

MIKE DOBSON  
with assistance from MARIUS SCHULTEN

## **THE EIFEL – WUPPERTAL-ELBERFELD – MAINZ CONNECTIONS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGIST ADOLF SCHULTEN AND THE PAINTER CURTIUS SCHULTEN**

### A NEWLY ATTRIBUTED PAINTING IN MAINZ OF THE CELTIBERIAN AND ROMAN SITE OF NUMANTIA, SPAIN

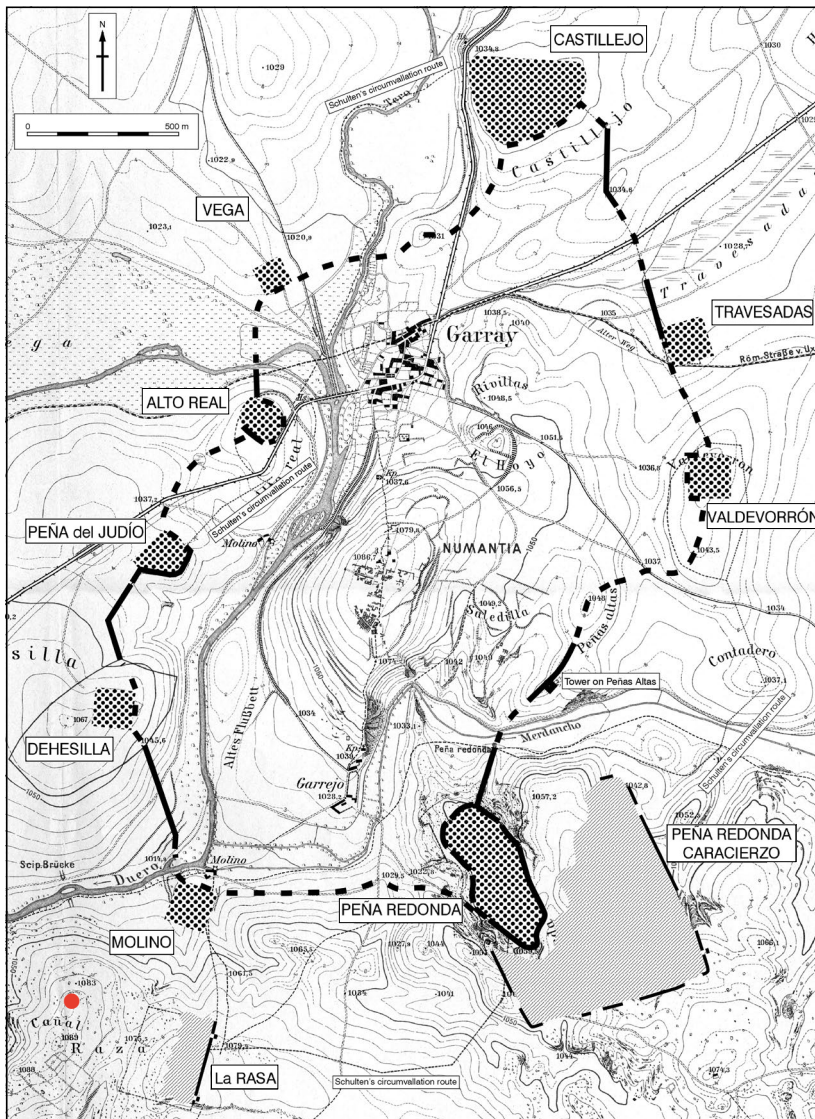
The early twentieth-century excavations by the German archaeologist Adolf Schulten (1870–1960) of the iconic Celtiberian city of Numantia situated on La Muela hill by the village of Garray near Soria in northern Spain and of the associated second-century BC Roman siegeworks and camps nearby at Renieblas, are well-known (figs 1–2; Dobson 2008, 14–21; Luik 2015). Schulten’s main publication of the excavations, as well as a discussion of the Celtiberians and their war with Rome, was a series of four sumptuous volumes of text, with three of them having accompanying folders of large-format maps and plans (Schulten 1914; 1927; 1929; 1931). These publications form an essential resource for the study of Numantia itself, and even more significantly for researching the Republican Roman army, as the remains here represent some of the best-preserved and investigated, as well as amongst the earliest that are currently known archaeologically. Indeed, they were the earliest known Roman military sites until the discoveries leading from significant developments in Spanish Roman military archaeology from about 2010 and recent discoveries in northern Italy (Bernardini et al. 2015; Morillo et al. 2020).

It is consequently surprising that Schulten’s four volumes have never been translated to make them more accessible, since German is generally not that well-known and the complex and dated style of Schulten’s language can even sometimes challenge native German speakers (Martin Luik pers. comm.). The only substantial Numantia publication by Schulten to be translated is his abridged account of his research and excavations, »Geschichte von Numantia« (History of Numantia) (Schulten 1933), published as a small-format book of 170 pages (very small compared to his large four volumes totalling approximately 1,300 pages of text, almost 200 pages of photographs, and 100 folded plans and maps in three folios), translated into Spanish by Luis Pericot Garcia (Schulten 1945a). This was popular enough to be republished in 1967 and later republished with extensive Spanish introduction by Fernando Wulff Alonso (Wulff Alonso 2004).

To help alleviate this, the current author recently commenced an English translation and edition of Schulten’s second large volume, about the city of Numantia (Schulten 1931). Schulten dedicated this volume to his friend and collaborator Constantin Koenen (1853–1929). Since Schulten lacked significant archaeological experience, which he readily admitted, as he was primarily an ancient historian, he persuaded Koenen, Assistant Director of the Bonn Provinzialmuseum (State Museum, Bonn) and famous excavator of the Roman fortress at Neuss (1887–1900), to accompany him to Spain and assist with the excavations. Schulten had visited Koenen’s Neuss excavations several times, starting when he was a teenager, spending a week there on one occasion and was even photographed in an excavation trench, appearing very smartly dressed (so it is unlikely he »got his hands dirty« actually excavating!) (Koenen 1904, pl. 9.9). Schulten clearly



**Fig. 1** Adolf Schulten's excavations at the Roman camps on Castillejo, north of Numantia, visit by the aristocrat Aurelio González de Gregorio and family. Schulten, seated, with a rather Charlie Chaplin pose and perhaps looking a little bored. His assistant Harald Hofmann is second from right. – (Photo Junta de Castilla y León, AHPSO 3.296).



**Fig. 2** Numantia and the Roman camps, with alternative Scipionic siegeworks (heavy dashed line and dot-filled installations) to those proposed by A. Schulten. The location of his favourite view of Numantia is shown by the red dot in the bottom-left corner of the map. – (Based on Schulten 1927, plan I; Dobson 2008, fig. 269; Peña Redonda-Caracierzo plotted by M. Dobson from LiDAR image in Hesse/Costa-García 2016, fig. 3 and field-walking in 2018 by F. Morales-Hernández and M. Dobson).

very much enjoyed being there and Koenen's company, shown by his very warm recollections years later (Grosse 1929, 54; Seeling 1984, 56; Luik 2015, 229). This friendship resulted in Koenen playing a significant part at Numantia, supervising and recording excavations in 1905, actually running the excavations during Schulten's three-month absence in 1910, and being there again in 1911; Schulten was exceedingly grateful for all of this (Schulten 1931, 14–15. 31; 1949, 9; Seeling 1984, 77–78; Dobson 2008, 2–3; Luik 2015, 228–230; Díaz-Andreu 2017, 34–43).

Koenen was also indirectly or unwittingly involved in the political problem of the finds from Numantia, resulting from rising Spanish nationalism. Schulten sent most of the finds to Germany, causing outcry in Spain, including in the Spanish parliament (Cortes) in 1905 (Vera et al. 1906, 192; Gómez Gonzalo 2017, 126–128; Gómez Gonzalo/Garcés Estallo 2017, 128). Although Koenen returned some of the finds from Bonn to the Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid (National Archaeological Museum, Madrid) in 1906 (Schulten 1931, 21; Gómez Gonzalo 2017, 180–184), he must also have been happy for finds to remain in Germany, as he was probably involved in creating the Numantia room, with its display of excavation finds, in the Römisch-Germanisches Central-Museum in Mainz (to become Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum [RGZM]; since January 2023, Leibniz-Zentrum für Archäologie [LEIZA]), as he stayed in Mainz for some time during 1908/1909 (Seeling 1984, 88); the finds are still an important part of the museum's collection (Luik 2002).

While the current author was working on the translation of Schulten's second Numantia volume, the mention of a painter called Curtius Schulten producing a painting of Numantia was unexpectedly encountered in one of Adolf Schulten's footnotes<sup>1</sup>. This »discovery« led to the identification of a previously unrecognised painting by this well-known twentieth-century German artist. Also, through the helpful son of the painter, Marius Schulten, it was learnt that his father's archive contains photographs and etchings of local people and scenes created while C. Schulten was in the area of Numantia in 1925; further research revealed that at least some of these people had been associated with A. Schulten's work at Numantia.

## THE »DISCOVERY« OF ADOLF SCHULTEN'S PAINTER

A. Schulten describes the topography around Numantia in Chapter 2 (Schulten 1931, 41–109). This includes a description of various views of La Muela hill on which Numantia lies (Schulten 1931, 91–109). He says his most-loved view is from the Cerro Cañal plateau approximately south-west of the city (**fig. 2**):

### Numantia from Cerro Cañal (SSW)

»The panorama of Numantia is no lovelier from any other point than from the highest part of the plateau to the SSW of the city: from Cerro Cañal (illustration 5 [shown here as **fig. 3**]). The broad Numantine plain with its magnificent setting and the majestic semi-circle of the Sierra from the Urbión as far as Moncayo can be viewed from here. In the middle of this view, rising slowly from the two rivers forming its base, is the historical centre-point of the plain: the hill of Numantia. Everything combines to make this the most beautiful and impressive picture of the whole area.« (Schulten 1931, 92–93)<sup>2</sup>.

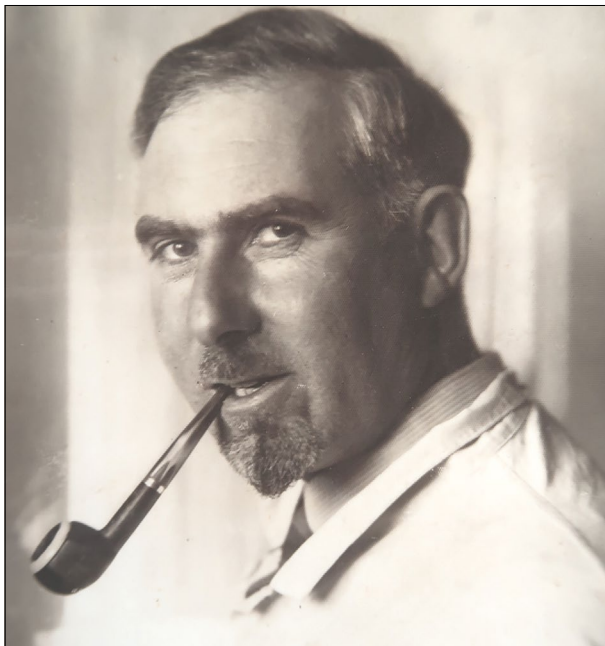
At the end of this section of text, A. Schulten has a simple footnote:

»The painter Curtius Schulten has painted this landscape in oils; the painting is in my possession. Illustration 5 is one of my photographs: it shows the landscape in evening light, in autumn.« (Schulten 1931, 93 note 1 fig. 5).





**Fig. 3** View of Numantia looking north from Cerro Cañal, river Duero in the foreground. Garray is visible to the left of La Muela hill. – (C. Schulten's version of Schulten 1931, fig. 5; Copyright Archiv M. Schulten).



**Fig. 4** Curtius Schulten, photographed in 1928. – (Copyright Archiv M. Schulten).

### WHO WAS CURTIUS SCHULTEN?

C. Schulten (fig. 4) was born in 1893 in Elberfeld, part of the municipality of Wuppertal in North Rhine-Westphalia since 1929, now known as Wuppertal-Elberfeld (for biographical details see: Pesch 1987; Joist 1990; Joist/Schulten 1990; Wirtz 2015; Schulten 2017). He began his artistic training at the Elberfeld Kunstgewerbeschule (School of Arts and Crafts), 1909–1911. He then studied at the Kunstakademien (Art Academies) in Karlsruhe (1911–1913) and Munich (1913–1914). He was a soldier in the First World War and wounded in France in 1915. He was able to develop his art studies more intensively, and especially those in creating drypoint etchings at the Staatliche Akademie für graphische Künste und Buchgewerbe in Leipzig, today Hochschule für Grafik und Buchkunst (State Academy of Graphic Arts and Illustration, today Academy of Fine Art and Illustration, Leipzig) (1922–1924).

As well as his family home in Elberfeld, there was also a summer house in Blankenheim in the Eifel. In 1913, when C. Schulten was 20, and his father realised C. Schulten's obvious high artistic potential, he built a studio for him near the summer house, equipped with a workshop for making etchings (photographs of the studio and C. Schulten working there, in Joist 1990, 15. 112–113). C. Schulten's very friendly nature, and the growing popularity of his art, meant that the Blankenheim studio soon became a popular excursion destination to meet him, hear him talk about the creation process of what he was working on and watch him work (Joist 1990, 14, illustrated on 15 and 112). The studio was also used by him to give art lessons (see below). C. Schulten clearly liked Blankenheim as he lived there most of the time until his death in

1967. His house and studio, each set within a partly wooded terraced garden, lay just below the Hülchrath Chapel.

C. Schulten was also able to have a studio-flat in the centre of Cologne, where he could live and work, as he had become a successful artist through his exhibitions there from 1927 (Joist 1990, 16, exhibitions listed on 116; Marius Schulten pers. comm. 2022). This studio-flat was destroyed by bombing in 1943.

In 1921 he married Hilde Bettges, also from Elberfeld (engagement and wedding announcements in *Kölnische Zeitung* 26.10.1920 and 28.4.1921 respectively). She thoroughly encouraged and supported his art, including organising exhibitions, promoting his work and accompanying him on painting trips at home and abroad (Joist 1990, 13, 17, shown driving their car in 1935 on a painting trip 15, watching her husband painting in 1922 113). He painted an oil portrait of her in 1924 (shown in Joist 1990, 27). Tragically, she was killed in January 1945 in a bombing raid on Blankenheim.

C. Schulten remarried in 1946, to Hedwig (known as Hette) Morsbach from Münster, who similarly supported and encouraged her husband's art (Joist 1990, 22). They had a son, Marius. He is now the curator of the Curtius Schulten Archive (<https://www.curtius-schulten.de/> [26.7.2023]), organises exhibitions (e.g. 2014 in Düren-Burgau; Schulten 2014), and writes and lectures about his father. Some of this work is in collaboration with Conrad-Peter Joist, the main biographer of C. Schulten (Joist 1988; 1990; 1991; 1997; 2007; undated; Joist/Schulten 1990).

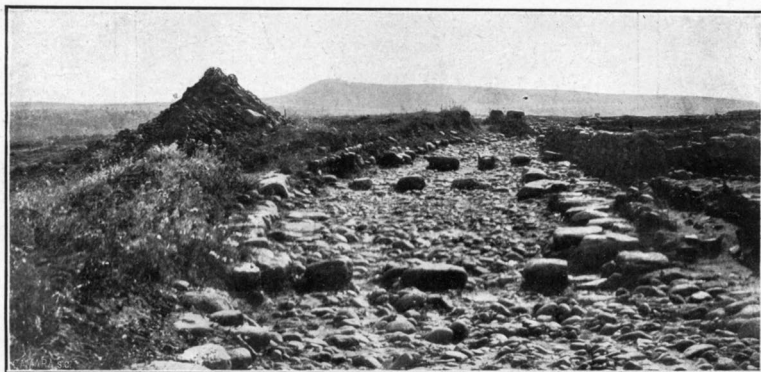
As well as being known for his portraits and animal art in a variety of media, C. Schulten became particularly well-known for his post-impressionist and later, abstract impressionist style paintings of the Eifel landscape. He was keen to promote art and the Eifel, for example, by organising the large exhibitions »Das Bild der Eifel« (Views of the Eifel) in Aachen (1956) and »Eifel/Ardennen« (Eifel/Ardennes) in Prüm (1957). This led him to help establish the Europäische Vereinigung Bildender Künstler aus Eifel und Ardennen (EVBK) (European Association of Visual Artists from the Eifel and Ardennes), with its annual meetings and exhibitions of associated artists. Two artbooks by C. Schulten about the Eifel also came from these activities (Schulten 1962; 1966). He did not limit himself to working within the Eifel area, though, as he travelled widely on often annual painting trips. These included visiting Ibiza, Iceland, Greece, Italy, Norway and Spain (especially Tenerife). One of his earliest foreign trips was to Spain in 1925.

## THE SPANISH COMMISSION

C. Schulten received a commission from the Archäologisches Institut Erlangen (Archaeological Institute of Erlangen), Bavaria, to record Numantia (Joist 1988, 6; 1990, 114; undated; Schulten 2017; unpubl.). Enquiries by the current author to the Institute's archive, at Friedrich-Alexander-Universität (FAU) Erlangen-Nürnberg, about this commission, however, resulted in no documentation for it being found, despite a search especially of A. Schulten's and the archive's special collections (Akte von Adolf Schulten UAE F2/1 Nr. 3273). Indeed, the archive was totally unaware of C. Schulten having been commissioned by the Institute for this activity (Clemens Wachter, Universitätsarchivar, and Andreas Murgan, Antikensammlung, FAU, pers. comm. June 2021). Similar enquiries to the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI) (German Archaeological Institute) in Berlin and in Madrid, which each hold a small amount of A. Schulten's material in their archives, also produced no relevant documentation (Martina Düntzer, Berlin, pers. comm. December 2021; Felix Arnold, Madrid, pers. comm. December 2021). It is unfortunate that Joist does not cite the actual evidence for the source of the commission.

The reason for the commission coming specifically from Erlangen was presumably because A. Schulten was professor of *Alte Geschichte* (Ancient History) at Erlangen University (1907–1935). A. Schulten usually col-

## LOS MAESTROS DE LA PINTURA



Una de las calles descubiertas en las ruinas de Numancia que ha servido á Moreno Carbonero para un cuadro

Moreno Carbonero es pintor genuinamente español: los asuntos de sus cuadros son casi siempre inspirados en temas de la vida actual ó de la historia de España. De este maestro deben tomar buen ejemplo muchos pintores de la moderna generación, para que continúen nuestras tradiciones artísticas, y mantengan el contraste de la escuela nacional frente á las extrañas, único medio de que nuestro arte, al no confundirse, triunfe en la concurrencia del mundo. Ancha es España, y ni la luz ni el ambiente se han extinguido para que nuestros artistas se den á peligrosos exotismos.



El ilustre artista D. José Moreno Carbonero haciendo un apunte para un cuadro en las ruinas de Numancia

FOT. NIJOJA DE PABLO

**Fig. 5** José Moreno Carbonero painting his »Ruinas de Numancia«, with excavated remains of a Numantia street. – (Nuevo Mundo 19.10.1911, 21).

laborated with German (and occasionally Austrian) colleagues for his archaeological work in Spain; Spaniards were mainly employed only as excavators, though from the 1940s, when he spent much more time in Spain (he even lived there continuously 1943–1946), he became increasingly part of the Spanish »archaeological establishment«. This may explain why he wanted specifically a German artist for the commission in Spain. A Spanish artist was not used possibly because the source of funding was restricted to it being used for a German national or perhaps A. Schulten did not feel any contemporary Spanish artists were suitable. An internationally renowned Spanish artist, José Moreno Carbonero (1858–1942) (Sauret 2008), had in fact actually painted a view of excavated remains at Numantia in 1911, and was active until the end of his life, so could have been used by A. Schulten. Carbonero's painting must have been regarded as significant at the time, at least in Spain, as the magazine *Nuevo Mundo* (19.10.1911, 21) even published a photograph of the painter at work at Numantia as well as a photograph of the remains that featured in the painting; entitled »Ruinas de Numancia«, now in the Museo de Bellas Artes de Córdoba (Córdoba Museum of Fine Arts), Accession number: CE1595P (fig. 5).

It is not known why specifically C. Schulten was chosen for this commission. Both A. and C. Schulten were born in Elberfeld, C. Schulten 23 years after A. Schulten. A. Schulten continued to regard Elberfeld as home and seems to have been there for at least part of some years; indicated, for example, by A. Schulten in a context of 1923 – »the time before Christmas, as I would then be at home in Elberfeld« (Schulten 1945b, 1). M. Schulten can remember being told by his father that he was not related to A. Schulten (»nicht verwandt«), despite the shared surname, though C. Schulten said he did wonder if they may have been distantly related (Marius Schulten pers. comm. 2021). It can be speculated that perhaps family members shared social circles directly or indirectly, which meant that A. Schulten knew of C. Schulten, or he was more aware of the artist because of the common surname and Elberfeld connection; or of course this aspect may all have been merely coincidence. It is possible also that A. and C. Schulten had not met before this time, as when the Wuppertal Stadtväter (city authorities) wanted to honour A. Schulten's 80<sup>th</sup> birthday in 1950 with a portrait and they turned to C. Schulten (**fig. 6**), it is stated that he had known A. Schulten 25 years by then, i. e. only since 1925 (Westdeutsche Rundschau 6.7.1950). C. Schulten's wife Hilde is known to have very proactively sought contacts for commissions for C. Schulten (Joist 1988, 14), so it is possible that she was instrumental in him gaining the commission. The possibility of C. Schulten having actually applied for what could have been an open, publicly available commission seems unlikely, since there is seemingly no record of this. Unfortunately, the reason for receiving this specific commission is likely to remain unknown.

It is not known why A. Schulten wanted an artist to record Numantia. He already had a visual record in the form of photographs taken by himself and others, with many of these being included in his publications. Perhaps it was because he wanted a colour visual record, all the photographs generally being black-and-white in this period<sup>3</sup>.

He also already had a set of eleven sketches of views of Numantia and the surrounding landscape, produced by one of his several assistants, Harald Hofmann (1874–?1941) (**fig. 1**) of the Archäologisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg (Archaeological Institute, University of Heidelberg) (Girgla 2020; Heidelberg undated). He assisted A. Schulten during excavations of the camps in 1906 and 1907 (Schulten 1931, 22. 27; Dobson 2008, 17–18). The sketches were created during the September and October of those two years, at times with Hofmann having to draw with difficulty during storms and bitterly cold wind (Hofmann/Schulten 1922, 3). The greyscale pen, ink and wash final versions were not published until 1922, as a folder of individual prints with accompanying colour-printed map and booklet of text by A. Schulten (**fig. 7**; Hofmann/Schulten 1922). Corresponding to the time of the year the sketches were made, they create a vivid impression of the bleak autumnal Numantine plain, wind-swept, few, if any trees, ominous clouds and snow already on the peaks of the mountains beyond. From A. Schulten's comments about the images, he clearly really appreciated Hofmann's artistry (A. Schulten in: Hofmann/Schulten 1922). All the images are, however, rather impressionistic and greyscale. This may account for why A. Schulten wanted something more representative of Numantia and in colour.

There is mention (Joist 1988, 6; 1990, 114; Schulten 2017) of the commission also including a request for C. Schulten to record Sagunto in north-eastern Spain (ancient *Saguntum*, famous for events there triggering the Second Punic War in 218 BC). There is a slight puzzle why the commission included Sagunto to be recorded by C. Schulten. For A. Schulten to want an artistic record of Numantia makes perfect sense, since it was such an important aspect of his career; indeed almost his main claim to fame. Sagunto, on the other hand, features only to a small extent in his work. For example, he draws parallels between Numantia and *Saguntum* as notable examples of the indigenous Spanish nobly resisting the invader, just like Zaragoza and Gerona resisted Napoleon centuries later (Schulten 1913a, 455; 1913b, 227; 1933, 4; 1945b, 8). It could have been expected that instead he would want a record of the area of Tartessos. At the time, this was regarded as being the Biblical Tarsis, which A. Schulten identified as having been established at the mouth of





**Fig. 6** Portrait of A. Schulten by C. Schulten, July 1950. Oil on canvas. Height 85.5cm, width 66.5cm. Von der Heydt-Museum Wuppertal, inv. no. G 0226 b. – (Photo and copyright Von der Heydt-Museum Wuppertal).





**Fig. 7** Harald Hofmann's illustration of Numantia and Garray, viewed from Castillejo, north of Numantia. The most important of Hofmann's plates according to A. Schulten. – (After Hofmann/Schulten 1922, 4 pl. 3).

the Guadalquivir in Andalusia before 1100 BC, with a very rich culture with alleged Greek and Phoenician influences. A. Schulten worked on this project extensively between 1914 and 1926 (Schulten 1949, 32–40); many scholars believe that he saw this as his quest to find the equivalent of Troy and consequently become another Heinrich Schliemann and as famous. His Tartessos publications from 1922 became very popular, with the second edition of his book »Tartessos« still in print in its Spanish translation (Schulten 1922; 1924). A. Schulten even gave a lecture on Tartessos, as well as one on Numantia, in 1923 to Kaiser Wilhelm II in exile in the Netherlands (Schulten 1945b).

Although commissions may have restricted C. Schulten's artistry, though he was always prepared to compromise with clients (Joist 1990, 17), they also opened up new artistic paths. This was to be particularly the case with his commission to go to Spain in 1925. It was to prove a highly significant influence in his artistic development and inspiration (see below).

## SPAIN 1925

The commission resulted in C. Schulten going to Spain in the latter part of 1925. He was accompanied by his wife Hilde, who by fortunate coincidence spoke Spanish, which was a great help to C. Schulten, who did not. They spent six months there, with the stay going into 1926. The visit was not limited to just fulfilling the commission at Numantia, but they travelled widely, including to Alicante, Barcelona, Madrid, Seville, Toledo and the Balearic Islands. It was to be the first of many art trips to Spain, with much of the pen-



**Fig. 8** Newspaper photograph of C. and A. Schulten in Elberfeld, captioned: »The distinguished Professor Schulten (with Spanish beret) and the painter Curtius Schulten«. – (Westdeutsche Rundschau 4.7.1950).

(fig. 8). The report says that C. Schulten made several trips to Spain at the request of A. Schulten in order to record A. Schulten's research at the sites where he had worked, especially Numantia (Westdeutsche Rundschau 4.7.1950). C. Schulten often did receive commissions which led to Spanish visits, for example, to Tenerife in 1932 at the invitation of the German consul, where he mounted an exhibition of his work (repeated in 1952), and the visits often lengthened into months beyond the few weeks planned to fulfil the commission (Schulten unpubl.), but no other commissions by A. Schulten for C. Schulten to go to Spain, besides the Numantia one, are actually now known; this may consequently indicate an inaccuracy by the newspaper.

It seems that A. Schulten would not have been with them at any point during their time in Spain, as he states he did not go to Spain in 1925 (Schulten 1949, 40). Assuming that A. Schulten is correct in this (there is probably no reason why he would not be), it means that in a newspaper report of a reception given by the city of Wuppertal to mark A. Schulten's 80<sup>th</sup> birthday and at which C. Schulten was present, where the report says that the Oberstadtdirektor (Chief Executive of the City Council) of Wuppertal, Dr Bremme, requested that A. Schulten allow C. Schulten to create a portrait of him to mark his 80<sup>th</sup> birthday, it must be wrong when it states that C. Schulten had been with A. Schulten in Spain in 1925: »[...] expressed the wish, that the distinguished Professor would allow a portrait of him to be made by the painter Curtius Schulten, who was also present, and who had been with the researcher in Spain in 1925 and had produced a series of paintings there of the excavations« (Westdeutsche Rundschau 6.7.1950).

A. Schulten's absence probably also explains that despite C. Schulten's keen interest in portraits and images of people, with several such drawings, etchings and photographs of local people from his time in Soria and Garray existing in the Curtius Schulten Archive (discussed below), there is none amongst these of A. Schulten by himself or of A. Schulten, C. Schulten and Hilde together.

insula, the Balearic Islands and especially Tenerife being visited (listed in: Joist 1988, 71 note 1; 1990, 114–115). C. Schulten came to love the country, with its climate being a welcome break from the German winter, its quality of light, the colourful houses, the scent of the flowers, the Spaniards *joie de vivre* and their kindness, etc. (Schulten unpubl.). The strength of these feelings manifested itself in C. Schulten being a founder member of the Ibero-Club in Bonn (Joist 1990, 114–115), established in 1952 to promote Hispanic culture etc in Germany<sup>4</sup>. His support for this organisation included presenting exhibitions of his Spanish art there during his lifetime (1960, 1966), with these continuing afterwards (1970, 1998); similarly, there was an exhibition in the Ibero-Amerika-Haus, Frankfurt (1967) (Joist 1990, 116).

C. Schulten went to Elberfeld specifically to attend a small official reception for A. Schulten's arrival at the railway station, for his 80<sup>th</sup> birthday celebrations in Wuppertal. A newspaper report of this event has only one photograph (unfortunately of poor quality), significantly showing the two men together





**Fig. 9** The Numantine plain north-west from Numantia, looking over the Garray road-bridge across the Duero, with the Ermita de Los Santos Mártires in the right foreground. – (C. Schulten's version of Schulten 1931, fig. 1; Copyright Archiv M. Schulten).



**Fig. 10** View of Numantia from the north-west, from La Vega by the river Tera, with the road-bridge over the Duero and its confluence with the Tera. The 1905 Numantia monument projects above the skyline of La Muela. – (C. Schulten's version of Schulten 1931, fig. 6; Copyright Archiv M. Schulten).



**Fig. 11** Numantia and Garray viewed from Castillejo, north of Numantia. The modern road links Garray and Logroño. – (C. Schulten's version of Schulten 1931, fig. 8; Copyright Archiv M. Schulten).



**Fig. 12** A. Schulten's 1905 excavations of Numantia's eastern city wall, looking south. – (C. Schulten's version of Schulten 1931, fig. 27; Copyright Archiv M. Schulten).

It seems surprising that A. Schulten did not accompany C. Schulten at Numantia, as it meant that he would not have been able to provide a guided tour of the sites and the surrounding area and so allow him to provide useful commentary to inform C. Schulten's artwork. More importantly, he could also have pointed out or requested specific views to record and from where best to stand to do this.

One way to have compensated for A. Schulten's absence may relate to why seven of his photographs of Numantia are present in C. Schulten's archive of photographs. All of these are original prints. They were unpublished in 1925. The earliest published versions seem to be in A. Schulten's second Numantia volume (Schulten 1931, figs 1. 5–6. 8. 27. 42), but all much smaller than the versions in C. Schulten's possession (figs 3. 9–13). One of them remained unpublished (fig. 14). They were probably all taken some years before 1925. A. Schulten comments that his illustrations 1 and 6 were taken in May 1908 (figs 9–10; Schulten 1931, 68. 93 figs 1. 6). The two that show A. Schulten's excavations at Numantia itself must have been taken in 1905; one of these even has 1905 written on the back (figs 12–13). A. Schulten says that illustration 5 was taken in the autumn, but does not say in which year (Schulten 1931, 93 note 1 fig. 5), but this was presumably 1905 or 1908 when the other, similar-style Numantia views were taken. No dating informa-



**Fig. 13** A. Schulten's 1905 excavations at the intersection of two streets at Numantia, with local villagers. – (C. Schulten's version of Schulten 1931, fig. 42; Copyright Archiv M. Schulten).



**Fig. 14** A. Schulten's unpublished photograph in C. Schulten's collection, of the view across the Duero road-bridge and Garray, from Alto Real, north-west of Numantia. – (Unpubl.; Copyright Archiv M. Schulten).

tion is provided for illustration 8 (**fig. 11**) nor for the unpublished view across the Duero bridge (**fig. 14**), but for the same reasons for dating illustration 5, these were presumably also taken in 1905 or 1908. A. Schulten states that he was the photographer of illustration 5 (Schulten 1931, 93 note 1). He does not comment on who took the other photographs. Since he appears in published photographs of his Numantia excavations, he clearly was not the only photographer on site, but presumably could have taken at least some of the others. One of the cameras used on A. Schulten's excavations can even be seen towards the back of a photograph taken at one of the Roman camps at Numantia (**fig. 1**).

It is not known exactly when C. Schulten acquired these photographs. Since A. Schulten did not accompany C. Schulten to Spain, it would have made good sense for C. Schulten to have acquired these photographs before his trip there. This would presumably have been in the context of a meeting between A. and C. Schulten or at the very least, sent to C. Schulten with a detailed accompanying letter from A. Schulten. This would allow A. Schulten to very usefully explain the background to Numantia and tell C. Schulten about his research there, discuss what was shown in the photographs, and comment about what C. Schulten may choose or was told to record visually. In effect, the main use of the photographs could have been as visual guides for C. Schulten's visit in A. Schulten's absence. Afterwards, they would also have helped add to C. Schulten's visual memory of the scenes when working on the commissioned artwork.

Interestingly, all of the photographs are of Numantia itself or views of La Muela hill, but none of nearby Renieblas, where A. Schulten excavated his famous series of Roman camps. This may indicate that A. Schulten did not want any artwork of Renieblas or views from it to be produced by C. Schulten.

Another way to compensate for A. Schulten's absence could have been help from Garray residents. It is known that C. Schulten met a number of these, as several are included in his surviving photographs and etchings (some examples are shown in **figs 15–19**); the etchings are all typical of C. Schulten's portraits (Joist 1990, 25), showing the subjects in their natural surroundings and postures. C. Schulten was clearly pleased with the portraits, as he used photographs of them to successfully persuade the star actress Lilian Harvey to grant him time to paint her portrait in 1927, when she was performing in Elberfeld (Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger 9.3.1967; 10.3.1967). C. Schulten often used photographs of his work to gain commissions (see below).





**Fig. 15** »Am Kaminfeuer«. Etching by C. Schulten, undated. Two portraits by the fire. Location unspecified, presumably Garray or Soria. – (Copyright Archiv M. Schulten).



**Fig. 16** »Wirt aus G[array]. Soria«. Etching by C. Schulten, undated. Portrait of Agapito Muñoz. A double-saddled donkey can be seen to the right; see also fig. 18. – (Copyright Archiv M. Schulten).

One of the portraits is of Agapito Muñoz (fig. 16). He and his wife provided accommodation in their farmhouse on the southern side of Garray for A. Schulten after he moved out of the inn where he had initially been staying (Schulten 1931, 37–38. 97–98; Morales-Hernández 2015, 157), and so could have provided C. Schulten with direct information about A. Schulten and his work at Numantia. C. Schulten captioned his etching of Agapito »Wirt [...]«, meaning »host« or »landlord«. Perhaps as well as A. Schulten having stayed at Agapito's house, this means that C. Schulten and Hilde also stayed there. Another portrait (fig. 17) is of the local priest, Don Leandro Martínez Aylagas, who served in Garray between 1911 and 1945 (Morales-Hernández 2015, 147). There is also a photograph taken by C. Schulten of Don Leandro and Agapito on the back of a donkey (fig. 18); this and the engraving of Agapito may be the first discovered and published images of A. Schulten's »landlord«.

In a community such as Garray at that time, the local priest would bound to have been involved in local affairs and consequently would have known A. Schulten and about his work (though Don Leandro would have missed the early part of A. Schulten's time at Numantia, because of when he was appointed) and could have spoken about this with C. Schulten. It is highly likely that C. Schulten and Hilde met other Garray locals who knew A. Schulten; some of these may be among the anonymous faces in C. Schulten's several surviving etchings and photographs of the locals. They certainly met at least one of the many local people who worked on A. Schulten's excavations (he employed between 20 and 30 local workers each season, and sometimes as many as 60; Dobson 2008, 14), as there is a photograph (fig. 19) of an etching<sup>5</sup> captioned as »Der Ausgraber«<sup>6</sup> von Numantia (The excavator of Numantia). Since both captions refer to the unnamed man as »Der« (The) rather than »Ein« (An) excavator, the current author initially thought this could



**Fig. 17** »Don Leandro, »El Cura«. Etching by C. Schulten, October 1925. Portrait of the priest Don Leandro Martínez Aylagas in front of his Garray parish church, with the pre-1990 form of western bell tower (Morales-Hernández 2015, 92 fig. 5). – (Copyright Archiv M. Schulten).



**Fig. 18** »Don Agapito und der Pfarrer«. Photograph by C. Schulten, undated, captioned by Hilde, of Agapito Muñoz and the priest Don Leandro seated on a donkey in Garray. – (Copyright Archiv M. Schulten).

be Juan Ibáñez Blasco, who became A. Schulten's trusty and highly praised local foreman (»el Capataz de los Alemanes«) (fig. 20), but there was uncertainty as A. Schulten comments that Ibáñez had died prior to his 1931 publication, though does not specify when (Schulten 1931, 37 with note 2 fig. 64). Examination of the Garray burial records revealed that Ibáñez died in 1924, the year before C. Schulten's visit (Archivo Diocesano de la Catedral de El Burdo de Osma, Acta de Defunción taken from the Libro de Defunciones de la Parroquia de Garray, 183<sup>v</sup>–184<sup>r</sup>, no. 374). Consequently, all that can be concluded is that this etching is simply one of A. Schulten's many excavators. Perhaps C. Schulten refers to him as »Der« (and not »Ein«) because he was the excavator who showed them around the site.

All of these people would have provided useful and informed guides to Numantia, A. Schulten's work there and the surrounding area, with Hilde able to act as the language intermediary. It can be wondered how challenging the local dialect may have been, but Hilde's Spanish must have been very good, as soon after the trip to Spain, an advertisement by C. Schulten and Hilde in the *Kölnische Zeitung* (10.4.1926) offered Spanish lessons, as well as art lessons, to be given in the Blankenheim summer house.





**Fig. 19** »Der [sic] Ausgraber von Numantia«. (Photograph of) Etching by C. Schulten, dated 1925. One of A. Schulten's excavators standing at Numantia, with essentially the same view behind him as in fig. 9. – (Copyright Archiv M. Schulten).



**Fig. 20** Excavations at Renieblas. Juan Ibáñez Blasco far right, standing next to A. Schulten, then Constantin Koenen and Ernst Fabricius, two of A. Schulten's most important collaborators. – (After Schulten 1929, pl. 4.1).

### THE PAINTING AND ITS »DISCOVERY«

The reference by A. Schulten to him having an oil painting created by C. Schulten (see above), led the current author to contact M. Schulten, to try and discover more. M. Schulten knew about the Spanish commission given to his father to record A. Schulten's excavations at Numantia, but he knew nothing about the painting mentioned by A. Schulten or where it may be located now. Enquiries by the current author among Numantia academic colleagues and at the relevant archives and museums revealed that none was even aware that C. Schulten had worked in Numantia, let alone that there was an existing oil painting by him. This general lack of awareness about C. Schulten and Numantia is perhaps not surprising. It had been reported in newspapers (see above), but that was 70 years ago and understandably this had generally been forgotten by now. Additionally, despite presumably a number of Numantia-related artworks having been produced by C. Schulten, since (as mentioned above) the *Westdeutsche Rundschau* (6.7.1950) says that C. Schulten had been requested to make a series of artworks about the excavations at Numantia, there is currently no mention anywhere or knowledge of the existence of these. Also, A. Schulten makes only a passing mention to C. Schulten and the oil painting in a footnote buried in one of his many Numantia publications, and in a part of a book that is probably not often consulted by current scholars as it does not discuss the archaeology or ancient history and so has little relevance to their research. Enquiries were made to the (former) Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum (RGZM) Mainz, as it was known that the museum had items and artefacts relating to Numantia which had come via A. Schulten, many of which are also currently on display. The current author also remembered seeing a painting in the Numantia display there some years previously.



**Fig. 21** Painting of Numantia by C. Schulten in the former Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum (RGZM; since 2023: Leibniz-Zentrum für Archäologie [LEIZA]), Mainz. – (Photo and copyright LEIZA / R. Müller, Mainz).

The RGZM confirmed that an oil painting of Numantia existed and was on display in the museum (fig. 21); a painting known as »Landschaft um Numantia« (Landscape around Numantia), RGZM Mainz inv. no. AO.00006. This was among items acquired by the museum from the estate of A. Schulten when he died in 1960. There are unfortunately no documents in the museum's records relating to the painting, despite the current author's enquiry prompting a search in the archives (Schriften- und Graphikarchiv [Manuscript and Visual Archive]; Christian Miks pers. comm. August 2021). The museum generally presumed that the painting had been created by A. Schulten himself. It is also the only piece of Numantia artwork (excluding the original excavation drawings of Constantin Koenen) in the museum's collections.

The painting was taken to Spain in 2017, for display first in the Museo Arqueológico Regional (Regional Archaeological Museum) in Alcalá de Henares and then in the Museo Numantino (Numantine Museum) in Soria, as an exhibit in the large special exhibition »Schulten y el Descubrimiento de Numantia« (Schulten and the Discovery of Numantia) to mark the 2,150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the fall of Numantia. The painting was displayed with the Spanish caption:

»Schulten llegó a considerar encargar una pintura de Numancia para regalar al Estado español. Este cuadro, podría ser un apunte para la realización posterior de este cuadro. En cualquier caso, fotografías tomadas desde esta perspectiva son de las más utilizadas por Schulten en sus obras. Tal vez porque en ella se aprecian los campamentos de asedio y la propia Numancia o tal vez fue una elección más personal.«





**Fig. 22** Signature and date painted by C. Schulten on the Numantia painting. – **a** original form. – **b** computerised colour distortion, clarifying the signature. – (Photo and copyright LEIZA / R. Müller, Mainz; computer manipulation by M. Dobson).

(translation) »Schulten even considered commissioning a painting of Numantia as a gift to the Spanish state. The picture here, may be a preliminary sketch to help the later creation of such a painting. In any case, photographs taken from this perspective are among the most frequently used by Schulten in his publications. Perhaps because it shows the siege camps and Numantia itself, or perhaps it was a more personal choice.« The text indicates uncertainty about both the reason behind the creation of the painting and who painted it. The degree of uncertainty was confirmed when the current author visited the exhibition in the Museo Numantino, Soria in the company of Joaquín Gómez-Pantoja († 2020) of the Universidad de Alcalá and the painting was discussed with the museum curator (now museum director) Marian Arlegui Sánchez, who had been responsible for mounting the exhibition there. She said that it is thought that one of A. Schulten's nieces may have painted it when they visited him at Numantia in 1923/1924, and that A. Schulten had relied on it extensively, together with his photograph of the same view (**fig. 3**), as a reference back in Germany when he was writing about the topography of Numantia.

The current author compared his photographs taken of the painting on display in Soria with published examples of C. Schulten's landscapes. This revealed stylistic similarities that indicated this could be the oil painting by C. Schulten referred to by A. Schulten. The current author informed M. Schulten of this. M. Schulten then assessed the photographs of the painting, but was tentative about an attribution, as although there were some stylistic aspects indicative of his father's work, there was also possibility for doubt. When the current author mentioned the possibility of C. Schulten being the artist to Christian Miks at RGZM, he kindly looked carefully at the signature in the bottom-right hand corner of the painting. The artist was confirmed: »Curtius Schulten X 1925« (**fig. 22**). The date even matches when C. Schulten was at Numantia; October 1925 is also recorded on some of C. Schulten's portrait etchings from Garray.

The uncertainty until now about the artist can presumably only be explained by the signature not having been closely enough examined or if it had been, the text is barely legible (**fig. 22a**). Indeed, »to the naked eye«, the word »Schulten« can only really be ascertained by it being suggested due to the association between Numantia and A. Schulten. It was presumably this which caused the view that A. Schulten or one of

his nieces had painted it (see above). The first name is not clear, partly because of the dark colour behind the second half of the word. Without knowing that the name Curtius was being looked for or being aware of that artist, it is not obvious to read. This was certainly the case when the current author and his two colleagues tried to read it in Soria – no-one could make out the signature. The full signature only becomes obvious if the colours are distorted by computer (fig. 22b).

## THE PAINTING ITSELF

C. Schulten created works in oils from early on, but much of his early work consisted of copperplate etchings, aquatints and woodcut prints, techniques which he had perfected during his studies in Leipzig (1922–1924). Examples of these include the portraits he produced from his visit to Spain in 1925 (see above). Although remaining fascinated by the technique of etching, after Spain he moved away from this and concentrated more on oil painting, but also increasingly adopted pastels from the late 1920s (Joist 1990, 21). The trip to Spain was an important stage in adopting pastels, as he could really experiment with them there to capture landscapes, with the medium allowing him to work quickly, and his graphical talents moved towards artistic tonal nuances (Joist 1988, 48; 1990, 34). Indeed, from 1930, using pastels became C. Schulten's typical method for working in the field, as they allowed him to quickly make sketches of landscapes. These could then later be worked up into oil paintings, but then even the oil format lost its previous status for him and became used increasingly sporadically after 1932, with work in pastels predominating until the end of the 1940s, from when watercolours, also used from the 1920s, with black crayon lines added to pick out contours and structure in the landscape, steadily became the usual format (Joist 1988, 54–55; 1990, 22–23. 34)<sup>7</sup>. The Spanish landscapes also provided significant inspiration to C. Schulten, through the light and vibrant colours, the earth colours, tonal variation, landscape forms and the effects of light that he saw there, and arranged more harmoniously than in his local Eifel (Joist 1988, 48). C. Schulten carried all these Spanish experiences over into his work when he returned home. He increasingly produced landscapes with more transparent colour and tonal nuance, sometimes also with graphical structuring (Joist 1988, 48; 1990, 17. 34). That first trip to Spain was clearly highly influential on C. Schulten's artistic development (and see below).

There is an oil painting from almost the same period as the Numantia commission, created as a result of C. Schulten's first Italian trip, to Capri in 1924. This was definitely completed back home in Germany (Marius Schulten pers. comm. 2021). It was in fact common for C. Schulten to complete works back in his studio after a painting trip abroad, especially oils, which, whether of landscapes abroad or at home, were at the most only ever partially created in the field during the 1920s and most were created entirely back in the studio (Joist 1988, 55–56; 1990, 17. 39). This probably indicates that C. Schulten also completed the Numantia painting in Germany, and simply dated it for when he was actually at Numantia. This would indeed have been a more practical way of working. Doubtless, C. Schulten made working sketches when at Numantia. These sketches were presumably using pastels, and this was his usual way of creating preliminary work from 1925 to 1945 (Joist 1988, 55–60; 1990, 38–40). Back home also, the photographs provided by A. Schulten would have come in use. C. Schulten made much use of photographs as aids for his artistic work and to document views when on his art trips, to be worked up back in the studio (Joist 1988, 56–57; 1990, 39–40), and so may well have taken his own photographs of views around Numantia.

As regards the style of paintings that C. Schulten was producing at about the time of the Numantia commission, Joist comments that for C. Schulten's pictures of the Eifel area in around 1927 (Joist 1990, 21–22), his artistic development reached a style of impressionistic realism and with elements approaching German

impressionism, whereas he stayed with naturalism for his travel sketches. During this period around 1927, he also increasingly emphasised depicting the atmosphere of the visible landscape (*Stimmungslandschaft*). Such characteristics can be claimed to be apparent in the Numantia painting.

It is perhaps no surprise that C. Schulten chose (or was strongly encouraged or even told by A. Schulten) to paint the same view of Numantia that was A. Schulten's favourite (above; **fig. 3**). The painting is not an exact copy of A. Schulten's photograph though. More landscape is shown to the right in the painting compared to the photograph. Not surprisingly, the trees are much larger than those in the photograph, and there are more of them, presumably simply reflecting the several years of growth since the photograph was taken in c. 1905 (see above). The angle of the viewpoint is also different, with, for example, the bend in the river Duero being more apparent in the painting. Nevertheless, this photograph was surely heavily influential on the final view and form of the painting that C. Schulten produced.

C. Schulten provides us with what may be a rare colour visual record of the area in the early twentieth century, and one that wishes not to just simply show a particular view, but also seeks to encapsulate the atmosphere and feel of the area by the expressive but also naturalistic style of the painting. There is coincidentally a textural counterpart by General Adolf Lammerer (1864–1946) of the Königlich-Bayerisches Topografisches Büro (Royal Bavarian Topographical Bureau), who was A. Schulten's main topographical surveyor at Numantia and friend (an example of his work can be seen in **fig. 2**; Dobson 2008, 3–4; Luik 2015, 243–245). He wrote a description of the local colours and character of the area, which is quoted by A. Schulten in his discussion about the area of Numantia. His language is perhaps surprisingly poetic and evocative for a military man. The two works mutually add meaning and depth to each other, though Lammerer's description is not restricted to October, when C. Schulten created his view:

»The countryside is bleak when the sky is gloomy, and sombre when the sun is blazing. Colours always appear clear and vivid, regardless of whether the heat of the sun blazes over the plain or the dreaded wind sweeps down from the chains of surrounding mountains. It is unusual for a heat haze to obscure distant views in high summer. Sense of distance becomes distorted, as the clear, transparent air makes distant objects seem so much closer. The landscape becomes enriched with most splendid colours especially in the morning and in the light of the setting sun. The deepest blue of the distant coniferous forests thriving on the mountain slopes merges into the splendid dull violet of the limestone rocks and their scree slopes. There is a soft moss-green lying on the few strips of pasture that are along the flowing streams, with lush green on the occasional elm, poplar and willow trees. Ploughed fields appear black-brown, cereal fields yet to be harvested are brilliant yellow. The steep slopes have intensive red and yellow bands of rock. Nestled in the fertile plain and hard to distinguish from the dusty ground, are scattered the numerous clay brick-built villages of the local people. Only sombre sounds, but all in wonderful harmony with the colours, linger over the region when the icy wind whips black wispy clouds and grey fog across the fields.« (Lammerer in Schulten 1931, 66)

The visit to Spain must have been productive for C. Schulten, since he mounted an exhibition in 1926 in the Lohmannhaus in Wuppertal-Elberfeld entitled »1/2 Jahr Spanien« (Joist 1988, 10; 1990, 116), i. e. work from the Spanish six-month trip in 1925/1926. From a review of a subsequent exhibition in 1927, and so before his next visit to Spain in 1930, it is evident that the first visit to Spain was indeed clearly highly productive and also very influential in C. Schulten's artistic development:

»Exhibitions in Cologne: In the Domgalerie there is an exhibition of a collection of paintings, watercolours and illustrations by Curtius Schulten, a painter from Elberfeld now living in Blankenheim in the Eifel. They are almost exclusively landscapes from Spain, the Rhine and the Eifel. The Spanish landscapes are characterised by rich yet calm colours, with clear linear structure full of restrained musicality. The depiction often gives the impression of a gentle, caring description, but in particular pictures, the image grows beyond this

into the visionary and symbolic. It is not only the melodically lilting outlines and the strict and deepening composition in all these pictures which characterise the harmonious refinement of what could be observed in the subject, but also the tonal lyricism of the colouring. The experience in Spain was of great significance in the further development of this painter's art, since it was only after his return that the result could become fruitful. Spain had loosened and freed much that had been rigid and far too taut. This is particularly expressed in the two Rhineland landscapes, and also in a winter landscape of the Eifel. All Schulten's other Eifel paintings are remarkable not only because of the firm strictness of their composition, but also because of the deliberate emotions behind their whole conception, which do not deny the idyll of nature even in the harsher world of the Eifel landscape.« (Kölnische Zeitung 15.12.1927, 3)

It seems likely that those two exhibitions would have included a number of items relating to Numantia and that area, but their current existence is unknown (there is no complete list of C. Schulten's works and it is challenging to create one, but research is ongoing; Joist 1988, 118–120; 1990, 110; Marius Schulten pers. comm. 2021–2022). It is unfortunate that the Numantia oil painting in Mainz is the only known surviving example of C. Schulten's artwork of the ancient site and the immediate area. At least there are several of his etchings and photographs of local people and scenes. These usefully provide a source of evidence to provide visual support to the accounts by A. Schulten of both the people and landscape (Schulten 1913a; 1913b; 1931).

C. Schulten started creating photograph albums of his work from about 1927, taking them with him on trips in order to secure commissions (Joist 1988, 14 with note 2). Their creation continued until 1951, when they were stolen. From the crime report, it is known that one of the four albums included work which C. Schulten referred to as »1/2 Jahr Spanien 1925/26« (i. e. the six months that included the Numantia visit) and C. Schulten described the theft of the albums as a »schweren Verlust«, a great loss (Joist 1988, 14 note 2). Indeed it is, as the photographs could have compensated for work relating to Numantia now unknown or lost during the war.

It is also curious and ironic how a work by such a well-known artist can lay undiscovered in full public view (in the RGZM) for so many years.

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## Notes

- 1) From here onwards, for the sake of brevity and to avoid confusion between these two, in fact unrelated, men, Adolf Schulten will be referred to as »A. Schulten« and Curtius Schulten as »C. Schulten«. Similarly, Marius Schulten, Curtius' son, will often be referred to as »M. Schulten«.
- 2) All German-English and Spanish-English translations are by the current author.
- 3) Colour photography was becoming available from the mid-1920s, but was not commercially viable or easily available until the 1930s (Science+Media Museum 2020).
- 4) Full name: Ibero-Club Bonn (Vereinigung der Freunde der iberischen und iberoamerikanischen Welt), aimed at promoting all things Spanish, Portuguese and Latin American (Schwippert et al. 2012).



- 5) The original, in private possession, was destroyed in the war, like many of his works, e.g. the portrait of Lilian Harvey which was in his Cologne studio-flat. Fortunately, C. Schulten photographed almost all of his artworks as a record (Joist 1990, 40).
- 6) The umlaut that should be in »Ausgräber« is omitted in the captions in both the photograph of the etching and written below it on the paper on which the photograph is mounted.

The captions are in the same handwriting, and probably that of C. Schulten, as the writing is different from the captions known to have been written by Hilde in a photograph album relating to the visit.

- 7) For a detailed discussion of C. Schulten's techniques in the various media he used, see Joist 1988, 94–105; 1990, 99–105.

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### *Zusammenfassung / Summary / Résumé*

#### **Die Eifel – Wuppertal-Elberfeld – Mainz-Verbindungen des Archäologen Adolf Schulten und des Malers Curtius Schulten. Ein neu zugeschriebenes Mainzer Ölgemälde der keltiberischen und römischen Stätte von Numantia, Spanien**

Als der Verfasser an einer englischen Übersetzung von Adolf Schultens Monographie »Die Stadt Numantia« (München 1931) über Schultens Ausgrabungen in der keltiberischen und römischen Stadt Numantia im Jahr 1905 arbeitete, stieß er unerwartet auf eine Fußnote, in der erwähnt wird, dass der Künstler Curtius Schulten ein Gemälde von Numantia geschaffen habe, das im Besitz von Adolf Schulten sei. Die anschließenden Nachforschungen führten zur Identifizierung eines bisher unbekanntes Ölgemäldes dieses bekannten deutschen, hauptsächlich in der Eifel arbeitenden Künstlers aus dem 20. Jahrhundert. Ironischerweise ist es seit Langem im Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum (RGZM; seit 2023: Leibniz-Zentrum für Archäologie [LEIZA]), Mainz, ausgestellt. Durch die Mithilfe des Sohnes des Malers, Marius Schulten, konnten auch noch erhaltene und in einigen Fällen unveröffentlichte Stiche und Fotografien von Curtius Schultens Besuch in Numantia 1925 entdeckt werden. Darauf befinden sich Personen aus der Umgebung, die Adolf Schulten gekannt und auf seinen Ausgrabungen beschäftigt haben könnte, sowie eine unveröffentlichte und undatierte Fotografie von Numantia von Adolf Schulten. In diesem Beitrag werden der Auftrag, Zweck und Kontext des Gemäldes im Vergleich mit anderen zeitgenössischen Kunstwerken mit Bezug zu Numantia und das Gemälde selbst behandelt und mehrere von Curtius Schulten geschaffene, dazugehörige Bilder vorgestellt.

#### **The Eifel – Wuppertal-Elberfeld – Mainz Connections of the Archaeologist Adolf Schulten and the Painter Curtius Schulten. A Newly Attributed Painting in Mainz of the Celtiberian and Roman Site of Numantia, Spain**

While this author was working on an English translation of Adolf Schulten's book »Die Stadt Numantia« (Munich 1931) about Schulten's 1905 excavations at the Celtiberian and Roman city of Numantia, he unexpectedly encountered a footnote mentioning the artist Curtius Schulten producing a painting of Numantia, owned by Adolf Schulten. The subsequent research led to the identification of a previously unrecognised oil painting by this well-known twentieth-century German, mainly Eifel-based artist. Ironically, it had long been on public display in the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum (RGZM; since 2023: Leibniz-Zentrum für Archäologie [LEIZA]), Mainz. The assistance of the painter's

son, Marius Schulten, also led to the revelation of surviving, and in several cases unpublished, engravings and photographs from Curtius Schulten's 1925 Numantia visit. These include local people whom Adolf Schulten would have known and employed on his excavations, as well as an unpublished and undated photograph of Numantia by Adolf Schulten. The painting's commission, purpose and context, with reference to some other near-contemporary Numantia artwork, the painting itself and a discussion of some of the associated images created by Curtius Schulten are presented here.

### **Les connexions Eifel – Wuppertal-Elberfeld – Mayence de l'archéologue Adolf Schulten et du peintre Curtius Schulten. Une peinture nouvellement attribuée et conservée à Mayence du site celtibère et romain de Numance, Espagne**

Alors que l'auteur de cet article travaillait à la traduction anglaise du livre d'Adolf Schulten »Die Stadt Numantia« (Munich 1931), sur les fouilles menées par Schulten en 1905 dans la ville celtibère et romaine de Numance, il est tombé inopinément sur une note de bas de page mentionnant la réalisation par l'artiste Curtius Schulten d'une peinture de Numance ayant appartenu à Adolf Schulten. Les recherches qui ont suivi ont permis d'identifier une peinture à l'huile jusqu'alors inconnue de ce célèbre artiste allemand du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle qui a vécu principalement dans l'Eifel. Ironie du sort, elle était depuis longtemps exposée au Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum (RGZM; depuis 2023: Leibniz-Zentrum für Archäologie [LEIZA]), à Mayence. L'aide apportée par le fils du peintre, Marius Schulten, a également permis de révéler l'existence de gravures et de photographies conservées et, dans plusieurs cas, inédites témoignant de la visite de Curtius Schulten à Numance en 1925. Il s'agit notamment de personnes locales qu'Adolf Schulten aurait connues et employées lors de ses fouilles, ainsi que d'une photographie inédite et non datée de Numance prise par Adolf Schulten. Cet article aborde la commande, l'objectif et le contexte de la réalisation de la peinture, avec une référence à d'autres œuvres d'art contemporaines représentant Numance, et présente la peinture elle-même, ainsi que d'autres œuvres associées, créées par Curtius Schulten.

#### *Schlüsselwörter / Keywords / Mots-clés*

Numantia / Adolf Schulten / Curtius Schulten / Ölgemälde  
Numantia / Adolf Schulten / Curtius Schulten / oil painting  
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#### **Mike Dobson**

University of Exeter  
Department of Classics and Ancient History  
Amory Building  
GB - Exeter, EX4 4RJ  
m.j.dobson@exeter.ac.uk