

FRANCISCO DE GOYA AND SEBASTIAN
DE COVARRUBIAS OROZCO
(MORE ON GOYA'S "MORAL EMBLEMS")

por

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*Amicus amīcō:
Santiago Sebastián.*

A number of scholarly studies have been published during the last few years which have revealed Goya's fairly consistent and prolonged employment of certain conventional symbolic motifs, some of which had been derived from his evidently assiduous study of emblematic literature¹. In an (as yet) unpublished study, for instance, I intend to reveal the unmistakably emblematic basis of Goya's stunning *Portrait of Don Manuel Osorio de Zúñiga*, a commission evidently dating from 1788². In the case of this single painting, a work occurring quite early in his career, one can demonstrate that for this commission Goya appears to have derived his symbolic imagery — particularly the hungry cats, the cage with the cowering birds inside, and the magpie holding the sign of the artist — as a result of his study of a

¹ Most notable among previous and recent publications exploring the provocative topic of Goya's indebtedness to published emblematic materials are the following: M. Soria, "Goya's Allegories of Fact and Fiction", *The Burlington Magazine*, xc, 1948, 196-200; G. LEVITINE, "Some Emblematic Sources of Goya", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXII, 1959, 106-31; F. NORDSTRÖM, *Goya, Saturn and Melancholy*, Stockholm, 1962; N. GLENDINNING, "Goya and van Veen. An Emblematic Source for Some of Goya's Late Drawings", *The Burlington Magazine*, cxi, 1977, 568-70; IDEM., "A Solution to the Enigma of Goya's 'Emphatic Caprices', Nos. 65-80, of the *Disasters of War*", *Apollo*, March 1978, 186-91; S. A. NILSSON, "The Ass Sequence in *Los Caprichos*", *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, XLVII, 1978, 27-38; V. CHAN, "Time and Fortune in Three Early Portraits by Goya", *Arts Magazine*, LVI, nov. 1981, 132-8; J. F. MOFFITT, "Francisco Goya, Antonio Palomino, *caractère*, and the *State-Portrait of Count Floridablanca*", *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, L/3, 1981, 119-35; IDEM., "Goya y los demonios: El autorretrato con el doctor Arrieta y la tradición del *Ars Moriendi*", *Goya: Revista de Arte*, n. 163, 1982, 12-23; IDEM., "Espejo, espejo en la pared...u. Otra manera de mirar el 'Floridablanca' de Goya con la ayuda de Cesare Ripa y Johann Herchel", *Boletín de Arte*, IV/V, 1984, 9-36; IDEM., "Un Goya emblemático, el *Disparate matrimonial*", *Goya: Revista de Arte* (Summer 1985; in press).

² As it appears to me now (for reasons too complicated to relate here), most likely the portrait of don Manuelito was posthumous. As I have yet to find any kind of external documentary evidence establishing his death as occurring ca. 1788 (in spite of the aid of some of my Spanish colleagues who have tried to find this evidence for me), — or for that matter any other, later date, — I am still unable to complete my investigation of the intrinsic significance of this striking, emblematic portrait.

single Spanish emblem-book, the *Emblemas Morales* of Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, first published in 1610. For example, as it now appears to me, for the Osorio portrait Goya had recourse to three (or possibly even four) of the three-hundred moralizing emblems included in Covarrubias comprehensive anthology.

Given the preliminary identification of this specific text, apparently utilized as an inspirational source by the artist as early as 1788, it now seems worthwhile to re-examine the whole of Goya's later works in order to pinpoint the possible existence of further Covarrubias-derived motifs. Therefore, given the clearly didactic significance of the Spanish emblemist's obliquely rendered motifs — the purpose of which is explained in detail in his poems (epigrams) and attached prose commentaries³ — the present investigation may enable us to clarify the meanings of a number of Goya's images which have hitherto proven elusive to modern interpreters. Moreover, as Covarrubias' textual explanations for his consistently strange illustrations are rather straightforward, then those of Goya's seemingly enigmatic images which demonstrate parallel meanings, or which demonstrably had even been "borrowed" from the *Emblemas Morales* will in turn become considerably less elusive in meaning to the present-day viewer.

Nevertheless, as must also be recognized, perhaps other published sources may have also been employed at the same time in the artistic formulation of Goya's typically complex and multi-layered imagery. In any case, the emblems discussed here will certainly help to clarify the often uniquely *Spanish* significance of several otherwise inexplicable motifs in the artist's oeuvre. As is also apparent, and as one might expect, in his post-1788 period the maturing artist increasingly tended to utilize his emblematic source-materials in a less explicit manner, often taking considerably greater liberties with these, even to the point of radically reducing or otherwise altering certain iconographic details. Goya's assimilative process of iconographic transmutation had been recognized by George Levitine as early as 1959; as he then stated of the later works.

The emblematic sources almost entirely lose their identity and become very difficult to recognize. This is quite understandable, for the artist is freely exploiting his emblematic material, and is endowing it with a new poetic life and graphic expressiveness. Nevertheless, certain of Goya's [images], apparently characterized

³ For Covarrubias' life and works, see C. Bravo-Villasante (ed.): S. de COVARRUBIAS OROZCO, *Emblemas Morales*, Madrid, 1978 (unpaginated; a facsimile edition of the 1610 publication), "Introducción", viii-xxx; A. SÁNCHEZ PÉREZ, *La literatura emblemática española. Siglos XVI y XVII*, Madrid, 1977, 115-25. For the development of emblematic usages in Spanish painting, see my recently published appraisal of some: "Orientaciones actuales en la investigación sobre arte y cultura del Siglo de Oro español", *Cuadernos Internacionales de Historia Psicosocial del Arte*, II, 1983, 31-43.

by a completely unorthodox iconography, preserve sufficient similarity with their sources to establish unequivocally an emblematic derivation⁴.

In any event, although one might choose to quibble with certain individual identifications, in the larger sense the overall and fairly consistent emblematic basis of Goya's art after 1788 seems unmistakable. For convenience's sake, this iconographic survey, only focusing upon imagery derived from the *Emblemas Morales*, will be generally ordered chronologically, extending in time to Goya's last drawings (ca. 1828).

Following completion of the Osorio portrait, Goya does not appear to have reverted to the *Emblemas Morales* until some time after his notorious illness of 1792, a near-fatal incident which left the artist deaf and depressed. As it seems, it was only around 1796-7, during the formulative stages of the *Caprichos*, when Goya again recalled Covarrubias' useful manual of emblematic motifs and meanings. In fact, and in a very general sense, the *Caprichos* themselves should now be regarded as having been constructed upon such a representative emblematic model, having as they do an enigmatic title — the *moto*, *inscriptio*, or *lemma* — which is attached to an equally enigmatic picture — the *icon*, *imago*, or *pictura* — both of which are (to some degree) clarified by an attached commentary — the *epigramma* or *subscriptio*⁵. Goya, with only a few exceptions, namely some paintings and drawings, seemed to have employed the *Emblemas Morales* exclusively for his major graphic suites, including (besides the *Caprichos*) particularly the problematic "Caprichos Enfáticos" (ca. 1813-20) of the *Desastres de la Guerra* and also the *Disparates* (or "Proverbios") of ca. 1815-24.

Without a doubt, the best known of the *Caprichos* is the 43rd plate, "The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters"⁶. Although the literary, particularly allegorical, antecedents of the artistic-melancholic ("*melancholia artificiosa*") imagery of this engraving have been thoroughly explored by various scholars⁷, the *Emblemas Morales* may be cited here to explain the appearance

⁴ LEVITINE, "Some Emblematic Sources", 108.

⁵ For the traditional construction and nomenclature of an emblem, see W. S. HECKSCHER & K-A. WIRTH, "Emblem, Emblembuch", *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, Stuttgart, 1959, vol. V, columns 85-228; H. MIEDEMA, "The Term *Emblema* in Alciati", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXI, 1968, 234-50.

⁶ Henceforward, my citations of specific works (this plate, for instance, being G-W 536) will refer to the definitive study of the artist's oeuvre: P. GASSIER & J. WILSON, *The Life and Complete Work of Francisco Goya, with a Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings, Drawings, and Engravings*, New York, 1971. The emblematic interpretations (or re-interpretations) of certain plates of the *Caprichos* which follow should be understood as being intended to complement pioneering studies by certain scholars, without whose contributions the present investigation would not have been possible. Besides those works cited in note 1, these include: F. J. SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN, *Los Caprichos de Goya y sus dibujos preparatorios*, Barcelona, 1949; J. LÓPEZ-REY, *Goya's Caprichos: Beauty, Reason, and Caricature*, Princeton NJ, 1953; E. HELMAN, *Trasmundo de Goya*, Madrid, 1963.

⁷ Most notably, FOLKE NORDSTRÖM, *Goya, Saturn and Melancholy*, 116-32, and EDITH HELMAN, *Trasmundo*, 170-6; see also G. LEVITINE, "Literary Sources of Goya's *Capricho* 43", *Art Bulletin*, XXXVII, 1959, 56-9.

of a single motif in this well known print: the owls, hovering around the back of the fitfully sleeping artist, one of which forces a burin upon the somnolent engraver⁸. The *imago* for Covarrubias' 247th emblem (Centuria III, Emblema 47) — "IN NOCTE CONSILIUM" — shows such a *lechuza*. The poem below ("*la epigrama*") states:

A most appropriate martial device
 For a great Captain is the Chiveta,
 Or Owl, consecrated to Minerva,
 As it is nocturnal, taciturn and secretive:
 It is disposed to the dark night
 In order to take account of that which constrains,
 And to undertake, with stout heart,
 Any sort of heroic and bold deed⁹.

As is the case with all of Covarrubias' poems, on the page following a brief commentary in prose will appear which, in this case, states (mentioning several classical citations which need not be translated here):

Night regularly serves for repose and sleep. But, although sleep (*el sueño*) may be necessary for all kinds of animals, by men it must be taken in moderation. Therefore, all the labors and writings of the learned have been called "vigils", or nocturnal studies, because in the stillness of the night they have been composed and ordered. ...For the reasons given, the owl, a nocturnal bird, is the well-recognized symbol of wisdom and prudence... and thus the figure of our emblem is an owl perched upon a book, and this literally embraces within itself all that which we have said. The motto is a highly polished proverb: "*In nocte consilium*", which in a slightly different way is also stated as "*Nox dabit consilium*".

Plate 19 of the *Caprichos* — *Todos Caerán*: "They Shall All Fall [Into the Trap]" — depicts a seductive woman-bird perched in the uppermost branches of a tree in order literally "to decoy" flocking men-birds. Lured by the attractive decoy, the swarming men-birds will fall into the eager hands of the hunter, an old witch who lies in wait hidden behind a bush; beside her are female helpers who joyfully pluck the frightened catch fallen from the sky. According to Goya's handwritten commentary conserved in the Prado

⁸ The text by Covarrubias to be quoted here will provide a documentary basis by which to give substance to an inspired guess advanced by G. LEVITINE, "Some Emblematic Sources", 115 concerning the meaning of "one of the owls, which offers [Goya] the pencil, and this act — one thinks of a Muse inspiring a poet — must necessarily precede the actual creation of monsters by the artist, and consequently could not be performed by one of them". It is noteworthy that in two earlier drawings (G-W 537-8) the owls were also absent. As only the bats and linx appeared at the outset, then one supposes that Goya turned to the *Emblemas Morales* when he actually began to cut the plate (but see the following note).

⁹ The figure of Minerva — to whom the owl is consecrated by Covarrubias' definition — did, however, appear in a sepia drawing of ca. 1797 (G-W 538), where she is seen dressed in armor and holding a spear in the lower left hand corner of their original sketch.

Museum (*Explicación de los Caprichos de Goya escrita de propria mano*): "And those who are going to fall take not any heed from the example of those who have already fallen! But there's no hope: *They shall all fall*"¹⁰. The source, both visual and textual, of *Todos Caerán* is the 10th emblem of the *Emblemas Morales*. Just as in Goya's print, here we see the same treacherous decoy-bird perched high in a tree while the stealthy hunter lurks behind a bush placed in the lower left in order to take aim at several unwitting birds circling around his attractive lure. The poem explaining the motto, "DECEPTA DECIPIT OMNES", reveals how:

A dove fell into the net or lasso,
 And the hunter makes of her such a device
 That he takes all the other doves passing by,
 Making with her a lure and a decoy:
 With his bread (as they say) there is entrapped
 The one who is the tool of such a hunt,
 And who rekons her's a joyous and happy fate,
 Carrying the others after her to their death.

Moreover, as explained by the brief commentary on the next page.

It does not seem right to the bad man to be alone in evil, but he must induce others to accompany him, and he thus will go into the other life burdened with his own sins as well as those of others. For this purpose, most appropriate is the emblem of the ring-dove with which the hunter makes a lure by which to slow down the others flying by, thus catching them in his net.

Another kind of nasty bird-woman is seen in Goya's Plate 61, *Volaverunt*: "They Have Flown Off". According to the *Explicación*, "the group of witches which serves as a pedestal for the female fop (*la petimetra*) is more of an ornament than a necessity. There are those whose heads are so swollen with inflammable gas that they need neither balloons nor witches"¹¹. Again it is the text of the *Emblemas Morales* which perhaps best clarifies the relation of Goya's *petimetra*, a vain female fop, the slave of outlandish fashion and affectation, to a vividly plumed, indeed inflated, bird flying swiftly through the skies. Emblem 272 (Centuria III, Emblema 72) — "PARS

¹⁰ "Y no escarmienten los que van a caer en el ejemplo de los que han caído! pero no hay remedio, *todos caerán*". (The complete text of the *Explicación*, containing the subscriptions for all eighty of the published plates, is recorded by Helman, *Trasmundo*, 219-41.) G. LEVITINE "Some Emblematic Sources", 109-10, had cited two Dutch emblems as being "especially reminiscent of *Todos Caerán*", but his examples may be discounted for two reasons. In the first place, a Spanish example would be a more logical supposition and, in the second place, Covarrubias' *imago* very closeyl corresponds to the composition of *Capricho 19*, whereas Levitine's examples do not.

¹¹ "El grupo de brujas que sirve de peana a la petimetra, más que necesidad, es adorno. Hay cabezas tan llenas de gas inflamable, que no necesitan para volar ni globo, ni brujas".

MINIMA EST IPSA PUELLA SUI” — shows a puffed up lady — bird gliding through the sky:

There are those birds of grand plumage
 Who, spreading the wings through the air,
 Hold in contempt the red-tailed eagle's
 Magnificence elegance and airs:
 But if you pluck these birds, then [their plumage] all
 Becomes just so much ornament,
 Just as happens to the girl with the elegant airs
 Who, stripped of her highheels and hoopskirts, hatless,
 From a giantess came to be nought but a trifle.

Covarrubias' commentary following explains the nature of the conceptual linkage between the puffed-up bird and the overblown airborne *petimetra* pictured by Goya in *Volaverunt*:

Commonly women's bodies are smaller than men's. This fact notwithstanding, by all means possible to them they will puff themselves up and so will come to appear larger than they really are, taking advantage of highheels, tall coiffures and huge hoopskirts. But once they have been stripped of all these ornaments, some will be left mere dwarfs, being like those small-bodied birds with great feathers on their wings and tails just as is shown in this picture. The motto is taken from Ovid's *De remedio amoris* (book I): "*Pars minima est ipsa puella sui*"¹².

Plate 53 — *¡Qué pico de oro!*: "What a Golden Beak!" — deals with another kind of worthless bird, the deceitful parrot-orator¹³. The Ayala Manuscript of *Caprichos* commentaries tersely states that this animal represents "*Oradores plagiarios con auditorios de necios*" — "Plagiarizing orators with fools for an audience"¹⁴. Although, on the one hand, Edith Helman had hypothesized that this image is likely to have been derived from a popular satiric novel of the period — Padre Isla's *Historia del famoso predicador Fray Gerundio de Campazas, alias Zotes* (1758) — it must be noted that nowhere did Isla make any specific mention of the parrot-orator¹⁵. On the other

¹² According to the "Ayala Manuscript" of commentaries to the *Caprichos* (also quoted by HELMAN, *Trasmundo*, 219-41), the bird-woman is "the Duchess of Alba. Three bullfighters fill her head with lofty ideas (*La Duquesa de Alba. Tres toreros las levantan de cascos*)". In any event, the bird-woman motif is a venerable *topos*, the origins of which are to be found in classical literature. For a thorough discussion of this image, including its various emblematic ramifications, see J. F. MOFFITT, "Paul Klee's *Twittering Machine* and the Emblematic 'Birds-in-Bondage-Vile' Theme", *Studies in Iconography*, IX, 1983, 135-74.

¹³ Preparatory drawing, G-W 558; also apparently reappearing in plate 75 of the *Desastres de la Guerra*: "*Farándula de Charlatanes*" (A Troupe of Charlatans).

¹⁴ EDITH HELMAN (*Trasmundo*, 50) calls the Ayala Manuscript "more explicit and concrete than the Prado's". The Prado manuscript (the *Explicación*) in this case, however, is more loquacious, comparing the parrot-orator to a physician opting for an academic chair, being one who "discourses upon illnesses, but doesn't cure them".

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 77-9.

hand, Covarrubias certainly did, picturing and describing just such a “plagiarizing orator-parrot”. Emblem 78 — “REFERET DICTATA” — shows the unoriginal charlatan bird-orator perched in his cage. According to the epigram, as directly followed by the commentary:

The parrot, the thrush, and the magpie
 Perceive only what they hear, instructed
 By the idle instructor who by design
 Has them cunningly coached:
 Such is the man of faked repute
 Who, using the well-polished writings of others,
 For his part just commits these to memory
 Only, thereby aspiring to fame and glory.

Depending only upon their memory, many are those who would dare to raise themselves to professorial status or even to the pulpit by reading or preaching, with the greatest effrontery and affected airs, that which has been worked out by someone else. Even though they may recite [the borrowed work] well, they don't understand it at all. These [plagiarizers] are just like parrots and other vocal birds which learn only that which they are taught to say; even then, they only learn the sound of it. Therefore, we must not judge them only on the basis of this act [of recitation] when they read or preach in competition for a post. Instead, they are to be judged by the other customary standards.

Plate 58 — *Trágalo perro*: “Take that, you dog!” — shows a howling friar grasping a huge clyster, or enema-syringe, who advances towards a cringing penitent. The *Explicación* states that “whoever lives among men has no hope of avoiding the purge (*será gerinado irremediamente*)”. “If he wishes to avoid this fate, he will have to go away to live in the mountains, but once he gets there he will also recognize that this business of life is nothing but an enema”¹⁶. Actually, as Covarrubias informs us, Goya's menacing clyster probably represents an instrument for the forcible acquisition of knowledge as the huge syringe is a tool used for cleansing of wits, being specifically an instrument to flush away “falsehood and lies”. Emblem 248 (Centuria III, Emblema 48) — “COMPRIME ET EXPRIME” — shows an enormous laxative syringe suspended over a mountainous landscape. The verses and commentary obliquely discuss purgation as a means of banishing credulity and of inciting a better-grounded wisdom:

¹⁶ “El que viva entre hombres será gerinado irremediamente: si quiere evitarlo habrá de irse a habitar los montes, y quando esté allí conocerá también que esto de vivir sólo es una geringa”. The resulting interpretation of this print, as based upon Covarrubias' text, should be compared to the idea that narrative element was supposedly based upon a story, evidently current in Goya's day, about a monk who gave an arrogant soldier an enema in Seville; see N. GLENDINNING, “The Monk and the Soldier in Plate 58 of Goya's *Caprichos*”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXIV, 1961, 115-20.

He who does not learn can be but a bad master,
 And who can teach who does not know anything?
 With all this [deceit] in this our century,
 For that which was not accomplished, there's someone praised.
 And in dissembling his guilt, he is so skillful
 That, wherever he inserts himself and ends up,
 Being believed by everyone, he forces them,
 Without any further test, to do what he tells them.

Opinion sustains many things which, when examined in detail, will be shown to be nothing but falsehood and lies. The worst of it is that some of these inventions are prejudicial and, from this, it must be learned that they should not be praised. These deceptions are found in all the arts and sciences. He who would be a teacher must first be a student in order to learn something; afterwards, he can then instruct without embarrassing himself. As Boethius stated: "*Doctor debet esse eruditus; prius enim oportet, ut discat quam docet*"; adding, "*Miserum est enim esse magistrum, qui numquam novit esse discipulum*". This idea we represented by a clyster, or water-pump, and a sponge, as both these things take up the humours and, when squeezed, they give these back again; thus the motto "*Comprime, & exprime*".

A rather different kind of intestinal activity is that to be seen in Plate 69 — *Sopla*: "Blow!". A witch grabs a struggling child by the arms and legs as though he were a bellows in order to direct his explosive posterior towards a candle. The little boy blows out a great puff of combustible methane gas which violently feeds the flame. Moreover, upon the preparatory drawing for this plate (Madrid, Album B. 57) there had been placed an inscription which specifies that the purpose of the little boy's puffs of wind were to nourish the spark of the candle to make it flame up: "Aunty Spurter ignites the bonfire" (*La tía chorriones enciende la [h]oguera*). Pursuing an apparently contrary course, the Ayala manuscript noted that "children are the object of a thousand obscenities practiced by the old and the corrupt"¹⁷. Nevertheless, the real sense of the veiled irony of Goya's intention can probably only be deciphered by reference to the *Emblemas Morales*. Emblem 181 (Centuria II, Emblema 81) — "UTRAQUE EX ORE" — shows a pair of little boys with puffed cheeks who are blowing upon a spark in order to make it flare up:

If you blow with your mouth upon a spark
 Put upon some combustible matter,
 A great fire rises from it
 And a flame of inextinguishable pitch;
 Spit upon these same embers
 And at the point of disappearing from sight
 These same effects you will produce when
 You are either speaking either well or grumbling.

¹⁷ "Los niños son objeto de mil obscenidades para los viejos y relajados".

Concerning the excellencies of language as well as of its inconveniences, being either good now or bad later, there have been written many great maxims in both scripture and humanistic literature. As this is a commonplace, I will pass over this matter, only referring to the picture, which is of a fire. In the beginning this was only a spark which, working upon the combustible materials and being blown upon (*soplándose*), then ignites, thus to become a great bonfire. Then, using the same mouth from which the blowing came, if one spits upon this same spark, everything is put out and thus a fire is prevented. The motto is taken from Ecclesiastics [Sirach 28: 11-12 — “A hasty quarrel kindles fire, and urgent strife sheds blood”]. If you blow upon a spark, it will glow; if you spit upon it, it will be put out; and both come out of your mouth”. According to Saint James [3: 10], “From the same mouth come blessing and cursing”. Serving the same purpose is the popular fable of the man and the satyr, who was outraged to have to warm himself [his hands] with the same blowing from the mouth that he used to cool [his soup]. The word *moscella* comes from Toledo, and it means embers when these still retain the fire. The same was said of the word *latina mucus*, which is vulgarly called snot. Nevertheless, when we want to convey the idea of something chosen with care and diligence, then we wish to have examined a thing with the greatest attention, then that is *a moco de candil* (by candle-light).

The idea of things well chosen “*a moco de candil*”, the candle itself nourished by puffs of wind, seems reflected obliquely in Goya’s *Explicación* of *Sopla*: “Quite a catch of kids there was, without a doubt, the night before; the banquet being prepared should be gorgeous: may it profit you greatly”¹⁸.

Less ambiguous, however, is the relationship of the *Emblemas Morales* to the satiric message of Plate 55, *Hasta la muerte*: “Right to the Death”. The *Explicación* explained that: “She does well to get herself gorgeous: these are her days: she’s seventy-five years old and her girl-friends are coming to see her”¹⁹. Edith Helman describes the print as depicting “an ugly, skinny and toothless old hag who is primping herself before the mirror. Her vision has been no obscured by her vanity that she seems content with the image she sees reflected. The mirror, which should have enlightened her, continues to deceive her, leaving her with the absurd notion that, by dressing in the latest fashions, she will be able to undo the ravages of time”²⁰. Pursuing similarly satiric lines, Covarrubias’ 98th emblem — “NULLI, NON SUA FORMA PLACET” — shows a wrinkled she-monkey who is greatly pleased by her reflection in the mirror, thinking her ugliness most “handsome”:

The she-ape, being abominably ugly,
If, by chance, she sees her face in a mirror

¹⁸ “Gran pesca de chiquillos hubo, sin duda, la noche anterior; el banquete que se prepara será suntuoso; buen provecho”.

¹⁹ “Hace muy bien en ponerse quapa: son sus días, cumple 75 años y vendrán las amigas a verla”.

²⁰ HELMAN, *Trasmundo*, 57.

She continues to have a high opinion of herself, and desires not
 Any further gracefulness, beauty, trappings, or clearer vision.
 This ugly-face must take herself to be a goddess;
 Her face is by her vile hide embellished,
 And, for all such who are eager for glory,
 Ugliness will seem to them handsomeness.

It is natural that all our things will appear to be fine, taking none of these to be ugly, however abominable they may be. What is detestable in one's self inspires fondness, even though in somebody else [this same quality] would seem evil to us. ...And this same delusion will operate as much in exterior as well as in interior qualities. For this reason, the ability to know one's self in a straightforward and undecieving way is a gift from heaven. The body of the emblem, that is, its motto, is taken from the first book of Ovid's *De arte amandi*: "NULLI, NON SUA FORMA PLACET".

Goya was to return to an emblematic mirror-motif about a decade later (ca. 1810-12) in a painting which then changed the original idea of silly apish vanity seen in *Caprichos* to the more ominous notion of imminent death²¹. Now usually entitled "*Les Vieilles*": "The Old Women", in the 1812 inventory it was perhaps more accurately called just: "*El Tiempo*" – "Time"²². Here we see a toothless old crone who looks into a mirror (inscribed *¿Qué Tal?* – "How Goes It?") which is held by a servant-woman with a leering death's-head face. In this looking-glass the ancient hag sees reflected the looming figure of Death – Saturn-Kronos – who stands behind her, ready to sweep her away with his upraised broom²³. Both Winged Saturn and the Mirror of Death are motifs which appear in the *Emblemas Morales*, and the relentlessly all-devouring God of Time is depicted in the 208th emblem (Centuria III, Emblema 8): "FALLIT VOLATILIS AETAS":

Time flies, not stopping for an hour;
 Although he seems to you lame and slow,
 Old and tired, one in whom dwells forgetfulness,
 Scarcely active and not at all powerful:
 Another Tithonus he is, husband to Aurora,
 Phlegmatic, heavy and deliberate;
 Oh, what a great delusion or mad thought it would be
 If, by comparison, the wind would seem sluggish!

²¹ For another four drawings incorporating the mirror-motif, dating from the period of *Los Caprichos*, see NORDSTRÖM, *Goya, Saturn and Melancholy*, "Portraits of the Four Temperaments", 74-94.

²² G-W 961; its complement, or pendant, was evidently G-W 962: *Les Jeunes: A Young Woman with a Letter* (both are in the Lille Museum of Art); for the Inventory of 1812, see Gassier-Wilson, 381, where the painting was briefly mentioned as "El Tiempo con el n. veinte y tres".

²³ See also NORDSTRÖM, *Goya, Saturn and Melancholy*, 197 ff.; and, for Saturnine imagery in general (with ample bibliography): J. F. MOFFITT, "Who is the Old Man in a Golden Helmet?" *Art Bulletin*, LXVI, 1984, 412-27.

If, traveling along, you should have happened to come across a lame old man of great age, having one peg-leg and hindered by a scythe in one hand a timepiece in the other, and if it appeared to you that his travels were very short, then you have been misled. This is Time, which, to your mind, may seem to travel slowly. But you must not fail to observe his wings, for with these he'll stop jogging and begin to fly. As this is a commonplace, I don't wish to further expand upon my ideas about this due to the brevity I profess; Petrarch's sonnet *La vita fugace* must be consulted. The motto was taken from Ovid: "FALLIT VOLATILIS AETAS".

Covarrubia's 182nd emblem (Centuria II, Emblema 82) – "CONSIDERAVIT SE IPSUM, & ABIIT" – appears to be the origin for the motif of the "servant-girl" with the deaths-head face who held the fatal looking-glass at her breast in Goya's painting. The text of the *Emblemas Morales*, moreover, leaves no doubt as to the meaning of the inscription on the mirror which asked "How goes it?":

Remembrance of death is said to be
The true mirror of life
When, looking into it, a man perceives
How he is appraised and in what measure:
But, if in the hard and exacting critical moments
Of his last days, he perhaps forgets
His soul, and fails to stamp upon his memory
Most constant pledges for it, heavenly bliss becomes forfeit.

If only the thoughts of our approaching ends would endure in us we should never go astray: but man is forgetful. This is signified in the Hebrew language by one of their given names, by which a man is called *Enos*, meaning forgetful. As this is another commonplace, I need not remark further upon this. The figure in the emblem shows a term made from the bones of the dead, having a mirror upon its chest, and upon the floor are seen the tracks of those who pass by. The title is from Saint James, I: "*Consideravit se ipsum, & abiit*".

Additionally, the *Emblemas Morales* may be employed to re-evaluate the possible emblematic meanings of three paintings by Goya, two of which were mentioned as a group in the 1812 Inventory of his possessions. Until now, perhaps erroneously, these canvases have been generally viewed as being simple, although monumentally scaled, "genre-scenes", respectively depicting a *Knife-Grinder*, *Blacksmiths at an Anvil*, and a *Water-Carrier*²⁴. Therefore, if one wishes to presume some kind of collective *raison d'être* for these ambitious compositions, characterized by what Fred Licht describes as "the sacramental solemnity that invests so much of Spanish painting

²⁴ These are listed as a group by Gassier and Wilson: G-W 963, 964, 965.

[giving] it a resonance that lifts it well beyond descriptive realism²⁵, one might even go so far as to identify an outright socialist factor as the primary motif, as did Francis D. Kligender²⁶. Nevertheless, as Licht also observes, "the proletarian world hardly impinges on art before Goya's time"²⁷. On the other hand, as I have pointed out elsewhere²⁸, the emblematic world was a commonplace in Spanish art by the Baroque period. Accordingly, an emblematic interpretation of these three paintings would begin by largely ignoring the people, seeing them only as incidental accessories, instead emphasizing the symbolic importance of their tools or instruments, in turn reading these as emblematic motifs or attributes: a knife-grinder, a blacksmith's forge, and large clay vessels for carrying or pouring water. By means of such an emblematic interpretation, which focuses upon these three essential instrumentative motifs, generally a commonplace moralizing content can be shown to link all three paintings together.

The first of the trio to be considered is *El Afilador*, in the Budapest Museum of Art. Perhaps not surprisingly, Covarrubias provides an appropriate emblematic meaning for an instrument serving to sharpen or grind down knives or razors. The same tool that appears in Goya's *Knife-Grinder* is that which was employed as the central *imago* of Covarrubias' 119th emblem (Centuria II, Emblema 19): "AUNQUE GASTE LOS ACEROS".

Due to this ravenous hunger for knowledge
 (So natural to men), we are enjoined
 Not to waste Time, which is infinitely treasured, by
 Pursuing a dull life of sloth.
 Philosophical speculation is one thing
 Which removes and suspends the workings of
 Natural potencies, because the tranquility
 Of contemplation transports the soul.

The manual worker and the mechanic by trade are convinced that the man who is occupied in learning and philosophical speculation is just being slothful and lazy. They believe that they are the only true workers, and that the others get their bread free of charge. This arises because they do not appreciate the measure of the afflictions and inquietudes of the soul arising from inquiries into the secrets of nature and the mysteries of heaven. Nor do they appreciate how tiring these speculations can be, nor to what degree much contemplation consumes the vital spirits and even the corporeal forces. Such intellectual activity becomes so extreme that doctors who are attending to some great thinker will treat him as though he had just got married. Although such a man may recognize the loss of his vital forces and

²⁵ F. S. LIGHT, *Goya in Perspective*, Englewood Cliffs NJ, 1973, 23.

²⁶ For this "socialist" interpretation of the artist's oeuvre, see F. D. KLIGENDER, *Goya in the Democratic Tradition*, London, 1948 (see esp. 219-20 for the three paintings in question).

²⁷ F. S. LIGHT, *Goya, The Origins of the Modern Temper in Art*, New York, 1979, 263.

²⁸ MOFFITT, 1983, as in note 3.

health, due to his stubbornness it is not within his power to cease to persevere. This is just like the razor which they pass across the barber's whetstone to make it sharper and thinner of blade, so to cut all the better, but they pay no heed to the fact that the iron and steel are worn down in the process. Therefore, the emblem shows the picture of the knife-sharpener with an inscription in Castillian: "AUNQUE GASTE LOS ACEROS".

Given that Goya's rather brutish-looking and skeptical *Knifegrinder*, "a mechanic by trade", now appears to represent the dangers of an overly sharpened, and therefore worn down, "Occam's razor" of the intellect, then we may now likewise turn to reconsider Goya's *Forge*, also in Budapest, and this is now perhaps more accurately to be re-entitled as "*The Anvil*". This painting shows three burly smiths who are vigorously hammering upon a smashed piece of red-hot metal lying upon the anvil²⁹. According to Covarrubias, such a scene would represent the idea of the pounding blows of adversity which, although they smash and efface, in the end such hard knocks only strengthen and anneal the Soul. His 194th emblem (Centuria II, Emblema 94) — "NO POR ESSO PIERDE SU VALOR Y PESO" — depicts symbolic hammer-blows raining upon a flattened coin placed upon an unyielding anvil:

The blows of Fortune, although shattering,
Battering property, health and success,
Will make no impression upon unalterable virtue,
Nor upon the courage of a dignified and stout-hearted man:
Upon the anvil in an instant
The hammer transforms the doubloon by
Erasing its face; nevertheless, hammered,
It loses neither carats nor weight.

If your conscience is healthy, then all those adversities which might happen to you become of small consequence, even though Fortune may torment you and smash up your property, health and life with the hammerings of her labors. But the intrinsic worth of virtue will not be lost; to the contrary, it will increase through tolerance and patience, especially by offering up to God all of those adversities which attack us, using these as a discount upon our sins. This is expressed by a gold coin placed upon an anvil with a hammer smashing upon it; but this action diminished neither its carats nor its value, and for this reason we have the title in Castillian: "NO POR ESO PIERDE SU VALOR Y PESO".

²⁹ In what appears to be a preparatory drawing, probably a sketch taken from life (G-W 1472), Goya had depicted the three men in the act of digging; the worker on the right side then held an upraised mattock. Thus it seems possible that Goya adapted a pre-existing composition of diggers to suit the emblematic requirements of Covarrubias' symbolic anvil.

Goya's smiling *Aguadora*, clasping a symbolic water-jar to her breast, may now, by reference to the *Emblemas Morales*, be understood to represent the idea of "The Acquisition of Resources and Wealth", based upon the primary motif of a kind of "Spring of Worldly Wisdom". In what appears to be the preparatory drawing (Album C, n. 78) for the painting, showing the *Aguadora* with two jars, Goya wrote a title which reveals his moralizing intentions: "It's a shame if you don't busy yourself with some other task" (*Lástima que no te ocupes con otra cosa*)³⁰. Emblem 180 (Centuria II, Emblema 80) — "OPES ADQUIRIT EUNDO" — shows two river-gods clasping large water-jugs to their sides. Covarrubias' text informs us that Goya's "*otra cosa*" is, once again as in *El Tiempo*, the acquisition of well-founded knowledge, based upon an acute awareness of the fugacity of life and of all material things, leading to edifying thoughts upon one's *postremerías*, that is, the last days on earth:

The Tagus, Guadalquivir, Ebro, Guadiano,
 Or any other such swollen river,
 In its beginnings, at the spring where it originates,
 Flows softly, tamely, and serenely:
 But once it acquires from its banks
 Many tributaries, it powerfully rushes
 Into one or another sea; such happens
 To the one who begins with little and enriches himself.

There is no great river, however lengthly the extension of its banks, which was not at its creation but a trickle. But, by joining with other trickles, it expands and becomes proud and haughty, and boats and bridges are required to pass from one to the other bank. Nevertheless, for all the more swollen they find themselves at the end, they will all enter into the sea, there to be consumed — without leaving any memory of their being. A man who makes himself wealthy, gathers here and there possessions, will find, when he comes to enter into the abyss of death, that there everything is consumed and destroyed. The motto is taken from the second book of Ovid's *De arte amandi*: "*Opes acquirit eundo*". This same idea can be applied to the invention of various of the arts and philosophies, the principles of which were discovered by a single author. Later, others were attracted to his invention, adding to it, and so perfecting his work³¹

³⁰ G-W 1314.

³¹ As Licht has observed of these three canvases (*Goya in Perspective*, 22-3), whereas the *Afilador* and the *Aguadora* "were probably painted for a friend", in the case of the much larger *Forge/Anvil* it seems curious that Goya apparently executed it "without receiving a commission and a decent payment for it". But as Licht also notes, "earlier in his career, probably in 1797, he had painted allegories of human activities (Agriculture, Industry, and so forth)", which in this case we know to have been based upon traditional or symbolic imagery, having been specifically derived from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (see NORDSTRÖM, *Goya, Saturn and Melancholy*, "Six Allegories in Human Activities", 95-115). In the case of the three "genre scenes" discussed here, unfortunately, we know nothing about the person who presumably commissioned them, just as the patron of Goya's "Allegories of Poetry and Philosophy" (ca. 1798?, Stockholm Museum of Art) remains anonymous.

Again Goya apparently was to revert to the *Emblemas Morales*, perhaps for (at least) two of the “Emphatic Caprichos” (ca. 1815-20), in the suite of the *Desastres de la Guerra*. The plate called *Fiero monstruo!* (“A Savage Monster!”) was not included in the original edition of eighty plates comprising the *Desastres*³². This hairy beast, shown vomiting up its squalid dinner of rotting human flesh, only to gobble it up ravenously again, seems to have been based on Covarrubias’ 92nd emblem – “REPETIT, QUOD NUPER OMISSIT” – which describes the:

Gluttonous dog which, having vomited up
Its surfeit of fetid and insipid flesh
Which it devoured, again he
Swallows it up, compelled by hunger.
Such is the penitent who had once abandoned
Vice, but, when given the opportunity to transgress,
The wretch reverts to instinct,
Forgetting God and his conscience.

Well can one imagine that an oath of penitence which has not been arrived at correctly and truly, rather being false and deceitful, then will the sin repeat itself, once the initial fervor has passed and the old vice returns. Rightly does one compare this false penitent to that dog who throw out of its body that which burdened his gut and so bothered him; hungry, he soon returns to feed upon his own vomit. This has an accepted proverbial sense, and it refers to the words of the Apostle Saint Peter [II Peter 2:22]: “But it is happened unto them according to the true proverb. The dog is turned to his own vomit again”. The motto – “REPETIT, QUOD NUPER OMISSIT” – is taken from Horace.

The *Emblemas Morales* might also help us to grasp the underlying moralizing sense of Plate 78 of the *Desastres*. Entitled *Se defiende bien*, it shows a heroic horse which “Defends Himself Well” by literally trampling over obstacles impeding his progress, which in this case are represented by a pack of wild dogs. The 125th emblem (Centuria II, Emblema 25) – “NULLA NISI ARDUA VIRTUS” – shows another noble horse which attacks a daunting obstacle placed in front of it by vigorously striking out with its hooves:

A great [gift] does not cost little, nor are
Precious and valuable things gotten with ease;
Nor without study are difficulties
Overcome, nor riches attained by sleeping.
Heroic virtues are more prized
Than anything; he who wishes to conquer them
Must sweat, be vigil, and stay awake
Before these virtues will be attained by him.

³² G-W 1136, and 1137 (preparatory drawing).

Initially our imagination pictures the road to virtue as being too bitter and rough to traverse. In order to last out the journey an invincible soul is required, and one must not faint at the prospect of being alone here on this little-traveled, narrow and dangerous road. However, great things never cost little. By putting your sights on the desired end everything is alleviated and eased, as it is God himself who accompanies us upon the journey, helping us to bear the load. The motto, "*Nulla nisi ardua virtus*", is taken from Ovid³³.

One strongly suspects that *Se defiende bien* was derived from the *Emblemas Morales* additionally because the plate which precedes it in the suite of the *Desastres* — N. 77: *Que se rompe la cuerda*³⁴ — also may be shown to have eventually stemmed from Covarrubias' bizarre imagery. However, in order to follow the logic of the complicated process by which Goya alchemically transformed the substance of the crude woodcuts of a 17th-century emblematicist, one must turn to two other plates from the *Disparates*³⁵. The tightrope-walker-priest of the *Desastres* reappears as a girl balancing upon the back of a bulky white horse who nimbly walks across a slack rope in the 20th plate of the *Disparates*: "*Disparate puntual*", or "Certain Folly". It is noteworthy that the plate which immediately follows this bizarre scene depicts the "*Disparate de bestia*", or "The Folly of the Beast". Here an elephant faces some men (by their costume, perhaps Old Testament figures) who present to the pachyderm what appears to be the Tables of the Law of the Jewish faith. The apparent conceptual linkage between this seemingly heterogeneous group of tightrope-walkers (animals or men) and elephants is once again clarified by Sebastián de Covarrubias. His 161st emblem (Centuria II; Emblema 61) — "*MOLEM SUPERIT INGENIUM*" — depicts a massive elephant who gingerly picks its way across a tightrope suspended above a crown of appreciative humans:

The elephant seems a dull-witted animal,
But its intelligence is so refined
That in many things it almost is ahead
Of the courtly and prudent man.

³³ This emblematic interpretation must be compared to that interpretation advanced by NIGEL GLENDINNING, "Solution", 188, who finds its origins in a poem by G. B. CASTI, *Gli animali parlanti*, first published in 1802 (with a partial Spanish translation appearing in 1813).

³⁴ In the preparatory drawing for *Que se rompe la cuerda* (G-W 1129) the acrobatic cleric on the slack rope had worn a papal tiara. It might also be mentioned that there is a saying "*bailar en la cuerda floja*", which is equivalent to the English phrase "to skate upon thin ice" (T. HARRIS, *Goya: Engravings and Lithographs*, London, 1964, I, 209). On the other hand, GLENDINNING ("Solution", 190) takes the plate "to imply that the power of the Church was in jeopardy... the priest's display belies the true, spiritual nature of belief".

³⁵ For our purposes, it will be recalled that GEORGE LEVITINE, "Some Emblematic Sources", 111-3, had in 1959 discovered the unmistakable emblematic basis of *Disparate 10: El caballo raptor*, which shows, among other things, that Covarrubias was certainly not the only emblematic source employed by Goya: nevertheless, this is the first published study relating Covarrubias to Goya (for other emblematic sources, see note 1).

Therefore, it should not seem impossible to you, nor surprising,
 If something, which is very fat and ill-formed,
 Just might possess a sharp intellect, because in Rome
 This same beast dances upon the tightrope.

Concerning the nature and history of the elephant much has been written, and we run across some of this material in our etymologies. Among other things, it is cause for admiration that such a monstrous and ugly beast, appearing heavy and slow-witted, should have such a great intelligence; being much given to reason; many rational beings are scarcely as docile as this beast. Upon this fact there have been written things which are almost unbelievable, among which that there was an elephant which danced upon a tightrope, and upon which it performed marvellous stunts. This is a useful example by which to point out how a certain extremely fat person had a refined and acute mind, and how he was disposed to do anything, and was nimble on his feet to boot, an idea also embraced by Ovid's distich: "*Si mihi difficulis formam natura negavit, / Ingenio formae damna rependo meo*". From whence the motto was taken for this emblem: Wits surpass Mass — "*Molem superart igenium*".

One of the most bizarre of the *Disparates* is the 13th plate which shows us "A Way to Fly", *Modo de volar*, where men dressed as birds are seen propelling themselves across the night sky by means of prococious hang-gliders. As with our other examples, we can either assume that the picture is totally incomprehensible, at least to our modern eyes, or, to the contrary, we may assume that Goya's *Modo de volar* betrays a conventional meaning. Covarrubias' 285th emblem (Centuria III, Emblema 85) — "INGENIUM MALA SAEPE MOVENT" — shows a pair of winged men similarly attempting to compete with birds. As we learn from the Spanish emblemist, the enterprises of such ingenious bird-men are desperate and likely doomed to failure:

In a critical and dangerous moment in life,
 When one is in danger of losing all,
 The sagacious man seeks a way out
 In order, by using craft, to be able to preserve himself:
 When there was no escape, by either land or by sea,
 So did Daedalus hesitate not to venture
 Into the pure air of the serene skies
 In monstrous, imitation flight.

In states of dire need, men will take a fancy to any number of schemes which, if not propelled by need, they would have instead taken to be quite impracticable. We could mention any number of such examples of men who, menaced y danger to their lives, had done truly incredible things in order to save themselves. This is represented by our emblem which depicts the fable of Dedalus. Fleeing from Crete, he threw himself off a tower and carved a path through the skies, aided by wings

made from feathers stuck together with wax. Our meaning is that one mentioned by Ovid (*De arte amandi*, I), from whom the motto was taken: "*Ingenium mala saepe movent, quis crederet unquam aereas homines carpere posse vias*".

Further proof for the assertion that Goya had drawn upon Covarrubias' emblem dealing with the myth of Daedalus is revealed by a simple visual comparison with a later drawing from "Bordeaux Album H" (n. 52; ca. 1824-28: GW 1811). As described by Pierre Gassier.

What we have here is a man who has fastened wings to his back and works them with his arms in order to fly. This obviously calls to mind the famous myth of Daedalus and his son Icarus, though Goya has little taste for mythological subjects [*per se!*]. Or it might be simply a dream-vision, like *Disparate 13, Way to fly*, engraved in Madrid between 1815 and 1820³⁶.

The intinsic sense of yet another strange, air-borne image from the *Disparates* may also be clarified by reference to the *Emblemas Morales*. "Flying Folly", *Disparate volante*, shows a man and a woman, who had been riding upon a great white horse, and who have been snatched up by a giant eagle which now carries off the horse and the two humans clinging to its back as it flies up into the night sky. Covarrubias' 296th emblem (Centuria II, Emblem 96) — "CAPTIVAM DUXIT CAPTIVITATEM" — shows a huge eagle soaring heavenward, carrying aloft a man perched upon its back. It Covarrubias' emblem with the eagle carrying aloft its struggling prey was indeed the inspiration for Goya's *Disparate volante*, then once again Goya's intention reveals itself to have been sublimely ironic; according to the Spanish emblemist:

Oh bird, the divine word, with what kind of prey
Do you ascend in proud flight toward the Father?
I bring a prey into a captivity,
Free from all harm and affliction:
For if you so quickly despoil us,
What then do you give back to the earth by your humanity?
A talent for remembrance, which is a gift from heaven,
Serving as a certain sign of perpetual glory.

The marvellous ascension of the Son of God, Jesus Christ Our Redeemer, after He had broken open the doors of Hell and liberated the souls of the Holy Father awaiting His holy advent, provides us maximum consolation upon seeing that, this day, He has opened the gates of heaven for us. In the same way, His most holy humanity works against the afflictions of our flesh, raising us directly to the right hand of God the Father. Therefore His followers, being a mystical body of His

³⁶ P. GASSIER, *Francisco Goya: Drawings, The Complete Albums*, New York, 1973, 645.

head, must continue to be adorned with the gifts of glory. This ascent of the Lord is pictured as, and compared to, an eagle rising to the highest part of the sky with its prey [leaving the infernal regions behind, and so forth]³⁷.

Finally, we may relate the *Emblemas Morales* to the imagery of the last period of Goya's lengthy career, finding Covarrubias' motifs again appearing in a least three drawings from the "Bordeaux Albums" of ca. 1824-28. As we saw, the drawing H. 52 was both thematically and iconographically paralleled by Covarrubias' Emblem 285. On the other hand, in drawing G. 15 one sees a monstrous hybrid man-woman emblematically representing: "A Secure Natural Union, Half-man and Half-Woman: A Sweet Union", according to the half legible inscriptions on the sheet. Pierre Gassier interprets this curious image to represent "an original solution, indeed the only feasible way to achieve a harmonious balance between the two parties" in a marriage³⁹. Covarrubias also shows us a moralizing hermaphrodite (or androgynous) personage, being both the result of, and the sign of a tightly conjoined love-match held together like a tree grafting (*un enjerto*), in his emblem 164 (Centuria II, Emblema 64): — "NE UTRUMQUE, & UTRUMQUE" — :

I am *hic* and *haec* and *hoc*. By my statement,
I am a man, a woman, and a third kind of being,
Which is neither one nor the other; nor is it clear
Which of these I am. I am the target
For those who, taking me to be a hideous and strange
Monster, a sinister being and evil augur,
May, each of those who has looked upon me, be instructed
That he is another me, if he lives effeminantly.

According to one of the stories told about the Hermaphrodite — the offspring of Mercury (Hermes) and Venus (Aphrodite), as his name suggests — is that once he wished to bathe in a spring, the goddess of which was a nymph named Salmacis.

³⁷ To the student of emblematics it is obvious that Covarrubias' emblem was, in its turn, based upon another emblem invented by Andrea Alciati early in the 16th-century: Emblema IV, "IN DEO LAETADUM". It is also therefore possible that Goya was familiar with a certain lengthy 17th-century commentary in Spanish which accompanied Alciati's *imago* depicting the Rape of Ganymede, and which arrived at the same moralizing and Christian conclusions as did Covarrubias some years earlier. According to D. LÓPEZ's final summary of the meaning of this emblem (*Declaración Magistral sobre las Emblemas de Andrés Alciato*, Valencia, 1655, 22-9) "...siendo purísima [la visión celeste, y libre de toda cosa terrena, echa mano de la mejor del suelo, y cielo, para contemplar en ello, que es Dios: en el qual con todas sus fuerzas se robe... y así quadra bien el título a la Emblema, *In Deo laetandum*, avemos de alegrarnos en Dios. ...También por Ganymedes arrebatado del águila, podemos entender el alma del hombre, la qual parece que se sube al cielo, quando contempla con el entendimiento las cosas celestiales, como si se apartara del cuerpo, en el qual está como en el cárcel, lo qual no puede hazer sin un rapto, y éstasis, significado por Ganymedes. ...El águila que arrebató a Ganymedes, significa la gracia iluminante, ...y así la gracia levanta nuestro entendimiento". See also S. SEBASTIÁN (ed.), *Alciato: Emblemas*, Madrid, 1985, Emblema IV, pp. 31-4.

³⁸ GASSIER, *Complete Albums*, 562 (G-W 1723).

She became so enamoured of the youth's beauty that she leaped into the water and then embraced him so tightly that he couldn't untie himself from her. She called upon the gods to make a bond between them, and so they grafted them together. This fable contains much of natural and moral history because, among the many other prodigious products of nature, we will remark upon this one, showing that a bi-sexual being is the offspring [of such a union], which we call the Androgyne, serving as well as a man as a woman. We have spoken about this in our *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, where I mention the third book of the *Tusculan Letters* by Cicero, saying: "*Non est turpius, aut nequius efaeminato viro*", which is the line closing our octave. The motto is taken from Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, iv: "*Ne utrumque, & utrumque*". The picture is of the bearded lady of Peñarranda.

Drawing G. 46 shows a spinning circle of animals with two women calmly floating about in the midst of their bustle, representing "the entanglements of their lives" (*Enredos de sus vidas*). As Gassier correctly observes, "as often happens with these very elaborate drawings, it is only when we come to examine the minutest details that it is possible to get at the underlying meaning, or anyhow to propose a plausible interpretation of it. Here one realizes that this [seeming] 'bouquet of flowers' actually consists of a multitude of half-human, half-animal heads"³⁹. As Covarrubias informs us, however, such spinning, circular "entanglements" actually represent "the confusion in this world". Emblem 279 (Centuria III, Emblema 79) — "ANDA AHORA EL MUNDO TAL, QUE NO SE CUAL VA TRAS CUAL" — shows two tangent circles containing animals which speedily spin around the world placed in the center of the *imago*:

The world is contrary and changing; I understand it not:
 Servants command, and the master begs their leave,
 The rich man weeps and the poor one laughs;
 The mountain collapses and the meadow covers it up:
 The hare is running after the greyhound,
 And the mouse chases the cat. But [the world] is said to be
 Round and like a wheel, so that
 Here it makes us wonder who goes behind what.

This emblem deals with that confusion of the world which is today quite common, and there's no need to get into the details. It is enough to represent the meaning with this picture, and poem by the motto: I don't know goes behind what, being an abbreviation of the old saying: "*Anda agora el mundo tal, que no sé qual va tras qual*"⁴⁰.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 568 (G-W 1751).

⁴⁰ On the basis of Covarrubias' comment (that is, if this may be allowed as the inspiration for the drawing), I must presume that the two women in Goya's drawing are the slothful servants who order their masters about in this emblematic *monde bouleversé*; consequently, one might discount Gassier's guess to the effect that "the original reference was to the love life of the younger woman alone, the other perhaps a person flying a temptress".

What we have perhaps learned from the above is that in a number of his enigmatical (and supposedly undecipherable) works, particularly in the engraved suites executed after 1799, Goya had really only been pursuing the published intentions of his *Caprichos*; as explained by Fred Licht.

Their aim, stated quite blandly by Goya in an advertisement for the first edition, is didactic and moralizing. The artists sets himself the task of illustrating certain incongruencies, injustices, stupidities, and cruelties of his age in order to open our eyes and arouse our indignation. The purpose of the plates is therefore in perfect harmony with the aims of the Enlightenment: to eradicate evil by education. A basic assumption of the plates is also shared by the Enlightenment in general: that the human race is capable of perfecting itself and that wit, wisdom, sentiment, and tolerance are efficient weapons in the struggle that is to lead mankind from its errors and ignoble impulses⁴¹.

All that now needs to be added to this observation is that these were essentially the very same instructive and "enlightened" impulses which had motivated the moralizing art of the Spanish emblematisers, thus explaining generally why a work like the *Emblemas Morales* would have seemed to Goya such a perfect vehicle by which to shape the content of his own didactic art which so vigorously sought to banish ignorance. According to Aquilino Sánchez Pérez, a recognized authority on the subject:

The emblem-books published in the Spanish language [including the *Emblemas Morales*] were predicated upon the desire to reach a wider and less learned audience, and consequently this also presupposed a simplification of the format so that it could be understood by nearly everybody. But there is another factor which in every country had come to constitute the predominant characteristic of emblematics by the end of the sixteenth-century: the emblems were composed in order to instruct and to transmit moral and religious truths (*para enseñar, para transmitir verdades morales y religiosas*). ...Once the emblem-books began to be published in the vernacular, the ease and simplicity of their exposition was greatly augmented. The great majority of these authors proposed didactic ends. ...The ultimate purpose of the emblem is to contribute to the formation of good behavior, particularly by suggesting healthy counsels, often embracing pious considerations, the end of which is to induce men to love virtue and to loath sin. ...There are two fundamental aspects: on the one hand, the enigmatic character and exercise of the intellect and, on the other, a didactic and moralizing purpose⁴².

As should be self-evident, in regards to underlying *content*, such were also the purposes directly expressed by Goya himself in his explanation of his first suite of "Moral Emblems", the *Caprichos*. According to Goya:

Persuadido el autor de que la censura de los errores y vicios humanos (aunque parece peculiar de la elocuencia y la poesía) puede tambien ser objeto de la pintura:

⁴¹ LICHT, *Goya, the Origins of the Modern Temper in Art*, 82.

⁴² SÁNCHEZ PÉREZ, *La literatura emblemática española*, 27, 30-1.

ha escogido como asuntos proporcionados para su obra, entre la multitud de extravagancias y desiertos que son comunes en toda sociedad civil, y entre las preocupaciones y embustes vulgares, autorizados por la costumbre, la ignorancia ó el interés, aquellos que ha creído unas aptos á subministrar materia para el ridículo, y exercitar al mismo tiempo la fantasía del artífice. ... [El artista] ha tenido que exponer á los ojos formas y actitudes que sólo han existido hasta hora en el mente humana, obscurecida y confusa por la falta de ilustración acalorada con el desenfreno de las pasiones⁴³.

But there is yet more. Even the *formal* arrangement of Goya's *Caprichos* overall — having, as we have seen, an enigmatic title, an aequally enigmatic picture, and an accompanying text (the "Explicación") — all represent factors common to the obscure, symbiotic poetic-pictorial art of the emblematisers, a conventionalized art-form whose tripartite format had been canonized some three-hundred years previously in the *editio princeps* (1531) of Andrea Alciati's *Emblematum liber*. The nature of this conventionalized format, evidently embraced by Goya with a certain measure of enthusiasm, has been neatly explained by a pioneer in modern emblematic studies, William Sebastian Heckscher, as follows:

Each of Alciati's *emblemata* consists of three elements: motto, picture, and epigrammatic stanza. The motto is a short *dictum* or title (such as *festina lente*; *illicitum non sperandum*; *ex literarum studiis immortalitatem acquiri*, or simply *Ira*; *Sirenes*; *De morte et amore*). It is invariably associated with a picture. The picture must not try to illustrate the motto, and vice versa. The two elements rather must complement one another as in a happy marriage. Obviously, the devising of emblems had to be largely a matter of wit, invention, and inspiration — hence the emblems' great attraction to both the mannerists of the sixteenth century and to the metaphysicians of the seventeenth. The picture (also 'device', *impresa*) was generally spoken of as the Body, the motto (or *lemma*), consisting by tradition of not more than five words, as the Soul of the emblem. ... Since most emblems were made to inspire, to warn, to encourage, to persuade, the emblematic picture should, wherever possible, show present and future action. An *impresa*, after all, is literally 'an undertaking'. The third of the three elements constituting an emblem, less strictly defined, consisted of either some epigrammatic verse or some prose passage, designed to pull picture and motto together⁴⁴.

To conclude, whatever the specific published sources and/or close ideological parallels, there may have been for Goya's enigmatic art, clearly the rules and values governing the "*Picta Poesis*" combinatory art-forms of the emblematisers also constituted the tacitly expressed didactic purposes and the formal conventions shaping Goya's own "*Emblemas Morales*".

⁴³ *Diario de Madrid*, n. 37, miércoles, 6 de febrero de 1799, p. 145.

⁴⁴ W. S. HECKSCHER, "Renaissance Emblems. Observations Suggested by Some Emblem-Books in the Princeton University Library", *The Princeton University Chronicle*, XV/2, 1954, 55-68 (here, pp. 112-3).



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1. Goya, *Portrait of Don Manuel Osorio de Zúñiga*, ca. 1788. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.—2. Frontispiece, S. de Covarrubias Orozco, *Emblemas Morales*, Madrid, 1610.—3. Goya, "El sueño de la razón produce monstruos", *Caprichos*, plate 43.—4. Covarrubias, "In Nocte Consilium", *Emblemas Morales*, n.º 247.

LAMINA II



5. Goya, "Todos caerán", *Caprichos*, plate 19.—6. Covarrubias, "Decepta Decipit Omnes", *Emblemas Morales*, n.º 10.—7. Goya, "Volaverunt", *Caprichos*, plate 61.—8. Covarrubias, "Pars Minima Est Ipsa Puella Sui", *Emblemas Morales*, n.º 272.—9. Goya,



Trágalo perro.



EMBLEMA 45.

Quié no apréidío, mal puede ser maes-
 Y q puede enseñar el q no sabe? (tro,
 Con todo esso en este siglo nuestro,
 De lo que no alcanço ay quié se alabe:
 Y en fingir su maldad está tan diestro,
 Que do de quiera se entremete y cabe,
 Ya ser creído todo el mundo obliga
 Sin otro examē mas, de que el lo diga.
 L.



Sopla.



EMBLEMA 81.

Si soplais con la boca vna centella,
 Sobre alguna materia combustible,
 Un gran incendio se leuanta della,
 Y vn fuego de alquitrā inextinguible:
 Es cupis con la mesma essa moçella
 Y al punto desuanece, en vn visible,
 Es los mesmos efetos haz, eis, quando
 Esiais diziendo bien, o murmurando,
 Aa De

11. Goya, "Trágalo perro", *Caprichos*, plate 58.—12. Covarrubias, "Comprime & Exprime", *Emblemas Morales*, n.º 248.—13. Goya, "Sopla", *Caprichos*, plate 69.—14. Covarrubias, "Utraque Ex Ore", *Emblemas Morales*, n.º 181.

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15. Goya, "Hasta la Muerte", *Caprichos*, plate 55.—16. Covarrubias, "Nulli, Non Sua Forma Placet", *Emblemas Morales*, n.º 98.—17. Goya, *Les Vieilles*, ca. 1810. Lille, Musée de l'Art.—18. Covarrubias, "Fallit Volatilis Aetas", *Emblemas Morales*, n.º 208.—19. Covarrubias, "Consideravit Se Ipsum & Abiit", *Emblemas Morales*, n.º 182.—20. Goya, *The Knife-Grinder*, ca. 1810.

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21. Covarrubias, "Aunque Gaste Los Aceros", *Emblemas Morales*, n.º 119.—22. Goya, *The Anvil*, ca. 1810. The Budapest Museum of Art.—23. Covarrubias, "No Por Eso Pierde Su Valor Y Peso", *Emblemas Morales*, n.º 194.—24. Goya, *The Water-Carrier*, ca. 1810. Budapest, Museum of Art.—25. Goya, "Lástima que no te ocupes con otra cosa", Album C, ca. 1814-23, Prado.—26. Covarrubias, "Opes Adquirit Eundo", *Emblemas Morales*, n.º 180.

LAMINA VI

27



Fiero monstruo

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Se defiende bien

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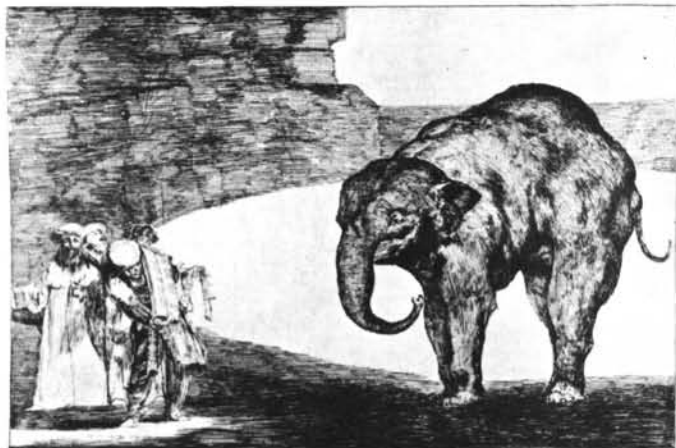
Que se rompe la cuerda

32



27. Goya, "Fiero monstruo!", *Desastres*, plate 81, ca. 1810-20 (1820 ?; unpublished with original set).—28. Covarrubias, "Repetit, Quod Nuper Omisit", *Emblemas Morales*, n.º 92.—29. Goya, "Se defiende bien", *Desastres*, plate 78.—30. Covarrubias, "Nulla Nisi Ardua Virtus", *Emblemas Morales*, n.º 125.—31. Goya, "Que se rompe la cuerda", *Desastres*, plate 77.—32. Goya, "Disparate nuptial", *Desastres*, plate 79 (2).

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33. Goya, "Disparate de bestia", *Disparates*, plate 19 (?; unpublished with original set).—34. Covarrubias, "Molem Superit Ingenium", *Emblemas Morales*, n.º 161.—35. Goya, "Modo de volar", *Disparates*, plate 13.—36. Covarrubias, "Ingenium Mala Saepe Movent", *Emblemas Morales*, n.º 285.—37. Goya, "Daedalus and Icarus (?)", *Album H*, ca. 1824-8, Prado.

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38. Goya, "Disparate volante", *Disparates*, plate 5.—39. Covarrubias, "Captivam Duxit Captivitatem", *Emblemas Morales*, n.º 296.—40. Goya, "Segura unión natural...", *Album G*, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum.—41. Covarrubias, "Ne Utrumque & Utrumque", *Emblemas Morales*, n.º 164.—42. Goya, "Enredos de sus vidas", *Album G*, Ottawa, National Gallery.—43. Covarru-