Inventing Goya

Joseph R. Jones

The Encounters conference took place because in 1898 or thereabouts, one great Spanish artist encountered the work of another, and the result of that encounter has become an object of study and admiration for everyone present. We are allotting most of our time today to the music of one of these two geniuses, but it is appropriate to take half an hour to remember the great painter who inspired the music, and whose very name now stands for a troubled and colorful time in Spain's history. To quote Granados' librettist, Periquet: "The word "Goya" is not only a surname but the symbol of a period of farces and tragedy, *tonadillas* and riots, bullfights and aristocrats, true love and dalliances."[1]

Granados and Periquet were both, as we know, obsessed with Goya's art. But they were also fascinated by the personality of the artist. They considered him to be not only the consummate painter of Spain in all its aspects, even its darkest, but also the incarnation their country's eternal values of manliness, loyalty, honesty, and patriotism. They made Goya a character in their first *tonadilla*, "La maja de Goya," and Granados clearly planned to include him in the opera *Goyescas*. We know this because when the composer began to consider turning his piano suite into an opera, he jotted down, in notebooks that still survive, four different story lines, in which he describes his hero as "famous artist, lover of duchess" or "artist and student." In one set of notes, he describes the opening scene as showing the arrival of Diego de Goya y Lucientes (identified by his initials) in a carriage, a *calesa*, which recalls the original and now puzzling title of the opera, *Goyesca. Literas y calesas.*[2] But the collaborators must have decided that they could not make Goya the protagonist of a work in which one rival kills another—obviously not Goya—in a duel. You may be surprised to hear that the collaborators even considered attributing such violent behavior to Goya. But both Granados and Periquet believed in a touchy, swashbuckling, womanizing, revolutionary Goya who was mainly the creation of late Romantic French writers.[3]

The emergence of the legendary Goya

How his admirers have tried to describe the artist's personality, from the early nineteenth century to 1977 is the subject of a splendid book by the British Hispanist Nigel Glendinning.[4] I will identify certain biographical themes that emerge in

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[1] Quoted in Joseph R. Jones, "Recreating Eighteenth-century Musical Theater: The Collaborations of the Composer Enrique Granados (1867-1916) and the Librettist Fernando Periquet y Zuaznábar (1873-1940)," *Dieciocho* 24/1 (Spring 2001): 129.

[2] Jones, *Dieciocho* 24/1, 135.

[3] Examples are Granados's letter to Malats, in which he says that he "became enamored of Goya's psychology […], his quarrels, love-affairs, [etc.] (Jones, *Dieciocho* 23/2, 199, n14); and Periquet's lyrics for the first "Tonadilla": "mezcla de señor y majo, de torero y militar" and "majo, artista y militar" (ibid. 23/2, 202, n20).

[4] Nigel Glendinning, *Goya and His Critics* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977).

Glendinning's and other works which have exerted a special attraction on scenario and libretto writers. You will be able to judge for yourself how much of Goya's stage and film character is reliably authentic and how much is pure fiction.

Goya himself is ultimately the source of some of these biographical motifs. The first is that he rejected any notion of rules in art, and the second is that raw nature, not idealized models, must be the subject of art.[5] A third theme that *may* come from the artist himself is that he disliked some of his aristocratic patrons. The artist's contemporaries believed that a number of the whimsical engravings called *Caprichos* are thinly veiled satires.[6]

Goya's authentic opinions about the need for originality in art, the obligation of the artist to follow nature, and his possible contempt for certain patrons are not very interesting and hardly seem to provide likely ingredients for a legend about an artist who was a "wild genius, half angel and half Satan," to quote a French biographer of the 1860s.[7] On the contrary, the Goya of documents and letters is a solid member of the Establishment.[8] He was born in 1746 into a poor but respectable Aragonese family. His father was a gilder, called plain Goya, without the high-toned "de," though Goya's mother had pretensions to status among the minor nobility. The young artist had traditional academic training and spent time studying in Italy, as did anyone aspiring to rise in his profession. In fact, Goya earned his living from the early 1770s by making pictures in the accepted Neoclassical taste of the day, producing designs for expensive tapestries from the government's factory, frescoes for churches, engravings after Velázquez, and highly regarded society portraits.

The first piece of biography and art criticism written for the general public appeared in 1817, when Goya was already seventy-one years old, to celebrate the installation of his altarpiece of Saints Justa and Rufina in the cathedral of Seville. The

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[5] He recorded these two opinions in a strongly worded proposal for a new curriculum at the national art school (Academia de S. Fernando) in 1792. Then, eighteen years later, when he prepared a one-paragraph autobiography for the Prado's catalogue, he presented himself as a self-taught student of nature.

[6] The earliest source of this notion is a letter, written by a person who knew the artist, which states that Goya loathed Manuel Godoy, the royal favorite and the most powerful man in Spain, and that the artist frequently drew nasty caricatures of Godoy behind his back (Glendinning, *Goya and His Critics*, 66). Sarah Symmons, *Goya: In Search of Patronage* (London: Gordon Fraser, 1988), 161-62, discusses possible allusions to Goya's patrons in the *Caprichos.* My lecture at UCR included illustrative slides, beginning at this point.

[7] Glendinning, *Goya and His Critics*, 89.

[8] See Sarah Symmons, ed., *Goya: A life in letters* (Pimlico: London 2004). Symmons has gathered the surviving correspondence (including reproductions of letters that include drawings) and analyzed it. Her conclusions and speculations are surprising. For example, Goya was very interested in sex but apparently shy around women, loved his wife, habitually masturbated, may have had a homosexual attachment to his friend Zapater, and may have become impotent after his illness. (Symmons, *Letters*, 36-43).

author of the article[9] gives to his readers a Goya who is a meticulous technician and a man of vast learning in the theory of art. Goya's son Javier wrote two short biographies after the artist's death in 1828 and added another motif that will also reappear as part of the legend: Goya as the incredibly facile painter, who could finish a portrait in one sitting.

Goya, the dashing anti-Establishment hero, begins to emerge in the late 1830s. Two Spanish works that appeared in 1838 contain anecdotes that, as Glendinning says, have "snowballed" over the years.[10] The two authors[11] give us a character who was a hot-tempered and much-scarred duelist; a daredevil who, while studying in Italy, climbed to the top of St. Peter's to carve his name; a man who is contemptuous of social distinctions and academic standards, and who is fascinated by the folk-ways of his nation.

Goya the skeptic also appears by this time, due to his growing posthumous reputation as a pitiless satirist. This Goya, the social critic, appealed to the French, who began to produce their own version of the artist. The French Goya, spurning the tiresome restraints of academic regulation, practiced "action painting" by throwing pigments at a wall in his house and then turning the result into one of his "Black Paintings."[12] The well-known writer Théophile Gautier added memorable details to this Gallic portrait, especially the descriptions of the artist slathering walls with thick layers of paint, smearing it with his thumb or rags, and covering huge areas with incredible speed. In the 1850s a bureaucrat from Bordeaux,[13] where Goya had died, contributed more picturesque touches for the increasingly vivid French image. This Goya is a child prodigy, an expert fencer, and a thorough-going religious doubter who has had more than one scrape with the Inquisition. A French art historian of the 1860s[14] considered Goya to be a true liberal with sympathies for the lower orders, and an unrepentant defender of such Spanish cultural peculiarities as bull-fighting, in which he was supposed to have participated. Two examples of Goya's scorn for his countrymen's sense of propriety are the famous pair of *majas*, one nude and one clothed, said to be the duchess of Alba, and his use (according to gossip) of two prostitutes as models for his much-admired picture of Saints Rufina and Justa.

Conservative Spaniards naturally rejected this Gallic Goya. The most strident in his outrage was a rich amateur named Zapater y Gómez, who had the good fortune to inherit a collection of letters from Goya written to the gentleman's titled uncle. Zapater published carefully chosen extracts from the correspondence to contradict slanderous foreign biographers. Zapater's Goya is positively Victorian: a good Catholic and family

[9] Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, a conservative intellectual of the Enlightenment, friend and patron, and an important art historian.
[10] Glendinning, *Goya and His Critics*, 69.
[11] José Somoza, a journalist, and Valentín Carderera, "Goya's first and most influential biographer in the Romantic period." Ibid., 70.
[12] Glendinning, *Goya and His Critics*, 74.
[13] Laurent Mathéront, a scholarly cataloguer of the artist's work.
[14] Charles Yriarte, French-born of Spanish parents, author of a learned, well-illustrated work on Goya.

man, a would-be capitalist, and a social-climber, abjectly grateful to the royal family for their protection.[15]

Some Spaniards, however, preferred the unconventional artist and his colorful biography, with its accumulation of "snowballs" of unsubstantiated rumors. A popular novelist of the 1870s, Antonio de Trueba, invented a garrulous character named Isidro, who had been Goya's gardener, and who provides the novelist with all sorts of details about such matters as the duchess of Alba's seductive behavior.[16] Perhaps Isidro's anecdotes inspired a journalist named Bermejo to cook up an entire packet of "rediscovered" letters written to Goya, whom the collection reveals to be the friend of bullfighters, Gypsies, "loose-living monks,"[17] and underdogs in general.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Goya had a split personality. He was for some people the king's painter, hobnobbing with grandees and with intellectuals who were supporters of the French-led Enlightenment. For others, he was a rabid nationalist who loved the common people and detested those who preyed on them or attempted to impose foreign values, even Enlightened ones; and his works reflect the unmediated violence of his passion in their roughness and their pitiless rendering of his degenerate sitters, or in his satires of the corruption of Spanish society. This split continues well into the twentieth century. There is a shift, however, as critics and historians detach Goya's biography from considerations of his technique and subject matter. The French Impressionists, as you probably know, liked everything about Goya: his brushwork, coloring, commonplace subjects, suppression of detail, and so on. But they had no interest at all in his biography. The early twentieth-century Expressionists, on the other hand, had a keen interest in Goya's "troubled life" and illnesses as the source of his peculiar kind of fantasy.[18] The etchings, especially the *Caprichos* and *Disparates*, became manifestations not of political satire but of the artist's subconscious. The growing interest in psychology and the workings of the unconscious mind during the 1920s persuaded many critics and art historians that Goya was a forerunner of Surrealism.

Since the publication of Glendinning's book in 1977, the flow of studies and biographies has increased. A quick look at on-line bibliographies reveals the steady growth of interest in all things *goyesque*. Undoubtedly the most important book in the

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[15] More recent students of Goya's letters have arrived at similar conclusions. The well-known literary historian and critic Guillermo Díaz-Plaja, who hero-worshipped Goya, is at a loss to explain the difference between the attitudes that seem to inform Goya's art and those revealed in his hasty, ungrammatical, badly spelled letters to Martín Zapater. See Guillermo Díaz-Plaja, *Goya en sus cartas y otros escritos* (Zaragoza: Ediciones Heraldo de Aragón, 1980). (This is a republication of Díaz-Plaja's 1928 selection and commentary.) The letters are "in general, religious and conservative" (p. 18) in tone and yet reveal an "inexplicable attitude" (p. 31) of complaisance toward the government imposed by Napoleon.

[16] Fortunately for serious scholars, who might have been taken in by this piece of creative history, Trueba attributes to Isidro demonstrably incorrect or anachronistic data. Trueba did, however, deceive a few scholars like Diaz Plaja.

[17] Glendinning, *Goya and His Critics*, 99.

[18] Ibid., 148.

last quarter of a century is Robert Hughes's new study.[19] Hughes shares with Granados and Periquet a near-obsession with the artist's work, and one of his objectives is to peel away the layers of hoary anecdotes and exaggerations that still get in the way of seeing Goya's art anew. To quote the author: the "common, popular images of Goya . . . turn out, on inspection, to be false. . . . "[20] I would like to summarize quickly Hughes's opinion of some of the oft-repeated biographical themes.

Goya was not a self-taught prodigy, or as Hughes says, a "peasant touched by genius."[21] He had a better education than most provincial boys, and he also had sufficient resources to travel to Italy—certainly not, as some of his Romantic biographers believed, in the company of a troupe of bullfighters, or by earning his keep as an acrobat. It is equally improbable that he abducted a beautiful Italian nun or scaled St. Peter's to engrave his name on the dome.

Goya was not a working-class subversive, barely concealing his scorn for the aristocrats and powerful clergy that he painted. He was, on the contrary, a clever, diplomatic businessman who survived at a time when patronage was based on whim and was constantly threatened by scheming rivals.[22] The notion that the royal portraits make fun of the sitters is preposterous, since the sitters had to approve all preliminary sketches. If anything, there is some evidence that the artist improved the sitters' appearance. Even the queen, who is usually thought to have been the object of Goya's satire, wrote of her satisfaction with her portraits.[23]

Nor was he anti-religious, though he seems not to have been a church-goer. There is nothing satirical in his treatment of authentic faith. [24]

The two most popular elements of the Goya legend have to do with the supposed affair between the artist, by then elderly and deaf, and the twenty-ish duchess of Alba. Cayetana (one of her many Christian names) was universally admired for her looks—she

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[19] Robert Hughes, *Goya* (New York: Knopf , 2003). Hughes's book has not received unqualified praise, but his eminence as art critic for *Time* and his TV appearances have given it unusual prominence. Hughes's ninety-minute, made-for-television survey of Goya's life and art, based on the book, is called "Crazy like a Genius" and began airing on the Ovation channel in February 2005.

[20] Hughes, *Goya*, 25.

[21] Ibid., 26.

[22] On the difficult life of Spanish artists, see Sarah Symmons, *Goya: In Pursuit of Patronage* (London: Gordon Fraser, 1988), 9-11.

[23] This theme (the sitter too vain or stupid to see the satire) is alive and well. In the movie *Goya: Awakened in a Dream*, discussed below, Goya insults the king to his face when the king remarks on an unflattering portrait. Symmons, *Patronage*, chapter 5, especially pp. 63-65, discusses Fernando VII's unusual tolerance of, and generosity towards, Goya. In chapter 6, especially pp. 112, 116, 120, she discusses portraiture, its conventions, and the "taste and tolerance of the Spanish royalty" with regard to their portrayals.

[24] Symmons, *Patronage*, chapter 4, also tackles this question. Goya was "perhaps the most committed religious painter of his generation" (p. 58). But misunderstanding of Spanish religious attitudes, such at the popularity of anti-clerical pictures, have made Goya appear more hostile to the church than he was.

was a dead ringer for the young Cher, according to Hughes—and she was apparently a genuinely kind person, if, as Hughes says, a flirt and something of an "air-head." But she was not so stupid as to risk her reputation for an affair with a mere craftsman of lower caste, however brilliant. Yet she and Goya were undoubtedly friends. After her husband died, Goya spent part of a summer at one of her country residences, observing her (and other young women) in unguarded moments, making sketches of her even in bed, apparently. There is, however, no way to know which sketches are from life or memory and which are fantasies.[25] (Hughes was, I believe, unaware of a type whose appearance on the scene scandalized straight-laced Spaniards but was so fashionable that he is a subject of innumerable satires: the *cortejo*, a male friend in constant attendance on upper-class married women. Goya was for a while something like the duchess's *cortejo*, on intimate but platonic terms.[26]) Before Cayetana died of tuberculosis or denge fever at the age of 40, she settled some kind of annuity on Goya's only surviving child. Goya was seriously infatuated with her, according to Hughes, and the magnificent portrait of her in black *maja* attire, pointing to the enigmatic words *Sólo Goya* written in the sand, is only the painter's fantasy, not proof of the duchess's love for the artist. Goya kept the painting for himself, and Cayetana may never have seen it.[27]

In answer to the question of whether Goya's most famous picture (if not his best), the *Maja desnuda*, is a portrait of the duchess, Hughes utters a resounding no. The artist painted both the naked and clothed version of the *maja* for his principal patron between the years from c.1797 to c. 1810, none other than Godoy, the man he was said to despise above all others. The woman in the portrait is probably Pepita Tudó, Godoy's mistress. Hughes believes that the slight disproportion of the head in the portraits is a result of an unsuccessful repainting. Godoy probably asked the painter to disguise the features of the real subject with a generic *maja*'s face, since he could hardly keep a life-sized nude of his easily recognized lover in his house after his marriage.[28]

Hughes dismisses the idea that Goya was persecuted by the Inquisition. Official Spanish prudishness found the frank sexuality (and the pubic hair—one of Goya's artistic "firsts") of the naked *maja* offensive. When the Inquisition, restored by the returning Bourbon despot Fernando VII, discovered the *Maja desnuda* among Godoy's confiscated

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[25] The sketches ("of nothing but young women," to quote Gassier) come from the so-called San Lúcar notebook and include such items as a woman who appears to be masturbating for the amusement of a pair of leering men. This subject (if it is in fact masturbation and not a "Young woman bathing at a fountain," as it is labeled in Gassier's commentary) seems unlikely to be anything but erotic day-dreaming. The sketch is reproduced in Pierre Gassier, *Francisco Goya: The Complete Drawings* (New York, Washington: Praeger, 1973), plate [4], with commentary on p. 41. See also Sarah Symmons, *Goya* (London: Phaidon, 1998), 156-58.

[26] See Symmons, *Goya*, 124-25, on the usual independence of aristocratic Spanish women.

[27] Symmons, *Patronage*, 22: "Unlikely to be a sentimental motto, the inscription reflects not the artist's infatuation with the woman but his own uniqueness" and means that it is "the painter alone whose skill alone can make her immortal."

[28] Symmons, *Patronage*, 148, 162, claims that the two pictures were originally done for the duchess of Alba, based on drawings made while Goya was staying at San Lúcar.

pictures, it investigated the artist for obscenity. No records of the interview survive, and the artist never mentioned it. Goya was certainly "the first important visual artist to . . . speak out against the Inquisition."[29] But what he presents in his drawings, paintings, and etchings are imaginative recreations of earlier Inquisitorial practices, none of which he could ever have seen.

Another element of the "pious legend" of Goya has to do with his supposed fierce patriotism and anti-French stance. Hughes's assessment of Goya's political views is emphatic, as usual. It is "untrue" that the painter was a sort of "crusader . . . for Spain and against France."[30] (H 304) In fact, Goya was sympathetic with the *afrancesados* and other liberals who hoped to model a new government along the lines of the French regime. He collaborated, in a limited way, with the French-imposed government (mainly because he needed money), doing portraits of various personages, including the new king's mistress, and participating in a committee on confiscated art objects. But he was able to explain his actions to the satisfaction of the vengeful Fernando VII's war-crimes investigators.

Goya's eighty anti-war etchings, called the *Desastres* for short, are the first examples of "pictorial journalism,"[31] the power of which comes from the illusion of immediacy and eyewitness veracity. Goya was, however, over sixty and too deaf to venture onto the battlefield, and the engravings that bear captions like "I saw this myself," "And this too" are admissions, as Hughes says, that other drawings are re-creations after the fact.[32] The *Desastres* were not published during Goya's lifetime because fifteen of the etchings, which Hughes calls "editorial cartoons," were too critical of the government. "And so it came about that the greatest anti-war manifesto in the history of art . . . remained unknown" until 1863.[33]

The political and economic turmoil of the restored Bourbon monarchy, between 1814 and 1824, became so acute that Goya decided to emigrate to France. He remained in Bordeaux until his death. But he felt no qualms about making two trips back to Spain, and he received, when he was 80, a government pension. When Goya moved to Bordeaux, he took with him his housekeeper, Leocadia Weiss, and her daughter Rosario, who was apparently Goya's illegitimate daughter. This detail of Goya's biography has emerged only recently as an important motif, as we shall see.

Goya died in 1828 and was buried in Bordeaux. The Spanish government arranged to bring his body back to Madrid in 1901, and in 1929 (a year after the centenary of Goya's death), the remains were transferred to Santa María de la Florida, a church that contains murals by the artist. When French gravediggers opened Goya's tomb, they found that someone had removed his skull.[34] And this macabre detail will become the basis for, of all things, an opera.

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[29] Hughes, *Goya*, 333.
[30] Ibid., 304.
[31] Ibid., 272.
[32] Ibid., 273.
[33] Ibid., 304.
[34] See Symmons, *Goya*, 328.

Goya as a subject in scenarios and films

In the epilogue of his study, Glendinning makes a foray into the work of novelists,[35] "dramatists and musicians, even stage designers and film directors [. . .] drawn to Goya's art or to his life." At the time of his book's publication, moviemakers had produced "at least four films"[36] about Goya, and there had been plans for another. I am going to survey these briefly.

The famous Spanish surrealist Luis Buñuel tried unsuccessfully, first around 1928 and later in the 1940s, after he moved to Hollywood, to make a film. Some kind of draft of the proposal survives. To an American goes the honor of the first completed film in which Goya actually appears. In *The Naked Maja* (1958), Godoy poisons the duchess of Alba, a true patriot, who has used her influence to save her lover Goya from the clutches of the evil Inquisitors. The poisoning of the duchess has become a popular theme, though modern historians reject the idea, and both Godoy and the homely queen Maria Luisa of Parma, the supposed culprits in many of the works about Goya, are currently being rehabilitated by scholars.[37] The Inquisition did not, as already mentioned, hound Goya, as the movie suggests.

Two films about Goya appeared in the 1970. Nino Quevedo made the first Spanish film, noteworthy for its dream sequences based on Goya's fantastic etchings and for what Glendinning calls its "well researched" and "open minded" scenario.[38] It stresses Goya's emotional life "in the Expressionist tradition"[39] and makes much of the women with whom he was associated. Also from the same year comes a German-Russian film based on Lion Feuchtwanger's novel. No one will be surprised to find that the German-Russian team from this era would make Goya a political symbol in a film described as considering such questions as "people and power [. . . and] the mission of art and the status of the artist." The last film that Glendinning had seen was a 1975 work by Rafael J. Salvia, based on a leaden epic poem in free verse by José Camón Aznar. The poem is a closet drama, with no action whatsoever, and it is difficult to image what the film must look like. The Spanish and German films are all out of print, unfortunately.

Glendinning was unaware of another scenario, beside Buñuel's, of an unproduced film. It is the work of Periquet, and though published in 1942, is clearly intended for a silent film. Goya appears as an old man in Bordeaux and begins, in flashbacks, a complicated tale of youthful adventures. Periquet was the first to put both the young and

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[35] I have omitted from this talk a review of novels and plays, even those written after 1977, because of time constraints. There are, however, two items listed by Glendinning which I had not been able to obtain when I wrote an essay on Granados and Periquet for *Dieciocho*, and they deserve attention because it seems likely to me that the collaborators knew them. See Appendix I at the end of this paper.

[36] Glendinning, *Goya and His Critics*, 238.

[37] Symmons, *Patronage*, 146: "The legend that he [Godoy] was the lover of both king and queen […] is unfounded but still current."

[38] Glendinning, *Goya and His Critics*, 238.

[39] Ibid.

the old Goya on the stage, and other writers have since used this device, though it is perhaps an obvious one. This curious silent-film script contributes numerous elements to the scenario of the 1942 movie *Goyescas*, usually described as a film version of the opera but in fact retaining almost nothing from it. Since Goya does not appear in the original *Goyescas* film, Glendinning omits it from consideration.

Three films about Goya appeared in 1999. The first is *Goya: Awakened in a Dream*, part of an art-appreciation series for children. In this picture, Goya, depressed because of persecution by the Inquisition, meets an artistically talented young girl, Rosario, who "brings new life to the old master," according to the *All Movie Guide*. In this film, there is no hint that Rosario is the painter's own daughter, and the themes of Goya the lampooner of degenerate aristocrats and the victim of Inquisitorial prejudice appear. The scenario tampers with other elements of Goya's biography, and the Spanish used is often incorrect.

In the same year, Carlos Saura's visually satifying film *Goya en Burdeos* appeared. Saura wrote the screenplay himself. The action moves back and forth between the old Goya in France and his interaction with his teen-age daughter Rosario, who is trying to become a painter, and the young Goya in Madrid and his fascination with the duchess of Alba. The viewer learns that the duchess is part of a plot to kill the queen, who poisons the duchess with the help of Godoy. Veteran actor Francisco Rabal plays the old Goya, a role which, according to his biographies, he has done in two other films. I have been unable to identify them, but perhaps they are the two out-of-print Spanish films from the 1970s.

Decidedly not for children is *Volavérunt: La maja desnuda*. In the first fifteen minutes of the film, Godoy copulates with the duchess of Alba, the queen, and Pepita Tudó (twice), and Godoy with the duchess. The aristocrats all snort cocaine instead of snuff, following a new fashion imported from Peru.[40] J. J. Bigas Luna directed and co-wrote the scenario, which is based on a novel by Antonio Larreta. The picture takes its name from one of the *Caprichos*, but in the movie, "volaverunt" is the duchess's pet name for her pudenda. The plot centers on the duchess's love affairs with Godoy and Goya, with hints at dire political intrigues that lead to the probable poisoning of the duchess. The two *maja* portraits begin as pictures of Tudó but have certain parts taken from Cayetana (her *volaverunt*, she claims). The scenery, costumes, and actresses are splendid. [41]

According to the American film industry's paper *Variety*, Milos Forman and producer Saul Zaentz are planning another film about Goya. Michael Weller is the author of the scenario, which is said to include the usual topics (e.g., "he went deaf, had an affair with the Duchess of Alba, and witnessed the horrors of both the Napoleonic invasion and the Spanish Inquisition, which tried him for his nude painting, "The Naked Maja"). Foreman has postponed indefinitely the production, originally scheduled to start in early 2002 in Spain, on a budget of $40 million. It is hard to imagine that this project can out-do Saura or Bigas Luna's splendid recreations of the period, and the description of the plot makes it sound badly cliché-ed.

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[40] Cocaine was not extracted from coca until the later nineteenth century.

[41] The film's producers announced in 1999 that they would re-edit it for release. They have not done so, but a DVD version is occasionally available to the public.

Goya as the subject of zarzuela, opera, and stage musicals

Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the continuing flow of works about Goya is the number of musical dramas.

The first opera in which Goya is a character is Francisco Asenjo Baribieri's *Pan y toros* (1864), with a libretto by José Picón. Barbieri (1823-1894) was the most influential composer in Spain in the nineteenth century, and his three-act opera, described by British *zarzuela* specialist Christopher Webber as a "magnificent national epic," is important both for its musical originality and for its abandonment of foreign models. In Picón's book, Goya is a leader of the anti-French dissidents and organizer of a coup against Godoy. His house is a depot for weapons and a meeting place of nationalist artists, writers, and aristocrats. The sets and costumes make use of Goya's tapestry designs and portraits, which will be the source of décor and dress for virtually every stage and musical work to follow. In this *zarzuela grande* the duchess of Alba does not even appear. No doubt the *Maja desnuda* was still kept in storage in the 1860s, and adulterous love between an aristocratic woman and a craftsman would have been considered unsuitable for the public stage.[42]

There is an undated (but no doubt later) *zarzuela*, *Goya*, with music by J. Taboada, about which I have no information. And in the 1920s, probably,[43] Rafael Guillén Sánchez provided music for a three-act *zarzuela* on a book by Francisco Villaespesa, whose play *La maja de Goya* is discussed in Appendix I, below. There are at least four zarzuelas with the title *La maja desnuda* that may include the artist as a character, but the scarcity of texts and data make it impossible to know.[44]

More than a century after *Pan y toros*, French composer Francis Lopez (1916-1995) and librettist Raymond Vincy produced *Le Prince de Madrid*, a two-act, twenty-eight-scene operetta that enjoyed 553 performances at the Châtelet theater in 1967.[45] The story, which transpires in 1787 (before the French invasion) tells of Goya's rivalries with a famous bullfighter and with Godoy. The usual themes of the liaison with the duchess, Godoy as the evil manipulator, and the dire threat of the Inquisition are the

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[42] I am grateful to Webber (whose website *Zarzuela!* is a goldmine) for his advice on my search for Goya in opera. And I also am grateful to Dr. James D. Compton for allowing me access to his vast collection of recordings, in which I found a copy of the only recording of *Pan y toros* available, as far as I know. The LP is number 50 of a series called "La zarzuela" issued by Zacosa S. A. (Madrid: no date). Rafael Campos sings the role of Goya.

[43] Luis Iglesias de Souza, *El teatro lírico español* (Editorial Diputación Provincial: La Coruna), vol. 2 (1993), 558, no. 13.543. The date 1957 appears suspicious (for 1927?), and I have not been able to confirm it. See Appendix II for more on Iglesias de Souza's work.

[44] This paragraph was not part of the original conference paper. See Appendix II.

[45] Lopez, of Basque origin, and Vincy collaborated with great success for thirty-seven years, producing thirty-four operettas. Their principal singer was Luis Mariano, for whom they wrote several Spanish-themed works, including *Le Prince de Madrid*. Lopez also wrote music for twenty-five films.

underpinnings of the plot. In March of 2005 the opera companies of Nantes and Bordeaux are scheduled to present a revival of this work. So we may perhaps soon be able to acquire a complete recording.[46]

At about the same time that Francis Lopez produced *Le Prince de Madrid*, a professor of composition at the Paris Conservatory, Tony (Louis Alexandre) Aubin (1907-1981), was completing *La Jeunesse de Goya*. The guitar website *Sheer Pluck* describes it as a five-act stage work for six singers, mixed chorus, harp, percussion, strings, and guitar. It was performed at Lille in 1974 and perhaps elsewhere. *Sheer Pluck* says that the work was published by Éditions Salabert; other sources list it as unpublished.

In 1986, Giancarlo Menotti directed the production of his opera *Goya*, written at the suggestion of the young Plácido Domingo.[47] The libretto, by Menotti himself, as usual, combines biography and theatrical opportunities to use Goya's art with a hefty dose of fantasy. The plot centers on the artist's love for the duchess of Alba. The young artist, fresh from the provinces, meets the duchess at an inn, where she introduces herself as a chambermaid. She attempts to humiliate Goya when he discovers her true identity; but for both, it is love at first sight. As their affair progresses, the queen tries to use Goya's influence over the duchess to tame her unconventional behavior, but the two lovers quarrel, and the duchess breaks off her liaison with the artist. Goya rises to become the king's painter but is struck by deafness at a court function. Menotti's depiction of this event (a maddening high-pitched note held while the actors on stage mouth soundlessly) conveys the experience with great effect. The queen, with Godoy's connivance, poisons the duchess and steals her will and her jewels. Many years later, as Goya lies dying in Bordeaux, a vision of his long-dead love appears to the painter. The Washington, D.C., opera company premiered the work with magnificent sets and costumes, a handsome cast of singers, Rafael Frübeck de Burgos as conductor, and Queen Sofía in attendance. Simultaneously, the National Gallery had an exhibit of Goya's work, so that the audience was well prepared to enjoy the recreation of tapestries, painting, and figures from the *Caprichos* and *Desastres*. The music is not memorable ("Puccini and water," as a snide *Time* magazine critic said), but as spectacle, the work is his both entertaining and touching.[48] The most recent performance of which I am aware took place in Vienna, in July of 2004, and for its Austrian premiere, Menotti revised the opera.

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[46] It appears that selections from the work have been recorded, but I cannot decypher the information found on the Internet: EMI C 062 11995 and EMI C 062 10404t (date?); Mfp (?) also listed as publisher of a recording. Another source says "Pathé Muse" is the label.

[47] Until the appearance of Menotti's work, the name "Goya" as a role or title does not appear in standard opera indexes.

[48] The House of Opera offers a DVD (DVDBB1321) of this performance. The House of Opera's catalogue describes it as a "poor" recording, but I found it satisfactory, particularly because of the English subtitles. In addition to the performance, there are interviews and a tour of the National Gallery's Goya exhibit. The House of Opera also offers a CD (CDBB334), but the words are almost unintelligible.

Treading on the tail of Menotti's opera (1988-9), a group of American theatrical promoters created a "stage musical" called *Goya: A Life in Song* as a vehicle for Plácido Domingo. The composer and lyricist for this show is Maury Yeston, Ph.D., a former Yale musicologist who in 1997 won a Tony Award, one of several distinctions, for the score of the movie *Titanic*. Yeston has also composed classical and "cross-over" music for various ensembles. His *Goya* score, considered an example of his "classical" style by his biographers, has one song, "Till I loved you," that became a hit for Barbara Streisand and Don Johnson. The promotional recording for the project features Plácido Domingo, Dionne Warwick, Gloria Estefan, Seiko Matsuda, and Richie Havens. The librettists are Maurice Dumay and Jerry Wilson (about whom I can discover nothing). It would be interesting to know where the writers got their ideas about Goya's life.[49] The blurb on the LP recording has such choice lines as the following: the artist "bit with savage accuracy" the "feeding hand" of "the weak, corrupt aristocracy" that supported him, and he "fought bulls, caroused with and loved the stunning 'majas' of his time, had a notorious affair with the Duchess of Alba and, ultimately, fell into a difficult political position with the State."

The plot of the libretto has Domingo and the cast appear as "a traveling troupe from Cádiz" (why Cádiz, one wonders) that celebrates "the life, the love, and the work of this great genius." The opera is in two acts. The seven scenes of Act I take the artist from young manhood through his affair with the duchess and his "savage" pictures of the royal family, to the onset of deafness. Act II, also in seven scenes, chronicles the French invasion, Goya's fearless depiction of its atrocities, and the political problems caused for him by his honesty. When the reactionary king returns to power, Goya "moves to France and never returns to Spain." The album's theme is "if a mans [sic] whole life can be one long song—let it sail."[50] Dr. Yeston has informed me, through his agent, that the opera was performed at the Hollywood Bowl in 1988. It seems to have been performed in Canada in 1992 by an amateur group.

Three years after the promotional recording appeared (1992), Sony issued a version in Spanish, with Plácido Domingo, Gloria Estefan, Yuri, Yolandita Monge, and Luis Angel. Plácido Domingo, Jr., translated the lyrics.[51]

In the 1990s, the French government commissioned composer Jean Prodromidès (b. 1927) to write a work to commemorate the 250th anniversary of the Goya's birth. Prodromidès produced a one-act opera in eight tableaux called *Goya*, premiered in Montpellier in 1996.[52] The protagonists are the artist and the duchess, and other

[49] The Spanish version, on CD, provides a pamphlet with commentary and lyrics, and it quotes a John Candy (whom I have not been able to identify) as an authority on Goya's biography.

[50] The label of the promotional LP, not intended for sale but occasionally available on eBay and the Internet, says *Goya....a life in song.* CBS Records, Inc., SCX 40680, AL 40680, 1989.

[51] *Goya...una vida hecha canción*. Sony Discos, Inc., CDT-80726, DIDP 077129, 1992.

[52] There may be a video of this production, but I am unable to locate a copy. The 2-CD recording is by Musique Française d'Aujourd'hui 216019/20. Prodromidès, whose reputation seems to be limited to France, has composed ten film scores, five operas,

characters play several roles. Joel Kasow's review in *Opera News* (61/5 [Nov. 1996], 52) describes it as barely organized chaos alternating with "musically effective scenes," in which there are allusions to the *Caprichos*. A recording by the Montpellier cast won the Grand Prix du Disque Lyrique. The opera of Marseilles staged the work again in 1998, and French television broadcast it. A publishing company, Actes sud, issued the libretto (by Prodromidès, Jean Cosmos, and Floria Fourneau) the same year.

An opera by Michael Nyman, *Facing Goya*, had its premiere in Santiago de Compostela in 2000. The libretto by Victoria Hardie follows a high-powered female art dealer's search for Goya's lost skull back to the early nineteeth century, to the Bordeaux cemetery, where she easily finds the missing craneum, and then to a nineteenth-century craneometry laboratory. Next she goes to an art gallery in 1930s Europe, probably in Germany, where art critics are piling up degenerate art for burning. The last setting is a cloning laboratory in the 1980s. Goya himself appears several times, and at the end of the opera, the lady and Goya argue over her decision to sell his DNA to the cloners, who hope to identify his "talent gene." The dialogue among two sopranos, a tenor, and a bass, is laced with quotations from Goya's engravings and from his letters. Its style alternates between the pedantic and the child-like, often with doggerel rhyme. Here are two samples: "The Greek ideal / is what Nazis find real / in their plans for our Aryan ideal." Remarkable artists, superior races / I will judge their art by the truth in their faces." Nyman had already written, in 1985, a chamber opera for two on the subject of physiognomy in fifteenth-century painting. In 1987, he and Hardie produced *Vital Statistics*, a work on nineteenth-century theories of racisim. An article in a London newspaper, which informed Nyman that Goya's skull had disappeared before 1878, when workmen opened his coffin, provided a promising "narrative thread," as the composer says: "'if Goya's skull was found, and if indeed, Goya was cloned, what would happen?'" Goya and his works provide a character, scenery, and some of the dialogue. But biographical details are mimimal, and the duchess of Alba is not mentioned.

Nyman is an eminent musicologist, critic, and composer, notably as a writer of film scores. He himself coined the term Minimalism for a musical trend that arose in the 1960s, and his score of relentlessly repeated chords and patterns seems faithful to the style. The program notes emphasize that there is no emotional connection between the music and the dialogue. Nyman revised *Facing Goya* for a 2002 performance in Karlsruhe, which is available on compact discs.[53]

The most recent piece is a one-act chamber opera for two singers and a small ensemble called *Brush*, premiered in Toronto last April (2004). The composer is Japanese-born Koji Nakano, currently a Ph.D. student at the University of California, San Diego, and the librettist is Canadian writer/director Kico González-Risso. The "mystery of the Maja paintings" is the starting point of the story. The duchess of Alba is not, however, the subject of the two famous pictures, but an unidentified "Royal Mistress," whom Goya wishes to paint, secretly, "for my own pleasure." The theme of the work is, to quote the writer, "artistic and political compromise." The Mr. González-Risso

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oratorios, symphonic works, and arrangements, and has received numerous prizes and decorations.

[53] *Facing Goya*, Warner Classics, LC 04281, 2002.

informs me that he became interested in Goya while studying the Napoleonic wars and that his information on the painter's life comes mostly from electronic sources.[54]

Final observations

One comes away from this survey of Goya as a character in film and *teatro lírico* with an obvious question: what have writers and composers found to be so attractive about Goya's story? He is the subject of far more musical dramas than any other artist—or perhaps than any other historical figure (excluding biblical characters). Eight or more *zarzuelas* or operas is an astonishing number. Seven movies, two scenarios, and one film currently under consideration place Goya high on the list for cinema also. Glendinning observes that ideas of nationalism in art, the rebellious artist, and the artist's life as a source of his art are perennially popular topics.

These themes do not, I think, explain the attraction. I believe that what Lord Raglan perceived many years ago when studying heroic types is closer to a satisfactory answer. Certain individuals seem to have received gifts—of leadership, or religious fervor, or creativity—that are beyond the normal; and human beings have an irresistible urge to explain these gifts by imposing a kind of life-pattern on such an individual: his lineage (through his mother) is important, he is precocious, he is indifferent to danger from evil rulers, he wins an aristocratic mate against all odds, in spite of a serious handicap (like Oedipus's limp or Moses's stammer), he gives to his nation priceless knowledge, and he dies in exile. Goya's extraordinary gift of insight,[55] what now looks like his defiance of tyranny, his association with the eighteenth-century Spanish equivalent of Helen of Troy, his deafness, and his exile are so close to the hero pattern that it seems to have attracted the other components as if by magnetism. Or perhaps the reason is simply that, as G. B. Shaw once said of Wagner, Goya, like all men of genius, "had exceptional sincerity, exceptional respect for the facts, exceptional freedom from the hypnotic influence of sensational popular movements, exceptional sense of the realities of political power as distinguished from the pretences and idolatries behind which the real masters of modern states pull with wire."[56]

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[54] I am grateful to Anna Camara, of Toronto's *Tapestry New Opera Works*, for her heroic but thwarted efforts to obtain a copy of the opera for this study. In 2003, Tapestry New Opera Works commissioned *Brush,* which has had performances in Toronto, Sault Ste. Marie, and Vancouver. The librettist, Kiko González Risso, was kind enough to provide a copy of his book and to locate a recording, which he played for me over the telephone. For González-Risso's biography, see www3.telus.net/kigori. Mr. González-Risso's description of the opera and its background is available at Tapestry's website: http://www.tapestrynewopera.com/inside_opera/inside_study.html. For Koji Nakano's biography, locate his home page, the address of which is too long to include here.

[55] Goya's insights are apparently permanently valid. The thesis of Hughes's book is that not to know certain great painters like Goya "is to be illiterate," because we of lesser abilities do not have the insight of such exceptional persons and "cannot exceed their perceptions." Hughes, *Goya*, 6.

[56] [George] Bernard Shaw, *The Perfect Wagnerite: A Commentary on the Niblung's Ring* (New York: Brentano's 1911), 108.

Whatever the real reason for his continuing popularity as a hero—a hero who is a literary creation, with little of the "circumspect and extraordinarily private" man that was the real Goya [57]—the "drama and passion" of his art are quite enough on their own to explain our perennial fascination with the great painter.

Appendix I

Blanca de los Ríos's *Madrid goyesco* (1907), usually described as a novel, is in fact a short story from a weekly women's magazine in which Periquet had published a story the previous year, 1906. Doña Blanca uses the adjective *goyesco* to suggest passion and violence in her saccharine pot-boiler about thwarted love. The heroine, Maravillas, is a "sugestiva reencarnación de la Maja de Goya." The hero, Pepito, is the penniless second son of a ruined duke. The lovers are separated by Maravillas's ambitious aunt, and they suffer the predictable torments of frustrated love, with physical signs of illness and mental aberration. The aunt forces Maravillas to attend the most important bullfight of the season, where an acquaintance, the famous bullfighter Lucientes (as in "Goya y Lucientes"), has a triumphant day. As the aunt, the heroine, and their party are returning from the *corrida*, their carriage lurches, and Maravillas is thrown into the arms of her escort, a playboy marqués, at which point Pepito sees her and in a paroxysm of jealousy attempts to shoot her. He misses, but believing that he has killed her, he shoots himself. Maravillas, having promised Pepito that she would be his or would become a nun, fulfills her vow to the Virgen de la Paloma and is "buried alive in a cloister."

The overwrought prose contains numerous references to Goya, whose genius captured "el Madrid chulesco en sus tres aspectos: la zambra, la puñalada, el aquelarre." Such passages, of which there are many, strongly suggest that Periquet found some of his ideas in this short story. One particularly interesting example is this: when the bullfight is over, the crowd disperses in "manuelas, las nietas de las calesas típicas, tronos de las majas [. . .] hacia el 'Madrid goyesco.'"[16]

According to Glendinning, the first play about Goya is by the poet Villaespesa and appeared between 1900-1910.[58] My copy reads as follows: Francisco Villaespesa, *La maja de Goya* (Buenos Aires: Librería de J. Bonnati e hijo: no date). The exaggerated patriotism and allegorical elements of this play, which is supposed to occur in May of 1808, suggest that it was written at the time of the Spanish-American War. The settings incorporate details of some of Goya's best-known pictures (the hermitage of San Antonio de la Florida, the firing squad, the *Maja vestida*) and includes historical persons besides Goya himself, such as the bullfighter Pedro Romero, painted by Goya, presumably in costumes that would make them instantly recognizable. Two interesting details are that the sixty-two-year-old painter is not deaf, though in reality he had been so for at least fifteen years, and the duchess of Alba is not the *maja* of the paintings. The character for whom the play is named is a beautiful woman known only as *La Maja*. The instant Goya sees her, he tells her that he will make her immortal as "el más bello ejemplar de las mujeres de España," and she agrees to meet the artist the following morning. Goya assures his friends that he is no longer in danger of falling in love with his new model, and when they ask him about his greatest love, he tells the story of

[57] Symmons, *Patronage*, 174.
[58] Glenndinning, *Goya and His Critics*, 235.

meeting an unnamed duchess. In a period of artistic paralysis, no longer painting, while he was walking along the Prado, a lady dropped her fan as she passed him, and when he returned it to her, she paid a compliment to his art. He instantly fell in love and began painting furiously in order to make his art worthy of the new object of his passion. But she died (in 1802), and although she made Goya her heir, he refused to accept the bequest and tore up the will. At this moment the conversation is interrupted by screams from La Maja, who is being kidnapped by lustful French soldiers. Goya and a French official duel, and Goya cuts the man's face, scarring him and saving La Maja. A few days later, when the anti-French uprising explodes, La Maja becomes the voice of patriots who are willing to die to expell the French. The climax occurs in Monteleón Park, when La Maja makes a stirring speech about the Spanish flag that inspires the defenders. The French troops quickly defeat and capture the unarmed citizens, and they hand La Maja and Goya's friends over to a firing squad for execution. When a French officer asks La Maja to give her name, she says, "podéis ponerme por nombre ¡España!" The scene of execution is, according to the stage directions, to be a tableau patterned after Goya's painting of the firing squad. La Maja is seriously wounded but not killed, however, and Goya finds her and takes her to his house. In the final scene, she appears dressed as in the painting *La maja vestida*, and she reclines on the couch as the painter rapidly puts the final touches to her portrait. She then expires. Goya exclaims, "¿Que ella ha muerto? / No es verdad, / que en pago de su sonrisa, / le di la inmortalidad!..."

There is a speech in which an *abate* don Manuel María Ruiz de Villanueva describes in *verso de romance* and "con voluptuosidad" the appearance of La Maja (ample hips, bust, tiny waist, full breast, *morena* complexion like the Virgen de Atocha's, carnation-colored lips, erotic eyes, black hair). It resembles in tone Periquet's poem "La maja española." In the poem, Periquet says that "el tipo de la maja neta y pura / es goyesco; / es goyesco porque Goya puso en ella / no la fría corrección de ciertas bellas [. . .]," etc. The idea of a *maja* as an incarnation of Spain strongly appealed to Periquet and Granados, as both state clearly. But it is likely that such notions were common in the post-war period. See Jones, *Dieciocho* 24/1, 142-44.

Appendix II

During the *Encuentro* symposium, Walter Clark's paper "Spain: the 'Eternal Maja,'" included a reference to a work of which I was, to my embarrassment, unaware: Luis Iglesias de Souza, *El teatro lírico español* (Editorial Diputación Provincial: La Coruña, 1991-1996), 4 vols. Souza's catalogue of 24,000 theatrical works that include music is accompanied by essays on classification, lists of common themes (character types, regional themes, etc.), famous artists, theaters, and so on. Because Souza compiled his admirable work over long years and without the benefit of computers, there are no indexes that make retrieval of names or themes possible. Even so, Professor Clark had scanned the huge catalogue and identified a number of Goya-related titles. I will include what appear to me to be works that I should have added to my list of musical theater in which the character of Goya appears (or may possibly appear). There is no way to discover whether he shows up in pieces about, for example, the Napoleonic invasion, the siege of Zaragoza, the Esquilache riot, pieces that suggest a connection with Goya's pictures (e.g., "El pelele, " "San Antonio de la Florida," "El entierro de la sardina"), or

even the pieces with names like “La maja desnuda.” I list them, however, as more evidence of the popularity of the artist and his work among musicians. Where possible, I supplement Souza’s data with material from the *Enciclopedia universal* (“Espasa-Calpe”) and the currently available volumes of the new *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana.*

1. 10.666 GOYA Zarzuela, 1 acto. Libreto: Redondo y Menduiña, Juan. Música: Taboada Steger, Joaquín. [*Espasa-Calpe* lists both men as flourishing during the nineteenth century.]
2. 13.542 LA MAJA DE GOYA Zarzuela, 1 acto. Libreto: Falcón Segura de Mateo, Manuel / Navarro Tadeo, Enrique. Música: Reñe, E. / Martí, Salvador. 1908. [No additional information. Goya is not a character in this work.]

3. 13.543 LA MAJA DE GOYA Zarzuela, 3 actos. Libreto: Villaespesa Baeza, Francisco. Música: Guillén Sánchez, Rafael. 1957 [?].

4. 13.556 LA MAJA DESNUDA Música: Gamisáns [Arabi] , Juan. [No other information. *DMEH* gives dates for two out of thirteen works (1910, 1928) but does not list this one.]

5. 13.557 LA MAJA DESNUDA Zarzuela, 1 acto. Música: Calleja Gómiz, Rafael. [1870 or 1874-1938. The *DMEH* gives no date or librettist for this work.]

6. 13,558 LA MAJA DESNUDA Sainete, 1 acto. Libreto: Custodio y Fernández-Pintado, Angel [d. 1941]. Música: López Torregrosa, Tomás [1863-1913]. 1909.

7. 13.559 LA MAJA DESNUDA Zarzuela, 1 acto. Libreto: Gómez Renovales, Juan. Música: Orejón Garrido, Felipe [d. 1937]. 1924.

8. 13.564 LA MAJA GOYESCA Zarzuela, 1 acto. Libreto: Gómez Renovales, Juan. Música: Orejón Garrido, Felip [d. 1937. [No date. Same as 13.559 ?]