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Lehrbuchgermanen: the representation of the Germani in Latin textbooks in Germany from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century

Introduction

This study investigates the ways in which the Germani have been portrayed in textbooks used for teaching and practising the Latin language in schools in Germany between 1872 and 1945.¹ It is a contribution to the reception history of Roman ethnographic and historical writing about the Germani, especially Tacitus' *Germania*, but also his *Historiae* and *Annals*, and Caesar's *Gallie War*.² It also examines the place of Latin teaching with regard to developments in academia, in educational theory and in politics, with an eye on implicit and explicit ways in which the subject has been promoted under changing social and political conditions. The research was conducted as part of a larger study which takes into account developments after 1945 and the reassessment of the place of Germani in Latin curricula, which will be the substance of another article.

¹ This paper is drawn from an MA thesis at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand, which extended into the first decade of the 21st century. The more recent history of the Germani in textbooks is intended to form the basis of a separate article.

² Narratives of the battle in the Teutoburg Forest tend to rely on a combination of sources, primarily Cassius Dio's *Roman History*, Velleius Paterculus' *Roman History* and Tacitus' *Annals*. Some points of diction should be clarified immediately. 'Germani' are those people described by the Romans as 'Germani', while 'Germans' are those who identify themselves as 'Deutsche'. Similarly, the adjective 'Germanic' will either be used to describe that which pertains to the Germani or in places where its usage is standard (for example, in the term 'Germanic languages'). 'German' will be used where 'deutsch' would be appropriate. 'Germania' (italicised) denotes Tacitus' work *De origine et situ Germanorum*, while 'Germania' (not italicised) describes the area inhabited by the Germani and known to the Romans as 'Germania'.

Previous research into German Latin textbooks

GISELA MÜLLER'S 1975 dissertation examines a large sample of the approximately 100 different Latin textbooks that were used in Germany during the 19th century, analysing methodological developments as well as attempts to introduce pupils to the ancient world and ancient thought which resulted in "Erstarrung im patriotisch-moralisierenden Klischee".³ ERNST HABENSTEIN briefly discusses his personal experiences with textbooks from the 1910s up to the 1950s.⁴ ANDREAS FRITTSCH has carried out research on the role and content of Latin passages in textbooks – providing an overview from the early 19th century until the mid 1970s – and on the role of Sachkunde, providing historical and cultural context for the early stages of school Latin.⁵ Much of this research into the history of ancient language teaching has been motivated by the need to confront the implications of classical philology and ancient language teaching under the Third Reich. FRITTSCH has paid particular attention to the methodology and subject matter of textbooks of that period.⁶ KLAUS-DIETER THIEME published a strongly-worded critique of conservative ideology in traditional textbooks in the late 1960s.⁷ Recently, STEFAN KIPF's study of ancient language teaching (particularly Latin) since 1945 has included thorough surveys of textbooks in the period 1945–2006 and analysis of methodology, subject matter and, importantly, implicit or explicit justifications for teaching Latin.⁸

The subject of the present study

The portrayal of the Germani is discussed, in most instances briefly, in a number of the studies mentioned above, though there are no investigations into the history of how the Germani have been portrayed in textbooks – the thread which this study follows from Christian Oster-

3 MÜLLER (1975), 190.

4 HABENSTEIN (1963).

5 FRITTSCH (1976, 1978, 1991).

6 FRITTSCH (1982). NICKEL (1972, 1984) bases his research into the Humanist Gymnasium under the Third Reich on political documents and the writings of educationists.

7 THIEME (1969).

8 KIPF (2006), 54–79, 280–340.

mann's books which dominated the scene at the time the second German Reich was founded. The time-span examined requires the selection of representative textbooks from each period. A related question is how Germani and other Latin texts involving the Germani (particularly excerpts from Caesar's Gallic War) have been received in the senior years of school when original Latin texts are read (often called the Lektürephase). Whereas Caesar became synonymous with the subject of Latin in the 19th century in many countries, the prominence of Tacitus' Germania is unique to German-speaking Europe.⁹ It is outside the scope of my investigation to deal in depth with the history of Germania as a school text, but relevant aspects will be discussed briefly.

Methodology

Researching didactic history presents a number of particular difficulties. Official policies and regulations indicate what schools should be teaching, but reconstructing what happened in the classroom is more difficult because in the absence of empirical research we have to rely on personal recollections and often scant documentation such as inspectors' reports and lesson plans – all of which may be misleading or biased to a degree which is often hard to determine. The main primary sources for this investigation are textbooks, most of which were produced for use in Humanist Gymnasien.¹⁰ ANDREAS FRITTSCH observes that school textbooks (Schulbücher) can be regarded as "konkretisierte Lehrpläne", that is, concrete manifestations of the regulations and guidelines set down by educational authorities. He also observes that they can often

9 The remarkable uniformity of the canon of school authors across Europe is discussed by WAQUET with examples from the seventeenth to the mid-20th century. Although Tacitus' other works are mentioned, Germania is absent (WAQUET (2001), 33–34). For Caesar as an author synonymous with school Latin in German schools, KIPF (2006a), 28–46. Just as Germania has been widely read in German schools, the geographical and national relevance of Caesar's invasion of Britain (Caes. BG 4.20–5.23) and Tacitus' Agricola have often made them popular choices for reading in British schools. See, for example, CARRINGTON (1945).

10 The history of textbooks can be hard to piece together as they tend to be discarded once they have outlived their usefulness in the classroom. My study is based on textbooks obtained from libraries and occasionally from the private collections of teachers and students. In particular I drew on the excellent collections at the Freie Universität and Humboldt Universität in Berlin.

be regarded as "[die] wirkungsmächtigsten Curricula" or "die eigentliche Großmacht der Schule", not merely acting as guides for the teaching process but actually determining the teaching methods, content, emphasis and boundaries of the subject.¹¹ It is not my intention to reconstruct the world of past classrooms through this investigation, but instead to examine a thread through the history of the textbooks used in schools and the ways it reflects political, social and educational developments in Germany.¹² Rather than providing an unbroken history of the subject over the period covered, the thesis will tend to concentrate on textbooks that show developments in the portrayal of the Germani.¹³

The establishment of a conventional Germanenbild

In the early 16th century, two particularly influential interpretative trends became established amongst Humanist readers of Tacitus' Germania: the word Deutsche came to be used unreservedly for the Germani and their character traits came to be regarded as a 'canon' of eternal German characteristics.¹⁴ The exaggerated sense of continuity exerted a strong influence on popular and academic interpretation of Germania until the end of the Second World War.

11 FRITTSCH (2002), 1101.

12 HANS-JÜRGEN APEL and STEFAN BITTNER (1994) have assessed not only official teaching plans (Lehrpläne) but also school inspectors' reports and a variety of documentation from teachers' colleges and schools from the period 1890–1945 in the Rhine Province (a Prussian province made up of parts of present-day North-Rhine-Westfalia, Rhineland-Palatinate and Hesse). I have made use of some of their findings regarding the use of Germania as a set text. Their emphasis is on the reading of ancient texts in the later school classes rather than the language-learning phase during which textbooks are used.

13 The 1914–18 War, for example, undoubtedly had a strong impact on the classroom reality of school Latin but it was not a catalyst for the production of new textbooks for linguistic instruction and thus the war itself is absent from this paper. The effects of the war on German self-image and mythology are, however, important and its contribution to the 1924/1925 Gymnasialreform and the Kulturkunde movement are the focus of considerable attention.

14 VON SEE (1970), 11. FUHRMANN (1977), 73. The Germani were often considered, in Germany, to be the ancestors of the Germans exclusively (RÖMER (1989), 88).

KLAUS VON SEE describes a set of characteristics that make up what he calls the "Lesebuchgermanen" – a positive stereotype of the Germani, based primarily on selective reading of Tacitus' Germania:

...rauh und kriegerisch gesinnt und dabei offenerherzig und bieder, den althergebrachten, bäuerlich-bodenständigen Sitten verhaftet, von keuscher, schlichter Ehrbarkeit in der Achtung der Frau und des Gastfreundes, abgeneigt dem Händler- und dem Advokaten, im politischen nicht institutionell-etatisch denkend, sondern auf die natürlichen, gewachsenen Gemeinschaften von Familie, Sippe und Stamm bauend und auf die persönliche Treuebindung zwischen Gefolgsherr und Gefolgsmann.¹⁵

Other characteristics such as patriotism, piety and common sense are variously included in different descriptions.¹⁶ Patriotism in particular, it shall be shown, was a persistent characteristic of the Germani in textbooks. The basic characteristics of the "Lesebuchgermanen" are more or less identical with the characteristics of what we might call "Lehrbuchgermanen" (figure 1 in the appendix shows a late 19th century schoolbook illustration that exemplifies stereotypical Lesebuchgermanen). The stereotype persisted essentially unchanged in Latin textbooks from the time of Ostermann's Übungsbücher (the earliest here examined) until it finally began to be challenged and revised from the 1970s onwards. In a separate paper I shall discuss the challenges to these traditional characteristics in the second half of the twentieth century.

A traditional Germanic stereotype was defined by its polar opposition to a negative Roman stereotype:

...überspitzt formuliert: treu, gemütvoll, leidenschaftlich, sittengebunden ist der eine, weil der andere ökonomisch, rational, kühl, individualistisch ist.¹⁷

15 VON SEE (1970), 9.

16 'Common sense' is very much an English turn of phrase, but it is used here to describe various characteristics such as what Herder, cited by MUHLACK (1989), 145, called "Zutrafen auf Verstand" and Ostermann (1872), 13, called "ein gesunder Sinn" (see chapter 1 for reference to this sentence from Ostermann's Lateinisches Übungsbuch).

17 VON SEE (1970), 10: his use of the word 'weil' points out the fixation with polar opposition which lies behind the conventional formulations.

Although many features of Germanic (and associated Roman) cliché were influential in traditional textbooks, the stark antithetical model was somewhat tempered in the school context. Humanist Gymnasien (and Latin teaching in other schools) were founded on admiration for Greek and Roman antiquity. Latin textbooks are certainly not the place for an anti-Roman world view, and admiration for Roman achievements could be expected to bring with it disdain for the primitive Germani. In fact, the characteristics often claimed as uniquely Germanic were for the most part generic barbarian topoi as Roman authors such as Tacitus and Caesar were working in an ethnographic tradition largely based on what EDUARD NORDEN called "ethnographische Wandermotive". The opposition of civilised autostereotype (Greek, Roman or Greco-Roman) and barbarian heterostereotype was itself a topos, and heterostereotypes in particular were often constructed largely out of barbarian Wandermotive or clichés well established in the tradition.¹⁸

In the context of the "didaktisches Dreieck" of academia, society and pupils, which determines the nature of the educational system and thus the content of textbooks, "Lehrbuchgermanen" served a variety of purposes during the period here examined.¹⁹ Until the end of the 1939–45 war, political correctness required that the Gymnasium, particularly the Humanist Gymnasium, prove itself sufficiently national. The extremity of Deutschtümelei under the Third Reich and its contribution to racist ideology and warmongering meant that nationalism was no longer an acceptable justification for including a large amount of Germanic and modern German material in Latin textbooks after 1945.

Many of the textbooks here examined were published for use in the humanistische Gymnasien, a kind of school founded in Prussia after J. W. Süvern's educational reform of 1816. They were the flagship representatives of Neuhumanismus, a philosophy of general education championed by Wilhelm von Humboldt (who paved the way with his educational reform of 1809). Neuhumanismus was centred on engagement with the lit-

18 LUND (1991), 1958–1961. NORDEN ("1959), 58: "Die germanische Ethnographie hat zeitlich fast am Ende einer sehr langen Reihe gestanden: daher ist sie von völkerrkundlichen Wandermotiven wie übersät."

19 For the "didaktisches Dreieck" see KIPF (1999), 2–5.

erature of the ancient world, amongst which Greek literature took pride of place, though Latin predominated in the number of hours allocated for lessons. The purpose of Neuhumanismus was the general education (Allgemeinbildung) of the individual, whose innate intellectual capabilities would be developed towards independent thought and understanding of the good and the beautiful.²⁰ The aim was to produce socially responsible and intellectually versatile thinkers. Of the planned 320 Wochenstunden, (the sum of the hours-per-week during a pupil's nine years at the Gymnasium), 78 were allotted to Latin, 50 to Greek, 44 to German and 60 to mathematics.²¹ Pupils usually began at the Gymnasium at the age of 10 in the class known as Sexta. There followed Quinta, Quarta, Untertertia, Obertertia, Untersekunda, Obersekunda, Unterprima and Oberprima. Today these year levels are more often known as 5.–13. Klasse.²² Latin was taught as the first foreign language in a nine-year-long course from Sexta, a model that continues to operate in some Gymnasien today, though this is no longer the norm for school Latin. Gymnasien today may have a scientific, modern language, musical or ancient language focus.²³ Years 5 and 6 are today sometimes known as the Orientierungsstufe, while years 7–10 are known as Sekundarstufe I and years 11–13 as Sekundarstufe II or the Oberstufe. Abitur is the name of the university entrance qualification that can be attained at the end of one's secondary schooling. Germany's constituent states have always regulated their own school systems and there has always been a certain amount of regional variation. The textbooks examined have mostly been used across numerous states, however, and the conclusions drawn are of relevance to most, or much, of Germany if not all.

20 LANDFESTER (2001), 919–922.

21 APEL (2000), 563–565.

22 5. Klasse, 6. Klasse will henceforth be translated as 'year 5', 'year 6' and so forth.

23 GLÜCKLICH (2006), 58–9.

I The Kaiserreich: Ostermann's Übungsbuch

The teaching of Latin in schools up till the 17th and 18th centuries must be seen against the background of Latin's use across Europe as the language of scholars, of law, diplomacy and the Catholic Church. In the Renaissance, schools aimed at teaching "Latine legere, scribere, loqui".²⁴ As Latin became less widely used, sheer utility was not enough to justify its being taught in schools. Instead of declining, however, Latin enjoyed a privileged position in 19th century schools across Europe with an aura of what FRANÇOISE WAQUET (writing about France, but with relevance to Europe generally) calls "royal grandeur".²⁵ Throughout Europe Latin was "the distinguishing mark of educational establishments for the elite".²⁶

In Germany, the Neuhumanismus movement, generally associated with the years 1790–1830, boosted enthusiasm for Latin in schools. It was a movement focused primarily on Hellenic culture of the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, though Latin was always, and still is, introduced to school pupils earlier than Greek and had more teaching hours allotted to it. In a speech of 29 September 1809, Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, rector of the Gymnasium in Nürnberg, says that children need the material which they study to be "eine Nahrung", which excludes everyday material of the sort that readily fits in with the child's conception of the world.

Nur der geistige Inhalt, welcher Wert und Interesse in und für sich selbst hat, stärkt die Seele und verschafft diesen unabhängigen Halt; diese substantielle Innerlichkeit, welche die Mutter von Fassung, von Besonnenheit, von Gegenwart und Wachen des Geistes ist... Den edelsten Nahrungstoff nun und in der edelsten Form, die goldenen Apfel in silbernen Schalen, enthalten die Werke der Alten, und unvergleichbar mehr als jede anderen Werke irgendetwas deiner Zeit und Nation.

As the true spirit ("Geist") of the texts can only be experienced in the original language (he remarks that translations can communicate the content but not the form of the texts, and compares them to lifeless artificial

24 APEL (1999), 114.

25 WAQUET (2001), 9.

26 Quotation from WAQUET (2001), 26–7. See also FRITTSCH (1976), 117–8 and APEL (1999), 114–119.

roses), pupils must learn the ancient languages. The "mechanische[s] Moment der Spracherlernung" is a valuable educational process, as it involves the study of grammar, which is "der Anfang der logischen Bildung". Conscious grammatical learning of a language is a valuable exercise because it forces the pupil to take the necessary words and apply the relevant rules: "Somit ... findet ein beständiges Subsumieren des Besonderen unter das Allgemeine und Besonderung des Allgemeinen statt, als worin ja die Form der Vernünftätigkeit besteht."²⁷ Formale Bildung is a term often used to describe this training of thought processes. Throughout the 19th century, formale Bildung and moralische Bildung were the dominant principles of education in the Humanist Gymnasien. The failure of the 1848 revolutions and the reactionary politics which dominated in the aftermath contributed to the primacy of formale Bildung rather than the development of individualism which had been the goal of Humboldt's Neuhumanismus.²⁸

Kaiser Wilhelm II spoke at the Prussian school conference of 1890, expressing his will that the Gymnasium become truly national.

Wir müssen als Grundlage für das Gymnasium das Deutsche nehmen; wir sollen nationale Junge Deutsche erziehen und nicht junge Griechen und Römer... Der deutsche Aufsatz muß der Mittelpunkt sein, um den sich alles dreht.²⁹

The transnational outlook of Greek and Roman studies became politically incorrect in the context of 19th century nationalism. The Roman empire was seen as "antinational" because of its conquest of 'free' peoples, while Arminius gained in stature as a representative of national unity and Germanic freedom. The Hermannsdenkmal, completed in 1875, became an important focus of national identity. The foundation of the German Reich in 1871 led to the construction of a historical model which presented the Reich's foundation as the natural conclusion of a process that had

27 Excerpts from Hegel's speech are printed in Reble, A. ed. Zur Geschichte der Höheren Schule, vol. 2, Bad Heilbrunn, 1975 15–24, and reproduced in FRITSCH (1976), 118–9.

28 LANDFESTER (1988), 19–20. APEL / BITTNER (1994), 1.

29 Speech printed in 'Verhandlungen über Fragen des höheren Unterrichts, Berlin, 4. bis 17. Dezember 1890', Deutsche Schulkonferenzen, vol. 1, Berlin, 1891 (reprinted, Glashütten, 1972), cited by LANDFESTER (1988), 149–150.

begun with Germanic resistance to Roman occupation. Thus the Germani provided a nationalist reference from ancient history and continued to be part of the attempts to satisfy demands for a "nationales" or "deutsches Gymnasium" until the end of the Third Reich.³⁰

One of the principles of New Humanism in schools was that the pupils should be introduced as early as possible to the ancient world, "um diese in der Zeit der empfänglichen Jugendblüte zu ihrer besseren Heimat zu machen".³¹ Friedrich Jacobs and Friedrich Gedike were proponents of the Lesebuchmethode, whereby pupils should be introduced to coherent, meaningful texts from the beginning of their study and, where possible, to original ancient texts – though the early passages in the Lesebücher, due to the lack of ancient texts suitable for beginners, were compositions based on or adapted from ancient works. There was an emphasis on subject matter, rather than on the grammatical content of the passages.³²

Despite the attention paid by some educationists and textbook authors to the subject matter and interpretation of texts, Latin teaching in the early 19th century was more likely to be dominated by the use of a grammar and an Übungsbuch. The grammar was the guiding thread of lessons while the Übungsbuch provided examples for illustrating the grammatical points learnt.³³ From the 1820s and 1830s the grammar-centred Übungsbuchmethode³⁴ gained supremacy following criticism that the Lesebuchmethode produced unsatisfactory results.³⁵ The Übungsbücher consisted largely, and sometimes exclusively, of individual sentences composed in order to demonstrate particular features of grammar and syntax. The emphasis was placed not on the provision of

30 LANDFESTER (1988), 141–143.

31 JACOBS, F. quoted by LATTMANN (1896), 263, in FRITSCH (1976), 119. It is notable that Jacobs' point of view has nothing to do with a German Heimat projected onto the ancient world (see the discussions of the Ostermann textbooks below, as well as chapters 2 and 3, for projection of Deutschtum onto the ancient world).

32 FRITSCH (1976), 122.

33 MÜLLER (1975), 29.

34 As named by LATTMANN (1896), 259, in FRITSCH (1976), 120.

35 FRITSCH (1976), 128; MÜLLER (1975), 29.

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texts with stimulating and meaningful content, but on providing sentences that would allow pupils to practise grammar in a methodical fashion.

Throughout the 19th century, university entrance could be gained only through the Gymnasium, where Latin and Greek were compulsory.³⁶ The narrowly grammatical methodology of the late 19th century reflected not only the importance of formale Bildung but also the prescription for Abitur candidates. It was mastery of Latin vocabulary and grammar that was essential for passing the Abitur exams.³⁷ The dominance of the grammar-centred method and comparative neglect of subject matter in textbooks was to continue, despite various educational reforms and changes in pedagogical theory, until the 1970s. Even when pupils progressed to the reading of ancient authors, the continuing grammatical focus often resulted in the neglect of content and interpretation. The content of Übungsbücher and chrestomathies (selections of ancient texts, often adapted, for pupils in Quarta reading ancient authors for the first time) consisted largely of war narratives. The overall impression that many pupils must have taken away from their Latin lessons is likely to have been much like that described by Carl Hirzel:

So viel mir aus meinen eigenen Schuljahren im Gedächtnis geblieben ist, so trat damals der Inhalt des Übersetzten meist in den Hintergrund. Ich kann mich deshalb weder eines besonderen Wohlfühlens, das ich an den Kriegsgeschichten der Römer gehabt hätte, erinnern, noch auch besonderen Missfallens... ob Titus Manlius Recht gehabt habe, seinen Sohn töten zu lassen, quod is extra ordinem in hostem pugnasset... darüber nachzudenken fühlte ich mich nie aufgefordert; aber das weiß ich noch recht gut, dass in dem livianischen Stück, das die Hinrichtung jenes Manlius erzählt und in unserer Chrestomathie sich vorfind, das lange Wort quandoquidem mir besonders interessant war, dass mehrere Sätze schwer zu übersetzen, die Ausdrücke, die der Lehrer gab, schwer zu behalten waren.³⁸

36 MÜLLER (1975), 7. The decree of Wilhelm II on 26 November 1900 allowed the Oberrealschule and Realgymnasium to grant university entrance. APEL / BITTNER (1994), ix.

37 MÜLLER (1975), 7.

38 HIRZEL, C., Die Classiker in den niederen Gelehrtenschulen (Zur Würdigung der Schrift von Dr. Eyth), Stuttgart 1838, 15. HIRZEL's publication was, as the title suggests, a reply to a speech published by Eduard Eyth, who had expressed concern that the overwhelmingly bellicose content of chrestomathies must have a negative

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Germania was such an important school text in the late 19th century that FRIEDRICH-AUGUST ECKSTEIN's standard work on Latin and Greek teaching (1887) states that Germania appears in all lesson plans and asserts: "Das vaterländische Interesse macht es wünschenswert, daß kein deutscher Jüngling das Gymnasium verlasse, ohne die Bekannntschaft mit dieser Schrift gemacht zu haben."³⁹ National sentiment is the important motivation for attributing such importance to what ECKSTEIN calls "ein Werk... für das wir Deutsche dem großen Historiker nicht dankbar genug sein können."⁴⁰ ECKSTEIN cites the national enthusiasm of a number of recent authorities, including Frick, who stated, "Die Germania *jedem Schüler in die Hand zu geben hat das Gymnasium eine heilige Pflicht*."⁴¹ ECKSTEIN also recommends an interpretation according to which Tacitus recognises, "wahrhaft divinatorisch", in the Germanic Volk "[die] weltgeschichtliche Aufgabe... das römische Kaiserreich zu vernichten und eine neue Zeit herbeizuführen."⁴² ECKSTEIN's recommendations are a clear example of the influence of nationalist Germanenideologie on the interpretation of Tacitus' Germania in schools.

Christian Ostermann's Lateinisches Übungsbuch first appeared in 1860.⁴³ It was re-issued and re-edited many times and was one of the most widely-used textbooks for pupils' first years of Latin in north and central Germany until the "preußische Richtlinien" of 1925. It represented the grammatische Methode at its peak.⁴⁴ FRIEDRICH HOFFMANN wrote in 1921, "Am Ostermann sind zwei Geschlechter von Lateinlehrern groß geworden."⁴⁵ The eighth edition of Christian Ostermann's Lateinisches Übungsbuch for Sexta from 1872 consists almost entirely of single, unconnected sentences either in Latin, for translation into German,

effect on pupils. EYTH, E., Classiker und Bibel in den niederen Gelehrtenschulen, Basel 1838. Cited by MÜLLER (1975), 45.

39 ECKSTEIN (1887), 241.

40 ECKSTEIN (1887), 240.

41 ECKSTEIN (1887), 241, n. 1.

42 ECKSTEIN (1887), 241.

43 It is hereafter referred to as 'Ostermann' or 'Lat. Üb. Ost'.

44 LATTMANN (1896), 356, in MÜLLER, 25. FRITTSCH (1976), 133.

45 HOFFMANN (1921), 27, in FRITTSCH (1976), 133.

or in German, for translation into Latin. There are more examples for translation into Latin than from Latin, which Ostermann justifies, indeed advertises, in his foreword, saying that translation from German into Latin was the best way to train pupils in the correct use of grammatical forms (Lat. Üb. Ost., iv: foreword to first edition, March 1860). Ostermann identifies the main learning goal of *Sexta* as mastery of regular noun and verb forms.⁴⁶

Groups of unconnected sentences are arranged like paragraphs of between 12 and 25 lines. The sentences tend to increase in length and complexity throughout the book. The sentences in each 'paragraph' focus on practising a particular point (or particular points) of grammar or syntax, and the vocabulary used in each reflects the words in the *Vocabularium* published by Ostermann along with the book of sentences. At the end of the book are some short fables and stories taken largely from myth and history; the content will be examined below.

Ostermann describes the sentences as "meist concreten Inhalts" and "so viel als möglich der Geschichte entlehnt" (Lat. Üb. Ost., iii). Although the Germani are mentioned mostly in individual statements scattered throughout the book, a uniform Germanenbild is evident.⁴⁷ Germani, Germania, Germans or Germany are mentioned every two pages on average, though rather more frequently early on in the book than later. The use of the Germani as a topic in the early stages of a Latin textbook and their appearance more frequently in books for *Sexta* than those for later classes continues in traditional Übungsbücher until 1945 and in some cases after that. There is interchangeable usage of the terms 'alte Deutsche' and 'Germanen', 'Deutschland' and 'Germania' throughout. For example, in one sentence we find "Ein gesunder Sinn war in dem alten Volksstamm der Germanen" (Lat. Üb. Ost., 13), and on the next page, "Die Treue der alten Deutschen lobt Tacitus, ein berühmter Schriftsteller der Römer" (Lat. Üb. Ost., 14). Evidently the Germani are intended to be seen as ancient Germans and their comparatively frequent appearance early in the textbook reflects their role as points of identification for pu-

46 Lat. Üb. Ost iii.

47 There is a passage about Arminius among the stories at the end of the book.

pils. The ancient world is thus inhabited not only by Romans and Greeks, but also by Germans.⁴⁸

The Germanenbild that develops is simplistic and is almost entirely made up of well-worn clichés. Many sentences are modified (usually simplified) versions of statements from Tacitus' *Germania*: "Die Körper der alten Deutschen waren sehr groß; sie waren größer als unsere Körper" (Lat. Üb. Ost., 31), "apud veteres Germanos boni mores plus valebant (vermögen), quam apud alios populos bonae leges" (Lat. Üb. Ost., 55). Stripped of their original context, the sentences, in so far as attention is to be paid to their content, are presented as if they were nuggets of fact. The good sense and loyalty of these Lehrbuchgermanen are introduced early on, along with their "bellica gloria", their being "asper et bellicosus" (Lat. Üb. Ost., 7) and later their love for "*Gebrauch der Waffen*" and their surpassing all other nations "*fide et probitate*" (Lat. Üb. Ost., 23).

In rare instances, current events and recent history crop up among the sentences, and the blurred distinction between Germany and Germania, Germans and Germani allows modern events into the midst of sentences that describe the ancient world. In fact, the word Germanien is used nowhere in the German examples, the word Deutschland being preferred. The Deutsche appear as latter-day Germanen. Perhaps the clearest example is a comparatively long practice sentence near the end of the book: "Die Deutschen haben beschossen (festgesetzt) dem Arminius, welcher im Jahre 9 n. Chr. die Deutschen von der Herrschaft der Römer befreit hat, ein Standbild zu errichten" (Lat. Üb. Ost. 66). Presumably the pupil is expected to translate both occurrences of 'die Deutschen' as 'Germani'.

The focus on "Grammatik und Krieg" that long dominated Latin classes is evident in Ostermann.⁴⁹ Because of the exclusive use of the word 'Deutschland', it is hard to know whether the following sentences are supposed to refer to modern Germany or to Germania.

48 The sentence, "Die alten Deutschen waren uns sehr unähnlich" appears on page 50 but this statement of the obvious does not discount the general assumption that the Germani were in essence deutsch.

49 The phrase "Grammatik und Krieg" is widely used by ANDREAS FRITTSCH – see especially FRITTSCH (1991), 4 – and STEFAN KIPF.

Die Siege Deutschlands bereiten dem Vaterlande Ruhm und Freude (Lat. Üb. Ost., 3).

Der glänzende Sieg der Deutschen bereitet unserer Nachkommenschaft einen sicheren und langen Frieden (Lat. Üb. Ost., 27).⁵⁰

The Germanic military leaders Arminius and Ariovistus feature several times each and Arminius is the subject of one of the passages at the end of the book, of which Ostermann writes, "Den Schluß des Buches bilden einige kleine Erzählungen und Fabeln in der leichtesten Form, da das Bedürfnis einer zusammenhängenden Lektüre auch für diese Stufe vielfach ausgesprochen ist" (Lat. Üb. Ost., iv, foreword to first edition, March 1860). Apart from the fables, the passages are mythological or historical in content. Tales from early Roman history are prominent, including Romulus, Sabinorum virgines rapiuntur, Tarquinius Superbus, Horatius Cocles, Mucius Scaevola and Pyrrhus. The only story from the age of imperial Rome is Arminius. The particular focus on the early Roman Republic and lack of emphasis on the Empire was a feature of most school textbooks until the last few decades of the 20th century.⁵¹

As is to be expected, the passages present considerably simplified versions of the stories they tell. The story of Arminius is a pale and highly selective version of the events as recounted by Roman historians. All that we have is a brief narration of how Varus treated the Germani "pesimo modo", how the Germani decided to free themselves from Roman rule and how Arminius attacked the Romans when they were impeded by storms and mud in Teutoburg Forest. Varus then falls on his sword and Augustus, when he hears of the news, cries, "Vare, Vare, redde... mihi meas legiones!" There is no mention of Arminius' Roman training

50 It is tempting to see a reference to Germany's recent success in the Franco-Prussian war. The question of where the boundaries of Germany should lie seems to appear in some examples such as, "Der Rhein, ein breiter Fluß Deutschlands, hat schöne Ufer" (8). The description of the Rhine as a German river crops up frequently amongst the first sentences of textbooks.

51 After the foundation of the Reich in 1871, nationalism contributed to the portrayal of imperial Romans as degenerate compared with the virtue of the Germani (LANDFESTER (1988), 142–143).

or of his using an alliance to trick Varus. Arminius is simply a German commander who displays prudentia and fortitudo.

The passages about figures and events from early Roman history are similarly simplistic. What little comment they do include promotes a pro-Roman interpretation of events and one that is in line with conservative Roman republican values. Romulus' murdering Remus is mentioned perfunctorily and followed by praise of his strong kingship: "Postquam Romulus fratrem interfecit, nova urbs Roma appellata est. Ipse autem Romulus erat rex fortissimus. Itaque multa bella suscepit et multos populos, qui circa ... Romam habitabant, regno suo adjecit." Fortitudo is the virtue around which most of the passages are built. Romulus (as above), Horatius Cocles ("Ita unius viri fortitudine Roma servata est"), Mucius Scaevola ("vir fortissimus"), Pyrrhus ("vir fortissimus et belli peritissimus") and Arminius all owe their greatness and historical importance to fortitudo.

Many textbooks, it must be noted, used the same selection of words in the earliest lessons, due to the preference for beginning with first declension nouns and first conjugation verbs in various inflected forms. There may be lists of countries with first-declension names, and feminine nouns such as patria, gloria, regina are very common. In order to introduce males early on, it is found necessary for poetae, agricolae and nautae to fill the early lessons.⁵²

In 1892 HERMANN JOHANNES MÜLLER published a new, re-worked edition of Ostermann's Übungsbuch and stated in the foreword his approach to the much-revised textbook. Ostermann's revisions, he said, had never really solved some of the important problems with the book and had

52 BRUNO SNELL's Neun Tage Latein begins with an affectionate reminiscence of the strange world into which the earliest Lateinbuch sentences introduced him as a schoolboy. Although he was not a particularly enthusiastic pupil, he says, "Immerhin war es doch schon eine kleine Verzauberung, wenn die erste Lateinstunde mit dem Satz anfieng: 'Die Tochter des Landmanns schmückt den Altar.' Welch ein Land, Welch eine Zeit, da die Königin sich an Rosen ergötzte und die Einwohner der Insel ein Mahl bereiteten" (SNELL (1968), 3). SNELL's amused recollections of an imaginative engagement with a world composed largely of first-declension nouns is, however, to be seen against the complete lack of engagement with the subject matter reported by many students. See for example WAQUET (2001), 39, and HIRZEL (above).

simply made each new edition difficult to use alongside its predecessors. He goes on to say,

Die preußischen Lehrpläne vom 6. Jan. 1892, durch die eine Umgestaltung der Ostermannschen Lehrbücher notwendig geworden ist, haben mir eine erwünschte Gelegenheit gegeben, mit den vielfach ganz unbrauchbaren Sätzen der früheren Ausgabe schonungslos aufzuräumen und dem Ganzen ein neues und zeitgemäßes Gewand anzulegen. Die Sätze hatten, wie bekannt, teils einen ungeeigneten Inhalt, teils waren sie unlogisch gefaßt, teils verstießen sie im Ausdruck gegen den Geist der Sprache: in allen diesen Beziehungen ist Wandel geschafften worden (Lat. Üb. Ost.-M. (1896), v, foreword to first edition, March 1892).

MÜLLER states that almost no line has been taken over unchanged from the old Ostermann to the 'neue Ausgabe' and that almost all the stories and fables (the 'zusammenhängende Stücke') have had to be tossed out. The material has been simplified to fit in with the reduction in the hours spent on Latin per week. Deponent verbs and most irregular verbs have been delayed till Quinta and the amount of vocabulary to be learnt has been reduced by about a fifth (Lat. Üb. Ost.-M. (1896), vi, foreword to first edition, March 1892).

The role of 'zusammenhängende Stücke' has been increased. At first MÜLLER sticks to the principle that word-forms are best practised through single sentences. In the book for Sexta they do not make their appearance until the second quarter of the year, but in the second half of the year they come to the fore. In Quinta they come to predominate over the individual sentences (Lat. Üb. Ost.-M. (1896), vii-viii, foreword to first edition, March 1892).

MÜLLER states that he wants to avoid presenting in his texts "ein ungewöhnliches Vielerlei... von dem man alles andere, nur nicht Gedankenkonzentration erwarten darf" (Lat. Üb. Ost.-M. (1896), viii, foreword to first edition, March 1892). The content of the textbook for Sexta is, he says, taken primarily from Greek and Roman legend. The first eleven passages, however, include introductions to the Greeks, the Romans, "Die Deutschen", the Persians, and later the Cimbri and Teutones. Greek and Roman poets, orators, military commanders and writers then have a passage each of their own, and the battles of Marathon, Salamis and

Plataea are also described. The historical subjects that gain a mention in the remaining passages are grouped together: Alexander the Great, "Die Helden that des Arminius" and the battle of Thermopylae. War is the most prominent theme, with writers and orators in the background, and the battle in Teutoburg Forest is among the few great historical events to be mentioned.

ANDREAS FRITTSCH's comments on the first of the passages, Die Griechen, are justly critical of the failure of the passage to live up to MÜLLER's own decision to put texts ('zusammenhängende Stücke') in the place of single sentences. As FRITTSCH observes, this passage is not so much a coherent text as a series of individual sentences which have only apparently been drawn together to make a text. Furthermore, many of the sentences are "praktisch inhaltsleer", telling us, for example, that the inhabitants of Athens were the Athenians.⁵³

The passages do show an attempt to introduce pupils to the ancient world, Greek as well as Roman, and although they are necessarily simple and are a "sehr gemischte Zusammenstellung",⁵⁴ which could prove confusing to a pupil, they nevertheless create some strong impressions due to their stylised, often stereotypical, portrayal of the ancient world. Each of the peoples described is assigned certain distinguishing characteristics. These are conventional stereotypes: Greece is peopled by cultivated Athenians, warlike Spartans, steadfast Thebans and wealthy Corinthians, who wage war with arrogant Persians.

Athenienses litteras et sapientiam amabant, bella populum Lacedaemoniorum delectabant, Thebani constantia clari erant, Corinthii magnas divitias habebant. Graecis bella erant cum Persis; causa bellorum fuit superbia Persarum (Lat. Üb. Ost.-M., 10).

The Romans, meanwhile, are "semper bellicosus", but their expansionism is presented more positively than that of the Persians.

Romani non modo cum...populis Italiae, sed etiam cum populis aliarum terrarum bella gerebant,...velut...cum Carthaginiensibus, Graecis, Germanis.

53 FRITTSCH (1976), 137.

54 LATTMANN (1896), 375, in FRITTSCH (1976), 138.

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Multi Romani erant duces egregii et multis victorilis populo Romano et magnam gloriam et magnam potentiam parabant. Antiqui scriptores amorem patriae et constantiam Romanorum laudant. Castra et proelia iuvenes Romanos delectabant (Lat. Üb. Ost.-M., 13).

Persae bellicosi erant et ceteras gentes Asiae audacia superabant. Persae multarum gentium victores fuerunt et imperium Persarum magnum erat... Graeci copias Persarum multis proeliis... superabant, et fuga hostium foeda erat... Postremo Persae sub imperio Alexandri erant, et incolae urbium, agricolae, milites, mercatores iustitiam novi regis laudabant (Lat. Üb. Ost.-M., 17).

The Germani, meanwhile, are just as much of a caricature as they were in the earlier editions of Ostermann. The only event in Germanic history that gains a mention is Arminius' victory over Varus, described here as his "Heldentat". He is the liberator of Germania (following Tacitus' description, "liberator haud dubie Germaniae" at Ann. 2.88). The story about Arminius is more detailed and less simplistic than that of the older Ostermann, but still noticeably tendentious in its positive portrayal of the Germanic victory. This time it is, however, acknowledged that Arminius had served in the Roman army, that he was "non modo artis bellicae et omnino...rei militaris, sed etiam dolorum insidiarumque peritus" (Lat. Üb. Ost.-M., 53). The passage begins with Caesar's campaigns followed by those of Drusus and Tiberius, then describes Varus' excessive demands for tribute from the Germani, who "neque ... aurum neque ... argentum habebant." Only the victorious episodes of Arminius' life gain a mention. Nothing is said about the later, less glorious, years of Arminius' life that culminated in his death "dolo propinquorum" (Tac. Ann. 2.88), as the Arminiusbild presented in the Ostermann books is very much a heroic one, characterised by glory and victory. Since the war against Napoleon, Arminius' victory had often been appropriated to symbolise "Befreiung von Fremdherrschaft und... [die] Selbstbehauptung naturhafter, kollektiver Kräfte gegen rational organisierte Macht".⁵⁵ Arminius' victory over Varus in 9 AD was frequently portrayed as an expression of the desire

55 TIMPE (2006=1999), 446. TIMPE points out that the fight against French hegemony, which was principally a war between states, was celebrated as a kind of Volkserhebung. Arminius' victory was used to convey a similar notion.

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of the Germanic Volk to be free. In the Ostermann textbooks and later textbooks that present a traditional Germanenbild, the battle in Teutoburg Forest is generally presented in a way that reflects the notion of a "Volkskampf".⁵⁶

Despite the primacy of grammar over subject matter in Ostermann and OSTERMANN-MÜLLER, these widely-used Übungsbücher create some strong impressions about the ancient world through the stylised and highly selective subject matter of individual sentences and basic passages. The Germani are in most cases described in simplified and de-contextualised versions of statements by Tacitus, while the battle in Teutoburg Forest is described in a way reminiscent of Velleius' account, influenced by other ancient sources and by the modern post-Napoleonic Hermann myths. War is the principal topic of sentences and passages, and the Germani are often portrayed as warriors and opponents of the Romans. Tacitus' Germania is a difficult text to interpret, requiring at the very least an awareness of conventions and commonplaces of the ancient ethnographic tradition, and the effects of interpretatio Romana. Against the background of enthusiasm for Germani as ancient Deutsche, the presentation of versions of Tacitus' ethnographic statements out of context and without comment served to transmit and perpetuate an impression of the noble barbarian that was a popular way of viewing the Germani in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

II The Weimar Republic: Ludus Latinus

The Richtlinien der höheren Schulen Preußens of 1925 show the effects of an educational reform movement that had led to a school reform in 1924. The Prussian reforms set the standard for the whole Republic and the Gymnasium, as a school for the future elite, still had great prestige:

... in der damaligen Zeit war das Gesicht des Gymnasiums ausschlaggebend auch für die Gestaltung der anderen Schularten, und nicht zuletzt der Uni-

56 The word Volkskampf is used by TIMPE (2006=1973), 229. TIMPE suggests that the rebellion led by Arminius may have been primarily an auxiliaries' revolt, rather than a people's uprising.

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versität. Die Tatsache, daß die Weimarer Republik sich ein deutschnationales Gymnasium schuf, bestimmte das bildungspolitische Klima.⁵⁷

Three of the most important methodological principles for language teaching set out in the 1925 Richtlinien were as follows: first,

Aller Sprachunterricht muß durchaus von dem Anschauungs- und Interessenskreis des Schülers ausgehen.

Second,

Die Methode alles grammatischen Unterrichts ist die induktive. Aus der Fülle der sprachlichen Erscheinungen ist das Prinzip herauszuarbeiten.

Third,

Aller Sprachunterricht muß sich auf den schon früher erworbenen grammatischen Kenntnissen aufbauen und an schon vorhandenes sprachliches Wissen – aus der Mutter- oder einer schon bekannten Fremdsprache – anknüpfen; die Grundlagen des Verständnisses sprachlicher Erscheinungen überhaupt müssen an der Muttersprache selbst gewonnen werden.⁵⁸

With respect to subject matter, an important influence was the Deutschekunde or Kulturkunde movement, an attempt to re-build a confident national identity after the capitulation of Germany in World War I and the emergence of conflict between increasingly irreconcilable political movements.⁵⁹ The Kulturkunde movement placed German culture at the centre of education. German, Geography, History and Religion became the most important subjects. Hans Richert, who was instrumental in the school reform of 1925 published *Die deutsche Bildungseinheit* und die höhere Schule in 1920 and described how learning about foreign cultures must be justified by drawing attention to “die Verbindungsfäden von der fremden Kultur zum deutschen Leben.”⁶⁰

57 BECKER / KLUCHERT (1993), 370.

58 Richtlinien für höhere Schulen Preußens, Beilage zum Zentralblatt für die gesamte Unterrichtsverwaltung, 1925, 8, p. 23. See FRITTSCH (1976), 143.

59 KIPF (1999), 181–182.

60 RICHERT (1920), 139 cited by KIPF (1999), 183–184.

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Another important concern of education under the Weimar Republic, and an attempt to raise young people who accepted democracy and republicanism, was Staatsbürgerkunde. Article 148 of the Weimar constitution stated the following:

In allen Schulen ist sittliche Bildung, staatsbürgerliche Gesinnung, persönliche und berufliche Tüchtigkeit im Geiste des deutschen Volkstums und der Völkerversöhnung zu erstreben... Staatsbürgerkunde und Arbeitsunterricht sind Lehrfächer der Schulen.⁶¹

The actual values involved were ill-defined and it was generally accepted by around 1930 that schools were failing to produce staatsbürgerliche Gesinnung in their pupils.⁶² I have chosen not to discuss Staatsbürgerkunde in detail as Kulturkunde is more relevant to the portrayal of the Germani in textbooks. The Germani are far less important than the Romans and Athenians in providing a model for statehood, but they are very important as representatives of a Deutschtum that is projected back onto the ancient world. History was the subject which carried the greatest responsibility for teaching Staatsbürgerkunde.⁶³ Kulturkunde impinged on Staatsbürgerkunde in so far as it produced a strongly positive portrayal of the Germani influenced by nationalist political sentiments allied with the authoritarian paternalism and militarism which pervaded the portrayal of the ancient world in textbooks. The Germani were, therefore, presented in a way which had little or nothing to do with republican values, democracy or Völkerversöhnung.

Tacitus' writings on the Germani were involved in an attempt to bring Kulturkunde into the upper classes of the Gymnasium where Latin texts were selected for reading. Chapters 1–27 of Germanica were to be read in Obersekunda in an edition that included excerpts from chapters 28–54

61 Die Reichsschulkonferenz. Ihre Vorgeschichte und Vorbereitung und ihre Verhandlungen. Amtlicher Bericht, erstattet vom Reichsministerium des Innern, Leipzig, 1921, 755 as cited by GEIGER (1993), 2.

62 See the discussion of GEIGER (1993), 1–20.

63 The Germani also played a role in bringing Deutschlandkunde and nationalism to history classes: “Man wollte Alemannen und Franken als den Römern ebenbürtige germanische Völker darstellen. Besonders deutlich treten die zeitgeschichtlichen Bezüge des Jahres 1925 im *Lehrplan hervor, wenn ... von 'Deutschlands Westgrenze, Beginn des Kampfes um den Rhein' die Rede war*” (Joos (1997), 34).

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and selections from other ancient sources on the Germani. In Unterprima and Oberprima the prescribed reading included a large range of texts demonstrating the importance of Rome in world history as well as the topic of Romano-Germanic encounters centred on Tacitus' Annals with selections from the Histories, from Velleius Paterculus, Suetonius, Dio Cassius (in translation) and others.⁶⁴

The Latin course Ludus Latinus was developed 'in the spirit of' the reform of 1924/1925.⁶⁵ First released in 1926, it was re-printed, re-released and, at times, extensively re-worked up to the 1970s. The Übungsstücke are divided into Latin texts for translation and German texts for translation. The foreword to the first edition makes it clear that the authors were guided by the methodological principles of the 1924/1925 reform and Kulturkunde-based justifications for Latin teaching.

Das Gebotene liegt ganz im Umkreis der Anschauungen und Liebhabereien eines zehnjährigen Jungen. Die beigegebenen Skizzen werden es dem Schüler erleichtern, den Inhalt der Sätze in sich lebendig werden zu lassen. Dazu treten Stücke, die Römern, den alten Deutschen und den Beziehungen beider Völker gewidmet sind, und ein paar Stücke mit griechischem Sagenstoff (LL¹, vii).

There is a new emphasis on the Germani and on Romano-Germanic encounters. The Germanic material, which appears with particular frequency in the early stages of the books and more frequently in the volumes for Sexta and Quinta than in that for Quarta, is regarded as deutsch and thus satisfies the requirements of Kulturkunde and of comparative familiarity for young pupils.

64 APEL / BITTNER (1994), 177–178. Records of inspected lessons from the Rhine province in the years 1925–1933 report digression from the prescriptions of the Richtlinien in 40.6% of lessons, and there is only one recorded instance of Germania being read. We cannot tell from the fragmentary evidence how often Germania was actually read, but it seems nationalistic intentions expressed through the Kulturkunde programme were often not carried out as the authorities intended, despite the fact that, officially, Germania was allotted greater importance in the later Weimar Republic than it had been before and during World War I (APEL / BITTNER (1994), 187, 194–197).

65 Ludus Latinus, Lese- und Übungsbuch für Sexta, first edition (1926), v–vi.

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ERNST HABENSTEIN wrote in 1963 about the impressions the new series made on him as a teacher when it first appeared.

Das Buch begann, was den Inhalt der Stücke betrifft, mit allgemeinen Lebensverhältnissen, deren Erscheinungsbilder sich zwar in 2000 Jahren gewandelt haben (villa – Haus?, mensa – Tisch?, tectum – Dach?), zu denen aber doch ein unmittelbarer Zugang möglich war... [E]rst nach einigen Wochen mit der Einführung der Imperfektformen pugnabant, bellabant begann sich die fremde, ferne Welt aufzutun, erschienen die Romani. Die neuen Bücher hatten – ein Novum in der Lateinbuchgeschichte seit der Zeit des 'Orbis Pictus' – Illustrationen im Text und ganze Bildseiten.⁶⁶

In Ludus Latinus, the earliest passages revolve to a large extent around everyday German life in a manner reminiscent of children's storybooks or fairytale collections. When the texts describe the ancient world, the topic of Germani and their relations with the Romans is especially prominent. Just as we have seen in the Ostermann textbooks, the word "Deutsche" is freely used to translate "Germani", and the boundaries between Germania antiqua and Germania recentior are considerably blurred. Along with the ancient Germanic topics that occur frequently throughout Ludus Latinus, there are two passages with recognisably German topics: Rotkäppchen and Die Leutseligkeit Friedrichs des Großen. In many respects the attempt to bring Latin into everyday and specifically German contexts was strengthened after the book's first release, as we shall see in the discussion of the 1932 edition of Ludus Latinus I.

At the beginning of the section of Latin for translation are eight separate two-word sentences illustrating verbs of the first conjugation in the third person singular and plural of the present tense. The first stories are as follows: *Das Mittagessen*. *Der Schiffer*. *Großmutter Hof und Haus*. *Die Webstube*. *Der Jäger*. *Der Frosch*. *Der Hirsch*. *Auf dem Hofe*. *Ferien*. So far we remain in a world familiar to a ten year-old child from experience or children's stories. Accompanying the sentences and passages are line drawings reminiscent of Wilhelm Busch comics – the grandmother could easily be the familiar story book figure of Witwe Bolte.⁶⁷

66 HABENSTEIN (1963), 5.

67 KIPF (2006), 69.

The next three passages finally introduce the pupil to the ancient world. The subject matter, Der Rhein, Die Römer and Die Lebensweise der Germanen, gives Germania and Germany more attention than Rome. Der Rhein presents the river as a source of pride for the Germani, whose poets sing its praises: "Germani Rhenum amant et laudant. Saepe *poetae Germanorum de Rheno narrant et fluvium celebrant*" (LL '1, 6). Poets who praise the fatherland are a common feature of Germanophilic Latin book sentences, probably due to Tacitus' reference to Germanic songs of myth and history in Germania (2.3) and the mistaken reading "barditum" (Germ. 3.1, sometimes misinterpreted as bardic song), neither of which, however, are specifically patriotic.⁶⁸ The synchronic nature of so many of the references to ancient and modern Germania and Deutschland suggests resonances with the 19th century notion of Germany as the land of Dichter und Denker. The dominant geographical feature of Germania is the forest, full of wild beasts. Here the Wald is described in its ancient, wild state (Urwald): "In silvis Germaniae, discipuli, olim cervi et lupi et ursi habitabant" (LL '1, 6). The forest is also the site of animal sacrifices to the Germanic gods carried out by the inhabitants who live as hunters (see appendix, figure 2). The period of rapid urbanisation from the mid-19th century up to the First World War had produced in some quarters "images of alienation, powerlessness, unceasing change, anonymity, and rationalisation".⁶⁹ The Humanist Gymnasien, with their conservative and sometimes reactionary tendencies and reference to

68 In most manuscripts, Germ. 3.1 reads: "sunt illis haec quoque carmina, quorum relatu, quem barditum vocant, accendunt animos, futuraeque pugnae fortunam ipso cantu augurantur ...". Some manuscripts read *baritum* for *barditum*. *barditum*, however, is likely to be a corruption, as its reminiscence of the Gaulish bards is out of context. *baritum*, meanwhile, is usually justified by reference to *barritum*, which, however, seems unlikely as the word first occurs in Ammianus and Vegetius and describes the trumpeting of elephants. There is no general agreement on the passage. Koestermann (1964) ad loc. accepts *barditum*, Winterbottom (1975) ad loc. puts *baritum*. While Lund (1988), 118–119 places the *crux desperationis* around *baritum*. The influence, outside academia, of the notion of Germanic bards in battle can be seen in Heinrich von Kleist's play *Die Hermannsschlacht*, in which a bardic choir sings before the battle in Teutoburg Forest (Act 5, Scene 14). It should also be remembered that as poet is a first-declension noun, it fits with the method of introducing first-declension nouns before other declensions.

69 BREUILLY (2003), 218.

timeless Humanist values often idealised the ancient world, which could be seen as a refuge from Kulturpessimismus. The wildness of the ancient German forest provided an antithesis to modern urban materialism.⁷⁰ STEFAN KIPF has pointed out the continued use of stylised Lehrbuchland-leben in the early stages of textbooks of the 1950s and 1960s which were based on the methodology of the Weimar Republic.⁷¹

The Germani are described in numerous other passages: 7. Die Lebensweise der Germanen; 34. Die Germanen: Männer, Frauen und Sklaven; 40–42. Befreiung Deutschlands vom Römerjoch; 51. Die Germanen: Krieger, Priester, Freunde, Frauen; 52. Der Freiheitsdrang der Germanen; 58. Die Fürsten der Germanen und ihr Gefolge; 86. Stolze Unterhaltung eines Deutschen mit einem Römer. The range of stories on specifically Roman topics is as follows: 12. Die Römer; 16. Romulus; 20. Die römische Familie; 29,30. Römische Kriegszucht; 35. Das Römerreich; 37. Der römische Senat; 53. Der Kaiser Augustus; 54. Der römische Triumph; 57. Die römischen Legionen; 66,67. Wie behandelten die Römer ihre Toten?; 74a. Die Gastmähler der Römer; 74b. Grabinschriften und Sprüche; 76. Blick auf Rom und Gang durch die Stadt; 85. Die Lagerwache.

Specifically Roman passages outweigh the passages on the Germani or those on Romano-Germanic encounters, but not greatly. As a result the pupils beginning Latin with Ludus Latinus could easily have been led to believe that Romano-Germanic relations were the single most important thread of Roman history. The theme of Romans at war is by far the most prominent one in the book – a continuation of the bellicose subject matter of 19th century textbooks – and Ludus Latinus places especial emphasis on Rome's wars in Germania. The very first time the Romans are mentioned, it is as follows: "Romani bellum amabant. Arma et proelia et

70 Since the late 19th century many cultural movements had sprung out of "Kulturpessimismus" and "Zivilisationsmüdigkeit" which led to a desire for the primitive and the rejection of the progress, rationalism and industrialisation that were associated with modern cities. The Art Nouveau (Jugendstil) movement, the establishment of artists' colonies away from large cities (most notably the Künstlerkolonien in Worpswede and Dachau) and the Wandervogel movement are representative of such trends (VON SEE (1970), 63–64).

71 KIPF (2006), 69–70.

bella Romanos semper delectabant. Romani etiam cum Germanis bellabant" (LL ¹1, 7). Most pupils would be preparing for a reading of Caesar's Gallic War at some point. The Gauls, however, are barely mentioned at all in Ludus Latinus, as the Germani provide greater national interest.

The passages about the Germani present a familiar picture of brave warriors, strict morality and simple life among the fields and forests. The battle in Teutoburg Forest features prominently, with three consecutive passages that closely resemble the examples we have seen from OSTERMANN-MÜLLER. The first describes Varus' arrogance and greed (he is superbus and avarus) and his attempts to exact tribute from the Germani, who had 'neither gold nor silver', "ut populi Germaniae ira et odio flagrant." Enter Arminius with his plan to free 'the fatherland' (patria). In the next passage are described Arminius' Roman military background and his trickery. The third describes the battle. The triumphant tenor of the passages is set by the title "Befreiung Deutschlands vom Römerjoch" and the blurring of Germania and Deutschland, Germani and Deutsche is again apparent in the concluding sentences: "Grato animo nunc statuam Arminii in saltu Teutoburgensi ... collocatam spectamus. Arminius a *Tacito* 'liberator Germaniae' appellatur. *Germania a Romanis nunquam recuperata est.*" Arminius appears as the great defender in the tradition of Ulrich von Hutten and 18th and 19th century Hermannsschlacht dramas.⁷² (LL ¹1, 20–21).

In a German passage about Napoleon, entitled 1806 und 1813, 'Francogalli' is the recommended translation for 'Franzosen'.⁷³ The recommended translation for 'Die Engländer' in the text with that title is 'Britanni', rather than, for example, 'Angli'. An artificial 'classical' patina is superimposed on Latin descriptions of modern history in Ludus Latinus. The use of ancient terminology in inappropriate modern contexts goes hand in hand with an uncritical acceptance of ancient martial values. The Romans and the Germani love war. They look forward to battles and heap

72 For Renaissance reception of Tacitus' Germania and the history of Arminius, cf. Krebs (2005 and 2012). Not all representations of Arminius settled with the idea of the defender; Kleist's Hermannsschlacht ends with the protagonist's vision of a vengeful conquest of Rome.

73 Ludus Latinus I, 1926, Vorabdruck aus der 2. Auflage, 3.

praise and glory upon the bold, derision upon the cowardly. The English are the subject of a text that says that, just as the ancient Phoenicians were "*kluge Kaufleute und kühne Seefahrer, so haben die Engländer* (Britanni) durch Klugheit und Kühnheit das Meer an sich gerissen... Und da sie klug und kühn und zäh waren, haben sie einen großen Teil der Welt erobert".⁷⁴ The characteristics of the English, though effective, are clearly in contrast with the Germanic virtues of simplicity, bravery, loyalty and incorruptibility. The comparison with the Phoenicians, moreover, aligns them with familiar negative Semitic or Jewish stereotypes.⁷⁵ In a subject which claimed to give moral education, martial values are those most consistently championed, and against the background of language that blurs the distinction between ancient and modern, ancient warriors and empires are set up as the most admirable of models for the modern world.

In passage 33, "Wo ist Paul?" we find the Sextaner and Quintaner in the forest fighting a battle.

'Cum amicis in silva fui; ibi magna pugna inter sextanos et quintanos fuit. Ego sextanis praeeram, Carolus quintanis praeerat ... Quintanis insidias paravimus et magna pugna adversarios superavimus. Quintanis animus deerat; ignavi erant.' 'Laudo Paule, quod ludis amicorum intereras; sed postulo, ut hora cenae adsis. Pulchrum est amicis adesse; non pulchrum est officio deesse' (LL ¹1, 17).

Passage 77, entitled "*Schulausflug*", also includes a battle scene, this time at the instigation of a schoolteacher.

Magister: Hic dies festus est, dicipuli; hoc die liberi estis laboribus. Contentemus in silvam atque ludis et pugnis delectabimur. Hi Germani, illi Romani erunt.

The Dux Romanorum (D. R.) and the Dux Germanorum (D. G.) then proceed to deploy their troops and make exhortatory speeches:

74 Ludus Latinus I, 1926, Vorabdruck aus der 2. Auflage, 13.

75 The ethical antithesis of "Händler und Heiden", which was the title of a polemical publication of 1915 by the sociologist and economist Werner Sombart, fitted the old model of Römer versus Germanen (VON SEE (1970), 68–69).

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D. R.: Multitudine Germanorum non terreor. Nam pectora horum virorum et munimenta horum castrorum tam firma sunt, ut nihil timeam...

D. G.: Nunc hostes tenemus. Nemo perniciem evitabit. Uno impetu haec castra expugnabitis. Facilis nobis victoria! (Summa vi utrimque pugnatur.)

Magister: Satis est. Summa fortitudine pugnastis. Huius diei memoriam retinebimus! Nunc corpora et animos cibo et potu recreate! (LL '1, 42.)⁷⁶

Just as the pupils are being educated into a Latin world at school, Ludus Latinus portrays them playing the role of little barbarians when they enter the forest (the defining geographical feature of Germania).⁷⁷ The schoolboys at play in Ludus Latinus are warriors – sometimes Germani, sometimes, in line with their Latin education, Romans.

The 1932 edition of Ludus Latinus has undergone revision throughout. Immediately noticeable is the colour picture facing the title page – the first colour picture in a German Latin textbook.⁷⁸ The picture shows a German farmyard complete with half-timbered and thatched buildings, a family in rural dress eating lunch and a village with a church nestled in the rolling hills in the background (see appendix, figure 3). Despite the absence of the Little Red Riding Hood and Frederick the Great stories, the emphasis on things German is still strong. Preceding the Latin pieces is a short text, Zur Vorbereitung. Zur Arbeit und Freude für die ersten Lateinstunden. It is in German sprinkled with familiar Latin nouns. The use of Latin terminology to describe many features of school life is supposed to give the pupil a sense of entering into a school world of which

⁷⁶ "Wo ist Paul?" appears again in Ludus Latinus I A, 1932. "*Schulausflug*" has, however, been removed.

⁷⁷ Almost exactly the same sort of *Schulausflug* is described as taking place in 2007 (albeit with more historical content and less spoken Latin) at the archaeological park of Kalkriese, the possible site of the 'Varusschlacht'. "Als die Legionen im Nebel verschwanden"; FAZ 22/09/07; Reiseblatt 1, 3; Playing soldiers is not an uncommon way of enlivening classics lessons in schools. As the teacher in the quoted passage states, such excursions tend to stay in the memory of the students, thanks perhaps to the welcome relief of being able to play the role of barbarians rather than bearers of civilisation.

⁷⁸ HABENSTEIN (1963), 5.

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Latin is an integral part ("Da führt euch der ordinarius der sexta in die aula ..."), though it was no longer as important as it had been.⁷⁹

Since the first edition, the authors have reduced the required vocabulary by around 50 words and made sure that the texts used the prescribed vocab as exclusively as possible (LL '1, iii). The essentials include a large amount of martial vocabulary from the earliest stages of the book. The practice sentences are as follows:

Germani saepe bellabant. Germani bellum amabant; bellum Germanos delectabat. Proelia Germanos delectabant. Etiam Romani proelia amabant. Romani copias ad pugnam vocabant. Romani arma in castra apportabant et castra firmabant.⁸⁰

The 'endgültige Revision' of Ludus Latinus I – für Sexta, was followed by a revision of Ludus Latinus II – für Quinta (LL '10II, iv). The first quarter of the book deals mainly with Germani and their encounters with the Romans. There are several passages about the end of the Roman empire, namely König Alarich vor Rom, Alarichs Ende, Dietrich von Bern and Der Ostgoten Todeskampf am Vesuv. Germanentum in the broadest sense, including not only the Cimbri and Teutones and the Germani of Tacitus' era but also Visigoths and Ostrogoths, is the thematic connexion, and a rough historical overview beginning with Germanic resistance to Rome (and the failed Cimbric and Teutonic invasions) and ending with the invasions that toppled the empire is evident in the selection of subject matter.⁸¹

⁷⁹ For observations on the use of Latin terminology to make school into 'Latin country', see WAQUET (2001), 8, a discussion of France in the early 18th century, when Latin "reigned [in school] ... as exclusive master of the terrain". The use of Latin terminology is relevant also to the German Gymnasium. Gymnasien still commonly use terms such as "Sexta".

⁸⁰ Each war-related word or phrase is underlined the first time it appears (my underlining). The importance of martial vocabulary was strongly linked to the prevalence of Caesar's Bellum Gallicum as an, in many cases almost the, set text for school Latin (KIPF (2006a), 28–32).

⁸¹ See chapter 4 for a table comparing the Germanic passages in Ludus Latinus II of 1934 and an edition of 1969. The rest of the 1934 edition mainly involves aspects of Roman life and culture and events from Roman history. The German passages are mainly on mythical and historical subjects (Roman, Germanic and Greek) with heroic central figures. The Germanic subjects include Hildebrand und Hadubrand

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Just like the 1932 edition of Book I, Ludus Latinus II opens with a welcome to students entering Quinta. The passage introduces the verb *prodesse*, putting it to the following use:

Salvete, pueri! Sextani fuistis, nunc estis quintani. Industria vobis profuit. Quintani doctiores sunt quam sextani. Nam lingua Latina mens exercetur; nihil menti tantopere prodest. Quae nunc discitis, ea postea vobis proderunt. Nam quamquam discere nonnullis displicet, tamen vobis proderit multa scire. Itaque este seduli, ut et vobis et patriae prosit! Nam virorum officium est patriae prodesse; patriae profuisse summum gaudium est senum (LL ¹⁰II, 1–2).

This text contains a simplistic advertisement for Latin education and patriotism. In the context of a nationales Gymnasium, the former is supposed to serve the latter. The rationale for this is that nothing trains the mind more effectively than Latin.⁸² The aim is *multa scire*, in line with the oft-expounded implication that the material learnt in Latin lessons is intrinsically educational. Diligence at school and success in Latin are encouraged for patriotic reasons, which appear rather suddenly in the text. By doing their patriotic duty (the first part of which is diligent application to Latin), the boys will be able to enjoy 'summum gaudium' when they grow old.

The next passage revisits the Germanenbild presented in Book I. The pupil is asked (by way of practice with interrogative pronouns) to recall important characteristics of the Germani, reinforcing the image of tall, blonde-haired, blue-eyed warriors whose life and customs were strict and moral. Their historical role is to be pitted against the Romans.

Qualis erat Germanorum statura? ... Quales erant oculi, quales capilli Germanorum? Quis Germaniam a Romanis liberavit? ... Victus et mores Germanorum non erant mites. Itaque viri tam fortes erant ut a Romanis superare non possent; munimenta autem eorum eorum expugnare non poterant.

and Siegfrieds Kampf mit Brunhild (marked as non-compulsory passages) (LL ¹⁰II, 61, 66–67).

82 STRAY (2007), 6, calls this the "ideology of mental discipline, renamed by twentieth-century psychologists the transfer of training". In Germany, formale Bildung was a commonly used term that referred to the efficacy of Latin (particularly grammar) in teaching thought structures which could be applied to other areas of life (see chapter 1).

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Etiam mulieres procliis intererant, ut saucii adessent. Saepe viri a domiciliis aberant ut bellarent. Otiū enim diu tolerare non poterant. Discordia Germanorum saepe Romanis profuit. Si concordiam servare potuissent, condicio eorum fuisset melior (LL ¹⁰II, 2).

Notable features include the emphasis on the Germanic lifestyle as not being soft. Along with the description of Germani as warriors comes the notion that the women came along to the battles to act as nurses to the wounded. The relevant passage of Tacitus' *Germania*, however, gives quite a different impression:

in proximo pignora, unde feminarum ululatus audiri, unde vagitus infantium. hi cuique sanctissimi testes, hi maximi laudatores: ad matres, ad coniuges vulnera ferunt; nec illae numerare et exigere plagas pavent, cibosque et hortamina pugnantibus gestant (Tac. Germ. 7.3–4).

Here the women are frezzied supporters, counting and demanding the men's wounds, and bearing not medical aid but food and exhortations. The wildness of Tacitus' Germanic women has been understated in the adaptation.

The next passage portrays a council of war, including a speech by Arminius. The Cherusci, "et nobilissimi et humilissimi", gather together and agree to what seems very much like 'total mobilisation' ("etiam adulescentuli hodie armentur!"), then unanimously acclaim Arminius as their leader. He denounces Segestes as a traitor. In the next passage, Germanicus auf dem Teutoburger Schlachtfelde, Germanicus presents the story from the other side, telling how he has 'liberated' Segestes. The Germanicus passage describes the battlefield scene, taking some details from Tacitus' *Annals* 2.61–62. Germanicus swears that he will exact vengeance, but the story only goes as far as the next encounter between him and Arminius: "Postridie Romani contra Germanos ducti sunt; sed Arminium vincere non potuerunt." Because the story ends with the inconclusive wars waged by Germanicus, the fact that Arminius was eventually betrayed by Segestes and killed by his own people is omitted. Just as we have seen in the Ostermann books, Arminius remains a victorious figure, the liberator of Germania (LL ¹⁰II, 3–4).

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Several passages about the limes follow. The subject of Germania Romana is thus introduced, and we may note that despite the positive tone of the texts describing the 'liberation' of Germania from the Romans, romanisation of the west bank of the Rhine is also presented favourably. It is usual for a positive view of romanisation in the provinces, including Germania Romana, to be espoused by Latin schoolbooks. A negative view, after all, would perhaps undermine the notion of the superiority of classical culture and a 'classical' education. It is not Roman expansionism as such that is negatively portrayed, but the actions of Quintilius Varus, who is the villainous oppressor of the Germani.

Varus severus in Germanos erat; iniuste iudicabat, superbe imperabat, crudeliter puniebat. Iniurias eius illi patienter tolerare non poterant. Itaque miserum interitum ei paraverunt.

Varus bears the blame for his own demise, while romanisation of the Rhine's west bank comes across very favourably. Velleius' account emphasises Arminius' treachery as well as Varus' lack of consilium, while hinting at Varus' greed (Vell. Hist. 2.117–118, 120). The version presented here, however, downplays Arminius' treachery and puts more emphasis on Varus' greed. Meanwhile, romanisation itself is presented in a positive light.

Sinistram autem Rheni ripam Romani diligenter custodiebant. Eas regiones tam prudenter administrabant, ut celeriter incolarum animos sibi conciliarent. Ibi agricolae libenter et strenue agros curabant. Ibi oppida condita sunt, quae Romani pulcherrimis aedificiis liberaliter ornabant (LL¹⁰¹¹, 5).

The passage "*Die Römer als Kaufleute und Lehrmeister der Germanen*" addresses the fact that Romano-Germanic relations were not entirely bellicose, and that Roman influences pervaded Germania libera. The Germani enjoy a variety of luxuries brought by the Romans:

Magnopere maiores nostri pretiosis vestimentis delectabantur, magnis poculis aureis argenteisque, maxime vero vino et armis ferreis... Nulla gens usum tegularum, fenestrarum, murorum tam facile a Romanis didicit quam Germani. Propterea Romani non falsi magistri Germanorum nominantur (LL¹⁰¹¹, 6–7).

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An unjustifiable claim is made, that no people learnt from Roman sophistication so easily as the Germani ("maiores nostri"). The role of the Romans as magistri Germanorum provides a model for the pupils as classically-educated Germans. The phrase "maiores nostri" recurs in a passage about the Saalburg, which is followed by a gleeful description of its sack: "... a maioribus nostris [Romani] devicti et propulsati sunt illudque castellum, quod supra descriptissimus, circumventum, expugnatum, inflammatum est" (LL¹⁰¹¹, 8). Pupils are thus supposed to feel pride in the warlike virtues of the Germani (their 'ancestors') but to acknowledge the superiority of Roman civilisation – which is, after all, the reason for their being in the classroom.

Ludus Latinus, in keeping with the requirements of Kulturkunde, employs the Germani as proto-Germans and raises them to a new level of prominence in the early stages of Latin learning, amongst a large and eclectic variety of German subject matter. The Germani are one of the points of identification intended to help pupils engage with the subject. The characteristics of the Lesebuchgermanen, as seen in the Ostermann textbooks, remain essentially unaltered. Since the 19th century, Latin classes had been defined by 'Grammatik und Krieg', and in Ludus Latinus Germanic warriors are supposed to incite the admiration of Latin pupils. At the same time, the Romans are to be remembered as the bringers of civilisation to the western bank of the Rhine. Ludus Latinus, in line with the nature of the Gymnasium, for which it was intended, is determinedly deutschnational.

III The Third Reich

The topics of Germania and the Germani gained their greatest ever prominence under the Third Reich as they were used to promote Nazi racial ideology. ALLAN LUND, KARL VON SEE and RUTH RÖMER have published research into the Germanenideologie of National Socialism and its precursors in the development of racialised thought and the application of racial theories to Indo-European linguistics, ancient history, prehis-

tory and classical philology.⁸³ What follows is a brief outline of relevant features of National Socialist Germanenideologie and educational policy and an analysis of the way the Germani are portrayed in several new textbooks approved by the Nazi regime.⁸⁴

The oppositional model of Germane versus Römer (see introduction) was appropriated by proponents of racial theories who used Indo-European studies (Indogermanistik) to assert the existence of an Indo-European Herrenvolk or Herrenrasse destined to conquer and rule others. The opponent of the Indogermane (or Arier), was identified as the Semite or else Vorderasiater, to whom the weak, effeminate and decadent qualities of the old Roman stereotype were applied.⁸⁵ All that was good in history was to be attributed to the Indogermanen, the opposite to the 'vorderasiatische Gegenrasse', and many German researchers attempted to prove a special link, based on continuity of language, culture and descent (or race) between the earliest Indogermanen and modern Germans. KLAUS VON SEE shows how the established Germane versus Römer antithesis, once applied to an Indogermane versus Semite antithesis or, in other words, Arier versus Jude, supported antisemitism,⁸⁶ which was a central and defining point of Nazi ideology and its popular political manifestations.⁸⁷ Most prominently, GUSTAF KOSINNA, who was

83 See bibliography for: VON SEE (1970, 1972, 1994, 2006); LUND (1991a, 1995); RÖMER (1989). See also the contributions of MUHLACK, BECK, FUHRMANN, KROESCHELL and FISCHER in JAHNKUHN / TIMPE (1989).

84 Third Humanism (Dritter Humanismus) was a new philosophy of education which attempted to renew the importance of the ancient languages for education by developing the concept of paideia based on ancient Greek society and literature. The movement's foremost representative was Werner Jaeger. While it was an important development in educational theory and the justification of the Humanist Gymnasium, and has been suspected of implication in National Socialist ideology, it is of little relevance to the portrayal of the Germani in textbooks and is therefore omitted from the discussion at hand. For further information on its role in relation to contemporary politics and ideology, see FRITSCH (2001), 224–242.

85 The terms Arier and Indogermane were each used differently by different writers and politicians at different periods. This is not the place for a detailed discussion. VON SEE (2006), 9–54, describes the uses of the term Arier from the early 19th century to the end of the Third Reich in philological and political circles. See also LUND (1995), 29–3, 89.

86 VON SEE (1970), 85 ff.

87 FRITSCH (1982), 27–28.

widely celebrated during the Third Reich, attempted to prove that the Indo-Europeans originated in Northern Europe, in Denmark.⁸⁸ The most influential racial ideologues of National Socialism were ALFRED ROSENBERG and HANS GÜNTHER, who re-interpreted history in terms of Aryan self-assertion against inferior Semitic or Near-Eastern races. While the 'classical' Greeks were universally admired, attitudes to the Romans were mixed. The early Romans were often described as Nordic, and certain figures from the nobility identified as Nordic heroes, Rome was said, however, to have fallen under 'Near-Eastern' influence, including that of the Etruscans.⁸⁹ Roman conflict with the Germani elicited disapproval.⁹⁰ On the other hand, the Romans' state-building and successful conquests were viewed as Nordic traits, as reflected in educational policy (EUHS, 233).⁹¹ The fall of the Roman Empire was presented as the triumph of Nordic Germani over racially degenerate Romans.⁹² Since the classicism of Goethe's period there had existed the idea of a special bond between Greeks and Germans, which was now interpreted racially.⁹³ It should be emphasised that National Socialist views on ancient history were by no means uniform, and were certainly contradictory in many respects. Hitler had little interest in Germanic prehistory and, at least privately, considered ancient Germanic culture embarrassingly primitive compared

88 KOSINNA's work was mostly based on the following false premise: "Scharf umgrenzte archäologische Kulturprovinzen decken sich zu allen Zeiten mit ganz bestimmten Völkern oder Völkerstämmen." KOSINNA projected Germanic and Indo-European habitation in Northern Europe back much earlier than can reasonably be proven and extended the identification of particular cultures as Germanic and Indo-European more widely than is justifiable, and his claims were cited as Nazi Germany claimed territory to the East (RÖMER (1989), 80–81). KOSINNA's theories of Germanic continuity also implied racial and spiritual continuity (LUND (1995), 90–96).

89 ROSENBERG (1934), 74, 96 as discussed by APEL / BITTNER (1994), 258.

90 Marius, for example, is denigrated by GÜNTHER as an "Adelshasser" and a "fälsch-ostische Rassenmischung"; he carried out reforms against the will of the senate and destroyed the Cimbri and Teutones. GÜNTHER (1929), 93f. See APEL / BITTNER (1994), 263.

91 See below.

92 The fact that tribes such as the Visigoths and Ostrogoths were quite different from the Germani of Caesar's and Tacitus' periods is a complication that receives relatively little attention. The attribution of 'Aryan' or 'Nordic' status became the important factor.

93 KIPF (1999), 221.

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with Greek and Roman achievements.⁹⁴ The Germani, furthermore, were not the only ancient peoples to be appropriated as ancient ancestors of the Germans, and Hitler claimed, "Wenn man uns nach unseren Vorfahren fragt, müssen wir immer auf die Griechen hinweisen."⁹⁵ While the Greeks were, in theory, more important models than the Romans, Latin retained its pre-eminence over Greek in the classroom.⁹⁶

Heinrich Himmler and the SS founded the Ahnenerbe organisation in 1935 to conduct research into Germanic antiquity and racial history. Himmler was considerably more interested than Hitler in Germanic antiquity. The Latinist Rudolf Till received sponsorship to produce a facsimile and critical edition of Germania, which was published in 1943 with a foreword by Himmler.⁹⁷ In the 1920s and 1930s three commentaries on Germania appeared in a short space of time: those of FEHRLE (1929; ²1935; ³1939; ⁴1944), REEB (1930) and MUCH (1937).⁹⁸ FEHRLE was a

94 "Warum stoßen wir die ganze Welt darauf, daß wir keine Vergangenheit haben? ... Himmler ... gerät in Begeisterung über jeden Tonscherben und jede Steinaxt, die er findet. Wir beweisen damit nur, daß wir noch mit Steinbeilen warfen und um offene Feuerstellen hockten, als sich Griechenland und Rom schon auf höchster Kulturstufe befanden. Wir hätten eigentlich allen Grund, über diese Vergangenheit stille zu sein. Statt dessen hängt Himmler das alles an die große Glocke. Wie müssen die heutigen Römer verächtlich über diese Enthüllungen lachen!" SPEER (1976), 108. In a public speech in Karlsruhe on 5 December 1934, however, Hitler said the following: "Wir sind den Römern oder Griechen, den Galliern oder Briten und ihren heutigen Nachfolgern keinen größeren Dank für irgendwelcher Kulturgüter schuldig, als sie uns. Wir brauchen uns unserer Vorfahren ebensowenig zu schämen, wie sie sich der ihrigen. Wir können vielmehr darauf hinweisen, daß die Germanen schon 1000 Jahre, bevor Rom gegründet wurde, einen kulturellen Hochstand erlebt haben." Cited by LUND (1995), 103, with reference to: von Richthofen, B., Die Vor- und Frühgeschichtsforschung im neuen Deutschland (1937) Berlin, 44; also in introduction by W. HÜLLE to 7th edition of KOSMINA (1936), iii.

95 Related by, amongst others, PRICKER (1976), 85 and cited by SCOBIE (1990), 13. Hitler's plan to re-name Berlin 'Germania' shows that his admiration of the ancient Mediterranean world extended so far as to lead him to consider applying a Latin name to the planned German 'Welthauptstadt' (SCOBIE (1990), 112). In Mein Kampf, Hitler wrote, "Der Kampf, der heute tobt, geht um ganz große Ziele: eine Kultur kämpft um ihr Dasein, die Jahrtausende in sich verbindet und Griechen- und Germanentum gemeinsam umschließt." HITLER (1934), 470.

96 Neither Latin nor Greek was such a high priority as to warrant such a difficult and expensive change in policy as placing Greek ahead of Latin in schools.

97 SCHAMA (1995), 79.

98 STÄDELE (1997), 523.

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member of the SA and later the SS, and was regarded as "NS-Volks-kundecheffideologe".⁹⁹ Racial ideology informs FEHRLE's whole approach to Germania:

Vollständigkeit habe ich nicht angestrebt. Es kommt mir vor allem darauf an, die Erbwerte zu betonen, die auch heute noch in unserem Volke leben und allezeit Grundlagen unserer sittlichen Haltung sein werden.¹⁰⁰

He describes the Germani as representatives of arisches Bauerntum and considers Tacitus to have had a deep, racially-determined understanding of the Germani:

Aus diesem altarischen Bauernblut des Tacitus und seiner rassischen Verbundenheit mit uns ist sein Verständnis für unsere Ahnen zu erklären.¹⁰¹

The following passage outlines the appropriation of Germanic history and pre-history as 'national' disciplines:

Die Germaniaforschung ist im Weltkriege und nachher immer neu belebt worden... Das deutsche Volk kam in dem gewaltigen Ringen zu sich selbst. Weitsehende Männer mit völkischer Haltung sahen ein, daß Deutschlands Erneuerung vom eigenen Volkstum ausgehen müsse. Deshalb suchte man aus Gegenwart und Vergangenheit germanisch-deutsche Art zu erforschen und für das Gestalten unserer Lebenshaltung nutzbar zu machen. Bei diesen Bestrebungen ist die Frühgeschichte unseres Volkes von hervorragender Bedeutung. Denn in der Frühzeit ist unsere Kultur noch nicht durch so viel Entfremdungen umgestaltet wie später. Bei Erforschung der Frühzeit steht die Germania des Tacitus an erster Stelle.¹⁰²

School editions and commentaries were subject to the practical requirements of explaining linguistic difficulties, and ideological influences are usually less prevalent, though a commentary by Hugo Zimmermann includes the following statement of intent:

99 LUND (1995), 32.

100 FEHRLE (1939), xv.

101 FEHRLE (1939), xv.

102 FEHRLE (1939), xii-xiii. GUSTAF KOSMINA published, in 1912, a work which (before the First World War) exemplified the attitude FEHRLE describes, with the title Die deutsche Vorgeschichte, eine hervorragend nationale Wissenschaft.

Es kommt uns hierbei in erster Linie darauf an, die Ewigkeitswerte unseres Volkstums aufzuzeigen, die als Eigenschaften in unserem Blute liegen, in den großen Zeitläufen der Geschichte immer wiederkehren und Richtung weisen.¹⁰³

Between the National Socialists' coming to power in 1933 and the promulgation of a comprehensive educational decree, Erziehung und Unterricht in der höheren Schule,¹⁰⁴ on 29 January 1938, there was piecemeal reform, much of it towards the Vereinheitlichung des höheren Schulwesens, a drive to reduce the number of school systems operating in Germany, which had approached 70 during the Weimar Republic.¹⁰⁵ Many representatives of the Humanist Gymnasien, fearing further marginalisation or even abolition of their school system, attempted to promote instruction in the ancient languages as a form of 'Nationalbildung' compatible with National Socialist politics and ideology.¹⁰⁶

Erziehung und Unterricht established the single-sex Oberschule as the main type of secondary school. For boys there were a grundständige Form encompassing the fifth to the twelfth years of school and an Aufbauform starting in the seventh year.¹⁰⁷ In the former, English was compulsory from year 5 and Latin from year 7. The Aufbauform had compulsory English from year 7 and Latin from year 9.¹⁰⁸ In the grundständige Oberschule for girls, only English was compulsory (from year 5). The Oberstufe offered a home-economics branch and a linguistic branch, the latter giving the option of Latin and a modern language from year 10. The Aufbauform for girls had no Latin as home economics was the only course available. The Humanist Gymnasien remained in existence, but

103 ZIMMERMANN (1943), as cited by KOLLER (1989), 95; I have been unable to find details about this edition beyond those cited by KOLLER.

104 Hereafter referred to as Erziehung und Unterricht or EUhS.

105 FLESSAU (1977), 21. FRITSCH (1982), 20–23.

106 FRITSCH (1982), 22. NICKEL (1972), 485–503, provides a large number of citations from representatives of the Humanist Gymnasien, especially in the years before the definitive decree Erziehung und Unterricht in der höheren Schule of 1938.

107 The Aufbauform was designed for pupils transferring from other kinds of school into the Oberstufe.

108 In the Oberstufe (years 10–12) boys had a scientific and a linguistic option, the latter offering a second modern language (French, Italian or Spanish).

they were marginalised, without the prestige that they had enjoyed in the 19th century. Whereas there had been 300 Humanist Gymnasien in Prussia in 1900 there were only 100 in Germany in 1938, about 13% of all secondary schools for boys.¹⁰⁹ Those who had hoped to see the Humanist Gymnasien rise to pre-eminence as a Nationalschule that would provide Germany with its future elite were disappointed.¹¹⁰ It should be borne in mind that the plans outlined in Erziehung und Unterricht were never fully implemented because of disruptions caused by the Second World War.¹¹¹

"Nationalismus, Rassismus, Führerkult, Totalitarismus und Militarismus" were the guiding principles of National Socialist education.¹¹² "Das nationalsozialistische Erziehungssystem ist seinem Ursprung nach nicht ein Werk der pädagogischen Planung, sondern des politischen Kampfes und seiner Gesetze" (EUhS, 11). The educational philosophy of Neumanism was turned on its head as the purpose of education was changed from developing the individual's personal and intellectual autonomy to schooling the younger generation in conformity and obedience to the state. The word 'Volksbildung' signified not the education of the Volk, but the moulding, or even creation, of the Volk through education.¹¹³

Building on the Kulturkunde or Deutschkunde movement of the Weimar Republic, German, History and Geography, as "deutschkundliche

109 APEL / BITTNER (1994), 345.

110 NICKEL (1972), 489–490 cites recommendations that the Humanist Gymnasium, as "vorbildliche Kraft des nordischen Geistes für die Erziehung deutscher Führer" be made the training ground for Germany's future leaders by instructing them in "Rassenbewußtsein" that will oppose them to liberalism, democracy and the 'Oriental' influence of Bolsheviks and Jews (see APEL / BITTNER (1994), 345). While the Gymnasium remained for academic training, the future party leaders and political elites were to be groomed in a small number of Adolf-Hitler-Schulen (see FLESSAU (1977), 16).

111 FRITSCH (1982), 23. SCHMIDT (2001), 297–298 points out that despite the enthusiasm of some academics for National Socialism (particularly HANS DREXLER and HANS OPPERMANN and, with reference to Germania, RUBOLF TILL), the space of just six years before the outbreak of the Second World War did not allow for anything like a complete ideological takeover of university Latin studies.

112 FRITSCH (1982), 26.

113 FLESSAU (1977), 67.

Fächer“, were identified as the most important. Erziehung und Unterricht listed Germanic heroes to be presented in History class, starting with Adolf Hitler and “Helden der nationalsozialistischen Erhebung und des Weltkriegs” and going back to “Armin” – making Hitler the culmination of a mythical Germanic destiny that began with Arminius’ defeating the Romans in AD 9 (EUhS, 76). All ancient and modern history was to be interpreted according to the concepts “Rasse” and “nordische Schöpferkraft” (EUhS, 91–2).¹¹⁴ Racism was the central unifying principle of the whole Nazi educational plan as outlined in Erziehung und Unterricht.¹¹⁵

Erziehung und Unterricht prescribed Rassenbewußtsein as a leading justification for teaching Latin and Greek, which were identified as the languages of Nordic races. Instruction in Roman and Greek language, history and culture was supposed to strengthen pupils’ “nordische Geistesrichtung” (EUhS, 231). The aim of school Latin was “ein Erkennen und Verstehen der Haltung des Römern, durch die dieses nordisch bestimmte Volk in einer bedrohenden Umwelt durch Schaffung seines Staates sich selbst behauptet hat” (EUhS, 233). The Germani were allotted a particularly important place in the Nazi guidelines for Latin. In all types of school, instruction in Latin should ultimately lead to the “Darstellung Germaniens und der römisch-germanischen Zusammenstöße bei Cäsar und Tacitus”, with reference to “die eigentümliche deutsche Stellung inmitten der Völker Europas” and the “Hauptaufgabe der Selbstbehauptung, die diese Stellung uns auferlegt”. Teaching should also show “die Bedeutung Roms für die Entstehung eines römischen Zivilisationsbewusstseins” and present “die Eigentümliche Stellung Deutschlands ... als Schicksal und Aufgabe” (EUhS, 233).¹¹⁶

Never before nor since have the educational authorities required such a disproportionately heavy emphasis on the Germani for their own sake. The set readings for schools (especially those schools that spent the last time on Latin) were severely skewed in favour of Tacitus’ and Caesar’s texts involving the Germani. The thematic emphasis prescribed for read-

114 FLESSAU (1977), 81.

115 FRITTSCH (1982), 27–28.

116 FRITTSCH (1982), 29.

ings is reflected in the subject matter of textbooks for language learning.¹¹⁷

Erziehung und Unterricht reduced the time allotted to Latin in schools. Gymnasium pupils now received 35 Wochenstunden of instruction over eight years, down from 53. Economizing on material was necessary. Reading must be focused as far as possible on ideologically significant texts and themes. One solution was to group selected and excerpted readings around desired themes – a teaching strategy that had only been tried to a limited extent before and which, after the war, first appeared again in the 1960s. Themes to be covered included Alt-Rom (which fitted the notion that the early Romans were true Aryans before Eastern influences took hold), Das Werk des Augustus (which promoted the concept of racial renewal under a Führer-figure) and Die Darstellung des Germanentums bei Caesar und Tacitus.¹¹⁸ Documented school inspections from the Rhine Province during the Third Reich show Tacitus to be the most widely read author, being taught in 27.5% of inspected lessons with Germania, the Annals and the Histories roughly evenly represented. Caesar’s Gallic War and Livy each feature in 20% of lessons, and Cicero and Virgil in 7.5% each, while other authors being read include Terence, Ovid and Horace.¹¹⁹

Erziehung und Unterricht required the replacement of old teaching materials. The following is an analysis of three new approved works for different types of school. They will be introduced individually and then trends and themes from the various works will be discussed. Generally we encounter the same features of the “Lesebuchgermanen” familiar

117 It is worth noting that the biased historical emphasis on Roman-Germanic encounters (that is, wars) was already present in Ludus Latinus I and II. Under the Third Reich, however, this bias was part of a systematic attempt to make Indogermanic / Aryan / Germanic Selbstbehauptung the guiding thread of world history.

118 FRITTSCH (1982), 52–54. Many selections of texts were available. By way of example, the press Velhagen und Klasing published a series, Lateinische und griechische Lesehefte, which included such titles as: Die Entdeckung Germaniens und der Germanen – Quellenzeugnisse aus der Antike; Germanenkunde – Zeugnisse aus spät- und mittellateinischen Quellen; Tacitus’ Germania; Julius Civilis – Der Freiheitskampf der Bataver, and Arminius – Sämtliche lateinischen Zeugnisse zur Geschichte des Befreiers Deutschlands, dazu die griechischen in Übersetzung.

119 APEL / BITTNER (1994), 307.

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from Ostermann, Ludus Latinus and other earlier textbooks, so particular emphasis will be placed upon elements of Nazi ideology embedded in the textbooks' Germanenbild.

In identifying National Socialist influences on textbooks, one must remember that the practical purpose of the texts still takes precedence. The primary concern of the authors always had to be linguistic instruction. In addition, the features of the traditional Lehrbuchgermanen that had long provided points of reference for nationalist justifications of Latin teaching could be carried over wholesale into the new textbooks. Although many aspects of the new textbooks' portrayal of the Germani and the ancient world in general are compatible with the ideology of National Socialism, the differences from earlier textbooks are often noticeable only in matters of emphasis and specific references to ideological doctrines are relatively infrequent, though they do occur and will be discussed below.

The Lateinisches Unterrichtswerk edited by Ludwig Mader and Otto Wecker reflects the requirement to match the new Richtlinien "nach Inhalt, Aufgabestellung und Umfang" (Lat. Unt. MW I A, v).¹²⁰ The book was approved for use at Oberschulen by boys learning Latin from their seventh year of school. Wecker, the main author, was a proponent of the inductive approach to learning grammar.¹²¹ There is a fairly wide variety of subject matter, including fables and Greek as well as Roman myth and history. The focus is more firmly on antiquity than was the case in Ludus Latinus, though politically motivated references to the present day are notable in a few instances. The introduction states,

Der Stoff der Lesestücke will in einem ersten Gang in die römische und antike Welt einführen und zugleich diese Welt als uns nah erscheinen lassen, trotz ihrer zeitlichen und sachlichen Ferne (Lat. Unt. MW I A, v).

The motivation of this approach is to ease the pupils' introduction to the ancient world by making it seem closer to the modern world – and as we have seen before, Germany and Germania are chosen as the points

¹²⁰ The book will hereafter referred to as Mader-Wecker or Lat. Unt. MW. The 'A' version was intended for use in Oberschulen for boys.

¹²¹ FRITTSCH (1982), 35.

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of identification. The first ten lessons are entitled: Von Deutschland; De Italia et Graecia; De Diana, Latona, Niobe; De Rheno; De Germanis antiquis; Fortsetzung; Römische Überreste in Deutschland; De castris Romanis; Von der Saalburg; Nach dem Besuch der Saalburg. The topic of Roman forts in Germania recurs throughout these passages, bringing Romano-Germanic wars to the fore.¹²²

The first collection of loosely-connected sentences in volume I, headed "Von Deutschland", contains the familiar elements of a Lateinbuch introduction to Germania / Germany:

Germania est patria nostra. Quis Germaniam non amat? Cui patria non placet? Gloria Germaniae magna est. Germaniae vicina est Gallia. Silvae Germaniae magnae sunt et incolae delectant. Poetae silvas laudant. Bestiae silvarum agricolis nocent... (Lat. Unt. MW I A, 3).

There is an immediate appeal to patriotism and glory. The forests are presented as a delight to the inhabitants, though we are also told that the wild beasts of the forests are noxious to the farmers. The familiar textbook topos of poets who praise the fatherland appears here and on page 5 ("Germanorum poetae et castella amoena et bona vina Rheni celebrant") – presumably a reference to modern poetae Germanorum.

The next passage, headed "De Italia et Graecia" clearly refers to the racial theories used as the basis for the Latin Lehrplan in Erziehung und Unterricht. A teacher is asked why he is teaching his class Latin and replies, "Multis de causis vos linguam Latinam doceo; unam nomino. Lingua nostra et lingua Latina et lingua Graeca ex una familia linguarum derivatae sunt." He is thus referring to the ancient connexion between the Italic, Greek and Germanic branches of the Indo-European language family. He goes on to say, "Incolae Italiae et Graeciae olim cum incolis Germaniae in una terra habitabant." This claim is only explicable in the context of theories about shared Indo-European / Nordic / Aryan origins that sprang from the conflation of ethnic and linguistic groups, and the appropriation of Indogermanic studies for the purposes of racial ideol-

¹²² See also Lat. Unt. MW I A, 14–15 "Nächtlicher Angriff", which is accompanied by a relief from Trajan's column with the caption "Germanen im Angriff gegen Römer."

ogy.¹²³ The textbook justifies the teaching of Latin by reference to the Nordic connexion outlined in Erziehung und Unterricht without specifically using any of the key-words associated with this ideology. The passage cited also includes a reference to recent history ("Cum incolis Italiae nuper amicitia renovata est"), as if the fact had relevance to the ancient context – another result of the conflation of ancient and modern through the theory of racial continuity (Lat. Unt. MW I A, 4).¹²⁴

While the very ancient links between Latin and German are presented as a good reason for modern-day German pupils to learn Latin, more recent contact between the languages appears later in the same book in a negative light. A passage headed "Unsitte in Familiennamen; Berufsnamen" states the following:

Olim apud maiores nostros mos malus erat, ut viri docti vocabula sermonis Latini usurparent et sermoni patrio immiscerent; nam sermonem patrium in magno honore non habebant (Lat. Unt. MW I A, 15).

It goes on to describe the practice of using Latin translations of German surnames taken from people's professions. The pupils are presented with the Unsitte of viri docti, whose appropriation of Latin words is a slight to the German language – a parochial attitude at odds with the long-standing justification of Latin teaching on the grounds that much German vocabulary had been borrowed from Latin.¹²⁵

The Germani in Mader-Wecker are described in conventional terms in sentences borrowed primarily from Tacitus' Germania and adapted. The only notable exception is the statement, "Ferrum rarum erat; aurum autem et argentum magni aestimabantur", which contradicts the com-

¹²³ RÖMER (1989), 62–102. VON SEE (1970), 85ff.

¹²⁴ The Romans and Greeks are also summarily characterised: "Roma et disciplina et gloria bellica clara erat, Athenae et doctrina et litteris florebant" (Lat. Unt. MW I A, 4).

¹²⁵ Mader-Wecker has the following summary at the end of its "A B C des Übersetzens": "In diesem Umdenken und eigenen Nachgestalten liegt ein wertvolles Mittel, die eigene Ausdrucksfähigkeit in der Muttersprache gerade auch am Lateinischen zu schulen. Deutscher, lerne deutsch – auch am Lateinischen!" (Lat. Unt. MW I, 97) Erziehung und Unterricht outlines the purpose of learning Latin as the improvement of one's German through contact with the mighty "Sprachgeist" of Latin (EUHS, 235).

mon stereotype of the Germani as careless of wealth (Lat. Unt. MW I A, 5). Germanic patriotism is expressed in particularly strong terms in passage 6: "Germani patriam terram sacram (esse) putabant, quamquam caelum Germaniae asperum et ager Germanus piger erat" (Lat. Unt. MW I A, 6). By way of introducing present passive verb forms, the next passage places words in the mouths of a teacher and student: "*Valde delectator, cum... nobis de Germanis narras, magister! A cunctis laudaris, nam cuncti valde delectamur.*" – "*Gaudeo, quod... delectamini*" (Lat. Unt. MW I A, 6). Similarly, the description of Germanic victories over the Romans is supposed to excite feelings of pride and incite pupils to emulate such warlike deeds: "Tamen castellum expugnatum et deletum est. Nonne laudabitis proavos? – Etiam vos adversarios superabitis, si viri estis! An... superabimini? An tu fugeberis, Carole? Numquam superabor, numquam fugabimur!" (Lat. Unt. MW I A, 7). A Roman and a Germanic boy, who can perhaps be regarded as early examples of *Identifikationsfiguren*, appear in another passage where the latter asserts the commonplace that despite the harsh climate the Germani love their homeland better than the Romans love theirs.¹²⁶ The intended strong identification with the Germani is again evident in the passage "Familien- und Ahnengeschichte" which reflects Nazi ideology regarding Aryan ancestry and, by way of practising indirect questions, slides from an interrogation about recent ancestors ("Scisne quis avus tuus fuerit? ubi natus sit? ubi habitaverit?" and questions in a similar vein) directly onto the subject of the Germani:

Narrate quid de proavis nostris audiveritis! Scitisne, ubi Germani antiqui habitaverint? ... cur Germania antiqua Romanis non placuerit? quibus rebus Germani Romanos terruerint? ubi exercitus Vari deletus sit? (Lat. Unt. MW A I, 11).

The cover of *Exercitium Latinum (1941)* is adorned with a Roman eagle from the time of Trajan which is presumably favoured because of its striking similarity to one of the favoured Nazi designs of the German

¹²⁶ For *Identifikationsfiguren* (characters in textbooks; generally children, with whom pupils are supposed to identify) see chapter 5, where there is also a discussion of Germanic patriotism in textbooks as a corruption of Tac. Germ. 2.

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Reichsadler.¹²⁷ The author, Gerhard Röttger, had also produced a revised volume of Ludus Latinus in 1938, which was a conflation of volumes III and IV of the textbook's Bavarian version, intended for use in the reduced circumstances under which Latin found itself following the decree Erziehung und Unterricht. The eagle appeared also in that volume as an illustration (LL ^{12/9}III/IVB, 16). Exercitium Latinum is intended for Aufbauschulen and Mädchenschulen with between one-and-a-half and two years of grammatical instruction. It is therefore particularly condensed and restricted to the necessities (EL, iii). The foreword promises a similar approach to other textbooks of the time.

Der Inhalt der Stücke ist der römischen Sage und Geschichte entnommen und sucht durch Schilderung großer Ereignisse und bedeutender Persönlichkeiten zugleich die wesentlichen Züge des Römerturns sichtbar zu machen. Während der erste Teil der Stücke im allgemeinen frei komponiert ist, schließen sich die späteren in steigendem Maße an Originalabschnitte an, jedoch immer nur, soweit es der jeweilige Übungszweck, der stets vordringlich ist, zuläßt. Die letzten Stücke schaffen den unmittelbaren Übergang zu Cäsar (EL, iv).

Perhaps because of its particular emphasis on keeping to the 'essentials', the subject matter of Exercitium Latinum is more strongly weighted towards martial and Germanic topics than the less compressed works for Oberschulen.¹²⁸ Of the 59 chapters, eleven are concerned with the Germani, of which most (eight) are among the 'freely composed' passages making up roughly the first half of the book.

Fundamenta Linguae Latinae (version A, 1942) edited by Hans Rubenbauer and Max Leitschuh was also intended for boys taking Latin from their seventh school year at Oberschulen. The introduction describes the selection of subject matter as follows:

Es wurde Wert darauf gelegt, hier vor allem historische und kulturgeschichtliche Belehrung über Rom und Germanien in reichem Maße zu bieten, um so auf die Historikerlektüre vorzubereiten (FLL I ^{5A}, iii).

¹²⁷ The book will henceforth be referred to as Exercitium or EL. The source of the eagle device is given in LL ^{12/9}III/IV B, viii. 'B' in this instance denotes the Bavarian version of the book.

¹²⁸ Hereafter, Fundamenta or FLL.

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In Fundamenta, the "Vorübung", the opening sentences that familiarise the pupils with some of the endings, immediately introduce Varus and Arminius doing exactly what Varus and Arminius are expected to do:

Arminius pugnat. Armin kämpft.

Arminius et Varus pugnant. Armin und Varus kämpfen.

Was tut Armin? pugnat = er kämpft.

Was tun Armin und Varus? pugnant = sie kämpfen.

Arminius et Sigimerus pugnant, sed Flavius non pugnat ... Varus clamat: "Cur non pugnat, Romani? Cur desperatis?" – "Frustra pugnamus: nam Arminius nos superat." ... "Nos pugnamus et speramus; cur vos desperatis? Sperate! Arminius vos liberat." – Germani orant: "Serva et libera nos!" – Pugnat et laborate! (EL, 1).

Apart from one passage entitled Drei römische Göttinnen, the practice sentences and passages continue in much the same bellicose vein. Among the first verb forms learnt are the present tense imperatives, as in the selections quoted above. The first few pages of the book therefore include many orders, most of which, utilising the limited vocabulary so far available, are warlike in nature: "Serva et custodi nos!" "Doce nos pugnare et triumphare!" "Parate patriae gloriam!" (EL, 2). Wehrgeistige Erziehung was a particular concern of National Socialist education, and the predominance of warlike subject matter, which followed longstanding precedents in traditional Latin textbooks, suited this purpose.¹²⁹ Arminius' revolt against Varus is related in terms of a national uprising (see chapters 1 and 2), a reading also evident in Lat. Unt. MW A I, 27 and Lat. Unt. MW A II, 3; the latter treats the epithet liberator Germaniae as if its

¹²⁹ KrPF (1999), 239–241, mentions wehrgeistige Erziehung and paramilitary programmes in physical education classes and the Hitler Youth, and discusses interpretations of Herodotus which promoted a warlike Weltanschauung and the Führer principle.

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origin were among Arminius' compatriots, when in fact it originates in a rhetorical passage of Tacitus' *Annals* (2.88.2).¹³⁰ The Nazi model of world history portrayed the Nazi takeover of power as a nationale Erhebung and presented the Führer as the most recent in a line of Germanic leaders going back to Arminius. The interpretation of Arminius' revolt as an expression of the will of the Volk to be free was not a National Socialist innovation, but rather the appropriation of an existing interpretation of the event which fitted National Socialist historical models.

The 1942 edition of *Fundamenta Linguae Latinae* has had some of the more difficult grammatical features removed from an earlier version and the vocabulary has been focused more closely on requirements for reading Caesar (FLL I ⁵A, iii-iv). This also means that the vocabulary has become more focused on the Latin of war. War is the main topic of ten of the 38 passages and features in many others, sometimes unexpectedly as in the passage headed *Römische Art*:

Romam, patriam populi Romani, alta templa et magna fora ornant. Romani antiqui patriam (suam) amant. Iusti et firmi sunt. Magnus est numerus adversariorum, sed Romani adversarios non timent. Itaque de victoria numquam desperant, sed multis bellis non solum ceteros populos Italiae, sed etiam Graecos, Gallos, Brittanos superant. Germanos autem frustra terrere student. Arminius enim Germaniam magna pugna liberat. Tamen magnum animum populi Romanorum antiquorum laudare non dubitamus (FLL A ⁵I, 5).

Here, the Romans' patriotism, courage and conquests are presented as exemplary. The passage attempts to find the requisite balance between assertion of Germanic superiority and the admiration for the Romans that justified the study of their language and culture.

While the contrast between Romans and Germani could be portrayed so as to emphasise Roman degeneracy and simple Germanic virtue, the

¹³⁰ TIMPE (2006=1999), 436-437, observes that what was a "literarisch vorgeprägt[e] Wendung" is still often regarded as an "Ausdruck persönlicher Bewunderung", one which "generationenlang als inappellables Urteil der Geschichte betrachtet und das in diesem Sinne auf das Hermannsdenkmal bei Detmold geschrieben wurde." It is, he points out, highly unlikely that Arminius would have been regarded by himself or any of the Cherusci as the liberator of Germania, as Germania was a term invented by the Romans and the so-called 'Germani' are unlikely to have identified themselves by this Roman exonym.

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contrast could also present the Romans as rational and civilised, the Germani as wild and primitive.¹³¹ Germanophilia led to attempts to deny or discredit the negative portrayal of the Germani as barbarians. A 1937 exhibition in Berlin-Charlottenburg entitled *Lebendige Vorzeit*, which had as its patrons the Reichsleiter and major Nazi ideologue ALFRED ROSENBERG and Reichsarbeiter WILHELM HIJERL, set out in to dispel the "Barbarenlüge über die Germanen."¹³²

Wer behauptet, die Germanen seien kulturlose Heiden gewesen, fälscht die Geschichte und begeht ein Verbrechen am deutschen Volke.

Hans Schemm¹³³

In *Fundamenta* we see a similar intention, the argument being placed in the mouth of a Roman in the passage *Römische Urteile über Germanien*: two Romans discuss Germani and one of them tells of how he has observed the Germani first-hand and knows:

Incolae Germaniae non barbari sunt, ut putas. Agricolae boni sunt, deos adorant, feminas honorant. ...Germani Romanis exemplum vitae probae et iustae praebent (FLL A ⁵I, 6).

Caesar's statement, "agri culturae non student" (BG 6.22.1), is a commonplace of ancient portrayals of barbarians, yet the refutation of these misleading presentations of the Germani stands alongside the accept-

¹³¹ VON SEE (1970), 102-105. VON ESSEN (1998), 21-36.

¹³² Führer durch die Ausstellung *Lebendige Vorzeit* im Lichthof der Technischen Hochschule Berlin-Charlottenburg, 15 February-15 April 1937, Leipzig 1937, cited by LUND (1995), 80.

¹³³ Führer durch die Ausstellung *Lebendige Vorzeit* im Lichthof der Technischen Hochschule Berlin-Charlottenburg, cited by LUND (1995), 80-81. Hans Schemm was at the time the Kultusminister of Bavaria. He had also been the Reichsleiter of the Nationalsozialistischer Lehrerbund (APEL / BITTNER (1994), 229). APEL / BITTNER also refer to several articles in didactic publications of the time that rejected the appellation *barbari* for the Germani. Due to delays in the international interloan process it was not possible for me to obtain copies of these articles. The references are as follows: MAIER, H., "Barbarenlüge im Lesebuch", in: *Nationalsozialistisches Bildungswesen* (1937), 122-124; GABLER, K., "Die nordischen 'Barbaren' in der antiken Literatur", in: *Die Deutsche Höhere Schule* (1938), 263-267; SCHÄFER, K., "Das Wort 'Barbaren' im Wandel der Zeiten", in: *Monatsschrift für höhere Schulen*, 35 (1936), 261-268.

ance of moral commonplaces about Germanic simplicity and exemplary morality. The attempt to make the Germani into good farmers was in line with Nazi Blut-und-Boden ideology, which idealised the farmer-soldier and favoured the image of the Germanic farmer, bound to his Scholle (plot of land).¹³⁴ The "Nordic" Romans, too, were supposed to have fitted this ideal in the early stages of their history. Volume II of Mader-Wecker begins with a picture of a ploughman and a passage, "De vita rustica", which states:

Horatius Romanos gentem `rusticorum militum' appellavit, quod, nisi bellandum erat, agros strenue colentes vitam egerunt. Etiam Catonis verba memoria tenenda sunt: Vir vere Romanus semper bonus agricola bonusque colonus (Lat. Unt. MW A II, 1).

Exercitium opens with the passages, "Die Römer ein Bauernvolk" and "Die Römer ein Wehrhaftes Volk". Just as in Fundamenta, the Germani, too, are presented as good farmers, and, moreover, inhabitants of a fertile land:

Germani antiqui terram fecundam incolebant... Incolae Germaniae boni agricolae erant. In Germania magna copia frumenti erat (EL, 2).

Germanis agri fecundi erant (EL, 3).

The extent to which Exercitium has attempted to match its content to the requirements of National Socialist ideology is evident in the German titles of many passages. The material is supposed to be interpreted in terms of National Socialist slogans and key-words. The battle of Teutoburg Forest is a "Germanische Befreiungsschlacht" (EL, 6), the destruction of the Cimbri and Teutones is described as "Germanisches Völkerschicksal" (EL, 16), and Menenius Agrippa's handling of the secession of the plebs is headed "Volksgemeinschaft!" (EL, 17). The use of the racial terminology prescribed by Erziehung und Unterricht is also noticeable in the heading of illustrations (see appendix, figure 6).

Conclusions

Many features of the Germanenbild of textbooks produced under National Socialism were already long-established or had been confirmed by the Kulturkunde movement of the Weimar Republic. The most important changes to be noted in textbooks that followed the National Socialist educational decree of 1938 are implicit or explicit justifications for the teaching of Latin. The material was supposed to serve new educational purposes, which included wehrgeistige Erziehung and Rassenbewusstsein. In numerous instances, it is apparent that passages of conventional textbook material have been reframed by headings that reflect National Socialist ideology.

Textbooks produced after Erziehung und Unterricht abounded in military subject matter, but so did their predecessors. Some particular points of emphasis can be noted: the portrayal of Germanic farmer-soldiers, in line with Blut-und-Boden ideology, and the concomitant denial that the Germani were barbarians: they are presented instead as an Aryan Hochkultur alongside Greece and Rome. The attempt to reshape Altertumskunde to include Germania alongside Greece and Rome is the most striking feature of the National Socialist influence on study of the ancient languages in schools, and one which influenced the choice of texts recommended by educational authorities.

The Lehrplan required that Romans, Greeks and Germani be presented as related 'Nordic' races. Occasionally, as in the beginning of Mader-Wecker, such ideology becomes apparent, but the use of vocabulary applicable to the National Socialist view of history only occurs in some textbooks. For the Lehrpläne to serve their purpose it was necessary only for the existing stereotype of the Lesebuchgermanen to be bolstered, as the Nazi Germanenbild was based on the application of new slogans and the ideology of race to a clichéd Germanenbild that had already long existed.

134 See Lund (1995), 11–13, for the application of the contrast between germanisches Bauerntum and urbanised civilisation to Nazi anti-Semitic ideology.

Abbreviations

See bibliography for further information about textbooks.

Caes. BG Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*

EL Exercitium Latinum, Lese- und Übungsbuch, RÖTTGER, G., Leipzig / Berlin 1941.

EUhS Erziehung und Unterricht in der höheren Schule. Amtliche Ausgabe des Reichs- und Preußischen Ministeriums für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung, Berlin 1938.

FAZ Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung

FLL Fundamenta Linguae Latinae, Lateinisches Lehr- und Lesebuch (I A für die dritte Klasse der Oberschule), L. VOIT / H. ZINSMEISTER, Bamberg / Munich / Berlin / Reichenberg ⁵1942.

LL Ludus Latinus, (various versions and editions). For example, (LL I ⁸A, iii) refers to Ludus Latinus, part I, version A (outside Bavaria), eighth edition; page iii.

Lat. Unt. Bornemann

Lateinisches Unterrichtswerk, E. BORNEMANN (various versions and editions; see LL for notation).

Lat. Unt. Krüger

Lateinisches Unterrichtswerk, M. KRÜGER, (various versions and editions; see LL for notation).

Lat. Unt. MW

Lateinisches Unterrichtswerk, L. MADER / O. WECKER, (various versions and editions; see LL for notation).

Lat. Üb. Ost.

Lateinisches Übungsbuch im Anschluß an ein grammatikalisch geordnetes Vocabularium, erste Abtheilung für Sexta, CHRISTIAN OSTERMANN, Leipzig ⁸1872.

Lat. Üb. Ost.-M.

Lateinisches Übungsbuch (I: Sexta), CHRISTIAN OSTERMANN / H. MÜLLER (ed.), Leipzig ⁵1896.

Tac. Ann. Tacitus, *Annals*

Tac. Ger. Tacitus, *Germania*

Tac. Hist. Tacitus, *Histories*

TAZ Die Tageszeitung, Berlin

Vell. Hist. Velleius Paterculus, *History of Rome*

Appendix – The Germani in schoolbook illustrations

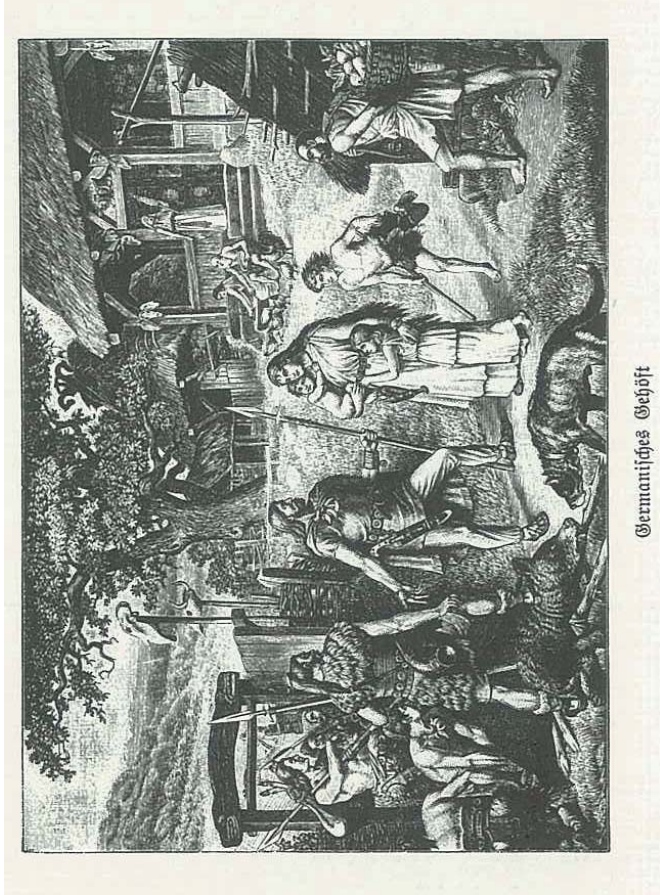


Figure 1: The frontispiece of a 19th century school edition of Tacitus' historical works (WEIDNER, A., ed., *Tacitus' historische Schriften in Auswahl für den Schulgebrauch* herausgegeben. I. Teil: Text, Leipzig, 1896). The picture is reproduced by MAIER, ed. (1989b), frontispiece, and in Felix (2004), 149. Many traditional Germanic clichés are evident. The men, posturing heroically, are powerfully built and even the boy is energetic and somewhat muscular and carries a stick which presages the weapons that he will later bear like the men in the picture. One of the hunter-warriors wears animal skins. The high pony tail worn by some of the men was a common way of portraying the Germani before the side-knotted Suebenknoten was discovered on bog corpses (see figures 2 and 4 for the hairstyle seen here and figure 6 for an ancient sculpture with side-knotted hair).

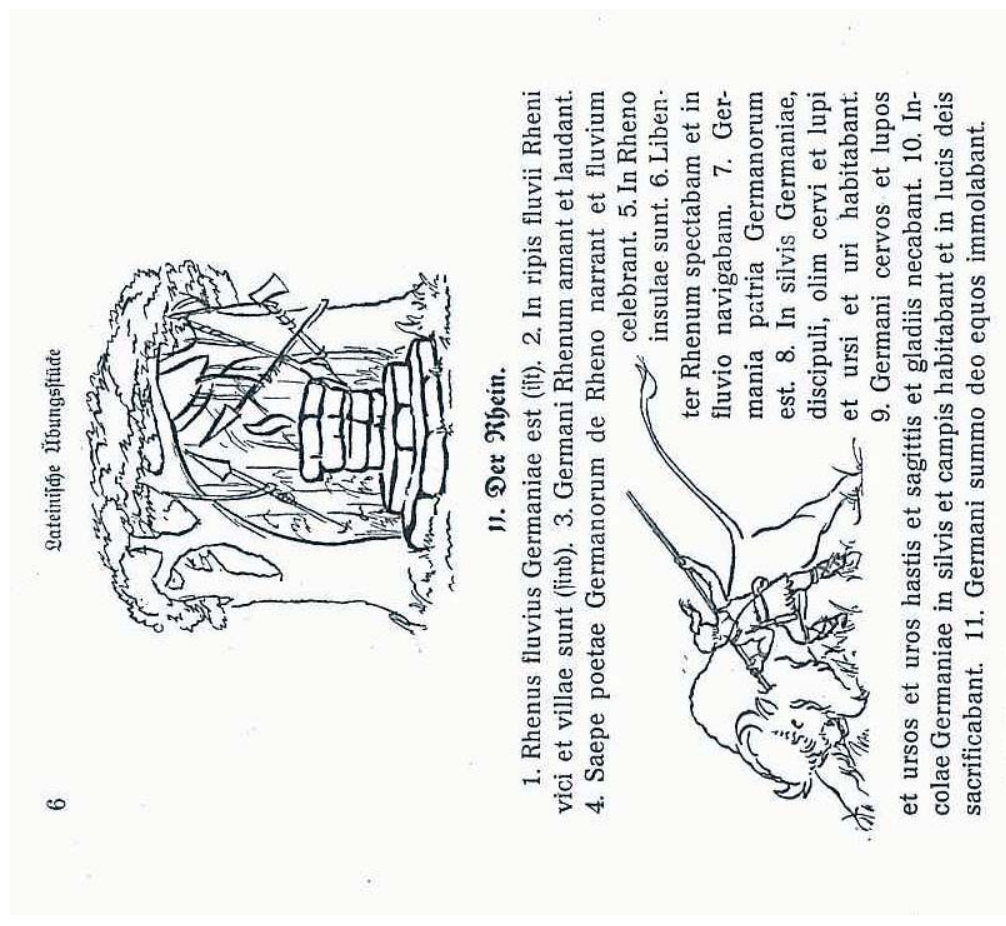


Figure 2: Ludus Latinus 1, first edition (1926) page 6. The first picture shows a sacred grove in the forest, festooned with weapons. The second portrays a hunter with the wild hairstyle often imagined upon the Germani (see figure 1), in mortal combat with a giant aurochs. The Germani were almost always armed, whether as hunters or warriors, in illustrations of the time. The text celebrates the wild Germanic Urwald and although the picture clearly represents ancient Germania, the text's 'Germania' is both ancient and contemporary.

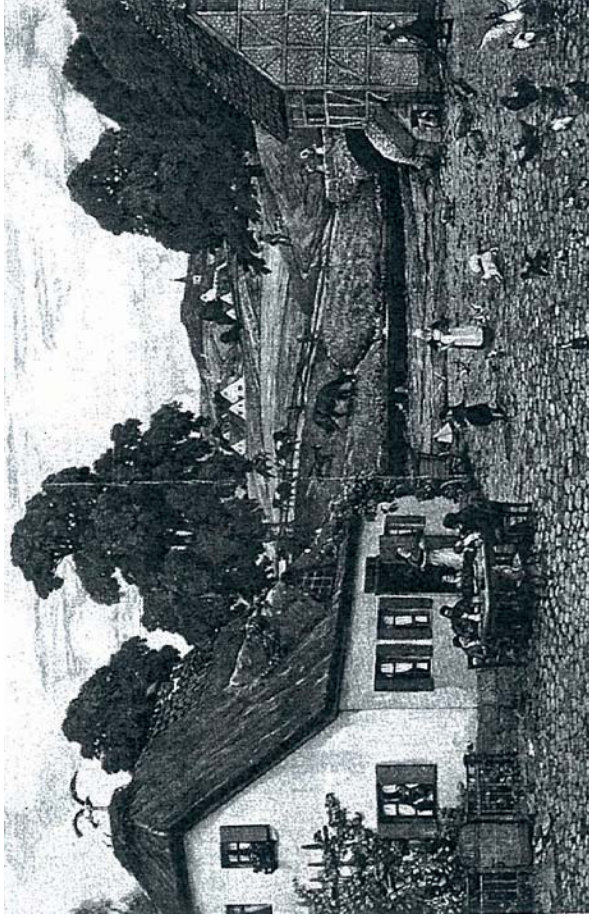


Figure 3: A black-and-white reproduction of the first colour picture in a German Latin textbook, Ludus Latinus I (1932) frontispiece. The first sight to greet the pupil embarking on the ancient foreign language was a storybook farmyard from an ideal rural German Heimat.

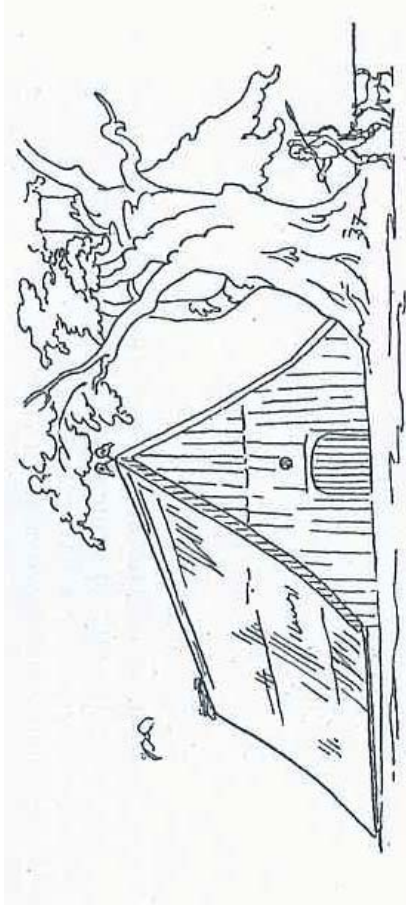


Figure 4: Ludus Latinus I (1932) page 9. A Germanic hunter returns to his simple but imposing homestead under, presumably, an oak, accompanied by his dog.

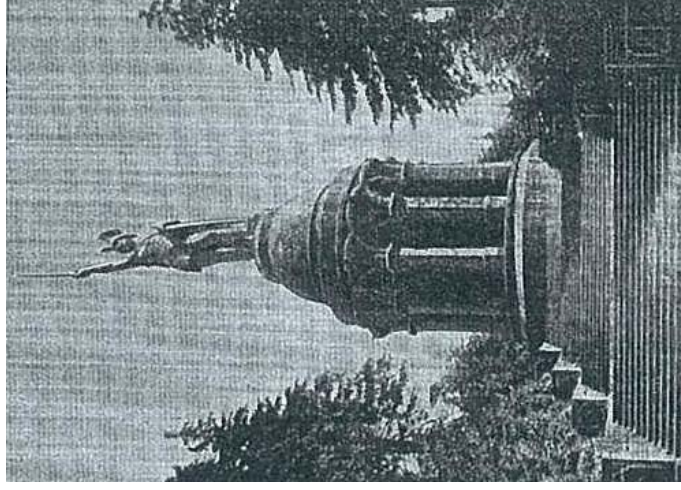


Figure 5: Lateinisches Unterrichtswerk I, MADER-WECKER, (1938) page 27. The Hermannsdenkmal illustrating a passage called Vor der Schlacht im Teutoburger Wald, an imaginary exhortation given by Arminius to his troops before the battle.

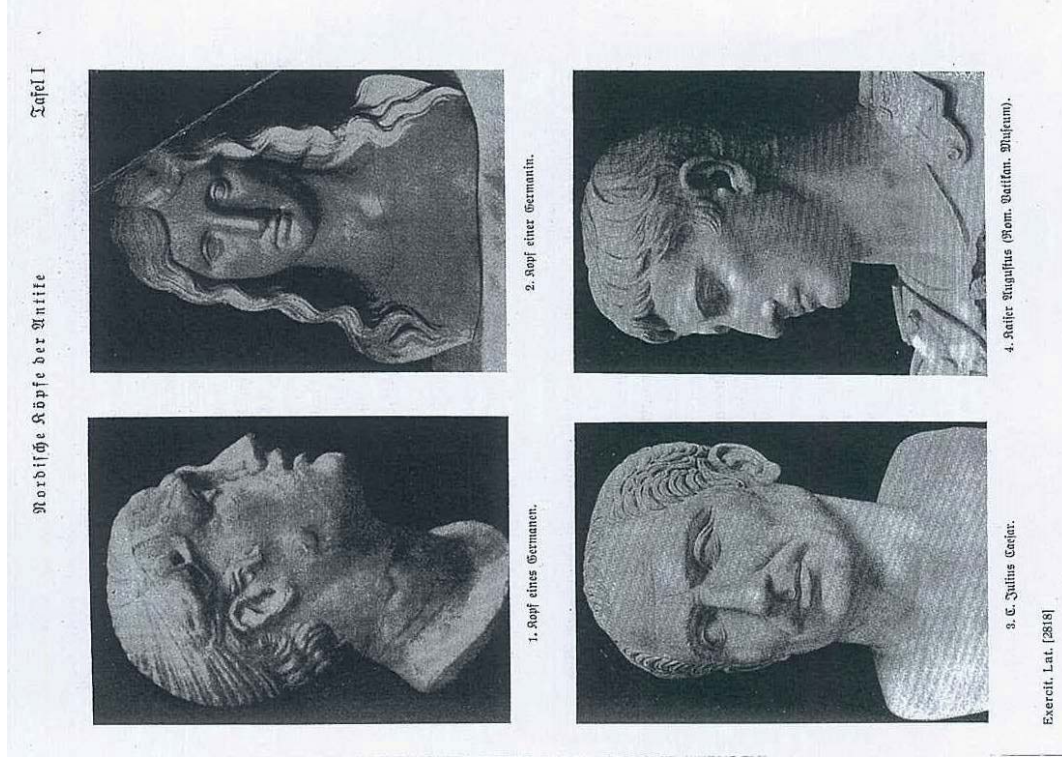


Figure 6: Exercitium Latinum (1941) page 149. The heading "Nordische Köpfe der Antike" is an example of the explicit use of Nazi racial vocabulary (as used in Erziehung und Unterricht), particularly evident in this textbook. The Germani and Romans are presented as racially connected 'Nordic' races.

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