

# TAUROMAQUIA



**GOYA**

**PICASSO**





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Curated by Fred Licht

Venice, Spring, 1985  
**Peggy Guggenheim Collection**

sponsored by  
the Arthur Ross Foundation, New York

The Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation is grateful to the **Regione Veneto** for the annual subsidy that assures the effective operation of the Peggy Guggenheim Collection.

The extended season of the Peggy Guggenheim Collection is made possible through a grant from **United Technologies Corporation**.

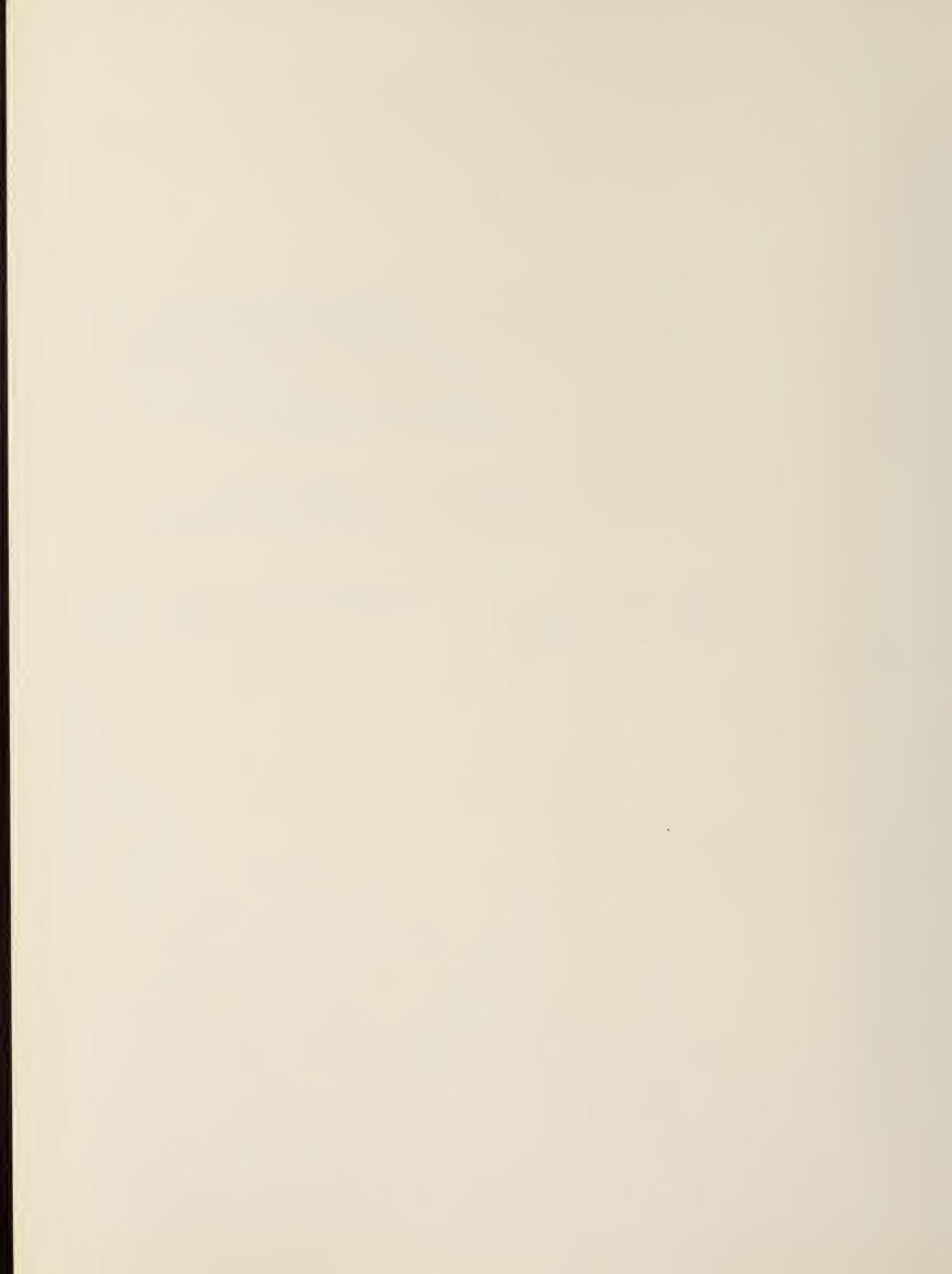
The free Saturday evening opening of the Peggy Guggenheim Collection is financed by a grant from the **Montedison Group**.

The Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation gratefully acknowledges the generous support of **Alitalia** on an annual basis.

*Almost 150 years apart, two Spanish artists, Francisco Goya and Pablo Picasso, turned to the medium of etching to explore the powerful spectacle of the bullfight. Without color, within dimensions smaller than the pages of a phone book, each artist has created a suite of etchings which envelop us in a world of balletic violence and beauty. At a time when all forms of communication seem to be getting louder, faster, and more desperate, it is a particular pleasure to see that great impact can be effected with refined language and modest scale.*

*The Arthur Ross Foundation is pleased to lend these works for exhibition and is grateful to Thomas Messer for inaugurating the special exhibition program of the Peggy Guggenheim Collection with this show.*

Clifford Ross  
Executive Vice President  
Arthur Ross Foundation



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LA TAUROMAQUIA, O ARTE DE TOREAR



«Tauromaquia: Goya-Picasso» is the first temporary exhibition to be presented in Venice by The Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation. Preceding and concurrent showings at Peggy Guggenheim's Palazzo Venier dei Leoni dealt exclusively with permanent collections, that either were assembled by Peggy Guggenheim herself or were traceable to Peggy's uncle Solomon who, in 1937, created in his name the Foundation which today contains both the New York and the Venice constituents.

The current show by contrast is drawn from materials belonging to a congenial outside source, the Arthur Ross Foundation in New York, and it is from its holdings that «Tauromaquia: Goya-Picasso» was selected for our purposes by Professor Fred Licht. For the organizers as well as for Venice, this exhibition means a new beginning and as such cannot but serve as an indicator of further intentions. The exhibition event as such is meant to signal our resolve to complement a more or less static collection presence with dynamic shows of a temporary nature. The Peggy Guggenheim Collection thus will be seen during the summer as heretofore while other programs whether based upon Guggenheim material or not, will extend the season before and after, whenever possible.

In this context the great, sonorous names of Francisco Goya and Pablo Picasso are of course not without indicative significance. For Goya, from our present vista, may be seen to stand at the threshold of modernism while Picasso, more than any other artist, is perceived as the standardbearer of our century's art. Both, though deeply rooted in their traditions, are innovators who, as they gave form to urgently felt content, have radically reshaped inherited expressive means. And it is such attributes of modernism that have also shaped the programs of both Guggenheim branches, thereby constituting broad guidelines for their artistic directions.

The exhibition consists of thirty-five original prints by Francisco Goya and twenty-six by Pablo Picasso. All of them are devoted to the bullfight theme which both Spanish artists have appropriated for themselves at various times of their careers in their painting as well as in works on paper.

The theme of the bullfight would seem to offer, through unintended happenstance, a reference to the person in whose name all activities at the Palazzo Venier dei Leoni are conducted. For, by the depiction of fateful daring that through Picasso's and Goya's genius emerges from the surfaces here assembled, Tauromaquia evokes a mood also reflected in Peggy Guggenheim's tragic, grave and majestic life.

The initiation of an exhibition program in Peggy Guggenheim's name is consonant with the Founder's art orientation which at the outset of her activities in London, later in New York and initially in Venice remained didactic and dynamic. To exhibit works of art in constantly shifting

<sup>10</sup> perspectives and thereby open eyes and sharpen viewers sensibilities was with Peggy Guggenheim a strong and explicit motivation. It is fitting therefore to continue in a mode that will present new insights and ideas to our ever growing public.

Since the preponderant number of works in the current show are etchings – a vulnerable medium greatly depending for its effectiveness and value upon the quality of individual impressions – we are most fortunate to be able to offer an edition of unquestionable excellence by relying entirely upon the collection in the Arthur Ross Foundation, a private philanthropy based in New York that has consistently adhered to high standards in their program of art acquisitions. We therefore wish to express our gratitude to Arthur Ross and to his son Clifford for making the materials available and for generously contributing to the organizational costs entailed in this effort. Our thanks also go to the Print Department of the Boston Public Library and particularly to Priscilla Muller and the Hispanic Society of New York for making available to us their research facilities.

Thomas M. Messer, Director  
*The Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation*

**FRANCISCO GOYA**

**LA TAUROMAQUIA**



In the *Caprichos* Goya speaks of human folly. In the *Disasters of War* he lends voice to eternally outraged humanity. In the *Tauromaquia* he tells us of his art. Degas thought of his work as resembling a perfectly planned crime in which every move must be concealed from future detectives. Goya in much the same manner reveals his art as akin to the art of the bullfighter who strains to outwit his audience. The bullfighter like the artist is constrained by a set of rules which have no rational meaning but which, once accepted, must be rigorously adhered to under pain of loss of self-respect and loss of honor. For arena Goya has the blank surface of paper or canvas and for adversary he has all those interior and exterior forces which threaten the essential self-confidence and authority on which Goya stakes his very identity just as the bullfighter stakes his life when confronting the bull. No less important is the fact that bull and torero cannot exist without each other just as the artist cannot exist qua artist without the ever-disruptive unforeseeable forces of life which encroach on his work and menace his ability to impose his form on them. In fact, the bull is not simply matador's adversary. In order to be victorious, the torero must be able to enter into the bull's very being. He fights a force which is a part of him and once again this process is analogous to the artist's destiny. Neither torero nor artist ever enjoy a definite victory. There is only that split second of triumph when the bull's legs buckle under him or when the last stroke of the burin is engraved on the copper plate. But almost immediately after, both the torero and the artist must go on to face their next adversaries. One wrong move and all the honors of the past are erased. Only the shame of a flashy short-cut, of a dishonest move remain ardently alive.

In the *Tauromaquia* Goya finds visual equivalents to the parallel of bullfighting with the artist's calling. It is this even more than the sheer superiority of quality which distinguishes Goya's scenes of bullfighting from earlier prints such as those by Carnecero. Carnecero's images are diagrammatic and serve to instruct us about the various "suertes". Goya finds visual metaphors for the intricate and shifting dynamics that draw bull, torero, and audience into a spell-binding unity. The unprecedentedly audacious compositions allow us to experience the suspense of each moment not as mere spectators but as actual participants. Ultimately, we recognize that, in our own diluted way, we have all had our own arena, have been forced to declare our own courage or our lack of it. That's why, when Carnecero shows us a torero being gored, we regard the scene as a source of information. The torero's mishap is not ours. In comparable scenes by Goya (Plate 33) we remain stunned as we obscurely recognize some part of our own fate.

from Antonio Carnecero,  
*Colección de las principales  
suertes de una corrida de toros*,  
1790 (courtesy Boston Public  
Library Print Department).

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Time, space and action converge in a different way for the bull, the torero and the spectator, the three essential but totally disparate participants in the heroic moment of the arena. Consequently, Goya invents a new kind of perspective, a diverse pattern, unexpected angles of vision for each specific situation and for each of the three *dramatis personae* (bull, torero, spectator). In Plate 18 the ground of the arena tilts up till it becomes a trapezoidal plane which makes the static constraint of torero and bull (the former with his feet shackled, the latter incapable of gathering momentum) visually inescapable. In *Muerte del alcalde de Torrejón* (Plate 21) the forced sidewise foreshortening of the banister and the spectators fleeing to the left lend an awestruck, static monumentality to the bull who has broken from the arena, disrupted the imposed meaning of the bullfight and destroyed the delicate barriers of artifice by means of which we try to fend off our primordial state of panic. Here, in a scene which transforms the passive spectators into hapless participants, the dynamics, the contradictory lines of flight, the aggressive disequilibrium between left and right half of the composition result in a dissonance that renders the full impact of a blind force destroying the elaborate structures of rules and regulation. Without ever having recourse to the mechanical device of traditional perspective, Goya invents a new visual eloquence that renders up the full force of a given moment of suspense, triumph or terror.

Still, it would be misleading to give the impression that Goya chose the theme of bullfighting only because of its analogical function. He chose it also because it was a theme that had preoccupied him throughout his career. Passionately aware of the diversity of the Hispanic cultural tradition without ever being narrowly nationalistic in outlook (the *Caprichos* move fluently from local to universal manifestations just as the *Disasters of War* are uncompromising in revealing brutality on both sides) the corrida must have seemed to him the very incarnation of all that set Spain and Spanish sensibilities apart from the rest of western civilization. The *Tauromaquia* has quite justifiably been interpreted as a sub-rosa history of the gradual emancipation of the Spanish people. Brushing aside the Roman origins of bullfights as if they simply did not exist, Goya begins the series with the ancient Spaniards taming wild bulls in the open country (Plates 1,2). It is the Moors who then impose an element of meaningful artifice on the earlier, primitive hunting of the animals, by staking out an arena (Plate 6) and inventing certain methods which gradually turn a simple act of ridding the countrysides of dangerous wild bulls into a spectacle that begins to display those cultural aspects of games which were so persuasively discussed by Huizinga in his remarkable book

*Homo Ludens*. This still rather simple bull-baiting then becomes the prerogative of the Christian nobility (Plates 9, 10, 11, 13). Only with the early 18th century did bullfighting finally become a profession in which the lower classes furnished the most admired toreros. It is also at this time that bullfighting became an emotional outlet for the masses who obscurely understood the torero to be the noblest incarnation of their own hopes.

This direction of interpretation is also supported by the recent history of the Spanish people. When Goya began work on the series (ca. 1815) the Spaniards alone of all people conquered by Napoleon had rebelled and driven out the invader. But their valor was not rewarded. The restored Bourbon dynasty introduced a reign of repression that for sheer virulence and blindness rivalled and even surpassed that of earlier time.

Originally, Goya planned to end the series of the *Tauromaquia* with *Modo de Volar*. He dropped this plate in the final publication, probably on the advice of Cean Bermudez whose advice on the series he had sought (but not always followed). Certainly, Bermudez was right if he thought that the image of men strapped into great winged contraptions was too stridently alien to the rest of the series, and that few collectors would be able to understand Goya's inclusion of this fantastic scene of human flight. Eleanor Sayre (*The Changing Image*, Boston, 1974, p. 197 f), who quite correctly sees the entire *Tauromaquia* as a history of the Spanish people from the vantage point of the heroic years of the Iberian campaign, interprets *Modo de Volar* as a prophecy of the coming triumph of the Spanish people over the oppression of the restored Bourbon dynasty. Such an interpretation is immensely appealing. It is also borne out by analogy to the final two plates of the *Disasters of War*. No matter whether one accepts *Disasters* Plate 79 (*Truth Died*) and Plate 80 (*Will She Revive?*) as the last two plates or whether one accepts Plates 81 and 82, in both cases Goya ends the series with a scene of death and resurrection just as, if one follows Eleanor Sayre, the *Death of Pepe Illo* (Plate 33) and *Modo de Volar* express a similar progression from death to a new form of life. Still, I cannot help but feel that the best explanation of the riddle that has been offered to date, is only a first turn of the key in the lock. The sombre nocturnal mood of the plate, the eerie aimlessness of levitating figures do not really express a sense of joyful soaring over an overcome obstacle.

Towards the very end of his life, as an exile in Bordeaux, Goya returned to the notion of yet another monumental, though numerically more limited series of prints on the theme of bullfighting. The result is one of the earliest triumphs of the newly invented medium of lithogra-

phy, collectively known as *Los Toros de Burdeos* of which the Ross Foundation has lent its superb *Dibersion de España* to the present exhibition.

The tone and the theme of the lithographic bullfight scenes are radically different from the earlier *Tauromaquia*. Goya's greater detachment due to age and exile combined with a new medium conspire to present the bullfight in quite another guise of which the title itself gives ample indication: *Dibersion*.

The composition, though it is as audacious as any plate of the *Tauromaquia* is grander in scope, more spontaneous. The point of view is that of an aloof spectator looking downward at a spectacle and no longer that of a passionate participant. The fateful encounter observed at the point of closest collision is replaced by a more distanced attitude in which even the incident of a man about to be gored in the center foreground does not alarm us. With unparalleled enthusiasm, Goya, at the very end of his life, welcomes a new medium, fully understanding and exploiting the distinctly new reportorial immediacy of lithography. The disciplined astringency of composition, of dramatically galvanic line and the powerful use of extreme darks set against equally extreme lights which lent such personal force to the etched images is replaced by a more genially relaxed and cursive fluency of lithographic crayon on smooth stone. An appreciation of things seen is expressed in these very late works as well as a deep joy in the artist's own mastery which takes us from the ferocious obscurity of the *Tauromaquia* to a mood of well-earned Olympian contemplation and celebration of some kind of ultimate triumph. The *Dibersion de España* is, in many ways, the most fitting prelude to the *Tauromaquia* of Picasso, another Spaniard who also surveyed his Spanish past from the serenity of a French haven.

*Fred Licht*

**La Tauromaquia**, set of 33 plates published in 1816.

First edition, issued unbound.

Sepia ink on laid paper, sheets 310 × 440 and 320 × 445 mm.

Issued with an explanatory sheet entitled: «Thirty-three prints which represent different maneuvers and positions in the art of contesting with bulls, invented and etched in Madrid by Don Francisco de Goya y Lucientes» (Treinta y tres estampas que representan diferentes suertes y actitudes del arte de lidiar los Toros, inventadas y grabadas al agua fuerte en Madrid por Don Francisco de Goya y Lucientes). Titles used here are from this published sheet. For further information on the titles inscribed by Goya on the Boston Public Library set, see Sayre, 1974, pp. 205-207.

*Provenance:*

Sir William Stirling-Maxwell, Keir Castle, Scotland, 1818-1878 (his ancestor, an officer under the Duke of Wellington, is believed to have acquired the prints in Spain during the Iberian campaign from Valentín Carderera, who is believed to have purchased them from Goya himself and his son Xavier); purchased in the 1950s from the Stirling-Maxwell Estate by Philip Hofer, Massachusetts; purchased from R.M. Light & Co., Boston, by the Norton Simon Inc. Foundation, Pasadena, 1968; acquired by the Arthur Ross Foundation, New York.

*Exhibitions:*

The Galleries of Claremont Colleges, California, *The Graphic Art of Francisco Goya*, Feb. 7-Mar. 21, 1975, pp. 51-54.  
Philadelphia, Arthur Ross Gallery, the University of Pennsylvania, *Francisco Goya y Lucientes, The Disasters of War, La Tauromaquia, Spanish Entertainment and other prints*, Feb. 8-Mar. 31, 1983, cat. nos. 2-35.  
New York, The Spanish Institute, *Goya: The Disasters of War and Selected Prints*, Nov. 17, 1984-Jan. 16, 1985.

*References:*

Sir William Stirling-Maxwell, *An Essay towards a collection of books relating to the arts of design, being a catalogue of those at Keir*, London, 1860, p. 66.  
Philip Hofer, *La Tauromaquia and The Bulls of Bordeaux*, New York, Dover, 1969.

1. The way in which the  
ancient Spaniards hunted  
bulls on horseback in the  
open country.

19



2. Another way of hunting  
on foot.

3. The Moors settled in Spain,  
giving up the superstitions of  
the Koran, adopted this art of  
hunting, and spear a bull in  
the open.

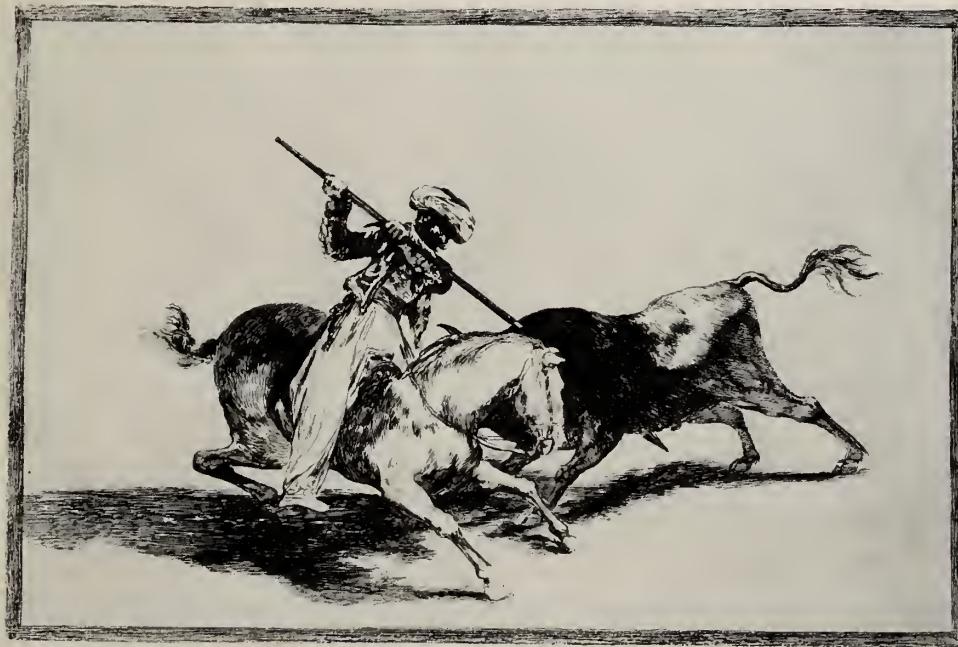
20



4. They bait another enclosed bull.

5. The spirited Moor Gazul is the first to spear bulls according to rules.

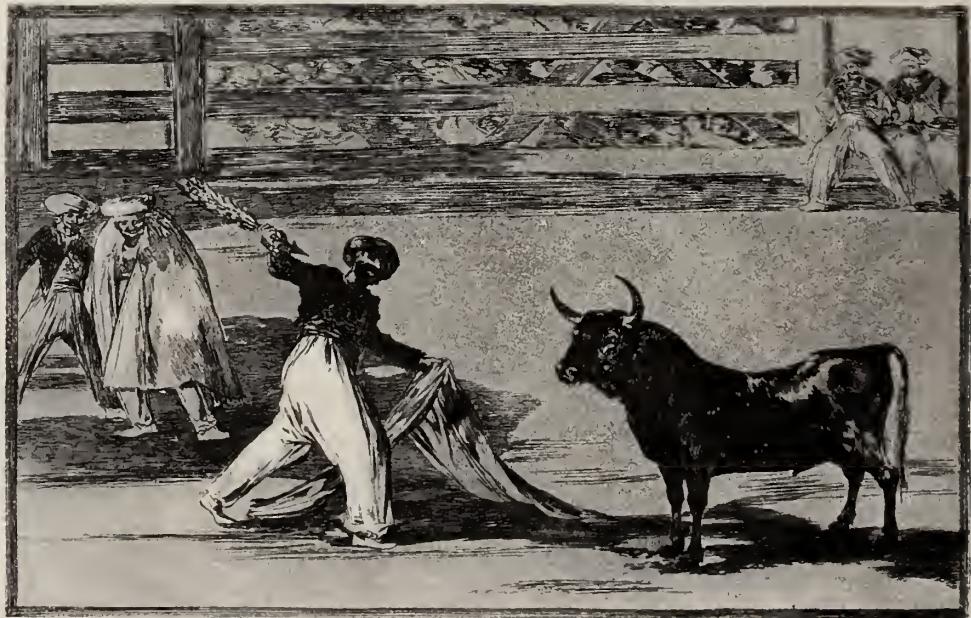
21



6.The Moors make  
a different play in the ring  
calling the bull with their  
bournois.

7.Origin of the harpoons  
or banderillas.

22



8.A Moor caught by the bull  
in the ring.

9.A Spanish nobleman kills  
a bull after he has lost his  
horse.

23



10. Charles V spearing a bull  
in the Valladolid plaza.

11. The Cid Campeador  
spearing another bull.

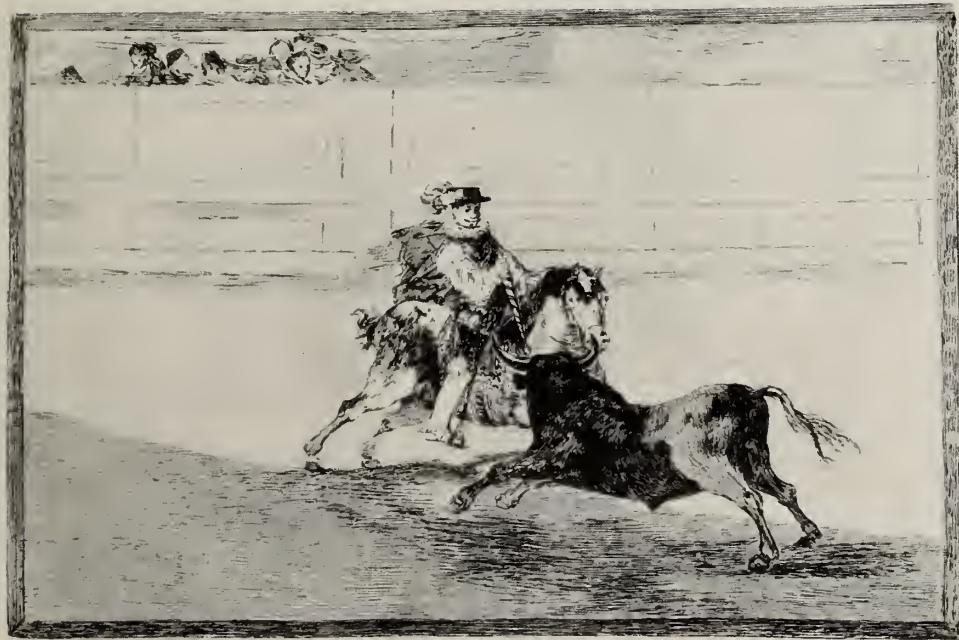
24



12.The rabble hamstring the bull with lances, sickles, banderillas and other arms.

13.A Spanish nobleman, without the help of assistants, breaks short rejones in the plaza.

25



14. The very skillful student  
of Falces, wrapped in his  
cape, tricks the bull with the  
play of his body.

15. The famous Martincho  
places the banderillas  
playing the bull with the  
movement of his body.

26



16. The same person makes a bull turn in the Madrid ring.

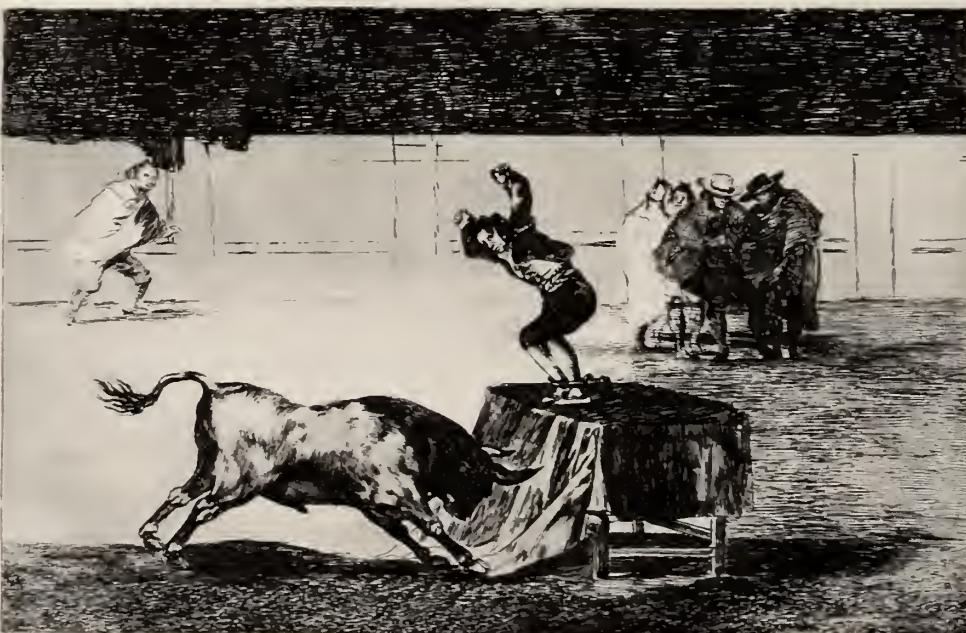
17. Barricades that the Moors made with donkeys to defend themselves from a bull with covered horns.

27



18. Martincho's recklessness in the ring at Saragosa.

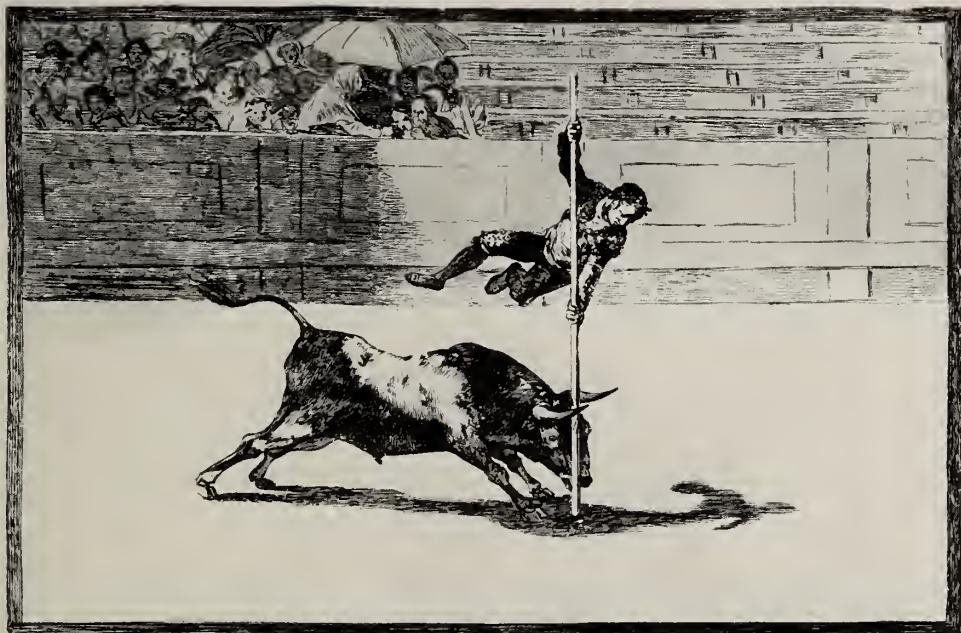
19. More of his [Martincho's] madness in the same ring.



20. The agility and audacity  
of Juanito Apañani  
in [the ring] at Madrid.

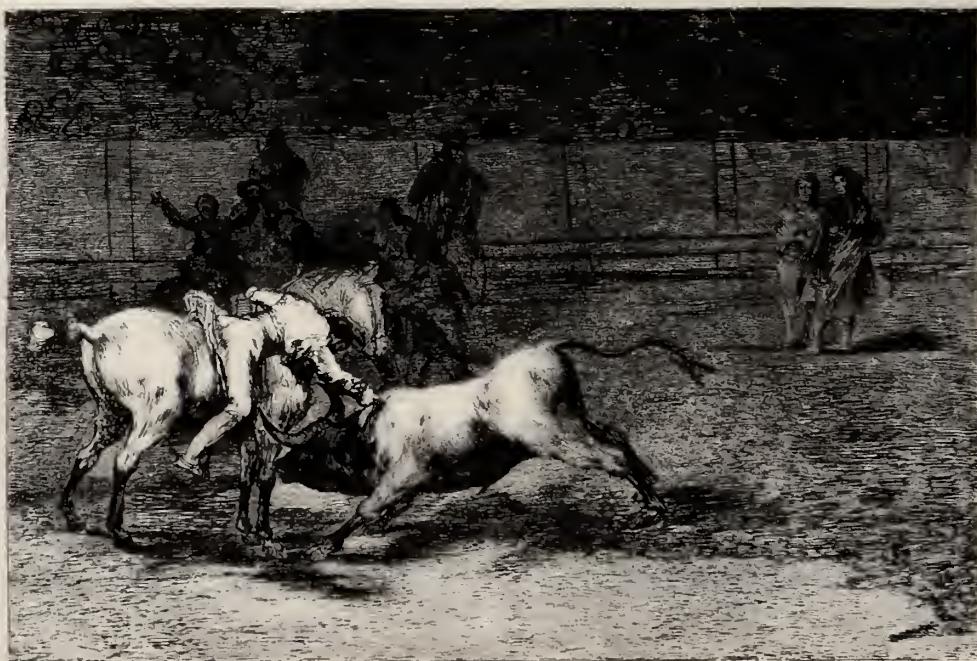
21. Unhappy accident in the  
bleachers of the Madrid ring  
and death of the mayor  
of Torrejón.

29



22. Manly courage of the celebrated Pajuelera in [the ring] at Saragosa.

23. Mariano Ceballos, called "el Indio", kills the bull from horseback.



24. The same Ceballos  
mounted on another bull  
breaks short spears in the  
ring at Madrid.

25. They loose dogs on the  
bull.

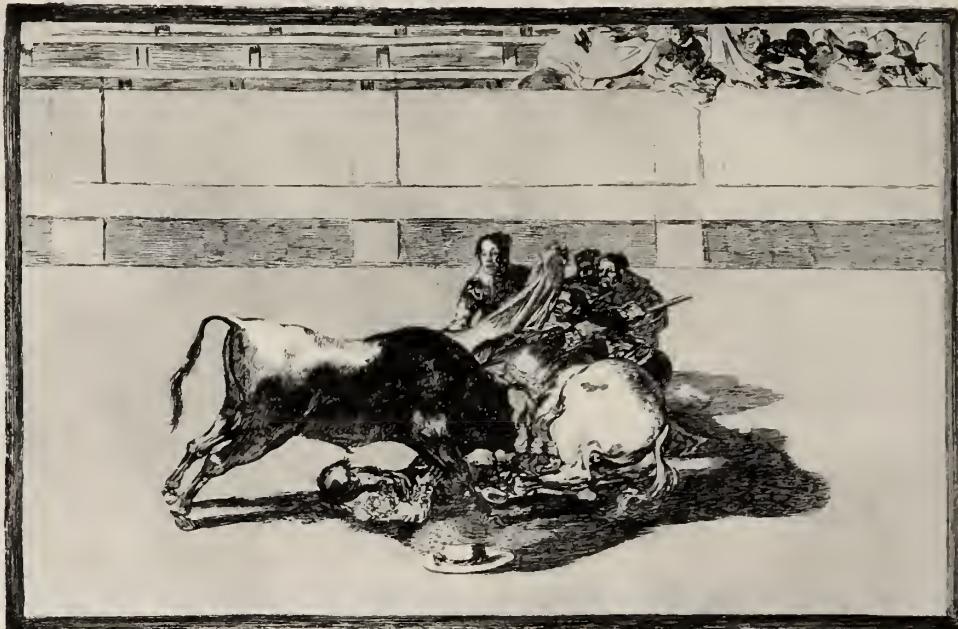
31



26. A picador is unhorsed and falls under the bull.

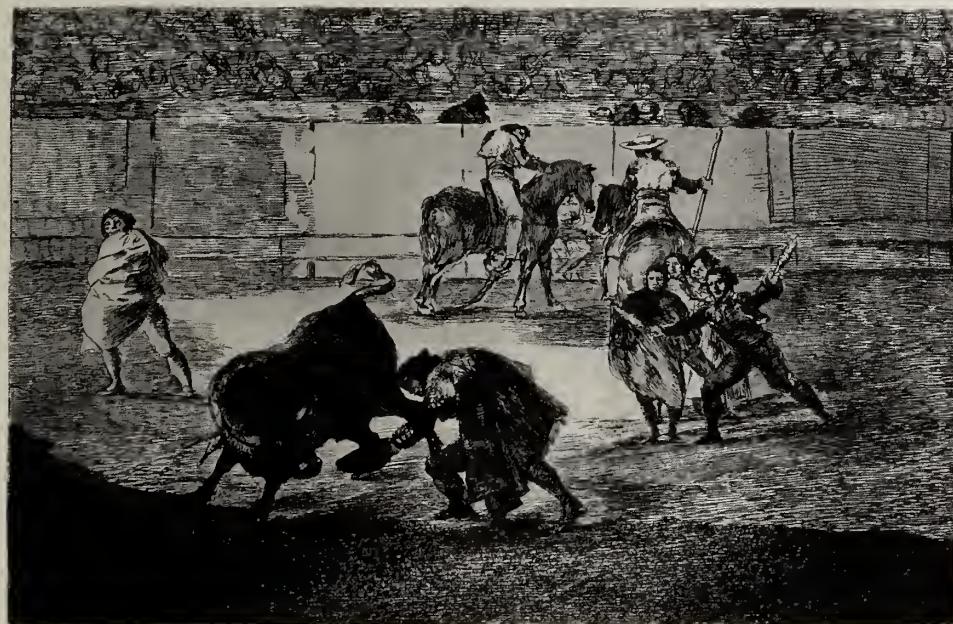
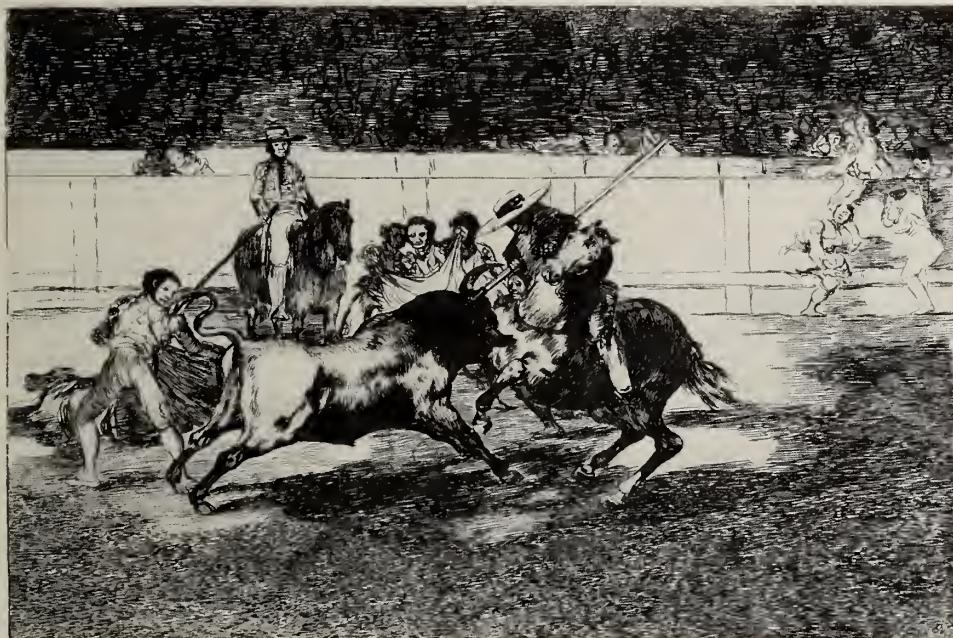
27. The celebrated picador,  
Fernando del Toro, draws the  
fierce beast on with his goad  
stick.

32



28.The forceful Rendon stabs a bull with the pic, from which pass he died in the ring at Madrid.

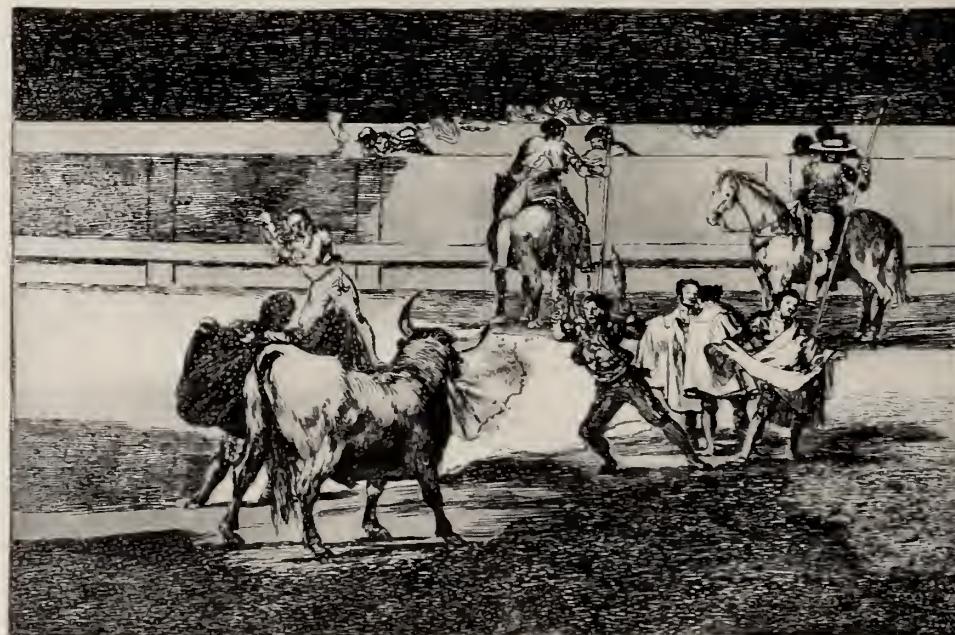
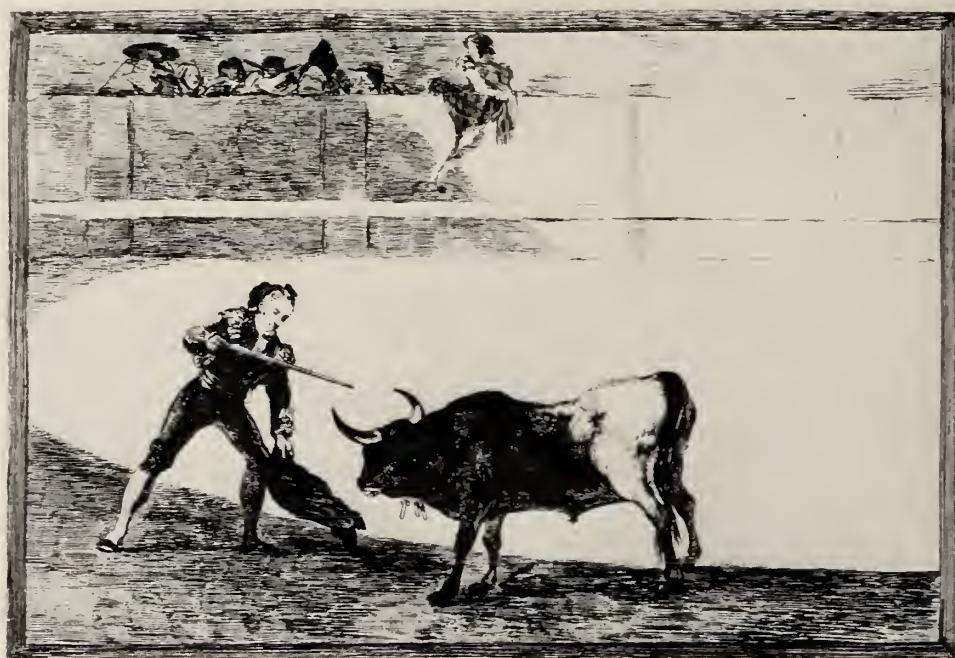
29.Pepe Illo making the pass of the "recorte".



30. Pedro Romero killing  
a bull that he has subdued.

31. Banderillas with  
firecrackers.

34



32.Two groups of picadors  
put to rout, one after the  
other, by a single bull.

33.The ill-fated death of Pepe  
Illo in the Madrid ring.







Oribus de l'ayunt



**1. The way in which the ancient Spaniards hunted bulls on horseback in the open country**

(Modo con que los antiguos Españoles cazaban los toros á caballo en el campo)

Harris 204

Etching, burnished aquatint and drypoint, 250 × 350 mm

**2. Another way of hunting on foot**

(Otro modo de cazar á pie)

Harris 205, Sayre 166

Etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint and burin,  
245 × 350 mm

Goya again depicts the ancient Spaniards hunting and spearing a wild bull in a mountainous region. In the preparatory drawing – which Goya probably ran through the press to transfer the composition to the plate – there is also a herd of wild bulls in the background.

**3. The Moors settled in Spain, giving up the superstitions of the Koran, adopted this art of hunting, and spear a bull in the open**

(Los Moros establecidos en España, prescindiendo de las supersticiones de su Alcorán, adoptaron esta caza y arte, y lancean un toro en el campo)

Harris 206

Etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint and burin,  
250 × 350 mm

**4. They bait another enclosed bull**

(Capean otro encerrado)

Harris 207, Sayre 167

Etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint and burin,  
245 × 350 mm

The men in the arena are dressed in contemporary Moorish costume. The one in the foreground with his back to the viewer executes a specific pass, the "suerte de espaldas" (maneuver from behind).

**5. The spirited Moor Gazul is the first to spear bulls according to rules**

(El animoso Moro Gazul es el primero que lanceó toros en regla)

Harris 208

Etching, burnished aquatint and drypoint, 250 × 350 mm

**6. The Moors make a different play in the ring calling the bull with their burnous**

(Los Moros hacen otro capeo en plaza con su albornoz)

Harris 209

Etching, burnished aquatint and drypoint, 245 × 350 mm

**7. Origin of the harpoons or banderillas**

(Origen de los arpones ó banderillas)

Harris 210

Etching, burnished aquatint and burin, 245 × 350 mm

**8. A Moor caught by the bull in the ring**

(Cogida de un Moro estando en la plaza)

Harris 211

Etching, burnished aquatint and drypoint, 245 × 350 mm

**9. A Spanish nobleman kills a bull after he has lost his horse**

(Un caballero español mata un toro despues de haber perdido el caballo)

Harris 212, Sayre 169

Etching, burnished aquatint and burin, 245 × 350 mm

In the seventeenth century the nobility engaged in bullfighting. By Goya's time the sport had been taken over by commoners.

**10. Charles V spearing a bull in the Valladolid plaza**

(Carlos V. lanceando un toro en la plaza de Valladolid)

Harris 213, Sayre 173

Etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint and burin,  
250 × 350 mm

King Charles V held a fiesta in July 1527 to honor the birth of his son Philip. Goya recreates the legendary moment when the king killed a bull with a single thrust of his lance. In the first edition Goya used aquatint in the background to suggest a dramatic diagonal of light.

**11. The Cid Campeador spearing another bull**

(El Cid Campeador lanceando otro toro)

Harris 214

Etching, burnished aquatint and burin, 250 × 350 mm

Goya depicts the same action as in the previous plate, but at an earlier historical moment. El Cid Campeador, Ruy Diaz de Vivar, died a Spanish hero in 1099.

**12. The rabble hamstring the bull with lances, sickles, banderillas and other arms**

(Desjarrete de la canalla con lanzas, medias-lunas, banderillas y otras armas)

Harris 215

Etching, burnished aquatint and drypoint, 250 × 350 mm

**13. A Spanish nobleman, without the help of assistants, breaks short rejones in the plaza**

(Un caballero español en plaza quebrando rejones sin auxilio de los chulos)

Harris 216, Sayre 175

Etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint and burin,  
250 × 350 mm

- 40 14.The very skillful student of Falces, wrapped in his cape, tricks the bull with the play of his body**  
 (El diestrisimo estudiante de Falces, embozado burla al toro con sus quiebros)  
 Harris 217  
 Etching, aquatint, drypoint and burin, 250 × 355 mm  
 Falces (Don Bernardo Alcalde y Merino) was born in 1709. From this point *La Tauromaquia* mostly features late-eighteenth century toreros whom Goya would have seen in action.
- 15.The famous Martincho places the banderillas playing the bull with the movement of his body**  
 (El famoso Martincho poniendo banderillas al quiebro)  
 Harris 218  
 Etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint and burin, 250 × 350 mm  
 "Martincho" was the nickname of Antonio Ebassun, a renowned bullfighter of Goya's youth, who had died in 1800. Further daring exploits of his are depicted in Plates 18 and 19.
- 16.The same person makes a bull turn in the Madrid ring**  
 (El mismo vuelca un toro en la plaza de Madrid)  
 Harris 219, Sayre 176  
 Etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint and burin, 245 × 350 mm  
 Goya's handwritten title for this print – «El famoso Mamón» – identifies the matador as el Mamón, who was well-known for grabbing bulls by the tail and mounting them.
- 17.Barricades that the Moors made with donkeys to defend themselves from a bull with covered horns**  
 (Palenque de los Moros hecho con burros para defenderse del toro embolado)  
 Harris 220, Sayre 177 (proof)  
 Etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint and burin, 245 × 350 mm
- 18.Martincho's recklessness in the ring at Saragosa**  
 (Temeridad de Martincho en la plaza de Zaragoza)  
 Harris 221, Sayre 179  
 Etching, burnished aquatint and drypoint, 245 × 345 mm  
 Ebassun here dares to kill a fresh bull while seated in a chair with his ankles fettered. The gatekeeper is only half visible behind the gate he has just swung open, and all eyes are on the moment of confrontation.
- 19.More of his [Martincho's] madness in the same ring**  
 (Otra locura suya en la misma plaza)  
 Harris 222, Sayre 182  
 Etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint and burin, 245 × 350 mm  
 Signed and dated in the plate lower right: 1815 Goya  
 "Martincho", his ankles again fettered, awaits the bull from atop a table draped with a cape. As the bull charges the cape, he prepares to leap over it. Goya's image verifies the matador's boast: «there is no one to be found who can touch me in my crazy doings».
- 20.The agility and audacity of Juanito Apiñani in [the ring] at Madrid**  
 (Ligereza y atrevimiento de Juanito Apiñani en la de Madrid)  
 Harris 223  
 Etching and aquatint, 245 × 355 mm  
 Apinani, who was active from 1750-1770, is shown gracefully executing the "saltando a la garrocha".
- 21.Unhappy accident in the bleachers of the Madrid ring and death of the mayor of Torrejón**  
 (Desgracias acaecidas en el tendido de la plaza de Madrid, y muerte del alcalde de Torrejón)  
 Harris 224, Sayre 184  
 Etching, burnished aquatint, lavis, drypoint and burin, 245 × 355 mm  
 In the margin of one print, Goya wrote «The bull jumped into the bleachers and killed two. I saw it». This asymmetrical scene of panic and destruction is one of Goya's most powerful prints.
- 22.Manly courage of the celebrated Pajuelera in [the ring] at Saragosa**  
 (Valor varonil de la célebre Pajuelera en la de Zaragoza)  
 Harris 225  
 Etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint and burin, 250 × 350 mm  
 Pajuelera (Nicolasa Escamilla) was a rare female bullfighter.
- 23.Mariano Ceballos, called "el Indio", kills the bull from horseback**  
 (Mariano Ceballos, alias el Indio, mata el toro desde su caballo)  
 Harris 226, Sayre 187  
 Etching and burnished aquatint, 250 × 350 mm  
 Ceballos was South American, probably Argentinian, as he is first recorded fighting in Buenos Aires in 1772. He was in Pamplona in 1775, and died in the ring in 1784.
- 24.The same Ceballos mounted on another bull breaks short spears in the ring at Madrid**  
 (El mismo Ceballos montado sobre otro toro quiebra rejones en la plaza de Madrid)  
 Harris 227  
 Etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint and burin, 245 × 355 mm  
 Ceballos is again shown riding a bull in one of Goya's lithographs of the *Bulls of Bordeaux* (1825).

**25. They loose dogs on the bull**

(Echan perros al toro)

Harris 228

Etching, burnished aquatint and drypoint, 245 × 355 mm

**26. A picador is unhorsed and falls under the bull**

(Caida de un picador de su caballo debajo del toro)

Harris 229

Etching, burnished aquatint and drypoint, 245 × 355 mm

**27. The celebrated picador, Fernando del Toro, draws the fierce beast on with his goad stick**

(El célebre Fernando del Toro, barilarguero, obligando á la fiera con su garrocha)

Harris 230

Etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint and burin,  
245 × 350 mm

Fernando del Toro came from Almonte, and fought in Seville in the 1760s. He is mentioned in Moratín's history of bullfighting as among the best horsemen of his era.

**28. The forceful Rendon stabs a bull with the pic, from which pass he died in the ring at Madrid**

(El esforzado Rendon picando un toro, de cuya suerte murió en la plaza de Madrid)

Harris 231

Etching, burnished aquatint and burin, 250 × 350 mm

The lesser-known Rendon was in the troupe of the matador Costillares (1746-1800).

**29. Pepe Illo making the pass of the "recorte"**

(Pepe Illo haciendo el recorte al toro)

Harris 232

Etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint and burin,  
245 × 350 mm

Signed and dated in the plate lower right: Goya 1815

José Delgado Guerra, known as "Pepe Illo" (1754-1801), was one of the greatest eighteenth century matadors. He was famous for his flair and daring in the ring. He also is known as the author of one of the earliest popular books on bullfighting, *Tauromaquia, o arte de torear á caballo y á pie* (The bullfight, or the art of contesting bulls, mounted and on foot), though it is believed to have been written for him. This book may have provided Goya with some of the source material for his prints.

**30. Pedro Romero killing a bull that he has subdued**

(Pedro Romero matando á toro parado)

Harris 233, Sayre 191

Etching, aquatint, drypoint and burin, 245 × 355 mm

Pedro Romero (1754-1839), the great contemporary rival of Pepe Illo, exemplified the height of the classic fighting tradition of the school of Ronda, where he was born. When he retired in 1799, he had killed over five thousand bulls without being gored. At the age of 80 he came out of retirement and killed bulls in an exhibition fight. Around 1796 Goya also painted his portrait (Collection Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth).

**31. Banderillas with firecrackers**

(Banderillas de fuego)

Harris 234, Sayre 192

Etching, drypoint and lavis, 245 × 350 mm

Signed and dated in the plate lower right: 1815 Goya

**32. Two groups of picadors put to rout, one after the other, by a single bull**

(Dos grupos de picadores arrollados de seguida por un solo toro)

Harris 235, Sayre 195(proof)

Etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint and burin,  
245 × 350 mm**33. The ill-fated death of Pepe Illo in the Madrid ring**

(La desgraciada muerte de Pepe Illo en la plaza de Madrid)

Harris 236, Sayre 199

Etching, burnished aquatint, drypoint and burin,  
245 × 350 mm

Pepe Illo's audacity resulted in his being gored twenty-five times in his career including this, his final encounter, during the corrida of May 11, 1801.

**Way of Flying, 1816**

(Modo de Volar)

Harris 260, Sayre 202 (proof)

Etching and aquatint, 245 × 350 mm

This was at first included as the thirty-fourth print in Goya's mock-up of *La Tauromaquia*, but was not included in the 1816 publication. It was then issued posthumously as Plate 13 of *Los Proverbios*, part of the series of *Disparates* (Follies), in 1864.

**«Bulls of Bordeaux»****Spanish Entertainment, 1825**

(Dibersion de España)

Harris 285, Sayre 257

Crayon lithograph, 300 × 410 mm

Edition of 100 on white wove paper

Signed lower left in the stone: Goya

After Goya emigrated to Bordeaux in 1824, he met the lithographer Gaulon. In November and December 1825, Gaulon registered one hundred impressions from Goya's four stones, each described as «une course de taureaux». This is one of the four scenes, done from memory, of groups of amateurs baiting five bulls.



**PABLO PICASSO**

**LA TAUROMAQUIA, O ARTE DE TOREAR**



### Introductory Note

In 1957, in a matter of hours, Picasso completed the preparation of the twenty-six plates for Pepe Illo's classic manual on the art of bullfighting. The intense afternoon's performance, virtuoso in every sense of the word, was the culmination of a project that had begun more than thirty years before when Picasso had been invited by the connoisseur and publisher, Don Gustavo Gili Roig, brother to one of his childhood companions, to illustrate the *Tauromaquia*. Although between 1927 and 1929 six plates were tentatively designated for the project, and a text by Henri de Montherlant completed, Picasso never resumed the work until the son of the original publisher, Don Gustavo Gili, once again approached him in 1956. Still he lingered. Then, in one day, after having been greatly excited by an outstanding corrida in Arles, Picasso committed himself definitively on the twenty-six copper plates.

Picasso depicted the three classical phases of the corrida for Pepe Illo's manual with a celerity that stunned his household and his Barcelona publisher. His twenty-six plates have been admired as an inspired tour de force by an invincible «viejo picador», as the Spanish writer Camilo José Cela affectionately called him. In fact, these etchings are the detached summum of a lifetime's preparation. They reflect one of Picasso's strongest qualities: his ability to respect and reshape tradition; his fearlessness in confronting the past. With his natural ability to make everything contemporary, Picasso could allow himself to assume many rôles — many masks, as he told us in his last works — including that of a traditional illustrator. The corrida, an integral part of his everyday life as a small child in Malaga, is one of his oldest and most assiduously explored themes: as an eleven-year old he sketched at the bullring; at twelve he did a series of studies of bulls; at thirteen he drew caricatures of picadors and matadors. In 1897, at sixteen, he spent some months in Madrid. From there he sent his father certain studies for approval, among them a copy of one of Goya's *Caprichos*, showing a bawd and a whore, and, significantly, a detailed portrait taken from a nineteenth-century print, of the renowned torero, Pepe Illo. Moreover, his first etching was most probably the representation of a picador called El Zurdo (The Left-Handed One), done when he was eighteen years old.

These works of his youth were the prelude to countless drawings, paintings and prints during his long life in which Picasso explored every aspect of the inexpungeable existence in his mind's eye of bull, bullring and bullfighter. The protean character of this oeuvre has daunted his critics and certainly inspired much nonsense, as Picasso so often remarked. Still, the risk of sentimentality in discussing Picasso's devotion to the corrida must be braved. Despite his forays into the mythic and metaphysical significance of the ancient taurine rites, Picasso remained basically an aficionado of the spectacle itself. All forms of spectacle had always drawn his attention, from the "verbenas", or celebrations on the eve of saint's days, that he never missed as a youth in Spain, to the more formal spectacles of the *Ballets Russes*. His last works, with their allusion to the grand parade of life itself, articulated in the language of theater, laid emphasis on his Shakespearean conception of the nature of existence as a tragic or tragicomic spectacle. Of all the spectacles he had reflected upon in his life, however, the corrida was the most passionately cherished. He loved the call of the trumpets, the suits of lights in which the toreros swaggered, the caparisoned horses, the sunlight-shadow division of the ring, the cadenced rituals. When he could not be present at the corrida, he told Brassai «I hear the *paso doble*, I see the crowd, the

entrance of the cuadrilla, the first bull as he charges the picadors». To compensate himself for his absence, he drew it all, again and again. His interest in the professionalism of bull-breeders and toreros led him behind the scenes, to study and discuss the fine points, as once it had led him to the wings of the Cirque Medrano to banter with the highly-trained, disciplined performers. Every detail of spectacle interested him. He gave himself over to it.

The history of the art of the torero, with its philosophical and political implications, was also important to him, as it had been to his progenitor, Goya. Picasso saw, above all, the weight and wholeness of the long-nurtered ritual in much the same way as he recognized the underlying seriousness of the Catalan national dance, the Sardana, which, he said, abolishes all distinctions of class and becomes a "communion of souls". In his way he probably saw the corrida as Goya had at the end of his life: as a national diversion with deep implications. And also as an indeterminate but probable democratizing function (his constant companion and fellow critic at the corridas in Southern France was the barber in Vallauris.)

Like Goya, who knew *Pan y Toros* and the controversial aspects of the corrida, who was well aware of its barbaric increment, and who yet accepted the corrida as an undeniable ground of his culture, Picasso also knew both sides, as his many drawings of the tragic situation of bull and horse indicate. But he was not of two minds: he loved the corrida unreservedly and even went to great lengths to establish the institution in Vallauris, near his home. Although he saw the cruelty and horror, for Pepe Illo he took the true aficionado's stance of Olympian coolness. The aficionado, as Hemingway noted, is one «who has this sense of the tragedy and ritual of the fight so that minor aspects are not important except as they relate to the whole». When Picasso set out to illustrate Pepe Illo's treatise, he worked directly, detachedly, respectfully — as an aficionado.

Picasso's psychological experience, with all its speculations on meaning, remains in the background, but is present nonetheless in the finest details of this suite. As Fred Licht says of Goya's late lithographs, they reflect a deep joy in the artist's own mastery. Picasso's joy is apparent in the swiftly limned figures of this ineffable contest, and in the vivacity of the summaries to which he gave himself so entirely. «We are not merely the executors of our work; we "live" our work» he said in 1951. So much did he live this re-enactment of the corrida that David Duncan reports that when he re-worked one plate — that of the torero tossed on the bull's horn — he muttered to himself: «He made a mistake».

In another sense, the lived appears in the recollections of all his

impressions of bulls in his lifetime. Picasso, student of the real as well as the imagined, used not only his own numerous notations, but his memory of stirring, immemorial images. In the exquisitely styled, linear characterization of the anatomy of the bull lingers his recall of the impact of Altamira, discovered in 1879 and widely discussed in Paris in the 1920s after l'Abbé Breuil began publishing. In addition, Picasso's friend Zervos stimulated interest in the archaic in his publications, and after the discovery of Lascaux in 1940 welcomed commentary in the pages of *Cahiers d'art*. No artist, least of all Picasso, could have seen these cave paintings, or reproductions of them, without feeling affinities.

There are other memories: of the lithe representations of the horse in Chinese and Persian art, and of his own many variations on the bull, including the Minotaur, fusing the force of the brute with the sensibilities of man. Picasso's identification with the Minotaur extended beyond the simple narrative of the myth: «If all the ways I have been along were marked on a map and joined up with a line, it might represent a Minotaur». In the Pepe Illo illustrations, the bull, even in his defeat, remains the most important protagonist, six hundred pounds of darkness and mass. The others — matadors, picadors and audience — are often merely sign figures.

The first sentence of Pepe Illo's treatise is: «Every pass in the bullfight has its fixed rules that never waver». Picasso defers to Pepe Illo. He meticulously records the three phases of the spectacle. The swiftness of his brush does not obliterate the benefits of his long study, his aficionado's knowledge of every critical detail. He had flexed his brush in many previous ink studies, such as a 1952 drawing of a bull in pasture, in which already the washes are determined and the broad brush gestures for muscle, horn and rib-cage worked out. By the time he came to the plates he was ready. Using a technique he had learned in 1933 from the master printer Lacourière — the sugar-based aquatint, or lift-ground, in which a syrupy mixture of sugar, ink and a small amount of gum becomes a painterly medium — Picasso was able to catch the finest nuance of bunched muscle, the most precise light on tapered horn. In his conception, the agon between man and bull is equalized by the dispersion of lights. Here, the insistent memory of Goya is unabashedly invoked. Picasso often blots out the spectators beyond the barrera on one side of his composition, allowing the white of his paper to stand for the brilliance of the sun. The sun is paramount in the corrida. Hemingway wrote: «The theory, practise and spectacle of bullfighting have all been built on the assumption of the presence of the sun... The Spanish say "El sol es el mejor torero". The sun is the best bullfighter, and without the sun the best bullfight-

er is not there. He is like a man without a shadow».

Picasso's long concourse with "sol y sombra" in its metaphorical dimension emerges in the *Tauromaquia* with breathtaking simplicity in such plates as the *Salto con la garrocha* (Plate 8), or *Suerte de muleta* (Plate 17), in which a diagonal path of light bespeaks the high afternoon sun's power to etch stark contrast. The sun is also the agent of stillness, the most dramatic element in a good corrida. Picasso was well aware of the Spanish saying that «torear es parar, templar y mandar» (bullfighting is holding still, exercising restraint, and taking command). He has expressed moments of acute suspense in the searing light in the plate *Citando al toro a banderillas sentado en una silla* (Plate 15), where the banderillero and bull — small, shadowless and arrested in the great solar glare — invoke total agonizing stillness. Here, the spectators are barely indicated. But in *Citando a matar* (Plate 19), the stillness is about to be shattered and Picasso indicates the excitement in the stands by darkening them with a tide of human movement.

The drawing in these plates at first glance derives its expressiveness mainly in the silhouettes. But Picasso has used the complicated lift-ground medium to full effect. On close inspection, the remarkable washes with their broad range of values describe not only the complicated bosses and cavities of the bull's body, but the slightest turn in the body of his human antagonist. The characterization in these plates is remarkable in its subtlety. Picasso's use of caricature is sparing, but invoked when he must describe the commonplaceness of the rickety oxen that lead out the cowardly bull, or the absurd character of the street curs set upon the bull. His use of elegant stylization, as in the marvellous plate *Alanceando a un toro* (Plate 26) serves to suggest the rhythm of movement throughout the corrida, set off by moments of sublime stillness. The mounted fighter with his lance confronts a bull that swivels ballistically, giving the entire composition the character of a whirling, circular dance. Here too, the quality of the print resides as much in the minute details as in the breathtaking movement of the whole. The amateur of etching is rewarded, when he takes up his magnifying glass, with countless inventions in wash and tone that animate the whole.

Picasso concentrates on the pageantry and the rules of the game in this late work. But even here his earlier, more emotional visions are not entirely sublimated. When in 1933 he etched the dying minotaur in the bullring, showing a girl behind the barrera reaching forward in a tender gesture of compassion, he spoke of one aspect of the contest. In the *Tauromaquia*, the stance of the bull, mortally stabbed, with blood cascading from his muzzle, recalls earlier feelings of the artist,

while the collapse of the bull, in a noble deep bow, head gathered in, and front legs kneeling, is drawn with reverence and respectful pity. In his first essays in 1929, Picasso had used his linear skills to bring the drama of death to the foreground, taking up the whole page with an image of torero and horse being trampled by the bull, or horse being fatally rammed by the bull. But in the later *Tauromaquia* Picasso has, on the whole, eliminated close emotional identification, as Pepe Illo demanded, and stuck to the rules of the game, "parar, templar y mandar". Like Goya before him, he shuns the complicated feelings of more youthful periods in his life and takes up the detached attitude of the aficionado who appreciates the spectacle and the stately rhythms of the ritual. In this, with the greatest esthetic economy, he neglects nothing, even the more technical aspects of the corrida. For instance, he is careful to record the three conditions of the bull according to traditions: "levantado, parado y aplomado" (head high, slowed, and leaden). The importance of esthetic distance here is as great as the importance of its correlative, total esthetic engagement, "living" the work and not being a mere executor. Once, while preparing the program for his eighty-fifth birthday exhibition, he remarked to his friend Jean Leymarie: «In short, this is the inventory of someone with the same name as myself». Someone with the same name as Picasso created a *Tauromaquia* that remained true to the spirit of the late eighteenth century, while yet, in the verve, economy and agility of his representations, remained true also to the spirit of the twentieth century.

*Dore Ashton*

José Delgado alias Pepe Illo, **La Tauromaquia, o arte de torear**  
(1796)

Published by Editorial Gustavo Gili, Barcelona, 1959.

Illustrated with twenty-six unbound aquatints  
by Pablo Picasso, dated 1957.

Title page signed, numbered 17 of 250 copies.

*Provenance:*

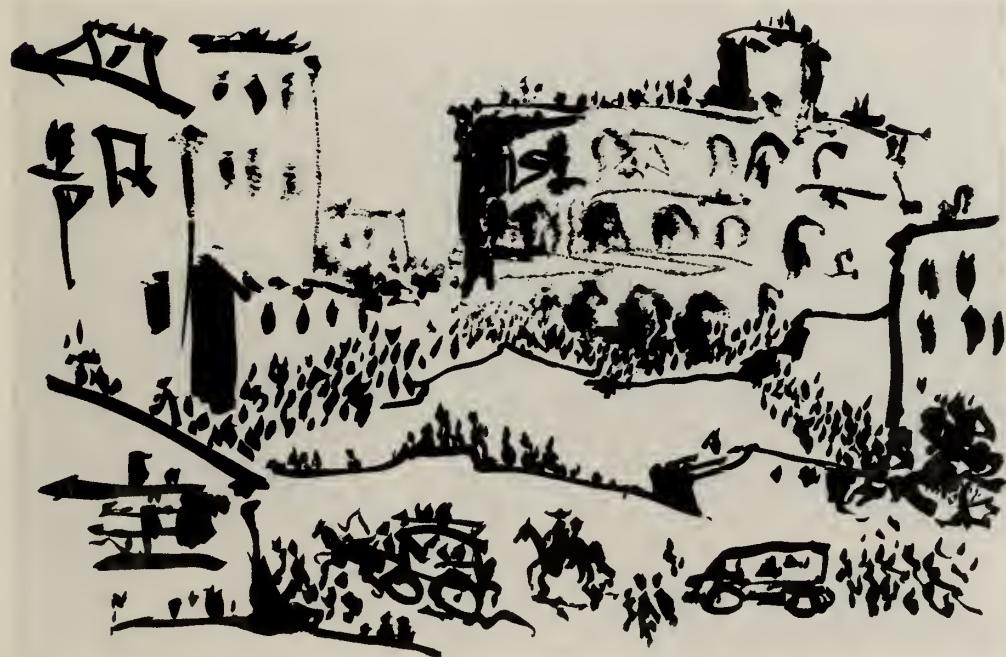
Purchased in Europe by a private collector, New York;  
acquired by the Arthur Ross Foundation, New York.

All works below are by Pablo Picasso  
(Collection the Arthur Ross Foundation)

1.Bulls in the field.

2.To the bullfights!

51



3 Entrance of the  
bullfighters.

4 The pass called Don  
Tancredo's.

52



5. The bull leaves the pen.

6. Provoking the bull  
with the cape.

53



7 Bullfighting with the  
Veronica pass.

8. Vaulting with the goad  
stick.

54



9. Bullocks lead away  
the tame bull.

10. Picadors thrust  
at the bull.



11. They loose dogs  
on the bull.

12. The picador forcing  
the bull with his pic.

56



13. Provoking with  
banderillas.

14. Pricking the bull with  
a pair of banderillas.

57



15. Provoking the bull with  
banderillas while seated  
on a chair.

16. The bullfighter dedicates  
the death of the bull.

58



17.The pass with the red cape.

18.Gored.



19. Provoking to the kill.

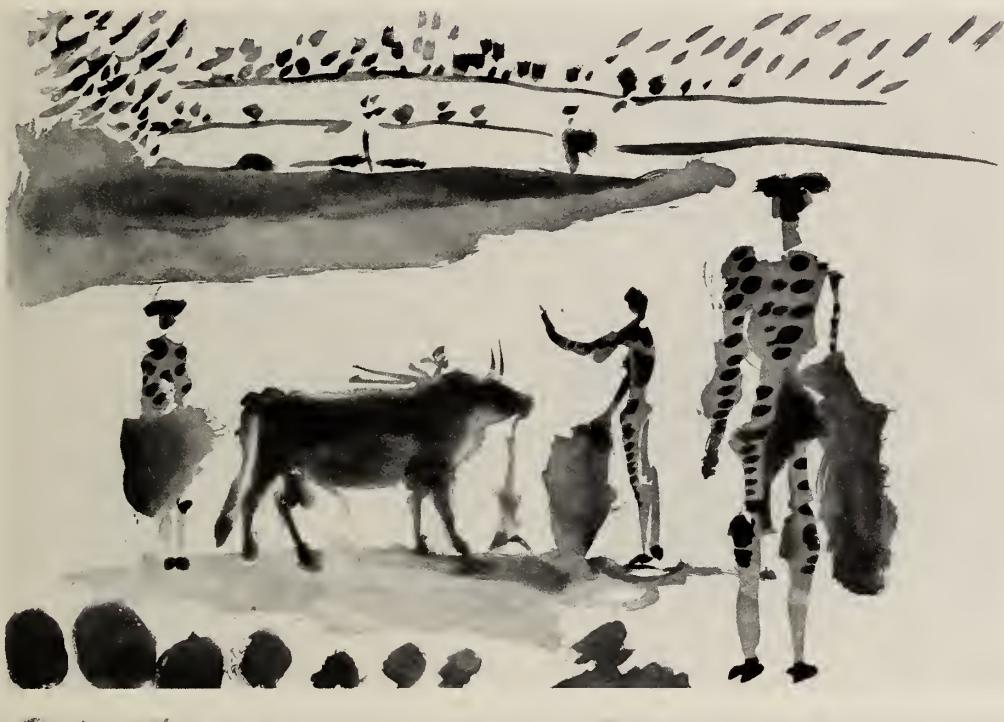
20. The kill.

60



21. After the stabbing the  
bullfighter signals the death  
of the bull.

22. Death of the bull.



23. Dragging out the dead bull.

24. The bullfighter exits on the shoulders of bullfight fans.

62



25. Provoking the bull with  
the short spear.

26. Lancing the bull.



**1.Bulls in the field**

(Toros en el campo)

Bloch 951

Lift ground aquatint on Guarro wove paper, 200 × 295 mm

**2.To the bullfights!**

(A los toros)

Bloch 952

Lift ground aquatint on Guarro wove paper, 200 × 295 mm

Picasso went to the bullfight in Arles in the spring of 1957 and soon after completed this series of prints inspired by the corrida.

**3. Entrance of the bullfighters**

(Paseo de cuadrillas)

Bloch 953

Lift ground aquatint on Guarro wove paper, 200 × 295 mm

**4.The pass called Don Tancredo's**

(Suerte llamada de Don Tancredo)

Bloch 954

Lift ground aquatint on Guarro wove paper, 200 × 295 mm

Picasso depicts not part of the usual bullfight, but rather a risky illusion. In it a whitewashed man stands motionless on a low pedestal in order to deceive the bull. This trick was first performed by Tancredo López in Spain in 1899. Picasso uses it to reverse the light/dark relationship in the upper left of the print.

**5.The bull leaves the pen**

(El toro sale del toril)

Bloch 955

Lift ground aquatint on Guarro wove paper, 200 × 295 mm

**6.Provoking the bull with the cape**

(Citando al toro con la capa)

Bloch 956

Lift ground aquatint on Guarro wove paper, 200 × 295 mm

**7.Bullfighting with the Veronica pass**

(Toreando a la Verónica)

Bloch 957

Lift ground aquatint on Guarro wove paper, 200 × 295 mm

**8.Vaulting with the goad stick**

(Salto con la garrocha)

Bloch 958

Lift ground aquatint on Guarro wove paper, 200 × 295 mm

**9.Bullocks lead away the tame bull**

(Los cabestros retiran al toro manso)

Bloch 959

Lift ground aquatint on Guarro wove paper, 200 × 295 mm

**10.Picadors thrust at the bull**

(Suerte de varas)

Bloch 960

Lift ground aquatint on Guarro wove paper, 200 × 295 mm

**11.They loose dogs on the bull**

(Echan perros al toro)

Bloch 961

Lift ground aquatint on Guarro wove paper, 200 × 295 mm

**12.The picador forcing the bull with his pic**

(El picador obligando al toro con su pica)

Bloch 962

Lift ground aquatint on Guarro wove paper, 200 × 295mm

**13. Provoking with banderillas**

(Citando a banderillas)

Bloch 963

Lift ground aquatint on Guarro wove paper, 200 × 295 mm

**14. Pricking the bull with a pair of banderillas**

(Clavando un par de banderillas)

Bloch 964

Lift ground aquatint on Guarro wove paper, 200 × 295 mm

**15. Provoking the bull with banderillas while seated on a chair**

(Citando al toro a banderillas sentado en una silla)

Bloch 965

Lift ground aquatint on Guarro wove paper, 200 × 295 mm

**16. The bullfighter dedicates the death of the bull**

(El matador brinda la muerte del toro)

Bloch 966

Lift ground aquatint on Guarro wove paper, 200 × 295 mm

**17. The pass with the red cape**

(Suerte de muleta)

Bloch 967

Lift ground aquatint on Guarro wove paper, 200 × 295 mm

**18. Gored**

(La cogida)

Bloch 968

Lift ground aquatint on Guarro wove paper, 200 × 295 mm

The photographer David Douglas Duncan, who witnessed Picasso painting the *Tauromaquia* plates, recorded that this is the only one which was reworked. As Picasso added the matador being thrown by the bull, he muttered: «He made a mistake!».

**19. Provoking to the kill**

(Citando a matar)

Bloch 969

Lift ground aquatint on Guarro wove paper, 200 × 295 mm

**20. The kill**

(La estocada)

Bloch 970

Lift ground aquatint on Guarro wove paper, 200 × 295 mm

**21. After the stabbing the bullfighter signals the death of the bull**

(Despues de la estocada el torero señala la muerte del toro)

Bloch 971

Lift ground aquatint on Guarro wove paper, 200 × 295 mm

**22. Death of the bull**

(Muerte del toro)

Bloch 972

Lift ground aquatint on Guarro wove paper, 200 × 295 mm

**23. Dragging out the dead bull**

(El arrastre)

Bloch 973

Lift ground aquatint on Guarro wove paper, 200 × 295 mm

**24. The bullfighter exits on the shoulders of bullfight fans**

(El torero sale en hombros de los aficionados)

Bloch 974

Lift ground aquatint on Guarro wove paper, 200 × 295 mm

**25. Provoking the bull with the short spear**

(Citando al toro con el rejón)

Bloch 975

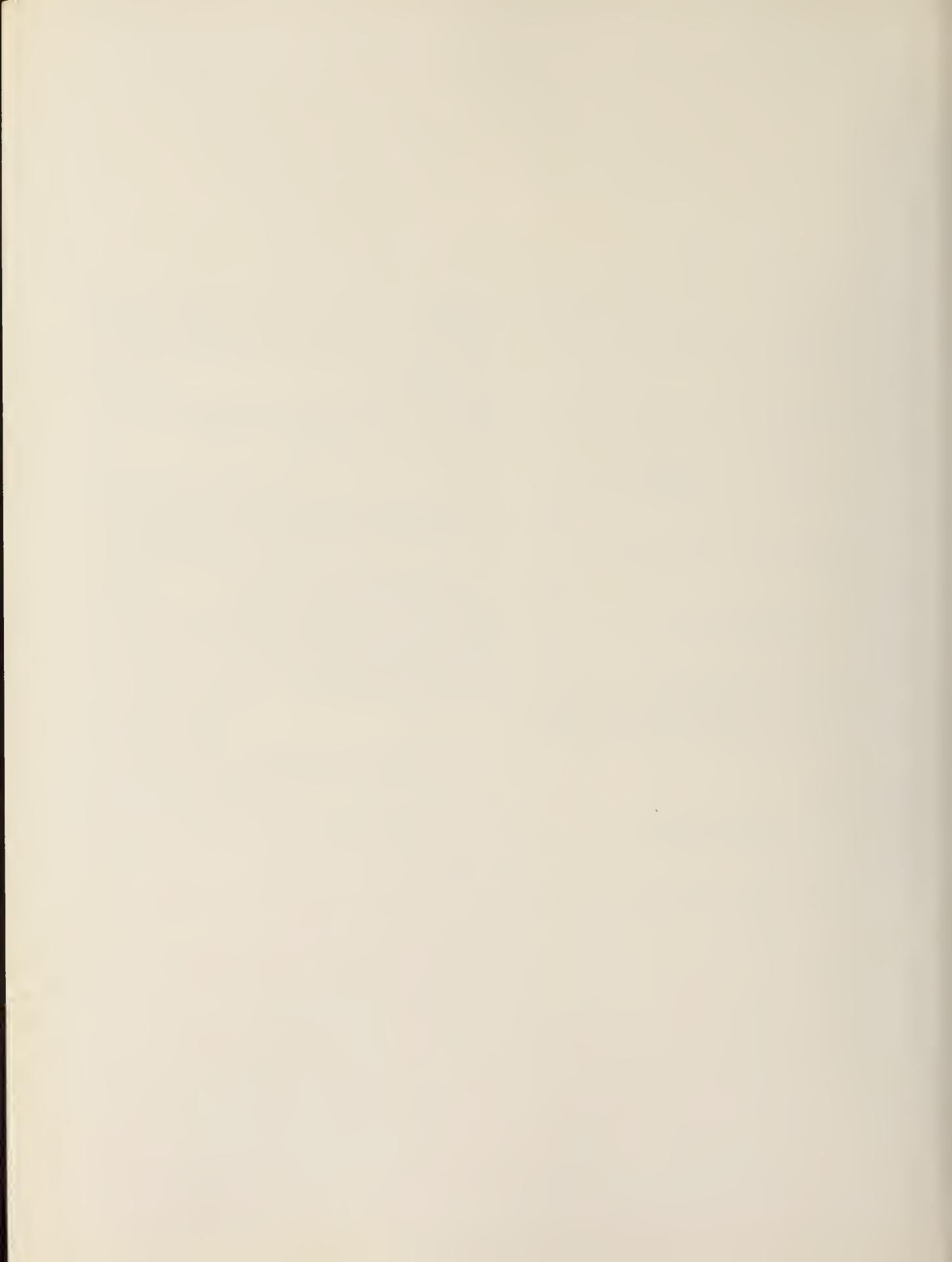
Lift ground aquatint on Guarro wove paper, 200 × 295 mm

**26. Lancing the bull**

(Alanceando a un toro)

Bloch 976

Lift ground aquatint on Guarro wove paper, 200 × 295 mm



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compiled by Lewis Kachur

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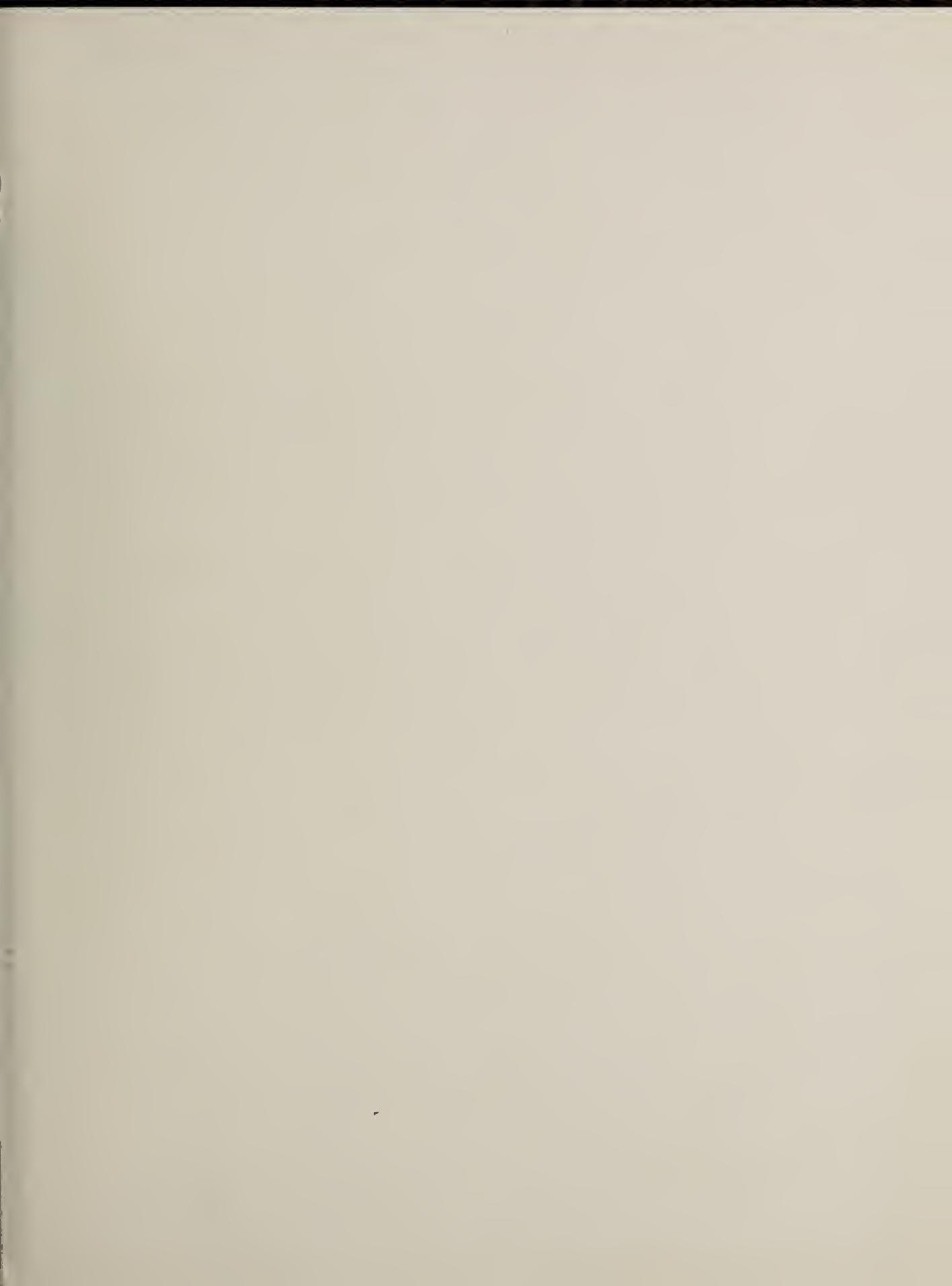
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This English language catalogue designed by F.G. Confalonieri has been printed in Italy, by Arti Grafiche delle Venezie di Vicenza, Gruppo Mondadori, in February 1985 for the Trustees of The Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation.







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