1 Frontispiece to Einhard, *Vita et Gesta Karoli Magni*, published Cologne, 1521.
Woodcut, 20.5 × 13.8 cm. Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, Sig. 127.16 Hist.

# THE WILD MAN, CHARLEMAGNE AND THE GERMAN BODY

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A very strange image of Charlemagne appears in the frontispiece of the *Vita et Gesta Karoli Magni,* the first printed edition of Charlemagne's biography, published in 1521 in Cologne by Johann Soter (plate 1). Shown next to Charles v, Charlemagne represents the oldest ancestor of the Holy Roman Emperors, unifier of the Latin and Germanic nations. Despite these impressive credentials, he is not dressed in attire appropriate either to his office or to a dignified genealogy of the German peoples. Here Charlemagne appears in anachronistic garments, his leggings gathered loosely about his waist and ankles, and on his head a reed-like crown so unlike the jewel-encrusted ones he was rumoured to have worn.[1] With his long hair, beard and loose tunic draping his outsized frame, Charlemagne represents an inventory of barbaric attributes that portray a figment of European lore, the wild man.

This essay explores the iconography that defined this primitivism in early German printed materials and then examines the underpinnings of its use in imperial imagery. The Charlemagne illustrator's use of a 'wild man' to establish a connection with Charles V appears to the modern viewer a highly unorthodox and peculiar strategy. In the visual tradition, the wild man typically represented the rejection of all the effects of civilized man and embodied his alter ego. Here, Charlemagne shares characteristics of the German *wilde Mann*, a folkloric creature who lurked in the margins of civilized society and in the iconographic margins of late medieval art. While early modern audiences understood the wild man as an undomesticated, if decorative, contemporary of the late medieval European, here, personified as Charlemagne, he represents a stage in the evolution of the contemporary German. This essay argues that the rediscovery in Germany *c.* 1473 of Tacitus's first-century *Germania* transformed the wild man into the *ur*-German described in the ancient Latin text and gave him a national identity.

This essay first examines the wild man as the subject of a vernacular iconographic tradition that featured him in roles ranging from an ornamental protector of coats of arms to a civic symbol on the Augsburg town hall. It then explores the conflation of this wild man with Tacitus's promotion of the early German *as* a wild man. Tacitus excavated the wild man from his liminal presence in folkloric tales and transformed him into the subject of a seminal ethnographic

work. In German humanist circles of the early sixteenth century, self-examination sparked by Tacitus's ethnography of the German peoples determined the methodological practice by which primitive peoples were investigated. Humanists spearheaded and organized the effort of examining the German past as a national one and did not shy away from the ambivalence that interpreting themselves through Tacitus entailed.

### WILD MAN IN THE FOLKLORIC TRADITION

The wild man was a conceptual entity that thrived during the medieval period in the German-speaking territories. His widespread presence in Germany, even today in carnival incarnations and in restaurant advertisements promising authentic provincial cuisine, stems from his participation in several traditions. Folkloric representations of the wild man mark the intersection of a Christian tradition of hermit saints with the mythological Hercules.[2] Christian wild men, such as the Egyptian anchorite Onuphrius, were rehabilitated by Bavarian artists and Alsatian humanists. The attention Onuphrius received in works like Sebastian Brant's broadsheet *In praise of Onuphrius and other Hermits* in 1494 indicates the particular vogue enjoyed by hermit saints in humanist Germany.[3] Brant's broadsheet praised the anchorite saints for their retreat from worldliness and foreshadowed future polemical works in which other forest dwellers lamented the questionable progress made by civilization.[4]

The wild man's roots were tenaciously embedded in the Alpine regions of Germany and Switzerland. The raw and rugged mountainous habitat gave him a robust character and provided several attributes for his own survival. An indigenous denizen of the Alps, the wild man enacted his role as an appendage of nature by wielding the tree trunk he tore from the ground, his sole defence against the savage beasts. Despite his prodigious physical strength, heavy armaments and at times menacing scowl, unprovoked he posed no threat to mankind but watchfully patrolled the borders of his world.

The wild man's graphic life reinforced the metaphor of the periphery he was believed to inhabit. He thrived in manuscript marginalia, served as an ornamental finial for vessels, and as a decorative functionary in book bindings and tapestries. He roamed quietly and slumbered peacefully in the Hercynian forest.[5] Sometimes the heraldic wild man was invoked to lend his legitimacy to more civic genealogical constructions, as he does on a stone relief on the Augsburg Rathaus (plate 2).[6] Made for the town hall *c.* 1450, this relief features two wild men heraldically supporting the city's emblem, the *Pyr,* a modified pine cone on a pedestal.[7] Above the wild men, angels unfurl a banderole that reads 'Christi tibi gloria in Augusta Retia, Urbe vere Regia.'[8] This was a carefully constructed tribute to Augsburg's Roman heritage: the wild man here literally supports local claims to Roman genealogy by propping up a standard bearing the Roman symbol of the *Pyr.* By way of the *Pyr,* the provenance to which the Rathaus relief alluded was a Roman one.[9]

Archeological finds from Roman Augsburg excavated in this period substantiated claims for the free imperial status of the city. Examples of the *Pyr* excavated in Augsburg in the 1460s inspired rapidly proliferating emblems that adorned the city gates, the armoury and other public buildings. Believed to have marked legal jurisdictions in Roman times, the *Pyr*'s power to convey sovereignty was revived in
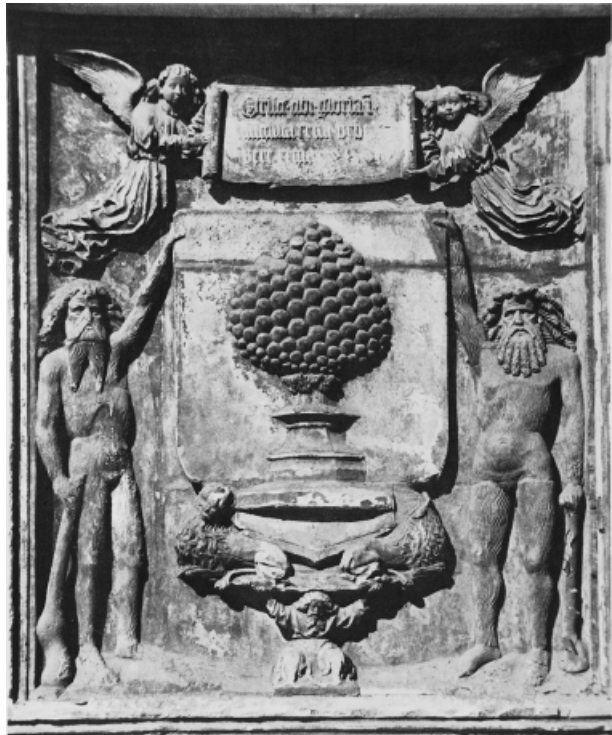
2 Anon., *Wild Men with Pyr,*
*c.* 1450. Limestone relief,
270 cm height × 220 cm width.
Augsburg: Rathaus.

the second half of the fifteenth century when it was used by local chroniclers to argue for Augsburg's status as a *Reichsstadt*, or imperial free city of Roman origin.[10] The *Pyr*'s popularity in late medieval chronicles supported the contested independence of the city that answered directly to the Emperor, rather than to a local bishop or prince.[11] According to the German genealogy proposed by this relief, the late medieval view championed the Roman past, to which the Augusta Retia of the inscription was an unmistakable reference, and on which the Holy Roman heritage depended.

Roman ancestry was the direct grant of kinship that legitimated Augsburg's sovereign status in the Holy Roman Empire as a free imperial city.[12] The *Pyr* concretized a racial genealogy within a framework of an historical awareness of self. On the relief, the wild men, as spatial and conceptual analogues to Rome, protect the civilized centre. Two distinct traditions are juxtaposed: one, a classical symbol alluding to the city's Roman past, and the other, a folkloric strain fiercely guarding it. In the late 1470s Augsburg's uncontested Roman heritage, so carefully constructed by the relief, was complicated by the discovery of an ancient treatise in which an older Germanic past eclipsed the Roman one. Among humanists, Tacitus's recently rediscovered *Germania* promoted a new historical consciousness in which Germanic ancestry more closely resembled the wild men supporting the shield in the Augsburg relief than the Roman provenance they advertised. Long upstaged by his Roman heritage, the wild man would soon emerge from the margins and assume a central role.

## TACITUS AND THE NATIONALIZATION OF THE WILD MAN

The discovery of Tacitus's *Germania* linked humanist exploration of the past in the early decades of the sixteenth century to a search for the origins of the Germans themselves. The humanists' embrace of Tacitus's work forced a reconsideration of the truth of a genealogy in which Germans were imagined as reincarnated Romans, and put such local legends into historical perspective. In his centralized and methodological approach to the study of primitive peoples, Tacitus offered the German humanists a tactical strategy. Rather than viewing Tacitus's ambivalent portrait of the early Germans as threatening to their modern identity, they promoted it as ethnography. According to the *Germania*, the folkloric wild man *was* the historical image of the *ur*-German. With the evidence supplied by Tacitus, humanists Conrad Celtis and Ulrich von Hutten nationalized the conceptual wild man and turned him into a German citizen nonpareil.

Although the state of German antiquity was the starting point for most medieval German chronicles, local chronicles written before the rediscovery of Tacitus provided for the Germans remote myths of origin and legendary ancestors. According to these, Germany was founded by mythological heroes who took root there after migrating from far-flung territories. Legends like the *Alexander Romance* of Pseudo-Callisthenes[13] and Guido of Columna's *Book of Troy* traced German history to the diaspora of the Trojan heroes and provided source material for early German folk chronicles.[14] The *Reimchronik* (1437–1442), a history in verse of the founding of Augsburg, traced the path of the Trojan heroes northwards along the Rhine, as they picked up women in Cologne, founded the city of Trier with their new brides, and gave rise to a race of Germani.[15]

According to the *Reimchronik*, one secessionist group of Germani, the Suebi, settled the area of present-day Augsburg. In 9 CE Augustus sent his legions under the command of the praetor Quintilius Varus, accompanied by two Macedonian legions, to conquer this barbarous tribe. The Suebi, under the Cheruscan chieftain Hermann (literally, in German, 'man of the army', known as Arminius in Latin), proved more mettlesome than both the Romans and the Macedonians. The heroes of the *Varusschlacht*, as the battle became known, overwhelmed three Roman legions and massacred the Macedonians, reserving the grimmest end for the Macedonian king, whom they butchered 'like a cow'.[16] The *Reimchronik* portrayed Augustus despairing in an unseemly rant upon hearing the news, banging his head, tearing at his garments, and pleading with Varus to restore his lost legions to him.[17]

Sigismund Meisterlein's *Chronographia Augustensium* of *c.* 1456, contested this Trojan origin for Augsburg, establishing in its place an older, but equally foreign, originary myth. Meisterlein traced the true provenance of the Germans to a period before the destruction of Troy and one that predated the founding of Rome by more than five hundred years. He identified the Amazons, a race of female warriors from the Caucasus, along with the Swabi and Vindeliker, as the original indigenous peoples of Bavaria.[18] Although Meisterlein's sources were predominantly Roman (Suetonius, Vegetius), he established an origin too far beyond their purview for their authority to contest it. Meisterlein manufactured folk etymologies in order to situate the celebrated *Varusschlacht* in Augsburg: Augustus's lost legions, *perdita legiones*, were commemorated in the name of the river 'Perlach', and the site of the battle, the location of which was under dispute, was cemented

to Augsburg by situating it beneath the Rathaus.[19] Hermann emerged from this battle as the true progenitor of the German peoples – his group formed the first united resistance against the Roman Empire. The tightest definition of Germanic identity to date was, thus, a collective of Amazon-born 'wild men' united in their ambition against Rome.[20]

Tacitus's first-century *Germania* was the first historical narrative centred on German soil. This first-century Roman ethnographic study of the *Germani* made a systematic record of their civic institutions and customs.[21] The text was based on a series of rhetorical inversions that posited Rome as the point of departure, a methodology that became known as *interpretatio romana*.[22] Tacitus contrasts the Germanic tribes with the civilized centre of Rome, analysing the differences in their lifestyles by comparing their living spaces, such as the German field dwellings versus the urban culture of Rome; and their modes of worship, such as the absence of temples and anthropomorphic deities in Germany as opposed to their profusion in Rome. Tacitus's comparison of techniques of warfare also breaks down into opposed dualities, as do practices more difficult to quantify, such as eating and hygiene. The text of the *Germania* was lost throughout the Middle Ages, rediscovered by the persistent manuscript hunter Poggio Bracciolini in a monastery in Fulda in 1420, but did not really come to light until its arrival in Rome in 1455, when Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, soon to become Pope Pius II, epitomized it.[23] After its mid-fifteenth-century rediscovery, it would become the subject of patriotic and nationalistic encomium for the next half-century.

Tacitus's *Germania* entered the consciousness of German humanists somewhat unofficially and unexpectedly in the text of Aeneas's rebuke of Martin Mayer, the Chancellor of Mainz, in August 1457. Mayer's vituperative resistance to papal taxation prompted this attack on the German character, whose worst excesses, according to Aeneas, were exposed by Tacitus and whose subsequent improvements owed a substantial debt to Christianity:

> Tacitus . . . writes even more ferocious things about Germany. Indeed, the life of your ancestors in that time was scarcely different from that of beasts. Indeed, most of them were shepherds, inhabitants of forests and groves . . . in this manner of living, there was no knowledge of letters, no discipline of laws, no study of the fine arts. Even the religion was stupid and barbarous, fosterer of idols and, in fact, tottering with illusions of demons – so that it ought not to be doubted that human enemies were often sacrificed among them (Germania IX) to obtain favorable omens. Robberies were praised. Everything was foul; everything was abominable, harsh, barbarous, and to use the proper words, savage and brutal.[24]

A transcript of this letter to Mayer was published in Leipzig in 1496 as Aeneas's *De ritu, situ, moribus et condicione Germaniae descriptio*. It is no small irony that so obviously Italocentric a work should become the source book for numerous sixteenth-century cosmographers of Germany.[25] The second part of Aeneas's three-part moral history, however, was a glowing review of modern Germany, albeit a Germany that owed its prosperity to the favour of the Church. Chorography and geography became something like a national pastime among sixteenth-century German humanists whose cosmographies were among the most universal and encyclopedic.[26] Humanists in Germany drew on Aeneas, ergo Tacitus, for method, as well as form and content.[27] Although Aeneas's negative

characterizations painted an unflattering portrait of the *ur*-Germans, what the cosmographers who paraphrased his *Germaniae descriptio* relied on most was the methodology he introduced.[28]

Aeneas's moral history linked the traditional coupling of history and geography to the origins and customs of peoples. He dispensed with mythological progenitors like Jove and Saturn, as well as legendary ones such as Romulus or Alexander the Great, and rewrote the prehistory of the Germans on the authority of Caesar and Tacitus.[29] Implementing an historical method inherited from Strabo, Aeneas addressed matters such as types of government, laws and the behaviour of individuals and related them to behaviour exhibited by groups. By inspecting these areas, he linked the old world to the present time and thus developed the first local picture of Germany as a unified concept. Until that time, national identity within Germany had been defined by either pan-Christian commonality that linked countrymen as subjects of a Holy Roman Empire or a tight local 'Heimatsinn' which bound loyalties to a particular city.[30] With what began as a thinly veiled insult, Aeneas, in the specificity of his descriptions, unwittingly created the first instance of definitive German national consciousness on record.

By the time the *editio princeps* of Tacitus's *Germania* actually emerged from Vindelinus de Spira's Venetian press in 1470, with a Nuremberg edition following from Frederick Creussner's press in 1473, the *Germania* had already been widely cited in Germany to substantiate claims that vices were imported there from Italy.[31] Anti-papist humanist discourse proved a fertile venue for the reception of Tacitus. Humanists deployed Tacitus to defend claims that Germany's corruption postdated Roman (read papal) contact and the *Germania* became grist for the rhetorical mill of German nation building.

The charges levelled by Conrad Celtis, Germany's first national poet laureate, against Rome were numerous but nicely distilled in an epigram of 1485, written from the point of view of the corpse of a Roman girl recently discovered on the Via Appia:

> A thousand years I have lain immured beneath this stone; now,/released from the grave I will give the Romans this message:/I see no citizens now as the Romans were, outstanding in justice/ and sense of duty, but sad at heart I look upon ruins only, now but a memorial to the men of the past. And if after another hundred/years I see you again, next to nothing I think will be left of the glory/that was Rome.[32]

Celtis was among the first to praise and widely publicize the new account of the Germans, initially as a sideline to his reproach of Rome. Appointed to the faculty of rhetoric at the University of Ingolstadt in 1492, Celtis delivered his renowned *Oratorio* which exhorted German scholars to revive classical rhetoric, philosophy, historical and geographical studies in order to reclaim their reputation for posterity.[33] The Germans' reputation had suffered for many centuries at the hands of Italians who not only dismissed them as barbarians, but also harboured the precise textual sources that would have presented a defence to this claim.[34]

The *Germania* also came to the aid of rhetorical nation building; humanists tried to buttress a crumbling Germany by evoking the mettle of the ancient Germans. Celtis plundered Tacitus to support then-archduke Maximilian's

campaign to quell peoples whose shaky German kinship was compromising their allegiance to the empire. He rallied around the idea of an incipient nation of wild men: 'Assume, O men of Germany, that ancient spirit of yours, with which you so often confounded and terrified the Romans, and turn your eyes to the frontiers of Germany, collect together her torn and broken territories.'[35] Celtis attributed the foreign land grabs to fraying allegiances at the borders and characterized the dissolution as a threat to national security:

> Let us be ashamed to have placed upon our nation the yoke of slavery, and to be paying tributes and taxes to foreign and barbarian kings. O free and powerful people, O noble and valiant race, plainly worthy of the Roman Empire, our famous harbor is held by the Pole and the gateway of our ocean by the Dane! In the east also powerful peoples live in slavery, the Bohemians, the Moravians, the Slovaks and the Silesians, who all live as it were separated from the body of our Germany.[36]

After Maximilian became emperor in 1493, Celtis continued patriotically to shape this 'body of our Germany', in his cosmographic work. Humanist cosmography, though encyclopedic in scope and scientific in nature, had rhetorical foundations.[37] Celtis planned an ambitious work that he intended to dedicate to Maximilian: *Germania illustrata*, a four-volume cosmography of Germany incorporating chronological and topographic description. Celtis would divide Germany into four quadrants and then describe the customs, languages, religion and disposition of the German tribes. The *Germania illustrata* was to include descriptions of the cities and reports of Maximilian's wars, solicited from civic leaders and other humanists throughout the land.

Still waiting at the close of the century for recensions of primary sources and straggling submissions of regional descriptions, Celtis shelved the project.[38] Instead, Celtis produced in 1500 the *Germania generalis*, a work that abridges his intention for the *Illustrata*:, a verse description of the creation of the world and the place of a fertile and harmonious Germany in it.[39] As research for these projects, Celtis published two editions of Tacitus and other important recently rediscovered German works, like those of the tenth-century nun Hrosvitha von Gandersheim, repairing the gap left by their absence in the curriculum of *Germanic* literature.[40] These works, he hoped, would tacitly make the case for German cultural autonomy.

Hoping to inaugurate a new golden age, Celtis endeavoured to revive latent Tacitean qualities in contemporary Germans, seeking to temper these traits with philosophy and the study of classical literature.[41] In lectures he delivered at the University of Vienna in 1501, he championed the *ur*-German as a field- and wood-dweller, dressed only in animal skins, unspoiled by civilization and in search of simple joys. Celtis celebrated him for his warrior-like strength, chivalry, hospitality and robust nature. In addition to content provided by Tacitus, Celtis also utilized the *Germania* as a textual model for relaying information about geographic detail, customs, language, conduct and even the contours of the German body. Of the Greeks' and Romans' remarkable accuracy in interpreting the Germans, Celtis says 'and though it seems rough and wild, I imagine, in comparison with their own climate, they have expressed our customs, our emotional makeup, and our spirits as graphically as a painter might delineate our

bodies,' suggestively alluding to the unique potential of visual testimony to convey racial difference.[42]

Celtis borrowed the techniques of geographic and ethnographic investigation from Tacitus and made consideration of these a methodological mainstay of his other works. Celtis's tendency to elide closely observed topography with ethnography produced some interesting, if unorthodox, results. His variation on Ovid's *Amores* (1502) was a bit of geographic erotica that paid tribute to his four lovers, each a *saftig* lady who embodied one of the four German regions.[43] He inherited from Ptolemy a belief that climatic influences produced ethnic differences and was therefore especially interested in ethnographies of the various climatic zones.[44] The twin pursuits of shoring up topography and ethnography along national boundaries produced new criteria for determining German-ness. It turned the search for ancestors into a search for a German body located in a German landscape.

### INDIGENOUS ANCESTRY: NATIONALIZING HERCULES

Celtis had already tapped Tacitus as the source of German autochthony, and with it, argued for the pure-bloodedness of the German body.[45] Tacitus not only helped to outline that body, but also provided a specific one: Hercules, an ancestor whose historical traces were avidly pursued by Renaissance historians. Humanists not only scanned texts for citations of Hercules as an avatar of the Germans, but also sought archeological evidence of his cult in field and forest.[46] In his *Odes*, Celtis told where old cultic sites, now Christianized by the worship of new saints, were located: a shrine to 'Hercules Germanicus' had been traced to Herglesholz, a place near Regensburg on the Danube, not far from the 'old oak trees (Obern und Nidern Altaich) ... where our forefathers worshipped'.[47] In Celtis's genealogy, Druids formed the source from which the culture of Greece and Asia issued, and Germans were merely Druids driven out of Gaul in the reign of Tiberius. Tacitus identified the rousing battle cry of the ancient Germans as an result of Hercules's presence there.[48] Celtis entreated contemporary Germans to 'return to the ferocity of their predecessors who had caused the world to tremble'.[49]

The folklorist Heinrich Bebel (1472−1518) likewise championed the autochthonic origins of the Germans in his essay 'Quod Germani sunt indigenae' and substantiated Hercules's nationality with an archeological find.[50] Bebel identified a figure excavated on the island Reichenau, the *Idolum Alemannum aureum*, as an idol of Hercules. With this material evidence in hand, he endorsed the accuracy of the accounts of Tacitus and Berosus that argued for the worship of Hercules in Germany.[51] Under Hercules, the fierce Suebi broadened their territories, subduing notably Prussia, Britain and Spain.[52] Here, the German sources intersected with classical ones that supported a Spanish sojourn for Hercules.[53] In the course of his labours, Hercules wandered prodigiously, and his commentators were as likely to find him at home, with his Suebi, as abroad.[54]

With Hercules's German itinerary secured, Emperor Maximilian, the beneficiary of this humanist research, could easily claim him as an ancestor. Capitalizing on the cachet of the legendary Hercules as the original wild man, Maximilian fashioned a tendentious and fairytale pedigree for himself in a woodcut *c.* 1496, *Maximilian as Hercules Germanicus* (plate 3), probably produced under the guidance of Conrad Celtis, who had directed the Herculean rhetoric of

3 Anon., *Maximilian as Hercules Germanicus, c.* 1496. Woodcut, 26.5 × 16.5 cm. Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, inv. 1948/224.

Maximilian since 1492.[55] In this emblematic image Maximilian announces his own role as vanquisher by adopting the attributes of Hercules's labours and the symbols of his victories. Clad in the lion's pelt, Hercules wears the popular crown, and carries a club in one hand, a bow in the other. Modelling the wild man's role in heraldry, Maximilian both claims his legendary Herculean ancestry by propping up a shield emblazoned with the hydra of Lerna in the upper part of the illustration, and preserves his Hapsburg lineage with the imperial eagle in the

shield below. This particular piece of propaganda might have been deployed in support of his campaign against the French king Charles VIII, whose troops had entered Rome and Naples in 1494. Maximilian spearheaded this effort in response to Pope Alexander VI's call for help to drive the French out of Italy; this woodcut promotes Maximilian as *Hercules Germanicus*, distinct from *Hercules Gallicus*.[56]

Maximilian tended aggressively to his Herculean pedigree, commissioning numerous poets laureate – Heinrich Bebel, Ulrich von Hutten, in addition to Conrad Celtis – to cement and allegorize the bonds of their kinship.[57] A drama of 1497 by court historian Joseph Grünpeck portrayed Maximilian in the role of Hercules at the crossroads.[58] In a dedicatory inscription to Maximilian in a tract on Cicero, Celtis calls the emperor '*alter Hercules*', a kinship Celtis revived in his panegyric drama of 1501, *Ludus Diane*.[59] With additional support provided by Tacitus, Maximilian elevated this demigod and virile barbarian to an acceptable template for any respectable German emperor.[60]

Conrad Celtis and Ulrich von Hutten broke the ground for this type of allusion; with textual justification, they turned the legendary Hercules into the historical *Hercules Germanicus*. This German Hercules was cloaked in a mythological mantle voluminous enough also to enclose the historical person of the other local hero, Arminius, or *Hermann*, the Cheruscan chieftain who decimated the Roman legions in the *Varusschlacht*.[61] Arminius was essentially a Hercules without the allegorical trappings.

Arminius became the subject of a famous dialogue by Ulrich von Hutten, a minor knight and once-itinerant poet newly inducted into humanist ranks.[62] Von Hutten was crowned with the poet's laurel in 1517 for Germanic encomium in general, but won his reputation and the attention of the Emperor from a series of earlier poems in which he alternately entreated Maximilian to true greatness and defended him when he fell short of it, cribbing mainly from Tacitus for his rhetoric. In *Ad Caesarem Maximilianum... epigrammata* of 1513, a collection of epigrams dedicated to the Emperor, von Hutten encouraged him to develop his own native strength in his skirmishes with foreigners, even cautioning him not to rest too heavily on the fame of the legendary heroes of German antiquity, as was his wont.[63] It is likely that von Hutten had to retract these words a few years later, having found inspiration in one such hero for the work that made his career, the *Arminius* dialogue, published shortly after Maximilian's death in 1519, and probably written to rally support for Charles V. In this dialogue, modelled on Lucian's *Dialogi mortuorum*, Arminius takes part in a *Totengespräch* with Minos, to whom he introduces Tacitus and praises him as an esteemed witness.[64] Von Hutten had fashioned Arminius from the same cloth as Hercules, and associated him retrospectively with Charles V, in support of whose campaign the dialogue was written.[65]

The two heroes Arminius and Hercules fuse in the persona of *Hercules Germanicus*.[66] In 1519, the same year that von Hutten's *Arminius* was written, the Alsatian humanist Hieronymus Gebwiler, in the patriotic work *Libertas Germaniae*, helped to secure Hercules's German provenance by making him a direct descendant of Tuisco, the first king of the Teutons, races descended from a union of Trojan heroes and Teutonic women.[67] Hercules's feats in the pagan world did not preclude him from biblical lineages like those created by pseudo-Berosus.[68] Berosus, a Chaldean priest who wrote in Greek, was brought to light in the

Renaissance by the scholar and forger Annius of Viterbo in his *Commentaries on Various Authors Discussing Antiquities* (1498). Annius uses Berosus's text to displace the primacy of Greek sources in the transmission of culture in favour of those from the biblical Orient, Egypt and Near East. Conflating Berosus with Tacitus, Annius's text featured Hercules Germanicus as the primogenitor of the Bavarians who himself descended from Tuiscon (Teutsch), a son born to Noah after the Flood.[69] The name of this ancestor, 'Teutsch', provided the etymological basis for *Deutsch*, or German. Etymological cognates suggested by *Teutsch* and *Tuisco* gave rise to a cottage industry of philological speculation among humanists during this period and formed the bridge between both biblical and mythological foundations and their modern incarnations.[70]

## NATIONALIZING CHARLEMAGNE

On the frontispiece of the 1521 edition of Einhard's *Vita et Gesta Karoli Magni* with which I began, next to a very tailored Charles v, Charlemagne cuts a powerful yet primitive silhouette familiar from contemporary depictions of barbarous ancestors (plate 1). Humanists at the helm of Renaissance myth-making produced colourful kinship charts, tangling these legendary and historical lineages with scriptural ones, and nationalizing mythological ancestors. Their fictive etymologies emphasized the autochthonous origins of historical persons of native or indigenous genius around whom cults of hero worship developed.[71] Charlemagne, a more recent incarnation of German heroics, was styled on the ancient Hermann. In this depiction, the newly elected Holy Roman Emperor Charles v appears in contemporary dress, compared and contrasted to his more primitively attired *ur*-German ancestor. Charles v makes the same genealogical demands on Charlemagne that Maximilian made on Hercules. Here, Charles v traces his own lineage back to that of his namesake Charlemagne, alluding to the catholic grip he exercised on Christendom, an expanse unparalleled and power dormant since his reign.[72] Charles v sought legitimation for his own imperial and Christianizing ambitions in his allusions to Charlemagne – propaganda to which this printing of Charlemagne's medieval biography in 1521 undoubtedly contributed.[73]

The *Vita* of Charlemagne published by Soter in 1521 was the *editio princeps* of a biography by Charlemagne's courtier Einhard written shortly after the death of the emperor in 814.[74] The *Vita* was roughly modelled after Suetonius's *Lives of the Caesars*, on which it relies for structure and language. In his introduction, Einhard offers his period account of Charlemagne as a corrective to the meditations on past glories presented by those 'so seduced by their love of the distant past' that they neglect to tell of the present. This warm portrait of Charlemagne praises him as modest in nature as he was moderate in drink, generous in spirit and just in war. Einhard insists that Charlemagne took the title of emperor and *augustus* only reluctantly, his investiture the result of sly papal plotting (chap. 28). He also dressed modestly, resisting Leo III's pleas that he wear a long tunic and assume the Greek mantle, the *chlamys*. With the exception of feast days, for which he donned the 'golden gem-encrusted crown' (chap. 23), Charlemagne's dress differed little from the attire customarily adopted by the Franks: a linen shirt and underwear, a silk-fringed tunic and stockings, with his lower legs wrapped in cloth coverings.

This striking physical description of Charlemagne is reproduced in the frontispiece of the Cologne *Vita*, an image that stands out among other contemporary

depictions of Charlemagne for its primitivism. In addition to his dress, the *Vita* also speaks to his physiognomy and his great stature, textual prescriptions also followed by the artist here. The outsized Charlemagne of the frontispiece shares the crowded stage with Charles V, whose form is slight by comparison. This juxtaposition provides visual cues for scale: Einhard tells us that Charlemagne was 'tall (approximately 1.83 m), but not disproportionately so, his height being seven times the length of his own foot. The crown of his head was round, his eyes were noticeably large and full of life, his nose was longer than average, his hair was grey and handsome, and his face was attractive and cheerful. Hence, his physical presence was (always) commanding and dignified, whether he was sitting or standing.' (chap. 22) Nothing in the image contradicts these prescriptions, but what motivated the primitive appearance brought by the illustrator to this Charlemagne?

Charlemagne's birthplace, directly in the middle of the disputed territory of Alsace, complicated an impeccable pedigree. Throughout the *Vita*, Charlemagne is referred to as a Frank of the Eastern Frankish kingdom which encompassed a sizeable portion of Germany at the time. His native tongue was German and similar to dialects spoken by other tribes he either abutted or conquered, like the Saxons, Bavarians, and Alemannians. Charlemagne did his part to cultivate German patriotism in deeds explicitly set forth by the text: he ordered the first collection and record of unwritten laws of people under his control, and transcribed old Germanic poems celebrating deeds of war and ancient kings. Although he operated on a pan-European scale militarily, his cultural loyalties were fiercely provincial and German; he began a grammar of his native tongue and renamed the months in order to purge Latin from the mix (chap. 29).

Ties to Charlemagne bound the Germans in not only an auspicious legendary kinship, but also served to untangle disputed historical ones. Above and beyond merely generic imperial propaganda, ties to Charlemagne could reinforce rights of succession and were brandished in territorial disputes. Insistent claims to the turf that produced Charlemagne were staked by both the sixteenth-century French and Germans. To counter bids of a French heritage for Charlemagne, Germans revived the lineage Aeneas Silvius had already established for Charlemagne in the fifteenth century. Aeneas parsed medieval etymologies that linked the Germans to the Gauls, putting to rest Strabo's translation of *germani* as brothers.[75] Instead, Aeneas maintained, *Germani* came from *germinare* (to grow or sprout), which referred to the great growth of the Germans.[76]

The Frankish or Saxon origin of the Holy Roman imperium was hotly debated among humanists as patriotism and succession came to rely on a history with clear geographic boundaries. The particulars of Charlemagne's genealogy grew increasingly significant in disputes over land claims. After Maximilian's failure in the Swiss wars and losses against France in Strasbourg, the Alsatian humanist Jakob Wimpfeling's *Germania* (Strasbourg: Johann Prüss, 1501) claimed Alsace for Germany by establishing the German descent of emperors since Charlemagne.[77] Wimpfeling argued that France could exercise no claim over Alsace, as it had been inhabited by Germans since Augustus, and supported this territorial conviction by refusing ever to set foot in Italy or France proper.[78]

This sparked and sustained a lively debate among the Alsatian humanists to size up the nationality of the region. Wimpfeling asserted that all emperors from Caesar to the present Maximilian 'kein Franzoß ne dem Römischen Rich vorge-

wesen sey.'[79] In fact, all Roman emperors, with the exception of Charlemagne, who was a German, hailed from either Italy, Thrace, Arabia, Hungary, or Windisch territories, but never Gaul.[80] Wimpfeling also relied on medieval sources which argued for Charlemagne's German nationality.[81] Bebel seconded this by christening Charlemagne a German Frank. [82] The German side of the territorial debate disputed that Gallic peoples had ever inhabited the region of Alsace. Wimpfeling attributed the fraternity he believed to be implied by *germani* to the Romans' first encounter with the Germans, whom they saw as kin: 'the Rhenish people with wild disposition, upright bodies, of pleasing complexions, form and habits which compared favourably to those who lived in our land . . . so named them Germans, that is, our brothers.'[83]

Wimpfeling's opposition came in the form of Alsatian satirist Thomas Murner's defence of Charlemagne's French origins. Murner's *Nova Germania* gave Charlemagne's birthplace as France and maintained that claims for his German heritage were anachronistic, as the territory only later became German.[84] Murner could not deny that Charlemagne wrote texts in German, nor that he gave his children German names, but soberly insisted that he was equally proficient in French, and that language preference alone was no measure of nationality. Wimpfeling countered with the claim that Charlemagne, had he been French, would never have let his wealth stray over the Rhine to finance churches, cloisters, fortresses and cities, and ultimately establish his final resting place in Aachen. Murner, less soberly here, finds derisible the notion that the choice of a final resting place could secure anything like citizenship: it was plain enough to Charlemagne that heaven and hell were both equidistant from Germany *and* France.[85] Two decades later, this debate was revived by Hieronymus Gebweiler's *Libertas Germania* (1519), which claimed the imperium for Charlemagne, the most prominent German historical hero to whom the empire had passed directly from Roman hands. This note was picked up by Gebweiler's student Beatus Rhenanus in a critical commentary on Tacitus's *Germania*.[86] Rhenanus's later *Rerum Germanicorum libri tres* (1531) also argued for the Frank's Germanic origins.[87]

Thus, the Einhard illustrator's anachronistic juxtaposition of Charlemagne with Charles V can be explained by an inclusive German nationalistic kinship. The frontispiece forges a kinship between two emperors who bookend the Germans' stewardship of the Holy Roman Empire. Habsburg propaganda, from the time of Charles V's electoral bid in 1519 to his coronation in Aachen in 1520, rested on his endorsement as a German prince, a fact equally frustrated by his French mother tongue and his Spanish residency. Lobbying for his candidacy against the French contender, Francis I, in 1519, Charles held himself out as a 'geporner und erzogner Teutscher der auch teutscher sprach zu reden und zeschreiben beticht und geübt', in the hopes that his victory would ensure the continuity of a *German* empire.[88] Among the electors, Charles V was hailed as a protector of German freedom against the prospect of French servitude offered by Francis I.[89] Charles V's propagandistic bid for the *imperium* also depended on the continuity of an office that had remained in German hands since Charlemagne. At his coronation in Aachen in 1519 Charles was hailed as the direct successor of Charlemagne and, by 1521, Charles's own imperial ambitions were reason enough to invoke the original founder of the western empire in the shape of this primitively attired *ur*-German ancestor.

The portraits that appear in the Cologne edition of the *Vita et Gesta Karoli Magni* thus trace Charles v's ancestry back to the beginnings of a German *imperium*. The mantle of *imperator* had been inherited by Charlemagne from Augustus, but from a line of descent that had since, visually at least, bifurcated from the line of Roman *kaisers*. Charlemagne, in his casual coverings, adopts neither the pallium of Caesar nor the cuirass of Augustus; he appears in the unmistakable heft and garb of the *ur*-German, in the Tacitean idiom.

As a by-product of their own propaganda, both Maximilian and Charles v nationalized the wild man. Both the depiction of *Maximilian as Hercules Germanicus*, as well as Charles v and Charlemagne in the *Vita* frontispiece, functioned as 'double portraits' – imperial analogies in which the modern descendant staked the validity of his office on a legitimate claim to kinship. Simultaneously, these two images assert their subjects' German identity. Hercules recalled the strength of the ancient German, while Charlemagne marked his genius and sovereignty. Maximilian and Charles v each stand in the shadow of legendary figures whose German ancestry was crucial. In both cases, the myth of the *imperium* was brought, not merely down to earth, but directly to Germany. This Germanic identity prided itself on containing the barbarism and the renunciative delights of the *ur*-Germans within its wild past. At the same time a contrast and a comparison, the Cologne portraits show the kinship of two Germans separated by historical distance. Charlemagne wears the structural undergarments that underpin the civility of Charles v's reign. The wildness of the noble *ur*-German, lurking just beneath the gossamer, could be contained by the improvements offered by Maximilian's and Charles' courts.

The illustrator of the Charlemagne image recreated the idea of Germany's primitive past by recalling the heroic qualities of the original Germans. Charlemagne has literally undergone the transformation from wild man to the original *ur*-German. The hairy pelt of the wild man has disappeared; what is left is the sheer grandeur, robust strength and rustic naturalism of Tacitus's *ur*-German. Depictions of metamorphosed *ur*-German wild folk abound in works of the Danube school; others reflect the influence of Italian nudes that made it to Germany via the prints of Pollaiuolo, such as a woodcut of 1522 cut by Hans Lützelburger, which relocates Pollaiuolo's *Battle of the Naked Men* to the German *Urwald*. [90] Hans Holbein's emblem of the honorary society 'Zur Hären' (plate 4) features such a Herculean wild man, whose scant layer of fur just barely cloaks an articulated classical anatomy.[91]

The vanquishing Hercules, whose nature these images recall, was by this time no longer a mythic figment or a savage character. Erasmus's Latin translation of Lucian's *Heracles* (1506) had already transformed Hercules into a model of eloquence and heroism, but Tacitus naturalized him into a German citizen.[92] Hercules, nationalized by humanists in texts, was visually nationalized in the iconography of a contemporary wild man. The connection of Charles v to Charlemagne was likewise established through this ennobled wild man. Charlemagne, in the costume of a native Frank, helps to locate Charles v in a lineage of Holy Roman Emperors whose ancestry was German. Syllogistically, the collapse of the contemporary image of Maximilian on to the iconography of the *ur*-German also justified the use of the *ur*-German to represent the historical person of Charlemagne.

In the *Vita* frontispiece, Charlemagne represents not a Roman, but a *German* emperor, as an embodiment of an inversion of civilized effects. The same principle

4 Hans Holbein, design for a glass painting of the emblem of the honorary society 'Zur Hären', *c.* 1528. Pen and black ink with grey, brown and blue wash, 32.1 × 21.5 cm. London: British Museum.

of inversion already guided the formal representation of the German wild man, a figure whose alterity in the medieval period was marked by cultural, and later – after Tacitus's revival – by temporal difference. German humanists championing Tacitus's *ur*-German borrowed the image of the wild man, originally a cultural analogue of contemporary civilized society, to represent a German of the historical past. This programme justified the illustrator's use of the wild man as an iconographic symbol to bridge the temporal distance between sixteenth-century Germans and their oldest, bravest ancestors. The familiar wild man permitted the collapse of temporal distance to forge a universal German character.

## Notes

1  See, for example, Albrecht Dürer's panel painting of Charlemagne *c.* 1510 now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg; see fig. 1 in Larry Silver, 'Prints for a Prince: Maximilian, Nuremberg, and the Woodcut', in Jeffrey Chipps-Smith, ed., *New Perspectives on the Art of Renaissance Nuremberg*, Austin, Texas, 1985, 6. This depiction is also wholly at odds with the description of the primogenitor of the Germans articulated by the celebrated nineteenth-century historian of Germany Leopold von Ranke: 'the purple of a Caesar passed to the Teutonic races in the person of Charlemagne.' In Leopold von Ranke, trans. G. R. Dennis, *History of the Latin and Teutonic Nations*, London, 1909, 1.

2  Such as the one Holbein made for the emblem of the honorary society 'Zur Hären'. See John Rowlands, *Drawings by German artists and artists from German-speaking regions of Europe in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, London, 1993, 316. On the wild man tradition, see Timothy Husband, *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism*, New York, 1980, and Roger Bartra, *Wild Men in the Looking Glass: The Mythic Origins of European Otherness*, trans. Carl T. Berrisford, Ann Arbor, 1994.

3  Larry Silver, 'Forest Primeval: Albrecht Altdorfer and the German Wilderness Landscape', in *Simiolus*, 13:1, 1983, 31. See also Hans Schäufelein's panel from 1515–20, which localizes Onuphrius in Bavaria.

4  See Larry Silver, 'Forest Primeval', 31. This concern is likewise articulated by Hans Sach's *Klag der Wilden Holtzleut*, a 1545 broadsheet illustrated by Hans Schäufelein in which wild men complain about the perfidy of the civilized world. Silver notes that the makeover of the wild man from a violent savage to a noble one coincides with the re-surfacing of Tacitus.

5  See Christopher S. Wood, *Albrecht Altdorfer and the Origins of Landscape*, Chicago, 1993, esp. 128–60.

6  The Rathaus relief remained on the east face of the building until the Gothic structure was destroyed in 1614. From 1615 until 1890, it adorned the façade of the old Stadtbibliothek in the Anna-Hof, after which it was placed on the rear of the new Rathaus.

7  Representations of these pine cones proliferated in Roman territories: surviving examples crowd the Roman Museum in Augsburg and a colossal brass example is still mounted in the Belvedere Cortile in the Vatican. The pine cone was also a symbol of the classical god Attis, a Phrygian shepherd worshipped in a cult shared with the vegetation goddess Cybele (Magna Mater). See *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopedia of the Ancient World*, eds Hubert Cancik et al., Boston, 2002, 327ff. Attis is sometimes depicted with vegetal attributes, such as a wheat shaft, pine cone and pomegranate. See *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. 3 Munich and Zurich, 1986, 28ff. The misidentification of the woman's head on the capital on which it is now mounted as the pre-Roman goddess Cisa, protectress of Augsburg, caused the emblem to be read as a 'berry' (Beere = Per, Pyr), a symbol of growth and fertility. See Wolfgang Kuhoff, 'Markus Welser als Erforscher des römischen Augsburg' in *Die Welser: Neue Forschung zur Geschichte und Kultur des oberdeutschen Handelshauses*, eds Mark Häberlein and J. Burkhardt, Berlin, 2002, 600. Antiquarians like Markus Welser rejected the 'berry' reading in favour of a pine cone and with it, Cisa. Markus Welser endorsed instead a local provenance for the town civilized by the Romans, for whom, he supposed, it represented the profusion of conifers in Raetia. An interpretation offered by humanists saw the ubiquitous Pyr as the Roman symbol for the city of Augsburg, a notion which enjoyed popularity until recent times. See Kuhoff, 'Markus Welser', 602 and *Augsburger Stadtlexicon*, eds Günther Grünsteudel, et al., Augsburg, 1998, 729.

8  'Glory be to you lord in the imperial city Augusta Retia.'

9  The *Pyr* was the copious artefact left by the Romans after their settlement of Augsburg *c.* 15 BCE, following the conquests of Drusus and Tiberius. The Roman settlement was situated fortuitously between the Lech and Perlach rivers, a safe distance from the *limes* that marked the northern border of the empire. In this auspicious setting, Augsburg became the capital of the province Raetia, an area that included the Tyrol, as well as parts of Switzerland and Bavaria. The name the conquering Romans gave to the site, *Augusta Vindelicum*, indicated the incorporation of the native tribe, the Vindeliker, into a municipality carrying and commemorating the emperor Augustus's title. See Friedrich Blendinger et al., *Augsburg: Geschichte in Bilddokumenten*, Munich, 1976, 25.

10 Hektor Mülich, a chronicler of the 1480s, interrupts a work otherwise restricting its historical narration to the Middle Ages in order to highlight a foundational episode in Augsburg's Roman antiquity. Mülich states that Drusus, stepson of Augustus, gives the city its emblem, the *Per* or *Pir*, a symbol reproduced on Drusus's own funerary monument in Mainz. Mülich frames his historical narrative with a grant of genealogy: Drusus bestows the *Pyr* on Augsburg as a pagan christening of German Augsburg from the font of the Romans. Hektor Mülich, as quoted in Peter Johanek, 'Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsüberlieferung in Augsburg am Ausgang des Mittelalters', in Johannes Janota and Werner Williams-Krapp, *Literarisches Leben in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen, 1995, 164.

11 Between the years 1450 and 1456 the local government of the city of Augsburg prevailed in jurisdictional quarrels with the bishopric. The resolution substantially stripped the bishop of his legal advantage and influence in Augsburg proper and forced him to relocate his seat outside the city to Dillingen in 1486. Johanek, 'Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsüberlieferung', 163–6.

12 For the formation of the early modern state, see Eugene F. Rice and Anthony Grafton, *The Foundations of Early Modern Europe 1460–1559*, 2nd edn, New York, 1994, esp. 128–32.

13 See Husband, *Wild Man*, 51.

14 Paul Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluß des Humanismus*, 1968 (1910), 42.

15 Peter Egen, an Augsburg patrician, was indirectly responsible for the vernacular *Reimchronik*, for he had presented the author, 'der Küchlin', with the Book of Troy, one of its major sources. He also commissioned Jörg Ammann to fresco his house with a depiction of the 'Varusschlacht bei Augsburg'. See Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 42. See also Gunther Gottlieb et al., *Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg*, Stuttgart, 1985, 232. In addition to the Varusschlacht, Amman also included an image of the bare-breasted pre-Roman goddess Cisa. See also Johanek, 'Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsüberlieferung', 166–7.

16 See Frank Borchardt, *German Antiquity in Renaissance Myth*, Baltimore, 1971, 58.

17 Borchardt, *German Antiquity*, 59. 'Er schrei: ach Rom und Macedon, Varre gib wieder die legion!' This was amusing doggerel next to the official Latin version that appeared in countless other texts: 'Quintili Vare legiones redde!' Küchlin derives the etymologies of nearby rivers and cities from this battle: in commemoration of the victory, the Swabians named the city after Vindelica, a stream which served them well in the battle. Drusus rechristened the city Augsburg, after the emperor Augustus, and it remained a Roman city until the advent of Christianity in 241 CE.

18 Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 43. Certain Roman sources consulted by Meisterlein confirmed this, such as Horace's *Odes*, which mentions the Amazonian battle-axe wielded by the Vindelicier in the context of Drusus's victory siege, as well as Porphyrio's commentary. Meisterlin is printed in Augsburg by Ramminger in 1522. See also Hans Tiedemann, *Tacitus und das Nationalbewußtsein der deutschen Humanisten*, Berlin, 1913, 40.

19 Johanek, 'Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsüberlieferung', 168.

20 Walter Goffart, *Barbarians and Romans, AD 418–584: the Techniques of Accommodation*, Princeton, 1980, 13.

21 Historian Publius Cornelius Tacitus (b. 55 CE) had a public career under Vespasian, Titus and Domitian. This led to the praetorship (*c.* 88 CE) in Rome and later he held the post of consul with Pliny the Younger for the province of Africa. Tacitus may have held a legionary command in Germany from 89 to 93 CE, during an absence from Rome, but this is not certain.

22 This phrase was distilled from the text and later lexicalized. Walter Goffart, 'Two Notes on Germanic Antiquity today', in *Traditio*, 50, 1995, 16. See also Florike Egmond and Peter Mason, *Mammoth and the Mouse: Microhistory and Morphology*, Baltimore, 1997, 161, 167.

23 Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (1405–64), Pope Pius II from 1458.

24 Kenneth Schellhase, *Tacitus in Renaissance Political Thought*, Chicago, 1976, 33.

25 Gerald Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany: Its Topography and Topographers*, Madison, 1959, 12.

26 Moral geography, which formally linked geography to a moral history of peoples, was a Greek invention. Adopted by the Italians in the late medieval period, the moral geography was subsequently perfected by the Germans, who quickly made it their own. In the hands of the German humanists, cosmography became the site of a formal union of history and topography, informed by the descriptive urge to illustrate and the rhetorical mandate to instruct with an eye to reform. Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany*, 11. Christine Johnson suggests that the profusion of geographic and chorographic texts produced by sixteenth-century German humanists could have answered a need on the part of German scholars to specify and demarcate their Germany. These scholars were responding to Germany's relative neglect by ancient cosmographers. For an excellent discussion of sixteenth-century German cosmographers, see Christine R. Johnson, *The German Discovery of the World: Renaissance Encounters with the Strange and Marvelous*, Charlottesville, 2008, 47–87, 55.

27 Hartmann Schedel's *Nuremberg Chronicle* of 1493, the cosmography *par excellence* for the fifteenth century, lifted much of the geographic and ethnographic description of Asia and Europe from Aeneas's own cosmographic works. While Schedel ultimately derived the form of his chronicle most directly from Italians like Aeneas and Flavio Biondo, the link between the genres of history and geography became tighter in

Germany than anywhere else. Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 46.

28 For Aeneas, geography served the ends of precision in universal history and he used it to gain a more perfect understanding of contemporary events. His *Historia rerum ubique gestarum* was a historical–geographical work 'motivated by the desire to prepare the crusade against the Turks on a more empirical basis'. See Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance*, Cambridge, 2000, 91.

29 Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 34ff.

30 See *Albrecht Dürer 1471–1971*, exh. cat. Germanische Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, 21 May–1 August 1971, Munich, 1971, 161.

31 While the first German-language edition did not appear until 1526, there were numerous Latin editions between these. See Tacitus, *Germania*, trans. Herbert Benario, Warminster, 1999, 7; also Schellhase, *Tacitus*, 15; and Tiedemann, *Tacitus und das Nationalbewußtsein*, 82. Vindelinus de Spira printed the first Latin editions of all Tacitus's available works in Venice in 1470. Aeneas's essay *De ritu ...* appeared in 1473 (Nuremberg), Aeneas's *De Ritu. Situ. Moribus et Condicione theutonie descriptio* in 1496 Leipzig,. Celtis's recension *De origine et situ germanorum* in Vienna, *c.* 1498. The first German translation was printed by Johann Eberlin von Günzburg in 1526 (based on Rhenanus's commentary of 1519); the fifth complete edition by Andrea Alciato in Milan, 1517; Basel, 1519; Venice, 1535 and 1554. The sixth edition by Beatus Rhenanus comprised a revision beyond the philological ones made by Alciato, and produced the best *Germania* to date, according to Schellhase (Basel, 1533; Frankfurt, 1542).

32 For the text and translation, see Leonard Forster, *Selections from Conrad Celtis*, Cambridge, 1948, 35.

33 Forster, *Conrad Celtis*, 36–65.

34 For example, Tacitus's original text and the twenty lost books of Pliny's on Germany. See Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany*, 9.

35 Celtis's *Oratio*, in Forster, *Conrad Celtis*, 47. 'Induite veteres illos animos, viri Germani, quibus totiens Romanis terrori et formidini fuistis, et ad angulos Germaniae oculos convertite limitesque eius laceros et distractos colligite!' Here Celtis recalls Tacitus's report of the Harii, a Suebic tribe, who 'produced terror by mere appearance, terrifying and shadowy, of a ghostly army' (*Germania*, chap. 43), calling them strange and diabolical. All quotes from Tacitus come from Benario, 1999.

36 Forster, *Conrad Celtis*, 47. 'Pudeat, pudeat, nationi nostrae iugum et servitutem imposuisse externisque et barbaris regibus tributa et vectigalia pendere. O liberum et robustum populum, o nobilem et fortem gentem et plane dignam Romano imperio, cuius inclitum maris portum et claustra Oceani nostri Sarmata et Dacus possident! Ab oriente autem valentissimae gentes serviunt, Marcomanni, Quadi, Bastarnae et Peucini et quasi a corpore Germaniae nostrae separatae vivunt.'

37 Wolfgang Neuber, *Fremde Welt in europaeischen Horizont*, Berlin, 1991, 41.

38 In preparation, Celtis solicited submissions from many other civic leaders and humanists on the subject of regional descriptions which were slow to arrive. Celtis impatiently made several hopeful advance dedications of the work to Maximilian before re-conceiving the project. For *Germania illustrata*, see Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 155–67; also Borchardt, *German Antiquity*, 106–109; Schellhase, *Tacitus*, 35–40; Lewis William Spitz, *Conrad Celtis, the German Archhumanist*, Cambridge, 1957, chap. 10.

39 Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany*, 24. *Germania illustrata* was to be based on Flavio Biondo's *Italia illustrata*. Celtis's *Norimberga* of 1495 and *Amores* of 1502 served as preludes to *Germania illustrata*.

40 Spitz, *Conrad Celtis*, 96, also 104. With his discovery and publishing of lost works by Hrosvitha von Gandersheim, whose six dramas put an original and spiritual twist on the comedies of Terence, Celtis argued that German culture persisted throughout the medieval period. See also *Albrecht Dürer 1471–1971*, exh. cat., 1971, 163.

41 See Larry Silver, 'German Patriotism in the Age of Dürer', in D. Eichenberger and C. Zika, eds, *Dürer and his Culture*, New York, 1998, 41 ff. The tension between Celtis's advocacy of Latin learning over the barbarian tongue of vernacular culture and his simultaneous embrace of German patriotism is explored by David Price, 'Desiring the Barbarian: Latin, German and Women in the Poetry of Conrad Celtis', in *German Quarterly*, 65:2, Spring 1992, 159–68.

42 'asperam et crudam prae illa, puto, siderum conversione perlustraverint moresque nostros, affectus et animos verbis tanquam picturis et lineamentis corporum expresserint', quoted in Forster, *Conrad Celtis*, 45.

44 Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany*, 23. These four lovers were Hasilina Sarmatica, Elsula Norica, Ursula Gallica and Barbara Codonea.

44 Spitz, *Conrad Celtis*, 103.

45 Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany*, 100. Celtis elaborates on Tacitus by knitting the German's purebrededness right back into legendary antiquity in which the Germans were products of the creation by the Demogorgon.

46 For the broadside that material evidence began to present to medieval chronicles and lore, including Maximilian's search for the bones of Siegfried, see Christopher S. Wood, 'Maximilian as Archeologist', in *Renaissance Quarterly*, 58:4, Winter 2005, esp. 1130.

47 Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 162.

48 This battle cry recalled the memory of Hercules's sojourn in their land: 'when ready to go into battle, they sing of [Hercules] as the bravest of all brave men. They also have songs of this kind, (they call it *barritus*, or war cry), by the recitation of which they rouse their courage.' (*Germania*, chap. 3). According to Tacitus, the Germans

amplified an already hair-raising call to battle by drawing their shields close to their mouths to produce a deeper swell and more menacing echo. Tiedemann, *Tacitus und das Nationalbewußtsein*, 94. Johannes Aventinus, following Berosus, claims Hercules was the son of Tuisco, nephew of Noah. The textual conflation of their deeds explains the paradox of the double German and Greek Hercules.

49  Borchardt, *German Antiquity*, 107.

50  Tiedemann, *Tacitus und das Nationalbewußtsein*, 40–1. Bebel's case comes per Annius of Viterbo, according to whose *Commentaries on Various Authors Discussing Antiquities* (Rome, 1498), a son of Noah was the direct primogenitor of the Germans and Sarmatians.

51  Borchardt, *German Antiquity*, 111.

52  Borchardt, *German Antiquity*, 113. Borchardt claims that Bebel's case for Spain probably refers to the 'still inadequately explained' Suevic kingdom of north-west Iberia in the fifth and sixth centuries CE. Perhaps it is also to this that Peutinger refers when he mentions historical aggression between the Swabians and Portuguese: 'daß es doch andere Zeiten gewesen seien, da die Sueven noch die Lusitanier mit dem Waffen überwanden als jetzt, wo die durch inneren Zwist zerrissenen Nachkommen sie als Händler aufsuchten', as quoted in Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 124.

53  A description of 1507 of the West African coast includes mention of a spot where Hercules found the current around the cape to be so strong that he erected a pillar with a Greek inscription that read 'Hardly anyone who tries to round the cape ever returns.' See Friedrich Kunstmann, 'Valentin Ferdinand's Beschreibung der Westkueste Afrika's bis zum Senegal', in *Abhandlungen der Historischen Classe der Koeniglich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. 8, 1856, 253.

54  For Hercules and the Germans, see Kaufmann, *The Noble Savage*, 48–52.

55  This image was produced in Nuremberg in the late 1490s, probably under the direction of Johann Tolhopf and Conrad Celtis. See Franz Unterkircher, *Maximilian I, 1459–1519*, exh. cat. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, and Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1959, in an illustration that Hans von Kulmbach later recycles for the dedication page of Celtis's *Quattuor libri amorum* of 1502. See also W. L. Schreiber, *Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte des xv. Jahrhunderts*, Bd. IV, Leipzig, 1927, no. 1958m. The inscription reads 'Hercules Amphitrionis Iouisqu' Filius Victoriosissimus & Inuictissimus', etc. In the lower field, Maximilian rides with Burgundian accompaniment. To the right is a group of Boemi and Mediolanenses. On the fans in the procession, we can read: 'Nodo Imperii', Suicer, Cur.II, Huni, Stradioti, Raciani'. The caption consists of three lines, the first of which reads 'Maximilianus Friderici Tercii Imperatoris Filius … Hercules Germanicus

Mundi Monarcha Gloriosissimus.' See also Campbell Dodgson, *Woodcuts of the xv century in the Department of Prints and Drawings*, London, 1935, vol. II, 26. McDonald notes that the illustration is a pendant to a woodcut bearing the arms of Johannes Tolhopf, the rector of the University in Ingolstadt and an intimate of Celtis. The pendant carries the inscription 'Iani Tolhophi Germani Vatis Herculei.' See William C. McDonald, 'Maximilian I of Habsburg and the veneration of Hercules: on the revival of myth and the German Renaissance', in *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 6:1, 1976, 144. See Peter Luh, *Kaiser Maximilian gewidmet: die unvollendete Werkausgabe des Conrad Celtis und ihre Holzschnitte*, Frankfurt, 2001, 334ff. Luh dates it to 1496, based on Maximilian's campaign against Charles VIII.

56  Luh, *Kaiser Maximilian gewidmet*, 336. For Hercules Gallicus, especially in the context of sixteenth-century French court pageantry, see Michael Wintroub, 'Civilizing the Savage and Making a King: The Royal Entry Festival of Henri II (Rouen, 1550)', *Sixteenth-Century Journal*, 29:2, Summer 1998, 465–94.

57  McDonald, 'Maximilian I of Habsburg and the veneration of Hercules', 139–54. McDonald suggests that the enthusiasm for Hercules reached a high pitch in Maximilian's reign. This cult of Hercules was popularized by Maximilian's 'virtual mania for fanciful research on his pedigree and aggressively publicistic claims', see 145. McDonald suggests that at least part of the inspiration for Maximilian's active promotion of the *Germania* was to rally enthusiasm for his own identification with Hercules, a card Maximilian then used for his designs on dynastic supremacy.

58  See Erwin Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege und andere antike Bildstoffe in der neueren Kunst*, Berlin, 1997 (1930), 85, 185–86 and see fig. 113.

59  McDonald, 'Veneration of Hercules', 141.

60  Erwin Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*, Princeton, 1955, 190. For other allegorical models that Maximilian deployed propagandistically, see Larry Silver, 'Forest Primeval', 27.

61  To give the mounting patriotism a German face, the battle was renamed the *Hermannschlacht*. For an explanation of the transposition of the term, see Schellhase, *Tacitus*, 47. The major sources for the battle are Tacitus's *Annals* and a lost account by Pliny; see Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, New York, 1995, 87.

62  Familiar with Arminius via brief references penned by antique Roman historians, Ulrich von Hutten read the first substantial account of him in Beroaldus's *Annales*. See Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: the Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800*, Cambridge, Mass., 1991.

63  For Ulrich von Hutten, see Schellhase, *Tacitus*, 39–48; also Larry Silver, 'German Patriotism', 52–3.

64  Schellhase, *Tacitus*, 46.

65  Von Hutten's anti-Roman stance, as well as his lifelong polemics against the Italians and papal corruption, was also fuelled by his outrage over

Luther's excommunication. See Schellhase, *Tacitus*, 43–5.

66 Maximilian, by eliding his image with that of Hercules, asserted his strength generally in struggles for dynastic supremacy, and used the Hermann rhetoric specifically to pronounce his independence from papal Rome.

67 Borchardt, *German Antiquity*, 154–5.

68 According to Anthony Grafton, the pseudo-Berosus 'provided precisely the rich context for the biblical history of man that the Bible itself lacks.' See *Defenders of the Text*, 81, also 78–80 generally.

69 Borchardt, *German Antiquity*, 18, 89–90. In *Commentaria super opera diversorum auctorum de Antiquitatibus loquentium* (Rome, 1498). According to Tiedemann, Annius transforms Tacitus's Tuisto deus into Tuiscon gigas, a son of Noah born after the flood, a giant who also became King of the Sarmatians. See *Tacitus und das Nationalbewußtsein*, ix.

70 Annius's inventive ancient histories were intended to rival those told by Greece and Rome. Grafton, *Defenders of the Text*, 87.

71 For the cult of Charlemagne in Germany, see Robert Folz, *Le Souvenir et la Légende de Charlemagne dans l'Empire germanique médiéval*, Paris, 1950, 517ff.

72 As the grand chancellor Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara wrote to Charles V after his election in 1519, 'Sire: God has granted you a most wonderful grace and raised you above all the kings and all the princes of Christendom to a power hitherto enjoyed only by your ancestor Charlemagne. He has set you on the way towards a world monarchy, towards the gathering of all Christendom under a single shepherd,' in Karl Brandi, *Kaiser Karl v*, Munich, 1937, 96, as quoted in Eugene Rice Jr and Anthony Grafton, *The Foundations of Early Modern Europe, 1460–1559*, New York, 1994 (reprint), 126.

73 For Charles V's search for political continuity and imperial legitimation in his kinship with Charlemagne, see Franz Bosbach, 'Die politische Bedeutung Karls des Großen für Karl V', in *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 84:1, 2002, 113–33. Chancellor Gattinara revived the idea of apocalyptic imperialism, part of a larger propaganda campaign into which he urged Charles, as a means to legitimate his claim to the New World, in addition to shoring up his power in the face of mounting aggression from both the Reformation and Ottoman agitation. See J.M. Headley, 'Rhetoric and Reality: Messianic, Humanist, and Civilian Themes in the Imperial Ethos of Gattinara', in Marjorie Reeves, ed., *Prophetic Rome in the High Renaissance Period*, Oxford, 1992, esp. 248–55; and also J. M. Headley, 'Germany, the Empire and Monarchia in the Thought and Policy of Gattinara', in Heinrich Lutz, ed., *Das römisch-deutsche Reich im politischen System Karls v*, Munich, 1982, 15–33.

74 For a general discussion of Einhard, see *Charlemagne's Courtier, Readings in Medieval Civilizations and Cultures*: III, ed. and trans. Paul Edward Dutton, Peterborough, Ontario, 1998. All Einhard citations refer to Dutton's translation.

75 Tiedemann, *Tacitus und das Nationalbewußtsein*, 36.

76 Borchardt, *German Antiquity*, 55.

77 Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 66. See also Borchardt, 1971, 98ff.

78 Charles Nauert, *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe*, Cambridge:, 1995, 108–109.

79 Wimpfeling maintains that 'if you look at the names of the Roman kings, you'll find there either Latin names or Greek, or German, but never French.' See Emil von Borries, *Wimpfeling und Murner im Kampf um die ältere Geschichte des Elsasses: Ein Beitrag zur Charakteristik des deutschen Frühhumanismus*, Heidelberg, 1926, 98–9.

80 Borries, 99.

81 For example, Urban II, in his oratorio at the Council of Claremont, and Eneas Silvius Piccolomini, in his *Europa*, both argue for the Charlemagne's German birth. In addition, Marcus Anthonius Sabellicus's history of the Venetians confirms Charlemagne's German identity. See Borries, 105.

82 Borchardt, *German Antiquity*, 113.

83 'Rinschen Lütt mit wildekeit des Gemiets/geradigkit des Libs/mit schöner farb/Gestalt/Sitten und Gewonheit zu leben/als die/so uff disem unserm Staden wonten/sich hielten und verglichten/do achten sie dieselben/und nembten sie Germanos, das ist/unser Brieder.' Borries, 107.

84 Borries, 203.

85 Borries, 209.

86 Rhenanus's biography of Erasmus (1538) refers to Charles V's coronation at Aachen as continuing the Germanic provenance of the empire. See Borchardt, 154–6.

87 See George Huppert, 'The Trojan Franks and their Critics' in *Studies in the Renaissance*, 12, 1965, 232.

88 Franz Bosbach, 'Die politische Bedeutung Karls des Großen für Karl v', 119.

89 H. Lutz, 'Die deutsche Nation zu Beginn der Neuzeit', in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 234, 1982, 549.

90 See, for example, Albrecht Altdorfer's pen drawing *c*. 1510 of a wild family, and his pen drawing of 1508 of a wild man in Christopher S. Wood, *Albrecht Altdorfer and the Origins of Landscape*, figs 46 and 105; also 155. For Lucas Cranach the Elder's panels of wild families, see Dieter Koepplin and Tilman Falk, *Lukas Cranach: Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Druckgraphik*, Basel and Stuttgart, 1976, 586–93.

91 John Rowlands, *Drawings by German artists and artists from German-speaking regions of Europe in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, London, 1993, 316.

92 See Michael Wintroub, 'Civilizing the Savage and Making a King: The Royal Entry Festival of Henri II (Rouen, 1550)', in *Sixteenth-Century Journal*, 29:2, 1988, 480.