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A Historical Vignette

"Be proud of yourself: you have a History!"

The world of medicine depicted by Francisco de Goya. A tribute to the *Goyescas*

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Abstract. "*The world of medicine depicted by Francisco de Goya. A tribute to the Goyescas"*. During his long life (1746-1828), Goya had many opportunities to meet patients and physicians. He saw, drew and engraved portraits of all kinds of physicians. He depicted sick persons, injured men and the disabled. He visited hospitals, praising those who tried to relieve suffering; he denounced charlatans and acclaimed the martyrs of science. Obsessed by the mouth and everything it expresses, Goya depicted himself without clemency, as a deaf man and as a patient. The deafness of the painter usually gave his work the characteristics of a nightmare. However, his depiction of medicine was also a metaphor of the struggle against the unhappiness of ordinary people, the arrogance of false scientists, the privileges of the nobility and the tyranny of the Inquisition.

Figure 1

Column A. From top to bottom: Goya's self-portrait in good health (1783). *El albanil herido*, "The Injured Mason" (1786-1787) tapestry cartoon.

Column B. From top to bottom. Goya's self-portrait as a deaf man (1795-1797). *Le Conde Palatino*, "The Count Palatine": (1799) Los Caprichos.

Column C. From top to bottom. Goya's self-portrait when very ill again (1820). "The deaf man" (1820-1823): The Black Paintings.

TROMPE L'OEIL INTRODUCTION

About a strange painter visibly ageing and a musician who dies because of him (Figures 1,2)

***Goya**, cauchemar plein de choses inconnues,*
De foetus qu'on fait cuire au milieu des sabbats
De vieilles au miroir et d'enfants toutes nues,
Pour tenter les démons ajustant bien leurs bas

[GOYA, a nightmare full of things unknown;
The fœtus witches broil on Sabbath night;
Old women at the mirror; children lone
Who tempt old demons with their limbs delight]

(Baudelaire, "Les phares", from *Fleurs du mal*)

We are in 1783. A young mason, seized by a violent attack of vertigo, falls on the scaffolding. His fellows bring him to safety. A Spanish painter aged 37, Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (his mother's name) observes the scene. He is in the prime of life (Figure 1, column A).

More than 10 years have passed. We are now in 1795. The mason still suffers from vertigo; his symptoms now include nausea and vomiting. Our painter is now nearly 50 years and is still observing the patient. The mason's case interests the artist even more since the artist himself has been recently affected by malaise and unsteadiness. Subsequently, he would become completely deaf (Figure 1, column B).

Figure 2
Enrique Granados (1867-1916), composer of the "Goyescas", the title of a piano suite (1912) and of the opera performed at the Metropolitan Opera of New York a short time before his tragic death (1916). This photograph of the musician is dedicated to his pupil and successor Franck Marshall.

More than 20 years have been added to the burden of the years. It is now 1820 and our painter is now aged 74. He is still as deaf as before. Moreover, he has just recovered from a serious illness, possibly a cerebral vascular accident. But he continues observing "the young mason" who is now also an old man, with a long beard. The deafness of the latter is now so pronounced that every interlocutor must shout in his ear ! (Figure 1, column C)
There has been some speculation that the patient so immortalised by the painter may really be the painter himself, looking at his own face in the mirror of time…
1916. The English Channel at the height of the war. A young Spanish musician with a moustache (Figure 2), who shares the initial G with our painter, is sailing on the steamer "the Sussex". The crossing from Folkestone to Dieppe is the last step of the journey bringing back our composer from the Americas to Europe. Accompanied by his wife, he has been to New York, where he attended the première of his opera "*Goyescas*", inspired by the paintings of Goya exposed in the Prado Museum. The musician admired the painter enormously. Indeed, he first wrote a piano suite with the same name in his honour: "*In these Goyescas, I have found my full personality. I have fallen in love with Goya's psychology and palette…*" (Letter from Granados to Joaquin Malats).

On board the British steamer, he quietly savours his triumph. Until a German submarine torpedoes the ship, breaking it in two. The stern, with some survivors, stays afloat; it will be towed to Boulogne. But the prow, with Ganados and his wife, sinks. Their bodies will never be found.

About 40 years earlier in 1874, Mussorgsky also wrote a piano suite paying a tribute to a painter friend, albeit of lesser fame, Viktor Hartmann. Did his "Pictures at an Exhibition" inspire Granados?

1. PHYSICIANS OF ALL SORTS (Figure 3)

A country doctor (Figure 4)

At this time, Goya was in good health. Crown Prince Charles (the future Charles IV) and his wife, the Infanta Maria Luisa, commissioned Goya to produce a series of tapestry cartoons to decorate their rooms in El Pardo palace near Madrid. He was asked to depict

Figure 3
Sketch of "*De que mal morira?*", "What illness will he die from?" Series entitled "*Los Suenos*", "The dreams", number 27 (1797-1798), Prado, Madrid.

homely scenes of country life. Here, we see a winter scene in which the principal character is a country doctor, a scholar wearing a large red cloak sitting quite comfortably, with a book wide open on the ground beside him. He is in the company of two students, warming himself at hot coals on the edge of a road. The picture was intended for positioning above a door and this is why Goya accentuated the low-angle effect by emphasising the book and the hot coals in his composition.

An ignorant and pretentious physician (Figure 5)

The ass is the symbol of stupidity. Goya shows us a donkey feeling the pulse of a dying patient with its hoof and wondering blithely about the cause of death instead of doing everything in its power to save him. This almost ironic detachment of the donkey doctor and this complete lack of empathy were perhaps experienced by Goya himself when he was seriously ill in 1792. In another version of this work, the donkey doctor is shown flanked by a pedant of the same type droning a medicine lesson (Figure 3).

Figure 5
De que mal morira?, "What illness will he die from?" (1796-1797), Capricho nr 40, Biblioteca nacional, Madrid.

Figure 4
Il Medico, "The Doctor" (1779), tapestry cartoon, National Galleries of Scotland.

A physician gone astray in politics (Figure 6)[1,2]

Not all the doctors of medicine painted by Goya practised their profession! This portrait shows Ferdinand Pierre-Marie-Dorothée Guillemardet (1765-1809), a physician who successfully entered politics at the time of the French Revolution.
– In 1789, he was a physician in Autun. After embracing the Revolution, he became the mayor of the city.
– In 1792, he was elected to the Convention as the deputy for the Saône and Loire department. He was an ultra who voted for the execution of Louis XVI: "*Comme juge, je vote pour la peine de mort. Comme homme d'Etat… je vote encore pour la mort"* [As a judge, I vote for the death sentence. As a statesman, I still vote for death]. He declared that "*les édifices nationaux connus sous le nom de temple, église ou chapelle ne pourront être consacrés qu'à des objets d'utilité publique*" [The national buildings known as temples, churches or chapels may

Figure 6
Ferdinand Guillemardet, French ambassador to Spain (1798), Louvre, Paris.
Goya painted Guillemardet in his brilliant ambassador's attire in 1798, probably in gratitude. He is thought to have given shelter to the artist in an attic of the French embassy as he produced his etchings entitled *Los Caprichos*. This was an indispensable precaution given the omnipotent Inquisition.

only be consecrated to purposes that serve the public good.] Later, he amended his position, voting for the freedom of religion. Some move in mysterious ways…
– In about 1794-1795, remembering that he was a doctor (!), he asked for, and obtained, the creation of a health commission to reorganise the hospitals and to suppress the function of surgeon major in the military hospitals. He was a rather dull-witted follower of Rousseau's ideas in favour of returning to Nature. In about 1795, he defended the idea that the army's health officers did not need academic qualifications because they had to return to a state of simplicity in accordance with Nature (cf. Guillemardet's *Rapport fait au nom du Comité de la guerre, sur l'organisation du service de santé des armées et des hôpitaux militaires* [Report on behalf of the War Commission about the organisation of the health services of the armies and the military hospitals] (Paris, about 1794)).
The War Commission agreed because it believed that the needs of the health service were so urgent (France was at war) that there could be no question of losing time on academic studies. This meant that charlatans without any qualifications or practical experience began to proliferate not only among the health officers of the military hospitals but also in the country, abusing the credulity and the needs of the populace and living at their expense.
– In 1798, owing to his relations with the family of the painter Eugène Delacroix* (who was himself an admirer of Goya), the Directory appointed Guillemardet French ambassador in Madrid. However, he was to occupy this position for only a short time.
– After 1800, Consul Bonaparte judged that Guillemardet's attitude to the unrest in Spain lacked energy. He was recalled to France without any particular reprimand being issued but his career lacked its early brilliance from that point onwards.
– In 1806, he was appointed Prefect of the Allier department, and then of the Lower Charente.
– In 1809, having lost all his positions as a result of madness, he died at the age of 44.

A physician by mistake (Figure 7)

This is an unusual case of a "medical error". The person in this portrait has been referred to as Doctor Pearl or Peral by several authors. Others know the painting as "Portrait of Don Andrés del Peral". Be that as it may, we know that, in 1798, Goya exposed at the *Real Academia San Fernando* of Madrid a portrait of a certain Don Andrés del Peral. The latter worked as an artisan painter and gilder at the court of Madrid (in a curious coincidence, Goya's father was also a gilder). The painting now hangs in the National Gallery in London and so we asked the museum about the identity of the sitter. They replied that the name "Doctor Peral" comes from a note written on the back of the painting. This title refers to Juan del Peral, the son of Don Andrés, who was a physician.

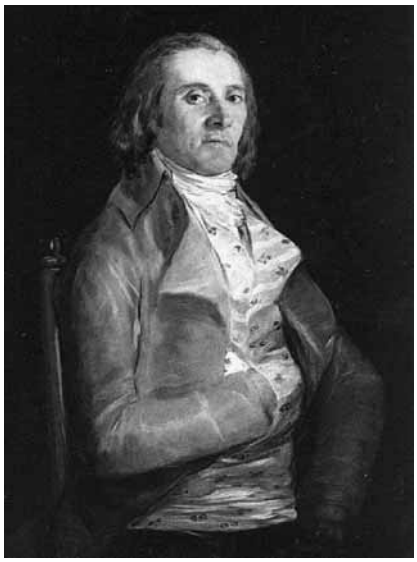

Figure 7
Don Peral, alias Doctor Peral (1798), National Gallery, London.

* Guillemardet was present at the birth of Eugène Delacroix, the son of Charles Delacroix (the official father; in reality, the biological father was probably Talleyrand). Charles Delacroix was France's Minister of External Affairs until 1797, and he favoured the appointment of Guillemardet.

The painting was bought from the granddaughter of Doctor Peral in Seville by the Marquis of Vega-Inclan at the end of the 19th century. In short, the father, who was not a physician, was mistaken for the son, who was indeed a doctor.

A skilled military surgeon (Figure 8)[3]

This painting, dating from 1802, shows Queralto in the uniform of a navy medical officer. The military surgeon José Queralto was a model for the Spanish school of surgery. During the Spanish War of Independence of 1808-1814, the French surgeons were surprised by the skill of their Spanish colleagues with respect to fractures caused by firearms. In 1815, they reported to the Academy of Medicine of Paris that: "*la majeure partie des fractures par balles ont été guéries par les mains des chirurgiens militaires espagnols"* [The majority of the fractures caused by bullets were healed by the hands of the Spanish military surgeons].

Figure 8
The Spanish military surgeon Don José Queralto in 1802, Neue Pinakothek Munich, Germany.

After retiring from the army, Queralto was appointed professor of surgical pathology and bandaging (*affectos quirurgicos y vandajes*) at the San Carlos Royal College of Medicine and Surgery in Madrid. Goya probably offered him his portrait in exchange for treatment. In about 1786, Goya, who had just been appointed "king's painter" suffered from a slight injury to his ankle when falling into a ditch in his brand-new barouche. However, it is not absolutely sure that Queralto treated Goya on this occasion.

A remarkable physician persecuted as a Jew (Figure 9)[4]

Zapata was a brilliant physician but Goya did not know him as he was born one year after his death. Nevertheless, he wanted to pay tribute to him. Zapata was behind the creation of one of the first scientific institutions of Spain: the Society of Medical Chemistry of Seville. His one shortcoming was that he was a Jew. Jealous colleagues denounced him to the Inquisition and he was imprisoned. He was accused, as a descendant of Jews who had converted to Catholicism, of being a practising Jew. He owed his liberation solely to the personal intervention of King Philip V, whose physician he was.

An ideal physician: competent and dedicated (Figure 10)[5]

The legitimate suspicions expressed by Goya with respect to Spanish medicine, as it was in the 18th century are absent here. This picture is the only self-portrait of

Figure 9
Zapata, tu gloria sera eterna, "Zapata, your glory will be eternal" (1810-1814), Inquisition album, 109.

Figure 10
"Goya curado por el doctor Arrieta", "Goya cured by Doctor Arrieta" (1820), The Minneapolis Institute of the Arts.

Goya that brings together the compassion of the physician, who supports his patient and offers him a potion, and the anguish of the dying patient, betrayed by his hand grasping the sheet. In late 1819 at the age of 73, Goya fell seriously ill again. He expressed his gratitude by painting this picture, dedicated to his doctor in an *ex voto*: "Goya in gratitude to his

friend Arrieta for the skill and great care with which he saved his life in his cruel and dangerous illness suffered at the end of 1819 at the age of seventy-three years. He painted this in 1820".

Eugenio Garcia Arrieta was a physician from Madrid and a friend of Goya's. We know nothing about Goya's disease or the treatment he received from his friend. Our only information is that the physician went to Africa in 1820 to study the bubonic plague. It has been suggested by some that Goya was afflicted by a form of plague but there is no other proof. Others, like Seufert, believe that he suffered a stroke, with paralysis of the right side. His right arm, which is folded slightly backwards, forcing Goya to grasp the sheet with his left hand, is a possible indication.

Figure 11
Manicomio o Casa de locos, "The Madhouse", (1812-1813), Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid. The painting is probably inspired by the madhouse of Saragossa, which Goya had visited in the past. On the right, lying on the stone floor, a madman wearing a crown makes a vague gesture of benediction; on the left, a kneeling man shown in profile is praying; standing in the centre, seen from the back, a nude man wearing a three-cornered hat points a weapon at an imaginary enemy; centre left, standing, we see another madman from the front, wearing some feathers in his hair and holding out his right hand to be kissed by a courtier; seated against a pillar, and seen from the front, another holds a sceptre; in the center, a seated protagonist viewed from the back thinks he is a bull and is shown brandishing two horns. On the right in the shadows, there is a fellatio scene.

2. HOSPITALS OR JAILS? (Figure 11)

Interior de carcel. Interior of a prison (Figure 12)

Although he was a believer, Goya had liberal ideas. He found jails to be an object of compassion. From another, figurative, point of view his deafness imprisoned him between walls of silence. Since time immemorial, the solitary isolation of prisoners in silence had been one of the most severe punishments reserved for them. In Goya's mind, the parallel between his state of profound deafness and the prisoners' condition was self-evident.

The hospital for plague victims (Figure 13)

The hospitals for plague victims, like the madhouses, had several things in common with the jails, and Goya was aware of this. The loss of liberty and the lack of comfort and hygiene were clear. More generally, there were calls at the time in Spain for the hospitals to be brought under lay administration. However, the Church, that had the monopoly in this area, refused to give in.

In a chiaroscuro worthy of Rembrandt, Goya depicts, without concessions but also without excessive pathos, the condition of the inmates.

Is it possible that distant memories persisted of the black death that had ravaged Spain during the 14th and 15th centuries? In the 16th century, there were *auto da fes* targeting the Jews, which were replaced by massive expulsions during the next century. The Jews were accused of spreading the plague by direct contact or by contaminating wells or springs. In Goya's time, their lot remained almost as unenviable.

The madhouse (Figures 11,14, 15)

The prisons served only to isolate offenders from the society and not to rehabilitate them. A similar fate awaited the mad. Visitors would visit the lunatic asylums as they would the zoo, comparing themselves favourably with the specimens on view and congratulating themselves on their "humanity". At that time, nosological classification and therapeutic programmes were unknown.

In 1794, Goya wrote to a friend that he was painting a new scene representing a *corral de locos*: "a courtyard with lunatics, in which two naked men fight with their warden, who beats them and others with sacks (a scene I saw

Figure 12
Interior de carcel, "Interior of a prison" (1794) The Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, County Durham, England.

Figure 13
"The hospital for plague victims" (1808-1810) Private Collection, Madrid.

at first hand in Zaragoza*)" (Hughes R.).

In the etching representing a procession of characters enclosed in sacks (Figure 15), Goya was inspired by what he saw in Saragossa, and there is an inevitable association with straitjackets, which is also a feature of the "uniform" of the *Chinchillas* (Figure 42).

But the painter goes further: his intention is to use the image as a metaphor. He wishes to target all those who deprive others of liberty, who are themselves imprisoned in their prejudices and their pride, like in cramped tunics, and who take advantage of their superiority. They make up a cortège of courtiers, each of whom is struggling to be the first to obtain the king's favours.

3. GENERAL PATHOLOGY (Figure 16)

A wounded man (or so the story goes) (Figures 17A,17B)

During the reign of Charles III, a liberal sovereign, a decree was issued in 1778 that assigned responsibility to employers when their employees suffered injury,

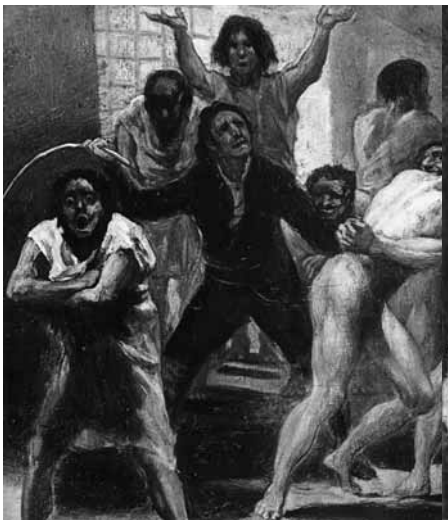

Figure 14

Figure 15

Figure 14. *Corral de locos*, "Yard with Lunatics" (1794), Meadows Museum, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, USA
Figure 15. *Los ensacados*, "People in sacks", from the "*Disparates*", nr 8 (1816-1823), Museo del Grabado de Goya (Museum of etchings), Fuendetodos (the town where Goya was born, about 40 km from Saragossa), Spain.

* The madhouse of Saragossa was the largest in Spain.

Figure 16
Fragment from *San Francisco Borgia asiste a un moribundo impenitente*, "St Francisco Borgia succouring an impenitent dying man" (1788), Cathedral of Valence.

Figure 17A *Figure 17B*
A. *El albanil herido*, "The wounded mason", (1786-1787), tapestry cartoon, Prado, Madrid. B. "The drunken mason" (1786-1787), a variant.

particularly in construction. On this occasion, the King commissioned Goya to produce this tapestry cartoon (Figure 17A), the subject of which was highly unusual, given the fact that it was intended for the monarch's private residence. We believe that Goya accomplished his task without being firmly convinced of the importance of his subject, by contrast with his attitude towards his etchings much later. So this is a commissioned work, produced conscientiously by a master artist who was not really inspired. Moreover, it was necessary to take into account the atmosphere of the place where these tapestries were to be located: a palace. To complete the demystification of the scene, I must point out that Goya produced an almost identical cartoon in the same period, showing a **drunken** mason being carried by his friends (Figure 17B).

Mutilated corpses (Figure 18)[6,7]

During the Spanish War of Independence (1808-1814), Goya was the direct or indirect witness to the victory of his compatriots over the Napoleonic armies who besieged Saragossa, near the town where he was born. This was the inspiration for some of the etchings "The Disasters of War" where the painter demonstrated his "didactic terrifying realism" (in the words of Hughes), showing us the wounds, the rapes, the mutilations and the torture. Here (Figure 18), Goya gives us a horrible scene: a body without head or arms, a head without a body, two bound arms and an emasculated

Figure 18
Grande hazana! Con muertos! "Great feat! With dead men!" Engraved in 1810-1815, published in 1863. *Los Desastres* plate 39, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, USA.

Figure 19
Madre infeliz!, "Poor Mother" (published in 1863), etching from *Los Desastres*, plate 50. Three men carry the corpse of a woman whose head is hanging to the ground. Hughes observes that the space between the child and his mother is the expression of the extent of the psychological gap between them, a gap that nobody will ever be able to fill.

Figure 20
Three Men Carrying a Wounded Soldier, n.d., Brush with brown ink and brown and gray wash over traces black chalk, on cream laid paper, 202x141 mm, Clarence Buckingham Collection, 1960. 313 Photograph y Kathleen Culbert-Aguilar, Chicago. Reproduction, The Art Institute of Chicago.

corpse. Goya does not reveal the identity of the victims: the two sides were capable of the same atrocities: Spaniards, Frenchmen, collaborators or *afrancesados* could be exhibited in this macabre fashion for the edification of passers-by.

These gruesome scenes inspired the Russian contemporary poet Andrey Voznesensky (born in 1933):

I am Goya!
I am the voice
Of war, the charred wood of town
I am the throat
Of the woman whose hanged body, like a bell,
Clanged over the empty square…
I am Goya!

The transportation of corpses and of the war wounded: men's business (Figures 19,20)[6,7]

The French military physician Joseph de Chamberret Tyrbas (1779-1862), who participated in the Spanish War of Independence, related in his memoirs the absence of any medical materials in the military field hospitals, the deplorable hygiene, the raging epidemics caused by the proximity of beds, the misappropriation of State funds by the officials of the Army who cared little about the injured or sick soldiers.

The Art Institute of Chicago possesses a wash drawing with brush and sepia by Goya representing "Three men carrying a wounded soldier" (1810-1812), which is also from "*Los desastres*". It shows a wounded lying soldier lifted by three men preparatory to carrying him away. In the background, we see the side of a mountain. This work never reached the engraving stage because Goya lacked the time.

Compassion is women's business (Figures 21,22)[6,7]

In the hospitals or in the field, it was mainly women who showed their feelings of compassion for humanity. This milk of human tenderness was shed in amounts equalling the blood of the victims. Goya was not insensitive to this phenomenon.

The after-effects of war: disabled men reduced to beggary (Figures 23,24)[6,7]

This beggar (Figure 23), who has been abandoned by society, was a veteran, as revealed by the turned-up collar of his military uniform. This victim of the Disasters of War is shown leaning on one of his two crutches. At this time, former soldiers reduced to beggary

Figure 21
El amor y la muerte, "Love and death" (1799), *Caprichos*, nr 10, Royal Calchography, Madrid.

were a feature of every street corner, and were known as "the beggars in red".

A good decade later, in the streets of Bordeaux, Goya drew this other beggar in a wheelchair, both of whose legs had been amputated (Figure 24).
Today, the arteritis encouraged by nicotine addiction and diabetes is one of the main indications for amputation. The other indications are tumours or accidents. Nevertheless, before reaching this point, we can fall back on the bypass technique and, as a final resort, limb prostheses.

Freak pathology

○ Claude Ambroise Seurat "The Living Skeleton" (Figures 25,26)[8]

Goya saw this character at a fair in Bordeaux in 1826. He was exhibited there for ten *sous*.

Figure 22
"Woman helping a sick person to drink" (1824-1828), drawing made during Goya's stay in Bordeaux. Previously, this work was a part of the private collection of Otto Gerstenberg. It later belonged to his daughter Margarete Scharf in Berlin. In 1945, at the end of World War II, it was transferred to the Hermitage in Moscow. At first, it was not on view, even for specialists; it was revealed to the whole world thanks to the involvement of IBM from 1997 onwards.

Exceptionally here, Goya's technique was very precise, drawing in exact lines the ghostly body of this 28-year-old man weighing a miserable 46 pounds (Figure 25). Goya was obviously impressed by this crowd-puller, but he was certainly not out to mock him.
Previously, Seurat had been in England for a demonstration show at the Pall Mall in London in a Chinese lounge decorated with Chinese wallpaper and lit by Chinese lanterns! The two drawings representing him (Figure 26) were in a sort of almanac, "the Every Day Book", under 26 July 1825.
It has been postulated that the origin of Seurat's disease was "myositis ossificans progressiva", also known as "fibrodysplasia ossificans progressiva" (Hooper). In ENT medicine, the disease is distinguished by islets of ossification in the cervical aponeuroses and muscles, possibly resulting in torticolis. Similar involvement of

Figure 23
Trabajos de la guerra, "The consequences of war" (1808-1812), Drawing with Indian ink from Album E (Black Border), Private Coll (Olga's Gallery, Online Art Museum).

Figure 24
Mendigos que se lleban solos en Bordeaux, "A beggar who gets around on his own in Bordeaux" (1824-1827), Bordeaux Album I, 29; Woodner Collection, National Gallery of art, Washington. The assignation of the drawing has been contested in favour of a pupil close to Goya: Eugenio Lucas.

Figure 25

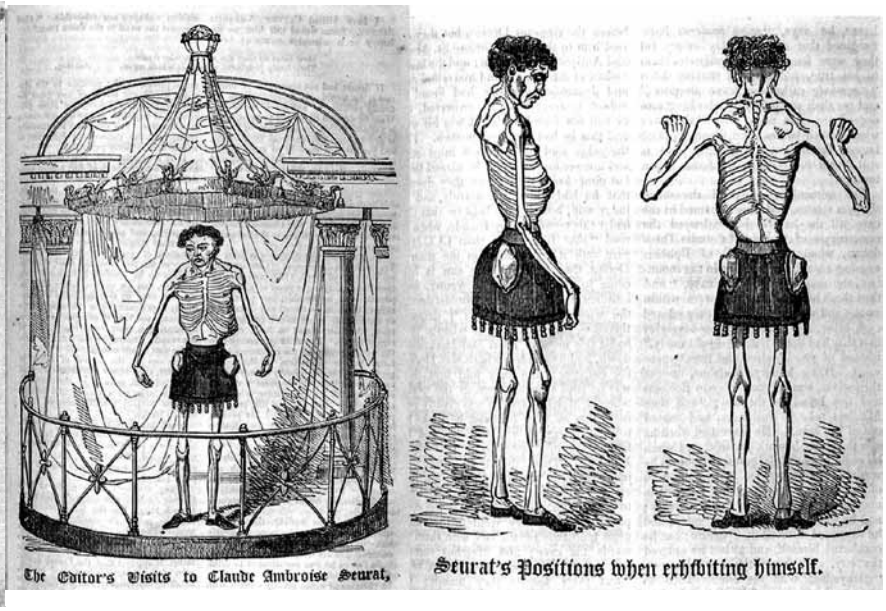

Figure 26

Figure 25. Claudio Ambrosio Seurat, known as the Living Skeleton (1824-1828), Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg (from a Private Collection in Berlin; see Figure 22).
Figure 26. Same character in "the Every Day Book", 1825, London.

the muscles of the jaw could explain an inability to swallow anything, except for very small fragments of food. This is a lethal autosomal dominant genetically transmitted disease.

◦ The Phocomelic Child (Figures 27,28)[9]

The etymology of the word comes from φωκη phôkè, "seal" and μελος mêlos, "limb", because seals have highly atrophied limbs. The origin of the word dates from about 1840; it was probably coined by Geoffroy St Hilaire in his treaty on teratology (1832-1836), where he writes: "*un homme de 62 ans qui avait les quatre membres affectés de phocomélie, et, qui mourut à Paris vers 1800 (en l'an IX), après avoir employé sa vie à se montrer dans les principales villes de l'Europe…*", [a man aged 62 years whose four limbs were affected by phocomelia, and who died in Paris in about 1800 (in the year IXth), after having spent his life as an exhibit in the principal cities of Europe].

The malformation is of genetic origin and was already well known during the 16th century. Ambroise Paré mentioned it in his treaty on " Monsters and

Figure 27

"The deformed child", Goya, Reserve of the Spanish drawings of XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries, Louvre, Paris.

Figure 28
"Figure d'un enfant monstrueux, du defaut de la semence en deuë quantité", Ambroise Paré, Œuvres complètes, Tome III, Le 19ème livre: "*Des monstres et Prodiges*", chapitre VII: *Exemple du defaut de la quantité de semence*, Slatkine Reprints, Geneva, 1970.

Prodigies": "*L'an 1573, je veis à Paris…un enfant aagé de neuf ans… Ce monstre n'avoit que deux doigts à la main dextre… Il estoit sans jambes… Lequel t'est demonstré au vray par ceste presente figure"*, [In the year 1573, I saw in Paris... a 9-year-old child… that monster had only two fingers on his right hand… he had no legs… Such a child is shown to you as he really is in this picture]. The caption accompanying the drawing mentions the cause of the phocomelia "*Figure d'un enfant monstrueux, du defaut de la semence en deuë quantité*"… [Picture of a monstrous child due to a lack of sufficient quantity of semen] (Figure 28).

Thalidomide caused a series of similar cases in the 20th century.

◦ The Bearded Woman (Figures 29-31)[10]

In the 17th century, Juseppe de Ribera painted a portrait of a bearded woman accompanied by her husband and breastfeeding her child (Figure 29). According to Goya himself, he reworked this painting into a drawing. It is not probable that Goya was painting from life here. However, he was interested in the subject. He was not exceptional in this: bearded women were common exhibits at fairs throughout 19th century. Two of the most famous were Josephine Boisdechêne, the wife of Clofullia (born in 1831) and Clémentine Delait (1861-1939). The physicians appointed to testify in favour of their authenticity pulled on their beard…
This hirsutism may be caused by a tumour of the ovaries (Stein-Leventhal syndrome) or of the suprarenal glands, a Cushing syndrome with a tumour of the pituitary gland, or a congenital hyperplasia of the suprarenal glands.

A mark on the temple (Figures 32,33)[11]

What is this black mark on the temple of the sister of King Charles IV? It is probably a beauty spot, but the size raises the possibility of a real underlying lesion that the beauty spot was intended to hide. The nature of the lesion will remain a mystery forever.

Figure 29

Figure 30

Figure 29. "Bearded woman from the Abruzzi region", painted in about 1640 by Jusepe de Ribera, nicknamed *lo Spagnaletto*, "the little Spaniard" because of his diminutive stature (Prado, Madrid). The subject was painted in Naples, which was under Spanish rule at the time, at the request of the Duke of Alcada, who was looking for "a marvel of nature". The beard of the subject of the painting, Madeleine Ventura, who came from the Abruzzi region near Naples, started growing only when she was 37 years old. It is claimed that her child would be born only 15 years later. This seems unlikely for the time.
Figure 30. Same subject treated by Goya (1814 -1817), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, USA.

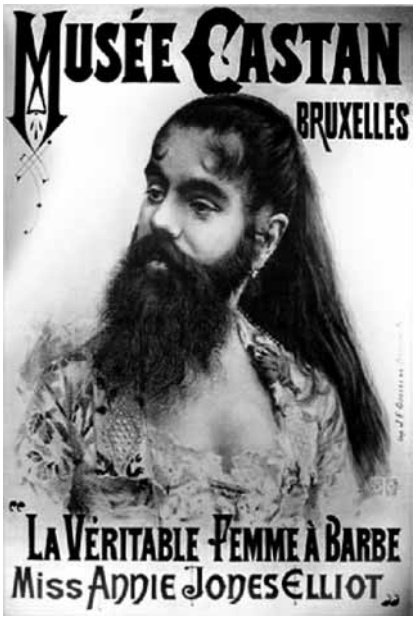

Figure 31
At the end of the 19th century, a bearded woman was shown in the Castan Museum (in the Passage du Nord, Brussels, not far from the Place de Brouckère).

Figure 32
Dona Maria Josepha, Infanta of Spain; preliminary sketch for the painting "The family of Charles IV" (1808), Prado, Madrid.

Figure 33
18th-century engraving showing the use of beauty spots for cosmetic purposes and indicating possible different locations.

In the portrait of the king's family, Dona Maria Josepha looks slightly insane. She was the Infanta of Spain and the elder sister of the king, having been born in 1744, four years before him. She died in 1801, shortly after Goya painted her portrait.*

Curiously, the use of beauty spots began as a medical practice intended to combat toothache. This type of spot (originally a patch) was placed on the temple. Its use became fashionable and the spots began to be used on the whole face. The fashion began under Louis XIII and continued until the Revolution.

A 17th-century text refers to the fact that men "*portoient l'emplastre noire assez grande sur la temple, ce que l'on appelle l'enseigne du mal de dents".****

[wore rather large black plasters on the temple; this is known as the sign of the toothache.]*

This is precisely the case with the king's sister, who is wearing her beauty spot on her temple. This was **not** the usual location for cosmetic beauty spots. See Figure 33: the temple is not included in this picture.

This text itself comes from the *Recueil de pièces en prose les plus agréables de ce temps, composées par divers autheurs*, Paris, *Ch. Sercy*.

We also possess a text dating from 1783, a French translation of an originally English text entitled "Domestic Medicine or complete treatise on the means to conserve oneself in good health…" by William Buchan M.D. of the Royal College of Edinburgh. In the chapter entitled "**Treatment of toothache and fluxion**", article II, "Treatment of fluxion", we read: *on aura une mouche de la grandeur d'une pièce de douze sols, on la chargera d'emplâtre contentif, & on mettra au milieu un peu d'opium, de manière qu'il n'empêche point l'emplâtre de s'attacher à la peau.* ***On placera cette mouche sur l'endroit de la tempe où l'on sent l'artère battre le plus sensiblement.*** *Lamotte assure qu'il est peu de cas où ce remède ne donne de soulagement.* [You will use a patch as large as a 12-*sols* coin. You will cover it

* In his work "The Spanish Painting", Paul Claudel, commenting on the portrait of the family of King Charles IV, described her as *"cette fée au second plan, cette Alektô**…*" [that fairy in the middle distance, that Alektô**…]
** Alektô was one of the three "*Erinyes*" or Furies, the goddesses of vengeance in the Greek Mythology
*** ("The laws of gallantry", from a text entitled "*La Faiseuse de Mouches. Lettre à N.*, published about 1661)

with a support plaster and place a little opium in the middle so that it cannot prevent the plaster from attaching itself to the skin. **Place this patch on the temple where you feel the beating of the artery most markedly**. Lamotte assures us that there are few cases where this remedy provides no relief].
It is very likely that the Infanta's use of this remedy had nothing to do with coquetry, and in line with Goya's courageous pursuit of realism, he did not conceal this infirmity in her portrait

4. SENSORY DEPRIVATION AND DEPRESSION

Madness, melancholy, depression (Figures 34,35)[12,13]

In late 1792/early 1793, Goya fell seriously ill. He was 46 years old at the time. He suffered from nausea, vertigo, partial blindness, deafness, hallucinations, a roaring tinnitus, disorientation, weakness of the right part of the body, general malaise and abdominal pains. He began to lose his mind and he was feverish. Later, the symptoms improved but it took two years to recover his mobility and he continued to be afflicted by total deafness accompanied by tinnitus. He fell into a depression for some time, and suffered from anxiety about a possible relapse, his endangered career and his social isolation.

Figure 34
Self-portrait of Goya (1795-1797) shortly after he became completely and definitively deaf.

Figure 35
El sueno de la razon produce monstruos, "The sleep of reason brings forth monsters" (1796-1797), *Los Caprichos*, plate 43.

Figure 36
El ciego de la guitarra, "The blind guitarist", detail (1778), Prado, Madrid
That work was painted for Charles IV and his new bride and destined, not for the Royal Palace in Madrid, which was too solemn a location, but rather for the more relaxed atmosphere of a country residence.

The blind man (Figure 36)[14]

Like the blind poet Homer, the blind musician was part of a sort of iconographic tradition that includes, for example, the Egyptian blind harpist. Here, Goya seems to be following that tradition with the blind guitarist. This is a cartoon for a tapestry depicting the annual fair in the streets of Madrid. At this time, the main causes of blindness were glaucoma, cataracts, and trachoma. The last of the three was brought back to the West as a result of Napoleon's Egyptian campaign.

At the end of the 18th century, in Spain, the memory of the Arabian ophthalmologists of the Middle Ages was undoubtedly a distant one. It had been forgotten that the Arabian physicians of the 12th century had operated on cataracts in Andalusia and that, in the 15th century, the same operation was practised by a Jewish physician, Crescas Abnarrabi, on the King of Aragon and Count of Roussillon John II. It should also be remembered that Montpellier, which had sustained relations with Spain, opened the doors of the first French university in 1220. At that time, the city welcomed Jewish physicians expelled from Spain by the Arabs, as well as Christian physicians who owed a great deal

Figure 37
"Deaf Man", Black Painting (1820-1823), Prado, Madrid

Figure 38
"*Aun aprendo*", "I am still learning" (1824-1828). A work dating from Goya's Bordeaux period, Prado, Madrid.

to the Arabs in the domain of ophthalmology.

The deaf man (Figures 37,38)

Some have seen in this work a self-portrait. Goya is thought to have depicted himself towards the end of his life as an old deaf man with a beard and carrying a stick (Figure 37). Indeed, the figure here resembles that other old man observed and drawn by him in the streets of Bordeaux ("*Aun aprendo*", "I am still learning") (Figure 38).

Nevertheless, the picture here (Figure 37) was painted before that time. It is one of "the Black Paintings" produced for Goya's "House of the Deaf Man". Goya had bought a villa next to a house occupied formerly by a deaf farmer. The name of the latter the *Quinta del Sordo*, the house of the deaf man, was later attributed to Goya's villa.

Goya's deafness in the context of the medicine of the time. Goya's sign language (Figure 39)[15]

○ In the 18th century, Spain looked to France in the fields of medicine and surgery, and particularly to Montpellier. Generally speaking, the medicine of the 18th century was still a battleground marked by clashes between the old school imbued with the rationalism of the philosophers, the systems, the theories and the traditions of the Ancients and the new approach of sticking to observed facts and the reality of experience. Physiology was in its birth throes, as were the studies of tissues and the anatomical pathology (Bariety and Coury). But Spain was lagging behind France and the old school held sway. For example, vaccination had its supporters, like the duchess of Osuna, but it also had its detractors: some Spanish physicians considered it dangerous and anti-Christian (Hughes).
However, the contributions of these physician-philosophers were not exclusively negative. Andrés Piquer (1711-1772), the most famous of them in this Century of Enlightenment, was also the first to translate some works of Hippocrates into Spanish…

○ Looking at the most important works of otology from the end of the 17th to the beginning of the 19th century, we find the *Traité de l'organe de de l'ouïe* by Du Verney (1683), a reference work, and Itard's work, the *Traité des maladies de l'oreille et de l'audition* (1821). The latter dates from the last period of Goya's life. In Spain, there was Juan Naval's *Tratado Fisico-Médico Quirurgico de las Enfermedades de los Oidos*, published in Madrid in 1797. He was a physician at the court of Charles IV and he may

therefore have treated Goya, the painter at the court of the King. However, there is no proof that this is the case.

Otoscopy was practised using sunlight and there were small instruments for clearing the auditory canal of foreign bodies or of pathological secretions. Naval classified otitis into *vermissa* (insects), *intrusial* (intrusion of foreign bodies into the tympanic cavity) and *a lapso* (secondary to a trauma). However, none of these categories applied to Goya, whose tympanic membranes were intact.

From an auditory point of view, Naval distinguished between total deafness, paracusis, and the *disecoria* (transmission deafness). Goya suffered from total deafness. Naval described three causes for this: *mercurial*, *venera* and *pletorica*. The underlying mechanism was a "palsy" of the auditory nerve.

○ As far as the otological treatment Goya received, we can only speculate on the basis of the treatments that were fashionable at the time. Examples include purges, emetics, bleeding, baths, sternutators and masticatories to produce saliva.

There were also cephalic massages with arnica (a carminative agent that favoured digestion), or the introduction into the auditory canal of various substances, including animal urine.

Sulphurous thermal cures were another option. There was a spring of this kind in Plombières and Goya went there at the end of his life. In Spain, the Roman tradition of water cures was still lively in the 18th century.

Electrotherapy was practised by introducing one electrode into the auditory canal, which was filled with salt water, and a second one on the head.

The acoustic horn was also available, but Goya did not use it because of its ineffectiveness.

○ By contrast, he found sign language useful. There is a drawing by Goya showing signs intended for use by deaf mutes. There is a letter from Goya that recounts how he explained his system of sign language to Prime Minister Godoy during a coach trip. It is also possible that Godoy, who had become aware of Goya's deafness for other reasons, was behind the establishment of the first professorial chair for deaf mutes in Spain. This chair was established at the Pious School of Avapiés, and it was occupied by the Spanish friar José Fernandez Navarette, who had received Jesuit training in Italy.

We have in our possession an engraving by Goya (Figure 39) measuring 24×24 cm, with the words: *Goya en Piedrahita / ano de 1812* in the bottom right-hand corner. (Piedrahita is a town situated in a mountainous region to the west of Madrid at 40.28 N and 5.19 W in the Encyclopaedia Britannica Atlas). Initially, this engraving was thought to be a study of hands. However, it proved to be a depiction of a sign language, *los signos de la mano*, as demonstrated by the historian Ferrerons y Gascons in 1998. This alphabet was Goya's own invention and was, incidentally, incomplete. Furthermore, it did not conform to the sign language generally used. It may therefore be a sort of code language, a *palabras calve* (literally: a key of words). Using that key, this engraving (Figure 38) can be interpreted as follows: "Francisco, Goya, Lucientes, Fuendetodos (the town where he was born), MDCCXLVI (1746)". Goya's deafness may therefore have led him to create a code for the initiated. In any case, this is a plausible hypothesis (H. Vallés Valera).[15]

○ The aim of this paper is not to deal with the origin of Goya's deafness. This subject has already been extensively covered by eminent historians of medicine.[16-21]

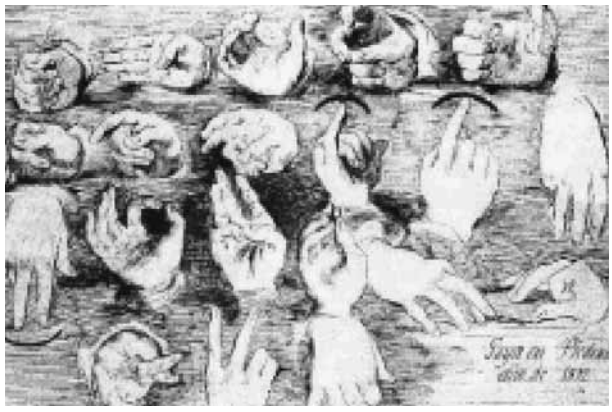

Figure 39
This engraving was first thought to be a study of hands but later proved to be Goya's own sign language.

In truth, several diagnoses are still in circulation: Vogt-Koyanagi-Harada syndrome, an auto-immune uveo-meningitis or an uveo-encephalitis; lead intoxication caused by the use of products for painting; Cogan syndrome; cerebrovascular disease; even syphilis (this is disputed because of Goya's long life).

Finally, there is a macabre detail relating to this strange painter: when his tomb was opened in order to move his remains from Bordeaux to Spain, two skeletons were found in the tomb but only one head. Moreover the corpses were so decomposed that it was impossible to know to which skeleton belonged the head… In these circumstances, no conclusions can be drawn from the examination of the petrosal bones.

5. THE OBSESSION WITH THE MOUTH (Figure 40)

Several authors have noticed the obsession with the mouth in Goya's work. Examples are "Kronos devouring his own children"; "Lazarillo de Tormes"; "the Chinchillas" fed with a spoon; or the title of another engraving "Swallow it!" (see below).

The mouth as a megaphone (Figure 41)

This painting is part of the "Black Paintings" made to decorate the walls of "the house of the deaf man" (see above). It shows very unusual pilgrims with bulging eyes, as if they were possessed and ready to undergo an exorcism. Their expressive mouths form a lugubrious choir which is no longer human in nature. This picture is one of the best examples supporting the thesis that Goya's deafness revolutionised his artistic vision: thirty years previously, the painter made a charming picture of the same subject, in which most of the faces were smiling.

The mouth as the front door for food (Figure 42)

"These people are blind and deaf like the Spanish noblemen to whom a madman throws a saucepan full of stale ideas" (Comment by Goya himself).

The engraving shows two men thought to be members of the aristocracy who, like parasites, are being nourished by the people. The padlocked heads of both figures, like the shadow with the head of an ass and blindfolded eyes giving them something to eat, are not gratuitous images. They suggest that both characters are totally deaf to the legitimate claims of ordinary people, and that the figure feeding them is unaware of anything, obeying them blindly. The word "chinchilla" comes from the Spanish *chinche,* a bug that sucks human blood and also exhales a foul and persistent smell.

N.B. "Chinchilla" means also a sort of a small rodent, the fur of which is much appreciated. The etymology is different! This word is of onomatopoeic origin, and refers to the Spanish city of Djindjala, which was celebrated for the delicacy of its woollen products that were compared with the grey fur of the chinchillas. In a figurative sense, "chinchilla" meant a stinking mammal.

The mouth as an instrument for cannibalism (Figure 43)

Jeanine Batticle believes that this work (Figure 43) shows a female child, testifying to a horrible sexual appetite of the male. However,

Figure 40
Peregrinacion a la fuente de San Isidro, "Pilgrimage at the San Isidro Fountain" (Black Painting, 1821-23), Prado, Madrid. Detail

Figure 41
Peregrinacion a la fuente de San Isidro, "Pilgrimage at San Isidro Fountain" (Black Painting, 1821-1823), Prado, Madrid. Detail.

Figure 42
Los chinchillas, "The chinchillas" (1796-1797), Los Caprichos II, plate 50.

Figure 43
Saturno devorando a su hijo "Saturn devouring his own child" (1820-1824), Black Painting, Prado, Madrid.
In Greek mythology, Saturn corresponded to Kronos, but there was also a play on word with **Chronos**, Time, who also devours his children. Goya may have been following in the footsteps of the Greeks.

most authors believe this is a male child, or rather an adult, and that this is therefore a case of "simple" cannibalism. It must be said that Goya did not refrain from depicting cannibals (the Museum of Fine Arts and Archaeology of Besançon has a painting by Goya entitled "Cannibals examining human remains" dating from from 1800-1808). This work (Figure 43) could be an allusion to the authoritarian regime of King Ferdinand VII, that was established with the restoration of the Spanish monarchy.

The mouth as a sexual symbol (Figure 44)

In a carnival scene, a disguised character positions a mask

Figure 44
"Masquerade. He classifies her as a hermaphrodite" (1796-1797), Reserve of Spanish drawings of XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries, Louvre, Paris.

between his legs. The nose evokes a penis and the mouth a vulva, provoking questions from the other figures depicted.

The mouth as an outlet (Figure 45)

Goya castigated the charlatans as much as the ignorant and pretentious physicians. With their patent medicines, they made their patients vomit, if necessary by introducing a finger into their mouths. Hence the word play based on "palate" and "Palatine", the latter being a noble. As Goya expressed himself quite often in enigmatic ways, some have concluded that the charlatan here wearing the uniform of "Count Palatine" was Minister Urquijo, who was favourable to Napoleon's brother during the War of Independence against the French. The title of "Count Palatine" was given in each region to the representative of the imperial authority.

Figure 45
Al conde Palatino, "Count Palatine" (1796-1797) Los Caprichos, plate 33.

Figure 46
El garrotillo, "The garrotte", or *El Lazarillo de Tormes* (1808-1812), Araoz Collection (widow of Maranon), Madrid.

Figure 47
"Old blind beggar", by Jusepe de Ribera (about 1632), Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, Oberlin, USA. It is interesting to compare Goya's amusing version, which matches the style of the story, with the very much more dramatic approach of Jusepe de Ribera, a Spanish painter of the 17th century, that shows the blind man leaning on the shoulder of his charitable guide.

Originally, "palatine" was the term used for anyone in charge in the house of a sovereign.

The mouth as emitter of odours (Figures 46,47)[22,23]

This is an example of a fake physician and of a fake patient! The significance of this work has been debated. A Spanish physician named Gregorio Maranon, the owner of the painting, believed that it represented popular medicine of the time: a physician is trying to extract from the throat of a child the false diphtheric membranes obstructing his larynx and interfering with his breathing. This resulted in the title *El Garrotillo*, "the garrotte", an expressive image referring to asphyxiating diphtheria.

However, several authors noticed that the painting had a distinctive mark at the bottom right: X 25, corresponding to the numbering of the painting in the inventory of Goya's works dating from 1812. According to this catalogue, the title of the work was "Lazarillo de Tormes" and therefore represented an anonymous popular Spanish picaresque short-story of the 16th century. The title of the painting is the name of the young boy who, among other jobs, acted as a guide for a blind man. Taking advantage of his master's handicap, he stole a sausage that he was expected to roast for the blind man. But he ate the sausage immediately and put a turnip on the fire. However, he forgot about the sense of smell of the blind man, who opened the mouth of the child and stuck his nose inside to confirm the crime. Look at the length of the nose, which is reminiscent of the beak of a stork…

The scatological mouth (Figure 48)

Capricho no. 58 targets the clergy who force the believer to accept all sorts of fanciful beliefs. It is therefore an implicit criticism of the Inquisition. The title *Tragala*, "swallow it!" comes from a popular song of the Liberals directed against Bourbon absolutism in the 1790s. Its refrain was: "We will never stop to sing/ Swallow it / Swallow it / Swallow it, dog". However, "Swallow" does not allude to the Liberals. A terrified man is kneeling on the ground, begging for mercy from a fanatical monk. In vain! What the monk is holding in his hands is a syringe that, with its charge of orthodoxy, will subject the intestines of this poor dissident to an enema.

The mouth blowing, "traumatic" agent (Figure 49)

As in the "Chinchillas", we see here an allusion to blocked ears, but for other reasons. According to Goya, "the only point of confessions is to fill the ears of the priests with coarsenesses, obscenities and

Figure 48
Tragala perro, "Swallow it, dog" (1796-1797), *Los Caprichos*, plate 58.

Figure 49
Soplones, "The blows" (1796-1797), *Los Caprichos*, plate 48.

Figure 50
A caza de dientes, "Teeth hunting" (1796-1797), *Los Caprichos*, plate 12.

dirty things". At the bottom left, we see a scatological reference: the suggestion of two pairs of buttocks breaking wind in front of another bearded monk.
There is also another allusion to the ear; deafness possibly due to an acoustic trauma or a blast injury! The victim succumbs to the reflex of protecting his ears. A patient suffering from tinnitus sometimes blocks his ears in a reflex movement… Did Goya have in mind the painful memory of the tinnitus he endured in 1793? The central character in the plate is a monk blocking his ears. He is linked to a monkey-like fellow who is the prime target of the unhealthy breath emanating from the mouth of a monster flying in the air. There is, in fact, an allusion in all this. Some see the work as a protest against the sacrament of confession that forces the priest to hear all the insanities of the world; others think it is an attack on the calumnious denunciations made before the Inquisition.

The mouth as the den of superstition (Figure 50)

Teeth were precious elements used in magic potions. This young woman is apprehensively putting her hand into the mouth of a dead man to take out his teeth.
Goya censures the practices of popular medicine that are imbued with magic and superstition.
He commented himself: "According to superstition, the teeth of a hanged man are a highly effective substance for casting dice. Is it not a pity to see how the common people believe in such stupidities?"
Of course, this enamoured woman intends to make a love potion.

CONCLUSION

When he visited the Prado, Granados selected Goya's works because of their appeal for him and their suitability for expression in the language of the piano. He called his works *Goyescas*. We pursued a similar approach selecting Goya's works as images of medicine.

• It is generally agreed that the painter's deafness, which was bilateral and acute, profound and incurable, and afflicted him in his prime, modified his art deeply. From Academic Court painting mixed with some realism, he moved suddenly to the caricature, the fantastic, and sarcasm.
Given this background, how did the world of medicine appear to him and what image of it does Goya present to us?

○ There are a few conventional works representing medicine dating from the period when Goya was in good health. They are technically perfect but not particularly moving. Examples are the country doctor (Figure 4) or the wounded mason (Figure 17A).

○ Later, deafness and depression were in store but, even then, the will and the technical mastery of Goya allowed him to regain self-control on more than one occasion. Take, for example, the portraits of physicians like Guillemardet (Figure 6) and Don Queralto (Figure 8). On another occasion, gratitude to his physician transcended his bitterness, as in his self-portrait with Doctor Arrieta (Figure 10), a genuine expression of gratitude conveying profound emotion.

○ Apart from these examples, the deafness frequently contributed to a description of the world of medicine without concessions. This interests us in several respects.

– First of all, Goya impresses us by his quasi-scientific objectivity: examples are Zapata (Figure 9), Goya's serious illness (Figure 10), the hospitals (Figures 11,13,14) and the jails (Figure 12), the mutilated cadavers (Figure 18), the first aid in time of war (Figures 19-22), the maimed persons as beggars (Figures 23,24), the freaks in the fair show (Figures 25,27,30,31), the patch on the temple (Figure 32), the self-portrait of a deaf and depressed Goya (Figure 34), the blind man (Figure 36) and the deaf man (Figure 37).

– In addition, although Goya's temperament was extravert and although he had a propensity for realism, his sensory deprivation pushed his work into the realms of pictorial nightmare. This is shown by the donkey physicians (Figures 3,5), the people in sacks (Figure 15), the sleep of reason (Figure 35) and most of the representations of the mouth (Figures 41-45,48,49). Even in his most traditional paintings, Goya introduced grimacing masks, an example being his self-portrait with doctor Arrieta (Figure 10) or St Borgia succouring a dying man (Figure 16).

• In fact, these fantastic dreams had a common theme, a "leitmotif", a "key": far from indicating mental alteration, Goya's art was in fact allusory; it talks without speaking! Just like his deafness, that rendered him mute in ordinary dealings. He acquired a sense of mystery, the mystery the world became for him with the loss of all his auditory points of reference. His mistrust of religious power was one more reason for using this cryptic language. In other words, Goya was a deaf mute with respect to both ordinary mortals and the Inquisition.

His description of the world of medicine therefore acquired the value of a metaphor for the initiated, allowing him to censure without too many risks the injustice and the hypocrisies of Spanish society at the beginning of the 19th century.

Later, in Belgium, the smell of sulphur diffused by Félicien Rops from Namur and the Grand Guignol show illustrated by James Ensor from Oostende, demonstrated the debt owed by engaged art to the imagination of Goya.

Goya, you merit not only death, but also the gallows. If we forgive you, it is because we admire you. (Ferdinand VII, King of Spain, 1814)

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