

# THE 'ORIGINAL' FAKE

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## ESSAY 67/04

COLLECTIVE IMAGERY

CREATIVE POTENTIAL

*LAS MAJAS AL BALCÓN*

The images that populate our memory, even those that belong to the personal sphere, have been filtered and manipulated by the process of reproduction. They are copies, in some cases copies of copies. Our collective imagination is based on the vision of fakes: multimedia, three-dimensional, virtual reproductions, augmented reality.

The course of the research, initially, envisages the description of a theoretical reference framework that includes the declina-

tions of the notion of copy and the related fruition rituals. In the second part the research exemplifies the theoretical framework, through one emblematic and iconic case study: *Las Majas al Balcón*. The case shares the notion of copying, in fact it has entered the collective imagination thanks to its reproductions and/or falsifications. It is now virtually invisible, because it belongs to a private collection, and it is one of Goya's best known paintings.

In principle, the work of art has always been reproducible. [...] On the other hand, technical reproduction is something new, which is affirmed intermittently in history, [...] with increasing intensity.

(Benjamin, 1936, p. 20)

#### COPY, FAKE OR REPLICA?

We are used to seeing through the eyes of others. Since the phenomenon of the Grand Tour, that brought back the wonders of classical Italian and French art to the Nordic peoples through sketches, watercolours, engravings, to the present day where 3D sharing sites deliver virtual copies of distant, unreachable, architectural and natural artefacts. Has the work of art, invisible to most because it is unreproducible, lost its *aura*? Have the veils that enveloped it been torn from the continuous reproductions, and so it is now naked?

The images that populate our memory, even those that belong to the personal sphere, have been filtered and manipulated by the process of reproduction. They are copies, in some cases copies of copies. Our collective imagination is based on the vision of fakes: multimedia, three-dimensional, virtual reproductions, augmented reality. Often, even when we are in direct contact with the work of art, the eye is filtered by the digital tool. We are so worried of no longer knowing how to keep images in our memory that we archive them before we have even enjoyed them (Figure 1).

#### THE NOTION OF 'COPY'

The theme of the reproduction of the work of art has been debated for a long time in the past but now, in the civility of images, it is very central. The cornerstones to which almost all studies, even the most recent, refer are obviously: *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* by Ben-

**Fig. 1** Leonardo da Vinci, *Madonna Litta*, 1490. Ph. Arena M., Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, 2018.



jamin (1935/1936) and the *Understanding media: the extensions of man* of McLuhan (1964). The multiplication and fragmentation of contemporary critical thinking around the notion of communication is, in some ways, symbolic of our age: it reaffirms the non-linearity of the diffusion of culture. In fact, media of the past offered pre-established channels for the diffusion of the 'message' and the users, selected by 'degrees of competence' (Eco 1964, p. 51) had access to organized and homogeneous information. The explosion of the new media has made the 'communication process' fragmented, uncontrollable and multifaceted.

Closely connected to the cultural and technical mediums of the era to which it belongs is the notion of 'copy'. The latter, expressed in multiple synonyms, lends itself to different interpretations.

Baudrillard's theories on some aspects of the 'copy' in modernity support the 'categories of copies' identified in this paper. For Baudrillard, in fact, modernity has produced three types of simulacra (Copies). The "mimetic simulacrum", based on the image and on counterfeiting, was used from the Renaissance to the Industrial Revolution, in the paper it is represented by: Copy and Copy of copy. The "simulacrum of reality", in fact during the Industrial Revolution the copy

is the expression of technology, in accordance with the theories of Benjamin and McLuhan (Mechanical Copies). In the contemporary era, the “simulacrum of simulation” defines hyper-reality. A real object is no longer required, its simulation is sufficient (Random Copies; Commercial Copies) (Baudrillard 1976).

### LAS MAJAS AL BALCÓN

If all we observe is a copy, investigating the process of production and use of the copy itself becomes central. In this regard, it might be interesting to follow the parallel ‘destinies’ of copies in the world of art to retrace the creative potential in their different mutations. The copying process, entrusted to an operational concatenation, has changed over time, adding subsequent specifications; we pass from the *handcrafted* copy, carried out for study or for mere imitative pleasure without the aid of tools, to the automatic copy, in which the work is reproduced not only thanks to digital systems but also in the absence of a specific intention, therefore in a fully automated mode. As Benjamin reminds us, the work of art, and so its copies, are linked to the ritual with which they are enjoyed. The changes in use, and therefore also the use of copies, develop a real ‘secularization of art’ that changes its meaning according to the context and, obviously, the ‘medium’. The fate of the copies will be analysed in the figurative, two-dimensional and light culture. The case shares the notion of copying, in fact it has entered the collective imagination thanks to its reproductions and/or falsifications. It is virtually invisible, belongs to a private collection, and it is one of Goya's best known paintings: *Las Majas al Balcón*<sup>1</sup>. *Las Majas al Balcón*<sup>2</sup> is a work by Francisco Goya, created between 1808 and 1812, owned by Baron Edmond de Rothschild, and kept in his private collection in Switzerland. For a long time, a homonymous work<sup>3</sup>, exhibited at the Met in New York, was believed to be an authentic variant of the

first<sup>4</sup>. In 1989 the painting was compared with the Swiss version and was recognized as a copy.

How is it possible that such a famous work was recognized as a fake only in 1989? To understand this, it is necessary to analyse the cultural and social conditions that have made it successful and encouraged fraudulent and legitimate reproductions.

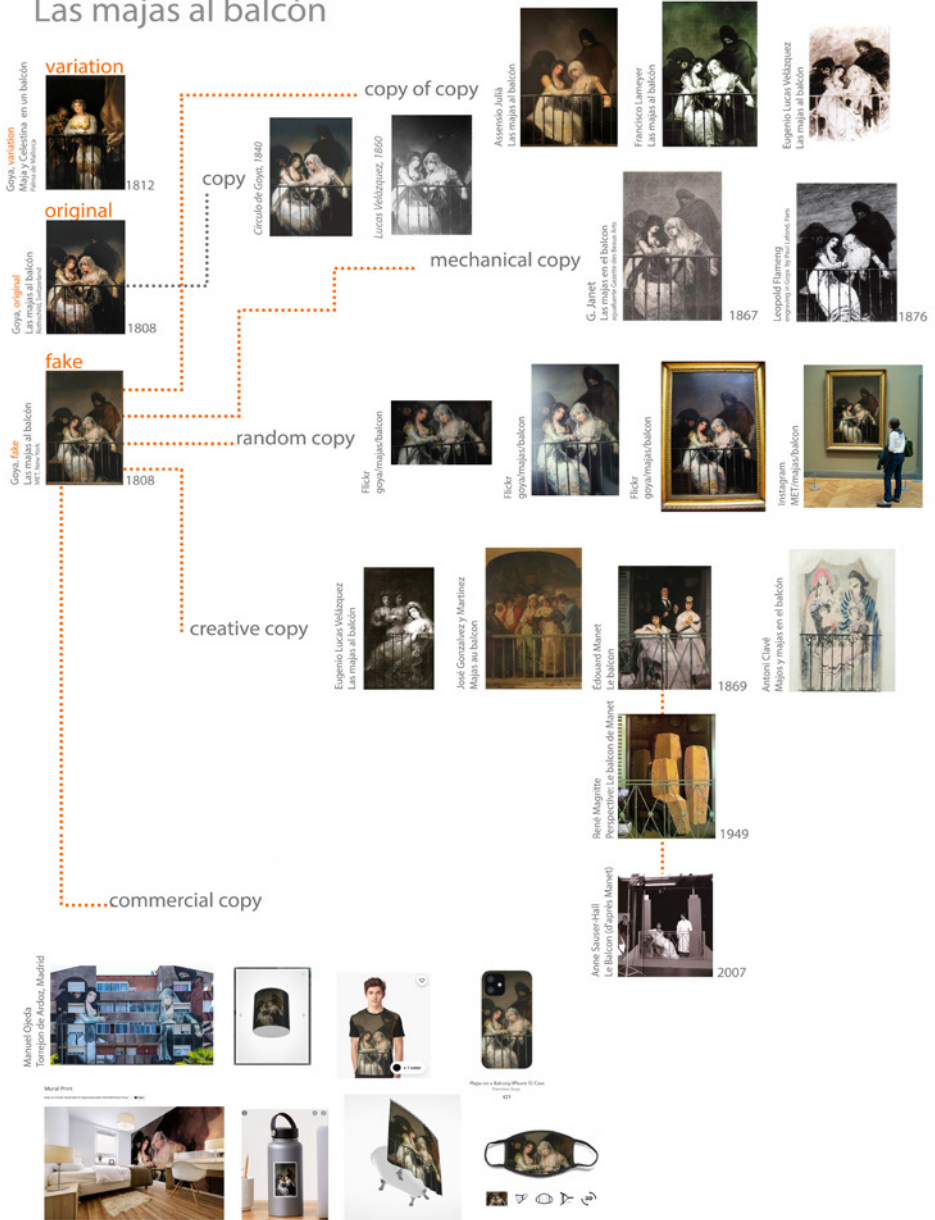
In France, during the mid-19th century, the interest in Spain stemmed from the numerous travel stories undertaken by soldiers and officers following the brief, and disastrous, invasion of Spain led by Napoleon starting in 1808. The Spanish School, to which Goya belongs, it is in fact sanctioned with the exhibition in the rooms of the Louvre, 1838-1848, of the 438 works purchased by Taylor in Spain on behalf of King Louis Philippe.

The fashion of the time, fuelled by French scholars and academics, configures the identity of the Spaniards around a few but robust stereotypes: poverty, religiosity, fallen aristocracy, bullfights. Painting, and consequently what will, since then, be defined as the Spanish School, must illustrate the social conditions and the context in which it developed. In a short time, the themes of the Spanish School, stereotyped and vaguely folkloric, denigrated by the school of Voltaire, are reinterpreted in the light of Naturalism and rise to ideals to be assimilated to raise the quality of French culture flattened on the stereotyped repetition of examples of the past. Many painters of the time copied the works of Velázquez, Murillo and Ribera. In this scenario, the closure of the Spanish Gallery in 1848 on the one hand crystallizes the idea of 'Spanish' and on the other opens the way to the recognition of non-original works.

In the mid-nineteenth century, three works responded to the name *Las Majas al Balcón*: the original, exhibited in the *Spanish Gallery* of King Louis-Philippe, sold, along with all the other works, by *Christie's* in 1853; the version exhibited at the *Salamanca Gallery*<sup>5</sup>, whose attribution was immediately questioned by Yriarte, however sold as an original; the copy

# Goya

## Las majas al balcón



**Fig. 2** Arena M., *Goya. Las Majas al Balcón*. Authors elaboration, 2021.

belonging to Infante Sebastian, believed to be authentic, sold to the Duke of Marchena, now kept at the Met.

The latter painting was considered authentic because it fell within the canons of the Spanish School drawn up by the first Goya estimators: Gautier, Viardot, Yriarte<sup>6</sup>.

The reproducibility of a work is central to its identification. The inventories of the time, drawn up on the occasion of the death of the artist or his relatives<sup>7</sup>, reported the list of works identified by the size and name of the painting itself. The version of the Infante Sebastian was believed to be authentic because it was confused with *Maja and Celestina on a Balcony*. Immediately after Goya's death, the lack of automatic systems for reproducing the paintings allowed the proliferation of copies and imitations. The texts that first commented on Goya's work, made almost fifty years after his death, unequivocally designated the identity of the works. The latter were shown to the general public through mechanical reproductions, etchings and woodcuts, often taken from photographs<sup>8</sup>.

The research tries to build a visual map (Figure 2), certainly not exhaustive, of the collective imagination linked to this work by Goya and, with ad hoc graphic analyses, tries to identify the intensity of technical innovation, and its perceptible effects, in the copies that originated from this painting.

#### THE 'ORIGINAL' FAKE

The painting deals with compositional and visual themes that will be taken up in many later works. The *Majas*, provocative young women, dressed in bright clothes, are apparently the centre of the work. But when the eye recovers from the glare of the sun, it is possible to see the shadowy figures looming over the scene and giving a dramatic tone to the painting.

The balcony, the place of seeing unseen is, in Goya's work, the object of observation; the gaze of the young wom-



# The original fake

## Las majas al balcón

**original**  
Rothschild, Switzerland, 1808  
117 cm  
162 cm

**fake**  
MET, New York, 1835  
125,5 cm  
195 cm

composition

figure / background

overlap

differences

**Fig. 3** Arena M., *The Original Fake*.  
Author's elaboration, 2021.

en guides the observer into the private space to discover dark and distressing aspects.

The graphic analysis of the two paintings was carried out by identifying the different depth planes and the relative shapes useful for graphically quantifying the differences (Figure 3). The copy of the Infante Sebastian apparently reproduces the original faithfully. The background figures, however, are very different in position and mass, but what appears profoundly different is the attitude of the two women in the foreground. In the original, the two Majas seem to exchange a confidence while continuing to look outwards. The Maja with the white veil has her chin high and her head upright. The same can be said of the hieratic figure on the right: with her face hidden by her cloak, she observes, with her head held high, what is happening outside the painting and intercepts the viewer's gaze.

In the Met version, the woman with the white veil seems to want to touch her neighbour with the tip of her head, she lowers her chin and tilt her face. The figure behind her, hunched over on itself, seems in pain and looks down. It should also be emphasized that the two paintings do not have the same proportions: the copy looks like an enlargement of the original: as if the author felt the need to complete the figure on the left and at the same time wanted to better centre the two Majas.

It follows that the balcony railing, probably a box at the Plaza de Toros, in this work has ten uprights, the first from the left completely smooth. In the original the uprights, eight, are more irregular both in the step and in the inclination, not perfectly vertical<sup>9</sup>. Another not negligible detail is the folding fan. In the original, the Maja with the black veil holds it in an almost vertical position in her left hand. In the copy of the Met the folding fan is in the right hand of the Maja with the white veil, and is visibly tilted. The widening at the bottom of the field of the painting reveals, in the Met version, the threshold of the balcony on which the right foot of the Maja with the white veil peeps.

## FROM COPY TO COPY

In France, during the mid-nineteenth century, the theme of the diffusion of art led to the design of a museum of copies. The *Musée des Copies*<sup>10</sup>, closed in controversy the same year of its inauguration on 1873, does not contain the works of Goya but is indicative of the feeling of the time and the custom of making copies, suitable for the dissemination of art. *Las Majas al Balcón* by Goya and what is now considered a real fake<sup>11</sup>, have long been considered a replica of the other.

Therefore, copied both by the artists of the time, to refine the style and to study the masters of the Spanish School, and by professionals who reproduced the works of art on behalf of third parties. Many of the copies of the time are kept in the archives of museums and are a precious testimony to the spread of these works.

One of the leading scholars of the time, Yriarte, while appreciating Goya's art, advised young artists not to copy<sup>12</sup> his works<sup>13</sup>. The genre paintings are an exception, such as *Les Majas*, "*œuvres éparpillées un peu partout*"<sup>14</sup> copied for the apparent lightness of the theme and because they embody the taste for the picturesque of the time.

The handcrafted copies, as it were, that we find are mostly referred to the version of the Met, while the original painting is perfectly reproduced by a copy of 1840 attributed to the *Circulo del Goya* and by one of Eugenio Lucas Velasquez of 1862. The copies of the version of the Met by Leonardo Alenza, and Francisco Lemeyer are faithful, and reproduce correctly the number of uprights in the railing and the position of the folding fan.

The work of Alenza, perhaps due to the particularly delicate and nuanced technique, does not make the position of the right foot of the Maja with the black veil evident.

The copies tend to modify the edges of the scene by focusing more on the subjects, in a curious process of progressive 'regularization' of the geometric elements of the painting (Figure 4).

**Fig. 4** Arena M., *Copy of Copy*.  
Author's elaboration, 2021.

# Copy of *copy* Las majas al balcón

Goya, **original**  
Las majas al balcón  
Rothschild, Switzerland



**copy**

Círculo de Goya, 1840



Eugenio Lucas Velázquez, 1860



Goya, **fake**  
Las majas al balcón  
MET, New York

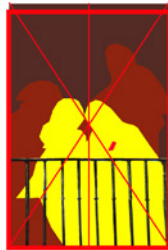
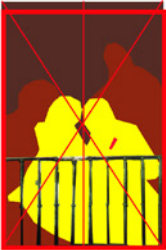


**copy of copy**

Leonardo Alenza, 1834



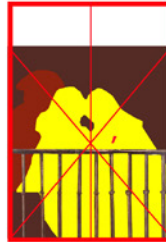
Francisco Lameyer



Eugenio Lucas Velázquez, 35 cm



Anonymous amateur, 1990



## MECHANICAL COPIES

In the mid-nineteenth century, Goya was popular in France thanks to the *Caprichos*, a series of 80 etchings with unusual and burning themes, published in print for the first time in Spain in 1799 and immediately withdrawn due to the scandal that ensued. Goya's paintings, initially little appreciated, were not available to the general public, especially after the closure of the Spanish Gallery. The first texts that tell the work of Goya have the task of collecting the iconographic material, now dispersed in national and particular collections, throughout Europe. The reproduction techniques of the time made use of engravings made with the etching or woodcut technique. It is interesting to briefly retrace the history of the practically contemporary print reproductions of the two versions of the *Majas*. The first, in chronological order, reproduces the version of Duc de Montpensier (now Rothschild) and was drawn from a photo<sup>15</sup> by G. Janet for the 1867 text by Yriarte<sup>16</sup>; the second, which reproduces the version that belonged to the Infante Don Sebastian (now Met), was developed<sup>17</sup> by M.L. Flameng for the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, in 1876.

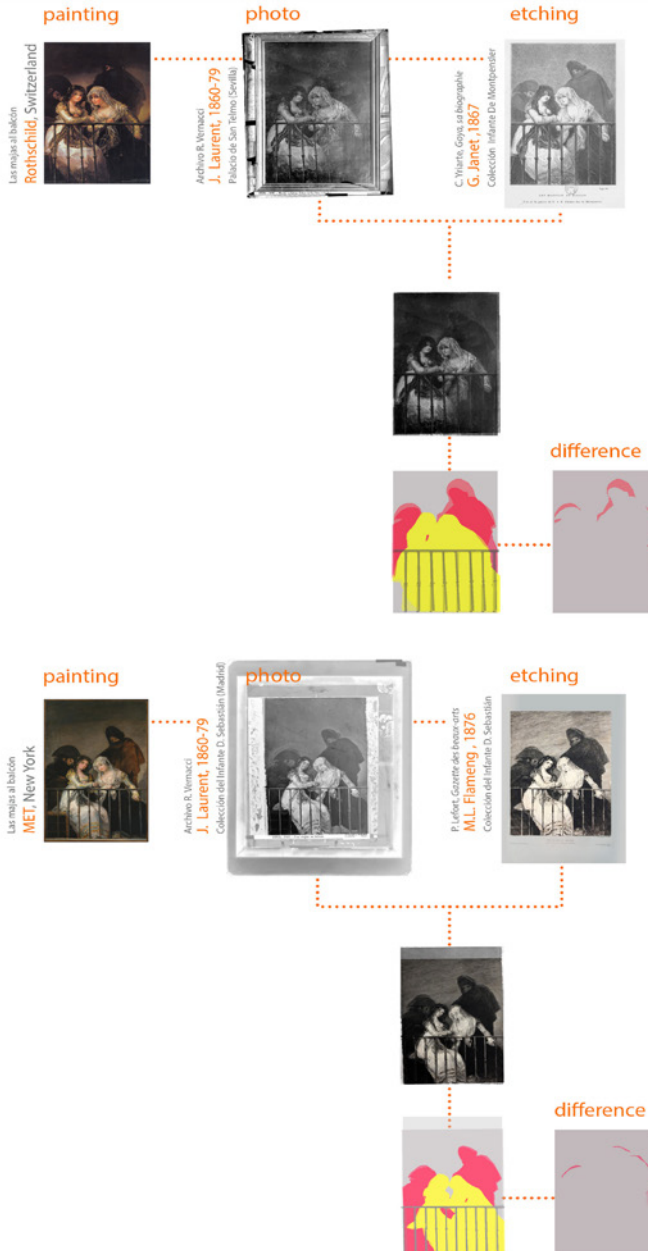
The graphic analysis that compares the pictorial works with the photographic reproductions found in the Vernacci archive and the corresponding engravings show some anomalies. In the first case, the Rothschild version, the *Manolas* are well represented while the figures in the background differ from the photographic reproduction. Probably the background, particularly dark and difficult to photograph with the techniques of the time, prevented proper reproduction; the background figures are similar to those present in the version of the Met.

In the second case, the photo also shows the edges of the painting and the traces of the cuts that the photographer made in the reproduction. The painting and the engraving do not have the same proportions, the latter in fact appears as a cut-out with the upper part missing (Figure 5).

**Fig. 5** Arena M., *Mechanical Copies*.  
Author's elaboration, 2021.

# Mechanical copies

## Las majas al balcón



## RANDOM COPIES

Our everyday life is richer in images every day. Everything is filtered by sight, by the devices that support our memory and which, at the same time, build the daily palimpsest of our large or small community. In the past, museums defended, albeit with a layer of dust, their 'allure' of cultural institutions, keeping due distance from economic troubles and maintaining an inflexible attitude in safeguarding knowledge. The new course, along with the dust, has eliminated that 'sacredness' that Benjamin speaks of. The work of art preserved in museums is at the mercy of users in various ways: in presence and remotely, for a souvenir or for a tease. If it is true, as Balzac argued, that:

Each body is composed of a series of spectra, in layers superimposed on infinity [...] it derives for said body (photographed), with each repeated operation, the evident loss of one of its spectra, that is a fundamental part of its constitutive essence. (Nadar, 1899/2010, p. 14)

The work of art reproduced countless times, casually, without a specific intention, loses its 'constitutive essence', is desacralized because it is too accessible, deprived of all its ghosts, it appears 'naked'. The digital reproduction<sup>18</sup> of the *Majas* is no exception and sports thousands of images. Some are repetitions of those offered, with an open access policy, by museum institutions, as is the case with the Met. Others are in turn copies of copies from various sources (Figure 6). In search engines, fake dominates the scene and in fact obscures the original. Few sites report the difference between the two works, some like the Met, leave the user in ambiguity. The caption of *Las Majas on Balcony* del Met reads: "Attributed to Goya (Francisco de Goya y Lucientes) Spanish". It is necessary to get to the middle of the notes to understand what is meant by attributed: "Attribution to Goya was consistently accepted until the 1989 exhibition [...] When it was compared unfavourably with the Rothschild example and identified by some authorities as a later copy or even a fal-

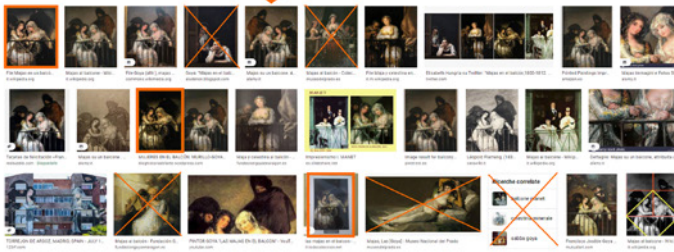
**Fig. 6** Arena M., *Random Copies*.  
Author's elaboration, 2021.



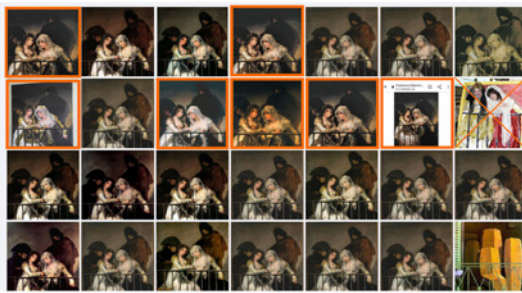
# Random copies

## Las majas al balcón

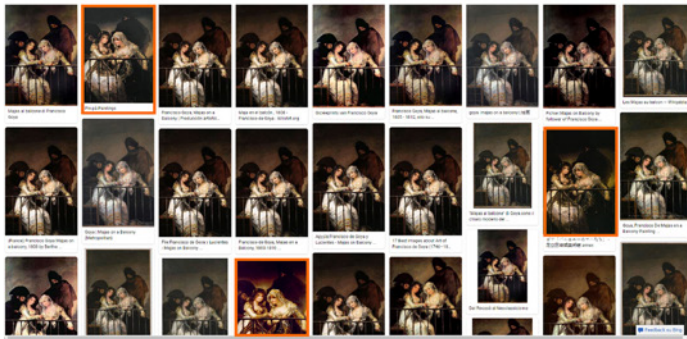
google  
Goya, Las majas al balcón



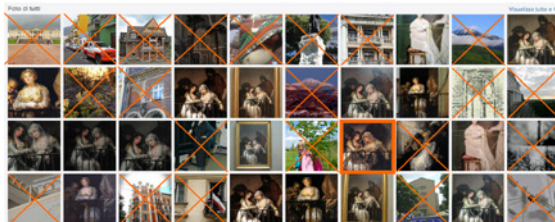
facebook  
Goya, Las majas al balcón



bing  
Goya, Las majas al balcón



flickr  
Goya, Las majas al balcón





sification"<sup>19</sup>. There are many so-called souvenir images captured in the presence. The latter are often partial, deformed by the view or the wide angle. The digital *Majas* have dull or gaudy colours, they are blinded by flashes, out of focus, often scratched and, in rare cases, mirrored (Figure 7).

### CREATIVE COPIES

From the compositional point of view, the theme of *Le Majas al Balcón* is very simple: it polarizes the space around the notion of boundary between inside and outside. The barrier between public space and private space is double: in the foreground is symbolized by rigid and geometric shapes: the railing; in the background it is made up of shadow: a shapeless and dark mass of colour. The protagonists, poised between light and shadow, with a game of glances, involve the viewer who, at the same time, observes and is observed.

The compositional theme of *Le Majas al Balcón* has always had a certain popularity but starting from Goya's painting we can retrace many creative copies that take up some of its themes.

Goya himself, in 1812, created a new version of the *Majas*, *Maja et Célestine au Balcón*, taking up the overall proportions of the original painting, the size and morphology of the railing, the strong light / shadow contrast. The most acclaimed version of the *Majas* is Manet's *Le Balcón*. It is not known for certain which of the two *Majas* he was inspired by since, if it is true that he visited Spain in 1865, this does not exclude that he may have seen the *Majas*, or copies, in the *Spanish Gallery* of the Louvre or in the Gallery of Salamanca.

In turn, Manet's version gives life to a new series in which the theme of the Balcón is taken up again this time as a real quote by Magritte, in 1948, and by the artist Anne Sauser-Hall in 2007. In the painting *Perspective: Le Balcón de Manet* the exact re-proposition of the railing, of the light and of the context of the original painting creates the perfect backdrop

**Fig. 7** Arena M., *Souvenir Copies*.  
Author's elaboration, 2021.

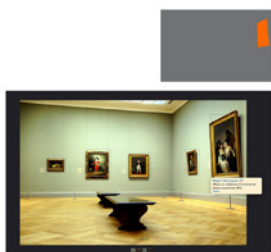
# Souvenir copies

## Las majas al balcón

MET social  
Flickr



MET social  
Flickr



MET social  
Facebook

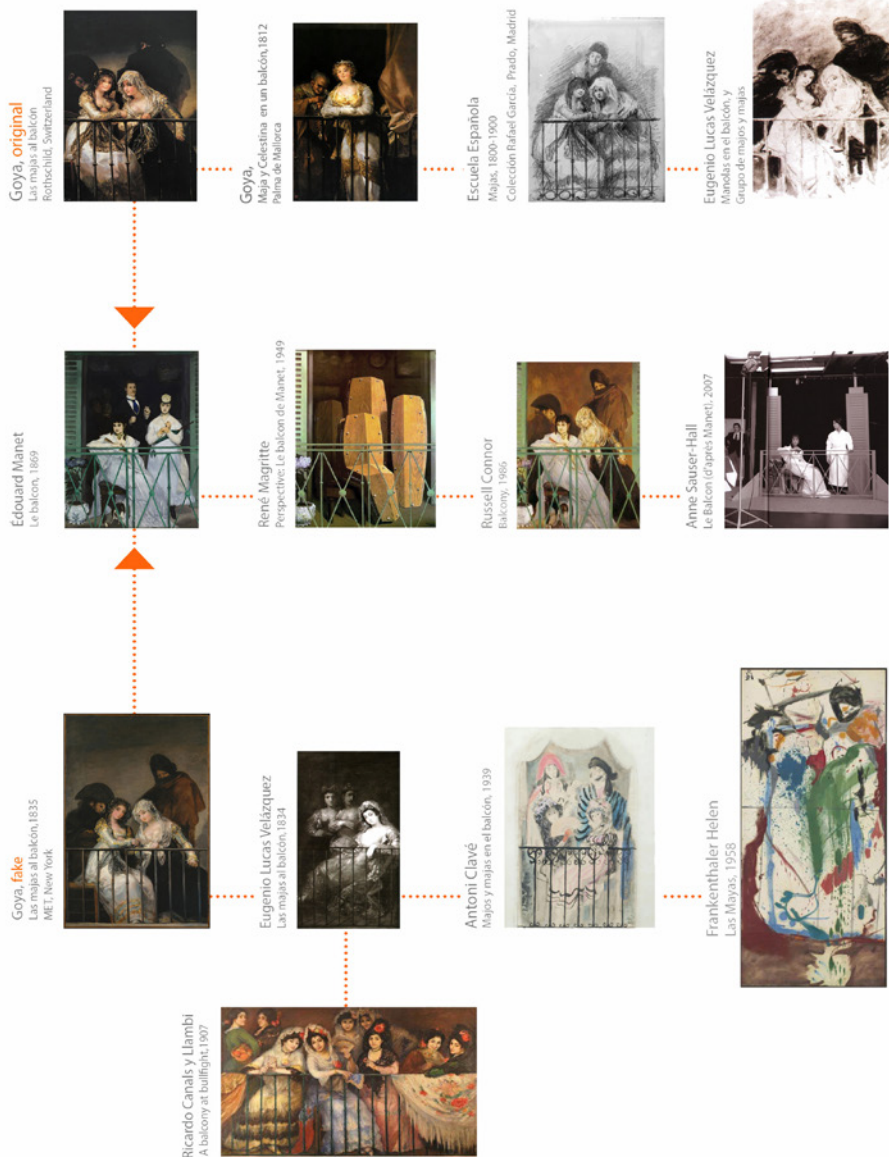


MET social  
Instagram



# Creative copies

## Las majas al balcón



**Fig. 8** Arena M., *Creative Copies*.  
Author's elaboration, 2021.

to stage that quiet sabotage that Magritte, as a surrealist, usually puts in place in his paintings. In the work of the Sausser-Hall, *Le Balcón d'après Manet*, the quotation goes further by recreating the three-dimensional scene in the spaces of the *Musée d'Orsay*. The creative copy triggers a dizzying process in which the connection with the original becomes more and more feeble until it is entrusted to a curve (the black hat of *Las Majas*, 1958) or to an attitude of the head (*A Balcony at Bullfight*, 1907).

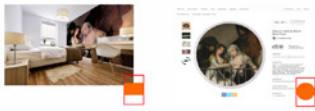
### COMMERCIAL COPIES

The commercial copies of the *Majas* are part of that phenomenon of 'desacralization' of the image that began years ago in an attempt to bring an increasing portion of the population closer to art. The theme of merchandising within museum institutions has encouraged the use of copies for commercial purposes. The image<sup>20</sup> of the *Las Majas al Balcón* offered by the Met in New York is in high resolution and Open Access<sup>21</sup> and therefore widely used for the decoration of the most diverse objects. But what happens to an image when it is freely permitted to be manipulated for commercial uses? The case of the *Majas* is once again emblematic (Figure 9). On the facade of a building they appear enlarged, separated by the balconies, mutilated by the openings. Tiny, in the very small surface of a Bulgarian postage stamp published for the 250th anniversary of Goya's birth.

They are curved over American coffee mugs or wrinkled on the surface of shower curtains, handbags and face masks. They are cut out and pierced to decorate mobile phone covers. The manipulation of images is, in most cases, left to chance. The sites sell on demand, there is no human filter that controls the images and so you choose the brand and model of the mobile phone, the graphic theme to be inserted and the system creates and sends the finished product. There are no stocks and no waste. But be careful! The system is not without risks (Figure 10).

**Fig. 9** Arena M., *Commercial Copies*.  
Author's elaboration, 2021.

### crop



# Commercial copies

Las majas al balcón

### break



### bend



### miniaturize

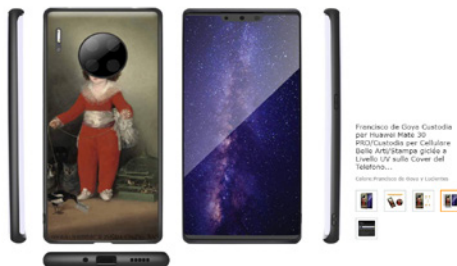


### twist



### drill





**Fig. 10** Cover Iphone 12, Goya, *The Clothed Maja*; Cover Huawei Mate 30 PRO, Goya, *Manuel Osorio Manrique de Zuñiga*, 2021.

## NOTES

**1** *Majas on a balcony*, hold by Rothschild family, has only twice been shown publicly in recent years, at The Hague and Paris in 1970, and at Martigny 1982 (Wilson-Bareau, 1996, p. 95).

**2** The *Majas* was one of eight paintings sold by Goya's son to Baron Isidore Justin Séverin Taylor in 1836, and it was displayed at the Louvre in Louis Philippe's Spanish Gallery from 1838 to 1848. It was held by Antoine, Duke of Montpensier and his son Infante Antonio. The Duke of Galliera sold it to Paul Durand-Ruel around 1911, who sold it to the Rothschild family.

**3** The painting was held by Infante Sebastián María Gabriel de Borbón y Braganza, Madrid (by 1835) then, under state of sequestration, was exposed at the Museo Nacional de la Trinidad, Madrid, (1835-1860). It was restored to Infante Sebastián (1860-68 Madrid, 1868- 1875 Pau); the son, Francisco de Borbón y Borbón, first duke of Marchena (1887–1904), sold to Havemeyer family in 1904 and they held the picture till it is being donated to Met in 1929.

**4** Jeannine Baticle states that the Met picture was long assumed to be an authentic Goya because the Rothschild version was not widely known until after 1970 (Baticle, 1996).

**5** "Salamanca Collection, which had many Goya's paintings, contain a "repetition or possibly a copy with variations" by Alenza but nevertheless it was listed, and sold, as Goya and it is now in a private collection (Pezzoli)" (Tomlinson, 1996, p. 197).

**6** Yriarte's description illustrates the thought of the time on the three copies of the same subject: "Les Manolas ont fait partie de la galerie espagnole du roi Louis-Philippe, et par conséquent sont connues en France. Cette toile, de grandeur nature, figure aujour d'hui dans la collection du duc de Montpensier. On connaît trois originaux du même sujet; deux complètement authentiques; quant au troisième, il a probablement été exécuté par Alemsa. Le duc de Montpensier et l'infant don Sébastien possèdent les deux premiers, M. de Salamanca possède le troisième. Les Manolas au balcon sont de la belle période de Goya; c'est franchement peint, et d'une grande audace d'effet; le sujet est un de ceux qui ont rendu l'artiste

populaire; il est presque symbolique; rien de plus espagnol que ces deux physiognomies provocantes sous leur mantille. Toute l'Espagne est là; un balcon, deux jolies filles la Heur au chignon, des mantilles noires et des galants embossés dans leur cape. Goya faisait grand cas de cette toile, dont il parle avec complaisance dans une de ses lettres" (Yriarte, 1867, p. 90).

**7** "As we now know, the Infante Sebastian got the wrong pictures. He acquired [...] the Metropolitan's *Majas on a Balcony* [...] This means that the Metropolitan's version of the *Majas on a Balcony* was already in the collection of the Infante Sebastian before Javier [...] Given the now widely accepted view that the Metropolitan's picture is not by Goya, this implies that the non-autograph version was made with Javier's knowledge if not his active participation and raises the question of the son's activities in the exploitation of his father's estate. Who was copying or making variants or pastiches of Goya's work such an early date? The 1812 inventory included the magnificent group of genre subjects [...] the *Majas on a Balcony* and *Maja and Celestina on a Balcony* still show their inventory marks: X 23 and X 24 on both the balcony pictures" (Wilson-Bareau, 1996b, p. 162).

**8** "CXXVIII. *Manolas asomadas á un balcón*. (Alto, 1,60; ancho, 1,07. Lienzo). Detrás de ellas se ven dos embozados.

Propiedad del Srmo. Sr. Duque de Montpensier, palacio de San Telmo, Sevilla. Otro original del pincel de Goya se encuentra en la galería del Srmo. Sr. Infante D. Sebastián. El Marqués de Salamanca poseía una reproducción, pero apócrifa. Ha sido grabado al agua fuerte por M. L. Flameng para la *Gazette de Beaux Arts*, l.<sup>o</sup> Febrero 1876; y en madera por Verdeil para la obra *Goya, savie, ses ceuvres, etc.*" (Muñoz y Manzano, 1887, pp. 297, 298).

**9** Some scholars point out that in the version of the Met the railing was painted before the robes of the *Majas*, this would support the thesis that the painting is a copy.

**10** The museum was created on a suggestion of Charles Blanc, from an idea of Adolphe Thiers. In order to "est de réunir et de Mettre sous les yeux, dans un même local, les copies des tableaux des grands maîtres disséminés, soit dans les départements, soit à l'étranger, soit dans les galeries particulières", to educate young people and allow the public to form their taste correctly. *Le Musée des Copies*, was inaugurated in 1873 al Palais de l'Industrie et des Beaux-arts, Champs-Élysées, Paris and closed at the end of the same year (Delaborde, 1873, pp. 2, 3).

**11** The copy was probably made by Goya's son, Javier, or by the Infante Sebastian who restored the painting when it was in possession (Wilson-Bareau, 1996b, p. 162).

**12** In fact, Goya was considered a revolutionary both in the pictorial technique: he used unorthodox tools spatulas, pens or random tools; as in the chosen subjects: many of his works in fact invited the revolution or depicted uncomfortable aspects of Spanish society.

**13** "Je ne conseille point aux jeunes artistes de prendre le Goya de San-Antonio pour leur maître; il est dangereux à regarder, il prêche la révolte; mais ceux qui ont trouvé leur voie et qui ne craignent pas de se laisser influencer peuvent venir méditer devant ces fresques" (Dal Falco, 2006, p. 54).



**14** "Des sujets anecdotiques ou familiers, placés le plus souvent dans des paysages délicieux, des scènes de mœurs locales, des motifs pittoresques, forment la plus large part de ces amusantes compositions" (Lefort, 1876, p. 343).

**15** Photo n° vn-04647, archive Ruiz Vernacci, photographed by Laurent, J. (1816-1886), between 1860 and 1886, glass support, Palacio de San Telmo (Sevilla).

**16** "Les Manolas au balcon, gravure de Verdeil, (d'après un dessin de G. Janet réalisé à partir d'une photographie)" (Yriarte, 1867, p. 90).

**17** Probably from this Photo n° vn-06350, archive Ruiz Vernacci, photographed by Laurent, J. (1816-1886) in 1868 Colección del Infante D. Sebastián, present in the catalogue of 1879, page 191. It must be emphasized that, as indicates the note of the Met, that despite Laurent's caption probably the subject of the photo was an anonymous copy of the painting by the infant Sebastián. <https://www.Metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/436548>.

**18** The images present on the search engines are sensitive to the name of the paintings which oscillates, on the specialized texts and in the archives between: Dos Majas con dos majos, aquellas asomadas a un balcón; Las Majas en el Balcón; Majas on a Balcony; Manolas en al Balcón.

**19** <https://www.Metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/436548>.

**20** The recent policy of access to images of the Met is functional to new strategies for cognitive research developed with AI techniques.

**21** As part of the Met's open access policy you can freely copy, modify, and distribute this image, even for commercial purposes.

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