

***Goya's Caprichos***  
**in Nineteenth-Century France**

Politics of the Grotesque

PAULA FAYOS PÉREZ

Edited by  
Erica Witschey

FIRST PUBLISHED BY

Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica (CEEH)  
C/Felipe IV, 12  
28014 Madrid – Spain  
www.cee.es

© Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2024  
© Text: Paula Fayos Pérez, 2024

Editor  
Erica Witschey

Picture editor  
Laura Díaz Tajadura

Production editor and coordinator  
Isabel Morán García

Goya Works  
Paula Fayos Pérez

Index  
CEEH

Design and Layout  
PeiPe, Diseño y Gestión

Colour separation  
Lucam

Printing  
Advantia Comunicación Gráfica

ISBN: 978-84-18760-20-4  
DL: M-8311-2024

Printed and bound in Spain

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, in whole or in part, nor utilised in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without prior written consent of the Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica (CEEH).

Cover images:

Works by Francisco de Goya and Eugène Delacroix. Left to right, top to bottom, details of D2, *Capricho 2*, D14, *Capricho 31 / Capricho 26*, D22, *Capricho 18*, D6 / D29, *Capricho 49*, D2, *Capricho 5 / Capricho 49*, D26, *Capricho 49*, D29 / D28, *Capricho 44*, D22, *Capricho 29*



## CHAPTER I

# The Spread of Goya's Œuvre in the French Art Market: Presentations, Viewers and Collectors

**WHEREAS IN SPAIN FRANCISCO DE GOYA WAS ACCLAIMED FOR** his royal commissions, aristocratic portraits and religious scenes, in France he became better known for his late, non-commissioned compositions, which were closer to the Romantic taste. These often highly mordant creations included prints and drawings whose format made them easier to access, study and collect. They were also the most private and satirical works produced by the Spanish artist, through which he conveyed his political ideas and personal interests. This section examines the process whereby French artists, scholars and collectors discovered and acquired Goya's oeuvre, either directly from the painter and his heirs or through intermediary dealers and auction sales, and how it entered public and private collections.

The pages that follow offer a chronological survey of the evolution of the French interest in and knowledge of Goya throughout the nineteenth century, which can broadly be divided into four periods. The first of these covers the last decades of the artist's lifetime (1799–1828), when he advertised and sold his own work, particularly while he was living in France during the last four years of his life. The second spans the years from Goya's death to that of his son Javier (1828–54), running in parallel with the emergence of the Romantic movement in the 1830s and the first peak of Goya's influence in France. During this time, Javier's sale of his father's work to influential figures such as Baron Taylor for the creation of the Galerie Espagnole at the Louvre (1838–48) was decisive. The third corresponds to the years when the Spanish scholar Valentín Carderera actively engaged as a dealer of Goya's graphic work in the 1850s and 1860s (c. 1854–70). His promotional efforts were key in the dissemination of the Spanish painter's oeuvre, leading to a second wave of interest in Goya in France. This phase also coincided with a print revival and the second surge of Romanticism, headed by artists such as Gustave Doré. Finally, the last period (1870–1900) is characterised by a marked rise in the presence of Goya at French auction sales and the increased spread of his work in Europe and the United States. This





Fig. I.11 Francisco de Goya, *Capricho 12, Out hunting for teeth*, c. 1793–99 [Eugène Piot collection]



Fig. I.12 Francisco de Goya, *Capricho 12, Out hunting for teeth*, c. 1799 [Auguste Lesouëf collection]



Fig. I.13 Francisco de Goya, *Capricho 12, Out hunting for teeth*, 1799 [Jacques Doucet collection]



Fig. I.14 Francisco de Goya, *Capricho 12, Out hunting for teeth*, 1799 [Dutuit brothers collection]

## Burty

An art critic, engraver and collector, Philippe Burty [fig. I.21] was a champion of Japonism and promoter of the etching revival which took place during the second half of the nineteenth century. He also published Delacroix's correspondence—the first volume in 1878 and a revised, augmented edition in 1880<sup>343</sup>—and wrote the catalogue for his posthumous sale of 1864, where Burty acquired eleven sketches after Goya's *Caprichos*, from which we currently know only four, one of them unlocated.<sup>344</sup>

A keen admirer of Goya, Burty collected his work, probably through Carderera, whose articles on Goya he had translated, annotated and published in Charles Blanc's *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* in 1860 and 1863.<sup>345</sup> Tomás Harris dated the beginning of Burty's Goya collection to 1862, which matches up with his first auction sale (see below), as well as with Carderera's dealing activities in Paris.<sup>346</sup> While Carderera's correspondence with Burty is unavailable, we know that he showed and presented Burty with prints and drawings by Goya, including, as mentioned earlier, etchings from the *Disparates* on 5 November 1859, pulled before the 1864 posthumous publication.<sup>347</sup>

According to the Burty entry from Fondation Custodia, he had seven sales: [11] October 1862 (Sotheby's, London: unknown),<sup>348</sup> 27 March 1874 (with Durand-Ruel as expert), 27 April 1876 (Sotheby's, London), 19–21 June 1878, 2–3 March 1891, 4–5 March 1891, and 16–20 March 1891.<sup>349</sup> In the 1874 sale lot 14, made up of two black pencil drawings by Delacroix after Goya, went for 13 francs. Excluding three drawings at the Louvre which have a different provenance, we know of only three works after the *Caprichos* made in graphite: they are listed in Appendix III as D18, of unknown provenance; D38, which belonged to Georges Petit and Edgar Degas but of which there is no known image; and D40, offered for sale in Montevideo in 2017.

---

343 *Lettres de Eugène Delacroix (1815–1863). Recueillies et publiées par Philippe Burty*, Paris, A. Quantin, 1878, and *Lettres de Eugène Delacroix. Recueillies et publiées par Philippe Burty. Nouvelle édition revue et augmentée, vol. 1 (1804–1847)*, Paris, G. Charpentier, 1880.

344 Lot 640: 'Études d'après Goya. Dessins et croquis. 11 feuilles'. Manuscript notes: 'Burty' and '35 [fr.]'. Digitised in Gallica. See Appendix III: D21 (Louvre), D23 (MD), D34 (BM) and D37 (no image, unidentified collection).

345 Appendix II: 1860, Valentín Carderera, 'François Goya: sa vie, ses dessins, et ses eaux-fortes', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, and 1863, July, Valentín Carderera.

346 HARRIS, T. 1964, vol. 1, 16.

347 CARDERERA – LANZAROTE GUIRAL 2016, 425. They also met several times in 1861 (ibid., 455 and 458) and, as 'Burty came, I gave him prints' shows, Carderera gave him some prints on 10 October 1861 (ibid., 513).

348 See Louis Fagan, *Collector's Marks*, 1883, 77. The British Museum has four prints that were acquired from Burty at this sale: three by Alexandre Gabriel Decamps and one by Jules-Ferdinand Jacquemart (1862,1011.671-674). There are no copies of this catalogue at the British Library, Sotheby's archives, the Heinz Archive (NPG), the National Art Library (V&A), the Architecture and History of Art Library (University of Cambridge), the University Library (Cambridge), the Fitzwilliam Museum Library, the Bodleian Library (Oxford), or at the Institut national d'histoire de l'art (Paris).

349 Information published in Fondation Custodia's website, Marques de Collections.



Fig. I.21 Carolus Duran, *Philippe Burty*, 1874

Driven by personal debt, on 27 April 1876 Burty sold at Sotheby's London a large part of his collection, including an outstanding number of Goya works: fifty-six lots (nos 444–465 and 684–719), of which fifty-three were by Goya and three by other artists (books on Goya or copies after Goya). As many as thirty-one of these were bought by Alphonse Thibaudeau, an art dealer working in Paris and London.<sup>350</sup> The Goya lots included a first edition of the *Tauromaquia* (lot 455) and a set of the *Disparates* in vellum (lot 456), which sold for £5 15s and £7 17s 6d respectively. Other relevant pieces were a set of the *Caprichos* 'purchased

---

350 (L.2473).







## CHAPTER II

# The *Caprichos* and Romantic Aesthetics: Goyaesque Spain and the Grotesque in Prints and Literature

[...] it is when he abandons himself to his demonographic inspirations that he is especially admirable: no one can represent as he can, floating in the warm atmosphere of a stormy night, dark masses of clouds loaded with vampires, goblins and demons, or make a cavalcade of witches stand out with such startling effect from the sinister background of the horizon.

– Théophile Gautier, *Wanderings in Spain*, 1838

[...] a work that will become the archive of a nationality that has been transformed, and which speaks to us of all these picturesque and charming things as if they were a dream made by other generations.

– Charles Yriarte, *Goya*, 1867

**GOYA'S INFLUENCE IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE WAS VAST** and multifaceted. In light of this, his impact has been divided in this book into two broad categories: one which centres on aesthetics and is mainly related to Spanish identity and the grotesque, addressed in this chapter, and another that considers politics and social *mœurs*, discussed in the next. These two categories, however, are not mutually exclusive, since the grotesque also has a caricatural side and the topic of Spanish customs can be analysed from the viewpoint of social criticism.

The section that follows sheds light on the aesthetic tendencies that sparked off French interest in Goya's work, particularly in the *Caprichos*, before examining in what way artists and writers based in France channelled its impact. In many cases, these visual works were produced with the aim of illustrating art criticism, establishing a dialogue between text and image. Indeed, literature was intrinsically connected to the Romantic interpretation of Goya. It was writers of the likes of Théophile Gautier who shaped the Spanish artist's image in France in the 1830s, often based on preconceived ideas drawn from



Fig. II.15 Francisco de Goya, *Capricho 43, The sleep of reason produces monsters*, 1799

In the first of his *Sueños*, a drawing series that preceded the *Caprichos*, Goya had represented himself as 'The author, dreaming'. Like him, Grandville also 'dreamed' and addressed oneiric subjects, as in the drawing *Nightmare* [fig. II.16], where an elongated figure that looks like a gigantic insect with vampirical fangs lurks over a recumbent man.<sup>147</sup> In *Un autre monde* (1844), too, he dedicated the chapter entitled 'Les métamorphoses du sommeil' to this topic. Towards the end

---

147 GETTY & GUILLAUME 1986, 138, no. 110.







Fig. II.46 Gustave Doré, illustration for Honoré de Balzac, *Les cent contes drolatiques*, 1855



Fig. II.47 Francisco de Goya, *Disasters of War 32, Why?*, c. 1810–15 (etched); 1863 (published)







## CHAPTER III

# Political Bigotry and Social *Mœurs*: Caricature, Censorship and Democracy

We like to see others, but don't like others to see through us.  
— Jean de la Fontaine

There are three classes of men; the retrograde,  
the stationary and the progressive.  
— Johann Kaspar Lavater

**HAVING EXAMINED THE AESTHETIC AND LITERARY ASPECT OF** Goya's impact in France as an artist of the grotesque and an embodiment of all things Spanish, we will now look at the political side of his influence on the French Romantics, who saw him as a caricaturist and a politically engaged artist. Unlike many writers such as Victor Hugo and some visual artists like Eugène Delacroix, most satirical journalists and draughtsmen saw Goya as a satirist and misread him as a cartoonist. *Romantisme noir* artists assumed him to be one of their kind, as did journalists and caricaturists—which led to the idea that the Spanish creator was somewhat of a mirror that returns the reflection of its beholder.

This chapter revolves around the struggle between artistic freedom and the repressive arm of the law. Goya and nineteenth-century French caricaturists shared a common disillusionment with politics and expressed a general rejection of bigotry and retrograde thinking. They both directed their criticism towards the Church and the aristocracy, which were considered obsolete institutions. However, the new charter that instigated the July Monarchy (1830–48) restricted the freedom of press, whereon lithographic satire became conceptually connected to political rebellion. Unhappy with this situation, artists found ways to sidestep restrictions and test the limits of democracy through caricature. Deeply influenced by Goya, they developed creative ways to avoid censorship in their criticism of political and religious powers. With a view to gaining a better understanding



Fig. III.6 Auguste Desperet (draughtsman-engraver), *Siege artillery is designed to evacuate fortresses*, 1831

*The monarchy* for *Un autre monde* (1844). It represents Puff, a character that combines different bourgeois types, immobilised as a statue that is being pulled in opposite directions by two creatures: the personification of progress on the left, and the symbolisation of regress as a crayfish with the head of an old man on the right. Puff is deaf—his ears are blocked with padlocks, using imagery similar to that which appears in Goya’s *Capricho 50, The Chinchillas*—and short-sighted, which, as we will see, are symbols that denote isolation from the external world. Above are the Constitution and the ‘political machinery’, where the two small figures of the High and Low Chambers move up and down as if on a seesaw, recalling *Capricho 56, To rise and fall*. Grandville’s *Un autre monde* (1844) can be considered his masterpiece.<sup>69</sup> Inverting the traditional word-image relation, his woodcuts did not illustrate texts, but rather texts were written by the politician and journalist Taxile Delord to literally illustrate his images in words.

Goya’s style, a combination of documentary report and subjective symbolism, was rapidly taken up by French caricaturists, who were eager to create a new visual language that linked political reality with the grotesque.<sup>70</sup>

69 Its complete title is the fantastical *Un autre monde. Transformations, visions, incarnations, ascensions, locomotions, explorations, pérégrinations, excursions, stations, cosmogonies, fantasmageries, rêveries, folâtreries, facéties, lubies, métamorphoses, zoomorphoses, lithomorphoses, métempsychooses, apothéoses et autres choses*, Paris, Fournier.

70 See ROSE 2016, 106–7.



Fig. III.15 Francisco de Goya, *Witches' Flight*, c. 1798





Fig. III.23 Auguste Desperet, *Poor blind men*, 1833



Fig. III.24 Francisco de Goya, *Disasters of War 70, They do not know the way*, 1814-15







## CHAPTER IV

# ‘Tout Goya palpitait autour de moi’: The Case of Eugène Delacroix

The shock of Goya’s genius confirmed in him [Delacroix] something of which he had already had glimpses through the English artists—that drawing, by turning away from form to place itself at the service of expression, that is to say of life, can, by cursive freedom and the atmosphere produced by wash, convey the fugitive intensity of impressions.<sup>1</sup>

— René Huyghe, *Delacroix*, 1963, 108

**EUGÈNE DELACROIX IS BEST KNOWN AS THE CREATOR OF THE** world-famous *Massacre at Chios* (1824) [fig. IV.1], *The Death of Sardanapalus* (1827) and *Liberty guiding the People* (1830). Often overlooked, however, is the fact that he was not a painter from the outset, having started his artistic career as an etcher and caricaturist. During this early stage, Delacroix focused on making satirical prints, publishing caricatures with Aaron Martinet and in the Republican journal *Le Miroir*.<sup>2</sup> It was not until 1822, when he presented *The Barque of Dante* at that year’s Salon, that he turned his hand to painting. This shift took place precisely at the time when Delacroix was enthusiastically copying Goya’s *Caprichos*, an activity that marked his career at least until the 1830s.

Goya’s influence on Delacroix was two-pronged, having an aesthetic side, centred on the expressive potential of literary subjects and the grotesque, and a political dimension, concerned with the criticism of social mores and political

---

1 The subject of this chapter is discussed in FAYOS PÉREZ 2019a, focusing on the drawing that I located in 2016 in Paris; see Appendix III: D24.

2 For Delacroix’s work as a caricaturist, see ATHANASSOGLOU-KALLMYER 1991. The first study on this topic was LARAN 1930.



Fig. IV.4 Eugène Delacroix, *Mephistopheles flying over the city*, 1828



Fig. IV.5 Detail of Francisco de Goya, *Capricho 66, There it goes*, 1799



Fig. IV.6 Eugène Delacroix, Drawing on folio 25 of Album 30, *Monster-headed figure; bird with outstretched wings flying over a city*, c. 1826–27



Fig. IV.13 Detail of Francisco de Goya, *Capricho 21, How they pluck her*, 1799



Fig. IV.14 Detail of Francisco de Goya, *Capricho 77, What one does to another*, 1799

but we would argue that these owls are closer to those in plate 20 [see fig. AIII.12]; and in *Caricatural sketches of men prisoners of animals*<sup>73</sup> he compares the donkey sitting on a man's back to the one in plate 42, although we tend to see all the figures in this drawing as carnivalesque creatures illustrating the topic of a world turned upside down.

Florissoone also considers several of Delacroix's loose sheets to have been inspired by Goya's *Caprichos*. Such is the case, for instance, of *Studies of human and animal heads and caricatures*, which he relates to plates 45 [see fig. II.29] and 47 [see fig. AIII.217], though in our opinion this similarity is incidental. According to Florissoone, four others include a sheet that is probably *Studies of Caprichos 2* [see fig. AIII.1], 7 [see fig. AIII.24] and 27 [see D3 in Appendix III and fig. IV.3] and three drawings which it has been impossible to identify: one after plates 29 and 73, another after plates 52 and 53, and a third one at the Burty sale of 1876 (lot 719) after plate 43.



Fig. IV.15 Detail of Francisco de Goya, *Capricho 57, The filiation*, 1799

73 *Croquis caricaturaux d'hommes prisonniers d'animaux*, Louvre, RF 9140, 52.







## CHAPTER V

### Conclusion

**IT HAS BEEN THE AIM OF THIS BOOK TO SHOW THE IMPACT OF** Francisco de Goya's work, particularly his prints and drawings, on nineteenth-century French art and literature. Chapter I looks at the way in which Goya's *Caprichos* entered the French market after being withdrawn from sale in Spain. It explains how French collectors' increasing interest in Goya first peaked with the vogue for all things Spanish in the 1830s and again with the print revival of the 1860s. Private and public collections in France gradually acquired his artworks, either directly in Spain or through intermediaries and auction sales in France. Particularly relevant was the discovery of Valentín Carderera's role as a key disseminator of Goya's work—not only his *Caprichos* but also his other print series, drawings and manuscript explanations of the *Caprichos*—among French artists and writers, revealed through his previously unknown correspondence with distinguished artistic figures such as Prosper Mérimée and Gustave Brunet.

Chapter II examines Goya's influence on French Romantic aesthetics, both in literature and in the visual arts. Goya is first contextualised in the history of the aesthetic debates about beauty, physiognomy and the grotesque held in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Subsequently, a chronological presentation of Goya visual and literary quotations in France is provided. These are analysed in parallel with the most relevant art criticism on the Spanish artist, complemented with a full catalogue of quotes in Appendix II. The reason for this combination of visual work and literary criticism is that Goya's impact on French art is inherently linked with literature: except for a few drawings produced for experimental purposes, the remaining images presented here are journal or book illustrations, evidence that a large part of his aesthetic influence relied on writers such as Théophile Gautier, Charles Baudelaire and Charles Yriarte. This section also makes clear that the Romantic interpretation of Goya mainly focused on his perceived role as a 'caricaturist' and as the last representative of the School of Velázquez.

## APPENDIX I

# Goya's Etchings and Lithographs: Series and Single Prints

### *Copies after Velázquez / Copias de Velázquez, 1778 / c. 1779–85*

Set of 17 etchings. The first set of 9 prints was announced in the *Diario Gaceta de Madrid* on 28 July 1778. Five months later, on 22 December 1778, 2 new prints were advertised in the same daily, and additional prints followed through to about 1785.<sup>1</sup> Goya made additional drawings after other paintings by Velázquez, such as *The Water-seller from Seville*,<sup>2</sup> for which no etchings are known.

- Plate 1 *Philip III on horseback / Retrato ecuestre de Felipe III*
- Plate 2 *Margaret of Austria on horseback / Retrato ecuestre de Margarita de Austria*
- Plate 3 *Philip IV on horseback / Retrato ecuestre de Felipe IV*
- Plate 4 *Isabel of Bourbon on horseback / Retrato ecuestre de Isabel de Borbón*
- Plate 5 *Gaspar de Guzmán, Count-Duke of Olivares, on horseback / Retrato ecuestre de Gaspar de Guzmán, conde-duque de Olivares*
- Plate 6 *Menippus / Menipo*
- Plate 7 *Aesop / Esopo*
- Plate 8 *Sebastián de Morra*
- Plate 9 *Diego de Acedo, el Primo*
- Plate 10 *The boy from Vallecas / El niño de Vallecas* [destroyed in the Civil War]
- Plate 11 *Prince Baltasar Carlos on horseback / Retrato ecuestre del Príncipe Baltasar Carlos*

---

1 Some of the prints might have been produced later, in 1779 or after 1782; see SAYRE 1974, 23; VEGA & GLENDINNING 1995, 162.

2 Drawing: attributed to Goya, Hamburger Kunsthalle, 38537. Painting: London, Wellington Museum, WM.1600-1948. Goya must have seen Velázquez's painting at the Royal Palace, where it was at least by 1794; it was then looted in 1813 (Vitoria Paintings).

## APPENDIX II

### Goya Mentions in French Literature (1771–1900)

The list that follows gathers in chronological order the texts in which Goya is mentioned in diary entries, letters, newspaper and journal articles, books and other printed materials published in nineteenth-century France. When there is no specific date within a year, entries are ordered alphabetically (by the author's or editor's surname when available). Each entry states the date, author/editor and publication title; when relevant, it includes either an actual quotation or a brief description of the printed material, as well as the source if it is digitised. This is not, however, an exhaustive record: in view of the exponential growth in publications referencing Goya from the 1860s onwards, the focus here has been placed on the first half of the century, as these decades have been less explored than those from 1850 to 1900. The works that are mentioned in the book are marked with the symbol \*. Finally, in brackets are a few exceptions, non-French publications included here on account of their contribution to the dissemination of Goya in France.

- \*1771 2 September, [Anonymous], 'Arts: Prix de Peinture & d'Architecture, de l'Académie Royale des Beaux-Arts de Parme', *L'Avantcoureur*, 35, 546 [ed. Michel Lambert and Jacques Lacombe]: '[...] elle a donné le second prix à M. François Goja [sic], Romain [sic], élève de M. Vajeu [sic], Peintre du Roi d'Espagne; ce tableau avait pour devise: *Jam tandem Italiae fugientis prendimus oras*'. This mention is quoted by Paul Mantz (1851–52, Paul Mantz) and Laurent Mathéron (1858, Laurent Mathéron). [Digitised in Gallica]
- \*1772 January, [Anonymous], 'Académies: Séance de l'Académie royale des Beaux-Arts de Parme', *Mercure de France*, vol. 2, 145–46 [ed. Guillaume Cavelier, Noël Pissot and Jacques Lacombe]: 'Le second prix de peinture a été remporté par M. François Goja [sic], romain [sic], élève de M. Vajeu [sic], peintre du roi d'Espagne. [...] L'Académie a remarqué avec plaisir dans le second tableau un beau maniement de pinceau, de la chaleur d'expression dans le regard d'Annibal, et



### APPENDIX III

## Catalogue of Eugène Delacroix's Works after Goya's *Caprichos* (c. 1819–1827)

This catalogue comprises forty works made by Eugène Delacroix after Francisco de Goya's *Caprichos*, of which thirty-seven are drawings, one is an aquatint and two are oil sketches on canvas. Delacroix copied mostly details from sixty-one of the eighty plates that make up the *Caprichos*, some more profusely than others. Known drawings reveal that he made five copies of plate 31; four copies of plates 2, 7, 10, 24, 27 and 29; and at least three sketches of plates 3, 5, 8, 11, 12, 26, 28 and 55. Although a few of these works replicate a complete plate, most focus on heads or anatomical parts from specific figures. Alongside a brief description, wherever possible each entry provides ample data including title, technique, dimensions, stamps, location, provenance, bibliography and exhibitions.

*Capricho 9* [fig. AIII.57]: The head of the woman with closed eyes, leaning to the right, is drawn at centre left of the sheet. She is depicted in a similar way to the woman from *Capricho 8*. There is also a study of the face of the man, and his clasped hands above him, to the right of the figure in the top left corner [figs AIII.58–AIII.60].

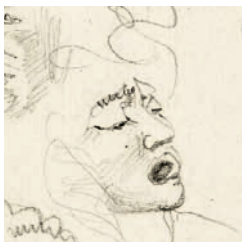


Fig. AIII.57 Francisco de Goya, *Capricho 9, Tantalus*, 1799



Figs AIII.58–AIII.60 Details of D12 and *Capricho 9*

*Capricho 10* [see fig. AIII.52]: The woman's face, with open mouth and closed eyes, is the fourth down from the top at centre left of the sheet [figs AIII.61–AIII.62].



Figs AIII.61–AIII.62  
Details of D12 and *Capricho 10*

*Capricho 11* [see fig. AIII.7]: The head of the man with a pointed hat facing the viewer is the third down from the top of the sheet at left [figs AIII.63–AIII.64].



Figs AIII.63–AIII.64  
Details of D12 and *Capricho 11*

**D17**

Eugène Delacroix after Francisco de Goya, *Study of Capricho 15*, c. 1826–27

Pen and black ink on paper, 190 × 130 mm

Inscribed on the verso, 'Andrea del Sar(to)' (identified by Lee Johnson, c. 1976)

Current location unknown

**Provenance:** Sir William Rothenstein (1872–1945), London; sold at Christie's London, 25 June 1976, lot 10: 'Étude d'après Goya (recto); étude d'après Andrea del Sarto et autres études (verso)', final bid 1,000 GBP.

**Literature:** JOHNSON 1981, 120.

**Archives:** London, Courtauld Institute, Witt Library image archive.

*Capricho 15* [see figs II.66 and AIII.107]: A study of the two female figures, including details and shadows, occupies the whole sheet. On the verso of the sheet there are early studies for the *Death of Sardanapalus* and copies after Andrea del Sarto. For Lee Johnson, this drawing proves that Delacroix was copying Goya's *Caprichos* during his preparation for *Faust* and *Sardanapalus*, both finished in 1827.



**D17**

*Capricho 24* [see fig. III.14]: Three heads from the plate are sketched at bottom right of the sheet [fig. AIII.156]: that of the wigged leonine figure in the centre of the print [fig. AIII.157 and see fig. AIII.137], the head of the man on the right of the crowd looking up at the prisoner, and the cloaked figure next to him [fig. AIII.158 and see fig. AIII.126].



Figs AIII.156–AIII.158 Details of D21 and *Capricho 24*

*Capricho 28* [see fig. AIII.67]: The head of the old woman, including some details, is drawn in the centre of the sheet [figs AIII.159–AIII.160 and see fig. AIII.146].



Figs AIII.159–AIII.160  
Details of D21 and *Capricho 28*

*Capricho 33* [see fig. AIII.102]: The head of the young wigged man in the print [see D14], as well as his right arm, are summarily sketched at centre left of the sheet. The wigged man's hand appears to be inside the mouth of a second head, drawn immediately below [figs AIII.161–AIII.162 and see fig. AIII.103].



Figs AIII.161–AIII.162  
Details of D21 and *Capricho 33*

## APPENDIX IV

### Copies by *Capricho*

- Plate 1: Grandville (1834), Maurice Sand (1838), Bocourt (1869)  
Plate 2: Delacroix × 4 [Appendix III D1, D2, D3, D4]  
Plate 3: Delacroix × 3 [Appendix III D5, D6, D7], Maurice Sand (1838)  
Plate 4: Delacroix × 1 [Appendix III D6]  
Plate 5: Delacroix × 3 [Appendix III D2, D5, D40]  
Plate 6: Delacroix × 2 [Appendix III D8, D40]  
Plate 7: Delacroix × 4 [Appendix III D3, D6, D9, D40]  
Plate 8: Delacroix × 3 [Appendix III D10, D11, D12], Maurice Sand (1838)  
Plate 9: Delacroix × 1 [Appendix III D12], Maurice Sand (1838)  
Plate 10: Delacroix × 4 [Appendix III D11, D12, D13, D40], [Devéria] (1825),  
Maurice Sand (1838), Hirsch (1868) [fig. II.62]  
Plate 11: Delacroix × 3 [Appendix III D2, D12, D14]  
Plate 12: Delacroix × 3 [Appendix III D6, D12, D15]  
Plate 13: \_\_\_\_\_  
Plate 14: [Devéria] (1825), Maurice Sand (1838)  
Plate 15: Delacroix × 2 [Appendix III D16, D17], [Devéria] (1825), Musset  
(1827) [fig. II.7]  
Plate 16: Delacroix × 2 [Appendix III D2, D18]  
Plate 17: Delacroix × 1 [Appendix III D16], Maurice Sand (1838)  
Plate 18: Delacroix × 1 [Appendix III D6], [Devéria] (1825)  
Plate 19: Delacroix × 1 [Appendix III D19], Maurice Sand (1838)  
Plate 20: Delacroix × 2 [Appendix III D2, D19], Maurice Sand (1838)  
Plate 21: Delacroix × 2 [Appendix III D19, D20], Maurice Sand (1838)  
Plate 22: Delacroix × 1 [Appendix III D6], Maurice Sand (1838)  
Plate 23: [Devéria] (1825)  
Plate 24: Delacroix × 4 [Appendix III D6, D19, D20, D21]  
Plate 25: Maurice Sand (1838)  
Plate 26: Delacroix × 3 [Appendix III D19, D20, D22]  
Plate 27: Delacroix × 4 [Appendix III D3, D12, D22, D23], Boilly (1866)



## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

### Chapter I

#### The Spread of Goya's Œuvre in the French Art Market: Presentations, Viewers and Collectors

Fig. I.1 Francisco de Goya, *Ferdinand Guillemardet*, 1799. Oil on canvas, 186 × 124 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre, MI 697

Fig. I.2 First page of the manuscript explanation of Francisco de Goya's *Caprichos* penned in French by Juan Antonio Llorente, c. 1810. Pen and brown ink, single sheet once folded, written on four sides, 235 × 180 mm (folded sheet). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Museum purchase with funds donated by Eleanor A. Sayre, 1973.730

Fig. I.3 Francisco de Goya, *Javier Goya*, 1805. Conté crayon on laid paper, 129 × 94 mm. Madrid, Instituto Ceán Bermúdez

Fig. I.4 Federico de Madrazo, *Valentín Carderera*, 1833, completed 1879. Oil on canvas, 59.5 × 50.2 cm. Huesca, Museo de Huesca Collection, NIG 00046

Fig. I.5 Francisco de Goya, *Francisco de Zurbarán*, c. 1798. Sanguine on paper, 151 × 118 mm. Paris, Musée du Louvre, INV 18482r

Fig. I.6 Federico de Madrazo, *Baron Isidore-Justin-Séverin Taylor*, 1833. Oil on canvas, 61 × 50 cm. Versailles, Musée National du Château de Versailles, MV5908

Fig. I.7 Federico de Madrazo, *Adrien Dauzats*, 1837. Oil on canvas, 51 × 44 cm. Versailles, Musée National du Château de Versailles, MV5902

Fig. I.8 Nadar (studio), *Théophile Gautier*, c. 1856. Salted paper print from glass negative, 26.9 × 21.7 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gilman Collection, Purchase, Harriette and Noel Levine Gift, 2005, 2005.100.256

Fig. I.9 Eugène Piot, *Self-portrait (?)*, c. 1850. Digital reversal from negative on waxed paper. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'INHA, fol. 047

Fig. I.10 Francisco de Goya, *Capricho 12, Out hunting for teeth / A caza de dientes*, c. 1799 [Vivant Denon collection]. Etching, burnished aquatint and burin, 219 × 153 mm (plate). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département des Estampes et de la Photographie, RÉSERVE BF-4 (J7)-BOÎTE FOL

Fig. I.11 Francisco de Goya, *Capricho 12, Out hunting for teeth / A caza de dientes*, (handwritten) *Acaza de Muelas*, c. 1793–99 [Eugène Piot collection]. Etching, burnished aquatint and burin, 219 × 153 mm (plate). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département des Estampes et de la Photographie, RÉSERVE BF-4 (J7)-BOÎTE FOL

Fig. I.12 Francisco de Goya, *Capricho 12, Out hunting for teeth / A caza de dientes*, c. 1799 [Auguste Lesouëf collection]. Etching, burnished aquatint and burin (hand-coloured), 215 × 150 mm (plate). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département des Estampes et de la Photographie, RÉSERVE 4-ZF-123



This book was printed in September 2024,  
200 years after Francisco de Goya  
settled in Bordeaux,  
where he spent the final years of his life.