of the Austrian folk spirit. Haydn's oratorios are influenced by the choral style of Händel, adding to it the new elements of the rediscovery and musical illustration of nature.

Haydn and Mozart were the first and foremost creators of a popular musical style, breaking down the artificial barriers that separated the different classes of the German population and finding a way not only to the heart and soul of the people at large but demonstrating at the same time the possibility of a homogeneous and indigenous German culture.

In Mozart the delicate style of the Rococo experienced its final transfiguration. A child prodigy of extraordinary gifts but of unassuming modesty, Mozart achieved an early maturity of musical form, a sparkling gaiety, crystalline clarity, and sublime intelligibility, issuing from a great sensitivity and soft melancholy of mind and a profound realization of the tragic texture of life.

On his journeys to France, England, Italy, and the Netherlands Mozart was greeted with unending applause. His indebtedness to the Italian musical tradition, documented particularly in the Italian texts of his operas, did not prevent him from feeling deeply his obligations to the country and civilization of his birth. "I ask God every day," he told his father in a letter from Paris, "that He grant me to work for the greater honor of . . . the entire German nation."

In his works Mozart makes use of all the technical devices that his predecessors, above all Bach, Händel, Gluck, and Haydn, had developed and that were at his disposal. The thematic structure of Haydn's compositions became more expressive in Mozart's richer instrumentation. In the field of the opera he started out from the neo-Neapolitan *Opera Seria* but soon developed his own distinctive style in such operatic gems as *The Marriage of Figaro, Don Giovanni,* and *Cosi fan Tutte* (*All Act Alike*). His *Magic Flute* (*Zauberflöte*) became the paragon and adored model of the Romantic fairy opera (cf. p. 494 sq.).

The larger number of Mozart's more than six hundred works belong to the categories of the symphony (41), the sonata (53), and various types of chamber music. Several of his church compositions (masses, cantatas, vespers, litanies, etc.) and many of his arias and "Lieder" have achieved immortal fame. Mozart's swan song and a kind of funeral chant of the Rococo is the beautiful *Requiem* that he composed in 1791, in memory of the countess of Walsegg.

The Age of Rationalism. The modern world had taken its start from the individualism of Renaissance and Reformation. In Italy the ideal of the *uomo universale* (the universal or total man) had been conceived. In Germany Martin Luther had tried to establish a new church and society whose norms were not to be imposed from without but were to grow from the inwardness of the individual soul. In the following centuries the sovereign individual extended his dominion over the several provinces of life and civilization, conquering them one by one and step by step:

State, society, politics, economics, the arts, philosophy, morality, and religion.

a) Philosophy and the New Scientific Methods. In a seemingly disenchanted world, however, man began to discover new miracles. The great scientific geniuses of the seventeenth century found a new world in the study of nature: a world that appeared as self-sufficient, self-conserving, deprived of purposes and ends; a world that could be experimentally measured and rationally comprehended and explained. It appeared entirely possible to interpret all the phenomena of life in rational terms: religion and morals, State and society, art and science.

The new science itself was almost exclusively interested in observation, description, and experimentation, paying little attention to causal or genetic relations. It was engaged in reducing all qualitative distinctions to quantitative, extended, and therefore measurable entities. The many and perplexing phenomena of an atomistically split universe were rallied by the piercing intellect of Descartes (1596–1650), who forged a new theory of cognition and established a new unity of knowledge on the "infallible" authority of the science of mathematics. It was in 1619, the second year of the great war, that Descartes, then a soldier in the army of General Tilly, in his quarters in Neuburg on the Danube believed he had discovered the criterion of indubitable certitude in that self-consciousness of the thinking and doubting ego, which became for him the cornerstone of his philosophical system (*cogito, dubito — ergo sum:* "I think, I doubt — therefore I am"). Mathematically clear and distinct ideas and principles became for him the criteria of all truth.

However, the integral rationalism of Descartes was unable to bridge the gulf that separated mind and body, spirit and matter, "thought" and "extension." This unreconciled dualism remained a stumbling block and an open challenge for all the followers of Descartes to this day. Nevertheless, the Cartesian system presented itself as a tool for the rationalization of life in its entirety. Cartesian reasoning aided in the great discoveries in mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, geology, and many related fields. Descartes himself was the creator of analytical geometry, whereby geometrical data may be translated into algebraic symbols and vice versa, and both Isaac Newton (1642–1727) and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) discovered independently the differential calculus.

Baruch (Benedict) de Spinoza (1632–1677) developed his system of philosophical pantheism* *"more geometrico,"* making use of the method and terminology of Euclidean geometry. The world emanates with mathematical necessity from the one divine substance which man recognizes in only two of its infinitely many attributes: extension and consciousness, body and mind. The more the human mind becomes conscious of the divine origin and necessary constitution of the universe, the stronger is its control

* Pantheism denotes the identity of God and the universe, both being considered as parts or expressions of one and the same substance.

(cf. p. 145 sq.), who had linked it with the important concept of the "active intellect," denoting that mental spontaneity that reacts to external stimuli and draws universal ideas from particular observations (faculty of abstraction).

c) *Rationalism in Germany.* Among the first German scholars who adopted the rationalistic tenets of the French and English writers was the jurist and historiographer Samuel von Pufendorf (1632–1694). He was influenced by Thomas Hobbes and the Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), who in his work "On the Law of War and Peace" (*De iure belli et pacis*) had laid the foundations of modern international law. Grotius based his concept of the "natural law" on the nature of man and that law and order which we observe in the universe. Pufendorf, who taught in the Universities of Heidelberg and Lund (Sweden), published his famous work on natural and international law (*De iure gentium et naturae*) in 1672. He considered human nature as the basis of all law, and human reason as its supreme authority. In his treatise on *The Christian Religion and its Relationship to Civic Life* (1687) he defended the absolute sovereignty of the State and called it a duty of all monarchs to provide for the happiness of their subjects, if necessary even against their will and by the use of force. The book won the admiration of the Great Elector (cf. p. 310 sq.) and gained for its author the titles of Privy Councilor and Royal Prussian Historiographer.

In the first half of the seventeenth century the great advances in mathematical studies were documented in such epochal works as John Kepler's *New Stereometry* (*Nova Stereometria,* 1615) and Cavalieri's *Geometry of Indivisibles* (*Geometria Indivisibilium,* 1635), both men introducing the notion of infinity into geometry. Transcending the limitations and the one-sided dogmatism of most of the rationalist doctrinaires, the universal genius of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) rethought and reinterpreted the knowledge of his age in the terms of the past, the present, and the anticipated future. His synthetic mind was ever alert in discovering possibilities of unifying that which seemed to be irreparably divided and of reconciling apparently insolvable antinomies. Thus he endeavored to combine the scholastic-Aristotelian philosophy of the past with the mechanism and empiricism of his own scientific age. Against the rationalists he defended the integrity of the Christian concept of the Deity that both transcended the world and yet was essentially represented in its every part (Theism). He dreamed of a reunion of the separated religious denominations, and in his *Theodicy* (1710)* expounded in a novel way the principles of natural and supernatural theology. He tried to justify the dogma of the Trinity, the real presence of Christ in the consecrated Host (Sacrament of the Altar), and the doctrine of eternal damnation. The idea of a "perennial

* The term *Theodicy,* coined by Leibniz, denotes the philosophical and scientific attempt to justify the existence of God and to reconcile the divine attributes of infinite goodness, wisdom, and omnipotence with the actuality of physical and moral evil.

philosophy" (*philosophia perennis*), an expression first used by Augustinus Steuchus, librarian of the Vatican in Rome, in a book of the same title (1540), was resumed by Leibniz: he outlined the principles of a perennial philosophy that was to embrace the elements of truth contained in all the major philosophical systems of the past and present.

In his *Monadology* (1714) Leibniz developed some of the metaphysical concepts as contained in the nature philosophy of Giordano Bruno (cf. p. 275) and the Neo-Platonists of the early centuries of the Christian era. He described the world as a harmonically ordered system of "monads"—infinitely small, indivisible, and spiritual units, representing and reflecting the universe in varying and rising degrees of consciousness. God, the aboriginal monad (*Urmonade*), is also the one which possesses supreme and universal consciousness, the one which has preordained the substances and activities of all the other monads in a system or cosmos of "pre-established harmony." God Himself therefore is mirrored in the various gradations of being: in mineral, plant, animal, man, and the pure spirits. In such a magnificently ordered world physical and moral evil can only serve to contribute to the greater harmony of the whole by providing contrast motifs and complementary colors. As Leibniz considers the perfection of the universe more from an aesthetic than a moral or metaphysical point of view, he is bound to arrive at the optimistic conclusion that a world in which such harmony, unity, and integrity is achieved must be the best of all possible worlds.

With his insistence on the spiritual character of the individual monads Leibniz broke the chain of purely mechanical causation and reintroduced the Aristotelian and scholastic notion of purposes and ends (final causes). His deep insight into the nature of an organically developed individuality and personality made him the intellectual ancestor of German Idealism (cf. Chap. 9) and Romanticism (cf. Chap. 14), as represented philosophically by Herder, Goethe, Schiller, Kant, Fichte, and Hegel.

In the encyclopedic catholicity of his interests Leibniz was a typical Baroque philosopher. He is, however, remembered not only as a philosopher but as a great scientist and jurist as well. He made important discoveries in the fields of mathematics and physics and lasting contributions to the disciplines of history, political economy, international law, and linguistics. One of his most cherished projects aimed at the foundation of an international academy of sciences, and he finally succeeded in persuading Frederick III, the elector of Brandenburg-Prussia, to establish the Berlin Academy. Leibniz became its first president in 1700. He felt confident that science would eventually bring about an era of universal peace among the nations of the earth, and he greeted with enthusiasm the project of a league of nations that was presented to the Peace Congress of Utrecht by Abbé Saint-Pierre at the end of the Spanish War of Succession (1714).

Leibniz' correspondence extended to the most distant parts of the globe. He exchanged letters with the leading scholars in many countries, even

with the Jesuit missionaries in faraway China. His acquaintance with leading statesmen and members of the nobility led to his appointment as German ambassador to the French court in 1672. As historiographer of the dukes of Brunswick Leibniz visited Vienna, Venice, Rome, Naples, Florence, Bologna, and Modena.

Among the several languages he mastered the philosopher gave preference to French, in the admiration of which he concurred with most of his contemporaries. Nevertheless he occasionally advocates the cultivation and improvement of the German language and regrets that the neglect of the national linguistic tradition has outweighed the benefits which otherwise could have accrued from the influence of French style and speech. Leibniz' own works, most of them written in French or Latin, give evidence of the almost universal scope of his interests and his knowledge, but they lack formal coherence and seem more like a monumental collection of ingenious essays than a carefully arranged system of ideas. The authentic edition of all his works, prepared by the Berlin Academy of Sciences, is nearing completion.

The so-called "popular" philosophers of German Rationalism were not greatly interested in the depth of Leibniz' metaphysical speculation. What appealed to them were his optimistic views concerning this "best of all possible worlds," because this optimism seemed to substantiate their own belief in the self-sufficiency of the universe and the unlimited perfectibility of man. To Christian von Wolff (1679–1754) belongs the merit, if merit it be, to have diluted and popularized the ideas of the great philosopher so as to make them intelligible to the average reader. From 1707 on Wolff lectured on mathematics, natural science, and philosophy in the University of Halle. He was expelled by order of King Frederick William I of Prussia when the Pietists (cf. p. 364 sqq.) objected to his rationalistic views. Frederick the Great, after his accession to the throne, called him back and made him chancellor of the university. For more than a quarter of a century Wolff's philosophy dominated the philosophical faculties of the German universities, and a whole generation of thinkers acknowledged in him their teacher. For Wolff there were no mysteries in heaven and on earth: everything became perfectly clear, simple, and natural once it was exposed to the tranquil searchlight of reason.

Nature, virtue, and reason were the three main themes of Wolff's speculation. He emphasized the equality of human nature and demanded that the precepts of the moral law be equally applied to all classes. He claimed that even peasants were able to read his treatises on logic. As the "genius of mediocrity" he appealed to members of all strata of society and counted among his pupils representatives of all professions.

The fame of having become the father of the German movement of "Enlightenment" (*Aufklärung*, cf. p. 368 sq.) Wolff shares with his colleague in the University of Halle, the jurist Christian Thomasius (1655–1728). From Leipzig, where he had started his academic career and where he had met

with the opposition of Lutheran theologians, he moved to Halle and became one of the most popular teachers of the recently founded local university (1694). His high esteem for the German language as a medium of scientific and literary expression he demonstrated by delivering the first university lectures in German since the days of Paracelsus (cf. p. 273). He showed himself interested in the practical application of knowledge and demanded a thoroughgoing reorganization and vitalization of pedagogy. The cause of toleration and freedom of conscience was dear to his heart, and he fought with great vigor against antiquated and inhuman concepts and procedures in criminal law, especially against the still flourishing trials for witchcraft. Individual and social ethics Thomasius referred to the supreme tribunal of "common sense," and the quintessence of morality to him is the art "to lead a happy, contented, and gallant life by means of reason and virtue."

d) *Rationalism in Education.* The practical trend of Rationalism was reflected in the curriculums of the schools and universities. The time-honored "humanistic" education, based on formal discipline and proficiency in the liberal arts, was considered as obsolete and foreign to life. The rationalistic teacher was to prepare the student for the practical requirements of life, providing the tools for the acquisition of technical skill by means of vocational training. The "progressive" educators of the seventeenth century demanded that the student be confronted with actual problems and situations in State and society, in art and nature, and that rules and disciplines be enlivened by practical applications, by experiment and demonstration. "Realism" became the catchword of the new philosophies of education. One of the leading "reformers" in this field was Christian Weise (1642–1708), poet, teacher, and later on principal of the *"Gymnasium"** in Zittau (Saxony). He tried to educate his charges, most of them sons of noble families, in the spirit of the new pedagogy and to indoctrinate them with the new ideas.

In August Hermann Francke's (cf. p. 365) *Paedagogium* in Halle the chief emphasis in the curriculum was placed on natural science, mathematics, geography, and history, although, in accordance with Francke's pietistic convictions, all these subjects had their core and living source in religious instruction. The students were taught specific trades and on frequent visits to workshops they learned by observation as well as by practical application. A "Teachers' Seminary" (*Seminarium Praeceptorum*) in Halle was dedicated to the task of teacher training. By introducing his new methods of instruction into his orphanage and his school for poor children, Francke influenced the future development of the public school system in Germany. Public instruction on the grammar and high school level had for some time been in the hands of the Piarist Order, founded in 1597 by St. Joseph

* The *Gymnasium* is the earliest type of the German high school and may best be described as an equivalent of a liberal arts college that includes the lower high school grades (nine grades in all). It is distinguished from the later types of the *Realschule* and *Realgymnasium* by its strictly "humanistic" curriculum, embracing the liberal arts and the classical languages.

of Calasanza, a Spanish priest, and of the Congregation of the "Institute of Mary" (*Englische Fräulein*), founded by Mary Ward (1585–1645), an English nun. The members of these two religious orders conducted separate schools for boys and girls.

The opposition to this new progressive "realism" in education was strongest in the universities, which in many instances had become purely antiquarian in their interests and pursuits. In the course of the seventeenth century their vitality had suffered to such a degree that Leibniz proposed to let them die a natural death. Their scholarship was not merely out of tune with contemporary life and its pressing problems, but their blind allegiance to defunct authorities made them oblivious to the progress of science and rendered them incapable of independent research. About the turn of the century a gradual infiltration of the new ideas becomes noticeable. The University of Halle must be considered as the first German institution of higher learning in which the spirit of the modern age triumphantly celebrated its conquest of the past. It was at Halle that the principle of the freedom of teaching was solemnly proclaimed in 1711, when its *Rector* (president), Nicholas Gundling, in a speech delivered in honor of the first king of Prussia, praised the independence of scientific research. He called the university "the vestibule of liberty" and demanded that it lead its students fearlessly to truth and wisdom. He insisted that only free minds and free men would be capable of assuming such leadership as was needed in a university, and that by virtue of the demands of the natural law no man had the right to infringe upon another's freedom of conscience and conviction: "All compulsion in these matters is evil. . . . Teach, exhort, pray! If they listen, it is well; if they don't listen, learn to bear it. Truth rises before us: let him who can, ascend; let him who dares, take hold of her; and we will applaud" (*Veritas ādhuc: qui potest ascendat; qui audet, rapiat et aplaudemus*).

e) *Methods of Adult Education.* In their endeavor to spread the new ideas and to raise the general standard of culture by means of increased knowledge and literacy, the leaders of the rationalistic movement addressed themselves to the general reading public in the new "moral weeklies," which made their first appearance early in the eighteenth century in England and were soon adopted and imitated in Germany. The weekly periodical was an offshoot of the pamphlets and newssheets which originated at the end of the fifteenth century. The first natural agents for the distribution of written and printed news were the postmasters, and in the beginning (*c.* 1500) it was the prevailing custom to add a special newssheet to one's letters. Basel, Strasbourg, Cologne, and Augsburg were among the earliest circulation centers of printed news pamphlets. In many instances the postmasters themselves were the compilers and editors of the news, but frequently princes and wealthy merchants had their own news correspondents who were stationed at the important centers of political and commercial activity.

The first regular weekly journal dates from the year 1609 and was edited in Strasbourg, while the first daily newspaper was published in Leipzig in 1660. The first home of the didactic and moralizing weeklies, however, is England. There the new type of family periodical appeared, designed to raise the intellectual and moral standards of the middle class and to influence individual and social life by means of criticism, satire, and moral instruction and edification. The most popular of the English moral weeklies were Sir Richard Steele's and Joseph Addison's *Tatler* (1707–1711), *Spectator* (1711–1712), and *Guardian* (1713). The most skillful of their German imitators were Johann Jacob Bodmer (*Discourses of Painters,* 1721–1723) and Johann C. Gottsched (*Vernünftige Tadlerinnen,* 1725–1727). More than five hundred different moral weeklies were published in Germany between 1713 and 1800. They represented an effective and novel form of adult education and were more influential than either book or sermon in the formation of public opinion and a general philosophy of life.

f) *Social Divisions and Social Conventions.* Although the Age of Absolutism and Rationalism had exalted the ruling prince beyond the pale of ordinary mortals, the social divisions among the different classes of subjects endured practically unabated. Peasants, burghers, and nobles, merchants and craftsmen, the learned and the unlettered were living their lives in accordance with definite social patterns, and the members of the upper classes attempted to meet the growing pressure of the less privileged by the erection of artificial barriers of etiquette and convention. The strict observation of all proprieties as to rank and title was the essential prerequisite of well-mannered social intercourse, and any infraction or neglect of one of the rules that referred to questions of precedence in rank was considered an unpardonable social crime.

The self-respecting carpenter, cobbler, tailor, baker, and confectioner, for all his strongly marked class consciousness, would proudly display on the signboard of his store or shop the coat of arms of the ruling princely house, if he was fortunate enough to count the court among his clients. He usually paid dearly for the privilege of calling himself *Königlicher Hofbäcker, Hofkonditor, Hofschneider* (royal court baker, court confectioner, court tailor). These titles often remained with the families and the business establishments of their bearers right down to the fall of the German monarchies in 1918.

Social rank and the powers and luxuries that it implied were considered as the most worthy goals of human endeavor, worthy enough indeed to justify the most abject kind of adulation and the sacrifice of honesty and character. It was the supreme ambition of the wealthy merchant to obtain a patent of nobility and thus climb one step higher on the social ladder. But even if this dream of a lifetime did not come true, he at least imitated the life of the nobility by the erection of palacelike and luxuriously furnished dwellings, by surrounding himself with numerous servants, and by an almost uninterrupted chain of social events, musical and theatrical entertainments, ballets, balls, and other festivities.

thought and culture in the following two centuries grew up in the shadow and shelter of this pietistic heritage, acknowledging their debt to a form of spirituality that illumined with its kindly light the years of their intellectual and moral formation (Lavater, Goethe, Jacobi, Schleiermacher, Novalis, Gerhart Hauptmann, etc.).

Enlightenment ("Aufklärung"). From the later Middle Ages and the Reformation to the period of princely absolutism and enlightened despotism the ancient authority of the Christian Church had steadily declined. The culture of the Rococo revealed the shaky foundations of a society whose members were still clinging to certain external forms of the past but had lost contact with all the vital meaning of the spiritual tradition of Western civilization. From the end of the seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth century the social and cultural life of Europe was presenting a splendid façade that carefully covered the symptoms of decay, but at the same time revealed a glittering unrest and a lack of stability and self-assurance that bespoke an uneasy conscience and a growing anxiety as to the final outcome of a dissipated and wasteful existence. When the life of European aristocracy had dissolved into an endless series of love affairs, scandals, festivities, and games, the time seemed to have arrived for the healthier members of the social organism to call for retribution and to restore poise and balance by a process of revolution and rejuvenation.

The production of Pierre Beaumarchais' (1732–1799) *Marriage of Figaro,* an excoriating satire on the decadent nobility, at the Théâtre Français in Paris in 1784, was an event that symbolized the approaching end of *"la folle journée"* (the mad journey).

a) *The Origins of Enlightenment.* The first and most effective broadside attack against the established authorities of the past came from the "republic of letters," the representative thinkers of the eighteenth century. The symptoms of cultural decline were not confined to any one country and, accordingly, the voices of social criticism were simultaneously heard in every part of Europe. But France, which for a long time had politically and culturally dominated the European scene, and where the disintegration of the monarchy and nobility was most marked, became the center of the revolutionary criticism of the *"philosophes."* The thirty-five volumes of the *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (*Encyclopedia,* or *Rational Dictionary of the Sciences, Arts, and Trades,* 1751–1780) became the great collective manifestation of revolutionary thought, wherein the criteria of modern individualism, rationalism, and mechanism were systematically applied to the fields of religion, philosophy, literature, science, and sociology. The editors were Denis Diderot (1713–1784) and Jean D'Alembert (1717–1783), and among the contributors were such illustrious thinkers as Voltaire, Turgot, and Montesquieu. The corruptness of the supposedly Christian civilization of Europe was here for the first time contrasted with the assumed superiority of the "noble savage" and the humane wisdom of Oriental thought. The leader in the attack against official Christianity, against intolerance and bigotry, was François Marie Arouet, better known by his pen name of Voltaire (1694–1778), who in the ninety volumes of his collected works subjected every department of human endeavor to his scathing criticism and who, with his "Essay on the Customs and the Spirit of the Nations," created a new type of critical historiography and cultural history (*Kulturgeschichte*). As the final goal of the human race he visualized an age of enlightened humanism, based on social responsibility and a natural and rational religion.

b) *German Enlightenment.* In Germany the new ideas met with warm response, but their radicalism was tempered by a certain reverence for traditional values and a more or less academic adherence to the principles of the French thinkers. For Kant (cf. p. 371 sqq.) enlightenment meant "emancipation from an immaturity that man had brought upon himself through his own fault." That immaturity he defined as "the incapability of using one's reason without external guidance. . . . You must be courageous enough," he said, "to make use of your own faculty of reasoning: that is the true motto of enlightenment."

The city of Berlin, where Frederick the Great had encouraged the propagation of the ideas of the French Encyclopedists, became the center and bulwark of German Enlightenment. The most distinguished representative of enlightened thought was Friedrich Nicolai (1733–1811), a Berlin book dealer, whose ideal of a philosopher was Christian Wolff (cf. p. 360), and who in his novels, satires, travel books, and philosophical essays exhibited a narrow, shallow, and intolerant rationalism. Though he was in contact with practically all the illustrious thinkers of the age, he antagonized most of them by his malicious and destructive criticism. In Schiller's and Goethe's epigrams (*Xenien*) of the year 1797 Nicolai is ridiculed as an empty-headed and coarse fellow, and in Goethe's *Faust* he appears as "Proctophantasmist" amidst the spirits, witches, and devils of the "Walpurgisnacht," among a motley crowd of creatures whom his enlightened zeal had all too sweepingly explained away.

Among Nicolai's collaborators, later on known as the "Nicolaites," the most capable was the Jewish popular philosopher Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786), Lessing's (cf. p. 380 sqq.) friend, a representative of enlightened Deism (cf. p. 356 sq.), a man of the highest intellectual and moral caliber, an untiring worker for the advancement of the human race, and an eloquent advocate of religious toleration. In his aesthetic views he influenced Schiller and Kant, and his speculation on the sensitive faculty contributed to the increasing psychological knowledge of the age. The leading character in Lessing's drama *Nathan the Wise* bears the features of Moses Mendelssohn.

Many of the views of the enlightened German thinkers were transmitted to the reading public through several newly founded periodicals, taking the place of the "moral weeklies" (cf. p. 363), which had fallen into growing disrepute. Nicolai himself edited the "Library of Belles Lettres and the Liberal Arts" (*Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freien*

Künste, 1757), the "Letters Concerning the Most Recent Literature" (*Briefe, die neueste Literatur betreffend,* 1759), and the "General German Library" (*Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek,* 1766). These periodicals, to which Nicolai, Mendelssohn, Lessing, and other authors contributed, tried to review critically the more recent publications in Germany and to spread general information regarding literary affairs. The most influential and long lived of the three journals was the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek,* whose publication ceased in 1806, and which during these four decades molded to a large extent the standards of literary taste and critical judgment.

c) *Secret Societies.* The principles of enlightened thought were adopted and promoted by a number of secret societies, the most important of which was the institution of Freemasonry, founded at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The first masonic "Grand Lodge" was constituted in England in 1717. The *Book of Constitution* of the year 1723 stated as the purpose of the society the construction of the Grand Temple of Humanity, the education of an enlightened and united mankind that had freed itself from superstition and from the restrictions imposed by religious, political, and social dogmas, parties, and authorities. The individual members were to strive for personal ennoblement and the harmonious integration of their characters, on the basis of humanitarianism and religious toleration. Strict secrecy surrounded the complex organization of the society, whose elaborate symbolic rituals were in part derived from the medieval masonic guilds. The initiation proceeded by degrees from the stage of apprentice to that of journeyman and master.

The masonic movement rapidly gained a large following in all European countries. It was introduced in France and Ireland in 1725, in Scotland, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and North America during the following decade. The leaders of the American and French revolutions, Washington and Franklin as well as Mirabeau and Robespierre, were freemasons.

The first German Grand Lodge was established in Hamburg in 1737. German Freemasonry retained the belief in God and immortality and appropriated the spirit of German classical literature and philosophy, while in the Romanic countries the lodges adopted the atheistic and materialistic outlook of the Revolution of 1789. The antiecclesiastical character of Freemasonry was especially pronounced in Spain, Portugal, France, and Italy. In the latter country the lodge played a leading part in the nineteenth century in bringing about the destruction of the secular power of the papacy, the annexation of the Papal States by Italy, the secularization of education, and the national unification of the country. The Catholic Church has placed membership in the lodge under the penalty of excommunication (Decree of Clement XII of 1738 and canon 2335 of Canon Law, 1918), and the Fascist and National-Socialist governments of Italy and Germany suppressed the masonic lodges in their countries as incompatible with the interests of the national State.

In the eighteenth century most of the political and intellectual leaders of Germany were admitted to membership in the lodge (Frederick the Great, Nicolai, Klopstock, Wieland, Herder, Goethe, Fichte, Mozart, Haydn, etc.), and in the nineteenth century members of the Hohenzollern dynasty and most representatives of Prussian officialdom were freemasons. Lessing, in his *Discourses for Freemasons* (*Gespräche für Freimaurer*), praised the ideals of Freemasonry as being in harmony with the spirit of enlightenment and true Humanism.

An interesting offshoot of Freemasonry was the "Order of Illuminati" (the Enlightened Ones), founded by Adam Weishaupt (1748–1830), formerly professor of Canon Law in the University of Ingolstadt in Bavaria. Aims, ideals, and organization resembled closely those of the masonic lodges, but the antiauthoritarian tendency was more conspicuous. The Order was suppressed in Bavaria in 1784 but experienced a short-lived revival at the end of the nineteenth century (1896–1933).

d) *Critical Philosophy: Kant.* The eighteenth century had produced a number of popular philosophers who, like Christian Wolff (cf. p. 360), had made philosophy accessible to the average man and woman, while at the same time depriving it of much of its former earnestness and depth. The limitations of the philosophical foundations of the age of enlightenment were realized by no one more keenly than by Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) who, himself deeply rooted in rationalistic thought, nevertheless succeeded in overcoming the narrowness of its dogmatism.

A native of Königsberg in East Prussia, Kant had attended the local university and accepted the main tenets of the widely acclaimed rationalistic systems of Leibniz and Wolff. He had made his own the scientific and mechanical explanation of nature as presented by Isaac Newton and had heartily approved of Descartes's saying: "Give me matter, and I shall construct a world." Kant's ideas on the origin of the planetary system from chaotic gaseous nebulae, as he laid them down in his "General Natural History and Theory of the Heavens" (1755), were later on resumed by the French astronomer and mathematician, Pierre Laplace (1748–1827), and formulated in the "Kant-Laplace Theory." But Kant was convinced that it was impossible to apply the mechanical explanation of nature to organic life, and he was unwilling to relinquish certain religious premises that had been implanted in his mind by the pietistic influences of his youth and that had been restated in Rousseau's (cf. p. 376) striking phrase: "Gravitation effects in the corporeal world what love creates in the world of the spirit."

Faced by the alternative of an all-embracing rationalism which left no avenue open to spiritual realities, and an integral empiricism which had ended in Hume's skeptical denial of the possibility of objective knowledge, Kant felt the necessity of transcending the limited viewpoint of either of these extreme positions and of combining their partial truths in a new philosophical synthesis.

It was the influence of Hume's philosophy that awoke Kant from his

"dogmatic slumber" by shaking his naïve confidence in the absolute reliability of human reason. From now on, the all-important question in his mind concerned the possibility and validity of human knowledge.

Holding a chair as professor of logic and metaphysics at the University of Königsberg in East Prussia since the year 1770, Kant published his masterpiece, *The Critique of Pure Reason,* in 1781. The author himself likened the significance of this work to the revolutionary discovery of Copernicus: as Copernicus had demonstrated the illusory nature of the seeming revolution of the firmament around the earth, so Kant attempted to prove that human thought was not formed and determined by extramental objects but that the objects in the extramental world depended in their meaning and rational significance on the organization of the human mind. Things as they are in themselves (*"das Ding an sich"*) are inaccessible to human reason. They are only knowable as they appear to us (as *"phenomena"*), not as they actually exist outside the human mind (as *"noumena"*). Objective experience is molded into sensitive intuitions by the *a priori* (innate) forms of sensibility, space and time. The understanding *(Verstand)* in turn molds these intuitions into objects of knowledge, by means of the main categories of quality, quantity, relation, and modality. Thus the synthetic action of the understanding imparts meaning and coherence to the otherwise unrelated and unconnected series of our perceptions. Extension and duration being mere modifications of time and space, are purely subjective, and a "science of being" (ontology, metaphysics) becomes an absolute impossibility.

It was, however, just such metaphysical speculation that had been used by the rationalist philosophers (Descartes, Spinoza, Leibniz, etc.) as well as by the scholastics (cf. p. 141 sqq.) to prove the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, and the freedom of will. And Kant, too, had expressly stated that the primary concern of his speculation was the vindication of the religious claims of the past. It was his intention "to dethrone knowledge in order to make room for faith." How did Kant achieve his aim, and how was he able to combine the pretended subjectivity of all human knowledge with the validity of absolute and necessary norms and laws?

The answer is given in the *Metaphysics of Morals* (1785) and *The Critique of Practical Reason* (1788). In these two works Kant withdraws faith and religion from the sphere of pure reason and places them under the absolute dominion of the "moral law." Both Luther and Leibniz had been in search of objective norms, which were not to be imposed authoritatively from without but were to issue from the innermost essence of the individual. For Kant the realm of human freedom becomes the ground where individual independence (autonomy) and objective necessity meet. For him nothing is as indubitable as "the starry firmament above me and the moral law within me."

The "moral law" confronts man in the form of the "categorical imperative," which exhorts him to act in such a way that the principles of his actions

may at any time be applicable to all mankind; to choose such maxims as may be made the bases of a universal law and rule. According to Kant, the freedom of will, the immortality of the soul, and the existence of God are truths that are inherent in the constitution and inclination of the moral nature of man. They cannot be demonstrated by pure reason, but they can and must be "postulated" by "practical reason" if human life is not to be voided of any and all meaning.

If the innate and imperative character of the moral law is admitted, man must also have the power to live up to its demands, i.e., he must have free will. But life on this earth is much too short to allow for the perfect fulfillment of the demands of the categorical imperative: therefore practical reason postulates the immortality of the soul. Furthermore, every human being longs for lasting happiness, and yet even the most perfect obedience to the moral law does not yield that result: there must be a power therefore that fulfills man's desire for eternal happiness, and this power we call God. Finally, the moral law demands justice and retribution, and we know from experience that this demand is frequently not satisfied in this earthly life. Practical reason, therefore, postulates the dispensation of perfect justice by the omniscient and omnipotent God in a life beyond.

In his emphasis on the power of human will as well as in the aesthetic speculation of his *Critique of Judgment* (1790) Kant had given a fuller and truer description of human nature than was current in the age of enlightenment. He had recognized the relative significance of the faculties of thinking, feeling, and willing as against the prevailing one-sided intellectualism. In his religious speculation, on the other hand, he agrees with the other spokesmen of the age in defining a good and noble life as the supreme form of worship. His "autonomous" ethics demands that the moral law be obeyed for its own sake, regardless of eternal reward or punishment and without the aid of dogmas, prayers, and cultic observances. While the philosopher thus upholds with the enlightened thinkers the emancipation of man from the authorities of the past, he does not share their optimistic view of human nature. In the treatise *Religion within the Boundaries of Pure Reason* (1793) he develops an ethical rigorism which insists that the inherent evil in human nature be overcome by a stern sense of duty and by the firm exercise of will power. He goes so far as to maintain that natural inclination and the moral law are contradictory, and that therefore a human action can only be termed moral if it is performed in opposition to the urges of our sensitive nature. Schiller (cf. p. 417 sqq.) who in other respects adopted Kant's moral philosophy, satirized his ethical rigorism in a pointed epigram,* while at the same time trying to overcome it by a process of

* *Scruple of Conscience*
Willingly serve I my friends; but, alas, I do it with pleasure;
Therefore I often am vexed, that no true virtue I have.
Solution
As there is no other means, thou hadst better begin to despise them;
And with aversion, then, do that which duty commands.
(Tr. by E. A. Bowring; Belford Clarke & Co., New York.)

education which culminated in the harmonization of natural inclination and the moral law.

Kant saw the meaning of history in the growing realization of moral freedom, eventually leading to the establishment of eternal peace among the nations of the earth (*On Eternal Peace,* 1795). In his personal life the philosopher embodied the very principles of his teaching and thinking, and his sincerity, simplicity, modesty, and moral earnestness made him one of the most admired and influential intellectual leaders of modern times.

e) *Enlightened Theology.* The movement of enlightenment in Germany tended toward antireligious radicalism only in a few instances. The majority of its representatives were neither atheists nor agnostics. One of the most revolutionary manifestoes of theological criticism was the so-called *Wolfenbüttel-Fragmente,* originally composed by the Hamburg orientalist and theologian, Samuel Reimarus (1694–1768), and later on published by Lessing (cf. p. 380 sqq.) without mentioning the name of the author (1774–1778). These "Fragments" represented part of Reimarus' more comprehensive "Apology for Reasonable Worshippers of God," wherein he attempted to prove the fraudulous character of the New Testament, claiming that the real teaching of Christ was in complete harmony with an enlightened and rational theology. Lessing in an explanatory note made several reservations as to his own critical point of view and insisted that it was the main purpose of his edition to stir up a theological controversy and to demonstrate Christianity as a living spiritual force: "The letter is not the spirit, and the Bible is not identical with religion. . . . There was religion before there was a Bible. Christianity existed before the Apostles and Evangelists wrote. Our religion is not true because the Apostles and Evangelists taught it: they rather taught it because it is true. . . . All the written documents cannot impart to it an inner truth if it has none."

Lessing's own views on the nature of Christianity are contained in an essay entitled "The Education of the Human Race" that was published in 1780, one year before his death. Here the great world religions — Paganism, Judaism, and Christianity — represent successive grades in an educational curriculum, arranged by God, the great schoolmaster. In each grade the presentation of the subject matter is adapted to the mental capacity of the learners. In the childhood stage of mankind (Paganism and Judaism) God had to reveal His will and guide His charges by means of visible and tangible signs, by promises of reward and punishment, while in the stage of adolescence He used the symbolism of the Christian dogmas to lead man's thoughts and endeavors to a higher spiritual plane. But the stage of maturity will be reached in the not-too-distant future, when men will no longer look out for rewards and no longer stand in need of punitive restrictions and coercive dogmas but will practice virtue for its own sake: "The time of a new and eternal Gospel will certainly arrive. Continue on your inconspicuous path, eternal providence!"

These views of Lessing's as much as those of Kant's may serve to illustrate

how far the leading minds of the eighteenth century were removed from the comfortable complacency of the popular spokesmen of enlightenment, for whom their own age represented the apex of all that was true, good, and beautiful.

The friends of enlightened thought gradually gained hold of the highest positions in Protestant church administration and began to dominate the theological faculties in the Protestant universities. Being theological rationalists, most of them were opposed to Luther's doctrine of "salvation by faith alone" (*sola fide*), for which they substituted their own idea of "salvation by reason alone" (*sola ratione*). Others followed Luther in drawing a strict dividing line between faith and reason, eliminating every element of rationality from the religious sphere (*Fideism*).

In the Catholic territories of Germany the princes were the most powerful friends and protectors of enlightened thought. Empress Maria Theresa (cf. p. 313 sq.) as well as her son, Emperor Joseph II (cf. p. 320), promoted the ideas of enlightenment as a means of strengthening the foundations of the absolutistic State and of extending its supremacy over the Church. Pope Pius VI, on a special journey to Vienna, fruitlessly attempted to dissuade the emperor from carrying his ecclesiastical reform measures too far. All episcopal seminaries and monastic schools were closed by imperial decree, all contemplative religious orders were suspended and their property confiscated. The proceeds from the sale of the monastic estates were used for the establishment of new parishes and for the support of orphanages, hospitals, and poorhouses. The number of Church holidays was reduced and pilgrimages and processions were prohibited. The liturgy and the divine services were simplified and stripped of all external display.

The ideas of the enlightened age penetrated into Catholic schools and seminaries, into monasteries, convents, and parish houses. Nicholas of Hontheim, auxiliary bishop of Treves (1701–1790), published under the pen name of Justinus Febronius a widely read book on the papacy (*De statu ecclesiae,* 1763) in which he advocated the Conciliar Theory of the later Middle Ages (cf. p. 173 sq.), demanding that the papacy be divested of its absolute teaching and governing power over the clergy and laity.

The idea of a general secularization of ecclesiastical possessions was first conceived in Prussia in 1795. The plan was heartily seconded in the following year by the provincial administrations of Wurtemberg and Baden and received the approval of Emperor Francis II in 1797. The methods of procedure were discussed by the German princes with Talleyrand (1754–1838), formerly bishop of Autun, and at that time one of the chief councilors of Napoleon. The secularization was legally confirmed in the "Principal Decree of the Imperial Deputation" of 1803 (cf. p. 325). This decree of secularization cost the Catholic Church in Germany 1719 square miles of landed property with a population of three and one-half million and an annual revenue of about twenty-two million taler (approximately 66 million Reichsmarks or 17 million dollars).

The spirit of enlightenment was clearly in evidence in the increasing religious toleration between Catholics and Protestants and in several renewed attempts at effecting a reconciliation and reunion of the separated Christian denominations. In Prussia these irenic and ecumenic tendencies resulted in the unification of the Lutheran and Reformed churches in 1817, the year of the third centenary of the Lutheran Reformation. Other German lands imitated Prussia's example in the following decade.

After the death of Frederick the Great the Prussian government relinquished its benevolent protectorship of religious enlightenment. A decree of Frederick William II of the year 1788 threatened punitive action against the unorthodox Protestant clergy, and a royal order in Council of 1791 contained the following: "I can and shall never tolerate that the common people be drawn away from the old and true Christian religion by false doctrines or that writings which try to further such ends be printed in my country."

f) State and Society: Rousseau. The age of enlightenment designated the sovereignty of the people as the supreme norm of the State and its individual members. According to Rousseau (1712–1778), the body politic constitutes a distinct moral person that comes into existence by "the total alienation" of individual rights to the whole community. This is the political and social philosophy that Rousseau advocated in *The Social Contract* (1762), maintaining that lawful government derives its authority from the consent of the governed.

The idea of the sovereignty of the people had been advanced long before Rousseau: Aristotle had defined a citizen as one who shares in governing and in being governed (Pol. I, 12, and II, 2). He had taught that all citizens have in principle a claim to civil power, but that the exceptional individual ought to be made king by the choice of the freemen who constitute the State. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas had defined society as "a multitude, united by juridical consent (*iuris consensu*) and a community of interest" (*Summa Theologica,* 2–2, q. 42, a. 2), and the latter had placed the legislative power in the people or their vice-regent (*Summa Theologica,* 1–2, q. 90, a. 3). The Dominican and Jesuit scholars from the middle of the sixteenth century to Suarez (cf. p. 304 sq.) in the seventeenth century had taught that civil sovereignty is received from God by the people, who in turn entrust it to their rulers by constitutional consent.

Rousseau acknowledged his indebtedness to John Locke (cf. p. 356 sq.) who a century earlier, in his *Second Treatise on Civil Government,* had taught that civil society is juridically established by a covenant of the people, that the law of nature obligates them to observe this contract, and that sovereignty is limited in its power by this social covenant. The innovation in Rousseau's theory of the sovereignty of the people consists in his abandonment of the immutable bases of the natural law, so that the social contract is apt to become an arbitrary rule of the collective sentiment of shifting majorities. Theoretically and logically speaking, Rousseau's "social contract" would have to be renewed by each successive generation.

g) Enlightenment in Education. Convinced of its absolute intellectual superiority over the "dark" centuries of the past, the age of enlightenment attempted to inculcate its ideas into homes and schools. It is because of these didactic tendencies that the eighteenth century has been called "the pedagogical century." The doctrines of enlightenment were taught in the lecture halls of the universities, preached in the pulpits, and proclaimed on the stage. In 1784 Schiller (cf. p. 417 sqq.) delivered his famous lecture, "On the Stage, Considered as a Moral (didactic) Institution," in which he assigned to the theater the educational task of spreading the light of wisdom throughout the State: "Clearer ideas, truer principles, purer emotions emanate from here and flow through the veins of the people; the fog of barbarism, of dark superstition disappears, and night gives way to the victorious power of light." A manual dealing with every phase of social intercourse was published by Baron Adolf von Knigge (1752–1796), containing "precepts concerning human behavior so as to live happily and socially contented in this world, and to impart a like happiness to one's fellow men."

Education became one of the major concerns of enlightened State government. In Brandenburg-Prussia a general school directorate was created by Frederick the Great's minister of education, and in Austria Maria Theresa placed the entire school system under the supervision of a governmental committee. The reorganization of the public schools, however, was not begun until the end of the eighteenth century, although as early as 1717 King Frederick William I of Prussia had issued an edict that imposed on all parents the obligation of sending their children to school. Frederick the Great, his son and successor, considered the schools chiefly as means for the development of political efficiency and economic abundance, disregarding humanistic and truly pedagogical motives.

New educational impulses were awakened by Rousseau and two of his German-speaking disciples, Johann Basedow (1723–1790) and Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827), the former of German, the latter of Swiss nationality. With their deeper understanding of human nature and their broader conception of human life they softened the rigid educational philosophy of the enlightened doctrinaires and sympathized with the pedagogical ideals of the Pietists (cf. p. 364 sqq.). By introducing emotional incentives into education they tried to break away from the purely rationalistic and intellectualistic pedagogy that had prevailed under the influence of Cartesian philosophy and that had found its clearest formulation in the educational theories of Johann Herbart (1776–1841). But in trying to avoid the psychological mistakes of the rationalist educators, these German followers of Rousseau did not always escape the pitfalls of their master's sentimentalism and his all-too-optimistic faith in the intrinsic goodness of human nature "in the raw."

With the support of Prince Leopold Frederick of Anhalt-Dessau, Basedow founded his *Philanthropinum* in Dessau in 1774, a "humanitarian school

for teachers and learners," from which corporal punishment was banished and in which the zeal of the student was to be stimulated by the cultivation of his creative self-activity and his social instincts. The formal discipline of the Latin schools was severely criticized as an "unheard-of waste of time." Knowledge was to be acquired not by memorization and drill but by a direct appeal to the nature of the child and by arousing his interest in playful co-operation with the educational aims of the teacher.

Rousseau's contempt of the abstract and theoretical knowledge of contemporary civilization and his glorification of the primitive state of nature was shared by Pestalozzi, the Swiss educator, who was instrumental in introducing the principles of the new pedagogy into the public schools. He was convinced that personal example, not subject matter, was the decisive factor in education. Instruction was to begin with visible demonstration, to proceed from there to the formation of concepts and ideal patterns, always taking account of the relative capacities of the growing child. The goal of all education is for Pestalozzi the harmonious development of the human faculties, the training of "head, heart, and hand" in constant interplay with the vital forces of life. Such a genuinely humane education was to provide the unshakable basis for any kind of vocational training.

To demonstrate the practicability of his theories Pestalozzi established a model institution on his small estate in the Swiss canton of Aargau, where he gave shelter and instruction to fifty beggar children. "For years," he wrote, "I have been sharing the life of fifty beggar-children, in poverty sharing my bread with them, living like a beggar myself, so that I might learn how to teach beggars to live like human beings." In 1799 he opened a second school for children of the poor in Stans, and in 1800 he found employment as a public school teacher at Burgdorf in the canton of Bern, where a few years later he founded a teacher's college that attracted the attention of the leading pedagogues of many countries.

h) *Literature and Literary Criticism.* For the enlightened mind the purpose of all art in general and of literature in particular was moral instruction, resulting in moral enjoyment, edification, and improvement. However, literary criticism in Germany advanced beyond these limited objectives as soon as it was forced to deal with literary works whose scope transcended the traditional scheme of literary rules.

Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700–1776), professor of poesy and philosophy in Leipzig, ruled for many years as the unopposed leader of the literary representatives of German enlightenment. It was only in his old age that he had to release his dictatorial grip on the world of letters and that his well-meant critical and literary endeavors became the object of scorn and ridicule.

Following the precepts of Horace's (65–8 B.C.) and Boileau's (1636–1711) poetics Gottsched made imitation of nature the criterion of poetic expression. As a disciple of Christian Wolff (cf. p. 360) he considered poetry and art as moral and educational agencies. In the tragedy of the ancients as well

as in the neo-classical drama of the epoch of Louis XIV he admired most of all the smoothness and regularity of literary style and artistic form, disregarding altogether the underlying imaginative and emotional elements. Clarity, regularity, and naturalness he considered as the essential requisites of a good piece of literature. Thus, with his widely read *Attempt at a Critical Poesy for the Germans* (1730), published approximately one hundred years after Opitz' poetics (cf. p. 299), he gave evidence that literary criticism in the age of enlightenment was as far removed from the appreciation of the true nature of poetry as it had been in the preceding period of rationalism.

Perusing Gottsched's directions for the composition of a poem or a dramatic plot, it would seem that such a task is beset with few difficulties: "At the outset you must select an instructive moral lesson. . . . Next you must conceive the general outline of certain events in which an action occurs that most distinctly demonstrates the chosen lesson." This having been accomplished, there remains only the simple question: do you wish to turn your idea into a fable, a comedy, a tragedy, or an epic? If a fable, you must give your characters the names of animals; if a comedy, your persons must be burghers; but if a tragedy, you must employ persons of birth, rank, and appearance; and if an epic, "the persons must be the most impressive in the world, such as kings, heroes, and great statesmen, and everything must have a majestic, strange, and wonderful sound." Gottsched's model tragedy, *The Dying Cato* (1732), eclectically pieced together from French and English literary reminiscences, is a practical demonstration of what he considered great dramatic art, and the author encouraged his friends and admiring disciples to proceed along similar lines. Here as in his French models the "three unities" of time, place, and action, as demanded by Boileau, served to combine a swift-moving plot with a streamlined form.

Gottsched's limitations, which were largely those of his age, should not obscure his laudable and successful efforts to purify and ennoble the German language and to improve the repertoire of the German stage. He was as much opposed to the hollow bombast of the *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* as to the coarseness of the popular *Hanswurstiaden,* and the public burning of a *Hanswurst* dummy on Caroline Neuber's stage in Leipzig was an act of symbolic significance in the history of German drama and the German stage. Caroline Neuber (1697–1760) was an actress and directress of discriminating literary taste who performed with her own troupe in Leipzig, Brunswick, Hamburg, Frankfurt on the Main, Vienna, and St. Petersburg (Leningrad). Though in the end she turned against Gottsched, she was one of his most devoted pupils during the years of his greatest influence.

The rule of Gottsched was finally broken and the artificially repressed forces of feeling and imagination restored in their own rights by the critical works of Bodmer and Breitinger, by the advanced literary theories of Lessing, and by the new aesthetic speculation of Baumgarten, Sulzer, and Kant. The Swiss scholars, Jacob Bodmer (1698–1783) and Johann

Breitinger (1701–1776), like Gottsched were interested in the unification and purification of the German language. But by their retrieval of the irrational and emotional impulses of literary creation they freed German literature from the bondage of sterile intellectualism and pointed forward to the movements of "Storm and Stress" and Romanticism. They called the attention of their contemporaries to the great writers of England and especially to John Milton (1608–1674), who in his *Paradise Lost* had created the great religious epic of Puritan idealism. They rediscovered the buried treasures of medieval German literature, above all the works of the *Minnesänger* (cf. p. 155 sq.) and the *Nibelungenlied* (cf. p. 154). And they had the good fortune of seeing their dreams of a German literary revival come true during their own lifetime.

What Bodmer and Breitinger had demanded and hoped for was fulfilled by the critical and creative genius of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781), in whom the movement of German enlightenment found its greatest literary exponent and its conqueror. His penetrating speculation proceeded from the rationalism of Leibniz (cf. p. 358 sqq.) and Mendelssohn (cf. p. 369) to the moralism of Kant (cf. p. 371 sqq.) and anticipated the humanism of Goethe and Schiller (cf. pp. 404–426). As a poet and dramatist he combined Gottsched's clarity of observation and composition with a rich knowledge of life and human nature, as transmitted to him by personal experience and literary exploration. In his critical wisdom and artistic form the major elements of the classical age of German literature are already in evidence. Although the themes and problems of his works were imposed upon him by his age, his queries were phrased with a pointed personal accent and the answers betrayed a courageous independence of thought and an inexhaustible treasury of information.

Lessing was fully aware that, being a child of a rationalistic age, his critical intellect often encroached upon his creative poetic faculties, and in the severe self-analysis that is contained in the final chapter of his *Hamburg Dramaturgy,* he said of himself: "I am neither an actor nor a poet. . . . I do not feel within me the lifespring . . . that by its own force flows richly, freshly, and purely. I have to force everything to the surface as with the aid of a pressure-pump. I would be very poor, cold, and purblind indeed, had I not learned in modesty to borrow from foreign treasures, to warm myself on foreign hearths, to strengthen my vision by making use of the lenses of art."

For Lessing God is identical with the rational order of the universe, and religion is the free affirmation and acceptance of this order. The meaning of individual and social life is realized in the progress from a blind obedience to urges and instincts, to actions that are informed and determined by the law of reason. Supreme reason and perfect morality converge. While Lessing shares most of these convictions with other representatives of the age of enlightenment, he parts company with them when he moves the final goal of human striving from the finite to the infinite: "Not the truth which any

one possesses or supposes to possess, but the sincere endeavor that he has made to arrive at truth, makes the worth of a man. For not by the possession but by the investigation of truth are his powers expanded, wherein alone his ever-growing perfection consists. Possession makes us complacent, indolent, and proud. If God held all truth shut in His right hand, and in His left hand nothing but the ever-restless quest of truth, though with the condition of my erring for ever and ever, and if He should say to me: 'Choose!'—I should bow humbly to His left hand, and say: 'Father, give! Pure truth is for Thee alone!' "

Lessing, the son of a Lutheran pastor, was born in Upper Lusatia and, following the wish of his parents, devoted himself to theological studies at the University of Leipzig. Becoming more and more interested in other disciplines, he turned first to the study of medicine and subsequently to philology and philosophy. From Leipzig, Germany's "little Paris," where he had freely associated with the actors and actresses of Caroline Neuber's troupe, he went to Berlin, the city upon which Frederick the Great had impressed the stamp of his personality, the cultural center of German enlightenment. Together with Moses Mendelssohn and Friedrich Nicolai he edited the *Letters Concerning the Most Recent Literature* (1759–1765). Leading for several years the life of a free-lance writer, he accepted a position as secretary to General von Tauentzien, the governor of Breslau (Silesia) in 1760. In 1767 he received an appointment as dramaturgist and theater critic at the newly founded National Theatre in Hamburg. Although the failure of this ambitious enterprise in the following year left Lessing again without a position, the fruit of his activity as a theater critic, the *Hamburg Dramaturgy,* remains the noblest document of the struggle for the creation of a national stage as the symbol of a growing national consciousness. Lessing's wife, Eva König, whom he married after having been appointed ducal librarian in Wolfenbüttel (Brunswick) in 1769, died in the following year. Lessing himself ended his life in poverty in 1781. He had to be buried at public expense.

In the seventeenth of the *Letters Concerning the Most Recent Literature* Lessing, whom Macaulay has called "the foremost critic of Europe," launched his decisive attack on Gottsched. He blamed Germany's literary dictator for having fostered a type of literature that was foreign to the German temper and mentality. Gottsched, in his blind admiration of the neo-classical drama of France, had lost sight of the genuine classical qualities as they were embodied in ancient Greek tragedy. The misinterpretation of Aristotle's *Poetics* and the slavish observation of the "three unities" had led Gottsched and his followers to a misconception of the nature of tragedy and dramatic art in general. Lessing insisted that "the grand, the terrible, the melancholy appeals more to us [Germans] than the gallant, the delicate, the amorous. . . . He [Gottsched] ought to have followed out this line of thought, and it would have led him straightway to the English stage." Particularly in Shakespeare Lessing found all the depth and grandeur of

the ancients and, in addition, a supreme clarity and rationality that made his tragedies superior to those of Corneille and Racine: "Corneille is nearer the ancients in the outward mechanism, Shakespeare in the vital essence of the drama."

It was in accordance with these convictions that Lessing in the *Hamburg Dramaturgy* (1767) demanded that the action of a play ought to grow out of the structural necessities of the individual characters and that these characters themselves ought to follow their intrinsic laws of self-realization. Corneille's tragic heroes call forth admiration, but the real tragic hero evokes fear and compassion in the heart of the spectator. Only in this way does the truly great tragedy succeed in bringing about the Aristotelian "Catharsis," effecting the purification of human emotions and passions. Of the "three unities" the unity of action is the only one that must be strictly observed, while those of time and place are of minor significance.

When Lessing thus advocated the emancipation of German literature from French influence, he was prompted by the twofold aim of making literature a sensitive instrument of vital contemporary thought, and of giving voice to the hitherto suppressed or subdued forces of the German national temper. There was no element of chauvinism in Lessing's deep love of his native country, its tradition and its culture, and he found it perfectly natural to reconcile his cosmopolitanism with his patriotism.

Lessing's *Laocoön* (1766), having as its object the re-establishment of the intrinsic laws and the specific boundaries of poetry and the plastic arts, is a work of chiefly historical significance. The proposed solutions of a highly complex problem suffer from an oversimplification, caused by the defective knowledge of the art of antiquity that was a characteristic mark of art criticism in Lessing's time. Sculptures of the type of the famous Laocoön group,* now known to be works of the decadent Hellenistic period of Greek art (*c.* 50 B.C.), were considered by Lessing and his contemporaries as prototypes of classical Greek style. Unaware of the fact that Greek statuary at the time of its origin was customarily painted with loud and lively colors, the admirers of antiquity in the eighteenth century praised its plainness as a special virtue and a true symbol of the idealization of human form and feeling.

Lessing bases his critical investigation on a comparison between the agony of Laocoön and his two sons as depicted by the ancient sculptors of Rhodos and by the poet Vergil (70–19 B.C.) in his epic *Aeneid*. He arrives at the conclusion that it is in the nature of the plastic arts to depict its objects *simultaneously in space,* while the art of poetry depicts a *sequence of events in time*. The plastic arts therefore must endeavor to select "the most fruitful moment" to characterize a situation, whereas the poet can afford to evolve an action in successive stages, from its inception to its end. Thus Vergil could describe vividly and minutely the prolonged agony of the Trojan priest without violating the laws of poetry, while the Greek sculptors had to tone down Laocoön's wild outcry to a mere groan of pain. But in exercising this restraint and in choosing "the most fruitful moment" the plastic artists have been able to achieve an identical effect in their own proper medium of expression.

* The Laocoön group represents a Trojan priest with his two sons in the deadly embrace of two serpents which have been sent by the goddess Pallas Athene to avenge the disclosure of the presence of the "Trojan horse," in which were hidden the Greek warriors who were to open the city gates of Troy to the besieging armies outside the city walls. The Laocoön group was discovered in the palace of Emperor Titus in Rome in 1506 and is now in the Vatican Museum.

Lessing's dramatic works are ingenious applications and exemplifications of his artistic theories. *Minna von Barnhelm* (1763), Germany's first and foremost classical comedy, reflects the ethical and political climate of the age of Frederick the Great and the Seven Years' War (cf. p. 314). In Goethe's judgment it is a work of typically North German character, "the first dramatic creation of vital significance and specifically modern content." The plot is woven around the concept of soldierly virtue, the conflicts arising from the struggle between love and honor, feminine cunning and masculine stubbornness. It is comedy in that highest sense in which tragedy looms as an ever present possibility, and the solution follows from the inherent nobility and gentle wisdom of the leading characters. The logical structure of the play and the final victory of reason over emotions and passions are in line with the enlightened philosophy of its author.

Five years after the completion of *Minna von Barnhelm* Lessing presented Germany with her first classical tragedy. *Emilia Galotti* (1772), a modern version of the story of the Roman heroine Virginia,* is a fearless indictment of the moral corruption of the princely representatives of absolutism, marking the incipient revolt of the middle class against petty tyranny and social inequality. The integrity of the human soul is rated as of higher value than life itself. Carefully observing the conventional unities of time, place, and action, the play is a technical masterpiece of artistic economy and stylistic precision. It illustrates effectively the practicability of the author's theoretical views as expressed in the *Hamburg Dramaturgy*.

A poetic sequel to Lessing's edition of Reimarus' *Fragments* (cf. p. 374), and the greatest literary manifestation of the religious ideology of German enlightenment, is the drama *Nathan the Wise* (1779). In pleading the cause of religious toleration in the dialectic form of the drama, Lessing wrote the final chapter of his heated controversy with Pastor Goeze of Hamburg who had suspected him of being the author of the *Fragments* and had repeatedly attacked him for his supposed antireligious radicalism. When the threat of censorship made it impossible for Lessing to continue the controversy in the accustomed form of the literary tract and pamphlet, he returned to "his old pulpit," the stage, and wrote the story of Nathan, the Jewish sage.

The thesis of the play is most clearly expressed in the Parable of the

* Virginia, according to the legend, was killed by her father, the Roman tribune Virginius (*c.* 450 B.C.), to save her from being dishonored.

Three Rings which Lessing had found in Boccaccio's *Decameron* but which was first recorded in the medieval *Gesta Romanorum* (*Deeds of the Romans*), compiled by the monk Helinand at the end of the twelfth century. The fable tells of a ring, endowed with the magic power of rendering its bearer "pleasing to God and men." The ring is in the possession of a family whose members have passed it on from generation to generation, the father in each case willing it before his death to his favorite son, and thereby making his heir the master of the house. In the course of time it happens that the genuineness of the ring is called in question by three brothers whose father, loving each of his sons with an impartial affection, has committed the pious fraud of bequeathing to two of them perfect duplicates of the original ring. The judge to whom the brothers submit their case arrives at the conclusion that by their envy and discord they have proven that none of them could possibly have inherited the original ring with its inherent magic power. But while the ring itself may have been lost, its power may still be made effective if each of the three sons will endeavor to redeem its promises by a life of noble thoughts and deeds, by love for God and men. In other words, it is Lessing's conviction that Judaism (Nathan), Mohammedanism (Sultan Saladin), and Christianity (the Knight Templar) can best prove the validity of their respective claims to the possession of truth by the justice and charity that informs the lives of those who profess these different creeds. True faith, Lessing implies, manifests itself in good and noble conduct.

The religious philosophy that underlies Lessing's polemic treatment of the claims of the world religions is that of Deism (cf. p. 356 sq.). "Nathan's opposition to every kind of positive religion has always been my own," says the author of this play. Dogmas and revelations appear to him as crutches and atavisms of a less enlightened age, impeding true toleration and the realization of a truly humane morality and culture.

Lessing's critical and poetic efforts were at one and the same time revolutionary and conservative. He was progressive in his admiration and appreciation of Shakespeare, whose metrical form he adopted in the five-feet iambics of his "Nathan," thereby establishing a metrical norm for German classical drama. But he remained faithful to the great literary tradition of the ancients in his adherence to the formal principles of Aristotle whom he reinterpreted for his contemporaries and successors. The rules and laws of poetry and drama, in which he believed and which he defended, were never to infringe upon the creative freedom of the poet and artist: they were merely to act as tools and means to the end of poetic perfection. In his own work he demonstrated convincingly that the artistic genius is not the slave of rules but their master.

i) *Historiography.* It had been Machiavelli's (see p. 247 sq.) contention that the course of political and social history was determined by the prudent use of power and organization. If that was true, then politics was an art that could be learned and could gradually be developed into a science.

It was from Machiavelli that the great historians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries accepted the principle of what is called "pragmatic" historiography. It becomes the task of the historian to describe and explain psychologically the purposive actions of individuals in different ages in order to enlarge the scope of political experience and to provide guiding rules for the calculation and formation of future events. In this way the past history of the human race appears as a summation of rationally integrated occurrences and its future almost as a mathematical problem. The development of a strictly scientific method was to make it possible to proceed from one securely established truth to the next, all of them testifying and contributing to the optimistic belief in the solidarity and infinite perfectibility of mankind.

In contrast to the medieval concept of universal history the *Kulturgeschichte* and *Universalhistorie* of the eighteenth century pictured as the meaning and final goal of the history of mankind not the realization of the Augustinian "City of God," but the *"église philosophique"* (philosophical church) of enlightened minds, of an "educated" mankind. This kind of reasoning underlies the great historical works of Montesquieu (*De l'esprit des lois,* 1748), Voltaire (*Essai sur l'histoire générale,* 1754–1758), Hume (*History of England,* 1754–1763), Gibbon (*History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* 1782–1788), Frederick the Great (*On Customs, Habits, Industry, and the Progress of the Human Mind in Arts and Sciences,* 1750), and Friedrich Schiller (*History of the Revolt of the Netherlands,* 1788; *History of the Thirty Years' War,* 1790–1792). All these writers considered their task from a scientific as well as artistic point of view and were eager to discover such "laws" as might enable them to predict and predetermine the future course of European history. They were all rationalists and pragmatists, no longer satisfied, however, with becoming the teachers of politicians but animated by the higher ambition of becoming the teachers of mankind. Like the rationalistic philosophers and poets they disregarded or underestimated the significance of the forces of imagination, emotion, and passion in human life and human history. They conceived of the human race as a homogeneous mass of individuals, considering the social, political, and national divisions as so many artificial and unnecessary barriers to universal understanding and mutual enlightenment. Their high esteem for the art and civilization of antiquity caused them to invent the unhistorical tripartition of history — Antiquity, Middle Ages, Renaissance — which afterward became a widely accepted scheme, and in which the intermediate "middle" age was described as a defection from the lofty heights of ancient culture, as a dark era of barbarism and superstition.

The inadequacy of the rationalistic and pragmatic approach to historical phenomena was first realized by Herder (1744–1803, cf. p. 396 sq.), who like Kant and Lessing was himself a child of the age of enlightenment and like them rose far above its limited perspective. He agreed with the

pragmatic historians that the history of mankind was marked by a steady progress from the childhood stage of the Oriental civilizations to the adolescence and maturity of Greece and Rome, and the senility of the "dark ages." He, too, pleaded the cause of the education of mankind to true humanity, harmony, and happiness. But at the same time he recognized the relative significance and uniqueness of each historic epoch in its own rights, thereby debunking the myth of universal and infinite progress. With his emphasis on the "folk spirit" (*Volksgeist*) that causes the organic unfolding of aboriginal character traits in different ethnic groups of peoples, he anticipated the nationalistic ideologies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and furnished the spiritual weapons for the struggle for "national self-determination." For him every social, corporative, or national unit is more than a summation of its individual members: it is an organism of its own, following an inborn law of genetic and generic evolution. In this way the mechanical theory of State and society had to give way to the organic idea of cultural folk communities (*Kulturgemeinschaften*).

For Herder the unity and harmony of the human race was continuously realized in the concrete and manifold individual and social entities of human history. In his historical masterpiece that bears the title *Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind* (1784–1791) he demanded that no preconceived standard of measurement should be applied to any past epoch, event, or individuality, but that every such phenomenon be judged according to its own internal structure and the specific conditions and laws of its growth. Giving due consideration to the natural and spiritual forces of cultural formation, to climate and soil as much as to the several faculties of the human body and soul and to their symbolic manifestation in legend, song, and dance, in mythology, folklore, and religion, he led away from the generalizations of his age and became the intellectual ancestor of the historical spirit of the nineteenth century.

In the narrower circle of the provincial social conditions of his native Westphalia, Justus Möser (1720–1794), historiographer, statesman, and sociologist, followed a similar train of thought and arrived at similar conclusions. In England Edmund Burke (1729–1797), leader of the Whigs in the House of Commons and author of the *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), like Möser combined the political and social philosophy of enlightenment with the ideals of a new humanism. Möser considered a healthy and contented peasantry as the safest foundation of a prosperous State, and Burke, though a severe critic of the spirit and methods of the French Revolution, fought gallantly for the ideals of justice, liberty, and humanity. He was opposed to the exploitation of East India, to the burden of taxation imposed on the American colonies, to England's anti-Catholic legislation, and to the policy of oppression in Ireland. He reaffirmed the right of resistance against unlawful authority, but blamed the French revolutionists for having violated the duty of loyalty to the law of nature and the values embodied in sound tradition.

Both Möser and Burke weighed concrete realities and the complexity of

human nature against the simplifications of abstract theories, trying to reestablish true liberty and human dignity on the solid rock of the natural law. Both men exercised a decisive influence on the political philosophy of the German Romanticists (cf. p. 470 sqq.) and presented the most valid arguments to the leaders of the counterrevolution and political restoration that followed the defeat of Napoleon. It was Friedrich Gentz (1764–1832), later on Prince Metternich's (cf. p. 461 sq.) right-hand man and one of the chief exponents of the political restoration movement, who in his earlier years had translated and annotated Burke's *Reflections* (1793), thereby popularizing in Germany one of the great classics of political literature and philosophy. Equally strong at the beginning of the nineteenth century was the influence of the political theories of Joseph de Maistre (1754–1821), the French statesman and philosopher, who vigorously and intelligently defended Church and State, the traditional authorities, against the ideas of 1789. But, at the same time, he recognized in the French Revolution a work of Providence and an inevitable result of historical constellations. What distinguished all these men from the representatives of a strictly rationalistic and pragmatic historiography was their closeness to life and their realization of the organic and genetic continuity of historic evolution.

j) *The Natural Sciences.* The methods of experimentation, measurement, and factual observation, as inaugurated by Galilei (cf. p. 275) and Bacon (cf. p. 356), led to several phenomenal discoveries in the natural sciences in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Enlightenment and natural sciences were linked by many bonds of common interest and agreed essentially in their philosophical premises. France and England, the leading political powers, and to a lesser degree Italy, assumed leadership also in scientific research, while in Germany the scientific endeavors of individuals and institutions were in the main dilettantic rather than systematic. The French *Académie des Sciences* (1666) and *Ecole Polytechnique* (1794), and the English *Royal Academy* (1682) had become the centers of scientific research. In Germany, too, a number of scientific academies were founded, but none of them could compare with their sister institutions abroad. While the English scientists remained always conscious of the limitations of the experimental method, French science in the age of enlightenment suffered from its implicit trust in the materialistic and mechanistic presuppositions of the prevalent philosophy. In Germany a more or less clear realization of the insufficiency of a mechanistic conception of nature led at the turn of the century to the rise of "nature philosophy" (cf. p. 501). This "nature philosophy," born of the protest of the spirit against the claims of materialism, bore rich though somewhat strange fruit in the speculation of the Romanticists (cf. p. 470 sqq.), but in turn acted as a powerful stimulus for the great scientific discoveries of the nineteenth century.

As far as the individual sciences are concerned, the German-speaking countries produced in the eighteenth century a large number of brilliant scientists in various fields. Leonhard Euler (1707–1783), the great mathematician and native of German Switzerland, who taught at the Academies

of Berlin and St. Petersburg, and several members of the scholarly Bernoulli family of Basel (Switzerland) provided the theoretical bases for Laplace's astronomical speculation. Friedrich Wilhelm Herschel (1738–1822), a German musicologist and astronomer, constructed several giant telescopes and became widely known for his discovery of the planet Uranus. At about the same time the Italian Lagrange (1736–1813) and the Frenchman Arago (1786–1853) had made their important contributions to optics and astronomical physics.

The Italians Galvani (1738–1798) and Volta (1745–1827), the Frenchman Ampère (1775–1836), the Englishmen Davy (1778–1829) and Faraday (1791–1867), and the Dane Oerstedt (1777–1851) discovered the electrical currents and became the founders of the sciences of electrodynamics, electrochemistry, and electromagnetism. As early as 1663 the German physician Otto von Guericke (1602–1686) had constructed an electrical machine and observed the phenomena of electrical repulsion, conductivity, and induction. The same scholar invented the water barometer that proved the dependence of the weather on atmospheric pressure, and the air pump which utilized the new knowledge of the materiality and dilatation of the air. In 1654 Guericke had demonstrated the phenomenon of atmospheric pressure before the Diet of Regensburg, using two hollow hemispheres, one yard in diameter, which, after the air had been pumped out, could not be pulled apart by twenty-four horses.

The analyses of water and air, based on the experiments of the Englishmen Priestley (1733–1804) and Cavendish (1731–1810) and the Swedish apothecary Scheele (1742–1786), led to the discovery of oxygen and other gases and acids, opening up new possibilities for chemical research. In the first decade of the nineteenth century the chemistry of gases was systematically developed by the French chemist and physicist Gay-Lussac (1778–1850).

Medical science made rapid progress, especially in the field of surgery, after the widespread opposition to anatomical dissection had finally been overcome. Even in the middle of the seventeenth century the knowledge of the anatomy of the human body was in such a primitive stage that the court physicians of one of the margraves of Baden had to carry on lengthy disputes in their endeavor to determine the location of their distinguished patient's heart. The dissection of a pig was finally decided upon to arrive at a solution of the problem by way of analogy.

The earliest work on human anatomy, and for a long time the only one of its kind that was based on results obtained by the dissection of human corpses, was written by Andreas Vesalius of Padua (1514–1564), who thereby undermined the hitherto unquestioned authority of Galenus. It was not until two centuries later, in the age of enlightenment, that Vesalius' fellow countryman, Morgagni (1682–1771), established pathological anatomy as an independent science, laying the foundations for organographic diagnostics and scientific surgery. Gerard van Swieten (1700–1772), the court physician of Empress Maria Theresa, a pupil of Hermann Boerhaave (1668–1738) of the University of Leyden (Holland) where he conducted the first

modern clinic, became the founder of the older Viennese school of medical and clinical science. In 1784 Emperor Joseph II established in the same city the *"Josephinum,"* an academy for military surgery, and the General Hospital with maternity ward and foundling house, a model institution that for a long time remained without parallel in Europe.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century pathological physiology was almost in as rudimentary a stage as pathological anatomy. The so-called "ontological" school of physiology explained disease by assuming the presence of independent organisms in the human body. This misconception was first successfully attacked and disproven by the English physician John Hunter (1728–1793), the founder of experimental pathology.

The mechanistic ideas of the French rationalists affected profoundly the physiological views of the eighteenth century. Human metabolism was compared with a hydraulic machine, the organs of respiration with a pair of bellows, the entrails with sieves. Medical science in its entirety was frequently conceived of as a mechanico-mathematical discipline. The many crudities of this physiological materialism found their counterpart in an increasing interest in mysterious and occult forces that were to afford an outlet for suppressed emotional and spiritual urges.

Kant was convinced of the therapeutic force and function of reason, and he wrote an essay in which he tried to demonstrate the "power of the human mind to gain mastery over one's pathological states by a mere firm resolution." But many of his contemporaries substituted for reason and mind a mysterious "live-force" which they endowed with the faculty of working all kinds of miracles. Galvani's experiments with frog legs and the explanation of the irritability and sensitivity of muscles and nerves as presented by the German scientist and poet Albrecht von Haller (1708–1777), gave rise to fantastic speculations as to the possibility of reviving the dead by irritation of the muscular and nervous systems. The German physician Franz Anton Mesmer (1734–1815), the discoverer of animal magnetism, believed in the presence of magnetic fluids and currents in all physical organisms, which might be used for therapeutic purposes. "Mesmerism" was adopted in certain quarters as a philosophy of life which was designed to elucidate the interrelations that exist between the different parts and beings of the universe, between macrocosm and microcosm. From Vienna, where the authorities looked with disfavor upon Mesmer's growing clientele, he went to Paris, where his miraculous cures attracted the attention of the sensation loving aristocracy on the eve of the French Revolution.

Likewise a strange combination of scientist and theosophist was the Swedish philosopher Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772), the founder of the "Church of the New Jerusalem," whose doctrines were ridiculed in Kant's *Dreams of a Visionary* (1766). He speculated on the interrelation of body and soul and the prophetic significance of dreams and, at the same time, worked out a coherent mechanico-rationalistic system of nature philosophy. He claimed to have received direct revelations of supernatural

truths by means of his constant intercourse with the spirit world. Swedenborg was the founder of the science of crystallography, and Mesmer was the first European physician of rank who taught and applied the methods of what became later known as hypnotic suggestion, psychotherapy, psychopathology, parapsychology, and psychoanalysis.

From his own autobiography and from Goethe's sympathetic description in the ninth book of *Poetry and Truth* we gain an intimate knowledge of the charming personality of Johann Jung-Stilling (1740–1817), a writer of pietistic leanings, a political economist and physician by profession. He, too, claimed direct intercourse with the spirits of the departed and was at home in the mystico-theosophical dreamlands of Paracelsus (cf. p. 273) and Jacob Böhme (cf. p. 270).

The Saxon physician Friedrich Hahnemann (1755–1843), likewise opposed to the current materialism of medical science, became the founder of homoeopathy, characterized by the attempt at effecting cures by the application of medicaments which produce in the human body symptoms similar to those of the disease: treating constipation with laxatives and acidosis with alcalizing agents. Vaccination against malignant pustules and smallpox, first practiced by the English country doctor, Edward Jenner (1749–1773), was a direct application of the therapeutic principles of homoeopathy.

Hahnemann's *Organon of Practical Medicine* (1810) became the classical handbook of all homoeopathists. His influence extended to England and North America, and some of his disciples opened the first homoeopathic institute in Philadelphia, forming the nucleus of the foundation of the Hahnemann College (1848) with its several hospitals and policlinics. In Washington, D. C., a public monument was erected in Hahnemann's honor.

Abraham Werner (1749–1817), the "father of geology," who taught at the internationally famous mining academy at Freiberg in Saxony, was the chief defender of the theory of "Neptunism," trying to relate all geological formations and changes to oceanic influences. His views exercised a certain fascination on Goethe's scientific theories as well as on the Romantic nature philosophy of Novalis (cf. p. 476), H. Steffens (1773–1845), and Franz von Baader (1765–1841). The "Neptunist" theory was refuted by the English geologist James Hutton (1726–1797), whose "Plutonism" explained geological transformations as the results of volcanic influences.

In the field of biology William Harvey's (1578–1657) hitherto accepted theory of organic evolution or preformation, maintaining the generation of plants and animals from original constitutional dispositions of species, was opposed in the eighteenth century by Friedrich Wolff's (1733–1794) theory of postformation or epigenesis which taught the spontaneous generation of new organisms from unorganized matter. Both theories were combined in the early twentieth century in Hans Driesch's (1867–1941) concept of "epigenetic evolution," according to which an organism is the result of the activation of constitutional dispositions, under the influence of biological factors and environmental conditions.

Chapter 12

GERMAN CLASSICAL IDEALISM

Germany and the Classical Heritage. The "European tradition" had its intellectual roots as much in the culture of antiquity as in the more recent forces of Christianity which superseded the former but never entirely abrogated this ancient legacy. The German tradition, on the other hand, showed itself opposed at several junctures to the smooth formalism and placid equilibrium of classical antiquity, asserting the irrational and mystical impulses of its own psychological and racial heritage. The first real synthesis of Graeco-Roman, Christian, and Germanic culture was embodied in the Carolingian Renaissance (cf. p. 51 sqq.), while the second European classical revival in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries met with little response on the part of Germany. The religious dynamism of the Lutheran Reformation clashed with the worldly spirit of the Italian Renaissance, and the academic classicism of seventeenth-century France, though feebly imitated in Germany, evoked there at the same time the anticlassical movements of Pietism (cf. p. 364 sqq.), Sentimentalism, and "Storm and Stress." It was not until the latter part of the eighteenth century that the spiritual unrest of the German mind succeeded in achieving a classical harmony and perfection of its own stamp, a cultural and intellectual pattern that resulted from such an ideal blend of form and content as hitherto had only been realized by the singular artistic genius of Dürer (cf. p. 197) and Holbein (cf. p. 197 sq.). But this German classicism was so much a creation of the Germanic race that to this day it appears to prominent literary critics of France and England as unclassical to such an extent that they prefer to call it "Romanticism," grouping it together with the European romantic movement of the early nineteenth century.

The Revolution of Feeling. The classical writers and thinkers of Germany without exception experienced in their youth the influence of Rousseau (cf. p. 376), the European apostle of a new emotionalism, who became the leader of a whole generation in their revolt against the despotism of reason. To Descartes's *"exister c'est penser"* (to exist means to think) Rousseau opposed the slogan *"exister c'est sentir"* (to exist means to feel), calling attention to the neglected powers of will and heart and thereby challenging the complacency of an artificially organized society. For the individualism of rational human beings he substituted an individualism of

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sensitive hearts and souls. By making the feeling ego the final authority in life and culture he completed the victory of modern subjectivism, rehabilitating the inwardness of sentiment and fancy in the plastic and literary arts and rediscovering the landscape as a mirror of the human soul.

With Rousseau the German classicists started out by affirming strongly the right of nature to assert itself, but they ultimately supplemented and sublimated his message by the demand that nature be perfected by means of human reason and moral action. With Rousseau they shared the conviction that modern civilization had destroyed the fullness and oneness of human nature, but while Rousseau expected the restoration of its original integrity from a return to a primitive state of life, his German disciples pointed forward to the superior culture and the true humanity of a future day and age, to be ushered in by great personalities in whom the faculties of reason, will, and emotions would be reconciled.

Both Herder and Schiller advanced in their constructive criticism beyond Rousseau's one-sided anticultural pessimism, by their contention that civilization, by virtue of its own inherent vitality, could heal the wounds that it had struck. It was their belief that only a sham civilization could harm the integrity of human nature, but that a genuine and fully grown civilization would necessarily lead human nature to its true perfection. And Goethe more than anyone else exemplified in his life as much as in his works the fact that modern man, on his passage through ever rising planes of cultural education, through self-realization and intellectual discipline, could in the end attain to the reborn naïveté of pristine nature. Thus a "beautiful soul" for Goethe and Schiller was a human personality in which the faculties of intellect, will, and emotions were brought to complete harmony.

a) Sentimentalism (*"Empfindsamkeit"*). The growing importance of the middle classes in the eighteenth century brought about certain changes in the general intellectual, moral, and literary standards and ideals of the age. German culture and literature were no longer dominated by theological or dynastic social and communal interests but became more and more saturated with the individual experiences and concerns of average human beings. A happy and contented human life on this earth became the ideal goal of individual and social striving. This preoccupation with individual life sharpened the eye for the intimate psychological observation and description of human existence and the development of human characters.

Keen introspection, psychological reflection, and self-analysis are clearly manifested in the poetry and fiction of the first half of the eighteenth century and particularly in the sentimental novel, which was imported to Germany from England. Lawrence Sterne's (1713–1768) *Tristram Shandy* and *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy by Mr. Yorick* were translated into German and infested the German sentimental and romantic novel with their emotional exuberance and somewhat scurrilous humor. James Thomson's (1700–1748) *Seasons,* with its detailed description of nature, found an echo in Haydn's oratorio (1801) of the same title, and

Samuel Richardson's (1689–1761) sentimental novels moved Christian Gellert (cf. p. 349) so deeply that he "was drowned with weeping," that he "sobbed with infinite joy" and considered Richardson a magician who commanded "all that is touching and overwhelming, enrapturing and intoxicating." Rapture and intoxication his English and German readers found in Edward Young's (1683–1765) gloomy *Night Thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality* (1742–1745) and in James Macpherson's (1736–1796) romantic *Poems of Ossian* (1760–1764) which the Scottish poet falsely advertised as translations of the songs of a Gaelic bard of the third century A.D. Young's nature poetry and Macpherson's sentimental melancholy assumed a new and more vigorous life in Klopstock's odes and Goethe's *Sorrows of Young Werther* (cf. p. 409 sq.).

The sentimentalism that pervades these literary documents, bordering at times on exhibitionism, represented a violent reaction against the conventional and authoritarian culture of Rococo and princely absolutism and has its center in the self-assertion of the individual and his experiences. Letters, diaries, and memoirs became the favorite literary vehicles of personal confession and self-portrayal. All at once the German language lost its stilted artificiality, assuming color and expressive vigor. The science of physiognomics became for Johann Kaspar Lavater (1741–1801) the key that unlocked the sacred shrine of human personality, its riches, its mysteries, its unlimited potentialities. The feeling of universal friendship and brotherhood wove sentimental ties between all members of the human race, between man and nature, between nature and God, and nature itself became the intimate confidant of all sentimental souls: the gentle element that soothes and liberates, that heals and makes man whole and holy again. Thought, speculation, and practical demonstration were all dissolved in the waves of feeling, mystical affection and devotion, and awe-inspired exaltation.

b) Friedrich Gottlob Klopstock (*1724–1803*). Though an "apprentice of the Greeks" in the metrical form of his lyric poetry, Klopstock was a typical poet of the Germanic North, as far as the spirit and content of his works is concerned. His "expressionistic" style was the medium of his emotion and passion and showed little of the neo-classical "noble simplicity and quiet grandeur." However, in the midst of the sweet and sentimental trivialities of the anacreontic and pietistic poets his work represents another milestone on the road to classical German literature, and with his solemn conviction of the religious, social, and national significance of poetry, he restored to the realm of German letters dignity of form and sublimity of subject matter.

When the first three cantos of his *Messiah* were published in 1748, Klopstock was joyously acclaimed and adopted as Germany's first and foremost poet in modern times. Although the author of this religious poem was influenced in the choice of his theme by Milton's (1608–1674) religious epics, the twenty cantos of the completed work resemble in composition and style more the musical form of the oratorio than the epical narrative of its

English model. The poem is greatest in its lyric and dramatic passages and lacks the plasticity, concreteness, and individuality of objective and descriptive literary forms. In conformity with the Lutheran dogmatic premises of the work the human nature of Christ is completely submerged in the divine attributes of the Redeemer. What interests the author primarily is not so much Christ's passion and death, viewed as historic occurrences, but rather the psychological effects of the work of redemption on human souls, on angels, and on demons.

The characteristic features of the *Messiah* reappear in Klopstock's Odes and in his dramatic attempts. The positive and negative qualities of his poetry are well defined in Friedrich Schiller's critical appraisal: "His sphere is always the realm of ideas, and he makes everything lead up to the infinite. One might say that he deprives everything that he touches of its body in order to turn it into spirit, whereas other poets clothe everything spiritual with a body." God and immortality are the central themes of most of Klopstock's works, and they are all permeated with the conviction of the infinite value of the immortal human soul. Everything earthly and material is seen and evaluated from the point of view of eternity, and his devotion to nature is an eloquent testimony to the omnipresence and omnipotence of the divine spirit, manifesting itself in the circling stars of the skies, in the rhythmic cycles of the seasons, and in the elemental forces of nature. It is Klopstock's historic accomplishment to have freed the German language from the bondage of a sterile rhetorical intellectualism and to have made it a pliant medium for the direct lyrical expression of the impulses and experiences of the individual human soul.

c) Hamann and the "Storm and Stress" Movement. The modern individualistic trend that had found its first powerful manifestation in the Italian Renaissance and in the German Reformation was carried to extreme conclusions by the generation that succeeded that of Lessing and Klopstock. While the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had still recognized a universal and divinely sanctioned law and order for mankind, the age of Enlightenment had set up humanity or its individual representatives as ends in themselves, so that ultimately man could be proclaimed as the measure of all things. The history of human civilization appeared as a dialectic struggle between individual and superindividual norms, the great epochs of history resulting from the harmonization of individual and social claims, and the epochs of decline revealing their maladjustment and open antagonism. No longer did the individual recognize himself as an integral part of a universal order, but he conceived of himself as an autonomous being whose innate law and individual nature set him apart, in sharp contrast to his age and social environment. In France the revolt of the individual and his victory was decided in the political arena; in Germany the scene of action was the realm of letters, and the victorious forces that were destined to assume the intellectual leadership of their nation were recruited from the awakening middle classes.

In 1760 a small pamphlet was published, bearing the somewhat obscure title *Socratic Memoirs*. Its author was Johann Georg Hamann (1730–1788), the "Magus of the North," who in sibylline language and in glowing colors painted the image of the sage of Antiquity as the true prototype of a great human personality. What were the essential features of this new and ideal type of man, of this new Socrates in whom the age of enlightenment had already seen the precursor of its own aspirations? For Hamann the new Socrates was a genuine product of creative nature, a genius who was impelled by the irresistible dictates of the "daimon" in his own breast, a being predestined from eternity to tragic conflict, to suffering, and death. In his exemplary greatness this new man resembled the heroes of Greek tragedy whose valor was derived from the mysterious depths of their divine origin and from the unconscious forces of nature. With this new concept of human personality Hamann dealt the deathblow to the arrogant humanitarianism and the complacency of the enlightened *"philosophes."* He gained the attention and enthusiastic following of the younger generation, out of whose ranks were to emerge the classical representatives of German culture and literature in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The literary revolution crystallized in the poems and dramas of the "Storm and Stress" (*Sturm und Drang*) movement, which derived its name from the title of one of Maximilian Klinger's (1752–1831) plays. With all "Storm and Stress" poets Rousseau's antirationalism and anticultural pessimism became a kind of obsession. But if Rousseau with his call "Back to Nature!" had indicted a corrupt social system and, in "Emile" and the "Nouvelle Héloïse," had tried to vindicate human emotions and passions, the writers who gathered around Herder and Goethe in Strasbourg mistook anarchy for freedom and arbitrariness for naturalness. Their aesthetic revolution was therefore essentially destructive, aimed, as it were, at all rule and authority and glorifying sensuality, voluptuousness, and the rule of instincts untrammeled. Their total lack of intellectual and moral bearings makes them crave for movement for the sake of movement. The hero of Klinger's "Sturm und Drang," about to join the American Revolution as a volunteer, gives vent to the restlessness and rootlessness of this "lost generation," when he exclaims: "Nowhere rest, nowhere repose . . . glutted by impulse and power . . . I am going to take part in this campaign. . . . There I can expand my soul, and if they do me the favor to shoot me down—all the better." For Wilhelm Heinse's (1749–1803) *Ardinghello,* passion, lust, and crime are necessary and legitimate forms of human life. The only true virtue is power, and weakness is the only real crime.

It would be difficult indeed to read any meaning into this squandering of youthful enthusiasm and poetic talent, if it were not for the fact that it was the historical function of the "Storm and Stress" poets to break up and fertilize the soil which was to nourish the genius of Herder, Goethe, and Schiller. In all the misspent energy and ill-directed idealism of this generation there was the spark of the undying vitality of youth and at

the same time a spontaneity and radicalism that were needed as much for destruction as for regeneration.

"What is genius?" asks Lavater in his *Physiognomic Fragments* (1775–1778), and he answers: "Where there are efficiency, power, action, thought, feeling which can be neither learned nor taught by men—there is genius. Genius is what is essentially unlearned, unborrowed, unlearnable, untransferable, what is unique, inimitable, and divine. . . . Genius flashes; genius creates . . . ; it is inimitability, momentaneity, revelation. . . ." Taking this definition as a standard of measurement, none but Herder, Goethe, and Schiller lived up to its requisites.

The "Storm and Stress" poets' cult of Shakespeare was almost a case of mistaken identity: Shakespeare was of course not the "uncultivated genius," who disregarded artistic rules and aesthetic laws, but he was the great master who used them as tools and servile organs of a thoroughly disciplined artistic mind.

*d) Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803).** Out of Rousseau's glorification of the forces of primitive nature and out of Hamann's understanding of human personality and creative genius, Herder was able to evolve his own concept of the organic growth of human civilization, from its dark and unconscious beginnings to its mature intellectual documentation in distinct national cultures. As Hamann's most faithful disciple Herder made his own the definition of poetry as "the mother-tongue of the human race." Language appeared to him as a sublime symbol of the human mind, a genuine expression of the spirit of nations, races, and cultures that achieved its purest manifestation in the works of poetry and literature. Together with language and literature, however, he conceived of art, religion, philosophy, law, and custom as direct objectivations and realizations of the lives, instincts, environments, and living conditions of the peoples and nations of the past and present. The "inner form" that worked as an immanent, active principle in poetry and art was born of the spirit of the age; it tolerated no longer the imitation of obsolete styles of the past but demanded original creation born of the experiences of the living generations. In this way he visualized Homer, Luther, Shakespeare, and other great leaders and innovators in the realms of arts, letters, and human thought not only as autonomous personalities but at the same time as true representatives and mouthpieces of the spirit of their age, their people, and their material and spiritual environments. The fundamental unity of the genius and his maternal native soil, race, and cultural heritage was discovered, emphatically asserted by Herder, and transmitted to his great contemporaries of the

* Herder was born in Mohrungen (East Prussia), came under Kant's influence at the University of Königsberg (1762) where he studied medicine, theology, philosophy, and philology. From 1764–1769 he was employed as teacher and preacher at the Protestant cathedral school in Riga. In Strasbourg (1770) he associated with Goethe, who later on was influential in bringing about Herder's appointment as general superintendent (of the Church) in Weimar. His last years were embittered by his controversies with Kant and his estrangement from Goethe.

classical age and to the nineteenth century. His disciples and heirs could no longer consider poetry, literature, and art as a pleasant or inspiring pastime: he taught them to understand their endeavors and the finished products of their creative minds as the fruits of the innermost essence of individual and social forces in a given historical situation. Thus literary history was destined to become part and parcel of the history of the human mind and soul, and Rousseau's anticultural pessimism was sublimated and overcome by a joyous acknowledgment of the ever changing plenitude and diversity of intellectual forms and patterns. The immeasurably enlarged vision was enabled to travel far back into the German and European past, to extend its view into an anticipated future, and to survey the panorama of world literature from the static center of a new national consciousness.

It was thus a rare combination of great gifts—those of the philosopher, critic, and poet—that made it possible for Herder to perceive and correct the shortcomings of both Enlightenment and "Storm and Stress," to become the mentor of the young Goethe and the teacher of the writers and thinkers of the classical and romantic periods.

Among Herder's critical and poetic works the following deserve special mention as documents of the perspicacity and universality of his mind: in the *Travel-Journal* (*Reisejournal,* 1769) we discover the fruit of his early preoccupation with the problems of aesthetics, poetry, and pedagogy. He points to a new and true Humanism of the future, speculates on the basic requisites of a liberal constitution for the state of Livonia, and dreams of a renascence of Russo-Slavic civilization. In his *Fragments Concerning the More Recent German Literature* (1767) he continues and supplements the critical analyses of Lessing's *Literaturbriefe* (cf. p. 381). He dwells especially on the significance of poetic rhythm, meter, and style, and describes the evolution of literary expression from its primitive and timid origins in inarticulate sound to an intellectual maturity that subjects emotionalism and metaphorical imagery to order and rational law: a change and cyclical movement that recurs in each national organism and that regularly is marked by the gradual displacement of poetry by prose, leading eventually to abstract intellectualism and sterile rationalism. In comparing cultural and literary growth with the evolution of biological species, passing through the successive stages of primitivity, maturity, and death, only to make room for new beginnings, Herder anticipated Hegel's (cf. p. 502 sq.) "dialectical philosophy" of history as well as Spengler's (1880–1936)* theory of "cultural cycles."

The "Letters for the Promotion of Humanity" (*Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität,* 1793–1797) contain Herder's condemnation of the vice of national pride which he considered "the greatest of all follies." "Education for humanity" is to bring about the harmonization of the natural, the moral, and the divine, culminating in the final reconciliation of Antiquity

* Cf. Oswald Spengler: *The Decline of the West* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1939), trans. from the German: *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (München, 1917; 1932).

and Christianity. In collaboration with Goethe and the historian and statesman Justus Möser (1720–1794) Herder published the essays "On German Arts and Customs" (*Von deutscher Art und Kunst,* 1773), to which he contributed his profound studies on Ossian and Shakespeare. He calls attention to the buried treasures of folk poetry and designates the comprehension and interpretation of actual life as the essential function of literature.

To demonstrate the validity of his theories in a practical way Herder displayed in his collection of folk songs and ballads (*Stimmen der Völker,* 1778–1779) the poetic products of the creative "*Volksgeist*" of many nations and races. His poetic intuition faithfully preserves the spirit of the originals, in word, rhythm, and melody, and he shows himself as one of the great masters in the art of translation. It was perhaps his great versatility and flexibility as much as his strongly developed historical sense that deprived his own poetic creations of originality and lasting significance. He lives on as an inspired and inspiring seer, teacher, and pioneer, a leader into a promised land in which others might reap what he had sown.

Neo-Classicism and the New Humanism. Herder appears in his full and imposing stature when viewed as the standard-bearer in the momentous struggle that was being waged in Germany's classical age against meaningless conventions and the barrenness of an icy intellectualism. What he expected from the rebirth of a richer and truer view of life, and from a more complete realization of man's potentialities and innate aspirations, he summarized in the *Letters for the Promotion of Humanity* in these words: "Humanity: if we would give this idea its full vigor . . . if we would inscribe it into our own hearts and those of our fellow-men as an unavoidable, general, and primary obligation—all our social, political, and religious prejudices might perhaps not entirely disappear, but they would at least be softened, restrained, and rendered innocuous."

a) Greece and Rome. For Herder's friends and contemporaries the ideal pattern of this exalted type of humanity seemed to be embodied in the world of Graeco-Roman antiquity. The New Humanism in the North, in France as well as in Germany, paid little attention at first to the heritage of ancient Greece. It was rather the ancient republic of Rome that beckoned with the splendid achievements of its art, literature, and intellectual culture. Englishmen were among the first to carry on systematic archaeological research on ancient Roman soil, and from England the new classicistic style of architecture penetrated into northern Germany. The shift of interest from Rome to Greece was chiefly due to the Platonic and Neo-Platonic program of studies in the monastic colleges of Cambridge and Oxford, where Plotinus, the head of the Neo-Platonic schools (203–269), was again read and appreciated in the seventeenth century. It was above all Lord Shaftesbury (1671–1713), the English moral philosopher, who eagerly absorbed these Platonic teachings, reviving in his ethico-aesthetic treatises the Greek ideal of the harmony of the good, the true, and the beautiful. Shaftesbury's ideas, in turn, were adopted and further developed in the

philosophical and aesthetic speculation of Herder, Goethe, Schiller, and some of the leaders of the German Romantic School (cf. p. 470 sqq.).

b) "Noble Simplicity and Quiet Grandeur." Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768), on the other hand, was attracted like Lessing to the art and literature of ancient Greece by a real inner affinity. Vexed and irritated by the vainglorious showmanship of the courtly culture of the Rococo and filled with compassion for the peoples and nations that smarted in the servitude of more or less enlightened despots, Winckelmann like Lessing escaped into the more humane climate of Greek democracy and found a haven of intellectual and moral repose in the purer and simpler forms of Greek art and literature. True enough, it was an idealized and partly unhistorical Greece to which both these writers paid homage but it was nevertheless also the Greece of the Homeric epics, of Attic tragedy and prose, of Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle.

Greek art as Winckelmann knew and interpreted it, the art of "noble simplicity and quiet grandeur" (*edle Einfalt und stille Grösse*), became for him and his age the measure and standard of all artistic creation. "Back to Hellas!" became the battle cry of artists and poets, scholars and educators, burghers and nobles.

In Rome, Florence, Naples, and in the recently excavated cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, Winckelmann inhaled the spirit of the ancient world. In the Roman copies of the masterpieces of Greek sculpture he admired the unity of form and content, the smoothness and gentle grace of lines and contours, the freedom and ease of the plastic form. Like Lessing he remained unaware of the fact that Greek art and life were not all smoothness, harmony, and ideal beauty, that under a smooth surface loomed tragedy and intense suffering as ever present realities, that the serenity of Apollo was constantly challenged by the dark irrationality of Dionysos, the god of the blind urge, of orgiastic intoxication and demonic lust.

Winckelmann's epochal *History of the Art of Antiquity* (1764), the result of his archaeological studies, contained his classicistic principles of aesthetic contemplation. The influence of the classical Greek writers was reflected in a measured and lucid prose which made the book accessible to many non-German readers.

c) Neo-Classicism, the French Revolution, and the Style of the Napoleonic Empire. Despite Winckelmann's conviction that only by imitating the Greeks could German artists and writers achieve real greatness, it was not the spirit of Hellas but the spirit of ancient Rome that appealed more universally to the sober taste and temper of the middle classes.

The struggle between the dying Rococo and the new classicism, beginning in France and Germany in the sixth decade of the eighteenth century, ended with the victory of the unimaginative and somewhat pedantic reincarnation of Roman civic republicanism in the ideology of Robespierre and the French Revolution. Cicero (106–43 B.C.), the great Roman orator, statesman, and philosopher, became the idol of the revolutionary leaders,

who admired his legalistic mind and his ethical rigorism. He appeared to them as an ideal combination of a "popular philosopher" and an orator of overpowering eloquence. They quoted freely from him and other Roman authors and derided Danton for not complying with this fashion.

Napoleon, too, commanded all the devices of classical rhetoric and was fully conscious of the dynamic power of the spoken word. To Nietzsche (cf. p. 695 sq.) he appeared as "a statue of Antiquity in the midst of a Christian society." The artists who depicted Napoleon's features were struck by their resemblance to those of Emperor Augustus. The remaining feudal and dynastic political formations of medieval Europe were swept away by the French emperor, to be replaced by a political order of his own making, by a system that showed the characteristic marks of classical symmetry, simplicity, and rationality. By bringing about the "alliance of philosophy with the sword" he strove to resume the task of the Roman Caesars, to give peace to the world by establishing a unified dictatorial rule over the nations of Europe. He tried to revive Roman imperialism in a Christian garb, visited the tomb of Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle, and crowned himself emperor in the presence of the pope. The structure and administration of his centralized empire was fashioned in accordance with the Roman model, and he made Roman law the basis of jurisdiction and Roman political ethics the basis of education. Artists and men of letters worked in the service of the Empire and were entrusted with the task of embellishing and glorifying its universal mission. The new "Punic War"* against the English "nation of shopkeepers" was to restore the absolute hegemony of the New Rome and to make the Mediterranean a "French Lake."

Thus the New Classicism, the style of the "Empire," carried forward by Napoleon's legions, went on its sweeping march of conquest throughout the territories and nations of the Western hemisphere. It found its outward expression in the increasing number of architectural monuments and newly planned cities that arose in the immense area that was flanked by St. Petersburg (Leningrad) in the East, Washington in the West, and Montevideo in the South. The simple lines and symmetrical designs of this cosmopolitan architecture followed the artistic example of ancient Rome and its modern replica, Paris, the imperial metropolis on the Seine.

d) Neo-Classical Art in Germany. The disintegration of the Holy Roman Empire and the political misfortunes of Austria and Prussia retarded and partly thwarted the development of the plastic arts in the German-speaking countries. The neo-classical style on German soil acquired significance as a component part of the great achievements of classical idealism in literature and philosophy but remained chiefly eclectic, imitative, and academic in architecture, sculpture, and painting. As the style of the political and social forces of conservation, tradition, and reaction it extended far into the

* Rome waged three "Punic Wars" with Carthage (264–146 B.C.) to secure military and economic supremacy over the dominating sea power of her political rival (Punic-Carthaginian Wars). Carthage was finally conquered and destroyed (149–146).

nineteenth century and disappeared only in the period of the revolutionary movements that paved the way for constitutional reforms and the political unification of Germany.

The public buildings and monuments which mark the period from the death of Frederick the Great to the revolution of 1848 (cf. p. 527 sq.) show a regularity and frugal rigidity of design that make them appear as foreign importations rather than as the manifestation of indigenous forces. Their cool and sober intellectualism found little response among the people at large who were much more attached to the still surviving art forms of a colorful popular Baroque or a soulful Romanticism. The representative style of the French *"Empire"* found its rather timid echo in the German *"Biedermeier,"* a manner of living and a style of interior decoration in which the stately neo-classical mannerisms were reduced to the intimacy of a bourgeois culture, whose neatness and narrowness reflected the mentality and social conditions of the German middle classes between 1815 and 1848 (the *"Vormärz,"* cf. p. 461 sqq.).

The most significant architectural monuments of German Neo-Classicism are found in Berlin, Munich, and Karlsruhe. In Berlin the Silesian architect, Karl Langhans (1733–1808), created the famous *"Brandenburger Tor"* (1789–1793), the symbolic gateway to the metropolis of the soldier-kings of Prussia.

The greatest master of the "Prussian style" in architecture was Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781–1841), whose prolific building activity drew inspiration from the distant and disparate sources of Greek and Gothic architecture. As the son of a historically minded age he felt free to choose among the various stylistic possibilities of the past, but lacked the singleness of purpose and creative spontaneity that are required for the achievement of artistic unity and true originality. To him "Old Berlin" owes its characteristic architectural physiognomy, and his strongly developed sense of orderliness, balance, and clarity of design made him anticipate some of the principles of modern "functional" architecture. The "Old Museum" of Berlin (1822–1828) was the first building of its kind on the European continent (the British Museum was constructed according to the classicistic designs of Sir Robert Smirke between 1823 and 1855), and the Berlin *"Schauspielhaus"* (1818–1821) served as a model for most of the municipal and national playhouses of the nineteenth century. In his more than eighty buildings Schinkel utilized most of the historic styles of architecture with which he had become acquainted on his extensive travels. As a loyal servant of the royal dynasty of Prussia, Schinkel designed the spiked helmet (*Pickelhaube*) that became one of the best known symbols of Prussian militarism and was adopted by both the police force and the army (1842).

The sculptors of the "Prussian style" were Gottfried Schadow (1764–1850) and his pupil Christian Rauch (1777–1857), both of them neo-classicists, but both inclined to translate the classical repose of ancient statuary into the more characteristic and individualistic language of their own political

and social environment. Among many other works each of the two sculptors created statues in commemoration of Frederick the Great. The base of Rauch's equestrian monument of the Prussian king in Berlin is largely occupied by the figures of Prussian generals, while to Kant and Lessing an overly modest space is allotted underneath the tail of Frederick's horse.

King Louis I of Bavaria (1825–1848) was one of the few German princes of the neo-classical period who continued the noble tradition of princely patronage of the arts, despite the adverse conditions of the times. Under his rule the neo-classical style experienced a belated flowering in southern Germany. By his consistent and vigorous cultivation of artistic and literary taste he made his court and the royal capital of Munich the cultural center of Germany. He commissioned Leo von Klenze (1784–1864) with the construction of numerous monumental buildings in neo-classical style (*"Glyptothek"* and *"Propyläen"* in Munich; the *"Walhalla"* near Regensburg; the *"Befreiungshalle,"* commemorating the Wars of Liberation, near Kelheim).

Karlsruhe, the capital of the margraves of Baden, was transformed into a mathematically construed model city of dignified classicistic taste by Friedrich Weinbrenner (1766–1826), who superimposed on the Baroque ground plan the characteristic elements of the new style, and adorned the city gates, palaces, and many private residences with Doric and Corinthian ornamentation.*

Neo-classical German painting showed considerably less vitality and ingenuity than its sister arts. A quaint mixture of Antiquity and Rococo, of imitative-naturalistic and phantastic-theatralic elements characterizes most of the paintings produced in the age of Goethe and Schiller. Angelica Kauffmann (1741–1807), of Swiss nationality, created a large number of sentimental and genrelike works, allegorical and mythological subjects, gods and goddesses, Vestal virgins and sybils, heroically posing figural compositions and sober, commonplace portraits. Wilhelm Tischbein (1751–1829) is best known for his somewhat spectacular painting of Goethe in the classical setting of the Roman Campagna. Winckelmann's favorite was the court painter of the king of Saxony in Dresden, Anton Raphael Mengs (1728–1779), whom he placed even above his idol Raphael. Today Mengs appears to us as a faithful and diligent pupil of the great masters of the Italian Renaissance, a talented draftsman, but one whose paintings lack coloristic luster and spiritual depth. In the landscapes of Asmus Carstens (1754–1798), however, nature awakes from a trancelike sleep and begins to stir and move underneath the transparent classical veil. It is the spirit of Romanticism that gradually illuminates and transfigures the cool aloofness of the classical scene.

e) The Science of Antiquity (*"Altertumswissenschaft"*). The archaeological as well as linguistic interest in Antiquity was born of the neo-classical and neo-humanistic tendencies of the eighteenth century. The

* Many of the monuments of neo-classical German architecture were destroyed during World War II.

scientific exploration of the ancient civilizations of Greece and Rome (*Altertumskunde, Altertumswissenschaft*) grew out of the pioneer work of German philologists and included eventually every aspect of the life and culture of Antiquity. The actual founder of the new science was Friedrich August Wolf (1759–1824), professor of classical philology in Halle and Berlin, a pupil of Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729–1812) in Göttingen, who had taught him to evaluate classical literature and culture from the aesthetic and artistic point of view. Henceforth the study of the ancient writers was no longer primarily concerned with the imitation of classical figures of speech but was to serve the refinement of taste and the perfection of human character. Another one of Heyne's famous pupils was Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835), a friend of Schiller and Goethe, who later on, as Prussian minister of education, was to introduce the ideas of the New Humanism into the Prussian schools (cf. p. 439 sqq.).

f) The New Humanism. The original philosophical and spiritual forces of the classical age, that are inseparably linked with the names of Goethe and Schiller as its greatest exponents, were Rationalism and Protestantism. It was the Protestant heritage that saved the classical literature and philosophy of Germany from the atomism, materialism, and skepticism with which the period of Enlightenment was befraught in France and England, and it was this Protestant religious and metaphysical component that gave to German "Idealism" its characteristic flavor.

This German Idealism crystallized in its dual poetico-philosophical aspect in the sister cities of Weimar and Jena, located in the idyllic province of Thuringia, in the very heart of Germany. Two small provincial towns, the one a minute princely residence, the other the seat of a university, harbored at the end of the eighteenth century an amazing number of great and unusual personalities, each of whom aided in his own individual way in shaping the German and European culture of the nineteenth century.

It was the great educational and spiritual goal of the New Humanism to lend to the idea of modern individualism a richer and deeper personal note, to visualize the humanizing process in the history of civilization as a victory of spirit over matter, of culture over nature. The cult of the great personality as the teacher and leader of men became the major concern and the central idea of the German intelligentsia, who thus gave to modern subjectivism its most refined and sublime expression. It was their conviction that only in a universal and total view of human life could individuality and subjectivity find their fullest realization. By expanding and extending his inner life into the cosmic reality of his surrounding world man would learn to see wholeness in every part and particle of the universe, he would impart meaning to his own existence and would understand the symbolic language of nature and art by making it part of his own being.

In this give-and-take between the subjective and objective realities, between the ego and the wealth of forms in the outer world, the New Humanist experienced his supreme happiness. His confidence in the self-

reliant autonomy of a fully developed human personality revealed the unshakable trust and certitude of a religious creed. Human guilt, error, and blindness were atoned for by the redeeming force of "pure humanity" (*reine Menschlichkeit*). Human greatness was seen as the result of the moral and aesthetic conquest of the subhuman strata of life, and such a mastery of life was the precious reward of the self-discipline and unrelenting moral effort of the poet, the artist, the philosopher. Once more the Greeks provided the ideal pattern of the wished-for "harmony and totality" of life, the Greeks in whose *"Kalokagathia"* (*Kalos*-"beautiful"; *agathos*-"good") this classical harmony had found its verbal and factual expression.

Art was considered by the New Humanists as the most effective of all educative forces, the only one that was capable of truly reforming and reintegrating human life, and beauty was considered as the most trustworthy guide to goodness and truth. Kant's uncompromising dualism of nature and spirit, of sense faculty and reason, appears reconciled in Schiller's idea of the aesthetic education of man, leading to the harmonious development of all human faculties and potentialities. According to Schiller man shares his sensitive nature with the irrational animals, he shares his moral destiny with the spiritual powers, but he is unique in that he alone can embrace and resolve in his own being the opposing forces of matter and mind, of sense and reason, of nature and spirit. It is art that points the way to that ideal realm where true freedom is found in the tranquillity of the "beautiful soul."

In this fervent desire of the New Humanism to attain to moral and spiritual freedom in an ideal subjective and objective world, fashioned by art and resplendent with beauty, the "Religion of Humanity" (*Humanitätsreligion*) reveals its deepest significance: the New Humanism appears as another attempt of modern man to build a unified system of values, an integrated philosophy of life on the bases of modern individualism. The will to autonomy and self-responsibility, now stirring actively in the consciousness of the wide-awake middle classes, found its confirmation in an intellectual aristocracy, a "republic of letters" which was to replace the aristocracy of birth, rank, and title.

Goethe and Schiller. The two men in whom the literary and cultural trends of the post-Reformation centuries converge and climax seem to represent in their mentality and outlook not only two poles of German life but two specific types and possibilities of human existence as such. Coming from different social environments and passing through a different set of experiences, they seemed at first incapable of understanding each other. But when they at last realized that each stood in need of those complementary forces in the other which could serve to integrate their personalities and their works, the friendship they formed transcended in its implications and consequences the sphere of their individual destiny and became an event of the greatest national and inter-European significance. During the years of their mutual intellectual intercourse they both experienced the fruition of their lives and achieved the fullest realization of their literary endeavors.

If we venture to call Goethe a realist and Schiller an idealist, we do well to remain conscious of the limitations which are of necessity attached to such labels. Although the richness and complexity of a great human personality defies in the last analysis the rigidity of such a classification, it may aid nevertheless in circumscribing the ways in which reality is seen, approached, and mastered by individuals of an essentially different physical and intellectual structure. In the case of Goethe and Schiller it is legitimate to say that the one (Goethe) experienced reality unreflectingly with his entire sensuous organism, proceeding from the observation of the individual and concrete to generalizations and the formation of ideal types and concepts. Schiller, on the other hand, lived and moved in a world of ideal essences which, as intellectual experiences, were more real to him in their generality and universality than their feeble images in the world of sense experience.

a) *Goethe's Personality.* Goethe appeared on the German scene in the historically fateful hour when German civilization was about to throw off the yoke of an all-embracing rationalism. It was his privilege and his destiny to complete this liberation by virtue of a unique combination of the emotional and rational faculties, of elemental passion and tranquil rationality. He was deeply convinced that all life was mysteriously rooted in immeasurable depths and that it was the sacred duty of the human mind to render visible and reveal this secret meaning of life. He felt justified in calling himself the liberator of the Germans "because by the paradigm of my life they have learned that men must live from within, that the artist must work from within. For, no matter what he contrives or how he may act, he will always tend to realize fully his own individuality." In the realization of his own personal destiny, therefore, Goethe followed like Socrates the voice of his "daimon" and recognized in his work the incarnation of universal laws of being. Thus poetry and truth, life and work grew into an inseparable unity and harmony.

He was dissatisfied with the mechanical explanation of nature and mind as offered by the proponents of Cartesian mathematics, rationalist psychology, and descriptive natural science: he was looking for the "spiritual bond" that imparted structural and organic unity to isolated and seemingly disconnected phenomena. In his penetrating analysis of organic and inorganic nature Goethe inaugurated the systematic speculations of the nature philosophers of the nineteenth century and provided an important link between Aristotelian vitalism and the neo-vitalistic science of organic life in our own time.

Goethe appeared to his contemporaries as nature's favorite child, richly endowed with splendid gifts of body and mind, a perfect exemplar of the human species. Napoleon, not given to euphemistic exaggerations in his judgment of men, exclaimed upon meeting Goethe: *"Voilà un homme!"*

Goethe felt himself lovingly and reverently bound to all creatures and to all the mysterious forces of the universe. In silent admiration and awe he stood before the unknown and the unknowable. Like Kant he acknowledged the great ethical command of duty and was ever willing to obey it in the realization of his own self and in the service of the ideals of humanity. With other representatives of Germany's classical age he shared the belief in the common concerns of a united mankind, in a common human fatherland that was not limited by national boundaries. He confesses that as a true cosmopolitan he takes his stand above the nations, experiencing the good and ill fortunes of neighboring peoples as his own. Science and art, he feels, belong to the world, and before them the boundaries of nationality disappear. Only mildly interested in the political struggles of the day and rather indifferent to German national ambitions, he admires in Napoleon the genius of the great ruler and the greatness of a life of unbending heroism.

Goethe aptly characterized his works as "fragments of one great confession." This is especially true of his lyric poems which as autobiographical documents of his intimate feelings and experiences reflect every phase of an amazingly abundant and variegated life. Though surpassed in the epic and dramatic fields by the genius of Homer, Dante, and Shakespeare, he remains the foremost lyricist of the world and is unequaled in the universality of his creative work. He gave German literature the stamp of classical perfection and has gained for it a distinguished place among the literatures of the world. At the same time, he opened up for the German people the treasury of world literature and, in form and content, in style and diction, in poetry and prose, gathered its most precious gems and transplanted them to German soil.

b) Schiller's Personality. In Goethe's judgment the most remarkable of Schiller's qualities was an innate nobility of mind and soul which influenced everything and everyone that entered into the magnetic field of his personality. "Every one of Christ's appearances and utterances tends to make visible the sublime. He invariably rises and raises beyond vulgarity. In Schiller there was alive this same Christlike tendency. He touched nothing vulgar without ennobling it," Goethe wrote concerning his friend. If Goethe possessed or achieved a high degree of harmony within himself and between his own ego and the transsubjective world, Schiller fought a heroic battle against hostile forces within and without. His uncompromising devotion to a world of ideal values and his relentless struggle for the realization of ethical and aesthetic absolutes made his life tense, high pitched, and very lonely, a life that was cut short not only by the frailty of his physical constitution but by the all-consuming force of the spiritual fire that burned within his soul.

In no lesser degree than Goethe, Schiller attained in the end to classical perfection of form, and to mildness, equanimity, and moral greatness of character, but the different stages of his life's way were strewn with thorns

and his victories were paid for with sacrifice and suffering. "His face sembled the countenance of the Crucified," wrote Goethe after their f meeting, and years later he said: "Everything in him was grand and r jestic, but his eyes were gentle."

Schiller experienced life and world dualistically and dialectically as struggle between the opposing forces of sensuality and spirituality, nec sity and freedom, natural inclination and moral obligation. He was c vinced that the breach could be healed and harmony ultimately restored the moral and aesthetic education of mankind and by the recognition universal and communal principles and institutions as they are manifes in the social and cultural organisms of family, folk, and fatherland. moral freedom was the central concept of his life and work, he visuali the ideal human society of the future as resulting from the intellectual a moral greatness of a true leader whose leadership received its sanction fr the eternal law of the universe and the inalienable rights of self-determini individuals. He was more interested in a national liberty that rested these God-given human rights than in the demands of a listless nationali which derived its justification from common biological and racial ch acteristics. Thus he was without question a "national poet," but at the sa time a poet and thinker whose love and enthusiasm belonged to the ent human family and whose devotion to the weal of mankind made hin pre-eminent educator of his own people.

Great dramatist and moralist that he was, Schiller considered it as supreme task of the tragic poet to arouse and purify man's moral conscien He attempted the impossible, however, when he tried to introduce Greek idea of an inexorable fate into the world of eighteenth-centu Humanism and to save and preserve man's freedom and dignity in face of the inscrutable and impersonal decrees of the ancient "Powers." H ambition to reconcile the ancient fate tragedy of Sophocles (496–405 B. with the modern character tragedy (*The Bride of Messina,* cf. p. 425 s remained unfulfilled, and the author was forced into the recognition t tragic guilt in post-Renaissance drama does not derive from the inflexi decrees of Fate but from the psychological inescapability of human life a personality as such.

c) Goethe's Life and Works. Three major phases in Goethe's develo ment may easily be distinguished: the "storm and stress" of his youth, classical maturity of his manhood, and the wisdom of his old age wh everything transitory had become for him a symbol of the eternal and human striving an approximation to a lasting peace and rest in God (*"U alles Drängen, alles Ringen ist ewige Ruh' in Gott dem Herrn"*).

Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749–1832) was a native of the city of Fran furt on the Main, the scion of a well-to-do patrician family, whose ea education was conducive to creating a well-balanced human character a in whom theoretical and practical knowledge and the faculties of intelle will, and imagination could grow and unfold harmoniously.

At the age of sixteen Goethe entered the University of Leipzig to take up the study of law, in accordance with his father's wish. But his fertile mind was anxious to branch out into other fields, and while submerging joyfully in the glittering atmosphere of the frivolous Rococo society of "Little Paris," he derived lasting benefit from his acquaintance with Adam Friedrich Oeser, the director of the Leipzig Academy of Arts, who encouraged his interest in drawing and introduced him to the aesthetic writings of Winckelmann and Lessing. Goethe's literary style in this period as revealed in his earliest lyrics (*Annette,* 1767) is that of the Rococo (cf. p. 349 sq.) and the Anacreontics (cf. p. 349).

Goethe's stay in Leipzig was cut short by a physical breakdown, caused by a hemorrhage of the lungs, and the young poet had to return to Frankfurt to convalesce in the sheltered atmosphere of his parental home. It was during these months of sickness and gradual recovery that he submitted temporarily to the religious influence of pietistic sentimentalism, embodied for him in a most appealing form in the life and personality of Susanna von Klettenberg, who was one of his mother's friends. *The Confessions of a Beautiful Soul,* filling the sixth book of the novel *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* (cf. p. 412), represent Goethe's grateful acknowledgment of this early influence, and commemorate the mild and irenic piety of a pure and noble human heart.

In the spring of 1770 Goethe went to Strasbourg to continue his studies, and it was here that he experienced the influence of Herder and the self-styled geniuses of the "Storm and Stress" movement (cf. p. 349 sq.). Herder proved an inspiring and trustworthy guide in pointing out to Goethe the riches of the literary landscape, in revealing to his eagerly absorbing mind the secrets of Homer, Shakespeare, Rousseau, and Ossian, of Hebrew and folk poetry, opening his eyes to the breadth and depth of the realms of the spirit, and arousing in him the titanic force of his slumbering creative genius. Standing in awe before the rhythmical musicality of the rising contours of the Cathedral of Strasbourg, Goethe experienced a close kinship between his own youthful enthusiasm and the prayerful jubilation of the Gothic master builders (*Von deutscher Baukunst,* 1773).

The *Sesenheim Lieder* are radiant with the shimmer and fragrant beauty of young Goethe's love for Friederike Brion, the daughter of the pastor in a neighboring town, while *Goetz* and *Urfaust* speak of Goethe's tragic guilt in sacrificing Friederike's love and happiness to his own "titanic" need for freedom and self-realization.

After another brief stay in Frankfurt Goethe went to Wetzlar, the seat of the *Reichskammergericht* (Imperial Supreme Law Court), to practice law (1772). In the autumn of the same year he was back in Frankfurt. His love for Charlotte Buff, the fiancée of one of his friends, had prompted him to save himself by flight and thus to escape the remorse of another tragic entanglement. The episode itself provided the main theme for the autobiographical novel *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774).

The drama *Goetz von Berlichingen* (1773) was the first work by Goethe in which a new content was embodied in a new form and style. As such it became the great model of the "Storm and Stress" poets. But while his imitators admired the freshness and immediacy of Goethe's language and the unconventionality of his dramatic technique, they forgot that with him these devices were only means to convey more forcefully his own personal message. This message was presented in the form of a folk drama, based on the autobiography of the gallant Frankish knight (1480–1562) who in the age of religious revolt and social revolution had made himself the spokesman and leader of the rebellious peasants. Against Emperor Maximilian's "Land Peace" and the jurisdiction of the imperial court, Goetz maintained the law of individual self-help, nevertheless considering himself a loyal imperial knight to the end. To Goethe and his companions Goetz appeared as a symbol of German greatness, a model of personal courage, integrity, and moral conviction in a period of social decay and a purely conventional morality. The struggle between Goetz and his opponents reflects the passionate attack of Goethe's own generation upon the forces of stagnation and rationalistic petrifaction. The technical scheme of the three Aristotelian unities gave way to the dynamic spontaneity of Shakespearean composition, and the vitality of untamed nature broke down the artificiality of every rule that had its *raison d'être* not in the structural laws of character and language.

In the fate of Goetz, Goethe had first realized the tragic destiny of the great leader, the genius, and superman whose titanic will necessarily predestines him to tragic frustration and defeat in the petty world of spatio-temporal limitations. In fragmentary form and free rhythmical verse Goethe subsequently sketches the daimonic force that impels, informs, and devours the lives of Mohammed, Caesar, Socrates, Prometheus, and Faust.

In the original version of *Faust* (*Urfaust,* 1773–1775) titanic passion breaks into the peaceful atmosphere of an idyllic bourgeois world, with destruction and tragedy resulting from the impact. But Goethe's superman himself, in deed and misdeed, in craving, lust, and despair follows merely the dictate of his "daimon," the unbending law of nature itself, and he remains strong even in death and perdition. In Gretchen's songs and prayers, in the solemn invocation of the Earth Spirit, and in the responding chants Goethe reveals himself for the first time as the great master of lyric poetry.

With *The Sorrows of Young Werther* Goethe completes the literary cycle of the works of his youth. This sentimental novel is no less a document of passion than *Goetz* or *Urfaust,* but Werther's passion is "a sickness unto death" for which no remedy can be found in the world of action: from the outset it is condemned to devour itself in silent suffering and utter solitude. The superman of action has been replaced by the superman of emotion, of a feeling whose intensity is heightened and deepened by the gentle rhythm of nature in which it is embedded, carrying it in a predestined course from the crisp awakening of spring to autumnal melancholy and the icy lone-

same time a determined struggle for the preservation of the world of his own ideals, a world in which personal values maintained their prerogatives as against the claims of a collectivized society. This courageous and uncompromising self-assertion is expressed in poetic form in the crystalline clarity of the classical meters of *Hermann and Dorothea* (1797), an epic poem that sets a genrelike idyl of German middle class life and culture against the dark and bloody background of the French Revolution.

In the meantime Goethe's life and work had received new content and purpose through the friendship with Schiller. In his remarkable letter of August 23, 1794, the younger poet had interpreted Goethe's character and poetic significance with such unusual insight and striking accuracy that Goethe could in all sincerity confess: "You have given me a second youth, you have restored my poetic talents." The epistolary exchange of thoughts between the two princes of German letters lasted until 1799, when Schiller moved from Jena to Weimar to be in even closer contact with his admired friend.

Together the two friends composed a series of epigrams known as *Xenia** (1797), filling the second volume of Schiller's *Almanac of the Muses* (1796–1800), in which they castigated the mediocre literary taste of their contemporaries and ridiculed a number of popular favorites in the realm of letters.

As early as 1785 Goethe had completed the original version of his novel *Wilhelm Meister* (*Wilhelm Meister's theatralische Sendung*). The final version, *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* (*Lehrjahre*) appeared in 1795–1796 and was soon universally acclaimed as the unexcelled model of a truly poetic and artistic masterpiece. It is a typically German novel in that scenery, situations, and social environment center in the development of a human character (*Entwicklungsroman, Bildungsroman*). The original version tells of the preparation of a sensitive and talented youth for his artistic lifework, using the world of the theater as a social and poetic background. The *Lehrjahre,* on the other hand, paint a broader picture of the personal and social influences that mold Wilhelm Meister's character and to whose guidance and direction he submits, after having overcome such antisocial and undisciplined forces as arise within himself and in the world around him. These forces are personified in the romantic and mysterious figures of Mignon and the Harper, manifestations of that "daimonic" element by which Goethe as much as Wilhelm were both attracted and repelled, ever conscious of its fascination and its danger.

Schiller's death in 1805 was an irreparable loss to Goethe. He tried to forget his grief by turning with redoubled zeal to his earlier preoccupation with the natural sciences. In 1784 he had discovered the intermaxillary bone in the human skull which confirmed for him his theory of biological evolution by establishing a definite relationship and analogy between the lower

* *XENIA* (Greek = hospitable gifts) are epigrams whose classical pattern was established by the Roman poet Martial (*c.* 40–102).

and higher animal organisms. The *Metamorphosis of Plants,* published in 1789, demonstrated the leaf as the original organ of all plants, and in his *Theory of Colors* (*Farbenlehre,* 1810) he turned against Newton's ideas concerning the dispersion of light. His scientific research extended to the fields of botany, morphology, mineralogy, and meteorology. In several hymnic essays he expressed his unshakable belief in an omnipresent divine power that informs and animates nature in all its parts and that has designed for every being the law and reason for its existence.

In the years 1807–1808 the first part of *Faust* was completed and published in its final form. Then followed the cycle of the masterpieces of the third major period of his life, including the novel *Elective Affinities* (*Wahlverwandtschaften,* 1809), the autobiographical memoirs of *Poetry and Truth* (*Dichtung und Wahrheit,* 1811–1814), the series of stories and episodes entitled *Wilhelm Meister's Travels* (*Wanderjahre,* 1821–1829), the poem entitled *Trilogy of Passion* (*Marienbad Elegy,* 1823), and the second part of *Faust,* completed in 1831.

Elective Affinities, the first major work of Goethe's old age, uses four main characters to illustrate the parallelism of the moral and natural laws and their immutability in their respective spheres. Elective affinities exert their force of attraction no less in human nature than in chemical elements. The inviolability of the moral law as exemplified in the marriage bond becomes tragically evident in the destruction of two human beings who sacrifice the demands of duty to the urges of passion. For the first time Goethe designates rational self-control, self-limitation, and resignation as the social obligations of an enlightened morality.

In *Truth and Poetry* Goethe gives a poetically colored account of his life from early childhood days to his twenty-sixth year. The work is filled with cultural and literary reminiscences and reveals the author's affectionate attachment to home and family, to all the natural and human forces that had sheltered his youth and shaped his character.

The fruit of Goethe's study of Oriental poetry was the *Westöstlicher Divan* (1814–1819), a collection of original and paraphrased lyrics in an Oriental setting, inspired by his love for Marianne Willemer, who herself contributed some of the poems. In some of the most accomplished verses of the "Divan" (*"Ist es möglich, Stern der Sterne. . . ."*) Goethe followed Dante's example in glorifying love as the symbolic manifestation of that supreme law that moves the stars and sustains the universe.

The most precious jewel, however, of the lyric poetry of Goethe's old age is the *Marienbad Elegy* (1823), in whose majestic stanzas Goethe's renunciation of the last great passion of his life is reflected, the renunciation of his love for Ulrike von Levetzow, a girl who was seventeen years of age when he first met her in Marienbad and in whose blossoming youth the sensuous beauty and rapture of life had beckoned to him once more. The three parts of this *Trilogy of Passion* (*Trilogie der Leidenschaft*) mirror the threefold struggle of passion versus wisdom, ending with a resignation

that vibrates with the undertones of a narrowly avoided tragic despair. Once more, as in the stormy days of *Goetz* and *Werther* Goethe freed himself from the impending danger of destruction by entrusting his woe to the magic medium of poetic sublimation: *"Und wenn der Mensch in seiner Qual verstummt, gab mir ein Gott zu sagen was ich leide"* (And where man grows silent in his despair, a God has granted me the poetic gift of expressing my suffering).

d) *Goethe's "Faust."* "The main business is finished," Goethe wrote in his diary in 1831, the year before his death. At long last he had completed and sealed the manuscript of *Faust,* and therewith he considered his poetic activity closed and consummated. He had begun this great mosaic of his life as a young man, shortly after his return from Leipzig. The *Urfaust* bore the marks of his "storm and stress"; some of the most sublime passages of the first and second part owed their completion and artistic perfection to the influence of Schiller's constructive criticism; the rest embodied the wisdom and mature art of Goethe's old age.

Thus the *Faust* drama in its entirety recapitulates and summarizes the author's life and reflects the major phases of his poetic development. *Faust,* then, is the great master's most complete and authentic biography. But it is much more than that: aside from being Germany's greatest poetic document and one of the rare accomplishments of human genius, the drama represents and illustrates six decades of the literary and cultural history of Germany. And yet, with all its timely documentary values, it spans and covers a much wider area: it is typically German in that it creates timeless symbols of specific Germanic characteristics, and it is profoundly human in that it succeeds in reaching altitudes that permit a survey and interpretation of life and reality in their universal and eternal aspects.

When Goethe wrote the first verses of *Faust* Prussia was still ruled by Frederick the Great and France by Louis XV. When he sealed the manuscript shortly before his death Europe was shaken by the aftereffects of the July Revolution in France (1830): Louis Philippe, the "Bourgeois King," ruled in France, and Metternich (cf. p. 461 sq.) controlled the destinies of Europe from the capital of Austria. When Goethe conceived the Gretchen tragedy of the *Urfaust* the structure of the Holy Roman Empire was still outwardly intact. When he published the *Faust-Fragment* Europe began to feel the reverberations of the French Revolution of 1789. When he wrote the classical scenes of the second part the new political order of nineteenth-century liberalism (cf. p. 523 sqq.) began to dawn, Germany was preparing for constitutional government and eventual political unification, the ideas of a system of world trade and world economy were beginning to gain ground, and there was talk of the building of railroads and the construction of the great canal systems of Suez and Panama. All these enormous changes in the outlook of men and in their modes of living are in one way or another traceable in Goethe's *Faust,* so that we may be able to find in its

sequence of ideas an expression of the shifting and contrasting problematics of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The first part of *Faust* differs from the *Urfaust* in that Goethe here no longer dwells on the violent and tragic encounter between a titanic human will and the orderly world of a well-tempered middle class morality, but the emphasis is shifted to the struggle between Faust and Mephistopheles as representing two essential forces and possibilities of human nature. The addition of the "Prologue in Heaven" raises the drama to a perspective which permits a universal view of Faust's destiny within the huge framework of humanity, its aspirations and its aims. The tragedy assumes more and more the character of a morality play.

Faust, dissatisfied with the wealth of human knowledge which he has made his own, penetrates into the spheres of the veiled unknown, with the aid of Mephistopheles, pledging his immortal soul to the devil if ever his intellectual curiosity, his lust for life, his "longing infinite" can be satisfied. The rejuvenated Faust emerges from the fullest enjoyment of sensuous reality with the bitter sensation of remorse, and the "two souls within his breast," his sensual and spiritual desires, remain more disunited than ever: he is farther removed than ever from satiety and complacency.

In the second part of the play Mephistopheles introduces Faust into the arena of social and political action. Faust has learned to confine his desires to the attainable, but within that sphere of measurable and concrete realities he wishes to perform great human and social deeds. He passes through the stages of Goethe's own path of life: at the emperor's court he renders invaluable service to State and society, busying himself with problems of government, finance, and war. At the emperor's request he undertakes his descent to the "Mothers," pictured as personifications of a realm of Platonic ideas, as the aboriginal and eternally creative prototypes of all things. In his encounter with Helen of Troy Faust comes face to face with the absolute perfection of classical beauty, and Helen's catastrophic evanescence makes him realize that he is not prepared as yet to embrace the ideal and rest in its contemplation. But his unfulfilled longing urges him on to the entrance of Hades, Helen's abode. He is granted the rare favor of listening to the mighty heartbeat of the earth, the great mother of life, whose vital forces pass into his own being. The most intimate contact with nature discloses to him the secret of the perfect appreciation of beauty.

The ultimate union of Helen and Faust symbolizes the synthesis of South and North, of Greeks and "Goths," of classicism and romanticism. The offspring of this union is the child Euphorion,* in whom romantic passion appears enshrined in classical form.

Faust's social and humanitarian efforts are cut short and his vision is destroyed by the blinding breath of the gray figure of "Care" and by Death,

*In creating this allegorical figure Goethe had in mind the personality and poetry of Lord Byron.

the great affirmant of the corruptibility of man's physical nature. The satisfaction in the enjoyment of the beautiful present moment that Faust in the hundredth year of his earthly life has not yet experienced, he anticipates as he sinks into his grave. Angelic hosts, battling for his soul, carry his incorruptible self to the feet of the *"Mater Gloriosa"* before whose throne the blessed spirit of Gretchen intercedes for the salvation of her one-time seducer.

According to Goethe the key to Faust's salvation is found in the angels' chant:

> Whoe'er aspires unweariedly
> Is not beyond redeeming.
> And if he feels the Grace of Love
> That from On High is given,
> The Blessed Hosts, that wait above,
> Shall welcome him to Heaven!
> (Bayard Taylor's translation)*

The meaning of these verses is amplified by the following pronouncement of the author of *Faust* as recorded by Goethe's secretary J. P. Eckermann, in his *Conversations with Goethe* (1836, 1848): "In Faust himself we find an ever higher and purer activity to the very end, and, coming from above, the succor of Eternal Love. This is fully in agreement with our religious concepts, according to which we are saved not by our own efforts alone but by the supporting divine grace."

In the fifth act of the second part of *Faust* the hero's destiny is no longer determined by the terms attached to the original blood pact with Mephistopheles but by the metaphysically more important wager between God and Satan, which is the major theme of the "Prologue in Heaven." Faust who like Parzival (cf. p. 153) went through earthly life as a "knight errant" has paid the toll and fulfilled the law of his undeviating quest of truth, goodness, and beauty and is thus granted the bliss of eternal rest *"in Gott dem Herrn."*

In the image of Faust's ripening wisdom and in the challenging circumstances which obstructed his plans and efforts Goethe divined the fate of Western mankind in the nineteenth century. He realized the inevitability of the onrushing machine age which would irreverently call in question those personal and spiritual values that imparted meaning and dignity to his own life and which he recognized as a precious heritage and bequest of the past. "The approaching machine age tortures and frightens me: it draws near like a thunderstorm, slowly, slowly; but it continues in its direction, and it will come and strike" (*Wilhelm Meister's Travels*). He foresaw the coming of a civilization that would enfranchise the masses and disenfranchise the human person, that would develop new methods of production and generate technological advances and material prosperity. And while he welcomed and blessed the spirit of invention and progress, he was nevertheless keenly aware of the price that was to be exacted. He was aware of the dangers that threatened from a preponderance of a purely practical and utilitarian philosophy of life, and he observed clearly the relative insignificance of material progress as compared with the permanency of man's moral nature and problems: "There will be new inventions, but nothing new can possibly be conceived as far as the moral nature of man is concerned."

* Wer immer strebend sich bemüht,
Den können wir erlösen.
Und hat an ihm die Liebe gar
Von oben Teil genommen,
Begegnet ihm die selige Schar
Mit herzlichem Willkommen.

It had been Faust's intention to utilize technology for the creation of land and opportunities for a free and industrious people, but in carrying out his plans he had to rely on questionable helpers whose aid stained his lofty idealism with the blemish of insufficiency and guilt. The harmony of moral and material development had been Goethe's ideal goal, but he knew full well that the hour was near when the incongruity of material and moral forces would become strikingly evident in the historic evolution of Western civilization.

e) Schiller's Life and Work. The major phases in the development of Goethe and Schiller are identical: from the "storm and stress" of his youth Schiller turned to the classical form of his mature works and in his philosophical writings gave ample proof of that seasoned wisdom which permeates the literary documents of Goethe's old age.

Friedrich Schiller's short life (1759–1805) was as dynamically moving in tempo and rhythm as might be expected when we weigh the magnitude of his work against the scarcely three decades that were granted to him for its execution. He was born at Marbach on the river Neckar, the son of an army surgeon of Charles Eugene, duke of Wurtemberg. His father later on became a captain and overseer of the princely gardens of Solitude Castle near Stuttgart.

Young Schiller attended the Latin school at Ludwigsburg, where his extraordinary gifts attracted the attention of Charles Eugene, who decreed that Friedrich continue his studies at the newly founded military academy (the *"Karlsschule"*). His major fields of interest at that time were theology and medicine, and he was finally permitted by the authorities to substitute the latter for the course in jurisprudence which had been prescribed for him much against his will.

Schiller's craving for free and independent thought and its literary expression was stifled by the rigid discipline and strict censorship in the *"Karlsschule."* The spirit of revolt that was brewing within him was fanned to a feverish pitch by his acquaintance with those writers who had declared war on outmoded conventions and the soulless regimentation of the human mind. The works of Shakespeare, Rousseau, Lessing, Klopstock,

Wieland, and the "Storm and Stress" poets could be acquired and read by the students of the military academy only as bootleg literature, but the enthusiasm that was aroused by these authors was all the greater.

Schiller was eighteen years of age when he wrote *The Robbers* (1777), his first tragedy, bearing the motto *"in tyrannos"* (against the tyrants) and giving vent to his thirst for freedom and his hatred of despotism. The drama was published in 1781 and was produced for the first time on the stage of the National Theatre in Mannheim in the following year. Schiller had secretly attended the performance and witnessed the enthusiastic reception that was given to his play. In the meantime the author had completed his doctoral dissertation *On the Interrelation between the Animal Nature and the Spiritual Nature of Man,* had taken his degree and received an appointment as staff surgeon. Returning from a second secret journey to Mannheim, Schiller was arrested and forbidden by his princely employer "to write any more comedies." Unable to bear any longer the enslavement of his creative mind, he broke the chains of his "Stuttgart Siberia" and fled to Mannheim.

Though the problem of the *Robbers* was suggested by the unfortunate experiences of Schiller's youth and by his growing dissatisfaction with the existing social order, the general tendency remains essentially unchanged in all his future dramas: he strives to depict the world and its inhabitants, not as they actually are but as they ought to be. In the bitter accusations of the *Robbers* he expresses rhetorically his indignation over the moral failings of his "emasculated century" and his hunger for human greatness and moral regeneration. Of the two hostile brothers, Karl and Franz, the former is a victim and symbol of degraded and enslaved humanity, while the latter is the representative of the corruption and demoralization of the upper strata of society. Although the chiaroscuro technique of this drama, with its almost primitive contrasts of good and evil, results in an oversimplification of the leading characters, Schiller's revolutionary thesis is powerfully brought home.

The expected financial aid from Baron von Dalberg, the director of the Mannheim Theatre, was not forthcoming and Schiller's second drama (*Fiesco*) was unfavorably criticized and rejected by the authorities. The homeless and penniless poet found temporary refuge on the small estate of Frau von Wolzogen in Bauerbach near Meiningen, where he completed his third drama, *Love and Intrigue* (*Louise Millerin*). Dalberg finally was persuaded to accept this drama as well as a revised version of *Fiesco* and to appoint Schiller for one year as official dramatic author for the Mannheim National Theatre.

Fiesco (1782) was Schiller's first historical tragedy, dealing with the unsuccessful revolt of an ambitious nobleman against the republic of Genoa. *Love and Intrigue* (*Kabale und Liebe,* 1783), a vivid portrayal of the tragic plight of the middle classes and their desperate struggle against their aristocratic oppressors, derives its color and persuasive force from Schiller's personal ire and resentment. Ferdinand, the son of the all-powerful minister

of state Walter, and Louise, the daughter of the town musician Miller, are made the innocent victims of social prejudice and of the damnable intrigues of a dehumanizing system of political corruption.

Love and Intrigue is artistically the most convincing of Schiller's early works, combining the passionate feeling of the "Storm and Stress" poets with the coolly calculating dramatic composition of Lessing's *Emilia Galotti.* As a stage play it proved even more successful than the *Robbers.*

When Charles Augustus, duke of Weimar, paid a visit to the Hessian court at Darmstadt, Schiller was permitted to read to him the first act of his forthcoming drama *Don Carlos* and the duke expressed his approval by bestowing upon the playwright the title of a Councilor of the State of Weimar. Nevertheless, Schiller's external circumstances were very much unsettled. He was suffering from ill health and was brought to the brink of destitution and despair by lack of funds. More than ever before he was in need of friendship and human understanding as well as of material aid. He therefore accepted gratefully the generous invitation of one of his admirers, the youthful jurist Gottfried Körner of Leipzig. In a thoroughly congenial environment he spent two happy and productive years (1785–1787) in Körner's household, first in Leipzig and, after Körner's marriage, in Dresden. The joyful exuberance of this idyllic interlude in Schiller's life is reflected in his *Hymn to Joy* (*Lied an die Freude*), some of whose moving stanzas were embodied in the choral finale of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony.

On Körner's country estate at Loschwitz, near Dresden, Schiller completed his drama *Don Carlos* (1787), the crowning achievement of the dramatic endeavors of his youth and the first of the mature creations of his manhood. Originally it had been Schiller's intention to make Don Carlos, the son of King Philip II of Spain (1555–1598), the hero of a domestic tragedy in the royal family, but four years of intensive preoccupation with the subject matter had shifted the focus of his interest from the personal and psychological to the universally human aspects of the problem. Thus the completed work became Schiller's first great historico-philosophical tragedy. Carlos' idealistic friend, the marquis of Posa, became the central character, the real hero, whose tragic death is not only a moral lesson to the unstable and self-centered dauphin but a voluntary sacrifice to the ideals of freedom of thought and conscience, a sacrificial offering that is no less inspired by the loyal devotion of true friendship than by an even more steadfast devotion to the cause of humanity. As the loose dramatic composition of the earlier works is stylized and tightened by the adoption of the five-foot iambic verse, so the subjective and chiefly negative polemics of Schiller's "storm and stress" gives way to a positive and constructive idealism of classical temper and balance.

A very similar development is noticeable in Schiller's early lyric poetry which culminates in the philosophical poem entitled *The Artists* (*Die Künstler,* 1789). In this poem the author praises art as the unique prerogative

of man, deriving the exalted dignity of the artist from his mission and obligation to lead mankind to the heights of intellectual and moral culture.

In 1787 Schiller had moved from Dresden to Weimar. Goethe was still in Italy, but the poet made other valuable contacts with leading representatives of Weimar society. On a journey to the neighboring province of Thuringia he made the acquaintance of Charlotte von Lengefeld, who became his wife in 1790. In the house of the von Lengefelds in Rudolstadt Schiller and Goethe met for the first time. Although no more intimate relationship resulted from this casual contact, for the time being, Goethe was instrumental in securing for Schiller a (poorly paid) position as professor of history at the University of Jena.

In connection with the writing of *Don Carlos* Schiller had felt the necessity of taking up the systematic study of history. The immediate result of these studies was the *History of the Revolt of the United Netherlands* (1788). In 1789 he began his academic activity in Jena with an inaugural lecture on the nature and purpose of universal history (*Universalgeschichte*). In the winter of 1791 Schiller suffered the first serious attack of the lingering disease which gradually undermined his physical strength and made him realize that only his great will power could lengthen the span of his life sufficiently to permit him to complete his poetic mission. His remaining years were an almost continuous struggle against creeping consumption, brought upon him partly by the privations of his youth.

Schiller knew that in order to become Goethe's equal in the realm of letters, and worthy of the great man's friendship, he had to clarify and purify his art so as to achieve a classical perfection and unity of form and content. The study of history served him as a means for the understanding of the meaning of life, the nature of man, and the destiny of mankind. His *History of the Thirty Years' War* (1790–1792) follows the general direction of his dramatic and lyric production, moving away from the subjective and imaginative interpretation of experiences and events toward an objective and sympathetic evaluation of cultural and historical evolution. But the more deeply he delved into the events of the past the clearer it became to him that the knowledge of history was in itself insufficient for a true understanding of its meaning. Therefore, he concluded, a more adequate discipline was needed to clarify those fundamental concepts and principles that could in turn be used as starting points and motivating forces for moral action. Thus he felt the urge to supplement and integrate the study of history by the study of philosophy. He approached both history and philosophy from a practical or pragmatic point of view, looking in both disciplines for a broader and firmer basis of his art and a metaphysical justification of his own poetic existence.

Most of Schiller's philosophical works are the fruit of his preoccupation with Kant and particularly with the *Critique of Practical Reason* and the *Critique of Judgment* (cf. p. 372 sq.). The "Discipline of Morals" that he postulates culminates in the idea of human self-determination and moral

freedom. Its basis is the harmonization of that which is and that which ought to be, of natural inclination and moral law and obligation. This harmonization will be the result of a struggle for moral perfection, a struggle that is brought to a happy conclusion in the placid tranquillity of the "beautiful soul." These thoughts in all their manifold ramifications are luminously expounded in the treatise *On Grace and Dignity* (1793). In the *Letters Concerning the Aesthetic Education of Mankind* (1794) he emphasizes once more the moral and cultural significance of art and beauty. The *Letters* were suggested by the noble experiment and dismal failure of the French Revolution, the first practical attempt in modern times to construct a State in accordance with the demands of reason. Why, asks Schiller, was this gigantic undertaking bound to fail? He answers that modern mankind was not sufficiently educated or prepared to risk the dangerous leap from unreason to reason. And how could some future attempt be undertaken with a better chance of success? The commonwealth of reason cannot be established, says Schiller, until all individual members of this ideal State of the future have become reasonable. However, "there is no other way of transforming a sensual into a rational human being but by making him first into an aesthetic being." Aesthetic education only can bring about the reconciliation of nature and reason, sensuality and morality, blind instinct and the sense of duty. It is the privilege of art to lead man through the realm of beauty gradually into the most sublime regions of human civilization.

The most personal of Schiller's philosophical works is the essay *On Naïve and Sentimental Poetry* (1795–1796), in which he attempted a justification of his own art and modern art in general and which provided the succeeding generation of romantic writers with important principles of literary criticism and aesthetic judgment. For Schiller it was a question of artistic self-vindication: he had to prove to his contemporaries and to his own satisfaction that his own and Goethe's poetry represented two equally valid types of literary expression and could thus exist side by side, each in its own right. All poetry, says Schiller, affects us by reflecting the harmony of life and nature. But there is an essential difference in the ways in which ancient and modern poetry achieve this end: the ancient poet was a child of nature, living in intimate relationship with his surrounding world and transposing this harmonious outlook into this poetic works. The modern poet, on the other hand, has lost this original naïveté, in his own nature as well as in his relationship to the outer world. He has intellectually risen above the state of nature and has thus become conscious of conflicts and contrasts that can only be resolved by a supreme effort of his creative genius. While the "naïve" (ancient) poet experiences the objects of reality in their concreteness and simplicity, the "sentimental" (modern) poet experiences and loves the ideas that are manifested in the world of objects. The ancients and those few who, like Shakespeare and Goethe, are their kin in modern times, are like unto nature in their view and rendition of life; the moderns,

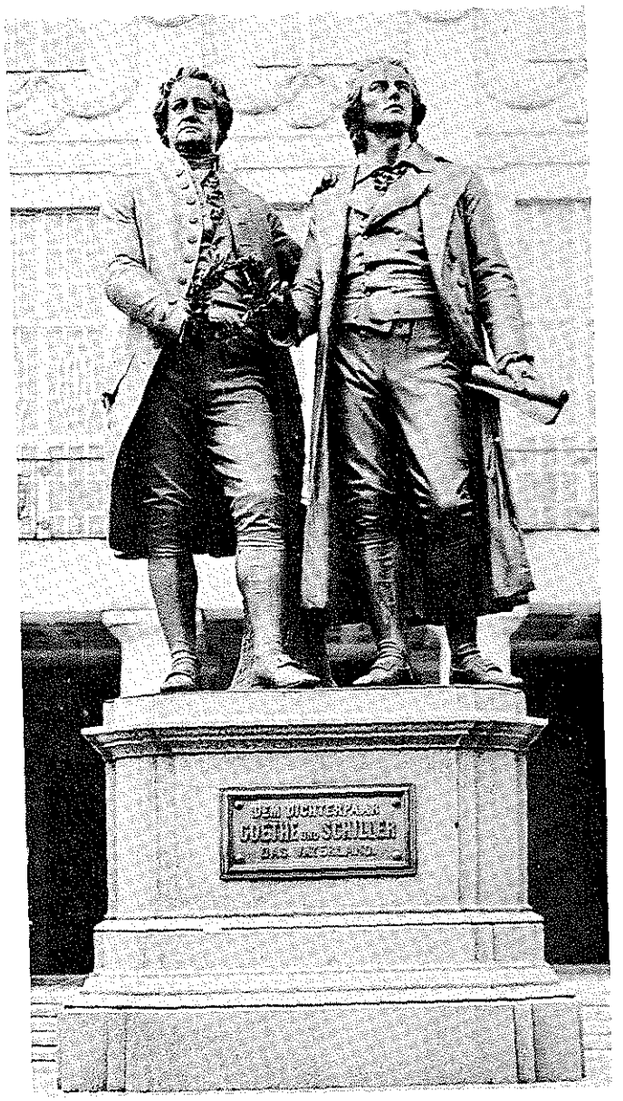
on the other hand, must strive to regain the lost harmony of nature and a second naïveté by the roundabout and thorny way of reasoned reflection and the resolve of their will.

The time had finally arrived for that unique and blessed friendship that for one decade united idealism and realism in one common effort: the friendship between Schiller and Goethe. The second meeting, so momentous in its consequences, occurred in Jena in 1794, on the occasion of a scientific convention. Five years later, in 1799, Schiller moved from Jena to Weimar in order to be nearer to Goethe and in closer touch with the court theater of Weimar which henceforth was to provide the forum for the products of his dramatic genius.

The influence of Goethe on Schiller's production bore its first fruit, however, in the field of lyric poetry. Always richly and heavily laden with thought, Schiller's lyrics now began to clothe their profound intellectual content with a classical form that was enhanced by the sheen of a new radiance and lucidity. A series of poems that dealt with various phases and aspects of human and social culture was concluded with the masterful *Song of the Bell* (*Das Lied von der Glocke,* 1800), which in reality is a song of domestic and public life, symbolically interwoven with the successive stages of the casting and the social functions of a church bell.

At last, twelve years after he had completed his *Don Carlos,* years filled with unceasing intellectual activity and recurrent mental anguish and physical suffering, Schiller resumed his dramatic production, that mode of literary expression in which he had no rivals and in which his sovereignty remained unchallenged.

Beginning with the *Wallenstein* trilogy in 1799, his classical dramas followed each other in rapid succession. Schiller himself considered the three parts of *Wallenstein* (*Wallenstein's Camp,* a prelude in one act; *The Piccolomini,* a play in five acts; *Wallenstein's Death,* a tragedy in five acts) as a kind of test case to demonstrate to what extent he was able to conform his own style and outlook to that of Goethe. In Goethe's judgment Schiller's *Wallenstein* was "so great that there is no second work that could be compared with it." In the fate of Wallenstein, the great imperial general of the Thirty Years' War (cf. p. 284 sqq.), Schiller wanted to portray "a great and mighty destiny which exalts man while it crushes him." The work is richer in objective description and realistic observation than any other of Schiller's dramas. It is, however, not only the first great example of a modern realistic drama, it is also the first modern historical tragedy that can hold its own when measured by the genius of Shakespeare. Wallenstein, standing at the height of his fame and power, falls victim to the "daimonic" forces of his nature and drags himself and others into the dark abyss of anarchy and annihilation. It was Schiller's intention to illustrate how the precious gift of freedom may cut both ways, because true freedom must rise above chance and arbitrary will and whim, conforming its decisions to the eternal order of a morally meaningful universe.



Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung, Bonn

Goethe-Schiller Monument, Weimar,
by Ernst Rietschel

In *Mary Stuart* (1800) Schiller dramatizes the tragic tale of Mary, Queen of the Scots, and her hopeless struggle against her implacable adversary, Queen Elizabeth of England. Madame de Staël (1766–1817), in her book *De l'Allemagne* describes Schiller's *Mary Stuart* as the most touching and the most ingeniously planned and executed among all German tragedies. And, truly, in its architectonic grouping of characters and its symmetrical composition it is quite unique and almost in a category by itself.

The Maid of Orleans (1801) Schiller calls a "romantic tragedy," to indicate that his treatment of the subject matter transcends the realistic frame of historical events. The heroine of this play is Joan of Arc (1412–1431), the French peasant girl of Domremy, who at the age of seventeen joined the royal armies of France, leading them in the liberation of Orléans and in their decisive victory over the English. Captured by the enemy, she was tried by an ecclesiastical court and burned at the stake. Vindicated in 1456, she soon became the symbol of French patriotism and was canonized by the Church in 1920.

In Shakespeare's *Henry VI* Joan of Arc, seen through the eyes of English nationalism, appears as a damnable witch whose black magic caused the defeat of the English. In Voltaire's *Pucelle d'Orléans* (1775) the Maid becomes the object of unsavory satire. For Schiller, on the other hand, she is a divinely inspired prophetess, "a noble image of humanity," whose pure features have been defiled by prejudice and cynicism. Conscious of her divine mission and endowed with supernatural power, Joan succumbs to tragic guilt when she opens her heart to human love. However, she atones for a moment of forgetfulness by her final victory and heroic death.

The patriotic fervor of this play contrasted sharply with Goethe's cosmopolitanism and with Schiller's own former convictions as espoused in *Don Carlos*. It was Schiller's first contribution to an awakening national consciousness, a poetic prelude to the beginning struggle for national liberation and unification. An indication of Schiller's fondness for the poetically transfigured *Maid of Orleans* is his words: "You are a creature of my heart; you will be immortal."

After the completion of his "romantic tragedy" with its loose and colorful texture, Schiller felt the desire to write a heroic drama "in Greek manner," a work that would revive the spirit and style of Greek tragedy and would thus offer the author an opportunity to match his own talents with those of the ancients. Form and fable of the *Bride of Messina* (1803) follow closely the Greek models, and Schiller introduces into modern drama that "analytical technique" which was perfected in some of Ibsen's social plays but which had its ancient paradigm in Sophocles' *King Oedipus*. The analytical dramatist delves into the prehistory of the events to unveil step by step the motivations of the ensuing tragic conflicts.

The Bride of Messina bears the subtitle *The Hostile Brothers* and is a "tragedy with choruses." The scene is laid in Messina on the island of Sicily, and the underlying idea is expressed in the two concluding lines: "Life is

not the highest of goods, but guilt is the greatest of evils." The inexorable and impersonal "Fate" that arbitrarily rules over gods as well as men takes here the form of a curse, pronounced by the ancestor of a princely family and revived in the mortal hatred of two brothers, a hatred that is fanned by their ardent love for the same girl, who in the end turns out to be their own sister. While adopting in externals the ancient Idea of Fate, Schiller almost imperceptibly introduces certain psychological motivations that make the action more convincing and compatible with human nature as viewed from Christian and modern premises. The tragic guilt of the leading characters has its ultimate source not in the decrees of Fate but in the propensities and moral failings of the individuals. While in Greek tragedy the chorus functioned as an "ideal person," objectively reflecting the "voice of the people" or the abstract principles of universal reason, Schiller's two choruses are decidedly partisan, participating in the action as "real persons" and at the same time as collective magnifications of the mutually exclusive claims and interests of the two brothers.

Schiller's last completed drama was destined to become also his most popular one. The plot of *Wilhelm Tell* (1804) was based on Aegidius von Tschudi's (1502–1572) partly historical, partly legendary account (*Helvetian Chronicle*) of the liberation of the cantons of Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden from Austrian supremacy, constituting the beginning of Swiss independence (1291, cf. p. 169 sq.). Never having been able to acquire a firsthand knowledge of the country and people of Switzerland, Schiller had to rely on his fertile imagination and on the study of travel books and scientific descriptions of the Alpine regions, to reproduce local color and to achieve ethnological as well as psychological accuracy.

In making Tell the soul and moving force of the Swiss rebellion, Schiller succeeded in anchoring the national struggle for liberation in the personal struggle of a free man for his inalienable human rights, and by welding three separate actions into one he gave added strength and *élan* to the underlying idea. Thus from the beginning of his dramatic production to the end Schiller remained true to himself, uncompromising in upholding the ideal of freedom and a sworn enemy of all ethical relativism. In *Wilhelm Tell* he created a national festival play that stimulated and sanctioned the national aspirations of the German people.

When death came Schiller was in his forty-sixth year. His physical strength was exhausted but his mind was in the prime of health and vigor. Twenty-two years after his death his earthly remains were exhumed and transferred to the princely tomb at Weimar, where Goethe too is buried.

Musical Classicism: Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827). What Goethe and Schiller had accomplished in the media of language and literature was independently achieved by Beethoven in the world of musical sound. Like the literary giants of Germany's classical age, its lonely musical genius, though linked with his great predecessors by intellectual and historical

kinship, created his own artistic form, to enshrine in its symbolism the timeless values of his human experience.

The fiery pathos of Beethoven's instrumental music was his exclusive and unique possession, the new and personal organ with which he expressed the creative power of the human spirit and communicated his response to the fundamental questions of human existence. So great was the vitality and unity of content and form in his works, so disquieting and extraordinary the denouement of tragic conflicts and tensions, that the classical temper of Goethe recoiled from such an immediacy of elemental passion. Beethoven's genius, like that of Goethe, embraced world and mankind, but in contrast to Goethe he was always tragically alone with himself and with his art, disdaining and disregarding social conventions and attachments in both his life and his work. Human suffering and human guilt weighed more heavily upon him than on Goethe, and only in his music was he able to triumph over the vicissitudes and contingencies of life. By virtue of his strong and pure artistic will, he forced the complex mass of his emotions into unity and achieved a brilliance of form of whose purifying force he was himself fully aware when he said: "Those who learn to understand my music will free themselves of all the misery with which all the others are burdened." And in a letter of the year 1802, addressed to his brothers, he gives an indication of the deepest motivations of his work as a composer: "Godhead," he writes, "Thou lookest down upon my innermost being, Thou knowest it, and Thou knowest that love of human kind and the will to do good to others abide therein."

Beethoven was born in the city of Bonn on the Rhine, where his grandfather had migrated from Louvain (Löwen) in Belgium and had held the position of *"Hofkapellmeister"* at the court of the princely elector of Cologne. His father, a drink addict, was employed as a tenor singer in the princely chapel and was Ludwig's first music teacher. At the age of thirteen the boy was appointed as second court organist and shortly afterward joined the princely orchestra as a violist. The elector himself paid the expenses for Beethoven's trip to Vienna, making it possible for the young musician to continue his studies under the venerable master Haydn (cf. p. 354 sq.).

The death of his father in 1792 caused Beethoven to prolong his stay in Vienna indefinitely. Aided by excellent recommendations, he was admitted to the circles of the Austrian nobility, and in 1795 he introduced and soon endeared himself to the public as an accomplished pianist and a composer of rank. A few years later he began to feel the effects of a defect in his organ of hearing, a disease which was gradually aggravated and ended in complete deafness. Beethoven, becoming more and more retiring, solitary, and unsociable, retreated into his own self and began to live exclusively in the hidden world of his inner sense of hearing and feeling. But it was during these years of utter loneliness and seclusion that his vision and creative powers were most active, producing some of the most sublime miracles in the realm of musical sound.

In the development of Beethoven's musical style three major periods may be distinguished. In the first group of compositions he shows his indebtedness to the musical forms and the social ideals of the Rococo. The second stage reveals Beethoven as the great master of a new and highly personal musical classicism. In the works of his third and final period the composer encompasses a spiritual realm of a height, breadth, and depth that spans and bridges the chasm between time and eternity.

To the works of Beethoven's youth (1795–1802, op. 1–50) belong his first three piano sonatas, dedicated to Haydn; the First Symphony (1800, op. 21); the first string quartets; and a number of other instrumental and vocal works. The compositions of the classical stage (1803–1815, op. 53–100) include, among others, the Third Symphony (*Eroica,* 1804, op. 55, originally dedicated to Napoleon Bonaparte); the Sixth Symphony (*Pastoral,* 1808, op. 68) with its fascinating musical interpretation of nature ("psychical" program music); the Seventh Symphony (1812, op. 92) with its full scale of emotional and dramatic values, reaching from gentle and dreamlike lyricism to somber mourning and exultant jubilation; and the light and vivacious Eighth Symphony (1812, op. 93), marking a happy equilibrium in the midst of a titanic struggle. To this classical phase of Beethoven's development belong also *Fidelio* (1805), his only opera, his first great *Mass* (*in C*), and numerous pieces for orchestra, among them the musical compositions to Goethe's *Egmont.* Among the major works of the third period stand out the *Missa Solemnis* (*Solemn High Mass in D,* 1824), composed on the occasion of the consecration of Archduke Rudolph as bishop of Olmütz, the foremost of Beethoven's ecclesiastical compositions and the most convincing documentation of a sincere piety that had its roots in the Catholicism of his Rhenish homeland. His grandiose Ninth Symphony (1824, op. 125), combining the symphonic form with that of Cantata and Oratorio and thereby creating a novel mode of musical expression, was composed when Beethoven had already lost his sense of hearing. The last movement, ingeniously interwoven with the words of Schiller's *Hymn to Joy,* contains the sum total of Beethoven's life. Its theme is the striving of a human heart that yearns for the blessed pastures of purest joy and lasting happiness but, still caught in the grip of life's anguish and sorrow, attains its victory in a gallant and defiant acceptance and affirmation of the challenge of destiny: "However Life be, it is always good" (Goethe).