



IMAGINES
CLASSICAL RECEPTIONS
IN THE VISUAL AND
PERFORMING ARTS

The Ancient Mediterranean Sea in Modern Visual and Performing Arts

Sailing in
Troubled Waters

EDITED BY
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B L O O M S B U R Y

The Image of Phoenicians and Carthaginians in Modern Spanish History and Culture¹

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Saguntum expressed that indomitable fierceness that so often characterised
the Spanish people.²
M. Lafuente, 1850

Let us deflate these big names: Sagunt, Numancia, Otumba, Lepanto, with
which our youth is poisoned in schools.³
J. Costa, 1901

Phoenicians and Carthaginians between the sea and Hannibal

The last time I heard of Carthage or anything related to the Phoenicians or Carthaginians, outside the academic milieu, was in the recent struggles between Israel and Hamas in Gaza in the summer of 2014. On one of those days, Palestinian militants ambushed Israeli troops and captured a soldier. The Israeli military commanders answered by invoking the ‘Hannibal Directive’, or Hannibal Doctrine, with a massive bombardment of the area involved. The Israeli military’s Hannibal Doctrine instructs soldiers to fire heavily if a comrade is taken captive by the enemy – even at the risk of killing the captive soldier.⁴ The name is claimed to have been randomly generated by a computer, but it immediately evokes certain specific historic events, and the symbolism is undeniable. Similarly, the name of Carthage, in this case synonymous with its most famous leader who chose to kill himself rather than risk being taken alive by his Roman enemies, is connected with war, death and dubious legality.⁵

We must add that the episode of Lieutenant Hadar Golding, killed by the Palestinians, provoked a tense debate in Israel about this controversial directive

and it seems that the Hannibal Directive has only very recently been revoked by Israeli military authorities.⁶

In fact, the history of Phoenicians and Carthaginians in Western historiography is one of the best examples of a history of stereotypes, prejudices and a partisan and distorted historical tradition that can be traced back to Homer and, later, to the Romans.

Perhaps this history would have been very different if the Carthaginians had won the Second Punic War in the third century BC, as the well-known science-fiction writer Poul Anderson invites us to imagine in a short story entitled *Delenda Est* within his novel *Time Patrol*.⁷ In the novel, 'time' police have to deal with the reshaping of the past and other potential parallel pasts, such as the one in which Hannibal conquered and burned Rome, with significant consequences for later European history.

However, leaving fictional history aside and returning to more solid terrain, we can read in the *Odyssey* that the Phoenicians are 'deceitful and greedy' and, while recognized as great mariners, they are cunning traders.⁸ Although for Pliny the Elder they were the inventors of trade,⁹ in the Roman tradition Cicero called them the most treacherous of all people; the *punica fides* is a synonym of treacherous behaviour, and, when speaking of Hannibal, he is described in Livy as 'cruel, perfidious, without fear of the gods or other religious scruple'.¹⁰ From this point onwards, the Phoenicians (and likely more so their successors, the Carthaginians) always had a very 'bad press' in history, literary fiction and in popular culture such as cinema.

As the Carthaginians are seen as threatening foreigners of eastern origin, it is thus not a surprise that cinematographic Carthage looks more like an Assyrian or Babylonian city than a particular model of a *polis* (as considered by Aristotle in his *Politics*).¹¹ We can also read in the work of a prominent historian such as Gaetano de Sanctis (in the fourth volume of his *Storia dei Romani*, published in 1964) that Carthage was 'un peso morto' (a 'dead weight') on classical civilization.¹²

The historiographical and cultural context to explain affirmations such as these is traced by Martin Bernal in his highly controversial book *Black Athena*.¹³ While it may be reasonable to give some credit to his critics, led by Mary Lefkowitz, based on the extreme radicalism of some of Bernal's ideas,¹⁴ he was undoubtedly right when he stressed the prejudices of modern Europe (eighteenth to twentieth centuries), with its eurocentrist, anti-Semitic and orientalist prejudices. The consequences for the modern construction of our image of Phoenicians and Carthaginians, with the classical roots mentioned earlier, are also evident. One of the most extreme of these consequences is the open racism

cultivated by fascist regimes, as can be seen in the journal published in Mussolini's Italy, *Difesa della Razza*, where we find on the cover of the first issue a clear division between Semitic and black people and the classical, 'Aryan', white model.¹⁵

Even today, in the Spanish language (as reflected in the last edition of the Dictionary of the Royal Academy of the Spanish Language), Fenicio (Phoenician), in its fourth meaning as an adjective, describes someone skilled in doing business and making maximal profit, but with a clearly negative, pejorative connotation.¹⁶

Within this sad history, perhaps the only positive figure (not historical, but fictional) we can find is the Punic queen Dido, presented in a more favourable and sympathetic way in Western culture such as literature, paintings and music, from Vergil to Purcell and Turner, among many others. In Dido's story, the sea – always the principal backdrop for the Carthaginian Empire – is also a central element, as the place where the heartbroken queen sees her beloved Aeneas abandoning her.¹⁷

If after these introductory considerations we turn to the more specific Spanish development, we are faced with an ambivalent situation. Considering that the Phoenicians were always presented as sailors and traders in our imagination, shaped mostly by the images in our schoolbooks, we inevitably see them exchanging their merchandise with natives on the beaches of southern Spain, their ships in the background. The Carthaginians, meanwhile, though they also arrived by sea and represented a powerful maritime empire, are directly equated with war, as embodied by the figure of Hannibal, his relatives and episodes of cruelty such as Saguntum.

Phoenicians and Carthaginians in Spanish historiography

The dominant Spanish historiography from medieval times until the twentieth century ran along the distorted path mentioned above. In our case, the troubled waters of the Mediterranean had a double-edged significance for historians and intellectuals during the centuries we will analyse. On the one hand, they meant the arrival of civilization, of new 'arts' and knowledge, of culture, of 'progress' in some sense, and it is here we find the Phoenicians. On the other hand, the sea was a vehicle for aggressive invaders and conquerors from various foreign lands, always attracted by the natural resources (agriculture, minerals, fishing and so on) of the Iberian Peninsula, especially in the East and the South; among the worst of those invaders were the Carthaginians. Ultimately, for the inhabitants of Saguntum, the town destroyed by Hannibal, the sea also meant the hope of a helping hand from the Roman side, which never arrived.¹⁸

In the traditional Spanish historical narrative, the Phoenicians went to ancient Spain in search of its natural riches and, as devious traders, deceived the simple and innocent Spaniards, who lived happy and free in some sort of paradise (see Fig. 12.1).¹⁹ The Carthaginians came with similar intentions (though with more imperialistic goals), but their plans faced an unexpected obstacle in the resistance of the Saguntins, a paradigm of Spanish heroism and love of independence.²⁰

Even as late as 1962, we can still read in a textbook for teenagers in middle school, 'The Phoenicians rendered a great contribution to civilization, developing and expanding the ideas from other peoples and teaching their alphabet; but, dominated by their greed, they were sometimes unfair in their trade business with the Spaniards'; and, of the Carthaginians, the conclusion (alluding, of course, to Saguntum) is, 'The courage, the heroic resistance to the death, is a permanent Spanish virtue.'²¹ In fact this narrative, based exclusively on the most anti-Punic ancient literary sources, remained unchallenged until the last decades of the last century.²²

The only alternative voices in this story can be found among certain members of the Spanish Enlightenment (such as Pedro Rodríguez Campomanes), who in the second half of the eighteenth century did not disguise their admiration for the Phoenicians and Carthaginians, which was likely related to the importance they attributed to the promotion of trade and commerce in Spain at this time. Campomanes, a brilliant historian, member of the Royal Academy of History and politician, translated the *Voyage of Hannon* in 1756.²³ We see similar points of view among other historians of the eighteenth century, including Juan Francisco Masdeu or the Mohedano brothers, Pedro and Rafael, all of whom venerated ancient Spain (particularly the South) as one of the oldest cultural centres in Europe, precisely thanks to the early presence of the Phoenicians there.²⁴

It is interesting to remind ourselves of the project for a new state called 'Nouvelle Phénicie' (New Phoenicia) that was proposed to Napoleon by the French politician and historian Joseph Dominique Garat in 1811, comprising all the Basque provinces in Spain and France, creating a new political entity between the Napoleonic Empire and the Spanish monarchy. Garat considered the Basques to be the oldest people in Spain, direct descendants of the ancient Phoenicians who were permanently opposed to the Romans, and also represented both peoples as excellent sailors. The sea played a central role in the plan, as the Basque ports were considered a fundamental component in the French naval strategy against Britain.²⁵

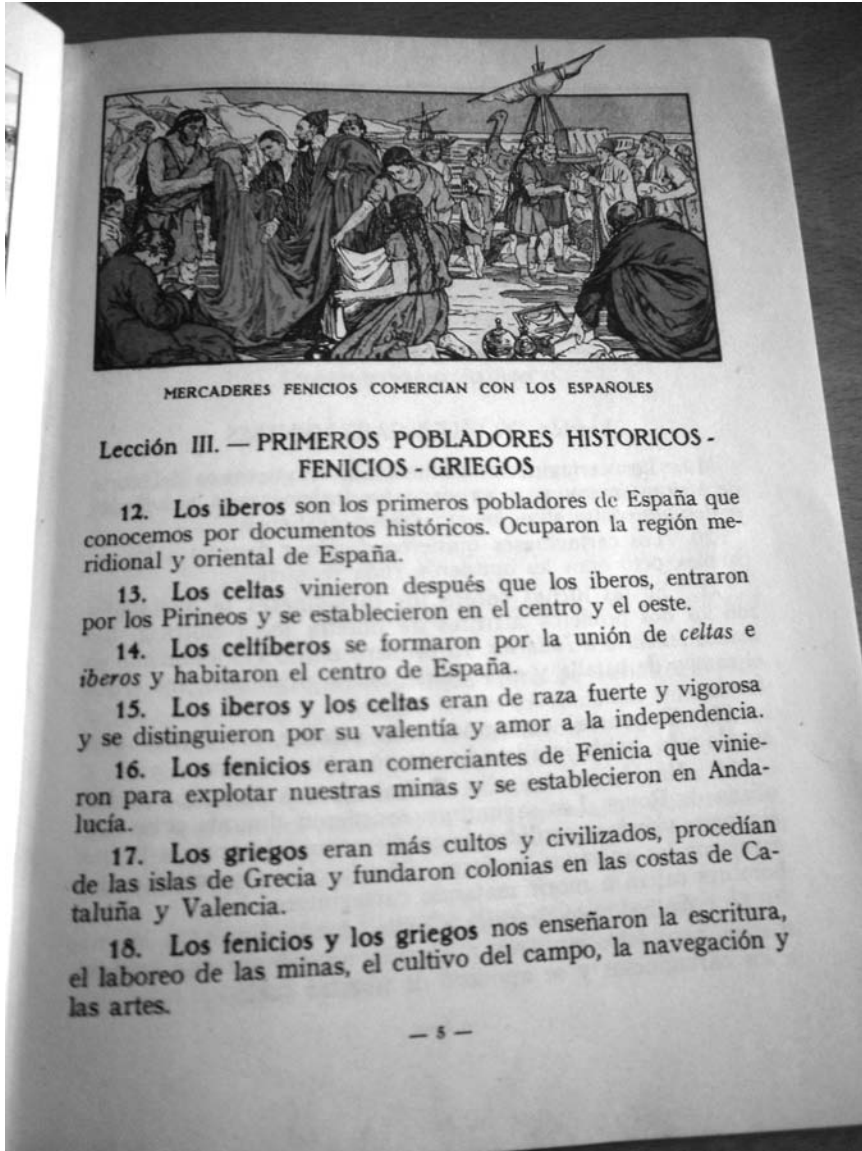


Fig. 12.1 Phoenician merchants doing business with the Spaniards.

However, after that short interval, during the next century Romanticism and liberalism returned to their traditional interpretations. With the War of Independence being fought against a Napoleonic army, the exaltation of Sagunt and Numancia as a model of national unity against foreign invaders rose to its

highest point. These episodes fed the nationalistic vision of the past as examples of that peculiar Spanish personality that is present from the earliest times. In both cases, Spanish people fought to the death, if necessary, against invaders who threatened their freedom and independence, a central topic in Spanish historiography, as I noted earlier, until the second half of the twentieth century.²⁶

The highly influential *History of Spain*, a work of great importance written in the nineteenth century by Modesto Lafuente (1850), a paradigm of the new liberal interpretation of national history, reproduced this image. A Spanish people, clearly defined from the earliest times, fought time and time again against different invaders.²⁷

The beginning of the twentieth century saw the academic authority of Adolf Schulten arrive in Spain as a German professor, and his vision of history as a confrontation between civilization (Greeks, Tartessians) and barbarism (Persians, Etruscans, Carthaginians) confirmed all of these theories and opinions.²⁸

Under Franco's regime, there was in fact nothing original, simply a deepening of the worst aspects of the traditional interpretation from an ultra-nationalistic, militaristic and ultra-Catholic point of view. I will mention only one very interesting work by one of the most important intellectuals who supported Franco's regime in Spain, José M^a Pemán, author of the *Historia de España contada con sencillez* (History of Spain narrated with simplicity) in 1938 (Third -III- Year of Victory, a Franquist era), theoretically dedicated to the youth but with a *de facto* wider audience. There we can read parallels between the Phoenicians and England, both of whom were enterprising people, strong sailors, always ready for trade. For Sagunt and the death of its inhabitants, Pemán had to explain that the Saguntins did not know the Christian doctrine whereby suicide is forbidden, but that their sacrifice was one of enormous dignity and courage.²⁹ Later, he wrote that the siege of the Alcazar in Toledo in 1936, a very well-known episode in the Spanish Civil War,³⁰ was a 'Christian Sagunt'.

It is also possible to find examples of these opinions in popular culture, as we see in a collection of historical stories for the young published in Barcelona in 1936. In the seventh issue, *The market of Gadir*, we read of Galvelím, the owner of a tavern, 'a prototype of Phoenicians, that is, first of all businessman, and, therefore, greatly adaptable, a bit deceitful, dishonest and ambitious.'³¹

Naturally, due to the importance that episodes such as Saguntum or Numantia have for the building of a national identity, we can also find them in the political arena; here I will give only three brief examples.

Firstly, we know that the parliament that assembled in Cádiz (the so-called Cortes de Cádiz), during the war against the French, dedicated a session in May

1811 to the theatre of Sagunt in one of the first debates we know concerning the notion of heritage as a component of national collective identity.³²

Later, in 1870, when arguing over the abolition of slavery in the colonies, a parliamentarian in Madrid, Francisco Romero Robledo, a representative from Málaga, considered the Spanish volunteers in Cuba to be ‘dignified descendants of the defenders in Sagunt and Numancia.’³³

My third example, in a very different historical context, is a most interesting stamp, edited by the Spanish Republic in 1938, that honours the industrial workers of Sagunt, in a moment when the city was being heavily bombarded by the fascists. In the foreground of the picture we see the famous sculpture of Agustín Querol, dedicated to ancient Sagunt (*The suicide of Sagunt*, 1888).³⁴

Historical painting

Regarding the presence of the Carthaginians in modern Spanish painting, though without the nationalistic connotations we will mention below, we find a splendid work by Francisco de Goya, *Annibale vincitore, che rimira la prima volta dalle Alpi l’Italia* (Hannibal, victorious, seeing Italy for the first time from the Alps), which he presented in 1770 when visiting Italy in a competition on the topic organized by the Academy of Parma. With this work, Goya received a special mention from the jury (see Fig. 12.2).³⁵

Setting aside this work to look at the political dimensions of historical painting, we cannot forget that – to quote the words of a specialist in this genre, Carlos Reyero – ‘the most important dimension of nineteenth century historic painting in Spain was probably the fact that it was a “mirror of national identity”’.³⁶ According to this assertion, as artists searched for glorious moments of the past to recreate, the sea fell into the background, as it does not act as the setting for any of those moments. However, the battles of Hannibal and other Carthaginian commanders against various indigenous peoples on Spanish soil offered more interesting possibilities.

As such, and leaving aside the mythical stories of Hercules, Arganthonius and other ancient fictional figures, the Saguntine War was (strictly speaking) the first great historical Spanish episode reflected in paintings. The topic followed the dominant interpretation within the nineteenth century, with the main themes being the perfidy of Hannibal, the heroism of the Saguntins and the destruction of the city. We know of several different paintings of the event, some of them unfinished,³⁷ while others have been forgotten or disappeared, such as the



Fig. 12.2 Francisco de Goya, *Annibale vincitore, che rimiro la prima volta dalle Alpi l'Italia*, 1770.

interesting painting *The sacrifice of the Saguntine women* by María Soledad Garrido y Agudo, who entered this work in the National Exhibition of 1878. Critics wrote harshly of the work, one review of the exhibition commenting that it ‘sets your teeth on edge’.³⁸

We also have another painting by Ricardo Alós y Sera, with the conventional title *The final day of Sagunt*, but the most famous – later reprinted in many schoolbooks – is that painted by Domingo Marqués while studying in Rome in 1869 with a scholarship from the Diputación Provincial (the County Council) of Valencia, *Last day of Sagunt*. It was presented to the National Exhibition in 1871, where the painter obtained a First Medal, though for another religious painting entitled *Santa Clara*.³⁹

In the painting of most interest to us, *Last day of Sagunt* (see Fig. 12.3), 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.⁴⁰ As we have already noted, and aside from any discussion of the alleged *casus belli* of the Second Punic War, Saguntum’s name is a legend in ancient Spanish history as a splendid exemplar of the indomitable nature of the Spanish, preferring death over losing their freedom to a foreign conqueror.⁴¹



Fig. 12.3 Francisco Domingo Marqués, *Last day of Sagunt*, 1869.

Here, a local tragedy was employed to represent a more general vision of heroism and the meaning of life and death. The title highlighted 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 nineteenth-century painting. Seeing the explosion of colour, movement and romanticized tension, some critics have noted a possible influence from certain French Romantic painters, such as Théodore Géricault or Eugène Delacroix. More recently, a possible inspiration for certain elements, especially those around the figure of Hannibal on the right of the picture, has been identified in the so-called 'Alexander mosaic' from Pompeii, discovered in 1830 and likely seen by Domingo Marqués.⁴² Quesada also mentions the difficulties for the painter in reconstructing the weapons and clothes of the Saguntins and their enemies, due to the limited archaeological knowledge about those elements in his time. Particularly anachronistic, in his opinion, is Hannibal's chariot, which bears no relation to the Punic army in the third century BC. The painting was reproduced in many schoolbooks, as was the case with the painting of Numancia by Alejo Vera.

Regarding the visual arts and our topic, it is also interesting to note the famous sculpture by Agustín Querol dedicated to Sagunt, mentioned above. Agustín Querol (1860–1909) was a renowned Spanish sculptor with several works in Spain and Latin America, among them the tympanum of the National

Library in Madrid.⁴³ The very melodramatic *Sagunt* (or *The suicide of Sagunt*) portrays a woman killing herself with a dagger in her hand, her dead child laid upon her body. With this sculpture, now in Buenos Aires and the Museo del Prado in Madrid, Querol obtained First Prize in the 1888 World Exhibition in Barcelona.

Literary fiction

In terms of literature, there have been several dramas, particularly focusing on the destruction of Sagunt, from the sixteenth century onwards.⁴⁴ There is even an epic poem written in Latin at the beginning of the eighteenth century, *Saguntineida* by José Manuel Miñana,⁴⁵ which follows the Homeric and Vergilian model, as well as a number of historical novels.

It is no surprise that many of these pieces have an explicitly didactic and patriotic intention, as is the case with the historical paintings and sculptures mentioned above, and that they are thought to be a contribution to the national sentiment. As such, the sea generally played only a supporting role. On the other hand, within the so-called 'neoclassical tragedies' from the eighteenth century onwards that feature Sagunt and Numancia as central topics, the new importance given to historical accuracy is remarkable, at least when read in conjunction with what ancient authors stated on the topic. Particularly during the second half of the nineteenth century, when the rate of new archaeological discoveries was increasing fast, this new information was incorporated by the authors, as can be seen throughout the genre of Western historical novels on antiquity (Edward Bulwer-Lytton, Lew Wallace, Henryk Sienkiewicz etc.). One example of this trend is the historical novel *Last days of Sagunt or Ergasto y Belenna. An original historical novel*, published by Carlos Nicolás de Palomera in 1863, with prints by Eusebio Planas, which included a short historical introduction.⁴⁶

Among the most well-known tragedies that feature the destruction of Sagunt as a central topic, *The destruction of Sagunto*, published by Gaspar Zavala y Zamora in 1787, presents all the usual historiographical stereotypes, including the heroism of the Saguntins, Hannibal's cruelty and division among the Spaniards (traditionally one of the main reasons for their defeat).⁴⁷ The popularity of the topic is confirmed by works such as *The tragedy of Sagunt. A tragical-historical piece in verse*,⁴⁸ written by Francisco Pi y Arsuaga in 1876 and included in a collection of short theatrical pieces directed at the young with an explicit educational intent. Of course, we also have certain pieces from Franco's times,

when this sort of exaltation of national heroism in the face of foreign invaders was particularly promoted by the government, as is again the case with José María Pemán, the author of *The destruction of Sagunt*, a tragedy in verse. The premiere of this drama was in fact performed at the Roman theatre in Sagunt, and, as can be read in the introduction to the text, with the sea, the *Mare Nostrum*, as a magnificent element of the background.⁴⁹

It is important to state that very often in this kind of literature history there is a pretence of a romantic plot or love story. The two protagonists, in their highly detailed surroundings, are usually placed at opposite extremes: heroic, noble Spaniards against cruel, treacherous Carthaginians.

Probably the most paradigmatic example of this is a novel published in 1901 by the extremely popular Spanish writer Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, entitled *Sonnica the courtesan*, whose story is set in Sagunt while besieged by Hannibal. Displaying a great deal of effort in its research, the author meticulously describes the buildings, clothes, coins, parties and so on, although the fundamental point is the love story between the protagonist couple, who are both Greek, cultured and beautiful, surrounded by heroic Saguntins, cowardly Phoenicians, the arrogant and cruel Hannibal, and so on.⁵⁰

Continuing in the literary field (though within a different sub-genre), we again find the Carthaginians presented in a negative manner by a very popular Spanish comic from the 1950s and 1960s, *El Jabato*. Here we have a young Iberian (and Christian) fighter, always accompanied by his friends Taurus and Fideus, who falls in love with a young Roman patrician, Claudia. In one of the first issues, El Jabato and his friends are lost in an unnamed place in Africa, when they are captured by the Carthaginians who, as usual, are a paradigm of arrogance, cruelty and unfairness; in this case, however, they are not in any way linked with the sea.⁵¹

A final consideration

Historically speaking, Phoenicians and Carthaginians inevitably appear as people primarily related to the sea: as sailors, merchants and warriors, for whom the Mediterranean or even the Atlantic was the natural setting for their travels, exchanges and combats. However, if we consider their representation in paintings, drama or music within Spanish cultural history, this maritime aspect fades into the background, giving primacy to love stories, heroic struggles and intrepid adventures where brave Spaniards faced their opponents, the latter

almost always presented in a negative light. Thus, the sea, though inextricably linked to both peoples throughout history, does not have the relevance we might expect when considering the different artistic genres they are portrayed in.

Regarding historiography, as was noted earlier with the outstanding precedent of Antonio García y Bellido in the 1940s and 1950s, a new interpretative trend arose only a few decades ago, with the analysis of the archaeological record and the placing of this subject (Phoenicians and Carthaginians in Spain) in the context of a more global Mediterranean network.⁵² Recognizing the key role that both Phoenicians and Carthaginians played in international maritime trade, it is interesting to note that this new scientific approach highlights the importance of the sea, with Punic shipwrecks found on Spanish coasts in fact constituting one of the most promising areas of research.

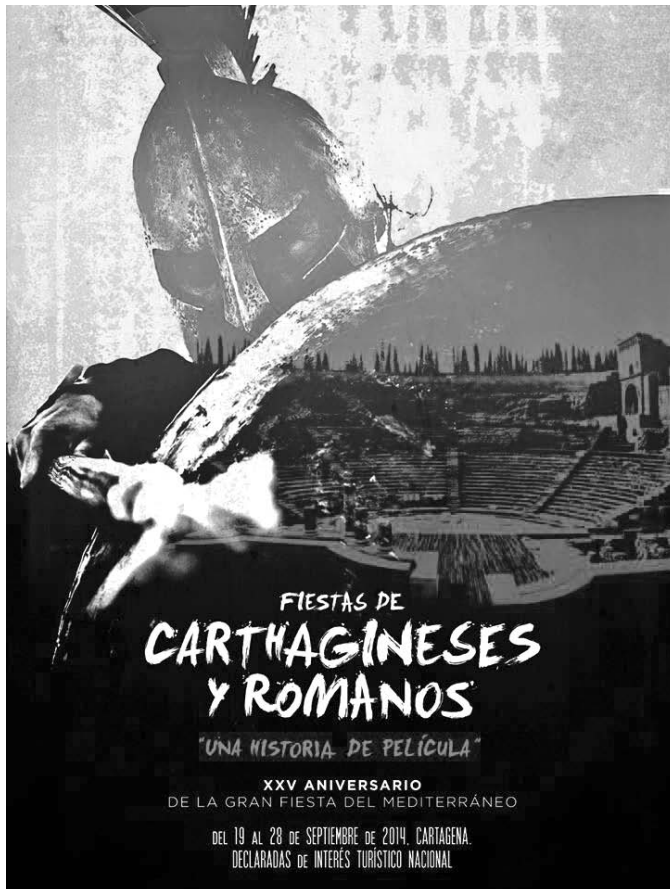


Fig. 12.4 Carthaginians and Romans Festival, 2014 (Cartagena).

Along with this new historiographical perspective at an academic level, it is possible to find in Spanish culture new interpretations of this ancient and almost constantly troubled relationship with the Carthaginians.

A good example of this is the festival of 'Carthaginians and Romans' organized since 1990 in Cartagena, the old Kart-Hadashat founded by Hasdrubal in 229 BC, later called Cartago Nova by the Romans (see Fig. 12.4).⁵³ Each year at the end of September, after lengthy preparations for the festival, thousands of people participate in the two armies of Carthaginians and Romans, respectively, and 'fight' on the city's central streets in a very popular event, showing a postmodern approach to ancient history as a way of promoting entertainment, popular participation, local businesses and cultural tourism.⁵⁴ And here, as in antiquity, the sea holds a prominent position in these celebrations, with particular focus on the port, naval battles and disembarkations.

Notes

- 1 I would like to thank the editor, Charo Rovira, for her patience, and Alison Keable for her assistance with English. This chapter forms part of the research project 'Antigüedad, nacionalismos e identidades complejas en la historiografía occidental (1700–1900): los casos español, británico y argentino' (MINECO HAR 2012-31736); see www.anih.org; ORCID0000-0001-7566-0482 (accessed 17 March 2017).
- 2 'Sagunto expresó esa fiereza indómita que con tanta frecuencia ha caracterizado al pueblo español.'
- 3 'Deshinchemos esos grandes nombres, Sagunto, Numancia, Otumba, Lepanto, con que se envenena a nuestra juventud en las escuelas y pasémosles una esponja.'
- 4 'Some in Israel are questioning the military's Hannibal Doctrine', PRI's The World Reporter Daniel Estrin 7 August 2014, 5.30 pm EDT, <http://www.pri.org/stories/2014-08-07/some-israel-are-questioning-militarys-hannibal-doctrine> (accessed 15 August 2014).
- 5 Liv. 39.51. The reception of the figure of Hannibal, radically negative at first but gradually considered in a more positive light (Los Llanos 1995; Barceló 2013), is more complex than that of the Carthaginians, who are almost always seen from a negative point of view.
- 6 See the text written in August 2014 by Ruth Margalit in *The New Yorker*, <http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/hadar-goldin-hannibal-directive>; <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/06/29/israel-ends-the-hannibal-directive> (accessed 4 July 2016).
- 7 Anderson 2005, 173–225. The author even includes some opinions about 'the frigid, unimaginative greed of Rome' (p. 224). The story was originally published in 1991.

- 8 *Od.* 14. 287–97 and 15.415. In Homer's *Iliad* (23.740–4), the Phoenicians are referred to as 'skilled Sidonian craftsmen' and mention is made of the fact that Phoenicians carried the crafted objects 'over the misty face of the water'.
- 9 Pliny the Elder describes a long list of inventors and inventions and then attributes trade (supposedly by sea) to the Carthaginians: *Plin. NH* 7. 57. 199: 'vehiculum cum quattuor rotis Phryges, mercaturas Poeni, culturam vitium et arborum Eumolpus Atheniensis . . .' ('The Phrygians first taught us the use of the chariot with four wheels; the Carthaginians the arts of merchandize, and Eumolpus, the Athenian, the cultivation of the vine').
- 10 *Plin. NH* 7. 57. 199; *Cic. Scaur.* 42; *Rep.* 2. 9; *Liv.* 21. 4. 9; specifically on Hannibal: *Liv.* 21. 1.4; 35. 19. 3; *Pol.* 3. 11. *Nep. Hann.* 2. 3–4; *Val. Max.* 9. 3. *App. Iber.* 9; *Anib.* 3; *Flor.* I, 22, 2–3; *Oros.* 4, 14, 3. Some more positive views of Hannibal as military commander, like that of *Nepos*, could be explained as aiming to underline the merit of Rome's final victory over him. *Gruen* 2006, 468–70; *Isaac* 2004, 324–51; *Liverani* 1998 (and see *Liverani's* contribution in *Lefkowitz and MacLean Rogers* 1996, 421–7).
- 11 *Arist. Pol.*, 1273a; II, 11; on the city of Carthage on screen, see *García Morcillo* 2015. On the figure of Hannibal on screen, see *Lapeña Marchena* 2001. On the history of the excavations at the site of Carthage, see recently *Fumadó Ortega* 2009.
- 12 The sentence appears in the narrative around the destruction of Carthage in the third part of the fourth volume of his *Storia dei Romani* (IV, 3, 75), published in 1964 after de Sanctis' death, but following *Luciano Canfora*, probably written shortly after the end of World War II (*Canjora* 1989, 265): Carthage 'non aveva partecipato se non in misura minima e trascurabile . . . al incremento di quella civiltà classica que i Greci e i Romani hanno trasmessa, glorioso retaggio, al mondo moderno' ('Carthage contributed to a minimal extent, if at all . . . to the growth of that classical civilization which Greeks and Romans transmitted, glorious legacy, to the modern world'). On the debate which arose around this polemical thesis of de Sanctis, see *Polverini* 1973, 1061.
- 13 *Bernal* 1987, especially chapters VIII, 'The Rise and Fall of the Phoenicians 1830–85', and IX, 'The Final Solution of the Phoenician Problem 1885–1945'.
- 14 *Lefkowitz and MacLean Rogers* 1996.
- 15 *Alfred Rosenberg*, the Nazi leader, spoke in 1937 about the Jews as the 'Syrian pest', descendants of the old Carthaginians, regrettably not annihilated as a race by the Romans (cited in *Giardina and Vauchez* 2008, 264).
- 16 *Fenicio*, 4. adj. 'Que tiene habilidad para comerciar o negociar y sacar el máximo beneficio' ('someone skilled in doing business and making maximal profit'), <http://dle.rae.es> (accessed 1 October 2015); at wordreference.com we can read, 'Punic adj. 1. of or pertaining to the ancient Carthaginians. 2. treacherous; perfidious: originally applied by the Romans to the Carthaginians' (accessed 1 October 2015).

- 17 Verg. *Aen.* (c. 19 BC); Henry Purcell, *Dido and Aeneas* (1689); William Turner, *Dido building Carthage; or the Rise of the Carthaginian Empire* (1815) etc. For a new light on Vergil's Dido, see now McManus 1997, especially chapter IV, 'Transgendered Moments: Revisiting Vergil's *Aeneid*'.
- 18 Saguntum, the city supposedly allied with Rome, but besieged and destroyed by Hannibal in 218 BC, was a well-known historic episode, frequently considered a *casus belli* for the Second Punic War (Liv. 21–2; Pol. 3; App. *Iber.* 7; Cass.Dio in Zonaras 8.21, etc.). On the case of Saguntum and the outbreak of the war, see Beck 2011.
- 19 For some writers from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the old Paradise was, in fact, located on the Iberian Peninsula.
- 20 This historical narrative was accompanied in textbooks and encyclopaedias by many images, which constituted another important source of information. The study of these textbooks is now significantly facilitated by the Research Centre MANES, located in the Main Library of the UNED in Madrid, specialized in the study of Spanish and Latin American textbooks from the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards (<http://www.uned.es/manesvirtual/ProyectoManes/index.htm>, accessed 17 March 2017). I would like to thank Drs Gabriela Ossenbach and Ana Badanelli for their help in accessing and using the Fondo MANES. See Fig. 1 as an example taken from one of the textbooks compiled there (Edelvives, *Cartilla moderna de Historia de España*, Zaragoza, Luis Vives, 1954; the image shows 'Phoenicians merchants doing business with the Spaniards' ('Mercaderes fenicios comercian con los españoles').
- 21 'El valor, la resistencia heroica hasta la muerte, es una virtud constante de los españoles', *Nueva Enciclopedia Escolar*, Burgos, Hijos de Santiago Rodríguez, 1962 (originally published in 1954 for vocational training), Lección 5. Los fenicios, 659; Lección 7. Los cartagineses, 663.
- 22 Ferrer Albelda 1996 specifically studies the Spanish historiography on the Carthaginians in Spain; Pasamar 2010 and Álvarez Junco 2014 deal more generally with Spanish historiography.
- 23 *Antigüedad marítima de la República de Cartago. Con el Periplo de su General Hannon, traducido del Griego, è ilustrado por D. Pedro Rodriguez Campomanes, Abogado de los Consejos, Asesor general de los Corréos, y Postas de España &c. En Madrid. En la Imprenta de Antonio Pérez de Soto (Marine Antiquity of the Republic of Carthage. With the Periplus of his General Hannon, translated from Greek, and illustrated by D. Pedro Rodriguez Campomanes, Advocate of the Councils, General Adviser of the Spanish Post Services. In Madrid. In the Printing of Antonio Pérez de Soto). M.DCC.LVI*; on this work, see Gil 2003; Almagro-Gorbea 2003.
- 24 In *Historia crítica de España y de la cultura española* (1783), the Jesuit J. F. Masdeu praised the pre-Roman native Spaniards as distinguished disciples of their masters,

- the Phoenicians, and on the other hand, criticized the ambitions of the Carthaginians and the Romans. Nevertheless, he did not regret the presence of the latter in Spain, because, in his opinion, the Spaniards integrated the Romans and not the other way round (Cruz Andreotti and Wulff 1992; Wulff 2003, 84–90). See Wulff 2003, 76–84, on the brothers Pedro and Rafael Mohedano, who wrote a *Historia literaria de España desde su primera población hasta nuestros días . . .* (Madrid, 1776, vol. V, *Gobierno, Artes y Ciencia de los Españoles, desde la venida de los Cartagineses hasta su entera expulsión de nuestra Península*) (*A literary History of Spain from its earliest population to our days* (vol. V, *Government, Arts and Science of the Spaniards, from the arrival of the Carthaginians to their complete expulsion of our Peninsula*)).
- 25 The text is fully published and annotated in Casenave 2006; see also Agudo Huici 1983. Of course, the final defeat of Napoleon meant the absolute oblivion of the project.
- 26 Álvarez Junco 2001, 209; Wulff 2003.
- 27 Pasamar 2010, 62–89; Wulff 1994.
- 28 Ferrer Albelda 2002–3, 14; López Castro 1996. That was also the time when the identification of both Carthage and Great Britain as plutocratic empires, in the past as well as in the present, was spread. On Schulten, see Wulff 2004.
- 29 Pemán also wrote a tragedy on the topic: see below. On antiquity, the Franco regime and education, see Prieto Arciniega 2003.
- 30 A battle which took place at the beginning of the Spanish Civil War around that old building in Toledo, where the Franquist troops for two months successfully resisted a strong siege by Republican partisans. The event was not strategically significant, but was a highly symbolic victory for the uprising.
- 31 ‘Era Galvelím el prototipo del fenicio, es decir, comerciante antes que todo, y, por lo mismo, dueño de un gran talento de adaptación, mentirosillo, económico y ambicioso’, Samper Ortega 1936, 113.
- 32 Millón 1992.
- 33 DSC (Diary of the sessions of the Parliament), t. 14, n° 308, 17-6-1870, p. 8909. A colleague of the ANIHO team, Pepa Castillo, is working on a paper on the use of the episodes of Numantia and Sagunt in parliamentary speeches in the nineteenth century in Spain.
- 34 See below.
- 35 On this painting in particular, see Urrea 2008; Sureda 2008, 115. Here Goya is not original, but he is strictly following the subject suggested for the competition, which deals with a dramatic moment in the history of Ancient Rome.
- 36 Reyero 1989, 109. This author, a specialist in Spanish art history, has studied Spanish nationalism in history painting. See also Duplá 2013.
- 37 Francisco Sainz, *Destrucción de Sagunto* (Reyero 1987, 22).
- 38 ‘Pone los pelos de punta’ in Spanish (Reyero 1987, 24). The painting has probably disappeared.

- 39 Gómez Moreno 2006.
- 40 Reyero 1987, 22; Díez 1992, 270–3. I would like to thank Eva Lloret (Diputación de Valencia) for her help in obtaining a good image of this painting.
- 41 Álvarez Junco 2014, 264–71.
- 42 On Domingo Marqués and Géricault-Delacroix, see Gracia Beneyto 1981; on this painting and the ‘Alexander mosaic’, see Quesada 1995–6; on these paintings in schoolbooks, see Duplá 2013, 289.
- 43 Gaya Nuño 1966, 315–17; Gómez Moreno 2006, 103–6. The artist received many institutional commissions, in the opinion of the specialists presumably due to his friendship with the Prime Minister, Cánovas del Castillo.
- 44 García Cardiel 2013.
- 45 The poem rested unfinished when its author, a clergyman from Valencia, died in 1730; it seems that its principal inspiration derives from the poem *Punica* by Silius Italicus (Pérez Durà 1993). Another long epic poem is that by J. de Villarroja, *Las ruinas de Sagunto* (Ruins of Sagunt, 1845).
- 46 *Ultimos Dias de Sagunto O Ergasto y Belenna: Novela Historica*. Recently reprinted by Kessinger Legacy Reprints (2010) and available to read on Google Books.
- 47 *La destrucción de Sagunto*. There is a digital edition (Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/la-destrucción-de-sagunto-comedia-nueva--0/htm>; accessed 4 July 2016), with a very comprehensive introductory paper (Rodríguez Cuadros 1996), which analyses Zavalá’s historical and cultural context and mentions a long range of works on the topic, including a neoclassical English tragedy by Philip Frowde, *The fall of Saguntum* (1727).
- 48 The collection, titled ‘El Teatro de la Infancia. Galería dramática para niños y jóvenes’ (Theater for Childhood. A dramatic gallery for children and the young), was a success for the publisher Saturnino Calleja (<http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/la-tragedia-de-sagunto-cuadro-tragico-historico-en-verso--0/>; accessed 4 July 2016). On this kind of popular literature, see Millon 2002.
- 49 J. M. Pemán and F. Sánchez-Castañer (1954), *La destrucción de Sagunto: tragedia en verso, en un prólogo y dos partes* (Vol. 1), Madrid: Escalicer (also with music by the ‘maestro’ J. Rodrigo).
- 50 Olmos 1994a and Olmos 1994b. This novel and its detailed description of all kinds of places and objects has prompted one scholar to speak of ‘explicit archaeological nationalism’ (Quesada 1996). Following these well-known patterns, we find also a three-act opera, *Sagunto*, by the composer from Valencia, Salvador Giner y Vidal, with libretto by Luis Cebrián Mezquita, released in 1901 at the Teatro Principal in Valencia.
- 51 Historical accuracy was not a main concern of the authors, and, in fact, along with the Carthaginians we encounter Hittites in the same area! The main entrance of the Hittites’ amphitheatre, where our heroes had to fight, reminds us of the temple of

Moloch in the film *Cabiria* (Pastrone, 1914) (JABATO COLOR, vol. 2, Barcelona, 2010; a recent version of an earlier edition). On the comic *El Jabato*, see Coll et al. 2009.

52 Ferrer 2002–3.

53 The poster reads, ‘Carthaginians and Romans Festival. “A superb story”. XXV Anniversary of the Great Festival of the Mediterranean.’

54 <http://www.cartaginesesyromanos.es> (accessed 4 July 2016). On re-enactment as a postmodern approach to history, see Carlà and Fiore 2016 (on this festival in particular, see p. 7).

into each specific character. How would people who have never heard of the Trojan War respond to the narrative and moral issues it poses? Were there points of contact between the vulnerability – sometimes even hopelessness – of their lives and that of the Greek and Trojan combatants after ten years of war?

When Professor Adriana Freire Nogueira suggested that ‘neither Greeks nor Trojans’ could be integrated into the Imagines IV Congress hosted at the University of the Algarve, what was little more than an idea became a *de facto* project. José spent July and August of 2014 shooting ‘Cycle’ portraits, some of which were included in the exhibition. In the last few days of August, José and the Clemente Vicente inhabitants learned that works to complete the Maritime Walk between Algeés and Cruz Quebrada, at both ends of Dafundo, were to begin. With the collaboration of locals (who expect improvement), three small boats were dragged to the beach by an excavator and what remained was razed to the ground, the debris filling a tall container with the word ‘Rebirth’ painted on it. When José saw the green, conspicuous container in the middle of nowhere, facing the Clemente Vicente building, he couldn’t help but ask himself, ‘Could that be a horse?’

From: <http://blog.josebandeira.com/> (accessed 17 March 2017).

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