

*Goya*

*La Boda*

*The Royal Modello*



by

Ronald Cohen

With supplementary features by

José Gudiol and Eric Young

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## Foreword

In January 1789 King Carlos IV of Spain commissioned Goya to paint a series of designs (or *cartoons*) for tapestries to hang in his study at *El Escorial*, the royal palace near Madrid. On 20th April 1790 the king specified that these should portray *amusing country-scenes*. This was to be Goya's last series of tapestry designs and a favourite among them is undoubtedly Goya's cartoon for *La Boda* (which is also known as *The Wedding-Party*). Goya's published correspondence includes a letter of 3rd June 1791 from Goya to his brother-in-law Francisco Bayeu, where the painter states that he had *almost-finished* the prototype (or *modello*) for the largest design of the series i.e. that for *La Boda*. The first entry in this present publication endeavours to prove that the version of *La Boda* from the Berger collection in Jersey must be the *modello* to which Goya referred in his letter of 1791. The opportunity has also been taken to reproduce previously unpublished studies on the painting written many decades ago respectively by those two authorities on Spanish painting Professor José Gudiol and Eric Young.

## Acknowledgments

I would like to express my profound appreciation to Carmen Garrido of the Prado, Madrid, for her kind help and advice over many years, and to Enrique Parra and Elizabeth Sheldon for their separate technical investigations. At the same time I wish to record my debt to scholars, past and present, who include Diego Angulo, David Bull, Isabel Mateo Gómez, José Gudiol, Alfonso Pérez Sánchez and Eric Young

## The late John Dobbs Berger Some biographical notes

The late John Dobbs Berger was at the same time a lover and hoarder of antiques. When it came to selling his possessions he apparently demonstrated an almost pathological reluctance. After passing away in his eighties, in 1978, the sale of his property proved a massive task for the auctioneers involved.

His sale included certain items of great rarity including a set of eight fourteenth century French silver and enamel panels, which were acquired by the British Museum and were the subject of a feature in *The Times*. He also owned an important eighteenth century harpsichord, a 1531 edition of Chaucer, and paintings by masters ranging from Jan Brueghel to such nineteenth century Jersey artists as Charles Poingdestre, who was the President of the British Academy in Rome for thirty years. Berger was renowned for his cultivated and eclectic taste for antiques and fine art. His biographers report that in the nineteen-twenties he was something of a dandy, who walked around St. Helier in plus fours and check stockings, which were then only worn by persons of avant-garde taste.

Berger was educated in the early years of the twentieth century at Victoria College in St. Helier, and at Dinan in France. He became fluent in French and while there developed an interest in antiques, which led him to open an antiquarian bookshop in St. Helier. He was a dedicated collector who retained many acquisitions throughout his life.

John Berger owned various residences on the island of Jersey. These included houses in Saville Street, Rouge Bouillon, and at First Tower. In each room of these his property was stacked from floor to ceiling. He is recalled today as an amiable eccentric with a brilliant flair.

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## Literature

- R. Cohen *Un modelo real descubierto de nuevo. Ciertas razones por las que se concluye que una versión de "La Boda" de Goya, recientemente descubierta, es el borrón original para el gran cartón del Prado y que fue pintado para Carlos IV en 1791.* Boletín del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar, Saragossa, 1987 xxx, pp. 26-61. (21 illustrations)
- R. Cohen. *Francisco de Goya "La Boda" The Royal Modello - Some New Research*, London, 1988 (43 illustrations) .

## Other Literary References

- Archivo Español de Arte* No. 242, Madrid, 1988, p. 205.  
*Archivo Español de Arte* No. 268, Madrid, 1994, p. 427.  
*Boletín del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar*, Saragossa LXI - 1995, p. 128.  
*Goya - La Imagen de la Mujer*, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, and the National Gallery of Art, Washington 2001/2 No. 15, p. 328.

Expressions of agreement with the conclusions outlined in my previous articles on this *modello* by Goya were received from the undermentioned scholars, who were then at the locations indicated.

- Prof. Diego Angulo, Ex-Director of the Prado, Madrid, Spain  
Prof. José Manuel Arnaiz, Madrid, Author of *Francisco de Goya, Cartones y tapices*, Madrid, 1987  
Prof. Ingmar Bergstrom, Professor of Art History, Gothenburg University, Sweden  
Prof. Jan Briels, Professor of History of Art, Utrecht University, Holland  
Xavière Desparmet-Fitzgerald, Biographer of Goya, Paris  
Dr. Judy Egerton, Tate Gallery, London, England  
Prof. Craig Felton, Professor of Art History, Mass. U.S.A  
Dr. Pierre Gassier, Biographer of Goya, Paris  
Prof. Michael Jaffé, Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England  
Prof. Eric Larsen, Professor Emeritus of Art History, Kansas University, U.S.A  
Dr. Ann Lurie, Curator of European Paintings, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, U.S.A  
Sir Denis Mahon, London  
Prof. Nina Mallory, Madrid  
Prof. Justus Müller Hofstede, Director, Kunsthistorisches Institut der Universität Bonn, Germany  
Dr. Pinkney Near, Curator of European Art, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, U.S.A  
James Byam Shaw, London  
Prof. Seymour Slive, Gleason Professor of Fine Arts, Harvard University, Massachusetts, U.S.A  
Eric Young, Biographer of Goya, Bermejo, and Murillo  
Prof. Federico Zeri, Honorary Trustee of the Getty Museum, California, U.S.A



Fig. 1 GOYA The *prototype* or *modelo* for *La Boda*. Canvas 90 x 119cm (35.2 x 46.9 ins).  
It is proposed that this is the *modelo* commissioned by King Carlos IV, referred to by Goya in his letter to Francisco Bayeu of 3rd June 1791.



Fig. 2 GOYA'S large tapestry-design (or cartoon) for *La Boda*. Oil on canvas 170 x 398cm. *The Prado, Madrid*.  
Goya's largest tapestry-design for his final series, commissioned by Carlos IV in January 1789. The first tapestry from this design was woven in 1794.

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## 1. Essential background information

My first article signalling the discovery in Jersey in 1981 of a previously unknown version of Goya's *Wedding Party* (or *La Boda*) was commissioned in 1985 by Professor Diego Angulo. (Fig.1) Angulo believed that this painting was the missing prototype or *modello*\* for the famous large tapestry-design or *cartoon* of the same subject at the Prado. (Fig. 2) Both these paintings are on canvas and the design or *cartoon*, at 10.7 square metres overall, is precisely ten times the size of the *modello* which measures 1.07 square metres. (Their respective measurements are 2.70 x 3.98 M. and 0.90 x 1.19 M.)

Angulo was among the most respected Spanish art historians of the twentieth century and successively the director of the *Instituto Diego Velázquez*, *The Prado*, and the *Real Academia de la Historia* in Madrid. He was also the editor for many years of the *Archivo Español de Arte* of Madrid for which he commissioned that first article on *La Boda*. However his death in October 1986 left a temporary editorial vacuum and given the specific interest of its contents, and on the recommendation of Isabel Mateo who later assumed his vacant editorship, its publication was transferred to the *Museum Bulletin* of Goya's home town of Saragossa where it was published in 1987/8. (i) In late 1988 an extended English-language translation was published in London and sent to a number of distinguished scholars. Many independently volunteered their agreement with my own and Angulo's views on the authenticity of this painting and some of these have been listed on page IV. Included among the authorities on Spanish art were José Manuel Arnaiz, author of a volume on Goya's tapestry designs; Pierre Gassier, the Goya biographer; Craig Felton, the Ribera scholar; and Nina Mallory, the translator of Palomino's *Lives of the Eminent Spanish Painters and Sculptors*.

Prior to my own publication, studies on this version of *La Boda* had been prepared by two eminent authorities on Spanish painting, José Gudiol, the author of a four-volume opus on Goya which supplied the core material for many subsequent Goya biographies; and Eric Young, similarly a Goya biographer and the author of monographs on Bermejo and Murillo. (ii) Though many of their findings are covered in this article, both studies are also published here in their entirety for the first time. While both authorities agreed on the painting's authenticity, they differed on the precise circumstances of its creation. Eric Young, like Angulo, argued that *it is Goya's preparatory study for 'La Boda' which Young found mentioned in a letter from Goya to his brother-in-law Francisco Bayeu of 3rd June 1791*, while Gudiol (who at the time of writing was unaware of the information which was later revealed by radiography) proposed instead that it is *a reduced replica by Goya of the*

*final cartoon*. My reasons for agreeing with Young, that *it is the finished study, or modello, for the cartoon, rather than a later reduced replica by the master*, are set out here. As my initial *Contents Summary* indicates (Page VI) this study endeavours to prove certain essential facts including:

- 1) That Goya is recorded to have painted a *study* or *modello* for *La Boda*.
- 2) That a *canvas* of the precise size of the *Jersey modello* was supplied to Goya for this final series of preparatory studies and tapestry cartoons.
- 3) That there is considerable evidence which suggests that the *Jersey modello* preceded the Prado cartoon of the same subject, and
- 4) Once the *precedence* of the *Jersey modello* has been established a comparison of their painting techniques will, it is proposed, prove that both pictures were undoubtedly painted by the same master.

Although the two pictures resemble each other in many ways the smaller *Jersey* composition has numerous differences from the Prado cartoon. Further study also reveals in it many important *pentimenti* (or *early changes of mind*) which are outlined in detail and studied in Section 8. These *pentimenti* signify alterations made by the painter *while still inventing the composition*, and provide important evidence of his efforts to perfect it. *The existence of such pentimenti indicates that the Jersey painting must be the earlier of the two compositions, and the Prado cartoon an enlarged variant of it.*

## 2. Interim research

In 1984 the *Jersey* painting was sent for preliminary investigation to the Prado, where the tests carried out were encouraging but not sufficiently exhaustive and since then knowledge both of Goya's techniques and use of materials has significantly advanced. Exhaustive new scientific tests were therefore carried out on it in London and Madrid, respectively during the years 1999 and 2000, and the results of these will be examined here for the first time. The present study includes all previously published material reconsidered in the light of this later research. At the same time efforts have been made to eliminate whatever errors may have been discerned in the earlier studies.

Consideration has also been given to the possible history of Goya's prototype for *La Boda* from the time of its commissioning from Goya by Carlos IV in 1791, through to its final re-emergence almost two centuries later in the Berger collection in Jersey in 1981. Fresh ideas are also presented here regarding the genesis of three smaller *sketches* (or *bocetos*) of this subject each of which, at one time or another, has been advanced as a possible prototype for *La Boda*. Given a new understanding of the evidence it is indeed now proposed

\*Throughout this text the words *modello* and *prototype* may be considered interchangeable as indeed are *cartoon* and *tapestry-design*.

that two of these sketches were mere pastiches, and the third probably a repetition of the tapestry design, produced as a weaver's guide during a later reweaving of the tapestry.(Figs 26-8)

Finally certain individual concerns which were generously made known to the writer by scholarly friends including Juliet Wilson-Bareau, Nigel Glendinning, William Jordan, and Alfonso Pérez-Sánchez, have been considered here and it is hoped, in the light of the latest research, successfully addressed.

### 3. Proof of the production by Goya of a prototype or *modello* for *La Boda*, and why it cannot have been a rapidly-executed small sketch like the painting formerly at the Jockey Club in Buenos Aires

The documents and correspondence published by Sambricio relating to Goya's last set of tapestry cartoons indicate that for two years after his appointment as *pintor de cámara* to Carlos IV, on 30th April 1789, Goya refused to produce any further designs for the tapestry factory as he considered such work incompatible with his newly-exalted status. Only the king's threat to deprive him of his income, made in May 1791, persuaded Goya to recommence this work. (iii) Among Sambricio's documents Eric Young found a letter by Goya written on 3rd June 1791, in response to this royal threat, and sent by the painter to his brother-in-law Francisco Bayeu, one of whose duties was to oversee the work of the less-established and younger Court painters. This letter is of particular relevance to the present research for in it an otherwise evidently contrite Goya wrote: '*tengo cuasi acabado el borrón del mayor cuadro de la pieza del despacho del Rey*'. This section of his letter may be translated as 'I have almost-finished the prototype for the largest picture for the king's study'. *La Boda* (or *The Wedding-Party*) was the largest of Goya's cartoons in this final series of tapestry designs, and the prototype or *modello* referred to must therefore have been for this largest painting of the series, which belongs to the Prado. (iv)

Goya, whose painting styles his early master Francisco Bayeu knew intimately, was a very rapid painter, and while the word *borrón* could denote either a small sketch or a *modello* Goya's specific qualification to Bayeu that it was *almost-finished* would have encouraged his ex-master to envisage a painting fit to show the King and one which had entailed far more preparation than a sketch of petty dimensions. (Which is no doubt how Bayeu would have regarded the Buenos Aires ex-Jockey Club sketch, whose painted area covered less than a fifth of a square metre). It must be recalled moreover, when preparing this *modello*, that Goya was desperately hoping with it to

regain the goodwill of the king who had reacted so threateningly to the complaints about Goya by Livinio Stuyck, the tapestry-factory director. (Stuyck had complained bitterly to the king that Goya's refusal to produce further designs was leading to unemployment among the tapestry-factory workers).

Jeannine Baticle has noted that Goya's paintings for the king were normally more highly-finished than his other commissions and while this *modello* is freely-painted in parts the painter has deliberately chosen to paint the three foreground figures (*specifically the bride, the groom, and the green-clad father-in-law*) in a more defined manner than the other figures which ploy gives the picture, at first glance, the overall effect of a highly-finished *modello*. (v) Goya's understanding of the royal psychology seems thus to have resulted in a painting which is seen to be, at one and the same time, both free and academic. (vi)

### 4. Evidence indicating that the Jersey *modello* for *La Boda* is identical in size to a missing canvas supplied to Goya for this last series of tapestry designs

So far as the precise dimensions of the *modello* are concerned, Sambricio's published documents include a receipt of 26th June 1792 from the stretcher-maker Alessandro Cittadini for payment of the stretched canvases for this Goya's last series of tapestry cartoons. Of particular interest is the *sixth* entry on this receipt, which describes *two stretchers four feet high and three feet wide, with primed canvases*. Cost 50 Reales (vii).

In 1987 José Manuel Arnaiz, who was then unaware of the existence of the Jersey painting, published all the known surviving *bocetos* and *cartoons* for this series in his important publication *Francisco de Goya - Cartones y Tapices*, but none of them possesses these specific dimensions. Nigel Glendinning at one time proposed that these two stretchers might have been intended for overdoors but, once again, no overdoors of similar dimensions have been found in this series, and many authorities believe instead today that *they were supplied to Goya for the painting of the prototypes (or modelli) required for the king's approval* (which would naturally have included that mentioned in the painter's letter to Bayeu of 3rd June 1791). The emergence in 1981 of the very refined Jersey version of *La Boda*, coupled with the absence of any other similarly-sized *bocetos* or overdoors by Goya among the known works of this series of cartoons, strongly supports this conclusion. It should be clarified at this stage that Cittadini, like the king's architect Francesco Sabatini, was an Italian, and Sambricio's published records reveal, when he



Fig. 3 GOYA 1783-4 *Goya about to paint the family of the Infante Don Luis de Borbón*. Oil on canvas 240 x 330 cm. Private Collection, Parma. Goya shows himself preparing to paint this family group on a red-primed canvas. The *modello* for *La Boda* reproduced at Fig. 1 was similarly painted on a canvas with an initial red priming.

supplied this canvas to Goya, that he had only recently become employed at the Spanish Court. (viii) However it is worth pointing out, according to Cittadini's native Italian measurements, that *these 4 feet x 3 feet stretchers (at the normal 11.73 inches to the Roman foot) measured 46.92 x 35.19 inches, equivalent to 1.19 x 0.90 m.* (ix) *These are the precise dimensions of the Jersey modello, and a most significant coincidence.*

Bearing in mind the king's threat in May 1791 to deprive him of his income it is clear that Goya needed to pacify the monarch at once by producing new designs, and would urgently have required a canvas on which to begin painting his prototype for *La Boda*. Given such pressures it is also easy to believe that Cittadini may have gratified the painter's request by providing him with a rapidly-produced, or already-stretched and primed canvas constructed, as had been his invariable practice till that time, according to Roman measurements. (For Goya's letter to Bayeu indicates, already by 3rd June 1791, that the painter was making good progress on his prototype for *La Boda*).

Nonetheless as Cittadini settled in at court his fellow-Italian Sabatini must clearly have acquainted him with the alternative Spanish dimensions for the stretcher-sizes of certain later conceptions in this final series of designs are clearly verifiable in Spanish feet. (A Spanish foot, at 10.97 inches, is roughly three quarters of an inch inferior to the Roman foot i.e about 28 cm as opposed to 30 cm).

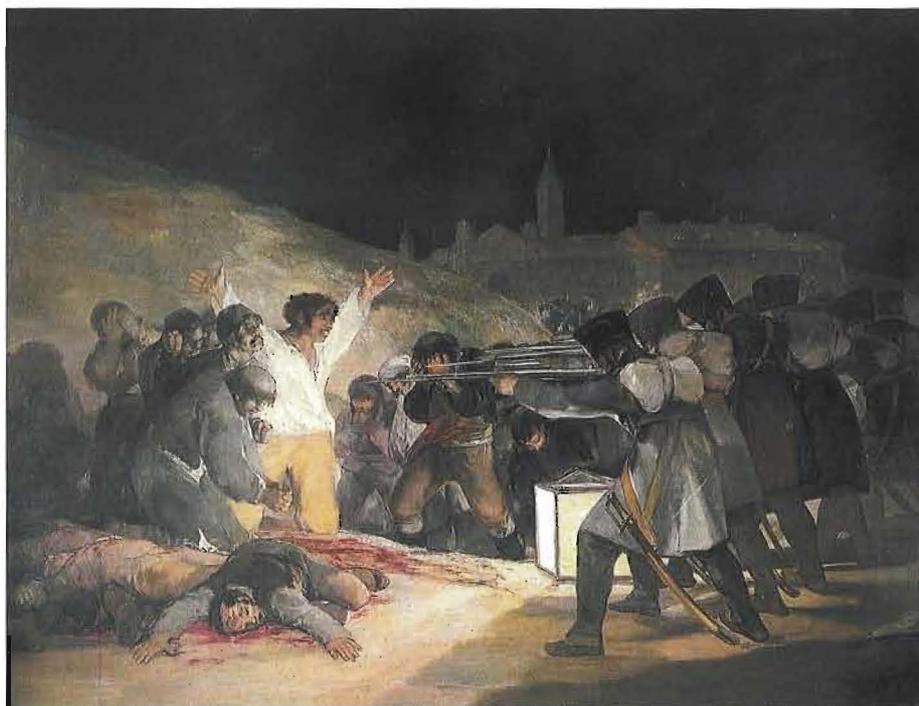
## 5. The priming of the Jersey *modello* for *La Boda* and its similarities to that of other paintings by Goya

Four important discoveries resulted from the laboratory tests carried out respectively by Elizabeth Sheldon of University College, London, and Enrique Parra, of the Universidad Alfonso X, Madrid. The first is that *the canvas of the Jersey modello had an initial red priming*, as on the canvas which Goya shows himself preparing to paint in his *Family of the Infante Don Luis De Borbón* of 1783, at Parma. (Fig.3)

Fig. 4 GOYA *The 2nd of May 1808* Canvas 266 x 314 cm. Museo del Prado, Madrid.



Fig. 5 GOYA *The Executions of the 3rd of May 1808* 266 x 345 cm. Museo del Prado, Madrid.



Furthermore, as Parra confirms, there is also a red priming on Goya's paintings of *The 2nd of May 1808* and *The Executions of the 3rd of May 1808* at the Prado. (Figs. 4 & 5) Both Parra and Sheldon have noted that such red primings are a common feature of Spanish and Italian paintings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is clear also, although Goya may occasionally have used red pigments of different chemical compositions and intensity, that the red primings used for this *modello* for *The Wedding-Party* corresponds closely with that used by him for the two latter works. Visual examination has further confirmed that Goya also used a red priming on the tapestry cartoons themselves.

Although Goya began painting this *modello* for *The Wedding-Party* on a red-primed canvas (and Cittadini's receipt confirms that the canvases he delivered were *already-primed*) the painter must have realised at an early stage that the original priming would not produce the bright, luminous effect which he had normally employed for the king because tests show that before creating the eventual composition *this red priming was overpainted with a white one*. As Parra notes moreover in his report *two other famous royal modelli by Goya* for tapestry cartoons at the Prado, *The Meadow of San Isidro* and *Blind Man's Buff*, have a similar white ground, which give them both a



Fig. 6 GOYA 1788 *The Meadow of San Isidro*. Oil on canvas 44 x 94cm. *The Prado Museum, Madrid*. Another proposed *modello* for a tapestry cartoon. (The tapestry of this subject was never produced. It may have been considered impractical for weaving purposes).



Fig. 7 GOYA 1788 *Blind Man's Buff*. Oil on canvas 41 x 44 cm. *The Prado, Madrid*. Another *modello* for a tapestry cartoon. This has a 'spider's-web' pattern of craquelure in the sky which resembles that on the *Jersey modello*, and may indicate that both share a similar dating.

heightened luminosity. (Figs. 6 & 7) It is interesting to note that these were painted in 1788, shortly before *La Boda* was commissioned in January 1789.

The width of the former, at 94 cm, is close to the height of the *Jersey modello*, at 90 cm, confirming once again that Goya used canvases of this approximate size as *modelli*.

Like the Jersey version of *La Boda* both of these prototypes are brighter than the final cartoons of equivalent subjects, which Goya of course never intended for display and produced merely as grand designs for the weavers. It is clear that the painter did not feel obliged to make these cartoons so brightly appealing as his small-scale studies for them, which were needed to obtain the specific approval of the king and enable the painter to proceed to the final (cartoon) stage of the tapestry design. Dr. Sheldon has also noted significantly that Goya's *Self-Portrait* at Agen has a grey priming over the original red, which confirms that the covering of one priming with another was normal Goya practice. In this latter instance the grey priming may have been added to bring a note of restraint to the final effect.

Another significant discovery by Dr. Sheldon is that when originally painted, the bridegroom wore a green coat. A close study of the painting indicates, given that the father of the bride and piper are also dressed in green, that continued use of this colour would have resulted in a too symmetrical and bland overall effect. Clearly Goya's aim to draw the viewer's attention to his bride and groom was far better accomplished with the eventual bright red of the bridegroom's coat. However the discovery of the bridegroom's original green coat supplies strong supporting evidence of the precedence of the Jersey modello over the Prado cartoon, where Goya's bridegroom is clothed in red, as is the case only in the final stage of the Jersey modello.

A fourth important discovery (made by Professor Parra) is that, in some areas over the original red priming, there is a separate localised background priming in grey or brown.

Parra has explained that this is typical of an original design, generally adopted while the artist was developing ideas, and working out his groupings, on an already-prepared but otherwise empty canvas. Parra noted that Goya used this same technique on other works including *The 2nd of May 1808* and *The 3rd of May 1808*. It should be noted that the independent research of Parra and Sheldon enabled both to conclude that the Jersey painting must be an original design.

## 6. Pigmentary evidence that the Jersey modello is of the eighteenth century

### The Pigments

According to the laboratory reports the presence of Prussian Blue (ferric ferrocyanide), Lead-Tin Yellow (double oxide of lead and tin), and Naples Yellow (lead antimoniate) points to this modello being an eighteenth century work, for Prussian Blue made its appearance around the mid-eighteenth century and, by the start of the nineteenth century, lead-tin and Naples Yellow had been practically replaced by Chrome Yellows, and other more modern pigments.

Parra explained that the use, after 1800, of Lead-Tin Yellow, is almost unknown, although its alternative, Naples Yellow, remained in use until the end of the nineteenth century. Both reports confirm the range and combination of pigments used on this modello to be characteristic and typical of the eighteenth century. Given these pigmentary factors, and the numerous pentimenti to be listed later (visible either on X-rays, or to the naked eye) both Parra and Sheldon have independently concluded that the Jersey version of *La Boda* cannot be a copy of the Prado cartoon.

The pigments found in the Jersey modello and listed by Dr. Sheldon and Prof. Parra, were:

WHITE: Lead White; and Calcium Carbonate (Chalk), in preparation layers.

BLACK: Charcoal black, and Bone Carbon black.

YELLOW: Naples Yellow, Yellow Ochre, Sienna.

BLUE: Prussian Blue.

RED: Crimson Lake (not Madder), Vermilion (dry-process), Red Ochre.

BROWN: Brown Ochre.

This is a typical range of pigments for an eighteenth century palette.

### Craquelure:

The distinctive 'spider's web' pattern of craquelure visible on this modello and regularly remarked upon is a characteristic eighteenth century feature. A comparison with craquelure on other modelli by Goya of similar dating including his *Blind Man's Buff* and *The Hermitage of San Isidro* of 1788 (Figs. 7 & 8) clearly confirms this.

### Wrinkling

In certain areas, as for instance the bridegroom's red coat, there is a marked wrinkling of the paint. (Fig. 9) This was caused both by an excess of oil in the pigment and the localised application, one above the other, of paints of differing colours and consistencies (first green and then red). Pérez Sánchez, during an early cursory examination, suggested this seemed untypical for Goya but as David Bull, chairman of conservation at the National Gallery of Art Washington later pointed out it is in fact by no means uncommon in Goya's paintings. Indeed similar wrinkling on autograph works, such as Goya's *Self-Portrait* of 1798 at Castres, establishes this incontestably (Fig. 10)

The London and Madrid investigations have then confirmed, so far as concerns craquelure, canvas, pigments, and materials, that this modello possesses every essential identifying characteristic of an eighteenth century painting. This satisfactorily addresses a query of William Jordan expressed many years ago, as to whether this picture could possibly be a late nineteenth century copy by a competent painter.



Fig. 8 GOYA 1788 *The Hermitage of San Isidro* (42 x 44 cm). Another *modello* for a tapestry-design. This also has a 'spider's web' pattern of craquelure which resembles that on both Goya's *modello* for *Blind Man's Buff* of 1788, and the Jersey version of *La Boda*.



Fig. 9 *The Bridegroom* (Detail) The wrinkled-paint is a characteristic in many of Goya's paintings.

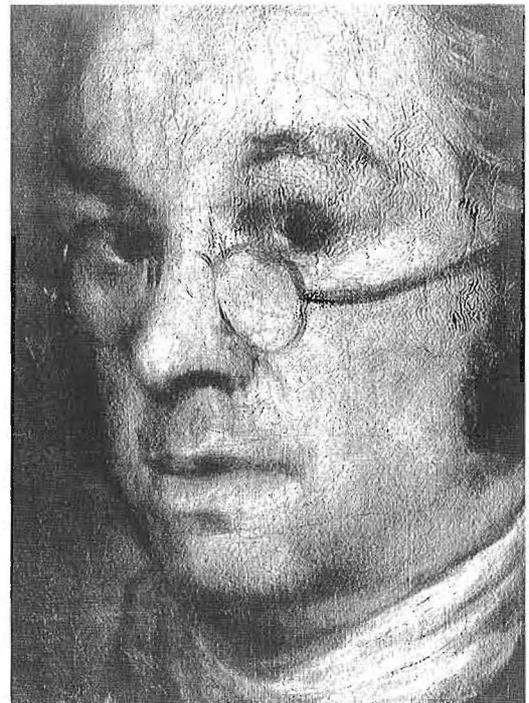


Fig. 10 Goya 1798 *Self-Portrait* (Detail). Oil on canvas (61 x 47 cm). Signed. Musée Goya, Castres. The wrinkled paint is again discernible here.

## 7. Radiographic evidence that the Jersey *modello* preceded the Prado Cartoon

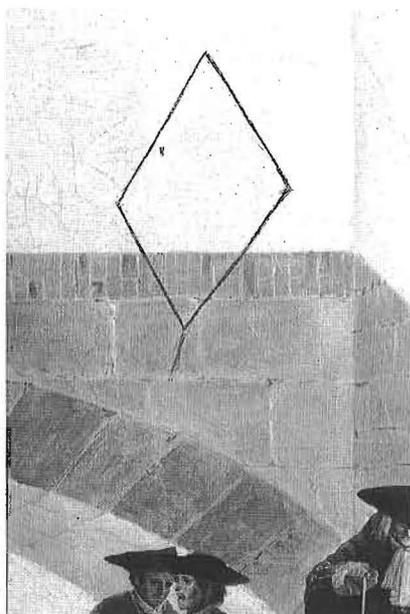


Fig. 11 The section of the bridge on the Jersey *modello*, with a drawn outline of the original kite.

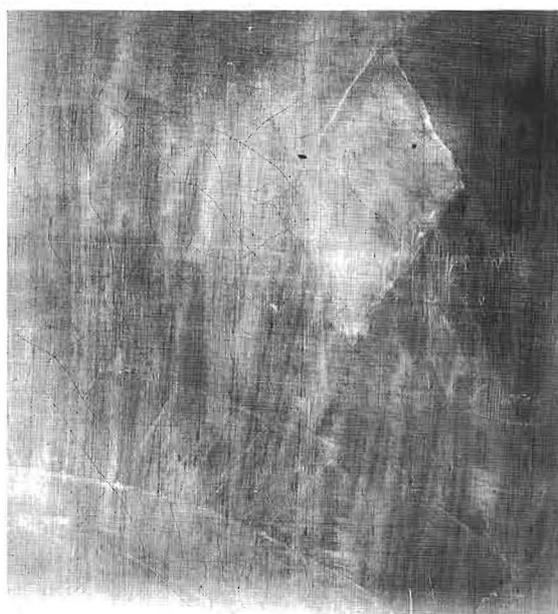


Fig. 12 The kite, as revealed by the X-ray.



Fig. 13 Goya 1777/8 *The Kite* (or *La Cometa*). Detail. A tapestry cartoon. Oil on canvas 269 x 285 cm. *The Prado, Madrid*.

The X-rays of the Jersey painting revealed early changes of mind of the painter. Among the more important discoveries is that *the boy on the cart*, as originally portrayed, *was flying a diamond-shaped kite*. (Figs. 11 & 12) This kite (prior to being painted out) was situated at the upper right of the bridge, and is of a not dissimilar shape to the one Goya included in *La Cometa* (*The Kite*) (Fig. 13) The boy on the cart furthermore, with his arms upraised, occupies a typical kiting-position. (see Fig. 31A) Nina Mallory suggested that an explanation for Goya's elimination of the kite was that it simply did not work. *Goya must also have realised that such a kite would distract the viewer's attention from the bride and groom, his essential focal point. Finally the kite's removal would have enabled Goya to reduce the proportion of sky to bridal procession, and thus make the figures more prominent, as in the Prado cartoon*, further supporting that the cartoon is the later of the two paintings.

Diego Angulo was the first scholar to point out that this (subsequently-obliterated) kite provides evidence that the Jersey painting was Goya's

*earlier idea* (and *modello*). And even today Goya's first idea of a kite-flyer might be felt in some ways to make better sense than the small boy with his hands upraised, in the rather artificial greeting-stance of the final cartoon.

Another significant radiographic revelation is that *the two male figures, above and to the right of the priest, were added after and over the completed bridge*. (Compare Figs. 14 & 14A) This is important for *a copy or replica would not have been painted in this manner i.e. missing out two figures while repeating an existing composition*. These additional figures clearly fulfilled the dual purpose of compensating for the removal of the kite, and breaking up what (without the two male figures) would have been a too-symmetrical composition. Both Parra and Sheldon have emphasized that the insertion of the two figures over the completed bridge confirms that, while painting this picture, *the artist was still experimenting with and improving his composition*, which fact supports its precedence, and eliminates any possibility of it being a copy or replica.



Fig. 14 Figures to the right of the modello for *La Boda* (Detail).



Fig. 14A The X-ray of the section reproduced at (Fig. 14). The outline of the bridge was completed before the addition of the two standing figures behind the priest.

## 8. Visible evidence that the Jersey *modello* for *La Boda* preceded the Prado Cartoon

Notwithstanding the numerous changes of mind listed in my original Saragossa article of 1987/8, to which it referred, and the pentimenti revealed by X-rays (repeated above) three assertions which require correcting were made about the Jersey *modello* in an article entitled *Jean-Louis Gintrac and Goya's 'La Boda'*, in the Burlington Magazine of August 1997(x). It was stated there that :

- 1). The Jersey *modello* is a literal repetition of the Prado cartoon.
- 2). The Buenos Aires sketch is the only small-scale version to show major figural differences from the final cartoon.
- 3). The Jersey *modello* is a *small version* which, in the clear context of that article, was misleading, for the Jersey *modello* occupies six times the area of the Buenos Aires sketch which was proposed there as the missing Goya prototype. (The reasons for suggesting that this last painting was a *pastiche* will be outlined in section 13). Given that this article was accepted by the Burlington Magazine Advisory Committee, and has entered the Goya canon, a printed correction is probably necessary. *The fourteen visible differences from the Jersey Modello to the Prado cartoon are therefore listed once more below:* (Compare Figs. 1 & 2)
- 1). The wall on the right-hand side of the *modello* is

higher than the cartoon wall, and has an additional protruding corner-stone.

2). The lowest edge of the protruding corner stone on the right-hand wall of the *modello* is level with the head of the old man with a stick (the grandfather of the bride). On the cartoon this figure is set below this level.

3). On the *modello* there are nine instead of eight entire stones, to the left of the key-stone on the soffit of the bridge. (I am indebted to the late David Carritt for this observation).

4). There is a differently-angled layout of the stonework on the underside of the bridge.

5). The green-coated father of the bride on the *modello* has twenty white stripes on his coat, beneath his cravat. His cartoon equivalent displays only fifteen similar stripes. Clearly Goya aimed for greater simplicity on the larger scale.

6). In the *modello* the priest has a more sombre expression than his smiling counterpart on the Prado cartoon.

7). In the *modello* the male figure on the right of the priest has a more sombre expression than his smiling counterpart on the Prado cartoon.

8). The groom on the *modello* has ten stripes on his red coat, beneath his left hand, whereas the coat of his cartoon equivalent displays only eight similar stripes.



Fig. 15 The bridal group in the *modello* (Detail).



Fig. 15A The bridal group in the grand cartoon at the Prado. (Detail)

9). The bride in the *modello* is manifestly pregnant, with a prominent bust, and her dress billows out more, which suggests that Goya initially intended to imply that she had been forced into this union. (Compare Details Figs. 15 & 15A) So far as this last change is concerned a precedent of 1786 may be worth recalling for when Goya's close friend Moratín attempted to stage *El Viejo y la Niña* (a comedy similarly based on the theme of an ill-matched couple) the censors insisted upon many changes, which delayed its performance for four years. (xii) This censorship wrangle ended a year before Goya started work on his *modello* for *La Boda* and was no doubt still fresh in official minds when Goya first showed the king his *prototype* (or *modello*) for the tapestry-design. It may indeed have been at the King's direction that this rather indelicate portrayal of a young girl's union with her rich but undesirable husband was toned down for the large cartoon. However the pregnant-looking bride, before its modification for the large cartoon is surely a classic example of Goya's realism.

10). The face of the *modello* bridegroom is angled upwards rather than ahead like the cartoon groom. (Details Figs. 15 & 15A) On the *modello* he seems characterised as a traditional 'village fool' whereas the cartoon groom, while also plain and unattractive, seems less maliciously portrayed. It may be that the king, whose requirement for 'amusing country scenes' was well-known, preferred the slightly less cruel portrayal of the final cartoon.

11). On the *modello* the bridesmaid behind the bride holds the groom's right hand with her own, and is gently guiding him. On the cartoon (unless this section was later overpainted) the groom appears

to be guiding himself by gently touching the bride's dress. (See Figs. 15 & 15A).

12). On the *modello* the sleeve of the boy in front of the bride is incomplete. The lower section, from wrist to elbow, has been merely sketched-in, with characteristic Goya energy. On the cartoon this sleeve is complete. (Figs. 1 & 2).

13). The boy on the cart in the *modello* is taller and slimmer than his cartoon equivalent, and his head reaches over rather than under the halfway level of the complete step to the left of the bridge. Flying the kite could have obliged him to stretch. His expression is also different in each picture.

14). Among other important changes of mind on the *modello* (just visible to the naked eye in Fig. 1) is a banner or flag, shaped rather like a shark's fin, which hung over the centre of the bridge and, at its highest point, reached almost to the top of the picture. Goya evidently decided to dispense with this banner, as he did with the kite, probably for similar reasons to those explained in section 7.

The whites on the *modello* are more prominent than on the cartoon no doubt because, on the former, its basic red priming was overpainted with white. This high-white has of course already been noted on similar *modelli* by Goya for royal tapestry cartoons including his *Blind Man's Buff*, *The Meadow of San Isidro* and *The Hermitage of San Isidro*. (Figs. 6/8) As the research of Parra and Sheldon confirms these fourteen visible differences and two radiographic alterations, sixteen modifications altogether, establish overwhelmingly that the Jersey *modello* is an original composition, and the Prado Cartoon an enlarged variant of it.



Fig. 16 *Figures around a cart* (A detail from the *modello* for *La Boda*).



Fig. 17 *The Little Giants*. A final tapestry. Woven after a design by Goya from the same series as *La Boda*.

Fig. 18 GOYA *The Flirtation*. Oil on canvas 41 x 31 cm. Marquis de la Romana, Madrid.



Fig. 18A GOYA *The Flirtation*. (A drawing). Once again the 'flicky' effect resembles that used for the *Figures around a cart* in the *modello* for *La Boda*.

Eric Young proposed that the head of the groom on the *modello*, and the entire left-hand group which includes the *sketchily-painted boy on the cart, upward-glancing woman, and one-eyed man to her left* (Fig. 16) are masterpieces of characterisation of which solely Goya would have been capable. At an early stage in the 1980's, shortly after the re-appearance in Jersey of this painting, Juliet Bareau made two observations. She remarked that the 'flicky' manner of painting of the boys on the left seemed rather untypical of Goya whereas Gudiol had suggested that this was a deliberate ploy of Goya to create a 'tapestry effect'. A comparison of this section of the *modello* with tapestries such as that woven after Goya's *The Little Giants* reproduced here (Fig. 17) supports Gudiol's observation. Moreover, as noted in earlier research, Goya employed an almost identical free or 'flicky' technique in other of his works such as his *Flirtation* (Fig. 18), and its related etchings and sketches. (Figs. 18A) While this

treatment might then be unusual for Goya, it is clearly not unknown in his oeuvre. Unlike Gudiol, who wrote that the hands of the figures on the *modello* are characteristic of Goya, Bareau felt they seemed somehow untypical of the master. The *modello* and Prado cartoon have therefore been scaled down to roughly similar sizes which allows confirmation that any such differences are indeed minimal. (Figs. 1 & 2) A closer examination in fact reveals that *both hands of only one of the twenty-four personages are depicted in their entirety*. (Those of the boy on the cart who, prior to Goya's elimination of the kite, would almost certainly have been holding kite-strings or grips *which, at that stage, would have partially obscured his hands*). In any event it is clear that such relatively minor details as four fully visible hands (perceptible out of a potential of forty-eight) on such a rapidly-created, but complex *modello* for the huge tapestry design, would seem to be an insufficient basis on which to form categorical judgments about the painting's authenticity. Furthermore the



Fig. 19 GOYA. Study for *The Equestrian Portrait of Maria Teresa de Vallabriga*. Canvas 80 x 60 cm. Uffizi Gallery, Florence.



Fig. 20 *Don Luis de Borbón* 1783. Canvas 48 x 39.5 cm. A finished study by Goya. Completed by Goya in three hours on 11th September 1783



Fig. 21 *Maria Teresa de Vallabriga* 1783 Canvas 42 x 35 cm. Another finished study by Goya. Goya completed this in one hour on 27th August 1783

hands on the *modello* are very close in painterly technique to those on other small paintings by Goya such as in his 1784 *Equestrian Portrait of Maria Teresa de Vallabriga* (Fig. 19) and his *Self-Portrait at the Easel* (Fig.22). In those years Bareau was of course committed to the belief that the Buenos Aires sketch was Goya's missing *modello*. However, as mentioned earlier, the reasons for believing this sketch to have been a later *pastiche* will shortly be explored.

In its left-hand section the cartoon lacks the *modello's* vitality which, given the differences of scale and technique of the two compositions, is unsurprising. *The modello is executed with short dynamic touches of the brush, as one would expect from Goya for an inspired preparatory study; and the cartoon with broader, sweeping brushstrokes, which were more suited for a large design intended merely as a weaver's guide, for eventual reproduction as a tapestry.* Bearing in mind once more their different end purposes, and vastly contrasting dimensions (the *modello* was produced for the king's personal approval and to regain his goodwill) such different end results are unsurprising.

## 9. Affinities of the Jersey *modello* with other preparatory studies by Goya

The production of more refined *modelli* in advance of the execution of a large work for the royal family was Goya's normal practice, and can be verified by comparing other preparatory *modelli* such as Goya's *Portrait of Don Luis De Borbón* (42 x 35 cm) with its counterpart in the grand *Family of the Infante Don Luis de Borbón* (2.48 x 3.30 M) of

1783. (Fig. 20 & 3) Eight *modelli* also exist for Goya's *Family of King Carlos IV* (which monarch commissioned *La Boda*). Study indicates that they too were more painstakingly executed than their counterparts in the large family group

## 10. The painting techniques of the Jersey *modello* and the Prado Cartoon.

### A close study and comparison.

A visual examination of the *modello* and Prado cartoon (Figs. 1 & 2) reveals that paints of a different consistency were used. The *modello* was almost certainly painted with finely-ground colours from a palette and the cartoon, given its size, presumably from pre-mixed large containers. Both Professor Parra, and David Chesterman, the London conservator, observed that the paint of the *modello* has become transparent in certain sections. This is a common trait of many old master paintings, and the cause often of the re-emergence of earlier *pentimenti*. On this picture such transparency is discernible on the right-hand section of the priest's robes, and has also caused the reappearance of the shark's-fin shaped banner above the bridge. Both paintings exhibit characteristic Goya spontaneity.

*Bearing in mind the evidence already advanced supporting the precedence of the modello, certain identical characteristics of the two paintings should now be considered:*

Commencing at the extreme right with the elderly gentleman (grandfather) carrying a stick, the painter has, in both cases, used horizontal dashes of paint to define his coat, and vertical dashes for his legs. The highlights on his tricorne hat are applied in a similar manner in both instances, as are those used on his right cuff.



Fig. 22 Goya. *A Self-Portrait at the Easel* c. 1790. Canvas 42 x 28cm Real Academia, Madrid.



Fig. 23 *Old gentleman with a stick (The grandfather)*. A detail from the *Jersey modello*.

The portrayal of the male behind this gentleman is remarkable for the similar spontaneity of brushwork on his shoulder, jacket-trimmings and hatband; and the highlight on his hat (in the same position in both cases) may also be noted.

Insofar as regards the green-coated father of the bride, the folds of his coat in both pictures are depicted with similar light green shadings around the left shoulder and upper arm, and down towards his elbow. The light illuminating his right arm has greater spontaneity in the *modello* than in the cartoon while, again on the *modello*, the *silkeness* of his stockings seems more convincing. The white highlights on his cuffs and cravat are similarly applied in both cases. On the cartoon figure the red priming shows through his green coat, but does not do so on the *modello*. The top of his hat points towards the ground in both instances, as he grips the inside of the hat with his thumb. The reflections on the inside of the hat are identically positioned.

As regards the priest, when painting his robe, the artist was faced with the difficult problem of painting black on black, and his use of reflected sunlight to convey the folds of the priest's garb, and the curvature of his hat is, in each case, identical.

Moving to the man on the priest's right, the similarity of depiction of the light and dark blues of his jacket is striking, as is the spontaneity of depiction in both instances of his shoulder-sash, cummerbund, bow, and breeches.

The brushwork of the bridegroom's bow and cravat also compares closely, as do the liquid strokes with which his hair is painted, though the hair of the *modello* groom is becoming more transparent.

The bridesmaids in both paintings are painted with

speedy brushstrokes, though the characteristic Goya spontaneity of the stripes on the piper's jacket is more striking on the *modello* than on the cartoon.

The piper, the boys, the one-eyed man, and the upward-gazing woman are painted with a sketchy vigour on the *modello*, which is typical of Goya, but seems less effectively rendered on the larger scale.

These scaled down reproductions enable one to compare the painting techniques of the two works and, given the abundant evidence that the *modello* preceded the cartoon, convincingly establishes that the *Jersey* painting was the *modello* and prototype painted by Goya for his large tapestry cartoon of *La Boda* in the Prado.

## 11. The painterly similarities of the *Jersey modello* for *La Boda* with other works by Goya

Goya's *Self-Portrait at the Easel* (Fig. 22) which, like *La Boda*, has been dated to around 1791, when Goya was forty-five, has been reproduced here to demonstrate its similarities with the *Old gentleman with a stick* (grandfather) from the *Jersey modello*. (Detail Fig. 23) The raking light highlighting the horizontal striations on the garments, and the confident yet extreme delicacy of the brushstrokes, are characteristic of Goya's technique.

The use of impasto on the *Jersey modello* for the trimmings of the bride's bodice, earrings, and hair accessories is a hallmark of the painter which was similarly adopted by Goya for the hat and sleeve trimmings of *Maria Teresa de Vallabriga* at the Uffizi Gallery (Fig. 19), the jewellery and dress trimmings of the *Portrait of Maria Luisa* in the *Family of Carlos IV* at the



Fig. 24 GOYA *Queen Maria Luisa and her daughter*. A detail from *The Family of King Carlos IV* at the Prado.



Fig. 25 GOYA *The Duke of Wellington*. Panel 60 x 51 cm. The National Gallery, London.

Prado (Fig 24) and the decorations on the uniform of Goya's *Duke Of Wellington* at the National Gallery, London. (Fig.25)

## 12. International conservatorial responses to the Jersey *modello* for *La Boda*

In 1982 David Bull, now the chairman of conservation at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, undertook the first light cleaning tests, and reported that the painting was in excellent condition with very few surface losses or early retouchings. He advised that it be relined to ensure that there should be no unnecessary paint losses during its subsequent cleaning. Among other observations Mr Bull drew attention to certain characteristics, such as the 'spider's web' pattern of craquelure (already remarked upon in Section 6) which it shares with other Goya paintings such as his *Blind Man's Buff* and *The Hermitage of San Isidro* of 1788. (Figs. 7 & 8) He was also the first to draw attention to its characteristic 'wrinkled' sections, which feature it shares with other important Goya paintings such as his *Self-Portrait* at Castres (Fig. 10). In 1990 Herbert Lank, the director of the Hamilton Carr Institute of London and Cambridge, independently examined the picture and endorsed David Bull's observations. Lank also submitted a conservation report which was identical in its essentials.

13. The reasons for concluding that the small Buenos Aires sketch of *La Boda* was a *pastiche* and cannot have been the *modello* referred to in Goya's letter to Francisco Bayeu of 3rd June 1791.

The ex-Buenos Aires sketch for *La Boda* is today recalled only from a rather poor photograph of 1928. (Fig. 27) The painting itself was destroyed by fire in 1956. In my 1988 study on *La Boda* I noted that this and two other sketches, one previously belonging to the Marqués de Bermejillo and the other in a private collection, had earlier been advanced by established scholars as autograph works by Goya. (Figs. 26 & 28) Given this, and that the first two have been unavailable for study since the 1950's (the Bermejillo sketch was published by Sambricio in the aftermath of war in 1946) I felt unqualified at that stage to query their authenticity. However, fresh consideration of the radiographic evidence now suggests that a more questioning view should be taken for both the Buenos Aires and Bermejillo versions of *La Boda* include the conversing figures behind the bride's father which the x-rays of the Jersey *modello* prove to have been second thoughts of Goya. This evidence seems to indicate that both sketches may have been later pastiches.



Fig. 26 *La Boda* (or *The Wedding-Party*). A lost sketch (Ex. Coll. Marqués de Bermejillo).



Fig. 27 *The Wedding-Party*. A sketch. Canvas 34.5 x 51cm (Destroyed by fire) Ex. Jockey Club, Buenos Aires.



Fig. 28 *The Wedding-Party*. A sketch. Canvas 48.2 x 81.5 cm. Private Collection.

It was explained in Section 7 why, after eliminating the kite, Goya may well have felt advised to insert these two figures to compensate for the excessive symmetricality of the resultant composition. This being so, it is clear that the invention of these two figures was a necessary step in Goya's progress towards his final successful composition. It can therefore be argued that neither the Bermejillo nor the Buenos Aires sketches are likely to have been produced before the Jersey modello, at which stage these two figures can be seen to have been invented for excellent reasons.

Finally, Nina Mallory astutely observed that the Bermejillo sketch for *La Boda* seems from its reproduction to have been of inferior quality, which comment seems equally applicable to the ex-Buenos Aires sketch, about which scholarly descriptions are almost invariably prefaced by a brief exculpatory note such as "It is known only from a poor photograph of 1928". (Indeed it is unlikely that any living authority has ever laid eyes on that, or the Bermejillo sketch). Given the significance of the radiographic evidence, and the consequent improbability of their having been original sketches it may well be that their poor reproductions reflected the quality of the original paintings, in which case Goya must of course be excluded as their author.

So far as the third sketch of *La Boda* is concerned (Fig. 28) its general composition and proportion of sky closely resembles that of the Prado cartoon. Gudiol originally

reproduced it as a sketch for *La Boda* in his monograph on Goya of 1970 (No. 298). Sadly Gudiol died in 1985, unaware of the extensive Jersey *modello* research, which was published two years afterwards in Saragossa, in 1987. Had he become familiar with that research he may well have agreed that the Jersey version of *La Boda* preceded rather than succeeded the *La Boda* cartoon. On the other hand, in their subsequent 1971 monograph on Goya (No. 299), Gassier-Wilson described this picture (Fig. 28) as a sketch for, or later reduction of the Prado cartoon. The latter proposal makes considerable sense, for its requirement as an aide-mémoire for the weavers or architect, during any of the three separate rewavings of the tapestry, could well have accounted for its creation. The woven tapestries commonly differed in size or shape, according to the dimensions of the salon where they were destined to hang. (see Section 15 for further information about other woven tapestries of the *La Boda* subject).

#### 14. A documented proof of Goya's painting rapidity.

So far as concerns Goya's painting-speed, his two *modelli* for *The Family of the Infante Don Luis de Borbón* (Figs. 20 & 21) provide instructive yardsticks. These *modelli*, at 1900 square centimetres for *Maria Teresa de Vallabriga*, and 1600



Fig. 29 Three of eight medieval French silver and enamel plaques depicting *Scenes of the Passion*. These also came from the Berger collection in Jersey. Trustees of the British Museum.

square centimetres for *Don Luis de Borbón* (the two together comprising practically double the 1760 square centimetre area of the ex-Buenos Aires sketch of *La Boda*) bear inscriptions on the reverse that they took merely *four hours in total to complete*. (Goya's *Portrait of Maria Teresa de Vallabriga* took one hour, from 11 - 12 a.m. on 27 August 1783; and the likeness of her eminent husband *The Infante Don Luis de Borbón* three hours, from 9 - 12 a. m. on 11 September 1783). Given this, it is highly improbable that the very sketchy ex-Buenos Aires version of *La Boda*, which covered half the area of these two studied likenesses of the Infanta and his wife, would have taken Goya more than an afternoon to complete. Furthermore, and bearing in mind Goya's sensitive relationship with the king at that time, it would surely have been too meagre and insignificant to submit for the monarch's approval as a final design for the grandest tapestry for his future study. Finally it must once more be recalled that the Jersey modello enjoys the precise dimensions of a lost canvas supplied by Cittadini to Goya for this series, while the Buenos Aires sketch is not precisely identifiable with any of the canvases on Cittadini's list.

## 15. The provenance of the *modello* for *La Boda*

This *modello* was discovered in Jersey in 1981, in the estate of John Dobbs Berger. John Berger was a renowned eccentric and collector of works of art, whose bizarre lifestyle probably merits a separate biography. Together with a rare selection of furniture and paintings by masters such as Jan Brueghel he owned a set of eight medieval French silver and enamel plaques portraying *Scenes of the Passion* which were acquired by the British Museum at the same dispersal of his effects. (Fig. 29)

Although Jersey may seem a strange place for such a *modello* by Goya to resurface it is worth noting that its almost certain inheritor *Queen Maria Christina of Spain* (1806-1878) lived in exile from 1854 until her death at Saint-Adresse near Le Havre on the coast of France, merely a

hundred miles from the island of Jersey. This widow of Ferdinand VII (in whose favour his father Carlos IV abdicated the Spanish throne) was, like Carlos IV, an admirer of this composition and in 1834, following her husband Ferdinand's death and her own appointment as Queen-Regent of Spain ordered a second version of the *La Boda* tapestry as a gift for the recently-elected King Leopold I of the Belgians. (Fig. 30) (xiii) Her enthusiasm for this Goya conception was also shared by her grandson Alfonso XII (King of Spain 1870-85) for in 1876 he similarly presented a third version of the tapestry to the Prince of Wales (later Edward VII) which now hangs in the dining-room at Sandringham. It can thus be seen that Carlos IV's affection for *La Boda* was shared by later generations of his family which increases the likelihood that the royal family retained this prototype for *La Boda*, which was commissioned for Carlos IV.

An explanation then, for the presence of the Carlos IV *modello* in Jersey, may well be that its owner Queen Maria Christina took it with her from her palace in Madrid to her home at Saint-Adresse, when she went into exile in 1854. It would then logically have passed to her daughter Isabella II (1830-1904) who joined her mother in exile in France. Isabella's son Alfonso XII also shared their exile from 1868-1875. The painting did not figure in the catalogues of the auctions in France of either of the two queens' effects, which increases the probability that it was retained by the royal family.

The most logical explanation may then be, as happened with two tapestries of this subject, that one of these royal persons made a personal gift, or sold the painting, to a relative or close member of her circle, from whom it eventually found its way to John Dobbs Berger. While it is currently unknown whether any of these royal exiles had a residence in Jersey, the probability cannot be entirely excluded, for the island has long attracted distinguished exiles. Finally it should be noted that John Dobbs Berger was a fluent French speaker who went to school in Dinan in France in the early years of the twentieth century, and was already an established antiquarian bookseller by the late 1920's. He was avidly

Fig. 30 A tapestry after Goya's *La Boda*. Given in 1834 by Maria-Christina, Queen-Regent of Spain, to King Leopold of the Belgians. The proportions of this tapestry are more generous than those of either the Prado cartoon or the Jersey *modello*. The Queen -Regent may have granted the tapestry-weavers access to Goya's *modello* for *La Boda* to enable them to plan how the original design might be extended, in height and width, to fit the Salon at the Royal Palace in Brussels for which this tapestry was eventually intended.



collecting from his early youth, and would probably have acquired this painting in the first or second decade after Queen Isabella II's death in 1904.

## 16. Final summary and conclusions

The following conclusions may be drawn:

1) That Goya produced a *modello* or *prototype* for *La Boda* is proven by the painter's letter to Francisco Bayeu of 3rd June 1791. Given Goya's proven speed and facility with paint, his description of this painting as *almost-finished* precludes its having been of small dimensions and sketchy technique, such as any of those paintings illustrated at Figs. 26-28.

2) The stretcher-maker Alessandro Cittadini's receipt to Goya of 26th June 1792, for this series of tapestry designs for the king's study, includes a hitherto untraced canvas measuring four feet by three feet. Cittadini was an Italian who had only recently been employed at the Spanish Court and these dimensions (at the usual 11.73 inches to the Roman foot) are equivalent to 90 x 119 cm (46.9 x 35.29 inches). This is the precise size of the Jersey *modello*, a seemingly impossible coincidence.

3) Two independent laboratory investigations, respectively in London and Madrid, have authoritatively concluded that the Jersey version of *La Boda* precedes and cannot be a copy of the Prado cartoon.

4) The original priming of the Jersey *modello* is *red*. This is typical for Goya, as evidenced in his 1783 *Family of Don Luis de Borbón* (Fig. 3) (Where Goya shows himself about to paint this family group *on a red-primed canvas*)

5) Over the *red* priming is a second *white* layer which has increased the luminosity of the painting. This application of a different-coloured priming, over its original red, was a repeated practice of Goya to be found, among other works, in his *Self-Portrait* at Agen, where Goya applied a *grey* priming over the original *red* foundation.

6) The *modello*'s pigments include *Prussian Blue*, which appeared in the mid-eighteenth century, and *Naples Yellow* which was rarely used after 1800. This would obviously fit well with Goya's letter to Bayeu of 3rd June 1791, at which date he informs this kinsman that he had *almost* completed his prototype (or *modello*) for *La Boda*.

7). Two of Goya's 1788 *modelli* for tapestry cartoons *The Hermitage of San Isidro* and *Blind Man's Buff* display a similar spider's-web pattern of craquelure as that discernible on the Jersey *modello*. This supports the contention that all three are close in date, and that the Jersey *modello* was the one referred to in Goya's letter to Bayeu of 1791.

8) When initially painted the bridegroom in the Jersey *modello* wore a *green* coat, which the painter later changed to *red*. This supports the contention that the Jersey *modello* preceded the Prado cartoon. (Where the groom is seen wearing the same distinctive *red* coat as in the *finalised* Jersey version).

9) An X-ray of the Jersey *modello* shows that the boy on the cart, when first portrayed, was flying a kite which the artist later painted out. Diego Angulo, Eric Young and other authorities have maintained that this change of mind indicates that the Jersey *modello* must have preceded the Prado cartoon, where no such kite is included.

10) A second X-ray indicates that the two conversing figures on the upper right of the *modello* were a later idea of the painter, and painted in *after* completion of the underside of the bridge. This further indicates that the Jersey *modello* preceded the Prado cartoon, as these two figures were evidently required to interrupt what, without them and the kite, would have been an excessively symmetrical composition.

11) Fourteen discernible changes of mind, from the Jersey *modello* to the Prado cartoon additionally support the contention that the Jersey version preceded and cannot be a copy of the larger work.

12) A close comparison of identical painting techniques discernible in the Jersey *modello* and the Prado cartoon support the proposal that both paintings are by the same hand.

The above factors, which include the discovery of sixteen modifications to the original design, convincingly support the view that the Jersey painting is the lost prototype for *La Boda*. It is therefore now proposed that the Jersey version of *La Boda* must be Goya's *modello* for the largest tapestry cartoon for Carlos IV's study at the Escorial, to which the painter referred in his letter to his brother-in-law Francisco Bayeu on 3rd June 1791.

Another feature perhaps worth noting is that some observers believe the word GOIA to be discernible beneath the feet of the green-clad father of the bride. This would be an Italianate spelling of the painter's name, which closely resembles the signature (Goja) on his letter of 20th April 1771 to the Secretary of the *Royal Academy of Arts* of Parma, Italy. (The same spelling also featured on the subsequent jury citation of Goya's *Hannibal's First Sight of Italy after crossing the Alps*). Given the suggestion that this could be Goya's signature, and is not necessarily a constituent of the landscape background, it has been reproduced here. (Fig. 31)



Fig. 31 The section of the painting between the feet of the green-clad father of the bride. (Inverted)



Fig. 31A A modern-day kite-flyer seen from the rear. His stance closely resembles that of the small boy on the cart in Goya's *modello* for the *La Boda* cartoon at the Prado. (Figs. 1&16)

Endnotes:

- i) *Boletín del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar* No. XXX(28 - 61) 1987-8.  
 ii). J. Gudiol *Goya* La Polígrafa S.A. Barcelona 1971. P. Gassier & J. Wilson. *Goya, His Life and Work 1770 &* (Although this work went to print earlier, it in fact refers to much of Gudiol's work, which was made available for study in manuscript form). E. Young *Francisco Goya* London, 1978  
 iii). V. de Sambricio *Tapices de Goya* Madrid 1946, Docs. 130-144 & pp. XCVI-XCIX.  
 iv). Sambricio *Op. cit.* p. 167 & Doc. 142. Goya's letter to Bayeu is printed below:

*Querido hermano Francisco:*

*Para que te satisfaga al buen cielo que me manifiestas, te remito la respuesta que di al Señor Don Francesco Sabatini, en virtud de la misma orden que fué a Ramon por mandado del Sr. Conde de Lerena, y en consecuencia tengo cuasi acabado el borron del mayor cuadro de la pieza del despacho del Rey, del Real sitio de San Lorenzo, y por ser asi, y tan amante de la verdad, siento tanto se ofusque en estos términos, que le pido a Dios con el mayor fervor me quite el espíritu que me sobra en estas ocasiones, para no incurrir en nada que parezca*

*soberbia. y me reprima siempre en lo que me resta de vida para con tranquilidad, cumpliendo lo mejor que pueda, sean ménos malas mis obras. Siento mucho la desazón que has tenido en este asunto, y te estimo el aviso para estar enterado y prevenido á sus resultas. Dios te guarde muchos años. Madrid, á 3 de junio de 1791.*

*Tu hermano,*

*Francisco de Goya*

*Querido hermano Francisco Bayeu*

Sambricio confirmed that Goya presented his *modelli* to the king at Christmas 1791 (Sambricio *Op. cit.* pp. 168/9)

v). J. Baticle *GOYA Painter of Terror and Splendour*, 1994. 'even at the peak of his maturity and success Goya painted official canvases more meticulously than private ones' (p.23). 'He must have done the paintings very quickly.. not daring on a royal commission to work in the sketchy style that came most naturally to him' (p. 57). On 31 May 1788, he (Goya) wrote about a commission at the Pardo Palace, on which he was taking great care because 'the king is to see it' (p. 57).

vi) A. Pérez Sánchez & E. Sayre. *The Spirit of the Enlightenment* Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1989, No. 119, p. 265. Goya was told to paint a polished likeness of Fernando VII

- vii) Account submitted by Alessandro Cittadini to Goya for the canvases and stretchers required for the last series of tapestry cartoons: Valentin de Sambricio. *Op. cit.* Document 154.

†.==Cuenta formal que yo Alexandro Cittadini presentó á Fran.<sup>co</sup> Goya, pintor de Ca.<sup>ra</sup> de S.M.C. de los bastidores, y lienzos q.<sup>o</sup> de su orden è preparado para la obra de tapices q.<sup>o</sup> esta pintando para el R.<sup>1</sup> sitio de S.<sup>n</sup> Lorenzo; y es como se sigue.

Re.<sup>s</sup> y m.<sup>s</sup>

Primera. <sup>ca</sup> seys bastidorzi. <sup>os</sup> con su lienzo fi. <sup>o</sup> imprimado á 10 r. <sup>s</sup> cada uno..	② 0060
Dos basti. <sup>tes</sup> de 9. pies y 12. de. <sup>s</sup> de alto, y 5. p. <sup>s</sup> y 12. de. <sup>s</sup> de ancho, con su lienzo de S. <sup>n</sup> Jorje imprimado a 110. cada uno, y con sus costuras.....	② 0228 ..
Un bastidor de 14 pi. <sup>s</sup> 5 de. <sup>s</sup> de largo por 9. pi. <sup>s</sup> y 12. de. <sup>s</sup> de ancho, con su lienzo impri. <sup>do</sup> .....	② 0257 .. 12.
A los mozos que llebaron los basti. <sup>tes</sup> á casa del dño S. <sup>or</sup> .....	② 0012 ..
U. <sup>n</sup> basti. <sup>r</sup> de 11. pi. <sup>s</sup> y 1/2 <sup>o</sup> de alto y 9. pi. <sup>s</sup> y 12 ded <sup>s</sup> de ancho con su lienzo impri. <sup>do</sup> .....	② 0200 ..
Dos basti. <sup>tes</sup> de 4. pi. <sup>s</sup> de alto, y 3. de ancho con su lienzo impri. <sup>do</sup> .....	② 0050 ..
Un basti. <sup>or</sup> con su lien. <sup>o</sup> fi. <sup>o</sup> impri. <sup>o</sup> .....	② 0014 ..
Dos basti. <sup>tes</sup> de seys qu. <sup>s</sup> de alto, y ancho cinco, con su lienzo impri. <sup>o</sup> .....	② 0072 ..
Un bastidor de dos v. <sup>s</sup> de alto, con su lienzo impri. <sup>o</sup> .....	② 0044 ..
Un basti. <sup>r</sup> de 6. pi. <sup>s</sup> de largo, y ancho 3. pi. <sup>s</sup> con su lienzo impri. <sup>o</sup> .....	② 0045 ..
Otro basti. <sup>r</sup> de 5. pi. <sup>s</sup> de largo, y ancho 4. pi. <sup>s</sup> con su lienzo impri. <sup>o</sup> .....	② 0037 ..
Otro basti. <sup>r</sup> de 5. pi. <sup>s</sup> de largo, y ancho 3. y 12 de. <sup>s</sup> con su lienzo impri. <sup>o</sup> ....	② 0036 .. 22
Suma dha cuenta la cantidad de.....	<u>② 1056 r.<sup>s</sup> v.<sup>on</sup></u>

Cuya cantidad recivi de mano de dho Fran.<sup>co</sup> y por ser berdad lo firmo, Madrid y Junio 26. año de 1792.—Alessandro Cittadini.

- viii). Although other payments by Goya for stretched canvases are recorded, including those to the carpenter Josef Sérrano, of 17 November 1786 and 10 April 1788 (Sambricio Docs. 106 & 123); and to Manuel Ezquerro y Trapaga, of 28 December 1791 - (Sambricio Doc. 151 etc.) this seems to have been the first time he was officially supplied by Cittadini.

- ix). *Encyclopaedia Britannica* London, 1973, Vol. 23 - *Weights & Measures*.

- x) *Jean Louis Gintrac and Goya's 'La Boda'* by I. Rose-de Viejo, *Burlington Magazine*, August 1997, pp. 529-535.

- xi) *Obras Dramaticas y Liricas* D. Leandro Fernandez de Moratin, Paris 1825, Tomo I, pp. I-V.



Fig. 1 GOYA The version of *La Boda* from the collection of John Dobbs Berger

Oil on canvas 90 x 119cm



Fig. 2 GOYA'S cartoon for *La Boda*.

Oil on canvas 170 x 398cm. The Prado Museum, Madrid.

This was the largest cartoon in Goya's final series of tapestry-designs.

FRANCISCO GOYA

*La Boda*

*(The Wedding-Party)*

*by*

*José Gudiol*

*Head of the Instituto Amatller de Arte Hispanico from 1942-85*

A previously unpublished report (1982)

## English translation of Prof. José Gudiol's article on *La Boda*

The subject of this report is a hitherto unknown version of Goya's great painting in the Museo del Prado in Madrid which was used as a cartoon for a tapestry woven in the Royal Factory of Santa Bárbara in Madrid. (Fig. 28) This tapestry formed part of the decorative project run by the Italian architect Francesco Sabatini for the Royal Palace attached to the Monastery of the Escorial. It was destined for Carlos IV's study. In December 1791 Goya had presented the preparatory sketch of the cartoon to the king (i). The final cartoon was handed over to the Royal Factory of Santa Bárbara on 26th June 1792 (ii) and the tapestry was completed on 7th March 1794 (iii).

This third version of *La Boda* was discovered only recently in a private English collection in Jersey. After studying the canvas both before and after its cleaning, it was found to be in perfect condition; the painted layer remains intact with no erosion or cracks.

In this picture, which Goya may have painted at the request of an eminent member of the Court, emphasis has been placed on the precision of the forms. The hands and faces are particularly expressive and the details in the clothing are extremely meticulous. This work achieves a narrative definition superior to that of Goya's previous sketches. The sharpness is intensified by the contrast in tone between the elements which make up the composition and the balanced treatment of light and shade. The foreshortened images, juxtaposed at different levels, create a fortuitous sequence of rhythms. This canvas provides an important example of the painter's skill in transforming a painting, seen as having the narrative clarity of a report, into something deeper and more complex. It is only a small step from this work to the wonderful series of compositions painted by Goya during his convalescence from a serious illness in December 1792 which left him completely deaf for the rest of his life.

Broadly speaking a pure harmony exists between the essential elements of the three different versions of *La Boda*, but the pictorial concept changes gradually from the initial sketch to the cartoon and from this to the painting which we are currently studying. In the initial sketch the position and appearance of each of the figures in the picturesque procession is perfectly defined, but the characters' facial features vary considerably. The priest's face, sarcastic in the initial sketch, is softened in both the cartoon and the third painting. In these two later versions the ironic expressions of the young women standing next to the bride are also toned down. On the other hand, the smiling imbecilic face of the bridegroom increases its deranged appearance from the initial sketch to the two subsequent versions. One should also examine the expressive

### Endnotes:

- (i) Private Collection: 50 x 82 cm. José Gudiol: *Goya*. Ediciones Polígrafa, Barcelona (1st edition) 1970, Cat. No 298, fig. 426, (2nd edition) 1980 Cat. No 269. (Gudiol published this sketch before learning of the existence of the Jersey version of *La Boda* which is considered by many to have been the king's *modelo*).
- (ii) Madrid, Museo del Prado, 2.67 x 3.46 m. Museo del Prado Catalogue No 799. José Gudiol: *Goya*. Ediciones Polígrafa, Barcelona (1st edition) 1970, Cat. No 299, figs. 427 and 428, (2nd edition) 1980, Cat. No 270, fig. 270. Madrid. Goya received the sum of 257 reales and 12 maravedís (old Spanish coins) for this 'cartoon'.
- (iii) Valentín de Sambricio: *The Tapestries of Goya*. Ill. CLXXXVI. Ediciones del Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid, 1956. In the Royal Factory of Santa Bárbara's documentation the work is described as: "A canvas representing a wedding in which the bride and groom are returning from the church to their house, accompanied by the priest and the wedding party. Woven in a high quality thread by Antonio Moreno".

changes in the background spectators, the well dressed and perplexed father of the bride, the children surrounding the trumpet player and the two men looking out from behind the cart parked next to the procession.

The biggest differences between the initial sketch of *La Boda* and the *cartoon* in El Prado lie in the structures which make up the scene's background: a flight of steps which leads to a raised walkway in the form of a bridge which appears to lead to a building under construction. The strange organisation of these structures, built above uneven ground with the remains of an old wall and a large uneven flagstone pavement, is unusual. Even more unusual is that the lively cortege takes a most irregular and awkward path. Examples of this can be seen in the old gentleman who, after passing the short arch of the bridge, sets out on the path's steep slope, and the group of children sandwiched against the musician facing the narrow path between the flight of steps and the aforementioned cart.

In the quoted book on Goya's tapestries (iii), Sambricio tries to explain such inconsistencies, suggesting the possibility that the strange scene might have been insisted upon by a member of the royal 'entourage', perhaps trying to record some local anecdote. What is known is that an old photograph taken by Moreno before 1925 of the Madrid collection of the Marqués de Bermejillo shows the existence of a small canvas of another version of 'La Boda'. (Fig. 26) In that version the wedding procession is represented against a background of hillocks and some trees. The photo is poor, and without knowing the current whereabouts of the work, it would be rash to draw any conclusions on its significance in the complex world of Goya.

After simultaneously analysing both the 'cartoon' of 'La Boda' and the recently discovered hitherto unknown version, we can confirm with absolute certainty that Goya painted both pictures without any collaboration whatsoever. It is also beyond doubt that the 'cartoon' preceded the painting which is considerably smaller, but large enough to establish certain variations in form, such as the structuring of the brushstrokes and the blending of the colours. The general course of the procession advanced relative to the position of the bridge, along with which the height of the characters increased. Goya corrected certain errors in perspective by breaking up the lower surface of the arch. In the final version the psychological representation of some of the characters is accentuated through the flow of the painting. It should not be forgotten that at the time when this picture was painted (1792-1794), although Goya's art was driven by great enthusiasm, it was still subject to the traditionalist spirit of Bayeu, Maella, Sabatini and the other artists who dictated the trends of Madrid's art world. Later on Goya made a decisive break from the chains of this traditionalist spirit.

José Gudiol  
Barcelona, 8th January 1982

GOYA'S MODELLO

*for*

*La Boda*

*by*

*Eric Young*

A previously unpublished report (1982)

## Goya's last batch of tapestry cartoons and an unknown version of *La Boda*.

During the last few months and first of 1791 and 1792, Goya painted the last seven of his tapestry cartoons, bringing up to sixty-three the total number of those he had executed since 1755. During that period his mastery of the medium had grown from hesitant beginnings<sup>1</sup>, to the facility to produce decorative compositions of which some are now recognised as ranking among the great European works of their type and period, while the large number of preliminary sketches or models include one (never carried out on a large scale), that for its delicacy of handling, luminosity and brilliant colour, *La Pradera de San Isidro (The San Isidro meadow on a Feastday)*, is a veritable masterpiece in its own right<sup>2</sup>. (Fig. 6)

But Goya's progress in his official career had, even so, not been so rapid, the first recognition that had come his way in Spain<sup>3</sup> being his reception into the Real Academia de San Fernando in Madrid in 1780<sup>4</sup>. This was followed by the competition<sup>5</sup> among the painters in royal employ (less Ramon Bayeu) whose altarpieces, commissioned in 1781 for the new church of Santo Domingo el Grande, were simultaneously unveiled in situ in 1784, and which Goya is usually said to have won with his *St. Bernardino of Siena preaching before Alfonso V of Aragon*,<sup>6</sup> although no prize was offered and Goya's success was merely that of receiving the highest praise from the public, the court, and the Prince of Asturias, later King Charles IV. In the following year he was appointed Assistant Director of Painting at the Academy. Then in 1786, he was at last appointed a King's Painter by Charles III, at the same time as the younger of his two brothers-in-law, Ramón Bayeu, born in the same year as Goya.

Other events could not have given him so much satisfaction, chief among them being the humiliation that he had suffered in 1781 at the hands of his elder brother-in-law, Francisco Bayeu, over his dome and pendentive frescoes in the cathedral of El Pilar, Saragossa which, in spite of the fact that he had earlier given full satisfaction to the cathedral authorities with his fresco of the *Name of Jesus* in the vault of the Coreto (small choir) in the same building, he was obliged to execute under the direction of Bayeu, thirteen years his senior and also from Saragossa, who found fault with his compositions, which he was obliged to modify, although he bitterly resisted doing so at first<sup>7</sup>.

Another thing that must have irked Goya considerably over the years was that Ramón Bayeu, whose ability he must have felt with full justification to be inferior to his own, was consistently regarded as his equal. Thus in the organisation of the work for the Royal Tapestry Factory of St. Barbara, Goya and Ramón, who had been

recommended for this work by Francisco Bayeu and Mariano Salvador Maella, were required to work under their general supervision, so that Francisco naturally took control of his younger brother, while Goya was placed under Maella, seven years his senior, but whom Goya must also have considered his inferior, as indeed he was.

This brief summary of events, achievements and disappointments highlights some of the factors that account for Goya's strange behaviour in the years before the execution of his last batch of tapestry cartoons. Ambitious and proud, as well as obstinate like a typical Aragonese, warm-blooded and generous towards his own family and close friends, Goya must have had high hopes for the future when the austere Charles III died in December 1788, and was succeeded the following month by his son. He was not disappointed for on the 25th April 1789 Charles IV nominated him Pintor de Cámara (Court Painter) and, five days later, Goya duly took the oath to serve his monarch well and faithfully<sup>8</sup>. He had already painted portraits of *Charles IV* and *María Luisa of Parma*, which had been commissioned in the previous month.<sup>9</sup> On the 6th May he was appointed to undertake, together with Francisco Bayeu, Maella, three other painters and two sculptors, the listing and valuation of the paintings figuring in the testament of Charles III,<sup>10</sup> a task that was not completed until the 23rd August 1791.<sup>11</sup>

Goya perhaps imagined that these appointments and commissions, together with the favourable verdict given by Charles IV earlier at Santo Domingo el Grande, had firmly ensured for him the king's future support and put him in an unassailable position vis-à-vis the officials at court concerned with the commissions for tapestry cartoons, the formal nature of whose official communications on the subject he may well have found tiresome. He may also have imagined that his promotion to Court Painter, which had put him on a level with Francisco Bayeu and Maella, would dispense him from the irksome supervision of Maella. Be that as it may, when in April 1790, Goya was finally given by Maella details of the dimensions of the batch of cartoons that he was required to paint for tapestries to hang in the rooms to be occupied by the king and queen in the royal apartments at El Escorial, he complained that the order should have reached him not through Maella, but direct from the Sumiller de Corps (head of the royal household), the Marqués de Valdecarzana, who Goya said was his Gefe (chief)<sup>12</sup>, presumably because it was from Valdecarzana that he had received the order to undertake the valuation of the paintings left by Charles III nearly a year previously. As a result, the written communications on the subject that went up to higher authority referred to Goya's resistance to carrying out his instructions, an attitude in which he was joined, for more justifiable reasons, by Ramón Bayeu, who was in a

similar position. Thus the matter seems to have rested for over a year, during which Goya requested leave of absence to go to Valencia for two months, which was duly granted by Valdecarzana on 17th July, 1790.

A letter of 28th August, 1790 to Zapater from Goya in Valencia makes clear that he had already been there for fifteen days with his wife taking the sea air, and the presence of two of his drawings in the Academia de San Carlos in that city suggests that he was working a little. He must have been in Valencia for at least two months, for he was elected a member of the Academy there on the 17th October.<sup>13</sup> During this period he was presumably not worried at all by the attitude he had adopted over the tapestry cartoons.

However, by the end of the year he was already preoccupied about the situation, at the very moment when the king was behaving in a very friendly and informal manner towards him, asking about the illness of his son, squeezing his hand and playing the violin in front of him. The letter to Martín Zapater in which he reported this<sup>14</sup> goes on to reveal that someone in his profession at Court (i.e. another Court painter) had been spreading the news that Goya did not want to serve the king (which could only be a reference to his refusal to begin work on the tapestry cartoons). Goya was therefore apprehensive that the king might reprove him on this occasion, but in the event it seems that the king did not yet know anything about the matter. Even so, Goya's worries over this situation must have gone on building up inside his mind, until eventually the matter came to a head nearly a year later.

On the 13th April, 1791, Livinio Stuyck y Vandergoten, Director of the Royal Tapestry Factory (a character who was much less popular at court than his predecessors had been) addressed a long-winded memorandum to the king<sup>15</sup> stressing the imminent necessity of dismissing a large number of his tapestry workers through the lack of work caused by the failure of Ramón Bayeu and Goya to provide them with the cartoons that they had been commissioned to produce. Interestingly it mentioned too that whereas Ramon Bayeu had given the excuse that he was occupied with the execution of portraits of the infantas and other matters which the king had ordered him to carry out, which seemed very reasonable, Goya, who was completely without work (*enteramente desocupado*), refused to comply because he had become a *Pintor de Cámara*. But such an attitude had not been adopted in the past by Mengs, Francisco Bayeu and Maella, holding the same rank. Finally it requested that Ramón Bayeu and Goya (or other painters whom the king might wish to designate for the task) should be constrained to carry out the work concerned as soon as possible.

Ramón is clearly shown in a much better light than Goya in this memorandum, because of the justifiable excuse that he had offered for the delay. But why had Goya not

offered the excuse that he had been working on the task of checking and evaluating the paintings in Charles III's testament, which had still not been completed at that date? Perhaps he considered it beneath his dignity to offer excuses to an official whom he obviously disliked. Or could it have been because Francisco Bayeu and Maella were also members of the group of valuers and would have known whether Goya was working full-time on the job or not? Stuyck's memorandum however states that Goya was completely without work – was he in a position to know that for certain? The fact that it was Goya who eventually signed the letter telling the Duque de Albuquerque, apparently in response to an enquiry from him, that the valuation was finished all but a final check, on the 23rd August, 1791, certainly suggests that Goya had played the major part in the valuation, and it would not have been surprising if Francisco Bayeu and Maella had once again acted in their usual role of supervisors, so that Goya could reasonably have claimed that he was fully occupied on duties assigned to him by the king. Nevertheless, it seems that he must soon have become aware of the contents of Stuyck's memorandum, and perhaps also re-considered his attitude to the whole matter in the light of his oath to serve the king taken only two years earlier. For, on the 9th May, he wrote a letter to Francisco Sabatini,<sup>16</sup> in reply to one received from him referring to a communication received from the Conde de Lerena,<sup>17</sup> asking once again for the measurements of the tapestries to be executed.<sup>18</sup> Had he forgotten that he had already received them from Maella more than a year before – or was this yet another gesture of independence from the supervision of Maella? As we do not know the contents of Lerena's or Sabatini's letters we cannot form a firm opinion on this, but it is likely that it was at this point that Goya became aware of the risk he was running of incurring the king's displeasure. Anyway, four days later Sabatini wrote to Lerena asking if the measurements had to be sent to Goya directly or through Maella.<sup>19</sup> We do not know what answer, if any, he was given. But on the 3rd June Goya sent a letter to Francisco Bayeu (who was not of course concerned in the matter except as the supervisor of his brother Ramón), implying that he and Ramón had each received, presumably through their respective supervisors, a communication from Sabatini leaving them in no doubt that their procrastination over the tapestry cartoons had overstepped all reasonable bounds.

Goya's letter to his elder brother-in-law<sup>20</sup> is a remarkable document, mingling apprehension, remorse and an obvious wish to find a way of rectifying without delay the dangerous situation that he now realised had been created by his own pride and highhandedness. His relationship with his own supervisor Maella had not been an easy one and there was clearly no confidence or

intimacy between them. So, relying on the family relationship, together with the healing of the bitterness between them caused by the affair of the El Pilar frescoes, which had lasted from 1781 until 1786, when Goya's first portrait of his brother-in-law<sup>21</sup> had begun the slow process of reconciliation, he turned for help and understanding to Francisco Bayeu, who undoubtedly had more influence in official circles than Maella.

After saying that he is enclosing (a copy of) the reply that he has sent to Sabatini following the order that he and Ramón had received at the direction of the Conde de Lerena, Goya states that as a result of this he has almost finished the sketch of the largest picture destined for the king's despacho (office) in the Palace of San Lorenzo (at El Escorial) following this with a fervent expression of his anxiety at the situation brought about by his own arrogance, his wish to be able to live in peace for the rest of his life, carrying out his duties as best he could, and producing works less bad than before.

The apprehension felt by Goya and clearly reflected in this letter was soon fully justified, for in a letter addressed to Sabatini on the 10th June, 1791, Lerena sets out the king's decision that if the two painters (whom he calls Ramón Baleu and Mariano Gola)<sup>22</sup> do not immediately execute the dibujos (drawings) for tapestries that they have been commissioned to do, their salaries will be suspended.<sup>23</sup> This letter was presumably not sent, as on the same day a further letter from Lerena to Sabatini was drawn up,<sup>24</sup> in the same terms but correcting the spelling of the surnames and Goya's first name, going into more detail and incorporating references and answers in the same sense to the memorandum forwarded by Stuyck, and Sabatini's letter of the 13th May briefly mentioned above.<sup>25</sup> Whichever version was received by Goya, highly-strung as he was by natural temperament, it could not have failed to increase his worries, even though he must have expected something of the sort, but perhaps not in such downright terms. His anxiety about his standing with the king could well have continued unabated until his next meeting with the monarch, which probably occurred when, in the normal procedure followed in connection with cartoons for tapestries to hang in royal apartments, he was received with his sketch (or perhaps a group of sketches) to seek the king's approval for carrying out his compositions on the larger scale of the tapestries to be woven from them.<sup>26</sup>

To turn to consideration of the sketches themselves, it is of considerable interest to determine which one Goya was referring to in his letter to Francisco Bayeu of the 3rd June, 1791, which would certainly not have been a drawing, as implied in Lerena's letter, but an oil sketch. His reference to the largest picture meant of course the cartoon for the largest tapestry and it is necessary first to clear up the uncertainty over which cartoon is meant that has been created by the publication of wrong

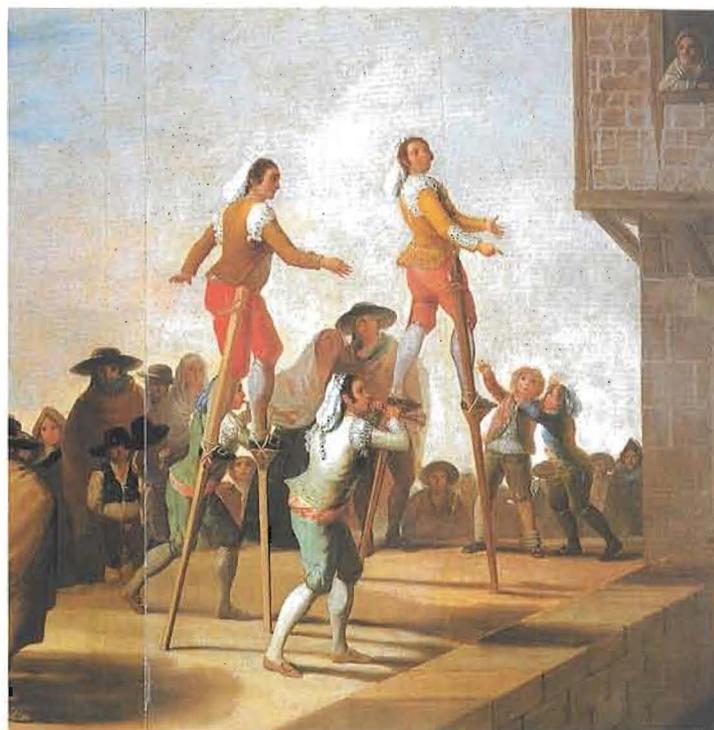


Fig. 32 Goya. *The Stilt-walkers* 1792. (Detail) A tapestry design. Canvas 268 x 320cm *The Prado, Madrid*.

measurements. Standing in the third room in which Goya's tapestry cartoons are on display on the ground floor of the Prado Museum one can see at once that the reference must have been to *La Boda* (*The Wedding*), (Fig.2), which measures 2.70 x 3.98 m.<sup>27</sup> Yet other published figures<sup>28</sup> will have given the impression that *Los Zancos* (*The Stilt-Walkers*) measuring 2.68 x 3.20 m.<sup>29</sup> is the largest. (Fig. 32)

How much credence is to be given to Goya's statement that he had almost finished the sketch for *La Boda* on the 3rd June, 1791? Considering the agitated state of mind that Goya was in at that moment<sup>30</sup> and the fact that he was not laboriously compiling an official communication but a spontaneous personal note to his brother-in-law, whose moral, if not active, support he was seeking, it seems possible that he had not actually started the sketch, but had every intention of doing so very soon. Goya is well known to have been a fast worker with his brush and could obviously have completed a small sketch in a few hours; knowing him well, Bayeu would no doubt have taken his statement as an indication of his good intentions, rather than the literal truth.

The question now arises whether that sketch probably executed in June 1791 was the one to be submitted to the king for his approval before the execution of the cartoon (Fig.2), and which of the versions it was. Three sketches have been reproduced and discussed in the literature, but are unfortunately not now available for study. The earliest, if authentic, would be one with a background of landscape and trees, reproduced by Sambricio and described by him as in the collection of the Marqués de Bermejillo, Madrid, but of unsure attribution<sup>31</sup> (Fig.26).

Described by GW as probably the final sketch for the cartoon, the version formerly in the Jockey Club, Buenos Aires is no longer in existence.<sup>32</sup> Another version of rather larger size, in a U.S. private collection, is described by GW as a sketch or reduction of the cartoon<sup>33</sup> (Fig.28).

There is thus no certainty that any of these three sketches was the one shown to Charles IV for his approval, and it is impossible now to verify whether any is or was of autograph quality. It would indeed be most unlikely that all three were, as there is no known case in which any tapestry cartoon was preceded by so many preliminary sketches.

Against this background of uncertainty it is a pleasure to be able to make known another version of *La Boda*, now in private possession (Fig.1). Measuring 89 x 118 cm., it is considerably larger than any of the three versions discussed above. Recent scientific examination in Madrid has proved that all its materials, canvas, ground preparation, pigments and medium are consistent with those in use in the late eighteenth century and employed by Goya, while the craquelure is also identical to that found on other paintings of that period by him. Its condition is very good and its quality leaves little possible doubt of its being an autograph work of the master. Comparison with the large-scale cartoon, however, reveals an unexpected number of differences, which must be described here in order to explain the relationship between the two (Figs.1 & 2).

Most obvious is the greater amount of sky and the correspondingly greater height of the wall on the right in the newly-discovered version. Thus, the wall has an extra protruding cornerstone and the lowest and largest cornerstone is not seen horizontal as in the Prado version. To the left of the keystone the soffit of the bridge contains eight, instead of seven, stones up to where it is met by the three-cornered hat of the man blowing a trumpet. The boy standing on the wagon is proportionately taller, appears older, is slimmer in the waist and more sketchily executed. All the other figures are slightly taller in comparison with the bridge, as though they are a little nearer to the picture-plane. The plants in the middle foreground spread rather wider. Among the figures there are many small differences, of which only the most significant will be detailed here, as a close study of the reproductions will reveal the others.

In the newly-found version the bride's bust is more developed and the bridegroom is more caricatured, looking up a little instead of straight forward, while his buttons have highlights on their edges. Radiography reveals that in front of the bridge on the right side above the two figures conversing beneath it there was earlier a kite of similar type to that in Goya's cartoon *La Cometa (The Kite)*, (Figs. 11 - 13) painted in January

1778,<sup>34</sup> with some of its guiding string attached, showing that it was held by the boy standing on the wagon on the extreme left. This explains the position of his raised arms, which seem out of keeping with the solemnity of the wedding cortège in the cartoon.<sup>35</sup>

Another important difference that can be noted with the naked eye is that above the middle of the bridge against the sky a flag or banner has been painted over in this other version. All the differences detailed in this paragraph are consistent with the theory that the recently-discovered version must have been the sketch or model shown to the king, who no doubt ordered that the details should be changed as seen now in the Prado cartoon. Perhaps he disapproved of the caricatural element in the earlier version of this unequal marriage between a beautiful young girl, perhaps pregnant, and the old man she was probably marrying for his money under pressure from her family. The disappearance of the kite in the preliminary sketch is more difficult to explain, but perhaps the king took it into his head to order Goya to cover it before he reached a decision about the other changes to be made. It is not difficult to imagine that Charles IV felt it appropriate to assert his authority over Goya in some way for his insubordination and long delay in producing this sketch. Other less important changes detailed in the previous paragraph, with the possible exception of the amount of sky included, could perhaps have been introduced by Goya himself into the final version in an attempt, not altogether successful in every detail, to improve the composition of his own accord.

It could well be asked how Goya came to choose such a subject, which was required to conform to the types that Charles IV had chosen out of a list of possible subjects proposed to him by Sabatini through the Marques de Santa Cruz on April 16th, 1790.<sup>36</sup> Four days later the answer that came back from Santa Cruz was that the king had chosen country and amusing scenes. Goya was thus combining both into the one subject in this case, but the king was perhaps not as amused as he had hoped; consequently Goya did not include any further satirical or caricatural element in the remaining cartoons in this batch. As Goya has sometimes been given the credit for choosing scenes of popular everyday Spanish life right from the beginning of his series of tapestry cartoons, it must be clarified that it was Mengs who had taken the decision before Goya had joined the team. Previously it had been the custom to copy subjects from the paintings of Teniers or Wouvermans, of which there were examples in the royal palaces.

It is tempting to suppose that the small Bermejillo sketch (Fig. 26) might be a reflection of Goya's first idea for *La Boda*, placing the amusing group of figures in a rural setting similar to those that had proved so effective in a



Fig. 33 A Self-Portrait (Detail) Canvas



Fig 34. A detail from the Jersey *modelo* for *La Boda*. It has been suggested that Goya may have used his brother Camilo Goya y Lucientes, Vicar of Chinchón as his model for the cleric

number of earlier cartoons such as *El Quitasol* (*The Sunshade*) of 1777 (Fig.35).<sup>37</sup> But this mobile wedding procession is a very different subject to handle from a few static figures and, in deciding to abandon rural backgrounds for the heavy bridge over a dried-up watercourse, Goya may have felt that some horizontal element above the figures was needed to bind them together in the composition; and the oppressive character of the bridge was perhaps also consciously intended to symbolise the treatment that the young bride would have to endure in due course from her brutal-looking husband. It would thus be a forerunner of the massive arches used twenty years later in the Peninsular War period as a setting for scenes of helpless and hopeless prisoners in a number of small paintings that reached their highest point of emotive content in the *Prison Scene* in the Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, his choice of this sort of unequal marriage as a subject for a picture was to be reflected twice later in two small paintings of the actual wedding ceremony, in the Louvre, Paris and the Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid,<sup>39</sup> probably executed before he himself found himself in a comparable situation in his cohabitation with the much younger Leocadia Weiss, although it had to be merely a common law marriage as Leocadia's husband was still alive.

It is not possible to guess the roles played by each of the figures following behind the bridegroom in this composition, but one who stands out unequivocally is the parish priest dressed in black and facing us out of the picture. His round face and wide fleshy nose recall the features of Goya himself (Fig. 33) and while it is certainly not a self-portrait, it is not impossible that it could be a portrait of Goya's youngest brother Camilo,<sup>40</sup>

born in 1753, who died in 1828, the same year as his painter brother, in Chinchón (Madrid), where he had been the parish priest since 1784 (Detail Fig. 34).

The tapestry eventually woven from the *La Boda* cartoon was completed by March 1794<sup>41</sup> and duly hung in the despacho, the third room facing west of the royal apartments at El Escorial, in company with others for which Goya had produced cartoons in the same batch, *Las Mozas del Cántaro* (*The Water-carriers*) (Fig 36), *El Pelele* (*The Straw Manikin*) and *Los Zancos* (*The Stilt-Walkers*), while *El Balancín* (*The Seesaw*) was hung in the king's anteroom, and *Muchachos trepando a un Arbol* (*Boys climbing a tree*) and *Las Gigantillas* (*The little Giants*) decorated the bedroom of the Infante Francisco.

By that time Goya had entered a new phase of his life, that of stone-deafness and the isolation from the normal company of other people that such a handicap imposed. After the well-known group of small paintings on tinplate that he sent to the Royal Academy of San Fernando in the early days of 1794, he slowly resumed portrait-painting, first of a few close friends, and probably also the apparent miracle of luminosity and free handling that is the small *Self-portrait in his Studio*, now in the Academy galleries (Fig. 22) – but no royal commission. His brothers-in-law both died during those years, Ramón in 1793, and Francisco in 1795.<sup>42</sup> Goya's posthumous portrait of the latter finally revealed in moving fashion the affection and gratitude for help in his early career that he bore for Francisco, in spite of the humiliation undergone over the *El Pilar* frescoes, so unjustified and embittering for an ambitious painter on his slow and sometimes frustrating path towards recognition and success. For Ramón, on the other hand, Goya seems never to have felt anything like the same



Fig 35. Goya 1777 *The Parasol*. Canvas 104 x 152. A tapestry cartoon. Canvas 104 x 152cm.

degree of affection, their relationship having perhaps been soured in 1764, when Ramón had won the gold medal in the Academy competition in which Goya had not received a single vote from the jury. Nevertheless when Ramón was seriously ill in May 1780 and could not continue his work on the cartoons for tapestries to hang in the dining-room at the El Pardo Palace, Goya helped him by working on them for three days. This interesting sidelight on Goya's kindness has only recently become known.<sup>43</sup>

After his tempestuous affair with the Duchess of Alba, of whom he painted two superb full-length portraits, and the immense burst of creative activity in his great series of etchings *Los Caprichos*, Goya in 1796 received a commission through the help of his close friend Jovellanos to fresco the interior of Sabatini's new church of San Antonio de la Florida, free from tiresome requirements from a patron or irksome supervision by a painter of inferior ability to his own. But while both Francisco Bayeu and Maella had been commissioned to execute frescoes in the Royal Palaces at Madrid and Aranjuez, Goya was passed over. It was hardly surprising that those who saw the motley array of ordinary citizens of Madrid that he had painted thronging around the dome of San Antonio de la Florida should have hesitated to consider employing the same painter to execute ceiling paintings in juxtaposition with dazzling celestial and allegorical figures by Giaquinto, Tiepolo and Mengs.

Royal favour returned to Goya in 1798 with his appointment by Charles IV as First Court Painter, a title that looks like an exceptional and unique honour.<sup>44</sup> But appearances can be deceptive and in this case it seems astonishing that the same apparently unique appointment was simultaneously bestowed on Maella. Nevertheless Goya's triumph as a portrait-painter was finally and uniquely consecrated by his commission to paint the great portrait-group of *Charles IV and His Family* in 1800 (Prado Museum), a painting that reveals more devastatingly than any other comparable royal group the true characters of his royal employers, at the same time as giving them complete satisfaction with their likenesses.<sup>45</sup>



Fig 36. Goya 1791/2 Fig. 32 GOYA 1791/2 *The Water-carriers*. Canvas 262 x 160 cm Prado Museum, Madrid. Like *La Boda* this large tapestry-design (or cartoon) was one of Goya's final series, and was produced at a very similar time. It re-uses similar brickwork and plant-life motifs, and shares a very close tonality with both the Jersey *modello* and the large Prado cartoon.

One brief postscript to Goya's relationship with the Royal Tapestry Factory of Saint Barbara remains to be added. On the 18th January, 1800, another typical memorandum by Livinio Stuyck,<sup>46</sup> expressing once again his fears about the lack of work for the workers in the factory, and suggesting that Goya and Maella should be directed to paint decorative compositions suitable for carpets to be woven there was actually approved by Charles IV<sup>47</sup>. On hearing this, Maella and Goya were in full agreement in replying that they were accustomed only to figure painting and had no experience of painting purely decorative designs, which could perhaps be more appropriately carried out by the ornament specialists already on the staff of the tapestry factory.<sup>48</sup> In agreeing this on the 26th March, however, the king still insisted that Maella and Goya should closely supervise the work done by the ornament specialists.<sup>49</sup> The insensitivity of all concerned, from the monarch downwards, in attempting to get Goya to give his attention to such a menial task, at a moment when he was about to begin preparatory sketch portraits for what was to be one of the greatest group portraits in the history of European painting, defies description in words. Such was the anti-climatic conclusion to Goya's long and distinguished connection with the Royal Tapestry Factory.

## Endnotes

1. So undistinguished were Goya's earliest cartoons that some of them were attributed to other painters, mostly Ramón Bayeu, before the records of payments for them were discovered. See the third chapter of the indispensable book for their study by Valentin de Sambricio, *Tapices de Goya*, Madrid 1946 (thereafter referred to as "Sambricio").

2. Prado Museum, Madrid no.750 Reproduced in colour on pp.66-67 of P. Gassier and J. Wilson, *Goya, His Life and Work* with a catalogue raisonné of the paintings drawings and engravings. London 1971 (thereafter abbreviated to "GW").

3. Goya had received some recognition outside Spain when, during his visit to Italy, he had submitted an entry to a competition at the Royal Academy of Parma in 1771 and was given six votes and a commendation from the jury, although not winning the prize. (GW pp.36-37).

4. His reception piece, a large *Christ on the Cross* (GW p.91, no.176) is now in the Prado Museum (no.745).

5. Goya himself referred to it as a formal competition in a letter to his old school-friend, Martín Zapater in Saragossa (M. Agueda & X. de Salas, *Francisco de Goya, Cartas a Martín Zapater*, 1982, p.64, Letter 21; GW pp.55 & 92 no.184).

6. Sambricio p.125.

7. GW p.53

8. Sambricio, *Documentos* 120, 121. This time Goya finally got ahead of Ramón Bayeu who did not gain the same appointment until July 1791 (J.L. Morales y Martín, *Los Bayeu*, 1979, p.132).

9. F.J. Sánchez Cantón. *Vida y Obras de Goya*, 1951, p.43; idem, *Los cuadros de Goya en la Real Academia de la Historia*, Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, 1946, pp.7-27.

10. Sambricio, Documento 122.

11. Sambricio, Documento 148.

12. Sambricio Documento 134.

13. Agueda & Salas, p.204, Letter 118.

14. Agueda & Salas, p.200, Letter 116. This letter is undated and these authors propose a dating late in 1789 because of an apparent reference to Christmas presents and mentions of illnesses of both Goya and his son. But while it is known that both were seriously ill in the middle of that year, they could also have been ill later in the following year. In fact GW (p.100) mention that Goya suffered a major illness in 1790. A detail that seems to point to the end of 1790 rather than 1789 as the year in which the letter was written is the indirect reference to Goya's delay in starting work on the tapestry cartoons for Charles IV, the details of which were not known before April 1790. How then could Goya have been worrying about them in the previous year? Sambricio's proposal (p.168) to date the letter in December 1791 and thus make that meeting with the king the occasion on which Goya submitted the batch of sketches for the tapestry cartoons does not fit well either, as it follows a suggestion that Goya perhaps did not carry out the visit to Valencia for which he had been given permission. But we know from his letter to Zapater from Valencia that he did make the visit in 1790, and he clearly had no worries at that period. On balance it seems more likely that the king's informal behaviour towards Goya would have occurred before the matter of the cartoons came to a head, rather than in the same audience in which the king had to order Goya to make so many changes in the composition of *La Boda*, see below in the text. If the latter had been the case Goya would certainly have mentioned it in the same letter to Zapater, to whom he was close enough at this period to share all his hopes and disappointments. Moreover, having just shown Charles IV tangible evidence to the contrary, he would not then have had cause to worry about the rumour that he did not wish to carry out the king's instructions. Thus December 1790 is

almost certainly the month when this undated letter was written.

15. Sambricio, Documento 139.

16. Francisco Sabatini who had been born in Palermo and trained at Rome before assisting Vanvitelli at Caserta, was taken from Naples to Spain by Charles III. He is described in earlier documents as being a *Knight of the Order of Santiago* (St. James), *brigadier of the royal armies* and *His Majesty's first architect*. In a valuation of an earlier cartoon by Goya that he signed, he expands this description to *Knight Commander of the Order of Santiago, member of His Majesty's Supreme War Council, Brigadier of the Royal Forces and Commanding Director of the Corps of Engineers*, as well as being in charge by Royal order of the economic control of the paintings executed for the tapestry factory (Sambricio Documento 46 of the 24th June, 1778). However, it is as an architect that he is best remembered by posterity, and in this capacity he designed the neoclassical church of Santa Ana in Valladolid, recommending in 1787 Goya and Ramón Bayeu as the painters who should be commissioned to execute three altarpieces each for the side chapels of the nave. Goya's altarpieces (GW 236, 238-9), are the most neoclassical works he ever painted, conforming closely to the style of their architectural context.

17. Pedro López de Lerena, Cuenca y Humanes, perpetual Regidor (alderman or councillor) of Cuenca, Secretary of Finance and State, member of the Order of Santiago (Saint James), was made Conde de Lerena in 1791. Goya had been in personal relations with him since at least 1785, when he was apparently commissioned to execute a portrait for him, not known (Agueda & Salas, p.140, note 5 to Letter 71).

18. Sambricio, Documento 140.

19. Sambricio, Documento 141.

20. Sambricio, Documento 142.

21. Now in Valencia (GW no.229).

22. This incorrect first name is clearly a confusion with that of Maella, suggesting that Lerena was not well acquainted with the painters concerned, but left the normal contacts with them to Sabatini.

23. Sambricio, Documento 143.

24. Sambricio, Documento 144.

25. See note 19 above.

26. The date on which this occurred is not known.

27. Our thanks go to Rocío Arnáez of the Prado Museum, who had kindly confirmed these measurements (letter of the 2nd March, 1983).

28. GW 2.67 x 2.73 m. Gudiol 1971, 2.67 x 3.46 m.; Prado Museum catalogue 1972 repeated in the Guide to the Prado 1981, 2.67 x 2.93 m.; de Salas 1981, 2.69 x 1.60 m. Sambricio's measurements however were nearer the mark with 2.67 x 3.93 m.

29. Figures given by both Sambricio and GW.

30. Although it is not essentially relevant to the subject-matter of this article, it should not be overlooked that the repercussions that the French Revolution was having in the Bourbon Court of Madrid were giving Goya increasing cause for preoccupation about the fate of his many friends who were identified with the advanced ideas of the Enlightenment and beginning to suffer persecution, while he himself clearly had to toe the line through the official position that he held at court. In the following year (late 1792), he was to suffer the serious illness that was to keep him inactive for a year and leave him stone deaf for the rest of his life. The crisis of conscience that he had undergone during this period has no doubt correctly been seen as a contributory factor in his breakdown, though it is hardly likely to have been the only cause of it, as some have supposed. Goya's long period of suspense over the matter of the tapestry cartoons must also have played a part in that breakdown.

31. Sambricio no.59a, Plate CLXXXV, no dimensions given; not catalogued by GW and mentioned only in the second paragraph of note 299 on p.373.
32. GW no.298, and note 298 on p.373. Dimensions 34.5 x 51 cm. Although I saw this sketch in Buenos Aires in 1948, I do not now have a clear enough memory of its quality to be able to express a firm view of its authenticity or otherwise.
33. GW no.299 48.2 x 81.5 cm. in their note to this painting on p.373 these authors state that it is so close to the cartoon that it suggests a reduction rather than a sketch.
34. GW no.81.
35. In this version this boy, executed with dazzling luminous brushstrokes, makes a sharp contrast with the more firmly handed figures of the cortege, and is one of the occasional unexpected details in which Goya seems to have been carried away with a spontaneity and elegance closer to the rococo than his normal more carefully controlled handling. It is hardly surprising that these qualities have largely disappeared in the final version.
36. Sambricio, Documento no.128 Santa Cruz was the chief chamberlain of the royal household. The types proposed by Sabatini were heroic, historical, allegorical or fabulous subjects, military exploits on land or at sea, country or amusing scenes, or decorative themes.
37. GW no.80.
38. GW no.929.
39. GW no.978 The Louvre version (R.F. 1970-33) did not come to light in time for inclusion in GW.
40. I owe this interesting suggestion to Ronald Cohen.
41. A second tapestry was woven from it in 1834 and presented by Queen Isabel II to King Leopold of Belgium.
42. J.L. Morales y Marín, *Los Bayeu* 1979; Ramón on the 2nd March, 1793, (p.132), and Francisco on the 4th August, 1795 (p.41). Goya's posthumous portrait of Francisco Bayeu is in the Prado Museum, no.721; GW 345.
43. Agueda & Salas, p.52 Letter 10 and pp.53-54, note 5. in letter 11 Goya expresses his relief at the fact that Ramón's condition had improved. Most of the tapestry cartoons which according to Morales y Marín (op.cit) Ramón Bayeu produced in 1780 have been lost. The two that he lists as being still in existence are *El Comprador* (The Buyer), no.5695 in the Prado Museum, and *La Cocina* (The Kitchen) in the Real Fábrica de Tapices, Madrid.
44. Sambricio, Documento 193.
45. GW no.783, pp.150-151.
46. Sambricio, Documento 197.
47. Sambricio, Documento 198 & 199.
48. Sambricio, Documento 203 & 204.
49. Sambricio, Documento 205.

**UCL PAINTING ANALYSIS LTD**

History of Art Department, University College London 43 Gordon Square,  
London WC1 HOPD

**LA BODA**

**Attributed to Goya**

The 'Dobbs Berger' modello

Oil on canvas

90 x 119 cm

TECHNICAL REPORT

L. Sheldon  
1999

## UCL PAINTING ANALYSIS LTD

History of Art Department, University College London 43 Gordon Square,  
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### LA BODA

attributed to Goya

The 'Dobbs Berger' modello

Oil on canvas

90 x 119 cm

### TECHNICAL REPORT

Report no: C1395

L. Sheldon Oct 99

#### Brief:

To examine the materials and structure of the paint.

#### Procedure:

The surface of the painting was examined at x45 magnification and in ultra-violet light to ascertain both the condition of the paint and which paint was original. Samples of the paint were examined as cross-sections and dispersions, taken mostly from the edges. Some samples were set, cut and polished for examination as cross-sections: these were viewed in reflected light at a magnification of x500 and under the ultra-violet fluorescence microscope at wavelength 410.

Dispersions of pigments from the same and other areas were examined by polarising light microscopy at a magnification of x1000. Macro photographs of the surface were taken. Comparisons with published material on the techniques of the period and contemporary workshops were made.

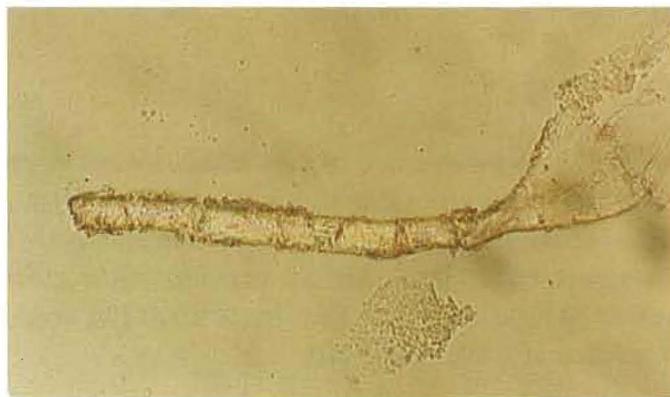
### FINDINGS

#### Canvas and preparations

The original canvas, no lined, is made of linen fibres. The weave appears to be a normal tabby pattern with occasional coarser fibres running through it.

The weave count was found to be approximately 12 x 10 threads per centimetre, which is a relatively coarse weave.<sup>1</sup>

Linen fibres from the canvas, exposed at the edges. photographed at x100; and linen fibre isolated below, at x100 showing the characteristic divisions of linen along the tubular fibre.



The first preparation over the canvas was a glue layer followed by a thick layer of a light red coloured ground. This first ground can be seen on the canvas just at the edges, where it remains unpainted. It consists of red ochre and lead white. Dirt lies over it at the edges. (see photograph overleaf)

Red or pink grounds for the lowest layer over the canvas were typical of the 18th century.<sup>2</sup> Some painters were beginning to use white over the underlying red, whilst others continued to paint pale grey or brown over the lower red. By the end of the

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<sup>1</sup> Analysis of paintings by Goya from the Museum of Agen found a weave count of 10-15 threads per centimetre in *La Messe des Relevailles*

<sup>2</sup> For example, Boucher-lower red ground, upper grey; Canaletto-lower ground red, upper grey (UCLPA reports). The *Self-portrait* in Agen of 1783 has a lower ground of red ochre and silica with a grey layer over it.

18th century many painters were using a single ground, and it was increasingly pale or white at the beginning of the 19th century.

Macrophotograph of canvas at tacking edge, where the red preparation can be seen over the linen fibres. Photographed at x50



RED GROUND OVER CANVAS FIBRES

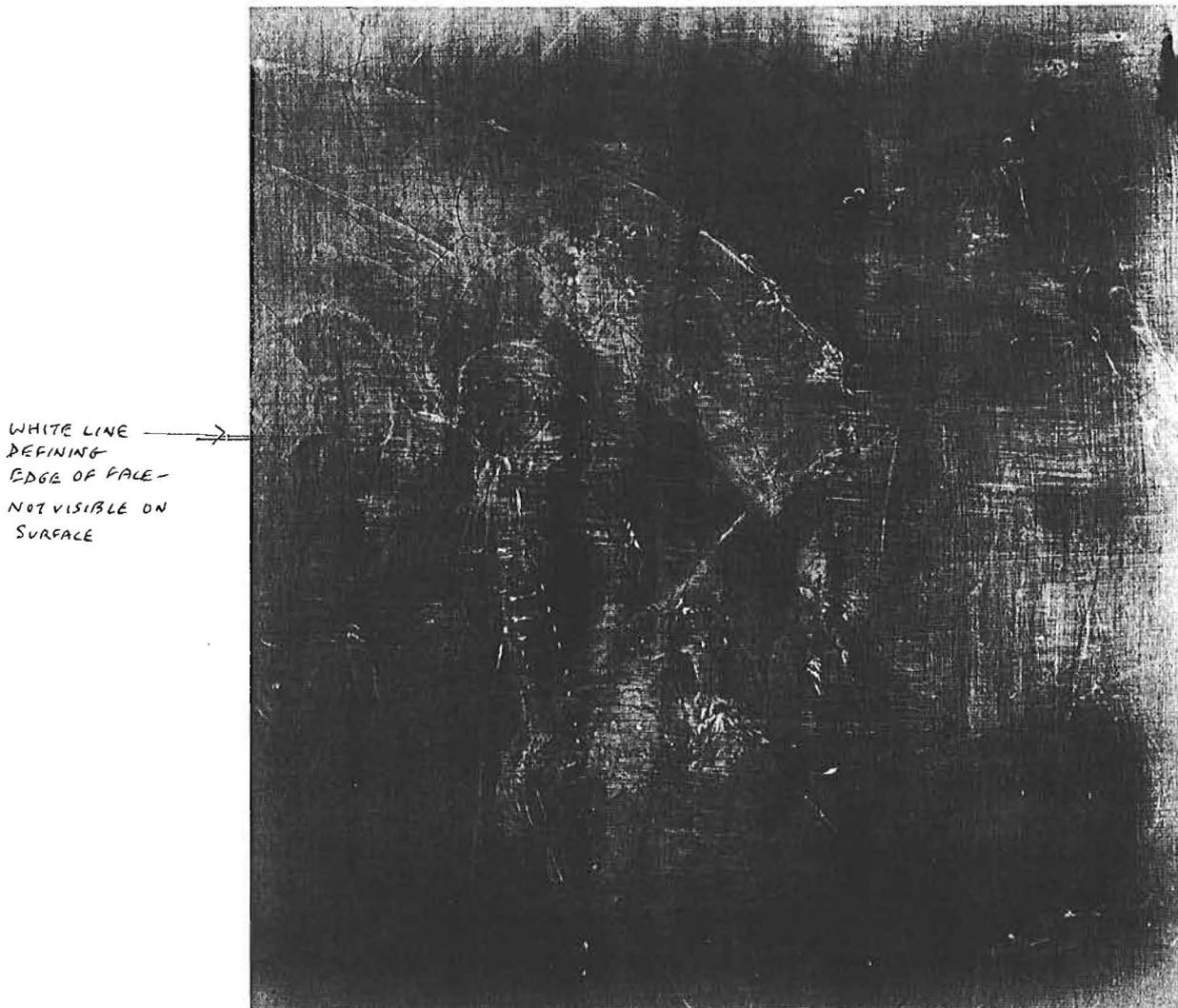
Over the red ground was a loosely mixed layer of white. This white consisted of lead white and calcium carbonate. Was the red ground or both red and white preparation put on by a colourman, rather than primed within the artist's studio? No separation can be seen between lower red ground and the loose white ground, although there is no integration of wet-in wet and the fact that only red can be seen at the edges suggests that this was laid on at a separate time from the overlying white.

### **Imprimatura and drawing (?)**

In each of the samples taken from the edge there is a layer of brown paint over the two lower preparations. This consists of plant black, sienna, yellow ochre and a little lead white. What is the function of this layer? Is this the state in which the canvas reached the painter, with a dark brown imprimatura? It would certainly provide a good background for white chalk or lead white sketch, which was a common method of sketching in the composition in the 18th century.

The x-ray shows lead white outlines even where there are none in the painting: for example, the face of the man in the black costume behind and to the left of the older man in green to the right, in the foreground. It is a little difficult to distinguish outlines from thicker touches of paint on the surface, but there seems to be some evidence of white outlines. In his self portrait (Museum of Agen) thought to be done in 1783, Goya represented himself with chalk in hand in front of a canvas. If the lines were done in either black, red or white chalk, however, they would not show up in x ray. It is only if they were painted in lead white that they would be seen. No cross-section was taken in the exact area of any of these lines.

Over the dark brown layer in both sky, walls and green foliage were at least two layers of lead white, which were sometimes slightly tinted with yellow ochre. The thickness of these layers would account for the bright tonality of the surface paint.<sup>3</sup>



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<sup>3</sup> Similar upper layers of a white plus yellow have been found in a Tiepolo done in 1758, *Allegory with Time & Venus* which has a red lower ground, and a pale yellow upper ground.

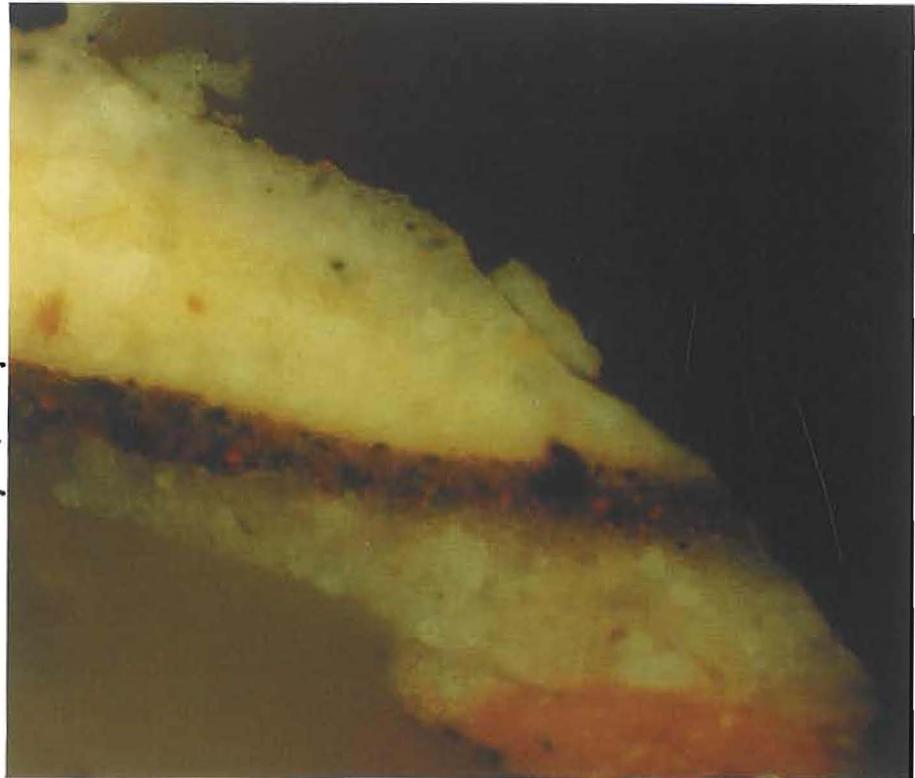
Cross-section of paint from the wall, to the right of centre, at the edge  
showing all the preparation layers  
Photographed at x200 and x400 below



UPPER  
LEAD WHITE  
+ YELLOW SCHRE

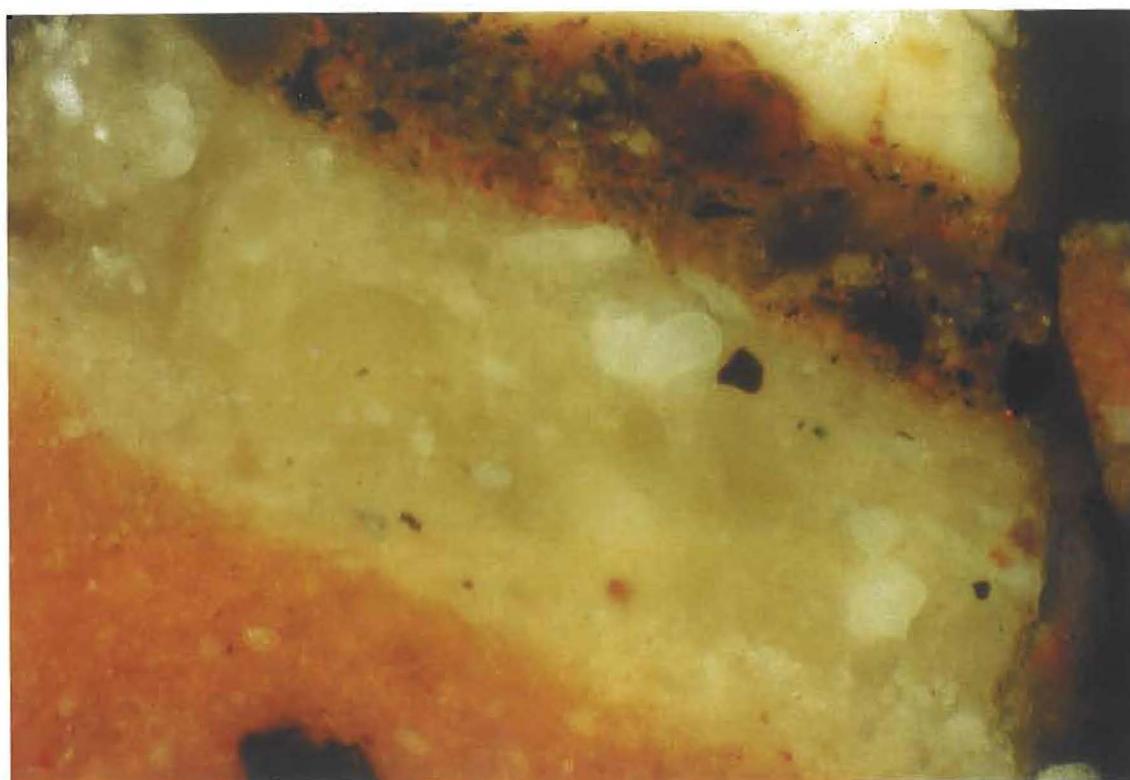
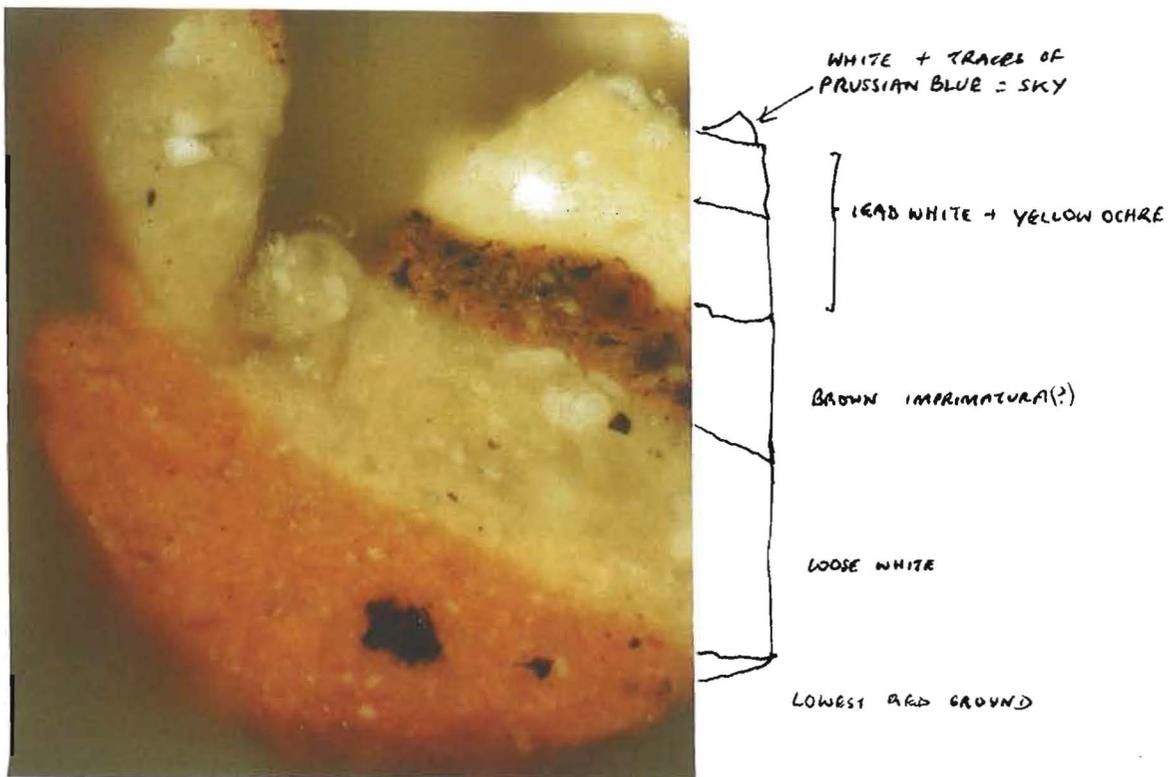
IMPRIMATURA?

LOOSE WHITE =  
LEAD WHITE +  
CHALK

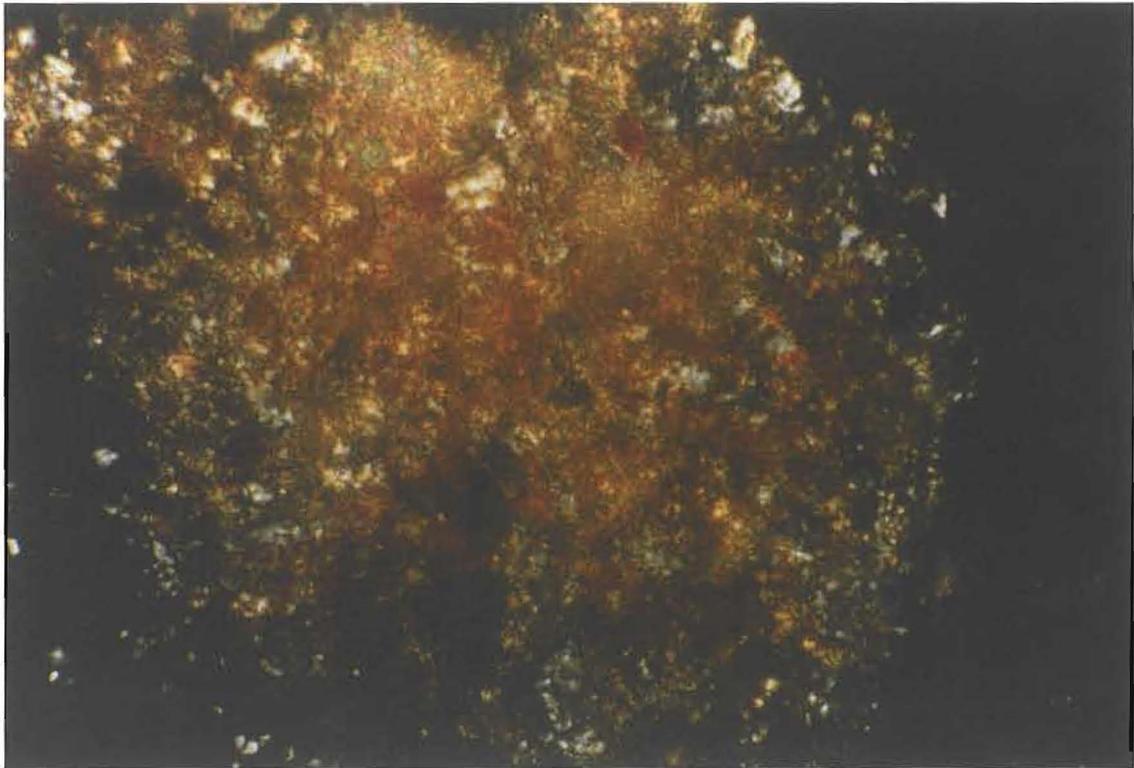


LOWEST RED GROUND  
(OVER CANVAS)

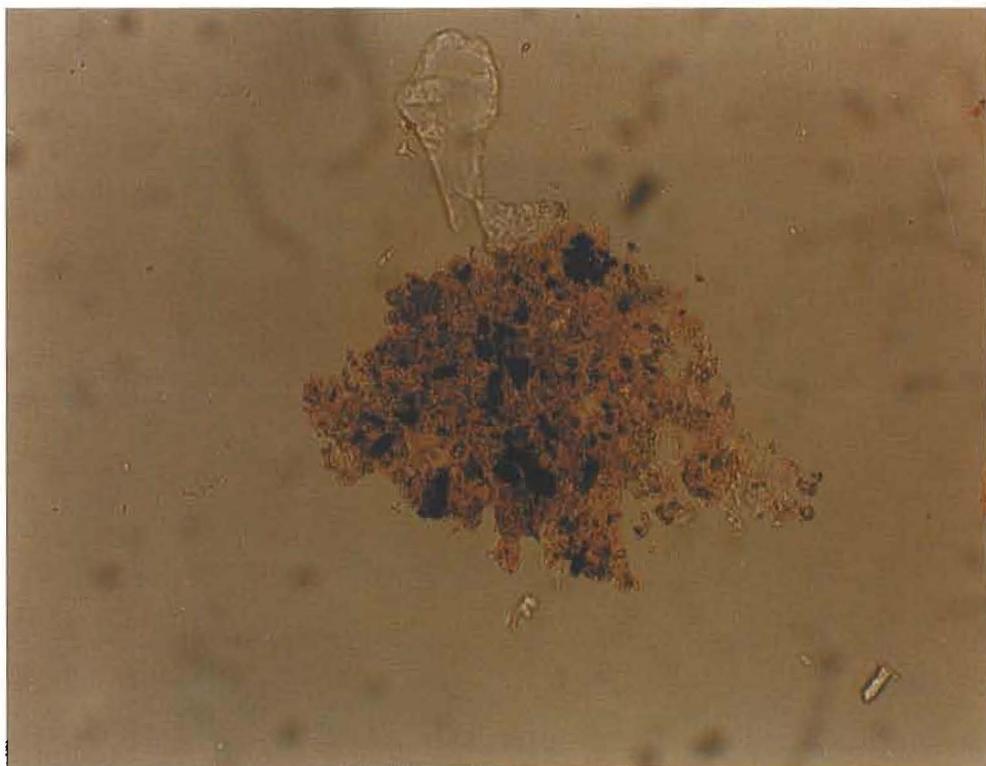
Cross-section of paint from sky at upper edge (pale blue of paint just shows at upper edge of sample) Showing ground layers  
Photographed at x400 and x1000 below



Dispersion of pigments from the lowest ground of a reddish colour  
photographed in crossed polars at x1000.  
Coccoliths of chalk can be seen, as well as some lead white, and red ochre



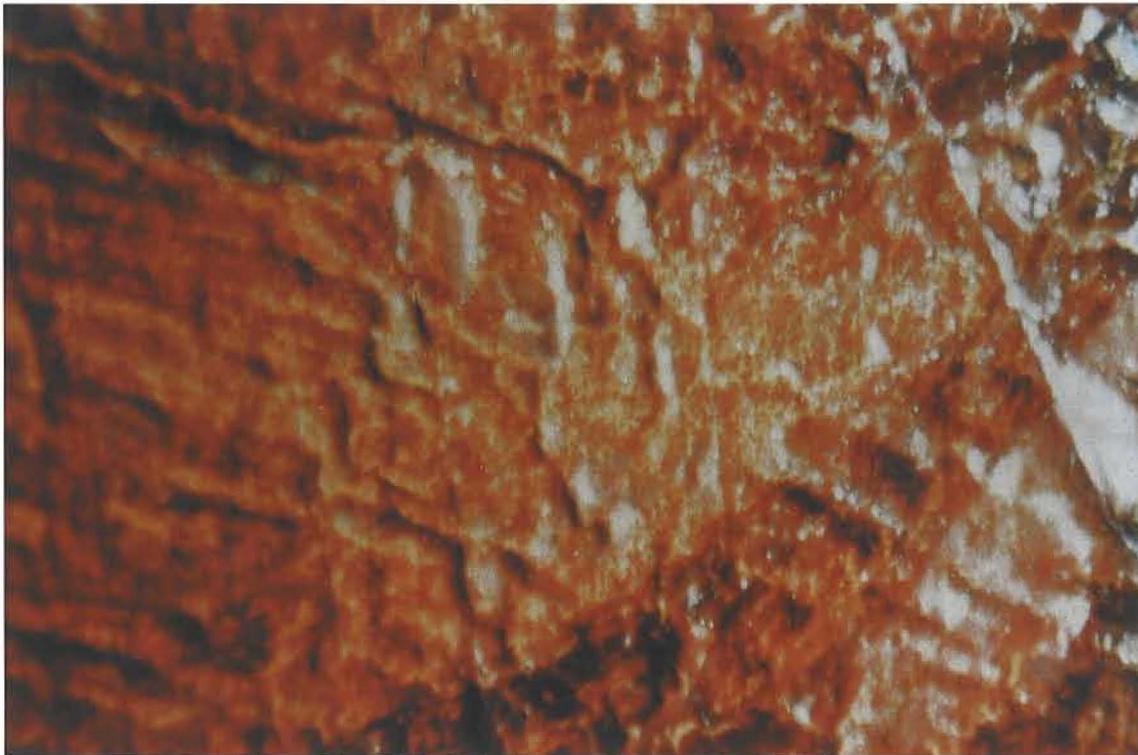
Dispersion of pigments from imprimatura  
photographed at x400 in plane polars



## Paint and pigments

The medium of the paint was oil. In some areas, largely of white, such as that beneath the red coat of the bridegroom in the centre, and behind the central heads, the proportions of oil to pigment had been too high, and the result was quite marked wrinkling of the paint film under the red glaze.

Detail of the red coat of the bridegroom  
showing wrinkling of the surface paint.



Cross-section of the red coat of the bridegroom's coat  
Photographed at x400 first polishing.



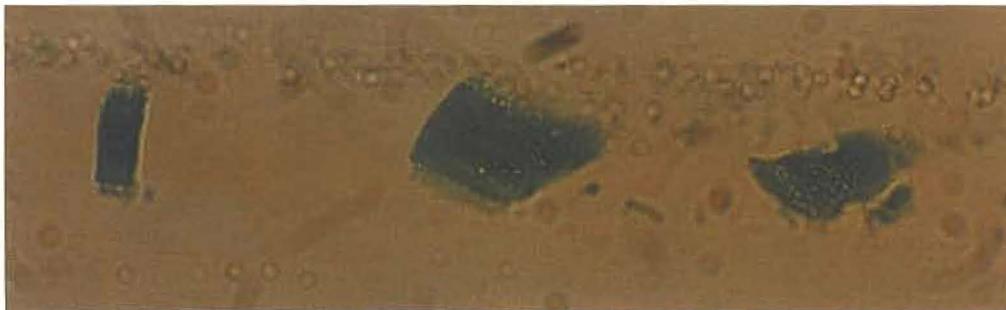
The range of pigments used is typical of the palette of the 18th century.

Identified in the various layers of the painting were:

Lead white,  
Chalk (in preparation layers)  
Plant black,  
Prussian blue,  
Crimson lake (not madder)  
Vermilion (dry-process)  
Red ochre  
Naples Yellow  
Yellow ochre  
Sienna

The blue, which is Prussian blue is of a type which is rather characteristic of the 18th century in its shape and appearance.

Dispersion of Prussian blue pigment from the dark blue of the bride's dress  
Photographed at x1000 in plane polarised light.



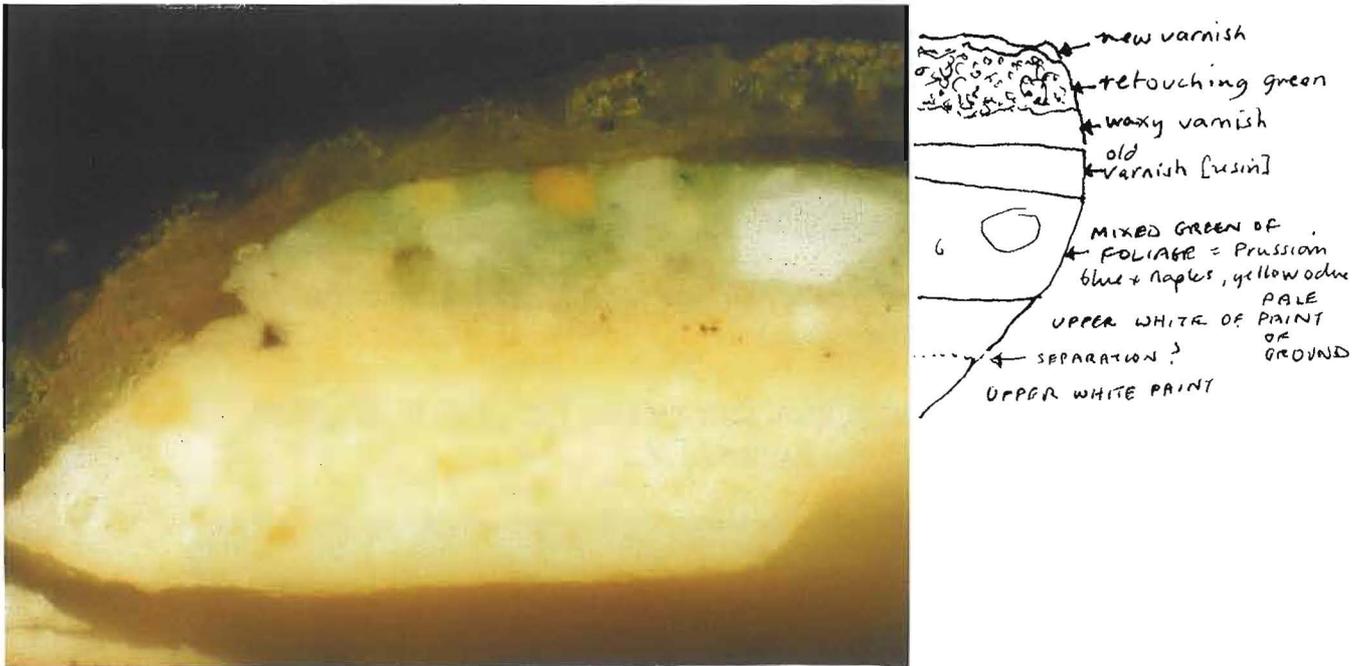
Detail of the lower part of the bride's dress. (x45)



The yellows were found to be either yellow ochre or Naples yellow. Both could be seen mixed in with Prussian blue in the cross-section from the green leaf, under later retouching at the lower edge. Naples yellow is the main constituent of vivid colour of the coat of the boy with his back to the viewer on the far left.

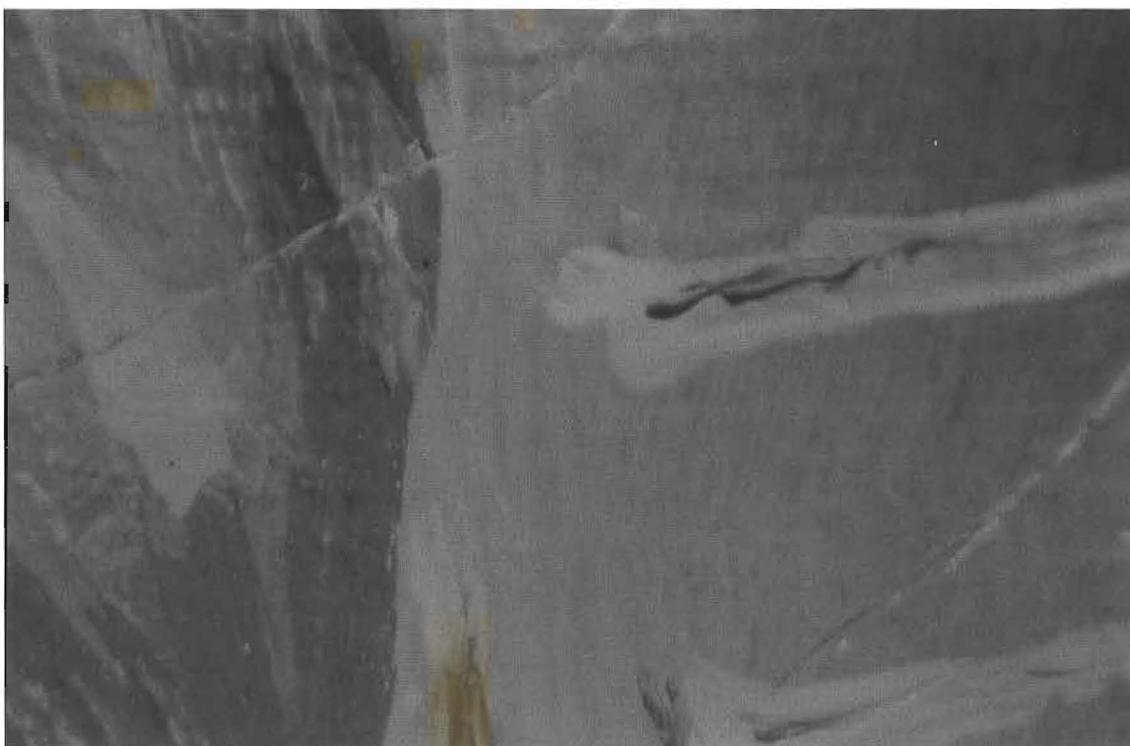
Cross-section of green foliage at lower edge, to right of centre.

Photographed at x400, showing later retouching and varnish over the original



The green of the coat of the elderly man to the right of the painting was not sampled, but under magnification particles of Prussian blue could be seen and it is probably mixed with yellow ochre with Naples yellow in the brighter highlights.

Detail of a button-hole on the green coat of the man, right foreground. (x50)

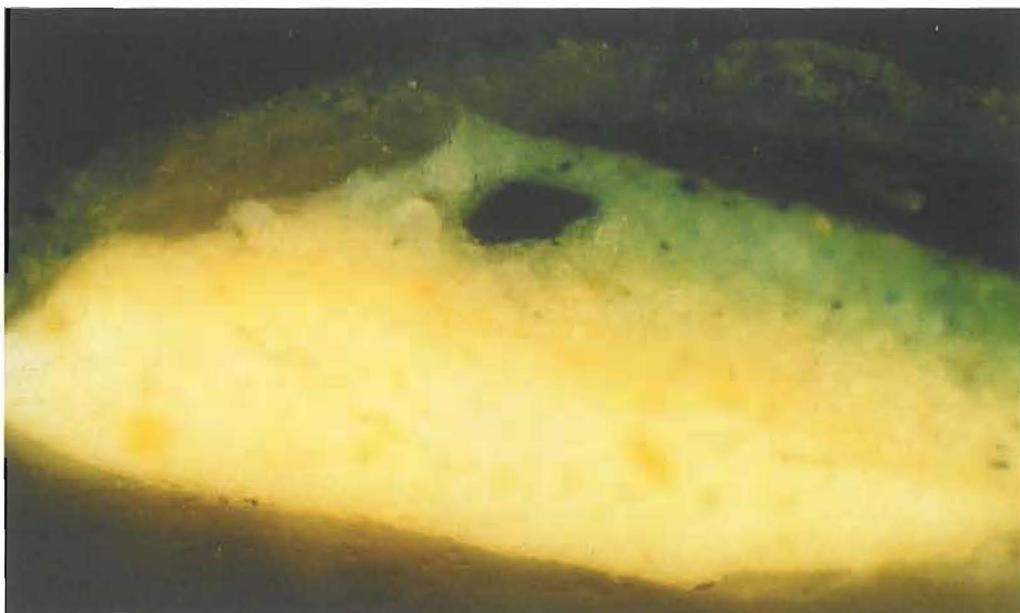


The white mixed into the paint was lead white. It was of the lumpy and varied particled nature as expected. It was mixed in with too high a proportion of the medium in the creamy white behind the central figures. It can also be seen in the mixed yellowish white layer beneath the green foliage at the lower edge, in two layers. Chalk was mixed in with the lead white in the layer beneath the brown "imprimatura".

Detail of lead white mixed with a high proportion of medium, causing wrinkling of the paint when it dried. (x50)



Cross-section, (repolished) of green foliage at lower edge. Showing upper creamy layers of lead white and yellow.



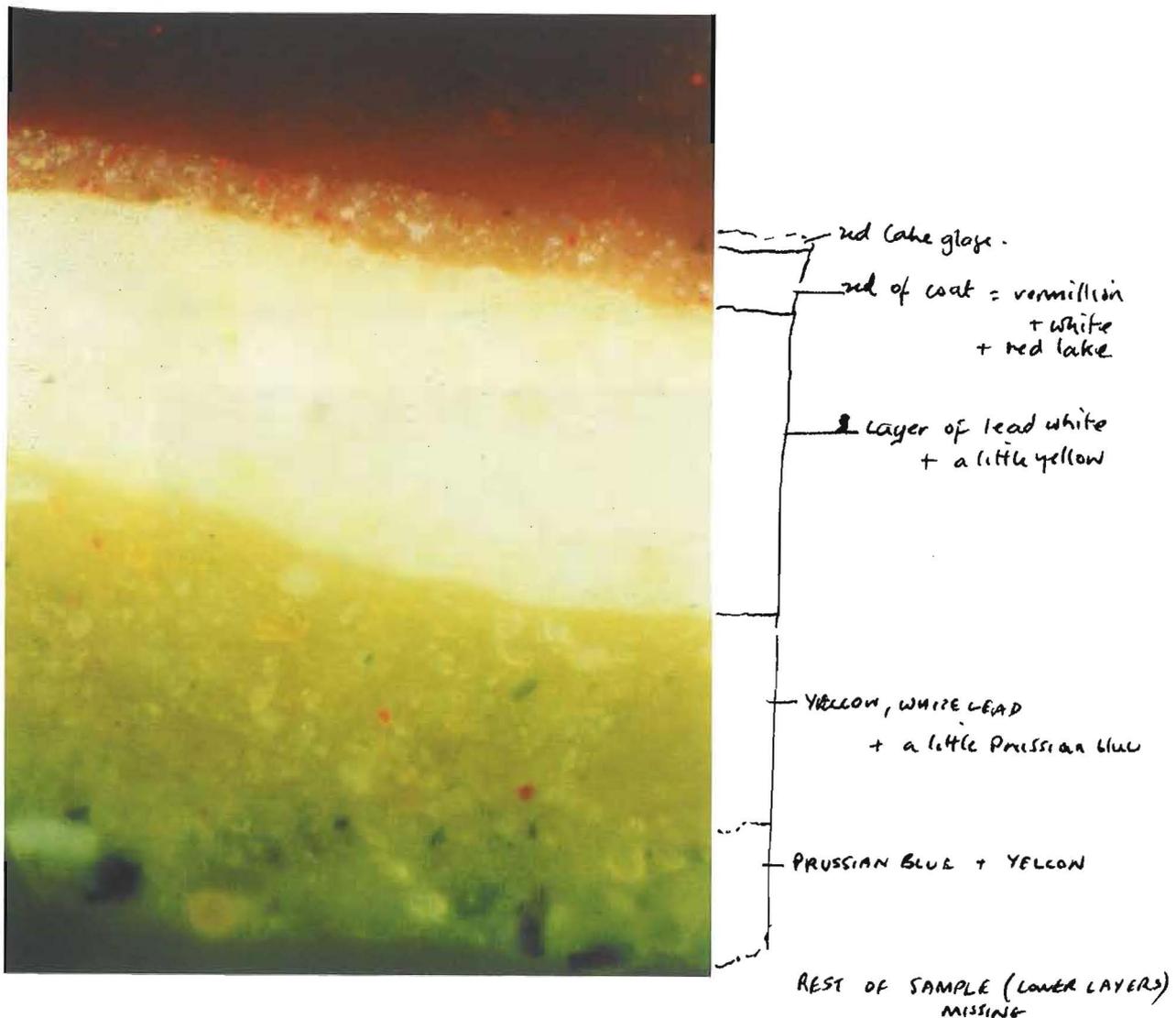
## Pentiments

There are several pentiments in the painting, as the x-rays shows, the most noticeable being that of the kite under the paint in the upper right of the painting. However, a cross-section from the area of the kite could find no underlying colour. This might be because the minute sample which was taken just within the upper right ridge which marks the edge of the underlying kite happened to miss any colouring; or it could be that the kite was outlined in white and not painted in.

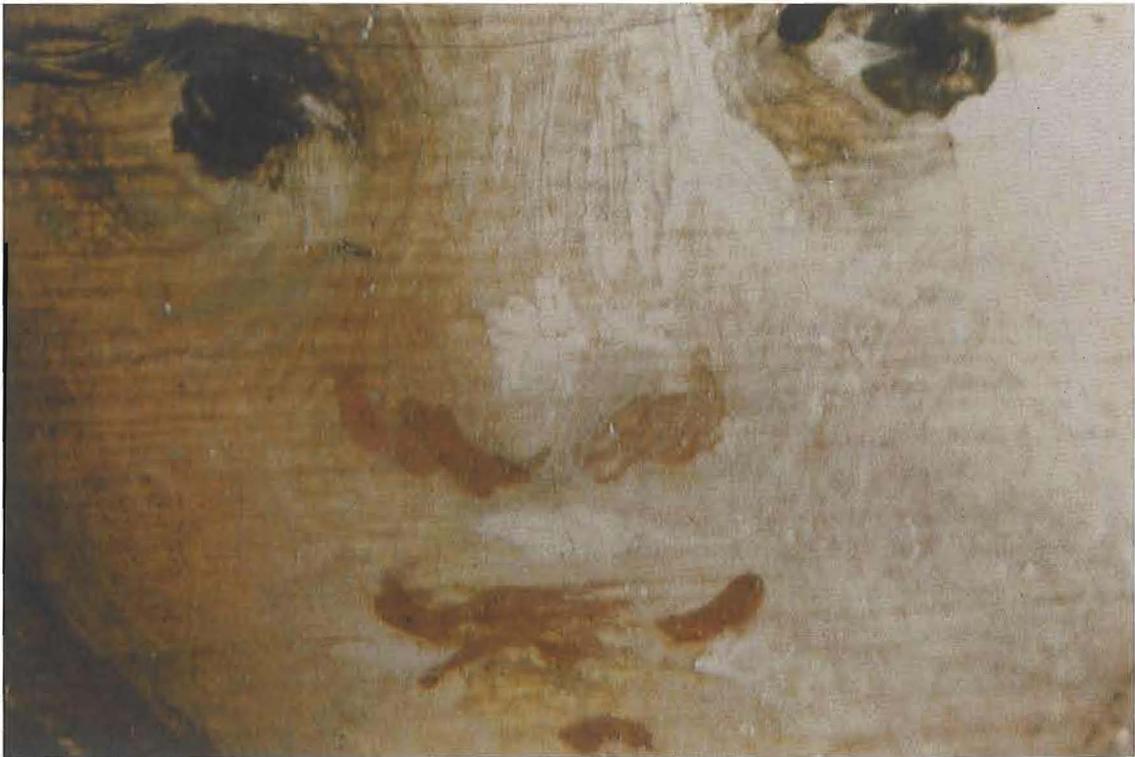
The cross-section of red, from the bridegroom's coat, may indicate a change of mind about colour. It shows a layer of creamy colour over a mixed green with a little brown in it, indicating, perhaps that the coat had been a greenish colour to begin with: it is not part of the brown imprimatura, and has Prussian blue and Naples yellow in it. The painter may then have used the creamy white paint of the sky, with its high proportion of medium, and covered over this green. The white wrinkled on drying in the same way as the background paint. The red of the coat is formed with a mixture of vermilion, white and crimson lake. It is difficult to be certain that there has been a change of colour from the evidence of only one-cross section, but it is similarly difficult to explain a green colour lying underneath the white.

### Cross-section of the red of the bridegroom's coat

Photographed at x400. second polishing



Detail of face of child, lower left (x50)



Detail of decoration on dress of bride (x45)



Detail of woman's bodice, in background to the right, between bridegroom and elderly man.



Detail of brushwork on skirt of same woman



## **CONCLUSION**

All materials, structure and methods accord with those of a work painted in the last part of the 18th century. The use of Prussian blue characteristic of an 18th century type, and the structure of the grounds make it likely to be an 18th century work.

The pentiment of the kite, together with the possible change of colouring of the bridegroom, point towards a modello rather than a copy.

→ 401 SW7 SITE

← 460  
GREY  
WALL



← 461  
BANK

MARKS  
VEHICLE

← 462  
SIGN

← 463  
DARK BLUE -  
PRUSSIAN

← 463  
RED COAT

← 462  
GREEN COAT

**A CHEMICAL AND RADIOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF THE PAINTING MATERIALS  
AND TECHNIQUES OF THE *MODELLO* FOR *LA BODA*.**

E. Parra  
2000

# A CHEMICAL AND RADIOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF THE PAINTING MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES OF THE *MODELLO* FOR *LA BODA*.

By Enrique Parra 2000

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The 'Dobbs Berger' version of Goya's cartoon for *La Boda* is among the best executed and preserved of the early known examples of this subject. It was recently subjected to an in-depth technical analysis, to compare its constituent materials with those used for other paintings by the Spanish master Francisco de Goya.

This work has been proposed as Goya's *modello* for the Prado cartoon, which was painted in the 1790's. It is an oil painting on canvas measuring 90 X 110 cm. It is in an excellent state of conservation, and displays a typical eighteenth century cobweb-shaped craquelure pattern. It has been sensitively relined, in a manner which respected both its craquelure and impasto.

It depicts an engaged couple besides a bridge, with a group of accompanying celebrants. (Fig. 1)

## Description of microsamples:

Standard techniques for the examination of the painting materials and priming layers were employed for this analysis, and are summarised at the end of this report. Microsamples were taken with a fine scalpel from the edges of the canvas, to avoid any damage to the essential parts of the painting itself. They have been numbered and described in the Investigations section towards the end of this report. Enlargements of relevant cross-sections have also been reproduced for a better visual understanding. These have been explained at the end. (See figs. 2-6)

## Results:

There is very little published data on Goya's materials and canvas painting techniques, and the best available source of information is that published by M.C Garrido on the so-called *Pinturas Negras*, the wall-paintings of *La Quinta de Sordo* (1), where Goya resided prior to his final trip to Bordeaux. These were painted in oil and tempera on a gypsum ground, in the years 1820-4, and were transferred on to canvas at the end of the 19th. Century. However, while this provides a useful reference for paint layers, so far as wall-paintings are concerned, the ground, or base, would almost certainly have been different from those on canvas.

The best explanation of Goya's oil on canvas techniques was given in a talk by M.C. Garrido at a Prado Symposium in January 2000. (2) This talk concentrated specifically on three Goya masterpieces, *La Familia de Carlos IV*, a royal family portrait painted around 1790; *La Carga de los Mamelucos* (or *Madrid, 2 de Mayo de 1808*); and *Los Fusilamientos de la Montaña de Príncipe Pio*, painted around 1814. All three provided important data concerning Goya's ground-preparation materials, and paint layers.

## The ground layers:

Two differently coloured layers were found in the samples analysed from the 'Dobbs Berger' *modello* for *La Boda*. The lower one is light red in colour, and comprises a mixture of red earth, white lead, and calcium carbonate. This combination was widely used in Spain during the 17th and 18th centuries.

The second layer is a loose white mixture of white lead and calcium carbonate. This was fairly certainly applied some time after the application of the light red priming, in the painter's studio. There are two reasons for this statement. The first is that it only appears on the front of the painting, and is not discernible at the canvas folds by the stretcher. Secondly, the two layers are quite separate, which indicates that the second was applied after the first one had completely dried.

The purpose of this second white ground priming would have been to introduce a luminosity, which would have been

unobtainable over the deeper-coloured red priming. The painter has achieved his results by covering this white background with darker surface brushstrokes, applied with a masterly understanding of chiaroscuro.

Both layers are of similar thickness, although the lower (at ca 100  $\mu$ , micrometers) is slightly thicker than the upper one (at ca. 50  $\mu$ ). Linseed oil was used as the binder of the two layers.

A comparison of this data with that supplied by Dr Garrido (2) indicates that the painter employed similar materials for his first (red) ground layer on the *modello* to that used by Goya for the red ground on his *Madrid, 2 de Mayo de 1808* and *Los Fusilamientos de la Montaña de Príncipe Pío* at the Prado. Furthermore a similar second white priming has been found on Goya's other two models for tapestry cartoons at the Prado *La Gallinita Ciega*, and *La Pradera de S. Isidro*, which can be visually verified. It has therefore been confirmed that both types of preparatory layers can be found in Goya's works, which was of course fully in keeping with the usage and traditions of the late eighteenth century.

#### **Additional colour layers:**

Information gleaned from the samples taken indicates that the painter has used brown and grey underpaint in sections of the painting. These are mainly mixtures of red-ochre earth, bone carbon black, and white lead, for the brown ones; and the last two pigments only for the grey ones. Painters often used this device when preparing an elaborate composition - thus preparing localised coloured areas on the canvas, on which subsequent figures, details and the final colouring could later be added. It is a not dissimilar technique to that of *grisaille* painting, which was developed primarily by Italian and Flemish painters from the 14th century onwards. (Figs. 3 & 4). They were found in almost all the samples, both together, and in separate grey or brown layers. (Se. Figs. 2b, 3b, 5a, 6a & 7a).

Preparatory drawing (seen on the X-rays as outline images of the main figures) appears as high density, clear, thin lines. (See Figures 8 & 9). This was apparently outlined on the darker priming with a very fine brush, and a lead rich mixture of pigments.

In addition to the deeper and neutral colours, the painter has used pinks and yellows to surround the central figures. These can be seen quite easily in certain places, such as on the steps of the bridge, and in the sky, ground, and architecture, which the artist has portrayed with very thin, almost transparent, final colour layers. He has used oil paints comprising white lead, earth and small quantities of calcite, which would diminish the refractive index of the layer, and increase its transparency.

At the final stage the artist painted in his top colour layers. These were applied with delicate, thin, almost transparent brushstrokes, just sufficient for defining the figures, and occasionally allowing the underpainting to emerge as background. More generous impasto was used for the clothes of the figures at the centre of the canvas. These comprise oil mixtures with white lead, calcite, earth, Prussian blue, Naples yellow, lead-tin yellow, and bone carbon black. This specific combination of pigments would normally indicate a painting executed between the middle of the 18th Century, and the commencement of the 19th Century. (5)

#### **Identical materials were reported in the technical analysis of Goya's *Pinturas Negras* (1), and the three Goya masterpieces discussed at the Prado Symposium. (2)**

A crucial discovery of Dr. Sheldon should also be noted at this stage. Under the red colour (vermilion) of the bridegroom's jacket, a green layer was found. This is clear evidence of a significant change of mind or *pentimento*, and complements the conclusions already outlined.

Finally staining and CHROMATOGRAPHY TESTS (see INVESTIGATIONS) indicate that the main binder for all the paint layers and grounds was linseed oil.

#### **Interpretations of the radiographic images:**

Following the pigment analysis the radiographic images will now be considered before completing this report. They demonstrate certain important compositional changes. The most important one is the "disappearance" of the kite, which was originally above the bridge, but later covered by blue sky. (Fig. 8)

The X-rays also reveal a highly significant second *pentimento* (or *afterthought*). The two men on the upper right beneath the bridge were evidently a later idea of the painter for, as close study reveals, they were painted after he had completed the outline of the underside of the bridge. (Fig. 9)

Other somewhat less easily discernible *pentimenti* include a change in the position of the face of the green-clad man holding his hat in his hand. According to the X-ray his hairline was different, and his face seems to be laughingly inclined towards the observer. In the completed *modello*, on the other hand, he is shown *full profile* and regards the groom rather seriously from behind. (Fig. 9) A further comparison of the X-rays and completed *modello* similarly confirm alterations of the expression on the face of the bride and groom.

A comparison of the Dobbs Berger *modello* and the Prado cartoon reveals there to be slight but significant changes in expression on the faces of several figures including the bride and groom. The facial expressions, for example, of her closest bridesmaid, the male behind the bridegroom, and the priest are all different.

The drawing is designed by outlining the figures and other details with thin brushstrokes, using white lead (or mixtures enriched with it). X rays also emphasize the thicker impasto of the clothes.

The cobweb-shaped craquelure pattern (Fig. 10), which is also clearly discernible under X rays would seem to confirm the dating suggested earlier.

### Conclusions:

The chemical analysis, cross-sectional, and radiographic studies, indicate that this painting was created at the end of the 18th century, and has numerous original elements.

A comparison with other original paintings by Goya confirms that it has analogous materials, and layer structures (including the non-visible lower layers). This confirms that it relates methodologically to other paintings by Goya.

The ground of the painting contains two layers, applied at different times (and quite separately, as explained earlier). The lower one is red, and comprises a mixture of white lead, red earth, and calcium carbonate. The second (upper one) is a loose white layer comprised of white lead and calcium carbonate. Both are normal for the late eighteenth century and commencement of the nineteenth century, and found in other paintings by Goya.

Over the ground layers a type of *grisaille* was detected, in either *grey* or *brown*, depending on the area studied. These layers (sometimes the one superimposed on the other) have white lead, carbon black, red and ochre earth and calcite. This kind of grey and brown local *imprimatura*, or base colour, has been found in other Goya paintings, under the flesh tones and elsewhere.

The *grisaille* was covered with pink and yellow layers of base colour, prior to the final colour application. These layers brought lighting and tone to the final effect, and allowed the painter to work with shadow and deeper colours to obtain the result he was aiming for, and to create a subtle atmosphere around the central scene. They are comprised of white lead, tinted with fine particles of red or yellow earth. In some places these layers, which are quite normal in Goya's paintings (including the cartoons) are visible, and an intended aspect of the final composition.

The surface layers are quite thin, and the changes to the original design occurred at this stage of the painting process. The comparisons of *modello* radiographs with the final cartoon at the Prado, together with cross-sectional studies, have uncovered several significant changes of intent (or *pentimenti*) including the change of the bridegroom's jacket colour, discovered by Dr Sheldon; the hiding of the kite; the two figures added *over* the finished bridge on the upper right, and the various altered facial expressions and positions, which have similarly been described. **All this evidence**

**confirms that this painting is an original, and cannot be a copy of the cartoon for 'La Boda' at the Prado. Nothing has emerged which can convincingly be cited against its attribution to Goya.**

#### **Investigations:**

For this analysis we have used standard techniques for the technical study of painting materials. These are outlined below:

Optical reflection and transmission microscopy, with polarised light and ultraviolet light. This is the basic technique which allows the study of the superimposition of paint layers, and the preliminary analysis of pigments, binders, and varnishes. This method is complemented by microchemical tests for pigments and selective dyeing tests of oily and proteinaceous binders. (6) Scanning Electron Microscopy coupled with elementary analysis by Energy Dispersed R-X ray emission (SEM/EDX). It is employed to perform an elementary analysis of pigment grains, in order to identify small articles. Gas Chromatography coupled with Mass Spectrometry, to identify binders and varnishes composed of lipophilic substances such as oils, resins, waxes, or hydrophilic substances such as gums. Lipophilic samples are treated with a methylation reagent (Meth prep II). (7)

The samples taken are described below:

Sample No.	Description
1.	GREEN-Taken from the plants towards the centre of the lower edge of the painting.
2.	PINK colour of the soil.-Taken from the lower border.
3.	BLUE from the sky.-Taken just above the lower step, at the left of the bridge.
4.	YELLOW.-Taken from one of the same steps, at the left of the bridge.
5.	BLUE of the sky at the top.-Taken from the place where the flag was.
6.	GREY WITH ORANGE – Taken from the architecture at the upper right of the painting.

\*The precise spot from which the samples were taken is shown at the end of the report, together with the cross-section microphotographs.

#### **References:**

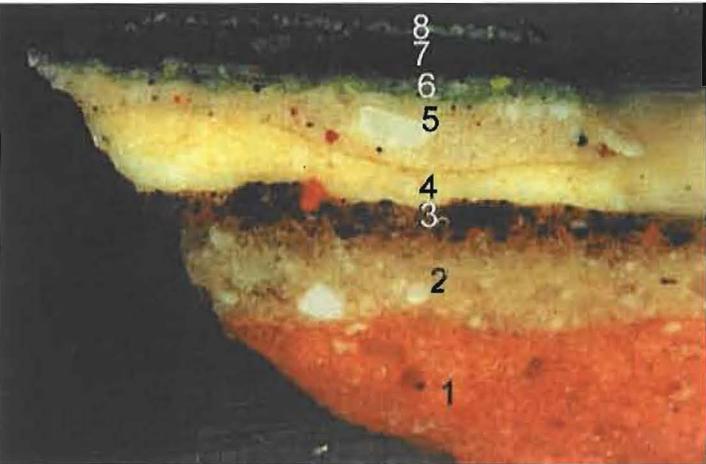
1. M.C. Garrido *Algunas consideraciones sobre la técnica de las Pinturas Negras de Goya*. Boletín del Prado 13 (1984), 4-40
2. M. C. Garrido. *Sobre la técnica de Goya en las pinturas "Madrid, 2 de Mayo de 1808", "Los Fusilamientos de la Montaña de Príncipe Pío" y "La Familia de Carlos IV"*. Oral presentation at the Symposium on the conservation of the paintings. Madrid, January 2000.
- 2b. E. Parra "*La Familia de Carlos IV: aglutinantes y barnices*" Chapter entitled "*Goya. La Familia de Carlos IV*". Ed. Manuela Mena. Museo del Prado. Madrid 2002
3. M.C. Garrido and R. van Schoute *El tríptico de la Adoración de los Magos de Hieronimus Van Aeken Bosch: estudio técnico*. Boletín del Museo del Prado 17 (1985), 59-77
4. D Bomford *Art in the Making. Italian Painting before 1400*. National Gallery Ed. London 1984.
5. *Artist's pigments: a handbook of their history and characteristics* Vol. 1-3. National Gallery of Art, Oxford University Press, Washington-New York 1987, 1993, 1997.
6. E.Martin *Some improvements in techniques of analysis of paint media* Studies in Conservation 22, (1977), 63-67.
7. M.T. Martin Patino, E. Parra, M.D. Gayo, F Madruga and J. Savaadra. *Artificial paint or patina on the sandstone of the Ramos Gate at the Catedral Nueva in Salamanca (Spain)*. Studies in Conservation. 39, (1994) 241-249.



**Fig. 1-**Reproduction of the 'Dobbs Berger' *modello* for *La Boda*.



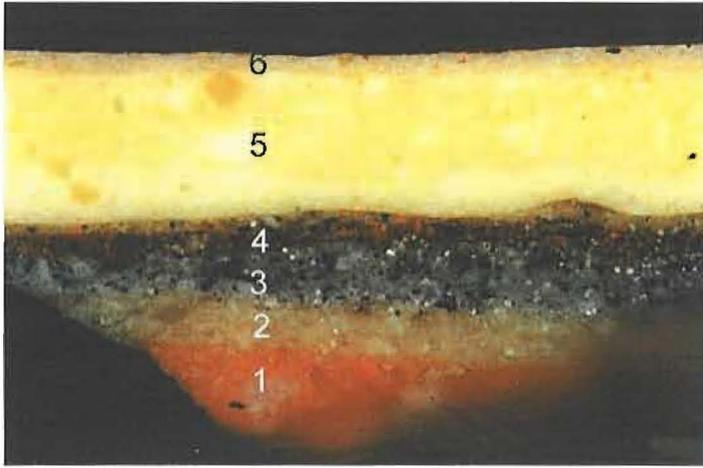
**Fig. 2A-Sample 1-Green foliage at bottom**



**Fig. 2B-Cross-section of sample 1:**  
 1-red earth, white lead, calcium carbonate;  
 2-white lead, calcium carbonate;  
 3-ochre earth, bone carbon black, calcium carbonate, white lead, red earth (traces);  
 4-white lead, yellow earth;  
 5-white lead, red earth, calcium carbonate, carbon black;  
 6-green earth, Prussian blue, Naples Yellow;

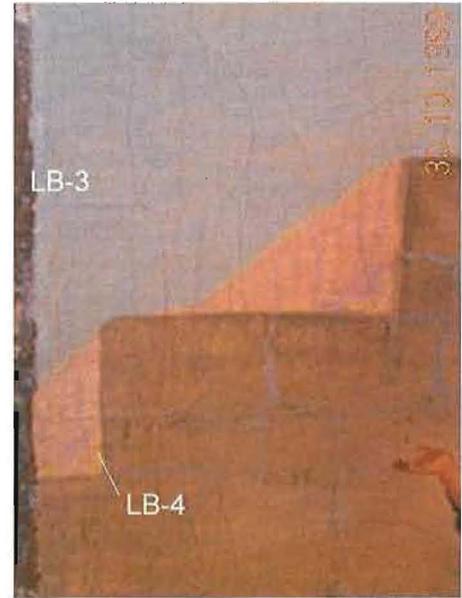


**Fig. 3A-Sample 2-Pink colour of the soil from lower border**



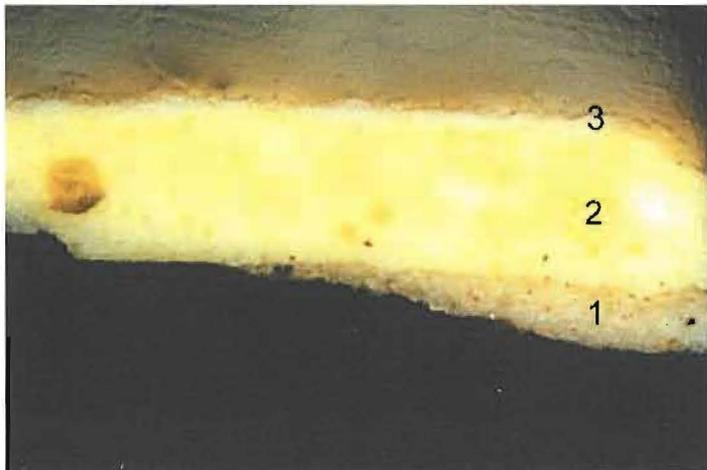
**Fig. 3B-Cross-section sample 2:**

- 1-red earth, white lead, calcium carbonate, carbon black (traces)
- 2-white lead, calcium carbonate;
- 3-bone carbon black, white lead, calcium carbonate,
- 4-brown earth, red earth, bone carbon black, white lead, calcium carbonate;
- 5-lead white, yellow earth;
- 6-white lead, red earth;



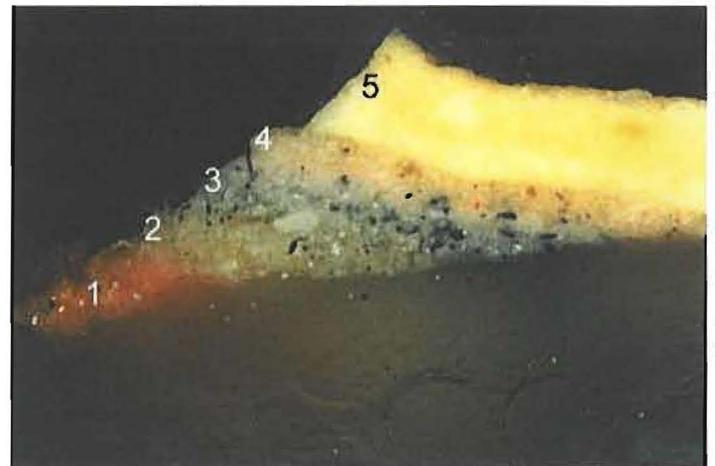
**Fig. 4A-Sample 3-Blue of the sky from left border.**

(taken at the left of the bridge)



**Fig. 4B-Cross-section of sample 3:**

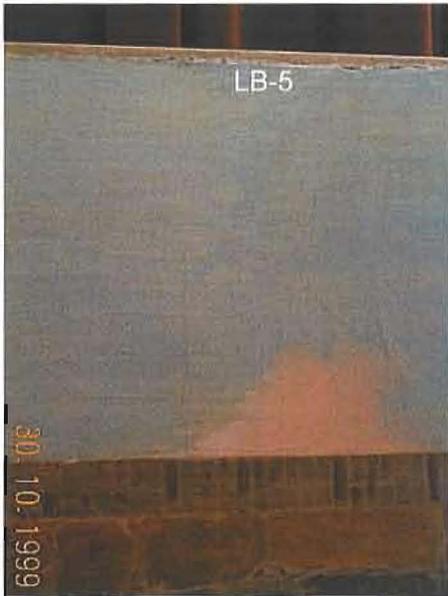
- 1-white lead, red earth;
- 2-white lead, yellow earth;
- 3-white lead, Prussian blue;



**Fig. 5-Cross-section of Sample 4**

Sample 4-yellow from a step on the bridge

- 1-red earth, white lead, calcium carbonate, carbon black (tr.)
- 2-white lead, calcium carbonate, carbon black (tr.);
- 3-white lead, carbon black, calcium carbonate;
- 4-white lead, calcium carbonate, red earth, carbon black (traces);

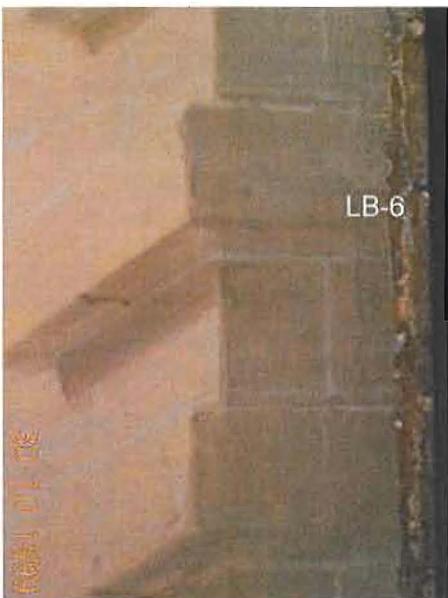


**Fig. 6A Sample 5-Blue of sky from upper border-(where the flag has been concealed).**



**Fig. 6B Cross-section of Sample 5**

- 1-red earth, white lead, carbon black (traces);
- 2-white lead, calcium carbonate, carbon black, earth (traces);
- 3-white lead, yellow earth;
- 4-white lead, Prussian blue;



**Fig. 7A Sample 6 – Grey with orange colour from the architecture at the right border.**

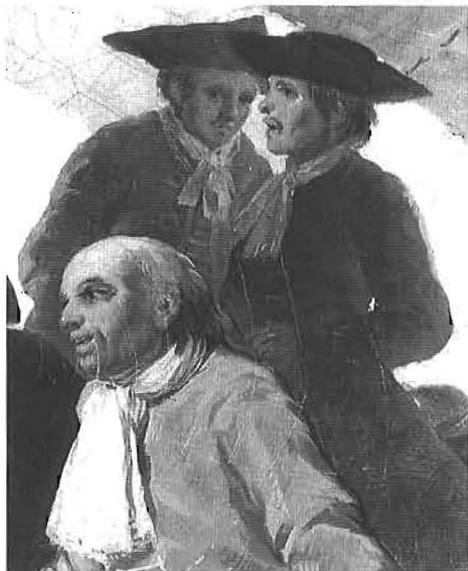


**Fig. 7B Cross-section of sample 6**

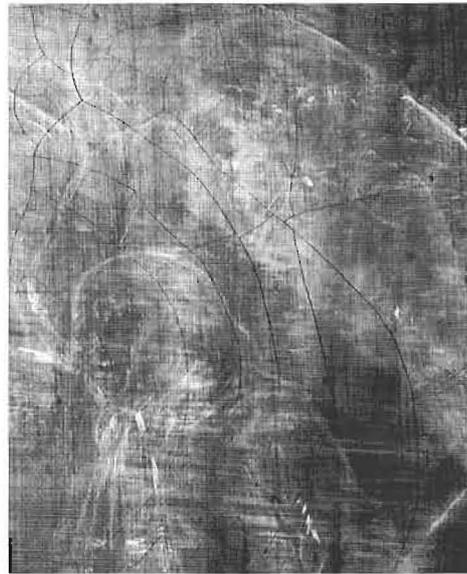
- 1-red earth, white lead, calcium carbonate, carbon black (traces);
- 2-white lead, calcium carbonate, bone carbon black, minium, red earth;
- 3-intermediate varnish;
- 4-minium, gypsum, red earth, lead, tin yellow;



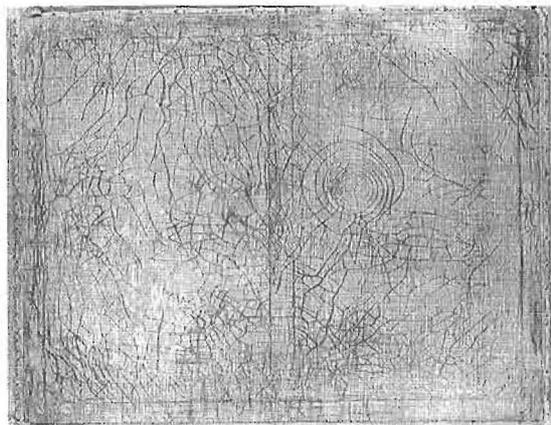
**Fig. 8 Radiographic detail with the hidden kite.**



**Fig. 9A Detail of the painting (black and white)**



**Fig. 9B Radiograph reproduction of Fig. 9A, where it can be clearly seen that the rear figures are painted over the bridge, and the contour and expression of the man at front right.**



**Fig. 10 The rear of the canvas before relining where the characteristic crack pattern is discernible.**