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## Introduction

OVER the past twenty years, as thousands have visited exhibitions and museums, read books and seen movies based on the life and work of Francisco Goya y Lucientes (1746–1828), the outline of his life has become familiar. He pursued his early studies in his hometown of Zaragoza, before going to Madrid in 1775, where he lived for almost five decades. During those years he witnessed the downfall of the Bourbon monarchy, the occupation of the Spanish throne by Napoleon’s brother, and the restoration of the Spanish king, whose reign was interrupted by a three-year period of constitutional government. Through it all, Goya remained in service to successive monarchs, as he simultaneously explored subject matter never before seen in drawings, prints, and paintings, ranging from the etched satires of *Los Caprichos* to the enigmatic scenes painted on the walls of his country house over two decades later. In 1824 he requested leave from his position as first court painter and, supported by his full salary, traveled to France, where he spent the last four years of his life in Bordeaux among a colony of Spanish exiles. He made two return trips to Madrid before his death in Bordeaux in the early morning hours of April 16, 1828. This chronological overview of his career, however, does little justice to the complexities and transitions of the era that informed Goya’s art and defined his life; his story personalizes the political and cultural transformation of Spain, from the mid-eighteenth to the early nineteenth century. His patrons and acquaintances were often victims of ever-shifting politics, and their stories, briefly told here, offer foils to Goya’s own.

Goya’s youth in Zaragoza coincided with changes in the education of young artists, as the private academies of Goya’s first teacher, José Luzán Martínez, and of the sculptor José Ramírez de Arellano, both advocates for the establishment of a royal academy in Zaragoza, challenged the power of guilds over artistic production. This transition toward academic control

impacted Goya's family directly, as the neoclassical style sanctioned by the recently founded Royal Academy, which gave preference to marble over gilded wood for altarpieces, threatened the profession of Goya's father, Joseph, and older brother, Tomás, both gilders. Unable to retain the property that had been in the family for a century, the family relocated frequently and was at times separated. When his father died in 1781, intestate because there were no possessions to leave, Goya became the main financial support of his mother, sister, and two brothers, as well as of his wife and growing family, which by then included as many as six children. Both his lifelong attention to income and investments and his concern for the financial security of his heirs betray a determination to never again experience or impose on his family the poverty of his youth.

Occasional visits to Madrid and Goya's relocation to the city at the age of twenty-nine introduced him to the world of the Bourbon and cosmopolitan court of Carlos III. Central to his reign was the modernization of his capital, as many of Madrid's iconic buildings and public spaces were created: the royal palace; the promenade of the Paseo del Prado, with its shaded walks, fountains, and sculptures; the adjacent botanical garden; and a museum of natural history—today, the Museo del Prado. As in the larger capitals of Paris and London, and in contrast to Goya's native Zaragoza, new public spaces made the city a stage, not only for royal celebrations but also for individuals from widely diverse groups, now brought into daily contact.<sup>1</sup> Types emerged, identified by dress and manners, including most famously the *majos* and their female counterparts, or *majas*, representatives of the popular classes who in dress and manners resisted the reforms of a foreign king; their antitheses were the *petimetres* (from the French, *petit maître*) and *petimetras*, blindly devoted to French manners and fashions. Born on the streets, such characters appeared in prints and plays, to be immortalized by Goya in his designs for tapestries.

Goya's public life encompassed roles at court and within the society of Madrid, governed by etiquette and demanding conformity if not restraint; a counterbalance to that public life was the world defined by family and personal relationships, including, until 1803, his friendship with an enlightened businessman in Zaragoza, Martín Zapater. Although Goya lived in the capital, he never completely left Zaragoza and Aragón, which he defined as his *patria*, or homeland; in signing an altarpiece for the Cathedral of Seville forty-two years after he settled in Madrid, he identified himself as both first court painter and *Cesaraugustano*, or from Zaragoza. Even after Goya lost the support of powerful patrons in Zaragoza, it remained close to his heart, very possibly because of Zapater, the recipient of over 140 known or documented letters from the artist.

The collection of the Museo del Prado houses 119 of those letters; images of them on the *Goya en el Prado* website intimate the artist's moods, expressed through a variety of scripts and styles, from the formal script of an amanuensis to informal letters in which Goya scrawls only a few words across the page or adds drawings.<sup>2</sup> Written from 1775 to 1799, the letters reveal a growing intimacy, as well as a mutual admiration, between the two men and represent what we today call a private world—a term that in the eighteenth century had not yet coalesced to describe an individual reality that stood beyond the conventions and codes of public life.<sup>3</sup>

The letters bear witness to a deepening friendship and trust between the friends, to their interests, and to what could be expressed. In the years immediately following his arrival in Madrid, Goya referred frequently to common acquaintances in Zaragoza, but after a dispute with his brother-in-law, a senior court painter, and patrons of a major commission in Zaragoza, his subject matter shifted, as the very thought of Zaragoza infuriated the artist. His tone became increasingly confidential as he confessed his hopes and his tribulations in seeking patronage and making his way at the court of Madrid. Coming to claim Madrid as his home, he urged Zapater to join him there to escape the petty jealousies of Zaragoza. As both men enjoyed increasing success and suffered the stresses that accompanied it, Goya's letters became an outlet, as he reported in verse the tragic death from smallpox of a favored prince and his consort, or responded to Zapater's joke about the mourning dress at court following the death of Carlos III. The men shared blatantly ribald humor, with drawings to accompany. Of course, with only one side of the correspondence, we can only infer Zapater's words.

Following a visit to Zapater in November 1790, Goya returned to Madrid to discover that his sole surviving son had contracted smallpox; Goya, too, fell ill during his own requisite quarantine. In letters dated to that period, Goya feelings for Zapater approached obsession: one man's fevered honesty may have been the other's transgression, for Zapater apparently stopped answering. When a letter was lost in the mail, Goya realized he had gone too far, writing that he would regret it if others saw it. His tone became more measured, and the friendship endured until Zapater's death in 1803.



Given his unwavering confidence in his genius (*genio*) and creative intellect, or *invención*, Goya possibly considered himself entitled to such transgressions. The word *invención* enters his story shortly after his arrival in Madrid, as he worked as an unsalaried painter for the royal tapestry factory. Painters of tapestry designs, or cartoons, were paid on a scale: cartoons of the artist's

own *invención* earned more than those based on another artist's concept: when granted permission to develop his own sketches, Goya immediately identified his cartoons as "de invención mía" (of my invention). For Goya, invention was far more than a scale for payment: it was the central tenet of his art. Aware that his genius might cause trouble following his appointment as court painter in 1789, he wrote to Zapater: "There is also the circumstance of my being a man so well-known that from the king and queen down everyone knows me, and I cannot underplay my genius as others might."

Recuperating from the illness of early 1793 that left him deaf for life, Goya experimented with subject matter, drawing and painting for the first time with no commission to guide his hand: he drew vignettes inspired by contemporary life and in paintings gave free rein to what he called his "caprice and invention." From this point forward, this experimentation continued in tandem with his commissioned works: as he painted portraits of the royal family, ministers, and Madrid society, frescoed the interior of a church in Madrid, and fulfilled religious commissions from Cádiz, Madrid, Toledo, and eventually Seville, he represented in small paintings natural disasters, cannibals, madhouses, and murder. These works of fantasy, referred to in a contemporary inventory as *caprichos*, apparently found buyers, for they are recorded in inventories of private collections. The now-deaf artist began to add captions to his drawings, giving them a voice that implies that they, too, were shared.

Goya's sociability surely contributed to his success with influential individuals and even the king. People enjoyed his company. He was an avid and excellent hunter, who, when he killed eighteen pieces of small game with nineteen shots on one outing, felt it necessary to justify his one miss. As a game of golf might today foster relations with clients, Goya hunted with at least two patrons, the *infante* don Luis (brother of the king Carlos III) and the future duchess of Osuna, whose patronage of Goya over three decades was second only to that of the royal family. Years later, following his appointment as first court painter, he requested and received special permission to fish on the hunting grounds adjacent to the royal palace in Madrid. Even the king liked Goya, who reported to Zapater how Carlos IV joked with him about the Aragonese and Zaragoza and took him by the shoulders, almost embracing him; in a visit months later, the king inquired about the artist's son, recently recuperated from smallpox, and then began to play the violin. Contrary to the romantic image of Goya, deaf and isolated, he enjoyed family and friendships throughout his life.

As a courtier, Goya served kings and earned the favor of ministers and aristocrats, even when his genius tempted conflict. Within a year of be-

coming court painter, he refused to undertake a series of tapestry cartoons ordered by the king—even though he was a salaried painter whose main responsibility was to paint cartoons. A yearlong standoff ensued, but well-placed friends apparently tolerated his insubordination and, even though Goya had painted nothing to earn his salary, granted him a leave of absence to travel to Valencia. Years later, during the Napoleonic occupation of Madrid, he painted numerous portraits of the supporters of Joseph Bonaparte, and probably even painted the “intruder king” himself, but was nevertheless cleared in 1814 of any collusion with the Napoleonic court and allowed to resume his court position with full salary under the restored Fernando VII.

Prior to his deafness, Goya had a keen interest in music; sent popular songs to Zapater, to whom he also recommended a singer; and wrote of a concert in the palace with more than one hundred musicians. He also learned French, writing one letter to Zapater in the language, before he conceded the difficulty he had in writing, though he could understand it when spoken. We do not know the contents of Goya’s personal library, given a lump-sum value by an unqualified appraiser in 1812, but parallels between *Los Caprichos* and the subjects of essays and satires in the daily *Diario de Madrid* attest to his knowledge of issues of the day, which a deaf man could best glean through reading. His name was included on a subscription list for the Spanish translation of Samuel Richardson’s novel *Clarissa*, and a reference to the fables of the Italian author Giambattista Casti in an etching of about 1813 signals his familiarity with Casti’s satire, *Gli animali parlanti* (*The Talking Animals*), translated into Spanish and advertised that summer. During the politically tumultuous summer of 1823, as royalists took revenge on liberals in Madrid, Goya received the recently published posthumous works of Nicolás Fernández de Moratín and responded with praise that delighted the writer’s son (and publisher) Leandro Fernández de Moratín, who within a year welcomed Goya to Bordeaux. A lifelong learner, Goya pushed the potential of aquatint etching to its limits and, three years before his death, experimented with his new technique for painting miniatures and revolutionized lithography with the publication of the *Bulls of Bordeaux*.

Goya’s illness of 1793 has long been considered a major life crisis. Granted that such turning points are inventions of hindsight by those who remember a life rather than live it, I suggest that if such a point existed, it occurred about a decade later. Zapater died in early 1803, court patronage waned, and Goya turned his attention to his family, securing the financial well-being of his son, who married in 1805; a grandson was born the following year. Numerous commissions confirm his status as the leading portraitist of Madrid society, and his sitters included his son’s in-laws, who appeared in portraits

painted from about 1805 to 1810. When the invasion of Napoleonic forces brought the downfall of the royal patrons Goya had served for thirty-three years, his career as first court painter came to an apparent end, eventually recognized only as a hiatus. Beyond the commissions fulfilled for the French occupiers, his art became increasingly intimate and experimental, including still lifes for the family house, and allegories of time and youth. When he returned to etching, it was no longer to create a series intended for public edification as he had done eleven years earlier with *Los Caprichos*: in wartime Madrid he created an extended meditation on the devastation of war, imagining the atrocity of conflicts raging beyond Madrid. He etched on whatever copper he could find, and as the war brought famine to Madrid, he recorded the suffering of which he was a witness. If he undertook these etchings originally with an eye toward publishing them, his intention shifted as his subject matter became relentlessly tragic. He etched for posterity and left the plates with his son; they were published thirty-five years after Goya's death.

In portraying Goya as a liberal thinker, some writers downplay his service to Fernando VII, the conservative monarch restored to power in 1814; others overlook his service to the French court in favor of representing him as a patriot. In fact, he served both rulers. To assume that Goya considered his personal perspective more important than his public identity as a court artist is to impose values that are not of his time: these were two separate spheres. After a six-year war, Goya, like many of his countrymen, possibly welcomed the return of order, no matter the cost. Judged innocent of any wrongdoing during the Napoleonic occupation, he collected his salary but was for the most part invisible at court, since Fernando VII preferred a younger artist, Vicente López. Corporations and municipal governments commissioned the requisite royal portraits from Goya, who responded with images that today often appear half-hearted and formulaic.

Beyond commissions, he drew incessantly and also etched *disparates*—or irrationalities—that gave form to a world where ignorance and cruelty have displaced all virtue. He spent time with friends and possibly met or renewed an acquaintance with Leocadia Weiss, documented as his companion in Bordeaux in 1824. When in 1820 liberal forces triumphed, leaving Fernando VII with no option but to accept the constitution promulgated eight years earlier, Goya created drawings that perhaps celebrate the event, but few saw them. Increasingly he absented himself, making improvements to a country retreat across the Manzanares River from Madrid. On the walls he painted scenes that would become known in the twentieth century as the “black” paintings, *disparates* writ large.

With the help of an international alliance, Fernando VII was restored to power in 1823 and within eight months of the king's return, Goya requested a leave from court, ostensibly to take the waters in France for his health. He never followed that recommendation but in Paris joined the in-laws of his son before returning with them to settle in Bordeaux with Leocadia Weiss and her children. There he enjoyed a salaried leave of absence, which he conscientiously renewed several times before soliciting his retirement with his full salary, also granted to him. He returned twice to Madrid, visiting friends and a son who rarely wrote to his father, and sitting for a portrait by Vicente López to be installed in the recently founded royal museum on the Paseo del Prado. Goya chose not to remain in Spain and returned to a quiet life with Leocadia, whose daughter Rosario became his only known artistic heir.

There is, to be sure, an extensive bibliography on Goya, dating back to articles of the 1830s. The first book-length monograph, published in French by Laurent Matheron, drew on conversations with those who purportedly knew Goya in Bordeaux (or knew people who had known the artist), leaving Matheron to fill in gaps. Many books followed on Goya's life as constructed through his works, but these do not address the central challenge of biography: "Is biography essentially the chronicle of an individual's life journey (and thus a branch of history, employing similar processes of research and scholarship), or is it an art of human portraiture that must, for social and psychologically constructive reasons, capture the essence and distinctiveness of a real individual to be useful both in its time and for posterity?"<sup>4</sup> Having written the first draft of this book as a history, dependent solely on extensive documentation, I realized that without going further, the book did no more justice to Goya than a curriculum vitae does for any individual. In thinking about biography, I became increasingly tolerant of Matheron, whose inventions I once dismissed as romantic fabrications. He wrote at a time when a good story was valued as highly as fact, and he attempted to situate Goya within his epoch, which, for Matheron and his French audience, was defined by the French revolution. In the most recent biography, published in French in 1992 and translated into Spanish three years later, Jeannine Baticle embraced facts while telling a good story. Interpretation is intrinsic to a biography, although I hope here that I have successfully distinguished fact from inference.

The many discoveries since the publication of Baticle's biography justify a new consideration of Goya's life. The publication of a sketchbook used by the artist during his final months of an early trip to Italy and in years following his return to Spain in 1771 illuminated his artistic pursuits, his contacts in

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Italy, his children, and his investments. The re-edition in 2003 of Goya's letters to Martín Zapater presented significant research published since the first edition of 1982; this was expanded with the publication of the letters today in the Museo del Prado on the *Goya en el Prado* website. Documents filed before his marriage in 1773 and a book-length study of his youth and family in Zaragoza provide new knowledge of his formative years; the chronology of his illness in 1793 has been clarified; a will, written by his wife in 1801, offers a glimpse into Goya's family life and friends; a letter reveals Goya's concern for Leocadia Weiss following his death. With Goya, there will always be more to learn. *Aun aprendo.*

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