat him. It almost seems to have done the opposite. It was as if after having been caged by ambition and avarice before his illness, that death unlocked the door to the cage and allowed his greatness to be set free. Near death, he saw what was truly important. He tried to fight against the things he thought were wrong in Spanish

society and the world, but he did not succeed. As least he tried, no man or woman can do more.