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NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL

MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA

THESIS

THE CULTURE OF NATIONALISM

by

Jerome J. Uselman

December 2013

Thesis Advisor: Donald Abenheim
Co-Advisor: Carolyn Halladay

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What was the role of high culture in the newly unified societies of Germany and Italy amid the ideology of nationalism in the late 19th and early 20th century? More specifically the question at hand is how did the visual arts—paintings and monuments, in particular—reflect and inform politics and society in both liberal and illiberal European states in the age of mass politics, mass culture, and total war? Further, what is high culture's relationship to the development of the totalitarian state?

This thesis presents a historical study of the art and monuments considered significant to the development of fascist Germany and Italy. High culture in Italy and Germany worked alongside other social, political realities and eventually became the pinnacle of the nation-state relationship, providing a well-defined road linking the distant benign intentions of 19th century nationalism and 20th century extremism.

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THE CULTURE OF NATIONALISM

Jerome J. Uselman
Lieutenant, United States Navy
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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

**MASTER OF ARTS IN SECURITY STUDIES
(EUROPE AND EURASIA)**

from the

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ABSTRACT

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I. INTRODUCTION

Nineteenth-century philosopher Ernest Renan concluded: "A nation is a soul, a mental principle… [that] presumes a past … and is summed up in one tangible fact, the agreement, the desire to continue a life in common." The French Revolution sent this idea rippling across Europe, and the middle class emerged to embrace the nation in theory and in practice.[1] Over the next century and a half, the nation and nationalism developed concomitantly with mass politics, mass culture, and mass consumption, and while new forms of expression—both national and cultural—emerged, existing forms transformed along with society.

This study addresses aspects of this process in an attempt to elucidate culture and nationalism in a way to heighten the understanding of young Americans bound for service in Europe. In the rise of nationalism in the 19th and 20th centuries and the impact of culture in this event, such high arts as painting and sculpture, including monuments, came to serve the nation and the nation-state in new and diverse ways. The arts did not just decorate Renan's "life in common" in the period that culminated with the world wars, however. In many key cases, life imitated, or at least followed closely behind, art.

Integral nationalism in the form that emerged in the epoch of imperialism from the 1880s until 1945 brought devastating events to Europe in the age of total war and its genocides. Radical ideas were introduced, sold to the public, and carried out by the nation-state with resort to the power of culture and the visual arts. The breadth and violence of WWI and WWII would have been impossible to achieve without the support of the population. As such, it is important to understand how mass unity was turned into a destructive force that led to the death of millions.

Of particular interest is how high culture in its variety adopted and advanced nationalist and extremist themes. High culture is typically the purview of affluent or educated people—that is, the solidly established middle class, citizens with everything to lose but who still embraced the radical ideologies that many of the European nationalist movements embodied.

---

[1] Hagan Schulze, *States, Nations, and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers., 1998), 97.

Finally, amid a distinct upswing today in nationalist, populist, and anti-immigrant sentiment—and violence—the connection of these ideas with the current situations brewing across Europe will make the findings of this thesis currently, even urgently, relevant especially to those who discover Europe professionally for the first time in the ranks of the U.S. armed forces on service in a Europe rent by turmoil in the present. The proposed research seeks to advance the understanding of how the high culture of nationalism can radicalize a population and how integral nationalist propaganda, guised as art, led people to anti-liberal, anti-democratic, and integral nationalist preferences and policies with brutal results that continue to dominate the public mind.

A. THE EVOLUTION OF NATIONALISM AND THE (ART) CONSUMER

The research will focus on the period leading up to and consistent with the unification of Italy and Germany in beginning in the early 19th century through the start of World War II. This period witnessed the rise of the nation, a powerful body of both political and social energy that was transformed into a weapon of the state. The nationalism that arose out of the desire for social unity and equality reached its ugliest climax with the advent of integral nationalism—the demand of the nation-state to control the totality of human experience while being elevated above all other allegiances.[2] The proposed research intends to explain this transition in nationalism through the investigation of paintings and monuments.

This sort of study cannot capture all of the aspects that fostered such a dramatic transition, due to its narrow focus, but it can aid in informing us of the nature of a society that would embrace such an ideology and how art was employed to catalyze the transition. The thesis will focus on painting and monuments, in part, because these visual arts are most easily presented in the thesis format. The story of their transformation into tools of the extremist nationalist state applies, at least in its broad strokes, to such other art forms as music, theater, or opera.

A key idea for this research is the phenomenon known as mass consumerism as the culmination of the popular experience of late 19th-century industrialization,

[2]George L. Mosse, "The Political Culture of Italian Futurism: A General Perspective," *Journal of Contemporary History* 25, no. 2/3 (May –June, 1990): 254, http://www.jstor.org/stable/260732.

prosperity, and society. This mass consumer, the middle-class individual, could now afford to live, or at least shop, like his or her social superiors. In other words, things like high art, historically reserved for the rich, were now available to the masses, who consumed eagerly in the name of real or apparent upward mobility. This desire to transcend one social status gave new life to high culture and presented new avenues for nationalistic forces to communicate to the public. The mass consumption of high culture in some ways change the form of high culture, watering it down, removing much of the creative aspect inherent to high art and replacing it with what T.C.W. Blanning terms "representational culture."[3] The artistic movements of the time—futurism and modernism—came to represent the nation's fears, hopes, and shared greatness, while serving to project the nation-states preeminence over the individual.

At the same time, high cultural expression, including painting and monuments, retained its value—and its cachet. The consumers of the time believed that what they were viewing was something of a higher social status. This leftover prestige distinguished these paintings and monuments from mass culture in all of its new and often industrial forms (radio, film, and advertising) and may have seemed to the contemporary viewer less manipulatable, less propagandistic.

B. ART AND THE NATION

The thesis argues that art played a dual role in fascist Europe. First, it reflected the nation. Second, it propagated the brand of nationalism that Germany and Italy hoped to achieve. A great number of books are dedicated to the various artistic movements and styles of art used in both Germany and Italy. By combining the various analyses this research hopes to build continuity between art and the evolution of the nation-state.

Art serves many purposes ranging from education on a wide scale to celebration of the people by the people in nationalism. George L. Mosse goes to great lengths to show the connection between art and politics stating that "when artistic importance is acknowledged but its political relevance denied, the aesthetic is torn from its political

[3] T.C.W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture* (Oxford: University Press, 2006), Part I.

frame of reference."[4] Mosse's statement alludes to the idea that the success of art or a specific art form depends on a connection with cultural orientations; appealing to these orientations provides art the ability to contribute to politics. Jeffrey Herf characterizes the connection between politics and culture in extreme nationalist countries as, "a conflict between humanist culture and capitalist exchange."[5] In the case of Germany and Italy cultural politics were focused on the nation in contrast to other western nations were political efficacy was based on an economic systems capacity. The distinct difference is what allowed culture, in Italy and Germany, to have an immense effect of the nation.

While no two national movements are identical, Italy and Germany marched along comparable paths at about the same time—and arrived at similarly extreme solution to the national problem. Both consolidated principalities into nation-states in 1870–1871. The German nation was centered on historical greatness that was eternally linked to the Greeks. Historians and artist produced works that detailed and highlighted the affinities the two great nations shared.[6] As Rome served as the decadent opposition to Greece, France was, for Germany, the counterpoint to German greatness. This association not only provided further evidence of the similarities between Greece and Germany but gave the nation a common foe to unite against, in which unity was required to overcome the occupational tendency of the French.[7] These points of unity, a shared history, were critical due to the cracks in German identity caused by religious differences and competing cultural centers. Art was used reflected and reminded the nation of its connection to not only Greece but to other historical events and characters. The threat from abroad was depicted in a great many ways but the most notable is paintings of Germania, in which she stood on the Rhine looking Westward to the French threat. She served as the ever present figure reminding the German nation of the French threat. In Germany, as Italy, language served to strengthen the national identity and made easier the

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[4] Mosse, "Italian Futurism," 253.

[5] Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1984), 2–3.

[6] Schulze, *States, Nations*, 165–166.

[7] Ibid., 166.

acceptance of those religious groups, principalities, or regions historically not associated as part of a specific community, language help foster mass integration.

Italy did not face the diversity and competing loyalties experienced in Germany. Italy had always recognized Rome as the cultural center. Catholicism was established and unquestionably remained the religion on the peninsula. For these reason there was no need to conjure up historical links to unite the population. The connection to the Roman civilization was understood and was not used as a means of national unification.[8] Instead the constant governance, since the fall of the Roman Empire, by outsiders united Italians; culminating in the unification of Garibaldi's forces and the Piedmontese army ejecting Napoleon III from Italy and reclaiming Venice and Rome.[9] War and battle played an integral role in the unification of the masses in both countries. The threat and necessity of war also propelled the change of nationalism into the annihilatory ideology experienced in Europe.

C. MODERNITY AND HIGH CULTURE

Eugene Weber sums up nationalism as the pathway that led nations to modernity. As the developments of the 19th century increased the complexity of life social identifiers became increasingly vague and irrelevant. Small village associations were no longer enough. Modernization made time and distance insignificant and rural areas accessible. Old ways of life were suddenly insufficient, and could not be sustained in the industrial age.[10] The urban dweller was more prepared for the shock of the modern world than the peasant but the insecurity and fear of the Future brought by the destruction of the established social order was felt by all. Nationalism served as the protector, the stabilizer of these unsure times. More importantly to taming modernity's uncertainties was the nation's capacity to create a population educated enough to benefit from modernization and through education, as Ernest Gellner tells us, nationalism and the

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[8] Ibid.,134–135.

[9] Ibid., 216.

[10] Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchman: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985).

nation was genuinely accepted.[11] It was the combination of education and security provided by the nation-state that perpetuated its success. Nationalism also provided liberty, equality, and social mobility, furthering its legitimacy.[12] The education and liberty provided by nationalism is what allowed art to become massified, which aided in the politicization of art as the nation and state increasingly became intertwined. How did an association, a social and political revolution, which achieved immense improvement for the nation and the state, become a weapon?

The nation's desire for greatness, to be fulfilled by the state, was the period termed as "The Imperialist Nation State," by Hagen Schulze. Societal pressures to increase national prestige led to the colonization of foreign lands. These aggressive acts served to further strengthen the connection between nation-state solidifying nationalistic ideals of superiority.[13] The result was the secular religion of the nation state, in which the nation expressed itself through the state apparatus, thus by participating and supporting the nation-state the people were celebrating themselves.[14] Integral nationalism resulted from the self-loving nation and the belief that the nation-state was the center from which greatness radiated. This development marks a major contrast from the nationalism that preceded it in which Schulze tells us was based on, "the assumption that all social classes were equal, mass integral nationalism preceded from the assumption that the nation was supreme and absolute."[15] The political and social body was fully integrated and could now be fully employed. Fears, national egoism, and irrational obsessions could now be expressed and confronted by state policy. Integral nationalism provided the context for totalitarian nationalism to come to the fore and gain mass acceptance.[16]

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[11] Ernest Gellner, "Nationalism and High Culture," in *Nationalism*, ed. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 56.

[12] Hans Kohn, *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History* (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1965), 18.

[13] Schulze, *States, Nations*, 251–4.

[14] George L. Mosse, *Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism & Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich* (New York: Howard Fertig, 2001), 35.

[15] Schulze, *States, Nations*, 253–4.

[16] Ibid., 251-4.

High culture played a distinct role in the transition previously described. Gellner describes high culture as the only means to successfully communicate and convert populations to nationalist ideologies, "The basic deception and self-deception practiced by nationalism is this: nationalism is, essentially, the general imposition of a high culture on society." He goes on to conclude that this high culture does not have to be based on reality or facts but instead just use some aspect of the pre-existing cultural, which can be significantly distorted.[17] The point about the nation desiring greatness becomes relevant here. As a nation aspiring to something greater high culture provided an avenue for this aspiration, similar to that of imperialism. Partaking in high culture fostered the sense of superiority of the viewer's nation. . Mosse echoes Gellner's point by stating that nationalism intimately bound politics and culture, in which the separation of these two was impossible.[18] Germany and Italy experienced different artistic movements but the results of radicalizing the population were similar. One further connection between nationalism and art merits mention here:

> Just as in earlier and present crises people flocked to the Church, so they were apt to look for security and shelter in the civic religion of nationalism - and as in their churches they saw the meaning of their own life represented by the symbols which surrounded them, hell as well as paradise, so they reached a new level of perception through national symbols.[19]

The symbols that society began to associate with were present and part of the paintings and monuments that promoted and reaffirmed nationalism, as well as adding to the legitimacy of the art.

D. THE –ISMS

Three movements or schools of thought—romanticism, Futurism, and monumentalism—shaped both the nationalism of the late 19th and early 20th centuries and the art that went with it.

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[17] Ernest Gellner, *Nationalism*, 66–7.

[18] Mosse, "Italian Futurism," 253.

[19] Ibid., 254.

1. Romanticism

Romanticism predates the period at issue in the proposed thesis, but its central ideas informed the later movements that shaped and reflected Germany and Italy's nationalist development. The heart of romanticism was the rejection of rationalism. This is not to say romantics were irrational but instead viewed knowledge and explanation as an experience in connection with that situation in its time and place. This view opposed the rationalism of the Enlightenment, which strove to explain every occurrence based on singular observations.[20] Fichte furthered the distance between rationalism and romanticism by defining the world, "as being whatever man chooses to make it."[21] The nation's acceptance of national historiography or radical ideas was all that was needed for legitimacy. The extreme nature of Fichte's statement was manifested in the build-up in both Italian Fascism and German Nazism.

2. Futurism

The prominent movement in Italy was Futurism. The "Manifesto of Futurism," dictated by F.T. Marinetti, proclaims the "death of time and space" and need to forget historical knowledge and focus on the current greatness of man. For Futurism, the modern individual was the center. The speed of motion and compressing of time were a new dynamic the individual had to embrace with enthusiasm, this context as Mosse tells must be accounted for when establishing the relationship between politics and culture.[22] Further, the new speed of life created uncertainty, even anxiety, and Futurism attempted to display this modern reality through blurred pictures seemingly in constant motion, however these hectic images were still under the control of man, the modern man. This chaotic disorder that man would continuously struggle to tame could only be slowed down, muted, and manipulated by national integration.[23]

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[20] Robert W. Lougee, "German Romanticism and Political Thought," *The Review of Politics* 21, no. 4 (October, 1959), 632, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1405644.

[21] "What is Romanticism?", *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 19, no. 4 (January, 1966), 5, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3822814.

[22] Mosse, "Italian Futurism," 255.

[23] Ibid., 255.

The Manifesto of Futurism acknowledges life's struggles, categorizing them as death and war, declaring them as the beauty of life and a necessity to purge uncleanliness.[24] The uncleanly were those that could not embrace the modern realities of technology and combat the constant struggle against the new speed of time, however, these men did not yet exist. Futurist strove to unify Italy through creating individuals that were not tied down by past glories. These men were forward looking accepting the new speed of time. Their individual greatness would exalt Italy's glory. Their love of confrontation and combat would preserve and perpetuate the nation. The intended end result was a man, "symbolic of both modernity and of the power of the nation."[25] The focus on the individual, however, did not mean man was autonomous but rather part of an elite group of fearless modern warriors, able to rise above the masses, with a common personal drive and discipline that only through their cohesion could the nation-state survive.[26] Mosse sums up the political attachment of Futurism as an "ideology in the name of a new nation which looked to the Future without the burdens of the past," the fascists would call for this new man to unite and drive the nation-state into modernity.[27]

3. Monumentalism

Monumentalism endeavored to display national heroes or events as immortal; sharing in this immortality was the nation. The size and space utilized for monumental works also project the superior power of the German state. The eternal nature of German monuments stood in contrast to the decaying nature of documents, paintings, and architecture.[28] National Socialism strove to connect historical memories to current situations to be used as models for action.[29] These eternal symbols prepared the masses for the arrival of radical politics. The monuments also served to re-write the past through obscurity and to re-introduce national symbols and myths to the national consciousness.

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[24] F. T. Merinitti, "Manifesto of Futurism."

[25] Mosse, "Italian Futurism," 256.

[26] Ibid., 255-6.

[27] Ibid., 257.

[28] Stefan Goebel, *The Great War and Medieval Memory: War Remembrance and Medievalism in Britian and Germany, 1914–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 74.

[29] Mosse, "Italian Futurism," 257.

The dramatic structure and beauty of these monuments was a reflection of the need for dramatic symbols in mass politics.[30] The purpose of these monuments was to lead the masses to an acceptance of unity between the people and the government through the active participation in self-worship.[31] Further, the national monuments presented national ideals. Mosse notes in, *The Nationalization of the Masses* that, "National monuments were an effective part of the liturgy of public festivals which the Nazis adopted and extended. This development played a key role in the self-representation and worship of the nation."[32] The national monument served to strengthen the identification with the nation and to emphasize the nation's greatness, creating an intense love that when threatened produced a radical reaction.

E. CONCLUSION

The advent of the nation ultimately spelled the end of the primacy of high culture, when mass movements, mass tastes, and mass production came to dominate the tastes and consciousness of the people. Nonetheless, high culture figured significantly in the formation of the national (and nationalist) aesthetic in both Italy and Germany. The pages that follow explore and illustrate this complicated connection and its implications for the political developments of both states as a result.

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[30] Mosse, *Nationalization of the Masses*, 8-9.

[31] Ibid., 13.

[32] Ibid., 72.

II. HIGH CULTURE UNIFICATION

The Italian nationalist movement was born in the early 1820s but lacked a connection to Italian culture. The Macchiaioli provided the first examples of nationalist art on the peninsula. The macchia artist sought to inform Italians of the history of Italy overcoming outside domination. Their works also elevated those that were willing to fight nationalism and attempted to energize the desire for Italians to have a sovereign, unified kingdom.

Germany's national movement produced monuments serving to express German greatness, common heritage, and historical achievement. The nationalistic art produced concurrently during this period spoke in a similar tone but addressed the political aspect of nationalism, German unification. In both countries, the art was not revolutionary and did not push the boundaries of society; instead the artistic nationalists operated within the bounds of high culture.

A. THE ITALIAN EXAMPLE

Italy as a geographically and politically united state was not a new idea exclusive to the 19th century; Italian nationalistic desires can be traced back to Machiavelli. The Risorgimento of the 19th century, born out of the French occupation under Napoleon, reinvigorated historical ideas of reunifying Italy. The Italian revolution for reunification sought to establish a constitutional democratic state, following in the footsteps of the French. The Risorgimento absorbed much of the Jacobin revolutionary ideology and sought to employ those same virtues on the peninsula. For this, the revolutionaries viewed the French in a positive manner. In other words the revolution was not aimed at removing French occupation, as they were revered as an enlightened people. Contributing to the Italiano-Franco friendship were the Piedmont insurgents, the *Carboneria,* who after being defeated in the Piedmont were given refuge in Paris. Therefore, all the talk of unity and political sovereignty was directed at the Austrian occupiers in the north with an expectation of for the French to support Italy through this endeavor.[33] It should be stated that those believing and pushing for political and national unification were the urban

[33] Schulze, *States, Nations,* 208.

intellects, the bourgeois, and wealthy landowners. Those that were relatively closer to the world of high culture were at the head of the nationalist movement, which resulted in the use of art for nationalist purposes.

Italian unification, like German unification slightly later, was complex and occurred in various disjointed stages. The first major buildup of nationalist sentiment occurred in the late 1840s. The result was a Europe-wide revolution against the old order. In Italy the national energy sought to form a unified state in which the nation could participate, a democratic state. The revolution failed, similarly to the other simultaneous revolutions across Europe. The Italian nationalist momentum potentially could have overcome the monarchs and occupiers but the battle over leadership of the movement undermined its strength allowing the French, Austrians, and Spanish to defeat the revolutionaries.

1. Celebrating the Heroes of the First Hour

The leaders of the Risorgimento, unlike Germany, continued to promote the nationalist ideology and preserve the energy. Segments of society followed along by establishing clubs, workers associations, and artistic movements. The Macchiaioli artistic movement extended from the failed revolution and derived its energy from the Risorgimento. The Macchiaioli artist contributed to the sustainment of nationalist sentiment and synergistically worked with the aforementioned Italian nationalist figureheads to bring the higher strata of society into the fold of Italian unification; high culture proved invaluable for this cause. The growing demand for a unified Italian state provided a growing audience for the Macchia artists to communicate with as well as the economic basis that provided sustainability. The first painting to be discussed captures the Risorgimento's ideology as well as the Macchia artistic technique. The work is deeply political, deeply Italian, and consequently emotional. Francesco Hayez painted *Sicilian Vespers* in different forms starting in 1821. This specific painting was completed in 1846.

Figure 1. Francesco Hayez, *Sicilian Vespers*, 1846.[34]

The painting represents two places in time, history act as the metaphor for the present. The first issue is the historic reality of foreign rule on the peninsula and the problems associated with occupation. The second issue is the contemporary problem of multiple outside rulers preventing the unification of Italy. The event depicted by Hayez occurred in 1286, which at that time provided the catalysts for Sicilians to overwhelm their French colonizer and gain independence. The setting of the work is outside a church in the evening and the Christian faithful have gathered for evening prayer, known as Vespers. A French soldier, named Drouet, was inspecting Italians for weapons, typical behavior of the French colonizers. He approached a woman intent on searching her and

[34] Francesco Hayez, *Sicilian Vespers*, 1846, http://www.flickr.com/photos/13868867@N06/5590460796/in/gallery-101012863@N03-72157635298406017/.

instead sexually assaulted her by groping and exposing her breast. We see the woman unconscious in her husband's arms. Albert Boime tells us that the husband, "choked with rage, shouted, "death, death to the French!"[35] The result was an Italian drawing his sword and striking the Frenchman down. The onlookers remain calm and casual in the face of death. The priest clinches his fist and stares angrily at the Frenchman as he perishes?. The other key figure, on the left of the painting, a fisherman, raises his arms to the cross with a knife in one hand.

The red clothing worn by the Italians was in this period associated with Giuseppe Garibaldi and his forces, known as *garibaldini*.[36] Garibaldi was viewed with awe by most of the Italian population and was seen as a father of the Risorgimento. The priest's callousness towards the wounded Frenchman signifies the churches support for Italian liberation and unification through violence, if necessary. The level of the churches support for Italian liberation is not discussed by scholarly sources leading to the conclusion that the backing of the nationalist movement was minimal if it existed at all. The accuracy of this metaphor, however, is not important; many facts are created or misrepresented to mobilize the public for unification, for war, or whatever the state desires. The fisherman represents the common Italian worker engaged in the fight for freedom as he brandishes his blade and thanks the Lord the time has come, again reiterating that the Risorgimento is supported by God and all spectrums of society. Last, the perverse nature of foreign rule is shown by the woman's bare breast, telling the onlookers that Italians must stand up and protect the treasures of the peninsula.[37]

Pictures such as these were used to energize and remind those capable of affecting the revolution to become involved, almost guilt those who remained indecisive to join the cause. As depicted in Hayez's painting, the cause of the Risorgimento was both political and social.

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[35] Albert Boime, *The Art of the Macchia and the Risorgimento* (The University Press of Chicago: Chicago, 1993), 56.

[36] Ibid., 25.

[37] Ibid., 55-57.

2. Vilifying the Dissent

The nationalist artwork of the Macchiaioli contained Italian cultural symbols and historical forms of representation to ensure that their production of high culture was seen as truly Italian. As the nationalists movement in Italy took shape and progressed to the culminating point of statehood art reflected this energy and began to push for the formation of a nation-state. Upon achieving their goal, Italian nationalist artists moved away from the emotional metaphors that made an attempt to arouse the population to come together and form a united Italy. The Macchia painters turned their focus on celebrating those that led and participated in the revolution and defaming others that hindered nationalist progress. Two paintings show the rapid change in emotion of the nationalist movement and Italian politics.

Figure 2. Giuseppe Bertini, *Victor Emmanuel II and Napoleon III enter Milan*, 1859.

Giuseppe Bertini's painting illustrates the momentary exuberance for the Italian French coalition's' victory over Austria in the Piedmont. For the moment Napoleon III, representing the French, was heralded as a hero of Italian independence and

unification.[38] However, this projection of a hero was minimized in the picture indicated by his presentation.

The more heroic peoples were the Italians. Emmanuel, viewed as Italy, rides in front of the blurry-faced Napoleon. During this period the order in which soldiers or nobles rode into town represented their relative status or rank, the highest rank or title leading. The crowd's line of focus is directed at Victor as well. The Italian tri-color waving on the right of the picture solidifies this as an Italian parade celebrating an Italian victory, a nationalist victory.

This political victory was short-lived as Napoleon viewed the growing Italian national unity as a threat and unilaterally signed a peace treaty with Austria halting the momentum of the military victory in Lombardy. Domenico Induno displays the fallout from the treaty in his painting, Bulletin Announcing *the Peace of Villafranca*.

Figure 3. Domenico Induno, *Bulletin Announcing the Peace of Villafranca*, 1860.[39]

[38] Ibid., 35-37.

Induno was active in the Risorgimento and the Macchia. He fought in Milan during the insurrection of 1848. As he got older, he began to fund nationalist painters and paint works himself. Boime in, *The Art of the Macchia and the Risorgimento*, briefly describes this painting as an example of the overall depression that set in across Italy after the treaty had been signed. The setting of this painting is in Milan verified by the Gothic Duomo resting on the horizon in the background. Milan at this time was a region free of foreign rule, which their support for the Italian nationalist forces represented the dedication that all Italians, free or not, had to a united Italy. The crowd in the painting is a mix of social classes, this is a symbol that all Italians a engaged in fighting for unification regardless of social class.

This sentiment was heard and felt by Victor Emmanuel. The regions of the Piedmont still governed by Austria rallied around the national support and took to the streets demanding annexation of the Italian Piedmont, controlled by Austria, making it impossible for the French to maintain the *Villafranca* treaty. With popular support Victor agreed to accept the regions request and without bloodshed Northern Italy was freed from foreign rule and united with Italy. Shortly after this unification in 1861 garibaldi fought to unite the two kingdoms of Sicily. He then set his sights on the mainland with the objective of removing the remnants of the Neapolitan troops. Garibaldi's successful march to Rome, however, was cut short by Cavour who scurried to capture Rome and claim the Kingdom of Italy for King Victor Emmanuel in 1861.[40] Garibaldi, however, was an Italian's Italian and society as well as artist understood his importance in uniting Italy both politically and territorially.

Garibaldi had a different route in mind for united Italy's future. He envisioned a republic ran by elected officials. This idea rallied thousands of supporters willing to fight and die for the cause. Cavour, King Emmanuel II's prime minister, was fighting for the unity of Italy under the Monarch. The two competing Italian national movements crossed paths on the way to Rome. The two paths to a nation-state were now in conflict as the

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[39] Domenico Induno, *Bulletin Announcing the Peace of Villafranca*, 1860, http://www.jourdelo.it/numeri/07_aprile_settembre_2007/garibaldi_fra_guerre_e_cibo.htm.

[40] Ibid., 37-39.

whole of Italy had been liberated. For Garibaldi, however, Italian unity and sovereignty was the paramount concern and struggling against Cavour and fellow Italians would only weaken the national movement, as he witnessed in 1849. Garibaldi therefore conceded his desires of a democratic Italy and met with King Victor Emmanuel II to proclaim him the King of Italy. The painting that celebrates this momentous declaration is simple in presentation. The political intent of the painting, however, is somewhat complex. In Boime's book, *The Art of the Macchia and the Risorgimento,* a soldier of Garibaldi is quoted as saying, "We all worshipped him, we could not help it."[41] This quote sums up the importance of Garibaldi accepting Emmanuel as King of Italy. His acceptance legitimized the King as well as informed Garibaldi's followers of his position. The loyalty of the soldiers to the man prevented a counter revolution or a civil war allowing a unified Italy to exist under a monarch.

B. GERMANY PERSONIFIED

The events of 1859 in Italy reignited German sentiment for unification. An irredentist's movement added fuel to the smoldering nationalist cause, which demanded a Reich that incorporated Alsace, Lorrain, and Schleswig-Holstein.[42] Germany in 1859 was fragmented between north and south, east and west making the process of unification a battle for political and social power. The nationalist artwork that builds up to this point follows a much more connected line than that of Italy.

[41] Ibid., 39.

[42] Schulze, *States, Nations*, 219-21.

Figure 4. Karl Russ, *befreit Germania*, 1818.[43]

1. Germania and Herrmann

The German national movement started similarly to that of the Italian movement. In the after math of the French revolution and Napoleon's enlightened conquest many European nations developed nationalist thoughts. Unlike the Italians the Germans viewed the French with disdain making them the easy and early target for a unified German nation. The first image to be examined was painted during the conceptual phase of German nationalism, painted by Karl Russ in 1818, the work shows *Germania* as a young bride. An overly masculine man stands over her breaking her free from the shackles of servitude. She looks to heaven as to thank god, while the only rays of sun breaking through the ominous clouds fall *Germania* and her savior.

43 Karl Russ, *befreit Germania*, 1818. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Herrmann_befreit_Germania_(1818,_Karl_Russ).jpg.

Her hero is Hermann, also known as Arminius. In the 10th century Hermann led the Germanic tribes to victory against three Roman legions, his victory ensured the freedom of the Germanic tribes. For German speaking people this battle served as inspiration to fight against foreign domination for centuries. After the defeat in 1806 at the hands of Napoleon Bonaparte the Germans recalled Hermann's defeat of the Romans. The reporduction of his image held great moral value for the Germans. The painting reminded them that Herman had once before defeated the *welschen Erbfeind*.[44] . The French occupiers were considered the modern day Romans, and the connection was simplified even further as Napolean presented himself as an emperor. The young woman represents Germany. Hermann represented the strength found within the unification of the German nation, which must act to protect the purity and sanctity of Germany. Through this piece we see Germans using high culture to make a connection with historical greatness; this is a constant theme that succeeds through the Third Reich. The tone of the next nationalist painting presents a calm figure with political directness.

[44] Peter S. Wells, *The Battle That Stopped Rome: Emperor Augustus, Arminius, and the Slaughter* (New York New York: W.W., Norton, 2003), 15–16.

Figure 5. Philip Veit, *Germania*, 1848.[45]

Philip Veit's work *Germania*, painted in 1848, captures the mass political revolution in Germany during the late 1840s. The public was pushing for a unifying constitution that would result in democracy, a German confederation of states, and male

[45] Philip Veit, *Germania*, 1848, http://de.academic.ru/dic.nsf/dewiki/1259735.

suffrage. The revolution had varying success across the German kingdoms. The revolutionary ideology swirling in Germany at that time is metaphorically portrayed in Veit's painting. The intent of the painting remains respectful toward the established order as the historical symbols of monarchy are present and worn by *Germania*. The nation she represents, "is no more a helpless victim or a potential victim" a fitting description of *Germania* that Perat's used to analyze *The Dead Soldier*.[46] The rays of the rising sun signal a new day is beginning for Germany. Next to her right foot lays an undone shackle. Veit uses the two symbols to communicate to the elite that Germany as a nation is prepared to remove the restricting bonds of imperial government and embrace a new political reality. The tri-colored flag of the revolution shows solidarity for both the nation and Germany as a legitimate state. On *Germania*'s head, is the traditional oak wreath, and her chest plate pays tribute to the imperial past. In her hand a sword is pushed forward signifying the strength of German unity. To ensure the sword is not mistaken for an aggressive symbol Veit wrapped it in a hemp leaf to show its peaceful intent.

The increased feeling of nationalism and the passion for change in Germany are reflected in this painting of *Germania*. The result of the revolution saw the formation of a German Republic in which each state would have a representative at the national assembly. There was, however, no unity in this. Each state maintained its aristocracy and laws. The German states remained independent of each other and the unification was in name only.[47]

2. The Threat of the West

After 1848 a trend emerged in the depiction of *Germania* in which she is ever looking outward, in a Western direction. This is of course signifying the threat the French pose to the German nation. As with many nationalist movements, an external other was needed to excite the population and make them see the necessity of unification. The revolutionaries had seemingly achieved their objective with the establishment of a parliamentary assembly and constitution that would unite the little Germany, this

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[46] Peter Paret, *Imagined Battles: Reflections of War and Art in Europe (*Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 80.

[47] Schulze, *States, Nations*, 209-210.

excluded Austria. The republic's efficacy, however, was only in letter and not action.[48] In 1849 Christian Köhler painted *Germania Awakening* (Figure 6) to remind the public of the dangers still surrounding the nation and the goals of German nationalism, democracy.

Figure 6. Christian Kohler, *Germania Awakening*, 1849.

In the picture we see *Germania* reaching for her sword, as an angel carries the scales of justice and another holds the tri-colored nationalist flag. In the background of the painting three ominous gray figures streak past evilly observing *Germania*. The painting exposes the politically reality of the nation and the inability to break away for monarchy, signified by *Germania* hand remaining attached to the crown. Her reaching for the sword is a call to the nationalist, who have settled for the current political union, to

[48] Schulze, *States, Nations*, 210.

complete the job. The scales of justice carried by Victory, signify democracy and sovereignty, must precede and be supported by a unified nation. *Germania*, the state, and national unity form the trinity of strong nation-state capable of overcoming external threats. The connection between the three and their association displays the initial concept of mass politics. The struggle for an actual unified nation-state would take another decade.

The conclusion of the Franco-Prussian war led to the political and administrative unification of the nations of Prussia and Bavaria. *Heil Germania*, by Anton Von Werner, 1872 captures the ceremony at the Hall of Mirrors in Versailles. *Germania* is the focal point of the painting. She stands central in the painting in front of a royal throne, accepting the crown of the new German nation from a Bavarian envoy. The men on either side of her are dressed and armed in battle attire. She also symbolizes the military dominance that earned the German nation its sovereignty. The right side of the photo shows men rejoicing in the moment while on the left the men are reluctant and solemn on the occasion. The painting makes public the political lines that had divided the nation states. The painting, however, tells that the German people are victorious and the burden of unity rest with them. Werner's painting is not a dramatic show of military victory against an outward threat, but an accomplishment that will strengthen the German's ability to repeal any such assault.

Figure 7. Anton Von Werner, *Heil Germania*, 1872.[49]

[49] Anton Von Werner, *Heil Germania,* 1872, http://www.germaniainternational.com/kaisermain.html.

A. CONCLUSION

High culture in Italy and German provided a means for the nationalist to communicate. In both cases, the art spoke to the population and reflected their desires. Art was also at the forefront of the nationalist movement informing people of the next step or maintaining the nationalist energy for the coming revolution. The discussed showed, as well, communication from the nationalist to the state. In the Italian case this was the heartbreak of the *Villafranca* treaty and in Germany, the public's desire to move past the chains of the old regime. For this purpose high culture was provided a direct link to those in charge of the state and the revolution. Allowing the public to see the legitimacy in the nationalist cause and what the nationalist sought to obtain from the state. High culture remained a facet of elite life and art was in the hands of the artist, it was in this period that people in the middle had real opportunity to access high culture and this access would continue to increase.

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III. TWO ROADS TO TOTAL NATIONALISM

Italy and Germany would arrive at a similar destination, one of total politics. The paths taken, however, differed and this distinction provided the fundamental differences between the two countries' system of extreme politics. Italy's path was paved by great hero nationalism and the necessity of such a leader to achieve Italian greatness. Germany placed the national energy in the hands of the nation with its historical victories and connection to ancient cultures, the road for Germany was one of perceived national superiority and self-worship.

A. FORGING ITALIAN SPEARS: ITALY 1861–1915

The nationalist victory in Italy caused a turn in focus of national artist. The victory had to be heralded even exaggerated to solidify the greatness of the nation's achievements. These achievements were personified in individual leaders of the revolution, mainly Garibaldi. When the emotion connected to the nationalist victory dulled and the memories of 1861 faded the national movement stagnated, rightly so as the nationalist goals were achieved. However, a hunger for greatness remained, a desire for national victories drove the population to push for Imperial expansion. The drive arose out of the rest of Europe grabbing land across the globe and reaping the financial benefits. There was a group of Italians angered by the inactivity of the government to engage in endeavors that would increase the nation's wealth as well as its prestige. Several nationalist groups arose from the social discontent created by the government's inaction. The most notable of these groups were the Futurist. The Futurist artistic style was mainly a rejection of any artistic school's approach. The frantic lines and mixing of colors displayed the Futurist ideology of chaos and dynamism. Unknowingly this group of artist, scholars, and business men would lead Italy into the arms of a new political creation, Fascism.

1. Depicting the Past

The nation began to celebrate the figures of Italian unity. The desire to celebrate personalities reflected the public's desire to have a great leader that could lead the nation to greatness. By and large Garibaldi was the most reproduced figure in Italy for this

purpose. Most Italians related to Garibaldi as he was considered as an everyday Italian who sought to free Italy from the structure of Monarchy, effectively fighting for the lower and middle strata of society. Further, he was a living character of the war of unity and provided a channel for the energy contain in and the idea of nationalism to be passed through.

Figure 8. Thomas Nast, *The uprising of Italy*, 1866.[50]

The first piece addressing Garibaldi's status was created by Nast and named, *The Uprising of Italy*, completed in 1866. Two unrelated phenomena are apparent in this piece. The work is a woodcarving that was used for mass printing purposes. While our discussion is focused on high culture, the traditional application of high art underwent a

[50] Thomas Nast, *The uprising of Italy*, 1866, http://www.rarenewspapers.com/view/173006.

significant change beginning in the 19th century. This phenomenon was created out of the development of a public sphere, the bourgeois society. T.C.W Blanning succinctly describes this:

> Culture was transformed from something which is representational into a commodity which could be desired for its own sake. The more the art objects were produced for the market, the more they escaped from the control of the old patrons-the court, the Church, and the nobles. And the more they became accessible to all, the more they lost their aura, their sacramental character.[51]

Art and its collection became a status symbol, something that people could acquire or partake in to elevate their perceived social class or as an indicator of their wealth.[52] As we have seen, art provided a channel to express the larger societies desires while maintaining cultural legitimacy. Mass production of art, enable by mass consumption, allowed ideas to be spread more rapidly and the messages were easily accepted because of their perceived high cultural connection. This idea of social mobility, pretending to be in a class well above ones station, provided a pathway for the public to be manipulated using art because they believed that what was contained in the art were thoughts found in the elite classes. Nast's woodwork, however, was of a different nature than a simple commodity. He had served in the *Garibaldini*, and like many Italians looked to him as the representative of an Italian man and Italian unity. The piece shows Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuelle II standing on a cliff above men marching to unify the country. Turning focus to the men, these are Garibaldis forces, common men; they are not imperial soldiers as illustrated by the garden tools they carry and their un-uniformed appearance. Behind Garibaldi are the Italian tri-colors and the king's guidon, which is embroidered with Garibaldi's name.[53] This work symbolizes the transfer of the emotion of nationalism and the successful completion of Italian unification to one man. Seemingly pictures such as these inform us that the Italians were looking for a charismatic leader who would represent and guide the country to greatness. The Italians were looking for

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[51] Blanning, *The Culture of Power*, 9.

[52] Hobsbawm, *Empire*, 222.

[53] Boime, *The Art of the Macchia*, 31-32.

their Napoleon. Of course Garibaldi encompassed many characteristic that attracted people to him, further he was a successful military commander, so the Italians did not create this man's legacy or aura they just simply elevated and projected it. To strengthen this point works of this sort were not confined to individuals that had a great deal of feeling for Garibaldi, hundreds of art works were created to celebrate the man and are located across Italy. The following images serve as examples of the art created to celebrate him.

Figure 9. Giuseppe Garibaldi statue, in Provence-Alps-Cote-d'Azur.[54]

[54] Photo taken by Philippe Kling, Giuseppe Garibaldi statue, in Provence-Alps-Cote-d'Azur, http://www.flickr.com/photos/klingpmham/5672951653/in/gallery-101012863@N03-72157635298406017/.

Figure 10. Emílio Gallori, Giuseppe Garibaldi bust.[55]

[55] Emílio Gallori, Giuseppe Garibaldi bust http://www.flickr.com/photos/artexplorer/2322118206/in/gallery-101012863@N03-72157635298406017/.

Figure 11. Giuseppe Garibaldi on horseback surround by warriors and gods. Rome, Italy.[56]

[56] Giuseppe Garibaldi on horseback surround by warriors and gods. Rome, Italy, http://www.flickr.com/photos/52701164@N00/664533907/in/gallery-101012863@N03-72157635298406017/.

Figure 12. Giuseppe Garibaldi on horseback, Bologna, Italy.[57]

[57] Giuseppe Garibaldi on horse back, Bologna, Italy, http://www.flickr.com/photos/womble67/4155889348/in/gallery-101012863@N03-72157635298406017/.

Figure 13. Giuseppe Garibaldi with hat, Todi, Italy. [58]

[58] Giuseppe Garibaldi with hat, Todi, Italy, http://www.flickr.com/photos/casa-margherita/6775355377/in/gallery-101012863@N03-72157635298406017/.

Figure 14. Giuseppe Garibaldi, 1886, Padova, Italy.[59]

[59] Giuseppe Garibaldi, 1886, Padova, Italy, http://www.flickr.com/photos/melluka1/2476021951/in/gallery-101012863@N03-72157635298406017/.

These monuments tell a meaningful story. The story is of a nation's attribution of its greatness to an individual, who was responsible for a national victory. The greatness found within the national movement and the pride produced from overcoming foreign domination is concentrated in this one man. Further, this placement of national feeling into a single person foreshadows the nation-state relationship to come.

2. Into the Future

The enthusiasm and hope provided by the nationalist movement slowly withered. In 1887 Francesco Crispi was elected as prime minister. He focus was on industrialization of the peninsula. This undertaking, however, benefitted very few individuals and did little to improve the national wealth or living standards. Workers and peasant began to strike directing their anger at the man responsible for the changes, Crispi. In an attempt to export the internal conflicts he set out on an imperial mission. The Italian troops would be sent to Africa and their work would be to colonize Eritrea, Somaliland, and Ethiopia. The desired outcome was to increase national wealth and prestige with hopes of appeasing the nationalistic mood.

The Italian wars of expansion were initially a success until they reached Ethiopia were the Abyssinian soldiers overwhelmed the Italians. For the Italian public this was a humiliating defeat.[60] As the rest of Europe expanded across Africa and Asia, Italy was unable to keep pace. As Garibaldi was the hero that led Italy to independence Crispi was an ineffective bureaucrat that led Italy to defeat. Out of this embarrassment abroad and perceived stagnation at home, nationalist youth groups were born.

The most dominant of these groups were the Futurists, led by F.T. Marinetti. The creators of this movement were artist with direct links to the world of high culture and sought to use art as their medium of discourse. In 1909 Italian writer Filippo Tommaso Marinetti breathed life into the Futurist social movement by publishing the "Futurist Manifesto." The Manifesto introduced the realities of modernity; confusion, noise, speed, technology, as being the beginning of life. The old decaying cowardice of society could finally be crucified for the greatness of the future, or simply stated parsimoniously,

60 Schulze, *States, Nations,* 252-253.

destruction of the old order and those who wish to maintain was necessary for Italy to progress.[61] Futurist pushed to destroy education and place man at the center of the nation, exalt the state as the nation's chapel, and provide a central monarchal figure to maintain the nation's gaze. The idea of a unifying central figure is a continuation of the legacy that Garibaldi left. For the Futurists, the state's foreign policy was a manifestation of the nation's greatness and the current regime was undermining Italian's place in the world. To reach their predestined stage of politics the Italian nation needed a charismatic figure to lead them to glory.

Another key aspect to Futurist doctrine is the lust for speed and risk, which was not compatible with traditional society. This character is the action piece for Futurist. Speed was synonymous with technology. Technology; tanks, planes, guns, and cars, were the tools to be used to crush the old guard and to project Italian greatness internationally.

The Futurist Manifesto further focuses the nature of the movement by laying out eleven tenets. These tenets are intended to describe the individual who embraces Futurism but also details the actions to be carried out to ensure the success of Futurism.[62] This tenets served to establish a new Italian culture distinctly from that of the past. The success of Futurism was directly tied to Italians achieving greatness. Achievement thru action in Futurism required the use and control of dynamism and movement. This action, directed through the listed tenets created a man who could control these forces and through this control man would actively live in the modern world, which for Futurism was the highest form of culture.[63]

The summation of the Futurist movement was to push people into action against an oppressive, stagnant internally focused regime and engage in outward expansion to display the nation's greatness. The usual quote pulled from the Futurist manifesto is "War-the only hygiene of the World." The quote represents the view Futurists take on

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[61] F.T. Marinetti, "The Futurist Manifesto," 1909, http://vserver1.cscs.lsa.umich.edu/~crshalizi/T4PM/futurist-manifesto.html.

[62] F.T. Marinetti, "The Futurist Manifesto," 1909.

[63] Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi, *Fascist Spectacle: The Aesthetics of Power in the Mussolini's Italy* (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1997), 31.

war but does little to explain the intent of war providing a false impression that Futurism sought mindless death.[64] War for Futurists was central to achieving the political and cultural change that they sought. With a heavy emphasis on war, Futurism, through the original manifesto and subsequence ones, implored individuals to embrace death and struggle for the nation. Futurism needed martyrs willing to die for the removal of the elements of the old social hierarchy. These elements continually served to undermine the inherent greatness of man in the modern age. This was the initial individual goal of modernism, to remove those that were not agreeable and create a homogeneous society. The change in culture was intended to integrate man and machine by reducing the fear that accompanied modernity through establishment of the idea that all the new, fast and loud things were under man's control. By becoming conscious of the control man had over these items he could own time and space and therefore overcome the nation's backwardness. This realization was needed to create a population confident enough to embark on social revolution.

The Futurist viewed the current political structure in Italy as stagnate. For decades the government had done nothing to catalyze Italian industry or lay the groundwork for modernity. This stagnation, this lack of movement, in the Futurist's eyes was the source of Italy's decay. On a world stage, the belief that the liberal government's ineptitude was the cause of Italian's lack of prestige came from a variety of nationalists groups, many of who subscribed to Sorel's theory of violence.[65] It is difficult to conclude whether these groups had any influence over then Prime Minister Giovanni Giolitti in his decision to invade Libya in 1912.[66] The key aspect of the wars in Africa was that the ideas the Futurist's doctrine professed were legitimized through imperial expansion. The wars in Africa united the Italian peninsula under a common cause, which provided the struggle and sacrifice that the Futurist proclaimed were needed for a rebirth of Italian greatness. The victory provided the nationalist with the international prestige they had desired but the Futurists believed that this victory was far short of the Italian destination. Further,

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64 Ibid., 31.

65 Ibid., 31.

66 Schulze, *States, Nations*, 252-253.

they viewed the expansion into Libya as an attempt to maintain power, however the population had already evolved and public opinion solidified. The glory of the war went to the Italian people and not the perceived illegitimate government.

Futurism as an ideology focused on speed and the necessity of violence. This speed, accompanied by modern technologies (cars, trains, and planes) lay at the fingertips of man. Key to the idea of controlling such uncontrollable forces such as time and space is unity of man. The individual exists only as part of the larger whole, in which all component parts must think and act unison for society to overcome the hurdles to modernity; this was the highest form of culture. It is through the synthesis of man and machine that Futurists reach social purity. Futurist art boldly communicates these ideas.

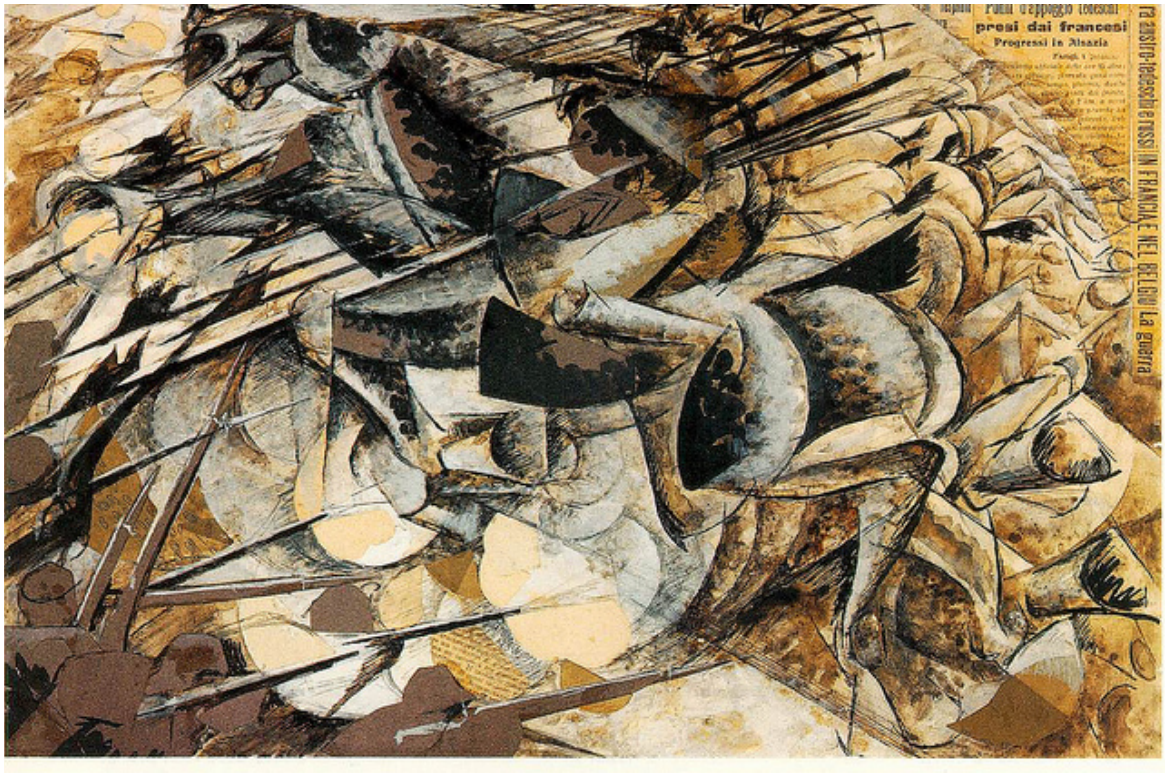

Figure 15. Umberto Boccioni, *Charge of the Lancers*, 1915.[67]

[67] Umberto Boccioni, *Charge of the Lancers*, 1915, http://www.flickr.com/photos/20699460@N00/5433590863/in/gallery-101012863@N03-72157636731022006/.

Futurist art is associated with frantic blurred lines and contrasting colors, which at times are hard to comprehend and are intended to produce a feeling of anxiety. The effects that the complexity of these images had on an early 20th century individual are easily imagined. The idea of modern confusion and the inability of the individual to control it are reinforced as one looks at these pictures. But as a collective, the Futurist would argue, the awkward lines that strike across the image, metaphorically representing the anxieties that accompany modernity, could be calmed revealing the true message of the image. The aggression, intertwined within the sculptures and paintings communicate another characteristic of Futurist thought that aggression and struggle are constant.

Umberto Boccioni's painting, *Charge of the Lancers,* illustrates the complexities of speed and motion. The setting is on a battlefield, which reminds the viewer that overcoming the modern whirlwind of forces is a continuous and deathly struggle. The key metaphor in this painting is the jumble of barely perceptible lancers. These twisted figures of man and beast represents the old way using old fashioned means of fighting. While in contrast in the left corner of the picture lay modern men. Their forms are not distorted or blurred together. Their heads, bodies, and rifles are smoothly outlined easy for the viewer to see. They have grasped the power of modernity and are uniting to fight against the incoherent past. Other examples of Futurist work illustrate the idea of warfare, the messing of flesh and steel, and the restlessness of the individual.

Figure 16. Umberto Boccioni, *Unique Forms of Continuity in Space*, 1913.[68]

68 Umberto Boccioni, *Unique Forms of Continuity in Space*, 1913, http://www.flickr.com/photos/21306373@N08/2121076547/in/gallery-101012863@N03-72157636731022006/.

Figure 17. Geno Severini, *Armoured Train in Action*, 1915.[69]

The synthesis of politics and Futurism occurred in 1919; however, in its time as a social and artistic movement it contributed much to Italian political evolution. First, the movement laid the foundation for nation-state symbiosis. The individual had no identity in Futurist ideology. The way a person found worth was to act harmoniously with others in the goal of uplifting Italy. The apparatus that the unified work was to be done in and through was the state. The state function was that of using the unified nation and its

[69] Geno Severini, *Armoured Train in Action*, 1915, http://www.moma.org/collection/object.php?object_id=79418.

monopoly on military power to project Italy's status. The ideology also dealt with the death that would inevitably be encountered during national exhalation, even pointing out that death and struggle is required to achieve greatness. Therefore, Futurism served to prepare the nation for death and to accept that fate for the betterment of the nation. The Futurist movement had effectively energized a population into militarization. Art was not the movement's only means of communication but provided a means for mass communication. The Futurist artistic style, as well as other avant-garde art forms, was the preservers of high culture acting against the bourgeoisie commodification of art and culture. The cultural reverence for high culture contributed to the Futurist's acceptance across Italy and Europe increasing the pace at which the ideology was accepted and enforced in Italy.

B. GERMAN NATIONALISM AS RELIGION: GERMANY 1872–1914

The German case was somewhat different but not entirely. *Germania,* the allegory for the German nation, remained present as an artifact in national art. Her character, however, slowly morphed in an attempt to depict her as an ineffective representation of German people. Individuals were celebrated for their successes in battle, which ended in the unification of Germany. Germany still had an issue that was absent in Italy, a common past connected to historical greatness. Monuments and paintings were commissioned to inform Germans of their historical connections to ancient civilizations and that the greatness of those civilizations was attainable in modern German.

Further this approach served to create a common understanding of German culture and identity. This was an attempt to placate the problems caused by the unification of a diverse group of people. Eugene Weber discusses this process in great detail as it occurred in France. The French peasant had to be taught that he belonged to a greater collective of people than just his patria; he belonged to the French nation.[70] This idea was solidified by state ran public education which created a population that viewed the world through a common lens. The Germans, through cultural history, were attempting to reach the similar end of homogeneity. As Eric Hobsbawm characterized this, it was not cultural assimilation; it is an attempt to create a common tradition that all

[70] Weber, *Peasants into Frenchman*, 303.

of society could be linked too.[71] This, however, was not the concern of nationalists; unification was their initial end leaving the void of education and training for the state to fill. The state seized of the movement's void and energy to create a new brand of nationalism.

German nationalists, having accomplished the primary objective of uniting the country and a bit of suffrage were, seemingly content. The celebration of the national community, however, would continue through various forms. One distinct break from the pre-unification nationalist symbols was the depiction of Germania. Following the establishment of the German nation *Germania* underwent a masculine make over. Provoking this new depiction of the German personification was Luis Otto and the liberal women's movement. They adopted *Germania* to depict a nation that required participation from both men and women to be successful. As women pushed for equal access to civil and professional jobs and political rights, men resisted the women's movement. For the German men they were not interested sharing the privileges they were so newly awarded. To undermine *Germania*'s ability to represent the German public, political forces, and the male public presented *Germania* as an unattractive masculine woman; countering the traditional portrayal of *Germania* as a virgin bride who aroused the heroic instinct of men to defend her honor. To replace her, a male hero would be needed and Germania's traditional power undermined. *Germania at the Watch on the Rhine* by Hermann Wislicenus, painted in 1873 shows the masculine form of *Germania*. The picture is basically a summary of Lorenz Clasen's work but with a few distinct differences. In Hermann's reproduction there is an inversion of male and female attributes. *Germania's* face is given manly characteristics, features that are normally accompanied by sufficient testosterone. Her hands are large and bony. Her pose, with leg up and slouching posture was not reflective of the proper German woman. She is also indifferent to the external threat, that which waits on the other side of the Rhine. This is in stark contrast with traditional Germania paintings where she is overly concerned with an external threat.[72]

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[71] Hobsbawm and Ranger, The Invention of Tradition.

[72] Bettina Brandt, *Woman Warriors and The Nation*, ed. Sara Colvin and Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly (Rochester,NY: Camden House, 2009), 111–112.

Figure 18. Hermann Wislicenus, *Germania at the Watch on the Rhine*, 1873.[73]

This image was also a reflection of the changing social and political characteristics. The army was regarded as the protector of the German nation, from both the external threats as well as internal. The internal threats, to national greatness, were the church, which was always subject to outside influences, the social democrats, who were linked to weakness due to their social and political policies, and liberals, who were seen as revolutionary. Increasingly the view of the educated middleclass German deteriorated,

[73] Hermann Wislicenus, *Germania at the Watch on the Rhine*, 1873, http://www.flickr.com/photos/hauksven/7223702938/in/gallery-101012863@N03-72157636731022006/.

even though, they had played a significant role in unifying Germany through their nationalist contributions. This, however, was of little consequence, as the Prussian military was credited for defeating the French and coaxing all the German republics into accepting the unification of Germany under Fredrick Wilhelm II. The new social standard that Germans aspired to was that set by the Prussian Officer.[74] The militaristic mentality had the effect of creating national patriotism giving the military increased power in politics and society. Even with the authoritarian Prussian regime ruling over a unified Germany issues of integration existed.

National monuments were not new to the German landscape but the purpose for which they would be employed was. Monuments generally were to celebrate a leader or key military figure. These monuments also served to remind the public of their station in life. The modern monument (for its time) was built as to unify through teaching Germans of their common historical connections. These monuments were also intended to present the greatness of the German nation to inspire a sense of love and pride for the nation among Germans. The first of these monuments that will be examined is a monument to.

[74] Schulze, *States, Nations,* 246.

Figure 19. Ernest von Bandel, *Hermannsdenkmal,* 1875, Totenberg Forest.[75]

The monument was created to celebrate the victory of Hermann over the Romans, of which has already been discussed. Bandel also incorporated other ideas into this monument that would form a nexus with the nation. First, it was to proclaim the constant vitality of the nation, meaning that whenever the nation has been under threat it has been youthful enough and strong to overcome it. To further this idea the pedestal, which raises Hermann to the skies, contains a Hall of Fame. This hall was intended to house the representations of great Germans from the past and those that would come in the future. This monument sought to remove the individual as an actor in the state and display the

[75] Ernest von Bandel, *Hermannsdenkmal,* 1875, Totenberg Forest, http://www.flickr.com/photos/sehorr/2872288389/in/gallery-101012863@N03-72157635298406017/.

national spirit. At the time, the most unifying aspect of this monument accorded during its construction. Bandel called on high school students across Germany to raise money, and therefore help, in building this "national deed."[76] Not only was this a place for Germans to gather and celebrate their historic greatness, it also provided society the ability to take part in the process and thereby making this monument truly a German symbol. The last piece, mentioned by Mosse, is an idea of a sacred place similar to a church, a place that encompasses the beliefs of society and where society can gather and be given direction.[77]. The Hall of Fame was intended to carry out the purpose of making this monument sacred. The nature in which it was constructed and the message it intended to send informed the population that the German nation had always been a great power and the greatness of the nations is what the individual should aspire too. Many more monuments were built across Germany to recall past victories or achievements with keeping the idea in mind of creating a monument that would be viewed as a place of worship, a place to exalt the nation and proclaim one's devotion to it.

The idea of German greatness was powerful in the German mind. And as this was the age of expansion and empire the Germans believed they should be, like the Italians, a world power involved in global politics and economics. Bismarck, however, responded prudently only colonizing East Africa and the Cameroons.[78] His successors, under the pressure of political and social groups, expanded the empire into China and added African territories. This vague national emotion was reminiscent of pre-unification nationalism but in the contest for national superiority acquiring new territories did not placate and demobilize the nation's demands. In the midst of the nationalist fervor monuments continued to be built across Germany, which provided the masses a place to consume German culture and celebrate the nation.

The *Battle of the Nations* monument at Leipzig displays the ceremonial nature of this era of German monuments.

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[76] Mosse, *Nationalization of the Masses*, 58–60.

[77] Ibid., 50.

[78] Schulze, *States, Nations,* 250.

Figure 20. Bruno Schmitz, *Völkerschlachtdenkmal*, 1913, Location Leipzig.[79]

[79] Bruno Schmitz, *Völkerschlachtdenkmal*, 1913, Leipzig, photograph taken by Augusto Cagnoni, http://www.flickr.com/photos/augustocagnoni/9646683574/in/gallery-101012863@N03-72157635298406017/.

Figure 21. First Floor of Völkerschlachtdenkmal.[80]

[80] First Floor of *Völkerschlachtdenkmal*, http://www.flickr.com/photos/govert1970/5033444991/in/gallery-101012863@N03-72157635298406017/.

Figure 22. First Floor with view of dome, *Völkerschlachtdenkmal.*[81]

[81] First Floor with view of dome, *Völkerschlachtdenkmal*, http://www.flickr.com/photos/homohominilupus/6274108418/in/gallery-101012863@N03-72157635298406017/.

Figure 23. Third Floor looking down of Germania, *Völkerschlachtdenkmal.*[82]

The monument is in commemoration and celebration of the Battle of the Nations. The first floor is dedicated to the Germans that died in battle. Their sacrifice provided Germany the opportunity to become the unified state it was today. The modern German owed it to those that sacrificed their life to not dishonor the nation. The second floor houses the statues of German national heroes. The monument intended to represent the whole German population; this was accomplished by removing the locational or regional symbols that many of the other national monuments contained. The second photo illustrates the intentions of this monument to be a place of worship. In the final figure we

82 Third Floor looking down of Germania, *Völkerschlachtdenkmal,* photograph taken by Jammy Caketin, *http://www.flickr.com/photos/jammycaketin/4688006921/in/gallery-101012863@N03-72157635298406017/.*

see, the continuing trend of emasculating *Germania*. She appears on the right as a manly figure with defined musculature. She still, however, has breasts, on which two infants are feeding. *Germania* as an allegory has served her purpose of nourishing the nation during its infancy and helped it to arrive at its current height. The meaning of this is politically important as it indicates the nation has embraced the manly expression of the nation, which is competition and war, and turned away from a perceived weak image.

The last piece of the modern national monument was that each had an area that provided space for festivals and celebrations. A sort of pilgrimage to these sites of national significance was carried out to worship the greatness of the nation and interact with like-minded Germans. This idea is deeply bourgeois, middle-class and born out of the public sphere and the massification of society. The monument, however, still maintained the idea of high culture while at the same time being available to all. The value of the monument, like any art, is given by those that view it, and Germans viewed these monuments as proof of German greatness but also as an indicator of social status. The monument provided a new way of celebrating the nation and this type of national worship would continue to evolve.

C. CONCLUSION

The nationalism that led to the support and military service in Italy and Germany had reached its end upon unification. Each country, however, continued to relive and promote the idea of national unity, therefore keeping the energy of nationalism fresh. The countries pursued different paths to maintain national sentiment. For the Italians, the greatness was embodied in a single leader. The leaders that followed Garibaldi were incapable of harnessing the Italian strength the way he did and were therefore pressured by society. The perceived stagnation of the Italian state was accused of undermining the Italian nation. The reduction in prestige raised the nationalist fervor past the point of state control and this nationalism took the form of a angrier and aggressive movement. This nationalist movement, like the one that lead to unification, needed a leader that could unify and harness the ocean of emotion and desire and direct action as Garibaldi did. Whether this view of Garibaldi as an extraordinary leader is accurate or not is irrelevant, the people of the time believed it to be true and demanded another leader with his

qualities to lead them. This desire would precipitate a dramatic change in Italian society and politics starting in 1915.

Germany transferred nationalism into a display of the nation's history and current superiority. The monuments spread across Germany were intended for Germans to gather and partake in their common history as well as celebrate the nation, which was a form of celebrating themselves. The monuments and the grounds that surround them were seen as sacred places reserved for festivals and other gatherings that would display national greatness. This the massification of high culture in the form of nationalism. No longer did one have to be active in the nationalist movement to be part of national greatness. These gathering places provided the masses a means to show and prove their dedication to the nation, as well as learn or be taught their German identity. This idea of gathering to show ones support for the greater body of Germany laid the groundwork for future shows of faith and allegiance to the nation-state.

Both Germanys and Italy's initial national movements evolved into a desire for national prestige or dominance. Their paths both contain religious foundations. This point in itself is not particularly important to nationalist art and politics but the tools used to create the nexus between nationalism and politics has a religious history. In the case of Italy, the individual, Garibaldi, was used as the vessel for containing all of the nationalist sentiment and glory. He led his nationalist followers in the way a Bishop would led a congregation. As the bishop was seen as the carrier of God's wisdom and word, Garibaldi was for nationalism. The sacred monument in Germany replaced the church. Much in the same way as the church, the monument was meant as a place of worship, a place for like mind individuals to gather and absorb a culture identity. It was also a place of teaching and of learning the meaning of being a German, as the church was the place that taught people what it meant to be a Christian. As the dictators, Mussolini and Hitler came to power the reverence for high culture, all be it in a new form, would be used to gain control of the nation and to integrate the nation into the state.

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IV. THE DICTATOR NATIONALIST: AUTHORITARIAN ART UNDER MUSSOLINI AND HITLER

The arrival of Mussolini and Hitler as national leaders was a continuation of the nationalist movements. Mussolini became the neo-Garibaldi. He contained all the energies of the nation and was seen as the deliverer of national supremacy. Culture became the tool of his choice to communicate his heroic nature to the masses. Hitler did not seek to remake German culture but instead integrated his form of politics into German liturgy, effectively becoming the high priest of the national religion.

A. MUSSOLINI'S CULTURAL CONQUEST

October 30, 1922, Vittorio Emmanuelle III proclaimed Benito Mussolini as the Prime Minister of Italy.[83] Thus, Fascist politics was born. The artistic nature of Fascism was inherited from the Futurist movement that proceeded Mussolini's reign, although in the end the aesthetic styles differed. Indeed fascist ideology resembled and borrowed ideas from F.T Marinetti's Futurist manifesto. As Marinetti describes in 1922 in a speech to Futurists supporters,

> The coming power of Fascism means the realization of the Futurist minimum programmes. The Futurists- the prophets and forerunners of the great Italy of today—are happy to salute a remarkable Futurist nature in the person of our premier (Mussolini), a premier who has still not reached the age of forty.[84]

Italian nationalist and the Futurist viewed Mussolini as the new Garibaldi he was to be the next great leader who could usher in another period of Italian greatness. Wanted to be viewed as continuing in Garibaldi's footsteps; the Duce spent a lot of resources projecting himself as such as well. The event, in which Marinetti proclaimed Mussolini the carrier of Futurism, resembled the turning over of the national movement by Garibaldi to Victor Emmanuel II. The Futurist movement, which had achieved national

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83 Falasca-Zamponi, *Fascist Spectacle*, 1.

84 Igor Golomshtok, *Totalitarian art: in the Soviet Union, the Third Reich, Fascist Italy, and the People's Republic of China* (London: Collins Harvill, 1990), 2.

prominence through clubs, demonstration, mass gatherings, and art expositions, was now in Mussolini's hands.

Fascism sought to transform the nation by pushing the nation-state into modernity. To accomplish this the nation needed training and discipline, which only an authoritative government could impose. Thru this training and discipline an Italian man, spoken of by Marinetti, would be created that would selflessly serve the nation. The combining of all the individual energies, through a unitary national drive, Italy would reach the pinnacle in World Politics, which England and France had already achieved.[85] Art and aesthetics would play a key role in the transformation of society. There is an inherent feeling in fascism, mentioned by Zamponi, in which the state is a God-like creator and the masses are a malleable substance that can be transformed into whatever desired creation.[86]

The Fascist intellectuals viewed art as a means to communicate the new national culture. Culture inherently contains the values and norms of a society. The fascist believed that the nation's interaction with art would mold the Italian citizen needed for Italy's push to greatness.[87] There was also a need to unite these new Italians under a common ideology, a common faith, and public festivals and mass participation would serve this purpose. Political aesthetics were to serve this purpose. Mass participation in organized political parades or national festivals was to be used to create a new national consciousness, a devotion to the nation-state. These gatherings intended to create an aura around the state similar to that of religions. Leading these mass demonstrations of national devotion to Italian greatness was the omnipotent state, Mussolini[88]. Directly connected to the aura was Mussolini, he was even seen as the creator of this aura as well as the omnipotent ruler. The Futurist idea of eternal youth being maintained through struggle and war persisted through Mussolini's dictatorship. Health and youth became

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85 Ruth Ben-Ghiat, *Fascist Modernities: Italy, 1922–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 6.

86 Falasca-Zamponi, *Fascist Spectacle,* 13.

87 Ibid, 6.

88 Ibid., 6-7.

central to his totalitarian image and to Fascist aesthetics.[89] To carry out the evolution of the nation Mussolini held no particular artistic taste. He did, however, approve of all art that was to be representative of the state to ensure it communicated the intended message and that it was simple enough for the masses to internalize. This proved to be an important policy in gaining the support of the intelligencia for the fascist movement. It allowed creative expression to remain alive and the sense that they, the intellectuals, were contributing to the modernization of Italy while remaining free to explore personal creativity.[90]

High culture during this period in both Germany and Italy in the historical sense ceased to exist. The state took control of art and became the only consumer, becoming the dictator of what was culturally relevant and what was not.[91] High culture still existed in the practice as the state was projecting artistic creation as a new form of high culture, and more importantly the public received it in that way. In 1926, Mussolini ordered the establishment of the National Syndicate of Fascist Visual Art. This newly created union brought all of the high culture producers under the control of one institution ensuring control and efficiency in the cultural transformation of Italy through art.[92] Artists were still able to explore independent forms of representation, but in order to maintain status and earn a living state commissioned and approved paintings were a necessity. Art began to serve a specific function with many different forms.

Italian high culture was already in transition prior to Mussolini's dictatorship. Mass production of goods and ideas facilitated the degradation of the historic aura and reverence for high forms of artistic production. Fascism simply continued along this line and produced works that were accessible to the masses as well as easily identifiable. Mario Sironi was central to this mass production of art for the Duce and was the chief caricature for two decades of *Il Popolo d'Italia,* the official newspaper of the Fascist

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89 Falasca-Zamponi, *Fascist Spectacle,* 72-73.

90 Ibid, 9.

91 Golomshtok, *Totalitarian,* 35.

92 Adrian A. Lyttelton , *The Seizure of Power: Fascism in Italy, 1919-1929,* (New York: Scribner, 1973), 323.

regime.[93] Figure 4.1 provides he nature of art produced by Sironi as well as the prevalent message found throughout art in Mussolini's Italy. The painting is titled, *Leader on Horseback*, informing us instantly that the soldier on the horse is Mussolini.

Figure 24. Mario Sironi, *Leader on Horseback*, 1934.[94]

The white figure on a white horse rises above the crowd. The crowd below is waving banners, lifting their arms up in the air, and gathered around the horse's legs. The background is a modern city with a great historic past, shown by the architecture and the arch. Mussolini is able to oversee all from his position. Mussolini as a soldier on the horse also communicates the militaristic nature of the nation. The contrast of the black masses and the white leader symbolized the position of the two; Mussolini is a sort of

[93] Emily Braun and Mario Sironi.. *Mario Sironi and Italian Modernism: Art and Politics under Fascism* (New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 8.

[94] Mario Sironi, *Leader on Horseback*, 1934, http://www.flickr.com/photos/34323586@N06/5394889031/in/gallery-101012863@N03-72157636731022006/.

deity as well as a direct representation of the nation-states power. The masses are willing to brave the horse's hooves, even be crushed, in order to contact and witness the greatness Mussolini. In fact some Italians would have to sacrifice their lives in order for Italy to achieve its rightful global position. The masses were simply to serve the state without regard. As we will see the Futurists idea of servitude of the nation for Italian greatness was carried on by Fascism but it eventually evolved into servitude for Mussolini.

Figure 25. Constantino Constantini, *Monolito*, 1932, Rome.[95]

95 Constantino Constantini, *Monolito,* 1932, Rome, http://www.house42.net/htm/pla013.html.

Figure 26. Constantino Constantini, *Monolito*, 1932, Rome.[96]

The deification of Mussolini started 1923 with the publication of his biography, which projected him as a constant survivor escaping death on several occasions, as well

96 Constantino Constantini, *Monolito,* 1932, Rome, photograph taken by Anthony Majanlahti, http://www.flickr.com/photos/antmoose/57164784/in/gallery-101012863@N03-72157636731022006/.

as a charming caring man that appealed to women.[97] Figure 4.2 illustrates the nature of Mussolini. The structure towers over a residential and business district. The face of the obelisk displays the name Mussolini and in bigger font DVX. The phallic symbol illustrates not only Mussolini's manliness but also the nations. The theme of Mussolini towering over the masses in an ever-present nature is again repeated. It is worth restating that Fascism believed that in order to remake society training and discipline were a necessity. The only form Mussolini believed could carry this out was an authoritative government. Making this structure and the previous painting a natural continuation of that idea, Italians had to be trained to view Mussolini with awe for the purpose of following his dictates unquestionably. Art provided the means to constantly teach or remind the public of Mussolini's omnipotence.

97 Falasca-Zamponi, *Fascist Spectacle*, 49.

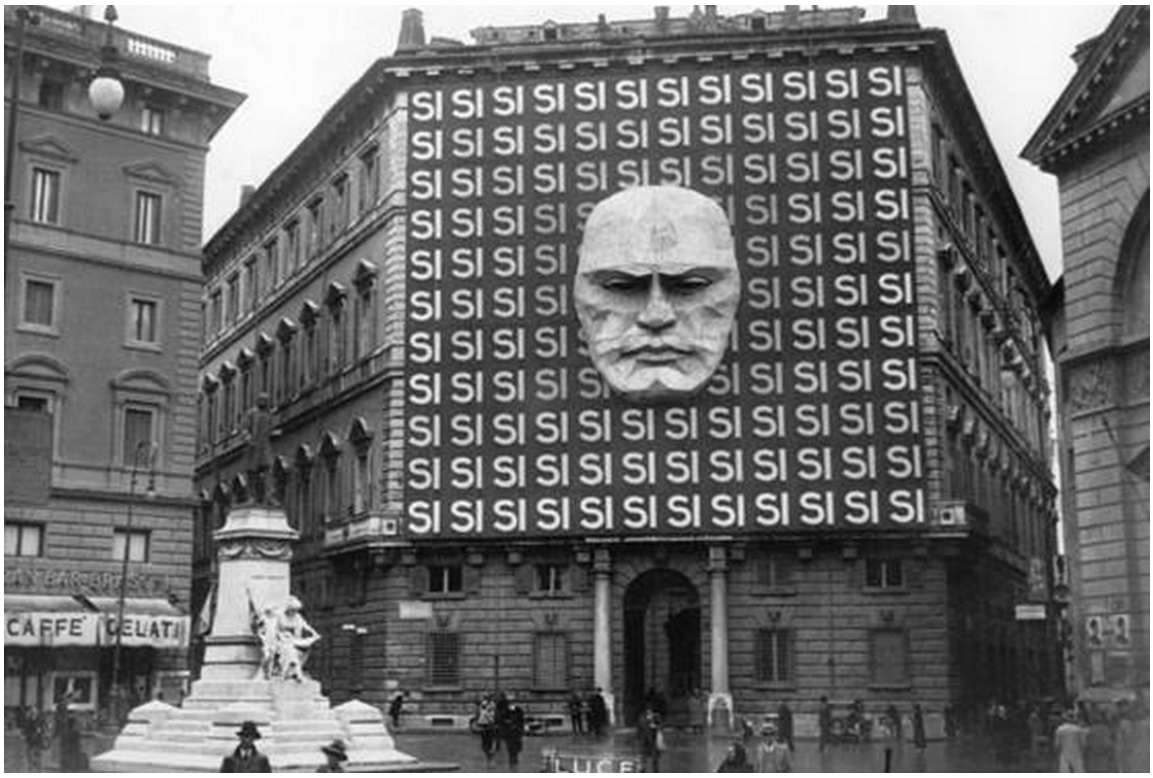

Figure 27. Fascist National Headquarters, 1934, Rome.[98]

98 Fascist National Headquarters, 1934, Rome, http://www.flickr.com/photos/recuerdosdepandora/7341506772/in/gallery-101012863@N03-72157636731022006/.

Figure 28. Gauro Ambrosi, *Aviator Benito Mussolini,* 1930.[99]

99 Gauro Ambrosi, *Aviator Benito Mussolini*, 1930, http://www.flickr.com/photos/27862259@N02/5892155608/in/gallery-101012863@N03-72157636731022006/.

Figure 26 and 27 are a continuing illustration of the theme as Mussolini as an ethereal being. Mussolini's proliferation into the culture and society did not stop with his godly status. He came to epitomize the ideal Italian male.[100] Staged photo shoots showed him taming a tiger, snow skiing shirtless, braving the ocean, and being an aviator warrior. All these photos were intended to show Mussolini as hero with enumerable capabilities. Solidifying the deification of Mussolini was the failed attempts on his life. His survival of several assassinations increased the public's view of his immortality.

Italians witnessed and were subjected to constant reminders of Mussolini's authority. The states total control over the depiction of Mussolini ensured that the population would view him in very specific terms. The reason for this was to create a uniform society that would respond correctly to the state's demands. In a way Mussolini had become the allegory of Italy and therefore by acting in accordance with the fascist ideology each Italian would be acting for the nation.

B. HITLER'S ARTISTIC STYLE

The secular religion of the nation had been evolving for decades before Hitler was appointed Chancellor in 1933. Nationalism was among the strongest unifiers in the German nation. The monuments and festivals linked to historical Germanic achievements became the nation's cultural liturgy. Each festival or pilgrimage to a monument displayed the love of the nation and in turn was a celebration of the individual. Hitler did particularly like the cultural liturgy and its connection to the past but he realized the utility that the decades of the nation participating in secular self-celebrating events would have politically.[101] Unlike Mussolini, Hitler had a specific artistic preference. He was drawn to classical art as well as architecture. He rejected the styles that lacked classic aesthetics or were incoherently organized. The arts that had been developed since the early 1900s; Cubism, Expressionism, Futurism, Abstraction, or Dadaism could not or would not represent the historic or future greatness of the Third Reich, for Hitler.[102] The

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100 Falasca-Zamponi, *Fascist Spectacle,* 82.

101 Mosse, *Nationalization of the Masses*, 183–184.

102 E.J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: a History of the World, 1914–1991* (New York: Pantheon Boos, 1994), 179.

lack of organization or order in modern forms of art was representative of the chaos that Jewish capitalism brought to German society. Art for Hitler was to communicate the greatness of Germany historically as well as contemporarily.

The art that was rejected by Hitler did, however, contribute to producing social perceptions that were foundational to National Socialism politics. The artists that served this purpose were known as the avant-garde. As a collective group the avant-garde's representational schools varied from country to country and movement to movement. The diversity of art produced from this group did not affect the overall self-proclaimed goal of leading art and culture toward world progress.[103] This meant delegitimizing bourgeois art and life. The goal of avant-garde ideology was to undermine capitalist society as it reduced art to a simple economic endeavor detached from the emotion and meaning. This belief was connected to social life as well, as people became a dollar sign and not a unique part of the community. These realities were much more similar to rule under the old regime than it was different. For this reason the avant-garde ideologues viewed bourgeois society as a step backwards and a stumbling block preventing progress. As is typical with high art or culture in any period, the intellectuals were responsible for developing and spreading the decadence of capitalism. By extension those benefitting from capitalist economics were also villainized. The basic argument behind the rise of a counter bourgeoisie movement is the loss of influence in society by artist and intellectuals. The growing hate for capitalism in the more educated communities coupled with a push for change in Germany provided the avenue and support needed for the National Socialist to gain support and eventually total control.

Hitler understood the underlying social tensions and embraced the intellectuals' ideology, as he was one himself. The market collapse in 1929 solidified the beliefs of the German population that sympathized with the avant-garde, and brought many more in-line with the Nazi program. The extreme suffering following the economic collapse left many Germans wanting change, a redirection from capitalist economic, which Hitler was ready to deliver. The cultural movement that paved the way for Hitler to depose of the

[103] Golomshtok, *Totalitarian*, 18.

middle class, however, was not to be used in the Third Reich as a communicator or cultural signifier.

"If the age of Pericles seems embodied in the Pantheon, the Bolshevik present is embodied in a Cubanist monstrosity," was Hitler view of modern art techniques.[104] During later speeches he classified these arts as "artistic Bolshevism." With these types of statements the art forms developed during the first quarter of the 20th century, along with the contributions, were delegitimized. This was of course necessary as the revolutionary nature of avant-garde circles had to be de-mobilized. Further, the complexity and abstraction of avant-garde art was not accessible to the masses. A simpler, purer form of art was need to link politics and society. Hitler's choice, as already stated, was classic art. The political takeover of art in Germany officially happened in 1930 when Paul Schultze-Naumburg, a Nazi, was appointed to the head of the Weimar School of Applied Art. He immediately removed many of the avant-garde works from the public eye and closed displays at museums.[105] Hitler understood the power of art and did not want any counter ideas floating around. The world of high culture for the masses was isolated to national assemblies, festivals, and the neo-classical makeover of architecture that Hitler ordered. Artistic expression was brought under the heel of the state and served a specific purpose.

For the masses ceremonies were central to their affiliation and participation with-in the state. The national liturgy that had grown since German unification, of public festivals and celebrations of historic events or figures, was easily transferred to politics. The traditional celebrations of the nation at monuments or festivals continued to exist alongside the Nazi versions of these events. The events that pre-dated the Nazi era added legitimacy to the Nazi to the gatherings. The Nazi's further increased the connection between society and politics by using presenting the order and discipline of the military as the pinnacle of society, much in the same way Prussia had promoted the Officer as the ideal German after unification. The ceremonies had historical connections that prevented

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[104] Golomshtok, *Totalitariant*, 55.

[105] Golomshtok, *Totalitarian*, 79.

the public from seeing them as odd state displays of power. In order to maintain the connection between nation and state the state did not wish to supplant the national liturgy with pure Nazism. Instead Hitler worked Nazi politics into the aesthetics of national liturgy and eventually these celebrations became less about their original purpose of celebrating German greatness and more about worshipping the state apparatus that was to carry Germany to new heights.[106]

Mass gatherings were used to create and build the desired political liturgy. In Arthur Kampf's painting, we see a parade of Nazi brown shirts march by as crowds salute them. The event being commemorated was the Nazi seizure of power. The symbols in the painting were present during each Nazi gathering. The fire, the Nazi banners, and the crowds that supported the men in arms. The organization and discipline seemingly is connected directly to the classical style of order that Hitler craved, but it was also a reflection of the intellectuals' demand to eliminate the chaos of capitalism. There was also the presence of uniformity in thought and action that had not existed in the 1920s. The major symbol displayed in this painting is the Brandenburg Gate standing well lit in the background. Much like the fathers of German unity called on historic greatness to unite Germany against external enemies the Nazis were using the Brandenburg gate to create a historical nexus between past and present military superiority. The relevant aspect of this painting is that events such as these were part of everyday life. This painting was not an idealized representation of the nation-state relationship under National Socialism it was a reality.

106 Mosse, *Nationalization of the Mass*, 187–189.

Figure 29. Arthur Kampf, Der 30. January 1933, 1939.[107]

The major problem that the Nazi's had converting the national liturgy to political was its lack of struggle and victory. Therefore, many of the events surrounding the Nazi takeover were embellished in order to warrant monuments or celebrations.[108]. Due to the lack of a physical struggle for power the Nazi artist were left to display the mass gatherings and festivals as proof of Nazi power. Paul Herrmann painted many works depicting these events. His painting *Die Fahne* is an excellent example of what Hitler termed idealism. Idealism used similar, almost identical, techniques to Soviet social

107 Arthur Kampf, *30 January 1933*, 1939, http://www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/politart-thumb.htm.

108 Golomshtok, *Totalitarian*, 238–239.

realism but Hitler refused to recognize German art under that category.[109] This form of art sought to produce an authentic image of events while displaying an eternal greatness or godlike character, and for Germany that character was contained in Nazism. Hermann's painting presents a simple parade down an urban street, which is lined with supporters. These supporters represented the nation while the soldiers symbolized the state, and the state was the apex of society under Nazism. The eternal greatness of the state is found within the religious symbolism. The soldiers re seen emerging from the smoke produced by the flame and alter. The flame and alter for a century had been a holy symbol of eternal life and unity.[110] The Nazi movement, unlike Futurism, did not want to destroy the nation's connection with the past. Instead the symbols that so many Germans had come to understand as a representation of German culture had been adopted by the Nazis and used to nurture the relationship between nation and state.

[109] Ibid., 193.

[110] Mosse, *Nationalization of the Masses*, 188.

Figure 30. Paul Herrmann, *Die Fahne*, 1938[111]

111 Paul Herrmann, *Die Fahne*, 1938, http://www.junglekey.fr/search.php?query=Savitri%20Devi&lang=fr&region=fr&adv=1&type=image.

Figure 1 Paul Herrmann *Und ihr habt doch gesiegt*, 1942.[112]

112 Paul Herrmann, *Und ihr habt doch gesiegt*, 1942, http://www.thirdreichruins.com/kunsthaus2.htm.

The celebration of those that died in the failed "Beer Hall Putsch" of 1923 brought all of these ideas together. Paul Herrmann's painting *This is Your Victory* shows that ceremony as it happened without idealization. This was the one true hardship the Nazis faced before coming to power, the lack of heroes or true struggle. This event provided them the necessary German heroes to celebrate, who were also Nazi's. The celebration, of those that died in 1923, takes place in the same square in which they died. Their deaths provided sanctity and reverences for the event that would not have existed otherwise. What is missing from this photo is the large parade area in front of the monument where crowds could gather and celebrate the martyrs. The pictures below are photographs of the event in which the wide-open space is used for military formations and public gallery.

Figure 31. Nazi Commemoration the Beer Hall Putsch, Odeonsplatz Munich.[113]

[113] Nazi Commemoration of the Beer Hall Putsch, Odeonsplatz Munich, http://thirdreicheagles.blogspot.com/2012_09_01_archive.html.

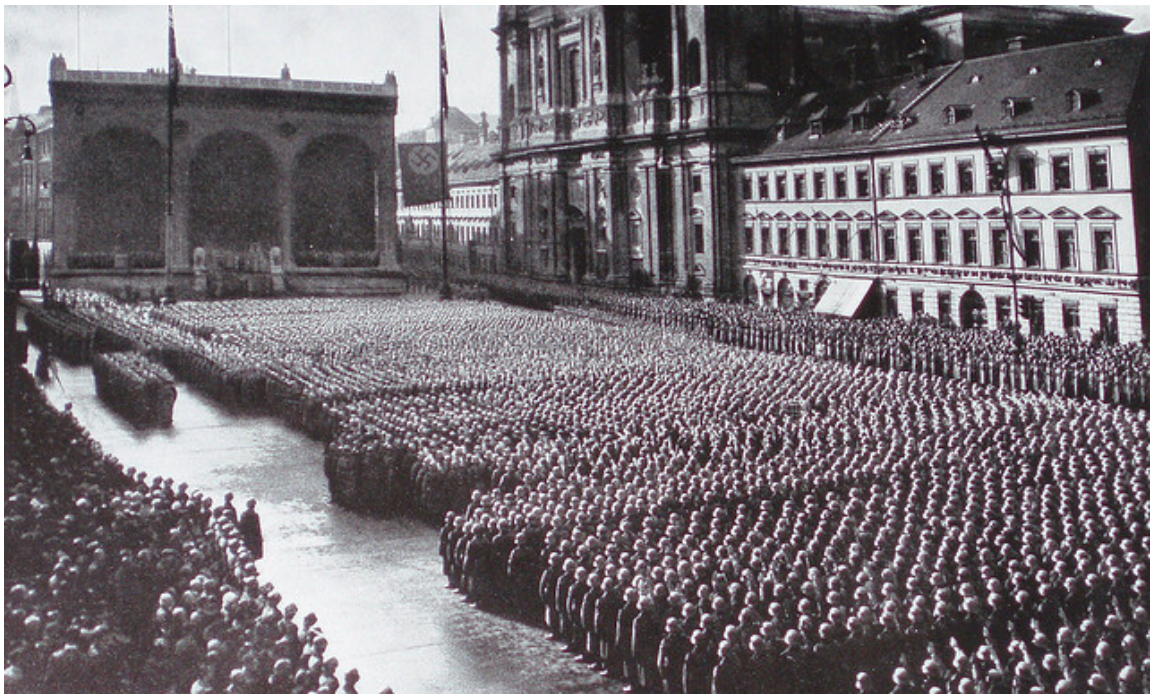

Figure 32. Nazi Commemoration the Beer Hall Putsch, Odeonsplatz Munich.[114]

The secular religion that had begun in the 19th century had become a tool for the Nazi regime. Through mass celebrations and gatherings the Nazis were able to indoctrinate society with state ideology. This is not to say the nation did not embrace the Nazi ideology or that it was forced upon them, the Nazis simply used the infrastructure already in place and molded it for their purpose. The use of German culture and tradition simply made embracing or supporting Nazism easier, as it was seen as representing the German nation. The political liturgy became the high culture for the masses and was perceived as such. High culture in its previous form still existed, but for a very select group. In this way high culture had taken back its previous life of being available to only a few. However, for nationalistic purposes it had little value as the masses were engaged with marches, festivals, and posters.

[114] Nazi Commemoration of the Beer Hall Putsch, Odeonsplatz Munich, http://atheistjewingermany.blogspot.com/2009/09/odeonsplatz-munich.html.

C. CONCLUSION

Try to introduce this quote some way."In a totalitarian system art performs the function of transforming the raw material of ideology into the fuel of images and myths intended for general consumption."[115] The continuation of nationalism under Hitler and Mussolini distinctly altered the nature of high culture. Capitalism and mass production made high culture accessible to anyone who could afford it. The avant-garde spent the early 20th century attacking and undermining the legitimacy of such an idea. Mussolini in away turned himself into a commodity by putting his name and his face on many things. However, his deification made him much more than a simple marketing tool; he was seen as the omnipresent leader. The use of high culture in Italy increasingly became to represent the greatness of Mussolini and not the greatness of the nation or the potential greatness in the future. Italians viewed Mussolini in the same light, as Garibaldi, however, and it was not until the end of WWII that Italians realized Mussolini was not a representation of Italy nor was he the leader who could deliver Italy to world prominence.

Hitler quest to remake Germany and perpetuate the Aryan race was not so self-centered. He was deified simply through his leadership of the Nazi party. The aesthetics and liturgy used by the Nazis created an aura around the party that translated into reverence from the public and this was extending to Hitler. Instead of promoting himself as the chosen leader, he promoted Nazi ideology. This ideology was wrapped in an authentic German package. Participating in and celebrating the German nation was a common activity. The use of historical symbols and methods of worship made the Nazi rallies seem like an extension of what had already been practiced. The Nazi takeover of German society was not a jarring experience; it was instead just a subtle manipulation of what had already existed.

115 Golomshtok, *Totalitarian*, xii.

V. CONCLUSION

Germany and Italy provide only two examples of the evolutionary paths of nationalism. Each European country that experienced a nationalist movement dealt with it and employed the nationalist energy in distinct ways. This thesis focused on Germany and Italy due to the totality that nationalist sentiment brought to the two societies. This countries were the extreme examples of the negative capacity of nationalism. Nationalism, however, has the ability to lead to positive politics, as well. The initial phases of the nationalist's movements in Italy and Germany too had the positive energy filling them. These movements, however, were slowly manipulated and transformed through social and political changes. One aspect of the communication, activation, and manipulation of nationalism was high culture. High culture worked alongside other social political realities and eventually became the pinnacle of the nation-state relationship witnessed in the mass celebrations and state sanctioned art.

The Italian nationalist movement arose out of the desire for united Italy absent of foreign rule. The initial artistic movement within the nationalists was the Macchiaioli. This artist sought to communicate the national desires as well as rally Italians to the cause. This was the initial phase of high culture being used to speak and inform the masses.

Following the unification of Italy nationalist art took on a different dimension. The hero became the central focus of nationalist art, that hero was Garibaldi. Garibaldi had filled a void of Italy's lack of great leaders. He became and remains Italy's Napoleon. The energy and unity found within the movement, distinctly linked to Garibaldi, was turned over to Victor Emmanuel's government following unification. The nationalist's hopes slowly dwindled over the course of three decades, which feed into the coming, more virulent nationalist movement ground in Futurist ideology.

Futurism viewed the social and political structure in Italy at the turn of the century as detrimental to Italy's prestige. In an age of imperialism Italy was losing the battle to the other European powers, the government's stagnation was central to the problem. Futurists desired to destroy the old hierarches and modes of thinking that were preventing Italy from expanding and embracing modernity. Futurism communicated with the public

through art and an official manifesto. The art sought to replace and expose traditional forms of art as inadequate for the modern world. The establishment of clubs and demonstrations exposed an increasing amount of Italians to the cause of Italy's failures as well as the Futurist fix. Futurism, through expositions, spread across Europe taking up a prominent position in the avant-garde. What was lacking for Futurism to take the next step was a political leader.

In 1922 Mussolini and his black shirts marched on Rome alongside his Futurist supporters. Mussolini, like Garibaldi, was the a leader who would take Italy to a higher form of greatness. With the mass depiction of Garibaldi as an Italian savior in paintings and monuments the public was mentally prepared for another savior to come along. Mussolini adopted the Futurist movement and turned it into his own. An art form that sought to remake society in order to achieve a greater Italy was now in the hands of a dictator. The state, under Mussolini, controlled high culture. Nationalist art, therefore, reached its final phase. High culture in Italy became the link between the nation and state, no longer a communication channel between the movement and the nation as it had been. Art increasingly was used to display Mussolini's greatest as a man and leader to the point of deification. High culture in Italy became a worshipping tool of the dictator, but this form of worship was distinctly not Italian.

Germany followed a similar path in the initial phases of its national movement. The nationalists desired a united Germany with a democratic government. After a failed attempt to unite midcentury the Germans achieved their goal after the Franco-Prussian war. Art had played a part in national awareness since the early 19^{yh} century. Germany, having different political dynamics, saw nationalist art that spoke to both the government and the people simultaneously. Each work carefully displayed an outside threat, a nationalist symbol, and the need for Germans to unite for survival. In addition to these works were the monuments and paintings that depicted or recounted German greatness. These served to remind Germans of a common ancestor as well as the greatness that Germany could achieve. The nationalist movement did not have a central figure such as Garibaldi but following unification Bismarck became the heroic figure.

The successful unification brought Prussian society and culture to the forefront of German life. Military organization and lifestyle became the pinnacle of German society. It was during this period that society began to worship its heroes and past victories at monuments or sacred locations. The national liturgy of Germany continued to develop and was reinforced year after year as Germans gathered to celebrate their own greatness. Theses celebrations' link to a perceived work of art, a monument, provided the nexus to high culture. This relationship between monument, self-worship, and culture provided the necessary context for Nazi liturgy to take hold.

The historical buildup to the Nazi takeover in Germany began in the 19th century. Hitler's artistic taste had little to do with the forms of culture employed by the Nazi regime to bring people into the party. Hitler did prefer classic art and rejected the avant-garde art of the time. The monuments or national festivals did not fit into the aesthetics of neo-classicism well but the Nazi's understood the Germanic connections to their liturgy. Instead Hitler used German symbology, German history, and German liturgy as the culture of Nazi politics. By incorporation a national culture into state politics the state became the nation and celebrating one was to celebrate the other. The high culture of Nazism for the masses took place in the intricate, ordered ceremonies that were, like Prussian society, centered on the military. Unlike Italy culture in Germany was not to present the superiority of a man but the superiority of the nation and the only political ideology that could capture that greatness was Nazism. Perhaps the vehement rejection of Nazism by Germans is due to the direct link to German culture found in Nazism. For a little over a century Germans had been depicting their inherent greatness, the Nazis only politicized and weaponized this idea. Further the national liturgy, with a religious character, fit perfectly with Nazi ceremonies. This is not saying that Germans wanted to annihilate a complete ethnic group but it is saying that Nazism was much more organic to Germany than Mussolini's Fascism was to Italy. For the study of high culture and nationalism this point illustrates the ability of revered forms of culture to coax a nation to act irrationally.

Each country had a historic build up that led to the type of total politics they endured. Mussolini had Garibaldi, a declining state, and a Futurist movement. Hitler had

a century of German self-worship and militarization, which was seemingly being destroyed by capitalism. Each step of the way high culture was present reflecting how society felt, telling society how to fell, or acting as a nexus between nation and state. For military professionals, scholars, and politicians it is important to understand the history that led to a particular countries government. Further being aware of the typical patterns that led to integral nationalism analysts can predict countries that may in the future have similar aspirations to that of Italy or Germany. In the case of this study, high culture provided a well-defined road linking the distant intentions of 19th century nationalism and 20th century extremism. In the digital world high culture plays a less significant role and one must look for what has replaced the sacred forms of high culture. There is no easy answer to finding the neo-high culture, each society creates its own and one must understand the nation in question to see what the public views as high culture. High culture only retains that label as long as the public views it as such.

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