

“UN MECENAS TAN DIGNO”¹:
MANUEL GODOY AND THE SPANISH ARTISTS OF HIS ERA

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Seul parmi les princes et les grands de cette époque il a les tendances d'un Mécène, il lui faut... des peintres pour conserver ses traits à la postérité, des sculpteurs pour graver son nom sur le marbre...le Prince de la Paix....²

Throughout history, powerful political figures have known how to make full use of contemporary artistic talent. Manuel Godoy's practice of employing local artists for his own purposes is one more case in the long sequence from Ashurnasirpal II through François Mitterand. Godoy had a small army of artists and artisans working for him, including easel and fresco painters, architects, sculptors, draftsmen, printmakers, medallists, miniaturists, jewelers, clockmakers, cabinetmakers, gilders, stucco-workers and upholsterers. In his apologetic memoirs, published twenty-eight years after he was forced to leave Spain forever, Godoy names a great many of the artists of his day in long, sometimes alphabetical lists, although inexplicably, a number of them known from other sources to have worked for him are not included:

Dignos fueron por muchos títulos del común aprecio, y lo tuvieron, don Francisco Goya, don Fernando Selma, don Juan Salvador Carmona, don José López Enguídanos, don Francisco Bayeu, don Vicente López, don Antonio Carnicero, don Manuel Carmona, don Manuel Rodríguez, don Mariano Pío Rivero, don Luis Paret, el célebre Maella y el estudioso Echevarría.

1. T. F. de CALOMARDE, *Discurso económico-político leído en la Real Sociedad Aragonesa en el que se demuestra la cantidad de trigo que en cada año se ha recogido en el Reyno de Aragón*. (Madrid, 1800), p. ii.

2. C. YRIARTE, *Goya* (París, 1867), p. 32.

Dignos fueron también otros muchos que se distinguieron por rasgos especiales de talento, de buen gusto y de pericia, tales como Acuña, Alegre, Ballester, Barceló, Blanco, Boix, Bonet, Brandi, Bruneti, Camarón, Capilla, Carbonell, Cobo, Esquivel, Esteve, Fabregat, Fonseca, Gálvez, Gamborino, Gascó, Grollier, Jimeno, Latasa, Maca, Maer, Martí, Mas, Miranda, Moreno-Tejada, Muntaner, Navia, Pascual, Peleguer, Pascual, Prades, Pro, doña Isabel Ramírez, Ramos, Rivelles, Rico, Riscos, los dos Vázquez, Ugena y otros mil...

De los arquitectos y escultores que brillaron por entonces...nombraré los siguientes: don Santo Angel de Ochandátegui, don Francisco Alejo de Aranguren, don Manuel Rodríguez, predilecto discípulo del famoso don Ventura, que propagó su escuela; don Francisco Sabatini, don Alfonso Giraldo, don Manuel de la Peña, Villanueva, Arnal, López Freire, Martínez de la Torre, Asensio, Quintillán y el insigne escultor Adam [sic]...³

Most of the artists employed by Godoy were already on the royal payroll as Painters to the Royal Chamber of Carlos IV or members by merit of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando. As First Secretary of State and official Protector of the Academy from 1792 to 1798, Godoy was in direct contact with them and put their conveniently available skills to work for him chiefly in two domains: portraiture (of himself and his family members) and decoration (of his residences). Characteristically, he never conceived of or sponsored any form of public project or monument, which one in his influential position might well have initiated; his concerns and commissions were entirely oriented toward his self-glorification and pleasure.

The earliest proof that Godoy was in touch with artists close to the court is his youthful portrait of around 1788 by Francisco Folch de Cardona [*RABASF n° 695*], who had just arrived in Madrid from Valencia and Murcia to try his luck as a royal painter. In the same year Folch de Cardona depicted Juan Piña y Ruiz, Director of the Bank of San Carlos and Quartermaster of the Royal Army [*Banco de España n° 16*]. The simple elegance of these works and portraits of the royal family now lost, convinced Carlos IV to name him Portraitist to the Royal Chamber in 1790.⁴ So Godoy was one of the first in Madrid to be depicted by this up-and-coming new talent.

Chronologically, the next portrait of Godoy was by a consecrated, respected painter to the king, Francisco Bayeu, then at the height of his powers. In 1790, Bayeu depicted both Carlos IV [*RABASF n° 538*] and Godoy [*RABASF n° 1073*] in portraits that

3. M. GODOY, *Memorias*, ed. C. SECO SERRANO, 2 vols. BAE, t. 88 & 89 (Madrid, 1965), I, pp. 217-218. First edition 1836.

4. J. L. MORALES y MARÍN, *Pintura en España 1750-1808* (Madrid, 1994), p. 250.

closely resemble each other in terms of pose and setting. They offer visual proof of the developing intimate relationship between the monarch and his preferred bodyguard.

In these early years Godoy was also willing to test the abilities of itinerant foreign artists. Such was the case of the Portuguese painter from Oporto, Joseph Cayetano de Pinho y Silva, who in 1793 portrayed the recently nominated Secretary of State in a palatial setting including a landscape view and a large covered porcelain jar [fig. 1].⁵ This painting was utilized in turn as a model by the Spanish draftsman José Beratón in collaboration with the printmaker Manuel Salvador Carmona to create one of the first etched portraits of Godoy [fig. 2], required for the dissemination of the image of the new minister. Godoy may also have had recourse to the services of the French-trained Swedish portraitist Adolf Ulrik Wertmüller in Madrid from 1790 to 1791, who is documented as having depicted his sister María Antonia Godoy and her fiancé the Marquis of Branciforte in a pair of half-length works in July, 1791.⁶

In 1794, as his political power and fame as a patron of the arts grew, Godoy had himself depicted by one of the finest Spanish neo-classical sculptors of the day, trained in Rome, Juan Adán [RABASF n° E-160]. This extraordinary marble bust presents Godoy in the tradition of the ancient Roman emperor-soldier, as exemplified by the admired statue of Augustus from Prima Porta. Shortly afterwards, Adán also sculpted busts of Carlos IV and María Luisa for Godoy [Palacio Real, Madrid]. All three works were publicly displayed on the ground floor of his Madrid palace next to D^a M^a de Aragón, where they were seen by the Director of the Madrid Mint Pedro González de Sepúlveda (like Godoy, from Badajoz) in November, 1800:

...en el quarto vajo ay barios retratos el del Rey y Reyna de Marmol por Adan, el del Príncipe de la Paz por el mismo.⁷

5. The portrait is visible today only in x-ray, as the canvas was re-utilized by Francisco de Goya in 1804 for his portrait of Albert Foraster (HSA, A.103). See: E. S. BEYERSDORF, "A Rediscovered Portrait of Godoy, Minister to Carlos IV", *The Burlington Magazine*, CIV: 717 (Dec. 1962), pp. 536-539; I. ROSE, "More on Goya's portrait of Alberto Foraster", *The Burlington Magazine* CXLV: 1199 (Feb. 2003), pp. 82-87.

6. They were married on 15 August 1790. The current location of these portraits is unknown. See: M. BENISOVICH, "Wertmüller et son livre de Raison intitulé la «Notte»", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, v. 48, n° 1050-1052 (July-August, September 1956), p. 55; & J. BATICLE, "Wertmüller et l'Espagne. Fragments de «diario» inédits", *Estudios sobre literatura y arte dedicados al Profesor Emilio Orozco Díaz*, 3 vols. (Granada, 1979), I, pp. 124-125.

7. E. PARDO CANALIS, "Una visita a la galería del Príncipe de la Paz", *Goya*, n° 148-150 (Enero-Junio 1979), p. 302. In his *Memorias* (op. cit., I, p. 218), Godoy recalls "... el insigne escultor Adam [sic]... tan feliz en ingenio y ejecución..."

In 1815, Fernando VII, considering them to be monarchic property, ordered the removal of the busts to the Royal Palace from Godoy's confiscated collection.⁸ The minister's patronage of official artists frequently generated uncertain boundaries between private and royal ownership.

Godoy's extended patronage of the greatest of all Spanish painters of the period also commenced in the summer of 1794. At this time Francisco de Goya was requested to paint an equestrian portrait of the increasingly influential royal favorite. Goya carried out two oil sketches (one of them visible today only in x-ray) [fig. 3], both in a flattering Velazquenian vein, but as far as can be determined, the full-scale version was never achieved. In prints, equestrian images of Godoy proliferated, as he was proud of his fine horsemanship and must have encouraged this iconography. Antonio Carnicero and Manuel Salvador Carmona created the series of equestrian prints known as the *Picadero Real* in 1796. Here Godoy's mounted figure recurs in five of the twelve plates [*Calcografía Nacional, Madrid*]. In the same year, by which time Godoy had already been granted the title of Prince of the Peace, Carnicero and Manuel Brandi created a magnificent allegorical equestrian print of the minister [fig. 4], likewise reminiscent of the seventeenth-century equestrian portraits of the Spanish monarchs in the Royal Palace.

This period immediately following the 1795 Peace Treaty of Basel is one in which Godoy's figure repeatedly appears associated with the traditional mode of allegory. He did not necessarily commission these works by his contemporaries, but they were certainly created with the aim of attracting his attention. At the Royal Academy of San Fernando the professors determined that the theme for the 1796 painting competition would be "Godoy presentando la Paz a Carlos IV". First and second prizes were given to José Aparicio [*RABASF n° 321*] and Pablo Montaña [*RABASF n° 398*] respectively, and their quite similar allegories survive in the museum of the Academy. A mezzotint by AnKert and Pichler [fig. 5] and an anonymous drawing [*Private Collection*] of the period also include allegorical figures to emphasize the extraordinary nature of Godoy's splendid title. This total visual adulation is likewise reflected in the multitude of books and poems dedicated to him during this period.⁹

Godoy's unique status at court brought about a shower of gifts from his contemporaries. Artists as well as high-standing members of society - both secular and eccle-

8. I. ROSE, *Manuel Godoy, patrón de las artes y coleccionista*, 2 vols. (Madrid, Universidad Complutense, 1983), II, pp. 667-672.

9. See: I. ROSE & E. LA PARRA, *La imagen de Manuel Godoy*. Badajoz, 2001. .

siastical - offered him recent and classical paintings for his growing personal collection. Francisca María Dávila's gift in 1794 of Goya's portrait of her recently deceased husband, the victorious general in the War of the Rosellón Antonio Ricardos [*Museo del Prado n° 2784*] is the first documented action of this type.¹⁰ Shortly afterwards, the Spanish representative to the United States, Josef de Jáudenes y Nebot, commissioned a portrait of George Washington [*RABASF n° 693*] from the Italian painter residing in Philadelphia, Josef Perovani, to present to Godoy upon his return to Spain.¹¹ More modest Spanish painters such as José López Enguídanos,¹² Juan Bautista Romero, Francisco Carrafa, Cristobal Vilella, Luis Eusebi and Mariano Sánchez [*fig. 6*] offered Godoy landscape views, still lifes and mythological scenes in the hope of attracting his attention, favor and possible patronage.¹³

Godoy commissioned portraits not only of himself but also of members of his family, both living and dead. Thus in an apparent attempt to form a gallery of illustrious ancestors, in 1798 he ordered an imaginary portrait (perhaps based on a print source) from Mariano Maella, Painter to the Royal Chamber, of Pedro de Godoy, Bishop of Osma and Sigüenza [*RABASF n° 356*], a seventeenth-century family member.¹⁴ Maella's portrait of Diego Godoy, Duke of Almodóvar, Manuel's elder brother, was also in his Madrid palace, as was an anonymous portrait of one of his sisters, either Antonia, Marchioness of Branciforte or Ramona, Countess of Fuente Blanca.¹⁵ More distantly related family members sent him their portraits, probably in the hope of receiving some benefice from him, or in recognition of one already obtained. Some were formally inscribed "al Príncipe de la Paz", as was that of his cousin, Josefa Ceballos y Álvarez de Faria, Marchioness of Espeja, in a work once attributed alternately to Goya and Agustín Esteve.¹⁶ The latter's portrait of Godoy's uncle, Juan Manuel Álvarez de Faria y Sánchez y Zarzosa, bore a legend indicating the sitter's multiple honors, all of them

10. I. ROSE, "Sobre el retrato del General Ricardos que pintó Goya", *Academia. Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*, n° 50 (1980), pp. 115-123.

11. I. ROSE, *El retrato de George Washington de Josef Perovani*. (Madrid, 1998).

12. López Enguídanos also dedicated two books to Godoy when he was Protector of the Academy: *Colección de vaciados de estatuas antiguas...* (Madrid, 1794) and *Cartilla de Principios de Dibuxo...* (Madrid, 1797), both mentioned by Godoy in his *Memorias*, I, pp. 217 & 219.

13. See: ROSE 1983, *op. cit.*

14. ROSE 1983, II, p. 260, CA 339.

15. ROSE 1983, II, p. 257, CA 336; p. 578, CA 796.

16. Formerly in the collections of Ramón Abarca and the Duke of Valencia, Madrid; current location unknown. See: J. EZQUERRA DEL BAYO y L. PÉREZ BUENO, *Retratos de mujeres españolas del siglo XIX* (Madrid, 1924), n° 53; HSA, photo archive: Esteve, photo n° 65413.

doubtlessly due to the intervention of his nephew.¹⁷ Not to be outdone by lesser individuals, the king and queen also gave him two pairs of their full-length portraits by Goya [*Museo del Prado n^{os} 727 and 728*], all reclaimed by Fernando VII in 1815 from the remnants of Godoy's collection and sent to the *Palacio Real*.¹⁸

Of his immediate entourage - his legitimate wife María Teresa de Borbón y Vallabriga, Countess of Chinchón, and his highly visible mistress Josefa Tudó¹⁹ - Godoy saw to it that they were both immortalized by Goya. Aside from the famous portrait of the countess seated, recently acquired by the *Museo del Prado* [*fig. 7*], there was another half-length portrait of her by Goya in Godoy's Madrid palace on January first, 1808.²⁰ When the large seated version was x-rayed in 2000, a full-length standing portrait of Godoy was discovered beneath it, as well as an earlier effigy of the Marqués de Villafranca. Godoy must have been displeased with his image and rejected the work. So Goya turned the canvas upside-down and re-utilized it for the minister's wife. The wheat in her hair, usually understood as a traditional symbol of fertility and therefore a reference to her pregnancy, may also be a more specifically contemporary allusion to the allegorical figure of "mother Spain" and Godoy's coat of arms, as envisioned in a poem of 1797 by Juan Meléndez Valdés dedicated to him:

"...un haz de espigas cima gloriosa en vuestra armas sea" and "...de espigas de oro La madre España coronada encumbra su frente venerable..."²¹

As for Josefa Tudó, the only certain known image of her from the period around 1800 is a tiny gouache on ivory by the excellent Dutch miniaturist Guillermo Ducker

17. Before 1907 in a private collection in Madrid; present location unknown. FARL, photo archive: Esteve, n^o 821-6c. The painting went unsold at auction in New York in 1983 (*Old Master Paintings*. Christie's East, New York, 25 March 1983, p. 34, n^o 93). See: M. SORIA, *Agustín Esteve y Goya* (Valencia, 1957), pp. 113-114, n^o 77.

18. ROSE 1983, II, pp. 178-183, CA 235-238.

19. Apart from Jovellanos's frequently cited diary entry for 22 November 1797 in which he describes how at the dinner table Godoy's new wife sat to his right and Pepita Tudó to his left, the Danish Ambassador to Madrid, Baron Herman de Schubart, in a letter dated 2 February 1799, relates that Godoy used to take Tudó out in his carriage with him for a promenade (G.M. de JOVELLANOS. *Diarios 1790-1801 (Memorias Íntimas)* (Madrid, 1915), p. 394; E. GIGAS, ed. "Lettres d'un Diplomate Danois en Espagne (1798-1800)", *Revue Hispanique*, 9^e année (Paris, 1902), p. 403).

20. Current location unknown; ROSE 1983, II, p. 177, CA n^o 234; & p. 185, CA n^o 241.

21. J. MELÉNDEZ VALDÉS. *Al Exc. Señor Príncipe de la Paz, con motivo de su carta patriótica a los obispos de España recomendándoles el nuevo Semanario de la Agricultura* (Madrid, 1797), reverse of title page & p. 2.

[*Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid*], active in Madrid between 1799 and 1805.²² Leandro Fernández de Moratín recalled in 1817 that “...el pintor de miniaturas más sobresaliente que había en Madrid cuando yo salí, era un holandés, llamado Duker [sic]...”²³ Based on Moratín’s enlightened artistic judgment, this little portrait can be considered veridical. If the head is compared with that of Goya’s *Maja Desnuda* [fig. 8], documented for the first time in Godoy’s collection on November twelfth, 1800 by Pedro González de Sepúlveda,²⁴ the resemblance is quite striking. It would appear that Godoy managed to have the great passion of his life portrayed by the outstanding pictorial genius of the day in a highly personal and unconventional manner. Only the all-powerful minister could have acted with this impunity in the face of social custom and the church. The *Maja Vestida* [*Museo del Prado n° 741*], which stylistically postdates the naked version by several years, seems to have been almost an afterthought.²⁵

Godoy, of course, would have wished to be depicted by the great Goya. While a number of portraits of him by Goya were probably painted between 1795 and 1807, the only one that has survived is the extraordinary composition commemorating Godoy’s victory in the sole military campaign in which he ever actually participated, *La Guerra de la Naranjas* [*RABASF n° 670*]. Reclining somewhat like the *Majas* in a pose traditionally associated with female imagery rather than that of a general, Godoy appears to reflect on the missive held in his hand, most likely a communication from Carlos IV and María Luisa. They are thereby brought indirectly into the painting and allowed to share in his triumph. The setting is reminiscent of those described by Godoy in letters from his headquarters in Badajoz addressed to the monarchs in Aranjuez.²⁶ It is conceivable that all three gave specific instructions to the artist concerning the contents of this painting, which apparently was intended for the public area of Godoy’s Madrid palace.²⁷

22. M. C. ESPINOSA MARTÍN, *Iluminaciones, Pequeños Retratos y Miniaturas en la Fundación Lázaro Galdiano* (Madrid, 1999), pp. 224-225, n° 100. In the José Lázaro Galdiano collection by 1902 (see: X. “La Exposición de Retratos. Pepita Tudó”, *La Época* (27 April 1902), p. 61).

23. MORALES 1994, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

24. PARDO 1979, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

25. On 1 January 1808 the two paintings hung together in Godoy’s Madrid palace. Frédéric Quilliet’s inventory of that date is the first document in which the dressed version appears (See: ROSE 1983, II, pp. 195-200, CA nos. 246 & 247). J. BATICLE, *Goya* (Barcelona, 1995), pp. 173-177, offers further convincing arguments to identify Goya’s *Majas* with Josefa Tudó.

26. AHN, *Estado*, L. 2821; AGP, *Papeles reservados de Fernando VII*, v. 94. See: ROSE & LA PARRA, *op. cit.*, 2001.

27. See: ROSE 1983, II, pp. 174-176, CA 232.

The successful Portuguese campaign in the spring of 1801 and Godoy's elevation to *generalísimo* in the autumn of that year prompted a new outpouring of adulatory imagery. For the first time medallists applied their skills to laud Godoy. In Jean-Pierre Droz's commemorative medal [*Palacio Real, Madrid*], Godoy's head in neo-classical profile suggests the ancient Roman associations earlier propounded by Adán. Printmakers were also involved in these celebratory works, as exemplified by José Ximeno's allegorical equestrian scene [*fig. 9*], which actually served as the title page of the musical score "Marcha del Exmo. Sr. Príncipe de la Paz",²⁸ and the same artist's allegorical frontispiece for Silvestre Francisco Lacroix's study entitled *Geografía Moderna*.²⁹

Along with the rank of *generalísimo*, totally unheard of in Spain, Godoy was granted the use of a distinctive blue sash to distinguish him from the other captain-generals who traditionally wore a red sash. Thus, in all of the portraits carried out after October 1801, whether of the older ministerial type, as exemplified by Antonio Carnicero's seated full-length [*RABASF n° 696*], or of the newer, more forceful military type, as represented by Agustín Esteve's standing full-length [*fig. 10*], Godoy is shown wearing, along with all of his requisite condecorations, his absolutely unprecedented blue sash of supreme military commander.

While the best Spanish portrait talents of the day were busily multiplying his image for distribution throughout the kingdom and its overseas colonies, the most stylish architects, frescoists and interior decorators were commissioned by Godoy to improve and embellish his Madrid palace next to the convent of D^a M^a de Aragón, where he not only resided but held public court. Thus this official residence had to reflect the last word in the consecrated good taste of the day. The brand-new *generalísimo* modeled his interiors essentially on those designed for Carlos IV in his favorite decorative project of the period, the *Casa del Labrador* in Aranjuez. Once more, Godoy had recourse not only to the taste but to the artists employed by the king.³⁰

The modest exterior of this edifice [*fig. 11*] pertains to the austere building project originally carried out by Francesco Sabatini in the later 1770's, before Godoy's day. It did not at all prepare the powerful favorite's visitors for the sumptuous inte-

28. BN, sig: MC^a 5307²⁷.

29. BN, sig: 2/45794.

30. See: ROSE 1983, I, pp. 137-143.

riors carried out under his supervision between late 1801 and early 1806.³¹ Behind the Italian-trained architect's unpretentious main portal lies one of the most magnificent imperial staircases ever constructed in Spain [fig. 12], commissioned by Godoy from a neo-classical architect whose identity has yet to be documentally established. Of the three architects named by Godoy in connection with his building projects in his letters to M^a Luisa - Dugourc, Priego and Aguado - none of them can be specifically associated with the staircase.³² A fourth architect, Juan Antonio Cuervo, is termed the "Arquitecto del S.^{or} Príncipe de la Paz" in a document of July 1804,³³ but he is not directly linked with the staircase. Furthermore, these architects do not coincide with those listed by Godoy in his *Memorias*. Thus it is impossible to determine to whom he was referring in a letter addressed to the queen of 27 September 1800 in which he claims "mi arquitecto es excelente".³⁴

Antonio Alcalá Galiano, who as a youth attended Godoy's public receptions, in his memoirs recalled "...la magnífica recién construída escalera...una escalera hecha a grandísimo costo...señalada por la riqueza...de su adorno".³⁵ Sculpture and frescos embellished this impressive space, as testified by Antonio Fernández de los Ríos:

Tanto el portal como en la escalera hay muchos ornatos de escultura de buen gusto; también reina en las pinturas al fresco, los mármoles, las columnas...³⁶

The extant remains of ceiling frescos depicting cherubs and weapons, and early photographs prior to the removal of Álvarez's grand neo-classical frieze from the main landing,³⁷ confirm the presence of these decorations.

31. This dating is based on information in the letters exchanged between the queen and Godoy. See: ROSE 1983, I, docs. 16, 18, 23-25, 27, 41, 48, 49, 56, 67 & 70; I. ROSE "Goya's allegories and the sphinxes: 'Commerce', 'Agriculture', 'Industry', and 'Science' *in situ*", *The Burlington Magazine*, C XXVI: 970 (Jan. 1984), p. 39; & I. ROSE, "Las alegorías para el palacio madrileño de Godoy", *Goya*, Fundación Amigos del Museo del Prado (Madrid, 2001), pp. 99-118.

32. See: ROSE 1983, I, pp. 246-247, 280-281, 325; & S. BLASCO CASTIÑEYRA, *El Palacio de Godoy* (Madrid, 1996), pp. 124-127.

33. BLASCO 1996, *ibid.* p. 125.

34. ROSE 1983, I, pp. 246 & 281.

35. A. ALCALÁ GALIANO. *Recuerdos de un Anciano y Memorias*, BAE, t. 83 (Madrid, 1955), pp. 24 & 318.

36. A. FERNÁNDEZ de los RÍOS, *Guía de Madrid, manual del madrileño y del forastero* (Madrid, 1876), p. 275.

37. It was transferred to the new Ministerio de la Marina (Montalbán Street, Madrid) in 1932.

José Álvarez y Cubero's *Triumph of a Roman Emperor* is one of Godoy's most important known sculptural commissions, and was noted by both his Spanish and foreign contemporaries. In his *Viage de España* Nicolás de la Cruz y Bahamonde wrote:

Alvarez...executó un magnífico baxo relieve que representa un triunfo de un Emperador romano para la escalera de la casa del Príncipe de la Paz junto á Doña María de Aragón,³⁸

and an anonymous British officer, perhaps identifiable with Henry Southern, recorded in

...the residence of the famous Godoy...a magnificent staircase...adorned with handsome columns, and a large *basso-relievo* over the principal landing-place, representing the triumph of a Caesar, a work of light and graceful execution.³⁹

Álvarez would have been familiar with ancient Roman relief sculpture as he was granted a pension by the king to study in Rome in June 1799,⁴⁰ just a few years prior to the creation of this panel for Godoy.

While far more is known about Godoy's collection of paintings, it is clear from the scarce references that he commissioned and owned pieces by several contemporary neo-classical sculptors. Aside from the frieze by Álvarez, a colossal statue of *Minerva* by Dionisio Sancho, considered by Jovellanos to be a "hombre de gran talento",⁴¹ is mentioned in both manuscript and printed sources. The diaries of the medalist Pedro González de Sepúlveda provide the most detailed information:

Marzo de 1804...en 1º llevo Dⁿ Dionisio a la Casa Moneda la Caveza [sic] de la Minerva que esta modelando p^a el P^e de la Paz, al gavinete de Mariano," and "Noviembre de 1804...en 9 de Nov^re llevo Dⁿ Dionisio Sancho cinco pies de yeso de mi estudio; p^a la fig^a de Minerva que esta haciendo p^a el principe de la Paz, los llevo Muñoz.⁴²

38. N. CRUZ y BAHAMONDE (Conde de Maule), *Viage de España...* (Cádiz, 1812), XI, p. 295.

39. A RESIDENT OFFICER [HENRY SOUTHERN?]. *Madrid: Sketches of the metropolis...* 2 vols. (London, 1843), II, pp. 4-5. During his Roman exile, Godoy commissioned Álvarez to design a tomb for his son Luis (d. 18.III.1818), but Josefa Tudó finally had the Florentine sculptor Ricci do it (AHN, *Estado*, L. 2833, letter of 6.VI.1818).

40. P. GONZÁLEZ de SEPÚLVEDA, *Diario 1797-1802*, mss. 27-3-2, Archivo Casa de la Moneda, (Madrid), f. 133.

41. J. GONZÁLEZ SANTOS. *Jovellanos Aficionado y Coleccionista*, cat. expo. (Gijón, 1994), p. 55.

42. P. GONZÁLEZ DE SEPÚLVEDA, *Diario 1802-1805*, mss. 27-3-3, Archivo Casa de la Moneda, (Madrid), ff. 102 & 160r.

Cruz y Bahamonde saw this work completed:

Dionisio Sancho trabajó una buena Minerva que se colocó en casa del Príncipe de la Paz,⁴³

and the Count of la Viñaza also knew it later in the century:

Madrid...Palacio que fué de Godoy: En el jardín, una estatua semicolosal de *Minerva*.⁴⁴

When González de Sepúlveda visited Godoy's Madrid residence in November 1800 (thanks to the intervention of Godoy's chaplain Juan Almaraz, an Augustinian friar, also from Badajoz), he remarked on a few sculptural works:

...un cascaron donde esta representada la Iglesia (por lo interior) de S^o Pedro de Roma figurado de bronce dorados, fig^s de Plata y todo con tal exactitud y inteligencia q^e acaso sea la mejor cosa q^e se aya hecho moderna tan bien, y un cristo de Marfil todo de una pieza menos los brazos en su cruz de ebano moderno pero muy decente - *dice dionisio q^e es de Buso...Muchos espejos con fig^s de bronce dorados...La cama del Principe es de lo mejor q^e se ha trabajado en España particularm.^{te} en bronce dorados tiene adornos muy bien hechos creo son de Ferroni todo de mucho gusto.⁴⁵

Other purely decorative sculptural pieces [*fig. 13*] may have been carried out by Luis de Hennequin, whom Godoy refers to at length in his *Memorias*:

un ...taller...de adornos en mármoles...estableció don Luis de Hennequin en la calle real de la Almudena...se vió salir de esta fabrica...flores y jarrones de piedra blanca, rinconeras, trumós de chimenea, bajorrelieves, mesas, templetos, almenaras, candeleros, urnas, bustos, camafeos y otras mil curiosidades exquisitas.⁴⁶

43. CRUZ 1812, *op. cit.*, XI, p. 295.

44. CONDE DE LA VIÑAZA, *Adiciones al Diccionario Histórico... de los más ilustres Profesores de las Bellas Artes en España...* (Madrid, 1894), III, pp. 348-349. Although the aspect of this work was never documented photographically, and it has either been destroyed or is in an unknown location, reference was still being made to it during the early 20th-century: "Sancho...entre sus principales obras...Minerva, estatua, en la entrada al jardín del Palacio de Manuel Godoy, obra de gran mérito" (*ENCICLOPEDIA UNIVERSAL ILUSTRADA* (Bilbao, 1926), v. 53, p. 1250). Sancho is also said to have sculpted "cuatro cariátides colocadas en el jardín de la casa de Godoy" (See: B. NÚÑEZ, *Zacarías González Velázquez* (Madrid, 2000), p. 257).

45. PARDO 1979, *op. cit.*, pp. 301-302.

46. GODOY 1965, *op. cit.*, I, p. 209.

Surprisingly, in his January first 1808 catalogue of the Prince of the Peace's painting collection, Frédéric Quilliet includes a few sculptural works, of which there would have been many more in Godoy's Madrid Palace, to judge by the 1808 and 1813 legal confiscation inventories of his possessions. Quilliet lists a "Bacchanale en bas relief" by "Martin mod^e," perhaps Manuel Martín Rodríguez, and two other anonymous "bas reliefs".⁴⁷ The sequestration inventories provide somewhat more detailed descriptions of works in bronze and marble: "Una figura de bronce que representa Hércules hilando";⁴⁸ "Una figura de marmol blanco de 2 pies y 4 dedos de alto representa Diana - autor se ignora; Dos figuras de bronce...rep^{tan} la una Marte y la otra se ignora; ...Laoconte y sus dos hijos; Tres figuras de bronce con sus pedestales de marmol blanco...rep^{tan} dos Floras, y una de Hercules, autor copia del Farnese; Dos cavezas de bronce de dos pies de alto rep.^{tan} una a Faustina y la otra á Caligula al parecer".⁴⁹ Godoy's interest in employing contemporary sculptors for his own glorification was known during his day and is reflected in María Rosa de Gálvez's *Oda* dedicated to him in May, 1806:

En marmoles y bronce la Estatuaria/esculpirà sus mas famosos hechos,/para que à las èdades mas remotas/ los transmita la serie de los tiempos.⁵⁰

For the frescos carried out in the early 1800's (replacing those of the late 1780's by José del Castillo and Gregorio Ferro),⁵¹ judging by their style and motifs Godoy must have employed the same royal decorators and their assistants who were then carrying out the frescos in the king's Casa del Labrador in Aranjuez. The only documents relating to a fresco for Godoy's palace date from February 1802, and concern the ceiling of "un Gran Salon" commissioned from Mariano Maella but never actually executed.⁵² Thus the identity of the artists can only be surmised based on a com-

47. ROSE 1983, I, D. 1, ff. 23 & 36.

48. AHN, *Hacienda*, L. 2557, "Lista de dinero y alhajas que pertenecieron al Sr. D. Manuel Godoy que...se han remitido á la Tesorería gral. de S.M. en calidad de depósito," 1808, f. 53r.

49. AGP, *Fernando VII*, Ca. 222/2, "Inventario de los Quadros y demas efectos pertenecientes a las bellas artes que existen en la casa de Dn Manuel Godoy....," 1813, nos. 152, 239, 240, 241, 259.

50. AGP, *Archivo Reservado de Fernando VII*, v. 102, ff. 392-393.

51. "...los...mandó picar Don Manuel Godoy por las varias formas que dió a aquella casa el tiempo que la ocupó." (Testimony of 1816 by Eugenio Ximénez de Cisneros, cited in J. L. MORALES y MARÍN, "El pintor Gregorio Ferro...", *Academia*, n° 84 (1997), pp. 461-462. I wish to thank my colleague and friend Mercedes Águeda Villar for having called this article to my attention.

52. ROSE 1983, I, pp. 231-232 & docs. 88-90. There is an almost total absence of documents concerning the decoration of Godoy's palace because the complete accounts of his household and personal correspondence for 1791-1808 were destroyed in a fire at the *Palacio de Boadilla del Monte* in 1936 (See: ROSE 1983, I, pp. 22, 31, 32).

parison of the surviving ceilings with documented works from the royal projects. The friezes still *in situ* consisting of framed architectural and landscape views, caryatids, and heads inside of garlands accompanied by griffons could well be by Manuel Muñoz de Ugena.⁵³ Juan de la Mata Duque may have painted the largest of the preserved ceilings, pertaining to a grand salon and decorated with neoclassical dancing female figures, today in the Marine Ministry.⁵⁴ This artist could also have been responsible for the ceiling still *in situ* consisting of paired female sphinxes reclining in the corners and a huge illusionistic tent or curtain billowing overhead. Any number of the painters working for Carlos IV would have been able to design stylish chinoiserie motif ceilings like the small one still to be seen in Godoy's palace.

Perhaps the most intriguing of the surviving frescos are the pairs of large male and female sphinxes which once framed Goya's four medallion-shaped works symbolizing *Agriculture, Industry, Commerce* and *Science* [figs. 14-15]. As these circular paintings are in tempera on heavy-wove cloth [*sarga*], they could be easily moved to the Prado Museum in 1932, but the frescos were left inside their lunettes.⁵⁵ Juan Gálvez could have been the frescoist of these engaging sphinxes around 1804. For years he had assisted all of the foremost royal decorators - Maella, Yappelli, de la Mata Duque, Muñoz de Ugena - on projects for Carlos IV,⁵⁶ and in 1807 he was commissioned by Godoy to paint a number of the ceilings in his recently acquired Buenavista Palace in Madrid.⁵⁷ To judge by the remaining frescos still in the building on Bailén, as well as those transferred to the new Montalbán street ministry in 1932, these elaborately decorated ceilings would have created an aura of great sumptuousness in Godoy's abode.

"Goya 4 Medaillons" is the way Frédéric Quilliet listed the round paintings on folio 19 of his January first, 1808 inventory. On folio 26 he recorded another group: "Goya 4 Grandes Allégories." Of the four medallions, three have survived, but of the four large allegories, only two have come down to us - *The True Philosophy, Time and Memory* and *Poetry* [figs. 16-17] - both in the Nationalmuseum of Stockholm. The destroyed roundel dealt with the theme of *Science*, or perhaps more specifically

53. See: MORALES 1994, *op. cit.*, pp. 282-285.

54. See: MORALES 1994, *ibid.*, pp. 276-282.

55. See: ROSE 1984, *op. cit.*

56. See: MORALES 1994, pp. 153, 255, 267, 270, 284, 285.

57. ROSE 1983, I, pp. 245 & 279.

Astronomy, while the missing large allegories may have referred to *Painting* and *Music*.⁵⁸

Godoy's residences in the *Reales Sitios*, particularly Aranjuez, would have been decorated in a manner similar to that of his Madrid palace, only on a lesser scale. Thanks to the description offered by the Conde de Maule in his *Viaje de España*, it is possible to obtain some idea of the interior of this building prior to March 1808:

Aranjuez. Casa del Príncipe de la Paz. Hemos dado una vista pasagera á la casa del Príncipe de la Paz. Tiene tres salas con quadros. En la sala primera de la entrada hai un retrato de Magallanes en tabla, otro con un cuello blanco vuelto y barbas largas, de merito: en la segunda otros apaisados con figuras y corderos. En la sala del comedor es bueno el original que representa la vida es sueño: y también son raros por sus luces el quadro del nacimiento: otro del Salvador partiendo el pan quando fue conocido en Emaus: la prision de S. Pedro y otros del mismo estilo. Hai otro que manifiesta á un hombre en actitud de presentar la cabeza de un jabali á una muger que esta de pie en compañía de un genio alado, bien desempeñado. La tercera sala contiene retratos y otras pinturas. Tambien se ven otras salas con muchas laminas. El gabinete de mineralogia y conchas es bastante copioso en este genero; escaso en los reinos animal y vegetal: contiene tambien unas rarezas de china y filigrana.

Biblioteca. La libreria es un bello salon: segun el gran luxo con que estan enquadernadas sus obras, en las quales relucen los tafiletos dorados, los terciopelos, la plata y aun las perlas, se viene en conocimiento que le han sido regaladas. Entre las que le han dedicado se observan excelentes letras á pluma y su retrato del mismo modo. A esta clase de mecenas, que no trata de exâminar el merito de ellas, los autores astutos pretenden sorprehenderle por el forro. Aqui se encuentra la celebre dedicatoria de Cladera. No es menos escandalosa la que publicó Ortiz en latin y español en su *Viaje arquitectonico* en 1807.⁵⁹

While Cruz y Bahamonde makes no reference to frescoed ceilings, they are not to be discounted; but the true value of his testimony lies in the overall image of opulence he conveys, as well as the specific details regarding classical paintings, the extraordinary luxury of the book bindings in the library, and the many prints owned

58. See: ROSE 2001, *op. cit.*

59. CRUZ 1812, *op. cit.*, XII, pp. 116-118. Only volume I, published in Madrid in 1806, predates the forced abdication of Carlos IV. All the succeeding volumes were published in Cádiz after March 1808. Nevertheless, the author visited Godoy's Aranjuez residence in October 1798.

by the royal favorite. A letter from Godoy to Pascual Vallejo dated in Aranjuez on April sixth, 1797, contains information concerning stylish, picturesque contemporary prints for his residence there:

...lo que si podrá acomodarme de la Suiza serán algunos quadros ó estampas pintorescas de aquel Pais ó otros para adornar mi casa en este Sitio; me han traído las q.ª se publicaron por subscripcion en el año pasado de que V.S. tendrá noticia y quisiera hacerme con las que hayan salido antes ó despues de dha. subscripcion de mejor gusto...⁶⁰

In Madrid, Godoy is known to have had a fabulous library and to have owned a major print collection, but they were never either described by visitors who kept journals or inventoried. A unique exception is a complete set of the first edition of Goya's *Los Caprichos*, luxuriously bound and bearing Godoy's ex-libris, now in the Paris Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie (ex-Jacques Doucet collection).⁶¹ Quilliet, after completing his catalogue of Godoy's paintings in Madrid early in 1808, pleaded with the prince to be allowed to draw up an inventory of his huge print collection, consisting of framed works hanging on the walls and many more in portfolios, but not properly organized.⁶² The French connoisseur's letter is dated 11 February, only slightly more than a month before the Aranjuez uprising, and so it is clear that political events evolved more rapidly than artistic decisions, and Quilliet was never able to proceed with this project.

In Madrid Godoy is also known to have had collections of natural history objects, numismatics and like Carlos IV, a huge quantity of ornate neo-classical clocks⁶³ created by contemporary artisans such as François-Louis Godon and Abraham Louis Breguet. None of them can be identified today, but those recorded in the documents dealing with the confiscation of Godoy's belongings in 1808 indicate the exceptionally rich nature of these large bronze and gold figured clocks. One, for example, is described as "Otro reloj de bronce, grande, dorado, con la estatua del Príncipe de la Paz y á la espalda un Caballo".⁶⁴ As summed up by the academician González de

60. ROSE 1983, I, doc. 86.

61. P. GASSIER, *De Goya à Matisse*, cat. expo., Fondation Pierre Gianadda (Martigny, 1992), n° 5. See also: T. HARRIS, *Goya, Engravings and Lithographs*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1964), I, p. 10.

62. ROSE 1983, I, docs. 97 & 98.

63. ROSE 1983, I, pp. 169, 202-203. In 1805, Godoy reported to M^a Luisa that he owned "seis docenas de relojes de sobre mesa" (ROSE 1983, I, p. 202).

64. AHN, *Hacienda*, L. 2.557, "Lista de dinero y alhajas que pertenecieron al Sr. D. Manuel Godoy..." f. 53 r.

Sepúlveda in April 1807 after a second, merely hour-long tour of Godoy's Madrid palace:

Las piezas estan llenas de relojes, sillerias, camas ricas y muchos trastos como los q^e ay en la casa del Rey, de Labrador...⁶⁵

By this time, of course, Godoy had already commissioned architects, painters and artisans of all types to rehabilitate and embellish the building that was to be his new Madrid residence, the Buenavista Palace, designed by Pedro Arnal. In February and March 1807, just after receiving this splendidly situated edifice as a gift from the town hall of Madrid on February twenty-fourth, Godoy mentions the French interior decorator Démosthène Dugourc in his letters to the queen, and in April Antonio López Aguado's name appears.⁶⁶ The Count de Maule confirms that the latter was one of two architects chosen by Godoy to reform Buenavista.⁶⁷ As already noted above, Juan Gálvez was to carry out some of the ceiling decorations. Godoy, who was anxious to be able to move into his new quarters quickly, wrote to the queen on April fifteenth, 1807 that he wished "decoro, la economía y brevedad" in the reforms to be carried out on the building.⁶⁸ Proof that many artisans were involved in the project can be found in the demands dating from 4 July 1808, three and a half months after the Aranjuez uprising, of Juan Harzenbusch, Eugenio Alonso, Julián Gallego and Domingo Dalli, among others, to be paid for their labor.⁶⁹ Godoy, of course, never inhabited the palace that he had intended to be the most magnificent of all Madrid aristocratic residences.

Godoy's relationship with contemporary Spanish artists and artisans also took other turns. For example, in July, 1804, he accompanied the king on a visit to the Royal Mint, as documented once more by González de Sepúlveda:

En 24 de este estubo S.M. en el establecim.^{to} a berlo todo, estubo cerca de dos horas; le acompaño el Príncipe de la Paz que bino en el Coche con el Rey; el ministro de Hacienda Sr. Soler asistio; el de estado Dⁿ Pedro Zevallos, los Capitanes de Guardias, un Piquete de Guardias de Corps, Dⁿ Pedro Silva, el Conde Altamira, el hijo del S.^{or}

65. I. ROSE, "La segunda visita de González de Sepúlveda a la Colección de Manuel Godoy", *Archivo Español de Arte*, LX: 238 (Abril-Junio 1987), p. 137.

66. ROSE 1983, I, p. 246.

67. CRUZ 1812, X, p. 565.

68. ROSE 1983, I, p. 281.

69. ROSE 1983, I, p. 279.

Medinaceli; se hicieron todas las operaciones delante del Rey, y las de la Stereotipa; le presente los 4 hijos y me encargaron los colocase en el establecim.⁶⁰ y pedi por el estudiante; estuvo el Rey muy contento, y el Príncipe de la Paz lo mismo, se les dieron monedas doradas a los Gefes de Palacio; bino a las siete de la mañana asta cerca de las nueve fueron muy satisfechos de haber bisto todas las operaciones; la Reyna no bino con motivo de estarse bañando.⁷⁰

In late 1807 Godoy began to commission Spanish printmakers to carry out reproductive engravings of the best paintings in his collection, perhaps with the intention of publishing them in the type of *recueil* or compilation then very stylish throughout Europe.⁷¹ Only two prints were apparently carried out in the brief period before he fell from power, Rafael Esteve's engraving after Guercino's *Jacob Bendice a los hijos de José* [fig. 18],⁷² and Tomás López Enguñdanos's engraving after Murillo's *La Caridad Romana* [*Calcografía Nacional, Madrid*].⁷³ Over the years, Godoy also commissioned painted copies of admired or famous canvases for his collection. Thus by November 1800, thanks again to the testimony of González de Sepúlveda, it is known that he already owned "una copia del Nacim.⁶⁰ de Mengs hecha por Beraton muy buena, y acaso la mejor de los q^e han copiado asta aora, y del mismo tamaño p^a compañero reducido el de la Anunciacion de Mengs...en el oratorio ay otra copia del Nacim.⁶⁰ de Mengs del oratorio del rey...ay otra chica [una desnuda] a pastel parece copia aunque no en el todo de Ticiano tal bez sera de la Marquesa de St^a Cruz q^e fue quien se la dio...".⁷⁴ Quilliet also noted contemporary copies in his 1808 inventory, such as those after Rafael, Reni and Titian.⁷⁵

Portraiture, nevertheless, continues to be the clearest proof of Godoy's constant patronage of contemporary Spanish artists. Shortly after he was elevated to Grand Admiral of Spain and the Indies in January 1807, he commissioned a huge allegorical portrait. Here he wears his latest spectacular military uniform and plays the role

70. GONZÁLEZ 1802-1805, f. 133.

71. See: ROSE 1983, I, pp. 255-256.

72. See: ROSE 1983, I, p. 256; II, CA 264.

73. See: J. CARRETE PARRONDO, "El grabado de reproducción. Murillo en las estampas españolas", *Goya*, n^{os} 169-171 (1982), pp. 138-150; A. GUERRA GUERRA, "Cómo salió de España *La Caridad Romana* de Murillo", *Archivo Español de Arte*, XXVII (1954), pp. 336-339; E. HARRIS, "A *Caritas Romana* by Murillo" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, v. 27 (1964), pp. 337-339; & J. HERNÁNDEZ PERERA, "La Caridad Romana de Murillo", *Archivo Español de Arte*, XXXII (1959), pp. 257-260..

74. PARDO 1979, pp. 301-302. ROSE 1983, II, CA 354 & 356.

75. ROSE 1983, II, CA 457, 463 & 646.

of Protector of the Royal Pestalozzi Institute, which he had helped to found in Madrid in November 1806. The master version of this painting, in all probability by Goya, was apparently on public view in the vestibule of the institute, where it was destroyed in March 1808. But the composition survives in two full-scale versions, with slight variations between them, by the veteran royal copyist of Goya's portraits, the Valencian Agustín Esteve [fig. 19]. Only a small section of Goya's original work - the middle ground in which the young students are depicted - could be salvaged during the popular disturbances following the Aranjuez uprising [Meadows Museum, Dallas].⁷⁶

In the two Esteve copies, Goya's painted coat of arms for the institute commissioned by Godoy in 1806, is visible in the background, framed by the pediment of a fictitious neo-classical portico. This canvas likewise no longer exists, but Manuel Albuérne recorded its composition in an etching [Calcografía Nacional, Madrid].⁷⁷ For his personal collection, Godoy even ordered a bust-length oil portrait of Heinrich Pestalozzi from the Painter to the King's Chamber Francisco Javier Ramos [RABASF n^o 700],⁷⁸ who would have had to rely on an imported print as his model - perhaps the one depicted within a book held in the Admiral's left hand in the large painting.

Godoy's last extraordinary rank brought about a renewed explosion of portrait imagery in all media. José Ribelles and Tomás López Enguídanos created an impressive, unusually large equestrian engraving of Godoy on a rearing horse [Museo Municipal, Madrid, I.N. 4608], while Goya painted a life-size equestrian portrait of him, today visible only in x-ray beneath the artist's equestrian image of the Duque de Wellington [Wellington Museum, London, n^o 1566. 1948].⁷⁹ Joaquín Inza, an established portraitist of the Madrid aristocracy since the 1760's, may hold the distinction of having created the last known portrait of Godoy prior to his definitive fall from power [fig. 20].⁸⁰ He presents the prince in his triple role of military strongman, statesman and benign-

76. See: I. ROSE "«La Celebrada Caída de Nuestro Coloso»: Destrucciones espontáneas de retratos de Manuel Godoy por el populacho", *Academia*, n^o 47 (1978), pp. 197-226 & ROSE 1983, II, pp. 135-136, CA 160.

77. See: J. MILICUA, "Un cuadro perdido de Goya: el escudo del Real Instituto Pestalozziano", *Goya*, n^o 35 (Marzo-Abril 1960), pp. 332-334.

78. See: ROSE 1983, II, pp. 356-357, CA 459.

79. See: X. de SALAS, "Sobre un retrato ecuestre de Godoy", *Archivo Español de Arte*, XLII: 167 (1969), pp. 217-233.

80. See: ROSE 1983, II, p. 234, CA 293. It is not clear exactly when or how this painting passed from Godoy's confiscated collection to the Palacio Real, but it was in the "Mayordomía Mayor de S.M." in 1909 (See: R. BLANCO y SÁNCHEZ, *Pestalozzi: Su vida y sus obras...* (Madrid, 1909), pl. 10, opposite p. 356).

ted aristocrat, his chest loaded with decorations - the culmination of almost sixteen continuous years as the powerful right-hand man of Carlos IV. Inza painted this portrait on his own initiative, as can be deduced from the rhymed inscription, and then presented it to Godoy. This work is therefore also the final proof of the other kind of continuing relationship that existed between contemporary artists and the king's intimate - that of gifts, in the hope of receiving a favor in return.

There may not have been sufficient time for the Admiral to determine how to compensate Inza for his efforts prior to the precipitous events of March 1808. In a matter of days, Godoy's image was literally effaced from the public scene.⁸¹ Moreover, the exact same artists who for years had so willingly placed their talents at the favorite's disposal, repeating his portrait in multiple guises, now depicted his arrest and imprisonment. Thus, for example, the academician and Painter to the King's Chamber Zacarías González Velázquez, who in the early 1800's had created for the *Casa del Labrador* at Aranjuez a large landscape view in which Carlos IV and Godoy enjoy the hunt together, now drew a scene to be etched by Francisco de Paula Martí of Godoy being attacked by the mob and ignominiously dragged off to prison across the Aranjuez Palace courtyard [*Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, sig. 45926*]. The same was true of writers, as affirmed by Fray Vicente Martínez de Colomer:

este Almirante augusto, á quien mil plumas baxamente aduladoras elevaban poco antes a las estrellas; yace abatido ahora...envilecido por otras tantas plumas que le insultan y le ultrajan.⁸²

Godoy's patronage of contemporary artists was largely one of pure vanity and self-glorification. In terms of artistic "good taste," of the use of certain artists and the adoption of a particular style of decoration, he merely followed the prior choices of his monarch. Later, during their Roman exile, the same remained true: José de Madrazo, court painter to the deposed king, depicted Godoy in 1816 as a middle-aged, gentleman archeologist [*Private Collection, Perugia*]. Furthermore, in Italy works continued to be dedicated to him by artists and others in search of benefices. Such is the case of the series of etchings by Francesco Trojani inscribed to "Emanuel Godoy, Principe di Bassano" in 1834 by "el Cavaliere Domenico Palmucci" [*Private Collection, Madrid*]. Nevertheless, in his apologetic *Memorias* Godoy places his patronage

81. See: ROSE 1978, *op. cit.*; ROSE & LA PARRA 2001.

82. Fray V. MARTÍNEZ COLOMER, *El Filósofo en su Quinto...* (Valencia, 1808), p. 7.

of the arts in an altruistic and patriotic light. Is he to be believed when he claims “...nunca antes o después, disfrutaron las musas más favor y patrocinio”?⁸³ History has yet to come to balanced terms with the Godoy era, and it remains to be determined whether or not the hyperbole of his own words can be considered to be veridical.

83. GODOY 1965, I, p. 215.



1- Joseph Cayetano de Pinho y Silva, *Manuel Godoy*, radiografía, detalle, 1793, o/l, 138,5 x 109, 5 cm. Este cuadro se halla debajo del retrato de Francisco de Goya, *Alberto Foraster*, 1804. The Hispanic Society of America, Nueva York, n° A.103.

MANUEL GODOY Y SU TIEMPO

CONGRESO INTERNACIONAL

MANUEL GODOY

(1767-1851)

TOMO II

BADAJOS / CASTUERA / OLIVENZA

3 al 6 de octubre de 2001

Miguel Ángel Melón

Emilio La Parra

Fernando Tomás Pérez

(Editores)