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Hogarth, Goya, Greuze – Moral Social Issues and Art of the Eighteenth Century
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Introduction

Up to and through the Middle Ages European society was being shaped by religion. If there were any problems, people looked to God and the Church for salvation. One of the main separations between the Middle Ages and the early Modern Era is that people no longer were guided by the idea of an exterior force which was ruling over them. People started to look at themselves and at their own nature to find more understanding for how to live righteously in this world. The belief, that religion is the path of discipline and righteous living, started to be less popular, just as the belief that the devil was responsible for all the evil. A new social understanding was starting to crystallize itself. People became more responsible for their own actions. The trend was naturally reflected in art. The predominantly religious art had slowly gotten replaced by the portrayal of more earthy events. Already with the humanists around 1500s, the human being and his nature started to dominate, yet such observation of individuals was limited mainly to nobles and monarchs and the representation of their grandeur. A century or two later genre art appeared but it simply portrayed taverns, households, and street scenes. Some artists added a moral analysis of things, but only with cultural allegories, Greek or Roman myths, or once again religious references. A clear critical observation and a more honest portrayal of society did not dominate the art. By the eighteenth century this had changed. Artists started to look at the society more objectively and critically. During the eighteenth century artist like William Hogarth, Francisco Goya, and Jean-Baptist Greuze depicted moral and social issues that were present in society. All three portrayed things that had never been captured in fine arts before their time. Hogarth busied himself with issues that bring the productiveness and functionality of the society down. Goya reflected on the evil natures of the human kind and how it corrupts and hurts humanity. Domestic issues were Greuze’s talent. The stylistic method the three artists used to depict their ideas were also different to each other as these reflect the artist’s personal careers and life experience. In general Hogarth focused on well-known social distresses: alcoholism, prostitution, forced marriage, and the contrast between poor and rich, there were less domestic and personal issues. Goya focuses on cruelty and torture of both the physical and psychological side
of society. He covers all kinds of issues, from prostitution, to marriage, to parents and children, violence, abuse, and sexual waywardness. Greuze focused on domestic issues including violence, parental roles, and relation of fathers and sons. Due to art, as that of Hogarth, Goya, and Greuze, one is able to have a deeper understanding of everyday life and problems that took place in the past. The study of representations of past moral social issues not only provides a better understanding of past societies, but also greatly contributes on the whole to the comprehension of human nature.
Eighteenth Century History of England

In August of 1714 England entered into a new political phase with Georg Ludwig of Hanover becoming King of England. Politically and economically the new Hanoverian England started out in a stable position. The war of the Spanish Succession ended positively for England. Nova Scotia, New Foundland, Minorca, Gibraltar, and Hudson’s Bay were newly acquired colonies. An important factor for Britain’s stability was peace. Since its rivals Spain, France, and Holland had been weakened by the various recent conflicts. Spain and Holland would not recover from the economic and military blow, while it took France ten years to get back to normal. There weakness left Britain in peace and prosperity. Furthermore a stable economy at the start of the Hanoverian England meant a stable society. Naturally the wealth was not equally distributed, yet agricultural production increased and there was enough food for the lowest ranks of the economic social order. Trade also increased and industry grew, although agriculture remained the main source of income in the country. The population of seven million in Britain remained the same from 1700 to 1740. During these years Robert Walpole (English Prime Minister from 1721-1742) had climbed to be the first minister of England. Although Britain was stable, he is credited with maintaining the stability. He kept the country out of the wars on the continent of Europe. As Simon SCHAMA states, harmony was the virtue of Walpolean England.¹ Even when Britain was in an alliance with Austria, he did not deliver financial support to Austria when it was at war against France between 1733 and 1738, in order to maintain peace for Britain. His religious policies were moderate and his economic policies were competent. In 1689, under the Toleration Act, Protestant dissenters (protestant who refused to join the Church of England) were given the freedom to worship; however, they were excluded from many other civil rights and were not allowed education in Universities of England. In 1719 policies changed and due to the Occasional Conformity and Schism acts, Protestant dissenters were allowed to open educational centers of their own and even take on positions in public offices. However, Walpole also understood the importance of the Church of England. In the rural areas, the Church was an important part of social life. It was a place of

¹ SCHAMA, Simon. A History of Britain. 2002 p.360
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gathering, as well as, an institution which provided education not only on religious subjects but also on current political, economical, and social affairs taking place in the country. Hence, the Church of England had great support from the public and causing it too much competition would weaken and disappoint its leaders and followers. The natural consequence would be negative for the government, so there were no more concessions for the Protestant dissenters made by Walpole. Financially Walpole reduced taxes, which pleased numerous landowning families. He, however, was thinking not mainly of the general public but his position among the influential class of landowners. This was shown in his desire to abolish land tax, which was mainly paid by the wealthy, and put taxes on tobacco and wine, which would burden the poorer society, in place. Protest across the entire nation raised by the Opposition in the Parliament had success in stopping this policy. This reflects on Britain’s ability to fight for civil liberties and fairness.

By the end of the 1730’s opinions began to change in the government. Many parties did not agree with Walpole’s endless desire to keep out of conflict. There was a desire by those in government, as well as, by London’s and other trade cities’ commercial bodies to go to war against Spain in order to gain more colonies and widen commercial perspectives. Walpole no longer was powerful enough to stop the country’s entrance into war from 1739. Although there were initial successes for Britain, it soon found itself in a larger European war. Walpole had always been backed by the ruling Monarchs, however, his decline in power and final resignation in 1742 reflect on an important point about the political system in Britain. The power of the monarchs was being balanced by the parliament. Monarchs had the power to appoint ministers, but those would be powerless without the majority support of the House of Commons. The years following these events and while Britain was still at war on the continent, the Stuart family, with Charles Edward Stuart at its head, was trying to become the new ruling monarch family of Britain. Charles Stuart did not manage to gain the support of the British people. On the contrary many wealthy and influential people became strongly and openly loyal to the ruling Hanoverians. The Brits associated the Roman Catholic Charles Stuart with the French, due to their desire to support him financially in the belief that he would make Britain a better ally to France. In addition to the fact that the Brits hated the French, this
association and his Roman Catholic faith was related to the idea of the loss of liberties, religious prosecution, and absolutism.\(^2\) Again this reflects that British society was progressive in terms of personal liberties. Naturally, the British society, although desiring liberties and social rights, it was still thinking of itself and acting as a suppressor of others. For example, after 1745 the government decided to incorporate Scotland in order to gain more wealth. While doing so, many Scottish cultural traditions were banned, so Scotland was pacified for the benefit of England/Britain. As a result Britain had grown stronger economically. It also became the largest European free-trade area as free-trade between Scotland and England began.

The society of mid-18\(^{th}\) century Britain generally was centered more around the towns than the countryside. Still important to note, that although there was a rapidly growing trade and industry, which created a number of prosperous families of bank, textile, and brewing industries, the owning of land was still the main way to have wealth and power. Most of these land-owning families were part of a peerage, meaning they were barons, earls, dukes, etc... These titles were granted by the monarchs and therefore gave the families a special status, giving them a seat in the House of Lords. Naturally land-owning families were not the only ones with power, yet they did hold the majority of influential positions in local and central government. Many offices, which were greatly desired, did not hold salaries, leaving them to the wealthy and allowing the wealthy therefore to have local influence. In the mid-18\(^{th}\) century Britain the middle class was growing. Along with this growth came the growth of professions in teaching, medicine, law, banking, etc... Peace and prosperity in the country also allowed for more leisure and luxury industries – increasing also professions such as musicians, artists, booksellers, gardeners, and caterers. There was general shop boom. People were able to afford owning their won shops not only in the urban, but also in the rural areas.

London was the center for the new culture of commerce. In contrast to the capitals of Spain, France, and the Netherlands a much higher percentage of British citizens lived in London in the mid-18\(^{th}\) century than did the citizens of other European countries live in their capitals. One in ten Brits lived in London,

while only one in forty Frenchmen lived in Paris, one in fifty Dutchmen in their capital and one in eighty Spaniards in Madrid.\(^3\) Unlike in the other capitals, London did not only hold the Court and the Parliament, hence political center, but also held the heart of the financial world by having the nation’s main port and communications and printing networks. Although the other big towns only had a tenth of London’s population, they began to be cultural centers of their own. With social areas like theaters, coffee houses, libraries, etc... booming. The number of schools increased rapidly. Charity for the poor became more organized as charity schools and hospitals opened.\(^4\) It is important to note through that the quality of life was much better for the rich and things newspapers and luxury goods such as manufactured furniture, porcelain, and mirrors did not come to the poor. However, it would be also wrong to say that the poor, that being more those in the countryside, were completely alienated from the new developments. On the contrary there was a growth in communication between the country and the cities as more wealthy people from the cities would take off several months a year to rest in the countryside. This brought better roads, shops, lawyers, and merchants into the rural areas.

**Cultural Aspects of Eighteenth Century England**

During the beginning of the eighteenth century England, the baroque style was favored by the aristocracy. In terms of visual art, Venetian art was the tradition. Slowly, as the Rococo style developed in France, French art was imported into England and took its place next to the Venetian art. And although, as it will be later clear from the following Hogarth sections, Hogarth strived and succeeded to create his own English style, yet was also tied to the fact that he needed to become popular among wealthy and influential patrons, hence, he had to also paint in the foreign styles. Strong foreign influence in all art forms, including art and architecture, literature, music, and theater was a given fact in England. Eighteenth century England saw a blossoming of the arts and culture. As the political situation calmed down in Britain after the hardships of the preceding century, there were major improvements for the country and its culture. Travel became more easy and common, new cultural media, such as,
newspapers, bookshops, assembly and concert halls, and playhouses appeared in a number that had never been seen before throughout the entire country. Art was no longer accessible only to the aristocrats, but literature like magazines and novels with more down to earth, diverse, and humane content reached the growing middle class. Social change brought with it non-fictional writing such as newspaper and magazine essays and articles, books on history and books about travel. This change led to an important change in society. People no longer saw themselves as an insular society, but started to think in a global sense, which brought with it a desire for the British artists and thinkers to create their own identity and understand their own culture and people.

In literature, music, and theater, like in the other arts, although the foreign influence still remained, a British characteristic was added. For example, Classical knowledge and literature, which was so popular in France, also had its influence in England, yet not as widely spread as in France. Classics of Classical literature, as those of Horace, Cicero, Homer, and Virgil, were naturally present in the collection of school literature. Yet, when British writers used the classical forms, they added their personal and their country’s feelings of the eighteenth century. For example, Tour by Daniel Defoe (1659-1731) was a classical story that replayed itself on British soil, or Seasons by James Thomson (1700-1748) a Mediterranean story found in the British climate and landscape. Further satire was added to the reworking of classical works by writers like Pope who reworked Horace’s work, and Johnson’s reworking of Juvenil in The vanity of Human Wishes or London. Satire is a key point in eighteenth century art and literature of Britain. Although the main tendency were to keep the so-called Augustan’s characteristics, which were order, smoothness of texture, civility, restraint and clarity, where critics and rhetoricians advises writers to use confidence without superiority, education without pedantry, and simply avoid the flashy ways of writing from the baroque past, there was other literature that was referred to as un-Augustan. Yet these pieces of writing that do not display moderation or balance, reflect the world of the ordinary citizens of England. This literature is have a strong sense of morality and metaphysics in them. These works included the lives of the

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women, poor, mad, criminal and “outsiders” of society. Writers like Samuel Johnson (1709-84), Jonathan Swift (1667-1745), and Alexander Pope (1688-1744) focused on the darker and fantastical sides of human existence and brought more ordinary events into their stories. They were considered the major representatives of their time. Pope’s work *The Beggar’s Opera* clearly satirizes Robert Walpole. John Gay, a collaborator with Pope, wrote *The Shepherd’s Week* reflecting on the idiocy of everyday life and eccentric characters. Swift famously said that he hated mankind, but loved individuals. Johnson’s *Vanity of Human Wishes* was a critical observation of religion. Theater plays were also filled with moral ideas. The plays of Colley Cibber (1671-1757), who’s writings included *Love’s Last Shift, The Careless Husband, and The Lady’s Stake*, had moral tone and a greater sentimentality. His character’s were met with moral teaching towards the end of his plays. Sir Richard Steele (1672-1729), an Irishman, drew his protagonists from the middle class. George Lillo in 1731 wrote *The London Merchant*, where the protagonist was an apprentice, who is charmed by a prostitute, then murders his uncle, and consequently hanged. The story was taken from real reporting in the newspapers. Music, which increased social interaction of the day, was also filled with moral ideals. John Gay’s *The Beggar’s Opera* (1728), a satire, critically observed the political reality by focusing on the low-life and immorality of London. Henry Fielding (1705-1754) wrote the satire *Tom Jones*, which portrayed a poor young man, who grows up to be kind hearted and hard-working, yet whose love to a daughter of a wealthy landowner is opposed due to his social status. The play is a social commentary. A new tendency had appeared in art, literature, and music. The brutality and hardships of the past led to the understanding of humane and charitable behavior. Henry Fielding’s work, *Proposal for Making an Effectual Provision for the Poor* (1753) stated that the suffering of the poor was bigger than their sin. The idea of philanthropy and moral started to become common. And as Fielding states in *The Champion* (1740), charity had never been as big as during his time. For example, three years earlier Britain gave Lisbon, who suffered from a major earthquake, £100,000 in aid. Construction of hospitals, which artists like Hogarth supported,
and schools, societies to help the poor and other charities were growing. Art and literature supported and pushed for these ideals and humane attitudes. Britain’s good will grew and so did the sophistication of the arts and literature. Both trends were stimulating each other.
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William Hogarth – His Life and Work

William Hogarth was born in London on November 10th, 1697. His father, Richard Hogarth, had come to London ten years prior to that to work as a teacher. Richard later opened a coffee shop which went bankrupt. He was thrown in jail, when William Hogarth was around ten years old and pardoned when William was fifteen. Still due to his father’s good skills as a teacher, Hogarth did not grow up in a poor home. Education was stressed and there was enough money for the family. From 1713 to 1720, William did an apprenticeship with a silver plate engraver Ellis Gamble. In 1720, by the age of twenty-three, William Hogarth opened his own shop as an engraver in his mother’s house. Later that year he signed up for the Academy Vanderbanks. Drawing from live models and casts was, however, not of Hogarth’s liking, so he quickly rejected formal training and turned to drawing the actual world around him. He trained his observation and visual memory skills so well, so that he could draw whatever he desired without having to make many previous studies or sketches and without having the scene that he wished to draw in front of him.\footnote{BINDMAN, David. Hogarth and his Times. 1997. p.11-26} Hogarth was, however, by no means ignorant of the European art tradition, as he had learned of them through numerous reproductive engravings. At this early stage in his career, Hogarth earned his money through various engravings and drawings such as book illustration, tickets, trade cards, and engravings in metal. This brought in a satisfying pay, yet did not lift Hogarth to another level as an artist. The following year 1721, he produced his first engraving, \textit{The South Sea Scheme}, a political satire. Throughout these years William met the artist Sir James Thornhill and became good friends with him. In 1724 Hogarth entered the Academy of James Thornhill in Covent Garden. Hogarth decided in the 1730’s to turn his attention to painting. The themes of his paintings did not reflect the then current Neo-classical revival, but rather reflected Hogarth’s personal interests, such as theater and simple comic subjects. \textit{The Beggar’s Opera} (1728) portrayed a scene in the theater exactly how the audience must have seen it. He also included realistic portraits of the actors and some of the most important people that had been in the audience. This piece foreshadowed Hogarth’s future endeavors in painting, as he would
focus on portraits and narrative paintings. In 1729 William married Thornhill’s
daughter, Jane Thornhill. By the 1730’s William was an established artist and
was making an adequate amount of money. Hogarth’s paintings, especially the
small “conversations” (portraits), brought him public success. They reflected
the lightness and grace of the French Rococo art and were clearly influenced by
the Antoine Watteau of the early 18th century. Hogarth, himself, began to
prefer doing other motifs. His interest again fell on everyday scenes of
contemporary life. For example Southwark Fair (1733) portrays festivity,
crowds, and narration of the world surrounding Hogarth. Hogarth’s paintings
and etchings reflect situations in society. He becomes the eye for the
contemporary man of what social issues and issues of moral existed in 18th
century London. He produced some engravings in this manner as well. These
art pieces could reach a broader audience and were successful from the start.
Hogarth became an independent financially and as an artist. This allowed him
to express himself in his work freely and reflecting his own values. There was
a lot of forging of his pieces which brought him difficulties. He convinced some
acquaintances in the parliament to pass an Engraver’s Copyright Act in 1735,
which stopped the extensive forging of his work. In 1735 William opened his
own academy of arts, The St. Martin’s Lane Academy. In the 1730’s he
produced several engravings on moral issues including The Harlot’s Progress
1731, The Rake’s Progress 1733-35. These pieces started a new genre
“modern moral subjects,” which is Hogarth is credited with. He then took his
focus off the satirical and socio-critical works and turned to painting famous
people. During the later 1730’s and throughout the 1740’s Hogarth focused
primarily on painting. In 1757 Hogarth became Serjeant Painter to the King.
Hogarth passed away in London on October 26th, 1764.

8 ANTAL, Frederick. Hogarth and his Place in European Art. 1962. p.35
“Modern Moral Subject” 1697-1732 Vol. I. 1992 ANTAL, Frederick. Hogarth and his Place in
European Art. 1962. p.8
Hogarth – Selected Pieces

A Harlot’s Progress 1731

With A Harlot’s Progress [Image 1-6] series William Hogarth begins his “modern moral subjects.” The six paintings were destroyed in a fire in 1755, so it is only prints that one is able to study today.

Plate 1

Plate 1 of six plates shows how a young maiden Mary (or Molly) Hackabout arrives with her father into London. She innocently stands in the center of the piece while a match-maker is already manipulating her in order to get the girl under her power. The father, sitting on a horse and holding a note in his hand which states, “To the Right Referent Bishop of London,” seems naïve of the actual situation facing his daughter. His mismanagement of the situation is reflected by his horse knocking over some buckets that are stacked nearby and his own confused observation of the note he is holding. In the background, coming out of the pub, is a well dressed gentleman with his subject. Hogarth actually portrayed a prominent money lender and sex offender Francis Charter. This man confidently stands over-looking the situation, of the seemingly helpless father and the new innocent girl which he can acquire from the match-maker, with pleasure. The scene is easy to understand. On one side there are those seeking a better life, while on the other there are those who live well due to their (ab)use of those who searching for a better life and find themselves in a weaker position. The engraving is even divided into two sides by the wall of the pub in the background. The innocence of the girl is clear due to her clean, gentle, and light portrayal. The negative parallel between the match-maker and the gentleman in the background are even reflected in their similar facial expressions.

Plate 2

Plate 2 portrays Mary no longer as an innocent quiet girl, but rather as a sassy mistress. She has been hired by a clearly wealthy gentlemen; his wealth

is reflected by the interior of his dwelling and by his ability to hire a mistress, a servant, and a maid. Mary creates a scene by snapping her fingers and knocking over the tea table in order to attract her proprietor's attention, so that he does not see her lover escape through the door in the background. The division between good and bad is not as clear here as it was in Plate 1. Although it is the man who has hired the formally innocent girl for his pleasure, he is not portrayed in a negative way. His environment seems to be sophisticated and his posture, for example the way he is holding the cup, is cultivated. While she has now given up all her composure and is acting in a rude manner reflecting that she has little appreciation for righteousness herself. The religious pictures on the wall in the background reflect her situation by showing that when one touches something that one should not, as David did with the Ark of the Covenant, one gets punished and then put into a situation by life as Jonah’s finds himself in after God had let the olive tree, which protected him from the sun, dry up.

Plate 3

In plate 3 Hogarth is able to combine the depiction of past and future events. Mary, who has been dumped by the wealthy Jewish man, has landed in the harlot's district Drury Lane. There is an inscription stating, “John Drury in Drury Lane,” on a large mug in the lower right hand corner of the plate. The window is broken, the ceiling and walls are full of cracks, and the bed curtain is ripped in some places. A bottle on the chair serves as a candle holder; the big bowl on the table is missing a piece. A letter, on which it says To Md. Hackabout, is sticking out of the drawer. On the window there are two bottles of medication, which always alludes to syphilis as due band aids and moles in Hogarth’s work. A witch’s hat and a broom made of twigs hangs above the bed, of which the use is not quite clear; either it serves as a costume for a masquerade or to please certain guest, or it alludes to witchcraft. There are broken plates and mugs on the floor reflecting the joyous nights that must take place in the room. As inelegant as her surroundings is Mary’s current lover, whose wig box lies on the upper structure of the bed and has the words, “James

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12 HASLAM, Fiona. *From Hogarth to Rowlandson*. 1996. p. 177
Dalton his Wigg Box” written on it. James Dalton was a known thief. Like in the last plate, Mary is having breakfast. However the silver table and the nice china from the previous plate have now turned into a wooden stool on which her breakfast is served. A letter which states, “Pastoral letter to…,” serves as a place for the butter to be placed on. Sir John Gonson, who as chief judge of Bow Street vigorously fought prostitution, appears in the door to arrest Mary. Above the window in the room hangs a religious painting depicting “The Sacrifice of Isaac,” which, in ULRICH LÜDERS opinion, is Hogarth’s way to point to the fact that Mary, like Isaac, is an innocent victim who deserves more understanding, which however will not be given to her by Sir Gonson and the Law.

Plate 4

In Plate 4 Mary has been sent to Bridewell to a workhouse to do physical labor. She stands in the foreground on the left side of the plate and is visually separated from the other prisoners. Elegantly dressed, she probably hoped to make an impression on the judges. Her face is puffy and her expression is tormented. Behind her, a man’s arms are trapped in a piece of wood, on which is written, “Better to Work than Stand thus.” It was a form of punishment for not working hard enough. Beside her is a tenant of the workhouse menacing and driving her to work. The workhouses were leased to private individuals who wanted to make a profit, so it was in their interest to maltreat prisoners and threaten them with torture in order to get them to work. A one-eyed woman examines Mary’s clothes. The man, who is working beside Mary, could be a gambler, as the ripped playing card, lying on the ground in front of him, alludes to. There is a young girl working beside the man. She could be at the workhouse due to the same offense as Mary. It was normal for orphans to be used for prostitution or orphan homes were also leased by individuals, who tried to make gain a profit from child labor. On the door in the background one can see a chalk drawing showing a stick man hanging on the gallows with the initial S.J.G. (Sir John Gonson), whom the prisoners wish to be hung. In the

foreground of the scene on the right, under a basket with hemp, two women are taking a break. The rear one is fiddling with her dress, while the other one, who can be recognized as Mary’s servant from the previous plate, is trying to flirt with the tenant. Mary’s figure appears to have more light falling on to it in comparison to the others. Her dress is more elegant than any of the other women’s dresses. This chosen contrast of light to dark and elegance to simplicity by Hogarth, could further allude to the fact that he believes that she does not really belong in these surroundings – that she is actually better than where she is right now.

**Plate 5**

In plate 5 Mary dies as a result of the syphilis in a sordid lodging, wrapped in a sheet. Her child sits beside her and plays with the fireplace; the iron-grill in the fireplace serves as an emblem for the everlasting damnation that the child will face. While Mary dies in the arms of her servant, two charlatans argue so violently about the effectiveness of her drugs that table and chair fall to ground. Hogarth depicts the doctors in a burlesque manner to make his opinion of this professional guild clear. Anyone without special qualification could produce medicaments and pose as a doctor, there were many charlatans during Hogarth’s time. It is known that the two doctors resemble real doctors from Hogarth’s life time. “Practical Anodyne Necklaces” is written on the slip of paper which lies beside the broken plate and the fallen ink-pot on the ground. These necklaces were supposed to help against all kinds of pains, especially those caused by the Rickets, a common English disease at that time. The note does not only allude to the disease of the little boy but also serves as a satire for the countless recommendations for medicaments which were slipped in one’s hand on every corner. A woman, presumably the landlady, wants to recoup herself on Mary’s few belongings and digs in her chest which contains only old dresses.

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16 HASLAM, Fiona. *From Hogarth to Rowlandson*. 1996. p. 112
Plate 6

Frederick ANTAL called this plate Hogarth’s best, stating, That in it one can see some sort of funny and tragic relaxation by prostitutes after the death of a colleague. This was a type of scene that no other artist had portrayed before.\(^{18}\) Here, as in the previous plate, Mary’s depiction serves once again to expose the roguery and hypocrisy of society. The scene in the plate is Mary’s memorial service. The taste of wealthy contemporaries for costly burials is reflected here but at the low level, where the mourners want to resemble the contemporary fashion of the high society at a costly burial. Mary’s age is written on the coffin lid, “M. Hackabout Died Sept. 3d in 1731, Aged 23.” The memorial service takes place in the house of the undertaker, who is pulling a glove onto the hand of one of Mary’s colleagues, while she is stealing a kerchief from his pocket. Gloves on the stool in front of them, as Ulrich Lüders states, can be understood as symbolism for sex, making clear the nature of the approach.\(^{19}\) There is a harlot in the background who seems to be mourning, however, at a closer look, one can see that she is only crying because of the wart that is destroying her finger, which she shows to another harlot. One vain woman is looking at herself in the mirror. Two women sitting in the back and drinking from a glass do look somewhat sad, however, on the other hand they could be simply exhausted and have come inside to find a place to rest from their work on the streets. Another younger woman looks into the coffin. While Lüders refers to her as emotionless, it could be actually the contrary, as she is the only one that is interested in the dead Mary. At the same time her appearance is soft and her clothes is whiter or cleaner than that of the others perhaps implying that she is still innocent, hence, a new Mary at the beginning of the her own “Harlot’s progress.” Mary’s servant, with a brandy bottle in her hand, is angry as she watches how the priest spills his drink. The lady on the left with the priest, with his hat in her lap, is Elisabeth Adam, who was hung on September 30\(^{th}\), 1737 because of theft.\(^{20}\) The fact that Hogarth pictures her already five years before her death reveals how well known she was. The priest is also a familiar

\(^{18}\) ANTAL, Frederick. *Hogarth’s place in European Art.* 1966. p122


\(^{20}\) IRELAND, John and William Hogarth. *Hogarth Illustrated from his own Manuscripts.* 1812 p.21
character, “Couple Breggar,” known for arranging illegal marriages in Fleet.\textsuperscript{21} Mary’s child sits in front of the coffin, dressed in adult clothes, and facing the audience. The frontal position of figures was a new form of composition, which Hogarth still applied in a variety of ways. The motive was popularized by Reynolds’ numerous child pictures.\textsuperscript{22} The older woman on the right in the foreground seems to be the only one really mourning. It is the known matchmaker Mother Bentley who has lost a source of income with Mary. With the fact that nobody is really mourning, Hogarth is perhaps trying to express that this type of society is unmoved by the negativity within itself. Meaning that this level of society is bond for stagnation of progress, a hopelessness that has overpowered any strives for change. Hogarth clearly defines the society he is portraying with the coat of arms on the wall in the back, which has three spigots, alluding to the society of sex and alcohol.

\textit{A Harlot’s Progress} was a great financial success due to the great number of subscriptions of the prints. Hogarth decided to do a second narrative print series \textit{A Rake’s Progress} soon after. They also pictured the progress of the main character. This time it was a set of eight rather than six paintings/prints. It was with the experience he gained after \textit{A Harlot’s Progress} that Hogarth understood that plagiarism of his prints cost him a lot of revenue. Therefore, before publishing \textit{A Rake’s Progress}, Hogarth pushed for the Engraver’s Copyright Bill to be passed in 1735. After he released the prints for \textit{A Rake’s Progress}, he also released a cheaper version so that everyone could afford it. This shows that Hogarth was not only a good artist but also a clever businessman.\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{23} More can be read about Hogarth’s understanding of the business side of the art world can be read in PAULSON, Ronald. \textit{Hogarth. Art and Politics. Vol. III}. 1993. p. 17-56
A Rake’s Progress (1734)

The series of eight paintings and prints, A Rake’s Progress [images 7-14], is Hogarth’s second “modern moral subject.”

Plate 1

In this plate the protagonist, Tom Rakewell, is introduced. It is clear that his father had just passed away as there is a man in the background hanging up black mourning drapes. The protagonist is in his father’s house. One can see a lot of chaos in the room. There are documents all over and various boxes and things that the father had collected. One can see that although the father was wealthy he did not give out a lot of money for even himself. There is an old woman in the background which is putting in firewood into the fireplace as it looks for the first time. A lawyer is taking account of what the father has left Tom while at the same time he is stealing gold coins. This is an allusion to the fate that awaits Tom; the fate that his money will be taken from him from all sides. Tom is in the center of this plate having his measurements taken for a new outfit. In the doorway there is a pregnant young woman, Sarah Young, crying because Tom is dismissing her as he tries to pay her off by handing her some gold coins. The mother is next to her pointing at her daughter’s round stomach. As Ulrich Lüders states, Sarah symbolizes virtue, love, honesty, and honor. The fact that the rake chooses to pay her off and get rid of her for a lifestyle that has to do with the spending of his father’s wealth symbolizes that he has in this moment decided over his future.  

Plate 2

In plate 2 the protagonist is in the center of the scene with a number of visitors around him. This scene already places Tom into the center of aristocratic lifestyle modes. Having a Levée, as he is in this scene, was something that was common to the French King. It was in the morning when the person got up, that visitors could come and offer their wares. These are all kinds of teachers who have come to teach him the skills and manners that an aristocrat needs. The room is no longer a run down house but rather a palatial

sort of dwelling. There are paintings of Italian masters hanging on the wall behind the rake and the dancing and fencing masters are both in a French style. Both the Italian art and the French manners were something that Hogarth did not like. The fact that there is a whole range of potential on-hangers, from dance teachers, to landscape artists, and bodyguards, and so on shows further Hogarth’s criticism of those like the Rake, who want to play a role that is too high for them, as the rake is surely a wealthy man, yet he is still not a King as he wishes to be in this plate. Furthermore, the presents of these figures is a satire of aristocratic tastes.25

Plate 3

The plate shows a scene of many prostitutes and Tom at a Tavern. Tom sits in a chair with one leg on the table and his outfit a mess. Two of the prostitutes are stealing Tom’s watch. A woman in the foreground is getting undressed. There is a lantern and a night watchman’s staff on the floor next to Tom implying his senseless and lawless behavior. The entire scene emphasizes the recklessness with which Tom is wasting the money his father worked hard to earn.

Plate 4

In this plate Tom is traveling to a party to celebrate the Queen’s birthday on Saint David’s Day, this is understood by the hats with leeks that two of the men in the image are wearing. In this piece Sarah Young is present again. By paying his bail, she rescues Tom from the arrest that he was about to face. Sarah looks very decent in this image. Because of the hats and sowing material hanging on her side, it is clear that she has a job. Tom, however, who is getting arrested for debt, is a wreck. As in all other plates, the Rake is being robed, in this case of his gold plated cane. The fact that the lamplighter, who is distracted, is spilling oil onto Tom’s wig is another emphasis of the chaos that is present in Tom’s life. At the same time could serve as a reference to getting blessed. In this case the wrecked Tom is getting blessed, hence rescued, by the innocent Sarah, as symbol of love and righteousness.

Plate 5

In plate 5 Tom is getting married to an older lady. From this it is clear that he has wasted all his wealth and needs a source of income, which he finds with the old lady. The scene takes place in a church in Marylebone, which at that time was still on the outskirts of London and was a place known to host clandestine weddings. In the background one can see that Sarah, with her and Tom’s child, and her mother want to enter the church, but they are being held back. There is a pair of dogs in the foreground, of which one does not have an eye. This is a parody of the marriage that is taking place in this plate.

Plate 6

The scene in plate 6 takes place in a gambler club. There is a fire breaking out, but none of the gamblers notice it. One of them is pleading a moneylender to give him an advance so that he can continue playing. Tom is sitting on the floor in the middle of the scene. He is not wearing a wig and is angrily waving his arms, as he must have lost all his wealth for the second time. It is a crowded chaotic scene full of people among which Tom seems to be drowning.

Plate 7

This plate depicts Tom in jail at Fleet, a prison known to house debtors, just as it did Hogarth’s own father when Hogarth was a child. Tom is sitting next to a table on which there is a script. It is known that people tried to write play scripts in order to secure their freedom. But as is clear from Tom’s facial expression, the attempt was fruitless. There is a prisoner in the background trying to make fools gold in order to secure his freedom. Tom is sunk into his seat with despair and there are signs of madness on his face. The fact that his debts have gotten to him and are still putting pressure on his being is emphasized by the beer-boy who is demanding his payment and a jailer also demands his weekly payment. From the other side Tom is being confronted by his angry old wife, who is expressing her fury at the loss of her wealth by Tom. Sarah, who has come to visit Tom in jail with their child, faints as she is not able

to help him out of his situation this time and also probably at the sight that there is no hope both mentally and financially for Tom. Her fainting could be understood symbolically as the exhaustion of the option of peace and love that Tom neglected to choose – signifying that only the end is still coming.

Plate 8

In the concluding plate 8 Tom has ended up in a madhouse at Bedlam. There are all kinds of other figures in the room. One interesting figure is a man in the background who is naked and wearing a crown thinking he is a king. This is somewhat representative of Tom himself. He also thought he was above his actual position and ended up a naked madman in the madhouse. Tom himself is in the foreground, naked and bald, and lying on the floor. The faithful Sarah sits by Tom’s sight and weeps. Just like in all other plates, Tom does not even acknowledge that she is there. A madhouse during Hogarth’s time served as a source of entertainment. This is pointed out by the fact that two fashionable ladies have come to the madhouse, which was open to public, to look at the lunatics.

In *A Rake’s Progress* several social issues are address, which are all in a way related to the ignorance that exists within the wealthy level of society. It starts out with a father that had not educated his son in the right way. Perhaps he was too busy with his money and did not think of his paternal responsibilities. As a consequence of the lack of education about what is right and wrong, the son is set onto a path of ignorance and self-delusion. Right after the father’s death, he begins to see himself as some kind of royal and engages in affairs that are beyond his position. A consequence of him reaching too high, beyond his means, naturally leads to his complete corruption. He busies himself with superficial, life consuming, activities such as prostitution, gambling, marital deceit, and nothing that will build him a secure foundation whether in love, finance, or social positioning. Next to the self destruction of wealthy people that is pointed out by Hogarth in this series, one sees another parallel running story; a story about love and family. Hogarth points out that such people as the Rake,

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in their entertainment in superficial affairs, do not and cannot see honest and loyal love even if it is in front of their face the whole time, hence the Rake never actually looks at or sees Sarah.

**Marriage a la Mode (1743-45)**

Ten years after *A Rake’s Progress*, Hogarth produced the six paintings/prints for *Marriage a la Mode* [images 15-20]. While the *Harlot’s Progress* and *Rake’s Progress* portrayed middle class people trying to pretend and be the aristocracy, in *Marriage a la Mode* Hogarth points to an aspect of social behavior that parallels in both the middle and aristocratic class. The series touches, as is clear from the title, on the subject of marriage. It is a scene where marriage has been arranged for a young couple that is not really in love or into each other. The marriage serves to the benefit of the parents, rather than the children. Hogarth points out that such a marriage, where the children do not wish to be with each other, is destined to end in a bad way.

**Plate 1**

In plate or painting 1 the arrangement of the marriage is taking place. One of the fathers can be identified as a merchant and the other as an Earl. The Earl, who is marrying off his son, is on the far right holding a scroll with his family tree. The merchant father is simply dressed and standing, as he hands the marriage contract to the Earl. Through the window in the background, one can see a construction site of a palace implying that the union of the two children will benefit the business of the fathers. On the other side of the plate one can see the couple. Although sitting on one couch, they are not facing each other. The Earl’s son is looking at himself in the mirror, while the daughter of the merchant is engaged in a conversation with another gentleman. In the foreground there are two dogs, which are chained to each other. Like in *A Rake’s Progress* plate 6, where the Rake is getting married to the old wealthy woman, the dogs are symbolic for the union that is taking place. While in *A Rake’s Progress* one dog is ugly symbolizing the old woman, in *Marriage a la

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28 BINDMAN, David. *Hogarth and his Times*. 1997 p. 106
 mode, the dogs are unnaturally chained together like the young couple is about to become.

**Plate 2-4**

The plates 2 to 4 show what life starts to look like for the couple of the forced marriage. Plate 2 shows chaos and idleness in the household of the couple. The couple sits exhausted from the previous night. The husband seemingly spent it with other woman for the dog is sniffing at a woman's cap in his pocket. A servant walking away while expressing signs of dismay emphasizes how deep the disorder is. A painting of cupid in ruins in the background is symbolic of the situation. Plate 3 shows that the husband has a young mistress and has already contracted some sort of disease, clear from the moll on his neck. He is at the doctor’s office looking for some remedy against his illness. A skeleton in the background is foreshadowing the upcoming death of the man. Plate 4 shows the young wife entertaining some guest. The lawyer from the first plate or painting is speaking to her, as it seems he is inviting her to a masquerade like the one he is pointing which is depicted on a screen. Frederick Antal points to the paintings that are in these prints and shows how they are symbolic of the situation. Above the wife and the lawyer hand two paintings, *Jupiter and Io* after Corregio and *Rape of Ganymede* after Michelangelo, both allude to the hidden love affair that is about to take place between the wife and the lawyer. So both couples have already gone their own ways and since they cannot seek love relationships openly because they are married, they are destined for the cheap and destructive love affairs that they are finding themselves in.

**Plate 5-6**

Plate 5 and 6 bring the story to a final and tragic end. In plate 5 the husband finds his wife cheating on him with the lawyer in a cheap hotel where lovers could meet in secret. One can see the lawyer escaping through the window after he had a physical confrontation with the husband, where he mortally stabbed the husband in the chest with his sword. The wife is on her

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29 ANTAL, Frederick. *Hogarth and his place in European Art*. 1962 p.235
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knees in front of the husband either pleading to him or to God for forgiveness that things have gotten so far. In the background there is a painting of the Judgment of Solomon perhaps implying that the wrong doer will never get more than he/she deserves. In the final painting the wife has taken some poison to commit suicide, but not due to her husband’s death but because of the death of her lover, the lawyer. There is a sheet at her feet which reveals that the lawyer was hung for the murder of the husband. The wife leaves a small child, which is only one crying for the mother. The child is left without parents. Its dreadful fate is also emphasized by the moll on its cheek. To show that there is no doubt that the reason for all this suffering was the initial agreement of the greedy parents, Hogarth once again shows the father of the girl with only materialistic intentions. Instead of showing signs of mourning, the father is taking off the ring off his daughter’s figure so that it does not get lost when the coroner and police come to get the body.

In the art discussed above, Hogarth focuses on the upper levels of society. In 1751 Hogarth produced some other pieces, such as Beer Street and Gin Lane, as well as, The Four Stages of Cruelty, which focus more on the average or lower levels of society.

**Beer Street and Gin Lane 1751**

With the two prints Gin Lane and Beer Street (1751) [image 21-22], Hogarth expressed his opinion on the rising alcohol abuse problem in London. The two prints were supposed to show the contrast between the negative effects of drinking hard liquors like gin and the more positive and merry side of drinking beer. While Hogarth wants to state his personal belief or opinion that beer is better than gin, at the same time he is also pointing at a social problem of drinking that brought with it many more social moral issues.

**Gin Lane**

The scene takes place out on the street of St. Giles, a known district for the poorest and most destroyed people of society. The scene is dominated by the atmosphere of chaos, decay, and desperation. The street is full of residence who are alcoholics and who would give up anything for some gin. The carpenter gives up his saw and the housewife her cooking utensils. In the center of the plate is the most disturbing image. A woman, visibly a prostitute
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because of the sores on her legs showing that she has syphilis, is letting her baby fall to the ground and to its death because she is too drunk to continue holding it. The street is full of madness – a barber has hung himself because nobody has any money for a haircut any more; a hungry man bites of the same bone as does a dog next to him; another mother gives her baby gin probably in order to calm the hungry baby for which it does not have any food. The issue of reckless mothers is not exaggerated in Hogarth’s art. During his time there were reports of various horrific situations. Judith Dufour in 1734 took her child to a workhouse, where new clothes were given to poor children. She then sold the new clothes for drink and strangled her child.30

Gin and drinking had become a great problem during Hogarth’s time. There were all kinds of vices associated or blamed on gin. John Fielding, a social reformer and prominent English magistrate, believed that robbery increased due to the drinking of Gin.31 John Fielding was trying to get a Gin Act passed in order to raise taxes on Gin or forbid Gin all together. Hogarth’s prints aided in making the picture clear to all what the negative effects of Gin drinking were and what the contrast was to simply beer drinking, as he portrays in Beer Street. Beer street depicts a well functioning town, where people are going about their work and are merry and well fed. In 1751 the Gin Act was passed and Gin was forbidden, however, by giving the drink other names and various other methods, the law was able to be avoided by many and the social problem did not go away. With the numerous depictions of children in Gin Lane – the baby falling into death, the mother quieting her baby with Gin, and the dead children in the background – emphasize the fact that due to this social problem, a vast amount of children are facing a future in despair.

Four Stages of Cruelty (1751)

In his Autobiographical Notes, Hogarth makes it clear that the creation of the series Four Stages of Cruelty [images 23-26] was meant to educate about social problems. He states that he did not put too much effort into drawing and engraving these prints well, so that he could make them easily more affordable

30 SCHAMA, Simon. History of Britain. 2002 p.368
31 BINDMAN, David. Hogarth and his Times. p.140
for all levels of society.\textsuperscript{32} As the title already reveals, there are four plates in this series.

The first plate titled \textit{First Stage of Cruelty} shows the protagonist of the series, a young boy, who belongs to the charity school at St. Giles parish, as is clear from his uniform. He joins in the common cruel sport of torturing animals. He and another guy are sticking an arrow into a dog’s anus while a third boy is holding the dog. A fourth boy pleads for Tom to stop. He offers Tom his tart. This fourth boy is dressed more cultivated than the others in order to emphasize the fact, as it is stated in the inscription at the bottom of the print, that cruelty is ugly and pity is charming. With this Hogarth wants to persuade people to see that there is nothing good or beautiful about bad behavior. Other boys in the picture are also torturing animals, either by hanging cats from a lantern, tying a bone to a dog’s tale so he can endlessly chase it, or by sending a cat flying out the window with small balloons tied to it. A foreshadowing of what awaits Tom is depicted on the wall next to him – Tom’s name is scratched into the wall underneath a sketch of a hanged man.

The second plate titled \textit{Second Stage of Cruelty} show the protagonist, Tom, already grown up. He has become a coach man, who in this picture beats his horse, exhausted by hard work, as is written in the inscription at the bottom of the print. The horse, which is visibly old and undernourished, has fallen to the ground while Tom, ignorant to the condition of the horse, beats so hard that even the eyes of the horse are pushed out. Other cruelties against animals are also visible in the print. A farmer hits one of his sheep to death, another man violently pushes a donkey to carry a load which is obviously too heavy for the animal, and in the background a crowd is entertaining themselves with the annoyance of a bull. The plate is a transition from the cruelty done to animals to the cruelty inflicted onto humans. In this plate one can already see how a young boy is getting driven over by a heavy carriage carrying barrels of beer. And on a building there is an advertisement for a box match held at the Broughton’s Amphitheater. The theater was known to host fights where the

\textsuperscript{32} BINDMAN, David. \textit{Hogarth and his Times}. p.142 sites HOGARTH, William. \textit{Autobiographical Notes}, 223.
men where stapled to the floor with one leg. The person who would have the least injuries at the end would win the fight.  

The third print titled *Cruelty in Perfection* shows Tom as a full criminal. He has now become a robber and in this plate a murderer. The woman lying dead at his feet is his pregnant mistress, Ann Gill. It is clear that she is dead because behind her, on the wall, is a skull under which it is written ‘Here Lieth the Body.’ Another man in the picture holds a letter that Ann wrote to Tom. It reads:

*Dear Tommy, My mistress has been the best of women to me, and my conscience flies in my face as often as I think of wronging her; yet I am resolved to venture body and soul to do as you would have me, so do not fail to meet me as you said you would, for I will bring along with me all the things I can lay my hands on. So no more at present; but I remain yours till death. Ann Gill.*

From it one can tell that Tom had persuaded Ann to rob the house of the people she works for. One can see all kinds of belongings, as books, cooking utensils, and a watch, around Ann. From the inscription at the bottom of the print, one can see Hogarth’s criticism of the fact that Tom’s cruelty even goes as far as to push his pregnant love into danger. Furthermore he murders Ann probably in fear that she would not be able to live with her guilt and turn them both in. As the inscription at the bottom states, there is not escape for Tom for the ultimate cruel act of murder. A crowd has already gathered around him and is confronting him with what he did. But even within this crowd, which is supposed to represent justice, one can see that while some are looking for weapons that Tom could be hiding underneath his jacket, there is one man that is reaching into Tom’s inner pocket probably in order to steal something.

The final plate titled *The Reward of Cruelty* and shows the executed Tom Nero on a surgeons table. His body is being used for anatomical study. Around the time of this print series there was a law that was being pushed for. It was to allow surgeon’s to use the bodies of executed criminals for study. This was to serve as a deterrent for criminals, as people during this time still had the Christian fear that the body must be buried. Tom’s face has the expression of torment on it also touching upon the fear that criminals had, that they would

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survive their execution and would feel the dissection.\textsuperscript{35} There is a dog eating Tom's heart in the foreground, which probably serves a sign of revenge for the suffering that Tom had caused animals before, depicted in plate 1. An the fact that his eyes are being taken out reflects on the beating that Tom gave his horse in plate 2 when he pushed the horse's eyes out. In the previous plate Ann’s finger was pointing at a sign that said ‘\textit{God's revenge against murder}’ and as a parallel to that, in the fourth plate, Tom points to the bones and skulls that are being cooked on a fire. On the left and right side of the print are two hanging skeletons named, James Macleane, a known highwayman, and James Field, who was also mentioned on the poster advertising the boxing match in plate 2. Both these criminals were hanged briefly before Hogarth completed these prints.\textsuperscript{36} The inscription below the print explains again that the criminal will find no resting place and that all that has become and will be of his a shame.

\textsuperscript{35} BINDMAN, David. \textit{Hogarth and his Times}. 1997. p.11-26
\textsuperscript{36} PAULSON, Ronald. \textit{Art and Politics. Vol. III.} 1992 p.450
Hogarth – Discussion

During Hogarth’s time, art had become more commercialized. One could see it all over the place. Hogarth’s prints were visible as posters in shops, taverns, and were in general widely available and present in the contemporary people’s minds. While in literature, the novel had become popular, and theaters were no longer just for the wealthy, Hogarth also reflected these trends in his art. He stated himself that he wanted to treat his subjects as a dramatic writer and that his picture was a stage. Before Hogarth, there was no satire or comedy in fine arts of England. So it can be said that Hogarth was busy creating a new kind of art; one that reflected the contemporary trends. Like on the stage, in Hogarth’s art, everything was planned and organized. The characters were well chosen to create the theater and raise the desired reaction in the audience. Hogarth’s portrayal of the society, therefore, was not always accurate because the society he depicted was a cast that he created. As David Bindman points out that Hogarth assumes in his work that society consist of three distinct and separate levels: the aristocracy with the landed gentry, the professionals and business people, and the poor. This, however, did not reflect the society in its realistic form. In the eighteenth century London had become a society where there was a lot of social movement between the classes because the country was growing in prosperity, education, and health (see discussion above about England in the eighteenth century). However, although Hogarth did not reflect society’s social orders accurately, he did touch upon social problems that were current affairs during his time. In addition his characters were not individual personalities but rather stereotypes. His portrayal of the problems raised alertness and even helped to push for laws like the Gin Act of 1751 or the Marriage Act of 1753, which prohibited the creation of marriages by unclassified clergymen. With people like Henry Fielding surrounding him, it was clear that society with its problems and realities was the most current topic that Hogarth could have choices for his art. The fact that he was one of the first to do so, makes him a stepping stone in general society’s understanding of itself.

37 ANTAL, Frederick. Hogarth and his Place in European Art. 1962. p.11
Hogarth did not just portray the evils in the world around him. He seemed to also offer a solution to the problems he was portraying. He has a strong underlying moral in his pieces. Furthermore, underneath some of his prints, he includes a written moral of the events in the prints. He believed that bad behavior, as that of any of his protagonists that ended badly, such as Tom Nero in *Stages of Cruelty* or the Harlot in *A Harlot's Progress* or Tom Rake *A Rake's Progress*. Hogarth’s view of the good and evil fate of people was a bit unrealistic. For, as Bindman also points out, Hogarth simply believed that those who did evil would end up bad and those who worked hard would find themselves in a better place. Hogarth’s print *Industry and Idleness* clearly reflects that idea. The hardworking apprentice works his way up to owning his own shop, while the idle counterpart falls into the criminal world.

Naturally art reflects the opinion of the artist creating it. Hogarth’s opinion of things also comes through in his work. For example, the fact that he thought idle people were going to face or were facing a bad end, in a way could be understood that all those finding themselves in bad situations, got there due to their own failure. If this is the case, then it seems Hogarth shows no sympathy for those who are suffering. The fact that his paintings also do not provoke much sentimental feeling, also reflect the fact that Hogarth connected no pity or emotion to the stories in his art. His art is created by reason and pushes for reason rather than emotion in his viewer. In terms of being an artist, who tried to push for improvements in society, he is critical, moralistic, and rational. Hogarth approached the creation of his art as a business, by both making his prints very commercial while pushing for the Copyright Act and by keeping himself on the professional level by heading his own art school in St. Martin’s Lane. It was with this same disciplined, stern, and professional approach that Hogarth tried to improve society with his art.

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Eighteenth Century History of Spain

Eighteenth century Spain, while experiencing the control through five different leaders, went through a variety of situations. While maintaining peace and heading for some sort of social development and economic growth in the beginning of the century, the end saw wars, foreign interventions, and social instability and suffering.

Philip V of Spain (r.1700-1724; 1724-1746) came to the throne in 1700 according to the will of the, in 1700 deceased, Spanish King Charles II. Philip V was actually the middle son of three sons of Louis, Dauphine of France, and did not even speak Spanish in 1700 when he was crowned. Putting a French King to reign over Spain would have created problems with neighbors on all sides. Still Philip became ruler of Spain igniting a conflict that led to the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714). To ensure Philip’s rule in Spain, the country had to give up a huge number of the land over which it ruled. Great Britain got Gibraltar and Minorca. The Austrian Habsburgs got Sardinia, Milan, Naples, and the Spanish Netherlands. However, during Philip V’s reign, Spain was able to deal with the initial problems, which his coming to power created in the country. Philip’s successor Ferdinand VI (r. 1746-1759) was able to start creating a better state for the citizens to live in. He reigned briefly but successfully. Spain pushed for and attained peace on the Iberian Peninsula.

Well-chosen ministers, for example of war and state, governed well by keeping the country in peace and by improving conditions at home by investing into the roads and irrigation systems, restructuring the financial systems, and settling religious issues. Between 1748 and 1754 there was a time of prosperity in Spain. Many of Spain’s ministers died or were no longer in office at the end of the peaceful era and Ferdinand himself died in 1759 leading to an end of prosperity. Ferdinand’s successor and half brother Charles III (r. 1759-1788) made a bad choice of ministers, who did not view Spanish problems from the practical perspective. The Inquisition kept the Enlightenment from reaching Spain with its full contributing force – universities were repressed, only upper class in Spain new of the new ideas. In general Spain was also not able to restore its imperial greatness, which brought more crises. It was a time of

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struggle but still not one that brought a negative end. Hence towards the later years of Charles III’s rule, which was although conservative, still left his successor Charles IV (r. 1789-1808) with a strong and stable state. There was a surplus in the treasury and Spanish imperial power was at its peek. Export was high, industries, like construction and textile, were growing, and modernization had been initiated. However, this growth and stability was broken by several factors: one, the monarchs were not competent enough at reigning; two, the French Revolution came; and finally, the French and British armies were competing imperial dominance on Iberian Peninsula between 1793 and 1814. Governing personas were chosen according to their favor by the monarchs and not because they were skilled ministers. This led to disapproval from the public in Spain. The last decade of the eighteenth century was disastrous for Spain’s economy and society. Having to constantly battle Britain in the colonies, Spain was not able to have easy flow of American goods which led to a great economic low point.\textsuperscript{42} Society became more violent as it was struck with devastation, war, and French invasion and occupation (1796-1814). Any growth or development was paralyzed in Spain. Charles IV and his son Ferdinand VII were replaced with Joseph Bonaparte (r. 1808-1813) by his father Napoleon Bonaparte. The situation was devastating in Spain. There was famine, diseases, inflation, and war, which all enhanced the social and industrial crises. In the war of independence (1808-1814), Spain liberated itself from the foreign monarchs with the help of the British. However, in the end the war left the country with more problems. It took the country the whole nineteenth century to recover from the problems. In 1812 Spain’s first constitution, the Cádiz constitution, was advocated. It pushed for liberties, yet created conservative reactions headed by the clergy and the upper classes. An opposition force to this was formed by the large number of Spanish who left Spain for France when the French withdrew in 1813. A final major mistake of the governing forces was to allow the military to have a strong influence on the public. They became like a militia watching over their own society. So if there was any unrest, the military had the power to overthrow anyone. Ferdinand VII (r.1814-1833) tried to return Spain to an absolute monarchy and with imperial

\textsuperscript{42} HARRISON, Joseph. \textit{An Economic History of modern Spain}. (1978) p.3-6
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territory, but the French occupation had brought the ideals of social equality, people’s rights, and popular sovereignty into people’s minds. Political parties that represented the new spirit were well supported and grew. At this stage the American colonies were lost and not recoverable. Ferdinand VII, like many other royals, politicians, and people, did not want to accept the loss and sent the military to try to regain America. The military, which understood that it could not win, staged a military coup against Ferdinand making him uphold the Cádiz constitution. Not favoring the constitution, Ferdinand made intrigues against the government. By 1824 it was clear due to the military and economic weakness that America would have independence. In April 1823 Ferdinand VII was placed back on the throne by the French. The French were liberal while Ferdinand was conservative. They did not allow him to purge liberals from government, yet he still managed to do so. Towards the end Ferdinand became more liberal and was even challenged by his absolutist brother Charles, which Ferdinand was able to succeed against. Ferdinand died in 1833 leaving Isabel II as his heiress.

Spanish society, during the historical period covered above, was mostly made of peasants. In the seventeenth century high taxes were installed leading to hardship and producing a striking number of drifters. Other than the commoners, Spanish society also consisted of the clergy and nobles. The Spanish Church was strong and a career as a religious servant offered many from humble origins a way to reach power and wealth. The nobles enjoyed their positions by birth. The commoners were the only ones who needed to pay tax. Financially things were fine at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Debt declined and there was a surplus. The French ideas of modernization were able to enter the country resulting in an understanding of people’s rights and liberties. Trade improved and so did agriculture towards the end of the century. Spanish society saw some gradual improvement although the Inquisition and the conservative views of the monarchs still did not allow for a steady path to modernization. The end of the century, however, proved to be disastrous for the society as was against the French brought suffering, famine, and instability.
Cultural Aspects of Eighteenth Century Spain

Spanish tradition can be understood by first taking a look at the culture and art prior to the eighteenth century. Unlike in other places in Europe, the Picares, a brotherhood of thieves and beggars, did not only form part of the population, but rather they were the major make-up of the Spanish community.43 Their laws and customs were present in every town and every level of society. KLINGENDER refers to the Spanish society, as a society of beggars.44 The lower level of society at the same time was separated from the Inquisition, tax collectors, and judges that the aristocrats were confined by. The bourgeoisie shared their problems with the poor. They were both against the oppressive power of the aristocracy. So the bourgeoisie had to appease the lower class in order to gain their support. This was reflected in the Spanish art and literature. There was realism in the traditional art of Spain. It started with such as the writer Juan Ruiz (1283-1350) in the Middle Ages, who in his poems, such as Dinero, had a satirical criticism of the rich. And it peaked with Goya. It was an art that expressed the wishes and hopes of the general population, and was also in tune with those of the bourgeoisie. There was not only a deep social foundation for realism in art, but also one for mysticism. It had its roots in theocracy and also in the general folk. Mysticism from the side of the theocracy was supported by the Jesuits, who supported the Pope in his opposition of the Habsburgs. On the other hand the mysticism of the commoner was inspired by the desire of the poor to escape from their misery. Mysticism prevented Philipp II’s plan for absolute power. The desire of the people to escape into mysticism, was positive for the Church for it was this way that they passionate spirit for freedom among the people could be suppressed. So the Church worked towards suppressing the cynical Realism that was expressed in art and literature. Finally this passionate realism disappeared as the baroque vividness and exaggeration took over. Mysticism rose to a brutal level and praised martyrdom. Paintings of José de Ribera (1591-1652) expressed this trend. Or there was a sense of hypnotic obsession, which was reflected in the monk paintings by Zurbarán (1598-1664). The light and dark element in the art adds

44 ibid p. 30
to the gloomy elements of the subject matter. Holy images slowly started to reflect the lower levels of society by depicting priests as beggars or saints in an earthly environment. With work by artists like Caravaggio, this folk-like realism was skeptically observed by the Church. Still idealism took over the place of realism. The Church won over the state. And mysticism won over science. It is important to take note of these events prior to the eighteenth century, as they show the root of the Spanish tradition.

The eighteenth century was a time of reform. Philipp V helped advance the culture by founding the National Library in 1714 and the Academy for History in 1738. The Academy of Fine Arts was founded by Ferdinand VI in 1752. These and other cultural institutions bore fruit by the second part of the eighteenth century. Ministers Campomanes (1723-1803), who wrote about art and manufacturing, and Jovellanos (1744-1811), who wrote political and social prose, were at the forefront of European thinkers. The monk B.J. Feijóo y Montenegro was one of a number of churchmen supported the ideas of the reformers. His writing, such as Teatro critico universal (1726-1739) and Cartas eruditias y curiosas (1742-1760) acquainted the Spanish public with the English and French ideas of enlightenment. People began to meet in order to philosophize and exchange ideas. Influential Spaniards kept correspondence with French philosophers. Although met with opposition from the Church, the Encyclopaedia was published in 1784. France had become the source of inspiration for most cultural and social forms.

The eighteenth century art and literature of Spain combined foreign influences and local traditions. Foreign art alone could not inspire the liberalization of Spain on its own. There was a need for art that reflected the local spirit of the Spanish public. It was on the roots of Spanish realism of the past that the new wave of art and culture could build upon. In general there was a growing criticism of the Church. José Francisco de Isla (1703-1781) wrote a novel which supported the ideas of the reform by displaying an ignorant monk. Historia del famoso predicador Fray Gerundio de Campazas, alias Zotes (1758) led to a stupefying image of the Church. Two years later the novel was banned by the Church. Theater, which had strongly fallen out of taste by the end of the 17th century, began to be revived in the eighteenth by Francisco Ramón de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla (1731-1794). At first he continued the
status quo of imitating French and Italian plays, however, slowly he re-introduced a Spanish tradition. It was common that between acts of a play, during the breaks, small traditionally Spanish pieces were played to keep the audience entertained. Cruz reworked this old tradition by creating *Sainetes* based on the old stories and put up such plays in taverns and on the streets. The eighteenth century French diplomat and writer Bourgoing reports that these small plays were very reminiscent of Spanish people. The characters, their behavior, and dress mirrored the present in Spain. Cruz brought the reality of the Spanish lower and middle class to the stage. He showed sympathy for the working class, while holding a critical view of the bourgeoisie. However, Cruz was against the ideas of reform even though he was sympathetic with the workers of the country. Yet one of his pieces, *auto sacramentales* (1765), did have a progressive element. It was provocative because the actor, who played Christ in the main play *auto*, then took off his thorn-crown and loin-cloth and danced with the other actors in the acts of the *Sainete*. Cruz’s theater productions helped inspire the freedom of the Spanish common people.

The Bourbon dynasty admired the baroque style, which they used to emphasize their grandeur and wealth. This style, expressed by artists such as Jean Ranc, Louis Michel van Loo, and Michel-Ange Houasse at the Madrid court, existed until, as far as, the third quarter of the eighteenth century. In the 1860’s the Venetian baroque painter Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696-1770) was invited to the Madrid court, as well as, the classical painter Anton Raphael Mengs (1728-1779). Houasse painted a number of small pictures with themes such as pick-nick, ball-game, and blindman’s buff later found in Goya’s gobelins. In the 1740’s van Loo painted Spanish intellectuals in a non-flashy way, similar to Mengs’s form of simplicity. Watteau’s paintings of figures such as soldiers, comedians and other characters in society also influenced the work in Madrid. The religious art for church spaces, which was still very popular in Spain, started to include more earthly characters and sights. In Tiepolo’s altar piece *St. Thekla liberates the city of Este from the Pest* (1759), the image of the dead mother and her child has a very earthly touch and a realistically gloomy feel to it. This realism continued to develop with artists like Domenico Tiepolo (1727-1804). Domenico continued the style of his father, yet afterwards developed a style similar to Goya’s gobelins. Mengs’s work, with its simplicity and
naturalism was what helped lead Spain back to its realism. The reality of Spanish art and writing was that although he was guided by the depictions of nobles and religious themes, it still expressed the ability to reflect on the traditional, purely Spanish, culture and people.
Goya – His Life and Work

Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes was born in Fuendetodos, Spain on March 30th, 1746 and died in Bordeaux on April 16th, 1828. His father was a gilder, whom Goya helped in his early years. The family moved to Saragossa and Goya started his education there, where he also met Martin Zapater y Claveria, who came to be a good friend to Goya until Zapater’s death in 1803. One of Goya’s first art teachers was the painter José Luzán Martínez. The several years under Luzán Goya was occupied with developing his drawing skills by copying prints. In the late 1760’s Goya went to Rome and studied there under Francisco Bayeu. In Rome he was occupied with frescos, oils, temperas. Goya’s early works reflect these studies and are mostly composed with historical and biblical themes. Among Goya’s first successes was the piece Victorious Hannibal Seeing Italy for the First Time from the Alps, which came in second place at the annual competition of the Parma Accademia. In the early 1770’s Goya was back in Saragossa. His early compositions back home also had a classical character. His works also included numerous murals in churches and chapels. Goya was taking inspiration from a number of artists, as Edith HELMAN also points to. His classically composed piece Sacrifice to Pan resembles Sacrifice to Vesta by Jacob de Wit. Goya’s fresco on the ceiling of the Cathedral of Nuestra Señora, showing the Adoration of the Name of God (1772), clearly reflects the influence Antonio González Velázquez and Corrado Giaquinto. Further classical character can be seen in Goya’s fresco Life of the Virgin (1774) on the walls of the Aula Dei church at the Carthusian’s monastery near Saragossa. One can recognize the classical character in the way the figures are composed and the illusionary perspective where one has a suggested sight of the heavens.

In 1774 Goya was called from Saragossa to create works for the Real Fábrica de Tapices de Santa Bárbara in Madrid. The year before, he had also married Josefa Bayeu in Madrid. With the move to Madrid began a phase of the so to say decorative art for Goya. He was to make oil-on-canvas cartoons which were to serve as a basis for tapestries that were made for the royal

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palaces. In was for almost 20 years that Goya fulfilled this job, providing more than 60 cartoons. These pieces required a standard and style that would suit the court, so the first tapestries did not show much of Goya’s personal taste. These were nine cartoons, done in 1775, which depicted hunting scenes and were meant for the Escorial. Further tapestries included day to day scenes of the court and genre scenes. Among these was the Picnic 1776, which already started to show more of an inventive character in both composition and color. Another piece was the Pradera de San Isidro 1788 depicting a landscape with a group of people celebrating a saint’s day. The cartoons towards the end began to show signs of satire which can be clearly seen in Goya’s later works. Among these final cartoons were Blanket-tossing and Wedding (1791-92). In addition to the work done for the Real Fábrica de Tapices, Goya also did a number of etchings in the late 1770’s. It was in fashion then to buy etchings of famous paintings, especially those that were collected by the royals, so Goya made money by making etchings of famous paintings of Velázquez. Goya also made etchings of court and royal portraits, including the famous Las Meninas (Velázquez, 1656).

In the 1780’s Goya’s fame, talent, and independence began to be unquestionable. He was chosen for the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de S Fernando in Madrid in 1780. For his membership he turned in the Crucifixion. Goya’s strength as an independent artist, it can be said, is reflected by the fact that he incorporated himself among the audience of saints within an altarpiece St Bernardino of Siena Preaching before Alfonso V of Aragon (1781-83). During the 1780’s Goya was commissioned to complete some more pieces for a church in Valladolid and a cathedral in Valencia. The work within the church at Valladolid shows a classical character reflecting on the neo-classical style of the church architecture. The work at the cathedral in Valencia, however, shows Goya’s creative individuality as he includes monsters in a scene showing exorcism. Also in the 1780’s Goya became a successful portraitist. He painted a number of adult and child members of the court, scholars and professionals, and a collector and writer. The Osuna family served as an important patron to Goya at that time; pieces for them included Duque de Osuna (1785). Goya’s success grew when he was made director of painting at the Real Academia in Madrid in 1785 and selected as painter to the king in 1786. It is known from a
letter correspondence between Goya and his old friend from Saragossa, Zapater, that although Goya was experiencing such success, he desired to have more peace and time for personal creations rather than work done in other people’s taste.\textsuperscript{46} This desire, however, was not fulfilled because the King of the time, Charles III, died in 1789 and was succeeded by King Charles IV and Queen Maria Luisa, and Goya was to make new portraits for the fresh royals. He also became the primary painter of the chamber. Goya’s continued work on the tapestries was becoming a health hazard and he and his colleague and brother-in-law Ramón Bayeu both became sick in the winter of 1792-93. Bayeu died within a couple of months, while Goya was slow to recover and his illness led him to a complete loss of hearing. He spent the time he was ill in Cadiz, Spain and returned to Madrid in 1793. There he began to work on his cabinet pictures, which were something new in his art and with which his individuality began to come into view. These were small paintings done on tinplate. Goya himself wrote about them that they allowed him to portray observations that he was not able to depict in his commissioned art.\textsuperscript{47} The themes of these paintings are local genre, outdoor theaters, bullfights, and entertainment in general. In addition there are also pieces like \textit{The Madhouse} (1794) or the \textit{Fire at Night} (1793-94) which reflect on the Romantic trend that was visible in European literature and art at that time. Further cabinet pictures following 1798 included the \textit{Witches’ Sabbath}; it is a humorous scene, yet completed in dark colors and reflects on the tales of witchcraft. All in all this was a new type of decorative picture that he sent, along with five other pieces, to the Duchess of Osuna to put as decoration into her Alameda of Osuna, near Madrid. After these cabinet pictures came an extensive period of portrait painting. It began with a \textit{Self-portrait} (1790-95) where Goya shows himself standing with an easel and a candle-lit hat, which he used for lighting when it got dark. The 1790’s were filled with portraits of members of the court, statesmen, military officials, foreign ambassadors, Spanish intellectuals, artists, and bullfighters. All these portraits mirror the phase of war, revolution, liberalism, and Enlightenment in Spain. These portraits included the \textit{Duque and Duquesa de Alba}, the minister \textit{Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos}, \textit{General Don José de Urrutia}, and the painter \textit{Ascensió}

\textsuperscript{46} CONNELL, Evan S. \textit{Francisco Goya}. (2003) p.161-173  
Among these portraits was one of his most significant portraits, which he did between 1796 and 1797 during his stay in Andalusia at the Alba estate. This was the portrait of *Duquesa de Alba*, where she is wearing a black dress because she has become a widow in 1796. The significant thing about this portrait is the reflection of Goya’s own feelings for the Duchess of Alba, which are reflected by the inscription painted onto her rings, which say “Goya” and “Alba”, while below traced in the sand there are the words “Solo Goya”. Goya’s stay in Andalusia also brought with it the creation of the sketchbook Album A, also called the Sanlúcar Album. The album portrayed intimate home scenes from the duchess’s life, including *Duquesa de Alba Holding Maria de la Luz*. Such scenes were also in Goya’s second sketchbook Album B, which he carried on in Madrid. However, somewhere in the middle of this second album, Goya tuned to more caricature, satire, and reflections on society. He also included small inscriptions to support these drawings. It was these two sketchbooks that led to Goya’s major work the prints *Caprichos* (published February, 1799). In these prints Goya was critical of the moral and social issues in the Spanish society around him. In the 80 prints, he aspired to portray the negativity of destructive beliefs that existed in society, as in the piece *Here comes the bogey man – Caprichos 3*, where children are taught to be scared of something that does not exist. Further he pointed out without exaggeration or decoration the moral errors that humans were committing in their daily lives. The *Caprichos* will be discussed more thoroughly in terms of their reflection of Spanish social moral issues in the section on Goya’s selected works. The *Caprichos* also include pictures that while they leave the possibility of various interpretations, such as scenes of witchcraft and madness, they leave no doubt about what Goya’s intentions were; which were clearly to point out the lack of moral in society. This masterfully accomplished print series also gained international appreciation as it was universal in reflection of society and could be clearly understood by everyone. Uniqueness was not only seen in Goya’s drawings and prints, but also in his religious paintings of the late 1790’s. In the paintings done for the church in Cádiz in 1796-97, there was a more common composition, some even resembling Nicolas Poussin’s work, yet still the use of Goya’s preferred earthly figures was present. The frescos for the church of S Antonio de la Florida in Madrid (1798), however, show more uniqueness. Goya
uses dramatic and brilliant colors and in his trompe l’oeil in the scene *Miracle of St Anthony of Padua*, Goya reverses the position of the heavens and the earthly zone, bringing the heavens into the church, while the earthly scenes are up in the skies. This naturally inspired criticism, yet remains in the church till this day and is a precise reflection of Goya’s innovative creativity. At the turn of the century Goya created the two pieces *Naked Maja* and *Clothed Maja*, which were first in the possession of Manuel Godoy. It is said that the canvas of the *Clothed Maja* was put in front of the canvas of the *Naked Maja*. When the people had taken a good look at the clothed woman in the canvas of the *Clothed Maja*, the canvas was moved and the canvas of the *Naked Maja* was revealed from behind it.¹⁴⁸ These pieces reflected on the decadence of the day. Yet, the portrayal of a female nude was not yet a common and acceptable practice. Hence, Goya was called before the Tribunal of the Inquisition, but was able to get away without punishment.

In the early years of the 1800s Goya continued to produce a great number of portraits. They portrayed the people in a natural, not idealized way. The portrait of Manuel Godoy’s pregnant wife, *Dona Maria Teresa de Borbon y Vallabriga* (1800) showed her sadness and weakness. While the famous group portrait *Family of Charles IV* (1800) shows the figures in their natural form, yet also honestly reflecting on the merciless character of the Queen and the respectful character of the King.⁴⁹ Goya also incorporated himself into the background of the portrait. In the years between 1801 and 1812 Spain was ruled by Charles IV, Maria Luisa, and Godoy, there was the Napoleonic occupation, and after 1808 there was the Peninsular War. In this time Goya continued to paint a great number of portraits of all kinds of royal, military, and in general distinguished Spanish personalities, like actors, singers, and painters. In these times, after Goya’s son Javier got married in 1805, Goya also painted some family portraits. During these years Goya’s unofficial pieces express dramatic scenes of horrific behavior Goya must have observed in the time of war, as in *The Scene of Rape and Murder* (1808-1812) or these paintings showed dark scenes of hospitals and prisons, as *Plague Hospital* (1808-1812).

Goya further took account of the atrocities he saw during the Peninsular War, which led to the print series *Disasters of War*, which he started in 1810. In his private life Goya's wife died in 1812 and their belongings were divided between Goya and his son Javier. There is a list of paintings that Javier received from Goya, which allows to date them prior to 1812. Goya kept for himself several portraits including that of the duchess of Alba.

In 1814 Goya returned to completing royal commissions as Ferdinand returned to the throne. The same year Goya was also confronted with the question of his loyalty to Spain during the French occupation, which led him to ask for official permission to complete works reflecting on the glory of Spain. Six years later this resulted in the two pieces *Second of May 1808* and *Third of May 1808*, which show innocent Spaniards caught and executed by the ruthless French. In the years from 1810 to 1820 Goya created his 82 prints in the *Disasters of War*. These reflected the horrible acts between people during the times of war. There are scenes of violence, death, devastation, and famine. There is also bitter satire and criticism of the clerics. This series therefore could not be published during the rule of Ferdinand and the Inquisition, and hence only was published in 1863. In the years after 1815 Goya was said to have become impoverished and this led to the sale of his print series *Tauromaquia (Art of Bullfighting)* in 1816 and the series *Disparates (Absurdities or Follies)*, which he made between 1816 and 1824. The *Disparates*, as the *Disasters of War*, however could not be published until 1864 when they was called *Proverbios* as it was linked to Spanish proverbs. It is hard to interpret many of these pieces as they do not hold inscriptions. Goya's observations during these years were reflected in his drawings, which made up several sketchbooks or albums. Album C, with 133 drawings (1808-20), depicts human characteristics, caricatures, and scenes from witchcraft and daily life, as well as a stronger criticism of the tortures of the Inquisition. The negative opinion that Goya had of the Inquisition and the Church is highlighted in the final pieces of this Album C, for example in *Light of Justice*, where churchmen and women take of their clerical dress and return to secular life as Liberty, Light, Justice, and Reason are welcomed in their arrival. Album D (1812-1820) shows further observations of morality that Goya had made. Album F (1817-1824) shows scenes of prisons, torture, savagery, misery, and witchcraft. In the years from 1815-1819 Goya
also painted some portraits of members of the court and clerical personas. There were fewer commissions of religious paintings in these years.

After having a fulfilled career and the ability to also create art in his own taste, Goya, also due to his illness and financial difficulties, desired to be alone in the later years of his life. Around the 1820s he bought a house in Manzanares, between Cordoba and Madrid. Here he completed his set of fourteen *Black Paintings*, including the *Saturn devouring his Son* (1819) and *The Great He-Goat* (1820-23). These reflect his sinister views of society. Goya moved away from Spain in 1824 to France, Bordeaux and Paris. He returned two years later, yet did not stay. He returned to Bordeaux, where he died at the age of 82 in 1828.
Goya – Selected Pieces

*Los Caprichos (1799)*

*Los Caprichos* are a series of prints made of eighty plates about 32 by 22 cm. They were published in 1799 on Tuesday the 6th of February. It was with this series and at the age of 53 years old that Goya’s artistic skill started to surpass that of a painter of attractive paintings for the court or chiefly reproductive etchings and started to be that of a master painter, who is now referred to as the father of modern art. This change was probably a result of Goya’s time of illness, where as PHILIP HOFER states, Goya must have spent a lot of time reading about the French Revolution. Each of the plates has an inscription beneath the image. There are numerous texts that try to explain the meaning of the inscriptions and images; however, there is no definitive explanation. The two most prominent contemporary explanations are the “Ayala” and “Prado” manuscripts. It is clear that the plates are critical of the Inquisition and the various beliefs and behaviors in the world around Goya. This fact is not only clear today, but must have been understood during Goya’s time as well. In the light of the Inquisition the sale of the prints had to be postponed after selling only 27 sets. In 1803 the King, who personally liked Goya, ordered for Goya to give him all the existing prints and the copper plates. This naturally spared Goya from the Inquisition. The scenes displayed in the prints include political caricature, anticlerical sentiment, and fantastic allegories. Goya is clearly a social commentator and it is through this commentary that one also gains knowledge of social moral issues that existed within the late 18th century society in Spain. Several of the *Caprichos* reflects, among others, on the issues of marriage, that of raising children, social inequality between rich and poor, prostitution, and small offenses. These themes reflect more the everyday matters within society, rather than the moral and social problems that arise in times of war, revolution, or political or religious persecution.

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50 The exact day and date is known from the newspaper advertisement in the *Diario de Madrid*. CONNELL, Evan S. *Francisco Goya.* (2003) p.123
El si pronuncian y la mano alargan/ Al primero que llega. [They pronounce “yes” and give their hand to the first who comes.] Caprichos – plate 2

Plate 2 of the Caprichos [image 27] is the opening plate of the series. The title page, Plate 1, shows Goya’s portrait. Plate 2 – They pronounce “yes” and give their hand to the first who comes – depicts an awkward wedding scene. The bride is not portrayed in modesty but rather her breasts are opulently displayed in the center of the piece, her head lifted up with a proud smile, and, as Eleanor SAYRE points out, her feet leading their own way passed the final step of the church, while her father tries to guide her in the right direction. The bride’s left hand is behind her perhaps entertaining the groom. The groom’s face, lit up with anticipation, almost looks like it has animal features as he follows the bride to the altar. Behind the couple is an old churchman, whose hands are folded together in prayer. He resembles more a senile aged person, who no longer has the right mind to make judgment of what is right and what is wrong, and just gives her blessing to anything that resembles something decent. In the background behind the four characters (the churchman, couple, and father) is a nobly dressed person, yet with a sarcastic smile on his face, amusing himself with the senseless scene in front of him. The audience in the church is not made up of the ordinary well dressed guests that one would usually expect at a wedding but rather it is more like a crowd of people that one would see on a street. There is an old lady, who seems to be sleeping with her head resting on her hands, which are holding a walking still. Behind her is a man, who seems to be rebelling out of drunkenness. As Siri HUSTVEDT points out, the whole scene and the way it is built up causes a sense of drunkenness in the viewer.

The various commentaries to the Caprichos state: The ease with which many women offer themselves up to marriage, hoping thereby to enjoy greater freedom (Prado); He censures marriages blindly made, like those of princesses and ladies in waiting (Ayala); He censures the marriages made blindly by princes: one figure wears a royal cloak; the other a sort of crown, and an immense crowd of ignorant people approve and acclaim the union (Stirling);

Marriages are very often blindly made: the affianced, instructed by their parents, don masks and dress prettily to gull the fist man who comes. This is a masked princess, who later will behave like a beast to her subjects, as is indicated by the other side of her face, resembling a coiffure. The stupid populace acclaims these unions. And behind the bride comes a deceiver in priestly robes, praying for the felicity of the nation (Simon).

Que viene el Coco. [The bogeyman is coming.] — Caprichos – Plate 3

Plate 3 [image 28] touches upon the topic of parents and children; specifically on the aspect of how or with which methods parents raise their children. On the other hand it can also be seen as touching upon the topic of infidelity. In the plate one can see a mother seated on one side. Her head is raised up in a way which gives the impression that she could be singing a song or that she is looking with admiration at the figure of the bogeyman. Her two young children are fearful and seeking refuge with her. One child falls into her arms, while the other is hiding behind her and clasping the mother's upper arm. The heavy figure of the bogeyman is covered by a veil and stands with his back towards the spectator. There is a seventeenth century Spanish lullaby that has a line, Sleep, and rest assured the bogeyman will come if you do not go to sleep. Clearly this shows that Goya believed that although the mother seems to be acting out of love and with tranquility, her actions are counter productive. She is putting fear into her children instead of strength and peace. At the same time this plate could be read differently. It is known that wives used to tell their lovers to come in a disguise when they came to visit in the family home. A preliminary drawing for this plate shows that the bogeyman is wearing human shoes, which implies that there is a man hidden beneath the veil and this explains the loving look on the mother's face as she looks up towards the veiled figure.

The various commentaries to the Caprichos state: Deplorable abuse of a child's early instruction. Making the chile more afraid of the bogeyman than of his father, and forcing him to fear what does not exist (Prado); A disguised lover

Ekaterina Rozanova

comes to see a lady, who makes her children afraid of the bogeyman in order to be rid of them (Stirling); Stupid mothers make their children fearful by conjuring up the bogeyman; and worse mothers use this deception to be alone with their lovers when they cannot be rid of their children (Biblioteca).

**Muchachos al avío. [Lads Making Ready.] Caprichos – plate 11**

Plate 11 [image 29] reflects on everyday crime that existed in Spain. The plate shows four figures sitting around in a mountainous landscape. One figure is with his back towards the spectator and hidden in the background. Another figure is most likely cutting tobacco. One of the two front figures seems to be putting out a cigar and the second could be sniffing tobacco snuff. Around them are guns, various tools, and a rope probably to attach some by-passers who they are waiting for. They are dressed in a typical Andalusian dress worn during Goya’s time. This seen could be easily understood by the people of Goya’s time. It was known that there were a lot of tobacco smugglers in the area of Andalusia. There was a high tobacco tax in Spain during that time, that the French finance minister of Louis XVI stated that the French government made six times the amount that the Spanish one although the Spanish people consumed more tobacco. This was a result of smuggling. Tobacco was smuggled across the border from Portugal or from Gibraltar. Goya does not make these bandits appear like beasts or for that matter even dangerous. There is a sense of ease among the figures, something that perhaps reflects on the fact that this kind of seen was common and not even a hidden reality in society. Perhaps Goya’s opinion was that it was the circumstances of society that led to this natural consequence. Portraying these bandits with the least negativity out of all the negative people in Goya’s *Caprichos*, perhaps alludes to the fact that banditry had become the least of all evils in society.

The various commentaries to the *Caprichos* state: *Andalusian smugglers near a highroad soon become highway men* (Ayala); *Their faces and clothing proclaim who they are* (Prado).

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56 ibid p.89  
57 TOWNSEND, Joseph. *A Journey through Spain in the years 1786-1787.* (1791) p.282, 305-306  
**Los Chinchillas (The Chinchillas) Caprichos – plate 50**

Plate 50 [image 30] reflects on the ignorance of the wealthy. In this plate there are two figures, one lying on the ground and the other standing and being fed by a third darker figure. The two figures are wearing coats of armor, which in Spanish are also called *cotas de armas*, which allowed Goya to really dress the figures in these “coats”. Due to these coats the figures arms are trapped and there are immobile. On their heads, covering their ears, are locks. The figure in the back, which is feeding one of the figures with a spoon, is blind folded and has donkey ears. The meaning of the symbolism in this plate is not too complicated to understand. First of all the name Chinchillas is taken from a popular comedy. The family name Chinchillas stood for the nobles that were dedicated too much to their ancestors. The two figures dressed in the “coats” are representing personages from some noble family lineage. The blind folded figure can be identified as ignorance itself therefore it is ignorance that is taking charge of what is being fed to the noble figures. The closed eyes of the figures reflect on the fact that they are not seeing what is going on around them and the locks on their ears show that they also do not hear the reality around them. The fact that they are immobile is the main point to Goya’s message. It is the point that these nobles, due to their conviction that they are noble and great, do not strive to learn anything or achieve something on their own. Hence they are immobilized by their belief in their noble identity. A preliminary drawing to this plate – *La enfermedad de la razon* [The Illness of Reason] – shows the two figures in the same poses. They are, however, not fed by ignorance but by females, probably representing servants, but at the same time represent the only thing that makes these men active. As Sayre points out the only sign of activity of these men is revealed by the bulges on their pants that one pay suppose are brought about by the ladies.\(^59\) The sexuality of the women is also emphasized by the seemingly bare breast of the woman kneeling down by the figure that is lying on the floor. At the same time this bare breast could also be understood as a mothers breast implying that the figure is mentally as undeveloped as a baby. While in the *Caprichos* plate the scene takes place in a bare room, in the preliminary drawing the scene is set in grand gothic style.

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architecture, emphasizing the fact that the grandeur of the family lies in the past, while the contemporary members are numb and dumb on the floor.

The various commentaries to the *Caprichos* state: *He who hears nothing knows nothing, and does nothing belongs to the large family of the Chinchillas, which has never been good for anything* (Prado); *Fools that pride themselves on their nobility surrender to indolence and superstition, and they seal off their understanding with padlocks whilst they are grossly fed by Ignorance* (Ayala); *Fools that pride themselves on their nobility are satirized for their customary indolence and their superstition. Reclining slothfully, with their ornamental swords always awry, holding rosaries, and with their understanding padlocked, they are grossly and abundantly fed by Ignorance* (Stirling).

Another *Caprichos* that points to this ignorance in the behavior of wealthy people is *Caprichos 76 – You understand? ... well as I say... he! Look out! Otherwise ...* [image 31] In this plate one sees a fat man with crooked legs dressed in a formal uniform implying that he has some sort of position for the government. One can clearly see that this man is dominating the scene and treating those around him as inferiors. Goya’s message is that because of the man’s outfit and career he thinks he can boss people around, which leave him and them in an unnatural state of fear and instability. At the same time it makes clear that those in worse positions have no choice but to adhere to the orders of ignorant officials, who blindly think they are superior and are not aware, as in this case, of their imperfections.

*Sopla. [Blow.] Caprichos – plate 69*

This plate 69 [image 32] depicts the disturbing subject of sexual abuse of children. There are several men depicted in the scene as witch-like nude figures. One witch, just dressed in a rag around his waist, is standing and holds a child by the hands and feet using it as a bellows to blow up a fire. Several witches are sitting on the ground. One is watching the standing witch, two are howling from the dark background, and the fourth pedophile is sucking on a little boy’s penis. There are two witches flying in the background. One is bringing more child victims to the vile scene. The second one has spread its large wings

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60 ibid p.120
as it seems to cover up the evil scene below. The fire in the central part of the print is symbolizing that what is the topic in the scene. The use of fire to symbolize physical or sexual love had become tradition in art. It is though clear from the images, without the symbolism, in this plate what the scene is about. The nudity of the figures emphasizes the inappropriateness. The young age of the children adds to the disturbance as it is clear that they are absolutely helpless and unable to judge and understand what is happening. The two witches hauling from the dark inner part of the print seem to even add a disturbing sound to the scene.

The various commentaries to the Caprichos state: There must have been a fine catch of little children last night! The banquet being prepared will be splendid. Fall to (Prado); Children are the target of a thousand obscenities on the part of old and licentious men (Ayala); Old women make use of children for many an obscenity. One sucks a child’s small thing [penis]; a second stirs up the fire [arouses passion] by making a child serve as bellows (Stirling); Depraved men commit a thousand deviltries and obscenities with little boys; they fornicate them with one another, they suck their member, etc., etc... (Nelson).^61

There are many other Caprichos touching upon the themes of marriage, raising children, and the unconscious behavior of the wealthy. Caprichos 14 – What a sacrifice [image 33] and Caprichos 75 – Can’t anyone untie us [image 34] touch upon the theme of marriage. In Caprichos 14 one sees the bride and groom. Behind them is the bride’s family. The bride turns her head away from the groom. The groom, a hunchbacked short man, stares at the bride’s breasts. In the background the mother is weeping for her daughter, while the father seems to be pushing the groom towards his daughter probably because the marriage will take off his responsibility for the daughter and perhaps bring him some sort of benefit. The basic image is not hard to decipher. There is a lustful old man who seeks a beautiful girl and there is the father who is selfish and does not value his daughter but rather values his money and standing. The name of the plate, What a sacrifice, is therefore very appropriate as it is for

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money and lust that a girl’s entire life is put on stake. The Caprichos 75 – Can’t anyone untie us already shows the next step that results after unequal or forced marriages are made. The wife and husband are tied together around a tree and are fighting to free themselves. On top of them is an owl with demonic eyes symbolizing the craze of the situation. It is clear in this scene what Goya’s opinion of unwanted marriages was and the struggle he thought it brought to the couples. This is emphasized by the fact that both the husband and wife are young and healthy looking meaning that they still have all their life in front of them and could be better off.

As Caprichos 3 touches upon the theme of raising children, so do Caprichos 16 – God forgive her; it was her mother [image 35] and Caprichos 25 – Yes, he broke the pot [image 36]. The former depicts a mother leading her daughter as it seems into prostitution or an unwanted marriage. The young girl and the mother look similar to the figures of Maja and Celestina in Goya’s famous painting about mother and daughter and prostitution, called Maja and Celestina on the Balcony (1808-1812) [image 37], which is discussed below. With this Caprichos, Goya points to the lack of responsibility that mothers often have towards their daughters. One can see in the image that the girl is reluctant to walk in the direction her old mother is pushing her implying that the mother is pushing the girl in the direction which pleases her rather than her daughter. The other Caprichos 25 – Yes, he broke the pot also focuses on parents and children, but from a different aspect. It still has to do with small children as did the Caprichos 3 – Here comes the bogey man, mentioned above. In this picture one can see in the foreground a broken pot and in the background laundry hanging up to dry implying that this is a domestic scene. In the center there are two figures – a mother and child. The mother is crouched down, holding a shoe in one hand and the child in her lap with the other. The child is with his/her naked butt towards the viewer. It is clear from the scene and from the title of the plate that the child is being punished for the broken pot. Goya portrays a mischievous son and a bad-tempered mother. On one hand the child broke the pot, which is bad, but on the other there is the mother beating her own child. Goya’s intention was to make one think of which is worse – breaking a pot or hitting your child. It clearly shows that Goya did not think that parents taught their children the right behavior either.
Maja and Celestina on a Balcony (1808-1812)

The oil on canvas painting of *Maja and Celestina on a Balcony* [image 37] is about 166 cm by 108 cm. In the center of the painting stands a pretty young woman leaning against the railing of the balcony. She seems to be looking directly at the spectator with a calm rather than a flirty gaze. She is dressed in a light dress and her breasts opulently presented, simply hidden behind the almost transparent material of her dress and also emphasized by the light in the painting that centers at her chest. There is an old woman behind her half hidden by the darkness. The old woman has a smile on her face and her hands held up to her chest. With one of them she seems to point at the girl and in the other hand she holds a rosary. There are two ways that this painting could be analyzed. On one hand, the way that Maja, the young woman, is positioned is clearly symbolic of a prostitute. This fact emphasized by old Celestina behind her, who is trying to imply with her smile and pointed figure that this young girl is a good catch. So in this case the painting points to two facts; one, that of the young beautiful girl giving herself into prostitution; and two, that of the old woman promoting this unnecessary behavior. Furthermore there was a *Tragicomedy of Calixto and Melibea*, in which Celestina is the main character ultimately giving making the piece simply known as *La Celestina*.62 The piece was written by Fernando de Rojas in 1499, yet was read by the Enlightened in the 18th century. The interest in this work exposes another aspect of the Enlightenment, which was the interest in pornography and the erotic. When the piece was translated in 1624 into Latin by Caspar Barthius, he gave it the name *Pornoboscodidascalus*, which means manual of prostitution. So there is no doubt that Goya’s painting does on one hand allude to prostitution. However, there is something in the painting that makes brings questioning to whether the young woman is actually sinful or not. Usually Goya portrays prostitutes with boastful and flirtation faces, as seem in the *She fleeces him: Caprichos* – plate 35 [image 37a]. In this painting, however, Maja has a soft, almost innocent, presence. It is only her opulent cleavage that alludes to sexual flirtation. It is for her innocence that is also emphasized by the white color of her dress that a second interpretation of the painting can be made. It can be thought that this is

a scene where a mother, in this case Celestina, is putting her daughter, in this case Maja, out there in order to find a husband for her. The marriage aspect is highlighted by the fact that Celestina holds a rosary in her hand. It is clear that the way that this mother is looking for a husband for her daughter it is more out of selfish reasons. She is smiling while her daughter has calmly surrendered to her fate. Hence Goya points to two moral problems in society in this piece. One is that of prostitution and the other that of parents giving their daughters into marriages that do not serve the daughters well. Prostitution had grown and become a major public problem in the 18th century. It did not only cause instability to the social and moral order but also had a grave negative effect on public health as sexually transmitted diseases grew.

Captivity of Prisoners

Goya has many images of prisoners chained up or tortured. However, many of these images are a reaction to the vileness of the Inquisition and political prosecution. An example is for instance Por Liberal? [For Being a Liberal?] Album C page 98 (1810-1814), which shows a dazed woman chained around her neck, her hands, and feet in a standing position. She seems to have a questioning expression on her face implying that her guilt is not clear. The political nature of this print is clear because the term “liberal” was used in a political sense towards the end of 1810 when the press addressed members of the parliament assembly, Cortes, in Cádiz, who supported the idea of press freedom and the fact that sovereignty should rest with the people and not the crown. There are though among these images also several which simply reflect on the way that any prisoner, not only in the time of religious or political prosecution, could have been treated.

La seguridad de un reo no exige tormento [The custody of a criminal does not call for torture] and Tan Barbara la seguridad como el delito [The custody is as barbarous as the crime] (1810-1814)

The two etchings, The custody of a criminal does not call for torture [image 38] and The custody is as barbarous as the crime [image 39], are part of a series of three reflecting on the topic of the torture of prisoners. Both of them

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show a single man in a dark room. The legs are held together by leg-irons, the arms are chained in front of one of the figures and behind the other. It is clear that the figures are not able to sit and so are tortured by their uncomfortable position. One cannot see their faces for their heads are turned to the ground in emphasis on the fact that they must be in this position for a while already. The reason why it can be thought that these etchings are just of ordinary prisoners and not those that have been captured in war or due to religious discrimination could be because those pieces that do have to do with war or religion are clearly labeled by Goya as such. For example, *Por descubrir el movimiento de la tierra* [For Discovering the Movement of the Earth] Album C, plate 94, clearly refers to the fact that scientists were persecuted by the Church. The way that Goya refers to the two given etchings simply refers to imprisonment. In these pieces Goya criticizes the Spanish judicial practices even before the Peninsular War, which he will criticize in his *Disasters of War*. During Goya’s times executions often took place without reason, trials were delayed, and confessions were obtained by the use of torture. Goya’s alludes to the fact that the judicial system and those who were executing the law were often criminals themselves. This is clearly reflected in the title of one of the etchings – *The custody is as barbarous as the crime*. This fact is also emphasized by the clear depiction of the chains and leg-irons in these etchings. One can clearly see these tools for torture allowing Goya’s criticism of the authorities to speak clearly for itself. The fact that the prisoners are also faceless also takes away from focus on specific personalities or situation but rather puts emphasis on the topic of torture in imprisonment as a whole. During Goya’s time there was a discussion in the parliament of Cádiz about the abolition of torture.64 Hence it seems that this was Goya’s input into the discussion. These sorts of discussions slowly lead to the more just treatment of prisoners and the creation of laws that protected their rights.

In the piece *Dios nos libre de tan amargo lance* [God save us from such a bitter fate] [image 40], one can see a woman being threatened by a man with a knife as he leads her some place. There is a child clinging to the woman’s leg. Basically it is a scene of a kidnapping. During Goya’s time kidnapping had become an immense social problem. One can compare the figure of the kidnapper to the bandits in the *Capricho* plate 11 *Muchachos al avio* (Lads Making Ready) perhaps reflecting on the strong influence that Goya’s stay in Andalusia had left on him. While banditry was always common in Spain, from the 18th century it was mainly situated between Madrid and Andalusia in the south. In the background one can see trees, which must serve as a place of hiding for the bandits. There is an interesting detail in this piece – the elegant dress of the woman. This implies that she was not just a wealthy peasant that was being robbed, but she was clearly belonging to the aristocracy. During Goya’s time there was a large agrarian population, while only a small margin of aristocrats. The proletariat lived in hard conditions and when they had nothing to lose, there was no reason to keep them away from crime, including kidnapping. So in a sense Goya does not see the bandits as such an evil, but rather as a natural consequence in a desperate life. Hence if one compares this image to other depictions by Goya of crime, as for example rape or torture seen in the *Caprichos*, the image at hand is greatly contrasted in its character. While in the *Caprichos*, for example, the evil characters are portrayed in a way as beasts, in the image at hand the scene is calm and the bandit is not vilified. There is a dark cloud hanging over the scene, yet still not the turmoil and darkness that characterizes Goya’s other portrayals of evil. Hence Goya’s choice for this kind of composition could perhaps therefore not so much criticize banditry, but points to the fact that it is a natural consequence of an unequal society. As TERESA LORENZO de MÁRQUEZ points out that Carlos III (r. 1759-1788) was aware of the problem of banditry that existed in the vast unpopulated lands between Madrid and Andalusia, so he ordered New

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Settlements *Nuevas Poblaciones* to be built there. Pablo de Olavide, who was in charge of the project, thought further and understood that the problem of banditry was actually rooted in the inequalities of society, so he set up rules to bring more equality to society in the New Settlements.\(^{66}\) Hence in this image one does not see Goya criticizing human nature but rather the political and economic situation which leads people to become something bad.

Goya – Discussion

Goya had succeeded to have a very comfortable and recognized career. He made his way to be a painter for the Kings, had done a vast number of portraits of all sorts of renowned individuals, and he received a large number of commissions from the Church. There was, however, within him also the desire to create art that does not only serve the Monarchy or the Church, but art that concerns itself with the entire society, including both rich and poor. It was only towards his later years that he finally got the chance and the time to devote himself to subjects that, as he had told his friend Zapater, were more personal to him.67 Throughout his art, Goya mirrored the world he was in. When he was working for the court, his art reflected accurately the flamboyant reality of the world at the court. At the same time he took on enough commissions for religious pieces reflecting on his spiritual side. After witnessing war and persecution, Goya was driven to express the horrid visions in his work. The monstrous acts he witnessed made him construct a world that was filled with monstrous people with animal and inhumanly features. His art became a documentation of the reality around him. He was able to not only depict the cruelties that one was able to see with the eye, but he also depicted the cruelties of the mind and ideas that existed in his society. The art of pieces like those of the Caprichos provoke deep emotions of disturbance, while inspiring profound thought, and seem to have an empowering ability to make one reflect on one’s own inner evils. As Siri Hustvedt points out, Goya’s Caprichos are very personal creating an ethically unpleasant feeling.68 While the rest of Europe was witnessing progress in politics, life, and culture, Spain had fallen behind do to the Peninsular Wars and Fernando VII’s reign. Goya was naturally not ignorant to the events abroad. He saw the movement where reason, science, understanding of nature, humanity, and freedom from the blinding lies that past leaders had laid upon their people was taking place. From his work, it is clear that it was his desire to bring Spaniards’ attention to and educate them about the new forms of thinking and being. Through the vivid imagery, the satire, and the fantastical elements, Goya draws the attention of the spectator in

67 see footnote #43  
away that inspires rather than preaches, and although often disturbing, does not over pull it into the exaggerated. He expresses his own feelings through the criticism of the wrong and evil in society, and his interest in improving all levels of society are evident from the numerous characters, places, and themes of his work. The personal interest in so many ideas and areas of life is reflective of his care for his genuine care for the world around him. The ability to have created such a rich collection of work displays Goya’s mastery.

Goya not only brought the Spanish reality to life in his work, but he also brought back the Spanish tradition for expressing the troubles and lives of the Spanish themselves clearly back into the Spanish art life. The Spanish tradition was to express the realities of the Spanish people as realistically as one could. The purely Spanish art in the past had been over-shadowed by the baroque, the classical, and simply foreign influences. Goya’s work, especially that, which focuses on purely the Spanish moral social issues is clearly independent in style and form. Liberation from social conventions, tolerance towards all levels of society, and understanding for the cause and effect are all the ideas that Goya expresses and the method he uses to create his art.
Eighteenth Century History of France

In France, like in the other European countries of the beginning of the eighteenth century, the majority of the population was made up of the peasants. The society was dominated by the landowning nobility and by the Catholic clergy. French monarchs were able to construct a stable body of administration during the early modern era. The ability of the French to maintain social order and collect taxes and make revenue was better than that of its neighbors. However, with Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715), the development towards a modern government ended. He was able to return to a sort of absolutism with which he could intervene and impose authority into all levels of society. In addition, France’s neighbors saw France as a forceful state because of Louis efforts to expand his realm. Still his reign put France into a leading position in Europe as Spain fell to second rank and France became first. Culturally, economically, and militarily France was at the top. The understanding of national ambitions went back to the sixteenth century, however, now the mentality shifted from dynastic and crusading ideals to the expansion of trade and the nation’s territory. In cultural terms France had also become a leader and a source of influence over its neighbors. Louis’s palace of Versailles was not only a sign of French glory and elegance, but also a source of inspiration for art and architecture, as well as, courtly rituals throughout Europe. France global power and religious prosecution of the Protestants at home led to other European powers allying against it. The militarism, which resulted from this, exhausted France’s resources. Other countries began to over-take France’s supremacy. Britain had the Bank of England, which led to a diverse and stable economy. Prussia had a highly disciplined army. With the coming to power of Louis XV (r. 1715-1774), France took a more moderate route in terms of military actions. Due to the frustration of the diminishing rank of France, there were steps to try to modernize the government. There was cultural development and economic growth largely due to agricultural improvement and colonial trade. Furthermore, due to the positive changes and hygiene improvements, France saw growth in population. With the prosperity, urban communities grew. It also became

normal for nobles to reside in the city and only visit their country dwellings occasionally. In terms of economy, at the beginning of the modern era rich Frenchmen did not risk too much with commerce but rather built official careers. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, however, the French did start to invest in textile and metal production and were more interested in colonial trade, yet this development was still slow. The middle and upper class were better educated leading them to question the traditional forms. The religious culture was made into the past as the educated Frenchmen turned to modern philosophy of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Voltaire, and others. By the mid-century a new public opinion gained a strong foundation.\textsuperscript{70} Individualism, human reason, and the challenging of the church and royals became a natural part of the social mentality. The parlements pushed against absolutism saying that the public should take part in the government.

France’s positive condition started to wane when Louis XVI (r. 1774-1789) came to the throne. France was headed for bankruptcy and although Louis had good intentions, he failed to govern his ministers in a constructive way. The monarchy’s expenses were way higher than its revenue and all attempts to achieve a consensus in 1787 and 1788 failed. In the countryside, where villages had grown into strong communities with political ability to protect their rights, problems also began to occur. Starting already in the middle of the seventeenth century and peaking in the eighteenth, land and villages were bought up by rich royal officials leading to a collapse of the existing and well-functioning rural systems and an impoverishment of the agricultural society. Although the peasants, and in general the unemployed or poor, would play a minor role in the Revolution of 1789, the rural poverty naturally contributed to the monarchy’s collapse.\textsuperscript{71} Due to the economic crisis, the Estates General had to be revived, which had not happened since 1614. The difference at that stage compared to 1614 was that the Catholic clergy and the nobility were no longer unchallenged. The rest of the population that made up the third group of representatives as the Third Estate was no longer accepting the fact that the clergy and the nobles would outweigh them. When finally the Estates General

was supposed to meet at Versailles, the question of whether the Third Estate was to take part or not came up. The Third Estates reaction to this was to go against the orders of the privileged and the king as it announced itself the National Assembly. Within a month the storming of the Bastille took place and the Revolution had triumphed. As a consequence the privileges of the clergy and nobility were removed and new system of government replaced the absolute monarchy. The citizens were given rights with the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen on August 26\textsuperscript{th}, 1789. France was still a great power; however, it was not able to maintain its international position due to the social problems at home. Soon the unity of the Revolution started to break apart as different parts of the population started to demand their rights. The demands were often unrealistic and simply caused instability in the country. Furthermore, the neighboring monarchies feared the Revolutionary spirit of the French creating a fear in France against its neighbors. So in 1792 France declared war on Austria. By 1792 France went through a number of defeats resulting in its people overthrowing the monarchy and the National Assembly's constitutional system. The National Convention, which intended to create a democratic republic, was elected. France was set for democracy and a modern society.

**Cultural Aspects of Eighteenth Century France**

In the eighteenth century France was a great exporter of artistic forms and philosophical ideas. The *philosophes* of France, those liberal thinkers, writers, and intellectuals of the mid-century, included Montesquieu (1689-1755), Voltaire (1694-1778), and Rousseau (1712-1778). Montesquieu had systematic ideas about political and social order. He believed in the separation of state powers into three main bodies: executive, legislative, and judicial. He divided society into three groups: the monarchy, the aristocracy, and the commons. In his *Spirit of the Laws* (1748), he advocated reform for slavery. Voltaire did not have such systematic approaches, was valued for his literary style, sense of humor and satire. The interest in Voltaire and his ideas was clear from the vast number of correspondences that he held with people from all over Europe. Rousseau was the most unconventional and rebellious out of the group. He
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spoke out for sincerity and truth. In *Émile* (1762), he focused on educational reform and on political innovation in *The Social Contract* (1762). Other figures like Diderot (1713-1784), who edited the *Encyclopaedia* (1751-1772), were also of great importance. These thinkers influenced thoughts and ideas throughout the whole of Europe and aided to shape the French Revolution. The predominant trend was towards belief in the positive effects of diversity, open-mindedness, and curiosity, and a critical and constructive evaluation of the history and legacy of the past. Reason was the key factor behind the philosophies of the day.

Cultural resources were mainly available for those with family or professional connections. However, press, theaters, and music was available to all. Print was very popular in the capital Paris. Printers such as Duchesne, Robin, and Merlin based their success on promoting the ideas of the Enlightenment. Satires became popular and unstoppable towards the fourth quarter of the century. Texts which satirized famous individuals, commented on scandals and events, were printed within a day and were successfully distributed. These texts also included criticisms of the rulers and their ways of government. In theaters a vast number of plays and new play forms appeared. The classical tragedy was replaced by the lighter drama, bourgeoisie tragedy, and sentimental comedy. These were all based on the classical form. Writers like Voltaire brought, although also using the classical form, brought a new characteristic to the plays. Voltaire introduced distant foreign countries like China, South America, and Mexico in plays such as *Zaïre* (1732) and *Mérope* (1743). Comedy, although not too common also had its place in the theaters. LeSage’s *Turcaret* (1709) is a satire about mean shopkeepers, unfair financiers, immoral behaviors of aristocrats, and the absurdities of ordinary people. The theaters themselves were a place of interaction and a place where the high society met up. The boulevards were a new and popular development, which included simple comic acts and small plays. The tickets were more affordable and therefore these events attracted people from all levels of society. Boulevard entertainment became popular culture and took over the elite culture. *The Marriage of Figaro* (1784) by Beaumarchais was exceptional in its ability to
bridge the social division among the audience. The play was satirical of the aristocracy and due to Beaumarchais connections with the court, the work was not banned. While in places like England satirical prints were common, in France they appeared slowly. Although Paris was ready for prints about scandal, social events, and politics, there was the problem of censorship. Open criticism of the monarchy was out of question. It was only after 1789 that political, satirical, and critical images were widely published. Yet not long after, after 1792, the state once again limited freedom of expression and used visual images for the purpose of propaganda.

In painting there was even less liberty in France. As in most places in Europe, painters depended on their patrons. These were mostly aristocrats or wealthy people who were more interested in socially conventional art rather than satire and socially critical images. The French elite favored history paintings greatly. However, just like the state theaters was threatened by the boulevards, so was the Royal Academy of Painting in Paris threatened by other exhibition spaces. At the Salon, where admission was free, people from of ranks of society found themselves amongst each other. The Academy supported the artists which reflected the conventional taste of the aristocratic patronage, such as Boucher (1703-1770) or Fragonard (1732-1806). The Salon allowed a change in both style and subject matter.

On the whole, the French art culture, although progressive in thought, was still ensnared in the forms which were inspired by classical form and controlled by the taste of the aristocratic elite.

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Jean-Baptiste Greuze was born in Tournus, France on August 21st, 1725. He was called Jean until the mid-50's, when he took on the name Jean-Baptiste. He was born to Jean-Louis Greuze, who was a roofer, yet of whom Greuze would later speak more highly, describing him as an architect, and his mother Claudine Roch. Greuze was one of nine children in the family. He most likely had some sort of art training during his early years when he was still living in his home town. In his late twenties, Greuze went to Lyon and studied with the portraitist Charles Grandon. Grandon moved to Paris around 1750 and it is thought that this is when Greuze also moved to there as well. Greuze began to study drawing at the Académie Royale under Charles-Joseph Natoire. Greuze soon began to be admired and supported by the painter Louis Silvestre and the sculptor Jean-Baptiste Pigalle. Through this support, he was able to exhibit some of his work at the Académie. The appreciation for and success of these works, which included the portrait of Silvestre and the Family Bible Reading, led to Greuze’s nomination by the Académie in June 1755 as an associate member. Later the same year Greuze had his first exhibition at the Salon. His work was associated with the Dutch style and the work of Chardin, yet highly admired. He was able to sell several pieces, among which was the Family Bible Reading. Although well acknowledged by the critics, they still expressed disappointment at the fact that such a talent was occupying himself with the, what they believed, “simple” genre subjects.\(^\text{73}\)

Between 1755 and 1757 Greuze traveled to Italy in the company of the historian, theorist, and collector Louis Gougenot, who took on all of Greuze’s expenses. They arrived in Rome early 1756 after making many stops in places like Florence, Modena, Genoa, Parma, Turin, Bologna, and Naples. Gougenot left Rome for Paris four months later. It seems that Greuze’s high expenses could have led to this, although Greuze always declared that he covered his own expenses, Gougenot wrote in his diary that he covered all of Greuze’s expenses.\(^\text{74}\) Another indication that Greuze and Gougenot had a disagreement was that when Greuze returned to Paris, the two did not have anything to do


with each other anymore. Greuze remained in Italy until 1757 and was sent a
good offer from Versailles. The offer was a commission of two paintings and
the work space and housing at the Palazzo Mancini, the place of the Académie
die France in Rome. Greuze, however, did not complete these commissioned
pieces until he returned to Paris. These were Simplicity 1759 and Young
Shepherd Holding a Flower 1761. Instead Greuze focused on his genre
paintings, which were clearly influenced by his knowledge of Dutch art that he
had encountered back in Paris. In Italy it was the four pieces Broken Eggs,
Bepolitan Gesture, Indolence, and The Fowler which he focused on and
exhibited at the Paris salon in 1757. Although in works like the Female Torso
after the Antique that Greuze used antique sculptures as models, it is still clear
that his interest lay more with the scenes of contemporary life than with the
distant past.

In April, 1757 Greuze left Rome to return to Paris. Greuze was eager to
make it on time to exhibit the works he had produced in Italy at the Paris Salon
the coming summer. Not long after being back in Paris, Greuze started a
romance with Anne-Gabrielle Babuti, a daughter of a wealthy Parisian
bookseller. They got married in early 1759 and had three daughters, of which
one died still as a baby. The marriage had brought Greuze a large dowry, yet
also a lot of troubles. His wife had a number of affairs and further more wanted
to intervene in Greuze career. These circumstances led to both a private and
public situation of indignity for Greuze. His emotions and thoughts on this
subject are reflected in several of his pieces, such as the Marriage Contract
better known as L’Accordée de village. The French philosopher and writer
Denis Diderot saw in Greuze art the reflection of his personal life and it brought
with it the appeal for more seriousness in painting. Diderot mentioned Greuze
for the first time after the Salon in 1759. After that a relationship developed
between the two, which would last ten years. While in 1759 Greuze displayed
the pieces with Italian subjects, at the Salon of 1761 the theme of his displays
were scenes of family life, including the already mentioned L’Accordée de village,
and Silence!, where a mother disciplines her child, and portrayals of
idealized girls, such as the Wool Winder and the Sleeping Knitter. There was
not much that the critics had to say about Greuze’s work; nonetheless the
exhibition of 1761 was a great success. The L’Accordée de village was greatly
received by critics and the public. It was commissioned by the minister Marigny and was then the only piece that, after the minister’s death, was bought from the works collected by him by Louis XVI. It was referred to as a “masterpiece” by the connoisseur Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694-1774). In the 1763 Salon, Greuze showed something like a sequel to the *L’Accordée de village* in his *Filial Piety*. Both paintings will be discussed more thoroughly further in the section about Greuze’s art work. This painting led Diderot to state, that a new genre of painting was created by Greuze, which Diderot referred to as moral painting.

The painting was bought two years later in 1765 by Catherine II of Russian. In 1765 Greuze exhibited some portraits at the Salon. Greuze’s steady career and success at the Salon was interrupted in 1767 by the secretary of the Académie Royale, Charles-Nicolas Cochin II, when the latter wrote that because Greuze had not yet submitted his *morceau de reception*, which had actually been due half a year after he had been named associate member in 1755, he was not allowed to exhibit at the Salon of 1767. In the following two years, Greuze worked harder and moved away from genre paintings to history paintings. Perhaps he thought that this was the way he could be more highly honored at the Académie. Among the works he completed in the next years reflecting his new desire for historical and religious themes were *Death of Brutus, Lot and his Daughters*, and *Cimon and Pero*. Greuze turned away from contemporary themes and made studies of antique sculptures. For his *morceau de reception*, Greuze chose the theme of *Septimius Severus Reproaching Caracalla* which he showed at the Académie in July, 1769. There was bad criticism towards the painting. Diderot, who had liked the idea of the painting and Greuze’s choice of going away from genre to history painting, now, seeing the complete piece, did not appreciate it anymore. The other members of the Académie were also taken back by the new choice of a historical subject. They did vote him into the Académie, however, the classified him as a genre painter, which was greatly to Greuze’s disliking. Furthermore the Académie provoked further anger in Greuze by only letting him know of his classification after his gave his oath. In his anger and humiliation, Greuze did not exhibit at the Salon of the Académie

again until 1800. In the following years he exhibited his works at various other Salons in the country as that of the de la Correspondance or that of Lyon or at the Art Society of Montpellier. Furthermore he provoked the Académie by making his own exhibitions in his studio at the Louvre while there were exhibitions at the Salon. Among those visiting Greuze’s exhibitions were a number of high positioned foreign names, such as the son of Catherine II, Grand Duke Paul Petrovitch, or Joseph II of Austria. Greuze was able to make more wealth through reproductive engravings that other artist made of his work. In 1792, however, Greuze suffered a great financial set back through his costly divorce.

During the French Revolution Greuze did not complete paintings reflecting on the political and social events; rather he painted a number of portraits including the portrait of Jean-Nicolas Billaud-Varenne. During the late years Greuze painted a number of portraits, some history paintings, and returned to depicting contemporary life, however, there was less humble narration of his initial genre paintings and more of the grandeur in the narration as that seen in his history paintings. These paintings include *Charitable Woman* or the *Twelfth-night Cake*. Greuze’s final masterpiece, which will be discussed in a further section of the text, is the *Father’s Curse* and its sequel the *Punished Son*. The pieces with family life as the subject matter are the ones that reflect on Greuze’s own circumstances. While unlike the other artists discussed in this thesis, who focused on various moral and social issues in their contemporary societies, Greuze’s focus remained on the moral issues within the family.
Hogarth, Goya, Greuze – Moral Social Issues and Art of the Eighteenth Century

Greuze – Selected Pieces

*L’accordée de village [A Marriage Contract] (1761)*

The oil painting *A Marriage Contract* [image 41], which was displayed at the Salon in 1761, clearly touches upon the theme of marriage. The portrayed scene shows the signing of a civil marriage contract in front of a notary. As EMMA BARKER points out, this had become a standard procedure in France prior to the religious ceremony.  

One can see a group of characters. On the left side of the canvas the female figures, with only a young boy among them, dominate and on the right the male figures with only one girl among them. On the far left in the background, one can see two young girls chatting secretly to each other. In front of them is a young boy leaning in against a chair with a sort of annoyed attitude, perhaps bored of the formal circumstances. Next to this chair is a little girl feeding a hen and its chicks seeds that the girl holds in her skirt. On the chair the mother is seated facing towards the center of the painting and looking at the bride while holding onto her arm, almost pulling on her. The look on the mother’s face can be interpreted in various ways, but the most dominating one would probably be the expression of loss combined with sympathy. Between the mother and the bride stands another daughter leaning in sorrow on the bride’s, her sister’s, shoulder, while wiping tears off her own face. She, like the mother, also seems to be holding onto the bride or pulling the bride towards herself with the arm that she has around the bride’s shoulder. In both this sister and mother one can recognize the grief as they are in a way losing their beloved sister or daughter. The bride and groom make up the center of the painting. The bride is dressed in light colors and her head is slightly bowed. Her arm is slightly around the grooms arm and her figures barely touch his hand. There is gentleness in her posture. The groom stands facing the father and listening to him as he is given part of the dowry. Although the groom is not facing the bride, he has his hand behind him so that she can hold on to him and he seems to wrap his arm against hers as well. There is also a sign of tranquility in his face. The couple although being pulled at on both sides is calm and visually attached to each other. The father is seated on

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a chair on the right side of the painting with his arms open in a gesture that can perhaps be interpreted in two ways: one, that he is pointing towards his daughter, the bride, as if saying to the groom, “Look what a wonderful gift I am giving you!”; or two, his arms are opened in a way as if he is welcoming his the groom and thanking the groom at the same time for taking his daughter into marriage and in that sense taking off the financial burden off his shoulders. There is a girl standing behind the fathers chair and leaning forward against it while resting her head on her hand. She is scrutinizing the scene that is happening in front of her with a certain dismay, which can be interpreted as envy as both Barker and Edgar MUNHALL both believe. Unlike the other females she does not seem to be saddened by the fact that her sister, as a result of this scene, will no longer be a member of their home, but will have her own home apart from them.

In the bottom right hand part of the painting the notary is seated with his back halfway towards the spectator. While holding some documents in his hands, which a small boy seems to be trying to get his hands on, the notary examines the couple or perhaps just the bride with a sense of bitterness in his look.

This painting seems to reflect on the things that surround marriage other than simply the love of two people. Greuze points to the emotional effect it has on the family/parents that the bride is leaving behind. He also points out the legal issues that a marriage brings with itself. While he portrays the couple in unity and tranquility, there is a lot of commotion going on around them. The painting could be an allusion to the fact that Greuze himself had just gotten married in 1759. Since the father of his wife was a wealthy bookseller, there must have been a lot of formality surrounding Greuze’s own marriage.

The Father’s Curse

This set of paintings touches upon a domestic theme of the relationship between children and parents. Greuze had the desire to make tell his stories in more than one picture. He wanted to create a narrative to bring his ideas like a theater to his spectators.  

La Malédiction paternelle: Le fils ingrate [The Father’s Curse: The Ungrateful Son] (1777)

The first of the two paintings, La Malédiction paternelle: Le fils ingrate [The Father’s Curse: The Ungrateful Son] [image 42] was completed in 1777. It shows a scene of a forceful disagreement between father and son. The infuriated father dominates the left side of the canvas and the son, who is leaving the room, the right with their family members around them. One the far left of the canvas one sees the father jumping from his chair, his hands flying in the air as he seems to want to physically attack his son. At the same time this gesture, as the title of the painting alludes to, can also be read as a gesture of cursing. The father’s messy grey hair and infuriated face gives him an evil look on one hand, but at the same time it is the expression of a man who has been tortured by the betrayal of his own son. A daughter falls to her knees in front of the father trying to withhold him and his arms. Her facial expression reflects fear and distress. There is a young boy standing behind her who is probably least moved by the happenings out of all the family members. He simply scrutinizes the reaction of his father. He has one of his hands lifted up as if he were about to grab the skirt of his other older sister who is standing further to the right in front of him, yet he still does not evoke an expression of any deep fear as does the sister, who is kneeling in front of the father. The older sister to the right of the boy is facing the older son on the right side of the painting. She has her hands folded in prayer, begging at her older brother. It is naturally unclear what she begs of him, but her expression some of the characteristics of the father. It front of her is a very young boy, who is forcefully tugging at the older son’s clothes pulling him to stay at home. The way the legs of this young boy are positioned seems to express maturity and stability way beyond his

years. He shares the facial expression of the sister that is begging her older brother to probably have mercy on the father. The figure of the older brother is frontal towards the spectator. He is moving in the direction of the door. His right arm is raised as if to wave off the father’s words, yet it can be also a wave to say “good-bye”. The expression on his face is not, as one could think, of frustration or anger but rather more of a certain fear. The fear of either his father’s curse or that he is leaving his in such a state of distress. The mother hangs herself with one arm around the son’s neck and points with the other towards the father and family. She is wearing a long white veil around her head and is looking up towards her son as if for salvation. Her whole posture has some sense of the figure of Holy Maria, looking up at Jesus or the heavens for salvation, in it. To the very far right, in the doorway, stands a man with one hand to his chin and the other on his hip. He does not seem to be moved by the family drama. It seems in a way that the son will leave with him to embark on a new life style. With this man, Greuze perhaps wants to point to the fact that children are often persuaded by something or someone thinking it is the best for all but which will actually result in something negative for the child or its family.

**Father’s Curse: The punished son (1778)**

The sequel to *The ungrateful son* is the painting *The punished son* [image 43]. The scene has changed dramatically. The dynamic drama has calmed down a moving scene of grief. Again the father is on the left side and the son on the right. However, this time the father is dead and lying in a bad allowing his body to stretch over into the center of the canvas, while the son is pushed to the far right of the canvas as he enters through the door. One can see that the father had aged considerably before his death. Now he lies peacefully in his bed. One daughter sits on a chair at his side with one hand holding onto his arm. She cannot look at him, however, so looks away holding her second hand to her head in grief and disbelief of the situation. The little boy from the previous picture, who was grabbing onto the older brother like a child yet standing firmly on the ground like an adult, is now pulling at the distressed sister sitting at her father side. He seems to want to console her, rather than looking up to her for consoling. Another daughter is on the far side of the father
leaning over the bed and holding on to one of his arms. With her second arm she seems to be waving in front of his face perhaps in disbelief of his passing. Behind her, in the center of the canvas towards the back, is a younger boy holding both hands up with an expression of shock. On the front side of the bed, also in the center of the canvas, is another son, kneeling down on one knee with his head buried in one hand while the other is holding his father’s leg. His posture displays great grief. At the end of the bed, the large figure of the mother is placed. She points with her arms to the dead father as she looks at the older son who is entering the room. There is no more religious connotation in her figure. While the young members of the family do express inner grief and disbelief, the mother seems to be, although also grieved, more tranquil. The older son, who enters the room, sinks his dead down into one hand. The second hand he holds to his heart. He does or cannot look at the father. His knees are slightly bent and his whole body is slightly slouched down.

Son and mother have changed positions in the paintings. In the first one, the older son, although his expression is not firm, his posture is. He is facing the spectator and is taller than all the other figures in the painting, while the mother slouched down on his side begging him to have mercy. In the second painting, the mother is facing the spectator and out of all the figures is the tallest and fills up more space, while her son is slouched down at her side with despair and powerlessness. In this painting it is clear that all the blame for the father’s situation falls onto the son. However, KEVIN CHUA points to a social situation that took place in France between 1560 and 1720. The ownership of land was beginning to shift as land was broken into small parcels and the land-owning urban elite had the economic stronghold. In addition large commercial farms changed the structure of rural employment. This led people to send their younger and stronger family members to the cities to look for employment. The family structure therefore took on an unnatural form as it broke up between city and country. A trend which peaked towards the mid-eighteenth century.  

brought hardship to the stronghold/foundation of a family. A piece by Greuze that directly portrays the new hardship that families faced is the sketch *The Poor Family* 1763, which shows a family on the street in a city with the father and mother begging while one of the children scraps up the last bit of food from a bowl. Hence in the set *The Father’s Curse* there is no need to look for the guilty individual because it is simply a portrayal of the circumstances that families had to deal with during Greuze’s time. He seems to not be looking for a guilty one but rather depicting a situation of suffering that modern day life brought onto parents and children.

*L’Ivrogne chez lui [The Drunken Cobbler] (1775-80)*

A further painting of a domestic scene is the painting of *The Drunken Cobbler* [image 44]. This scene is not a violent or dramatic one. It also does not have the large sum of characters. It is limited to a mother, father and two children. The father is drunk and the other three figures are gesturing towards him in dismay. The father, who can be recognized as a cobbler because of his clothes, stands slouched down and shaky legged with one arm waving through the air and the other down by his side. To be more precise both arms are open towards his children, either wanting to embrace them as the walk up to him or as if questioning why the family is not happy to see him. His daughter comes up to him with her arms open as if asking what he has brought home. Her facial expression mirrors her mother’s bitter and angry face. The young son is standing slightly behind his sister with his hands raised as his sister’s. Unlike his sister, he is a bit reluctant to move towards his father though. The fact that the mother slightly pushes the young boy towards the father indicates that he is perhaps somewhat afraid of the father in this moment, while the fact that the daughter, who is a bit older, walks up to her father with a certain security and even touches him with one of her hands, shows that she is old enough to understand what the untamed behavior of her father means. It also shows that this situation is common for them and the girl already has been taught enough times by her mother on how she is to behave when the father comes home drunk. The mother is the outer left character in the painting, which places the children into an interesting position between the mother and father. She is slightly bent down to be able to push her son to the father while she has the
other hand, like the children, open to her husband implying she also wants to see what he has brought home. Her face is bitter as she looks at her husband. The unity of the children and mother is emphasized by the similarity of their postures. There is no sentimental emotion that seems to connect the three to the father. The fact that the father is a cobbler made him a certain type of comic figure during Greuze’s time. The cobbler was commonly used in theatre as a stock comic figure. While the presence of this figure could have added some humour to the painting, the expressions and gestures of the mother and children clearly give the painting a moral note. Furthermore, the fact that the father is a cobbler emphasizes to some extent that he is a joke of a father rather than a father who brings stability to the family. Hence his own instable standing position.

La Belle-mère (1781)

The painting La Belle-mère [image 45] can now only be seen on an engraving done by J.C. Levasseur after Greuze’s piece. As is usual for Greuze this pieces touches upon domestic issues, to be precise on the theme of the mother, in this case a stepmother. In the print one can see meal time in the family when the father is not at home. In the center, seated at the table, is the stepmother. She is turned around and faces her step-daughter behind her. She grabs onto the skirt of her step-daughter in one hand and tries to shove a piece of bread into her mouth with the other. The step-daughter tries to break out from her stepmother putting one hand in front of her face in protection while she tries to flee. In front of her is a small boy, who must also be from the same mother, because seeking protection, he holds his hands up to his sister rather than to the stepmother. On the other side, the far left side, of the canvas sits a grandmother, probably the father’s mother, and raises her arms up to the heavens as if pleading for the cruelty in front of her to stop. The daughter of the step-mother, who is standing at her right side, sees the grandmother’s disapproval of the new mother and wants to report it to her mother. This can be recognized by the fact that she tugs on her mothers arm and she scornfully looks at the troubled grandmother. An angry expression is on both the

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stepmothers and daughters faces. A steaming hot plate of soup, which is probably meant for the stepmother’s own daughter and herself, is standing on the table providing a contrast to the dry bread, which is being shoved into the other girl’s face, emphasizing the strong inequality that exists in the treatment that the mother gives the two daughters. Underneath the actual scene, on the print sheet, is a small emblem which depicts a hen with some chickens and is accompanied by a caption “She nurtures them, even though they are not her own.” The statement makes Greuze’s intention with the painting clear. He criticizes the mother for abusing her maternal role. In his own statement about the piece, Greuze stated that the mother is not only evil for her visible mistreatment of the step-daughter, but “is doubly wicked in that she corrupts the heart of her own daughter.” At the same time one questions where the father is and why he does not bring peace to the situation. Hence, in the case of both parents it seems that they are neglecting their parental roles.

Le Testament déchiré (1788)

A further painting that touches upon the issue of parents and children and of a son’s relationship to his father is Le Testament déchiré [image 46]. Unlike the La Belle-Mère and The Drunken Cobbler, this painting leaves no doubt due to the interior that the scene could take place in the high society. This is an important characteristic as it can be concluded that Greuze did not intend to educate the peasants but rather the elite about social issues that were present in the world around them. Le Testament déchiré portrays a scene at the death bed of the father, where angered by his son, he violently jumps out of his bed with his arms flying towards his son’s neck. The son, who is seated, falls back dead as he still clings tightly to the testament in his hand. Behind the son is his wife catching his fall. There is a caption under the print which states, “Stop wretches! Respect the last wishes of your father.” This caption implies that the son is the evil one in the scene. However, the father’s wicked facial expression and angry movement lead one to think that the father is not quite innocent either. It is unclear who one should be sympathetic with. Emma Barker in addition wants to see evil in the wife of the son. She states that

because the wife is aiding the son to go against his father she is representing female villainy.\textsuperscript{84} She states that the topic of female villainy was not only current in Greuze’s own life, who got divorced by 1785, but that it was also a current topic in society. Women were blamed for certain corruptions in society. Certain vehicles of the public opinion and the clandestine press declared certain women as manipulative and using the law for their own good and bringing thereby disorder to society. Still it is unclear from Greuze’s image alone who to sympathize with and whom to see as the victim.

\textbf{La Femme Colère – The Angry Wife (mid-1780s)}

The painting of \textit{The Angry Wife} [image 47] is another scene of a domestic quarrel. Unlike the previous painting of \textit{La Testament déchiré}, it is clear here whom Greuze portrays as the evil person and whom as the victim. The angry wife runs into the room with something in her hand to attack her husband and knocks over a chair. A son is hiding behind in the doorway with fear and a woman, who stands near the entrance, also has the expression of fear on her face. The husband stands on the other side of the room with too daughters next to him giving the sense that they are on his side and protecting him. The females look angrily at the mother, but the father looks intimidated and weak. While this could reflect on Greuze’s personal situation where he was trying to portray himself as the victim of a uncontrollable wife in order to be able to divorce her, it also portrays the father a bit as a coward, although this was not Greuze’s intention. It seems some what cowardly of the father to hide behind his two daughters and the form of his standing body resembles that of a shy child. So although Emma Barker wants to see the husband as a victim,\textsuperscript{85} she does not see him as a weak personality who is not taking charge of the house and playing out his paternal, as well as, marital role just as the mother and wife is not fulfilling her role either. Hence, in this painting one could see two themes being touched upon; not only that of a bad marriage, but also that of inadequate parents, where some children, like the little boy, are scared, while others, like the two daughters, also develop anger and hatred in them. It is neither in the mother or father that the children are able to find just role models. Still it is

\textsuperscript{84} BARKER, Emma. \textit{Greuze and the painting of sentiment}. (2005) p.219
\textsuperscript{85} BARKER, Emma. \textit{Greuze and the painting of sentiment}. (2005) p.219
unquestionable that Greuze’s work was guided by his negative feelings towards his wife. Munhall points two the fact that Greuze mentioned to his lawyers during the time of the divorce that his wife had slapped him and attached him with a chamber pot.\textsuperscript{86} Furthermore, female insubordination was a distinct topic in the French culture of the 1780s. Hence Greuze does not portray issues with an unbiased view but rather adds to the prejudice against women and therefore actually goes against the idea that the work of the artists mentioned in this thesis actually helped to fight social ignorance.

\textit{Presentation of a Vestal Virgin (1860s)}

The painting, \textit{Presentation of a Vestal Virgin}, falls out of the sequence of domestic scenes reflecting Greuze’s own life. This image shows a virgin either being veiled or unveiled by an old woman. The background is in the neoclassical flair and fitting to the idea that it is a Vestal Virgin and the \textit{Pontifex Maximus} with her who are going to enter the Temple of Vesta – of a round shape which Greuze correctly depicts. The image of the young girl standing nude with an old female presenting her to the viewer can be clearly associated with that of Goya’s \textit{Maja and Celestina on the Balcony}. While a Vestal Virgin was a common theme to depict during Greuze’s time – as had been done by Jacques Gamelin (1738-1803), Jean-Marc Nattier (1685-1766), Pierre-Charles Trémolières (1703-1739) and others\textsuperscript{87} - the parallel with Goya lies in the sexual character which is emitted by the image. It is as if the virgin is not sacred but rather a sexual object to be given to the best offer. Perhaps at the moment Greuze came up with this idea, the ironic thought of an innocent virgin being at the same time a sexual object crossed his mind and led him to this portrayal.

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\textsuperscript{87} ibid p.98
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Greuze – Discussion

Jean-Baptist Greuze is not a painter that stylistically falls out of the common. The neoclassical touch to his style and theatrical drama was current during his time. As Donald Geoffrey CHARLTON points out, Greuze brought to paintings the sensibilité that was already present in theater and novels. However, by bringing this sentiment and sensibility to paintings of domestic issues, Greuze added a new seriousness, as well as, adding to the legitimacy of creating paintings that touch upon domestic issues in popular art. Greuze focuses on his own life and shares the events of his private life openly with others. A contemporary, Charles-Louis Francois Lecarpentier even goes so far as to say that Greuze created a new genre of painting, that of private life. French costumes were strong and clearly defined. It was hard for Greuze to be able to set out of the ordinary too much. Greuze still, in a way, broke a way from tradition as much as he could, but the fact that he wanted to be recognized pushed him back to using conventional styles and methods – those popular in the society he wanted to impress. Still Greuze was not able to sell his work easily. As Diderot had pointed out, Greuze’s moralizing and sober work did not sell as well as Boucher’s nudes that were commonplace.

In terms of drawing attention to moral social issues, Greuze’s tool was the provoking of sentiment in the spectator. The strong facial expressions, the gestures, and some use of props, like knocked over chairs or candle light, allow for the sentiment to be provoked. Naturally the portrayal of wrongs, brings up the question of what the artist thought would be the way out of the wrongs that they portray. In Greuze’s case the display of the issues is based on an emotional and not rational reality, so it can be concluded Greuze believed that through lightness, kindness, and compassion, one could get out of the negative situations. To support the idea that Greuze desired calmness, lightness, and compassion is the fact that aside from his painting reflecting on domestic problems, Greuze painted charming girls, for example Innocence [image 49], that expressed love, innocence, and charm. James THOMPSON is also of the

opinion that these ideal pictures were escape for Greuze from his personal
life. Clearly the fact that Greuze did not get along with his wife provoked within
him the desire for something nice. It can perhaps be said that without the
trouble in his private life, maybe Greuze would not be able to create such
sentiment in his characters. By adding this personal touch to the art, it
becomes more effective in drawing the spectator in and feeling with the subject
at hand. At the same time his personal feelings add a bias to the issues
discussed. His anger towards his wife lead him to present domestic issues with
a clear victim and victimizer. Yet it is clear that a domestic conflict, especially
one between husband and wife, depends on both parties not being able to cope
with the situation. In the case of the La Belle-Mere, the step mother is evil, yet
the father is the one that is responsible for bringing the daughters of his first
wife into such a situation. Further, Greuze does not question why the wife and
mother in the Angry Wife is so furious. One never finds out the issue behind the
trouble. So it is not like Greuze analyses the moral social issues on a deep
level, he simply wants to point out the pain and chaos that domestic issues
bring.

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91 THOMPSON, James and Everett Fahy. “Jean-Baptiste Greuze” The Metropolitan Museum of
Conclusion – Comparing and Contrasting

There needs to be no further explanation about the moral social issues that the artists, Hogarth, Goya, and Greuze were trying to draw attention to. It is clear that they wanted to portray the common evils that surround everyday society. Starting from scandalous marriages and bad parenting, which leads to children who either suffer or grow up to be negative for society, and going to rape, torture, and murder, as well as, the indulgement in superficial behavior of the rich or the ignorant behavior of cruel and senseless personas. Unlike Hogarth and Goya, who took active part in discussions of social issues in their society, e.g. Hogarth and Gin Act, Goya and torture of prisoners, Greuze does not make it part of his career to try to improve the world around him. He simply works through the issues in his own life openly in his art work. This, however, does not mean that his art did not have a moralizing effect on the spectators. The fact that he has a body of work dedicated to domestic problems makes one reflect on aspects of moral domestic issues. It makes the issues more present and discussable. Although not quite as strongly intended as Hogarth and Goya, Greuze still raises awareness of the problems in the world around him.

The careers of the artist were different allowing them a different approach to the issues at hand. Goya, after being recognized by the court and creating enough art for it, was able to freely express himself in his art. His career was stable and he did not have to prove himself any more. He could therefore break away from the conventional forms and styles of art and create or express his own heading to become the father of modern art.⁹² The darkness, the grotesqueness, and the satire which paralleled with very normal and realistic portrayals of a given situation allow Goya to bring the issues at hand to focus. A spectator is not left in peace, but rather in deep disturbance and contemplation. Goya, unlike Greuze and Hogarth, keeps the space around the action minimally filled. In the works of Greuze and Hogarth the space around the characters defines the characters’ social standing and character. It would not be right to say that Goya does not have background objects that help understand who the characters are, like the nature around his bandits point to the fact that they are from the countryside of Andalusia, yet he does not classify

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⁹² Hofer, Philip. Los Caprichos. (1969) p.15
his characters by putting them into a specific level of society or profession. This makes Goya’s art seem to be talking about people in equal manner and saying that the moral social problems that any individual, in one way or the other, can be confronted with, rather than like Greuze of Hogarth have stereotypes that are placed in a hierarchy. Perhaps this element of being unprejudiced allowed Goya’s art to become so popular across all of Europe.

Hogarth also had a stable career on the professional side, by having his own school, and his work was also widely bought. He was one of the first English painters to have influence on artist abroad, as he also had on Greuze. Hogarth’s moral cicles served as inspiration for Greuze’s Father’s Curse work.\textsuperscript{93} He took his work strictly as a business and a duty to serve the public well-being. He produced prints that could be bought by almost anyone. He was aware that art was beginning to be present as posters in shop windows, on the streets, and so on, so he also did not simply do paintings but like Goya created prints. These would reach a wide public spreading his message. In terms of style, Hogarth had to keep his art comical and theatrical in order for it to appeal to the wide public. The satirical touch entertained people while bringing to them moral issues. Unlike Goya, Hogarth filled in the space around the action in his depictions. He used props like witch costumes, paintings, cats and dogs, and so on to symbolize and therefore emphasize the issues at hand. For example, in Rake’s Progress plate 5, where Tom marries an older lady, the dogs in the foreground mark this unequal marriage, where one dog is old and ugly and the other young and desperate. Naturally all artists use some symbolism, or symbolism is simply present in the world, so it makes its way into art. For example, Goya also has a fire in the Blow – Caprichos, yet the use of props and symbolism is not intentional for Goya as it is for Hogarth. Greuze, who built on an easy career on one hand, still did not have it as easy or satisfying as Hogarth or Goya. His career peeked towards the middle and criticism started to become stronger\textsuperscript{94}. In addition he did not get the recognition that he wanted from the Academy. It was this constant battle with the critics and the Academy and his desire to be recognized that Greuze maintained quite a mainstream

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style. His figures, costumes, and compositions are undoubtedly neoclassical. Although he focuses on both wealthy and the peasant class, the class is not always easy to distinguish as the stage that Greuze sets is very equal for any class he portrays – it seems like almost all his scenes take place in a similar quadratic room. Unlike Hogarth, Greuze does not use props to symbolize what is issue he is alluding to, however, he does use props to enhance the emotion in the painting. He has uses flying drapes, fallen over chairs, but his most important element is the gesturing of his characters. So Hogarth comments on the action with props surrounding the action, while Greuze expresses the action more vividly by giving the characters strong gestures.  

In term of style and how effectively it helped to serve the purpose of making the moral social issues more present in the spectators’ minds, it can be said that all three artists used different stylistic forms but each in his own way was effective. Hogarth’s use of theatrical satire entertained people while making moral social issues mainstream. Goya’s dark and grotesque images are able to reach the grotesque side of his spectators, inevitably making the issues presented not easily forgettable. Greuze’s emotional gestures and the provoking of sentiment do not leave the spectator cold to the issues at hand. In terms of provoking sentiment vs. reason, all three artists have a slightly different approach. Hogarth’s stage, is rational and clearly structured. There is no pity evoked in the spectator. There is a strong moral and good and bad are clearly defined. The spectator, not drawn in by emotion, can therefore also maintain a rational yet impersonal judgment. Goya’s work, which like Hustvedt points out, one cannot take one’s eyes off as it becomes personal, also uses satirical graphic art like Hogarth, yet it does not have the usual smug and knowing character but dangerous and morally compromising. While Hogarth’s stage, is rational and clearly structured. But it does not mean that Hogarth and Goya did not have the same intention or idea that they wanted to express. Hogarth clearly pushes for more rational and constructive ways of thinking and doing, clear from the positive portrayal of those that work hard and the negative portrayal of those that are idle or morally incorrect, as the Harlot, the Rake, or

the cruel Tom Nero. Goya also believed that people had to be rational, as he reveals through his self-portrait in *Caprichos* – plate 42 with the caption, ‘The sleep of reason produces monsters.’ Hence for both Goya and Horarth it was a lack of moral reason that lead to the negative in society. Greuze’s depictions do not clearly reflect this kind of idea. His emotional dramas clearly call for emotional peace through love and compassion.

In terms of whether the three artists had the same understanding of the moral social issues can be seen through a comparison of their portrayal of the same issues, they seem to have. On the topic of marriage, Goya makes it clear that parents forcing their children into marriage, as for example in *God forgive her; it was her mother. Caprichos* – plate 16 or *Can’t anyone untie us. Caprichos* – plate 75, is a negative thing. Hogarth clearly thinks the same for at the end of his *Marriage a la Mode* the children come to a bad conclusion after leading meaningless lives. Hogarth and Goya tend to say that forced marriage ties young people down and forces them to look for pleasure in dishonorable places with dishonorable people. Greuze does not have exactly the aspect of forced marriage in his art, rather he touches on the topic of marriage in terms of parental roles and the role a wife and husband have towards each other. The parental role theme is common to Greuze and Goya. Goya criticizes the parents that harm their children and set bad role models, as seem in *Yes, he broke the pot. Caprichos* – plate 25. Greuze also talks about the bad example a violent or mean parent sets for their children in *La Belle-Mere*, where the step mother is a bad example for her daughter. So there is a similarity among what the artist believe is right and wrong. A further example is their portrayal of cruelty for example. Again Greuze does not have such harsh depictions of cruelty as do Hogarth and Goya. Hogarth’s *Four Stages of Cruelty* show physical torture is negative. He already highlights the fact that even the torture of animals is bad. With Goya’s prison depictions, there is a clear repulsion against physical torture of human, even if they are criminals. Alcoholism is also something that the artist share a negative view about. Hogarth’s *Gin Lane* is clear in its criticism of alcohol. Greuze’s *Drunken Cobbler* also alludes to the distruction alcohol brings to families. Goya does not have such clear images of drinking and alcohol itself, yet it is clear that some of
the obnoxious behavior of his characters draws parallels to drunkenness and a loss of senses.

In terms of what kind of ‘solutions’ the artist offer to the issues they present is different. Hogarth clearly was supporting the political and social discussions that were present in his society. He himself had pushed for laws like the Copyright Act. And his art clearly help propagate the awareness of social problems. His art itself was filled with morals and the persuasion to act in a reasonable, sociable, and hard working way, so for Hogarth this was the solution out of the social corruption. Goya does not give a clear solution. He simply makes people aware of the variety of dark natures that are present in the world around them. Perhaps his body of work itself is in some way or the other a solution because it implants the grotesque and disturbing images into one’s mind, so that one is repelled against doing any evil. Greuze solution to his domestic problems is quite clear. Because his art is personal it is easier to understand, and therefore it is clear that he simply wants the opposite of the violence, anger, and instability in the family which he depicts. He wants the love, innocence, and calm as is present in his portraits of young girls. As art of these artist was popular, it can be thought that it also set a model on what is right and what is wrong, and while it was not able to change the world completely, there is no doubt that it had some positive influence on the behavior of some individuals. As it was a time when art began to be accessible to all and began to educate the people.  

While all these artists point out the problems. They define them very accurately. Hogarth the lack of rational and productive thinking, Goya the part of the evil nature within us all that can break lose any time, and Greuze the emotional part of conflict. Still more the 200 years later, all these social problems still exist. The artist helped bring societies focus to the various moral social issues, however, unfortunately no major changes were made. While governments did and still do pass laws that liberate people and give them more comforts and dignity, there is still no common movement among society to eradicate moral social issues. The three artists are clearly trying to educate the world around them about the problems, and it becomes clear that these inter

human problems within society are the source of all instability and deficiency. It is therefore unclear why more than 200 years later, moral social problems have not become the topic of at least one subject at schools. It is unclear why the teaching of parenting has not become mandatory for all, when even 200 years ago people realized that bad parenting creates children who either suffer or who grow up to be negative for society. Hogarth, Goya, and Greuze have started to draw the focus on moral social issues in a critical, rational, and emotional way. There have been changes towards liberty, righteousness, and dignity in the societies of England, France, and Spain. And although all the facts are clear and it is clear that there is just a lack of education on social problems, the progress towards enlightenment and prosperity is slow and in the mist of ignorance.
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Abstract

The thesis *Hogarth, Goya, Greuze: Moral Social Issues and Art of the Eighteenth Century* discusses how the artists, which are stated in the title, provided an observation of moral social issues present in their countries and among their people during the eighteenth century through their art. The thesis discusses how the eighteenth century Europe saw a shift in thought and culture. While people in the previous centuries based their observation about life and human nature on religions beliefs, the people of the eighteenth century began to explain life and human nature terms of science and reason. Evils in the world were no longer regarded as a creation of an invisible evil force, as was the positive no longer just a gift of God, but could be self controlled. In the light of these changes human behavior began to be more critically observed. The thesis focuses on how these observations were reflected in various art of the eighteenth century by using William Hogarth of England, Francisco Goya of Spain, and Jean-Baptist Greuze of France as examples. The three countries had different political, cultural, and social policies, so the artist of different nations naturally had different ways of presenting the observations they made about moral social issues. After providing historical and cultural backgrounds on the situation of the three mentioned countries, the thesis points out how the three artists made contribution to make the moral social issues, present in their countries, visible. Included in these issues are themes of prostitution, alcoholism, physical and sexual atrocities, ignorance of the wealthy and powerful, and issues related to marriage and family life. Hogarth had an innovative approach to art in England and the ground breaking way to portray his critical analysis of moral/immoral human behavior. Francisco Goya mastered to created, in the time of the Inquisition, very provocative and critical images to describe the moral social issues among the people and institutions of Spain. Jean-Baptist Greuze focused on the moral issues within the family while using classical forms, typical in his country at that time, to portray his ideas. Analyses of these artists’s work not only reflects on the new ideas of the eighteenth century Europe, but also, through their individuality, bring forth the character of each of their nations, as well as, their own personal stories. In conclusion it becomes clear that portrayals of social moral issues, such as
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those by Hogarth, Goya, and Greuze, are vital to create a full understanding of moral social issues in past and present cultures.

Abstrakt

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About the Author

Ekaterina Rozanova was born in Moscow, Russia on January 20, 1984. In 1986, she moved with her mother, father, and one and a half year older brother to Budapest, Hungary, where her younger brother was born in 1995. In 1993 the whole family moved to Vienna, Austria. Ekaterina attended one year of Russian school in Budapest; two years of the American International School in Budapest; and ten years of the American International School in Vienna. After graduating from school in 2003, Ekaterina was accepted at the Academy of Fine Arts on Schillerplatz in Vienna to study architecture and finished five semesters. In 2006 she decided to change her direction to art history and started to attend the Institute of Art History at the University of Vienna. Her main focuses throughout her studies were western European, Byzantine, ancient Russian and Indian art history. Ekaterina’s interest in art is not only theoretical but also practical. Since 1999 she has been creating acrylic and oil paintings. Her future aspirations are to progress on the academic level by continuing to do a PhD, as well as, advance in her artistic career.