

Jean-Louis Gintrac and Goya's 'La Boda'*

LONG known but never fully appraised, Jean-Louis Gintrac's somewhat inept drawing after Francisco Goya's *La Boda* has usually been dismissed as an awkward caricature by a minor artist.¹ It was reproduced lithographically under the title *Un mariage burlesque* (Fig. 17) for the new Parisian art journal *L'Artiste* in early December 1834,² some six years after Goya's death at Bordeaux, this being the first occasion that a painting by the artist was illustrated in the press of any country.³ In addition to this distinction, the print provides useful clues for deciphering Goya's conception and composition of *La Boda*, which formed part of the 1791–92 series of cartoons painted for tapestries intended to decorate Charles IV's office at El Escorial, as well as allowing the much-doubted oil sketch (*boceto*) for this particular cartoon to be definitely identified.

In a brief paragraph, the editor of *L'Artiste* thanks the young Bordeaux painter Gintrac (1808–86) for providing the drawing, evidently conscious that he had obtained a scoop (see the Appendix, below).⁴ Gintrac had moved to Paris and had begun his art studies at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in September 1830 after early training in his native city, where he had conceivably come into contact with the Spanish emigré circle that included Goya. Although Charles Marionneau, a Bordeaux friend of Gintrac's, makes no mention of a Spanish journey in the biography he published in the year of Gintrac's death,⁵ it has usually been assumed that Gintrac must have travelled to Spain at some time between 1830 and 1834, and have copied either the large cartoon or the woven tapestry of *La Boda* there. Yet no-one has asked why Gintrac should have chosen this particular subject, or, more significantly, how he could have obtained access to the originals. Furthermore, none of the works Gintrac exhibited at the Paris Salons and the Bordeaux fine art exhibitions in the 1830s includes a

Spanish subject,⁶ an unthinkable omission for a landscape and genre painter of the period had he in fact made the peninsular journey.

But, even if he had gone to Spain, it is unlikely that Gintrac would have seen either the cartoon or the tapestry of *La Boda*. All Goya's cartoons were then in the Royal Tapestry Factory, where they were inventoried by Vicente López in 1834. Thereafter they were rolled up and stored in the Tapestries Office at the Madrid Royal Palace until 1868, and only in 1870 did they enter the Prado, where they were installed in the galleries in 1876 after several years of restoration and re-stretching.⁷ The tapestries themselves mostly hung in the royal residences at El Pardo and El Escorial, still in use by the crown, and surely inaccessible to an unknown foreign student. Goya's first French biographer, Laurent Matheron, also from Bordeaux, makes no mention of either tapestry cartoons or tapestries in the draft catalogue of his slim 1858 volume, suggesting that neither he nor his possible Spanish informants, particularly the painter Antonio Brugada (1804–63), may ever have seen them.⁸ Charles Yriarte, Goya's second French biographer and well-connected in Spain, failed to see the cartoons when he visited Madrid in 1866, and managed only with great difficulty to obtain permission to examine the tapestries in the Pardo palace, where *La Boda* was then hanging. Even he was denied entry to the royal apartments at El Escorial.⁹

The chances of Gintrac's having studied the cartoon or tapestry are therefore virtually nil. Furthermore, looking attentively at the lithograph and taking into account that it reverses the composition, it is clear that there are a substantial number of variations from the cartoon (Fig. 19) as it survives in the Prado.¹⁰ Most obviously, Gintrac shows the bride's head turned into the compositional space, while two

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¹See J. ADHÉMAR: 'Essai sur les débuts de l'influence de Goya en France au XIXe siècle', *Bibliothèque Nationale. Goya. Exposition*, Paris [1935], pp.53–54 and 65; E. LAFUENTE FERRARI: *Antecedentes, Coincidencias e Influencias del Arte de Goya*, Madrid [1947], p.244; P. GUINARD: 'Romantiques français en Espagne', in *Art de France*, II, Paris [1962], pp.191 and 203; I.H. LIPSCHUTZ: *Spanish Painting and the French Romantics*, Cambridge [1972], pp.72–73 and 378; V. CHAN: 'New Light on Goya's Tapestry Cartoon: *La Boda*', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6ème sér., CI [1983], p.34.

²*L'Artiste*, 1er sér., vol.VIII, livraison 20 [1834] (see the Appendix below). The journal commenced publication on 1st February 1831.

³Two months earlier, in October 1834, *Le Magasin Pittoresque* (no.41, pp.324–25) carried an anonymous, anecdotal article on Goya, illustrated with prints after *Caprichos* nos.1, 39 and 51, drawn by Grandville (1803–47) and engraved by the Andrew-Best-Leloir team active in Paris c.1828–52; see ADHÉMAR (pp.53 and 65), LAFUENTE (pp.308–09), and LIPSCHUTZ (pp.66–67), all cited at note 1 above, and N. GLENDINNING: *Goya and his Critics*, New Haven and London [1977], pp.17, 73 and 258.

⁴Almost all the early articles in the journal are unsigned, and it is difficult to ascertain who, other than the founding editor, Achille Ricourt, might have written the note.

⁵C. MARIONNEAU: *Jean-Louis Gintrac*, Bordeaux [1886].

⁶There are no other known drawings by Gintrac based on Goya's cartoons. He exhibited landscapes and genre subjects, none of them remotely Spanish, in the Paris Salons of 1831, 1834, 1836 and 1837, and at Bordeaux in 1827, 1829, 1830, 1834 and 1838 (MARIONNEAU, *op. cit.* above, pp.13–15, and *Catalogue de l'Exposition d'objets d'art et d'industrie anciens et modernes* . . . , Bordeaux [1834], nos.220–29). By contrast, Pierre-Jules Jollivet, who had been in Spain, c.1825–30, exhibited Spanish subjects in the Paris Salons of 1831, 1833 and 1835 (see GUINARD, *loc. cit.* at note 1 above, p.189).

⁷See V. DE SAMBRICIO: *Tapices de Goya*, Madrid [1946], docs.279 and 281; P. DE MADRAZO: *Catálogo . . . del Museo del Prado*, Madrid [1900], p.123; and A.E. PÉREZ-SANCHEZ: 'Goya en el Prado', in *Goya. Nuevas Visiones*, Madrid [1987], p.310. The tapestry factory closed in 1808 after the French occupation of Madrid, and reopened only in 1815; many of the cartoons were probably rolled up during this period. In 1870, G. CRUZADA VILLAAMIL (*Los Tapices de Goya*, Madrid [1870]) published cartoons and tapestries for the first time; from 1876 they began to be included in Prado catalogues. *La Boda* was woven twice: in 1792–94 and in 1832–34 (SAMBRICIO, p.275). See also: *Museo del Prado. Inventario General de Pinturas. III. Cartones para tapices*, ed. M. ORIHUELA, Madrid [1997]; *Tapices y cartones de Goya*, exh. cat., Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid [1996]; and *Permanencia de la Memoria. Cartones para Tapiz y Dibujos de Goya*, exh. cat. (Museo de Zaragoza), Barcelona [1997].

⁸L. MATHERON: 'Pinturas de Goya. Ensayo para la formación de un catálogo', in *Goya*, Madrid [1890] (1st ed., Paris [1858]), pp.117–22. VALENTÍN CORDERERA, Goya's first Spanish biographer, writing in *El Artista* (II [1835], pp.253–55), mentions neither cartoons nor tapestries, although he does remark on 'las escenas populares de nuestro país, género en que sobresalía particularmente'.

⁹C. YRIARTE: *Goya. Sa Biographie . . . et le catalogue de l'œuvre* . . . , Paris [1867], pp.152–54; he describes *La Boda* (p.153) as: 'Une Noce villageoise. Un enfant monté sur un chariot se réjouit en voyant avancer la noce.'

¹⁰*Museo del Prado. Catálogo de las Pinturas*, Madrid [1985], p.293, no.799; P. GASSIER and J. WILSON: *Vie et Œuvre de Francisco Goya*, Fribourg [1970] (hereafter abbreviated as G/W), p.99, no.302. There has been some confusion concerning its dimensions, and the possibility that it was substantially cut at the sides has been proposed (see X. DESPARMET FITZGERALD: *L'Œuvre peint de Goya*, Paris [1928–50], I, p.96, no.37; and J. TOMLINSON: *Francisco Goya. The Tapestry Cartoons and Early Career at the Court of Madrid*, Cambridge [1989], p.203), apparently as the result of an error in the size given in Prado catalogues. J.M. ARNÁIZ (*Francisco de Goya. Cartones para tapices*, Madrid [1987], pp.168, 310, no.62C) exposes the error and gives the correct dimensions (269 by 396 cm.). It is clear that the cartoon was never in fact cut.

L'ARTISTE.



L. Gintrac d'après le tableau de Goya.

Lith. de Frey.

UN MARIAGE BURLESQUE.

17. *Un Mariage burlesque*, lithograph by Johann Jakob Frey, reproducing a drawing by Jean-Louis Gintrac after Goya's oil-sketch for *La Boda*. 12 by 23 cm. (From *L'Artiste*, 1er sér., VIII, livraison 20, Paris [1834]).

men are partially discernible behind the priest, rather than the male and female couple of the cartoon. Secondary male figures in the shadows, three to each side of the scene in the lithograph, are not in the Prado work, while the female observer partially obscured by the bride glances down at the groom instead of tilting her head up and directing her gaze towards his back, as in the large painting. Finally the satin bow at the back of the groom's neck is missing in the lithograph, and he is not shown touching the bride's sleeve. A youthful copyist could hardly be expected to have introduced such major alterations into a composition intended for reproduction in a prestigious art journal.

In fact, it is obvious that Gintrac copied neither the cartoon nor a tapestry, but something else. The best, indeed the only candidate is Goya's preliminary oil sketch which was destroyed by fire in Buenos Aires in 1956, and has been

known only through photographs dating from 1928 (Fig. 18),¹¹ thus escaping scholarly scrutiny. Published in 1946 as authentic by Valentín de Sambricio, who remarked on some but not all of the differences between it and the large cartoon, the work has appeared in several Goya catalogues raisonnés, but only in small black-and-white reproductions, making it practically impossible to distinguish the variations, which conform exactly to those we have noted in the lithograph.¹² Clearly this destroyed painting was Goya's initial idea for the cartoon, the *boceto* mentioned by him as being close to completion in a letter of 3rd June 1791 to his brother-in-law Francisco Bayeu,¹³ and which most likely figures later in Brugada's 1828 post-mortem inventory of the *Quinta del Sordo* within a group of sixteen oil sketches for the tapestry cartoons.¹⁴

It seems likely that Xavier, Goya's son and heir, sold the

¹¹See *Tres Cuadros de Goya*, Jockey Club, Buenos Aires [1928]. Painted in oil on canvas, it measured 34.5 by 51 cm. The other two Goya paintings destroyed in 1956 were the *Portrait of Antonio Porcel* (G/W 855) and *The Hurricane* (G/W 950).

¹²SAMBRICIO, *op. cit.* at note 7 above, p.276, no.59b; the *boceto* published in DESPARMET (*op. cit.* at note 10 above, p.198, no.158; 32 by 52 cm.), based on the description, is probably not the Jockey Club version. See also GASSIER and WILSON (no.298, pp.99 and 374, as probably the definitive oil sketch for the cartoon), and ARNÁIZ (p.312, no.B-b, as authentic), both cited at note 10 above; R. DE ANGELIS: *Tout l'œuvre peint de Goya*, Paris [1976], no.257; and X. DE SALAS: *Goya*, London [1979], no.222. J. GUDIOL (*Goya*, Paris [1970]), excludes this *boceto* from his catalogue; J.L. MORALES Y MARÍN

(*Goya. Catálogo de la Pintura*, Saragossa [1994], p.220), mentions it only in passing. J. WILSON-BAREAU and M.B. MENA MARQUÉS (*Goya. El Capricho y la invención*, exh. cat., Museo del Prado, Madrid [1993]), do not consider this work in their discussion of the *bocetos* for this tapestry series.

¹³SAMBRICIO, *op. cit.* at note 7 above, doc.14, 3rd June 1791: '... tengo cuasi [sic] acabado el borrón del mayor cuadro de la pieza del despacho del Rey, del real Sitio de San Lorenzo...'; and A. CANELLAS LÓPEZ: *Francisco de Goya. Diplomatario*, Saragossa [1981], p.305, no.175.

¹⁴*I Diez y seis bocetos pequeños de los tapices* (see GASSIER and WILSON, *op. cit.* at note 10 above, Appendix II, p.381).



18. *La Boda*, by Francisco Goya. 1791. Oil-sketch for Fig.19. 34.5 by 51 cm. (Formerly Jockey Club, Buenos Aires; destroyed 1956).



19. *La Boda*, by Francisco Goya. 1791-92. 269 by 396 cm. (Museo del Prado, Madrid).

boceto for *La Boda*, as he did so many of his father's works, shortly after completion of the inventory, and it thus became available to Gintrac by 1834. A possible purchaser is Antonio Brugada, one of Goya's closest friends during his last years,¹⁵ who lived in Bordeaux as a political exile from 1823 to 1834, but made two extended trips to Madrid, from April 1828 to October 1829, and again from February to September 1830, before re-establishing residence in Spain.¹⁶ It is not inconceivable that he brought this small, easily transportable painting with him to Bordeaux in 1829 or 1830, perhaps having his fellow expatriates or local painters in mind.¹⁷ In any event, a 'Bordeaux connexion' seems to be fundamental for explaining how Gintrac came to see the painting in France.

If Brugada was not the purchaser, a second possibility is Gintrac's slightly older contemporary, the Bordeaux painter Adrien Dauzats (1804–68). The two artists were in contact in their native city, where Gintrac studied with Jean-Paul Alaux, a Dauzats family friend,¹⁸ as well as in Paris, where they lived from 1823 and 1830 respectively, showing their works for the first time in the Paris Salon of 1831. Dauzats did travel to Spain, in July and August 1833, in the company of Baron Isidore Justin Taylor, a friend of the Madrazo family, with whom they stayed in Madrid.¹⁹ The Madrazos, themselves major clients of Xavier Goya, introduced Taylor to the artist's son. Three years later, this contact was to be crucial for Taylor's purchases of paintings by Goya for Louis-Philippe's Musée Espagnol in the Louvre. The young Dauzats – whom Taylor employed on his profusely illustrated *Voyage Pittoresque d'Espagne* and who was fascinated with things Spanish – could well have purchased this small work from Xavier, returning with it to Bordeaux (where he arrived in mid-August 1833) and then taking it to Paris in September.²⁰

A third candidate for the export of the painting is the eighteen-year-old Federico de Madrazo (1815–94), who visited Paris on his own for the first time in September and October 1833, being warmly received by Taylor and Dauzats.²¹ The latter had already begun to collaborate that year as an illustrator on *L'Artiste*,²² and it is surely he who must be the essential link among these disparate personalities. Dauzats was even involved in a frustrated attempt by the editor of *L'Artiste* to publish a biography of Goya in the autumn of 1834, surely aware that the rival *Magasin Pittoresque*, founded the previous year, was planning a similar article.²³

On 29th September 1834 Dauzats sent an urgent message

from Paris to Federico de Madrazo in Madrid requesting biographical and pictorial information for a note he was preparing on Goya. Madrazo stalled, replying only six months later, on 1st April 1835, that he was unable to oblige as Xavier Goya, on whom such an enterprise depended, was not in Madrid.²⁴ This ruse served to gain time for Valentín Carderera to write his biography of Goya, using information obtained directly from Xavier, and for the Madrazos to publish it in an 1835 issue of *El Artista*, their Madrid version (founded in 1834) of the Parisian *L'Artiste*.²⁵ Thus the Spaniards obtained the biographical exclusive and the French were able to publish only the lithograph after Gintrac, as the editor lamented: 'we had hoped to accompany the image with news of the life and works of the Spanish painter . . . but the information we requested from Madrid several months ago concerning this unrecognised artist has not yet arrived' (see the Appendix, below).

The subsequent history of the *boceto* Gintrac drew can be traced through nineteenth-century French publications, beginning in 1858 with Matheron, who includes what must be it in his brief list of Goya paintings, as '*El matrimonio burlesco*'.²⁶ A high percentage of the works cited by Matheron were in private collections in Bordeaux and Paris. The painting may have been in the Laneville auction of 20th May 1861,²⁷ and definitely resurfaces in the sale of Comte Victor-François-Léonard Huyttens de Terbeck from Compiègne (d. 1879) of 25th–26th May 1877, praised for both its humorous content and its 'truthful execution'.²⁸ Thirty years later, in 1907, the marqués de la Vega-Inclán (1858–1942), resident in Paris from 1893 to 1907, sold it, accompanied by a certificate of authenticity from the Director of the Louvre, to the Jockey Club of Buenos Aires, where it remained until the 1956 conflagration.²⁹

As the only small-scale version to show major figural differences from the final cartoon, the Buenos Aires painting allows us to trace Goya's way of working out this composition. In referring to his oil studies Goya preferred the term *borrón* (rough draft, or fast sketch),³⁰ thus underlining the experimental nature of his *bocetos*. The unprecedented twist of the bride's head, making her anonymous and unidentifiable, must have seemed too radical a solution, and in the cartoon Goya replaced this prominent element with a profile staring straight ahead. Nevertheless, the concept of 'unknowing, unseeing' appears to have remained fundamental to

¹⁵See X. DE SALAS: 'Sobre Antonio de Brugada y un posible retrato de Goya', *Goya*, nos. 148–50 [1979], pp. 216–19.

¹⁶See E. ARIAS ANGLÉS: *Antonio de Brugada. Pintor Romántico y Liberal*, Madrid [1989], p. 33.

¹⁷Brugada remained in touch with Bordeaux artistic circles, returning several times during the 1840s and 1850s, when he was in contact with Matheron; see J. FAUQUE and R. VILLANUEVA ETCHEVERRÍA: *Goya y Burdeos 1824–1828*, Saragossa [1982], pp. 198–200.

¹⁸See MARIONNEAU, *op. cit.* at note 5 above, p. 4, and P. GUINARD: *Dauzats et Blanchard. Peintres de l'Espagne Romantique*, Bordeaux [1967], p. 33. See also, G. PLESSIER: *Adrien Dauzats ou la tentation de l'Orient. Catalogue raisonné de l'œuvre peint*, Bordeaux [1990].

¹⁹GUINARD, *op. cit.* at note 18 above, pp. 125 and 425.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 425. For the Musée Espagnol, see J. BATICLE and C. MARINAS: *La galerie espagnole de Louis-Philippe au Louvre 1838–1848*, Paris [1981].

²¹GUINARD, *op. cit.* at note 18 above, p. 425.

²²*Ibid.*, pp. 425 and 426. Dauzats participated as lithographer or draughtsman in three plates for *L'Artiste* in 1833, and one in 1834.

²³See note 3 above.

²⁴GUINARD, *op. cit.* at note 18 above, pp. 125–27.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 127, and CARDERERA, *loc. cit.* at note 8 above. See also GLENDINNING, *op. cit.* at note 3 above, p. 70, and J. SIMÓN DÍAZ: "'L'Artiste" de Paris y "El Artista" de Madrid', *Revista Bibliográfica y Documental*, I, no. 2 [1947], pp. 261–67.

²⁶MATHERON, *loc. cit.* at note 8 above, p. 122. Matheron was involved in the Bordeaux

art world, writing at least two catalogues for the *Exposition de la Société des amis des arts de Bordeaux*, Bordeaux [1852] and [1853].

²⁷*Vente de Tableaux par Laneville*, Paris, 20th May 1861: 'no. 42. Goya – Le Mariage'.

²⁸*Collection de M. le Comte de *** [Terbeck] Tableaux Anciens . . . vente Hotel Drouot*, Experts – Rouillard & Bloche, Paris, 25th–26th May 1877, p. 18, no. 29: '*Goya – Le Mariage extravagant. Sujet composé pour les tapisseries du Palais-Royal, du Pardo, où l'on retrouve l'humour d'Hogarth, un esprit et une malice singulière, jointe à une exécution toujours vraie*' (the tapestry had been transferred to El Pardo from the Escorial before 1866). No dimensions are given, but the work sold for 390 francs, suggesting small size but high quality (in the same sale, Goya's full-length portrait of his son, G/W 852, was purchased for 600 francs). YRIARTE (*op. cit.* at note 9 above) does not mention anything that might be identifiable as the *boceto*, though he does list a large painting in the collection of Paul de Saint-Victor, entitled *Le Mariage Grottesque*, in which '*Un vieillard grotesque et une jolie fille reçoivent la bénédiction*' (p. 149). This was shown in the *Exposition . . . au profit des Alsaciens-Lorrains . . .*, Paris [April 1874], no. 187 (331 by 359 cm.) and has not been seen since; see DESPARMET, *op. cit.* at note 10 above, I, no. 159; and J.A. GAYA NUÑO: *La Pintura Española fuera de España*, Madrid [1958], no. 900.

²⁹The Director of the Louvre from 1904 to 1911 was Jean Théophile Homolle. At one time it was thought that the Jockey Club *boceto* had been in the Madrid collection of Luis de Madrazo (1825–97), but this was a confusion with the '*Escena bajo un puente*' (G/W 949)

³⁰See A. DE BERUETE: *Goya*, ed. F.J. SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN, Madrid [1928], p. 118.



20. Detail of
The Family of Charles IV, by Francisco Goya. 1800–01. (Museo del Prado, Madrid).

Goya's thinking: even if the privileged spectator can now view half of the bride's face, the groom, trailing behind, still does not see her at all. Curiously, Goya had recourse to the rejected pictorial solution nine years later in a totally different commission, the large group portrait of the Royal Family of 1800–01, now in the Prado,³¹ where the head of the Prince of Asturias's bride-to-be (Fig 20) – who had not yet been chosen and was therefore unavailable for portrayal – is turned away from the viewer. This has always been considered a radical pose, but it now appears that Goya conceived the idea almost a decade earlier in a different, but not unrelated context.

Gently but obviously satirical in content, *La Boda* has long been recognised as the first of Goya's major compositions to herald the biting satire of his print series, *Los Caprichos*, published in January 1799,³² including as it does the same kind of mordant verbal-visual puns. Goya's well-documented reluctance to paint the series of cartoons for the Escorial, which he was finally coerced into executing, and Charles IV's request that their themes be '*jocosos*', certainly influenced the tone of *La Boda*.³³ Over and above these circumstances, however, uniquely Goyesque devices begin to emerge here, as the artist translates popular verbal sayings into potent visual imagery. There are many Spanish proverbs depending on the word-play between '*novio*' (groom) and '*vió*' (saw), that refer to an espoused couple's disastrous myopia. One example is '*Era novio, no vió, y a ciegos se casó*' (He was a bridegroom, he didn't

see, and so he married blindly), while another runs '*Ella novia y él no-vió, y así el casorio salió*' (She didn't see and he didn't see and the unwise marriage came to be).³⁴ These sayings, which must have been familiar to Goya and his contemporaries, provide apt commentaries on the lost *boceto*.

Such visual-verbal games continue throughout the composition. The bright blue bow incongruously hung at the back of the groom's neck in the finished cartoon, which is entirely unrelated to his deep red, outmoded costume, is a major key to the multiple meanings of the painting – as its prominent position in the centre of the composition might suggest. It was this addition which caused Goya to modify the position of the townsman's head to the left of the groom: she no longer looks down at him as in the *boceto* but tosses her head backwards, her neck forming a sharp diagonal, and aims her smirking gaze at the bow rather than at his repugnant face. In Spanish '*Caer en el lazo*' (literally 'to fall into the bow') means 'to fall into the trap',³⁵ and '*lazo*' is likewise related to '*nudo*' (knot) and '*enlace*' (union), making the bow a symbol of the marriage knot.

The imagined rhythms of the piper who leads the wedding procession may perhaps have assisted the tapestry's royal viewers to call up the many popular rhymes associated with the images: for the asinine groom, '*Deme Dios, marido rico, siquiera sea borrico*' (Please God, give me a rich husband, even if he's an ass); for the vain bride, '*Bien digo yo que mal casó ella, y peor casó él con ella*' (Well do I say she married badly, but worse did he marry her), or '*Casamientos sin engaños, uno cada diez años*' (Undeceptive marriages, one per decade), or '*La que a todos parece hermosa, para su marido es peligrosa*' (She who appears beautiful to all, dangerous for her husband); for the villagers, '*A fuego y a boda va la aldea toda*' (To fires and marriages the whole village goes).³⁶ Last but not least, there is a popular saying which may help to explain why the procession is situated beneath rather than on the bridge, moving downwards from the right and just beginning to turn upwards at the point where the bride treads: '*Baja un escalón para casarte, súbelo para amancebarte*' (Go down a step to marry, go up a step to concubinage).³⁷ Goya demonstrates in abundance his ability to interweave '*lo popular*' on both verbal and visual levels.

Another significant detail, also located almost at the centre of the composition, received greater emphasis in the cartoon than in the *boceto* – the groom's attempt to reach out and grasp his bride. While in the *boceto* he is restrained by the woman behind, in the cartoon he manages to tug childishly at his new wife's cuff. This gesture reinforces the message that she will remain unknown to him, and will ignore, control and before long be unfaithful to him as well. What Goya subtracts in the process from *boceto* to cartoon is as important as what he adds. Other alterations serve to simplify forms and clarify meanings, as in his elimination of the men in the shadows at the horizontal extremes of the composition, thus stressing the more important figures of the elderly man with a cane to the right and the joyously gesturing boy to the left. The two men partially visible behind the priest in the *boceto* and trans-

³¹Prado, no.726; G/W no.783.

³²See, for example, J. TOMLINSON: "Goya y lo Popular" Revisited: On the Iconography of "The Wedding", *Pantheon*, XLII [1984], pp.23–29.

³³SAMBRICIO, *op. cit.* at note 7 above, docs.128–35; TOMLINSON, *loc. cit.* above, pp.23–24 and 28; and WILSON and MENA, *op. cit.* at note 12 above, pp.184–85 and 357. '*Jocosos*' in Spanish carries overtones of mockery and trickery as well as burlesque humour.

³⁴See L. MARTÍNEZ KLEISER, ed.: *Refranero General Ideológico Español*, Madrid [1953], p.452, nos.39.499 and 39.498.

³⁵M. MOLINER: *Diccionario del uso del Español*, Madrid [1986], II, pp.229–30: '*lazo* . . . *Trampa*. – *Engaño con que se atrae a alguien a una mala situación*: "Le han tendido un lazo. Has caído en el lazo"'. *Lazo* means both 'bow' and 'lasso', and the association of *lazo* with *trampa* derives from a traditional hunting device with a loop or lasso used to trap small game.

³⁶MARTÍNEZ KLEISER, *op. cit.* at note 34 above, p.449, no.39.207; p.452, no.39.524; p.451, nos.39.380 and 39.369; p.135, no.12.176.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p.446, no.38.945.



21. *Las Mozas del Cántaro*, by Francisco Goya. 1791. 34.4 by 21.5 cm. (Paloma MacCohon Garay Collection, Madrid).

formed into a clearly defined couple in the final work, accent the idea of matrimony, perhaps for better rather than worse in this case.

As for the setting itself, the analogies which have been made with eighteenth-century Italian and Spanish 'Bridge of Life' engravings are certainly attractive, especially in view of the gradual progression in age of the members of the procession from left to right.³⁸ Nevertheless, the unusually ponderous grey granite arch dominating the composition may have a more concrete significance. From the start, Goya was aware that these cartoons were for tapestries to hang in the king's office at the Escorial, an imposingly severe, solid stone edifice, and the site Carlos IV preferred to El Pardo.³⁹ During this period major restorations and additions were being carried out at the Escorial, particularly on the service buildings (*Casas de Oficios*) to the north (Fig.22) and west of the main edifice, under the direction of Goya's distinguished colleague, Juan de Villanueva, who reproduced Herrera's late sixteenth-century style in order to maintain the harmony of this unique monumental complex.⁴⁰

Could Goya have conceived the painted architecture of his tapestry cartoons to reflect this exceptional contemporary project and as an echo of the actual exterior architectural setting for which the tapestries were destined? Possible clues to his visual thinking may be found in changes effected between the original *bocetos* and the cartoons for two other works in the series, *Las Mozas del Cántaro* and *El Pelele*.⁴¹ In the *boceto* for *Las Mozas* (Fig.21) there is a prominent pier topped by an Escor-



22. Bridge connecting two north service buildings (*Casas de Oficios*) at the Escorial, designed by Juan de Herrera, c.1585; restored by Juan de Villanueva, c.1785.

ial-like pyramid and ball (Fig.22; visible in the background), and in that for *El Pelele* there is another stone bridge at the left, all of which disappear in the cartoons. As these tapestries were meant to hang to left and right respectively of *La Boda*, Goya may have decided that he had overemphasised the architectural presence. By suppressing the strong architectural elements in the side panels, and substituting leafy trees in *El Pelele*, he simplifies and somewhat softens the settings while stressing the arch of the main wedding scene.

At one point the artist may even have hesitated about including the central bridge. If another presumed *boceto* for *La Boda* in which trees replace the arch (Fig.23, formerly in the marqués de Bermejillo's collection, Madrid, now apparently lost)⁴² were to be authentic, it could perhaps be Goya's second idea for *La Boda*. It cannot have been his first idea, because practically all the figural changes effected between the Jockey Club *boceto* and the cartoon have already occurred, including the groom's bow; the only exception is the position of the woman behind the priest, which is not identical in the large painting. This *boceto*, catalogued in the 1940s by Sambricio, when it seems to have been in poor condition, has not been located or examined for some fifty years. If genuine, it might indicate Goya's doubts about imposing such heavy architecture on the 'jocoso' wedding march, even though he ultimately retained it.

When Gintrac's drawing was published in 1834, it must have had a certain impact in French artistic and literary circles, where curiosity about this near-contemporary Spanish

³⁸See CHAN, *loc. cit.* at note 1 above; TOMLINSON, *loc. cit.* at note 32 above; and *idem*: *Francisco Goya y Lucientes 1746-1828*, London [1994], pp.87-89.

³⁹See WILSON and MENA, *op. cit.* at note 12 above, p.184.

⁴⁰G. KUBLER: *Building the Escorial*, Princeton [1982], pp.101-02.

⁴¹G/W nos.295 and 300, and nos.296, 297 and 301; WILSON and MENA, *op. cit.* at note 12 above, pp.184-86, 357-58, nos.30 and 31.

⁴²SAMBRICIO, *op. cit.* at note 7 above, p.275, no.59a) and ARNÁIZ (*op. cit.* at note 10

above, pp.194, 311, no.62-B) both believe this to have been Goya's first idea for *La Boda*. The two small versions in private collections in New York (G/W no.299; GUDRIOL, *op. cit.* at note 12 above, no.298) and London (see R. COHEN: 'Un "modelo" real descubierto de nuevo', *Boletín del Museo e Instituto 'Camón Aznar'*, XXX [1987], pp.29-39), literal repetitions of the final composition, would seem to be later reductions based on the cartoon or tapestry.



23. *La Boda*, possibly by Francisco Goya. Dimensions unknown. (Formerly marqués de Bermejillo Collection, Madrid; present whereabouts unknown).

artist was growing. Aside from a handful of privately owned portraits – such as that of Ferdinand Guillemardet⁴³ – no paintings by him were on public view in Paris until the 1838 inauguration of the Musée Espagnol in the Louvre, where eight out of the eleven Goyas purchased by Baron Taylor in Madrid were displayed until 1848.⁴⁴ During the 1820s the only works by Goya outside Spain that were relatively well known were his admired *Caprichos* prints, after which Delacroix and Alfred de Musset made drawings in 1824 and 1827 respectively, the former dubbing Goya ‘the lash of satire’ in his journal.⁴⁵ By 1835 the well-informed Valentín Carderera had already remarked from Madrid on the interest aroused by Goya’s work among ‘the new Romantic school of French painters’.⁴⁶

Gintrac’s moderately caricatural version of a burlesque original, which transforms Goya’s regularly proportioned figures into squat, gnome-like creatures, is symptomatic of the Romantic notion of a ‘fantastic, strange, eccentric’ Goya, derived from *Los Caprichos*,⁴⁷ and the diffusion of Gintrac’s image – it appeared as an unbound print – must have contributed to the perception of Goya as satirist. Its influence was felt almost immediately. In 1839 Louis Viardot, despite having seen Goya’s paintings in Madrid, criticised him for never having worked in a ‘high style’ and for dedicating himself to ‘village processions . . . comedies of rascals, in short painted caricatures’.⁴⁸ Jules Michelet saw works by Goya for the first

time at the Musée Espagnol in June 1839, and jotted in his diary ‘bizarre, absurd, almost barbarous fantasy’ to describe the experience.⁴⁹ Victor Hugo’s famous phrase ‘*les gnomes de Goya*’ of May 1839, generally taken to refer to the prints,⁵⁰ might just as well have been inspired by the lithograph after Gintrac’s drawing, which seems indeed to have cast a long shadow over Goya’s critical fortunes.

Appendix

Text from *L’Artiste*, 1er sér., VIII, livraison 20 [1834], p.236, accompanying the lithograph by Johann Jakob Frey after Jean-Louis Gintrac’s drawing of Goya’s *boceto* for *La Boda*

The livraisons of the first series of L’Artiste are undated but internal evidence on pp.225–26 of livraison 20 allows it to be dated to between 7th and 15th December 1834.

Nous devons à l’amitié de M. Gintrac le dessin du tableau de Goya qui est joint à cette livraison. Nous espérons le faire précéder d’une notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de ce peintre espagnol, qui, avec tout son esprit, toute son originalité et toute sa verve, n’a pu obtenir de son vivant une faible part de cette réputation prodiguée à tant de peintres indignes de notre école académique, qui furent ses contemporains sans le connaître. Mais les renseignements [sic] que nous avons demandés, il y a déjà plusieurs mois, à Madrid, sur cet artiste méconnu, ne nous sont point encore parvenus; et nous n’aurions pu apprendre à nos lecteurs que la date de sa naissance et celle de sa mort, avec quelques détails découus sur son existence et sur ses travaux. En attendant que nous obtenions les informations nécessaires pour compléter notre notice, nous avons voulu du moins montrer par le croquis de cette composition tout ce que valait de ce peintre, dont le nom commence aujourd’hui seulement à être cité de quelques rares artistes et de quelques amateurs plus rares encore. *Dessins: Un Mariage burlesque – Rêverie.*

⁴³G/W no.677.

⁴⁴See BATICLE and MARINAS, *op. cit.* at note 20 above, nos.101–08 and annex nos.24–26. The April 1843 Aguado sale was the first time a painting by Goya was sold at public auction in Paris (‘no.141 Deux Buveurs’).

⁴⁵‘*Ses caricatures, qu’il appelait ses caprices, sont plus connues hors de l’Espagne que ses tableaux*’, *Le Magasin Pittoresque* [1834], cited at note 3 above, p.324; E. DELACROIX: *The Journal of Eugène Delacroix*, tr. W. PACH, New York [1972], pp.68, 70, 71, 77. See also LIPSCHUTZ, *op. cit.* at note 1 above, p.10; GLENDINNING, *op. cit.* at note 3 above, pp.14 and 278; FAUQUE and VILLANUEVA, *op. cit.* at note 17 above, pp.85–87; and J. BATICLE: ‘La critique d’art et Goya dans la seconde moitié du XIXème siècle’, in *Goya. Neue Forschungen*, Berlin [1994], pp.197–203.

⁴⁶*Loc. cit.* at note 8 above.

⁴⁷T. GAUTIER: ‘Fran.co Goya y Lucientes’, in *Le Cabinet de L’Amateur et de L’Antiquaire*, Paris [1842], I, pp.337–45. See also I.H. LIPSCHUTZ: ‘Théophile Gautier et son Espagne retrouvée dans l’œuvre gravé de Goya’, *Bulletin de la Société Théophile Gautier*, II, Montpellier [1982], pp.9–34; and *idem*: ‘Théophile Gautier y su “Quimera Retrospectiva” captada en la obra pictórica de Goya’, in *Goya. Nuevas Visiones*, Madrid [1987], pp.207–25.

⁴⁸L. VIARDOT: *Notices sur les Principaux Peintres de l’Espagne*, Paris [1839], p.307: ‘Goya ne s’est jamais essayé dans les choses de haut style; ses compositions se bornent à des processions de village. . . à des farces de polissons, enfin à des sortes de caricatures peintes.’

⁴⁹J. MICHELET: *Journal. Tome I (1828–1848)*, Paris [1959], p.303.

⁵⁰V. HUGO: ‘Ce qui se passait aux Feuillantines vers 1813’, *Les Rayons et les ombres*, Brussels [1840], p.82, verse 43; GLENDINNING, *op. cit.* at note 3 above, p.279.

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Cover illustration: Bozzetto for the north-west corner of *The Apotheosis of Trajan in the Palacio Real, Madrid*,
by Anton Raphael Mengs. c.1774–75. Pen and ink and oil on paper laid down on canvas, 48.5 by 61.5 cm.
(Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real de La Granja de San Ildefonso, Segovia).