

Seduction and Power

Antiquity in the Visual and Performing Arts

Edited by Silke Knippschild and Marta García Morcillo

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History, Moral and Power: The Ancient World in Nineteenth-Century Spanish History Painting¹

Antonio Duplá

*Historia vero testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae,
nuntia vetustatis, qua voce nisi oratoris immortalitati commendatur?*

Cicero, *De Oratore* 2.36

Traiter l'histoire ancienne, c'est compiler, me semble, quelques vérités avec mille mensonges. Cette histoire n'est peut-être utile que de la même manière dont l'est la fable: par de grands événements qui font le sujet perpétuelle de nos tableaux, de nos poèmes, de nos conversations, et dont on tire des traits de morale.

Voltaire, *Nouvelles considérations sur l'histoire*

Estragon: *Who believes him?*

Vladimir: *Everybody. It's the only version they know.*

Samuel Beckett, *Waiting for Godot*

Exploring the connections between seduction, power and history, one possible conclusion is that power has been traditionally seduced by history because of the potential capacity of the latter to legitimate a political system, to add prestige to it through examples from the past and to educate the population in a previously defined way.² In this context, history painting can be one of the most efficient tools to achieve all these functions.³

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, history painting has been, for different reasons, somewhat discredited. The attitude of both the political authorities and the public has changed when faced with the main themes of these paintings, i.e. war linked to national pride and patriotism. Photography has replaced it as the principal vehicle through which art reflects reality. However, until the twentieth century this genre was of central importance and its subjects

were favourites in competitions sponsored by the Academies of Arts.⁴ These paintings, for the most part of huge dimensions and with an evident sense of theatricality, usually adorned royal palaces and the castles and mansions of the aristocracy. An example of this can be seen at Hampton Court Palace, where we find *Julius Caesar on his Triumphal Chariot*, painted by Mantegna at the Italian court of the Gonzagas in Mantua, acquired by Charles I in 1629 and exhibited there since 1630. Later on, after the French Revolution, when constitutions were rewritten and monarchs were expelled or were sharing power with newly created parliaments, such paintings adorned the parliamentary halls, as we can see in the Houses of Parliament in London, the Rotunda of the Capitol in Washington DC, or the Senate's House in Madrid.

If we consider undertaking a brief review of the development of this genre, we ought to start in the ancient world, where such paintings were important, as Pliny the Elder highlights in his *Naturalis Historia* (book 25). Nevertheless, the scarcity of data means we have little specific evidence.⁵ If we look at more recent times, the rise of history painting can be traced back to the fifteenth century and, in particular, to the work of L. B. Alberti, *Della pittura*, published in 1436. Alberti underlines the importance of the 'story' for the artist as means of provoking an emotional response.⁶ He emphasized the importance of antiquity as inspiration for themes and ideals. Rafael's *School of Athens* and the above-mentioned *Triumph of Caesar* by Mantegna are two of the most brilliant examples of the time.

From the very beginning, two distinctive characteristics distinguished the genre: important authorities (popes, kings and aristocrats) sponsored the paintings, which portrayed a set of political and moral values that were tailored to the ones of the patrons who commissioned the works. In the seventeenth century, the genre became increasingly important, bringing forth remarkable examples like Velazquez's *The Surrender at Breda*, which combines historical accuracy with an idealized presentation of the victorious Spanish general, respectful and magnanimous towards his defeated rival.

The political changes introduced by the Enlightenment and, most particularly, by the French and American Revolutions, with their emphasis on new collective values and new national identities, contributed to the prominence of these paintings. From then on, governments either worked together with or replaced the powers which had been the sponsors of these paintings; the artworks now decorated focal points of political life, such as parliaments, offices and national libraries. Academies of Art favoured the genre in their competitions, conscious of the technical skill required

by these paintings and the chance they offered of depicting politically and socially relevant topics.⁷

At the time of the French Revolution, we encounter in Jean Louis David's work one of the pinnacles of the pictorial use of the past, and particularly of the ancient world, as source of creating legitimacy for the new power of the people and, at the same time, as an instrument to educate the population. The didactic character of these paintings became more prominent and constituted another essential aspect.⁸ However, the end of the eighteenth century witnessed a serious controversy around the realism of these works, when the British painter Benjamin West, the director of the Royal Academy, Sir Joshua Reynolds and other art critics and intellectuals debated whether the portrayal of historical truth ought not to be coupled with traditional idealization.⁹ Finally, the genre adopted both perspectives, the more realistic espoused by West and the more idealistic by David.

The rise of nationalism in the nineteenth century and the creation of new states (or the rebuilding of old ones) offered fresh possibilities for history paintings as key factors in constructing a glorious national history and presenting it to a wide public. E. Leutze's *Washington crossing the Delaware* (1851) is a fine example, which was admired by multitudes in different cities of the USA before being installed in Washington DC.¹⁰

History painting in Spain: a mirror of national identity

History painting is of particular relevance as a 'text', the meaning of which is linked directly to the period when it was created as well as to the subject. Carlos Reyero, one of the leading Spanish scholars of this genre, said that the most important dimension of nineteenth-century history painting in Spain was probably the fact that it was a 'mirror of national identity'.¹¹

We could describe it as the genre *par excellence* in the nineteenth century, in close relation to the government and the political and cultural institutions.¹² This period witnessed the decline of religious painting as a result of the loss of prominence of the Catholic Church. Nonetheless, in the nineteenth century – which began with a war of independence, followed by the absolutist restoration and ended with growing social unrest – Spain was fundamentally monarchist and conservative. Progressive and republican intervals were but short-lived.¹³

It must be pointed out that we are looking at a particular form of history in this genre: history as a series of specific events led by specific characters.¹⁴

It is the same perception of history we encounter also in other media centring on classical reception, such as in films or comics.¹⁵ History painting portrays heroes, anonymous or individualized, but always extraordinary. There are no images of local customs and manners or of daily life. The characters are always driven by exceptional causes, generally having a favourable outcome – even if is just a moral *exemplum*. They are like martyrs or saints among lays, always surrounded by a Davidian tragic element. They are like the tools of destiny, at the service of the monarchy and Spain, such as the conquistadores in America.¹⁶ At times we encounter a form of tragic heroism – what matters is not the outcome, but the spirit in which a situation is faced. One such case is Seneca, the Spaniard¹⁷, who escapes the tyrannical emperor Nero and his humiliation through his timely suicide.¹⁸ On other occasions the hero is collective and anonymous, as in the case of Numantia, to which we will come back below. Women are also depicted, in general, to highlight the ‘eternal feminine values’ of their role as wives and mothers. Although women were actually fighting in the War of Independence against Napoleon’s troops, their image in history painting remained traditional.¹⁹

Which are the dominant themes in this type of painting? As we have already stated, exaltation of supposed national values and the reconstruction of the nation’s past featured prominently.²⁰

In Spain, all successive governments, reasserting themselves after the war against Napoleon, celebrated the concept of independence, projected backwards to show the Spanish spirit of independence when fighting invaders. The most numerous group of paintings referred to the struggle against the Arabs in the Middle Ages (the *Reconquista*), although ancient history and subjects such as Numantia and Saguntum were also prominent (see below). The idea of unity, in line with the state’s centralizing policy during the nineteenth century, was also prevalent. Again, the alleged historical predestination of the Spanish nation was bandied about, with the Visigothic kingdom appearing as the earliest instance of religious and political unity.²¹ The past was the subject of glorious exaltation, especially wars, conquests and battles, which included defeats such as Trafalgar, praising the patriotism and courage of the vanquished. The conquest of America and the Spanish empire were also favourite subjects; their popularity was based to a great extent on nostalgia, given Spain’s socio-economic situation in the nineteenth century. The Spanish character was another important topic; it was depicted as steadfast and distinctive since the remotest of times. This temperament was perceived to be defined by military genius, fighting spirit and popular drive, as represented by

the celebrated Viriathus fighting for freedom against the Romans (see below). Additional characteristics were honour, *bonhomie*, austerity and sobriety. Even a somewhat tragic life, such as Seneca's, could well be an embodiment of the Spanish character.²²

In some specific cases, the claim to one's own national history, as in Catalonia, was combined with local pride. Local academies disseminated local topics that would have contributed to their prestige. Thus, the Academy of Cadiz announced a competition with the subject of 'Julius Caesar's visit to the temple of Hercules in Cadiz'.²³

Freedom, understood as independence, was depicted as a value higher than life itself (see Numantia) and exalted within the framework of monarchy. In any event, the most liberal sectors promoted even retroactively towards the past the vision of a form of monarchy whose power was limited by other forms of authority. As regards morals, the most celebrated virtues were piety, loyalty, mercy and chastity, as well as love in wedlock, often depicted through characters and events of antiquity. A specific example of this is *The continence of Scipio*, by Federico de Madrazo (1831), a subject chosen by the Academia de San Fernando, securing Madrazo's admission as a member.²⁴ Since its foundation in 1752, the Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando as well as local Academies introduced competitions centring on historical subjects, usually drawing on currently popular books of Spanish history. The winners of these competitions were often granted a scholarship for a stay at the most important art centres of the time, Paris and Rome. This procedure was common throughout Europe.²⁵ In the case of Spain in the early nineteenth century, several of these interns completed their training in Paris as pupils of David himself. While the relationship between art and revolutionary ideals could not be the same in France and in Spain, these painters took over the general features of Davidian painting; its moralizing and exemplifying, as well as its solemn nature and theatrical composition.

The ultimate public success of history painting took place from 1856 onwards, when the government of Isabel II created the biannual National Exhibition of Fine Arts. The awards repeatedly favoured historical topics, including antiquity, and the state purchased the winning paintings. These works entered royal collections, or were used by the central government or regional authorities to decorate public buildings and teaching institutions.²⁶

It is interesting to note that in the last few decades of the century, the triumph of realism worked remarkable changes in the genre, which began to decline. Artistic elements gained prominence as opposed to the theme of the painting,

common people were frequently subjects rather than the hero, and the negative aspects of formerly celebrated themes were underlined.²⁷

The Middle Ages were the most fertile period in Spanish history painting, especially the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain during the second half of the fifteenth century, which saw political centralization, religious unity, the defeat and expulsion of the Arabs, and Christopher Columbus' discovery of America. However, antiquity was also a popular subject throughout the century.

Antiquity as a theme: from Viriathus to Numantia

In general, antiquity evoked a mythical-historical past of heroic deeds performed by characters driven by noble ideals. To a large extent, this is the dominant view of the ancient world adopted in Western modernity, in particular from the eighteenth century onwards.²⁸

All this was propitiated because the historical sources available to the artists perfectly fit the parameters of the genre. These included popular ancient sources, such as Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* or Livy, and works on the history of Spain (e.g. by Padre Mariana or Modesto Lafuente), which presented outstanding dramatic events, heroic characters and exemplifying and moralizing narrations.²⁹

Within the genre of history painting, the representation of Roman history took centre stage.³⁰ Few artists were drawn to Greek subjects, which remained marginal, perhaps because they offered fewer direct links to Spanish history.³¹ In the last third of the century a spectacular vision of the Roman past prevailed, coupled with the reflection on the end of an era, brought about by the migration of nations. At this point, the perceived corruption, decadence and brutality of Rome were emphasized. The representations of the deaths of prominent characters of Roman history (e.g. Caesar, Agrippina, Lucan and Sertorius) were also popular. In addition to influences from Europe, especially from France, it is possible that this growing pessimism was connected to the domestic situation in Spain. There was not much room for glorious triumphalism or imperial exaltation.

Some specific examples

The first painting deserving comment is *Cincinnatus leaving the plough to bring Law to Rome* (Figure 43). The painting by Juan Antonio Ribera is considered a masterpiece of Spanish neoclassicism. Ribera painted it between 1804–7 in



Figure 43. *Cincinnatus leaving the plough to bring Law to Rome* by J. A. Rivera. © El Prado Museum.

Paris, as a pupil of David's who congratulated and embraced him in front of his other disciples when he saw the painting. Ribera sent his work to King Carlos IV and it became part of the Royal Collections.³²

The theme is well known: the renowned Roman dictator was according to Livy ploughing his fields when he was appointed dictator by the senate to save Rome from the attack of the Aequi; after defeating the enemy and celebrating the triumph he resigned from his position and returned to his farm.³³ Cincinnatus is traditionally perceived as a model of selfless dedication to the nation without seeking power, of frugality and of a simple and austere way of life; he can also serve as justification for provisional dictatorships for the good of the nation. Ribera dedicated it to his king, who had been forced to abdicate and go into exile in Rome during the War of Independence; in other words, he had also made a sacrifice for the sake of his country. The composition is typically neoclassical: the life-like figures are arranged as a frieze in a solemn attitude; the main group consists of Cincinnatus and two senators; the entire setting evokes the humble life led by Cincinnatus; his attire contrasts strikingly with that of the senators and the purple gown they offer to him; the plough, the oxen, the house and the image of the god Terminus round up the picture. Originally placed in a



Figure 44. *Death of Viriathus*, by Federico de Madrazo. Courtesy of The Picture Desk.

building, which the Municipality of Madrid presented to Fernando VII's wife, it was later moved to the Museo del Prado.

Another splendid example of Spanish neoclassical painting is *The death of Viriathus, chieftain of the Lusitanians*, by José de Madrazo (Figure 44).³⁴ Madrazo created this work in Rome around 1808, when he and other painters sponsored by Carlos IV accompanied the king into exile. Madrazo had previously completed his training in Paris with David.

This is an episode from antiquity, which linked directly to Spanish history: Viriathus was the leader of the Lusitanians in the wars against Rome during the middle of the second century BCE. He was murdered in 139 BCE by his commanders Audax, Ditalcus and Minurus, who had been bribed by the Roman general Servilius Caepio.³⁵ The officers find the corpse of their leader, weep for their loss and bemoan their fate, while other figures to the right clamour for vengeance. The dead general with a wounded neck is the focal point of the painting, along with his servants and commanders hurling themselves on the corpse. We can glimpse the camp in the background. The work was conceived by Madrazo as part of a series of paintings representing Spanish resistance against conquerors, which was inspired by fervent patriotism, although this was the only painting he actually completed. The scene represented was designed to arouse suppressed emotions. Viriathus was employed as example of self-sacrifice,

defending the freedom of the nation against the invader, a direct reference to Napoleon's invasion. In addition, his courage as leader, unbeaten on the battlefield, was praised. Such courage could only be defeated by treachery. This is another clear example of history painting employed as a tool to instruct and enlighten. It conforms to the strict parameters of neoclassical painting: monumental approach (the painting measures 3 metres by 4.65 metres), the scene set in the form of a relief, heroic and solemn attitudes in line with the importance of the topic, and theatrical display. It is a truly Davidian composition.

The painting, which was displayed at the Academia de San Fernando and has been at the Prado since 1828, met opposing opinions when it arrived in Spain; poems and comments praising or severely criticizing it alternate. Some critics were dissatisfied by the anachronism in apparel and weaponry or the fact that Viriathus looked asleep rather than dead; others criticized 'the tyranny of the intolerable Jacobin David' and the imitation of statues and ancient reliefs.³⁶ Nonetheless, the painting has always been admired not only for its technical skill, but also because it alludes to one of the most celebrated characters of Spanish ancient history. Viriathus, the indomitable 'Lusitanian shepherd', sums up all the stereotypes of nineteenth century nationalism in Spain.³⁷

Another favourite topic of the history of Spain was the alleged mass sacrifice of an entire city faced with falling into the hands of a foreign invader. The first example of such a painting was *Final day of Saguntum*, painted in Rome in 1869 by Francisco Domingo Marqués, who held a scholarship from the Diputación Provincial de Valencia, which asked for a history painting as proof of his achievements.³⁸ Domingo Marqués chose an epic episode of the ancient world, which was a landmark of local history.

In the year 219 BCE, after a long siege, the troops of Hannibal conquered the city of Saguntum, an ally of Rome, but the local population chose to die rather than to be captured.³⁹ In this scene, Hannibal in his chariot exhorts his troops to put an end to Saguntum's resistance; amid scattered corpses a woman tries to stop the chariot, while smoke from the burning city dominates the background. Beyond any discussion of the alleged *casus belli* of the Second Punic War, Saguntum's name is legend in Spanish ancient history and a further example of the (supposed) indomitable nature of the Spanish, preferring death to losing freedom to a foreign conqueror.

Here, a local event was employed to represent a general vision of heroism and the meaning of life and death. The title underlined the city's fate, but the most fundamental element was the characterization of the deaths as noble and heroic, an obvious parallel to the theme of Numantia, much portrayed in



Figure 45. *The final Day of Numantia*, by A. Vera Estaca. © El Prado Museum.

nineteenth-century painting (below). In contrast to colder and plainer neoclassical aesthetics, with which the artist was familiar (e.g. the works above), we see here an explosion of colour, movement and agitation of a Romantic nature, probably influenced by some French Romantic painters like Géricault or Delacroix.

Although the painting received critical acclaim, praising the composition and the tragic and epic sense of the scene, it was not successful at the National Exhibition of 1871.

Having alluded to Numantia frequently, the next work, once again of monumental proportions (3.35 meters by 5.00 meters), finally takes us to the famous Celtiberian city. *Numantia*, also known as *The final day of Numantia*, is one of the most famous works by Alejo Vera (Figure 45). Painted in Rome in 1881 and sent to Spain during his second year as a scholar of the Academia Española in Rome, it was awarded a medal at the National Exhibition in 1881.⁴⁰

The theme has often been employed in Spain to symbolize the spirit of independence and the fight for freedom and has been recreated not only in history books, but also in literature from Cervantes to the communist poet Rafael Alberti.⁴¹ This event of the Celtiberian Wars in the middle of the second century BCE had enormous dramatic force and is highlighted even by ancient sources as a particularly difficult period of the wars fought in Hispania.⁴² In the scene we see a man stabbing himself in the side after having killed his wife and

son, while behind him a woman drinks yew juice to poison herself as an old man begs a soldier to kill him. On the right, by the Cyclopean wall, a group of Roman soldiers contemplate the scene in horror. Here, as in *Saguntum* and in line with the *Zeitgeist*, the focus is not an individual hero but the collective of the people, their love of their nation, and their resistance against the invader.

The scene is clearly theatrical, the positions of the figures artificial. This was strongly criticized at the time, as was the presence of the wall, because archaeological excavations in Numantia already underway at the time did not provide any evidence of its existence.⁴³ The controversy about the wall of Numantia goes back to antiquity and the testimonies of Appian and Florus.⁴⁴ Despite the criticism, the work achieved great success and remains to some extent the most important image of Numantia in Spanish society, because it is regularly reproduced in textbooks and manuals on Spanish history.⁴⁵

The last work is a splendid example of Romantic art, which is also now on display at the Prado. It is *The death of Lucretia* by Eduardo Rosales (Figure 46), awarded first prize at the National Exhibition of 1871.⁴⁶ If we compare it with the first paintings discussed, its formal structure differs completely to Madrazo's or Ribera's works; it is more modern, less rigid, with more colour and movement. We are far from Davidian aesthetics and closer to the Romantic



Figure 46. *Death of Lucretia*, by Eduardo Rosales. Courtesy of The Picture Desk.

style. Nevertheless, antiquity continues to be the source of exemplifying events, as it was in the first decades of the century. The subject is honourable death; the agony of a virtuous woman, whose death brings about momentous political events. It also praises marital fidelity.

Lucretia, a Roman patrician and upright woman, is raped by Sextus Tarquinius, the son of Tarquinius Superbus and cousin to her husband, Tarquinius Collatinus; after informing her father and husband, she kills herself with a dagger while the others clamour for revenge. As her father and husband hold Lucretia, who lies inert to the right, Brutus, brandishing a dagger, swears revenge, while a fifth person, presumably Valerius, is weeping. The composition is simple and intimate; the archaeologically plausible setting is somewhat austere, which stresses the importance of the occasion.⁴⁷ The outcome is known to the viewer: the episode triggered the events which, according to Livy, resulted in the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus in 506 and the proclamation of the Republic by a group of aristocrats led by L. Junius Brutus.⁴⁸

The artist was very proud of his work, despite some unfavourable opinions criticizing its thick brushstrokes and the lack of attention to the drawing or even the 'plebeian vulgarity of the characters.'⁴⁹ This last reproach is reminiscent of the above-mentioned controversy between West and Reynolds on veracity versus idealization.⁵⁰ However, to some viewers the authenticity and the technique represent the formal modernity of the painting, whose creator stated that his intention was to move the spectator by depicting the characters life-like and not as if they were statues.

Conclusion

As discussed above, the genre of history painting experienced a decline, or perhaps a transformation, in the last decades of the nineteenth century. This becomes clear when we contemplate the enormous distance separating the period of the height of the genre from more recent work, which could perhaps be considered history painting: *Guernica*, by Picasso, and more recently, *Hermanns Schlacht*, by the German artist Anselm Kiefer.

Notes

- 1 Translated by Rosa Ania and Noel Murphy. This chapter is only a very short approach to a subject, which deserves and awaits a deeper and more exhaustive treatment. I am very grateful to the editors, Silke Knippschild and Marta García Morcillo, for their helpful comments.
- 2 Ames (1993: 223) underlines the close connection between history and power.
- 3 This perspective assumes a close connection between past and present and, therefore, fits well within the framework of modern theories on 'reception' in Classical Studies. See Martindale 2006.
- 4 Calvo Serraller 2005: 29ff.
- 5 Hoesch 1999.
- 6 'Amplissimum pictoris opus non colossus sed historia. Maior enim est ingenii laus in historia quam colosso' (*De pictura* II), cited by Calvo Serraller 2005: 19 in a chapter significantly entitled 'De las historias inmortales a la muerte de la historia' ('From immortal stories to the death of History'); Scharf 2000 also begins with Alberti; Mitnik 1993: 23ff.
- 7 On the key role of antiquity in the eighteenth century see Faroult, Leribault and Scherf 2010.
- 8 On David, history painting and antiquity see Schnepper 1980.
- 9 'I consider myself as undertaking to tell this great event to the eye of the world; but if, instead of the facts of the transaction, I represent classical fictions, how shall I be understood by posterity?' West; cf. the words of Reynolds: '[the painter] must sometimes deviate from vulgar and strict historical truth, in pursuing the grandeur of his design', cited in Mitnik 1993: 31. The debate was sparked by West's painting *The Death of General Wolfe* (1770–6), which the Royal Academy initially refused to buy, Cannon-Brookes 1991: 15ff.
- 10 Ayres 1993: 17.
- 11 Reyero 1989: 109. This author studies Spanish nationalism through history painting.
- 12 The general artistic evolution during this century, from neoclassical painting to Romanticism and Realism, also reflects in the evolution of this genre. The opening of the new halls devoted to the nineteenth century two years ago in the Museo del Prado offers fresh possibilities to experience this genre (De Diego 2009), including a number of the paintings in this chapter.
- 13 For a very suggestive approach to the idea of Spain in the nineteenth century see Álvarez Junco 2001; on the historiography of that century, Pasamar and Peiró 1987; on historiography and ancient Rome, Wulff 2007.
- 14 This perception of the nature of history can be traced back to Herodotus, Sciortino 2008: 209.

- 15 See, for example, Shanower and Lindner, this volume. On the intentional misrepresentation of such leading characters see Pina Polo and García, this volume.
- 16 Reyeró 1989: 150ff.
- 17 In nineteenth century Spain, Seneca is considered to be a Spaniard like any other living person. For Juan Gil (1998) it is quite incorrect to talk about 'Spanish' authors in Roman times, because Spain did not yet exist. He prefers to talk about these authors as 'hispanorromanos' or even 'creole' authors.
- 18 Manuel Domínguez y Sánchez painted the scene in 1871 in his *Séneca, después de abrirse las venas, se mete en un baño y sus amigos, poseídos de dolor, juran odio a Nerón que decretó la muerte de su maestro* ('After cutting his veins, Seneca gets into the bath, while his sorrowful friends swear hatred towards Nero, who ordered the death of their teacher'), also known as *La muerte de Séneca* ('The Death of Seneca'); Díez 1992: 292–7.
- 19 Angelica Kauffmann's *Cornelia, Mother of the Gracchi* (1785) is a well known work of the previous century on the subject of Cornelia as an exemplary mother. Spanish examples are works by Antonio Caba, Isidoro Lozano and Germán Hernández Amores. Cornelia was also the subject chosen as official exercise by the Academy of San Fernando in 1852; see Reyeró 1992: 38.
- 20 Reyeró 1989: 129ff.
- 21 On the Visigothic kingdom in Spain, cf., e.g. the paintings *Wamba renunciando a la corona* ('Wamba rejecting the crown') by Juan Antonio Ribera y Fernández (c. 1819; Díez 1992: 132–5), and *La conversion de Recaredo* (*The conversion of Reccared*) by Antonio Muñoz Degrain (1888, now in a hall of the house of the Senate in Madrid; Díez 1992: 436–41).
- 22 In the mid-forties of the twentieth century these were still dominant notions in Spanish historiography; see Menéndez Pidal, 1991. His text, originally dated 1947, was the 'Introduction' to what was until then the most important edited *History of Spain*, a huge collective project directed by Menéndez Pidal. Hillgarth (1985) finds the origin of this notion of 'eternal Spain' in *Isidore of Sevilla* (seventh century).
- 23 See *César visitando el templo de Hércules en Gades*, by Federico Godoy y Castro (1894).
- 24 Díez 1992.
- 25 An example of this can be found in Goya's life, who when visiting Italy in 1770 took part in a competition announced by the Academy of Parma on the topic '*Annibale vincitore, che rimiro la prima volta dalle Alpi l'Italia*'. Goya won a special mention from the jury, Sureda 2008:115ff.
- 26 Martín Bourgón 2000.
- 27 Social condemnation begins to appear in history painting at the end of the century; *La carga* (*The Charge*) by Ramón Casas, showing the mounted police charging a workers' demonstration, was awarded a medal at the National Exhibition of 1904

- (Díez 1992: 460–8). This is a good example of the changes within the genre, in the tastes of the public and in the sensitivity of the panels and critics.
- 28 Reyero 1992: 37ff.
- 29 Wulff 1994; 2003.
- 30 García Cardiel 2010.
- 31 Hernández Amores was one of these very few artists; see his 1857 painting *Sócrates reprendiendo a Alcibiades en casa de una cortesana* (*Socrates reprimanding Alcibiades in the house of a courtesan*) in Díez 1992: 176–9. The subject was quite popular in European painting, cf. Regnault *Socrates Tears Alcibiades from the Embrace of Sensual Pleasure* (1785); on Hernández Amores, see Páez Burruezo 1995. See also Leshner 2008.
- 32 *Cincinato abandona el arado para dictar leyes a Roma*, Díez 1992: 120–3.
- 33 Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, Roman dictator in 458 BC (Liv. 3.26–29); all the sources in T. R. S. Broughton 1951, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, I, 39.
- 34 *La muerte de Viriato, jefe de los lusitanos*, Díez 1992: 124–31.
- 35 Liv. *Per.* 54; Val. Max. 9.6.4; Vell. Pat. 2.1.3; App. *Ib.* 70.74.
- 36 Cited in Díez 1992: 128.
- 37 There is even a recent Spanish TV series with Viriathus as protagonist. From a nationalistic point of view, Viriathus should strictly speaking be considered a ‘Portuguese’ hero (on the Viriathus’ myth, see Guerra and Fabiao 1992).
- 38 Díez 1992: 270–3.
- 39 Liv. 21.7–15.
- 40 *Numancia o El último día de Numancia*, Díez 1992: 330–5.
- 41 Jimeno Martínez and de la Torre Echávarri 2005: 127ff.; Cortadella 2005.
- 42 App. *Iber.* 89–98; Flor. 1.34 [2.18]; Vell. Pat. 2.1.3–4; Cic. *off.* 1.11; Oros. 5.7.
- 43 Jimeno Martínez and de la Torre Echávarri 2005: 139ff.
- 44 App. *Iber.* 90–1; Flor. 2.18.2; Oros 5.7.10.
- 45 On Numantia and history painting in Spain, see García Cardiel 2008.
- 46 *Muerte de Lucrecia*, Díez 1992: 278–91.
- 47 This is an interesting choice, as opposed to the more spectacular and political-historical viewpoint of other works on the same topic, such as Casto Plasencia’s *Origen de la República romana* (*The birth of the Roman Republic*), Díez 1992: 318–23.
- 48 Liv. 1.57–9; Cornell (1995: 215ff) analyses the literary tradition on the event.
- 49 That was the opinion of the critic A. Cañete, cited by Díez 1992: 287.
- 50 On West and Reynolds, see above and note 9.

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