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Ancient Violence in the Modern Imagination

The Fear and the Fury

EDITED BY

IRENE BERTI, MARIA G. CASTELLO
AND CARLA SCILABRA

ANCIENT VIOLENCE IN THE MODERN IMAGINATION

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Some modern debates concerning the representation of war, violence and pain

The ongoing debate over the motivations behind, and the functions of, representations of war – considered as idealized expressions or, conversely, as historically accurate reflections – constitutes a highly important subject which has received increasing attention during the last few decades.

To find a historiographical turning point, we must likely return to 1976 and the publication of *The Face of Battle* by John Keegan. Keegan's revision of the dominant academic interpretations represented a new trend in military history, shifting the focus from strategies, technical innovation and the commanders' perspective to the behaviour and emotions felt by those directly exposed to combat, as well as the physical and psychological experiences they suffered.[1]

In more recent years, some of the newest approaches to the representation of war and violence are the analysis of war as spectacle, along with exploration of the role of senses and emotions in the experience of war and violence.[2] In this context, Bakogianni talks of the 'spectacle' of war as a 'multi-sensory event worth watching'.[3]

Both these references, which are representative of an ever-expanding bibliography, start from two pivotal considerations, which we see within Anastasia Bakogianni's introduction. First, the omnipresence of war and violence throughout history and the simultaneous fascination and repulsion they evoke in human beings; second, following the brutality and the millions of deaths during the two World Wars, the shift in focus from the *kleos* (glory, prestige) of war to the suffering it causes.[4]

While also considering the omnipresence of war in the Western history of culture and art,[5] our aim is nonetheless much more limited. With exactly the same premises as the aforementioned texts, this chapter aims to explore certain examples of the representation of war and violence, specifically within the area of historical paintings and related, to a certain extent, to the construction of national identities. After making a brief review of some earlier examples and debates, I will focus on two cases from the twentieth century – Anselm Kiefer and Cy Twombly – before closing the chapter with some brief considerations on the impact of the representation of war and violence and the ethical problems involved.

Considering the 'Fear and the Fury' throughout history and the scope of this text, it is worth mentioning a famous painting from Antiquity, known to us through the suspected copy within a mosaic. The *Alexander Mosaic*, discovered in Pompeii during the nineteenth century and now exhibited in the Archaeological Museum in Naples, is presumed to be a copy of a painting that probably dates from the Hellenistic period, perhaps in the court of the Macedonian king during the fourth century BC. We mention it here merely as an example of a highly popular genre in Antiquity that is related to our topic but, unfortunately, almost unknown to us, aside from the opinions and descriptions given by authors such as Pliny the Elder and others.[6] Our attention now shifts to our subject in modern times.

One specific debate that is of interest to us when examining the representation of war and violence is that between idealization and historical accuracy. This debate arose again recently in 2011, when a new version of the iconic work *Washington Crossing the Delaware* by Emanuel Leutze – painted in 1851 and admired by crowds in several cities across the United States before arriving in Washington DC and New York – was presented to the public. The new version by Mort Künstler, an American painter specializing in highly accurate reconstructions of American Civil War scenes, attempts to restore the historical accuracy which is supposedly lacking from Leutze's version of the episode.[7] We can presume that Washington was not in the heroic pose that Leutze gave him on the boat when crossing the river at night on Christmas Day, 1776; the flag – the famous Stars and Stripes – also did not exist at the time (it appeared a year later). However, in the words of Joseph Mankiewicz – speaking of Elizabeth Taylor as Cleopatra entering the Roman forum through the arch of Constantine in his famous 1963 film – 'Who would know?'[8] Leutze's painting, a patently romantic and idealized version of the event, was intended to awaken national pride and patriotism in the broader public: historical accuracy was not, at least not consciously, the painter's main concern.[9] As such, it can be considered a masterpiece, ascribed to the nationalistic historical paintings of the nineteenth century.[10] The artist did a splendid job, especially when analysed within the parameters of his time and the historical and political contexts. Furthermore, while we now admire the painting in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, we cannot say whether Künstler's new version will end up in the same institution.

This recent debate evokes another of a more transcendental nature, which in the second half of the eighteenth century set the painters Benjamin West and Sir Joshua Reynolds in opposition to one another, the latter being Director of the Royal Academy at the time. The debate dealt with the portrayal of historical truth and whether it should be coupled with traditional idealization; that is to say, historical truth versus the grandeur of the design, the story. The origin of the debate was *The Death of General Wolfe*, painted by West in 1771 and strongly criticized by Reynolds and others for its excessive veracity (specifically the clothes of the dead general and the soldiers) and insufficient heroism.[11] This contrast between realism and idealism can be illustrated by the opinion of the protagonists of this debate. First, West: '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?'[12] Reynolds, in his *Fourth*

Discourse delivered to the graduates of the Royal Academy in December 1771, then clearly alluded to West:

> But it is not enough in invention that the artist should restrain and keep under all the inferior parts of his subject; he must sometimes deviate from vulgar and strict historical truth in pursuing the grandeur of his design. [. . .] Alexander is said to have been of a low stature; a painter ought not so to represent him. Agesilaus was low, lame and of a mean appearance. None of these defects ought to appear in a piece of which he is the hero.[13]

For Reynolds, the masterpiece of the genre was *The Death of Socrates* by David (1787), who also gave us a superb idealization of war in his *Leonidas at Thermopylae* (1814). At last, an agreement was reached: West's painting was bought by the Academy, he became its second director and the genre assumed both realistic and idealistic perspectives. Yet to some scholars, the *Death of General Wolfe* in fact represented a step backwards in the centrality of classical tradition as a reference in historical painting.[14]

From the same century, we know of another event in this debate concerning the representations of war, violence, pain and suffering: one which is directly linked with classical Antiquity and the reactions these can evoke from the public. This is the essay, by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laokoon oder über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie* [*Laocoon. An Essay upon the Limits of Painting and Poetry*], published in 1766 and openly oppositional to Winckelmann.[15] Focusing on the well-known Hellenistic sculpture, Lessing analyses the representation of violence and pain and the self-restraint of the artist, who aims to provoke admiration and compassion rather than rejection. While Sophocles' tragedies *Philoctetes* and *Hercules*, as well as the representation of Laocoon in Virgil's *Aeneid*, offer expressions of anger, violent pain, crying and shouting, Lessing states that Laocoon shows a clear contrast – the open mouth clearly reflecting silent suffering, but without shouting – again, moving towards admiration and compassion rather than disapproval and rejection. Furthermore, the reasons for the artist to refrain from showing signs of extreme pain in Laocoon are related to the specific rules of art, its limitations and claims at the time.[16] In fact, Lessing concludes that the visual arts are more limited than literature when it comes to expressing emotions, as they can only reflect a specific moment. Similarly, following Lessing's thoughts, we can say that poetry 'seems better fitted [than sculpture and painting] for the communication of ethical concerns, precisely because it is set below beauty and need not respond to it as a matter of its formal constitution.'[17]

This contrast between realism and rationalism on the one hand and idealism on the other, can, to some extent, be dated back to Antiquity. Indeed, a number of modern scholars have pointed out the differences between the archaic *Dying Warrior* (in the east pediment of the temple of Aphaia at Aegina) with his apparent serenity and acceptance of his fate[18] and the *Dying Gaul* two centuries later, where in contrast the realism is dominant and the warrior, a barbarian, appears reluctant to accept his fate, his death.[19]

This debate dates back to Aristotle (*Poetics* 1451b) and the superiority of poetry over history, of fiction over the actual events: 'For this reason poetry is something more

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scientific and serious than history, because poetry tends to give general truths while history gives particular facts.'[20] For Reynolds, as we have seen, poetry must be the main inspiration for painters, both in terms of 'invention' (the topic) and execution.

In a historical novel, *The Volcano Lover*, published in 1992 and based on the lives of Sir William Hamilton, his wife and Lord Nelson in Naples at the end of the eighteenth century, Susan Sontag alludes to the limitations of historical painting at that time. Referring to her protagonists, she wonders: 'What is a hero supposed to look like? Or a king? Or a beauty? Neither this hero, nor this king, nor this beauty have what Reynolds would regard as an appropriate appearance. [. . .] [We] are so remote from the time when painting was expected to represent an ideal appearance.'[21]

War in Spanish historical painting during the nineteenth century

Continuing our journey through the representation of war and violence, we can now shift our attention to representations that evoke glorious episodes linked to national identities, by referring to some Spanish examples.

In an earlier volume edited by the IMAGINES project, I mentioned how Carlos Reyero, one of the leading Spanish scholars of this genre, has claimed that the most important dimension of nineteenth-century history painting in Spain is probably the fact that it was a 'mirror of national identity'.[22]

In a century that began with a cruel war against the Napoleonic troops on Spanish soil, the theme of fighting for independence against foreign invaders was central to the construction of a Spanish national identity. Consequently, various historical episodes related to war were an inspiration for painters, writers, poets and also musicians. Antiquity also offers some splendid examples, celebrated by the ancient authors themselves, of this vindication of independence and freedom, even to the point of sacrificing the lives of an entire community to preserve these sublime ideals. Two well-known episodes were paradigmatic: that of Sagunt – the city conquered by Hannibal at the beginning of the Second Punic War towards the end of the third century BC – and that of Numantia, the Celtiberian city destroyed by Scipio during the thirties of the second century BC.[23] In both cases, ancient authors outlined the absolute annihilation of the cities and the death of entire populations after months of dramatic sieges.

We know of several pictorial representations of these last days of Sagunt or Numantia, all of which follow the same patterns and serve the same purposes. Among others, we can mention *Último día de Numancia* [*The Last Day of Numantia*] by J.A. Ribera (1802), which remains in the formal neoclassical style; later, in a more romantic style, the work by Martí i Alsina (1858) is also noteworthy; there is also *Último día de Sagunto* [*The Last Day of Sagunt*] by Francisco Domingo Marqués (1869) and the sculpture *Sagunto* [*Sagunt*] by Augusto Querol. The most famous painting of them all, which was repeatedly reproduced in textbooks and encyclopaedias, is *Último día de Numancia* [*The Last Day of Numantia*] by Alejo Vera (1881).[24] Most of these paintings have a somewhat 'institutional' character: Domingo Marqués presented his work to the

local Government of Valencia as proof of his achievement while enjoying a public scholarship in Rome, while Martí i Alsina presented his work at the National Exhibition of Fine Arts in 1858; Vera, who also painted his work in Rome, obtained a medal at the National Exhibition in 1881.[25] All three of these pieces were purchased by public institutions and exhibited in public buildings.

The principal means of interpreting these paintings are similar. Here, war is an excuse to highlight patriotism and nationalism, as well as to underline a specific element – namely, consciousness of the urgency and significance of the struggle for freedom and independence – supposedly present in the Spanish national character from the earliest known times. While direct experiences of war very often tend to divide communities,[26] these wars in quite distant times can serve to unify people. 'Fear and Fury' appear here as constitutive elements of these stages of war, reflecting suffering, destruction and poignancy, but also signifying heroism and pride.

Within these paintings, heroism has a collective dimension – the hero is not an individual, an outstanding general or a combatant, but rather the people. What is more, while we do see some men, it is mostly women, old people and children – the civilian population in modern terms.

Regarding pain and suffering – and particularly fear – the painters spare no details in their romantic and pathetic interpretations, with a number of scenes recurring across the various artworks, including corpses on the floor, a mother killing her child, a citizen

Figure 2.1 Ramón Martí i Alsina, *Last Day of Numantia* (1858). © Archivo Fotográfico Museo Nacional del Prado.

drinking poison, and fire. The consternation we see in their faces is not trepidation in the face of death, but rather the fear experienced when upon encountering the imminent loss of their freedom. Meanwhile, the fury is the determination of resistance, to see the situation through to its dramatic end. This is evident in Martí i Alsina's painting, depicting those who view the burnt city as symbolic of their unavoidable fate (Fig. 2.1). The pathos is present, although the viewer is invited not to reject war (a response later images would provoke), but rather to praise the heroism of the people of Sagunt and Numantia, while also proudly identifying with their glorious ancestors.[27] The repetition of these scenes in textbooks, historiography, literature and visual arts confirms the connections between these historical examples and the collective imaginary throughout nineteenth-century Spain.

This is an interesting point, because the protagonists represented in the paintings are in fact the victims: civilians who, as the innocent who suffer the consequences of war, became the authentic protagonists in a new narrative of war (albeit only within the twentieth century) following the Second World War and the Holocaust.

A new vision of the dark side of war and violence

In sharp contrast to this heroic representation of war (framed within a process of ideological nation-building, as seen in the Spanish paintings from the nineteenth century), it is interesting to now turn to the opposing point of view, focusing our attention on certain artists who were radically positioned, one way or another, against war and violence.

Although we have previously insisted on the importance of the two World Wars as the turning point in the modern denouncement of war, it is possible to find earlier precedents of this sort of critical attitude. To highlight just two examples of painters who fall within this category, we may briefly mention Peter Paul Rubens and Francisco de Goya.

The atrocities of war, here presented through allegorical language directly related to classical Antiquity, are clearly depicted in Rubens's *The Consequences of War* (1637–38) (Fig. 2.2), painted for Ferdinando II of Medici and currently on display within the Palazzo Pitti in Florence. The atrocities of the Thirty Years' War (1618–48) in central Europe, the difficulty of reaching peace and the suffering of the innocent all clearly motivated the painting. We know of the painter's interpretation from a letter he wrote to a friend: 'Fear and the Fury' depicts a terrified mother and child, along with various symbols from more peaceful times (books, musical instruments and architectural devices) that are trampled and broken; Venus appears to be trying to stop Mars, who is followed by a trail of destruction spread by Famine, Pestilence and Fury. Before the open doors of the Janus temple stands a defeated Europe (dressed in black).[28]

Of course, one cannot speak of representations of war, its suffering and its victims, without at least briefly mentioning Goya and his dramatic series of etchings, *Disasters of War* (1810–20).[29] The war represented here, the so-called Spanish War of Independence against the French invaders, was one of the first wars in modern times to directly afflict and involve the civil population in the combat, as opposed to the struggle between two (professional) armies. Once again, there was no longer a mythical, laudatory and heroic

Figure 2.2 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Consequences of War* (1637–38). Public domain.

narration of war, but a focus on the victims. Even in his 'official' paintings (*The Charge of the Mamelukes*, *Third of May, 1808*) Goya focused on the victims and strayed far from the glory and heroism traditionally associated with war.[30]

However, as previously mentioned, the first step towards a more sweeping rejection of war as a mechanism for conflict resolution between different states or peoples came with the Great War. In order to consider a variety of art genres, we may turn to the poems of Wilfred Owen, who died in the trenches: his famous *The Old Lie* denounced with tragic irony the phrase *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*;[31] we can also read narratives of war such as *Captain Conan*, by Roger Vercel (1934), later filmed by French director Bertrand Tavernier; additionally, we have the terrifying comics of Jacques Tardi, such as *C'était la guerre des tranchées* (1993), graphically illustrating the brutality of war in the trenches. Later, following the renewed horrors of the Second World War, war was definitively repudiated – at least theoretically, in political thought and in public opinion – and democracies were considered to be inherently pro-peace.[32]

Two examples from the twentieth century that relate to Antiquity

In the twentieth century, we find two very interesting examples of critical representations of war and violence: a series of paintings by German artist Anselm Kiefer, *Varus* and *Ways of Worldly Wisdom: Arminius' Battle* [*Hermannsschlacht*] and the series *Nine Discourses on Commodus* (1963) by American painter Cy Twombly.

As might be expected, their approach is very different from that of previous centuries; war and violence is now conceptualized in a critical way and – particularly in the case of

Kiefer – is used as a means of denouncing nationalism and the manipulation of history, as well as to consider national identity.[33]

The story of Arminius-Hermann is well-known: in AD 9 Arminius, chief of the Cherusci, commanded an alliance of German peoples who ambushed and annihilated three Roman legions led by the commander Quintilius Varus. Suetonius tells how Augustus desperately called for his legions that were lost in Germany (*Aug.* 23.2). Arminius-Hermann later became one of the most prominent German national heroes: subsequently, in the nineteenth century, the battle of Teutoburg gained traction as a symbol representing the German struggle for freedom. Teutoburg, transformed into a mythical space, was supposedly also the place where the *Niebelungenlied* occurred. We have a wide range of artistic conceptualizations of the reception of Arminius-Hermann, from the Hermannsdenkmal near Detmold in Germany, to Handel's opera, as well as several historical novels, paintings, films and comics.[34]

In 1976, Kiefer painted *Varus* (1976, Endhoven), a view of a forest (Teutoburg) with the names of those whom he considered important within the theme of the battle and its utilization in Germany's history and culture.[35] In 1977, he published *Hermannsschlacht* [*The Battle of Hermann*] (a woodcut book of sixty-six pages) and he produced, from 1977 to at least 1993, several versions of a series of woodcuts entitled *Wege der Weltweisheit:*[36] *Hermannsschlacht* [*Ways of Worldly Wisdom: Arminius' Battle*].[37]

While in the first piece, *Varus*, we can only read certain names, later on we also see portraits of representatives from German culture and history. Apparently, Kiefer based his selection on history books, journals and encyclopaedias from the National Socialist era (for instance, *Das deutsche Führergesicht* [*The German Leader's Face*], by Karl Richard Ganzer, published in 1935, with the subtitle *200 Bildnisse deutscher Kämpfer und Wegsucher aus zwei Jahrtausenden* [*200 Portraits of German Fighters and Trailblazers from Two Millennia*]). Among the portraits we find writers (Kleist), philosophers (Kant), soldiers (Arminius, Bismarck) and national martyrs (Horst Wessel, murdered by a Communist militant in Berlin in 1930).[38]

The forest is represented by a number of trees that are surrounded by more than thirty figures, who are connected by branches and vines, with a 'purifying' fire in the centre of the scene, depicting a very claustrophobic space, as was described by Rosenthal.[39]

As has been noted recently, history, myth and literature (as manipulated and distorted by the Nazis, as well as perhaps by cultural and political elites from previous centuries) are here placed in a new, critical and contemporary context.[40]

Far from celebrating the glory of war and the pride of victory, Kiefer underlines the tragedy of war and the mythologization of victory. In some ways, we might say that he is playing, as a form of remembrance, with these prominent political and intellectual figures from German national culture and history in order to denounce the tragedies caused by Germany – particularly by the National Socialists – during the twentieth century. However, what should interest us more here is the general repudiation of war and its consequences.

Kiefer is permanently and deeply involved in reflecting on the past and as such he can be considered a special historical painter, interested in keeping memories alive. He is

particularly devoted to condemning Germany's responsibility for the twentieth-century turmoil and to emphasizing its controversial historical nation-building practices. In this sense, 'Kiefer offers art as a theoretical antidote for the terror of human history and the failure of mythic figures.'[41] At the same time – and it is this point that is most interesting to us here – his work (and in particular the series of paintings and woodcuts mentioned previously) represents a direct appeal against violence and war, with explicit allusions to classical Antiquity, specifically focusing on the historical figures of Varus and Arminius/ Hermann.

I would like to briefly analyse a second example of a characteristic twentieth-century new artistic approach to history, albeit in an entirely conceptual and abstract manner. This is the work *Nine Discourses on Commodus* (1963), by Cy Twombly (Fig. 2.3), exhibited for the first time in March 1964 at the art gallery Leo Castelli in New York and met with highly negative critical reviews.[42] In 2007, it was purchased by the Guggenheim Museum and thereafter exhibited in Bilbao.[43]

The work consists of nine large canvases (204 × 134 cm each) to be viewed together in a specific order. Each one depicts a grey background and two big smudges of colour, and the story advances from a seemingly relaxed scene on the first canvas, resembling white clouds against the sky, towards gradually more expressive and violent colours. The series culminates in the last few canvases in an explosion of violence and chaos, paralleling the history of Commodus' reign itself, which ended in his assassination following an outburst of megalomania, repression and executions.

The artist was, apparently, inspired by a series of political murders, including the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in Dallas in 1963. The series on Commodus closes a dark period in the life of Twombly, probably influenced by the political crises at the beginning of the 1960s. In our case, the reference is to the Roman emperor's cruelty, madness and eventual assassination in AD 192. Conflict and tension dominate the nine paintings, which, as aforementioned, are to be regarded sequentially, from the quiet clouds in the first piece to the explosion of blood in the last.[44] Playing with colours throughout the series, from the white and blue of the first painting (which features a grid to signify order and rationality) to the explosion of bloody red in the final pieces,

Figure 2.3 Cy Twombly, *Nine Discourses on Commodus* (1963). © Cy Twombly Foundation.

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Twombly presents the insane psychological evolution, along with the violent attitudes and initiatives, of the Roman emperor, whose tyrannical behaviour led to his own death.

We know of Twombly's long-standing fascination with ancient history and classical mythology and that he had read several classical authors.[45] However, as has been rightly asked by Stefan Priwitzer, why did he choose the historical figure of Commodus?

The emperor Commodus, son of Marcus Aurelius, was the ruler of the Roman Empire from AD 180 to 192. If we are to believe the ancient sources (namely Cassius Dio, Herodian and the *Historia Augusta*), he was the very opposite of his father, who was the ideal emperor-philosopher.[46]

We know from a letter to his gallerist from December 1963 that Twombly was even interested in acquiring a bust of the emperor: this bust would have been the inspiration for the series. Similarly, a hypothesis concerning the possible influence of the historian Edward Gibbon has also been advanced.

Although specialists and critics do not agree on the interpretation of the series, nor the characterization of Commodus by the artist, nor even on the narration it presumably contains,[47] it is interesting to explore the possible parallels with his other paintings, dated to around the same time, that depict the death of powerful men, such as Patroclus or the rivals in the civil wars of the Late Roman Republic, Pompey and Caesar. In the words of Cullinan, the 'funereal atmosphere' of the early 1960s was presumed to have inspired Twombly's focus on death and violence.[48] This would provide us with yet another work of art that encourages us to denounce abuses of power and simultaneously to reflect on the fragility of even the most tyrannical leader.

Some brief final remarks: ethics instead of epic?

The debate over the effects of how war and violence are represented to audiences is one of the most intense and controversial today. War and violence could be considered objects of consumption and entertainment, as we find them in video games and in many films; they are an unavoidable feature of the global media, fundamental to its ability to connect with broader audiences. Images of war and violence are used as a tool for political propaganda, as can be seen with ISIS; they can also be used as instruments to inspire ethical reflections on their content, as Susan Sontag reminds us in one of her most interesting books, *Regarding the Pain of Others*. War as spectacle, as sanctification, as adventure, as insanity; as a waste of time, resources and human lives. Indeed, these simultaneous readings and interpretations are all viable.

While the vast majority of the population are exposed to all of these representations, it is, at first glance, hard to imagine that the public who enjoy ultraviolent video games, the television series *Spartacus: Blood and Sand* or the film *300* would also appreciate the paintings of Kiefer or Twombly. Perhaps an investigation into this question would yield some interesting results, especially across generations.

Regarding the representation of war and violence, we are, in fact, now witnessing dualistic imagery: on the one hand, there is the hyperrealism of video games and films

and our overexposure to information provided by news outlets; on the other, images are used to provoke a reaction from the audience, to reach beyond their initial shock and ignite an active response. It is true that the ease of access to information about war over the internet may result in the aestheticization and banalization of violence.[49] Furthermore, it is possible that the display of images concerning the atrocities of war, of pain and cruelty, could generate compassion; yet they may also excite rejection or even indifference, as was noted by Susan Sontag in her aforementioned *Regarding the Pain of Others.*[50] The repeated contemplation of images of extreme violence may have the effect of anaesthetizing the audience, as was the case in Europe during the Bosnian war, or recently with the videos of the killing of prisoners by ISIS, which were widely available on the internet.[51]

In contrast to all this, the works of Kiefer and Twombly do not offer images of war or violence for the public to uncritically consume: they do not distance us from the cruel realities of war, but rather invite us to reflect on war through two distinct pictorial languages. Here, as Anastasia Bakogianni noted in reference to Cacoyannis' interpretation of the Euripidean tragedies, the *kleos* of war is entirely absent – war and violence are employed as artistic themes to denounce them.[52] Perhaps the new pictorial languages used by both artists, typically modern in their rejection of archaeological detail and text-based narratives,[53] are precisely what push the viewer (if s/he has time) to pause before the painting and consider it for a moment.[54]

If we take into account the different perspectives examined in this chapter, particularly contrasting certain nineteenth-century approaches with more recent, twentieth-century viewpoints, the difference is clear. In both cases, Antiquity seems to be the period of choice in which to find pivotal references for national and (in general) Western culture and history. War and violence are also the topics selected to illustrate the message that artists wish(ed) to present, both in the more distant past and in more recent times. However, the approaches taken are radically different. While the nineteenth century celebrated war as a glorious national and collective enterprise, later artists preferred to highlight the negative, darker side of the experience, the dangers connected to its idealization and the suffering and excesses associated with irrational violence. In this context, far removed from earlier epic presentations, we now have the highly interesting critical revisions of the representations of war and violence by Anselm Kiefer and Cy Twombly, which – we hope – will provide a space for new ethical reflections.

Acknowledgements

41. Zimmermann 2013: 55.

42. On the applicability of social psychology to the study of history, see Fagan 2011: 39–48.

43. See for instance: Michelakis and Wyke 2013; Carlà 2014a; Rogers and Stevens 2015; Janka and Stierstorfer 2017; Rogers and Stevens 2019; Fletcher and Umurhan 2019; Rollinger 2020.

Chapter 2 Ancient War and Modern Art: Some Remarks on Historical Painting from the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

1. To learn more about the impact of Keegan's work on films, as well as the precedents of Keegan's perspective, see Oskar Aguado (Chapter 4 in this volume).

2. Bakogianni and Hope 2015a; Ambühl 2016.

3. Bakogianni 2015a: 5.

4. Peter Burke has also insisted on the new representation of war after the Second World War, when the old heroism was cast aside and replaced with new, alternative perspectives (Burke 2001: 190).

5. Ambühl 2016. As a specific case study, Rood has recently examined the reception of Xenophon's *Anabasis* in the modern United States, concluding that the *Anabasis* has been an important part of the culture of American militarism (Rood 2010: 4). Furthermore, episodes and heroes from ancient wars have played a fundamental role in European nation-building processes, as we can see throughout the recent volume edited by Fögen and Warren (2016); on the topic see also De Francesco 2017.

6. Pliny, *HN* 35; Mitnick 1993; Scharf 2000; García 2009.

7. See https://web.archive.org/web/20170110085959/http://www.newsday.com/long-island/mort-k%C3%BCnstler-feted-as-painting-s-unveiled-1.3412384. See also https://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/12/23/a-famous-painting-meets-its-more-factual-match. The artist's official website: www.mortkunstler.com.

8. Cyrino 2005a: 141; Galinsky 2010: 405.

9. Ayres 1993: 17.

10. In the audio on the website of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), the painting is considered an 'iconic mythological painting' despite acknowledge of its various inaccuracies. See https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/11417.

11. We know of earlier classicist paintings by West: *Agrippina Landing at Brundisium with the Ashes of Germanicus*; *The Departure of Regulus*; *The Oath of Hannibal*.

12. Cited in Mitnick 1993: 31.

13. Sir Joshua Reynolds' Discourses on art, Discourse IV (Royal Academy, December 1771), 77. See https://archive.org/stream/sirjoshuareynold00reynuoft/sirjoshuareynold00reynuoft_djvu.txt. The original edition is *Sir Joshua Reynold's Discourses*, edited with notes and a historical and biographical introduction by Edward Gilpin Johnson, Chicago 1891; the quote is on p. 103. On the argumentation by Reynolds, see Blanc 2015 (vol. I: 411–15); Mitnick 1993: 31; Cannon-Brookes 1991: 15. On Alexander: Curt. 1.2; on Agesilaus: Plut. *Ages*. 2. See also McAuley (Chapter 3 in this volume).

14. Mitnick 1993: 29.

15. See, very recently, Lifschitz and Squire 2017 (*non vidi*).

16. An old English version of Lessing's text: 'A review of the reasons here alleged for the moderation observed by the sculptor of the Laocoon, in the expression of bodily pain, shows them to lie wholly in the peculiar object of his art and its necessary limitations' (Lessing 1887: 20); cf. Lessing 1974: 28 (*Schranken* and *Bedürfnisse* in original German).

17. Mehigan 2005: 6; Silk, Gildenhard and Barrow 2014: 113. For Lessing, sculpture and painting are based on the older pre-eminence of the visual mode and are thus more limited in their capacity to express complex concepts (Mehigan 2005: 7).

18. As an example of the famous later sentence *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* (Hor., *Carm.* 3.2.13).

19. Scholl 1984: 70–2.

20. This is Aristotle's full reasoning: (*Poet.* 1451a.35).

   What we have mentioned already makes it even more clear that a poet's objective is not to tell what actually happened but rather what could and would happen, either probably or inevitably. The difference between a historian and a poet is not that one writes in prose and the other in verse (1451b.1) – indeed, the writings of Herodotus could be put into verse and yet would still be a form of history, whether written in metre or not. The real difference is that one tells what happened and the other what might have happened. For this reason, poetry is something more scientific and serious (φιλοσοφώτερον καὶ σπουδαιότερον) than history, because poetry tends to give general truths while history gives particular facts. By a 'general truth' I mean the sort of thing that a certain type of man will do or say, either probably or necessarily.

21. Sontag 1992: 158.

22. Reyero 1989: 109; Duplá 2013.

23. On Sagunt: Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 21.7–15; on Numantia: App., *Hisp.* 89–98; Florus 1.34 [2,18]; Vell. Pat. 2.1.3–4; Cic., *Off.* 1.11; Oros. 5.7; another case of 'Spanish' heroism was that of Astapa, destroyed by the Romans, whose inhabitants preferred suicide over surrender (Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 28.22–3). On the role of ancient wars in the building process of national identity in contemporary forms of reception like living history, see Pérez Mostazo (Chapter 15 in this volume).

24. Concerning the paintings on Numantia, see Duplá 2013; concerning those on Sagunt, Duplá 2018. As a sign of the popularity and significance of Alejo Vera's work, the painting was selected as the symbol of the province of Soria in a monumental square built in Sevilla for the Ibero-American Exhibition in 1929; we also find it as the cover of a recent book on Spanish historiography, significantly entitled *The Histories* (in plural) *of Spain* (Álvarez Junco 2013). On the modern reception of ancient Numantia in Spain see also Gracia-Alonso 2017 and Castillo 2018.

25. On these three paintings, see Díez 1992: 270–3, 184–7 and 330–5 respectively.

26. '[P]ervades the social fabric', in Scholl's term (1984: 59).

27. The painting, an early one from this artist, is typical of his temperamental romanticism, at a time when academicism was still dominant; the exaggerated figure of the young man in the foreground was in fact intended as a manifestation of his mastery of human anatomy (Díez 1992: 186).

28. Scholl 1984: 81. As a court painter and frequent visitor of foreign monarchies, Rubens also acted as a cunning diplomat in search of general peace in Europe. This painting is also known as *The Horrors of War*. McGrath (2016: 35) points out that Statius' *Thebaid* and Lucretius' *De rerum natura* influenced this scene.

29. Nieto 2002: 320; Sontag 2003: 36. Bozal (1984: 170) insists on terror as the dominant concept in Goya's works on war, which present conflict as an entirely negative phenomenon.

30. I do not know if one of Goya's engravings in the series *Disasters* of War (no. 39: '¡Grande hazaña! ¡Con muertos!' ['Heroic Feat! Against the Dead!']) was the direct inspiration for the 'tree of death' we see in Zack Snyder's film *300* (2006). The director best described it in relation to his philosophy for the film: 'Every slash, impalement, and decapitation should be rendered as a thing of beauty. It's war transformed into art' (https://filmschoolrejects.com/300-the-other-effect-on-pop-culture). No comment.

31. A conference on 'Classics and the Great War in an Age of Empire' was held in November 2014 at Cambridge University and a new one on 'The Old Lie: Classics and the Great War' at the Università di Bologna, Italy, in March 2018.

32. Bakogianni 2015a: 6.

33. Bastian 2015; Winkler 2016: 210–14. From very early times, Kiefer was interested in revising German history and culture, particularly undermining the distortions that the Nazi regime cultivated; see his *Heroic Symbol IV* [*Heroisches Sinnbild IV*] from 1970, alluding to two artists, Arno Breker and Josef Thorak, warmly glorified by the Nazi Ministry of propaganda (Hoerschelmann 2016: 58).

34. For a brief historical account, see Bastian 2015; Martin Winkler has recently studied the entire story of Arminius-Hermann and his reception within German history and culture (Winkler 2016).

35. See the painting at https://www.artsy.net/artwork/anselm-kiefer-varus.

36. The title of an apology for Catholicism published in 1924 by the Jesuit father Bernhard Jansen (Rosenthal 1987: 51; Hoerschelmann 2016: 73).

37. We can see a version from 1982 exhibited in the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao: https://www.guggenheim-bilbao.eus/en/the-collection/works/the-paths-of-world-wisdom-hermanns-battle.

38. The complete list of portraits: Jean Paul, Horst Wessel, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Walter Flex, Ludmilla Assing, Heinrich von Kleist, Christian Dietrich Grabbe, Heinrich von Kleist, Helmuth von Moltke and Jakob Böhme, Gebhard von Bücher, Conrad Ferdinand Meyer, Immanuel Kant, Hermann, Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, Joseph von Eichendorff, Stefan George, Ludwig Uhland, Alfred von Schlieffen, Annette von Droste-Hülshoff, Jean Paul, Mathias Claudius, Gottfrief Keller, Wiprecht von Groitzsch, Albrecht von Roon, Queen Louise of Prussia, Martin Heidegger, Albert Leo Schlagetter, August Hofmann von Fallersleben (the author of the *Lied der Deutschen* [*Song of the Germans*]), Carl Maria von Weber, Joseph von Eichendorff and Carl Schurz. 'I choose these personages because power has abused them', explained Kiefer (Rosenthal 1987: 55).

39. Rosenthal 1987: 51.

40. Hoerschelmann 2016: 73; Rosenthal 1987: 49–51; Krebs 2010.

41. Rosenthal 1987: 56. Martin Winkler writes on Kiefer and Arminius in a chapter entitled 'Against Ideology: History Exorcised' (2016: 219).

42. Including statements in the exhibition such as: 'There isn't anything to the paintings' (cited in Priwitzer 2014: 231).

43. See https://www.guggenheim-bilbao.eus/en/the-collection/works/nine-discourses-on-commodus.

44. Cullinan 2009; Giménez 2008: 54.

45. He has a number of works inspired by ancient history or mythology: *The Triumph of Galatea* (1961), *Leda and the Swan* (1962), *School of Athens* (1964), *Say Goodbye, Catullus, to the*

Shores of Asia Minor (1994). In fact, in the recent volume on Cy Twombly, edited by Thierry Greub, the paper by Priwitzer is included in a section, 'Antiquity as Inspiration', which presents different collaborations on Twombly and Sumer and the Sumerians, Egypt, Achilles at Troy, the *Cnidian Venus*, the Hellenistic Pastoral and the poetry of Theocritus. 'Cy Twombly: Rewriting History', a lecture delivered by N. Cullinan at the American Academy in Rome in 2015, is available at https://livestream.com/accounts/7688224/events/4523111/videos/105042919. Recently, in the context of the reception of Xenophon's work in American political and military history, Rood has analysed the later series 'Anabasis' by Cy Twombly (1980–83) (Rood 2010: 222–7). Weitmann 2004 deals also with Twombly and Antiquity but, focused mainly in Greek history and mythology, the work on Commodus is not mentioned.

46. Priwitzer 2014: 233. A brief summary of Commodus' biography and the problems connected to the ancient sources is in Priwitzer (2014: 233–5) and Gorrie 2012; on Commodus and violence, see Timonen 2000. A bust of the emperor was also at the gallery Leo Castelli during the first public exhibition of the series in New York in 1963. In popular culture, Commodus was introduced to earlier generations through films such as *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (Anthony Mann 1964); younger audiences know him from *Gladiator* (Ridley Scott 2000). He is always presented as the sinister and cruel opponent of the hero – first Livius and later Maximus, both first generals of the Empire who were hated and envied by the emperor.

47. Priwitzer 2014: 242–9. The difficulties associated with the interpretation of images were pointed out by Peter Burke (2001: 18).

48. Paintings including *Death of Pompey* and *Ides of March*, both from 1962; Cullinan 2009: 101; Priwitzer 2014: 240.

49. In 1995, Jean Baudrillard, writing about the Gulf War against Saddam Hussein, spoke of our condition of 'otage de l'intoxication des media' (Baudrillard 1991: 12); years later, in 2006, also on the new media and the war, he coined the term 'porn war' (cited in Bakogianni 2015a: 7).

50. Sontag 2003; Zimmermann 2013: 39.

51. Zubero Beascoechea 2016: 92; Moeller 2006.

52. 'Spectacle is employed as a weapon to denounce war rather than to support or glorify it' (Bakogianni 2015a: 19, on Cacoyannis' adaptations of Euripides' tragedies).

53. Silk, Gildenhard and Barrow 2014: 399.

54. An important guide to this active answer is the text or title provided by the artist in order to prevent the dangers inherent to the 'aphony of the images'. Susan Sontag has written about this problem, valorizing the brief texts which Goya included in his series of engravings *The Disasters of War* (Sontag 2003: 37).

Chapter 3   Violence to Valour: Visualizing Thais of Athens

1. The Thais discussed here is Thais [1] in *der neue Pauly* (Badian 2006) and see also the entry 'Thais, Mistress of Ptolemy I' in Bennett 2011. On Thais' reception, see Ravazzolo 2009 (*non vidi* because it is no longer in print and I have been unable to yet find it).

2. The ancient accounts of Arr., *Anab.*3.18.11–12; Diod. Sic. 17.72.1–6; Curt. 5.7.11; Plut., *Alex.* 38.1–8. Thais is first mentioned in Cleitarchus via Athenaeus 13.576D–E = *FGrH* IIB 137, Fr. 11.

3. For a recapitulation of the ages-old debate around the destruction of Persepolis, see most recently Mousavi 2012: 57–72, and the previous contributions of Balcer 1978; Borza 1972; Bloedow 1995; Hammond 1992; among many others.

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