

An intrusive portrait by Goya

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GOYA'S PRACTICE OF re-using canvases, both his own and those of others, has become increasingly documented in recent decades. Examples range from the *Alberto Foraster* painted in 1804 over a portrait by the little-known José Cayetano de Pinho, through the series of large genre scenes of 1808–12 executed on top of what appear to be seventeenth-century allegories, to the *Condesa de Chinchón* of 1800 under which two distinct male full-lengths can be discerned.¹ To these can now be added another portrait, concealed beneath that of Don Ramón Satué of 1823 in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Fig. 32).

When the canvas was X-radiographed during routine technical examination in 2009 the presence of the underlying composition was immediately detected (Fig. 34). Because the sitter's head is almost entirely covered by Satué's – his eyes and chin are somewhat higher than the latter's – few characteristics of his physiognomy can be gleaned with certainty. But it is clear that he was shown seated, wearing a high collar, sash and épauettes, with his legs to the left and both hands visible. This presence of so formal a sitter beneath Goya's supremely casual image of Ramón Satué demanded investigation; and as the X-radiograph is considerably less informative than, for example, those of the *Chinchón* and the *Foraster*, it was clear that further information would have to be sought by other means.

The surface of Satué's portrait is intact, allowing no scope for the taking of paint samples. X-ray Fluorescence (XRF) spectrometry has been increasingly used as an alternative to sampling: it allows certain chemical elements, and thus the components of pigments, to be identified by briefly exposing a pinpoint of the surface to X-rays and analysing the resultant emissions.² Until very recently XRF – which has the disadvantage that the layers in which the identified elements occur are not differentiated, and that some elements, particularly those present in several blue pigments, are not necessarily recognised – has, like sampling, been confined to discrete local areas. A joint project of the universities of Antwerp and Delft is now seeking to extend the technique by developing a scanner which, by means of a moving armature, is able to take multiple readings over large areas of a painting and thus map the distribution of various elements within them.³

The portrait of Satué was an obvious candidate to test the efficacy of this new 'Scanning Macro XRF', using a prototype capable of scanning areas of 60 by 25 cm. The result of the investigation, carried out in the Rijksmuseum's conservation studios in autumn 2010 and involving some seventy per cent of the painted surface, exceeded expectations. On the basis of the mappings of individual elements a digital reconstruction was



32. *Portrait of Ramón Satué*, by Francisco Goya. 1823. Canvas, 107 by 83.5 cm. (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).

assembled in which all information identified as pertaining only to the hidden portrait (and not to that of Satué) is superimposed onto the X-radiograph (Fig. 33). For example, from the reading for the distribution of mercury, i.e. vermilion (Fig. 35), the sash, hands and neck-ribbon have been included in the reconstruction while the easily recognisable areas of Satué's red waistcoat have not. In the readings for other elements there can be far less certainty about the probable colours: the distribution of antimony (principal component of Naples yellow) and of iron in the sitter's jacket, for example, could signal hues ranging from yellow through brown to dark green and even black. It has, however, proved possible in some areas to verify colours by

We have much benefited from the advice and suggestions of Juliet Wilson-Bareau and of Manuela Mena Marqués and her colleagues at the Museo del Prado, Madrid.

¹ For a useful summary of Goya's re-used canvases, see I. Rose-de Viejo: 'More on Goya's portrait of Alberto Foraster', *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE* 145 (2003), pp.82–83; see also J. Wilson-Bareau: 'Goya in the Metropolitan Museum', *ibid.* 138 (1996), pp.95–103; M. Mena Marqués: 'Metamorfosis di un lienzo: ¿El retrato de Josefa Bayeu?', in *Goya*, Madrid and Barcelona 2002, pp.163–96; and C. Garrido: 'El

retrato de "La condesa de Chinchón": estudio técnico', *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 21/39 (2003), pp.44–54.

² See K. Janssens *et al.*, eds.: *Microscopic X-Ray Fluorescence Analysis*, Chichester 2000.

³ M. Alfeld *et al.*: 'Optimization of mobile scanning macro-XRF systems for the in situ investigations of historical paintings', *Journal of Analytical Atomic Spectrometry* 26/5 (2011), pp.899–909 (DOI: 10.1039/c0ja00257g).

⁴ P. Gassier and J. Wilson: *Vie et œuvre de Francisco Goya*, Fribourg 1970 (hereafter cited as GW), no.882; see also M. Mena Marqués, ed.: exh. cat. *Goya en tiempos de*



33. Diagram of the image underlying that of Satué in Fig.32, compiled by Anna Krekeler: composite of the scans mapping the various distributions of trace elements as determined by XRF spectrometry superimposed onto the radiograph and the colours flowed in as appropriate.



34. X-radiograph of Fig.32.



35. XRF scan mapping the distribution of mercury in Fig.32.

stereomicroscopy where they are visible through the craquelure of the paint used for Satué's portrait, which Goya painted directly over the underlying one with no intermediate paint layer. The final digital construction, with the colours added in per element as appropriate and with a certain degree of interpretation, provides a reasonably reliable impression of what appears to have been a substantially finished portrait before it was painted over. Because essentially the same palette was used for the face of Satué as for the one below it, little information has emerged in this area. Elsewhere there is much of interest.

The most obvious initial point of comparison for the underlying composition is Goya's portrait of General Nicolas Guye of 1810, who is shown seated in a very similar pose, though with crossed legs in an armless chair, and with similarly prominent épaulettes (Fig.36).⁴ The twisted arm and rounded back (of an earth colour with yellow, i.e. gold, decorations) of the chair in the hidden portrait are strongly reminiscent of those in Goya's portrait of Antonio Noriega at Washington of 1801,⁵ and in Agustín Esteve's portrait of Miguel José de Azanza which would appear to date from the later 1790s.⁶ That the hidden portrait is roughly contemporaneous with that of Guye, however, is confirmed by the prominent five-pointed red stars on the sitter's chest that are clearly revealed in the scan for mercury (Fig.35). These are generically similar to those worn by Guye, and that on the uppermost plaque can be identified with considerable certainty as belonging to the Orden Real de España, the salaried chivalric order – modelled on the Légion d'Honneur – that

Joseph Bonaparte instituted on assuming the throne of Spain to distinguish those loyal to his reign and to honour those whose talents he hoped to arrogate to his régime.⁷ This was the principal decoration worn at Joseph's court, all Bourbon ones having been proscribed. It is unthinkable that any sitter would have chosen to be portrayed wearing its insignia within Spain after Joseph's defeat at Vitoria in July 1813, and improbable that any would have worn them in Madrid after Joseph quitted the city in March that year. If the suppressed portrait is by Goya himself it can be dated between September 1809 and March 1813, though excluding the period of the allied occupation of Madrid between August and November 1812.

The Orden Real, or *berenjena*, as it was mockingly nicknamed from the aubergine colour of the insignia, was awarded in three classes: *caballeros*, who wear a single red star hanging from a short red ribbon on the chest; *caballeros comendadores*, who, like Guye, wear this hanging from a broad red collar plus another, larger, star on the left breast; and the élite *caballeros grandes bandas*, who wear a vermilion sash from right shoulder to left hip, with a pendant star on the sash at the waist, plus another on a rayonnant silver plaque on the left breast. The sitter in the hidden portrait is undoubtedly a *gran banda*, his insignia identical to those worn, without other decorations, by the thuggish Manuel Romero, Joseph's minister for the interior, in Goya's celebrated portrait at Chicago (Fig.37).⁸ Thirty-nine – out of a possible maximum of fifty – *grandes bandas* were awarded from September 1809 onwards to the highest-ranking officers, ministers and

guerra, Madrid (Museo del Prado) 2008, no.73.

⁵ GW, no.801.

⁶ See M. Soria: *Agustín Esteve y Goya*, Valencia 1957, no.30.

⁷ It was instituted in October 1808 as a military honour, and extended to civilians from September 1809 when the first *grandes bandas* were also nominated. See A. de Ceballos-Escalera y Gila and A. de Arteaga y del Alcázar: *La Orden Real de España (1808–1813)*, Madrid 1997, *passim*.

⁸ GW, no.882. See also Mena Marqués, *op. cit.* (note 4), no.75. Although the

configuration of decorations worn by the hidden sitter appears to be identical to Romero's, there is no indication of a vermilion ribbon above the star in the middle of his chest. It is thus possible that this is the very similar star, hung from a light blue ribbon, of the Ordine Reale delle Due Sicilie, instituted by Joseph while king of Naples. That is the third star worn by Guye (Fig.36), hanging from the blue collar under the red one of the Orden Real; and it is also worn by Joseph, together with the Orden Real, in Fig.38. The combination of uppermost plaque and sash in the hidden portrait can refer only to the Spanish order.

A PORTRAIT BY GOYA



36. *Portrait of General Nicolas Guye*, by Francisco Goya. 1810. Canvas, 106 by 84.7 cm. (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond).



37. *Portrait of Manuel Romero*, by Francisco Goya. c.1810. Canvas, 105.4 by 87.6 cm. (Art Institute of Chicago).

courtiers during Joseph's short reign. When Joseph himself is included, as head of the order, there are forty candidates for the suppressed sitter.

That total can rapidly be reduced to sixteen – again including 'el rey intruso' – when it is recognised that the sitter is wearing a military field uniform. In addition to the prominent gold épauettes, the distribution maps for antimony and iron clearly show outlines of a plastron with a row of gold buttons on each side, a standard feature of the uniforms of the armies of the First Empire. Although the colours cannot be determined from the XRF scans alone, stereomicroscopy shows a white or tan colour through the craquelure in the area of the trousers and an ochre-yellow in the area of the plastron. It is unlikely that the latter signifies gold braiding similar to that on the tunic of Guye (who wears gala, not field, uniform): plastrons are usually undecorated, and in any case the aureate buttons and épauettes are clearly differentiated. The colour of the rest of his tunic cannot be determined with comparable accuracy: black or dark green are both possible. In general terms, however, his uniform is consistent with the white breeches, dark blue-green tunic and ochre-

yellow plastron and cuffs worn by Joseph Bonaparte when king of Spain in the full-length portrait by Kinsoen at Kassel and its many bust-length derivatives (Fig.38).⁹

Following Napoleon's example, his brothers adopted the uniform of an officer of a regiment of their Royal Guards in their various kingdoms for everyday use and in informal portraits.¹⁰ Little information is available about the uniforms of Joseph's Spanish guard,¹¹ but the description by Abel Hugo – eldest son of General Hugo and brother of the writer – of the audience he attended in January 1812 as a senior member of Joseph's corps of pages here comes to our aid:

Le roi, qui venait de traverser la salle du trône, entra dans notre salon. Il portait l'uniforme et les épauettes de colonel des cheval-légers de sa garde; frac vert, à collet, paremens et passe-pois jaunes. Deux plaques seulement décoraient sa poitrine, celles de la légion d'honneur et de l'ordre royal d'Espagne. Son petit chapeau, pareil à celui de l'empereur, n'avait pour ornement qu'une gance noire attachant sa cocarde rouge.¹²

⁹ M. Heinz: *Bestandskatalog Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel: Gemälde des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Kassel 2006, no.396. In addition to the Bowes Museum example (Fig.38) there are other bust-lengths of Joseph in this uniform, variously attributed to Gérard and Lefèvre: see C.M. Kauffmann *et al.*: *Catalogue of Paintings in the Wellington Museum, Apsley House*, rev. ed., London 2009, nos.48 and 92; and C. Pietrangeli: *Museo Napoleonico 'Primoli'*, Rome 1960, no.69.

¹⁰ J.-P. Samoyault: 'Considérations sur l'iconographie des souverains napoléonides: Joseph, Louis, Jérôme et Joachim, frères et beau-frère de l'empereur', in M.T.

Caracciolo *et al.*, eds.: exh. cat. *Jean-Baptiste Wicar: ritratti della famiglia Bonaparte*, Rome (Museo Napoleonico) and Naples (Museo Diego Aragona) 2004, pp.34–46.

¹¹ We are grateful for the advice of Jesús Maria Alía Plana.

¹² A. Hugo: 'Mémoires sur Joseph Napoléon', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 2nd series, 1 (1833), p.319.

¹³ The jackets in the portraits cited at note 9 above are variously cited as blue (Bowes and Kassel) or green (Wellington Museum). Condition and yellowed varnish may well play a role here.



38. *Portrait of Joseph Bonaparte as king of Spain*, by François-Joseph Kinsoen. Canvas, 64.1 by 53.4 cm. (Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle).



39. *Portrait of José Martínez de Hervás, marqués de Almenara*, by Vicente López. 1812. Canvas, 69 by 58.7 cm. (Meadows Museum, Dallas).

This corresponds to what Joseph wears in Kinsoen's portraits and, by extension, to that in the hidden portrait.¹³ Given the uniform, an officer's hat and sword should be present in the latter. It seems possible that the sitter is holding a hat in a similar position to Guye's; but, even if neither hat nor sword can be discerned with clarity, it nevertheless seems safe to conclude that the sitter is a senior officer entitled to the uniform of the light cavalry of Joseph's Royal Guard. It has, alas, not proved possible to establish which, apart from Joseph, of the fifteen military *grandes bandas* shared that privilege, but they probably include General Francisco Javier de Negrete, duque de Cotadilla, and General Christophe-Antoine Merlin, both captains-general of the Guard,¹⁴ as well as General Esteban Giráldez, marqués de Casa Palacio, described as its commandant, General Edme-Aimé Lucotte and General Jean-Baptiste-Alexandre Stroltz.¹⁵

The hidden sitter's other decorations are more difficult to assess. The second rayonnant plaque, below that of the Orden Real, is painted with a high concentration of lead and is likely to have been white or silver in appearance. Although it may be possible to detect a bifurcated ray, this is, unfortunately, insufficient

to identify it exclusively as a *grand-aigle* of the Légion d'Honneur, which would raise a tantalising probability that the sitter is Joseph Bonaparte himself. He was the only person during the '*reinado intruso*' entitled to wear the *gran banda* who was also a *grand officier* of the Légion;¹⁶ the plaque that Abel Hugo mentions cannot be other than the *grand-aigle*, though Joseph wears only the star and not the plaque of the Légion in Kinsoen's portraits. In fact the hidden sitter's second plaque is insufficiently distinct to allow identification, and might be one of many such decorations that could be worn in tandem with the Orden Real. Vicente López's portrait of the marqués de Almenara of 1812 (Fig. 39) provides an example: in this case the subsidiary plaque and sash are of the Ottoman Order of the Crescent which Almenara had received when ambassador to the Sublime Porte.¹⁷ More tantalising is the small comma-like object hanging from a red ribbon under the hidden sitter's chin (see especially Fig. 35). Such red ribbons, often worn high, were customary for the Golden Fleece. In Kinsoen's portraits of Joseph it emerges from the division in the plastron, while in other portraits of the period it can appear much higher, sometimes supported by the collar.¹⁸ But here again there

¹⁴ De Ceballos-Escalera and De Arteaga, *op. cit.* (note 7), pp. 72–73, nos. 10 and 11.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 76–80, nos. 39, 24 and 31; Giráldez is described as commandant of the Guard in S. Cubero de Val: 'El 2 de mayo de 1808 en el Parque de Montealeón: inexactitudes y falsedades de la "Manifestación" de Arango', *Revista de Historia Militar* 53/105 (2009), p. 62. If the central star is indeed that of the Sicilian Order (see note 8 above), the candidates would be reduced to Lucotte, Merlin and Stroltz, all of whom served Joseph at Naples.

¹⁶ Several *grandes bandas*, including generals Merlin, Miot and Lucotte, were also

commandeurs of the Légion, but not *grands officiers*.

¹⁷ For the portrait, see J.L. Diez: *Vicente López (1772–1850): vida y obra*, Madrid 1999, I, no. P564; and for the identification of the sitter, L. Sorando Muzás and A. de Ceballos-Escalera y Gila: 'Un retrato del afrancesado marqués de Almenara por Vicente López', *Cuadernos de Ayala* 2 (2000), pp. 19–20.

¹⁸ As in Kinsoen's portrait of the duc d'Angoulême, also at the Bowes Museum (inv. no. B.M.474). There are invariably other ornaments between the ribbon and the emblem of the fleece.

can be no certainty, for the ribbon may well belong to some other order. In any case, Joseph had, outrageously in Habsburg and Bourbon eyes, assumed the prerogative of head of the Spanish Order of the Golden Fleece, and among the military *grandes bandas* of the Orden Real there were, apart from Joseph himself, no fewer than five, all Spaniards, entitled to wear it during his reign.¹⁹

If the sitter cannot securely be identified, there can be little doubt that the underlying portrait is by Goya himself. The lively brushwork of the hands and épauettes visible in the X-radiograph (Fig. 34) speaks of his hand. The absence of an intermediate paint layer has already been remarked; and it is noteworthy that Goya not only painted directly over the earlier work but even retained some of it. Close examination reveals that Satué's ear incorporates, indeed is substantially the same as, that of the sitter beneath him. It is scarcely conceivable that Goya would have allowed a passage by another painter to intrude into his portrayal of Satué, especially from so different a sitter.

All the evidence suggests, then, that Goya painted *Ramón Satué* over a portrait that had been left on his hands at the end of the Peninsular War. Goya's relations with the Josephine régime are difficult to determine.²⁰ He appears to have kept his distance; and although he was gazetted as *caballero* of the Orden Real in 1811, which involved swearing loyalty to Joseph, that was probably an honour he would have been imprudent to refuse. Apart from Nicolas Guye, Manuel Romero and the sitter beneath Satué, the only other high-ranking *afrancesado* he is known to have portrayed was the cleric Juan Antonio Llorente, who was also a personal friend and later espoused the liberal cause.²¹ The vexed question as to whether Goya retained his appointment as court painter under Joseph, as Mariano Maella certainly did, has never been resolved;²² and no evidence has been advanced that 'el rey intruso' ever sat to him.²³ When, between December 1809 and March 1810, Goya painted the *Allegory of the City of Madrid* for the city's corporation he had been obliged to take the new king's likeness – held aloft in an oval frame as protector of Madrid – from a print of 1807 because Joseph was unavailable. And when, in January 1813, he was asked to restore this portrait – which had been replaced with the word CONSTITUCIÓN during Wellington's brief occupation of the city the previous autumn – he simply sent an assistant to uncover it, which may, perhaps, suggest that he was still not equipped with a better or more up-to-date likeness.²⁴

Even before Ferdinand VII reassumed the throne in 1814, initially accepting the constitution but soon revoking it, Goya had offered, in his most public statement about the Napoleonic occupation, to commemorate the Spanish 'insurrection against the Tyrant of Europe' in what were to become the famous canvases of the events of the 2nd and 3rd of May 1808. Only after his conduct during the Josephine years had been investigated in May 1814 by the Comisión de Depuración was he reconfirmed, as Maella was not, in his post as *primer pintor de cámara* and was put to work establishing an iconography for 'el rey deseado'.²⁵ That would surely have been the moment to efface any *ad vivum* portrait of Joseph Bonaparte he might have had on his hands. If possession of the portrait of a high-ranking French or *afrancesado* officer may have been little more than embarrassing in 1814, nine years later, in 1823 – the date of the *Ramón Satué* – it would have been positively dangerous. Goya had sworn allegiance to the Constitution of Cadiz in April 1820 during the Liberal Revolution of that year, thus aligning himself openly and irrevocably with the liberals though still holding his position at court. When the reactionary French troops sent by Louis XVIII entered Madrid in May 1823 to restore Ferdinand as absolute monarch – an event ironically reminiscent of the 2nd and 3rd May 1808 – he would surely have been anxious to conceal any evidence that might connect him to the Napoleonic régime. And by the autumn of that year, when the liberal leaders were executed and Ferdinand took brutal reprisals among their sympathisers, he feared not only the sequestration of his property but probably also for his life.²⁶ The portrait of a Bonapartist officer wearing the highest Josephine decoration – one whose identity would quite possibly have been recognised – could not have been perceived as anything but compromising if found in his possession.

Little is known about Ramón Satué Allué whose image obliterates that of the officer. Like Goya he was of Aragonese origin, having been born at Fanlo near Huesca in 1765, and was educated by his uncle Matías Allué Borruel, canon of the Pilar basilica at Saragossa, who commissioned the decorations painted there by the young Goya and the Bayeus in the 1770s. After studying law in Saragossa, his career took him to Cáceres and Seville, until, in 1814, the newly restored Ferdinand VII nominated him an Alcalde of the Casa y Corte, that is to say a judge in the highest tribunal of Castile, which was also responsible for the legal affairs of the royal court.²⁷ Because this tribunal was abolished in the constitutional revolution of 1820, doubts have been cast about the

¹⁹ Manuel José de Negrete, duque de Campo Alange; Diego López Pacheco, duque de Frías; Carlo-Canuto-Sebastiano Ferrero Fieschi, príncipe de Masserano; Gonzalo O'Farrill; and Miguel de la Grúa Talamanca, marqués de Branciforte. It is uncertain which of these could have worn uniform; and none would have worn the Neapolitan order (see notes 8 and 15 above).

²⁰ For the most recent accounts, see J.L. de la Mano: 'Goya intruso: Arte e política en el reinado de José I', in Mena Marqués, *op. cit.* (note 4), pp.55–81; and G. Dufour: *Goya durante la guerra de la independencia*, Madrid 2008.

²¹ GW, no.881.

²² For a summary of the arguments, see A. de Berruete y Moret: *Goya as a Portrait Painter*, London 1922, pp.133–42. Dufour, *op. cit.* (note 20), pp.76–77, concludes that he neither resigned nor sought to continue in the position.

²³ C. Yriarte: *Goya*, Paris 1867, p.44, states that a portrait of Joseph by Goya was lost in a baggage wagon at Vitoria; but this seems to be pure speculation.

²⁴ The fullest account of the vicissitudes of the *Allegory* remains F. Pérez y González: *Un cuadro de historia. Alegoría de la villa de Madrid, por Goya*, Madrid 1910. For a useful summary, with citations from the documents, see J.L. Morales y Marín: *Goya: catálogo de pintura*, Saragossa 1994, no.388.

²⁵ See Mena Marqués, *op. cit.* (note 4), nos.123 and 124 (esp. pp.353–64), with much new documentation.

²⁶ F.J. Sánchez Cantón: 'Goya, Refugiado', *Goya* 3 (1954), p.130.

²⁷ See the obituary notice in *Gaceta de Madrid* (18th January 1825), pp.31–32.

²⁸ See J. Muñoz Miranda, ed.: *Colección oficial de las Leyes, Reales disposiciones y Circulares de interés general, expedidas por el Rey don Fernando VII y por las Cortes en el año de 1820*, Madrid 1853, p.36. He is listed as such in the *Guía de forasteros en Madrid para el año de 1821* (p.82), and in that for 1823 (p.71).

²⁹ E. Pardo Canalís: 'Bosquejo histórico de Don José Duaso', *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños* 3 (1968), p.271 (he appears to have been appointed between 27th September and 18th October 1823). See also M. García Guatas: 'Nuevas datos sobre dos aragoneses retratados por Goya', *Goya* 252 (1996), pp.330ff., which provides some minor additions to Satué's biography.

³⁰ Because Satué was not reinstated to the Casa y Corte when Ferdinand re-established it in the autumn of 1823, it has often been assumed that he had been compromised as a liberal. His elevation to the Consejo de Indias disproves this and explains his absence. He died on 21st December 1824 and the obituary cited at note 27 above emphasises his loyalty to Ferdinand throughout the Peninsular Wars. (He is not mentioned in the *Guía de forastero sen Madrid para el año de 1825*.)

³¹ GW, nos.682, 1550, 1630, 1664 and 1551.

³² Goya was born in March, Satué in June.

date of Goya's portrait. But the inscription, '*D Ramon Satue / Alcalde d corte / P.º Goya 1823*' is entirely intact and comparable to others in Goya's own hand. It is also accurate: Satué was retained as a senior magistrate in the Sala de Alcaldes de Corte per la Audiencia Territorial de Madrid, the tribunal that replaced the Casa y Corte in 1820.²⁸ He held this office until Ferdinand promoted him to the higher post of '*ministro togado*' in the Supremo Consejo de Indias in October 1823.²⁹ This not only provides a *terminus ante quem* for the inscription on Goya's portrait, but establishes that, unlike Goya, Satué cannot have been a professed liberal.³⁰ When, between January and April 1824, Goya was forced to go into hiding to escape the reprisals of the absolutists, it was in the house of Satué's younger kinsman, the learned royal chaplain José Duaso, that he took refuge. His acquaintance with both men is likely to have stemmed from early family allegiances in Aragon.

The studied informality of Satué's pose, hands in pockets, neck uncovered and hair dishevelled, suggests an intimacy equal to that found in Goya's so-called 'friendship portraits' including the *Asensio Juliá* of 1798, the *Rafael Esteve* of 1815, the *Tiburcio Pérez* of 1820 or the *Mariano Goya* of 1827, while the brooding intensity of his gaze is comparable to that in Goya's introspective self-portrait of 1815.³¹ Painted when the artist was seventy-six or seventy-seven years old and the sitter fifty-seven or fifty-eight,³² in the year before Goya commenced his exile in France, the *Satué* is one of the masterpieces of his final years. In particular, critics have much admired the striking colour scheme in which the strict black and white of suit and blouse is offset by the blazing red of the waistcoat. That red now acquires an ironic twist in its similarity to the vermilion insignia of the *berenjena* that lie below.

Obituaries

Josua Bruyn (1923–2011)

JOSUA BRUYN, who died in Oegstgeest on 10th June 2011, was born in Amsterdam in 1923. His international reputation rests largely on his study of Rembrandt – from 1968 onwards – but both his earlier and his final publications were mainly devoted to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Netherlandish painting. A preference for earlier painting is reflected in the scholars whom Bruyn, in his old age, considered relevant to his training: Willem Vogelsang, Max J. Friedländer, Johan Huizinga and J.G. van Gelder, of which only the last named was a specialist in seventeenth-century Dutch painting. Bruyn admired Vogelsang for his fluency, Friedländer for his formulations, Huizinga for his methodology and Van Gelder for his reach. His fifth choice, Sigmund Freud, proves that Bruyn – known as a particularly rational man – was very aware of unconscious human motives.

Bruyn studied the history of art at Utrecht University and defended his dissertation there on a pupil of Jan van Eyck (1957). He worked at the university as an assistant to Van Gelder before being appointed professor at the University of Amsterdam in 1961. In this position, which he held until 1985, he supervised dissertations on widely differing subjects. From 1979 to 1981 he was rector of the University, an appointment that reflected his sense of responsibility and managerial capabilities.

In his first publications in 1949, Bruyn concentrated on the history of style, but from 1955 he also focused on iconography, considering that other approaches to art history were of minor importance. He regarded stylistic development to be linear, in the work of Hugo van der Goes no less than in that of Rembrandt. In the weighing of his arguments, Bruyn's reasoning had a juridical bent (perhaps owing to the fact that his father was a lawyer), an attitude apparent in the publications of the Rembrandt Research Project (RRP) in which Bruyn participated for almost twenty-five years.

The project was aimed at cleansing Rembrandt's *œuvre* from erroneous attributions through technical examination carried out by a team of specialists with either a university or museum background. Until 1990 Bruyn acted as the informal head of this research group and in that capacity he introduced the RRP in 1969 at a symposium held in Chicago. His lecture, in which he valiantly defended the RRP's critical approach, was one of the factors that earned the symposium its nickname of the Battle of Chicago.

For most of the time it was left to Bruyn to accurately put into words the observations made by himself and by the other team members. The first sentence of the *Corpus* reads thus: 'The style characteristics one assigns to a work of art comprise a selection of observations and interpretations which is made with a particular purpose in mind'. Clearly, from the outset, the criteria used to define Rembrandt's *œuvre* were based on preconceptions. Consequently, paintings that did not fit were excluded. This attitude, initially shared by all members, gradually caused differences within the team, leading to a painful split between senior members (including Bruyn) and Ernst van de Wetering.

Although Bruyn had an urbane, reserved personality, he was capable of incidental outbursts, as his 1985 review in *Oud Holland* of Svetlana Alpers's *Art of Describing* demonstrates. Although Bruyn did not shy away from speculation, he always remained within the boundaries of logic and never speculated without previously warning his readers. An example of the logic behind his speculations is offered by his interpretation of seventeenth-century Dutch landscapes as carriers of deeper meanings: if Eddy de Jongh was right in recognising moral dimensions in domestic scenes and still lifes of the time, why should they not be in landscapes too? In the public speech with which Bruyn accepted his professorship at the University of Amsterdam in 1961, he had already bridged the two periods on which he worked, claiming the endurance of the Middle Ages right into the seventeenth century and recognising disguised symbolism not only in seventeenth-century domestic scenes and still lifes, but in landscapes as well.

In his most recent publications Bruyn returned to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, his final paper being on Geertgen tot Sint