



20. *The Archangel Michael*, by Guido Reni. 1635. Oil on silk, 293 by 202 cm. (Chiesa dei Cappuccini, Rome).

time to see them in the best light'.⁴³ However, Mengs had already decided to leave his Roman and Florentine collections to Charles III who, in turn, gave them to the Real Academia de San Fernando⁴⁴ – where they still are – dashing Preciado's hopes of improving his school in Rome.

In 1789 Francisco Preciado de la Vega died and was buried in the church of S. Susanna. The gravestone, now missing, was erected by Cardinal Despuig, and listed Preciado's academic qualifications and his role of director for Spanish students. Before the proclamation of the Roman Republic in 1798, Spanish sculptors and painters living in Rome found another place to work in Palazzo di Spagna, which was run like an academy by the Ambassador José Nicolás de Azara. Although they could not lodge there, artists could attend the evening drawing classes given by Buenaventura Salesa, and copy the great number of important vases, busts, statues and casts in the ambassador's private collection.

Preciado's death brought to an end the concentration of Spanish artists around piazza Barberini; thereafter Spanish students once again congregated around piazza di Spagna.

⁴³ '... buscar los originales de marmol manchados unos con la patina del tiempo, i otros q.e no se permiten las licencias de dibuxarlos, siendo mas commodo el hazer el estudio del antiguo pr. los yesos mediante la facilidad de volverlos pr. todas vistas, i de ponerlos a buena luz quando ocurre'; *ibid.*

⁴⁴ A. Negrete Plano: 'La colección de vacidos de Mengs', *ibid.* 92–93 (2001), pp.9–31.

Godoy's gift of his portrait to Pestalozzi in 1808

by ISADORA ROSE-DE VIEJO

TWO CENTURIES HAVE elapsed since Agustín Esteve painted a second copy of Goya's life-size allegorical portrait *Manuel Godoy, High Admiral and Protector of the Royal Pestalozzi Military Institute* (Fig.21), yet the purpose of this duplicate has never been clarified. It can now be demonstrated through letters and a contemporary newspaper report that Godoy himself commissioned this replica as a gift for the celebrated Swiss educational reformer Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi. Goya's original, prominently placed in 1807 in the assembly room of the Military Institute in Madrid, was destroyed in March 1808 during the disturbances marking Godoy's downfall: only the politically uncompromising fragment of boys in the picture's middle ground was salvaged.¹

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¹ Meadows Museum, Dallas, no.67.24; I. Rose: "'La celebrada caída de nuestro coloso": Destrucciones espontáneas de retratos de Manuel Godoy por el populacho', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando* 47 (1978), pp.199–226; *idem*: 'Una imagen real para el favorito: Galería retratística de Manuel Godoy', in *La Imagen*

Esteve's first copy was initially in Godoy's collection and from 1816 has been in the museum of the Academy of San Fernando, Madrid.²

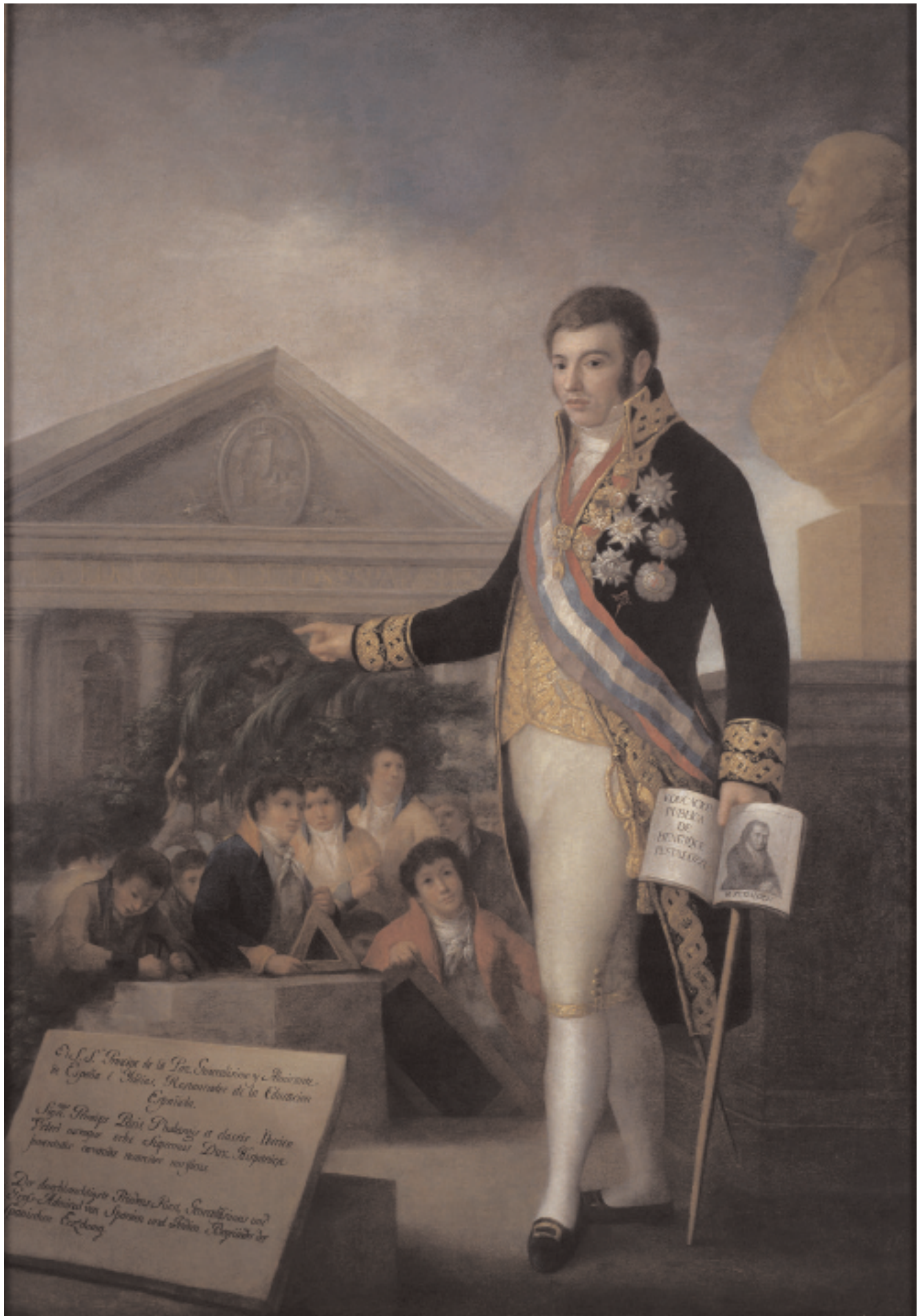
The Pestalozzi Institute for elementary education in the Spanish capital was created by Royal decree on 23rd February 1805 and inaugurated with great fanfare on 4th November 1806.³ It was the last progressive project promoted by Godoy, who clearly aspired to associate his name with that of Pestalozzi.⁴ This experimental institution survived only fourteen months; pressure from anti-liberal groups forced its closure on 13th January 1808. By then the version of the portrait destined for Pestalozzi was close to completion and, as is evident from

de Manuel Godoy, Mérida 2001, pp.119–91, esp. pp.160–62 and 169–71; J. Milicua: 'Un cuadro perdido de Goya: El Escudo del Real Instituto Militar Pestalozziano', *Goya* 35 (1960), pp.332–34.

² Archivo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de S. Fernando, Madrid (hereafter cited as RABASF), no.698; see I. Rose: *Manuel Godoy, Patrón de las Artes y Coleccionista*, Madrid 1983, II, no.160.

³ *Noticia de las Providencias tomadas por el Gobierno para observar el nuevo método de la enseñanza primaria de Enrique Pestalozzi . . .*, Madrid 1807, pp.42–62.

⁴ See E. la Parra: *Manuel Godoy. La aventura del poder*, Barcelona 2002, pp.252–53; and R. Fernández Sirvent: *Francisco Amorós y los inicios de la educación física moderna . . .*, Alicante 2005, pp.61–82.



21. Manuel Godoy, High Admiral and Protector of the Royal Pestalozzi Military Institute, by Agustín Esteve. Copy of a lost painting by Francisco de Goya. 1807. Canvas, 242.8 by 168.7 cm. (Museo de Bellas Artes San Pío V, Valencia).

GODOY'S PORTRAIT



22. Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, by Pedro Gascó based on a drawing by F.M. Diogg, 1806. Copper engraving, 13.5 by 8.3 cm. (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid).

surviving correspondence, he had already been promised the painting. Thus, despite the closure of the school, the canvas left Spain at the end of February 1808, dispatched to Pestalozzi at Yverdon-les-Bains, near the lac de Neuchâtel in Switzerland in the care of two teachers returning there from the Madrid school.

Several letters exchanged between Godoy and Pestalozzi, as well as between the latter and his followers in Spain, refer to this portrait. Many of these have been published, quoted and translated,⁵ but the painting mentioned in the correspondence has never been identified. It has been assumed that it was a miniature or one of the numerous engraved images of Godoy. Nevertheless, the tone of these letters suggests something far grander. The first known allusion to the gift of a portrait occurs in a letter from Pestalozzi to Godoy dated 9th January 1808, revealing that he already knew about the painting:

Pestalozzi has not dared until now to express the joy that the sweet hope of possessing the image of His Highness has caused in him; he would have thought it might show a lack of respect had he immediately expressed his desire to possess this portrait. But since His Highness has now assured him personally that

the worthy Spaniards obliged to come will bring him this cherished and venerated image, he takes the liberty of presenting his most respectful thanks for this great favour [. . .]. The image of His Highness will rejuvenate the soul of an old man, will stimulate him to new efforts and to pursue until its end a career that has brought him the happiness to possess the esteem, the protection and the portrait of His Highness the Prince of Peace.⁶

Other letters dating from January and February 1808 also refer to this painting. One from Pestalozzi to his associate Francisco Amorós in Madrid – apparently written early in January 1808 – reveals that the master knew he was going to receive a portrait of Godoy, that it pleased him enormously and that he hoped to be able to spend hours gazing at it in admiration.⁷ On 1st February 1808 Godoy wrote to Pestalozzi from Aranjuez, telling him that in spite of the closure of the Madrid Institute, he still planned to dispatch his portrait to Switzerland at the earliest opportunity.⁸ Shortly afterwards, on 4th February, Amorós informed his professor that the painting was being hurriedly packed.⁹ Pestalozzi, writing in February to Josef Caamaño, Spanish Ambassador in Bern, reported that he knew the Madrid Institute had been shut down, but he still hoped to receive the portrait of ‘his Highness, the Prince of Peace’.¹⁰ In a letter to Amorós of around the same time, Pestalozzi thanked him for facilitating the despatch of the portrait, asked who would bring it and when, and reiterated that this painting was important to him.¹¹ Still in February, Pestalozzi repeated to Godoy: ‘Enraptured by the idea that His Highness wishes to send the portrait of his venerated person, Pestalozzi feels fortunate to possess this great proof of His Highness’s favour . . .’.¹²

Other messages about the painting reached Pestalozzi from Amorós and Johann Andreas Schmeller, a German disciple in Madrid, to tell him that Gabriel Friedrich Studer, another disciple in Madrid, would deliver the portrait. In a letter dated 21st February, Schmeller added that he too would be making the trip, accompanied by a Swiss army officer.¹³ All three left Madrid on 26th February and arrived at Yverdon-les-Bains on 29th March, according to Schmeller’s diary.¹⁴ So the portrait was sent to Pestalozzi six weeks after the Institute in Madrid had closed. It arrived twelve days after the Aranjuez uprising that deposed both Charles IV and his favourite, Godoy. In late March 1808, Godoy was imprisoned near Madrid, and was about to be forced into permanent exile.

A description in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of 18th August 1807 clinches the identification of the painting:

⁵ See H. Morf: *Pestalozzi in Spanien*, Winterthur 1876; *idem: Pestalozzi en España*, Madrid 1928; and A. Israel: *Pestalozzi-Bibliographie. Die Schriften und Briefe Pestalozzis . . . Schriften und Aufsätze über ihn . . .*, vols.25, 29 and 31 of *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, ed. K. Kehrbach, Berlin 1903–04.

⁶ ‘Pestalozzi n’a pas osé jusqu’à présent s’exprimer sur la joie, que lui cause la douce espérance de posséder l’image de Son Altesse Seigneuriale; il aurait crû manquer au respect qu’il lui devoit en exprimant immédiatement à Son Altesse Seigneuriale son désir de posséder ce portrait. Mais à present que Son Altesse Seigneuriale l’a assuré elle-même, que les dignes Espagnoles qui doivent venir, lui apporteront cette image chéri et vénéré, il prend la liberté de présenter à Son Altesse Seigneuriale ses remerciements les plus respectueux pour ce grand bienfait [. . .]. L’image de Son Altesse Seigneuriale rajeunira l’âme du vieillard, l’excitera à de nouveaux efforts et à poursuivre jusqu’au bout une carrière qui lui a procuré le bonheur de posséder l’estime, la protection et le portrait de Son Altesse Seigneuriale le Prince de la Paz’; J.H. Pestalozzi: *Sämtliche Briefe*, VI: *Briefe aus den Jahren 1808 und 1809*, ed. Emanuel Dejung, Zürich 1962, no.1338.

⁷ ‘Ich weiß jez durch Seine Hoheit selber, daß ich sein Bild erhalten werde. Das macht mich so glücklich. Ich bin so kindisch alte. Ich wähne es jexo schon zu bisitzen’; *ibid.*, no.1337.

⁸ ‘. . . y tampoco le privaré del gusto de poseer mi retrato, pues ya he dado om, para que se lo

remitan en primera ocasión . . .’; Zürich, Institut für Historische Bildungsforschung Pestalozzianum (hereafter cited as IHBP), transcription provided by R. Horlacher.

⁹ ‘. . . s[eine]r Durchlaucht die Send[un]g s[eine]s Bildes [. . .] es einzupacken, damit es bald forgebracht wird . . .’; *ibid.*, transcription provided by R. Horlacher.

¹⁰ ‘Les grâces, dont sa majesté catolique a comblé les chefs d’institut m’ont fait infiniment de plaisir ainsi que l’espérance de recevoir le portrait de son Altesse le Prince de la Paix . . .’; Pestalozzi, *op. cit.* (note 6), no.1362. Caamaño’s diplomatic correspondence is in Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Estado, L.5975 and L.5976, but there are no references to this portrait.

¹¹ ‘Ich freue mich äußerst auf das Bild des Friedensfürsten und danke Ihnen für die Privatattention, die Sie in diesem Augenblicke für diesen Gegenstand gezeigt. Ich bitte Sie, mir zu sagen, wer es bringen wird und wenn? Ich setze einen sehr großen Werth auf den Besitz dieses Gemäldes und ersuche Sie, mir darüber zu sagen, was Sie immer wissen’; Pestalozzi, *op. cit.* (note 6), no.1370.

¹² ‘Extasié de l’idée que son Altesse Seigneuriale veut bien lui faire parvenir le portrait de sa personne vénérée, Pestalozzi se sent heureux de posséder ce grand témoignage de la grâce de son Altesse Seigneuriale . . .’; *ibid.*, no.1386.

¹³ Morf 1928, *op. cit.* (note 5), pp.47–49; R. Blanco y Sánchez: *Pestalozzi: su vida y*

Pestalozzi expressed the wish to own a portrait of Prince of the Peace, so the prince commissioned his portrait from Goya, painter to the Court, and sent it to Yverdon. The painting measures four feet wide by ten feet high. The prince, life-size, full-length, wearing his admiral's uniform and with all his decorations on his chest, is placed in the left foreground. In his left hand he holds 'Gertrude' [a book by Pestalozzi] in which, opposite the title page, Pestalozzi's portrait appears; on the same side of the painting a bust in bronze of the king is shown on a pedestal. The prince's raised right hand points to the background where there is a portico with columns bearing the inscription: 'To the education of Spaniards'. The ground-floor of this building is hidden from view behind the shade of the palm-trees that protect it from the rays of the burning sun. A dozen red-cheeked youths look towards the creator of this pedagogical Arcadia while playing with a plumb line and a set square on masonry blocks to be used to finish the building. An incised plaque bears the inscription in Spanish, Latin and German, 'The Most Serene Prince of Peace, Generalissimo & Admiral of Spain and the Indies, restorer of Spanish education'.¹⁵

Apart from minor confusions over certain details, the composition described here matches Goya's painting as it was copied by Esteve. That the article was published in August proves that the copy was commissioned by the summer of 1807 and that news of the gift travelled ahead of the painting. No print of the painting reversing the design survives that would account for Godoy's figure being placed on the left. Presumably the journalist had not seen the painting, which would also account for the King's bust being described as of bronze instead of marble¹⁶ and the book being identified as 'Gertrude',¹⁷ when the painted words clearly read 'Public Education'.

The European press was keen to publish information about Pestalozzi and his revolutionary educational methods for young children.¹⁸ Could Amorós or another Pestalozzian in Madrid, such as Studer or the first director of the Institute, the Swiss army captain Franz Joseph Voitell, have taken the initiative to send advance information to the German newspaper? The German daily *Allgemeine Zeitung* had already reported in June 1806 that Pestalozzi's portrait had been engraved on copper in Madrid.¹⁹ Hence journalists in Tübingen were receiving information either directly from Madrid or taking it from other periodicals.

As to the portrait of Pestalozzi seen in the portrait of Godoy, two images were available in Spain. There was the widely disseminated print, announced in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, which



23. Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, by Georg Friedrich Adolph Schöner. 1804. Canvas, 75 by 59 cm. (Kunstsammlung der Stadt, Zürich).

had been engraved by Pedro Gascó in Madrid, based on a life drawing by F.M. Diogg sent from Switzerland (Fig.22); in November 1806 it could be purchased in Madrid at the bookshops Orea and Ranz.²⁰ A half-length oil portrait of Pestalozzi (Fig.23), painted from life by the German artist Georg Friedrich Adolph Schöner, who depicted him on numerous occasions,²¹ was brought to Madrid in March 1807 by another Swiss associate, the military chaplain Joseph Döbeli. In a letter, now lost, Amorós informed Pestalozzi that Godoy appreciated the portrait, and

sus obras. Pestalozzi en España, Madrid 1909, p.476; A. Guerra: 'Instituto Militar Pestalozziano de Madrid . . .', *Revista de Estudios Extremeños* 19 (1963), pp.251-333, esp. pp.320-21; and Fernández Sirvent, *op. cit.* (note 4), pp.79-82.

¹⁴ J.A. Schmeller: *Tagebücher 1801-1852, I: 1801-1825*, ed. P. Ruf, Munich 1954, pp.153-54.

¹⁵ 'Um dem von Pestalozzi geäußerten Wunsch, das Bild des Friedensfürsten zu besitzen, zu entsprechen, hat dieser sich von dem Hofmaler Goya malen lassen, und das Gemälde nach Yverdon abgesandt. Es hält 4 Fuß Breite, 10 Fuß in die Höhe. Links im Vordergrund steht der Fürst in Lebensgröße, im Großadmiralskostume, mit allen seinen Orden auf der Brust. In seiner Linken ruht "Gertrud" aufgeschlagen, und Pestalozzi's Bild zeigt sich neben dem Titelblatt; auf der gleichen Seite erblickt man die bronzene Büste des Königs, auf passenden Piedestal. Die erhobene rechte Fürstenhand zeigt auf den Hintergrund; ein Säulenpallast erhebt sich dort mit der Inschrift: "A la education de los Espanoles". Des Gebäudes untere Stokerwerke sind dem Blicke entzogen durch den Schatten von Palmen, die sie vor Helios Glut schirmen. Dem Schöpfer dieses pädagogischen Arkadiens zur Rechten treibt ein Duzend rothwangiger Buben mit Senkblei und Richtscheit sein Wesen, unter den Quadersteinen, die noch herumliegen, zur Bollung des Baues. Eine gehauene Platte trägt in spanischer, lateinischer und deutscher Sprache die Unterschrift: "Der durchlauchtigste Friedensfürst, Generalissimus und

Großadmiral von Spanien und Indien, Begründer der spanischen Erziehung"; 'Schweiz. 6 Aug.', *Allgemeine Zeitung* 230 (18th August 1807), pp.918-19 (microfilm, University Library, Cambridge); see also Israel, *op. cit.* (note 5), III, *Schriften und Aufsätze über Pestalozzi*, pp.206-07.

¹⁶ This painted bust of Charles IV resembles two marble busts of the monarch by Juan Adán dated 1797, one still in RABASF (no.E-269), and the other was formerly in Godoy's palace, and since 1815 in the Palacio Real, Madrid (Patrimonio Nacional, no.10002969).

¹⁷ J.H. Pestalozzi: *Wie Gertrud ihre Kinder lehrt*, Bern and Zurich 1801.

¹⁸ See Israel, *op. cit.* (note 5), III, *passim*; and B. Sureda: 'Los inicios de la difusión del método de Pestalozzi en España . . .', *Historia de la Educación. Revista interuniversitaria* 4 (1985), pp.35-62, esp. pp.46-52.

¹⁹ Israel, *op. cit.* (note 5), III, p.207, citing the *Allgemeine Zeitung* 179 (28th June 1806).

²⁰ *Gaceta de Madrid* (21st November 1806), p.1068, cited in Blanco, *op. cit.* (note 13), p.435.

²¹ *Pestalozzi and His Times. A Pictorial Record, Edited for the Centenary of his Death by the Pestalozzianum and the Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, Zürich and London 1928, plates *passim*.

Pestalozzi replied that he was delighted that the prince liked Schöner's painting.²² Therefore, when Godoy sent his grandiose image he was corresponding in kind, even if the portrait of Pestalozzi was both smaller and more modest than that of the High Admiral.

When Schöner's canvas arrived in Madrid, Goya had not yet completed his portrait of Godoy:²³ the miniature of Pestalozzi in the book held by Godoy is a reduced replica of Schöner's image. Actual frontispiece portraits of Pestalozzi are oval-shaped bust-length images, based on drawings by Diogg, as, for example, that in the 1801 German edition of *Wie Gertrud ihre Kinder lehrt* engraved by H. Lips,²⁴ or the similar engraved portrait by Gascó used as the frontispiece for the Spanish translation of Daniel-Henri Chavannes's study of Pestalozzi's methods.²⁵ In Juan Andújar's 1807 Spanish translations of Pestalozzi's books, the frontispiece is the engraving made by Manuel Albuérne after Goya's emblem for the Institute, never Pestalozzi's portrait, as confirmed by Amorós.²⁶ So the quotation of Schöner's portrait in Goya's canvas can be understood as another homage to the Swiss master and may well have been requested by Godoy. For his personal collection, Godoy commissioned the academic artist Francisco Javier Ramos to paint Pestalozzi's portrait modelled on Schöner's work.²⁷

Goya's portrait of Godoy and Schöner's portrait of Pestalozzi were displayed together with a portrait of Charles IV in the large hall of the Madrid Institute at 3 calle del Pez, according to a letter from Studer to Pestalozzi written in mid-April 1807.²⁸ These paintings would have been hung so that they were visible from the street, as was customary in town halls throughout Spain at the time. This public visibility explains how Goya's work was destroyed by the mob barely a year after its completion. His oval-shaped painted emblem for the Institute, described by Amorós as a 'beautiful, original and philosophical composition'²⁹ when it was ceremoniously installed above the entrance on the

morning of 1st January 1807,³⁰ was destroyed at the same time. Only Schöner's canvas survived, perhaps removed by the Pestalozzians at the Institute when it closed in January.³¹

Doubtless, Esteve's second copy of Godoy's portrait – removed from its stretcher and rolled for transport – reached its destination on 29th March 1808, but there is no record of its presence at Pestalozzi's school in the château d'Yverdon.³² The teacher's wife, Anna Pestalozzi-Schulthess, kept a diary but did not mention the arrival of the painting.³³ Perhaps, given the momentous events in Spain, the canvas was never unpacked, for this huge portrait of the disgraced Prince was now worthless in social and political terms. It might even be that, given his chronic economic difficulties,³⁴ Pestalozzi soon got rid of the painting by pawning or selling it, or possibly by letting Schmeller take it to Munich when he returned there in December 1813.³⁵

Nothing is known of the painting's history for the rest of the nineteenth century. Around 1900 it was bought as a Goya – perhaps in Munich or Paris – by the Hungarian Baron Marcell von Nemes. By this time, interest in the portrait centred on the artist rather than on the sitter.³⁶ The painting next surfaced in New York,³⁷ when it was bought by the collector-dealer Paul Mersch (son-in-law of the Paris dealer Charles Sedelmeyer) for \$210.³⁸ Mersch took the portrait to Paris, where it was studied by August L. Mayer who included it in his monograph on Goya, observing that its state of conservation was poor.³⁹ In March 1944 it was offered in Paris as a Goya for two million francs.⁴⁰ After various vicissitudes it was purchased in 1989 by the Valencian Generalitat for the Museum of Fine Arts and so returned to Spain.⁴¹ The painting certainly underwent several restorations during its odyssey of nearly two hundred years in Europe and America. Yet, had it been on public display in Spain in March 1808, it would almost certainly have been destroyed.

²² J.H. Pestalozzi: *Sämtliche Briefe*, V: *Briefe von Mitte 1805 bis Ende 1807*, ed. E. Dejung, Zürich 1961, no.1309.

²³ Godoy wears the dress uniform of High Admiral, a post bestowed on him by Charles IV on 13th January 1807, providing Goya's portrait with a *terminus post quem*.

²⁴ See note 17 above.

²⁵ D.-H. Chavannes: *Exposición del Método Elemental de Henrike Pestalozzi, con una noticia de las obras de este célebre hombre . . .*, Madrid 1807; 1st French ed., Vevey 1805.

²⁶ F. Amorós y Ondeano: 'Prólogo', in E. Pestalozzi: *Doctrina de la Visión de las Relaciones de los Números*, Madrid 1807, p.1; prologue dated 6th September 1807. For Albuérne's print see Milicua, *op. cit.* (note 1).

²⁷ RABASF, no.700; and Rose, *op. cit.* (note 2), II, no.459.

²⁸ Guerra, *op. cit.* (note 13), p.295. The present building on this spot was constructed in 1862; Madrid, Archivo de la Villa de Madrid, Archivo General, exp. 4–248–78. The portrait of the King could have been one of the many authorised replicas by Esteve of a Goya original.

²⁹ *Noticia*, *op. cit.* (note 3), p.97.

³⁰ During the morning festivities Godoy's presence was symbolic, represented by his portrait, which cannot have been the large allegorical one by Goya, as it had not yet been completed. See *Diario de Madrid* 22 (22nd January 1807), p.86, signed by J.F.D.O.

³¹ From 1820 the portrait is documented in a series of private collections until 1962, when purchased in Frankfurt by the City of Zürich. See Pestalozzi, *op. cit.* (note 6), p.410, note h'.

³² There is no information about the painting at the Centre de Documentation et de Recherche Pestalozzi Yverdon-les-Bains.

³³ See D. Tröhler and F.P. Hager, eds.: *Anna Pestalozzis Tagebuch*, Bern 1993.

³⁴ In 1810 Pestalozzi had to pawn his furniture and borrow money because the Yverdon Institute was almost bankrupt; see J.H. Pestalozzi: *Los destinos de mi vida y otros escritos*, ed. J.M. Quintana Cabanas, Barcelona 2005, pp.63–64.

³⁵ Morf 1928, *op. cit.* (note 5), p.54.

³⁶ The painting apparently never entered Von Nemes's personal collection; see A.L. Mayer: 'Los cuadros del Greco y de Goya de la colección Nemes en Budapest', *Museum. Revista Mensual de Arte Español Antigo y Moderno . . .* 1 (1911), pp.457–68.

He probably purchased it for resale. Istvan Nemeth found no record of the painting in inventories of his collection, and agrees with this proposal; written communication, 16th January 2008.

³⁷ Sale, Plaza Hotel, New York, *Nearly Five Hundred Paintings from the Blakeslee Galleries to be Sold at Unrestricted Public Sale . . . The Plaza Hotel . . . March 6th, 1916 . . . and The American Art Galleries . . .*, 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th March 1916, lot 54, as by Francisco de Goya. The auction catalogue states that Blakeslee acquired this painting in August 1911 from Marcell Nemes of Budapest.

³⁸ *Ibid.*: reduced from \$350, according to the hand-written annotations in the copy at the Frick Art Reference Library, New York (hereafter cited as FARL). The incorrect information that Mersch owned this painting in Paris in 1910 and that it was purchased at the 1916 New York sale by a 'Mr. Wilson', apparently comes from M.S. Soria: *Agustín Esteve y Goya*, Valencia 1957, no.106.

³⁹ A.L. Mayer: *Francisco de Goya*, Munich 1923, no.281.

⁴⁰ The marqués de Lozoya, Director General of Fine Arts in Spain, launched an investigation to determine if it had been stolen from a Spanish public institution. Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, Director of the Prado and an expert on Goya, stated that the painting was the one formerly owned by Mersch, that a 'repetition' existed in the Academy of San Fernando, and that neither was by the artist; Alcalá de Henares, Archivo General de la Administración, sig: 03–109.007–1104–TOP 12/27, no.20, carp. 31, 27th March 1944. In April 1957 a Parisian collector bought it for 2,800,000 Francs; see J.A. Gaya Nuño: *La Pintura Española Fuera de España*, Madrid 1958, no.513. In 1964 the portrait was bought by Giorgio Uzielli at Galerie Charpentier, Paris, and taken to Syosset, New York; FARL, Photo Archive, no.821–1e. Around 1970 Uzielli attempted to sell the painting through Robert Leylan, an independent New York art dealer. Leylan sent a photograph to the Prado, where the director, Xavier de Salas, also rejected it; see Madrid, Museo del Prado, Archivo, Fotografías, box 23, photograph no.95. It was in the sale of Uzielli's Estate; sale, Sotheby's, New York, *Important Old Master Paintings*, 15th January 1987, lot 134; sale, Christie's, London, *Important Old Master Pictures*, 11th December 1987, lot 130; bought by Galería Krauth GmbH in Düsseldorf, from whence it was purchased in 1989 for the Museum of Fine Arts, Valencia.

⁴¹ Museo de Bellas Artes Pío V, Valencia, no.2681. See R. Gil: exh. cat. *El Món de Goya i López en el Museu Sant Pius V*, Valencia (Museu Sant Pius V) 1992, no.62.