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She does not want: Wartime rape in Goya’s Disasters of War

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She does not want. This is the message gleaned from the titles of three prints depicting rape in Goya’s Los Desastres de la Guerra (Disasters of War): No quieren, Tampoco, Ni por ésas—They don’t want it, Nor do these, Nor those (Fig. 1–3). Deviating from contemporaneous representations of sexual violence, the difficult subject of plates 9–11 from the Disasters of War (1808–1815) is often glossed over in favor of analyses which highlight Goya’s innovations in print media. Rather, we must confront images of sexual violence as they are, assessing not only our discomfort but also the critical implications of how rape is visually represented. Remarkable in both subject and execution, the series offers a blistering condemnation of the French occupation of Spain during the Peninsular War, and attention must be paid to the complexities of Goya’s insightful although problematic commentary on wartime sexual violence.

Transformed into abetting witnesses of the gruesome scenes, both viewer and artist are implicated as detached, though unwitting, participants in the sexual violence enacted against these women— the artist in his creation and the viewer in his reception of the images. While art historians and critics have addressed the aesthetic and critical success of the prints’ acerbic criticism of warfare, there has been little focus on the plates which depict violence against women. Although They don’t want it, Nor do these, Nor those promotes a sympathetic criticism of wartime rape, Goya remains unable to prioritize the trauma experienced by female victims over his political indictment of French aggressors. I will demonstrate this by comparing the prints to Goya’s Bandits’ Series and other portrayals of rape by nineteenth-century artists, considering critical reception at the release of the Disasters of War, nineteenth-century perceptions of rape, and traditional representations of sexual violence in the history of art.

Diverging from typical propagandistic representations of warfare in the Disasters of War, Goya must have been familiar with Jacques Callot’s The Large Miseries of War (1633), resembling the series in title and subject matter, though differing in execution. Prior to Callot’s engravings, the bleak realities of contemporary warfare had not yet been represented,
artists instead chose to represent heroism, conquest, and allegory.1 Focusing on two of the five prints where Callot chose to represent the effects of war on civilian population, *A Convent: Looting, Arson, and Rape* (Fig. 4), and *Pillaging a Country House* (Fig. 5), reveals a detailed narrative representation of the looting that occurred regularly throughout the Thirty Years War.2 It is clear that for women, pillage inevitably led to rape. Both the images of the convent and the country house are wide-angled scenes filled with painstaking details that work together to form a narrative image which appears almost journalistic in intent. Compared to Callot’s *Miseries of War*, Goya’s *Disasters of War* varies greatly in style and scope, taking on the qualities of a sketch, removed from any recognizable setting while focusing on rape rather than general looting as the subject.3 Characterized by exaggerated tonal contrasts, forceful diagonals, and violent emotion, rape is the indisputable subject of They don’t want it, Nor do these, Nor those, and it is impossible for the viewer to ignore.

Until Goya’s *Disasters of War*, nowhere before had sexual violence been represented so graphically; candid in its brutality. This is a striking juxtaposition to Goya’s French contemporaries’ idealized portraits of Napoleon’s glorious exploits. One of Napoleon’s favorite propaganda painters, Antoine-Jean Gros, *Capitulation of Madrid, 4 December 1808* (1810) fabricates a likely fictional encounter between Napoleon and the Spanish wherein Napoleon receives the deference befitting a holy figure, molding the paint to embellish events through the medium’s verisimilitude and the composition’s neoclassical and romantic style (Fig. 6). Goya’s prints offer honesty and urgency through stark colors and harried brushstrokes which imply the immediacy of a quickly executed sketch. The rape scenes shown in plates 9–11 of the *Disasters of War*, though masquerading as an artistic account mirroring journalistic truth is actually carefully composed and precisely etched, the medium deceptive in its implied veracity.

Although They don’t want it, Nor do these, Nor those may appear to be straightforward representations of real events, they remain fabricated scenes, likely created from written and oral accounts of the Peninsular War.4 Indeed, Goya in his sixties, deaf and afflicted by illness, did not venture to the battlefront to view and relay the horrors happening there, nor could he have survived many of the scenes which he illustrates in his prints. Carefully staged, the prints detail subjects composed by Goya, though some of his scenes detailing corpses, amputees, and the ravages of war may be based on truths either seen or heard during the war.5 An account of the French occupation describes,

> Whenever the French come here. . . they commit the greatest atroc-
> ities that Your Excellency can imagine. . . If I was to mention all
> the atrocities which they commit in the course of their comings and
goings, Your Excellency would be astonished, for there is not a statue

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3. Ibid.
5. At the onset of the Napoleonic invasion of Spain, Goya was invited to visit Saragossa as an artist recorder, and though no art remains from this period, its effects on the *Disasters of War* remain evident. Though events at Saragossa are often referenced as the inspiration of the *Disasters of War*, what he read in newspaper accounts and heard from others are more likely sources for the plates created from 1810–1815, two years after his visit to Saragossa.
which they do not burn, nor a woman whom they do not molest. Indeed, at times they kill the woman, as they do any man who does not give them what they demand.⁶

This account reflects the reality of French rule, mired in barbaric conduct involving massacres, executions, pillages, and rapes.

Although the above report coincides with the scenes of sexual violence depicted in *They don't want it, Nor do these, Nor those*, we must be wary of ascribing a fixed narrative to the Peninsular War. For every account detailing French cruelty, there is also an account describing torture and rape committed by Spanish soldiers and guerilla fighters. One account states, “As soon as the fighting began to wax faint, the horrors of plunder and rapine succeeded. Fortunately, there were few females in the place, but of the fate of the few which were there I cannot even now think without a shudder.”⁷ Looking at the images of wartime sexual violence produced by Goya, we must remain cognizant that though only French soldiers are shown as rapists, men on both sides of the conflict were responsible for the endemic sexual violence that befell Spanish women during the Peninsular War.

While today scholars consider the *Disasters of War* a blatant critique of the Peninsular War through its nondiscriminatory portrayal of violent horrors committed by both French and Spanish soldiers, at the time of its release in 1863, critics perceived the series quite differently. The release of the *Disasters of War* by the Royal Academy of Noble Arts of San Fernando aroused widespread interest among both the public and art critics alike, resulting in a series of articles published in widely circulated magazines that both lauded and admonished Goya for his depiction of the war, now fifty years in the past.⁸ Criticized for his status as an ilustrado, Goya favored the liberal and secular ideologies of France over the pervasive conservatism that characterized Spanish bureaucracy and clergy. Like many of his contemporaries, Goya coexisted with and accepted the French invaders, even painting for Joseph Bonaparte, a deed which was not forgotten by those who resisted the Bonaparte occupation.

In an article published in *El Arte de España*, painter and critic, Enrique Mélida published a series of articles on the Disasters of War, presenting an analysis of each print where he both esteems and rebukes Goya.⁹ Addressing unease surrounding Goya’s political loyalties in the face of Spanish suffering during the Napoleonic occupation, Mélida claims the series to be the purest ruminations of Goya’s soul, while also pointing out that through his caricatures of the Spanish people he unjustly doubts their heroism.¹⁰ Mélida’s contradictory assessment of Goya’s

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⁷ An account detailing the fighting in San Sebastian, a city in the north of Spain. The savage taking of the city was justified by the Spanish and their allies with claims that the inhabitants were "pro-French." For a more detailed discussion of the events of San Sebastian and other wartime occurrences, reference *The Peninsular War* by Charles Esdaile, pages 470–472.
¹⁰ An excerpt from Mélida’s article, Los Desastres de la Guerra. The original Spanish is included below the English translation that I have provided:

“From doubt to mockery there is but one step. When faith does not exist, sacrifices cannot be understood, lacking the sentiment that they dictate, and their absence prevents them from being seen by their heroism, impeding understanding of all their sublimity. This happened to Goya. Lacking in faith, in the justice of the cause which animated the Spaniards, he pitifully degenerated through caricature, many of the
sentiments reflects an inability to overcome his biased belief in a universal narrative of Spanish struggle against French aggression, not understanding the nuance of Goya’s actual experiences during the Bonaparte regime. Although Mélida was right to recognize that Goya did not recognize the nobility of the Spanish people, he failed to grasp Goya’s intentions. The Disasters of War is a clear condemnation of war; Goya indicts not only the French but all participants of the Peninsular War who committed violent atrocities, revealing war for the true horror that it is.

Stark in both execution and subject, They don’t want it, Nor do these, Nor those graphically represent the rape of women by French soldiers, offering a callous view of the supposed inevitable consequences which war and looting wages on women. In They don’t want it, a woman braces herself against the attack of a French soldier, struggling against his arms as more soldiers attempt to encircle her, turning her face away as she scratches at her attacker. She is unaware of the elderly woman behind her who has come to her aid, knife raised, ready to sink it into the soldier’s back. Their resistance is highlighted by the lighter tones of the struggling woman and the forceful lines which direct the viewer’s gaze to the armed elderly woman.

Comparatively, Nor do these is populated by a messy entanglement of figures; three soldiers and their victims are set against a dark background composed of short strokes, adding to the incomprehensibility of the scene. A male corpse and the soldier’s sabers, discarded and foreboding, lie at the extreme left and right of the composition. The phallic sabers used to kill the man have been cast aside in favor of a different but symbolically related weapon: the soldiers’ penises. The narrative of sexual violence is visually reinforced by the resemblance of the X’s formed by the soldiers’ uniforms as well as the pile of discarded sabers. In the mass of nearly indistinguishable figures, the soldier and the woman to the bottom right of the composition are clearest. As the woman cries out, twisting against her attacker, her posture resembles that of the dead man, suggesting her likely fate and that of the other women. A review of the same piece by Enrique Mélida describes,

[it] has the same subject as the previous [one], but interpreted very fortunately/pleasingly. It is a scene of barbarous lust that runs over everything, and the invading army gave so many and such sad examples of the knowledge and consent of their leaders. This composition breathes

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laminations that compose the collection. And yet, the whole work breathes the horror that the people experienced by their oppressors. The executions by firing squads, the executions under frivolous pretexts, the looting, the rapes, the fires, the ruins of houses, famine and all the horrible disasters that afflicted Spain are reproduced with an admirable emotion and truth, with an incomparable national character, because in the frozen heart of the artist they [the horrible disasters] could not help but impress the misfortunes of his brothers; an impression that lasted only the brief time necessary to acquire graphic form.”

“De la duda á la burla no hay más que un paso. Cuando la fe no existe no pueden comprenderse los sacrificios, falta el sentimiento que los dicta, y su ausencia, no dejando verlos por su lado heroico, impide comprender toda su sublimidad. Esto le sucedió á Goya; falto de la viva fe en la justicia de su causa que animaba á los españoles, degeneró lastimosamente en la caricatura, muchas de las láminas que componen la colección. Y sin embargo, la obra toda respira el horror que el pueblo tenía a sus opresores. Los fusilamientos, las ejecuciones bajo frívolos pretextos, los saqueos, las violaciones, los incendios, las ruinas de las casas, el hambre y todos los horribles desastres que afligieron á España, se hallan reproducidos con un sentimiento y una verdad admirables, con un incomparable carácter nacional, porque en el helado corazón del artista no podían menos de hacer impresión las desgracias de sus hermanos; pero una impresión que duraba sólo el breve tiempo necesario para adquirir forma gráfica.”
life itself, what frankness and spontaneity he recorded.11

Yet, how can this image be more “pleasing” than the previous? Likely conveying his pleasure with the image’s composition and its execution, Mélida’s description of the scene as “muy felizemente” meaning very pleasingly or happily, when compared to the previous image where there is at least a hope of survival, reflects dire views of rape in the nineteenth century.

Although Mélida’s criticism appears crude today, contemporary critics of the Disasters of War have made similar comments,

Goya’s rendering of even the most vile and chaotic events can nonetheless yield beauty, structure, and insight. In What a Great Deed! With Corpses! another print from the Disasters of War, dead bodies and body parts—artfully adorn a tree, in a display of death more grisly than any crucifixion. Who deserves credit for artistry: a French soldier, a Spanish guerilla, or Goya himself?12

Indeed, who deserves the blame for the sexual violence committed against the women? Is it the soldiers who systematically raped women during the Napoleonic occupation, the fictional soldiers in the prints who commit the acts of violence, or the artist who formulates the scene in his mind? Although past and contemporary art historians and critics consider the aesthetic and political value of the composition and subject of the series overall, should scenes that portray violence against women, such as in the Disasters of War, be considered beautiful? Evaluating the aesthetic qualities of an artwork, without addressing the critical subject in cases where sexual violence is depicted is indicative of a larger issue, discomfort with and an unwillingness to confront these scenes for what they are and what they imply.

In Nor those, Goya returns to the stark clarity of They don’t want it. Stretching across the breadth of the composition, a soldier violently yanks at a woman whose child, wrenched from her grasp, has been cast aside. Highlighted by the difference in tone, rendered in white while the other figures are modeled in black, the active violence in the scene leaves no doubt as to what is about to come to pass. The expressions of the women in this scene convey inescapable terror, and though they battle their attackers, the viewer recognizes the hopeless outcome. Once again, Goya visually reinforces their impending rape through his representations of the sword as phallic, forcefully angled and clearly delineating sexual violence. Mélida’s description, “The debauchery continues. Now the women do not defend themselves, [but] beg. Nevertheless, lasciviousness does not hear their pleas to the enemies, nor were they moved to compassion by the crying of the children of those who they violate,” typifies contemporaneous belief that rape was a crime resulting from men’s insatiable lust.13

The context of Goya’s work deserves further attention if we are to appreciate

11. Excerpted from page 271 of Mélida’s article, the original Spanish states: “Num. 10 Tampoco.—El presente tiene el mismo asunto que el anterior, pero interpretado muy felizmente. Es una escena de bárbara lujuria que atropella por todo, y de que tantos y tan tristes ejemplos dió el ejército invasor á ciencia y paciencia de sus jefes. Esta composición respire la misma vida, que franqueza y spontaneidad el grabado. Además del número indicado, en una de las esquinas inferiores tiene el 19.”
13. The original text from Mélida’s article is as follows: “11. Ni por esas.–El desenfreno continúa. Ahora las mujeres no se defienden, suplican. Sin embargo, la lascivia no deja oír sus ruegos á los enemigos ni les mueve á compasión el llanto de los hijos de las que atropellan. Esta plancha esta firmada y tiene además el núm. 18.”
what he achieved, as well as what he did not manage to master. In the nineteenth century, the definition of rape was largely left up to interpretation and often hinged on the question of how much resistance there was on the behalf of the woman. Law codes varied in their characterization of rape, typically recognizing it as the forced carnal knowledge of a woman against her will. The basis for nineteenth-century Spanish family law, Las Siete Partidas states, “Where a man has sexual intercourse with a married woman by force, taking her by surprise so that she cannot protect herself from him, if the act is performed in this manner, she does not commit adultery, and cannot be accused of it.”

A number of manuals widely circulated at the time, such as Nicolas de Venette’s Tableau de l’amour conjugal (Conjugal Love), commonly acknowledged that should a woman become pregnant from forced sexual intercourse, it could not be rape for it was believed that it was impossible for a woman to get pregnant without experiencing an orgasm. Thus, if a woman had “enjoyed” sex with her attacker, no force must have been involved.

In Madrid of the 1870s, shortly after the Disasters of War was released, the burden on proper interactions between men and women was reflected by the exchange or non-exchange of glances between the sexes in the streetscape. Women were expected to behave silently, indifferent to the gaze of men, which was only improper if she reciprocated or if the woman was of a “respectable” class and disposition. Symptomatic of widespread beliefs surrounding women’s purity as necessary for accusations of sexual assault to be considered legitimate, Goya ensures the images of rape in the Disasters of War meet the burden of proof and the quota of resistance required of women for rape to be considered non-consensual. There is no doubt that the fault for the sexual violence manifested in They don’t want it, Nor do these, Nor those lays exclusively on the soldiers committing the act.

The Disasters of War underscores the behavior of the soldiers who raped helpless civilians as barbaric, an abrupt departure from widely accepted Enlightenment ideals that reviled pillage, and thus rape, as an uncivilized affront to private property, civilization, and progress. It is an unfortunate irony that Goya was one of the many ilustrados who initially accepted the French, believing progress under Napoleon was imminent. However, faith in Napoleon was grossly misplaced. Instead of discouraging rape as a barbaric practice, he encouraged systematic sexual violence as an expression of coercive power over the Spanish and others they sought to intimidate, which demoralized any opposition. Unfortunately, any backlash against the acts of sexual violence committed by the French was a result of the general belief that rape was more of a violation of male property rights driven by unmanageable sexual impulses than a violent crime against a woman. The accepted inescapability of rape during wartime is underscored by the original title of Goya’s prints which alludes to the prints as manifestations of the fatal consequences of

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18. Esdaile, 238.
war, implying that rape is a natural, though regrettable, result of war.  

At this time, rape was understood from an exclusively male frame of reference and Goya’s depictions of rape were likely intended to underscore not only violence against women but the offenses committed against Spanish men through the sexual violation of their women. As an overt manifestation of savagery, popular evolutionary theory posited rape as barbarous and the man who raped as degenerate, aiding the narratives propagated by the Spanish which incriminated the French.  

In this regard, perhaps Goya was more patriotic than Mélida gave him credit. Goya’s political motivations are apparent, for these prints advance a narrative of French aggression, indicting Napoleonic soldiers for their crimes while ignoring comparable rape crimes executed by the Spanish and their allies.  

While it is evident that wartime sexual violence has been experienced by both men and women in written records, it is always women who are shown as the victims of these crimes in the artistic tradition. Janis Tomlinson asserts in the exhibit, Goya—Disorder and War that war fails to discriminate against men and women “as women gain equality—as victims of atrocity.” Goya’s images of rape clearly demonstrate that women do not gain equality in war. Instead their inequality is even more perverse, for in war it is not commonly men who are raped, but women. Differentiated from familiar depictions of rape in the history of art, They don’t want it, Nor do these, Nor those eschewed portrayals of rape as heroic and romantic, favoring comparatively explicit manifestations of the victim’s unwillingness in the face of sexual violence.  

Many of the images of rape lauded in the Western artistic canon are visualizations of Greek myths and Roman history celebrating the myth of the heroic rapist who conquers the rapable woman, reinforcing male virility through action and violence.  

Advancing the notion of heroic rape, Jacques Louis David’s Intervention of the Sabine Women (1799) sanitizes the kidnapping and rape of the Sabine women that led to the establishment of Rome (Fig. 8). Ignoring the implications of rape, David chooses not to represent the moments preceding the rape but to present the effects years after--the women have borne their rapist’s children, throwing themselves in between their noble “husbands”, fathers, and brothers in an act of dramatic pathos. Compassion for the victims of rape is nonexistent and the violence of their rape has become a non-issue. Women’s sexual violation has become a plot device secondary to the artist’s aesthetic drama which is motivated by a broader political agenda, created by and for men without consideration of the female viewer and subject.  

Goya’s representations of rape are antithetical to heroic depictions of rape wherein sexual violence is often beside the point. He departs from his Romanticist contemporaries’ blatant disregard for the realities of sexual violence, manifested in their eroticized portrayals of rape victims. Johann Heinrich Fuseli’s Incubus Leaving Two Girls (1794) (Fig. 8) is emblematic of the emphasis on sublime terror that

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20. The original title of the Disasters of War is actually, Fatal Consequences of the bloody war against Bonaparte in Spain. And other emphatic caprices (Fatales consecuencias de la sangrienta Guerra en España con Buonaparte. Y otros caprichos enfáticos). Discussed by Janis Tomlinson in the War section of the Goya and War exhibition catalogue, the title was is found on the original set of prints that Goya gave to his friend, Juan Augustín Ceán Bermúdez, an art historian and collector.  
23. Brownmiller, 293.
occurred in the wake of disillusionment with the enlightenment at the start of the nineteenth century, a reaction to the suffering experienced by widespread warfare.

Turning away from the immaculate neoclassical works of David, Fuseli’s painting demonstrates a fascination with the perverse and the disturbing scene is marked by expressions of anguish in the wake of an Incubus’s lecherous assault—we are shown the aftermath. The women’s despair is palpable, echoed in the bowed head of the woman to the left and the torment apparent in her companion’s expression. Her misery clearly intimates sexual violence, yet the artist displays her body for the male viewer’s voyeuristic consumption presenting her porcelain skin, rounded breasts, and supple torso hardly covered by her gossamer garment. These two women, or girls, as termed by Fuseli, are typical of the transformation of rape victim to erotic object by Romantic artists who aestheticized sexual violence. Their plight invokes the viewer’s sympathy, yet their objectification renders them complicit sexual objects whose fate is inevitable.

While some have claimed Bandits’ Attack II: Bandits Stripping and Raping Two Women (Fig. 9) and Bandits’ Attack III: Bandits Murdering a Woman (Fig. 10) are indictments of the Bourbons, a denunciation of the kidnapping, rape, and murder of women that was ignored by the Spanish government, others characterize the series as an exploration of rape as a variation of the sublime. This is similar to Fuseli’s Incubus Leaving Two Girls, which emphasizes terror through the subject’s coerced nudity. Where David and Fuseli’s portrayals of sexual violence typify artistic and cultural rape discourse of the early nineteenth century, Goya’s rendering of rape in the Bandits’ Attack series elucidates horror from the viewer, countering the narrative of heroic rape by replacing the virile hero with the degenerate criminal. Unfortunately, he remained unable to transcend the inherent flaws of sublime representations of sexual violence, a freedom necessary in order to accomplish a truly sympathetic portrait of female experience.

In Bandits’ Attack II and III, the victims’ degradation is literally illuminated, not only by the light pouring into the darkened caves where lawlessness reigns, but by the translucent brushwork, the luster of their painfully naked bodies demanding the attention of the viewer. Their breasts are erotically modeled, their nipples erect, and their skin seemingly unblemished, the focus on their bodies emphasizes their aesthetic vulnerability. Faceless except for a scream, the bodies of the victims are reduced to their erotic elements, emphasizing rape as a lustful crime incited by the sensual female body. Although Goya certainly disrupts any romantic or heroic notion of rape, the Bandits Series remains sensational and a compassionate understanding is only accomplished when women’s bodies are no longer framed as rapable sexual objects, a feat Goya comes closer to realizing in the Disasters of War, which was produced after the Bandits and reflects the violence Goya witnessed during the Peninsular War.

They don’t want it, Nor do these, Nor those reinforces the barbarity of the French soldiers and men who rape, successfully elucidating sympathy for the female victim by avoiding the eroticization of their bodies, firmly asserting male culpability. In comparison to Eugene Delacroix’s, Scenes from the Massacres at Chios (1824) (Fig. 11), which is compositionally and stylistically designed to arouse the viewer’s outrage and sympathy on behalf of the Greeks, Goya’s

depictions of rape in the *Disasters of War* are for more explicit yet remain less sensational.\(^\text{25}\) Also situated in contemporary events, *Scenes from the Massacres at Chios* is imbued with Delacroix’s Orientalist style which feminizes and eroticizes both male and female nudity in the composition to imply the rape of Greek culture, sensationalizing the implied rape and violence and shocking the viewer through vulgarity, a technique that Goya sought to avoid.\(^\text{26}\) Additionally, Delacroix’s figuration of rape, a woman violently carried off by a Turk on his horse, remains subordinate to a larger narrative of war similar to Callot’s *A Convent: Looting, Arson, and Rape*.

By making sexual violence the sole subject of several of the prints from the *Disasters of War*, Goya assumes that these rape scenes are in and of themselves deserving of our consideration. Firmly asserting male culpability due to the strict thematic framework in which they were created, the prints avoid the aestheticizing of female bodies as rapable where *Bandits’ Attack II* and *III* does not. By representing rape as a violent event motivated by power, not lust, Goya disrupts fixed narratives of rape as a natural consequence of women’s bodies in *They don’t want it*, *Nor do these*, and *Nor those*, pushing the boundaries of artistic representations of rape.

Nevertheless, Goya’s portrayals of sexual violence, like those of his male contemporaries, remain firmly androcentric, for they depict rape from an external view that emphasizes the dramatic physical action, reinforcing gendered associations of sex and violence.\(^\text{27}\) His depictions associate action with men, undermining the resistance and agency of the women depicted by portraying their rape as inevitable. Despite the accomplishment of Goya’s intended political agenda through the active violation of chaste female bodies, these women retain the potential for strength, particularly in *They don’t want it*, though they remain helpless in *Nor do these*, and *Nor those*. Widening the range of typical rape imagery to include the possibility of increased complex representations of women, later artistic representations of the subject are indebted to the *Disasters of War*. However, the adverse construction of woman as victim is essential to the series and these images display the rape of women to an end in which the lives and suffering of rape victims, fictional or real, are periphery to what acts of sexual violence say about the men who wage war. Although Goya refuses to exploit women’s bodies in the *Disasters of War*, he had not yet achieved the more mature and independent feat of representing the complexity of experience of the noncombatant female in war—as both agent and victim. Rather, he yields to the culture’s fixation on the inhumanity of the male aggressor, leaving the potential for more sophisticated renderings to languish until later works—such as Kathe Kollwitz’s psychological representations of the subject—took up that potential in the following century and gave them form.

\(^{26}\) Ibid., 76.


Fig. 1, Francisco Goya, *Disasters of War, 9: They do not want*, 1810-15, print, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Fig. 2, Francisco Goya, *Disasters of War, 10: Nor do these*, 1810-1815, print, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Fig. 3, Francisco Goya, *Disasters of War, 11: Nor those*, 1810-1815, print, Museo del Prado, Madrid.
Fig. 4, Jacques Callot, *A Convent: Looting, Arson, and Rape* from the series *The Miseries of War*, 1633, etching, Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney.

Fig. 5, Jacques Callot, *Pillaging a Country House* from the series *The Miseries of War*, 1633, etching, Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney.

Fig. 6, Antoine-Jean Gros, *Capitulation of Madrid, 4 December 1808*, 1810, oil on canvas, Museum of the History of France, Versailles.
Fig. 7, Jacques Louis David, *Intervention of the Sabine Women*, 1799, oil on canvas, The Louvre, Paris.

Fig. 8, Henry Fuseli, *Incubus Leaving Two Girls*, 1794, oil on canvas, Muraltengut, Zürich.

Fig. 9, Francisco Goya, *Bandits’ Attack II: Bandits Stripping and Raping Two Women*, 1798-1800, oil on canvas, Marques de la Romana Collection, Madrid.

Fig. 10, Francisco Goya, *Bandits’ Attack III: Bandits Murdering a Woman*, 1808-1811, oil on canvas, Private Collection.
Fig. 11, Eugene Delacroix, *Scenes from the Massacres at Chios*, 1822-1824, oil on canvas, The Louvre, Paris.