Durham University

Durham E-Theses

Tacitus and nationalism in nineteenth-century art

RICHARD WARREN

How to cite:

WARREN, RICHARD (2014) Tacitus and nationalism in nineteenth-century art. Doctoral thesis, Durham University.

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a https://etheses.durham.ac.uk/id/eprint/9502/ is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the full Durham E-Theses policy for further details.

Academic Support Office, The Palatine Centre, Durham University, Stockton Road, Durham, DH1 3LE
e-mail: e-theses.admin@durham.ac.uk Tel: +44 0191 334 6107
https://etheses.durham.ac.uk

Material Abstract

Author: Richard Warren
Title: Tacitus and nationalism in nineteenth-century art

In the nineteenth century artists patronised by national, imperial and aristocratic elites in Europe turned to Tacitus and other classical sources for inspiration in defining the national and ethnic ideal of these patrons. This is a phenomenon that was particularly evident in the German-speaking countries of central Europe, where the figure of Arminius from Tacitus' Annals was represented in many different artistic media, from painting to monumental sculpture. In the German states themselves depictions often followed a similar prescription, which took their inspiration from the plays of Freidrich Gottlieb Klopstock and Heinrich von Kleist, which dramatised the victory of Arminius (or 'Hermann') over Quinctilius Varus and his Roman army. The national context of the time was complicated by the process of unification and the reach of German language and culture beyond the borders of what was in the later century united in the new German Reich.

Use was also made of figures drawn from Tacitus in nineteenth-century Britain. In this thesis I also examine how Boadicea and Calgacus were employed in national and local contexts during a period when Britain's imperial power was at its height. It is shown that here too the approach taken by artists to their subject matter in a nationalist context was not always predictable. Examining both central Europe and Britain it compares different case studies, to demonstrate something of the flexibility possible in the treatment of an – at first sight – straightforward theme from classical literature.

It will also be explored how the political and artistic contexts of the respective periods in which artists lived variously affected – or did not affect - their treatment of the themes. The extent to which one can analyse their individual portrayals as 'nationalist', or under the influence of 'nationalist' themes, is explored.

Title Page

Title: Tacitus and nationalism in nineteenth-century art
Number of volumes: 1
Name of author: Richard Warren
Qualification for which thesis submitted: PhD
Department: Department of Classics and Ancient History
Name of institution: Durham Univerity
Year of submission: 2013

Contents

List of illustrations....6
Introduction....9
Overview and key questions....9
Methodology....11
Tacitus and his works....15
Tacitus....15
Arminius....24
Boadicea....26
Calgacus....28
Early transmission....31
The nineteenth century....34
Background to reception....34
Classics, nationalism and empire....36
Germany, Austria and the east....38
Art Centres....40
Germanic and Celtic revivalism....42
I. Central Europe....45
Angelica Kauffman....45
Hermann and Thusnelda....45
Angelica Kauffman....47
An imperial commission....50
Education and other works....54
Kauffman and her contemporaries....60
Kauffman and nationalism?....65
Caspar David Friedrich....70
Felsental (Das Grab des Arminius)....70
Gräber gefallener Freiheitskrieger (Grabmale alter Helden)....73
Friedrich and the patriotic movement....75
Der Chasseur im Walde....81
Huttens Grab....85
The observer in Friedrich's paintings....88
Graves, death and memory in Friedrich's paintings....90
Copenhagen and Dresden connections....93
Ernst von Bandel....98
Hermannsdenkmal....98
Bandel and the monument's construction....100
Bandel's use of Tacitus....103
Other works....106
Contemporary reactions....109

Ludwig von Schwanthaler....118
Walhalla north pediment....118
Analysis....120
The Walhalla....122
Ludwig von Schwanthaler....125
Arminius, Greece and Klenze's world view....128
Ludwig I and Arminius....135
Joseph Bergler....139
Analysis....142
Joseph Bergler....144
Nationalist themes in Bergler's 'Hermann'....148
Karl Friedrich Schinkel....155
Entwurf zu einem Denkmal für Hermann den Cherusker....155
Analysis....156
Background....157
Schinkel's classicism....159
Schinkel and the Classical world....162
Schinkel and German romantic nationalism....165
Karl Theodor von Piloty....172
Analysis....178
Piloty, the commission and the World Exhibition....182
Commentary on Piloty's 'Thusnelda'....187
Piloty's 'Thusnelda' and German unification....190
Alfons Mucha....194
Varrus brûlé après la bataille de Teutbourg....194
Mucha and the commission for the illustration....196
Mucha's style....198
Charles Seignobos....203
Mucha and the Czech National Revival....206
Mucha and Seignobos' History....211
II. Britain....216
Edward Henry Corbould....216
Galgacus addressing his Troops....216
James Taylor and The Pictorial History of Scotland....219
The Victorian Empire....225
Edward Henry Corbould....229
Corbould's style and subject matter....230
Corbould's book illustrations....236
Corbould and the Royal Family....239
John Opie....244
Boadicea haranguing the Britons....244

The commission and Hume's History of England....247
Opie and the English art establishment....250
Opie as a patriot....253
Henry Courteney Selous....258
Boadicea Haranguing the Iceni....258
Her Majesty's Commission on the Fine Arts....262
The cartoon competition....265
Selous the writer and illustrator....270
Contemporary reception....278
Thomas Thornycroft....286
Boadicea and her Daughters....286
Analysis and reception....287
Thomas Thornycroft....292
Other works....296
Cowper's Boadicea....299
Patriotism and empire....301
Edwardian pageants....305
Edwardian pageants....305
St. Albans pageant postcard....306
The St. Albans pageant....309
Colchester pageant souvenir frontispiece....313
The Colchester pageant....315
The Festival of Empire....318
Boadicea's role in Edwardian pageants....327
Douglas Strachan....332
Calgacus....332
The Scottish National War Memorial....333
Strachan's allegories....336
Calgacus and Scottish nationalism....338
Conclusion....344
Comparative analysis....344
Approach to style....344
Approach to subject matter....347
Nationalism....351
British and German interpretations of Tacitus....354
Key findings....358
Illustrations....361
Bibliography....377

List of illustrations

Figure 1 (361): A. Kauffman, 'Hermann and Thusnelda', Oil-on-canvas, 44,8 x 61,9cm, 1786 (Kunstgeschichtliche Sammlungen, Vienna).

Figure 2 (362): C. D Friedrich, 'Felsental (Das Grab des Arminius)', oil-on-canvas, 49,5 x 70,5 cm, 1814, (Kunsthalle, Bremen).

Figure 3 (363): C. D. Friedrich, 'Gräber gefallener Freiheitskrieger (Grabmale alter Helden)', oil-on-canvas, 49,3 x 69,8 cm, 1812 (Kunsthalle, Hamburg).

Figure 4 (364): C. D. Friedrich, 'Der Chasseur im Walde', oil-on-canvas, 65,7 x 46,7 cm, 1813/14 (Private Collection, Bielefeld).

Figure 5 (365): C. D. Friedrich, 'Huttens Grab', oil-on-canvas, 97 x 73 cm, 1823-24 (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Weimar).

Figure 6 (366): Photograph of E. von Bandel's *Hermannsdenkmal*.

Figure 7 (367): Photograph of the north pedimental group Leo von Klenze's *Walhalla* monument near Ratisborn.

Figure 8 (368): J. Bergler, 'Hermann nach der Schlacht im Teutoburger Wald', oil-on-canvas, 241 x 304 cm, 1809 (Convent of St. Agnes of Bohemia, National Gallery, Prague).

Figure 9 (369): K. F. Schinkel, 'Design for a Monument to Herman Cherusci', black chalk, watercolour, heightened white, on blue paper, 609 x 899 cm, 1814/1815 (Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen, Berlin). The design cannot be linked to any specific commission.

Figure 10 (370): K. von Piloty, 'Thusnelda im Triumphzug des Germanicus', oil-on-canvas, 710 x 490 cm, 1869-1873, (Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich.

Figure 11 (371): A. Mucha, 'Varrus brûlé après la bataille de Teutbourg', illustration in Seignobos (Paris 1898).

Figure 12 (372): W. Greatbach after E. H. Corbould, 'Calgacus addressing his Troops', in Taylor (London 1859).

Figure 13 (373): J. Opie, 'Boadicea haranguing the Britons', oil-on-canvas, 216 x 162.5 cm, 1792-1800 (Private Collection).

Figure 14 (374): H. C. Selous, 'Boadicea haranguing the Britons' (location unknown).

Figure 15 (376): Photograph of Thomas Thornycroft's 'Boadicea and her daughters' sculptural group, Thames embankment, London.

Figure 16 (377): 'Boadicea Queen of the Iceni' official postcard produced for St.

Albans pageant, 1907 (St. Albans Museum, St. Albans). Signed by artist 'Robert E. Groves'.

It has not been possible to obtain reproductions of the Colchester pageant guide frontispiece, or of Douglas Strachan's stained-glass window.

Statement of copyright

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without the author's prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

Introduction

Overview and key questions

This projects examines a series of nineteenth-century European painters, illustrators and sculptors, and looks at the individual approaches they took to portraying the theme of resistance against Roman dominion.[1] The legends which they depicted are all originally drawn from the historical works of Cornelius Tacitus. In this project we focus on how artists from northern and central Europe approached this subject matter and the figures of Arminius, Boadicea, and Calgacus, all leaders of tribes from northern Europe that resisted the Roman empire. Through a series of detailed case studies individual examples are explored in-depth, and where possible each example is set in and explained through the context of the artist in question and the time in which they lived.

This introduction is intended to set some of the broader context in which these artists worked, and to give a summary overview of the classical source on which they were – to a lesser or greater degree in each case – drawing. It also gives a brief overview of the reception of Tacitus prior to the period in question. Taking a comparative approach, the conclusion looks at some of the key trends and patterns that emerge through a collective examination of the individual studies. It looks at how portrayal of the themes in question changed during the course of the nineteenth-century, and what characterised particular approaches across countries.[2]

The overarching concern of this project is exploratory, to shed light on nationalist approaches towards classical themes in northern Europe in the nineteenth century, and to do this in the arena of artistic production. The key question of this project is then how artists during the period used ancient historical accounts to variously support (or refute) the nationalist tenets of the societies in which they lived. As will be seen, and could be expected, there is a significant amount of variation in approaches that are taken. However the variation often took an unconventional form, and this project will attempt to explain these idiosyncracies in artists' approach to their subject through the influence of their personal artistic style and cultural influences.

1 All translations provided for Czech and Latin source material in this thesis are my own.

2 This chapter can only provide an overall summary of the salient events and issues of the period. Further historical context, where relevant, is provided in individual chapters.

A secondary concern is how the approach of individual artists was affected by the historical circumstances in which they lived. The effect that key events in the history of the nineteenth century exercised over artists will be explored, the ways in which they chose to react to these events and why they took the approach that they did. Key events in nineteenth-century European history had a different impact on the European nation-states and regions under examination in this project, and this project explores one cultural expression of this.

In addition to how time and nationality affected the approach taken to the key themes of this project, we will look at how the different media that artists worked with affected their portrayals. We take several examples of painting and sculpture, of varying scale and display context, but additionally examine examples of book illustrations and an example of a stained-glass window. These examples have been selected to demonstrate breadth of representation across time, region and medium. Finally a study of the material produced for Edwardian pageants is also examined.

In many cases patronage was a key factor in influencing the works of particular artists, as well as artists' and patrons' understanding and attitude towards the classical world and classical source material. Often the patrons of the type of work that is examined in this project were royal or aristocratic, and the involvement of these figures in the events of their time, and their ideological and nationalist positions, are considered as important context for the works in question. The classical basis of the education of the establishment figures that largely sponsored nationalist art in the nineteenth century is taken as a key influential factor. Through specific examples this project aims to consider how national establishments during the period used art to further their political objectives in the cultural sphere.

Finally the effect of the several and influential artistic movements of the period on artists is looked at. A subsidiary consideration of this project is how neoclassicism gave way succesively to Romanticism and the subsequent artistic movements of the nineteenth century in the sphere of painting and sculpture in northern Europe, although it is recognised that this can only be examined here through a very narrow prism. While this project is primarily intended as a contribution to classical reception studies, it is hoped that the individual case studies of artists and comparative approach taken here will add to the broader study of nationalist painting and sculpture during the nineteenth century.

Methodology

Given the primary focus of this project, it is necessary to comment on the methodological approach taken in the context of classical reception studies. Before we do this a few preliminary points should be noted.

Firstly it should be recognised that Tacitus is not the only source for the historical legends of Arminius, Boadicea and Calgacus.[3] During classical antiquity Cassius Dio also gives an account of the rebellion of Boadicea. This is more extensive than that of Tacitus, and we will see that some figures during the nineteenth century made use of his account too. However in this project Tacitus is taken as primary point of reference as the earliest extant account of these northern rebellions against Rome. This is in line with the stance that is often taken by many of the artists and patrons during the nineteenth century that we look at here, who tended to view Tacitus as their primary historical source[4]

The legends in question have primarily been chosen because they reflect northern tribal leaders that *resisted* the Roman empire and its cultural influence. In delimiting the scope of this thesis it has been necessary to curtail the volume of material examined. A siginificant omission here is an examination of French portrayals of Vercingetorix as a figure equivalent to that of Arminius, Boadicea and Calgacus. This omission is intentional, and based upon a recognition that French nationalist uses of classical material, whether drawn from the accounts of Julius Caesar or other authors, is complicated by the fact of Napoleonic France's predominant identification *with* the Roman empire, as well as alternative models of identification with Gallic leaders that resisted Roman imperial power. To examine this, as well as central European and British approaches to artistic use of classical models of resistance to Rome, would be too ambitious for the scope of this project. However it is recognised that important insights relevant to this project might also be

3 It should be noted that the spelling 'Boadicea', rather than 'Boudicca' or other variant spellings, is employed in this thesis. This is due to its conventional use during the period under discussion. No claim is made that this spelling is more historical accurate.

4 It cannot be asserted that during the period Tacitus was generally seen as more reliable, and Dio unreliable, or that concerns of reliability were the primary concern of those who made use of classical sources in this project. In each case the particular objectives of the artist and patron in question govern what use is made, if any, of Tacitus and Dio.

drawn from French (and other) examples in future research.[5]

Secondly, it is recognised that there had been many other interpretations of this material, whether drawn directly from Tacitus or Cassius Dio, in the literature and art of the period between the end of antiquity and the nineteenth century. It is impossible to provide a full survey of this in this project – and others have already provided studies of some of this rich reception history – but a brief overview is attempted in this introduction, by way of supplying something of the very relevant background against which the artists examined were working. The material that has been chosen for examination here has been selected because it is taken as representative of the variety of the period. It has not been possible within this thesis to examine all representations of the figures in question, but other works are referenced within individual chapters. In a potentially wide-ranging study, it has also been necessary to limit a fuller explanation of issues such as gender and empire, which can only be cursorily examined here.[6]

In undertaking the individual studies of this project, it has been found that the question of the extent to which artists drew directly upon classical source material in portraying the themes that are the subject of this project in the way that they did, is a vexed one. This issue is addressed in each individual chapter. Given the low profile of some of the artists looked at here, the necessary supporting material to demonstrate a clear usage of Tacitus or other authors' work in constructing a particular portrayal is often lacking. In some select cases the necessary evidence is very clear. Where possible written material, including letters and theoretical and autobiographical works, are drawn upon to construct the reception context in which artists were working. However in others this can only be inferred from limited clues, and in other cases it is impossible to establish an artist's relationship with classical authors at all. In all cases however it is recognised that the influence of the intermediate tradition of interpreting Tacitus was a powerful one, which cannot be overlooked. Artists during the nineteenth century did not work in a cultural vacuum.

As mentioned above, it is intended that this project should constitute a

5 Contemporary representations of Caratacus are also not examined here for similar reasons; despite his resistance to Rome, his later reconciliation with the empire affected the way in which he was used in his reception.

6 Due to difficulties of access and limitations of published material, it has not been possible to obtain quality reproductions of the Colchester pageant guide frontispiece, or of Douglas Strachan's stained-glass window.

contribution to the field of classical reception studies. There is insufficient space in this introduction to include even a partial survey of the growing body of classical reception studies. The subject is a large one, ranging from the employment of early classical texts by those that sought to comment on their own times in later classical antiquity, to the use of classical texts by totalitarian regimes. The key premise underlying the approach to these studies has been that the way the sources in question have been received by later cultures is as important as the message or content of the original source itself. Hardwick and Stray outline approaches to classical reception studies and criticisms that have been levelled at each. This project would fall under that of: 'charting the histories of particular texts, styles and ideas'. Three criticisms of this method are listed. Firstly: 'privileging the influence of the ancient'. Secondly: 'assuming that the meaning of the ancient is fixed or unproblematic'. Finally: 'replacing this with the "progress" or "presentism" of the modern'.

To answer each of the criticisms under this heading. There is no intention to unduly privilege Tacitus' influence in this study. It is recognised that his works were influential throughout the Renaissance and beyond, but in the individual case studies that constitute this project it is reognised throughout that the intermediate tradition of the reception of his texts was important. On the second count, no such claim for the meaning of Tacitus' texts is made here, and it is intended that the variableness of their application even within a nationalist context will be clear. If this means acknowledging that the original meaning of ancient material is flexible and subject to change over time, this doesn't necessarily assume an implicit narrative of progress in the change in how the ancient was used. On the final point no such approach is taken intentionally here.

A key question in debates about reception has been consideration of the difference between 'reception' and 'tradition'. Budelmann and Haubold discuss this in their essay in Stray and Hardwick's volume, reaching the conclusion that: 'Tradition and reception tend to overlap, though the precise relationship between the two terms, and their implications in any given area of study, is not always easy to pin down.'[7] This conclusion is followed here. Further attempts to hone the concept of 'reception' through alternative definitions have also been attempted. One suggestion for an alternative terminology, followed by the *Sonderforschungsbereich* on

7 Budelmann, Haubold (2011: 14).

Transformationen der Antike, is 'Transformation'. It is argued that this captures the process of what happened to original classical source material in its usage in later history; that the subject matter is 'transformed' and is not the same as the material in its original state. It is recognised that there is mutual influence between source material and reception context: 'Das zentrale theoretische Konzept der Transformation ermöglicht es dabei, die Referenz zur Antike als wechselseitige Relation der voneinander abhängigen Fremd- und Selbstkonstruktion zu analysieren.'[8] The research focus of this group examines how later generations used their source material for specific reasons, and that in doing so they changed the nature and meaning of that material.

In summary, this project takes as its starting point Budelmann and Haubold's conclusion that: 'The important thing to understand [...] is that one of the most interesting questions about traditions is what they allow people to do. Traditions are enabling'.[9] The primary focus of this thesis will be to examine in detail examples of this in art. Classics, and more particularly the tradition of idols of northern resistance to Rome that began with it, was enabling for nationalists and imperialists. But it was also so for those who were neither of the two, including those who were their detractors.[10]

8 *Sonderforschungsbereich Transformationen der Antike* website (www.sfb-antike.de). Accessed 15.10.13.

9 Budelmann, Haubold (2011: 25).

10 For a further discussion of the theoretical framework of classical reception studies, in addition to Stray and Hardwick's volume see: Martindale, Thomas (2006).

Tacitus and his works

Tacitus

In this section we will look briefly at the Roman senator and historian Tacitus (c.56-117AD) and the works of his that nationalist artists drew upon. It is not the intent here to give either a comprehensive overview of the author or an in-depth analysis of his works. Instead this will be limited to a brief outline of the author and his major works where the tribal leaders central to this project are depicted.[11]

What can we say about the preoccupations of Tacitus in the works that he wrote? We have called him a historian, but it would be a mistake to understand him only as this. He was also a senator, and had been an imperial administrator and governor. He spent the most part of his career under the emperor Domitian, a period characterised in his writings and in those of other authors as a period of tyranny. Tacitus writes in the years following Domitian's death, a period when the spurious histories of this period were being rewritten. As Briessmann comments: 'Tacitus war also weder der einzige noch der erste, der gegen die flavische Propaganda und ihr Geschichtsbild zu Felde gezogen ist'.[12] It is important to register that Tacitus was part of this revisionist movement in Roman historiography, and this is something that colours his writing. His interest in falsification of history inclines him towards a broader interest in pretence and dissimulation in his works, but also in the function of *rumor* and *fama* in influencing the outcome of events.

Tacitus' preoccupation is above all the imperial court at Rome. This is his epicentre, and all else orbits its sphere. His analysis focuses on those that shaped and moved through it. The carefully crafted narratives of the *Histories* and *Annals*, relating the histories of the Flavian and Julio-Claudian emperors respectively, are punctuated by Tacitus' shrewd analyses of the personalities of the emperors themselves and those that had his ear, showing how events at Rome played out according to their whims.[13] As Ash comments of his characterisation of the emperor

11 Tacitus' senatorial career followed a conventional scheme (Praetor 88 AD, Consul 97 AD, twice posted abroad, in the latter case as Governor of Asia).

12 Briessmann (1955: 105)

13 Mellor (1993: 128) comments: 'The intimacy with his characters and the passion for his story recall the tragedies of Euripides, Shakespeare and Racine'.

Tiberius in the *Annals*: 'His power of mind […] is not really political and certainly not military. It is, on a grand scale, psychological.'[14] Threaded through all of Tacitus' works is a basic narrative of moral and political decline during the principate, a thread which begins with an ideal of the virtues of the Roman Republic which preceded it.

However Tacitus was not only interested in Rome. Though in her outer orbit, he also relates the great military campaigns and mutinies of the first century, and the foreign policy of the Roman emperors. Interest in the outer regions of the empire emerges most clearly in the *Germania* (and to a lesser extent in the *Agricola*), which focuses explicitly on a geographical region peripheral to Roman influence. Though the protaganists we look at here (discussed below) have their histories related in other texts, the *Germania* was central to both Tacitus - and those that received his work's - conception of the world these figures existed in. Unlike these works the *Germania* is not a historical narrative, but rather presents itself as an ethnographical description. We will not enter into the (extensive) debate about the nature of the *Germania* here, other than to note that it is certainly not simply a piece of historical writing in the same manner that the *Annals* and *Histories* are. Nor does the text contain a protagonist whose reception we will look at in this project. It is however an important background to that reception and we shall provide a very cursory survey of the text here.

The *Germania* can be said to sit within a classical tradition of ethnographic writing that begins with Herodotus' *Histories*, but which we can also see in several later Greek and Roman works. We can say that this tradition was based upon the 'Greek tendency to interpret the world through the filter of mythology'.[15] Evident in early Greek literature (for example the *On Airs, Waters and Places* of Hippocrates) this approach, known as the 'Hippocratic theory', sought to explain the nature of peoples by reference to the climactic conditions from which they were drawn, often linking this to Greek myths about peoples who lived at the extremities of the earth and who thereby enjoyed a special relationship with the gods (such as the Hyberboreans or the Ethiopians). Something of the Hippocratic theory can be found in later texts, such as those of Polybius and Roman authors such as Vitruvius (*De Architectura* 6.1). Tacitus draws heavily on this tradition of writing in his *Germania*. However this does not make the *Germania* an ethnography alone: 'In effect, Tacitus combined an

14 Ash (2012: 436).

15 Campbell (2006: 72).

ethnography with a periegesis, a combination for which we have no parallel from antiquity'.[16]

After situating the Germans geographically, describing their harsh climate (1) and relating various theories about their origin based on their and Roman myths (3), Tacitus concludes that the German people are *nullis aliarum nationum conubiis infectos propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem* ('a singular and pure people alike only to itself, uncontaminated by intermarriage with any other peoples' (4)). He describes their Nordic physical characteristics and also attributes to them a common mental character, in part explained through the climate in which they live: *laboris atque operum non eadem patientia, minimeque sitim aestumque tolerare, frigora atque inediam caelo solove adsueverunt*. ('there is not the same tolerance of labour and work, and they little bear thirst and heat, while cold and hunger - due to their climate and soil - they are accustomed to.' (4)) He describes the German landscape, climate and natural resources, the Germans' habits of war, social organisation and power structures, religion, the warlike orientation of their youth, and the construction of their houses and their clothing. He relates their marriage habits, the social position of women, their games, and the absence of both money-lending and land ownership. After describing these common traits of the Germans, Tacitus moves on to discuss the habits and characteristics of the individual German tribes (27).

In many ways this first part of the text, and what follows, read as a conventional ethnographic catalogue. But Tacitus' text is much more than simply a documentary of the German tribes. Throughout the text is also very evaluative. At times this is very subtle, as we can see in his description of German funeral rites: *Funerum nulla ambitio* ('There is no show in their death-rites' (27)[17]) This is a pointed contrast to the Romans: 'Dies wird gesagt im Gegensatz zu den Römern, bei denen für Leichenbegängnisse oft unerhörter Aufwand gemacht wurde'.[18] Elsewhere we can see

16 Rives (2009: 10). The *Germania*'s focus changes from a first half characterised by general ethnographic observations about the Germans, to a catalogue of specific tribes in its second half. As Rives argues elsewhere: 'Any speculation about the purpose of the text as a whole must accordingly take into account both its halves and not just the more typically ethnographic first part.' Rives (2012: 53).

17 Not an exact translation since *ambitio* approximates something nearer to the notion of general interest in one's own advancement. The idea here is that the living do not use burial customs as a method of self-aggrandisement through ostentatious displays of wealth or power.

18 Much (1937: 248).

that Tacitus gives the benefit of the doubt to German customs, seeing good where others might have seen bad. He relates that they discuss important matters while relaxed and drinking, so that they are more honest: *gens non astuta nec callida aperit adhuc secreta pectoris licentia ioci; ergo detecta et nuda omnium mens* ('the people are without craft and cunning and reveal what were before secrets of their inmost thought in the relaxation of carousal; in this way the mind of all is laid bare' (23)) Tacitus continues by relating how final decisions are always taken in sober council.

At other times Tacitus' idealisation of the customs of the Germans is much clearer. We have referred above to his consideration of the racial purity of the German people. Tacitus' description of German social organisation and customs can also be as direct, as for example in the case of his description of the Chatti tribe: *multum, ut inter Germanos, rationis et sollertiae: praeponere electos, audire praepositos, nosse ordines, intellegere occasiones, differre impetus, disponere diem, vallare noctem, fortunam inter dubia, virtutem inter certa numerare, quodque rarissimum nec nisi Romanae disciplinae concessum, plus reponere in duce quam in exercitu* ('For Germans they are wise and skilful: they put forward their chosen leaders and listen to them, they understand order, see opportunities, withhold from attack, time everything, entrench against the night, distrust luck but rely on courage, and - what is very rare and only given to Roman discipline - put more store by their generals than their armies (30)). Throughout the text is very self-referential of Rome, contrasting German customs to Roman ones, for better or for worse: 'Gegensatz und Gleichsetzung zwischen Rom und Germanien erfolgen nicht nur implizit und auf begrifflicher Ebene, sondern der Vergleich wird auch gezielt gesucht.'[19]

On the other hand we can see that elsewhere Tacitus' view of the Germans is more negative. His comment on the industry of the Aestii presupposes that the majority of German tribes are not similar in this respect: *frumenta ceterosque fructus patientius quam pro solita Germanorum inertia laborant* ('they cultivate grain and other crops more diligently than the accustomed lethargy of the Germans' (45)). Further examples of both positive and negative traits ascribed by Tacitus to the Germans might be cited here. Yet on the whole the weighting is more towards positive traits. This warrants a broader discussion about why Tacitus portrays the northern

19 Schmal (2009: 39).

regions of the empire in the way that he does in his works.[20]

The backdrop against which the rebellions of Arminius, Boadicea and Calgacus took place was the grand Roman project of the time: empire. Tacitus is keenly aware of this, and his moral understanding of the significance of empire, good and bad, informs his accounts of these rebellions, and of northern Europe and its inhabitants more generally. To appreciate this context we must first explore what Tacitus' understanding of empire was. Tacitus' portrayals of Arminius, Boadicea, and Calgacus' struggles against Rome have much in common. In each case he is imaginative and creative in his account; each is given a pre-battle speech which idealises the struggle of a native people against foreign domination. Though the precise focus of each varies slightly the ultimate message is the same: the fight against Rome is a struggle for liberty against a greater but more corrupt power. Calgacus' pre-battle speech in the *Agricola* (see below) is the longest of the speeches and perhaps the purest expression of this idea.

Calgacus' speech might read as an unequivocal condemnation of empire, which could be understood as a projection of Tacitus' own views. However the question of what Tacitus' views of empire actually were is difficult. Discussing Britain, Flach summed up the dilemma of Tacitus' views well: 'Vom imperialen Standpunkt konnte er nur begrüßen, daß ein Land wie Britannien romanisiert und als Provinz fest in den römischen Reichsverband eingegliedert wurde; von historiographischen Standpunkt mußte er auf der anderen Seiten bedauern, daß weitere Länder und Völker zur Geschichtslosigkeit abzusinken drohten.'[21] Tacitean scholarship has not found a simple answer. On the one hand there is little doubt that Calgacus' speech is a powerful and well-crafted oratorical composition, damning of the Roman system of governance in the northern provinces. That this is Tacitus' intent here is clear enough not only from the main substance of the speeches (see below) but also from the more incidental references to decadence made by Calgacus, where the principal focus is elsewhere, for example at *Agricola* 12 where the reference is to natural sources of British wealth: *Ego facilius crediderim, naturam margaritis deesse quam nobis avaritiam*. Tacitus does not lose an opportunity to criticise Rome, in a context where there is no other obvious purpose in doing so. It has been argued that

20 See further on the *Germania*: Lund (1988); Much (1959).

21 Flach (1973: 54)

this emerges likewise from more subtle intertextual references in the speech. As Birley comments of the portrayal of the Britons in the *Agricola*: 'The Britons against whom Agricola was to fight are like the Gauls used to be, before they lost their *virtus* together with their freedom (11.4) - to Caesar, such is the unspoken thought.'[22]

It is clear that the characterisation of Rome in Calgacus, and Arminius and Boadicea's speeches, is overwhelmingly negative. However elsewhere in the texts under discussion the portrayal of Rome is more benevolent, where Rome is emblematic of civilisation. Thomas has highlighted that the scheme of the *Germania* as a work is structured around the rivers that form the boundaries with Rome: 'The emphasis on the rivers of course reflects an important reality for the Romans, for whom the two rivers formed the boundaries of Lower Germany and Pannonia respectively [...] Cultural status and degree of civilisation in part depend on distance from these rivers - and from Rome - and have a direct impact on the cultural images and evaluations that emerge.'[23] Others have noted how elements in the depiction of Boadicea show her as essentially barbaric. L'hoir contrasts this with the positive portrayal of Calgacus, 'a sort of Roman surrogate expressing old-fashioned Republican values', showing her in a negative light as a female leader: 'In both works [The *Annals* and the *Agricola*], Tacitus portrays the queen of the Iceni as ruthless (Ag. 16.1, 31.4; Ann. 14.35.1-2). In *Agricola*, however, the historian conveys her savage nature indirectly, either by inference from the brutal events of the rebellion or by the remarks that he invents for one of her contemptuous male adversaries.'[24] Syme and others have emphasised the idealisation of Agricola and other generals advancing the cause of Rome in the provinces: 'The *Agricola* expounds the moral and political ideals of the new aristocracy, not systematically formulating but emerging gradually in the portrayal of an individual and in the stages of a senator's career.'[25]

Some have sought to approach this question from other angles, in the attempt to elucidate Tacitus' position on empire. One such method is to try to determine the purpose of the text in question. The *Germania* has proven a case in point, with a long

22 Birley (2009: 50).

23 Thomas (2009: 63).

24 L'hoir (2006: 114).

25 Syme (1958: 26)

debate about why Tacitus wrote the work. Sailor suggests that it was a corrective to earlier, more fantastical accounts of the previous generation,[26] and aligns Tacitus with the Trajanic generation, re-writing the false histories of the Domitianic authors: 'The *scriptores multi* while not as sinister as Domitian, nonetheless resemble him in that they decorated with flair what they had not in fact mastered and claimed credit for it (*nondum comperta eloquentia percoluere*); by contrast Tacitus and Agricola boast a representation validated by conquest, investigation and control'. Ultimately he sees Tacitus as sympathetic to the Flavian affirmation through military conquest of the 'uniqueness and centrality' of Rome's place in the world.[27] Such analyses frame Tacitus as a proponent of the new regime and see his depiction of the outer provinces and border regions as part of an effort to support its vision of the world.

An alternative approach has been to view Tacitus' descriptions of distant lands as themselves having a persuasive political intention. Barrett highlights the argument concerning the *Germania* that it is intended to persuade Trajan to a certain course of action: 'It is also seen by some scholars as a missive to Trajan about the enormous danger to Rome posed by the Germans, whom Domitian claimed to have subdued, with more triumphs than victories as Tacitus worded it (Germ. 37).'[28] Such an explanation might also be applied to the *Agricola*, which alludes to the fact that Hibernia's conquest was not completed by the general, and that the latter may have seen a strategic interest in this course of action. Tacitus' account here (and in describing Britain more generally), may have been intended to inform those who wished to complete the subjugation of Britain, or at least better inform his Roman contemporaries through the exemplum of his father-in-law about how this could best be done.

It is worth noting here that, whatever one's interpretation of the *Germania,* Tacitus' views of the Germans are not uniformly positive elsewhere in his works. Hausmann gives the example of Tacitus' portrayal of the German Gannascus' revolt (Tacitus, *Annales* 11.18-20): 'Die hier gewählten Bezeichnungen *transfuga* und *violator fidei* sollen dem Leser das unehrenhafte Verhalten des Gannascus so deutlich

26 Sailor (2008: 94). Of those earlier accounts that survive we can see an interest in the Celts and other peoples in the north of Europe, for example that of the Greek geographer Strabo (64 BC - 24 AD). Cf. Strabo, *Geography* 4.1.14.

27 Sailor (2008: 184).

28 Barrett (2008: xvi).

vor Augen führen, daßer die Maßnahme des Corbulo nur als gerechte Strafe für eine beispiellose Niedertracht verstehen kann.'[29] This example illustrates the difficulties of arguing that Tacitus' portrayal of those that resisted Rome was one-dimensional, or that he had a single clearly defined idea of Rome's northern neighbours at all.

Others have explored the geographical schemes of Tacitus' texts and situated his descriptions of Germany and Britain within these. It was early argued that Tacitus' actual knowledge of the regions he described may have been wanting in some way.[30] More recently since Syme's claim that, 'Above all, Tacitus has abundant knowledge about the Gallic territories, the frontier zone, and the Germans who dwelt in freedom beyond the Rhine',[31] various attempts have been made to show that his depictions are in fact the product of a map of the world that has as much to do with rhetorical construction as any real geographical understanding. Ash has for example argued of the *Agricola* that the written and cartographic tradition are a prominent feature of the narrative: 'If this is the world in which Tacitus' *Agricola* takes place, then any use of the text for the tracing of Roman campaigns in Britain may be compromised. Accurate mapping and pure fiction are not polar opposites, but the way in which real locations are perceived and 'mapped' is very much a matter of ideological and, as I would argue in the case of Tacitus' Britain, intertextual construction.'[32] Taking Syme's point further Goodyear argued that Tacitus shows a particular interest in Britain and Germany: 'Tacitus seems more emotionally involved in warfare in Germany and Britain than elsewhere'.[33]

A related question has been the extent to which the texts we are looking at are Romanocentric. Syme's answer to this question was that they are not just about the city of Rome, but that the extensive treatment of the provinces demonstrates a real interest in them on Tacitus' part. Taking issue with the contrary argument he made the case that: 'Criticism of this order is itself narrow and parochial. It ignores the official career of Cornelius Tacitus from the military tribunate in one of the imperial legions

29 Hausmann (2009: 226).

30 For example Page, Rouse (1914: 153): 'He is, in short, the rhetorician and humanist who hates maps - large or small - and geography: the biographical interest of the work dominates the geographical, even the historical; the political possibly dominates the biographical.'

31 Syme (1958: 450).

32 Ash (2012: 45).

33 Goodyear (1970: 23).

down to the governorship of Asia. It also ignores the design (and the inevitable restrictions) of that kind of history which the Roman senator was writing.'[34] Others have emphasised the political context of the time and the Flavian regime's focus on the city of Rome as a legitimating factor in its hold on power.[35] Undoubtedly the sections of Tacitus' works we have looked at here have one eye on Rome throughout; Arminius, Boadicea and Calgacus' criticisms of Rome are not simply those of a disinterested observer.

Nor is Tacitus' literary style irrelevant in seeking to understand Tacitus' views of the outer provinces. It is worth noting that a particular skill of Tacitus' is his ability to create smooth transitions between sections of his narrative that might otherwise seem unconnected. As Thomas puts it: 'The result of this is the production of a seamless essay, a monograph whose coherence and unity are communicated by the connectedness of the narrative in a very appealing way.'[36] Ultimately the result of this is that Tacitus is able to imply a connectedness between events in the outer provinces and at Rome, by reducing the disjointedness between urban and provincial sections of his narrative. This is espcially true of the *Annals* and *Histories* which are able to use the format of the consular year to this effect. In this way Tacitus is able to link the rebellions of Arminius and Boadicea closely to the reactions of the imperial court at Rome, adding colour to his account of the latter.[37]

In sum, Tacitus' views are difficult to pin down. On the one hand a common theme in his work is that the advent of the Augustan era, with its increased wealth and cultural misegenation, had eroded the old Roman virtue. To a limited extent this may explain his characterisation of the Germans as morally uncorrupted in contrast to Rome, for not having suffered the same influences as her. Yet on the other hand the *Agricola* demonstrates clearly that Tacitus could conceive of the imperial project as

34 Syme (1958: 443).

35 As Sailor (2008: 183): 'The legitimacy of the Flavian regime was built on their vindication, through military victory, of the uniqueness and centrality of Rome. Tacitus' narrative sympathizes with this reaffirmation, and to that extent may seem to allow that *principes* are able to protect, not erase, the singularity of the city.'

36 Thomas (2009: 61).

37 It is worth noting additionally Haynes' (2003: 161) important point that in Tacitus' narrative there is a distinction between *nos* and *Romani*: 'Using variants of the pronoun nos, he signals a shift from his own analytical discourse into that of "Roman-speak," whose gaps and self-contradictions the rest of the narrative illustrates by contrast. Nos and its variants are not interchangeable with Romani in the Histories; they reflect ideological boundaries.'

offering the potential for the expression of traditional Roman valour, at a time when the city of Rome itself did not; it is only the imperial project that provides Agricola with the necessary theatre for great deeds. It is perhaps in this text above all that the ambiguity of Tacitus' views is made plain: Agricola can only be noble as a great Roman general (by definition extending her *imperium*), while Calgacus is noble because he fights for freedom from that empire.

It has been a commonly observed fact that Tacitus uses tribal leaders that resisted empire as a mouthpiece for his own concerns about the erosion of liberty. This is an indicator that for Tacitus Rome (and the senatorial class) were, in at least some sense, the centre of the world. Even faraway conflict becomes swiftly predicated on abstract concepts of liberty and resistance to tyranny, issues that mattered above all in the capital, rather than for example the more banal issues of tax collection and property rights. This may not have mattered much to Tacitus' immediate audience, many of whom probably were from the elite and had been subject in some way to the immediate political disenfranchisement (or arbitrary advancement) at Rome that characterised the centralisation of power during the principate. What is clear is that Tacitus' understanding of the outer provinces and the events that took place there is at least likely to be sequenced with his relation of events at Rome. However this does not in itself prove that Tacitus' narration of events in the north is inaccurate.

The geographical digressions of his narrative are ultimately distractions (albeit deliberate ones, perhaps to characterise contemporary Rome) from this, and as such it is difficult to judge the veracity of what he says about Arminius, Boadicea or Calgacus, and the societies from which they came. This will not be attempted here, but it should be noted that historical authenticity was not something that mattered to many of those who used Tacitus in later history, including those which we will look at in this project.

Arminius

Tacitus describes the figure of Arminius in his *Annals* and relates the revolt of German tribes against Rome that he led. Beginning with the death of the emperor Augustus in 14 AD it describes the major events at the imperial court in Rome and in the provinces under the immediate successor emperors to Augustus, the Julio-Claudians.

Tacitus first introduces his reader to Arminius in the first book of the *Annals*

(1.55), which details the beginning of the reign of the emperor Tiberius, who succeeded Augustus. After describing the succession itself and the mutiny of the Roman legions in the provinces of Pannonia and Germania in 14 AD, he now moves on to relate the disturbances on the northern borders caused by Rome's German neighbours. Though not itself related, the narrative refers back five years to the Battle of the Teutoburger Forest, during which the Roman general Quinctilius Varus had lost three legions and his own life in a catastrophic defeat inflicted on the Roman forces by a confederation of German tribes, led by the chieftain of the Cherusci Arminius. At the year of Tiberius' accession the memory and trauma of this battle were still fresh, as were fears of the danger posed to Rome's safety by her northern neighbour. Tacitus' narrative describes the renewed campaign against the Germans waged by Germanicus, Tiberius' charismatic nephew, and his quest to retrieve the lost military standards of Varus' legions.

Arminius is first introduced as, *Arminius turbator Germaniae* ('Arminius the troubler of Germany') and contrasted with his father-in-law Segestes, who had long been an ally of Rome. Tacitus (*Annales* 1.55) briefly relates how five years before Segestes had counselled Varus to imprison Arminius at the first signs of trouble. However Varus, apparently ignoring Segestes' advice, had been slain *fato et vi Armini* ('by fate and the force of Arminius'). In the ensuing chapters and in the second book of the *Annals* Tacitus describes how Germanicus and the general Caecina waged a campaign against Arminius and his confederation of German tribes, taking back some ground and staving off the threat from Germany for the time being, though ultimately not decisively. Tacitus (*Annales*, 2.88) later describes how Arminius finally met his fate in 21 AD at the hands of his own tribesmen, who allegedly accused him of aspirations to kingship.[38]

Tacitus' account of Germanicus' campaign against Arminius is a highly coloured one. It would be an understatement to say that the narrative is theatrical. Tacitus heroises both Germanicus and Arminius in various ways, to the point that the narrative itself begins to take on something of the quality of epic. Tacitus (*Annales*, 1.57) dramatises the dispute between Arminius and Segestes through the figure of Arminius' wife and Segestes' daughter (unnamed in the narrative but in later centuries

38 This is in itself an interesting fact, and fits well with Tacitus' approximation of contemporary Germans with ancient and Republican Rome, where according to contemporary Roman tradition regicide was also considered a virtue.

referred to conventionally as 'Thusnelda'). Captured by the Romans she is described as *mariti magis quam parentis animo neque victa in lacrimas neque voce supplex* ('more of her husband's disposition than her father's, and captive neither in tears nor entreating mercy'). From an early point in the narrative Arminius is indirectly characterised as headstrong and bold, and crucially given an emotional involvement in his resistance. Tacitus constructs a worthy opponent for his hero Germanicus, who is both Romanised (Arminius had been brought up at Rome before dramatically fleeing back to Germany during a religious ceremony) and believes in his fight.

As elsewhere in his works, Tacitus employs a contrast between the speech of a captive Segestes and a free Arminius to characterise his chief protagonists. Segestes' speech to the Romans on his capture (1.58) precedes that of Arminius to his men (1.59). He laments the current situation, focusing on the loss of his daughter to Arminius, and charactersing the latter as *raptorem filiae meae* ('seizer of my daughter') and *violatorem foederis vestri* ('breaker of your treaty'). Segestes focuses on his own continual pursuit of peace between Germany and Rome, presenting this as an honourable deed. In contrast Arminius appears headstrong and warlike, a breaker of oaths in both his family life and to the state.

As a foil to this Tacitus (*Annales*, 1.59) portrays Arminius' indignant response. He catalogues the factors that drove Arminius' anger, including his own character: *Arminium, super insitam violentiam, rapta uxor, subiectus servitio uxoris uterus vaecordem agebant* ('Beyond his innate hot-temperedness, the thought of his seized wife and unborn child reduced to slavery infuriated him'). The chapter is littered with words to suggest how headstrong Arminius is. He flies (*volitabat*) through his Cherusci tribesmen demanding revenge. His speech to his men, in contrast to Segestes', is a scathing criticism of Rome. It is characterised by absolutes: *Germanos numquam satis excusaturos, quod inter Albim et Rhenum virgas et securis et togam viderint* ('the Germans would never excuse the sight of the rods and axes and toga between the Rhine and the Elbe'); the choice for Arminius is a simple one: *Arminium potius gloriae ac libertatis, quam Segestes flagitiosae servitutis ducem sequerentur* ('They should follow Arminius for glory and freedom, rather than Segestes for a shameful servitude').

Throughout Tacitus' account of the ultimately indecisive conflict between the German tribes and Rome - it was to rumble on for many more centuries - Arminius is characterised as striving above all for liberty, reflecting the subject matter of the

Germania. While the nobility of the Roman commanders is beyond repute, this makes a worthy opponent of the Germans, likewise echoing their portrayal in the latter text.

Boadicea

Tacitus' major account of the 60/61 AD revolt against Rome of Boadicea, the queen of the British Iceni tribe, is related in the fourteenth book of the *Annals* (14.35).[39] It is also noted briefly in passing in the *Agricola* (see below), but the account in the *Annals* is much fuller.[40]

In chapter 31 Tacitus gives the background to Boadicea's rebellion. In his will her husband, King Prasutagus of the Iceni had bequeathed his kingdom and its wealth jointly to the emperor and his wife and two daughters. Tacitus explains that he thought that by so doing he would keep his kingdom safe, but that in reality his kingdom was effectively sacked by the Romans, Boadicea beaten and her daughters raped. The Iceni had taken up arms in response and incited the Trinvovantes and other tribes to follow suit. Tacitus continues in the ensuing chapter by relating various marvels that were reported at the time (toppling of the statue of Victory in Camulodonum, women uttering prophecies, and apparitions in the Thames). The general Suetonius was removed in Wales at the time, and the Iceni and their allies sacked Camulodunum (Colchester), destroying the little resistance offered by the small force of the procurator Catus Decianus, and Petilius Cerialis, legate of the Ninth Legion. Hearing news of the disaster Suetonius returned with his army from Wales, but in the interim Londinium and Verulamium (St. Albans) were likewise mercilessly taken by the Britons (Suetonius making the strategic decision to abandon the former). Suetonius drew up his army and prepared for battle.

In conventional style for his historical narrative, Tacitus includes a pre-battle speech by Boadicea. As Arminius', Boadicea's speech focuses on the immorality and corruption of Rome, however in her case this is expressed through a focus on the motif of her outraged femininity. She addresses her soldiers and people, *non ut tantis maioribus ortam regnum et opes, verum ut unam e vulgo libertatem amissam,*

39 The later historian Cassius Dio (150 - 235 AD) also records Boadicea's rebellion (Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 62.1-12).

40 According to Koestermann (1967: 160): 'Die Iceni hatten ihre Wohnsitze im Norfolk, Suffolk und Cambridgeshire.'

confectum verberibus corpus, contrectatam filiarum pudicitiam ulcisci ('not as one born of royalty and wealth, but as one of the ordinary folk, to avenge her lost freedom, her beaten body, the stolen chastity of her daughters') (35). Roman lust has gone so far that not even their bodies, *ne senectam quidem aut virginitatem impollutam' ('not even old age or virginity unpolluted* (35)), are safe from the Romans.

From indignation Boadicea moves to an exhortation to war. War against the Romans is a holy war: *adesse tamen deos iustae vindictae* ('the gods succour just vengeance' (35)). Pointing to the defeats the Romans have already suffered she encourages her army to consider why they fight, and the necessary absolute of either victory or death. As Arminius and Calgacus' speeches (see below) it is very much founded on absolutes: Roman corruption is absolute; the punishment for this must be their destruction. The only remedy is to utterly extirpate the Roman presence in Britain, or they must themselves die. Not to fight the Romans means to be a slave.

Suetonius' speech that follows is in many ways the conventional speech of a Roman commander in Tacitus, delivered to his men before battle. He praises his soldiers' valour and shows his trust in them despite their small number, undermines the apparent fierceness of the enemy, and instructs his men on how to approach the battle. Interestingly his speech inverts many of the interpretations of Boadicea's: the presence of women on the battlefield is not a sign of courage but of weakness. The war cries of the Britons are in fact all they have; there is nothing to fear. Yet there is a certain uneasiness in the fact that Suetonius has no moral riposte to what Boadicea alleges. And, whereas Boadicea exhorts her people to fight for freedom and moral righteousness, Suetonius can only encourage his men to fight for the glory they will attain for having outdone the deeds of larger arms, and the spoils of war: *parta victoria cuncta ipsis cessura* ('once victory was won all would come to them' (36)). There is something unsettling about this ending to Suetonius' speech. The Romans nonetheless win the day and Boadicea takes her own life.

Calgacus

In the *Agricola*, as the *Germania* one of the author's shorter works, Tacitus describes the character and deeds of his recently deceased father-in-law Agricola, the Roman general and senator that completed the Roman conquest of Britain. It is like the

Germania in the sense that it is a text that can be understood as many different things, and about the nature of which there has been much debate. Given that it praises Agricola it can be viewed as a sort of panegyric, holding up the *exemplum* of a man that lived nobly under a tyrant, while some have argued that it might be an obituary. It is also a (military) history, describing the Roman conquest of Britain before and in Agricola's time. Finally in parts it reads like the *Germania* in its description of Britain and its inhabitants. In truth the text is something of all of these things.

Tacitus begins his work by describing his motivations for recording the deeds of a great man, setting this in the context of the ancient habit of doing this, and more recent abuse of this custom (*Agricola* 1-3). This includes a diatribe on the suppression of free speech under previous emperors, for transgression of which the authors Rusticus Arulenus and Herennius Senecio had been executed (3), from which he moves to praise of the current and very different emperor Trajan (4). He relates the earlier career and rise of Agricola, detailing how he deftly avoided the dangerous emperors of the time (4-9).[41] In the following four chapters he describes Britain itself and its people. This is much in the vein of the *Germania*, including speculation about their ethnic origin, arguing relation to the Germans for northern populations on account of their red hair and long limbs, and to the Spanish for western populations on account of their darker skin and curly hair (11).

After relating their military techniques and the British climate (12) he gives the background of the Roman policy towards Britain under its first governors, including the rebellion of Boadicea under Suetonius Paulinus. This is prefaced by a catalogue of the grievances that the Britons levelled against their Roman rulers. The rhetoric of resistance here is much in line with that elsewhere in Tacitus' works, citing the miseries of Roman tyranny, *nihil libidini exceptum* ('nothing is spared Roman lust' (15)) and praising the freedom of their ancestors: *virtutem maiorem suorum aemularentur* ('They should emulate the virtue of their ancestors' (15)). Tacitus summarily relates the revolt of Boadicea which followed (told more fully in the *Annals*, as noted above) which, as he admits, came very near the loss of the new province altogether: *quod nisi Paulinus cognito provinciae motu propere subvenisset, amissa Britannia foret*. ('Had not Paulinus grasped that the province was in revolt and

41 Vielberg (1987: 39) comments of Tacitus' recording of Agricola's earlier official career : 'So verbringt Agricola seine Amtzeit als Quastor und Tribun unter Nero bewußt in Ruhe und Muße, was Tacitus als Ausdruck seiner Klugheit wertet'.

quickly come to the rescue Britain would have been lost' (16)).

Tacitus now moves to describing the various campaigns his father-in-law undertook in Britain. In the ensuing chapters Agricola is shown as methodical and competent, but also humane. His prudence extends beyond the battlefield, to economic reforms, the results of which were significant, Tacitus tells us: *egregiam famam paci circumdedit* ('He gave peace a good name' (20)). Rome begins to appear as a benevolent force. However the culmination of Tacitus' narrative of Agricola's campaigns in Britain is undoubtedly the encounter with the Caledonians. Agricola and his legions reach the far north of Britain and face a confederation of Caledonian tribes making a last stand against them. The battle itself is briefly told and of little interest in comparison to the battle speeches that come before, and dominate the narrative. This is conventional in Tacitus' battle narratives.[42] Calgacus, the first of the Caledonian chieftains, addresses his troops first in chapters 30-32, before Agricola addresses his own in the following chapters.

What is interesting about this speech is undoubtedly its content. As Arminius' speech in the *Annals* much of it is critical of the Roman empire, and indeed of Rome itself and, as Goodyear argued: 'Tacitus gives fair and sympathetic treatment to the Britons'.[43] Tacitus makes Calgacus as eloquent as the consular Roman general that he opposes. Ogilvie and Richmond argued of his speech that: 'In composing it Tacitus […] conformed to strict rhetorical principles'.[44] An exhortation to fight for liberty and throw off the Roman yoke, his speech reminds the Caledonians that nothing lies beyond them but the sea and cliffs: *sed nunc terminus Britanniae patet, nulla iam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluctus et saxa* (But now the end of Britain is laid bare, there is no people beyond, nothing but rocks and waves' (30)). Calgacus' criticism of Rome is damning. Rising to a crescendo he describes the Romans as *raptores orbis* ('despoilers of the world'), *quos non Oriens, non Occidens satiaverit* ('whom neither the East nor West may satisfy'), and culminating in the famous line: *atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant* ('and where they make a desert they call it peace').

This speech is much more than just an exhortation to battle, it is a total critique

42 We might give as example the other speeches looked at here, Arminius' (*Annales* 1.59) and Boadicea's (*Annales* 14.35), where the battle narratives are short in comparison. However there are many other examples which might be cited.

43 Goodyear (1970: 8).

44 Ogilvie, Richmond (1967: 65).

of the Roman empire. This is something increasingly evident in the second half of the speech, which appears to serve no other purpose than this. Tacitus might not have gone much further than the above, but in two more chapters Calgacus catalogues his grievances against Rome. The language here is dominated by words that suggest Roman pollution, debauchery and degeneration. Wives and sisters, should they escape Roman lust, will be corrupted (*polluuntur*), *nomine amicorum atque hospitum* ('in the name of friends and hosts' (31)). The Romans are given over to *lascivia* ('debauchery' (32)). Britain daily buys its servitude of Rome, and shall be like the newest slave in a household, the object of contempt. These contrast with the concepts that Calgacus extols: *virtus* ('valour'), *ferocia* ('fierceness'), *animus* ('spirit'), to be *integri* ('whole'), *indomiti* ('untamed'), and to uphold *libertas* ('freedom') (31). The earlier rebellion of Boadicea is referenced, and Calgacus argues that Britons, Gauls and Germans fighting on the other side will soon remember their freedom at sight of their example, and desert the Romans.

Agricola's speech (*Agricola* 33) is unlike that of Calgacus, focusing instead on praise of his men and exhortation to them to complete the conquest that they have begun. It dwells rather on the facts of the campaign and does not attain the reflection on the nature of Rome, conquest and empire that Calgacus' speech does. It fits well with Tacitus' characterisation of Agricola throughout his work as a model of old-fashioned Roman virtue. However if anything this only demonstrates still more that the function Tacitus has allotted to Calgacus in his narrative is of a very different nature.

Early transmission

The focus of this project might give the impression that Tacitus was a solidly popular author with later ages. Putting aside for the moment an assessment of the use of the author in the nineteenth century (on which see below), a brief look at the earlier transmission and use of his works is warranted here. Although the use of Tacitus by artists in the nineteenth century is very much idiosyncratic to the age, it did not take place in isolation of what had come before.

Tacitus' works were largely discovered at the end of the fifteenth century by Italian scholars. What survives of the texts today comes from three manuscript traditions: The first six books of the *Annals* in the 'First Medicean' (M/M1); books 7-

10, the first four and a quarter books of the *Histories* in the 'Second Medicean' (M2); and a manuscript tradition (including the Jesi manuscript) of the smaller works possibly derived from several archetypes originally housed at Hersfeld (or possibly Fulda) monastery.[45] The discovery of the first two manuscripts during the Italian Renaissance is a colourful story of the exploits of several Italian treasure hunters and their attempts to beat each other to obtaining copies of Tacitus' works rumoured to exist in German monasteries. It is the discovery and publication of the two Medicean manuscripts that began Tacitus' influence on the modern world, although there is also evidence that the minor works were known to medieval monks.

Between 1472 and 1473 the first edition of Tacitus' works was printed in Venice by Vindelin de Spira, including *Annals* 11-16, *Histories* 1-5, the *Germania* and the *Dialogus*. Further revised editions of Tacitus' works were published later in the decade in Milan and again in Venice. Initially however Tacitus did not enter political thought and debate on the scale that he was later used. As Conte remarks: 'The first, republican generations of the Renaissance tended to prefer Livy to Tacitus, Livy told of heroes and the rise of a city, Tacitus of villains and its decline.'[46] However towards the end of the fifteenth century there was a growing interest in the *Dialogus* in Italy in debates around the question of the relation between eloquence and politics. It is in the sixteenth century that Tacitus rises rapidly to prominence with the first publication of translations, including of the *Histories* and *Annals* into Italian in 1544 and 1563 respectively, and Henry Savile's English translation of part of the *Histories* and the *Agricola* in 1591.[47] Ultimately it was Justus Lispius' (1547-1606) edition of Tacitus and lectures at Jena that established Tacitus as central to contemporary political thought and debate, and created a legacy which was to long endure.

Lipsius' scholarship made its impact felt all over Europe, and Tacitus was increasingly used by those commenting on the political events of their own countries. Charting these multifarious uses would be a study in itself. Perhaps of greatest interest to us here, in tracing the increasing political use of Tacitus from the end of the sixteenth century onwards, is the use that was now first made of Tacitus' works in

45 Martin (1981: 238).

46 Conte (1999: 543)

47 For an excellent discussion of how translations of Tacitus affected his popularity across Europe, including in Spain, see Bermejo (2010).

debates about the governance of the Catholic church in the German kingdoms north of the Alps. A process first begun by Italians, the sixteenth century witnessed the use of the *Annals* and the *Germania* in the context of polemical debates about national identity.

In the context of increasing resentment by German bishops of the centralising authority of and imposition of taxation by Rome, the Italian bishops used the *Germania* as a means of representing the ancient barbarity of the German people, and to argue for the civilising virtues that Italian culture, and more particularly the influence of the Roman Catholic church, had brought to the German lands. Presumably contrary to initial expectations, this move encouraged German bishops and thinkers to make like use of the same text to argue for the innate virtues of the Germans, and for the corrupting influence of the church. Separately the Roman church also employed Tacitus' works to praise the martial valour of the Germans, as an attempt to recruit them in the anti-Ottoman cause.

The ultimate result of this was that when the conflict between Roman and German bishops acquired a political dimension, and was adopted by the German princelings, Tacitus came to serve a yet clearer role in the contemporary casting of national identities. Arminius was now first recruited as German progenitor in the cultural (though not yet racial) struggle against Rome. Martin Luther may have been responsible for the identification of the name 'Arminius' with the German 'Hermann' (which he understood as a Roman transliteration of 'Heer Mann', or 'dux belli').[48] Other influential figures, including the German knight, poet and wit Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1523) likewise took up this identification. In the latter's literary work *Arminius* we see an early use of Tacitus' figure as an anti-Roman and national icon. The lectures of the influential writer and thinker Conrad Celtis (1459-1508) reinforced these messages until, by the end of the sixteenth century, the use of Tacitus as an authority in debates about German national identity had become mainstream.[49]

In many ways a polemical debate, originally about religious authority, had rapidly come to shape the way Tacitus was used by political thinkers in the German

48 As Wolters (2000: 113) comments: 'Der später so weit verbreitete Name "Hermann" für Arminius kam 1530 erstmals im Umkreis von Martin Luther auf, abgeleitet aus "Heer-mann" für *dux belli*. Während Luther selbst bekannte: "*Wenn ich ein poet wer, so wollt ich den zelebrieren. Ich hab in von hertzen lib*" (*Tischreden* 5,415), entdeckten seiner Anhänger Parallelen mit Arminius: Die Gegenüberstellung von Arminius und Reformation auf der einen Seite sowie Varus und römischer Kirche auf der anderen erlaubte zugleich Prognosen über den Ausgang des Konflikts.' See Dekker (2008: 30) further on Luther's use of Arminius.

states. The publication and translation of his works also had an important impact in England. This was affected by the political scene there, and particularly after Henry Savile's English translation (1591), Tacitus came to be used frequently in English political thought and debate. At the end of the sixteenth century, when Britain found it had a female queen and was once again facing off against a southern foe, in this case Spain, Boadicea acquired a particular appeal. With the ascent of the homosexual and misogynist James I and the inception of a new royal dynasty, Boadicea was increasingly cast as a headstrong and unwise leader, undermined by her feminine weaknesses, in contrast to the more statesmanlike and Roman-friendly Caratacus (another British cheiftain).

In both countries, whether favourably or not, we are seeing the first use of figures from the *Annals* as nationally representative. However it is important to realise that this was not a given characterisation in this period. The use of Tacitus' works was not predominantly about defining race or nation, as it may have been later. The focus was still very much on Tacitus as a political thinker, the revealer of *arcana imperii* (secrets of state/rule), and a rhetorical preceptor of one particular form of eloquence. Debates about Tacitus were just as much about the merits of his Latin as of his ideas (let alone his quality as a historian). It is over the ensuing centuries, as British, German and Austrian power waxed ever greater, that there is an increasing focus on what Tacitus could reveal about the characteristics of the peoples of these nations.

The nineteenth century

Background to reception

In the course of the eighteenth century there was a demonstrable shift in the way those portions of Tacitus we have looked at above were used and understood. The relationship between this change and the rise of nationalism in Europe during the

49 It is possible to detect a difference between Luther's use of Tacitus on the one hand, that of Hutten and Celtis on the other. As Harran (1985: 82) comments: 'The German humanists, Ulrich von Hutten and Conrad Celtis, stressed the importance of the historian Tacitus. The belief that the Renaissance view of history was basically built on historical theories reflecting Livy is mistaken, for it was Tacitus who loomed large in their minds. He did so in part because he praised German virtue, but also because he described the decline of Rome. For the humanists it was very problematical to put those contradictory notions together, but it was not so for Luther. He used Tacitus to suggest the deterioration of the Germans since the pure and simple life in ancient times.'

period is, as we shall see, both a causal and symptomatic one. We can trace its development in both Germany and Britain, and we shall look at each in turn.

As Schama has commented of this century in Germany: 'By the middle of the eighteenth century the ancient mystique of rustic innocence, martial virility, and woodland nativism had all converged to create a fresh generation of patriots, steeped in Tacitus and the cult of the Teutoburger Wald.'[50] During the period Tacitus' Arminius and his *Germania*, by this time having been through several editions in Germany and well-known there, increasingly came to take on a nationalist flavour in the ways in which they were used by contemporary German culture. At the vanguard of this were two eighteenth-century playwrights, Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724-1803) and Heinrich von Kleist (1777-1811). Theirs were not the first dramatisations of Arminius, Varus and the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest. Other literary productions (for example the *Hermann* of Johann Elias Schlegel) predate the works of these two authors, and largely took their cue from Ulrich von Hutten's *Arminius*. However Klopstock and Kleist's renditions of the theme significantly re-cast them as definitively the material of modern nationalist discourse in Germany.

Klopstock, a poet best-known for his *Der Messiahs*, spent his life between his native Germany, Switzerland and the Danish court at Copenhagen, where for some years he received a salary from the Danish king. His *Bardiet*, a series of three plays composed between 1769 and 1787, focused on different stages in the life of Hermann, and included *Hermanns Schlacht* (1769), *Hermann und die Fürsten* (1784), and *Hermanns Tod* (1787). Significantly, while in Copenhagen Klopstock had begun to develop an interest in northern mythology, and he is perhaps one of the first to have rendered the play in a German setting deliberately constructed by drawing on this mythological tradition, rather than imagining Germany through the lens of classical Rome, as many of his predecessors had.

Kleist's play *Die Hermannsschlacht* followed in 1809, much in the vein of Klopstock's. Kleist, a Prussian poet, novelist and dramatist, had spent periods in Paris and Switzerland, as well as Leipzig, Dresden and Prague (and was even imprisoned by the French on suspicion of being a spy), after having initially served in the Prussian army and civil service. Kleist wrote several plays, including tragedies based

50 Schama (1995: 102)

on Greek models,[51] but also wrote novels on a variety of other themes. His Arminius play has a clear anti-Roman slant which, given the date, we can understand as directed against the contemporary occupation of Germany by Napoleonic forces. As Klopstock had, Kleist creates an elaborate plot around the battle, including several additional characters not included in Tacitus. Characterisation is stark and the call to national allegiance a clear one. The latter is perhaps best encapsulated by the hailing of Arminius by one of his chieftains, named simply Wolf, in Act 1: 'O Deutschland! Vaterland! Wer rettet dich,/ Wenn es ein Held, wie Siegmars Sohn nicht tut!'[52] There is also a growing sense in this play of racial distinction. Thus Hermann's comment to Thusnelda concerning Roman women's hair in Act 3: 'Nein, sag ich! Schwarze! Schwarz und fett, wie Hexen!/ Nicht hübsche, trockne, goldne, so wie du!'[53] Finally, Kleist's play also demonstrates the increasingly melodramatic approach that was being taken to his subject matter at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In this Kleist takes his cue from Tacitus' account. Lost in the woods in Act 5 his Varus exclaims: 'Hier war ein Rabe, der mir prophezeit,/ Und seine heisre Stimme sprach: das Grab!'[54] In many ways Klopstock and Kleist's plays set the standard for the approach that would be taken towards the Teutoburg theme in the nineteenth century, a predominantly nationalist and dramatised one. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries several writers in England had also helped to shape the characterisation of Boadicea that predominated in Victorian Britain. During the reign of James I (1566-1625) John Fletcher's play *Bonduca* had played down the heroism of Boadicea in favour of the male Caratacus, something influenced by the male-dominated politics of the court of the misogynist King James. As Crawford has argued: 'Fletcher's Bonduca articulates an important cross-section of anxieties and conceptual shifts about women worthies and male homosociality that alludes to the court and reign of James I.'[55] This is a complex play, in which characterisations are not straightforward, but it is clear that Boadicea is not portrayed in a favourable light, and that Caratacus is lauded for his acceptance of the civilisation that the Romans bring. Nevertheless to some extent

51 For example his *Penthisilea* (1808).

52 Kleist (1821), Act 1 Scene 3.

53 Kleist (1821), Act 3 Scene 3.

54 Kleist (1821), Act 5 Scene 7.

55 Crawford (1999: 358)

Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* had earlier created the ideal of the ancient British king, which becomes the prominent portrayal of Boadicea. Later other plays, including Richard Glover's *Boadicea*, painted the warrior queen in a more favourable light. In large part this was a result of the reign of Elizabeth I, for whom Boadicea served as a convenient ancient paragon. Ultimately, for the purposes of the period under discussion, Boadicea's characterisation found its fullest expression in William Cowper's poem and then that of Alfred Lord Tennyson.

Klopstock and Kleist's works, and those of numerous authors in Britain, created the predominant literary images of Tacitus' northern heroes on which the artists and architects of the nineteenth century would draw. Calgacus does not feature prominently in literary tradition until later, as we shall note in the chapters where we look at his representation in nineteenth-century art.

Classics, nationalism and empire

In the chapters which follow we will look at nineteenth-century artists that illustrated or sculpted the themes of Arminius, Boadicea and Calgacus in a nationalist context. However it is worth a few brief remarks here about the imperial context in which they were made, and the relationship between classics, nationalism and imperialism during the period.

The British empire saw a period of rapid expansion during the course of the nineteenth century. This was a process that had begun in the previous century, but which advanced exponentially after French naval defeat at the battles of Trafalgar and the Nile. In many ways the removal of her major rival opened the way to British dominance. While other European powers retained regional influence none matched British global hegemony for much of Queen Victoria's reign. Territorial annexations and acquisitions followed one upon another, the most significant amongst these being India and the provinces that later became allied Dominions (Canada, Australia, New Zealand), as well as Egypt, the Suez Canal, and other ports of strategic value. Britain's wealth, private and public, increased severalfold during the period. This rapid expansion and consequent military and administrative overstretch brought new challenges, resulting in several crises, most notably the Indian Mutiny, the Afghan Crisis and the Boer War.

The parallels with Rome, whose empire had also increased rapidly after the

defeat of her major rival Carthage, were not lost on British thinkers and writers of the time. Classics had become the staple of aristocratic education in the wake of the Renaissance and Enlightenment (as in much of the rest of Europe), and it now became the language in which the new imperial elite expressed itself. Victorian poets and artists looked back to the classical world for precedents for contemporary empire. classics was not the exclusive medium for contemporary expression - with medieval revivalism also playing a prominent role - but classics had become the conventional medium for expressions of imperial ideology in the public sphere. The buildings of the Foreign and Colonial Office in London, emblematic of the imperial project, were in a neoclassical style, as were many governors' palaces and railway stations in Britain's colonies and Dominions overseas.

The Regency, Victorian and Edwardian eras were also a period of exponential technological advancement, building on the trends of the previous century which, now coupled with economic and imperial growth, led to significant social change, and in turn increased public and intellectual debate about social and imperial questions. The Indian Mutiny and the Boer War were particular catalysts for this change, and in literature, art and public space classics remained the predominant medium through which both conservative and reformer expressed their ideas. When the Classicist Mommsen criticised British foreign policy in the Boer War he did so through the medium of the classics, while Cecil Rhodes argued that the Oxford classical education was essential to future imperial governors, including the Indian princes he had educated there.

The nineteenth century was a period which saw increased public patronage of art, and indeed debate about the state's role here, even if for much of the century this was directed to traditional and conventional iconographic schemes (and not to emerging secessionist movements). Publically-funded state and imperial architecture, sculpture, and murals drew thematic inspiration from classical literature and modelled its forms on classical (and Renaissance) progenitors. Gilbert Scott and Charles Barry drew heavily on classical art and architecture for their buildings, and the murals of Westminster Palace drew inspiration from earlier paintings illustrating heroic classical themes. The Albert Hall and Albert Memorial in Hyde Park drew directly on classical monumental architecture and its Renaissance derivatives.

Germany, Austria and the east

Despite the defeat of Napoleonic France at the beginning of the period and Britain's predominant global hegemony throughout, Britain was by no means the only significant power during the nineteenth century. As in previous centuries competition came from other traditional, as well as emerging, European powers, and towards the end of the century from the United States too.

At the turn of the century the Austro-Hungarian empire spanned many of the lands of central and eastern Europe, well beyond the immediate provinces within the vicinity of the twin capitals Vienna and Budapest. This remained the case throughout the century (the empire continuing to hold together until the end of the First World War). As in the case of the British empire, many of its thinkers saw the parallel with Rome, indeed the empire had come to encompass much of the lands that had once been part of the Roman empire, including for a time northern Italy. Much as it had been by post-revolutionary France, a clear affinity was felt for Rome, and the capital city of Vienna was soon clothed in the language of its ancient imperial predecessor. Much of the state architecture of central Vienna, as well as the great imperial residence of Schönbrunn, took its cue from classical and neoclassical style. Visually the power of the Habsburg family was projected as that of the Caesars had once been.

Already several centuries mature by the time of the period being looked at here, this territorial European empire had also long struggled with how best to formulate its own identity. A blend of Austrian and Hungarian, the two identities were never quite reconciled in a fused national ideology, only loosely held together by a shared Catholicism, the outcome of the Thirty Years' War in the seventeenth century. And, beyond this, much of the population of the empire was made up of Slavs. Already uneasy before, this dynamic came under renewed strain during the course of the century, as various Slavic nationalist movements emerged, first culturally and later politically. Nationalist writers and artists from across the provincial capitals of the empire, such as the Czech Jan Palacky began to revive ideas of a national (or pan-national) Slavic identity, fundamentally opposed to the Germanic heritage of the Austrians, and alien to that of the Magyars. Others sought to reconcile their competing identities in a doctrine of 'Austro-Slavism'. The authorities in Vienna responded variously with waves of repression and experiments with political enfranchisement.

Yet while the Austrian empire was debatably subject to a slow decay, the German states were gradually moving towards a unity of sorts. For some time several of the states, most notably Bavaria and Prussia, had been growing steadily more wealthy and powerful. Culturally and then politically the idea of unification in a nation state grew. The ultimate result of this was the German defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian War in 1871, and the ensuing unification of Germany under the newly crowned German emperor Wilhelm of Prussia.

However the path to German unification had been a slow one, with the idea mooted at the start of the century, after the *Freiheitskrieg* ('War of Liberation') from Napoleon. This had provoked intense debates about German identity which, at a cultural level, encouraged the search for ancient progenitors of a German state. The debate about German identity from the sixteenth century was now replayed anew by writers and artists, but this time by some who had a clearer political aim in sight. To a certain extent this was also part of the process of Prussian dominance over the other German states. Ultimately it was a Prussian statesman, Otto von Bismarck, that realised German unification.

Yet even arguments about German cultural unity were complicated. This was in part the legacy of the seventeenth century, which had seen German states pitted against one another in advocacy of Catholicism or Protestantism, and in part the result of the Napoleonic wars, during which some southern states had sided with the French. Later many of these states and their leaders were at pains to prove that their nationalist credentials were genuine. The medium through which they made these claims was often classical, whether literary or - as we shall see here - artistic. Religion and identity were closely bound together, as they had been in England, but what changed in the nineteenth century was the emergence of a predominant ethnic identity, which took primacy over religion to create what Germany had long lacked: a unified national ideology.

In addition the debate about where Germany began and ended was far from clear in the middle of the nineteenth century, with some arguing that it should encompass ethnic Germans only and others all those populations that spoke German. Even after 1871 much of this debate remained unresolved, with some German-speaking or ethnically-German lands not included in the new nation, most notably Austria and the Bohemian Sudetenland. But the new nation was also an 'empire', and in the wake of French defeat some German thinkers continued to seek further

expansion, by military means if necessary. In the immediate absence of this being realised, much of this agitation was played out at a cultural level. Eliciting a response in kind by Slav and other nationalists, the debate was at times framed through the Classics, an example of which we shall look at in this study. Partisans of religion, empire and ethnicity all found a convenient source of material in classical literature.

Art Centres

Politics and religion aside, the century also witnessed important changes in art in Europe. Style changed dramatically from one end of the century to the other. At its inception many artists continued to paint and sculpt in what were (though modified) the traditions of the Renaissance. By the end of the century the Impressionist, Secessionist and, in England, Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, were purposely breaking with convention to take art in new directions.

Changes in society underlay this. Chief amongst these was the shift in the nature of patronage. In all of the countries we are looking at there were two developments here. Firstly, the growth of a new industrial middle-class and bourgeoisie created a new private appetite for art. This increased the patronage available to artists, something which in turn encouraged greater experimentation and diversification of style. Secondly, political changes and (in Britain, Austria-Hungary, Bavaria and Prussia) growing imperial wealth created new sources of state patronage for the arts. This occasioned a shift in perceptions to a situation in which the state could be conceived as a major sponsor of the arts, perhaps even as having a responsibility to be so.

Since the Renaissance Rome and the other great Italian cities had been the pre-eminent international centres of art. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Paris and Vienna also increasingly attracted foreign artists. This remained so during the nineteenth century, with a continuous stream of visitors from northern Europe, including young aristocrats and the wealthy on the 'Grand Tour'. However an additional effect of this was to stimulate further the development of other artistic centres in northern Europe, as artists brought back the influences of Rome, Paris and elsewhere. In the nineteenth century this led to the growth of some of the German capitals (Munich, Berlin and Dusseldorf), London and Copenhagen as increasingly international centres of art.

In Munich King Ludwig I instigated a programme of state funding for the arts, with several major projects in Bavaria given to local artists and architects. This was imitated elsewhere, most notably by the Prince Consort Albert and his circle in London, and later in Berlin by the ruling house there. In northern Europe cities were deliberately cultivated as art centres to rival Rome and Paris. Vienna continued to be prominent, attracting artists from across the Austro-Hungarian empire and beyond. Both public and private patronage for the arts became closely associated with display of newfound wealth and political power. The world exhibitions staged repeatedly in Paris, Vienna and London were an important part of displaying not only new artistic prowess, but also technological and commercial innovations.

Many of the artists and architects we look at in this project moved freely between the art centres of Europe, supported by kings and private donors. Periods spent in Rome continued to be a standard part of a young artist's education, but many German artists also spent time in Copenhagen or London. Some British artists were influenced by periods spent in the colonies overseas, from which they brought back thematic and stylistic influences. Classics and Classical art remained the foundation of their training however, often leading to new forms of artistic syncretism, such as can be seen manifested in Pre-Raphaelite art and Art Nouveau.

Germanic and Celtic revivalism

Against this background and the cementing of older, or creation of new, nation states in Europe, we can see a growing interest in the history and ancestory of northern Europeans. As in Renaissance Germany, contemporary concern about what it meant to be German, English, Scottish, Scandinavian or Baltic - a process of reflection catalysed by greater contact with imperial subjects - led to greater searching for answers in the past. The cultural revivalist movements of the period were not new, but took on new life during the nineteenth century and increasingly had political influence.

In Germany identity continued to be a complex phenomenon. In some case this continued to be defined in opposition to Rome. Archaeological excavation of the *limes Romana* in Germany helped to revive interest in the theme of the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest. However there was also an increasing interest in the ancient tribes of Germany per se and, arguably unlike in the sixteenth century, this did not take as its

starting point so much the need to demonstrate that the ancient Germans were as civilised as and in the same ways as the Romans, but was rather based on an interest in what was characteristically German. Paralleled by an increasing interest in the Vikings from historians and archaeologists, but also from writers and artists, by the later nineteenth century this had coalesced into a conventional image of a Germanic progenitor, a rugged tribesman with spear, horn, winged (or horned) helmet, and long blond hair. Quickly appropriated by German nationalists, in this context the appeal of Arminius is readily apparent.[56]

In imperial Britain there was also a growing interest in the Germanic origins of the English. In large part this was spurred by royal direction. Albert, the Prince Consort, was a German prince, and Queen Victoria herself had recent German origins. The royal family had a vested interest in playing up the Germanic origins of the English, as a means of validating their rule. Both Victoria and Albert maintained close relationships with their German cousins and Albert introduced Victorian society to several German traditions. A cultural movement known as 'Saxonism' emerged during the period, which taken broadly describes this enthusiasm for the Anglo-Saxon origins of the English. In the narrower sense of the word it refers to the linguistic movement which promoted Germanic words in English as more truly English than Latinate words. Here, and more broadly, an implicit idea of racial affinity with Germany and, at times a notion of cultural primacy, underlay this movement. In an imperial context writers such as Charles Kingsley increasingly linked the honour of Germanic origins to contemporary imperial dominion, in the process borrowing many ideas from contemporary historical racial discourse in Germany.

However there was always a clear consciousness in England, much more than in Germany, of mixed origins. Claims of Anglo-Saxon primacy had to contend with Nordic, Celtic and Roman origins. Viking seafaring was linked to Norman and contemporary naval seapower, but more often than not blended with Anglo-Saxonism. The story of Alfred the Great's resistance against the Norse invasions was taken as a primal assertion of the English nation, but at the same time others stressed the Viking origins of the English. Celtic revivalism first took shape in predeceding centuries as a literary and then popular cultural fascination. This was given an initial spur by Macpherson's *Ossian*, a forged manuscript claiming to record the epic deeds of

56 For a fuller treatment of the subject of the German relationship with antiquity see Marchand (1996).

ancient Scottish heroes. More important than the substance of such texts was the stereotype they created of the northern tribal progenitor, whose staple was the battlefield and the quest for noble deeds. Arguably Macpherson's work had more in common with Norse myth than anything Celtic. Others in Scotland and Ireland, including those opposed to English rule, sought to promote a Celtic identity opposed to that of the English occupiers. Calgacus was a convenient forebear to those looking for a precedent for resistance against a foreign foe. In many ways this paralleled the Pan-Slavism of movements in central Europe which sought autonomy from Austrian rule.

Attitudes towards the Romans in Britain had always been more complex than in Germany. Rather than a corrupt and unwanted foreign influence, the Romans were often conceived of as laying the foundation for Britain's future imperial civilisation (with the later influx of Germanic blood providing the strength to realise this). Yet movements such as Saxonism belie a detestation by others of Roman influence in Britain. In this context attitudes towards the original Celtic inhabitants of Britain were also ambiguous, and affected by contemporary prejudice towards Britain's Irish subjects. Ultimately this ambiguity is clear in portrayals of Boadicea such as Tennyson's, simultaneously heroising her and stressing her barbarity.

These cultural and racial essentialist movements were many and various, but are important to register as context. Many of the artists this project will look at either actively or receptively imbibed these views, and this affected the ways in which they chose to portray Arminius, Boadicea and Calgacus. In many ways these popular movements helped accelerate the conventional association between Tacitus' heroes and contemporary nationalism.

I. Central Europe

Angelica Kauffman

Hermann and Thusnelda

In 1786 the Swiss-born neoclassical artist Angelica Kauffman completed a painting depicting the theme of Arminius returning to his wife and people after the Battle of the Teutoburger Forest (*Figure 1*).[57] In this chapter we will consider Kauffman's use of the theme and what we can infer about the artistic treatment of the Arminius legend at the end of the eighteenth century.

Arminius, just returned from battle with his retinue of soldiers, stands at the edge of a wood. To the right, kneeling before his feet, is his wife, who holds his arm and presents him with a victory garland. Kauffman names her 'Thusnelda', following contemporary tradition. The scene is filled with several other figures. As well as the cluster of soldiers behind Arminius to the left of the canvas, there are other women to the right behind Thusnelda, who dance in joy at the victory. Behind them in turn, to the right of the composition, an old man emerges from the shade of the trees, raising his arms to the sky in a gesture of thanks to the heavens for the victory. Behind him, under the trees, we can see a group of Roman soldiers in the distance, who stand or sit in dejection at their defeat and capture.

Arminius himself is the centre of the composition, the gestures and arrangement of most of the other figures in the composition leading the eye of the observer to his figure. Very much in the posture of a classical statue he stands, his weight on his right leg, looking to his right and raising his arm to point at the Roman shield borne by one of his soldiers, the spoils of his victory. This is perhaps Varus' own shield, the ultimate mark of his triumph over Rome. Arminius himself wears a short tunic, and a red cape which drapes over his shoulders and back. Together with the crown and plume on his head he appears very much as the Roman hero, much unlike the Germanic tribal appearance usually given him by later artists. In fitting style he wears sandals on his feet. His hair is blond and he is handsome. He is very much the dominant commander and king.

57 A. Kauffman, 'Hermann and Thusnelda', Oil-on-canvas, 44,8 x 61,9cm, 1786 (Kunstgeschichtliche Sammlungen, Vienna).

Thusnelda, who kneels at his feet holding up what appears to be a wreath of laurel to crown her husband, is depicted as the loving and subservient wife. She is dressed in white and is portrayed as beautiful with pale skin and long blond hair. The women who attend her dancing behind are likewise blond and ideals of the Germanic maiden. Yet as with Arminius himself Thusnelda's dress seems less that of an ancient tribe than that of contemporary fashion, while her maidservants seem to wear something closer to an Italian peasant dress. They are dressed in different colours, but none of them in white like Thusnelda, and arranged in different postures, one holding an additional wreath above her head while another carries a basket of flowers. At their feet too we see flowers which they have scattered in the path of the approaching victor. All the women turn in his direction, though one intriguingly looks back in the direction of the dejected Roman captives, perhaps out of pity.

Behind Arminius to the left of the composition there are several figures of soldiers, densely packed together into a mass, the head of the approaching column of the army which Arminius leads home. Immediately behind Arminius one of these stands in a similar posture to his captain, holding a military standard, on the top of which is some kind of golden bird with spread wings, most probably an eagle.[58] He too is blond and handsome, as Arminius. He looks longingly towards the right of the canvas, his head tilted to one side, perhaps in love of his woodland home, or rather at one of the women attending Thusnelda, perhaps the love to whom he returns from war. To his right another soldier holds the Roman shield, bowing forward slightly at the behest of Arminius, as a sign of his obedience. Before his feet lie a red cloak and a helmet, and together with the shield in his hands we may suspect that these are the despoiled armour of the fallen Varus. Behind these figures are those of other soldiers, above whose heads can be seen other despoiled Roman standards, one topped with an eagle and another adorned with medals of the emperor.

At the right of the canvas we have, as in many works on the Arminius theme, a bearded old man who is most likely intended to be a bard or a priest. Alone of all the figures in the composition his gaze is raised upwards to the sky, in a gesture of reverence and thanks to the gods for the victory that they have given to the Cherusci. His costume seems to be the invention of Kauffman, but is clearly intended to denote some priestly distinction, and is vaguely reminiscent of that of the priest of the Isis

58 Roman standards, but this is perhaps also a subtle recognition of the arms of the patron of this painting, the Austrian emperor, also featuring an eagle.

cult in Roman art with its high band across the chest.[59] The Bardic figure is placed off-centre in the composition but is an important foil to the hero, lending the celebration a religious quality, and elevating the status of Arminius' victory to that of a great triumph for the destiny of his people. Though standing his posture mirrors that of the kneeling Thusnelda, and he too is struck with light and illuminated in white. By echoing in his posture and raised arms those of Thusnelda, Kauffman makes equivalent her worship of him with the bard's of the gods, thereby attributing Arminius with a holy quality himself and portraying him as the just instrument of their will.

The backdrop to the entire scene is of course a wood, green in the summer, behind which we can see blue sky over the heads of the column of German soldiers. Behind the bard at the extreme right of the composition and in the background we can see a cluster of Roman soldiers. Unlike the victorious Germans they are utterly cloaked in the gloom beneath the trees. We can make out three figures here, two standing and one crouched over his armour. The principal central figure stands, arms crossed defensively, turned to one side with head down, while the figure to their right appears to lean on the central figure's shoulder. In stance and composition these two figures are very reminiscent of the famous Orpheus and Eurydice relief from classical art.[60] Drawing from this source she imports the same notions of noble grief, in this case transposed to a different context. The mourning figure with head bowed also recalls many portrayals of the captive Andromache after the sack of Troy, and Kauffman intends the same idea here. The other figure, hunched up small over his arm, mourns the Roman defeat and the resulting plight he will now face. There is much sympathy here for the defeated Romans, which Kauffman does not treat as mutually exclusive with her portrayal of the victorious Arminius. The Germans are noble in the victory, as are the Romans in their defeat, having lost to a worthy enemy.

Angelica Kauffman

In this chapter we examine the work of an artist who, like many of the artists which this project examines, is little known today but who, unlike the majority of those other

59 We might compare, for example, the depiction of the priests in the famous 1st century painting from Herculaneum of a ceremony of the Isiac cult.

60 'Hermes, Eurydice, and Orpheus', marble relief, 5th century BC (National Museum, Naples).

artists, was very famous in her own day. Indeed in her lifetime she was so renowned that 'Reynolds himself did not enjoy such international fame'.[61] In addition she was an artist who, 'as well as attracting the attentions of Reynolds, Dance, Fuseli, Marat and Goethe, [...] portrayed both Winckelmann, and Herder.'[62] In addition to this she is the only female artist looked at in this project.

Born in Coire, the capital of the Grisons in Switzerland, Kauffman was raised by her itinerant painter father, later continuing her studies in Italy. She spent much of her career in England, living in London for a fifteen-year period, during which time she became a famous portrait painter to English, as well as foreign, aristocracy and royalty, enjoying close relationships with many of the royal families of Europe. From 1766 she had her own studios, enjoying the rare honour of becoming one of only two female members of the Royal Academy (1768) on its foundation, as well as being inducted into the academies of Florence (1762), Bologna (1762) and Rome (1765).[63] After a brief ill-fated marriage to a pretender-count, an affair which very nearly ended in scandal, she married the Venetian artist Antonio Zucchi, and from 1782 until her death in 1807 lived in Rome, where she continued to enjoy the highest society and renown. While her work was very much the product of its time and not without its critics, both in its own time and in the subsequent century, she undoubtedly enjoyed a significant and, for a female artist in her day, unusual success, influencing the art of her time.

Yet modern scholarship on Kauffman is relatively limited, a fact which undoubtedly has much to do with her posthumous obscurity and the change in artistic fashions which was to ensue in the decades and century subsequent to her death. As Lloyd points out in his review of the 1993 exhibition on Kauffman, there had not been such an exhibition since 1955, which in itself is telling of the obscurity of the artist in the twentieth century.[64] His particular qualm with the scholarship associated with this exhibition is that it lacks a wider perspective on the artist in a European context with its focus on her time spent in England. Rosenthal's extensive book on the artist[65]

61 Hartcup (1954: ix).

62 Lloyd (1993: 162).

63 Rosenthal (2006: 1).

64 Lloyd (1993: 161).

65 Rosenthal (2006).

certainly goes a long way towards addressing these deficiencies in the scholarship, taking as it does a multifaceted approach to the artist as a portrait painter as well as a history painter. Yet while we shall refer to these and other works in this chapter, none of them pose the question of the influence of early nationalist thinking on her thought, despite highlighting her engagement with the political circles of the day and close proximity to figures such as Herder.

Nineteenth-century writing on Kauffman is much more extensive, and we will look at some of this in this chapter. However there are manifold problems with much of this work. Dickens, who himself wrote a short monograph on the artist in the journal, *Household Words*, found it hopelessly wanting. After highlighting the limited nature of contemporary English writing in relation to the artist he comments of work available abroad: 'My travels in search of Angelica in foreign parts have been tedious and painful. That which M. Artaud, in that great caravanserai of celebrities the Biographie Universelle, has to say about her is of the dryest; and a Herr Bockshammer, a German, from whom I expected great things, merely referred me to another A. Kauffman, not at all angelical; but connected with a head-splitting treatise on the human mind.'[66] There were some more authoritative sources, principally Giovanni Gherardo de Rossi's biography which, since it was written by someone who had known Kauffman and been a personal friend, at least contained some firsthand recollections.[67] One of the principle problems was that the letters of the artist had quickly disappeared after her death, with few exceptions.[68] A further problem with much of this material is that it is often more concerned with the affair of the sham marriage, and with Kauffman as a paragon of morality, rather than an artist. This is in itself an interesting fact, and one which reveals much about nineteenth-century English society, but does shift the focus away from Kauffman as an artist to Kauffman as a famous woman and, to some degree, this fascination with the affair remains in some modern scholarship.[69] Some contemporary writing even went so far as rather

66 Dickens (1856: 88).

67 Rossi (1810).

68 As Gerard (1892: *Preface* viii) comments: 'As Angelica corresponded with some of the most interesting persons of her time, her letters would be of great value. Unfortunately before her death she burned a great portion of them.'

69 This sort of approach to the artist is typified by the article on the artist in the *The Ladies Monthly Magazine* (1821).

lacklustre eulogies,[70] which Dickens takes much aversion to, but in his writing and that of others we find a determination to idealise the childhood and upbringing of the artist, and in this respect what he says about the artist is likewise not without bias.[71] Our written sources then, both contemporary, nineteenth-century and more modern, are few and limited.

An imperial commission

In the case of this particular painting we do however have limited information on the nature of the commission. The circumstances of the commission for the painting were as follows. At the time she was at the royal court of Naples undertaking a large portrait of the royal family. Many other royals passed through the court during the time she was working on the commission, amongst whom was the Austrian emperor of the time, Joseph II. Purportedly claiming her as one of his subjects, although she had in fact been born in Switzerland, on the grounds that at the time of her birth Coire was in Austro-Hungarian domains, he asked from her two pictures for his gallery in Vienna. However he left the subject matter and dimensions entirely to her free choice, with no stipulation other than that the pictures be delivered quickly. Kauffman promised that the pictures would be delivered quickly (it was in fact two years before he received the completed works), but said that she would have to finish the Neapolitan commission first.[72]

Kauffman's own record of the commission and sale of the completed paintings survives from the personal memoranda she kept of paintings sold. She describes the subject matter of the Arminius painting as follows: 'The defeat of Quintilius Varus and Arminius returning triumphantly to his woods where he is met by his wife and fair maidens who dancing with joy throw flowers to the victorious hero who is followed by his soldiers who are carrying Varus' booty and the ensigns of the Roman Eagles.'[73]

70 For example, George Keate's *Epistle to Angelica Kauffman* (1781): 'Yes, my Angelica, to you/ This I devote,/ a Tribute due;/ Who can misplac'd the Off'ring deem/ To her who hath inspir'd the Theme?' Dickens (1856: 88) certainly considered this poem misguided, which he refers to as 'a stupid epistle'.

71 For example Dickens' (1856: 89) picturesque, but entirely fabricated, image of the child Angelica singing songs to her father: 'Often would she sing from memory some dear and simple Tyrolean ballad to amuse her father, melancholy in his widowhood.'

72 Manners, Williamson (1924: 60).

73 Translated by a 'Signora Vitelleschi' in Manners, Williamson (1924: 151-152).

Arminius is 'animated with his triumph', and the 'old Bard' beside him 'raises his arms to thank the gods for the victory obtained'. This is a fairly factual description of the work which indicates that Kauffman intended the painting as a victory celebration. Of greater interest however is her description of the painting's counterpart in the commission for the emperor, which was a painting of the funeral of Pallas from Virgil's *Aeneid*: 'The other represents the young Palantis killed in battle; he is being carried on a bier of branches and leaves. Eneas mourns him and covers him with a rich garment which had been given him by Dido and he wraps his head round with a lovely veil; many Trojan ladies are beside the bier mourning for the young Prince's death, and the old man goes away in great grief as he was the tutor of the deceased who had been given to him to be educated by Evander - the subject is taken from Virgil.'[74] We can see that the counterpart chosen by Kauffman was another theme related to war, but this time to the grief that comes from war. She therefore chose to use the commission for two paintings to portray heroic victory and heroic tragedy, and both were drawn from classical Latin literature, the one factual and the one fictional.

The choice was evidently a good one, and pleased the emperor Joseph greatly. This is something abundantly clear from the rich rewards he bestowed upon his 'subject' in return for the works. His gifts to Kauffman as well as a letter, conveyed through his ambassador, Cardinal Hartzen, are also recorded in Kauffman's memorandum note on the sale of the paintings. As well as payment of 1926 crowns for both paintings, she notes how 'On the 15th April the above named Cardinal Hartzen brought and presented by order of the Emperor, a beautiful jewel with Joseph the Second's monogram and a chain to wear on it; the whole surrounded with diamonds; also a gold snuff box richly enamelled and very finely worked, together with an autograph letter of the Emperor expressing his satisfaction in very heartfelt terms, and saying that he had the two pictures placed at once in the best place of the Imperial Gallery as perennial homage to the talent of a woman and his subject [...] who had achieved celebrity by the art of Painting.'[75]

The emperor was obviously very pleased with Kauffman's work then, and what is striking about the nature of what he sent her in reward is how personal it is. Doubtless many a contemporary observer would have us believe that this was yet

74 Manners, Williamson (1924: 152).

75 Manners, Williamson (1924: 152).

another famous man of the time, a Reynolds or a Herder, struck with her charms. Yet in reality the emperor could only have met her very briefly in Naples, and it is more likely that he was genuinely pleased with Kauffman's choice of subject matter and that he would have two paintings by this celebrated artist to hang in his gallery, as testament to the achievements of a 'subject' of his. There are two connected questions which emerge from this. Firstly, why did Kauffman, given a completely free choice, choose to portray the theme of Arminius' *Siegesfeier* and couple this with the funeral of Pallas, and secondly, why was it so well received by an Austrian emperor?

While the choice of subject might be an obvious one at the end of the nineteenth century, it was certainly far from that at the end of the eighteenth. This is abundantly clear from the greater body of Kauffman's work[76] which if not aristocratic portraiture is mainly drawn from classical mythology or poetry, with the exception of a handful of Roman historical subjects, such as Sempronia and the Gracchi in their childhood.[77] Here she has chosen to employ a theme showing Roman defeat and German victory, drawn from a historical source, and to couple it with a Virgilian theme central to Roman foundation myth which, as pointed out above, is of course a theme drawn from poetry. However, despite the one being drawn from history and the other from poetry, the two themes do have something in common.

Firstly in a generic sense both paintings are concerned with war, the one celebrating victory and the other lamenting loss. However both share a certain nobility, for Pallas is young, noble and beautiful in death as Arminius is in his victory. In addition to this there are the bonds of love, that we see affected by war in both works. Just as Thusnelda is joyed at her husband's victory over the Romans and presents him with the garland, so Aeneas is distraught at the death of the boy who was his ward. Themes of war might seem fitting for the emperor of a great military world power, but why the combination of two such themes? Although one theme is drawn from history and one from epic, the former is in many ways so greatly mythologized as to take on the character of epic, while the latter though epic was considered by the Romans as a historical foundation myth. In this sense then from an eighteenth century perspective they might not be so different in quality.

As to use perhaps it is not so difficult to see an appeal to an Austrian emperor.

76 See further below on Kauffman's use of other classical subject matter.

77 A. Kauffman, 'Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, pointing to her children as treasures', oil-on-canvas, 102 x 127 cm, 1785 (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond).

Austria-Hungary was, after all, a great modern Germanic power, but which aspired to the highest levels of a civilisation which was framed in classical terms. From the architecture of the imperial capital to the institutions of the imperial state, Rome was the model. From an official stance then Austria-Hungary was the modern paragon of the fusion between Germanic and classical civilisation. Arminius and Aeneas might be considered respectively as progenitor figures of these two cultures, and therefore portraying them in a couplet of paintings might well have had great appeal to an Austrian monarch such as Joseph, and this is the most likely explanation of why he found the choice of subject matter so apt and why he rewarded Kauffman so greatly.[78]

To what extent can it be argued that the choice of subject here is a natural one? Perhaps they proved to be a good choice, but this does not necessarily equate with their being a routine choice of subject matter for their time. In his biography of Kauffman Gerard considered that in at least one sense there was nothing remarkable in the choice: 'The Emperor Joseph's order had been completed. The subjects of the two pictures being left to the artist's choice, were of course drawn from a classical source.'[79] He evidently considered it completely natural that in undertaking a commission for an emperor one would employ classical subject matter. Considering that the predominant style of the age was neoclassical, and furthermore given Kauffman's repertoire of classical subject matter, Gerard is probably right. However, it cannot be said that the choice of Arminius was anything near as usual as that of the other classical themes illustrated by Kauffman, such as that mentioned above, the infant Gracchi, or Hector and Andromache or the abandonment of Ariadne. This was a far more unusual choice and a far more deliberate one, chosen for its particular merits given the context of the commission and the intended patron. Yet her take on the subject is very much a classicizing one, which dresses up Arminius in the iconography of a classical victor, and is far removed from the archetypal Germanic portrayals of a century later. This does not however negate the fact that the subject matter was not at all a standard choice.[80]

Education and other works

78 On the emperor's response cf. 'Memoir of Maria Angelica Kauffman, with a Notice of Her Works', *The Belfast Monthly Magazine* (1814: 465); Hartcup (1854: 155-156).

79 Gerard (1892: 195).

Kauffman received an extensive practical training in her early years, helping her father with many of the commissions for church decoration which he received while he was travelling. However an important fact about Kauffman's education that must be remembered, and which was remarked upon by many critics, was the fact that, as a woman, she had not been permitted to take life drawing classes. Indeed this is something we find used as an excuse by many a sympathetic critic for any deficiencies claimed in her work.[81] This seems to have proved such a fascinating topic to some of her cotemporaries that it almost resulted in a scandal when a rumour went around that she had studied from a living male model. John Thomas Smith[82] took it upon him to formally investigate, finding that she had drawn from one of the Royal Academy's male models, but that he had always been clothed and her father had always been present. While otherwise of little interest, this does show the extent of public interest in the artist during the time she spent in London, and betrays a fascination with the fact that a female artist had managed to achieve such fame.[83]

What can we say about Kauffman's artistic inspirations? In terms of subject matter she was evidently fond of classical source material, but not just this, painting as she did themes from for example Ossian, and we shall look at both of these below. However in terms of artists she was clearly inspired by Leonardo. She painted a 'Leonardo da Vinci dying in the arms of Francis I', which some numbered amongst her best works. In addition we know that she spent some time in Milan at an early stage before she travelled to England, where she would have had the opportunity to study some of his works. Perhaps this influence is most apparent in her portraiture, where her concern with the personality of her sitters is always obvious, as for example in her painting of Reynolds.[84] Naturally her portraiture cannot be put on a par with works

80 Writers on Kauffman, nineteenth-century and modern, have not especially singled out the Arminius painting for comment, perhaps classing it together with her other works on a classical theme and not remarking how it is unlike them. An exception is Ellet (1859: 135), who lists both the Arminius painting and the Pallas painting as two amongst her four best works in her opinion.

81 As, for example, in the article in *The Belfast Monthly Magazine* (1814: 462): 'In these pursuits she laboured under an insurmountable difficulty, as, by the decorums of her sex she was prevented from resorting to academies. But this circumstance by no means discouraged her. By drawing after the most correct models, and by the assiduous study of the works of the best artists, she compensated the unavoidable deficiency of academic instruction.'

82 John Thomas Smith was the biographer of Nollekens Cf. Smith (1828).

83 On this incident see further: Walch (1977: 107), and Smith (1828: 83).

84 A. Kauffman, 'Joshua Reynolds', Oil-on-canvas, 61 x 51 cm, 1767 (Saltram, Devon).

such as Leonardo's 'Lady with an Ermine',[85] but she clearly admired his approach to portrait painting, and it is perhaps this that earned her her German sobriquet, *Seelen Mahlerin* ('Painter of souls'), however much justified or not.[86] It has also been argued that she shows the influence of the Venetian school in her colouring, which is as a rule rich and favours brighter colours.[87] In sum it is clear that she did not lack for artistic models throughout her life in the many places where she lived, though this may have perhaps contributed to one of the criticisms of her which, as we shall see below, was that she lacked originality.

One thing that is certain about Kauffman's inspirations as an artist is that she drew heavily on classical source material and subject matter. This is perhaps best captured by her early association with Wickelmann, whom she met as a young woman. She was evidently very much inspired by him, as he was with her,[88] and it is likely that she drew much of her enthusiasm for the Classics from this meeting, doubtless fortuitous for her development. Kauffman painted his portrait, with which he was very pleased. His impressions of the young artist survive in a letter to a friend in 1764: 'My portrait has been done by an unusual person, a German paintress [...] The young woman of whom I speak was born in Costnitz, but was at an early age brought to Italy by her father, who is also an artist; she thus speaks German ever so well, like one who was born in Saxony. She also speaks fluent French and English, so she paints all of the English who visit here. She can be thought beautiful, and sings as well as our best virtuosi.'[89] It is apparent from this that Winckelmann had spent some time with Kauffman and had had the opportunity to get to know her better, and to appreciate her musical, as well as artistic talents.[90] It can only be conjectured to what

85 Leonardo da Vinci, 'Lady with an Ermine', Oil-on-wood-panel, 54 x 39cm, 1489 (Czartoryski Museum, Krakow).

86 Ellet (1859: 136).

87 For example the comment in the work, *The Historic Gallery of Portraits and Paintings* (1811: 183), written shortly after her death that: 'Her colouring was soft and harmonious, and in the best manner of the modern Italians. In her latter years she gave more energy to her tints, by studying the Venetian masters.'

88 Many later writers clearly found the association picturesque, for example Gerard (1892): 33), who comments: 'Angelica's romantic nature naturally inclined to the study of classical mythology [...] Her sensitive mind readily embraced all the beauty of the ideal world; she listened to Winckelmann's preaching upon Greek art and the story of the Periclean era, until she became saturated with the fables of mythology and set up the forms of gods and goddesses as the standard of all merit.'

89 Cited in Walch (1977: 105).

90 Kauffman was apparently also a very talented singer, at an early stage having to make a choice

extent the experience of meeting the art historian and influential contemporary figure would have affected the young Kauffman, but undoubtedly Winckelmann must have at least impressed upon her the virtues of studying classical artistic forbears.

This Kauffman did, and the results are more than evident in her work. It is worth considering a few examples of subjects Kauffman painted on a classical theme to consider the different ways in which she approached her themes and to what ends she used them. A particular favourite to which Kauffman returns in more than one painting is Sappho. Perhaps the preference is understandable, if what many contemporary commentators say about the unhappiness of Kauffman in love is true. Furthermore the empathy with another talented woman, arguably one of only two obvious classical archetypes of this together with Hypatia of Alexandria, is clear. In an article on Kauffman's 1775 painting of Sappho[91] Tomory draws attention to this fact, pointing out the physical similarities between her Sappho and her self portraits: 'Comparing the Sappho here with her two self-portraits [...] there are considerable similarities in the shape of the head, the mouth in particular and the eyes.'[92] And in terms of access to her source material, as he rightly argues, Kauffman would not have needed any knowledge of Greek, since numerous translations were available.[93] With her knowledge of both German and English, as well as Italian, this would also have been true of the *Annals* and *Germania*. In sum her Sappho shows the extent to which Kauffman could personalise her subject matter and relate to the heroines that she portrayed.

Another interesting painting on a classical theme, focused on in some of the modern scholarship, is her 'Praxiteles showing Phryne his Statue of Cupid'.[94] The subject of this painting is the love of the sculptor Praxitiles for one of the mistresses of Alexander the Great, Phryne, according to which legend Praxiteles produced such a beautiful painting of Phryne for Alexander, that in gratitude Alexander gave Phryne to

between whether to devote her life to music or to painting. She herself represented this choice in a Hercules virtue and vice-esque painting of 1794 in which she portrays herself torn between the two muses: A. Kauffman, 'Self-portrait hesitating between Music and Poetry', oil-on-canvas, 147.5 cm x 218.5 cm, 1794 (Nostell Priory, Nostell).

91 A. Kauffman, 'Sappho' (oil-on-canvas, 129,5 x 147,4 cm, 1775, (Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota).

92 Tomory (1971: 275).

93 Tomory (1971: 276).

94 A. Kauffman, 'Praxiteles showing Phryne his Statue of Cupid', oil-on-canvas, 43.3 x 48.6 cm, 1794 (Rhode Island School of Design Museum of Art, Providence).

Praxiteles. This is certainly a very interesting theme for an artist to take on, for very much similar reasons to those which make Kauffman's paintings of Sappho so, namely because there is something self-reflexive in the work. By portraying ancient artists she reflects upon the relationship between the artist and their work, and it is classical subject matter that is used as the medium for this. Sappho writes her poems as a palliation for the grief in her life, and in Praxiteles' case his painting is what it is only because of his love for the subject, and he only finds fulfilment of that love because of the painting. Through the medium of such subjects she is reflecting upon the relationship between life (perhaps love) and art in her own work.[95]

What is apparent from Kauffman's choice of these themes is that her use of classical source material was always very deliberate and usually involved some element of introspection. As we shall see in our analysis of Fuseli's comments on the artist, this might well be true of her Arminius painting too. Of all the paintings in which she uses classical subject matter as a form of self-reflection however, it is in her painting of 'Zeuxis choosing his models for the painting of Helen of Troy'[96] that this is clearest. Kauffman portrays the ancient Greek painter Zeuxis choosing between three models for his painting of Helen. According to Cicero Zeuxis studied several models to choose the most beautiful features from each, in order to depict his Aphrodite.[97] This is an intriguing painting in many ways, firstly because it is again a reflection upon the practice of the artist and her selective imitation from life, and perhaps also upon her own search for her ideals. A criticism we find frequently levelled at Kauffman is that the beauty of the men and women she portrays is too correct.[98] However what is most fascinating about this aspect of reflection is how she chooses to portray one of the women differently, for while some women pose for

95 Roworth comments that the finished painting we have today was in fact originally intended to form part of a whole group of paintings: 'Kauffman's depiction of artist and model as lovers must be interpreted within its context, a group of classical subjects that were intended to be considered together.' Roworth (1983: 489). If anything the fact that Kauffman had originally planned a whole group of paintings on this uncommon theme shows her fixation with it the more.

96 A. Kauffman, 'Zeuxis choosing his models for the painting of Helen of Troy', oil-on-canvas, 78.1 x 109 cm, 1788 (Annmary Brown Memorial, Providence).

97 Cicero, *De Inventione*, 2.1.

98 As expressed in, for example *The Ladies Monthly Magazine* (1821: 62): 'The only fault, in which (and though a very pleasing one, was nevertheless a fault) was, that they were too, strictly beautiful, and too much like each other. This may seem in us a fastidious kind of criticism; but Nature, all-powerful Nature! should be the painter's guide; and we well know that it is not every face that is *correct* according to the line of beauty, and *expressive* also.'

Zeuxis another, who has presumably already posed, picks up a brush and seems to play at being the artist herself. This is clearly another form of introspection, in this case most probably a reflection upon herself as a female artist. It is not the intention here, as in other studies, to focus upon this aspect of Kauffman's work, but it is telling how she chooses to mediate such reflection through a classical subject, and not a particularly well-known one. This should make us reflect carefully when she is using the Arminius theme, likewise classical and likewise not an especially famous one.

A painting with a classical theme which does not involve such a degree of self-reflection, but which also warrants inspection here, is Kauffman's 'Hector taking leave of Andromache'.[99] In theme this painting is much closer to the Arminius painting, though in a sense its subject is the opposite; Hector departing from Andromache before battle rather than Hermann returning to Thusnelda after it. Rosenthal reads much into this painting and the manner in which Hector is depicted in it: 'The unresolved choice of Hector can be read in his unstable and turning pose. But the very way in which Kauffman represents his body - its lack of gravity and its balletic, mincing quality - as well as the melancholic emotion it seems to figure, should not be taken for the character's moral weakness. It should be seen instead as bodying forth his strong affection toward his wife, with whom he seems forever linked through a meaningful joining of hands in a *dextrarum junctio* gesture, and for his child, cradled in the arms of an attending nurse.'[100]

Rosenthal is right to point out Kauffman's sensitive handling of the relationship between husband and wife and the significance of the *dextrarum iunctio* justure, but her reading of Hector's appearance is flawed. This is based upon a misconception of a classical aesthetic of male beauty which Kauffman is true to in many of her paintings, but which most modern commentators misread. In ancient art it is probably best represented by Praxiteles' work,[101] in which a male ideal of beauty very close to a female ideal is represented. But while it is feminised it is not effeminate - as in Homer's works themselves, where Achilles and Patroclus' beauty can be described as feminine, but without this necessarily detracting from their

99 A. Kauffman, 'Hector taking Leave of Andromache', oil-on-canvas, 134 x 176cm, 1768 (Morley Collection, Saltram House, Plympton).

100 Rosenthal (1993: 194).

101 Perhaps most of all in the 'Apollo Sauroktoknos', Roman marble after Praxitiles' 'Sauroktonos', 1st-2nd century AD (Louvre, Paris).

military might. Rosenthal and others do not analyse the Arminius painting in such a manner, but if they were to do so they might apply the same analysis. The important point is that Kauffman, as the ancient sources, does not intend to portray her male heroes as effete, and draw any resulting inferences from this; she is simply following the original classical Greek aesthetic of male beauty.[102]

Not every commentator took a positive view of Kauffman's use of classical or mythological subject matter in her painting. Hautecoeur for example sees it rather as merely the product of her time; a matter of merely following contemporary fashion rather than anything more significant. He quotes de Rossi's biography and gives his view as follows: '"Afin de mieux plaire", dit son ami Gh. de Rossi, "ses portraits étaient mythologiques ou allègoriques." Elle vêtait ses modèles de costumes antiques, répresentait Miss Hart en Thalie, ou bien composait avec ses personnages une scène attendrissante: la jeune comtesse Potocka couvrait de fleurs le tombeau de sa mère et de ses frères.'[103] This must be seen in the light of Hautcoeur's generally critical approach to Kauffman and appears to be directed in any case more at her portraiture than anything else. However what he implies is that the classical costume and trappings were used as a mere superficial dress for her subject matter, perhaps to conceal some lack of real substance. Whether this is true or not - and the purpose of this chapter is not to make an assessment of the relative merit of Kauffman as an artist - classical dress certainly functions as a signifier in the Arminius painting. The depiction of Arminius, his scarce costume and his physical appearance, are meant to recall Homer and the heroes of classical epic, a fact reinforced by the coupling of the painting with a theme from Virgil. Whether superficial or not classical iconography functions as an important signifier in this and other of Kauffman's works.[104]

What clearly emerges from a comparison of several of Kauffman's paintings which feature classical subject matter is above all a strong emphasis upon the heroes or heroines, rather than the action or events, of the myth or historic episode being

102 This does not rule out adaptation of this ideal to a more contemporary Austro-Germanic ideal of beauty, as is evident in many of her works, particularly the Ossianic inspired 'Inibaca revealing herself to Trenmor', oil-on-canvas, 128 x 103.5 cm, 1773 (Private collection).

103 Hautecoeur (1912: 174).

104 Hautcoeur also makes a more general point about the proliferation of classically-themed works in Kauffman's corpus: 'Ses tableaux d'histoire sont surtout mythologiques: combien d'Amours n'a-t-elle pas peints? En 1784, elle traite des sujets homériques: *Télémaque et Mentor*, *Télémaque parmi les nymphes de Calypso*. En 1785, c'est *une mort de Virgile*, et - David prépare les Horaces - une *Cornélie*, *mère des Gracques*, un *Servius Tullius enfant*.' Hautecoeur (1912: 175).

treated. Perhaps it is natural enough for an artist who was primarily a portrait painter to be interested in personalities even in her other works. It is however something worth remarking on because unlike most other depictions of Arminius, with the exception of Johannes Gehrt's 'Hermann's Farewell to Thusnelda',[105] here we have more of an emphasis placed on husband and wife than on the events of the battle or its aftermath. In this light we should consider an interesting comment made by the artist Henry Fuseli,[106] a close friend of Kauffman's, who said that all of the heroines of the artist's paintings were in fact herself, and all of the heroes were the man to whom she thought she could have submitted.[107] Our interpretation of this comment must be tempered by our knowledge that Fuseli was a failed suitor of hers, but it is certainly true that many of her heroines bear a close resemblance to her self-portraits.

This gives rise to the possible proposition that the Thusnelda of our painting is in some way equivalent to Kauffman herself, and Hermann to such a man as she could have loved. This cannot be entertained as anything more than a conjecture, but is nonetheless worth considering. If this is in a limited sense true, that sense can only be stretched as far as that she is as much Thusnelda as she is any of the other heroines of her art; it cannot be implied that there is anything especially significant for her personally in identification with Thusnelda. The predominant characteristic of the Thusnelda of Kauffman's painting is of course her deference. She is obeisant before her victorious husband, whom she loves because of his victory and the principles for which he fights. There is an ideal of nobility here, as there is with the dead Pallas and the mourning Aeneas, which must be seen in the context of its patronage. Yet there is also an ideal of matrimony here, as in the Hector and Andromache painting, which likewise presents a loving husband and wife, albeit in a sadder context. Considering Kauffman's own life, and her apparent misfortune in love which all the sources relate, there is inevitably something personal about her portrayal of any lovers. And just as her Hermann and Thusnelda are ideals of beauty, as all her other heroes and heroines, so is their bond an ideal too.

---

105 J. Gehrt, 'Armin verabschiedet sich von Thusnelda', 1884 (Lippisches Landesmuseum, Detmold).

106 Fuseli, whose German name was Johann Heinrich Füssli, though British was, like Kauffman, of Swiss origin and was born in Zürich. His father, Johann Caspar Füssli, was a Swiss portrait painter who wrote a book on Swiss painters.

107 Tomory (1971: 275).

Kauffman and her contemporaries

Kauffman is an interesting artist for this project for many reasons, and another of these is the fact that she is a central European artist who nevertheless spent many of the most important years of her career in England. Moreover she was connected to many of the most influential figures in British art of the time. In this sense then, although one of the earliest artists we are examining here, in her life and various abodes she worked in more than one of the important centres of art in the Europe of the period we are examining in this project.

Of her arrival in London we know that she was well set up from the start, not lacking connections, company nor commissions for work: 'At her arrival in London she had numerous commissions from those who had known her in Italy, and from their friends; and it was not long before her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, mother to George III, informed of the ability of the artist, engaged her in the service of the royal family.'[108] This clearly had much to do with the manner of her arrival, which was in the company of the former British Ambassador in Naples, with whose wife she was friendly and at whose invitation she had come.

She seems very quickly to have become acquainted with several of the famous artists working in London at the time. Her relationships with some of these are interesting, at least sufficiently so to have excited the attention of many nineteenth-century writers. Of these we know that she knew Fuseli well, but perhaps of greatest interest is her connection with Joshua Reynolds. They were on sufficiently close terms for Reynolds to have included her as a founding member of the Royal Academy which, as we have remarked above, was an unusual honour considering her gender. Reynolds evidently had much respect for her neoclassical style, and Kauffman painted Reynolds, a portrait which contemporary observers considered to be a very fine one, capturing the personality of the man perfectly, as we have mentioned above. In fact it appears that Reynolds, as Fuseli, was another failed suitor of the artist's, something which later writers make much of.[109] Whatever the truth of their relationship, her friendship with Reynolds clearly helped bring her many commissions and further connections in the world of British art. We also know that Kauffman was involved in working on some of the paintings to decorate the Royal Academy buildings

108 Belfast Monthly Magazine (1814: 463).

themselves, including 'four large oval paintings at the extremities of the ceiling of the Royal Academy, representing Composition, Invention, Design, and Colouring.'[110] From its inception then she was involved in this establishment institution, bearing the honour of its membership for the rest of her life. It would be a mistake to argue that Kauffman was in any way unconventional then. Perhaps her use of classical themes is in some ways novel, but she is still very much a neoclassical painter of her time, and as such it cannot be argued that her Arminius painting is anything other than the product of her time too.[111]

Nonetheless the regard she enjoyed during her fifteen years spent in London was significant, and it has been argued that she was the only real history painter in the London of her time: 'It is remarkable that - along with Benjamin West - Kauffman was the only serious exponent of history painting in London during the 1760s and 1770s, concentrating on scenes from classical mythology and history, with excursions into later literature, as well as early British history.'[112] So while she was conventional for her period, Kauffman's subject matter was otherwise experiencing an interlude in its popularity. This exceptionality may have had much to do with the revival of interest in such themes, in large part as a result of the many engravings made after her works, but it is in this light that we should judge the Arminius painting; as part of a tradition of history painting which was not the height of artistic fashion in Britain during the years she spent there. That she persisted in such work, and that she received commissions, may have had much to do with the fact that she had been trained abroad and that many of her patrons were foreign aristocracy or royalty, such as Joseph II of Austria.

---

109 Surprisingly Dickens' (1856: 92) account of the two artists' relationship is probably the most sober: 'the friendship of Sir Joshua soon ripened into a warmer feeling. He became vehemently in love with her. There is no evidence, or indeed reason, to suppose that Reynold's intentions towards Angelica Kauffman were anything but honourable. There was no striking disparity between their ages. The fame of Angelica bid fair in time to equal his own, and bring with it a commensurate fortune; yet, for some inexplicable reason - probably through an aversion or a caprice as inexplicable - Angelica discouraged his advances.' The reason for Dickens' comment here is because some writers had even gone so far as to suggest that the mishap of Kauffman's first marriage was in fact a conspiracy engineered by an embittered Reynolds!

110 Anon. (1834: 489).

111 By way of comparison, both Alfons Mucha's book illustration and Ernst von Bandel's statue (examined in later chapters) are in many ways unusual for their time in style, medium, and patronage, whereas Kauffman's painting is conventional in all three of these respects.

112 Lloyd (1993: 162).

It has been mentioned above that Kauffman can also be connected to many other influential figures of her day, not just British artists. First of all there is the connection with Goethe. The two first met in Rome in 1788, and Goethe seems to have been much taken with Kauffman. From his letters home it appears that they kept each other company regularly and went to visit art galleries together: 'I go often to her, especially when I am in a thoughtful mood, and have no one to whom I can open my mind. It is now settled that I go there every Sunday; after dinner we visit the galleries. You cannot conceive what real enjoyment there is in seeing pictures with her. Her eye is so educated, and her knowledge of the mechanism of art so great, her feeling of the beautiful so profound, and she is so inconceivably modest.'[113] We can see from this that Goethe's thinking must have exercised an influence on Kauffman, and this worked the other way too.

Goethe's impressions of Kauffman's art are also extant: 'She has something of the nature of Fra Angelice, whose mind was so full of heavenly images, which he depicted with such fidelity, that it was impossible for him to give any idea of a demon. So it is with Angelica, a villain she could not, for the life of her, convey to her canvas. Her works are the outcome of a lovely imagination, a pure soul - for the rest, she is mistress of her pencil, excels in colouring, which is much appreciated here.'[114] In comparing her to the early Renaissance artist we can see that Goethe connected her in his mind to an older Italian tradition of painting, and that he also considered that there was a strong religious quality to her works. He is also emphasising her search for ideals, and inability to portray what is grim. This perhaps explains why she chooses to portray Arminius' *Siegesfeier*, and this without any burnt Varuses or decapitated Romans, rather than the horrors of battle as many later artists would choose to.

However he was not without his criticisms of Kauffman, though this is more implicit than explicit in his writings. In another letter he comments that she 'has a most remarkable, and, for a woman, really unheard of talent; one must see and value what she does, and not what she leaves undone'.[115] What exactly it was that Kauffman left undone is itself left unsaid, but perhaps a comparison with the romaticist painter Caspar David Friedrich, whom Goethe responded to favourably in later life, gives

113 Cited in Gerard (1892: 202).

114 Gerard (1892: 202-203).

115 Cited in *The Westminster Review* (1858: 102).

some indication. For in many respects Friedrich's art in the ensuing decades sums up in essence what is lacking in Kauffman's work which, while technically perfect in many respects, lacks that essence of the sublime, that greater depth of feeling, which Goethe and those he influenced in the early nineteenth century were so keen to discover. A comparison of their Arminius paintings, the one very conventional in its iconography with its highly stylised figures, the other totally lacking in figures, yet despite this far more expressive, perhaps illustrates the gulf between them best. Kauffman was after all a neoclassical painter, while Friedrich belonged to a very different artistic movement (see ensuing chapter).

In addition to these famous figures we have a connection to a far more unusual character, famous rather for being the subject of a painting than for being a painter. This is the French revolutionary Marat, who claimed not only to have met the artist while she was in London, but to have seduced her too. As Tomory comments: 'In addition, although the claim has been discounted by his biographers, Marat later said he had seduced Angelica Kauffmann at her house in Golden Square, where he was received from time to time with his close friend, Antonio Zucchi. Marat was in England from 1767 to I777/8.'[116] Unlikely as it is that Marat's claim was true, this is still yet another connection to a politically influential figure of the day. This is in addition to Herder, who as we shall see below did have an unusually close relationship with the artist. Whether these political connections influenced her art is a question which is of interest here.

Finally, of Kauffman's connections we can say that these very much did not come to an end with her later years. Though her memoranda for these last years are patchy[117] we know that she remained in contact with many important figures. As Ellet summarises: 'Zucchi, in the hope of beguiling her from too assiduous application, purchased a beautiful villa, Castel Gandolfo, for their residence; but Angelica could not bear to be long distant from Rome. Strangers who came to the city were soon attracted to pay their respects to the lovely artist; and in the companionship of the great and gifted, either in her own circle, or with friends like Klopstock and Gessner, who have highly praised her genius, she exercised an influence which did not fail to

116 Tomory (1971: 275).

117 Roworth (1984: 630).

promote the growth of literary and artistic cultivation.'[118] We now turn to those of these figures with a nationalist bent, such as Klopstock, and their potential influence on Kauffman.

Kauffman and nationalism?

In approaching the question of whether Kauffman's thinking or her inspiration were in any way nationalist, we start from a much more problematic position than in the case of most other artists. This is due in part to the fact that she is painting in a period when modern nationalist thinking, especially German, was only in its very seminal stages. This is also complicated by the fact of her birth in Switzerland, her early years spent in Italy, her middle age spent in London and her old age spent in Rome. This does not rule out any nationalist leaning on her part, but it certainly makes it harder to detect and pin down precisely.

What is clear as a starting point is that, while she may have greatly appreciated the time spent abroad, she had some attachment to her homeland. This must have been connected in large part to her attachment to her father, whom she followed back to Switzerland more than once. In some of the accounts of this aspect of Kauffman's attitude there is a definite idealisation of her love for her northern homeland over the south which she had left.[119] In his biography Gerard reports the observations of one contemporary travel writer, Gering, who even went so far as to associate this with something intrinsic to Kauffman's nature enduring during her years abroad: '"She preserves," he goes on, "her true German nature whilst living under a foreign sky, and her memory tenderly cherishes her own country"'.[120] However while these remarks may have been those of a contemporary observer, and someone who may even have met the artist, they remain the perception of another and cannot in any way be taken as reflecting Kauffman's own views.

118 Ellet (1859: 135-136).

119 Some of the writers on Kauffman idealise this aspect of her nature. Ellet (1859: 125) describes how with difficulty, after her return from her years in Italy: 'She learned to love the homely simplicity of that hospitable dwelling, with its gabled front and narrow windows; the gloom and solitude of those dark pine forests, through which the sunbeams could scarcely penetrate, and ceased to long for the marble palaces of Milan and the orange-groves of Como.'

120 Gerard (1892: 193).

Though we have little of Kauffman's own words what we can do is connect her very closely to two very significant figures for the development of German nationalism, Herder and Klopstock, with neither of whom was her connection insignificant. Herder and Kauffman first met during Kauffman's later years, when she had moved back to Rome. It is clear that they were drawn to each other at once, and that the feeling was mutual, something very much apparent, interestingly, from Herder's letters to his wife. In one of these he writes: 'I look upon the friendship of this dear and noble woman as a gift that Heaven has sent me, which has turned me from all else, and in a theoretic manner has elevated my thoughts and improved my whole being, for she charms the mind, purifies and softens it, and is a good tender creature.'[121] Elsewhere he speaks of how Kauffman was ever sad on his leaving, imploring him to stay with her. As Gerard rightly remarks, it is curious how frank Herder is here, when one considers that his correspondent was his wife.[122] Herder evidently felt what he characterised as a spiritual connection to the older woman. What exactly he means by her 'purifying' his mind is hard to determine, but he clearly drew direct inspiration from her attitude and dedication to her art.[123]

Yet Herder himself cannot be simply labelled as a nationalist, even if his writings did later inspire the thinking of many nationalists in several countries, so linking him with Kauffman does not connect her with German nationalism per se. However it is still important for our understanding of Kauffman that she was so close to a figure that reappears in connection with so many of the artists under consideration in this project. An even more interesting friendship of Kauffman's for our purposes is that she enjoyed with Klopstock. It has been argued that Klopstock's *Hermannsschlacht* served as the inspiration for the painting we are looking at here. In *Angelica Kauffmann und ihre Zeitgenossen* this is implied in the catalogue description of the Arminius painting: 'Seine Frau Thusnelda den Kranz der erhobenen Hand - "Empfang von Thusnelda den Kranz des heiligen Laubes" (Klopstock, Hermanns Schlacht) - und tanzende Mädchen empfangen ihn.'[124]

The explanation seems plausible when we consider that they were

121 Cited in Gerard (1892: 261).

122 Gerard (1892: 253).

123 Gerard (1892: 225) places this in opposition to Herder's attitude to Goethe's circle at Weimar: 'Herder did not care much for the society of Goethe's antiquarian friends, but he was charmed with Angelica. He cannot praise enough her grace, her elegance and her kindness of heart.'

correspondents for eleven years, and that Klopstock sent the artist a finished version of his play: 'Von 1769 bis 1780 hatte sie in Abständen mit ihm korrespondiert; 1770 schickte ihr der Dichter die 1769 entschiedenene Hermanns Schlacht. In der Vorrede huldigt Klopstock Joseph II.'[125] The fact that he eulogises Kauffman's patron in the preface shows how closely associated with this commission he was. The authors of the above cited volume even go so far as to argue: 'Daß sich die Künstlerin bei freier Themenwahl für diesen Stoff entschied, ist sicherlich ihrer Verehrung für Klopstock zu danken.'[126] While this may be true, we must not forget that the commission was first and foremost in honour of the emperor, not the poet. Perhaps this is best shown by the fact, highlighted by the authors, that Klopstock too honours the emperor in his dedication to his play.[127]

We also know that Kauffman and Klopstock exchanged tokens of their art as gifts. As Hartcup comments: 'The German poets Klopstock (with whom she corresponded for some time) and Gessner were both presented with pleasing pictures by her, and each in turn replied by dedicating their verses to her.'[128] Hartcup does not state what this painting was but it is likely that she refers to a drawing by Kauffman entitled, 'Klopstock and his friends' (1814). The two gifts are testament to the closeness of their friendship. The fact that Klopstock chose to dedicate verses to her also demonstrates his appreciation of her friendship and her art. Like Herder he was evidently inspired by her as a person. It is not possible to say from this alone that she shared his nationalist views, but it is likely that she chose the subject of the Arminius painting on the inspiration of his play, so she must clearly have appreciated it sufficiently to have found it worthy of her free choice for a painting for an Austrian emperor, someone whom she had not painted for before.

It would be difficult therefore to say that Kauffman did not appreciate the theme of Arminius' triumph, or of Klopstock's interpretation of this, nor its contemporary relevance for Joseph II, as mentioned above. To have made such a

124 Vorariberger Landesmuseum Bregenz (1968*:* 68). Klopstock's Thusnelda hands Hermann a crown in this scene, which also suggests a close referencing of the play.

125 Vorariberger Landesmuseum Bregenz (1968: 68).

126 Vorariberger Landesmuseum Bregenz (1968: 68).

127 'In der Vorrede huldigt Klopstock Joseph II'. Vorariberger Landesmuseum Bregenz (1968: 68).

128 Hartcup (1954: 97).

choice she must have identified to some degree with the subject and the conception of a German nation, which she connects to Joseph II through the Germanic progenitor figure of Arminius. Kauffman was not without a sense of nation and perhaps of national allegiance then, but it is much less prominent in her case than it is in the cases of most other artists portraying him, and we cannot stretch the connotations of her friendship with Klopstock beyond this.

In this context it is worth noting that Kauffman, as some of the other artists portraying Arminius, also subscribed to the Ossian craze, and we have some works of hers on themes drawn from Macpherson's poems. In one of these, *Trenmor and Inibaca*,[129] we see the meeting between the Ossianic hero and Inibaca, when she declares her love for him.[130] The importance for us is less the subject matter but rather that the theme is drawn from Macpherson's poetry, which is so self-aware of its northern origin. Yet Kauffman chooses to portray the meeting in a typically Italian neoclassical landscape, and she dresses the hero in Renaissance Italian armour, rather than the Celtic garb that others portraying subjects from Ossian often employed.[131] We can see then how, as with Arminius, she takes her hero and dresses him in the contemporary neoclassical fashion. This suggests that there is nothing especially deliberate about her employment of the theme other than that she was subscribing to the contemporary obsession with all things Ossian. Yet it is nonetheless interesting to see an example of how her heroes and heroines are not exclusively drawn from a southern literary canon.[132]

Rosenthal misreads this painting, suggesting that Trenmor is portrayed in 'a rather drained manner': 'In Kauffman's rendition his cheeks are soft and rosy, and his knees seem to tremble; while losing hold of his weapon, Trenmor's hand flies to his head in confused disbelief at the sight before his eyes. The delicacy of his gesture, the graceful lock of hair that peeks out from beneath his helmet, and his refined

129 A. Kauffman, *Trenmor and Inibaca*, oil-on-canvas, 128 x 103.5 cm, 1772 (Private collection).

130 Macpherson, *Ossian*, Book 10. Trenmor is the king of Morven and Inibaca, the sister of the king of Lochlin. Inibaca, secretly in love with Trenmor, approaches the warrior disguised as a man, but Trenmor sees through this.

131 We might compare for example Anne-Louis Girodet De Roucy-Trioson's 'Ossian receiving the ghosts of French heroes', oil-on-canvas, 192 x 182 cm, 1801 (Musée National de Malmaison, Malmaison).

132 Hautecoeur (1812: 175) sees the inspiration for the bard in the Arminius painting as drawn from Ossian: 'Hermann reçut une toque à plumes, et - comme Ossian était à la mode - il fut flanqué d'un barde vénérable'.

complexion call on one to question the manner in which his masculinity measures up to contemporary norms.'[133] As argued above, this is a misconception of 'contemporary norms'. The ideal of male beauty in this period, as consistently found in Classical literature itself, consists of the traits which she describes, which are not considered to be mutually exclusive with military might and strength. This is in fact something we find in Macpherson's poetry itself, where it is probably intended additionally as a racial trait of the heroes he describes.[134] Whether Kauffman also intends this suggestion in this painting and the Arminius painting is uncertain, but her portrayal of Trenmor, as that of Arminius, while feminine is not intended to be effeminate.[135]

It is clear that Hautecoeur's judgement that Kauffman's painting was, 'à la fois antique et national, double avantage',[136] is perhaps the best summation of the work. Yet while the commission had a national element, being for an Austrian emperor, we cannot from this alone say that Kauffman was a nationalist. Accordingly her work is in many ways different to many later treatments of Arminius and Thusnelda, and as such provides a useful neoclassical foil to much of the nineteenth century work. As an artist she marks the beginning of our period, perhaps one of the first artists to relate the story of Arminius to a contemporary king in the modern era. She is unlike many of the artists under examination here, perhaps most of all because of her contemporary popularity, her funeral conducted by Canova with all the great and the good of the art world in attendance. Yet she is also like many later artists in her recognition of the special power of this Tacitean theme in a modern European, and increasingly nationalist, context.

133 Rosenthal (2006: 198).

134 This is evident in the story of Trenmor and Inibaca itself, where Macpherson first describes Inibaca on her appearance, whom at this point both the reader and Trenmor believe to be a man: 'Covered over with arms of steel a son of the woody Gormal appeared. Red was his cheek and fair his hair. His skin like the snow of Morven. Mild rolled his blue and smiling eye when he spoke to the king of swords.' (Macpherson, *Ossian*, Book 10). An explicit link between her beauty and the Scottish landscape is being made here.

135 Rosenthal (2006: 191) rightly rejects the earlier reading of the feminine appearance of Kauffman's heroes being down to her educational wants and lack of life drawing experience as incorrect. Yet her position is a very tenuous one, and misreads the contemporary ideal of male beauty both as based in the source material and in contemporary painting. She does not reject the idea of beauty and strength being compatible on Kauffman's part, but fails to notice that this was not a rebellion because it was generally held to be true anyway (2006: 204).

136 Hautecoeur (1912: 175).

Caspar David Friedrich

Felsental (Das Grab des Arminius)

In 1813 the artist Caspar David Friedrich executed an oil painting entitled 'Felsental (Das Grab des Arminius)' (*Figure 2*),[137] which today hangs in the art gallery in Bremen. The painting depicts a rocky valley hemmed in at its end by a sheer wall of rock. There are many craggy rocks on the slopes leading to the valley floor which frame either side of the canvas, and the valley itself is very green with a grassy floor and evergreen pines. A great fissure runs down the full length of the rock leading to, at its base, a dark cave. Within the cave we can dimly make out a slab of stone, a primitive tomb, by the side of which and at the entrance of the cave stands a small figure alone. It is unclear who the figure represents, but judging by his dark blue costume and what appears to be a shiny helmet, and by analogy to other paintings of Friedrich which we will shortly look at, we may surmise that this figure is intended to represent a *Chasseur*, one of the invading French soldiers that were a common sight throughout Germany at this time.[138]

The predominant colours in the painting are the ochres and browns of the boulders and cliff face, and the dark greens of the fir trees and ferns of the valley floor. We therefore have the impression that the scene is set at evening, or else early morning. The composition has a powerful upward thrust with the many verticals of the thin fir tree trunks and the lines of the rock face and its fissure, as well as the jagged boulders themselves, which seem to point in an upward direction with their crests. Indeed this momentum is also reinforced by the sweep of the valley floor itself, which seems to lift inexorably at the edges of the canvas as if with great energy.

Here, as in all of Friedrich's works, inanimate objects and features of the natural landscape may be alive with meanings and significance, often as a reflection of the life of man or of his relationship to God. It is therefore unsurprising to find that, as elsewhere in the artist's works where human figures are portrayed, they are very

137 C. D Friedrich, 'Felsental (Das Grab des Arminius)', oil-on-canvas, 49,5 x 70,5 cm, 1814, (Kunsthalle, Bremen).

138 French for 'hunter', this term was used variously to denote soldiers of certain French regiments of light infantry and cavalry first formed in the 18th century, which donned blue cloaks and golden helmets. Napoleon's Imperial Guard included a regiment of cavalry *Chasseurs* and these regiments were employed more generally in his invasions of the German states.

small, almost negligible in stature. Many comparable examples might be given of this, but we might for example compare his painting 'Der Monch am Meer' in which man's infinitesimal smallness in the face of the elements and, by implication, God is unsettlingly manifest. So here too the figure of the visitor to the tomb is utterly overwhelmed by the landscape around him. Indeed the boulders seem to crowd around him in what feels a malevolent presence. In contrast to the slab of rock by which he stands, the navy blue tint of his cloak marks him out in contrast to all that surrounds him, as this blue seems somehow alien in a world of golden ochres, browns and greens.

However we choose to interpret this, the figure seems lost in this landscape in which he does not seem a welcome visitor. By contrast the grave itself, which we may understand from the title as being Arminius', is entirely apiece with the elements which surround it. Indeed they seem to accommodate its presence, as if the rock face above formed part of a tomb and the cave at its base were deliberately formed by the rock to house the hero. Furthermore the boulders which flank the entrance appear as sentinels to the grave, that on the right side of the composition having more than a passing resemblance to a sphinx or lion-like statue, which appears simultaneously to keep watch over the tomb and to lour down on the visitor.

In this way Friedrich embeds Arminius, in his eternal resting place, within the landscape. As Smiles has commented: 'The modest sarcophagus, installed on a rocky cleft at the base of a cliff, allows Friedrich to present Hermann as though fused with the land he had defended'.[139] It must also be stressed that this is a German landscape, and intended to be so.[140] The craggy rock formations in woodland are typical of Friedrich's native Saxony and also of where he painted in North Bohemia. It is a landscape that is in some ways unwelcoming, but it is also a landscape that is beautiful and green, and Friedrich has endowed the whole painting with a golden tinge. There is perhaps the sense here that, though the tomb in which Arminius is buried is modest by comparison to those of great despots, by nature's own hand it is

139 Smiles (1994: 34).

140 We might compare Friedrich's 'Felsenschlucht' painting for the sort of local landscape populated by rocks and trees that Friedrich so frequently employed as his subject matter. The subject matter of this particular painting may be identified as the 'Felsenburg Neurathen' in Saxon Switzerland (a hilly area of Saxony bordering Bohemia). Landscapes such as these may also be found across northern Bohemia, where Friedrich often painted. C. D. Friedrich, 'Felsenschlucht', oil-on-canvas, 94 x 74 cm, 1822/23 (Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, Vienna).

nonetheless made grand.[141]

Friedrich has also infused this painting, as so many of his others, with one of his chief preoccupations: a sense of the passage of time and of ephemerality. The figure that visits the tomb, whoever he may be, in his miniscule size is certainly a transient feature of this landscape of ancient soaring rock and harsh forms carved out by the antediluvian forces of weathering. The presence of the evergreen fir trees, as well as grounding us firmly in a German landscape, perhaps represents immortality or endurance, since even in winter they return their foliage. If the visitor here is a *Chasseur* this would certainly take on a more powerful connotation, implying the transience of the presence of the French in this natural, and German, landscape. In any case the fact that the figure leans on a stick is perhaps intended as a sign of age, which contrasts him to Arminius and his tomb, who is at one with this immortal landscape. Arminius' deeds have won him immortal fame, and in death he is now a part of that landscape which he fought to defend, and by which he is now in turn protected.

Inscribed on Arminius' tomb itself are the words: 'Deine Treue und Unüberwindlichkeit als Krieger sei uns ewig als Vorbild'. This certainly matches the mood of immortality which pervades the whole painting, and we may perhaps understand the jagged rocks and fierce landscape as representing this invincibility. Norbert Wolf who, in his book *Caspar David Friedrich. Der Maler der Stille*, refers to this painting together with the painting 'Gräber gefallener Freiheitskrieger' as, 'eindeutig politischen Hermannsgrab-Bilder', suggests a provenance for these words as follows: 'Die Worte beziehen sich auf den germanischen Heerführer und Sieger über die Römer Arminius bzw. Hermann den Cherusker (möglicherweise in der Version der Kleistschen Hermannsschlacht) oder allgemeiner auf einen Gefallenen der Freiheitskriege.'[142] Whatever the exact provenance of these words, they undoubtedly lend the entire painting both an intensely personal, and at the same time patriotic, feel. It must be emphasised how rare it is to find in a painting of Friedrich's such an express declaration of what is otherwise so omnipresent but implicit in the main body of his work.

Friedrich probably began work on this painting sometime in 1812 or 1813, and completed it in 1814, in March of which year he exhibited it along with other

141 If intended, this is perhaps the significance of the sphinx-shaped rock, which recalls the ostensible glories of the tombs of the Egyptian pharaohs, but here is the natural glory of nature.

142 Wolf (2007: 40).

paintings to be examined here at Repnin's Dresden exhibition of patriotic art (see below). Seen in this context the patriotic intent of Friedrich in painting this and other paintings which he exhibited at the exhibition is incontrovertible. It is therefore clear what a powerful draw the character of Arminius, even portrayed in death as here, exercised on Friedrich as a patriotic German artist in this period, for whom such a subtle and sparing use of Arminius could suffice to represent contemporary struggles.

Gräber gefallener Freiheitskrieger (Grabmale alter Helden)

A further contemporary painting of Friedrich's which has very similar preoccupations, and indeed compositional scheme, to that which portrays Arminius' tomb, is his work 'Gräber gefallener Freiheitskrieger (Grabmale alter Helden)' (*Figure 3*),[143] which is today in Hamburg. Again we have a rocky valley, covered in grass and shrubbery bounded by a sheer face of rock, which forms the backdrop to the painting. The valley is littered with various tombs and, as in the above examined painting, at the foot of the rock face is a cave, out of which rises a great fissure between the rock formations.

We are again here to understand the landscape as being in a German setting, but this time the light and more sparing use of golden tones would suggest a different time of day to that in the Arminius painting, rather during the day than at evening or daybreak. We are also here more clearly looking at a spring or summer scene, as the flowers in the foreground indicate. Despite the rocky nature of the landscape there is quite a lot of greenery displayed, with trees growing out of the rock face and above them, and the foreground boulders covered in green moss. The freely spreading roots and branches of the trees, despite the lack of fertile soil, suggests a great vitality. Although there are several tombs filling the valley floor there is nothing dead about this landscape. Indeed we can see Friedrich's wonted fascination with the hardy endurance of trees in unaccommodating landscapes and soils here, in which we might compare, for example, his earlier painting 'Hünengrab im Schnee'[144] or the later 'Rabenbaum'.[145]

143 C. D. Friedrich, 'Gräber gefallener Freiheitskrieger (Grabmale alter Helden)', oil-on-canvas, 49,3 x 69,8 cm, 1812 (Kunsthalle, Hamburg).

144 C. D. Friedrich, 'Hünengrab im Schnee', oil-on-canvas, 61,5 x 80 cm, 1807 (Gemäldegalerie Neue Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden).

145 C. D. Friedrich, 'Rabenbaum', oil-on-canvas, 54 x 71 cm, c.1822 (Musée du Louvre, Paris).

The graves of fallen war heroes are therefore set in a natural landscape that is very much emblematic of both life and resilience, ideals which fallen war heroes are seen to have fought for. The graves themselves or of an assorted character, and do not seem to bear any particular relation to one another, either in style or in arrangement within the composition, other than that placed on the left and right and receding into the background they seem to lead the eye towards the cave in the centre of the composition which houses another grave and is in itself a tomb. While the grave on the extreme left of the scene, as its level equivalent on the right, seems fairly nondescript and could even be modern, the other graves vary far more in their character. That which is in the immediate centre foreground lies in ruins, perhaps suggestive of its great age, and that on the bottom right behind the bush has two crosses marked on it. As in many of Friedrich's other paintings, but unlike the other patriotic works, we have religious symbols here, though as ever kept very simple and unelaborated. By contrast the white stele at the entrance to the cave, which seems to be illuminated as if in a patch light, has an almost classical character with its heroic youthful figures on the stele faces, poised with their weight upon one leg. The white marble, in contrast to the darker stone of the other tombs, also reinforces the impression of a pre-Christian Classical age, with its associations of Classical monumental and funerary sculpture from the ancient world. The grave within the cave is harder to describe precisely, but seems to be a basic structure involving heavy slabs of stone.

What we are perhaps to understand by this assortment and variety of tombs from different ages, is again as in the Arminius grave painting a sense of immortality. Friedrich wishes to show that despite the fact that these freedom fighters lived, fought and died in very different ages, they are nonetheless united in death by the immortality of the values for which they fought. Further, as in the previous painting, their graves can be seen to complement, and almost be embowered and protected by, the natural landscape. This lends the scene an intensely patriotic flavour, as we see in the case of Arminius, that binds these unnamed heroes to the land for which they fought; their steadfastness is associated with the stern rocks and resilient trees. There is certainly a sense here in which, nurtured and shaped by the landscape in which they were born, in life they proved equally steadfast and now in death they returned to the land whence they came. The juxtaposition of tombs from different ages makes the connection between past ages and the present, eliding the vagaries of history in a

manner reminiscent of the idea of a natural and temporally transcendent national destiny, which would become so ubiquitous later in the nineteenth century.[146]

A further aspect of this painting which has thus far not been commented on must also not be passed over because here, as in the Arminius grave painting, we do have a living human presence in this painting in the form of the two figures who stand at the entrance to the cave. Their blue cloaks and bright golden helmets might again suggest an identification of the two men as French *Chasseurs*. Again we have the same sense of human transience in the presence of the eternal, in this case nature, but also the eternal fame and undying cause of the fallen warriors. If they are French soldiers, there is certainly a portent of their downfall, or if else modern *Freiheitskrieger* then undoubtedly a mark of the justice of their fight. Wolf points out that initials on the monuments may be coded references to German freedom fighters.[147] The painting was completed in 1812 and was exhibited together with the above discussed painting in the March 1814 exhibition of patriotic art in Dresden.

Friedrich and the patriotic movement

Having now looked at two paintings of Friedrich's which we have seen on analysis to be very much nationalist in their tone, a closer look at Friedrich's own views, as well as is possible to ascertain, would be beneficial to better place these paintings in context and to understand Friedrich's motivations in his use of the Arminius theme.

The withdrawal of Napoleonic forces from his native Dresden in September 1813 was certainly something that Friedrich greeted with great pleasure. The occupation had proven an ordeal for many, and something of this may be gleaned from the tone of a letter of Friedrich's to Frederik Sibbern[148] in the aftermath of the occupation: 'Lieber Doktor, wir haben schreckliche Dinge hier erlebt, doch Gott sei dank es ist vorüber!'[149] The occupation had done much to intensify Friedrich's feelings

146 See Introduction, 'Germanic and Celtic Revivalism'.

147 Wolf (2007: 38-39): 'Die Buchstaben GAF auf dem Obelisken sind möglicherweise die Initialen eines im Freiheitskrieger Gefallenen. Solche Verschlüsselungen waren wegen der Zensur der französischen Okkupanten oft notwendig.' See further: Börsch-Supan (1990: 100).

148 The Danish philosopher Frederik Christian Sibbern (1785-1872) had also studied in Copenhagen. In 1811 he travelled through Germany to attend the lectures of Henrik Steffen and Johann Gottlieb Fichte.

149 Zschoche (2006: 87).

of a German national unity and purpose, which is all the more remarkable for its very early date. Indeed this sort of sentiment is something we may see in virtually all of the nineteenth-century German art with which this project is concerned. Yet in Friedrich's case we are witnessing this intellectual and cultural movement at what is effectively its inception in the modern era.

It was at this time and in the throes of this struggle, when the German patriotic movement found its beginnings in the modern period, that the use of Arminius as a patriotic symbol also made its revival. As Smiles points out, he was neither the first nor the only artistic or literary figure at this time that made use of the ancient warrior as a vehicle for their patriotic message: 'In the German war of liberation against the French in the early 1800s (the *Freiheitskrieg*) Hermann was valorised as a patriotic defender and his example was frequently invoked, inspiring among others Kleist's drama *Hermannsschlacht* (1809) and paintings by his fellow Dresdener, Caspar David Friderich, such as Old Heroes' Tomb (1812) and The Grave of Arminius (1813-14).'[150] However, in understanding Friedrich and his use of Arminius, it must not be forgotten that Friedrich was a romantic painter, and that the artistic and intellectual background of his contemporaries and of the *Freiheitskrieger* was romanticism.

As Wolf points out in discussing the 1814 exhibition and the war generally, it was a great opportunity for romantics to bring fruition to their ideas in the real world: 'Die Romantiker hatten die Zeit der französischen Okkupation genutzt, um auf das so lange unterschätzte und unterdrückte Volk aufmerksam zu machen, auf seine Lieder, Märchen, Sagen. Mit der Wiederentdeckung des Niebelungenlieds gaben sie den Deutschen ihr Nationalepos zurück. Die Neubestimmung des staatsbürgerlichen Standorts schuf die geistigen Voraussetzungen für den Krieg von 1813. Scharnhorsts Volksheer (anstelle einer Söldnerarmee) war eine militärischen Umsetzung romantischer Staatsauffassung.'[151] In the prevailing climate of a close connection between romanticism and German nationalism, of an anti-establishment nationalism - and we might note that this would not necessarily be an attribute of later nationalist art in Germany - it is easy to understand how greatly such an ideal had the potential to appeal to an artist such as Friedrich, with his fierce love of the natural beauty of his own homeland and his romanticist background.

150 Smiles (1994: 34).

151 Wolf (2007: 44-45).

We must also set beside Friedrich's romanticist background his approach to art in general, to better understand in what ways he was in a sense predisposed to appreciate the ideas of the patriotic movement of his time. For Friedrich's general artistic novelty and intransigence in the face of the prescriptive artistic trends of his time is something well-known, something which at times made him enemies within the art establishment and led to an eventual feeling, largely justified, of a certain ostracism.[152] This considered, and in addition the often hard realities of Friedrich's impoverished circumstances, it is clear why the ideal of the struggle for a brighter future, the vision espoused by the romantic nationalists of his time, would have appealed to him so greatly.

The best explination given by Friedrich of his approach and attitude to what a work of art should be can be found in a letter he wrote to the professor Johannes Karl Hartwig Schulze in 1809. In this letter he states: 'Der Effekt, oder um teutsch zu reden, die Wirkung eines Bildes, beweist viel für die Güte desselben; wenn die Wirkung wahr; die Wahrheit des Edle beabsichtigt hat. Wenn ein Bild auf den Beschauer seelenvoll wirkt, wenn es sein Gemüth in eine schöne Stimmung versetzt; so hat es die erste Forderung eines Kunstwerkes erfüllt. Wäre es übrigens auch noch so musterhaft in Form und Farbe; so kann es keinen Anspruch auf den Namen eines wahrhaftigen Kunstwerks machen, wohl aber auf den, einer schönen Künsteley. Aber ein vollendetes Kunstwerk vereiniget beides in sich.'[153] There are two things worth remarking upon about this excerpt here for our purposes. Firstly, we can see from Friedrich's statement that he recognises a distinction between a technically perfect painting and a real work of art, which requires something in addition to this, something different, and in this we can recognise the spirit of romanticism unambiguously.[154] Secondly, though the point may seem trivial on the surface, we should remark upon the first line of this quotation. Friedrich explicitly chooses to use the word 'Wirkung', rejecting his initial use of the word 'Effekt', the former identified as German in contrast to the obviously Latinate form of the latter. Indeed the phrase,

152 A turning-point for Friedrich was the dispute with the Kammerherr Friedrich Wilhelm Basilius von Ramdohr over his painting 'Das Kreuz im Gebirge'. Ramdohr, who was opposed to the 'mysticism' of Friedrich and other contemporary artists, criticised this work in an essay. For Friedrich's lengthy and detailed response to this criticism, see his letter to Schulze of February 1809: Zschoche (2006: 51).

153 Zschoche (2006: 52).

154 In this context, concerning the romantic conception of national spirit Herder (1878: 58) argued that: 'In the works of imagination and feeling the entire soul of the nation reveals itself most freely.'

'oder um teutsch zu reden', seems almost to implicitly justify the use of the latter alternative over the former, as if this added some special value. It is as if Friedrich, when talking about what is most dear to him - essentially the truth of what art is about - would prefer to use the German form, either unconsciously or self-consciously. The use of the archaism, 'teutsch', would suggest the latter. With the increasing association of German nationalism with German language movements in subsequent decades such expressions would become more common, but here we are in a sense seeing the connection in its incipient stage.[155]

At what stage these feelings followed the same course as those of many of the liberators, in moving from a national romanticism to being positively anti-French, is difficult to say. However something of this sentiment in Friedrich's thought, of a fundamental and perhaps irreconcilable distinction between the French and the Germans, may be felt in a letter of Friedrich's to his brother even before the occupation of Dresden. Friedrich chides his brother Christian Friedrich on his living in France and in fairly strong terms endeavours to persuade him to return to his homeland: 'Du fühlest es selbst daß es nicht recht ist, daß Du als Teutscher in Frankreich bist, und das tröstet mich noch einigermaßen; denn sonst würde ich ganz an deiner Teutschheit zweifeln.'[156] There is evidence here then that before the occupation Friedrich was far from a Francophile, and this considered we may begin to understand how unnatural the later occupation of Dresden by the French must have seemed to him.

A figure of obvious importance for many of those involved in the war of liberation and the patriotic movement generally was the playwright Heinrich von Kleist, who in his writings did much to champion their cause. Something of his feelings and what he was trying to achieve may be gained from his 1803 poem, *Germania an ihrer Kinder*. The final lines to this poem constitute an exhortation to the German people to fight for their freedom: 'Frei auf deutschem Boden walten,/ Laßt uns nach dem Brauch der Alten!/ Seines Segens selbst uns freun,/ Oder – unser Grab ihn sein!'[157] It is quite clear that for Kleist this conflict was a life-and-death struggle

155 As an analogy, the thinkers of the Czech *národní obrození* ('national awakening') made a similar connection between language purism and national spirit. On these issues and their relation to Czech art see thesis and bibliography in Filipová (2009).

156 Zschoche (2006: 47).

157 Kleist (1803), lines 81-84.

which could involve no compromise. Kleist was certainly influential for many of his contemporaries, including Friedrich. We have already seen him cited twice above in the quotations from Smiles and Wolf's work. Indeed Wolf suggests that Friedrich may have been so greatly influenced by this literary work as to have used it for the quotation inscribed on the tomb in his painting of Arminius' tomb.

Kleist's play presents Arminius as a manly liberator of all Germany, willing to sacrifice all for the higher cause, even his own crown if necessary, and willing to use any means - even misleading the Romans in a treacherous alliance, as he does in the events of the play. We have mentioned this work above but we might note in addition to its drive for liberation how intense an antipathy towards Rome (the ancient French) is present in this play. In jest Hermann describes to Thusnelda the ugliness of Roman women's hair: 'Nein, sag ich! Schwarze! Schwarz und fett, wie Hexen!/ Nicht hübsche, trockne, goldne, so wie du!'[158] Although these lines are delivered in an ostensibly humorous scene, there is certainly something beyond humour here stretching to a sense of personal animosity, even hate.

To what extent Friedrich was influenced by Kleist's version of the Arminius legend in his rendering of his Arminius grave painting, as well as in his other works of this time, is in the absence of any straightforward comments on the matter by Friedrich difficult to determine precisely. However, as Vaughan pointed out in his contribution to the catalogue of the 1972 Tate Britain Friedrich exhibition, he was certainly very closely connected with Kleist and his circle: 'Friedrich was himself [...] deeply concerned with the contemporary political situation, and it was such interests that seem to have brought him into association with the 'second generation' of Dresden Romantics, the circle around Kleist and Müller's 'Phoebus' magazine. Throughout the wars Friedrich remained a sympathetic supporter of the movement of pan-Germanic patriotism whose objective was not merely the expulsion of the French, but also the creation of a liberal German state.'[159]

In understanding Friedrich's patriotism we must not overlook a very important, and unusual, source. For we have extant a poem written by Friedrich just after the liberation of Dresden. The poem, entitled 'Gebete', is predictably very patriotic,

158 Kleist (1821), Act 3, Scene 3.

159 Vaughan (1972: 33).

subtitled as it is: 'Nach der Befreiung Dresdens von den Franzosen'.[160] The poem essentially describes the defeated French in flight, implores that such an occupation never happen again and asks God to return plentiful and peaceful times to his homeland. While the content itself sounds at first quite unsurprising considering the circumstances in which it was written, the poem itself deserves a closer analysis as many of its features are quite striking.

The first aspect to note about this poem, which is clear from the title, is that it is in fact a prayer, and one of the things that sets this apart from a simple victory song is its overwhelmingly religious tone. It is in fact, we learn, God's own wrath which pursues the French in their flight: 'Aber der Zorn Gottes ruht schwer auf ihnen'. God is addressed directly throughout the poem, and the last paragraph of the poem directly invokes God in requesting his mercy: 'Laß uns auch in deiner Liebe sehn, daß du der/ Allgütige bist,/ Und sei uns gnädig, sei uns gnädig, o Herr,/ und erhöre uns.' The poem then, due to its title and content, certainly assumes a devout and almost ceremonial tone. Yet in other respects the poem sounds like a victory song while it ultimately remains a prayer, as the opening lines indicate: 'Lasset uns singen ein hohes Lied, ein Lied voll Dankbarkeit/ und Liebe.' Furthermore the references to swords, enemies, yokes, sceptres and regiments would seem to suggest a war song. There is certainly a powerful contrast here between these opposing elements.

Perhaps nowhere can this be felt more so in the poem, however, than in the description of the enemy. They are 'die Schnöden', and 'Flüchtigen', their very existence pernicious and pursued by God. Indeed the rhetoric of the poem is so strong as to recall, perhaps deliberately, Tacitus' criticisms of imperial power:[161] 'Schnöde Willkür führt das Zepter, und die Habsucht/ führt das Regiment.' The French are characterised by despotism and greed, which very closely recalls Arminius' attacks on Roman corruption in Tacitus. The enemy, under whose joke they have laboured, has denied them all joy: 'Die Freude ist von uns gewichen seit Jahren, unter dem Druck/ der Fremdlinge seufzen wir.' Yet perhaps most striking of all is what joy Friedrich does seem to derive from the abject suffering of the French soldiers in flight: 'Aber

160 Originally written in 1814. Printed in Hinz (1974: 79).

161 See Introduction. Cf. Arminius' exhortation to his men (Tacitus, *Annales* 2.15): *Meminissent modo avaritiae, crudelitatis, superbiae: aliud sibi reliquum quam tenere libertatem aut mori ante servitium?* ('Remember only their greed, cruelty and arrogance: Nothing was left but to uphold liberty or die before becoming slaves.') However such a precise source for Friedrich's poem cannot be pinpointed.

der Zorn Gottes ruht schwer auf ihnen,/ Vom Hunger gequält, ohne Obdach und Hilfe,/ Ohne Mitleid und Erbarmen/ Hauchen sie des Lebens letzten Atem aus.' Their very death is a victory to Friedrich and, more than this, is not only their just punishment on earth but God's own judgement. Indeed the extent to which Friedrich conceptualised the conflict as one between good and evil can be seen in the fact of his recognition that the French were originally sent as some kind of chastisement: 'Deine Hand, o Herr, züchtigt uns hart, aus Süden und Osten/ sendest du Peiniger zu uns.' In this generalisation of the French to all easterners and southerners (Russians and 'wilde Horden' are also mentioned elsewhere in the poem), Tacitean echoes,[162] together with elements of Roman rhetoric concerning eastern corruption, can be detected. This, as well as the scattered references to soil and growth in the poem, which cannot flourish in enemy hands, presage much of the type of nationalist rhetoric we will see later in the century and, while we have no explicit reference to Germany in the poem, 'Die Heimat' occurs in the first paragraph. If anything, this poem shows how powerfully contemporary patriotic ideas had become associated with Friedrich's personal beliefs and ideals.

Der Chasseur im Walde

We have seen how Friedrich's inherent love of his country and patriotism developed, in line with many of his contemporaries, into a Francophobic nationalism as a result of the events of the Napoleonic occupation of Dresden and the ensuing struggle to regain freedom from French rule. In the first two very similar paintings looked at in this chapter we have seen how fallen heroes such as Arminius could be mythologised in death by physical integration with the landscape of their homeland. However, we have also seen how in these two paintings the presence of a miniscule, yet important, human observer changes the dynamic of the painting and its resulting significance.

In this context a painting of great importance for our purposes is 'Der Chasseur

162 Cf. Arminius' words to his men (Tacitus, *Annales* 1.59), in which the Roman presence in Germany is envisaged as fundamentally wrong, and something which must at all costs be undone: *Germanos numquam satis excusaturos, quod inter Albim et Rhenum virgas et securis et togam viderint* (the Germans would never forgive the fact that they had seen the rods, axes and toga between the Rhine nad the Elbe). Note that Friedrich also describes the fleeing French as pursued by the 'Sword of the North' in the poem: 'die Flüchtigen, vom Schwerte des/ Nordens verfolgt'.

im Walde' (*Figure 4*),[163] likewise painted at the end of the French occupation and liberation of Dresden. As in the Arminius painting, we have a French *Chasseur* soldier present in the painting, and also as a very small figure low down in the compositional scheme. However, the scene here is quite different from that in the grave paintings. Rising up sheer before the soldier, who faces away from the observer with back turned, is a great pine forest, whose trees dominate almost the entire canvas.

The *Chasseur*, dressed in a blue cloak and wearing a shiny crested golden helmet, is marked out distinctly as a French soldier of the time, of the sort Friedrich would have regularly seen during the occupation of his city. Hanging by his left side we can also see his sabre, and he is clearly fully equipped. However, his specific costume would have indicated to the contemporary observer that this is in fact a cavalryman, and they would have remarked upon the absence of his horse.[164] As such this figure seems somehow forlorn despite his smart and warlike attire, and in addition to this his posture and seemingly overlong sleeves almost lend the *Chasseur* a childlike appearance.

Yet none of this has so greatly the effect of making the solitary figure seem diminutive as the setting itself does. The *Chasseur* stands all alone in a clearing between some trees. Rising up before him in dense and serried ranks tall pines mass together in an impenetrable wall. These firs are so closely massed together that it seems not even light can pass through their mist. Between their slender trunks, which recede endlessly into the distance, all is dark as night. Yet the little sky that is left open above the tree tops at the top of the canvas shows us that it is in fact not night. Moreover the bright foreground snow on which the soldier stands, and the bright highlights of the snow on the smaller trees which flank him, contrast sharply with the dark tracts of the pathless forest which faces him ahead.

This painting is full of symbols, whose meanings are meant to be understood. We must put this in the context of the widespread use of symbols, in particular animals and birds, in the history of painting to signify certain things.[165] Perhaps the most morbid symbol in the whole painting is the black raven sitting on the tree stump in the foreground of the painting, closer to us than the *Chasseur*. The observer may imagine the scene, being alone in the woods, all deathly silent around save for the

163 C. D. Friedrich, 'Der Chasseur im Walde', oil-on-canvas, 65,7 x 46,7 cm, 1813/14 (Private Collection, Bielefeld).

164 Wolf (2007: 43).

cawing of the raven. The raven itself is certainly a symbol of death here, and would have been easily identifiable as such.[166] In addition to this, the fact that the bird sits upon a severed tree stump, beside another which topples over and seems to have been uprooted, imply the cutting short of life.

The *Chasseur* himself is overshadowed and almost completely engulfed by the great trees which stand before him. Even though he is not yet fully in their midst, standing free in the clearing, he already seems to be surrounded. To his left smaller and younger firs, some of which he has already passed, flank him as if natural portals. There is the sense that he is passing into another world, a world which all the rather ominous suggestions of the painting tell us he will not pass out of. The darkness under the trees ahead of him, the lack of any obvious path or direction, indeed the absence of his own footprints to indicate the direction from which he has come, all seem to spell doom. The *Chasseur* is lost in this landscape in which he does not belong and in which he will find no friends. Indeed, in some ways Friedrich's choice of colour for the *Chasseur* helps to reinforce this sense of evanescence into the landscape. The golden brown of his helmet is level with the tree trunks, his white greaves with the snow, and these seem to fade into the background. His cerulean coat is similar in tone to the sky and the snowy foreground, but alone alerts us to his presence in this scene at all.

The forest and trees themselves certainly represent Friedrich's homeland, and it has even been suggested that the trees themselves represent the many fallen Germans, by whom the *Chasseur*'s doom is assured even after death. Whether this interpretation is accepted or not, it is clear that the young saplings in the foreground, upon which the soldier turns his back, symbolise some form of new life, perhaps the new generation of Germans, who will live free from French tyranny. As Wolf comments of this painting: 'möglich, dass darüber hinaus der hohe Fichtenwald das

165 On birds the *Oxford Dictionary of Christian Art* (2004: 61) states the following: 'Like animals and fish birds have been used to carry symbolic meanings, Christian and otherwise. From pre-Christian times birds have symbolized the human soul, and many generalized birds appear in Early Christian art, especially on sarcophagi. Some birds, however, both real and imaginary, have specific connotations (sometimes contradictory) and many derive from the fanciful interpretations in the Bestiaries'. For a fuller treatment of this subject see: Clébert (1971), Miquel (1991).

166 On ravens the *Oxford Dictionary of Christian Art* (2004: 62) comments: 'The raven, which fed Elijah in the wilderness (1 Kgs. 17; Vg. 3 Reg. 17 or 3 Kgs. 17) also fed hermit-saints like Anthony Abbot and Paul the Hermit. In the context of Elijah, it is a symbol of the bringing of the Eucharist for mankind's salvation. On the other hand, its blackness and its raucous croak caused it to be regarded as a bird of ill-omen'. Friedrich may intend something of both of these meanings here.

geschlossene Zusammenheit der deutschen Patrioten und die jungen Fichten neben den Baumstümpfen im Vordergrund die Nachkriegsgeneration symbolisieren sollen.'[167] Finally we must not forget that this is a winter landscape, and that these are evergreen trees. The winter which, as the darkness ahead of the *Chasseur*, seems to spell his doom, is no threat to the trees which stand fast together undying and ever verdant whatever the climate.

The painting numbers one of the four of those exhibited in the 1814 exhibition, and we can readily imagine that this must have seemed the most manifestly patriotic of these works. Where the two grave paintings are more allusive, and the Hutten painting as we shall shortly see also relies on memory and the past for its poignancy, this painting would have confronted the contemporary observer with a scene very much in the present, or at least of great recency. Furthermore it is a painting far more than any of the others, of stark contrasts and harsh oppositions; man and nature,[168] light and dark, minuteness and vastness, impotence and power. It were easier to visualise the struggles of nations, destinies and values in such a setting, and we can see the ready appeal of this for an artist and man such as Friedrich.

This dramatic effect was certainly not lost on contemporaries, of whom Prince Malte von Putbus may serve as example.[169] He described the painting as follows: 'Es ist eine Winterlandschaft, der Reiter, dessen Pferd schon verloren ging, eilt dem Tod in die Arme, ein Rabe krächzt ihm das Totenlied nach.'[170] Wolf's point that the resonances this scene would have had in contemporaries' minds of the Napoleonic defeat in the Russian winter is certainly a valid one: 'Kaum ein Zeitgenosse Friedrichs dürfte angesichts dieser ausweglosen Situation nicht an den Untergang napoleonischer Truppen im russischen Winter gedacht haben.'[171] All the drama and perceived conflict of national destinies embodied in that event can be seen here too.

We may also find echoes of a very similar theme of the enemy alone, lost and despairing in a woodland landscape in Kleist's play. Indeed, the symbolism is so close

167 Wolf (2007: 43).

168 In which respect we might compare again 'Der Monch am Meer'.

169 Prince Wilhelm Malte I. zu Putbus (1783-1854), German prince who served as Swedish governor in Pomerania and subsequently as Chairman of the local parliament of Rügen and Pomerania under Prussia.

170 Wolf (2007: 43).

171 Wolf's (2007: 43).

to that of Friedrich's painting as perhaps to suggest a source of inspiration. In the denouement to the play, when Varus is caught in the woods by the allied forces of Hermann and Marbod, bereft of his army we encounter an isolated Varus wandering aimlessly, now near to his death. Driven to superstitious fears by this stage, he exclaims: 'Hier war ein Rabe, der mir prophezeit,/ Und seine heisre Stimme sprach: das Grab!'[172] Here too we have a raven singing the doom of a lost Latin/French enemy in the German woods, and we are reminded of Putbus' finding of a *Totenlied* in Friedrich's painting.

Simon Schama has offered an analysis of this painting in his book *Landscape and Memory*. In a section concerned with memories of the Teutoburg battle and its use in later history, he compares the painting to an earlier German work, the Altdorfer *St. George.* For Schama, while the painting is laden with many fairly obvious symbols, it was nonetheless, 'much more than a mechanical inventory of such inspirational emblems.'[173] He identifies this painting in particular as being very closely associated with the Teutoburg battle and intended to conjure up its memory. The French soldier serves Napoleon, 'the new emperor and, by virtue of his conquests, the king of Italy, too'. The soldier himself 'is seen from the rear, as if to emphasize his vulnerability'. He is 'the new "Latin" invader', whose armour itself belies his Romanness: 'Even his helmet, accurately described from the French military, seems strangely Roman, as if borrowed from one of Varus' lost centurions. Perhaps there were even echoes in their respective weapons, for while the ancient Germans carried javelins and spears not much different from the lance that pierces the dragon, the Romans used swords, represented in Friedrich's paintings by the weapon trailing clumsily beneath the chasseur's cape.'[174] As for the woods in the painting, Schama accepts the interpretation of them as symbolising the German people itself: 'Like Varus's centurions, the chasseur is surrounded and dwarfed by the impenetrable line of evergreens, the massed troops of the reborn Germania.'[175] Schama's interpretation here is imaginative, but it helps to bring alive both the dramatic and nationalist elements in this painting for contemporary observers, and also the powerful connections with both the events

172 Kleist (1809), Act 5, Scene 7.

173 Schama (1995: 106).

174 Schama (1995: 106).

175 Schama (1995: 106).

of recent history and those of ancient times, which have now come to be seen as part of some inseparably linked destiny.

Huttens Grab

The final painting which we shall look at here is a work entitled 'Huttens Grab' (*Figure 5*).[176] It is both a dedication to the German humanist and patriot Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1523), and another monument to the fallen of the *Freiheitskrieg* and their ideals. In this sense then, while on the surface in many ways quite different from the paintings of Friedrich we have looked at thus far, it stands apart with them from the greater body of his work in its purpose and manifest espousal of nationalist ideals.

The scene is one of a ruined chapel, all overgrown with trees, in the centre of which is an old tomb, by the side of which stands a man. The ruined alcove, with its three great and glassless gothic windows, in many ways dominates the entire canvas, just as the rock faces and forest do in the other paintings we have looked at thus far. Though the roof of the building has presumably long ago disappeared, others of its features seem to remain intact and do not give the particular appearance of being dilapidated or any way decrepit. To the right, and above the man, we have a small statue holding a cross, perhaps made from wood. This is most likely an angel, or perhaps a saint and, standing as it does just next to one of the tall windows, it seems illuminated with a golden tinge. This is the only obvious religious symbol, other than the church architecture itself, in the painting, and seems to endure almost as a guardian above the tomb. The stones of the chapel itself, though coloured with age and weathering, still seem to stand fast solidly and, as Arminius' tomb, are rather complemented than encroached upon by the natural landscape which is gradually reclaiming the structure.

In this painting this again takes the form of trees growing amongst the stones. To the right in the foreground we can see a tree has managed to establish itself and is gradually climbing its way up one of the walls. The tomb itself is overshadowed by another tree and bushes, which have begun to obscure the middle window and are also growing upwards as well as outwards. All along the top of the walls and above the windows the moss has grown over thickly spreading and, almost remarkably, a great

176 C. D. Friedrich, 'Huttens Grab', oil-on-canvas, 97 x 73 cm, 1823-24 (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Weimar).

willow has managed to grow on top of the very wall itself. We can see that other smaller trees have begun to spread their branches out from the top of the wall. Indeed through the window on the left we can see some sort of branch, root or trailing plant, beginning to stretch downwards to obscure the view through this window too. The great willow at the top, the moss and other trees, actually block almost all the light from the sky above the wall meaning that, rather like in the case of the woods in 'Der Chasseur im Walde', the backdrop dominates blocking access to the open sky.

In this way Friedrich is able to closely control the light in this composition without the technique seeming too contrived. The main source of light in the painting then becomes the three tall windows, through which we can see what looks to be a dawn or dusk sky. It is most likely, considering the context of the painting, that this is a sunrise rather than a sunset, and its meaning is twofold. Firstly there is the obvious religious meaning, of death (the tomb) and the life beyond (the sunrise through the windows). We might also note that the statue described above seems to be turning towards the light beyond, cross in hand. The dead, such as Hutten, have already met with their salvation. Then there is the second nationalist overtone, which will become more apparent shortly, likewise representing the coming of a new dawn, in this case the dawn of a new - and perhaps better - Germany. The flowers in the foreground, picked out with white highlights, lend a vernal feel to the painting and reinforce this idea of rebirth.

The tomb itself is fairly unremarkable but, as in the case of the Arminius painting, this is probably deliberate. Hutten's glory in death does not rest in empty show and pomp, but in the achievements of his life which have in part led to this new dawn. Thus he too is connected into this grand narrative, spanning several centuries, which leads to the modern German triumph. Nor would the connection of the name Hutten to Arminius have eluded contemporary observers, since Hutten's eponymous dialogue was well-known. However, perhaps of greatest interest is the fact that on the facing side of the sarcophagus are inscribed several names, as well as Hutten's own on the socket above. Wolf reads these as: 'Jahn 1813', 'Arndt 1813', 'Stein 1813', 'Görres 1821', 'D ... 1821', 'F. Scharnhorst'.[177] These are all names of figures closely associated with the *Freiheitskrieg*. For example, Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, gymnast and in 1813 founder of the Lützow Free Corps. Or Ernst Moritz Arndt, the nationalist author, poet

177 Wolf (2007: 59).

and seminal founder of German nationalism. Friedrich is making as clear a statement as he can that these contemporary national heroes are part of a long tradition, a tradition stretching back to Hutten and Arminius, and as old as the weathered stone of the chapel but, like it, still very much alive. Germany is not new, it has always existed, and now it is being reborn.

However much we might wish to read into the names inscribed on the tomb, or emphasise the importance of the function of the tomb itself in this painting, there is a further element to the painting we have not yet discussed and one which we must not pass over. This is the function of the man who stands by the tomb. A young man, he stands leaning on his cane looking at the tomb. Like so many of the solitary human figures that populate Friedrich's landscapes, he seems lost in contemplation, and his very presence entirely transforms the dynamic of the painting. Perhaps he is reading the names of the heroes of the new Germany. Considering all the elements of the painting examined above, suggesting sunrise, spring and rebirth, perhaps the most important aspect of this figure is his youth, his long fair hair and general appearance suggesting a young man. He leans on his staff not from age but merely to allow him pause for thought, perhaps from his wanderings. Lastly, but perhaps most significant of all, he wears the old German costume which the *Freiheitkrieger* had adopted as a patriotic affectation during their struggle. Here is the living heir to, and embodiment of the ideals of, that which Hutten, Arminius, and so many others, had long fought for.

The observer in Friedrich's paintings

In understanding Friedrich's use of the human observer here and in the other paintings we have looked at in this chapter, it would be instructive to compare how he uses human figures in some of his other works, predominantly natural landscapes. There is the well-known, preceding our painting by three years, 'Zwei Männer in Betrachtung des Mondes'.[178] As is self-explanatory from its title, here we have two men in a nocturnal landscape contemplating a tree. As the young man in the Hutten painting, they too don the old German costume. One of the men, perhaps younger than the other, leans on the shoulder of the other, who in turn leans on his staff. As in the *Chasseur* painting, the men face away from the observer. The staff and the direction

178 C. D. Friedrich, 'Zwei Männer in Betrachtung des Mondes', oil-on-canvas, 35 x 44 cm, c.1819/20 (Gemäldegalerie Neue Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden).

of the observers' gaze away from us may be motifs for Friedrich of the act of contemplation, and specifically of the act of going out into the wilds to contemplate. The wanderer in 'Der Wanderer über dem Nebelmeer'[179] who, unlike the figures in our paintings, very much dominates the whole composition, also faces away from us to behold the majesty of nature. A slightly later painting from the 1830s, 'Abendlandschaft mit zwei Männern',[180] has two male observers facing away from us in contemplation of a coastal landscape at sunset. Indeed even in the many paintings where we have Friedrich's wife centre-stage in the painting, such as the 1822 'Frau am Fenster'[181] or the slightly earlier 'Frau in der Morgensonne (Frau vor der untergehenden Sonne)'[182], she too faces away from us in contemplation of nature or the world beyond (perhaps in a religious sense).

Most often the significance of this facing away, or the very presence of figures in the world of Friedrich's paintings, seems to be as an act of contemplation - or better, meditation - upon man's relationship with the eternal and the sublime, whether this be God, nature, the nation, or some combination of these. The figures in the grave paintings and in the Hutten painting are in awe of the magnitude of what they behold, whereas in the *Chasseur* painting the French soldier is clearly in terror. For Friedrich these two seem to be only very finely distinguished. Paintings such as 'Der Monch am Meer' make clear the fact that for Friedrich, at least in the case of his personal spirituality and attitude towards God, nature is something beautiful but terribly beautiful, something which we are meant to both reverence and fear. Friedrich's attitude towards Germany itself - or more simply put, his *Heimat* - is best understood in the same fashion; an object of awe. In light of this the function of the figure in the *Chasseur* painting becomes clearer: he is in the presence of something ancient and sacred, which ought to put fear into him. And likewise the alien observers in the grave paintings are small in the presence of what they observe, and the majesty of Friedrich's homeland.

---

179 C. D. Friedrich, 'Der Wanderer über dem Nebelmeer', oil-on-canvas, 98.4 x 74.8 cm, c.1818 (Kunsthalle, Hamburg)

180 C. D. Friedrich, 'Abendlandschaft mit zwei Männern', oil-on-canvas, 25 x 31 cm, c.1830-35 (Hermitage, St. Petersburg).

181 C. D. Friedrich, 'Frau am Fenster', oil-on-canvas, 44 x 37 cm, 1822 (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Nationalgalerie, Berlin).

182 C. D. Friedrich, 'Frau in der Morgensonne (Frau vor der untergehenden Sonne)', oil-on-canvas, 22 x 30 cm, c.1818-20 (Museum Folkwang, Essen).

It is worthwhile noting that where Friedrich does include figures as part of his landscapes, rather than as observers of them, they are invariably so small as to be negligible, or else are faint and lack distinction. This is true, for example, of the many paintings of ships, such as 'Nebel'[183], in which the only figures on the rowing boat coming through the mist are almost impossible to make out at all. Likewise in the striking painting 'Der Morgen'[184] the boatman in the morning mist seems rather a feature of the scene itself than someone beholding it, engaged in his occupation as he is. It is clear that when Friedrich does include more prominent figures, who face away from us in contemplation of the scene before them and the observer, some greater significance is being hinted at.[185] Particularly in the case of the *Chasseur* and Hutten paintings then, we should consider the prominence of the figures in these paintings in the light of Friedrich's very careful and meaningful use or non-use of the human presence in the greater body of his work.

Graves, death and memory in Friedrich's paintings

Something which sets Friedrich apart from the majority of the other artists which this project examines, is the fact that he chooses to commemorate Arminius not in life but in death. Furthermore, all four of the paintings we have looked at in this chapter show a marked preoccupation with death, and three of them explicitly with graves and tombs. This should be at least a little surprising when we consider that he is, after all, dealing with subjects that celebrate a time conceived of as a national rebirth, a time of life not death, and of a new generation. How then may we explain what might be seen as a certain morbidity in these works?

Friedrich's fascination with the themes of gloom and death did not escape others in the nineteenth century, by whom he seems to have been known for this. This is perhaps best summed up by Mrs. Jameson in her famous travel guide to Germany,

183 C. D. Friedrich, 'Nebel', oil-on-canvas, 34,5 x 52 cm, 1807 (Österreichische Galerie Belevedere, Vienna).

184 C. D. Friederich, 'Der Morgen', oil-on-canvas, 22 x 30,5 cm, 1820/21 (Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum, Hannover).

185 An interesting parallel may be found in the many frescoes from Pompeii in which mythological scenes are foregrounded with an observing figure, who almost seems to be attempting to decipher its meaning. It is however highly unlikely that Friedrich could ever have actually seen any of these or else reproductions of them, considering both his anathema towards travelling south and the state of the excavations at Pompeii in his time.

written for the English tourist as successor to Madame de Stael's comprehensive work on Germany and its culture. Commenting on Friedrich from an Anglo-oriented artistic perspective, she writes: 'His genius revels in gloom, as that of Turner revels in light'.[186] Mrs Jameson, at least, clearly recognised that herein lay his artistic strengths.

It was certainly something that Friedrich was aware of, and many of his greatest paintings draw their power from his use of this fascination with life and death. For example his 'Abtei im Eichwald'[187] derives its greatest drama from the interplay between the setting of wintry scene, dark horizon, leafless trees and ruined monastery, and the funeral procession leading through its midst. We can see that Friedrich understood how to utilise melancholy to create drama in his works. Nor is it something of which Friedrich was unaware but seems to have been quite a deliberate choice, informed by his own personal philosophy. In a letter he writes: 'Warum, die Frag' is oft zur mir ergangen, wählst du zum Gegenstand der Malerei so oft den Tod, Vergänglichkeit und Grab? Um ewig einst zu leben muss man sich oft dem Tod ergeben.'[188] The syntactic shift from the personal to the impersonal here indicates the importance of this idea for Friedrich. Friedrich uses the themes of death, transience and the grave as a reminder of the value of life.

How Friedrich came to be so preoccupied by death and the grave is perhaps not hard to find an answer to. Wolf sees this in Friedrich's early years: 'Friedrichs Vater war ein strenger Lutheraner, der seine rigiden moralischen Grundsätze an die Kinder weitergab. Schon früh war der Junge mit dem Tod konfrontiert, als seine Mutter 1781 starb. Seitdem erzog eine Haushälterin, "Mutter Heiden", die Kinder, die sie schätzen und liebten. 1787 ertrank einer seiner fünf Brüder, Johann Christoffer, als er den ins Eis eingebrochenen Caspar David retten wollte; seine Schwester Maria starb 1791 an Fleckfieber.'[189] Both the moral upbringing and early confrontations with death seem to have profoundly affected Friedrich's perspective on life.

Friedrich's fascination with life, death and memory does not alone explain why he chooses to commemorate Arminius and other heroes by painting their graves rather than portraying them in life. Firstly, it must be remembered that unlike the majority of

186 Jameson (1834: 144).

187 C. D. Friedrich, 'Abtei im Eichwald', oil-on-canvas, 110,4 x 171 cm, 1808-1810 (Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Mussen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin).

188 Hinz (1974: 82).

189 Wolf (2007: 17).

painters we are looking at, Friedrich was not a history painter. It would then have been incredibly uncharacteristic of him to have painted, for example, a large battle scene canvas or Arminius' triumph over the Romans. He never produced any such paintings in his lifetime so we cannot find it remarkable that he does treat the Teutoburg episode in this way. Rather he chooses a more subtle approach in commemorating a man and the ideals he is seen to represent by portraying his grave, as he does for Hutten.

It was not simply for reasons of style that Friedrich chose the grave theme so often in the patriotic works. At this time he was involved in designing war memorials for the fallen soldiers of the *Freiheitskrieg*. One example of this is a drawing, today in Mannheim, which shows a planned 'Kriegerdenkmal'.[190] His design shows a three-tiered stone structure, each level surrounded by a fence, from which hang various, presumably regimental, flags. A great column extends upward from the summit of the highest level. This is very much a triumphal statement of victory, far removed from the subtle touch of his paintings, and leaves us in little doubt both of Friedrich's patriotic fervour and his close involvement with the *Freiheitskrieger*.

In a letter to the nationalist author and writer Ernst Moritz Arndt, one of those named on the tomb in the Hutten painting, Friedrich discusses a possible monument to the military leader Scharnhorst (one of the others named on Hutten's tomb): 'Solange wir Fürstenknechte bleiben, wird auch nie etwas Großes der Art geschehen. Wo das Volk keine Stimme hat, wird dem Volk auch nicht erlaubt, sich zu fühlen und zu ehren. Ich beschäftige mich jetzt mit einem Bilde, wo auf dem freien Platz einer erdachten Stadt ein Denkmal aufgerichtet steht. Dieses Denkmal wollte ich für den edlen Scharnhorst bestimmen und Sie bitten, eine Inschrift zu machen. Viel über zwanzig Worte dürfte aber diese Inschrift wohl nicht lang sein, weil es mir sonst an Platz fehlt. Ich erwarte von Ihrer Güte die Gewährung meiner Bitte.'[191] This correspondence reveals how closely associated Friedrich actually was with figures such as Arndt, and the comment with which he prefaces his request for the inscription amply demonstrates his own patriotism. Yet it also shows how greatly Friedrich was looking forward to a new age in which he and others would flourish, a hope in which he was almost inevitably disappointed after the Congress of Vienna. Yet, in his

190 C. D. Friedrich, 'Kriegerdenkmal mit bunten Fahnen', black ink and watercolour over pencil, 55,2 x 43,3 cm, c.1814/15 (Städtische Kunsthalle, Mannheim).

191 Zschoche (2006: 86).

equation of these hopes with his work on monuments, we can see how greatly Friedrich felt that honouring the heroes of the past and their deeds was necessary as an inspiration for any hopes in the present.

The final aspect to consider in understanding Friedrich's choice of the grave as vehicle for his nationalist ideas is his personal religiosity, something which should never be overlooked in the attempt to decipher any message in his work. We have already looked at the painting 'Abtei im Eichwald' above, and we can find the theme of church and grave in his other works. For example, the late work 'Das Friedhofstor (Der Kirchhof)',[192] which shows a view of a church and churchyard with graves through a dilapidated gate. Through the gate we can see various cross-shaped gravestones on the green grass beside the church tower. However the strong red tints of the brick wall above the gate and the vivid greens of the ground give the whole painting a strong sense of life. As in the Arminius and 'Gräber gefallener Freiheitskrieger' paintings, the presence of the graves in no way suggests the darkness of death, but rather life.

Likewise ruined churches themselves, as in the 'Abtei im Eichwald', may function as symbols of hope, not of doom. Another example may be given in the pencil, ink and watercolour sketch Friedrich made in the 1820s of the Eldena ruins.[193] Despite their broken-down state the ruins still seem to have a great vitality in them, the stone tiles a bright reddish brown. As in the Hutten painting, the monastic ruins here seem to blend in harmony with the landscape. As Wolf comments, this has both religious significance but also something more: 'Neben einer religiösen und einer Vergänglichkeitssymbolik, die sich im Werk Friedrichs immer wieder mit der Ruine des Zisterzienserklosters verbindet, drückt das Motiv auch die Heimatverbundenheit des Malers aus.'[194]

Copenhagen and Dresden connections

Despite Friedrich's seeming fascination with isolation and the overwhelmingly

192 C. D. Friedrich, 'Das Friedhofstor (Der Kirchhof), oil-on-canvas, 31 x 25,2 cm, c.1825-30 (Kunsthalle Bremen, Bremen).

193 C. D. Friedrich, 'Ruine Eldena', pencil, ink and watercolour, 17,8 x 22,9 cm, c.1825 (Dr. Georg Schäfer Collection, Schweinfurt).

194 Wolf (2007: 23).

introspective manner of all of his works, it would be a mistake to assume this of the man in life. For while he certainly was by nature introspective, it is clear from his letters that he was also very much gregarious, and as an artist was far from a state of isolation from his contemporaries. In the final section of this chapter we will look briefly at some of these friends and acquaintances who may have influenced his inclination towards nationalist themes and Arminius in particularly.

Perhaps the most important figure in this respect, aside from Kleist, is Ludwig Theobul Kosegarten (1758-1818), the protestant pastor and poet. Kosegarten was an early example of a thinker who argued for a specific northern spirit which characterised German and Nordic peoples. Vaughan has argued that some of the ideas which may be found in Kosegarten's writings could have come to influence Friedrich in his formative years, finding the link between the two in Johann Gottfried Quistorp, Friedrich's first art teacher and a close friend of Kosegarten's. Vaughan's comments are worth quoting in full here, since they illustrate very well the sort of society which Friedrich kept in his younger years: 'While Kosegarten is the most likely person to have brought Friedrich into contact with an eschatological interpretation of nature, he could have been even more directly influential in the development of some of Friedrich's most recurrent nature images. For, inspired by 'Ossian' and books on Scottish travels, Kosegarten came to see in the elemental and primeval landscape of the large island of Rügen that lies off the Pomeranian coastland a setting for the protagonists of a nordic heroic past. While the large dolmens on the island (still commonly known as 'Hünengräber' - 'Giant's graves') were believed to be the memorials of such heroes, the abundant weather-beaten oaks could also be interpreted as symbols of Teutonic manhood [...] Nor were contemporaries unaware of Friedrich's relationship to the literary reappraisal of this part of Germany. The writer Heinrich von Kleist, for example, when reviewing Friedrich's 'Monk by the Sea' spoke of its 'ossianic or Kosegarten-like effect'.[195]

It is unclear to what extent Friedrich can be said to have been directly influenced by someone like Kosegarten, but when we consider Friedrich's fascination with the island of Rügen and how, as we have seen, he sites Arminius and other national heroes' tombs amidst rocks and boulders, it is at the very least likely that he is drawing on similar ideas. Furthermore Kleist's comments of 'Der Monch am Meer', as

195 Vaughan (1972: 19).

given by Vaughan here, show that this connection was made by contemporaries. We will encounter Macpherson's Ossian on many more occasions in looking at other artists which this project examines, but it is also notable to have such an explicit reference connected with Friedrich.

Another contemporary artist who was influenced by Kosegarten, and like Friedrich remembered as one of the great painters of German Romanticism, is Phillip Otto Runge (1777-1810). The two artists first met in Greifswald in 1801-2 and for the following three years until 1805 Runge lived in Dresden, working on his 'Times of the Day' cycle.[196] During this time Friedrich was much influenced by Kosegarten. Wolf argues against overemphasising the closeness of the two artists at this time: 'Die für den Sommer 1806 geplante, aber nicht zustande gekommene gemeinsame Rügenreise setzt jedenfalls eine relativ nahe menschliche Beziehung voraus. Von einem engen Freundschaftsverhältnis, wie gelegentlich behauptet, ist allerdings nicht zu sprechen.'[197] However, while Wolf is surely right to resist the temptation to try superficially to force a connection between the two famous artists, as Vaughan's analysis highlights Friedrich was certainly much influenced by Runge's work at this time: 'Echoes of Runge's mythology are rare in Friedrich's works. His interest lay further in the direction of pure landscape than Runge's combination of natural forms with allegorical figures. However, while having little relationship to Friedrich's own cycle of nature, the hieratic character of Runge's 'Times of the Day' seems in many ways to prefigure the conception of the 'Cross in the Mountains".[198] Perhaps a better approach than trying to identify the direct influence of the one on the other would be to look for the common inspirations which they shared. Works of Runge's in Hamburg show that he was working on various projects in these years on the themes of 'Ossian' and 'Fingal' (one of the Ossianic heroes), and extant designs also survive for an unfinished project involving twin canvases on the themes of 'Fall des Vaterlands' and 'Not des Vaterlands'.[199] Complete with winged helmet and spear, Runge's 'Fingal' is

196 P. O. Runge, 'Die Zeiten' series, copper engraving, each engraving 71.2 x 47.5 cm, 1805 (Kupferstichkabinnett, Dresden).

197 Wolf (2007: 21).

198 Vaughan (1972: 29).

199 P. O. Runge, 'Fingal', oil-on-canvas 1805; 'Ossian' (et al. from 'Ossian'), oil-on-canvas, 1805; 'Fall des Vaterlands' (planned work), 1809; 'Not des Vaterlands' (planned work), 1809 (Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg).

very reminiscent of the Arminius-Siegfried hero-type to become so ubiquitous in the later nineteenth century.

We can see then that Friedrich was far from isolated from the trends of the art of his time, at least we may say so for his younger years, the years in which he undertook the works which we have been looking at in this chapter. However, while we may speak about Friedrich's connections in Dresden, where he dwelt for the most part of his life, such as Runge, it would be a mistake to think that Friedrich's friends and acquaintances extended only thus far. It is certainly true that Friedrich, unlike many of his contemporaries, did not take an interest in Rome or in working with the German and foreign artists there at the time. His reasons for this are interesting, as is clear from a letter of 1818 he sent in response to his student friend Johann Ludwig Lund, who was at that time living in the city and had invited Friedrich to go out to join him: 'Dank für die freundliche Einladung nach Rom zu kommen, aber ich gestehe frei daß mein Sinn nie dahin getrachtet. Aber jetzt da ich einige der Zeichenbücher des Herrn Faber durchblättert bin ich fast anders Sinnes worden. Ich kann mir es jetzt recht schön denken nach Rom zu reisen und dort zu leben. Aber den Gedanken von da wieder zurück nach Norden könnte ich nicht ohne schaudern denken; daß hieße nach meiner Vorstellung so viel: als sich selbst lebendig begraben. Stille zu stehen lasse ich mir gefallen, ohne Murren, wenn es das Schicksall so will; aber rückwärts Gehen ist meiner Natur zuwider dagegen emppört sich mein ganzes Wesen.'[200] We could attempt to infer much from this about Friedrich's attitudes towards Rome and seek to explain them by various means, but it suffices to say that Friedrich clearly did not wish to go there, and in all his life he never did do so.[201]

However to infer from Friedrich's attitude towards travelling to Rome that he was opposed to all foreign travel and connections would be a mistake. In 1794 Friedrich had travelled to Copenhagen for his artistic training at the *Akademi for de Skønne Kunster*, and the years he spent there and those with whom he worked were

200 Zschoche (2006: 111).

201 Vaughan's (1972: 20) analysis of Friedrich's choice not to visit Rome and opposition to the Nazarenes in his later years might however be worthy of consideration here: 'The northern aspiration that for the Nazarenes, in such works as Pforr's 'Sulamith and Maria', grew into a yearning for the paradisal south became for Friedrich directed towards a contemplation of the spirituality that could be felt in the extremities of nature. Indeed, in 1817 he refused to visit Rome for fear that the experience of a richer landscape might destroy his spiritual asceticism. Like his collaborator, Semler, he remained firm in the belief that 'the gloomy and meagre nature of the north is best suited to the representation of religious ideas'.

formative ones. This may seem something of an anomalous decision of a place to study, but we must remember that at the time that Friedrich went there it was the most distinguished art school in northern Europe. The great figure of this institution at the time was the history painter and Nordic romanticist Nicolai Abraham Abildgaard (1743-1809), whose works would certainly have influenced Friedrich. Abildgaard, who had worked in Rome with Fuseli and was equally occupied with classical themes, was also fascinated by themes from Norse mythology and history and, as Runge, illustrated Ossian. Nor would he have been the only influential artist in Copenhagen for Friedrich, as Jens Juel (1745-1802), the Danish portraitist who had painted Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, and the neoclassical painter Christian August Lorentzen and sculptor Johannes Wiedewelt (1731-1802) were all working there at this time. It is possible that all of these artists may have influenced Friedrich, his style and his northward gaze, so to speak, and we may perhaps trace some of what we have seen in Friedrich's work here to this period.

Ernst von Bandel

Hermannsdenkmal

This chapter will look at the well-known monument of Arminius of Ernst von Bandel situated in the forest near Detmold in Germany and the history (*Figure 6*) of the monument's construction. Bandel's take on his Tacitean theme and something of the contemporary German reception of the monument will also be considered.

In many ways there is little exceptional in Bandel's portrayal of Arminius. Bandel portrays Arminius leaning on his shield with raised sword, summoning the German tribes to war against the Romans. He wears a short tunic with belt, and on his head a prominent winged helmet. Bandel chooses to depict Arminius with a short beard rather than the longer beard that can be seen in many of the later nineteenth-century paintings of Arminius going into battle. In general there is little of the unkempt barbarian about Arminius here. We will see that some contemporary commentators took issue with Bandel's choice of dress for the statue.

However it can be said that Bandel's portrayal of Arminius is in general in many ways typical of those which this project examines. Yet what is unusual about Bandel's work by comparison to other depictions of Arminius is its medium, and the possibilities and constraints of such must be taken into account. First of all, there is is its scale. The statue is fifty metres high including its base, towering over the landscape in which it is set. In one sense scale would have been a very limiting factor for Bandel, meaning that his Arminius could not adopt a particularly flamboyant posture, for example with arms outstretched. Hence the posture of the statue, with right arm and sword stretched upward, is essentially columnar. The statue stands upon a colonnaded podium, which reinforces this impression. The shield, upon which the left arm rests, is necessary as a strut to support the weight of the left forearm and elbow. The position of the right leg slightly forward and the left slightly withdrawn also helps support the weight of the raised right arm. Hence considerations of the enormous weight of the statue meant that Bandel had to adopt a resting posture for his Arminius, rather than, for example, portraying him in mid-battle, as we see in many of the battle paintings.

Yet at the same time Bandel also gains from the particular potential of his medium. The staid posture of the statue lends a sense of composure and surety to

Arminius, and adds force to the notion of him as a sure bulwark against the encroaching Roman invader. Most of all though the monumental scale of the work gives it a power and resonance essentially lacking in almost all of the other depictions of the hero that this project examines. This public monumentality is ultimately lacking in any private painting or book illustration. It is also given its force by the setting of the statue, standing as it does amid the forest, towering over the landscape. Arminius stands in the middle of the land for which he fought, and in the forest in which he (reputedly) fought.

The resonance of this connection in the nineteenth century is not to be underestimated. Defining identities through the use of figures such as Arminius is essentially a retrospective exercise, a search for the origins of nationhood in ancient sources. However ever-present is also the underlying notion that this idea is in some way contested, from which arises the reason for the need to define. A central premise which underlies this thesis is that national identity has never been so keenly contested and stressed than at the borders of the nation, where the nation is seen, or imagined, to end.[202] Yet it is a basic, but essential fact, that unlike in the case of Britain (see later chapters), Germany's borders were land ones. Hence the extended debates about where Germany ends. By situating Arminius in the mid-landscape, sword pointing towards France, Bandel stresses this essential characteristic of contemporary ideas of German nationhood: Germany is Germany, and is Germany as far as it is known to extend, because the valour of its heroes from Arminius onwards have carved out and held it as such.

We see in the case of Bandel, and contemporary reception of him and of Tacitus, what an important role the land played in national identity. The phenomenon is a complex one, and we should resist the temptation to make anachronistic generalisations about it, but if one thing can be stated definitively about the German nationalism gaining ground during the years that Bandel worked on his statue, it is the absolute importance of the physical landscape in definitions of nation and people. In such a light we should also view the 'Niederwalddenkmal' in its setting by the Rhine, and the 1871 'Siegessäule' in its urban setting in Berlin. Yet perhaps the monument that best expresses this connection between *Heimat* and nation is Bandel's

202 Benedict Anderson, in his *Imagined Communities* (2006), focused to a great degree on studying national identity in empire, perhaps because it is at the extended imperial boundaries of the nation that its central defining identity was most threatened with change or, as seen by some, contamination.

'Hermannsdenkmal'.

Bandel and the monument's construction

Born in Anspach in 1800 and living to see the new German nation formed, dying as he did in 1876, the course of Bandel's life is not in any particular way unconventional, certainly much less so than many of the artists that this project examines. Educated first at Nuremberg, then Rome, entering the Art Academy in Munich, and going to Berlin in 1834, the centres of Bandel's art education were in no way unusual for his time. However what is undoubtedly unusual about the sculptor's life is the length of time he spent engaged on one project.

Finally completed and dedicated in 1871, the origins of the work in Bandel's life can be traced back to as early as 1819, when he first came up with the idea of a monument to Arminius.[203] Bandel completed his first models for the monument as we now see it today between 1830 and 1836. In 1836 he determined the site for his monument in what he believed to be the Teutoburg forest. Between 1841 and 1846 he completed the foundations and supporting building. However after 1848 interest in the monument waned and Bandel's funding dried up. It was not until 1862 that interest revived and a new source of funding became available, enabling Bandel to recommence work on casting the various parts of the statue. After a further grant from Wilhelm I in 1869, and again after the founding of the new German empire, the statue was finally completed in 1875 and dedicated in the presence of the new German emperor, just shortly before Bandel's own death. To a great extent then the monument was Bandel's lifework, spanning half a century from his first idea for such a monument to its final completion.

The principal reason Bandel's monument took so long to complete was lack of funding. Initial funding had come from a *Denkmalsverein*, contributed to in large part by the Prince of Lippe, landowner of the area in which the statue was to be situated. The Prussian king of the time, Friedrich Wilhelm IV, also contributed to the funds.[204] However some years later, after 1848, from a combination of factors this funding ceased. Bandel had disagreements with the society, and there was less interest in

203 Feist (1987: 316).

204 Feist (1987: 316).

national movements in the wake of the 1848 revolutions. It is likely that if interest in the project had not revived in 1862, in part due to Bandel's own efforts in exhibiting his plans and models for the statue, then the whole project would have fallen through. A new society was founded in 1862 and funds were raised from various sources, including from private individuals and princes. The city of Vienna contributed a thousand talents to the fund, and the Prussian king five hundred.[205] However the main and decisive contributions came in 1869 in the form of nine thousand talents from King Wilhelm I, and a further ten thousand talents voted to Bandel for the completion of the project by the Reichstag.[206]

We can see then that Bandel's own life was intimately bound up with the completion of his monument, in which task he faced setbacks. What can we say about Bandel's own responses to the task he had set himself, the work as it unfolded and the setbacks that he faced? Thanks to certain writings of Bandel, in which he describes his lifelong project and includes some reflections upon it, which have survived to the present day, it is possible to attempt an answer to this question. In a monograph on the 'Hermannsdenkmal' which he published in 1862 Bandel gave many technical details about the monument and its construction, and also included some comment on his undertaking.

A preliminary remark about this text, an important source which we will return to, is that throughout there is the sense that the monument in its very design, as well as its subject matter, is intended to embody a German style. Thus Bandel's declaration that: 'Zur zeit Hermanns hatte unser Volk seine geregelte monumentale Bauweise, die damals geltende römische zu wählen konnte mir nicht einfallen, ich mußte ein deutsches Werk bilden, das für unsere Zeit passend den Anfängen deutschen Baustieles entsprach und dabei ein Werk freier Phantasie war.'[207] What is significant here is that Bandel's whole notion of a native style, something largely a product of his imagination, is constructed in opposition to a perceived Romanness.

As is clear from the fact that he chose to dedicate his life to the completion of his project, Bandel drew a definite sense of purpose from his work on the statue, and this is something likewise evident from his writings. In a letter of 1853 Bandel

205 *Unterhaltungsblatt zum Straubinger Tagblatt* (1863: 167).

206 Feist (1987: 316).

207 Bandel (1862: 13).

outlines something of his philosophy towards work and his need to find like-minded people to work with on his project: 'Wo inneres Leben fehlt für ein Werk, da ist auch die Kraft nicht, dasselbe zu schaffen. Ich werde Männer mit frischen Herzen, gesundem Geist u. freien Sinn genug zu finden wissen und nur mit solchen mich zur weiteren Arbeit verbinden.'[208] In his list of characteristics which he seeks in a co-worker, we can see what Bandel considered to be the purpose of art such as the 'Hermannsdenkmal'. Art is about feeling and vocation for Bandel, but not just this; it is also about a healthy spirit. This was clearly what Bandel wished to convey through his work, and there is an underlying ideology in this.

Some of the setbacks that Bandel faced while engaged on his project have already been mentioned. It is perhaps Bandel's responses to these that are most telling. In his monograph he identifies his greatest difficulty in the entire project as actually finding the right workers. This is especially interesting considering the fact that, as we shall see, many later commentators characterised the project as one man's struggle. Bandel outlines the difficulties of finding workers who could understand his ideas and his initial difficulties thus: 'Als ich die Arbeiten begann, konnte sich Niemand einen deutlichen Begriff von meinem Wollen machen und ich mußte deshalb die Geschäfte allein einrichten. Gesellen traten bei mir, durch Drohungen der Werkmeister eingeschüchtert, nicht in Arbeit und war ich anfangs gezwungen, jeden Mann, der sich mir stellte, zu nehmen.'[209] Bandel continues by outlining the ensuing difficulties that he faced in getting his workers to complete their work. In particular he identifies drunkenness as an obstacle, amongst other problems such as accidents and illness.[210]

Later he faces further difficulties when the workers strike for higher pay, his solution to which is the issue of an ultimatum to return to work after eight days or face dismissal.[211] What is remarkable about his comments here and above is the extent to which he conceives of his role as one involving moral oversight, as well as being

208 Hellfaier (1975: 25). Letter 8 (Hannover, 12th July 1853).

209 Bandel (1862: 28-29).

210 He continues: 'In den ersten Arbeitsmonaten war Ungehorsamkeit, waren Zänkerien, Unglücksfälle, Krankheit und Steinhauertod so oft vorgekommen, daß mir endlich die Geduld riß, und um mit einem Schlage den Grund alles Uebels zu beseitigen, befahl ich, daß wer ferner noch Branntwein trinken wolle sofort die Arbeit zu verlassen habe - und es ging ferner. Ein paar Versuche, heimlich zu trinken, bestrafte ich mit Ablohnung und es war dadurch die Ordnung hergestellt.' Bandel (1862: 29).

211 Bandel (1862: 34).

simply an employer. It is the 'Lebensweise' of 'meiner Leute' that Bandel describes himself as having to contend with.[212] He is scathing of the shortcomings of his workers as a result of their drinking and, as we can see in the case of his reaction to the strike, his reactions were harsh.

What motivated this attitude on Bandel's part? Given the circumstances and how long drawn-out the statue's construction transpired to be, coupled with his determination to see it through, his frustration is perhaps understandable. As he exclaims in the above-quoted letter of 1853: 'Das Arminsmal auf dem Teutberge wird fertig werden!'[213] The completion of the project mattered enough to Bandel for him to ensure its completion by whatever means necessary. Yet there is something further evident here beyond this. For Bandel, writing his monograph in 1862 at a time when interest in the project had revived and the funds begun to be supplied again, portrays his work on the project as a sort of heroic struggle, overcoming all obstacles, and hence his mention of the difficulties he faced with his workers where this could otherwise have been omitted in what is largely a technical monograph anyway. Bandel is however keen to portray himself as having overcome these initial difficulties, especially in a time of renewed interest when we must remember that the statue was not actually complete, with the final funds for its completion yet to be voted. Hence at times there is a certain selectivity in his account, in which earlier funding difficulties are played down.[214]

Bandel's use of Tacitus

Having considered in outline the chronology of Bandel's life and the construction of the work, some of the obstacles he faced and his own reactions to these, we will now consider how Bandel used his Tacitean source material in his work. Firstly it should be noted that Bandel is unusual in the context of the artists that this project examines in that he makes direct reference to his source material. In fact he does this in the very opening of his monograph. In the second paragraph he quotes Tacitus' obituary of Arminius in full, the passage commencing, *Arminius liberator haud dubie Germaniae*

212 Bandel (1862: 29).

213 Hellfaier (1975: 26). Letter 8 (Hannover, 12th July 1853).

214 As, for example, where he describes the 'allgemeine Theilnahme' and 'gemeindeutsches Eigenthum' behind the project, where this support was in fact intermittent. Bandel (1862: 28).

('Arminius, without doubt the liberator of Germany'),[215] and including the ensuing sentences in which Tacitus stresses the particular achievement of Arminius in having defeated Roman power not in its earliest stages but at its height. He concludes with the sentence, *Caniturque adhuc barbaras apud gentes* ('And he is still celebrated in song by the barbarian races').

This sentence is doubtless intended to take on a special significance, as Bandel's work in itself is intended to do just what the barbarian songs did; to praise the achievements of this singular leader. Nor is the sentiment of a liberated Germany intended to ring hollow of contemporary significance. Bandel includes the following comments to complete his paragraph: 'Hermann haben wir es zu danken, daß wir in der uns angestammten Eigenthümlichkeit seiner That gedenken und sie nachpreisen können, seiner Schwerterhebung, daß im Anfange dieses Jahrhunderts ein deutscher König, gleich ihm, dasselbe Schwert, mit demselben Erfolge, erheben und daß wir, wie Hermanns nächste Nachkommen, in derselben Sprache Kampf und Siegeslieder singen konnten.'[216] Bandel makes a direct connection between the present state of Germany and the ancient deeds of his chosen hero, as reported by Tacitus. In his claim that it is only because of Arminius that the modern *Freiheitskrieger* could sing their victory songs in German, he implies an echo of the hero's ancient deeds in their modern struggle.

What function is Tacitus being made to serve here? Bandel's use of direct quotation of Tacitus, and in the Latin original is certainly unusual, but is clearly meant to lend his work historical authenticity. What is clear first of all is that Bandel was familiar with his classical source material and conversant in Latin. Then from the context in which he places his quotation, at the beginning of what was clearly an important piece of writing to him, it is clear that he considered Tacitus a trustworthy source, whose citation would lend authority to his work. Considered strictly, this is only Bandel's interpretation of what the original text is, and is in fact his own selection divorced from the context in which it originally sat. Since this is not the entirety of Tacitus' final words on Arminius, and by its being set apart from the awkward circumstances of Arminius' death, it gives a more positive impression of the hero than the original text can be argued to have given.

215 Tacitus, *Annales* 2.88.

216 Bandel (1862: 8).

Bandel's introductory paragraph also gives Tacitus' words a new context of Bandel's own making. In his opening sentence he sets the scene of a debauched and degenerate Rome, with its 'geschaffener Götter' and opulence.[217] He states with regret the fact that the Romans had even reached his homeland, 'jede Volksnatur tödtenden', overrunning certain German cities. Then, in 9 AD, 'flammte im Teutoburger Walde ein Zeichen der sich Bahn brechenden Freiheit auf', for Hermann, 'im Bewußtsein deutscher Kraft und Würde', had raised his sword against the Roman foe and destroyed Varus' legions.[218] His language is very theatrical, heavily metaphor-laden, all of which immediately precedes the Latin quotation. This is not to say that Tacitus does not indulge in something of the same in *Annals* books I and II in his account of Arminius' struggle against Rome, for it certainly is very melodramatic as well.[219]

However Bandel's dramatisation of Arminius' struggle serves a very different purpose from Tacitus', and this governs his use of Tacitus. Tacitus' purpose in the *Annals* can be argued to have been to create a dramatic and engaging narrative, which ultimately showed the potential insecurity of Roman power even in post-Augustan Rome; it is not definitely about praising the especial merits of the German people, and their love of liberty evident in their struggles against Rome under Arminius (see *Introduction* for discussion). This is very much true of Tacitus' few words of obituary on Arminius too. While he is *liberator haud dubie Germaniae*, the context of these words is absolutely crucial, for it is through intrigue of his own people that he had been murdered, possibly for having aspired to kingship.[220]

Bandel's monograph removes this context, omitting to mention anything about how Arminius met his end. In this and his use of Arminius more generally, the focus is very different from that taken by Tacitus in his original text. Arminius' struggle is less about Rome as about the special virtues of the German people. As in the above extract from Bandel's text, Arminius' struggle is about consciousness of 'deutscher Kraft und

217 Bandel (1862: 7).

218 Bandel's exact words are 'unser Schwert erhoben', hence his choice of a pose for Arminius with raised sword.

219 We might consider, for example, the description of the general Caecina's dream of the dead Varus rising from the Teutoburg marshes to pull him down to join him (Tacitus, *Annales* 1.65).

220 Tacitus, *Annales* 2.88: *Ceterum Arminius abscedentibus Romanis et pulso Marboduo regnum adfectans libertatem popularium adversam habuit, petitusque armis cum varia fortuna certaret, dolo propinquorum cecidit*. ('With the Roman departure and Marboduus in exile Arminius found himself opposed by the people in seeking the crown and, attacked and fighting with mixed fortune, he fell by the treachery of his family'.)

Würde', and this is the primary and true cause of the resistance. As with Friedrich or other German artists inspired by the *Freiheitskrieg* we are dealing more with a German tradition of Hermann than anything related to Tacitus or his Arminius in any meaningful way. Yet it should be remarked that, despite this very salient fact, Bandel still chooses to return to the original source material, and that at the beginning of his principal monograph on his work, something very unusual both with artists portraying ancient German heroes from Tacitus or British Celtic ones. The reason for this must ultimately be the attempt to lend credence to this interpretation of Arminius as a historically accurate one.

The question then follows of why Bandel would take a different approach to Arminius to that taken by Tacitus. Aside from the above point that Bandel takes more from a contemporary tradition of Hermann than he does from Tacitus, his words after he gives the quotation can provide an additional answer to this. Without making any direct comment on Tacitus' words, Bandel simply states the above-quoted, that it is due to Arminius that Germany is as it is today, and that recently a new king alike Arminius has raised the same sword against the foe with the same victory. That king being the Prussian king Wilhelm I, Bandel does not say that it is the same foe, but the French are implied as equivalent to the Romans. This is a common equivalence made by many German artists portraying Arminius, but it does shift the focus from the degeneracy of Rome largely to the virtues of the Germans, and in this we depart from Tacitus' *Annals*. Bandel is more concerned with the universal enduring virtue of the Germans, which cannot die with the passage of many centuries and can be turned against the new foe just as it was against the old.

His statue is then a personification of eternal German virtue, in particular of a love of *Freiheit*, and the willingness to fight for this. What he takes from Tacitus is as a result highly selective, his Arminius is given a new context, linked to contemporary political events in Germany in the 1860s, and we take one step further thereby towards a more conceptual idea of values and virtues of a people or nation; one step further from historicity towards national ideology.

Other works

Although Bandel spent much of his life working on his statue of Arminius, he did complete other works as well. Most of these are of minor interest to us, but one is

worth a closer examination. This is a statue of 'Thusnelda', the wife of Arminius, named according to contemporary tradition, which Bandel completed while he was in Rome in the 1840s.[221]

Like his statue of Arminius, his statue of Thusnelda is free standing, though this time in marble. She stands, stiff and upright, eyes downcast and arms crossed in a defensive posture. This is the posture of a captive and, like Piloty (see later chapter) and other artists, Bandel clearly intends to portray Thusnelda once she has been taken prisoner by the Romans. Her hair is long and untied and she is bare-breasted save for a cloak that she wears over her shoulders. The rest of her long garments she holds bunched up in her hands which, crossed on top of each other as they are, make her appear nervous and uncertain. This is Thusnelda without Arminius, undefended and in Rome, as Bandel was himself when he completed the statue.

Yet Bandel's Thusnelda does not appear weak and defeated. Though her gaze is downcast and she does not look happy, she is still proud and fair, not at all downtrodden by her current state. This is a popular portrayal of Thusnelda in the German art of Bandel's time. In a sense it is a different representation of the same virtue her husband embodies. In this way then while Arminius is portrayed in battle or victory, representing directly the triumph of virtue and the German nation's fight for freedom, Thusnelda represents the captive nation, shackled by the corrupt Latin oppressor but retaining its dignity despite all.

As with other portrayals of Thusnelda, Bandel's draws heavily upon religious iconography. Indeed the theme in this case is little different from that of the Christian martyr, and we may wonder whether being in the context of Christian Rome influenced Bandel's approach. The narrative is very close. For Thusnelda, like a Christian martyr, is an innocent captive of the great but morally decrepit imperial Rome of the first century. Like Saint Perpetua she is a young woman and, as Bandel portrays her, unaffected by her misfortunes though assailed by them on all sides. Her hair falls long, straight and fair as Kleist's Thusnelda, her native beauty shining through despite her reduced state. In many ways considered in the context of religious art this sort of sculpture seems conventional. However that is the very thing that should surprise us here, because there is no religion involved unless that religion is understood as nationalism.

221 E. Bandel, 'Thusnelda', white marble, 1844-45 (Lippisches Landesmuseum, Detmold).

There is very limited contemporary record available concerning this work. However we do find a brief reference to the work in Menzel's *Jahrbuch der Baukunst und Bauwissenschaft in Deutschland*, reporting the purchase of the work by the Prince of Lippe: 'Detmold. Im Sept. 1843 kaufte der Fürst daselbst die aus der Werkstatt der Bildhauers Ernst Bandel (Verfertiger der Hermanns Statue) hervorgegangene lebensgroße Marmorstatue der Thusnelda.'[222] As with funding for the Arminius statue then, we see Bandel enjoying royal patronage, and it is worth considering briefly why works on such a theme might have been attractive to royalty.

In many instances Arminius, and by extension Thusnelda, are seen as royal ancestors to the modern Germans or Saxons. In an age in which Germany was dominated by numerous princelings, and at a time when the growing power of Prussia was making the future of many of their houses far from secure, it is perhaps unsurprising that we see an interest in ancient predecessors amongst German royalty. In an age of a growing sense of German unity, the more closely a prince could associate themselves with shared ancient German ancestors, the more easily they could present themselves as legitimate claimants to the present-day thrones of Germany. This certainly explains to a great degree the munificence of Wilhelm I towards Bandel in the final years of working on the Arminius statue, given the king's growing interest in becoming the first German emperor. To a lesser degree this is also true here, where perhaps the purchase of a statue of Thusnelda by a German prince could be seen as a statement about origins and subscription to the contemporary nationalist ideology.

As mentioned contemporary references to Bandel's 'Thusnelda' are very few. One contemporary foreign reaction to the work can be found in an Art Journal article entitled 'The Hermann Monument', which comments that: 'Von Bandel has produced other admirable works of art, among which may be particularly mentioned his life-size figure of Thusnelda in captivity at Rome'.[223] The author of the article clearly felt that Bandel's Thusnelda was a decent work of art for the same reason as they praise the statue of Arminius, in essence that it is a fine national monument. Another brief reference can be found in a contemporary Anglo-American encyclopaedia, *Chambers' Encyclopaedia*, which describes a Thusnelda 'loaded with chains, with her hands

222 Menzel's (1844: 237).

223 Art Journal (1875: 123).

crossed on her breast, as when she was led away captive by the Romans'.[224]

In his entry on Bandel Chambers also refers to various other works of Bandel's, including a plaster figure of a reposing Mars which he completed in 1820 while a student at the Munich Academy, 'which procured for him considerable reputation', as well as a marble personification of 'Caritas' on which he worked for a decade, and several busts of royals and artists, including King Maximilian of Bavaria and the poet Grabbe.[225] The entry also mentions that Bandel sculpted many other personifications of classical gods. Bandel's usual repertoire then seems to have been portraits of the famous or free-standing statues of gods or personifications. Both the Arminius statue and the 'Thusnelda' can be said to fit into these categories. Bandel is of course treating them as real historical figures, but at the same time his portrayal of them has much in common with the second category as well, since as we have said they are personifications of German virtue.

This illustrates the important point that the 'Hermannsdenkmal' is not a historical portrayal in the same sense as a lifelike portrait of a contemporary monarch, even if the monument claims the same degree of historical reality for its subject. The statue has a similar significance to his portrayal for example of Mars, embodying martial virtue, or a more abstract personification such as 'Caritas', since as well as being Arminius the historical figure the character is being made to represent the events of the battle of the Teutoburg forest, which on a contemporary reading in turn meant the German struggle against the tyranny and degeneracy represented by the Latin south. Arminius, and Thusnelda in similar fashion, are made to symbolise virtues, courage in the cause of freedom and pride in the face of oppression respectively, which in a contemporary nationalist context were characterised as underlying German national and ethnic traits.

Contemporary reactions

Having discussed the sculptor's own approach to his work and his underlying philosophy, as well as what some of his other works indicate about the 'Hermannsdenkmal', in the final section of this chapter we will now explore some

224 Anon. (1870: 659).

225 Chambers (1870: 658-659).

contemporary reactions to Bandel's lifework and reflect upon various nationalist readings of the monument.

It must be acknowledged at this point that some excellent work has been done on this subject already, in particular by Thomas Nipperdey,[226] and in English by Kirsten Belgum,[227] and it is not the intent of this study to challenge the findings of this work. Belgum's study in particular makes some important points about the contemporary reception of the 'Hermannsdenkmal', which she compares to two other German monuments, the 'Niederwalddenkmal' and the 'Siegessäule', stressing that the contemporary understanding of these monuments was largely mediated through popular journals such as the *Gartenlaube*, as well as publications with a lesser readership such as the *Westermanns Monatshefte* and the *Illustriete Zeitung*.

Another important preliminary point in understanding the 'Hermannsdenkmal' is how many people actually went to see it in the nineteenth century. Given the location of the monument and the comparative difficulty of large-scale travel compared with the modern age, it is a legitimate question to ask if any significant number of people ever saw the monument in person. Belgum addresses herself to this question, and reports the work of Hans Schmidt who, 'using local documents from the city of Detmold [...] estimated that the annual number of visitors to the Hermannsdenkmal averaged about 1,500-1,800 between 1875 and 1880 and about 2,000 for 1890. Although this number skyrocketed (after Detmold received a train station) to 20,500 visitors in 1895 and 41,000 by 1909, very few Germans were able to view the monument in person in the first two decades of its existence.'[228] Belgum's point is very important; in the early years of Bandel's work on his monument very few people actually saw the 'Hermannsdenkmal' first hand. As a result then, the medium of print journalism was crucial to contemporary understandings of the monument, as well as for our understanding of contemporary receptions of the monument and of Arminius.

It is also evident from contemporary sources, however, that during the course of construction of his monument Bandel opened his workshop to public view as a means of publicising his project. As one commentator reported in 1863 of Bandel's

226 Nipperdey (1968; 1986).

227 Belgum (1993).

228 Belgum (1993: 458).

newly completed workshop in Hannover: 'Die in Detmold noch vorhanden gewesenen einzelnen Stücke sind in der Werkstätte des Künstlers ausgestellt, und man kann an dem einzelnen Theilen den kolossalen Massstab des Ganzen erkennen.'[229] It is further reported that Bandel was planning to travel about Germany exhibiting parts of the statue to raise interest in his project, evidently with a view to securing further financial support: 'Sind beide Thiele vollendet, so will der Künstler mit denselben durch Deutschland ziehen und sie öffentlich ausstellen, um das Interesse anzuregen und Beisteuern zu ermöglichen.'[230] Bandel was clearly not averse to self-publicity.

A decade earlier, in the period during which financial interest had been waning, one contemporary source reports a continuing interest in reproductions of the monument in various media: 'Aufforderungen, sowie Lithographieen und Umrisse nach dem von dem Bildhauer Ernst von Bandel gefertigten Modell zu diesem Denkmale, sind mannigfach verbreitet worden'.[231] It is clear that though funding for the monument may have varied in its constancy, interest in the monument was sustained, and channelled through various print media. As Belgum rightly emphasises in her study: 'The massive monuments of late-nineteenth-century Germany were impressive and effective national spaces, but their impact on the national population was in part the product of another public commodity, the mass media.'[232] The national meaning and significance attributed to monuments such as the 'Hermannsdenkmal', whatever this was, must in large part have been the work of contemporary media.

What reactions to the monument do we find in such contemporary media then? The general mood of reception of the monument on its completion was well encapsulated by the outsider and foreign perspective of the *Art Journal*: 'The completion of this magnificent monument has excited great enthusiasm in Germany. Representing, as it does, the first truly national movement of the German race against a foreign foe, it is considered a fit emblem of the complete and thorough union which the formation of the new empire has at last brought about.'[233] In this analysis of contemporary reactions we can see the seamless connection made between the

229 *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit* (1863: 383).

230 *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit* (1863: 383).

231 Kugler (1854: 299).

232 Belgum (1993: 474).

233 *Art Journal* (1875: 301).

purpose of Arminius' struggle and contemporary German political unification. A more fundamental point that can be made about the reception of Bandel's monument here though is the importance with which it is attributed. Even amongst more critical opinion (on which see below), the significance of the statue itself is not questioned, as for example an article in the *Kunstblatt*, which justifies the importance of debate over the work's merits as follows: 'Es scheint billig, dass über ein Unternehmen, welches nicht einen einzelnen Punkt des Vaterlandes allein angeht, sondern für welches die Mitwirkung aller Kräfte desselben in Anspruch genommen wird, vor der Ausführung auch eine freie Berathung, eine freie Abgabe der Stimmen und eine Berücksichtigung derselben stattfinde.'[234]

We have mentioned above the importance of the *Gartenlaube* magazine in mediating the reception of the 'Hermannsdenkmal', and it would be useful to summarise the main points of Belgum's research in respect to the *Gartenlaube* here.[235] Belgum draws attention to an 1872 article in the magazine entitled, 'A Creative Slap in the Face', which traced the story of Bandel's work on the statue and found its origin in a boxing of the ears received by Bandel as a child from a French soldier in the French occupation of 1806. As Belgum argues, the article 'pursued the image of an inflamed patriotism throughout', whose narration 'combined the vocabulary of military struggle with that of artistic creation and drew a final parallel between the founding of the *Reich* in 1871 and the construction of this monumental work.'[236] In its reporting of the monument's construction the *Gartenlaube* clearly placed a strong emphasis on the events of Bandel's own life and the patriotic subject matter of his creation, while these events themselves were in turn placed in the context of recent history, which related both to Arminius' struggle against Rome and the contemporary unification of Germany.

The *Gartenlaube* also printed a full visual analysis of the monument, including details of dimensions and images of the statue's head next to Bandel. According to Belgum: 'This view in the Gartenlaube offered a space for the reader to see the detailed construction of the monument in a manner which then would become part of

234 Kugler (1854: 301).

235 The *Gartenlaube*, edited by Ernst Keil, was first published in 1873 and continued to 1937. A popular family magazine, as Belgum points out it was the most widely read and disseminated magazine of its kind during the *Kaiserreich*.

236 Belgum (1993: 464).

a common memory.'[237] She stresses the importance of this imagery in forming the contemporary reception of the monument, even going so far as to suggest that a picture of Bandel and his workers situated next to the statue's head was 'also an allegory for the construction of a modern nation that relied on national cooperation.'[238] This is perhaps pressing the connotation of the image a little further than the editor of the *Gartenlaube* had originally intended, but it is certainly true that there is an attempt to read some form of allegory of national significance into the life and work of the sculptor, as we will discuss further below.

Another article in the *Gartenlaube* in 1860, entitled 'A Forgotten German Monument', had lamented the loss of interest in the monument while, as Belgum points out, 'keeping alive a deeper level of national concern by dint of its coverage.'[239] *Gartenlaube*'s interest in the monument appears to have been sustained over time, and both in its attitude, and by virtue of the coverage itself, we can see that it was supportive of Bandel, his project, and the patriotic values which it embodied. Belgum is right to highlight the important role that the popular magazine played in bringing Bandel and his work into the public eye at an early stage, and shaping attitudes towards them. As far as other sources indicate, the reactions of the general public towards the project appear to have been on the whole positive, and agree with the *Gartenlaube*'s take. In its article the *Art Journal* described the general reaction at home and abroad to Bandel's exhibition of a plastic model at an early stage of his work: 'It was greeted with hearty applause, and served to draw the attention of both Germans and foreigners to the project'.[240]

We will now move on to look at how the patriotic nature of the 'Hermannsdenkmal' was considered by contemporary observers. Nipperdey's comments on the function of patriotic art and its aims is worth considering at this stage. He speaks at a theoretical level but the implications are very relevant to Bandel's case in particular: 'Die Kunst z. B. soll national sein; die Werke der Kultur und die sozialen und rechtlichen Institutionen sollen die Nation erziehen, und zwar

237 Belgum (1993: 466).

238 Belgum (1993: 466).

239 Belgum (1993: 470).

240 *Art Journal* (1875: 123). Belgum (1993: 471) also highlights the fact that with the model the public could view the statue from all angles, unlike a printed image.

zur Nation. Darum errichtet man z. B. Denkmäler [...] für die Großen der eigenen Geschichte: Die provozierte und präsentierte Errinerung soll das Bewußtsein und das Handeln der jetzt Lebenden und der Späteren national prägen.'[241] According to Nipperdey then, the conception of what patriotic or national art is supposed to be is based upon a fundamental tenet; that art has a didactic function. Underlying this notion is the idea that the national creed is in itself self-improving and, as such, past national heroes are worthy of emulation. Considering Nipperdey's definition, it is readily evident how greatly Bandel fits this mould. As discussed above, Bandel viewed Arminius not only as a progenitor but a model for emulation in his own age, and his work is a *Denkmal* precisely because it was meant to instil in a new generation the noble and high ideal of *Germania*.

This was Bandel's own view, but to what extent did contemporary observers receive the message in this fashion? The simple answer is that it was largely received as intended. In this way we find one observer writing in the 1850s: 'Er, in seiner Begeisterung für den Ruhm des deutschen Volkes, hat mit kühnem Muthe ein Werk ergriffen und begonnen, das auch einen künstigen Geschlechte als ein würdiges Denk- und Errinerungszeichen von dem altedlen deutschen Heldensinne zeugen wird, dessen Saamenkorn seine Heimkraft nicht verloren hat.'[242] We have all the elements of a typical patriotic reading of the monument here. Bandel is himself animated by a patriotic *Begeisterung* for the work, which is conceived of as a struggle on Bandel's part, which by the strength of his national feeling he overcomes. A link is made at a personal level between Bandel and his subject matter, ancient honour and heroes. Furthermore in describing Bandel's *Heimkraft* as a seed we have the notion of growth and expansion from some central point and beginning.

In an earlier article on the monument entitled, *Einige Worte über das Denkmal des Cheruskers Hermann*,[243] which as we shall see is quite critical of the monument, the same tenet of the importance and function of national art such as Bandel's is nonetheless acknowledged. At the beginning of the article the importance of the monument's being completed is stressed as follows: 'Die Idee findet, wie es scheint, einen guten Anklang im deutschen Volke, und es dürfte die Hoffnung, ein Monument

241 Nipperdey's (1986: 115).

242 Schubert (1855: 499).

243 Anon. (1854).

von so grossartiger nationaler Bedeutung ausgeführt zu sehen, nicht, wie so manch ein Unternehmen ähnlicher Art unerfüllt bleiben.'[244] While the author's pessimism about the monument's prospects for completion is tangible there is no question about either the author's commitment to his national work, or the validity of such a project.

Indeed in the case of the *Kunstblatt* article we can see to what degree Bandel's conception of Arminius was shared by his contemporaries. German history is conceived of as having begun with Arminius: 'Dass Deutschland denjenigen Moment, da sein Volk zuerst in das Leben der Weltgeschichte eintrat, dass es den Helden, der in diesem Momente sein Führer war, durch ein würdevolles Denkmal feiere, bedarf keiner Rechtfertigung, so lange überhaupt die hohe Bedeutung historischer Denkmäler durch die materiellen Interessen des Lebens noch nicht ganz verdunkelt ist.'[245] Arminius is conceived of as a sort of first German, a primogenitor, heroically leading his people onto the stage of world history. In the article's view then the importance of Bandel's work rests in its portrayal of this moment.

Moreover the *Kunstblatt*'s description of the statue is revealing of its take on the work's patriotic significance. The Roman fasces, which Arminius treads underfoot, are described as 'das Zeichen der Sklaverei', and in contrast the hero raises his sword to the sky, 'Sieg und Freiheit den deutschen Gauen zu verkünden'.[246] Similarly the author greatly approves of the setting of the statue, which it is argued is well-fitted to so noble a beginning for German history. There is a clear yardstick here of how the events of early German history were to be construed, in other words what interpretation was to be placed on Tacitus' Arminius and its tradition, and what patriotic art was meant to be. It is against this that Bandel's work is being judged.

Indeed it is typical of many contemporary sources to characterise Bandel's lifework as a sort of heroic struggle, and to imply a parallel with that of his subject. This is something we have seen Bandel does himself to some degree. However of the sources we are looking at here this element is probably most clearly spelled out by the *Art Journal*'s article on the monument, in turn summarising the ongoing commentary of the magazine *Ueber Land und Meer* which, as the *Gartenlaube*, had extensively covered Bandel's life: 'It is only very lately, through the columns of the able Stuttgart

244 Anon. (1854: 299).

245 Anon. (1854: 299).

246 Anon. (1854: 300).

journal *Ueber Land und Meer*, that the lifelong heroism of this man has been made known to the world. It is a story of earnest, enthusiastic devotion to a great object, unshaken by forty years of almost continual neglect and discouragement, and overcoming obstacles before which the stoutest heart might have been expected to fail.'[247] It is courage in the face of adversity, and in the cause of ideals, which is being praised here, rather than the quality of the art itself. It can readily be seen how the qualities for which Bandel is lauded could be said to be true of Arminius too. Bandel struggled for many years against great challenges, just as Arminius faced the seemingly insurmountable power of Rome.[248]

Contemporary reactions linked this struggle of Bandel's and that of Arminius to contemporary political events, in particular the efforts to unify Germany. In Bandel's case his life and work on the 'Hermannsdenkmal' spanned the decades in which these efforts were being made. This connection is certainly one which Bandel sought to make himself, as is evident from the statue itself. As Benario points out, there are two inscriptions on Arminius' sword, 'Deutsche Einigkeit meine Stärke' and 'Meine Stärke Deutschlands Macht',[249] which have an obvious political relevance considering that completion of the monument effectively coincided with German unification. The *Art Journal* spelt this out on the monument's completion: 'It is a splendid memorial not only of German unity and German valour, but of what one man has accomplished by earnest persistence, in defiance of a whole lifetime of discouragements and difficulties.'[250]

Another measure of the contemporary impact of the monumnet is of course to look at whether it inspired any other artworks. In his *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst* Feist argues for an inspiration for Adolph Menzel's 'Crowning of King Wilhelm I in Königsberg' in portrayals of Hermann, and in particular in that of Bandel: 'Die

247 *Art Journal* (1875: 123).

248 The magazine focuses in particular on the financial difficulties Bandel faced, and describes how 'his hair turned white as the years went by, and his hearing was almost destroyed by the continual hammering on copper', but that 'yet he never hesitated or lost faith in the final success of his undertaking.'

249 Benario (2004: 89). Feist (1987: 136) describes the 'Hermannsdenkmal' as 'das aufwendigste Zeugnis des Arminius-Kults', and a representation of the new militarism under Bismarck. He stresses the importance of contemporary political significance, in particular the war against France: 'Die Einweihung 1875 in Gegenwart des Kaisers sowie alle späteren Interpretationen standen im Zeichen des Sieges der neuen Germanen über die französischen Romanen als die Erbfeinde.' (1987: 299)

250 *Art Journal* (1875: 123).

Schwertgebärde erinnert an Darstellungen von Hermann dem Cherusker (siehe Ernst von Bandels Denkmal) und von Karl dem Großen (siehe Rethels Fresken in Aachen).'[251] This painting, celebrating as it does the new unified Germany, illustrates how close the association between Bandel's work and political unity had become that the iconography could be used interchangeably.

Yet for all this it cannot be argued that the monument was without its critics. We have already seen that the project cannot have commanded continuous universal enthusiasm, otherwise it would not have taken as long to secure the necessary funding for its completion as it in the event did. It has been remarked that the *Kunstblatt* was generally supportive of the project, but it was also very critical of many aspects of the statue's appearance. One particular criticism centred around the way Arminius is dressed. As the author comments: 'Der Künstler scheint uns das letztere sehr wohl getroffen zu haben, mit Ausnahme des Mantels, den er in weiten und langen Dimensionen angenommen und der Gestalt in kunstreichen Falten umgehängt hat. Dies streitet eines Theils gegen die historische Ueberlieferung, indem Tacitus (Germ. c. 17) ausdrücklich berichtet, dass allen Germanen das Sagum (ein kurzer Mantel) zur Bedeckung gedient habe.'[252] What is crucial here is that issue is being taken with the statue because it is seen as being not sufficiently true to Tacitus. Implicit in this is the notion that Tacitus is himself historically reliable, but further that the whole idea of Arminius as portrayed by Bandel is historically accurate, since issue is taken here with such a minor detail but the basic premise of Arminius as German primogenitor and hero is not questioned.[253]

The article also takes issue with the size and form of Arminius' body, saying that while the sculptor wanted to give his Arminius a physique such as that old German heroes had, he went too far,[254] and that the base of the monument was ill-fitting, exclaiming in desperation: 'Wozu aufs Neue diese architektonische Spielerei, die in den Formen einer ausartenden Kunst die Ursprünge des heimatlichen

251 Feist (1987: 156).

252 Kugler (1854: 300).

253 Cf. Tacitus, *Germania* 17: *Tegumen omnibus sagum fibula aut, si desit, spina consertum: cetera intecti totos dies iuxta focum atque ignem agunt* ('For clothing all have a short mantle tied with a brooch or, if this is lacking, a thorn: otherwise uncovered they spend whole days beside the hearth and fireplace')

254 Kugler (1854: 300).

Formensinnes zu entdecken wähnte?'[255] It is noteworthy that criticism here on this last count, similarly to on the first, rests upon a fear that Bandel's representation is not true to a real and historical ancient Germany. Again, the notion that the old world of German heroes existed is never brought into question, only the accuracy of minor details attributed to this.

Possibly the most famous of the works which this project examines, the *Hermannsdenkmal* is in many ways uncomplicated as an artwork and uncomplicated in its meaning. Yet it forms an important part of any project such as this for the ways in which it illustrates the most essential function Arminius was made to serve in nineteenth-century Germany. In this sense it provides an important foil to other works which this project examines which are far more complex and subtle in their approach. Bandel's work is in a sense a yardstick of conventional patriotic iconography drawing inspiration from Tacitus, against which other artworks can be measured.

255 Kugler (1854: 301).

Ludwig von Schwanthaler

Walhalla north pediment

In this marble group by Ludwig von Schwanthaler, from the north pediment of Leo von Klenze's Walhalla monument near Ratisborn, we see the victorious Arminius bearing down upon his Roman foes (*Figure 7*).

His is the central figure of the composition, dwarfing all of the other sculptures in the pediment. Posed in heroic nudity with a cape strung over his shoulders and back, he stands sword in hand, his left knee resting on a strut and pointing in the direction of the Romans to his right. He is utterly composed, unafraid in the face of the Roman soldiers that approach him. He wears a prominently winged helmet and looks down on the Romans as they attack him. His sword seems to be resting calmly in his hand, rather than flailing about as those of the Romans assailing him.

These figures, all in the right side of the pediment, are in stark contrast to Arminius. The nearest infantryman holds a shield in his left arm as he lunges forward, behind which he almost seems to cower. Attacking with his shield, rather than his sword, it is as if he would rather not. The shield is the rectangular Roman design and, coupled with his plumed helmet, makes him readily identifiable as a Roman. Unlike Arminius he is not naked but instead wears his Roman tunic. Lunging forward on his right knee he is covered by his comrade, who raises his left sword arm in preparation for a downward swing. Yet with this arm covering his face he too seems to cower before Arminius, as if he cannot face his foe. And despite his at first sight more stable posture, his left knee seems limp and is not promising of his ability to face Arminius. He too is easily identifiable as a Roman by his costume.

In greatest contrast to the figure of Arminius is that of the Roman general, whom we may identify as Varus, that stands behind the two soldiers. First of all there is the fact that he is standing behind his soldiers at all. Arminius leads his men from the front, whereas Varus uses his men as a shield. His appearance is of course different, donning as he does the cuirass of a Roman general, with its mock torso muscles in its design. Whilst this makes him readily identifiable as a Roman general, it also points up a stark contrast with Arminius whose musculature, in its heroic nudity, is real. This contrast immediately lends Varus a sense of superficial grandeur,

of a trumpeted Roman glory backed by no real might. In addition posed as he is with cape slung over his shoulders, he initially reminds one of portraits of Augustus and other emperors in their triumphant regalia. But this illusion is swiftly shattered on a closer inspection as one sees that he is rather in flight, his right arm pushing downwards as if trying to ward of the threat of Arminius from himself (in favour of his men), and the direction of his left knee, very much away from Arminius, indicating his intended flight. Pretended Roman glories seem as nothing in the face of Arminius and his men.

By contrast to Arminius' left we see the German tribesmen, the other heroes of this group. Forming the counterbalance to the three Romans that stand opposite them, they are nonetheless very unlike these figures. Though they too all have shields and swords, none of them appear to cower behind them in the way that the Roman soldiers do. All look forth boldly, as Arminius himself, looking their enemies squarely in the eye, and not hiding behind their arms. The implication is clear that while they too are armed, their main weapon is their courage in the face of their enemies, rather than the technology or fighting technique they possess, as is implied by the stances of the Romans, who seem to fight in some synchronised fashion. The Germans, as their leader, seem to stand their own ground and to fight with individual courage.

They each reflect the character of their leader in different ways, though none of them appear to be quite as much the hero as Arminius himself. The first behind Arminius wears a winged helmet like him, even if he is not so great in stature nor is heroically nude. In his hand he holds a battle axe, something which again marks him out as a barbarian rather than a Roman. His shield is not rectangular and is different to those of his fellow-warriors, yet despite this apparent disorganisation his fighting virtue much outshines that of his more coordinated enemy, whom he looks at past the shoulder of Arminius. The posture of his legs shows that he is rushing to battle and is rearing to get at the enemy, much in contrast to the half-hesitant and reluctant Roman infantry.

The figure behind him wears a slightly different helmet and, as the second Roman from Arminius, raises his sword arm ready for a downward strike. However unlike him he raises his arm, bearing his chest with his face uncovered, as if unafraid of facing the battle and the possible death that awaits. This is in stark contrast to the Roman figure he mirrors whose arm shields his face to the point that the observer cannot make out his face at all. The last of the warriors is posed most similarly to

Arminius, heroically naked with a cape over his shoulder, in a pose very reminiscent of ancient sculpture. His right leg also juts forward in the direction of the enemy, and his gaze is set and determined. In his right arm he holds a club in a further sign of his being a barbarian. Yet he is handsome and clean shaven, not at all ignoble in appearance. Unlike his fellow warriors he wears no helmet and his hair is long.

Behind the three German warriors at the far left side of the pediment we see the crouching figure of a bard strumming on his lyre. He too is heroically nude but for a cape, and looks out from the pediment as if inspired. He has a long beard and very much conforms to the bardic-druidic figure that we find so often in depictions of Arminius. Before him sits a young woman, who appears to be listening to the bard figure. She is perhaps a priestess or may be Arminius' wife.

Analysis

As a starting point in looking at this pediment and its subject matter, we should first and foremost note the medium. This is monumental art, and on a grand scale. This is both a constraining factor and allows for great potential not available in the case of many other media we are looking at here.

To look at the constraints first. A pediment was and always had been in many ways an awkward medium for the expression of sculpture. As can be seen in the carefully adapted sculptural groupings of the Parthenon, the format lends itself much more easily to seated figures and static compositions than it does to scenes containing action. However as Phidias attempted in his temple of Zeus at Olympia Schwanthaler here too attempts to use the medium to depict a battle. The major problem with this is that the central figure of the pediment inevitably dwarfs the other figures in the composition in stature. Phidias found a way round this problem in his depiction of the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs by placing the god, Apollo, centre-stage, who by convention as a god would need to be taller than the other human figures populating the composition. By means of such associations, in placing his Arminius in the centre of the pediment Schwanthaler is able to lend a godlike status to Arminius over the other figures in the composition. This fits his purpose well, for Arminius appears then less a human, as the other figures in the pediment, but more an embodiment of a heroic ideal.

A second constraint is the point from which the pedimental sculptures must be

viewed. Due to their elevation they are always viewed from below, an effect further compounded by the monument's being situated on top of a hill. However Schwanthaler has sought to take advantage of this fact in his posing of Arminius and Varus. Both stand in a posture that implies they are standing, or attempting to stand, over others, and the effect of the observer being below is that their impression of Arminius' power, and Varus' pride, is only increased.

A great advantage of Klenze's medium is its monumentality, which can be used to great effect given the setting. The Walhalla monument, being situated on a hillside overlooking the Danube and with a wide ascent of steps, lends the subject a natural grandeur by the context in which it is set. The events of Arminius' struggle can be appreciated within the grand landscape in which they are supposed to be set. A further advantage beyond this also involves the nature of the monument itself. The pedimental sculptures are in a sense the crowning glory of a Doric temple, such as the Walhalla is, and inevitably what is in the pediments has a commanding position over everything else that is in the temple. Hence Schwanthaler's group are automatically lent a special significance in relation to what is commemorated in the rest of the temple simply by their being placed in the pediment.

Schwanthaler's use of time in this sculptural group is in many ways novel for the medium of pedimental sculpture, and indicates that his presentation of the Battle of the Teutoburger Forest is not as simple as many of the other portrayals of the battle that we encounter in the nineteenth century. For example the presence of the bard in the group is evidently not meant to be contemporary with the scene of battle that dominates the composition. The bard figure is evidently either foretelling the victory of Arminius through some divine inspiration, or is relating the tale of his deeds subsequently. Yet this is juxtaposed with the main action of the battle itself. The observer is expected to make some mental detachment between these two events, which in itself lends the scene a more symbolic value in the observer's eye. As all of the other sculptures in the temple depicting great heroes of German culture in its various manifestations, these sculptures are primarily a valorisation of the figure of Arminius himself, and everything in the pediment has to be seen in relation to this.

In this way the presence of the bard serves to lend the scene an epic or legendary quality, as we are reminded that Arminius' deeds are of this quality, and his presence serves this end alone. As a result it does not matter that he is situated directly next to the scene of battle; his primary function is in relation to Arminius, as every

other figure in the scene is. In like fashion it does not matter that Varus appears posed more as if declaiming in the forum than on the battlefield, because his only function is to represent the vain but feeble pride of Rome, the more to heroise Arminius by contrast. Nor does it matter that Arminius seems unrealistically posed considering the fact that a Roman soldier is bearing down upon him with his sword; the only purpose of the Roman soldier's presence is to show Arminius' courage. This is not a realistic representation of a battle, it is rather an assembly of symbols representing the virtues of Arminius (and by extension, Germany).

Above all the key point to bear in mind in looking at this sculptural scheme, as any other pedimental group of a Greek temple, is architectural context. We must remember at what height these sculptures would have been seen, and their relation to the principle parts of the temple. They were not intended to be seen in close proximity - hence the highly stylised nature of the figures in contrast to those generally found in painting - nor do they intend to relay a simple battle narrative. Like the other pediment of this temple, which depicts an allegory of 'Germania', it is intended as both an abstract representation of the 'German' values that the temple as a whole valorises and as a summary of the rest of the content of the temple.

The Walhalla

We should start with a brief discussion of the Walhalla monument itself, as the context in which we find the sculptures that we are looking at here. Buttlar described the monument as 'das sicher noch heute eindrucksvollste deutsche Nationaldenkmal des 19. Jahrhunderts'.[256] In his volume on the monument Traeger describes the temple as the most important of all German national monuments,[257] Bergdoll as 'the swansong of that Germanic dream of rivalling the ancients', and Hallmann as 'eine Bankrotterklärung des 19. Jahrhunderts'.[258] What can we say about a monument whose reception has excited such responses?

The Walhalla monument was first begun in 1830, and was finished in 1842. The brainchild of the architect Leo von Klenze, it was a commission for the Bavarian

256 Buttlar (1999: 159).

257 Traeger (1979: 13).

258 Dolgner (1992: 605).

king of the time Ludwig I. The latter did much to patronise the arts in his kingdom during his lifetime, and this was one of his major projects, alongside the Glyptothek in Munich and other monuments. Sited in the countryside near Ratisborn on a hill overlooking the Danube, it is a great classical Doric temple, approached by a great set of steps leading up from the banks of the river. The aim of the monument was to celebrate the heroes of recent and more ancient German history, and the name is a clear indication of the Nordic context in which this was set. In short, the monument is a hectic collection of eulogies of everyone from ancient heroes to composers, all gathered in a great Greek temple. There is no question that this is nationalist art on a monumental scale.

The north pediment of the monument depicts the victory of Arminius over Varus, while the south pediment, over the entrance to the temple, and facing the Danube, is an allegorical depiction of Germania and Germany's 1814 liberation from Napoleonic rule. The monument must be seen in the historical context of this victory in the not so distant past, and of the only recently recovered German independence. This informs the entire approach of the monument, its eulogies of its heroes and its allegorical representations, the views of its patron, its architect Leo von Klenze, and its artists, among whom Ludwig von Schwanthaler, the sculptor of the group that we are looking at in this chapter. The first stone of the building was very deliberately laid on the 18th of October in 1830, the anniversary of the Leipzig *Völkerschlacht*, conventionally seen at the time as the defining moment when Germany collectively rose up and cast off the Napoleonic French occupation.[259]

Klenze, after initially favouring the idea of a round temple, eventually settled for a Doric Greek temple for his Walhalla. Inside the monument there are portrait busts of an array of characters from German history. As Hederer summarises: 'All diese Fürstenhäuser sind umgeben von den größten Männern, die mit ihnen für Glauben und Wahrheit, für Ruhm und Freiheit, für Wissenschaft und Kunst gelebt, gekämpft, gestorben... Feldherren, von dem Cherusker Hermann, der die Römer - bis auf Schwarzenberg und Blücher, die heute vor siebzehn Jahren das französische Kaisertum besiegten-; Glaubensmänner, wie Nikolaus von der Flüe und Thomas von Kempis-; Weise, wie Leibniz und Haller-; Deutschlands erste Dichter von dem Verfasser des gewaltigen Niebelungenliedes bis auf Schiller (möge Goethe noch lange

259 Dunkel (2002: 257).

in der Halle der Erwartung verweilen) - die Heroen der deutschen bildenden Kunst, der unser König neues Leben eingehaucht, von den ältesten Meistern bis auf Mengs - endlich die erhabenen Dioskuren der deutschen Tonkunst Gluck und Mozart.'[260] This is a work highly ambitious in its scope, both in terms of the range of what it tries to include in its subject matter, but also in terms of the range of artistic ideals it tries to embody. It will be argued here that the ultimate effect of this is discordant, and says much about the incoherent nature of German nationalism at this stage in its development.

We might take as a starting point Mittig and Plagemann's definition of the public monument: 'Ein in der Öffentlichkeit errichtetes und für die Dauer bestimmtes Werk verstanden, das an Personen oder Ereignisse erinnern und das dieser Erinnerung einen Ansprach seiner Urheber, eine Lehre oder einen Appell an die Gesellschaft ableiten und historisch begründen soll.'[261] If we are to determine the purpose of this monument and how it aimed to shape the society in which it was constructed, we should begin with the question of what its creator was trying to achieve. We shall later explore at greater length what may have influenced the approach Klenze took, but we should begin with asking what this was.

Ludwig's idea was certainly a clear one, namely to heroise German figures past and present, as a means of setting a clear example to posterity for emulation. In particular, the need to resist foreign, above all French, aggression, and to couple this with pride in one's own culture. Ludwig's views on this were amply clear from his great financial investment in the public art and artists of Munich, and Klenze did not shy away from the task of representing Ludwig's views. In choosing the form of a classical Greek temple he adopted for his medium as clear as possible a statement of establishment authority and power.

There is the obvious question of why a Greek temple for German heroes. Klenze's monument must of course be seen within the context of the contemporary German intellectual and artistic fascination with ancient Greece. Nonetheless this is a question that was posed at the time and has been many times since, but this must be seen in the context of a prevailing intellectual and artistic climate at the time in Germany which increasingly viewed ancient Greek (rather than Roman) cultural

260 Hederer (1981: 308).

261 Mittig, Plagemann (1972: 278).

achievements as a prefigurement of contemporary German glories.[262] From the point of view of Klenze the Greek temple is a symbol of perfection and of authority, the only correct way to present Ludwig's didactic scheme for the valorisation of German heroes.

Klenze intended this to be as visible as possible, hence his siting of it by a river. Yet by the same token it could not have been placed in Munich itself or another city, as this would have decreased its impact and lost that essential connection with the landscape, which is evidently so crucial to what Klenze is trying to achieve. He seeks to stress the essential connection between German heroes and the landscape in which the temple is set. We see in many portrayals of Arminius the importance artists attached to the German landscape itself, normally the primeval woodlands, which are the setting for and, by extension, cause of the great deeds attributed to the hero. Klenze aims for the same here for the *Hermannsschlacht* and for the *Freiheitskrieg*, but rather than representing the landscape directly in his work as some other artists do, he instead has the advantage (as Bandel) of being able to set his work in that landscape itself and thereby to establish this crucial connection.

The Walhalla is therefore intended to both stand out from, but also be seen as an inextricable part of, the German landscape. The extent to which he achieves this is of course open to debate, but it is certainly what he aimed to achieve. Both king and architect were moreover absolutely convinced of the suitability of a classical style for the monument. As Ettlinger comments, Klenze and the king, 'fanden nur diesen klassischen Stil ihren hohen Absichten gemäß.'[263] There is the sense that this was not a matter of choice and that there could not even be the consideration of any alternative style for the building. Klenze's inspirations for the monument were clearly many and various, but it appears that his favour finally fell on an adapted version of a slightly earlier design by Haller von Hallerstein,[264] which emulated the Parthenon, something readily evident from the final design of the Walhalla.

---

262 See further on this subject Marchand (1996).

263 Ettlinger (1962: 283).

264 Amongst the potential forerunners of the Walhalla Ettlinger notes the various designs for monuments to Frederick the Great and other monuments dedicated to the *Freiheitskrieger*. In his review of Traeger, Hartwig (1982: 718) also points to the tradition of monuments dedicated to the French revolution.

Ludwig von Schwanthaler

While Klenze was the creator of the Walhalla monument - and we will explore what may have influenced him in his approach at greater length below - the sculptures that we are looking at here were not his work. Rather they were the work of the Bavarian sculptor Ludwig von Schwanthaler (1802-1848). As Klenze he was a native of Bavaria, where he spent most of his life, and likewise undertook commissions for King Ludwig. We shall explore something of his style here, to help us understand the context in which he created his Arminius group for Klenze's Walhalla.

Though relatively little known today, especially not outside the context of Bavarian art, Rank refers to him as, 'sicherlich der bedeutendste süddeutsche Bildhauer des 19. Jahrhunderts'.[265] Unfortunately much of Schwanthaler's work was destroyed during the Second World War, including frescoes which he undertook for Ludwig's *Residenz* in Munich. There was also a museum of his work, containing two hundred of his original plaster casts, which was likewise destroyed during the war. However this is nonetheless an indicator of something of the local acclaim with which Schwanthaler met during his life, and of the relative favour that he found in the eyes of the king.

His most famous work is a colossal allegorical statue of 'Bavaria', very much in the same tradition as Bandel's 'Hermannsdenkmal'. Aside from this and the group we are looking at here the majority of his work consisted of sculptures of various famous figures. Even more so than Klenze then Schwanthaler was engaged on local and national sculptural projects with a heroising theme. Considering this his Arminius is very much in the same vein as much of his other work, other than the medium and the context of the work, which appears to be the only instance in which he worked on a pedimental sculptural group. It is clear that Schwanthaler achieved sufficient fame in Munich for his works to be closely associated with the king in the minds of the Munich art circle. Thus for example in Kreling's allegorical illustration, 'König Ludwig, dem Kunstbeschützer', we find Schwanthaler represented in the train of the king, together with others including Cornelius, Friedrich Gärtner and Klenze himself, carrying in his hand a model of his 'Bavaria' statue.[266]

What can we say about the typical style of Schwanthaler as a sculptor? Firstly

265 Rank (2002: 1).

his style was predominantly a classicizing one, but he also took an individual approach to his figures in favouring bold movement over staid compositions. As Rank comments: 'Schwanthaler hatte sich eine individuelle und unter den Bildhauern seiner Zeit einmalige Auffassung "klassizistischer" Skulptur zu eigen gemacht, die auf Strenge und Idealität der Form basierte und sich mit seiner tief und ehrlich empfundenen romantisch-patriotischen Gesinnung in einer spezifisch süddeutschmünchener Richtung vereinigte.'[267] His inclination to romantic and patriotic subjects was evidently something which governed his style, and this is clear in his approach to the Arminius group in the Walhalla. This is a romantic and patriotic context, and his representation of Arminius as an ideal of strength certainly chimes with Rank's analysis here.

We know in addition that a governing factor here may have been the influence of Bertel Thorvaldsen on the sculptor. Schwanthaler spent the years 1826-1827 and 1832-1834 as a student in Rome and during this time he was a close associate of the Danish sculptor. In Schwanthaler's preference for bold and titanic forms we can certainly see something of the influence of the latter's work. Above all Schwanthaler's key concern appears to have been with the underlying idea that informed a composition,[268] as we can for example see in his 'Bavaria' and its allegory. It is readily apparaent how the subject matter of Arminius or of *Germania rediviva* after 1814 would have appealed to his interests and inclinations, and it is presumably for these reasons that he was awarded the commission for the pedimental sculptures.

However despite the influence of Thorvaldsen his approach to sculpture is hardly revolutionary and still very much in the vein of the romantic classicism predominant in his time. As mentioned above it is the medium of the work that is distinctive here. What is more interesting about Schwanthaler for our interest is his being typical of an officially-sanctioned artist of the time, and the nationalist slant that this entailed.

Schwanthaler's subjects are almost exclusively nationalist in their preoccupation, whether on behalf of Bavaria or on behalf of a broader notion of Germany. The fact that, given this, Schwanthaler could have achieved relative fame is

266 A. Kreling, 'König Ludwig, dem Kunstbeschützer', watercolour from the King Ludwig Album, 1850 (Staatl. Graph. Sammlung, Munich). See further Leinz (1981: 424).

267 Rank (2002: 4).

268 See further: Rank (2002: 7).

a clear indication of the nature of patronage in Ludwig's Munich. His art has not achieved lasting fame, yet was sufficient at the time to guarantee him a certain amount of renown. This is an indication of to how great an extent the king was the dominant force of patronage in the art of Munich at the time. Perhaps more than any other king in Germany in the nineteenth century he was directly involved in, and dominated, the direction of art in Munich during his reign. The only comparable figure we encounter in this project is Prince Albert, but his influence on the arts in imperial Britain cannot be said to be in anyway as dictatorial as that of Ludwig in Munich was. We will explore further the extent to which Klenze and Schwanthaler's work for the Walhalla was in line with the wishes of Ludwig, but it should be noted here that it may have been Schwanthaler's lack of any originality, rather than any novelty or merit in his work, which led to his engagement on this work. The Walhalla is above all a carefully planned and prescribed work, as much of the other public monumental art of the Munich of the time, and the space for any originality in the project would have been limited. This is not at all to imply that Schwanthaler was not an independent thinker and artist, only that the remit for individuality in the Walhalla in particular would have been very narrow.

Finally in relation to Schwanthaler it is worth noting that some of his correspondence survives and that this gives some indication of his personality and of his national feeling. We will not enter into any detailed discussion of this, but one of his letters as a young man is insightful for what it reveals about him. In this letter from the end of the 1830s, Schwanthaler describes the restorative power of a dream about a trip to the forest that he had. His description of his waking from this dream, and of his love for his native landscape of the forest, and the effect of this on him, is very much typical of the romanticism of the time in which he lived. He speaks of the 'frischen teutschen Herbstmorgens' of the forest, and of his inclination to the woodlands after the dream, something he articulates in terms of his religion: 'Von Wald und Moos schlich nun seit langer Zeit wieder zum ersten Male mein Geist zu den lieben alten Heiligen der Jagd und zu St. Georgen.'[269] In its description of the stillness of the forest, of the morning, the connection that is made with Christianity, and the use of the archaism 'teutschen', Schwanthaler's description of his dream is

269 Cited by Rank (2002: 176-177): 'Der Text von Ludwig von Schwanthaler wurde vermutlich Mitte/Ende der 1830er Jahr geschrieben, Angaben in eckigen Klammern sind Angaben der Verfasserin, Fehlstellen sind durch - kenntlich gemacht, Research Library, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, (890065)'.

very much reminiscent of Friedrich's writings. As in his case, we should bear in mind this romantic nationalist background in trying to understand Schwanthaler's approach to portraying the Arminius theme.

Arminius, Greece and Klenze's world view

In looking at the Arminius sculptural group we cannot contextualize this alone by examining its sculptor's style and interests, but we must also consider in more depth the views and philosophies of the man whose creation the Walhalla was. We have touched upon Klenze's ideas for the Walhalla above, however these merit further exploration as necessary background to our understanding of the Schwanthaler sculptures, since it will be seen that it is Klenze's at times idiosyncratic ideas that inform much of the design and underlying philosophy of the monument.

First of all it is worth recognising, if this is not in itself sufficiently apparent from the Walhalla itself, that Klenze was a firm adherent of classical architecture and of classical style more broadly, and was not interested, as some of his contemporaries, in trying to forge a new direction in architectural design in his time. This is of course not to imply that there is nothing unusual about the Walhalla in its time; it is after all a great Doric temple in the middle of the Bavarian countryside. But in Klenze's adherence to a classical style in the Walhalla and in his other works, he is not revolutionary. Klenze had been a student of David Gilly and Alois Hirt in Berlin, and it is likely that this was the source of his attachment to the classical style.[270]

We also know that he made a journey to Italy as a student, a visit which included the temple at Paestum. He later made a longer journey to Greece at the request of King Ludwig (discussed below). In short this combination of factors seems to have led to an adamant belief in the objective validity of classical art, as the greatest of all possible architectural and artistic forms of expression. As Klenze put it: 'Es gab und gibt nur Eine Baukunst und wird nur Eine Baukunst geben, nämlich diejenige, welche in der griechischen Geschichts- und Bildungsepoche ihre Vollendung erhielt.'[271] In addition Klenze hated the Nazarenes and their attempts to

270 Forssman (2001: 54).

271 Cited by Forssman (2001: 56). Forssman also discusses the interesting proposition that Klenze may have drawn directly on Vitruvius for his Concert Hall in the Munich *Odeon*, though this claim is difficult to prove.

emulate medieval pre-Renaissance religious art, something which was clearly at odds with his belief in the absolute supremacy of classical form.[272] It is clear then that for Klenze classical art was not a matter of choice; it was the only true art that existed at all.[273]

This is naturally then the explanation for why Klenze chose the form of a classical temple for a monument dedicated to German heroes, a fact remarked upon by many of his contemporaries as being odd.[274] An important contributing factor was also that Ludwig would not have wished for anything else, even if for Klenze anyway there was no choice. The only proper expression of any grand monument, whether to German heroes or other, was a classical temple. Ludwig clearly intended the monument to fit with his broader architectural schemes for Munich, all of which were rendered in a classical style. The Bavarian *Ruhmeshalle* was intended by Ludwig as early as 1809, when he was still Crown Prince, to be an accompaniment to the Walhalla when it was built.[275] Klenze also worked outside Munich, being engaged for example on the New Hermitage in St. Petersburg, and here as in his work for Ludwig we can see his architectural preferences.[276] However Ludwig's own preferences evidently played a major part, and here it seems to have been a matter of mutual conviction that the right form for the Walhalla was as a classical temple.

However in the case of the Walhalla there were other factors beyond Klenze's belief in the supremacy of classical art which governed his choice and affected the style and conception of the temple as a whole. In order to better understand the motivations governing the choices Klenze made about the design of the monument, we need a better understanding of what informed the architect's historical views. An important text in gleaning something of this is his record of the journey he made to Greece in 1834 at the request of King Ludwig, who wanted Klenze to advise his son, King Otto of Greece, in the rebuilding of Athens and of his palace.

The circumstances of the trip and the role in which Klenze was being placed are themselves interesting. In his diary Klenze speaks of his elation at having finally

272 Nerdinger (2002: 65).

273 Buttlar (1985).

274 Hartwig (1982: 717).

275 Buttlar (1985: 13).

276 Forssman (2001: 57).

arrived on the soil of Greece, the source of his inspiration for so many years. As he comments on reflecting upon the significance of the opportunity for him: 'Was hätte ich wohl einer Sibylle geantwortet, welche mir vor dreißig Jahren, als ich in jugendlichem Enthusiasmus den Grund zu meiner Erkenntnis griechischer Geschichte und Kunst zu legen suchte, vorausgesagt hätte, ich werde dereinst mit berufen werden im befreiten Hellas Vorschläge zu dem Wiederaufbau Athens für einen griechischen König aus teutschem Fürstenstamme zu machen?'[277] The idea of making the journey to Greece was evidently in itself something of great moment to Klenze, but the idea of being sent to help contribute to the physical creation of the new Greek state appears to have only enhanced his pleasure in going.

Yet in travelling to Greece in the official capacity of architect and diplomat, on behalf of Ludwig and the Greek king, we nonetheless glean much interesting information about Klenze's views from his 'aphoristic' reflections during his journey. First and foremost amongst these are what we have already mentioned, his joy at visiting the land about which he had read so much in his youth. Beyond this however there is the inevitable need to square the reality of what he finds with the imaginative legacy of the ancient Greek world he had been left with in reading its literature, as so many of those that made the Grand Tour of the Mediterranean in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had.

First there is the fact of the political realities; that Greece is newly independent, but still very much under the tutelage of the European powers, not the grand and independent civilisation of the ancient world. It is a German king that sits on the throne and, as the frigate in which the delegation is borne, the coasts are under the control of the British. Not without a note of regret over this British domination of the Greek islands and coast, Klenze nonetheless acknowledges the hospitality of those British consuls and governors that his party encountered, and concedes that: 'Sie haben hier, wie überall, als ein vielgeübtes und politisch durchgebildetes Volk, sogleich erkannt, worauf es ankam.'[278] Klenze appears to reflect upon the idea of imperialism and admits that, while true Greek autonomy along the lines of its ancient embodiment would be the ideal, British military domination is better than its implied alternative, Turkish control. It was after all ostensibly against the tyrannies of the

277 Klenze (1838: 20).

278 Klenze (1838: 16).

latter that the European powers had supported Greece in its struggle for independence.

Yet despite this, in his diary of his journey we see Klenze's idealistic attempt to make the modern realities fit the Homeric legends, ultimately meeting with an embittered disappointment. In this way on arriving in Corfu he searches, very much in vain, for a modern Nausicaa amongst the English aristocracy and notables that he finds taking their leisure there. Amongst the 'zierliche Engländern in Wiskys und Tilburys mit langhalsigen englischen Modepferden bespannt, englische Dandys neben ihnen hertrabend, und eingeborne Herren und Frauen', he searches for one, 'schönen Nausikaa gleich, aus holder Schaam nicht wagen würde ihrer nahen Hochzeit zu erwähnen - und vom Anblicke eines verunglückten nackten Helden überrascht, den von Homer so schön beschriebenen Sieg eines reinen Herzens über jungfräuliche Schaam wie die schöne Königstochter errungen hätte.'[279] Klenze soon finds himself to have been overly optimistic, and somewhat bitterly offers a reflection, in resignation: 'Doch andere Zeiten, andere Sitten; und trotz dem Mangel alles Homerischen muss man den Engländern volle Anerkennung für ihr Wirken und ihre kluge Herrschaft auf den griechischen Inseln zollen.'[280] Not without a level of self-awareness of his wishful thinking, Klenze nonetheless very much wishes to find in modern Greece the land of classical heroes and heroines that his reading of Homer (whom he quotes extensively in his text) had led him to expect. Klenze's record of his journey to Greece is replete with further examples of his high expectations and the reality he finds, including in relation to the work for which he was sent. Yet the key point which emerges is Klenze's idealism. In common with the majority of nationalist artists in the nineteenth century, behind his thought and work there is ever present the search, perennially frustrated, for the ideal world which his art aspires to reflect.

Klenze's experiences in Greece, his other study and travels, greatly helped shape the final form in which we see the Walhalla today, and colour the manner in which we find the Arminius theme represented in it. However there is an additional crucial aspect of Klenze's thought that we must not leave unexamined here, for it provides an important link between his dedication to classical form and the nationalism that pervades the entire monument. This is the theory of a 'Pelasgian' migration.

279 Klenze (1838: 15-16).

280 Klenze (1838: 16).

The scheme of the Walhalla idealises the Doric form, and seeks to represent a historical progression from a Pelasgian polygonal base, through the Egyptian and Near Eastern-inspired middle level of the structure, to the Doric upper registers of the temple. Several authors have highlighted the theory as an important current that runs through much of the iconography of the Walhalla, explaining for example elements such as the Persian acroteria (ancient Persians also being encompassed by the theory), and the very choice of a Doric temple itself. In his book on Klenze Buttlar for example argues that the theory was absolutely central to the entire mythological and historical scheme of the monument: 'Das Vaterlandsverständnis wurde damit in eine kosmopolitische Perspektive gerückt, die übrigens auch Klenzes Abneigung gegen jede Deutschtümelei entsprach. Der Fries beginnt an der Eingangswand mit dem Aufbruch der Indogermanen vom Kaukasus und erreicht mit der Christianisierungsszene seinen Höhepunkt.'[281] This migration and historical drive is in turn linked ultimately to the resistance against French oppression which is the principal subject of commemoration in the Walhalla.

Other authors have pointed to the importance of the location of the monument within this ethnic and historical scheme. According to this argument the theory saw the Danube, by which the monument stands, as the point at which the northward-migrating peoples ended their wanderings. Traeger has examined the significance of the location of the monument for Klenze. Dolgner summarises his findings in her review of his work: 'Damit ist die Verbindung von Morgenland und Abendland hergestellt und gemäß der "Kaukasus-Theorie" der Bogen zwischen der Walhalla und der Wiege der Menschheit in Zentralasien geschlossen.'[282] Traeger's argument is based upon a text of Klenze's from 1821,[283] and has generally been accepted. The theory does indeed seem to have been a major foundation underpinning Klenze's world view and conception of history.

The Pelasgian theory is very much present in the Walhalla and its artistic and historical schemes, yet it should not be seen as something idiosyncratic to Klenze. Many historians, philosophers and philologists in nineteenth-century Germany sought to connect the achievements of ancient Greece (rather than Rome) with modern

281 Buttlar (1999: 160).

282 Dolgner (1992: 602).

283 Klenze (1821).

Germany, and this was sometimes attempted by means of genealogy. Despite this however, the easy mistake should not be made of assuming that the work of these thinkers was a simple search for historical origins. Often the concern was more with creating a mythological past for the present, rather than to demystify an imperfectly-understood past, and Klenze and Schwanthaler are both to a certain degree subject to this process too. Something of this motivation is evident in Howitt's reflections on Schwanthaler's pediment in his studio a few years after his death. She comments of the world in which Arminius inhabited that: 'We stand in the very heart of the old German world, - are transported to those mighty forests inhabited by a Titanic race and by fabulous dragons. We are among beings of an elder world, large of limb, and of perfect proportions. They have had space and time to develop themselves in those primeval forests. They are not savages; it is not mere physical strength and beauty that they possess. They are endowed with a strange intellectual beauty and power that make the gazer breathless.'[284] Howitt's views here come across as somewhat fantastical to the modern reader, and may seem a whimsical contrast to the seriousness of Klenze's project, but in substance there is very little difference between Howitt's ideas here and Klenze's use of the Pelasgian theory. Klenze applies the theory to link the titanic achievements of the ancient Greeks, and the legendary Arminius, with the titanic achievements of Ludwig's contemporary Bavaria, and this has as much to do with creating myth as it does to do with historical enquiry.

Klenze's narrower application of his theory in the case of the Walhalla is also of course a simple justification of his choice of a classical temple for German heroes. If ancient Greeks and modern Germans are both Pelasgians then there is no disjuncture after all. Klose argues that such thinking plays a broader role in Klenze's work: 'Doch ist diese Rassentheorie Klenzes nicht nur auf die Walhalla zu beziehen, sondern spiegelt allgemein Klenzes Klassikverständnis wider. Dahinter manifestiert sich die Absicht, die Anwendung der griechischen Baukunst in seiner Zeit über den Rasseansatz auch 'national' zu legitimieren.'[285] However the most important point for our purposes is simply to note that in Klenze's world view there would not have been anything unusual about Arminius being portrayed in a classical pediment. In a sense this is the appropriation of classical form for German subject matter and the attempt to

284 Howitt (1853: 108).

285 Klose (1999: 169).

imply a betterment of the achievements of the classical world, just as Arminius himself in his true heroism outdoes the trumpeted glories of his Roman enemies.

As a final point in considering the context of the Arminius group, it should be noted that in this process of 'nationalising' Greek art, archaeology was another important tool. Dolgner describes the Walhalla as 'praktizierte Archäologie',[286] and there were four essays published at the time of the monument's erection, later compiled into a single volume, providing the research to support the architectural features of the monument. Klenze was clearly very concerned with archaeological correctness and appears to have gone to great lengths to ensure this. This is yet another sign of his fervent belief in the merits of classical style, of the virtue of the civilisation that invented it, and for this reason its applicability to the German heroes of later history. The background archaeological research appears to have been a further important element in his professed aim, 'etwas Tiefes, Ernstes und Nationelles für Kunst und namentlich Architektur zu wirken'.[287]

Ludwig I and Arminius

Having considered the Walhalla and its architect's ideas for the monument in greater depth, in this final section we will look more broadly at the ideas of the monument's royal patron, and consider the ways in which the figure of Arminius might have appealed to him.

It is well known that Ludwig I was one of the greatest patrons of art in Germany in the nineteenth century. A fact less often brought up in this context however is that he was also a very autocratic ruler. At least part of the purpose of his programme of beautifying his capital and of cultivating a circle of Bavarian artists, was justifying his own rule. However this did not stop him declaring that: 'Ich, ich der König, bin die Kunst von München'.[288] Nonetheless as an authoritarian ruler his consciousness of the need to justify his rule would arguably have been greater than that of other rulers, and art was a neutral medium in which he could seek to win and preserve his people's support. Primarily then much of the art he sponsored has an

286 Dolgner (1992: 602).

287 Cited by Buttlar (2000: 74).

288 Nerdinger (2002: 66).

underlying message of cooperation and favours allegories of good kingship.[289] In this context we can see why the model of the noble proto-Germanic leader Arminius, fighting on behalf of his people against corrupt Roman rule, might have appealed to the king.

As part of this justification of his rule and that of his royal line which, as we have seen above, could extend beyond Bavaria, Ludwig was certainly keen to associate himself with ancient and historical Germanic figures, kings and famous men. As Leinz points out in his article on Ludwig's use of the gothic style in his public art: 'Bereits zu Beginn wurden authentische Porträts gesucht von Wolfram von Eschenbach, von mehreren Ostgotenkönigen, von Erwin von Steinbach, von Karl dem Großen, von dem in Speyer beigesetzten Rudolf von Habsburg, von Dürer, van Eyck u. a.'[290] This was a process that was extended in the Walhalla with its celebration of Germanic heroes, from Arminius onwards. The message is very clearly that the contemporary monarch sits within this patriotic tradition, and is to be commemorated likewise after his death.

As is often the case with grand ideological statements such as the Walhalla, the intensity of effort to prove the point belies an effort to compensate for something. And in this case there was a very real need for Ludwig to prove his nationalist credentials, at home and abroad, given his proximity to Napoleon during the Franco-German conflict. In his catalogue entry on the Walhalla in his volume on Klenze Nerdinger comments of this: 'Später sollte Ludwig, der als Verbündeter Napoleons in Berlin eingezogen war, das eigene Leiden in den "Tage[n] von Teutschlands tieffster Schmach" als die eigentliche Motivation für die Ruhmeshalle darstellen. Damit bog er seine Biographie ganz auf die gerade Linie eines konsequenten Verfechters der Nationalstaatsidee hin.'[291] There is a definite effort at reinterpretation of history here to ensure that Ludwig's role appeared on the side of the liberators and not on that of the enemy. This would certainly explain in part much of the exaggerated effort of the Walhalla to prove the nationalist views it espouses.

Indeed for all its theory and complexity this monument is ultimately about one thing, German unity. While the many sculptures and busts of the temple valorise

289 As Dolgner (1992: 603) puts it: 'Als Autokrat hoffte er, durch seine Kunstunternehmungen Anhänglichkeit und Dankbarkeit zu stiften, das Band zwischen König und Volk enger zu knüpfen.'

290 Leinz (1981: 401).

291 Nerdinger (2000: 250).

German heroes of all ages and the virtues that they represent, Schwanthaler's sculptures in the two pediments betray the main overarching idea under which all of the rest of the monument (literally) sits. The figure of Germania in the south pediment of course represents Germany as a whole, rather than in its fragmented state under French occupation (something which Ludwig would not have wished to be seen to have had any part in). The north pediment is a complement to this, but Arminius essentially represents the same concept, a unified Germany, in his case of the various allied ancient German tribes. This is essentially equivalent to the contemporary alliance of German states against the French, with the south pediment's Germania being a representation of the reunified Germany, 'welcher die verlornen Provinzen nach der Katastrophe von 1813 und 1814 durch die Repräsentanten der vereinten Kriegsheere wieder zugeführt werden.'[292]

Yet given that the Walhalla monument is as nationalist as it is, we inevitably return to the question we always face in the case of nationalist monuments in a pre-national Germany: does this monument aim at German unification? This can of course be argued both ways. Pohlsander, for example, argues that the monument does not have this as its aim: 'The two themes make it abundantly clear that this is a German, not a Bavarian monument […]. It can be observed elsewhere, thus, for instance, in Kleist's drama *Hermannsschlacht*. Ludwig believed the German Confederation to be sufficient as an instrument of German unity. He did not desire the restoration of the former Reich, only a fatherland united in spirit.'[293] Many of the other authors cited here would argue the opposite; that the monument eagerly anticipates a German national unification. Ultimately our view depends upon what we consider Ludwig might have thought compatible or incompatible with his designs for Bavaria, and is perhaps not crucial to our understanding of the ideals that the monument embodies and how it uses the Arminius theme, which at this stage of the nineteenth century seems to have been connected more closely with rejection of foreign oppression than of any sense of German statehood per se.

The Walhalla is a complex assembly of nationalist symbolism and, at times, apparently confused ideological systems. We have looked here at the Arminius sculptures in the context of the monument as a whole and its architect's views, as well

292 Hederer (1981: 311).

293 Pohlsander (2008: 135).

as the motivations of its patron and the style of its actual sculptor. It is hard to make any steadfast claims about the ends to which Ludwig sought to employ the Arminius theme. However what is clear is that Ludwig sought to use art to reinforce his rule and that the Arminius of the Walhalla monument would have been a useful part of his attempt to link himself with Germanic prefigurements of the ideal king. Moreover, considering art as a means for him to communicate with the Bavarian people, it may also have been a way for him to convey social or didactic messages to his people, by linking himself with notions of an ancient and ideal Germanic society, such as Arminius has at times been used to represent.[294] The Walhalla and its Arminius is principally about establishing a 'nationale Urgeschichte'[295] to justify the present-day rule of Ludwig I.

294 Cf. Dolgner (1992: 604); Ettlinger (1962: 283).

295 Nerdinger (2000: 249).

Joseph Bergler

Hermann nach der Schlacht im Teutoburger Wald

In this chapter we discuss an 1809 painting by the Austrian neoclassical artist Joseph Bergler (1753-1829), the first Director of the Prague Academy of Arts (*Figure 8*).[296] The painting stemmed from a contract of 1803 between the artist and the Czech 'Patriotic Society of the Arts', which governed the terms of the artist's tenure as Director, though the choice of subject was the artist's own.[297] In addition to the painting itself a sketch, compositionally very similar, survives,[298] a further drawing with a different composition, showing Hermann standing before his troops taking up his arms before battle,[299] as well as some studies of heads of ancient Germans executed by a copyist of Bergler's works.[300]

In the painting we see Arminius seated beneath some trees, his wife sat by his side, receiving the standards of the defeated Roman legions from his soldiers. Arminius wears a long red cloak fastened with a black belt, and turns to his right at the approach of the soldier who hands him the Roman standard. He rests his right arm by his side and in his left holds a short spear. His face is shown in profile and he is given an ideal neoclassical type. He has long blond hair and a blond beard. His red costume distinguishes him from all of his soldiers around him, and in addition, unlike them, his body is completely covered. Thus distinguished as king, he seems more like a Roman general than a barbarian, while his soldiers don animal skins.

Before him to his right two soldiers present him with the Roman standard, which is topped with a golden eagle. They bend before him in obeisance, and likewise

296 J. Bergler, 'Hermann nach der Schlacht im Teutoburger Wald', oil-on-canvas, 241 x 304 cm, 1809 (Convent of St. Agnes of Bohemia, National Gallery, Prague).

297 Vlnas (2002: 26): 'Roku 1803 se Josef Bergler zavázal, že pro Obrazárnu Společností vlasteneckých přátel umění vytvoří reprezentativní obraz, námet kterého si sám určí.' ('In 1803 Joseph Bergler committed to work on a picture for the gallery of the Patriotic Society of the Arts, the subject of which he would determine himself.').

298 J. Bergler, 'Hermann nach der Schlacht in Teutoburger Wald', white and sepia pen drawing, 43.8 x 57.2 cm, 1800 (Prague Academy of Arts, Prague).

299 J. Bergler, 'Hermann vor der Schlacht im Teutoburger Wald', white and ink wash, 36.5 x 49.6 cm, 1801-1802 (National Gallery, Prague).

300 Anon. after J. Bergler, 'Germanen und Deutsche II', etching, 20.5 x 23 cm, c.1805, (National Gallery, Prague).

tilt the Roman standard down, symbolising the legions' defeat by Arminius. The nearer of the two soldiers wears a fur, his arms bare, and has his mouth open as if speaking to his leader and commending the standard to him. His right fist is clenched and his sword is slung across his arm, the black hilt of which Bergler has highlighted with a touch of white paint. The battle is clearly only recently won, despite Arminius' composed and kempt appearance. The farther soldier wears an animal skin over his head and, together with the nearer soldier, grips the standard in his hands. He too looks at Arminius in adulation, and the observer's attention is drawn to him too.

Before their feet we can see many more symbols of the Roman military and of Roman power. Another eagle-topped standard is stretched across the ground, and we can see a standard beneath displaying the golden hand in a laurel wreath. These are accompanied by a set of *fasces*, the rods and axes symbolising Roman *imperium*, as well as other short swords and weaponry taken from the defeated Roman enemy. The butt of Arminius' spear rests on a Roman shield, perhaps that which belonged to the defeated Varus. The message is clear: under Arminius' leadership the Germans have made a mockery of vaunted Roman power.

By Arminius' side and to his right we see his wife. Pale-skinned and dressed all in blue, in contrast to his red and the soldiers' dark green, she clings affectionately to his cloak and arms, over which she peers at the Roman standard that the German troops are presenting to her husband. She tilts her head down slightly as she examines what appears to be a curiosity to her. Unusually her hair is shown as black, in contrast to her husband's blond hair, which helps to make her stand out beside her husband. Her dress appears to be more of contemporary early nineteenth-century fashion than that of first-century Germany, and her hair is tied in a modern style. As Arminius appears more a Roman general than a tribal leader, she appears more a sophisticated Roman lady than a tribal princess. In this way Bergler shows the ancient Germans as ultimately civilised.

However he expresses their primitiveness, reminding the observer that he is actually depicting the ancient Cherusci, through the way in which he portrays the soldiers. These cluster all around the central pair, and in addition to the two which lean towards Arminius to present the standard, the central group is flanked on either side by further German soldiers. At the far left of the painting a German soldier, with a bear skin over his head, leans on his spear with his left hand and looks back over his left shoulder at Arminius as he is presented with the Roman standard by the other

soldiers. Though not completely shown we can see that he holds a very long shield in his left hand, which stretches from his shoulder down to the ground. On Arminius' other side, behind his wife, he is flanked by two further soldiers, similarly dressed to that on the far left. They too have animal skins over their heads, in this case most probably those of wolves. One figure stands facing the observer, in a green garment with his upper body naked. In his right hand before Arminius' wife he holds a spear, and he appears to guard her. He looks down at the standard as it is presented to Arminius. Another figure, facing away from the observer, is similarly attired and likewise looks down at the standard that is being presented to Arminius. His muscular upper arm is bared and from his belt a long sword hangs down in a sheath.

Together with the figure on the other side of the composition, the appearance of these figures reminds the observer that the subject is the ancient tribal Germans, which the appearance of Arminius and his wife would not otherwise have indicated. The impression is reinforced by other figures behind, who appear to bear objects of religious worship. One of these also wears a wolf skin over his head, and holds up a small wooden statue of an old man - presumably an ancient Germanic god (perhaps intended as 'Tuisto')[301] - while looking at another figure to his left, who carries a bright silver vessel in his hand. Behind these and Arminius, his head alone emerging from the darkness of the wood, we see a druidic figure. He has a large beard and wears a crown, probably of oak, on his head. He appears to be observing what the other two figures are doing, and it is likely that they will soon engage in some religious rite of thanksgiving for the German victory.

The foreground figures of the painting are highlighted with touches of white, while the background of the painting is largely dark. Above and behind the group of Germans we can see a dark canopy of trees above two trunks. In the distance behind the trees we can see a mountain and a stormy sky. A similar view can be seen to the top left of the painting behind the bear-skinned soldier that stands at the far left of the painting. Above his head, and above the heads of his counterparts on the right side of the painting, we can see spears against the sky and trees, a sign that the rest of the victorious German army is also present.

301 Tacitus relates that the ancient Germans worshipped a god named 'Tuisto' (Tacitus, *Germania* 2.2).

Analysis

What is most striking about this particular portrayal of the Teutoburg theme is the contrast between the manner in which Arminius and 'Thusnelda' are portrayed, and the way in which the rest of the German soldiery are shown. There is little to distinguish Bergler's Arminius from that of Kauffman's, in the sense that he is shown as the ideal neoclassical hero, in terms of his facial appearance, his dress and his regal pose. Likewise Thusnelda wears long blue silk robes, very much unlike many later portrayals of the wife of the Cheruscan chieftain. Her physical appearance is also highly unusual, with black hair and a more Latinate than Germanic physical appearance.

These in themselves are perhaps not out of the ordinary considering the date of this painting. It is perhaps the way in which the German soldiery are portrayed that is the more unusual of these two elements in the painting. Although some of the soldiers, in particular the soldier standing on the right of the painting beside Thusnelda, bear some of the hallmarks of classicism - in his case the posturing with the weight on one foot and the melancholy expression - the soldiers are otherwise much closer to the generic image of an ancient German tribesman used in the later nineteenth century. In particular the presence of the animals skins, those of bears and wolves (key animals in the iconography of northern barbarism), and their bearded gruff look, have more in common with the representations of the later nineteenth century.[302] As an earlier neoclassical painting, Kauffman's scheme lacks this latter element.

The implication of this may be that Bergler has begun to celebrate ancient German ancestors for their proximity to nature, as would many later nineteenth-century central European artists, rather than trying to portray them as equally civilised as the Romans through the medium of classical iconography. Bergler continues to do precisely this for Arminius himself and his wife, using this as a means to distinguish and draw attention to him as king, as well as for compositional reasons in order to lend him greater prominence as the centrepiece of the painting. There is an element here of the German humanist intellectual inheritance of finding in ancient Germans the same level of civilisation as in ancient Rome. Yet the different treatment of

302 We might compare Piloty's German captives for a standard portrayal in the later nineteenth century (see Piloty chapter below).

Arminius' soldiery means that the resulting contrast in the painting is awkward.

As in other paintings on the Arminius theme, setting is important. In using the natural setting of a dark, probably oak, wood, Bergler inherits the scheme of Kauffman, and to a lesser extent also Tischbein.[303] Nonetheless this remains an important element. Together with the costume of the German soldiers it is an indication of the proximity of the Germans to the natural landscape and to their natural environment, underlying which is the idea of autochthony. The woods are shown as dark, which has significance beyond its compositional importance of helping to highlight the figures in the foreground. The darkness of the German woods is emblematic of the ancient (but noble) ignorance and simplicity from which contemporary Germans have emerged as a result of humanism and the developments of subsequent centuries. The mountains in the farther background are a reminder of the rugged natural environment from which Arminius' people stem. Nonetheless this element again forms an uneasy contrast with the refined and sophisticated appearance of Arminius and his wife, and is a signal of the transition in the conventional iconography of the Teutoburg theme that was taking place in the central European art of the time.

A final and important element in the iconography of the scene is the druidic figure. Bergler takes after Kauffman and others that depict Arminius' victory in choosing to include this character. Here as in other paintings he is of course a signifier of the fact that this is ancient Germany, and of the pre-Christian religion of the Germans. However his particular portrayal in this painting is indicative of his significance more broadly in depictions of Arminius and of ancient Germany from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The observer sees only his head, crowned with leaves and emerging from the shade. His body is not visible, fading into the shadow beneath the trees. Indeed his head itself, with its crown of leaves, itself blends into the natural backdrop, of which he seems but another part, as the foliage, barks and mountain landscape behind. Bergler is encouraging the viewer to see this ancient religious figure as part of the German landscape. The implication is a simple one; fitting the autochthony of its practitioners, ancient German religion too was a product of the land from which it came. Bergler elaborates upon the observer's vague notions of ancient Germany and its inhabitants and romanticises these, a process which, like

303 J. H. Tischbein, 'Hermann und Thusnelda', oil-on-canvas, 68.3 x 84 cm, 1782 (Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt).

Berlger's portrayal of the soldiery, characterises Arminius as an ancient German despite his thoroughly modern appearance.

Joseph Bergler

Bergler was born in Salzburg in 1753, in what was at the time the Austro-Hungarian empire.[304] The son of a court sculptor to the bishopric of German Passau, he received his first training from his father, working as an altar painter.[305] Later, from 1776 to 1786 he studied at the Milan Academy, where he learnt drawing, painting and fresco. This was followed by a period of study in Rome, after which he returned to Passau and, like his father, worked for the bishops of Passau. However in 1800 he received an invitation from the Czech aristocratic art society, 'The Society of the Patriotic Friends of the Arts' ('*Společnost vlasteneckých přátel umění*'), to come to Prague to become the first director of the newly opened Prague Academy of Arts. Intending to spend a few years in the city, he ultimately remained there until his death in 1829, during which time he completed many neoclassical paintings on classical mythological and historical themes, collaborated with several Prague sculptors and was a formative influence in Czech graphic art in the nineteenth century.[306]

It was as part of his duties as director of the Prague Academy that Bergler undertook the painting that we are looking at in this chapter. As noted above the painting was stipulated under a contract between the society and the artist that was made at the inception of his tenure as director of the Prague Academy. This contract, originally involving the release of Bergler from the service of the bishop of Passau, Leopold Linhart von Thun-Hohenstein, and principally regulating the terms of his pay as director, was renewed in 1803 (though ultimately it was several more years before the painting was eventually finished). However the contract left the choice of theme

304 The volume of secondary literature on Bergler is very limited. There are only a few short studies on the artist, mainly in Czech, and a few in German.

305 Amongst the works of the artist's father (1718-1788, of the same name), Feulner (1929: 74) lists the figural sculptures of the facade and stables of the Passau *Residenz*, the grave monument of the Bishop of Rabatta and Lamberg in the cathedral, and other sculptural groups depicting Lazarus, Abraham and Hagar.

306 See further Blažícková-Horová (1998: 28). It should be noted that Bergler's repertoire was not limited to historical or mythological subject matter, as many of the engravings after his designs demonstrate. For Prahl (1995-1996: 58) he was 'ein ungewöhnlich sensibiler Beobachter der Alltagswirklichkeit'. Prahl also highlights the important point that to construct an absolute distinction between his Passau and Prague periods would be artificial.

and the medium of the painting to be supplied to the society to the artist's own choice.[307] As Kauffman before him, the choice of subject matter for his Arminius painting was Bergler's own.

In terms of his style as an artist, this can be classified without difficulty as very much in the neoclassical tradition. In his painting of Arminius, as in his other subjects, we can see the typical carefully posed compositions of neoclassical art. All of the figures in the composition are part of a balanced whole, with the German soldiery arranged to focus attention as far as possible upon the hero at the centre of the canvas. This is not to say that there was anything conventional about Bergler's choice of subjects - even within the remit of mythology many of these are unconventional choices, for example from Bohemian folklore - only that his style is conventionally neoclassical. In his case this was most likely accentuated by his being the son of a sculptor, by whom he was trained.

Rome was also a strong formative influence in the artist's development. As Masaryková comments of Bergler's studies in Rome and of his general artistic orientation: 'opětované zdůrazňování italského školení budoucího ředitele ukazuje jasně k tehdejšímu všeobecnému směrování k Římu jako k hlavnímu uměleckému centru i k severoitalské umělecké aktivitě, tj. k doznívajícím manýrismu, francouzsko-italskému klasicismu i praeromantismu.'[308] From the body of work that Bergler produced it is clear that at least in terms of style, as the majority of his artistic contemporaries, he was heavily influenced by the art schools of Italy and of northern Europe that taught their students after the same precepts.

In this broader context of artistic training and production it cannot be argued that Bergler was in any way especially influential. However within the context of the Prague Academy, as its founding director, he certainly was. He had many local followers and adherents and, as commented above, many engravers reproduced copies of his works, a process which was in itself influential, something examined by Roman Prahl in his volume of essays on this subject.[309] Bergler was also influential for the

307 Prahl (1995-1996: 59).

308 Masaryková (1979: 78). 'The repeated emphasis of the Italian school of the future director points clearly towards the widespread contemporary orientation towards Rome as the chief artistic centre of the time and towards north-Italian artistic activity, ie. to the fading mannerism, Franco-Italian classicism and proto-romanticism.'

309 Prahl (2007).

direction of history painting in Bohemia during the thirty years that he spent there in the first third of the nineteenth century, and his Arminius painting played a central role in this. As Prahl comments: 'Josef Bergler gebührt ein bedeutender Platz in der Entwicklungsgeschichte der tschechischen Historien- und Figuralmalerei - und das auch dank seinem "Hermann".'[310] Prahl describes his arrival in Prague as follows: 'podstatně přispěl k už probíhajícím zásadním proměnám tradičního přistupu k umělecké grafice'.[311] In many ways as a showpiece, Bergler's 'Arminius' imported many of the ideas of the neoclassical tradition of history painting to the new Prague Academy, and provided a basis for later imitation, if not of subject then of genre and style.

However where Bergler is perhaps most interesting is in his choice of subject. Whilst his style is conventional for his time, the themes that he portrays are not necessarily so. The theme of Arminius was not, after all, a conventional choice of legend for a history painter. Kauffman's use of the theme two decades before had been novel, but it was by no means conventional by the time Bergler chose to paint it. This penchant for less common themes is evident elsewhere in the body of Bergler's work. In his other paintings and illustrations on mythological subjects the way in which he handles his theme is inventive. This is true for example of a series of works depicting Cupid. As Prahl comments: 'In mythology, the stylistic level of tragedy on the one hand and humour on the other is mostly spanned by Cupid who (besides genius and Saturn) is the most frequent ancient character with Bergler. The loose series of Bergler's prints featuring Cupid is a narrative describing the troubles of idealism in the mundane world.'[312]

Bergler's choice of historical subjects also evince an interest in more local historical themes, rather than simply famous events of broader European or classical history. Numbered amongst these works we find a 'Spytihněns Gericht' (Czech king 875-915), 'Gericht der Libuše' (legendary Czech prophetess-princess and founder of Prague) and a 'Karl IV' (Czech king 1316-1378 and Holy Roman Emperor). These are certainly unconventional choices of theme for a neoclassical history painter, and reflect an interest in the history of Bohemia beyond its major and better-known

310 Prahl (1995-1996: 64).

311 Prahl (2007: 20). 'In essence he contributed to the fundamental changes in the approach to graphic art which were already underway at the time'.

312 Prahl (2007: 25).

events. And beyond the valorisation of historical figures, Bergler also painted the portraits of some of his contemporaries. These included a portrait of General Ludwig Vogelsang (1748-1822),[313] Austrian commander of the 47th infantry regiment and of the fortress Josefov during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, and a close associate of Bergler, who was also his first biographer.

Finally the body of literary illustrations completed by Bergler provide an important source on Berlger's choice of subjects. After arriving in Prague he took an interest in prints, and published several books as part of an album, *Erfindungen und Skizzen*. These illustrations covered a wide range of topics and, as Prahl comments, these books 'symbolically and humourously commented on [the] modern world and both big and small events in it.'[314] The key point is that they demonstrate the satirical side of Bergler's art, and that his repertoire was not limited to grand historical subjects, even if his Arminius did fit into this category, but that he was also an observer of the society of his time. This is not to suggest that he was a Reynolds or a Toulouse-Lautrec, but simply to note that the tradition of grand historical painting does not represent the totality of his work, and that throughout all of his work there is a clear interest in less conventional themes.

Reception of Bergler's work has been mixed. He has not been the focus of extensive study by art historians. Some art historians of the earlier twentieth century recognised the influence of Bergler on his successors, at least in Prague. Feulner, for example, saw him as the transmitter of the style of Anton Mengs to the art circles of Prague: 'Dann eine Anzahl kleinerer Nachzügler, Joseph Bergler (1753-1829), der nachher in Rom zu Maron kam und den Eklektizismus nach Prag verpflanzte.'[315] Nonetheless he was generally neglected by later art historians as a conventional exponent of neoclassicism unworthy of further attention. With the exception of a few works by Czech art historians not much was written about Bergler in subsequent decades. This is perhaps odd, given the admiration that he enjoyed in his own time. As Masaryková, one of the few exceptions to the rule, commented: 'Ta současnost si velmi vážila díla i činnosti Berglerovy, možná že právě pro jeho charakterovou i

313 J. Bergler, 'Portrait of General Ludwig Vogelsang', oil-on-canvas, 85.5 x 73 cm, c.1809 (National Gallery, Convent of St. Agnes of Bohemia, Prague).

314 Prahl (2007: 11).

315 Feulner (1929: 250).

uměleckou aktuálnost.'[316] Recently however some art historians, again for the most part Czech, have turned their attention to the artist and written more extensively about him. Prahl's 2007 volume looking at his influence on later graphic art in Prague is the principal example. He suggests an interesting explanation for this based upon the nationalist preoccupations of earlier Czech art history: 'Für die tschechische Kunstgeschichte blieb Bergler darüber hinaus lange in großen und ganzen genauso uninteressant wie alles, was keinen unmittelbaren Bezug zum Prozeß der spezifisch tschechischen nationalen Wiedergeburt hatte.'[317] Prahl's point is a very relevant one, and in what it implies leads to a still more interesting fact. Czech art historians had rejected Bergler for not being a part of the narrative of Czech national development in the nineteenth century. This hints at the possibility that they considered Bergler's art too 'German'. We will now turn to look at nationalist themes in Bergler's work and consider his portrayal of Arminius in light of these.

Nationalist themes in Bergler's 'Hermann'

Since the choice of theme for the painting was the artist's own, a good starting point would be to look at why Bergler settled upon Arminius' victory to discharge his contractual obligation. Vlnas has written in a few different works about the painting. He suggests that Bergler was well acquainted with Tacitus and would have known the story from its source, seeming to imply this from his education: 'Bergler přirozeně znal klasické zpracovaní tohoto příbehu u Tacita, bezprostřednictvím zdrojem se mu však stala Heřmanova bitva (1769), první díl básnické trilogie Friedricha Gottlieba Klopstocka.'[318] Klopstock's trilogy on Arminius was also an important and influential source for Bergler, as for many of the other artists who portrayed the Arminius theme. Elsewhere Vlnas argues that the trilogy was not just influential for Bergler, but for others too, and that these earlier artists had in turn influenced Bergler: 'Z malířů zareagovali na tento klasicistní scénecký epos mimo jiné Angelika Kaufmannová a

316 Masaryková (1979: 78). 'The society of the time very much valued Bergler's works, perhaps for the very reason of his idiosyncratic and artistic contemporaneity.'

317 Prahl (1995-1996: 53).

318 'Bergler naturally new the classical rendition of this story from Tacitus, but an intermediary means of access was the *Hermannsschlacht* (1769), the first work in Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock's poetic trilogy.' Vlnas (1996: 59).

Johann Heinrich Tischbein st. Druhého z uvedených umelců programově cituje ve svém díle i Bergler.'[319]

Others have argued similarly. For example Blažícková-Horová makes the case that his source material is not drawn directly from Tacitus alone, but affected by the rendering of the playwright.[320] It would certainly be difficult to argue that there were not already several other literary and artistic treatments of the Arminius theme by Bergler's day, and that he as an educated and middle-class Austrian artist, who had been trained in several places, would not have come into contact with at least one of these sources, be it Klopstock's play or Kauffman's painting. Prahl argues for the 'ungewöhnlichen zeitgemäßen Universalität des Arminius-Themas' in Bergler's time, with Klopstock as the main propagator of the legend.[321]

Some of these analyses, especially Prahl's here, somewhat overstate the popularity of the theme. While Klopstock's work may have been well-known in Bergler's time, this is not to say that it enjoyed the renown of a literary masterpiece. Moreover, whatever one argues of the literary prominence of the Arminius theme in the early nineteenth century, there is an elision in arguing from this that it was a prevalent theme in visual art. This is by no means the case. Compared to classical myths, or even other more contemporary medieval national myths and legends in Germany and Austria, the Arminius theme is only represented in this period by a very few works, the most prominent of which this project examines. Despite Klopstock's trilogy, Bergler's choice of the theme for an oil painting was comparatively unusual, and Klopstock's influence does not alone explain it. There must be further characteristics in the legend that appealed to Bergler for specific reasons beyond this.

To return to the painting itself, it is interesting to note that the scene is not just that of a triumphant warrior, but also that of a loving couple. Prahl argues that it is ultimately a representation of a family: 'Berglers Arminiusvariation ist keine bildliche Wiedergabe des Triumphes über einen Feind, sondern weit eher die Darstellung einer

319 Vlnas (2002: 26). 'Among the artists Angelica Kauffman and Johann Heinrich Tischbein the Elder, beside others, responded to this classically-set epic. Bergler also programatically references the latter of these artists in his work.'

320 Blažícková-Horová (1998: 29). 'Bergler was inspired not only by the classical story told by Tacitus, but also by the first part of Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock's historical trilogy.'

321 Prahl (1995-1996: 59).

bestimmten Gemeinschaft, letztlich sogar einer Familie.'[322] One could go further in analysing the idea. Arminius and his wife are certainly an ideal of love. Coupled with his status as a triumphant warrior, Arminius presents a classical ideal. First and foremost this is a vision of perfection.

Taking Prahl's argument as his foundation, Vlnas goes further in arguing that the painting itself is not really history painting at all, but in fact a kind of allegorical painting: 'Obraz tak přesahuje hranice historické malby a stává se alegorickou kompozicí, v jejímž myšlenkovém poselství je válecné téma pouze jedním z více motivú'.[323] This argument is convincing, highlighting as it does the important point that this painting contains several motifs, some of which we have analysed above. Bergler has chosen them to convey particular messages. Many of these are concerned with projecting Enlightenment ideals, such as that of the family and of the aristocrat, both of which can be seen in this painting, and in many other paintings by Bergler's contemporaries. However, while not the principal message, as in the case of some later paintings and sculptures, it also carries an ethno-national message.[324]

With Bergler we are dealing once more with an artist portraying the Hermann theme who, in some sense of the word, lived on the boundaries of German culture in the nineteenth century. At this time there were the earliest beginnings of a Czech 'national revival', and it is an important fact to note that the Czech 'Patriotic Society of the Arts', which was Bergler's patron as director, was an early forerunner of later movements. This should not be overstated; this was an aristocratic grouping primarily interested in art. Yet the fundamental mission of the society entailed a sort of opposition to Vienna, in trying to stop the further flight of art works out of Prague to the imperial capital.[325] While this cannot be associated too closely with the sort of ethnic Slav nationalism of the later nineteenth century, this nonetheless makes Bergler's position an interesting one.[326]

Many of the central European artists and writers who treated the Arminius

322 Prahl (1995-1996: 62).

323 Vlnas (2002: 27). 'The picture thus crosses the boundary of historical painting and becomes an allegorical composition, in whose intelletual message the theme of war is but one of several motifs.'

324 Prahl (1995-1996: 62) argues that this painting stands apart from the wider body of Bergler's history painting: 'Im Unterschied zu seinen späteren historischen Kompositionen hat Bergler hier keinen entschiedenen historischen Augenblick gewählt. Genauer noch: Er unterdrückt das in ihm enthaltene dramatische Moment, und so nähert sich die Atmosphäre der Szene seinen beliebten polyfiguralen Allegorien.'

theme showed a marked interest in the natural world and, often, primitivism. Bergler is no exception to this. His largest cycle of prints is entitled *Elements* and takes the four elements of ancient natural philosophy as its subject matter. Another set of prints, the *Disasters* also deals with similar themes, focusing on human reactions to the natural world. Elsewhere Bergler shows an interest in the animal world too. In his book on graphic work after Bergler Prahl comments: 'Pastoral environment, a child befriending animals or birds, the family of a satyr or Bacchus, family life in general, and the famous mythical children fed by animals were among the recurrent themes of this artist.'[327] However Bergler's interest in the natural world and in primitivism also extended to humans, and to primitive idylls.

It could be argued that the painting of Arminius is essentially one of these idylls. As mentioned above this interest in primitive Germans is evident in some sketches of German heads that the artist made. These ethnographic studies have much in common with their seventeenth-century forebears, and demonstrate an interest in the physiognomy and costume of the ancient German tribes, of which several examples are shown. Examined alongside the heads of ancient Germans, the Arminius painting can be seen to show an interest in the ancient Germans themselves, beyond simply the allure of a dramatic historical theme. The detail of the ancient bard, and the costume of the soldiers (other than Arminius himself) betray a deliberate effort at primitivism absent in the models on which Bergler drew, as for example Kauffman.

However Bergler also showed an interest in Bohemian history and folklore, which he uses in some of his paintings, as pointed out above. Machalíková discusses this in her essay in Prahl's volume on Bergler's graphic work, where she discusses

325 The society's aim was to build a public art gallery in Prague, incorporating the reduced Prague collection (what had not been sent to Vienna), and the private aristocratic collections of the Herrscher and Hof families. Masaryková (1979: 78) explains the society's request to Thun-Hohenstein in terms of the voluntary basis on which it was constituted: 'Vzhledem k tomu, že se majetkový fond Společnosti opíral jen o členské přispěvky, jak je vysvětleno v dopise, apeluje vlastenecká Společnost na patriotismus Thuna-Hohensteina a žádá jej, aby svého komorního malíře prakticky Praze zapujčil.' ('With a view to the fact that the fact that the ownership fund of the society drew alone on members' donations, as is explained in a letter, the Patriotic Society calls on the patriotism of Thun-Hohenstein and asks of him that he in effect lends his court painter to Prague').

326 Masaryková (1979: 78) argues that the society's formation was a reaction, 'po všech centralizačních zákonech a germanizačních nařízeních z druhé poloviny osmnáctého století' ('after all of the centralising laws and germanicising ordinances of the second half of the eighteenth century'). However the role of this society is still subject to debate, a topic which, as anything relating to the Czech 'national revival', remains contentious in Czech scholarship even today.

327 Prahl (2007: 25).

'inspiration found in literature and book illustration' in Bergler's period. In a sub-section dealing with national themes she places Bergler in the context of the newly emerging attempts at revival of the Czech language from 1805, and links this to a widespread and growing interest in folklore at the time. As she comments, Bergler was inspired by old Czech chronicles of these stories, in particularly one version: 'According to contemporary literature, Joseph Bergler was inspired by reading Bohemian history and legends after his arrival in Prague. His principal model was the chronicle by Hájek, which inspired men of letters and artists, but was also a source of knowledge of the much discussed Czech history. Hájek is the source of the luxuriant and typical Bergler compositions from the years 1800 and 1801, out of which the two main "heroic" ones - with Horymit and Bivoj - were soon published as independent prints and as book illustrations in smaller format.'[328]

It is clear then that Bergler, unlike some later Austrian and German artists, not only took a very deliberate interest in themes drawn from German history and folklore, but was also willing to give space to themes from Czech culture. Nonetheless it is interesting that Bergler chose to illustrate a German foundation myth shortly after becoming director of the Prague Academy of Arts. It is also important to note that he was himself born in Passau which at the time of his birth, as Prahl points out, 'existierten zwischen dem Machtsphären von Österreich und Bayern'.[329] He was an artist born in a border region open to cultural and military contestation (Bavaria allied itself with Napoleon in the Rhine League against Austria in 1806). To better understand whether there are any nationalist themes in this painting it is necessary to consider the historical context of the period in which Bergler was painting.

The Napoleonic wars spanned the early part of Bergler's years in Prague. It is an obvious point that the wars had a profound impact throughout all European societies of the time, and that they left a particular trace on the European art of the time, whether this manifested itself in the sort of heroic valorisation of war to be found in David, or the hankering after the supposedly lost idyll of the peaceful past. With the idyllic scenes that he portrayed, Bergler falls rather into the latter category than the former. Even the Arminius painting is more a peaceful scene than a celebration of war, despite its theme. That the wars had a personal effect on Bergler is

328 Machalíková (2007: 59).

329 Prahl (1995-1996: 60).

attested by an etching entitled, 'Allegory of the year 1813', in which he portrays the ongoing European conflict in a critical light.[330] It is clear that though not directly affected by the events of war, he was no exponent of the conflict. This may be a reflection of the fact that his homeland was at its forefront.

This leads inevitably to the question of whether we can say that Bergler's 'Arminius' is a prefigurement of Germanic independence in the face of Roman (prefiguring French) aggression? If so, Bergler's use of Arminius would be little distinguishable from those of later German nationalists. The question is posed in much of the little literature about the painting. Prahl asks the question in a rather weighted manner: 'Konnte der Künstler bei seinem "Hermann" eher an jenen demokratisch-gemeinschaftsorientierten Charakter gedacht haben, den einige dem germanischen Altertum damals zusprechen wollten?'[331] Vlnas also asks this question in his article on the painting and is representative of much scholarship in giving an affirmative response: 'Byla to pohnutá léta napoleonských výbojů a není divu, že aktualní politické okolností naplnily novým obsahem i klasické arminovské téma.'[332] It is certainly tempting to see in Bergler's Arminius relevance for contemporary events.

However these arguments are overly simplistic and overlook the complexity of the historical context in which Bergler was working. In a sense to apply this method of analysis to paintings such as Bergler's is to retroject concepts of the later nineteenth century onto its beginning. Ideas of German nationalism were not as developed, or at least not as defined, as they later came to be. We must ask the question of what it meant to portray a theme like that of Arminius in early nineteenth-century Bohemia. Bergler clearly made the choice to portray the theme because he thought it would be pleasing to his patrons. Yet these patrons were a Czech patriotic society. From this we can infer that the idea of being patriotic in Bohemia at this time did not necessarily mean a rejection of German culture. Indeed as much of the aristocracy in Bohemia was German or Austrian in this period, the idea of patriotism being espoused here was a world away from that of the later Czech national revivalist movement, instead

330 See further on this: Prahl (2007: 27).

331 Prahl (1995-1996: 63).

332 Vlnas (2002: 26). 'It was the turbulent years of the Napoleonic wars and it is no wonder that contemporary political events dominated both new subject matter and classical themes on Arminius.'

entailing a political loyalty to Vienna.[333]

Given the complicated and at times fraught national context of the Austro-Hungarian empire, in a period before German unification, it is clear that Bergler's use of Arminius cannot simply be labelled a defiant statement of German resistance.[334] At the same time Bergler's use of Arminius is an idealistic representation of an essential German culture. In this we may trace incipient what would later develop into a clearer nativist and nationalist message. However this does not mean that Bergler's work is a political statement, and as such its message is not primarily a nationalist one.[335]

333 A major part of Bergler's oeuvre also includes his church paintings. An analysis of these has not been included here, as it is not considered that they provide any insight on Bergler's approach to nationalist themes.

334 Some of the literature is inconsistent on this point. For example, Vlnas (2002: 27) elsewhere argues that a nationalist German use of Arminius is a later phenomenon: 'Teprve pozdjí se Cherusk Arminius stane jedním ze symbolu nacionálního velkoněmectví, aby byl posléze povýšen - jakožto sjednotitel a osvoboditel Germánie - na přímý historický předobraz císaře Viléma I.' ('Not until later did Arminius the Cheruscan become one of the symbols of a nationalist Greater Germany, to which status he was later raised - a sort of unifier and liberator of Germany – a direct historical forebear of Kaiser Wilhelm I').

335 This does not mean that Bergler does not make allusions of a connection between ancient and contemporary Germanic societies. Vlnas (2002: 27) finds this in the presence of the eagle in the painting, although this is not definitive: 'Prostřednictvím motivu orla malíř symbolicky naznačil také přenesení tradic antického impéria na Svatou říši Římskou německého národa.' ('Through the motif of the eagle the artist also symbolically marks the carrying over of the traditions of ancient empire to the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.')

Karl Friedrich Schinkel

Entwurf zu einem Denkmal für Hermann den Cherusker

In this watercolour drawing of 1814/1815 by the German architect and artist Karl Friedrich Schinkel, we see a design for a (never realised) equestrian monument of Arminius (*Figure 9*).[336] Executed on a small scale in black and white, the drawing is today in the Alte Museum in Berlin.

The design depicts Arminius on horseback, towering over a Roman soldier, probably intended to represent Varus. The whole group sits on a stone plinth, and is set within an open landscape, some limited details of which Schinkel has added in as a backdrop. Arminius' expression is grave as he stares down at his prostrate foe. He has a long white moustache and his long hair is caught in the wind behind him. He wears a helmet on top of his head which is crowned with a large and highly stylized wing, the length of which matches that of his upper body.

Arminius wears a tunic but his arms are bare. The musculature of his right arm, pulled across his body to his left shoulder, is pronounced. Together with his left arm, which he raises up behind him, he grips a spear which is pointed down towards his enemy. His horse rears up beneath him and seems about to trample Varus underfoot. It has a long mane and long bushy tail, mirroring Arminius' own hair. Schinkel highlights its front and the crest of its head, as he highlights Arminius' own helmet and crest, as the light shines down upon them. The drama of the scene receives its highlight from the natural environment around it.

His legs stretched out on the ground, Varus attempts to raise himself on his right arm, his upper body turned towards the foe that bears down on him. It is unclear whether or not he is appealing for mercy, but he receives none from the victorious Arminius as the spear pierces his innards. His head is cocked upwards uncomfortably towards the horse's head which towers down on him from above. His Roman tunic and armour is clearly visible and he wears a long feathered plume on his helmet. This droops down behind him in stark contrast to the wing on Schinkel's helmet, jutting upwards as it does towards the sky.

336 K. F. Schinkel, 'Design for a Monument to Herman Cherusci', black chalk, watercolour, heightened white, on blue paper, 609 x 899 cm, 1814/1815 (Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen, Berlin). The design cannot be linked to any specific commission.

In his hand Varus bears the Roman standard, the impending capture of which is emblematic of Roman defeat at the hands of their German enemy. The standard slants downward towards the ground, in contrast to Arminius spear, which crosses with it. This is in itself a symbol of the conflict between Rome and Germania, a conflict which Germania is demonstrably winning in Schinkel's design. We can clearly see the Roman eagle on top of the standard, little imposing besides Arminius and his winged helmet. Unlike his enemy Arminius bears no symbols and carries no standard other than his spear, but he is the clear victor.

Shown from the angle at which Schinkel portrays them, the group form a pyramidal structure. Schinkel emphasises this further by the shape of the pedestal on which he situates the group, which is a stepped pyramid structure topped by a plinth and surrounded by an outer wall. Set in this outer wall are several alcoves, in which fires have been set. Schinkel draws the smoke rising up from these fires in the wind. The pedestal itself is set on the summit of a hill in an open landscape, the ascent of whose natural inclination it follows.

Schinikel includes several background landscape details in his drawing. In the distance behind we can see the valley floor, where the light catches a river or a lake. In the distance we can see the peaks of hills, which Schinkel highlights with light from behind. All around Arminius the sky rages. Dark clouds billow across it and the rain lashes down in horizontal lines behind him. In front of the group, foregrounding the entire scene, are several bushes. Schinkel situates the viewer within the landscape in which he imagines his design.

Analysis

Schinkel's design is much more than just this. It is clear that it is meant to convey an idea beyond a simple schematic for a monument to heroise Arminius. Most importantly Schinkel gives his statue group a setting, the characteristics of which reflect both the qualities of Arminius - and by extension of the German people - and the drama of the scene that is depicted. In composition the choice of equestrian knight towering down over a fallen foe is reminiscent of St. George and the dragon, inviting parallels with the idea of the righteous struggle.

We can see that Schinkel clearly intended the group to sit on top of a hill. The dramatic climax of Arminius' defeat of Varus is thereby given a significance

magnified by its setting. This most important event of German history is to be dramatised through relationship with its natural setting. The constituent elements of that landscape around are made to fit Arminius' character and deeds. The torrent of rain behind him reflects his rage as he bears down on his enemy. The dark and unforgiving clouds above correspond to the sternness of his expression. As in so many other portrayals of Arminius the German setting is made dark and tempestuous, perhaps in an implied contrast to the imagined softness of the Italian landscape where Varus we cannot but help think, with his ornamental armour, would be more at home. Yet Schinkel's landscape is perhaps the most unforgiving of many such portrayals of this theme.

The burning fires all around the monument are eternal flames to the memory of Arminius. Curiously they still burn despite the rain and the storm winds raging all around. In this respect, as in others, Schinkel's potrayal is not realistic. It is not intended to be, and rather than an actual design for a monument this drawing is perhaps better understood as one of Schinkel's more fantastical schemes. It is more a representation of an idea than something he ever intended to realise. In this way he can make the fires burn eternally despite the rain, a further representation of the spirit of Arminius and of the German people in the face of resistance and oppression.

There is also an opposition between masculinity and effeminacy here, the former represented by Arminius and the latter by Varus. Varus' plume and armour, his sleeved arms and decorated standard, are all symbols of an effete and degenerate Rome. Arminius' weather-beaten and bare arms, and his rude strength, represent in contrast a crude but strong German virtue. Betthausen has called this 'one of Schinkel's most romantic and idealistic ideas for a monument.'[337]

Background

Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841), architect, artist, writer and Prussian state bureaucrat, is one of the most famous polymaths in German history and, in visual art, possibly its most seminal figure for the reception of the Classical world. Tributes to Schinkel have been many since his day, and even today he draws the highest praise

337 Betthausen (1991: 106).

from some: 'There is perhaps no single architect, who has thwarted the visible manifestations of absolutism with a greater sense of poetry, transparency, and moral dignity than Schinkel.'[338] For Abenstein and Fiedler, 'Schinkel is not a name but a style'.[339] Others have stressed the significance of the role he played in his own time. For Betthausen Schinkel's work was 'a large-scale attempt to give the artistic milieu of rising capitalism a humane character, rooted in history, yet at the same time modern.'[340] Finally some have lamented the sad legacy of the war, which did much to destroy Schinkel's Berlin: 'Schinkel's major achievement as an architect and planner has been effectively destroyed, while his imaginative ideas and solutions live on only in his drawings and writings.'[341]

We will not assess such claims here. The study of Schinkel's works and their transmission of classical culture to Germany would fill a volume in itself, as would a study of the reception of Schinkel's legacy in later history. This chapter will instead focus more narrowly on the themes of the above-examined drawing, setting them within the context of Schinkel's life and work, and attempt to elaborate something of what is behind Schinkel's use of Tacitus' theme.

Schinkel was born in 1781 in Neuruppin in Brandenburg, the son of a priest, in what was at that time the Kingdom of Prussia. The French revolution and the Napoleonic France that emerged in its aftermath overshadowed his youth and the Prussia of the time. In his adolescence he witnessed German defeats at the hands of the French and, as a young man, the *Freiheitskrieg*. On moving to Berlin with his mother in 1794 he began his artistic training under the architect David Gilly (1748-1808), by whose style Schinkel was greatly impressed. Later he studied under his son Friedrich Gilly. Throughout his later life he retained the imprint of Gilly's style. The father's 'very idiosyncratic style, imbued with suggestions of French Revolutionary architecture, wielded great influence over Schinkel's later designs.'[342] Schinkel then spent a few years in Italy in Rome and then in France, during which time he became acquainted with Wilhelm von Humboldt and Bertel Thorvaldsen. On returning to

338 Peik (2001: preface).

339 Abenstein, Fiedler (2009: 88).

340 Betthausen (1991: 3).

341 Pundt (1967: 130).

342 Abenstein, Fiedler (2009: 88).

Germany he acquired a bureaucratic post in the Prussian State Building Authority, having before made his money from what limited work he could find as an artist and now feeling that his artistic ambitions were dashed. However he quickly ascended the ranks of Prussian bureaucracy, becoming Director of the Prussian Building Office in 1830 and Senior Land Building Director in 1838, during which tenure he had enormous influence, having overall authority for all of the building works in the entirety of Prussia as far east as Königsberg. No doubt Schinkel's dedication to his projects and his excessive work led in part to his relatively early death in 1841.

Schinkel was first inspired by the younger Gilly, Friedrich, of whom he was long after a friend, on seeing his design for a monument to Frederick the Great at the Berlin Academy in 1797 while still only an adolescent. This led to his enrolment in the Gillys' architectural school. However it is certainly interesting to note that Schinkel's initial artistic inspiration was in the form of a heroic monument, such as the design we are looking at in this monument. It is perhaps little wonder that Schinkel produced so many designs (and actual) heroic monuments and architecture, given this fact. Beyond the Gillys we can also establish that Schinkel was influenced by Thorvaldsen and Joseph Anton Koch. As Trempler comments: 'Mit beiden tritt Schinkel in ein herzliches freundschaftliches Verhältnis, das zeitlebens angehalten hat'.[343] We will explore more of what influenced Schinkel later in this chapter.

Schinkel's classicism

The classical world, and more particularly the orders of Greek classical architecture, were a major inspiration for Schinkel and in much of his work he takes the Doric style as his starting point. Often he will elaborate upon it, adapting it to his particular idea for a building, but the essence of its simple fluted columns and continuous horizontal architrave, can be seen in almost all of his work that survives. For much of his career Schinkel clearly saw an objective value in the classical style and used it as the medium to convey his ideas for architecture and society. Schinkel's approach is certainly in many ways revolutionary, but his favour for Greek classical forms must be seen in the context of the Germany of the time. Greek architecture was held up as a paragon of good architectural style, and influential writers like Waagen helped to

343 Trempler (2004: 169).

propagate this: 'Classicism was defined as a correspondence of form and content: the works of artists who conceived their subjects in a "true" and "beautiful way".'[344]

However we can distinguish Schinkel's work from the simple adherence to classical norms that charatcterise the work of many of his contemporaries, both in the Germany of the time and further afield. In his work he clearly refrains from a simple mimicking of the forms of ancient buildings that were studied as part of the archaeological research of the time. He rather uses this as a starting point. This may have had much to do with the fact that Schinkel's knowledge of classical art was much deeper than that of many of his contemporaries - as a result of his extensive studies while travelling in Italy - something which made him less reliant on the second-hand descriptions and illustrations of classical architecture available in the publications of the time.

Schinkel did much to create what survives of the classical landscape of central Berlin today. Some have argued that Berlin's very existence as a capital city was first given form by Schinkel.[345] It is undoubtedly true that both the form and status of Berlin were vastly different at the time of Schinkel's birth and at the time of his death. His major works in Berlin include the Neue Wache (the New Guardhouse), the Schauspielhaus and the Alte Museum in the Lustgarten. All three of these works show how Schinkel used classical architecture as the basis for his own individual elaborations. Pundt has argued that Schinkel's approach in these buildings, particularly in the Neue Wache, is intimately connected with his planning of the layout of central Berlin.[346] The Alte Museum is perhaps the most interesting of all Schinkel's classical creations.

As well as these important works of public architecture Schinkel worked on several churches in Berlin, and other projects outside the city, including several monuments celebrating the *Freiheitskrieg*. In the works of Schinkel where he uses classical architectural form, we can draw out several recurring themes. The first is that Schinkel's style, with its celebration of plain Doric form, became well-known and distinctively his own. From the 1820s onwards this was coupled with his own fame and reputation for being a master of all trades.

344 Moyano (1990: 599).

345 As for example by Bindman (1991: 726) in his review of the Schinkel exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

346 Pundt (1967).

A second trait that can be detected in much of Schinkel's work is his preference for backlighting in his designs. Schinkel designed many stage sets, most famously a canvas depicting a blue starry sky for a staging of Mozart's 'The Magic Flute'. In his drawings and architectural designs we can see the influence of this experience in the detailed attention he pays to how he lights the monuments or buildings that he depicts. This is something that we see in the Arminius monument design in his play of light behind the hills in the distance, as well as in the way he highlights the figures of Arminius and his horse. This is also evident in his designs for the memorial to Queen Luise of 1810, in which the Gothic angels in the crypt are illuminated.

A third recurrent theme in Schinkel's designs and in the works that he executed is his use of the podium. This is something borrowed from classical architecture, where it was a prominent part of much public monumental art, and Schinkel uses it liberally in many of his works. We can see its use for example for the equestrian sculptures that flank the entrance to the Alte Museum. It is also evident in the design that we are examining here, where we see that Schinkel devoted a lot of attention to the design and appearance of the podium, even going so far as to include the detail of the fires that girt the base of the sculpture. It is noteworthy that Schinkel makes this such a prominent part of his design. Some have argued that this can be traced to Friedrich Gilly and his monument to Frederick the Great,[347] but no doubt Schinkel was also taking inspiration from the many extant classical and Renaissance equestrian sculptures that he had seen during his travels in Italy.

Finally, and most importantly, there is Schinkel's use of classical form to create buildings with a clear functional purpose. All the buildings mentioned above had a clear purpose in their design, which would not have allowed their conversion to other usages: the Neue Wache as a guardhouse, the Alte Museum in its form suited to the display and appreciation of works of art, and the Schauspielhaus fulfilling only the function of its name. Even in Schinkel's more fantastical designs, such as his design for a palace on the Athenian acropolis, we can still see this subordination of classical architecture to practical needs and the purpose of the building in question. In his detailed designs for this (unrealised) project we can see Schinkel's strenuous efforts to accommodate his complex of buildings to the challenging environment of the

347 Pundt (1967: 126).

acropolis with its uneven and much gradated summit, while at the same time trying to retain the form of a spacious palace worthy of a king.

This is true of Schinkel's heroic monuments too and the designs for those which he never managed to execute, such as the Arminius design. In this drawing we can see in his consideration of setting that Schinkel had thought carefully about the function that he wanted his monument to perform and the messages that he wanted it to send. He gives it a prominent location by placing it on the summit of a hill, and his depiction of the natural environment in the drawing makes clear what he hoped to achieve by setting his monument outside of an urban environment. He makes use of the natural environment to dramatise the heroic and cataclysmic struggle that he depicts. Schinkel's use of classical architecture or monumental style is never superfluous but closely linked to the message that he wants his building or sculptures to convey.

Schinkel and the Classical world

We have briefly surveyed Schinkel's Classicism, though much more could no doubt be said on the subject. Let us now turn to looking more broadly at Schinkel's relationship with the Classical world to better understand what sort of inspiration he drew from it in executing his Arminius design.

It is clear that Schinkel's knowledge of the Classics was extensive. This is revealed not just through the results of his finished products, which betray his extensive and close study of classical architecture in the Mediterranean, but also by some of his designs. One very good example of this is a design of the 1830s in which Schinkel depicts a 'Reconstruction of Pliny the Younger's Villa Tuscum'.[348] The theme of this work shows a close firsthand study by Schinkel of the letter of Pliny the Younger in which the Roman statesman and aristocrat describes his villa in detail.[349] This example illustrates the thoroughness which characterised the architect's attempts to research and understand the classical past and its designs with the aim of informing and enriching his own works. Albeit in the context of the enthusiasm for classical style that characterised the age, this nonetheless betrays a deep personal belief in the

348 K. F. Schinkel, 'Reconstruction of Pliny the Younger's Villa Tuscum', pen-and-ink wash, 1830s (Staatliche Museen, Berlin).

349 Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae* 5.6.

vivacity of classical art on the part of Schinkel and its richness as a source for inspiration, that he would go to the lengths of trying to visually reconstruct an ancient building solely from a (far from technically descriptive) literary source.

Perhaps the most important output of Schinkel's for understanding his relationship with the classical world is his painting depicting the construction of the Parthenon.[350] The painting provides a fascinating insight into the mindset of Schinkel and his, and his contemporaries', idealisation of ancient Greece. The painting is an idyll. We see labourers and architects working together, pillars and slabs of stone, sculptures and reliefs, all being brought together to form what we know will become the paragon of ancient Greek architecture. However he provides more than this in his scene. We have an idealised ancient Greek landscape too, through which we can see a defile of soldiers marching. The painting shows much more than its title suggests. It is a depiction of the classical world as Schinkel imagined it. An 'ur-community of philosophers and artists', as one author has put it.[351]

This idyll of the classical world was clearly central to Schinkel's beliefs and an inspiration that runs through all of his work. Indeed his involvement with Greece went further than this and became more direct as a result of his involvement in contemporary German attempts to redesign Athens as the capital of a newly liberated Greece. As discussed above Leo von Klenze had been sent by the Bavarian king Ludwig I to Athens with his son, the newly crowned Maximilian of Greece, to supervise building work in Athens, after an earlier project for the city had run into difficulties. During this time the Crown Prince of Prussia Friedrich Wilhelm suggested that Schinkel design the palace on the Acropolis, overlooking Klenze, who was already in Athens, for the role.

As remarked above, the plans Schinkel eventually came up with are extensive and attempt to overcome the formidable difficulties that such an environment presented. As the plans were never realised it is difficult to get a sense of how realistic the plans actually were. Published for the most past after Schinkel's death in his *Werke der höheren Baukunst* (1840-1842, 1845-1848), we can associate the plan for the Acropolis with another equally imaginative and ambitious (and likewise unrealised) plan for a palace at Orianda in the Crimea. The two volumes of this work

350 K. F. Schinkel, 'Blick in Griechenlands Blüte', oil on canvas, 94 x 235 cm, 1825 (Alte National Galerie, Berlin).

351 Bilsel (2003: 62).

deal with the Athenian and Crimean projects respectively. Both late works and both royal commissions - the Orianda commission came from Czarina Alexander, wife of Russian Czar Nicholas I and sister of the Prussian Crown Prince - they demonstrate the extent of Schinkel's efforts. Many have dismissed both of these projects as whimsical and fantastical, but in his article on the Athenian projects Carter has demonstrated convincingly how much substance there was in it and the efforts Schinkel made to consider practicalities and how he might tackle them.[352]

There is a fundamental point, relevant to the drawing we are looking at in this chapter, which Carter does not explore in his article. This is to realise what these designs tell us about Schinkel's relationship with the classical world. In a sense Schinkel's design for a palace on the Acropolis reveals far more than any of the works that he actually executed how intimate that connection was. He was not only inspired by ancient monuments but was willing to actually incorporate them into his modern works. To a modern observer it is certainly worrying that Schinkel would have wanted to build on a historical site of prime importance, with significant disregard for archaeological imperatives of conservation. But it is clear that Schinkel thought the classical world alive, as many contemporary Germans optimistically believed, in the new Greek state and, perhaps more implicitly, in her Prussian tutor. In a similar way in his Arminius monument we can see that, though a legend from classical history, its subject is very much alive for Schinkel and has a contemporary significance. Indeed in his drawing the figures seem almost lifelike, as if barely frozen as sculptures, a feeling reinforced by the vivacity of the surrounding elements which echo their titanic struggle.

However it was crucial for the ultimate impact of Schinkel's work on his contemporaries and successors that his relationship with the classical world was not just one of ideals but also of substance. Schinkel's Italian travels in his earlier years and the serious studies that he undertook during this time were clearly important in this respect. 'Schinkel spent most of his time in Italy drawing. Over 400 drawings have been preserved, mainly of landscapes and buildings whose natural harmony he attempted to enhance artstically.'[353] Above all the presence of Humboldt in his life at this time was an important influence. As Trempler comments: 'Kurz vor Schinkels

352 Carter (1979).

353 Betthausen (1991: 4).

Eintreffen in Rom wurde Wilhelm von Humboldt Preußischer Gesandter am päpstlichen Stuhl. In diesen Eigenschaft förderte er die Deutschen Künstler nicht nur ideell, sondern auch materiell durch den Ankauf zahlreicher Kunstwerke.'[354] Right from the start of Schinkel's career, under the tutelage of David Gilly, and then later under the influence of the great Classicists and thinkers of the time, such as Humboldt, Schinkel's reception of the classical world was something direct and alive, received firsthand with no intermediary, and powerfully original as a result.

Schinkel and German romantic nationalism

Like many of his Prussian and German contemporaries during and immediately after the *Freiheitskrieg*, Schinkel was both a romantic and a nationalist. This is perhaps the most important trait of the architect that needs to be understood to make sense of his design. In the last section of the chapter we will look more closely at where romanticism and nationalism are manifest in Schinkel's work, and consider how this relates to the drawing examined above.

As much of nineteenth-century German romantic and nationalist art, Schinkel's work has been the subject of debate on this count in the decades since the end of the war. Schinkel was certainly an ardent adherent of the romantic patriotic movement that coalesced around the end of the Napoleonic occupation of Germany in the second decade of the nineteenth century. Significant emphasis has been placed on this aspect of Schinkel's work. To take Mellinghoff as example: 'Though Schinkel later tried to dismiss this period as "youthful sin", his involvement was intense [...] Schinkel's self-assumed prophetic mission, expressed in philosophical rather than architectural terms, and centred around the idea of the monument, emerges clearly from the scant surviving material and impressively conveys his intellectual powers.'[355] As Mellinghoff's language here shows, there is a risk of dramatising the nationalist element of Schinkel's work. Judging its extent is an exercise that needs to be approached with caution, avoiding in particular teleological explanations linked to later Prussian and German history.

An obvious point, but one which should be reiterated at the start, is the fact of

354 Trempler (2004: 168).

355 Mellinghoff (1983: 702).

Schinkel's occupation. For much of his career he was engaged in direct service to the Prussian state. The commissions that he carried out, and the plans that he devised, were almost always in some way for the glorification of the Prussian state or monarchy. It is therefore natural that much of Schinkel's work should have this bent. Nor is it immediately apparent that Schinkel was engaged in this service in the first place by reason of a patriotic nationalism, rather than a simple need for employment after years of trying to make a living as an artist. Interestingly, in this respect, we know that after Schinkel had discharged several public offices in a distinguished fashion he refused ennoblement to the aristocracy. Schinkel's relationship to the kingdom that he served was evidently not a simple one, and any assessment of his nationalism needs to take this into account.

What can we say about Schinkel's personal views and philosophical outlook? First of all from Schinkel's impressive output it can be inferred that he was intensely hardworking, and that he approached his work as a vocation. Several authors have linked this to a Protestant and Prussian work ethic, and this was undoubtedly an important element in Schinkel's outlook. This attitude towards his work was reflected in his view of mental discipline. He commented that: 'Our mind is not free if it is not the master of its imagination: the freedom of the mind is manifest in every victory over self, every resistance to external enticements, every elimination of an obstacle to this goal.'[356] We can see that Schinkel believed in both mental discipline and in the greatness of human imagination, and that these were not mutually exclusive. The Athenian and Orianda projects, and to a lesser extent those realised in Berlin itself, are perhaps the best evidence of this.

Schinkel's attitude to the times in which he lived, as that towards his art, was characterised by a similarly unbounded belief in his and others' ability to change things for the better. Betthausen argues that Schinkel is a typical representative of the German Idealism of the time in this respect: 'Schinkel was convinced that he lived in an age of profound and historically necessary revolutions. He both wished and felt obliged to support them by devoting his art to ennobling "all human conditions", by perfecting man morally through aesthetic education and in this way enabling him to humanise his relationships.'[357] Many of the artists that this project looks at were

356 Cited in Snodin (1991: 1).

357 Betthausen (1991: 1,3).

idealists, and Schinkel is no exception. But what separates him from many of them is this sense of a very real connection with his times and an interest in trying to effect actual change in the society in which he lived. In this respect he is in some ways similar to some later Victorian artists, who sought to effect social change through the ideals that their art presented. In discharging his public office Schinkel clearly came to believe that this was achievable.

A key influence on Schinkel that sets his nationalism in perspective is that of Johann Gottlieb Fichte. Much of Schinkel's thinking about the social responsiblity of the artist may have been shaped through the medium of Fichte's writings (As Betthausen points out, Schinkel had a copy of Fichte's writings in his baggage when he set of on his Italian travels in 1803). Aside from the Arminius statue design itself this is one of the few instances where we can make a clearer connection between Schinkel and the nationalism of the early nineteenth century. Fichte's writings, in particular his *Reden an die deutsche Nation* (1808), were seminal in shaping the patriotism and romanticism of post-Napoleonic Germany, and it is noteworthy that we can make a connection between the architect and Fichte. It is likely that the Arminius monument was intended to play upon the same nationalist and anti-French sentiment that Fichte's writings had sought to during the French occupation.

In setting the context of Schinkel's nationalist approach in his works another important factor is Schinkel's use of the Gothic. In the Germany of the time there was a strong current of thought that viewed the gothic style as something native to Germany, and therefore as preferable to classical style, in particular for public monumental architecture. As discussed above Schinkel saw great potential for what he wanted to achieve in the classical style. However this should not be taken to mean that Schinkel did not also attempt the use of the gothic style to achieve his desired effects.

Given the views of many of his contemporaries about the innately alien quality of classical style, can we say that Schinkel's approach was that the classical and gothic styles were incompatible for what he was trying to achieve? Academic opinion has generally come down on the side of Schinkel's not having seen the styles as being incompatible. Peik describes an essential aim of creating 'an urban symbiosis between the antique and the medieval, between Classicism and Romanticism', which was ultimately about 'a search for the antique and medieval roots of the German city'.[358]

358 Peik (2001: 91).

Others have agreed with this approach of seeing Schinkel's use of the Gothic and the Classical as essentially complementary. Interestingly Betthausen detects a shift in Schinkel's preference from that of a Gothic to a Classical style, and explains this as the move from a youthful inclination towards the 'nationalist associations aroused by the Gothic' to the 'systematic, stabilising and ceremonial language of antiquity' which fitted the work that he discharged as part of his office.

Whether Betthausen's position is correct or not, it is clear that gothic and classical art had clear associations for Schinkel's contemporaries and he too can be seen to employ them in distinct ways. To take as example Schinkel's drawings of gothic church fantasies, we can see in these a clear connection with an ideal German landscape which he often populates with rivers, people and other monuments complementary to their setting. It is clear here that Gothic was a style through which Schinkel was able to mediate his ideals for his own country and to portray a Germany as he would wish it to appear. However it is clear that when it came to the architectural ornamentation of the Prussian state, he found classical style more conducive to his purposes. Bindman argues, similarly to Betthausen, that this is indicative of a change on the part of Schinkel: 'The return to the Grecian Doric of the Neue Wache signifies [...] a shift away from mystical German nationalism to a more rigidly Prussian sense of civic virtue.'[359] However to accept this argument is to elide the fact that Schinkel's preference for Greek style in his public monuments does not mean that he had left behind his ideas of romantic nationalism. On the other hand many of his later projects evince exactly the sort of nationalism that is evident in some of his earlier gothic designs.

Schinkel's understanding and use of the Gothic was affected by seeing the medieval cathedrals of Prague and Vienna during his journeys to Italy and France. However he also visited England and the gothic architecture that he saw there profoundly affected his idea of the style. In an article on this subject Riemann comments: 'Die Aufnahme des Gotischen - das bleibt vor und nach der Reise ähnlich-, erfolgt frei, im Nachempfinden der Vorbilder entsteht bei ihm Neues und Eigenes und die Rezeption der englischen Gotik ist für ihn nur ein Bereich, allerdings der wesentliche, in der er sein Grundprinzip findet, neben dem andere Anregungen ebenso wahrgenommen werden, etwa die der italienischen oder deutsche mittelalterliche

359 Bindman (1991: 727).

Architektur'.[360] Gothic style was clearly important to Schinkel and remained so throughout his career. He clearly did not see classical architecture as the only possible medium for the expression of his architectural designs even if he clearly preferred it for the public monumental architecture of Prussia.

Beyond his official role as part of the Prussian Building Authority we can link Schinkel directly to royal commissions. We have already mentioned the Acropolis palace design above. Another project on which Schinkel was engaged was the mausoleum for the deceased Prussian Queen Luise. An early project on which Schinkel worked, his designs date from 1810 and this was again a project which Schinkel never actually realised. The designs show Schinkel's use of the Gothic, and a rejection of classical style as a medium. Although the project ultimately failed because of the exorbitant costs, Friedrich Wilhelm III wished to have a Doric temple for the mausoleum. This is a clear early example of where Schinkel favoured the use of Gothic style for a royal commission with nationalist elements - Queen Luise had come to be seen as an emblem of Prussia - which, even if not ultimately realised, shows Schinkel's willingness to take a nationalist approach in his public monumental work. Aside from this a more obvious royal and national commission with which we can connect Schinkel is of course the Iron Cross, which the architect designed.

As close contemporaries who were both influenced greatly by the *Freiheitskrieg*, some authors have considered the parallels between Schinkel and Caspar David Friedrich. While their styles may have been quite different, it is clear that the motivation for much of their work may have been similar. In his 'Social History of Modern Art', Boime has for example argued that Friedrich's 'type of landscape had a great impact on the architect Schinkel', and that 'Schinkel and Friedrich shared an identical political outlook' in the years around the *Freiheitskrieg*.[361] It may be an exaggeration to say that their outlook was identical, but it is evident that both artists, as many of their contemporaries, were swept along in the patriotic fervour that characterised Germany in 1815 and subsequent years. It is interesting to note in this context that both artist and architect chose to use Arminius as the subject of their designs.[362]

Schinkel glorified German history and Prussian triumph over the French in a

360 Riemann (1973: 82).

361 Boime (1991: 621, 622).

much more direct way than Friedrich did, whose Arminius and Ulrich von Hutten tomb paintings are – by his standards - unusually direct in their nationalist vocabulary, but even so are still heavily symbolic. We have discussed above how Gothic was often a signifier in Schinkel's earlier works of German culture and rejection of a French occupying culture. Schinkel designed the stage sets for various plays representing the heroism of leaders during the conflict. Börsch-Supan comments on the first example of this: 'Seine Bewunderung für Gneisenau äußerte sich bereits zu Ende des Jahres 1809 in einem bei den berühmten Berliner Weihnachtsaustellungen von dem Buchhandler J. G. Hasselberg Unter den Linden präsentierten Diorama mit der Verteidigung der Festung Colberg im Jahr 1807. Der Held dieser nahezu einzigen ruhmwürdigen Leistung der preußischen Armee nach der Niederlage von Jena und Auerstädt war Gneisenau, der Kommandant der Festung [...] Mit diesem Diorama hat Schinkel erstmals einen gegen Frankreich gerichteten Gegenstand öffentlich behandelt.'[363] As he points out the close connection between Schinkel and military figures from the *Freiheitskrieg* should not be underplayed.

Another clear example of where Schinkel celebrates German military achievement in the past is his painting of the 'Triumphbogen'.[364] This depicts two equestrian statues of triumphant German kings, around which several figures swarm. Its message is much the same as the Arminius design. As well as glorifying the German past it is also a statement of confidence in the contemporary Prussian monarchy and its future, and the Arminius statue design should be read in much the same light. Bindman has argued that Schinkel's tribal hero imagery 'whole-heartedly celebrates princely and military virtue'.[365] Indeed we can go beyond this to argue that Schinkel's nationalist heroes such as Arminius are a celebration of the contemporary royal Prussian house, whose alliance against the French had its precedent in Arminius'

362 Both artists clearly used the Gothic style in their drawings and paintings as the signifier of a Germany free from French occupation. Cf. Pundt (1967: 115), and Smith (2013: 100). Schinkel's painting 'Morgen' is particularly reminiscent of Friedrich, with the radiance of nature reflecting the optimism of Germany after 1815.

363 Börsch-Supan (2002: 17).

364 K. F. Schinkel, 'Triumphbogen', pen and brown ink over graphite sketch, 43 x 49.2 cm, 1817 (Schloß Charlottenburg, Berlin).

365 Bindman (1991: 727).

German confederation against Rome.[366]

In addition to his place at the heart of the post-Napoleonic Prussian state and proximity to its royal family, we can link Schinkel very closely with the romantic nationalist movement in the Germany of the time. This emerges in subtle ways, such as in his stage designs or paintings.[367] It is also more directly represented in his monumental architecture, such as the Alte Museum or the designs for the Queen Luise memorial, which celebrate contemporary Prussia through a historical lens. Finally his designs employing the gothic style, or his depictions of ancient tribal heroes such as Arminius, function as signifiers of the achievements of the contemporary royal Prussian house and celebrate their continuing dynasty.

Lewis has argued that 'the shift from Gilly's theater to Schinkel's is much like the shift from Goethe to Kleist, whose plays, in their pan-Germanic nationalism, are the exact literary counterpart to Schinkel's early Gothic designs'.[368] To use terms such as 'pan-Germanic nationalism' may be a retrojection of a concept more appropriate to the later nineteenth century than its first third, but it is clear that with Schinkel we see a movement away from the classicism of the eighteenth century to a more nationally-oriented architecture and art, originally based upon the *Freiheitskrieg* movement, something which is encapsulated well in Schinkel's design for his Arminius statue group.

366 Amongst Schinkel's designs for unrealised churches is one for the *Freiheitskrieger.* K. F. Schinkel, 'Cathedral as a memorial to the Wars of Liberation', pen-and-ink, 200 x 160 cm, 1815 (Nationalgalerie, Berlin).

367 A good example is the *Altdeutscher* costume of a man sitting in a boat in one of his riverscenes. K. F. Schinkel, 'Aussicht auf das Spreeufer bei Stralau', oil-on-canvas, 33 x 44.5 cm, 1817 (Nationalgalerie, Berlin).

368 Lewis (1995: 74).

Karl Theodor von Piloty

Thusnelda im Triumphzug des Germanicus

In this 1873 painting by the Munich artist Karl Theodor von Piloty (1824-1886), we see the captive wife of Arminius after the battle of the Teutoburg forest, led in the triumphal train of the general Germanicus (*Figure 10*).[369] 'Thusnelda' is accompanied by her son, 'Thumelicus', as well as other captive Germans, and the entire scene is watched over by the emperor Tiberius from his dais. Germanicus follows in his triumphal chariot behind.

As in much of Piloty's history painting the scene is a hectic jumble of elements and detail. However Thusnelda is very much centre-stage, bathed in light as she is. Consequently almost all of the other figures and details in the composition, including Germanicus, seem mere distractions from her. She stands erect and proud, her gaze disdaining of her captivity and of all the Romans, indeed of Rome itself, around her. She has her right arm around her young son Thumelicus, whom she seems to shelter from the prying eyes on all sides. Her hair is long and blond, a lighter shade of blond than any other figure in the composition, the effect of which is magnified by the patch of light in which she stands. Indeed her hair is so long that it cascades all the way down her back. Her eyes seem almost shut as she looks down, though her posture indicates that this is not through shame but rather evidence of an unhumbled pride. Her place in the composition and the fact that she is not bowed down like some of the other figures around her makes her appear the tallest figure in the painting. She wears a crown of leaves in her hair, a simple gold band on her right shoulder and right and left wrists, but is otherwise dressed in a plain white robe, gathered up below her chest. The rest of her figure is concealed by this but the way her dress hangs suggests a swelling of her stomach, hinting at her being pregnant with a second of her absent husband's children.

By her side the child Thumelicus stands, who despite his age seems to wear a disdainful expression on his face. It is as if, even though a young child, he is already unimpressed by the ubiquitous Roman pomp and, like his mother, wishes to shun it. With his right hand he pulls at hers, and with his left at her dress. He is handsome

369 K. von Piloty, 'Thusnelda im Triumphzug des Germanicus', oil-on-canvas, 710 x 490 cm, 1869-1873, (Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich).

with reddish golden hair, and is dressed in a simple woollen robe fastened at the waist. In the child we nonetheless detect the presence of the absent Arminius, pulling at his mother as if asking to be removed from sight of all the Roman decadence in Piloty's painting. With her right hand she strokes his right cheek, betraying her maternal love despite the haughty face she puts on to the Romans. With the louring presence of Tiberius above, given Suetonius' account of Tiberius' paedophilia,[370] the observer is left with a sense of foreboding for the captive child. Indeed above all coupled with the pride of both Thusnelda and Thumelicus there is a sense of vulnerable innocence and beauty.

Before and behind Thusnelda are various other German captives. Immediately before her we see a group of three captive German warriors. They share the burden of a crossbar, below the weight of which they all stoop. The nearest of these has long red hair, tied back in a knot, and a red beard. He looks back towards Thusnelda, as if for guidance from his queen. Bent beside her he increases her magnitude, and we are left with the impression of a great warrior in his defeat, still drawing hope from Thusnelda. His upper chest is bare and around his neck he bears an animal skull as a necklace. The horn hanging from his waist, and the fur, trousers and bound boots that he wears, all complete the image of the barbarian warrior. Behind him we can see the heads of the two other warriors together with whom he labours, who likewise sport red hair and bears. The middle of the three figures wears a horned helmet and a stern grimace and that furthest away has his hair tied up in a knot above his head.

In front of these warriors ahead in the triumphal procession we see an old man with a large white beard and laurel wreath upon his head. He has the appearance of a druid or bard, and we can see his lyre hanging down before him as part of the spectacle. He is bowed down in the same yoke as the warriors behind him. His eyes are cast down in shame and suffering and despite his barbarian characteristics, such as the nudity of his upper body, we are rather left with the impression of barbarism on the part of the Roman soldier that guides the cart that the old man and the warriors are pulling. With his right arm about the shoulder of the druidic figure he jeers at him and throws his head back arrogantly. With his black beard and jesting expression he is the antithesis of the stern German warriors that struggle under the yoke. In his crested helmet he is the personification of the swaggering Roman soldier in victory.

370 Suetonius, *Tiberius* 43.

Yet Piloty is careful to remind us that this is not the only face of Rome, of which he includes many others in his canvas. Two figures that show a different face of Rome stand immediately behind the soldier. An old hooded man in a cloak with a large beard, the appearance of a philosopher or writer, points to the scene and seems to explain its significance to a young student who leans towards him, scroll in hand. The figure of the old scholar forms a counterpart to that of the druid, and the young scholar to that of the jeering soldier.

Below the Roman soldier is a brown bear, whose lead he holds. This forms part of the spectacle of the triumph and represents Germany in the form of its wildlife, though in this case the captive Germans are equally parts of a great spectacle. However with its fierce eyes and gaze downcast to the right, it echoes Thusnelda herself, in whom Piloty wishes us to understand the ancient and wild spirit of the Germans. There is the impression that though captured by the Romans, like the bear, the Germans' spirit is really indomitable and will not be tamed by the Rome that we see around them.

Behind Thusnelda are another group of Germans, this time women. The first of these, immediately behind Thusnelda, is like her in many ways, with long blond hair and fair skin. She is perhaps also a woman of importance, given the richness of her garments and the silver and golden armbands that she wears. However unlike Thusnelda she turns her head to the side and is comforted by an old woman, who stands beside her all covered in a cloak save her face, and puts her arm around the younger woman. Unlike Thusnelda the young woman is overcome by her grief, and the old woman's expression also belies her suffering, despite her grim determination in the face of capture. The young woman slumps slightly and, together with the posture of the soldier directly in front of Thusnelda, this further reinforces the erectness of Thusnelda's figure.

Behind these two women in turn are two further young women, the nearest of whom has bright red hair and turns back sharply, her face full of anger, as she stares daggers at a young Roman woman that shouts insults at her from a statue of the Roman she-wolf to the left of the canvas. Behind her we see the face of another German woman, who looks in the opposite direction towards the dais and the Roman women that are assembled there. Standing behind these two women is a blond-haired German warrior with bare shoulders and a German breastplate and bound boots. His arms bound behind his back he leans back and looks up indignantly at the figure of

Segestes on the dais, who appears to turn away in shame. In a similar parallel to the bear in the case of Thusnelda, by his side a black dog leaps up echoing his posture and the turn of his head. Again there is the suggestion of an animal spirit on the part of the captive Germans.

We can make out several other German warriors in similar costume behind him, who run before the chariot of Germanicus. He is himself so faint as to be very much in the background of the scene. He stands in his horse-drawn chariot in his triumphal regalia, a laurel wreath on his head, with some children, probably his own, gathered around him. Immediately behind him we can see several Roman eagles and standards, perhaps those recovered from Varus' lost legions, which we may presume are being born by the Roman legionaries that follow the chariot. He has just passed through a triumphal arch, on the sides of which Roman citizens have climbed to applaud Arminius as he passes by. They wear various costumes, though many of these are togate, suggesting that they are higher-class citizens. In their hands they wave palms as a mark of respect for the *triumphator*.

However the other main feature which dominates the composition, after Thusnelda, is the emperor's tribunal, far more than Germanicus, and it is this which Piloty uses to present his primary image of Rome in the painting. Centre-stage here is of course the figure of Tiberius, who appears as fully morally decrepit and sinister as Tacitus' portrayal in the *Annals* would have us believe. Indeed Piloty has brought this characterisation of Tiberius forward several years in Tacitus' scheme, to predate Germanicus' death and the emperor's later years. Accordingly he sits, almost completed engulfed in his robes which, while presumably white, appear rather a shade of grey in the shadow of the tribunal, and in stark contrast to the radiant Thusnelda. On his head he wears a crown of gold in the shape of a laurel wreath although, in contrast to Thusnelda's real wreath, his is not made of actual leaves. His head slumped down he appears jaded and weary of the world, but not so much as not to be able to feel invidious towards Thusnelda, at whom he seems to frown disapprovingly. His hand lies in a casual attitude across his lap, and yet while disapproving of the scene before him this does not appear to be a man in control of the situation. Thusnelda's open defiance evidently irks him greatly enough to have distracted him from the, according to Tacitus, irksome fact of Germanicus' triumph itself. Unlike many of the other Roman figures in the composition, with a few important exceptions, the emperor with his intelligence is not merely dazzled by the spectacle but concerned too. There

is inevitably a suggestion of a parallel with Tacitus' treatment of Tiberius' relationship with Agrippina,[371] but there may also be an idea of concern on the part of Tiberius with the evident virtue and valour of the Germans, who despite this triumph remain undefeated.

The characters immediately around Tiberius support his characterisation. Standing over him to his left we see Tiberius' advisor Sejanus, not yet fallen from grace, the only important figure in the composition placed in even deeper shadow than the emperor. He wears a blue toga, drawn up over his head like a Roman priest, and we can hardly make out his expression, though he is clearly looking on at the spectacle in similarly sinister fashion to Tiberius. His erect posture makes him appear far more in control than the emperor, although this is somewhat detracted from by his crossed arms, which perhaps show, unusually for Sejanus, that he feels threatened by something and, given the direction of his expression, this must be Thusnelda. There is the sense that, as heralds of the ultimate destruction of the corrupt Roman world he embodies, he has good reason to fear the Germans. Yet his posture remains orientated towards Tiberius, his chief concern. Despite his pride, he too is a contrast to Thusnelda, for his power rests ultimately upon the emperor, while Thusnelda seems to command a certain independent power and dignity even in her reduced state of captivity.

To Sejanus' right we see the slouching figure of the traitor Segestes, the father of Thusnelda. The entirety of his figure suggests his awkwardness and the shame of his position. Despite being so close to his daughter he turns his head away from her, by whom he is in turn shunned. We can make out the long blond hair tied in a knot and blond beard, but these are cloaked in shade. This is the same shade in which the emperor reclines, and the gloom appears to emanate from him, engulfing Segestes. It is the Rome of Tiberius to which Segestes has betrayed his daughter, and as such his body faces the emperor rather than his own family. He wears a similar costume to the German warriors below the dais, with the same breastplate, trousers and bound boots. However he also wears a full length cloak over this, a mark of his Romanisation. Thusnelda, though captive, walks in the light, while he, though free, stands in darkness as a traitor. His principal counterpart however is the captive German warrior who looks up at him in rebuke, and the turn of their bodies echo each other. As

371 We might consider in particular Tacitus description of Tiberius' persecution of Agrippina the Elder: Tacitus, *Annales* 6.25.

Thusnelda, despite the ignominy of his capture, he is nonetheless much more noble than Segestes.

To the emperor's left are a group of royal and aristocratic Roman women, figures who attract the interest neither of the emperor nor of Thusnelda. The latter does however draw their attention, and as one they all look down at her with varying expressions. The woman centremost of these, wearing a red robe and a golden crown on her head, is most likely Tiberius' wife and Augustus' daughter Julia. As the emperor she lounges royally in her chair and looks down disdainfully on Thusnelda. However her left hand, playing nervously with her necklaces around the area of her throat, suggests inward personal reflection. She is evidently affected by the scene before her, perhaps through pity, perhaps jealousy, even if she struggles not to betray this in public. This is very much unlike the expression of the woman behind her, who places her right arm on the empress's shoulder and looks down at the scene excitedly. To her right we see the aged Livia, mother of Tiberius, holding a sheaf of paper in one hand and a quill in the other. Her reaction is one of condescension and arrogance as she cocks back her head.[372] At the bottom right of the group of women we can see Agrippina and her son, who parallel Thusnelda and Thumelicus, the nobility of whose character, like that of Germanicus, will provoke the anger of Tiberius.

Finally there are other significant details to the scene. Together with this group of women we can see a black woman who, judging by the manner in which Julia treats her, with her elbow resting on her back, is perhaps intended to be understood as a slave. The presence of the monkey lends her a sense of the exotic, hinting at the multiculturalism of Rome. As well as this monkey there are numerous other animals in the scene, including the dog and bear mentioned before, and there is a further bear in the triumphal procession, below the captive German warrior that looks up at Segestes. Several Roman children run alongside the procession, including two who call up at Thusnelda from her side, but to whom she makes no response.

To increase the dramatic effect of the German defeat Piloty has also included two further druidic figures, one of whom sits, and the other slumps utterly prostrate, in the lower left of the scene. They are surrounded by various objects, most notably a lyre, which the nearer figure is slumped over. His face is concealed, pressed to the ground in shame and buried under his arms, which are crossed at the wrists and tied.

372 This domineering portrayal reflects the elevated social position enjoyed by Livia in Tacitus' account.

Placed over the lyre as they are they suggest that half of his misery is being unable to play the lyre and fulfil his role. Notably however the other druidic figure, in a red cloak and a laurel wreath, looks up at Thusnelda from the shade, and there is a sense that she gives him hope yet. There is also a bundle of other objects by their side, including the spoils of war, pots brimming with gold (suggesting the true motive for Roman conquest), a horn and other objects representative of the supposedly conquered people.

Analysis

As his subject for this grand historical painting Piloty chose the triumph which was held in honour of Germanicus in 17 AD, following his victory over the confederation of the Cherusci, Chatti, and Marsi, and perhaps more importantly his recovery of the standards lost with the legions of Varus in 9AD. This episode is related by Tacitus in the first book of the *Annals*,[373] but Piloty has chosen to focus here on the figure of the captive Thusnelda, not named as such by Tacitus, separated from her husband. Piloty uses Thusnelda as a means of conveying a contemporary idea of Germany, something which, despite his absence, still draws much potency from Arminius himself. His very absence from this triumph shows that Germania is in fact still undefeated, that this triumph is therefore phoney, and that Thusnelda's calm resolution and pride is vindicated. We will consider some of the details of the painting that support this underlying idea in greater depth here.

The painting's composition is of course a carefully considered and constructed scheme, and none of the details are trivial or unimportant in it, but each has some meaning. Piloty's use of light and shade in particular prevents the painting becoming cacophonous, and it guides the observer to Thusnelda and Thumelicus as the principal point of interest in the painting. From here the eye is drawn to the other captives, the true representatives of Germany, and only thereafter to the emperor and the Roman dais. All of the other figures, and all of the detail of Rome, are essentially adjuncts to Thusnelda and to them, and their function should be understood as such. It must be remembered too that this painting is of monumental size and, to its observer, details which might seem minute in reproduction would be readily apparent.

373 Tacitus, *Annales* 1.55.

This is a history painting, and the consciousness of history and what it means to write history is very much present in the painting. First of all the subject matter of the painting is a Roman triumph, which is in itself a representation of the past. In this case it is the attempt both to erase the memory of the earlier disgrace of the loss of the legions of Varus, and the attempt to define a *Germania victa*. However Thusnelda's very evident defiance, lighting up the painting 'almost lumiscently',[374] her children, her husband so notable by his absence, indeed the very contrived nature of the whole spectacle, undermines this Roman attempt to rewrite recent history. As such Germanicus and his victories are very much an afterthought. The Rome we are presented with is rather that of Tiberius and Sejanus.

The fact that the druidic figure slumped in the foreground of the painting has his hands tied, is also an interesting detail. As the keepers of their people's traditions and history, in the absence of the sort of written records kept by the Romans, Piloty seems to be suggesting the captive Germans' powerlessness to record their own fate. Rather this will be recorded by the Romans and their version of events will be the more prominent, as the idea of the triumph itself suggests. Likewise the druidic figure in the procession has his arms behind his back, while his lyre hangs down before him. He too is unable to give a different version of events; Thusnelda's noble defiance will remain unsung. Or at least until the nineteenth century, may be the implication. Piloty may therefore be signalling to his audience that his history painting is more than just a history, it is revision of history.[375]

This association of older figures in the painting to the writing of history and the representation of events also extends to one of the Roman figures. This is the old man who forms the counterpart to the druidic figure in the procession, whom Piloty identified as Strabo, and whom he claims as his primary source for Germanicus' triumph, rather than Tacitus.[376] As Baumstark and Büttner explain: 'Als Zeuge tritt der griechische Geograph Strabo auf, der am rechten Bildrand einem Schüler die Zusammenhänge erläutert. Das historische Werk des Strabo bietet die einzige zeitgenössische Quelle für diese Begebenheit.'[377] Unlike any of the other artists whom we are looking at in this project, Piloty actually features his ancient source in his work

374 Benario (2004: 92).

375 By which is meant history painting which does not simply aim to portray a historical event, but to provoke a change in the way this event is conventionally understood.

376 Strabo, *Geography* 7.1.4.

personally. Such was his concern with appearing to observe historical accuracy.

In this way the older figures in the painting represent the two conflicting narratives attempting to write this important history, that of the victor and that of the defeated. From the contrast between the two figures it is clear who will win out, but Piloty is keen to suggest that this history is now being rewritten. Yet Piloty also shows his awareness of his broader source material elsewhere in the painting. His detailed characterisations of the emperor Tiberius and Sejanus, and of Livia, all betray a knowledge of the narratives of Tacitus and those other writers that followed in his tradition. Tiberius is the jaded and jealous old emperor, Sejanus the sinister and scheming advisor, and Livia the imperious mother. He also uses the knowledge of his observer to colour his characterisations. In Tiberius' disapproval of Thusnelda's haughtiness and nobility, there is inevitably an echo of his attitude towards Agrippina, as reported by Tacitus in the *Annals*. Piloty encourages this association by placing Agrippina amongst the Roman women on the dais, but giving her a uniquely sympathetic expression, and placing her with her child whom she protects, further reinforcing the parallels between the two women. Piloty intends his work to seem well-researched as a historical painting, and his inclusion of numerous Roman architectural and archaeological features, such as a triumphal arch and a statue of the Roman she-wolf, reinforce the sense of this.[378] Yet he is also demonstrating an awareness of the process of writing history itself, challenging its dominant narratives and asking the observer to consider new parallels, such as that between Thusnelda and Agrippina. The flipside of this is that it also enables him to claim more historical authenticity for what is really his own take on the Arminius theme, intended to support an ideal of contemporary Germany.

Victory and defeat might seem to be the two most important themes in this painting, but they are really very much secondary to two much more prominent themes: the opposition between pride and shame, and race. We can see the idea of the first prominent in almost all of the figures in the painting. The very idea of a triumph is all about pride, and Germanicus' pride is perhaps the least complicated in the painting; on the other hand this is part of the reason why he is only a sideshow here.

377 Baumstark, Büttner (2003: 319).

378 The triumphal arch appears closely modelled on the Arch of Titus, which is of later date than the events portrayed here. The wolf is the famous Capitoline Wolf from Rome (Capitoline Museum, Rome).

Instead the focus is on the Germans and the emperor and his companions. Thusnelda's pride is unshaken despite her defeat, and she has no shame in her capture. The other Germans in the procession struggle more than her, responding to the insults of Roman hecklers, rebuking Segestes, or turning away, but they ultimately retain their pride in the consciousness of righteousness, like Christian martyrs in Rome. The figure slumped in the foreground of the painting seems the closest to having lost his pride, but he too preserves a nobility in defeat, his lyre suggesting songs of great deeds past.

By contrast the imperial family is a study in vanity rather than just pride. The emperor appears so jaded as to take no pride in anything anymore. Sejanus' pride is for all the wrong reasons. Livia's is more arrogance and Julia's is overtaken by jealousy for one who has stolen the show. Agrippina's look of empathy shows up the contrast in this case. With the exception of Tiberius, who feels nothing, and Agrippina, who bears Thusnelda no ill will (despite being the wife of her husband's enemy on the battlefield), all of these figures have markedly defensive arm gestures, quickly demonstrating to the observer that they all feel threatened by Thusnelda in some way. There is therefore an implicit shame on their part, in the Roman women for not being as beautiful as Thusnelda with her radiantly blond hair,[379] and on the part of the emperor for the shame of the principal captive being a woman, itself demonstrating to all and sundry that her husband is still at large, and that Germany therefore remains undefeated.

Perhaps of all the German-Roman figural counterparts in the painting, that which demonstrates this pride-shame contrast most markedly is the Roman soldier that jeers at the druidic figure whom he leads in the procession. The Roman soldier is a study in arrogance and ignorance (something further reinforced by the immediate contrast with the wise old Strabo and the young scholar beside him). His youthful arrogance contrasts with the appearance of age and learning of the defeated German, whose head is bowed down under the weight of his burdens, while his own head is thrown back arrogantly. There is no nobility in his victory, while there is much nobility in the defeated German's suffering. This is the face that Piloty chooses to give to the Roman army, not the noble Germanicus, whose presence is reduced to little more than an afterthought.

The second key theme in this painting is race. This is not dealt with explicitly

379 Cf. Kleist (1809), Act 3 Scene 3, where Hermann describes the hair of Roman women as 'schwarz und fett, wie Hexen!', in contrast to Thusnelda's hair, which is 'hübsche, trockne, goldne'.

in the painting, but is suggested throughout. The Germans' physical appearance is in marked contrast with that of the Romans. Without exception they have blond or red hair, and all of the Romans with the single exception of Agrippina's child, have black hair. This is not an accident, and Piloty has used light to highlight the fair hair of the central group of captive Germans to the extent that it immediately draws the eye. In contrast he gives many of the most prominent Roman figures in the painting a Mediterranean physiognomy. For example the Roman girl who jeers at the Germans from the she-wolf has very dark hair, and the Roman soldier leading the druidic figure, and Strabo's student, are given stereotyped Latin features and a darker complexion. The purpose of this is of course to draw out the contrast with Thusnelda.

Nonetheless there is one other figure in the painting who is uniquely important here in considering Piloty's use of race in this painting. This is the black woman who sits with Julia and the group of Roman women on the dais. As the only non-European figure in the painting her function is clearly to demonstrate the multicultural society, but also vast territorial expanse, of the Roman empire. Her robes are orange, unlike any of the other women around her, and the monkey appears to be her pet. A crucial aspect of her situation in the painting is that she appears to look on Thusnelda in genuine admiration, unlike the other Roman women around her, who mainly appear to be jealous of her, or even Agrippina, whose empathy appears self-absorbed.

This is obviously a significant detail and one that Piloty included deliberately. In the colonial context of the late nineteenth century, something which had already seen a lively debate in Germany, Piloty appears to be making a veiled political statement. It is likely that his association of the African slave with the Germanic progenitor figure of Thusnelda is intended to draw a parallel between the noble savage of ancient Europe and that of the contemporary non-European world. We should not read overly into this, but it does seem to suggest that Piloty was not a racial supremacist, even if he was fiercely nationalist. We will now explore Piloty's nationalism here and the context of the painting in his art and time.

Piloty, the commission and the World Exhibition

This painting was a project that occupied Piloty for several years, most importantly between 1869 and 1873, ahead of the Vienna World Exhibition at which it was first shown, but he began working on his designs and sketches for the painting several

years before this. His work on the project can in fact be traced back as early as 1856.[380] In their volume on Piloty, Baumstark and Büttner quote a letter of 1863 of Piloty's to Friedrich Eggers, the editor of the *Deutsches Kunstblatt*, in which he describes his idea for the work in response to Eggers' request for a painting for the society to buy.[381] In this letter the major details of the work and its composition are already all worked out.

In the end this request never amounted to anything, but in 1869 came a commission and contract directly from Ludwig II and Piloty had his idea already prepared. At the time he was Director at the Berlin Academy, and was visited by the Prussian Minister of Culture, Mühler, at the behest of Wilhelm I, though the commission was made by order of Ludwig.[382] It is clear that Piloty spent a long time making preparatory works for the painting itself, modelling the figures and trying different compositions, before actually executing the final work. Some of these date from 1863-1864, demonstrating that Piloty was already making major preparations before receiving the royal contract. There are for example several studies of Thusnelda and Thumelicus, and there is a preliminary oil sketch for the entire picture in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg.[383]

We also know that Piloty was aware of his source material and, unlike some of the artists looked at here, who rather work from an Arminius tradition, he was reading and using classical texts. As Härtl-Kasulke comments: '1862 der mit Piloty befreundete Karl Stieler berichtete, daß seit diesem Jahr der Künstler an den Entwürfen zur "Thusnelda" gearbeitet hat. Piloty hatte damals eben Tacitus gelesen "und die berühmte Stelle, worin dieser heit allen Stolz der Sieger überstrahlt [...]", habe Piloty stark beeindruckt. Drei Jahre benötigte er bis zum ersten Entwurf welcher am Starnberger See entstand. Auch Bertha Piloty bestätigte, daß es das Lesen dieser Quelle war, die ihren Mann zur Ausführung dieses Bildes veranlaßt habe.'[384] We know

380 Baumstark, Büttner (2003: 323).

381 Baumstark, Büttner (2003: 326).

382 Härtl-Kasulke (1991: 166).

383 K. T. von Piloty, 'Ölskizze zu Thusnelda im Triumphzug des Germanicus', oil-on-canvas, 90.5 x 122.5 cm, 1868-1872 (Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich). See further: Härtl-Kasulke (1991: 168).

384 Härtl-Kasulke (1991: 166).

at least then that Piloty read both Tacitus and Strabo as part of his preparations for this painting. As discussed in the analysis above this is evident from details of the painting, details which many of the artists working simply from a tradition, rather than classical texts, do not include in their works.

What can we say about the context of the work as it was originally exhibited and the reception that it received? The painting was exhibited as part of the Vienna World Exhibition, an enormous event held in the Prater park in Vienna in 1873. This was an important event for artists, with the German *Allgemeine deutsche Kunstgenossenschaft*, the artists' association that had broken away from the *Kunstverein* and had run a successful show in Munich four years earlier, running a show in Vienna.[385] National governments also sponsored works at the exhibition, and Piloty's painting was an example of this. His painting occupied a prestigious position due to its placement in the *Salon Carré* together with the works of other famous artists.

The exhibition was of formidable size and had many different elements to it. As Krasny and Fellner-Feldhaus comment in their book on the exhibition: 'Auf 233 Hektar, einer fünfmal so großen Fläche wie bei der vorangegangen Weltausstellung des Jahres 1867 auf dem Pariser Marsfeld, entfaltete die Wiener Weltausstellung im grünen Areal des Praters ihre gigantische Bildungslandschaft. Die Welt der Waren und die Welt des Wissens gingen für dieses Unterfangen eine Allianz ein, deren langfristiger Nachhall noch in der globalisierten Warenwelt unserer heutigen Wissensgesellschaft deutlich spürbar ist.'[386] New technology and the globalisation of the end of the nineteenth century was clearly something that the imperial Austrian authorities were keen to showcase.

Yet nations and national achievements still formed a central element in this. Piloty's painting represented the German nation at the exhibition - newly imperial since the time when Piloty had begun work on the painting - and was an important part of showcasing the new 'nation'. Seen in this original context we can readily see the pertinence of Piloty's theme and how the choice of Thusnelda, rather than of Arminius, takes on a new significance. This was not just about showcasing German victories and an ancient claim to glory; it is about showing a new Germany, a nation

385 See further: Lenman (1989: 122).

386 Krasny, Fellner-Feldhaus (1991: 166).

that is restive and defiant, as Thusnelda in the painting, and a nation that is eager for new glory, not ready to be shackled or overshadowed by neighbouring powers. We should remember moreover that this is a grand statement being made at the ambitious world exhibition of the neighbouring, and traditional, grand power of the time, even if the major ally. The message is one of both national self-determination and Germanic allegiance.

Piloty's painting did not fail to impress. Härtl-Kasulke quotes a letter of Lenbach[387] to Piloty in which he relates how the painting 'viel Sensation macht, als [es] unter den obwaltenden scheußlichen Ausstellungensverhältnissen nur möglich ist'.[388] Piloty's style of grand, multi-figured compositions, and his theatrical sense of historical drama, was clearly well-fitted to the rich tapestry of the Vienna exhibition itself. Its position was also important, being placed in the *Salon Carré* between Wilhelm Camphausen's painting of King Frederik II, and not far from Félix Auguste Clément's 'Murder of Caesar'.[389] His work was therefore juxtaposed with other classical and German history painting. Yet in many ways his work would have been more prominent than these given its more unusual subject matter. Moreover beyond the obvious fact that he spent several years on his preparations for the painting, we know that Piloty completed certain works after the exhibition in connection with his painting. These included a smaller version of the painting and a painting of a 'Verfolgten Germanin', depicting a German maiden pursued by two Roman soldiers. Piloty had obviously put much consideration into his work and the result at the exhibition did not fail to make the intended impression.

How can we place this painting in the context of Piloty's broader style and work? We know that Piloty had made several study trips to Brussels, Antwerp and Paris with the aim of studying the new colouring techniques of the time, so we know that this was something which interested him, and colour is a prominent element in his painting. In his article 'Arminius into Hermann', Benario sums up well the key elements in Piloty's painting: 'Piloty was famed for his superb technique in the handling of colours, for his keen sense of the theatrical, and for his skill in

387 Franz von Lenbach (1836-1904), the Bavarian realist painter and student of Piloty.

388 Härtl-Kasulke (1991: 167). Letter dated 3rd May 1873.

389 Baumstark, Büttner (2003: 326).

representing masses of individuals.'[390] He was also an adherent of national painting from early on. As Müller comments: 'Piloty gab der "vaterländischen" Historienmalerei im Sinne der belgischen Vorbilder ebenso Auftrieb wie die 1855 in Dresden gegründete "Verbindung deutscher Kunstvereine für historische Kunst"'.[391]

Many of Piloty's paintings treat subjects from German history, but he also worked on several canvases with classical subject matter. These included a 'Murder of Caesar' (1865), a 'Nero dancing upon the ruins of Rome' (1861) and a 'Death of Alexander the Great' (incomplete). His choice of subject matter shows the same interest in decisive and dramatic historical events that we see in the Thusnelda painting. The same applies to his choice of paintings from German history, with canvases on the themes of 'The Astrologer Seni finding the body of Wallenstein' (1855), and 'The Battle of the White Mountain'. He drew freely on classical and German historical subject matter, focusing always on the key events, depicted replete with choreographed figures.

Beyond this we often find an interest in Catholic themes, an additional area beyond nationalist themes where his art can clearly be seen to be partisan. In his article on the representation of the Thirty Years' War in nineteenth-century German art Müller describes how in his work there is, 'eine katholische Geschichtsinterpretation als sicher anzunehmen'.[392] Piloty's works are often very pro-Catholic, which at the time could also function as a national statement on behalf of Bavaria. However in both of these respects, whether it is nationalist or religious art that we are looking at, Piloty's views are very much those of the Bavarian establishment of the time. This is not to say that the theme of Thusnelda was a conventional choice, only that his reasons for using the subject fit official state narratives of the time.

By the time Piloty worked on this painting for the Vienna exhibition he was very much an established artist. He had already been a well-known artist in Berlin in the 1850s and, as director of the Academy there, he was very influential for several of his pupils, including Hans Makart (who in turn influenced Alfons Mucha) and Hans von Marées amongst others.[393] In 1860 he was ennobled by the Bavarian state and was

390 Benario (2004: 91).

391 Müller (1999: 5).

392 Müller (1999: 14).

393 Hans von Marées (1837-1887), the German landscape artist. See further: Ettlinger (1972: 73).

brought yet closer to the artistic and aristocratic establishment. While Piloty was novel in certain respects, for example in his colouring and some of his choice of historical subject matter, he was otherwise conventional in his admiration and imitation of the style of the 'old masters'. As Ettlinger comments, Piloty and his pupils were 'imbued with a deep belief in the great tradition of European painting and with a sense of the moral obligations of the artist which formed an integral part of it.'[394] It is unlikely that he would ever have been appointed director of the Berlin Academy if he had been anything else.

Commentary on Piloty's 'Thusnelda'

This painting has excited a reasonable amount of academic commentary in various works, and we will consider some of this comparatively by theme here. Baumstark and Büttner's volume is probably the most important work on Piloty, in which a chapter is dedicated to this painting and the preparations that were made for it. At a general level this chapter makes the point that: 'Das Gemälde bildet einen glanzvollen Höhepunkt in Carl Theodor von Pilotys Auseinandersetzung mit der antiken Geschichte.'[395] It also comments more broadly on the painting in the context of Piloty's work and provides some important original commentary on the painting, some of which we will consider below.

The best analysis of Piloty's composition is probably Härtl-Kasulke's short commentary in her catalogue.[396] Beyond commenting on Piloty's use of light and shade, which she highlights as being comparable to that in the 'Seni' painting, Piloty's other well-known work, she also makes some important comments on the artist's use of foreshortening in the painting: 'Diese Art auszugrenzen und damit in einer großen Personenorganisation den Blickpunkt auf die Hauptakteure zu konzentrieren, bestimmt auch mit gewissen Einschränkungen die Endfassung. Kompositionell wird neben dem bereits bei Piloty erwähnten Hauptlichteinfall die wichtigste Gruppe durch den Schnittpunkt der Diagonalen hervorgehoben.' As commented above Piloty's painting is a very careful composition and it is important to deconstruct his method.

394 Ettlinger (1972: 73).

395 Baumstark and Büttner (2003: 319).

396 Härtl-Kasulke (1991: 166).

However what is (understandably) lacking in her catalogue is a more detailed reflection on the theme of the painting and its nationalist significance, something that has been attempted here.

The painting is not unrelated to other works, and Baumstark and Büttner in particular give some attention to this point. As mentioned above this work is discussed in the context of their broader work on Piloty's painting. They consider Piloty's studies for the painting, including those which he later made as finished paintings. In addition they also make a comparison with Janssen's series of murals on the *Varusschlacht* and trace Janssen's inspiration to one of Piloty's pupils, Heinrich Ludwig Philippi, who also illustrated the theme of Thusnelda, although they describe his work as having a 'statische Komposition' and of its being 'eher trocken und akademisch', than Piloty's work.[397]

A second aspect that their comprehensive chapter on the painting considers is the influence of the theatre and of stage sets on Piloty. They do not claim that the triumphal train itself is drawn from the theatre, but they highlight that many of the costumes are, arguing that here Piloty's source was the contemporary stage rather than ancient sources: 'Da man nur wenige historische Quellen über die Kleidung der Germanen besaß und selbst die Schilderung des Tacitus in der "Germania" nur wenig aussagekräftig war, bildete sich eine eher erfinderische Vorstellung von der Tracht der Germanen heraus, wie sie im Wesentlichen durch die Theaterbühnen verbreitet wurde. Die Figurine für die "Kurvenal" von Franz Seitz aus Richard Wagners "Tristan und Isolde" entstand zugleich etwa zeitgleich mit der ersten Version der Thusnelda vor 1865.'[398] This is an interesting aspect to consider alongside the general theatricality of the scene, and its careful choreography. Above all however it illustrates the fact that Piloty's painting was not created in a vacuum; he influenced and was influenced by the Germany in which he lived.

Among classicists who have considered this painting Beard's analysis in *The Roman Triumph* is probably the most extensive. As we have argued here she suggests a close reading of Tacitus by Piloty in working out the composition of this painting. In this way then for her: 'The scene on the imperial dais echoes all the Tacitean

397 Baumstark and Büttner (2003: 338). Härtl-Kasulke (Munich 1991: 169) makes the case that one of Piloty's major inspirations for the painting was Thomas Couture and his 'The Fall of Rome' (1847), to which she argues there are several close compositional parallels.

398 Baumstark and Büttner (2003: 337).

misgivings.' Beard argues for an identification of the figure to Tiberius' right as Tiberius' 'sinister right-hand man Sejanus'. However it is unclear that Piloty necessarily intends for Tiberius to appear 'decidedly grumpy', which seems to underplay the complexity of Tacitus' characterisation of the emperor and the approach Piloty chooses to take towards his portrayal. The impression is rather overridingly of his being jaded, even if he also appears bored. Moreover her description of the imperial ladies as 'having a good time, gawping at the exotic display' seems to overlook the characterisation of Agrippina and her son, and the possible parallels with Thusnelda and Thumelicus.[399]

Unlike some other commentators however Beard does comment on nationalism in Piloty's painting. She makes the initial point that: 'Piloty is playing with one of the commonest types of nineteenth-century nationalism, taking the most prominent victims of Roman conquest and transforming them into heroes of the nation-states of Europe.'[400] She continues by listing Boudicca and Vercingetorix as additional examples of this, as well as Arminius and Thusnelda. The point is valid enough, although as we see elsewhere there is the tendency here to assume that the usage of these characters was always of an uncomplicated nationalist nature. In this way then these figures 'were all conscripted into the patriotic pantheon of their home countries in northern Europe' during the nineteenth century. 'Conscription' seems the wrong word, implying as it does that there might be some agency in the figures themselves either to refuse or accept to be used for nationalist purposes but ultimately not to have any say in the matter. Either way as understood the term seems to imply that there was something non-negotiable about the use of figures such as Thusnelda, Arminius or Vercingetorix and, given the military overtones of the term, that their use would be exclusively in the cause of militant nationalism. The underlying reasoning misunderstands the subtle and flexible nature of nationalist receptions of these figures in the nineteenth century.

Nonetheless Beard's analysis as a classicist is interesting, approaching the painting from the point of view of the Roman triumph, which is of course what her book is about, rather than receptions of the classics in nationalist art in the nineteenth century. She draws out some of the themes and questions associated with the Roman

399 Beard (2007: 110).

400 Beard (2007: 111).

triumph in nineteenth-century literature and considers Piloty's painting through this lens: 'Piloty is also picking up key themes in Roman commentaries on the celebrations of triumph: that the gaze of the audience was perilously hard to control; that the general risked being up-staged by his exotic victims; that noble (or pitiful) captives might always steal the show. At the center of the parade lay a dynamic tension - a competition for the eyes of the spectator - between victor and victim.'[401] Beard of course gives Thusnelda as a prime example of this distraction of the gaze of the observer, in this case that of the observer of the painting itself. Beard suggests that the usage of these themes by Piloty is 'knowing or not', but it is quite clear from the other literary allusions of his painting - for example that of Agrippina - that this was quite deliberate. Considering these points and given the context of the painting in the world exhibition, where it was representative of the new Germany, many of the points that Beard draws out become particularly fascinating, for example the idea of the victor-victim paradox. There is the suggestion here that Germany, before the victim, has now stolen the show from the other great powers.

Benario also analyses the painting briefly in his article, 'Arminius into Hermann'.[402] He implies that Piloty's is the first representation of Thusnelda in a triumphal scene: 'Thusnelda's part in Germanicus' triumph is not described by Tacitus. A pictorial version of what the historian might have written did not come for more than eighteen and a half centuries.' We know of course that Thusnelda had been portrayed in plays before this time, and that she had limited representation in art. Bandel had portrayed a Thusnelda, and it is possible that the woman in the left end of the Walhalla pediment was intended by Schwanthaler to represent Thusnelda. However this characterisation is unclear, whereas that in the Piloty painting is. What is novel is the complexity of the nationalist reception here, which employs the figure of Thusnelda as representative of the German nation in a far more subtle portrayal than any other medium had done before.[403]

401 Beard (2007: 111).

402 Benario (2004: 91).

403 It should be noted that Klaus Lankheit's pamphlet, *Karl von Piloty. Thusnelda im Triumphzug des Germanicus* (1984), has not been discussed here, as many of the points made there are the same as those already noted.

Piloty's 'Thusnelda' and German unification

A very important initial point which must be borne in mind when considering this painting in the context of contemporary nationalism in Germany is that the painting was made in Munich. At first during the reign of the Bavarian king Maximilian II and later under Ludwig II. No consideration of a nationalist painting created in the Bavaria of the time can be divorced from the circumstances of Ludwig II's relationship with Bismarck and Wilhelm I of Prussia.

The retreat and fantasies of the eccentric Ludwig II is a well-known tale, but Bismarck's politics towards the Bavarian king in the 1860s are an important element in how Bavaria came to be a part of the new German empire. Gall points out that despite the superficial similarities of the two constitutional monarchies from which they came, the two men were very different: 'Jedoch ist deutlich, daß sich hier zwei durchaus gegensätzlich angelegte Persönlichkeiten gegenüberstanden, unterschieden nach Alter, Herkunft, Erziehung, nach sozialer und politischer Position, nach Lebensentwurf und bisheriger Lebensleistung.'[404] The two men appear to have been on amicable terms, yet despite this the fact cannot be avoided that Bismarck's unification politics were clear, and complemented by Ludwig's increasing withdrawal from the public stage and consequent powerlessness. By the beginning of the 1870s Bismarck had persuaded many of the powerful elements in Bavarian society of the merits of unification, culminating ultimately in the *Kaiserbrief* of November 1870 in which Ludwig asked Bismarck to become emperor. It was not long before Ludwig disappeared from the scene altogether in mysterious circumstances.[405] Nonetheless to the end of his life Ludwig thought favourably of Bismarck.

It is against this complex backdrop that we must consider this painting. A contemporary idea of the role of history painting was given by Max Schasler: 'der Nation eine Vorstellung von ihrer eignen Größe und Bedeutung dadurch zu geben, daß man ihr die herrlichen Taten ihrer Fürsten und Vorfahren in einem Zyklus von grogartigen Bildern vorführt.'[406] We can see that this is certainly what Piloty is attempting to do here, in which respect it is likely that he was influenced by Kleist's

404 Gall (2000: 41).

405 See further: Pohlsander (2008: 242)

406 Cited by Müller (1999: 2).

play and his use of Arminius and Thusnelda for nationalist purposes.[407] The captive Thusnelda is a prefigurement of modern German virtue. From the perspective of the contemporary empire she could serve as an ancient example of unbowed pride, and given that her capture was due to her husband's actions in a first confederation of German tribes, we can readily see the relevance of this for a newly unified Germany. Indeed Thusnelda is more than just an example of virtue here; she is a martyr in the cause of unification.

Given the connotations Piloty managed to attach to the figure of Thusnelda through his interpretation of Strabo and Tacitus it is little wonder that this commission ultimately originated with Bismarck, even if it was made by order of Ludwig. The circumstances of the commission themselves involve the idea of service to the nation: Piloty undertakes the work for his Bavarian king, but it is really in service of Germany and the emperor. At the same time this fact should not be detached from the role of the painting in the exhibition itself. As Beard comments: 'it was chosen as the work of art to represent Germany by the international jury then in charge of selecting "the outstanding creations of all nations" to adorn the show.[408] Officially at least there was no incompatibility between serving Munich and Germany as an artist, although the reality must have been more complex. The work could be presented as part of an unbroken Bavarian artistic tradition from the time of Maximilian II (and his father before him) whose aim had been, 'München zur führenden Kulturstadt Mitteleuropas auszubauen'.[409] Service to the Bavarian king was now service to the new German nation.

Racial theory of course played a role in some of the arguments for German unification, and especially for many of the proponents of the *Großdeutschland* argument, which would have incorporated Austria, Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, and other Austro-Hungarian territories into Germany. As discussed above race is an implicit but major theme in this painting. How can we relate this to this painting's function in representing a united Germany? The painting was certainly understood by some at the time as representing the incipient might of the German race, soon to wax to greatness, not least by Piloty's wife Bertha. In a description of the painting she

407 See further: Baumstark, Büttner (2003: 337).

408 Beard (2007: 107).

409 Cited in Lutz (1985: 373). The Munich Academy's role had been in the ascendant since supplanting Düsseldorf in the 1850s, and was now the leading artistic centre of Germany.

speaks of the painting's 'weichlichen Männern und geputzten Weibern, deren Sitten sich in ihrer Erscheinung spiegeln', and of a 'jungen germanischen Volk, in dem die Macht erwächst, das mit frischem, unverfälschtem Lebensmut sich emporarbeitet, um bei wachsender Kultur seine Machtstellung zu erringen'.[410] We can see then that the understanding of the painting by one of those closest to Piloty was framed in terms of the precepts of the debate about race and unification in late nineteenth-century Germany.

Benario argues for Thusnelda as a representative of the invincibility of the German race.[411] However this and other similar readings of the painting seem to gloss its special significance in the context of unification. They also little consider the context of the exhibition, which was held in Vienna, the imperial capital of a modern Germanic empire that had not been included in the *Kleindeutschland* solution for unification that had ultimately been adopted. There is certainly a message of Germanic fraternity being projected here, and beyond this an idea of a closer relationship between Germanic peoples. This is after all the subtext of Arminius' victories over Rome; that united the German tribes are invincible. If anything at all the German captives are united in their defeat in this painting, in contrast to the Romans who, for all their trumpeted victory, are evidently a pandemonium of different characters, peoples and rivals.

Segestes is the exception to this. Segestes is a German but he is not a captive of Rome, at least not officially, and the shame of this evidently weighs upon him in Piloty's painting. Segestes' costume and long beard make him a discordant fit with the other figures on the tribunal, showing how out of place the traitor is. There is something absolute about the message of unity behind the painting: that a true German has no place outside of the German confederation. Thusnelda is the stern and uncompromising embodiment of this fundamental truth. Whether there is a coded message here directed at Austria can only be speculated, but it is an interesting possibility that cannot be ignored given the context of the World Exhibition being in Vienna. Segestes, the Romanised German, can never be at peace until he is back with his own people.[412]

Finally it should be noted in this context that although this is a nationalist

410 Härtl-Kasulke (1991: 165-166).

411 Benario (2004: 92-93).

painting it nevertheless borrows heavily on religious iconography. Thusnelda is an ancient martyr in the cause of her nation, not simply a proponent of it. As mentioned above Piloty painted many subjects from religious history, including several during the 1850s with a Catholic agenda.[413] While the Thusnelda painting does not fall into this category in terms of subject matter, it nonetheless does in terms of style. Even the iconography of imperial Rome and the defiant young maiden suggests the theme of a Christian martyr. In addition the presence of the infant child evokes associations of the Virgin Mary, lending Thusnelda and Thumelicus a semi-divine status. Her white dress, in contrast to all the finery of Rome around her, makes the allusion yet stronger. Especially to the eyes of a Bavarian or Austrian Catholic observer at the exhibition, Thusnelda becomes a sort of Virgin Mary to the infant Germany, the greatness of whose people is divinely foreordained.

Alfons Mucha

Varrus brûlé après la bataille de Teutbourg

In this engraving by the Czech artist Alfons Mucha, produced for the French historian Charles Seignobos's 1898 *Scènes et épisodes de l'histoire d'Allemagne*, we see the burning of Varus after the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest (*Figure 11*). Erect and dominating the composition with his bright and rather elongated helmet wings, a male figure stands holding a cup in his hand. This is undoubtedly Arminius, adorned as he is with cape and at the centre of the composition. Outstretched toward us before his feet, hands held up contortedly in the air as if in rigor mortis, lies the rather mangled and charred figure of a man. Considering the title this is certainly Varus, upon whom we can still make out the Roman armour, the cuirass and the plates of the metallic shoulder guards. Below Arminius and to his right stand various figures cloaked in long white robes which cover their heads. The foremost of these, who stands, is perhaps a druidic priest of sorts, who has just administered to this cremation. Behind several sitting figures strum on harps, one of whom in the foreground looks on intent

412 Indeed this is a theme we find in Tacitus (*Annales* 1.57), where Tacitus relates how Segestes' son broke the bonds of his Roman upbringing at the sacrificial altars to flee back to his own people.

413 For a more detailed outline of Piloty's religious painting for Maximilian II, see: Müller (1999: 15-17). Hans Makart (by whom Alfons Mucha was in turn influenced) was an important student of Piloty's, influenced in particular by Piloty's take on the religious themes of his Thirty Years' War paintings.

on the ceremony. We are left to the conclusion that Mucha here imagines some crematory rite of the defeated general after Arminius' victory. It is unclear to the viewer whether the general has been cremated alive or dead. The rather gruesomely rigid and charred hands of the general might suggest that Mucha has taken the more imaginative approach of depicting this as a sacrifice, since according to Tacitus Varus met his end at his own hand.[414]

Indeed this conclusion is increasingly hard to avoid the closer we come to inspect the rest of the painting. Again a large tree dominates the composition, as in many other depictions of this scene, but this time instead of the mere spoils of the enemy we have the Romans themselves attached to it. Or at least their heads, some hung together in baskets. We can still see their dark beards and the expressions on some of their faces, perhaps at meeting their grisly fate. This squares closely with the *Annals*, where Tacitus relates how Germanicus' men came across skulls of Varus' defeated men nailed to tree trunks.[415] Then there is the gruesome font in the foreground, whose use is uncertain but invites horrific imagining. It appears as if there is blood inside it, and spilling out of it, and we may infer that the straps attached to it are used to restrain victims, perhaps before their decapitation.

Indeed there is much of both gruesome theatricality and religious spectacle to this scene, and Mucha employs both to full effect. Ranged behind Arminius in the woods many people can be seen gathered, who look down intently on the scene, just as we ourselves are invited to do. Indeed the viewer's perspective places him as one of the throng who surround this strange rite and wonder at it. Arminius himself - his distinguishing costume, posture, set expression, and ceremonial holding of the cup - suggests comparison with a priest. The prominent font in the foreground also hints at a comparison with a Christian service. Yet the druidic figures, the strange costumes and the heads, as well as the general woodland pagan setting, tell the viewer that this is more some strange perversion of holy rites.

The painting derives great drama from the tension between these; what we expect and what is actually happening. However there is a further tension which

414 Tacitus, *Annales* 61. '*primum ubi vulnus Varo adactum, ubi infelici dextera et suo ictu mortem invenerit*.' ('where Varus received his first wound, and where he met his end by his own unhappy hand.')

415 Tacitus, *Annales* 61: '*Adiacebant fragmina telorum equorumque artus, simul truncis arborum antefixa ora*'. ('Spear fragments and horse limbs were lying about, and skulls fixed to the tree trunks.')

derives from the painting's style. The compositional and figure style is absolutely typical of Mucha's work (in which we might compare the other episodes from the German history of which this engraving forms one episode, or else any of his female personifications). Arminius himself is tall and elegant, and the positioning of the tree and the staggered levelling of other figures in a continuous line with this, as well as the figures behind Arminius, form a fluid and harmonious curve together, such as we find in all of Mucha's work.[416] And yet the purpose of this is usually to create a sense of divine levity and apotheosis (as for example in his female figures representing the seasons).[417] Yet here that sense of exaltation, also clearly reflected in the figure of Arminius himself, seems in awful contrast to the grisly activities being shown, and the writhing Varus. Mucha certainly intends a primitive picture of the early Germans, which owes much to both Caesar and Tacitus' accounts of the early Germans and Gauls and their inhuman religious rites.[418]

Mucha and the commission for the illustration

Mucha's interpretation of the Teutoburg episode is highly original and highly informed by his own views and background, making his illustrations for this book far more noteworthy than has been acknowledged in the past.[419] However before moving on to an assessment of this particular artist's approach to the theme and reasons for portraying it in the grim light that he does, which shall form the substance of this chapter, it would be helpful to provide some brief contextual information. The artist Alfons Mucha, born in the Moravian town of Ivančice in 1860 in what was at that time part of the Czech crownlands of the Austro-Hungarian empire, was at the time of this illustration in the 1890s working in Paris. From an early spell in Brunn (Brno), Nikolsburg (Mikulov) and Vienna, he had moved to Munich for his schooling in painting but had subsequently travelled to Paris when his patronage in Munich had

416 For Mucha's theory of design and harmonious forms, see: Mucha (1975).

417 A. Mucha, 'The Seasons', colour lithograph series, 1896 (Mucha Museum, Prague).

418 Cf. Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 6.17.3-5, on the druids and human sacrifice.

419 Scholarship on Mucha's illustrations for Seignobos's book in the published literature on Mucha is very limited, receiving virtually no or minimal coverage in the main works cited in this chapter or in catalogues of past exhibitions on Mucha. For an exception however, in which a brief chapter on the work is included, see: Husslein-Arco, Gaillemin, Hilaire, Lange (eds.) (2009).

dried up. Later to achieve fame for his theatrical posters for the actress Sarah Bernhardt from 1894 onwards, and subsequently for a host of commercial advertisers, he was at this stage still a relatively unknown figure, scraping out a living through book illustrations and other similar projects. He had however already made the acquaintance of many prominent *fin-de-siècle* artists in Paris, including Paul Gauguin.

At the end of the 1880s Mucha was undertaking small commissions for the magazine *Le Petit Français Illustré*, work procured for him by the young editor Henri Bourrelier, and in this way came to the attention of a Parisian publisher, Armand Colin, which was at this time looking for an artist to illustrate the French historian Charles Seignobos' *Scènes et Episodes de l'histoire d'Allemagne*. In 1891 the publisher approached Mucha and offered him the commission, which he accepted and began work on that year. The illustrations, to accompany Seignobos' text, numbered forty and were to be completed by Mucha and the artist Georges Rochegrosse.[420] The work, detailing Seignobos' pivotal episodes from German history, contains illustrations by Mucha on the themes of for example the death of Wallenstein and Pierre des Vignes, the death of Jan Hus and Frederik II's entrance into Jerusalem. They are all scenes of high drama, and the illustration we are looking at here is typical of this.

Throughout his life Mucha remained a prodigious worker and his output across the entirety of his career is considerable. It seems that, even though he was not yet at the height of his fame as an artist at this time, he was still incredibly busy with many different projects, and this only increased in the years up to 1898 as he continued with the illustrations for the book. In his biography of his father, the artist's son Jiří Mucha relates of this time: 'Now that he had signed a contract with Champenois, he had four different jobs, each of which was enough for a full-time occupation. He had to continue with the illustrations for Seignobos's History of Germany and prepare for a History of Spain, there was Ilsée, there was Champenois, and at the same time there was Sarah and the many hours a week at the theatre.'[421]

Mucha is principally known for his many posters, completed from the later

420 Sylvestrová, Štembera (2009: 150). The artist Georges Rochegrosse (1859-1938) was a French history painter.

421 Mucha (1966: 171). 'Sarah' here refers to the actress Sarah Bernhardt, for whom Mucha undertook many commissions, and 'Ilsée' to Mucha's illustrations to Robert de Flers' (1872-1927) *Ilsée, Princesse de Tripoli* (1897).

1890s onwards, which portray beautiful female figures, both theatrical (as in the case of the many commissions from Sarah Bernhardt) and allegorical. However while the bulk of his work follows such fairly predictable schemes, it is worth bearing in mind for our purposes both that Mucha had not yet fully developed his characteristic style at the time of our illustration, but also some of his recent and formative training as a painter. It may seem odd to find Mucha, considering the basis of his fame, illustrating historical themes, but we should remember that he had only actually arrived in Paris in 1888. From 1885 until this time he had been attending the Academy in Munich, and there he would have been very much exposed to history painting and history painters. Mucha had, after all, only come to Paris in the first place as a means of supporting himself by means of such illustrations as that which we are looking at here, only leaving Munich when the funding provided him by his patron Count Khuen-Belassi was no longer forthcoming.[422] Before this time Mucha had worked briefly as a painter of stage sets in Vienna. All of these influences had a bearing on his subsequent work.

In Vienna Mucha was influenced in particular by the artist Hans Makart (1840-1884).[423] As the authors of *Alfons Mucha - Czech Master of the Belle Epoque*, comment: 'Mucha's emergent style was moulded by the Vienna artist Hans Makart (1840-1884). The "Makart style" anticipated the arrival of the Wiener Secession. Makart was enchanting Vienna society with his allegorical and mythological paintings in the vein of historicism, rendered in strikingly rich colours.'[424] Makart's paintings were certainly a significant break with the past and, while Mucha's style ultimately differs from Makart's, we can detect something of his influence in early works such as that under consideration here. Among art historians focused on Mucha's work, consensus is that Makart was an important formative influence for Mucha. Brabcová-Orlíková, one of those who makes the case for this, similarly argues of Makart that: 'Makart's fancy for flowers, his tendency to combine all fine art forms with decorative art, the oversize format of his paintings, and his distinctly feminine inspiration

422 Mucha had met the count in the Czech town of Nikolsburg (Mikulov) in 1881, where he had been working as a portraitist, and had been commissioned by the count to decorate his castle at Emmahof, which in turn led to the count financing his studies in Munich.

423 Hans Makart (1840-1884), an Austrian painter who studied in Munich under Karl Theodor von Piloty, was summoned to Vienna in 1869 by Emperor Francis Joseph. From then on he produced many large scale works, including theatrical sets, many of which met with controversy for their novel freer use of colour and their range of subjects. A highly influential figure for artists working in Vienna at the time, his historical subjects and increasingly fantastical works became unpopular after his death.

424 Sylvestrová, Štembera (2009: 13).

foretold some of the tendencies of Art Nouveau'.[425] Brabcová-Orlíková here even argues that Mucha may have gone so far as to emulate Makart's lifestyle as well as his art. Perhaps it is possible to trace the influence of Makart's art on Mucha's work, but most important for our purposes is to see that at an early stage Mucha was in contact with and influenced by German and Austrian artists and historical painters (Makart had himself been influenced by Karl Theodor von Piloty in the early 1860s). His acceptance then of the commission from Armand Colin to illustrate historical themes only a few years later cannot be seen to be anomalous, even if it stands out as atypical amongst the greater body of his life's work.

Mucha's style

In considering Mucha's approach in this particular illustration and the other illustrations for Seignobos' book we must consider what Mucha's characteristic style was, to understand better what is typical and unusual about this particular work. As mentioned above, today Mucha is known principally for his commercial illustrations, typically depicting the human, usually female, figure in compositions dominated by strong curvilinear forms, which lend his compositions a great sense of motion and dynamism. Indeed for his work in Paris in the later 1890s Mucha became known for these trademark elements. Mucha was an *Art Nouveau* artist but is perhaps as much responsible for the formation of what is thought of as characteristic of this style as it is responsible for influencing his style. As Wittlich comments: 'Within the context of this movement, Alphonse Mucha developed his own *style Mucha* which had its own unique attributes, although it clearly fits within the general framework of the outlook of the fin-de-siècle.'[426]

We have mentioned in passing the influences of Makart and historical painting. A further important formative influence on Mucha's style, in evidence in the Arminius illustration, is his period as a theatrical set decorator in Vienna. As Brabcová-Orliková argues of his illustrations: 'Two fateful experiences influenced his future as an artist: his arrangement of the historical scenes of his illustrations was theatrical, and theatre posters and his friendship with the actress Sarah Bernhardt

425 Brabcová-Orlíková (1998: 16).

426 Wittlich (2005: 8).

made him famous.'[427] Brabcová-Orlíková clearly takes the view that his theatrical set illustrations directly influenced his work as an illustrator, which in turn influenced the final formation of his more mature style, so much so that she puts this on an equal par with that pivotal moment in the artist's life and fortunes; his meeting with Sarah Bernhardt.

Something particularly important in this illustration, as in all the illustrations for the book, is light. Mucha's choice of setting of a dark grove enables him to make a very selective use of light to highlight Arminius himself in his sacrificial role, playing down other background elements to draw special attention to his figure. The charred and writhing body of Varus is placed in direct contrast to Arminius, hidden in shade. In this way Mucha makes use of powerful dark and light contrasts to bring our attention to Arminius first, the druidic figures and the harpists, before we notice the other more disturbing elements of the composition. In so doing he is clearly influenced by the organisation of stage sets, but also makes full use of the particular potentialities of engraving. Mucha would not have made the final engraving himself, but would have been aware of the effects that could be achieved. Lahoda highlights the important change in Mucha's use of light that we are witnessing here: 'V kresbách Alfonse Muchy z konce osmdesátých let a počátku let devadesátých se jako nový podnět pařížského prostředí projevil jeho zájem o světlo jako dramatický prvek, který vyhrocoval narativnost děje. Dokládají to především ilustrace k Faustovi.'[428] Lahoda thus acknowledges that it is in the medium of illustration in the 1880s and early 1890s that we first see this change.

However, despite the largely adulatory nature of most of the publications on Mucha's work, it has to be recognised that Mucha has not always been recognised as a great or important artist, and as we shall see this may to some degree have something to do with his output in later life. It is perhaps important to realise the ultimate artistic constraints of the *Art Nouveau* style. As one reviewer of one of Mucha's exhibitions in London in the 1960s argued: 'His formal ideas were few and most of his poster designs consist of a female figure, usually full length, surrounded by elaborate lettering and decorative enrichments. This is the last flicker of the Renaissance

427 Brabcová-Orliková (1998: 16).

428 Lahoda (1998: 38). 'In Alfons Mucha's designs from the end of the 80s and the beginning of the 90s his interest in light as a dramatic element, essential to the narration of events, first appears at the spur of his Parisian environment. This is demonstrated above all by his illustrations to *Faust*.'

tradition, the saint in the niche, just as the enormous poster for the West End Review (1898), showing a pensive figure in a Japanese flood of brick-orange drapery with an open book on her knees, is a final, sickly and inbred descendant of the Sistine Ceiling.'[429] Mucha's work is clearly not, and certainly wasn't, to everyone's tastes, just as for example Pre-Raphaelitism in England had not been. However, as those artists, Mucha was nonetheless very influential. Mucha was after all a close friend of Paul Gauguin's and so many other important artists working in *fin-de-siècle* Paris.[430]

However there are many elements in this particular illustration worthy of further comment. In some ways certain of its elements are not typical of Mucha's wonted style in his posters and commercial work. Here this is principally about theme. Another similar exception to the usual serenity of his choice of theme, which may perhaps form a useful comparison to the Arminius illustration, is his poster for Sarah Bernhardt's play *Medea*.[431] Here we see the rigidly upright figure of Medea, a sort of terrifying apparition, standing knife in hand over her slain children. As in the illustration we are looking at we have a similarly horrific theme, with the killer standing over their victim. However in a certain sense this poster is less horrific than the illustration, because Medea's crazed expression to some degree offers us explanation for the horror: it is precisely because of her crazed state that she has done what she has. In contrast what is so disturbing about the illustration is not only that we are looking at what is meant to be a real historical event, but also simply Arminius' face. Far from the crazed state that Medea is obviously in, Arminius is quite calm, with the utter conviction of what appears to be religious ritual. We cannot rationalise the horror away.

We will shortly come on to a closer examination of why Mucha may have chosen to illustrate Seignobos' work in such a light, but at this stage in considering Mucha's style we must make a few points about his portrayal of horror. In his biography the artist's son Jiří Mucha comments on horror and his father's style in the illustrations for Seignobos: 'Mucha suddenly blossomed forth as a remarkable historical painter. He has been accused of overgracefulness: yet he juggled with horror. He has been declared to be incapable of drawing human figures that were not

429 Roberts (1963: 337).

430 See further on this: Mucha (2005: 8).

431 A. Mucha, 'Medea', colour lithograph, 201.5 x 75cm, 1898 (Moravská Galerie, Brno).

virtually petrified : yet he launched into a bewildering debauch of movement. In his 'Defenestration of Prague' and especially in his 'Victory of Julian over the Alemanni' there is an intensity of life which no other artist has ever surpassed.'[432] The praise is perhaps a little hyperbolic, but what the author seems to be hinting at here is that in the illustrations for the book his father drew particular power and drama from his use of horror, and this is certainly the case here. It is perhaps one explanation of why Mucha chose to illustrate this bizarre ceremony after the battle, rather than the battle itself.

A further important fact which must not be overlooked in understanding Mucha's style and setting for this illustration is Mucha's interest in mysticism and the occult. This should be seen in context, given that the Paris of this time was full of mystic thinkers and spiritualists. In an article discussing religion and superstition in France in the nineteenth century, Weber comments of the ubiquity of the occult at this time: 'The persistence of occultism and its appearance on all sides of the political spectrum suggest the widespread influence of what we too easily dismiss as simply silly. So do its recurrent themes: regeneration, social and individual; science and proto-science; conspiracy or counter-conspiracy; activities and forces acting below the surface, invisible to the uninitiated but fundamental to understanding and control of an increasingly opaque world.'[433] Especially in artistic circles there was widespread fascination with the occult and with mysticism, and Mucha was no exception. As Sylvestrová and Štembera's comment of his preoccupations with freemasonry and mysticism: 'The Freemasonry movement [...] played a part in Mucha's fading engagement with ornamentation and strengthened his resolve to endow his art with a profound moral message. Freemasonic, occult and spiritualistic symbols then started to spring up not only in the artist's calligraphy, ornamentation and book illustrations but also in the decorative sections of his posters and panels.'[434] We should not then be surprised to find such a mystic form given to the Teutoburg theme in Mucha's work and, while not the only explanation for Mucha's style here, it is certainly a further contributing element. As Sarah Mucha has pointed out, his acquaintances included, amongst others, Paul Gauguin, Paul Sérusier and the Nabis, as well as August

432 Mucha (1966: 248).

433 Weber (1988: 405).

434 Sylvestrová, Štembera's (2009: 43).

Strindberg, the famous astronomer Camille Flammarion and Colonel de Rochas, with whom Mucha was involved in experiments in extrasensory perception, seances, and spiritual suggestion.[435] It is unsurprising that his works take on a mystical character at this time considering the company he kept.

There has been very little academic discussion of Mucha's illustrations for Seignobos' German history and virtually none on his take on the Arminius episode. One rare exception to this is the brief chapter on the book in Husslein-Arco's volume on Mucha in accompaniment to the 2009 and 2010 Vienna and Munich exhibitions on the artist. In this volume Sato briefly comments of Mucha's style, taking the Pierre de Vignes illustration as example, as follows: 'Mucha versteht es, die Beschränkung auf das schwarzweiße Medium geschickt zu nutzen, er spielt mit Kontrasten, Diagonalen, perspektivischen Verkürzungen, hebt anatomische Details wie das Kinn des Petrus de Vinea oder die Ferse des heiligen Adalbart hervor, um den Blick des Betrachters auf das grauenvolle Sterben inmitten von Ratten oder von Totenschädeln zu lenken.'[436] Likewise, as we have seen above, Mucha makes use of the particular potential of his medium in the Arminius illustration to guide the viewer to Arminius and the trappings of the barbaric ceremony, before we become aware of the more horrific elements of the composition, which in a sense serves only to emphasise them more by this contrast than would have been the case had he not played so greatly upon light-dark contrasts. We will now move on to look at possible reasons why Mucha may have chosen to approach his theme in the way that he does.

Charles Seignobos

Perhaps the best place to begin trying to answer this question is by understanding the views and approach of the author whose book Mucha was commissioned to illustrate. It is probably fair to say that Charles Seignobos, the French historian of French, medieval and ancient European history, enjoyed greater acclaim in his day than he does today. This is perhaps because his methods of historical enquiry, based primarily on an investigation of the institutions that make up any given society, may have fallen out of fashion in the later twentieth century. It is not the purpose of our enquiry here

435 Mucha (2005: 12).

436 Sato (2009: 246).

to enter upon any lengthy enquiry about Seignobos as a historian and his methods, but his general view of the nature of historical enquiry can perhaps be best understood by a recapitulation given by Prost in his article 'Seignobos revisité': 'L'histoire a pour but de décrire, au moyen des documents, les sociétés passées et leurs métamorphoses. Cette définition, qu'il donne dans son premier article, résume à elle seule un projet.'[437] For Seignobos then, what is important in historical enquiry is how things change, and these changes must be analysed through documents.

In the book we are looking at it is clear enough from the title that this is the approach that Seignobos is taking here. Key events and turning points in German history are highlighted. As one of the first he has given Arminius' victory over the Romans. Of Seignobos' organisation of the book, Sato comments: 'Die einzelnen "Episoden" dieses Werkes, das in Einzellieferungen erschienen, waren jeweils einer berühmten Person der deutschen Geschichte gewidmet - von den alten Germanen über das Heilige Römische Reich Deutscher Nation bis zu den napoleonischen Kriegen. Ereignisse und Themen aus jüngerer Zeit sparte Seignobos, der Quellenkritik und positivistische Methode zu einer Ereignisgeschichte verband, wohlweislich aus.'[438] Clearly then, in this work as in Seignobos' other works, historical sources are important. In understanding the illustration in question then, a natural question to ask is what Seignobos' attitude towards Tacitus was.

In the case of Seignobos this is unusually easy to determine. In his *Introduction aux études historiques*, a methodological text for historical enquiry which he wrote in 1898, Seignobos makes extensive negative comments about Tacitus as a historian, often using him as a paragon of what the historian should avoid. This occurs in several different contexts in this work. Seignobos gives Tacitus' comments in the *Germania* concerning German land ownership as a prime example of what he calls 'la critique interne': 'Quand un zoologiste décrit la forme et la longeur d'un muscle, quand un physiologiste présente le tracé d'un mouvement, on peut accepter en bloc leurs résultats parce qu'on sait par quelle méthode, par quels instruments, par quels système de notation ils les ont obtenus. Mais quand Tacite dit des Germains: *Arva per annos mutant*, on ne sait d'avance ni il a correctement procédé pour se renseigner, ni même en quel sens il a pris les mots *arva* et *mutant ;* il faut pour s' en

437 Prost (1994: 103).

438 Sato (2009: 246).

assurer une opération préalable. Cette opération est la critique interne.'[439] Seignobos is clearly of the opinion that Tacitus' methods are flawed, and this becomes yet clearer later in his text.

Criticising historians who overly dramatise their narratives to add colour to their writings,[440] he labels Tacitus as an 'artist historian' together with certain other chief offenders: 'La déformation dramatique consiste à grouper les faits pour en augmenter la puissance dramatique en concentrant sur un seul moment ou un seul personnage ou un seul groupe des faits qui ont été dispersés. C'est ce qu'on appelle faire "plus vrai que la vérité". C'est la déformation la plus dangereuse, celle des historiens artistes, d'Hérodote, de Tacite, des Italiens de la Renaissance.'[441] Then again, when criticising extrapolation from a limited range of facts or circumstances, Seignobos singles out the *Germania* as example in the footnote to his comments: 'Par exemple les chiffres sur la population, le commerce, la richesse des pays européens donnés par les ambassadeurs vénitiens du XVIe siècle, et les descriptions des usages des Germains dans la *Germanie* de Tacite.'[442] He warns against the dangers of following Caesar or Tacitus' descriptions of Gaul or Germany too literally: 'On décrit les institutions des Gaulois ou des Germains d'après le texte unique de César ou de Tacite. Ces faits si faciles à constater ont dû s'imposer aux auteurs de descriptions comme les réalités s'imposent aux poètes.'[443] Finally, he condemns Tacitus, together with Livy, as writers whose focuses are entirely dictated by their personal curiosities: 'Quant au triage des faits à mettre dans ces cadres, il s'est longtemps opéré sans aucun principe fixe; les historiens prenaient, suivant leur fantaisie personnelle, parmi les faits qui s'étaient produits dans une période, un pays ou une nation, tout ce qui leur semblait intéressant ou curieux. Tite Live et Tacite, pêle-mêle avec les guerres et les révolutions, racontaient les inondations, les épidémies et la naissance des monstres.'[444] It is clear from this volume that the text-based historian had a very low opinion of

439 Seignobos (1898: 123).

440 Cf. Seignobos (1898: 155), footnote 1, in which Seignobos, referring to Polybius, argues that discussion of the relative merits of approbatory or disapprobatory judgements in history has no place in his work.

441 Seignobos (1898: 144).

442 Seignobos (1898: 149).

443 Seignobos (1898: 161).

444 Seignobos (1898: 191-192).

Tacitus and his reliability.

That Seignobos had a low opinion of Tacitus as unreliable does not necessarily dictate his approach to, and interpretation of, the Teutoburg episode. In his *Histoire du peuple romain*, Seignobos gives a fairly mundane account of events in the lead up to the battle, and does not seem to approach the theme with any particular bias. For example, he expresses his opinion of the origin of the resistance as follows: 'The Germans were not yet accustomed to the Roman system of government, by which the governor toured the country to judge important cases. They were displeased with his court, where Latin was spoken and cases were conducted by foreign lawyers.'[445] It is clear however, from certain elements in Seignobos' description that he is nonetheless following classical sources very closely, for example where he comments of Augustus' response to the disaster: 'Augustus was filled with consternation. There was a report that he was heard to cry when alone at night, "Varus, give me back my legions!"'[446]

It is difficult to say definitively that Seignobos was firmly pro-Roman and anti-German or vice versa, a question of especial interest given that he was French, and that French identity in a nineteenth-century nationalist context arguably wavered between a Gallic/Celtic nationalism and identification with Rome.[447] Something of his attitude may however be gleaned from his discussion later in the same book of the nature of German contributions in later antiquity: 'The Germania of Tacitus gives us our best notion of what the German of the first century was. By the fifth century, most of them had made considerable progress from that primitive state, notably in the matter of religion. For many of them were now Christians, even though in the heretical and Arian form. But they had retained and they gave to their new surroundings certain marked qualities and customs which were of priceless value. They had their vices, notably drinking and gaming, but compared with the conquered Romans certain virtues were theirs also which count for much in the formation of communities.[448] They were especially worthy on the side of the family life and the love of home, while in this regard the Romans had been lamentably lacking. We have

445 Seignobos (1902: 276).

446 Seignobos (1902: 277). Following Suetonius, *Augustus* 23.49.

447 See further: Luce, Woodman (1993: 104), particularly comments in conclusion.

448 Cf. Tacitus, *Germania* 23, 24.

already noticed this as one element of Rome's weakness.'[449] It is clear from this that Seignobos' view cannot be simply identified either way and that he recognised the Germanic contribution to the Roman legacy, albeit principally in later antiquity. On the other hand, we can see of Seignobos' attitude to the Romanisation of Gaul that he certainly considered this a necessary process in France's development as a nation. Commenting on the threat of Germanic invasion of Gaul, Seignobos argues: 'While these were to be ultimately the source of new life to a decadent world, it was well that west of the Alps a thoroughly Latinized state should be built up. As a result we shall see Gaul becoming France; a Romance nation with all its possibilities for a brilliant civilization and splendid contributions to the world's welfare.'[450] He goes on to argue that it was only due to Caesar that later 'Gallo-Frankish' figures such as Clovis and Charlemagne could exist. In sum then, it seems that as far as Seignobos was concerned, he agreed with the contemporary belief that Germanic invasion was necessary to Rome's regeneration but that, firstly, in Arminius' time the Germans were in too primitive a state for that to happen effectively, and secondly, that when the necessary invasions were eventually to occur, it was only through the fusion of Roman civilisation with the dynamism brought by the conquerors that could lead to the true flowering of European medieval and modern civilisation. And in his epitomising this process in France we can see that he too subscribed in part to the national feeling of his time.[451]

Mucha and the Czech National Revival

Seignobos' views on history and Romano-German conflict being as they were, we cannot necessarily conclude that Mucha shared or imbibed those views. It is unclear whether they ever even met personally. It is worthwhile remembering that when Mucha first received the commission he was not particularly famous, whereas Seignobos was already quite a famous historian. However Jiří Mucha makes clear that Seignobos did at least know of Mucha: 'With regard to his purity of line, M. Charles

449 Seignobos (1902: 441).

450 Seignobos (1902: 242-243).

451 Seignobos (1908: 3) follows contemporary racial divisions in grouping Europeans and south Asians into an 'Aryan' category, to which he attributes the greatest achievements of civilisation. However in neither case does this racial scheme form any particular foundation for his arguments.

Seignobos has rightly said that his like has not been seen since the Renaissance'.[452] This is certainly high praise from the historian, but beyond the fact that he held Mucha in high regard it is difficult to establish what the relation between the two men was. However perhaps this is not so crucial in explaining Mucha's take on the Teutoburg episode as understanding the artist's own views and nationalist preoccupations.

We should note first of all that these latter were something Mucha had. It is tempting to see in his homecoming in later life, after his Paris period and brief stay in America, an increased national feeling, and much of the academic commentary we are looking at in this chapter takes this approach. It is certainly true that he devoted more time to nationally-inspired works in his last years back in his home country than he had ever done before, and we shall look at the 'Slav Epic' and other similar works to understand better Mucha's feelings about his home country, Germanic oppressors, and what he saw as its future. However what has perhaps not been adequately emphasised in scholarship on the artist to date is the fact that these national ideas are something which are with Mucha from the start and which inform his work right through his career, not just in its final, explicitly nationalist phase.

A good starting point here is a letter of Mucha's, sent in response to a poll organised by the local council on the occasion of a patriotic event, in which Mucha reminisces about his activities as a youth in the patriotic association *Sokol*:[453] 'Ovšem, že jsem byl jedním z nich! A abych dal průchod pravdě, musím dosvědčit, že to nebylo pouze pro sokolskou červenou košili, co jsme si tak rázně a hrdinsky vykracovali, ale bylo to v první řadě následkem vědomí nevyslovné cti, že my, kluci, nejsme pouzí nezbedové kluci, ale že už, jako "ti velcí", máme na sobě košili červenou - a to, červenou proto, že je do ruda rozžhavena žárem naší lásky k národu, a také proto, aby na ní nebylo vidět, že je prosáklá naší krví, prolitou v boji za naši vlast.'[454] Making allowance for the fact that these are Mucha's reminiscences in a patriotic context, it is clear that firstly Mucha was involved in such a patriotic organisation from an early age, and secondly that he imbibed many of its ideas and was influenced by those in it, long before he ever left the country. Particularly in the

452 Seignobos (1966: 247).

453 The *Sokol* (meaning 'Falcon') was a youth organisation ostensibly for gymnastic purposes, but in reality a nationalist group with the aim of fomenting feeling for a free Czechoslovak state, formed before Czechoslovak independence.

last part of this excerpt, in which he speaks of the red colour of their garb in the *Sokol*, and the notion of shedding one's blood for one's country, we can see how fervent Mucha's patriotism was.

Nor were Mucha's early years in Ivančice otherwise without such influences, small place that it was. Lipp makes clear how, despite this, it could still exercise an effect: 'In Ivančice the revival was a keenly felt passion: a struggle to maintain a Czech-speaking school, to hold a seat on the town council and to celebrate Moravian ethnic traditions, including their exotic folk tales, colourful native costumes and whitewashed cottages adorned with highly stylised floral and botanic motifs.'[455] In the Arwas volume Lipp and Jackson go even further in their emphasis upon the artist's early years. Ivančice 'embedded in him a sense of religious ceremony, of revered folk traditions, and of the hunger of a repressed nation for freedom and recognition', and 'impressed upon him the obligation of a true Czech artist to be both priest and patriot, to employ the direct emotive power of art to inform and uplift his people with a compelling vision of moral ideals.'[456] This is perhaps an overstatement, in the sense that we cannot say Mucha had a fully formed idea of what art's mission was and how he would attempt to use it to help his countrymen in their struggle, as he had in later life, at such an early stage. It is certainly true though that this environment did leave him with a strong love of his homeland which, while not actively manifesting itself fully until his later period, must have been present, and a powerful factor in his art throughout his life.

Yet it is in these later works that we can best understand the nationalist feeling Mucha harboured throughout his life, and we should not hasten over them. Foremost among them is a series of large mural paintings (some as large as 6 x 8 m) known as the 'Slav Epic', which Mucha completed between 1912 and 1928, covering more than a thousand years of the history of the Slavs, and including both legendary and historical events. Commenting on this work Mucha said: 'I am convinced that the

454 'Of course I was one of them! And to tell the truth I must bear witness that it was not only for the Falcon's red shirt that we contended so fiercely and heroically, but it was foremost the result of our consciousness of an unvoiced feeling, that we boys were not only misbehaving youths but that we already donned the red shirt like the 'grown-ups' – and that was red because it was hot with our love of our nation and also because, as was clear to see, it was soaked in the blood we spilled in the battle for our country.' Cited in Bydžová, Srp (2005: 25), with origin given as: 'Národní politika XLIV, 1926, c.182, 4. 7., s.2.'

455 Lipp (2005: 12).

456 Lipp, Jackson (1998: 14).

development of every nation may proceed with success only if it grows organically and continuously from the nation's own roots and that for the preservation of this continuity knowledge of its historical past is indispensable.'[457] The work was conceived of by Mucha as a form of didactic history of the Slavs with the aim of inspiring those fighting for their freedom in the present. The work has not achieved the fame Mucha had hoped for, for many years remaining stored away and only very recently being returned to Prague.[458]

The oppression which the Czechs, and many other of the Slavic peoples, are seeking to cast off is of course that of the Austro-Hungarians, a German overlord. The direct inspiration for the 'Slav Epic' can be said to come from the commission he received for the 1900 Paris World Exhibition, in which the Austro-Hungarian authorities asked Mucha to decorate the pavilion for the newly acquired province of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mucha chose to use the opportunity as a means of portraying the history of the southern Slavs and their struggle against oppression, this being not without a certain irony considering the context. The decoration for the pavilion, with all its display of Slavic folk tradition can be seen as a forerunner of the 'Slav Epic'. On the commission Mucha commented: 'When conveying the famous or mournful history of a brotherly Slavic nation, I could feel deep within myself the joys and pains of my own country, and all Slavs in general. Before I finished the short southern-Slavic epic; I was completely absorbed in the idea of the Slav epic; I could visualise it all in my mind, glorious and great, radiating light into the souls of all people, posing both a shining ideal and a dire warning... And I made a solemn promise to devote the rest of my days to working for my nation.'[459]

This project definitely contributed in large part to Mucha's reorientation towards projects involving his homeland in his later period. However, the case could also be made that inspirations for his later work might be found even earlier, in particular in the form of the illustrations for the *Scènes et épisodes de l'histoire d'Allemagne*. Sato seems to be making this case in the catalogue to the Munich and Vienna exhibitions when he comments, in the context of discussing Mucha's style in

457 Cited in Mucha (2005: 21). Cf. Sayer (1998: 350).

458 The 'Slav Epic' was intended by Mucha and its American patron and Slavophile Charles Crane as a gift to the city of Prague. However Mucha stipulated that a fitting place be found for it to be displayed and, since this never happened, the work remained in storage for many years.

459 Cited in Sylvestrová, Štembera (2009: 61), from Mucha (1982: 237-238).

the illustrations and his style in a similar volume on the history of Spain: 'In den großformatigen Gemälden des "Slawischen Epos" konnte Mucha diese Erfahrungen im Genre der Historienmalerei nutzen.'[460] At least Sato is going as far as saying that the experience of working in such a style and format as he does in the illustrations led to his handling of the 'Slav Epic' in the way that he does. I would go further and argue that the experience of dealing with the themes of the work affected his later nationalist designs.

It is worth asking what exactly it was that made Mucha wish to return to his homeland in the 1900s after such successes abroad. It should be acknowledged that his time in America and the meeting and collaboration with Charles Crane was a contributing factor. However beyond this Mucha certainly envisaged it as some kind of personal mission. Lamenting the fact that he had worked so hard in the causes of others, he said: 'I have been giving everything away to others while the requirements of my own nation have been left neglected. This is why now, on the threshold of a new century, I am contemplating how I could, in my own humble way, make a contribution to my people.'[461] Mucha is of course here in part referring to the greater body of his work, but could he also be referring more particularly to illustrated books such as the one we are looking at here? His comments probably have a lot to do with patronage and working to the dictates of others' requirements, not being able to freely give to the causes he wished to. The particular opposition he makes here between giving away to others and contributing to his own people suggests that giving away to others was contributing to the works of other peoples, such as the Germans.

Yet before we form any conclusions about Mucha's personal patriotism and move on to look at his particular feelings towards this work, one final point needs registering. This is that, despite the strengths of his convictions, his determination and actual relocation to Bohemia, his relationship with his homeland was not an easy one. While not understating Mucha's contacts and connections in the Czechlands, Lahoda acknowledges his uneasy reception on his return: 'I když Mucha nenašel ve své vlasti takový ohlas jako v Paříži a jeho umění bylo doma přijímáno částečně s obdivem a částečně polemicky, nelze přehlížet kontakty, které s domácím prostředím měl, i podíl kulturního s socio-psychologického dědictví pří jeho vstupu na scénu pařížské kultury

460 Sato (2009: 246).

461 Cited in Bydžová, Srp (2005: 61), from Mucha (1982: 282).

před rokem 1900.'[462] Whether this had more to do with the artist or the country (he would not be the only famous Czech to have had a diifficult relationship with his homeland) is hard to say. There was certainly, for example, some ill feeling from younger Czech artists towards Mucha's award of the commission for the decoration of the Obecní Dům (Czech Municipal Hall), who felt that it would have been fairer to have held an open competition. Yet on the other hand the financial remuneration Mucha asked for his work on this occasion was well below the norm.[463] Whatever the origin of these difficulties, as in the case of many artists working to nationalist prescriptions and those recasting history for the present, such insecurity may have been a contributing factor to his desire to undertake the works in the first place.

Mucha and Seignobos' History

Finally then, we must ask ourselves what Mucha's feelings were towards the work in question. In the case of the Arminius episode in particular this is something that we cannot precisely answer. No commentary by Mucha on the individual illustration or on the historical event survives. However, we can determine something of his feelings towards the book and project as a whole, both from a limited amount of evidence and from some deductions.

First of all we need to know what Mucha's understanding of history was. From the format he chooses for the 'Slav Epic', for which he had much greater free rein than he had for the Seignobos commission, we can see that he voluntarily chooses to illustrate the history of the Slavs through a series of key events. In this respect then he seems to have had a similar approach to understanding history as Seignobos himself had, although we must realise that this may be dictated by quite different concerns. Mucha was, after all, an artist and one that revelled in drama, and so in illustrating the history of the Slavs he would wish to employ the most engaging and dramatic events. In addition to this the scale of the work is monumental, making it quite essential that the event portrayed hold the attention and not become lifeless and stultified. This

462 Lahoda (1998: 89). 'Even though Mucha did not meet with such acclaim in his homeland as he had done in Paris, and at home his art was received in part with admiration and in part polemically, it is not possible to disregard the contacts he had with his home environment, and the role of his cultural and psychological inheritance when he entered the Parisian cultural scene before 1900.'

463 See Wittlich (2000) for a further discussion of this.

work and its artistic requirements aside, it is also worth remembering the conventions of Mucha's artistic training. As Wittlich comments of Mucha's view of history: 'His subsequent studies at the Academy of Art in Munich led him by way of the contemporary cult of historical painting to his own peculiar vision of history as a series of dramatic and fateful scenes.'[464] Although Mucha's work was unconventional and groundbreaking in many ways, we cannot see him in isolation from the world of historical painting in Munich in which he received his first training. The ideas of this school seem to have formed the basis for his understanding of history.

Next we must ask what Mucha's relationship was both to the country in which he worked during the apex of his career and to Germany and Austria. In the case of France the answer is uncomplicated. Mucha received great welcome and enjoyed great success in Paris, and was a friend of many of the famous French artists of the time.[465] In addition to this it seems Mucha felt there to be a certain kinship between France and his native land. This is most clearly manifest in a dramatic painting of 1918, at the time of the Czech struggle for independence, entitled 'France embraces Bohemia'.[466] The painting depicts a naked female personification of Bohemia on a cross, bearing a drape with emblazon of the royal crest of the Czech crownlands. Leaning over from above the cross and kissing this woman is a male personification of France, with Phrygian cap, who at the same time loosens the bonds with which Bohemia had been bound. With her white head band and expression of spiritual release, she is greatly reminiscent of Jacques-Louis David's 'Marat',[467] suggesting connotations of the French revolution. Mucha acknowledges the role played by French revolutionary thinkers in inspiring Czech nationalists.

Mucha's relationship with France was therefore obviously a very positive one. For Mucha however German and Austrian culture was an entirely different matter. Austria was of course the empire from which the Czechs, and many other Slavic

464 Wittlich (2008: 8).

465 For example Auguste Rodin, who accompanied Mucha on a tour of his homeland on his return there.

466 A. Mucha, 'France embraces Bohemia', oil-on-canvas, 105 x 122 cm, 1918 (Mucha Museum, Prague).

467 J. David, 'La Mort de Marat', oil-on-canvas, 162 x 128 cm, 1793 (Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Brussels).

peoples, would seek their independence.[468] Historically the sizeable German minority in Bohemia had held most offices and power and continued to dominate in Mucha's day. Much of the Czech nationalist movement throughout the nineteenth century was based upon a rebellion against this status quo and an attempt to secure greater rights for ethnic Czechs.[469] It is unsurprising then to find the theme of fighting against oppression so prominent in the Bosnia-Herzegovina pavilion and episodes of the Slav epic encapsulating this Germanic-Slavic conflict.[470]

Seen in this light we may begin to appreciate the difficulties a nationalist such as Mucha would have had in illustrating a book which celebrated German history. In his biography Jiří Mucha singles out the Seignobos commission for special comment, and his discussion of it is worth quoting in full: 'The offer put father, who was so intensely patriotic, into quite an embarrassing dilemma. Was he to present himself for the first time to the public in connection with the German nation? He worried over it for several days till he found a solution. He was no chauvinist. He recognised the qualities of other nations, all he wanted was a fair share for his own country. The Germans claimed there was no such thing as an independent Slavic culture in central Europe. This was not true and made him want to constantly prove the contrary. After pondering over the offer for several days he finally signed, accepting an undertaking that was to occupy him until 1898, and plunged into the painstaking work of historical preparation. His plan was simple: He would illustrate such moments in German history when the Czechs had played a decisive point or even influenced the whole of Europe's destiny. From the earliest period he chose scenes which summed up the German spirit, such as Arminius' victory over the Romans, Julian's defeat of the Alemanni, and the death of Barbarossa.'[471]

Several important points emerge from the artist's sons comments. Firstly, there

468 Since the 'Battle of the White Mountain' in 1620, in which the Protestant Bohemian estates had been defeated by the Catholic forces of the Habsburgs and their allies, Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia had been part of the Austro-Hungarian empire.

469 See, for example, Kollar's *Dobré vlastnosti národu slovanského* (1822). Josef Jungmann's work on the Czech language, leading to the publication of his *Slovník česko-německý* ('Czech-German dictionary') (1834-1839), emphasised the qualities of the Czech language over the German. See further: Filipová (2009: 67).

470 See further Mucha (2005: 16), on the difficulties of the Bosnia-Herzegovina commission for Mucha. The first mural in the 'Slav Epic' depicts the first Slavs in terror in the wilderness, entitled: 'The Slavs in Their Original Homeland: Between the Turanian Whip and the Sword of the Goths', tempera-on-canvas, 610 x 810 cm, 1912 (Veletržní Palace, National Gallery, Prague).

471 Mucha (1966: 114).

is evidence here that Mucha was for a brief time in doubt over whether to take up the commission, and this because of his nationalist feeling, which demonstrates that even at this early stage it was a major consideration in what he did. Secondly, there additionally seems to be evidence here that Mucha's approach in these particular illustrations is coloured by dictates of ideology, rather than mere requirements of artistic form, and further that these dictates relate specifically to Czech-German relations. Lastly, that the Arminius theme in particular may have served Mucha in a manner useful for demonstrating the German spirit as a Czech nationalist.

However, while these points are very useful for our purposes, there are problems with Jiří Mucha's account here. We must remember that his interest is in portraying his father in the best light possible, and many reviewers have questioned aspects of the biography's selectivity and approach.[472] The principal problem here though is perhaps in the clarity of the argument. He states that his father's way of reconciling himself to the fact that he was illustrating German history was to illustrate only those subjects which emphasised the Czech contribution to events. But he does not seem to give any examples of this from the work, instead speaking of examples, such as our illustration, which sum up the German spirit. It is unclear what the connection between these points is, unless what he is implying - which would be very interesting - is that the inhuman quality and barbarism of the Arminius illustration reflects upon those qualities of German culture which wrongly hold the Czechs in submission. However, while recognising that this is a possibility, the deduction cannot be clearly made out here, and Jiří Mucha himself is probably giving his father's work the connotations he does retrospectively. Nonetheless these comments shed an interesting light on the fact that this illustration and the book generally did engage Mucha's nationalist feeling.

It would be wise to conclude this chapter by putting these remarks in context, both of the commission and of Mucha's broader views. The commission was after all an excellent opportunity for Mucha, one the young and struggling artist would not have wished to turn down, and which was probably an important factor in launching his career. As Jiří Mucha comments further of the opportunity later in his book: 'Mucha suddenly blossomed forth as a remarkable history painter'.[473] And as Sato

472 See, for example, Fern's review (1970: 221-222).

473 Mucha (1966: 248).

points out, he not only used his drawings for the engravings for the book, but also turned some into oil paintings which he exhibited in a solo exhibition at the 'La Bodinière' gallery in 1897: 'Eine willkommene Gelegenheit für ihn, um seine an der Kunstakademie erworbenen Kenntnisse auszuweiten und sich auch als Maler einen Namen zu machen.'[474] Moreover it is important to realise that, as the excerpt from his son's biography above points out, Mucha was not a 'chauvinist'. Other works such as his illustration of the Lord's Prayer[475] demonstrate his ideas of universal love and to some extent a more universal than national outlook. As Lipp points out, 'Like his countryman and contemporary, Masaryk, Mucha believed in the destiny of nations and sought to spur his nation to fulfil its destiny by appealing to what he conceived of as its best and highest innate virtues. But this belief was only the specific application of a general principle.'[476] Wittlich comments likewise in his contribution to the same volume,[477] and the authors of the Arwas volume follow a very similar line.[478] Mucha was a nationalist, and it has been argued here that he was so at an earlier stage than current consensus. Yet it would be a mistake to associate him with the sort of aggressive nationalism that is typical of many of the other German and British nationalist artists that this project examines. His use of the Arminius theme is certainly coloured by his background and ideas, as well as its context as a book illustration, but we may perhaps better attribute its peculiarities to his love of drama and other work for the theatre, than a wish to portray Arminius and the early Germans as barbaric in and of itself.

474 Husslein-Arco et al. (2009: 246).

475 A. Mucha, 'Le Pater' (Paris 1899).

476 Mucha (2005: 21).

477 Mucha (London 2005: 8).

478 Arwas et al. (1998: 15).

II. Britain

Edward Henry Corbould

Galgacus addressing his Troops

In this engraving by William Greatbach after an original drawing by the English illustrator and artist Edward Henry Corbould (1815-1905) we see Calgacus making a speech before his troops prior to engaging in battle with enemy Roman forces (*Figure 12*).[479] The illustration appeared as frontispiece to James Taylor's *The Pictorial History of Scotland*,[480] and was subtitled 'Galgacus addressing his troops', together with the words: 'March then to battle and think of your ancestors, and think of your posterity'.[481]

We see a bearded Calgacus standing erect in his chariot, both arms raised in a gesture of exhortation. He wears a shining silver helmet and is clad in a short tunic over which is slung a great patterned shawl. In his left hand he grips a long spear, the lower end of which has a round pommel.[482] We can also see his battle-readiness from the shield which he wears attached to his left forearm. He looks to the left towards the Caledonian forces, and with his right hand points into the distance, presumably in the direction of Agricola's army, who are not visible in Corbould's illustration. Calgacus appears as an orator before his men. In addition to his stance, his costume is almost togate. Corbould has portrayed a Calgacus true to Tacitus' count, a barbarian chief quite accomplished in Latin rhetorical training.

His chariot is a two-wheeled design, similar to that conventionally used to portray Boadicea,[483] and appears to be constructed of wicker. This, as his rather coarse looking 'toga' is another allusion to the fact that while the outward form is classical,

479 Strict chronological order has not been observed in examining Corbould first in the second section of this thesis. This is on account of the useful context an examination of Corbould's illustration can provide for the chapters which follow.

480 Taylor (1859).

481 Tacitus, *Agricola* 32.

482 In reference to the purported custom of the ancient Britons of banging their spears against their shields before battle.

483 Cf. Selous' 'Boadicea Haranguing the Britons' (and chapter on this below).

the substance is barbarian. This corresponds to Tacitean characterisation and, as we shall see, to Taylor's account itself, which follows the *Agricola* very closely.[484] There is the suggestion that this is the king of a simple people, but a people endowed with natural virtue, achieving the outward appearance of Romans before battle despite their primitive state. As Smiles points out: 'Here the iconography of a war leader inspiring a massed crowd of warriors is maintained, with the Caledonian leader Galgacus standing where Boadicea would normally be positioned.'[485] Calgacus himself seems to be portrayed, somewhat unconventionally,[486] with a dark beard, though the nature of the medium perhaps dictates this, as Corbould would want to do what he could to make his hero distinctive against the lighter backdrop.

In his chariot he stands head and shoulders above all of his men, who surround him on all sides and recede into an immeasurable distance beyond. In the foreground one man stands facing away from the observer next to Calgacus' two horses. He looks away from us and up at his king. His costume is not unlike Calgacus', with a short tunic with cloth over the top. However in his case it is clearer still that the ancient Caledonian dress is meant to correspond to more contemporary and known historical Highland dress. The cloth he wears over his shoulder has a striped pattern which appears to be a form of primitive tartan. He too has dark, perhaps intended to be red, hair, which is tied up at the back, but unlike Calgacus he wears no helmet. Over his back a quiver is slung and in his hand we can see that he carries a longbow, which is greater than his own height.[487] From this we understand what a mighty warrior must attend on the king here, and in his steadfast posture and loyal gaze upwards at Calgacus we understand too that this is a man who will fight for him and his homeland until the end. This, as much of the rest of the illustration, inevitably evokes associations with later Scots who opposed English invaders, and conventions about their bravery.[488] Standing erect and also seeming to look back towards their charge, even the horses look noble, straining at the reins and eager to charge off into battle.

484 See Introduction on Calgacus.

485 Smiles (1994: 161-162).

486 Ancient Celts were conventionally portrayed with red hair in Victorian art. A good example of this is G. Henry, E. A. Hornel, 'The Druids', oil-on-canvas, 152 x 152 cm, 1890 (Glasgow Museum, Glasgow).

487 The longbow as a weapon is not attested until the twelfth century (as the English longbow), but the inclusion of this infamously powerful and devastating English medieval weapon brings with it connotations apt for Corbould's purposes here.

The other figures in the illustration also reinforce this impression. The figure to the left in the foreground looks up from directly beneath his king, wearing an expression of loyalty and duty. He too has a shiny silver helmet, though unlike Calgacus without any crest on the front. Like his commander however he has a long dark moustache, reminding us of contemporary nineteenth-century fashion. He is bare-shouldered, with a round shield slung over his back with a strap, but also has some kind of cloth wrapped around his waist, beneath which we can see a chequered skirt, no doubt intentionally reminiscent of a kilt. With his left hand at his waist he leans on a menacing double-edged axe, with which we imagine he is shortly to deal out carnage to the Romans. His right arm is stretched slightly forward, seemingly in a gesture of response to what Calgacus is saying.

Behind him stands another warrior, somewhat differently clad again. He simply wears a dark tunic and silver helmet, but has a much larger beard. From this we are most probably to understand that this is an older man. Unlike all the other figures in the picture he does not look up at his king. He too appears noble but, unlike the other two foreground figures, his greater experience and wisdom leads him to reflect upon the meaning of Calgacus' words, and unlike the younger warriors, understands more the likely consequences. Yet his right arm, resting on his shield, shows his loyalty and willingness for battle nonetheless. Corbould wants us to understand that while he is pensive, and fully understands the horror of war, and perhaps the destruction that will inevitably fall upon his people as a result, he yet accepts that the fight for freedom is the only honourable course left to them.

The other figures, all male warriors, have various features and various attire. This motley appearance reminds us that we are looking at barbarian tribesmen, despite how noble and, indeed, how philosopher-like they may at first appear. Indeed all the heads we can see aligned behind Calgacus' chariot seem as a row of busts of classical philosophers, with their white beards and grey heads of hair. These are perhaps the elders of the various tribes whom Calgacus leads united. If we take a moment to reflect upon this single element, and remove it from the general context of the imagery of the scene, it quickly becomes apparent how far the visual depiction of the noble savage extends here. In particular, the head immediately to the right of the

488 An interesting comparison could be made to the popularity of the *Ballad of Chevy Chase* among illustrators in this period, which told of a legendary conflict between the English Earl of Northumberland and the Scottish Earl of Douglas during a hunt. See, for example, illustrations of this theme in Hall (1844).

foreground figure who turns away from the observer amply illustrates the point. Here Corbould very closely follows ancient idealising notions of northern peoples, such as we find throughout Tacitus' works. The effect is parallel to that described by Stuart Piggott of classical writers' approach to the Druids, a fantastical approach similar to that taken by those depicting Ossian. Corbould extends this as far as including (as we see with other artists) a bearded old man holding a harp: 'They could not escape from writing of *philosophoi* and *theologoi*.'[489]

In the background a line of spears fade into the distance, rising to a hill on the right, in which direction Calgacus looks, where we see multitudes of warriors assembled. Further away, behind the figure of Calgacus we can see a mountain peak rising, the *mons Graupius*. Conventionally this had come to be located as the modern Grampian mountains in Scotland. As we will see, Taylor's account of the battle displays a preoccupation with the sort of local archaeology which was becoming fashionable when the book was published. The compositional arrangement of the peaks and troughs of the mountains complement the figure of Calgacus, whose left arm aligns with the gently rising peak to his right, and whose right arm rises more steeply in line with the right side of the main peak. The jagged rows of sundry spears and pikes remind us that we are in an ancient tribal world, albeit a very selectively portrayed one.

James Taylor and *The Pictorial History of Scotland*

As mentioned above, the illustration is subtitled with a caption and a quotation: 'March then to battle and think of your ancestors, and think of your posterity'. Taylor's work is extensive, its full title, *The Pictorial History of Scotland from the Roman Invasion to the close of the Jacobite Rebellion, A.D. 79-1746*, indicating something of its ambitious scope (it is a work in two volumes). Calgacus' resistance against the Romans forms only a small part of the first chapter of this work but, as we shall see, Taylor accords extensive space to Tacitus' speech in his account. It is important then that Taylor should have chosen this episode as frontispiece for his entire history. He must have considered that Calgacus' address was in some way representative of Scottish history in its entirety, or at least some of its common themes. Here the title is

489 Piggott (1968: 83).

certainly instructive, since we can see that he has chosen to frame his history with the Roman invasion and the Caledonian resistance, and end it with another rebellion. Calgacus is emblematic of the Scottish spirit of resistance against oppression which will be traced throughout Scotland's history in this work.[490]

In understanding this picture, Corbould as an artist and his approach to the Calgacus legend, we need to begin by considering the context of the illustration, and in this case this can be achieved through a consideration of the book and its author's historical analysis. We might begin with some general remarks about Taylor's style as a historian here, before looking more closely at his account of the Caledonian resistance against Rome. From the first page of his first chapter on history (following an extensive introductory section largely dealing with Scotland's geology) it is clear that Taylor is serious about historical enquiry here, and intends to write an unbiased account of Scotland's history. Launching quickly into his account of the Caledonian resistance, he grounds his work by demonstrating an awareness of contemporary historical and archaeological debates which sought to trace Agricola's northward journey in Scotland using the limited information available in Tacitus' *Agricola.* This is for example evident in his discussion of the location of Tacitus' *Taus* river. He reports another historian, Chalmers, who had argued that it was the Solway Frith (rather than the Tay river): 'The Tau (the Taus of Tacitus), he says, is a British word, signifying an estuary, or any extended sheet of water, and might, therefore, apply to the Solway equally with the Tay. Besides, he contends, it is incredible that the Roman legionaries, who were so vigorously opposed during their sixth campaign in the strong country which lies between the Forth and the Tay, could have crossed so many streams and mountains, subdued so many strongholds, and penetrated so far northward as the Tay, without encountering a much more formidable opposition.'[491]

Taylor is clearly interested in historical accuracy, but also preoccupied with determination of actual locations, which cannot be decisively determined from the *Agricola* alone, and this to some degree colours his account. While he is critical of Tacitus as a source, he does not seem to make allowance for the fact that Tacitus'

490 In a footnote concerning the fighting tactics of the Caledonians, Taylor makes an explicit connection between their weaponry and that used by the Highlanders in more recent history: 'The Roman historian mentions also, that in this battle the Caledonians used broadswords and small targets, which remained, so long after, the peculiar arms of the Highlanders.' (1859: 4) Taylor's wish to stress the connection between ancient Caledonians and later Scots is evident.

491 Taylor (1859: 1). In his footnote he cites Chalmers (1807: 101).

account is a highly rhetorical set piece, but takes it at its literal word and faults it for this: 'According to Tacitus, the barbarians amounted to thirty thousand man, though the number has, in all probability, been greatly exaggerated; for, as Chalmers justly remarks, there was not a district in Scotland during that age, which could have fed thirty thousand persons for one day.'[492] In his close following of Chalmers, it is evident that Taylor was influenced by the contemporary effort to match up real places with Tacitus' narrative. This is again apparent in his discussion of the site of the battle: 'The exact site of the battle has been keenly disputed, some fixing it at the base of the central, and others at that of the eastern portion of the Grampian range. Chalmers contends, with great probability, that the moor of the Ardoch was the spot on which the engagement took place. There are very evident signs here of ancient conflicts.'[493]

However it cannot be said from this alone that Taylor's account is unreliable in any particular way, only that he is writing subject to the conventions of his time and contemporary debate about the battle. To some degree Taylor shows an awareness of Tacitus as source material, even if he does not enter into any deeper consideration of how this might affect his account of events, and of his version of the Caledonian uprising in particular.[494] Discussing Tacitus' probable sources he comments as follows: 'The imagination of the mariners was no doubt greatly affected by the novel sights which they witnessed, and they appear to have indulged in exaggerated statements respecting the icebound regions of the north; for Tacitus, who in all probability received the narrative from his father-in-law Agricola, and the officers of his fleet, states that the Orcades (Orkney) islands, till then unknown, were discovered and subdued.'[495] To a limited extent then, Taylor engages in a critical enquiry. Yet, as we shall see, there is a definite contradiction between the author's superficially critical approach to Tacitus as a source, and the extensive space he accords to original source material in his quotation of Calgacus' speech in its entirety.

Bearing this in mind we may now turn to a closer examination of Taylor's actual account of the uprising, since it is of course this to which Corbould's illustration primarily relates. The tone of his account is established by his introductory

492 Taylor (1859: 2).

493 Taylor (1859: 2).

494 Although there are one or two important points to note on this, as outlined below.

495 Taylor (1859): 4.

remark that: 'Agricola now found himself for the first time fiercely engaged with the real Caledonians, whose courage and confidence were still unshaken by defeat. They immediately flew to arms, and, without waiting to be attacked, commenced offensive operations by assaulting the Roman forts on the isthmus between the Forth and the Clyde, which Agricola had left behind him without adequate defence.'[496] Two things are evident here. Firstly, we can see the preoccupation with siting the events of Tacitus' narrative in real locations in Scotland, places which are of course not identified as such in Tacitus' account.[497] Secondly, the tone of the account is important here, drawing as it seems to rather from Calgacus' speech in the *Agricola* than the general narrative. This is particularly the case with the phrase 'real Caledonians', a notion for which there is no real equivalent in Tacitus' narrative, but for which there is in his speech of Calgacus.[498] If anything this shows to what extent Taylor is dependent upon the speech for his own account, and which supports the argument for the significance the author accorded to Corbould's illustration as his frontispiece.

This is again evident in his account of the initial attack on the Roman camp, the resultant driving back of the Caledonians, and their preparations for war: 'Here the Romans were vigorously attacked during the night by the native tribes, and would have been entirely overwhelmed if Agricola had not come with great celerity to their aid, and driven the assailants back to their woods and morasses. The Caledonians, however, were no way discouraged by this repulse, but resolved to defend their country to the last extremity. They therefore proceeded to arm their youth, to send their wives and children into places of safety, and to ratify the confederacy of their several tribes by solemn assemblies and sacrifices.'[499] Here his account stands out from his otherwise quite dry account of the uprising, as he exaggerates the threat to the Romans, perhaps through a desire to equate the Caledonian resistance to that other resistance related in the *Agricola*, that of the Iceni.[500] This is also clear from the idea

496 Taylor (1859): 2.

497 Cf. Tacitus, *Agricola* 29, where it is described that Agricola, *ad montem Graupium pervenit* ('came to Mount Graupius').

498 Cf. Tacitus, *Agricola* 30, where we have *nobilissimi totius Britanniae* ('The most noble of all Britain'), in Calgacus' speech, but nothing in the narrative preceding the speech.

499 Taylor (1859): 2.

500 Cf. Tacitus, *Agricola* 27, where there is no mention of any imminent threat to Rome.

of the Caledonians bringing their women and children to the battlefield with them.[501]

In his analysis of the comparative strengths enjoyed by the Romans over the Caledonians, Taylor's own allegiance becomes apparent, and it is clear that he empathises with the vanquished: 'They were composed of highly disciplined and veteran troops, completely equipped, with both offensive weapons and defensive armour of the best kind, and led on by a general of consummate ability and great experience in the art of war; while their opponents were little else than an undisciplined mass of barbarians, armed with long and unwieldy swords, with points, and only meant for cutting. The issue of such a contest could not have been long doubtful, but for the desperate valour of those who fought for the independence of their country, and all that is dear to man.'[502] In other words, the Romans were only victorious because of their technological advantages. Virtue was on the side of the conquered, and in this we can see to what a degree Taylor subscribes both to the idea of the 'noble savage', but also to Tacitus' interpretation itself. We might compare Tacitus, *Agricola* 38, where there is undeniably a lingering melancholy in Tacitus' description of the landscape after Caledonian defeat, as if liberty itself has died once and for all. In his account Taylor, unlike his source, chooses not to stress this aspect but rather the Caledonian retreat to mountain fastnesses, 'whither the victors durst not follow them' (p.4), as if he wishes to stress, conveniently for his historical scope, that this on the contrary was not the end of the Caledonians but that the same people would emerge again to fight another day.

To turn lastly now to the actual speech of Calgacus in Taylor's account. This is perhaps the most interesting element of Taylor's narrative for understanding the significance of context in examining Corbould's illustration. The key point is that Taylor gives Calgacus' speech in its entirety. Considering the relative brevity of his account of the Caledonian resistance, it is remarkable that he accords such space to the speech as to quote it in its entirety, and this supports further what has been said about the importance Taylor evidently accorded to the uprising but more specifically to Calgacus as a historical personality. Taylor is evidently aware of the emphasis he is placing on the speech, and comments by way of explanation: 'The speech which the historian has put into the mouth of Galgacus is worthy of special attention, not, of

501 Cf. Tacitus, *Agricola* 27, where they are described as removing their women and children *in loca tuta* ('to safe locations').

502 Taylor (1859: 3).

course, on account of its genuineness, but because of the view which it indirectly gives of the hardships which the Romans inflicted upon the nations whom they subdued, and because the ascription of such sentiments to the leader of the Caledonians shows the high estimation in which their obstinate valour compelled even their conquerors to hold them.'[503]

Yet as is evident from these comments, while Taylor recognises that Tacitus' speech is his own creation and does not reflect a genuine recorded speech made by the Caledonian leader, he considers it useful because Tacitus, as a Roman and therefore enemy, still chooses to praise Calgacus despite this. He does not consider, or does not wish to suggest, the possibility that Tacitus wanted to praise Calgacus as a means of either glorifying his father-in-law as victor, or as part of a metanarrative about the death of liberty that permeates much of Tacitus' writing.[504] For Taylor it is simply further evidence of the real Calgacus' valour that even his enemies give him the benefit of the doubt.

Calgacus' speech is quoted in its entirety, and it is Taylor's own translation that is used. What can we say on a closer analysis about Taylor's translation when comparing against the Latin original? We will survey the speech briefly looking at some of the choices Taylor makes as translator, to see what this may reveal about his use of his source material. At the beginning of the speech Taylor opts for the phrase 'undebased by slavery', for the Latin, *et universi co(i)stis et servitutis expertes*.[505] While the original meaning clearly connotes the absence of slavery, 'undebased' carries racial overtones not present in the Latin. Taylor is perhaps thinking of the *Germania* here, and Tacitus' (*Germania* 4) description there of the Germans as, *nullis aliis aliarum nationum conubiis infectos propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem* ('not infected by miscegenation with any other peoples, a people individual, integral and only like itself'). Taylor also follows Tacitus closely in stressing the connection between the Caledonians' remoteness, and their liberty. This can be seen in his rendering of the Latin where Calgacus describes why other tribes have invested their hopes in the Caledonians. The explanation, *nobilissimi totius Britanniae eoque*

503 Taylor (1859: 3).

504 The *Agricola*, after all, is a eulogy about his father-in-law, set in a world removed from that of Rome (which Tacitus consistently portrays as degenerated from its former glory under a string of corrupt tyrants). For further discussion of this point see Clarke (2001).

505 Taylor (1859: 3). Tacitus, *Agricola* 30.

in ipsis penetralibus siti,[506] is translated directly as, 'we, the noblest sons of Britain, and therefore stationed in its last recesses'.[507] The Caledonians are noble precisely because they reside in farthest Britain. While this can be read into the original Latin, Taylor's rendering places emphasis on this point. It is easy to see how this fits well with Taylor's overall chronicle of Scottish resistance through the ages.

Taylor follows the conventional rendering of, *ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*,[508] as 'where they make a desert, they call it peace'.[509] This rendering of *solitudinem* as 'desert', not Taylor's own, is of course a very powerful one and, while in the spirit of Tacitus' account, is perhaps somewhat more forceful than the Latin, implying as it does rather an emptiness than the actual geographical feature of a desert, with all the connotations this carries. In terms of the general tone of Taylor's translation the language is high and rhetorical, which is perhaps fitting for Tacitus' artful piece of oratory, but does leave us somewhat with the impression of a highly-educated British imperial commander. Thus *mancipia* is 'wretches', *virtus* and *ferocia* are 'unsubmitting spirit', and *lasciviam* is 'licentiousness'.[510] The translation at times appears to be in a higher register than the Latin, with for example *habebant* rendered as 'reposed', and the phrase, *soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari adfectu concupiscunt*, as, 'the only people who behold wealth and indigence with equal avidity'.[511] The freedom with which Taylor translates can also be seen in his use of an adjective and noun to translate two separate nouns in the case of *virtus* and *ferocia* as 'unsubmitting spirit'. Taylor's rendering of the Latin increases the drama of the speech, which fits well with Corbould's portrayal, with its barbarians resisting the onset of Roman domination.

506 Tacitus, *Agricola* 30.

507 Taylor (1859: 3).

508 Tacitus, *Agricola* 30.

509 Taylor (1859: 3). First used by Hector Boethius in his 1527 *Scotorum Historiae*, and famously misquoted by Disraeli in an 1851 Commons speech on agricultural distress. See further: Birley (1999).

510 Tacitus, *Agricola* 31, 32. For a comparable nineteenth-century translation we might take as example A. J. Church and W. J. Bodribb (1874), who translate *virtus* and *ferocia* as 'valour' and 'high-spiritedness'.

511 Tacitus, *Agricola* 30.

The Victorian Empire

To set Taylor in better context as a historian we may also briefly consider another book, which appears to have been his other principal work of historical analysis. Once again the full title of the work gives a better indication of its nature, *The Victorian Empire; a Brilliant Epoch in our National History*.[512] As is clear from the title, this was an establishment-friendly work and, unsurprisingly, an encomium of Victoria and those famous Victorians who lived during her reign (still underway when the work was published). It was a somewhat unwieldy work in two volumes, going into extensive detail, especially about Victoria herself. Two aspects of this work will be examined here: Taylor's account of Victoria, and his account of British imperial ventures.

Taylor goes into great detail about the early years of Victoria's life, and it is not until ten pages in that he actually arrives at the event of her coronation. He reports Victoria's reactions on being told that she was to be queen: 'On being informed of her election to the throne she turned to the Archbishop and entreated his prayers on her behalf. Kneeling down together the venerable prelate supplicated the Most High, who ruleth over the kingdoms of men, to give the young sovereign an understanding heart to judge so great a people. A striking example of the rapidity with which she accommodated her manners to her new position was given at the very outset. As soon as the Lord Chamberlain addressed her as Queen she held out her hand for him to kiss it.'[513] Taylor paints a picture of a perfectly virtuous yet royally-suited young woman before the moment of her accession to the throne. He is careful to note that Victoria's first action was essentially a modest one, acknowledging both her authority and that of God, despite the fact that she was about to become monarch of the most powerful nation of the time. Yet at the same time he also wishes to emphasize the fact that she was far from subservient, as demonstrated by her actions to the Royal Chamberlain. In reality these would be formalities for a monarch on being told of their accession, but Taylor casts them favourably as both evidence of modesty and royal authority.

Her catalogue of virtues is further added to by Taylor in his account of her receiving the news of William IV's death: 'The dignity and self-possession displayed

512 Taylor (1897-98).

513 Taylor (1897-98: 11).

by her, in the trying circumstances in which she was placed, were the subject of universal admiration.'[514] She is, then, modest, royal, dignified and self-controlled. All these virtues are evident in the wording of the speech: 'I ascend the throne with a deep sense of the responsibility which is imposed upon me; but I am supported by the consciousness of my own right intentions, and by my dependence upon the protection of Almighty God. It will be my care to strengthen our institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, by discreet improvement wherever improvement is required, and to do all in my power to compose and allay animosity and discord. Acting upon these principles I shall upon all occasions look with confidence to the wisdom of Parliament and the affections of my people, which form the true support of the dignity of the Crown and insure the stability of the Constitution.'[515] Taylor reports a speech that would have been drawn from official records but it is easy to see, comparing his translation of Tacitus' speech of Calgacus, that the themes are conducive and the style agreeable to Taylor's preferred mode of historical narrative. As Calgacus, Victoria seeks strength in the righteousness of her intentions.

In his positive analysis of the events of Victoria's reign Taylor attributes much of the credit for its successes to Victoria herself. However, unsurprisingly, his approach is highly selective, something abundantly clear from a summary he gives of some of the achievements of the last half century: 'The blot of slavery was at last effaced from the British dominions. The English Poor Law system, which was eating into the very vitals of rural industry, was reformed, and at the same time provision was made for the support of the destitute poor in Ireland. The municipal corporations, which had become nests of jobbery and corruption, were purified and placed under popular management - tithes were commuted, both in England and Ireland - an efficient unsectarian system was established for the registration of marriages, births, and deaths - the savage criminal code was greatly mitigated, and the punishment of death for numerous minor offences abolished - cheap postage was instituted - a system of elementary education was originated in England and Ireland - numerous taxes which pressed heavily on the working classes were swept away - the monopoly enjoyed by the East India Company was withdrawn, and the trade with China thrown open - Upper and Lower Canada were united under an equitable and impartial system

514 Taylor (1897-98: 12).

515 Taylor (1897-98: 12).

of government, and numerous other minor, yet not unimportant, reforms were effected.'[516] Taylor's account focuses on reforms made in an attempt to make British society at home and abroad more equitable, and to ease the suffering of the poor. However, as we shall see of the paintings that Corbould himself undertook by personal commission of Victoria and Albert, Taylor's book does no more than play to the pleasing picture of her age that Victoria herself liked to harbour.

The above quotation also makes favourable mention of the situation obtaining in the imperial dominions under Victoria. Taylor's attitude towards empire is very positive in this work, which provides an interesting contrast with his subscription to the Tacitean view of the Caledonians as noble in their resistance to Roman imperial domination. Taylor's take on empire in *The Victorian Empire* is best summed up by the wording of the blurb, entitled 'Prospectus', inside the back cover of the book. The expansion of the empire is linked to a sense of progress and growth in Britain itself as the mother country: 'The borders of the Empire have been extending year by year as the ever-growing energies of the nation dictated.'[517] There is a sense here of the inevitability of empire, as being preconditioned by the positive energies of the nation. The subject peoples are portrayed as loyal contributors to empire, with whom Britain enjoys 'cordial relations and co-operation', and as ample compensation for the unfortunate loss of the American colonies in the previous century: 'The seemingly irreparable loss of our great American colonies in the preceding century has been already compensated by the establishment, in almost every quarter of the globe, of thriving and populous communities, self-governing like the mother country, but all united with her by their allegiance to a common sovereign, and certainly falling in no way behind her in their feelings of loyalty.'[518] We might note here the conventional metaphor of a mother for Britain's care of its imperial dominions. There is great optimism for the future, the potential achievements of which are described as, 'full of the brightest promise for the future of our race.'[519]

Returning to the *Pictorial History of Scotland* then, we ought to see this work in the light of what *The Victorian Empire* reveals about the historian. However we

516 Taylor (1897-98: 19).

517 Taylor (1897-98), 'Prospectus', inset back cover.

518 Taylor (1897-98), 'Prospectus', inset back cover.

519 Taylor (1897-98), 'Prospectus', inset back cover.

must be careful not to judge Taylor out of his time. Taylor is an imperialist, that much is true; but to read into this the modern pejorative connotations associated with the term in a post-colonial world would be to distort the intended meaning. To say that the author was an imperialist is no more than to say that he was a man of his time. He certainly towed the establishment line, but was not unconventional for his day in this respect. Most importantly for us it is an illustration that for him, as for so many other writers and artists of the Victorian period, there was nothing mutually exclusive about the valorisation of ancient Britons who opposed Rome, and the glorification of contemporary imperial expansion by Britain.

Edward Henry Corbould

This brings us to a consideration of Corbould himself. Something important to note about his illustration at the outset is that it is an engraving by another artist, William Greatbach,[520] following his design for the picture. We may therefore treat it as Corbould's work, though it is worthwhile being aware that the actual picture as we see it in the frontispiece of the book is not actually rendered by Corbould's himself, even if it is his design.

The son of the artist Henry Corbould,[521] the London artist Edward Henry Corbould was described by a contemporary account as: 'a courteous gentleman and a charming personality, whose achievement must take its place in any record of British art'.[522] This description tells us little but does perhaps indicate that Corbould was not an artist of pre-eminent note, and indeed he found no lasting fame, either during his lifetime or posthumously. After studying at the Royal Academy he was primarily engaged on illustrating books and magazines. In his catalogue Graves lists Corbould's exhibitions, and of a total of two hundred and ninety-three occasions when he exhibited his works, seventeen took place at the Royal Academy and one at the British Institution, amongst others, but the vast majority of two hundred and forty-one were

520 William Greatbach (1802-1885), the portrait and figure engraver. From 1849 he regularly engraved for *The Art Journal*, and undertook engravings of drawings by George Pickering for an early edition of Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* (1833).

521 Henry Corbould (1787-1844), the English painter and member of the Royal Academy.

522 As reported by G. C. B. Poulter in his study of the artist's family, *The Corbould Genealogy* (1935). Poulter does not give his source.

at the 'Old Water-Colour Society', which is a significant testament to Corbould's preferred artistic medium.[523] Yet despite this none of his works have achieved any lasting fame.

Corbould clearly aspired to be a great artist, as is shown by the length of his career and his output. The regular publication *Men of the Time* described Corbould in 1862 as 'becoming early ambitious of distinction in art'.[524] As we shall see, his determination was not entirely fruitless however, with his appointment as drawing master to the Queen's children between 1851 and 1872, something which greatly affected his development as an artist. To say that he achieved no great fame is not to say that he is devoid of any interest for the purposes of this enquiry however, and among the many paintings and illustrations that he undertook one in particular is of immediate interest.

Corbould's style and subject matter

This is a painting with the self-explanatory title, 'The Britons deploring the Departure of the Last Roman Legion'.[525] The abandoned Britons stand arrayed in a line upon the seashore, watching as the last Roman ships retreat into the distance over the ocean. All are sad. Some give themselves over to weeping, perhaps for loved ones, others stand grim and mournful and in deep contemplation. Yet many still wear the trappings of their barbarism, despite the civilised emotions that they display on their faces. These are fully developed 'noble savages', and are very similar to the Caledonians in the Calgacus illustration. They have enjoyed the merits of Roman civilisation and perceiving its departure they weep over a bleak future, the Dark Ages.

This is certainly a very telling painting for our understanding of Corbould, his favoured themes as an artist, and the wishes of his patrons. In his attitude to empire it can be readily seen how close he is to Taylor. Smiles has described this painting, together with Millais' 'Romans Leaving Britain',[526] as 'possibly the most developed

523 Graves (1969: 63).

524 Anon. (1862: 202).

525 E. H. Corbould, 'The Britons deploring the Departure of the Last Roman Legion', watercolour, 91.5 x 137 cm, 1843 (Private Collection).

526 J. H. Millais, 'The Romans Leaving Britain', oil-on-canvas, 122 x 190.5 cm, 1865 (Royal Academy, London).

pictorial statements of the Victorian ideal of imperial harmony, especially at the personal level.'[527] It should be emphasised that this is a motif without any classical base; a completely original creation, whose purpose is solely the glorification of the imperial ideal. Millais' painting shows a Roman legionary embracing his British lover atop the white cliffs before he departs never to return. Smiles is certainly right that this is the iconography of imperial ideology retrospectively cast onto the ancient world in its most explicit incarnation. However, as we have seen with the Calgacus illustration, this process could take place through the medium of a more subtler choice of theme too.

Though his design was never realised, Corbould also chose to employ Boadicea as his subject matter at one stage in his career too. In his section on the artist in his genealogy, Poulter relates how Corbould was commissioned to design statuary to occupy the four empty pedestals of Blackfriars Bridge on the Thames, though the project was never ultimately realised: 'These designs were made for proposed statuary to occupy the four pedestals on Blackfriars Bridge. They were to have been 32 feet in length; but the cost, £32,000 each, prevented their execution, although their designer offered to help the Corporation of the City of London to the extent of modelling them himself. The pedestals remain unoccupied to this day.'[528] In his determination to undertake extra steps in the design process to ensure that the work was completed it is evident that Corbould was greatly enthused by the project, perhaps above all for the boost to his reputation as an artist that would be gained from his designing a monumental landmark in central London. Poulter lists the titles of the four proposed statues, of which four large sepia designs were extant in his time: 'Boadicea calling on the gods of Pridain to succour her against the Romans', 'King Richard meeting the Kentish Insurgents under Wat Tyler', 'King Henry's welcome to London after Agincourt', 'Queen Elizabeth going to Tilbury'.[529] Corbould had chosen, or was commissioned to depict, the four themes which summed up British history best. We have two male rulers, and two female. In choosing Boadicea and Elizabeth we can see a selection that would have well suited the contemporary monarch; the two British

527 Smiles (1994: 142).

528 Poulter (1935: 37).

529 Poulter (1935: 37).

queens *par excellence*, with whom Victoria was rapidly forming a trio.[530]

Let us move on now to a consideration of what other themes Corbould illustrated and painted. While comprehensive lists may be found, for example, in Engen's *Dictionary*, of all the books for which he illustrated and all his watercolours, we will instead look at a selection of Corbould's works to see what this reveals about his Calgacus. Poulter's description of the artist's earliest interests in art seems to suggest a leaning towards classical themes: 'His first original design was in water-colour, the subject being the fall of Phaeton from the Chariot of the Sun. For this design he was awarded the gold medal of the Society of Arts in 1834. In the following year he was again successful, winning the same prize for a model of a chariot race as described by Homer.'[531] There is nothing remarkable about this per se, classical mythology being part of an artist's fundamental repertoire and training in Corbould's time. However it does indicate for us that it is very probable Corbould had a grounding in the Classics, and makes it more likely that he would have been familiar with the *Agricola* and Tacitus' account of the Caledonian resistance, at least at second-hand. This is important since, due to the scarcity of sources available concerning this minor artist, more about his education cannot be determined. Poulter's chapter on Corbould is obviously selective, but we can see from the two examples of classical myth that Corbould did choose to illustrate for these competitions that he had a taste for scenes involving action, since both of these themes obviously involve chariots.

Indeed there is a definite inclination to melodrama evident in Corboud's works throughout his career, and this is something remarked on by the few authors who have written about him. In his book on theatrical performances of Shakespeare in the Victorian period, Foulkes comments on this interest of Corbould's, evident in his sketches for Kean's[532] productions: 'Corbould's 'Sketchbook', containing rough drawings of costumes, sets and properties in Kean's productions, is indicative of his own theatrical interests, as are his letters to the actor thanking him for seats or even making the 'occasional slight suggestion' as the "Historical Painter who looks to the

530 We might note that Taylor (1897-98, 'Prospectus', inset back cover) too envisages Elizabeth as a sort of proto-Victoria: 'This period, like its prototype, has been marked by an expansion on the most remarkable scale'. For Taylor the connection is intuitively clear and does not need to be spelt out; there is little doubt he could be referring to any age other than that of the Tudor kings.

531 Poulter (1935: 36).

532 Foulkes (2002: 46). Charles Kean (1811-1868), the Shakespearean actor and theatrical producer.

stage as the only place where may be found the living embodiments which his inventive mind so earnestly seeks'".[533] Corbould was therefore clearly fascinated by the theatre and its potential for set design, keeping his own artist's notes on what he saw and liked, and keeping in close contact with theatrical producers, as the correspondence with Kean quoted by Foulkes attests too.

Hodnett, in his volume on English book illustration, takes a fairly critical approach to Corbould as an artist in general, describing his illustrations of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* as follows: 'The seven carefully detailed wood engravings in a solo engagement with *The Faerie Queene* (1853) reduce Edmund Spenser's allegory to an adventure story set in a past devoid of wonder'.[534] He highlights his predilection for the melodramatic as being the source of his better work: 'Corbould seems to have found melodrama congenial, which is evident in the twenty-one large horizontal vignettes for *The Rye House Plot; or, Ruth, the Conspirator's Daughter* (1883), a six-penny historical thriller by George William MacArthur Reynolds. Barbara Villiers, duchess of Cleveland and mistress of Charles II, demanding favors from the king in return for £25,000, which he needs to fill his empty exchequer, is representative of Corbould's best work.'[535] His inclination towards historical fiction, as well as Shakespearean themes, demonstrates what he would have found conducive to his tastes in Tacitus, amply shown in his Calgacus illustration. Here we find the same dramatic tension, lofty sentiment and sense of historical tragedy.

This is something we can also see in his take on religious subjects. His watercolour 'The Woman taken in Adultery'[536] illustrates the New Testament story with Christ centre-stage, dramatically pointing at the accused woman, who kneels blindfolded in a manner very reminiscent of Delaroche's painting of Lady Jane Grey awaiting execution,[537] inviting her accusers to cast the first stone. Corbould does not refrain from using the sort of highly emotive imagery of gesture and composition that

533 Foulkes' citation: '3 Letter II March 1853 from Corbould to Kean y.c. 618(2) in the Folger Shakespeare Library.'

534 Hodnett (1988: 114).

535 Hodnett (1988: 114).

536 E. H. Corbould, 'The Woman taken in Adultery', watercolour and bodycolour, 99 x 127 cm, 1842 (British Royal Collection).

537 P. Delaroche, 'The Execution of Lady Jane Grey', oil-on-canvas', 246 x 297 cm, 1833 (National Gallery, London). This imagery gives a very good idea of the sort of artistic forbears from whom Corbould drew inspiration.

he saw on the stage. As the Royal Collection website comments on its entry for this painting, 'The theatrical depiction of Christ's defence of a woman accused of adultery (John 8:7) is typical of the artist's rich style, more comparable to oil painting than to the British watercolour tradition.'[538] Corbould was clearly quite at ease with illustrating different subject matter, while always imbuing it with his own particular style.

Yet many contemporary commentators had mixed feelings about his particular brand of art. In its review of the exhibition held by 'The New Society of Painters in Water-Colours', in which Corbould participated with another Biblically-inspired picture, 'Saul at Endor', the *Art Journal* commented: 'We have again to signalize the beautiful *finesse* of water-colour art in skilful hands; the effects are more striking than the manner of the narrative. Samuel is the principal figure, but as a spirit he is too material: this is felt from the substantial prominence of the figure, Saul and the woman being less than secondary. The picture is, however, an excellent production, but a remedy to the objections instanced would make it yet better.'[539] On the whole not a negative review then, but the feeling that there is something fundamental lacking is evident. The clue to this veiled criticism is perhaps shown in the general introduction to the review, where the work is taken as exemplary of being, 'ambitious, powerful, and well calculated to show the utmost abilities of water-colour Art', yet 'worked out rather *con amore* with a view to render them attractive to purchasers'.[540] Corbould, not a prominent artist, naturally had to paint and illustrate with one eye on his market.

This generally constructive but critical attitude towards Corbould's work seems to have been fairly consistently *The Art Journal*'s stance. This is shown by an earlier review in the journal of Corbould's entry in the fourteenth exhibition of the 'New Society of Painters in Water-colours', entitled 'The Lily of the Valley': 'A brilliant study of a girl standing in an attitude of thought. The sentimental allusion to the title is assisted by the little flower she holds in her right hand. The figure is made out in bright reflection, and is of a style superior to that of the more aspiring subjects of the artist.'[541] The *Art Journal* seems to be implying that Corbould is not at his best

538 'The Woman taken in Adultery' entry, Royal Collection website (sourced 8/1/2013).

539 *The Art Journal* (1860: 176).

540 *The Art Journal* (1860: 175).

541 *The Art Journal* (1848: 141).

with grand subjects and projects, but rather in more personal and sentimental themes. Perhaps this is because, with his grander projects, he failed to adapt to changing artistic fashions, despite his attention to demand in the commercial art market of book illustration and the like. Poulter certainly inclines towards this view when he comments: 'He watched the development of art in England for 70 years, himself taking a share in it; but never seeking to "advance" with change of taste.'[542] Set within a more positive context, Poulter probably means this as a compliment to the artist, yet reading between the lines we can see that his art was generally considered to be old fashioned. Corbould was a historical painter in an age of new artistic styles.

Poulter relates an anecdote about Corbould, the veracity of which is difficult to determine, but which does at least reveal something about contemporary and subsequent opinion about him.[543] He relates the following of a supposed encounter with Henry Landseer, the critic and father of the famous English painter Sir Edwin Henry Landseer: 'E.H.C shewed him the work which he was engaged on, telling him that he was sending it to the forthcoming exhibition. Landseer said "Yes, yes, very nice indeed - very clever" (and sotto voce, "I don't like it a bit"), then growling and grunting aloud, he said "You are a very young man. I hope you will sell it" (sotto voce: "which you never will do if you live to be a hundred").' As Poulter relates, apparently the elderly critic had an unfortunate habit of thinking out loud at a perfectly audible volume. While only anecdotal history, we are left with the impression of a somewhat unsuccessful artist.

The impression of Corbould's being old-fashioned in his art is only reinforced by contemporary sources which suggest that those with more traditional artistic tastes liked his work. In his *Selections from the Irish Quarterly Review* in 1857, Kelly gave his opinion of the artist's 'The Old Hostelrie, Knightsbridge': 'The fine old inn has greatly the advantage in point of effect over the bald formal edifices to which the taste of the present age inclines; in fact, all picturesqueness in houses, customs, costume, and thought, are getting utilized from amongst us, and joyous content is fast following'.[544] He continues: 'Corbould has very judiciously peopled the inn with sundry figures, and introduced episodes of the olden time. The old-fashioned van

542 Poulter (1935: 37).

543 Poulter (1935: 38).

544 Kelly (1857: 651).

occupies the centre of the picture, just drawing up before the door with all the pomp and circumstance, which the stage-coach used to affect at a later period in our villages - and it too has passed away, and now we live under "the Empire" of steam with no chance of a "Restoration"'.[545] It is evident from these comments that commentators such as Kelly, who favoured picturesqueness in art, disapproved of the modern and increasingly industrialised world. While we cannot project Kelly's reading of Corbould's picture onto the artist himself, it is certainly interesting that Corbould's imagery could easily be interpreted as reactionary in such a fashion, and if the artist had a reputation for such we can see why he was given the commission for the frontispiece to Taylor's book.

Finally, before we move on to looking at some of Corbould's other book illustrations, we should note an important point made by Smiles. It seems that Corbould undertook some illustrations on Celtic themes, aside from what we have seen in his painting, 'The Britons deploring the Departure of the last Roman Legion'. As Smiles notes, he undertook some drawings for Vincenzo Bellini's opera, *Norma*, which told the story of a Druidess in pre-Christian Gaul who falls in love with a Roman proconsul, thereby breaking her holy vows.[546] In the opera's denouement its heroine confesses her crime to her people as she casts herself onto the funeral pyre. Corbould's drawings for Bellini's opera, 'show him using the full panoply of the by now standard Druidic imagery in the British artistic tradition.' Considering what we have discussed above of Corbould, we can readily see how such an opera would have appealed to him; tragedy and melodrama set in an ancient Celtic world, trading for its drama upon the interaction between Rome and the ancient north. These are the same ingredients we see in the Calgacus illustration.

Corbould's book illustrations

A large part of Corbould's work consisted of illustrations for books. In this section we will examine a few examples in detail. In 1840 Corbould provided the illustrations for a work which says much about his preference for romantic and sentimental themes. The rather extensive title of this book reads, *Gems of Beauty displayed in a Series of*

545 Kelly (1857: 651-2).

546 Smiles (1994: 109).

Twelve Highly Finished Engravings of Various Subjects from Designs by Edward Henry Corbould, Esq. with fanciful Illustrations in Verse, by the Countess of Blessington.[547] The book consists of a series of mediocre poems by the Irish novelist Marguerite Gardiner (Countess of Blessington), all centred around a 'fanciful' love story, of which we are given little more than sketchy details, to which Cobould has in each case undertaken an illustration on the facing page.

The subject matter and setting of the poems varies very slightly, all being essentially concerned with an innocent maiden discovering her first love or else being kidnapped or heartbroken. One poem, entitled *The Brigand*, relates the thoughts of a highwayman who has just snatched his prize, a beautiful young woman, from her stagecoach. Corbould's picture depicts him as a dark and handsome cavalieresque ruffian, who himself hardly appears roguish. In the background his partners in crime can be seen holding up a stagecoach, the driver of which appears flustered and caught off-guard. Corbould engraves the maid, in contrast to her captor, as white and fair-haired. From the poem we are to imagine this as some foreign bandit, come to bear off the maiden. In the poem the brigand, enraptured with the beauty of the girl, compares her to her homeland: 'Mine island prize! - Yes, she is wondrous fair!/ White as the snows upon her northern hills:/ How soft the tresses of her silken hair!/ Her eyes how deep, and limpid as the rills/ That flash, like diamonds, down the mountain's side,/ And blue as if the heavens their waters dyed.'[548] He continues by comparing her to the Virgin Mary, eventually releasing her overcome by her innocence, praying, 'Record, O Virgin, gracious and divine,/ This one so strangely gentle deed of mine'. We are perhaps meant to imagine the brigand as some Spanish pirate or corsair, taking captive a Cornish girl. Corbould's innocent and beautiful northern maiden is contrasted with the type of the Mediterranean thief and adventurer.

In another illustration and poem, *A Maid of Narni*, we find a similar theme of virginal innocence and the conventional Christian imagery of fruit and sin. The title may be intended to refer to the virgin and mystic Lucia Brocadelli of Narni, legends about whom focused on her chastity. In Corbould's illustration we see a young girl, with cross hanging from her belt, in an Italian setting outside a village stretching up to reach some grapes on a vine. In the shade beneath a young man, unobserved, lies in

547 Corbould (1840).

548 Corbould (1840), 'The Brigand'.

wait watching her. There is certainly something malevolent and threatening about the scene, and the viewer is presumably supposed to observe this danger. The wording of Gardiner's poem also suggests this, as the narrator addresses the girl: 'Youthful Maiden, from thy home/ What dark spirit bade thee roam,/ Down yon path where grapes on high,/ Clustering, form a canopy,/ Rich with hues the sun but pours/ On Italian fruits and flowers?/ Ah! how oft their bloom beneath/ Passion lurks, and Hate, and Death!'[549] The poem continues by implying that the man in wait will prove a false seducer. However, what is interesting here is the way we see Italy portrayed. It is a land in which fruits are richer and sweeter, where the sun is stronger, and a land where temptation is greater. Again there is the sense of a more sin-ridden south, a world in which the young girl is likely to founder.

A very different book, but one which also reveals much about the sort of projects Corbould was engaged on, is Edward Fairfax's translation of Torquato Tasso's[550] *Godfrey of Bulloigne* (1858) for which Corbould provided the illustrations. The poem about Godfrey of Bulloigne (d.1110), the crusading knight who was crowned King of Jerusalem and ruled there for a year, is illustrated in a fashion very similar to Corbould's Calgacus illustration. Though the period and costumes are different, this too is a world of stoical heroes and fervent priests. Corbould illustrated the work throughout with distinctively Germanic looking knights, tall and moustached, whose fair skin contrasts with that of their enemy.

One illustration in which these elements are particularly evident is that of a scene in which a priest blesses some crusaders.[551] The priest is centrally placed, facing the observer, with hands outstretched in blessing. He wears a mitre and robes, and wears a stern expression. Around him many knights cluster, wearing chain mail and bearing arms, swords, shields and other weapons. All wear devout expressions, and seem determinedly set upon their holy mission. In their garb and facial features they are the Victorian ideal of medieval chivalry, such as we may readily find in any Burne-Jones painting,[552] transposed onto the real historical context of the crusades. In

549 Corbould (1840), 'A Maid of Narni'.

550 Torquato Tasso (1544-1595), the Italian poet.

551 Tasso (1858: 224).

552 We might for example compare W. Morris, E. Burne-Jones and H. Deale's, 'The Arming and Departure of the Knights of the Round Table on the Quest for the Holy Grail', wool and silk weft on cotton warp tapestry, 244 x 360 cm, 1895-1896 (Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham).

many ways, the illustration resembles Corbould's Calgacus illustration in that we have a central figure preaching a summons to a just war, around whom stand devoted followers of various appearance who in their expressions show their loyalty but also that they reflect upon the meaning of the war they wage.

The illustration is accompanied by a quotation from the poem: 'His hands he lifted up to the sky,/ And blessed all those warlike companies'.[553] Indeed the poem is hardly a critical reflection on the crusades, but rather a glorification of it. It is evident moreover that a link is meant to be drawn between those past events and the present day. This we can see for example in the fifth stanza of the first book: 'For if the Christian princes ever strive/ To win fair Greece out of the tyrant's hands,/ And those usurping Ismaelites deprive/ Of woeful Thrace, which now captivated stands,/ You must from realms and seas the Turks forth drive,/ As Godfrey chased them from Juda's lands,/ And in this legend, all that glorious deed/ Read, whilst you arm you; arm you, whilst you read'.[554] Tasso's original 16th century poem was obviously meant to relate to the current struggles with the Ottoman empire, but that same empire continued to persevere in Corbould's day and, though much enervated, was still perceived as a threat to the European world. Though little known today, the Italian poet continued to be widely read in the nineteenth century, and the relevance of his 'Jerusalem Delivered' in an age of expanding Christian empire can be readily appreciated. This is spelt out by the appended introduction, and the extent to which the crusades are being retrospectively considered as a holy and just war becomes clear: 'That expedition of the Argonauts, who went into Asia to fetch the Golden Fleece, is much celebrated by the Poets; but the expedition of the Christian princes, into the said country, to redeem the Golden Fleece and patrimony of the Lamb of God, is much more to be solemnized; who, not for gain nor ambition, but for the propagation of Christian religion, and vindication of the Holy Land, undertook this long, difficult and dangerous enterprize: of whom the poet seems long before to have conceived a prophecy, when he writes- Alter erit tum Typhis, et altera quae vehat Argo Delectos Heroas'.[555] In the use of Virgil as a prophet for the crusades it is evident how greatly holy war is being conceived of as a foreordained event. From this it is easy to

553 Tasso (1858: 224).

554 Tasso (1858: 2).

555 Tasso (1858: xxxi), quoting Virgil, *Eclogues* 4.34.

see how a work such as 'Calgacus addressing his Troops' fitted well with Corbould's artistic repertoire.

Corbould and the Royal Family

One important aspect of Corbould's life which we have only remarked upon in passing, but which must not be omitted from any chapter concerning his work, is his close association with the royal family. This spanned an extensive portion of his life, and many works of his which survive were undertaken specifically as commissions for the queen or her husband. As Poulter relates, in 1842 Victoria and Albert first visited the galleries of the Royal Institute and purchased a work of Corbould's.[556] We are also informed by Poulter that Corbould was a prize-winner in the Westminster Hall competitions, in his case on two separate occasions. These beginnings appear to have led to his undertaking many more commissions for paintings and illustrations. Poulter reports a picture of Floretta de Nerac, the first love of king Henry IV of France, apparently a particular favourite with the royal family, which was purchased by Victoria and then given as a gift to William King of Prussia. Two pictures were acquired by the Princess Royal (Empress Frederick). On another occasion, in 1864, Victoria seems to have purchased a work of Corbould's as a gift, a painting from Tennyson's 'Morte d'Arthur', for Princess Louise. In 1864 Corbould designed a three-foot high piece of plate as a christening present for the Duke of Clarence.[557] Apparently at a later date the ex-Kaiser also admired Corbould, possessing nine watercolours of the opera *Undine* by Corbould, as well as a 'Henry IV' and an 'Iconoclasts of Basle'.[558]

Many of the paintings that are today held in the Royal Collection attest to the specific nature of the commissions that Corbould undertook for the queen. For example, his 1852 'Scene from Goethe's Faust: the appearance of the Spirit of the Earth'.[559] As the Collection's website points out, the queen had attended a performance of the play in June 1852 and had been particularly struck by the appearance of

556 Poulter (1935: 36).

557 Poulter (1935: 36).

558 Poulter (1935: 38).

559 E. H. Corbould, 'Scene from Goethe's Faust: the appearance of the Spirit of the Earth', watercolour and bodycolour, 44 x 61.5 cm, 1852 (Royal Collection, London).

Mephistopheles, whom she described as 'quite horrid to look at'.[560] The painting, which the queen commissioned then made a gift of to Prince Albert, was clearly tailored to her specific recommendation. 'Red Riding Hood' is another painting in the collection which bears testimony to the proximity of Corbould to the royal family, showing as it does the royal children performing the tale of Little Red Riding Hood for their parents' wedding anniversary in February 1855.[561]

However, of all the royal commissions undertaken by Corbould perhaps most interesting for our purposes is a portrait of Albert which Corbould painted in 1864. Victoria commissioned the artist to paint a portrait of her late husband as a memorial to him, and today the painting remains in the Royal Collection.[562] While staying at Balmoral in 1851 as part of his position as art instructor to the Prince Consort's children, Corbould had painted an earlier portrait of Albert, which no doubt aided him in completing the later work. He would have been very familiar with the type of portraiture of Albert which the queen favoured. The painting depicts Albert in the garb of a medieval knight, in the act of sheathing his sword. On the frame beneath the painting are inscribed the words, 'Ich habe einen guten Kampf gekämpfet'. This is a memorial to Albert but also to a perfect Victorian gentleman. Albert's German origins are for once emphasized, perhaps as a means of emphasizing his virtue the more, rather than playing them down, as was often the case during his lifetime.

Homans reports an entry in Victoria's diary for the 12th of February 1864, which demonstrates firsthand the personal interest that the monarch took in Corbould's portrait of Albert: 'Saw Mr. Corbould about his beautiful allegorical painting of my beloved one. The likeness was not quite good and needed some alterations, which I watched him carry out, after luncheon'.[563] Two things are evident here. Firstly, that Victoria was actively engaged with the artist during his work on the portrait, responding to the painting as a work in progress. Secondly, it is evident how important the painting was to Victoria, such that no amount of retouching would likely have rendered it perfect in her eyes. It ought to be remembered that this was

560 Royal Collection Website, 'Scene from Goethe's Faust' (accessed 13.09.11).

561 E. H. Corbould, 'Red Riding Hood', watercolour and bodycolour, 36.8 x 53.5 cm, 1855 (Royal Collection, London).

562 E. H. Corbould, 'Memorial Portrait of the Prince Consort', watercolour and mixed media, 75.7 x 61 cm, 1863 (Royal Collection, London).

563 Homans (1998: 166).

only three years after Albert's death, and Victoria was still very much in mourning, this being something that in her case endured for many years. It is testament to how close a relationship Corbould enjoyed with the monarch that he could freely discuss with her the requirements for a painting on such a sensitive subject at such a time. No doubt this familiarity came from the years he had by this time spent as her children's drawing master.

Homans' own analysis of the painting shows its significance: 'Corbould's job is to render the likeness allegorical and to elevate the symbolism of the armor to the level of allegory, so, with a shift in the pose of the hands and the addition of biblical scenes and some lines of German, Albert becomes "a Christian Knight in the act of sheathing his sword, his good fight fought" (Cult, 17). "Ich habe einen guten Kampf gekämpfet": to put words into the dead man's mouth, to say what cannot be said ("I have died"), is ostentatiously to subject Albert's death to the representational powers of the still living.'[564] This was indeed a formidable commission which Corbould had taken on, and we can only hope that Victoria was pleased with the finished product. As Homans comments, Corbould had become 'the official depicter of chivalry to royalty'.[565] The queen had the portrait inserted into the door of the Blue Room at Windsor Castle, where the Prince died.[566]

Finally we might add a few final remarks about some of the other paintings in the Royal Collection, as these show how closely Corbould followed official royally determined tastes. This should make us reflect upon the Calgacus illustration and its style. There are a pair of paintings in the royal collection, both of which draw their inspiration from George Eliot's *Adam Bede*: 'Hetty Sorrel and Squire Donnithorne in Mrs Poyser's Dairy',[567] and 'Dinah Morris preaching on the Common'.[568] They form a moralistic opposition, the flirtatious Hetty Sorrel being admired by the young heir to Donnithorne Chase, and the virtuous and modest Dinah, a young methodist preacher, preaching to the villagers of Hayslope on the village common. Victoria commissioned

564 Homans' (1998: 166).

565 Homans (1998: 167). Quoting from Girourd (1981: 124).

566 Royal Collection website, 'Memorial Portrait of the Prince Consort' entry (accessed 14.09.11).

567 E. H. Corbould, 'Hetty Sorrel and Squire Donnithorne in Mrs Poyser's Dairy', watercolour and bodycolour, 76.5 x 56.5 cm, 1860 (Royal Collection, London).

568 E. H. Corbould, 'Dinah Morris preaching on the Common', watercolour and bodycolour, 76.5 x 56.5 cm, 1861 (Royal Collection, London).

these paintings herself, presumably as they fitted her moral outlook. The common folk in the Dinah Morris painting are depicted as an idealised peasantry, such as were the stock filler of the official art of the time. Yet as we have seen with Corbould's illustrations to *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, aside from historical context there is little to distinguish between these types of painting.

From this survey of Corbould's wider work is is clear that his Calgacus was in keeping with his approach to other historical and contemporary subject matter. The essential message in these works and in his Calgacus is that virtue remains constant throughout the ages. Corbould's proximity to and favour with the Victorian royal family demonstrate that this sort of mediation of historical legend was in keeping with the intent of official art in the second half of the nineteenth century in Britain. In the context of both Corbould's broader style, and Taylor's history itself, we can see that the message of the Calgacus illustration is a didactic one, encouraging emulation by contemporary British subjects. To a certain degree Scottish history is being employed for the ends of an imperial narrative, which stressed the characteristic virtues of the British people. Being in itself a justification for the British empire, the approach of Taylor and Corbould avoided addressing the opposition between valorisation of those that opposed an ancient empire, and glorification of the contemporary empire of their descendants. As we will see the answer to this potential contradiction was ultimately found by some in racial theory, something which also affected the approach of Victorian artists to the Boadicea theme.

John Opie

Boadicea haranguing the Britons

In this painting of 1793, commissioned as part of a series for engraving for David Hume's *History of England*, the English artist John Opie (1761-1807) depicts Boadicea addressing her soldiers before meeting the Romans in battle (Figure 13).[569]

Opie paints his Boadicea as a very young woman. This is perhaps unrealistic considering the age of her two daughters, whom Opie depicts cowering behind the figure of their mother. Boadicea wears a long white robe, girt with a black band below her chest, and a red cloak on top of this draped over her shoulders. She is far from a

569 J. Opie, 'Boadicea haranguing the Britons', oil-on-canvas, 216 x 162.5 cm, 1793 (Private Collection). For the engraving after the painting see: Hume (1793-1806).

rough tribal warrior of some other portrayals of the queen, but instead appears regal and civilised. On her head she wears a black helmet. In her long robes and helmet she inevitably conjures up the image of Athena as warrior goddess, and personifications of *Britannia*, as do many other portrayals of Boadicea.[570]

Her daughters are shown in contrasting attitudes, aimed at personifying the combination of outraged virtue and just revenge. Under Boadicea's left arm one of her daughters, perhaps the younger of the two, shelters as if hiding from the shame she faces as a result of Roman immorality. Resting her right arm on her mother's hip, she turns away from the observer as if unable to look up for shame, nor does she face the Britons below. The other daughter in contrast, all but obscured from view behind save for her face and left arm which emerge from the darkness, looks up seemingly past her mother, her head resting on her arm pensively, inspired and contemplating her mother's words. In the vein of Tennyson's poem the Victorian observer may have wondered whether she was thinking of the future greatness of her people, foreshadowed in her mother's words. The daughters together illustrate at once the degeneracy of Rome and the first stirrings of British freedom.

All three figures are placed on a higher plain than the soldiers, who stand gathered below the queen to her right, all looking up at her, fired to battle by her words. This and their being placed at a lower level helps draw attention to Boadicea herself, whose figure fills the whole of the painting. We can see relatively little of the soldiers' figures, which are dwarfed by the towering Boadicea, but what is most important about them is their expressions. It could be argued that these are the most significant aspect of the painting in understanding its meaning. Boadicea is an abstract personification; as directly expressed in her person there is little interest in the human elements of her story. In their faces however the soldiers show the range of emotion of a people first stirring from their fear and ignorance, to face up boldly to an oppressive and unjust power.

Topmost of the figures is a fair-haired man, who faces the observer and leans back slightly to the right, as if awed by the presence of his queen. His eyes are fired with a grim determination, and his jaw is set in a grimace, as if contemplating the harsh but righteous justice that must be visited on the Romans. As the daughter that stands behind Boadicea, he is partially concealed in darkness, his face partly shaded

570 For example Thornycroft's representation (on which see below).

and his torso in shadow, as if receding into the darkness behind. In contrast Opie illuminates the lower half of his face, with its stern expression, and his left bicep. He is emblematic of the strength and determination of the newly roused British people, representing the promise of strength that lies behind the words of the apparently frail Boadicea. This is further emphasised by his arm's resting on the pommel of his down-turned sword which, though hidden behind the figure of the man in front, hints at the devastation to be visited on the Romans as a result of their high-handedness. He, as his fellow soldiers, physically emerges from the darkness behind, symbolising his people's first emergence into self-determination, the light illuminated by and illuminating Boadicea here.

Behind him we see the top halves of two very similar looking faces, whose raised eyebrows show the naivety of the young people Boadicea is leading out of the night of their tribal past. These figures serve no other purpose than this and to represent the rest of the army that presumably follows behind. However the two figures which stand in the foreground are equally significant as the topmost figure that stands behind them. Unlike him they do not represent a disabused and stern determination, but rather the simple but virtuous ignorance of a 'noble savage'. Opie emphasises this primitiveness by giving the upper figure, who faces the observer, a prognathous jaw, while he makes the foreground figure, who faces away from the observer but likewise up at Boadicea, semi-naked. Both are very similar in appearance, with short dark hair and beards, indicating that they are meant to be viewed as a group.

Given this physical similarity, their proximity and compositional arrangement, they are perhaps brothers, relatives of the queen and her daughters. The red cloak that the upper of the two wears over his shoulder, as well as the way his right arm juts out confidently, resting on his hip, would suggest such an identification. As the figure above him his right hand also rests on the hilt of his sword, the black blade of which is more clearly visible than in the former's case. The idea of revenge and of the just war is plain. They are innocent but virtuous, perhaps unaware of the sort of immorality the Romans practised until presented with it. Now they are enlightened - literally in the case of the white highlights Opie adds to their faces - by the leadership of their queen.

The compositional arrangement and posing of the figures create a leftward movement in the composition. All three of the main figures of the soldiers, while

looking up at Boadicea, also lean to their right, as if actually in the act of departing for battle with the Romans. The foremost figure moves his left arm in that direction, perhaps seeking his arms or ready to give orders to his men in turn. They all follow the movement of Boadicea's right arm, which is raised upwards with palm flat, indicating an invocation against injustice or a frustration with Roman misdeeds, and her gaze, which looks out over the heads of her soldiers towards the presumed enemy beyond. Her expression is perhaps the coldest and least forgiving of all the figures in the composition, indicating the pitiless nature of the revenge she will inflict upon Rome.

Above all it is light which Opie employs as his main tool to convey the fundamental messages of the painting. There is no apparent natural source of light in this scene, nor does Opie seek to supply one. The apparent impression is that there is a light source coming from the upper right, but this does not obey any normal rules, given the fact that the daughter standing behind Boadicea is hardly lit at all, and the upper three soldiers, furthest from Boadicea, are likewise in shade. Instead there is the impression that it is Boadicea herself that is the source of light here. Almost her whole body, including the entirety of her white cloak and her almost equally white face, is given highlights by Opie. Those nearest to her, the two soldiers that stand immediately below her, and the daughter she shields with her arm, are the most brightly illuminated, and the effect of all of this is thrown into sharp relief by the pitch background. It is Boadicea herself that leads her people out of their benighted primitiveness and shows them the path to glory.

The commission and Hume's *History of England*

The publisher of Hume's *History of England*, Robert Bowyer, commissioned several engravings after paintings for his 1793-1806 edition of the work. Amongst these were engravings of eleven other paintings by Opie on various English historical themes. These included, for example, a 'Mary of Modena quitting England' and an 'Elizabeth Grey petitioning Edward IV',[571] as well as the Boadicea.

Although he was extensively involved in this commission Opie was for the most part a portrait painter (he did also paint several canvases on historical themes

571 All completed between 1792 and 1800.

too). Nonetheless in the greater body of Opie's work, which mainly consists of aristocratic portraiture, his Boadicea and the commission for Hume's work are not mainstream examples of his work. This is to say no more than that Opie, unlike other artists this project looks at, was not primarily an artist of patriotic themes per se, although as we shall see there is separate evidence of Opie's patriotism. This must also be seen in the context of both the work for which Opie was illustrating and the period in which he was painting. Opie is painting at the tail end of the neoclassical period, not at the height of Victorian imperialism.

In many ways too Robert Bowyer was an unconventional patron for the artist, not the usual gentry or urban rich for whom he was accustomed to paint for the most part of his career from his arrival in London as a young man onwards. Bowyer's story was itself a chequered one, a Baptist and strong supporter of the anti-slavery movement who, having begun as an artist himself in his earlier years, then turned to publishing. His ambition for his edition of Hume's work was great, given the considerable possibilities for fame and future publishing commissions it might have provided (the costs of publishing it nearly ruined him financially). Moving to a new house in Pall Mall, he exhibited there all the paintings commissioned to illustrate the book. Presumably not recuperating as much as he had expected through eventual sales of the book, he was compelled to auction off the pictures.[572]

Opie's Boadicea is not a well-known work today, and was not in its own time either. Nor is Opie a particularly well-known artist. As a result contemporary judgements about his historical works are not particularly common. However we can deduce that the general opinion of Opie as an artist in his own time, and subsequently, tended to follow this outline: an artist of humble origins but great talent who, after enjoying an initial flurry of popularity as a portrait painter to the aristocracy, later fell into some obscurity and whose works, while showing great skill in certain respects, were conventional and lacked anything exceptional. Rogers reports one such contemporary view. He relates a critic's response to Opie's illustrations for Hume's *History* and Macklin's Bible as follows: 'None of these works […] affect ideal beauty or refined poetical composition, but they are stamped by energy of style, and a perfect purity of colour, an harmonious tone, and exact effects of light and shade. In his portraits their truth and reality abundantly compensate for the absence of the more

572 Earland (1911: 70).

refined characteristics of elegance and taste.'[573] By the standards of contemporary taste then, Opie was a good painter but not an exceptional one.

What can we say about the context of the illustration and the manner in which Hume treats the Boadicea theme in his text? Given Hume's chronology, the theme is treated very early on in his narrative, and it is dealt with only very briefly and with seeming impartiality. Hume has only a single paragraph, in which he reports the principal factual events in rapid succession: the British rebellion under Boadicea, the abandonment and destruction of London with numbers killed, and Suetonius' revenge on the battlefield thereafter, with the numbers of Britons killed.

However, brief as this account is and factual as it may appear, Hume qualifies his description in several ways which demonstrate his reliance on the accounts of Tacitus. Boadicea has been 'treated in the most ignominious manner by the Roman tribunes', and her attack on London is one of 'merciless fury', whose victims were 'cruelly massacred' and 'put to the sword without distinction'. Hume goes so far as to argue that: 'The Britons, by rendering the war thus bloody, seemed determined to cut off all hopes of peace or composition with the enemy.' By doing so he seems to imply that the Britons were not seeking simply the ejection of the Romans from the island, or that there could be any other alternative than peaceful acceptance of Roman rule. In this respect he follows Tacitus's account (*Annals* 12.36), and the words he attributes to Boadicea before the battle, in which she encourages her warriors to be unforgiving in the revenge they were to exact from the Romans. In fact much of Hume's (1793-1806: 9) brief account is centred around Roman success, and in particular that of Suetonius.

Re-reading Hume's paragraph on Boadicea's revolt, we see that the sentence with which Hume opens his description of the events is in fact from the very start framed in terms of what Suetonius is doing: 'The Britons, taking advantage of his absence, were all in arms'. The implication here is of course that had Suetonius never been away the Britons would never have dared to revolt. At the end of the paragraph the 'cruelty' of the revolt is 'revenged by Suetonius in a great and decisive battle', in which 80,000 Britons perish, something Hume sets against the 70,000 Romans killed in the uprising, as if in vindication. We can see then that Hume's (1793-1806: 9) account, while brief and at first sight relatively impartial, interestingly leans to a great extent in favour of the Romans, and disapproves of the Britons' bloody destruction of

573 Rogers (1998: 167).

what was 'already a flourishing Roman colony'.

All of this considered, it is immediately apparent that Opie diverged to a significant degree in the approach he chose to take in his illustration of this text. As is apparent from the analysis above, Opie's painting is decidedly for Boadicea and her rebellion, heroising both the Britons and their queen. Hume's approach is clearly in line with the tradition of those that saw Roman invasion of Britain as a civilising force, and Boadicea's rebellion as an aberrance on this path to present British glory, rather than evidence of it at an incipient stage. How can we explain Opie's obvious divergence from Hume's approach?

We see in the case of other book illustrators, for example Mucha's illustration of Seignobos' account of Arminius, that while illustrators may follow the authors they illustrate in the general outline of their work, their bringing something of their individual artistic style and ideologies to what they are working on is not impossible. It is clear likewise in Opie's case that the relationship between artist and patron, and the nature of commissions for art on national themes, was anything but simple in this period. Opie brings his own ideas, artistic and otherwise, to his Boadicea painting, and this is not necessarily determined by the manner in which Hume chooses to approach the subject.[574]

Opie and the English art establishment

As is evident from the extent to which he differs in his Boadicea from the account which he illustrates, and perhaps in contrast to the recapitulation of contemporary views of him given above, Opie clearly had a developed individual approach to his art, or at least to national historical subjects. In what kind of artistic context can we place Opie to better understand his approach to the Boadicea theme?

In brief, Opie's life story ran as follows. Born in St. Agnes in Cornwall in 1761 he was apprenticed as a carpenter, as his father and grandfather had been. After failing

574 In his catalogue Earland (1911: 259), lists the other historical themes illustrated by Hume for this work as follows: 'Joan of Arc declaring her Mission'; 'Balliol surrendering the Crown to Edward I'; 'Coronation of Henry VI'; 'Mary of Modena secretly embarking at Gravesend'; 'Assassination of Becket'; 'Seizing of Mortimer'; 'Death of Archbishop Sharpe'; 'Duke of York, brother of Edward V, resigned by the Queen'; 'Mary, Queen of Scots, previous to her Execution'.

at this he was employed as a manservant to Dr. Wolcot,[575] the satirist, during which time he began to try his hand at drawing. After some initial success as a portrait painter to some of the local gentry, he moved to London, became a portrait painter full-time and enjoyed some popularity. Although this ebbed later he continued to receive commissions, for historical themes as well as portraiture, and during this time was on good terms with Joshua Reynolds and other prominent artists of the time, through which friendship he became a longstanding member of the Royal Academy for the rest of his life. Married twice, to the poet Amelia Opie after an unsuccessful first marriage, he was known for being socially unconventional but a self-educated and witty man.

In particular through his association with the Royal Academy we can connect Opie closely with the English art establishment of the late eighteenth century. It is not a foregone conclusion that membership of the Royal Academy implies Opie's strict adherence to its normative classicising influence at the time. However his connection with Reynolds suggests this. This is perhaps most of all evident in the dispute over Reynolds' presidency of the Academy in 1790. After a dispute about another election within the Academy and the contestation of Reynolds' chosen candidate Bonomi[576] by some of the other members, Reynolds had resigned in a fit of indignation. He was later invited back to be president by a group of contrite rebel artists, but in the interlude argument was fierce, and at times bitter, between the pro- and anti-Reynolds camps, and members swiftly fell into line in either camp.

Opie was a firm adherent of the Reynolds camp, and when public attention was turned to the quarrel, some of the artists in the opposite camp attacked Opie as a means of getting at Reynolds. One of these press broadsides against Reynolds' followers, supposedly inspired by Fuseli, is cited by Earland in his book on Opie: 'Opie is heavy, unelegant, and accidental in his characters. If the blackguard from whom he paints happens to possess a head that hits his fancy, he imitates it without anything like discrimination. His David Rizzio is a dirty drayman, his Mary Queen of Scots a common barrow-woman, and her lady of honour a furious lady of the town.'[577] We see here the common criticism of the artist that his work was essentially accurate,

575 John Wolcot (1738-1819), the English satirist.

576 Joseph Bonomi the Elder (1739-1808), the Italian artist and architect.

577 Earland (1911: 80-81).

but lifeless and dull. The passage continues by arguing that Opie's work is 'bold and natural as far as [it] relates to simple imitation', but that he 'had not a mind to go beyond it'. It is worth noting that this criticism of the dull conventionality of Reynolds' prescription for art, which is what this camp of artists were ultimately attacking (as in the case of similar attacks on the Vienna Academy), takes particular aim at Opie's history painting. In this light we may wonder whether when, fifteen years later, Opie came to illustrate Hume's work, he was at pains to address these criticisms and to go beyond what he had done before.

At length when this rather melodramatic crisis was resolved, and Reynolds was persuaded to desist from his histrionics, Opie was placed on the commission set up to entice Reynolds back to the Academy. West, Sandby, Cowley, Cosway, Farrington, Bacon and Catton also sat on this committee, and Opie as they was evidently considered to be close enough to Reynolds, but also popular enough otherwise in the Academy, to act as a mediator. This considered, the caustic tone of the judgement above should not be accepted as representative of the art establishment's views of Opie in general, and this moreover should be seen in the context of the acerbic nature of press reporting in London in the late eighteenth century.[578]

Above all what emerges from this episode is the proximity of Opie to Reynolds, whom he appears to have wholeheartedly supported. In addition we know that the American artist Benjamin West admired Opie, particularly his use of colour.[579] It is clear that Opie's particular interest was in the potentialities of colour in painting. In a series of lectures delivered at the Royal Academy when he was made Professor of Painting (while Fuseli was Keeper), Opie makes some remarks which are revealing both about his approach to colour and about his conceptions for art more generally. On colour he argues that: 'The student, however, may be told that the freshness and brilliancy of colours depend, in a great measure, on their purity, that is, on keeping them as little mixed together, as little muddled by vehicles and subsequent attempts mend the first touches, as the power of the artist and the nature of the subject will admit of; and the brilliancy may be still further increased by judiciously contrasting

578 On the 'Bonomi Affair' see further: Earland (1911: 82).

579 'The truth of colour, as conveyed to the eye through the atmosphere, by which the distance of every object is ascertained, was never better expressed than by him'. Earland (1911: 83).

them with their opposites.'[580] We can see then why Opie uses colour contrast to such an extent in the Boadicea painting. In many ways the drama of the painting draws what force it has from his use of light and shadow.

In these inaugural professorial lectures Opie outlines a more general conception of what artists should aspire to in the work which they create. Many of these comments lack any real specificity in many instances, but they nonetheless give an insight into the significance Opie attached to his own work. Opie comments of the artist that, 'whatever is great, whatever is beautiful, whatever is interesting, and whatever is dreadful, must be familiar to his imagination, and concur to store in his mind.'[581] Clearly then he had an idea of some sort of a mission for the artist, something beyond, we might suspect, the sort of generic aristocratic portraiture which he was for the most part working on.

In terms of source material Opie says that the artist should search broadly in the natural world: 'He must range deserts and mountains for images, picture upon his mind every tree of the forest and flower of the valley, observe the crags of the rock and the pinnacles of the palace, follow the windings of the rivulet, and watch the changes of the clouds; in short, all nature, savage or civilised, animate or inanimate, the plants of the garden, the animals of the wood, the minerals of the mountains, and the motions of the sky, must undergo his examination.'[582] In this, and the language he uses here, we can see the same concerns and interests as many other nineteenth-century painters of patriotic subjects; the search for origins and a truth in the natural world, coupled with an interest in primitiveness. He continues by commenting on the artist's observation of emotion, in which we can see elements of the Hippocratic tradition's theory of the relationship between climate and temperament: 'He must farther observe the power of the passions in all their combinations, and trace their changes, as modified by constitution or by the accidental influences of climate or custom, from the sprightliness of infancy to the despondency of decrepitude.' [583]

From his lectures we can see that Opie was more than simply a portrait painter

580 Cited in Earland (1911: 85).

581 Cited in Edwards, Bullfinch (1832: 199).

582 Cited in Edwards, Bullfinch (1832: 199).

583 Cited in Edwards, Bullfinch (1832: 200). It cannot be determined whether Opie had actually read Hippocrates' treatise on *Airs, Waters and Places*.

and had some more developed ideas about what he thought art should be. To understand how this manifested itself in the rest of his work we must turn to his history painting. Although this always seems to have been secondary to portraiture in his repertoire, it is nonetheless a recurring theme throughout his life. Opie's earliest historical pictures were his 'James the First' and his 'Rizzio', works which seem to have met with a fair amount of contemporary interest. Aside from these his better known historical works included several subjects from Shakespeare, including themes from *The Winter's Tale*, 'Prince Arthur a Prisoner', 'Arthur supplicating Hubert', as well as a 'Juliet in the Garden'. Opie's interest in these subjects, and his presentation of them, all betray his interest in emotion, or 'the passions' as he described them in his lectures. There is little difference between Opie's historical pictures and his illustration of themes from Shakespeare, the reason for this being that for Opie the point was essentially the same as it is in his Boadicea: what matters are the great protagonists and the universal truths of human nature that they represent. In such a preoccupation Opie was very much a history painter of his time, and from this perspective it becomes easier to understand the relative popularity he enjoyed in the Academy and with the artistic establishment.[584]

Opie as a patriot

It is clear then that Opie was a historical painter, and one with convictions about the meaning of his profession. However in analysing his rendition of a classical theme, can we go beyond this in identifying other examples of a patriotic bent on Opie's part?

In this respect perhaps the single most important work of Opie's aside from his Boadicea is a work he never actually carried out. This was a design for a great Pantheon of British naval heroes, and Opie's preliminary thoughts for the monument's design in a letter to the editor of the *True Briton*[585] magazine shed a great deal of light on Opie's patriotism as an artist. In this final section of the chapter we will consider

584 A firm caveat to this however is that gauging reactions to Opie's work accurately is, given the paucity of source material, very difficult. Rogers (1878: 49), nonetheless cites the opinions of Richard and Samuel Redgrave in their book (1865), in which the above outlined opinion of Opie's work as good but somehow deficient, is followed. Opie's colour is therefore found to be 'deficient in purity', and his execution 'broad and spirited, but very coarse'; an artist who 'had great claims to merit as a portrait painter', but the beauty of whose women was 'destroyed by his want of execution.'

585 The *True Briton* magazine was a weekly magazine in published in London between 1851 and 1854.

this design and reflect upon what it says about the ideas he brought with him when addressing his ancient subject matter.

In 1805 the idea had been mooted that some sort of monument to commemorate British naval heroes, essentially Nelson and others, should be constructed. Although no monument was ultimately erected many suggestions were made, some of which Opie took issue with. He objected for example to designs for a column, and he likewise disliked the idea of a colossal statue as being impractical due to weather conditions.[586] Instead he suggested a circular domed building with a hole in the roof to allow light in, similar to the Pantheon in Rome, the internal walls of which would be divided into compartments to be hung with depictions of British naval victories. In the spaces between the pictures Opie intended for life-sized statues of the great naval heroes who had led British forces in the battles shown. In many ways he intended something like the equivalent of Leo von Klenze's later Walhalla monument in Germany, except devoted exclusively to naval heroes old and new.

In his 1805 letter to the *True Briton* magazine Opie identifies the purpose of his monument as follows: 'A work like that in question, in addition to durability in the materials, magnificence in the structure, and taste in the execution, ought to abound in sources of instruction and entertainment; it should be as interesting in itself, as it is, from the nature of its subject, capable of keeping curiosity always alive, and of being viewed with fresh admiration for a thousand years.'[587] Artistic harmony and grandeur were clearly the foremost concerns in Opie's mind, but we can also see here his firm purpose that the monument be didactic in some way. Later in his letter he clarifies the intended audience of this message of the monument: 'Age might find subject for pleasing meditation, and here youth might imbibe virtuous enthusiasm.'[588] The purpose of this imbibing of virtuous enthusiasm was presumably to make a new generation of great British naval commanders, to carry British victories even further.

More explicitly then than the Boadicea painting and illustration, and all of his other works on English historical themes, this unexecuted monument shows a clear intent to use art to actively further a patriotic cause. Moreover from his misgivings about alternative designs we can see that he clearly valued the cause highly. Opie's

586 Cf. Earland (1911: 153).

587 Printed in Opie, Opie (1809: 173).

588 Opie, Opie (1809: 177).

intended design was broader than the simple display of past naval victories and heroes, whom he wanted accompanied by half-length portraits of 'great men and gallant officers, who, though not of the first class, have deserved well of their country,' but also encompassed in addition to these some allegorical groups.[589] Directly under the dome in the centre of the building he intended for a colossal group of 'Neptune doing homage to Britannia.'[590] As in the Boadicea painting he would use classical subject matter in an allegorical function to represent present national glory. In addition to this there would be, at the head of the room (presumably opposite the entrance), a statue of the monarch of the day, George III, 'in whose reign the British naval power has reached a point of exaltation, which seems to preclude the possibility of its being carried much higher by our successors.'[591]

The glory of naval commanders must be under the auspices of the reigning monarch, however Opie seeks to commemorate and glorify them individually as he may, by placing them in what is effectively, as the Walhalla monument, a temple to individual effort and sacrifice in the cause of the nation. In many ways such explicitly nationalist monumental commemoration is very ahead of its time at the turn of the century, and this perhaps in part explains why Opie's design was not ultimately accepted.

In addition to this, a further respect in which Opie's design was ahead of its time is Opie's artistic approach of a *Gesamtkunstwerk*: 'This, I conceive, may be effected by the adoption of the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture (…); and what subject ever offered itself more worthy of such a combination!'[592] This is several decades before Wagner and his contemporaries advocated such an approach, for service in what was likewise a national cause. Indeed as well as a unifying art in itself Opie ties this closely to the idea of art as a unifying patriotic - and imperial - force, as he anticipates dissemination of images of the monument: 'At the same time that the rapid dispersion of the prints into all quarters of the globe, would contribute, more than can well be imagined or described, to give an exalted and universal impression of

589 Earland (1911: 155).

590 Opie, Opie (1809: 175).

591 Opie, Opie (1809: 175).

592 Opie, Opie (1809: 174).

British valour, taste, munificence, and genius.'[593] The monument would in itself serve to promote beliefs about British virtues all over the world, and in addition the patronage provided would be a stimulus to virtuous competition between British artists: 'What a noble field for honourable contention would also be opened, by such an undertaking, to our artists of all denominations; and what might not be expected from their exertions, when equally operated upon by patriotism, grandeur and celebrity of subject, and personal emulation, who now produce so much, almost without encouragement, and without notice!'[594]

Opie evidently placed the state of national art on a par with military and other indices of relative national glory. In his letter he argues that despite the 'valour and superior dexterity of [...] British seamen' and the achievements this had won abroad, there was still a real risk of falling into a 'contempt, accompanied by insult and derision' in terms of the state of national art.[595] He notes the 'watchful jealousy' excited abroad by the Royal Academy's establishment and success. Implicit in this is the recognition of a primary function of art as upholding national reputation, and of institutions like the Royal Academy's importance in doing this.

If anything the letter and its design for a monument show Opie's ability to dilate with enthusiasm upon a patriotic theme. Towards the end of his letter Opie has a long passage in which he does this: 'How entertaining to trace down from the earliest records of our history, the gradual increase of our navy! to remark the different stages of its growth, from a few simple canoes in its infancy, to the stupendous magnitude of a hundred first-rate men of war! miracles of the mechanic arts, proudly bearing Britain's thunder! the bulwark of England! the glory of Englishmen, and the terror and admiration of the world!'[596] On empire too this final passage makes clear that Opie was a wholehearted supporter, and moreover had an allegorical conception, of empire beyond this simple admiration: 'In the midst, British Valour triumphantly bearing down all opposition, accompanied by Humanity, equally daring and ready to succour the vanquished foe!'[597] Opie's views here should be seen in the context of the

593 Opie (1809: 178).

594 Opie, Opie (1809: 177).

595 Opie, Opie (1809: 172).

596 Opie (1809: 176).

597 Opie (1809: 176).

Napoleonic Wars, during which naval defence of Britain was a real concern.

To conclude this chapter we might ask what we can infer about the Boadicea painting from Opie's letter? Opie clearly was a patriot, and the Boadicea painting is clearly patriotic. In his approach to Hume's account he clearly departs from the given narrative in portraying a heroine rather than vandal. Using Boadicea's legend in the same manner as he intends of British naval history in the monument, he makes this serve a nationalist agenda. And as in the case of the monument too, he has a clear intent that his art will inspire imitation. While the ultimate context of Opie's take on his Tacitean theme, a history book, is not as obviously nationalist as that of Thornycroft or Bandel's, the naval monument shows that Opie had ideas for a similar monument, and implies the Boadicea painting is essentially intended to be inspirational and instructive too, as we see in the faces of the soldiers in the painting. Though painting before the Victorian era, he is nonetheless a very good example of an artist taking classical subject matter alongside more recent English historical subjects and employing both for a nationalist end.

Henry Courteney Selous

Boadicea Haranguing the Iceni

The picture that forms the focus of this chapter is a cartoon by the British artist and illustrator Henry Courteney Selous, which he submitted as an entry to an official competition for designs for frescoes to decorate the new Houses of Parliament held in 1843 (*Figure 14*).[598] We shall begin by examining the subject matter of his cartoon, before moving on to a consideration of the work and theme in the context of the competition and the artist's other work.

Selous' cartoon shows a great battle scene, or rather a call-to-arms, with Boadicea rousing her people to war against the Romans. Boadicea herself forms the centre of the composition and pinnacle of the action, elevated as she is above the general tumult and situated on the highest plane of any figure in the scene. Vaughan has described the scene as, 'a foreground arrangement of somewhat incongruous nude figures who lead up to a spotlit Boadicea.'[599] Selous' Boadicea is bare-breasted and clad in white robes from the waist downwards. Her head thrown backwards, her long fair hair streams out behind her as she looks upwards to her right, her face wearing the expression of one inspired by some higher force or destiny. She raises her right arm, open-palmed, in the air to summon the figures around her to war. In her left hand she holds a spear which points to her left. Though her lower body stands erect her torso likewise leans slightly leftwards, indicating the direction in which she commands her people to go. On her right arm just above her shoulder blade she wears a bracelet, perhaps intended by Selous, as her semi-nakedness, to remind us that she is a barbarian.[600]

She stands in a chariot, led by two white horses, the wheels of which as well as the horses are directed to her left, showing us that she is heading off in that direction to battle. Seated at her feet on the chariot are her two daughters. Despite the

598 H. C. Selous, 'Boadicea haranguing the Iceni' (location unknown).

599 Vaughan (1979: 207).

600 We might compare, for example, Johannes' Gehrts' 'Armin verabschiedet sich von Thusnelda' (Lippisches Landesmuseum Detmold, 1884), in which Thusnelda is similarly depicted with a bracelet on her upper arm. By contrast in Opie's painting, which portrays Boadicea in a very different light, the queen has no such accoutrements.

general furore and disorder that surrounds them on all sides, they are still posed in the common fashion in which we see other, typically sculptural, representations of Boadicea. One daughter, placed in the centre of the composition, faces the viewer with eyes closed, her head resting on her hand and tilted to one side, in a gesture of suffering. Above her her sister sits facing away from us with her head resting on her hand and knee, likewise posed to suggest her broken spirit. As is typical of pictures and sculptures representing Boadicea from this period the daughters represent, in addition to their sadness, helpless innocence and indignation. As elsewhere the presence of the daughters is intended as a foil to the vigour of the avenging force of Boadicea herself and those that march off to war, although in Selous' case the incongruity of their staid poses and that of the motion around them does not quite achieve the desired effect.

The picture is a hectic tumult of many figures, for the most part warriors, but we shall look at some of these figures individually to see what light they shed on Selous' particular approach to illustrating his chosen theme. Perhaps the most prominent figures to strike the viewer are those in the foreground, and this is a good place to begin. Below Boadicea and to the left, we see a warrior kneeling, his right arm raised in a gesture of salutation and obeisance to his queen. He is likewise semi-naked, clad only from the waist down. In his left arm he carries a round shield and we can see a short-sword at his left side. Similarly to Boadicea he wears a bracelet on his right arm, in his case below the wrist which, together with the floral crown he wears on his head and his semi-nakedness, is a clear reminder to the viewer that he is a barbarian. However, perhaps the most remarkable thing about this figure is not his attire and attitude but the figures which surround, and seem to accompany, him. For to his right and left are two female figures. The figure to the warrior's right is almost completely naked, and that to his left semi-naked like Boadicea, again marks of their being barbarians, even if their hair seems to be somewhat incongruously coiffured. In this period nudity was still conventionally limited to mythological and heroic art, and given the intended public context this perhaps helps to explain their and other figures' highly stylised poses, which gives this cartoon the air of a painting of a classical myth.

Yet we must remark their presence, as that of all the other women on the battlefield, as undoubtedly unusual. It is typical in depictions of Boadicea that she is accompanied only by her two daughters and male warriors. Typically it is Boadicea

and her daughters who are the only female figures in the composition, the contrast between the anomaly of their presence and that of the male warriors being the tension from which many artists attempt to create the drama of their compositions. Selous however chooses to include many other female figures in his composition, and moreover right in the midst of the tumult of the summons to battle, not removed from it. It is clear in the case of the female figures just mentioned that they are the family of the warrior whom they sit with. The presence of the children behind him, clasping another semi-naked woman, who looks up at Boadicea holding out both her hands in a gesture of almost votive awe and supplication, likewise suggests this. We must then ask why Selous chooses to include women in such a context. The woman holding up her hands to Boadicea perhaps suggests an answer. This woman has two infant children, as Boadicea has her two daughters, and the implication is that all the Britons shall face the same fate now and in the future at the hands of the Romans if Boadicea does not seek vengeance. Another reason for Selous' inclusion of other women may be that he is attempting to show that he is following the classical sources for the episode,[601] something which, as we shall see, may have been an expectation of contemporary viewers of the cartoons.

In the foreground on the right-hand side we can see another warrior, very similarly dressed to the warrior in the foreground on the left. This figure however stands and looks up to his right, holding a mace up in the air in his right hand. He stoops slightly to the left as he puts his arm around a young fair-haired boy, who wears a fur around his waist, and looks towards Boadicea. By his side a woman, presumably his mother, also looks up at Boadicea, gesturing in her direction with her right hand, perhaps explaining to her son what is going on and why. Three further female figures behind her look up in awe at Boadicea. Together with other figures of warriors in the middle ground on Boadicea's other side, who look up at Boadicea in gestures of salutation and answer to her call of arms, they guide our attention upwards towards the queen. All their energies appear directed and channelled towards and through their monarch, their source of inspiration.

Behind these figures we can make out an array of spears and swords raised to the sky, answering the queen's call to vengeance. However something we may also note in this cartoon, on closer inspection, is the presence of numerable old men, as

601 Tacitus, *Annales* 14.34.

well as women and children. Again this may be Selous' attempt to follow the source material more closely,[602] implying that all the Iceni were embroiled in the conflict with Rome and hinting at the fact that after the Roman victory nobody would be spared. We might also see this in the context of other works which this project examines, in which we find bearded old men present, perhaps as druids or bards. This is most probably an attempt to remind the viewer that we are in ancient Britain, of which druids and bearded old men were fast becoming the established repertoire.[603] Beyond this attention to the Tacitean version of events, Selous is able to add extra drama to the moment of departure for battle by the omen, for those familiar with the legend, that the presence of women, children and old men provides.

The several references to ancient Britain, heroic nudity, torques, headdresses, and bearded old men, are added to by the stone circle that we can make out in the background to the left. Sitting atop a hill and framed against the clouds we can make out megalithic structures naturally very reminiscent of Stonehenge. Indeed with a few standing stones the structure seems less reminiscent of an ancient Stonehenge than of a modern one in an incomplete state. What is important for Selous in this element, as in the composition and theme as a whole, is not historical reality (even if to some degree he is concerned not to be seen to be flouting the written sources altogether), but to give the impression of an ancient Britain readily familiar to everyone.

Light is an important element in Selous' cartoon. It should be remembered that it is a cartoon that is under consideration here, as opposed to an oil painting in colour or a fresco. How Selous might have wished his design to be executed as a fresco remains a hypothetical question, since this never in fact happened in the last resort. However he exploits effectively the medium in which he is working to achieve effects of light to emphasize elements of his composition as he chooses. We cannot say that he goes as far as Opie in his use of contrasts to highlight Boadicea at the expense of

602 Tacitus, *Annales* 14.34, where Tacitus relates that the Britons had brought their wives with them to witness their victory, although he states that they were in wagons stationed on the very edge of the battlefield: *et animo adeo feroci ut coniuges quoque testis victoriae secum traherent plaustrisque imponerent quae super extremum ambitum campi posuerant* ('Indeed they were so headstrong as to bring their wives with them too, whom they had placed in chariots on the farthest boundary of the field, as witnesses to their victory'). Cassius Dio makes no mention of women and children in his version of events, but comments that the Romans slaughtered many beside the wagons and forest (Cassius Dio, *Historiae* 62.12.5).

603 Ossian is seminal to this imagery. A. Girodet, 'Ossian receiving the Ghosts of fallen French Heroes', oil-on-canvas, 182 x 192 cm, 1801 (Musée National de Malmaison, Malmaison), is a good example of this type of imagery.

other figures, but it is clear that Boadicea's robes, arm, chest and forehead, as well as her daughters, are brought into greater prominence by their highlights, in contrast to the darker charcoal tones of the groups immediately at her side on both the left and right in the middle ground. More significantly however is the light of the rising sun, which seems to rise behind her as if heralding her coming victories. While her followers draw their inspiration from her, there seems to be the suggestion that Boadicea is drawing her inspiration from a higher force, perhaps a divine providence, which is demonstrated through the morning sun. This is an allegory, as Boadicea herself, for a national destiny in which Britain rises up to avenge injustice and sweeps away the corruption of Rome (and by extension, in an imperial age, the world).

Her Majesty's Commission on the Fine Arts

This cartoon was submitted as part of an official competition held in 1843 for designs for frescoes to decorate Charles Barry's new Palace of Westminster, which was under construction at the time. Before looking more closely at the competition itself, we will begin by examining the impetus that lay behind the competition as this will help elucidate what the ultimate object of the competition was and therefore some of the considerations Selous would have had in mind when he was working on the cartoon.

Following the destruction of the old Palace of Westminster by fire in 1834, many saw in this accident a chance to revive the arts in Britain, which were considered by many to be in a sorry state, somewhat lagging behind that of continental neighbours. The architectural competition that had been held in 1835, in which Charles Barry's entry had been selected, had at its heart considerations of more than simple artistic merit. As Strong comments: 'The 1835 competition [...] stipulated from the outset that the new Houses of Parliament must be Gothic or Elizabethan, a mandate which was decisive in dressing-up the new in the robes of past.'[604] The choice of the Gothic style for the new palace was in itself an ideological statement, and was understood as such. While a new age was beginning under Victoria, this was conceived of as part of a continuous progression from Britain's medieval past and its values, not a severance from it. This was something noticed by foreign observers. The German art historian, Gustav Friedrich Waagen, commented on the choice of Gothic

604 Strong (2004: 504).

style: 'The Gothic style also corresponds with the increasing consciousness of their Germanic origin which I have remarked among the English, and with the increasing sense of the poetic greatness of their mediaeval history'.[605] From the start then the new Palace of Westminster was, and was understood to be, as much a clear statement about what Britain was meant to be as about what it once was.

It is in such a context then that we must view the commission which was set up a few years later, when the building was now well under way. 'Her Majesty's Commission on the Fine Arts' was set up by Parliamentary appointment, consisting of several members appointed from both Houses and headed by Prince Albert, with the ostensible aim of investigating the state of art in Britain at the time. In 1842 the commission reported back its findings, and from their report in the Parliamentary Papers of that year we can gain some insight into the aims of the commission and those that appointed it. In the preamble to this report the queen's commands are given as follows: 'We do hereby enjoin and command you, or any five or more of you, to inquire into the mode in which, by means of the interior decoration of Our said Palace at Westminster, the Fine Arts of this country can be most effectually encouraged.'[606] The aim of the commission then was ultimately to determine what kind of decoration would be most suitable for the interiors of the Houses of Parliament, and thereby to stimulate further artistic production in Britain.

In the report itself the painter and member of the commission Charles Eastlake[607] discusses historical painting in some detail, lamenting its past neglect: 'And first it is to be observed that, although "all branches of art" may be entitled to the consideration of the Commission, historical painting is not only generally fittest for decoration on a large scale, but is precisely the class of painting which, more than any other, requires "encouragement beyond the means of private patronage." The want of such encouragement has long been regretted, not by professors only, but by all who have turned their attention to the state of painting in England; - a proof that the promotion of historic art is of interest with a considerable portion of the public.'[608]

605 Waagen (1854: 425).

606 *Parliamentary Papers 1842* (1842: 4).

607 Charles Lock Eastlake (1793-1865), the painter, writer, collector and museum director, was recommended as Secretary of the Fine Arts commission in 1841 by the Prime Minister Robert Peel, impressed by his knowledge of contemporary German fresco painting.

608 *Parliamentary Papers 1842* (1842: 9).

From this it is fairly clear that at a very early stage the commission had settled on history painting as the chosen form of the works that would eventually decorate the palace, and that they subscribed to the view that it had been neglected to date. We may also infer from Eastlake's words that the commission believed it possible to foster a domestic school of history painting through public patronage. However a little later in the report we can see another slightly different consideration come into play, which is certainly to some degree at odds with the concept of public patronage, where Eastlake comments: 'The proper and peculiar tendency, the physiognomy, so to speak, of national taste, is to be detected in more spontaneous aims; in the direction which the arts have taken, when their course has been unrestrained, save by the ordinary influence of the intellectual and moral habits of society.'[609] Eastlake is then here concerned with the notion of an idiosyncratic artistic style and taste, one peculiar to the nation, which he believes can only come into being when artists are left to their own devices.[610] Yet there is certainly a tension here between the idea of spontaneous art and the sort of highly prescriptive public patronage that we shall see involved in the cartoon competition.

For Selous and the other artists who chose to submit their entries in the following year, it would have become quite clear that the commission had in mind historical themes, relating to national subjects, which would most likely be executed in fresco. Further, it is clear from this first report of the commission whence they were drawing their inspiration. As Eastlake comments in his report in a footnote to his discussion of fresco technique: 'The public spirit of the German artists is apparent in the circumstance of Cornelius himself now undertaking to superintend the execution of Schinkel's designs in Berlin, with scarcely any addition of his own.'[611] Evidently the commission sought to emulate the situation, whether real or simply imagined, obtaining in the German states whereby the best artists available would cooperate to produce the best art for the state. This was the optimistic hope in which the commission began its work in 1841, hopes which we shall see were eventually largely

609 *Parliamentary Papers 1842* (1842: 10).

610 A comparable example of the notion of a 'physiognomy' of national style and taste in art, and the influence of nationalist ideas upon this, may be seen in the contemporary debates between German and Czech art historians over medieval Bohemian art and the ethnic origins of artists. See, for example: Rittersberg (1848).

611 *Parliamentary Papers 1842* (1842: 21).

disappointed.

One final point which must be made about the commission before we move on to looking at the cartoon competition itself is whom it was headed by. Prince Albert, who had been Prince Consort scarcely one year at the time of his appointment, threw himself into the project wholeheartedly, beginning with a private project to test the merits of fresco in advance. As Strong comments: 'The prince threw himself into the project by experimenting with fresco in a garden pavilion constructed in the grounds of Buckingham Palace. The most important room was adorned with subjects from Milton's Comus with contributions from painters including William Dyce and Edwin Landseer.'[612] Albert, who could draw upon his knowledge of the arts and contacts in Germany, was an indispensable member of the commission, yet despite this and his best efforts he alone could not ensure the success of the project, and he may have had misgivings at its inception.[613]

The cartoon competition

In the commission's first report the conclusion is reached that the best way to achieve the aims set out is by means of an open competition for cartoons. A draft notice is included in the report, specifying the requirements which the entrants are to work to, and the criteria by which submitted works would be judged. The most important of these requirements for our purposes are the following. Requirement 4 specifies that: 'drawings are to be executed in chalk or charcoal, or in some similar material, but without colours'.[614] Requirement 5 specifies that the drawings must be: 'not less than ten nor more than fifteen feet in their longest dimension', and that 'the figures are to be not less than the size of life'.[615] The works would have to be executed on a very large scale, and this helps to explain Selous' choice of a simple composition with Boadicea centrally placed with more prominent figures grouped to her left and right. In terms of

612 Strong (2004: 518-519).

613 On this point see Ames (1968: 51-52): 'Prince Albert, however convinced he may have been by testimony and by his own enthusiasm that fresco was the right sort of painting for the walls of capital structures, realized that most of the painters who would be called upon would be quite out of their depth.'

614 *Parliamentary Papers 1842* (1842: 7).

615 *Parliamentary Papers 1842* (1842: 7).

subject matter, requirement 6 specifies: 'Each artist is at liberty to select his subject from British History, or from the works of Spenser, Shakespeare, or Milton.'[616]

We can see then that the commission's requirements for competition entries was very prescriptive, rendering the phrase 'at liberty' at least a little redundant. Moreover, in addition to these the competition was confined to British entrants (amended to include foreigners who had resided in Britain upwards of ten years) whose cartoons were completed in Britain.[617] In essence then, the commission was looking for works of history painting on British themes by British artists. We can readily see how Selous, as one of the prize-winners in the competition, well fitted these requirements in his person and by his choice of subject.

Furthermore, in terms of his particular entry, the conditions Selous would have been considered to have met can be seen in the commission's specification of judgement criteria: 'The judges to be appointed to decide on the relative merit of the drawings will, it is presumed, be disposed to mark their approbation of works, which, with a just conception of the subject, exhibit an attention to those qualities which are more especially the objects of study in a cartoon, namely, precision of drawing, founded on a knowledge of the structure of the human figure, a treatment of drapery uniting the imitation of nature with a reference to form, action and composition; and a style of composition less dependent on chiaro-scuro than on effective arrangement.'[618] As the only clear instructions given on what the judges would be looking for, we might well consider them more than a little nebulous, but whatever in truth the judges were looking for in the competition held the following year, it is clear that Selous' take on Boadicea was considered 'a just conception of the subject', which met the requirements of good cartoon drawing and had a good compositional arrangement. Yet we must wonder whether technical factors were not so important as choice of a fitting subject matter in Selous' case.

The deadline for artists to submit their cartoons was the first week of June 1843. A total of 140 cartoons were submitted on the specified themes. An exhibition of all of the cartoons was then held in Westminster Hall, which took the unusual step

616 *Parliamentary Papers 1842* (1842: 7).

617 *Parliamentary Papers 1842* (1842: 7), for requirements 4 and 9, (1842: 48) for requirement 2 of the appended 'Additional notice respecting the competition in cartoons'.

618 *Parliamentary Papers 1842* (1842: 8).

of opening its doors (after initial private showings) to the general public for an affordable price. We can see in this gesture an outward acknowledgement of the commission subscription to a didactic view of art as morally improving for the general public, something which is also evident in their choice of themes and authors artists could illustrate.[619] Catalogues were produced for the public and attendance was very great while the exhibition ran. Six judges were appointed to choose the eleven prize winners: the Marquis of Landsdowne, the Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel, Samuel Rogers, Sir Robert Westmacott, Richard Cook, and William Etty, several of whom were commissioners.[620]

In the *Art Union* article for that year we may find the complete list of prize winners appointed by the judges in the cartoon competition.[621] The top three prizes of £300 were awarded to Edward Armitage for his 'Caesar's Invasion of Britain', to Frederick Watts for his 'Caractacus led in Triumph through the streets of Rome', and to Charles West for his 'First Trial by Jury', with the primary position going to Armitage. We can see here that there is a strong preference for historical subjects over literary ones. As Strong comments: 'Allegory was firmly rejected, pinpointing neatly the radical shift from the Grand Style and the commitment to subject-matter seen as uniting the new electorate in a common vision of the historic past and a common cultural heritage.'[622] In addition to this there is a great weighting towards themes that deal with Britain's classical past. In the Armitage drawing we see Caesar standing valiantly amidst the fray as he orders his forces to attack the Britons, who fight in defence of their land equally valiantly. This is perhaps Caesar's very first landing in Britain, as we see the Romans scrambling over a wall attempting to gain a foothold on the island. Vaughan refers to their depiction here as 'monumentally dramatic', and

619 It cannot be said that the choice of Shakespeare, Milton or Spenser in itself prescribes the necessary gravitas of subject matter, but given the context of the frescos and the given alternative of historical themes, we can assume that the artists would have inferred that their choice of subject matter from those authors could not be incongruent with the commission's aims if it were to win a prize.

620 *The Art Union* (1843: 207). The third Marquis of Landsdowne, whose political career spanned many years, twice declined to become prime minister and was Lord President of the Council in 1841. Sir Robert Peel, the prime minister, was in the middle of his second term at the time of the commission. Samuel Rogers was a poet who had made his money through banking and was known as an art collector. Richard Cook and William Etty were both painters and members of the Royal Academy. From the composition of the panel it can be readily appreciated both how greatly establishment-oriented it was, and how many of its members were not actually artists themselves.

621 *Art Union* (1843: 207).

622 Strong (2004: 518).

points out how this is 'aided by dramatic lighting variations'.[623] Watts' cartoon is a theme from Tacitus (*Annales* 12.33), likewise treating British valour in the face of the might of Rome, this time in the city of Rome as opposed to the shores of Britain, but the underlying idea is the same. In both cases we see a preoccupation with dealing with Britain's relations with Rome in a fashion that does not downplay the glory of Rome, thereby enhancing that of the ancient Britons. There were of course many other entries and prize-winners in the competition that dealt with non-classical British historical subjects, yet it is notable that two of the chief prizes went to artists who chose to engage with Britain's classical past.

The next three prizes, of £200 each, were awarded to John Calcott Horsley for his 'St. Augustine preaching to Ethelbert and Bertha, his Christian Queen', to John Z. Bell for his 'The Cardinal Bourchler urging the Dowager Queen of Edward IV. to give up from Sanctuary the Duke of York', and to Henry J. Townsend for his 'The Fight for Beacon'. Once again here we have a choice of historical rather than literary subjects, although this time not classical ones. The first two Christian subjects demonstrate the importance of religion in the commissioners' favourable attitude toward historical allegories. However it is notable that Christianity, here best embodied in St. Augustine and Ethelbert, the first Anglo-Saxon king to convert to Christianity, in effect comes second place to classical themes. This at least shows that Rome, and her relations with ancient Britain, were of paramount importance for Victorians in understanding their past and the ethnic composition of ancient Britain, which were often seen at the time as determinants of the present and of Britain's increasing power in the nineteenth century.

We can see then how Selous' choice of subject matter well-fitted such a climate. Aside from his entry, the four other prizes of £100 were awarded to W. E. Frost for his 'Una alarmed by the Fauns and Satyrs', to E. T. Parris for 'Joseph of Arimathea converting the Britons', to John Bridges for 'Alfred submitting his Code of Laws for the approval of the Witan', and to Joseph Severn for his 'Eleanor saves the Life of her Husband (afterwards Edward I.) by sucking the Poison from the wound in his arm'. Again, save for a single entry, we have only historical subjects. That of the eleven prizes only one, that given to Frost, was awarded for a literary subject, proves that the commission's intentions from the start had most probably been to choose

623 Vaughan (1979: 207).

historical subjects, but that they wished to test the waters first. Yet in these cartoons, as in the prize-winning entries discussed above, it will be noted that the choice of historical subject matter in every case is of a decidedly allegorical or didactic nature. Thus Parris' entry is symbolic of Britain's special Christian destiny, following the tradition of Joseph of Arimathea having journeyed to Britain after the death of Christ, bringing with it connotations of the grail legends. Bridges' drawing represents English democracy and law, and Severn's wifely virtue and perhaps more generally loyalty. The choice of the judges predictably reflected a desire to choose historical subjects which embodied Britain's virtues.

Having looked at the other prize-winning entries and gained a clearer idea of what the judges were looking for in the competition, we may now reflect further upon Selous' own entry and the function that it was seen to perform. It too has allegorical value as representing British valour in the face of Rome, and of righteousness and bravery. Beyond this it also represents feminine virtue. Yet, unlike other earlier portrayals such as Opie's, Selous' does not shy away from depicting a Boadicea that is both warrior and noble barbarian. Male warriors salute her as commander and she leads in the midst of the tumult of arms, rather than being the distanced orator of Opie's work. This difference reflects the fact that there was now a female monarch on the throne. While her daughters represent paragons of woman's innocence and weakness then, Boadicea rather represents queenly virtue. She is a queen who actively leads her people, as Victoria shall. Yet the choice of Watts as fellow prize-winner with his Caractacus cartoon, and its associations of his betrayal by the queen Cartimandua,[624] perhaps suggests that this wild world would have to be tempered by Roman rule in order for Britain to eventually achieve its full glory.[625]

The values that were attached to Boadicea in Selous' portrayal are made explicit in the official catalogue to the 1843 exhibition. Entry 78 in the catalogue, that for Selous' painting, gives a brief account of Boadicea's rebellion, its causes and its outcomes. Boadicea's treatment at the hands of Nero's centurions for refusing to hand over the wealth of her kingdom is described as involving 'a cruelty well worthy of their ruthless master'.[626] Boadicea herself is described as rousing her army to

624 Tacitus, *Annales* 12.36.

625 See discussion of Fletcher's Bonduca in Introduction for the seventeenth century origins of the portrayal of Boadicea as a threat to masculine hegemony.

626 Anon. (1843: 15).

vengeance, 'maddened by her wrongs', encouraging her people 'to fight valiantly in the defence of the rights of their injured country', exhorting them 'to behave as men determined to conquer or die'.[627] An excerpt is taken from Tacitus' account where Boadicea says that she, though a woman, has resolved to die, even if they though men wish to die as slaves.[628] The rest of the account given follows Tacitus very closely in describing the slaughter of the women,[629] though perhaps greater emphasis is given to this aspect than in the original account, but the comment that after the destruction of Verulamium, 'the complete expulsion of the invaders from the Island of Britain seemed impending',[630] is deliberately exaggerated. The official attitude towards the Boadicea theme demonstrated in the catalogue is an apt example of Strong's argument about Victorian views on and uses of history: 'The Industrial Revolution had cut the Victorians adrift from their own recent past with the result that they constantly reached back for it. They reached back further still, making journeys into imaginary historical worlds again in search of timeless verities.'[631] In Selous' cartoon the Boadicea legend has become just such an 'imaginary historical world'. We will now look more closely at the figure of Selous and to what extent the artist subscribed to and was influenced by the ideas of his time.

Selous the writer and illustrator

Selous is not a particularly well-known artist today, nor can it be said that he achieved any particular fame in his lifetime. Born at Deptford in 1803, the son of the Flemish miniature painter Gideon 'George' Slous, he became a pupil of John Martin,[632] and entered the Royal Academy as a student in 1818. Selous had two brothers, Frederick

627 Anon. (1843: 15).

628 Anon. (1843: 16). For Boadicea's speech see Tacitus, *Annales* 14.35: *si copias armatorum, si causas belli secum expenderent, vincendum illa acie vel cadendum esse. id mulieri destinatum: viverent viri et servirent*. ('If you weigh the strength of the armies, and the causes of the war, you will see that in this battle you must conquer or die. This is a woman's resolve: as for men, they may live and be slaves ')

629 Tacitus, *Annales* 14.37: *et miles ne mulierum quidem neci temperabat* ('the soldiery did not even spare the women from slaughter'). Tacitus, *Agricola* 16, on Paullinus' heavy-handed revenge.

630 Anon. (1843: 15). Although it should be noted that in his account of the revolt in the *Agricola* (16) Tacitus does concede that Britain would have been lost had not Paullinus reacted so swiftly, and Cassius Dio exaggeratedly states that Britain was actually lost to Rome in the revolt (Cassius Dio, *Historiae* 62.1).

631 Strong's (2004: 512).

Lokes Slous, the father of the African explorer Frederick Courteney Selous, and Angiolo Robson Slous. The latter, a playwright, wrote a novel entitled *True to the Core: A Story of the Armada* (1866). As is evident from his father and brother's names we can see that he changed the spelling of his surname; presumably the purpose of this was to make it more anglicised.

In terms of Selous' style as an illustrator and draughtsman it is clear that he owes much to nineteenth-century German engravers, in particular Moritz Retzsch.[633] Vaughan identifies Selous' illustrations to Shakespeare's *Tempest*[634] and John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*[635] as examples of his work which particularly evince this Retzschian influence. Of Selous' *Tempest* illustrations he comments: 'Not only is the format identical to Retzsch's, with each plate accompanied by a text in four languages, but Retzsch is specifically referred to in the introduction as a rival. Since Retzsch had by this time already produced two of his outlines to Shakespeare plays, Selous had a wide range of Retzschian material to draw from. He took over not only the gestures and details of Retzsch's figures, but also the inventions and elaboration of small fantastic creatures'.[636] It appears that Selous was so greatly influenced by this German artist that he went beyond merely imitating his style but even copied the format of his works. Given the success of Retzsch's illustrations in Britain (which was in fact far greater than in his own country), it is perhaps little wonder why Selous, a much less famous illustrator, may have thought it wise to imitate Retzsch.

Retzsch's style consisted of a style of outline drawing particularly well suited to printing, involving no colour, typified in his illustrations to Faust. In Britain, following the popularity of Faust his style quickly became associated with the subject matter of German folklore that Retzsch typically illustrated, and as such this style was thought of as intrinsically German. This may ultimately have had more to do with English interests than in any particular fascination with German subjects or style per

632 John Martin (1789-1854), the Romanticist English painter and printmaker.

633 Friedrich August Moritz Retzsch (1779-1857), the German painter, draughtsman and etcher. He became particularly well-known in Britain for his 1816 etchings to Goethe's *Faust*, which first appeared in an English translation in 1820 and was thereafter widely circulated and reprinted. He also illustrated the works of Schiller and Shakespeare.

634 Selous (1836).

635 Bunyan, Selous (London 1844).

636 Vaughan (1979: 142).

se. Vaughan at least takes this view. Discussing Selous' 1850 picture 'Gutenberg showing to his wife his first experiment in Printing' together with other contemporary illustrations of German subjects by English artists he argues that: 'None of these recurring themes - The Reformation, modern Prussian history, music and printing - appears to have emerged out of any direct interest in Germany. They seem, rather, to reflect those features of German life which - for quite separate reasons - related most to English interests.'[637] Yet, considering Waagen's above cited comment about the choice of Gothic style for the Houses of Parliament and the contemporary increase in consciousness of Germanic origins in England, it is more likely that it is both a matter of English interests and direct interest in German culture.

Whatever public opinions on this German style were in the 1840s and 1850s, it is clear that Selous was greatly influenced by Retzsch, and this was not something that went unnoticed. In a scathing review of Selous' illustrations to Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, the *Westminster Review* verged on accusations of plagiarism: 'The work should have been called Reminiscences of Retsch and Flaxman. The human figures are copied with scarcely the alteration of a feature, and without change of costume, from Retzsch's illustrations of Schiller's 'Das Lied von der Glocke'; his angels and devils - the latter especially - are from Flaxman's illustrations of the 'Inferno' of Dante.'[638] This perceived lack of originality, whether fair criticism or unjustified, probably contributed in large part to Selous' lack of success as an artist.

Yet despite this Selous did receive several commissions, and an important one for our consideration here is his series of illustrations to Charles Kingsley's *Hereward the Wake* (1870). Accompanying the very limited text of Kingsley's, which consists of an introductory page summarising the story of the Saxon leader that led a resistance against the Norman invasion of England, each full-page illustration which constitutes the book is thereafter headed by a single sentence of Kingsley's explaining the scene which Selous has illustrated. The connection between Selous and Kingsley is certainly an interesting one for our purposes. The priest, novelist, and Christian Socialist Kingsley certainly adhered to the view of a Germanic revivification of a degenerate Rome. This is something particularly clear in his book *The Roman and the Teuton*

637 Vaughan (1979: 121).

638 *Westminster Review* (1844: 520).

(1864), compiled from a series of lectures delivered in Cambridge.[639]

Kingsley's approach to the story of Hereward is also a straightforward one, and in it we may find a parallel to Armitage's take on Caesar's invasion. Kingsley likewise wishes to praise the virtue of the native defenders, in this case the Anglo-Saxons, but at the same time refrains from too greatly assailing that of the Normans, since, as with the Romans, it is ultimately through the combination of peoples that Britain's peculiar strengths are ensured and the seeds of future glory are sown. This is effected in the final illustration in which Hereward, after his rebellion, is reconciled with his new Norman king. It is also very much evident in illustration 17, 'How Hereward played the potter and cheated the king', in which Hereward is able to enter William's court in disguise but is cowed by the king's majesty.

Selous' illustrations very much fit the tone of Kingsley's telling of the story, and indeed of Kingley's ideas in general. We could call the portrayal of Hereward here, and his Saxons, 'Germanic', at least as far as that would have been understood at the time. His depiction of Hereward on horseback before he sets out to attempt to prevent Martin Lightfoot delivering a letter to Westminster by which he will be outlawed, is very reminiscent of nineteenth-century German Arminius-Siegfried iconography. Hereward is blond and well-built, with his hunting horn strung about his neck, his round shield and spear in hand. In the illustration in which Hereward slays the bear he still carries this horn and wears a torque round his neck, as well as sporting strapped boots. By this stage he has also acquired a moustache to show that he has reached maturity. Indeed in other illustrations Selous goes further than this in stressing the Scandinavian origins of the Anglo-Saxons when he portrays Hereward on board his ship arriving in Flanders. The appearance of the boat draws heavily from the contemporary popular image of the Vikings, with its dragon-headed prow and line of round-shields along the starboard and port. Such a depiction again unites different elements in Britain's ethnic make-up, nor indeed is the portrayal of the Normans that different, originally Norwegian Vikings themselves.[640]

We can see then with what facility and ease Selous took to illustrating a theme such as Hereward the Wake in his later years, though from this alone it cannot be argued that Selous held the same views as Kingsley. However his choice of the theme

639 In the first chapter, 'The Forest Children', Kingsley employs a thinly-veiled allegory of the Germanic tribes as children in a great forest attacking a castle full of gold and guarded by trolls (the Romans).

of Boadicea, although this may have been informed rather by the commission's wishes than his own, together with this illustration does suggest a preference for illustrating ancient national heroes. It might also be noted that at the time that he was preparing his entry for the 1843 competition Selous was commissioned to illustrate one of the tales in Samuel Hall's *The Book of British Ballads* (1842).

However, though engaged for the most part on book illustration, this was not the entirety of Selous' activities, for he was also, perhaps rather unexpectedly, a writer of children's stories. These were written anonymously under the pseudonyms of 'Kay Spen' and 'Aunt Kae'. He wrote several books, including *Our White Violet* (1869), and *Gerty and May* (1867), stories which tell the tale of groups of children and their various adventures. He also wrote allegorical tales involving animals, such as *The Grateful Sparrow* (1869), and *The Adventures of a Butterfly* (1867), not unlike those Rudyard Kipling would later write. Since the subject matter is so far removed from that of Britain's classical past, the tales only dealing with what was considered to be within the parameters of a middle-class Victorian child's existence, there is little that we can deduce from these, his only extant writings, about Selous's patriotism or artistic ideas. However what they do make clear is something of Selous' moral attitude. To take the book *Our White Violet* as example, a story about a disabled child and her able-bodied siblings, the approach throughout the book is very much one of moral instruction by example. This must be seen in the context of Victorian children's stories and the expectations associated with this form of writing, yet nonetheless it is clear that Selous intends a form of moral instruction in his novel.

Jessie, one of the sisters of the disabled Violet in the story, and the child that Selous consistently identifies as the most selfish, is described at one point in the narrative as follows, heading home from the beach with what she has found there: 'I am afraid she was selfish, poor little girl. She could not make up her mind to part with them. They did not seem to give her pleasure, however. She grumbled all the way home, because it was so hot, and because her boot pinched her, and because she couldn't stay out longer, and because Ferky put a crab on her neck, and because Perky

640 It might additionally be noted that illustration 13, 'How Hereward cleared Bourne of the Frenchmen', is very reminiscent of Peter Jansen's Arminius cycle of paintings in Krefeld (not discussed in this project) as far as Hereward's pose in mid-battle is concerned, his sword arm raised high for a downward stroke and his foot placed on one of his fallen enemies. Rather than being a matter of one having been inspired by the other however, this simply shows how similar the iconography for portraying such themes had become by the later nineteenth century.

laughed at her for being cross. She certainly was the least happy of them all; that is generally the reward of selfishness.'[641] In the final chapters of the book Violet and her older brother Edmund, the sibling consistently identified as most selfless, find themselves trapped in a cove at the seaside with the tide rising and facing certain death. Edmund heroically sacrifices himself (only later to turn up unharmed after being picked up by a boat) in order to save his sister. At this stage, as Violet and her family mourn for their lost brother, before he reappears, there are many references to Jesus and to salvation. The change in the tone of the narrative from light-hearted to grave, here as at many other points in the book, feels somewhat forced and tenuous. Yet it is clear that the moral and religious message is paramount in this story, and this is also very evident in the novel *Gerty and May*. We should not stretch the connotations of this too far, but it at least shows that in another medium Selous was certainly aiming at moral improvement through his work. Since this was something the commission were looking for in their chosen winners (in their case with the general public rather than children as intended audience) this suggests that Selous' Boadicea may have been viewed favourably because it shared this quality.[642]

One other form of media Selous employed, and which is of interest for our purposes because it also connects him to a form of patriotic art, are the panoramic pictures which he worked on in his earlier career. Often in collaboration with another artist Selous undertook several projects on a large scale for the panorama display theatres in London. These tended to show battle or geographical scenes usually related in some way to new British imperial acquisitions overseas. One such of interest for us is a scene of the Battle of Sobraon, executed in the years after the cartoon competition, which illustrated the recent defeat of the Punjabi Sikh army by British forces. A guide to the battle scene and its various sections was written for visitors to accompany the panorama scene, which was displayed at the Panorama in Leicester Square in London.[643] The description predictably praises the virtue of the British

641 Spen (1869: 85).

642 Beyond this it is worth remarking that there may be a suggestion of Selous using contemporary conventions of racial traits in his characterisation of the children in his novel *Gerty and May* (1867: 2). At the beginning of the story he describes them as follows: 'May was five years old. She had long flaxen hair, which was combed straight down her back, and she had blue eyes, and a bright round rosy face full of fun and mischief. Gerty was grave and quiet, rather pale, with dark hair and brown eyes; she did not laugh as much as May, but she too loved a good play.' However from this it can only be inferred at most that Selous was following the conventional ideas of his era.

643 Burford, Selous (1846).

forces and demonises the Sikh leader in order to justify the annexation of the Punjab. Something of the tone can be gained from the praise given to the combined British forces on their victory: 'All portions of the army, both British and Native, from the highest to the lowest in rank, vied with each other, not only in performing the usual service, but in the most unusual exploits, their courage and endurance were beyond praise, and they seemed to have a fixed determination that they would not be beaten. One temper, one will, one universal mutual confidence, cemented and animated the whole.'[644] What appears to be being stressed here, aside from the virtues of courage and military valour, is the co-operation of British and Indian auxiliary forces (including Gurkha and other units). This was consistent with official contemporary ideology about empire, co-operation and partnership.

This considered we can see how 'native' valour, as in interpretations of the Boadicea legend emphasising post-revolt reconciliation and future partnership, was not considered problematic. In the case of 'native' Indians or Punjabis fighting for the British this is easily fathomable, and enemy forces are also characterised as formidable to further enhance the glory of British victory. As in Caesar's commentaries on the *Gallic War* however, we can also see on the other hand the practice of to a limited extent demonising the enemy to reveal their savagery, in order to justify both the army's actions at certain stages of the battle and the ultimate annexation of the Punjab, which would bring the civilisation necessary to the region.[645] Thus the use of canon to annihilate the enemy is related as follows: 'Hundreds fell under the cannonade, and hundreds upon hundreds in attempting the perilous passage; no compassion was felt or mercy shown, for the enemy had during the early part of the action sullied their gallantry, by slaughtering, or most barbarously mutilating, all prisoners whom the fortune of war placed at their disposal.'[646] Indeed in the more general description of the Punjab given in the text after the description of the battle, we find mention of an inhumane practice of the Sikhs: 'After many years of unlimited authority and prosperity, their number in the whole of the Punjab does not exceed a quarter of a million, which is scarcely one-fourth of the population; for from their roving and dissolute habits, few have families, none large ones, and they

644 Burford, Selous (1846: 10).

645 We might compare, for example, Caesar's discussion of the Gallic practice of human sacrifice at *Bellum Gallicum* 6.16.

646 Burford, Selous (1846: 10).

occasionally destroy their female children.'[647] The implication here is that, despite the natural prosperity of the territory and the opportunities afforded for progress, savage practices are literally preventing the growth of the population and that the only solution to this is the civilisation brought by empire.

In reflecting upon Selous' portrayal of the tribal and uncivilised Iceni we may wonder whether the artist was drawing a connection between such imperial ideology and ancient Britain. This cannot be answered definitively, but the analogy of his portrayal of invaders and invaded in Kingsley's *Hereward the Wake* would suggest that he is not necessarily demonising the Britons or the absent Romans. In terms of the cartoon competition and commission as a whole, the choice of Armitage's drawing, with its heroic portrayal of the invading Caesar, would suggest that this was not the official take on Britain's classical past. In his book on the image of ancient Britain and its uses Smiles engages with this question. Writing of the Boadicea legend in the context of the decorations for the new Palace of Westminster, he recognises that: 'the subjugation of Celtic Britain was an awkward episode in the national history of a state currently pursuing expansionist foreign policy and the pictorial treatment of the subject is caught up in the problem.'[648] As he succinctly recapitulates the essential question: 'Are Caractacus and Boadicea national heroes or ignorant savages resisting civilisation?'.[649] Smiles argues interestingly that even within the Westminster project there was a tension between two conflicting interpretations of ancient Britain, the programme of the central corridor suggesting that ancient Britain was 'a place of ignorance and superstition requiring civilisation', while the 1843 prize-winners and the sculptor Woolner in the competition in the following year, 'depicted Celtic leaders as heroic patriots and presented British resistance to Roman invasion as a noble defence of national freedom'.[650] For Smiles then, in essence, a conflict of interpretation and a legend that had become increasingly flexible and open to different interpretations, of which Selous' most evinces this development: 'Of all these images Selous's shows the extent to which Boadicea's character had been reinterpreted by the 1840s. The dignity and disciplined anger of the earlier illustrations gives way here to

647 Burford, Selous (1846: 16).

648 Smiles (1994: 148).

649 Smiles (1994: 148).

650 Smiles (1994: 148).

a frenzied harangue whose histrionics are echoed in the writhing, plunging figures of her people.'[651]

On the question of Boadicea's relation to contemporary ideologies of imperial conquest however, while posing the important question of what exactly this relation was and thereby establishing that connection, he is unable to settle upon any definite answer and instead makes a general, and not invalid point about writing history: 'Similarly, what sympathy could the Britons elicit if their cultural inferiority and resistance to Roman rule was being mapped on to the cultural difference and resistance to British imperialism of contemporary subject peoples? In short, did the Victorian viewer project him or herself into the Roman or the Celtic character? Plainly such confusion over the treatment of Celtic Britain is not just a question of historical truth, but a muddled response to the problematics of writing a British history at all.'[652] A more convincing response than the use of the myth being confused would be that the Victorian viewer projected himself into both roles. The overarching ideological take on both the Boadicea myth and contemporary imperial acquisitions was that of co-operation and partnership. Ancient Britain's Celtic resistance and its Roman invasion were both ultimately important factors in its success, just as British civilisation and 'native' strengths would combine to the ultimate advancement of modern empire.

Before concluding this section on Selous' other works and moving on to look at some contemporary receptions of his Boadicea and the cartoons, we must remark upon the fact that Selous, whose career was never particularly illustrious, faced the obscurity that so many of the artists this project looks at did in their later lives. As Vaughan comments of the decline of the 'Germanists' in the later nineteenth century: 'Amongst the older generation, those Germanists who stuck doggedly to the Manner - such as Cave Thomas, Bell Scott, Franklin and Selous - gradually sank into obscurity. Only those who modified their style - such as Madox Brown and Leighton - continued to enjoy notable careers.'[653] It seems to have been largely due to Selous' inflexibility as an artist that he faced this decline, and it is telling that as early as 1847 Redgrave's *A*

651 Smiles (1994: 162).

652 Smiles (1994: 148).

653 Vaughan (1979: 249-250).

Dictionary of Artists of the English School does not even give him an entry.[654]

Contemporary reception

The manner in which Selous' Boadicea and the cartoons were received at the time, and in ensuing decades, was controversial. At the time feelings were mixed on the merit of the various entries made in the competition, with some seeing the response of artists to public patronage in a very positive light, while others thought that the whole project was an utter failure. Ultimately the work of the commissioners and the entire fresco project came to be seen retrospectively as unsuccessful, and today they are not known as artistic works of any great note. This should not blinker us to the fact that there were some in the 1840s who were very optimistic and believed the outcome of the competition heralded a new great age in British public art.

One such was the review of the *Art Union*, which responded positively to Selous' picture, reaching the conclusion that: 'No competitor has better deserved the prize than Mr. Selous.'[655] The entry on Selous in their article on the cartoon competition, while not without one or two suggestions for improvement, is full of praise for the artist. He is 'gifted with extraordinary facility of drawing', and while the artist's name is little known, it 'deserves to be more so'.[656] The cartoon itself is 'executed with great facility and mastery', with skilful handling of the figures, whose 'grouping is most skilfully managed, and with the expression of each character has been introduced exactly the natural and true feeling'. Moreover, the critics of the *Art Union* evidently thought that Selous' take on Boadicea was a fitting one: 'Boadicea rises a column amid her people, and is habited sufficiently near to the description of Dion Cassius. The composition is full of the movement which would follow such a speech.' In addition to producing a fine drawing, Selous has also portrayed a Boadicea that is - and this appears to be an important criterion - historically accurate and follows Cassius Dio's account.'[657] It is in itself an interesting fact that historical

654 Redgrave (1847).

655 *Art Union* (1843: 211).

656 *Art Union* (1843: 211).

657 *Art Union* (1843: 211). Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 62.2.4, where he relates that Boadicea wore a multicoloured tunic, over which was fastened a thick mantle with a brooch, and carried a spear in her hand.

accuracy was considered important as a criterion for judgement, and we shall discuss this further shortly.

The *Art Union*'s praise was not so lavish for all of the artists about whom it had entries in its article. Yet its praise of Selous should be seen in the context of its positive attitude towards the competition as a whole. The article opens with the grand words: 'It is glorious to see the new birth of British Art dated from the Old Hall at Westminster. The "ancient of days" has never been devoted to a nobler or holier purpose'.[658] This tone is again echoed later on, when the quality of the entries as a whole is summarised as follows: 'In a word, the issue has been entirely satisfactory - giving much at which to rejoice, and either literally nothing or next to nothing calculated to cause regret.'[659] Particular congratulations are meted out to Prince Albert, to whose initial vision and inspiration success is attributed. There is much reference here to the 'plan for frescoes' as having been successful, which seems at least a little premature considering that no frescoes had actually been completed. We may suspect that in its attitude towards the cartoon competition the *Art Union* had become something of an establishment mouthpiece.

The *Art Union*'s take on Selous' Boadicea and the cartoon competition does not reflect the entire body of public opinion at the time. In Clarke's guide to the exhibition the entry on Selous' picture is far more critical than that in the *Art Union*: 'The facility of execution in this cartoon is almost bewildering; violence of action and dashing lights carry us away like the speech of a mob orator, and it requires a cool discretion to examine further, beneath the splendid surface. We almost regret having done so, for the result is disagreeable. The Queen lacks the indignation of offended pride and the rankling of moral suffering: the daughters have not more than an outward show of cankering modesty: the crowd is too much made up of women and children, unfit avengers of a nation's wrongs. Until competitions have reclaimed public taste from corruption, we fear that clever artists will be induced to give up their better judgement for senseless approbation.'[660] Its judgement then was that Selous' work was superficially attractive but ultimately flawed. Yet it is interesting where Clarke's criticism lies, for it does not appear to be so much in matters of style or technique, in

658 *Art Union* (1843: 207).

659 *Art Union* (1843: 207).

660 Clarke (1843: 25).

which Selous is actually given some praise. It is rather in treatment of subject matter that Clarke's qualms lie. Boadicea is not indignant enough, nor her daughters sufficiently modest, nor are there enough burly male warriors on display, that we may be the more convinced that the desire for vengeance shall in fact be fulfilled. There are clear expectations here of what the Boadicea legend is supposed to involve and how it is meant to be handled. It is evident that despite Smiles' argument that the understanding of the Boadicea legend in the 1840s was muddled, some at least had a clear idea of what its significance was and how Boadicea should be correctly portrayed.

As for what other contemporaries of Selous' who attended the exhibition or saw the cartoons thought, this can only be inferred, as the reviews and journal entries are our only real source on this. However some things are clear. It is evident from their future reports that the commission itself approved of the outcome of the competition and was well pleased with the first efforts made by the artists who entered, and not just those that won prizes. This is perhaps best demonstrated by the fact that they later chose to award a further ten prizes of £100 each to artists that had not been chosen in the initial awards.[661] It is also clear that Prince Albert was encouraged by the results of the competition. As Ames comments in his book on Albert: 'When the drawings began to be delivered in late May 1843, the Prince was surprised to find as many as 150 entries, and pleased that ten of them seemed really good.'[662] As for the general public, while we cannot generalise about what people thought about the works they saw exhibited in Westminster Hall, or reproduced in engravings, what is apparent is that there was a great deal of interest. As Ames points out, the penny pamphlet Eastlake produced for the exhibition as a poor man's alternative to the more extensive sixpenny one did not sell because visitors were buying the sixpenny ones instead.[663]

---

661 These went to: F. Howard ('Una coming to seek the assistance of Gloriana: an allegory of the Reformed Religion seeking the assistance of England'); G. V. Rippingille ('The Seven Acts of Mercy. Una and the Red Cross Knight led by Mercy to the Hospital of the Seven Virtues'); F. R. Pickersgill ('The Death of King Lear'); Sir W. C. Ross, R.A. ('The Angel Discoursing with Adam'); Henry Howard, R.A. ('Man beset by contending Passions'); F. R. Stephanhoff ('The Brothers releasing the Lady from the Enchanted Chair'); John Green Waller ('The Brothers driving out Comus and his Rabble'); W. C. Thomas ('St. Augustine preaching to the Britons'); Marshall Claxton ('Alfred in the disguise of a Harper in the Danish Camp'); Edward Corbould ('The Plague of London, A.D. 1349).

662 Ames (1968: 52).

663 Ames (1968: 52).

Returning to the issue of expectations of historical accuracy in portrayals of ancient subjects, this is something which we find throughout the *Art Union*'s reporting on the competition, and not just in relation to Selous' depiction of the queen. For example, in its entry on one of the other competitors, Morris, and his take on a Tacitean subject in his 'Caractacus before Claudius', the artist receives particular praise for his historical research: 'There is everywhere evidence of care and research. Claudius sits in state; he seems represented from authentic sources, and looks very like a Roman emperor.'[664] He is then criticised for his depiction of Caractacus himself on the same grounds, this time for not being historically convincing: 'Caractacus is feeble - he wants dignity and presence: there is nothing in this version of him that would have induced the Romans to exhibit him in triumph.'[665] We have a concern both for accuracy in terms of source material, but also that the events portrayed should be historically convincing. Yet even more than this there is a sense in which there is a correct way of visually portraying history. In this instance there is a predetermined idea of what a Roman emperor should look like, and Morris' work is judged against this standard. In Selous' case the criticism in Clarke's guide indicates likewise that there was a preconceived idea of what the 'indignation of offended pride' and 'rankling of moral suffering' were supposed to look like in the case of Boadicea, and Selous' work is accordingly judged against this standard. This is echoed in the *Art Union*'s entry on another artist, Ward's, portrayal of Boadicea for his entry in the competition: 'The figure of Boadicea is admirable, an impassioned yet a dignified heroine.'[666] The comments in the *Art Union* review and Clarke's guide betray the fact that for critics such illustrated history had a function, that of imparting some message, and that historical figures had to be suitably depicted to impart that message.

Whatever expectations were at the time the competition was held, and whatever opinions were about the quality and type of art that was yielded by it, it is evident that in the aftermath and ensuing decades the entire project came to be viewed for the most part as a failure. This is best summed up by the analysis given of the commission and its activities in the 1840s by the art historian Redgrave[667] in his 1865

664 *The Art Union* (1843: 211).

665 *The Art Union* (1843: 211).

666 *The Art Union* (1843: 210).

book, *A Century of Painters of the English School* (1865).[668] Two decades later, Redgrave expresses his frustration with virtually every aspect of the project. Firstly the composition of the commission, which he describes as 'exceptional', in that it 'did not include one of the many distinguished men who were then devoted to the practice of art: not one man who professionally represented art.'[669] His greatest qualm with the project is the false hopes it raised in the young artists of the time, who 'dreamed of heroic subjects and unlimited State commissions',[670] but were led into 'disappointment founded on just expectations unfulfilled.'[671] Then there was the commission's prescription of subjects for the competition, on which Redgrave has the following to say: 'They not only selected and prescribed the exact subjects (not merely the events) for illustration, leaving as little as possible to the inventive genius of the artist but they, a body of laymen, fruitlessly attempted to control and direct him, by requiring the repeated submission of his works to their judgement at every stage of his progress.'[672] All of this, in Redgrave's opinion, ultimately meant that a loss of public confidence in the commission as the 1840s wore on into the 1850s, with successive competitions and barely any frescoes successfully completed yet: 'Meanwhile the public lost patience; they thought that little had been done, and that little unsuccessfully, and the failure of the whole scheme was already predicted.'[673]

Redgrave's analysis certainly fits Selous' case. After the award of the initial prize, which one might think would have led to a commission for some work in fresco or another medium for the actual building, he was completely passed over. Indeed it could be questioned whether it benefited Selous to have been in the competition at all,

667 Richard Redgrave (1804-1888), the English art historian and Royal Academician, was Surveyor of Crown Pictures from 1856-1880, during which time he produced a catalogue of the pictures at Windsor, Buckingham Palace and other royal residences. Very much part of the art establishment, he was an influential art critic during the period.

668 Strong (2004: 520) points out that Redgrave, a member of the Royal Society of Arts, was part of a circle within this which wished to see the application of science and art to industrial purposes for the cause of progress, a circle with which Prince Albert was also associated. This considered we might better understand his frustrations with the commission and its failure as regards the Westminster decorations.

669 Redgrave, Redgrave (1865: 546).

670 Redgrave, Redgrave (1865: 519).

671 Redgrave, Redgrave (1865: 532).

672 Redgrave (1865: 548).

673 Redgrave's (1865: 539).

beyond the initial prize money and consequent limelight he briefly enjoyed. Yet as we have seen with Clarke's guide to the Westminster Hall exhibition, this could worsen as well as improve an artist's reputation. While we cannot discuss the other ten prize-winners here, in Selous' case the award of the prize did nothing to enhance his career in the long-term, and it seems he continued to make his living from book illustration and writing children's novels, neither of which he achieved any particular fame for. Perhaps later verdicts on the project of the sort we see in *A Century of Painters of the English School*, had more to do with the change in public taste in the later nineteenth century than to do with the failings of the commission. As Redgrave is hinting at here, the essentially prescriptive nature of the subject matter for the competition limited the artist's scope to the point of stagnation, at least in the eyes of opinion in the later nineteenth century. It can be readily seen how, after Ruskin's imprimatur had been given to the Pre-Raphaelites and newer styles, with a take on their subject matter refreshingly different to the old historicism, the sort of art produced for the competition was going out of fashion. Selous' picture and those of his fellow prize-winners might soon have seemed staid and dated.

Were there any countervailing opinions to that of Redgrave expressed about the fresco project subsequent to its completion? For the most part opinion seems to have been as Redgrave would have us believe, but we find at least one dissenting voice in Waagen's book a decade after the cartoon competition. According to his own account he was taken inside the Palace and shown some of the completed decorations, about which he seems greatly enthused: 'But I cannot join in the objection raised by many as to the over richness of the decoration; on the contrary, it appears to me only consistent with the great national character of the building that the richness of the decoration should be commensurate with the grandeur of the proportions.'[674] We must be aware however that as a German art historian Waagen would have been more familiar with the use of fresco in such projects than British public opinion was. Even from his comments here however it is clear that he was aware of contemporary public opinion about the decorations, in this case of an objection to the richness of the decoration. He refers in general to the decoration but cannot but be referring to the fresco decorations as part of this. Indeed he welcomes the use of fresco, though the explanation for his doing so may be more to do with his earlier recommendations than

674 Waagen (1854: 426).

their merit per se: 'It is a matter, also, of real natural congratulation, that the architect included in his plan the application of sculpture and fresco-painting, so that the rich field of monumental art, hitherto denied to the English artist is now opened to him. I welcomed this the more as a fulfilment of an idea which I had expressed when called upon to give my opinion before a Parliamentary Committee in 1835.'[675] It is perhaps noteworthy that one of the few later positive opinions expressed on the Westminster frescoes project was that of a foreigner.

To conclude this chapter on Selous and his entry in the 1843 cartoon competition, we will briefly discuss what the impact of the fresco project on history painting and themes such as Boadicea may have been. Strong settles for the view that the entire project was a failure, and puts this down to obfuscation in the subject matter of the artworks that were produced: 'The whole exercise was in many ways a disaster, for the public failed even to recognise the subject-matter when it was exhibited. In all it was a throw-back to the Boydell Gallery and its successors in the previous century.'[676] It is interesting that Strong chooses to attribute the failure of the project to the public's inability to recognise the themes in the pictures. This would suggest that in his opinion the project ultimately failed to fulfil its didactic aims. If this is true what we must ask is whether this failure had any long-term negative impact on the sort of historical allegories that we see in Selous' Boadicea, and indeed on the use of the Boadicea theme itself.

What is clear is that the theme of Boadicea did not disappear after this. As this project shows elsewhere, the figure of Boadicea continued to exert its appeal for an age in which a female monarch reigned. Indeed Smiles even goes as far as to suggest that Tennyson may have been inspired by Selous' cartoon in composing his poem on Boadicea and the revolt of the Iceni: 'It is tempting to believe that Tennyson had seen Selous' image and was inspired by it when drafting his own experimental poem *Boadicea* in 1859.'[677] Whether or not Tennyson was directly inspired by Selous in composing his poem, it is apparent that the attraction of the Boadicea legend did not go away. Yet the popularity of historical allegories was most likely beginning to wane, to make way for more contemporarily relevant themes of artists such as the Pre-

675 Waagen (1854: 427).

676 Strong (2004: 519).

677 Smiles (1994: 162).

Raphaelites, who displayed rather subjects such as the plight of women and the urban poor in Victorian Britain rather than cold and distant representations of ancient themes which people naturally found much more difficult to relate to.[678]

To add one additional concluding remark to this chapter, one other consequence of the perceived failure of the Westminster frescoes project may have been a further hastening of the decline in popularity of the 'Germanists'. This was closely associated with changing perceptions about the kind of art from which artists like Selous drew their inspiration, and is for example evident in Redgrave's opinions on the German art which Selous was trying to imitate: 'But who that has seen these attempts - works of the intellect rather than the feeling - without spontaneity, descending even to the burlesque, will say that they afford examples for our imitation?'[679] The style of artists like Selous, and their imitation of earlier German art, was coming to be seen as somehow stale, but this does not mean that his subject matter was becoming so.

678 For example, William Holman Hunt's painting, 'The Awakening Conscience', oil-on-canvas, 76 x 56 cm, 1853 (Tate Britain, London); or Augustus Egg, 'Past and Present, No.1' ('The Infidelity Discovered'), oil-on-canvas, 63.5 x 76.2cm, 1858 (Tate Britain, London).

679 Redgrave (1865: 521).

Thomas Thornycroft

Boadicea and her Daughters

In this chapter we look at perhaps the most iconic visual image of Tacitus' heroine: the sculptural group of Boadicea and her daughters in their chariot, which today stands by Westminster Bridge and the Houses of Parliament in London (*Figure 15*). First begun in 1856, the project formed the focus for its sculptor, Thomas Thornycroft's, life for many years, only being erected posthumously after the turn of the century.

Boadicea stands upright, both arms held up in front of her. Forming a curve with her arms, in her right hand she holds a spear, which points forwards and upwards towards the sky. Her left hand is empty and open, her palms turned upwards as if invoking the gods or her people to war. She looks straight ahead, her expression grim and determined. Her features are classical and handsome, but her glance is stern and unforgiving. On her head she wears an unostentatious crown, the points of which protrude above her long straight hair. She wears a long loose garment, her arms uncovered and a cape flying over her right shoulder in the wind. Through her diaphanous robes the form of her naked body can be made out. This lends the sculpture an air of classical heroism and helps remind us that she goes to war.

Her two daughters, each naked from the waste up, perhaps as a mark of their rape by Roman soldiers, stoop in the chariot behind their mother to her left and right. Leaning out in opposite directions they frame the figure of Boadicea and act as a counterbalance in the composition to the rising figures of the horses to her front. The daughter to the left of her mother kneels and, her arm pressed tightly on the side of the chariot, gazes forward into the distance, half-hopeful of vengeance. The other daughter appears far more cautious, raising her right hand in a gesture of fear and trepidation. Together the two figures represent the human cause for which the stern and expressionless Boadicea goes to war.

All stand together on the platform of a chariot without a front guard, drawn by two large horses which rear up to left and right. One horse bows its head slightly while the other looks up and forward towards the enemy. They are dressed with a simple harness and are pulled by no other reins. The impression is as if Boadicea, despite all this momentum, is somehow placidly in control of all the motion around her. The chariot is otherwise simple, other than the two spikes which protrude from its

wheels, a reminder of the grisly fate that awaits the Roman enemy.

The whole sculpture is cast in bronze. On its pedestal are inscribed the words from William Cowper's poem, 'Boadicea': 'Regions Caesar never knew,/ Thy posterity shall sway'.

Analysis and reception

Thornycroft's work has been variously hailed as the most famous image of Boadicea that exists,[680] a fact that probably has as much to do with its setting as anything else. For Smiles, it is 'without doubt', 'the apotheosis of Boadicea'.[681] For Kelly Boadicea's is 'a dramatic gesture of defiance',[682] and for Vandrei, 'stridently militant', 'the most iconic image of Boadicea', and the 'labor of love' of its creator.[683]

Yet for such an iconic image the amount of modern academic commentary on its sculptor, and the history of its construction and contemporary reception, is markedly limited. With the exception of Smiles no author enters into any particularly detailed discussion of the contemporary reception of the monument. In the case of the sculptor himself sources are very scarce. The only extensive work on Thomas Thornycroft is that written by his granddaughter, Elfrida Manning.[684] In addition to this we have her publication, exactly half a century later, on the sculptor's son, Hamo Thornycroft, which also discusses the father.[685] Apart from these the commentary is more a matter of fleeting references in volumes on Boadicea or other related subjects. Nonetheless we will discuss these, as well as the contemporary sources, for what they are worth, to try and gain a better understanding of the sculptor and his motivations.

680 Cf., for a recent example, Price, Thonemann (2010: 260): 'Probably the best-known modern image of Boadicea is Thomas Thornycroft's great bronze statue'.

681 Smiles (1994: 163).

682 Kelly (2006: 116).

683 Vandrei (2010: 3).

684 Thornycroft (1932). This is a volume which, while very informative, must be understood as the work of a family member of the artist and received as such.

685 Manning (1982). A reviewer of the Leeds exhibition on Hamo Thornycroft is effusive in his praise of the work: 'one of those rare and delightful biographies, which deserves to reach the widest possible audience [...] a joy to read, whether you have a specialist's interest in the subject or just a general interest in human beings and their activities.' Skipwith (London 1983: 380. The book is in fact very extensive and informative, perhaps surprisingly so considering how little had otherwise been written on either of the sculptors.

A good place to start in determining this is the sculptor's own comments about his work. A limited amount of Thornycroft's correspondence can be accessed through Manning's extensive works, which quote many of his letters at length in her discussions of the sculptor and his son. In fact, so greatly did this work dominate his life for the years he worked on it that, as Manning points out, at one stage he even housed the large models for the sculpture in his house in Wilton Place in London.[686] In any case Thornycroft's own description of the group shows that he certainly envisaged his sculpture as high art: 'I make one eagerly gaze forward, the other shrinks back appalled at the battle cry. The Queen with outstretched arms and swelling chest, urges her scythe-armed chariot upon her foes. The vehemence of her movement would be impotent did it not excite a similar disturbance in the figures clinging to her garment. Unity of purpose is the grand element of the quality described as *breadth* in art.'[687]

What is clear from this quotation is that Thornycroft sought to emphasise the drama of the scene in his portrayal of the queen going into battle. He has deliberately contrasted the attitudes of the two girls, and seeks to show a Boadicea proud and unafraid. He is also at pains to emphasise his artistry in the group, being anything but modest as an artist, as Manning herself admits. It is above all composition that matters to Thornycroft in his work, and from this we can infer his approach to the Boadicea story. The daughters are essentially adjuncts to Boadicea, not more than aspects of her own representation. Behind her in the chariot, their sole purpose is to represent the cause of Boadicea's actions, the outraged innocence that justifies the ferocity of her vengeance, represented in turn by the scythes on the wheels of her chariot, whose brutal effect on the Romans the observer can easily imagine. In his own words, the girls are 'young barbarians who would regard their violation simply as an insult to be avenged.'[688]

What can we say about Thornycroft's choice of subject? The obvious parallel to be drawn is naturally with Victoria, and to find the monument's relevance there, as many authors do. Kelly, for example, argues that: 'Both patron and artist were concerned that this Boadicea should appear as regal as possible, strongly suggestive

686 Thornycroft (1932: 57): 'This house had three studios, in one of which the huge group of "Boadicea" was mounted.'

687 Manning (1982: 38).

688 Manning (1982: 38).

of a young Queen Victoria.'[689] Smiles elaborates this in his analysis when he in turn argues that: 'The attraction of Boadicea is that she is patriot, woman, and mother seeking to avenge political, sexual and familial wrongs.'[690] The symbolism of maternal avenger can be readily understood in the context of an empire, constantly under fire, ruled over by a woman. Perhaps above all else it is the sense of the just war that would have resonated at a time when Britain was engaged in many conflicts.

The artist clearly took his obligations as a member of the Royal Academy seriously. As Dudley and Webster point out in their book on Boadicea, this included the requirement to work on subjects drawn from English history, which as we will see below Thornycroft followed in others of his works too.[691] Still, both in his rendition of the figures and composition, we can see that Thornycroft was very much a conventional artist for his time, nor does anything particularly stand out about the work, hence his relative lack of fame as a sculptor. It could be argued that his choice of subject was in fact a conventional one, and only what was expected of him in his time.

To understand this more fully it is necessary to place this in the context of Thornycroft's proximity to royalty. Thornycroft enjoyed a close association with Prince Albert, and he undertook many commissions for the royal family (see below). In addition to this his wife, Mary Thornycroft, who was likewise a sculptor, also received royal commissions, in particular one to portray the four royal children in the guise of the seasons.[692] In the case of Boadicea it appears to have been Prince Albert that first suggested the subject to Thornycroft,[693] even going so far as to lend him his own horses to serve as models and offering a potential site for the group. We know that Thornycroft had conversations with Prince Albert about art, and that he was close enough to him to grieve at his death, or at least at the lessened prospects he would himself face as a result.[694] Manning reports a conversation between the two men in April 1861, shortly before the Prince's death, in which the Prince sought Thornycroft's

689 Kelly (2006: 116-117).

690 Smiles (1994: 163-164).

691 Dudley and Webster (1962: 128).

692 Manning (1982: 14).

693 Cf. Dudley, Webster (1962: 128); Manning (1982: 38).

694 Manning (1982: 39).

views on how to reinvigorate English art. Thornycroft described the conversation as follows: 'He proposed several schemes and invited my criticism... and thus ensued a conversation of two hours duration, the interest of which never flagged for a moment. And ended by his indicating that he would gladly receive any matured plan I might arrive at.'[695]

It is readily apparent what favour the sculptor found in the eyes of Prince Albert, especially in the period shortly before his death. We encounter Albert's ideas for art frequently in this project, and if anything can be said in general about them it is that he sought a new English-born, English-themed, art for the state. He evidently felt that Thornycroft fitted well into this group of artists that he wished so much to foster, and Thornycroft seems to have been equally keen to oblige. It is unsurprising then that he would have grieved at the death of his patron, and perhaps little wonder that - his relationship with the Prince Consort considered - he would have chosen the subject that he did for his sculpture.

What can we say about the contemporary reception of Thornycroft's project? As part of answering this we need to understand what access people would have had to his designs, since the actual sculpture was of course not cast until after his death. It appears that his project was nonetheless quite well known in his own lifetime, this probably being largely the outcome of his exhibition of the head of Boadicea in the Royal Academy exhibition of 1864.[696] This would certainly have given the project a certain official public profile from this point on.

One response that Thornycroft approved of was an article in *The Times* newspaper in 1871 in which his work had been favourably reviewed. Manning records the full text of a letter Thornycroft sent to the newspaper in response to their article, thanking the editor for the favourable review.[697] Apparently *The Times* had earlier written in 1851 a scathing review of one of the equestrian statues of Victoria that Thornycroft had been working on, and in his letter Thornycroft tells the editor that he has now made 'ample amends' for this. On the Boadicea group he seems thoroughly satisfied with the content of the review: 'I rejoice very much to find my aim in the treatment of this subject so completely understood and appreciated by a

695 Manning (1982: 39).

696 Dudley, Webster (1962: 128). Thornycroft's entry was entitled: 'Colossal Head of Boadicea, part of a chariot group now in progress'.

697 Manning (1982: 62). Cf. Thornycroft (1932: 40).

critic entertaining more realistic views of sculpture than I have found practicable.'[698] Once again Thornycroft's primary concern in considering his own work and how others viewed it was that his artistic vision for English sculpture was appreciated. *The Times* review would clearly have done much to raise the public profile of Thornycroft and his work.

The Royal Academy exhibition would have led to images of the group being disseminated in the 1860s. Another contemporary response, closer in date to the original exhibition, can be found in Lovell Reeve's *Portraits of Men of Eminence* (1863). In his entry on Thornycroft - and the fact that he is included at all is in itself a sign of some contemporary standing - he describes the group in progress as 'an historical work of more imaginative cast', with a Boadicea 'launching the thunders of war at a supposed enemy'. It is a 'large heroic work' which has, he notes, received the commendations of the Prince.[699] In line with the type of writing of which it is a specimen, the judgement of this book on Thornycroft is in many ways a conventional one, finding favour in the work primarily for its treatment of historical, or 'heroic', subject matter.

Yet for all the enthusiasm we can see in the case of a newspaper article and a contemporary author, the work still remained uncast. For all the talk of a commission in 1871, in the end there was none. As Dudley and Webster comment: 'The plaster cast was completed at last, and stood for years in a studio in Thornycroft's house in Wilton Place.'[700] It seems that Thornycroft faced the same plight as many of the artists we look at in this project, lacking recognition and suffering frustration as a result and, as in Bandel's case, seeing no real backing for his patriotic project from the state during the long years that he worked on it.

In addition to this, even posthumously his work has not been universally admired, even if the statue still draws attention from tourists and passers-by. Lord Edward Gleichen, in his book on the public statuary of London, was particularly caustic in his treatment of the group: 'She stands stiffly upright in her chariot, looking straight to her front, spear lifted perpendicularly, not a trace of expression on her face. The horses are galloping, yet no one is driving, and there are no reins, and practically

698 Manning (1982: 62).

699 Reeve (1863: 131).

700 Dudley, Webster (1962: 128). See also: Thornycroft (1932: 62).

no harness: one really must admire her sang-froid.'[701] We may imagine that this criticism would have been particularly offensive to Thornycroft, since it attacks as it does the artistic method rather than the subject.

Thomas Thornycroft

Yet before we move too swiftly to a dismissal of Thornycroft and his work for its relative merits or demerits, it is worth trying to explore something of where he was coming from and his ideas for art, to place his Boadicea in a clearer context.

Thornycroft was apparently initially apprenticed to a surgeon, but this course of life was soon put aside,[702] after it emerged that Thornycroft had been using surgical instruments for his first forays into sculpture. After an initial inspection of Thornycroft's early works by the Duke of Sussex, secured through a recommendation, the Duke in turn requested that John Francis[703] attend at the Palace and give his opinion which, being favourable, led to Thornycroft's becoming a pupil in Francis' studio.[704] We can thus see that right from the inception of his career Thornycroft enjoyed royal patronage.[705]

Thornycroft's lack of initial artistic instruction but apparent natural gift seems to have been idealised to a certain degree by some of those who arranged his education. Dickinson, the Macclesfield surgeon given arbitration over Thornycroft's abovementioned misdemeanours at the surgery, to whom Thornycroft owed his recommendation (he long continued his correspondence with him), described how he seemed to be drawn by a natural instinct to art and, in particular to a classical style: 'His peculiarity is freedom, ease and boldness, strongly savouring of the Grecian style, not a single sculpture of which, from the ancient masters, he has ever yet seen [...] There have not been any objects of art around him to fan the latent spark. To nature,

701 Gleichen (1928: 97-98).

702 For an account of Thornycroft's earlier years see: Manning (1982: 19); Reeve (1863: 127).

703 John Francis Sartorius (1775-1831), the English painter of horses and hunting scenes.

704 Reeve (1863: 129).

705 As noted above, Mary Thornycroft, the sculptor's wife who was herself a sculptor, also enjoyed royal patronage during her career, as did their sculptor son, Hamo Thornycroft.

and to nature alone, he owes the germ and the growth of his genius.'[706] It is interesting that Dickinson should equate this learning from nature alone with the development of a 'Grecian style'. Dickinson was in fact an admirer of classical art, had shown the young Thornycroft Winckelmann's *Histoire de l'Art chez les Anciens* (1766), and had commissioned him to carve a small bust of Alexander the Great from a print he had given him. Dickinson evidently had a profound impact upon the development of Thornycroft's interest in classical themes, something we shall see stayed with him in later life in his various sculptures on classical themes, and those on non-classical subjects in a classical style.[707]

In this respect some early years of his adulthood spent in Rome would also have been influential in the development of an interest in classical style and subject matter. The Thornycrofts moved to Rome for a brief stint in 1842, where they became involved in Gibson's neoclassicist circle[708] and the English colony there.[709] It was in fact through this association that the connection with Prince Albert was first made, when Gibson recommended that the Queen award her commission for the sculptures of the royal children to the sculptor's wife. Moreover we know that during the period spent in Rome they were acquainted with Thorvaldsen,[710] a seminal neoclassicist and a figure highly influential for many of the figures that we are looking at in this project. This would have undoubtedly given Thornycroft a steer in the direction of the sort of classically-inspired and classically-styled 'heroic' sculpture which Reeve refers to, of which Boadicea is an example.

As we have seen it is clear that, whatever his initial artistic inspirations may have been, by later life Thornycroft undoubtedly had clear ideas about English art and what he wanted it to be. Manning argues that this is most readily gleaned from the theorising in his letters to Dickinson, which the latter kept. She summarises this as

706 Cited in Thornycroft (1932: 7).

707 Reeve (1863: 128), also relates how it was in part through the recommendation of Edwin Hawkins, Keeper of Antiquities at the British Museum, that Thornycroft's work got a viewing by the Duke of Sussex. Dickinson must have had contact with Hawkins, which is another sign of his proximity to the world of classical scholarship.

708 John Gibson (1790-1866), neoclassical sculptor and member of the Royal Academy, who spent much of his life in Rome. There he befriended Antonio Canova and was instructed by Thorvaldsen. Arguing that ancient sculptures had been colour-tinted, he attempted to reintroduce this style.

709 Cf. Manning (1982: 27).

710 Reeve (1863: 129).

follows: 'His ambition was to create a new tradition in the art of sculpture, then at its lowest ebb of inspiration, by creating works to illustrate key events in English history. He was in the forefront in his rejection of the established convention of immortalising the important people of the age in Athenian costume.'[711] Nonetheless we ought to bear in mind that Manning's work is inevitably slightly eulogistic (she had been asked by her father to write the book), and we may doubt whether Thornycroft really was at the forefront of what amounted to effectively the end of neoclassicism in English art. It cannot be credibly argued that sculptors such as Thornycroft were exercising anything like the revolutionary effects on English art that some other artists were during the decades spanned by his career.

His Boadicea, at least, hardly embodies that rejection of classical costume in any particularly revolutionary way. She wears her tribal robes, but these are draped in such a togate manner that it is hard to see the difference between her outfit and that of classical sculptures of female goddesses or allegories, of which she is very reminiscent.[712] Moreover such claims should be seen in the light of the sculptor's own vaunting, as for example in his claim to have been the sole originator of the idea of the Great Exhibition of 1851.[713]

Yet despite such grand claims made by him on his own part and by others, it is nonetheless clear that the sculptor had a clearly worked out idea of what he thought the trajectory of English sculpture should be, and felt a consequent frustration with the status quo in the second half of the nineteenth century. In a letter to Dickinson of 1851, after the rejection of his equestrian statue of Victoria by *The Times*, he vents his frustration and criticises the current state of art in the country: 'It would be folly to shut one's eyes to the fact that sculpture illustrating our own history and poetry is coldly received; that English opinion of English art as yet exists not. The classical people believe with Gibson that all art is spurious save that which blindly imitates the

711 Manning (1982: 29) .

712 She is of course reminiscent of many female allegories, from Roman Nikes to Valkyries. Given the date of the Delphi Charioteer's discovery (1896) however, Thornycroft could not have drawn inspiration from this particular classical sculpture.

713 Manning (1982: 29). She quotes a letter of her grandfather's to Dickinson in which he claims that he had a meeting with Albert in which he made the initial suggestion for the exhibition: 'Let me tell you a secret. Had I written to you a conversation which I had with the Prince twelve months ago and which I am afraid I promised to write to you, it would have shown who was one of the Prince's first advisers to promote a great exhibition, and by whose advice sculpture was admitted and painting excluded.'

Greek, and embodies its deities and clothes even our railway engineers in Athenian costume. The mob applauds the extravagant, the grotesque, the licentious: the Austrian 'Ishmael', the Belgian 'Boy and Drum', the French 'Bacchante'.'[714]

What emerges from this critique of the state of contemporary art is a clear misgiving on the part of Thornycroft about the slavish imitation of classical art. But this is primarily about a rejection of the outward trappings of classical art, hence his criticism of the ludicrousness of clothing contemporary engineers in the clothing of ancient Athens. At a secondary level it is also about a rejection of the neoclassicist preoccupation with classical themes. We can see that for all the influence of his time in Rome and acquaintance with Gibson, his ultimate reaction was against that tradition. Yet this appears to have been coupled with a sense of optimism about the potential future direction that art in England might take. He comments further in this letter that there is 'the germ of a more hopeful state' for art in England, and that there were men who believed 'that art may grow here, founded on our age and philosophy, accepting the Greek only as its keynote, its tone'.[715]

What seems to have underlay this was a desire for the growth of an indigenous art, for English artists to find the confidence not to have to look to inspirations from overseas for their art, both in terms of style and in terms of subject matter. This inevitably involved a certain antipathy towards foreign artists, in particular towards the sculptor Marochetti,[716] who produced the equestrian statue of Richard I which stands to this day outside the Palace of Westminster. In 1855 he signed a *Memorial* of the Sculptor's Institute together with other artists, a sort of petition, which addressed its complaint to the Government that competitions for public monuments were unfairly conducted and too often awarded to foreign artists.[717] In his concerns we can see a great proximity to the thought of the Prince Consort, who was very keen to foster a home-grown art for his country.

It is interesting to consider the implications of this underlying thinking for his statue of Boadicea. As remarked above it is readily apparent that Thornycroft had not

714 Thornycroft (1932: 53-54).

715 Thornycroft (1932: 54).

716 Baron Carlo Marochetti (1805-1867), an Italian sculptor raised in Paris who followed Louis Philippe into exile in Britain after 1848. In Britain he made statues of the Queen and the aristocracy, and his statue of Richard the Lionheart was exhibited in the Great Exhibition.

717 Thornycroft (1932: 54).

divested himself or his Boadicea of a heroic neoclassicist style. In Boadicea we can see that for all his misgivings he never quite lost that appreciation of classical art which is so evident in his early letters to Dickinson.[718] His Boadicea is still very much the Amazon of classical Greek art,[719] and Athena in her role as war goddess. Moreover while he may have intended his subject as the apotheosis of a British or northern spirit, there is the unavoidable fact that this is still a subject drawn from classical authors, Tacitus and Dio.[720] Once again we encounter the paradox of northern European artists attempting to shape an ancient national identity as precursor to a contemporary one which, while fundamentally defined in conflict with a classical world, had to draw on the inheritance of that world to define that identity.

Other works

A cursory survey of Thornycroft's other works is worthwhile because it will help us understand more fully his approach to a classical style and subject matter, and thereby better set his Boadicea group in the context of the greater body of his work and his artistic aims.

Among his early works we can number a few that were inspired by a literary or classical theme. In 1837 he exhibited a sculpture called 'Il Penseroso' or 'Melancholy',[721] apparently inspired by lines in Milton's poems of that name.[722] We also know that he carved a sculpture of Orpheus,[723] which was rejected at the Royal Academy. According to his granddaughter this was the scene of some melodrama when he reacted to the bad news by leaving the sculpture on a stranger's doorstep,

718 One, for example, records his reactions on first seeing the head of Laocoon on a trip to the British Museum: 'But the head of the "Laocoon"! How exquisite is the expression! nothing have I seen in art so worthy of the epithet divine: its mournful, its subdued agony affected me almost to tears'. He describes how on seeing the Elgin marbles he understood 'at a glance what artists mean by "breadth"'. Thornycroft (1932: 14, 15).

719 We might compare for example the reliefs from the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus for a typical rendition of amazonian warriors.

720 We have however no direct comments of Thornycroft on either of these authors or their works.

721 T. Thornycroft, 'Il Penseroso', 1840 (Private Collection).

722 Cf. Manning (1982: 24); Reeve (1863: 129).

723 T. Thornycroft, 'Orpheus Abandoned', 1842 (untraced).

ringing the bell and then absconding[724] Nonetheless, what both of these works show is an early preoccupation with themes of melancholy, something that we see curiously recurrent in the case of many nationalist artists. The reason for this may be that such a temperament is also so often predisposed to the sort of combination of nostalgia and idealism of which national ideologies are constituted.

In subsequent decades however when Thornycroft began to receive more favourable patronage, as mentioned above, he began to be engaged on many official commissions. Amongst these were some equestrian statues of the Queen. A first statue was made for the Great Exhibition and was shown there in 1851.[725] This depicts the queen, a young woman, on horseback as her horse rears up, one hoof off the ground. Unlike many other equestrian statues of rulers it does not depict the monarch in a stationary posture but rather in the action of riding. In this respect it is not unlike the statue of Boadicea, depictions of whom, it should be remembered, seem more conventionally to have involved her giving an oration before battle, rather than actually depicting her in the act of going into it. But in the case of the Victoria statue we can see how Thornycroft did not shy away from rendering the current monarch in a realistic active pose, and we can see how he might have favoured a similar take in his Boadicea.

There is also a second, later, statue of Victoria of 1869 in Liverpool.[726] This is much more stayed than the first, with the horse only raising its left leg slightly in a canter. This is perhaps more understandable for the portrayal of an older monarch, whom he would probably have considered it undignified to depict in the manner he had the younger woman. The context was of course also different, being a piece of public statuary rather than something intended for show in an international exhibition, in which a show of the physical health and activity of the young monarch might have seemed more desirable. This helps us understand the sort of monarch and message Thornycroft was wanting to portray in his Boadicea. This is a mother but also a relatively young and physically powerful woman, a reflection of the people of whom

724 Manning (1982: 25).

725 T. Thornycroft, 'Equestrian Statue of Queen Victoria', bronze, 26.5 inches, reduction of large original shown at Great Exhibition 1851, 1853 (Private Collection).

726 T. Thornycroft, 'Queen Victoria', bronze on a granite pedestal, 1870 (St. George's Plateau, Liverpool).

she was queen, and of whom Victoria was likewise the current queen.[727]

We also know that Thornycroft was engaged on other public commissions. In 1856 he made an unsuccessful entry in the competition for the Wellington Memorial, his design representing the Duke seated on a camp stool contemplating the devotion of his soldiers, by four of whom in their various regimental uniforms he was shown surrounded.[728] Thornycroft clearly considered this a theme worthy of his choice, another noble depiction of a famous English war hero. As in his earlier works there is an element of contemplation and reflection here, just as the observer would have been intended to have contemplated Wellington's achievements and nobility in turn.

Another public and royal commission Thornycroft was successful in getting the commission for was the Albert Memorial. His are the statuary group representing 'Commerce' which sit on one of the four corners of the monument. In this we see an allegorical female figure, much in the vein of Demeter, with cornucopia in hand and open arms, before whom and in whose embrace three male figures stand or sit. Two of these are young and one, bearded, appears older. The young standing figure to the figure's right appears to be a representation of navigation, holding in his arms ropes and a book (presumably star charts) and looking boldly out into the distance. The kneeling bearded figure holds a vessel containing what is probably the produce of the provinces of the empire, and this is therefore a figure perhaps representing the provinces themselves. Thornycroft's group is part of a scheme representing imperial achievements, and what they share with his Boadicea statue is that they (and Albert in the greater design) are allegories for British glory.[729]

In considering works of the sculptor's which were allegories for national glory we cannot pass over another work of Thornycroft's. This was a group representing 'Alfred and Ethelburga', depicting the legend of the queen showing her young son the book which was to be the reward for whichever of the children was the first to learn to read it.[730] Prince Albert came to see it and liked the work, suggesting some

727 Reeve (1863: 130), points out that the first design's copyright was later purchased by the *Art Union* and reproduced in numerous versions until it became a familiar image of the queen. Manning (1982: 38), also records that Albert's cooperation was sought for the operation, and that there was for some time discussion about the statue's being placed on the fourth plinth in Trafalgar Square.

728 Thornycroft (1932: 54-55); Reeve (1863: 130).

729 Gleichen, as of the Boadicea, did not approve, calling Thornycroft's group (and the others), 'somewhat stiff and conventional'. Gleichen (1928: 74).

amendments but was very pleased with the design overall.[731] The fundamental idea behind this sculpture is of course similar to that in the Boadicea, in that Alfred and Ethelburga and their legend are taken as royal prefigurements of modern British virtue. In this case it is the notion of learning and the advancement of knowledge, something which, as the Albert Memorial shows, the Victorian royal house prided itself greatly on. In Boadicea's case it is a different virtue, martial valour in the face of unjust oppression, but the method is the same. Thornycroft himself describes the moment: 'When the gentle force of an educated mother aroused from the torpor of barbarism a mind destined to lead into civilised existence the Anglo-Saxon race and to lay the foundations of a mighty empire'.[732] The idea of foreordained greatness is the same as in the Boadicea sculpture.

Otherwise we know that Thornycroft made statues of the Earl of Hereford and the Duke of Norfolk for the new House of Lords,[733] as well as of Charles I and James II.[734] We can see that the Boadicea was by no means the only portrayal of a famous royal figure from English history that Thornycroft made, nor the only ancient one, and it is clear from the selection of those figures his sculptures eulogised, be it the contemporary queen or recently deceased Albert, or ancient kings such as Alfred and Boadicea (Saxon and Celtic progenitors respectively), that the selection is ever for the same reason: praise of the greatness of the British people as it flowered throughout the ages.

Cowper's *Boadicea*

Thornycroft quoted Cowper's poem on Boadicea (1787) on the base of his statue of Boadicea. On the south side of the pediment the lines from the eighth stanza of

730 T. Thornycroft, 'Alfred and Ethelburga' (details unknown). Cf. Reeve (1863: 129). The legend is recorded by Bishop Asser in his *Life of Alfred the Great* (written 893AD).

731 Manning (1982: 29), cites a letter of the sculptor's in which he recorded the Prince Consort's reactions: 'Remarking at once that the design was simple and intelligible, that the arrangements of parts was harmonious and that the young prince was energetic in feeling and evidently desirous to have the book. Osburga was approved as charming and affectionate and the draperies were pronounced admirable.'

732 Manning (1982: 29).

733 Manning (1982: 29); Reeve (1863: 129).

734 The award of the commission for these can be found in the *Twelfth Report of the Commissioners on Fine Arts* (1861: 13). This suggests a payment of 300*l* for each of the statues.

Cowper's poem are printed: 'Regions Caesar never knew,/ Thy posterity shall sway'. It is worthwhile briefly considering here the original poem and its significance in the context of Thornycroft's monument.

What is remarkable about this short, eleven stanza poem, is that despite its theme of battle and resistance, so little of it actually relates that action. The second to ninth verses relate the prophecy of a Celtic bard, the most part of which details the later fall of Rome and rise of the future Britain. In a sense Cowper's poem is a step beyond even Thornycroft's sculpture in that it actually imputes to Boadicea prophetic knowledge of the modern British empire, thereby making the connection between the two symbolically linked epochs work in both directions. While Thornycroft's statue does not seek to suggest this, it is significant that he is drawing on such a source.

As in many German nineteenth-century narratives that take Arminius to prefigure the German empire, the simple forest-dwelling origins of the British people are emphasised as an aspect of innate virtue: 'Then the progeny that springs/ From the forests of our land,/ Arm'd with thunder, clad with wings,/ Shall a wider world command.'[735] As in these narratives too, Rome is characterised as faced with inevitable decline because of its degeneracy, in this case moral: 'Rome shall perish - write that word/ In the blood that she has spilt;/ Perish hopeless and abhorr'd,/ Deep in ruin as in guilt.'[736]

The Druidic bard is very Ossianic, true to his time, whose words are 'pregnant with celestial fire', and whose lyre is 'sweet but awful'.[737] By quoting such a poem Thornycroft is able to draw directly on this late eighteenth-century inheritance of awakening national conscience and the fight against oppression. Cowper wrote many other poems exploring the ideas of freedom and revolution which he witnessed in his own time. Part of his poem *The Task* (1785) prophesies the storming of the Bastille,[738] and he engaged much in his poetry with the debates about slavery that raged in his day. For example, elsewhere in *The Task* we find him rejecting the notion of slavery utterly, but also characterising England as a place in itself antithetical to the concept of slavery: 'Slaves cannot breathe in England; if their lungs/ Receive our air, that

735 Cowper (1787: 355), Stanza 7.

736 Cowper (1787: 355), Stanza 4.

737 Cowper (1787: 355), Stanza 9.

738 On which see Hayley (1810: 43).

moment they are free;/ They touch our country, and their shackles fall.'[739] We can readily see how a poet who subscribed to such ideas would have appealed to Thornycroft with his ideals of English history, and his Boadicea who is in effect the physical representation of the idea expressed in Cowper's poem here.

Cowper is of course in large part responding to the events of the French revolution.[740] But while it is not possible to enter into any extensive analysis of Cowper's poetry here, it is worth noting that his use by Thornycroft is inevitably somewhat complicated by the fact of the rather strong anti-imperial sentiment in Cowper's poetry. As Kelly points out, the very significance of his poem about Boadicea lies in the fact of its date; that it was written at the end of the American War of Independence.[741] Cowper may have seen the events of Boadicea's struggle as prefiguring the American struggle against British oppression, rather than as a prefigurement of the greatness of the British, as Thornycroft used Boadicea and Cowper's poem. If anything this only goes to show how flexible Tacitus' source material could be and how the meaning of the legend could be used to different ends. It is probably nearer the truth to say that just as the Boadicea myth has been open to interpretation and reinterpretation, so was Cowper's poem itself neither unambiguously pro- or anti-imperial, and therefore in itself likewise open to use by later writers.[742] But it is clear that Thornycroft's use of the poem is pro-imperial.[743]

Patriotism and empire

739 Cowper (1785), 1.40. For discussion see Hutchings (London 1989: 79).

740 Hutchings (1989: 73, 79), for a full and subtle treatment of Cowper's approach to the French revolution.

741 Kelly (2006: 117).

742 An argument in favour of Cowper's poem being for empire would be its contrast between the Boadicea victory, which 'Heav'n awards', as against the moral degeneracy of the Roman empire. The imputation is perhaps that the British empire has something that Rome in Boadicea's day did not have, Christianity, and that if it stays true to this moral mission then it will not fall as Rome did.

743 See further Hutchings (1989: 84, 85, 89) for Cowper's views on the East India Company and the nascent British empire. It is clear that in the nineteenth century Cowper's poetry was viewed as seminal in the cause of liberty, as for example in Hayley (1810: 43). Smiles (1994: 163-164), takes the view that Cowper's poem is uncomplicatedly aligned with Thornycroft's approach: 'William Cowper's poem *Boadicea* had anticipated the Victorians' linking of her story with national pride and imperial success'. In their book, Dudley and Webster (1962: 129), say of the poem simply that: 'None could have been better suited to the temper of the times.'

Thornycroft's imagining of Tacitus' heroine has clearly been very influential for later writers, artists, and all those who have used Boadicea since. There is general consensus on this point,[744] and tracing the influence of the sculpture on subsequent portrayals of Boadicea would form a study in itself.[745] However in terms of contemporary readings of Thornycroft's monument and its significance Smiles' analysis seems an accurate summation of the general picture: 'The idea of future decline awaiting those who had once defeated Britons allowed a historical calamity to be contextualised within present success. The stain of disgraceful rout and subjugation is bleached out by the triumph of contemporary imperial domination.'[746] To the extent of fulfilling this function Thornycroft's statue was successful.

In fact Smiles seems to imply the interesting proposition that the Boadicea group was in some ways an answer to Bandel's monument in Germany, where he argues that, 'even if such giganticism found no echo in Britain, Thornycroft's *Boadicea* on Westminster Bridge is a typically flamboyant example of this sort of patriotic celebration of warrior ancestors'.[747] There was of course also the Alésia statue of Vercingetorix in France, and arguably if an equivalent were being sought in mainland Britain then Thornycroft's statue would be the major contender.[748] There is no evidence that Thornycroft was acting in direct inspiration of or rivalry with these great monuments, but they cannot but have helped increase the sense that such a public monument was lacking in Britain. Nonetheless if anything this is the context in which we should view Thornycroft's sculpture, as another example of the sort of gargantuan commemorations of Tacitus-sourced progenitor figures that we see across Europe in the later nineteenth century.

We have explored above some of the complications that could potentially have arisen in the use of Boadicea, already such an ambiguous character, to represent the

744 For example Dudley and Webster (1962: 130), attribute the enduring popularity of Boadicea to the combined work of Cowper and Thornycroft.

745 It evidently shaped, for example, Churchill's ideas about Boadicea, on which see Dudley and Webster (1962: 130).

746 Smiles (1994: 164).

747 Smiles (1994: 36).

748 Hingley (2000: 81), speculates on what might have happened if the state had backed the project as the Vercingetorix statue was backed in France: 'The British might have had their own 'memory factory' devoted to Boadicea to counter the French shrine at Alésia. The state sponsorship that was mooted in the 1870s shows an interest in the cult of Boadicea to match the interest of Napoleon III in Vercingetorix during the 1860s.'

contemporary British empire. However it is unlikely that she did in fact prove problematic to the vast majority of those who were inspired by Thornycroft's rendition of her and who reproduced her image for nationalist purposes. Thornycroft's portrayal is certainly simple in its elements and simple in its message; there is no doubt about who is on the side of right and who on the side of wrong, no moral grey area. Moreover she is foremost a symbol of valour, before she is a symbol of injustice, easily approximated to a more generic image of *Britannia*. It is likely that most people found nothing strange about the use of her martial image at a time of British military power.[749]

Nevertheless the question must be posed of why, at a time when there were sufficient contemporary military heroes to valorise, the pull of an ancient, and female, one could be so great. The answer to this is inevitably that, at least in the established artistic vocabulary of the classical period, the Renaissance and the nineteenth century, an ancient figure, and a female one, lent itself more easily than any other to use as an allegory: Boadicea is not an example of British valour; she is British valour.

Yet despite this search for a symbol one step removed from the vagaries and military vicissitudes of contemporary empire, the conditioning of the need for the symbol was inevitably a product of contemporary events. Interestingly some authors have sought to make the case that the pull of Thornycroft's subject lay in contemporary anxieties caused by the Boer War. Hingley points out that the final erection of the long-uncommissioned statue took place in 1902, 'shortly after victory over the Boers and one year after the death of Queen Victoria'.[750] Could it then have served as a symbol of relief from a very real and powerful threat to British interests? He reports the argument of Webster, made in his book *Boudica: The British Revolt against Rome AD 60*,[751] that the emotive patriotic impact of the work lay in the thought of the young queen resisting a great but alien power.[752] The victory against the Boers had been anything but easily attained, and there must have been at least some anxiety at the time despite the ultimate victory of the British, accentuated by the

749 One such example would be Trevelyan (1900), which outlines the history of the sculpture and anticipates the erection of the monument two years after its publication. A photograph of the sculpture also forms the frontispiece of the novel.

750 Hingley (2000: 88).

751 Webster (1978).

752 Hingley (2000: 88).

recent death of the monarch that had presided over the majority of the military-driven acquisitions of the previous century. Many must have been wondering how long this state of affairs could hold and, perhaps, been slightly uneasy about the prospects presented by the queen's heir Edward.

At the time of the group's eventual erection we can see that the government and general public's mood may have been quite different from what it was in the decades before, when Thornycroft worked on his models for the work. We might conclude this chapter on what is perhaps one of the most iconic and influential images we are looking at in this project by considering the final circumstances of the sculpture's actual erection. In the 1890s London County Council had been excavating the tumulus in Parliament Hill Fields, which had long had the reputation of being the site of Boadicea's grave. However excavations were abandoned after the Society of Antiquaries supposedly disproved the theory. When excavations started one of Thornycroft's sons, John, had offered to present the chariot group to the public if it could be sited there. After the cessation of excavations Sir William Bull, the member of the London County Council for the district, worked on trying to find a suitable site for the sculpture. After the Temple Arch had been considered and dismissed as a possibility, the final choice was the Embankment. Thornycroft's work was at last cast in bronze, with the money raised in part by public subscription, and the pedestal provided by the Council.[753]

753 Dudley, Webster (1962: 128). Hingley (2000: 77), adds that the final casting committee consisted of 'well-known members of the legislature, Royal Academicians, London County Councillors, journalists and, apparently, leading Welshmen!'

Edwardian pageants

In this chapter we will look at three of the historical pageants that took place in pre-war England, looking at illustrations of Boadicea from two of these, those held in St. Albans in 1907 and Colchester in 1909. In addition we will also discuss the 'Festival of Empire' pageant that took place in London in 1911, by way of contrast. The St. Albans and Colchester pageants, and the illustrations that were produced for them, are interesting for their being a local use of the figure of Boadicea. This does not preclude her being employed to nationalist or imperial ends, but does add an extra element in the form of local and regional identity and how classical reception operates in this context.

The St. Albans and Colchester pageants were specimens of a broader run of pageants that were organised by towns in Edwardian England. Their form was pioneered by the dramatist Louis Napoleon Parker, who began by organising the Sherborne Pageant in 1905 as part of the celebration of the foundation of the Sherborne bishopric in the twelfth century. After a few years a fashion for organising similar events had taken hold, with many other towns following suit, particularly by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. These pageants were typically on a very large scale, with volunteers and participants numbering in the lower thousands. This was of course much larger in the case of the 'Festival of Empire' in London, in which an estimated fifteen thousand volunteers participated.[754] These pageants were intended to be open to the public and to encourage mass participation. However the tickets for the pageant were expensive, and the total costs of attending the Colchester pageant have been estimated as amounting to a week's budget for food for a working class family,[755] and as a result the democratic ethos of the pageants cannot be taken at face value.

The pageants were often patronised by the wealthy and the powerful, both at a local but also at a national level. Although the principal patrons of both the St. Albans and Colchester pageants were local dignitaries, many of the visitors who came to the

754 Yoshino (2010: 3).

755 Yoshino (2010: 48).

pageant travelled from London to attend. Members of the royal family would also often attend at the individual town pageants, reinforcing the national context of these local events. The pageants were always accompanied by a plethora of souvenir books, books of words from the pageants themselves, and a range of other publicity material. We will look more closely at some of these souvenir books in this chapter, from which the Colchester illustration examined here is drawn, as well as some of the publicity material, of which the St. Albans Boadicea postcard is an example. Much was also made of the commercial opportunities around the event, and the souvenir books are replete with advertisements from local firms for everything from construction to cosmetic products.

St. Albans pageant postcard

We will begin by looking at the St. Albans pageant, held in 1907. In this postcard, produced as part of the official publicity material for the pageant, we have a representation of Boadicea as a young royal British princess (*Figure 16*). The colour illustration features no details other than the figure of the queen herself, the heraldic crest of the diocese of St. Albans, and the text 'Boadicea Queen of the Iceni 61', which are set against a neutral grey background. The postcard is signed by the artist, 'Robert E. Groves'. It forms part of a series featuring historical figures from the various episodes of the pageant, which also includes representations of Julius Caesar and Cassivelaunus, as well as figures from medieval history. These are not all identifiable historical characters, but also generic types, such as that of a Roman soldier.

Boadicea is shown as a slim young woman, rather than the older matriarchal figure that we see in some other earlier representations of Boadicea from the nineteenth century. She has pale white skin and long red hair, which hangs down her back to her waist. She wears a long purple dress with straps at the shoulders and a golden fringe at its end. Over this she dons a long cloak, red on the outside and white on the inside, which by its richness clearly denotes her as royalty. However her arms are bare and held straight by her sides. In her hands she grips her cloak and draws it up to prevent its trailing on the ground.

There is a clear interest here in details of costume, reflecting the costumes used in the pageant itself and the research and preparation that went into making them. Her dress is adorned with various brass decorations, including a belt from

which hangs a short sword, and other brass buckles and jewels attached to the front of her dress. On her upper arms and wrists she wears a series of bracelets, and round her neck a necklace resembling a torque. The colour of all this jewellery is singularly brass in colour, with the exception of its encrusted red stones, and her cloak is fastened with a round brass buckle, which also has a red stone set in its middle, matching the colour of her cloak. The overall impression is one of Celtic attire, though the extent to which this was strictly archaeologically correct is debatable.

In addition she wears a brass band round her head, inset with a medal, which is clearly a further mark of her royal status. This crown, as all of the other jewellery, is made to match the colour of her red hair, which in itself is a marked feature of her being Celtic, something deliberately emphasised here as in other representations of Boadicea. Yet for all her picturesqueness the illustrator has taken the trouble to remind us of the martial element in her legend and in her nature. The sword is in fact the only explicit mark of her being a warrior maiden, rather than simply a king's daughter. Perhaps the illustrator intended to show her as a younger woman, before the misfortune that befell her as a mother.

However the illustrator of this postcard also characterises Boadicea through her expression. Her expression is one of royal disdain. Her head is very slightly tilted back but the chin juts out noticeably. This lends her an impression of pride, if not haughtiness, which the illustrator may also be suggesting. The corners of her mouth, turned downward, also hint at an element of severity, reminding the observer of the grim fate she will visit on her Roman enemies in sacking St. Albans. There are elements of the Victorian *femme fatale* even in this simple postcard; while the illustrator makes his Boadicea beautiful and apparently frail, he also makes her menacing in the suggestion of what she will later do.[756]

Would it be right to call this Boadicea a 'noble savage'? There are certainly many elements which indicate her nobility, at least in terms of social status. Her expression denotes her as proud, though its severity casts her deeds in an ambiguous light. However there is little of the savage, in the sense of the barbarian, here. In many ways the richness of her adornment, in particular her red cloak, stresses if anything her proximity to Roman civilisation. Rather than a primitive of a pre-civilised golden

756 We might for example compare this figure as found in many earlier Pre-Raphaelite paintings, e.g. D. G. Rossetti, 'A Sea Spell', oil-on-canvas, 88.9 x 106.7, 1877 (Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts).

age, the illustrator chooses to show his Boadicea as a worthy rival to Roman civilisation, and to credit the Britons with a degree of wealth and power, in accordance with their presentation in the pageant. The costume, as that shown for the pageant characters in the other postcards, reflects that of the costumes used in the pageant itself.

It is important to remember that, unlike most other portrayals of Tacitean tribal heroes that we are looking at here, this illustration is a personal souvenir of an event. As a result this representation is at one remove from commemorating Boadicea herself. While paintings and sculptures of Tacitean figures were commissioned to commemorate them and their rebellions for whatever reason, be it the ancestral claims of a contemporary royal regime or the illustration of a history book, these are all commemorations of the events and figures themselves. However this illustration of Boadicea is a commemoration of the St. Albans pageant before it is a commemoration of Boadicea herself. As such details of her costume are determined by the costume used in the pageant, which was itself designed by the costumes committee for the pageant based upon their idea of Boadicea. If this were not the case the postcard would not be fulfilling its principal function as a souvenir of what spectators of the pageant actually saw. The face value of the postcard's claiming to be 'official' publication material for the pageant reinforces this, as it makes the claim to be the authoritative record of the event itself.

This is true of the other postcards too, a comparison with which is instructive. The Cassivelaunus postcard, which gives his name and the date 54 B.C. as well as the same crest as the Boadicea card, illustrates something much closer to the 'noble savage'. Though he too wears a rich cloak, beneath this he wears an animal skin over his tunic and has long hair and a moustache. In line with the scheme of the pageant, he appears less civilised than Boadicea, belonging as he does to a preceding episode and epoch, and is a more pointed contrast to the postcard illustrating Julius Caesar as a Roman general, who wears golden armour, crested helmet and blue cloak, and raises an open palm as if just arriving in Britain and greeting the new territory. Looking at the Boadicea card in the context of these other cards, we can see how it fits the pageant scheme, and conforms to the idea of a gradual transition by the Britons from barbarity to civilisation, with Boadicea just one step in a journey whose later manifestations include, for example, an aristocratic medieval lady, and which involves in its earlier stages characters such as Cassivelaunus.

In this sense she is, as all of these figures, a national personification, or rather the personification of a particular age of the nation. Set in sequence with the other figures she seems a sort of transitional figure between the earlier tribal world of Cassivelaunus and the fully-fledged civilisation brought by Rome. The illustrator has suggested this by giving her the graceful costume of the pageant and the form of a beautiful young woman, but at the same time indicating by the little disguised severity of her expression the bloody and uncivilised acts she will cause. In some ways this captures the essence of the nationalist reception of Boadicea in England in the nineteenth century: she is the embodiment of the polar attributes of beauty and violence in the 'noble savage'.

The St. Albans pageant

The St. Albans pageant was held over a period of six days from July 15th to 20th 1907. With pageant activities beginning everyday at 3pm, the pageant put on show 'the ecclesiastical, military, and civil history of St. Albans.'[757] The pageants were staged in St. Albans park close to the cathedral.

The pageant was composed of eight episodes in total. Beginning with 'Julius Caesar and Cassivelaunus' it continued with 'Rebellion under Boadicea A.D. 61' as its second episode, and then six more episodes from English history in chronological succession: 'The Martyrdom of St. Alban'; 'Offa Founding the Monastery of St. Alban'; 'The Eleanor Procession'; 'The Peasants' Revolt'; 'Second Battle of St. Albans'; and 'Queen Elizabeth at Gorhambury'. In this way, and much in the fashion of other Edwardian pageants, episodes from pre-Roman, Roman, early Christian, medieval and Tudor England were covered. Patrons of the pageant included the Earl of Verulam, Archbishop of Canterbury and the Marquis of Salisbury, as well as local dignitaries such as the Mayor of St. Albans. The Master of the Pageant was Herbert Jarman from the Lyric Theatre in London, and the text and lyrics were written by Charles Ashdown.

As stated above the aim of the pageant (as given by Ashdown in his accopanying book of lyrics) was to celebrate the various elements of St. Albans' history. He explains how he originally determined 'no less than twenty-three

757 Ashdown (1907: preface).

occurrences suitable for dramatic representation' before managing to whittle this down to eight key episodes. As such then it is clear that he and the organising committee considered Boadicea's sacking of St. Albans to be a key part of its history, and of equal note to, for example, 'The Martyrdom of St. Alban', the key foundational legend of the town. Given this context the postcard is essentially one of a series of personifications of the town of St. Albans itself, as were the episodes of the pageant themselves.

The full text of the pageant is recorded in Charles Ashdown's book of text and lyrics. We will now look closely at the text of the second episode of the pageant, on Boadicea, to determine the pageant authors' angle on the Boadicea legend, and what use they chose to make of it. In sum this relatively brief scene consists of: report of Boadicea's oncoming onslaught; the attack itself; speeches by Boadicea urging her men to fight; Roman retaliation and the flight of the Britons (despite Boadicea's protestations); the protestation of certain loyal chiefs; her suicide by poison and subsequent obituary given by Suetonius.

Ashdown chooses to give Boadicea herself a prominent role in the St. Albans pageant, focusing attention on her character through her long battle speeches, and likewise recording her reactions to the adverse turn of events through another speech. We will look at each of these speeches in turn. The first is an indignant invective against Rome, in which she calls her warriors to battle, and it is much in the vein of both Cowper and Tennyson's poems about Boadicea. She opens her speech by calling for 'Vengeance, just vengeance, on the hated foe,/ The oppressors of our nation. We will have/ The very heart's blood of th' accursed race/ And stamp them out of Britain. They shall die/ With steel as did their friends in Cam'lodunum.'[758] The Romans are the 'tyrant foe', against whom 'Freedom cries aloud/ In all our woods and glens and uplands green.' There is the sense in which the Romans' presence in Britain is such anathema that the landscape itself cries out for their ejection, and in this association Ashdown borrows from Tacitus' scheme (*Agricola* 32) in the speech of Calgacus, in which the recesses of the British landscape are themselves protectors of freedom and characterised as against Rome.[759]

The imagery of this first speech is vivid and violent. She exhorts the Britons to: 'Exterminate this foreign crew as you/ Would kill the noxious adders of the grass.'

758 Ashdown (1907: 22). Here and following quotations.

The Romans are reduced to an animal status, to be trampled beneath the feet of the Britons. Boadicea's hatred of Rome is a blood feud: 'Rome shall perish! Write that word in the blood that she has spilt'; indeed, her language suggests, one of ancient pedigree: 'Soon her pride shall kiss the ground- hark! the Gaul is at her gates!' By allusion the Iceni's struggle against Rome is connected with that of the ancient Gauls that attacked Rome under the leadership of Brennus in 387 BC. Boadicea's memory is long, but so is her prophetic knowledge of the future, which Ashdown leaves unexplained in his lyrics. For, after the present age: 'The progeny that springs from the forests of our land,/ Armed with thunder, clad with wings, shall a wider world command.' Ashdown borrows so heavily from Cowper as to quote him directly including, as Thornycroft on his statue base, the famous quotation: 'Regions Caesar never knew, my posterity shall sway;/ Where his eagles never flew, none invincible as they.' In this way Ashdown draws on a well-established tradition of Boadicea from the previous century. The rhetoric of this speech is in the vein of those in Tacitus, and he draws on the Victorian tradition of Boadicea to link her struggle with contemporary British valour in the form of the imperial conquests.

This initial speech by Boadicea is met with acclaim by the crowd of Britons, who respond 'Hail! Bonduca, Hail! Revenge.' The message is a clear one. Ashdown also chooses to use the archaism of 'Bonduca', more popular before the nineteenth century than in the Edwardian period (he uses the form 'Boadicea' in the *dramatis personae*), and reinforces this by the Britons' repeated shout, in ancient British, of: 'Tori pen i Caisor!' Reflecting a Victorian interest in antiquarian detail, the line reinforces the idea of the Britons being at their most British when behind Boadicea, and at this point using their own language. As in Boadicea's first speech there is a powerful nativism in the ideas expressed by Boadicea, which Ashdown will attempt to resolve in subsequent episodes.

These cries are followed by a further four lines of exhortation from Boadicea, before Roman trumpets are heard, and a messenger arrives to announce the arrival of the Romans and encouraging the queen to withdraw. This is met by the Britons with a cry of 'O fly, fly!', and the response in turn of Boadicea of: 'Shame on those who

759 *Paucos numero, trepidos ignorantia, caelum ipsum ac mare et silvas, ignota omnia circumspectantis, clausos quodam modo ac vinctos di nobis tradiderunt* ('Few in number, fearful in their ignorance, beholding all that unknown around them, the sky itself, the sea and woods, the gods have in essence handed them to us closed in and bound.')

counsel so'.[760] After another sounding of Roman trumpets from off-stage Boadicea's daughters support their mother, refusing to 'flee from tyrants such as these'. In the person of her daughters the audience are reminded of the motivation for Boadicea's bloody struggle against the Romans, and the ensuing destruction of St. Albans. Boadicea praises her daughters as having their 'sire's stout heart', a further reference to Boadicea's personal story which focuses attention on her character. However after another fanfare of Roman trumpets the Britons desert Boadicea.

In a second speech she now laments the cowardice of her own men, and in turn praises that of four chiefs who have chosen to remain to die with her loyally. Cursing the deserters to live the life of cowards, she rebukes them: 'O caitiffs! emasculated hinds,/ All sodden in the blood of Roman grapes./ 'Tis shame to call you *soldiers*, ye are but/ The petty pusillanimous impostors/ Of a play.' The last reference is perhaps an ironic pageant reference to the fact that this is in fact a play, but Ashdown's language here can again be seen to be borrowing heavily from classical sources. Her reference to the Britons' being debauched and weakened by Roman luxuries such as wine, as well as recalling Tacitean narratives against *luxuria* more broadly, is also reminiscent of Boadicea's speech in Dio, in which she speaks of Roman weakness as engendered by their love of oil and wine, in contrast to the more rudimentary food to which the Britons are accustomed.[761]

Again as in the first speech Boadicea uses animal imagery, this time emphasising the effeminate weakness of the Britons as their being akin to 'emasculated hinds', as she had described the Romans as snakes before. This again recalls Boadicea's speech in Dio, where she describes the Romans as 'hares and foxes trying to rule over dogs and wolves', the latter being the Britons. As the Romans in the speech in Dio Ashdown has them emasculated, despite their being dogs, as a result of their having become accustomed to Roman luxuries like wine. This has made them 'impostors' as Britons, and is the real enemy against which she rails, the same enemy which did such harm to her family.

However she responds differently to those loyal chiefs who kneel before her and renew their allegiance. She acknowledges this, but urges them to fly to rouse other tribes to resistance instead, which they reluctantly agree to do: 'Valiant chiefs,/

760 Ashdown (1907: 23). Here and following.

761 Cf. Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 62.5.

You make my death-throes lighter. I command/ You'll rouse the tribes upon the eastern shore/ And fall upon this rabble.' In this way there is a sense of continuity to the rebellion and the spirit of the Britons, which the audience are made to see will not die with her, and which her words suggest will be seen renewed in later ages: 'Now ope the gates for our immortal souls/ Where loud the paean of welcome ever rolls/ For those who scorn their enemies to fly,/ And choose instead eternal liberty.' Boadicea presents herself as a martyr, and an exemplum to future Britons in their freedom.

Ashdown does not choose to conclude the scene here however, as well he could have done.[762] Instead he chooses to include a final speech by the victorious general Suetonius, who belatedly arrives on the scene. Despite criticism of the number that died as a result of her actions, he appears to express some magnanimous pity for her in her death, and commands that she have a burial fit for her royal station: 'And here lies she, all prone upon the sward,/ Who caused the loss of seventy thousand lives/ Within the narrow zone of Verulam's/ Environments. But now Bonduca's left/ The narrow circle of this troublous world,/ And's face to face with gods unknown. Now bear/ Her hence, and give her queenly burial'. In so doing, Ashdown has presented a modest figure in Suetonius, and a noble face to Rome. In contrast to Boadicea's invective, it is immediately clear to the audience that not all of Rome is rotten and corrupt, but that nobility yet remains. In the reflections of Suetonius, which form the conclusion to the Boadicea episode, Boadicea appears as a noble-spirited but essentially misguided woman whose actions have led to much suffering, something reflected in her expression on the postcard depicting her produced for the pageant. Meanwhile Suetonius is the wise and noble Roman aristocratic ideal, performing noble deeds in the imperial provinces. In the St. Albans pageant we are very much in the world of Tacitus' *Agricola*.

Colchester pageant souvenir frontispiece

In this frontispiece to the illustrated edition of Louis Napoleon Parker's *Souvenir and Book of Words of the Colchester Pageant*,[763] produced to accompany the 1909 pageant held in Colchester, we see Boadicea on her chariot brandishing her spear at an

762 Ashdown (1907: 24).

763 Parker (1909).

(invisible) Roman enemy. Boadicea fills the whole of the page, and is illustrated with the crest of the city of Colchester to her right. Beneath her horses a scroll runs across the bottom of the page, with the words 'Colchester Pageant June 21 to 26 1909', and the names of the publishers of the volume are also included.

Boadicea is shown as a young woman standing upright in her chariot. She turns to her left and in her left arm, held up high, she grips a long spear. Looking out to her left, her head tilted slightly upwards, she appears to be summoning her troops to battle. Her expression is set and determined, and with her eyebrows slightly raised as they are her expression seems to be one of invocation of her troops. She wears a long flowing purple dress and over this a red cape. Part of her dress and cape fly out dramatically in the wind behind her. On top of her head she wears a horned helmet, an addition borrowed from nineteenth-century German art, beneath which her red hair streams out and is caught in the wind, flying out behind her on both sides. She wears a bronze chest protector over her chest on top of her dress, buckled over her shoulders. Her arms and shoulders are bare, and on her upper arms she wears various bronze bracelets.

In addition to her spear she has a sword in scabbard slung around her waist on a belt, and is very much armed for battle. With her right hand by her side she grips the six reins of her three horses, which we see below her chariot. They are all jet black with black bloodshot eyes, lending Boadicea a sinister apocalyptic appearance. These all look out in different directions with windswept mains. The impression of this and her hair and cape combine to lend the scene a sense of motion and violence. Indeed Boadicea is remarkably still in her figure given the speed her horses and windswept appearance imply that she is travelling at.

Boadicea is portrayed as a young woman, pale with red hair in conformity with the ideal of the Celtic maiden. The illustrator has stressed many of the trappings of a barbarian queen, including her unusual breastplate, and other bracelets and necklace. The horned helmet is an interesting addition to her appearance, one resonant of the many portrayals of Arminius and ancient Germans from nineteenth-century German art, and which serves here to connect Boadicea with this established body of collective associations of the winged helmet. The illustrator has also given her sword a peculiar curved hilt to add to this sense of the ancient barbarian. These are not archaeologically correct details but rather a reflection of the more pantomime presentation of the warrior queen that we find in Edwardian pageants. However it is

above all the horses which lend Boadicea her sense of menace and danger. They appear to be hurtling towards the reader, their eyes a mad and furious counterpart to her calm but determined expression. There is the suggestion that this is what lies behind her tranquil appearance. While she is beautiful there is something of an uncontrolled fury about the whole frontispiece which suggests such an attribute for the British people and their history, to be represented in the pageant. This Boadicea is above all an emblem and a personification of both the Colchester pageant, and by extension of British history too.

The Colchester pageant

The Colchester pageant was held two years after the St. Albans pageant, over a series of six days between 21st and 25th June 1909. Marking two thousand years of the city's history the festival involved plays, musicals and parades, and was much in the same vein as the St. Albans' pageant and those of other towns in the second half of the first decade of the twentieth century. All the theatrical events of the pageant were held outside by Colchester castle, in the Lower Castle Park. Three thousand townspeople attended, as well as members of the royal family and some international guests, and all segments of the community were involved in its preparation, including schools, local soldiers, shopkeepers and apprentices, who helped with the preparation of props and scenery amongst other things. Though the idea was that of a local counsellor, Louis Napoleon Parker was pageant master and wrote most of the scripts for the pageant episodes, the two hundred or so speaking parts in which went to local notables. The President of the pageant organising committee was the Earl of Warwick and Lord Lieutenant of Essex, an aristocrat (as had been the case in St. Albans too). The pageant was patronised by many other local figures of prominence, many of whom and many of whose wives were involved in one or more of the organising committees.

The pageant consisted of six episodes, each lasting three hours and including music and choruses. An overarching first episode, 'Dawn of the Christian Era', included Boadicea's uprising as well as other figures and events from Roman and pre-Roman Britain, such as Cymbeline, Caradoc, the construction of Claudius' temple in Colchester, King Coel, Constantius, and his British Christian wife Helena. This episode was followed by five more in chronological succession, treating the early and

later Middle Ages up to the English civil war: 'The Saxons Predominant (A.D. 650)'; 'The Norman Epoch (A.D. 1096)'; 'The Shrine of St. Helena' and other events from medieval history; 'The Days of the Tudors'; 'The Great Siege of 1648'. This last episode was followed by a 'Triumph Song', 'The Apotheosis of Colchester', and a final allegorical tableau of the 'Great Rose Festival' of Colchester. We can see in this selection that events were chosen which could chart a national history, but which at the same time had a local significance. Events subsequent to the civil war were not commemorated, which in addition betrays the particular local preoccupation of this pageant.

The purpose of this pageant was primarily to celebrate the history of the town as well as, and perhaps before, national history. Colchester is given a pedigree stretching back to Celtic times, represented by the first episode of the pageant. The text of this and the other episodes is recorded in Parker's *Colchester Pageant*, the first episode of which we will now look at in detail, since this reveals much about the approach taken to Boadicea and her characterisation in the frontispiece described above. The first episode of the pageant is divided into several scenes, the scene featuring Boadicea being the third in this pre-Roman episode. The first scene had featured Cymbeline as the earliest example of Celtic Britain, which was in turn followed by a scene depicting Claudius in Britain. These scenes set the context for the dramatic conflict which would ensue in the episode featuring Boadicea.

The focus of the Boadicea scene in the Colchester pageant, although very brief, is very different from that we have seen in the case of the St. Albans pageant. The initial focus is largely on a group of Romans in Colchester, their fears and reaction to unfolding events as the Iceni attack the city. After this initial conversation a group of Britons with Boadicea in their centre entered the scene and swept all away before them. The defeat of Boadicea was not featured. She herself had a very limited speaking role, essentially restricted to cries of triumph at the British victory. The Britons featured in the scene essentially as representations of Roman fears and of generic barbarians, and their characterisation does not extend beyond this.

At the beginning of the scene we have a Roman, 'Attilus', describing: 'The groans of dead men rising from their graves!'[764] This melancholy portent is followed by further concern from other Roman characters and from the centurions. A Roman

764 Parker (1909: 14). Here and following.

woman, 'Flavia', mentions that she had heard the Britons 'whispering a wild tale of a great queen'. Boadicea's introduction is made through rumour and suggestion. The omen of her coming is then reinforced by an actual physical omen in the scene. In his pageant script Parker describes this as follows: 'All stand aghast at what they see. For now the great moan changes to the sound of rending and crashing, and the statue of Victory rocks, and finally topples over, face forward. At the same time vague forms of wild ghostlike women cross the arena pointing towards the Romans and walking horribly.' Parker has placed a great emphasis on portents in the pageant, the collapsing Roman statue signifying their defeat and the sack of the city.

Flavia then exclaims 'A portent! A portent!' and the superstitious Roman centurions question: 'What was't of a Queen?' However before she has time to respond adequately to this and further questions from the soldier, being able only to give the name Boadicea (fearfully repeated by the 'awestruck' soldiers), the crowd of Britons rushes onto the scene. Parker describes this tumult in detail in his stage directions. While girls scream and the soldiers attempt to form their battle-lines in the confusion, Boadicea emerges, 'in her scythed war-chariot, drawn by three coal-black horses abreast'. These are the three black horses that we see in the illustration examined above. The actress would also have been surrounded by a 'troup [sic] of wild Iceni', which 'gallops furiously down upon the Romans', who 'waver and fly' before Boadicea's 'mad drive'.

Boadicea and the Iceni's characterisation is largely made by this headlong destructive rush and her appearance, rather than any words she uses herself. The image of Boadicea attacking in the excitement of this scene would have been one of the enduring ones from the pageant, and we can see how the image on the frontispiece would have been a good one to adorn the front of a souvenir guide to the pageant. Of the few words she is given in her victory speech, these include the exclamation 'Trinobantes! Ye are slaves no more!', her summons 'back to the old gods' and command to leave the Claudian temple at Colchester to rot. She then concludes by crying 'Vegeance' on Rome three times and exhorts her men to: 'Cease not from slaughter till every Roman be slain!'. We are left without seeing her ultimate defeat, but this is suggested in the bloodthirstiness of this final exclamation, which the audience knows will exact (just) punishment from the Romans.

Parker's preoccupation here with portents, in particular his use of 'the vague forms of ghostlike women' before Boadicea's actual attack, seems to focus the

audience's attention throughout the whole scene on the fears and the superstitions of the Romans. It encourages the audience to empathise with the Romans of Colchester in their horrific plight. Indeed the superstition of the Roman soldiers faced with defeat may pick up upon narratives in Tacitus about the fears of Roman soldiers in northern, alien and hostile environments, as for example in the *Agricola* and the *Annals*.[765] The phantom figures seem to embody these superstitious fears, which are given life and form in the figure of Boadicea and her daughters themselves. As well as increasing the towering and semi-mythical impression of Boadicea with which the audience is left, reinforced in the frontispiece illustration, they are perhaps encouraged to empathise with ordinary Romans in their plight.

The use of Boadicea as part of a nationalist narrative is never uncomplicated. However the representation of Boadicea in the Colchester pageant is ultimately as an example of ancient British virtue. This is shown above all by the 'Triumph Song' at the end of the pageant, during which she is hailed in one of the choruses as follows: 'On Boadicea bend your gaze, that heart of living flame,/ The wonder of all woman-hood, and Rome's eternal shame!/ Nor moth of envy can corrupt, nor tooth of time impair,/ Her seamless constancy of soul, her splendour of despair!'[766] It is clear from this that Boadicea is being admired as a woman and as an enemy of Rome, for the immortality of her deeds. The last line is an interesting one, which says much about the sort of heroes and deeds that are being valorised by the nationalism that is to be found in Edwardian pageantry.

Moreover the address to Colchester as part of this final triumph song reveals much about the purpose of the pageant: 'Can ye question who are these?/ 'Tis Colcestria, Rose of Essex, and from many lands and seas,/ Those that spring from her, and cling to her, and share her race and name,/ Hither homing to their Mother's arms, her triumph to acclaim!'[767] Boadicea is evidently to be included as one of these illustrious alumni of the city, all of whom in some way manifest the life and spirit of the city in their actions.[768]

---

765 We might for example compare the words of Suetonius Paulinus to his men to desist from their superstitious fears in facing the druids of Anglesea (Tacitus, *Annales* 14.30), or those of Germanicus' soldiers on entering the Teutoburg forest (Tacitus, *Annales* 1.61).

766 Parker (1909: 67).

767 Parker (1909: 68).

768 It should be noted that there is a statue of Boadicea on the side of Colchester townhall.

The Festival of Empire

As a point of reference for the St. Albans and Colchester pageants we may consider another pageant, the 'Festival of Empire', which took place in London in 1911 on a much larger scale than any of the Edwardian pageants that preceded it. Opening in May of that year it ran through the whole summer and was based at Crystal Palace in Sydenham. Aside from the exhibitions held in the glass palace (constructed for the 1851 Great Exhibition) there were a series of commemorative events around the coronation of George V in June 1911. These included the unveiling of the Victoria Memorial, an imperial conference gathering of statesmen, an imperial festival, games and 'Pageant of Empire'. Many thousands attended the pageant, which was organised by Frank Stevens and held over a period of three days. Several of the attendees came from the dominions and colonies and the total volunteer cast of the pageant amounted to fifteen thousand.[769] The pageant was staged in the arena in the festival grounds, and complemented the theme of the summer exhibitions, which among its various exhibits included an 'All British Imperial Exhibition Section', with scale replicas of the parliament buildings in Auckland, Canberra, Delhi, and Ottawa, as well as a Newfoundland building, a Canadian Pacific Building, an Irish cottage village and an attraction called 'Empire Caves'.[770]

In his guide to the festival Frank Stevens, writing under his aristocratic sobriquet Lascelles, gave his declared intent for the festival as follows: 'The aim of the Pageant of London is to show forth the gradual growth and development of the English people as shown in the history of this, the Empire City. Step by step we watch it on its upward way as the cycle of the first three parts of the Pageant unfolds it before our eyes.'[771] The authors of the official royal souvenir guide for the event reiterate and expand upon this in their introduction. More specifically, the main aim of the organisers of the festival is: 'The firmer welding of those invisible bonds which hold together the greatest Empire the world has ever known.' In addition to this it has

769 Finding (2011: 6).

770 Finding (2011: 5).

771 Lascelles (1911: ix).

the purpose of being a 'Social Gathering of the British Family', reuniting the disparate settlers of the British dominions: 'Men and women who left the old roof years ago to found new homes and forge new links of Empire across the seas will gather again under the family tree to renew past associations and to relate to the old people at home the wonders of those newfound lands that lie beyond the seas.'[772] We can see here that in some ways the aim of the Festival of Empire pageant was similar to those of St. Albans and Colchester in that it promoted a narrative of national development and progress. The subject of this pageant was empire, but in many ways the use of local history in the pageants we have looked at above serves a similar purpose as the use of contemporary empire here. Moreover this pageant was as much targeted to a domestic audience as those of St. Albans and Colchester.[773]

The pageant had four episodes, each consisting of several individual scenes. The first episode, much in the fashion of the local pageants, featured early English history divided by epoch. The Celtic and pre-Roman period was covered by the first scene of this episode, entitled 'The Dawn of British History. Primitive London'. This was followed by a second scene on 'Roman London. The Triumph of Carausius'. In both cases we can see that despite its being an empire-wide pageant the opening scenes of the pageant focused on London itself, and here we can see the influence of the local pageants from which it drew inspiration. The remainder of the first episode dealt with Saxon, Viking and Norman England, then key events from early medieval history, including a seventh scene on 'Edward I. and Dreams of Unity', in cursory fashion. The focus in the second episode then moved swiftly on to later medieval history and the Elizabethan period. We can see here already that the focus is on the roots of empire, with a fourth scene on 'Early Discoveries. Reception of John Cabot' and a seventh on 'The Spacious Days of Queen Elizabeth'.

It was in the third and fourth episodes however that the imperial theme was fully explored in detail, to an extent no previous pageant had done. The opening scene of the third episode, 'Eastward and Westward Ho' was followed by scenes dealing with imperial exploration, interlaced with other key historical events. In this way the 'Fall of the Monarchy' and 'Restoration' are preceded by a 'Meeting of the Old World and New' scene and are followed by an 'Old Customs and New Adventures' scene.

772 Anon. (1911: unpaginated)

773 Cf. Finding (2011: 7).

From the Elizabethan period onwards there is a clear imperial angle to the pageant's interpretation of English history, and this continues in the fourth and final episode of the pageant, which deals entirely with areas of the empire: 'Newfoundland/Landing of Sir Humphry Gilbert'; 'Australia' on Captain Cook's landing in Botany Bay; 'South Africa' on the landing of Van Riebeck and the 1820 settlers; New Zealand on the Treaty of Waitangi; Canada on the United Empire Loyalists and the New North West; and finally 'India'. The scenes of the fourth episode effectively charted the stages of imperial expansion from before the nineteenth century onwards, all of which reached its crescendo in a final 'Masque Imperial' after the four episodes.

The Festival of Empire's pageant was clearly a grander and much more complex scheme than the smaller pageants of St. Albans and Colchester. However the essential idea is the same, even if the angle is different: to take certain episodes from the history of Britain considered as emblematic of the British nation and race. Underlying this narrative is an idea of progress and of development. As it is put in the royal souvenir guide to the pageant: 'Each scene of the Pageant of London marks some vital evolution in the history of the nation, and as a result, some startlingly dramatic scenic changes have been devised. One moment the visitor is gazing at London as it was in prehistoric times; the next he sees before him London as it was in the days of the Roman occupation.'[774]

The first scene of the first episode of the Festival of Empire pageant, 'The Dawn of British History', did not include Boadicea as one of its protagonists. Indeed British history before Carausius is represented only by Julius Caesar's invasion. Caesar's army were represented in the pageant as invincible: 'The steady tread of the drilled army, armed and captained, is directly contrasted with the looseness of the Celtic army.'[775] There was a representation of the army preparing a wooden plank-bridge to throw across a river Thames in order to invade southern England. Caesar was shown leading his army in the attack and taking London. There was no depiction of Caesar's withdrawal from England.

Interestingly however, despite the Festival's choosing not to represent Boadicea, she nonetheless did find representation in the context of the pageant, albeit unofficially. This came from the Suffragette movement, who chose to challenge the

774 Anon. (1911: unpaginated).

775 Lomas (1911: 3).

monopoly on representation of British history that the Festival organisers sought in the summer of 1911. On the afternoon of 17th June 1911 the 'Women's Coronation Procession', organised by the Women's Social and Political Union, set out from the Embankment and ended in a rally in Albert Hall. With an attendance between thirty and forty-eight thousand, the procession involved seventy bands and one thousand banners, and stretched five to seven miles long. The aim of this event was to commemorate the coronation of George V, but also to use the event as a means to create pressure for the passage of the Conciliation Bill of 1911 through Parliament. The procession involved an 'Empire Car' with representations of Empire and of the maternal figure of *Britannia*. However the procession also contained a historical pageant featuring famous women from history, amongst whom Boadicea and Joan of Arc were also included, complete with armour and white charger. At a more general level the symbolism of the classical Vestal Virgins was used to suggest a specific brand of female loyalty to empire and all that was being celebrated in the main pageant.

The choice of episodes in the official pageant, the lack of representation of Boadicea in this, but her employment the same summer as part of a politically-motivated Suffragette procession, reveals the extent to which Boadicea remained a flexible figure, open to use by different ideologies. It is clear in the case of the St. Albans and Colchester pageants that Boadicea has been appropriated by the local establishment as part of an official racial and imperial narrative of progress. In the case of the Festival of Empire Boadicea had not been employed in this dominant imperial narrative - a fact which may seem somewhat anomalous given the presence of a scene depicting early British history and her ubiquity in the equivalent episodes of other pageants - but she has nonetheless been employed by a political movement with select ideas contrary to the establishment position, and this at a time when political pressure for women's suffrage was growing rapidly.

Interpretations of Boadicea

While the local pageants appear to have emphasised the fiery spirit of a rebel queen as representative of the high spiritedness of the British race in its early years, this aspect was evidently considered unfavourable in the context of the Festival of Empire pageant. Perhaps the connotations of an anti-imperial hero, and a woman at that, were

considered too controversial in the context of a pageant celebrating empire, or perhaps the tenuousness of the position of using an anti-imperial figure as a progenitor of empire was felt too obvious. The principal difference in the audience of the local and London pageants was that the world and the dominions were watching in the latter, but not in the former. There would perhaps have been too great a risk of contradictory messages in employing a figure like Boadicea in the imperial pageant, where in the local pageants there was no such risk.

This considered, it is all the more interesting that the Suffragettes chose to use Boadicea as part of a pageant designed above all to show loyalty to the new king, and in this context to seek the fulfilment of their demands for political suffrage. What is immediately clear is that if the organisers of the official pageant opted for more simple masculine proponents of empire, be it Julius Caesar or Captain Cook, this was primarily because figures such as Boadicea were a threat to the imperial idea. By contrast the Suffragettes' interest in Boadicea, as in Joan of Arc and others, was in her being a famous woman from the past. It can readily be grasped how there was a risk of misunderstanding here. Moreover with Joan of Arc there was inevitably a similar danger in using an anti-English hero in an imperial British pageant. This is perhaps why the main 'Empire Car' in this procession did not feature either of these figures, but rather safer and more abstract maternal representations of empire, and made Boadicea and others more of an adjunct to this. Nonetheless it is readily apparent that there was no monopoly on the ideologies that could be attached to a figure like Boadicea in the Edwardian period.

Turning back to the characterisation of Boadicea in the local pageants, we can see that her employment here was quite different. In the Festival of Empire pageant Boadicea was being employed largely as a static and abstract figure, whose significance was essentially limited to her being a famous woman, and her role in the pageant reflected this. In the St. Albans pageant it is clear that at least part of the reason for her having been chosen was due to the dramatic potential inherent in her legend. In this way then in the second episode of the St. Albans pageant music was used to a great extent to augment the sense of terror at Boadicea's approach.[776] The dramatic potential of her battle speeches, as in Tacitus, is maximised to the full, as is the tragic potential of her defeat. In the Colchester pageant the drama of her legend is

776 Townson (1907: 58).

exploited by her coming being widely rumoured by the Romans, including a song of lament and wailing by the female chorus. Boadicea is a spectre of terror and barbarism in the pageant before she actually appears, as the ghostlike female forms that precede her show, the memory of an older and more uncivilised world. In both pageants she forms part of a narrative of racial progress, in which she is the representative of the fierce British spirit in its untamed form, a spirit which will need to be tempered by the Roman and Christian forces of civilisation in order to attain to present British greatness (clear in the St. Albans pageant from Suetonius' closing speech), but which is nonetheless in itself shown as an essential part of present British success.

In order to set this characterisation of Boadicea in the St. Albans and Colchester pageants in better context it is necessary to look more closely at the figure of Louis Napoleon Parker and at the approach to pageants that he took in the many that he ran in the 1900s, since he himself wrote the words to the Colchester pageant and would undoubtedly have influenced the format of that held in St. Albans. Withington, in his two volumes on *English Pageantry*[777] has an extensive discussion of Parker's method and style in the pageants that he wrote, broken down by the various constituent elements of a pageant. We will not look at all of this discussion, but Withington does make some interesting points relevant to our discussion here, concerning Parker's presentation of ancient Britain, something which, as we have noted above, formed a standard part of many of the pageants run in England in the 1900s.

He notes that early British history often played an important role in the 'royal entry' scenes of these pageants, and that: 'in the Parkerian pageant it is, obviously, an important element'. Commenting on the historical veracity of Parker's pageants he continues: 'If some of the history here made vivid is not strictly accurate, we can hardly blame the pageant-masters; for, since the days of Geoffrey of Monmouth, we have almost adopted the mythical history of Britain as if it were fact.'[778] This comment is insightful for what it reveals about the way Boadicea and elements of ancient Britain are used in the pageants we are looking at here. They are certainly liberal in their approach to historical accuracy, which is highly elaborate given the limited

777 Withington (1963).

778 Withington (1963: 217-218).

source material for the Boadicea episode in Tacitus and Dio. However the key point is that Parker is not interested in historical accuracy. In portraying ancient Britain he is primarily interested in spectacle, naturally enough given that this formed the opening scene of such pageants, and in creating a semi-mythical foundation for the more recognisably historical episodes to follow.[779]

The use of ancient Britain in Edwardian pageants is also discussed by Yoshino in his more recent study, *The Edwardian Historical Pageant. Local History and Consumerism* (Tokyo 2010). Yoshino has a more extensive discussion than Withington specifically on Parker's use of ancient Britain. Arguing of Parker's characterisation of Boadicea he comments: 'Reading through Parker's Roman scenes it is clear that he had clear and set ideas about the dramatic personae he was portraying. Boadecia [sic] was barbaric, beautiful, sensual and full of dignity.'[780] This is certainly true of both of the representations we have looked at in this chapter. Yoshino also makes similar arguments for the figures of Caradoc (loving and wise leader), Constantius (the only intelligent and civilised Roman emperor), Helena (eager to seek the Christian faith), Cartismandua (never forgiven for betraying Caradoc). However, as commented above, it would be a mistake to think more broadly of local Edwardian pageants as having a static idea of Boadicea; her characterisation was flexible and was used in different ways corresponding to differing local interests.

Considering the episode scheme of such pageants Yoshino argues that the first episode, usually on an ancient British theme, was of vital importance for the rest of the pageant: 'This first episode suggested origin and was important in providing a point of reference for the narrative of progress that was often a feature of pageants. This reference point often contains some kind of promise for the future but also often emphasises the backwardness of this state of nature.'[781] He takes the example of the Winchester pageant, in which an initial scene involving a Druidic human sacrifice looks forward to the city as a centre of Christianity in England. However we can

779 Withington (1963: 217) gives several examples of the use of ancient Britain in local pageants in the 1900s: 'The Warwick Pageant is introduced by Druids; the Roman occupation of York forms the matter for the second episode of that pageant, in which Cartismandua and Caradoc appear; Caractacus appears in the Gloucestershire Pageant; Cymbeline and Caradoc (or Caractacus) appear in the first episode of the Warwick Pageant, and, with Gwyddyr, in the Colchester Pageant - which also includes, in a later scene, Boadicea, who is shown in the first episode of the Bury Pageant.'

780 Yoshino (2010: 89).

781 Yoshino (2010: 73).

apply this principle to the St. Albans and Colchester pageants too, where druidic themes and Boadicea were used to embody an idea of the British race in its early stages, which as commented above would not be without relevance to Britain's later history.

Yoshino comments that, with the sole exception of Sherbourne and Oxford, all of the local Edwardian pageants chose to locate their earliest origins in Roman Britain. He argues that this can at least in part be explained by historical records: 'There are practical reasons for the prevalence of Roman scenes. The oldest record of a city is often to be found in Roman writings and many of the Edwardian pageants were hosted by cities such as Chester, Bath and Winchester, with Roman origin.'[782] However as he to some extent concedes, this cannot be taken as a definitive reason, as 'imagination often played as central a role as hard historical facts.' It is clear that these pageants were at least as interested in myth as they were in recording history as accurately as possible, indeed it seems the preference in St. Albans and Colchester is rather more for the former. And it is here that ancient Britain's role is most important to these pageants: laying the mythical foundations for contemporary imperial achievements seen as beyond anything ever achieved before and, it is implied in the local pageants, ultimately due to the individual towns and townsfolk that made up Britain and its wider empire.

This leads to the important question of what we can learn about the pageant writers' use of classical source material, if this is so often the earliest source material for a town's development. This is difficult to determine, but given the period and the fact that the determination and organisation of the pageant appears to have been an activity undertaken by local elites, we can postulate a certain knowledge of classical texts amongst the pageant authors. However we have a few more direct indications of knowledge of classical authors in the written material available on the pageants. In the case of the St. Albans pageant Charles Ashdown includes a section on 'Historical notes on the pageant' in his book of texts and lyrics to the pageant. This includes separate sections on each episode, and for the second episode he explains the key facts involved as follows: 'Boadicea, or Bonduca, Queen of the Iceni, took advantage of the absence of Suetonius Paulinus at the conquest of Anglesea to sack and burn Camulodunum (Colchester) and London; then, passing by other places hastened to

782 Yoshino (2010: 74).

Verulamium, being attracted by the riches and importance of the city. The same fate befel (sic) it, and over 70,000 persons suffered death and torture in three places. Suetonius Paulinus avenged this by a decisive victory, in which 80,000 Britons are said to have fallen; Boadicea, to prevent capture, put an end to her life by poison.'[783] This account appears to follow Tacitus' account in the essential details, indicating that it is likely that Ashdown had actually read the account of Boadicea's revolt in the *Annals*.[784]

In the case of the Colchester pageant there are still clearer indications of a knowledge of the relevant classical source material on the part of the authors of the pageant. In his introduction to Parker's book of lyrics for the Colchester pageant, A. M. Jarmin discusses the material used by Parker to construct his pageant: 'The wealth of material to hand has enabled him to found the early incidents of the story on recorded facts. Tacitus in his "Annals" has told the world of the founding of the Temple of Claudius at Camulodonum, Colchester's Romano-British name, and in an interesting chapter the classic writer described the signs and wonders, and supernatural happenings, that preceded the coming of the Vengeful Boadicea.'[785] This direct reference indicates that Parker had read and employed Tacitus as a principal source material in writing the words to his Boadicea episode in the Colchester pageant. It also points towards the influence of Tacitus on Parker in his inclusion of portents of Roman defeat in the pageant, ahead of Boadicea's actual attack. In his pageant *Guide to Colchester and its environs* Benham also indicates an awareness of Suetonius and Dio as source material,[786] something which further supports the fact that the pageant organisers were aware of the classical sources for the Boadicea legend and were employing them.

Boadicea's role in Edwardian pageants

Given the above discussions what can we say more generally about the function the figure of Boadicea is performing through her presence in the St. Albans and

783 Ashdown (1907: unpaginated).

784 Cf. for example Tacitus, *Annales* 14.33, in which he gives the figure for the Roman dead as seventy thousand.

785 Parker's (1909: xviii).

786 Benham (1909: 2).

Colchester pageants? It is clear first of all that the representation of local history is a primary aim. In his souvenir guide to the St. Albans pageant Townson speaks about 'the transcendent claims of St. Albans to the deep and abiding interest of all those who value the great story of our National History, our National Christianity, and National Liberties', and about inspiring a new generation 'to emulate in widely different circumstances, the spirit of the achievements of their forefathers.'[787] In this way St. Albans is in itself considered as representing all three of the key elements listed by Townson, the surroundings of which he describes as recalling 'the ancient story of the British occupation' and Boadicea, 'who preferred (and with good reason) death to captivity'.[788] As part of the town's history Boadicea represents national history and the struggle for liberty, and if she is not Christian she is nonetheless a martyr in the national cause.

We can see that Boadicea also played an important part in the city of Colchester's understanding of its local history. The town hall in Colchester has a stained glass window depicting Boadicea, alongside other English kings and queens.[789] As a site of archaeological interest, but also the staging place of the pageant, the Norman castle in Colchester was also the site of the original Claudian temple, destroyed by Boadicea in her rebellion. The destruction of the temple itself featured in the pageant, but was thereby made to symbolise the spirit of the personification 'Colcestria' itself. As Benham relates: 'The Temple is to be destroyed by Boadicea's forces, it is to stand through the centuries as an ivy-clad ruin to be restored in the final act, when Colcestria from its steps symbolizes the apotheosis of her fame and witnesses the Rose Festival.'[790] In this way then Boadicea and her actions could be linked to one of the foundational monuments of the city, perhaps curiously through her destruction of it. In its restoration in the pageant (which never really happened other than in the form of the Norman castle) we are seeing the symbolic unification of the ancient and native virtues Boadicea embodies with the forces of civilisation that came to Britain with Rome and which come again to the world with empire; the former being the primary focus of the local pageants and the

787 Townson (1907: 15).

788 Townson (1907: 11).

789 See further: Benham (1909: 81). The window dates from 1902.

790 Benham (1909: xviii-xix).

latter of the Festival of Empire pageant.

However Boadicea's function in Edwardian pageants is ultimately only as a foil to later history, and a second important function she performs is as a representation of pre-Roman Britain itself and, by extension, the innate racial virtues of the British people. These virtues have to be seen in the context of the Druid revival which had begun some decades prior to these pageants. This is part of an attempt to prefigure present-day success in ancient Britain, to give the impression of present achievements as having been foreordained. Yoshino finds an example of this in the interpretation of religious development in the St. Albans pageant: 'Even more than at Chester and Bath, the St. Albans pageant seeks to find a place for the Briton in the roots of British civilisation. Here, civilisation and respectable religion does not come from the outside; it comes from within.'[791] Due to human sacrifice the Druid inheritance was an ambiguous one, and one that needed careful historical interpretation. If an important part of the historical interpretation of these pageants was to reclaim the heritage of an ancient and apparently superstitious and barbaric Britain for a contemporary Christian one, no matter how tenuous this exercise may have been, then Boadicea cannot be divorced from this process. Townson[792] gives a clue to the historical role of Boadicea in the pageants when he comments of the function of her episode in the St. Albans pageant as follows: 'The historic value of this episode is to accentuate the difference between the easy control of the country under Rome, and the difficulty of controlling it at all during the Middle Ages, when Roman authority was gone.' There is the sense that without Roman control the indomitable nature of the British people (represented by Boadicea) cannot be correctly channelled, but that it is nonetheless on this fundamental virtue that contemporary success lies. Townson argues that Boadicea's strategy and generalship was formidable, and that the rebellion was: 'British, almost English, in the combination of courageous pluck, cool judgement, and contempt of odds.'[793]

We can see a similar dynamic at work in the use of Marcus Aurelius Carausius, the rebellious Roman general, in the Festival of Empire pageant, whom Ashdown describes as: 'the gallant usurper Marcus Aurelius Carausius, the first sea-

791 Yoshino (2010: 86).

792 Townson (1907: 34)

793 Townson (1907: 34).

king who based his navies on Britain's shores'.[794] There is a clear attempt here to find a prefigurement for Britain's contemporary naval empire in Carausius' time. Carausius illustrates particularly well the attempt to combine the virtues of the Britons and the Romans. Yet an important part of these pageants was to demonstrate Roman virtues too, and Boadicea has a role in this. Where Boadicea represents the indomitable British spirit, Rome must to some extent be idealised as a civilising force.

We can see that some of the authors of the guidebooks to the pageants subscribed wholeheartedly to the idea of Rome as a civilising force for ancient Britain, to an extent that is largely unattested in discussions about pictorial representations of Arminius, where Rome is consistently a hostile and corrupt foe. In his guide Townson[795] talks about a 'peace of St. Albans', which 'opened the door to a "pacific penetration" of Britain, by Rome, under which Roman villas dotted the country, Roman traders passed along the old tracks, London began to grow into an emporium, St. Albans (to anticipate the modern name) continued to be the capital of the country, and Roman citizenship came to be an object of ambition.' As commented above in St. Albans this is above all present in Suetonius' appearance at the end of the pageant episode. In his comment that Boadicea is now 'face to face with gods unknown' we can see the wisdom of the wise Roman commander who does not presume to know. Boadicea's rashness and her final stand are in stark contrast to this, and she is in this way a foil to a Roman virtue which, it is implied by the episodes which follow, the British will have to learn to attain their present-day greatness. Elsewhere in the Festival of Empire pageant we find Ashdown idealising the Roman presence in London as seminal to the country's development: 'Under Roman rule London becomes a fair city, with fort and bridge, wall and temple, where the white-robed priestesses of Diana celebrate the victory of Carausius on his return in pomp and triumph after defeating the counts of the Saxon shore.'[796] Underlying these conceptions of Roman Britain is an early form of multicultural narrative, whereby Britain can only reach its pinnacle through the merging of Celtic, Roman, Saxon, Viking, Norman and, more recently, imperial allied, influences. As part of this Boadicea must represent one abstract virtue, indomitableness, but at the same time

794 Ashdown (1911: 2).

795 Townson (1907: 32).

796 Ashdown (1911: ix).

seem somehow uncivilised and misguided in her rebellion in some way. There are elements here of seventeenth-century readings of Boadicea as ultimately flawed in her sedition, in contrast to more masculine and Roman-friendly leaders.

Boadicea's role is both as part of local history and as part of the imperial present, with the emphasis respectively on the former and latter in the case of the local pageants and the Festival of Empire pageant, though both elements are present in both pageants. As in the case of Thornycroft's chariot group then, Boadicea has a specific function in the interpretation of empire and pitching her role was a finely balanced act. There is a natural identification between the Roman and British empires, but this is not carried to the extent of finding in Boadicea a justification for rebellion against the contemporary empire, and so some distinction between the two must be drawn. In his discussion of the role of empire in Edwardian pageants Yoshino argues of the St. Albans pageant that it did not involve 'any uncomfortable confrontation with its audience's world view', and even 'seems to go out of its way to assuage any anxiety on this point'.[797] He finds in Caesar and Caswallon's dialogue a dialogue between past and contemporary empire. Beyond this relation he notes an emphasis on how contemporary empire has exceeded the Roman empire, and finds in the representation of ancient Britain 'a space to discuss and negotiate the idea of empire, ancestry, civilisation, Christianity and even gender roles.'[798] This is surely true to a certain degree, and relationships between Boadicea's rebellion and contemporary empire would always be difficult to mediate. However from a modern perspective the extent to which racial narratives could solve this problem should not be understated: the British empire was different to the Roman empire precisely because it was British. It is therefore innately more virtuous, shown above all by its Christianity, but the racial foundation for this would have to be found in Celtic Britain, and hence Boadicea has an important role to play here. Boadicea's rebellion against Rome was not the same as that of the Indian mutineers against British rule in India because the British were superior to the Indians in a way the Romans never were to the British.

One final role of Boadicea, at least in St. Albans and Colchester, was to mediate the social function of the pageants. As Withington comments: 'The ostensible aim of pageantry is to revive or maintain a memory of the past, giving the history of

797 Yoshino (1911: ix).

798 Yoshino (2010: 77).

the town, and honoring its great men. One result of this is the education and development of the town's inhabitants (and the pill is not the less effective because it has a sugar coating!); but this is, after all, only a by-product.'[799] As Withington implies, improving the local population through the valorisation of great men and women, was only a subsidiary aim of these pageants. Nonetheless it was an important one, and if Boadicea represents the spirit of freedom from tyranny, we cannot ignore the fact that this must have been intended to set an example to local people. Whether the message was one of the virtuousness of obedience or of defence of one's rights is unclear, but Boadicea plays a role here too. We can see from this, and from her potential to convey messages about history, empire and gender, that Boadicea remained in every respect a flexible figure in the pageants, and it is an open question whether the official interpretation of her in them, represented by the illustrations and other material we have looked at in this chapter, was ever accepted by those that witnessed them and were their intended audience.

799 Withington (1963: 221).

Douglas Strachan

Calgacus

In this stained glass window from the 1920s by the Scottish artist Douglas Strachan we see Calgacus sat on horseback, accompanied by another rider, Robert the Bruce, and a foot soldier. This is the lower portion of a window from the shrine room of the Scottish National War Memorial on Edinburgh Castle.

Calgacus is shown as a cavalryman, in profile facing to the observer's right. The second cavalryman whose horse stands behind him faces in the same direction, as does the foot soldier that stands beside Calgacus' horse. This man appears to be Calgacus' shield bearer, holding up a round shield in his left arm, with the straps facing outwards towards the observer. His hair, as Calgacus', is pleated and both have a long pleat down their back. In his right hand he holds a horn, which we may assume is for calling his fellow soldiers to battle. Calgacus is bearded, and wears a cape over his tunic, in a further indication of his being an ancient hero. The figures in the group form a counterpart to a Robert the Bruce and equestrian Alexander III shown in the lower panel of the stained glass window opposite, which together with the window featuring Calgacus flanks a central window depicting Christ. Calgacus' horse is white, its head, as that of the cavalryman whom we see behind him, bowed down perhaps before the majesty of Christ in the central window.

Behind and on a lower plane than Calgacus and the two figures that accompany him we see the heads of serried ranks of contemporary soldiers. Their helmets, coats and short hair indicate in contrast to Calgacus and his shield-bearer that they are to be understood as modern soldiers. They nonetheless face in the same direction as Calgacus and seem to march off to one war, as if united by one purpose. All seem to face towards the central stained glass window, with its depiction of Christ's crucifixion. Indeed the shield-bearer figure seems to look up in the direction of the central portion of the central window, as if in awe of the crucifixion. Likewise the spear that he carries for Calgacus is angled upwards in the direction of Christ. It is as if Scottish freedom fighters, old and new alike, are united by a holy purpose. Behind both Calgacus and the heads of the modern soldiers we can see hills. This is perhaps meant to represent the Highlands of Scotland, the backdrop to Calgacus' battle with the Romans as related by Tacitus, and the same hills that the Scottish

soldiers of the First World War went out to defend.

The figure of Calgacus in this window forms part of a scheme depicting the history of 'Strife', a narrative which runs through all of the seven windows of the memorial's shrine room. Strachan's is a highly allegorical scheme, taking us from early Biblical events such as Cain and Abel, through an age of war to the hoped for age of peace. Calgacus and other Scottish heroes such as Robert the Bruce form part of this scheme, with the implication of their being part of this world of angels, saints, and other personifications. As the Biblical figures, Strachan's Calgacus is an originary figure representing seminal national characteristics, in this case freedom and courage. Unlike most of the other figures in the larger scheme he is specifically tied to a Scottish context, and for this reason Strachan situates his contemporary heroes in the same panel. Calgacus is the link between this world of ancient allegory and the contemporary world.

The Scottish National War Memorial

Strachan's stained-glass depiction of Calgacus is chronologically the latest artwork which this project looks at, and it is fundamentally connected with that defining event which marks the end of our period, the First World War. Unlike all other material we look at in this project, Strachan's window must be seen in the context of the aftermath of a war that had killed a quarter of all Scottish servicemen, a higher proportion than that suffered by any other country,[800] and the reactions of society and religious authority to this. We will begin by briefly looking at the context of the memorial before moving on to a consideration of Strachan's window and the function performed by the Calgacus theme in this context.

The idea for a Scottish national war memorial was first suggested in August 1919 by a committee under the chairmanship of the Duke of Atholl, which recommended the site of Edinburgh castle. The work took several years to complete, and was finally opened in 1927. The castle was the only site officially considered for the memorial, being agreed upon privately by the Duke and others,[801] Funding for the monument came principally from rich Scottish industrialists, but also from some of

800 Macleod (2002: 70).

801 Macleod (2010: 76).

the aristocracy and, unusually, from a large number of donations raised from the Scottish populace, with almost a quarter of the population contributing something.[802]

Macmillan has referred to the memorial project as 'one of the most ambitious schemes of public art of the time'.[803] If it was such an unprecedented undertaking, what can we say about the function the memorial was supposed to perform? Evidently this was an attempt by official authority to organise a nation's collective grief. However this is complicated by the fact that there was also Lutyens' cenotaph in London, which was intended to act as a focal point for Britain and its empire's grief. Perhaps the complication is that Scotland wasn't supposed to be a nation at all, at least not in the sense being a sovereign nation state. This monument was intended to appeal to a specifically Scottish identity, and it is through this lens that we will examine the monument and Strachan's work here.

Macdonald describes the memorial as 'an attempt to redirect the country away from conflict and unite it' in what she calls 'an ethnic historicist vision'.[804] Calder has called it 'a negotiation with Scottish history' and 'a homage to the entire Scottish people',[805] while Macleod sees it as principally intending 'to show the unity of the Scottish nation and the ongoing strength of its martial discipline'.[806] All of this is undoubtedly true at one level, but it must also be recognised that this is a memorial commissioned by the ruling elite to represent the greater body of the Scottish people, and a memorial which has a definite political purpose. As has been convincingly shown, cultural nationalism in the memorial cannot simply be divorced from its political element, and our understanding of the monument must be framed in this light.[807] As several commentators have pointed out the memorial, with its political messages defined by the Scottish elite, both renders the history of national cooperation during the war conveniently free of events such as the 'Red Clydeside' rent strike, but also glosses the more contemporary class struggles of 1920s

802 Macleod (2010: 81) puts this figure at 1,131,760 in her study of the memorial.

803 Macmillan (1994: 47).

804 Macdonald (2001: 127).

805 Calder (2004: 61, 63).

806 Macleod (2010: 73).

807 Cf. Macdonald (2001: 118).

Scotland.[808]

The committee membership for the memorial consisted of many influential Scottish industrialists and politicians, as well as aristocracy. Presbyterian membership was strong and the make-up was consistently Conservative, with Catholic representation little, while Labour politicians were virtually unrepresented.[809] However the main driving force behind the monument was undoubtedly the architect Sir Robert Lorimer who designed the chapel. Pressing on with the project even when faced with funding setbacks and occasional public unpopularity with the first designs for the monument, it was he that commissioned Douglas Strachan to undertake all the stained glass windows for the memorial. Lorimer's was the design and general conception of the monument although, as we shall see here, the individual approach taken in the stained glass windows is very much Strachan's, and indeed in keeping with his other work throughout Scotland. It is for this approach that Lorimer likely chose him in the first place.

A further important initial point that we must note about the entire project of the memorial is the site that was chosen for it. Much of the appeal of the memorial appears to have rested upon its being sited on Edinburgh castle, which had been the site of army barracks during the war, but which also had a historical and national significance beyond this. As the Foreign Secretary of the time, Arthur Balfour, commented: 'No site in the whole world will seem more fitting in the eyes of men of Scottish blood, wherever they may be living than the Castle round which centres so many memories of our national history.'[810] Much of the traction of the memorial at a national Scottish level and beyond must have rested upon its location. Nor was the site without sufficient nostalgic pull as the symbolic centre of the Scottish nation that it did not initially cause some controversy concerning its effect on the Edinburgh skyline. In addition to the difficult subject matter for commemoration that the memorial treated, and the ambiguous position of the Scottish 'nation' at the time - a Home Rule Bill had been forestalled by the outbreak of the war - the location of the memorial in itself had a great effect on its character and interpretation.[811]

808 See further: Macleod (2010: 91); Calder (2004: 63).

809 For the full committee membership see: Macleod (2010: 78).

810 Cited by Macdonald (2001: 199). Original source: *Duke of Atholl Archive: Arthur Balfour*, 28.1.1920.

Strachan's allegories

The Scottish National War Memorial is by no means a simple monument, perhaps above all because it commemorates a difficult event at a time when commemoration of it was anything but simple. Perhaps predictably then the art that adorns the memorial is anything but simple itself, employing complex allegories and drawing on multiple iconographies. The Whitehall Cenotaph is an obvious contrast in the simplicity of its design, and some commentators have made much of the contrast between the two and the reasons for this.[812]

A good starting point in approaching the art of the memorial and Strachan's work there in particular would be to ask what the intended role of the artists working on the memorial was. In his *Disasters and Heroes*, a work looking at war memories and representation, Calder describes his overall impression of the Scottish National War Memorial as the work of 'a distinguished generation of artists, affected by the Arts and Crafts Movement, [who] lavished their skill proudly on a project ennobling their whole society and Scottish nation.'[813] Given the context in which the memorial was created, and the event that it commemorated, it is likely that Calder's impression aligns closely with contemporary expectations of what the project would involve. Considering its location and its valorisation of Scottish heroes, we could expect the art of the memorial to represent Scottish military heroism, old and new, in its schemes. In addition, considering the religious affiliations of the committee members and the role that the church had played during the war, we could also expect the art of the memorial to have a religious dimension or iconography. As we shall see here, Strachan's contribution to the memorial is both of these things.

The Aberdeen-born stained glass window maker Douglas Strachan (1875-1950) received the commission from Lorimer to design all the windows for the memorial and in addition to produce the cartoons for the seven tympanum panels

811 An interesting fact to note is the music that was played at the opening ceremony. As well as the usual run of the national anthem and martial hymns, there were also tunes that related to specific military events in Scottish history, including 'Flowers of the Forest' (Flodden), 'Scots wha hae' (Bannockburn), 'The Garb of Old Gaul' (Quebec), and 'Bonny Dundee' (the Jacobite victory at Killiecrankie). See further: Macleod (April 2010: 93).

812 Macleod (2010: 91).

813 Calder (2004: 22).

above the windows, representing the planets.[814] Strachan had already collaborated with Lorimer on the Thistle Chapel and had set up the stained glass department at Edinburgh College of Art.[815] He had first achieved fame for his 1913 windows for the Great Hall of Justice for the Peace Palace in the Hague, the commission for which he had won in a domestic competition. Nonetheless the commission for the memorial windows was of crucial importance to Strachan in establishing his reputation.

In the shrine room especially, where the Calgacus pane is located, Strachan's scheme is a highly allegorical one. The seven stained glass windows in the room tell the history of 'Strife' and its final defeat by 'Peace' and the 'Power of the Spirit'.[816] The Calgacus pane fits into this scheme. In the central pane is a crucifix, symbolising 'Triumph by way of Sacrifice'.[817] The first two windows on the left depict the birth of war and include Biblical stories such that of Cain and Abel. The windows on the right side of the shrine display the chaos of war and a religious idea of salvation. The three central windows offer an image of peace after war. Calgacus fits into this last bracket, together with other Scottish heroes and Christ himself, as a representative of peace and civilisation.

The narrative of peace in the monument has a parallel in Strachan's windows in the Hague, and it is doubtless from here that he imported the idea. In his near-contemporary guide to the memorial Hay described the message of the memorial as one of 'Hope and Deliverance', delivered by 'storied windows richly dight/ Casting a dim religious light'.[818] We can readily understand the appeal of such a message in the post-war period, especially in the 1920s, when the negative economic consequences of the war had far from disappeared entirely. Yet this allegory of peace is also present in Strachan's windows in the Hague, and these were created before the war. We must then broach the question of what differs about the scheme here.

Above all it is its nationalist focus that distinguishes the memorial. The Peace Palace was an international project, intent on representing a unified and humanitarian vision of peace for all nations. Yet while the Scottish National War Memorial likewise

814 Macdonald (2001: 118).

815 Macmillan (1994: 48).

816 Calder (2004: 71).

817 Calder (2004: 21). Calder refers to the crucifix as 'remarkably cheerful'.

818 Hay (1931: 139).

extols the virtues of peace in, for example, the shrine window depicting a soldier laying down his sword to pick up the plough, this is predominantly a nationalist take on peace. We have Christ, the symbol of peace and redemption for all mankind in the central panel, but he is flanked by Scottish heroes, not necessarily figures that would appeal to a universal audience. The Whitehall Cenotaph does not employ any symbolism intended to have universal appeal, but this is because it does not use any symbolism or allegory at all (perhaps for the very purpose of permitting itself a universal appeal).

This allegorical system is one firmly rooted in religion, both in the case of Strachan's windows in the shrine, but also more generally in all of the art that runs through the monument, and we must see the depiction of Scottish heroes in Strachan's windows in this context. The oak carving of St. Michael indicates the general notion of the just war and the triumph of good over evil. Sacrifice in the cause of right is likewise a theme in all of the art in the memorial. This was far from an easy message to deliver directly however, given the years of grief and reflection upon the war that many Scots had been through. Religious allegory was a way of conveying this message indirectly and reinforcing the nationalist creed that runs through the memorial, something more directly evinced by the presence of Scottish heroes alongside and in the context of this religious metaphor.[819]

Calgacus and Scottish nationalism

Having explored some of the historical and artistic context of Strachan's Calgacus window, we will now move to a more detailed discussion of Strachan's use of the figure of Calgacus, and how this relates to the Scottish nationalist elements present in the memorial.

The first question to address here is what function Calgacus performs in the memorial. Macdonald refers to Calgacus as a 'mythico-hero', a prototype of the figure offering 'heroic sacrifice for country', as a complement to the mystical sacrifice of Christ.[820] Yet Calgacus cannot be considered directly equivalent to the figure of Christ

819 On the religious iconography in the memorial see further: Macleod (2010: 84-85). She stresses in particular the Presbyterian character of this. Macmillan's (1994: 73) judgement of Strachan's religiously-themed work is that it is 'spiritual without being in the least pious'.

820 Macdonald (2001: 124, 126).

in the memorial for two reasons. Firstly, Christ is a divine figure, and moreover a figure that would immediately have evoked in the minds of the memorial's observers a whole range of associations relating to personal spirituality. It cannot be argued that a figure like Calgacus, or even Robert the Bruce, could wield such an immediate range of emotional associations. Secondly, Calgacus is a specifically national figure in a way that Jesus is not. The appeal of Jesus is meant to embody a universal creed, universally available to all of mankind. Calgacus has a very narrow base of appeal, to a specific idea of Scottish or Celtic nationality and resistance against foreign oppression. Moreover the presence of Robert the Bruce reinforces this notion of the fight against the outsider. The ideals they embody could have been universalised to ideas about freedom, but that is not the purpose here. Calgacus and other heroes have been chosen because they are Scottish, and because they resisted a foreign invader. Although the intention is to make the link to the invader of recent history, in the form of Germany, nonetheless the heroes chosen can still be those who, for example, fought against the English. This demonstrates that unlike Christianity per se, the memorial is aimed at a specific national audience and has a nationalist message.

The presence of contemporary soldiers in the art of the monument illustrates the fact that Calgacus was intended to be considered as a prototype figure for the modern Scottish soldier. Macdonald describes this association as reinforcing the notion of the war dead having 'similarly gained a place in the history of the nation', and of a 'social cohesion' and a 'brotherhood'.[821] However we can go further than this and make the case that Calgacus signifies more than just this here, and that there is beyond this even an appeal to a more narrow martial Scottish tradition. In some ways it is interesting that the figure of Calgacus is used at all here. It can hardly be argued that he has ever been as well known a historical figure as someone like Robert the Bruce. We should ask why he was included here at all.

A simple answer can be found in his antiquity. A Scottish freedom fighter predating other similar examples from recent history has an appeal simply for having an ancient pedigree. By setting Calgacus alongside medieval kings and modern soldiers, Strachan is able to construct an apparently continuous martial tradition stretching back for centuries. Indeed Calgacus' antiquity is almost that of the central figure of Jesus himself, and in this sense modern Scottish valour appears a

821 Macdonald (2001: 125).

chronological emanation from the time of the saviour figure himself. Yet it remains an interesting combination and one which, despite Strachan's best efforts, remains somewhat artificial.

Interestingly we know that Strachan depicted Calgacus in one of his other works in Scotland. In his memorial window for the church of St. Brycedale's in Kirkaldy in 1924 he likewise included Calgacus, and similarly placed him alongside other famous figures from Scottish history, in this case William Wallace, Robert the Bruce, Ninian and the religious martyr George Wishart.[822] Again we find Strachan incorporating Calgacus into a tradition of virtuous Scots spanning the centuries, and we see the same elision between religious and martial glory, as if they were in some way equivalent. It is impossible to determine what Strachan's understanding of Tacitus was, or what drew him to employ the theme of Calgacus more than once in his work, but what is clear is that he made a direct association between the ancient hero and the First World War.

There is a broader question here about how Strachan's use of Calgacus in the memorial fits with the subject matter of his other works. We have already mentioned the Peace Palace in the Hague, to which Strachan was the British contributor. In this we find the imagery of the destruction of civilisation by war, perhaps not unsurprising given the fundamental message of the palace. Yet the purpose of the memorial is very different, and its Calgacus is rather a valorisation of war, albeit of the just war, than a representation of peace. In the Peace Palace the window representing the triumph of peace consists of the people of the earth passing from a ruined fortress to a new city.[823] By contrast, though the memorial and Strachan's windows in the shrine implicitly acknowledge that war is an unnatural and sinful state, and that the only salvation is in peace and the laying down of arms, at the same time they heroise the armed struggle of the Scottish soldiers of the First World War and their forebears such as Calgacus. Yet the combined message of peace and the heroism of war personified by Calgacus and other Scottish heroes remains an uneasy one, and Strachan's scheme in the memorial cannot simply be labelled as pacifist in the same sense as the Peace Palace in the Hague.

In discussing Strachan's use of religious imagery in the memorial James

822 Kidd, Murdoch (2004: 116). Saint Ninian (4th-5th century AD), Christian saint and early missionary among the Picts. George Wishart (1513-1546), Scottish religious reformer and martyr.

823 For a catalogue entry on these windows see: Russell (1972: 48).

Macleod also gives a further example of his combination of martial and religious themes: 'The memorial windows in Dunblane Cathedral, also by Strachan, feature Christ on the Cross as well as a First World War soldier and a crusader.'[824] The presence of a crusader here as an intermediate figure between Jesus and the First World War soldier is in itself interesting, but certainly suggests much about the function of Calgacus in the window we are looking at here. A crusader is perhaps the fundamental embodiment of the holy war, the connotations of which, it must be remembered, were not as controversial at this time as they have become in recent history. This was still an age of imperialism in which the idea of Christian mission was closely connected with the idea of national mission in the world. There is evidently some equivalence between the figures of the crusader and Calgacus in Strachan's memorial art. This further suggests that Strachan was using Calgacus as an embodiment of the just, but also in some sense the divinely sanctioned, war.

Yet while the religious context in which we find Strachan's Calgacus is important in our understanding of his use of Tacitus' figure, the most important element here is that of nationalism itself. Unlike the several usages of Boadicea we look at in this project, this nationalism is complicated by the fact of its being a Celtic nationalism. In other words, unlike in the case of Boadicea, conventionally taken to represent Britain as a whole, Calgacus is taken to represent a nation that was not officially, as part of Britain, a sovereign state. The important question then arises of what the nationalist function of Calgacus was within the context of Great Britain and its empire.

The case can be made in two principal ways. Firstly, it can be argued that the use of Calgacus and other figures in the memorial is part of an artistic scheme that aggressively anticipates some form of Scottish autonomy. Calder, for example, argues of the Strachan windows in the shrine that 'this ensemble seems to look forward to a distinctively Scottish free commonwealth'.[825] For Calder, given the presence of so much imagery that eulogises Scottish resistance against foreign oppression, there can only be one subtext in the memorial. In a sense the argument for Scottish independence could readily have been made at the time, in parallel with other movements such as women's emancipation; the premise of these movements being

824 Macleod (2002: 78).

825 Calder (2004: 21).

that the contribution and sacrifice made during the war justified the granting of full rights.

Calder argues further in the Kidd and Murdoch volume that we can see at the time, 'a moment of widespread intense concern with Scottish nationhood, probably the first at which we can discern a specifically Scottish nationalism comparable to that of Poland, Finland, and other countries emerging into independence after the Treaty of Versailles.'[826] In the case of these last examples the war had been a catalyst for the separation from the clutches of what were perceived as essentially hostile forces of foreign domination. To make this equivalence is to suggest that the Scottish National War Memorial embodies a current of thought which conceived of Scotland's relationship with Britain (or rather imperial England) in something of the same vein, despite having fought on the same side in the war. Macdonald likewise argues for the complexity of this form of Celtic nationalism in the memorial, commenting that: 'the Memorial is dedicated to those who fell defending Scotland against enemies ranging from the Roman invaders, through King Edward II and his army, to the Willhelminian Reich, and thus portrays an identity independent of British, and more particularly English, ideals of national unity.'[827] Calder and Macdonald are certainly right that the nationalism here cannot simply be described in the same manner as other manifestations of British nationalism, whether in the context of war or otherwise.

Alternatively it can be argued that the intention is a nationalist one, but that this nationalism forms a sort of component of a larger overarching British nationalism. This is an argument made by Devine in his article, 'The Break-up of Britain'. He gives the memorial as an example, in line with his thesis - and contrary to his title - of the continuing national attachment of Scotland to Britain. For him it is an 'eloquent affirmation of the continuing importance of the imperial bond.'[828] Others have also made this argument.[829] A reading of the memorial as demonstrating simply a Scottish nationalism is in addition complicated by the presence of imperial elements

826 Calder (2004: 61).

827 Macdonald (2001: 117). Of the many interesting insights in Macdonald's essay another is his remark upon the extent of national feeling that accompanied the monument's opening. He cites one contemporary journalist who wrote panegyrically that: 'Into this memorial Scotland has put her instinctive reserve, her proud and even dour reticence wrought an epic poem with glass, stone and carving for words... If ever the essence of a race was embedded it is here in the sanctuary, close to the heart of Scotland'. Source: Scrymgeour (1928: 127). We can see the proximity of responses here to those to, for example, the *Hermannsdenkmal* upon its opening.

828 Devine (2006: 173).

both in the creation of the memorial and in its final manifestation itself. As numerous studies have shown Scots were proportionally a very great presence in the empire. Much of the funding for the memorial came from Scots living and working overseas in the dominions. Atholl had a formidable breadth of connections with Scots abroad, including for example his sending of letters to newspapers in South Africa describing the project and its aims in stirring terms. Total support from abroad amounted to £11,500, with donations coming from Australia, China, France, Ireland, Argentina, Chile, Ecuador, Gibraltar, Hawaii, India, Japan, Mexico, New Zealand, Persia, the Philippines, Siam, South Africa, Syria, Portugal, and Turkey.[830]

There are also notable imperial elements in the memorial itself. For example we find numerous inscriptions throughout the memorial dedicated to imperial 'Scottish' regiments. In addition there is a 'Tree of Empire' carved onto the archway of the shrine, containing the shields of India, the Union of South Africa, Australia, Newfoundland, New Zealand, and Canada. How can we reconcile these clear symbols of imperial British affiliation with the presence of the sort of Scottish ethnic nationalism that a figure like Calgacus represents? Macleod tries to argue that Scottish nationalism could be an equal and complementary element to English nationalism in the memorial.[831] Yet this position, while likely the view of some at the time, is inevitably tenuous. Nearer the truth is that the memorial is in fact a multiplicity of messages, religious, Scottish nationalist and imperial nationalist, all strung together in a disunited whole which, on more than a surface consideration, can be seen to be irreconcilable. This was something which did not pose a problem when the observer was not intended to do any more than this. Perhaps Lutyens' memorial sought to avoid this difficulty through its simplicity, but this does not mean the Scottish National War Memorial succeeded in its attempt to achieve the opposite.

This last use of any of Tacitus' figures is certainly an interesting one, and perhaps most of all demonstrates the difficulties artists could face in trying to bend them to a nationalist purpose. In this sense we see that the meaning of a figure like Calgacus was to some extent set by the time of this memorial's construction. As the

829 For example, Macleod (2010: 95) argues for the memorial serving to: 'show the unity of the Scottish nation and the ongoing strength of its martial tradition, a means by which Scotland could express a distinctive identity whilst remaining securely within the United Kingdom'.

830 Macleod (2010: 83).

831 Macleod (2010: 74).

other Scottish heroes and abstract personifications in Strachan's windows for the memorial's shrine room, and as stiff as the portrayal of Calgacus itself is, we can see that the meaning had some scope for a varied application but that the message of the figure of Calgacus was essentially one: Scottish freedom. The limitations on the extent to which this could be made to fit a religious allegory, or an imperial nationalist agenda, are shown by Strachan's windows which, while beautiful, are an uneasy amalgamation of imagery and nationalist symbolism.[832]

832 It is interesting to note that the Dean of the Thistle, Dr. Charles Warr's, opening speech for the memorial is resonant of Tacitus' descriptions in the *Agricola* of Caledonia as freedom's last outpost: 'Because they had come and because they had died, freedom had still her dwelling-place in this dear land, and filled its glens and mountains with the music of her holy song'. However it cannot be determined whether Warr drew directly on the *Agricola* in his speech. See further: Macleod (2010: 93).

Conclusion

In the individual case studies that have made up this project we have seen that the ways in which Arminius, Boadicea and Tacitus were interpreted by artists and architects during the nineteenth century varied greatly. In this concluding section we will draw comparisons between the works more systematically, and seek to elaborate the key patterns that emerge. It will present the key findings of this thesis.

Comparative analysis

Approach to style

First of all we can say that the paintings, sculptures, and illustrations examined here vary greatly in their style. This is primarily due to broader changes in art during the period, and the prevailing movements of the time, but is also due to regional variations.

Kauffman's oil painting, at the end of the eighteenth century, is perhaps the most typical example of a neoclassical depiction of Arminius in the works that we have been looking at here. The posing of Arminius, archetypical of the classical hero, is firmly of its period. So too his costume and the drapery of the other figures in the scene, which shows little interest in trying to re-create or even imagine the actual dress of ancient Germans. The composition hinges on Arminius alone, with the soldiers presenting to him, and his wife kneeling before him, complementary to him. The gazes of all lead the viewer to his figure as the centre of the composition. The druidic figure looks up to the sky in thanks to the gods, but his pose too is orientated towards Arminius.

With Friedrich's painting we see a dramatic shift away from the sort of representation that characterises neoclassical art. Friedrich's painting has no figures, and chooses to express the presence and character of its subject simply through the landscape. He relies on light and his portrayal of nature to describe the idea of German statehood that he associates with Arminius. As romanticism more broadly, this change in perspective wholly re-cast the way in which Arminius was depicted later.

In many ways Bandel's ongoing project, though a monumental sculpture,

characterises the portrayal of Arminius that predominated for the rest of the century. His Arminius is (literally) gargantuan, an imposing and wilfully bellicose figure, his sword and orientation directed towards France. Likewise Schwanthaler's pedimental sculpture for Klenze's temple depicts Arminius as a giant in comparison to the other figures. He appears godlike, more a force of nature - or rather, of the German people - bearing down upon the meek Varus and Romans. The depiction and attributes of Arminius approximate increasingly to the contemporary artistic iconography of Norse gods and heroes from the Scandinavian sagas. By the end of the century in Germany there is little to distinguish these representations of Arminius from those of Siegfried. In costume he is little different from the figures populating early operatic productions of Wagner's works.

We have seen that Mucha's style was a very different one. Unlike the neoclassicist, romanticist and nationalist artists that came before him, he works to the conventions of *Art Nouveau* (conventions that he helped to set). As such there is far more movement in his illustration. The figures are placed on many levels, filling the whole composition and giving the whole piece a more symbolic and surreal feel, where no space is left empty for the sake of realism. Arminius himself appears as an elegant, if horrific, figure. Slight and slender, he is very unlike the more muscular ideals of Bandel and Klenze, and much more in the vein of Mucha's other figure printing and painting, including the rest of the illustrations to the history from which this is taken.

In Britain the style of portrayals of Boadicea and Calgacus changed during the period too. A conventional iconography for Boadicea emerges by the end of the century which we see variously represented in statuary and illustrations. This depicts Boadicea as a proud matriarch, often with arms raised or looking to the sky, flanked by her cowering daughters. Thornycroft's sculpture is the clearest representative of this type. This representation does not become standard until the latter part of the century however. In Selous' illustration for example Boadicea is a much more chaotic and dynamic figure, in keeping with the rest of the drawing. The context of these two depictions of the queen is not so different, with similarly nationalist aims and intended audience for their take on Boadicea, but the contrast in style is instructive.

Thornycroft's Boadicea is a thoroughly stately figure, her pose erect and her expression tranquil. In this respect she is very similar to contemporary portrayals of Victoria, or allegorical depictions of *Britannia*. Despite the evident movement of the

chariot in which she is carried she is unperturbed, and her hair does not fly out in the wind behind her. Above all she is an abstract representation of Britain and her empire. By contrast Selous' earlier illustration makes much more of an effort to portray her in the scene of battle. This is not to say that his illustration is realistic either, but he makes more of an attempt to show her as part of what is described in Tacitus' narrative, rather than as an abstract and symbolic representation of her nation. The medium of Selous' work also gives him more scope to do this, as he shows the tumult of battle around Boadicea on a wide canvas, while Thornycroft aims for a smaller figural grouping, as befits the medium of freestanding sculpture. However in both cases, and in the other works we have looked at here, the composition places the attention firmly on Boadicea herself.

In the later Edwardian works we have looked at this compositional focus on Boadicea is retained. The graphic representations accompanying local pageants are a very different medium, and yet certain of the features of Selous and Thornycroft's works are kept. The Colchester representation in particular is alike both, her figure not unlike that in Selous' version, and borne in a chariot similar to that in Thornycroft's sculpture. In some ways the St. Albans pageant postcard has a slightly different style, showing Boadicea as a freestanding figure. What is most notable about her is her youth, and the attempt to make her costume authentically ancient (or at least mirroring that used in the pageant itself). In the first attribute she is similar to that of Opie's painting, although in that earlier image there is not the same interest in trying to re-create ancient British costume. As in the Arminius portrayals, this reflects a shift towards a greater interest in the Britons as they actually were, or at least as they were perceived to have been.

The style of the Calgacus images we have looked at in this project is in large part determined by their medium. Like Mucha's Arminius, Corbould's Calgacus is an illustration for a historical volume. It aims to inform the narrative to which it is attached and focuses on the figure of Calgacus himself as he addresses the Caledonian forces. What is perhaps strange about this illustration is that despite the focus on his person, and the consequent fading of the detail of other features, Corbould has Calgacus turned away from the viewer. This is unlike the various depictions of Boadicea haranguing the Britons, for example Opie's, in which Boadicea's determined facial expression (and contrast to that of her troops) is an important source from which the scene draws its drama. Instead Corbould limits himself to the movement of

Calgacus' arms as a means of conveying his harangue.

The style of Strachan's later depiction of Calgacus is also largely determined by its medium. By its nature stained glass lends itself to a more iconographic form of representation, in line with the traditions of ecclesiastical art. Strachan's window is also situated in a chapel, and its context is the solemn commemoration of the fallen soldiers of the First World War. Accordingly Strachan's Calgacus is a stiff and upright figure, ranged alongside his fellow representatives of the Scottish nation, having as them little personality independent of the abstract ideal of heroism and national sacrifice that he represents. His visual representation is reduced to the values of freedom and bravery that he advocates in Tacitus' *Agricola*.

Approach to subject matter

The works depicting Arminius that we have looked at here demonstrate a broad approach to their subject matter. Relative to this variation the actual information about Arminius provided by Tacitus is small. The general point that emerges is that nationalist interpretations of Arminius in art were very creative and liberal in their understanding of their original source material.

This ranges from not showing Arminius at all, as per Friedrich's minimalist romanticism, to the plethora of detail of Mucha's *Art Nouveau* illustration. Between these two extremes we can see some common ground in the iconography of the figure of Arminius himself. In general we can say that by mid century this has coalesced into a stereotype of sorts, Arminius typically having the attributes mentioned above.[833] Greater variation is found in the choice of episode in which Arminius is depicted (preparing for battle; mustering his soldiers; his farewell to his wife; the battle itself; the return from battle; the post-battle celebration), or the setting that is chosen.

In some cases, particularly in sculpture, medium constrains or determines choice of setting. Schwanthaler's depiction of the scene of battle is most easily fitted to the mode of pedimental sculpture for a temple, taking its cue from classical forebears.[834] The monumental scale of Bandel's work likewise constrained his choice of setting and his take on Arminius. And yet he makes the German landscape his

833 On the similarities between Arminius and Siegfried, see further: Höfler (1961: 27).

834 The battle scene of the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, depicting the Lapiths and Centaurs, is a good example.

setting nonetheless, even if in his case he does not paint it. Though Schinkel's Arminius monument design proposed an equestrian mode for his sculpture, we can see that he had similar ideas about how to situate his sculpture within the landscape, and make use of it as an important reference point for what Arminius represents and what he fights for.

Many of the depictions of Arminius that we have looked at in this project have shared features other than the figure of Arminius himself. For example most of them also show the Romans in one form or another. This is something that varies between the different representations we have examined. Kauffman's captive Romans are sympathetically portrayed as elegant and evanescent figures in the background of her canvas. In Schwanthaler and many other German artists' potrayals the emphasis is rather on their cowardice, or simply their smallness next to the might of Arminius. Mucha's illustration has them as lambs to the slaughter, pathetic and terrified, where still alive.

In general there is less variation in the way in which artists and sculptors chose to portray Boadicea in the nineteenth century. It appears that by the beginning of the century a relatively stable iconography of the queen had emerged, even if the individual stylistic variations of particular portrayals continued to be evident. As discussed above, this came to centre around the figure of the queen, sometimes in a chariot, and often flanked buy her two kneeling daughters. A standard depiction of the latter also appears to be evident in several of the images of Boadicea from the period. Of the works we have looked at here we can see this in Opie's painting and Thornycroft's sculpture, where one daughter is shown fearful (indicating her violation by the Romans), while the other looks forward more boldly, appearing inspired by her mother above her (perhaps symbolising the future generations of Britons that will continue Boadicea's legacy).

Arguably there is no such conventional portrayal of the Britons that emerges in the works we have looked at. This is perhaps indicative of the absence of a text equivalent to Tacitus' *Germania*; one could argue that the *Agricola* is also partially an ethnographic study, but it would be difficult to argue that it exercised the same influence on racial and national discourse in Britain during the period as its counterpart did in Germany. The *Agricola* had not inspired the same degree of debate about national identity over the preceding centuries in Britain, as the *Germania* had in Germany. As a result, we do not see a stereotyped portrayal of an ancient Briton in

these paintings, even if some elements (such as for example red hair) are a recurrent feature. As a result the Britons of Opie's painting and Selous' drawing have very little in common.

As discussed above the approach to subject matter in the two Calgacus illustrations is dictated in part by their very different media. A comparison can also be drawn between Corbould's illustration of Calgacus and Mucha's of Arminius. Both illustrate historical narratives to which they are attached. However it is clear that Mucha's illustration takes a far more creative (and expressive) approach to its subject matter than Corbould's does. To a certain degree we can say that there is evidence here that artists' approaches to their subject matter was affected by their personal interest in the subjects they were portraying. Evidently Mucha took a more personal approach to engaging with the history of Germany, than Corbould did the history of Britain. As a result Corbould's illustration feels more an accessory to the text, whereas Mucha's illustration can make more of a claim to be a standalone artistic composition.

In general the portrayals of Arminius we have looked at demonstrate a greater interest in showing the totality of the series of events around the battle of the Teutoburg forest than those of Boadicea or Calgacus do. Schwanthaler's pediment shows the scene of battle, and Kauffman's the return afterwards, the scene populated with secondary characters (many of which are identifiable from Klopstock and Kleist's plays). In Peter Janssen's cycle of murals at Krefeld[835] - a work we have not had the space to look at here - a full series of scenes depicts the stages of Arminius' career.

The depictions of Boadicea and Calgacus, though not exclusively so, appear to be more preoccupied with their hero/heroine's person, and use them as the primary vehicle through which to convey their message. Bergler and Kauffman's Thusneldas have an interest of their own beyond being mere adjuncts to Arminius and vary between depictions. As discussed above, the daughters of Boadicea are conventionalised in their depiction, to the point that their expressions are standardised. They are reduced to allegories of what Boadicea fights for.

From the material that we have looked at it would appear that German artists and sculptors during the period had more interest in the way in which they portrayed the Romans than British artists did. This is in part due to the character of Varus, the

835 P . Janssen, '*Krefelder Zyklus*', 8 painted murals, 1869 (Kaiser Wilhelm Museum, Krefeld).

tragedy of whose personal story could draw narrative interest per se more than those of his counterpart adversaries for Boadicea and Calgacus. This reflects the material in the German playwrights, which as we have seen made ample use of the dramatic narrative of Tacitus' *Annals*, Kleist elaborating this into a protracted scene before Varus finally meets his end. British playwrights did try to create independent personalities for Suetonius Paulinus and Agricola - in the latter case having more material to work with from the *Agricola* - but did not succeed in creating as enduring an image of Varus and his legions lost in Teutoburg forest. Kauffman displays sympathy for the Romans, and many later German artists try to show the Romans as inferior in defeat. British artists did not try to make such use of the Romans in illustrating the theme of Boadicea and Calgacus, though this is not to say this isn't something we find elsewhere in the British art of the time (and which we see elsewhere, for example in the other scenes of the Edwardian pageants).

In almost all of the works we have looked at here, spanning the entirety of the period, the bard or druid remains an enduring figure. This has little to do with Tacitus specifically, although he does detail the religious rites of the ancient Germans - a source of fascination to later German writers - and indicates the presence of druids at both of the battles Boadicea fought, and the resistance against the Romans at Anglesey.[836] This is rather the result of a tradition of depicting ancient Britain going back to the eighteenth century. Largely influenced by the Ossian poems and the paintings that this inspired,[837] this is summed up by Thomas Jones' painting 'The Last Bard'.[838] This imagined the last druid, persecuted and chased to the farthermost cliffs of Wales by King Edward and his army, whom we see approaching in the distance. It is a romantic image representing the last of an ancient, pre-Roman and Celtic Britain. The druidic figures of the Boadicea depictions draw upon this tradition as part of their standard repertoire, and those of Arminius of a parallel German tradition of associating ancient Germany with its ancient religion.

836 Tacitus, *Germania* 40; *Annales* 14.30.

837 A good example being Girodet's Ossian painting (referenced above). This demonstrates the wide appeal of the theme beyond the British Isles.

838 T. Jones, 'The Last Bard', oil-on-canvas, 114.5 x 168 cm (1774, National Museum, Cardiff).

Nationalism

A key focus of this project has been the influence of nationalist motivations upon artists and sculptors that illustrated figures from Tacitus. In the preceding chapters we have seen that their approach to subject matter and style varied significantly.

The artists and sculptors we have looked at can be said to fall into three categories: those that subscribed to an official nationalist agenda, the ideals of which they sought to promote through the work of art in question; those that used their work to counter or put a different interpretation on an official reading of material from Tacitus; and those that fall into neither category but illustrated Tacitus for other reasons which cannot be said to have been straightforwardly nationalist. Of the artists examined the great majority fall into the first category. However there is arguably also a significant number in the last category, and at least one (Mucha) in the second.

Nonetheless there are degrees by which we can say that artists were 'nationalist' or not. In the cases of some German artists, for example Ernst von Bandel, or in Britain the sculptor Thomas Thornycroft, we can see a clear identification with official national or imperial ideology and the attempt to use Tacitus as a medium to promote the messages of that ideology. However most of the artists do not fall neatly into that category. At first sight Schwanthaler and Schinkel's works appear similarly motivated, but while the message of Germanic heroism and virtue is the same one, they are in service of what is really more a sub-national ideology (depending on how we choose to define Bavarian and Prussian 'nationalism'). In Britain too we have seen how Boadicea was used similarly in local pageants to project the history of a particular town, or in Strachan's case of using Tacitus to create an abstract personification of Scotland (likewise a similarly sub-national use in this context).

It is harder to argue for a 'nationalist' reading of neoclassical paintings such as Kauffman's and Bergler's. The motivation here is primarily one of illustrating a theme that is both classical and Germanic to meet the interests of a patron. Yet at the same time it would be problematic to claim that there is no consciousness of a national culture in these paintings which, in both contexts, was relevant to satisfying the interests in question: in Bergler's case the Society of Patriotic Friends of the Arts, and in Kauffman's case the Austro-Hungarian emperor. The same applies to a degree to Strachan's window. That he draws on Tacitus to create a national image of Scotland

does not mean that he is making a political statement about a Scottish nation, in the same way as Bandel is about Germany, but there is a clear sense of national community and culture implied in his use of Calgacus. Corbould's illustration of Calgacus has little interest in promoting a nationalist ideology, but is rather simply an illustration to a history. It therefore also falls into the third category above.

Of the works we have looked at here Mucha's is the main one which suggests an alternative interpretation of Tacitus's commentary on the north. In a sense it makes use of an older tradition of interpreting classical authors' (primarily Caesar but also Tacitus) descriptions of ancient culture in northern Europe, which stressed the barbarity of its 'pre-civilised' culture rather than any innate ethnic virtues, often in contrast to the perceived civilising influence of Rome; portraying the savage, rather than the 'noble savage'. This tradition often focused on the human sacrifice that Caesar attributed to the ancient Gauls,[839] and it is indicative that Mucha places such emphasis on this here, posing Arminius as the priest of a barbaric rite rather than a victorious general, and alongside druidic figures. Contrasting Mucha's image of the Germans here with that of his early Slavs in the 'Slav Epic' or Bosnia-Herzegovina pavillion, we can see that he thoroughly rejects the idea of the early Germans as in some way a noble people. There is a clear anti-German nationalist message here, which attacks the theory (so central to the many other nationalist German uses of Arminius) of the historical primacy of Germanic culture.

We have said that the majority of images looked at here fall into the first category given above, but it needs to be registered that even amongst works promoting an official national or imperial ideology through material drawn from Tacitus, there is significant variation. Though both situated in Westminster, Selous and Thornycroft's Boadiceas are not the same. Part of this has to do with variation in the nationalist context of each work. Selous's work was created as part of a competition to decorate the centre of British Parliamentary power. English history meant that this brought many associations with it, including (due the significance of the Civil War) the fight against unchecked royal power and prerogative. Thornycroft's later, and much more Victorian representation, is free of this context and as such is able to be a more purely imperial image. Selous' Boadicea is a crusader in the cause of English freedom, while Thornycroft's is an allegory of imperial power, and we see this

839 Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 6.19.

reflected in their very different styles. Selous' Boadicea has nothing of the composure of Thornycroft's.

The relationship between patron and artist is also key to determining the particular nationalist features of an artist's approach to Tacitean subject matter. The major point we have seen is that it is always affected in some way by the message the patron is trying to put across, whether and what they are trying to say about national determination or culture, or what they are trying to prove and to whom. The intended audience for this message matters too. Schwanthaler's pediment was not created independently of Klenze's Walhalla and the latter's commission from the Bavarian king. Nor was it created independently of the consideration that it would be viewed by the general public as a national monument, including foreign visitors to Bavaria. Likewise Mucha's illustration is not independent of the text that it accompanies, and the knowledge that its primary readership would be a French intellectual audience in the 1890s.

At the same time this is not to argue that a patron's particular nationalist view determines an artist's interpretation of Tacitus. In all of the case studies we have seen that each artist's individual history, education, travels, and relationship with the national questions and political events of their time, affected their work in a manner which was not dictated by patronage. As we have seen, for example in Kauffman or Bergler's case, the latter was not always prescriptive to the point of determining choice of subject matter, which was the artist's own. In others where the choice is very clearly the artist's alone, such as Bandel's, we can see that patronage shifted over the period of the work's creation. Where final patronage for the project aptly came from the newly formed German state, this was not always the case and for much of the time Bandel worked on the project funding was not forthcoming at all.

In Selous' case he worked within the parameters of a competition, where patronage would be retrospectively awarded to those whom the judges felt had best fulfilled their commission. This is an interesting case in which an artist worked to a commission that demanded a nationalist interpretation of a theme from British history, while given some scope as to exact choice. Doubtless Selous would have been influenced by earlier uses of Boadicea as a national heroine, but his choice - and the judges' approval of that choice - demonstrates an implicit acknowledgement of the suitability of material drawn from Tacitus for the expression of contemporary ideas of national determination.

British and German interpretations of Tacitus

Can we say that there are any generic differences in nationalist artistic interpretations of Tacitus in Britain and Germany/Austria during the nineteenth century? As we have seen, there is a significant amount of variation within both, and we have also noted that many artists from the one spent periods of time studying in the other.

Nonetheless a few differences can be made out. Identification with the hero or heroine is not exactly the same, and this can be explained by the differing traditions of interpretation in each country that preceded the nineteenth century. Arminius is uniformly depicted in a positive light in the plays of the eighteenth century, whereas Boadicea's portrayal in the literature of the seventeenth century had been more nuanced. While her appeal was readily apparent in the nineteenth century, given that another female monarch sat on the throne, the consciousness of this tradition remained and affected the way she was imagined. This is particularly true of the awareness of her gender (which had been a source of scorn in some earlier Jacobean plays) and which leads to either an exaggeratedly masculine bearing (for example Thornycroft's sculpture) or a sense of youth and frailty supported by her hardy soldiery (for example Opie's painting). Her use by Edwardian feminists also shows her continuing appeal to those seeking to promote politically subversive ideas. Arminius' reception in Germany and Austria generally lacks this nuance as a result of a different literary tradition. Calgacus' interpretation is also simpler, but this is rather the result of the lack of an extensive literary tradition.

As noted above attitudes towards the Romans are generally less positive in German and Austrian portrayals, than in British ones. This is the result of differing national historical traditions, in which the Romans generally had a place in Britain, but were limited to being foreign invaders alone in German history. This is a generalisation (we have seen that an Austrian emperor could still identify with a Roman at the beginning of the period), but is generally true at least by the end of the period we are looking at.

We can also say that there is more of an imperial preoccupation in Victorian images of Boadicea than there are in German and Austrian portrayals of Arminius, where the emphasis is more strictly national and ethnic. In both depictions of Boadicea and Calgacus the focus is on these figures as allegories of freedom and the

struggle against oppression, subjects with far more relevance in an imperial context. Meanwhile more often Arminius is posed by German artists as a symbol of ethnic unity or of military valour. Boadicea and Calgacus tend to be used to make a statement about what Britain stands for; Arminius for what Germany is.[840]

While it has only been possible to analyse through a narrow prism the effect on artists of the artistic movements of the period, it is clear that these differed between Britain, and Germany and Austria, and that this had an impact on the way in which Tacitus was visualised. German romanticism, represented here by Friedrich, had a more direct and immediate effect upon nationalism than in Britain, as a result of the advent of the *Freiheitskrieg* at the beginning of the century. This meant that from the inception of our period portrayals of Arminius are affected by the traditions of romantic nationalism in Germany. One result of this is that in a majority of the German and Austrian art we have examined there is a clear emphasis on the centrality of the German landscape (usually woodland) to the theme. In portrayals of Boadicea and Calgacus this is less so, though we have seen in Corbould's Calgacus that there is an occasional reference made to Mons Graupius, though here this is more the result of antiquarian interest than of romantic nationalism.

The tradition of religious painting during the period was more influential in Germany and Austria than in Britain. At the beginning of the century the Nazarene group, centered around the artist Johann Friedrich Overbeck, had taken a secessionist approach to the art of the time, urging a return to the simple iconography and religious subject matter of the early Renaissance. This group was influential for many German romantic nationalist artists. Friedrich's art was by its nature full of religious mysticism, and something of this is present in his painting of Arminius's tomb. However it is also something we can see in Bergler's painting. The grim aspect and expression of the Germans here is reminiscent of the solemn figures of Nazarene art. Piloty's Thusnelda is almost a martyr-like figure, paraded amidst the debauchery of Rome but self-assured in her (in this case ethnic) purity. Klenze's temple itself draws on an originally religious architecture. By comparison British images of Boadicea do not lack solemnity - this is clearly the intent with Thornycroft's sculpture - but the

840 It should be noted at this point that Thornycroft's Boadicea is not the only exisiting sculptural representation of Boadicea; there are other comparable examples, which we have not had the space to examine here. An example is J. H. Thomas, 'Buddug', Saravezza marble, 183cm, 1916 (Cardiff City Hall, Cardiff). This shows a freestanding Boadicea on a pedestal with her two daughters on either side, around whom she places her arms.

influence of a comparable tradition of nineteenth-century religious painting is lacking. Arguably Opie's painting borrows from earlier religious iconography, but this is the exception rather than the rule. Strachan's image of Calgacus is of course of a more religious nature, given its medium and funerary context.

We have discussed how patronage affected artists' use of Tacitus in a nationalist context. More broadly the trend during the period was diversification, as the increased wealth of the industrial middle class and imperial elites created new opportunities for artists and reduced the monopoly on artistic patronage formerly enjoyed by the aristocracy and royalty. Nonetheless in all of the countries we have looked at the latter appear to have remained the major sources of patronage for this type of art and architecture. This in itself demonstrates that the appeal of the themes looked at was primarily to those seeking to promote national and imperial ideologies. It is clear that Britain arrived at a system of larger-scale public patronage later than was the case in central Europe. With Kauffman's example we can see at an early stage that the Austrian emperors were sponsoring such works, and in Germany the Bavarian kings were also casting themselves as major sponsors of the arts early in the nineteenth century. The like situation does not really arise in Britain until the second half of the nineteenth century, after the artistic competitions for the decoration of the Palace of Westminster had initiated public patronage of the arts on a larger scale, and the efforts of Prince Albert to foster a culture of state patronage in Britain like that in his native Germany had begun to take root. This resulted in less of a proliferation of nationalist art in the first half of the century in Britain than in Germany and Austria. Nonetheless we see that once first used Tacitus could have a particular relevance in an imperial context too.

Finally it should be remarked that the events most influential to the ways in which Tacitus was used in nationalist art during the period were not of the same kind in different countries. In Germany it is the *Freiheitskrieg* and the Franco-Prussian War that most colour portrayals of Arminius. In Britain it is more official events of national and ceremonial importance that influence the way Boadicea and Calgacus are portrayed, for example the rebuilding of the Palace of Westminster, commemoration of royalty, acquisition of overseas territories, local pageantry or official commemoration of the First World War. As a result British depictions of Boadicea tend to function more as allegories of nationhood and empire, while German and Austrian depictions of Arminius are more statements of national and ethnic self-

determination in response to (perceived) or real conflicts over territory with neighbouring powers (most often France).

Key findings

In sum, having looked in detail at a series of individual cases in which Tacitus was used by artists and architects in the nineteenth century in nationalist contexts, and having compared the approaches taken by these artists and architects, what can we say the key findings of this study have been? In this final summary we will look at the principal patterns that emerge.

First of all what can we say about how Tacitus was interpreted, or 'received', during the period? In many cases it has been difficult to establish the extent of an artist's direct knowledge of Tacitus' works, though in some cases this has been possible, and in many cases it is probable that through the normal course of their education in a *Gymnasium* (in central Europe) or a public school (in Britain) that artists had at least some limited contact with the author's works. Nonetheless it is clear that in both Britain and in central Europe there was a tradition of interpreting Tacitus that stretched back some centuries. In Germany this went back to the Reformation and debates about the Italian church's role north of the Alps. In Britain this went back to Elizabethan and Stewart England, a period of imperial awakening during which both a female and subsequently a misogynist male monarch sat on the throne.

The artists we are looking at worked within this tradition and were conscious of how Tacitus had been used in previous centuries. In the case of one of the earliest artists to use Arminius during the nineteenth century, Friedrich, we can say that deliberate reference was made in his works to nationalists of the reformation that had made use of Arminius to promote the idea of contemporary German national awakening. In this way Friedrich has both a grave painting of Arminius and one of Ulrich von Hutten. Through the names inscribed on the grave of the latter, the link is made to contemporary German nationalists; there is an acknowledged continuous tradition of German nationalism from Arminius to the present day in Friedrich's scheme.

Many of the German artists draw directly on Klopstock and Kleist for inspiration in their depictions of Arminius, and it is likely that these plays were the major media through which Tacitus was interpreted by them. Beyond Arminius himself it is clear that there was a tradition of characterisation of 'Thusnelda', the wife of Arminius, about whom Tacitus gives sparse information (he does not, for example, give her a name). Piloty's painting draws upon the playwrights, but also other earlier

artists, for his painting of her. There was also a neoclassical tradition of representing Roman myth and history. The central European artists that depicted themes from Tacitus in a nationalist context were drawing upon these traditions, even if they may not have had direct knowledge of Tacitus' texts.

In Britain there was a tradition of literary representation of ancient British leaders during the Roman period. Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* in many ways set the scene for later plays on a similar theme, and the subject of British interaction with Roman invasion of the sort portrayed by the British artists we have looked at, had already established itself as a literary sub-genre before the inception of the nineteenth century. There was also a growing antiquarian interest in Roman Britain towards the end of the eighteenth century, which increases during the nineteenth century and takes on an ethnic and national dimension. This was not restricted to artists depicting subject matter taken from Tacitus, but we can also see this for example in the paintings of Pre-Raphaelite artists that depicted romantic subjects set in Roman Britain.[841] The artists examined in this project were working in this tradition.

Secondly, we have seen in this project that there was a significant amount of variation in the way in which Tacitus could be used by artists in the nineteenth century. We have focused on only three figures here, but we have seen even so that the ways in which artists approached their representation was by no means fixed, for reasons of patronage, style, and the particular national context in which they worked. We have seen that beyond the dictates of patrons and commissions, representation was also affected by the creativity and beliefs of individual artists. We have seen that Tacitus was not the exclusive preserve of artists working to promote an officially sanctioned nationalism.

Thirdly, representation changed over time but it did not change in the same ways in different places. In central European art there is significant difference between Kauffman's painting and the many portrayals of the later nineteenth century. This difference was effected by romantic nationalism, catalysed by the *Freiheitskrieg* and best represented in this project by Friedrich. Yet such change did not occur at the same time in British art, where secessionist artistic movements do not emerge until later. In Prague Bergler's staid neoclassicism functioned as a statement of Austrian conservatism in a changing Bohemia.

841 For example J. E. Millais' 'The Romans leaving Britain', oil-on-panel, 45.7 x 69.9 cm, 1865 (Private collection).

In both Britain and central Europe certain key events affected the ways in which Tacitus was used. In Germany the *Freiheitskrieg* and the Franco-Prussian war were direct spurs to the search for antique forbears to current German nationalism. In Britain the key events of imperial commemoration, building projects and pageants, but also wars led to the increased use of Tacitus in art, and otherwise increased the representation of ancient and medieval history in general, where these could be made to serve contemporary national or imperial ideologies.

Beyond these points we may make a few more general concluding remarks about nationalism and representation which have emerged in the case studies that this project has looked at. It is an interesting fact that many of the artists we have looked at lived and worked internationally, spending extended periods of time in several locations. This was not uncommon for the young aristocracy of the period, and artists in particular often spent study periods at Rome (Friedrich being an interesting exception to this rule). However beyond this it is also clear that many of the artists we have looked at hailed from regions where national and cultural identities were blurred. The Vienna and London of the period were very cosmopolitan places, drawing influences from across their subject provinces. Bohemia was culturally both German and Czech. Bavaria's national cultural allegiance to 'north' or 'south' was disputed. The border between France and Germany was continuously contested during the period. Cultural nationalism appears never to have been so keenly felt as at national borders.

In this world of shifting ethno-cultural identities and political allegiances, the classics represented - as they had since the Middle Ages - a constant in a world of change. We have seen how artists and others sought to make use of Arminius, Boadicea and Calgacus, with varying degrees of success, to support their claims to an eternal, authentic and coherent nationality, in face of the many contemporary suggestions to the contrary. Throughout a period of change one constant is that classics retains this status, from Kauffman to Strachan. And it would retain its status for nationalists into the next generation in Germany, under National Socialism, and in Britain between the wars. Tacitus was not the exclusive preserve of nationalists, but he would continue to provide fertile ground for them for another generation.[842]

842 For an in-depth treatment of this subject see: Krebs (2011).

Illustrations

Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 3

Figure 4

Figure 5

Figure 6

Figure 7

Figure 8

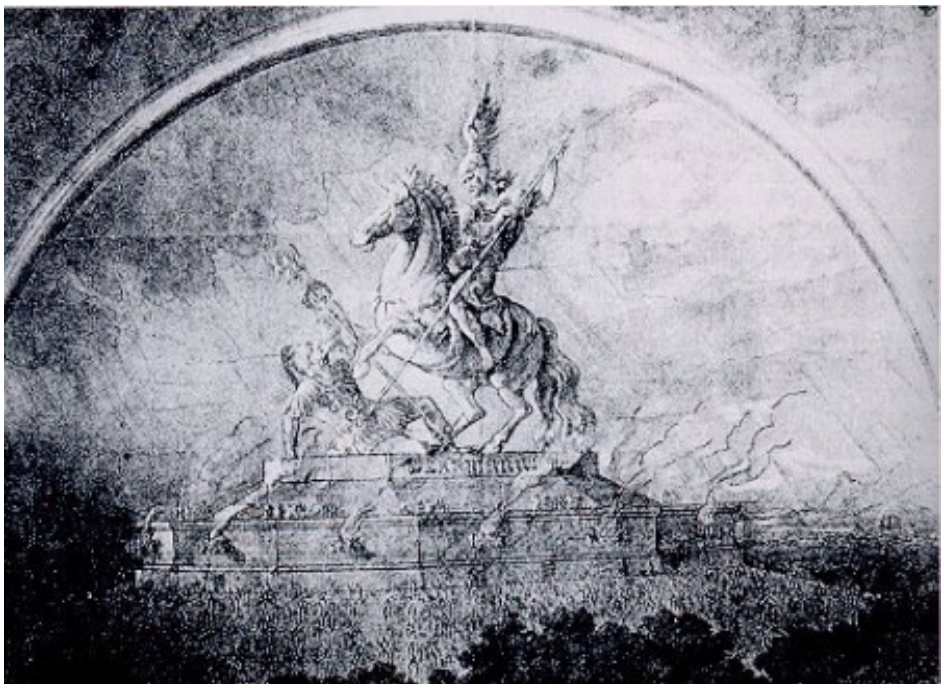

Figure 9

Figure 10

Figure 11

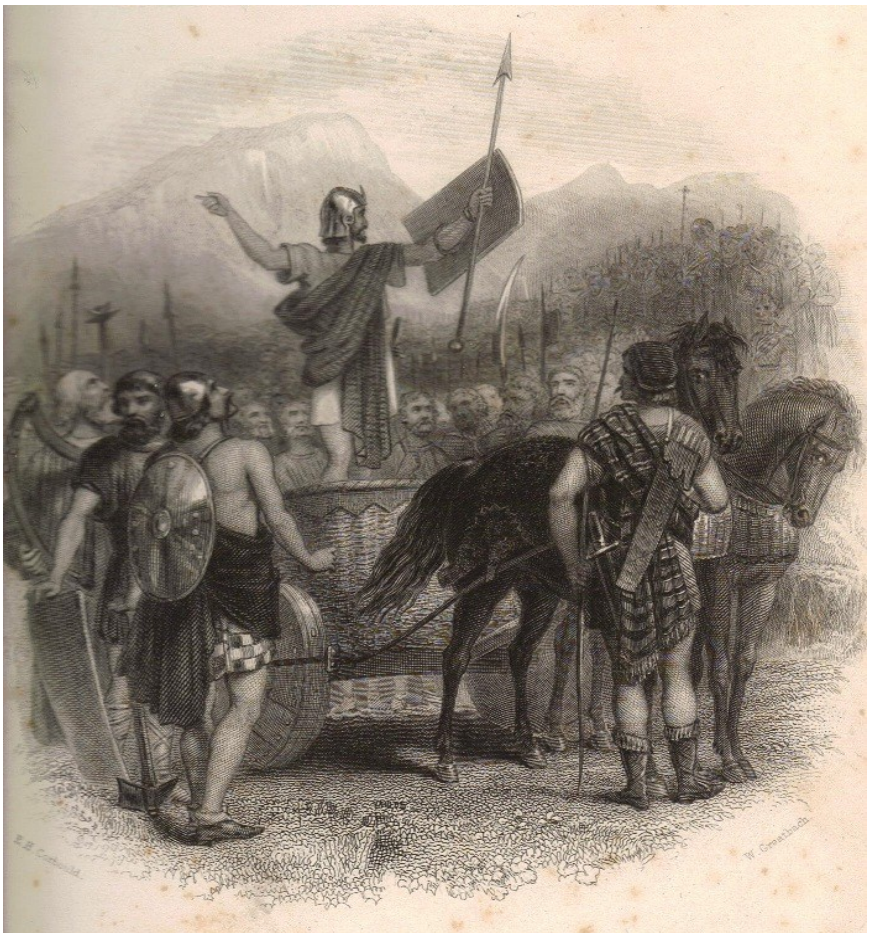

Figure 12

Figure 13

Figure 14

Figure 15

St. Albans Pageant
1907
Official Postcard
Boadicea
Queen of the Iceni 61

Figure 16

Bibliography

Editions and translations

Barrett, Anthony A. (ed.) (2008), *Cornelius Tacitus: The Annals*, Oxford and New York.

Birley, Anthony R. (ed.) (1999), *Tacitus, Agricola, and Germany*, Oxford.

Cary, Earnest and Herbert B. Foster (ed. & tr.) (1927), *Cassius Dio: Roman History* (Loeb Classical Library), Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London.

Cowper, William (1787), *Poems*, 1, London.

Cowper, William (1785), *The Task* II, London.

Hubbell, H. M. (ed. & tr.) (1949), *Cicero: De Inventione* (Loeb Classical Library), Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Hubbell, John Carew (ed. & tr.) (1998), *Suetonius: Augustus* (Loeb Classical Library), Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Koestermann, Erich (1967), *Cornelius Tacitus, Annalen*, Vol. 3, Heidelberg.

Much, Rudolf (1937), *Die Germania des Tacitus*, Heidelberg.

Ogilvie, Robert Maxwell & Ian Richmond (eds.) (1967), *Tacitus: Agricola*, Oxford.

Page, Thomas Ethelbert & William Henry Denham Rouse (eds.) (1914), *Tacitus: Agricola, Dialogus, Germania*, London and New York.

Rives, James B. (2009), *Tacitus: Agricola and Germania*, London.

Schmal, Stephan (2009), *Tacitus*, Hildesheim.

Secondary literature

Abenstein, Edelgard & Jeanine Fiedler (2009), *Art and Architecture: Berlin*, Berlin.

Ames, Winslow (1968), *Prince Albert and Victorian Taste*, London.

Anon. (1863), *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit* 10, Nuremberg.

Anon. (1843), *Catalogue of the Cartoons in Westminster Hall*, London.

Anon. (1838), 'Einige Worte über das Denkmal des Cheruskers Hermann', *Kunstblatt* 57, 255-226, re-printed in Kugler, Franz (ed.) (1854), *Kleine Schriften über neuere Kunst und deren Angelegenheiten*, 299-301, Stuttgart.

Anon. (1814), 'Memoir of Maria Angelica Kauffman, with a Notice of Her Works',

The Belfast Monthly Magazine, 12, 461-468.

Anon. (1862), *Men of the Time*, London.

Anon. (1842), 'Report of the Commissioners on the Fine Arts', *Parliamentary Papers* 25, 105-152.

Anon. (1911), *Souvenir of Royal Visit to the Festival of Empire, Imperial Exhibition and Pageant of London Crystal Palace*, London.

Anon. (1834), *The Georgian Era: Memoirs of the most eminent persons, who have flourished in Great Britain, from the accession of George the Third to the demise of George the Fourth*, 4, London.

Anon. (1875), 'The German Hermann Monument', *The Art Journal* 1 (1875-1887).

Anon. (1811), *The Historic Gallery of Portraits and Paintings*, London.

Anon. (1861), *Twelfth Report of the Commissioners on Fine Arts*, London.

Anon. (1863), *Unterhaltungsblatt zum Straubinger Tagblatt*, Munich.

Arwas, Victor, Jana Brabcová-Orliková & Anna Dvořák (eds.) (1998), *Alphonse Mucha: The Spirit of Art Nouveau*, Alexandria, Virginia.

Ash, Rhiannon (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Tacitus*, Oxford.

Ashdown, Charles Henry (1907), *The St. Albans Pageant. July 15th to July 20th, 1907*, St. Albans.

Bandel, Ernst von (1862), *Bericht über das Hermanns-Denkmal im Teutoburger Walde vom Erfinder und Erbauer desselben*, Hannover.

Baumstark, Reinhold & Frank Büttner (2003), *Großer Auftritt. Piloty und die Historienmalerei*, Munich.

Beard, Mary (2007), *The Roman Triumph*, Cambridge (Massachusetts), London.

Belgum, Kirsten (1993), 'Displaying the Nation: A View of the Nineteenth-Century Monuments through a Popular Magazine', *Central European History* 26, 457-474.

Benario, Herbert W. (2004), 'Arminius into Hermann: History into Legend', *Greece & Rome* 51, 83-94.

Benham, William Gurney (1909), *Guide to Colchester and its environs. Special pageant edition*, Colchester.

Bergdoll, Barry (2000), 'Leo von Klenze. Munich', *The Burlington Magazine* 142, 586-588.

Bermejo, Saúl Martinez (2010), *Translating Tacitus: The reception of Tacitus' works in the vernacular languages of Europe, 16th-17th centuries*, Pisa.

Betthausen, Peter (1991), 'Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man', in Michael Snodin (ed.), *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*, London, 1-8.

Bilsel, S. Can (2003), *Architecture in the Museum: Displacement, Reconstruction and Reproduction of the Monuments of Antiquity in Berlin's Pergamom Museum,* Princeton.

Bindman, David (1991), 'Schinkel. London, Victoria and Albert Museum', *The Burlington Magazine* 133, 726-728.

Birley, Anthony R. (2009), 'The Agricola', in A. J. Woodman (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Tacitus*, Cambridge, 47-58.

Blažícková-Horová, Nadežda (1998), *Czech 19th-Century Painting*, Prague.

Boethius, Hector (1527), *Scotorum Historiae*, Paris.

Börsch-Supan, Helmut (1990), *Caspar David Friedrich*, Berlin.

Börsch-Supan, Helmut (2002) 'Karl Friedrich Schinkels Gemälde "Aussicht auf das Spreeufer bei Stralau" von 1817', *Artibus et Historiae* 46, 9-19.

Börsch-Supan, Helmut, Hans Joachim Neidhardt & William Vaughan (1972), *Caspar David Friedrich*, London.

Briessmann, Adalbert (1955), *Tacitus und das flavische Geschichtsbild*, Wiesbaden.

Budelmann, Felix & Johannes Haubold, 2011, 'Reception and Tradition', in Lorna Hardwick & Christopher Stray (eds.), *A Companion to Classical Receptions*, Oxford, 13-25.

Bunyan, John & Henry Courteney Selous (1844), *Pilgrim's Progress*, London.

Burford, Robert & Henry Courteney Selous (1846), *Description of a View of the Battle of Sobraon, with the Defeat of the Sikh Army of the Punjab, now exhibiting at the Panorama, Leicester Square. Painted by the Proprietor Robert Burford, assisted by H.C. Selous*, London 1846.

Busch, Werner & Wolfgang Beyrodt (eds.) (1982), *Kunsttheorie und Malerei. Kunstwissenschaft*, Stuttgart.

Buttlar, Adrian von (1999), *Leo von Klenze*, Munich.

Buttlar, Adrian von (1985), 'Leo von Klenzes Entwürfe zur Bayerischen Ruhmeshalle', *Journal of the History of Architecture* 15, 13-32.

Bydžová, Lenka & Karel Srp (eds.) (2005), *Alfons Mucha: Slovanstvo Braterské*,

Prague.

Calder, Angus (2004), *Disasters and Heroes: On War, Memory and Representation*, Cardiff.

Calder, Angus (2004), 'The Scottish National War Memorial', in William Kidd & Brian Murdoch (eds.) (2004), *Memory and Memorials: The Commemorative Century*, Aldershot, 61-74.

Campbell, Gordon Lindsay (2006), *Strange Creatures: Anthropology in Antiquity*, London.

Carter, Rand (1979), 'Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Project for a Royal Palace on the Acropolis', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 38, 34-46.

Chalmers, George (1807), *Caledonia*, London.

Chambers, Ephraim (1870), *Chambers Encyclopaedia: A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge for the People,* 1, Philadelphia and Edinburgh.

Church, Alfred John & William Jackson Brodribb (1874), *The Agricola of Tacitus*, London and New York.

Clarke, H. G. (1843), *A Hand-Book Guide to the Cartoons now exhibiting in Westminster Hall*, London.

Clarke, Katherine (2001), 'An Island Nation: Re-Reading Tacitus' "Agricola"', *Journal of Roman Studies* 91, 94-112.

Clébert, Jean-Paul (1971), *Bestiaire fabuleux. Dictionnaire du symbolisme animal*, Paris.

Conte, Gian Bagio (1999), *Latin Literature: A History*, Baltimore, translated by Joseph Solodow. Original edition: Conte, Gian Bagio (1987), *Letteratura latina: Manuale storico dalle origini alla fine dell'impero romano*, Florence.

Corbould, Edward Henry (1840), *Gems of Beauty displayed in a Series of Twelve Highly Finished Engravings of Various Subjects from Designs by Edward Henry Corbould, Esq. with fanciful Illustrations in Verse, by the Countess of Blessington*, London.

Crawford, Julie (1999), 'Fletcher's "The Tragedie of Bonduca" and the Anxieties of the Masculine Government of James I', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 39, 357-381.

Dekker, Dekker (2008), *The origins of Old Germanic studies in the Low Countries*, Bern.

Devine, T. M. (2006), 'The Break-up of Britain: Scotland and the end of empire', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 16, 163-180.

Dickens, Charles (1856), 'Poor Angelica', *Household Words. A Weekly Journal*, Aug. 4 1855 - Jan. 12 1856, New York, 87-93.

Dolgner, Dieter (1992), 'Der Weg nach Walhalla. Denkmallandschaft und Bildungsreise im 19. Jahrhundert'*, Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 55, 600-606.

Dudley, Donald R. & Graham Webster (1962), *The Rebellion of Boudicca*, London.

Dunkel, Franziska (2002), 'Keiner, der der Preis würdig war?', *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 53, 253-282.

Earland, Ada (1911), *John Opie and his circle*, London.

Edwards, Bela Bates & Stephen Greenleaf Bullfinch (1832), *Biography of Self-Taught Men*, Boston.

Ellet, Elizabeth F. (1859), *Women artists of all ages and countries*, New York.

Engen, Rodney K. (1985), *Dictionary of Victorian Wood Engravers*, Cambridge and Teaneck, New Jersey.

Ettlinger, Leopold David (1962), 'Die Walhalla und die Denkmalkult', *Kunstchronik* 15, 283-284.

Ettlinger, Leopold David (1972), 'Hans von Marées and the Academic Tradition', *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin* 33, 67-84.

Feist, Peter H. (1987), *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst. 1848-1890*, Leipzig.

Fern, Alan (1970), 'Jiří Mucha, "Alphonse Mucha"', *The Art Bulletin* 52, 221-222.

Feulner, Adolf (1929), *Skulptur und Malerei des 18. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland*, Potsdam.

Filipová, Marta (2009), *The Construction of National Identity in Czech Art*, Glasgow.

Finding, Susan (2011), 'London 1911: Celebrating the Imperial', *Observatoire de la société britannique* 11, 21-37.

Flers, Robert de (1897), *Ilsée, Princesse de Tripoli*, Paris.

Forssman, Erik (2001), Review of 'Adrian von Buttlar. Leo von Klenze. Leben - Werk - Vision, Leo von Klenze. Architekt zwischen Kunst und Hof', *Kunstchronik* 54, 74-79.

Foulkes, Richard (2002), *Performing Shakespeare in the Age of Empire*, Cambridge.

Gall, Lothar (2000), 'Dieter Albrecht. König Ludwig II. von Bayern und Bismarck', *Historische Zeitschrift* 270, 39-64.

Gerard, Frances A. (1892), *Angelica Kauffman: A Biography*, London.

Girourd, Mark (1981), *Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman*, London.

Gleichen, Edward (1928), *London's Open-Air Statuary*, London.

Goodyear, Francis Richard David (1970), *Tacitus*, Oxford.

Graves, Algernon (1969), *A Dictionary of Artists who have Exhibited Works in the Principal London Exhibitions from 1760 to 1893*, London.

Hall, Samuel Carter (1844), *The Book of British Ballads*, New York.

Hardwick, Lorna & Christopher Stray (eds.) (2011), *A Companion to Classical Receptions*, Oxford.

Harran, Marilyn J. (1985), *Luther and Learning*, London.

Hartcup, Adeline (1954), *Angelica. The portrait of an eighteenth-century artist*, London.

Härtl-Kasulke, Claudia (1991), *Karl Theodor Piloty (1826-1886). Karl Theodor Pilotys Weg zur Historienmalerei 1826-1855*, Munich.

Hardtwig, Wolfgang (1982), 'Die Walhalla: Idee, Architektur, Landschaft by Jorg Traeger'*, Historische Zeitschrift* 234, 717-718.

Hausmann, Michael (2009), *Die Leserlenkung durch Tacitus in den Tiberius- und Claudiusbüchern der Annalen*, Berlin.

Hautecoeur, Louis (1912), *Rome et la Renaissance de l'Antiquité à la fin du XIIIe Siècle*, Paris.

Hayley, William (1810), 'Account of William Cowper', *The Belfast Monthly Magazine* (no. 18), 37-43.

Hay, Ian (1931), *Their name liveth: The book of the Scottish National War Memorial*, London.

Haynes, Holly (2003), *The History of Make-Believe: Tacitus on Imperial Rome*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, London.

Hederer, Oswald (1981), *Leo von Klenze: Persönlichkeit und Werk*, Munich.

Hellfaier, Rose (ed.) (1975), *Ernst von Bandel an Wilhelm Tegeler. Briefe zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Hermannsdenkmals*, Detmold.

Herder, Johann Gottfried et al. (eds) (1878), *Sämtliche Werke*, Berlin.

Hingley, Richard (2000), *Roman Officers and English Gentlemen*, London.

Hinz, Sigrid (1974), *Caspar David Friedrich in Briefen und Bekenntnissen*, Berlin.

Hodnett, Edward (1988), *Five Centuries of English Book Illustration*, Aldershot.

Höfler, Otto (1961), *Siegfried, Arminius und die Symbolik. Mit einem historischen Anhang über die Varusschlacht*, Heidelberg.

Homans, Margaret (1998), *Royal Representations*, Chicago.

Howitt, Anna Mary (1853), *An Art Student in Munich* (vol. 1), London.

Hume, David (1793-1806), *History of England*, London (first edition 1754-1761).

Husslein-Arco, Agnes, Jean Louis Gaillemin, Michel Hilaire & Christian Lange (eds.) (2009), *Alfons Mucha: Katalog zur Ausstellung in Wien, 2.2.-1.6.2009 und in München 25.9.2009-10.1.2010*, Munich.

Hutchings, W. B. (1989), 'William Cowper and 1789', *The Yearbook of English Studies* 19, 71-93.

Jameson, Anna (1834), *Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad*, London.

Jungmann, Josef (1834-1839), *Slovník česko-německý* (five volumes), Prague.

Keate, George (1781), *Epistle to Angelica Kauffman*, London.

Kelly, Christopher (2006), *The Roman Empire: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford.

Kelly, William B. (1857), *Selections from the Irish Quarterly Review. First Series. In Three Volumes* (vol. 2), Dublin.

Kidd, William & Brian Murdoch (eds.) (2004), *Memory and Memorials: The Commemorative Century*, Aldershot.

Kingsley, Charles (1870), *Hereward the Wake*, London.

Kingsley, Charles (1864), *The Roman and the Teuton: A Series of Lectures delivered before the University of Cambridge*, Cambridge and London.

Kleist, Heinrich von (1821), *Hinterlassene Schriften,* Berlin.

Kleist, Heinrich von, (1920), *Kleists sämtliche Werke* (edited by Arthur Eloesser), Leipzig.

Klenze, Leo von (1838), *Aphoristische Bemerkungen gesammelt auf seiner Reise nach Griechenland*, Berlin.

Klenze, Leo von (1821), *Versuch einer Wiederherstellung des toskanischen Tempels*, Munich.

Klose, Dirk (1999), *Klassizismus als die idealistische Weltanschauung*, Munich.

Kollar, Jan (1822), *Dobré vlastnosti národu slovanského*, Pest.

Krasny, Elke & Manuela Fellner-Feldhaus (2004), *Welt ausstellen: Schauplatz Wien 1873*, Vienna.

Krebs, Christopher (2011), *A Most Dangerous Book: Tacitus' Germania from the Roman Empire to the Third Reich*, New York.

Kugler, Franz (1854), *Kleine Schriften über neuere Kunst und deren Angelegenheiten*, Stuttgart.

Lahoda, Vojtěch (1998), *Dějiny českého vytvarného umění* (vol. 4.1)*, 1890-1938*, Prague.

Lascelles, Frank (1911), *The Festival of Empire. Coronation Year, 1911 at the Crystal Palace. Pageant of London (Under the Patronage of H.M. Government)*, London.

Leinz, Gottlieb (1981), 'Ludwig von Bayern und die Gotik', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 44, 399-444.

Lenman, Robin (1989), 'Painters, Patronage and the Art Market in Germany 1850-1914', *Past & Present* 123, 109-140.

Lewis, Michael J. (1995), Review of exhibition 'Karl Friedrich Schinkel, 1781-1841: The Drama of Architecture', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 54, 72-75.

L'hoir, Francesca Santoro (2006), *Tragedy, Rhetoric, and the Historiography of Tacitus' Annales*, Ann Arbor.

Lipp, Ronald (1998) & Suzanne Jackson, 'The Spirit of Mucha', in Victor Arwas, Jana Brabcová-Orliková & Anna Dvořák (eds.), *Alphonse Mucha: The Spirit of Art Nouveau*, Alexandria, Virginia, 12-15.

Lipp (2005), 'The Message and the Man', in Sarah Mucha (ed.), *Alphonse Mucha*, London, 10-22.

Lloyd, Stephen (1993), 'Angelica Kauffman. York and Brighton', *The Burlington Magazine* 135, 161-163.

Lomas, Sophie C. (ed.) (1911), *Festival of Empire. Souvenir of the Pageant of London*, London.

Luce, T. J. & A. J Woodman (ed.) (1993), *Tacitus and the Tacitean Tradition*, Princeton.

Lund, Allan A. (1988), *P. Cornelius Tacitus: Germania*, Heidelberg.

Lutz, Heinrich, (1985), *Zwischen Habsburg und Preußen: Deutschland 1815-1866* (*Die Deutschen und ihre Nation*), Berlin.

Macdonald, Juliette (2001), 'Let us now praise the name of famous men: Myth and Meaning in the Stained Glass of the Scottish National War Memorial', *Journal of Design History* 14, 117-128.

Machalíková, Pavla (2007), 'Inspiration found in literature and book illustration', in Roman Prahl (ed.), *Joseph Bergler and Graphic Art in Prague 1800-1830*, Olomouc, 59.

Macleod, Jenny (2010), '"By Scottish hands, with Scottish money, on Scottish soil": The Scottish National War Memorial and National Identity', *Journal of British Studies* 49, 73-96.

Macleod, James Lachlan (2002), '"Greater love hath no man than this": Scotland's conflicting religious responses to death in the Great War', *The Scottish Historical Review* 81, 70-96.

Macleod, Jenny (2010), 'Memorials and location: Local versus national identity and the Scottish National War Memorial', *The Scottish Historical Review* 89, 73-95.

Macmillan, Ducan (1994), *Scottish Art in the 20th Century*, Edinburgh.

Manners, Victoria & D. C. Williamson (1924), *Angelica Kauffman*, London.

Manning, Elfrida (1982), *Marble and Bronze: The Art and Life of Hamo Thornycroft*, London.

Marchand, Suzanne L. (1996), *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany 1750-1970*, Princeton.

Martin, Ronald H. (1981), *Tacitus*, London.

Martindale, Charles & Richard F. Thomas (eds.) (2006), *Classics and the Uses of Reception*, Oxford.

Masaryková, Anna (1979), 'Praha a Josef Bergler, první ředitel umělecké akademie', *Umění* 27, 77-79.

Mellinghoff, Tilman (1983), 'Karl Friedrich Schinkel - Das Architektonische Lehrbuch by Goerd Peschken', *The Burlington Magazine* 125, 701-702.

Mellor, Ronald (1993), *Tacitus*, London and New York.

Menzel, Carl August (1844), *Jahrbuch der Baukunst und Bauwissenschaft in Deutschland*, 1, Eisleben.

Miquel, Pierre (1991), *Dictionnaire symbolique des animaux. Zoologie mystique*, Paris.

Mittig, Hans-Ernst & Volker Plagemann (1972), *Denkmäler im 19. Jahrhundert*, Munich.

Moyano, Steven (1990), 'Quality vs. History: Schinkel's Altes Museum and Prussian Arts Policy', *The Art Bulletin* 72, 585-608.

Much, Rudolf (1959), *Die Germania des Tacitus*, Darmstadt.

Mucha, Alphonse (1975), *Lectures on Art*, London.

Mucha, Jiří (1966), *Alphonse Mucha*, London.

Mucha, Sarah (ed.) (2005), *Alphonse Mucha*, London.

Müller, Siegfried (1999), 'Der Dreißigjährige Krieg in der deutschen Historien- und Genremalerei des 19. Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 62, 657-664.

Murray, Linda & Peter Murray (eds.) (2004), *Oxford Dictionary of Christian Art*, Oxford.

Nerdinger, Winfried (2002), 'Klenze und Schinkel, Hoflieferant versus Baugenie? Wege und Irrwege der Rezeption', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 44, 63-75.

Nerdinger, Winfried (2000), *Leo von Klenze*, Munich.

Nipperdey, Thomas (1986), *Nachdenken über die Deutsche Geschichte*, Munich.

Nipperdey, Thomas (1968), 'Nationalidee und Nationaldenkmal in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert', *Historische Zeitschrift* 206, 529-585.

Opie, John & Amelia Opie (1809), *Lectures on Painting, delivered at The Royal Academy of Arts: with a letter on the proposal for a public memorial of the naval glory of Great Britain*, London.

Pagán, Victoria Emma (ed.) (2012), *A Companion to Tacitus*, Malden, Mass. and Oxford.

Parker, Louis Napoleon (1909), *Souvenir and Book of Words of the Colchester Pageant*, Colchester.

Peik, Susan M. (ed.) (2001), *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: Aspects of his work*, Stuttgart and London.

Piggott, Stuart (1968), *The Druids*, London.

Pohlsander, Hans A. (2008), *National Monuments and Nationalism in 19th-Century*

Germany, Bern.

Poulter, George B. C. (1935), *The Corbould Genealogy*, Ipswich.

Prahl, Roman (1995-1996), 'Die Prager "Galerie lebender Maler", Joseph Bergler und sein Hermann nach der Schlacht im Teutoburger Wald', *Bulletin of the National Gallery in Prague* 5-6, 53-69.

Prahl, Roman (ed.) (2007), *Joseph Bergler and Graphic Art in Prague 1800-1830*, Olomouc.

Price, Simon & Peter Thonemann (2010), *The Birth of Classical Europe*, London.

Prost, Antoine (1994), 'Seignobos revisité', *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire* 43, 100-118.

Pundt, Hermann G. (1967), 'K. F. Schinkel's Environmental Planning of Central Berlin', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 26, 114-130.

Rank, Gertrud (2002), *Handzeichnungen des Bildhauers Ludwig Schwanthaler*, Munich.

Redgrave, Richard & Samuel Redgrave (1865), *A Century of Painters of the English School* (2 vols.), London.

Redgrave, Samuel (1847), *A Dictionary of Artists of the English School*, London.

Reeve, Lovell (1863), *Portraits of Men of Eminence in Literature, Science, and Art* (vol. 2), London.

Rittersberg, Ludwig Ritter von (1848), *Myšlenky o slovanském malířství: Květy a plody*, Prague.

Rives, James B. (2012), 'Germania', in Victoria Emma Pagán (ed.), *A Companion to Tacitus*, Malden, Mass. and Oxford, 45-61.

Roberts, Keith (1963), 'London', *The Burlington Magazine* 105, 330+337-339.

Rogers, John Jope (1878), *Opie and His Works, being a Catalogue of 760 Pictures by John Opie*, London and Truro.

Rosenthal, Angela (2006), *Angelica Kauffman: Art and Sensibility*, New Haven and London.

Rossi, Giovanni Gherardo (1810), *Vita di Angelica Kaufman*, Florence.

Roworth, Wendy Wassyng (1983), 'The Gentle Art of Persuasion: Angelica Kauffman's Praxiteles and Phryne', *The Art Bulletin* 65, 488-492.

Russell, A. C. (1972), *The Stained Glass Windows of Douglas Strachan*, Aberlemno.

Sailor, Dylan (2008), *Writing and Empire in Tacitus*, Cambridge.

Sato, Tomoko (2009), in Agnes Husslein-Arco, Jean Louis Gaillemin, Michel Hilaire & Christian Lange (eds.) *Alfons Mucha: Katalog zur Ausstellung in Wien, 2.2.-1.6.2009 und in München 25.9.2009-10.1.2010*, Munich.

Sayer, Derek (1998), *The Coasts of Bohemia*, Princeton.

Schama, Simon (1995), *Landscape and memory*, Bath.

Schinkel, Karl Friedrich (1840-1842, 1845-1848), *Werke der höheren Baukunst* (2 vols,), Potsdam.

Schubert, Gotthilf Heinrich von Schubert (1855), *Der Erwerb aus einem vergangenen und die Erwartungen von einem zukünftigen Leben: Eine Selbstbiographie*, Vol. II Part 2 (*Der Schulmann und Schüler*), Erlangen.

Scrymgeour, N. (1928), 'The story of Scotland's Shrine: Scotland's soul in stone; the shrine as symbol of Scotland's Pride and Sorrow', *Sunday Post Supplement* (11.11.1928), 1.

Seignobos, Charles (1907), *History of Ancient Civilisation*, London.

Seignobos, Charles (1908), *History of Medieval Civilisation*, London 1908)

Seignobos, Charles (1902), *History of the Roman People*, translated and edited by William Farley, New York.

Seignobos, Charles (1898), *Introduction aux études historiques*, Paris.

Seignobos, Charles (1898), *Scènes et épisodes de l'histoire d'Allemagne*, Paris.

Selous, Henry Courteney (1867) *Gerty and May*, London.

Selous, Henry Courteney (1836), *Outlines of Shakespeare's Tempest*, London.

Skipwith, Peyton (1983), 'Hamo Thornycroft. Leeds', *The Burlington Magazine* 125, London, 379-381.

Slous, A. R. (1866), *True to the core: A story of the Armada*, London.

Smiles, Sam (1994), *The Image of Antiquity: Ancient Britain and the Romantic Imagination*, Ann Arbor.

Smith, Anthony D. (2013), *The Nation Made Real: Art and National Identity in Western Europe, 1600-1850*, Oxford.

Smith, John Thomas (1828), *Nollekens and his times*, London.

Snodin, Michael (1991), *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*, London.

Spen, Kay (1869), *Our White Violet*, London.

Strong, Roy (2004), *The Arts in Britain: A History*, London.

Sylvestrová, Marta & Petr Štembera (eds.) (2009), *Alfons Mucha - Czech Master of the Belle Epoque*, Brno and Budapest.

Syme, Ronald (1958), *Tacitus*, Oxford.

Tasso, Torquato (1858), *Godfrey of Bulloigne, or, Jerusalem delivered*, Trans. E. Fairfax, Illustrated by Edward Henry Corbould, London.

Taylor, James (1859), *The Pictorial History of Scotland*, London.

Taylor, James (ed.) (1897-98), *The Victorian Empire; a Brilliant Epoch in our National History*, London.

Thomas, Richard F. (2009), 'The *Germania* as a literary text', in A. J. Woodman (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Tacitus*, Cambridge, 59-72.

Thornycroft, Elfrida (1932), *Bronze and Steel: The Life of Thomas Thornycroft Sculptor and Engineer*, Shipston-on-Stour.

Tomory, Peter A. (1971), 'Angelica Kauffmann - 'Sappho'', *The Burlington Magazine* 113, 274-276.

Townson (ed.), Ernest W. (1907), *St. Albans and its pageant: Being the official souvenir of the pageant held July, 1907*, London and St. Albans.

Traeger, Jörg (ed.) (1979), *Die Walhalla: Idee, Architektur, Landschaft*, Regensburg.

Trempler, Jörg (2004), 'Karl Friedrich Schinkels Entwurf für ein Grabmal auf dem Cimitero accatolico', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 46, 161-170.

Trevelyan, Marie (1900), *Britain's Greatness Foretold: The Story of Boadicea, the British Warrior-Queen*, London.

Vandrei, Martha (2010), *Who will be a coward when a woman leads?*, London.

Vaughan, William (1979), *German Romanticism and English Art*, New Haven and London.

Vielberg, Meinolf (1987), *Pflichten, Werte, Ideale. Eine Untersuchung zu den Wertvorstellungen des Tacitus*, Stuttgart.

Vorarlberger Landesmuseum Bregenz (1968), *Angelika Kauffmann und ihre Zeitgenossen*, Bregenz.

Vlnas, Vit (2002), 'Heřman po bitvě v Teutoburském lese přijímá ikoristěné trofeje', *Dějiny a současnost* 22, 26-27.

Vlnas, Vit (1996), *Obrazárna v Čechách 1796-1918*, Prague.

Waagen, Gustav Friedrich (1854), *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, London.

Walch, Peter (1977), 'An Early Neoclassical Sketchbook by Angelica Kauffman', *The Burlington Magazine* 119, 98-111.

Weber, Eugen (1988), 'Religion and Superstition in Nineteenth-Century France', *The Historical Journal* 31, 399-423.

Webster, Graham (1978), *Boudica: The British Revolt against Rome AD 60*, London.

Withington, Robert (1963) *English Pageantry*, New York.

Wittlich, Petr (2000), *Alfons Mucha in the Municipal House*, Prague.

Wittlich, Petr (2005), 'A Complete Vision', in Sarah Mucha (ed.) (2005), *Alphonse Mucha*, London, 8-9.

Wolf, Norbert (2007), *Caspar David Friedrich. Der Maler der Stille*, Cologne.

Wolters, Reinhard (2000), *Die Römer in Germanien*, Munich

Yoshino, Ayako (2010), *The Edwardian Historical Pageant. Local History and Consumerism*, Tokyo.

Zschoche, Hermann (ed.) (2006), *Caspar David Friedrich: Die Briefe*, Hamburg.