

**An investigation into the Enlightenment and aspects of Spanish life
which may have influenced *Los Caprichos* (1797-1799)
of Francisco de Goya (1746-1828).**

THESIS

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this mini-thesis was to investigate if the Spanish artist Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes (1746-1828) was aware of the progress that enlightened thought brought to Spain during the late eighteenth-century, and to see whether this had any effect on his series *Los Caprichos* (1797-1799). According to some contemporary historians, such as Dowling (1985, p. 347), the "... specific subject-matter of the *Caprichos* came directly from the ideology of the Spanish Enlightenment. "

The contemporary historian Jeremy Black (1990, p. 208) described the Enlightenment as a "... tendency towards critical enquiry and the application of reason. " Enlightened thinkers were primarily critics who used reason as a goal and a method to create a better society. Reason was believed to be a characteristic trait of the human species, human development and social organisation. The Enlightenment is not a purely seventeenth and eighteenth century phenomenon, but originated in the ideas of the classical civilizations and also the humanism of the Middle Ages and Renaissance in Europe. Many intellectuals were responsible for this new direction of thinking. The ideas of these scientists and philosophers are discussed in some detail, especially those beliefs which are clearly seen in the subject-matter of *Los Caprichos*. In addition, consideration is given to the possible effects of some of the historical events on the life and work of Goya, for example, the French Revolution (1789) and the Reign of Terror (1793-1794) which followed the Revolution.

In order to understand the background of the environment into which Goya was born and in which he developed, research was done on Spanish life and the monarchs of the eighteenth century. Specific attention is given to two Spanish kings from the House of Bourbon: Charles 3, who began numerous enlightened reforms in Spain and reigned around the time of Goya's early artistic and social development, and Charles 4 who did not continue the reforming policies of his father and ruled Spain when the *Caprichos* were produced.

The extent to which the Enlightenment spread to Spain is investigated, especially during the period in which Goya lived. Notable progressive thinkers of this European country are discussed, and special attention is given to those open-minded people whom Goya met. There appears to be proof that Goya may have been inspired by numerous of these learned Spaniards, and where this has motivated the *Caprichos*, special mention is made. The general census of the twentieth century, however, seems to be that Goya was not a towering intellectual thinker, but he was most certainly not an illiterate, unintelligent person either. The themes of *Los Caprichos* strongly suggest that he was influenced by enlightened individuals many of whom were his friends, such as the wealthy businessman and art-collector Sebastián Martínez (17 ?-1800) (with whom Goya stayed during a serious illness in 1792-1793).

The letters written by Goya to his childhood friend Martin Zapater (1746-18 ?) and selected prints from the *Caprichos* provide sufficient proof to indicate that enlightened thought inspired the work of Goya. It must be recognised, however, that there were other events that could have been influential such as: his appointment as Painter to the King in 1786, which provided Goya with a regular salary and released him from the demands of patrons, giving his imagination free reign; the illness that he suffered from 1792 until 1793, which could have caused Goya to view his life in perspective and could have given him the courage to criticise society. On a smaller scale, the possible love affair that Goya had with the Duchess of Alba, which turned sour, was possibly a blow to his self esteem. This is a subject which is seen in a few of the prints from *Los Caprichos*.

The research gathered for this mini-thesis is from the ex post facto source-material available through Rhodes University library, and any other attainable published data connected to Goya. This information consists of secondary sources which include copies of manuscripts dating from the time of Goya as well as first-hand observations of Goya's art.

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NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Illus. 1 (*Los Caprichos* 1)

Fran. co Goya y Lucientes, /Pintor.

(Fran. co Goya y Lucientes / Painter)

1797-1798

Etching and aquatint.

21.9 x 15.2 cm.

Illus. 2 (*Los Caprichos* 43)

El sueño de la razon produce monstruos.

(The sleep of reason produces monsters)

1797-1798

Etching and aquatint.

21.6 x 15.2 cm.

Illus. 3 (*Los Caprichos* 2)

El si pronuncian y la mano alargan / Al primero que llega.

(Women say yes and give their hand / to the first man that comes along)

1797-1798

Etching and aquatint.

21.8 x 15.4 cm.

Illus. 4 (*Los Caprichos* 42)

Tu que no puedes.

(Thou who canst not)

1797-1798

Etching and aquatint.

21.7 x 15.1 cm.

Illus. 5 (*Los Caprichos* 39)

Asta su Abuelo.

(*As far back as his grandfather*)

1797-1798

Aquatint.

21.5 x 15 cm.

Illus. 6 (*Los Caprichos* 53)

Que pico de Oro!

(*What a golden beak!*)

1797-1798

Etching and aquatint.

21.7 x 15.1 cm.

Illus. 7 (*Los Caprichos* 79)

Nadie nos ha visto.

(*No one has seen us*)

1797-1798

Etching and aquatint.

21.6 x 15.1 cm.

Illus. 8 (*Los Caprichos* 80)

Ya es hora.

(*Time is up*)

1797-1798

Etching and aquatint.

21.7 x 15.2 cm.

Illus. 9 (*Los Caprichos* 12)

A caza de dientes.

(*Out hunting for teeth*)

1797-1798

Etching and aquatint.

21.8 x 15.1 cm.

Illus. 10 (*Los Caprichos* 52)

Lo que puede un Sastre!

(*What a tailor can do!*)

1797-1798

Etching and aquatint.

21.7 x 15.2 cm.

Illus. 11 (*Los Caprichos* 3)

Que viene el Coco.

(*Here comes the bogeyman*)

1797-1798

Etching and aquatint.

21.7 x 15.3 cm.

Illus. 12 (*Los Caprichos* 25)

Si quebró el Cantaro.

(*But he broke the pitcher*)

1797-1798

Etching and aquatint.

20.7 x 15.2 cm.

Illus. 13 (*Los Caprichos* 37)

Si sabrá mas el discipulo?

(*What if the pupil knows more?*)

1797-1798

Etching and aquatint.

21.6 x 15.4 cm.

Illus. 14 (*Los Caprichos* 68)

Linda maestra!

(*Pretty teacher!*)

1797-1798

Etching and aquatint.

21.3 x 15 cm.

Illus. 15 (*Los Caprichos* 23)

Aquellos polbos.

(*That dust*)

1797-1798

Etching and aquatint.

21.7 x 14.8 cm.

Illus. 16 (*Los Caprichos* 24)

Nohubo remedio.

(*There was no remedy*)

1797-1798

Etching and aquatint.

21.7 x 15.2 cm.

Illus. 17 (*Los Caprichos* 27)

Quien mas rendido?

(Which is the more overcome?)

1797-1798

Etching and aquatint.

19.5 x 15 cm.

Illus. 18 (*Los Caprichos* 61)

Volaverunt.

(Gone for good)

1797-1798

Etching and aquatint.

21.7 x 15.2 cm.

Illus. 19 (*Los Caprichos* 19)

Todos Caerán.

(All will fail)

1797-1798

Etching and aquatint.

21.9 x 14.5 cm.

Illus. 20 (Additional print made for *Los Caprichos*)

Sueño de la mentira y la inconstancia

(Dream of lies and inconstancy)

1797-1798

Etching and aquatint.

18 x 12 cm. (cut)

(The above information is taken from: Gassier, 1981, p. 176-185.)

INTRODUCTION

In this mini-thesis the aim is to explore the possible influence of the eighteenth century Enlightenment on Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes (1746-1828), the Spanish painter and graphic artist. As his oeuvre is rather large, the series of etchings, published as *Los Caprichos*^a (1797-1799), have been selected to serve as examples for this investigation.

The intention in this introductory chapter is to broadly outline how the research gathered for this study is presented. In this mini-thesis, the Enlightenment is examined as an eighteenth century European phenomenon as a whole. The origins of rational thought are explored in chapter one. Philosophers and scientists are referred to, such as Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1543), Galileo Galilei (1564-1642), Francis Bacon (1561-1626), René Descartes (1596-1650) and Isaac Newton (1642-1727). These scientists and thinkers are important because they are central to understanding the background of the Enlightenment. They helped to lay the foundation of enlightened thought, namely, the critical assessment of the natural world, and man and woman's place in it.

In chapter two, the views expounded by various thinkers of the Enlightenment during the eighteenth century are briefly explained. The main emphasis of the information on the *Aufklärung*^b deals with specific concepts. Examples of these areas are, amongst others: the attack on the hypocritical clergy; the condemnation of ridiculous superstitions; the disapproval of an unacceptable educational standard, and criticism of the idle nobility. These principles have been highlighted because it appears that Goya may have been interested in them as they are depicted in *Los Caprichos*. There is no discussion of other enlightened ideals, such as financial reform or economic progress. Goya does not seem to have been concerned with these matters in this print

^a *Los* IS A SPANISH WORD FOR "THE". (VOX, 1973, P. 1155.) THE MEANING OF THE WORD *caprichos* IS DISCUSSED ON P. 92-93 AND ENDNOTE 45.

^b THIS IS THE GERMAN WORD FOR THE ENLIGHTENMENT. (TERRELL, 1991, P. 60.)

series. In addition, these aspects of rational thought are mentioned in relation to historical and social events, such as the French Revolution (1789-1793).

The research presented in chapter three is an introduction to the *Aufklärung* in Spain, and the subsequent progress that this country made during the eighteenth century (until 1788). These advances received support from the open-minded Spanish monarchy, who were from the French House of Bourbon, a cultivated royal family. How members of the French Bourbons came to be on the Spanish throne is briefly investigated. The progress made during the reigns of the first Spanish Bourbon kings, Philip 5 (1683-1746) and Ferdinand 6 (1713-1759), is indicated. These kings are important as Goya was born into this environment and these sovereigns laid the foundation for the rule of Charles 3 (1716-1788). The period from 1759 until 1788 forms the main focus of this chapter. Special importance is given to the impact of enlightened ideas in Spain, and how these principles affected the Spanish people. This period is investigated in detail, because while Charles 3 was on the throne, Goya was introduced to intellectual Spaniards. The main proponents of the Enlightenment in Spain, are therefore discussed with specific reference to those thinkers who met Goya and who could have influenced him. The philosophers studied are, for example: Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (1744-1811), Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez (1749-1829), Francisco de Cabarrús (1752-1810), and Leonardo Fernández de Moratín (1760-1828). The concepts and achievements of these *ilustrados*^c are evaluated, especially those beliefs that can clearly be seen in Goya's *Los Caprichos*.

The reign of Charles 4 (1748-1819) to the end of the eighteenth century is investigated in detail in the fourth chapter, as it was during his reign that Goya produced the *Caprichos*. The primary focus of this chapter is the investigation into the continuation of enlightened policies begun by the previous Spanish Bourbon monarchs examined in chapter three. This progress is compared against international events, such as the French Revolution (1789) and the Terror (1793-1794). The *ilustrados* mentioned in the

^c SPANISH TERM FOR THOSE PEOPLE WHO CAN BE CALLED ENLIGHTENED, LEARNED, INFORMED OR CULTIVATED. (VOX, 1973, P. 1111-1112.)

previous chapter, and their involvement in the Spanish *Aufklärung* are discussed in greater detail. In addition, the intriguing relationships at the Spanish court are explored, especially the favouritism shown to Manuel Godoy (1766-1851), the lover of Queen María Luisa (1751-1819). Mention is also made of any other incidents which occurred during the years preceding the publication of *Los Caprichos* in 1799, that may have influenced this print series.

In chapter five, the early life of Goya (before 1780) is briefly examined as this information has little bearing on the context of this mini-thesis where the main emphasis is on *Los Caprichos*. Most of the research gathered in this chapter concentrates on the interval from 1780 to the turn of the eighteenth century. The effect of the Enlightenment upon Goya is investigated in this chapter. Specific mention is made of any direct influence, from enlightened sources such as that of the *philosophes*^d, who (it is reasonably assumed) may have inspired Goya to create certain prints in *Los Caprichos*.

The discussion in chapter six focuses on *Los Caprichos* created by Goya between 1797 until 1799. Regrettably there is not enough space to comment on all eighty of these prints, so nineteen examples have been selected. The principles of the Enlightenment can be clearly seen in this chosen collection of etchings. Although these works are primarily chosen for their clear reform-minded subject-matter, they reflect the content of the series as a whole. The images singled out for examination are discussed in detail and reproductions are included in this, the penultimate chapter.

The above information is discussed and compared in the concluding chapter of this mini-thesis. Based upon the researched material and writing, an opinion regarding the influence of enlightened themes upon Goya's *Los Caprichos* is reached.

^d THIS IS A FRENCH TERM WHICH MEANS PHILOSOPHER. (MANSION, 1974, VOL. 2 P. 43.)

CHAPTER ONE

The origins of the eighteenth century Enlightenment.

*The Enlightenment is a name given by historians to an intellectual movement that was predominant in the Western world during the eighteenth century. ... [T]he thinkers of the Enlightenment (called **philosophes** in France, and **Aufklärer** in Germany) were committed to secular views based on reason or human understanding only, which they hoped would provide a basis for beneficial changes affecting every area of life and thought. (Grolier, 1993, "Enlightenment".)*

The Enlightenment of the eighteenth century did not develop overnight. Enlightened ideas originated when thinkers from previous centuries started to challenge the accepted theories of their day. Intellectuals questioned recognized hypotheses and beliefs especially in the light of new discoveries. The field of science (astronomy in particular) is an example of one area where prevalent opinions were challenged. For many centuries people based their comprehension of the celestial bodies on the opinions documented by the Egyptian astronomer Claudius Ptolemaeus (c.100-170 A.D.). Claudius Ptolemaeus (also called Ptolemy) believed that the Earth is round, motionless and at the centre of the Universe. He also theorised that the planets and the Sun revolve around the Earth and that the stars are fixed points of light in a rotating sphere which encloses the Universe. (Mitton, 1977, p. 398-402.)

One of the greatest contributors to the Ptolemaic theory was the Ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle (384-322 B.C.). Aristotle was the first person to propose that the Earth is round. During a lunar eclipse Aristotle observed that the Earth cast a circular shadow on the moon. Aristotle saw that heavy objects fell to the surface of the Earth, he therefore believed that the Earth is at the centre of the Universe. In addition, Aristotle suggested that the Earth is immobile and that the planets revolve around her in perfect circles. Astronomers, however, observed that the planets moved with varying directions, speeds and intensities of brightness. This information did not support what

Aristotle claimed. Other principles were developed in an attempt to explain the phenomena of planetary motion. One solution was offered by an Ancient Greek astronomer, Aristarchus of Samos (c.310 - c.230 B.C.). The writings of Aristarchus are lost today, but they are documented in the works of the Ancient Greek mathematician Archimedes (287-212 B.C.). Aristarchus hypothesized that the Earth and all the planets revolve around the Sun. Astronomers decided, however, to follow the geocentric concept proposed by Aristotle. Their reason was that apart from what Aristotle had theorised, common-sense dictated that a moving Earth would cause objects to fly off the planet. (Tarnas, 1991, p. 79-81 and Mitton, 1977, p. 402.)

Ptolemy, therefore, had to combine the accepted Hellenistic theory with observed data from astronomers. His solution is recorded in his work *Almagest* (c.150 A.D.)¹. Ptolemy held that the outermost sphere, which he believed to enclose the Universe and contains the fixed stars (as proposed by Aristotle), rotates westwards around the Earth. Each planet revolves in a small circle called an epicycle. The centre of this epicycle is placed on a larger circle called a deferent, which orbits the Earth in an easterly direction. This idea explained why the astronomers perceived what they did, and retained the accepted ideas of Aristotle. "The simplicity of the deferent - epicycle scheme, plus its explanation of variable brightness, made it the acknowledged victor in the quest for a viable astronomical model." (Tarnas, 1991, p. 81.)

Initially these added amendments to the imperfect Aristotelian theory enabled astronomers to determine the approximate routes of the planets. In the end, however, these modifications only resulted in "... an inelegant and overburdened conception which, despite all the complicated ad hoc devices, still failed to account for or predict observed planetary positions with reliable accuracy." (Tarnas, 1991, p. 248.)

One consequence of astronomers being unable to correctly predict the course of the planets, was the inability to arrive at an accurate calendar. By the Renaissance, the Catholic Church decided that a reliable calendar was needed in order to plan religious holidays and other administrative matters. In 1582, a new European calendar was

introduced by Pope Gregory 13 (1502-1585), named the Gregorian Calendar after him. The Gregorian Calendar replaced the Julian Calendar ² which had been created during the rule of Julius Caesar (100-44 B.C.). Pope Gregory 13 found that calendar calculations, based upon the Julian Calendar, resulted in lengthy years which caused Church celebrations to occur at incorrect times of the year ³. (Microsoft Encarta, 1993, "Calendar".)

Richard Tamas (1991, p. 249-251), the contemporary historian and philosopher, states that the Gregorian Calendar established by the Roman Catholic Church, was based on calculations according to the system proposed by the astronomer and Polish canon Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1543). In 1543, Copernicus published his theories on the solar system. These views are recorded in *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium* (On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres). The ideas proposed by Copernicus challenged the understanding that people had of the solar system. He devised a clear and precise formula for explaining the apparently erratic planetary movements. As a result of painstaking studies of classical literature which had become available through the transfer of ancient Greek manuscripts to the West from Constantinople (which fell to the Turks in 1453), Copernicus found the inspiration for his heliocentric concept. He discovered that past Greek philosophers, such as Aristarchus of Samos, had already proposed a moving Earth. No-one, however, had developed this hypothesis further. Based on these assumptions, Copernicus proposed that the World is a planet, which rotates daily on its axis, in the solar system. In addition, Copernicus believed the Earth revolves annually around the Sun in perfect circular motion, and that the Sun is the centre of the Universe. (Ibid., p. 537 and Microsoft Encarta, 1993, "Istanbul".)

Tamas (1991, p. 251-252) informs his readers that not everyone readily accepted this new proposal to explain planetary motion. Initially, opposition to the Copernican theory came from the Protestants ⁴. The German theologian Martin Luther (1483-1546) in particular, was critical of Copernicus's theory. To the Protestants, the Scripture is the absolute authority and the Holy Bible states that the Earth is stationary ⁵. Luther, therefore, rejected the theory by Copernicus, as it contradicted the Bible.

The Roman Catholic Church has a history of allowing the exploration of the philosophies and thoughts of pagan cultures (such as Ancient Greece). An Italian philosopher, Giordano Bruno (1548-1600), taught his students the Copernican theory. This in itself was not frowned upon by the Church. What was condemned was that Bruno taught that the Universe extended indefinitely, without a fixed centre, and that there were other inhabited worlds in the Universe. This caused great anger and in 1600 Bruno was burnt at the stake by the Inquisition for heresy. Roman Catholic theologians now disapproved of the Copernican concept being taught. (Mitton, 1977, p. 403.)

The dilemma raised by Copernicus and Bruno was this: if the Earth did move then the world, and people, could no longer be seen as the central focus of God's creation. The conviction that the Son of God came to Earth implied that the world had to be important. This belief was the central focus of human history, since ancient times. To remove this view meant that humans were insignificant, and that God was not personally involved with each individual. Earth had to be unique to be significant in God's plan of salvation. In the sixteenth century, the Catholic Church could no longer stand by the Copernican theory of a heliocentric Universe and, together with the Protestants, rejected this new idea ⁶. (Tamas, 1991, p. 253-254.)

Although the Church tried to ban any literature that advocated Copernicus's view, the concept found its way to other parts of the world (like the newly conquered South America). Scientists and nonprofessionals alike found the hypothesis not only plausible, but liberating because people could rely upon their own reason to create better lives for themselves. The stand by the Church against the Copernican theory, contradicted her claim to strive for a full understanding of the Universe. The rift between the Church and science had begun, and they no longer seemed to be compatible. (Tamas, 1991, p. 258-261.)

Copernicus had provided the first break with the old idea of the Universe, yet his hypothesis still relied upon Ptolemy's assumption that the paths travelled by the planets around the Sun were circular. In addition, the theory of Copernicus did not deal with the

question of why objects did not fall off the Earth as she travelled around the Sun. Johannes Kepler (1571-1630) was to provide the answer for one of these problems. In 1601, Kepler was appointed as Imperial astronomer and mathematician to the Holy Roman Emperor. He was successor to Tycho de Brahe (1546-1601). De Brahe left Kepler with numerous written records of astronomical observations. This data, coupled with a strong belief in the Copernican system, motivated Kepler to find a simple mathematical explanation for planetary motion. After almost ten years of grappling with the conundrum, Kepler came to the conclusion that the course of planetary motion was not a perfect circle around the Sun. Rather, Kepler believed that the orbital path of the planets was in the shape of an ellipse. In addition, he proposed that the speed of a planet decreases as it travels away from the Sun. These findings effectively replaced the previous ideas of circular and uniform planetary motion. (Tamas, 1991, p. 256.)

By coincidence, in the same year that Kepler published his laws in *The New Astronomy* (1609), Galileo Galilei (1564-1642), an Italian physicist and astronomer, supplied the necessary observed evidence to prove the validity of the Copernican notion. In 1609, Galileo constructed a powerful telescope enabling him to perceive, with his own eyes, planetary motions which supported the theories of Copernicus. Galileo published his findings in *The Starry Messenger* (1610). (Keeling, 1968, p. 41.)

Intellectuals from all disciplines realised that the method of Galileo, who based his ideas on first hand observation, was crucial as the basis for all theories. This was contrary to the contemporary process of Scholastic reasoning. Scholasticism relied solely upon the comparing and contrasting of written works by accepted authorities, which produced a regurgitation of inherited principles. Scholasticism was derived ultimately from Aristotle and was developed to reconcile the philosophy of Aristotle and the doctrines of the Christian Church. (Cottingham, 1989, p. 4-6.)

The English intellectual Francis Bacon (1561-1626) is an example of a rationalist who condemned Scholasticism. In 1620, he published *Indications Respecting the Interpretation of Nature*. In this treatise Bacon pointed out the reverence given to

preconceived attitudes and blind belief in authorities, such as the Ancient Greek philosopher Plato (428-347 BC), Aristotle and the Church. (Microsoft Encarta, 1993, "Bacon, Francis, 1st Baron Verulam and Viscount Saint Albans".)

Bacon was convinced that through the process of observation and experimentation, people could evolve laws that were understandable and executable. This method is known as **inductive reasoning**. The English thinker believed that philosophers should collect the raw materials for their proposals, from nature. By studying her lessons they should digest what had been observed and construct sound theories. Bacon insisted upon a balance between experience and observation on the one hand, and understanding and reason on the other. He did not, however, see the gathering of knowledge as the ultimate purpose of the thinker. Bacon viewed the goal of science as providing human life with new discoveries and power. The dream for people to experience happier, healthier and longer lives was to become the rallying cry of eighteenth century *ilustrados*, and the motivating factor behind many of their principles. Intellectuals believed that happiness on earth could be achieved if people used their acquired knowledge to understand their environment. Rather than submitting to events as being the will of God, men and women could understand why natural disasters occurred and either avoid them or prepare for them. By doing this, they could gain a degree of control over their lives. (Gay, 1966, p. 16-17.)

Slowly, the idea of a heliocentric planetary system, as maintained by Copernicus, was being verified by observed data and consistent logical explanation. The questions that had not been resolved, however, were: why did no objects fall from the Earth as she travelled through space, and what kept the planets on their orbital paths? The solution to these puzzles was begun by René Descartes (1596-1650), a French philosopher and mathematician.

Descartes adapted the idea of Atomism to provide a plausible explanation for the problems mentioned above. Atomism, basically stated, is the belief that the Universe is made up of varying amounts of atoms combined in different ways. These atoms do

not possess intelligence, but are rather arranged according to some mathematical structure. Descartes proposed that since the world was made up of atoms, and she orbited the Sun in an ellipse, some force was preventing these atoms from continuing past the Sun in a straight path. Therefore, he believed that some force was continually causing the planets to fall towards the Sun. (Tamas, 1991, p. 266-268.)

Descartes further assumed that the Universe is like a perfectly ordered machine which operates according to certain laws. (This way of thinking is known as **mechanical rationalism**.) He was convinced that through the application of mathematics, people could understand these laws and manipulate them in order to experience a better life. (Tamas, 1991, p. 278-279.)

In 1641, Descartes established a method of reasoning which he proposed in *Discours de la Méthode* (Discourse on Method). Descartes was determined not to accept that anything was true if he did not know clearly that it was so, and to avoid any preconceived ideas. The system he employed was to break the problem up into smaller parts, and the whole would be understood by logically comprehending each of the smaller areas. (Lee, 1984, p. 251.) This process of reasoning is called **deductive reasoning**, and it became an important intellectual tool.

The idea of the Universe as a machine which operates according to simple laws, as theorized by Descartes, was validated by the discoveries of an English mathematician. In 1687, Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727) published his discoveries and opinions in *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*. These findings had tremendous repercussions among eighteenth century enlightened thinkers. The most important breakthrough by Newton was his calculation of the principle of gravity. The English intellectual arrived at this notion by observing an apple fall to the ground and mathematically compared this phenomenon to the Universe. Newton reasoned that a force called gravity caused the planets to fall towards the Sun without losing any objects in spite of their motion. As a result of his realisation of gravity, Newton could explain not only the motions of the planets and the comets, but also the phases of the

moon which affected the tides of the sea. (Gay, 1966, p. 20.) The fact was that through **deductive reasoning** Newton could take three unrelated events into consideration (for example the moon changing the tides and the apple not falling off the Earth) and conclude that gravity is responsible for the latter fact. Thus Newton had provided the final explanation which completed the new theory of planetary motion begun by Copernicus, and also demonstrated that the Universe is governed by natural laws.

At the dawn of the eighteenth century, most educated men and women in the West believed that God had created a universe which functioned according to simple and logical mathematical laws. On the grounds of this conclusion, people assumed that God was like a clockmaker, who after creating the Universe, simply let it run according to basic mathematical principles. As a result of this regularity, people began to view the Universe as an impersonal phenomenon. (Tamas, 1991, p. 270-271.) These theories gave rise to the famous **natural law** concept of the eighteenth century Enlightenment. These simple and logical mathematical laws which God had used to create the Universe, and seen in nature, were applied by the philosophers to every aspect of society, for example: religion, government and education.

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER ONE

1. PTOLEMY PRESENTED HIS OBSERVATIONS AND THEORIES IN A THIRTEEN-PART WORK CALLED *Mathematike Syntaxis* (MATHEMATICAL COMPOSITION). THE WORK BECAME KNOWN AS *Almagest* WHICH IS A COMBINATION OF GREEK AND ARABIC MEANING *THE GREATEST*. (GROMAN, 1993, VOL. 15 P. 833.)
2. IN 45 B.C. THIS CALENDAR WAS ESTABLISHED BY CAESAR. IT WAS BASED ON A YEAR WHICH WAS MADE UP OF THREE HUNDRED SIXTY-FIVE AND ONE QUARTER DAYS. THE ACCUMULATED QUARTER DAYS WERE DEALT WITH EVERY FOUR YEARS BY A PRACTICE CALLED THE LEAP YEAR (WHICH IS STILL OBSERVED TODAY). THE ORDER OF THE MONTHS AND THE DAYS OF THE WEEK, USED IN THE JULIAN CALENDAR, IS USED TODAY IN THE MODERN CALENDAR. (MICROSOFT ENCARTA, 1993, "JULIUS CAESAR".)
3. IN 1582, THE VERNAL EQUINOX TOOK PLACE TEN DAYS EARLY, ON 11 MARCH INSTEAD OF 21 MARCH. THIS RESULTED IN CHURCH HOLIDAYS, SUCH AS EASTER, BEING CELEBRATED TOO LATE IN THE YEAR. THE COUNCIL OF NICEA HAD DECIDED, IN 325 A.D., THAT EASTER SHOULD BE CELEBRATED ON THE FIRST SUNDAY AFTER THE FULL MOON FOLLOWING THE VERNAL EQUINOX. TO RECTIFY THE SITUATION, POPE GREGORY 13 INSTRUCTED THAT THE EXTRA TEN DAYS BE REMOVED FROM THE CALENDAR. OTHER NAMES FOR THE GREGORIAN CALENDAR ARE THE NEW STYLE CALENDAR, AND THE CHRISTIAN CALENDAR (THE YEAR OF THE BIRTH OF CHRIST IS USED AS THE FIRST YEAR). (MICROSOFT ENCARTA, 1993, "CALENDAR" AND "EASTER".)
4. IN 1517 THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION WAS INITIATED IN GERMANY BY LUTHER WHEN HE NAILED HIS NINETY-FIVE THESES TO THE CATHEDRAL DOOR. IN THIS WORK LUTHER CRITICISED THE CATHOLIC CHURCH FOR ACCEPTING MONEY FROM PEOPLE AS PAYMENT FOR PENANCES IMPOSED BY THE CHURCH. THESE PENALTIES ALSO INCLUDED THOSE WHICH GOD MAY ENFORCE IN THE AFTERLIFE (FOR EXAMPLE PURGATORY). THE CHURCH USED THE MONEY RAISED FROM THIS EXERCISE TO FINANCE BUILDING, AMONGST OTHER THINGS. IN ADDITION, LUTHER CONDEMNED THE HIERARCHY OF THE CHURCH FOR BECOMING, IN HIS OPINION, IRRELIGIOUS AND WEALTHY. (TARNAS, 1991, P. 233-234.)
5. PSALM 93 VERSE 1 STATES "THE WORLD IS FIRMLY ESTABLISHED; IT CANNOT BE MOVED." (BARKER, 1985, P. 885.)
6. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, IN PARTICULAR, BELIEVED THAT THE EARTH WAS THE CENTRE OF THE UNIVERSE AND THE CHURCH WAS THE CENTRE OF THE EARTH. AS SUCCESSORS TO THE DISCIPLE PETER, WHOM JESUS APPOINTED TO "BUILD HIS CHURCH", THE POPES USED THIS TO 'BLACKMAIL' AND TO IMPOSE THEIR AUTHORITY ON THE EARTHLY MATTERS OF EUROPE. IN SHORT, THEY MEDDLED IN POLITICS. (CANTOR, 1976, P. 116.)

CHAPTER TWO

The eighteenth century Enlightenment.

The intellectuals of the Enlightenment were inspired by the practice Newton employed to formulate his theories. He had illustrated that people can conquer their misunderstanding about the mysteries of the planets by using **reason**. The *philosophes* "... emphasized the use of reason as the best method of learning truth." (Groman, 1993, vol. 1 p. 182.) To aid people in their quest to comprehend the solar system, Newton relied upon a process known as the **scientific method**. This procedure was firmly based upon first hand examination of phenomena and on experimentation (the same **inductive observational reasoning** advocated by Bacon). Using these two aspects, people must then use their reason to arrive at a logical conclusion (the same **deductive mathematical reasoning** employed by Descartes). (Tamas, 1991, p. 280.)

Another influential figure in the formation of eighteenth century enlightened thought, is an English philosopher and contemporary of Newton, John Locke (1632-1704). In his work *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), Locke provided the philosophical and psychological foundation on which the philosophers constructed their faith in reason.

"Let us then suppose the mind to be, as we say, white paper, void of all characters, without any ideas. How comes it to be furnished? ... Whence has it all the materials of reason and knowledge?" (II.i.2) Locke replied to his own questions that we get all our ideas from experience, the two fountainheads of which are sensation and reflection. (Edwards, 1967, vol. 4 p. 491.)

According to Locke, the impressions gained through sensation and reflection, enabled people to acquire their knowledge of the world. Locke proposed that people are not born with innate opinions of right and wrong, as Plato had suggested. Locke believed that if every person is born with a mind like a *tabula rasa* (blank slate), and finds their knowledge of the World from their senses, then everyone is born with the ability to reason. This idea went against the currently accepted beliefs (promoted by the religious

thinkers) that God placed basic ideas into people at birth. (Anderson, 1987, p. 411 and Tamas, 1991, p. 333-334.) If people came to understand the workings of the Universe by using reason and the scientific method, then other areas of their life could also benefit from this process.

These important findings by the English philosophers were brought to France early in the eighteenth century by François Marie Arouet (1694-1778), also known as Voltaire. In 1734, he wrote *Lettres Anglaises ou Philosophiques* (Letters on the English), based upon observations in England which impressed him. Voltaire wrote this work after a period of exile in England, and it is thought to have influenced liberal thought on the Continent. Through his *Lettres Anglaises ou Philosophiques*, he criticised the political and ecclesiastical institutions of France, opposed religious intolerance, and the power that the Church possessed through lands and money. He promoted **the empiricism of Locke and the scientific method proposed by Newton**. (Edwards, 1967, vol. 8 p. 262-263, Microsoft Encarta, 1993, "Voltaire" and Anchor, 1967, p. 57-61.)

Other *philosophes* were also motivated by a deep faith in the ability of the mind to learn the truths of nature by relying upon first-hand observation, experimentation and reason. Through these processes intellectuals felt able to evaluate other non-scientific areas (criticism was a major aspect of the Enlightenment). Every aspect of society, from government and religion to land ownership and class structure, was analysed. Nothing and no-one (on the grounds of social standing or ecclesiastical authority) could claim immunity from this enlightened censure. No longer did people accept their position in society and their misfortunes and happiness as being bestowed upon them by God. Rather, people realised that by using their intellect they could arrive at their own conclusions, and that they could make their own decisions about the world. (Ford, 1973, p. 79-80.)

Armed with science, reason, and empirical facts, the Enlightenment saw itself as engaged in a noble struggle against the constricting medieval darkness of Church dogma and popular superstition, tied to a backward and tyrannical political structure of corrupt privilege. (Tamas, 1991, p. 312.)
(Bold emphasis by this author.)

Not only were the writings of English thinkers important in promoting enlightened thought, but works by French intellectuals were also influential in this eighteenth century reform-minded movement. In 1697 the *Discours de la Méthode* (Discourse on Method) by Descartes was published. In it appears, amongst others, the famous phrase *cogito ergo sum* (I think therefore I am) through which Descartes implied that truth is attainable **by the individual** through logical reasoning without interference **by previously held beliefs** or other agencies like the Church. (Rudé, 1972, p. 156.)

The new idea of the Universe as a machine which ran according to understandable laws was contrary to the traditional Christian view of the world as central and important in the Universe. Towards the end of the seventeenth century numerous books were written by thinkers who rationally criticised concepts of orthodox Christian dogma. There was nothing, however, in the work of these seventeenth century philosophers which was necessarily opposed to **religion**. In fact, most of these scholars were sincere believers. One of these people was John Locke. He argued in *The Reasonableness of Christianity* (1694) that a thinking person must be a believer, because doctrines such as obeying a Supreme Creator were constant with reason and experience. Indeed, Locke was convinced that the voice of God was seen in people as the voice of reason. Locke, however, discouraged any features of traditional faith which human reason found irrational. He also maintained that true religion should neither depend upon external display of vanity or importance, nor in the exercising of ecclesiastical power, control or authority, such as the authority given to Bishops over their congregations. Locke supported a tolerance amongst different beliefs, where no person invaded the civil rights of another under the pretence of religion. In addition, he viewed churches as buildings in which men and women voluntarily gathered to publicly worship God. (Yolton, 1985, p. 50 and p. 77-78.)

Locke was not the only seventeenth century intellectual who questioned established religious practices. The French philosopher Pierre Bayle (1647-1706) wrote *Historical and Critical Dictionary* (1697) in which he criticised religious tradition, dogmatism and fanaticism. Bayle opposed any religion which is based upon imposed emotion, and

firmly believed in religious tolerance, which would allow non-Christians to practise their religions. (Groman, 1993, vol. 2 p. 163.)

Out of the rational thinking of Locke and the dictionary of Bayle, a religion evolved called **Natural Religion** or **Deism**. An Irish philosopher John Toland (1670-1722), was a leading exponent of Deism. In his book, *Christianity Not Mysterious* (1696), Toland condemned a belief in the divinity of Scripture, because he felt this dogma was not based on evidence or rational proof. He argued that clerics manipulated their congregations into accepting unreasonable doctrines for example, pure faith. (Cobban, 1969, p. 270 and Microsoft Encarta, 1993, "Toland, John".)

Central to Deistic thought was the idea that God did exist, but only because the mechanical Universe needed a creator. This inventor set the Universe in motion and left it to run on its own without intervening. The Deists believed that there was no place for original sin or grace. They also held the opinion that no formal church was necessary to worship God. Pious observances, sacraments and religious rites in Churches were discarded by the enlightened thinkers. Deism only required intellect and faith. The Universe, therefore, had origins, order and purpose without the need for a priesthood. True reverence was perceived as inward worship with the heart, mind and soul, and a devotion to good deeds, such as helping those in need. (Hazard, 1954, p. 114-115, and Anchor, 1967, p. 60.)

A second important aspect of Deism is that there are certain religious ideas which are innate, intuitive and universal to humanity, such as: God exists; people will receive some kind of reward or punishment in a future life for their present behaviour, and everyone owes certain fundamental duties to God and their neighbour.

If man came into the world with all the beliefs essential for salvation already imprinted on his heart, of what real value were the theological systems and dogmatic complexities, the liturgical and ceremonial elaborations, with which nearly all existing churches were in varying degrees encrusted? (Anderson, 1987, p. 437-438.)

Criticism, as has been noted earlier, was a major aspect of enlightened thought. The

Church received a lot of censure from the Deist thinkers. The Deists maintained that Nature, having absorbed the attributes of God the clockmaker, could now be the only basis for religion. Nature was seen as the work of God, and humans the product of Nature. People and all that they think and do are, therefore, in harmony with the laws of Nature and thus in harmony with God. Deist believers viewed evil as unnatural behaviour. Voltaire, for example, believed that the whole human race had a common morality, that is, Natural Religion, and he was passionately against the evils that the Church had allowed in waging religious wars, burning witches and heretics, amongst other things. David Hume (1711-1776), a Scottish philosopher, saw a reasonable person believing in miracles as being a contradiction in terms. The Frenchman Baron de Montesquieu (1689-1755) attacked the Pope calling him a magician, using a Persian traveller as his spokesperson in his *Lettres Persanes* (1721)⁷. It must nevertheless be noted that although the *philosophes* evaluated aspects of Christianity, they did not seek to destroy religion. They wanted to build up something new, namely Natural Religion. This, they claimed, would eradicate the oppressive hold of superstition, ignorance and spiritual control, which they claimed dominated people's lives. (Porter, 1990, p. 32-33 and Anchor, 1967, p. 57-61.)

In general, the philosophers were against any religion which lay beyond personal control. The German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) maintained that the fundamental aspect of the enlightened era was a pursuit to escape the past confines of religious traditions and structures. These opinions of Kant were at the heart of what most contemporary enlightened thinkers thought: namely, that people must analyse every belief they encountered and reject anything that did not withstand the test of reason. The discovery of unrecorded species of animals in overseas countries, prompted the *philosophes* to challenge the Christian view that all animals were saved in the Ark. By the middle of the eighteenth century most thinkers refused to accept the biblical explanation for the origins of humankind, plants, animals and the world. (Black, 1990, p. 186-187 and Anderson, 1987, p. 412.)

The *ilustrados* criticised the dogma taught by the Church that God imparted knowledge

to the clergy about the origins of life, amongst other things, because this theory could not hold against the light of reason without revealing contradictory elements. (Hazard, 1954, p. 51.)

Although enlightened philosophers viewed evil as unnatural behaviour, they realised that people did not always act rationally. Initially they theorized that this occurred because something was preventing people from exercising their reason. They observed, however, that even when men and women were informed, they did not always act accordingly. The *philosophes* believed that there was a relationship between the emotions and reason. “ Even exalted rationalists had to admit the existence of ethical prompting in the nonintellectual [sic] side of human nature (i.e. [sic], in the passions).” (Goetz, 1986, vol. 18 p. 759.) The British economist and philosopher Adam Smith (1723-1790) stated in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) that sympathy was a guiding emotion in human conduct. Even Voltaire believed that humans are compassionate, a quality not observed in animals. What then was the relation between this morality of people (which was rooted in his emotions) and reason? Most intellectuals believed that reason should function as a brake to keep the passions in check. Locke stated that pleasure and pain, caused by good and evil, form the hinges on which our passions turn. Few enlightened thinkers, however, were ready to make the pursuit of pleasure a moral code in itself. To restrain moral anarchy the philosophers designed a code based on the welfare of the community. The philosophers believed in the greatest happiness for the greatest number. One such intellectual, Montesquieu, assumed that there was a harmony between self-interest and the common good of all.

This **moral standard** for the people, which was planned by the enlightened thinkers, was not reliant upon divine law, nor dominated by theology. The *philosophes* saw the desire to promote the wellbeing of the people as the path for a moral person to follow. Passions were not viewed as bad signs, but as vital to humans as sap is to a plant. Reason, however, was seen as the rudder, compass and chart that would direct those passions in the right direction. Evil was a result of ignorance of and disobedience in the

relationship between nature and reason. (Hazard, 1954, p. xviii, and p. 160-163.)

This new moral code was, however, viewed by the Churches (i.e. both Catholic and Protestant) as being irreligious. Consequently all enlightened ideas (and those thinkers who promoted them) were treated by the Churches with scepticism whether it was warranted or not. It was generally the Catholic Church (particularly in France, Spain and Italy) which took the initiative in condemning or prohibiting the new ideas. In addition, people feared going against the traditional beliefs of the Church. The Church had a great hold over people with the threat of excommunication. Those people who chose to agree with the new open-minded thoughts were excommunicated ⁸. (Groman, 1993, vol. 13 p. 449 and Rudé, 1972, p. 163.)

The Church used the Roman **Inquisition** ⁹ to aid them in the suppression of other religious beliefs, and to prevent the publication of any work that questioned the ways of the Catholic Church. In 1478, the Spanish monarch King Ferdinand 5 (1452-1516) was granted papal approval from Pope Sixtus 4 (1414-1484) to establish the Spanish Inquisition. The initial aim of this Inquisition was to deal with heretics, such as Jews who had insincerely converted to Christianity. Within a few years of the founding of the Spanish Inquisition, the papacy relinquished virtually all supervision of it to the sovereigns. Priests from the Church were, however, appointed as officers in the Inquisition. (Microsoft Encarta, 1993, "Inquisition" and "Ferdinand V".)

In 1542, alarmed by the spread of Protestantism (and especially its penetration into Italy) Pope Paul 3 (1468-1549) established in Rome the Congregation of the Inquisition (also known as the Roman Inquisition or the Holy Office). This office was generally concerned with ensuring that the writings of theologians and high churchmen conformed to orthodox Catholic belief. In 1559, the Catholic Church compiled the first *Index of Forbidden Books* ¹⁰. This was a catalogue that listed books considered dangerous to the Catholic faith and morals. Excommunication was the penalty for reading, selling or passing on of any literature listed on the index without first obtaining permission from the Church. (Microsoft Encarta, 1993, "Inquisition".)

Traditionally accepted Church dogma was not the only area of eighteenth century life that the *ilustrados* criticised. Enlightened thinkers believed that existing **political structures** and **codes of law** should be subjected to the same enquiry that was directed at accepted religious doctrines. These social regulations should not be accepted without question. Instead, their origins needed to be discovered. If these traditional social beliefs did not withstand the use of reason, then the *philosophes* could not honour them. (Seligman, 1957, vol. 5 p. 547-548.)

Interestingly, the first notable theory in political philosophy during this new age of mechanical rationalism, was one of **absolutism**. The English philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), believed that people basically sought pleasure and tried to escape pain. Hobbes stated in *Leviathan* (1651), that this urge was best satisfied if people made a social compact to resign their individual powers to a common superior power, such as a sovereign. In turn, this authority would protect each person as well as satisfy human desires for contentment. (Microsoft Encarta, 1993, "Political Theory" and Goetz, 1986, vol. 18 p. 760.)

John Locke accepted parts of this theory promoted by Hobbes, such as a monarch providing protection. Locke believed, however, that sovereignty should never be seen as a divine institution, because each individual has rights which should not be taken away from them. He argued that unsurpassed authority did not reside with one person or a body of people, such as the State, but rather with all the people. Locke suggested that the State is supreme, only if it is bound by **natural laws**. For Locke, natural law should be apparent to all rational beings. Natural law, he believed, had endowed humans with rights, principal among which were life, liberty, and property. In his *Two Treatise of Government* (1690), Locke argued that a political community was only formed for the protection of individual rights. Government was derived from the consent of the people and it functioned by majority rule. (Goetz, 1986, vol. 18 p. 760 and Microsoft Encarta, 1993, "Locke, John".)

The *philosophes* all wanted a government which would promote peace, prosperity,

justice and welfare in the society. In addition, they believed that those who govern should not do so as a result of hereditary succession, because this led only to a maintaining of the present state of affairs (especially the defence of existing property rights and privileges). The *ilustrados* saw the basic requirements of society as: liberty of thought and expression; freedom to publish anything; toleration of all religions; rights for minorities to worship, and the right to own property. (Porter, 1990, p. 28.)

Voltaire was one of these enlightened thinkers who used reason to critically evaluate the existing institutions and values of the Old Regime. In *Lettres Anglaises ou Philosophiques* (1734), the French thinker advocated personal liberty, legal equality, freedom of thought and freedom of expression; he strongly opposed feudal privileges. In addition, Voltaire firmly believed that all people were equal; all had a right to own property, and no-one should be allowed to have sole hold on land. According to Voltaire, the problem with the imperfect world is that society is divided into two classes. One of these classes is wealthy, and they rule. The other class consists of the poor, whose purpose is to obey. (Hazard, 1954, p. 176-177 and Anchor, 1967, p. 57-59.)

These intellectuals recognised that government had to be constituted so that the authorities could not abuse their power over the people, and that everyone had to obey the laws laid down for the good of all. Thus they proposed that there be a **social contract**. This was a voluntary agreement among people defining the relationship of individuals with one another and with government. Intellectual thinkers believed that through this process a distinct, organized society would be formed. During the Enlightenment, the theory of a social contract among individuals of a society was linked with the doctrine of natural law. (Hazard, 1954, p. 180 and Microsoft Encarta, 1993, "Social Contract".)

In 1762, a Swiss philosopher, Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), who settled in France in 1745, wrote *Du Contat Social* (The Social Contract). In this work, Rousseau defended the democratic form of government. Rousseau trusted the 'general will' of democratic people, as expressed by a vote of the majority, to make all important

decisions. By defending the popular will against divine right in *Du Contrat Social*, Rousseau developed a case for civil liberty and helped prepare the ideological background for the French Revolution. (Microsoft Encarta, 1993, "Jean Jacques Rousseau".)

Another aspect that the *philosophes* believed was vital to people in the eighteenth century, was **education**. In the latter part of the seventeenth century Locke wrote two works, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) and *Thoughts concerning Education* (1693). From these books, scholars can trace the enlightened belief that the human mind is formed because of the sense impressions received from the outside world. Humans were thus seen by the *ilustrados* as highly teachable, and enlightened beliefs and ideas could be imprinted through education. People may, it seemed, be made virtuous merely by providing them with the right environment, combined with the appropriate set of positive and enlightened stimuli. This meant, in practical terms, subjecting men and women to simple, just and comprehensible laws and, most important of all, appropriate education. It is from the Enlightenment and its inheritance from Locke that a faith in the power of education to reform people and society stemmed. (Anderson, 1987, p. 411.)

The historian Herr (1958, p. 6) states that Rousseau, in his book *Émile* (1762), insisted that the right kind of education would keep children away from the evil influences of society. A child's intellect, according to Rousseau, would be developed by observation, experience and natural law. He criticised the system of rote instruction practised in contemporary church schools, which had a near monopoly on education. He also expounded a new theory of education, emphasizing the importance of expression rather than repression to produce a well-balanced, freethinking child. In his book, Rousseau advocated the postponing of religious education until adolescence and recommended a form of natural religion.

Another area of eighteenth century life which was affected by empirical science (experimentation and observation as opposed to theory) was the **visual arts**.

Intellectuals criticised the prevailing trend in painting known as Rococo ¹¹, which they considered to be frivolous and excessively elaborate. In 1774, a new artistic style, called **Neoclassicism**, was deliberately enforced by the French Academy ¹². This style originated from a revived interest in antiquity following the excavation of the ruins of the cities of Herculaneum in 1738 and Pompeii in 1748. Neoclassical artists sought to replace the sensuality and apparent triviality of the Rococo style with a style governed by logic, solemnity in tone, and moralization. Antique statues influenced the artists to paint imposing figures in calm and static poses. Neoclassical theories agreed with many enlightened ideals, namely that culture should be exemplary, amongst other things. Neoclassicists believed that there must be a lesson in the painting for the spectator and the artist was persuaded to illustrate what is morally good. History painting, portraying high ideals or admirable actions by people, were the main subjects for the Neoclassical artists. (Black, 1990, p. 247.)

A man who was influential in the development of Neoclassicism was the German art-historian Johann Winckelmann (1717-1768). Winckelmann extolled the noble simplicity and calm grandeur of Greco-Roman art, urging artists to study and imitate these timeless and majestic works. Winckelmann maintained that the Greeks must be copied because their art represented a perfect and beautiful ideal. In an article entitled *Reflections upon the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture* (1755), Winckelmann portrayed an idealised Greek society, and encouraged a strict imitation of this ancient civilization. He maintained that the triumph of this type of art is the serenity it bestows on the tragedy of human life. This article became a 'bible' to art lovers of the eighteenth century who admired Greek art. He also said that the study of Greek art would serve as an excellent guide to create a perfect person. In 1764, Winckelmann wrote *History of Art in Antiquity* where he discussed the various developments of styles and forms of art history, relating them to their political and social history. (Blackwell, 1992, p. 362-363 and p. 553-554.)

Denis Diderot (1713-1784), the art critic and encyclopedist, attributed political, social and moral ends to painting. He denounced the French painter François Boucher

(1703-1770) whose work he found lewd, and sang the praises of another French artist Jean Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805), who painted sentimental moralizing family melodramas, such as *The ungrateful son* (1765). The French mathematician, philosopher and encyclopedist Jean d'Alembert (1717-1783) believed that art must devote itself to the imitation of what is beautiful in nature and represent objects capable of arousing pleasant emotions in the beholder. (Blackwell, 1992, p. 42 and de Nanteuil, 1990, p. 9.)

The aim of the Neoclassical artist to paint a moral subject in a style that is reminiscent of the calm and imposing poses of antique statues, are elements which are clearly evident in the paintings of the French painter, Jacques Louis David (1748-1825). His *Oath of the Horatii* (1784-1785) celebrates the theme of stoic patriotism, painted in the neoclassical style¹³. (Microsoft Encarta, 1993, "Neoclassical Art and Architecture".)

Criticism of contemporary art was introduced during the Enlightenment, and articles were published in journals, periodicals and pamphlets. When the *Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture* began exhibiting frequently from 1737, art reviews regularly appeared. These critiques on art encouraged people to examine art and discuss it critically. In doing so the critics often relied on the writings of the *philosophes* to evaluate a work of art. The enlightened thinkers believed the public should be the judge of art. Art, they believed, should not be aimed at an élitist audience nor considered a luxury commodity, but be accessible to everybody. (Blackwell, 1992, p. 40-43.)

During the eighteenth century, a major achievement by the *ilustrados* was the compiling and recording of all contemporary knowledge and making it available to the people. The *Encyclopédie*, which appeared in Paris in twenty-eight volumes from 1751-1772, was influenced by the two-volumed English work, *Cyclopaedia* (1728), by Ephraim Chambers (1680-1740). A French publisher, Andre le Breton wanted a French translation of this work by Chambers. This task was given to Diderot and d'Alembert, who produced *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers* (Encyclopedia or Systematic Dictionary of Sciences, Arts and Trades), usually called

L'encyclopédie. Articles were written by other enlightened people, among whom were: Rousseau, Montesquieu, and Voltaire. (Grolier, 1993, "Encyclopedia" and Microsoft Encarta, 1993, "Encyclopedia".)

The *Encyclopédie*, was the largest single publishing venture of the century and attempted to summarize the whole of human knowledge as it then existed. Diderot wanted to produce a rational encyclopedia which would help to eradicate the superstitious, and irrational ideals of his time. (Anderson, 1987, p. 410.)

The importance of the Encyclopédie in the Enlightenment is twofold. In the first place it was a vehicle for the most advanced ideas of the 18th [sic] century. The attack on revealed religion is prominent in its pages. There are assaults on despotism and intolerance. The Lockean principle that all knowledge is based on experience and that all ideas come from the senses; the critique of orthodox doctrines on the nature and immortality of the soul; the assertion of materialism; the economic and scientific thought of the age; to some extent, though less, its historiography: all these find expression in the Encyclopédie. (Cobban, 1969, p. 275.)

This mammoth and informative publication explained the sciences and arts so that no prior knowledge in this field was necessary to understand the articles. The commentaries were kept to the essential facts, and were not written using difficult terminology but in a style that everyone could understand. This work enabled the ordinary person to possess a library which could provide information on everything from the camera obscura to weaving machines. The encyclopedia was an indication of the time. People from royalty to commoners were hungry to feed their minds; they wanted to understand the new ideas, new discoveries and the various new inventions. (Hazard, 1954, p. 202 and 209.)

The ideas of the Enlightenment were also spread, via word of mouth, by people who met at salons, academies, reading societies and coffee houses. At these meeting places the conversation often turned to the innovative theories in circulation. Books that were too expensive to be purchased new, were often available second hand, and domestic servants and craftsmen heard many of these ideas from their masters. Cartoons and pictures were also used to illustrate enlightened ideas to the lower class

who were illiterate¹⁴. Hume believed that the manner in which enlightened ideas were expressed was as important as the ideas themselves. The messages of the Enlightenment were often conveyed in as simple and attractive a manner as possible. Even the complex theories of Newton were explained for children through nursery toys and games¹⁵. (Dunthorne, 1994, p. 18-20.)

Just as there were positive aspects of this enlightened period, there were also **pitfalls**. The *philosophes* were not 'men of the people'. Socially, most originated from nobility or the professional middle classes, and the circles in which they moved were predominantly aristocratic. It was generally taken for granted that the masses were incapable of being taught the culture and manners of the upper-class. The *ilustrados* envisaged an extension of basic education to the lower classes, to promote obedience and industry. Generally, enlightened thinkers addressed their thoughts to the classes above the masses. Even Diderot (the son of a craftsman) was selective in his choice of audience. From a sociological point of view, the Enlightenment was, in short, an élite addressing élites, including the wealthy, the nobility, the clergy, local administrators, lawyers, doctors and journalists (amongst others). This exclusion of a vast majority of the population was a major weakness of the Enlightenment. Philosophers, such as Voltaire amongst others, believed that reason only influenced the educated portion of the people. The ideas of the Enlightenment, therefore, failed to gain the appeal of the masses. Many philosophical concepts were distorted to suit certain people, such as those who tried to justify the retention of traditional privileges. (Dunthorne, 1994, p. 16-18 and Lee, 1984, p. 254.)

In addition, during the period which led up to the French Revolution, each class made use of the theories extolled by the leading French philosophers to express their opposition to the policies of the regime. It is often assumed that Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau exerted a direct influence on the growth of revolutionary feeling, and thereby precipitated the events of 1789. In reality, however, the growth of dissent was not actually stimulated by the philosophers. Nevertheless, quotations were liberally taken from the writings of the *ilustrados*, to support many protests. The undermining of

religion by the eighteenth century *philosophes* could have resulted in the absence of morals of the French Revolutionary Terror ¹⁶. The Terror that followed the French Revolution severely tested the belief that men and women could govern themselves. (Lee, 1984, p. 293, Porter, 1990, p. 9 and Goetz, 1986, vol. 4 p. 504.)

In addition, even some monarchs and administrators were not above using the proposed reforms to suit their own needs, such as increasing their own power and authority by penalising the poor and the weak. The social 'misfits' (i.e. the old, sick, beggars, petty criminals and the mad, among others) were taken off the streets and lumped together as an unreasonable social 'residue' and locked up in institutions. (Porter, 1990, p. 9.)

A minor failing of the Enlightenment was that the *philosophes* often did not agree with each other's theories. This, however, was usually on some finer points of a theory. Generally the open-minded intellectuals were of one voice in most matters.

[They] shared a general commitment to criticising the injustices and exposing the inefficiencies of the ancien régime; to emancipating man, through knowledge, education and science, from the chains of ignorance and error, superstition, theological dogma, and the dead hand of the clergy; to installing a new mood of hope for a better future; and to practical action for creating greater prosperity, fairer laws, milder government, religious tolerance, intellectual freedom, expert administration and not least, heightened individual self-awareness. (Porter, 1990, p. 5.)

In spite of the difficulties mentioned above, the *ilustrados* did inspire a positive mood through the concepts that they proposed. From this framework of logical thinking and critical appraisal of life, progress seemed inevitable. Enlightened intellectuals of the eighteenth century believed that the proper education of the human mind in the correct social environment would surely result in a rational individual, whose actions would be for the good of everyone. Thus a world where everything could flourish would be created. The dream of happiness seemed a not too distant or unattainable reality.

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER TWO

7. IN THIS WORK MONTESQUIEU RELATES THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN TWO TRAVELLERS, USEB AND RICA. THEY ARE TRAVELLING FROM PERSIA THROUGH EUROPE, AT THE TIME OF THE DEATH OF LOUIS 14. THESE TWO TRAVELLERS RECORD: THE STRUGGLES OF THE JESUITS AND THE JANSENISTS; THE FINANCIAL EXPERIMENTS OF JOHN LAW (1671-1729), THE SCOTTISH FINANCIER, AND THE NEW PHILOSOPHICAL IDEAS THAT WERE MOVING THROUGH EUROPE. (COBBAN, 1969, P. 271.)

8. "TO EXCOMMUNICATE A PERSON MEANT TO CUT THE PERSON OFF COMPLETELY FROM THE CHURCH AND [TO] TAKE AWAY THE PERSON'S HOPE OF GOING TO HEAVEN." (GROMAN, 1993, VOL. 13 P. 449 AND RUDÉ, 1972, P. 163.)

9. THE ORIGINS OF THE INQUISITION STEM FROM THE MIDDLE AGES WHERE A JUDICIAL ARM OF THE PAPACY WAS ESTABLISHED. THE AIM OF THIS BODY WAS TO SEEK OUT, TRY AND SENTENCE PERSONS GUILTY OF HERESY. IN 1252 POPE INNOCENT 4 (1200-1254) OFFICIALLY SANCTIONED THE USE OF TORTURE TO EXTRACT THE TRUTH FROM SUSPECTS. PENANCES AND SENTENCES MAY HAVE BEEN RELATIVELY LIGHT OR WOULD HAVE INCLUDED BURNING AT A PUBLIC CEREMONY KNOWN AS *auto-da-fé* (PORTUGUESE FOR 'ACT OF FAITH'). BY THE TIME OF THE REFORMATION, THIS OFFICE BECAME KNOWN AS THE INQUISITION (OR HOLY OFFICE) AND HAD WIDE-RANGING POWERS, SUCH AS THE CONFISCATION OF PROPERTY, IMPRISONMENT AND *auto-da-fé*, AMONGST OTHERS. SOMETIMES OFFENDERS HAD A CROSS, MADE FROM TWO PIECES OF RED CLOTH, SEWN ONTO AN OUTER GARMENT. THIS USED TO MARK PEOPLE WHO MADE FALSE ACCUSATIONS. (MICROSOFT ENCARTA, 1993, "INQUISITION," AND "AUTO-DA-FÉ".)

10. GALILEO'S WORK, *DIALOGUE CONCERNING THE TWO CHIEF WORLD SYSTEMS* (1632), WHICH EXTOLLED THE COPERNICAN SYSTEM, WAS ONE BOOK PLACED ON THE *INDEX OF FORBIDDEN BOOKS*. GALILEO WAS ALSO TRIED BY THE INQUISITION AND FORCED TO RECANT HIS BELIEF IN THE COPERNICAN SYSTEM. (MICROSOFT ENCARTA, 1993, "INQUISITION".)

11. THE PERIOD OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ROCOCO PAINTING (CHARACTERIZED BY LIGHTNESS, DELICACY, AND CURVILINEAR ORNAMENTATION) ROUGHLY CORRESPONDS WITH THE REIGN OF THE FRENCH KING LOUIS 15 (1715-1774). THIS STYLE STEMS FROM THE CANVASES OF ANTOINE WATTEAU (1684-1721). THE WORD ROCOCO IS DERIVED FROM THE FRENCH *rocaille*, (ROCK-WORK), AND, IN PAINTING THE HALLMARK OF THE ROCOCO STYLE IS A LIGHT-HEARTED SUBJECT-MATTER. NOTABLE PAINTERS FROM THIS PERIOD ARE FRANÇOIS BOUCHER (1703-1770) AND JEAN HONORÉ FRAGONARD (1732-1806). (MICROSOFT ENCARTA, 1993, "ROCOCO STYLE".)

12. "AS IN POLITICS, THE POSITION OF THE INTELLECTUAL PARTY HAD GROWN CONSISTENTLY STRONGER, AND ITS PRESSURE FOR HISTORICAL AND MORAL PAINTING AT THE EXPENSE OF GENRES LIKE LANDSCAPE AND PORTRAIT BECAME MORE INSISTENT; THIS POLICY HAD THE BLESSING OF D'ANGIVILLER, *Directeur des Bâtiments* SINCE 1774. ... HIS POLICY ON ART WAS ALL DIDEROT COULD HAVE WISHED FOR. HISTORICAL PAINTING WAS TO HAVE AN EVEN MORE PREDOMINANT PLACE AT THE ACADEMY, ITSELF IN THE SERVICE OF THE MONARCHY. THE SOCIAL PURPOSE OF ART WAS TO EDIFY AND TO CONTRIBUTE TO MORAL REGENERATION." (SCHNAPPER, 1980, P. 59.)

13. THE NEOCLASSICAL STYLE CONSISTED OF: A FREEZE-LIKE ARRANGEMENT OF THE FIGURES; COMPOSITIONAL LOGIC AND CLARITY; FIRM LINEAR CONTOURS AND STRONG LIGHT, AND FIGURES PAINTED IN A STATUESQUE MANNER. JEAN AUGUSTE DOMINIQUE INGRES (1786-1867), ONE OF DAVID'S PUPILS, ADOPTED THIS TWO-DIMENSIONAL APPROACH, AS SEEN IN HIS POPULAR EARLY WORK *THE ENVOYS FROM AGAMEMNON* (1801). (MICROSOFT ENCARTA, 1993, "NEOCLASSICAL ART AND ARCHITECTURE".)

14. THE ENGLISH ARTIST WILLIAM HOGARTH (1697-1764) PUBLISHED A SET OF FOUR CHEAP PRINTS IN 1751 CALLED THE *FOUR STAGES OF CRUELTY*. THE SERIES CONDEMNED CRUELTY TO ANIMALS WHICH, ACCORDING TO HOGARTH, WAS PREVALENT IN THE COUNTRY. (DUNTHORNE, 1994, P. 20.)

15. JOHN NEWBURY WROTE A BOOK FOR CHILDREN CALLED *TOM TELESCOPE'S PHILOSOPHY OF TOPS AND BALLS* (1761). FRANCESCO ALGAROTTI WROTE *Il Newtonianismo per la dame* (1737), A BOOK ADDRESSED SPECIFICALLY TO WOMEN READERS EXPLAINING THE THEORIES OF LIGHT AND GRAVITY. (DUNTHORNE, 1994, P. 18.)

16. THE PERIOD FROM APRIL 1793 TO JULY 1794, IS KNOWN AS THE REIGN OF TERROR. IN ALL OF FRANCE, ALMOST SEVENTEEN THOUSAND PEOPLE WERE EXECUTED BY REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNALS. THE TOTAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO DIED (INCLUDING PRISONERS WHO PERISHED IN OVERCROWDED, DISEASE-RIDDEN PRISONS AND REVOLUTIONARIES WHO WERE SHOT ON THE BATTLE FIELD) IS APPROXIMATELY FORTY THOUSAND. (MICROSOFT ENCARTA, 1993, "FRENCH REVOLUTION".)

CHAPTER THREE

The Enlightenment in Spain, 1700 - 1788.

At the turn of the seventeenth century, the monarch on the Spanish throne was Charles 2 (1661-1700), from the House of Hapsburg ¹⁷. Charles 2, called Carlos the Sufferer, was afflicted with syphilis which he inherited from his father Philip 4 (1605-1665) ¹⁸. His poor health reflected Spanish conditions at the time. The currency of Spain was weak, her industry was run down and the population was disheartened.

Castile ¹⁹ was dying, both economically and politically. ... Spain's prospects as a European power clearly depended on Castile's capacity for recovery from the debilitating weakness of the middle years of the century. The immediate need was a long period of good government; but unfortunately there was no one capable of providing it. ... At a moment when inquiring minds in other parts of Europe were turning towards philosophical and scientific investigation, the spirit of enquiry was almost dead in Castile. (Elliot, 1978, p. 361-367.)

The blame for the lack of Spanish reform cannot rest solely upon the shoulders of an unfit king. According to the historian Williams (1972, p. 118-121), the Spanish aristocracy lacked the ability or courage to address the problems which beset Spain. In 1683 the Venetian ambassador, Federico Cornaro, wrote that Spanish *grandees* ^e have great power, yet considered the interests of the crown or the welfare of the public. In addition, the monarchy needed money and allowed people to buy titles, thereby allowing anyone with enough money to possess the status of nobility.

By comparison, England for example was a country which was embracing the intellectual advances of the pre-Enlightenment thinkers ²⁰. In *The New Atlantis* (1627), Francis Bacon described his plan for an ideal community, suggesting amongst others, the formation of scientific academies. A few institutions did exist before Bacon wrote

^e THIS IS A SPANISH OR PORTUGUESE TERM FOR NOBILITY OF THE HIGHEST RANK. (MURRAY, 1970, VOL. 4 P. 349.)

his book, but after the work was published, they sprung up everywhere. One such learned body, *The Royal Society of London for the Improvement of Natural Knowledge*, was founded in 1662. Every prominent thinker in England belonged to this society, with the greatest of them being Isaac Newton. This organization held regular meetings to discuss philosophy, new inventions and experiments, generally encouraging scientific inquiry. (Gay, 1966, p.14-17.) In Spain, no academies of this nature existed, which was probably the result of an ailing king on the throne.

Charles 2 was left with no heir to his kingdom, in spite of two marriages. In his will written on 2 October 1700, Charles 2 bequeathed the Spanish throne to the Bourbon House in France, specifically to the grandson of Louis 14 (1638-1715), Philip Duke of Anjou (1683-1746)²¹. The French monarchy had a claim to the Spanish throne through the marriage of Louis 14 of France to Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip 4 of Spain. (Lynch, 1981, p. 274-275.)

When Charles 2 died on 1 November 1700, Philip of Anjou inherited the throne of Spain. It was, however, only after a war known as the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714)²², that he was accepted by European powers as Philip 5, King of Spain. Philip 5. Inspired by the developments in France under the rule of Louis 14²³, he appointed enlightened thinkers to positions of responsibility in the Spanish government. With ministers like Jean Orry (1652-1719), Cardinal Giulio Alberoni (1664-1752) and José del Patiño (1666-1736), Spain started to develop. There was a partial relief from the excessive demands of taxes on people, particularly the farmers. Orry abolished pensions, grants and concessions previously lavished on court favourites. Alberoni carried the administrative reforms of Orry a stage further and simplified the institutions of government. He reorganised the army and navy, and did away with internal customs barriers. These reforms went a long way towards restoring the economic situation. In 1717, Patiño became Minister of Marine and Minister of the Indies, and later Minister of Finance. By means of a system of bounties, Patiño encouraged Spanish trade with the Americas and the Philippines; his financial reforms carried on the work initiated by Alberoni. (Bertrand, 1952, p. 281-291.)

During the early decades of the eighteenth century, many monarchs were influenced by the culture of the court of Louis 14. This can be seen particularly in the numerous copies of his royal palace at Versailles. When Philip 5 came to the Spanish throne, many French technicians and skilled workers moved to Spain as well. The new Spanish king was inspired by the architecture of his grandfather's palace, and ordered a similar structure to be built at La Granja. The designers were French or French-trained architects. There were also influences from French painters, sculptors or cabinet-makers to be seen. (Hume, 1899, p. 381 and Anderson, 1987, p. 89, p. 405-406.)

On the 9 of July 1746, Philip 5 was struck with apoplexy and died. His crown was passed to Ferdinand, his second son²⁴. Ferdinand 6 (1713-1759), sometimes called 'the learned', ruled Spain from 1746 until 1759. The new monarch abandoned the old Spanish policy of foreign entanglements and kept Spain noncombatant in the face of neighbouring warfare. One such example is the neutral position held by Spain during the early part of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763)²⁵. (Microsoft Encarta, 1993, "Ferdinand VI".)

Ferdinand 6 apparently enjoyed the peace that Spain was experiencing, and left the running of the government to two liberal ministers. They were: Cenón de Somomdevilla (1702-1781), who was the Marqués de la Ensenada, and José de Carvajal (?-1754) a descendant from the English House of Lancaster. Ensenada sympathized with French ways, whereas Carvajal tolerated one powerful friend, England: their conflicting inclinations did much to counteract any dominant influence from either country. These peaceful years allowed both these statesmen to devote themselves to a variety of internal reforms that encouraged growth in Spanish industry. Carvajal attempted to revive Spanish industry by encouraging the immigration of skilled foreign workers. He was a man of the utmost integrity, and controlled the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1743 he became Minister of Finance, War, Marine and the Indies, and his reforms were extensive. He continued the financial and economic policy of Patiño, improved industry by the building of modern roads and canals and removed the existing ban on the export of metals which resulted in many Spanish mines being reopened. His greatest financial

improvement was the abolishment of tax-farming which caused the revenue of the treasury to rise. (Cowie, 1987, p. 176-177 and Petrie, 1971, p. 71.)

Another reform the King and his ministers insisted upon was that of the *Santo Oficio de la Inquisición* (also known as the Spanish Inquisition). The Inquisition, during the reign of Philip 5, had continued its proceedings with vigour. Seven hundred and twenty-eight *auto-da-fé* (see endnote 9) were held and fourteen thousand sentences were imposed. Ferdinand 6 did not allow the Inquisition to have such a free reign, and he began to restrict their activities. One result of this restraint was that offenders were punished less violently and unreasonably. (Hume, 1899, p. 391 and Rudé, 1972, p. 131.)

The reign of Ferdinand 6 stimulated great intellectual development. Academies were established, and learned bodies were founded with increasing regularity. In 1752, the Spanish monarch instituted the Academy of Fine Arts and encouraged culture through generous subsidies. Financial assistance and scholarships were awarded to scientists, artists and academics. This enabled intellectuals to pursue their research in Spain and abroad. Foreign scholars were also welcomed into the country. When Ferdinand 6 died, Spain was a peaceful nation on the road to reform but still not on the same level as England. (Bertrand, 1952, p. 292 and Grolier, 1993, "Ferdinand VI, King of Spain".)

An intellectual supported by Ferdinand 6 was the Benedictine monk, Benito Jerónimo Feijóo y Montenegro (1676-1764). Feijóo spent most of his life at the University of Oviedo. His nine-volumed work *Treatro Crítico Universal* (1726-1741) and the five-volumed *Cartas Eruditas* (1742-1760) contained sections that condemned the ignorant superstitions of the Spanish people and advocated the rationalistic ideas of the eighteenth century. His views, however, were denounced by the traditionalists who accused him of being dominated by foreign ideas. Though the works of Feijóo were critical, as a monk his religious convictions prevented him from criticising Christian doctrines, such as divine theology. Nevertheless, Feijóo was greatly influenced by the writings of Bacon and Newton, and is considered by historians to be the first exponent of the Spanish Enlightenment. (Seligman, 1957, vol. 6 p. 179 and Bowle, 1979, p. 475.)

The art historian Pierre Gassier (1983, p. 12) writes that it was during this peaceful and progressive reign of Ferdinand 6 that Francisco de Goya (1746-1828) was born.

Ferdinand 6 was childless and in his will he bequeathed the right to the Spanish throne to his elder half-brother, Charles (1716-1788)²⁶. Charles was already an experienced ruler. He had reigned as Charles 4 king of the Two Sicilies (also called the Kingdom of Naples) from 1734 until 1759. When Ferdinand 6 died, Charles renounced the Neapolitan throne in favour of his third son. (Cowie, 1987, p. 177 and Microsoft Encarta, 1993, "Sicily".)

Unlike Spain, Italy was open to the new ways of thinking, and under the guidance of his Italian secretary of state, Bernard Tanucci, Charles tried to eradicate the feudalism and clericalism which was so strong in this kingdom. With the help of Tanucci, he did make progress: the number of priests and monasteries was limited; tribute was no longer paid to the Pope, and the Jesuits were expelled (see p. 35-36). In addition, the king of Naples supported the excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum. Unfortunately little headway was made in rectifying the problems of poverty, disease and lawlessness. In 1759, when Charles ascended the Spanish throne he became known as Charles 3. From his period of rule in Naples Charles brought to Spain important ideas, necessary experience and the methods for enlightened reform. These were principally: the need to continue the leadership of the monarchy; to control the nobility and especially the church, and for economic stability. (Scott, 1990, p. 126, Ogg, 1977, p. 234, p. 236-237 and Williams, 1972, p. 136.)

Charles 3 was an enlightened despot²⁷. The greatest talent of this Spanish Bourbon king was his ability to select effective ministers; he continually tried to improve his government by appointing competent people; he chose his advisers and ministers not from the traditionalists, nor from the aristocracy, but from a small group of thinkers who promoted enlightened concepts and set the pace of reform. Supported by these extraordinarily capable ministers, he fought against the conservative habits of the masses and the clergy. He also very daringly decreed in 1762 that papal bulls and

briefs could not be published in Spain without royal permission. (Williams, 1972, p. 137-139 and Gassier, 1981, p. 29.) These open-minded ministers

... had a clear vision of Spain's needs and a desire to undertake its economic and social transformation. ... [They] were responsible for many measures that encouraged prosperity and the spread of the spirit of cultivation, as in enlightened and Encyclopedist France. (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. 3.)

One able minister who accompanied Charles 3 to his new throne in Spain was an Italian, Marchese di **Squillace** (called the Marqués de Esquilache by the Spaniards)²⁸. The Spanish king appointed him as Secretary of the Treasury and in 1763 as Minister of War. The Marqués brought enlightened change to Spain. He tried to amend the poor state of the Treasury by imposing a single tax according to the wealth of each individual. Privileged groups (such as the nobility), however, refused to pay, and no serious tax-reform was ever achieved. He further angered the *grandees* by placing members of the lower nobility, especially university graduates who were trained in the law like Patiño and Ensenada, in any vacancies in the *Consejo de Castilla* (Council of Castile) ²⁹. In addition, Esquilache started changes at the expense of the Church. In 1760, Church courts were prohibited from detaining parishioners or confiscating their property without the permission of the State courts. Furthermore, taxes would now have to be paid by the Church to the State on any property it had acquired. (Williams, 1972, p. 137-139.)

The Spaniards experienced other hardships during this time. Bad harvests were recorded from 1763-1765 which caused the price of food to climb, and the arrival from America of accumulated coin money from the war created inflation. The Spanish people were also irritated by the increase in taxes by Esquilache. This additional revenue was used to pay for the further improvements of Madrid, such as the installation of street lamps. Perhaps the most difficult reform for the Spaniards to accept was when Esquilache, on 10 March 1766, forbade men from wearing a cape and wide sombrero. This ruling was passed to ensure that thieves and criminals could not escape the authorities by using clothing to hide their faces or any weapons. The *pueblo*^f were

^f THIS IS A SPANISH TERM FOR 'THE PEOPLE'. (VOX, 1973, P. 1273.)

incensed about this attack on their traditional dress and their response was riots on Palm Sunday, 23 March 1766, known as the Mutiny of Esquilache. As a result of the revolt Esquilache fled; a mob seized the capital and the king was forced to revoke the order on 24 March. In 1766-1767 Goya painted a work depicting this riot. He was in Madrid at the time of the unrest and probably witnessed the event first hand. (Herr, 1958, p. 20-21 and Gassier, 1983, p. 24.)

The uprising of the *pueblo* made Charles 3 realise that the Spaniards would not accept reform immediately. The monarch, however, was not deterred from his positive attitude towards enlightened reform. Pedro Pablo Abarca y Bolea (1718-1798), known as the Count of **Aranda** filled the vacancy left by Esquilache at the head of the administration. The Count was an intelligent man who was anti-clerical, an ardent supporter of reform and determined to bring Spain in line with the rest of enlightened Europe. Aranda had met Voltaire and Diderot when he was in France in 1750 and developed sympathy for the ideas of the Enlightenment. Aranda was President of the *Consejo de Castilla* from 1766 until 1773. In 1773, he relinquished his presidency to become the ambassador to France where he further absorbed the outlook of the French Enlightenment and saw how this movement had overcome the power of the Church. (Williams, 1972, p. 140, Hume, 1899, p. 395, p. 398-399, Gassier, 1981, p. 397 and Ogg, 1977, p. 234.)

Aranda convinced Charles 3 that the Jesuits instigated the riots of 1766. Although there is no historical evidence to support this claim, researchers believe that the Jesuits were attempting to dislodge Esquilache from power and discourage Charles 3 from making any further reforms. Members of this order had been observed among the people, and it is possible that they used their influence to incite the mob. On the 31 March 1767, Charles 3 issued an order expelling the Jesuits from Spain and Spanish America. Eventually, with the help of the French court, Charles 3 managed, on 21 July 1773, to convince Pope Clement 14 (1705-1774) to ban the Jesuit order. (Herr, 1958, p. 22, Petrie, 1971, p.134-135 and Goetz, 1986, vol. 1. p. 516-517.)

Another of the 'extraordinarily capable ministers' of Charles 3, was Don José Moñino

y Redondo (1728-1808), the Conde de **Floridablanca**. The count

... was a leading figure in Spanish political life under Carlos III and one of the outstanding representatives of the Enlightenment. ... During the height of the Enlightenment in Spain, Floridablanca demonstrated a marked concern for the economic regeneration of the country, the development of industry and commerce, and the protection of the arts. He distinguished himself especially in attending to the problems of agriculture and irrigation and undertaking important hydraulic works, dams, and canals. (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. 8-10.)

In 1773, Floridablanca was sent to Rome, where he managed to convince Pope Clement 14 to dissolve the Jesuit order throughout Christendom. For this accomplishment, Charles 3 bestowed the title of count on Floridablanca. In 1777, the Count was appointed Prime Minister. He was also Secretary of State and Secretary for Ecclesiastical Affairs and Justice from 1776 until 1792. Goya painted his portrait in 1783 while Floridablanca was Prime Minister. This portrait marks the beginning of a period when Goya painted many important personalities (see endnote 41). (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. 3, p. 8-10, Gassier, 1983, p. 104 and Williams, 1972, p. 140.)

As Secretary of State, Floridablanca tried to transform some unenlightened areas of Spanish life. For example, he criticised people who lived from begging and tried to rectify this situation by sponsoring vocational schools and workhouses. To help the farmers, Floridablanca established public credit agencies which lent capital to farmers. He was also involved in most areas of government reform, such as trade, industry and agriculture. He also persuaded Charles 3 to establish a type of cabinet, called the *junta de estado* which held regular meetings which all royal ministers attended, to discuss and coordinate policies. (Goetz, 1986, vol. 4 p. 842.)

Pedro Rodríguez, Count of **Campomanes**, was another *ilustrados* in the Spanish ministry. He was a member of the *Consejo de Castilla* from 1762 until 1783, and was President of this society from 1783 to 1791. In 1774 he issued a publication *Dissertation on the Development of Popular Industry*. This work caused frenzied activity as economic societies were established in almost every town in Spain. (Williams, 1972, p. 140 and Gassier, 1983, p. 154, p. 165.)

Gaspar Melchor de **Jovellanos** (1744-1811) was another enlightened minister of Charles 3. Jovellanos was

... without a doubt the greatest intellectual of the Spanish Enlightenment. ...his goal was always to bring about Spain's cultural renaissance. His intellectual life was centred on economic and political questions; he believed that the means by which transformation of the country could be achieved was educational reform, and to this purpose he dedicated a large part of his writings. (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. 69-71.)

In 1767 Jovellanos was appointed *Alcalde de Crimen* (Criminal Magistrate) and later became an *Oidor* (Judge) in Seville, where he lived until 1778. There he put into practice the new interpretation of justice inspired by the Italian legal theorist Cesare Bonesana Beccaria (1738-1794)³⁰. In 1778, Jovellanos went to Madrid to fill a post as *Alcalde de la Casa y Corte* (Magistrate of the Royal House and Court). He was elected as a judge in 1778 and soon became a member of the *Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País* (Economic Society of Friends of the Nation). In 1780 Jovellanos was received into the Academy of History and became an honorary member of numerous academies of San Fernando, in particular *de Bellas Artes* (Fine Arts), *Española* (Language) and *de Derecho* (Law). He was also elected Director of the Royal Economic Society of Madrid in 1784. Goya painted his portrait twice, once in 1784 and again in 1798. (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. 69, Williams, 1972, p. 140 and Gassier, 1981, p.133.)

The ministers of Charles 3, mentioned above, were not the only reform minded thinkers in Spain. Other men and women (many of whom were close friends of Goya) also fervently supported enlightened change in Spain. One of these men was Francisco de **Cabarrús** (1752-1810). Cabarrús, born in Bayonne, a merchant, who was well-known as a competent economist and financier. In 1782 he founded the Bank of San Carlos and had a successful career associated with this financial institution.

Cabarrús's character, as we know it from his letters to Jovellanos in 1792, was altogether unconventional. He was a sensitive, fiery, and impassioned spirit who, concerned about the problems of his day, sought solutions that sometimes seemed scandalous to his contemporaries. (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. 34.)

One of these 'scandalous solutions', proposed by Cabarrús was that every one should

receive education, including the poor. Cabarrús, amongst others, questioned the system of land being inherited and of the right of the first born to succeed his ancestor. He requested that inheritance be limited to a mere title, without privileges. In 1788 Goya painted his portrait (see p. 39 and p. 64). (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. 34 and Gassier, 1983, p. 113.)

On the recommendation of Jovellanos, the enlightened poet and playwright Leonardo Fernández de **Moratin** (1760-1828) became secretary to Cabarrús in 1786 and accompanied the banker to France in 1787. The poet was later to enjoy the patronage and protection of Manuel de Godoy (1766-1851), the future Prime Minister of Spain. The support of Godoy was invaluable to Moratin and enabled him to stage his plays in Madrid. The playwright was an *ilustrados*, who was one outstanding representative of French classicism in Spain and a faithful friend of Goya. Gassier believes that much of the inspiration behind *Los Caprichos* came from Moratin. Goya painted his portrait in 1799. (Gassier, 1981, p. 68, p. 135 and Gassier, 1983, p. 171.)

Another enlightened man (and a friend of Goya) was the *philosophe* Juan Antonio **Mélendez Valdés** (1755-1817). Mélendez Valdés was a poet and lawyer. In 1797, he was appointed attorney in Madrid and in the same year Goya painted his portrait. This Spanish intellectual was particularly concerned with the conditions in prisons and lunatic asylums. This is also the subject of some paintings done by Goya (see p. 60). (Gassier, 1981, p. 135.) Mélendez Valdés discussed the social problems of his time in his poetry, in which he also attempted to voice the ideals of the Enlightenment (see p. 72).

Juan Agustín **Ceán Bermúdez** (1749-1829) was an enlightened thinker who held a post in an administrative department of the Bank of San Carlos from 1783. He was a protégé of Jovellanos and a well-known art historian of his time. Ceán Bermúdez was elected to the Academy of San Fernando in 1798. Goya drew his portrait for *Diccionario Histórico de los Mas Ilustres Profesores de las Bellas Artes en España* (Historical Dictionary of the Most Famous Masters of the Fine Arts in Spain). This is a work by Ceán

Bermúdez, which was to be illustrated with engravings copied from portrait drawings by Goya (see p. 60-61). It was through Ceán Bermúdez that Goya received the commission to paint six portraits for the Bank of San Carlos, one of which was that of Cabarrús. (Gassier, 1981, p. 61, p. 136 and Gassier, 1983, p. 165.)

One obstacle in the way of enlightened Spanish transformation was the **Inquisition**. Although this Holy Office was restricted during the reign of Ferdinand 6, it was not completely banned. In 1768, a memorandum written by Floridablanca and Campomanes, stated that the Inquisition was a fanatical institution in Spain. These two ministers accused the Inquisition of being attached to the Jesuits (who had already been expelled from Spain) by professing the same doctrines. Their recommendation was that this organization should be reformed. (Herr, 1958, p. 28.)

Although Charles 3 tried to bring this powerful establishment under control, the Inquisition was left in place. Even the enlightened minister Aranda agreed that it had to continue its existence. Most Spaniards believed that the safety of Christianity itself was dependent on it, and that it was the basis of Spanish identity. The Inquisition policed the Spanish people, and even a valuable civil servant, Pablo de Olávide, fell foul of this organisation. Olávide, a reader of the *philosophes*, was responsible for reforming the university syllabuses, and corresponded with Voltaire and Rousseau. During the years 1776 until 1778, Olávide was arrested by the Inquisition on an undocumented charge. The sentence passed down by the Holy Office included eight years re-education in a monastery and the confiscation his property. Gassier believes the judgement and treatment of Olávide (which occurred in the same year that Jovellanos arrived in Madrid) caused the latter, who knew Olávide, to advocate amongst others, religious tolerance. (Williams, 1972, p. 146 and Gassier, 1983, p. 165.)

During the reign of Charles 3, however, there was a general reduction in the number of burnings and violent tortures by the Inquisition. Subjected to close ministerial scrutiny and the control of reformist inquisitor generals (such as Felipe Bertrán) the

Inquisition lost most of its threat for intellectuals during this king's reign. (Scott, 1990, p. 138.)

Another impediment in the way of Spanish reform was the **educational system**. The expulsion of the Jesuits led to extensive changes in the field of higher education, in which their influence had been powerful. The schools, colleges and universities of Spain had up until the banishment of the Jesuits been relatively free from royal direction. They were primarily controlled by the religious orders that supplied them with teachers and books. The most effective means the Jesuits had employed to dominate the universities was their control of the *colegios mayores*³¹. In 1771, following the lead of Olávide, the government launched a programme for the reform of educational institutions. This began with an edict calling for the modernization of all textbooks and curricula in the light of contemporary science. Experimental methods in science and medicine were introduced, and thinkers like Bacon, Descartes, Locke and Kant were read and discussed. In addition, a director was appointed by the crown for each university, and the universities were regularly inspected by the crown. (Atkinson, 1960, p. 239 and Herr, 1958, p. 24-25.)

Before Spanish education could change to enlightened ways, however, there was a dead weight of traditionalism to shift. The historian Williams (1972, p. 147-148) quotes a report from Salamanca, the leading university in Spain, to the government. Williams takes this quotation from page nineteen of the fourth volume edited by Vicens Vives:

We have heard tell of a man called Obbés [Hobbes], and of the Englishman Jean Lochio [Locke], whose works comprise four books, but the first author is very terse; the second, besides being not at all clear, must be read with extreme caution; and we are right not to give such a work to our young men, and thus avoid the damage that can arise from such doctrines.

Jovellanos, a progressive advisor to the Spanish king, regarded reform in the area of education as essential for the advancement of the economy. In a report of 1784, Jovellanos criticised the teaching of outdated subjects such as ancient Latin and old philosophy. These antiquated courses, he believed, were only useful for training people like chaplains, friars and clerks of which there was an abundance in Spain. Jovellanos

stated that what the Spanish economy needed were sailors and artisans, because there was a scarcity of workers in these professions. (Williams, 1972, p. 147-148.) These ideals were carried out more slowly than the *philosophes* would have liked.

During the reign of Charles 3 many **societies** were formed. The great centrepiece of Spanish intellectual and technological modernisation was the *Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País* (Economic Society of Friends of the Nation) which came into existence in 1765. The function of this society was to promote all areas of economic activity in Spain. In addition, this society played an extremely important role, backed by the enlightened government, in the cultural development of eighteenth-century Spanish society. Their task, as the minister Campomanes defined it, was to bring together reform-minded people merchants, civil servants, the middle ranks of the nobility, clerics, and ranking bureaucrats. This group of Spaniards was the nearest that the nation had to an enterprising bourgeoisie. In these various societies they would inspire each other and outsiders to undertake the tasks of reformation. If the ministers in Madrid were the captains of reform, the members of the economic societies would provide its crew. In 1775, after much prodding by Campomanes, the **Royal Economic Society** was begun in Madrid by the clergy and nobility. By 1776, seven societies had been established, and by 1789 these societies existed in fifty-six towns and cities. They engaged in a wide range of promotional and educational programmes, establishing primary and secondary schools, such as schools for weaving and spinning, museums, libraries, workshops and factories. In addition, scientific research was financed, and papers were published. The societies also conducted scientific, agricultural and industrial surveys as well as experiments, and they reformed charitable institutions. Some societies accepted women members which helped to integrate women into the provincial reform movement. (Scott, 1990, p. 136, Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. 3, p. 38-40 and Williams, 1972, p. 148.)

Pedro de Alcántara, the **Duke of Osuna** (1755-?), was a typical member of the Spanish **enlightened nobility**. The Duke was interested in technical innovations, scientific progress, the arts and literature. Osuna had a magnificent library which contained

works on classical literature, history, travel, and science. He supported innovations in science and cultural expression in his role as President of the *Sociedad Económica Madrileña* (Madrid Economic Society) and as a founder of the *Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País* (Economic Society of Friends of the Nation) in Benavente, where he had property. In 1787 the *Real Academia Española* (Spanish Royal Academy) named Osuna an honorary member and in 1793 made him a regular member. In addition, the Osuna mansion was a meeting place for intellectuals and artists, such as the poet Tomás Iriarte and the playwright and poet Moratín (both men were friends with Goya). Goya painted a group portrait of the Osuna family in 1788. (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. 38-40 and Gassier, 1981, p. 64.)

María Josefa Alonso Pimentel, the **Duchess of Osuna** (also known as the Condes-duquesa de Benavente), embodied many enlightened characteristics.

She distinguished herself as a model of the enlightened woman, who used her position and wealth to support the work of scientists, artists and writers. As one interested in culture and progress, immersed in a world she wished to improve, she epitomized the intellectual of her age. (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. 14.)

The Duchess was one of the first women who was admitted to the *Sociedad Económica Madrileña*. She was also president of the *Junta de Damas* (Women's Council of the Society)³². In addition, the Duchess of Osuna was a patron to many artists, not least of these being Goya. As well as being a benefactress, she was a member of an association which supported Spanish opera. Goya painted her portrait in 1785. (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. 14 and Gassier, 1981, p. 65.)

As far as the arts were concerned, Charles 3 found that there were few painters and decorators at the Spanish court when he arrived in 1759. He summoned two of the greatest painters in Europe to the Spanish court. One of these was the German Neoclassicist Anton Raphael Mengs (1728-1779). Nine months after Mengs arrived, the Venetian painter Giambattista Tiepolo (1696-1770) arrived with his two sons Grandomenico and Lorenzo. Thanks to Mengs, the royal collections were considerably enriched during the reign of Charles 3. The Spanish king also had the foresight not to

destroy the nude paintings inherited from his ancestors. (Royal puritans had advised Charles 3 to condemn these works to the fire.) Furthermore, he sponsored the royal factories, *Buen Retiro* for porcelain and the *Real Fábrica de Santa Bárbara* for tapestries. Between 1775 and 1780, Goya delivered thirty-nine paintings to this tapestry factory (see p. 58). (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. 3 and Gassier, 1983, p. 14-19, p. 64.)

Charles 3, during his reign, continued the improvements begun in Spain in the early eighteenth century by the other monarchs. In spite of the reforms by the king and government, however, there were few solid results of enlightened progress in Spain. Among the reasons for this was that the task itself was an enormous one, and the material resources of Spain were insufficient. Many projects were abandoned for this very reason. The middle classes seemed reluctant to actively support change and sometimes even resisted it altogether. For the poor and uneducated, the advancements initially brought little, if any, advantages, and often aroused hostility instead. They hated the workhouses established to replace free charity and disliked having to pay to have their streets lit at night and the garbage collected weekly. The clergy and the very wealthy landowners in particular actively opposed many reforms or were totally indifferent to them. The efforts of the *ilustrados* were also frequently ineffective because they did not set clear priorities that could be widely agreed on. In addition, the Spanish *philosophes* did not provide true insight into the needs of the monarchy. Political and social reforms were necessary to transform the crown and to save its existence. The masses were feared by the nobility especially after the Esquilache riots of 1766, and consequently artisans and peasants were excluded from even the economic societies. On the whole the transformations planned by the enlightened educated class were based on self-interest, and designed to perpetuate élite control over the monarchy, the working class and the peasantry. (Scott, 1990, p. 142.)

Nevertheless, although Spain was not a totally reformed nation by the time Charles 3 died, enlightened ideals had been cautiously introduced. Although the positive achievements were not overpowering, they did exist.

There was a little more contact, if not enough, between central government and

the localities. Through the secretaries a greater cognizance of the country's problems was made possible. The power of the church could for the first time be said to be on the wane: the nobility by the cutting off of royal rewards and favours and the loss of power in the councils and the restriction of entail were pushed into greater commercial activity. Beccarian principles to a very slight degree had infiltrated Spanish primitive justice. (Hufton, 1988, p. 271.)

Although Charles 3 had left Spain in a stronger position than when he became king, there were still many changes to be made. There were many Spaniards who wanted to achieve the cherished ideals of the Enlightenment, but opposition by privileged groups who felt threatened by the proposed changes (such as the clergy and nobility). In order for Spain to continue advancing into the age of enlightened reason, a strong monarch was needed to carry on the work already begun by Charles 3. (Williams, 1972, p. 156.)

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER THREE

17. THE NAME HAPSBURG, IS DERIVED FROM THE FAMILY CASTLE OF HAPSBURG IN AUSTRIA. MAXIMILIAN I (1459-1519) ESTABLISHED THE HAPSBURG ANCESTRY AS AN INTERNATIONAL POWER. CHARLES 5 (1500-1556), SUCCESSOR TO MAXIMILIAN I, INHERITED SPAIN AND HER OVERSEAS EMPIRE IN 1516. ON HIS ABDICATION IN 1556, CHARLES 5 LEFT SPAIN (AND THE OVERSEAS EMPIRE) TO HIS SON PHILIP 2 (1527-1598). PHILIP 3 (1578-1621) INHERITED THE THRONE OF SPAIN, NAPLES, AND SICILY (1598-1621), FROM HIS FATHER PHILIP 2. PHILIP 4 (1605-1665), SON OF PHILIP 3, WAS BEQUEATHED THE NATIONS OF SPAIN, NAPLES, AND SICILY OVER WHICH HE REIGNED FROM 1621 UNTIL 1665. (MICROSOFT ENCARTA, 1993, "HAPSBURG", "PHILIP III (OF SPAIN AND NAPLES)" AND "PHILIP IV (OF SPAIN, NAPLES, AND SICILY)".)

18. PHILIP 4 MARRIED HIS NIECE MARIANA OF AUSTRIA, AND HAD ONLY ONE SURVIVING CHILD, CHARLES 2. THEIR SON WAS AFFLICTED FROM BIRTH WITH INHERITED SYPHILIS, DROPSY AND EPILEPSY. MOST PHYSICIANS BELIEVED THAT CHARLES 2 WOULD DIE IN CHILDHOOD. (CRONIN, 1990, P. 309.)

19. SPAIN WAS NOT A UNIFIED NATION. RATHER, IT WAS MADE UP OF VARIOUS KINGDOMS WHICH OWED ALLEGIANCE TO A COMMON KING. TWO OF THESE DOMAINS WERE CASTILE AND ARAGON. IN 1469, THE MARRIAGE OF FERDINAND 2 OF ARAGÓN (LATER FERDINAND 5 OF CASTILE (1452-1516)) AND ISABELLA I (1451-1504) OF CASTILE LAID THE BASIS FOR THE UNION OF THE TWO KINGDOMS AND, EVENTUALLY, OF ALL SPAIN. A FORMAL MERGER BETWEEN THE TWO REALMS TOOK PLACE IN 1516 WITH THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES I (1500-1558). ARAGÓN, HOWEVER, RETAINED ITS OWN ADMINISTRATION AND REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS UNTIL THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. (MICROSOFT ENCARTA, 1993, "CASTILE" AND "ARAGON".)

20. THE ENGLISH MONARCH AT THIS TIME WAS WILLIAM 3 (1650-1702). WILLIAM 3 (ALSO KNOWN AS WILLIAM OF ORANGE) DISPLAYED INSIGHT AND GOOD JUDGEMENT IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND WAS LIBERAL IN THOUGHT. IT WAS REALLY THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT, HOWEVER, WHO ENCOURAGED THE STUDY OF SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY, AND INDUCED REFORMS SUCH AS: THE PASSING OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS; THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND; THE INTRODUCTION OF MINISTERIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN GOVERNMENT; AND THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF A FREE PRESS. (MICROSOFT ENCARTA, 1993, "WILLIAM III (OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND)".)

21. THE BOURBON FAMILY WAS OF FRENCH ORIGIN. THE CHIEF FAMILY SEAT WAS A CASTLE IN THE TOWN OF BOURBON IN CENTRAL FRANCE. PHILIP DUKE OF ANJOU WAS THE GREAT-GRANDSON OF PHILIP 4 OF SPAIN AND GRANDSON OF LOUIS 14. HE BECAME PHILIP 5 OF SPAIN AND FOUNDED THE SPANISH HOUSE OF BOURBON. (MICROSOFT ENCARTA, 1993, "BOURBON".)

22. THE MAJOR ISSUE OF THE WAR WAS THE QUESTION OF THE LEGITIMACY OF SUCCESSION TO THE SPANISH THRONE. LEOPOLD I (1640-1705), THE HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR, PROCLAIMED HIS SON, CHARLES 6 (1685-1740) OF AUSTRIA AS KING OF SPAIN. LEOPOLD I WAS CONCERNED THAT A FRENCH BOURBON ON THE SPANISH THRONE MEANT THAT THE POWER OF FRANCE IN EUROPE WOULD INCREASE. THE EQUILIBRIUM OF POWER IN EUROPE, ESTABLISHED BY THE PEACE OF RYSWICK (1697), WAS BECOMING UNBALANCED. THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION WAS FOUGHT BETWEEN THE GRAND ALLIANCE AND A COALITION OF FRANCE AND SPAIN. (THE GRAND ALLIANCE, CONSISTED OF: ENGLAND, THE NETHERLANDS, DENMARK, AUSTRIA, AND PORTUGAL.) IN 1711, CHARLES 6 SUCCEEDED HIS BROTHER JOSEPH I (1678-1711) AS HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR. THE BRITISH DISSOLVED THE GRAND ALLIANCE, BECAUSE THEY FEARED THAT VICTORY OVER FRANCE WOULD NOW RESULT IN THE PREDOMINANCE OF THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA IN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS. THE WAY FOR PEACE WAS PREPARED BY THE GENERAL RECOGNITION OF PHILIP 5 AS KING OF SPAIN, AND BY PLEDGES FROM LOUIS 14 AND PHILIP 5 THAT THEIR TWO KINGDOMS WOULD NOT BE UNITED. ON THE 11 APRIL 1713, AT THE TOWN OF UTRECHT IN THE NETHERLANDS, FRANCE MADE PEACE WITH GREAT BRITAIN, THE DUTCH REPUBLIC, PRUSSIA, SAVOY, AND PORTUGAL, THUS ENDING THE WAR. (MICROSOFT ENCARTA, 1993, "SPANISH SUCCESSION, WAR OF THE", "UTRECHT, PEACE OF" AND "CHARLES VI (HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE)".)

23. THE REIGN OF LOUIS 14, FROM 1643-1715, WAS MARKED BY A PROGRESSIVE FRENCH CULTURE. LOUIS 14 ENCOURAGED FRENCH ARTISTS AND WRITERS AND ESTABLISHED A MILITARILY POWERFUL NATION IN EUROPE. LOUIS 14 FOUNDED THE ACADEMIES OF PAINTING AND SCULPTURE (1655) (ACCORDING TO OTHER SOURCES 1648), SCIENCE (1666), AND ARCHITECTURE (1671). LOUIS 14 IMPROVED PARIS BY: DEMOLISHING THE MEDIEVAL WALLS OF THE CITY; BUILDING THE *Invalides* AS A HOME FOR DISABLED VETERANS; PLANNING THE GREAT AVENUE OF THE *Champs-Élysées*, AND REFURBISHING THE CATHEDRAL OF NOTRE DAME. (MICROSOFT ENCARTA, 1993, "LOUIS XIV".)

24. PHILIP 5 ARRIVED IN SPAIN IN JANUARY 1701, AND DURING THAT YEAR HE MARRIED THE FOURTEEN-YEAR-OLD MARIE LOUISE OF SAVOY (1687-1714). SHE BORE PHILIP 5 TWO SONS, LUIS AND FERNANDO (FERDINAND). MARIE

LOUISE DIED IN FEBRUARY 1714. ON THE 16 SEPTEMBER 1714, THE KING MARRIED ELIZABETH FARNESE (1692-1766). THE FATHER OF ELIZABETH WAS THE DUKE OF PARMA AND HER MOTHER WAS DOROTHEA (THE SISTER OF THE WIDOW OF CHARLES 2, WHO WAS THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SPAIN). ELIZABETH BORE SIX CHILDREN FOR PHILIP 5, FOUR OF WHOM SURVIVED HIM, ONE OF THEM BEING CHARLES, WHO WAS LATER TO REIGN ON THE SPANISH THRONE AS CHARLES 3. ON THE 19 JANUARY 1724, PHILIP 5 ABDICATED IN FAVOUR OF LUIS, HIS ELDEST SON BY HIS FIRST WIFE. THE REASONS FOR PHILIP 5 DOING THIS ARE UNCERTAIN. ON 31 AUGUST 1724, LUIS DIED OF SMALLPOX AND PHILIP 5 INHERITED THE CROWN. (HUME, 1899, P. 321, P. 348 AND P. 383 AND HARGREAVES-MAWDSLEY, 1979, P. 53-54.)

25. THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED IN THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR WERE AUSTRIA, SAXONY, FRANCE, SWEDEN, RUSSIA AND SPAIN (WHO ENTERED THE WAR AT A LATER STAGE). THESE NATIONS JOINED AS ALLIES AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN, PRUSSIA, AND HANNOVER. THE WAR WAS FOUGHT FOR THE CONTROL OF GERMANY, AND FOR SUPREMACY IN COLONIAL NORTH AMERICA AND INDIA. THE RESOLVE BY AUSTRIA TO REPOSSESS THE RICH PROVINCE OF SILESIA (WHICH HAD BEEN LOST TO PRUSSIA IN 1748) WAS A MAJOR CONFLICT WHICH LED TO THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR. ON 10 FEBRUARY 1763 THE TREATY OF PARIS WAS SIGNED TO SETTLE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE OPPOSING KINGDOMS. AMONG THE TERMS WAS THE ACQUISITION, BY THE BRITISH, OF FLORIDA FROM SPAIN. (MICROSOFT ENCARTEA, 1993, "SEVEN YEARS' WAR".)

26. ALBERONI WAS ULTIMATELY RESPONSIBLE FOR CHARLES BEING RECOGNISED AS HEIR TO THE DUCHIES OF TUSCANY, PARMA AND PIACENZA. CHARLES BECAME DUKE OF PARMA IN 1731. IN THAT CAPACITY HE CONQUERED THE KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES (NAPLES AND SICILY), AND REIGNED AS CHARLES 4 KING OF THE TWO SICILIES FROM 1734 UNTIL 1759. UPON THE DEATH OF FERDINAND 6, HE GOVERNED SPAIN AS CHARLES 3 FROM 1759 UNTIL HIS DEATH IN 1788. CHARLES MARRIED MARIA AMELIA OF SAXONY WHO DIED IN SEPTEMBER 1760. (PETRIE, 1971, P. 25-30 AND BERTRAND, 1952, P. 281-291.)

27. AN ENLIGHTENED DESPOT (SUCH AS CHARLES 3 OF SPAIN, CATHERINE 2 OF RUSSIA, JOSEPH 2 OF AUSTRIA) IS A MONARCH WHO, LIKE THE *philosophes*, ASSIMILATED THE SPIRIT OF ENLIGHTENED RATIONALISM, AND WAS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE FUTURE OF HUMANITY. THESE FORWARD THINKING MONARCHS SUPPORTED SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND MANUFACTURE IN THEIR COUNTRIES. IN ADDITION, THESE DESPOTS SIMPLIFIED THE AGENCIES OF GOVERNMENT, REFORMED THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE AND ADOPTED LEGISLATION THAT WOULD ENRICH THE KINGDOM. (HERR, 1958, P. 7-9.)

28. WHILE CHARLES WAS REIGNING IN NAPLES, HE MET A SICILIAN, LEOPOLDO DE GREGORIO. GREGORIO, LATER KNOWN AS THE MARCHESE DE SQUILLACE, MADE A FAVOURABLE IMPRESSION ON CHARLES WITH HIS INDUSTRY AND INITIATIVE IN BUSINESS. IN 1746, CHARLES APPOINTED HIM IN CHARGE OF CUSTOMS, AND SOON AFTER HE WAS MADE MINISTER OF FINANCE OF THE TWO SICILIES. (PETRIE, 1971, P. 60.)

29. BEFORE THE REIGN OF PHILIP 5, SPAIN WAS NOT A UNIFIED NATION. RATHER, IT WAS MADE UP OF VARIOUS KINGDOMS, TWO OF WHICH WERE CASTILE AND ARAGON. EACH KINGDOM HAD ITS OWN COUNCIL. THESE COUNCILS WERE DOMINATED BY LAZY AND GREEDY *grandees*. UNDER THE BOURBONS, THESE ARISTOCRATS WERE REMOVED FROM THE COUNCILS TO MAKE THEM MORE EFFICIENT AND TO GIVE MORE POWER TO THE KING. THE COUNCILS STILL DEALT WITH ADMINISTRATIVE AND JUDICIAL DETAILS, BUT THE EFFECTIVE POLICY MAKING WAS DONE BY THE MINISTERS. FROM THE MID EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, THE *Consejo de Castilla* BECAME THE MAIN COMMITTEE IN THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT. THE PRESIDENT OF THIS COUNCIL WAS ALSO A CABINET MINISTER. PREVIOUSLY ANY VACANT POSITIONS IN THIS COUNCIL WERE FILLED BY ARISTOCRATS FROM THE *colegios mayores*. THESE PEOPLE WERE KNOWN AS *colegiales*, A SPANISH ÉLITE WHO CLOSELY SUPPORTED EACH OTHER. THE *colegios mayores* WERE ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAD BEEN FOUNDED IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES IN THE MAJOR UNIVERSITY TOWNS, SUCH AS SALAMANCA, VALLADOLID AND ALCALÁ DE HENARES. THEIR INITIAL PURPOSE WAS TO PROVIDE LODGING AND SUPPORT TO POOR STUDENTS. NOW, HOWEVER, THEY WERE EXCLUSIVE TO THE CHILDREN OF THE ARISTOCRACY. (WILLIAMS, 1972, P. 86, P. 122-123, P. 128-129 AND P. 140 AND HERR, 1958, P. 24-25.)

30. IN 1764, BECCARIA WROTE *Delle Delitti et Delle Pene* (ESSAY ON CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS). IN THIS WORK, BECCARIA CALLED FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE DEATH PENALTY AND TORTURE. BECCARIA BELIEVED THAT PUNISHMENT SHOULD BE MEASURED BY ITS DURATION AND NOT SEVERITY. FOR INSTANCE, BECCARIA BELIEVED THAT LIFE IMPRISONMENT WAS MORE SEVERE A SENTENCE THAN HANGING. IN ADDITION, BECCARIA ADVOCATED EDUCATION AS A MEANS OF LESSENING CRIME. THESE IDEAS WERE INNOVATIVE AND HAD IMMENSE INFLUENCE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. (HUFTON, 1985, P. 91-91, OGG, 1977, P. 240 AND MICROSOFT ENCARTEA, 1993, "BECCARIA, CESARE BONESANA, MARCHESE DI".)

31. WITH TIME, THE JESUITS HAD GAINED CONTROL OF THE *colegios mayores* AND CORRUPTED THEM. THOSE THAT EMERGED FROM THE *colegios mayores* BECAME PART OF PRIVILEGED GROUPS IN THE CLERGY AND ROYAL ADMINISTRATION. THESE CLIQUES THEN PROTECTED THE STATUS OF THE *colegios mayores* AND PLACED NEW

GRADUATES INTO IMPORTANT VACANCIES. THEREFORE, THROUGH THEIR INVOLVEMENT WITH THE *colegios mayores*, THE JESUITS COULD EXERT THEIR INFLUENCE OVER THE CHURCH AND GOVERNMENT OF SPAIN. (HERR, 1958, P. 24-25.)

32. THE WORK OF THIS SOCIETY WAS VERY IMPORTANT:

For the first time in Spain, women, like men, participated in public life. An initial platoon of fourteen enlightened women headed by the Condesa de Benavente became the nucleus of the recently established Junta de Damas that began to provide significant services in education, industry, and charity after the first month of October 1787. (PÉREZ-SÁNCHEZ, 1989, P. 14.)

DURING THE MEETINGS OF THE *Junta de Damas*, NATIONAL PROBLEMS SUCH AS THE ABUSE OF LUXURY, PRISONS FOR WOMEN, SOCIAL JUSTICE, IMPROVEMENTS IN HYGIENE, THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF THE NATION, EDUCATION, AND THE STATE OF THE ORPHANAGES WERE DEBATED. SOLUTIONS TO THESE PROBLEMS WERE BASED UPON TEACHINGS OF THE ENLIGHTENED THINKERS. (IBID., P. 14.)

CHAPTER FOUR

Spain, 1789 - 1800.

The progress that had begun in Spain during the reign of the first Spanish Bourbons was not carried to fruition under the rule of the son of Charles 3, Charles 4 (1748-1819). Initially Charles 4 retained Floridablanca as Secretary of State, but the pro-reform attitude of this minister changed with the French Revolution. Charles 4 barely had time to establish himself upon the Spanish throne before the Revolution erupted in 1789. On the 29 December 1789 all Spanish post offices were ordered not to deliver any printed matter coming from across the Pyrenees. (The Pyrenees are a mountain range in southwestern Europe that forms a natural barrier between Spain and France because it extends from the Bay of Biscay to the Mediterranean Sea.) The reason given for this extreme censorship was that private persons and public officials were receiving publications from abroad that defamed the royal ministers, magistrates and the monarchy of Spain. Furthermore, on the 1 January 1790, a royal order prohibited the introduction, printing, or circulation of any material referring to the Revolution in France. Floridablanca resuscitated the might of the Inquisition to keep any information about the Revolution out of Spain to prevent the spread of anarchy from France into Spain. On the 24 February 1791, a royal resolution ordered the publication of all private Spanish periodicals to be suspended. Floridablanca therefore halted the thriving intellectual legacy of the government of Charles 3. In addition, he had a census taken of all the foreigners in Spain, after which they were compelled to swear fidelity to the King, the laws and the religion of Spain. (Herr, 1958, p. 248-266, Goetz, 1986, vol. 4 p. 842 and Microsoft Encarta, 1993, "Pyrenees".)

The silence which blanketed Spain excluded even those works that criticised the French Revolution, such as *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) written by Edmund Burke (1729-1797)³³. These books were viewed as unfavourable, because when authors expressed the problems they had with the French Revolution, they inevitably raised the very questions that Floridablanca and the Inquisition wished to

suppress in Spain. (Rudé, 1964, p. 184 and p. 189-190.)

As was discussed in the previous chapter, the reforms of Charles 3 did not affect most of the population. Some progress, however, had been made but the effect of the French Revolution, which converted Floridablanca and Charles 4 into arch conservatives, and adamant partisans of censorship and strict social regulation, did indeed stunt the reforming growth which had begun in Spain. (Hufton, 1988, p. 271.)

The restrictions enforced by Floridablanca were not the only reason why the spread of enlightened theories and reform from France into Spain was difficult. The new ideas were not accepted by the *pueblo* because, in comparison to the French peasants, they were poor, illiterate and dominated by the priests and nobles. Spain also had only a small educated middle class to act as the main channel for the new ideas. The Spanish nobles were less convinced than their French equivalents that they should compete for control of the central government. For these and other reasons, the Enlightenment had made little headway outside the main urban centres, and the French Revolution had roused little sympathy and support. (Rudé, 1964, p. 184 and p. 189-190.)

The hostile Spanish policy towards the revolutionary cause in France was regarded as endangering the life of Louis 16 (1754-1793), the cousin of Charles 4. Louis 16 sent Jean-François Bourgoing as French Ambassador to Spain in 1792, to speak with Charles 4. Bourgoing requested that Charles 4 publicly state his approval of the acceptance by Louis 16 of the French constitution. Charles 4 was also asked to abandon the hostile attitude displayed by Spain towards the Revolution. Although Bourgoing made no official request for the dismissal of Floridablanca, it appears that Charles 4 decided to do so for the sake of the safety of Louis 16. Floridablanca was removed from his office on the 28 February 1792, and with the Spanish minister went the anti-Revolutionary stand of Spain. Many saw the hand of Queen María Luisa of Parma (1751-1819), the wife of Charles 3, in this dismissal. She apparently hated Floridablanca, for he had slighted her in the days of Charles 3 (when she was still the Princess of Asturias). (Herr, 1958, p. 248-266.)

The Conde de Aranda was appointed as the successor to Floridablanca. Aranda relaxed the official attitude towards the French Revolution. Frenchmen who favoured the Revolution were again allowed into Spain, provided they did not attempt to trouble the public peace. Aranda also allowed the Spanish post office to deliver French newspapers and allowed publishers to resume printing enlightened periodicals. On the 10 August 1792, Louis 16 was deposed. A newly elected Convention declared France a Republic in September 1792. The imprisonment of the French royal family, led Aranda to begin inspecting any French literature that entered the country. (Herr, 1958, p. 269-270, p. 282 and p. 311.)

Charles 4 was a good-natured man who wanted a tranquil life. He considered anyone his friend if they relieved him of the necessity of decision making. Due to the weak and timid character of Charles 4, he was completely dominated by his wife, María Luisa. As Charles 4 was influenced by María Luisa, she in turn was manipulated by her lover, Manuel de **Godoy** (1766-1851), the Duque de la Alcudia. The office held by Aranda lasted only until 15 November 1792, when he was replaced by the twenty-six-year-old Godoy. Aranda had been appointed earlier in the year to improve the position of Louis 16 by extending friendship to the Revolutionaries, and his attempt had failed. Charles thought that Godoy could find a way to save the king of France. The Queen also desired to see her lover at the head of affairs. Queen María Luisa called Charles 4, herself and Godoy the 'Trinity on Earth'. Although Charles 4 was the apparent head of State, it was Godoy who held the reigns of power through the total hold which he exercised for ten years over an infatuated Queen. (Herr, 1958, p. 269, p. 317, p. 349, Petrie, 1971, p. 223-225 and Gassier, 1981, p. 104.)

The meteoric rise in power by Godoy, however, was not entirely due to the weakness of the queen or to the affection and admiration of Charles 4. The art historian Pérez-Sánchez notes that

... there was every reason to believe [Godoy] active, intelligent, and attentive in the discharge of his duty; and that he was perfectly exempt from all those airs and affectation which men who rise by fortune more than merit are apt to be justly accused of. (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. 142-144.)

Nevertheless, the satisfaction of the Spaniards evaporated when Charles 4 put Godoy at the head of the government. The idea that Spain was governed by, what was perceived as, an empty-headed lover, a lascivious queen, and a cuckolded king, shattered much of the respect that the Spanish people had for their monarchy. Conservatives and progressives alike found it a new moral duty to criticize authority, but the real importance of their righteous indignation was that it rapidly induced enlightened thinkers and some members of the government to reconsider other grievances in the light of developments in France. (Herr, 1958, p. 439.)

Charles 4, a relation of the French Bourbons, opposed the French Revolution and its attack on the monarchy. The execution of Louis 16³⁴ prompted a response from Spain. Spain was militarily too weak to take any initiative against France, so she allied herself with a coalition which was formed by Great Britain³⁵. The common people in Spain hated the French and anyone who supported the Revolution. Charles 4 ordered all non-domiciled French who remained in Spain to leave the country, and to travel in groups of eight or less. This occasion was used by several Spaniards to persecute these Frenchmen. Many were mishandled and some killed despite the government protection promised them. (Herr, 1958, p. 268, p. 270, p. 282, p. 311 and Rudé, 1964, p. 201-203.)

The French army fighting against the First Coalition was initially met with resistance from Spaniards based on a support for their king, religion and country. This opposition against the 'godless' French won popular support even in large cities like Barcelona and Madrid. After defeats by France from 1794 until 1795, however, Spain withdrew from the war. (Rudé, 1964, p. 184, p. 189-190 and p. 201-203.)

Dissatisfaction in the universities, public uprising in streets, and economic crises (because of the war) forced Spain to leave the First Coalition. In July of that year, the Treaty of Basle was signed to end hostilities between the two nations. Godoy, who played a role in this affair, became known as the *Prince of the Peace*. One term of the Treaty of Basle was that Frenchmen were to be allowed back into Spain as before the

war. Although many Spaniards could not change their attitude towards the revolutionaries overnight, French newspapers could be readily found at coffee-houses and tensions experienced during the war were relaxed. Good relations resumed between the two countries to the extent that Spain signed an agreement at San Ildefonso on the 18 August 1796, with the French Republic, forming an alliance against Great Britain. On the 7 October 1796, Spain declared war on England. (Herr, 1958, p. 335, p. 359-361 and p. 359.)

Around 1795, Spanish book sellers found that selling prohibited foreign revolutionary literature was extremely profitable. From Madrid these books spread into the provinces and to the people. In the light of the newly signed agreement with France, the government was willing to turn a blind eye to these events, but eventually Godoy was forced to halt this development in the midsummer of 1797. The Inquisition was enforcing its decree of 1789 against any revolutionary literature which founded liberty on the ruin of religion and the monarchy. Furthermore, a royal decree was issued in January 1798 forbidding the printing and selling of any material without a royal license. There was, however, a fairly big market of readers of these prohibited books, and the government was unable to effectively clamp down on the reading of any banned writing. (Herr, 1958, p. 363-365.)

In his memoirs written in 1830, Godoy claimed to have brought enlightened thought back into favour after the suppression by Floridablanca. The historian Herr says that

In the same years that the war against the Revolution produced a crusade in Spain and made hatred of French liberty and philosophy a patriotic duty, Aranda and Godoy abandoned Floridablanca's persecution of the Spanish institutions of enlightenment. Godoy could claim with some justice that his country had become the refuge of the lights that were elsewhere feared. (Herr, 1958, p. 359.)

Indeed there was some truth in this claim by Godoy: during the last decade of the eighteenth century, some *ilustrados* were persecuted because the monarchy feared what was happening across the French border. These *philosophes*, however, committed no crime other than encouraging Spaniards to believe that their nation could benefit

from suggested improvements. Cabarrús was imprisoned from 1790 until 1792 on the pretext that he had embezzled funds at the Bank of San Carlos. The real reason probably was that Cabarrús was of French origin and well known for his liberal views. Gassier believes that the Inquisition was behind his imprisonment. When Cabarrús went to prison, Moratín (his secretary) lost his job. Moratín left Spain and travelled around Europe until 1796. When Jovellanos heard about the imprisonment of Cabarrús, he tried to help his friend. For this loyalty Jovellanos was sent away from court four days after Cabarrús was jailed. Jovellanos travelled to Gijón³⁶, in the Asturias, where he was to access the coal mines. He remained there until 1797. Ceán Bermúdez was also banished from court to Seville to tidy up the General Archives of the Indies. (Gassier, 1983, p. 171.)

When Godoy was made Prime Minister in 1792, there were signs of a change in royal opinion towards enlightened intellectuals. In this year, Cabarrús was released from prison, and by 1795 he had returned to favour at the court. From the 23 September 1793 Jovellanos corresponded with Godoy. Godoy assured him that he would be given protection and influence at the palace. This resulted in Jovellanos becoming a member of the Royal Council in December 1794. In addition, a royal decree appeared on the 30 November 1795, which approved the foundation of the Asturian Institute of Gijón (a creation of Jovellanos). This organization, according to Gassier, was

one of the most remarkable achievements of the period of the Enlightenment in Spain. ... This decree, signed by Charles IV [4], wiped out five years of repression and injustice. It was the prelude to the entry of the ilustrados to the Government two years later [1799]. (Gassier, 1983, p. 184.)

Jovellanos opened the Institute with a speech that embodied the enlightened ideals of the reign of Charles 3, namely progress through modern scientific studies and enlightened despotism. (Herr, 1958, p. 344-345.)

This Institute was not the only thing that Jovellanos achieved while away from Madrid. During this time he wrote *Report on the Agrarian Law*, which was printed around the time of the royal decree of 30 November 1795. The document, however, was strongly

opposed by the Church and wealthy landowners who informed the Inquisition. The Inquisitors recommended that these ideas of Jovellanos be dismissed because they were anti-ecclesiastic and destructive to the right of inheritance. The Inquisition stated that the result of this would be that people would believe in the equal ownership of goods and land. Although the proceedings against this paper ceased in 1797, the Inquisitors did not forget this threat from Jovellanos. (Gassier, 1983, p. 184-185.)

In November 1797, Cabarrús, who was back in favour with Godoy, advised the Prime Minister to choose his ministers from the outstanding *ilustrados*. In that same year, Jovellanos was made *Ministro de Gracia y Justicia* (Minister of Religion and Justice), Francisco de Saavedra became Finance Minister and Iriarte was appointed as Minister for Agriculture, Commerce and Overseas Relations. In March 1798, Saavedra was appointed Prime Minister. Both Jovellanos and Saavedra, however, withdrew from service in August 1798 because of a mysterious illness (some historians believe that they were poisoned). Mariano Luis de Urquijo (also an enlightened friend of Goya's) was named Prime Minister in the place of Saavedra, but he was arrested and removed from office in December 1800. Godoy was again reinstated to this high governmental post. It was around this time that Goya was producing the prints for his *Los Caprichos* (see p. 74). (Gassier, 1981, p. 103, p. 109, p. 133, Gassier, 1983, p. 166-167 and Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. 69.)

Why Jovellanos rose and fell from power is not certain. Some researches believe that it was a result of the intrigues of the Queen on behalf of her lover Godoy, or that it was the Inquisition responding to the intended reforms of Jovellanos. In 1793, Juan Antonio Llorente, a commissary in the Holy Office, wrote *Discourse on Trial Procedure in Inquisition Tribunals*. In this work Llorente, amongst others, opposed the secret trials of the Holy Office. According to Pérez-Sánchez, Jovellanos planned to use this report during his ministry to bring reform to this Institution. It is for this reason, that historians believe the Inquisition was behind the mysterious withdrawal from office by Jovellanos. (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. 69 and p. 164.)

In spite of this claim by Godoy (see p. 52), *ilustrados* in the major Spanish cities and universities criticised him. Charles 4, María Luisa, and their favourite (Godoy) never recovered the prestige held by the previous Spanish Bourbon monarch. Most of those who rejected the leadership of Godoy did so mainly because of his reputation as the lover of the queen. They also believed that Godoy was incompetent to continue the policies, of introducing the ideas of the Enlightenment, which were begun by earlier progressive monarchs. (Herr, 1958, p. 374-375.)

Although the events after 1799 have no bearing on *Los Caprichos* by Goya, they are briefly mentioned because they help portray the characters of the people at the helm of the Spanish monarchy. In addition, these events suggest the extent to which Spain had become corrupted and they also show how far Spanish reason had fallen asleep. According to the historian Bowle, the group portrait of the family of Charles 4, painted by Goya, accurately illustrated the monarchy. Bowle states that this painting by Goya clearly shows

the half-imbecile Spanish Bourbon royalties evicted by Napoleon, ... their scintillating costume shows up the vacuity of their expressions. (Bowle, 1980, p. 521.)

It was between the years 1800 and 1801, that Goya painted the group portrait of the Spanish royalty. In 1801, Goya also painted a portrait of Godoy as a 'bloated' soldier who appears self-convinced of a military genius which he actually lacked. (Gassier, 1983, p. 130.)

It was in this atmosphere of confusion, mistrust, optimism and Enlightenment that Goya etched his *Los Caprichos*. There can be no doubt that these events influenced Goya; an artist is never isolated from his society. He is always part of the prevailing thought, tensions and social events of a given society. Goya was no exception.

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER FOUR

33. THIS BOOK BY BURKE BECAME THE ALMOST UNCHALLENGED BIBLE OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN EVERY EUROPEAN COUNTRY. IN THE WORK, BURKE CONDEMNED, FROM THE START, EVERYTHING ABOUT THE REVOLUTION.

Far from welcoming it as a necessary means of curing France of age-old ills, he deplored the uprooting of the past, preached the sanctity of property and tradition and the virtues of gradual change, and even extolled the merits of the French higher clergy and Queen Marie Antoinette. With the "rights of man", he argued, the French were preparing to tear down the whole social fabric, not only in France but elsewhere, and to rush blindly along a path of total renovation. (RUDÉ, 1964, P. 182.)

34. ON 15 JANUARY 1793, THE NATIONAL CONVENTION (THE ASSEMBLY OF ELECTED FRENCH DEPUTIES) FOUND LOUIS 16 GUILTY OF TREASON. ON THE 16 JANUARY BY A VOTE OF 387 TO 334, LOUIS 16 WAS SENTENCED TO DEATH. HE WAS GUILLOTINED ON THE 21 JANUARY 1793 IN THE *Place de la Révolution* (NOW *Place de la Concorde*) IN PARIS. HIS QUEEN, MARIE ANTOINETTE (1755-93), WAS GUILLOTINED IN PARIS ON THE 16 OCTOBER 1793. (MICROSOFT ENCARTA, 1993, "FRENCH REVOLUTION", "LOUIS XVI", AND "MARIE ANTOINETTE".)

35. ON THE 1 FEBRUARY 1793, FRANCE DECLARED WAR ON BRITAIN AND HOLLAND. SPAIN ENTERED THE WAR ALMOST IMMEDIATELY AFTER BRITAIN, AND BY THE END OF AUGUST 1793, WILLIAM PITT THE YOUNGER (1759-1806) HAD FORMED THE FIRST COALITION WITH FIFTEEN STATES. (COWIE, 1987, P. 337-339.)

36. GIJÓN IS A CITY AND SEAPORT, IN NORTHWESTERN SPAIN, IN THE ASTURIAS PROVINCE, ON THE BAY OF BISCAY. (MICROSOFT ENCARTA, 1993, "GIJÓN".)

CHAPTER FIVE

The effect of the Enlightenment upon Francisco de Goya.

Francisco José Goya y Lucientes was born on the 30 of March 1746 in Fuendetodos, a small village near Saragossa, the capital of the province of Aragon. Goya's father was a master gilder who remained poor all his life. Goya's mother came from the lowest class of Spanish nobility who procured their titles with money. In 1760, the fourteen-year-old Goya began his four-year apprenticeship in Saragossa in the studio of the painter José Luzán³⁷. (Gassier, 1981, p. 33-35 and Schickel, 1971, p. 13.)

The author Chabrun (1965, p. 16) states that Goya did not receive a very high standard of education. The young artist knew how, basically, to read and write, but nothing else. His teacher, Father Joaquin from the teaching order of Scolopes, had barely more knowledge than the pupils. During his school days Goya became firm friends with Martin Zapater (1746-18 ?) who was his correspondent for more than twenty-five years. These letters reveal valuable information about the life and thoughts of Goya (see p. 59, p. 62 and p. 66). (Gassier, 1981, p. 35.)

In 1763 and 1766, Goya entered competitions in Madrid held by the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando to select artists for posts in the academy. Goya was unsuccessful at both attempts, and in 1770 he decided to travel to Italy. Goya spent at least a year in Italy and painted small works like *Sacrifice to Vesta* (1771). This trip to Italy was advised by Francisco Bayeu (1734-1795), because Goya described Bayeu as his teacher in 1771 when he entered a competition in Parma. (Gassier, 1981, p. 36-37.)

After his return to Spain, on the 25 of July 1773, Goya married Josefa Bayeu, the twenty-six-year-old sister of Francisco Bayeu. This union was acceptable to the Bayeu family because they saw that Goya was talented and that his art already gave an

indication of a promising future. This event indicates that Goya was not the womaniser, vagabond or brawler which some commentators have suggested. It is difficult to ascertain, however, if there was any love shared between Goya and his wife because he never painted her, and hardly mentioned her in his letters to Zapater. For Goya this marriage almost amounted to official recognition, because by the time of the wedding Francisco Bayeu seemed the likely successor to Anton Raphael Mengs (see p. 42). Bayeu was devoted to the neoclassical style brought to Spain by Mengs, and by 1763 Bayeu had established himself, and his brother Ramón, in Madrid. Francisco Bayeu received royal approval when, in 1765, he was called by Mengs to the Spanish court and appointed an Academician and Painter to the King. By the end of 1774, Mengs summoned Goya to work as a painter of designs for the Royal Tapestry Factory of Santa Bárbara³⁸. (Gassier, 1981, p. 39-41 and p. 44.)

Goya fell seriously ill in the spring of 1777. The nature of this illness, like the other illnesses of the future (see p. 67 and p. 69), is unknown. What is important is that during his recuperation, Goya produced his first series of etchings. The prints, which are after paintings by the Spaniard Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez (1599-1660), were published on the 28 July 1778. (Gassier, 1981, p. 48 and Microsoft Encarta, 1993, "Velázquez, Diego Rodríguez de Silva y".)

When Mengs died on the 29 of June 1779, Goya immediately applied as a replacement for the vacant position of First Court Painter to the King of Spain. His application, however, was unsuccessful. Bayeu suggested to Goya that he apply to the **San Fernando Royal Academy of Arts**, even though they had rejected him on two prior occasions. Goya heeded the advice and submitted the painting *Christ on the Cross* (1780). He was unanimously accepted in May 1780. (Gassier, 1981, p. 58-60.)

The election to the Academy was an important event in Goya's life.

... by entering the Academy he [Goya] would rub shoulders with distinguished intellectuals for the first time. ... As an academician he had to take an interest in the teaching of drawing and painting, to consider the comparative merits of works submitted to him, and to attend the meetings of

the Academy and listen to the speeches. (Gassier, 1983, p. 90 and p. 156.) (Bold emphasis by this author.)

Although there is no hard documentary evidence, it can reasonably be assumed that when Goya listened to the various lectures given by his fellow members he took in the new enlightened ideas and thoughts presented. Among other speeches, in July 1781 Jovellanos delivered a *Eulogy of the Arts* and the enlightened poet and lawyer Juan Antonio Mélendez Valdés (1755-1817) read his poem *To the Glory of the Arts*. Goya was present when these papers were read. (Gasser, 1983, p. 156 and Gassier, 1981, p. 135.)

It is interesting to note that in his speech, Jovellanos was critical of the cruel and unjust actions of the Inquisition. The art historian López-Rey (1956, p. 24-25) writes that in the address delivered by Jovellanos, reference was made of an Italian sculptor, Torrigiani, who was a victim of the Inquisition. This artist died in a Seville prison in the sixteenth century because he was accused of heresy by the Spanish Inquisition.

This does not mean, however, that Goya was completely and immediately influenced by these *ilustrados*. By studying Goya's correspondence with Zapater between the years 1775 and 1785, contemporary researchers maintain that Goya viewed painting as a job and not as a means of portraying enlightened themes or criticising irrational aspects of Spanish society. These letters give the impression that Goya was an uncouth person, even up the age of forty (c. 1786). The main interests expressed by the artist, were shooting birds (such as partridge or quail), flamenco-dancing³⁹ and bullfights. Gassier (1983, p. 93-94), referring to his letters, thought that Goya seemed to live life without a care for what tomorrow might bring.

He [Goya] gives routine news of his health and his family ... and deals with painting only in terms of work and in connection with the occasionally squalid rivalries in the small world of the court. There is never a reflection, a phrase, a word that indicates some interest, however fleeting, in anything other than the trivial incidents of daily life. His writings show not the slightest trace of all the new ideas that were spreading to the remotest province. (Ibid., p. 154-156.) (Bold emphasis by this author.)

As a result of his election to the Academy, Goya nevertheless began to associate with people who were directly involved with enlightened change in Spain. Some of these people even became good friends with the artist. Many researchers credit the relationships that Goya formed during this time as having a great influence upon the inspiration and the subject-matter behind *Los Caprichos*. The contemporary art historian Pérez-Sánchez (1989, p. Li-Lii) believes that Juan Martín de Goicoechea⁴⁰ (1732-1804) introduced Goya to the court circle of *ilustrados*. Among these thinkers were: the humanist and future minister **Jovellanos**; the economist and financier **Cabarrús**; the playwright **Moratin**; the poet and lawyer **Mélendez Valdés**, and important aristocratic families, such as the Duke and Duchess of **Osuna** (see chapter 4). There were also other intellectuals whom Goya met. For example: the art historian Juan Agustín **Ceán Bermúdez** (1749-1829); the future minister Bernardo de **Iriarte** (?-1814); a wealthy businessman and art collector Sebastián **Martínez** (?-1800), and the Count of **Altamira**, a member of the old nobility who had paintings by Velázquez in his collection. Many of these Spanish *philosophes* had their portraits painted by Goya⁴¹. (Gassier, 1981, p. 109, p. 135-136, Gassier, 1983, p. 116 and Tomlinson, 1994, p. 64.)

Moratin and **Mélendez Valdés** were very good friends with Goya and are also two of the most outstanding enlightened thinkers in Spain. Both men had an enormous influence on Goya especially at the time of the creation of *Los Caprichos* (see p. 71-72). **Mélendez Valdés** was an *ilustrados*, a poet and a lawyer. He was particularly concerned with the conditions in prisons and lunatic asylums which is the subject of some uncommissioned works by Goya, for example *Yard with Lunatics* (1793-1794), from the series known as the Cabinet paintings. (Gassier, 1981, p. 111 and p. 135.)

Ceán Bermúdez was a well-known art historian during the lifetime of Goya. According to Glendinning (1977, p. 55, p. 58 and p. 203) in approximately 1798, Ceán Bermúdez was working on his famous *Diccionario histórico de los mas ilustres profesores de las Bellas Artes en España* (Historical Dictionary of the Most Famous Masters of the Fine Arts in Spain), which was eventually published in 1800. In this work Ceán Bermúdez mentions Goya as an artist who shared the ideas of the Enlightenment. The publication was to

be illustrated with engravings by Goya, but Gassier (1975, p. 187-188), without explaining why, states that the work was published without any of these prints. It is interesting to note that Goya produced careful and academic working drawings for these engravings and that they were done while the *Caprichos* were being executed. This is an example of how Goya could produce contrasting imagery during the same period in his life. It is not unreasonable to assume, therefore, that he was not mentally disturbed, as is often claimed, while he was creating *Los Caprichos*.

Bernardo de **Iriarte** was a member of the circle of *ilustrados* frequented by Goya, especially in the last ten years of the century. Bernardo, and his brother Tomás the poet, were art collectors like Sebastián Martínez. In 1792, Bernardo de Iriarte was appointed Vice Protector of the Academy of San Fernando. Five years later, he became Minister for Agriculture, Commerce and Overseas Relations in the 'liberal' cabinet to which Jovellanos and Saavedra also belonged (see p. 54). Goya held Iriarte in mutual esteem and affection. (Gassier, 1981, p. 108-109.)

Don Sebastián **Martínez** was a successful businessman, and in 1793 he was promoted to the office of chief treasurer of the Finance Committee in Cadiz. Martínez owned an impressive collection of art.

Martínez's art collection was famous in his own day and included more than three hundred paintings and several thousand prints. ... Goya must have had an opportunity to study it and may have come across works which were as yet unknown to him, such as the Piranesi etchings owned by his friend. (Gassier, 1981, p. 106.)

Several writers, however, credit **Jovellanos** with the honour of having the greatest influence on the social outlook of Goya. The art historian Williams even ventures to claim (without explaining his reasons for believing this) that "It was from Jovellanos without doubt that Goya derived an intellectual perspective on Spain." (Williams, 1976, p. 77.) Gassier and Wilson (1981, p. 94, p. 133) believe Goya came to know Jovellanos and Ceán Bermúdez between 1780 and 1783. Although there is no documentary evidence to support this theory, it is not an improbable assumption. Goya painted two portraits of Jovellanos, one in 1784 and the other in 1798. The earlier portrait proves

that Goya and Jovellanos had at least met by the mid 1780's. Additional evidence is the fact that Jovellanos was appointed as an honorary member of the Academy a month before Goya was voted into membership. The contemporary historian Polt confirms this and states that around the time of his new status as an academician, Jovellanos "... became the friend and patron of the man who was to be the greatest painter of the age, Francisco de Goya." (Polt, 1971, p. 23.)

Dowling (1985, p. 351), a researcher, firmly believes that Goya and Jovellanos were actually friends. His opinion is based on a letter that Goya wrote to Martin Zapater about his stay in Aranjuez in the spring of 1798. Dowling records this correspondence in his article *The Crisis of the Spanish Enlightenment: Capricho 43 and Goya's Second Portrait of Jovellanos*. In this letter, Goya wrote to Zapater that Jovellanos was kind enough to go out of his way to entertain him, take him riding in his carriage and offer him great expressions of friendship. Goya does not go further to clearly explain the exact nature of these amiable actions. In addition, the Spanish minister (Jovellanos) learned sign language so that he could talk to Goya. This was necessary, as Goya was deaf by this time. Furthermore, the minister enjoyed the company of the artist, for when Goya was coming to the end of his stay, Jovellanos wanted him to stay longer.

Pérez-Sánchez (1989, p. 69-71) quotes the author Edith Helman, who says that the contribution by Jovellanos on the artistic development of Goya cannot be measured. Jovellanos admired the work of Goya, and he guided other promising young men, like Ceán Bermúdez and Meléndez Valdés. Helman does not explain exactly how Jovellanos assisted these men, but she is certain that Jovellanos helped Goya by always recommending Goya for individual or official commissions that came to his attention. Helman also maintains that Goya's opinion about certain areas of Spanish society was influenced by the criticisms of Jovellanos. The minister disapproved of: idle nobility; inactive and useless friars; the Inquisition; farcical marriages, and false religious devotion.

Williams (1976, p. 77) confirms the above claim by Helman that Jovellanos supported

Goya. He maintains that when Jovellanos joined the Academy a month after Goya, he helped and encouraged the aspiring painter by buying prints that the artist produced. Gassier and Wilson (1981, p. 93) agree with both these researchers. In 1784 Jovellanos used his influence to help Goya obtain a commission from the Salamanca College of Calatrava. The college requested four life-size paintings with religious themes. The title of one of the paintings was *The Immaculate Conception* (1784). Reproductions of these works are not available today, because they were destroyed between 1810 and 1812 during a guerrilla battle between resisting Spaniards and French soldiers.

In spite of the commissions organised by Jovellanos, and Goya's appointment as an academician did not provide the artist with a very large income. Goya therefore needed to find a patron to find financial security. His election to the Academy did help him in his quest. Goya's first major patron was the younger brother of Charles 3, the Infante Don Luis de Bourbon⁴² (1727-1785). The young talented artist spent the months of August and September 1783 painting a major commission for the Infante. Goya seemed to have had a good rapport with his newest patron, as he was invited to stay with the family during this time and often went hunting with the Infante. Goya came to know Don Luis fairly well and the future now seemed certain. By 1785, however, the Infante was seriously ill, and died shortly afterwards. (Gassier, 1981, p. 60-61 and Gassier, 1983, p. 132.) The fact that Goya was invited to spend leisure time with a member of the high nobility, can only mean that his manners and actions were of an acceptable standard, and that Goya was not an uncouth cretin, as has sometimes been claimed.

Fortunately for Goya, on the 18 of March 1785 he rose to the position of Deputy-Director of Painting at the Academy. His name began to become better known at the Madrid court and soon other commissions were requested of him. In that same year Goya painted the portraits of the Duke and Duchess of **Osuna** (see p. 41-42 for information on this couple). The ninth Duke of Osuna and his wife, the Countess-Duchess of Benavente, were very generous patrons of Goya from 1785 until 1799. Goya had been introduced to this enlightened couple by the Infante. They bought

paintings from Goya to decorate their home in Madrid and their country palace at La Alameda and their private chapel in the cathedral at Valencia. The Duke was interested in all the latest enlightened ideas and, was above all, concerned with the problems of industry and agriculture. The Duchess, was a prominent and educated women of her time. She was remarkable for her elegance, intelligence and sharp wit which was greatly influenced by French enlightened thought. The Duchess was president of the woman's section of the Royal Economic Society in Madrid, and a friend and patron to actors and artists. It is also interesting that the Osuna's house was frequented by the foremost intellectuals and outstanding talents of the day, such as the poet Tomas de Iriarte (the brother of Bernardo) and the playwright and poet Moratín. (Gassier, 1981, p. 63-64 and Gassier, 1983, p. 132.) Although there is no documentary proof, it is not unreasonable to assume that the enlightened views held by these people would have been expressed in front of Goya, and he possibly would have reflected on them.

The Osuna nobles and Jovellanos were not the only *ilustrados* to use their influence to help Goya receive commissions. Gassier believes that through the persuasion of **Ceán Bermúdez** (who held a post in the bank's secretariat from 1783), Goya was asked to paint six official portraits for the Bank of San Carlos. These works (all of important enlightened people) were completed between the years 1785 and 1788. One painting was of the then monarch Charles 3 (1787); another depicts **Cabarrús** (1788), a friend of Goya, and the Count of **Altamira** (1787) is also included in the group. Altamira was a forward thinker like the aristocrat Osuna. Goya received more commissions from Altamira; an interesting one portrays the younger son of this noble, Manuel Osorio (1788). (Gassier, 1981, p. 61, p. 68, p. 95 and Gassier 1983, p. 114, p. 132.)

According to the art historian Howard (1989, p. 22) this portrait of the innocent four-year-old son of the Count of Altamira portrays a world where the expectations by aristocratic parents are great. Manuel Osorio is unaware of the burdens of responsibility and the hopes of his parents. This impression is created by illustrating the child holding a string which is attached to the leg of a bird. Both are oblivious of two cats lurking in the shadows that stare ominously at the captured bird on the end of the

string, and a cage full of birds next to the youth. This suggests to Howard that Goya is making a social comment on the power and control that the Count of Altamira had over the destiny of Manuel Osorio. Goya is beginning to introduce an element of social comment into his work before the last decade of the eighteenth century, as is seen in the portrait of Manuel Osorio.

In conclusion, many authors credit the *philosophes* mentioned above, amongst others, for creating an environment for Goya in which the current dilemmas in Spain and the necessary remedies were debated and addressed. This is not altogether surprising, because as Gassier (1983, p. 165) reminds his readers, these people were more cultured and enlightened than any others with whom Goya had previously associated. Another art historian Glendinning (1977, p. 27), confirms this opinion.

Through men such as these [Jovellanos, Mélenéz Valdés, Moratín, Ceán Bermúdez etc.] Goya came into contact with the ideas of the Enlightenment. He came to share his friends' opposition to religious fanaticism and superstition, and was, like them, particularly critical of the Inquisition and some of the monastic orders. ... They favoured a better distribution of land, more equitable laws and constitutional rights; also an educational system which would bring out the qualities of the individual instead of forcing him to conform. (Bold emphasis by this author.)

From the information on the previous pages, clearly most authors believe that Goya became familiar with many enlightened Spaniards during the last two decades of the eighteenth century. These *ilustrados* opened a new world for Goya, full of ideas and views concerned with bringing enlightened progress to Spain. (Gassier, 1983, p. 90 and p. 149.)

Meanwhile Goya's fortune started changing: the director of the tapestry factory died in 1786, and this caused a reshuffle in the organisation of the factory. On the 25 June, Goya and his brother-in-law, Ramón Bayeu, were appointed Painters to the King. This position came with a salary of fifteen thousand *reales*⁹ per annum. Goya's financial

⁹ A *real* is a Spanish coin or money. (Vox, 1973, p. 1286.)

security now seemed assured, and he no longer needed a patron. Goya was sought after, and only painted important people or those who were recommended by a friend. In 1788 Charles 3 died, and the prince of Asturias succeeded him to the Spanish throne as Charles 4. On the 25 April 1789, Goya was appointed Court Painter by the new sovereign. He painted the portraits of the new king in 1789. (This was a commission for the Royal Academy of History which was obtained through the influence of Jovellanos). The artist had already produced many works for the new monarch (see endnote 38) and was very happy with his recent promotion at court. With the dawn of the French Revolution in 1789, however, Goya found his world was not as happy as before. Goya was torn between his loyalty to his king, and the friendship and sympathy that Goya felt towards his enlightened friends and their new ideas that were now coming under pressure. As a result of the revolutionary events in France, the Spanish *ilustrados*, were persecuted because of their enlightened views. Jovellanos and Ceán Bermúdez were exiled, and Cabarrús was imprisoned (see p. 52-53). (Gassier, 1981, p. 64 and p. 68.)

Towards the end of 1790, Goya wrote to Zapater about his feelings concerning the persecution of his friends. In this letter to Zapater, Goya says that he had "...become aware of the need to base his life on criteria other than money, success, hunting, and flamenco". (Gassier, 1983, p. 173.) Goya was beginning to realise that his previous enjoyments of Spanish customs, like the public dances of the *majas* and the *majos*^h, and other events like bullfighting, were condemned by the *ilustrados*⁴³. Goya was sending some sheets of music to Zapater, to be copied by the latter.

With what satisfaction you will hear them. As for me I have not yet heard them and I probably never shall for I no longer go to those places where I could hear them because I have got it into my head that I must be resolute and maintain the degree of dignity that befits a man; with all that, as you can imagine, I am not very happy. (Ibid., p. 173.) (Bold emphasis by this author.)

Goya is obviously undergoing an inner struggle between the pleasures that he was accustomed to, and the opinions expressed by his enlightened friends who were

^h *majo* (MASCULINE) AND *maja* (FEMININE) ARE SPANIARDS FROM THE LOWER CLASS WHO USUALLY WEAR VERY COLOURFUL CLOTHING. (VOX, 1973, P. 1163.)

experiencing hardships with dignity. (Gassier, 1983, p. 172-173.)

This change of attitude can be seen in the work of Goya. In April 1791, the king requested a series of tapestries that depicted rural and comical subject-matter. Goya was reluctant to continue his work for the tapestry factory. He had however, a change of heart after official pressure was applied and agreed to paint these scenes for the king. One work, *The Wedding* (1791-1792), depicts a wedding ceremony between a beautiful bride and a fat and ugly, but very rich groom. The man desires a beautiful wife, and can have one only because his spouse aspires to a comfortable life and a good social standing. The theme of this design is similar to the ideas that Goya was to explore in *Los Caprichos* (1797-1799). (Tomlinson, 1994, p. 83-90.)

Another incident which is important in the life of Goya that could have stimulated the inspiration behind *Los Caprichos*, is the **serious illness** that he suffered during the winter of 1792-1793. As a result of this affliction, the series of tapestry designs (mentioned above) was never completed. It appears that before 1793 Goya was in good health. On the 2 September 1792 he attended a session of the Academy of Fine Arts in Madrid, and on the 14 of October he presented a paper on the teaching of painting. In January 1793, however, Zapater sent a letter to Martínez, the chief treasurer of the Finance Committee in Cadiz. From this letter it is known that Goya was very seriously ill, and stayed at the home of Martínez. Goya painted his host in 1792, which implies that the artist was well enough to paint before the end of December. The exact nature of this illness is unknown. Nevertheless, one thing is sure: Goya was critically ill almost to the point of death and was temporarily paralysed, losing his sense of balance. The artist did recover his health but his hearing was gone forever. (Gassier, 1981, p. 106.) Although there is no documentary evidence to substantiate the claim that Goya was inspired to create the *Caprichos* by the impressive collection of paintings and particularly prints, which he must have seen during his recuperation at the home of Martínez, it is not an unreasonable assumption.

According to researchers, the work of Goya became critical in attitude after his illness

of 1792. Some authors parallel the affliction suffered by Goya with the beginning of the French Revolution in 1789 which eventually culminated in the bloodshed of the Terror (1793-1794). Pérez-Sánchez (1989, p. xxii), says the tragic events of the Terror dashed the hopes of the *ilustrados* and led Goya to condemn the Spanish life around him that his enlightened friends opposed.

When Goya returned to court after his illness, it was a different atmosphere altogether. Louis 16 (the cousin of Charles 4) had been guillotined on the 21 of January 1793. This caused animosity between Spain and France to the point that Spain declared war on France in March 1793. The French House of Bourbon had been forcibly removed, and the institution of the Spanish monarchy was also questioned. This situation was made worse by the meteoric rise to power of Manuel Godoy. Godoy had become Prime Minister in November of the previous year. Coupled with the added rumours of his infidelities with the queen, the respect and authority that Charles 4 had with the Spanish people was weakened. (Tomlinson, 1994, p. 94.)

An example of the change in the work of Goya at this time can be seen in the paintings that the artist sent to Bernardo de Iriarte in 1794 who was the Vice Protector of the Academy of San Fernando. A letter, which accompanied these paintings, explained the reasoning of the artist behind these works. Gassier and Wilson (1981, p. 108-109) record this letter in which Goya reports:

In order to occupy my imagination mortified by the contemplation of my sufferings, and in order to compensate in part for the considerable expense which they have caused me, I devoted myself to painting a set of cabinet pictures in which I have managed to make observations for which there is normally no opportunity in commissioned works which give no scope for fantasy and invention. (Bold emphasis by this author.)

The set of cabinet paintings are painted upon tin plate, and are entitled: *Yard with lunatics*⁴⁴, *The strolling players*; *Fire at night*; *Attack by robbers*; *Shipwreck*; and *Interior of a prison*. These six, together with six other works (also painted on tin plate portraying subjects of bullfighting) form the twelve works that Goya delivered to the academy. They were painted in 1793 during Goya's convalescence. The satirical criticism found

in the print series *Los Caprichos*, is already evident in these paintings ⁴⁵. (Wilson-Bareau, 1994, p. 200.)

In August 1795, Francisco Bayeu died, and by the following month Goya became the new Director of Painting at the Academy. It was during this year that Goya painted a portrait of the Duke and **Duchess of Alba**. The duke died the following year, and Goya joined the duchess at the Alba's summer house in Sanlúcar. Many art historians, such as Gassier and Wilson (1981, p. 102, and p. 116-117), believe that during the summer of 1796, the fifty-year-old Goya became the lover of the thirty-four-year-old Duchess of Alba. This love affair is another event which could have had some bearing on *Los Caprichos* (see p. 90-92). In 1797, Goya painted a portrait of the Duchess. In this painting, there are two rings on the fingers of the Duchess which have her name and the name of the artist inscribed on them. In addition Goya drew some intimate drawings of the Duchess which form part of Album A (mentioned below). These facts supply strong evidence to the assumption that they were lovers. While Goya was producing *Los Caprichos* he created the etching *Sueño de la mentira y la inconstancia* (*Dream of Lying and Inconstancy*) (illus. 20). This print is generally interpreted as a direct allusion to the cruel deception of his relationship with the Duchess of Alba, and her treacherous betrayal of him with another lover. Gassier and Wilson state that a French traveller wrote that the Duchess was such an attractive woman that every hair on her head caused desire.

During 1796 Goya suffered a third illness during 1796. This ailment could have been a combination of the physical effects which resulted from the indisposition in 1792, and the mental suffering caused by a failed relationship with the Duchess of Alba which may be regarded as a blow to his self esteem. The effect of this strain can be seen in the work that Goya produced after this time (such as his *Los Caprichos*), and that "... his illness or unstable and painful mental state acted as a stimulus for his art". (De Salas, 1979a, p. 67.)

Album A (1796-1797), also known as the Sanlúcar album, was drawn during Goya's

stay on the estate of the Duchess of Alba. This is the first of many series of drawings done by Goya, and they contain the inspiration for many of *Los Caprichos*. This influence is seen not in the subject-matter, but in the latent eroticism of many images, for example *Young woman pulling up her stocking* which is the preparatory drawing for *Los Caprichos* 17 *Bien tirada está* (*It is well pulled up*). (This work is not illustrated.) The duchess appears often, recognisable by her long dark hair, and there are also drawings of other young women caught in private scenes and states of undress. (Gassier, 1981, p. 117.)

The true nature of the relationship between Goya and the Duchess of Alba is not known. The intimate drawings in Album A are believed to be of the Duchess unposed and unaware of the viewer. These illustrations, however, could merely be the fruits of Goya's imagination. Tomlinson (1994, p. 99-101) notes that the social hierarchy of Spain in the eighteenth century would not have allowed an affair. Tomlinson also questions whether a thirty-four-year-old woman would find a fifty-year-old man attractive, especially considering that the Duchess was recently widowed, and Goya was not in the best of health. Nevertheless, the sketches that deal with female sexuality are one of the themes which Goya developed in his print series, for example *Los Caprichos* 17.

While Goya was still staying at the Duchess's house (or at least shortly afterwards) he produced another series of drawings. Originally this sketchbook was known as the Large Sanlúcar Album. Most contemporary art historians now refer to it as the Madrid Album or Album B. Album B is a continuation of the themes and techniques of Album A. This collection of drawings contain many popular customs and sayings and the figures are more composed than in Album A which might be drawn from life. (Gassier, 1981, p. 118-120.)

There is a clear change in the sequence of drawings in Album B. The difference is one of spirit and technique:

Goya was merely drawing scenes containing several figures in the attitudes of everyday life, women being the protagonists in these scenes; then, suddenly,

masked figures appear, creatures with caricatured features, and sorceresses. The femininity, the grace that reigned supreme in the drawings of the first part of the album are succeeded by ugliness and the grotesque. (De Salas, 1979b, p. 715.)

The first nineteen pages deal with themes of *gallants* which were a legacy of the tapestry paintings and the light-hearted Rococo period of *majos, majas*, scenes from the *paseo*, lovers' quarrels, amongst others. This world created by Goya now delves into the irrational. The *Caprichos* owe a lot to this album for their working drawings. (Gassier, 1981, p. 119-120.)

De Salas (1979b, p. 712-715), says that the poet and playwright Leonardo Fernández de Moratín may have influenced the change in the drawings mentioned above. The art historians Gassier and Wilson (1981, p. 135) also believe that this faithful friend of Goya actually influenced *Los Caprichos*. This opinion is based on the following facts: in 1792 Moratín travelled to Paris, London, Flanders, the Rhine, Switzerland and Italy (see p. 53). He returned to Cadiz on the 22 of December 1796. After eating at the house of Sebastián Martínez, the two men visited Goya. This is only one of six visits or conversations between Goya and Moratín from December 1796 to January 1797, recorded in a journal kept by Moratín. De Salas states that Moratín showed Goya a set of English caricatures which he procured during his journey abroad. No specific artist of these prints is mentioned. According to this journal written by Moratín, however, these caricatures depicted

... the gravity of the English magistrates, the affectation of the young women, the vanity of noblemen, the baseness of men of fashion and courtesans, in short all the vices of man in society are exposed to laughter and public scorn. (Ibid., p. 712.)

De Salas is sure that these meetings with Moratín and the English caricatures in Moratín's possession must have exerted some influence upon Goya's *Los Caprichos*. Gassier (1975, p. 74) writes that one of these influences could have been scenes about witchcraft that Goya heard from Moratín. This assumption is based on the fact that in 1797 Moratín was writing an explanatory text entitled *Account of the auto-de-fé ... celebrated at Logroño in 1610*, which probably concerned the burning of a witch or another victim of the Inquisition.

The aesthetics of *Los Caprichos* is another area where the playwright Moratín could have exerted some influence. The dramatic gestures and stage lighting that are common to theatrical performances are evident in Goya's print series. De Salas is one author who believes that Moratín inspired Goya in the style of *Los Caprichos*. This belief is based on a passage taken from the journal by Moratín, which de Salas records:

The element of ridicule in these caricatures consists in three things: 1st in the satirical manner of presenting the incident, which is the equivalent of fable in comedy; 2nd in the attitudes of the characters, which are the equivalent of dramatic situations; 3rd the exaggeration of the gestures, which is the same thing as the expressiveness of visible characters introduced into a drama. (De Salas, 1979b, p. 715.) (Bold emphasis by this author.)

Another friend who could have influenced Goya at this time was the poet and lawyer Mélen­dez Valdés. In 1797, Mélen­dez Valdés became an attorney in Madrid. In this year, Mélen­dez Valdés published a poem *La despedida del anciano* (The old man's farewell). This poem is a philosophical poem that deals with the ideals of the Enlightenment, and criticises the vice-ridden court, the nobility, luxury, extravagance, and adultery. (Gassier, 1981, p. 135.)

*The works of Meléndez [Valdés] are representative of enlightened poetry. In 1797 **La despedida del anciano** (The Old Man's Farewell) was published for a second time, a poem in which Meléndez [Valdés] denounced the vice-ridden court [of Charles 4], the nobility, luxury, extravagance, and adultery. (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. 55-56.)*

All these influences can be seen in the *Caprichos* and will be discussed further in the next chapter and the concluding chapter of this thesis.

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER FIVE

37. ONLY TOWARDS THE END OF HIS TRAINING WAS GOYA ALLOWED TO CHOOSE HIS OWN SUBJECT-MATTER TO PAINT. INITIALLY, LUZÁN TAUGHT GOYA TO DRAW BY COPYING PRINTS FROM HIS PERSONAL COLLECTION. GOYA OFTEN USED THIS APPROACH TO INSPIRE HIM IN HIS LATER RELIGIOUS PAINTINGS AND MANY COMMISSIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, *THE BURIAL OF CHRIST* (c. 1770-1772) WAS BASED ON A PAINTING BY THE FRENCHMAN SIMON VOUET (1590-1649). GOYA ALSO PRODUCED PRINTS AFTER PAINTINGS BY THE SPANISH SEVENTEENTH CENTURY PAINTER DIEGO VELÁZQUEZ (1599-1660) (SEE P. 58). (GASSIER, 1981, P. 33-35, P. 48 AND MICROSOFT ENCARTA, 1993, "VOUET, SIMON" AND "VELAZQUEZ, DIEGO RODRIGUEZ DE SILVA Y".)

38. THE FIRST TAPESTRY DESIGNS BY GOYA WERE FOR THE DINING ROOM OF THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF ASTURIAS (FUTURE KING CHARLES 4 AND QUEEN MARÍA LUISA) IN THE PALACE AT SAN LORENZO DEL ESCORIAL. *THE QUAL SHOOT* (1775) IS ONE EXAMPLE OF THESE PAINTINGS. (GASSIER, 1981, P. 44.)

39. FLAMENCO WAS THE TRADITIONAL SONG AND DANCE OF THE GYPSIES (FLAMENCOS) OF ANDALUSIA IN SOUTHERN SPAIN. THIS SPANISH DANCE DEVELOPED OVER SEVERAL CENTURIES FROM GYPSY, MOORISH, ANDALUSIAN, AND OTHER ROOTS. (MICROSOFT ENCARTA, 1993, "FLAMENCO".)

40. GOICOECHEA WAS A FRIEND OF GOYA'S PARENTS AND A WEALTHY BUSINESSMAN WHO CREATED THE COMPANY OF THE FRIENDS OF SARAGOSSA IN 1775. THE AIM OF THIS COMPANY WAS TO IMPROVE TRADE TO OTHER REGIONS AND DEVELOP COMMERCE IN THE CITY. IN 1776, GOICOECHEA BECAME A MEMBER OF THE *Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País*. IN FEBRUARY 1790, GOICOECHEA WAS KNIGHTED BY CHARLES 3 FOR CREATING AN ACADEMY OF DRAWING, FROM HIS OWN FUNDS. IN GRATITUDE THE ECONOMIC SOCIETY COMMISSIONED GOYA TO PAINT GOICOECHEA'S PORTRAIT IN 1789. (PÉREZ-SÁNCHEZ, 1989, P. LI-LII AND GASSIER, 1981, P. 33.)

41. THE FIRST IMPORTANT PORTRAIT THAT GOYA PAINTED WAS THAT OF THE COUNT OF FLORIDABLANCA (c. 1783). GOYA PAINTED PORTRAITS OF MANY OTHER ENLIGHTENED THINKERS, SUCH AS: JOVELLANOS (1784) AND (1798), OSUNA (1785), CEÁN BERMÚDEZ (c. 1785), ALTAMIRA (1786-1787), CABARRÚS (1788), MARTÍNEZ (1792), MÉLENDEZ VALDÉS (1797), IRIARTE (1797), MORATÍN (1799) AND URQUIJO (1798-1800). (GASSIER, 1981, P. 58, P. 61, P. 95, P. 106, P. 109, P. 133 AND P. 135.)

42. THE INFANTE WAS THE BROTHER OF CHARLES 3 AND LIVED IN SEMI-EXILE AT *ARENAS DE SAN PEDRO*, NEARLY SIXTY-FIVE MILES FROM MADRID. THE INFANTE WAS ONCE THE CARDINAL-ARCHBISHOP OF TOLEDO AND SEVILLE. WHEN HE MARRIED MARÍA TERESA DE VALLABRIGA IN 1776, HE GAVE UP HIS POSITION AT COURT AND IN THE CHURCH, BECAUSE HIS BRIDE WAS FROM COMPARATIVELY LOW DESCENT. THEY HAD THREE CHILDREN: A SON, DON LUIS MARÍA DE BORBÓN Y VALLABRIGA (1777-1823), AND TWO DAUGHTERS, DOÑA MARÍA TERESA (1780-1828) AND MARÍA JOSEFA. THE BOY WAS TO BE THE FUTURE CARDINAL-ARCHBISHOP OF TOLEDO AND, MARÍA TERESA WAS TO BE THE FUTURE COUNTESS OF CHINCHÓN AND GODOY'S UNHAPPY WIFE. MARÍA TERESA POSED FOR GOYA AGAIN IN 1800 AS THE COUNTESS. (GASSIER, 1981, P. 60.)

43. THE INHABITANTS OF THE LOW-CLASS DISTRICTS OF MADRID (THE MAJOS AND MAJAS) TYPIFIED THE NATURAL GAIETY AND ELEGANCE OF THE PEOPLE OF MADRID. THEY WERE ELEGANT IN THEIR TRADITIONAL COSTUMES. THESE PEOPLE AND THEIR DRESS WERE MIMICKED BY THE SPANISH NOBILITY, AND GOYA WAS REQUESTED TO PAINT THE PICTURESQUE AND ENCHANTING WORLD OF THESE PEOPLE. (GASSIER, 1981, P. 45.)

44. *YARD WITH LUNATICS* DEPICTS A SCENE OF A LUNATIC ASYLUM WHERE AN ATTENDANT BEATS AN INMATE. THIS WORK IS THE ONLY PAINTING DOCUMENTED AS PART OF THIS SERIES. THE OTHERS ARE ASSOCIATED WITH THIS PAINTING DUE TO THEIR SIZE AND THAT THEY ARE ALSO PAINTED ON TIN. (TOMLINSON, 1994, P. 94-94.)

45. *Capricho* IS A WORD USED BEFORE GOYA PRODUCED HIS CABINET PAINTINGS. IN 1775 THE SONS OF GIAMBATTISTA TIEPOLO (SEE P. 42) PUBLISHED A SERIES OF *capriccio* PRINTS BY THEIR FATHER. THESE GRAPHICS CONTAINED A SENSE OF MYSTERY AND DRAMA AND DEPICTED SORCERERS, SNAKES AND NIGHT BIRDS. THE TERM *capriccio* WAS USED TO INDICATE THAT THE ARTIST HAD GIVEN FREE REIGN TO HIS IMAGINATION, AND CREATED WHAT HE PLEASED. A SIMILAR FEELING IS EXPRESSED BY GOYA IN HIS LETTER TO IRIARTE WHERE HE SAYS THAT THE CABINET PAINTINGS GIVE SCOPE TO FANTASY AND IMAGINATION. (GASSIER, 1981, P. 130 AND GASSIER, 1983, P. 178-180.)

CHAPTER SIX

Los Caprichos of Goya.

In 1797, Goya began etching *Los Caprichos* (see endnote 45 for a discussion on the meaning of this word). The political scene during this time is interesting. Tomlinson (1992, p. 2) says that Goya published his etchings at a time when the monarchy was introducing reforms which challenged the powers of the clergy and aristocracy. More specifically Godoy was overthrown in March 1797, and Jovellanos returned to government. According to Ferrari (1962, p. x), this resurgence by the Spanish *philosophes* was the very moment when Goya decided to publish his print series. In the same year that *Los Caprichos* was issued, Goya was appointed First Court Painter. This was the highest position that a Spanish artist could reach in royal service. (López-Rey, 1956, p. 31.)

Los Caprichos were advertised in *Diario de Madrid* on the 6 February 1799. The following is the entire text from the announcement:

A Collection of Prints of Capricious Subjects, Invented and Etched by Don Francisco Goya. Since the artist is convinced that the censure of human errors and vices (though they may seem to be the province of Eloquence and Poetry) may also be the object of Painting, he has chosen as subjects adequate for his work, from the multitude of follies and blunders common in every civil society, as well as from the vulgar prejudices and lies authorized by custom, ignorance or interest, those that he has thought most suitable matter for ridicule as well as for exercising the artificer's fancy.

Since the majority of the objects represented in this work are ideal, it may not be too daring to expect that their defects will perhaps meet with forgiveness on the part of the connoisseurs as they will realize that the artist has neither followed the examples of others, nor been able to copy from nature. And if imitating Nature is as difficult as it is admirable when one succeeds in doing so, some esteem must be shown toward him who, holding aloof from her, has had to put before the eyes forms and attitudes that so far have existed only in the human mind, obscured and confused by lack of illustration, or excited by the unruliness of passions.

One would be assuming too much ignorance of the fine arts, if one were to warn the public that in none of the compositions which form this series has the artist

had in mind any one individual, in order to ridicule particular defects. For truly, to say so would mean narrowing overmuch the boundaries of talent, and mistaking the methods used by the arts of imitation in producing perfect works.

Painting (like Poetry) chooses from the universal what it considers suitable to its own ends: it reunites in a single fantastic personage circumstances and characteristics that nature has divided among many. From such a combination, ingeniously arranged, results the kind of successful imitation for which a good artificer deserves the title of inventor and not that of servile copyist. (López-Rey, 1973, p. 130-131.) (Bold emphasis by this author.)

Edith Helman, in the book by Tomlinson (1989, p. 14-15) states that Goya's advertisement for the series's publication in 1799 was written to gloss over the actual meaning of the images. Each print also has a title which serves to further conceal the bitter sarcasm of the graphics. The etching and the accompanying title go together. For some *Los Caprichos* the full meaning of the image is not clear without the title. López-Rey (1973, p. 130-132) is one of many commentators who believes that Goya had help in writing the advertisement for *Los Caprichos*. Ceán Bermúdez is the *ilustrados* thought by López-Rey to have written the text for Goya. Other authors like Ferrari (1962, p. vi and p. xi) maintain that it was Moratín who wrote the introduction to this body of work.

These opinions do not mean to imply, however, that Goya was incapable of writing and thinking for himself. López-Rey (1973, p. 130-132) states that in an inventory of Goya's household contents in 1812, it is recorded that the artist had a library consisting of several hundred books. In addition, according to López-Rey (who does not provide examples), Goya's opinions on works of art were accepted and often quoted by the art historian, Ceán Bermúdez (1749-1829).

Three manuscripts exist with commentary on the prints in *Los Caprichos* exist. Although none of them are definitely identified as written by Goya, most commentators agree that these writings reflect his opinions. One text is in the Prado museum, and like the advertisement for the *Capricho* series, the least critical in tone. This document is very guarded and ambiguous in explaining the meaning of the prints, especially those etchings with a political or religious subject. Pérez-Sánchez (1989, p. 115) believes,

without giving a reason for his assumption, that the Prado manuscript can be credited to Moratín. The Prado commentary has written on the first page that it is an explanation of the *Caprichos* written by Goya. The writer Elanor Sayre, in the book by Pérez-Sánchez (1989, p. ci-cii) argues that this does not necessarily mean Goya was the author of these statements. Sayre believes that when these articles are compared to the letters received by Zapater, the literary style is different.

The other manuscripts are: the Ayala (so named because it was once in the possession of the playwright Abelardo López de Ayala); the last is housed in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. Pérez-Sánchez (1995, p. 33) says that both writings are far more critical especially regarding the prints that deal with clerical, political and personal behaviour. The Ayala document dates from approximately 1799 to 1803. This is the earliest of these literary articles, and the commentary in it is described by Elanor Sayre, in the book by Pérez-Sánchez (1989, p. ci), as earthy, indiscreet and unperturbed to boldly identify certain groups of people, such as the nobility or the monks. The Prado manuscript and the Ayala text have been linked to each other because they share sentences or phrases in their explanation of the etchings of the *Caprichos*. (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. ci-cii.)

On a technical side, in these graphics by the Spanish master, the contrast of the etched line and the shades of aquatint as well as the different light and dark tones, help to enhance the conflict between right (which is seen as enlightened ideals) and wrong (which is associated with ignorance). (Gassier, 1981, p. 130.)

The first print of the series, *Fran. co Goya y Lucientes, Pintor* (illus. 1), is a three-quarter self portrait of a man who is a stern, sardonic and austere observer of Spanish life. In this self portrait Goya has given himself an expression that is wide awake and piercing. This reveals that Goya was aware of the Spanish life portrayed in the *Caprichos* which had fallen prey to the sleep of reason. (Williams, 1976, p. 92 and López-Rey, 1970, p. 103.)

The commentary in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid aptly describes this print in a few words: "A true self-portrait, in a **distinctly bad temper**, with a **satirical expression**." (Gassier, 1975, p. 103:.) (Bold emphasis by this author.) In 1698, a book on facial expressions by Charles Le Brun (1619-1690) was published⁴⁶. It was still influential in Goya's time. Le Brun stated that in order to illustrate contempt in a portrait, one eyebrow must be cocked and raised on one side, while the mouth is closed, slightly turned down with the lower lip jutting out beyond the upper lip. What Goya depicted in his print series, therefore, filled him with scorn and disgust (the satirical expression) and caused him pain (the bad temper). (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. 84-86.)

Although the self-portrait is now the first in the print series many commentators believe that *Los Caprichos* 43, *El sueño de la razon produce monstruos* (*The sleep of reason produces monsters*) (illus. 2), was intended to be the key to discovering the meaning behind Goya's prints. Fred Licht (from the book by Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. lxxix - lxxxi) proposes that *El sueño de la razon produce monstruos* was originally intended to be the first print of the *Caprichos*. At least two preparatory sketches were done for this etching, both of which help in the understanding of the work. These working drawings and the final image depict a man (perhaps even Goya himself) sitting asleep at a desk.

Los Caprichos 43 is not without antecedents, however. There is an etching and engraving which is the frontispiece for the second volume of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Philosophie* that is similar to this print by Goya, and could have been the source of inspiration for the figural composition of this etching. Rousseau is depicted sitting at a desk while offering his new manuscript to Mary and her Child, the source of light in the whole image. At his feet lie many manuscripts, the most prominent being *Confessions* (also written by the philosopher). In both the preparatory drawings for the *Caprichos* 43, Goya is asleep at his desk, but in first sketch the head of the sleeping figure is the source of light. (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. 110-111.) This may suggest that Goya was familiar with Rousseau's work.

The composition for the seated figure comes from an engraving in a book by Don



*Fran.^{co} Goya y Lucientes,
Pintor*

Illus. 1
(*Fran. co Goya y Luucientes, / Painter*)



Illus. 2
(The sleep of reason produces monsters)

Francesco de Quevedo that could have inspired the idea behind the *Caprichos*. Quevedo was a satirist and a poet from the seventeenth century. He is illustrated sitting at his work table from which hangs a large piece of paper bearing the title of two books. One of these books is titled *Los Sueños de Don Francisco de Quevedo* (The Dreams of Don Francisco de Quevedo). It is very possible that Goya read this well-known work. In the book Quevedo told of his series of dreams in which he journeyed to the world of demons. He discovered that the difference between demons and human beings was so slight that the two could have been interchangeable. (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. 111.)

In the initial preparatory drawing for *Los Caprichos* 43, faces and animals emerge from the stream of light coming from the artist's head. One face is of Goya, who according to Pérez-Sánchez (1989, p. 110-116) looks sad and terrified by the content of the *sueños* (dreams). Various creatures occupy the space around the artist. Amongst others, a donkey (well-known as a symbol of ignorance) and a dog with its tongue hanging out (symbolizing the desire for what others have). One image which is carried into the final print is that of a lynx at the feet of the seated figure. Pérez-Sánchez writes that this animal has acute eyesight which it uses to pierce the darkness. A Spanish eighteenth century dictionary describes the lynx as having keen vision and great sagacity and subtlety in enquiring into and understanding difficult matters. In addition, a collection of flying birds (such as bats and owls) appear in the preparatory drawings and in the final print. Pérez-Sánchez believes that these owls are a species known as *búhos* (bubos⁴⁷) because of their large bodies, curved beaks and tufts of feathers on their heads which resemble ears. According to Pérez-Sánchez, owls and other night birds (like bats) were often linked to ignorance in the eighteenth century. López-Rey (1973, p. 128-130) thinks that the inclusion of bats has a great significance. Bats are seen as mythological deities of tormenting dreams, and there is also a superstitious belief that these creatures are present in witchcraft. A crouching black cat (which, like the bat is traditionally associated with the devil) is an addition to the final composition of the print.

Another interpretation regarding the inclusion of owls in this image is that Goya was linking them to the owls of Minerva the goddess of wisdom in Roman mythology. She

also represents wisdom, purity, and **reason**. In addition Minerva was the patron of the arts. Her equivalent in Greek mythology was the goddess Athena. Athena was primarily the goddess of the Greek cities, of industry and the arts, and (in later mythology) of **wisdom**. She was often associated with birds, especially the owl. (Microsoft Encarta, 1993, "Minerva" and "Athena".) Upon closer inspection, there also appears an owl next to the sleeping figure which appears to be offering a pen to the human and urging him to wake up. Could this be Reason trying to wake the man from sleep and banish the monsters?

Apart from the title, a text is included in the second of the two preparatory drawings for this *Capricho* (no. 43). The upper part of the image contains the word *sueño*, and an inscription can be found on the side of the desk stating "Universal Language. Drawn and Etched by Francisco de Goya. Year 1797." In addition a caption is added at the bottom of this drawing which states "The artist [is] dreaming. **His only purpose is to banish harmful, vulgar beliefs, and to perpetuate in this work of caprices the solid testimony of truth.**" (López-Rey, 1973, p. 128-130.) (Bold emphasis by this author.) This lends weight to the assumption that Goya wanted to promote enlightened ideals through this print series.

Fred Licht (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. lxxix - lxxxi) believes that there is no question about the influence that the Spanish Enlightenment had upon Goya. He maintains that *Los Caprichos* are without a doubt a visual statement of the ideas and opinions expressed during the *Aufklärung*. This argument rests upon the fact that the *philosophes* firmly believed that peoples's salvation was based upon their ability to learn. There is a connection between this enlightened ideal and the inclusion of owls in *Los Caprichos* 43. Goya used these birds as references to the goddess of wisdom. Although Goya challenges us to contemplate upon the effect of the sleep of Reason, he does not show the viewer a remedy for this unenlightened state. The artist speaks to the viewer as if they are also participants in this world devoid of reason. Licht has examined the texts and captions written by Goya and his friends for *Los Caprichos*, and has no doubt that these etchings are charged with enlightened morals, with the purpose of informing the

viewer. This intention could also have stemmed from the Neoclassical influences from Goya's past. During the Enlightenment attempts were made to find a moral code based upon the faculties of men and women, which would be the basis of social and political intercourse. The equivalent of this was found in Neoclassicism. Goya had contact with Neoclassical theories through Mengs and his brother-in-law Francisco Bayeu (see p. 57-58 where this issue is discussed).

Pérez-Sánchez (1989, p. 111), thinks therefore that since this etching was originally intended to be the introductory print in the sequence (as stated by Licht in the paragraph above,) Goya wanted to use the same device of dreams to criticise the society in which he lived. These dreams would show human beings compared in nature to animals, monsters or witches. The art historian Dowling (1985, p. 332 and p. 346-347) believes the disillusionment that begun with the reign of Charles 4 and his consort María Luisa of Parma, can be seen in the print *El sueño de la razon produce monstruos*. The disappointment in the vanishing reforms is evident in the pose of the seated figure, with his face hidden in his arms as if he wanted to flee from the phantoms that surround him. Concerning this image from the *Capricho* series, the Prado manuscript states: "Imagination forsaken by Reason begets impossible monsters: united with her, she is the mother of the arts and the source of their wonders." (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. 116.)

" The specific subject-matter of the *Caprichos* comes directly from the ideology of the Spanish Enlightenment. " Dowling (1985, p. 346), believes this because the title that Goya chose for the second print of the series, *El si pronuncian y la mano alargan / Al primero que llega* (*Women say yes and give their hand / to the first man that comes along*) (illus. 3), is taken from Jovellanos's *Sátira primera* (First Satire). It appeared in the periodical *El Censor* in 1786. (Ibid., p. 346-347.) In Spain during the 1780's, this journal was produced under the guidance of Luis Cañuelo. Williams (1976, p. 50) writes that in comparison to the traditional beliefs of religion and superstition (among others) *El Censor* was a source of radical enlightened thought.



*El sí pronuncian y la mano alargan.
Al primero que llega*

Illus. 3

(Women say yes and give their hand / to the first man that comes along)

Jovellanos claimed, in the introduction to his satire, that he was attacking the sin and not the sinner. He was criticising women who were adulterous in general, and noble women in particular.

*There was a time once when a sense of shame
gilded their crimes and covered timidly
the ugliness of vice; but modesty
has fled the Court to live in peasants' huts.
And with it fled the happy days gone by,
the age when wives revered their husbands' word.
Today Alcinda asks her mate to swallow
millstones for breakfast; and in social triumphs
and dancing spends his fortune and the nights
of bitter January, till the sun
sluggishly rising, is amazed to see
how, stranger-like, at her own door she knocks.
She enters, sweeping with her flowing skirt
the rug and leaving scattered here and there
the plumes and ribbons of her giant headdress.
Drowsy and languid, but with Fabio still
holding her hand, she weakly finds her way
to the bedchamber where the snoring cuckold
sleeps like a log and dreams he's fortunate.
Neither cold sweat, nor stench, nor rancid belch
bother the fool until his time to rise,
when quietly he leaves dishonoured sheets,
not to disturb his foe's uneasy sleep.*

*How many, Alcinda, are those in wedlock yoked
envious of your fate! How many those
who weep [sic] that yoke for such a fate as yours,
and without heeding reason and without
weighing their suitors' merits in their hearts,
pronounce their "Yes" and offer forth their hand
to the first comer! (Polt, 1971, p. 41-42.) (Bold emphasis by this author.)*

The historian Polt (1971, p. 40-43) believes that in this scornful writing Jovellanos was criticising the relaxation of sexual values amongst women of the upper classes. This condition could have developed from the relationship which many women had with their *cortejo*. The *cortejo* was a socially recognised friend of married women. Sometimes that is all that their relationship was, but often the relation developed more intimately. This strict **moral attack** by Jovellanos is indicative of widespread **social criticism** of the Enlightenment during this time.

Jovellanos set out to embody all that he most scorned in women who belonged to the upper nobility in this satire through the imaginary person of Alcinda. Alcinda walked on the Prado in Madrid (as did the professional prostitutes) to attract a lover. She entered marriage so that she could behave as she pleased. Goya cleverly used highlights in this print. Through the use of light the viewer's eye is drawn to the bride as she is led up the steps to the altar by her father holding her left hand. The bride is wearing a plain mask on her face. On the back of her head there is a caricatured mask representing an unattractive side of her nature. This combination is a symbol of duplicity. The right hand of the bride is behind her, which she is using to sexually excite her groom. The groom's facial features are similar to those of a monkey, which is a symbol of the animal side of human nature, in particular lust. At the side of the print, behind the groom, is a cleric who has his hands joined in prayer, as if blessing this farcical union. (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. 86.)

Goya was criticising the habit of marriages of convenience as the Prado manuscript states: "The ease with which many women offer themselves up to marriage, hoping thereby to enjoy greater freedom." In addition, the Ayala commentary records: "He [possibly the priest] censures marriages blindly made, like those of princesses and ladies in waiting." (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. 86.) This latter document was perhaps suggesting that the marriage between Charles 4 and María Luisa was just a mockery because of her lover Godoy.

Another print which can be attributed to the **influence of Jovellanos**, is *Los Caprichos* 42 (illus. 4). This graphic **criticises the nobility**. The title of this image, *Tu que no puedes* (*Thou who canst not*) is the beginning of a saying ending *llévame à cuestras* (carry me on your back), which meant, as a contemporary dictionary put it, "... oppress the feeble who cannot resist." (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. 107-108.) The two figures carrying the asses are identified as peasants, because their clothes are typical of the style worn by the poor in Spain at this time. In the eighteenth century the plight of the agricultural workers was of concern to many people throughout Europe. In 1795 Gaspar Melchor Jovellanos published a detailed report on agriculture and on how Spanish law



Tu que no puedes

Illus. 4
(*Thou who canst not*)

and policy affected it.

*Was it not enough that their miserable condition should be made even worse by **oppressing them** [agricultural workers] with taxes ... from which the clergy, the nobility, and now additional classes less worthy of respect are exempted? ... As a result of exemptions granted to other crafts and occupations the harshest and heaviest annual charges come down each day upon men cultivating the soil. ... **Officers of the Inquisition, ... of the brotherhoods, and even syndics of mendicant orders have extorted from the government these unjust and shameful exemptions, so that the weight of their [government] taxes falls upon the most important and valuable class of the state** [the agricultural workers].*
(Bold emphasis by this author.)

Goya has cleverly used the simile of an ass to illustrate a foolishly ridiculous pompous person, such as a noble, who has nothing to be proud of.

The men are straining under the weight of the asses, and their eyes are closed with, the blindness of ignorance. The two animals, however, seem to be leisurely scratching each other unaware of their effect on the peasants. One beast is wearing a particularly vicious-looking spur such as a noble might have, while the other ass seems to be chewing. Goya is criticising the unfortunate lives of productive labourers who carry those nobles who are too lazy to work. This state of affairs is indeed a society turned upside down with the peasants bearing the burden, apparently uncomplainingly. (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. 108.)

Glendinning in his essay *Art and Enlightenment in Goya's circle* is of the following opinion that

*Concern for victims of injustice was always strong in Goya. Like many of his contemporaries, he was also upset by **undeserved privileges**. He **mocked useless aristocrats and complacent political leaders** There is almost certainly comment in *Caprichos* plate 42, *Tu que no puedes* (You who cannot), on the unreasonable proportion of the tax burden borne by working people.*
(Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. lxxix-lxxx.) (Bold emphasis by this author.)

Another print in this series that criticizes **useless nobility** is *Los Caprichos* 39, *Asta su Abuelo* (As far back as his grandfather) (illus. 5). Licht (in the book by Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. lxxxiii) believes that the interpretation behind this image " ... is derived from orthodox ideas of the Enlightenment, in this case that of the foolish and sterile mania



Asta su abuelo

Illus. 5
(As far back as his grandfather)

of pride and genealogy. " In this work, which is done totally in aquatint, a well-dressed ass holds an open book with numerous pictures of other asses in it. This book could be a tabular list (or family tree) showing, in the order of succession, the earliest known ancestor placed at the head and later generations placed in lines of descent. Goya, therefore, is saying that all that this animal is proving is that his ancestors were asses just like him. (Microsoft Encarta, 1993, "Genealogy".) The animal is unable to contain his joy and pride in his ancestry. Even the coat of arms on the desk has the picture of an ass on it.

Godoy was obsessed with heraldry and genealogies, and even proposed that he was descended from the kings of the Goths. The Biblioteca manuscript states that: " The esteemed asses of the nobility descend from asses, going back to the very first. " (Pérez-Sánchez, 1995, p. 55.) Goya was inspired by a book written by José Cadalso, an enlightened poet, writer and friend of Moratín and the Osuna family. Cadalso states in his *Moroccan Letters* (1789) that the descendants of a worthy man who started their family line, were also worthy. What Goya appears to be saying is that if an unworthy ass of a man founded the line, then his descendants have no right to demand praise and honour from people. Recorded in the Prado manuscript is the following statement concerning *Los Caprichos* 39: " This wretched animal has been driven mad by genealogists and Kings at Arms [i.e. heraldic officers]. He is not the only one. " (Please note, the underlining in the previous sentence was **not** by the author of this thesis.) (Ibid., p. 102.)

In his print series Goya also condemns the **clergy who were ineffectual**. *Los Caprichos* 53, *Que pico de Oro!* (*What a golden beak!*) (illus. 6), depicts a group of people who are sitting spell-bound around a parrot on a pedestal. Some figures (recognisable as men of the cloth because of their dress and haircut) grasp their hands in reverent awe and close their eyes so they can absorb the words which come from the beak of the parrot. According to Williams (1976, p. 44-45), mockery of the clergy frequently occurred during the Enlightenment and this print may have been specifically directed against Fray Diego de Cadiz. He was a popular preacher who was detested by the *ilustrados*, probably because he perpetuated certain of the superstitions with the common people.



Que pico de Oro!

Illus. 6
(What a golden beak!)

It is possible that Goya used the image of a parrot in this print to refer to the blind repetition of learning and worship. Pérez-Sánchez (1995, p. 64), in support of this theory, says that *pico de oro* is Spanish for someone who speaks eloquently but without substance. This print could have been inspired by a work written by a Jesuit priest José de Isla. In 1758, de Isla wrote *Historia del famoso predicador Fray Gerundio de Campaszas*. This work is a satire on the ignorant display of useless facts and limitless frivolous chatter of clerical preachers. The manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional criticises the “... plagiarizing preachers and brainless audience listening open-mouthed”. (Ibid., p. 64.)

Los Caprichos 79, *Nadie nos ha visto* (*No one has seen us*) (illus. 7), is a savage attack on the **gluttony of the clergy**. Goya represents these clerics as grotesque figures who are avid consumers of drink. Four clergymen are merrily drinking alcohol from large glasses filled from a barrel in the right-hand corner of the print. Above this group is a figure in shadow looking almost like a demon. This creature watches as the group of fat dwarflike priests lose their reason to drink. These irrational priests are seen in many other *Los Caprichos*. (Williams, 1976, p. 48.) (One such example, not illustrated, is *Los Caprichos* 78, *Despacha, que dispiertan* (*Be quick, they are waking up*)). The Ayala manuscript is sarcastic in its comment on *Los Caprichos* 79: “The abbots and friars have a great time when they are alone and then present themselves to us leading a very disciplined life.” (Pérez-Sánchez, 1995, p. 81.)

Although plate 80 *Ya es hora* (*Time is up*) (illus. 8) criticises the **lazy clergy**, it does contain an element of hope. The title implies that now is the time for the unenlightened lives of the lazy clergy to be ended. In this last plate of the *Caprichos*, four figures dressed in the clothes of the clergy are rising, stretching their limbs after sleeping. Their facial features are caricatured and give the impression of an underlying animal nature. The Ayala manuscript states that the clergy are “... always stretching, snoring or singing, without ever being useful to their fellow men”. (Pérez-Sánchez, 1995, p. 82.)



Nadie nos ha visto

Illus. 7
(No one has seen us)



Ya es hora

Illus. 8
(Time is up)

Superstition is a subject which is often attacked in *Los Caprichos*. In the twelfth print, *A caza de dientes* (*Out hunting for teeth*) (illus. 9), Goya criticises an unenlightened belief. In this print, a woman is depicted trying to remove a tooth from the mouth of a dead man. The man, hung from the neck, has been illuminated against a simple dark background containing only a low wall. The terrified woman, while shielding her face with a delicate handkerchief, reaches out with her right hand to pluck out a tooth. The hand of the woman is also highlighted by Goya to bring attention to the irrational action taking place in this print. Many Spaniards believed that a hanged person's teeth could be used to cast spells or to bring luck. The manuscript which appears in the Prado notes "What a pity the common people should believe such nonsense." (Pérez-Sánchez, 1995, p. 40.)

Another print from this series which attacks **religious superstition** is *Los Caprichos* 52, *Lo que puede un Sastre!* (*What a tailor can do!*) (illus. 10). In this etching a tree has been dressed in the clothing of a monk. People cower before this spectacle, while witches fly overhead. Williams (1976, p. 49) proposes that Goya is directing his comment against the power which the Church has over people with a superstitious worship merely through garments worn by the clergy. Williams also believes that Goya's inspiration for this image came from a satire written by one of Jovellanos's protégés in 1791. Williams, however, does not provide the person's name.

The commentary from the manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional states that: "General superstition makes people prostrate themselves to fear and worship even a tree-trunk dressed as a saint." (Pérez-Sánchez, 1995, p. 63.) It would not be unreasonable to think that this print also criticises the power wielded by unworthy people, even royalty. Either way Goya is calling to the attention of the viewer that unenlightened people bow before respected dress, irrespective of whether the person wearing the clothes is worthy of honour.

A print which criticises both **superstition** and **bad education** is *Los Capricho* 3, *Que viene el Coco* (*Here comes the hoggymon*) (illus. 11). In this work Goya attacks mothers who



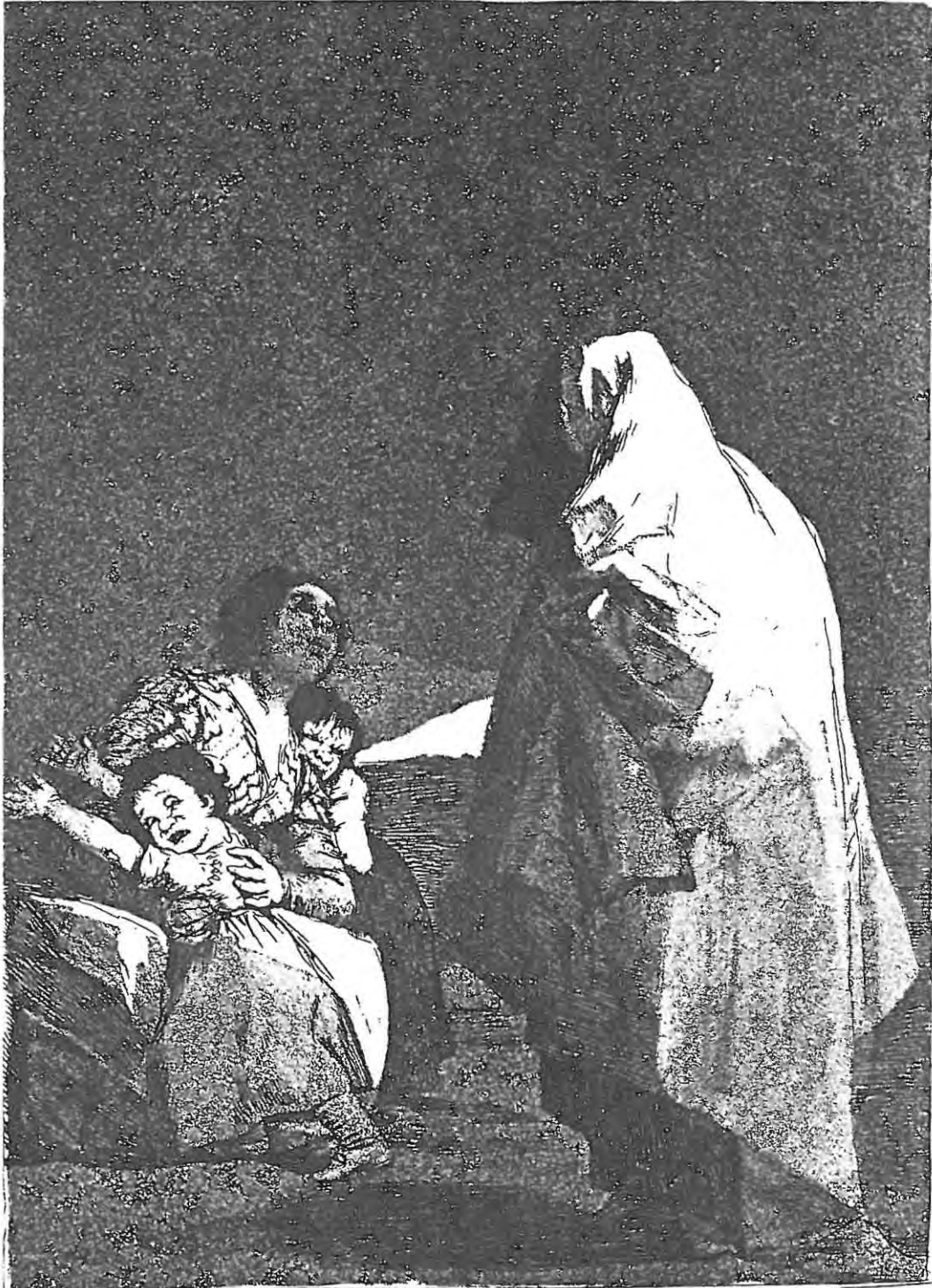
A caza de dientes

Illus.9
(Out hunting for teeth)



Lo que puede un Sastre!

Illus. 10
(What a tailor can do!)



Que viene el Coco

Illus. 11
(Here comes the bogeyman)

wrongly teach children to fear something and run away so that the parents can be alone to indulge their desires, such as an affair. While the woman 'protects' her children, she glances up with love at the apparition. Goya depicts the cloaked figure wearing fashionable shoes, which supports the assumption that this mysterious figure is the woman's lover. In the preliminary drawing (not from Album A or B), Goya has indicated a bed, which reinforces the theory of a romantic liaison between the woman and the mysterious figure. Fray Benito Jerónimo Feijóo, the Benedictine monk, wrote in his *Universal Critical Theatre*, which criticised mindless orthodoxy and superstition, that on many occasions men disguise their appearance with garments (such as long coats) to commit theft, adultery or rape. Feijóo continued to say that these deceptions would only cease when they are exposed to light. (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. 88-89.) It is not too far-fetched to assume that this illumination could come from the light of reason. In this print, Goya has highlighted the back of the disguised figure and the chest of the woman, thereby exposing an unenlightened scene of contemporary Spain.

With reference to the above print the Prado manuscript states: " Deplorable abuse of a child's early instruction. Making the child more afraid of the bogeyman than of his father, and forcing him to fear what does not exist. " The manuscript from Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, says " Stupid mothers make their children fearful by conjuring up the bogeyman; and worse mothers use this deception to be alone with their lovers when they cannot be rid of their children. " (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. 88-89.)

López-Rey (1973, p.134), is of the opinion that Goya's commentaries in the *Caprichos* show that he had the same regard for **education** as his enlightened colleagues. The belief during the time of the Enlightenment was that people could reform their ways through enlightened education. Therefore, unenlightened education was attacked by the *ilustrados*. Licht (from the book Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. lxxxii) believes that *Los Caprichos* 25, *Si quebró el Cantaro (But he broke the pitcher)* (illus. 12), deals with a subject that is particularly dear to the Enlightenment, namely child-rearing. Goya has etched this scene in an ordinary everyday Spanish street while a mother is hanging up wet clothes to dry. The child has just broken a clay pitcher filled with water, and is receiving



Si quebró el Cantaro

Illus. 12
(But he broke the pitcher)

a beating for it. Goya has cleverly highlighted the rear of child, about to be beaten with the shoe of his mother, whose back is also illuminated as she bends over her offspring.

The Prado text "The son is naughty and the mother is wrathful. Which one is worse?" already poses something of a surprise by leaving moral judgement of the protagonists in suspense. If the text already introduces a mild deviance from the more confidently moral tone of the Enlightenment, the image makes a demonic impression quite disproportionate to the text or to the relatively common action presented. ... The laundress-mother has seized the child with frenzied violence, not only with her arms and hands but also, animal fashion, with her teeth. The gesture of the right hand conveys a passionate ferocity completely out of keeping with the minor nature of the child's offence. What Goya has expressed is not just a useful warning against excessive physical punishment. In addition, he has packed into his description of the mother a whole lifetime of grinding work and deprivation that must inevitably turn any mother into a beast and lead her to discharge her rage at the slightest provocation. The print beside making an appeal "Mothers! Don't beat your children!" makes a flat statement: "Many mothers, brutalized by unbearable conditions, will vent their rage on their children." (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. lxxxii.)

The subject of *Los Caprichos* 37, *Si sabrá mas el discípulo?* (*What if the pupil knows more?*) (illus. 13), is an attack on **the traditional Spanish educational system**. In this thirty-seventh print of the series, a large ass is dressed as a schoolmaster and sits before a class of smaller, younger asses. He holds an open book with the first letter of the alphabet written clearly across the page. An ass, dressed as a pupil, is noticeable because Goya has darkened the animal's coat in relation to the rest of the print. The ass points vaguely at the book and struggles to comprehend the difficult lesson. Goya often criticised the Spanish educational practices, an influence from his circle of enlightened friends. The artist sees those people who were involved in the old manner of teaching as asses. The commentary from the Biblioteca Nacional is "The master jackass can teach only how to bray." (Pérez-Sánchez, 1995, p. 54.)

Los Caprichos 68, *Linda maestra!* (*Pretty teacher!*) (illus. 14), depicts a **dark side of education**. In this print, Goya illustrates a young woman who is being taught the profession of prostitution. Goya indicates this by the suggestive way in which the young woman sits astride a broom upon which she and her mentor fly. The young woman is desperately holding onto the old hag as she looks below at the barren landscape over



Si sabrá mas el discipulo?

Illus. 13
(What if the pupil knows more?)



Linda maestra

Illus. 14
(Pretty teacher!)

which they fly. Tiny walking figures who lead a donkey towards distant houses are the only signs of life in the desolated scene. Flying above the pair is a *búho* (see p. 78). This word is also used as Spanish slang for streetwalker, or prostitute. (Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. 125.)

Upon closer inspection of this print, the viewer is aware that Goya has not depicted the light naturalistically. Pérez-Sánchez (1989, p. 125) believes that Goya intentionally highlighted the two women to bring attention to certain parts of their bodies. The thin thigh, muscular arm and haggard face, with its sly smile, of the old woman are illuminated. Goya has also purposefully cast a radiant glow on the voluptuous limbs and breasts of the younger woman. Both the Prado and Biblioteca Nacional manuscripts make very blunt references to the phallic nature of the broom and state that this etching refers to prostitution.

Goya also criticised the **Inquisition** in the twenty-third print of the series. In the etching *Aquellos polbos* (*That dust*), (illus. 15), the accused is sitting on a platform, before an official and a crowd of people. The garments worn by the central figure, and the conical hat are items of clothing worn by accused people during Inquisitional trials. The title of the print, *Aquellos polbos*, refers to a public trial in 1784, where people were accused of selling corpse-dust as a magic potion. In addition, this caption is part of the Spanish proverb which states in the translation *From that dust comes this dirt*. According to Williams (1976, p. 39-40), this implies that the Inquisition was no better than those superstitious people who used corpse-dust as a potion.

The explanation written in the Ayala manuscript states: " An *auto-da-fé*: a rabble of stupid priests and curates who feast on such spectacles. ... [the accused] was caught giving love potions to lovers. " (Pérez-Sánchez, 1995, p. 47.) In this etching Goya, although he did not agree with the cruel Inquisition, may not have spared too much sympathy for the accused. The English equivalent of the Spanish proverb is *We reap what we sow*, and an unenlightened activity like selling love potions would not have received any tolerance from the *ilustrados*.



A aquellos polvos

Illus. 15
(*That dust*)

There are other prints which attack the **Inquisition**. The title of the twenty fourth etching from *Los Caprichos* is *Nohubo remedio* (*There was no remedy*) (illus. 16). In a book by Antonio Puigblanch, published in 1811 in Cadiz, mention is made of *Los Caprichos* 23 and 24. Puigblanch, who wrote his book under pseudonym Nataniel Puigblanch, believes that these prints condemn the established institution of the Inquisition. The Ayala manuscript explanation reads: " *Era pobre y fea; no hubo remedio* (She was poor and ugly; there was no alternative) ". The half-naked woman, wearing the garments of the accused, is on her way to be whipped for being a witch. Puigblanch says that ugliness and a poor appearance were taken by the Inquisition as irrefutable signs of witchcraft. (Glendinning, 1977, p. 62.)

A different view on these two images is given by a nineteenth century French scholar, Lefort, who published a book on Goya in 1877. Lefort believes that Goya represents the infidelities of Queen María Luisa and the succession of her many lovers in plates 19 to 24 of *Los Caprichos*. Lefort proposes that plates 23 and 24, which represent scenes from Inquisition trials, actually allude to the manner of the Queen's revenge on those women who aroused her jealousy. (Glendinning, 1977, p. 65.)

There are also works in the *Caprichos* which appear not to be inspired by enlightened thought. The following prints all allude to the affect that the **Duchess of Alba** had on Goya. *Los Caprichos* 27, *Quien mas rendido?* (*Which is the more overcome?*) (illus. 17) is an image that ridicules the Spanish manner of courtship and gallantry. The face and upper chest of the woman, and the face of the man, both in the foreground, have been highlighted by Goya to bring attention to them. In the background are three people, played down by Goya. One of these figures is that of the old procuress seen in other illustrated prints (such as *Los Caprichos* 19, discussed below) which causes the viewer to connect this scene to the world of prostitution. The manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional has the following comments: " When a dandy courts a woman, he grovels like a dog and pulls the same faces. " (Pérez-Sánchez, 1995, p. 49.) Both this manuscript and the Ayala mention the Duchess of Alba and Goya in their commentaries, as though to indicate that they are the principal characters of this print. The two dogs frolicking



No hubo remedio

Illus. 16
(There was no remedy)



Quien mas rendido?

Illus. 17

(Which is the more overcome?)

in the bottom left-hand corner of the print are similar to the one illustrated in the portrait of the Duchess of Alba (1795) who has a red ribbon around her waist. (Lewis, 1968, p. 34.)

Another print which is believed to refer to the **failed relationship** that Goya had with the Duchess of Alba is *Los Caprichos* 61, *Volaverunt* (*Gone for good*) (illus. 18). In this image a woman is flying with the aid of butterfly wings on her head, and a shawl pulled from hand to hand to represent wings. Below her are three figures that tuck their knees up and hold them, while gazing away from the flying woman in different directions. Goya has ingeniously used the dark etched lines of the woman's dress and shawl to make her stand out from a grey background. The flying woman is, believes Pérez-Sánchez (1995, p. 69), a comment on the flightiness of the female sex. Since the Ayala and Biblioteca Nacional manuscripts state that the woman's features are similar to those of the Duchess of Alba, the print could also be a comment on the disillusionment that Goya felt about his relationship with the duchess.

Another etching which depicts the **Duchess of Alba** is the nineteenth print of the *Caprichos*, *Todos Caerán* (*All will fall*) (illus. 19) shows three women sitting at the base of a tree. Two of these women are young, and are plucking the chicken-like men, while an older procuress looks up at the tree pleading for more human-birds to fall from the branches. Goya has illuminated a female bird against a grey sky. The facial features resemble those of the Duchess of Alba, while a companion stands next to her resembling Goya. The young women are attracting a flock of other men, soldiers, priests and peasants. The commentary in the Biblioteca Nacional states: "The procuress asks God to make them fall, as they [the young girls] tear out their entrails, as hunters do to partridges". (Pérez-Sánchez, 1995, p. 45.)

There are other prints which were not included in the *Caprichos* series done during this time. One print entitled *Sueño de la mentira y la inconstancia* (*Dream of lies and inconstancy*) (illus. 20) depicts a scene of four figures. Two of these figures are women and both have two heads. One woman (held by a man bearing a strong resemblance



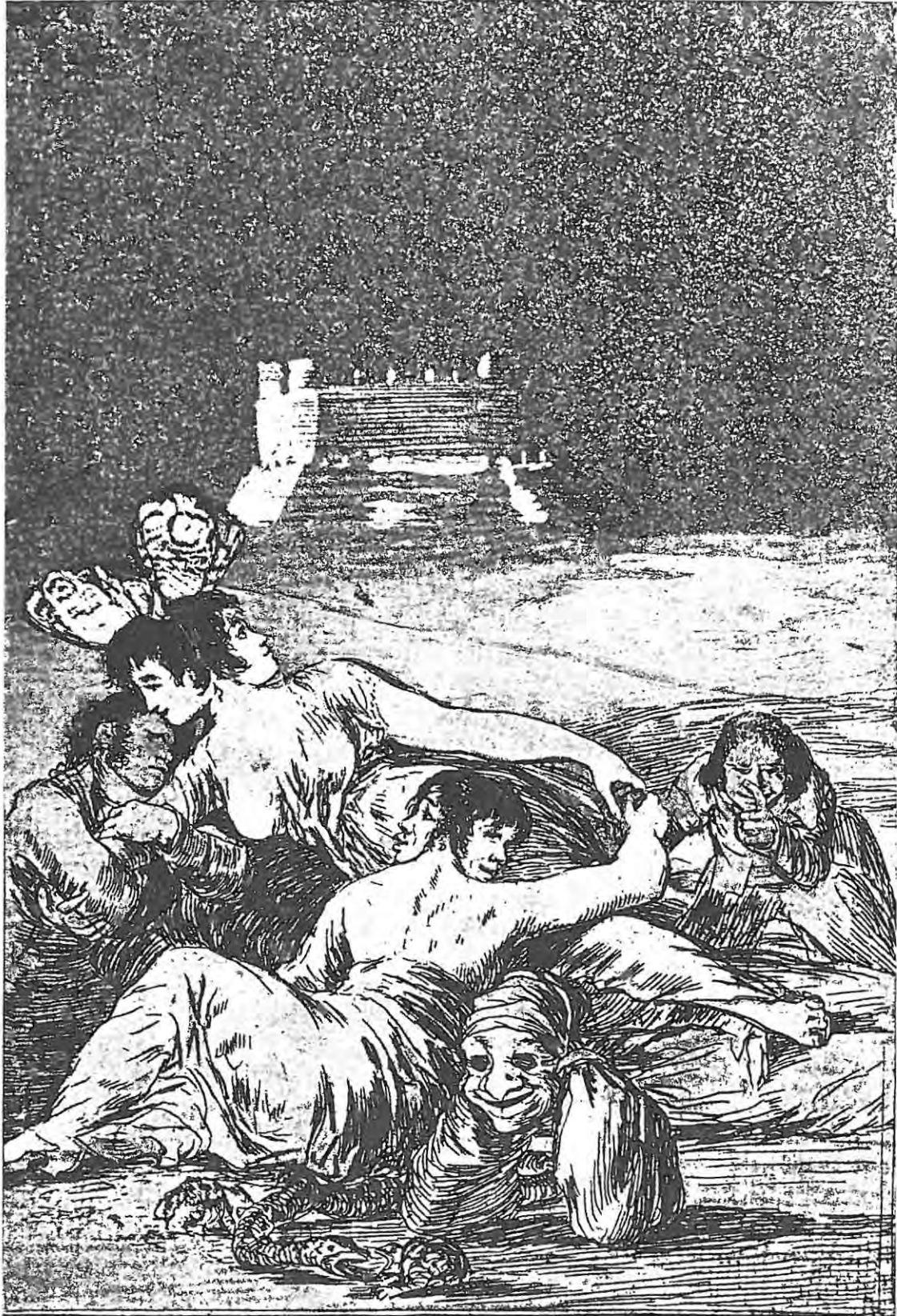
Volaverunt

Illus. 18
(Gone for good)



Todos Caerán

Illus. 19
(All will fail)



Sueño de la mentira y la inconstancia

Illus. 20

(*Dream of lies and inconstancy*)

to Goya) wears butterfly wings on her head (just like the flying woman in *Los Caprichos* 61). This figure is believed to be the Duchess of Alba. She is making a show of her love for Goya by kissing him, while her other head is turned away as she passes an item to the other two faced woman. She in turn hands it on to a figure in the background shadows. In the foreground a mask with saddlebags for legs grins at the encounter between a snake and a toad in front of it. Pérez-Sánchez believes that Goya was accusing the duchess of duplicity. When the resentment passed, however, Goya may have felt it unimportant to include such a personal print in his series. (Pérez-Sánchez, 1995, p. 87.)

Edith Helman, in the book Tomlinson (1989, p. 14-15) feels that the themes of the series can be related to the concerns of the eighteenth century Spanish writers, but are not mere illustrations for these writings. Ferrari (1962, p. i-iii) agrees with this opinion. He views the *Caprichos* as Goya's statement on the vices of people. Goya depicts humans who take leave of their senses and fall prey to their own animal passions, to vice, selfishness, falsehood, vanity, lust, social injustice, superstition, and fanaticism. In addition, the artist illustrates the events of the time and the current enlightened longing for a better world. Goya depicted unenlightened reality through his own imaginative formal language. His twisted, misshaped and caricatured forms and figures express his loathing or his scorn for close-minded Spaniards. To satirize this vice, Goya turns his figures into beasts, and gives them human expressions. Ferrari believed that Goya did this to suggest that some people's lack of reason has been reduced to the level of an animal. Ferrari states that:

By means of his exceptional artistic talent, Goya was able to express in his Caprices the reformatory ideas current in late-eighteenth-century Spain. With his rational bent of mind, he devoted himself to the criticism of a society that outside observers found absurd and indefensible. (Ferrari, 1962, p. vi.)
(Bold emphasis by this author.)

Fred Licht, in the book by Pérez-Sánchez (1989, p. lxxix-lxxx) says that the *Caprichos* are Goya's **personal response** to folly, cruelty, injustice and superstition. Elanor Sayre in her essay *Introduction to the prints and drawing series* (in Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. xcvi) has discovered that the word *capricho* is explained by an eighteenth-century

dictionary as the “... conduct of a man who, instead of adhering to reason, lets himself be led by fantasy or stubbornness.” The author Hanks (1986, p. 235) states that a caprice is a sudden or unpredictable change of attitude or behaviour. It is thought to be derived from the Italian *capriccio* which is a shiver. This Italian word is derived from *capo* which means head, and *riccio* which means hedgehog. The combination of these words suggests a convulsive shudder in which one's hair stands on end like hedgehog spines.

An eighteenth century author Lavater, published his work *Physiognomy*, between 1775 and 1778. This work contained physiognomical theories that depicted people as animals. Although there is no documentary evidence to support this, it could be reasonably assumed that Goya saw or read this book. In addition, Moratín and his friends were among several people who were intrigued by ugliness and witchcraft (although they did not practice this unenlightened activity). These influences on Goya can be seen in his print series. Goya also produced some paintings that depicted scenes of witchcraft. The fact that Goya depicted witches is an example of the fascination that enlightened people had with the irrational, especially the dark side of the human spirit that was not illuminated by the light of reason. The Osunas are an example of people who were intrigued by sorcery. They purchased the above mentioned paintings from Goya⁴⁸. (Ferrari, 1962, p. viii-ix, Wilson-Bareau, 1994, p. 212 and Pérez-Sánchez, 1989, p. Lxxi.)

Gassier and Wilson (1981, p. 160) state that in 1803, Goya wrote to offer the copperplates of *Los Caprichos* (with two hundred and fifty copies already printed) to Charles 4. It is thought that Goya actually handed over the print series to Charles 4, as a means of saving him from trouble with the Inquisition. Edith Helman (Tomlinson, 1989, p. 14-15) also agrees that this action by Goya was done in order to escape the enquiries by Inquisition.

Although one can never be sure why Goya did this, in 1825, when he was living in Bordeaux, the Spanish artist wrote to a friend who was requesting a set of the

Caprichos. (Gassier, 1981, p. 131.)

*I left the plates with the King more than twenty years ago together with the rest of my etchings, and they are all in the Royal Printing Press. **It was because of them that I was accused by the Santa.*** (Ferrari, 1962, p. xi.) (Bold emphasis by this author.)

Santa, was a popular abbreviated title for the Holy Office or Inquisition. It seems that Goya had been menaced by the Inquisition. Ferrari believes that this letter proves undoubtedly that Goya was forced to withdraw *Los Caprichos*. (Ibid., p. x-xi.)

The prints discussed in this chapter were chosen to illustrate the aim of this thesis with its limited scope. There are, of course, other subjects in other etchings which either were irrelevant in this context, or cannot be included due to lack of space. In this chapter, the chosen graphics were analysed thematically.

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER SIX

46. UNDER THE DIRECTORSHIP OF LE BRUN IN 1683, THE FRENCH ACADEMY EXERTED A VIRTUAL DICTATORSHIP OVER FRENCH ART. (GOETZ, 1986, VOL. 7 P. 213.)

47. AMONG THE LARGEST SPECIES OF OWLS ARE EAGLE OWLS, GENUS BUBO. THEY HAVE TUFTS OF FEATHERS ON THEIR HEADS, WHICH ARE CALLED 'EARS' BUT ARE NOT RELATED TO TRUE EARS. MOST WIDELY DISTRIBUTED IS THE NORTHERN EAGLE OWL, BUBO, FOUND FROM SCANDINAVIA AND SPAIN TO JAPAN. IT IS ABOUT 71 CM LONG. (MICROSOFT ENCARTA, 1993, "OWL".)

48. IN 1798 GOYA PAINTED SIX WITCHCRAFT PAINTINGS FOR THE ALAMEDA DE OSUNA. *THE BEWITCHED*, *DON JUAN AND THE STATUE OF THE COMMANDMENT*, *WITCHES SABBATH*, *THE SORCERY THAT FAILED*, *FLYING WITCHES*, AND *THE WITCHES' KITCHEN*. THESE PAINTINGS WERE INTENDED TO DECORATE THE OSUNA'S COUNTRY HOUSE. (NORDSTRÖM, 1962, P. 171.)

CONCLUSION

In certain respects it could be said that *Los Caprichos* is not entirely original! The word *caprichos* was derived from *capriccio*, a word used by the Rococo artist Giambattista Tiepolo (1696-1770). He had, with his two sons, settled in Madrid and should have been known to Goya. There is of course, a great difference between Goya's very critical, satirical and often cruel look at society in *Los Caprichos*, and the basically whimsical and Rococo *capriccio* by Tiepolo. The latter's work was also not really thematic nor consistently in black and white (i.e. in graphics). An artist who may have had a more direct influence on the development of Goya's *Caprichos* is the English painter and graphic artist William Hogarth (1697-1764). He painted *A Harlot's Progress* (1731-1732) and *The Rake's Progress* (1735); from these two sets of paintings the humorous Hogarth did a series of engravings for which he became famous as a satirist of moral follies. It is possible that Goya's friend Moratín brought back from his travels prints of these satirical works which Goya may have seen. Hogarth's satires were famous across Europe as well as the work of other English graphic artists (for example Thomas Bewick (1753-1828)). The idea of using the print medium, and a theme, may therefore have been inspired by the flourishing graphic art in England during the eighteenth century. It is only in these minor respects that Goya's *Los Caprichos* cannot be called entirely original.

Whatever these influences on Goya may have been, his *Los Caprichos* differ entirely from the works mentioned above as they project a strong social realism: in the prints he commented on aspects of society which he regarded as unacceptable, such as: lazy and greedy priests; idle nobility; social immorality, and ridiculous superstitions. Although Goya commented on the evils of humanity he did not do it in the same manner as Hogarth, nor did he show the 'right' path for people to take like the Frenchman Jacques Louis David (1748-1825). In addition, Goya only appeared to be interested in the social theories of the Enlightenment, his *Los Caprichos* do not depict images of other enlightened theories, such as economic prosperity.

The interesting question is what prompted Goya to produce *Los Caprichos* which is critical of society? The major influence, in my opinion, is the themes prevalent of the Enlightenment. All of *Los Caprichos* discussed in the previous chapter can be attributed to some sort of enlightened ideal, as was discussed in chapter two, where Goya was inspired by a play, or verse, or event that happened where reason has slept, and monsters seem to rule.

It is difficult to ascertain how enlightened Goya was initially, and when he began to assimilate these new reform-minded ideas. An observable change took place in his work in the 1780's, where his art changed from scenes traditional Spanish pastimes and merrymaking to images where he began to question for example, social relationships. It was during this time that he was elected to the Academy, where he met and socialised with open-minded thinkers such as the minister Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (1744-1811). It is not unreasonable to conclude, therefore, that the ideas and theories which he encountered very probably caused him to view life and his fellow men and women in a new way. This did not happen immediately. Over the course of the decade, it is evident from Goya's letters to Zapater that the liberal philosophical ideas were causing him to view life in a new way. Goya was not, however, a philosopher of enlightened ideas like Jovellanos, but he very possibly was open-minded. We will never know if Goya sat and discussed new intellectual theories with Jovellanos, who did however, help the artist obtain commissions; some of the minister's poetry even forms the direct focus for a couple of the subjects in *Los Caprichos*. What is known, is that Goya shared a close friendship with other enlightened Spaniards, such as the playwright Leonardo Fernández de Moratín and the art collector Sebastián Martínez. It is feasible that he had a close relationship with these men who were on a similar social standing as himself, and from these affable associations Goya may have assimilated many enlightened theories and influences.

When Goya was appointed Painter to the King in 1786, he probably had the freedom to begin experimenting with new subject-matter, and give free reign to his imagination because this promotion provided Goya with a regular salary which eased his financial

insecurity. He now no longer needed to find a patron to support him or to bow to the artistic demands of a client. He could explore the ideas that inspired him, such as the ideals promoted by the *philosophes*.

One influence from the *ilustrados* could have been the large collection of prints which Moratín acquired during his travels. As he journeyed to England he possibly collected works done by Hogarth. It is not unreasonable to assume that Goya saw these images. Another area of guidance that Goya could have got from his enlightened friends was the style in which he executed the *Caprichos*. Theatrical gestures and lighting are evident in these etchings; Moratín was a playwright.

Goya's enlightened friends could also have encouraged him to criticise society through the nightmare world of witches and other unnatural creatures. Around the time that Goya was etching his *Los Caprichos*, caricatures had become fashionable in Spain. Several enlightened thinkers were interested in witchcraft and other irrationalities of the day. (Moratín was one of these individuals.) These people primarily mocked and ridiculed these pastimes, but they also took note of them to use in their motivation for reform. This interest was not exclusive to Spain, but also existed in France and England, where in 1786 some drawings of grotesque heads by the High Renaissance artist Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) were published in London. Between 1796 and 1797, Goya painted a series of scenes of witchcraft for the Osuna family. These paintings show that the subject of witchcraft and superstition fascinated people during that time. Bearing this in mind, Goya's *Los Caprichos* emerged into a society that was aware of this satirical play on ugliness, superstition and witchcraft. The use of witches gave Goya the ability to drive home the point of the effects of the sleep of reason.

The manner in which the *ilustrados* were treated in Spain after the French Revolution (1789) and The Reign of Terror (1793-1794) that followed also possibly had an effect on *Los Caprichos*. The Spanish government reacted by persecuting Goya's friends around the time of these uprisings in France. This sudden change of events could possibly have led the artist to criticise his society. The people whom he had come to

know and respect were being irrationally treated. Although there is no proof, it is possible that Goya wanted to speak out against these unjust events.

Goya, however, was no fool. He had seen that Jovellanos was banished when he tried to come to the aid of Francisco de Cabarrús. It is, therefore, interesting to note that these prints were only released in 1799, which was a time when the *ilustrados* were reinstated in the government. Some of these people were friends with Goya. Another fact that lends weight to the assumption that these prints criticised unenlightened society, was that in 1803 Goya handed over to Charles 4 the copper plates and prints in his possession. Many authors believe that Goya was forced to do this to save himself from any threat of punishment by the Inquisition, because these prints could tie him to the Spanish *philosophes* who were again being persecuted by the Inquisition.

I believe, however, that there were other events in Goya's life that contributed to the subject-matter in *Los Caprichos* beside the major influence of enlightened thought and open-minded friends. The critical illness that Goya suffered in 1792 could have caused him to see visions and monsters in moments of high fever. These monsters could be the very ones seen in his print series. Together with the contemporary interest in caricature amongst his friends, these two aspects could have combined to create the visions illustrated in these etchings. In addition, this illness could also have given Goya the courage to criticise the evils in Spanish society. He had almost died because of the sickness, and perhaps this brush with death caused Goya to strengthen his resolve to bring to people's attention those things that were irrational.

There was also the possible affair that Goya had with the Duchess of Alba. Affairs were a part of life in those times, as the poem by Jovellanos suggests. There are no facts to confirm the nature of Goya's relationship with the beautiful duchess. It is possible that Goya was desperately infatuated with her but his attentions were not returned, and only later did he realise the power that she had over him. There are images in *Los Caprichos* that deal with the relationship between man and woman. The duchess probably slighted Goya by taking another lover, and it is not unreasonable to assume that his pride and

self-esteem were hurt by her actions. Goya's social comments on areas of Spanish society such as loveless marriages and prostitution, could stem from the theories promoted by his friends, but they could also originate from a possible distrust of women because of his failed relationship with Alba.

Therefore, why were the *Caprichos* produced by Goya? Were they the images of an artist not fully recovered from his illness, or simply influenced by Tiepolo? It is possible that these prints were caused by his unconfirmed love affair with the duchess of Alba? Perhaps *Los Caprichos* were an undertaking of enlightened ideology? The Enlightenment was perhaps the greatest influence, but to what degree? Goya was enlightened, but not to the same extent as thinkers like Jovellanos. He was still a Spaniard at heart and loved those things that were Spanish in nature. Nevertheless, he could not stand by and watch his people being led blindly down the road of non-reason by the clergy, age-old superstitions, and general wrongs in society. Goya did derive inspiration from the *ilustrados*, but his work was an extension of their ideas, not an illustration of what they stood for. In *Los Caprichos* you can see an enlightened criticism of Spanish life, customs and beliefs. Goya does not illustrate the themes of the enlightenment, rather he criticises Spain through enlightened eyes.

I believe, *Los Caprichos* are a unique fusion of the natural Spaniard in Goya who loved hunting, dancing and bullfighting, but who also realised the need for reason to prevail for people to better themselves. The print series is a reflection of a time in Spain, when the sleep of reason was evident. Through these images Goya wanted to show the sleep of reason in people's life. He was a social critic, but with a leaning towards the morality of the Enlightenment. *Los Caprichos* are a comment on Spanish society and a reflection of Goya's own inner battle between reason and his natural character. What makes these prints even more powerful is that they are timeless and are as relevant today as they were when Goya published them in 1799. His association with the Spanish enlightened thinkers, turned him into a social commentator, which to a large extent was what the philosophes were. The *ilustrados* tried to find solutions to the problems, where as Goya merely pointed them out. Goya is a mystery, a concoction of many things and

should not be put in a box and labelled. Goya was amongst other things: a court painter; an open-minded critic, and a Spaniard who loved traditional pastimes. He is probably to be found at the intersection of all these roles.

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