

THE TENSIONS OF ENLIGHTENMENT: GOYA

THE WORK OF FRANCISCO GOYA (1746–1828) expresses most vividly the revolution in art that occurred during the three decades following the political upheavals of 1789. Goya was indeed the archetypical artist of his age, whose alternatively triumphant and tormented life and art reveal both the dizzying freedoms and brutal coerciveness inaugurated by Enlightenment and revolution. Shaken and divided by the conflicting demands of patrons, by loyalty to the Spanish elite and *pueblo* alike, and by the shattering of previously secure divisions between public art and private desires, Goya, it could be argued, was paradigmatic in ushering in the epoch called Romanticism, which was, some argue, the first cultural expression of the modern age.

Just as an examination of Goya's complex genius may therefore shed light on the cultural crises that marked his age and influenced our own, so a consideration of the political turmoil of Goya's Spain can illuminate aspects of his art and the new global order that then emerged. A critical history of Goya in his times must therefore include consideration of the artist's life as well as the following developments: *nationalism*, which arose as the justification for, and the defense against, Imperial war; *guerilla* armies, formed in Spain to fight the invading armies of Napoleon in the name of the nation; and the *pueblo* (the people) who emerged as significant actors in the drama of historical change and *modernization*. All of these phenomena are the product of the struggles between Napoleonic France and its southern neighbor. No artist other than Goya was so intimately involved in these complex world-historical matters; no other man or woman suffered and expressed them so intensely or so conspicuously, yet survived and, in a sense, transcended them.

An introduction to the psychological and historical complexity of Goya's life and art is provided by a glance at two

self-portraits from his 1799 collection of satirical etchings and aquatints called *Los Caprichos* (*The Capriccios*), an album of 80 prints originally conceived in 1797: *Caprichos 1*, Frontispiece; and *Caprichos 43*, "El sueño de la razón produce monstruos" (The sleep of reason produces monsters"). The Frontispiece self-portrait reveals a cynical and disdainful artist, prosperous and wary, with doughy cheeks, puffy eyelids, and sharp eyes; he seems fully convinced of his own superiority and of the value of his many indictments of sin, stupidity, and corruption contained in the eighty ensuing plates. "The author's . . . intention," Goya wrote on the margin of a sheet containing a study for *Caprichos 43*, "is to banish harmful beliefs commonly held, and with this work of *caprichos* to perpetuate the solid testimony of truth." The Goya of *Capricho 1* is thus assertive, self-satisfied and confidently up-to-date. He is *ilustrado* (enlightened) Goya, *afrancesado* (Francophile) Goya, and elitist Goya; he is no fool and will just as surely suffer none.

The Goya of "El sueño," however, is very different. Recalling the distraught Brutus in David's painting of 1789 (see p. 26), the artist here is melancholic and frightened, unstable and lacking confidence; he has suffered the breakdown of his own reason and, perhaps, expects others to experience the same. The atmosphere of Goya's print is dark with foreboding: resting his head and arms on a pedestal or work table, the artist is accompanied by a cat (predatory symbol of the night) near his left shoulder, and surrounded by a swarm of mocking owls (symbols of folly) and bats (symbols of ignorance). The diagonal of Goya's body and crossed legs point toward an overlarge lynx—another creature of the night—whose crossed paws mimic the posture and hands of the artist. Unlike him, however, the lynx will remain on vigilant guard against the monsters of greed and stupidity.

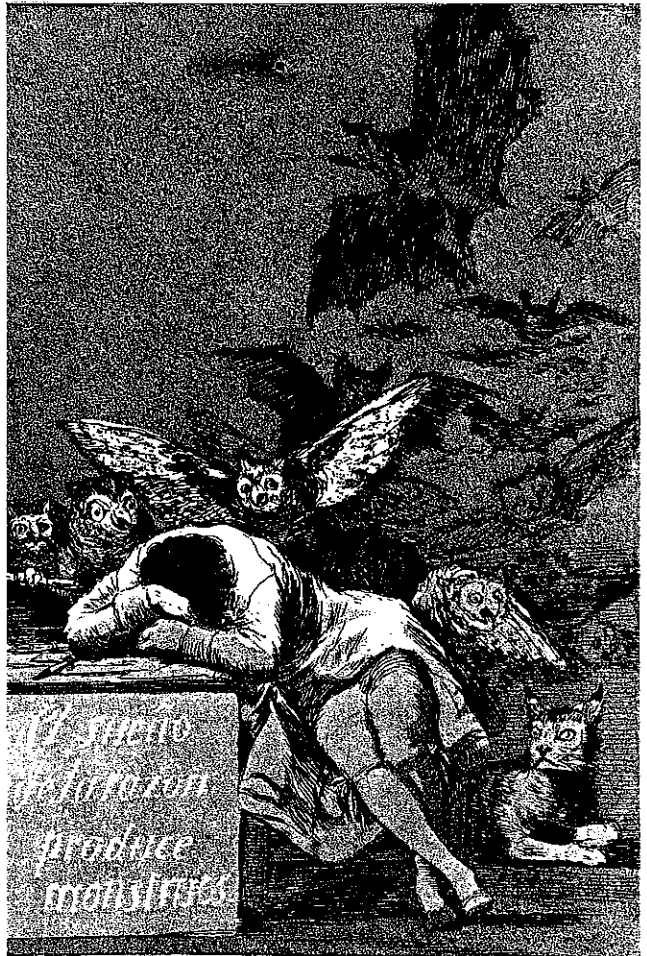
Placed at the beginning of the second part of the *Caprichos*, "El sueño" thus functions as a suitable introduction to a



*Fran.^{co} Goya y Lucientes
Pintor.*

72 FRANCISCO GOYA *Caprichos* 1 frontispiece, 1799. 8½ × 6 (21.9 × 15.2)

84 number of plates which mock lust, folly, and ignorance in the form of witches and demons, such as *Caprichos* 68, "Linda maestra!" ("A fine teacher!"). Yet it is by no means clear that the cloud of monsters that darkens Goya's self-portrait is that of popular ignorance, soon to be dispersed by the artist's satiric pen and sunlit powers of reason. Just as likely is it that Goya is reflecting upon the distressing antipodes of his own mind and upon the janus-face of Enlightenment itself. For in fact, the very creation of art in an age of Reason entailed a dangerous flirtation with madness. More than any previous period in history, the Enlightenment was a time when artists questioned the received ideas of absolutist politics and hierarchized religion, embracing in their stead new subject matter painted in innovative new styles. Desiring, however, to maintain the former emotional impact and historical stature of their work, artists were now required to exercise to the utmost their powers of independent invention and imagination—in effect to draw their art directly from their own psychic



73 FRANCISCO GOYA *Caprichos* 43 "El sueño de la razón produce monstruos" (The sleep of reason produces monsters") 1799. 8½ × 6 (21.6 × 15.2)

wellsprings. Where the violent or erotic narratives from ancient history and religion—the penitent Magdalen, the beheading of John the Baptist, the Bath of Diana, David with the head of Goliath—once served the purpose of safely channeling libidinal desire toward a socially sanctioned outlet, these same stories were now valued only insofar as they exposed the emotional depths of their human protagonists. Without the measured psychic release that these once revered narratives provided, the violence and eroticism that are part and parcel of the creative process (and which exist as the mirror of Enlightenment itself) were now liable to pour forth in a flood. The price to be paid for this artistic *genio* (genius), therefore, could be high indeed; in times of war, civic strife, or emotional distress, it could include madness. In the "Sleep of Reason," Goya announces that he is prepared to pay this price. Imagination, he claims, is wed to Nightmare; Science, he fears, resurrects Ignorance; Reason itself engenders Monsters. Goya's artistic vision in the *Caprichos* and his



74 FRANCISCO GOYA *Conde de Floridablanca* 1783.
81½ × 42 (207 × 106.7)

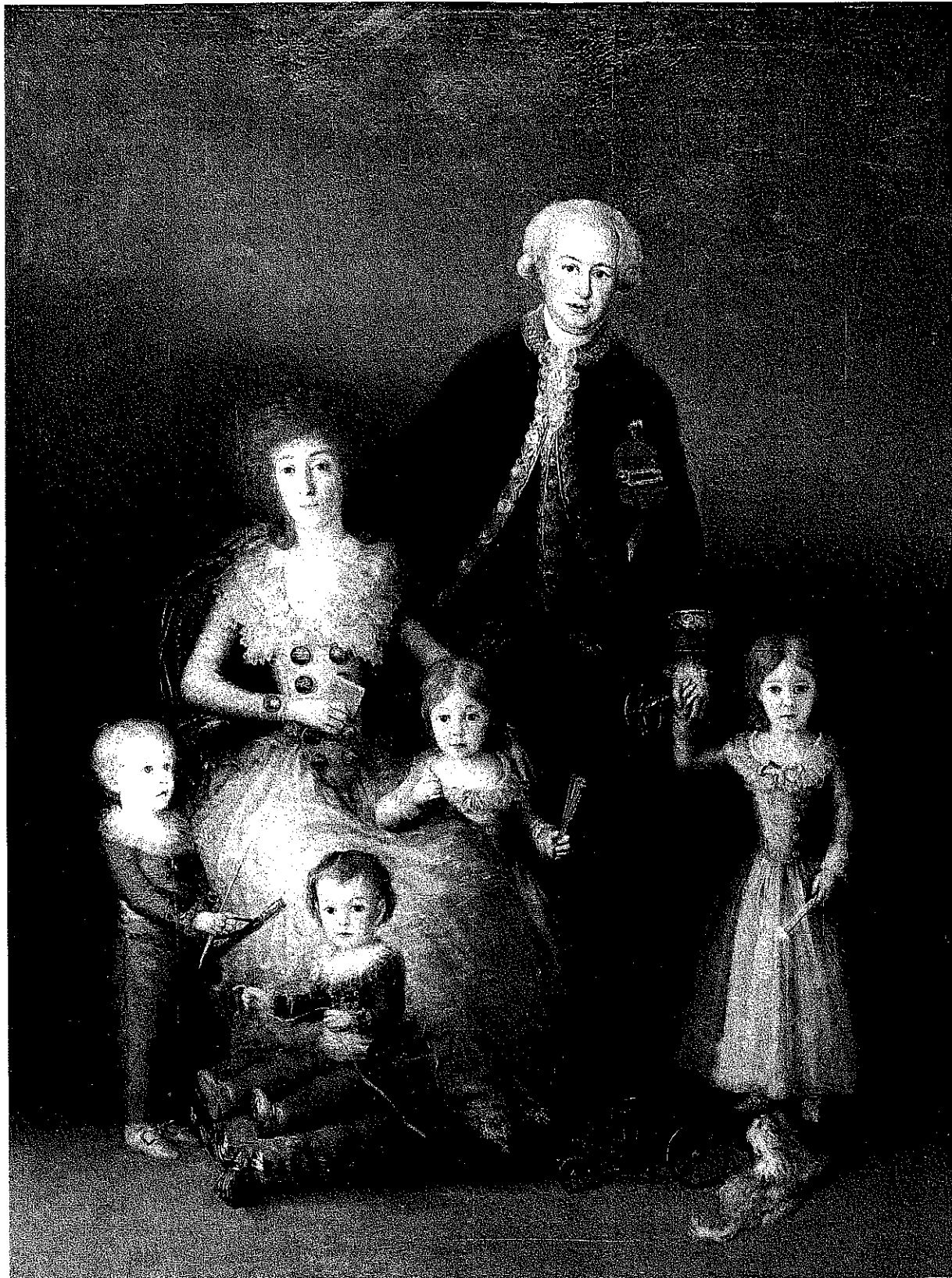
75 FRANCISCO GOYA *Charles IV and His Family*
1801. 9'2½ × 11'¼ (280 × 335.9)



subsequent art was dark, we shall discover, but prescient in its imagining of the modern century's union of Enlightenment and barbarism.

Goya was born near Saragossa in Aragón, Spain, some 75 miles from the French border; his father was a goldsmith and his mother a minor aristocrat. (These three facts of the artist's birth—proximity to enlightened France, and filial ties to both craftspersons and nobles—would fix the unique trajectory of his life and career.) After studying painting in Saragossa and Madrid, Goya traveled to Italy in 1770, remaining there for a little more than a year. His activities during this time are not fully known, though it is fairly certain that he spent at least several months in Rome, studying Classical statuary, as well as works by such Baroque masters as Domenichino and Reni. Back in Saragossa by mid-1771, Goya remained there (executing a few local religious commissions) until 1774, when he was summoned to Madrid by the Neoclassical painter Anton Raphaël Mengs to create designs for the Royal Tapestry Factory. For another two decades, Goya would continue to receive (what he increasingly saw as onerous) commissions for tapestry cartoons, while his career as a court portraitist and a religious painter blossomed. Among his important portraits from this time are *Conde de Floridablanca* (1783) and *The Family of the Infanta Don Luis* (1784); both are bold and innovative. Each possesses a dramatic *chiaroscuro* and a surprising informality, recalling at once the lighting of Jacob Van Honthorst and the composition of William Hogarth. Another artistic influence must immediately be mentioned, however: it was clearly Velázquez who presided over Goya's art historical pantheon. Goya's inclusion of

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76 FRANCISCO GOYA *The Family of the Duque de Osuna* 1788. $88\frac{3}{8} \times 68\frac{1}{2}$ (225.7 x 174)

75 himself in both of the above portraits—as well, of course, as in the later *Charles IV and His Family* (1801)—his embrace of spatial and compositional ambiguity, and most of all his psychological incisiveness, all remind us of Velázquez, the great master of the Spanish Baroque.

76 In recognition of Goya's talents as church and palace decorator and portraitist, he was appointed to the post of Pintor del Rey (Painter to the King) in 1786. Soon after, he painted *The Family of the Duque de Osuna* (1788), the very picture of the enlightened, noble Spanish family. Patron of the arts, sciences, and letters, president of the Madrid Economic Society, member of the Spanish Royal Academy and generous host of a *tertulia* (salon) attended by the most renowned artistic and intellectual *ilustrados* of Madrid, the Duque is seen posing informally beside the Duquesa and their children. Standing in an indeterminate space, he lists gently to one side, supported on his right by the back of his wife's carved-gilt armchair and balanced on his left by the hand of his eldest daughter. The obvious affective ties between the parents and children, and the fact that the two boys at the lower left are shown at play, reveal that the Duque and Duquesa were in fact advocates of the new French and Swiss pedagogical ideals which emphasized the special innocence of childhood and the important role of parents in the education of their children. The Osuna library is known to have contained the works of Rousseau, Voltaire, and the French Encyclopedists, and their friends included the satirist Ramón de la Cruz and the poet and dramatist Leandro Fernández Moratin, whose didactic works were thoroughly *afrancesado*, or French in inspiration. Indeed, the latter's mocking commentary on the proceedings of the 1610 witchcraft trial at Logroño (an important literary source for several works of Goya) was probably inspired by Voltaire's mockery of the Inquisition in *Candide* (1759).

By the end of the decade of the 1780's, the successful Goya was receiving more commissions than he could handle, including portraits for the new king, Charles IV, and his queen, María Luisa. He received as well additional tapestry and Church commissions, honors, titles, and wealth. After his appointment by Charles III to the post of Pintor del Rey, he proudly boasted to his friend Zapater, "Martin, boy, now I'm King's Painter with 15,000 *reales*!" Just three years later, in April 1789, he was promoted to the post of Pintor de Cámara (Court Painter) to Charles IV. In the following year he was elected to the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Carlos (Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Carlos, one of the most progressive art academies in Europe) and made an honorary member of the prestigious and enlightened Real Sociedad Aragonesa (Royal Society of Aragon). Goya's rise to fame and fortune, spurred by his own vaulting ambition as well as by a talent that rivaled his much-admired Velázquez, seemed unending. His friendships with Floridablanca, the Osunas,

and with the newly influential Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (author of a report on Spanish agriculture that became a veritable handbook for liberal reformers), among others, seemed to ensure that the artist's horizons would remain forever cloudless. Yet at this very moment, Goya's career was disrupted by the storms of the French Revolution.

In Spain the shock of 1789 and its aftermath essentially halted the pace of Enlightenment that had been accelerating since the beginning of the reign of Charles III (1759–88). The aim of the Reform King and his Prime Ministers, beginning with the Marquis of Esquilache (1759–66), was to modernize a country whose power and worldwide influence had fallen far behind that of its European rivals to the north. The population of Spain would need to be expanded, agriculture and the economy revived according to the new free-trade and agronomic principles of the French physiocrats, cities cleansed and rebuilt, and the power of the Church—especially its Holy Office of the Inquisition—curbed if not destroyed. Progress in each of these areas was often halting or slow; more than once the Holy Office aroused sufficient popular opposition to prevent important reforms. Yet despite these setbacks, and despite the extreme numerical inferiority of the *ilustrados* compared with the bloated population of the "useless classes" (nobility, clergy, and state bureaucracy), Enlightenment had made serious inroads in Spain by the time Charles III's reign ended: economic societies were formed, educational scholarships permitted ambitious students to study in France and England, and the proportion of the "unproductive classes" in the population was reduced by royal decrees and expropriations.

The extent of Spanish reform, however, like that of Bourbon France, was limited by royal dependence on the very classes whose power and wealth was to be curbed. The nobility and clergy were hardly likely to support modernizing themselves out of existence, and it is likely that Caroline reforms had reached their outer limits when the Revolution in France essentially put a stop to the whole enterprise. Reform, in any case, was one thing, revolution clearly another: even at its most farsighted, popular democracy had never been part of the Spanish Bourbon plan, nor the seizure of church properties, nor a Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, nor the regicide. Each succeeding French revolutionary event or initiative caused the Spanish monarchy and nobility to recoil; by late 1792 it was clear that the Spanish Enlightenment would have to be postponed. The former flood-tide of French publications would now be dammed at the border, French residents of Spain would be silenced, Spanish students in France would become exiles, and the Jesuit order and Inquisition would once more be given their head, all in an effort to extinguish the spread of the revolutionary *incendio*.

Spanish foreign and domestic policy was now in turmoil as valued allies became enemies and enemies friends; the longstanding treaty with France was in shreds and a hasty (and temporary) marriage of convenience was made with England. In the midst of the scramble in 1792, the 25-year-old Emmanuel Godoy—the King's favorite and the Queen's lover—was named First Secretary of State to the royal office. The king had chosen Godoy precisely for his youth and loyalty to the crown, but the selection shocked the conservative clergy as well as the enlightened reformers who saw in the appointment a return to the corruption and perversity that had marked the years of Spanish decadence. At the same time, the *afrancesados* were reeling from many other blows. Those *ilustrados* or *luces* (lights) who had once received royal support or sanction for their reformist ideas, now shrank from public view or switched sides. By early 1793, Spain and France were at war, and the *afrancesados* were torn between national loyalty and allegiance to the international torch of Enlightenment; Goya suffered in kind, and from 1792 to 1793 barely survived a grave illness which, when it was over, shook his confidence and mental stability and left him permanently deaf. For the next three decades Spain would be pitched forward and back in a torrent of revolution and reaction, international and civil war, military coups and popular insurgencies, and mad quests for a mythic national essence that could somehow give meaning to it all. Goya, born of the *pueblo* but now inextricably linked to the *ilustrados*, would witness and represent this paroxysm of national schizophrenia and violence.

As the *ilustrados* retreated in the face of attacks from church and crown, popular resentment toward new enlightened Spain began to gather strength as well. The *luces* had always been only a small fraction of a population that remained overwhelmingly poor and peasant; their proposals for "land reform" on the whole meant enclosure and capitalization of formerly common lands, and their ideas of democracy did not generally entail universal suffrage or radical redistribution of wealth. To the Spanish *pueblo*, therefore, the Enlightenment was largely an unwanted *afrancesado* affair that threatened to undermine the traditional and (marginally) sustaining life and culture that had been developed over the centuries. Thus an odd alliance was made between the *pueblo* and the forces of traditional conservatism—the crown, the clergy, and the entrenched civil servants—against the *ilustrados* who had sought to reform the organization of the state, its economy, and its educational system in the name of the very same *pueblo*. In Spain nationalism was at war with modernization.

The conservative union described above was inherently unstable (and the crises and violence it spawned would extend into the late twentieth century), but its effects were seen at all class levels and in all forms of cultural production. Thus, for



77 FRANCISCO GOYA *Queen María Luisa Wearing a Mantilla* 1799.
82½ × 51½ (210 × 130)

example, in the decade before and the two decades after the outbreak of war with France, there occurred a great revival of Spanish popular culture, with its theater of *duende* (ghosts or spirits), monsters and grotesques, and its legends of rebellious bandits, smugglers, bullfighters, and other *picaro* (rogue) types. Equally popular was the cult of the *majas* and *majos*. These proletarian aristocrats, or plebeian nobles, with their distinctive manners and dress, were quickly imitated by all strata of Spanish society, including the "true" aristocrats, who admired them for their presumed embodiment of the pure Castilian blood and spirit. Goya often depicted the hereditary nobility in the guise of *majas* and *majos*, including the artist's lover, the Duquesa de Alba, and the unknown model for the *Naked and Clothed Majas* (ca. 1798–1805), and even the Queen herself in *Queen María Luisa Wearing a Mantilla* (1799). The French Ambassador to Spain, J. F. de Bourgoing, offered a vivid description of the *majas* and *majos* in his 1788 account of his travels on the peninsula:

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78 FRANCISCO GOYA *Naked Maja*
ca. 1798–1805. 37 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 74 $\frac{1}{4}$ (94.9 × 189.9)



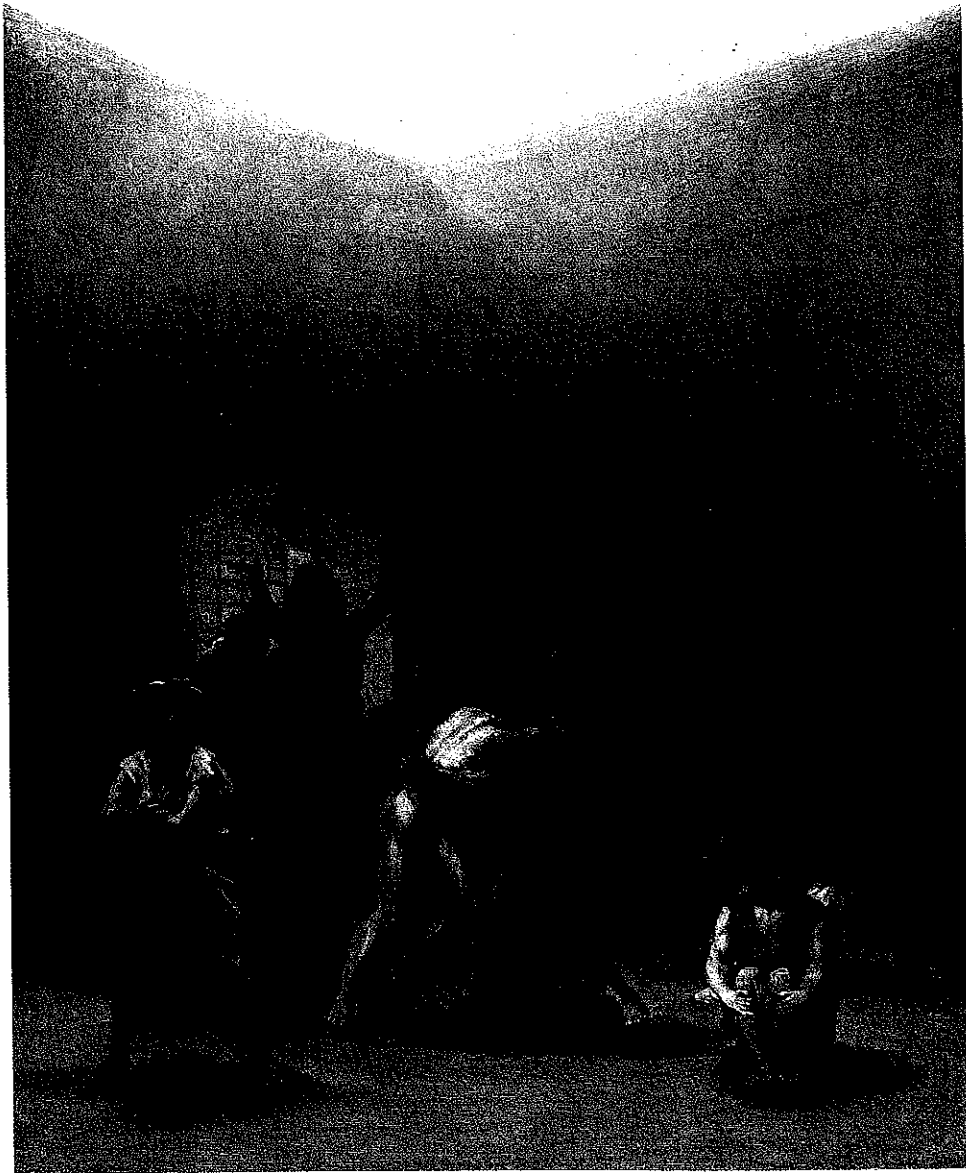
79 FRANCISCO GOYA *Clothed Maja*
ca. 1798–1805. 37 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 74 $\frac{1}{4}$ (94.9 × 189.9)

The Majos are beaux of the lower class, or rather bullies whose grave and frigid pomposity is announced by their whole exterior. . . . Their countenance, half concealed under a brown stiff bonnet, called *Montera*, bears the character of threatening severity, or of wrath, which seems to brave persons the most proper to awe them into respect, and which is not softened even in the presence of their mistress. . . . The Majas, on their parts . . . seem to make a study of effrontery. The licentiousness of their manners appears in their attitudes, actions and expressions; and when lewdness in their persons is clothed with every wanton form, all the epithets which admiration can inspire are lavished upon them. This is the disagreeable side of the picture. But if the spectator goes with a disposition, not very scrupulous, to the representations in which the Majas figure, when he becomes familiarized to manners very little conformable to the virtues of the sex, and the means of inspiring ours with favorable sentiments, he sees in each of them the most seducing priestess that ever presided at the altars of Venus. Their impudent affectation is no more than

a poignant allurements, which introduces into the senses a delirium that the wisest can scarcely guard against, and which, if it inspires not love, at least promises much pleasure.

Bourgoing's focus upon the bewitching eroticism of *Majism* was a rehearsal for the racist and sexist ideology of Orientalism that would soon erupt across Romantic Europe. Just as significantly, it clearly reveals the degree to which the aristocracy of both France and Spain underestimated the democratic and insurgent potential of their nations' working-class subcultures. As the art historian Francis Klingender has observed:

Majism, the frivolous imitation of the real majas and majos by the smart set, is a symptom of the *encanaillement* [keeping of bad company] of the court aristocracy who would have been wiser to conceal their degradation. When on the edge of the abyss the aristocracy has a curious habit of destroying its moral defenses by toying with the ideology of the enemy. Blind to the implications of the bourgeois



80 FRANCISCO GOYA *Courtyard with Lunatics* 1793-4. 17¼ × 12¼ (43.8 × 32.7)

cult of nature, the French nobility applauded the milkmaid fashion of Marie Antoinette, and the Spanish grandees were similarly heedless of the democratic roots of majism, when they perverted its moral freedom.

Soon, the *majas* and *majos* of Spain, the *sans-culottes* of France and the “free-born Englishmen” of Britain would wage *guerilla* wars (literally “little wars”), erect barricades or lead the clamor for a new democratic charter. *Majism* was thus

among the first of the subcultural styles that would play a powerful role in the drama of nineteenth-century culture and revolution and in the imaginations of the epoch’s most talented artists. Like such later phenomena as *flaneurie* (see p. 239), *Majism* was a fashion of dress and a style of life, and however ultimately contradictory its political filiations, it helped organize people into collectives able to act (for a time) with a single purpose. For artists such as Goya, without fixed class identity, and increasingly without the economic or

ideological security supplied by reliable religious and political patronage, subcultural style was a powerful attraction. Goya's frequent representation of *Majism*, in his portraits as well as in his tapestry cartoons (*The Picnic*, ca. 1778), thus represents more than a simple keeping abreast of fashion; it indicates a political and psychological identification with groups and individuals who exist on the margins of the ruling society.

78-9 Goya's *Naked and Clothed Majas* express more than the predominating aristocratic and exploitative vision of working-class sexuality as a species of exoticism. Indeed, painted for Godoy, the two *Majas* positively trumpet the *encanaillement* that was the eventual undoing of the upstart Prime Minister and putative nobleman. By its peculiar anatomical geography, the *Naked Maja* especially, ironically celebrates that "perversion [of] its moral freedom," as Klingender termed it, which marked the aristocratic reception of *Majism*. The model for the painting is unknown, but her face possesses a uniqueness as pronounced as her body's ordinariness. In fact, the key to the picture's irony lies in this lack of fit between head and body, an absence marked by the vague treatment of neck, shoulders, and hair. With her pubic region located directly in the center of the painting, she is an expression of that perfect and vulgar metonymy that substitutes an organ for a complete human being. Like the women in paintings by François Boucher and J.-H. Fragonard, she is given over completely and shamelessly to spectatorial consumption. Yet unlike them, as André Malraux has written, "she calls attention to the least physiological aspects of her sex, her personality." In Goya's *Naked Maja*, the masculinist objectification of female sexuality, and its psychological antidote, has "progressed" as far as it ever would in the nineteenth century. Later in France Gustave Courbet, Edouard Manet, and Paul Cézanne would all look back in fright and admiration at Goya's achievement, finding there just that unique combination of physical and psychological, or real and allegorical, that expressed the temper of modern life and sexual exchange.

To claim to see irony, or at least allegory, in what appears to be an exercise in pornography may seem to be overreading, but it must be remembered that at the very moment these paintings were conceived, Goya was lampooning Godoy and the epicurean excesses of the nobility in his drawings in the *Sanlúcar Album A* and *Madrid Album B* (1796-7), as well as in the *Caprichos*. Ultimately, the question of Goya's intentions here, like the question of specific parodic intent in the famous portrait of *Charles IV and His Family*, is probably unknow-
75 able, both because of the lack of relevant documents on the subject and because of the inherent difficulty of ever fully discerning artistic intention itself. Some things, however, can be asserted with confidence: as the decade closed, and the new century dawned, Francisco Goya represented with increasing frequency the *pueblo* as well as the grotesque and marginal

figures of Spanish popular culture—the *duende*, the witch, the monster, the donkey, and the *majas* and *majos*. As at once a man of the *pueblo* whose tastes ran to bullfighting and street festivals, and a man of the *ilustrados* eager, for example, to master and practise his French, Goya was clearly divided in his attitude toward refulgent nationalism (*costumbrismo*) and rationalism. Indeed, his shifting allegiance to both "popular" and enlightened Spain is compellingly revealed in an extraordinary sequence of works that begins with the *Courtyard with Lunatics* (1793-4), includes *The Witches' Sabbath* (1797-8) and the *Caprichos*, and culminates in the *Executions of the Third of May, 1808* (1814) and the *Disasters of War*. 80
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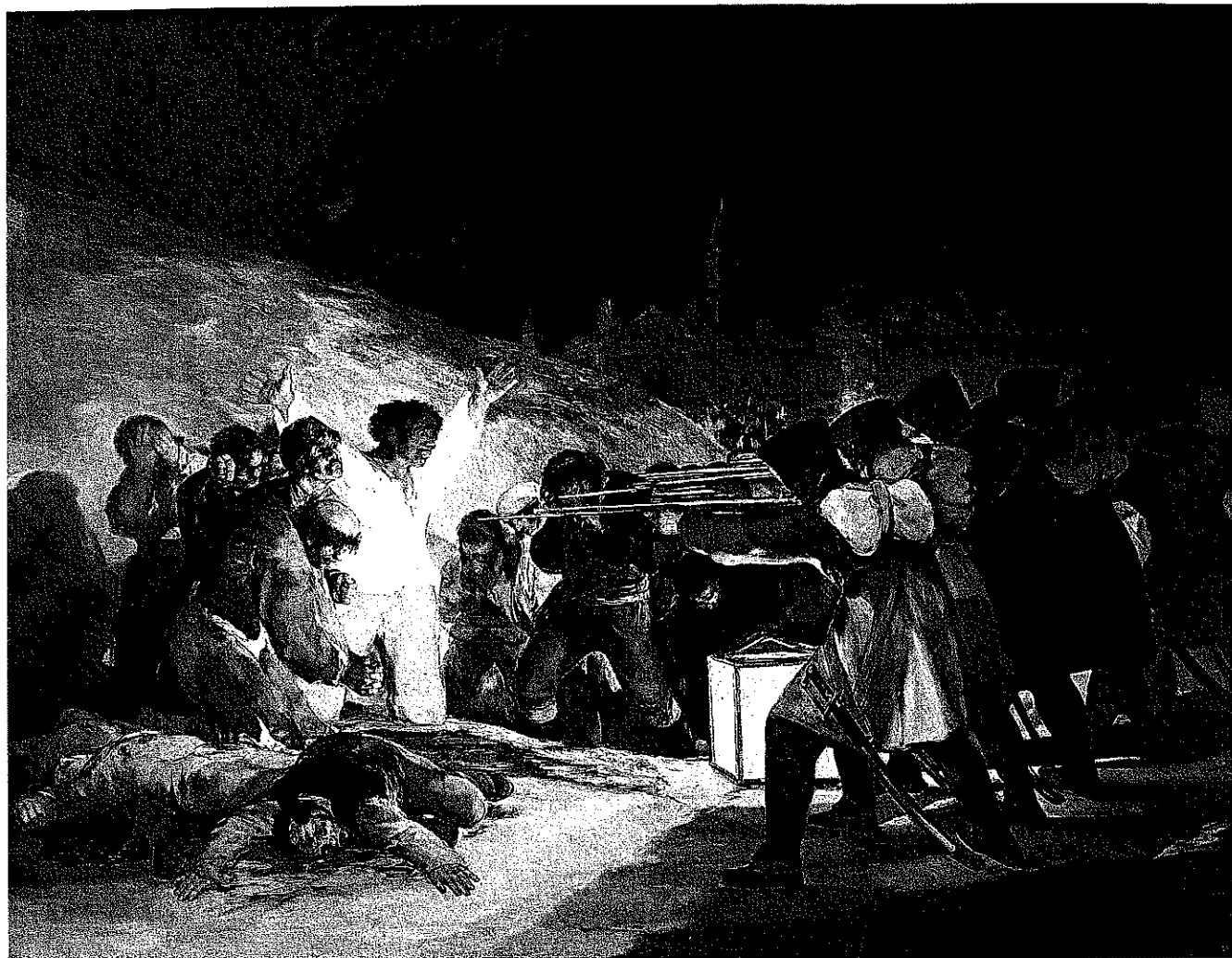
THE IMAGE OF THE PUEBLO: THE LATER ART OF FRANCISCO GOYA

Consideration of *Courtyard with Lunatics* must begin with an account of Goya's nearly contemporaneous physical and mental breakdown. A few weeks after France's declaration of war on Spain in March 1793, Goya's illness was discussed in a letter between his friends Martínez and Zapater: "the noise in his head and the deafness have not improved, but his vision is much better and he is no longer suffering from the disorders that made him lose his balance." The exact nature of Goya's illness is unknown, but the conclusion that it was at least worsened by the virulent political environment seems unavoidable. Now in self-imposed exile in Cadiz, Goya gradually recovered sufficient strength to return to his work and to Madrid, and by January 1794 had nearly completed a set of eleven small pictures painted on tin. Intending to submit the works to judges of the Academia de San Fernando, Goya wrote to his friend at the Academia, Bernardo de Iriarte: "In order to distract my mind, mortified by reflection on my misfortunes, and in order to recoup some of the expenses they have occasioned, I executed a series of cabinet pictures in which I have managed to make observations that commissioned works ordinarily do not allow, and in which fantasy and invention have no place." These eleven pictures of "fantasy and invention" inaugurate Goya's second career.

The works that have so far been identified with this group, of which *Courtyard with Lunatics* is certainly one, mark a profound change in Goya's art. Dark, dramatic, sometimes terrifying, Goya's new vision seems a century removed from the still Rococo refinement and wit of the tapestry designs and portraits created only a few years earlier. No longer merely representing the world of popular carnival, fantasy or nightmare, Goya has discovered instead how to create pictorial equivalences of these realms. "It was the discovery," Malraux has written, "of the very meaning of style; and at the same



81 FRANCISCO GOYA *The Knife Grinder* ca. 1808–12. 25 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 19 $\frac{3}{8}$ (65 × 50)



82 FRANCISCO GOYA *The Executions of the Third of May, 1808* 1814. 8'8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 11'3 $\frac{1}{4}$ " (266 \times 344.8)

time, of the peculiar strength of painting, of the power of a broken line or the bringing together of a red and a black over and above the demands of the object represented." *Courtyard* does not offer an operative representation of madness, as we find in the *Carceri* (prisons) engravings of the Italian G. B. Piranesi, or a conversation-piece madness as we discover in Hogarth's engraving of "The Madhouse" for *A Rake's Progress* (both of which were probably seen by Goya in the collection of Martínez), but instead an imaginary and horrifying vision of the loneliness, fear, and *anomie* engendered by mental illness and social alienation. Occupying the foreground of a courtyard sealed off by heavy masonry blocks and an iron gate at the rear, a dozen "patients" and a single warden sit, stare, posture, implore, grimace, wrestle, or discipline themselves. The top of the picture is evaporated by sunlight, rendering all the more monstrous the nightmarish scene below.

There can be little doubt that Goya intended his picture as an indictment of the widespread punitive treatment of insanity. Until the reforms instigated by E. J. Georget in France and Samuel Tuke in England in the late 1810's, the insane had generally been confined with criminals, the sick, and the indigent in vast warehouse asylums such as Salpêtrière in Paris, and the hospital of Bethlehem (Bedlam) in London. Inmates at these institutions usually received no treatment whatsoever, but were put in iron manacles or subjected to physical punishment and back-breaking labor. The purpose of this irrational-seeming generalized confinement was in equal parts economic and political. During periods when labor was in short supply, asylums provided a large ready pool of workers whose gross exploitation had the added advantage of depressing the salaries of those on the outside; during periods when labor was abundant, asylums absorbed great numbers of the unemployed, keeping them

subdued and under watch. The political, or ideological, purpose of confinement is perhaps harder to pinpoint precisely, but the philosopher Michel Foucault has plausibly argued that it was intended for the chastisement of the "immorality of the unreasonable" and for fending off the revolutionary threat—represented by madness—of absolute political and personal freedom.

Indeed, to an enlightened generation that extolled the virtues of *liberté*, the reform of prisons and asylums was an essential goal. The subject was common in the writings of Beccaria, Voltaire, and Condorcet, among others, and was surely a frequent topic for discussion in the enlightened *tertulia* in which Goya moved. Condemnation of brutality toward prisoners—criminals and the insane—was explicitly the subject of a number of Goya's later paintings and drawings as well as the subject of works by the English artists Francis Wheatley and George Romney and the French Théodore Géricault. Goya's small painting, in which the light of reason above is shown exposing or disinfecting the brutality of prejudice below, thus seems fully consistent with *afrancesado* ideology. Yet like *Capricho 43*, "The Sleep of Reason," there is in *Courtyard with Lunatics* an oppressive sense of foreboding and despair, especially in the standing and seated figures in the left and right foreground; there is also a sense of sadism, as if Goya and we were among those spectators at Bethlehem or Charenton who paid a penny or a *sous* for the privilege of watching the mad behave like animals in a menagerie the better to reassure us of our own reason. Goya was probably just such a witness at Saragossa, where he claimed in a letter to Iriarte to have watched the above performance. How uncertain of his own reason must Goya have been to watch such a scene! How he must have recoiled at his own pleasure to paint such a picture!

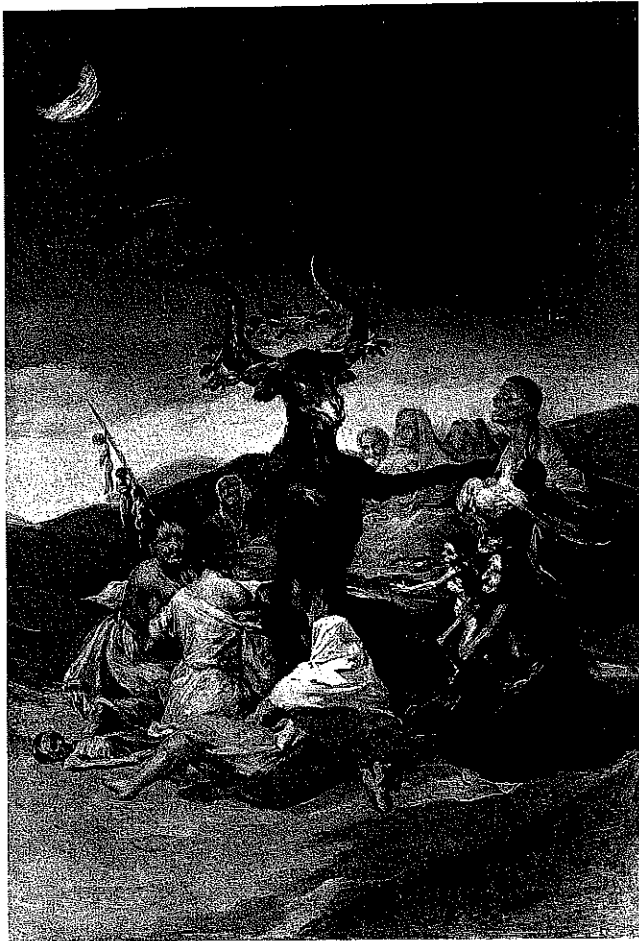
Goya's growing ambivalence toward Enlightenment and attraction to the dark Spain of popular culture and superstition is equally apparent in *The Witches' Sabbath* and *Caprichos 68*, "A Fine Teacher!" Both are coarse, vulgar, and grotesque in subject and execution and thus a far cry from the refinement and wit that are the usual tokens of Enlightenment culture. Both are at once satires and celebrations of the new popular penchant for witchcraft and the licentiousness it betokened. *The Witches' Sabbath* (1797–8) is one of six paintings on the subject of witchcraft commissioned by the Duquesa de Osuna for the bedroom of her country house. In the center of the small canvas appears a seated he-goat or devil crowned with vine leaves. Encircled by young and old witches, he conducts his service with raised cloven hooves while receiving offerings of live children from the two witches on the right, and dead children from the witches on the left. The light from a crescent moon at the upper left casts a phosphorescent blue pall over the macabre landscape, while a

half dozen circling bats are seen in silhouette. Goya's painting may have been derived from a discussion of witchcraft in Moratín's satiric account of the seventeenth-century *auto da fé* (execution of the judgment of the Inquisition) of Lograño, but numerous other popular sources were available. Particularly relevant here was the widespread and longstanding association of witchcraft with female sexual freedom, a tradition summarized by Moratín when he wrote: "The he-goat was a very respectable personality in Antiquity, and much esteemed by women for his fine *prendas* [jewels or endowments]." The beast's bountifulness is in fact revealed by his long horns and by the visual pun created by the agitated yellow shawl at his loins. Created during a brief interlude of relative self-confidence among the *ilustrados*, Goya's satirical painting indulges the artist's broad *pueblo* humor while also, perhaps, alluding to a decadent regime overseen by a cuckold for a king and a gigolo for a Prime Minister. Such self-assured wit and irony would become rare for Goya in the new century; it would gradually be replaced by helpless negation and gall.

The condemnation of sexual license and corruption apparent in *The Witches' Sabbath* and the five other paintings created in 1797–8 for the Duquesa de Osuna, becomes more rancorous and more complex in *Los Caprichos*. On February 6, 1799 there appeared the following notice in the *Diario de Madrid*, announcing the publication of a "collection of prints of extravagant subjects, invented and etched by Francisco Goya."

The author is convinced that censuring human errors and vices—although it seems the preserve of oratory and poetry—may also be a worthy object of painting. As subjects appropriate to his work, he has selected from the multitude of stupidities and errors common to every civil society, and from the ordinary obfuscations and lies condoned by custom, ignorance or self interest, those he has deemed most fit to furnish material for ridicule, and at the same time to exercise the author's imagination.

Despite the artist's disclaimer, it is clear that these *Caprichos*, which went on sale on February 19 at the modest cost of 4 *reales* each, were specifically intended to ridicule the cupidity, licentiousness, and superstition of modern Spain and not simply "every civil society." Indeed, Goya's contemporaries embraced the work both as a kind of *roman à clef*, in which the ruling troika—Godoy, Maria Luisa, and the King—among others, were particularly lampooned, and as a broader indictment of official corruption, *Majism*, witchcraft, and a rampant Inquisition. The Duque and Duquesa de Osuna were smart to purchase four sets before publication; just two days after their appearance, the albums were withdrawn from sale, probably because of a threat from the Holy Office.



83 FRANCISCO GOYA *The Witches' Sabbath* 1797-8. 17½ × 12¼ (44 × 31)

85 *Los Caprichos*, we have already seen, is at least superficially the product of *ilustrado* ideology. *Caprichos* 50, "Los Chinchillas" ("The Chinchillas"), depicts two figures being spoon-fed by a third. The two have closed eyes, padlocks over their ears and are wrapped in coats which resemble noble coats of arms; the reclining figure at the bottom clutches a rosary, while the one at the right grips a sword as he is fed by the middle figure with blindfold and donkey's ears. This latter jackass obtains his delicious gruel from the great two-handled cauldron in the center of the print. As with many of Goya's *Caprichos*, "The Chinchillas" is both allegorical and literary: in the former sense, it is awkward and unnaturalistic, recalling the plates in such iconographic encyclopedias as the famous *Iconologia* (1593) of Cesare Ripa; in the latter sense, it has an anecdotal character that suggests a larger narrative context. Indeed, the specific literary origin of *Caprichos* 50 is found in a popular comedy of manners by José de Cañizares that satirized the ignorance and pomposity of its noble protagonist, Lucas de Chinchilla. In his print, as in the play, Goya

expresses the view that nobles who are preoccupied with their own aristocratic genealogy (symbolized by their oversized coats of arms) are blind (eyes closed) and deaf (ears padlocked) to understanding, accepting only the food of Ignorance (represented with blindfold and donkey ears). One contemporary explanation of "The Chinchillas" ran as follows: "Fools that pride themselves on their nobility surrender to indolence and superstition, and they seal off their understanding with padlocks whilst they are grossly fed by Ignorance." Despite its ready readability, however, Goya's image is not a straightforward allegory of the value of Enlightenment over Ignorance or aristocratic decadence; as with his *Courtyard* painting and "The Sleep of Reason," "Los Chinchillas" appears to embrace aspects of the very darkness and superstition it otherwise condemns: the disturbing face of Ignorance who wields his spoon like a dagger, the grotesquely pastiched bodies of the "nobles," and finally the oppressive weight created by the aquatinting of the upper half of the plate, all suggest the nightmare world of unreason—of the madhouse—more than the enlightened satiric theatre of Cañizares. In Goya's *Caprichos*, in other words, it is often hard to determine whether the artist deplores or delights in his disturbing subject matter.

A similar ambiguity is apparent in an earlier print in the series, *Caprichos* 10, "El amor y la muerte" ("Love and Death") 86 which ridicules the exaggerated pride and bravado of *Majism*. A mortally wounded *majo*, sword at his feet, collapses in the embrace of his lover. Their faces are pressed together in pain and anguish, as a dark cloud above seems poised to descend upon and envelop them; all the chivalric romance of dueling has been chilled in the cold night of death. Here as elsewhere in the *Caprichos*, Goya ridicules the foolishness or self-destructiveness of the popular classes in a clear expression of *ilustrado* ideology. Yet it must at the same time be noted that however critical he is of them, it is the *pueblo*, and not the elites of Spain, that have now become Goya's preoccupation. Moreover, for all the bourgeois moralizing in "Love and Death," the man and woman are depicted with extraordinary sympathy and pathos. The same sympathy is found in *Caprichos* 42, "Tu que no puedes" ("You who cannot"), in which two members of the *pueblo* are burdened by asses perched on their back, and in *Caprichos* 52, "Lo que puede un 87 sastre!" ("What a tailor can achieve!"), in which a pious crowd kneels in worship before a tree that is draped to resemble a cowled monk. This latter image mocks popular belief in miracles and witchcraft, but the focus is clearly on the reverence and awe of the kneeling woman in the foreground; it is her psychology that is compelling, just as it is the *maja's* expression of mourning in "Love and Death" that provides the image its drama and conviction. In the hands of Goya, the *pueblo* make their first heroic appearance in the visual record



84 FRANCISCO GOYA *Caprichos* 68 "Linda maestra!" ("A fine teacher")
1799. $8\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ (21.3 x 15)



85 FRANCISCO GOYA *Caprichos* 50 "Los Chincillas" ("The Chincillas")
1799. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{8}$ (20.8 x 15.1)



86 FRANCISCO GOYA *Caprichos* 10 "El amor y la muerte" ("Love and
Death") 1799. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ (21.8 x 15.3)



87 FRANCISCO GOYA *Caprichos* 52 "Lo que puede un sastre!" ("What a
tailor can achieve!") 1799. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ (21.7 x 15.2)

of European culture: they are not types, but individuals, and thus are not consistent, but contradictory, not passive but active—indeed at times revolutionary.

Goya's embrace of the *pueblo*—suggested in the tapestry cartoons and witchcraft paintings but first clearly revealed by the *Caprichos*—soon after became a dominant theme in his art. This orientation, it must be acknowledged however, was the result of economic circumstance as well as political conviction and emotional temperament: after 1801, the artist's public and private sources of patronage began to dry up. Goya's close ties with the court were largely severed after the completion of the portrait of the family of Charles IV, perhaps because of dissatisfaction with the portrait, but more likely because of a renewed campaign against the *ilustrados*. The liberal prime minister Urquijo was deposed and jailed in 1801 at the same time that the great *ilustrado* Jovellanos himself was exiled and then imprisoned. Other shocks soon followed: in 1802, the Duquesa de Alba died suddenly, followed a year later by Goya's great friend Zapater. By 1805, Goya's distance from his former noble patrons was increased still further by virtue of his son's marriage into a prominent family of Saragossa merchants, and by his own friendship with Leocadia Zorrilla, an articulate and fierce opponent of absolutism who would later become Goya's companion. From this moment on, Goya depicted the Spanish bourgeoisie (a rare and threatened species in Spain), and increasingly the *pueblo*. In great canvases such as *The Water Carrier* and *The Knife Grinder* (ca. 1808–12), and especially in the almost innumerable drawings and prints, Goya portrayed proletarians, beggars, prisoners and their victimizers—the hereditary nobility, soldiers, and clergy. In the last two decades of his life, Goya would focus upon the *pueblo* while recording his private reflections and fears concerning the horror of the War of Spanish Independence (1808–14) and its destructive aftermath.

81
89–93
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The Goya of the *Disasters of War* (ca. 1810–20), the *Executions of the Third of May, 1808* (1814), and the “Black Paintings” (ca. 1820–23) is very different from the artist who once painted tapestry cartoons and portraits. Whereas the earlier artist was a public figure who recorded, however presciently, the appearance of the leading men and women of his time, the later artist was a private man who represented the unknown and unheralded *pueblo*; whereas the earlier painter drew upon an existing vocabulary of religious, political, and moral verities, the later painter had no such secure foundations; and finally, whereas the earlier Goya directed his art to an audience he knew and whose expectations he could predict, the later Goya painted, drew, and etched for no audience of whom he could be certain, or for one from which he had more reason to expect punishment than reward. Isolated and vulnerable, independent and experimental—it may be said, in short, that the later Goya experienced and represented the

alienation which the Romantics and indeed all modern artists would both suffer and enjoy. For perhaps the first time in history, a major public artist—Goya had been designated First Court Painter in 1799—withdraw to the confines of his own insights and imagination in order to create an essentially private art intended to please or succor himself alone. When his art was exhibited, we shall see, it was largely ignored or disdained; Goya's greatest reknown would be achieved after his death.

We have noted some of the political and cultural transformations that created the conditions for Goya's alienation—the conflict in Spain between Enlightenment and traditional culture, the ideological struggle among aristocratic, bourgeois, and popular classes over the question of national identity, or “Spanishness,” the economic and political turmoil generated by the Revolution in France, and the slow demise of an artistic tradition based upon shared beliefs and standards of excellence. Yet, until 1808, Goya remained a more or less passive, more or less aloof, observer and recorder of this turmoil and these events. His art, we have seen, was insightful, complex, and perhaps even keenly dialectical, but it was still generally the dispassionate product of that cynical regard seen in the frontispiece self-portrait from the *Caprichos*. After 1808, however, the Goya of the arched brow and curled lip was no more; like David in France after 1792, or Courbet in 1870–71, Goya was now a participant in, and a victim of, the earthquake of war and revolution. The public artist and the private man could now no longer be separated.

In 1808, widespread revulsion for the corrupt court of Charles IV and especially for the intrigues of his minister Godoy, led to the abdication of the King and the crowning of his son, Ferdinand VII. In 1807 Napoleon, in pursuit of his policy of isolating England from the rest of Europe, had seized the opportunity to occupy the Iberian Peninsula and in May 1808 placed his brother Joseph Bonaparte on the throne of Spain. Appealing to *ilustrado* and *pueblo* alike, the new French monarch immediately proclaimed a policy of national regeneration, modernization, secularization, and Enlightenment. Distrustful, however, of such *afrancesado* reforms when put forward under successive Caroline regimes, the plebeians of Madrid and elsewhere were certainly not going to accept the dictates of the hated French invaders. Thus, on May 2 and 3, 1808, the *madrileños* rose up in arms against the French and their mercenaries in defense of Ferdinand VII and Spanish independence. Within days the uprising in the city was crushed, but the war had migrated across the countryside in a bloody and confused *guerilla* conflict that would last for six years until the surrender of Joseph Bonaparte and the restoration of the Spanish monarchy.

Goya's great *Executions of the Third of May, 1808*, like its companion *The Second of May*, was paid for by the Crown and



88 FRANCISCO GOYA *The Uprising of the Second of May, 1808* 1814. 8'9 × 11'4½ (266.7 × 345.8)

painted in 1814. It was intended as a testimonial to the courage and suffering of the Spanish *pueblo*. Amid a huddle of people and bodies, a man in white with arms outstretched is faced by a phalanx of executioners. His eyes show fear and resignation as he awaits the same bloody end as befell those of the *pueblo* sprawled obscenely in the dirt in front of him. Although he has company, he is alone this night on the hill of Príncipe Pío on the outskirts of Madrid; like Christ on the hill of Golgotha, he bears the stigmata and is illuminated in death by an unearthly light. The colors and light in the picture are coarse and garish as Goya continues to experiment with "the very meaning of style," with the metaphorical relationship between, for example, paint and blood, darkness and fear, illumination and pathos. All of the artist's subtle skills of composition, coloring, and characterization are marshaled here in order to expose and consecrate the martyrdom of the *pueblo* at the hands of faceless and pitiless French centurions.

In evaluating the meaning of Goya's *Executions*, it must be remembered that it was painted in 1814 after the restoration of Ferdinand VII and the arrest, expulsion or imprisonment of the Spanish *afrancesados* and *liberales*, many of whom counted among the artist's friends. Goya himself had tried to flee Spain in 1812 and two years later was hauled before the restored Inquisition to explain his "obscene" *Naked and Clothed* 78-9 *Majas* and to undergo a lengthy "purification." His request to the Council of Regency early in 1814 for an allowance to paint the *Second* and *Third of May* was therefore clearly an effort to get back in official good graces by painting pictures that could provide a dramatic justification for the recently concluded war, and sanction for the restored regime of Ferdinand. In order to regain his good name and position, Goya would represent the nightmarish chaos of the previous six years as a coherent battle of the *pueblo* against atheist invaders in the name of Church and King.



89 FRANCISCO GOYA *The Disasters of War 26* "No se puede mirar" ("One can't look") ca. 1810–20. $5\frac{3}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ (14.4 × 21)

The story of the War of Spanish Independence was not, of course, so simple, but neither were Goya's pictures very convincing as propaganda. The initial uprising of the *pueblo* was anti-elite as well as anti-imperialist, and the conflict became quickly fragmented and radicalized. *Guerilla* bands and *juntas* of "right" and "left" were formed in efforts either to repel "godless" *liberales* or to install a new secular and popular democratic constitution. A liberal constitution was indeed passed by a Cadiz government in exile in 1812, but in the context of national civil war, it had little significance or effect; it was quickly overturned when Ferdinand returned to power. Thus Goya's *Executions of the Third of May*, for all its realistic horror, was an effort to provide a mythic integrity to the Spanish war by exalting the heroism and sacrifice of the *pueblo*. In this function, it may be compared with David's *Intervention of the Sabine Women*, painted at the conclusion of another extended period of civil conflict and international war and likewise intended to unify an audience behind an undemocratic regime. Yet unlike David's, Goya's painting did not bring its author wealth and renewed acclaim. Goya's *Executions* was perhaps too frank in its representation of

national sacrifice, too sincere in its pathos, too literal in its equivalence of flesh, blood, and paint. Indeed, the *pueblo* themselves embodied the contradictoriness of Goya's enterprise: though they welcomed in 1814 the restoration of the rule of Church and Crown (chanting in the streets of Madrid, it is said, "Long live our chains!"), the same *pueblo* was often a source of profound social radicalization. Perhaps the *pueblo* and the war itself (like the U.S. war against Vietnam) were thus simply inconducive to heroic and propagandist representation. In any case, upon its completion, the picture was quickly secreted in the Prado basement, not to be seen or even acknowledged for two generations.

If *The Executions of the Third of May, 1808* was Goya's public, righteously indignant response to French imperialism, the *Disasters of War* was his private, ambivalent response. Drawn and engraved between 1810 and about 1820, these plates could not be published in Goya's lifetime due to their emotional intensity and political and moral ambiguity; except for a small number of artist's proofs, the *Disasters* only appeared in 1863, some thirty-five years after Goya's death. When they were conceived in 1808, however, they were

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90 FRANCISCO GOYA *The Disasters of War 2* "Con razon ó sin ella" ("Whether Right or Wrong") ca. 1810-20. 6¼ × 8 (15.5 × 20.5)

91 FRANCISCO GOYA *The Disasters of War 79* "Murió la verdad" ("Truth is dead") ca. 1810-20. 7 × 8½ (17.5 × 22)

92 FRANCISCO GOYA *The Disasters of War 80* "Si reucitaría?" ("If she were to rise again?") ca. 1810-20. 7 × 8½ (17.5 × 22)

93 FRANCISCO GOYA *The Disasters of War 84* "La seguridad de un reo no exige tormento" ("The custody of a criminal does not call for torture") ca. 1810-20. 4½ × 3¾ (11.5 × 8.5)



intended, like the *Executions*, to be a public display of patriotism and nationalist zeal. Their genesis is as follows: within months of the outbreak of hostilities, Goya was called upon by General Palafox to travel to his native Saragossa "to see and examine," the artist wrote, "the ruins of that city in order to illustrate the glories of its citizens, from which I cannot excuse myself as I am so much interested in the glory of my native land." Goya thus accepted the commission, made the hazardous journey to Saragossa, and began to make the oil sketches and drawings that served as preparation for the prints he called *The Terrible results of the bloody war in Spain against Bonaparte. And other emphatic caprichos*, but which are known today as the *Disasters of War*. Far from representing heroic resolve and singularity of purpose, however, these prints express revulsion at the horror and brutality of war. They expose the savagery of the *pueblo* as well as the French and condemn the Spain of the restoration as much as the regime of Bonaparte.

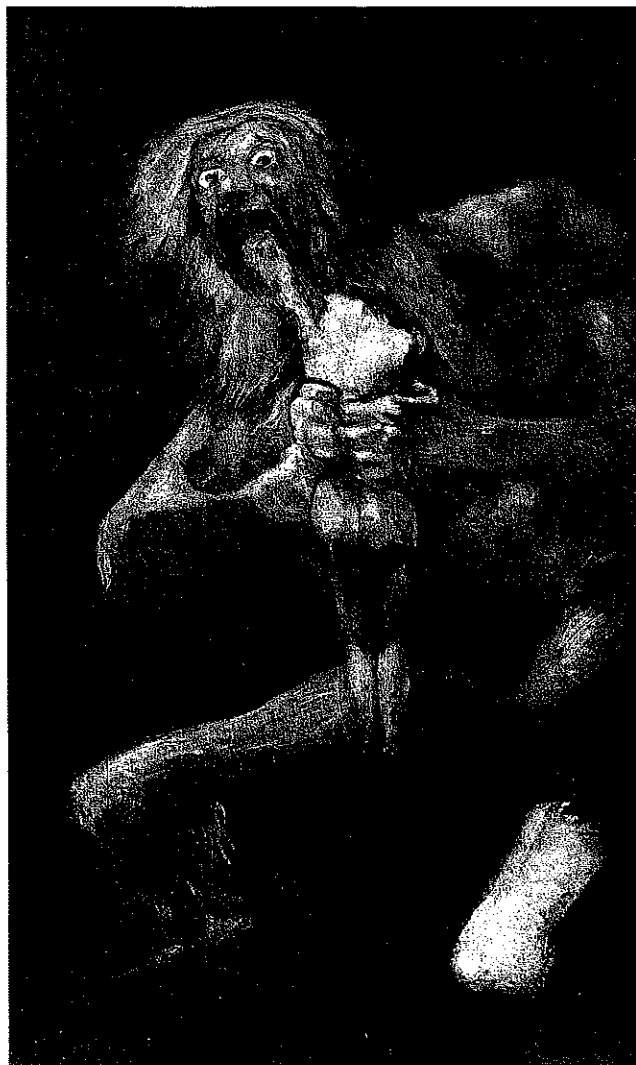
The 82 plates of the *The Disasters* may be generally divided into three groups which depict: the victims and horrors of war (plates 2-47), famine, death, and burial (plates 48-64), and "*caprichos enfáticos*" (literally, "emphatic capriccios," plates 65-80), that is, nightmares and scenes of corrupt clerics, monsters, and grotesques. Most of *The Disasters* were completed by 1814, but a few, especially from the third group, were probably made during the period of monarchical reaction and Inquisitorial virulence after 1814 but before the liberal coup of 1820. Among the prints of the first group are 90 *Disasters 2*, "Con razón ó sin ella" ("Whether right or wrong") and *Disasters 3*, "Lo mismo" ("The same"), both of which, significantly, show the Spanish attacking the French with axes, pikes, knives, and even teeth. *Disasters 26*, "No se puede mirar" ("One can't look"), undoubtedly a model for 89 *The Executions of the Third of May, 1808*, reverses the brutality and shows the French pitilessly slaughtering the *pueblo*; it also offers a particularly vivid example of Goya's use of brief captions both to illuminate and undermine the meaning of his images. Spanish men, women, and children are gathered in a cave in order to be shot. They beg, crawl, cover their faces, and turn their backs to the executioners at whom they cannot bear to look. Their killers are visible to us only by the ends of their rifle barrels and bayonets jutting in from the right margin; they cannot be seen. Are such horrors as these appropriate subjects for art, suitable vehicles for esthetic pleasure; should one look at them? "One can't look" and yet one must see the brutality and senselessness of war. *Disasters 28 and 29* again reverse the polarity of horror and show the *pueblo* torturing and killing a single victim, a bourgeois who is probably also an *afrancesado*, and thus a "traitor" to Spain. And so the horrors compound in image after image—shootings, stabbings, famine, rape, and death.

Among the plates from the final group of "*caprichos enfáticos*" are the bleak *Disasters 79 and 80*, "Murió la verdad" 91-2 ("Truth is dead") and "Si reucitaría?" ("If she were to rise again?"). These depict the burial of a young woman (perhaps an allegory of the Constitution) by a rabble of grotesque clerics, and the same woman, unburied, perhaps in a state of decomposition. In the first print, her body emits strong beams of light, emblem of reason and truth; in the second, her light is dimmed along with her youth and beauty. Probably conceived in 1819, during the bleak nadir of the *ilustrados* and *liberales*, these plates express the pathos and alienation of one who has seen the collapse of Reason and yet who remains condemned forever to hope. The very last images that Goya intended for his *Disasters* (though not included in the posthumous edition of 1863), reveal a similarly poignant dialectic. They show chained and tortured prisoners, recalling the world of *Courtyard with Lunatics* and the *Caprichos*. Like these earlier works, *Disaster 84*, "The custody of a criminal does not call for 93 torture," expresses the reforming zeal of the *ilustrado*; yet unlike them, there is no irony, or satire, or even the prayer of Enlightenment. The prisoner is slumped and manacled, crushed between the margins of this small plate as between prison walls. Goya undoubtedly saw or heard of such tortures during the period of Spanish guerilla war and French "counter insurgency" between 1810 and 1814. He would see or hear of them again in 1814-15, and again during the period of White Terror unleashed against popular radicalism and the *liberales* after the second restoration of Ferdinand in 1823-4. Fearing such a fate for himself, the aged artist left Spain for France in 1825 and died there, in relative peace, three years later. The reason Goya's despair was so great was that he had seen the barbarism of Enlightenment itself in the person of Napoleon as well as the defeat of Enlightenment by Spain.

The works of Goya's last decade are not uniformly bleak. They include several portraits, religious paintings, the robust and experimental *Bordeaux Milkmaid* (1825-7), and a small number of lithographs, a new medium for the artist. Most remarkable and perplexing, however, are the so-called "Black Paintings" created to decorate the walls of two rooms of his suburban Madrid residence, the Quinta del Sordo (Deaf Man's House) between 1820 and 1823. Painted during a brief constitutionalist interlude, these frescos (now transferred to canvas) cannot, however, be considered confident celebrations of revived truth and reason. They are primarily grotesque or macabre, and any allegorical or satiric content they may possess is extremely recondite, and was so to its earliest viewers. *Saturn Devouring His Children* and *The Sabbath* may, like the *Caprichos*, allude to the violence and superstition of the Inquisition, but now without the spirit of reform. Nightmarish and even lurid, these are private images, lacking public purpose, lacking even an audience apart from 94

the artist himself, his son, his companion Leocadia, and the few surviving friends courageous enough to visit the home of an ancient *ilustrado* reprobate. Given the dark emotional timbre of these fourteen paintings, the question must arise: is Goya any longer an artist of the Enlightenment?

The "Black Paintings," like the late *Disasters*, were created by Goya for himself during an epoch when reason slept. Disdaining public meanings, conventional forms, and scrutable iconography, Goya appears to have lost, or anyway abandoned, his reason in the Black Paintings. They are painted with unprecedented boldness and breadth and are alternately sober and shrill in their coloration. Yet there is a logic to these and to the other, less disturbed late works of Goya, such as the *Milkmaid* or the many drawings of the French popular classes from *Album G* (1824–6). The historian Gwyn Williams detected it when he wrote: "As for the grotesque, the maniacal, the occult, the witchery, they are precisely the product of the sleep of *human* reason; they are *human* nightmares. *That these monsters are human is, indeed, the point.*" Goya's very focus upon the grotesque is an expression of his continued fascination with ordinary people, with the Spanish *pueblo*, and (after 1825) with the French *menu peuple* in all its complexity. For Goya, as for other artists since Breugel, the grotesque and the popular define and occupy a world opposed to order, rationality, the ideal, and the aristocratic. Yet unlike the popular grotesques of earlier artists, Goya's are not decorative or picturesque. They are defined, we have seen, by their contradictoriness, that is by their combined brutality and nobility, their unreason and virtue, their blindness and vision; they offer the artist and the viewer no comforting homilies about loyalty or truth, but then, neither are they as frozen or static as the project of Enlightenment had become. Although they are primarily vehicles of a profound artistic pessimism and alienation, Goya's *pueblo* reveal a new direction in the history of art—a proclaimed unity of purpose and perspective among artists and the insane, the alienated, the dissident, and the popular. This perspective, belonging to the radical, the nonconformist



94 FRANCISCO GOYA *Saturn Devouring His Children* ca. 1820. 57 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 32 $\frac{1}{2}$ (145 × 82.9)

and the socially or culturally marginal, was championed in France by Géricault and Delacroix; in England it would be represented principally by William Blake, to whom we shall now turn.