

REPRESENTING NATIONAL HISTORIES IN POPULAR ILLUSTRATED LITERATURE:
ILLUSTRATIONS BY ARTHUR KAMPF AND GEORG BELWE TO «PREUßENS GESCHICHTE» («HISTORY
OF PRUSSIA», 1913) BY RUDOLF HERZOG AS A CASE IN POINT

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**Репрезентація національних історій у ілюстрованій науково-популярній
літературі (на прикладі ілюстрацій Артура Кампфа і Георга Белве до
«Preußens Geschichte» («Історії Пруссії», 1913) Рудольфа Герцога)**

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Стаття має на меті дослідження популярної ілюстрованої літератури як засобу формування уявлень про національні історії. Авторка розглядає проблему на прикладі книги Рудольфа Герцога для молоді «Історія Пруссії» («Preußens Geschichte») 1913 року, проілюстрованої Георгом Белве та Артуром Кампфом. Попри популярність твору в 1910-х рр., ця стаття є першою спробою його наукового опрацювання. Дослідження спирається на концептуальні засади та методи, запозичені з кількох галузей гуманітаристики: історії репрезентацій, політичної міфології, студій візуальних культур та історії мистецтв. Ми також дотримуємось методологічних рекомендацій, запропонованих дослідниками ілюстрованої літератури.

У статті доведено, що «Історія Пруссії» є прикладом «офіційно-націоналістичного» підходу до історіописання, зосередженого на подіях та особистостях. Зміст книги відображає тогочасну політичну ситуацію, спрямований на просування інтересів імперського уряду та певних моральних цінностей. Основне завдання ілюстрацій і балад полягало у тому, аби наголосити на ключових темах та ідеях книги, спростити їх розуміння і запам'ятовування. Стилистична єдність, повторення схожої тематики і композиційних рішень у роботах Белве і Кампфа підсилюють враження про історію Пруссії як цілісний наратив, сформований у читача текстовою складовою твору.

Роботи Белве втілюють основні ідеї книги, використовуючи узагальнені художні образи замість буквального ілюстрування прози та поезії Герцога. Сюжети та формальні якості ілюстрацій Кампфа підкреслюють значення монархії та армії як ключових акторів пруської історії. Роботи художника суголосні тексту Герцога у звеличенні рішучості, мужності й самопожертви заради батьківщини. Дві інші теми, які присутні в ілюстраціях Кампфа, – це зв'язок між монархією, нацією та церквою (складова «офіційного націоналізму» Другого Рейху), а також технологічний прогрес Пруссії як втілення її політичної сили.

Ключові слова: історичні міфології, науково-популярна історична література, політична іконологія, репрезентація, Пруссія, Німеччина, книжкова ілюстрація, Артур Кампф, Георг Белве.

Introduction

In 19th and early 20th-century Europe, visual arts were among the major means by which communities conveyed their interpretations of national histories (Burke 1997, p. 48). Yet, like other accounts of the past, these highly subjective ideas about historical facts bore references to current political agendas and often sought to legitimise specific decisions of the governments (Pohlsander 2008; Burke 2008, p. 68). In accordance with the concept of «agency» of artworks, (Gell 1998; Bredekamp 2018) they assumed a degree of power to influence their viewers' political beliefs and actions.

This paper looks at a less explored yet popular medium – the illustrated popular history book – through the example of «Prussian History» («Preußens Geschichte», 1913) by Rudolf Herzog. Since the book was commissioned by the Ministry of Education at Wilhelm II's suggestion, our study regards it as an official interpretation of Prussian history which the government sought to impart to German youth shortly before the outbreak of WWI.

This paper focuses specifically on the illustrations which the artists Arthur Kampf and Georg Belwe produced for «Preußens Geschichte». The study examines their choice of subject matter and their usage of various artistic devices. It also explores the relationship between the illustrations and the text – as well as the ideas and moral values the book sought to promote. In doing so, the paper aims to determine the ways in which the pictures might have influenced the intended readers' perception of historical events and figures described in «Preußens Geschichte» – as well as their identity as Prussians.

Since Kampf based several of the illustrations on his earlier paintings – and vice versa, – the author also seeks to highlight the changes in his treatment of the same subjects which took place during such «translations» between mediums. Furthermore, the study compares Arthur Kampf's illustrations to depictions of the same historical events and figures by other German artists – in particular, the work of influential history book illustrators Alfred Menzel and Carl Röchling. Thereby it purports to determine the possible sources of Kampf's pictures as well as view them in the context of the contemporaneous trends for representing the history of Prussia in book illustrations.

Illustrations to popular historical literature as an object of interdisciplinary research

The paper's methodology was informed by cultural history, political mythology, art history, and visual studies. All of them widely use the concept of «representation», which is crucial for us here. Scholars define this term either as a more or less accurate reflection of objective reality (Burke 2001, p. 174) or an instrument of its «construction» or «production» (Burke 2008, p. 30, 77, 82, 132; Mitchell 1994, p. 6). Either approach, however, regards «representations» as inherently subjective.

In the case of historiographies, this does not necessarily mean that all the accounts of historical events are falsified or purposely distorted. In many cases their creators – and, by extension, social groups to which they belong – convey their interpretations of the past by less obvious means. These include selection of subject-matter (and omission of certain facts (Burke 2001, p. 174)) as well as varying approaches to its presentation (Burke 1997, p. 45–46). Thus, one of this study's goals consists in defining the principles behind the choice of subject-matter for the verbal and visual components of «Preußens Geschichte». This will allow the author to draw connections between the representations of history in the book and the practical interests of institutions and individuals responsible for its creation.

One notion associated with the concept of representation is «schema». With regard to historiographies, Burke defines this term as «the tendency to represent – and sometimes to remember – a given event or person in terms of another» (Burke 1997, p. 49). This results in an oversimplified perception of history (Burke 2008, p. 67–68). One manifestation of this

phenomenon is the replacement of real historical figures with the sets of stereotypes associated with the image of the «hero» (Burke 1997, p. 51–53). Thus, the author attempts to investigate the employment of verbal and visual «schemata» (Burke 2001, p. 144; Bredekamp 2018, p.77–78) linked to the concept of heroism in German culture of the time (Jefferies 2003, p.114–115) in «Preussens Geschichte».

Burke's ideas concerning the «schematisation» correspond with the opinion of researchers in popular European historiographies of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Silvia Paletchek cites such characteristics of the genre (as opposed to academic historiography): «reduction, narration and dramatisation; they personalise, emotionalize and often scandalise their subject matter...are not interested in ambivalence...providing meaning and political legitimation» (Paletschek 2011, p. 4–5). This study will look at these features in «Preussens Geschichte».

Burke maintains that the ubiquity of «schemata» contributes to the transformation of the living memory and/or factual knowledge about historical facts into «myths» (Burke 1997, p. 51). Writers on modern myths propose different definitions of the term. This study adheres to the line of thought which regards historical/political myths as narratives with «a symbolic meaning...involving characters who are larger than life» (Burke 1997, p. 51) which are «true for the social group which believes it» (Flood 2013, p. 8) and promote certain moral values (Flood 2013, p. 138–140). For example, Herfried Münkler cites the personal qualities which the «Prussian myth» placed at the root of the country's alleged greatness. These include commitment (Leistungsbereitschaft), endurance (Leidensfähigkeit), discipline (Disziplin), sense of duty (Pflichtbewusstsein), courage (Mut), and confidence/assertiveness (Selbstbewusstsein) (Münkler 2009, s. 217, 220).

The scholars' opinions on the function of visuality in modern mythologies also differ. Münkler argues that a political myth consists of three elements – a variation of the narrative («narrativer Variation»), its condensation in the form of an icon («ikonischer Verdichtung»), and ritualistic reenactment («ritueller Inszenierung»). The latter two components «sacralise» the narrative, make it accessible, and put any new variation of it under suspicion of heresy (Münkler 2009, s. 15). In a similar vein, Christopher Flood maintains that iconic images possess a capacity to evoke myths – or even certain categories of them – and inspire new stories (Flood 2013, p. 166–168). Hence, the current study will demonstrate the ways in which «Preußens Geschichte», particularly its visual component, sought to «mythologise» the country's history.

Another concept which is relevant for this study is Benedict Andersen notion of «official nationalisms» in 19th-century Europe. They appeared in reaction to the spread of «popular nationalisms» and centred on the figure of the sovereign as a representative of the nation. «Official nationalisms» exploited historical narratives which highlighted «great events» and «great leaders» – predominantly monarchs (Anderson 2006, p. 86–113). Thus, the paper will discuss the ways in which «Preussens Geschichte» conveys such a perception of the country's history.

The study uses the method of content-analysis to determine the main subject-matter of the book's textual component. The author applies Erwin Panofsky's scheme (Panofsky 1955, p. 32) to conduct the step-by-step art historical analysis of individual illustrations and the series of those as a whole. The paper also refers to the extensions which Rainer Wohlfeil added to this set of methods in order to adapt it to the purposes of historical research. Specifically, the scholar proposes to pay more attention to the formal qualities of the picture, as well as the conditions under which contemporaries viewed it and the function it performed (Wohlfeil 2020, s. 93–100, 110–111).

In line with the contemporary approaches in visual culture studies (Sturken&Cartwright 2018, p.7; Burke 2001, p.60–75), this paper purports to examine «Preußens Geschichte» in the context of the period's general trends for representing history in various visual media. It also seeks

to reconstruct, as far as possible, the reader-viewer's experience of interacting with the illustrations (Sturken&Cartwright 2018, p.7; Mitchell 1995, p. 16).

The author relies on the notion of the social agency of art, meaning that artworks are capable of exerting influence, limited as it may be, on their recipients and provoke a response from them (Gell 1998; Bredekamp 2018). Specifically, this paper builds on Gerhard Paul's concept of «the power of images». The scholar claims that images constantly repeated in mass media replace their recipients' complex memories and/or knowledge about historical events with oversimplified, «two-dimensional» images of the subject (Paul 2020, s. 273–274). The scholar maintains that such qualities of pictures, as «authenticity» and «immersiveness», contribute to their power (Paul 2020, s. 286, 306–308). Paul cites specific visual tools for achieving these effects, to which the author pays attention in the present paper.

Finally, this study draws on methodological recommendations formulated by researchers in illustrated literature. Writers on this visual medium maintain that it has a potential to acquire a significant degree of autonomy from the book's verbal component (Forster-Hahn 1977; Forster-Hahn 1990; Sitzia 2012; Maurer 2013). In some cases the text and the image present two different perspectives on the same subject (Forster-Hahn 1977, p.246). Illustrations offer the artist's reception and interpretation of a literary work, while remaining deeply rooted in the broader cultural context of their creation (Sitzia 2012, p.34–35; Sitzia 2018, p.4–5; Forster-Hahn 1990, p.511).

Kathrin Maurer claims that the placement of images in relation to the text, their framing, the use of certain artistic devices can strengthen or weaken the reader-viewer's sense of involvement in the events described in the book (Maurer 2013, p.126–135). Moreover, pictures are perceived much faster than text and tend to elicit stronger emotional responses (Sitzia 2018, p. 9–10). According to Roland Barthes, with regard to the illustration, the text performs the function of «anchoring». It limits the range of possible meanings which the reader is expected to find in it (Barthes 1977). Owing to these qualities, illustrations serve as efficient tools for conveying ideologically charged messages (Sitzia 2018, p. 8–10).

Representations of national history in the visual culture of early 20th-century Germany

In the Second Reich, visual media – paintings (disseminated in the form of prints), panoramas, illustrated magazines, monuments, historical pageantry, historicising styles in architecture and design and many others – played a crucial role in disseminating factual knowledge and subjective ideas about the past among the middle and higher classes (Lenman 1997, p. 26; Jefferies 2003, p.99–111; Pohlsander 2008, p.20; Maurer 2013, p. 1–2, 116–117). Specifically, the Wilhelmine period saw the emergence of numerous murals of historical subjects in public buildings and (Lenman 1997, p.3; Pohlsander 2008, p. 231–249) massive architectural monuments (Jefferies 2003, p.61–72) as well as pompous celebrations of state holidays. (Röhl 2014, p.954–957; Jefferies 2003, p. 72–77).

Wilhelm II strongly believed that the purpose of art consisted in educating wide audiences, imbuing them with what he understood as the «right» set of moral values and patriotic sentiment (Jefferies 2003, p. 184–185; Röhl 2001, p. 985–987). The Kaiser's beliefs found their most vivid reflection in the period's many state-sponsored initiatives, such as «Avenue of Victory» («Siegessallee») — a series of 32 sculptural groups, each centred around a larger-than-life likeness of a ruler of Brandenburg and Prussia (Röhl 2001, s. 1018–1023). The project was widely criticised for its ostentatiousness, monotony and masculinity (Jefferies 2003, p. 184–185).

One phenomenon of the Wilhelmine visual culture, which is especially close to the subject of this study, is the increase in production and usage of educational pictures (Schulwandbildeder) at schools (Uphoff 2002, s.14–20). Many of those were reproductions of celebrated history paintings

(including pieces by Arthur Kampf), and were seen not only as didactical materials but also as means of fostering patriotism (Uphoff 2002, s. 14–20; Schroyen 2022, s. 287).

Illustrated popular literature on national history thrived in Germany since the 1840s (Maurer 2013, p.116–117). Franz Kugler's «The History of Frederick the Great» («Geschichte Friedrichs des Großen»), first published in 1840, is generally considered a seminal work of the genre, largely owing to the illustrations by Adolf Menzel (Maurer 2013, p. 117). Françoise Forster-Hahn argues that by means of the selection of subject matter and masterful use of artistic devices, the artist helped construct the image of Frederick which complied with the ethos of 19th-century German bourgeoisie (Forster-Hahn 1977, p.253–258; Münkler 2009, s. 235). Kathrin Maurer maintains that through the repeated depictions of social spaces which the book's intended audience would recognise as familiar – domestic or workplace settings – the illustrations brought Frederick closer to the reader (Maurer 2013 p. 129–131). As Arthur Kampf held this series of pictures in a very high regard, (Kampf 1950, s. 55) it constitutes an important point of comparison for this study.

In the second half of the 19th century, illustrated history books continued to enjoy popularity (Maurer 2013, p. 145). Moreover, a whole genre of *editions de luxe* emerged, in which pictures of historical figures and events prevailed over the text (Maurer 2013, p. 152–155). The visual and verbal component of the 19th-century German historiography – both academic and popular – revolved around the prospect of the country's unification under the Prussian leadership (Maurer 2013, p. 145–146). For example, the depictions of German nature in Ferdinand Schmidt's «Prussian History in Word and Image» («Preußens Geschichte in Wort und Bild») (Schmidt 1864) «convey the impression of a mythological national past» (Maurer 2013, p. 149). Thus, visual representations of geographical space become an important factor in strengthening the sense of national identity (Maurer 2013, p. 145–151).

Some popular illustrated books represent the history of Prussia through the lens of its ruling dynasty's history. Some examples include Fedor von Köppen's «The Hohenzollerns and the State» («Die Hohenzollern und das Reich», 1887–1890) and Richard Sternfeld's «The Hohenzollerns in Word and Image» («Die Hohenzollern in Bild und Wort», 1899) illustrated by Carl Röchling. With its concise format and dynamic coloured pictures of Prussia's rulers, the latter book offers another point of comparison for the present investigation of «Preussens Geschichte».

«Preussens Geschichte» (1913): history of creation, purpose, and verbal contents

The writer's memoir (Herzog 1935) and a magazine article by Johann Norrenberg, apparently one of the editors (Norrenberg 1919), provide an insight into the creation of the «Preussens Geschichte». The book emerged as a response to Wilhelm II's dissatisfaction with historical education at schools. In the spring of 1912, the Kaiser sent «A School History of England» by the conservative historian Charles Robert Leslie Fletcher and the famous children's author Rudyard Kipling (Fletcher&Kipling 1911) to the Minister of Education. Wilhelm II requested to produce a similar textbook on the history of Germany (Norrenberg 1919).

Fairly short (250 pages), the book includes 12 prose chapters by Fletcher, 23 poems by Kipling, 7 maps, and 23 multi-figure pictures – black-and-white and coloured – by the fairy tale illustrator Henry Justice Ford (Gathey 2020). «A School History of England» begins with a short account of the region's ancient history. However, it soon shifts its focus to the reign of English monarchs, major military events, and colonisation of new territories. Norrenberg considered it «chauvinistic» and «intended only for the external effect». Nevertheless, he clearly appreciated the book's concise format and inclusion of patriotic poems and colourful illustrations (Norrenberg 1919).

The Ministry of Education delegated the new school history book project to the publishing house «Quelle und Meyer», which specialised in educational literature. However, the choice of the

writer posed a problem. Eventually, instead of commissioning a professional historian to work alone or in tandem with a fiction author, the publishing house hired Rudolf Herzog (Norrenberg 1919) – a popular writer of historical fiction and a friend to Wilhelm II (Napp).

In order to better understand the ideological implications of «Preussens Geschichte», it is important to consider the historical circumstances of its creation and perception by readers. The book came out in 1913 and was dedicated to the 25th anniversary of Wilhelm II's ascension to the throne. Thus, we can view it as part of the Second Reich's powerful commemorative culture (Jefferies 2003, p.72–77; Münkler 2009, s. 14). 1913 went down in history as the year of anniversaries (Jefferies 2003, p.251). In addition to the Emperor's Silver Jubilee, it marked the centenary of the 1813 Battle of Nations by Leipzig. Together with other cultural events, the large-scale festivities contributed to the general rise in the war-mongering sentiment (Jefferies 2003, p. 251–256).

The foremost purpose of the «Preussens Geschichte» consisted in arousing patriotic feelings in its readers (Norrenberg 1919; Herzog 1935, s.136). Its introduction starts as follows: «This book is meant to be a book of love...» («Dies Buch soll ein Buch der Liebe sein...») (Herzog 1913). In the following paragraphs, the author expounds on his notion of patriotism. This involves the readiness to defend and rebuild the country as well as sacrifice oneself in its name. Notably, Herzog admits that his work is by no means a thorough academic study. By contrast, he compares it to a song – a genre which holds no claims to historical accuracy.

The book comprises 29 chapters, 10 ballads, 5 maps, and multiple illustrations, which will be discussed in the next section. The very title «Preussens Geschichte» implies that it offers a grand narrative of the country's history (Maurer 2013, p. 17). In line with the then dominant principles of historical writing (Maurer 2013, p. 16), Herzog gives centre stage to Brandenburg-Prussia's rules and the major military, political, and religious events in which their representatives were involved. By contrast, he mostly mentions advancements in economy, culture, or education in relation to the policies of a certain monarch. Besides, Herzog provides surprisingly little information about Prussia before its union with Brandenburg.

The rulers whom the official historical narratives of the Wilhelmine period regarded as «great» (Röhl 2014, p. 960–962; Lenman 1997, p.40; Jefferies 2003, p. 76) receive considerably more attention than their allegedly less prominent counterparts. The author even describes some of them as given by God (Herzog 1913, s. 84, 370). Thus, in Anderson's terms, the book constitutes an «official-nationalist» account of the past (Anderson 2006, p. 86–113). Furthermore, Herzog occasionally compares monarchs to their celebrated predecessors and portrays their achievements as the continuation of their ancestors' endeavours (Herzog 1913, s.36, 370, 372). In doing so, «Preussens Geschichte» creates the sense of a strong connection between events and figures from different periods in history. This quality corresponds with the notion of «schematisation» in historiographies (Burke 1997, p. 49).

The style of Herzog's prose shifts between factual and figurative. The chapters contain many evocative descriptions, or «verbal images» (Samuels 2004, p.15), and short dialogs imbued with patriotic sentiment. On the other hand, Herzog provides the reader with factual information, such as the numbers of soldiers and weapons involved in battles as well as their course.

The book includes ten ballads, while many chapters contain short verses. Poetry traditionally constituted an important part of German school curriculum. Male and female students learned many poems by heart (Mikota 2010). Interspaced between chapters, Herzog's ballads mostly repeat information already described in prose, but in a more emotional, figurative way. This leads to the conclusion that the ballads' role consisted in designating the most important episodes in the book and facilitating their memorisation through the use of verse as a didactical tool.

All but one ballad in «Preussens Geschichte» deal with Brandenburg-Prussia's military history. In these poems, Herzog's glorification of the country's rulers becomes more overt than in prose. For instance, «King Wilhelm's Heroic Appearance» («König Wilhelms Heldenschau») (Herzog 1913, s. 317–319) ascribes to the monarch not only the key role in winning the Battle at Königgrätz, but also the mythical status of an aged yet still mighty hero. Thus, we argue that such a mixture of literary genres amplifies the book's emotional impact on its reader as well as blurs the boundaries between historical facts, fiction, and heroic myths.

The contract signed between «Quelle und Meyer» and Rudolf Herzog in 1912 mentions that the book's first edition was to be printed in 20,000 copies. The price was to be «moderate» («mässig») (Bestand 21076 Quelle & Meyer. Akt. Nr. 174). In his memoirs Herzog notes that Prussian school students received the book as a «bonus» («Prämie»). He also maintains that by 1927 «Preussens Geschichte» had gone through 40 editions, while the overall number of copies had reached at least 45 000 (Herzog 1935, s. 140). We managed to track the editions from 1914, 1918, and 1924.

Unfortunately, no documents survive which could have provided more precise information about the book's distribution and its further editions. It is also not clear whether it served as a textbook for history classes or a book for extracurricular reading. One thing remains certain – «Preußens Geschichte» reached a wide readership of youth across the German Empire.

Heraldic and chivalric imagery in the visual design of the front matter, initials, and tailpieces

Rudolf Herzog helped «to win the best» illustrators for the project – «the master of Prussian history painting» («den Meister der preußischen Geschichtsmalerei») (Herzog 1935, s.136) and then-President of the Berlin Academy of Arts (Schroyen 2022, s. 307) Arthur Kampf and the prominent graphic artist Georg Belwe (Norrenberg 1919). As in the case of «A School History of England», the involvement of well-known artists testifies to the project's importance in the eyes of the Ministry of Education.

Georg Belwe designed the book's cover, endsheets, and title page. The cover (Fig.1) features a stylised version of the «smaller» coat of arms of the German Empire from 1889 to 1918 (Schurdel 1995, s.57–59). The endsheets display a pattern of mounted knight figures. (Fig.2) Further, the first page of the front matter section (Fig.3) contains a picture of two overlapping escutcheons bearing the simplified heraldic symbols of Brandenburg – a red eagle (Schurdel 1995, s.118–122) – and the Duchy of Prussia – a black eagle (Schurdel 1995, s.203–206). The inscription below reads «Hie gut Zollern allwege» – a mediaeval motto which roughly translates as «the Zollern govern as far as the eye can see». A chapter dedicated to Frederick I, the first Hohenzollern margrave of Brandenburg, has the same title.

The title page (Fig.5) features the book's title and the name of its author surrounded by a decorative frame. The pattern which fills it incorporates heraldic symbols – the Prussian and Brandenburgian eagles, a crossed sceptre and a sword (part of the coat of arms of Margraviate of Brandenburg and the Kingdom of Prussia) and three crowns – Brandenburgian, Prussian and Imperial (Ströhl 1899, Taf XV).

The book's front matter also includes a frontispiece by Kampf. (Fig.4) It shows the bust of Wilhelm II in profile surrounded by a laurel wreath. In addition to the apparent symbolic meaning of laurel in European political iconography, the artist might have included it as a reference to Herzog's description of the Kaiser: «That is the wreath of glory on his head: to place the growing well-being of the fatherland above the laurels of war.» («Das ist der Ruhmeskranz auf seinem Haupt: über kriegerischen Lorbeer das steigende Wohl des Vaterlandes zu stellen.») (Herzog 1913, s. 375)

Despite the peacefulness which Herzog ascribes to Wilhelm II, Kampf shows the Kaiser in military uniform – an integral element of the Prussian monarchy’s public image (Clark 2006, p. 84). The dates of Wilhelm’s ascent to power (1888) and his Silver Jubilee (1913) flank his likeness. A plaque below them bears the Kaiser’s name written in a style reminiscent of Roman inscriptions.



Georg Belwe. Fig. 1. Cover; Fig. 2. End sheet; Fig. 3. Decoration for a front matter page; Fig 5. Title page; Fig. 4. Arthur Kampf. Frontispiece.

Stemming from architectural facades, book frontispieces traditionally sought to convey an impression of timelessness and monumentality, often appearing as «sculpted busts on paper» (Multigraph 2011, p.142, 152). Arthur Kampf creates such an effect through the employment of the grisaille technique and references to visual conventions and symbols borrowed from Roman imagery. Further, the frontispiece was «intended to structure readers’ expectations and interactions with that book» and often served as the visual representation of its main argument (Multigraph 2011, p.141–142). In accordance with this logic, the main idea of «Preussens Geschichte» lies in equating the history of Prussia to the person of its ruler. Simplified as it is, such an assumption on the whole complies with the brief analysis of the book’s verbal contents in the previous section.



Fig. 6, 7. Georg Belwe. Initial and Tailpiece.



Georg Belwe also produced initials and tailpieces for almost all chapters of the book. The majority of these small pictures show stylised figures of soldiers and weapons from respective historical periods, heraldic symbols, and attributes of royal power. Thus, the graphic artist continues to develop the motives he introduced in the designs of the book’s front matter.

Some pictures by Belwe merit special attention. For instance, an initial which precedes a chapter on the Seven Years’ War (Fig.6) shows a hand in a gauntlet strangling a three-headed winged serpent. Based on Herzog’s description of the war, the reader presumes that the gauntlet stands for the Kingdom of Prussia – in the person of Frederick the Great, – while the snake heads denote Austria, Russia, and France. At the same time the picture reminisces of several legendary figures, such as Siegfried and Saint George. Another gauntlet appears alongside a laurel leaf in a tailpiece which comes after a poem concerned with Prussia’s victory at Sedan. (Fig.7)

Obviously, this element of armour had long been out of use in the 18th and the 19th centuries. Furthermore, Herzog does not refer to any chivalric motifs either in the respective prose chapter or the ballad. However, he does use them on other occasions. For instance, the writer describes Germany’s involvement in the Boxer Uprising in China as follows: «...the German sword flew from its scabbard» («...das deutsche Schwert aber flog aus der Scheide») (Herzog 1913, s. 374). Additionally, the gauntlet pictures hark back to the pattern of knight figures decorating the book’s endsheets.

Thus, we propose to regard the chivalric imagery in Herzog’s text and Belwe’s pictures as visual and verbal metaphors for strength and heroism. This also reflects the preoccupation with the Middle Ages and idealisation of the period characteristic of the Second Reich culture (Lenman

1997, p. 46). In Christopher Flood's terms, these are pictures capable of evoking not one political myth but whole categories of those (Flood 2013, p. 166–168).

Our brief study of popular illustrated literature on German history (Kugler 1840; Sternfeld&Röchling 1899) shows that Belwe and Kampf's choice of heraldic, royal, and military imagery was in line with the pre-existing tradition. At the same time, their pictures amplify the major ideas expressed in Herzog's prose and ballads (the identification of Prussian history with that of the Hohenzollern dynasty, the latter's ancient roots, the crucial role of military leadership in the country's history) without directly translating text into pictures. The stylistic and thematic unity of Belwe and Kampf's work can strengthen the reader's impression of connectedness between episodes in the book – and, by extension, events and figures in Prussian history in general.

Arthur Kampf's illustrations: key subject-matter and formal characteristics

In addition to the frontispiece, Arthur Kampf produced 21 coloured and black-and-white illustrations for «Preußens Geschichte». The number is noticeably smaller than that of the chapters (29). Therefore, one goal of this study consists in examining the subject-matter of Kampf's illustrations and making assumptions as to the principles behind its selection. His pictures deal with five principal themes – Prussian monarchy; army and warfare; civilians' support for the army; Christianity; technological advancement. Many illustrations tackle several of these subjects. In line with Herzog's approach to the choice of subject matter, Kampf gives prominence to events and figures which were considered «the greatest» in the official historical narratives of the time (Röhl 2014, p. 960–962; Münkler 2009; Lenman 1997, p.40).

In particular, two illustrations portray Frederick William «the Great Elector», whose victories over the Swedes won him the status of «a founding father», (Clark 2006, p.47–48) and Frederick the Great, who was credited with laying foundations for the unification of Germany under Prussian hegemony, (Münkler 2009, s. 226–227) each. Two more illustrations deal with the German campaign of 1813. The events came to be remembered for the unprecedented mobilisation of Prussian society (Clark 2006, p.379) and entered official historiography of the Second Reich «as a mythical war of German national liberation» under Prussia's leadership (Clark 2006, p.387). Finally, Wilhelm I, the first Kaiser of the German Empire, whose posthumous cult developed under the rule of Wilhelm II (Lenman 1997, p.40, Jefferies 2003, p. 76), also appears in two pictures. It is worth noting that the subject-matter of the illustrations generally correlates with that of the ballads.



Fig. 8. Arthur Kampf. Albert the Bear defeats the Wends.

By contrast, many themes tackled in the prose chapters are absent from both the poems and illustrations. These include subjects related to economic, social, and cultural (except for religious) history of Prussia as well as such important events, as the Thirty Years War or the Revolution of 1848/49. Another issue Kampf's illustrations largely overlook is suffering and destruction caused by warfare. In his battle scenes, the figures of dead or gravely wounded occupy little space, typically in the background. Fig. 8 is the only exclusion in this regard. However, the body of a fallen soldier does not seem mutilated – even his light-coloured clothes look intact. Avoidance of tragic subjects and an explicit focus on heroism and victories make Kampf's illustrations similar to those produced by many late 19th-century artists (including Röchling) and different from Adolf Menzel's seminal series on Frederick the Great.

The author believes that the principle behind the choice of subject-matter for Kampf's illustrations – as well as Herzog's ballads – consisted in the subjective importance of certain events in military and royal history for the Wilhelmine period's official historiography. Judging from Herzog's and Norrenberg's memories, the creators of «Preussens Geschichte» were

fully aware of the important functions which verse and visuality perform in historical education. In the book, like in many other media, pictures act as simplified yet compelling summaries of mythologised historical narratives.

With the exclusion of the frontispiece and a small picture accompanying a map (Herzog 1913, s. 44), each of Kampf's illustrations occupies a separate page. All of them have distinct frames. According to Maurer, such a placement of illustrations (as opposed to putting them on the same page as the text) requires the reader to pause and perceive the picture as autonomous of the text. As a result, «the historical figure [whom an illustration portrays] conveys the impression of being distanced, untouchable and otherworldly» (Maurer 2013, p. 127). Maurer's ideas seem especially relevant in relation to the idealised portrayal of monarchs in Herzog's in prose and verse.

However, such a perception is counteracted by Kampf's employment of visual tools which, according to Paul, create the effects of «immersiveness» and «authenticity» (Paul 2020, s. 286, 306–308). The scholar links the former to the incorporation of «repoussoir» – an object in the foreground which directs the viewer's gaze towards the composition's central element. This role often belongs to figures whose backs are turned towards the viewer (Paul 2020, s. 308). Examples of «repoussoir» can be found in Fig. 9, 11, 17, 18, 23. Additionally, in the majority of his illustrations Kampf creates a sense of dynamism through arranging the elements of a composition along imaginary diagonals and «cutting off» moving figures at the illustrations' edges.

Four of Kampf's pictures in «Preussens Geschichte» are reworkings of his earlier canvases. In addition to this, the artist translated two of the illustrations into oil paintings (Schroyen 2022, s.323). This fact testifies to the pictures' autonomy from the text. It also exemplifies Kampf's tendency to rework his pieces into new ones (Schroyen 2022, s. 84, 389).



Fig. 9. Arthur Kampf. Hie gut Zollern allwege

Prussian monarchs as military leaders and sovereigns

The overwhelming majority of Kampf's illustrations, namely 15, show rulers of Brandenburg-Prussia. With the exclusion of the frontispiece (Fig.4), Kampf abandons the conventions of static official portraiture (Burke 2001, p.67–68), adopted by some 19th-century illustrators of popular historical literature (Kugler 1840; Schmidt 1864). Instead, he portrays the Brandenburg-Prussian rulers «in action», participating in the historical events described in Herzog's text. In doing so, the artist strengthens the connection between the book's verbal and visual components. In this respect his illustrations are similar to the work of Menzel, Röschling, and Ford («A School History of England»).

In Kampf's pictures, the figures of monarchs always occupy the most prominent positions and are instantly identifiable. In most cases they appear in elevated positions or/and in the centre of the composition. Five of Kampf's pictures feature leaders on horseback. Such a placement serves both as a visual tool for underscoring their special status and a link to the long-standing tradition of representing royal power (Burke 2001, p. 67). By contrast, in Fig.18 Kampf communicates the status of Frederick I of Prussia by depicting his luxurious attire and juxtaposing it to the clothes of his courtiers. In four illustrations (Fig. 10, 11, 15, 18) the monarch is the single figure in the foreground. The rest of the characters are barely individualised and only appear in the middle- or background. Finally, two pictures (Fig. 21, 22) show Prussian monarchs alone.

Unlike his predecessors, Kampf represents the monarchs of Brandenburg-Prussia in surprisingly few capacities. The first and most frequent one is the traditional role of a military commander (Burke 2001, p.65–67). It underscores the monarch's physical strength – an important element of the leader's image in the modern era (Burke 2001, p.71–73). At the same time, it

enables the artist to show courage and sense of duty inherent in «the Prussian myth» (Münkler 2009, s. 217, 220). Representation of monarchs as military commanders also allows for communicating their bond with the army – a recurrent motif in Herzog’s text (Herzog 1913, s.105, 137). However, Kampf’s visual juxtapositions of the rulers to other characters prevent this theme from becoming as prominent as, for example, in Menzel’s series on Frederick the Great (Forster-Hahn 1977, p.258).

Three of Kampf’s illustrations depict the monarchs participating in immediate fighting. His combat scenes are quite different from the large-scale, multi-figure canvases typical of late 19th-century European battle painting. Kampf’s illustrations give centre stage to heroic leaders, while paying little regard for other participants in the battles or surrounding landscapes. We can partly explain such a choice of subject matter by the small format of book illustrations and the monarchist spirit of «Preußens Geschichte». However, one should consider the influence which the intimate character of interaction with books (as opposed to painting) exerted on both writers and illustrators, encouraging them to «portray history under the auspices of individuality» (Maurer 2013, p. 115–117).

«Albert the Bear defeats the Wends» («Albrecht der Bär besiegt die Wenden») (Fig.8) shows the mounted and armoured margrave of Brandenburg breaking a Wend foot soldier’s spear with his one hand and raising a sword with the other to strike another enemy. Meanwhile, his rearing horse is about to trample the body of the third Wend. Such a representation of Albert’s combat prowess correlates with Herzog’s characteristic of the historical figure: «...sinewy and strong, fearless and brave, who, like a bear in the forest, pounced on his adversaries and crushed them...» («...sehnig und stark, furchtlos und tapfer, die wie ein Bar des Waldes sich auf seine Widersacher stürzte und sie zermalnte...») (Herzog 1913, s.7).

To the early 20th-century reader-viewer, Albrecht’s violent fight against the much weaker opponents might have seemed incompatible with the idealised representations of Christian chivalry. However, earlier in the chapter, Herzog describes the pagan Wends’ violence and treacherousness. At the same time, he portrays the Germans’ conquest of their lands as a mission of disseminating the true faith (Herzog 1913, s.1–6). We presume that such a context serves to justify Albrecht’s brutality.



Fig. 10. Arthur Kampf. The Great Elector at Fehrbellin 1675

Similar in composition, «The Great Elector at Fehrbellin 1675» («Der grosse Kurfürst bei Fehrbellin 1675») (Fig.10) depicts a highly dramatic episode of the battle. When a cannonball hit Frederick William’s stable master von Froben, who was riding at the Great Elector’s side, and another flew over the head of his horse, Frederick William kept riding (Herzog 1913, s. 106). The story epitomises the protagonist’s «Prussian» determination and self-control (Münkler 2009, s. 217, 220). Not surprisingly, many artists had depicted this episode before Kampf. Among them were the 17th-century graphic artist Emanuel Froben, the 18th-century painter Dismar Degen, and Carl Röchling. In comparison to them, Kampf attaches very little importance to the deceased stable master, whose face he does not even show, or other participants in the battle. Instead the artist gives centre stage to the Great Elector.

Moreover, earlier in the chapter, Herzog points out the Great Elector’s address to his subjects as «the Germans» (Herzog 1913, s. 94) and his determination to «win or die with his soldiers» («siegen oder mit euch sterben») (Herzog 1913, s. 105). Thus, the picture acquires a broader meaning of a strong yet cold-blooded leader fighting for his nation despite all the obstacles.

In «Frederick the Great at Zorndorf» («Friedrich der Grosse bei Zorndorf»), (Fig.11) Kampf represents an episode of the Seven Years' War which occupies an important place in the Frederickian mythology (Münkler 2009, s. 237). When Prussian troops grow «dead tired» («todmüde»), the monarch personally leads them in attack. According to Prussian nationalist accounts of the battle, Frederick's actions inspired soldiers to fight the enemy until they were forced to flee (Herzog 1913, s.183). Münkler considers Carl Röchling's multi-figure, detailed painting of the episode (Fig.12) the iconic depiction of the event. In the scholar's view, it features «the commander, the hero, whose personal courage changed the course of the battle» (Münkler 2009, s. 237–238).

We presume that Kampf might have based his portrayal of Frederick as a flag bearer on Röchling's painting. However, he changes the vantage point and, more importantly, adds a smoke screen between the monarch in the foreground and the soldiers in the middle- and background. The smoke visually separates Frederick from the rest of his army. As a result, Kampf manages to give the king even more prominence than Röchling did in his painting. Moreover, the close-up of Frederick shows his age, which makes his physical strength even more impressive.



Fig. 11. Arthur Kampf. Frederick the Great at Zorndorf



Fig. 12. Otto Rose. Friedrich II during the battle of Zorndorf (a copy after Carl Röchling). 1911. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

Two pictures show monarchs commanding their troops from a distance. «The Great Elector drives over Curonian Lagoon» («Der grosse Kurfürst fährt über das kurische Haff») (Fig.13) represents another episode of Brandenburg' victorious struggle against Sweden. When the enemy started retreating, the Great Elector decided to cut off their escape route. He commandeered numerous sleighs from local residents to drive his troops across the ice-covered Curonian Lagoon.



Fig. 13. Arthur Kampf. The Great Elector drives over Curonian Lagoon



Fig. 14. Wilhelm Simmler. Crossing of Curonian Lagoon 1679. Mural for the Ruhmeshalle, Berlin. Around 1891. (destroyed c. 1944). Source: Wikimedia Commons.

Like many of the aforementioned historical events, the «Great Sleigh Drive» had been the subject of earlier artworks. In particular, Kampf must have been familiar with the 1894 fresco

which Wilhelm Simmler executed for the Prussian Hall of Fame (Ruhmeshalle) (Fig.14). Kampf also portrays the Great Elector standing steadily in the sleigh and gazing confidently at his troops from this elevated position. His erect posture acts as a visual equivalent of Herzog's description of Frederick Wilhelm's decisiveness and fearlessness.

In his account of the events, Herzog stresses the fact that Friedrich Wilhelm was seriously ill at the time. Despite this, he did not «hesitate for a moment» («zögerte Friedrich Wilhelm dennoch keinen Augenblick») before starting the so-called «hunt» («die Jagd») (Herzog 1913, s.109). Previously in the book Herzog describes the destruction which the Swedish troops inflicted on Prussian civilians, starting from the Thirty Years' War (Herzog 1913, s. 70, 83, 100–111). Against such a background, the Great Elector's courage and decisiveness seem to almost border on self-sacrifice in the name of revenge for his people's suffering.

«King Wilhelm at Königgrätz» («König Wilhelm bei Königgrätz») (Fig.15) features the King of Prussia, Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, and the Chief of Staff Helmuth von Moltke watching the battle from the command post on a hill. Wilhelm I appears in the foreground of the picture, and the two highest officials in the middle-ground behind him. By contrast, Kampf relegates a group of soldiers to the lower left-hand corner. One of them is looking and waving at the King with an expression of excitement on his face. Kampf draws the soldiers' figures and the surrounding landscape in a sketchy manner. It stands in a sharp contrast with the detailed portrait of the King and slightly less elaborate yet perfectly recognisable likenesses of Bismarck and Moltke. The reader may assume that the placement of characters and the degree of their individualisation reflects the perceived importance of the military commanders in comparison to regular soldiers.



Fig. 15. Arthur Kampf. King Wilhelm at Königgrätz

In the chapter on the war between Prussia and Austria, Herzog acknowledges the great contribution of the commandment and regular soldiers to the Prussian victory at Königgrätz (Herzog 1913, s. 309–311). Despite this, Wilhelm emerges as a key figure in the respective illustration and ballad. In the latter, called «King Wilhelm's Heroic Appearance» («König Wilhelms Heldenschau»), the title repeats at the end of several stanzas. Besides, Herzog highlights Wilhelm's age (which also shows in the illustration) in order to once again emphasise his heroism: «His hair is snow white, but his place is in front» («Schneeweiss ist sein Haar, doch sein Platz ist vorn»).

In «Hie gut Zollern allwege» (Fig.9) Frederick Hohenzollern in amour appears before a group of knights. The chapter's text suggests that the picture shows his arrival to Brandenburg. However, the armoured Elector and his entourage remind one of a vanguard of an army. «Frederick William I and the tall lads» («Friedrich Wilhelm 1. und die langen Kerls») (Fig. 16) shows the second King of Prussia examining his elite troops which consisted of extremely tall officers. By extension, the picture represents not only the «Soldiers' King», but also his army reforms as well as his attitude towards the army, which Herzog describes as «fatherly» (Herzog 1913, s.137).

«Kaiser Wilhelm's Entrance in Berlin 1871» («Einzug Kaiser Wilhelms in Berlin 1871») (Fig.17) depicts a crowd greeting the newly appointed Kaiser and his entourage. The physical proximity of the royals and their subjects serves as the visual counterpart of their unity described in the text: «This was the crown of victory – the unity of the king and his people» («Das aber war der Sieges Krone: die Einheit des Königs und seines Volkes») (Herzog 1913, s. 316). However, by showing individuals in the crowd



Fig. 16. Arthur Kampf. Frederick William I and the tall lads

from the back the artist deprives them of personal identities, turning them into Herzog's abstract «people» («Volk») – or rather, judging from their clothing, Berlin's upper middle class.

Kampf might have based this picture on some of Menzel's illustrations (Kugler 1840, s. 141, 214). Menzel, too, places the crowd in the foreground, allowing their gestures to direct the viewer's gaze to the protagonists. In a broader sense, both artists draw on the classic iconography of Roman military triumphs (Burke 2001, p.67). Thereby, as in the case of the book's frontispiece, Kampf symbolically links the re-established German Reich to the Roman Empire.

Two pictures represent the monarchs of Brandenburg-Prussia as receiving symbols of royal power. «Investiture of Elector Frederick with the Mark» («Belehnung Kurfürst Fredericks mit der Mark») represents the Holy Roman Emperor granting Frederick Hohenzollern the flag of Marchgraviate Brandenburg (Herzog 1913, s.40). By contrast, «The First King of Prussia» («Die erste Preußenkönig») (Fig. 18) depicts the sumptuous self-coronation of Frederick I in Königsberg. The juxtaposition of the two scenes indicates the change in the position of the Brandenburg-Prussia's rulers. Besides the political importance and sheer scale of the event, one likely reason for the choice of this subject might have been Wilhelm I's reinstatement of the coronation festivities (abandoned by Frederick I's successors) and the popularity of state celebrations in the Second Reich.

Two pictures tackle the subject of the bond between the Brandenburg-Prussian monarchy and religion. «Joachim Hector receives the Eucharist under both kinds» («Joachim-Hektor nimmt das Abendmahl») (Fig.19) shows the Margrave of Brandenburg's public conversion to Lutheranism. Herzog offers the «official-nationalist» interpretation of the event: «...a firmer bridge was built between the elector and his people» («... eine festere Brücke geschlagen zwischen dem Kurfürsten und seinem Volk») (Herzog 1913, s. 62). However, in his picture Kampf focuses only on the two protagonists – the margrave and the bishop.



Fig. 17-20. Arthur Kampf. 17) Kaiser Wilhelm's Entrance in Berlin 1871 18) The First King of Prussia 19) Joachim Hector receives the Eucharist under both kinds 20) Frederick the Great after the Seven Years' War in the in the Charlottenburg Palace Chapel

«Frederick the Great after the Seven Years' War in the Charlottenburg Palace Chapel» («Friedrich der Grosse nach dem 7jährigen Krieg in der Schlosskirche zu Charlottenburg») (Fig.20), closely based on Kampf's 1902 painting of the same name (Schroyen 2022, s.260–264), is more ambiguous. Frederick the Great was an atheist and often criticised Christianity (Clark 2006, p. 187). In «Preußens Geschichte» Herzog refrains from any direct comments regarding the monarch's beliefs. Instead, he ends the chapter dedicated to the Seven Years' War with a popular anecdote. The king allegedly ordered musicians and singers to perform «Te Deum» in the Charlottenburg palace chapel. Herzog describes Frederick listening to the music in complete solitude, remembering the feats and horrors of the past seven years and quietly weeping. Meanwhile, a crowd is cheering for him outside the chapel (Herzog 1913, s. 192).

Condensed in the form of Kampf's illustration, the episode may be understood in several ways. First, it harks to the popular image of Frederick as a patron and lover of arts (Münkler 2009, s.228–230). However, to some readers-viewers, the depiction of a religious social space might have linked the episode to their own experience and tacitly suggested that after the war the king finally found faith. Critics who wrote on Kampf's painting of the subject pointed out that the distance between the king and the musicians as well as the empty space around him serves to convey Frederick's loneliness (Schroyen 2022, s.262–263). Herzog's juxtaposition of the king weeping in solitude and people cheering outside further strengthens the impression.

Two illustrations which depict monarchs alone constitute special cases. «The false Waldemar» («Der falsche Waldemar») (Fig.21) represents the arrival of an impostor dressed as a pilgrim at the residence of the bishop of Magdeburg. The man managed to convince the bishop, many nobles, and the Emperor himself that he was the heir to the throne who they had long considered deceased and went on to reign the Margraviate of Brandenburg for two years before being exposed (Herzog 1913, s. 21–25). The reason behind the selection of this relatively unpopular subject for the illustration (considering the small number of pictures in the book) is hard to understand. It might have simply consisted in the extraordinary of Waldemar's story. Moreover, Herzog presents it as a cautionary tale: «So strong is the attachment of the people to great names and great times» («So stark ist die Anhänglichkeit des Volkes an grosse Namen und grosse Zeiten») (Herzog 1913, s. 25).

«Queen Louise» («Königin Luise») (Fig.22) shows the consort of Frederick William III enjoying a walk in a park, with the Paretz palace in the background. The picture correlates with several paragraphs in the first half of the chapter «The Collapse of Prussia» («Preussens Niederbruch») which describe the young royal couple's peaceful life before the outbreak of the Napoleonic wars as well as the queen's beauty and kindness (Herzog 1913, s.213–214).



Fig. 22. Arthur Kampf. Queen Louise

Louise is the only female member of Prussian royalty and one of few women whom Kampf shows in his illustrations to «Preussens Geschichte» – a fact which reflects the pronounced masculinity of the Second Reich's official culture (Jefferies 2003, p.12–15). Kampf probably chose this subject due to the queen's important place in German political mythology. Already popular with her contemporaries, Louise came to be celebrated as an ideal of the Prussian woman and a symbol of the country's anti-Napoleonic resistance. After her son Wilhelm became the first Kaiser of the united German Empire, the queen's popular image assumed Madonna-like qualities (Münkler 2009, s.257–274).

Kampf evidently based his portrayal of Louise's appearance and clothing on Johann Gottfried Schadow's «Princesses Monument» («Prinzessinnen-Denkmal») which represents the future queen with her sister. However, the illustration also falls into the tradition of borrowing from the Marian iconography to represent Louise (Münkler 2009, s.257–274). In particular, the blue and white colours of the queen's clothing and her shawl slightly billowing in the wind evoke the iconography of Immaculate Conception. Kampf's portrait of the queen exemplifies the «saint-like» representation of political leadership (Burke 2001, p. 75) which is not typical of this series of illustrations or the artist's work at the time.

Louise's passiveness in the picture differs greatly from the portrayal of the male Prussian monarchs as «men of action» in the majority of the illustrations. Such an interpretation of her image seems all the more curious, since the queen had an eventful life. This is reflected, for



Fig. 21. Arthur Kampf. The false Waldemar

instance, in Carl Röchling's illustrations to a popular book on Louise (Röchling, Knötel&Friedrich 1896). Thus, we presume that Kampf's portrait epitomises a conservative ideal of femininity rather than the queen's actual achievements and personality.

One last issue worth examination is the capacities in which Kampf *does not* represent Prussian rulers. The country's style of monarchy was widely associated with the royals' active involvement in the affairs of the state as well as their support of education and arts (Clark 2006, p. 84). Earlier visual accounts of Prussian history included scenes of the monarchs welcoming religious refugees (Sternfeld&Röchling 1899, s.23, 25) or overseeing construction works (Sternfeld&Röchling 1899, s.11, 16; Kugler 1840, s.115, 519). By contrast, Kampf and Ford (Fletcher&Kipling 1911) overlook such themes. We believe that the main reason for such a selection of subject matter lay in the perceived imminence of WWI, in which the belligerent countries' monarchs were expected to play the role of strong and self-sacrificial national leaders.

The sacrifice of «the people»

Only in four illustrations does Kampf give prominence to commoners. They appear either as soldiers and their relatives or civilians making donations to the army. The artist shows them as part of diverse groups, as he often did in his large-scale paintings. However, given the small format of the illustrations, in each case he only manages to individualise several figures in the foreground. Characters in the middle- and background, many of whom Kampf shows in profile or from the back, lack individual features. Hence, the viewer may understand them as mere representatives of certain social classes, age groups, or genders.



Fig. 23. Arthur Kampf. "We peasants of small estates serve our gracious elector and lord with our blood"



Fig. 24. Alfred Menzel. Illustration to "History of Frederick the Great". (Kugler 1840, s.350)



Fig. 25. Arthur Kampf. Public donations 1813

«We peasants of small estates serve our gracious elector and lord with our blood» («Wir Bauern von geringem Gut dienen unserem gnädigen Kurfürsten und Herrn mit unserem Blut») (Fig. 23) represents an episode which took place during the Scanian war. Peasants who lived in the territory occupied by the Swedish army joined forces with local nobility to defend the land against marauders (Herzog 1913, s. 102). The illustration's title (which repeats an inscription on their banners) emphasises the commoners' support of the Elector rather than their attempt to protect themselves. Kampf might have based the picture's composition on Menzel's illustration which features peasants from Thuringen taking part in the Seven Years' War (Fig.24). In both pieces most characters' faces are concealed from the viewer, which makes the group appear more homogeneous.

«Public donations 1813» («Volks-Opfer 1813») (Fig.25) is based on Kampf's arguably most celebrated painting. It shows civilians making

donations to the Prussian army which fought against Napoleon in the German campaign of 1813 (Schroyen 2022, s.100–111). The illustration features the key characters of the painting – a hooded woman holding her hair in a bundle, a Prussian officer, a bourgeois, an estate manager, a young boy and a girl (Schroyen 2022, s. 109). The group may be understood as a synecdoche for all Prussian citizens incapable of fighting — elderly men, women, and children — who support the army. In the respective chapter Herzog points out that many women donated their most valuable belongings and even cut and sold their hair to donate the revenue (Herzog 1913, s. 238).

Two illustrations highlight the bond between Protestantism and the German army. ««Now all thank God». The Leuthen Choral» (««Nun danket alle Gott». Der Choral von Leuthen») (Fig.27) is based on Kampf's fresco «Prayer after the Battle at Leuthen» («Gebet nach der Schlacht bei Leuthen») (Fig.26) from 1887 (Schroyen 2022, s. 55). It shows an episode from the Seven Years' War. After the particularly hard battle a group of soldiers started to sing a Protestant hymn to express gratitude for their victory and survival (Schroyen 2022, s. 57–58).

The episode entered Prussian national mythology, becoming an epitome of the Prussian military ethos which combined cold-bloodedness, self-sacrifice, and thankfulness to God (Schroyen 2022, s.59; Münkler 2009, s.236). Kampf bases the illustration on the right-hand half of his fresco (Schroyen 2022, s. 55), leaving out the bodies of the dead which appeared in its left-hand half and indicated the battle's extreme brutality. Besides, the illustration does not contain the figure of Frederick the Great in the background (Schroyen 2022, s. 56), allowing the artist to focus on the singing soldiers.



Fig. 26. Arthur Kampf. The Choral of Leuthen. (Sketch). 1887. Neue Pinakothek München. Source: sammlung.pinakothek.de.



Fig. 27. Arthur Kampf. Now all thank God. The Choral of Leuthen.

«Consecration of volunteer soldiers» («Einsegnung von Freiwilligen i.J. 1813») (Fig.29) is a reworking of Kampf's highly successful painting from 1891 (Fig.28). The picture deals with another mythogenic episode of the «Wars of Liberation». In the early 1813, representatives of the landed classes and educated bourgeoisie, previously exempted from military service, joined the army in hundreds of thousands; many volunteered (Schroyen 2022, s. 74–76).

Kampf represents a group of men of bourgeois backgrounds receiving the priest's blessings (Schroyen 2022, s.77). However, in the painting Kampf pays more attention to the future soldiers' families. Some display sadness and anxiety, like a crying woman in the left-hand lower corner (Schroyen 2022, s. 78). By contrast, few civilians, whose blurred figures appear in the background of the illustration, do not express much emotion. Additionally, Kampf leaves out a particularly moving scene – a kneeling volunteer embarrassing his wife and young son. Instead the priest's figure comes to dominate the picture. Hence, the scene acquires a narrower meaning – one of religious contemplation and spiritual leadership at the time of war.



Fig. 28. Arthur Kampf. Consecration of von Lützow's Free Corps Volunteers in the Church in Rogau by Zobten in Silesia in the year 1813. 1891. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe. Inventory number 931. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

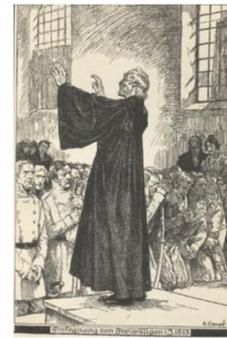


Fig. 29. Arthur Kampf. Consecration of Volunteers

War machinery as an embodiment of imperial power

Three of Kampf's illustrations to «Preussens Geschichte» depict Prussia's advancements in military technologies at two points in its history – under the reign of Friederich Wilhelm the Great Elector and Wilhelm II. «Brandenburg Warships» («Kurbrandenburgische Kriegsschiffe») (Fig.30) shows the vessels commissioned by the Great Elector. In the text, Herzog underscores the great importance which Frederick Wilhelm attached to the project (Herzog 1913, s.116). Two final pictures in the book have the same title as its last chapter – «Under Kaiser Wilhelm's Rule» («Unter der Regierung Kaiser Wilhelm») and are numbered I (Fig.31) and II (Fig.32) The former represents two battleships. The latter shows two zeppelins floating above a countryside landscape.

In the respective character, Herzog ascribes to Wilhelm II the crucial role in the Second Reich's technological advancement. He credits the Kaiser with building «... the most powerful land army and a mighty fleet...» («...gewaltigste Landheer und eine mächtige Flotte...») (Herzog 1913, s.371, 375). Notably, Herzog describes the German army and its fleet in particular as instruments for colonising new territories and maintaining peace: «He... has enforced peace from Europe with his weapons in hand» («Er... hat mit diesen seinen Waffen in der Hand den Frieden erzwungen von Europe») (Herzog 1913, s.375). Furthermore, in the same chapter he reminds the reader of the Great Elector's efforts in fleet building and colonisation (Herzog 1913, s.372). In doing so, the writer creates another link between the monarchs of the past and present, strengthened by Kampf's illustrations.



Fig. 30. Arthur Kampf. Warships of Brandenburg



Fig. 31. Arthur Kampf. Under Kaiser Wilhelm's Rule I



Fig.32. Arthur Kampf. Under Kaiser Wilhelm's Rule II

The subject-matter of these illustrations, quite atypical of Kampf's work, evidently comes from «A School History of England» (Fletcher & Kipling 1911). Two of the pictures («Henry VIII Sees

that England has a Good Fleet» and «With Francis Drake in the Tropics») give centre stage to then innovative vessels. The final picture, «A Glimpse of the Future», features a novel battleship and aircrafts of various types. Its composition, built around imaginary diagonals and thus creating a sense of dynamism, is similar to those of Kampf's illustrations.

Considering the limited number of pictures in each book, their creators' increased attention to the navy and aircrafts is evident. We argue that their choice of subject matter reflects the peak of the naval race between Great Britain and the German Empire (Röhl 2014, p.815, 980). In both books, advanced military machinery – rather than monarchs and their armies – come to epitomise the power of each empire at the beginning of the 20th century.

In the three illustrations, space – instead of action and narrative, which dominated the rest of the pictures – acquires special significance. When analysing the spatial aspect of Menzel's illustrations, Kathrin Maurer describes nature as an independent force hostile to both sides of the conflict (Maurer 2013, p.141). Conversely, in Kampf's pictures advanced machinery seems to have taken control over the elements. Indeed, Herzog writes that under Wilhelm's rule «...German technology began its triumphal procession on land, on water and in the air.» (...«die deutsche Technik ihren Siegeszug begonnen zu Lande, zu Wasser und in den Lüften.») (Herzog 1913, s. 375).

«Under Kaiser Wilhelm's Rule II» is more autonomous from Herzog's text than the majority of Kampf's illustrations. While the writer mentions the development of aircraft technologies (Herzog 1913, s. 375), he does not directly describe their influence – or the lack of it – on the countryside. Kampf's picture, however, shows the apparently harmonious co-existence of cutting-edge technologies and the traditional lifestyle of German farmers. Kathrin Maurer linked mid-19th century history book illustrations which highlighted the Germans' bond with their land with the later ideology of «blood and soil» (Blut und Boden) (Maurer 2013, p. 151). We believe that the scholar's ideas at least partly apply to the picture in question.

Conclusions

The study showed how «Preußens Geschichte» exemplified the period's «official nationalist», personality- and event-centred narrative of national history. In line with ideas on the goals of historical education prevalent at that time, the book's main purpose consisted in promoting patriotism and moral values associated with «the Prussian character». The structure of «Preußens Geschichte» is closely based on its prototype – «A School History of England» (1911). Both books' contents reflect the tense situation in European politics, the naval race in particular. The inclusion of illustrations and heroic ballads constitutes their distinctive feature. We argue that such a combination of genres causes the blurring of borders between historical fact, fiction, and myth.

Georg Belwe's designs of the book's cover, front matter pages, initials, and tailpieces repeatedly feature stylised heraldic symbols and attributes of royal power. While being autonomous from the text, his pictures implicitly convey the book's major idea – that of Prussian history equalling the history of its monarchy and military successes.

Arthur Kampf's 22 illustrations highlight the same themes to which Herzog pays most attention. These feature the feats of the «great» monarchs, the country's army, Protestantism, commoners' involvement in military events, and technological advancements. The artist overlooks subjects related to social, economic, and cultural history. He also avoids depicting destruction and suffering, thus creating idealised representations of the past. Kampf discards the canons of static official portraiture in favour of dynamic and immersive depictions of historical events and figures. In other regards, however, his illustrations are rooted in traditions of representing the subject-matter in question and are in line with the contemporaneous trends in history painting and illustration.

The majority of Kampf's illustrations portray the rulers of Brandenburg-Prussia either as determined military leaders or sovereigns displaying symbols of their power. The artist clearly conveys their status by means of composition. By contrast, Kampf shows commoners in fewer pictures and exclusively as participants in the major military events. They appear as part of bigger groups and often lack individual features. Thus they come to stand for certain social classes and, ultimately, «the people» («Volk») in general. The ideological implications of most pictures by Kampf revolve around heroism and self-sacrifice. By contrast, in three illustrations the domination of Germany's war machinery over geographical space comes to represent its political power.

Kampf's illustrations are generally faithful to Herzog's verbal descriptions of respective events. The majority of them depict emotionally charged episodes. Thus, we argue that their purpose in «Preußens Geschichte» lay in highlighting the key points in the narrative and facilitating their memorisation. The same conclusion applies to the ballads. Comparisons between Kampf's illustrations and paintings on which he based them demonstrate that such a cross-genre translation leads to the simplification of the picture's message. However, in many cases, the accompanying text lends an additional dimension to the illustration. Finally, the author maintains that the repetition of similar subjects and artistic devices in Kampf's and Belwe's work strengthens the sense of connectedness between Prussia's remote and recent past, already communicated in Herzog's text.

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Representing National Histories in Popular Illustrated Literature for Youth: Illustrations by Arthur Kampf and Georg Belwe to «Preußens Geschichte» («Prussian History», 1913) by Rudolf Herzog as a Case in Point

This study looks at illustrated popular literature as a tool for shaping its readers-viewers' perceptions of national histories. The author explores this issue through the example of Rudolf Herzog's book for German school students «History of Prussia» ("Preußens Geschichte", 1913) illustrated by Arthur Kampf and Georg Belwe. Despite the book's popularity in the 1910s, this paper offers its first academic examination. The study combines terminology and methods coming from the fields of history of representations, political mythologies' and visual cultures studies as well as art history. The author also adheres to methodological recommendations formulated by researchers in illustrated literature.

The paper demonstrates that «Preussens Geschichte» exemplifies personality- and event-centred «official-nationalist» approach to history writing. The book's contents reflect the current political situation and seek to promote the imperial government's agendas as well as certain moral values. The author argues that the specific purpose of Kampf and Belwe's illustrations consisted in stressing and simplifying the book's key subject matter and facilitating its memorisation. The ballads performed the same function. The author maintains that the stylistic unity and repetition of similar subject-matter in Belwe and Kampf's work contribute to the book's overall representation of Prussia's history as a coherent narrative.

Belwe's pictures encapsulate the book's main ideas through the use of generalised images rather than directly translating Herzog's prose and poetry into pictures. Kampf's illustrations further stress

the role of monarchy and army as the key actors of Prussian history through the artist's selection of subject-matter and employment of artistic devices. Together with Herzog's text, his pictures promote determination, courage, and self-sacrifice for the sake of the country. Two other themes that dominate Kampf's illustrations are the bond between the monarchy, the nation, and the church (an element of The Second Reich's official nationalism) as well as Prussia's technological advancement as an epitome of its political power.

Keywords: *historical mythologies, popular historiographies, book illustration, political iconology, representations of history, history of Prussia, history of Germany, Arthur Kampf, Georg Belwe.*

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