

# THE GOYAS OF ZUBIETA

PORTRAITS OF THE  
ADÁN DE YARZA FAMILY

*María Ramona de Barbachano*  
c. 1787–1788  
Oil on canvas, 114.4 x 83.6 cm

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*Bernarda Távira*  
c. 1787–1788  
Oil on canvas, 76.6 x 59.3 cm

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THREE REDISCOVERED  
PORTRAITS BY  
FRANCISCO DE GOYA  
Y LUCIENTES

JULIET WILSON-BAREAU  
XAVIER BRAY

*To José María Solano Gil-Delgado, 8th Marquis of Socorro, and to Nigel Glendinning*

In a story full of significant dates, this is the one that gives life to all that is to come: 26 April 2019 marks the day when a ‘family’ of three portraits by Francisco de Goya y Lucientes was restored to Spain, and to historic sites in the Basque Country, in Bilbao and near the coastal town of Lekeitio, where the paintings hung for many years in the Palacio de Zubieta, ancestral home of the Adán de Yarza family.

The life-size portraits represent a young couple and an elderly lady. All three pose for Goya against a plain background, looking directly at the artist who has captured them on canvas with something of the naïve solemnity one finds in early photographic portraits, particularly with people who are not accustomed to having themselves ‘reproduced’. Their attention is focussed on the artist—and so later on viewers—yet they also convey a sense of individual personality, of being very much themselves, each in harmony with his or her distinct character. Who are they, and when and why was Goya asked to paint them, at what would appear to have been a fairly early stage in his career as a portraitist that began in the early 1780s? The young people are clearly a couple, and would have had their portraits painted to record their marriage, while the elderly lady would be the mother of the bride or more likely the groom. And so it appears, from the names inscribed on the paintings of the couple, and in pen and ink by the artist on a piece of paper fixed to the back of the old lady’s canvas possibly as a guide for a painted inscription or engraved plaque on the frame [Fig. 1].

This paper reveals **Doña Bernarda de Tavira Cerón** (1727–1797) as the sitter, evidently around 60 years old, and the widowed head of an aristocratic and very wealthy family, following the death in 1766, when she was not quite forty, of her husband Fernando Adán de Yarza, which left her with two young sons, a third having died in childhood. She is shown—no doubt chose to be shown—half-length and seated on an unpretentious chair, with its turned wooden finials, glimpsed on either side of her, providing a hint of a

domestic setting, rather than the total anonymity of a bare background. This presentation emphasises the remarkable dignity of her pose which, in turn, draws attention to every detail of her costume and appearance: the white headdress of delicately embroidered motifs over starched muslin, crowned with ruched blue ribbons that play against her blue-powdered, fashionably full, ‘frizzed’ hairstyle; the broad, cross-over collar of silk gauze, edged with exquisitely fine lace; her deep purple dress subtly enriched by bands of blue silk edging, and enlivened by the sheen on its sumptuous satin surface; the show of jewellery—glittering diamond earrings, the many diamonds that form a large jewel displayed on a black velvet choker at her throat, matching bracelets of diamonds on black velvet, and a large diamond ring on the little finger of her right hand.<sup>1</sup> Yet this display of the highest levels of taste and luxury is offset by the central flower held upright against Bernarda’s bosom: the large pink carnation, symbol of a mother’s love and the tears of the Virgin, for her essential role as mother to her fatherless young sons, and in mourning for her husband and her youngest son who died as a child. Her soft, bare arms, with hands folded one over the other, suggest the warmth and comfort of a maternal embrace, while her resolutely natural face, with barely a trace of make-up, is painted by Goya with such sympathetic attention that it seems to reflect, in its alertness and gravity, the care that she has taken, and the cares that have weighed upon her during a long life that shows her here undaunted, facing the world with perfect equanimity, and dressed in her best for a very special occasion.

**Antonio Adán de Yarza Tavira** (1761–1835) was the oldest of Doña Bernarda’s three sons, and from

1. The descriptions of costume and jewellery, for this and the other two other sitters, are based on information supplied to the authors by Amalia Descalzo, Lecturer in Culture and Fashion, University of Navarre, and the leading costume historian, Aileen Ribeiro, Professor Emerita, The Courtauld Institute in the University of London.

an early age, given the loss of his father, he took on the immensely complex responsibilities of managing the various, interconnected entailed estates (*mayorazgos*) that formed the family's great wealth. His birth and childhood in Valladolid, his education with his younger brother at the Royal Seminary of Nobles in Madrid, and his insistence on being granted an early declaration of his majority so that he could become his brother's guardian and look after the family's estates, all this and much more, is reflected in this serious young man's stance and appearance. His pose is determined by its relationship to that of his wife, since they evidently agreed, with Goya, that the pair of portraits should give expression to their happy union.

Don Antonio's portrait is an alternative, very individual, blend of formality and informality, in both his pose and his dress. A taste for English informality was growing among younger people, both men and women, in enlightened and socially cultured circles

at the time, its most noticeable feature being the increasing use of men's own hair, rather than a powdered wig. This is particularly striking in the case of Don Antonio, whose fine, perhaps already thinning hair is drawn forward in a fringe over his forehead, while at the rear his longer hair is formed into a curl, visible on each side, that echoes the roll (*boucle* in French, 'buckle' in English) of contemporary wigs in Spain.<sup>2</sup> The informality of Antonio's hairstyle is continued in that of his simply styled, dark frock coat with its contrasting beige collar and steel buttons, lined with beautiful pale grey silk. The double-breasted, white silk waistcoat, finely detailed to reveal welted pockets (in line with the third pair of buttons from the lower edge),

2. The Duke of Osuna's wig in the great family portrait of 1788 is an example of a contemporary wig. See Goya en el Prado. The Duke and Duchess of Osuna and their Children, [www.goyaenelprado.es/obras/ficha/goya/los-duques-de-osuna-y-sus-hijos/](http://www.goyaenelprado.es/obras/ficha/goya/los-duques-de-osuna-y-sus-hijos/); Goya: The Portraits. (Exh. cat.) Xavier Bray (ed.) London: National Gallery Company Limited, 2015, pp. 71–73, no. 16.



Fig. 1. Inscriptions and label identifying the sitters

opens to reveal a shirt ruffle of very fine muslin, with its collar turned over the necktie. Matching the frock coat, Antonio's trousers would have been completed by riding boots, as the switch in his gloved right hand suggests, although X-rays show that he originally held a much more substantial baton whose clearly marked top filled the wide space between finger and thumb, from which the much thinner and taller stick now project.<sup>3</sup> This must have been due to a change of mind on Antonio's part, as would alterations around his left hand that resulted in the addition of the three-cornered hat, and the overpainting that created the rolled paper inscribed with his name. This is now held with the hat that adds a distinctly traditional note to the

3. See the technical essay by José Luis Merino Gorospe in this publication. The X-radiograph reveals alterations to the buttons on the waistcoat, and suggests other changes that cannot at present be fully understood, in the area of the left hand.

young man's attire, and supports the idea that he decided, while Goya was painting his portrait, to change the elements relating to his official posts and duties.<sup>4</sup> The general effect of the portrait is one of sobriety, belied only by the exquisite quality of the materials used for his attire. One element that remains to be investigated is the diamond-shaped insignia that hangs below the waistcoat—a family heirloom, a significant jewel? Maybe time will tell.

**María Ramona de Barbachano Arbaiza** (1760–1834) came from a prosperous and well-connected family in Bilbao, with wide commercial interests. In 1783, she had married a first cousin in the royal naval infantry. He died while on service in Colombia just

4. Ibid. The X-radiograph reveals that the lining of frock coat originally continued, unbroken, to the lower edge of the canvas, while the infrared image shows the changes made to his hand.



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Fig. 2  
Francisco de Goya  
*Manuel Osorio Manrique de Zúñiga*, 1788  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.  
Jules Bache Collection, 1949, 49.7.41



Fig. 3  
Francisco de Goya  
*The Duke and Duchess of Osuna and their Children*, 1787–1788  
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, P000739

two years later, without issue, and Ramona's betrothal and marriage to Antonio Adán de Yarza will have saved her from a very premature widowhood. Following their nuptials in the Basque Country, they settled in Madrid, living in the same apartment as Bernarda de Tavira, Antonio's mother, on the calle de la Cruz Verde, which was not far from Goya's home, calle del Desengaño n.º 1, the probable location of his studio until 1800, which is where the portraits would have been painted.

Ramona is identified, like her husband, by a painted inscription, in her case on an elegant visiting card with her full name and the suggestion of a large building lightly engraved in the background, perhaps a favourite property that she brought to the marriage contract. Yet this may have been a pictorial invention by Goya, who had added his own, also possibly fictional visiting card, proffered by the pet magpie held on a string in the best known of all Goya's child portraits, painted for the Count of Altamira in 1788 [Fig. 2].

Holding a closed fan in her right hand, Ramona reaches with the left so far towards her husband that the lower corner of the card is cropped at the edge of the painted canvas. Is this Goya's response to her lively character, so different from that of her husband? Both stand upright, yet her stance suggests forward movement, a stronger engagement with the artist (and viewer), while Antonio's body does not follow the thrust of his right hand in the same way. Did Goya see her as representing an uncomplicated expression of the *vita activa*, and her more cultured husband, in spite of the many commitments and responsibilities that he dealt with, as more closely allied with the *vita contemplativa*, she wide awake and on the front foot, he with his more measured gaze, not quite in tune with the forward movement of his gesture?

Ramona's attire follows that of her husband, in its 'English' simplicity and informality, although her

dress derives from a smarter, French interpretation based on the English shift popularised by Marie-Antoinette in France, and realised in finely pleated white muslin, the elbow-length sleeves edged with silk ruffles, but instead of the usual wide frilled collar she wears a tiered shoulder mantle that was a popular item around 1787. The simplicity of the dress is set off by expensive accessories: the black silk belt from which hang two gold watches on gold chains, long gloves of silk or the finest kid leather as protection from the sun, and the folded ivory fan tipped with swansdown, as also seen in fans held by the two daughters in the family portrait of the Duke and Duchess of Osuna [Fig. 3]. Turning again to Ramona's expressive face, it is framed by her frizzed-out powdered hair with a curl on each shoulder, similar to the Duchess of Osuna's hairstyle in the family portrait, and set off by a wide-brimmed, English-style black sun hat, enhanced by an eye-catching black ostrich feather and a black silk gauze scarf edged with lace. Yet Ramona's face is made up in a purely Spanish fashion, with rouge on her cheeks and lip salve that emphasises the cheerful set of her mouth.

The suggestion of summer in Ramona's dress does not answer the question as to when these three portraits were painted. It could have been some considerable time before the marriage that was celebrated on 19 December 1787 at the parish church of Mondragón (Gipuzkoa),<sup>5</sup> near Bilbao, where the Barbachano family had a home. The portraits would have been painted and framed for display in the Adán de Yarza family home in Madrid, perhaps on the occasion of their betrothal, and for friends and well-wishers both before and after the wedding. Alternatively, Goya may not have received this portrait commission until after the wedding, to record the new family of three, while he

5. The marriage was also registered in Bilbao. Ecclesiastical Archive of Bizkaia (AHEB for its acronym in Spanish), sig. 068900100-0052.



Fig. 4  
Anonymous  
*Eulogy in Praise of Charles III*, c. 1788  
Biblioteca Nacional de España, IH/1711/72

was engaged with his final series of tapestry cartoons for Charles III.

Having discussed the subjects of the three portraits, their family contexts, their personalities and their tastes, it is time to discover how Goya came to be involved with the painting of their portraits, given that his career as a portraitist did not start until the early 1780s.

### Recognition in 1786 and the early years

On 25 June 1786, Don Francisco de Goya and Don Ramón Bayeu, his brother-in-law, were granted the title of Painters to the King Charles III, the reforming ruler celebrated as ‘Father, brother and friend of his people’, who preferred to be known as ‘Charles rather than King’ [Fig. 4].<sup>6</sup> The two Court Painters, Mariano Salvador Maella for Goya (then aged forty), and Francisco Bayeu for his younger brother, had extolled their protégés’ talents: ‘not only for tapestry paintings but also for heroic themes in both fresco and oil, and thus we find the greatest satisfaction in these two because of their merits, and because they already have practice, as they have painted for this factory for many years under the supervision of Antonio Mengs, and afterwards under us, our works having earned royal approval’.<sup>7</sup>

Goya wrote, as always, to his close friend Martín Zapater [Fig. 5] in Zaragoza, to announce this new and unexpected success, a decisive step for his position as a court artist: ‘My Martín, I am Painter to the King with fifteen thousand reales’—with an annual salary as its most important aspect!—followed by an account that more or less repeats the terms of the petition, of

6. An anonymous engraving pays posthumous tribute to the monarch, who died on 14 December 1788, with inscriptions, and an image derived from Goya’s portrait of the King in hunting dress. See *Ydioma Universal. Goya en la Biblioteca Nacional*. (Exh. cat.) Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, 1996, no. 170.

7. Valentín de Sambricio. *Tapices de Goya*. Madrid: (Silverio Aguirre): Patrimonio Nacional, Archivo General de Palacio, 1946, vol. I, Documentos, p. LXXII, doc. 92. In 1776, along with other painters who worked for the Royal Tapestry Factory, and again in 1779, Goya had solicited an official, salaried post within the category of the Court Painters (ibid. docs. 14–20 and 56–60). The palace rejected this in favour of a flexible system of remuneration, and it was not until Goya and Ramón Bayeu were granted the position of ‘sole painters of the Royal Tapestry Factory, and any other works required of them, that they were elevated to the post of Painter to the King, with a substantial salary, although their ensuing claims for repayment of their expenses became a new problem (ibid. docs. 92–102).

which he says he had no knowledge, and that the nomination came as a complete surprise [Fig. 6].<sup>8</sup>

The formal phrases of the official petition briefly sum up Goya's career at court to that date. He had arrived in Madrid from Zaragoza in January 1775, with his wife Josefa, sister to the Zaragozan Bayeu family, and a son barely four months old.<sup>9</sup> Goya's move from Zaragoza to Madrid was due to an earlier connection with his Aragonese compatriots. Francisco Bayeu had been a principal assistant to the celebrated foreign artists Anton Rafael Mengs and Giambattista Tiepolo, as well as his sons, who were called to Madrid in 1761–1762, with the status of joint First Court Painters, in order to plan and carry out the decoration of the new Royal Palace, with sumptuous frescoed ceilings in the principal state rooms. Goya was a student of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando in Madrid at this time, and was gaining experience in the studio of Francisco Bayeu, prior to his visit to Italy in 1769–1770, which coincided with the death of Giambattista Tiepolo in Madrid in 1770, and the



Fig. 5  
Francisco de Goya  
*Portrait of Martín Zapater*, 1797  
Bilbao Fine Arts Museum. Bequeathed by Ramón de la Sota y Aburto in 1980, inv. no. 82/10

8. For Goya's letter to Zapater, see Mercedes Águeda; Xavier de Salas (eds.) *Francisco de Goya. Cartas a Martín Zapater* (Madrid: Istmo 2003, no. 79, pp. 225–227), [www.goyaenelprado.es/obras/ficha/goya/carta-a-martin-zapater-de-7-de-julio-de-1786/](http://www.goyaenelprado.es/obras/ficha/goya/carta-a-martin-zapater-de-7-de-julio-de-1786/). For English translation see S. Symmons, *Goya: A Life in Letters*, London, 2004, doc. 143, p. 173.

9. For Goya's early sketchbook, known as the 'Cuaderno italiano', in which he recorded (haphazardly within its pages) his marriage to Josefa Bayeu; the birth of the couple's first child in Zaragoza, and of five others in Madrid (none of whom survived long enough for their deaths to be officially recorded, but whose birth, baptism and godparents were noted, with the exception of the couple's only surviving son and heir, Francisco Xavier, born in 1784); and the family's departure from Zaragoza and arrival in Madrid, see Goya en el Prado, section 'Dibujos', *Cuaderno italiano*, pp. 47 (journey to Madrid), 89 (marriage), 112–115 (children), [www.goyaenelprado.es/obras/lista/?tx\\_gbgonline\\_pi1%5Bgocollectionids%5D=10](http://www.goyaenelprado.es/obras/lista/?tx_gbgonline_pi1%5Bgocollectionids%5D=10).

return to Venice of his son Domenico.<sup>10</sup> Perhaps on account of his independent and strongly held views about art, Goya had been unsuccessful in student competitions at the Academy in Madrid, yet with no prize or funding, he set off on his own initiative for Italy and above all Rome. On his return to Zaragoza, he won contracts for monumental religious works

10. There must have been a close connection between Giambattista's sons and Goya, since Domenico's estate sale in Paris in 1804 included most of Goya's prints etched by that date, and Lorenzo, who remained in Madrid, made pastels of types and figures in the streets of Madrid that are very close to the lively, down-to-earth characters in Goya's tapestry cartoons. See Andrés Úbeda de los Cobos (ed.) *Lorenzo Tiepolo* (Exh. cat.) Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, 1999.

② Salas 71 M-15 (1786)  
 + Finto  
 Martín mío. ya soy Pintor  
 del Rey con quince mil reales.  
 como no tengo tiempo de ir a  
 Madrid, como el Rey me dio or-  
 den a Bayeu y Maella q bus-  
 casen dos pintores lo mejor q se  
 encontrase p.<sup>a</sup> Pintar los cuadros  
 planes el tapiz y lo q ocupara  
 en Palacio, a fusos o alolio  
 Bayeu puso a su hermana, y Mae-  
 lla a mi subió esta consulta  
 al Rey y estuvo echa la gracia  
 y yo sin saber nada q me  
 cogia sin saber lo q me su-  
 cedía

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 he dado gracias al Rey y  
 Príncipe. y a los señores  
 Gefes, y a Bayeu q. dice  
 q. el fue la causa q Ma-  
 lla me propusiera a mi, y  
 a Maella por ser yo de  
 su parte prometido. y a Dios  
 q. ya he vivido  
 Ayuso y Xerayo  
 T. L. Talis / Juan L. Goya  
 1786  
 Y. D. Martín mío

Fig. 6  
 Letter from Francisco de Goya to Martín Zapater, dated 7 July [1786]  
 Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, ODG 084

in fresco and in oils,<sup>11</sup> and his reputation as a gifted and inventive young artist led to his being invited to Madrid by Mengs who was in charge of the Royal Tapestry Factory.<sup>12</sup>

Over the five years from 1775 to 1780, Goya painted a total of 38 cartoons for the tapestry weavers, together with the oil sketches that he was obliged to present for royal approval before embarking on the large canvases. In a letter to Zapater, dated 9 January 1779, Goya expressed his excitement at what would prove to be the start of a major turning point in his career: 'If I had more time, I would tell you how the King and the Prince and the Princess, by the Grace of God, gave me the honour of showing them four of my paintings, and I kissed their hands. Never before have I had such good fortune, and I can tell you that I could not have hoped more of their reaction in my works, to judge by the pleasure they showed in seeing them and the reception I received from the King and especially from their Highnesses, and then, by the Grace of God, with all the grandees present which neither I nor my works deserved. But laddie, little plots of land and a good life, no one is going to take from me my reputation, and especially now that I am beginning to have more enemies and an increasing show of resentment'.<sup>13</sup>

11. In Italy, Goya entered a competition in Parma with a painting on a classical theme, which almost carried off the prize *Antibal vencedor* ... of the Fundación Selgas-Fagalde in Cudillero, Asturias. See Joan Sureda (ed.) *Goya e Italia*. (Exh. cat. Museum of Zaragoza) Zaragoza: Fundación Goya en Aragón; Madrid: Turner, 2008, vol. 1, pp. 115–133. On his return to Spain, his most important works were a frescoed ceiling in the vast basilica of El Pilar in Zaragoza, and a monumental cycle of paintings on the walls of the Carthusian monastery of Aula Dei. See Pierre Gassier; Juliet Wilson. *Vida y obra de Francisco de Goya*. Barcelona: Juventud, 1974, pp. 42–48, no. 31.

12. This was indicated by Goya in several petitions to the King.

13. Francisco Zapater y Gómez. *Goya: noticias biográficas*, (Zaragoza: Imp. de la Perseverancia, 1868), p. 15, [www.goyaenelprado.es/fileadmin/goyaweb/pdf/21-580.pdf](http://www.goyaenelprado.es/fileadmin/goyaweb/pdf/21-580.pdf); Águeda/Salas, op. cit. 2003, pp. 72–73, no. 8. For English translation see S. Symmons, op. cit. 2004, doc. 40, pp. 84–5.

The singular event described by Goya was a rare, if not unique, occasion when his tapestry cartoons were admired as original paintings, as works of art in their own right,<sup>14</sup> and it encouraged the artist to renew his earlier petition to be included among the Court Painters, with a suitable salary that would inevitably have been much lower than that of his brother-in-law, Francisco Bayeu.<sup>15</sup> In May 1780 the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando recognised his professional standing by making him an Academician of Merit, following the presentation, in his own words, of 'a painting of his own invention which shows the Crucifixion'.<sup>16</sup>

However, things then took a turn for the worse when he was embroiled, during 1780–1781, in a bitter dispute with the council of the basilica of El Pilar in Zaragoza, over the painting of fresco decorations for one of the huge cupolas. The project was directed by Francisco Bayeu, whom Goya accused of denigrating his talents and originality when there was public criticism of the frescoed cupola, and the council then

14. The 'cuatro cuadros'—tapestry cartoons—were evidently the first four principal subjects (including *A Fair in Madrid* and *The Pottery Vendor*, but omitting the overdoors) in the series of tapestries intended to decorate the apartments of the Prince and Princess of Asturias in the Palace of El Pardo, which Goya had completed and invoiced on 5 January 1779 (Gassier/Wilson, op. cit. pp. 124–129). See Goya en el Prado, section 'Pinturas', 'Cartones para tapices', 'Dormitorio de los príncipes de Asturias en el Palacio de El Pardo, 1777–1779', P00779–P00782, [www.goyaenelprado.es/obras/lista/?tx\\_gbgonline\\_pi1%5Bgocollectionids%5D=5-56](http://www.goyaenelprado.es/obras/lista/?tx_gbgonline_pi1%5Bgocollectionids%5D=5-56).

15. Although Goya's petition, dated 24 July 1779, cited everyone's satisfaction, including that of the King, with his recent set of six designs, it was rejected (Sambricio, op. cit. docs. 56–60; Ángel Canellas López. *Diplomatario: Francisco de Goya*. Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1981, pp. 219–220, no. 27; pp. 410–412, nos. XIX–XXII. To the cartoons listed in note 9, he had added *The Game of Pelota* and *The Swing* (P00784 and P00785), invoiced on 20 July 1779.

16. Canellas, op. cit. 1981, no. 30, p. 222. The painting is in the Museo Nacional del Prado (see 'Goya en el Prado', section 'Pinturas', 'Pintura religiosa', inv. P00745, [www.goyaenelprado.es/obras/ficha/goya/cristo-crucificado/](http://www.goyaenelprado.es/obras/ficha/goya/cristo-crucificado/)). For English translation see S. Symmons, op. cit. 2004, doc. 122, p. 157.

rejected his sketches for the pendentives. The affair was brought to a conclusion and Goya and his family left Zaragoza on 30 May, to return to Madrid.<sup>17</sup> The whole experience left him upset and angry, and on 14 July 1781, his response to a request for a picture from Zapater was that 'I believe it is only your friendship that would make me do it, for when I think about Zaragoza and painting, my blood boils'.<sup>18</sup> Yet less than a fortnight later he was writing again to Zapater about a new development that was to transform his life at the court of Charles III and his artistic career.

By this time Goya had already fulfilled his own and others' claims, in petitions for his advancement, with respect to his talent and capabilities as a painter not just of inventive designs for tapestries, but of such monumental works as frescoed ceilings or cupolas, mural paintings in oil, as well as free-standing religious pictures. In July, the Count of Floridablanca, acting on instructions from the King, invited seven artists, including Goya as an academician, to compete in painting huge altarpieces to be placed beneath the vast dome of the new Church of San Francisco el Grande, which appears on the skyline in one of the artist's early tapestry cartoons.<sup>19</sup> From Goya's letter to Zapater, of

25 July 1781, it is clear that he saw this as his chance to triumph over 'those contemptibles who did so much to discredit my competence', in relation to the Zaragoza affair, mentioning Maella, the supportive supervisor of his work for the Royal Tapestry Factory, among the contenders, after his distrusted and disliked brother-in-law, scornfully designated as 'Bayeu the great', now a direct rival, while noting that the favoured younger brother's name was not on the list and that Zapater should make it clear, in Zaragoza, that in Madrid 'no one here remembers Ramón now'.<sup>20</sup>

The fulfilment of this ambitious project, from its launch in July 1781 through the making of preparatory sketches, with each of the seven artists allotted a particular subject, the execution of the very large paintings, the hanging of the completed but covered altarpieces in the autumn of 1783, and their final unveiling in November 1784, was a long and arduous process, which ended somewhat inconclusively, although Goya was able to announce to Zapater in December 1784, three and a half years after the competition had been initiated, that 'It is clear that I have succeeded in the opinion of the connoisseurs and the public with the San Francisco painting, and everyone is for me without any doubt, but I don't know yet what will come from above. We shall see when the King returns from his residence ...'<sup>21</sup> For Goya, the tangible benefit from the San Francisco el Grande project was that it enabled him to gain access and develop direct relationships not only with the highest aristocratic and even royal circles

17. The story unfolds in a series of letters and documents, and finally came to a conclusion at the end of May 1781. See Gassier/Wilson, op. cit. pp. 177–183; Cipriano Muñoz y Manzano, conde de la Viñaza. *Goya: su tiempo, su vida, sus obras*. (Madrid: Tipografía by Manuel G. Hernández, 1887), appendix 1, pp. 157–177, [www.goyaenelprado.es/fileadmin/goyaweb/pdf/21-1545.pdf](http://www.goyaenelprado.es/fileadmin/goyaweb/pdf/21-1545.pdf); Canellas, op. cit. 1981, pp. 226–235, nos. 39–44; *La cúpula 'Regina martyrum' de la Basílica del Pilar*, Madrid: Fundación Caja Madrid, 2008 (Monumentos Restaurados collection, no. 8).

18. Zapater y Gómez, op. cit. 1868, p. 23; *Colección de cuatrocientos cuarenta y nueve reproducciones de cuadros [...] de Goya precedidos de un epistolario del gran pintor y de las Noticias biográficas publicadas por Don Francisco Zapater y Gómez en 186[8]*. Madrid: Saturnino Calleja, 1924, pp. 27–28; Águeda/Salas, op. cit. p. 94, no. 20. For English translation see S. Symmons, op. cit. 2004, doc. 77, p. 117.

19. A distant view of the dome of San Francisco el Grande is seen in Goya's *Dance on the Banks of the Manzanares* of 1777. See Goya en el Prado, section 'Pinturas', 'Cartones para tapices', 'Comedor de los príncipes de Asturias en el Palacio de El Pardo, 1776–1778', P00769.

20. For the full extract from this lost letter, see Zapater y Gómez, op. cit. 1868, pp. 16–17; *Colección de cuatrocientos ...* op. cit. 1924, p. 25; Águeda/Salas, op. cit. 2003, p. 94, no. 21. For English translation see S. Symmons, op. cit. 2004, doc. 78, p. 118.

21. For the letter in the Museo Nacional del Prado, see Goya en el Prado, section 'Francisco de Goya y Lucientes', 'Carta a Martín Zapater de 11 de diciembre de 1784', *Cartas a Zapater*, dated 11 December 1784, ODG080, <http://www.goyaenelprado.es/obras/ficha/goya/carta-a-martin-zapater-de-11-de-diciembre-de-1784/>; Águeda/Salas, op. cit. 2003, no. 59. For English translation see S. Symmons, op. cit. 2004, doc. 122, p. 157.

in Madrid, but also with the governing elite, and the liberal, intellectual circles that would bring him to the pinnacle of his career at the end of the century.

In 1778, after the paintings by Velázquez in the royal collections had been gathered together to hang in the new Royal Palace in Madrid, and with the encouragement and approval of such enlightened figures as Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez and Antonio Ponz, Goya published a set of etched copies that were intended to bring these treasures of Spain's artistic heritage to both national and international attention thanks to the interest of foreign ambassadors and visitors to Spain.<sup>22</sup> Goya's initiative did not go unnoticed, and may well have contributed to his selection as one of the painters for the San Francisco el Grande project. Following his nomination, he wrote to the Count of Floridablanca who had asked him to select a scene from the life of San Bernardino de Siena, to indicate his choice of a miracle that occurred while the saint was preaching in the open air: 'It is a subject that offers sufficient scope to enrich the composition, in spite of the limits of the narrow proportions of the painting, for Your Excellency's enlightened understanding will appreciate that since a pyramidal construction is demanded, as well as a serpentine arrangement of the foreground and background for the best decorative effect, it is necessary to lose to some extent the depiction of the spacious setting of the scene, which I leave suggested. I should be grateful if Your Excellency would tell me if I should deliver the said sketch to Your Excellency's Office or to whom at the Palace I should address it.' This extraordinary letter—a lesson in pictorial composition, and a demonstration of Goya's mastery of it for the minister—ends with appropriate courtly flourishes, the place and the date (Madrid, 22 Sep-

22. *Ydioma Universal. Goya en la Biblioteca Nacional*, Madrid, 1996. For English translation see S. Symmons, op. cit. 2004, doc. 83, pp. 122–3.



Fig. 7  
Francisco de Goya  
*José Moñino y Redondo, Count of Floridablanca*, 1783  
Banco de España Collection

tember 1781), and the customary kissing of feet by 'his most attentive and faithful servant—Francisco de Goya'.<sup>23</sup>

Floridablanca's response came sixteen months later when he commissioned his portrait from Goya [Fig. 7]. No such commissions had yet come Goya's way, he was unknown as a portraitist, and this must have come as a bombshell. He told Zapater immediately

23. The letter, exactly transcribed by Enrique Lafuente Ferrari in the Archivo de Alcalá de Henares (papers of the Spanish Ministry of Development, record 1.475), was published by him (as reproduced here) from his copy, after the destruction of the Archivo and its contents in 1939: see Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, 'Un documento inédito de Goya', in *Antecedentes, coincidencias e influencias en el arte de Goya*, Madrid: (Sociedad Española de Amigos del Arte), 1947, p. 321.

after a long conversation with the minister: 'Although Count Floridablanca has charged me to say nothing, my wife knows and I want you to know as well, that I am to make his portrait which could be worth a lot to me. I owe this gentleman a lot, and this afternoon, after he had dined, I was with his Lordship for two hours—he had come to Madrid to dine, don't imagine that I made the suggestion. I shall tell you in time what comes of it. Don't mention it. Truly yours. Francisco de Goya.'<sup>24</sup>

Around 1775–1780, Goya had painted a wonderfully direct self-portrait, and he included himself in the composition for the San Francisco altarpiece—a traditional trick, used by Velázquez in *The Surrender of Breda*. Goya now devised for Floridablanca not just a straightforward, single-figure likeness but an imposing and complex composition in which the artist himself steps forward to present a painting to the minister in his office of state, with a portrait of King Charles III on the wall, and a member of his staff behind him.<sup>25</sup> While doing his very best to please the minister to whom indeed he owed so much, Goya was also showing off his talents as an artist who could create an emblematic image of the all-powerful Minister of State. By 26 April 1783, Goya could tell Zapater that 'all day today, I made a painting of Monino's head in his presence for his portrait, which turned out to be a good likeness and he is very satisfied', while in July he reported that 'on some days I spent some two hours in his company, he

told me he will see what he will do for me'.<sup>26</sup> However, there were expectations and anxieties that Goya felt he could not raise with the minister, whose appreciation and personal interest in him evidently declined once the portrait had been completed, and may even have been influenced by what happened next.<sup>27</sup>

The imposing image of the King's Minister of State, presented by Goya in his natural yet skilfully composed and symbolically enhanced setting, would have been seen and admired by everyone at court, and undoubtedly served as the springboard for Goya's career as a portrait painter. The details as to how the next stage came about are unknown, but what followed was an invitation from the younger brother of the King to paint portraits of his family at his palace in the foothills of the Sierra de Gredos, at Arenas de San Pedro in the province of Ávila. Infante Don Luis Antonio Jaime de Borbón (1727–1785), some twenty years older than Goya, was a remarkable man with a chequered past, who had abandoned ecclesiastical orders in his youth to enjoy all the pleasures that his rank and wealth and a cultured upbringing could provide, but with racier and frankly carnal aspects to his

24. José Camón Aznar, *Goya*, 4 vols. Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de Zaragoza, 1980–1982, vol. I, p. 143; Águeda/Salas, op. cit. 2003, pp. 139–140, no. 38. For English translation see S. Symmons, op. cit. 2004, doc. 97, p. 136.

25. The large size of the painting with its life-size figures, now darkened by time, is more legible in its spatial complexity and the artful display of figures and carefully placed items on the floor, in a lithograph made after Floridablanca's death in 1808. For the lithograph, see Jesusa Vega González, *Origen de la litografía en España. El Real Establecimiento Litográfico*. Madrid: Fábrica Nacional de Moneda y Timbre, 1990, p. 420, no. 858; p. 109, illustration 65.

26. From the wording of Goya's letter of 26 April, it is unclear whether he had painted a preparatory study of Floridablanca's head for the large canvas, or had added the minister's features to the large portrait, as his sitter watched. For the letters in the Museo Nacional del Prado, see Goya en el Prado, section 'Carta a Martín Zapater de 26 de abril de 1783' (ODG013), [www.goyaenelprado.es/obras/ficha/goya/carta-a-martin-zapater-de-26-de-abril-de-1783/](http://www.goyaenelprado.es/obras/ficha/goya/carta-a-martin-zapater-de-26-de-abril-de-1783/); 'Carta a Martín Zapater de 9 de julio de 1783' (ODG014), [www.goyaenelprado.es/obras/ficha/goya/carta-a-martin-zapater-de-9-de-julio-de-1783/](http://www.goyaenelprado.es/obras/ficha/goya/carta-a-martin-zapater-de-9-de-julio-de-1783/); Águeda/Salas, op. cit. 2003, nos. 44 and 45. For English translation see S. Symmons, op. cit. 2004, docs. 104 and 105, p. 142.

27. In January 1784, Goya reported to Zapater that 'there is no news about my affairs as far as Moñino is concerned, and even less since before I made his portrait ... the most he had said after showing his satisfaction was: "Goya, we'll see later"'. Águeda/Salas, op. cit. p. 161, no. 47. For English translation see Symmons op. cit. 2004, doc. 107, p. 145

tastes that led to his disgrace and final downfall.<sup>28</sup> The pious and unforgivingly moral King determined that Don Luis should marry and live away from the court, with the young wife chosen for him, and any children who were denied all rights to their inherited titles or any claim to the succession. Doña María Teresa de Vallabriga y Rozas [Fig. 8], from an aristocratic Aragonese family, and the young princes of the royal blood, were barred from access to Madrid, but as the King's brother, Don Luis was a regular visitor at court, and with his broad and sophisticated interest in the arts, he would certainly have been aware of Goya's growing fame, and would no doubt have enjoyed the lively scenes depicted in his tapestry designs, and approved the boldly painted portrait of the Count of Floridablanca, with Goya's very personal 'signature' as the artist who is seen approaching the minister, with his name on a carefully placed letter at his feet.

An ecstatic letter from Goya to Zapater, dated 20 September 1783, announces the artist's return to Madrid from a month-long stay with the family in their final home, the palace built for Infante Don Luis, and whose beautiful setting with the mountains in the distance is depicted in two of the portraits painted by Goya.<sup>29</sup> It is clear from the terms of Goya's letter that Zapater already knew about the commission, and Goya told him as much and more about the wonderful reception he was given, his hunting expeditions with Don Luis, the generous gifts received, and their insistence that he return: 'His Highness has shown me a thousand kindnesses, and I have made his por-

28. See the summary in *Goya: The Portraits*. (Exh. cat.) Xavier Bray (ed.) London: National Gallery Company Limited, 2015, pp. 37–38.

29. The portraits painted during Goya's two visits to the palace at Arenas de San Pedro have been variously identified and dated, at least one is lost, and others have only recently come to light. See Gassier/Wilson, op. cit. nos. 206–214; *Goya: The Portraits*. (Exh. cat.) Xavier Bray (ed.) London: National Gallery Company Limited, 2015, pp. 37–53, where most but not all are discussed and illustrated.



Fig. 8  
Francisco de Goya  
*Doña María Teresa de Vallabriga y Rozas*, 1783  
Pérez Simón Collection, Mexico

trait, and portraits of his wife, son and daughter, with unexpected praise, for there have been other painters and they have not achieved this success. I went out shooting twice with His Highness, and he is a very good shot; and on the last afternoon after I had bagged a rabbit he said to me "this monkey painter is more of an aficionado than I am."<sup>30</sup>

Goya did indeed return the following year, accompanied by his wife, then eight months pregnant with the

30. Letter in the Museo Nacional del Prado, see Francisco de Goya y Lucientes. 'Carta a Martín Zapater de 20 de septiembre de 1783' (ODG015), [www.goyaenelprado.es/obras/ficha/goya/carta-a-martin-zapater-de-20-de-septiembre-de-1783/](http://www.goyaenelprado.es/obras/ficha/goya/carta-a-martin-zapater-de-20-de-septiembre-de-1783/); Águeda/Salas, op. cit. 2003, pp. 158–160, no. 46. For a slightly different translation see Symmons op. cit. 2004, doc. 106, p. 143.



Fig. 9  
Francisco de Goya  
*The Family of the Infante Don Luis*, 1783–1784  
Fondazione Magnani Rocca

child who would be their only surviving son and heir. On 2 July 1784, Goya was still completing the life-size equestrian portrait of María Teresa de Vallabriga (now lost), before leaving for Arenas, and promising the impatient Zapater that he would paint his 'Virgin' on his return. There was evidently a long gap in their correspondence, commented on by Goya in the next known letter written on 13 October. It suggests that the stay, with his wife, was a lengthy one, and Goya provided little information about his activities other than hunting: 'I have been serving the Infante Don Luis. It would take a long time if I were to tell you all

the kindness and expressions of appreciation I have received from him. He has given me permission to shoot on his estate, and I shot many partridges recently. He was very sad that I had to leave him and go to Madrid since the King has commanded that the work at the Church of San Francisco be completed', adding that 'the Infante paid me 30,000 reales for two works I painted for him', pictures that have been variously identified, but of which his extraordinary representa-

tion of the *Family of the Infante Don Luis* must have been the principal item [Fig. 9].<sup>31</sup>

In this remarkable ‘conversation piece’ in the English manner, Goya goes far beyond the somewhat naïve complexities of his formal portrait of Floridablanca. Rather than the bold intruder intent on showing his painting to the minister, he himself is now an entirely natural part of the picture that becomes a painting about the art of painting. Seen sitting on a low stool in the foreground, the self-portrayed artist within the picture is here depicted by the active artist-viewer as a painter who is turning away from the large canvas he has begun to sketch, a loaded brush poised elegantly in his right hand as he gazes intently towards the protagonists at the centre of the scene: the elderly prince Don Luis seated in profile at a gaming table, and María Teresa, his beautiful young wife, in a pose that echoes the many diagonals that move from left to right across the design until arrested and resolved by vertical accents, the leg below the table and candle on its surface, and the repetitive, upright forms of the men standing to the right. The play of light and shade, the patterning of glance and gesture, create a sense of tranquil, suspended animation, in which the character of each individual—attentive, distracted, exuberant—plays a sometimes lively but always harmonious part within the whole. In one sense, the figures are ‘stock’ characters, as if observed performing their roles in a play. Yet at the same time they are real people, known to the artist, each one a portrait, old and young, masters and servants, of high or low degree. Not for nothing had Goya studied the portraits and genre paintings of Velázquez in the Royal Palace, and above all the masterpiece now universally known as *Las Meninas*, of which he struggled to include an etching in his copies

after Velázquez published in 1778, but destroyed the plate through trying to improve the print.<sup>32</sup>

Arenas represents the place and time where Goya’s unique approach to portraiture was formed, thanks to his curiosity with regard to human nature and his enjoyment of the natural world from his earliest years; his devotion to the great art of the past, from classical antiquity—experienced directly in Rome in his youth—to Rembrandt and Velázquez; the skills he had constantly developed as a designer of tapestry cartoons, such as those that had delighted the princes of Asturias. At Arenas, Goya was able to put to good use his emotional sensitivity to people and events, his passion for truth and his ability to see through all forms of masquerade and dishonesty, and the generous, creative energy that would continue throughout his life to find new ways to enable his sitters to express themselves through his portraits.

Goya’s delight and extraordinary achievements during his two spells of portraiture at the ‘court in exile’ of the Infante Don Luis in 1783 and 1784 were dashed when his illustrious and astonishingly friendly patron died in August the following year. However, he had already been commissioned by the future Duke and Duchess of Osuna (the title was not inherited until 1787) to paint their portraits which were paid for on 16 July 1785 [Figs. 10 and 11].<sup>33</sup> Although the portraits are almost the same size, they do not seem to have been conceived as visual pendants, in the way that the Adán

31. For an informed discussion and analysis of this painting, see *Goya: The Portraits*. (Exh. cat.) Xavier Bray (ed.) London: National Gallery Company Limited, 2015, no. 8, pp. 45–53. For English translation see S. Symmons, op. cit. 2004, doc. 116, p. 151.

32. Of the rare surviving proofs in various states from this large etching, Goya’s erudite friend and protector, Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, a passionate print collector, owned one that he listed in a manuscript catalogue of 1791 as *La familia de Felipe III, ó la theologia de la Pintura*, see Elena Santiago Páez in *Ydioma Universal. Goya en la Biblioteca Nacional*. (Exh. cat. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional). Madrid: Sociedad Estatal Goya 96 and Lunwerg Editores, 1996, no. 2, p. 71.

33. Gassier/Wilson, op. cit. 1970–1971, nos. 219 and 220, see Appendix v for documents; see *Goya: The Portraits*. (Exh. cat.) Xavier Bray (ed.) London: National Gallery Company Limited, 2015, cat. 14, pp. 66–73, fig. 32.



Fig. 10  
Francisco de Goya  
*Pedro Téllez Girón, 9th Duke of Osuna, 1785*  
Private collection



Fig. 11  
Francisco de Goya  
*María Josefa de la Soledad Alonso Pimentel, Duchess of Osuna, Duchess of Benavente, 1785*  
Private collection

de Yarza portraits so clearly were, and it is possible that they were not intended to hang together. Don Pedro Alcántara Téllez-Girón (1755–1807) and the Countess-Duchess of Benavente (1752–1834) formed a distinguished and harmonious couple who brought up a family of two sons and two daughters on the most enlightened educational principles, but presented very different personalities which Goya captured perfectly in these early portraits. Don Pedro, affable, dependable, interested in progressive ideas for the betterment of mankind, is seen in fully frontal pose, wearing his military uniform with bicorne, sword and a baton in his left hand that would be exactly of the kind that Antonio Adán de Yarza was originally holding.<sup>34</sup> The dauntingly intelligent Countess-Duchess is presented in three-quarter pose, dressed in the most extravagant French fashion which on anyone else might appear quite inappropriate, but her plain face and elegantly authoritative gestures make the image credible, with its extraordinary beauty intact, as she leans her left hand on a wooden chairback that might be the very one that Doña Bernarda de Tavira would sit on a little later, to face the artist in her own, determinedly frontal pose.

The celebrated family portrait of the Duke and Duchess and their children, painted three years later, besides being a singular masterpiece in its combination of sophistication and disarming naïveté, provides a rich store of information and motifs relating to fashion, accessories, children's toys, and the art of the pose. Yet some of Goya's finest and most perceptive portraits are on a much lowlier level, involving single figures, sometimes awkwardly posed. When his learned friend and supporter, Ceán Bermúdez, an administrative official at the Banco de San Carlos, suggested that Goya should be asked to paint some of the official portraits that were to be made of the bank's direc-

34. See the X-ray and infrared images in the text by José Luis Merino Gorospe in this same publication.



Fig. 12  
Francisco de Goya  
*José de Toro Zambrano*, 1785  
Banco de España Collection

tors, the artist was allocated, perhaps chosen by the directors themselves, a total of six portraits that were painted between 1785 and 1788.<sup>35</sup> Goya was himself a shareholder in the bank, and with his recent entry into the highest social circles in Madrid, he would have known most if not all of the directors himself. The first commission, which came directly through Ceán, was for the portrait of José de Toro Zambrano.

35. Gassier/Wilson, op. cit. nos. 223–228; Nigel Glendinning; José Miguel Medrano. *Goya y el Banco Nacional de San Carlos: retratos de los primeros directores y accionistas*. Madrid: Banco de España, 2005; Goya: The Portraits. (Exh. cat.) Xavier Bray (ed.) London: National Gallery Company Limited, 2015, pp. 57–60.



Fig. 13  
Francisco de Goya  
*Vicente Isabel Osorio de Moscoso, Count of Altamira*, 1787  
Banco de España Collection



Fig. 14  
Francisco de Goya  
*Francisco Javier de Larumbe*, 1787  
Banco de España Collection

no y Ureta (1727–1804) [Fig. 12].<sup>36</sup> Born in Chile to an elite colonial family, and settled in Madrid to further his family's and wider Chilean interests, José de Toro became a neighbour of the artist on the calle del Desengaño, and could have provided a connection with Antonio Adán de Yarza, also a shareholder in the bank, and whose companions in the Royal Seminary of Nobles in his youth had been José de Toro's brothers. Goya's portrait of the director is unpretentious and sympathetic. It reveals a dynamic and fully occupied person, captured as if in response to the artist's suggestion for a pose, with his left hand resting on a

stone parapet and the right with thumb tucked into his waistcoat. Head and hands are portrayed with a combination of keen analysis and respect for José de Toro's engaging, clear-eyed expression and fine hands. His beautiful costume, of deceptive simplicity, consists of a coat and waistcoat of glowing red wool or velvet, finely ribbed, and adorned only by many copper-coloured buttons touched with white, and a flurry of fine lace at neck and wrists. This is an intensely but subtly life-like depiction of a director conscious of his many responsibilities, and a man of sound taste and judgement.

Goya's next two portraits for the bank, delivered by 30 January 1787, were entirely different in 'invention' and effect: a somewhat alarmingly 'life-like' portrayal of Carlos III, based on portraits by others since access to the monarch for a sitting was not available to the King's painter of tapestry cartoons; and in a completely different context, the artist's remarkably sensitive depiction of the Count of Altamira [Fig. 13], seated beside a table that emphasises rather than con-

36. Glendinning/Medrano, op. cit. 2005, pp. 95–98, repr. p. 97. Glendinning's research into the context and careers of Goya's sitters has always been crucial to a better understanding of their portraits, whether by Goya or by other artists.

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Fig. 15  
Francisco de Goya  
*Francisco Cabarrús, count of Cabarrús*, 1788  
Banco de España Collection

ceals his diminutive height.<sup>37</sup> A third portrait, delivered at the same time, was one of two more that show directors posed behind the same, no doubt fictitious, stone parapet as first used and now repeated for the Marqués de Tolosa, and again, delivered in October that year, for Francisco Javier de Larumbe [Fig. 14]. In both portraits, the directors are in full uniform, coats and waistcoats embroidered in gold and silver, three-cornered hats, batons, and with decorations on their breasts, yet between the powdered wigs and all

the costume finery are the faces of two individuals impressively defined and painted.<sup>38</sup>

The last portrait painted by Goya for the bank was delivered by April of the following year, 1788, that ended with the death of Carlos III, on the eve of the French Revolution. It is one of Goya's defining masterpieces, the full-length image of François Cabarrús (1752–1810), the brilliant financier, depicted just before the outbreak of the revolution that announced a new world order [Fig. 15]. The presentation of this figure has been compared to Velázquez's *Pablo de Valladolid*, the figure standing yet in movement in an atmospheric, undefined space, which Édouard Manet

37. Glendinning/Medrano, op. cit. 2005, pp. 102–106, repr. p. 104 (Altamira), pp. 108–112, repr. p. 110 (Carlos III); *Goya: The Portraits* (Exh. cat.) Xavier Bray (ed.) London: National Gallery Company Limited, 2015, cat. 12, pp. 61–66.

38. Glendinning/Medrano, op. cit. 2005, pp. 106–108, repr. p. 109 (Tolosa), 112–116, repr. p. 114 (Larumbe, misnamed in the caption as his father Ramón).



Fig. 16  
Francisco de Goya  
*The Grape Harvest or Autumn*, 1786  
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, P000795



Fig. 17  
Francisco de Goya  
*Blind Man's Buff*, 1788  
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, P000804

described, on his visit to Madrid in 1865, as ‘The most astonishing piece in this splendid *oeuvre* and perhaps the most astonishing work that has ever been painted ... the background disappears, it is air that surrounds this fellow dressed in black and alive’.<sup>39</sup> Velázquez had nurtured Goya’s art from his arrival in Madrid in 1775, and his portrait of Cabarrús is one of the most striking of his reinventions of the master’s works.

The six ‘directors’ painted by Goya for the Banco de San Carlos between 1785 and 1788 offer a remarkable demonstration of the great variety in his practice of the art of portraiture. He responded to the occasion, and to the type and personality of the sitter, while his art was in a permanent state of unconscious evolution, as he also responded to the changing circumstances of his life. This is clearly illustrated with respect to his relationship with the Duke and Duchess of Osuna, from the early portraits of 1785 to the ‘tour de force’ of the family portrait painted three years later, an enchantingly elegant and complex yet still somewhat contrived composition. This is Goya in rococo mode as it emerged through his increasingly distinguished social contacts with the aristocracy, as well as those in positions of power at court and in the banking and commercial spheres, not forgetting the intellectual circles in which he now moved, all of which influenced his understanding of Spanish society as a whole and inevitably affected the development of his art in the crucial period between 1785 and 1788–90.

39. ‘Le morceau le plus étonnant de cet œuvre splendide et peut-être le plus étonnant morceau de peinture que l’on ait jamais fait ... le fond disparaît, c’est de l’air qui entoure ce bonhomme tout habillé de noir et vivant.’ Letter from Édouard Manet to Fantin-Latour: reproduced in *Édouard Manet. Voyage en Espagne*, Juliet Wilson (ed.) Caen: L’Échoppe, 1988, pp. 40–41, no. 3.

The variety of his work in this period is remarkable. It included a series of religious paintings, altarpieces commissioned by the court, by members of the aristocracy, and through the increasing influence of such patrons as Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, whose portrait Goya painted around 1784–85, perhaps in gratitude for a religious commission for the College of Calatrava in Salamanca, completed in October 1784, but of which the altarpieces were destroyed during the French invasion in 1810–12.<sup>40</sup> The most delightful and elegant of Goya’s works in rococo mode was the series of canvas decorations designed for the principal salon at La Alameda, the country palace named ‘El Capricho’ by the Duchess of Osuna.<sup>41</sup> This elegant and more graceful style is also found in Goya’s new series of tapestry cartoons and their preparatory sketches. In the series that illustrates the four seasons, the cartoon for *Autumn* [Fig. 16] stands out for the beauty of its flowing composition and softly glowing colours that express the happy integration of an enlightened aristocracy in harmony with nature and those who tend their estates.

It is this enlightened view of an ideal world, in which those of high estate take seriously their responsibilities for what may amount to vast accumulations of property and wealth, that provides a context for Goya’s portraits of the Adán de Yarza family. In the Palacio de Zubieta, the husband and wife pendants are seen, in a rare image, hanging together on the din-

40. For the sketch, acquired by the Prado Museum, see Goya en el Prado, ‘Pinturas’, ‘Pintura religiosa’, P03260 <http://goyaenelprado.es>. The extent and variety of Goya’s production over the period under discussion is best seen in Gassier/Wilson, op. cit. nos. 188 to 278.

41. Ibid. pp. 248–254.

ing room wall,<sup>42</sup> but the image of Antonio's mother, Bernarda de Tavira, was surely not far away and may possibly have been intended as the central figure between the married pair. If so, the portraits of her son and daughter-in-law would support the centrality of Bernarda's image, with its symbolic flower rising from her softly clasped hands. The assured handling and delicacy of the painting, and the subtle characterisation of this family of two young people and an elderly lady, add a new chapter to the development of Goya's many modes and styles.

In June 1786 he was nominated Painter to the King, and embarked on two new series of tapestry cartoons for the Palace of El Pardo: the first, a major group of country scenes for the dining room, the second, four tapestries to decorate the bedchamber of the young princesses. Goya began painting the sketches for this series in February 1788 but did not present them to the King until the summer, when he began work on the cartoons. Only one had been completed, *Blind man's buff* [Fig. 17], by December 14, when the death of the old King, Charles III, brought everything to a halt. Surprisingly, it is this cartoon with its young people linked together in a natural landscape and the image of Cabarrús, purposeful and so alive within the air that surrounds him, that offer compelling comparisons with Ramona Barbachano and Antonio Adán de Yarza—she so fresh and alert, he so seriously intelligent and quietly self-assured, as they join together in perfect visual harmony, with gestures that imply the union of their names in a future generation. And united all three remained, never remarked on in Goya's lifetime, never seen beyond the circle of friends and family in the Basque Country to which the couple returned from Madrid in 1794, where they would have

42. See Fernando de la Quadra Salcedo, Marqués de los Castillejos: 'Los cuadros de Goya en Vizcaya. La Señora del Palacio de Zubieta', *Vida Vasca*, XIII, 1936, pp. 211–217, repr. p. 215; idem, *Los Goyas Inéditos de Vizcaya*, Bilbao, 1936, p. 6. The original photographs reproduced in the journal and the pamphlet (with the same text and images) are unknown.

hung in the Palacio de Zubieta. Mentioned and finally seen and described by Beruete in his Goya publication of 1917, discussed and curiously illustrated in articles and a pamphlet by Salcedo in 1927 and 1936, and with their time-stained condition revealed in professional photographs, reproduced in an unnoticed article in a supplement to *ABC* in 1930 [Fig. 18],<sup>43</sup> they then escaped to safety from the ravages of Spain's Civil War, and they have remained abroad, in safe conditions that guaranteed their strictest anonymity.<sup>44</sup> Today their return to Spain is to be celebrated for this new glimpse into Goya's world to which he responded throughout his long life with such all-seeing eyes, a naturally reflective mind, and his inimitable skills in the handling of brushes and paint.

43. Aureliano de Beruete y Moret, Goya. 2 vol. Madrid: Blass y Cía. 1916–1917, vol. 1, *Pintor de retratos*, p. 174; vol. 2, *Composiciones y figuras*, pp. 150–151; Fernando de la Quadra Salcedo. *Los Goyas inéditos de Vizcaya*. Bilbao: s. n. 1936; Fernando de la Quadra Salcedo. 'Los cuadros de Goya en Vizcaya: la señora del Palacio Zubieta' in *Vida Vasca*, no. XIII, 1936, pp. 211–217; Monte-Cristo. 'Mansiones Hidas: Zubieta en Vizcaya' in 'Blanco y Negro', *ABC*, Madrid, 12 January 1930, pp. 83–85.

44. For more information on the evacuation of works during the Spanish Civil War, see the text by Francisco Javier Muñoz Fernández in this same publication.



Fig. 18  
Photographs of the works published in the *ABC* supplement 'Blanco y Negro', 12 January 1930, p. 84.  
Archivo ABC

# TECHNICAL STUDY AND RESTORATION OF THE PORTRAITS

JOSÉ LUIS MERINO GOROSPE

## INTRODUCTION

The three paintings which are analysed here are the portraits of a married couple, María Ramona de Barbachano and Antonio Adán de Yarza, and one of his mother, Bernarda Tavira. The first two can be identified by notes bearing their respective names which both figures are holding, and the third one by a paper label written in ink and adhered to the back of the canvas [Fig. 1].<sup>1</sup> The latter may differ from the other two in certain technical respects, such as its smaller size, but their material history and state of conservation are similar. The sitters are the ancestors of the current owners of the works, which have remained in the family since they were painted. The Bilbao Fine Arts Museum received the paintings in December 2017 to undertake a comprehensive technical analysis and the subsequent conservation and restoration treatment.<sup>2</sup>

The technical study has revealed that with the exception of a few small cleaning tests performed on the two female portraits,<sup>3</sup> all three paintings are in their original state, virtually intact, a surprising fact which makes them unique. Furthermore,

1. A graphological study conducted by Francisco J. Méndez Baquero, director of the Document and Forensic Analysis Laboratory at SIGNE S.A., a company specialising in document security, has compared the inscriptions of these works with other signatures on Francisco de Goya paintings and with fragments from letters that the painter wrote to his friend Martín Zapater. The analysis concludes that they were all written by the same hand.

2. The first technical studies were conducted at the Museo Nacional del Prado, whose Technical Office we wish to thank for their assistance and contributions to our research.

3. They may have been done during a restoration proposal written on 2 July 1991 by Ateliers de Conservations Boissonas S.A., an artwork restoration company located in Zurich (Baschligplatz, 1).



Fig. 19  
Francisco de Goya  
*The Marquesa de Pontejos*, c. 1786  
National Gallery of Art, Washington.  
Andrew Mellon Collection, 1937.1.85

without engaging in an in-depth comparative analysis with other works by Francisco de Goya, their formal relationships with famous paintings by the artist are worth noting, including the portrait of Francisco Cabarrús, with which the paintings of the young couple bear remarkable affinities; *Blind Man's Buff*, where we can find figures and elements painted in a similar fashion to these three portraits; *Queen María Luisa in a Dress with Hooped Skirt*, and even *The Marquesa de Pontejos* [Fig. 19]. Indeed, with due respect to the differences, this portrait resembles the image of Bernarda Tavira, who—just to cite a very striking coincidence—is also carrying a carnation painted quite similarly to the one that the Marquesa is holding in the painting currently in Washington.

These similarities, coupled with the almost-virgin state of the works, made a huge impression when they came to light. Apart from the comparative study and the document research on the history of the paintings, the technical study, which includes physical and chemical analyses, was crucial in order to include them within Goya's output.

## MATERIAL STUDY

### Supports

It is not easy to find works from this period like these, without changes or restorations that affect the support. The stretchers [Fig. 20] are made of coniferous wood and built with simple joints, with a horizontal crosspiece and no canvas wedges or slots for them on the inner corners. The joints in *Antonio Adán de Yarza* are half-lap and more elementary than in the other two works, which have tongue-and-groove joints at the corners. In *Bernarda Tavira*, the crosspiece is even secured with nails. In any event, these construction systems were common in that period. It is interesting to note that the stretchers of the women's portraits match those on *The San Isidro Meadow*, a sketch that Goya made in 1788 for one of the tapestries that was going to decorate the Palace of El Pardo in Madrid, although it was never made.

In terms of the canvases, the couple's portraits are identical, with a plain weave and an average density of 12 threads (weft) x 12 threads (warp) per cm<sup>2</sup>. They are made of hemp cloth with a certain proportion of linen fibres. In *Bernarda Tavira*, the canvas also has a plain yet finer weave, with a thread density of 15 x 14/cm<sup>2</sup>, and its composition is also different: linen with cotton fibres. A number '6' is written with charcoal on the fabric on the back of the man's portrait. On *María Ramona de Barbachano*, a '2' is also written in charcoal, along with 'AA' (Antonio Adán?) in paint. Both inscriptions are upside-down in relation to the position of the work, and we cannot be sure that they are original. The piece of paper measuring 6 x 15 cm adhered to the back of *Bernarda Tavira* was removed during the restoration for conservation reasons.



Fig. 20. Detail of the stretchers of the portraits *Antonio Adán de Yarza* (a), *María Ramona de Barbachano* (b) and *Bernarda Tavira* (c), compared to that of *The San Isidro Meadow* (d); the similarity among the last three stands out. The first has a different construction on the corners, although it was also common in that period.

The mounting of the canvases [Fig. 21] is the original in all three paintings. They are attached to the stretchers with tacks at intervals of 5 to 7 centimetres, and they have not been relined, nor have their stretchers been removed at any time, as evidenced by the fact that there are no nail holes other than the ones still secured now. Furthermore, the X-rays revealed that there are no perforations from other nails. This kind of nailing is depicted in self-portraits by the artist in which he shows himself in front of a canvas, such as the one conserved in the Museo del Prado [Fig. 22].



Fig. 21. Profiles of the canvases—*María Ramona de Barbachano* (a), *Antonio Adán de Yarza* (b) and *Bernarda Tavira* (c)—showing the original canvas mountings with tacks. In the first two (left profile), the primer only reaches the edge, which indicates that it was applied after the canvas was nailed to the stretcher, unlike the lower one (upper profile). The fabric selvage can be seen on the man's portrait.



Fig. 22  
Francisco de Goya  
*Self-portrait*, 1795  
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, P007775

One of the most important aspects of the supports is the fact that the canvas of *María Ramona de Barbachano* still has its selvages on the upper and lower edges, from which we can deduce that the total width of the piece of fabric used was the sum of the height of the painting plus the size of the upper and lower edges mounted on the stretcher, specifically 117.5 centimetres. According to Garrido in her study on *Charles IV of Spain and His Family*, this measurement is the same as the central strip of fabric of the three strips comprising the painting, which are horizontally sewn together (the half-centimetre difference comes from the stretching of the canvas at the points where the nails are driven in, which is where the measurement in this study was taken). Furthermore, the density of the weave of the latter Goya painting is quite similar to the works at hand (9–11 threads/cm<sup>2</sup> on the weft and 11–12 threads/cm<sup>2</sup> on the warp).<sup>4</sup> Another Goya work whose support is made of three pieces of fabric of the same size sewn together vertically is *The Assumption* from the church in Chinchón, which he painted in 1812.<sup>5</sup>

In this regard, it has been proven that during the period spanning 1780 to 1795, Goya painted a large number of portraits of a very similar size to these, such as the paintings whose height fits with the width of the aforementioned piece of fabric, all of which are half-body portraits such as these, which is telling. Exam-

4. See Carmen Garrido Pérez. 'Cómo se pintó el retrato de la familia' in Manuela Mena Marqués (ed.) *Goya: la familia de Carlos IV* [exh. cat.] Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2002, p. 299.

5. See Rocío Bruquetas Galán et al. 'Estudio técnico de *Fernando VII a caballo* de Francisco de Goya' in *Bienes culturales: revista del Instituto del Patrimonio Histórico Español*, no. 8, 2008, pp. 126–127.

ples include the portraits of Ventura Rodríguez (1784) at the National Museum of Stockholm; the ones of José de Toro y Zambrano (1785), Miguel Fernández Durán, Marquise of Tolosa (1786–1787) and Francisco Javier de Larrumbe (1787) from the series that Goya made for the Banco de España; and those of Pedro Téllez de Girón, the ninth Duke of Osuna (1785), and María Josefa de la Soledad Alonso Pimentel, the Countess-Duchess of Benavente (1785), both of which are in a private collection. The dimensions of these latter differ from each other somewhat, which may reflect changes made during an old restoration, a supposition which must nonetheless be verified.<sup>6</sup> From a somewhat later date yet similar in format are the portraits of Ramón Posada y Soto (1794), conserved at the Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, and of María del Rosario Fernández, ‘la Tirana’ (1794), also in a private collection.

It has also been confirmed that other portraits painted by Goya at around the same time have a width quite similar to the aforementioned piece of fabric. This holds true in the four portraits from the family series of the Count of Altamira painted between 1786 and 1788; the one of Vicente Osorio de Moscoso conserved in a private collection in Switzerland; the one of Vicente Isabel Osorio de Moscoso in the Banco de España collection; and the portraits of María Ignacia Álvarez de Toledo and Manuel Osorio Manrique de Zúñiga, both at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. The portraits of Luis María de Borbón y Vallabriga, from the Fundación Plaza, on deposit at the Museum of Zaragoza, and Maria Teresa de Borbón y Vallabriga, from the Ailsa Mellon Bruce Collection, on deposit at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, both painted in 1783, and even the portrait of Charles III (1786–1787), in the Banco de España collection as well, would also fit within this group.

6. In relining operations carried out until the mid-20th century, and even afterward, works were often expanded by transferring the edges—which tended to be painted—originally on the edge of the stretcher to the plane of the painting. Or, conversely, they were trimmed in order to facilitate the relining. This means that in a work that has undergone this treatment, the measurements can differ from the originals. In consequence, the measurements of two works meant to be paired together may not match precisely if they have been treated by different hands.

It can clearly be claimed that there is a correspondence between the height or the width of numerous Goya portraits and the width of the fabric discussed here. *María Ramona de Barbachano* is one example of these equivalencies. The selva in *Antonio Adán de Yarza*, unlike that of his wife’s portrait, is on the left side. Therefore, it matches neither the height nor the width of the fabric of his wife’s painting. However, as mentioned above, the quality of these canvases is the same, which enables us to assert that they were cut from the same piece of cloth but for some reason in different directions [Fig. 23].

It remains to be confirmed whether the quality of the fabrics—the composition and density of the weave of the portraits studied here—match those of other Goya paintings. Confirming this is no easy task given that the majority of the master’s works have been relined, which proves to be a major hindrance when attempting to analyse the original canvases. This was indeed found while taking down the exhibition *Goya and the Court of Enlightenment* (CaixaForum Zaragoza, 28 September

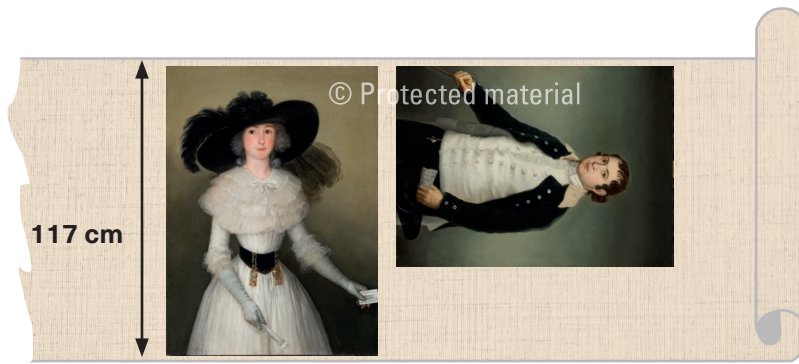


Fig. 23. Possible cut of the fabric pieces for the paintings

2017 – 21 January 2018; Bilbao Fine Arts Museum, 14 February – 28 May 2018), although in the case of *Queen María Luisa in a Dress with Hooped Skirt*, the original canvas could be glimpsed in some small zones around the perimeter. The fact is that a striking similarity was found between the portrait of Adán de Yarza and his wife and that of the queen in terms of both the texture of the fabrics—taffeta in all cases—and the density of their weave [Fig. 24].

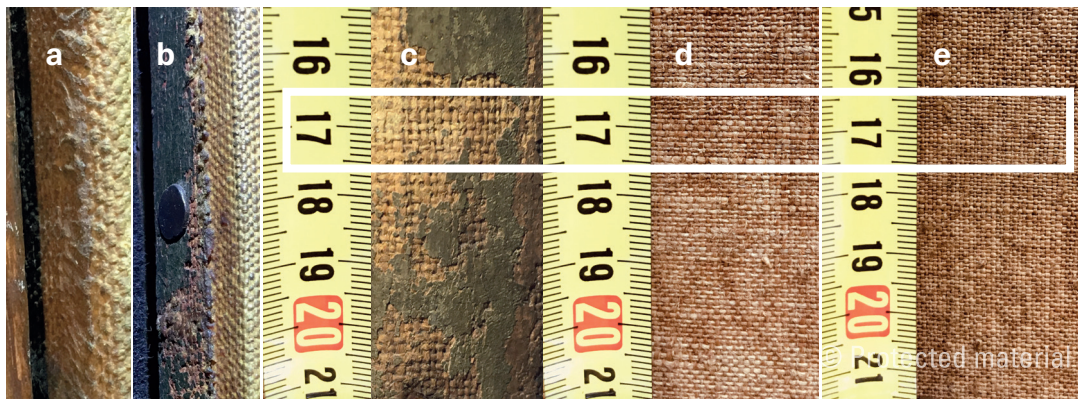


Fig. 24. Details of the perimeters of the canvases of *Francisco de Cabarrús, Conde de Cabarrús* (a), *Miguel de Múzquiz y Goyeneche, Marquis of Villar* (b) and *Queen María Luisa in a Dress with Hooped Skirt* (c), compared to the details of the backs of *María Ramona de Barbachano* (d) and *Antonio Adán de Yarza* (e).

### Paint matter

The paint matter is cracked throughout the entire surface of the paintings and even shows the characteristic spiderweb-shape cracks. There is a slight lifting on the edges of the cracks, which provides a certain texture to the surface, a characteristic of works from this period which have not been either relined or subjected to general colour-setting treatments, which tend to smooth the surface.

A microchemical analysis was performed <sup>7</sup> on a total of twelve paint samples taken from the three paintings, which confirms that the binding agent is linseed oil in both the primer and the paint layer. The primer used in the couple's portraits has a very light ochre colour, and it can be readily spotted in some zones which are not totally covered. This technique, which Goya often used, was not so much to economise on materials (although perhaps that as well) as to achieve modelling in the painting process. For example, in the portrait of Antonio Adán de Yarza, the primer can be seen around the edges of some tears, in the area of his neck scarf and on the lapels of his dress coat. In the paintings of the married couple, the primer was spread after the canvas was already secured to the stretcher, right up to the edge of the composition; it consists in lead white, calcium carbonate, a small proportion of gesso and a very low proportion of earth pigments (iron oxide) to provide the colour. The primer on the portrait of his mother is somewhat different. It appears under the heads of the nails, which indicates that the canvas was primed before it was mounted on the stretcher. This could have been done with the fabric attached to a board or a working stretcher, then cutting it once the primer was spread, a very common practice. Furthermore, silicates were detected in the composition of the primer, and its colour, which is slightly darker, must come from a larger proportion of earth pigments (although their proportion is quite low in all three works) or from their having a slightly more reddish colour. <sup>8</sup> The thickness of this layer ranges from 180 to 270 µm on the samples taken from all three works.

7. The analyses were tested by Arte-Lab S.L., for whose assistance I am grateful. The techniques used were the following: optical microscope with polarised, incident and transmitted light; halogen light and UV light; the Herzog test to study the fibres of the support; Fourier transform infrared spectroscopy (FTIR); gas chromatography-mass spectrometry (GC-MS); scanning electron microscope-energy-dispersive X-ray (SEM-EDX) spectrometry microanalysis; RAMAN micro-spectroscopy.

8. The low proportion of natural pigments in all three portraits prevents us from accurately determining the reason for the change in colour, although everything points to the addition of more reddish natural pigments in the primer of *Bernarda Tavira*.

With regard to the layer of paint itself, in different mixtures the following pigments were found, all of them common in the late 18th century: lead white, Prussian blue, earth pigments rich in iron oxides, umber, red earth pigment, bone black, charcoal black and vermillion. This layer is relatively thin: between 30 and 60 µm, although it reaches 120 µm in the sample taken of an impasto on the dress in *María Ramona de Barbachano*.

In *Antonio Adán de Yarza*, precisely four micro-samples were extracted, in which lead white, Prussian blue, earth pigments and red earth pigment, bone and charcoal blacks were found [Fig. 25]. The background colour in the upper part (P4) was achieved with a mix of Prussian blue and lead white, with a tiny proportion of earth pigments and bone black. The Prussian blue provides the bluer tone in the background of this area, compared to the blue in the portrait of his wife. In the darkest area next to the lower right corner (P3) is a composition more similar to what is found in his wife's portrait containing lead white, bone and charcoal blacks and earth pigments. The hat (P2) is painted almost entirely with bone black, with just a minuscule proportion of lead white and earth pigments. In the sample taken from the switch he is holding (P1), it was revealed that it was painted over a greyish background in two layers which correspond to two strata applied for the

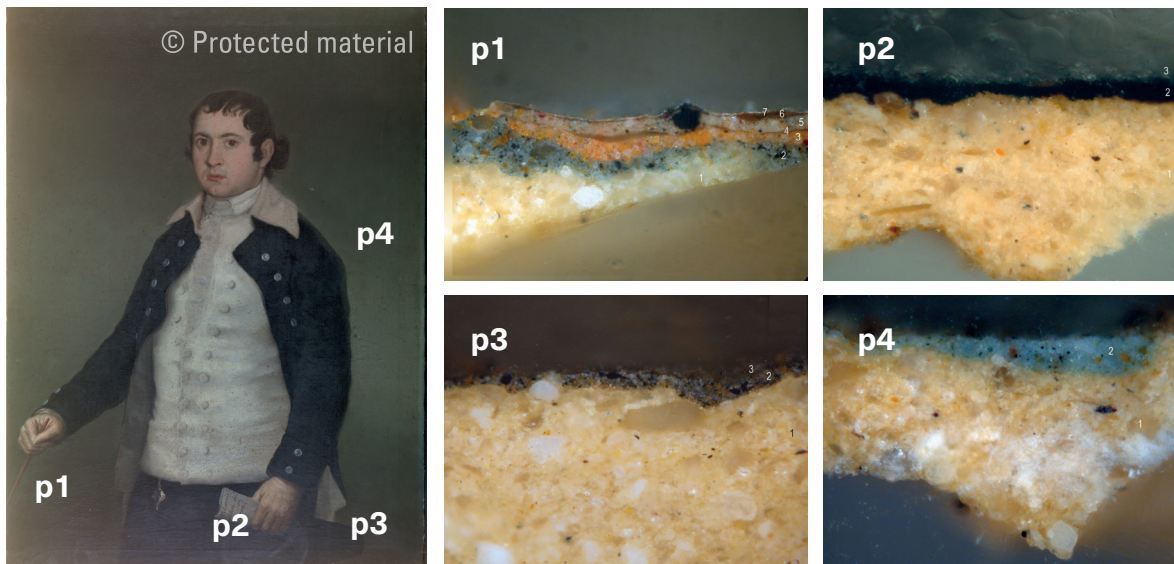


Fig. 25. Micro-samples taken from *Antonio Adán de Yarza*. **P1**, ochre of the switch: 1, primer (150  $\mu$ n) with lead white, calcium carbonate, gesso (low proportion, henceforth l.p.) and earth pigments (very low proportion, henceforth, v.l.p.); 2, bluish grey corresponding to the background (20–60  $\mu$ n) made of lead white, earth pigments (l.p.), bone black (l.p.) and charcoal (l.p.); 3, orangey brown of the wood (30  $\mu$ n) made of lead white, earth pigments and vermillion (v.l.p.); 4, remains of varnish (15  $\mu$ n); 5, yellowish brown of the wood (25  $\mu$ n) made of lead white, earth pigments (l.p.), calcium carbonate (v.l.p.), bone black (v.l.p.) and red earth pigment (v.l.p.); 6, varnish (5–15  $\mu$ n); 7, yellowish brown (5–15  $\mu$ n) with lead white and earth pigments (possibly retouched?). **P2**, black of the hat: 1, primer (270  $\mu$ n) with lead white, calcium carbonate, gesso (l.p.) and earth pigments (v.l.p.); 2, black of the hat (50  $\mu$ n) with bone black, lead white (l.p.) and earth pigments (v.l.p.); 3, varnish (15  $\mu$ n). **P3**, grey background in the darkest area: 1, primer (230  $\mu$ n) with lead white, calcium carbonate, gesso (l.p.) and earth pigments (v.l.p.); 2, grey layer (30  $\mu$ n) made of lead white, bone black (l.p.), charcoal (l.p.) and earth pigments (l.p.); 3, varnish (0–10  $\mu$ n). **P4**, grey background in the light area: 1, primer (270  $\mu$ n) with lead white, calcium carbonate, gesso (l.p.) and earth pigments (v.l.p.); 2, bluish layer (25–60  $\mu$ n) made of lead white, Prussian blue, earth pigments (v.l.p.) and bone black (v.l.p.)

modelling, with a layer of varnish in between. It is telling that it appears over the background colour, which indicates that this element had not been planned for.

In *María Ramona de Barbachano*, lead white, vermillion, earth pigments and red earth pigment, and bone and charcoal blacks were identified based on micro-samples [Fig. 26]. As mentioned above, the background colour here is similar to the colour in the shaded area in its twin portrait, since it is comprised of lead white, bone black and a red earth pigment. The higher pigment content brings a warmer tone to the background of this portrait. For the dress, the lead white is shaded with bone black and traces of earth pigments and vermillion. The sample extracted in this colour corresponds to an impasto, so its thickness is 220  $\mu$ n.



Fig. 26. Micro-samples taken from *María Ramona de Barbachano*. **P1**, greyish white of the dress: 1, primer (180  $\mu\text{m}$ ) with lead white, calcium carbonate, gesso (l.p.) and earth pigments (v.l.p.); 2, greyish white (70–220  $\mu\text{m}$ ) made of lead white, calcium carbonate (v.l.p.), bone black (v.l.p.), earth pigments (v.l.p.) and vermillion (v.l.p.) **P2**, background grey: 1, primer (240  $\mu\text{m}$ ) with lead white, calcium carbonate, gesso (l.p.) and earth pigments (v.l.p.); 2, grey (50  $\mu\text{m}$ ) made up of white lead, bone black, red earth pigment (v.l.p.) and charcoal (v.l.p.)

Finally, four micro-samples were taken from *Bernarda Tavira* which enabled us to identify lead white, Prussian blue, vermillion, earth pigments, red earth pigment, umber and bone and charcoal blacks [Fig. 27]. The colour of the dress comes from mixtures of vermillion, bone black and either red earth pigment or umber, and depending on the tone it tends more towards maroon or reddish brown. No red lacquer was detected, at least in the areas where the samples were taken, although at first glance it seemed fairly likely. The blue ribbons on her headpiece are painted with a grey base, which is exposed in some areas, and its composition is very similar to that of the dark backgrounds in the other two portraits. A mix of Prussian blue and lead white, the first one predominant, was applied over this base to yield the definitive colour. This mixture is quite similar to the lighter areas in the background of the man's portrait. In any event, what all three paintings have in common is the use of a limited palette and rather simple mixtures of pigments.

## X-RAY AND INFRARED REFLECTOGRAPHY STUDY

X-rays and infrared reflectography, two physical analysis techniques, provide images of the intermediate layers and therefore supply details that cannot be seen with the naked eye under normal light. As mentioned above, the X-ray study enabled us to verify that the canvases had never been removed from their stretchers. The micro-chemical analyses of all the samples of paint matter showed the presence of lead white in the primer, which can also be clearly seen in the X-rays. Since this is a

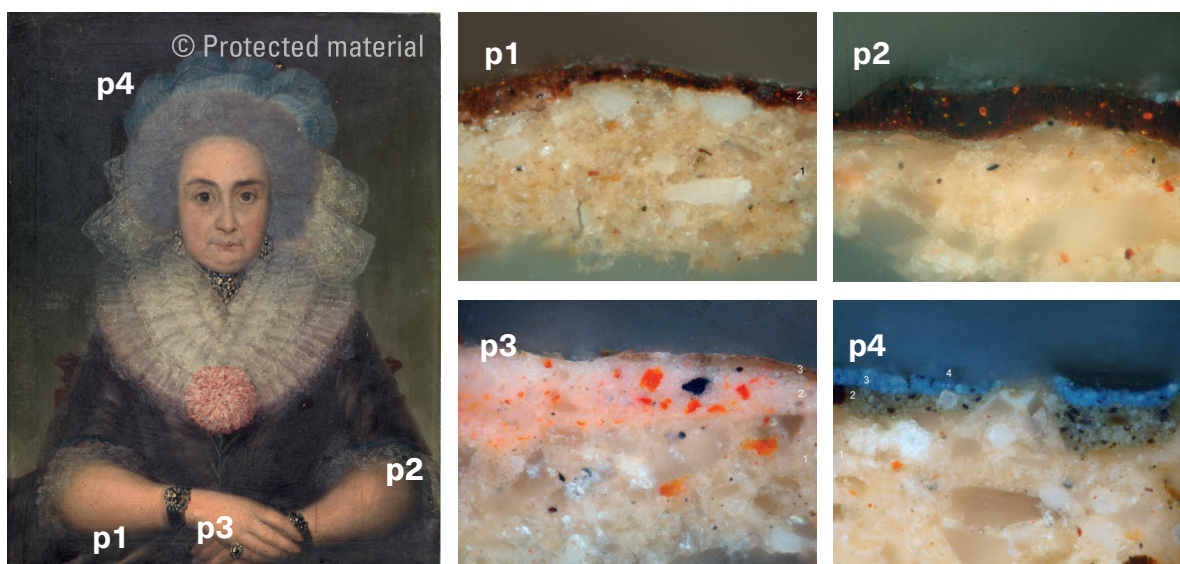


Fig. 27. Micro-samples taken from *Bernarda Távira*. **P1**, maroon of the dress: 1, primer (240  $\mu$ n) with lead white, calcium carbonate, gesso (l.p.), earth pigments (v.l.p.) and silicates (v.l.p.); 2, maroon of the dress (30–45  $\mu$ n) made of red earth pigment, bone black (l.p.), vermillion (v.l.p.) and lead white (v.l.p.) **P2**, sleeve of the dress: 1, primer (190  $\mu$ n) with lead white, calcium carbonate, gesso (l.p.) and earth pigments (v.l.p.) and silicates (v.l.p.); 2, reddish-brown of the dress (65  $\mu$ n) with red earth pigment, bone black (l.p.), umber (l.p.), lead white (l.p.) and vermillion (l.p.); 3, remains of varnish (5–10  $\mu$ n); 4, thin layer of varnish (5  $\mu$ n). **P3**, flesh tone on the pinkie finger: 1, primer (210  $\mu$ n) with lead white, calcium carbonate, gesso (l.p.) and earth pigments (v.l.p.) and silicates (v.l.p.); 2, pink of the flesh tone (60  $\mu$ n), with a mixture of lead white, vermillion (l.p.), charcoal (v.l.p.) and earth pigments (v.l.p.); remains of varnish (5–20  $\mu$ n). **P4**, blue of the headpiece: 1, primer (190  $\mu$ n) with lead white, calcium carbonate, gesso (l.p.), earth pigments (v.l.p.) and silicates (v.l.p.); 2, layer of grey (5–60  $\mu$ n) made of lead white, charcoal (l.p.), earth pigments (l.p.) and bone black (v.l.p.); 3, layer of grey (30  $\mu$ n) made of lead white, Prussian blue and bone black (v.l.p.); 4, remains of varnish (0–15  $\mu$ n).

very radiopaque material, it buffers the contrast of the paint layer, so the images of all three paintings are somewhat blurry. The primer was applied with either a knife or a spatula-shaped priming tool, so clearer lines can be seen in furrows around the image, which correspond to the excess of primer that the instrument leaves in certain areas when applied. This is easier to see in the portraits of the mother and son. We can also see some areas in which this layer is thicker in the portrait of Mrs Távira [Figs. 28 and 29]. For example, on the lower right corner, and even crossing the upper left part from the edge to the sitter's face, across her forehead and over her left ear. All of these effects, which may seem like anomalies, stem from the process used to apply the primer and from the fact that it had not been smoothed or 'sanded' once it was dry.<sup>9</sup>

Areas with a higher radiographic density on the paint layer where there is a higher proportion of lead white also appear, especially in the impastos in the light areas of the modelling and the clothing. Continuing with *Bernarda Távira*, this effect occurs in the flower she is holding, in her arms and hands, and on her forehead, that

9. See Judit Gasca, David Viana & Silvia Viana. 'Examen radiológico: *La Tirana*, Francisco de Goya', Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 2016. Available at [https://www.mandg.com/-/media/Final%20assets%20for%20launch/Spain-brand-sponsorship/MandG\\_Real-Academia-Bellas-Artes\\_Tirana\\_Examen-radiologico\\_2016.pdf](https://www.mandg.com/-/media/Final%20assets%20for%20launch/Spain-brand-sponsorship/MandG_Real-Academia-Bellas-Artes_Tirana_Examen-radiologico_2016.pdf) [retrieved: 1 December 2018].



Figs. 28 and 29. X-ray and infrared reflectography of *Bernarda Tavira*. On the X-ray, several lines with higher radiographic density resulting from spreading the primer are highlighted, as well as equally dense areas which show that this layer is thicker because it was mainly applied with the assistance of spatulas or knives.

is, in the areas where the light strikes, as well as on the right side of her headpiece made of blue ribbons, where we can make out the application of paint in a zigzag pattern. A bit further to the right, in the background, we can see a lighter zone which may indicate a continuation of those ribbons which was ultimately painted over [Fig. 30].

On her hands and arms, the paint is somewhat blurred, so the brushstrokes are not very clear; however, we can detect that the hands were painted with touches of light on the knuckles. The flower, a carnation, is resolved with direct touches, just like the glints off the jewellery. Indeed, the bracelet on her right wrist was shifted a bit towards her hand, as can be seen in the infrared reflectography, and even by the naked eye, as the colour has become a bit transparent. This is not perceptible in the X-ray due to the high lead white content of the flesh tone, which was the tone used to paint over the bracelet. Another similar pentimento can be seen on the ring on her pinkie finger, where its previous position is visible, since it was painted over with a finer layer of colour [Fig. 31].



Fig. 30. X-ray detail of the headpiece of *Bernarda Tavira*, in which we can see the zigzag brushstrokes on the bows, and what might be the extension of this adornment (on the right), which was ultimately covered with the background colour.

The lace ruffles on her shoulders and chest, as well as the headpiece on both sides of her head, can barely be made out since they were rendered with very fine layers of paint, in some areas even just with a glaze layer, to simulate the transparency of those fabrics. The outline of the sleeves appears transparent in the reflectography (which can also be seen by the naked eye). In the sleeve openings, especially on the right, this method enables us to see traces of darker paint applied as a base from which the lace edging peeks out [Fig. 32]. The oval of the face was marked with dark brushstrokes which start from the neck and were later lightly painted over with flesh tone [Fig. 33]. Although previous drawing is barely visible, it can be seen quite clearly in the knobs of the chair visible behind the figure [Fig. 34] and on the right hand around her index finger.

With regard to *Antonio Adán de Yarza* the X-ray [Fig. 35], also indicates that the primer was manually applied, as it has an uneven thickness and a blurry appearance. One can see a series of lighter points which correspond to accumulations of primer around the intersections of the threads on the woven canvas. Likewise, reinforcements in the light spots are apparent, with a heavier layer of matter, for example, on the man's left outline and his forehead, except for the parts covered with hair, as well as in the folds of his waistcoat. Zigzag brushstrokes can be seen on the neck of the jacket, which give it a velvety appearance. The reflectography [Fig. 36] reveals

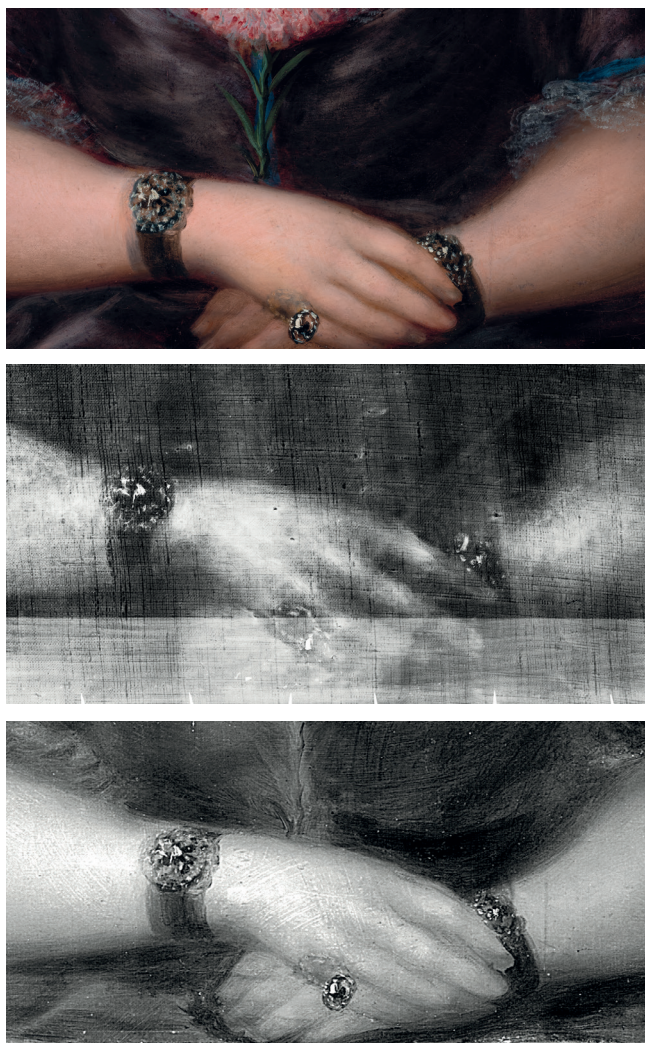


Fig. 31. *Bernarda Tavira*. Detail of the hands with normal light, X-ray and infrared reflectography showing the changes in the position of the bracelet and ring

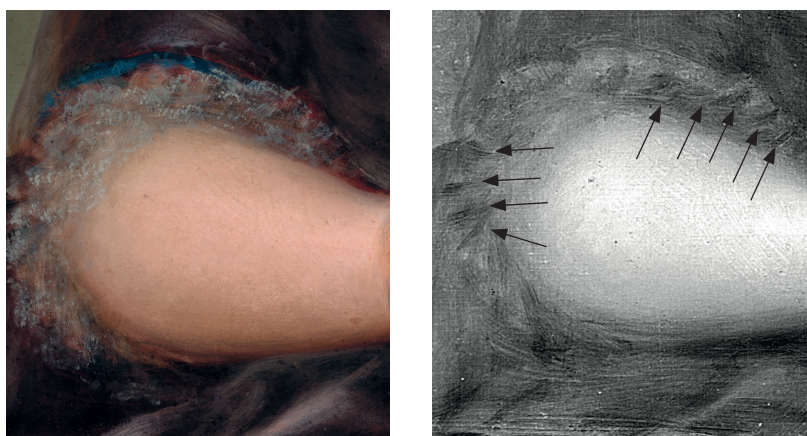
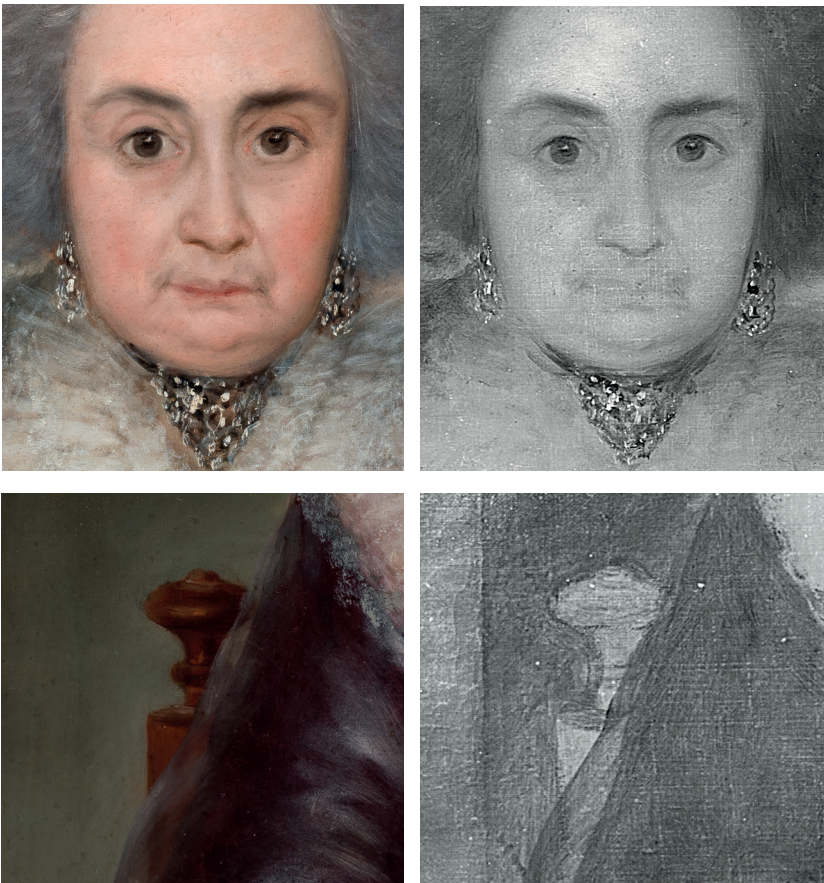
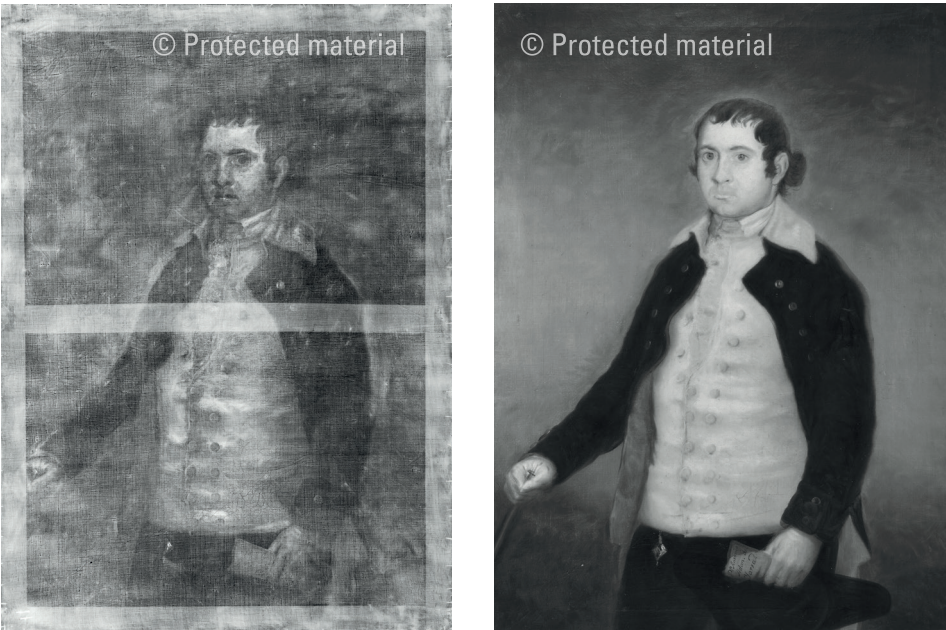


Fig. 32. *Bernarda Tavira*. Detail of the lace edging of the right sleeve with normal light and infrared reflectography



Figs. 33 and 34. *Bernarda Tavira*. Details of the outline of the face and the drawing of the knob of the chair with normal light and infrared reflectography



Figs. 35 and 36. X-ray and infrared reflectography of *Antonio Adán de Yarza*

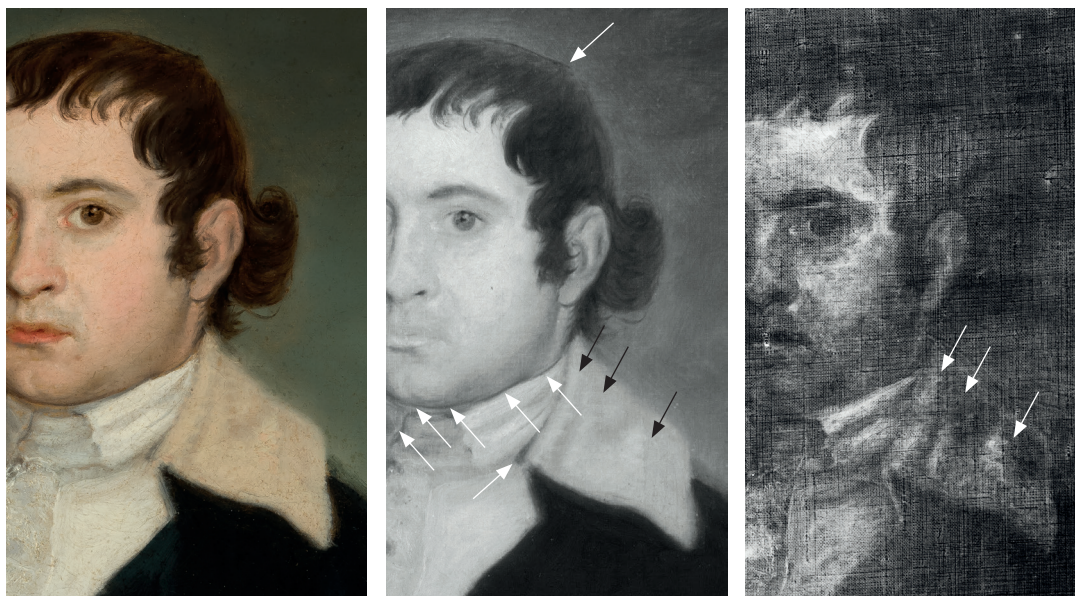


Fig. 37. *Antonio Adán de Yarza*. Detail via normal light, infrared reflectography and X-ray. The reflectography reveals traces of a previous drawing or a colour outline, which can also be seen by the naked eye, as well as sinuous brushstrokes on the neck of the jacket, which can clearly be seen in the X-ray.

strokes outlining the chin and the upper edge of the head, although it is difficult to determine whether this is actually a previous drawing or an outline made with colour at some point during the painting process [Fig. 37].

It also clearly reveals that his right arm was made slightly narrower by painting its edges with a colour similar to the background, although the two can easily be confused by the naked eye. His left arm was also outlined with the background colour, yielding a stark radiographic contrast, but shortly thereafter it was widened a bit by painting over the background with the colour of the jacket. It is difficult to determine whether this was done in an attempt to simulate the effect of light on the fabric or simply to enlarge the size of his arm. There are other intriguing changes as well. For example, the infrared reflectography revealed that the sitter's left hand was holding an object slightly smaller than the current note bearing his name (perhaps a rolled-up piece of paper or his right-hand glove). However, this does not show up on the X-ray because the note, which is white, was unquestionably painted with lead white, a pigment whose opacity to X-rays makes it very difficult to detect any element under it [Fig. 38].

The second important change is related to the element he is holding in his right hand [Fig. 39]. What appears to be a switch was originally a thicker rod, perhaps a cane. This can be detected in both the infrared reflectography and the X-ray. The naked eye can also detect retouching on either side to paint over the original object. Furthermore, the X-ray reveals a denser and lighter area in a more or less

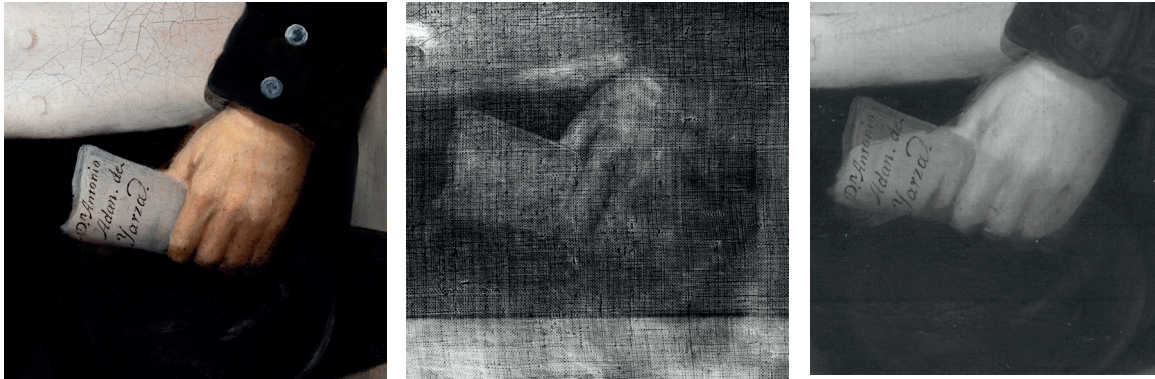


Fig. 38. Antonio Adán de Yarza. Detail of the left hand via normal light, X-ray and infrared reflectography. The reflectography enables us to distinguish another object with a different shape beneath the note.

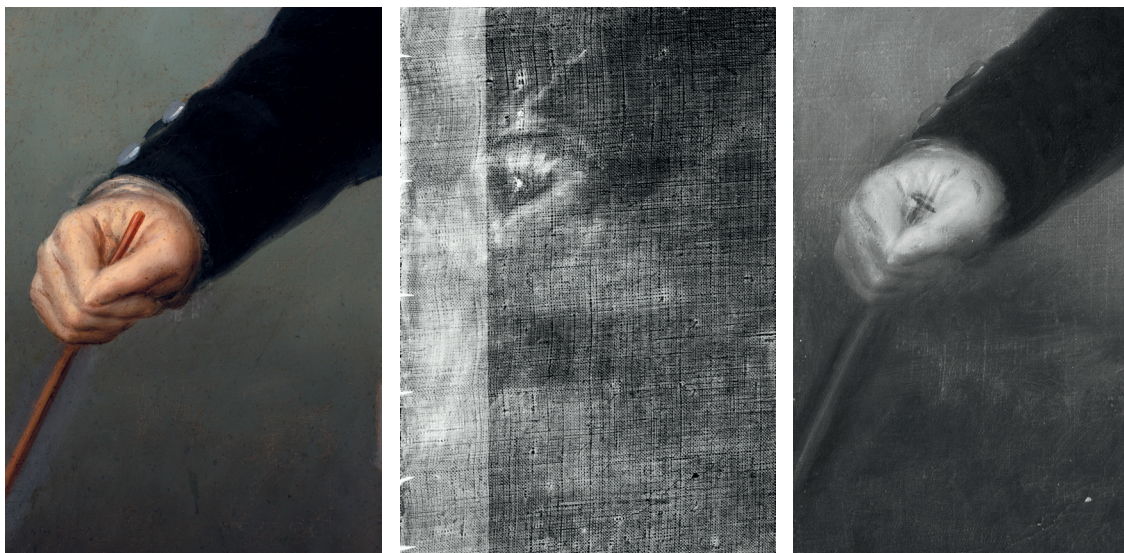


Fig. 39. Antonio Adán de Yarza. Detail of the right hand via normal light, X-ray and infrared reflectography.

polygonal shape under his right hand, which may have originally been a note he was holding in his hand or a surface on which he was resting it; whatever it was, the artist decided to eliminate it.

Finally, the last important change detected via infrared reflectography is the shift of the lower buttons on the waistcoat, which were originally closer together and ended up further apart [Fig. 40].

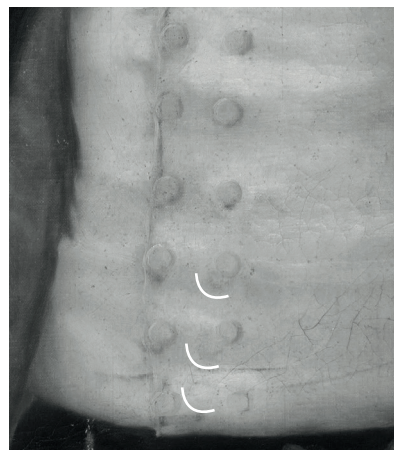
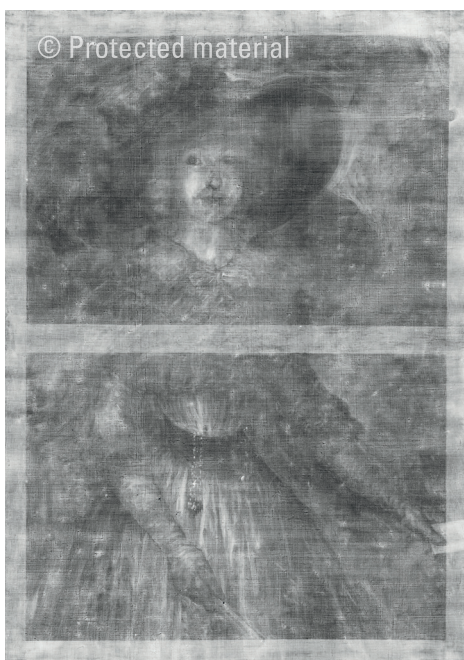


Fig. 40. *Antonio Adán de Yarza*. Detail of the waistcoat via infrared reflectography, which reveals the shift in the position of at least three buttons on the lower part.

The X-ray and reflectography of *María Ramona de Barbachano* [Figs. 41 and 42] match those of the other two portraits. The most noteworthy find is that her belt was made thicker and the position of her left arm was slightly shifted. The way the background was covered with vigorous brushstrokes, almost smearing the brush, also comes into clear focus.



Figs. 41 and 42. *María Ramona de Barbachano*. X-ray and infrared reflectography.

## RESTORATION

When the paintings reached the Bilbao Fine Arts Museum, they were lacking frames and their appearance seemed somewhat neglected at first glance. However, they were well conserved overall, and as mentioned above, they were practically intact, which was quite surprising. Holes where wood-eating insects had emerged could be found on the stretchers, and some laths were somewhat deformed, although the mountings remained stable and brought a good degree of cohesion to the supports as a whole. Even though they had no adjustment wedges, the tension of the canvases was appropriate. They showed some deformations, the most notable ones at the internal corners of the stretcher, which were marked, as often happens when the supports are built in this way. The portrait of Bernarda Tavira had two small tears or perforations in the upper half of the composition which did not affect important areas, as well as a 2-centimetre scratch on the outer right corner of the stretcher, 17 centimetres from the lower corner. The nails, whose heads were mildly rusted, were perfectly secure in all three works. Worth noting is the existence of a dense layer of dirt accumulated on the back side, especially between the stretcher and the fabric on the lower edge of all three paintings.

The treatment consisted in mechanically cleaning all the elements, correcting the deformations in the support and repairing the tears on the canvas in the portrait of Bernarda Tavira. The paper label attached to the back side of this same portrait was also removed so it could later be conserved and encapsulated.

As mentioned above, the paint matter was cracked throughout the entire surface of the works, even with the characteristic spiderweb-shape cracks. There was a slight lifting on the edges of the cracks, but a lack of adherence with the risk of material loss could only be seen in tiny, very isolated points in all three works, as well as on the periphery of the tears in the support of *Bernarda Tavira*. There were a few small losses of matter which did not affect important elements; the most notable ones were located on the horizontal edge of the lower right corner of *Antonio Adán de Yarza* and in the tears perforations on *Bernarda Tavira*. In these cases, the paint matter was locally consolidated with a natural adhesive and localised weight. The tiny tears in *Bernarda Tavira* were also repaired on the back side.

The most important pathology of the three works consisted in a layer of very darkened dirt with numerous insect excrements along the entire painted surface, especially on the light colours. In *Bernarda Tavira*, the analysis performed by Arte-Lab of a sample taken from this stratum indicated the presence of a greasy material which was never clearly identified, although different possibilities have been considered, such as a commercial cleaning product or an oil used to 'refresh' the painting.



Fig. 43. Details of the works during the process of cleaning the surface layer

The surface of this work also has a 'scrubbed' appearance, which indicates an attempt to clean it,<sup>10</sup> as well as a small cleaning test on the lady's left wrist. *María Ramona de Barbachano* also showed cleaning tests on the upper part of the right edge. In the treatment carried out at the Bilbao Fine Arts Museum, the cleaning was done with a watery medium with the help of a scalpel to eliminate as much of the insect excrement as possible [Fig. 43]. During this operation, it was found that, as is common with this kind of organic waste, it had degraded the paint layer at many points. In any event, the scalpel intervention was selective and particularly careful in order not to erode the original. The remains that could not be entirely eliminated were glazed over with coloured varnish in the subsequent phase of colour reintegration. The tiny lacunas of paint matter were also reintegrated with a previous stucco to even out the paint surface. The final touch consisted in three layers of dammar varnish, the first one with a brush after the cleaning was completed, and the other two with aerosol after the colour reintegration.

In order to present them properly, the works were fitted out with frames made specifically for them and matching their style and period. A conservation mounting was made with a cellular polycarbonate protection in the back.

## COMPARATIVE STUDY WITH OTHER WORKS BY GOYA

The exhibition *Goya and the Enlightenment Court*, which was on display in the Bilbao Fine Arts Museum from February to May 2018, allowed visitors to compare the portraits studied here with a good number of other works by this painter in the same place and under the same conditions (especially in terms of lighting). At first glance, a direct stylistic resemblance was detected with three paintings in particular: *Queen María Luisa in a Dress with Hooped Skirt* (c. 1789), *Blind Man's Buff* (1788) and *Francisco Cabarrús, Count of Cabarrús* (1788). It was intriguing to check these similarities in terms of the use of colours and identical technical resources to capture certain details, which revealed a similar way of working. To explain this and as examples of these similarities, below we shall compare several details of these paintings.

The most obvious correspondence within this set of paintings is perhaps between the portraits of Bernarda Tavira and Queen María Luisa of Parma, despite the difference between the two works: the former a private commission and the latter a royal commission. On the hands of both women [Fig. 44], we can see that the flesh tones and fingernails were treated similarly, as were the blank spaces left for the hands on the clothing, specifically the pinkie finger of the queen's left hand and the index finger of Bernarda Tavira's right hand, where similar sketch lines can also be made out. The modelling of the arms and the treatment of the fingernails,

10. In this regard, in the photographs of the works published in the newspaper *ABC* in 1930, to which Xavier Bray and Juliet Wilson-Bareau refer in their text in this same publication, despite the low quality of the images, one can distinguish this scrubbed effect, as well as the dense layer of filth and insect excrements on all three paintings.

which are barely hinted at, are also quite similar. These resemblances are also clearly visible in the infrared reflectography of the portrait of Bernarda Tavira. Even her bracelet has a texture similar to some of the decorations on the queen's gown, especially the brooch she is wearing on the bow on her chest [Fig. 45]. The technical solution of these elements (the 'step-by-step'), with many repeated dabs of black and white paint, is quite similar in both portraits.

It is also curious to see the similarities between this portrait and *Blind Man's Buff*. Bernarda Tavira's jewellery, especially her necklace, is comparable to the trim on the belt of one of the figures in the mentioned painting, owned by the Museo del Prado, as well as the buckle on the hem of this figure's trousers [Fig. 46]. The white touches on Bernarda Tavira's necklace and earrings, just like those mentioned above on her bracelet, are similar in texture and colour to those on the buckle, but what stands out the most is how the treatment of her necklace resembles that of the trim on the boy's trousers, where the same strokes are repeated.

The blue ribbons on Bernarda Tavira's headdress are also similar to those worn by the girl standing on the left in the composition of *Blind Man's Buff* [Fig. 47]. They match not only in colour but more importantly in the zigzag brushstrokes, applied vertically in the former and horizontally in the latter. This can also be seen in some parts of the blank spaces left in the background for the ribbons. The tone in the portrait of Bernarda Tavira is lighter and has a less striking contrast, and the paint is also applied less thickly. On the other hand, these details reveal that the treatment of the hair in both figures, with the characteristic bluish-grey powder so fashionable at that time, is quite similar in colour and especially in the texture and direction of the brushstrokes.

With regard to the portrait of Antonio Adán de Yarza, resemblances can be found with one of the figures in *Blind Man's Buff*, specifically the smiling young man located on the right side of the scene. Antonio Adán de Yarza is wearing a diamond-shaped decoration on his belt dangling from a chain, which is difficult to identify but quite similar to the one in the latter figure [Fig. 48].

But the similarities with the portrait of Antonio Adán de Yarza are the clearest in the painting of *Francisco Cabarrús, Count of Cabarrús* [Fig. 49]. Both are posed in a similar fashion, the buttons and lace cravats worn by the sitters are also treated similarly, and their faces show a great deal of technical resemblance, especially in their lower third, where we find a similar way of rendering their mouths. Indeed, the portraits of both Antonio Adán de Yarza and his wife show a strong likeness to that of Francisco Cabarrús, the first director of the Banco de San Carlos.

If we focus now on the portrait of María Ramona de Barbachano and compare the pieces hanging from her sash (perhaps two watches, one real and another faux, associated with two *chatelaines*,<sup>11</sup> respectively) with the ones worn by Cabarrús, we can detect a very similar painting technique [Fig. 50]. The object's hanging effect is indicated by transparent vertical brushstrokes which drag the paint, while the glint of metal is suggested with more thickly-applied touches on a horizontal slant.

The same technical resemblance can be found in the embroidery on the dress worn by María Luisa of Parma, which is painted with colours almost identical to those in the decorations of María Ramona de Barbachano [Fig. 51].

When comparing these accessories worn by María Ramona de Barbachano with María Luisa of Parma's jewellery [Fig. 52], what is surprising is how similar they are in facture. Both start with a transparent base made of a colour with a bituminous appearance. Over this base, which provides the golden tone and helps the jewellery fit in overall, touches of impasto colour were applied to define the glimmers.

To conclude with these examples, another of the most noteworthy correspondences is between the veil worn by María Ramona de Barbachano and the headdress worn by the woman on the right of the composition in *Blind Man's Buff* [Fig. 53]. The fabric is rendered identically, with a highly diluted black colour applied on the dry surface of the background to suggest the transparency of the veils, and through very similar zigzag marks applied loosely.

11. Something similar to a keychain from which watches, keys and small household implements could be hung (personal communication with Xavier Bray). The Museo Frederic Marès de Barcelona has an extensive collection of this kind of object.



Fig. 44. Detail of the right hand of Bernarda Tavira in normal light and with infrared reflectography, and detail of the left hand of María Luisa of Parma



Fig. 45. Detail of the bracelet worn by Bernarda Tavira and the brooch worn by Maria Luisa of Parma



Fig. 46. Details of the jewellery worn by Bernarda Távira and the buckle and trim on one of the figures in *Blind Man's Buff*

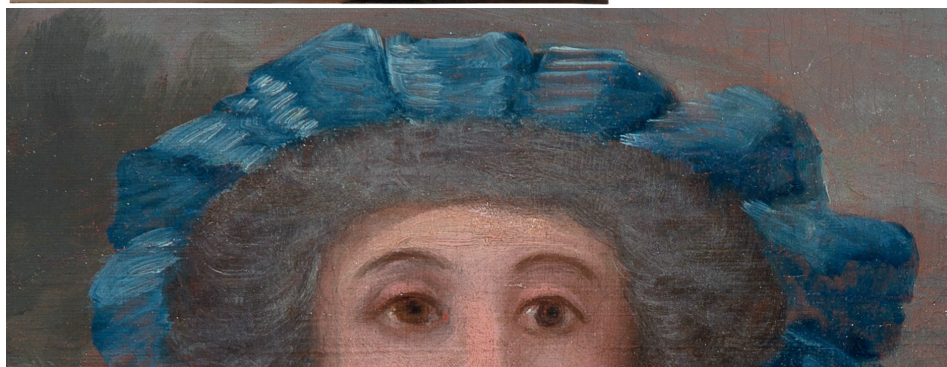


Fig. 47. Details of the headdress worn by Bernarda Tavira and by one of the figures in *Blind Man's Buff*



Fig. 48. Detail of the buttons and adornments worn by Antonio Adán de Yarza and by one of the figures in *Blind Man's Buff*

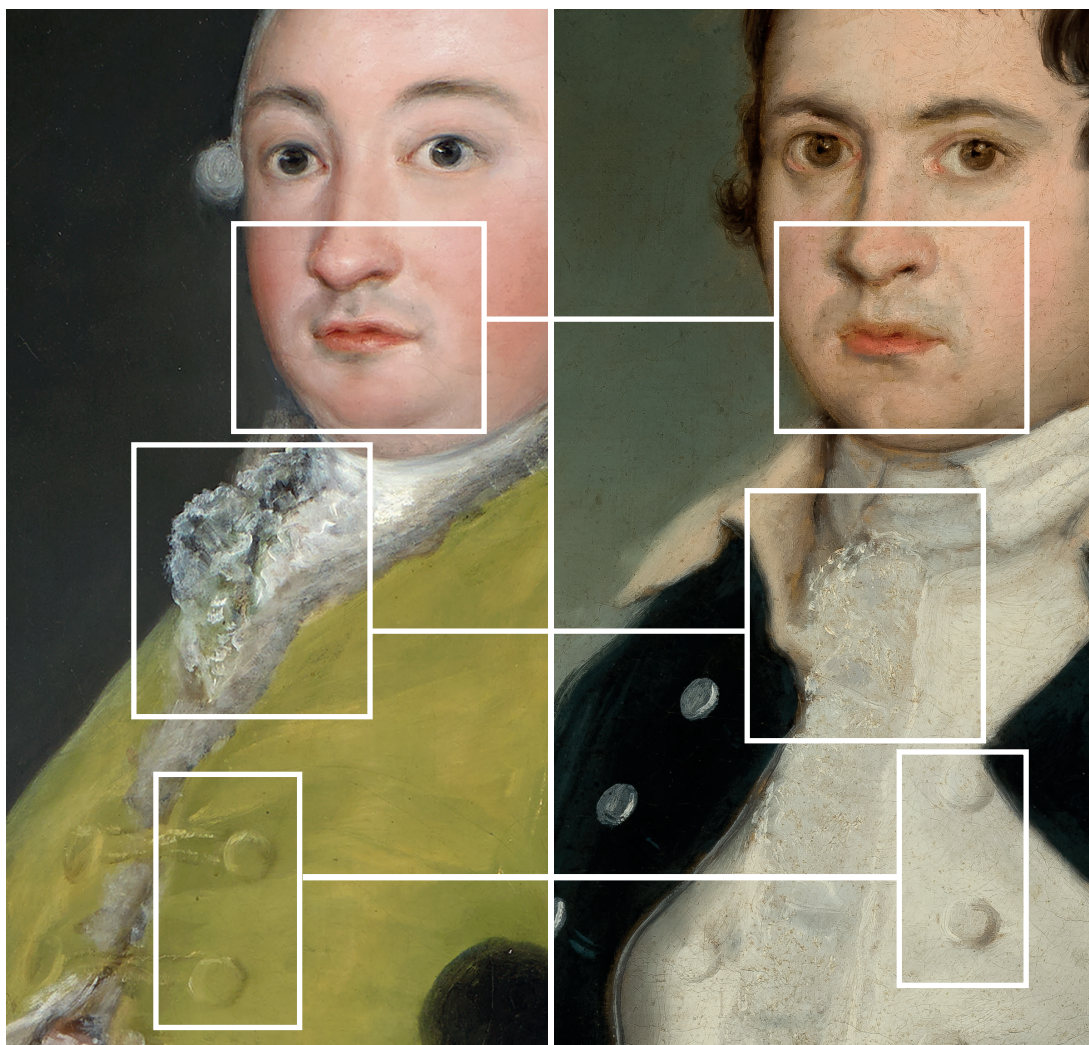


Fig. 49. Details of the portraits of Francisco Cabarrús and Antonio Adán de Yarza



Fig. 50. Details of the adornments worn by María Ramona de Barbachano and Francisco Cabarrús



Fig. 51. Details of the necklace worn by María Luisa of Parma and the adornment worn by María Ramona de Barbachano



Fig. 52. Details of the embroidery on the gown worn by María Luisa of Parma and the adornment worn by María Ramona de Barbachano

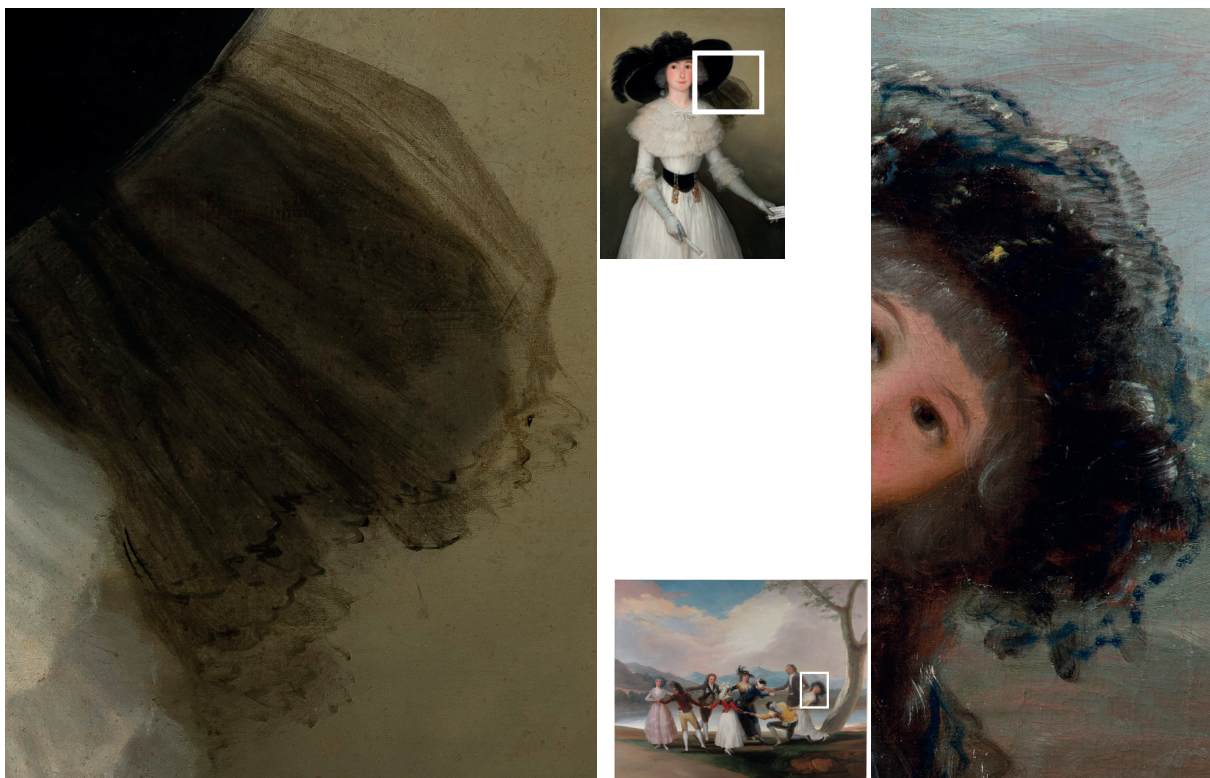


Fig. 53. Details of the headdresses worn by María Ramona de Barbachano and by one of the figures in *Blind Man's Buff*

## CONCLUSIONS

As indicated above, the paintings have remained virtually intact since their creation despite the vicissitudes they underwent during the Spanish Civil War; or perhaps precisely what fostered their intactness is the fact that they were removed from the country at that time. Free of additions or interventions on the originals, they are extraordinarily valuable documents for assessing their painter's technique and consequently assigning them a definite, well-grounded attribution. The analysis of the material composition, the painting treatment and the behaviour of the materials through physical and chemical studies, as well as the comparison of certain stylistic features and of the use of line and colour, enable the portraits to be included within the works that Francisco de Goya painted between 1787 and 1788.

The rediscovery of these three previously unknown works and their study through this research project has been a unique opportunity to learn yet more about one of the most singular masters of Spanish painting.

# ANTONIO ADÁN DE YARZA TAVIRA (1761–1835)

SUSANA SERRANO ABAD  
MIKEL URIZAR

### Adán de Yarza's lineage

Antonio Adán de Yarza descends from an illustrious line of Bizkaia natives which is documented since the late Middle Ages (13th to 14th centuries)<sup>1</sup> and was mentioned by Lope García Salazar in his *Bienandanzas e Fortunas* (15th century), even though, according to the genealogical tree, the family's genesis dates back to the 10th century. It was an era in which a lineage was defined by blood ties and kinship, as well as by the strategies, pacts and alliances forged by its leaders in their social and geographic milieu and around the family assets. The heads of the family line identified with the dominant group, occupied posts and worked in professions in the local and regional bodies of power, and provided services to a lord or to the king, from whom they secured rights and economic profits.

The sphere of influence of the Adán de Yarza lineage, whose family home is in Lekeitio, extended over that village and the civil parishes in the district of Busturia, where its members held posts and worked in professions associated with the administration of justice and the government of the community, at times bestowed by royal grant. These posts were kept within the family and also went to Antonio Adán de Yarza, who was the mayor of the Busturia and Zornotza districts in the 18th century, as well as the provost and first lieutenant of Lekeitio in perpetuity.

Beyond the local and regional sphere, the Adán de Yarza family participated in the formation and subsequent development of the institutions, government and political life of the Lordship of Bizkaia. The General Assemblies of Gernika were already institutionalised by the first half of the 14th century. Via the minutes from the General Assembly held in 1342, we know that it was attended by the lords of Bizkaia, assisted by the mayors of the five districts in that region. The mayors belonged

to the main families in the Lordship, among them the Adán de Yarza family.<sup>2</sup> Later, in 1379, the person who had held the title of Lord of Bizkaia became the King of Castile. Nonetheless, the noblemen of Bizkaia kept up their ties to the lord-king.<sup>3</sup> The Adán de Yarza family provided their services to the successive kings of Castile and participated in the public and political life at the court. In 1476, Rodrigo Adán de Yarza attended the oath of the Lord Consort of Bizkaia, Ferdinand the Catholic, in Gernika [Fig. 54]; Adán de Yarza's wife, María de Muncharaz, was a lady-in-waiting for the Queen Isabel the Catholic, and their son, Francisco, was a page to the queen and served Charles I in the War of the Communities of Castile (1521–1523). Likewise, through marriage he became a kinsman of the houses of Muxica and Butrón, two of the main lineages in mediaeval Bizkaia, along with the Abendaños and the Arteagas.

Two decisive events marked the course of this lineage in the 16th and 17th centuries. First, it carved a solid niche for itself in the institutional and political organisation of the Lordship of Bizkaia; secondly, it secured the transfer of its assets and its social reproduction by entailing the estate of the Adán de Yarza family, as well as through marital alliances.

With regard to the governance of the lordship, the post of deputy, which was elected and appointed by the General Assembly, was endowed with attributions in the 16th century; Francisco Adán de Yarza

1. Arsenio Dacosta Martínez. *Los linajes de Bizkaia en la Baja Edad Media: poder, parentesco y conflicto*. Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, Publishing Service, 2003.

2. Gregorio Monreal Zia. 'El Cuaderno de Juan Núñez de Lara de 1342' in *Historia Iuris: estudios dedicados al profesor Santos M. Coronas González*. 2 vols. Universidad de Oviedo: KRK, 2014, vol. 2, pp. 1039–1066.

3. Iñaki García Camino. 'La formación territorial y espacios políticos de Bizkaia: siglos VIII–XV' in Joseba Agirreazkuenaga Zigorraga (dir.) *Historia de la Diputación Foral de Bizkaia. 1500–2014*, Bilbao: Provincial Council of Bizkaia, 2014, p. 29.



Fig. 54  
Francisco de Mendieta  
*Royal Audience of the Lords of Bizkaia with Ferdinand V in 1476, 1609*  
General Assemblies of Bizkaia

was among those chosen to fill the post (1510).<sup>4</sup> Likewise, members of the family were at the helm of the General Provincial Council of Bizkaia continuously throughout the 17th century,<sup>5</sup> when the general deputies were among the top political authorities within the Lordship of Bizkaia.

The transfer of assets within the family line was secured in 1584, the year the Yarza-Zubieta estate was entailed via a last will and testament dictated in Le-

keitio by Magdalena Adán de Yarza Idiáquez,<sup>6</sup> owner and lady of these assets. Since she had no children, she named her niece Magdalena Adán de Yarza Uribe (Lekeitio, 1580) her sole heiress and tenant in tail, even though she was still a child.

The creation of the entail began by entailing an ancestral house, which was joined by other assets, titles and positions such that the entailed goods could be neither disposed of nor divided by inheritance and instead went to the designated heir in their entirety. This institution enabled the economic status and the power derived from it to be maintained and even grow, while

4. Mikel Zabala Montoya. 'Los orígenes de la Diputación de Bizkaia: de los diputados generales a la Diputación General' in Joseba Agirreazkuenaga Zigorruga (dir.) *Historia de la Diputación Foral de Bizkaia. 1500-2014*, Bilbao: Provincial Council of Bizkaia, 2014, p. 76.

5. Lourdes Etxebarria Orella. 'La formación y desarrollo de la Diputación General de Bizkaia desde la Concordia de 1630 hasta 1700' in Joseba Agirreazkuenaga Zigorruga (dir.) *Historia de la Diputación Foral de Bizkaia. 1500-2014*, Bilbao: Provincial Council of Bizkaia, 2014, pp. 121-122 and 135.

6. The daughter of Martín Adán de Yarza Butrón and Ana Pérez de Idiáquez Lili, a marriage which enabled strong bonds to be forged with one of the oldest and most prestigious families in Gipuzkoa, the Lilis, whose ancestral home was in Zestoa.



Fig. 55  
Palacio de Zubieta, Ispaster, Bizkaia  
Auñamendi Eusko Entziklopedia

assuring the internal cohesion and social reproduction of the family lineage.<sup>7</sup>

Later, the heiress Magdalena Adán de Yarza married Antonio Navarro de Larreategui, who was established at the Court and had held high-level posts serving the Crown since the 16th century. He was a member of the Royal Council during the reign of Philip II, and later the secretary of Philip III and of Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy, Viceroy of Sicily, where he earned the distinction of Patrician of Messina and Citizen of Palermo. This latter post was also occupied by his son,

7. With the enactment of the last law on entails 19 August 1841, they were permanently abolished. Bartolomé Clavero. *Mayorazgo: propiedad feudal en Castilla (1369-1836)*. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1974, pp. 381-392.

Antonio Adán de Yarza Larreategui, who in turn had an intense political career in the General Provincial Council of Bizkaia until his death in 1676, when he was succeeded by his son Antonio Jacinto Adán de Yarza Axpe in his post as general deputy.

In the 18th century, the assets of the entail were bolstered with the union of Josefa Jacinta Adán de Yarza Zaldívar (Lekeitio, 1687-1768) and Miguel Vélez de Larrea Llona (Bilbao, 1657-1723), who were married in Andújar (Jaén) in 1710. The Vélez de Larrea ancestral home was located in Oñati (Gipuzkoa), but its assets also extended to Bilbao and its environs. In addition to the Palacio de Urgoiti (Galdakao, Bizkaia), the family assets now also included the Palacio de Zubieta (Ispaster), which was built in the early 18th

century around a former tower that kept watch over the road and neighbouring river [Fig. 55].<sup>8</sup>

Miguel Vélez de Larrea was a consul in the Consulate of Seville, and he set out for Mexico, where he lived for several years and amassed a considerable fortune. In the Americas, he oversaw a complicated royal assignment for which he was named a Knight of the Order of Saint James. Later, once he was established at court, he was a founding member, prefect and 'benefactor' of the Royal Congregation of Saint Ignatius of Loyola of the Basques in Madrid. In this congregation, his surname Vélez de Larrea appeared alongside the names of other notables who occupied important posts in secretaries, ministries and royal armies, specifically Juan Bautista Orendáin, Marquis of La Paz; Sebastián de la Cuadra, Marquis of Villarías; and Joaquín Ignacio Barrenechea, first Marquis of El Puerto.<sup>9</sup>

Around the same dates, prominent figures from what was called the 'Biscayne party' at court were serving the Lordship of Bizkaia. Miguel Vélez de Larrea served as a deputy of this Lordship at court and engaged in close negotiations with the government during the reign of Philip V.<sup>10</sup> In 1722, he was charged with negotiating the application of the decree by which regional custom duties were restored, along with Pedro Bernardo Villarreal de Bériz.

In 1729–1730, Josefa Jacinta Adán de Yarza, using the power to make a will which Miguel Vélez de Larrea conferred on her prior to his death, entailed the estate of the Adán de Yarza Vélez de Larrea, and she set out its line of succession, prioritising the males. Due to the death of

the first two sons, Antonio (1734) and Miguel (1743), the entail passed to Fernando Adán de Yarza. From the house of Vélez de Larrea, the property lying in the village of Oñati was added, as well as the houses in Galdakao, Bedia, Zaratamo, Amorebieta-Etxano, Larrabezua, Lezama and Begoña in the Lordship of Bizkaia.

### **Fernando Adán de Yarza and Bernarda Tavira**

Fernando Adán de Yarza married Bernarda Tavira Cerón (Antequera, Málaga, 1727–Madrid, 1797), the daughter of Ana Cerón Tellez-Girón de la Cueva<sup>11</sup> and José Tavira Osorio Zaldívar, first Marquis of Cerro de la Cabeza. In 1698, Charles II granted the marquisate of Cerro de la Cabeza to Diego Alonso de Tavira Osorio Piédrola, a native of Andújar (Jaén) and one of his gentleman-in-waiting.<sup>12</sup> He was married to Teresa Brígida Zaldívar,<sup>13</sup> who had been born in Vitoria in 1661 and was the daughter of Ana María Ortiz de Landazuri and Diego Zaldívar, Count of Saucedilla.<sup>14</sup>

Teresa Brígida Zaldívar had previously been married: first to Antonio Jacinto Adán de Yarza Axpe in Vitoria in 1686, and they had a daughter, Josefa Jacinta Adán de Yarza Zaldívar (Lekeitio, 1687), who was the tenant in tail of the Yarza-Zubieta estate; and secondly to José Manrique de Arana, Marquis of Villa Alegre, in Vitoria in 1688. Later, Josefa Jacinta Adán de Yarza Zaldívar and José Tavira Osorio Zaldívar, who

8. Jaione Velilla Iriondo. 'Palacio de Zubieta' in *Ondare: cuadernos de artes plásticas y monumentales*, San Sebastian, no. 12, 1994, pp. 173–208.

9. Alberto Angulo Morales. 'La Diputación General de Bizkaia: tiempos de guerras y negociaciones (1700–1750)' in Joseba Agirreazkue-naga Zigorraga (dir.) *Historia de la Diputación Foral de Bizkaia. 1500–2014*, Bilbao: Provincial Council of Bizkaia, 2014, pp. 148–154.

10. Ibid. pp. 148–157.

11. Who had first been married to Juan Ignacio Bernuy y Enríquez de Cabrera, 3rd Marquis of Benamejí.

12. Enrique Toral and Fernández de Peñaranda. 'La concesión del Marquesado del Cerro de la Cabeza' in *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses*, Jaén, no. 93, 1977, pp. 9–52.

13. José Carlos de Torres Martínez. 'El Mayorazgo fundado por Cristóbal de Piédrola y su mujer Isabel Palomino de Arjona (1525)' in *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses*, Jaén, no. 202, 2010, p. 137.

14. The title of Count of Saucedilla was granted in 1689 to Diego Zaldívar Fernández, born in Briviesca in 1637, Admiral of the Fleet of Nueva España, Admiral of the Fleet of the Armada de la Guardia y Carrera de las Indias.

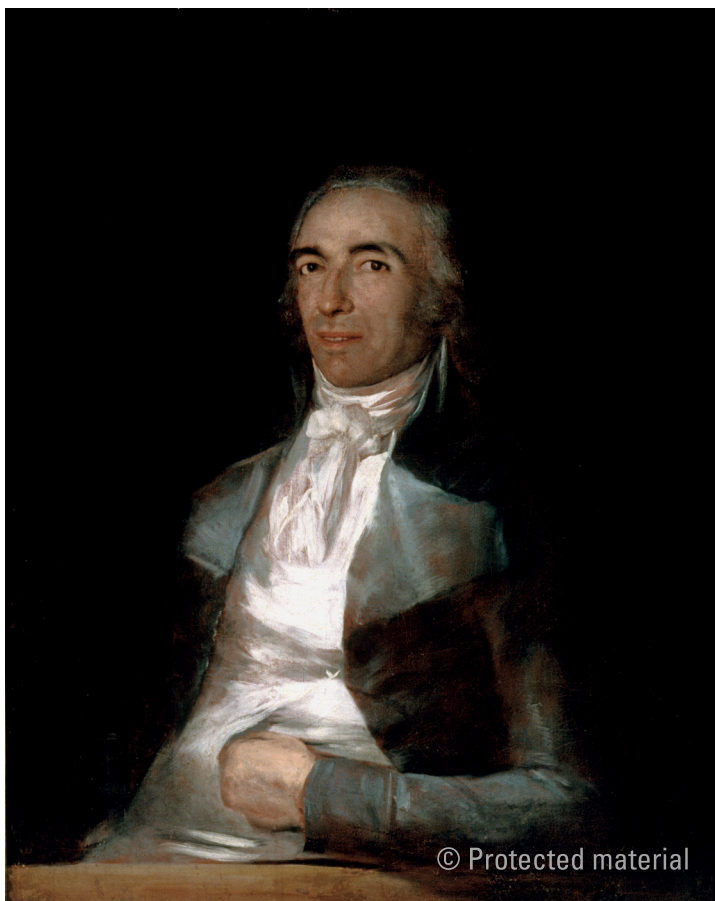


Fig. 56  
Francisco de Goya  
*The Marquis of Castrofuerte*, c. 1804–1808  
Musée des Beaux Arts de Montréal, 173 (45,954)

were half-siblings, married their respective children as a strategy to preserve their assets.

Bernarda Tavira and Fernando Adán de Yarza, an infantry captain in the Infantry of the Regiment of the Queen and Knight of the Order of Saint John, lived in Valladolid, where Fernando's brother, José, also resided. The two brothers had an intense social and cultural life in that city with a courtly past, the site of the Royal Audience and Chancellery. They were the founding members of the Geographical-Historical

Academy of Voluntary Knights of Valladolid,<sup>15</sup> where they mingled with notables and personalities from the Enlightened culture, such as the Marquises of Castrofuerte [Fig. 56], who were painted by Goya<sup>16</sup>, Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, as well as Father Enrique Flórez.

15. Marcelino Gutiérrez del Caño. *Apuntes para la historia de la Academia Geográfico-Histórica de Caballeros Voluntarios de Valladolid*. Valladolid: Imprenta y Librería Nacional y Extranjera de los Hijos de Rodríguez, Libreros de la Universidad y del Instituto, 1889.

16. The future Marquises of Castrofuerte were portrayed by Francisco de Goya in around 1804–1808. Pierre Gassier and Juliet Wilson. *Vie et oeuvre de Francisco de Goya*. Fribourg: Office du livre, Paris: Vilo, 1970, pp. 167 and 199.



Fig. 57  
 José Cebrián García  
*Former Seminary of Nobles, Today Military Hospital, 1864*  
 Biblioteca Nacional de España, ER/5116 (31)

The couple had three children, all born in Valladolid: Antonio (1761), Ignacio (1763) and Vicente, who died as a child. After the death of Fernando Adán de Yarza (1766) in 1771, his brother José, the guardian of the minors, asked that Antonio and Ignacio be admitted

to the Royal Seminary of Nobles of Madrid [Fig. 57],<sup>17</sup> a school for the elite. The requirement for admission was being a member of the inherited nobility, which required reports from witnesses. Those who accredited the noble blood of the boys' family were Francisco Vil-

17. Archivo Histórico Nacional. Universidades, 672, file 29. See Jacques Soubeyroux. 'El Real Seminario de Nobles de Madrid y la formación de las élites en el siglo XVIII' in *Bulletin Hispanique*, vol. 97, no. 1, 1995, pp. 13–32; Francisco Andújar Castillo. 'El Seminario de Nobles de Madrid en el siglo XVIII: un estudio social' in *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna. Anejos*, Madrid, no. 3, 2004, pp. 201–225; Álvaro Chaparro Sáinz, Andoni Artola Renedo. 'El entorno de los alumnos del Real Seminario de Nobles de Madrid (1727–1808): elementos para una prosopografía relacional' in José María Imízcoz Beunza, Álvaro Chaparro Sáinz (eds.) *Educación, redes y producción de élites en el siglo XVIII*. Madrid: Sílex, 2013, pp. 177–200.

larreal de Bériz, a native of Lekeitio, from the Council of His Majesty and his auditor in the Royal Chancellery of Valladolid; José Fernando Barrenechea,<sup>18</sup> a Knight of the Order of Saint James, 2nd Marquis of Puerto and under-steward to the king; and Manuel de Salcedo y Castillo, from the Council of His Majesty and his auditor in the Royal Chancellery of Valladolid, all of them sons of the Lordship of Bizkaia. The brothers of José de Toro Zambrano,<sup>19</sup> [Fig. 12] the director of the Banco de San Carlos painted by Goya<sup>20</sup>, also entered the Royal Seminary of Nobles along with the Adán de Yarza sons.

Antonio Adán de Yarza remained at the Royal Seminary until 1781. Two years later, his uncle and guardian, José Vélez de Larrea, died, and he bound all of his assets and properties to the entailed estate, including two houses in Bilbao and two in Madrid. That same year, 1783, Antonio entered the Royal Cavalry Ar-

moury of Granada<sup>21</sup> and secured a royal license to administer his assets, given that he had not yet reached full adulthood, which was 25 years old at the time. Likewise, he became the guardian and caregiver of his brother Ignacio. He immediately began to manage his assets and he moved to Bilbao, where he lived throughout 1784, directly overseeing the administration of his assets.<sup>22</sup> He was also a shareholder in the Banco de San Carlos almost since it was founded.<sup>23</sup>

#### Antonio Adán de Yarza and Ramona Barbachano

Antonio Adán de Yarza Tavira and Ramona de Barbachano Arbaiza were married on 19 December 1787 in San Juan Bautista parish church in Mondragón (Gipuzkoa).<sup>24</sup> It was a marital bond in which 'blue and red blood' merged, that is, a family whose income depended upon rural, proto-industrial properties (foundries and mills) united with one from the commercial bourgeoisie. That same year, his brother Ignacio married María Villafañé,<sup>25</sup> the daughter of María Luisa Andreu and Manuel Villafañé, a member of His Majesty's Council in the Royal Council of Castile, Knight of the Order of Charles III, associate judge of the Royal Stables and director of the Real Estudios Superiores de Madrid college, whose

18. José Fernando Barrenechea, born in Bilbao in 1708, was the son of Juana Josefa Novia de Salcedo y de Barco, and of Joaquín Ignacio Barrenechea Erquiñigo, 1st Marquis of Puerto, Knight of the Order of Calatrava, member of the Treasury Council and envoy of Philip V to the Soissons congress (1728–1729). He married Ana María Morante de la Madrid y Castejón, 3rd marchioness of La Solana, and they had a daughter, Rita Nicolasa Barrenechea Morante (Bilbao, 1757–Madrid, 1795), 4th marchioness of La Solana and Countess of Carpio, whose portrait, painted by Goya, is in the Louvre. When her mother died in 1761, father and daughter moved to Valladolid to live. In 1775 she was married, moved to Barcelona and later lived in Madrid. Her residence in the capital, on Calle Jacometrezo, very close of the residence of Antonio Adán de Yarza, was the centre of an aristocratic salon. She frequently stayed in Bilbao. See Inmaculada Urzainqui. *"Catalin" de Rita de Barrenechea y otras voces de mujeres en el siglo XVIII*, Vitoria: Ararteko, 2006 [preliminary study].

19. Archivo Histórico Nacional. Universidades, record 1314.

20. Nigel Glendinning and José Miguel Medrano. *Goya y el Banco Nacional de San Carlos: retratos de los primeros directores y accionistas*. Madrid: Banco de España, 2005, p. 97; Xabier Bray. *Goya: The portraits*. [exhibition catalogue] London: National Gallery Company Limited, 2015, pp. 57–59, fig. 28.

21. Inmaculada Arias de Saavedra Alias. *Estatutos y ordenanzas de la Real Maestranza de la ciudad de Granada*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2005; Jorge Valverde Fraikin. *Catálogo general de caballeros y damas de la Real Maestranza de Caballería de Granada (1686–1995)*. Granada: Comares, 1995, p. 131.

22. Archivo Histórico Provincial de Bizkaia. Notariales. Dionisio Albóniga, 2814 (1784).

23. Archivo Histórico del Banco de España. Secretaría. Box 884.

24. Historical Diocesan Archive of San Sebastian (AHDSS for its acronym in Spanish) pressmark 134200101-0262. Judging from the dispensation of the wedding banns, it must have been held urgently for some reason, perhaps the death of Ramona Barbachano's father on 18 December of the same year, that is, one day before the wedding.

25. María Ángeles Ortego Agustín. *Familia y matrimonio en la España del siglo XVIII: ordenamiento jurídico y situación de las mujeres a través de la documentación notarial*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1999, pp. 306–307 (doctoral thesis).



Fig. 58  
François Hubert according to a painting by Francisco de Goya  
*Portrait of Manuel de Villafañe*, 1791  
Biblioteca Nacional de España, IH/9812

portrait, also painted by Goya, is only known via an engraving by François Hubert [Fig. 58].<sup>26</sup>

Ramona Barbachano (Bilbao, 1760–1834)<sup>27</sup> was the daughter of José Antonio Barbachano Labrostegui

26. Pierre Gassier and Juliet Wilson. *Vie et oeuvre de Francisco de Goya*. Fribourg: Office du livre, Paris: Vilo, 1970, pp. 100 and 374.

27. Ecclesiastical Archive of Bizkaia (AHEB for its acronym in Spanish), pressmark 068300100-0129; pressmark 069400400-0122.

and María Josefa Arbaiza Berroeta. The Barbachano family had lived in Bilbao in the 1630s, where they established several family-owned companies and marital bonds with prominent families (Gardoqui, Mez-corta, Viar, Ardanaz) within Bilbao's merchant class. The company worked primarily in imports, which it sold in London, Hamburg, Bordeaux, Nantes, Exeter and Amsterdam, and it reached its peak earnings in the first half of the 18th century. In around 1735 and 1745, the Barbachano family were the city's leading



Fig. 59  
Thomas Morony  
View of the City of Bilbao in the Lordship of Bizkaia, 1784  
Euskal Museoa-Bilbao-Museo Vasco

merchants [Figs. 59 and 60].<sup>28</sup> As such, they secured positions in its government and in the Consulate of Bilbao. In the latter institution, José Antonio Barbachano, Antonio Adán de Yarza's father-in-law, was consul (1756), court representative (1763–1764) and prior (1769 and 1783). His brother, José Honorato Barbachano, became the head of the Secretariat of the War Council in Madrid.

Ramona Barbachano was the widow of Vicente Antonio Icuza Arbaiza (Errenteria, 1737–Santa Marta,

Colombia, 1785),<sup>29</sup> who was her cousin and the privateer captain of the Royal Guipuzcoan Company, where he started to serve in 1757. Later, in 1783, the year he married in Bilbao,<sup>30</sup> he went into the royal service and was promoted to lieutenant colonel in the Infantry. He died in Colombia. Because the couple had no children, Ramona Barbachano inherited 20,000 pesos and properties in Errenteria and Oiartzun (Gipuzkoa).<sup>31</sup>

28. Aingeru Zabala Uriarte. *Mundo urbano y actividad mercantil, Bilbao 1700–1810*. 9 vol. Bilbao: Bilbao Bizkaia Kutxa, 1994, vol. IX (Colección Biblioteca de Historia del Pueblo Vasco).

29. Vicente de Amezaga Aresti. *Vicente Antonio de Icuza, comandante de corsarios*. Caracas: Ed. del Cuatricentenario, 1966.

30. Ecclesiastical Archive of Bizkaia (AHEB for its acronym in Spanish), pressmark 068900100-0025 and 0026.

31. Archivo Histórico de Euskadi-Euskadiko Artxibo Historikoa. Archivo de la Casa de Ramery. Will of Vicente Icuza 6.12.1785.



Fig. 60  
Luis Paret y Alcázar  
*View of El Arenal in Bilbao*, c. 1783–1784  
Bilbao Fine Arts Museum. Deposit from the Provincial Council of Bizkaia given by BBV in 1996

The new Adán de Yarza-Barbachano family was established under very solid economic conditions. The assets managed by Antonio Adán de Yarza in Bizkaia included:<sup>32</sup> real estate in Bilbao, which enabled him to enjoy generous urban rents, specifically two houses on Calle Bidebarrieta and another on Calle de Jardines, in addition to a fourth one in the bordering

jurisdiction of Begoña in the Atxuri neighbourhood;<sup>33</sup> the income from the Yarza tower house (Lekeitio) and the Palacio de Zubietta; farmhouses in Mendexa, Natxitua, Gizaburuaga, Ibarrangelu, Ereño, Arteaga and Bedarona; farmhouses in Amoroto, in addition to the Zubietta foundry and a mill; and farmhouses in Galdakao, which was also the site of the Palacio de Urgoiti, the foundry by the same name and a mill, as well as in Larrabetzu and Zornotza. Antonio Adán de Yarza also earned tithes from his sole patronage of the churches of Ereño, San Jesús de Ea and Bedarona; his co-patronage of the churches of Ibarrangelu, San Juan

32. Archivo Histórico Foral de Bizkaia. AHFB. Administración de Bizkaia. Seguridad Pública, Guerras y Servicio Militar AQ01359/015, AQ01506/020, AQ00875/003, AQ01506/023, AQ01590/073. Archivo Histórico Nacional. Agrupación de Fondos de Consejos Suprimidos. Cámara de Castilla. Viudedades. record 1343/file 13.

33. Jaime de Kerexeta. *Fogueraciones de Bizkaia del siglo XVIII*. Bilbao: Instituto Labayru: Bilbao Bizkaia Kutxa, 1992, pp. 542 and 521.

de Ea, Natxitua and Akorda; and one-third of the patronage of the Lekeitio parish church and the five civil parishes associated with it (Amoroto, Bedarona, Gizaburuaga, Ispaster and Mendexa). Furthermore, as the provost of Lekeitio, he had the right to earn 2.5% of the commercial transactions conducted in that port, which was overseen by the Guild of Navigators.

They were joined by the properties located in Álava, Gipuzkoa and Madrid. Document sources from 1790 attest that he earned around 95,635 reales per year (calculation of the average in the past five years after deducting the expenses for maintenance and repairs) just from the goods from the entailed estate that Antonio Adán de Yarza owned in Lekeitio, Bilbao and its environs, Vitoria, Oñati and Madrid.<sup>34</sup> In addition, he earned the income from another 50,000 reales invested personally in shares of the Banco de San Carlos. He was also a shareholder in the Real Compañía de Filipinas through an inheritance he received from his wife.

Ramona Barbachano, in turn, brought the significant amount of 220,000 reales to the marriage and added the assets she had inherited from her first marriage and all sorts of goods and valuables which totalled 835,193 reales.<sup>35</sup>

The newlywed Adán de Yarza-Barbachanos set their residence in the heart of the Madrid district of Madrid de los Austrias, on Calle Cruz Verde (San Martín parish), where their only son, Fernando (Madrid, 1788–Lekeitio, 1834), was born.<sup>36</sup> The first signs of a desire to live in Bilbao came that same year, when they

shipped several boxes and chests containing clothing and silver from Madrid to Bilbao; there is another customs report in Orduña from 1790. In 1794, they must have made the permanent move to Bilbao,<sup>37</sup> where they lived on Calle Bidebarrieta, one of the main residential streets in bourgeois Bilbao.<sup>38</sup>

From then on, Antonio Adán de Yarza was intensely involved in politics and the public administration, earning him a great deal of prestige both locally in Bilbao and throughout Bizkaia as a whole. After his time as councillor in City Hall (1800, 1805 and 1808), he played an active role in the French occupation of the town from 16 August 1808 until 19 September of the same year. He was a member of the town's provisional government, appointed by the Royal Order dated 24 August issued by the Minister of the Navy, Domingo Mazarredo.<sup>39</sup> At that time, he was injured by a bayonet when trying to deliver a text from the Provincial Council to the French military commanders and suffered significant losses in his assets.<sup>40</sup> That same year, he participated in the commission held in

37. Judging from the power he granted to his representatives to earn interest from shares and incomes from his houses in Madrid, which were sent exclusively from Bilbao or Lekeitio. Archivo Histórico del Banco de España. Secretaría. Box 884.

38. This street was also the home to the Palacio Mazarredo, the residence of the family by the same name and the birthplace of José Domingo Mazarredo Gortazar, lieutenant general in the Spanish Navy, who was painted by Francisco de Goya. Under the reign of Joseph Bonaparte, he was appointed Minister of the Navy, a post he held from 1808 to 1812, and one of his first provisions led Antonio Adán de Yarza to become part of the provisional government of the village of Bilbao. An Enlightenment man of the era, he participated in the talks held by the Countess of Montijo, along with other notable figures like Jovellanos, Francisco Cabarrús, Mariano Luis de Urquijo and Goya himself.

39. Joseba Agirreazkuenaga Zigorraga; Susana Serrano Abad. *Viaje por el poder en el Ayuntamiento de Bilbao, 1799–1999*. Bilbao: Culture and Tourism Department, 1999, p. 187.

40. Juan Gracia Cárcamo. 'Adán de Yarza y Tavira, Antonio' in Joseba Agirreazkuenaga (dir.) *Diccionario biográfico de los diputados generales, burócratas y patricios de Bizkaia (1800–1876)*. Bilbao: Juntas Generales de Bizkaia, 1995, p. 56.

34. National Historical Archive. Agrupación de Fondos de Consejos Suprimidos. Cámara de Castilla. Viudedades. record 1343/file 13.

35. Archivo Histórico de Euskadi-Euskakiko Artxibo Historikoa. Archivo de la Casa de Ramery. Marriage contract between Ramona Barbachano and Antonio Adán de Yarza 19.08.1791.

36. The death was also registered in Bilbao. Ecclesiastical Archive of Bizkaia (AHEB for its acronym in Spanish), pressmark 069400400-0135 and 251800100-0109.

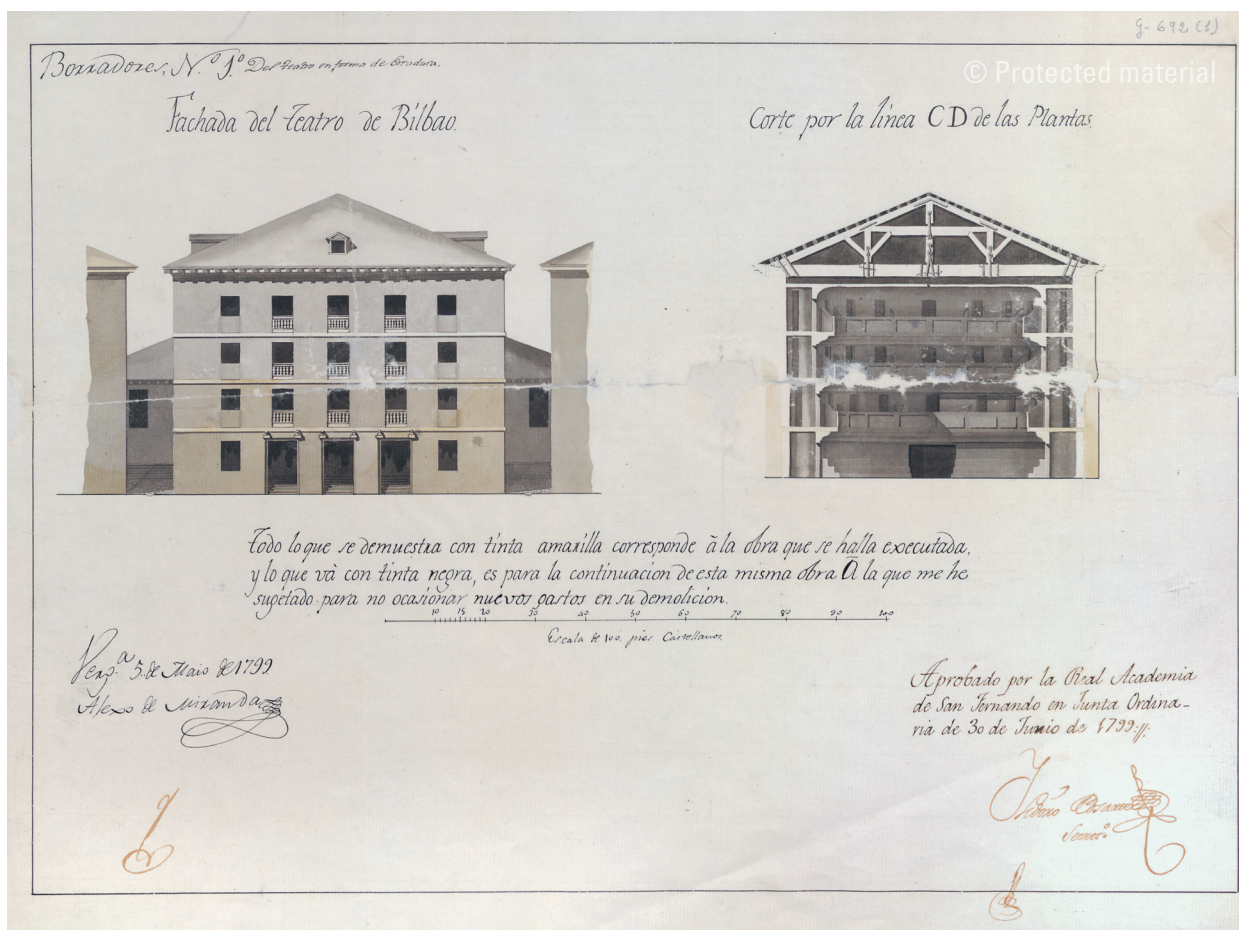


Fig. 61  
The Teatro de Comedias on Calle Ronda, 1799  
Archivo Histórico Foral de Bizkaia

Vitoria to meet with Ferdinand VII in order for the monarch to confirm the *fueros* [regional code of laws] of Bizkaia and was the representative of the City of Bilbao in the General Assembly. Likewise, he was also one of the notables elected by the Provincial Council to advise Juan José María Yandiola in his representation of Bizkaia in the Assembly of Bayonne. In 1809, he and Yandiola were appointed deputies at the court to personally express the General Council's loyalty to Joseph I and to the Constitution of Bayonne (1808). That same year, he joined the Subsistence Board created to provide supplies to Napoleon's imperial troops.

The Government of Bizkaia (including Álava, Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa) was created by Imperial Decree in Paris dated 8 February 1810, and General Pierre Thouvenot was appointed governor. That same year, he appointed Antonio Adán de Yarza a member of the Board of Intendants of Bizkaia.<sup>41</sup> One year later, he served as the police magistrate in charge of ensuring the public order and organising the pertinent services. In 1812, he was a member of the Stewardship Council of Bizkaia for several months. In a secret report written for Napoleon, he appeared among

41. Ibid. p. 57.

the most influential people *qui ont de la naissance*.<sup>42</sup> He received the Cross of the Royal Order of Spain from the government of Joseph I.

He ceased participating in the City Hall of Bilbao at the end of the Napoleonic occupation, but returned to city politics during the Liberal Triennium. He was once again councillor in the City Hall in 1820 and 1821; two years later, he was appointed member of the city's Public Works Board. In the meantime, his son, Fernando Adán de Yarza Barbachano, participated as a councillor in the City Hall in 1819, and he was later a member of the Board of Charity of the Santa Casa de Misericordia (1833).

He also stood out for promoting and developing the sciences, the humanities and the arts. In 1784, Antonio Adán de Yarza was a supernumerary member of the Royal Basque Society of Friends of the Country.<sup>43</sup> He was one of the promoters of the first theatre to exist in Bilbao, built in 1799 and called the Coliseo<sup>44</sup> [Fig. 61], and his residence on Calle Bidebarrieta was the venue of enlightened, encyclopaedist and liberal salons. The inventory of goods embargoed from the family during the First Carlist War include a list of books in the Palacio de Zubieta which hint at the extensive, rich and varied library that the Adán de Yarza family had assembled.<sup>45</sup> It included titles in Latin and French, in addition to works

spanning a wide variety of topics (French and English grammar, politics, history, botany, theology, travel, etc.)

Antonio Adán de Yarza died in Bilbao on 3 January 1835. Months earlier, his son Fernando had died, such that the entail passed to his grandson Carlos Adán de Yarza Cenica. The line remained prominent in Bizkaia's institutions and in the Bilbao City Hall until the 19th century. Carlos Adán de Yarza Cenica was a provincial and general deputy and held the title of Father of the Province of the Lordship of Bizkaia (1846–1848),<sup>46</sup> the latter an extraordinarily prominent honorific appointment. He was also the mayor of Bilbao from 1856–1858. Subsequently, his son Mario Adán de Yarza Torre Lequerica was the second general deputy in the last Provincial Council, which was dissolved by the Royal Order dated 5 May 1877, after the Abolition of the Fueros Act (1876).

42. Román Basurto Larrañaga. 'Linajes y fortunas mercantiles de Bilbao del siglo XVIII' in *Itsas memoria: revista de estudios marítimos del País Vasco*. San Sebastian, no. 4, 2003, p. 343.

43. Julián Martínez Ruiz. *Catálogo general de individuos de la R.S.B. de los Amigos del País (1765–1793)*. San Sebastian: Sociedad Guipuzcoana de Ediciones y Publicaciones, 1985, p. 19.

44. Alberto Santana Ezquerria. 'La racionalidad de la arquitectura neoclásica bilbaína: soluciones para una ciudad ahogada' in J. M. González Cembellín; A. R. Ortega Berruguete (eds.) *Bilbao, arte eta historia = Bilbao, arte e historia*. Bilbao: Provincial Council of Bizkaia, Culture Department, vol. 1, pp. 270–271.

45. Archivo Histórico Foral de Bizkaia. AHFB/BFAH. Administración de Bizkaia. Seguridad Pública, Guerras y Servicio Militar AQ01506/023.

46. Juan Gracia Cárcamo. 'Adán de Yarza y Tavira, Antonio' in Joseba Agirreazkuenaga (dir.) *Diccionario biográfico de los diputados generales, burócratas y patricios de Bizkaia (1800–1876)*. Bilbao: General Assembly of Bizkaia, 1995, pp. 54–55. See too Joseba Agirreazkuenaga (dir.) and Susana Serrano Abad. *Bilbao desde sus alcaldes: diccionario biográfico de los alcaldes de Bilbao y gestión municipal en tiempos de revolución liberal e industrial*. Bilbao: City Council, Culture and Tourism Department, 2002, vol. 1 (1836–1901), pp. 293–315.

# MARÍA ADÁN DE YARZA: A STORY OF WAR, ART AND EXILE

FRANCISCO JAVIER MUÑOZ FERNÁNDEZ

*In memory of those who did not come back*

### War, art and exile

With the Spanish Civil War, the artistic treasures of the Basque Country suffered disparate fates: some were moved so they could be protected, some were evacuated to France, some were seized, others disappeared, and yet others were retrieved and restored to their owners. This happened to the artistic assets of María Adán de Yarza, whose story could exemplify the travails of many private individuals and institutions during those years of fear and uncertainty.

The government of the Basque Country, which was established in Bilbao on 7 October 1936, assigned its Directorate General of Fine Arts the task of safeguarding the artistic treasures in the region under its jurisdiction. The Directorate General decided to store some of the assets from institutions and private individuals in different repositories it set up in Bilbao, including a selection of artworks owned by María Adán de Yarza, in which were removed from her residence, the Palacio de Zubieta, near Lekeitio. In the meantime, taking advantage of the Paris International Expo in 1937, where the Basque Country would have its own section within the Spanish pavilion, the Directorate General of Fine Arts planned to hold a series of contemporary art exhibitions in different French cities, so it needed some of the works it was holding in Bilbao; therefore, it began to send some of them to Paris. Nonetheless, given the impending fall and possible destruction of Bilbao during the Spanish Civil War, the Basque government made a sudden decision to evacuate part of the artistic heritage it was protecting to France. In this way, it could also be used in future international art shows. The works evacuated included the collections of institutions like the Bilbao Modern Art Museum, the Church and several private individuals, specifically three portraits from the Palacio de Zubieta. Just like many others, María Adán de Yarza pursued a parallel course and went into exile in Biarritz, most likely with the intention of returning to her home eventually, although she never did go back.

### María Adán de Yarza and the Palacio de Zubieta

María Adán de Yarza was born in Bilbao in 1883<sup>1</sup> and lived with her parents, Mario Adán de Yarza and Teresa Mazarredo, in the family home in Zubieta with Cristina Morrissey as her companion, an English governess with whom she most likely perfected her English, added to her knowledge of French and Basque. In fact, in her home she listened to English broadcasters and frequently received the newspaper *L'Echo de Paris*.

The family's residence was famous for its architecture, which dated from the 18th century, and especially for its garden, which harboured a wide variety of species.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, during the summertime, Queen Isabel II often visited the palace, and in those years so did Empress Zita of Austria and her family. María Adán de Yarza lost her parents in 1920 and 1927. Her father died first, and seven years later her mother passed away, leaving her a vast inheritance that also included numerous works of art, which she herself oversaw. The works of art kept at the palace included several by Luca Giordano and three portraits of family ancestors by Francisco de Goya, specifically the portraits of An-

1. Baptism certificate of María Adán de Yarza in the parish Señor Santiago de Bilbao, dated 15 December 1883. Ecclesiastical Archive of Bizkaia (AHEB for its acronym in Spanish). Book 074200300, p. 113.

2. Antonio Cavanilles. *Lequeitio en 1857*. Madrid: Imprenta de J. de Martin de Alegría, 1858, pp. 127–130; Juan E. Delmas. *Guía histórico-descriptiva del viajero en el Señorío de Vizcaya*. Bilbao: Imprenta y Litografía de Juan E. Delmas, 1864, pp. 157–158; 'Palacio de Zubieta' in *La Vasconia: revista ilustrada*, Buenos Aires, no. 12, 30 January 1894, pp. 141–142; Jaione Velilla Iriondo. 'Palacio de Zubieta' in *Cuadernos de sección: artes plásticas y monumentales*, (San Sebastian), no. 12, 1994, pp. 173–208; Joseba Agirreazkuenaga, Susana Serrano. *Bilbao desde sus alcaldes: diccionario biográfico de los alcaldes de Bilbao y gestión municipal: vol. 1: ...en tiempos de revolución liberal e industrial: 1836–1901*. Bilbao: City Council, Culture and Tourism Department, 2002, pp. 293 and forward. Joseba Agirreazkuenaga (dir.) *Diccionario biográfico de los diputados generales, burócratas y patriotas de Bizkaia (1800–1876)*. (Gernika-Lumo) The General Assemblies of Bizkaia, 1995, pp. 54–58.

# LOS CUADROS DE GOYA EN VIZCAYA

## LA SEÑORA DEL PALACIO DE ZUBIETA

Por Fernando de la Cuadra Salcedo  
(Marqués de las Castillas)

Entre los tesoros artísticos que se encuentran en Vizcaya, es uno de los menos conocidos el que visitamos en Lezquitio recientemente, y que guardan con la estima adecuada los señores de Adán de Yarra en el Palacio de Zubieta, jurisdicción de Ibañeta.

Se trata de tres preciosos lienzos del tumuloso artista Francisco de Goya y Lucientes. Aunque de ellos se han noticia en alguna que otra obra, no se han reproducido que sepamos, pues en catálogos, revistas y obras *af* los hemos hallado las efígies de los personajes pintados, de los cuales damos hoy noticia y reproducción.

*D.<sup>a</sup> María Ramona de Barbachano, Señora del Palacio de Zubieta, por Goya (1789).*

*D. Bernardo de Tavira y Cirín, Cuervo, por Goya (1789).*

Ya el año 1927, en el *Noticiero Billaín*, hicimos examen de estos cuadros así como de otros del pintor Goya, cuya naturaleza naciera estudiamos, no sólo por su apellido Goya, sino por el legítimo apellido de su padre, tercero del pintor las eslabones como *Aguiñaga*. Aludamos que el padre de Goya se mudó a secular en Zaragoa en San Fermín de los Navarros, así como otros

*D. Anatoles Adán de Yarra, por Goya (1789).*

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de Barbachan y en la diestra organizando con su pulgita una corteja real, que bien puede ser la bregala de los Prebostes de Lequeitio y seguramente el sello con las armas señoriales de los señores, para sellar sus despachos.

¿Cuándo nació Goyra? Este retrato excepcional ¿Que significación tiene dentro de la pintura de Goyra?

Nuestro honrado amigo Aureliano Berrete y Martí, arrancado a la vida en los fueros de sus estudios, nos dejó como testamento literario su obra admirable sobre *Goyra prior de Barretos y Goyra Compositores y Figureas y Goyra Cayriches*, además de otras muchas producciones, y compiladas sus obras sacras de este cuadro, pues es el único que nos llega a conocer, aunque no a reproducir, seguramente nuestro somero análisis.

Cuando Berrete escribió el tomo primero y lo publicó en el año de 1896, no conocía la obra de Goyra. Lequeitio y al mismo tiempo se limita a catalogar los tres Goyras en su primer tomo en las páginas 174, acunando los nombres y los colores y el lugar y el pergamino, III de su quirente, 1911, al publicar sus *Composiciones y Figureas en el capitulo de Adiciones a Goyra* en el primer de retratos, dice: «En mi obra anterior citaba tres retratos en propiedad de don Manuel Aguir de Yzeta, en Zolaita, Lequeitio... y primer tomo, con su posterioridad a la publicación de su primer tomo, para poder publicar la noticia y el referente».

Los interesantes de esta advertencia citamos en que Berrete al dividir en páginas la obra de Goyra, siguiendo el sistema de otros autores, había señalado la época de los griegos entre el año 1790 y 1800, comprendiendo la producción de los griegos en el año 1794, cuando se vio el Oyre y las Goyras vicisitudes, debido de quedar un poco perplejo, por cuanto no conocía el arte de estos retratos con las fechas de los mismos, auxiliados a su cronología de los griegos.

Los cuadros eran de 1790, appearing mismo, y estaban en la plenitud del temperamento de Goyra.

El retrato se impuso una reimpresión, no se hizo, quizá expresamente por razones decapacitantes. La sensación que el dibujo de pro-

por tal era crítico entre sus, ya está revelada cuando dice: «Visto griego original y, en cierto modo, antecedente de otros Goyras antiguos y posteriores, refulgentes a nuestra dama».

Y hablando del bello de don Bernardo de Yzeta, exclama: «Nota griega de los mismos, y más griego de Goyra. El interés de este retrato se debe a la técnica fine griega».

Como lo Berrete había señalado la fecha de 1790 para la institución de los griegos y se halla con obsequios Berrete griego de este tipo, habbo de aceptar un retrato y por tanto quedaba explicado otros retratos que halla en su obra como pri-

Por ello, para corroborar una fecha con las tres retratos, podemos retratar su situación, y así dice, hablando de otro sillón de don Bernardo: «Parece este retrato posterior a los cuadros en la misma oropelada, lo creo algo posterior al año 1790».

El hecho es, que a laeger por la edad de los retratos y por los hechos familiares, como el consumo ceremonial de la dama doña Ramona María de Barbachan, ocurridos en el año 1792 habierran

estos retratos de pintarse con anterioridad todos ellos al año 1790.

Pero no es esto solo, es que se trata de unos lienzos que han alcanzado, dentro de los griegos, su plenitud, y para nosotros que los hemos estudiado seriamente formando un capítulo aparte en la historia de la obra de Goyra.

No hemos hallado, en cuantos cuadros conocemos o en sus originales o en reproducción del griego antiguo, ninguno que parezca al retrato al cuadro que hoy reproducimos en cuanto a la composición, aunque en cuanto a la técnica habierran trabajado con otros como el de Juanita Maravero y el de Goyra en la colección Havemeyer y el de donña Tades Arta de Yzeta y al cual el de la Marquesa de Fontvieille 1790.

Siendo para nosotros una obra obvia señalar que el Goyra el retrato de la vicatida doña Rita Barbachan y Norcia de Salcedo, Marquesa de la Solita, que parece ser del año 1790, a hallamos

*Vestida próspera y lacada  
principal del  
manservillado palacio de  
Zubizarra*

datos de la tierra sobre esta extreme. Los autores que Goya trazo su permanencia en Leizor, por una tradición estable pionada en el mismo solar de Zubizarra, son tres: corresponden a los nombres de dondo Benarrieta de Tavira y tres, corresponden a don Antonio Añiza de Yerra y dondo Ramona María de Barbachuan.

Donda Benarrieta de Tavira era hijo de Juan Mangues del Cerro de la Cabaneta y controló matrimonio con don Francisco Adán de Yerra, Vileta del Lerre, Caballero de la Orden.

San Juan de Jerusalén e hijo de D. Miguel Vileta de Lerre y Llion, Caballero de Santiago, Señor del Palacio de Vileta de Lerre, llamado de Iztigui, que se halla en el cruce de las carreteras que se hilaban hacia Añetia y Durango, en el lugar conocido por el Gallero.

El mayrazgo de los Vileta de Lerre era una de las ramas de los Lerre de Anzorrueta, fundadores del Convento de Carnales, y sus hijos, a su vez, heredaron el palacio del Convento de Carnales, el cual fue vendido por el Ministro de Carlos II el Hechizado, D. Juan Benarrieta de Lerre, a quien retrató Carrerido de Miranda, de modo insuperable. Los Lerre de Anzorrueta fueron ministros y notables jersuquinos y de sus obra y libro hemos escrito páginas en otras ocasiones.

Cuando el Señor de Lerre, don Francisco del Palacio de Gilarbo, con la herencia suya del Palacio de Gilarbo, que se llama dondo José Adán de Yerra, Zaldivar, Aguirre Munier y Colla de Larrañaga.

Correspondió el otro codo del Palacio al hijo del matrimonio Adán de Yerra-Yerra, que se llamó Antonio, y copax copax y prumienciaencia convivió su asentamiento porque así el resumen del estado social y nobilito que representaba en el Señorío de Vizcaya la casa de Parientes Mayores de los Adán de Yerra.

Era don Antonio Adán de Yerra Vileta de Lerre de Zubizarra, de Gamarra, Señor del Palacio, de Zubizarra y Pariente Mayor de la Torre de Yerra, Patrono tanto de diversos de las Iglesias matris de San Miguel de Etxeta, el Jerte de Yerra, de San Pedro de Bidarrión, y sus arias. Cojito con las Iglesias matris de San Andrés de Yherroguetia, San Juan de Etxe, Santa María de Nizola,

San, Santa Efigenia de Acora y sus arias, dondo de las Tercias de la Iglesia Perroquial de Leizor, Santa María y sus cinco anqueñales, Preboste Mayor y Alcaide preboste de dicha Villa de Leizor, Alcaide Mayor del Fuero de la Merindad de Belduñeta y de la de Zornosa, Ciudadano de Palermio.

Con con dondo Ramona María de Barbachuan, que en la figura que se reproduce pintada por Goya en el año de 1787 en Montecarlo.

Era hijo, la dama del sombrero que immortaliza Goya, de don Juan Antonio de Barbachuan y de dondo María Josefa de Arbacia y Herroeta.

Suspendidos en el muro del Palacio Leizoriano, se hallan estas obras del excelso pintor, creadas a través de los años, que alcanzan el siglo y medio en aquella manutención que el historiador Cavallera perpetuó en el año de Leizor 1857, describiéndolos sus salones, sus salones adornados con esculturas de estatuetas y otros cofres, y todo para escapar el severo Palacio neoclásico, uno de los más eminentes del siglo XVIII y sobria muestra de arquitectura civil, como inmortal Lamperez en sus obras referéndum a esta joya vascuana.

Entre las obras de Goya y para nosotros una de las más peregrinas es la de la encarnación dama de Zubizarra que se nos presenta en edad, como 22 años, de piel, hasta media pierna en posición sentada y elegante, vestida con traje blanco y de velas, amarra brillos, de colores dorados hienas destinguir y promuevan las grises perlas y blanquecinos de la misteriosa pelusa la geyrosa. La breva cintura cogida por un lazo ancho y negro

con don brocheta, a que nos mira de respeto la doble coeterna tocada por el pintor del arte, con aquella luz que en cambio se halla como al finura si fuerza.

Esgueta hasta el hombro y deteniendo ver la naturaleza humana, preñado por las flotantes gasas del corpiño en cuyo centro y seno se asoma el largo que lo corte bastante.

Sobre los bucles rubios y trenzados rizados que flotan sobre los iguales arañados del hermoso cuello de dama, está el sombrero grande, redondo y alveolado, al que sirven de filamento y alas plumas y velas, que en la parte superior, ganadas por el amor en terreno de animes caballeros.

Lleva en la mano una caquellita que dice *Donda María Ramona*

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domestica semejante con las obras de los Adán de Varza, a pesar de haber sido ambas familias de parentesco próximo.

Tanto el retrato de la Marquesa de la Solana, como el de la Duquesa de Alba, como el de los Marqueses de las Marzotas, menos conocido, llamémoslas *damas de pie breve*, forman un capítulo distinto en el arte de Goya al capítulo apacible e inspi-radísimo de Lequittio.


La señora del Palacio de Zurbela, doña María Ramona de Harbachman, es para nosotros uno de los lieros más épicos de Francisco de Goya, por el retrato que supone en el instante, por su técnica, porque representa como muy pocos su época grata, porque su orato y su sencillez, al mismo tiempo, lo ha-cen una obra única sin réplicas y sin imitaciones dentro del mis-mo artista, porque ante esta obra de Goya, se siente todo un poema lírico y nobilísimo. Sólo porque cuando Goya pintaba se comprendía con sus modelos y los hacía palpitar con me-jores ritmos ante el público, como ocurre con las májas y con las duquesas, porque el artista no solo ve los ojos y los facio-nes, los ademanes, sino que Goya alcanza, como espíritu ge-nial, la recobrida de la persona y la lleva al liero, y cuando el

Nobilica la obra de Goya, porque nobiliza es sencillez y ele-gancia, y Goya sabe de eso, porque su vida le llevó a tratar lo primero y lo último, desde la duquesa Caystana hasta los chi-ceros de la fuente del Berro, y aun el hampa de tercera.

El río va la corte de Carlos III barroso y elegante, la de Carlos IV fatigada, la de José Bonaparte de orejetas y soborbia pa-daída, la de Fernando VII casaca y armada, y sabía que las re-zas están mejor, alejadas de ciertas cortes, en las mansiones en donde está la llana del amor y de la inteligencia, y a donde la-gos y de donde parten nubes, en esta marina para todo el orbe, y en Lequittio halló el nido de águilas imperiales y de arrullas de paloma, y le sugestionó lo noble y lo cristiano...

EL MARQUES DE LOS CASTELLEROS  
FERNANDO DE LA QUINZA SANCED

5 Marzo, 1936.



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*Risa de Lequittio.—Al fondo  
el palacio y los prados  
jardines de Zurbela.*

BALNEARIO DE ZALDIVAR  
TEMPORADA OFICIAL: EMPIEZA EL 1.º DE JULIO  
ZALDIVAR (VIZCAYA)

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Fig. 63  
Bonded warehouse and wharf of Uribitarte in Bilbao. Municipal Archive of Bilbao. Bilbao City Hall Collection. 01\_009914

tonio Adán de Yarza, his mother Bernarda Tavira and his wife María Ramona Barbachano.

Goya's works were famous in that period in both scholarly studies and the local press. In 1916, Aureliano de Beruete, who would become the director of the Museo del Prado two years later, wrote the book *Goya. Pintor de retratos*, in which he referred to the three paintings in the Palacio de Zubieta.<sup>3</sup> One year later, in 1917, he published the second volume, entitled *Goya. Composiciones y figuras*, as a continuation of the first, in which he analysed the three paintings after he was able to see them firsthand.<sup>4</sup> In 1928, on the centennial of Goya's death, Ramón Gómez de la Serna wrote a monograph on the painter in which he added a list of

works, following the inventory drawn up by Beruete, which included the three portraits from Zubieta.<sup>5</sup>

Similarly, the portraits appeared repeatedly in the written press. For example, the 1927 obituary of Teresa Mazarredo in the newspaper *La Época* underscored the collection of works by Francisco de Goya, Luca Giordano and other artists in the family residence.<sup>6</sup> In January 1930, the magazine *Blanco y Negro* published a report on Zubieta in which it highlighted three 'almost unknown' Goya portraits, which were reproduced in several photographs and labelled 'the most important treasures' in the home, along with

3. Aureliano de Beruete y Moret. *Goya*. 2 vol. Madrid: Blass y Cía. 1916–1917, vol. 1 (*Pintor de retratos*), p. 174. His knowledge of local art collecting was also clear in the book *Recuerdos artísticos de Bilbao*. J. E. Baranda Icaza (ed.) s.l.: Biblioteca Tesoro, 1919 (introduction by Aureliano de Beruete y Moret).

4. Aureliano de Beruete y Moret. *Goya*. 2 vol. Madrid: Blass y Cía. 1916–1917, vol. 2 (*Composiciones y figuras*), pp. 150–151 (it states that the works belonged to Mario Adán de Yarza).

5. Ramón Gómez de la Serna. *Goya*. Madrid: La Nave, 1928, p. 326 (the list of works was not published in subsequent editions); Francisco Umbral. *Ramón y las vanguardias*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1996, pp. 102–106; Susana Arnas Mur. *El arte del retrato y de la biografía en Ramón Gómez de la Serna*. Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2011, pp. 270 and forward (unpublished doctoral thesis); Manuel García Guatás. "Goya en el ojo de la modernidad" in *Goya*, Madrid, no. 340, 2012, pp. 254–269. Gómez de la Serna wrote three more monographs on El Greco (1935), Velázquez (1943) and Gutiérrez Solana (1944).

6. 'Necrología' in *La Época*, Madrid, 14 March 1927, p. 4.

other works by Luca Giordano and antique furnishings.<sup>7</sup> Also in 1936, before the Spanish Civil War broke out, Fernando de la Quadra Salcedo referred more extensively to the three Goya paintings in a text published in two different formats: as a brochure entitled *Los Goyas inéditos de Vizcaya*, and as an article in the magazine *Vida Vasca* entitled 'Los cuadros de Goya en Vizcaya. La señora del Palacio de Zubieta'<sup>8</sup> [Fig. 62]. The text was accompanied by illustrations of all three portraits and of the Palacio de Zubieta, both exterior and interior, where some of the paintings could be spotted.

### The Civil War and safeguarding the artistic heritage

With the Spanish Civil War, the heritage was under threat, as were the people. As mentioned above, the regional government of the Basque Country, presided over by José Antonio Aguirre, was placed in charge of safeguarding the artistic heritage. To accomplish this, the Directorate General of Fine Arts, Archives and Libraries was created, with the painter José María de Ucelay at the helm starting on 9 October; it was housed within the Department of Justice and Culture, led by Jesús María de Leizaola. Soon thereafter, starting on the 12th, the first decrees on defending the heritage were handed down, and in the succeeding months more employees were hired, including John Zabalo, Julián de Tellaeche and Mauricio Flores Kaperotxi, who made up a small cadre with scant means at their disposal.<sup>9</sup> The Directorate General focused

on protecting and collecting the endangered assets it deemed the most important, both on the battlefield and in the rear guard, which it stored in different repositories. The most important one was the Uribitarte bonded warehouse in Bilbao, a concrete port storage facility which was used from the very start [Fig. 63].

In its first month of work, the Directorate General of Fine Arts removed assets from Getxo, Markina, Zenarruza and most importantly from Lekeitio.<sup>10</sup> It was no coincidence that the most concerted safeguarding efforts focused on Lekeitio, since the town had become the main defensive zone on the coast in September 1936.<sup>11</sup> Consequently, a large number of troops had assembled there and converted the Palacio de Zubieta into barracks in mid-September; first it was the barracks of Acción Vasca and later the Communist Party. María Adán de Yarza was forced to leave her home suddenly, accompanied by Cristina Morrissey, with the promise that 'nothing in the Palace would be broken'.<sup>12</sup> They initially went to live near the port of Lekeitio, but in October they moved to Bilbao, perhaps because the town had been bombarded sever-

7. Monte-Cristo. 'Mansiones Hidasgas: Zubieta en Vizcaya' in *Blanco y Negro*, Madrid, 12 January 1930, pp. 83–85.

8. Fernando de la Quadra Salcedo. *Los Goyas inéditos de Vizcaya*. Bilbao: s.n. 1936; Fernando de la Quadra Salcedo. 'Los cuadros de Goya en Vizcaya: la señora del Palacio Zubieta' in *Vida Vasca*, no. XIII, 1936, pp. 211–217 (the text is dated 5 March 1936). Previously, in 1927, the same author had published an article on the works in the newspaper *El Noticiero Bilbaíno*.

9. Francisco Javier Muñoz Fernández. *El museo ausente: la evacuación del Museo de Arte Moderno de Bilbao a Francia durante la Guerra Civil*. Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, Publishing Service, 2017, pp. 36 and forward.

10. List of objects inventoried and collected by the Directorate General of Fine Arts. Bilbao, 13 November 1936. Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica (CDMH). PS Barcelona 893. Lorenzo Sebastián García. *Entre el deseo y la realidad: la gestión del Departamento de Cultura del Gobierno Provisional de Euzkadi, 1936–1937*. Oñati: Basque Institute of Public Administration, 1994, pp. 239–246.

11. Pedro Barruso. *Verano y revolución: la Guerra Civil en Gipuzkoa: (julio-septiembre de 1936)*. San Sebastian: R&B, 1996, pp. 266 and forward; Patxi Juaristi Larrinaga. *Gerra Zibila Berriatuan eta Lekeitioko frontean*. Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, Publishing Service, 2014, pp. 106 and forward.

12. Statement by the administrator of María Adán de Yarza, collected on 14 July 1937. Universidad de Valladolid. *Informe de la situación de las provincias vascongadas bajo el dominio rojo-separatista*. Valladolid: Talleres Tipográficos Cuesta, 1938, pp. 211–212; Lorenzo Sebastián García, op. cit. p. 132.

al times between 20 and 30 October, causing at least seven deaths and 19 injuries.<sup>13</sup>

In Lekeitio, by 13 November the Directorate General of Fine Arts had removed assets from the City Hall, the Fishermen's Association of San Pedro, Santa María parish church, Santo Domingo convent, the residences of Carlos Solano Adán de Yarza, Mariano Adán de Yarza Gortázar and Rodrigo Adán de Yarza Gortázar, and the palaces of Zabalburu and Zubieta. Several pieces of furniture, various objects and a large number of paintings were taken from the Palacio de Zubieta, including several works by Luca Giordano and the three known portraits by Francisco de Goya, which were moved to the Uribitarte warehouse. On 19 November 1936, Jesús María de Leizaola issued statements, reported by the local press the following day, in which he notified the public of the Directorate's efforts. In his statements, he underscored the fact that a series of works by Giordano and three portraits by Goya had been taken from the Palacio de Zubieta, which confirms the importance of the paintings.<sup>14</sup> Meantime, in November, too, María Adán de Yarza and Cristina Morrissey, most likely best by fear and uncertainty, took an English torpedo boat to Saint-Jean-de-Luz. Once there, they went to Biarritz, where they temporarily stayed in the Hotel Ruffé.

At that time, France was in the throes of the Paris International Expo, which was held between 25 May and 25 November 1937. The Spanish government was

planning to participate in it with a pavilion that had sections devoted to the Basque Country and Catalonia.<sup>15</sup> Ucelay was in charge of the preparations for the Basque section, and he thus travelled to Paris on 23 April, where he was officially introduced as the head of the Basque section of the Spanish pavilion on 19 May.<sup>16</sup> His objective, which was shared by other artists and politicians of the period, was to spread awareness of the Basque Country via a series of contemporary art exhibitions in cities around Europe. To achieve this, Ucelay, Tellaeche, Kaperotxipi and others chose works from the Bilbao Modern Art Museum and other private collections. The first ones set sail from Bilbao on the English steamship *Backworth* headed to the Dutch port of Ijmuiden, near Amsterdam, where they arrived on 12 May and were transported to their final destination, the Basque Country delegation on Avenue Marceau in Paris. Days later, on 22 May, part of the cargo was transported to the Spanish pavilion. The next shipload, with twelve crates filled with brochures, damascenes by Eibar and works of art, left on 26 May headed to Pauillac in Bordeaux, and it reached the Spanish pavilion on 12 June, the same day as Julián de Tellaeche, who also became part of the Basque delegation at the International Expo.<sup>17</sup>

13. More specifically, on 20, 23, 26, 29 and 30 October, as reported on successive dates in the press from the era. Joseba Agirreazkuenaga; Mikel Urquijo Goitia (dir.) *Senderos de la memoria: relación de espacios vinculados a la memoria de la Guerra Civil*. Vitoria: Central Publishing Service of the Basque Government, 2015, pp. 246 and forward.

14. 'La magnífica actuación de la Dirección General de Bellas Artes, Archivos y Bibliotecas ha salvado los tesoros artísticos del País' in *Euzkadi*, Bilbao, 20 November 1936, p. 1; 'El régimen autónomo' in *El Liberal*, Bilbao, 20 November 1936, p. 8; 'La jornada de ayer en las distintas consejerías. Justicia y Cultura' in *El Noticiero Bilbaíno*, Bilbao, 20 November 1936, p. 4.

15. Regarding the expo, see Josefina Alix Trueba. *Pabellón español: Exposición Internacional de París, 1937*. (Exhibition catalogue, Madrid, Centro de Arte Reina Sofía). Madrid: Ministry of Culture, Directorate General of Fine Arts, 1987; Miguel Cabañas Bravo. 'Renau y el pabellón español de 1937 en París, con Picasso y sin Dalí' in *Josep Renau, 1907-1982: compromís i cultura*. (Exhibition catalogue, Valencia, Centre de Cultura Contemporània; Madrid, Museo de Arte Contemporáneo). Valencia: Universitat de València: State Society for Cultural Commemorations, 2007, pp. 140-166; Fernando Martín Martín. *El pabellón español de la Exposición Universal de París en 1937*. Seville: the University Publishing Service, 1982.

16. Letter from José Gaos to the General Curator of the International Expo, Paris, 19 May 1937. Archives Nationales de France (ANF). F/12/12362.

17. Francisco Javier Muñoz Fernández, op. cit. pp. 61, 69 and 70. List of personnel. CDMH. PS. Madrid. 1704.



Fig. 64  
Crate that transported the three portraits  
by Francisco de Goya from Bilbao to  
France in 1937.

### Evacuation of the assets to France

At that time, the war broke out again, and on 26 April, Gernika was brutally bombarded and razed, as were Durango, Eibar, Elgeta and other Basque towns. On 28 April, the Italian-Spanish Flechas Negras brigade occupied Lekeitio and the Palacio de Zubieta. Bilbao, the capital of Bizkaia, was taken just a few months later, on 19 June 1937. Before the seizure of the capital city, whose destruction was feared, the government of the Basque Country decided to remove its bank funds from the country, along with part of its artistic holdings, which could also be used in the different exhibitions being planned.

The crates that were to transport the works of art were being custom-built for that purpose. One of them was made for Goya's three paintings in Zubieta [Fig. 64].

A note sent to Tellaeche announced that the crate would be finished at 'six-fifteen in the afternoon. It will be packed right there. Would you like to watch it?',<sup>18</sup> once again confirming the importance of the three paintings. The crate was marked in paint with a number '10', it was identified with the regional government—'Governemen of Euzkadi' [sic], 'Delegación de Euzkadi'—and its possible initial destination was added—'Bayona' [Bayonne]—as well as three initials—'Z.K.J.' This identification is similar to what was found on the 433 crates in the same shipload from the Directorate General of Fine Arts of the Department of Justice and Culture, which bore the words: 'Delegación de Euzkadi', 'Delegación de Euzkadi. Bordeaux' or 'Delegación de Euzkadi. Bordeaux-Bayonne'.

18. Note with no date. CDMH. PS. Barcelona. C.0047.

The same initials were repeated on all of them, which presumably identified the department.<sup>19</sup>

Between 10 pm on 11 June and 4 am on the 12th, a total of 2,065 crates filled with works of art and collections from banks and the library of the Provincial Council of Bizkaia were loaded onto the English steamship, the *Thurston*.<sup>20</sup> The suddenness of events meant that the artistic assets were often evacuated without either notifying their owners or securing their authorisation. This was true of Rodrigo Adán de Yarza, María Adán de Yarza's cousin, who did not know the whereabouts of his property and asked the regional government for them, which confirmed that they had been evacuated.<sup>21</sup>

On 12 June 1937, the *Thurston* set sail from the port of Bilbao headed to La Pallice, in La Rochelle, where it arrived two days later<sup>22</sup> [Fig. 65]. Subsequently, after 25 June, the cargo of the English steamship and

19. Other crates were also marked with initials, such as 'B.A.' (*Bellas Artes* or Fine Arts), 'C.H.' (*Colección Histórica de Guerra* or Historical War Collection) 'Fund.' (*Fundaciones* or Foundations) and 'S.G.' (*Secretaría General* or Secretariat General), which we have been able to identify thanks to documents from that period. We have found no documentation that could clarify the meaning of the crates marked with the initials 'Z.K.J.' However, they may well refer to the Department of Justice and Culture, which in the Basque language was called *Zuzentza eta Kultura Zaingoa*. Consequently, the 'Z' could refer to *Zaingoa* (Department), the 'K' to *Kultura* (Culture) and the 'J' to *Justizia* (Justice), which is a different word for justice than the traditional word *Zuzentza*. If instead the 'Z' refers to *Zuzentza*, the 'J' could have another meaning which we do not know.

20. Loading certification of the ship the *Thurston*. Archivo Histórico del Banco de España (AHBE). Secretaría. 435.

21. Letter from Pedro de Anuzita to José María de Ucelay, Paris, 24 November 1939. Sabino Arana Fundazioa (SAF). CR-0044-C5.

22. Letter from the Special Commissioner of La Rochelle to the prefect of La Charente Inférieure, La Rochelle, 14 June 1937. Letter from the prefect of La Charente Inférieure to the Ministry of the Interior, 29 June 1937. Archives Départementales de la Charente-Maritime (ADCM). 5M6.32.

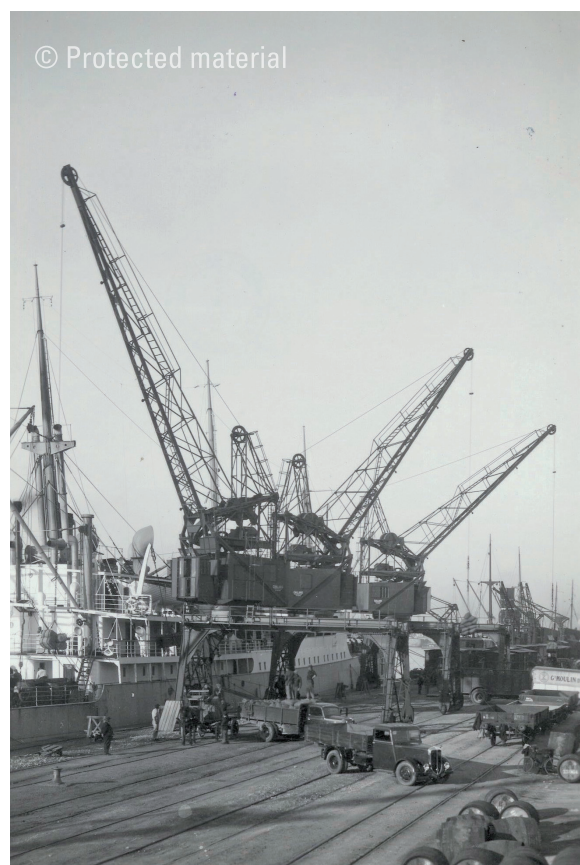


Fig. 65  
Port of La Rochelle, July 1937 (photograph by C.M. Morillon).  
Archives Départementales de la Charente-Maritime

all the ships that came from Bilbao, which was comprised of valuable assets deposited in banks which belonged to different institutions, businesses and private individuals, including María Adán de Yarza, were legally embargoed by the Civil Court of La Rochelle at the request of the claims made from occupied Bilbao.

However, several days earlier, on 16 June, seven crates had been unloaded from the *Thurston*, including crate number 10 containing the three Goyas, which were valued at 350,000 French francs, and three others containing scale models of buildings in Bilbao. Following the orders of Ucelay, who was in Paris with Tellaeche, the cargo was moved to the Basque government



Fig. 66  
Basque government delegation in Paris, 21 February 1939. Aranzadi Zientzia Elkarteko Artxibategia. Jesús Elósegui Irazusta. JEI-00176-18

Fig. 67  
Spanish pavilion at the Paris International Expo in 1937. Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport, Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica, PS Photographies, 42, 49

delegation<sup>23</sup> [Fig. 66]. The documentation drawn up by the Basque government stated that the works were going to be part of the Basque Art Exhibition within the International Expo, and they were transported to the Spanish pavilion, where the general curator, José Gaos, confirmed their arrival on 21 June<sup>24</sup> [Fig. 67].

As mentioned above, the International Expo had opened on 25 May, but the Spanish pavilion took until 12 July to open, still unfinished, so the crates actually arrived on time. In fact, the crate containing the portraits, the only one still conserved, was identified with a label that indicated the participating country—Spain—and the exhibitor—the Basque Country—in addition to its contents of three paintings, its weight of 12 kilos and other information.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, according to the rules of the Expo, the objects had to be identified with labels that were supposed to be provided by the maintenance service of the show, the company Nanzi et Cie., and in the specific case of the items arriving from abroad, their labels were supposed to be handled via each country's general curator.<sup>26</sup> However,

the Basque Country section, which had a 'very small'<sup>27</sup> space measuring just 106.5 m<sup>2</sup>, housed an exhibition of 16 paintings by contemporary Basque artists, which certainly did not include the vast majority of the works that had been transported to the pavilion, nor even the three portraits from Zubieta, which did not fit within the theme of the show.<sup>28</sup>

The works of art from Bilbao had entered France temporarily, and to remain there they had to be registered every six months. On 8 December 1937, twelve days after the Expo closed and started to be dismantled, the Spanish ambassador in Paris, Ángel Ossorio, following previous instructions from José Gaos, spoke with the Director General of Customs of the French Ministry of Finances asking for another six-month exemption for several works that had been sent to France for the show. The request stated that the works were in the Spanish pavilion,<sup>29</sup> which was going to be torn down<sup>30</sup> and that the works would stay on deposit at the Basque government delegation in Paris. To justify keeping the works in France, he argued that the Basque regional government wanted to hold an art exhibition there the following spring. On 29 December, the French ministry accepted the request after obtaining the consent of the Spanish embassy.<sup>31</sup> In parallel, an inventory was made for Customs which listed the works that the Basque government had transported to France which had remained in the Spanish pavilion,

23. Bearing in mind that Ucelay travelled to Ijmuiden to collect the works of art that arrived there, it is possible that he also travelled to La Rochelle. Letter from the Basque government delegation in Paris, 21 June 1937. Archivo General de la Administración (AGA). 10(96). 54/11.311. List of the shipments made by the Culture Section of the Department of Justice and Culture of the Provisional Government of the Basque Country before the fall of Bilbao. Archivo Histórico de Euskadi (AHE). 739/4; Jacques Perruchon. *Refugiés espagnols en Charente-Maritime et Deux-Sèvres, 1936–1945*. Paris: Le Croît vif, 2000, p. 48; Julen Lezamiz Lugarezaresti. *El patrimonio bancario y artístico cultural vasco durante la Guerra Civil española: incautaciones, evacuaciones, embargos y pleitos*. Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, 2016, p. 127 (unpublished doctoral thesis).

24. Letter from José Gaos, Paris, 1 December 1937. AGA. 10(96). 54/11080. 6.792.

25. This is the numeration '2 kj, Dossier 172', which we have been unable to identify.

26. *Exposition internationale de Paris 1937: arts et techniques dans la vie moderne: direction de l'exploitation technique: règlement et tarif du service de la manutention*. Paris: Impr. nationale, 1936, pp. 3 and forward.

27. Undated note on the Spanish pavilion. CDMH. PS. Barcelona. 80.

28. However, the Francisco de Goya series *Disasters of War* and *Bullfighting* were in the pavilion; they were sent to be sold. Josefina Alix Trueba, op. cit. p. 146.

29. Letters from José Gaos and Ángel Ossorio Paris, 1 and 8 December 1937, respectively. AGA. 10(96). 54/11080. 6.792.

30. The arrangements got underway in February 1938 and the demolition was delayed until 13 July. Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (AMAE). R-629.111. Josefina Alix Trueba, op. cit. pp. 164–165.

31. Letter from M. Hyon, Director General of Customs, Paris, 29 December 1937. AGA. 10(96). 54/11080. 6.792.

including crate number 10 with three portraits from the 'école de Goya'.<sup>32</sup>

As mentioned above, it was impossible to exhibit all the works of art that had been moved to the Basque section of the Spanish pavilion, and it may not have been possible to store them either. In fact, some of the works meant for the show remained in the regional government delegation in Paris.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, it is possible that the Basque government used the International Expo, where these arrangements were quicker and more convenient, to facilitate the entry of works of art into France for the different Basque art exhibitions it had planned. In fact, via the Spanish ambassador, the Basque delegation continued to request exemptions for the works, citing the different shows it was going to hold, which actually came to fruition between 1938 and 1939 in Paris, Brussels and The Hague, but without the three Goya portraits, which had been retrieved by their owner.<sup>34</sup>

### **The recovery of the artistic heritage and the last farewell**

On 6 November 1937, Specialised Asset Forfeiture Court No. 4 of Bizkaia, following the machinery of repression which the newly-coalescing dictatorial regime had set into motion, ordered the temporary seizure of all the assets owned by María Adán de Yarza.<sup>35</sup> The

confiscation was handed down because of her purported political and social conduct in favour of the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) and against the new state, although her lawyer told her that it would be nullified if she could prove that she was not hostile to the regime.<sup>36</sup> However, María Adán de Yarza repeatedly refused to return to Bilbao, and she instead defended herself via her lawyer. She denied any political affiliation and activity, she cited health reasons which prevented her from travelling, and she reminded authorities that she had family members affiliated with both the PNV and the new regime.

While her goods in Bizkaia were temporarily embargoed, María Adán de Yarza retrieved those that had reached France. On 14 November 1937, she signed a letter authorising a trusted person to travel to the capital of France and retrieve the crate with the three paintings from Zubieta, which 'were moved to Paris with her consent' by the Basque government.<sup>37</sup> A few days later, on 20 January 1938, the crate was removed, probably from the government delegation.<sup>38</sup>

In the ensuing months, she tried to retrieve her bank holdings which had been embargoed in La Rochelle. To do so, she enlisted the services of the lawyer Henri Péraut, who also represented other interested parties by mediation of the Basque government.<sup>39</sup> Nonetheless,

32. Inventory. AGA. 10(96). 54/11.311. 1.088.

33. Letter from Jesús María de Leizaola to the Spanish ambassador in Paris, 11 April 1938. AGA. 10(96). 54/11080. 6.792.

34. Francisco Javier Muñoz Fernández, op. cit. pp. 77 and forward; Francisco Javier Muñoz Fernández. 'Las colecciones particulares de arte durante la Guerra Civil y la posguerra en Bizkaia' in Arturo Colorado Castellary (ed.) *Patrimonio cultural, guerra civil y posguerra*. Madrid: Fragua, 2018, pp. 45–69.

35. The same order included the confiscation of others' goods as well, including Cristina, Verónica and Ramón de la Sota Mac-Mahón. 'Bilbao' in *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, no. 488, 21 February 1938, p. 5896. The order carried out the ruling handed down by the Technical Board of Spain on 10 January 1937, as contained in the Official State Gazette from 11 January of the same year.

36. Letter dated 17 November 1937. Private archive.

37. Authorisation and receipt dated 14 November and 20 January 1938, respectively. Private archive.

38. In the next six-month extension in which the works were allowed to remain in France, issued on 4 May 1938, it was decided that the company France Transports Domicile (FTD), assigned the maintenance of the show in conjunction with Nunzi et Cie., would take charge of 44 crates containing works of art that were being held at the Basque delegation and were deposited in a private space used for the exhibitions. Verbal note dated 20 January 1940. AGA. 10(97). 54/11. 311.53. Josefina Alix Trueba, op. cit. p. 169; Francisco Javier Muñoz Fernández, op. cit. p. 130.

39. Letter from Henri Péraut, Santes, 25 September 1939. Private archive. Circulars of Henri Péraut prepared by the Basque government dated 25 September 1939. AHE. Hacienda. 735/02.



Fig. 68

Inside the bonded warehouse of Uribitarte in Bilbao with the frames of the evacuated paintings, 1938. Photograph published in the book *Informe de la situación de las provincias vascongadas bajo el dominio rojo-separatista*, 1938. Biblioteca de la Universidad de Valladolid, pressmark Z/Bc 378-INF

Fig. 69

María Adán de Yarza with her godson José María Solano in Biarritz

the French courts dismissed her appeals and those of other private individuals, and on 21 June the Court of La Rochelle and on 12 July 1939 the Appeals Court of Poitiers ruled that all bank assets should be returned to Bilbao, where they arrived on 15 August 1939.<sup>40</sup>

Shortly thereafter, on 2 November 1939, the Regional Court of Political Responsibilities, which took over the defunct Specialised Asset Forfeiture Court, issued María Adán de Yarza an economic sanction of 100,000 pesetas for being politically responsible for minor misdemeanours, considering her political sympathies towards the PNV proven and because of her absence from the country.<sup>41</sup> Despite the insistence of her lawyer and representative that she return in order to manage her assets more effectively, she decided to remain in Biarritz. Following her instructions, her lawyer was in charge of refurbishing the palacio de Zubieta, which involved several projects undertaken by the architect Emiliano Amann.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, the building had been occupied by different troops, and in recent months it had been used as the summer camp for the female section of *Flechas* (the youngest members of the Spanish Youth Organisation (OJE), created by the regime), led by Amelia Ruiz de Alda, with the purpose of indoctrinating numerous girls from different places around Spain into the new dictatorial regime during the summertime.<sup>43</sup>

40. On the importance of the embargo of La Rochelle, see Pedro Barruso, *Información, diplomacia y espionaje: la Guerra Civil española en el sur de Francia (1936–1940)*. San Sebastian: Hiria, 2008; Julen Lezamiz Lugarezaresi, op. cit. Jacques Perruchon, op. cit.

41. In the meantime, her assets were still being administered, including payments to individuals who were still in her service. Ruling of the Court of Political Responsibilities of Bilbao dated 2 November 1939. Administration of Assets Forfeited from Doña María Adán de Yarza y Mazarredo. Private archive.

42. Correspondence from the family lawyer, 11 November 1939 and 8 April 1940. Private archive.

43. 'Amelia Ruiz de Alda, jefe del Campamento de Flechas de Lequeitio (Vizcaya)' in *Y: revista de la mujer nacional sindicalista*, San Sebastian, no. 8, September 1938, p. 13.

In parallel, on 5 August 1940, the family lawyer received the authorisation from Ignacio María de Smith, the delegate from the National Artistic Heritage Service established by the new government in Bizkaia, to retrieve some of the goods that had been evacuated from the Palacio de Zubieta to Bilbao. They included several objects, numerous pieces of furniture, fifteen paintings and several frames, some of which we assume must be the three Goya portraits evacuated to France<sup>44</sup> [Fig. 68].

Thus, after years of arrangements, María Adán de Yarza did manage to get some of her assets back from her exile in Biarritz. However, shortly thereafter, her inseparable companion Cristina Morrissey, who had been ill and under her care, died. Not long afterward, on 7 October 1947, María Adán de Yarza also passed away from cancer<sup>45</sup> [Fig. 69]. There is no doubt that the horrors of the Civil War led María Adán de Yarza to view life differently. In fact, she no longer wanted to return and instead preferred to watch events from a distance. Ultimately, after years of absence, the three portraits from Zubieta have come back, and with them, somehow so has she, watching us through other eyes and encouraging us to see from other perspectives.

44. The assets had been transferred to the Modern Art Museum of Bilbao, where the storage and stewardship costs had to be paid. Authorisation from Ignacio María de Smith, Bilbao, 12 June 1940. Receipt dated in Bilbao, 5 August 1940. Private archive. Cultural Heritage Institute of Spain (IPCE). CGSDPAN. 90.10.

45. Obituary of María Adán de Yarza Mazarredo published in the newspapers *El Correo Español-El Pueblo Vasco*, Bilbao, 9 October 1947, p. 3; *La Gaceta del Norte*, Bilbao, 9 October 1947, p. 4; *Hierro*, Bilbao, 9 October 1947, p. 5.









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