

Arminius the Turbulator

Depicting Germanness and Combating Foreigners in
German Collective Memory

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In the autumn of AD 9, Arminius, a German chieftain, led an ambush against the Roman commander Publius Quinctilius Varus and the three lower Rhine legions in Teutoburg Forest. Depending on the ancient sources, the massacre lasted one to four days with around 15,000 Romans killed or enslaved.¹ In the aftermath, Emperor Augustus exclaimed this now famous line when news of the massacre reached Rome: “Quintilius Varus, give me back my legions!”² The battle sent shockwaves across the known world, and the proceeding Germanic Wars would last several years. Centuries later, the Roman Empire would never reclaim their former hegemony in Germania, the territories and clans beyond the Rhine River.

This battle, called the *clades Variana* (Varian disaster) in Latin, but more commonly known among German historians as the *Varusschlacht* (Varus’s battle) or the *Hermannsschlacht* (Hermann’s battle), ranks among the greatest defeats of Rome. Though the *Varusschlacht* is a topic onto itself, the man who orchestrated the battle is more fascinating. Arminius, prince of the Cherusci Clan located near modern-day Hannover, was a Romanized German in every sense of the word; he spoke Latin, fought in the legions, and gained Roman citizenship.³ Up until the *Varusschlacht*, Arminius and the Cherusci were adamant Roman sympathizers. The ill-fated Varus even considered Arminius a trusted adviser. Despite his elevated status in Roman society, Arminius threw it all away. He betrayed his Roman compatriots and led them to slaughter, for he instructed Varus to march his legions through Teutoburg Forest.⁴ In response to the *Varusschlacht*, Tiberius and Germanicus, sons of the imperial family, launched several campaigns against the chieftain, but Arminius always evaded capture. Ironically, Arminius lost his life when he became what he most despised, a tyrannical king. His own clansmen murdered

¹ Peter S. Wells, *The Battle that Stopped Rome* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2003), 187; the estimations are based on the rough size of three legions according to Cassius Dio, *Roman History Vol I*, 56.22

² Suetonius, *Lives of the Twelve Caesars Vol I*, 2.23.

³ Velleius Paterculus, *Compendium of Roman History* 2.118.2

⁴ *Ibid*, 2.118.4.

him in AD 21 in fear of Arminius’s kingly ambitions straying too far from their Germanic values.⁵

The mythical potential of Arminius is boundless, for a foreigner stood against and annihilated three Roman legions during the peak of the empire’s power. The Romans never outright defeated him because Arminius’s clansmen betrayed the chieftain and killed him before Rome had the chance. It is no wonder that later Germans elevated Arminius, known by the German name Hermann, to near cult-like status as a national hero. Some German intellectuals from the sixteenth century onwards went as far as depicting Arminius as the ideal “German.”

This paper analyzes the legacy of Arminius and his role as an exemplar of German virtues. In the pursuit of an ancient heritage, German humanists of the Middle Ages scoured the writings of Roman historians and found Arminius and the Germani people. From language to culture, German intellectuals attempted to draw parallels between contemporary Germans and the Germani in the hopes of differentiating themselves from their Romanticized neighbours. As Arminius became a more recognizable figure, different groups co-opted him as an ideological figurehead. For example, Nazi propaganda posters depict Adolf Hitler striking similar poses to popular imagery of Arminius.⁶ To comprehend German reception of Arminius, I will focus on the *Hermannsdenkmal* (Hermann’s Monument) in Detmold to gauge the public’s reception of Arminius (Fig 1). The research will focus on three overarching themes – how Romans and Germans differed on their views of Arminius as the ideal German, how Arminius embodied the East-West divide as a symbol of anti-Roman sentiment, and the rise and fall of nationalistic spirit surrounding the *Hermannsdenkmal* in Germany from the nineteenth century onwards.

⁵ Tacitus, *Annals*, 2.88.

⁶ Martin M. Winkler, *Arminius the Liberator: Myth and Ideology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 101.

This research differs from other scholarship in two important aspects. The first is on the topic of German virtue. In his work *A Most Dangerous Book*, historian Christopher Krebs writes extensively about the influence of Tacitus’s *Germania* on later German writers. Specifically, he explores the evolution of these tacitean German virtues into *völkisch* traits during the Third Reich. Though Krebs mentions Arminius, he does not appreciate the importance of Arminius in German reception. I will argue that Arminius was the ideal role model because not only does he embody the dichotomy between western civilization and the “noble savage,” Arminius chooses his German heritage over his Roman upbringing. The second is in regards to the coverage of the *Hermannsdenkmal*. Most historians only discuss the monument’s history during the Second and Third Reich - very few consider reception in the twenty-first century. The few articles that address the *Hermannsdenkmal* in a modern context lack the necessary historiography on German identity to tackle the extensive legacy of Arminius. Hence, I will consider if the nationalistic and ethnic connotations associated with the figure of Arminius have faded away in the modern age or if these negative memories linger.

The theory of collective memory lends itself to this research on Roman and German reception, for one of the quintessential components of the theory relies on the relationship between memory and identity. This applies to both the individual and the community, for memory, “...captures simultaneously the individual, embodied, and lived side *and* the collective, social, and constructed side of your relations to the past.”⁷ For example, consider the historical and cultural implications of the *Varusschlacht*. Many modern historians argue that the *Varusschlacht* had little to no influence on long-term Roman foreign policy. German historian Dieter Timpe expresses this sentiment succinctly: “One cannot, with any seriousness, attribute to

⁷ Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (New York: Stanford University Press, 2009), 4.

a German chieftain the idea that he could bring about the fall of the Roman Empire or even of Roman rule north of the Alps!”⁸ Though the *Varusschlacht* may have been insignificant in Roman history, the battle had a profound impact on German identity. Arminius inspired future generations of Germans who viewed the Germani as their ancestors. Historians Christopher Krebs and Herbert Benario both note that German humanists found their *patria* (Latin for country) in the pages of Tacitus’s *Germania*, a missing component of German identity long denied to them due to a lack of historical records.⁹ In essence, the study of collective memory relies on, “...a triad, a three-cornered relationship among highly resonant parts of a memory landscape, individuals, and groups...” who struggle to find meaning in the world around them.¹⁰

Roman and Early German Reception

Before delving into modern reception of the *Varusschlacht*, one must consider the man responsible for Arminius’s popularity from antiquity. Tacitus wrote extensively on the campaigns waged against Arminius by Germanicus in Book I and II of his *Annals*. Other Roman historians discuss Arminius, but their writings pale in comparison to Tacitus’s depiction of Arminius. Unlike other historians, Tacitus portrays the chieftain as a fleshed out character who has his own hopes and aspirations. Arminius is not only the liberator of Germany, but he is also a loyal husband and a competent warrior.¹¹ For example, Arminius flies into a fit of rage upon hearing that Germanicus has captured his pregnant wife Thusenlda in AD 15.¹² Though unbecoming of a military leader, it is a humanizing moment for the chieftain and speaks to his

⁸ Winkler, *Arminius the Liberator*, 50.

⁹ Christopher B. Krebs, *A Most Dangerous Book: Tacitus’s Germania from the Roman Empire to the Third Reich* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2011), 128; Herbert W. Benario, "Arminius into Hermann: History into Legend," *Greece & Rome* 51, no. 1 (2004): 87.

¹⁰ Rudy Koshar, *From Monuments to Trace: Artifacts of German Memory 1870-1990* (London: University of California Press, 2000), 10.

¹¹ Tacitus, *Annals* 2.88.2

¹² *Ibid*, 1.59.

devotion to Thusenlda. Tacitus’s Arminius is also a competent leader; he combats Rome’s superior numbers with brilliant tactics, such as directing his forces to divert the streams and rivers to terraform the terrain into marshlands.¹³ Bugged down in unfamiliar conditions, the legionaries fall victim to the Germani. Above all, Tacitus’s Arminius possesses *virtus*, a concept usually reserved for Romans. Usually defined as exhibiting valour on the battlefield, Arminius proves his *virtus* in combat as illustrated when Germanicus confronts Arminius’s army: “[The] Cherusci were being pushed from the hills — among them the unmistakable figure of Arminius, striking, shouting, bleeding, in his effort to maintain the struggle.”¹⁴ Though Arminius opposes Rome, Tacitus portrays him as a worthy adversary and a virtuous warrior.

In contrast, other ancient historians treat Arminius with contempt and place the full blame of the *Varusschlacht* squarely on Varus’s shoulders. In his *Epitome of Roman History*, Florus juxtaposes the virtuous Drusus, previous governor of Germania, against the cruel Varus.¹⁵ Florus even compares Varus to Paullus, the defeated consul from the Battle of Cannae.¹⁶ Cassius Dio recounts the *Varusschlacht* in a similar manner. He argues that one could see the gradually societal change of the Germani people under Drusus; however, Varus strove to make the transition faster by imposing stricter enforcement of Roman law.¹⁷ Both Cassius Dio and Florus attribute Varus’s strict rule as the catalyst to the *Varusschlacht*. On the other hand, very few ancient historians give credit to Arminius’s role in facilitating the ambush. These Romans argue that Arminius had no influence, for he and the Germani would never have rebelled under a competent leader like Drusus. In this sense, Arminius is a faceless man who lacks personal motivation to rebel against the Romans – only Varus is to blame.

¹³ Ibid, 1.64.

¹⁴ Ibid, 2.17.

¹⁵ Florus, *Epitome of Roman History*, 2.30.30.

¹⁶ Ibid, 2.30.33-35.

¹⁷ Cassius Dio, *Roman History Vol 1*, 56.18.3.

Velleius Paterculus, a contemporary of the *Varusschlacht*, is the only ancient historian besides Tacitus who gives some credence to Arminius’s aptitude. Paterculus describes him as, “...a young man of noble birth, brave in action and alert in mind, possessing an intelligence quite beyond the ordinary barbarian...and he showed in his countenance and in his eyes the fire of the mind within.”¹⁸ In contrast, Paterculus notes all of Varus’s flaws – his slow wit, his poor track record as the former governor of Syria, and his preference to litigating from the camp rather than actual combat.¹⁹ Even though Paterculus recognizes Arminius’s abilities, Paterculus still rests the blame of the *Varusschlacht* solely on Varus just like Cassius Dio and Florus did later. Since Paterculus considers Varus’s incompetence as the reason for the impending disaster, Arminius is nothing more than an opportunist. Paterculus acknowledges Arminius’s fervor, but the German served as an instrument of fortune to punish Varus. This is a common theme throughout all the accounts discussing the massacre. Even in the arts, the poet Manilius correlates the gods’ disapproval of Rome with the convulsion of the natural order:

...savage Germany carried off General Varus and drenched the fields with the blood of three legions. Then threatening lights were burning all over the firmament, and nature herself waged war by means of these fiery lights, opposed her powers to us, and threatened the end.²⁰

Likewise, Cassius Dio recounts several omens that occurred before and after the *Varusschlacht*, such as the temple of Mars being struck by lightning - the heavens were against Rome.²¹ Despite Paterculus recognizing Arminius as an individual, the chieftain serves as a pawn of fate to punish Rome for its own incompetence.

Unlike other ancient historians, Tacitus’s more sympathetic outlook toward Arminius was likely colored by his earlier works on the Germani. Tacitus’s wrote several histories before the

¹⁸ Velleius Paterculus, *Compendium of Roman History*, 2.118.2.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 2.118.1.

²⁰ Manilius, *Astronomica*, 1.893-903.

²¹ Cassius Dio, *Epitome of Roman History*, 56.24.2.

Annals; one of those books was the *Germania*, an ethnography of the territories beyond the Rhine. In the *Germania*, Tacitus praises the Germani for their fighting spirit and their morality. He goes as far as equating German arms to the Roman toga, the quintessential symbol of manhood and citizenship - high praise for “barbarians.”²² In regards to morality, Tacitus discusses at length the marriage and social customs of the Germani and applauds their chastity and devotion. Though primarily a veiled criticism towards the social decadence of his fellow Romans, Tacitus concludes that, “good morality is more effective there than good laws elsewhere.”²³

With the ethnography in mind, one should go back and compare Tacitus’s portrayal of Arminius to the characteristics Tacitus admires in the *Germania*. Tacitus’s gleaming appraisal of Arminius in the *Annals* begins to fade, for many of the chieftain’s actions contradict his supposedly German values. Arminius unknowingly airs these contradictions in a speech to his soldiers saying that, “Before his own sword three legions, three generals, had fallen. For he practiced war, not by the help of treason nor against pregnant women, but in open day against men who carried arms.”²⁴ The paradox is obvious. Arminius did not defeat Varus in open combat. Instead, he betrayed Varus, and he led the legions into an ambush. Arminius facilitated his greatest achievement, the *Varusschlacht*, with cloaks and daggers rather than with swords and shields. Though later Germans claimed that Tacitus presents Arminius in a favorable light, the conception that Tacitus greatly admired Arminius begins to fade.

These contradictions appear regularly throughout the *Annals*. According to the *Germania*, fleeing the battlefield is the greatest shame possible for a German warrior; however, Arminius

²² Tacitus, *Germania*, 13.

²³ Ibid, 19.

²⁴ Tacitus, *Annals*, 1.59.

evades capture for twelve years by fleeing the battlefield, a shameful act.²⁵ Even his marriage with Thusnelda flies in the face of German tradition. Though Tacitus makes clear their devotion to one another, she was originally betrothed to another, so their arrangement defies social norms according to the *Germania*.²⁶ The only remaining admirable traits that Tacitus praises, Arminius’s military strategies and his *virtus*, are not German traits. Rather, Arminius’s time in the Roman legion fostered his fighting spirit and tactical mind. The once rosy depiction of Tacitus’s Arminius continues to falter under scrutiny.

Tacitus’s subsequent account of Germanicus stumbling upon the remnants of the fallen legions in Teutoburg Forest illustrates the monstrosity of Arminius. Tacitus claims that, “In the plain between were bleaching bones, scattered or in little heaps, as the men had fallen, fleeing or standing fast. Hard by lay splintered spears and limbs of horses, while human skulls were nailed prominently on the tree-trunks.”²⁷ Not only is this a gruesome scene, but certain phrases, such as the white bones, allude to Book IV and XII of Virgil’s epic when Aeneas recounts the sack of Troy.²⁸ The vivid imagery and references to the *Illiupersis* testify to the depravity and cruelty of Arminius and his men. The chieftain slaughtered thousands of Romans, so it would be naïve to assume the Tacitus would hold anything but contempt towards Arminius. On the surface, it may seem that Tacitus’s Arminius is different from other historians’ accounts. Tacitus occasionally does praise the chieftain. On the other hand, Tacitus’s portrayal of Arminius runs counter to Tacitus’s own depiction of a virtuous German in his *Germania*. In the end, Arminius is both the turbulator and liberator of Germany – an ambitious man with many personal flaws.²⁹

²⁵ Tacitus, *Germania*, 6.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 1.58.

²⁷ *Ibid* 1.61.

²⁸ A.J. Woodman, *The Cambridge Companion to Tacitus* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 5.

²⁹ Tacitus, *Annals* 1.55.2 ; *Ibid* 2.88.2

From the ancient sources alone, it is difficult to square away the admiration for Arminius by later Germans and the chieftain’s disregard for Germanic traditions. However, The German humanists of the sixteenth century looked past these flaws and focused solely on the good. Consider Ulrich von Hutten’s *Arminius* dialogues, a continuation of Lucian’s *Dialogues of the Dead* where Minos must decide who was the greatest general to ever live – Alexander, Scipio, or Hannibal. Hutten revises the trial by introducing Arminius into the competition, and he calls Tacitus as a character witness. Tacitus quotes the *Annals* verbatim by focusing on how Arminius defeated Rome at the height of its power. Mercury verifies Tacitus’s assertions by claiming Tacitus to be the most trustworthy of historians.³⁰ In Hutten’s iteration, Tacitus sincerely admired Arminius. This is essential because by claiming Tacitus speaks the truth, Hutten dismisses all the other historians who are critical of Arminius.

When the other generals accused Arminius of betraying his Roman compatriots and succumbing to tyrannical tendencies, Arminius defends himself. On the charge of treachery, Arminius argues,

But in my mind there was never a time when I felt subservient to anyone. The thought of being free was always with me, and my mind was devoted to this one ambition, to be prepared, should the occasion present itself, to free my fellow Germans who were bound by the yoke of servitude.³¹

On the accusation of tyranny, Arminius appeals to the *logos* of the audience saying,

We all know from human experience that the person possessing the greatest virtues will also be the one to engender the most envy and jealousy... The higher one has been exalted, the greater the jealousy he attracts. He who attends to the highest matters of state must necessarily have more influence and power over the people he rules.³²

Because the Hutten’s dialogues are set in the court of the underworld, everything that Arminius and Tacitus said must be true, so Arminius never truly served the Romans nor did he ever harbor

³⁰ Richard E. Walker, *Ulrich von Hutten’s Arminius: An English Translation with Analysis and Commentary* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2008), 27.

³¹ *Ibid*, 36.

³² *Ibid*, 38.

kingly ambition. In these two rebuttals, Hutten absolves Arminius of his two most glaring character flaws. Thus, Hutten whitewashes Tacitus’s version of Arminius, a nuanced character with human flaws but hopeful aspirations, into this flawless exemplar of German virtues.

Though Ulrich von Hutten’s *Arminius* is only one example, it speaks to how malleable these ancient sources are in the hands of ideologues. German authors focused on the good and ignored the flaws. Germans turned this once nuanced character into a caricature. With each simplification, the story of Arminius and the *Varusschlacht* resembled myth more than history. Eventually, Arminius was nothing more than the exemplar of German virtue and the steadfast opponent of all things Roman - Italians, the French, or Roman Catholics, the chieftain did not discriminate.

The Ethnic Connotations and History of the *Hermannsdenkmal*

Rising anti-French sentiment inspired Ernst von Bandel, the architect of the *Hermannsdenkmal*, to dedicate his whole life to the endeavor. Foreign occupying soldiers were a staple of Bandel’s childhood, for he was born in Ansbach on May 17, 1800 when the French threat loomed over the continent during the Napoleonic Wars. Some German scholars have speculated that Bandel’s inspiration of the *Hermannsdenkmal* originated from an altercation between a French troop and his six year old self. The soldier “boxed” Bandel’s ears for being an insubordinate child. Years later in 1872, *Gartenlaube*, a popular German magazine of the late nineteenth century, published an article titled “A Creative Slap in the Face” inspired by this adolescent experience.³³ Even if this account was nothing more than a fable, Bandel already had

³³ *Gartenlaube* 20 (1872): 441-44, cited in Kirsten Belgum, “Displaying the Nation: A View of Nineteenth-Century Monuments through a Popular Magazine,” *Central European History* 26, no. 4 (1993): 464.

sketches of the *Hermannsdenkmal* by his university years.³⁴ Something instrumental must have happened during his formative years to spur him to spend the majority of his life constructing the *Hermannsdenkmal*.

The inspiration for the *Hermannsdenkmal* originated from the Wars for Liberation when several European territories united under a single banner to banish Napoleon from central Europe. In particular, the Battle of Nations, also known as the Battle of Leipzig or the *Völkerschlacht*, inspired Bandel and many other German nationalists for years to come. This conflict marked the shifting of the tides, for Napoleon suffered his first major defeat on the battlefield against the opposing coalition consisting of Prussia, Austria, Russia, Sweden, and other Germanic states. Until this battle, Napoleon’s only defeat had been a reluctant retreat from Russia the previous year. Bavaria, the state where Bandel’s hometown was located, betrayed its French allies by swearing allegiance to the opposing coalition just days before the fateful battle.³⁵ After several days, the coalition routed Napoleon from the city; the battle would be the largest conflict known to Europe until the World Wars. Since the Battle of Leipzig was such a turning point in the war against France, many festivals celebrated the *Völkerschlacht* as a second *Varusschlacht*.³⁶ Consider Karl Russ’s 1818 drawing of Arminius rescuing the enchained Germania, the German nation personified, from the battlefield of Leipzig (Fig 2).³⁷ Not only does this drawing give credence to the importance of the *Varusschlacht* to a German audience, but it also makes clear the connection between Rome and France. Germania’s former captors clutch Roman standards in their cold, dead hands. Due to this parallel between the *Völkerschlacht* and the *Varusschlacht*, it is clear that the Wars for Liberation ignited a

³⁴ Hans A. Pohlsander, *National Monuments and Nationalism in 19th Century Germany* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2008) 154.

³⁵ David G. Chandler, *The Campaigns of Napoleon* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1966), 873.

³⁶ Winkler, *Arminius the Liberator*, 67.

³⁷ Fansa von Mamoun, *Varusschlacht und Germanenmythos* (Oldenburg, Isensee, 2001), 48 Fig 5.

nationalistic fervor in Ernst von Bandel to dedicate thirty-seven years of his life to honor this second *Varusschlacht*.

The years leading up to the opening ceremony of the *Hermannsdenkmal* in 1875 require a brief contextualization since renewed interest in Arminius accompanied a national awakening. The cornerstone celebration for the monument occurred on September 8, 1841 followed by a recital of Mortiz Arndt’s patriotic song “What is the German’s Fatherland?”³⁸ Arndt was another German patriot inspired by the Battle of Nations; the *Völkerschlachtdenkmal* in Leipzig even pays homage to Arndt’s earlier designs for such a monument. Unfortunately for the *Hermannsdenkmal*, as soon as construction began, the project fell in desperate financial straits, so Bandel had to postpone the project and move to Hannover for more favourable work.³⁹ It was only after the Franco-Prussian War that funding began to flow again. In 1868, soon-to-be Kaiser Wilhelm I’s visit to Bandel’s workshop sparked renewed interest in the *Hermannsdenkmal*, and the *Reichstag*’s generous donation of 10,000 talers spurred on further construction.⁴⁰ Though a large sum of money, that donation alone would not have covered the 90,000 talers cost. Outside of other notable figures such as King Ludwig I of Bavaria and Prince Leopold of Lippe, public donations raised the remaining funds.

This begs the question of how private citizens from across the newly formed German nation became aware of the monument’s construction and were willing to fund the outstanding deficit. After all, even after the monument’s completion, few tourists journeyed to the site; only about 1,500 to 1,800 annual visitors trekked into the forest to see the *Hermannsdenkmal* between 1875 and 1880. However, this number skyrocketed to 20,500 in 1895 and 41,000 in 1909 thanks

³⁸ Hermann Kesting, *Arminius*, trans. Elise Schnasse (Detmold: Hermann Bösmann, 1982), 30.

³⁹ *Ibid*, 35.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 36.

to the installation of a train station in Detmold.⁴¹ These later visitors likely participated in fundraisers for the monument, but they were unable to visit this otherwise obscure monument. Historian Kirsten Belgum lays out a compelling argument that even though many Germans never saw these structures in the flesh, popular magazines such as *Gartenlaube* exposed the budding German nation to nationalistic monuments such as the *Niederwalddenkmal* and the *Hermannsdenkmal*. As Belgum points out, *Gartenlaube* enjoyed the largest circulation of any German-language publication at the time with 310,000 subscriptions by 1871.⁴²

Other advocates of the *Hermannsdenkmal* tapped into this budding national interest. Hans Ferdinand Massman, fast friends with Bandel, lobbied on the monument’s behalf. Massman himself published two books and several poems on Arminius which were quite popular with the public.⁴³ Bandel also appealed to the top students from 300 grammar schools to contribute and gather donations in their local communities.⁴⁴ This would only have been successful if these schools instilled into children the mythological and nationalistic connotations surrounding Arminius. Eventually, the monument was inaugurated on August 16, 1875 in the presence of the Kaiser and around 20,000 to 30,000 attendees.⁴⁵ Naturally, *Gartenlaube* printed a featurette on the festivities (Fig 3).⁴⁶

Though inspired by Arminius, the *Hermannsdenkmal* was very much a product of its time. The statue towers above the forest landscape at 24.82 m; when taking the base into account, the whole monument is 53.44 m.⁴⁷ Arminius wears Roman military attire, but that is the only Roman element. Donning a winged helmet and a full beard, Arminius raises a mighty sword

⁴¹ Belgum, “Displaying the Nation: A View of Nineteenth-Century Monuments through a Popular Magazine,” 458.

⁴² *Ibid*, 460.

⁴³ Winkler, *Arminius the Liberator*, 67.

⁴⁴ Kesting, *Arminius*, 36.

⁴⁵ Frank Huisman, *Das Hermannsdenkmal - Daten, Fakten, Hintergründe* (Münster: Scriptorium, 2008), 73.

⁴⁶ *Gartenlaube* 23 (1875): 640-41, cited in Belgum, “Displaying the Nation: A View of Nineteenth-Century Monuments through a Popular Magazine,” 472.

⁴⁷ Kesting, *Arminius*, 36.

skywards as if to issue a challenge towards his foes. Etched on the sword are these words: “GERMAN UNITY, MY STRENGTH; MY STRENGTH, GERMANY’S MIGHT.”⁴⁸ It is important to note that *Deutschland*, not Germania, is inscribed on the blade. The word *Deutschland* represents modern-day Germany as a nation-state – a word Arminius would have never known. As Dutch novelist noted, “He [Arminius] did not know that Germany existed, so he could not know that he had liberated it...History, that old anachronistic liar, is up to its old tricks again.”⁴⁹ Carved onto his shield is the word *Truefest* meaning “faithful-firm.”⁵⁰ Lastly, Arminius’s left foot stands atop a Roman legionary eagle and fasces, symbols of Rome’s governmental and military might.

One would expect the statue to face southward towards Rome, but surprisingly, Arminius and his sword point westward towards France. The descriptions below in the niches of the monument’s base solidify France as the modern embodiment of the Roman Empire. The first inscription reads as follows:

Only because the German people had become too French and powerless through disunity could Napoleon Bonaparte Emperor of the French subjugate Germany with the aid of Germans; then finally in 1813 all German tribes gathered around the sword raised high by Prussia, from disgrace victoriously fighting for their home country’s freedom.⁵¹

Napoleon was only able to conquer Germany with the assistance of other Germans which is similar to how Rome ruled Germania with the assistance of other Germanic clans such as the Cherusci. Though it was easy to portray the Wars for Liberation as the tale of Europe against France, the ethnicity of the troops led by Napoleon were not as clear cut. Bandel’s hometown may have sided with Prussia in its time of need, but there were many “Germans” fighting alongside the French. For example, the Confederation of the Rhine aided Napoleon during the

⁴⁸ Winkler, *Arminius the Liberator*, 69.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 70.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 69.

⁵¹ Winkler, *Arminius the Liberator*, 72.

Battle of Nations. Nevertheless, the emphasis on German unity against foreign threats and internal enemies is reminiscent of the *Varusschlacht* myth. The second inscription honours Kaiser Wilhelm I and ties his legacy to Arminius:

He who united long divided tribes by a strong hand, he who victoriously overcame ‘Welsh’ might and malice, he who takes long-lost sons home to the German empire, he is equal to Arminius the rescuer.”⁵²

Directly above this passage is a metallic relief of the Kaiser crafted from bronze originating from French cannons captured during the Franco-Prussian War.⁵³ This was a common tradition at this point, for cannons adorned the column of the *Siegessäule* in Berlin. On the other hand, the context of the *Varusschlacht* breathes ancient meaning into this new tradition; just as Arminius stole three Roman standards from the fallen legions, the Kaiser pillaged and robbed France of its military might. In this sense, the passage draws an obvious parallel between the Kaiser and Arminius.

However, what truly makes this second inscription provoking is the usage of the term *welsch* rather than *französisch*, the standard adjective for French. *Welsch* is synonymous with the adjective *römisch* (Roman), but *welsch* carries a more negative connotation and was often used to describe foreigners. The famous German historian Theodor Massmann wrote this in regards to the words *deutsch* and *welsch*:

The two adjectives *deutsch* and *welsch*, about which a biography of their own could be written, have meant, through all centuries, a significant, almost moral, antithesis. Specifically, the elevating use of the word *deutsch*, which stands for everything that is noble in man and a true power for peace, allows us to look into a mirror of a people’s self-confidence as well as human equilibrium.⁵⁴

Just as the first inscription makes reference to the German people succumbing to a foreign power due to being too French, the conflict between *deutsch* and *welsch* once raged on within

⁵² Cited in Pohlsander, *National Monuments and Nationalism in 19th Century Germany*, 157.

⁵³ Ibid, 157.

⁵⁴ Cited in Winkler, *Arminius the Liberator*, 72.

Arminius. Though a German who lived among the Romans, Arminius maintained his *deutsch* virtues and never succumbed to *welsch* temptations unlike his other family members. In the eyes of nineteenth century Germans, Arminius was their exemplar.

It is evident that the *welsch* connotation runs deeper in German collective memory than just the Wars for Liberation. Several German plays throughout the centuries contrasted the figure of Arminius to the Francophile trends of early modern Germany. Justus Georg Schottelius’s play *The Victory of Peace* was very much a product of its time; Schottelius wrote it in the midst of the Thirty Years’ War around 1642. In the play, the character Arminius laments the fall of the German people when confronting Bolderian, a modern German. Krebs summarizes Bolderian’s appearance as such: “Neat and groomed (with two plumes to his hat, puffy sleeves, knee-high boots, and a sword for ornament), he speaks the language of the day. German it seems, is the syntax, but French, mostly, the words.” In contrast, Arminius possesses long hair, a bearded face, and a real sword – features Bolderian openly mocks him for.⁵⁵ The contrast between the superior *deutsch* warrior and the *welsch* pretender is obvious. Almost every major production featuring Arminius presented similar comparisons and manifestations of these *deutsch* versus *welsch* qualities; Grabbe labelled Varus as *der welsche Oberfeldherr* (the *welsch* commander-in-chief) in his *Hermannsschlacht* 1835 production, and Klopstock painted the Romans in an effeminate light during his Arminius trilogy around 1769.⁵⁶ The repeated use of the word *welsch* to criticize French norms made it clear that Germans associated undesirable qualities with French and Roman values.

In this *Kulturkampf* (battle for civilization) between *deutsch* and *welsch* society, Arminius defends Germany against the Roman vipers. This metaphor has been consistent

⁵⁵ Krebs, *A Most Dangerous Book*, 129-130.

⁵⁶ Winkler, *Arminius the Liberator*, 73; Cornelis van der Haven, “Germanic Myths and Gender Constructions in German and Dutch Theatre Texts 1660-1780,” *Neophilologos* 95, (2011): 250.

throughout history. The earliest known mention of Roman vipers in a German context first appeared in 1517. An artist by the name of Ambrosius Holbien produced a woodcut for the cover of Johannes Froben’s 1520 edition of Velleius Paterculus’s *Roman History*. Holbien clades Arminius in sixteenth-century armour confronting Varus on the battlefield alongside this quote: “*Tandem vipera sibilare desiste* – ‘finally this viper must desist from hissing.’”⁵⁷ (Fig 4)

The image of a snake harkens back to Roman historians who used the term viper to describe Romans and their German sympathizers. In this passage, Florus describes the aftermath of the *Varusschlacht* and how the Germani tortured the remaining legionaries: “They put out the eyes of some of them [the legionaries] and cut off the hands of others; they sewed up the mouth of one of them after first cutting out his tongue, exclaiming, ‘At last, you viper, you have ceased to hiss.’”⁵⁸ This label was also applied to Germans aligned with the Roman Empire. In Tacitus’s account, Arminius and Maroboduus are exchanging insults before a skirmish. Maroboduus was once an enemy of Rome, but he threw his lot in with the Romans against his Germanic brothers. Arminius describes his rival as, “the fugitive who, without one stricken field, had lain safe in the coverts of the Hercynian Forest.”⁵⁹ Though not an obvious reference to a snake, A.J. Woodman argues that Tacitus’ description of Maroboduus’s hiding place is a reference to Virgil’s *Georgics*, in which Virgil describes a skulking snake as *frustra defensa latebris uipera* (the viper vainly protected by its lair).⁶⁰ In a similar vein, Paterculus likens Maroboduus to a viper biding his time to strike.⁶¹ Though Woodman cautions that this snake metaphor may be a coincidence in these ancient sources, later Germans, who were familiar with these texts, would have known the

⁵⁷ Smith W. Bradford, “Germanic Pagan Antiquity in Lutheran Historical Thought,” *Journal of the Historical Society* 4, no. 3, (2003): 360.

⁵⁸ Florus, *Epitome of Roman History*, 2.30.37.

⁵⁹ Tacitus, *Annals*, 2.45.

⁶⁰ A.J. Woodman, *The Cambridge Companion to Tacitus* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1; Virgil, *Georgics*, 3.544-5.

⁶¹ Velleius Paterculus, *Roman History*, 129.3.

underlying cultural connotations of such loaded terminology, and Germans used these allusions to identify and defame their enemies.⁶²

This metaphor reemerged in the nineteenth-century in association with the *Hermannsdenkmal*, for German invoked Arminius and Martin Luther against German Roman Catholics. Though the word *Kulturkampf* means a struggle for civilization, the term also describes a period from 1872 to 1886 when the new German government, specifically Otto von Bismarck, was at odds with the Roman Catholic Church. In 1870, Pope Pius IX declared the dogma of papal infallibility binding the loyalty of German Catholics to the Vatican first and Germany second.⁶³ The May Laws of 1873 marked the German offence against Catholics, for these laws gave authority to the state governments to veto Catholic appointments to public offices.⁶⁴ These religious tensions were present at the inauguration ceremony for the *Hermannsdenkmal* during the height of the *Kulturkampf*. The Lippe regional government distributed the poem “The Hermannsdenkmal in Teutoburg Forest” by Leopold Böhmer in their pamphlets during the ceremony.⁶⁵ The poem not only associates the Roman Empire with the Catholic Church, but Böhmer declares a call to arms against the internal Catholic enemies. Furthermore, the ceremony ends with this message: “Here we find ourselves together in the shadow of ancient oaks and beeches and shake ours hand within a small covenant of brothers under the leadership of our heroic Kaiser and his co-conspirators against Rome’s vipers.”⁶⁶ This was not an isolated event in Detmold alone. The day before the *Hermannsdenkmal*’s

⁶² This viper reference gives credence to the argument that Siegfried is a reimagination of Arminius. Siegfried slays a dragon which is a snake in some sense. See Roberta Frank, “Anselm Kiefer, Siegfried and Arminius: Scenes from a Marriage,” in *Germania Remembered 1500-2009: Commemorating and Inventing a Germanic Past*, ed. Christina Lee and Nicola McLelland (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012).

⁶³ Sebastian Knauer, “Das Hermannsdenkmal vor dem Hintergrund des Kulturkampfes,” *Rosenland Zeitschrift für lippische Geschichte* 5, (2007): 7.

⁶⁴ Ronald J. Ross, “Enforcing the Kulturkampf in the Bismarckian State and the Limits of Coercion in Imperial Germany,” *The Journal of Modern History* 56, no. 3 (1984): 460.

⁶⁵ Knauer, “Das Hermannsdenkmal vor dem Hintergrund des Kulturkampfes,” 8.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 9.

inauguration ceremony, *Kladderadatsch*, a magazine based in Berlin, published an image of Arminius and Martin Luther standing together (Fig 5).⁶⁷ Though the word *Truefest* is on the monument’s shield, this image depicts the word *Vici* (Latin for victory) on Arminius’s shield. Just as Arminius and Martin Luther vanquished their Roman foes, the modern German nation would emerge victorious from this *Kulturkampf*. This modern religious conflict bestowed new meaning on the *Hermannsdenkmal*; instead of an external danger, the *Hermannsdenkmal* now raised his sword against the Roman Catholic invaders who have infiltrated Germany.

This internal enemy soon shifted from German Catholics to German Jews, for fascists used the *Hermannsdenkmal* and the *welsch* label to defame the Jewish population during the Third Reich. The National Socialists campaigned heavily in the Lippe region during the 1933 elections, and many speeches compared Hitler to Arminius (Fig. 6 & 7).⁶⁸ Some historians warn against the temptation to overinflate Arminius’s place in National Socialism; however, continued productions of Grabbe’s and Kleist’s *Hermannsschlacht* plays testify to the staying power of the *Varusschlacht* during the Nazi Regime.⁶⁹ Similar to how previous regimes politicized the *Varusschlacht* myth, Arminius’s demise at the hands of his clansmen set the historical precedent for the *Dolchstosslegende*.⁷⁰ An anti-Semitic conspiracy theory, the *Dolchstosslegende* claims that Germany would have won WWI if the German Jews did not “stab” Germany in the back. Just as Arminius fell to the daggers of his fellow clansmen, the nation too lost the war due to treachery. The Jews were labelled *welsch* like all the other enemies of Germany - *verwelscht* and *verjudet* (ruined by Jews) became synonymous with one another.⁷¹ This may be why books

⁶⁷ Ibid, 9.

⁶⁸ Winkler, *Arminius the Liberator*, 94.

⁶⁹ Ibid, 83.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 82.

⁷¹ Ibid, 73.

published in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries discussing the “Jewish Question” often depicted a snake (Fig 8). However, this line of questioning is beyond the scope of this paper.

Arminius and the *Hermannsdenkmal* in a Modern Context

The monument remained physically the same in the immediate aftermath of the Third Reich, emerging unscathed from the carnage of WWII thanks to its isolated location in the woods. However, the public began to dissociate itself from the monument’s militant undertones. The seventy-fifth anniversary of the *Hermannsdenkmal* occurred in 1950, and the event provides a case-study in shifting attitudes towards the figure of Arminius soon after the war. Tourist numbers nosedived in comparison to the heights achieved during the Third Reich; however, 200,000 attendees were still impressive given the conditions of Germany at the time. It should be noted that President Theodor Huess of the Federal Republic of Germany (FDR) was not among the visitors.⁷² The celebration was a somber one, and the ceremony ended with the installation of a plaque nearby the monument. The inscription reads: “German women and men unanimously profess on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the *Hermannsdenkmal* to the unification of the people through peace.”⁷³ The last interesting note from the ceremony was the lack of East German representation. The National Front, which represented the eastern political parties of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), refused to provide their city flags for the event. In contrast, 152 city flags from the FDR were available if need be.⁷⁴ Between the absence of President Huess and the National Front, the political sway of the monument had begun to dissipate in both the West and East Germany.

⁷² “Hermannsdenkmal: Durchs Nasenloch gestürzt,” *Der Spiegel* Online, August 8, 1950, www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-44448577.html

⁷³ Translation by author.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 11.

The vestiges of the *Varusschlacht* pathos now resided solely in the cultural spheres, and many artists attempted to confront this past through their work. In 1985, art historian Wieland Schmied stated that, “Of all contemporary German painters Anselm Kiefer is regarded as the most ‘German.’ And in fact he is, more than any other artist, a painter of ‘German’ themes.”⁷⁵ The German themes in question are his *Hermannsschlacht* series and his 1976 painting titled *Varus*. Born in 1945, Kiefer represented the next generation of West Germans grappling with the fascist past, a concept known as *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*. While describing the *Hermannsschlacht* series, Mathew Rampley noted that, “In these paintings from the early 1970s one can...see how Kiefer is undertaking an interrogation of the intertwining of romanticism, nationalism and Nazism by highlighting common motifs and ideologemes.”⁷⁶ Similarly, the *Varus* painting illustrates the legacy of the *Varusschlacht* mythos and its dangers (Fig 9). A wooded path leads deeper into the forest; the blood in the foreground, which resembles bullet holes, is the only indicator of the battle in the distance out of frame. This ominous setting runs counter to the importance of the forest, the supposed origin of the Germanic people according to Tacitus.⁷⁷ Amongst the branches of these painted trees are names of German authors, politicians, and playwrights such as Hutten, Grabbe, and Martin Luther who elevated the *Varusschlacht* to its cult-like status. These historical figures set Arminius on a trajectory to become a fascist icon. By acknowledging this dangerous lineage, Kiefer’s artistic works embody shifting western attitudes towards Arminius and this Teutonic tradition tainted in militarism.

The shift away from German nationalism sentenced the *Hermannsdenkmal* to solitary confinement within the forest for decades. Only in recent years have Arminius emerged from the

⁷⁵ Martin Brady, “Anselm Kiefer, *Die Hermannsschlacht*, and the Battle of Modernism,” in *Germania Remembered*, ed. Lee and McLelland, 290-1.

⁷⁶ Mathew Rampley, “In Search of Cultural History: Anselm Kiefer and the Ambivalence of Modernism,” *Oxford Art Journal* 23, no. 1 (2000): 84.

⁷⁷ Tacitus, *Germania*, 9.

woods into the public sphere. This change was brought about during the age of consumerism when Arminius became the mascot for the Lippe region. Statues of Arminius now litter the streets of Detmold standing guard by the doors of many tourist shops. If the life-size model of Arminius is too intimidating, gnome versions of the Liberator of Germania are available to protect the lawn from Roman intruders.⁷⁸ Tourist numbers for the *Hermannsdenkmal* have always been decent, but now, half a million annual visitors come to see the monument.⁷⁹ The discovery of the true battlefield of the *Varruschlacht* at Kalkriese in 1987 certainly sparked renewed interest, but that alone does not explain the staying power of Arminius in recent memory. This begs the question of how Arminius re-emerged in the public imagination and if he retains any of his anti-Roman or anti-French connotations.

Arminia *Bielefeld*, the local soccer organization, was the driving force that sustained Arminius’s positive image. Advertisements for Arminia often depict the *Hermannsdenkmal* wearing the club’s jersey. This was taken quite literally in 1999 when the Arminius statue was dressed in the largest soccer jersey ever created for two weeks (Fig 10).⁸⁰ Featuring the number nine in reference to the year of the *Varusschlacht*, this commercial stunt cemented Arminius’s association with soccer. This may be why the *Lippisches Landesmuseum* commissioned a recreation of Arminius’s left foot as part of their advertisement campaign for their 2009 “Myth: exhibition in Detmold.”⁸¹

⁷⁸ Magnus Brechtken, “Leaving the Forest: ‘Hermann the German’ as Cultural Representation from Nationalism to Post-Modern Consumerism,” in *Germania Remembered*, ed. Lee and McLelland, 333.

⁷⁹ Landesverband Lippe, “Infomaterial,” Das Hermannsdenkmal, accessed on March 19, 2019, www.hermannsdenkmal.de/hermann-erleben/infomaterial.

⁸⁰ Brechtken, “Leaving the Forest: ‘Hermann the German’ as Cultural Representation from Nationalism to Post-Modern Consumerism,” in *Germania Remembered*, ed. Lee and McLelland, 329.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, 330.

Arminia fully embraces the figure of Arminius and all that he stands for. On their website, the organization likens the *Varusschlacht* to a soccer match where Rome is the visiting team while the Germani defend their home turf:

Team captain Arminius had home advantage. There was no umpire, cheating was permitted, and bad weather also favoured the home team when they put an end to the invaders’ attempts to conquer the boggy, marshy lands between the Rhine and Elbe River.⁸²

As a local military hero, Arminius is a fitting mascot for a sports team. Though clearly in jest, the tone is eerily similar to the rhetoric employed by the fascists. Despite the embrace of Arminius as a marketing tool, some local Germans still feel uneasy. This is evident by the display of Arminius’s left foot commissioned by the Detmold museum. It is the left foot of the *Hermannsdenkmal* that crushes the Roman eagle and fasces into submission, but this recreation is only the foot – no Roman symbols in sight. This is notable because the creator chose the left foot with these connotations over the right foot which has absolutely no meaning attached to it. There is also the case for several of the Arminius statues in town; some of miniature recreations have the original design of Arminius stomping on the Roman eagle and fasces while others removed the Roman emblems underfoot entirely.

This tension was also present in the 2000th anniversary of the *Varrusschlacht* in 2009. The seventy-fifth anniversary of the inauguration ceremony of the *Hermannsdenkmal* in 1950 provides a good foil to modern German reception during this fifty-nine year time span. Unlike President Heuss in 1950, Chancellor Angela Merkel travelled to the Kalkriese exhibit to enjoy the festivities. Gisela Söger, a public relation staffer for the Kalkriese museum, said this: “...the myth of Hermann has lost its power in modern Germany. The old nationalism has been replaced by an easy-going patriotism that mainly manifests itself at sporting events like the soccer World

⁸² Cited in Andreas Musolff, “The Global Westphalian: *Arminius/Hermann* as a Post-National Identification Figure,” in *Germania Remembered*, ed. Lee and McLelland, 343.

Cup.”⁸³ However, a reenactment of the *Varusschlacht* at Kalkriese says otherwise. As *Der Spiegel* reported, “some 400 actors dressed as Romans or Germanic tribesmen gently re-enacted scenes...Most actors wanted to be Romans, and there was such a shortage of Germanic warriors that some hirsute hobby Vikings had to be recruited to make up the numbers.”⁸⁴ These reenactors would rather be “slaughtered” as Romans than be associated with the Germanic victors. The commercialization of Arminius should have redeemed the chieftain in the eyes of the public, for Arminius’s mascot status should have normalized and weakened his past ties to nationalism. However, this is still not the case, for the *Varusschlacht* myth seems to still hold sway over modern Germans.

Conclusion

Historian Michael Prince writes that nations often construct monuments to establish a visible connection to the nation’s lineage and ideals as, “...statements about who we were, who we are and who we wish to be.”⁸⁵ All three statements are applicable to Arminius and the *Hermannsdenkmal*. First, the *Varusschlacht* myth embody society’s desire to understand one’s origins. Likewise, the *Hermannsdenkmal* bears witness to all three moments in German history that people considered the “birth of the nation” – the *Varusschlacht*, the Battle of Nations, and the formation of Germany in 1871. For Michael Prince’s second statement, Germans idolized Arminius as the ideal “German” and wished to emulate his supposedly *deutsch* persona. In order to identify *deutsch* virtues, less desirable, more *welsch* traits were necessary. This desire to

⁸³ David Crossland, “Battle of Teutoburg Forest: Germany Recalls Myth that Created the Nation,” *Der Spiegel* Online, August 28, 2009, www.spiegel.de/international/germany/battle-of-the-teutoburg-forest-germany-recalls-myth-that-created-the-nation-a-644913.html

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Michael K. Prince, *War and German Memory: Excavating the Significance of the Second World War in German Cultural Consciousness* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2010), 41.

contrasts *deutsch* and *welsch* characteristics explains the consistent anti-Roman and anti-French sentiments present in theater productions and literary narratives featuring Arminius. The *Hermannsdenkmal* also embodied this clash between *deutsch* and *welsch*. Not only do the inscriptions speak to the failures of the *welsche* French against the superior *deutsch* people, later Germans used the monument and the *Varusschlacht* myth to defame German Catholic and German Jews.

This leads us to the final point Michael Prince considers – what do the German people wish this monument will represent in the future. Even in the modern age, the *Hermannsdenkmal*’s place in German society is still vague. Despite the *Hermannsdenkmal* being a popular tourist destination, the ethnic connotations associated with Arminius and the *Varusschlacht* persist as evident by the Kalkriese reenactment. Based on the media coverage of the anniversary event, Germans are interested and are aware of the general history surrounding Arminius. Eventually, this new-found interest should benefit the *Hermannsdenkmal*, for Germans will find new and creative ways to incorporate Arminius into society once more. This does not mean just in the German community per say; Arminius may find a home in a larger European context. In October 2008, Harald Schmidt, a late night show host, produced a parody of Hans-Ulrich Wehler’s *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, a summary of German history. The *Hermannsdenkmal* was featured, but something was different. Instead of Arminius standing atop the mantle, Asterix the Gaul brandished his sword against the Roman invaders (Fig IX).⁸⁶ A Frenchman standing in lieu of the ideal “German” is not only funny, but it also marks German acknowledgment of the turbulent history of both Arminius and the *Hermannsdenkmal*. Anselm Kiefer set the trend with his *Hermannsschlacht* art series post WWII, but the appearance of the

⁸⁶ Brechtken, “Leaving the Forest: ‘Hermann the German’ as Cultural Representation from Nationalism to Post-Modern Consumerism,” 334.

Hermannsdenkmal in a late night comedy show means everyday Germans are aware of and are engaging with the history of Arminius. Lastly, the inclusion of Asterix the Gaul may present another avenue for the future of Arminius. Throughout history, Germans have placed Arminius into a class of his own away from the other barbarian leaders. Today, there may be a home for Arminius amongst the other ancient European chieftains.

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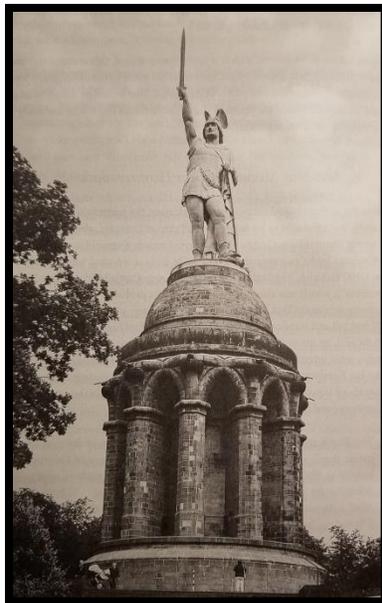


Fig 1: The *Hermannsdenkmal* in Detmold, Germany.

Photo Credit: Winkler, M. Martin. *Arminius the Liberator: Myth and Ideology*, Fig. 2.1.



Fig 2: Arminius rescuing Germania from the battlefield of Leipzig.

Photo Credit: Fansa von Mamoun, *Varusschlacht und Germanenmythos*. Fig. 5.

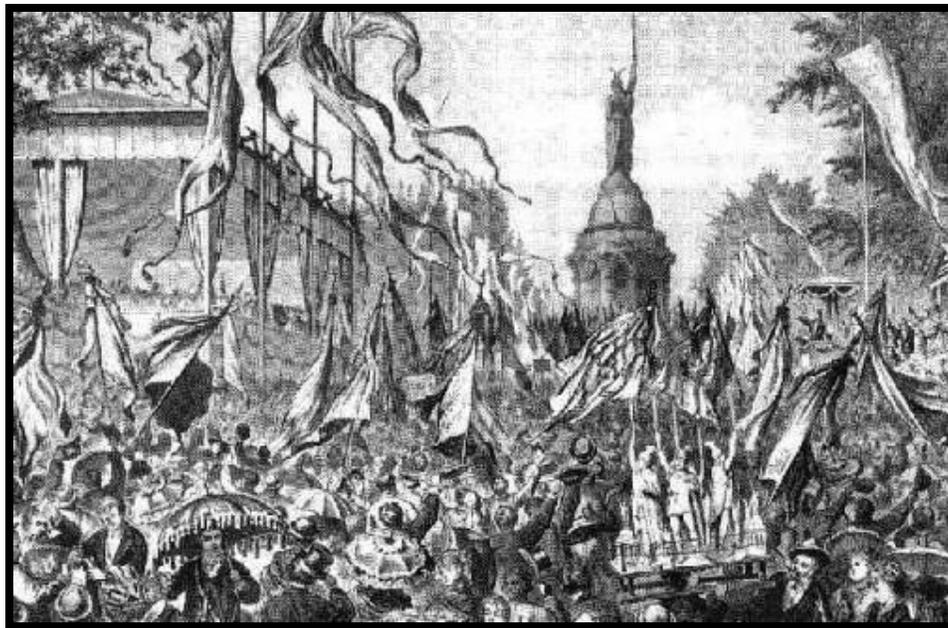


Fig 3: Inauguration ceremony of the *Hermannsdenkmal*.

Photo Credit: Winkler, M. Martin. *Arminius the Liberator: Myth and Ideology*, Fig. 2.2.



Fig 4: Arminius dressed as a German knight confronting Varus.

Bradford W. Smith, “Germanic Pagan Antiquity in Lutheran Historical Thought,” Fig. 2.



Fig 5: Arminius and Martin Luther standing side by side.

Photo Credit: Sebastian Knauer, “Das Hermannsdenkmal vor dem Hintergrund des Kulturkampfes,” Fig. 1.

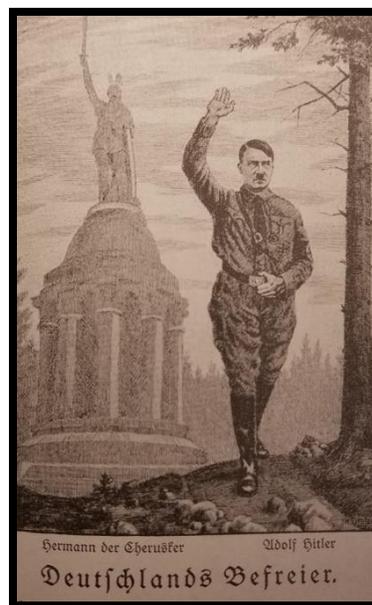


Fig 6: Adolf Hitler striking a similar pose to Arminius.

Photo Credit: Winkler, M. Martin. *Arminius the Liberator: Myth and Ideology*, Fig. 3.4.



Fig 7: Though Nazis compared Hitler with Arminius, this was not always the case. Opponents of National Socialism published this image depicting Arminius vanquishing the Romans only for Hitler to embrace Romans customs. The *Varusschlacht* myth was a double-edge sword.

Photo Credit: Winkler, M. Martin. *Arminius the Liberator: Myth and Ideology*, Fig. 3.7.

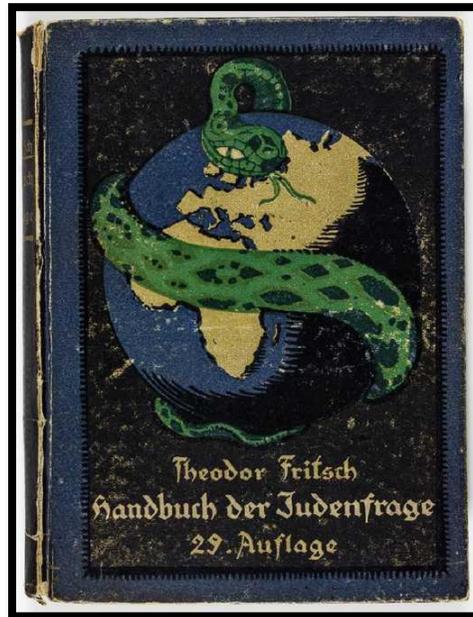


Fig 8: Theodor Fritsch’s *Handbook for the Jewish Question*.

Photo Credit: https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/50648283_the-handbook-of-the-jewish-question



Fig 9: Anselm Kiefer’s *Varus* (1976).

Photo Credit: https://arthive.com/artists/3722~Anselm_Kiefer/works/498782~Varus



Fig 10: The *Hermannsdenkmal* wearing an Arminia soccer jersey.

Photo Credit: <https://www.akg-images.co.uk/CS.aspx?VP3=SearchResult&VBID=2UMESQ5B41DU72>