DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

Yuliia Kizyma
(Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Ukraine)
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0667-0753
e-mail: julja.kizyma@gmail.com

Picturing the National Leader: Frederick II, Otto von Bismarck, and Paul von Hindenburg in Illustrations for Their Popular Biographies

Obraz przywódcy narodowego: Fryderyk II, Otto von Bismarck i Paul von Hindenburg na ilustracjach do ich popularnych biografii

ABSTRACT

This study explores the ways in which illustrations for popular biographies of Germany's leaders issued from the mid-19th to the early 20th century sought to shape their readers-viewers' perceptions of these political figures. The Author examines this problem though comparing Adolph Menzel's illustrations for *History of Frederick the Great* (1840) and *Works of Frederick the Great* (1843–1849) and Arthur Kampf's drawings for *Bismarck: A Picture of his Life and Work* (1917) by Dietrich Schäfer and *Hindenburg the German* (1932)

PUBLICATION INFO

e-ISSN: 2449-8467
ISSN: 2082-6060

OPEN ACCESS

THE AUTHOR'S ADDRESS: Yuliia Kizyma, the Faculty of History of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, 60 Volodymyrska Street, Kyiv 01033

SOURCE OF FUNDING: This article is based on research conducted as part of the PhD program (financed by Taras Shevchenko National University in Kyiv) and a scholarship program (financed by the German Historical Institute in Warsaw, Max Weber Foundation – German Humanities)

SUBMITTED:	ACCEPTED:	PUBLISHED ONLINE:
2023.10.23	2024.03.16	2024.10.22

WEBSITE OF THE JOURNAL: https://journals.umcs.pl/rh

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE E-mail: reshistorica@umcs.pl

DOAJ DIRECTORY OF OPEN ACCESS JOURNALS

ERIHPLUS EUROPEAN REFERENCE INDEX FOR THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

by Walter Bloem, largely influenced by Menzel's work. This paper highlights the thematic and stylistic continuities between the three series as well as their ideological implications. It focuses on the schematization, mythologization, and sacralisation of the German leaders' public images. The study also looks at the ways in which the combination of verbal and visual contents, characteristic of illustrated books, made them an effective tool in political discourse. Additionally, the Author demonstrates the influence of some prominent phenomena in the period's visual culture (namely, the development of photography and the mass construction of large-scale sculptural monuments) on the genre.

Key words: representations of history, visual cultures, political myths, political iconography, book illustration, visual sources

STRESZCZENIE

Przedmiotem niniejszego artykułu jest sposób, w jaki ilustracje do popularnych biografii przywódców Niemiec, wydawanych od połowy XIX do początków XX w., dążyły do kształtowania postrzegania tych postaci politycznych przez czytelników-widzów. Autorka analizuje problem poprzez porównanie ilustracji Adolpha Menzla do *Historii Fryderyka Wielkiego* (1840) i *Dzieł Fryderyka Wielkiego* (1843–1849) z rysunkami Arthura Kampfa do książek *Bismarck. Obraz jego życia i pracy* (1917) Dietricha Schäfera i *Hindenburg-Niemiec* (1932) Waltera Bloema, które powstały pod dużym wpływem twórczości Menzela. W artykule zademonstrowano ciągłość tematyczną i stylistyczną pomiędzy trzema seriami obrazów oraz ich implikacje ideologiczne. Uwaga autorki skupia się na schematyzacji, mitologizacji i sakralizacji wizerunków publicznych niemieckich przywódców. Artykuł omawia, w jaki sposób charakterystyczne dla gatunku połączenie treści werbalnych i wizualnych uczyniło z niego skuteczne narzędzie ideologiczne. Dodatkowo zarysowano kilka sposobów, w jakie rozwój fotografii i masowe budowanie pomników rzeźbiarskich w omawianym okresie wpłynęło na popularne historiografie ilustrowane.

Słowa kluczowe: reprezentacje historii, kultury wizualne, mity polityczne, ikonografia polityczna, ilustracja książkowa, źródła wizualne

INTRODUCTION

Idealized images of national leaders played a crucial role in German historical and political culture from the mid-19th through the early 20th century. This paper looks at the portrayal of the key figures of the period's historical narratives – Frederick II „the Great", Otto von Bismarck and Paul von Hindenburg – in their popular illustrated biographies. A number of scholars have examined representations of these leaders in textual sources as well as monumental sculptures, caricatures, and paintings. This study aims to complement their work by investigating specific possibilities which the medium of book illustration offered for the depiction of the historical figures in question – as well as national leadership in general.

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

Illustrations by Adolph Menzel (1815–1905) for Franz Kugler's *History of Frederick the Great*[1] (1840) and *Works of Frederick the Great*[2] (1843–1849) belong to the seminal examples of the genre. This paper looks at their influence on the drawings which Arthur Kampf (1864–1950) made for two later biographies of Germany's prominent historical figures – Dietrich Schäfer's *Bismarck: A Picture of his Life and Work*[3] (1917) and Walter Bloem's *Hindenburg the German*[4] (1932). Through conducting an in-depth comparison of the three series of illustrations, this paper explores the schematization, mythologization and sacralisation of German leaders' popular images in their illustrated biographies.

In so doing, the paper seeks to reconstruct the books' intended effect on their target audiences. While being a case study, it aims to contribute to the existing scholarship on representing political leaders in popular narratives of national histories. In particular, it discusses the place of illustrated biographies in the early 20th-century historical culture, the genre's specific qualities and transformations it underwent during the period, as well as its connections with other visual media – specifically, monuments and photographs.

KEY CONCEPTS AND METHODOLOGY

The current study builds on several notions, the most fundamental of which is representation. While there exist multiple definitions of the term, I use it to denote either depictions of something or someone that objectively exists or existed in the past or intellectual constructs and conventions for showing certain subject-matter[5]. Either way, representations are inextricably connected with the dynamics of power in a given society[6]. This study deals with representations of historical events and figures as well as concepts or values, such as „German nation", „heroism", „national hero", that provided a basis for self-identification and political action.

---

1 F. Kugler, *Geschichte Friedrichs des Großen. Gezeichnet von A. von Menzel*, Leipzig 1840.

2 A. Menzel, L. Pietsch, *Illustrationen zu den Werken Friedrichs des Großen*, t. 1–2, Berlin 1886.

3 D. Schäfer, *Bismarck: Ein Bild seines Lebens und Wirkens. Mit Textzeichnungen von Arthur Kampf*, t. 1–2, Berlin 1917.

4 W. Bloem, *Hindenburg der Deutsche. Mit 57 Zeichnungen auf 48 Tafeln und im Text von Arthur Kampf*, Berlin 1932.

5 P. Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History*, Ithaca–New York 1997, s. 174.

6 *Ibidem*; P. Burke, *What is Cultural History?* Cambridge–Malden 2008, s. 30; W.J.T. Mitchell, *Picture theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*, Chicago 1994, s. 6, 419–423.

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

Scholars regard representations of historical facts as inherently subjective, even though their degree of faithfulness to historical reality may vary[7]. Every representation reflects the point of view of its author or authors (and a social group to which they belong) as well the interests and needs of its intended audience[8]. Representations of history frequently serve political goals. In politically fractured societies, contesting representations of the past often co-exist and become instrumentalized in the struggle for power[9].

Further, representations of history are often linked to its schematization/stereotypization and mythologization. The former term denotes a tendency to base an account of historical events on earlier narratives and conventions for depicting certain subject-matter. This allows historiographers to draw clear, if far-fetched, parallels between past and present. In doing so, they largely simplify and often distort the recipients' perceptions of history[10]. Schematization of history leads to its transformation into a set of historical myths – stories with superhuman characters and moral messages, which a certain social group considers true and links to current events[11]. Through the example of the illustrated books in question, this paper looks at the mythologization of the three political figures and the construction of the period's schematic image of the German national hero.

With regard to exploring relations between the textual and visual components of these books, this study draws on the ideas of Roland Barthes and William John Thomas Mitchell. According to the former, a piece of text „anchors" the picture which it accompanies, limiting the scope of its potential symbolic meanings and directing the reader-viewer towards the interpretation intended by the authors[12]. Mitchell insisted on examining not the relations between words and pictures as such, but rather the effects which their combination is supposed to have on the recipient[13]. Additionally, the study uses the method of content-analysis to identify the key tropes associated with the image of the „national hero" in the books' textual and visual components.

---

7 P. Burke, *Varieties*, s. 45–46; idem, *Eyewitnessing. The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, London 2001, s. 174–175.

8 *Ibidem*; W.J.T. Mitchell, *Picture*, s. 419–424.

9 P. Burke, *Varieties*, s. 55; idem, *Eyewitnessing*, s. 145; W.J.T. Mitchell, *Picture*, s. 423–424.

10 P. Burke, *Varieties*, s. 49; idem, *What*, s. 67–68.

11 P. Burke, *Varieties*, s. 51; C.G. Flood, *Political Myth. A Theoretical Introduction*, London–New York 2013, s. 8, 138–140.

12 R. Barthes, *Image – Music – Text*, London 1977, s. 38–40.

13 W.J.T. Mitchell, *Picture*, s. 90–94.

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

Further, the paper employs methods of art history to analyze book illustrations. It makes use of Erwin Panofsky's scheme, in particular the iconological method which consists in viewing pieces of art as part of the period's political and visual culture[14]. The study also relies on the work of Rainer Wohlfeil who developed Panofsky's methodology. He suggested paying more attention to such issues, as the role of the donor (in our case – the publishing house) and their political affiliations in the creation of an artwork, its formal qualities, the conditions under which contemporaries viewed it, the functions it performed, the recipients' reaction to the piece[15].

Another notion crucial for my study is that of the social agency of artworks, or their ability to act on behalf of their creators and/or patrons, affecting the recipients and eliciting a response from them[16]. While the agency of artworks has its limits[17], scholars like Martin Warnke claim that visual media have been instrumental in retaining political power in Europe. However, in order to fulfil their purpose, they have to adjust to the needs, interests, and intellectual capacities of their intended recipients[18]. Gerhard Paul, in his „turn" ascribes to images which repeatedly appear in mass media an ability to replace the viewers' memories and/or knowledge regarding certain historical facts with „two-dimensional", yet emotionally charged images. Such an effect is achieved largely owing such qualities of pictures, as „immersiveness" and „authenticity"[19].

Writers on book illustration claim that pictures often play an important, if not the main role in the reader's perception of a book[20]. Illustrations offer the artist's reception and interpretation of a literary work, while also

---

[14] E. Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, New York 1955, s. 32.

[15] R. Wohlfeil, *Refleksje metodyczne o obrazoznawstwie historycznym*, w: *Historia wizualna – obrazy w dyskusjach niemieckich historyków*, red. M. Saryusz-Wolska, Warszawa 2020, s. 93–100, 110–111.

[16] A. Gell, *Art and Agency. An Anthropological Theory*, New York City 1998; H. Bredekamp, *Image Acts. A Systematic Approach to Visual Agency*, Berlin–Boston 2018.

[17] W.J.T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images*, Chicago–London 2005.

[18] M. Warnke, *Politische Ikonographie*, w: *Die Lesbarkeit der Kunst: Zur Geistes-Gegenwart der Ikonologie*, red. A. Beyer, Berlin 1992.

[19] G. Paul, *ObrazoWŁADZA*, w: *Historia wizualna*.

[20] F. Forster-Hahn, *Adolph Menzel's: „Daguerreotypical" Image of Frederick the Great: A Liberal Bourgeois Interpretation of German History*, „The Art Bulletin" 1977, 59; E. Sitzia, *Art in Literature, Literature in Art in 19th Century France*, Newcastle upon Tyne 2012; idem, *Illustration is everyone's mother tongue: The Role of Illustration in Individual Identity Formation*, Inaugural lecture, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2018; K. Maurer, *Visualizing the Past: The Power of the Image in German Historicism*, Berlin–Boston 2013.

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

reflecting the wider cultural situation in which they are produced[21]. The reader-viewer perceives pictures faster than text and is more inclined to react to them emotionally[22]. Their subject matter, composition, and placement in relation to text can induce the sense of immersion in the events described in the book or detachment from those[23]. Owing to this, illustrations become a powerful tool in political discourse[24].

THE NATIONAL LEADER'S SCHEMATIC IMAGE IN GERMANY'S POPULAR HISTORY CULTURE

History culture of the Second Reich was centred around the „great national heroes" whose deeds allegedly determined the course of history[25]. The myth of Frederick II „the Great" served as the most vivid example of the phenomenon and a „yardstick" for the public images of later German rulers[26]. While many writers of the early 19th century criticized the king, the pre-1848 liberal historiography portrayed him as an enlightened monarch of bourgeoisie (mostly overlooking the autocratic character of his reign)[27]. At the same time, multiple anecdotes about his life served to „humanize" the monarch[28]. Later on, Prussian nationalist historians credited Frederick II with laying foundations for the unification of Germany under Prussia's hegemony – which actually had never been his intention[29].

Writers on German political culture of the early 20th century argue that the cults of Bismarck and Hindenburg had their roots in this earlier tradition of hero worshipping[30]. The Bismarckian myth reached full swing after the statesman's retirement as a response to the period's political problems[31] and enjoyed almost universal appeal during the first years

---

21 E. Sitzia, *Art*, s. 34–35; idem, *Illustration*, s. 4–5.

22 Idem, *Illustration*, s. 9–10.

23 K. Maurer, *op. cit.*, s. 126–135.

24 E. Sitzia, *Illustration*, s. 8–10.

25 M. Jefferies, *Imperial Culture in Germany, 1871–1918*, New York 2003, s. 114–115; H. Münkler, *Die Deutschen und ihre Mythen*, Berlin 2009, s. 12.

26 H. Münkler, *op. cit.*, s. 245.

27 F. Forster-Hahn, *op. cit.*, s. 242–243.

28 H. Münkler, *op. cit.*, s. 226, 228–230, 235–239; F. Forster-Hahn, *op. cit.*, passim; K. Maurer, *op. cit.*, passim.

29 H. Münkler, *op. cit.*, s. 225.

30 *Ibidem*, s. 30, 85–86, 177; A. von der Goltz, *op. cit.*, s. 7–8.

31 M. Jefferies, *op. cit.*, s. 128.

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

of WWI[32]. It eventually acquired „sacral qualities", becoming a „middle class quasi-religion"[33]. Like any other myth, it offered a very simplified image of Bismarck's life and work, focusing on the Iron Chancellor's role as the Founder of the State[34]. Nationalist historiographers credited him with fulfilling Frederick II's perceived dream of uniting Germany under Prussia's leadership, thus creating a link between the two German leaders[35].

The popular image of Bismarck, in its turn, emerged as a scheme in the meaning proposed by Burke[36]. After the 1914 Battle of Tannenberg, Hindenburg became seen as Bismarck's „god-given" successor. The two men shared the reputation of victors, while similarities in their appearance contributed to their perceived connection[37]. Like the idealized image of Bismarck, that of Hindenburg occupied an important place in German culture for several decades, even though different groups of the country's politically fractionated society ascribed different meanings to it[38].

It is plain to see that writers and visual artists adopted the conventions for depicting Bismarck to their portrayal of Hindenburg[39]. The common epithets for both included „our", „iron", and „savior"[40]. Visual media represented Bismarck and Hindenburg in similar allegorical capacities – as gigantic warriors (sometimes wearing medieval armour) or semi-spiritual entities watching over the German soldiers[41]. The two leaders appeared side by side in postcards[42], which offer another vivid example of visual schematization.

---

[32] R. Gerwarth, *The Bismarck Myth: Weimar Germany and the Legacy of the Iron Chancellor*, Oxford–New York 2005, s. 24–26; R. Frankel, *Bismarck's Shadow: The Cult of Leadership and the Transformation of the German Right, 1898–1945*, Oxford–New York 2005, s. 91–94; E. Zechlin, *Der Inbegriff des germanischen Menschen: Das Bismarck-Bild 1915: Eine Mischung von Sage und Mythos*, „Die Zeit" 1965, 14.

[33] R. Frankel, *op. cit.*, s. 6–8.

[34] R. Gerwarth, *op. cit.*, s. 7, 11–12; R. Frankel, *op. cit.*, s. 11.

[35] H. Münkler, *op. cit.*, s. 225.

[36] P. Burke, *Varieties*, s. 49.

[37] R. Frankel, *op. cit.*, s. 98–99; A. von der Goltz, *op. cit.*, s. 7.

[38] A. von der Goltz, *op. cit.*, s. 65–85; R. Gerwarth, *op. cit.*, s. 8, 45–92; R. Frankel, *op. cit.*, s. 2, 87–153.

[39] R. Gerwarth, *op. cit.*, s. 88.

[40] A. von der Goltz, *op. cit.*, s. 26–27, 66, 100, 104; R. Frankel, *op. cit.*, s. 52, 90–91.

[41] A. von der Goltz, *op. cit.*, s. 161; J. de Sousa, *Postkarten. Der Bismarck-Mythos auf Postkarten*, 2015, http://bismarckmythos1915.de/?p=311 [dostęp: 14.10.2023]; A.-K. Kresin, *„Wir Deutsche[n] Fürchten Gott, Sonst Nichts Auf Der Welt"*, 2015, http://bismarckmythos1915.de/?p=576 [dostęp: 14.10.2023]; O. Zimmerman, *Postkarten. Militär Und Propaganda*, 2015, http://bismarckmythos1915.de/?p=22 [dostęp: 14.10.2023].

[42] O. Zimmerman, *op. cit.*; R. Gerwarth, *op. cit.*, s. 88.

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

ILLUSTRATED BIOGRAPHIES OF GERMAN LEADERS AND THEIR POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

In Germany, popular literature on national history began to reach wide non-specialized audiences in the middle of the 19th century. Such books sought to „convey an individual 'experience' of the historical events"[43]. Biography, which was among the most important genres of the period's academic and popular history writing[44], fulfilled this function perfectly. Inclusion of pictures, in its turn, made popular history books more accessible and attractive to their intended audiences[45]. The relatively small format of book illustrations necessitated limiting the number of characters and objects which appear in this type of pictures. This further amplified the effect of „showing historical events within a personalized and intimate setting"[46].

In *History of Frederick the Great* (1840), historian Franz Kugler and artist Adolph Menzel (1815–1905) portrayed Frederick as a strong military and political leader as well as the father of liberal reforms, a caring patriarch to his people, and a patron of arts and culture[47]. Interestingly, Kugler and Menzel largely drew on another popular biography – Laurent de l'Ardèche's *History of the Emperor Napoleon* (1839) with illustrations by Horace Vernet. While borrowing its format, they invested their work with quite different ideological messages[48]. This situation offers an early example of the employment of visual schemata in popular historiographies.

Menzel's illustrations for *History of Frederick the Great* were such a success, that the artist went on to produce pictures for *Works of Frederick the Great* (1843–1849) as well as several paintings of the king. Scholars believe that his pictures largely shaped the popular image of the monarch from the mid-19th century onwards[49]. Notably, in the changed political situation of the late 19th and early 20th century, the work of the liberally-minded artist received nationalist interpretations, but was still held in high regard[50].

Menzel's illustrations exerted a powerful influence on the next generations of artists. One of them was Arthur Kampf (1864–1950). By 1917,

---

43 K. Maurer, *op. cit.*, s. 115–117.
44 M. Jefferies, *op. cit.*, s. 114–115.
45 K. Maurer, *op. cit.*, s. 116.
46 *Ibidem*, s. 115.
47 F. Forster-Hahn, *op. cit.*, s. 226, 235, 256.
48 *Ibidem*, s. 244–245.
49 H. Münkler, *op. cit*, s. 226.
50 *Ibidem*, s. 227; F. Forster-Hahn, *op. cit.*, s. 242, 260.

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

he was arguably the most prominent history painter in Prussia. Kampf served as a member of the Senate (1899–1932) and was twice President (1907–1910; 1911–1912) of The Royal Academy of Arts in Berlin. Since 1915, the artist had occupied the directorial position at the High School of Fine Arts in Berlin. Throughout his career, he emulated Menzel on many occasions, while critics often compared the two artists – which, given the universal recognition of the former's work, was an expression of praise for the latter's art[51]. The artist himself wrote with admiration about the drawings for *History of Frederick the Great* in his memoirs[52] and borrowed from them „at list" in several other cases[53]. In 1913, the artist began his long-term collaboration with the conservative Reimar Hobbing's publishing house (*Verlag von Reimar Hobbing*)[54]. Kampf produced a frontispiece for the first volume of the first German translation of the complete *Works of Frederick the Great*[55] – one of the publishing house's most successful projects[56]. Thus, Kampf's work appeared alongside the illustrations which Menzel had made for the original publication.

In 1917, when the Bismarck myth lost its almost-universal popularity[57], becoming a rhetorical tool of the political Right (in particular, those who saw the aim of the war in annexing new territories)[58], Verlag von Reimar Hobbing issued a biography of the Iron Chancellor. The book's author was the conservative historian Dietrich Schäfer (1845–1929)[59]. *Bismarck. A Picture of his Life and Work* first appeared in a two-volume edition. Its design was evidently based on that of *Works of Frederick the Great*. Both are big format and have dark-blue hard covers featuring the protagonists' personal symbols (Frederick II's monogram and Bismarck's coats of arms). They use the same font and a similar page layout.

---

51 *Ibidem*, s. 138, 151, 178, 210–211, 307–308, 355.

52 A. Kampf, *Aus meinem Leben*, Aachen 1950, s. 51.

53 A. Schroyen, *Arthur Kampf (1864–1950). Eine deutsche Künstlerkarriere zwischen Kaiserreich und Nationalsozialismus*, Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophie, Düsseldorf 2022, s. 389, 437.

54 U. Basse-Soltau, *Reimar Johannes Martin Hobbing*, w: *Ostfriesische Landschaft*, https://bibliothek.ostfriesischelandschaft.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/dateiarchiv/2222/Hobbing-Reimar.pdf [dostęp: 14.10.2023].

55 Frederick II, King of Prussia, *Die Werke Friedrichs des Großen in deutscher Übersetzung*, red. G.B. Volz, t. 1–10, Berlin 1913–1914; A. Schroyen, *op. cit.*, s. 323.

56 U. Basse-Soltau, *op. cit.*

57 R. Gerwarth, *op. cit.*, s. 27–28.

58 R. Frankel, *op. cit.*, s. 97–98, 103–106.

59 K-l. Ay, *Schäfer, Dietrich*, w: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 2005, https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118794841.html#ndbcontent [dostęp: 14.10.2023].

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

An introduction to *Bismarck...* contains a concise account of German history starting from the ancient times[60]. This creates an impression that the events of the past 18 centuries had merely been a prelude to the Iron Chancellor's advent. The author adheres to the Bismarckian myth by emphasizing his role as the founder of the united German state. However, like Kugler, Schäfer gives prominence to the protagonist's personal life as well as the domestic policies he pursued after his victorious wars. In the epilogue, the writer extols Bismarck as one of few great men in whom „the ideal of the German people found its embodiment"[61] and criticizes some of his contemporaries for failing to preserve the memory of the Iron Chancellor in the form of Germany's „full power equal to that of every other state"[62]. Thus, we can safely assume that the major ideological message of the book consisted in encouraging its predominantly nationalist readership to persevere in the war by invoking the example of Bismarck's victories.

No documents regarding the initial number of copies and their price have survived to this day. However, the book's presence in libraries across Germany testifies to its popularity. Information about the existence of the publishing house's own distribution network in 1913[63] allows me to speculate that at least part of the copies of *Bismarck...* reached their readers through it. This would mean that a significant portion of the book's readership was familiar with other literature issued by Verlag von Reimar Hobbing and probably held a similar political stance.

Further, *Bismarck...* was promoted in Christian conservative press, such as *Daheim* and *Velhagen & Klasings Monatshefte*[64]. The former magazine's reviewer expressed his admiration for the book – in particular, its accessibility and the attention Schäfer gave to Bismarck's relationships with his family, friends, and nature. The reviewer also praised Kampf's illustrations, some of which appear in the article, and compared them to the work of Menzel[65].

---

[60] D. Schäfer, *Bismarck: Ein Bild seines Lebens und Wirkens. Mit Textzeichnungen von Arthur Kampf*, t. 1, Berlin 1917, s. 1–11.

[61] „Jedes Volk, das zu stärkerem Selbstbewusstsein erwacht ist, trägt sein Ideal in sich. In seinen Großen, sie sein Wollen und Können darstellen, sieht es sich verkörpert" (*ibidem*, s. 229).

[62] „[...] das Reich in voller, jedem anderen Reiche ebenburtiger Macht zu erhalten [...]" (*ibidem*, s. 240).

[63] U. Basse-Soltau, *op. cit*.

[64] A. Schroyen, *op. cit.*, s. 389.

[65] A. Weicker, *Zu Bismarck Gedächtnis. Mit neun Abbildungen aus „Dietrich Schäfer, Bismarck" mit Textzeichnungen von Arthur Kampf*, „Daheim" 1917, 53, 26.

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

Bismarck... was reissued, with some alterations, in 1922, 1924, 1930, 1935, and 1950. Before 1935, the overall circulation of the book in its various editions reached 26,000 copies[66]. In his article on literature about Bismarck, historian Maximilian von Hagen maintained that out of many popular biographies of the statesman which appeared during WWI only Schäfer's book outlived its original ideological purpose[67]. In his opinion, the work owed its success to the writer's style and the „reliability of his lines"[68] as well as its „most dignified edition"[69] – in other words, its combination of textual and visual contents. Von Hagen called Schäfer's work „a model of popular representation"[70] and recommended *Bismarck...* for the education of young people.

In 1932, Verlag von Reimar Hobbing published another popular biography of a German leader – *Hindenburg the German* by well-known nationalist fiction writer Walter Bloem[71]. In the same year, the book's protagonist won the presidential election for the second time, with Adolf Hitler coming in second. The wartime myth of the „Victor of Tannenberg" occupied a major place in the rhetoric of his electoral campaign, which presented voting for Hindenburg as Germans' moral obligation[72].

The book's name itself links the person of Hindenburg and the concept of Germanness, which by then had become an established tradition[73]. Bloem attaches less importance to the protagonist's personal life than Kugler and Schäfer. Instead, the author focuses on his military and political career. According to Bloem, the goal of his work consisted in describing „the improbable, fantastic, contradictory, mystical aspects of this life story"[74] of „a providential man"[75]. The writer continues to use such a loaded language throughout the book. While the three biographies in question present highly idealized images of their protagonists, *Hindenburg...* undoubtedly constitutes the most vivid case of mythologization and sacralization of a historical figure.

---

66 A. Schroyen, *op. cit.*, s. 389.

67 M. von Hagen, *Das Bismarckbild der Gegenwart: Bismarck in der Literatur 1915–1927*, „Zeitschrift für Politik" 1929, 18, s. 245.

68 „[...] Zuverlässigkeit ihrer Linienführung [...]" (*ibidem*).

69 „[...] würdigster Ausstattung [...]" (*ibidem*).

70 „[...] ein Muster populärer Darstellung [...]" (*ibidem*).

71 W. Bloem, *op. cit*.

72 A. von der Goltz, *op. cit.*, s. 146–166.

73 R. Gerwarth, *op. cit.*, s. 88.

74 „[...] das Unwahrscheinliche, Phantastische, Widerspruchsvolle, Mystische dieses Lebenslaufes [...]" (W. Bloem, *op. cit.*, VI).

75 „[...] Ein providentieller Mensch [...]" (*ibidem*).

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

The book only appeared in one edition of 1932[76]. Next year, it was removed from circulation at the demand of the Nazis[77], even though the writer advocated for the unity between the „old conservatives" and the NSDAP supporters[78]. The 1932 book's large format, dark red hard cover (similar to those of the later editions of *Bismarck...),* and page layout indicate the continuity in design of popular political biographies issued by Verlag von Reimar Hobbing. This constitutes another example of visual schematization.

FRONTISPIECE AS A VISUAL SUMMARY OF THE BOOK

Out of all types of book illustrations, frontispieces merit the closest consideration. Owing to their placement before the text, these pictures acquire a power to shape one's expectations about a literary work before they actually start reading it. Further, the name and function of the genre derived from those of the façade of a building. Accordingly, frontispiece designs traditionally reminisced of this connection through the incorporation of architectural and sculptural elements and/or an overall impression of monumentality and perpetuity. In some cases, frontispieces sought to encapsulate what was considered to be the book's main message by means of depicting one of its episodes or an allegorical scene related to its contents[79]. As this study shows, frontispieces of popular historical biographies could perform both functions.

Donat de Chapearougue provides a thorough analysis of Menzel's two versions of the frontispiece for *History of Frederick the Great* (Fig. 1). Both show the king at the top of the stairs. Blank space surrounding his figure may remind the viewer of a saint's halo. The artist adopts the iconography of the Last Judgement, placing Frederick's supporters to his right and his enemies to his left[80].

One difference between the frontispieces in the book's first and the second edition lies in the changed representation of „the people". While the former picture (Fig. 1) features a seemingly endless cheering crowd,

---

[76] R.F. Morris, *From Weimar Philosemite to Nazi Apologist: The Case of Walter Bloem*, Lewiston–New York 1988, s. 143.

[77] A. Kampf, *op. cit.*, s. 51.

[78] R.F. Morris, *op. cit.*, s. 134–135.

[79] *Elements of Reading in the Era of Print Saturation*, Multigraph Collective, Chicago–London 2018, s. 141–142, 152.

[80] D. de Chapearougue, *Friedrichbilder im „Historischen Genre"*, w: *Historienmalerei in Europa. Paradigmen in Form, Funktion und Ideologie*, red. E. Mai, Mainz 1990, s. 214.

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

the latter only shows several jubilant figures. In de Chapearougue's opinion, this indicates a gradual shift in Menzel's portrayal of Frederick – from a people's monarch to a slightly detached, statue-like figure[81]. Nevertheless, both pictures encapsulate the main idea of the book and, by extension, the king's reign – with support of his people, he triumphs over the enemies and achieves superhuman status.

In the 1917 two-volume edition of *Bismarck...*, the frontispiece of the first volume features a reproduction of a photorealistic front lithograph which shows the statesman in a formal suit as the Prime Minister of Prussia (Fig. 2). The second volume's frontispiece is a profile photograph of Bismarck clad in military uniform (Fig. 3). I presume that the two pictures embody the two main capacities in which the book presents its protagonist – a politician and the initiator and victor of the Wars of Unification. The formal contrast between the front and the profile pictures stresses this duality. The 1924 one-volume edition only features the latter picture as its frontispiece, thus focusing on the Iron Chancellor's role as the Founder of the State.

Figure 1. Adolph Menzel. Frontispiece of the first edition of *History of Frederick the Great*.

Figure 2. Otto von Bismarck as the [Prime] Minister [of Prussia]. Frontispiece of the first volume of *Bismarck...*

[81] *Ibidem*, s. 215.

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

Figure 3. Reich Chancellor Count von Bismarck. Frontispiece of the second volume of *Bismarck...*

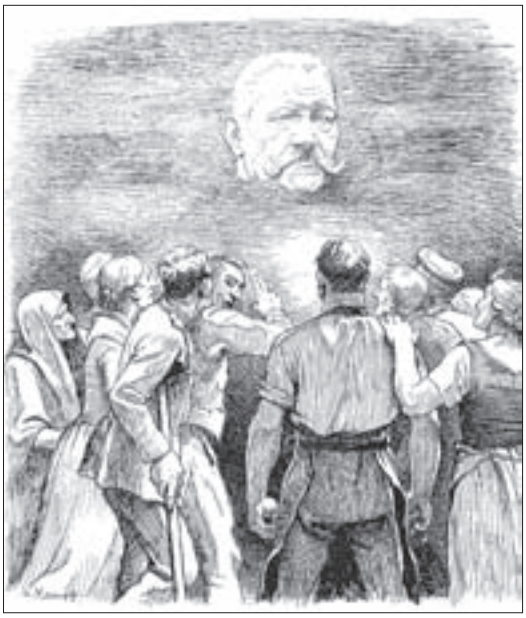

Figure 4. Arthur Kampf. Frontispiece of *Hindenburg...*

The frontispiece of *Hindenburg...* (Fig. 4) is again a hand-drawn illustration. It shows an explicitly allegorical scene, apparently based on Kampf's 1904 painting *Bismarck, as a Herald of Kaiser Wilhelm I, Brings the Code of Law*[82]. A group of working-class men and women stare at the President of the Reich's head which is floating in the air above them. The majority are middle-aged or elderly people. A man in the centre leans on a crouch; the intended viewer could have assumed that he was a veteran of WWI. A younger man with muscular arms and broad shoulders who occupies the most space in the foreground seems to be clenching his fists – the gesture which signifies his readiness for the fight[83]. A caption which accompanies the frontispiece reads: „Faith in this unique [man] has taken a deep root in the soul of the people"[84].

[82] A. Schroyen, *Arthur Kampf (1864–1950) Eine deutsche Künstlerkarriere zwischen Kaiserreich und Nationalsozialismus*, Teil 2, Werkkatalog, Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophie, Düsseldorf 2022, s. 74.

[83] R. Barthes, *op. cit.*, s. 55.

[84] „Tief hat der Glaube an diesen Einzigen in der Seele des Volkes Wurzel geschlafen" (W. Bloem, *op. cit.*, frontispiece).

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

As is often the case with depictions of groups in Kampf's book illustrations, the artist showed the „everyday people" either from the back or in profile. In so doing, he focused on their social status and age rather than individual features. Such a compositional device allowed Kampf to draw the reader-viewer's attention to the main figure (or, in this case, the head), whose status he further stressed by placing it in an elevated position. In this regard this picture is similar to Menzel's frontispiece for *History of Frederick the Great*.

And yet, while the blank space behind Frederick's back only hints at a halo, the appearance of Hindenburg's head in the sky has a distinctly mythical character. It must have reminded the intended viewer of wartime postcards in which the Field Marshal's likeness was placed above the figures of German soldiers. This aspect of the Hindenburgian iconography brings it close to the depictions of religious visions. The fact that he appeared to the weak and poor as well as the emphasis which the inscription places on Hindenburg's uniqueness further amplify the Christian connotations of the picture. Following this line of thought, one may interpret the athletic man in the foreground as a potential avenger for the victims of WWI – or rather Germany's defeat for which „inner enemies" were responsible – and social injustice that followed.

BALANCING REALISM AND ALLEGORY

The illustrations in the books in question can be roughly divided into realistic and allegorical. I use the former term to denote „narrative"[85] pictures which show historical events and figures mentioned in the text. By contrast, the word „allegorical" characterizes illustrations that offer value judgments on historical facts through the use of symbolic imagery. It is important to note that the distinction between the two categories is quite vague. As we will see, the majority of „realistic" pictures convey more than their „literal message"[86].

„Realistic" illustrations constitute the overwhelming majority in *History of Frederick the Great*. These almost always appear within the text, thereby enhancing the reader-viewer's sense of involvement in historical events[87]. A proponent of academic historicism, Menzel sought to create „authentic", „objective", and detailed depictions of the past[88]. Further,

[85] F. Forster-Hahn, *op. cit.*, s. 246.

[86] In the meaning proposed in: R. Barthes, *op. cit.*, s. 36–37.

[87] K. Maurer, *op. cit.*, s. 121, 126–127.

[88] F. Forster-Hahn, *op. cit.*, s. 246; M. Jefferies, *op. cit.*, s. 13.

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

his preference for asymmetrical, dynamic compositions and masterful rendering of lighting helped create an impression of random moments in Frederick's life being captured in drawing. Forster-Hahn called this effect „daguerrotypical reality"[89]. Such a characteristic encourages us to take a closer look at the relations between depictions of history in photography and book illustration.

Menzel tackles allegorical subjects predominantly in title illustrations to each of the volumes, vignettes, and initial letters. Much like frontispieces, these are able to shape the reader-viewer's expectations of a section of text – or act as visualizations of its summary, if placed after it. The majority of Menzel's allegories feature heraldic animals, symbols of royal and military power, personifications of abstract concepts, and motives borrowed from Ancient Roman culture. Such imagery comes to occupy a much more important place in his pictures for *Works of Frederick the Great*[90].

Like Menzel, Kampf combines realistic and allegorical subjects in his illustrations for *Bismarck...* and *Hindenburg...* He often borrows from Menzel's work, sometimes quite directly[91]. However, the proportion of allegorical scenes in relation to narrative ones in Kampf's two series is significantly higher than in *History of Frederick the Great*. 28 out of 49 illustrations for *Bismarck...* and 38 out of 57 pictures for *Hindenburg...* fall into this category. Moreover, in both series allegorical subjects no longer appear mostly in vignettes and initial letters, as in *History of Frederick the Great*. In *Bismarck...* the majority of illustrations are placed before or after a section of text, while in *Hindenburg...* pictures are mostly featured on separate pages. Together with their symbolic nature, such a placement makes them „external to the narrative"[92] and thus reinforces their role as means of moral commentary.

The visual component of *Bismarck...* constitutes a special case, as it comprises reproductions of photographs, realistic and allegorical drawings. The photographs, perceived as imprints of objective reality[93], helped the reader visualize passages of the text which were not accompanied by Kampf's pictures. To some people, those might have given validity to the book's other contents. At the same time, while the reproductions of formal photographs and portrait paintings conveyed the social status of Bismarck and other historical figures whom they depicted, they

---

[89] F. Forster-Hahn, *op. cit.*, s. 254–258.

[90] A. Menzel, L. Pietsch, *op. cit*.

[91] Cf.: A. Menzel, L.Pietsch, *op. cit.*, s. 84 and D. Schäfer, *op. cit.*, t. 1, s. 211; F. Kugler, *op. cit.*, s. 197 and D. Schäfer, *op. cit.*, t. 1, s. 15.

[92] K. Maurer, *op. cit.*, s. 126–127.

[93] R. Barthes, *op. cit.*, s. 43–44; H. Bredekamp, *op. cit.*, s. 155.

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

must have been unlikely to engender empathy and self-identification with them – the precise response popular historiographies sought to elicit from their readers[94].

By contrast, the format of hand-drawn illustrations allowed Kampf and Menzel to show amusing and evocative, if historically insignificant, episodes from their protagonists' private life. Moreover, it enabled the artists (and their editors) to incorporate symbolic elements in seemingly realistic compositions and emphasize episodes in the German leaders' biographies which were not recorded in photographs. I may argue that hand-drawn illustrations also brought history books closer to fiction literature, making them more attractive for the intended audiences. Lastly, the photographs in *Bismarck...* frequently appeared in other media. Thus, the incorporation of original illustrations must have seemed advantageous from the marketing perspective, as it offered „an added value" to the text[95].

Interestingly, despite the existence of numerous photographs of Hindenburg, the editors of the 1932 book opted not to incorporate any of those into it. They might have made this decision purely due to marketing considerations. And yet, it is hard to discard the ideological implications of representing the biography of the head of the state through mostly allegorical pictures and metaphorical captions.

HEROICIZING THE HUMAN

The nationalist myths of Frederick II, Bismarck, and Hindenburg emphasized their subjects' military victories and ascribed those primarily to their ingenious leadership[96]. Unsurprisingly, Menzel and Kampf adopted the long standing convention of depicting rulers as military leaders[97]. Such a choice of subject-matter accorded with the important place the army and military virtues occupied in the Prussian-German political culture[98].

In the three illustrations below, Menzel and Kampf accentuate the figures of the books' protagonists by means of composition and tone. In particular, the pictures of Frederick II (Fig. 5) and Hindenburg (Fig. 7) showcase their calmness and ability to command in the heat of battle

---

94 S. Paletschek, *Why Analyse Popular Historiographies? [Introduction]*, w: *Popular Historiographies in the 19th and 20th Centuries: Cultural Meanings, Social Practices*, red. S. Paletschek, Oxford–New York 2011, s. 4.

95 E. Sitzia, *Art*, s. 34.

96 H. Münkler, *op. cit.*, s. 238–239; A. von der Goltz, *op. cit.*, s. 17–19.

97 P. Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, s. 146–147.

98 H. Münkler, *op. cit.*, s. 218.

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

– in spite of both men's young age and Hindenburg's injury. Furthermore, by showing the protagonists participating in immediate fighting, the artists emphasized their close connection with the soldiers[99] and readiness to sacrifice their lives in the name of the fatherland. In comparison, Bismarck's elevated position as well as his calm facial expression while watching the Königgrätz battle implies his confidence in its positive outcome (Fig. 6).

Figure 5. Adolf Menzel. Frederick II commanding the Prussian troops during the Second Silesian War (F. Kugler, *op. cit*, s. 224).

Figure 6. Arthur Kampf. Bismarck watching the Battle of Königgrätz (D. Schäfer, *op. cit.*, t. 1, s. 269).

Figure 7. Arthur Kampf. Hindenburg leading his detachment during the Battle of Königgrätz (W. Bloem, *op. cit.*, s. 6).

[99] F. Forster-Hahn, *op. cit.*, s. 253.

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

Another motif present in the illustrations for *History of Frederick the Great*[100] and *Hindenburg...*[101] is that of a crowd greeting the protagonist. This kind of subject-matter reflects the demotic style of political leadership which involves a connection, perceived as it might be, between the ruler and everyday people[102]. There is no direct parallel to the two pictures in question among the illustrations for *Bismarck...* However, an illustration showing the future statesman and his day labourers (Fig. 8), discussed in one of next sections, bears a similar connotation.

Like other artists of their time, Menzel and Kampf frequently employed Ancient Greek and Roman imagery in their allegorical pieces. For example, an illustration for *Hindenburg...* featuring the title character and Ludendorff as chariot riders[103] apparently derives from Menzel's picture of Frederick the Great in the same capacity[104]. However, these appear in connection with two very different situations – Frederick's intent to commit suicide in order not to witness Prussia's defeat in the Seven Years' War[105] and the two commanders' success[106]. This case exemplifies an adaptation of a visual scheme to a quite different context.

WAR AS A REALITY AND AN ALLEGORY

Menzel and Kampf made extensive use of both realistic, or narrative, and allegorical subjects to show war. Pictures in *History of Frederick the Great* famously diverge from Kugler's glorification of the king's victories in highlighting the violence of military conflicts[107]. By contrast, in his illustrations for *Bismarck...* Kampf did not show a single scene of fighting. The picture of the Iron Chancellor watching the Koniggrätz battle (Fig. 6) is the only exclusion; however, it does not feature actual combat. To represent the three wars which Bismarck initiated Kampf only tackled allegorical subjects.

In the illustrations for *Hindenburg...* the artist returned to Menzel's example of alternating realistic and metaphorical representations of military conflicts[108]. However, he still avoided particularly graphic depictions

[100] F. Kugler, *op. cit.*, s. 142, 167, 242.
[101] W. Bloem, *op. cit.*, s. 250.
[102] P. Burke, *op. cit.*, s. 71.
[103] W. Bloem, *op. cit.*, s. 26.
[104] A. Menzel, L. Pietsch, *op. cit.*, s. 115.
[105] *Ibidem*, s. 13.
[106] W. Bloem, *op. cit.*, s. 26.
[107] F. Forster-Hahn, *op. cit.*, s. 246.
[108] W. Bloem, *op. cit.*, s. 51, 75, 76, 113, 134, 164, 173, 305.

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

of death and destruction. The most probable explanation for this change in the artist's approach to depicting wars lies in the different political functions which they performed in the Bismarck and Hindenburg myths.

The former emphasized the significance of Prussia's victories rather than the hardships of soldiers and civilians. The WWI conventions for not exposing the brutality of war in art[109] probably contributed to Kampf's opting for allegorical imagery in the illustrations for *Bismarck...* By contrast, the Hindenburg myth stressed his initial success at Tannenberg which was undermined by „a stab in the back" on the part of „inner enemies of the state". That was allegedly the main reason for the suffering of the army and civilians, which Bloem and Kampf underscore in *Hindenburg...*

With regard to allegories, pictures of swords appear particularly often in the three series to denote justified and even holy fight[110]. This reflects the romanticized perception of medieval chivalry in the period's culture[111] as well as the merging of the rulers' popular images with those of German legendary characters, such as Siegfried and Hagen[112] or Roland[113]. Likewise, Menzel's and Kampf's repetitive depictions of disembodied hands, often holding symbolically loaded objects[114], have their roots in older pictorial traditions[115]. Due to their suggestive power and polysemantic nature, these belong to the category of images which are able to evoke not one political myth, but a type of those, and serve as a basis for new ones[116] – in our case, the myths of German national heroes guided by Providence.

HUMANIZING THE HERO

History of Frederick the Great gives prominence to the protagonist's personal life – his childhood and youth, important relationships, and „enlightened" pursuits[117]. In addition to further humanizing the king, this allowed Menzel to represent social spaces familiar to the book's intended

[109] A. Schroyen, *op. cit.*, s. 398.

[110] F. Kugler, *op. cit.*, s. 26, 116; A. Menzel, L. Pietsch, *op. cit.*, s. 88; D. Schäfer, *op. cit.*, t. 1, s. 15, 67; W. Bloem, *op. cit.*, s. VII, 89, 325, 315.

[111] R. Lenman, *op. cit.*, s. 46.

[112] H. Münkler, *op. cit.*, s. 30, 85–86.

[113] E. Zechlin, *op. cit.*; A. Weicker, *op. cit.*

[114] F. Kugler, *op. cit.*, s. 496, 572; A. Menzel, L. Pietsch, *op. cit.*, s. 98; D. Schäfer, *op. cit.*, t. 1, s. 51, 97; t. 2, s. 137; W. Bloem, *op. cit.*, s. 8, 249, 251, 307.

[115] P. Springer, *Hand*, w: *Handbuch der politischen Ikonographie*, red. U. Fleckner, M. Warnke, H. Ziegler, München 2011.

[116] C.G. Flood, *op. cit.*, s. 166–168.

[117] K. Maurer, *op. cit.*, s. 120–135; F. Forster-Hahn, *op. cit.*

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

audience – such as domestic or office interiors. Kathrin Maurer believes that this brought Frederick's biography closer to its intended readers' lived experience and ethos[118].

In the first volume of *Bismarck...*, Schäfer and Kampf apparently followed this example. Ten realistic illustrations show the protagonist's parents, himself as a school and university student, a bureaucrat, a landowner, and, finally, a bridegroom. All these pictures feature social spaces familiar to early 20th-century middle-class readership. Just like in the case of *History of Frederick the Great*[119], the subject-matter of the text and the pictures appealed to the value system of the book's target audience.

An illustration showing Bismarck as a landlord conversing with a group of day labourers (Fig. 8) offers a good example of both humanization of the Iron Chancellor's image and investing a realistic scene with a symbolic meaning. The picture accompanies two long quotations from Bismarck's letters. Both characterize him as a landowner who genuinely cared about the well-being of his employees and runs his estate in compliance with the „conservative principle"[120]. Schäfer adds another layer

Figure 8. Arthur Kampf. Bismarck conversing with day laborers at his estate (D. Schäfer, *op. cit.*, t. 1, s. 46).

[118] K. Maurer, *op. cit.*, s. 130–131.

[119] F. Forster-Hahn, *op. cit.*, s. 242.

[120] „Ich kann nicht leugnen, dass ich einigermaßen stolz bin auf dieses langjährige Walten des konservativen Prinzips hier im Haufe" (D. Schäfer, *op. cit.*, s. 47).

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

of meaning to this scene marking that „a landowner, he remained one throughout his life"[121].

It is also one of few illustrations that appear within Kugler's text, which is believed to amplify the reader's sense of immersion[122]. The sheer number of labourers, to whose concerns Bismarck is listening, and their physical proximity to him (neither is mentioned in the text) reinforce the idea about the protagonist's close relationships with his employees. At the same time, Kampf communicates the difference between the status of the day labourers and that of the landowner through the use of similar compositional devices, as in the frontispiece for *Hindenburg...* – even though he does not invest this scene with religious connotations. On a symbolic level, the reader-viewer might have understood this episode as a portrayal of Bismarck as a caring patriarch to the whole German people – the very interpretation that Menzel's illustrations of similar subject-matter received[123].

By contrast, in *Hindenburg...* neither Bloem nor Kampf show much interest in the protagonist's personal life. The only illustration related to his childhood is an initial letter showing an angel putting a laurel wreath in an infant's (presumably, young Hindenburg's) cradle[124]. One of few pictures showcasing middle-class social spaces portrays the aged protagonist reading in an armchair, his legs covered with a blanket (Fig. 9). A muscular hand appears from the clouds on Hindenburg's right to offer him a sword. A caption below the picture says „Ready for immediate use"[125]. The mythical nature of both scenes communicates an idea that Providence itself chose Hindenburg to lead the German army. This also implied that he should be beyond criticism. The depiction of the retired general's relaxed lifestyle serves to emphasize the extent of the sacrifice he made when accepting the post – an integral aspect of the Hindenburg myth which brought it closer to the collective „hero" image[126].

Another type of subject-matter which allowed Menzel and Kampf to both show middle-class social spaces and idealize their protagonists was the portrayal of them at work. Menzel's illustrations of Frederick working in his study for the well-being of the people[127] helped highlight his „Prussian" qualities – commitment, sense of duty, and self-sacrifice[128].

---

121 „Als Gutsbesitzer ist es sein Lebenlang ein solcher geblieben" (*ibidem*).

122 K. Maurer, *op. cit.*, s. 126.

123 H. Münkler, *op. cit.*, s. 235; F. Forster-Hahn, *op. cit.*, s. 256; K. Maurer, *op. cit.*, s. 130.

124 W. Bloem, *op. cit.*, s. V.

125 „Für sofortige Verwendung bereit" (*ibidem*, s. 18).

126 A. von der Goltz, *op. cit.*, s. 8.

127 F. Kugler, *op. cit.*, s. 262.

128 H. Münkler, *op. cit.*, s. 217, 220.

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

Figure 9. Arthur Kampf. „Ready for immediate use" (W. Bloem, *op. cit.*, s. 18).

Figure 10. Arthur Kampf. „Salus Publica" (D. Schäfer, *op. cit.*, t. 2, s. 241).

Kampf used similar imagery in the final illustration for *Bismarck...* (Fig. 10). It shows the statesman from the back while working at his desk. He is looking at the words „Salus Publica" (*Public Good*) which appear within a star shape before him. The picture corresponds with Bismarck's quote: „For me there has always only been one compass, one polar star [...] *Salus Publica*"[129]. While visualizing the protagonist's own metaphor, Kampf also invests the picture with religious undertones.

The artist depicted Hindenburg in a similar capacity. The illustration in question shows him being distracted from studying military maps by a subordinate[130]. Many wartime photographs and drawings as well as the 1929 film *Iron Hindenburg in War and Peace*[131] tackled this subject matter to convey that „his ingenious strategic planning in the run-up to Tannenberg that had supposedly saved the entire German home front from occupation"[132].

[129] „Für mich hat immer nur ein einziger Kompass, ein einziger Polarstern, nach dem ich steuere, bestanden: Salus publica [...]" (D. Schäfer, *op. cit.*, t. 2, s. 240).

[130] W. Bloem, *op. cit.*, s. 62.

[131] „Der Eiserne Hindenburg in Krieg und Frieden".

[132] A. von der Goltz, *op. cit.*, s. 104–105.

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

THE HERO AND THE VILLAIN

As Münkler notes, a juxtaposition of the hero and the villain is a vital element of most political myths[133]. When portraying the enemy monarchs and dignitaries in his illustrations for *History of Frederick the Great* and *Works of Frederick the Great*, Menzel highlighted their luxurious attires, relaxed poses, arrogant or aggressive facial expressions, and/or excessive weight[134]. By contrast, the artist showed Frederick as slim yet physically strong (which is implied by the scenes of him taking part in fighting or riding a horse until a very old age), typically clad in a military uniform (which allegedly signified his frugality) and reserved in display of emotions. Such characteristics correspond with his the „Prussian" moral values[135].

Kampf adopted and developed Menzel's approach to picturing the enemy in his drawings for *Bismarck...* An illustration preceding the chapter *To Sedan*[136] (Fig. 11) shows a meeting between Napoleon III and Bismarck after the decisive battle, during which the former unsuccessfully negotiated for milder conditions of surrender[137]. Bismarck's upright back stands in a stark contrast with the French Emperor's slouchy posture. This, however, had evidently become a convention for representing the two political leaders in German visual culture by the time Kampf produced the illustration. In particular, the 1878 painting by Wilhelm Camphausen[138] shows Napoleon III in a similar pose. As German nationalists perceived WWI as a war of the superior German culture against the decadent French and British ones[139], the contemporary reader might have projected such unflattering portrayals of Napoleon III on the whole enemy nation.

Depictions of heraldic animals as embodiments of states and nations, already present in Menzel's work[140], acquired special prominence in WWI visual culture. Hence, it is no surprise that Kampf, who had never shown much interest in painting animals before, made exclusion when working on his illustrations for *Bismarck...* A particularly curious picture precedes

---

[133] H. Münkler, *op. cit.*, s. 13–14.

[134] F. Kugler, *op. cit.*, s. 187, 287, 288, 289, 293, 435.

[135] H. Münkler, *op. cit.*, s. 217, 220.

[136] „Bis Sedan" (D. Schäfer, *op. cit.*, t. 2, s. 114).

[137] *Ibidem*, s. 114.

[138] W. Camphausen, *Otto von Bismarck and Napoleon III after the Battle of Sedan in 1870*, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/cf/BismarckundNapoleonIII.jpg [dostęp: 14.10.2023].

[139] R. Frankel, *op. cit.*, s. 90.

[140] A. Menzel, L. Pietsch, *op. cit.*, s. 34, 48, 197.

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

Figure 11. Arthur Kampf. Bismarck and Napoleon III after the Battle of Sedan (D. Schäfer, *op. cit.*, t. 2, s. 110).

Figure 12. Arthur Kampf. A boy wrestling a rooster (D. Schäfer, *op. cit.* t. 2, s. 12).

the book's first chapter *Biography (1815–1847)*[141]. It shows a young boy fighting a massive rooster – a symbol of France (Fig. 12). Since Schäfer did not mention any such episode, I conclude that this is a symbolic depiction of Bismarck's struggle against the „eternal enemy", for which he allegedly was destined. Such an interpretation correlates with an emphasis the writer placed on the fact that the protagonist was born during the Napoleonic wars[142].

Finally, in Kampf's illustrations for *Hindenburg...* the enemy never appears in human form. Instead, the artist showed the German victory at Tannenberg through a picture of peasant men armed with pitchforks who have driven a giant bear – a symbol of Russia – into a pond[143]. Likewise, Kampf depicts France in the form of a rooster standing on a sack full of gold coins[144], and „the inner enemies of the state" as an obese dragon[145]. Kampf's allegories, – rin contrast to a specific person or a group of people, as in *History of Frederick the Great* – blurred the precise identity of their subjects. It is unclear whether the „evil" beasts denote the enemy countries' governments, certain groups within their populations, or their nations on the whole.

141 „Der Werdegang (1815–1847)" (D. Schäfer, *op. cit.*, t. 1, s. 13).

142 *Ibidem*, s. 15.

143 W. Bloem, *op. cit.*, s. 23.

144 *Ibidem*, s. 286.

145 *Ibidem*, s. 315.

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

THE LEADER AND HIS IMAGES

In all the three series of illustrations an important role belongs to pictures-within- pictures – drawings, paintings and sculptures of historical figures. Such depictions act, in Bredekamp's terms, as the substitutes of people they portray[146] – or rather their idealized images. Notably, in the political iconography of modern Europe, sculpture has symbolized the durability of memory as well as performed the function of political legitimation[147].

An illustration which precedes the first chapter of *History of Frederick the Great*, which deals with the future king's descent, features an equestrian monument of Frederick Wilhelm „The Great Elector"[148]. Another picture, showing a framed portrait of Frederick's famous ancestor, appears within the text of the chapter. These amplify the corresponding passages of text dedicated to Frederick Wilhelm's outstanding achievements[149]. Kugler and Menzel's image of the Great Elector encapsulates an ideal of political and military leadership to which Frederick had to live up.

In another case, Kugler mentions that peasants would put a picture of Frederick near that of St Corbinian[150]. Menzel visualizes this story in his illustration (Fig. 13), where the two are of equal size and appear on the same level. Such a composition makes an impression of the saint and the king having a similar or even equal status in the eyes of the peasants. The story and the illustration provide another example of the sacralization of a national leader. Furthermore, a passage of text which precedes Kampf's picture describes Frederick being called „the Great" during his lifetime[151]. Here, just like in the case of the Great Elector's monument, the concept of greatness manifests itself in the portrayal of historical figures in paintings or sculptures – as well as their prominent placement in public or domestic spaces.

The Wilhelmine period saw the construction of numerous large-scale sculptural and architectural monuments[152]. While the Bismarck cult found its most important artistic expression in hundreds massive sculptures[153], Hindenburg also became the subject of statues, starting from the famous

---

[146] H. Bredekamp, *op. cit.*, s. 137, 155–156.

[147] D. Erben, *Denkmal*, w: *Handbuch der politischen Ikonographie*, red. U. Fleckner, M. Warnke, H. Ziegler, München 2011.

[148] F. Kugler, *op. cit.*, s. 5.

[149] *Ibidem*, s. 7–8.

[150] *Ibidem*, s. 567.

[151] *Ibidem.*

[152] M. Jefferies, *op. cit.*, s. 61–72.

[153] *Ibidem*, s. 127–128.

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

Figure 13. Adolph Menzel. Pictures of Frederick the Great and St Corbinian (F. Kugler, *op. cit.*, s. 567).

Figure 14. Arthur Kampf. Bismarck and Frederick Wilhelm IV (D. Schäfer, *op. cit.*, t. 1, s. 127).

Figure 15. Arthur Kampf. Frederick the Great (D. Schäfer, *op. cit.*, t. 1, s. 136).

Iron Hindenburg[154]. Depictions of those monuments appeared in popular visual media along with the two men's portraits[155]. Therefore, it is not surprising that sculptural portraits of rulers occupy an important place in Kampf's illustrations.

One example is a picture of Bismarck and Frederick Wilhelm IV, which is placed before the chapter *Relationships in the Bundestag*[156] (Fig. 14). The illustration corresponds with a quotation from the protagonist's letter

[154] A. von der Golz, *op. cit.*, s. 27–33.

[155] *Ibidem*, s. 29, 161; V. Holzwart, *Bismarck Im Portait Und Im Ersten Weltkrieg*, 2015, http://bismarckmythos1915.de/?p=325 [dostęp: 14.10.2023].

[156] „Die Verhältnisse am Bundestage" (D. Schäfer, *op. cit.*, t. 1, s. 127).

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

in which he describes a conversation with the king following his appointment to the post of the Prussian envoy to the Federal Convention in Frankfurt[157]. The picture is probably based on Carl Röhling's earlier depiction of the same scene[158]. However, Kampf showed fewer objects in the background, focusing the viewer's attention on a figurine of Frederick the Great which stands on the cabinet between the two men.

The appearance of the sculpture in this scene has to do with another passage in the same chapter. Austria's envoy to the Federal Convention claimed that Prussia had to renounce the legacy of Frederick the Great in order to contribute to the restoration of the Holy Roman Empire. Bismarck advised his sovereign against such a course of actions[159]. Thus, the sculpture denotes the political heritage of the king and reflects the link between him and Bismarck which existed in German political mythology. Another depiction of Frederick (Fig. 15) comes after the same chapter. I presume that the transition from showing Frederick as a statuette in the background to representing him as a human being indicates the unprecedentedly lasting impact which Frederick's actual reign and the myth about him made on Prussia's political culture.

The final illustration (Fig. 16) shows the Bismarck monument by Hugo Lederer, which largely shaped the popular image of the statesman during WWI[160]. The picture appears below Schäfer's account of the protagonist's last years and death. However, it accords better with a passage from the epilogue: „In this man God has given us a hero of exceedingly mighty strength in every respect. Lederer's statue in Hamburg does him justice; it embodies the impression he made on those around him, which continued to have an effect on his descendants"[161].

According to Matthew Jefferies, Bismarck monuments also reflected the common perception of the Iron Chancellor as a guardian figure. Expressed in the form of massive sculptures, the memory of him was believed to protect Germans from all kind of enemies[162]. This constitutes another aspect of the Bismarck cult's quasi-religious nature. In Kampf's picture, a cloud between the base of the monument and the Iron Chancellor's figure creates an impression that the latter is floating in the air. A white cloud behind him reminds the viewer of a saint's halo, just like in the

---

[157] *Ibidem*, s. 128.

[158] R. Hofmann, C. Röchling, *Otto von Bismarck: Ernstes und Heiteres aus dem Leben des Grossen Kanzlers*, Berlin 1897, s. 14.

[159] *Ibidem*, s. 135.

[160] E. Zechlin, *op. cit.*

[161] D. Schäfer, *op. cit.*, t. 2, s. 230.

[162] M. Jefferies *op. cit.*, s. 128.

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

Figure 16. Arthur Kampf. Statue of Bismarck by Hugo Lederer (D. Schäfer, *op. cit.*, t. 2, s. 226).

Figure 17. Arthur Kampf. „Hindenburg the German" (W. Bloem, *op. cit.*, s. 355).

frontispiece of *History of Frederick the Great*. While acting as compositional devices, these elements reflect the sacralization of Bismarck's image in the period's culture.

In the final illustration for *Hindenburg...* (Fig. 17), Kampf further developed the motif of a statue. The picture shows a non-existent colossal bust of the protagonist carved into a rock face. Clouds play the same compositional and symbolic role, as in the picture of the Bismarck monument examined earlier (Fig. 16). This leads me to think of it as another visual scheme. The imposing scale and material of the sculpture denote Hindenburg's patience and his physical strength as well as his role of the defender of his people – the „imperturbable dam"[163]. Furthermore, the very format of a colossal rock-cut statue corresponds perfectly to the idea of perpetuity associated with the historical monuments as such[164].

CONCLUSIONS

The paper demonstrates that Menzel's drawings for *History of Frederick the Great* by Franz Kugler (1840), themselves based on Vernet's

[163] A. von der Golz, *op. cit.*, s. 8, 14, 19–20, 142–143.

[164] D. Erben, *op. cit.*

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

work, and *Works of Frederick the Great* (1843–1849) served as a source of compositional schemes and symbolically loaded motives for depicting other German national leaders. Kampf largely drew on Menzel's work in his illustrations for Schäfer's *Bismarck. A Picture of His Life and Work* (1917) and Bloem's *Hindenburg the German* (1932), often reworking the latter's compositions and sometimes placing them in different contexts. Captions and corresponding passages of text, in their turn, clarified and/or broadened the „symbolic meaning" of the pictures.

The case in question provides one of the many examples of schematization of national leaders' public images in visual media. Yet still, some aspects of the phenomenon are specific to the genre of book illustration and design. Firstly, not only individual pictures, but whole sequences of those served as schemata. The protagonists of the three series in question appear in several capacities – a (chosen) child, a military leader, a caring patriarch to his nation, a warrior of Classical antiquity, a picture/statue of himself. Each book contains pictures of their enemies, whom the artists juxtaposed to the hero and/or depicted in non-human forms, blurring their identity.

Alternating with the recurring illustrations of allegorical subjects associated with heroism and justified fight, these narrative pictures constitute emotionally and ideologically charged, if stereotypical, visual narratives. While remaining as flexible as individual schemata, these focus on the protagonists' extraordinary personal qualities, their deep connection with their people, and their sacrifice in the name of the fatherland – instead of offering factual information about historical events in which they were involved.

Secondly, the intimate character of reading encouraged both Menzel and Kampf (in *Bismarck...)* to focus on episodes in their protagonists' personal life. This enabled the artists to bring the leaders' biographies closer to the intended readers' experience and their moral values, while maintaining an impression of the leaders' superhuman qualities. Finally, not only illustrations, but also other elements of book design (covers, layouts, choice of fonts) can act as visual schemata, creating a sense of connectedness between the subjects of similarly designed books.

Mythologization and sacralization of history in Menzel's and Kampf's work are closely intertwined with its schematization. The two former phenomena lie in the artists' adoption of iconographical schemes and pictorial motives associated with legendary and Christian subject-matter for depicting historical events and figures. Such a representation creates an impression of their miraculous, providential nature as well as places them beyond rational knowledge and criticism. These trends manifest themselves only occasionally in Menzel's pictures for *History of Frederick the Great* and become much more apparent in Kampf's illustrations for *Bismarck...* and, especially, *Hindenburg...*

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

The most vivid example of this consists in the prevalence of allegorical pictures in the two latter series. Appearing before or after a section of text, illustrations of this type offer moral judgements on its (mostly factual) contents – rather than foster a sense of personal involvement in historical events, which was the case with the narrative in-text pictures in *History of Frederick the Great*. Such a change correlates with the ever-intensifying tendency of Germany's political right of the early 20th century to represent history in the abstract terms of „god"/"evil", „providence", „mission", „salvation", „duty", „heroism". Thus, Kampf's pictures reinforce such quasi-religious motives in Schäfer's and Bloem's books.

The spread of photography was among the factors which encouraged 20th-century illustrators of popular historical literature, exemplified by Kampf, to focus on subject-matter which had not been or could not be photographed – scenes from the protagonist's personal life or allegories. Both types of subject-matter have a potential to elicit a stronger emotional response from the viewer (one of the main goals of popular historiographies) than formal portrait photographs.

In the three series of pictures in question, as well as in many visual materials dating from the period, depictions of large-scale sculptures appear along with the realistic photos/paintings of historical figures. Such illustrations signify the leaders' allegedly superhuman qualities and eternal spiritual presence in the life of their nation. Hence, to some extent people's perception of historical actors as real politicians and their ideal of the national leader merged with the images of those massive warriors.

REFERENCES (BIBLIOGRAFIA)

Printed sources (Źródła drukowane)

Bloem W., *Hindenburg der Deutsche. Mit 57 Zeichnungen auf 48 Tafeln und im Text von Arthur Kampf*, Berlin 1932.

Frederick II, King of Prussia, *Die Werke Friedrichs des Großen in deutscher Übersetzung*, red. G.B. Volz, t. 1–10, Berlin 1913–1914.

Hofmann R., Röhling C., *Otto von Bismarck: Ernstes und Heiteres aus dem Leben des Grossen Kanzlers*, Berlin 1897.

Hagen von M., *Das Bismarckbild der Gegenwart: Bismarck in der Literatur 1915–1927*, „Zeitschrift für Politik" 1929, 18.

Kampf A., *Aus meinem Leben*, Aachen 1950.

Kugler F., *Geschichte Friedrichs des Großen. Gezeichnet von A. von Menzel*, Leipzig 1840.

Menzel A., Pietsch L., *Illustrationen zu den Werken Friedrichs des Großen*, t. 1–2, Berlin 1886.

Schäfer D., *Bismarck: Ein Bild seines Lebens und Wirkens. Mit Textzeichnungen von Arthur Kampf*, t. 1–2, Berlin 1917.

Weicker A., *Zu Bismarck Gedächtnis. Mit neun Abbildungen aus „Dietrich Schäfer, Bismarck" mit Textzeichnungen von Arthur Kampf*, „Daheim" 1917, 53, 26.

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

Studies (Opracowania)

Barthes R., *Image-Music-Text*, London 1977.

Bredekamp H., *Image Acts. A Systematic Approach to Visual Agency*, Berlin–Boston 2018.

Burke P., *Eyewitnessing. The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, London 2001.

Burke P., *Varieties of Cultural History*, Ithaca–New York 1997.

Burke P., *What is Cultural History?* Cambridge–Malden 2008.

Chapeaurouge de D., *Menzels Friedrichbilder im „Historischen Genre"*, w: *Historienmalerei in Europa. Paradigmen in Form, Funktion und Ideologie*, red. E. Mai, Mainz 1990.

Elements of Reading in the Era of Print Saturation, Multigraph Colleqctive, Chicago–London 2018.

Erben D., *Denkmal*, w: *Handbuch der politischen Ikonographie*, red. U. Fleckner, M. Warnke, H. Ziegler, München 2011.

Flood C.G., *Political Myth. A Theoretical Introduction,* London–New York 2013.

Forster-Hahn F., *Adolph Menzel's „Daguerreotypical" Image of Frederick the Great: A Liberal Bourgeois Interpretation of German History*, „The Art Bulletin" 1977, 59, 2.

Frankel R., *Bismarck's Shadow: The Cult of Leadership and the Transformation of the German Right, 1898–1945*, Oxford–New York 2005.

Gell A., *Art and Agency. An Anthropological Theory*, New York City 1998.

Gerwarth R., *The Bismarck Myth: Weimar Germany and the Legacy of the Iron Chancellor*, Oxford–New York 2005.

Goltz von der A., *Hindenburg. Power, Myth, and the Rise of the Nazis*, Oxford–New York 2009.

Jefferies M., *Imperial Culture in Germany, 1871–1918*, New York 2003.

Lenman R., *Artists and Society in Germany, 1850–1914*, Manchester–New York 1997.

Maurer K., *Visualizing the Past: The Power of the Image in German Historicism*, Berlin–Boston 2013.

Mitchell W.J.T., *Picture theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*, Chicago 1994.

Mitchell W.J.T., *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images*, Chicago–London 2005.

Morris R.F., *From Weimar Philosemite to Nazi Apologist: The Case of Walter Bloem*, Lewiston–New York 1988.

Münkler H., *Die Deutschen und ihre Mythen*, Berlin 2009.

Paletcheck S., *Why Analyse Popular Historiographies? [Introduction]*, w: *Popular Historiographies in the 19th and 20th Centuries: Cultural Meanings, Social Practices*, red. S. Paletschek, Oxford–New York 2011.

Panofsky E., *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, New York 1955.

Paul G., *ObrazoWŁADZA*, w: *Historia wizualna – obrazy w dyskusjach niemieckich historyków*, red. M. Saryusz-Wolska, Warszawa 2020.

Schroyen A., *Arthur Kampf (1864–1950). Eine deutsche Künstlerkarriere zwischen Kaiserreich und Nationalsozialismus*, Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophie, Düsseldorf 2022.

Sitzia E., *Art in Literature, Literature in Art in 19th Century France*, Newcastle upon Tyne 2012.

Springer P., *Hand*, w: *Handbuch der politischen Ikonographie*, red. U. Fleckner, M. Warnke, H. Ziegler, München 2011.

Zechlin E., *Der Inbegriff des germanischen Menschen: Das Bismarck-Bild 1915: Eine Mischung von Sage und Mythos*, „Die Zeit" 1965, 14.

Warnke M., *Politische Ikonographie*, w: *Die Lesbarkeit der Kunst: Zur Geistes-Gegenwart der Ikonologie*, red. A. Beyer, Berlin 1992.

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325

Wohlfeil R., *Refleksje metodyczne o obrazoznawstwie historycznym*, w: *Historia wizualna – obrazy w dyskusjach niemieckich historyków*, red. M. Saryusz-Wolska, Warszawa 2020.

Websites (Strony internetowe)

Ay K-l., *Schäfer, Dietrich*, w: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 2005, https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118794841.html#ndbcontent [dostęp: 14.10.2023].

Basse-Soltau U., *Reimar Johannes Martin Hobbing*, w: *Ostfriesische Landschaft*, https://bibliothek.ostfriesischelandschaft.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/dateiarchiv/2222/Hobbing-Reimar.pdf [dostęp: 14.10.2023].

Camphausen W., *Otto von Bismarck and Napoleon III after the Battle of Sedan in 1870*, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/cf/BismarckundNapoleonIII.jpg [dostęp: 14.10.2023].

Holzwart V., *Bismarck Im Portait Und Im Ersten Weltkrieg*, 2015, http://bismarckmythos1915.de/?p=325 [dostęp: 14.10.2023].

Kresin A.-K., *„Der Alte Geist Lebt Noch"*, 2015, http://bismarckmythos1915.de/?p=579 [dostęp: 14.10.2023].

Kresin A.-K., *„Wir Deutsche[n] Fürchten Gott, Sonst Nichts Auf Der Welt"*, 2015. http://bismarckmythos1915.de/?p=576 [dostęp: 14.10.2023].

Sitzia E., *Illustration is everyone's mother tongue: The Role of Illustration in Individual Identity Formation*, Inaugural lecture, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2018, http://cf.bc.uva.nl/download/oraties/oraties_2018/Sitzia_Emilie.pdf [dostęp: 14.10.2023].

Sousa de J., *Postkarten. Der Bismarck-Mythos auf Postkarten*, 2015, http://bismŭarckmythos1915.de/?p=311 [dostęp: 14.10.2023].

Zimmermann O., *Postkarten. Militär Und Propaganda*, 2015, http://bismarckmythos1915.de/?p=22 [dostęp: 14.10.2023].

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Yuliia Kizyma – doctoral student in the Department of History of Arts, Faculty of History at the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv. She served internships in the Faculty of History at the University of Warsaw and German Historical Institute Warsaw. The focus of her doctoral study is the representation of German history in the oeuvre of the prominent academic artist, Arthur Kampf (1864–1950), especially in his illustrations used in popular historiographical studies.

NOTA O AUTORZE

Yuliia Kizyma – doktorantka w Katedrze Historii Sztuki Wydziału Historycznego Kijowskiego Uniwersytetu Narodowego im. Tarasa Szewczenki. Odbyła staże naukowe w Instytucie Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego i Niemieckim Instytucie Historycznym w Warszawie. Jej badania doktoranckie koncentrują się na reprezentacji historii Niemiec w dorobku wybitnego artysty akademickiego Arthura Kampfa (1864–1950), zwłaszcza jego ilustracjach do popularnych historiografii.

DOI:10.17951/rh.2024.57.1293-1325