

*Goya's allegories and the sphinxes:
'Commerce', 'Agriculture', 'Industry' and
'Science' in situ**

BY ISADORA ROSE-DE VIEJO

*Regios salones discurriendo fuimos, Donde la pompa del Oriente
brilla. . .*¹

GOYA'S three circular allegorical tempera-on-canvas paintings of *Commerce*, *Agriculture* and *Industry*, executed for Manuel Godoy's Madrid palace, were transferred to the Prado Museum directly from their original locations fifty-one years ago.² Through display in the museum and in numerous published photographic reproductions, they have become familiar images, framed by simple carved and gilded mouldings. While there has never been any doubt as to their provenance, a good deal of confusion has existed concerning their positions within the palace. Traditionally, they were believed to have been located on the ceiling of Godoy's library,³ but as recently as 1970 it was asserted that they had decorated the grand staircase.⁴ Consequently, a group of recently rediscovered photographs taken by José Moreno showing the paintings *in situ*⁵ is

of great significance in serving to clarify these points (Figs.63-66). Moreno's photographs in addition unexpectedly expose a novel and revealing vision of Goya's tondos in their original decorative as well as architectural setting. Furthermore, the photos, studied in conjunction with supporting documentary evidence concerning the renovation of Godoy's palace, permit the proposal of a new, slightly later date for the tondos then has been assigned to them in the past.

The initial disclosure presented by the photographs is that each of the tondos was located in the central portion of a lunette,⁶ the side areas of which were embellished by frescoes of heraldically positioned sphinxes amid swirling tendrils.⁷ This unaccustomed juxtaposition of Goya's direct, realistic, and symbolic but legible imagery⁸ with fanciful and exotic but superficial Pompeian decorations, fashionable in Spain as elsewhere in Europe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries,⁹ is certainly startling at first glance. Nonetheless, tondos and sphinxes were contemporaneous creations, intended to be seen together.

A visit to the remaining portion of the building, which served as Godoy's Madrid residence from 1792-1808,¹⁰ affords another surprise: lunettes and sphinx frescoes exist intact today¹¹ with apparently no modification from the pre-1932 moment when photographed by Moreno.¹² The small dome

⁶ The placing of the tondos within lunettes explains their circular shape, extremely unusual in Goya's *œuvre*.

⁷ A. DE BERUETE Y MORET: *Goya. Composiciones y Figuras*, Madrid [1917], p.72, saw the tondos *in situ* and mentioned the lunettes and sphinxes, but dismissed the frescoes, saying they were '*sin importancia, y obra sin duda de algún artista industrial sin pretensiones*'.

⁸ The uncomplicated nature of these allegories was noted by F. J. SÁNCHEZ-CANTÓN: 'La Elaboración de un cuadro de Goya', *Archivo Español de Arte* [1945], pp.301-02.

⁹ Sphinxes, medallions and garlands were frequent companions in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century neo-classical ornament. Godoy's Spanish artists would have consulted contemporary French and Italian books on antiquities and design motifs, such as the influential *Le Pitture Antiche di Ercolano*, 5 Vols., Naples [1757-62], published by order of Carlos III; COMTE DE CAYLUS: *Recueil d'Antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques et romaines*, 7 Vols., Paris [1756-67], in the library of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando in Madrid prior to 1800, according to C. BÉDAT: *L'Académie des beaux-arts de Madrid 1744-1808*, Toulouse [1974], p.266; M. TESI: *Raccolta di Disegno Originale di Mauro Tesi*, Bologna [1787]; LA LONDE: *Oeuvres Diverses de La Londe*, Paris [1780]; and the slightly later compilation by C. PERCIER and P. F. L. FONTAINE: *Recueil de Décorations Intérieures . . .*, Paris [1812], Pls. 14 and 62. The Greek sphinx type was used in Godoy's palace as opposed to the Egyptian type, which was also employed decoratively in pre- and post-Napoleonic Europe. See J. LORING: 'Egyptomania: The Nile Style', *Connoisseur* [Feb. 1979], pp.114-21; H. DEMISCH: *Die Sphinx . . .*, Stuttgart [1977]; and J. S. CURL: *The Egyptian Revival . . .*, London [1982].

¹⁰ This building has had a long and complicated history, and almost as many names as uses since it was constructed in 1776 as the official residence of the Prime Minister, then the Marqués de Grimaldi. Situated on the corner of the calle Bailén and the Plaza de la Marina Española, among its many names have been: Casa de los Ministros, Casa-Palacio contiguo a Doña María de Aragón, Almirantazgo, Ministerio de la Marina, Casa de los Ministerios, Consejo Nacional del Movimiento, Museo del Pueblo Español, and currently, Centro de Estudios Constitucionales de la Presidencia del Gobierno. Drastically reduced in size earlier in this century due to the widening of the calle Bailén, it is sometimes confused with the Palacio de Buenavista, located on the Paseo del Prado, given to Godoy by the Ayuntamiento de Madrid in 1807, and in use as the Ministerio del Ejército for well over a century.

¹¹ I wish to thank D. Alfredo Pérez de Armiñán, Director General del Patrimonio Artístico del Ministerio de la Cultura (in 1979), for having granted me permission to visit this building, and to the staff of the Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, especially D. Manuel Aragón, for having allowed me to examine the frescoes unhurriedly.

¹² There is, however, a strong possibility that the frescoes were restored at some point prior to 1932. For example, it is known that there was a massive fire in the building on the night of 29th-30th November 1846, at which time they could have been damaged. See P. MADDOZ: *Diccionario Geográfico-Estadístico-Histórico*, Madrid [1850], Vol. X, p.748.

*This Shorter Notice is dedicated to the memory of Dr Xavier de Salas, teacher and friend.

¹ CASIANO PELLICER: *El Templo del Buen Gusto o Breve Descripción de la Biblioteca del Exc.^{mo} Señor Príncipe de la Paz*, Madrid [1803], p.6. This panegyric is largely imaginative and is not a reliable description of Godoy's palace and library.

² Nos. 2546, 2547 and 2548 were taken to the Prado in 1932. See *Museo del Prado, Catálogo de las Pinturas*, Madrid [1972], pp.285-86.

³ From at least Yriarte's day (C. YRIARTE: *Goya. Sa Biographie, les fresques, les toiles, les eaux-fortes et le Catalogue de l'Oeuvre*, Paris [1867], p.127, it has been repeatedly stated that the tondo salon was Godoy's library. This confusion arose because the room was converted into a library sometime after 1814 following Godoy's exile and the Napoleonic wars, when the building belonged to the *Ministerio de la Marina*.

⁴ J. GUDIOL, *Goya*, 4 vols., Barcelona [1970], Vol. I, p.300.

⁵ Located in the photographic archive of the Frick Art Reference Library (New York), these photographs, probably dating from the 1920s, were part of a group of 400 purchased from Moreno by the Frick between 1927 and 1933 (verbal communication from Ms Helen Sanger, Librarian at the Frick, after checking the photograph purchase records).



63.



64.



65.
63-65. *Commerce, Agriculture and Industry, in situ*, by Francisco de Goya. Tondo diameters 227 cm.; each lunette c. 340 by 900 cm. (Godoy's Palace, Madrid).



66. *Science, in situ*, by Francisco de Goya and R. Monl6n. Tondo diameter 227 cm.; lunette c. 340 by 900 cm. (Godoy's Palace, Madrid).



67. *Scientia*. Plate 188 from Ripa's *Iconologia*, ed. Hertel, Augsburg [1758-60].



68. Grand staircase, eastern branch, Godoy's Palace, Madrid.

rising from the lunettes¹³ and crowning the square chamber has also survived. Thus, the photographs, studied together with the extant sphinx frescoes, provide a view of the original placement of Goya's tondos.

Moreno's photographs are crucial to the documentation of this group of paintings in one further way: they demonstrate the approximate appearance of Goya's fourth tondo, *Science* (Fig.68), severely damaged during the nineteenth century (probably by water), and now seemingly lost.¹⁴ Yet, by the time it was photographed by Moreno, this work had been heavily restored by Rafael Monleón¹⁵ and retained virtually no traces of Goya's brushwork.

The earliest known reference¹⁶ to the four tondos appears in Frédéric Quilliet's manuscript inventory of Godoy's painting collection, dated 1st January 1808.¹⁷ They are listed together in a characteristically and unfortunately terse entry, reading '*Goya 4 Medaillons*'.¹⁸ The next specific mention¹⁹ of them occurs in Charles Yriarte's major 1867 biography and catalogue of Goya's work.²⁰ Yriarte discussed *Commerce* (which he called *L'Etude*), *Industry* and *Agriculture* at length, but made no mention of *Science*, a clear indication that the condition of this tondo had already deteriorated significantly. Yriarte reproduced the three undamaged tondos in line engravings, omitting the lunette sphinxes, presumably because he was

dealing solely with paintings by Goya and did not consider them to be works by the master.²¹

The salon containing the tondos, among the largest of the surviving rooms in the building, opens on a direct axis with the eastern branch of Godoy's regal grand staircase (Fig.68),²² and is thus the first room to be entered in the public area of the palace. Beruete correctly concluded that this salon had been Godoy's antechamber.²³ Godoy and his artistic advisors were understandably seeking a modern, internationally recognized mode of decoration for one of the principal public chambers of his palace. Yet it is not merely the location of the room and its consciously elegant decorative scheme which indicate its public function, but also the symbolic subject matter of Goya's tondos.

The themes of the four tondos overtly reflect the four areas of endeavour promoted by the most enlightened Spanish institution of the day – the *Sociedades Económicas*.²⁴ Godoy, the much-criticised royal favourite, was extremely conscious of his public image, and wished at least to appear to sympathise with the advanced ideas of his times.²⁵ Thus, these socially relevant themes were certainly commissioned with propaganda intentions, and were planned to be seen by Godoy's multitudinous visitors.²⁶ Furthermore, it is likely that Godoy chose the themes himself, as he is known to have done on another occasion,²⁷ and may even have requested the sphinx motifs, widely understood to symbolise wisdom.²⁸

Two decades ago F. Nordström thoroughly studied the three well-preserved tondos from the iconographical point of view, establishing that Goya had relied on Ripa's *Iconologia* for specific motifs.²⁹ Nordström hesitated, however, in discussing

¹³ The fact that the lunettes are located in the upper portion of their respective walls accounts for the purposely distorted perspective of the compositions of the tondos, long recognised as meant to be observed from considerably below eye level. In the Prado's recently reopened Goya Rotunda, they are hung at the upper levels of the walls in a manner reminiscent of their original positions.

¹⁴ *Science* was not taken to the Prado along with its three companions because it was in such disastrous condition. Although this work may have been left *in situ* initially (GUDIOL, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p.300, noted that the painting was still in the building), when I visited Godoy's former residence in September 1979 and again in November 1981 and August 1983, it could no longer be found and those who work there did not remember ever having seen it. The supposition that *Science* was damaged by water is corroborated by the fact that the lunette on which it was originally located on the west side of the chamber still bears dampness stains and fissures which are not found on the other three lunettes. It could have been damaged during the attempt to extinguish the 1846 fire in the building (See note 12 above).

¹⁵ *Science* was poorly restored and the surface repainted by the Valencian marine painter and illustrator Rafael Monleón y Torres (1847-1900), toward the end of the nineteenth century. BERUETE, *op. cit.*, p.71, was the first to publish this information, and others have followed. See F. NORDSTRÖM: *Goya, Saturn and Melancholy*. Uppsala [1962], pp.95 and 102; and P. GASSIER and J. WILSON: *Vie et Œuvre de Francisco Goya*, Fribourg [1970], p.189.

¹⁶ Documents concerning Godoy's commission of these works from Goya have thus far not come to light.

¹⁷ F. QUILLIET: *Collection des Tableaux de S.A.S. Le Prince de la Paix . . .*, Ms. 1st January 1808, fol. 19. See I. ROSE: *Manuel Godoy, Patron de las Artes y Coleccionista* (doctoral dissertation, 1981), Editorial de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Madrid, 1981, Document I, p.440.

¹⁸ In spite of the summary nature of Quilliet's entry, these works are undoubtedly the allegorical tondos since no other group of four circular paintings from Godoy's collection has ever been recorded. J. PÉREZ DE GUZMÁN GALLO: 'Las Colecciones de Cuadros del Príncipe de la Paz', *La España Moderna*, No. 140 [August 1900], pp.95-126, carelessly and erroneously translated and transformed Quilliet's original entry into '*Cuatro medallones con retratos*' (p.114).

¹⁹ A number of books published between 1831 and 1858 refer in general terms to the painted decorations in Godoy's palace, but it was not until Yriarte's study that the tondos were described and regarded separately as distinct works. Allusions to frescoes in Godoy's palace are found in R. DE MESONERO ROMANOS: *Manual de Madrid, Descripción de la Corte y la Villa*, Madrid [1831], pp.259-60; R. DE MESONERO ROMANOS: *Nuevo Manual Histórico-Topográfico-Estadístico y Descripción de Madrid*, Madrid [1854], pp.265-66; P. MADDOZ, *op. cit.*, Vol. X, p.748; L. MATHERON: *Goya Paris [1858]*, pages not numerated, '*Ouvrage de Goya. Essai de Catalogue. Peintures murales, Sujets divers, fresques: plafonds du ministère de la Marine, ancien Palais du Prince de la Paix: compositions allégoriques.*'

²⁰ YRIARTE, *op. cit.*, pp.127-128.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Ch. I, P. I, *Commerce*; Ch. IV, p.63, *Agriculture*; Ch. VIII, p.97, *Industry*. YRIARTE states that in Godoy's former palace, '*un examen minutieux nous a convaincu que ces trois médaillons sont les seuls à attribuer à Goya . . .*' (p.128). Since all three tondos reproduced in YRIARTE serve as ornamental chapter openers, the engraver, L. Dumont, adorned them with decorative garlands and bows which bear a merely coincidental resemblance to the vine and tendril motifs of the lunette frescoes.

²² One of Godoy's most ambitious renovation projects in this building was the creating of the majestic principal stairway, still under construction in 1803-04, as documented by references to it in letters from the Queen, María Luisa de Borbón, to Godoy on 1st March 1803 and 19th December 1804 (*Archivo del Palacio Real*, Madrid, *Archivo Reservado de Fernando VII*, T.95).

²³ BERUETE, *op. cit.*, p.72.

²⁴ This relationship was discussed by GASSIER and WILSON, *op. cit.*, p.138, and X. DE SALAS and M. AGUEDA VILLAR: *Goya, Catálogo de Exposición*, Palacio de Pedralbes Barcelona [1977], pp.102-03.

²⁵ GODOY in his apologetic *Memoirs*, written in exile years after his fall from power in 1808, mentions his support of and belief in the importance of the *Sociedades* ('Memorias . . .', B.A.E., Vol. 88, Madrid [1965], p.211; originally published Paris [1836]). During his years in power, Godoy made a great show of his support of the arts and sciences. See BARON DE BOURGOING: *Modern State of Spain*, 4 Vols., London [1808], Vol. III, pp.373 and 375; and MARQUIS DE MARCILLAC: *Nouveau Voyage en Espagne*, Paris [1805], p.248.

²⁶ A. ALCALÁ GALIANO described the mobs of visitors who regularly called on Godoy and crowded his interconnecting salons. See 'Recuerdos de un Anciano', B.A.E., Vol. 83 Madrid [1955], p.24; and 'Memorias', B.A.E., Vol. 83, p.318. Godoy, in a letter to María Luisa, 6th March 1805, exclaimed: '*me han molido mas de quinientas Personas . . .*' (*Archivo Histórico Nacional*, Madrid, *Estado*, L. 2821; and ROSE, *op. cit.*, Doc.49, p.479).

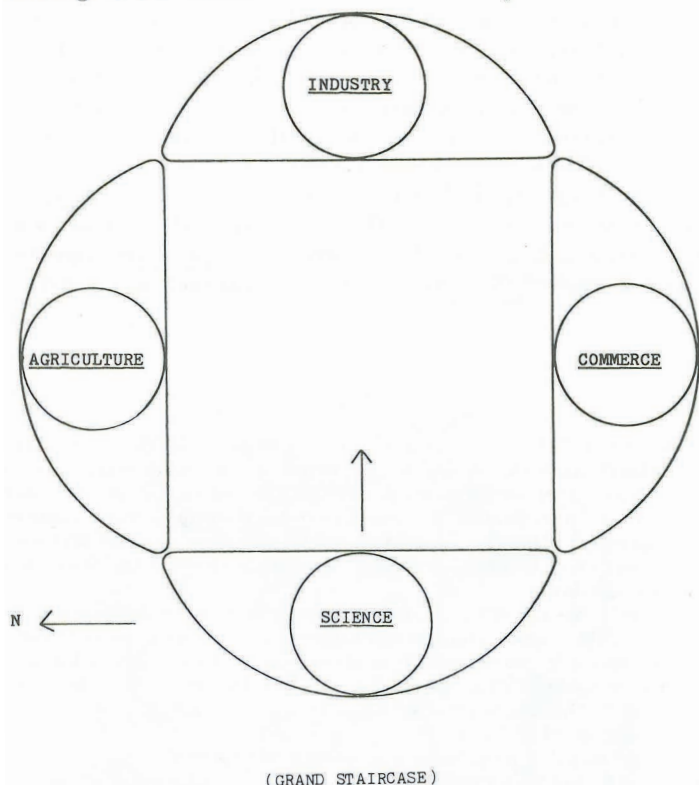
²⁷ J. MILICUA: 'Un cuadro perdido de Goya: el escudo del Real Instituto Militar Pestalozziano', *Goya*, No. 35 [1960], pp.332-34.

²⁸ Sphinxes can be used symbolically to suggest the four elements, or wisdom, or the combination of physical and intellectual power. It is not, however, entirely clear whether the sphinx decorations in Godoy's palace were intended to have served a specific symbolic purpose, although the association with wisdom seems likely. See H. DEMISCH, *op. cit.*, *passim*; J. C. COOPER: *An Illustrated Encyclopedia of Traditional Symbols* London [1978], p.156; J. HALL: *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, New York [1979], p.288.

²⁹ NORDSTRÖM, *op. cit.*, pp.95-102. NORDSTRÖM relied on the 1630 Padua edition of Ripa. YRIARTE, *op. cit.*, pp.127-28, in 1867 commented on the easily decipherable iconographical details of the symbolic stork in *Commerce* and the '*Ceres*' figure in *Agriculture*.

the iconography of *Science* because he feared that more than the paint surface had been altered by Rafael Monleón.³⁰ It is nevertheless probable that the composition and iconography of *Science*, likewise based on Ripa, adhere to Goya's original scheme. The compositional formula of a large, centrally placed female accompanied by a secondary figure is also used in *Industry* and *Agriculture*. Furthermore, the background architectural structure in *Science* is like that of *Industry*. Thus it appears that Monleón maintained Goya's original design and placement of figures.³¹

Iconographically, *Science* bears a distinct resemblance to the illustration of *Scientia* in the Augsburg 1758-60 Hertel edition of Ripa's *Iconologia* (Fig.67), suggesting that Goya was familiar with this particular, unique edition.³² A correspondence exists not only in the presentation of the seated female personification, but also in the accompanying symbolic still life details and background scene. Hertel's secondary scene shows Ptolemy, King of Egypt, who 'was very dedicated to the furtherance of studies and arts'.³³ In *Science* an elderly, Oriental-looking scholar works at his desk with compasses.³⁴



Text Fig. A. Reconstruction scheme showing the original locations of *Commerce*, *Agriculture*, *Industry* and *Science* within lunettes in Godoy's antechamber.

³⁰ NORDSTRÖM, *op. cit.*, p.102; GASSIER and WILSON, *op. cit.*, p.189, also omit *Science* from Goya's *œuvre* because of Monleón's repainting.

³¹ A preparatory drawing or oil sketch for *Science* would resolve this matter, but only the oil sketch for *Commerce* is known to exist (GASSIER and WILSON, *op. cit.*, p.190, No.693).

³² C. RIPA: *Baroque and Rococo Pictorial Imagery. The 1758-60 Hertel Edition of Ripa's 'Iconologia'* . . . , Intro., transl., commentaries by E. A. MASER, New York [1971], No.188. The Hertel edition is famous for its unusually elaborate background scenes or 'fatti', which elaborate on Ripa's single-figure personifications. The presence of a copy of the Hertel edition in Spain before 1808 is most likely, given that A. R. Mengs could easily have carried one with him on one of his journeys to Spain (1761-69; 1774-76), where he worked for Carlos III and headed the *Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*. ANTONIO PALAU: *Manual del Librero Hispanoamericano*, Barcelona [1965], lists no Spanish editions of Ripa. E. A. MASER, *op. cit.*, p.xi, states that the only Spanish language edition of Ripa was published in Mexico in 1866. Goya's brother-in-law, the painter Francisco Bayeu, had the 1764 Perugia and 1644 Paris (Baudoin) editions in his library (MARQUÉS DEL SALTILLO: *Miscelanea madrileña* . . . , Madrid [1952], p.30).

³³ RIPA/HERTEL, *op. cit.*, No.188. This Ptolemy lived in the third century B.C.

³⁴ Perhaps he is meant to represent another Ptolemy, the second century A.D. astronomer, whose concept of the solar system survived to the period of Copernicus in the sixteenth century. The astronomical theme explains the telescope in this work, but at present it is not known whether the telescope survived from Goya's original version, or if it is a Monleón addition.

The reconstruction (Text Fig.A) of the original locations of the tondos was worked out by comparing Moreno's photos with the extant sphinx frescoes. Since the paired male and female sphinx heads are surprisingly individualised and differentiated from each other,³⁵ they are easily recognised and correlated with the photographs. Thus we can now be certain that *Industry* hung on the eastern wall, directly opposite the principle entrance to the antechamber, and was visible from the grand staircase with the door open. *Science* hung opposite it on the western wall, over the doorway, and was therefore probably the least noticeable. *Commerce* hung on the south wall, to the right of the main entrance, with *Agriculture* opposite it on the north wall.³⁶

Goya took the special light conditions of this salon into consideration when developing the compositions and tonal values of his tondos. The dome and lantern provide a normally soft, diffused light, the direct focus of which changes during the course of the day. This circumstance certainly moved him to emphasise the silvery-gray tones of his paintings, as well as to create an image of shadowy interior space broken by strong rays of light in two of the tondos, *Commerce* and *Industry*.³⁷

Authorship of the sphinx frescoes is still a matter of conjecture. In the absence of conclusive documentary evidence, the most likely candidate is Jacinto Gómez Pastor (1746-1812), an official royal frescoist in the Pompeian mode, and one of Godoy's most trusted artistic advisors.³⁸ The stylistic characteristics of the sphinxes point to a late dating within the development of the Pompeian style in Spain. Their large scale bold, broad handling definitely indicates the early nineteenth century.³⁹ This dating is corroborated by information concern-

³⁵ BERUETE, *op. cit.*, p.52, was also intrigued by the vaguely Goyesque quality of these heads, and may have been the first to publish the suggestion that they could have been painted by Goya. This idea was carried further by A. ALVAREZ DE LINERA: 'Escenarios Madrileños de la Vida de Godoy', *Revista de Biblioteca, Archivos y Museos* XVIII: 58 [Jan.-July, 1949], p.77. Although these heads exude a particular charm, and have a slightly caricatural quality, without further evidence of either a technical or documentary nature, they cannot at present be considered as works by Goya.

³⁶ BERUETE, *op. cit.*, p.71, whose description of the tondos *in situ* pre-dates Moreno's photographs by at least ten years, also saw them in these positions. There is no reason to believe that the situation of the tondos was ever shifted during the nineteenth century. The arrangement seen by Beruete and photographed by Moreno would seem to be the original one. As hung in the Prado today, the three surviving tondos are correctly placed with *Industry* in front of the principal entrance to the Goya Rotunda, *Commerce* to the right and *Agriculture* to the left.

³⁷ GASSIER and WILSON, *op. cit.*, p.138, remark on the strong light contrasts in *Commerce*. In his 1788 commission for the Duchess of Osuna's private chapel in the Cathedral of Valencia, Goya also took the fall of light from a dome into consideration when painting works on canvas. See GASSIER and WILSON, *ibid.*, p.96, Nos.240 & 243.

³⁸ Gómez Pastor was the brother-in-law of Francisco and Ramón Bayeu, and thus a relative-by-marriage of Goya. He was sent to Rome to study, sponsored by the Infante D. Luis (d. 1785), uncle of Carlos IV and father of Godoy's future wife. Gómez entered the royal service in 1773, recommended by Mengs. He was named 'Pintor de Cámara' in 1789 by Carlos IV, and executed numerous frescoes over the years in the royal residences in Madrid, Aranjuez, La Granja and El Escorial. He also served Carlos IV as a restorer and agent for acquiring paintings. His name appears twice in relation to artistic matters in the 1805 correspondence between María Luisa and Godoy (6th March 1805, Godoy to María Luisa, *Archivo Histórico Nacional, Estado*, L. 2821; 7th March 1805, María Luisa to Godoy, *Archivo del Palacio Real, Archivo Reservado de Fernando VII*, T. 96). See F. J. SÁNCHEZ-CANTÓN: 'Los Pintores de Cámara de los Reyes de España', *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* Vol. XXIV [1916], p.210; CONDE DE LA VIÑAZA: *Adiciones al Diccionario Histórico* . . . , 4 Vols., Madrid [1889], Vol. II, pp.230-31; X. DE SALAS: 'Inventario . . .', *Arte Español* Vol. XXVI [1968-69], p.29; and ROSE, *op. cit.*, pp.234-36 & 479-80, Docs. 49 and 50. Professor JUAN JOSÉ JUNQUERA, author of *La Decoración y el Mobiliario de los Palacios de Carlos IV*, Madrid [1979], in conversation (April, 1980), agrees that the sphinx frescoes could be by J. Gómez.

³⁹ In separate conversations with the late Professor Xavier de Salas in 1980 and 1981, and J. J. Junquera in 1980, both concurred that on stylistic grounds the sphinx frescoes dated from c. 1800-05, and therefore were part of the decorative programme of the building carried out during Godoy's residence there.

ing the major structural alterations and decoration of the palace, ordered by Godoy and carried out between late 1801 and early 1806.⁴⁰ The huge, ambitious staircase project was not terminated until December, 1804. Since it adjoins the antechamber, it would seem that the frescoing of the lunettes could not have been begun before late 1804.

There can be little doubt that tondos and sphinxes were created to decorate the same lunettes in the same salon, but it is less clear whether they were commissioned simultaneously. Even if they were ordered and planned at the same time, the tondos on canvas were probably executed a few years before the frescoed sphinxes. The tondos are usually placed within the 1797-1800 period on stylistic and historical grounds,⁴¹ but considering the dates of the remodelling of Godoy's palace, it now appears unlikely that they were commissioned earlier than 1801-02. Circumstantial evidence thus points to a later date than previously thought for the tondos, c. 1801-02, and a date of c.1804-06 for the sphinxes.

In spite of their apparent incongruity, tondos and sphinxes were meant to complement each other within a coherent decorative scheme. Goya's allegories presented the viewer with the easily readable, if dubious propaganda message that the country was in the hands of an enlightened and modern Prime Minister, while the sphinxes provided a stylish and lightly symbolic context.

⁴⁰ Letters exchanged between María Luisa and Godoy provide the documental basis for these dates. The earliest comment by Godoy in a letter to the Queen concerning the building projects being carried out on his palace is dated 2nd December 1801 (*Archivo del Palacio Real, Archivo Reservado de Fernando VII*, T. 94). On 2nd April 1802 and 15th March 1803 there are references to groundplans for the structural work then under way (*ibid.*, T. 95), and continual references to 'obras' in other letters of 1803 through 1805 (*ibid.*, T. 95 & 96), until finally on 8th March 1806, the major work had been terminated and Godoy wrote to the Queen: '*... todo queda arreglado y ha sobrado tarde para ver mis pequeñas obras q^e son el resto de todas las de comodidad de la casa . . .*' (*Archivo Histórico Nacional, Estado*, L. 2821). When Godoy took up residence in this palace in 1792, there existed ceiling frescoes dating from Floridablanca's ministry in the 1780's, attributed to Gregorio Ferro and Joseph Castillo by ANTONIO PONZ: *Viage de España*. Madrid [1793], Vol. V. p.177. In the judgment of the sculptor Pedro González de Sepúlveda, in his diary entry for 9th November 1800 after a visit to Godoy's palace, '*Los techos son cosa muy desgraciada*'. (E. PARDO CANALIS: '*Una visita a la Galería del Príncipe de la Paz*', *Goya*, Nos.148-50 [Jan.-June, 1979], p.301). Since Godoy undertook the major remodelling project of his palace about a year after this visit, González de Sepúlveda clearly saw the earlier ceilings and not those commissioned by Godoy.

⁴¹ GASSIER and WILSON, *op. cit.*, p.189, c. 1797-99. BERUETE, *op. cit.*, p.70, 1797, the year of Godoy's marriage. F. J. SÁNCHEZ-CANTÓN: *The Life and Works of Goya*, Madrid [1964], p.158, listed them under 1797 with reservations ('Date somewhat uncertain'). YRIARTE, *op. cit.*, pp.127-28, 1800. GONZÁLEZ DE SEPÚLVEDA (PARDO CANALIS, *op. cit.*, pp.300-11), did not record having seen them in his 9th November 1800 diary entry.

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The February issue is devoted to twentieth-century art. There are articles on Biederman's influence in England and on the circumstances of Brancusi's Tirgu Jiu commission. Shorter Notices discuss Sérusier's work in Edinburgh, a newly discovered painting by Juan Gris and the late Picasso nude recently acquired by the Tate Gallery. Exhibition reviews from London, Frankfurt, New York and Paris.