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**National Monuments
and Nationalism in
19th Century Germany**

Hans A. Pohlsander



No century in modern European history has built monuments with more enthusiasm than the 19th. Of the hundreds of monuments erected, those which sprang from a nation-wide initiative and addressed themselves to a nation, rather than part of a nation, we may call national monuments. Nelson's Column in London or the Arc de Triomphe in Paris are obvious examples. In Germany the 19th century witnessed a veritable flood of monuments, many of which rank as national monuments. These reflected and contributed to a developing sense of national identity and the search for national unity; they also document an unsuccessful effort to create a "genuinely German" style. They constitute a historical record, quite apart from aesthetic appeal or ideological message. As this historical record is examined, German national monuments of the 19th century are described and interpreted against the background of the nationalism which gave birth to them.

Hans A. Pohlsander is a native of Germany, but a long-time resident of the United States. He holds degrees from the University of Utah, the University of California, Berkeley, and the University of Michigan. He is professor emeritus of Classics and Religious Studies at the University at Albany, State University of New York. His principal publications are *Helena: Empress and Saint* (Chicago 1995) and *The Emperor Constantine* (London 1996 and 2004). He has also edited Volumes VII and XII of *Sources for the History of Cyprus* (New York 1999 and 2006).

National Monuments and Nationalism in 19th Century Germany

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info@peterlang.com, www.peterlang.com, www.peterlang.net

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Preface

In 1968 German historian Thomas Nipperdey published a ground-breaking article under the title “Nationalidee und Nationaldenkmal in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert.” With this article he forcefully called attention to the value of monuments as records of history and particularly to the contribution which a study of German national monuments can make to an understanding of German nationalism as it developed throughout the 19th century.

The next major effort in this field was made in 1972 by Hans-Ernst Mittag and Volker Plagemann with their volume on *Denkmäler im 19. Jahrhundert: Deutung und Kritik*. More recently, in 1996, Reinhard Alings has brought forth his admirable volume on *Monument und Nation: Das Bild vom Nationalstaat im Medium Denkmal: Zum Verhältnis von Nation und Staat im deutschen Kaiserreich, 1871–1918*. I am not aware of a comparable work on the earlier decades of the century. Beyond that there is an abundance of literature on individual monuments or on smaller groupings of monuments. Here Sieglinde Seele’s *Lexikon der Bismarck-Denkmal* (2005) deserves special mention.

Much has been written both in German and in English on modern German history and, more specifically, on German nationalism in the 19th century, but very little literature in English is available on the monuments. This book, therefore, hopes to be of service to those who might have an interest in the subject but read German only with difficulty or not at all. It is not meant to be an exhaustive study of German nationalism, but rather an intelligent reader’s guide to the monuments, an aid to understanding them in the light of German nationalism. Hence its title is *National Monuments and Nationalism* rather than *Nationalism and National Monuments*.

I wish to thank Dr. Warren Roberts, Dr. Paul W. Wallace, and Dr. Walter Günther, my colleagues at the University at Albany, for reading parts of my manuscript and making suggestions for its improvement. Others who have been of assistance with specific points are recognized in the footnotes. I am grateful to Dr. Don Heinrich Tolzmann for deeming my subject worthy of inclusion in the series *New German-American Studies* /

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All translations are my own. Photographs are my own unless otherwise indicated.

Hans A. Pohlsander
June 2008

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CHAPTER I

What is a National Monument?

Monuments assume many different forms, from humble and simple tombstones to imposing public structures. But how are we to define a *national* monument? In want of clearly established criteria Thomas Nipperdey, in 1968, offered this: “A national monument is what is accepted as a national monument.”¹ Reinhard Alings, in 1996, phrased it differently: “A national monument is what has become a national monument.”² Nevertheless some characteristics of national monuments may be discerned:

A national monument is one which honors a revered leader or hero of a nation, keeps alive the memory of a significant event in the history of a nation, or expresses the ideals of a nation. Such a monument serves to maintain cherished traditions and to evoke patriotic sentiments. A monument may be regarded as a national one from the beginning, or it may take on a nation-wide significance at a later time. Thus Karl Friedrich Schinkel “concentrated more on Prussian than national identity,”³ but some of his buildings have clearly become national monuments. A monument may help to define a nation, to shape its national identity and consciousness. Nelson’s Column and the Cenotaph in London, the Pantheon and the Arc de Triomphe in Paris, the monuments to Victor Emmanuel II and to Giuseppe Garibaldi in Rome, the Washington Monument in Washington, D.C., and the Statue of Liberty in the harbor of New York, meeting one or more of these criteria, are prime examples of national monuments.⁴ Monuments, especially national monuments, remind us that we cannot escape history. The great art historian and conservator Georg Dehio

1 “Nationalidee und Nationaldenkmal” 532.

2 *Monument und Nation* 40.

3 Koshar, *Germany’s Transient Pasts* 29.

4 Similarly Weiler, *Von der Loreley* 15.

remarked: “We conserve a monument not because we consider it beautiful, but because it is a part of our national life.”⁵

National monuments can be architectural in form, as Berlin’s Brandenburg Gate, sculptural, as the Reformation-Monument in Worms, or a combination of both, as the Niederwalddenkmal. Many national monuments are imposing by their size; indeed to the casual visitor their size is the most remarkable thing about them. They are, as the German art historian Lutz Tittel calls them, “Monumentaldenkmäler,”⁶ but not all “Monumentaldenkmäler” are national monuments. The large size is often dictated by the chosen location.

A national monument must transcend local or regional significance, must speak to the nation as a whole. Many German monuments do so, even when there was no German national state.⁷ But Munich’s massive, iron-cast statue of Bavaria, designed by Ludwig von Schwanthaler and erected in 1844–1850,⁸ and neo-classical Bayerische Ruhmeshalle (Hall of Fame), built in 1843–1853 after designs of Leo von Klenze,⁹ do not qualify (unless one should think of Bavaria as a nation). Neither does the Waterloo column in Hannover, designed by the architect Georg Ludwig Friedrich Laves (1788–1864) and built in 1826–1832, since it honors specifically the Hannoverian part in that battle.¹⁰ Beautiful Monument Avenue in Richmond, Virginia, as originally conceived, with its impressive monuments to Confederate greats Robert E. Lee, J.E.B. Stuart, Jefferson Davis, and “Stonewall” Jackson, is an

5 Quoted by Koshar, *Germany’s Transient Pasts* 32–33.

6 Tittel, “Monumentaldenkmäler” 215–18.

7 Gunther Mai, “Denkmäler und politische Kultur” 24.

8 Otten, *Schwanthaler* (1967) 62–66. Id., *Schwanthaler* (1970) 60–64 and 130–31; ill. 168–78. Alckens, *München* 18. Scharf, *Zum Stolze* 169–70. Hüttl, *Ludwig I* 122–23.

9 Alckens, *München* 116. Scharf, *Zum Stolze* 169. Hüttl, *Ludwig I* 122. Buttler, *Leo von Klenze* 266–82. Sonja Hildebrand in Nerdinger, *Leo von Klenze* 391–97.

10 *AHB* II (1914) 326–33. Georg Hoeltje, *Laves: Baumeister seiner Zeit* (Hannover 1964) 31–34 and 42–44. Georg Hoeltje, *Georg Ludwig Friedrich Laves* (Hannover 1964) 58–64. Marianne Zehnpfennig in Harold Hammer-Schenk und Günther Kokkelink, eds., *Laves und Hannover: Niedersächsische Architektur im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (Hannover 1989) 295–302. Helmut Knocke in Böttcher, *Lexikon* 225–26. Burckhardt, *Hannover* 60.

effective commemoration of the Confederate cause.¹¹ It is born of regional pride – the pride of a region which was a nation for a few short years, but is not a nation now.¹² The city of London boasts several statues of Queen Victoria, but only one is called a national monument: the one in front of Buckingham Palace, by the sculptor Thomas Brock and the architect Aston Webb and dedicated in 1911.¹³

In Europe today the nation states have surrendered significant elements of their sovereignty to a supranational organization. Nevertheless they continue to play a vital role not only in governing their internal affairs, but also in world politics, while the reunification of Germany has given new life to the concept of the nation state and created a new need to examine that concept.¹⁴ “In global politics today there is no organization which would be more important than the nation state, in spite of all supra-national alliances and communities.”¹⁵ Or, “I see no alternative [to the nation state]. Societies which do not form nations break up into groups of some other kind ... The nation is a builder of institutions.”¹⁶ And national monuments have not become anachronistic reminders of an institution that has outlived its usefulness.¹⁷

11 Ralph W. Widener, *Confederate Monuments: Enduring Monuments of the South and the War Between the States* (Washington, D.C., 1982) 278, 279, and 281. Kathy Edwards, Esme Howard, and Toni Prawl, *Monument Avenue: History and Architecture* (Washington, D.C., 1992). Sarah Shields Driggs, Richard Guy Wilson, and Robert P. Winthrop, *Richmond's Monument Avenue* (Chapel Hill 2001).

12 On Confederate nationhood and nationalism see the following: Emory M. Thomas, *The Confederate Nation, 1861–1865* (New York 1979), especially the editors' Introduction, XI–XIII, by Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris. Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, and William N. Still, Jr., *Why the South Lost the Civil War* (Athens, Georgia, and London 1986) 64–81. George C. Rable, *The Confederate Republic: A Revolution Against Politics* (Chapel Hill and London 1994) 45–46.

13 Sidney Lee, *Queen Victoria: A Biography*, 2nd ed. (New York 1903) 564. Benedict Read, *Victorian Sculpture* (London and New Haven 1982) 371–79. Susan Beattie, *The New Sculpture* (London and New Haven 1983) 228–30. Other monuments to Queen Victoria are at Carlton House Terrace, at Blackfriars Bridge, in the Royal Exchange, and in Kensington Gardens.

14 Mattenklott, “Deutsche Denkmäler” 17–20.

15 So Dietmar Pieper and Klaus Wiegrefe in *Die Erfindung* 8.

16 So Dieter Langewiesche in *Die Erfindung* 14; similarly 18.

17 Schlie, *Die Nation* 11.

National monuments are generally erected and maintained by the established institutions of state and society, not by the opposition;¹⁸ the expense is usually borne by public means or public subscription.¹⁹ The opposition is usually limited to verbal criticism; it may, on occasion, call for the demolition of a monument. In 2000 plans were made to observe the 125th anniversary of the dedication of the Hermannsdenkmal (monument to Arminius) at Detmold. A radical leftist group called “Junge Linke” voiced its protest by posting a long website under the provocative heading “Das Hermannsdenkmal kann, muß und wird gesprengt werden!” (The monument to Arminius can, must, and will be blown up!)²⁰ Vandalism is more common, sometimes mindless, sometimes politically motivated. On May Day 2000 London’s Cenotaph and the statue of Winston Churchill in Parliament Square were both defaced.²¹ Hamburg’s Bismarck-Monument was damaged by vandals recently.²² This writer has seen both the statue of Kaiser Wilhelm outside the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Museum in Krefeld and the monument to Richard Wagner in Berlin’s Tiergarten defaced by graffiti.

The destruction of monuments sometimes accompanies a violent or radical change of government. In 311 the Roman emperor Maxentius had the statues of his rival Constantine overthrown, thus precipitating war.²³ Akin to this is the Roman practice of *damnatio memoriae*, i. e. the erasure of an opponent’s name from all public records, particularly inscriptions.²⁴

18 So correctly Nipperdey, “Nationalidee” 531, Mazón, “Germania Triumphant” 167, and Gunther Mai, “Denkmäler und politische Kultur” 19. For a different perspective see Hutter, “Die feinste Barbarei” 70.

19 Gunther Mai, “Denkmäler und politische Kultur” 39 with n. 96.

20 www.junge-linke.de/staat-und-nation/das_hermannsdenkmal-kann_mu_un.html. Werner M. Doyé, “Arminius,” in François and Schulze, *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte* III 587–602 at 599.

21 *The Times* 2 May 2000.

22 *Hamburger Abendblatt* 5 June 2003.

23 The Roman panegyrist Nazarius in his panegyric of Constantine, delivered in 321. *Pan. Lat.* 4 (edd. Baehrens and Mynors) or 10 (ed. Galletier) 12.2. A. H. M. Jones, *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe* (London 1948) 70. Hermann Dörries, *Konstantin der Große* (Stuttgart 1958) 26. Peter Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response* (Oxford and New York 2003) 289. Charles M. Odahl, *Constantine and the Christian Empire* (London and New York 2004) 98.

24 Alexander Demandt, *Vandalismus* 105–106.

An interesting story is that of the equestrian monument of England's King Charles I by his French-born court sculptor Hubert le Sueur. It was first erected in 1633, taken down during the Commonwealth, but saved by the man who was supposed to melt it down, and put up again after the Restoration. It stands at London's Charing Cross, just off Trafalgar Square, at the head of Whitehall.²⁵ In 1792 French revolutionary fervor destroyed most of the monuments which had been erected to the monarchy.²⁶ Monuments to Heinrich Heine and to Felix Mendelssohn were removed from German cities during the Nazi years.²⁷ The fate of Nazi monuments after the Allied victory in 1945,²⁸ monuments to Lenin after the "Wende" in the former East Germany,²⁹ monuments to Josef Stalin after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and Saddam Hussein's statue after the capture of Baghdad by American forces provides modern parallels. Even more recently, on 27 December 2004, a life-size bronze statue of former Yugoslav dictator Josip Broz Tito, in his hometown of Kumrovec, Croatia,

- 25 W. H. Davenport Adams, *The White King or Charles the First* (London 1885) II 149. D. G. Denoon, *The Statue of King Charles I at Charing Cross* (London 1931). Katharine Ada Esdaile, "The Busts and Statues of Charles I," *Burlington Magazine* 91 (1949) 9–14. R. M. Ball, "On the Statue of King Charles at Charing Cross," *Antiquaries Journal* 67:1 (1987) 97–101. Margaret Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain, 1530–1830*, revised by John Physick (London 1988) 86–90. David Howarth, "Charles I, Sculpture and Sculptors", in Arthur MacGregor, ed., *The Late King's Goods* (London 1989) 73–113 at 88–89 and 108–109. Busts of Charles I by the same sculptor are found in the Victoria and Albert Museum, in Oxford's Bodleian Library, at Stourhead, Wiltshire, and elsewhere. See now also Jerry Brotton, *The Sale of the Late King's Goods: Charles I and His Art Collection* (London 2006) 348–51 and ill. 37.
- 26 Gunther Mai, "Denkmäler und politische Kultur" 11 and 22–23. Agulhorn, "Die 'Statuomanie' im Frankreich des 19. Jahrhunderts" 90. Günther Lottes, "Damnatio historiae: Über den Versuch einer Befreiung von der Geschichte in der Französischen Revolution," in Speitkamp, *Denkmalsturz* 22–48.
- 27 In 1936 the destruction of a monument to Felix Mendelssohn in Leipzig prompted the resignation of Leipzig's mayor, Dr. Karl Goerdeler: Alexander Demandt, *Vandalismus* 172. On Goerdeler see further Gerhard Ritter, *The German Resistance: Carl Goerdeler's Struggle against Tyranny* (Freeport, N.Y., 1970).
- 28 Monuments deemed to be "militaristic" or "nationalistic," such as the Niederwalddenkmal at Rüdeshiem (see Chapter VII) or Berlin's Siegessäule (see Chapter VIII) were at risk. The monument to Nazi hero Albert Leo Schlageter in Düsseldorf was destroyed in 1946: Alexander Demandt, *Vandalismus* 206.
- 29 Alexander Demandt, *Vandalismus* 205.

was toppled by a bomb blast.³⁰ Was this the deed of mindless vandals or of radical nationalists? At times a monument may escape total destruction but may be made subject to the demands of a prevailing ideology by alterations; thus the Kaiser Wilhelm monument at Hohensyburg (Dortmund) underwent such alterations during the Nazi years (see Chapter IX).

There may, in a given monument, be a discrepancy between an ideal proclaimed and an existing reality. Thus the liberty proclaimed by the Statue of Liberty has not always been enjoyed by all Americans. The national unity celebrated by some German monuments was an aspiration only for most of the 19th century, and even after 1871 it was weakened by regional loyalties and by differences of confession, ideology, and class. Monuments, like written documents, provide a historical record, but not necessarily a complete or objective record.³¹ They reflect the thinking of their own times; they seldom tell of battles lost or of revolutions failed. And did all of the “glorious dead” of the war memorials die a heroic death? Berlin’s new Holocaust Memorial is a new kind of memorial, a “Mahnmal”; it boasts of no victory or other achievement, but gives expression to a nation’s shame and remorse.

There may be a discrepancy also between the artistic form and the national idea; a viewer may admire the one, but not share the other, or the artistic form may be found to be inadequate as an expression of the ideal which is being celebrated. One may find fault with the same monument on both aesthetic and political grounds. Germany’s Niederwalddenkmal, to be considered below, may be a case in point.

An artist may be more interested in creating a work of art than in expressing a particular national theme. Indeed the same artist may in the course of his career devote his creative talents to the expression of more than one national idea or even of conflicting national ideas. Friedrich Weinbrenner (1766–1826), architect and city planner, left his mark on his native Karlsruhe with his neo-classical buildings;³² he also drew designs for monuments to Frederick the Great, the French Republic, Napoleon, the Völkerschlacht (Battle of Leipzig), and the Battle of Belle-Alliance

30 *New York Times* 28 December 2004. The statue has been re-erected.

31 Koshar, *Germany’s Transient Pasts* 17, speaks of “documents of stone.”

32 Gottfried Leiber, *Friedrich Weinbrenners städtebauliches Schaffen für Karlsruhe* (2 vols. Mainz 2002).

(Waterloo).³³ Bruno Schmitz (1858–1916), prominent German architect, earned the first prize, when he was only 25 years old, with a design for the monument which was to be erected to King Victor Emmanuel II; that the commission was given to another does not take away from his achievement. Later he built monuments to Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm I at the Kyffhäuser (1890–1896), at Porta Westfalica (1892–1896), and at the Deutsche Eck (1893–1897), as well as the Völkerschlachtdenkmal (1898–1913).³⁴ In 1888 he was given the commission for a large Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument in Indianapolis; the main purpose of this monument was to honor the more than 200,000 sons of Indiana who served the cause of the Union in the Civil War, a cause to which he had no particular connection.³⁵ American sculptor Gutzon Borglum (1867–1941) spent two years, 1923–1925, working on the Confederate Memorial at Stone Mountain, Georgia. When he was forced by various difficulties to leave that project unfinished, he soon, in 1927, embarked on another, even greater project, the giant sculptures of Mount Rushmore, South Dakota; on this project he worked until his death.³⁶

National monuments readily assume a sacral character, especially when they become the site of public patriotic demonstrations, typically on anniversary dates. London's Cenotaph, to cite an example, is the scene of an annual Service of Remembrance held on the Sunday closest to November 11; this service contains both patriotic and religious elements. Friedrich Weinbrenner specifically assigned a religious function to his projected Völkerschlachtdenkmal.³⁷ National monuments have served as the objects or instruments of a cult. Germany's ubiquitous Bismarck-towers, to be

33 Nipperdey, "Nationalidee" 531. Hansen, *Nationaldenkmäler* 7. Lankheit, *Friedrich Weinbrenner* 7–58. Valdenaire, *Weinbrenner* 17, 69, 71, 286–89, 291, and 293; ill. 8, 45–48, and 238–40.

34 Schliepmann, *Bruno Schmitz*. Nipperdey, "Nationalidee" 531. Hansen, *Nationaldenkmäler* 7.

35 Ernestine Bradford Rose, *The Circle: The Center of Indianapolis* (Indianapolis 1971). Alings, *Monument und Nation* 118.

36 Gilbert C. Fite, *Mount Rushmore* (Norman 1952), esp. 33–43 and 96–211. Willadene Price, *Gutzon Borglum, Artist and Patriot* (Chicago 1961) 128–88. Robin Borglum Carter, *Gutzon Borglum: His Life and Work* (Austin 1998) 72–79 and 84–89.

37 Lankheit, *Friedrich Weinbrenner* 28. Valdenaire, *Weinbrenner* 286. Hutter, "Die feinste Barbarei" 40.

discussed later, are an example. On the other hand the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Wall, erected in 1982 on the National Mall in Washington, D.C., is devoid of religious symbols and carefully avoids making a political statement about a highly divisive war.

No century, since antiquity, has built monuments more enthusiastically than the 19th century.³⁸ This is particularly true of Germany, where there were very few public monuments at the beginning of the century, but hundreds of them at the end of the century.³⁹ In Berlin alone more than 400 sculptors were active during the course of the 19th century.⁴⁰ One may rightly speak of a “Denkmalskult” (monument cult) or a “Denkmalsboom.”⁴¹ Some observers have even spoken of “Denkmalswut” (monument mania), “Denkmalsflut” (flood of monuments), “Denkmalseuche” or “Denkmalspest” (monument plague).⁴² An objection was voiced by Arthur Schopenhauer, who in 1837 complained of an “allgemein herrschende Monumentensucht” (generally prevailing monument craze).⁴³

The enthusiastic erection of national monuments in the 19th century was not limited to Germany; rather it was an all-European phenomenon.⁴⁴

38 Schnabel, “Die Denkmalskunst” 134–50, esp. 146–50. Evers, “Denkmalsplastik” 157–63. Hansen, *Nationaldenkmäler* 6.

39 Hans-Ernst Mittig in Mittig and Plagemann, *Denkmäler* 287. Hansen, *Nationaldenkmäler* 7. Jürgen Müller, “Die Stadt, die Bürger und das Denkmal” 270, gives their number as more than 800 by the year 1883.

40 Bloch and Grzimek, *Bildhauerschule*, col. 13. Jürgen Müller, “Die Stadt, die Bürger und das Denkmal” 270. Gunther Mai, “Denkmäler und politische Kultur” 13, n. 7.

41 Schlie, *Die Nation* 50.

42 Mazón, “Germania Triumphant” 162, speaks of a general “frenzy of monument-building,” and Susanne Beyer, in *Die Erfindung* 134, of the “Denkmalmanie” of Emperor Wilhelm II. Schuchardt, “Eisenacher ‘Nationaldenkmäler’” 284, calls both Ludwig I and Ludwig II “bauwütig” (building-crazy).

43 Tümpel, “Lutherdenkmäler” 239–40. Gunther Mai, “Denkmäler und politische Kultur” 12.

44 Tittel, *Niederwalddenkmal* 116. See Tacke, *Denkmal im sozialen Raum* 29–76, for the role of Vercingetorix in French national consciousness. See Völcker, *Tempel für die Großen* 23–100 and 101–220, for the national monuments of Great Britain and France, respectively. See Agulhorn, “Die ‘Statuomanie’ im Frankreich des 19. Jahrhunderts,” for the national monuments of France. The phenomenon manifested itself also in the United States: The Saratoga Battle Monument was completed in 1883, the Washington Monument on the Mall in Washington, D.C., in 1885, the Bennington

One observation, however, applies particularly to German national monuments: “The monument cult in Germany of the 19th century is at one and the same time an expression of national enthusiasm and of deep-rooted insecurity. Countless monuments adjoined what was not sufficiently present, both before and after the foundation of the Reich: the national identity of the Germans.”⁴⁵

A case in point would be Berlin’s former Siegesallee (Victory Boulevard). This extended for 750 m. from the Kemperplatz to the Königsplatz (now Platz der Republik) in the Tiergarten Park, thus terminating at another large victory monument, the Siegessäule (Victory Column, later moved to another location; see Chapter VIII). Emperor Wilhelm II, exhibiting both “Denkmalswut” and megalomania to an extreme degree, had it lined with 32 statues, each accompanied by two portrait busts. The statues were of all the margraves, electors, and kings of Brandenburg/Prussia from 1165 to 1888. The project, executed in 1895–1901, was under the direction of Reinhold Begas (see Chapters IX and X). Irreverent Berliners referred to it as “Puppenallee” (boulevard of dolls).⁴⁶

The present study will examine German national monuments of the 19th century, but this will include the last two decades of the 18th century, which saw the building of the Brandenburger Tor, and the opening years of the 20th century, up to the beginning of World War One, which saw the building of the Völkerschlachtdenkmal.⁴⁷ The geographical limits will, with some exceptions, be the German borders of 1871; Austria will thus be excluded. Only large, freestanding monuments in public places will be considered; sculptures, large or small, in museums, churches, or other buildings, and funerary monuments will generally be excluded.

Battle Monument in 1891, the Lincoln Memorial in 1922, and the Jefferson Memorial not until 1943.

45 Lang, “Monumental Unease” 276. Braun, *Siegessäule* 9.

46 Alings, *Monument und Nation* 106 and 163. Uta Lehnert, *Der Kaiser und die Siegesallee: Réclame royale* (Berlin 1998). Jan von Flocken, *Die Siegesallee: Auf den Spuren der brandenburgisch-preußischen Geschichte* (Berlin 2000).

47 Similar chronological limits have been applied to other studies in German history or German art, e.g.: Osten, *Plastik des 19. Jahrhunderts* 3 and 4. Agatha Ramm, *Germany 1789–1919* (London and New York 1967). Breuilly, *Nineteenth-Century Germany*. David Blackbourn, *The Fontana History of Germany, 1780–1918: The Long 19th Century*, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA, 2003).

CHAPTER II

German Nationalism in the 19th Century from the Beginnings to Ernst Moritz Arndt

The monuments of 19th century Germany can be understood only in the context of German nationalism. For purposes of this study nationalism shall be understood to be an awareness of national identity and pride in that identity.¹ An effort to describe this nationalism is made difficult by a number of circumstances which complicate the task:

Whom shall we consider a “German”? Anyone who was a native speaker of German? Surely the Swiss would object, having become a nation of their own. Anyone who was a subject of one of the many German states? But some of these states were home to non-German populations; there were Danes in Schleswig-Holstein, Poles in West Prussia, and Masurians in East Prussia, and to this day there are the Sorbs of the Lusatia (Lausitz) district.² The Czechs, Magyars, and other ethnic groups in Austria’s multi-ethnic, multi-lingual empire were not Germans, were they? Or was anyone a German who regarded himself as such, regardless of territorial boundaries? What then of the “Wolga-Germans” or the German communities in the Baltic states? And what of the Alsatians? And what were the boundaries of Germany? Germany lacks natural borders, and the political boundaries have changed repeatedly and substantially over time.³ In certain contexts,

- 1 Ekkehart Rudolph in Schwedhelm, *Propheten des Nationalismus* 8–9, draws a distinction between “Nationalbewußtsein” (sense of national identity) and nationalism. The former he views as healthy, while the latter, he holds, almost inevitably develops into an arrogant sense of superiority and “mission” and into imperialism, ultimately leading to catastrophe. The present writer does not share that view and prefers to use “nationalism” as a neutral term.
- 2 On the Sorbs today see Panikos Panayi, *Ethnic Minorities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany* (Harlow, Essex, 2000) 16–17 and 179–81.
- 3 Alexander Demandt, *Deutschlands Grenzen in der Geschichte* (2nd ed. Munich 1991).

especially in the study of German language and literature, it has now become the practice to speak of the “German-speaking area.”

The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation was not at any time in its long history a nation state. There were non-Germans living within the boundaries of that empire, and Germans living outside of these boundaries, and the same was true of the German Confederation of 1815.⁴ Indeed, German nationalism grew up in a place and a time in which ethnographic and political borders did not coincide.⁵ The German Confederation of 1815 was not a state at all, but a loose confederation of thirty-nine sovereign states. The Second Reich of 1871 was, at last, a nation state, but, Austria having been excluded, it was only “kleindeutsch.” Throughout the 19th century German nationalism and the German nation were evolving. They should be seen “in terms of *becoming* rather than *being*.”⁶ In 1841 Heinrich von Gagern, who was to become the president of the German National Assembly in 1848, correctly observed that “in both regards, fatherland and freedom, Germany is in the state of development and formation.”⁷

Nevertheless an incipient German nationalism, as defined above, may be observed already in the late 15th century, perhaps even earlier.⁸

Thus, in 1471, when Pope Sixtus IV endeavored to launch another crusade, Giovanni Antonio (*or* Gianntonio) Campano, the papal delegate to the Imperial Diet meeting at Regensburg, called upon the “German nation” to defend Europe against the Turks.⁹ And in 1492 Konrad Celtis (1459–1508), a leading German humanist, addressed his audience at the

4 Vick, *Defining Germany* 2.

5 Vick, *Defining Germany* 45.

6 Breuilley, *Nineteenth-Century Germany* 3. Similarly Hutter, “*Die feinste Barbarei*” 9 and 13, sees German nationalism passing through different stages in the course of the 19th century. Vick, *Defining Germany* 206, writes: “The parliamentarians [of 1848] conceived of the nation not as a static entity ... but rather as a process in which the nation had to be continually reborn ...” Indeed the German nation has been seen as an “*Erfindung*” (invention) or construction: Dietmar Pieper and Klaus Wiegrefe in *Die Erfindung* 9.

7 Wentzcke and Klötzer, *Deutscher Liberalismus* 236–37. Echterkamp, *Der Aufstieg* 385.

8 Vick, *Defining Germany* 15.

9 Michael Werner, “Die Germania,” in François and Schulze, *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte* III 569–86 at 573. On Pope Sixtus IV see Michael Schaich in *BBKL* 10 (1995),

University of Ingolstadt as *viri Germanici* as he delivered an oration marked by romantic nationalism.¹⁰ His goal was to make Germany a land of humanistic learning.¹¹ In 1494 he discovered the works of the tenth century German poetess Roswitha (Hrotsvitha) von Gandersheim in the library of the Benedictine monastery of St. Emmeram in Regensburg (Ratisbon); in 1501 he published them.¹² More importantly, in 1500 he published an edition of the *Germania* of Tacitus,¹³ a text in which the German humanists saw the “Urgeschichte” of their country and which helped to nourish the development of a sense of national identity. “He [Celtis] and his Vienna humanists added to the mounting tide of German patriotism which was to play such a crucial role in the coming Protestant revolt.”¹⁴

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- cols. 584–99 with rich bibliography. On Giovanni Antonio (or Gianntonio) Campano see *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 17 (1974) 424–29.
- 10 *Oratio in gymnasio Ingelstadio publice recitata cum carminibus ad orationem pertinentibus*, ed. Johannes (Hans) Rupprich (Leipzig 1932). Spitz, *Conrad Celtis* 25–31. Benario, “Arminius into Hermann” 84. Murdoch, *Rome’s Greatest Defeat* 157–58. Georg Bönisch in *Die Erfindung* 35.
- 11 Friedrich von Bezold, *Konrad Celtis: Der deutsche Erzhumanist* (Darmstadt 1959) 69. First published in *Historische Zeitschrift* 49 (n.s. 13; 1883) 1–45 and 193–228. Spitz, *Conrad Celtis* 19. Boeckh, *Geschichte d. d. Literatur* 154–58, 167, 169, and 175. Max Wehrli, “Der Nationalgedanke im deutschen und schweizerischen Humanismus,” in Wiese and Henß, *Nationalismus* 126–44, esp. 127–28. Friedrich Gaede in Bahr, *Geschichte d. d. Literatur* I 259–61.
- 12 Now Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, CLM 14485. Spitz, *Conrad Celtis* 41–42 and 47.
- 13 This was not the first German edition of the *Germania*. The first German edition had appeared in Nuremberg in 1473, three years after the *editio princeps* (Venice 1470). Rodney Potter Robinson, *The Germania of Tacitus: A Critical Edition* (Middletown, Connecticut, 1935) 328–29. Spitz, *Conrad Celtis* 66–67 and 99. Sandys, *Classical Scholarship* II 260. Echternkamp, *Der Aufstieg* 93. Bemann, *Arminius* 114. Benario, “Arminius into Hermann” 84. Murdoch, *Rome’s Greatest Defeat* 156–57. Dieter Mertens in Magdeburger Museen, *Von Otto dem Großen*, Katalog 561.
- 14 Spitz, *Conrad Celtis* 104. See further Manfred Fuhrmann, “Die Germania des Tacitus und das deutsche Nationalbewusstsein,” in id., *Brechungen: Wirkungsgeschichtliche Studien zur antik-europäischen Bildungstradition* (Stuttgart 1982) 113–28 at 121–28; *ibid.* 233, n. 6. Also Michael Werner, “Die ‘Germania,’” in François and Schulze, *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte* III 569–86, and Werner M. Doye, “Arminius,” *ibid.* III 587–602 at 587–88. Similarly Brunn, “Germania” 105, and Bemann, *Arminius* 114.

Then, in the early 16th century, nationalism was even more pronounced in the activities of Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523). “The goal of my struggle has been to regain for the fatherland the freedom of which it has been robbed by force,” so he declared shortly before his death. He was the first person to undertake purposely and passionately the formation, by literary means, of a German national consciousness.¹⁵

In 1520 Luther appealed to “the Christian Nobility of the German Nation.”¹⁶ On 19 April 1521 Emperor Charles V, addressing himself, in French, to the diet of Worms, says of himself that he was descended, among others, from “the very Christian emperors of the noble German nation.”¹⁷

In 1573 the Swiss artist Tobias Stimmer (1539–1584, active first in Schaffhausen, then in Strasbourg) created a woodcut titled “Germania Domitrix Gentium.” It features a winged Germania poised on a globe; she wears a crown and holds the imperial orb in her left hand and a scepter in

Ulrich Schwarz in *Die Erfindung* 43: “The *Germania* becomes the Bible of an early German patriotism.”

- 15 Ergang, Herder 11. Boeckh, *Geschichte d. d. Literatur* 197. Carlheinz Gräter, *Ulrich von Hutten: Ein Lebensbild* (Stuttgart 1988) 115. Less emphatically Wehrli, *Geschichte d. d. Literatur* I 963–68, and Friedrich Gaede in Bahr, *Geschichte d. d. Literatur* I 275.
- 16 *D. Martin Luthers Werke*, Kritische Gesamtausgabe 6 (Weimar 1966) 404–69. Martin Luther, *Ausgewählte Werke*, ed. H. H. Borcherdt and Georg Merz, 3rd ed. (Munich 1958–1965) II 81–150. English: *Luther's Works* 44 (Philadelphia 1955) 115–217. The full title is “An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des christlichen Standes Besserung” (“To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation on the Improvement of the Christian Estate”). Ernst Kohlmeier, *Die Entstehung der Schrift Luthers “An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation”* (Gütersloh 1922). Richard Friedenthal, *Luther: His Life and Times*, first American ed. (New York 1970) 215–22. Regine Bleiß in Stölzl, *Bilder und Zeugnisse* 39. Sabine Witt in Deutsches Historisches Museum, *Altes Reich*, Katalog, 55–56.
- 17 *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Karl V. (Jüngere Reihe)* II: *Der Reichstag zu Worms 1521*, ed. Adolf Wrede (Gotha 1896) 594–96. Hans Wolter in Reuter, *Der Reichstag* 226–29. Jensen, *Confrontation* 57–58. Ferdinand Seibt, *Karl V.* 65–66 and 68. Alfred Kohler, ed., *Quellen zur Geschichte Karls V.* (Darmstadt 1990) 74–75. Alfred Kohler, *Karl V., 1500–1558: Eine Biographie* (Munich 1999) 155.

her right hand; a cloth with the double eagle is affixed to her breastplate. Thus she has usurped all the imperial insignia.¹⁸

In the 17th century Martin Opitz (1597–1639), German Baroque poet and head of the so-called Silesian school of poetry, endeavored to arouse national pride and recognized the need for a consciously German literature.¹⁹ In the 18th century Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), poet, critic, theologian, and philosopher, objected to the cosmopolitanism of the Enlightenment and “became, in a sense, the founder of historical nationalism in Germany.”²⁰ But Christoph Martin Wieland, writing in 1795, found cause to lament German particularism.²¹ In German lyric poetry from Friedrich Klopstock (1724–1803) to Friedrich Hölderlin (1770–1843) a “quasi-religious identification with a German fatherland forms a persistent theme.”²² From the pen of Matthias Claudius (1740–1815) we have these beautiful lines (1772):

- 18 Hutter, *Germanische Stammväter* 148 and ill. 91. On Tobias Stimmer see further: Max Bendel, *Tobias Stimmer: Leben und Werke* (Zürich 1940). Hans Theodor Musper, *Der Holzschnitt in fünf Jahrhunderten* (Stuttgart 1964) 225–26. Robert Hiltbrand, *Spätrenaissance am Oberrhein: Tobias Stimmer, 1539–1584* (Exhibition catalog, Basel 1984). Jane S. Peters, ed., *German Masters of the Sixteenth Century, The Illustrated Bartsch* 19, pt. 2 (New York 1988). Gisela Bucher, *Weltliche Genüsse: Ikonologische Studien zu Tobias Stimmer (1539–1584)* (Bern 1992). Also *ADB* 55 (1910) 630–33, Thieme-Becker, *Künstler-Lexikon* 32 (1938) 57–62, and *DBE* 9 (1998) 533–34.
- 19 *Aristarchus, sive de contemptu linguae Teutonicae und Buch von der deutschen Poeterey*, ed. Georg Witkowski, Leipzig 1888. Ergang, *Herder* 140–41. Bernhard Ulmer, *Martin Opitz* (New York 1971) 17–18, 38–39, and 40–41. Gerd Hillen in Bahr, *Geschichte d. d. Literatur* I 336–37. Wilhelm Kühlmann, *Martin Opitz: Deutsche Literatur und deutsche Nation* (Herne 1991) 10–11 and 63.
- 20 So Ergang, *Herder* 253–54. Similarly Schieder, *Das deutsche Kaiserreich* 8, Schulze, *The Course* 50, and Nipperdey, *Germany* 263.
- 21 “Über den deutschen Patriotismus: Betrachtungen, Fragen und Zweifel” in *Werke*, eds. Martini and Seiffert, III (Munich 1967) 744–54 at 749–50. Echternkamp, *Der Aufstieg* 84, n. 90.
- 22 Joachim Whaley in Breuilley, *Nineteenth-Century Germany* 35. On nationalist sentiment in Klopstock see also Gerhard Kaiser, “Klopstock als Patriot,” in Wiese and Henß, *Nationalismus* 145–69, Schulz, *Die deutsche Literatur* I 119–120, and Schulze, *The Course* 46. On the concept of “Vaterland” in Hölderlin see Kiewitz, *Poetische Rheinlandschaft* 49–60; also Schulz, *Die deutsche Literatur* I 663 and 665.

1. Stimmt an mit hellem hohem Klang,
 Stimmt an das Lied der Lieder,
 Des Vaterlandes Hochgesang,
 Das Waldtal hall es wider.

2. Der alten Barden Vaterland,
 Dem Vaterland der Treue,
 Dir, freies, unbezwungnes Land,
 Dir weihn wir uns aufs neue.²³

1. Strike up with clear and lofty voice,
 Strike up the Song of Songs,
 Our country's noble song,
 From woods and valleys echo forth.

2. O fatherland of bards of old,
 O fatherland of trust,
 To you we pledge our faith again.

A more intense and better-defined German nationalism, a real national movement, grew out of the experience of the Napoleonic Wars.²⁴ This national movement was carried by the “Bildungsbürgertum,” i.e. the educated urban elite. “Dichter und Denker” (poets and thinkers), scholars, composers, and artists, joined in a kind of “Kulturpatriotismus,” had part in this movement.²⁵ Together they created a “Kulturnation” (cultural nation)

23 Melody by Albert Methfessel, 1811. Text on www.musicanet.org/robokopp. Also in the *Allgemeines deutsches Kommersbuch* and the *Allgemeines deutsches Liederbuch*.

24 Kohn, “Arndt” 789. Wilhelm Mommsen, *Größe und Versagen* 22. Herre, *Deutsche und Franzosen* 101–102 and 111. Schulz, *Die deutsche Literatur* II 23. Schulze, *The Course* 49–50. Longerich, *Des Deutschen Vaterland* 17. Nipperdey, *Germany* 265. Hutter, “*Die feinste Barbarei*” 15. Gall, *Germania* 6/39. Joachim Whaley in Breuilly, *Nineteenth-Century Germany* 16. Bemann, *Arminius* 175. Ibid. 192: “1813 is the year in which German nationalism was born.” Murdoch, *Rome's Greatest Defeat* 165. In this sense and in other ways, Napoleon is “a central figure of German history”: so Andreas Schulz, in Frank Möller, *Charismatische Führer* 22.

25 Ralph Marks, “Johannes von Müller und der Patriotismus,” in Erichsen, *Vorwärts, vorwärts* II 49–70 at 61. Schulz, *Die deutsche Literatur* II 53–54. Schulze, *The Course* 46–47.

before there was a nation state.²⁶ *Nationalismus ohne Nation* is the provocative title of a German history from 1789 to 1914 by Johannes Willms.²⁷ This “Kulturnation” was defined by a common language and a common culture. There was a lively interest in folk music, fairy tales, and legends, in the literature and art of the Middle Ages. The Gothic style of architecture was, erroneously, believed to be the true German style;²⁸ or, just as erroneously, the genuinely Christian form of art.²⁹ Its revival was not “neo-Gothic” but “Old German.”³⁰ Even the young Goethe believed that Gothic architecture was “German architecture, our architecture.”³¹ This “cultural nationalism” bore fruit in some remarkable achievements, apart from the many monuments which are the subject of this book:

The Brothers Grimm, Jacob (1785–1863) and Wilhelm (1786–1859), were pioneers in the scholarly study of folklore. Firmly believing in the value of oral traditions, and following in the footsteps of Johann Gottfried Herder,³² and of Clemens Brentano and Achim von Arnim,³³ they published *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (*Grimm’s Fairy Tales*), a collection of more than 200 tales, in 1812–1814. They were driven in their work in part by a strong sense of nationalism.³⁴

26 Hagemann, “Francophobia” 412.

27 Longerich, *Des Deutschen Vaterland* 14. Vick, *Defining Germany* 16. Düsseldorf 1983. Similarly Jürgen Mirow, *Deutsche Geschichte – keine Nationalgeschichte* (Gernsbach 2002); esp. 185–231, Chapter 7: “Untergang des alten Reiches und Entstehen einer bürgerlichen Staatsnation ohne Nationalstaat.”

28 Hutter, “*Die feinste Barbarei*” 26–27. Nipperdey, *Germany* 265. Martina Abri and Christian Raabe in Maaz, *Die Friedrichswerdersche Kirche* 43. Karin Friedrich in Breuilly, *Nineteenth-Century Germany* 103. Matthew Jefferies, *ibid.* 233–34. Schlie, *Die Nation* 32.

29 Rudolf Lill in Dann, *Religion – Kunst – Vaterland* 97.

30 Klein, *Der Dom* 78.

31 *Von deutscher Baukunst*, ed. Ernst Beutler (Munich 1943) 7–20 at 15. English: *On German Architecture*, in John Gage, ed., *Goethe on Art* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1980) 103–14 at 108. Ulrike Knöfel in *Die Erfindung* 62.

32 *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern*, 1778–1779. Ed. Frankfurt 1978.

33 *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, first published in 1806–1808 and dedicated to Goethe. Edd. Munich 1957 and Berlin 1968.

34 Gerstner, *Die Brüder Grimm* (1970) 85–97 and 124–35. Denecke, *Jacob Grimm* 64–71. Michaelis-Jena, *The Brothers Grimm* 47–54. Kohlschmidt, *Geschichte d. d. Literatur III* 317–21. Steinmetz, *Gedenkstätten* 52–54. Zipes, *The Brothers Grimm* 75–79. Lauer,

They also were among the founding fathers of German philology as an academic discipline. They began work on their *Deutsches Wörterbuch* in 1838 and published the first volume in 1854. After their deaths it was continued by Rudolf Hildebrand and others (the last article by Jacob Grimm is the one on “Frucht”) and finally completed in 1960. With 32 volumes and ca. 350,000 entries the *Wörterbuch* is not only the largest but also the most exhaustive and most important German dictionary, a monumental work of lexicography, not prescriptive, but historical, “from Luther to Goethe.”³⁵ At the same time it was to give expression to “increased love for the fatherland and inextinguishable desire for greater unity.”³⁶ It was to be a gift “on the altar of the beloved fatherland.”³⁷ It is not difficult to perceive the national idea and the nationalist thought which underlie the *Wörterbuch*.³⁸

Furthermore Jacob Grimm wrote a *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* and a *Deutsche Grammatik*, devoted himself to comparative linguistics, and formulated the linguistic law which governs consonantal shift (“Lautverschiebung”), explains the relationship of the Indo-European

Von Hessen nach Deutschland 73–75. Schulz, *Die deutsche Literatur* II 318–22. Bahr, *Geschichte d. d. Literatur* II 371–72. Susanne Beyer in *Die Erfindung* 131.

- 35 Wolfgang Pfeifer, “Das deutsche Wörterbuch,” in Wilhelm Fraenger and Wolfgang Steinitz, eds., *Jacob Grimm: Zur 100. Wiederkehr seines Todestages* (Berlin 1963) 190–213. Gerstner, *Die Brüder Grimm* (1970) 317–30. Michaelis-Jena, *The Brothers Grimm* 120–21. Denecke, *Jacob Grimm* 119–29. Kirkness, *Geschichte des deutschen Wörterbuchs*, provides a full account. Ulrich Pretzel, “Zur Geschichte des deutschen Wörterbuchs,” *Brüder Grimm Gedenken* 3 (1981) 216–48, on the *Wörterbuch* after the death of Jacob Grimm. Volker Mertens, ed., *Die Grimms, die Germanistik und die Gegenwart* (Vienna 1988), esp. Ursula Rautenberg, “Germanistik als Wissenschaft: Aspekte zur Geschichte des Fachs im frühen 19. Jahrhundert,” 25–48, and Helmut Bracker, “Andauernde Provokation: Zum Streit um das Grimmsche Wörterbuch,” 65–90. Zipes, *The Brothers Grimm* 8–9. Lauer, *Von Hessen nach Deutschland* 78–79. Schulz, *Die deutsche Literatur* II 270–71. Thomas Mann called the *Wörterbuch* “a heroic undertaking” and “a philological monument”; cited by Gerstner, *Die Brüder Grimm* (1970) 325.
- 36 Gerstner, *Die Brüder Grimm* (1970) 322.
- 37 Jacob Grimm in the foreword to the first volume. Cited by Gerstner, *Die Brüder Grimm* (1952) 279–80.
- 38 Theodor Kochs, “Nationale Idee und nationalistisches Denken im Grimmschen Wörterbuch,” in Wiese and Henß, *Nationalismus* 273–84.

languages one to another, and is named “Grimm’s Law” after him.³⁹ He also edited Tacitus’ *Germania*.⁴⁰ Wilhelm Grimm’s interests were less linguistic and more literary; among his works *Die deutsche Heldensage* merits special mention. Jacob Grimm published twenty-one books, Wilhelm fourteen, and together they produced eight.⁴¹ Jacob’s *Kleinere Schriften* fills eight volumes;⁴² Wilhelm’s four.⁴³

Freiherr (Baron) Heinrich Friedrich Karl vom Stein (1757–1831) is best known for the reforms which he instituted in the Prussian system of administration and government while serving as state minister.⁴⁴ Retiring from political life in 1816, he devoted the remaining years of his life to historical studies. In 1819 he founded the “Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde” (Society for the study of early German history). This society has directed the publication of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, a vast collection of historical texts, both Latin and German. The first volume appeared in 1826 and new texts continue to be added to the collection. Georg Heinrich Pertz served as editor for more than fifty years, 1819–1873.⁴⁵

39 On Grimm’s Law see Frans van Coetsem in Antonsen, *The Grimm Brothers* 43–59. Vick, *Defining Germany* 143, calls Jacob Grimm “the father of Germanists.”

40 Göttingen 1835.

41 Zipes, *The Brothers Grimm* 9. Antonsen, *The Grimm Brothers* 142–44, provides a partial bibliography.

42 Berlin 1864–1890. Repr. Hildesheim 1965–1966. Full bibliography V 482–502.

43 Berlin 1881–1887. Full bibliography IV 637–59.

44 The most exhaustive account is that by Pertz, *Freiherr vom Stein*. Mann, *Deutsche Geschichte* 72–76. Id. *History of Germany* 32–34. Hermann Conrad, “Freiherr vom Stein als Staatsmann im Übergang vom Absolutismus zum Verfassungsstaat,” in *Osteuropa und der deutsche Osten I* (Köln-Braunsfeld 1958) 7–27. Guy Stanton Ford, *Stein and the Era of Reform in Prussia, 1807–1815* (Princeton 1922; repr. Gloucester, MA, 1965). Schieder, “Das Jahr 1813” 687. Karl-Heinz Janßen in Venohr, *Preussische Porträts* 71–91. Franz Herre, *Freiherr vom Stein: Sein Leben, Seine Zeit* (Cologne 1973) 140–89. Hubatsch, *Stein-Studien*. Ritter, *Freiherr vom Stein* 212–303. Echternkamp, *Der Aufstieg* 228. Levinger, *Enlightened Nationalism* 31–32 and 55–58.

45 Bresslau, *Geschichte der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, passim. Bach, *Reichsfreiherr vom Stein* 130–31. Schieder, *Das deutsche Kaiserreich* 64. Rössler, *Reichsfreiherr vom Stein* 108. Raumer, “Der Freiherr vom Stein und Goethe” 42–43. Ritter, *Freiherr vom Stein* 531–35. Schulze, *The Course* 59. Fuhrmann, *Gelehrtenleben* passim; rich bibliography 133–39. Markus Wesche in Alfred Dawlik, ed., *Zur Geschichte und Arbeit der Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Munich 1996) 9–16. Martin C. Wald in *Deutsches*

The undertaking even aroused the interest of Goethe, who usually took little interest in historical studies but became an honorary member of the society.⁴⁶

German painting of the period must also be considered in this context, above all the oeuvre of Caspar David Friedrich (1774–1840). Friedrich was a master of Romantic landscape painting. “The Cliffs of Rügen”⁴⁷ and “The Sea of Ice”⁴⁸ are best known. Many of his paintings are marked by melancholy and a preoccupation with death; cemeteries and graves are an often-repeated subject of his brush.⁴⁹ In some of his paintings there is an element of religious mysticism; the cross occurs frequently as a motif.⁵⁰ In some other paintings there is an element of patriotism. This is hardly a surprise, given that Friedrich counted such patriots as Theodor Körner, Heinrich von Kleist, and Ernst Moritz Arndt among his acquaintances and like these was opposed to Napoleon and to French rule. Christian and political allegory may even fuse into one.⁵¹

Historisches Museum, *Altes Reich*, Katalog 570. A fine monument to Stein, the work of Hermann Schievelbein (1817–1867), has now found a permanent home in the plaza in front of the Berlin Abgeordnetenhaus. One of the four allegorical figures on the socle holds a volume of the *Monumenta*. Bloch and Grzimek, *Bildhauerschule*, col. 156 and pl. 265. On Pertz see *ADB* 25 (1887) 406–10, *DBE* 7 (1998) 606, and *NDB* 20 (2001) 205–207.

- 46 Otto Harnack, *Goethe in der Epoche seiner Vollendung, 1805–1832* (Leipzig 1905) 235. Bresslau, *Geschichte der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 82–84. Schulze, *The Course* 59. Fuhrmann, *Gelehrtenleben* 20–21 and 25.
- 47 Also “Chalk Cliffs on Rügen;” G. “Kreidefelsen auf Rügen.” Winterthur, Stiftung Oskar Reinhart.
- 48 Also “The Polar Sea” or “Arctic Shipwreck;” G. “Das Eismeer.” Hamburg, Kunsthalle.
- 49 Enumerated in Börsch-Supan and Jähnig, *Caspar David Friedrich* 226–27. Finke, *German Painting* 25 and 28. Werner Busch, “Caspar David Friedrich,” in François and Schulze, *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte* III 516–30 at 522–23 and 525.
- 50 Enumerated in Börsch-Supan and Jähnig, *Caspar David Friedrich* 228.
- 51 Börsch-Supan, *Caspar David Friedrich* 94. Koerner, *Caspar David Friedrich* 95. Peter Wegmann, *Caspar David Friedrich to Ferdinand Hodler: A Romantic Tradition: Nineteenth Century Paintings and Drawings from the Oskar Reinhart Foundation, Winterthur* (Frankfurt and Leipzig 1993) 76. Eisler, *Masterworks in Berlin* 511. Werner Busch, “Caspar David Friedrich,” in François and Schulze, *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte* III 516–30 at 524 and 530. Gerd-Helge Vogel, “Patriotische Gesinnung und antinapo-

Anti-French sentiment and hope for liberation are very subtly expressed in Friedrich's painting "Old Heroes' Graves" (1812):⁵² A tree growing from the collapsed tomb of Arminius suggests new life.⁵³ A year or two later Friedrich occupied himself with the same theme again.⁵⁴ Yet another painting of a tomb, "Hutten's Grave" (1823/1824), is relevant: A sarcophagus stands in a ruined chapel, being visited by an elderly man. Hutten's name is inscribed on the pedestal of a harness, while the names of Scharnhorst, Stein, Görres, Jahn, and Arndt are inscribed on the sarcophagus.⁵⁵ Clearly we have here a political statement, a statement for freedom and against repression. Friedrich has not escaped misinterpretation by Nazi ideology.⁵⁶

German music of the period assumed an "increasingly national character."⁵⁷ Carl Maria von Weber (1786–1826) is a case in point, particularly his opera *Der Freischütz* (1821). Franz Schubert (1797–1828) established the "Lied" as a new and distinctly German form of art. Johannes Brahms (1833–1897) has given us among his compositions a collection of 144 folk songs. And above all there is Richard Wagner (1813–1883). Wagner was controversial in his own days and remains so today.⁵⁸ Yet there is no deny-

leonische Haltung im Werk von Caspar David Friedrich," *Anzeiger des germanischen Nationalmuseums* 2006, pp. 91–122.

- 52 Hamburg, Kunsthalle, Inv.-Nr. 1048. Also "Graves of Ancient Heroes;" G. "Grabmale alter Helden," "Gräber gefallener Freiheitskrieger," or "Grab des Arminius."
- 53 Börsch-Supan and Jähnig, *Caspar David Friedrich*, p. 57, pl. 12; and pp. 325–26, cat. no. 205. Börsch-Supan, *Caspar David Friedrich*, p. 94 and pl. 13. Koerner, *Caspar David Friedrich*, p. 229, ill. 136.
- 54 Bremen, Kunsthalle, Inv. Nr. 1909/5. "Rocky Gorge." G. "Höhle mit Grabmal" or "Grab des Arminius." The identification of the tomb as that of Arminius is, however, doubtful. Börsch-Supan and Jähnig, *Caspar David Friedrich*, p. 327, cat. no. 206. Schmied, *Caspar David Friedrich*, fig. 15.
- 55 Weimar, Staatliche Kunstsammlung. Börsch-Supan and Jähnig, *Caspar David Friedrich*, p. 37 and p. 389, cat. no. 316. Koerner, *Caspar David Friedrich*, p. 228, ill. 135, and p. 244. Schmied, *Caspar David Friedrich*, fig. 24.
- 56 Kurt Carl Eberlein, *Caspar David Friedrich, der Landschaftsmaler: Ein Volksbuch deutscher Kunst* (Bielefeld and Leipzig 1940). Börsch-Supan and Jähnig, *Caspar David Friedrich* 190. Schmied, *Caspar David Friedrich* 18.
- 57 Nipperdey, *Germany* 268 and 486–87. Karin Friedrich in Breuilly, *Nineteenth-Century Germany* 110.
- 58 Ronald Taylor, *Richard Wagner* 249–65, offers a selection of judgments, both for and against and ranging in time from 1876 to 1975.

ing the supreme achievement of his music. It too drew its inspiration, at least in part, from the nationalism of his century. Medieval German legends provided material for his great music dramas: *Tannhäuser*, *Lohengrin*, *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, *Der Ring des Nibelungen*, and *Parsifal*.⁵⁹ He identified not only with this kind of cultural nationalism, but also with the political aspects of nationalism, the same nationalism which moved him, in 1849, to join the revolutionaries in Dresden and consequently drove him into exile.⁶⁰ Wagner became the “cultural standard bearer of German nationalism,”⁶¹ but his nationalism was extreme, bigoted, and arrogant.⁶²

The Cologne Cathedral is the most famous of German cathedrals, one of the largest cathedrals in all of Europe, and a masterpiece of High Gothic architecture. The foundation stone for it was laid on 15 August 1248 when the existing earlier building had proved inadequate.⁶³ Progress was fast initially, but then slowed down, and finally ground to a halt in 1560. For the next three centuries, almost, the idle construction crane on the

- 59 Wagner himself reports: *Mein Leben*, erste authentische Veröffentlichung, ed. Martin Gregor-Dellin (Munich 1963) 308–309; English: *My Life*, trl. Andrew Gray, ed. Mary Whittall (Cambridge 1983) 259–60. Curt von Westernhagen, *Wagner: A Biography*, trl. Mary Whittall (2 vols. Cambridge 1978) I 93–97. Volker Mertens, “Wagner’s Middle Ages,” in Ulrich Müller and Peter Wapnewski, eds., *Wagner Handbook*, trl. John Deathridge (Cambridge, MA, and London 1992) 236–68. Nipperdey, *Germany* 487–88.
- 60 Ronald Taylor, *Richard Wagner* 87–97. Martin Gregor-Dellin, *Richard Wagner: His Life, His Work, His Century*, trl. J. Maxwell Brownjohn (San Diego, New York, and London 1983) 152–80.
- 61 Robert Vilain in Harry White and Michael Murphy, eds., *Musical Constructions of Nationalism: Essays on the History and Ideology of European Musical Culture 1800–1945* (Cork [Ireland] 2001) 239.
- 62 Found, for instance, in a series of fifteen articles titled *German Art and German Politics*, published in the course of 1867 in Munich’s *Süddeutsche Presse*. Cited in Derek Watson, *Richard Wagner: A Biography* (London 1979) 234–35.
- 63 In 1164 Reinald von Dassel, Archbishop of Cologne and chancellor to Emperor Friedrich Barbarossa, had brought to Cologne from Milan the relics of the Three Kings. Cologne therewith became a place of pilgrimage comparable to Jerusalem, Rome, or Santiago de Compostela. The relics are housed to this day in a large golden shrine designed by Nikolaus von Verdun.

unfinished south tower served as the landmark of the city.⁶⁴ And yet this cathedral became a focal point of national pride. In 1814/1815 Friedrich Rückert (1788–1866) thus called for its completion:

Der Dom zu Köln

Der hohe Dom zu Köln!
Ein Denkmal alter Zeit,
Der Deutschen Herrlichkeit,
Im Alter längst ergraut,
Und noch nicht ausgebaut.
Der hohe Dom zu Köln!

...

Der hohe Dom zu Köln!
Es lag in Finsternis
Des Meisters Plan und Riß;
Jüngst hat man aus der Nacht
Den Plan ans Licht gebracht
Vom hohen Dom zu Köln!

Der hohe Dom zu Köln!
Umsonst ward nicht entdeckt
Der Plan, der war versteckt.
Jetzt soll sein ausgebaut
Der hohe Dom zu Köln!⁶⁵

The high cathedral of Cologne!
A monument of olden times,
The glory of the Germans,
Now grey and worn with age,

64 Werner Schäfke, *Der Rhein von Mainz bis Köln* (3rd ed. Cologne 1985) 281 and 284–85. Wolff, *Der gotische Dom* 27, ill. 31.

65 Rückert, *Werke*, Erster Teil 72–73. Klein, *Der Dom* 196–97. “Des Meisters Plan und Riß” refers to an elevation of the west facade drawn by a 14th century builder and accidentally found in Darmstadt in 1814; Klein, *Der Dom* 75–76. The poem was set to music by Joseph Gersbach (1787–1830).

And not completed yet.
 The high cathedral of Cologne!
 ...
 The high cathedral of Cologne!
 In darkness lay for long
 The master's plan and draft;
 At last from dark of night
 Was brought to light the plan
 Of the high cathedral of Cologne!

The high cathedral of Cologne!
 Surely not in vain was found
 The plan which had been hidden.
 Now indeed shall be completed
 The high cathedral of Cologne!

The same call was sounded by Joseph Görres (1776–1848), educator, historian, and Catholic publicist, on 20 November 1814 in the *Rheinischer Merkur*, a newspaper which he himself had founded.⁶⁶

In 1815 Goethe, accompanied by Freiherr vom Stein, visited the cathedral⁶⁷ and felt prompted to advocate its completion.⁶⁸ Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Prussian “Geheimer Oberbaurat,” assumed general supervision of the necessary measures of restoration and preservation.⁶⁹ In 1823 Sulpiz Boisserée, architect and art collector, published his *Geschichte und*

66 *Rheinischer Merkur*, no. 151, repr. Bern 1971. Görres, *Ausgewählte Werke* I 256–59 and II 833–34. Klein, *Der Dom* 10, 77–78, and 197–200. Rudolf Lill in Dann, *Religion – Kunst – Vaterland* 98–99. Many years later Görres furthered the project again with the publication of *Der Dom von Köln und das Münster von Straßburg* (Regensburg 1842). Klein, *Der Dom* 119 and 255. Vanden Heuvel, *A German Life* 231, with nn. 64–66, and 277. On Görres see further Chapter IV below.

67 Bach, *Reichsfreiherr vom Stein* 127–28. Rössler, *Reichsfreiherr vom Stein* 104. Raumer, “Der Freiherr vom Stein und Goethe” 13–19. Albert Bielschowsky, *The Life of Goethe*, trl. William A. Cooper (New York 1969) III 15–16. Klein, *Der Dom* 79–81.

68 “Reise am Rhein, Main und Neckar – Kunst und Altertum am Rhein und Main,” in *DTV Gesamtausgabe* 29 (Munich 1963) 42–53 at 48–49. Also in *Sämtliche Werke*, Münchner Ausgabe, XI.2 (Munich 1994) 9–21 at 16–17. Klein, *Der Dom* 200–202.

69 Cologne had become a Prussian city in 1815.