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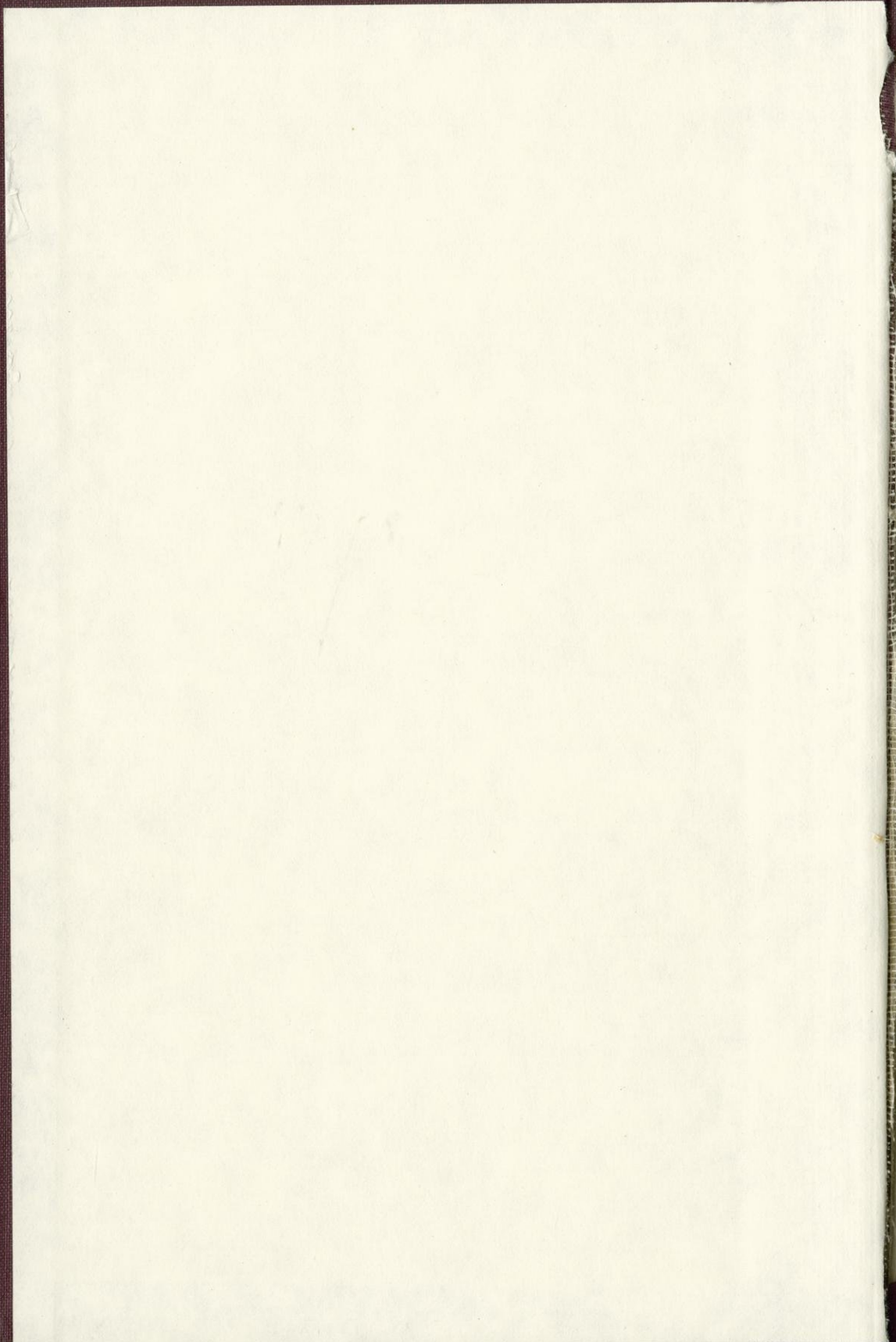
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From the Greeks to the Greens
Images of the Simple Life

Edited by
Reinhold Grimm
and
Jost Hermand



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From the Greeks to the Greens: Images of the Simple Life

From the Greeks to the Greens

Images of the Simple Life

Edited by

**Reinhold Grimm
and
Jost Hermand**

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Preface

To conceive and evoke, to project, paint, or actually realize images of a simple life is as old as the process of civilization itself. And all those concepts and visionary views, those projections, depictions, or concretizations in real life are surely no less manifold and multiform, either. Western culture in particular, from Hellenism onward, has brought forth a whole plethora of such images, both in the realm of philosophy and religion and in that of literature and the fine arts. Chronologically speaking, they may be situated either in the past—e.g., in a bucolic *aetas aurea*—or in the future, constituting some kind of a utopia; in terms of their spatial distribution, they tend to be located “elsewhere” and at a distance, be it merely in the countryside nearby or on a remote exotic island inhabited by noble savages (as, for example, the Otaheiti of the 18th century). In many cases, moreover, otherness of time and place coincide, as witness Salomon Gessner’s idylls glorifying a Rousseauistic version of ancient Greece. Nor can the driving forces that are at work here be neatly separated in every instance. Centripetal as well as centrifugal movements are operating simultaneously, indeed intersect, for the simple life is being pictured and/or attained by withdrawing into secluded and sheltered centers as much as by expanding to and even beyond the periphery, the fringes or margins, of a given society. The hermits and monastic orders of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, on the one hand, and the bohemians and alternative groups of modern and most recent times, on the other, provide pertinent illustrations. Furthermore, the simplicity in question may manifest itself in a serene and gentle or, contrarily, a wild, ecstatic, exuberant vein.

But these are just a few random parameters that could be augmented quite easily. The same holds true for the eight essays assembled in the present volume, which were read and discussed as papers at the Eighteenth Wisconsin Workshop held in Madison on September 25 and 26, 1987. Four of them have been contributed—and, like the others, thoroughly revised for publication—by members of the Department of German of the University of Wisconsin–Madison, the initiator and traditional sponsor of this annual event. Their authors are Francis G. Gentry, Jost Hermand, Nancy Kaiser, and a student collective consisting of Stephen Brockmann, Julia Hell, and Reinhilde Wiegmann. The contributors from outside the Department of German include Gabrielle Bersier (Indiana University at Indianapolis), Barbara C. Buenger (Department of Art History, University of Wisconsin–Madison), Gerhart Hoffmeister (University of California at Santa Barbara), and Jochen Vogt (Universität und Gesamthochschule Essen, FRG). Clearly, these combined investigations spanning the entire two and a half millen-

nia *From the Greeks to the Greens*—though, of necessity, far from covering them—are centered upon a series of momentous developments, periods, genres, schools, and individual figures, and not only do they try to open up novel avenues and approaches, but they also arrive at certain revaluations.

As to the editors, it is their recurring pleasure to acknowledge the encouragement and assistance they have received, both in preparing this volume and in organizing the workshop it documents. Above all, they wish to express their continued gratitude to the Vilas Trust Fund of the University of Wisconsin–Madison.

From the Greeks to the Greens



The Development of the Concept of "Simplicity" from Classical Antiquity to the Vernacular Literature of the German Middle Ages

FRANCIS G. GENTRY

For many individuals in industrialized societies, the "simple life" is something greatly desired when the stress of daily living seems to be too great to bear. For some, the "simple life" is a vaguely imagined mode of bucolic existence consisting of clement weather and quasi-idyllic surroundings, and, so that one has time for reflection and contemplation, free of the harsh sounds of reality which ordinarily and continually assault the ear. For others, the "simple life" connotes a mode of being without those contradictions which make living in contemporary society so difficult. In this "simple life," there are no gray areas, no sophistic distinctions between good and evil. Hard work may be involved, but it is work which will also be recognized, esteemed, and commensurately rewarded. In essence, it is nostalgia for the "good old days," for a time when "things worked" and when people were solicitous of each other's well-being—in theory, at least. This backward-looking "simple life" is, in essence, a longing for a time without the absurdities and inner conflicts of the present day, while still retaining certain advances and comforts of modern life. A further refinement of this attitude would be the utopic vision of a former "Golden Age," which combines the bucolic aspect with the joys of harmonious coexistence, without the necessity of physical labor. Of course, other possible modes of the "simple life" exist and are, in some instances, being embraced. The "back-to-the-land" movement so popular in the 1960s, as well as the many—and mostly failed—urban and rural communal movements, are further examples; and, certainly, the way of life of many religious groups, like the Quakers and monastic orders of the strict observance, represents the realization of the ideal. In general, however, the longing for the "simple life" grows out of the tensions of, and dissatisfaction with, urban existence, both in the present and in the past. The above possibilities of the "simple life" all have in common the aspect of *physical* removal from the source of discord. There is, however, another possibility of the "simple life," which affects the inner person and, for want of a better or more precise term, may be labeled the "philosophical." It is primarily this type of "simple life" which informs the strivings and writings of the thinkers and authors of classical antiquity, the early Christian era, and the Middle Ages.

The typology of the "simple life," as outlined above, is developed in the writings of classical antiquity. The pastoral aspect, which becomes predominant the closer one gets to the modern era, appears already in the Hellenistic period, around the turn of the 5th century B.C., in the plays of Euripides and Aristophanes, but especially in the somewhat later idyllic poetry of Theocritus of Syracuse (ca. 300–ca. 260 B.C.).¹ Of course, this theme of the idyllic life is taken up by Roman writers such as Virgil in his *Eclogues*, Tibullus in his *Elegies*, and in the various works of Horace, among others. In addition, one finds with some Roman writers a further development of this concept in the praise of the simple (in the sense of uncomplicated and close to nature) way of life of the rustic. Nowhere is this better expressed than in the second *Georgic* of Virgil, the first line of which reads: "O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint, agricolas!"² It is also here that one sees very clearly the connection between a simple life of toil—but without privation—and justice and freedom, which also forms a focus, as will be demonstrated, in the deliberations of those thinkers concerned with the philosophical aspect of the "simple life."

The writings about the "Golden Age," too, maintain this connection. In Book I of the *Metamorphoses* (V. 89–112) Ovid describes the "Age of Saturn" as a time without laws and judges, cities, instruments of war, and metal implements: "Golden was that first age, which, with no one to compel, without a law, of its own will kept faith and did the right."³ Diodorus of Sicily (died after ca. 21 B.C.) writes in a similar vein about the activities of Cronus (=Saturn), who "introduced justice and sincerity of soul" in all those regions he visited on earth. The people obeyed him willingly and "because of this exceptional obedience to laws no injustice was committed by any one at any time and all the subjects of the rule of Cronus lived a life of blessedness, in the unhindered enjoyment of every pleasure."⁴ Connected with the description of the society of the "Golden Age" are the accounts of fabled societies like the Heliopolitans, who inhabit the Isles of the Blessed. Diodorus writes that on these seven islands all are absolutely equal and everything is shared by all, and the men and women hold each other in common. Children are brought up by the tribe, and thus the potentially divisive problem of inheritance is avoided. All Heliopolitans live in perfect amity and justice without greed and competition. At the age of 150, at the height of their strength, all die voluntarily. That there is also an abundance of food, and that the climate is perfect, goes without saying.

The "simple life" of real societies also plays a role in the writings of antiquity. Polybius, writing in the 2nd century B.C., describes the Gauls in his *Histories*, and, a century later, Strabo depicts the condition of life of the ancient Britons in his *Geography* in similar terms. In both cases, "simple" can be equated with "primitive." The homes are simple and unpretentious; the food is unrefined; the individuals are engaged in constant toil either as warriors or peasants; and there is a lack of any significant technical, cultural, or intellectual knowledge.⁵ Although these societies are not being held up as positive models for

emulation, in many instances approving comparisons are made with Homeric heroes. The highly imaginative account of Onesicritus, a companion of Alexander the Great, and the fairly reliable one—approximately a generation later—of the Ionian Megasthenes, among others, on life in India betray an admiration for the simple way of life of the Indians, who, living amid great natural wealth and splendor, are remarkably unaffected by their surroundings and lead lives of simplicity. The Indian philosophers are singled out for praise since they live according to strict rules and conventions which are almost identical to those of the Pythagoreans and the Cynics.

While the above aspects of the "simple life" will find resonance in the writings of later generations in the West, especially during the late medieval and early modern periods, it is in the deliberations of the ancient philosophers that one finds that concept of the "simple life" most readily embraced by the writers and thinkers of the early Christian era. Once it has been filtered through the sieve of Christian tradition and belief, it informs the thought of the Middle Ages.

Although the history of the philosophical cogitations on the essence of the "simple life" is complex, the individuals involved, quite numerous, and the distinctions made among the various schools of thought, sometimes very subtle, it is possible to find a common thread: Simplicity is the opposite of diffusiveness, and, by freeing oneself of desires not essential to the maintaining of life, the individual is thus able to focus on the search for truth and justice. The inquiry begins with Pythagoras who established a religious society in Croton, which flourished in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C.. Fellowship in this society, which was open to men and women alike, involved leading a life of purity, abstaining from meat, and exercising a strict discipline of silence and self-analysis. Although no writings of Pythagoras on his philosophy exist, the society and its "way of life" were well-known and are mentioned in Plato's *Republic* (X, 600).⁶ In the same work, Plato develops his own idea of the "simple life" with regard to the well-being of the state. In Book II, Socrates describes for Glaucon his vision of the state in which the people have simple but adequate housing, food, and furnishings (372). Leading a life of moderation in all things, they will then live in "peace and health a good old age."⁷ But the notion of simplicity developed by Plato in the *Republic* goes beyond physical simplicity. The Guardians of the Republic are to be paragons of moderation in all things. Their education, also—or especially—in the fine arts, stresses the virtue of strict adherence to simplicity. Multiplicity of forms and lack of uniform structure, in music as well as in athletic instruction, have no place in their training. The objective of the Guardian's education is the attainment of a mode of living which is characterized by the exercise of justice. For Plato, simplicity in all forms of life leads to justice which is, for the philosopher, the greatest good (II, 366f.), and the just man is the noble and simple man (II, 361).⁸ Thus, one sees in the *Republic* the connection between the renunciation of luxury, excess, and distracting diversity externally, with the proper development of the inner person, a development which results in justice and in the well-being

of society. It is no wonder, then, that this type of simplicity becomes a hallmark of the good ruler as found in the *Discourses* of Dio Chrysostomos (ca. A.D. 40–after 112) and the *Roman History* of Dio Cassius (2nd–3rd centuries A.D.). For both, the good ruler, in either instance Trajan, is an individual concerned totally with the proper and moderate exercise of power and the administration of justice. In his “Second Discourse on Kingship” Dio Chrysostomos states: “Nor, again, is it necessary that he [the king] study philosophy to the point of perfecting himself in it; he need only live simply and without affectation, to give proof by his very conduct of a character that is humane, gentle, just, lofty, and brave as well. . . .”⁹ And Dio Cassius writes: “Trajan was most conspicuous for his justice, for his bravery, and for the simplicity of his habits.”¹⁰ This concept of the ideal ruler is, of course, taken over by early Christian writers and is passed on to the Middle Ages when Trajan, once again, makes an appearance as a model king.¹¹

Of all the ancient philosophical schools or groups, the most pertinent for the purpose at hand is that of the Stoics founded by Zeno about 300 B.C. Stoic thought continued to be influential until well into the Christian era, the emperor Marcus Aurelius being the most important representative of the 2nd century A.D. Even though the school gradually faded out in the 3rd century, its doctrines exercised significant influence on later Neoplatonism, and from there upon some of the Church Fathers, most notably Augustine. The Stoic concept of the “simple life” can be briefly summarized. The aim of the philosopher is to live in harmony with nature whose guiding principle is the *logos* or reason, also identified with God. Those who do live in harmony with reason are virtuous, which is the only good. To enable the human being to turn to and embrace the *logos*, moderation must be exercised in all areas of natural existence. The individual must become free of desires for externals and live simply. Wine does not slake thirst better than water, nor does a luxurious house keep one more sheltered than a simple one. The one who lives in harmony with the *logos* is truly free and happy, and since this state is the only real good, the presence of such things as health, pain, and death are of no importance. The Stoic “simple life” does not find its sense in itself; rather, it serves the freedom of the individual and, thus, allows one to pursue the goal of attaining the true good.

Christian writers adapted the Stoic attitude toward externals readily, although it cannot be ascertained whether the influence was direct or indirect. The true Christian should lead a very simple life in order to concentrate on achieving the one real good, namely God. Thus, the writings of the Church Fathers are filled with admonitions against luxury, wealth for wealth’s sake, and excess in all areas. In the *De ira Dei liber*, Lactantius states clearly that fortune does not lie in excess or transitory honors but, rather, solely in innocence and justice.¹² Similarly direct is Clement of Alexandria, who advises that meals should be simple and unpretentious, sufficient to keep one awake. Anything which goes beyond the measure necessary for survival damages the well-being of the soul.¹³ Basil the

Great in his *Sermon on Humility* finds in a modest life-style the best expression of Christian humility, which then enables the individual to demonstrate the greatest of Christian virtues, charity. For by being modest in all things, the Christian is unencumbered in his love for his neighbor, which will inevitably lead to admission to Paradise and the joy of delighting in the countenance of God.¹⁴ And, of course, no overview of the thoughts of the Church Fathers on any subject, however brief, would be complete without mentioning Augustine. On many occasions, Augustine warns that excess poses the greatest danger to the soul. As a result of the Fall, he argues, "man fell away from the unity of God [and] the multitude of temporal forms was distributed among his carnal senses, and his sensibilities were multiplied by the changeful variety. So abundance became laborious . . ." ¹⁵ Only by overcoming the need for mortal things will the soul be able to return from the "mutable many to the immutable One," and, by so doing, will free the spiritual, or inner, man from his fetters so that he will then love God and neighbor.¹⁶ With his mention of the "immutable One," Augustine touches on an aspect of simplicity which is of supreme importance in Christian thought: the Oneness of the eternal and unchanging Triune God. John of Damascus, in his *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, expresses it well when he writes:

Now, we both know and confess that God is without beginning and without end, everlasting and eternal, uncreated, unchangeable, inalterable, simple, uncompounded, incorporeal, invisible, impalpable, uncircumscribed, unlimited, incomprehensible, uncontained, unfathomable, good, just, the maker of all created things, all-powerful, all-ruling, all-seeing, the provider, the sovereign, and the judge of all.¹⁷

And in his discussion of the Trinity, Augustine goes to great lengths to explain that central mystery of the Christian faith with as much clarity as one is apt to find in treatises on the subject:

. . . those things are called simple that are fundamentally and truly divine, because in them quality and substance are the same; and they are themselves divine or wise or happy without being so by participation in something not themselves.¹⁸

The simple nature of God and its attraction for the individual soul will be an important issue in the writings of the medieval mystics.¹⁹ But, in general, the early Fathers were not concerned with mystical matters, rather with the correct attitude toward the world and externals which the Christian must have. Striking in their concept of the "simple life" is the emphasis on the retarding effect of externals, something also encountered in the pertinent literature of antiquity. Only by freeing oneself from overdependence on the things of the world does one become truly free in that the inner man is emancipated from too much preoccupation with the satisfaction of these desires. For the Christian, this freedom entails being able to devote all his time to contemplation of Christ and the end goal of reunion with God. By leading one's external life in moderation, simplicity, and humility, one is just and loves one's neighbor—and not merely oneself, which is the case when one is caught up in the constant striving to satisfy one's needs.

The one Christian institution which devoted itself to leading a "simple life" is, of course, monasticism. Early monasticism, as exemplified by the Desert Fathers during the first centuries of the Christian era, was an extreme form of eremitical asceticism. It was a simple life indeed, but it would not have any lasting influence on the shape and character of monasticism in the West. Benedictine monasticism, under the guidance of the Rule of Benedict, became the form which would determine the course of monastic endeavor in Latin Christendom. For whatever reason, the attraction of a life cut off from the rest of humanity and dedicated to the serving and contemplation of God in a serene and self-contained environment proved irresistible to thousands of men and women throughout the centuries. Gradually, the initially austere monastic life underwent many changes so that by the end of the 11th century and the beginning of the 12th new orders were founded with the purpose of restoring simplicity to the monastic discipline, and returning to the ideals of the primitive church and apostolic life as described in Acts 4: 32-35;²⁰ the Augustinian canons, Carthusians, Cistercians, and Premonstratensians are doubtless the best known.

Because of the prominence of so many of its members in the spiritual and intellectual life of the 12th century, the order of the Cistercians may be taken as illustrative of the renewed importance of simplicity in monastic life. Foremost among the Cistercian proponents was St. Bernard of Clairvaux. For St. Bernard, the purpose of monastic simplicity was to enable the soul of the individual monk to attain union with God. The Trappist Brother Louis, better known as Thomas Merton, describes Bernard's program as follows:

1. The first step in the monk's ascent to God will be to recognize the truth about himself—and face the fact of his own duplicity. That means *simplicity in the sense of sincerity*, a frank awareness of one's own shortcomings.
2. He will also have to overcome the temptation to excuse himself and argue that he is not, in fact, what he is . . . Hence: *simplicity in the sense of meekness*—self-effacement, humility.
3. He must strive to rid himself of everything that is useless, unnecessary to his one big end: the recovery of the divine image, and union with God. Now, simplicity takes on the sense of total and uncompromising *mortification*.²¹

This mortification of which Merton speaks manifests itself in the tempering of the lower appetites through simplicity in externals like food, clothing, and housing; the disciplining of the intellect through simplicity in devotions and prayers as well as the "complete simplification in liturgical matters and the decoration of churches"; and, finally, in the subjugation of the will to the spirit of obedience. In his *Golden Epistle*, William of St. Thierry instructs the brethren of the monastery of Mont Dieu similarly.²² Christ, William writes, managed to triumph over the world with the aid of a few "simple men." The monks, by their simple life-style, are worthy successors to these fishermen of old, and they put to shame those who covet many things in the world. For true simplicity manifests itself

in a "will that is wholly turned toward God."²³ While statements and thoughts such as the above could be offered ad infinitum, the fact remains that the sentiments contained in them regarding the "simple life" as a means of attaining union with God refer specifically and exclusively to monks. And while not every monk may have believed with St. Anselm that "few will be saved, and most of these will be monks," the needs of the laity are severely neglected in the monastic literature.

And yet, the same spirit of reform which informed the monastic revival, namely that of the 11th-century reformers who struggled to free the Church from lay control, and which culminated in the great and traumatic conflict (Investiture Contest) between the Papacy of Gregory VII and the Empire of Henry IV, also set in motion popular religious movements, many of which would later evolve into heresies. With the onset of the wandering preachers in the late 11th century who stressed the humanity of Christ and his poverty, the "vital essence of the apostolic life was suddenly perceived to be poverty and preaching rather than communal living and contemplation."²⁴ Common to all these movements, from the *pauperes Christi* in the late 11th century to the Franciscans at the beginning of the 13th century, was extreme asceticism, abhorrence of money and material possessions, and a lack of a fixed abode. Very quickly, the Church recognized in these wandering preachers and sects a grave danger to its institutional authority, for prevalent abuses like simony and lax sexual morals among members of the church hierarchy were denounced not only as being examples of unsuitable behavior, but also as conduct which made the administration of the sacraments by the individual unworthy church official, of whatever rank, invalid. In addition, many of these wandering preachers were not clerics but rather laymen and—worse yet in the eyes of the official Church—laywomen. The bands of followers which they attracted were often quite large, and, in the groups tending toward heresy, the life-style which they adopted tended to be based on a rejection not only of the teachings and authority of the Church, but also of the accepted moral behavior of a Christian community. Thus, the Church had to take action, and as John Freed quite correctly notes: "The dividing line between orthodox and heretical wandering preachers thus became their willingness to organize their followers into cloistered congregations."²⁵ Nonetheless, in their search for evangelical perfection, all movements had one thing in common: The path to this perfection lay in the leading of a simple way of life free of overdependence on the goods and attractions of this world. All attempted to establish communities *in* the world for the purpose of ministering to needs of other human beings, either to members of their own particular sect, as found with the Cathars, or to the poor and neglected in medieval society, as practiced by the Franciscans, for example.²⁶

It should not be overlooked that the breeding ground for most of the popular religious movements, whether orthodox or heretical, and the place where they

had greatest resonance, was the city.²⁷ Whether it be the urban poor and infirm, who felt the indifference of a Church hierarchy populated largely by individuals recruited from the landed nobility, or whether it be the urban wealthy, like Waldes of Lyons, who were moved to divest themselves of their wealth and lead lives of apostolic piety, all exhibited a dissatisfaction with their urban existence and believed that there must be a better way of life. Since flight to the countryside did not come into question, unless one wished to join a monastic community, the possibility—especially, but not only, for the prosperous—of leading a life of simplicity and charity within a worldly community, which would inevitably lead to salvation, proved attractive. Although the deep and sincere piety and spirituality to which all these movements and individuals bear witness is alien to modern consciousness, it must be kept in mind that precisely the 12th century represented an age of foment in all areas of human endeavor. It was the era of the Crusades, the schools and universities, emerging scholasticism, the great theological debate between Abelard and Bernard, and, as has already been mentioned, the epoch of widespread religious revival and evangelical fervor. All of these aspects of life in the 12th century—and, of course, these considerations would continue throughout much of the Middle Ages—have at root the reflection on the problem of living one's life in such a way as to fulfill one's obligations to God and one's neighbor. Thus, rich and poor are united in a common endeavor, namely to live in such a manner that the demands of justice and charity are met.²⁸

That this general religious spirit would also be encountered in the literature intended for a lay public should not be surprising. Although a detailed exposition of the manifestations of the theme of the "simple life" in medieval German vernacular literature is not possible here—it will appear in a separate study—I shall provide, in conclusion, a general overview of this motif in Early Middle High German religious literature and in the chivalric works of Hartmann von Aue.

As would be expected, the theme of the correct Christian way of life, defined by active charity and a sense of justice, is encountered frequently in the more than ninety works which constitute the corpus of Early Middle High German literature. In the *Memento mori* (ca. 1080) the listeners are exhorted to lead a life centered around *minne* and *reht*, particularly with regard to the poor and powerless in society.²⁹ The interdependence of all members of society is stressed in the *Summa theologiae* (ca. 1120) through use of the motif of the body as found in I Cor. 12: 12–26.³⁰ The wickedness of cleaving too much to the things of this world, and the injustice which this conduct brings about, is a central theme of the many *Sündenklagen* and the works of Heinrich von Melk (ca. 1150). The subject of justice as the prerequisite virtue of the ruler is the chief concern of the *Kaiserchronik* (ca. 1150). The simplicity of Christ's life on earth as a model worthy of emulation forms the focus of Frau Ava's *Leben Jesu* (ca. 1120), and the many saints' lives also provide models of imitation for the Christian "simple life." Two works in particular, the *Rede vom heiligen Glauben* of the Arme Hartmann and the *Loblied auf den heiligen Geist* of Priester Arnold, demonstrate the

aspect of the intellectual simplicity which is necessary for salvation.³¹ Both enumerate the intellectual accomplishments of the ancients with approval and wonder. Yet both also state that all this knowledge is, although useful, secondary to true knowledge which comes from God. These assertions do not, however, reflect the attitude of ignorant or fanatical ascetics.³² On the contrary! The sentiments expressed by Hartmann and Arnold are in accord with the theories dealing with the "simple life" in the 12th century. Once again, the teachings of Bernard of Clairvaux on the subject of knowledge and intellectual simplicity provide a good illustration of this aspect. In Sermon 36.2 on the *Song of Songs*, Bernard states:

Perhaps I seem to disparage speculative sciences and, as it were, to criticize learned men. Far from it. I am well aware how much good has been and is done in the Church by learned men, both in refuting the errors of her enemies, and instructing the unlearned.³³

Here, the "mellifluous doctor" is anything but disparaging of secular wisdom. Only, one should not become blinded by such knowledge to the detriment of the soul, which is a perfectly reasonable statement given the tradition within which Bernard was writing and within the intellectual context of the 12th century.

Thus, the literature of the Early Middle High German period does provide numerous illustrations of the "simple life" of the Christian and is, as a result, reasonably accessible from this point of view. The good Christian is one who is not enmeshed in the pursuit of wealth for its own sake, performs acts of charity, and is just in his dealings with others, especially the poor and powerless. Interestingly, the institution of the Church is missing in almost all works, something which lends support to the thesis that the ultimate roots of the ideology in the poetry are to be found in the general wave of popular piety movements sweeping Europe at this time.

The motif of the "simple life" in the secular literature of the *Blütezeit* is less obvious to determine, especially in the chivalric epics of the period. Yet, in spite of the new subject matter and the modern genre of the courtly epic, the motif of—as Walther von der Vogelweide puts it—"wie man zer werlte solte leben" remains constant. How must one conduct one's life so that one is pleasing both to God and the world, or, to speak again with Walther, what must one do in order to unite in one heart "guot and werltlich êre und gotes hulde mêre"? Walther, as is known, maintained that this life of balance would only be possible when both peace and justice would again become the rule of the day.³⁴ Surely it is no coincidence that these two conditions, prerequisite for the proper order of society in Walther's view, are precisely those which have been held up as the most desirable consequences of a "simple life" by the ancients as well as by Christians. Throughout the ages, justice has been put forth as a worthy goal. And what is peace if not the perfect realization of justice and love of neighbor?

The Arthurian epics of Hartmann evidence similar concerns. Although Hart-

mann's *Erec* and *Iwein* are each unique, they do have in common the theme of the seemingly perfect knight who is separated from society by some defect in his character and by his lack of insight into the true nature of knighthood. Both must engage on quests with the ostensible purpose of rejoining society. Eventually, they succeed, but they are now no longer members of the Arthurian society which they had left, but rather have moved beyond the one-dimensional, nondeveloping Arthurian world. At the end of the two epics, the heroes have gained a deeper insight into themselves and into the higher purpose of their calling. In both cases, the higher purpose is to rule: Erec as king and Iwein as the lord of the magical spring. The key to their new insight is their apprehension of charity and service to society, understood, of course, as the courtly society. Erec has fallen into disrepute because he prefers to spend all his time in dalliance with the fair Enite and, thus, neglects his chivalric duties. In his quest to vindicate himself, he engages in a decisive battle with Mabonagrin in the *joi de la curt* episode. By defeating Mabonagrin and, at the same time, freeing him from his pledge to his lady that he would never leave her side to engage in chivalric pursuits, Erec has done a great service to courtly society. He has liberated Mabonagrin and his lady and has restored joy to Mabonagrin's court.³⁵ Indeed, it is Erec himself who best formulates the essence of courtly existence when he says to Mabonagrin, "bî den liuten ist sô guot." In other words, the knight should not live apart from society as Mabonagrin did with his lady in their enclosed garden, or as Erec did with Enite after their marriage. Rather, the duty of the knight, especially the knight who is to be a ruler, is to be part of courtly society; being in the society is good and positive, for society offers the knight the opportunity to serve it and to bring it joy. According to Hartmann, self-centered individuals are not proper representatives of the court, nor, in the case of Erec, are they fit to rule. But no sooner has Erec arrived at his insight that the highest purpose of the chivalric calling is to serve society and to be a part of it, than nothing more stands in his way to become king. And Hartmann relates that Erec ruled wisely and well, was pleasing both to God and man, and both he and Enite were granted the crown of salvation after they had put their earthly crown aside.

In the prologue to his *Iwein*, Hartmann states: "Swer an rehte güete / wendet sîn gemüete / dem volget saelde und êre."³⁶ *Saelde* is usually interpreted as referring to the grace of God, and *êre*, to one's reputation in the world—in other words, a concern identical with Walther's. Above all, however, Hartmann wishes to come to grips with the problem of *aventure*. The essence of chivalric existence is not to ride out willy-nilly on quests which serve no other purpose than the supposed glorification of the individual knight. On the contrary, the *aventure* must serve the needs of others. Thus, during the period when Iwein is attempting to return to Arthurian society, he engages in a series of adventures which involve helping other people regardless of the risk to himself or to his ultimate goal of reconciliation with his wife. In the latter part of *Iwein*, all the hero's adventures have a purpose, and that purpose is to be of aid to others. Whether confronted

with the plight of the *Burgherr* whose sons were slain or mistreated by the giant Harpin ("nû erbarmt ez sêre / der riter der des lewen pflac"; 4740-41), and moved by the pitiful sight of the abused sons themselves ("den gast begunde erbarmen / diu grôze nôt die sî liten"; 4932-33), or whether stirred by the lamentable state of the three hundred noble ladies forced to work ("nu erbarmet in ir ungemach"; 6507), Iwein is guided by the virtue of compassion (*erbermde*). The wisdom which this new insight provides enables Iwein to bring all his adventures to a successful conclusion, and to be reunited with his wife, Laudine. And like Erec, he is then worthy and qualified to rule wisely.

In the Arthurian epics of Hartmann von Aue, one is faced with a secularization of the Christian concept of the "simple life." The direct influence is not to be sought in the concept developed within the hierarchical thought of the Christian Church, nor in monastic reflection, but rather in the theses underlying the popular (and orthodox) piety movement of the 12th century. The key to the chivalric simple life is service to society, here understood, as noted above, to be the courtly society. By fulfilling their obligations as Christian knights, again without the official institution of the Church appearing, the members of the chivalric order will achieve salvation. And although Wolfram's *Parzival* is a chapter in itself in the history of medieval spirituality³⁷ and, for that reason, cannot be treated within the confines of this survey, it is precisely Wolfram who has best expressed the purpose of chivalric life and effort:

Swes lebn sich sô verendet,
daz got niht wirt gepfendet
der sêle durch des lîbes schulde,
und der doch der werlde hulde
behalten kan mit werdekeit,
daz ist ein nütziu arbeit.³⁸

The quest for the meaning of the "simple life" since classical antiquity has been anything but uncomplicated. Nonetheless, the impulses which emanated from the ancient schools, especially from the Stoics, have been received and transmitted, through the most varied Christian filters, to the Middle Ages. The purpose of human existence in the 12th and 13th centuries is still the union with the *logos*, now understood as God. And while the method of attaining this end for the lay person does not involve contemplation and separation from the world, the attributes necessary are the same: moderation and selflessness. And like Plato's Guardians, so, too, must the medieval Christian knights—in theory, at least—provide actively for the well-being and security of their society. By so doing, they are acting in the most medieval way, one which would be quite appropriate also today. They are useful to their fellow human beings.

Notes

- 1 Rüdiger Vischer, *Das einfache Leben: Wort- und motivgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu einem Wertbegriff der antiken Literatur* (Göttingen, 1965), pp. 132–35. Theocritus' "Ninth Idyll" can be taken as a good example. The opening verses:

Sing a pastoral song, Daphnis,
and begin the singing. You first,
Daphnis, and you, Menalkas,
follow when you've put the calves
beneath the cows, and the bulls
with the barren heifers, to graze
together and wander in the grove
but never stray from the herd.

Daphnis sings:

Sweetly sounds the calf, and the cow,
and sweetly the cowherd with his pipe,
and sweetly I. Beside the cool brook
is my bed of leaves piled with fine skins
of white calves the evil southwest wind
swept from the cliff as they browsed
on arbutus. And I care
no more for scorching summer
than a lover cares for the words
of his father or mother.

- The Idylls of Theokritos*, trans. Barriss Mills, 4th ed. (West Lafayette, 1968), p. 37.
2 *The Georgics of Virgil*, trans. C. Day Lewis (New York, 1947):

Oh, too lucky for words, if only he knew his luck,
Is the countryman who far from the class of armaments
Lives, and rewarding earth is lavish of all he needs!
True, no mansion tall with a swanky gate throws up
In the morning a mob of callers to crowd him out and gape at
Doorposts inlaid with beautiful tortoiseshell, attire
Of gold brocade, connoisseur's bronzes.
No foreign dyes may stain his white fleeces, nor exotic
Spice like cinnamon spoil his olive oil for use:
But calm security and a life that will not cheat you,
Rich in its own rewards, are here: the broad ease of the farmlands,
Caves, living lakes, and combs that are cool even at midsummer,
Mooing of herds, and slumber mild in the tree's shade.
Here are glades game-haunted,
Lads hardened to labour, inured to simple ways,
Reverence for God, respect for the family. When Justice
Left earth, her latest footprints were stamped on folk like these.
(v. 458–74)

With regard to this *Georgic* as a reaction to the stresses of urban life, Vischer writes: "Das Leben in der Stadt ist durch Luxus, Verlogenheit und Haltlosigkeit gekennzeichnet; mit dem Bild der Welle ['mob'] trifft Vergil nicht nur die einmalige Situation beim morgendlichen Empfang, sondern das ganze Lebensgefühl des entwurzelten und haltlos hin- und hergeworfenen städtischen Proletariates. Demgegenüber ist das Leben auf dem Lande äußerlich einfacher und mühevoller (V. 472). Aber der unmittelbare Erwerb der Nahrung aus dem Schoße der *iustissima tellus* macht den Menschen unabhängig. Gleichzeitig erzieht die Erde, welche nur die eigene Anstrengung mit Erfolg lohnt, den Menschen zu einer Haltung der Gerechtigkeit. Wie seine Nahrung unverfälscht ist, bleibt seine Gesinnung frei von Betrug. Nicht die leeren Vergnügungen der Stadt blenden

ihn, sondern er erfreut sich an den Schätzen und Schönheiten der Natur. Im bäuerlichen Bereich kann noch Gerechtigkeit und Frömmigkeit walten" (pp. 154f.).

- 3 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, vol. 1, trans. Frank Justus Miller (Cambridge, Mass., 1960).
- 4 Diodorus of Sicily, vol. 3, trans. C. H. Oldfather (Cambridge, Mass., 1939); here, bk. 5, 66: 4-6.
- 5 Polybius writes: "Weil sie auf der Blätterstreu schliefen und Fleisch aßen, weil sie ferner außer Krieg und Landwirtschaft nichts anderes trieben, war ihre Lebensweise einfach, und weder besondere Kenntnisse noch technische Fertigkeiten waren bei ihnen überhaupt bekannt." Quoted by Vischer, p. 16.
- Strabo's observations are quite similar: "Ihre Lebensgewohnheiten sind teils ähnlich denen der Kelten, teils noch primitiver und barbarischer, so daß einige von ihnen, obwohl sie viel Milch haben, keinen Käse herstellen, weil sie die Kenntnisse dazu nicht besitzen; so daß sie ferner auch Gartenbau und andere Formen der Landwirtschaft nicht kennen." Quoted by Vischer, p. 17.
- 6 Plato, *The Republic*, in: *The Dialogues of Plato*, trans. B. Jowett, vol. 1 (New York, 2d ed. 1937).
- 7 For Socrates, this type of life was the best one could have. For when Glaucon objects to the lack of relish for food and comfortable furnishings like reclining sofas and dining tables for the members of this society, Socrates unfolds a vision of a state in which luxury, illness, and war are the logical outcomes.
- 8 "And at his [the unjust man's] side let us place the just man in his nobleness and simplicity, wishing, as Aeschylus says, to be and not to seem good."
- 9 Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses*, vol. 1, trans. J. W. Cohoon (Cambridge, Mass., 1932; repr. 1971), p. 67.
- 10 Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, vol. 8, trans. Earnest Cary (Cambridge, Mass., 1925; repr. 1968), p. 369.
- 11 Trajan appears again in the *Kaiserchronik* from around the middle of the 12th century. He is one of the "good emperors" who, although a heathen, is saved because of his devotion to justice during his lifetime. In fact, he is such a paragon that the Regensburg poet admonishes the rulers of his own time to take Trajan and his activities on behalf of the people as an example.
- 12 Lactantius, *De ira dei liber*, ed. and trans. H. Kraft and A. Wlosok (Darmstadt, 1971), p. 79.
- 13 Clement of Alexandria, *Christ the Educator*, trans. Simon P. Wood, C.P. (Washington, D.C., 1954), pp. 93-110.
- 14 Basil the Great, "Homily 20: Of Humility," trans. Sister M. Monica Wagner, C.S.C., in *St. Basil: Ascetical Works* (Washington, D.C., 1950), pp. 475-86.
- 15 [Saint] Augustine, *De vera religione*, trans. John H. S. Burleigh, in [Saint] Augustine: *Earlier Writings* (Philadelphia, 1953), pp. 225-83; here, p. 244.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 236.
- 17 John of Damascus, "The Orthodox Faith," trans. Frederic H. Chase, Jr., in *John of Damascus: Writings* (New York, 1958), p. 187.
- 18 Saint Augustine, *The City of God Against the Pagans*, vol. 3, trans. David S. Wiesen (Cambridge, Mass., 1968) bk. 9, p. 10.
- 19 St. Bernard of Clairvaux provides many examples of this train of mystical thought in most of his writings. The following statements are taken from his *Five Books on Consideration: Advice to a Pope*, trans. John D. Anderson and Elizabeth T. Kennan (Kalamazoo, 1976): "[God is] pure, simple, whole, perfect, constant, in no way temporal or local, taking nothing of the material world, divesting nothing of himself on it. . . . Indeed, he is one, but not a composite" (p. 159). "God, however, is not only one with respect to himself, he is also one in himself. He has nothing in him but himself" (p. 161). "But we cannot deal with the simplicity of God; while we strive to comprehend him as one, he appears to us as fourfold. This is caused by our vision through a glass darkly, the only way we can see in this life" (p. 174).
- 20 "Now the multitude of believers were of one heart and one soul, and not one of them said that anything he possessed was his own, but they had all things in common. And with great power the apostles gave testimony to the resurrection of Jesus Christ our Lord; and great grace was in them all. Nor was there anyone among them in want. For those who owned land or houses would sell them and bring the price of what they sold and lay it at the feet of the apostles, and distribution was made to each, according as any had need."
- 21 Thomas Merton, "St. Bernard on Interior Simplicity," in *Thomas Merton on Saint Bernard* (Kalamazoo, 1980), pp. 107-57; here pp. 119f. For a discussion of "simplicity" as a factor in Cistercian hagiography, see Chrysogonus Waddell, OCSO., "Simplicity and Ordinarity: The

- Climate of Early Cistercian Hagiography," in *Simplicity and Ordinariness: Studies in Medieval Cistercian History IV*, ed. John R. Sommerfeldt (Kalamazoo, 1980), pp. 1-47.
- 22 William of St. Thierry, *The Golden Epistle*, trans. Theodore Berkeley OCSO. (Kalamazoo, 1976).
- 23 "For properly speaking simplicity is a will that is wholly turned toward God, seeking one thing from the Lord with all earnestness, without any desire to disperse its energies in the world. Or again simplicity is true humility in conversion" (p. 28). The opposite of humility is, of course, pride, and William castigates those who consider themselves wise men in the world, who use the branches of learning to further their own fame and to satisfy their own curiosity. These men are not free, but rather "enslaved to their senses and their bodies." The simple men, on the other hand, the sons of God who use knowledge and the things of the world properly (i.e., only as necessity demands), "reap the fruits of the spirit, which are charity, joy, peace, patience, kindness, forbearance, generosity, gentleness, faith, temperateness, chastity, continence and the piety which promises well both for this life and for the next" (pp. 32f.).
- 24 John B. Freed, *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), p. 4. The biblical basis for this new interpretation of the apostolic life is found in Luke 10: 1-16. In verses 3-4, for example, Christ says to his newly appointed disciples: "Go. Behold I send you forth as lambs in the midst of wolves. Carry neither purse, nor wallet, nor sandals, and greet no one on the way." For further information on popular religious movements and heresies, see Christopher Brooke, "Heresy and Religious Sentiment: 1000-1250," in his *Medieval Church and Society: Collected Essays* (London, 1971), pp. 139-61; Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, rev. and exp. ed. (New York, 1971); Herbert Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1935; repr. Darmstadt, 1961); Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from Bogomil to Hus* (New York, 1977); Stephen Ozment, *The Age of Reform, 1250-1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe* (New Haven and London, 1980).
- 25 Freed, *Friars*, p. 5. Part of the problem with the various preachers and movements for the institutional Church was the fanaticism with which the material world was denounced as evil, especially by the Bobomils and, later, the Cathars. This attitude was in complete opposition to the evolving position of the Church during the period of the Gregorian reform in the late 11th century which, along with gaining the freedom of the Church from lay control, also affirmed earthly existence and the value of work as an appropriate Christian endeavor. In this regard, see Francis G. Gentry, "Arbeit in der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft: Die Entwicklung einer mittelalterlichen Theorie der Arbeit vom 11. bis zum 14. Jahrhundert," in *Arbeit als Thema in der deutschen Literatur vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Reinhold Grimm and Jost Hermand (Königstein/Ts., 1979), pp. 3-28.
- 26 That St. Francis was an ardent advocate of the simple life is well known. His acceptance of external nature is especially remarkable and lends depth to his concept of the simple life and his benign view of the creatures which inhabit it as manifestations of the Divinity. Nowhere is this gentleness and simplicity better expressed than in his *Canticle of Brother Sun*. Some excerpts:

Praised be you, my Lord, for Brother Wind,
 And for the air—cloudy and serene—and every kind of weather,
 By which you give sustenance to your creatures.
 Praised be you, my Lord, for Sister Water,
 Which is very useful and humble and precious and chaste.
 Praised be you, my Lord, for Brother Fire,
 By whom you light the night,
 And he is beautiful and jocund and robust and strong.
 Praised be you, my Lord, for our sister Mother Earth,
 who sustains and governs us,
 And produces various fruits with colored flowers and herbs.

From *Bonaventure*, trans. Ewert Cousins (New York/Ramsey/Toronto, 1978), pp. 27f.

- 27 The areas most affected were Lombardy, Southern France, Flanders-Brabant, and the Lower Rhine area; see Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen*, pp. 519-24.
- 28 Complicating matters is the new affirmation of the world brought about by the struggle to free the Church from lay control which resulted in the significant expansion of territorial interests

- in Germany, the rise of the class of ministerials, and a growing prosperity, especially in the towns. See Gentry, n. 25 above.
- 29 See Francis G. Gentry, "Noker's *Memento mori* and the Desire for Peace," *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 16 (1981): 25-62; Hugo Kuhn, "Minne oder recht," in his *Dichtung und Welt im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1969), pp. 105-11.
- 30 "Er geschûf an uns dû gilit alli / ein ander dîniti. / dû gilit, dû dir sint âni di èri, / der bidurfi wir mêri. / nû ni mugin di ougin virwîzzin / di nidirf den vûzzon. / alsus biri wir under uns gilegin, / wî wir brüderlichi sulint insamint lebin" (v. 197-204). *Kleinere deutsche Gedichte des XI. und XII. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Albert Waag (Halle, 1916).
- 31 See Francis G. Gentry, "'Ex oriente lux': 'Translatio' Theory in Early Middle High German Literature," in *Spectrum Medii Aevi: Essays in Honor of George Fenwick Jones*. Ed. William C. McDonald (Göppingen, 1983), pp. 119-37.
- 32 Helmut de Boor, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*. Vol. 1 (Munich, 1949), p. 173.
- 33 Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermons on the Song of Songs II*, trans. Kilian Walsh (Kalamazoo, 1976). In his remarks to this passage, Thomas Merton (see above n. 21) writes: "St. Bernard applies the fundamental principle of simplicity to our intellectual life. The principle is: to eliminate all that is superfluous, unnecessary, indirect, and to put in the place of these an exclusive concern with the one thing necessary—the knowledge and love of God. . . . To simplify our understanding we abandon the knowledge of all that does not lead us more or less directly to God" (pp. 126f.).
- 34 "Untriuwe ist in der sâze, / gewalt vert ûf der strâze: / vride unde recht sint sêre wunt. / diu driu enhabent geleites niht, diu zwei enwerden ê gesunt."
- 35 "Ir sît ze grôzer saelikeit / disem hove her komen, / wan mit mir was in benomen / elliu sîn wünne gar, / und was et schoener vreuden bar" (v. 9591-95). *Erec*, ed. by Albert Leitzmann [4th ed. by Ludwig Wolff] (Tübingen, 1967).
- 36 *Iwein: Eine Erzählung von Hartmann von Aue*. Edited and annotated by G. F. Benecke and Karl Lachmann. Rev. Ludwig Wolff, 6th ed. (Berlin, 1959), v. 1-3.
- 37 In this regard, see Peter Wapnewski, *Wolframs Parzival: Studien zur Religiosität und Form* (Heidelberg, 1955), pp. 174-96.
- 38 Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*. Ed. Karl Lachmann, 6th ed. (Berlin / Leipzig, 1926), pp. 827, 19-24.

Profiles of Pastoral Protagonists, 1504–1754: Derivations and Social Implications

GERHART HOFFMEISTER

At first glance, all seems well in 16th- and 17th-century pastorals. Shepherds and their lasses seem to enjoy an insouciant life-style without discipline, work ethics, and laws impinging on their personal freedom. Their only purpose in life appears to be love and songs. Yet, as the Golden Age of the Renaissance draws to a close and develops its dark sides, too, there are indications that the simple life as portrayed in the pastoral novel becomes increasingly precarious, that the standard *locus amoenus* occasionally blends with, and even yields to, the *locus terribilis*,¹ and that upon closer inspection it is found that the masterpieces of the European pastoral novel already bear the seeds of the ultimate demise of the genre. In this context, I want to raise two questions. To what extent, if at all, do the pastoral heroes of European stature incarnate or, at least, share in the Edenic bliss? And how did German bucolic writers react to them, if they did not go their own way?

Approaching pastoral literature from this angle goes far beyond my reception-oriented dissertation of the Spanish *Diana* in Germany² and is the result of a recent learning process on my part which has opened my eyes to the more ambiguous aspects of the Edenic myth.

European Models and Their Dissemination

Sireno and Céladon, the Aristocratic Shepherds

All late Renaissance and Baroque pastorals derive their inspiration from Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (Naples, 1504), the first successful bucolic romance in the vernacular since Virgil's eclogues. Sannazaro's followers took over his mixed-genre format in prose eclogue and pastoral novel, his insertion of love theory into the narrative, of festivities, of myth- and storytelling as well as of the petrarchist conflict between shepherd and cruel nymph. Sannazaro's protagonist Sincero, who withdraws to Arcadia in utter despair over his war-torn Naples and his unrequited love, also provides the classical entrance for Montemayor's Sireno³ and d'Urfé's Céladon, who sing about their present melancholic state and evoke their past happiness.

Descending from the mountains to the river pastures of León, Sireno commemorates his past bliss and his alienation from his beloved Diana. Apart from his pastoral accoutrements, there is nothing much to identify him as a shepherd or even a real person, except that he can sing like a dying thornbird. Actually, he seems to be interchangeable with many another perfect, unswervingly faithful lover, characterized by somewhat transparent qualities such as purity and honesty. His main function seems to be to lament his love pains and to praise the divine beauty of his lady. What is at the bottom of this flat image of Sireno is the entire tradition of ideal "courtly platonism," which turns him into its standard bearer without identity and will of his own. In the throes of love, he is not even supposed to be himself, because this would detract from his transparency, introspection, and paradigmatic role.⁴

To put it differently, Sireno has donned his pastoral outfit as a costume, as Montemayor himself admits,⁵ yet without intention of doing any genuine shepherd's work.⁶ Although he pays lip service to the conventional idea of "Contempt of the Court and Praise of the Simple Life,"⁷ he apparently belongs to the sophisticated world of the court and the learned, as did Virgil's Tityrus and Sannazaro's Sincero before him. By the same token, Montemayor prefers courtly reality over pastoral utopia, considering his long eulogy of courtly ladies (*Canto de Orpheo*, bk. 4), the inlaid story of courtly Felismena and Don Felis (bk. 2), the description of the allegorical palace and the sumptuous costumes of its inhabitants as well as the dedication of his novel to a nobleman. More important, Sireno seems to follow tradition in representing the poet Montemayor himself, a high-spirited noble soul and singer who left the court in order better to deal with its problems from a distance. Sireno epitomizes courtly essence because he stands for the aristocracy of spirit which a true lover ought to possess. He devotes his entire life to love. His suffering from its pangs without expectation of recompense,⁸ his patient serving his lady until death, at the cost of his will, his self, and his freedom: all this confirms the nobility of his soul, an idea recurrent in literature since the troubadours and the *dolce stil nuovo* of Guido Guinizelli.⁹ His neoplatonic followers¹⁰ elaborated on the conflict between pure and sensual love as well as on the suffering that results from loving a married woman. The traditional triangle of courtly love is also at the root of Sireno's problems, because his beloved Diana married a rich husband during his prolonged absence. Thus, whereas his suffering reaches new heights of noble feelings, her superhuman beauty (p. 29) has been morally undermined by her succumbing to her father's wishes and society's pressure at large.

Montemayor was the first to introduce neoplatonism into the pastoral novel and to fuse it with the courtly love concept.¹¹ In keeping with this increase in spirituality, his shepherd has turned transparent and the *locus amoenus* has been reduced to its bare essentials.¹² Sireno's introspection goes hand in hand with the spiritual character of Montemayor's style and the paradisiac atmosphere.

But this ambiance becomes an easy target for the intrusion of anti-utopian forces. The destructive drives of this world are symbolized by three wild men bent on raping some nymphs, but also by the tyranny of love itself over the will of men and women. According to Barbara Mujica, "Diana herself is the epitome of negativism,"¹³ a desperate victim of her own infidelity and, as such, the anti-ideal of the courtly lady. Even Sireno is not what he pretends to be; rather, he comes across as an essentially anti-pastoral figure who, despite his many protestations of unfailing loyalty, has decided to keep Diana as much out of his heart by learning indifference to her charms as his creator Montemayor has largely managed to keep her out of his book, where she is conspicuous by being absent most of the time. If his novel is to be read as a *roman à clef*, then he seems to have written it for therapeutic purposes after a disastrous love affair and with the intent to take revenge on the woman.¹⁴ Thus it appears that the utopian harmony turns out to be merely a thin cover for the alienation occurring in the real world. After all, it seems to have been Montemayor's purpose to demonstrate his utter *desengaño* over the feasibility of true love in his life.

Contemporary, mostly aristocratic, readers don't seem to have realized Sireno's darker sides; what interested them most was his staunch defense of perfect love. It must suffice to mention two examples of the German Montemayor reception. It was Baron Hans Ludwig von Kuffstein who in his translation of 1619 keeps emphasizing and elaborating on the hierarchical social order and courtly requirements governing daily relations among shepherds. Surely he grasped the essentially aristocratic character of the pastoral and acted to strengthen matters of decorum in social affairs at the expense of describing the private, intimate, and erotic aspects of life as well as the genuinely pastoral or even rustic elements of the setting.¹⁵

Kuffstein's translation enjoyed its greatest success among the Nuremberg *Pegnitz-Schäfer*: for instance, Sigmund von Birken, who revived the fiction of the lovelorn Sireno in his prose eclogue *Floridans Verliebter und Geliebter Sireno* (1656). Like his Spanish namesake, Birken's Sireno suffers from pangs of love,¹⁶ unsure whether he can expect life or death from his beloved,¹⁷ lost to himself, yet finally regaining himself by winning her hand with the aid of Cupid. As a result, the Spanish model has been completely transformed in format, spirit, and character. The indifferent yet courtly Sireno has been replaced by a protagonist who fulfills all the expectations of a dutiful prospective son-in-law in urban society, before he can yield to the anacreontic pleasures of conjugal happiness.

Much closer to Montemayor remained Honoré d'Urfé, who clearly identified himself with the Spanish protagonist when he depicted his unhappy love to Diane de Chateaurand, his brother's wife, in his pastoral poem *Sireine* (MS. 1596). It must have seemed like a miracle that after twenty-five years of loving her from a distance, he was finally able to marry her, his brother's marriage having been annulled. To be sure, this personal experience was the driving force behind d'Urfé's desire to only slightly transform Sireno into Céladon, chief exponent

of a self-effacing love cult in the service of his deified Astrée, title heroine of his 5000-page pastoral novel (1607f.). In all major aspects, d'Urfé apparently followed his model and his predecessors Guarini (*Il Pastor fido*, 1599), Tasso (*Aminta*, 1573), Sannazaro, and Virgil. In characterization and love concept, in his psychological focus and structural strategy using intercalated tales to present different levels of reality, he comes close to Montemayor. As living examples of the workings of the chain of unrequited loves, his characters are in search of the magic Fountain of True Love.¹⁸ Like Montemayor, d'Urfé fused stylized features of the *locus amoenus* convention with topographically exact specifics of his native countryside, Forez to the West of Lyon, staging area for his 5th-century pastoral "theater"¹⁹ as well as inscape for his shepherds who have assembled there out of a moral choice, believing Forez to be better than Paris with its overpowering court.

The novel opens *in medias res*, with Céladon having been dropped by Astrée on account of alleged infidelity, and ready to drown himself in despair. Yet he is saved by princess Galathée from a nearby court. Later on, he manages to escape from her seductive snares and, disguised as a girl, rejoins Astrée as Alexis, staying with her, saving her life during a war, but being banished once more and ordered to die in the Lions' Den when Astrée discovers his disguise. However, thanks to the Druid Adamas and the god of Love, the distraught Astrée and Céladon, both seeking death, finally meet at the miraculous Fountain and marry.

With Céladon, d'Urfé popularized the paragon of a perfect lover whose passion has been sublimated into an honorable sentiment (*honneste amitié*); its leading characteristics are virtue, modesty, and constant loyalty tested in the depths of misery. D'Urfé's preface "au Berger Céladon" is as telling as are Céladon's entrance into the novel and his code of conduct. According to his author, Céladon's love cannot exist "without respect and obedience."²⁰ In the opening scene, he is ready to sacrifice his life to prove his constancy (p. 41). The effects of this all-powerful kind of love are imprinted on him. He is pale and constantly sighing, lost to himself and to the world, defenseless and in despair; yet he never quite abandons hope, being a courageous lover who knows that the death of his self amounts to the spiritual rebirth in the other. Thus, to the sophisticated reading audience of his days, he must have presented himself as the ideal platonic lover who completely sublimated his sexual drive; in bondage to his deified lady, he became the idol of *précieux* society at court and in salons.²¹ The guiding principles of his conduct were laid down in the Twelve Tables of the Laws of Love and inscribed in Astrée's temple for all to memorize and practice (pp. 136-39).

Yet the ideal of eternally pure love remains abstract and, with its requirement to stop loving oneself (Law No. 3) even to the point of losing one's reason (Law No. 11), must be compromised for the story to go on. Céladon fails miserably in his spiritual quest, a fact not too well known, because most readers cannot have gotten far beyond the coded love formulae of part 2, book 5. Actually, he becomes the foremost victim of the god of Love, who changed his authority into

tyranny over Forez (p. 36). Céladon is not only forced to use trickery to overcome parental opposition to his love, but also frequent female disguises to get close to Astrée: either in order to be able to judge her the most beautiful shepherdess in the nude, or by living intimately with her under the guise of Alexis. Taking the platonic "death wish" literally, he not only desires to be Astrée, but puts this wish into practice, first helping her to undress, then donning her clothing, thereupon caressing himself, and finally worshipping the real Astrée asleep and awake (part 3, books 9–10).

Thus it turns out that Céladon is a much more problematic figure than a first glance reveals because, on the one hand, he is in danger of total self-abnegation (suicide) and alienation from his community²² while, on the other, he has to use all sorts of ruses to maintain his role as a platonic lover.

This outcome urges us to question the authenticity of the blissful pastoral world and the illusion of utter harmony in the Forez region, which d'Urfé apparently selected in response to the chaos of the French Religious Wars (La Ligue, 1576–1594). Are these shepherds, relocated in the Golden Age of 5th-century Gaul, genuine? Do they really lead a sweeter and freer life²³ than those people left behind in society—and if not, what are the implications? All evidence presented by French scholars so far points to the breakdown, for several reasons, of d'Urfé's illusion of a better pastoral world beyond: 1. Céladon almost kills himself to live up to the platonic commandments; he fails in his quest because he is made of flesh and blood. 2. Under the pastoral mask, there hide highly sophisticated melancholy beings who have not been born as shepherds but as descendants of knights and ladies with noble lineages who, as d'Urfé informs his readers, have put on their rustic habit without giving up on courtly decorum.²⁴ In fact, he compares his shepherds to actors on a theater stage (p. 407), playing a role. "Living as shepherds, they are in essence nobility."²⁵ 3. Even the Forez region is divided into a pastoral left bank and a courtly right bank with Galathée's palace and Marcilly castle, whereby Edenic life is dangerously juxtaposed with the outside world. 4. As divided as this region is its society; "the nymphs represent high aristocracy, the druids the hierarchy of the Church, the shepherds all ranks of nobles and bourgeoisie."²⁶ Thus it is no wonder that only characters of the same class and property value can finally marry.²⁷

Moreover, not only does the god of Love rule tyrannically through courtly ladies such as Astrée, who has dictatorial powers over the life and death of her servant, but social conventions, too, constantly restrict the golden freedoms of Eden. When d'Urfé embarked on analyzing "the divers effects of 'honneste amitié' " (subtitle), he was perhaps unwittingly opening the floodgates of society's rules of *bienséance* to be maintained throughout by "parents, spies, and voyeurs."²⁸ That is why so many disguises and subterfuges are necessary to keep up appearances and to be able to escape from constantly being watched.²⁹ Essentially then, the pastoral community turns into the mirror image of feudal society, and the search for a cure from social ills ends in the reassertion of social conven-

tions and lies. As Erich Köhler put it succinctly: With absolutist order securely in place, pastoral freedom has been sacrificed.³⁰ Actually, the pastoral novel reached a point of inversion and collapse before it even began to flourish in Germany.

The story of Céladon's reception among French and German readers is quickly told, at least in outline. Having divided his own time between the court, the Parisian salons, and his native "Académie Florimontane," d'Urfé struck an immediate sympathetic chord with *précieux* society which strove to purify its sentiments, its language, and behavior. For this reason, his novel provided plots for pastoral plays enacted in the Hôtel de Rambouillet (1618f.) to improve the moral tone of society. But an adversary reaction was not long in coming; Charles Sorel ridiculed the false rustic life of Céladon in *Lysis*, the protagonist of his famous *Le Berger extravagant*, a cervantesque novel of 1627, since 1633 also published as *L'Antiroman*. *Lysis* has lost his reason through overexposure to pastoral romances and becomes a shepherd, until finally his wits are restored. After this parody no French pastoral novel was written.³¹

German reactions were equally divided. Great enthusiasm on the one hand led to the foundation of an "Académie de vrais amants" at the Köthen-Anhalt court in 1624, as well as to the translation and adaptation of d'Urfé's plot³² and *précieux* love concept.³³ German baroque poems addressed to various body parts of divine *Astrée* abound; however, it was a German student poet from Regensburg, by the name of Georg Greflinger, who not only joined the "Elbschwanenorden" under the nickname *Seladon*, but who also published an entire anthology called *Seladons Beständige Liebe*.³⁴ Yet, playing the role of the constant Céladon in a song such as "Gute Nacht jhr gailen Brüder" (p. 4) did not prevent him from occasionally putting on the mask of Céladon's antagonist, the erotic superman *Hylas*, the French counterpart to *Don Juan*.³⁵

The Foolish Shepherd

Sincero, Sireno, and Céladon suffer from the melancholy of love, a pathological state of mind which causes them to part company in order to seek solitude and even suicide, because love, the unruly tyrant, does not govern by reason.³⁶ With suicide, passionate acts, and disguises threatening the social fabric, love's follies can bring about self-destruction as well as a serious subversion of society's norms.³⁷ *Hylas* is not a fool, except when he falls in love with his counterpart *Alexis-Céladon*. On the contrary, he can even be regarded as the true hero of *L'Astrée*, as *La Fontaine* suggested,³⁸ because he is the only one to break away from social constraints to assert his free spirit and his claim to free love as if he were living in the Golden Age. Unable to stand the melancholic "sad and pensive lovers, all emotionally strung up,"³⁹ who are willing to dissipate their lives and to seek death for the cause of absolute love, *Hylas* transcribes his attack on fidelity into his parody of the Twelve Tables of Love,⁴⁰ thereby subverting the

neoplatonic dream of spirituality. Thus he emerges as both truly pastoral and, at the same time, as the most antipastoral force in this courtly theater since he represents the pleasures of the flesh, utter freedom from convention, and the element in the novel which undermines the lofty ideal of creating paradise on earth with social constraints intact. One could even go one step farther and state that Hylas mirrors the material attitudes of the rising bourgeoisie because in love he behaves like a merchant who puts a certain commodity price on a woman's beauty.⁴¹

Who dares ridicule him? The neoplatonic courtly society does; although, in the long run, it is going to lose the battle for lofty ideals of love; it turns Hylas into a fool who on account of his libertinage has to suffer the ultimate punishment, marriage. Even the *Pegnitz-Schäfer* of Nuremberg join in the laughter when they overhear Don Hylas vainly trying to win over the shepherdess Neride to his amorous designs, because his image has further deteriorated into a *crazy* shepherd modelled after Don Quijote and Charles Sorel's *Lysis*.⁴² In Sigmund von Birken's *Fortsetzung der Pegnitz-Schäferey* (1645), he appears all the more foolish since he combines love's folly with the linguistic disease of addressing his beloved *alamode* in petrarchist terms:

Mein brave Kammerkatz / ich lieb euch incredibel,
 Euch adorirt mon-coeur / acht diß für infallibel,
 Ma vie das hangt allein an eurer Huld und Gnad /
 wie hart es angustirt der Schmerzen bastonad.
 Ma foy ist jederzeit gewichtig und valabel
 Wer Damen sincerirt den hole der Diabel,
 Vnd Mors, der Lieutenant dort auf der Styger-See.⁴³

This song may not amount to as radical an inversion of platonic petrarchism as Hylas' Twelve Tables, or as hilarious a parody as the one Charles Sorel offers of the "synthetic" petrarchist lady by way of an actualized "metaphorical portrait,"⁴⁴ but it is as much fun to listen to.

Strong reactions to d'Urfé were not limited to Hylas; but as Hylas himself inverts Céladon's aristocratic views, so did German pastoral writers of the Baroque age satirize them. To illustrate this point, I refer to the first German original novel of 1630, the pastoral *Amoena und Amandus* (short title), which can be read as a parody of gallant love à la Céladon. As if inspired by Hylas' realism, Amoena rejects the rhetorical conventions of petrarchist language along with courtly wooing practices; and Amandus finally decides to break off their affair on account of a business trip.⁴⁵ Thus, the ideal of *honneste amitié* seems to be finished in Germany even before the pastoral novel had a chance to rise. This impression is reinforced by two literary perversions of Céladon, namely Leoriander in *Die verwüstete vnd verödete Schäferey* (1642) and Floridan in Jacob Schwieger's *Die verführere Schäferin Cynthia* (1660).

Leoriander, an enhanced Céladon,⁴⁶ is also his most accomplished parody

in Germany: of noble lineage, of courtly behavior and petrarchist training, he emerges as the perfect foolish lover in the vein of Don Hylas, flawlessly faithful until death, and risking his self-respect under the onslaught of a "fate" which turns out to be the whoring Perelina, *contrafactura* of the petrarchist lady, another Courasche or female Hylas, slave to passionate lovemaking and "antipenelope" (p. 155). What results is "a negative idyll,"⁴⁷ an inverted pastoral novella whose protagonist suffers not only from the melancholy of foolish love, despite all evidence of infidelity, but also from melancholy induced by war (p. 103), which, incidentally, brings him much closer to Perelina than expected, because both have fallen moral victims of war's ravages (p. 119) and have accordingly wound up as parodies of courtly behavior.⁴⁸ The title itself, *Die verwüstete und verödete Schäferrey*, suggests the wartime destruction of Arcadia and its lofty ideals on which it flourished. To elaborate a bit on d'Urfé's image of the Forez region: The right bank with its warring passions has crossed the bridge and finally occupied the pastoral left bank, swallowed it up entirely, making it impossible to continue the make-belief of a harmonious world.

Floridan is just another name for Céladon-Lysis or Don Hylas. That he, a cross between Don Quixote and Céladon, has become the satirical target of a sharp anticourtly attack is due to his being unmasked as the paragon of courtly seduction methods practiced on an unsuspecting girl. Until then, she had been living innocently in pastoral bliss, but finally she fell for his glittering *alamode* fashion, language, and gestures. Thus, gallant love as the end product of the courtly petrarchist tradition has turned into a dangerous, cynical technique jeopardizing the moral integrity of bucolic life.⁴⁹

Whereas Montemayor's and d'Urfé's pastorals mirror their authors' aristocratic ideology, these German antipastorals in pastoral costume claim to be *Privat-wercke* that distance their authors from the courtly scene. Since some of these works appeared anonymously, one is tempted to speculate that their authors concealed their true identity and chose the pastoral mask, because this allowed them to attack outlandish courtly behavior (*Alamode*) in a time of national crisis such as the Thirty Years' War and its aftermath. Who these authors were is not quite clear, yet since Arnold Hirsch⁵⁰ repeated attempts have been made to see something like a united front between the landed gentry, which had lost most of its former functions in an absolutist system of government, and academically trained citizens employed at the courts. Wilhelm Voßkamp, for instance, divides the German pastoral novel as *Privat-wercke* into the more gentry-oriented and the more "bourgeois"-focused works, yet both groups seem to exploit the *Narrenfreiheit* provided by the pastoral genre to carve out a realm of their own, a world not governed by courtly decorum, social constraints, and moral shortcomings in their wake.⁵¹

Another completely different reaction to the foolish lover à la Céladon and Hylas also took place: that was the religious *contrafactura*, a possibility derived from the Song of Solomon and the psalms of David frequently practiced by Chris-

tian petrarchists and mystics. As we have seen in Montemayor's and d'Urfé's case, their courtly shepherds are essentially petrarchist lovers who have dedicated themselves totally to their lady to the point of self-abnegation; they are suffering from their passion and are ready to die for love. Carmelite mystics such as Juan de la Cruz and Jesuit poets such as Friedrich von Spee could easily transpose this worldly love situation onto a spiritual plane, using the same bucolic nature setting for contrastive ends. The first pertinent example is provided by the Cistercian Fray Bartolomé Ponce, who was so shocked by Montemayor's enthusiastic readership at the Madrid Court⁵² that in his religious novel *Primera parte de la Diana a lo divino* (1581) he transformed the shepherdess Diana into the Blessed Virgin and Sireno into her divine loving Soul. Luckily for him, he did not have to rewrite much to make this work.

D'Urfé's *L'Astrée* met a similar fate, although on a smaller scale. For instance, when the Protestant Baroness Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg meditated upon Christ's passion, she used d'Urfé as her point of departure in one of her poems subtitled: "Als ich die französische Astree beyseit gelegt" (1662). In it, she rejects the sinful games of love Céladon and Astrée are involved in on the banks of the River Lignon; instead, she dedicates her soul's desire to Christ, the true and only Céladon, who died for her on the River Kidron:

Astrea schön /
ich laß dich stehn: /
den Seelen-Hirt zu lieben. /
Er / der rechte Celadon /
ist beständig blieben.⁵³

As Peter Daly explains, Greiffenberg employed pastoral and petrarchist motifs in order to achieve a religious *contrafactura* of the worldly pastoral. Her stoically inspired love is exclusively devoted to God.⁵⁴

The adaptation of the worldly pastoral to devotional ends includes the poems and novel of Laurentius von Schnüffis, the Capuchin monk from Tyrol (1633–1702) who, without express recourse to *L'Astrée*, sang the praises of Daphnis, the pastor entrusted with the conversion of Clorinda the Soul to Christ (*Mirantisches Flötlein*, 1682). Here, the same principles as in Greiffenberg's *contrafactura* apply, including the rejection of all gallant lovers and beauties from Genesis on, and their replacement by the only true lover Jesus.⁵⁵ Moreover, in his pastoral novel *Philotheus, Oder deß Miranten durch die Welt vnd Hofe wunderlicher Weeg nach der Ruh-seeligen Einsamkeit* (1665), Schnüffis depicts his own career from an innocent country boy via court actor to a hermitlike monk: the *homo ludens* of the secular pastoral grows into the *homo religiosus*,⁵⁶ or fool in Christ, the true pastor who lures the soul with the charms of his petrarchist beauty to unite with him in order to be reborn.

A further glance at the mystical eroticism of the Jesuit Friedrich von Spee's *Trutznachtigall oder Geistlichs-Poetisch Lustwäldlein* (1649) and of Angelus

Silesius' *Heilige Seelen-Lust oder geistliche Lieder der in ihren Jesum verliebten Psyche* (1657) would reveal that it is usually not a question of a simple transferal of the petrarchist love situation onto Christ and his bride, because on the mystical level the borderlines between lover and beloved, shepherd and his flock become blurred. For instance, in the poem "Die gesponß Iesu lobet jhren geliebten," Jesus occupies the position of the petrarchist lady, exceeding her beauty by far but simultaneously representing pure Cupid who, in contrast to the icy lady, consists of searing fire which melts the soul of stone.⁵⁷

In my judgment, it would be foolish not to search for specific social implications of this strong German reaction to the courtly pastoral, first, on the secular level, with obvious parodies of Sireno, Céladon, and Hylas; then, in the spiritual realm, with conscious or coincidental *contrafacturae* of the wordly lover. One thing is clear: The sophisticated society of the French courts and salons, in which *précieuses dames* exerted a considerable influence over the behavior of their gallant admirers, hardly existed anywhere in Germany. As a rule, the manners of the landed aristocracy were crude; literary circles did not exist as salonlike social meeting places but as male-dominated, academically oriented *Sprachgesellschaften* at court (e.g., in Anhalt-Köthen) and in town (e.g., in Nuremberg). Yet it is doubtful whether these had a social impact comparable to that of the French salons. Only toward the end of the 17th century did regional and imperial courts slowly regain cultural ascendancy.⁵⁸ Much of the realism underlying the German reaction to refined courtly pastoral heroes may be due to this general malaise and, specifically, to the havoc the Thirty Years' War wrought.

As to mystically inspired pastoral authors, it is difficult to generalize. Yet, with the exception of Schnüffis, they belonged to the landed gentry, which had great trouble surviving within the emerging absolutist system, unless its members joined the civil service. Experiencing a steady erosion of their status, these mystics withdrew from the temptations of material values and courtly glitter. Spee is an interesting case in point, since he did not shy away from attacking the judicial procedures used in witch-hunting, albeit under a pseudonym (*Cautio criminalis*, 1631). Beyond him, however, left-wing social opposition was particularly strong in the Silesian underground of mystics represented by Jacob Böhme, Czepko, Franckenberg, and Kuhlmann.⁵⁹

Typical German Protagonists

To be sure, the great European pastoral novels were quickly translated into German,⁶⁰ but no native pastoral equivalent was created. Instead, German Baroque authors reacted in their own way to the European models by conceiving large heroic-courtly novels, by exploiting European motifs, by parodying foreign protagonists, and by transferring bucolic settings and elements into their uniquely German subgenres, i.e., the prose eclogue and the autobiographical pastoral. Verse eclogues in dialogue form derive from the *Bucolicum carmen* of Virgil, from

Boccaccio, Petrarch, Sannazaro, and Boiardo; they combine personal events with social occasions, political debate with questions about the poet's status vis-à-vis the ruling nobility. Martin Opitz knew this tradition when he introduced this genre into the German vernacular; he certainly modeled his *Schäferey von der Nimfen Hercinie* (1630) partially on Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, with its alternation of prose and lyrics as well as with the motif of a nymph's grotto visit, and partially on Montemayor and d'Urfé, by placing great emphasis on the "topographical realism" (Klaus Garber) of his promenade through the *Riesengebirge*. Opitz may even have been particularly indebted to Montemayor for the exemplary panegyric dedication of his *Diana* to a nobleman (Schaff-Gottsch) and to d'Urfé for his cultural "Gallic" sense of mission in response to the national crisis of the religious wars.⁶¹

In addition to the unusual choice of prose, Opitz's achievement seems to lie mainly in his transfer of Neolatin and Romance literary conventions to the German vernacular; most remarkable is his successful integration of a highly sophisticated team of humanist poets into a simple pastoral setting, giving them leeway to discuss the most complex moral and intellectual issues of the period, such as love and war, mythology and patriotism, foreign influences and the status of poets. This latter point is essential: Opitz, the humanist poet in the service of the courts, writes a panegyric in praise of a nobleman while at the same time revealing his own claim to nobility of scholarship (*nobilitas literaria*), presenting the results of his encyclopedic erudition in the first person narrative. With his choice of language, his patriotic praise of Silesia and critique of foreign *alamode*,⁶² his replacement of ancient mythology by German folklore, and, finally, his rejection of platonic love by the ideal of "love and marriage" (p. 17 f.), Opitz became a culturally prominent figure, thereby securing his positions at Count Dohna's in Breslau and, later, with the Duke of Liegnitz, as well as his position as court historiographer in Danzig.⁶³

Humanist poets, above all the *Pegnitz-Schäfer* of Nuremberg, followed in Opitz's wake by writing many prose eclogues, because these lent themselves well to team work.⁶⁴ As Nurembergers, they led a life free from courtly—but not city—interference; yet they persistently claimed membership in the Republic of Letters and equal chances with the nobility to rise in social standing. Similarly, Johann Rist, disciple of Opitz, member of the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* and of the Pegnitz Order, and himself founder of the Hamburg-based *Elbschwänenorden* (1660), used the pastoral mask to praise the simple life away from court, a life characterized by erudition and moral integrity, expressing the self-esteem of the learned poet who claims social status equal to feudal nobility.⁶⁵

Along with Birken's *Sireno*, this is the first pastoral text in which we encountered glimpses of a genuinely simple life. It is disturbing to realize that the ugly face of reality had, between Montemayor and the *Verwüstete Schäferey*, increasingly been encroaching upon the Edenic myth to the extent that its bliss took on anti-utopian aspects. Where bucolic life seems to have been left intact, it served

as a costume for humanist activities, such as the *giuochi di conversazione* of the *Hercinie*-type. Was this situation going to change after the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War?

“Teutschland nach außgestandenem dreyszig jährigen Kriege saß nun wieder in Ruh.”⁶⁶ Thus, Johann Thomas begins his pastoral novel *Damon und Lisille* in 1663. In keeping with bucolic conventions, he conceals his identity behind a pseudonym and seems to embark on a typical petrarchist story of ill-starred love until, a few pages afterward, the couple weds and it becomes evident that Thomas made a clean and even revolutionary break with the courtly European as well as the German pastoral tradition by focusing on everyday life *after* marriage. At the height of the German Baroque style of Gryphius and Grimmelshausen, Thomas proclaimed, “die Liebe der Lisillen / Und dann der Poeterey / Seyn von allen Regeln frey.”⁶⁷ As a consequence, he veers away from a representative to a neat and graceful style (“eine nette zierliche Verfassung,” p. 228) which serves him well in depicting, mostly in songs, the ups and downs of married life. With the loyalty of conjugal love as a source of moral strength uppermost on his agenda, Thomas inverted the traditional melancholy story as well as the affected ethos and style of *précieux* shepherds who had left court, and, after a rural interlude, returned to it. In the face of an honest simple life (“ein ehrliches stilles Leben,” p. 163) of a loving couple, neither the extravagances of vagrant shepherds nor the heroic virtues of the courtly world, such as glory, honor, ambition, seem to matter anymore. In their place, constancy of marriage and love, conscience, mutual trust, and self-sufficiency withstand the onslaught of the inconstancies of the Baroque world.⁶⁸ This seems to indicate an early anticipation of the middle-class reliance on inward qualities and its break with the courtly tradition in the 18th century. When Cupid falls on his nose (p. 173), it is a symbolic expression of the author's intent to commemorate a personal love story in thin bucolic disguise, without recourse to, and even against, accepted pastoral traditions, unless one takes the specific bucolic subspecies of *laus ruris* with its praise of idyllic love life into consideration.

How was this literary miracle possible? In my opinion, several factors combined. When the war had ended, Thomas became a law professor at Jena and soon afterward entered the court and diplomatic service of Sachsen-Anhalt. This gave him the chance to see through the façade of, by then, certainly dated courtly virtues and the literary affectations of courtly representative genres. He must have realized that the pastoral, with its long-standing tradition of masks used to speak the truth, still offered unique possibilities for him to express his innermost convictions. Contrary to the bucolic authors' standard practice of jumping from reality into an Eden-like *locus amoenus* outside of society—an enterprise apparently doomed to failure most of the time—Thomas tried the very opposite, and it worked: he relocated paradise within reality, “im Hafen der Liebe” (229), and within his circle of like-minded friends. What Opitz had proposed theoretically as the ideal solution of the conflict between reason and passion—a battle which haunted

melancholy shepherds from Sincero to Leoriander—i.e., chaste love within the bounds of marriage, Thomas managed to fictionalize convincingly without falling into the trap of overstylization.

The end to the European tradition of the pastoral novel came in 1754, with Salomon Gessner's *Daphnis*,⁶⁹ and this for the very reason that, two generations after Thomas, Gessner chose the other extreme. Whereas Montemayor and d'Urfé mirrored their courtly society in the realm of a bucolic utopia, thereby undermining its "golden" perfection from the start, Gessner, driven by his longing for the simple life, located his island of the blessed ("Insel der Seligen") in an Arcadia outside of the constraints of time and place, failing to pin down his wishful dream with sufficient realistic detail for his Storm and Stress readers to identify with his Daphnis. No wonder then that Maler Müller asked: "Wo gibt's denn Schäfer wie diese? . . . fühlen nicht wie wir andere Menschen Hitze und Kälte . . . leben nur vom Rosenthau und Blumen und was des schönen süßen Zeugs noch mehr ist."⁷⁰ Does this reaction imply that, with the pastoral author's descent from aristocratic heights to a bourgeois milieu, his protagonist could save his moral integrity only at the expense of reality?

Several conclusions seem to offer themselves. All Baroque pastorals go back to Sannazaro, pastoral novels as well as prose eclogues, and beyond him ultimately to Virgil's eclogues. The French current, intermediate as well as original, was apparently rather strong and varied, too. D'Urfé's impact on German pastoral literature has definitely been underestimated. A 1987 Osnabrück dissertation on "Die deutschen Übersetzungen der Astrée" by Renate Jürgensen helps to correct this situation. What d'Urfé's novel demonstrates almost paradigmatically is the fact that Arcadia cannot escape reality. It is not a world of bliss, but is constantly being challenged and even undermined. Two symbolic landscapes are contrasted with one another: the bucolic and the courtly war-ravaged country. This juxtaposition has a more jolting effect than the allusions to the Roman civil war in Virgil's eclogue, or Sannazaro's hints at his exile from Naples, but it is not as disillusioning as the complete swallowing-up of Eden by the Thirty Years' War in Leoriander's tale.

As to the protagonists, an equation seems to be in order. The more transparent a shepherd becomes, the less individuality he acquires; as a consequence, he could easily be transferred to another literature. Also, the loftier his "profile," the keener was apparently the reaction on the part of realists who made this idealized protagonist the target of their parodies; these *contrafacturae* could take place either on a secular or a religious level, but the core aspect under attack seems to have been pastoral petrarchism often acquired by overstudying.

Pastoral utopias are an expression of the society in which they were created. The masterpieces of the genre, such as Montemayor's *Diana* and d'Urfé's *L'Astrée*, are *not* free from social conventions; on the contrary, their shepherds are so much under social constraints that they lose the innocence and freedom of the Golden Age to which they aspire. Thus, an intriguing cleavage seems to

result between the *negative utopia* of the pastoral novel of courtly and gentry origin on the one hand, and the *positive utopia* of the humanist prose eclogue from Opitz and Birken to Rist, including Thomas, on the other. Did the pastoral utopia of Montemayor and d'Urfé collapse because their heroes could not emancipate themselves from the courtly milieu, which suffered from moral ambivalence since Fray Guevara's treatise on this topic in the 1500s (*Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea*, 1539)? Did the humanist poets possibly create positive utopias with their humble shepherds inverting the social hierarchy by exploiting their claim to genuine nobility in virtue and achievement? This would correspond to their actual rise on the social ladder to courtly administrators, and would put their pastorals in the service of legitimizing them vis-à-vis the feudal nobility. The social descent from Spanish and French aristocracy to German authors of "bourgeois" extraction may also explain the anticourtly bias of their eclogues and "Privat-wercke."

Within a court-oriented society, they tried to carve out a niche of their own, without constraints imposed on their writing from above. This may explain their strong reaction against courtly petrarchist shepherds, as well as different solutions attempted by Thomas and Gessner. Mystics in particular seem to have taken up the pastoral genre to express their opposition to courtly values and laws. For them, the pastoral apparently provided a last resort for speaking the truth from behind a mask.⁷¹

Notes

- 1 See Klaus Garber, *Der locus amoenus und der locus terribilis* (Cologne-Vienna, 1974).
- 2 Gerhart Hoffmeister, *Die Spanische Diana in Deutschland: Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Stilwandel und Weltbild des Schäferromans im 17. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1972).
- 3 "Limpieza y honestidad," in Jorge de Montemayor, *Los Siete libros de la Diana*, ed. F. López Estrada (Madrid, 1962), p. 7.
- 4 See Bautista Avalle-Arce, *La Novela pastoril española* (Madrid, 1959), pp. 61-63.
- 5 "Casos disfrazados debaxo de nombres y estilo pastoril," *Diana*, p. 7.
- 6 See the rejection of pastoral work, p. 272.
- 7 Cf. *Diana*, p. 10, lines 6f. and Fray A. de Guevara, *Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea*, 1539; German version by Aegidius Albertinus, *Verachtung dess Hoflebens vnd Lob dess Landtlebens*, 1598, ed. Christoph E. Schweitzer (Berne / Frankfurt / New York, 1986).
- 8 "Sus servicios eran sin esperanza de galardón," *Diana*, p. 18.
- 9 Guinizelli wrote the canzone "Al cor gentil rispara sempre Amore"; see Ernst Robert Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Berne, 1948), p. 180; cf. "los que sufren más, son los mejores," *Diana*, p. 167.
- 10 From Petrarch and Castiglione (Spanish trans. by Boscán in 1539) to Montemayor's major Spanish sources, i.e., Ausias March (1397-1459) and León Hebreo (1460-1521); see *Diana*, pp. 194-201.
- 11 See Mia I. Gerhardt, *Essai d'analyse littéraire de la pastorale* (Assen, 1950), p. 187.
- 12 See Avalle-Arce, *La Novela pastoril española*, p. 66.

- 13 Barbara Mujica, "Anti-utopian Elements in the Spanish Pastoral Novel," *Kentucky Romance Quarterly* 26 (1979): 263-82; here p. 270.
- 14 See the end of book 6 and compare Gerhardt, *Essai d'analyse littéraire*, p. 185.
- 15 For more detailed information, see Hoffmeister, *Die Spanische Diana*, pp. 96ff., as well as my "Diego de San Pedro und Hans Ludwig von Kuffstein," *Arcadia* 6 (1971): 139-50.
- 16 Reprinted in *Barock. Die deutsche Literatur: Texte und Zeugnisse* vol. 3, ed. A. Schöne (Munich, 1969), p. 851.
- 17 "Gern bleib ich todt in mir: / wan ich nur leb in dir" (p. 847, lines 65f.).
- 18 As Montemayors' heroes are in search of Felicia's palace.
- 19 D'Urfé in his preface "à la bergere Astrée," in *L'Astrée*, textes choisis par Jean Lafond (Paris, 1984), p. 407; henceforth quoted as Lafond.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 409.
- 21 "Qu'aimer comme toi, c'est aimer à la vieille Gauloise, et comme faisaient les chevaliers de la Table Ronde, ou le Beau Ténébreux" (p. 409).
- 22 See Lousie K. Horowitz, *Honoré d'Urfé* (Boston, 1984), pp. 59 and 71.
- 23 "Vivre plus doucement et sans contrainte"; Lafond, p. 406.
- 24 "Sans sortir de la bienséance des bergers"; Lafond, p. 407.
- 25 Horowitz, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 22.
- 26 Erich Köhler, "Absolutismus und Schäferroman: H. d'Urfés 'Astrée,'" in *Europäische Bukolik und Georgik*, ed. Klaus Garber (Darmstadt, 1976), pp. 266-70; here p. 267.
- 27 See Horowitz, *Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 80f. and Jacques Ehrmann, *Un Paradis désespéré: L'amour et l'illusion dans l'Astrée* (New Haven, 1963), p. 89.
- 28 Horowitz, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 80.
- 29 See André Grange, "Le Langage des gestes et des attitudes dans le pastorale romanesque aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles," in *Le Genre pastoral en Europe du XV^e au XVII^e siècle* (Saint-Etienne, 1980), pp. 183-91; here p. 190.
- 30 Köhler, "Absolutismus und Schäferroman," p. 268f.
- 31 Gryphius adapted this material for the stage in his *Der Schwermende Schäffer* (1663).
- 32 E.g., *Winter-Tags Schäfferey* (Leipzig, 1636).
- 33 See Gisela Heetfeld, *Vergleichende Studien zum deutschen und französischen Schäferroman* (Diss. Munich, 1984), p. 137.
- 34 Frankfurt, 1644; text available in the microfilm collection of Faber du Faur, No. 329.
- 35 See the poems "Die er geliebet," p. 36 and "Hylas wil kein Weib nicht haben," pp. 31f.
- 36 See Sylvano's question to Felicia, *Diana*, p. 195.
- 37 Cf. Françoise Vigier, "La Folie amoureuse dans le roman pastoral espagnol," in *Visages de la folie (1500-1650)* (Paris, 1981), pp. 117-29; on p. 121, she refers to Felismena and Celia: "Cette inversion du vêtement traduit la folie d'une conduite hors de normes établies et par conséquent subversive."
- 38 "Les Amours de Psyché et de Cupidon," in *Œuvres*, vol. 8 (Paris, 1892), p. 109.
- 39 D'Urfé, *L'Astrée*, ed. Hugues Vaganay, 5 vols. (Geneva, 1966) 2: 384.
- 40 Lafond, pp. 154-57.
- 41 "Je n'y gouverne tout ainsi qu'un marchand bien avisé," *L'Astrée* 3: 348; cf. Ehrmann, *Un Paradis désespéré*, p. 92f.
- 42 See my "Versuch einer Typologie des spanischen Narren," in *Literary Culture in the Holy Roman Empire, 1555-1720*, ed. James Parente and Richard Schade (Chapel Hill, 1988).
- 43 Reprint in *Die Pegnitz-Schäfer: Nürnberger Barockdichtung*, ed. Eberhard Mannack (Stuttgart, 1968), p. 236.
- 44 See Charles Sorel's *Le Berger extravagant*, beginning of Book 2. The praise of the lady is taken literally, or "renaturalized," e.g., her hair consists of hooks to capture hearts, the eyes are suns, the lips coral branches, etc.; compare also Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus* (2: 9).
- 45 See my "Antipetrarkismus im deutschen Schäferroman des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Daphnis* 1 (1972): 128-41; here p. 134.
- 46 Reprinted in *Schäferromane des Barock*, ed. Klaus Kaczerowsky (Reinbek, 1970); reference to Céladon on p. 113. Henceforth quoted as *RK*.
- 47 Wilhelm Voßkamp, "Der deutsche Schäferroman des 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Handbuch des deutschen Romans*, ed. Helmut Koopmann (Düsseldorf, 1983), pp. 105-16; here p. 109. See also Hoffmeister, "Antipetrarkismus," pp. 134-35.

- 48 See Peter Rusterholz, "Schäferdichtung—Lob des Landlebens," in *Deutsche Literatur: Eine Sozialgeschichte*, vol. 3, ed. Horst Albert Glaser (Reinbek, 1985), pp. 356-66; here p. 365.
- 49 Hoffmeister, "Antipetrarkismus," pp. 137ff.
- 50 Arnold Hirsch, *Bürgertum und Barock im deutschen Roman*, 2d ed. (Cologne-Graz, 1957).
- 51 See Voßkamp, "Der deutsche Schäferroman," pp. 105ff.
- 52 See his prologue: Diana "la qual era tan accepta quanto yo jamás otro libro en Romance aya visto."
- 53 See Peter Daly, "Catharina R. von Greiffenberg und H. d'Urfé," in *Schäferdichtung: Dokumente des Internationalen Arbeitskreises für deutsche Barock-Literatur* 4, ed. Wilhelm Voßkamp (Hamburg, 1977), pp. 67-85; here p. 68.
- 54 *Ibid.*, pp. 76 and 82.
- 55 See his "Clorinda die Schönheit ihres himmlischen Bräutigams Betrachtende," in *Epochen der deutschen Lyrik*, vol. 4, ed. Christian Wagenknecht (Munich, 1969), pp. 304-9.
- 56 Cf. Maria Roth, *Der 'Philotheus' des L. von Schnüffis (1633-1702)* (Ann Arbor, 1979), p. 61.
- 57 See my "Barocker Petrarkismus," in *Europäische Tradition und deutscher Literatur-Barock*, ed. Gerhart Hoffmeister (Berne / Munich, 1973), pp. 44f.
- 58 See my *Deutsche und europäische Barockliteratur* (Stuttgart, 1988), chap. 3, p. 2.
- 59 See Bernard Gorceix, "Mystische Literatur," in *Deutsche Literatur: Eine Sozialgeschichte*, pp. 206-18.
- 60 Cf. Volker Meid, *Der deutsche Barockroman* (Stuttgart, 1974), pp. 13f. and 19.
- 61 See Lafond, pp. 26f.: "Les mythes d'origine [celtisantés] sont précisément faits pour répondre aux questions des temps difficiles."
- 62 Martin Opitz, *Schäfferey von der Nymfen Hercinie*, ed. Peter Rusterholz (Stuttgart, 1969), pp. 24f.
- 63 On Opitz's social significance, see Klaus Garber, *Martin Opitz, 'der Vater der deutschen Dichtung'* (Stuttgart, 1976).
- 64 Compare Birken's Sireno.
- 65 Cf. Klaus Garber, "Pétrarquisme pastoral et bourgeoisie protestante: la poésie pastorale de J. Rist et J. Schwieger," in *Le Genre pastoral*, pp. 269-98; here pp. 280f., 297; also, see his recent "Formen pastoralen Erzählens im frühneuzeitlichen Europa," in *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* 10 (1985): 1-22.
- 66 *RK*, p. 163.
- 67 In Herbert Singer's reprint of *Damon und Lisille* (Hamburg, 1966), pp. 146 and 236.
- 68 See the poem in *RK*, pp. 192-95.
- 69 See my "Gessners Daphnis—das Ende des europäischen Schäferromans," *Studia neophilologica* 44 (1972): 127-41.
- 70 *Dichtungen von Maler Müller*, ed. Hermann Hettner (Leipzig, 1868; rpt. Berne, 1968), p. 87.
- 71 I want to express my gratitude to Klaus Garber (Osnabrück) for allowing me to peruse his inspiring manuscript on "Arkadien und die geschichtliche Welt Alteuropas."

Arcadia Revitalized: The International Appeal of Gessner's *Idylls* in the 18th Century

GABRIELLE BERSIER

In his lifetime, Salomon Gessner, the poet, graphic artist, painter, and publisher from Zurich, was the most widely read author of German literature abroad. His *Idylls* and his *Death of Abel* were virtually in the hand of every literate European and North American, from salon lady to reclusive housewife, from coffeehouse philosopher to side-street craftsman, from reform-minded landlord to village preacher. Today, the countless editions, translations, and reprints of his works collect dust in rare book stacks, bibliophilic libraries, and antique booksellers' shops. That this 18th-century cult figure has fallen into disrepute is evident from the lack of a German reading edition of the *Idylls* since 1925 and from the absence of any modern translations in the 20th century.¹ Whereas Ernst Theodor Voss's critical edition of the *Idyllen*, published by Reclam in 1973, is obviously designed for classroom use, the only modern issue of Gessner's complete works, edited by Martin Bircher and published in 1974 by the author's former company Orell in Zurich, is a three-volume reprint of the 1762 and 1772 *Schriften*, intended for limited scholarly perusal.² The recent surge of scholarly interest in the idyll, both as a literary genre and a cultural phenomenon in history, may have sparked intellectual curiosity in Gessner's small opus, but it has hardly kindled a new affinity for the texts. The dissertations produced in the wake of Friedrich Sengle's article on the idyll and Renate Böschenstein-Schäfer's influential *Idylle* monograph³ have demonstrated the key role of the Gessnerian idyll within poetological history. They have also clarified the historical function of the Enlightenment idyll by revealing its critical and utopian components.⁴ Yet the scholarly renaissance of the idyll has hardly made the Gessnerian prototype more inviting than it was in 1924 when Paul van Tieghem assessed the lack of a thorough literary interpretation of the *Idylls*.⁵ The feeling of estrangement, of "not being at home" with Gessner, which Hegel expressed in the early 19th century,⁶ has remained the main element in contemporary response.⁷ Gessner has become a *persona non grata* of German literary history, assigned an uncertain location between *Anakreon-tik* and *Empfindsamkeit*, as if snagged in an uncanny contradiction between rococo frivolity and sentimental pathos.

In contrast to his depreciated literary idyll, however, Gessner's visual depic-

tion of Arcadian happiness apparently has not lost its original power of evocation. Recently, the artwork of this versatile talent, encompassing a voluminous collection of 461 etchings, 600 drawings, and 20 landscape paintings⁸—most of them conceived and executed as pictorial illustrations for his poetic idylls—has been the object of a revival of scholarly and public attention, as was demonstrated by the success of the 250th-anniversary exhibit in 1980 accompanied by art book publications in Zurich and Wolfenbüttel.⁹ Has Gessner the artist dismissed Gessner the poet?

Salomon Gessner's literary oeuvre is relatively compact. Its scope is limited to a single-minded exercise in all the formal variations of a simple but innovative pastoral formula. Its free rhythmical form and its typographical presentation in Latin characters, a unique feature in the German literature of his time, were distinctive marks in which he persisted.¹⁰ Beginning with a pastoral poem, *Die Nacht* (1753), and a three-part bucolic novel, *Daphnis* (1754), Gessner won success with the publication of a sequence of twenty-three love poems and short pastoral "singing matches" in Theocritus' manner, the *Idyllen* (1756). A brief yet consequential tribute to the pious Miltonian mode promoted by Bodmer brought forth a biblical epic in five songs, *Der Tod Abels* (1758), a sentimental narration of Cain's destruction of the primeval idyll. Other variations of the pastoral mode appeared in 1762: a pastoral play, *Evander und Alcimna*, a sentimental "Robinsonade," *Der erste Schiffer*, a dramatic dialogue, *Ein Gemälde aus der Sintflut*, and six new idylls, together with a modern melodrama, *Erast*.¹¹ A final installment of twenty-two idylls of a more overt didactical tone appeared in a joint publication with Denis Diderot, titled *Moralische Erzählungen und Idyllen*, in 1772.¹² The last part of the author's life was devoted chiefly to the painting of ideal landscapes and the graphic representation of his idylls.

Although the manifold illustrations of his books may be viewed as a crucial element of his success, his impact on his contemporaries was first and foremost of a literary nature. What the multitude of editions and translations in twenty-one European languages—including Welsh, Sicilian, and Serb—suggests is confirmed by countless documents: Gessner was *read*, with excitement and pleasure. Many readers consumed his *Idylls* avidly in one sitting, entranced in the enjoyment of the emotions they stirred. Perhaps the most famous example of the Gessnerian craze is Rousseau, who confessed to the French translator Huber: "Sir, your letter and your idylls caught me in the midst of the most cruel fit of pain. After reading the letter, I opened the book mechanically, thinking of closing it again immediately: but I only closed it again after reading it in its entirety, and I put it next to me in order to read it again."¹³ Others absorbed the pastoral samples piece by piece as a kind of secular Bible, a gospel of natural ethics. "They deserve to be learned by heart and recited daily, because of the gentleness of feelings they are filled with," a French education reformer recommended in his high school curriculum proposal of 1763.¹⁴ There was a strong belief in the social benefits of the *Idylls*' therapeutic power. "They should be read by the powers that be

immersed as they are in the luxury of urban life, consumerism, and apathy. Should they wake up, should they rejoice in the open sky, in a row of trees or of vines, what advantage for the wretched of the earth, what good for society and for virtue!" a reader confided to the Italian translator Bertòla.¹⁵ By the early 1800s, students of German were even able to savor Gessner's books line by line in both interlinear French or English translations.¹⁶ The distance was short from absorbing and digesting to translating and rewriting Gessner. The linguistic venture warranted repeated attempts and ongoing matches of the pen, for it also tested an ideological act of faith.

It was in Paris, then "the center of the educated world" (Goethe), that Gessner's name was made. Through the Parisian literary press, the *Journal étranger*, the *Mercure de France*, the *Année littéraire*, the *Journal des Savants*, and Grimm's *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique*, his fame spread from the center to the periphery. In Huber's French translation, Gessner achieved the widest influence; his version of the *Idylls* was used by foreign translators. Michael Huber (1727–1804), a Bavarian teacher of German in Paris and contributing editor to the *Journal étranger*, was able to involve key figures of the French Enlightenment in his project. In 1760, Huber was teaching German to the physiocrat Turgot, who became Louis XVI's Finance Minister in the 1770s. One of the only politicians tenacious enough seriously to attempt to repair the worn fabric of the ancien régime, Turgot also made himself a champion of new literary taste in the Parisian salons and journals. After introducing Ossian's free rhythms to the *Journal étranger*, he translated parts of Gessner's *Tod Abels* and *Idyllen*, insisting that they be published under the name of Huber. The encyclopedists Diderot and Tousseint, along with the German critic Melchior Grimm, also took an active part in the undertaking.¹⁷ Thus patronized, the first edition of the *Idylles et Poèmes champêtres*, adorned with Le Poussin illustrations which were engraved by the academician Claude-Henri Watelet, was released in 1762 in both a high-priced and a low-cost edition.¹⁸ After Huber's return to Germany, Gessner entrusted his friend Jakob Heinrich Meister, a Swiss exile in Paris, with the translation of the *Neue Idyllen*. In this way, between 1760 and 1772, a complete corpus of translations in rhythmic prose was constituted under the auspices of Huber-Turgot-Meister. It made a household word of the idyll. Between 1760 and 1830, new editions and reprints followed in an uninterrupted chain, including 59 different impressions of the *Idylles* and *Œuvres* and 62 editions and reprints of *La Mort d'Abel*, along with verse translations, adaptations and imitations.¹⁹ The popular success of Gessner's idylls in France peaked in the revolutionary decade, with 19 editions between 1790 and 1800.²⁰ In the following decade, Arcadia reverted to rococo imagery to become the leading decorative style of the Empire.²¹ But the interest of Gessner's readers shifted to his religious elegy. *La Mort d'Abel* was reissued twenty times between 1800 and 1811, with the peak years coinciding with Napoleon's European hegemony. There were 10 editions in 1810 and 1811.²²

The spread of Italian translations and editions and the panegyric tone of the Italian press indicate that Gessner was held in equally high esteem in the Apennine peninsula.²³ In Italy, as in France and later in Spain, he was hailed as a reformer of pastoral conventions.²⁴ The prevalence of courtly pastoralism paved the way for the idylls' fortune. First read in French, they spread through the northern Italian salons. Translation activity began relatively late, with the first *Idilli e Poemi Campestri* adapted from Huber in 1770,²⁵ but it continued in a steady stream through the first part of the 19th century, involving eighteen different translators, plus many journal contributors. Publication of the idylls in the 18th century totaled 40 editions, and there were many more in the early 19th century. Although Francesco Soave's verse translation *I Nuovi Idilli* became by far the most popular version, with as many as 19 editions up to 1831,²⁶ Gessner's fame in Italy owes much to the publicizing zeal of Aurelio de' Giorgio Bertòla (1753–1798), a former priest, soldier, and scholar, for whom Gessner became a new cause. Bertòla's verse adaptation *Scelta d'Idilli di Gessner* (1777), translated from the German as its subtitle emphasizes, was praised for its accuracy by the author himself.²⁷ His Gessner eulogy, *Elogio di Gessner* (1789), which was read enthusiastically all over Italy, and translated twice into German, shifted focus from the idylls themselves to the idyllist's moral character.²⁸ A legend was created. It was aggrandized in Johann Jakob Hottinger's popular biography (1796), and dramatized in two Parisian stage shows, *Lisbeth* (1797) and *Gessner* (1800).²⁹ Amid all the revolutionary and postrevolutionary challenges, Gessner's name became a moral emblem raised as a banner against the rapid disintegration of the Enlightenment ethos.

Gessner's impact on the Anglo-Saxon world forms a separate chapter, since it was virtually limited to the success of his *Death of Abel*. In contrast to continental developments, his idyllic tone was not novel in England. There, Gay, Pope, Thomson, and the English moral weeklies had already successfully challenged courtly pastoral conventions in the early 18th century. Although three attempts at transcribing the idylls into English verse or free rhythms in 1762 and 1776 met halfhearted critical response and public indifference, and the first and only complete translation, the inferior work of an unknown author, did not appear until 1802,³⁰ Mary Collyer's prose translation of *The Death of Abel* in 1762, which sacrificed exactitude to expressivity of language, became an immediate and enduring bestseller on a par with *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Robinson Crusoe*.³¹ The sheer numbers are stunning: 40 editions and reprints between 1762 and 1800, to reach a total of 70 editions and reprints through 1830 in Britain and North America, a success much to the dismay of the critics.³² The recipients of Gessner's biblical elegy belonged to a poorer and less educated public. While the enlightened circles of the Continent found delight in the Arcadian pantheism of the idyll, it was mainly the poorer masses of England and North America who were attracted to the epic's mixture of sentimental and pious feelings, hymnal pathos and cultural criticism, all of which was intensified in Mary Collyer's transla-

tion. The success of *The Death of Abel* also belongs in the historical context of Britain's rapid industrialization, which enabled the spread of oppositional religious movements such as the Moravians and the Methodists.³³ In the midst of the "Great Revival," when reading was an act of devotion, an author of a small treatise published in 1766 in London and Plymouth, *Thoughts upon some Late Pieces, particularly the Death of Abel, and the Messiah*, even recommended "that the Death of Abel and the Messiah be read alternately before and after communion."³⁴

When approaching Gessner's reception in Germany, we first encounter the long, familiar list of his detractors, from Herder, Goethe, Maler Müller, and Johann Heinrich Voss to Schiller, Jean Paul, August Wilhelm Schlegel, Hegel, and Karl Marx. Indeed, the rejection of the idealistic idyll by the *Sturm und Drang* has profoundly affected further literary developments. Herder and Goethe's alliance in the name of naturalism against Gessnerian illusionism, their invectives in the name of Shakespearian activism against sentimental self-complacency, marked the birth of a theory of realism in German literary history.³⁵ But these now familiar voices were then voices of dissent, for the leading poetical theorists Ramler, Sulzer, Eschenburg, and Engel all ranked the Gessnerian idyll on the highest level of the aesthetic scale of appraisal. Gessner's very mixture of rococo and sentimental styles, which strikes us as distasteful today, made them revere him as a champion of modern poetry. Eschenburg boasted in his *Theorie und Literatur der schönen Redekünste* (1783): "Fast in keiner Dichtungsart haben wir Deutschen einen so entschiedenen Vorzug vor allen Ausländern als in diesem [dem Hirtengedicht]," and Engel's *Poetik* (1783) echoed in the same hyperbolic mode: "Das Ideal, das sich unser Geßner von der Idylle geschaffen, ist unverbesserlich."³⁶ Aesthetic judgment simply corroborated public taste, which held the Gessnerian manner in favor throughout the latter part of the 18th and the first part of the 19th century. Between 1756 and 1830, Gessner's Zurich firm issued as many as 30 editions of the *Idyllen* and *Schriften*, plus 11 printings of *Der Tod Abels*. Twenty unauthorized reprints also appeared in Leipzig, Reutlingen, Karlsruhe, and Vienna, along with seven reprints of the original *Tod Abels*.³⁷ Goethe's attack in the 1772 *Frankfurter Gelehrte Anzeigen* and Engel's retort in the *Neue Bibliothek* were understandably sharp in view of the flood of Gessner books pouring onto the German market that same year. For 1772, Orell, Gessner and Comp. produced five successive editions of the *Moralische Erzählungen und Idyllen* by Diderot and Gessner, three in German and two in French, plus two printings of the old idylls, in addition to three illustrated editions of the complete works. This publishing exploit culminated several years later in the luxury quarto edition in French and German with 10 full-page etchings by the author.³⁸ The arcadian vogue was at its peak in Germany, as evidenced also by K. E. K. Schmidt's 1774-75 collection *Idyllen der Deutschen*, authored by 15 different German idyllists.³⁹ And even the literary fortune of the realistic idyll—Maler Müller's pastiches in the 1770s, Voss's antifeudal idylls in the 1780s, and Goethe's

Hermann und Dorothea in the 1790s—still depended to some extent on the persistent popularity of the Gessnerian idyll.

This brief statistical survey cautions us against hasty conclusions. Gessner's readership was diverse, his sphere of reception, broad. He fostered the rising popular tide of sensitivity. He captivated the anticlerical and anticourtly opposition in the European salons. He also absorbed the religious revivalists in the Anglo-Saxon world and elsewhere. The affinity of the first wave of Gessnerism with the more activist French Enlightenment, which did not falter during the French Revolution, casts serious doubts on the repeated allegations of escapism, social harmonism, and political appeasement raised against the Gessnerian idyll since the *Sturm and Drang's* dissention. The summary of reception underscores the functional assessment of the Enlightenment idyll as indirect satire and fictional contrast to reality. Critical censure falls silent when faced with a second wave of Gessnerism in the early 19th century in Poland, Hungary, and Italy, where it partook in the romantic movement of patriotic revival and national liberation. In Hungary, where Gessner inspired the commitment of Ferenc Kazinczy, the reformer of Hungarian language and literature, the translation tale of the idylls even takes on epic proportions.⁴⁰ In 1788, Kazinczy promoted Gessner to the rank of a classical author with his first translation of the idylls.⁴¹ He later undertook the translation of Gessner's complete works during his imprisonment by the Austrians for his participation in a Jacobine conspiracy (1794–1801). When he fell short of ink, he is said to have used his blood as a substitute. Kazinczy's authoritative translation appeared in his 1815 edition of translated European masterpieces.⁴² Parallel to this militant reception, the restoration era also saw the transformation of the Enlightenment idyll into an epitome of middle-class smugness, the "Vollglück der Beschränktheit" proverbialized by Jean Paul. Consequently, the sphere of reception of the Gessnerian idyll gradually shrank down to the wedding table.

There is one key to Gessner's short-lived literary fortune. He appropriated the most sophisticated form of courtly literature, the erotic bucolic poetry kept alive by the German Anacreontics, to convert it into a demonstration of the Enlightenment's philosophy of Nature. To perform this literary coup he took as a mentor the Sicilian Greek poet Theocritus, rather than the Roman Virgil, the model of bucolic poetry since the Renaissance.⁴³ By using Theocritus' example, Gessner was able to revitalize Arcadia and to transform the artificial paradise of bucolic poetry, the allegorical *locus amoenus* of ruling-class hedonism, into a natural and organic environment. In his small-scale ecological model, the philanderers of conventional pastoralism were metamorphosed into anthropological showcases of human innocence in the state of Nature.

The utopian model of simple life presented by Gessner, and applauded by critics across Europe, had little in common with the kind of "back-to-nature" primitivism that is often associated with the term "state of Nature." Nor was it patterned on the naturalism of Theocritus' *Idylls*. Indeed, the raucousness of

Theocritus' goatherds and their promiscuous sexual mores are as remote from Gessner's moral naiveté as is the frivolity of rococo shepherds.⁴⁴ As the author makes clear in the well-known preface to the *Idylls*, his Arcadians are the experimental subjects of a philosophical theorem.⁴⁵ Isn't physical and biological Nature imbued with an inherent moral finality? Should all historical and social factors be removed, should the laws of Nature be allowed to recover their guiding influence on personal and social conduct, then would not Nature's bliss redeem the human species? The proposition was not new. In England, the metaphysical idea of natural benevolence, championed by the "Moral Sense" philosophers and by Shaftesbury, had gained scientific consistency in the public mind through Newton's law of universal attraction.⁴⁶ Long before Rousseau, the poets Pope, Gay, and Thomson had all published in turn the call back to Nature's path. Far from leading to nostalgic quiescence, the back-to-Nature call, welcomed by Haller and the Zurich Enlightenment, entailed social renewal. It called for the binding of social organization to the physical and biological laws of Nature. If reason and instinct could be combined for the common good, the English moralists proclaimed, then humanity would recover its deserved place in the "vast Chain of Being" of the cosmos.⁴⁷ Gessner hardly contributed original thoughts to the theoretical corpus of 18th-century philosophy of Nature, but he placed himself in the theoretical vanguard of the Enlightenment by combining the static deistic concept of universal harmony with an organic, dynamic concept of Nature inspired by the French naturalist Buffon, by his compatriot, the physiologist Haller, and, of course, by his admirer Diderot, the main proponent of organicism prior to Goethe. Gessner gave the new theory vigor by transforming it into a poetic vision imbued with emotional intensity. He made it attractive to the lay reader by opting for the simplest, most naïve mode of poetic expression. Therein lies his literary achievement and his forgotten merit as a popularizer of Enlightenment philosophy.

Rather than merely providing the artificial background for amorous encounters, landscape comes alive in the *Idylls*. Arcadia is vital, fertile, and interactive. It is both a reproductive environment and a community of mutual interdependence, a poetic ecosystem. Reproduction of life is the goal of each living organism, maintenance of life, the goal of the whole. This dynamism of procreation and organic interaction is expressed by the dynamic use of verbs in the style of the idylls,⁴⁸ where present and past participle abound. The sheltered environment of the idyll is infused with the energy of the present participle: "belebende Sonne" (p. 33), "hellblizende Regen-Tropfen" (p. 32), "glänzender Hügel" (p. 32), "rauschende Quelle" (p. 48), "sprudelnde Bäche" (p. 60), "plätschernde Wellen" (p. 44), "kriechendes Epheu" (p. 21), "blühender Schlehenbusch" (p. 29), "wiegende Äste" (p. 40), "wankende Blumen" (p. 63), "winkendes Schilf" (p. 61), "rauschendes Gras" (p. 64). The same kinetic rhythm penetrates and pulsates the human fibers. Lovers leap towards each other with "zitternde Arme" (p. 39), "bebende Brust" (p. 33), and "pochendes Herz" (p. 39). Along with the ubiquitous gerunds, the past participle attributes also express the

interdependency of the natural environment that holds and nurtures human life: "durchwässertes Thal" (p. 41), "genezte Büsche" (p. 32), "belaubte Hügel" (p. 37), "bemooste Hütten" (p. 20), "von Früchten gebogene Äste" (p. 26), "dekender Busch" (p. 64), "schützende Grotte" (p. 32), "erquickender Schatten" (p. 52), "wärmendes Feuer" (p. 43). Gessner's is an extremely lush *locus amoenus*, where green life leaves no barren surface. Bushes cover hills, moss carpets stones and rocks. Water, the life principle of the Gessnerian landscape, is omnipresent.⁴⁹ The liquid element constantly interacts with vegetation to multiply, rejuvenate, and sustain life. Thus, the environment that so completely embraces human life is also thoroughly sexualized. The author symbolically increases the suggestiveness of the atmosphere by integrating many sexual metaphors of the pastoral tradition directly into the landscape. The technique is introduced in the first idyll, *Milon*, which transforms landscape description, sifted by the subjective mood of the onlooker, into a metaphorical erotic invitation:

O schöne Chloe, liebe mich . . . sieh wie das kriechende Epheu ein grünes Netz anmuthig um den Felsen herwebt, und wie sein Haupt der Dornstrauch beschattet . . . Sieh, wie lieblich die Quell' aus meinem Felsen schäumt, und hell über die Wasserkresse hin durch hohes Gras und Blumen quillt! . . . Sieh, . . . wie die Brombeer-Staude mit schwarzer Frucht um mich her kriecht, und wie der Hambutten-Strauch die rothen Beeren empor trägt, und wie die Apfelbäume voll Früchte stehen, von der kriechenden Reb' umschlungen . . . O Chloe! liebe mich! (p. 21).

By using the sexual code familiar to the 18th-century reader, and turning conventional metaphors into natural signifiers, the author expands anthropocentric sexuality to make it a universal sexual principle embracing all Nature.

Indeed, Eros is the omnipresent spirit animating Gessner's Arcadia. Pan, the goatish deity of Peloponnesian Arcadia, has been removed to a distant pantheon. Invoked directly in the more conventional anacreontic pieces *An Chloen* (1756), *Der Frühling* (1756), *An den Amor* (1772), the chubby cherub intervenes personally to bring together the lovers of *Daphnis* and *Der erste Schiffer*. While his presence is less visible in the *Idylls*, his role is nonetheless essential. But the mischievous boy archer of the bucolic tradition has changed his ways. Instead of kindling transient desires and volatile pleasures, Gessner's Cupid has risen in rank, prestige, and power to become a pervasive "Gott der Liebe," capable of inspiring lasting and faithful affections. In the novel *Daphnis*, Cupid has even substituted flute-playing for arrow-throwing. "Daphnis horchte, und ein kleiner Knabe kam gegen ihn, der blies auf zwei Flöten" (SS 2: 28). And the shepherd of the new idyll *Daphnis* prays: "Dann komme im Schatten ihr Amor entgegen, doch ohne Bogen und Pfeile, daß sie nicht schüchtern wird" (p. 111). Gessner's tempered Eros wastes no more time on trifling games. Assisted by the gentle Zephyrs, he now pursues the serious business of forging and fertilizing matrimonial bonds. In the new idyll *Die Zephire* (1772), the author even shows us how the flirty breezes give up their games with the nymphs to cool the cheeks of Daphne

on her way to assist a needy family. Using the same technique of appropriation and transformation, Gessner has turned Baroque and Rococo mythology into a new allegory concordant with 18th-century philosophy of Love. He has empowered his enlightened Eros with the neoplatonic and Leibnizian idea of universal sympathy combined with Newton's law of universal attraction, thus making the god of love a personification of Nature's universal benevolence.⁵⁰

Once revered as a model of simplicity and "naturalness," Gessner's depiction of a love that is both spontaneous and utterly chaste strikes 20th-century readers as most awkward and artificial. Under the moral axiom that unspoiled nature is an infallible guide, lovers meet in secluded shady spots by running springs or in isolated grottos. There, mutual contemplation of nature immediately transforms sensual perceptions into nervous vibrations, a rhapsody of feelings. Subject perception distills the eroticism of the situation into the emotional mental state of *Empfindsamkeit*.⁵¹ "Entzücken" is the term used to describe this state of nervous rapture in mutual communion with nature. Let us hear Damon in the idyll *Damon, Daphne*: "Umarme mich, Daphne, umarme mich! O was für Freude durchströmt mich! wie herrlich ist alles um uns her! Welche unerschöpfliche Quelle von Entzücken! Von der belebenden Sonne bis zur kleinsten Pflanze sind alles Wunder! O wie reißt das Entzücken mich hin!" (p. 32). In his effort to bring an end to the tactual playfulness of Rococo sensualism, Gessner has staged ethereal creatures equipped with highly sensitive nervous fibers, but no epidermic cells. Bereft of the artful sense of touch, his pastoral lovers cry or sing out their joyful state, and exchange birdlike kisses. Not surprisingly, it is in the winged animal sphere that they discover their model of erotic conduct. In the idyll *Damon, Phillis* turns the turtledove metaphor into a lesson in erotic naïveté.

DAMON: Sieh Phillis, sieh, was ist dort auf dem Baum? zwo Dauben,—sieh—sieh wie sie freundlich sich mit den Flügeln schlagen; höre wie sie girren; izt, izt—sie piken sich den bunten Hals, und izt den kleinen Kopf, und um die kleinen Augen. Komm, Phillis! komm, wir wollen mit den Armen uns auch umschlagen, wie sie mit den Flügeln; Reiche deinen Hals mir her und deine Augen, daß ich dich schnäbeln kan— (p. 34).

And in Gessner's happy conclusion to the myth of Chloe's drowning in the idyll *Mirtil, Thyrsis*, these imitative gestures have now been turned into a system of natural symbols.⁵² "Sie fliegt izt entzückt dem schauernden Gatten zu, sie seufzen und schnäbeln und umschlagen sich mit ihren Flügeln" (p. 45).

Yet the libertine spirit of the bucolic tradition has not vanished entirely from Gessner's garden of innocence. It leads a marginal existence in the subhuman realm of Satyrs and Fauns, to which, however, his shepherds and shepherdesses are completely immune. Not surprisingly, the satirical idylls *Der zerbrochene Krug*, *Der Faun*, and *Die übel belohnte Liebe* won the most applause in the Parisian salons. By placing the gallant tirades of conventional pastoralism in the mouth of club-footed, half-human Satyrs equipped with horns and ivy wreaths—mythic

phallic emblems—the moral trendsetter from Zurich had proclaimed that sexual licence was the hallmark of a decadent species whose rule over the Arcadian herdsmen had come to an end. The new Arcadian Eros was a god of Virtue.

Consequently, examples of nonerotic love such as family affection or social philanthropy also take up one-third of the first idylls and nearly one-half of the new idylls. To show how Nature functions as a model of social virtue, the author thoroughly integrates his human world into the organic life of the natural environment. The same organic laws that regulate vegetal life also govern human life. The anthropomorphic idea of universal moral benevolence flows directly from the participial images of organic interdependence: “belaubt,” “beschilft,” “beschattet,” “bemoost,” “gedekt,” “beschützt,” “genezt,” “durchwässert,” “verjüngt.” Thus, the preponderant trees also create a natural image of benevolent patriarchalism, embodied in the beloved Enlightenment figure of the sentimental “Greis.” Starting with Palemon’s holy oak in *Idas*, *Micon*, shading and fruit-bearing trees consistently function as a symbol of gratuitous productivity, social generosity, and patriarchal benevolence. The rich Palemon imitates the oak tree, which fosters surrounding organisms with its shade, and shares half of his herd with his poor neighbor. Philanthropism is exemplified throughout the text as an act of environmental conservation. As the monologue in *Palemon* illustrates, the tree symbol also serves to naturalize the traditional male role of provider and protector in the family. “Entzückt sah ich in die Zukunft hinaus,” the old man chants,

wenn meine Kinder lächelnd auf meinem Arm spielten, oder wenn meine Hand des plappernden Kindes wankenden Fußtritt leitete. Mit Freuden-Thränen sah ich in die Zukunft hinaus, wenn ich die jungen Sprossen aufkeimen sah; ich will sie vor Unfall schützen, ich will ihres Wachstums warten, sprach ich, die Götter werden die Bemühung segnen; sie werden empor wachsen und herrliche Früchte tragen, und Bäume werden, die mein schwaches Alter in erquickenden Schatten nehmen. So sprach ich, und drückte sie an meine Brust, und jetzt sind sie voll Segen emporgewachsen, und nehmen mein graues Alter in erquickenden Schatten, so wuchsen die Apfel-Bäume und die Birn-Bäume, und die hohen Nuß-Bäume, die ich als Jüngling um die Hütte her gepflanzt habe, hoch empor; sie tragen die alten Äste weit herum, und nehmen die kleine Wohnung in erquickenden Schatten (p. 41).

As problematic as it was as a model of social organization, Gessner’s organic vision had enough evocative power to inspire a widely divergent readership weary of absolutist decadence and worried about the recklessness of rising capitalism. The loud chorus calling for the liberation of Nature and the natural in the 18th century was not unisonous. Although discourse on Nature soon blared for the aggressive unfettering of natural forces, the unleashing of *laissez-faire* economics, and the unrestrained exploitation of the globe’s natural resources, this same discourse also resonated with a contrapuntal melody which sang of peaceful coexistence between the humans and their natural environment, and hailed nature as

a norm of human behavior rather than a means of human comfort.⁵³ The literary fortune of Gessner's *Idylls* in their precapitalist context of reception testifies to the appeal of this collaborative concept of nature. Constructed with an awareness of environmental interdependence and a consciousness of life's boundaries and limits that brings it close to present concerns, the Gessnerian idyll, which promotes even the insects in the grass to the rank of "Mitbyrger dieser Erde" (SS 3: 142) and affirms the principle of sociability above the principle of productivity, deserves a fresh reading as a forerunner of ecological thinking.

Notes

- 1 See Paul Leemann-Van Elck, *Salomon Gessner: Sein Lebensbild mit beschreibenden Verzeichnissen seiner literarischen und künstlerischen Werke* (Zurich, 1930), p. 187 [L 618-25] and p. 216 [L 805]. Subsequent bibliographical references to Leemann-Van Elck are listed as L, plus page and/or catalogue number.
- 2 Salomon Gessner, *Idyllen: Vollständige Ausgabe mit Lesarten*, ed. Ernst Theodor Voss (Stuttgart, 1973); Salomon Gessner, *Sämtliche Schriften* [reprint of 1762 *Schriften*], ed. Martin Bircher, vols. 1 and 2 (Zurich, 1972), vol. 3 [reprint of 1772 *Schriften*] (Zurich, 1974). Subsequent page references of the idylls are to Voss. Another reprint edition of the selected works (Berlin, 1884), ed. Adolf Frey, titled *Gessners Werke: Auswahl*, appeared in Japan (Tokyo, 1974).
- 3 Friedrich Sengle, "Formen des idyllischen Menschenbildes," in his *Arbeiten zur deutschen Literatur: 1750-1850* (Stuttgart, 1965), pp. 212-31; Renate Böschenstein-Schäfer, *Idylle* (Stuttgart, 1967; 2d ed. 1977).
- 4 Hella Jäger, *Naivität: Eine kritisch-utopische Kategorie in der bürgerlichen Literatur und Ästhetik des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Kronberg/Ts., 1975); Heidemarie Kesselmann, *Die Idyllen Salomon Gessners im Beziehungsfeld von Ästhetik und Geschichte im 18. Jahrhundert: Ein Beitrag zur Gattungsgeschichte der Idylle* (Kronberg/Ts., 1976); Gerhard Hämmerling, *Die Idylle von Gessner bis Voss: Theorie, Kritik und allgemeine geschichtliche Bedeutung* (Frankfurt, 1981); Berthold Burk, *Elemente idyllischen Lebens* (Frankfurt, 1981). The above genre studies focus almost exclusively on the nonerotic idylls.
- 5 Paul van Tieghem, "Les idylles de Gessner et le rêve pastoral," in his *Le Prémantisme: Études d'histoire littéraire européenne*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1930), notes that "un travail d'ensemble sur le contenu des Idylles n'existe pas encore" (p. 223). Van Tieghem's reception study appeared first in *Revue de littérature comparée*, 1924. The monograph by John Hibberd, *Salomon Gessner: His Creative Achievement and Influence* (Cambridge, London, New York, Melbourne, 1976) provides a detailed stylistical analysis, but rather superficial thematic treatment of the author's works.
- 6 Hegel's verdict in *Vorlesungen über die Aesthetik (Sämtliche Schriften)*, ed. Hermann Glockner, vol. 12 [Stuttgart, 1953], pp. 349-50) reads as follows: "Die geßnerschen Schriften z. B. werden wenig mehr gelesen, und liest man sie, so kann man nicht darin zu Hause seyn. Denn eine in dieser Weise beschränkte Lebensart setzt auch einen Mangel der Entwicklung des Geistes voraus. Der Mensch darf nicht in solcher idyllischen Geistesarmuth hinleben, sondern er muß arbeiten."
- 7 E. g., see Helmut J. Schneider, "Die sanfte Utopie: Zu einer bürgerlichen Tradition literarischer Glücksbilder," in his *Idyllen der Deutschen* (Frankfurt, 1978), pp. 353-442; Gotthard Frührsorge, "Nachgenuß der Schöpfung": Über die Wahrheit des Gesellschaftsentwurfs Gessnerscher Idyllendichtung," in *Maler und Dichter der Idylle: Salomon Gessner 1730-1788*, ed. Martin Bircher and Thomas Bürger (Braunschweig, 1980; 2d. ed. 1982), pp. 74-80; Thomas Bürger, "Auch er war in Arcadien! Stimmen für und wider Gessner," *ibid.*, p. 190.

- 8 See the authoritative article by Bruno Weber, "Gessner illustriert Gessner," as well as Bernhard von Waldkirch, "Zeichnungen und Gemälde," in *Maler und Dichter der Idylle*, pp. 107-29 and 135-46, respectively.
- 9 In the exhibition catalogue *Maler und Dichter der Idylle* published by the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, Martin Bircher speaks of a "Gessner-Renaissance," p. 10. The very successful anniversary exhibit was subsequently shown in Lugano, Berlin (West), and Weimar; simultaneously, a volume of the author's entire collection of art work, *Salomon Gessner*, was edited by Martin Bircher and Bruno Weber in collaboration with Bernhard von Waldkirch (Zurich, 1982), and a thorough scholarly treatment of Gessner the artist by Bernhard von Waldkirch should soon appear.
- 10 See Weber, p. 108.
- 11 L 501-22, pp. 157-59.
- 12 The two tales "Die beiden Freunde von Bourbonne" and "Unterredung eines Vaters mit seinen Kindern" were first published in Gessner's German translation (L 523).
- 13 "J'étais, Monsieur, dans un accès du plus cruel des maux du corps, quand je reçus votre lettre et vos idylles. Après avoir lu la lettre, j'ouvris machinalement le livre, comptant le refermer aussitôt; mais je ne le refermai qu'après avoir tout lu, et je le mis à côté de moi pour le lire encore." December 24, 1761; Letter to Leonhard Usteri, in *Correspondance générale de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, ed. Théophile Dufour (Paris, 1926), nr. 1229.
- 14 "Elles méritent d'être apprises par cœur et recitées tous les jours, par la délicatesse des sentiments dont elles abondent," in Clément, *Mémoire pour l'établissement des nouveaux collèges*, quoted in Fernand Baldensperger, "Gessner en France," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 10 (1903): 444.
- 15 "Dovrebbe leggersi da' Grandi che sono immersi nel lusso della città, nella gola, e nel sonno. Se si risvegliassero, se prendessero diletto di un cielo aperto, di un filare di alberi, o di viti, che vantaggio per gl'infelici, qual bene per il costume, e per la virtù!" September 12, 1777; Letter by Luca Magnanima to Aurelio Bertòla, quoted in Rita Lüchinger, *Salomon Gessner in Italien: Sein literarischer Erfolg im 18. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt/Bern, 1981), p. 195.
- 16 L 716, 730, 869.
- 17 See Johann Jakob Hottinger, *Salomon Gessner* (Zurich, 1796), pp. 146-64 and 242; Van Tieghem, "Les idylles de Gessner," pp. 232-40; Baldensperger, "Gessner en France," p. 444; Leemann-Van Elck, pp. 193.
- 18 L 639.
- 19 L, pp. 196-216.
- 20 This figure, based on Leemann-Van Elck, also includes two French editions published in Zurich.
- 21 See Max von Boehn, *Das Empire: Die Zeit, das Leben, der Stil* (Berlin, 1925), pp. 257-432.
- 22 L 734-43.
- 23 For Gessner's reception in Italy, see the very thorough documentation compiled by Lüchinger. Subsequent bibliographical data for Italy are based on Lüchinger, who is more extensive than Leemann-Van Elck.
- 24 See Lüchinger, *Salomon Gessner in Italien*, pp. 50-59; Baldensperger, "Gessner in France," pp. 438-42; José Luis Cano, "Gessner en España," *Revue de littérature comparée* 35 (1961): 40-60.
- 25 *Idilli e Poemi Campestri* di M. Gessner, dal tedesco tradotti in francese da M. Huber e dal francese da Francesco Antonio Coffani, 1770 (Lüchinger 3, p. 11).
- 26 Lüchinger 16, p. 14.
- 27 *Scelta d'Idilli* di Gessner, tradotti dal tedesco, übersetzt von Aurelio de' Giorgio Bertòla (Naples, 1777). On the translation, see Van Tieghem, "Les idylles de Gessner," p. 242 and Lüchinger, *Salomon Gessner in Italien*, pp. 69-72.
- 28 A new edition of Aurelio de' Giorgio Bertòla, *Elogio de Gessner*, ed. Michele e Antonio Stäuble, was published in Florence (1982).
- 29 See Van Tieghem, p. 277.
- 30 L 808, 809, 826, and 850: The *Works* of Salomon Gessner, translated from the German with some account of his life and writings, 3 vols. (Liverpool, 1802).
- 31 See John Hibberd, "Gessner in England," *Revue de littérature comparée* 47 (1973): 297.
- 32 L, pp. 217-29.
- 33 Hibberd, *Salomon Gessner*, p. 136.

- 34 *Thoughts upon some Late Pieces, particularly The Death of Abel, and The Messiah* (London, 1766), p. 5 (L 821).
- 35 For Gessner's critique in Germany see Böschenstein-Schäfer, *Idylle*, pp. 62–64; Hibberd, *Salomon Gessner*, pp. 142–59; Hämmerling, *Die Idylle*, pp. 106–77; Bürger, "Auch Er war in Arkadien," pp. 181–91.
- 36 Johann Joachim Eschenburg, *Entwurf einer Theorie und Literatur der schönen Redekünste*, 3d ed. (Berlin, 1812), p. 115; Johann Jakob Engel, *Sämmtliche Werke* (Berlin, 1812) 9: 74.
- 37 L, pp. 157–71 and 180–86.
- 38 L 526 and 539.
- 39 *Idyllen der Deutschen*, ed. Klamer Eberhard Karl Schmidt, 2 vols. (Frankfurt/Leipzig, 1774/5); compare Schneider, *Idyllen der Deutschen*, pp. 355–69.
- 40 See van Tieghem, "Les idylles de Gessner," p. 246; Leo Weisz, "Der Rats- und Sihlherr Salomon Gessner," in *Salomon Gessner: 1730–1930. Gedenkbuch zum 200. Geburtstag*, ed. Lesezirkel Hottingen (Zurich, 1930), pp. 136–48.
- 41 Geszner' *Idylluimi*. Forditotta Kazinczy Ferentz (Kassán, 1788), L 1026.
- 42 Geszner' élete, *Abel Halála, Szemúra és Szemin, Daphnis, Első Hájós*, vol. 2, and *Idyllek, Evander, Eraszt*, vol. 3, of Kazinczy Ferenc, *Munkáji* (Pesten, 1815), L 1029.
- 43 About pastoral poetry see *Europäische Bukolik und Georgik*, ed. Klaus Garber (Darmstadt, 1976); about Gessner's literary innovations, see Baldensperger, "Gessner en France," p. 442–43; Gerhart Hoffmeister, "Gessners Daphnis—das Ende des europäischen Schäferromans," *Studia neophilologica* 44 (1972); 127–41.
- 44 Albrecht von Haller was quick to point out the distance between Gessner and Theocritus in his *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1763): "Zwar rühmt Hr. G. in der Vorrede den Theokrit, und versichert, er habe ihn zum Muster genommen. Es mag in Ansehung der poetischen Mählerey seyn, deren Reiz die Franzosen erst jetzt zu fühlen anfangen, obwohl auch sonst ihre Sprache und ihre Sprödigkeit in Verwerfung unschuldiger Werkzeuge und anderer zum Landleben nöthiger Dinge diese Art der Dichterey für sie schwerer macht. Denn sonst müssen wir beyhm Theokrit, wie beyhm Homer unterscheiden, was zu seiner Zeit schön war und was zur unsrigen schön ist. Die elende Sittenlehre der damaligen Welt dähnt ihre Folgen auf alle Charakteren und Handlungen der Menschen aus, und gibt zu solchen Ausdrücken, Reden und Thaten Anlaß, die uns nunmehr unerträglich sind, aber zu ihrer Zeit in der Natur waren," quoted in Karl S. Guthke, "Gessner und Haller," in *Maler und Dichter der Idylle*, p. 81. Gessner himself points out in his preface that he has avoided those "Ausdrücke und Bilder im Theocrit [die] bey so sehr abgeänderten Sitten uns verächtlich worden sind" (*Idyllen*, p. 18).
- 45 See "An den Leser," pp. 15ff.
- 46 For Moral Sense theory, see Gerhard Sauder, *Empfindsamkeit*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1974), pp. 73–85; for 18th-century nature philosophy in Germany, see Rolf Christian Zimmermann, *Das Weltbild des jungen Goethe: Studien zur hermetischen Tradition des deutschen 18. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1, (Munich, 1969); also Hélène Metzger, *Attraction universelle et religion naturelle chez quelques commentateurs anglais de Newton* (Paris, 1938).
- 47 Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Man*, 8: 233–46: "See, through this air, this ocean, and this earth, / All matter quick, and bursting into birth. / Above, how high, progressive life may go! / Around, how wide! how deep extend below! / Vast chain of Being! which from God began, / Natures ethereal, human, angel, man, / beast, bird, fish, insect, what no eye can see, / No glass can reach; from Infinite to thee, / From thee to Nothing.—On superior powers / Were we to press, inferior might on ours: / Or in the full creation leave a void, / Where, one step broken, the great scale's destroyed: / From Nature's chain whatever link you strike, / Tenth or ten thousandth, breaks the chain alike"; in *The Best of Pope*, ed. George Sherburn (New York, 1939), p. 123.
- 48 See August Langen, "Verbale Dynamik in der dichterischen Landschaftsschilderung des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 70 (1948–49): 271–86. Langen's study contains a thorough repertory of verbs of animation used in Gessner's landscape description, which he interprets within the sole framework of a transition from pietism to subjectivism. All his studies on vocabulary and verbal use, especially *Der Wortschatz des deutschen Pietismus*, 2d rev. ed. (Tübingen, 1968), trace back the linguistic features mentioned here (psychological use of verbal animation, frequent use of participles) to the language of pietism, which was also an important

part of Gessner's background. The more recent studies by Jäger, p. 153, and Burk, *Elemente idyllischen Lebens*, pp. 42-54, both reject the notion of Nature's quiescence, which has led to the negative ideological appraisal of the idyll as a nostalgic flight out of history into a lost Golden Age. Yet they do not concretely show how the texts integrate descriptive poetry and human interaction. Nature is more than a realm of subjective experience, more than a philosophical negation of contemporary reality. The *Erlebnissnatur* (see Gerhard Kaiser, *Wandrer und Idylle: Goethe und die Phänomenologie der Natur in der deutschen Dichtung von Gessner bis Gottfried Keller* [Göttingen, 1977], pp. 11-22) of the sentimental idyll is also an autonomous system which functions both as a life-preserving environment and as a normative guide of human social behavior.

- 49 In "Gessner illustriert Gessner," Weber calls attention to the centrality of water in the Gessnerian landscape paintings: "Dagegen kühl und im Erdreich verborgen, nicht glatt und fest, sondern ungreifbar und unergründlich ist das Wasser, dessen Andeutung als Rinnsal, stürzender Wildbach oder stehendes Gewässer fast in keiner der 22 Radierungen [1764-1771] fehlt" (p. 116). Klaus Bernhard also points out the importance of water in the idyll in his rather superficial assessment of Gessner's landscapes as "ideal" or "realistic" "background" (*Kulisse*) or "decoration" (*Staffage*) in his *Idylle: Theorie, Geschichte, Darstellung in der Malerei 1750-1850. Zur Anthropologie deutscher Seligkeitsvorstellungen* (Colonge/Vienna, 1977), p. 208.
- 50 See Ernst Ulrich Grosse, *Sympathie der Natur: Geschichte eines Topos* (Munich, 1968).
- 51 See Sauder, *Empfindsamkeit*, pp. 177-82.
- 52 Gessner's transformation of conventional into imitative natural symbols comes quite close to Herder's and Goethe's symbol theory. A proper evaluation of his mediating role would probably lessen the contrast between the "rationalism" of enlightenment symbolism and the "irrationalism" of Herder's and Goethe's "Naturesymbol" drawn by Bengt Algot Sørensen in his influential *Symbol und Symbolismus in den ästhetischen Theorien des 18. Jahrhunderts und der deutschen Romantik* (Copenhagen, 1963), pp. 32-91.
- 53 See D. G. Charlton, *New Images of the Natural in France: A Study in European Culture History, 1750-1800* (Cambridge, 1984); Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500-1800* (London, 1983).

Back to the Roots: The Teutonic Revival from Klopstock to the Wars of Liberation

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In German-speaking countries from the early 16th century up to the middle of the 20th century, it was almost always an image of the "Teutonic" which emerged when the talk turned to national origins, volkish identity, or the innate characteristics of the "Germans." The "old Teutons," as people liked to call them, were viewed in a decidedly mythical way, as an ideal, legendary people who were noble, courageous, freedom-loving, virtuous, loyal, and honest—in short, a people who could measure up to any other nation of the world, even to the highly touted Romans. Since there were neither archaeological finds nor literary evidence of these old Germanic tribes for a long time, the advocates of this thesis based their arguments solely on *one* document: namely, the *Germania* of Tacitus. The only manuscript of this work had been brought from a monastery in Hersfeld to Italy in 1455. There, it became famous mainly through the *Germania antiqua* of Enea Silvio Piccolomini, in which the future Pope Pius II compiled everything negative from Tacitus' *Germania* in order to prove what a beneficial influence the Roman Catholic Church had supposedly had on "barbaric" Germany.¹

By contrast, such German humanists as Conrad Celtis, Jakob Wimpfeling, Heinrich Bebel, Johannes Naukler, Franciscus Irenicus, Ulrich von Hutten, Andreas Althamer, Philipp Melanchthon, Johannes Aventinus, and Sebastian Münster, writing between 1501 and 1541, emphasized mainly the positive things which Tacitus had said about the Germanic tribes. These humanists were motivated by a predominantly secular interest in national characteristics, as well as by their doubts that the influence of the Roman Catholic Church in Germany had been entirely beneficial. After all, although Tacitus does not conceal a predilection for drunkenness and laziness among the old Germanic tribes, he certainly shows them as paragons of virtue in all other respects: They are a pure, unmongrelized "race of a special kind of men" who know neither "cities" nor "money transactions." Rather, they live on the land, keep great "herds of cattle," take pleasure in neither show nor waste, and wear only the simplest of garments, usually a little cloak fastened with a thorn. In hot weather, they simply run around "naked." They are immune to erotic "titillations," valuing instead "pure morals." They

taste the "pleasures of love" rather "late," and hardly know what "adultery" is. They do not mistreat women as prostitutes or slaves, but rather "honor" them and even believe that "something holy and visionary" abides in women. They prefer that women nurse their own children, rather than give them to wet nurses. In general, then, they love natural and simple things, and value honesty above everything else—that is, they live "without lying and deception." They continually test their skill with weapons in order to be prepared for the possibility of war. They worship their gods in holy "groves" instead of dark temples. They tolerate no dictators over them, but rather discuss all proposals which are put forth, making decisions "together" at the meetings of the "Thing." They elect their kings and military leaders themselves; etc. etc.²

The German humanists generally suppressed the fact that Tacitus intended his image of the Germanic tribes primarily as a contrast to what he deplored as the moral and political decadence of his own countrymen. Whether deliberately or out of national naïveté, they simply took over this image of the Teutons which Tacitus had stylized in so positive a way. After having long felt culturally inferior to both the early Romans and the contemporary Italians, they finally found in Tacitus a confirmation of their own feeling of self-esteem. That is, they found a "classical" proof that they, too, had a splendid past; that they, too, were an important people in world history; that they, too, were descended from morally and politically significant ancestors. From now on, it was unnecessary when comparing the Germans—as the most important people of the "Holy Roman Empire"—to the Italians, French, or Spanish to emphasize their more intense "piety" in the medieval sense. Rather, such comparisons and assertions could be based for the first time on purely secular concepts. For these reasons, the *Germania* of Tacitus was cited against French territorial claims in Alsace and was even used to justify the high esteem which some humanists were beginning to feel for the Cheruskan ruler Arminius, who later, like Siegfried, was to be regarded as prime example of true German spirit.

Accordingly, we may draw the following conclusions about the German humanists' interpretation of *Germania*, which also hold true for the following centuries. By equating the "Teutonic" and the "German" in these writings, the Germans first received their own one-to-two-thousand-year-old history. At the same time, they established a concept of their own eternal character, which—all the while citing *Germania*—was defined as freedom-loving, brave, upright, virtuous, modest, and simple. Upon closer examination, this character corresponded exactly to the concepts of virtue of the middle classes in the early 16th century. For in the course of the beginning accumulation of capital, this class was striving above all to be simple, thrifty, clean, austere, and so forth. But not only that, it was also searching for a new *raison d'être* in order to legitimize itself vis-à-vis the Church and despotic rule as an estate which was outfitted with as many secular virtues as possible.

Even after the high point of humanist nationalism, the Reformation and the

Peasants' War in the first half of the 16th century, this exalted image of the Germanic tribes was not totally lost. However, it did recede far into the background during the Counterreformation and, even more so, during early Enlightenment, when French rationalism dominated the intellectual scene. But even the German High Enlightenment, where we would expect to find a revolutionary spirit most in evidence, produced mainly spokesmen who were bourgeois liberals more concerned with their own freedom from fetters and restraints than with the welfare of the "great masses," of the common people, of the nation. They therefore embraced mainly those reforms which they hoped would expand their own privileges—that is, which would abolish clerical or absolutist authority in the spheres of intellectual life, aesthetics, and ethics. Because they had isolated themselves from the broad masses in this way, the bourgeois liberals realized that in order to achieve their goals, they were forced to ally themselves with the lower-ranking nobility or the smaller courts. Thus they had no choice but to hope that somewhat "enlightened" rulers or so-called "good fathers of the people" would grant them the reforms they had in mind.

Because of this point of departure, their political model was almost always the philosopher, the enlightened man, the old sage, the royal advisor. Such a man hardly placed his hopes in the innately good qualities of the German people (and certainly did not derive them from the old Teutons). Rather, he espoused the ideas of a universal, cosmopolitan Enlightenment imported from France or England. This is attested to by numerous novels from *Der redliche Mann am Hofe* (1742) by Johann Michael Loen to *Der goldene Spiegel oder Die Könige von Scheschian* (1772) by Christoph Martin Wieland.³ Their protagonists attempt to enact reforms at court which would enable both the lower-ranking nobility and the upper middle classes to participate in affairs of state, rather than leave them to the arbitrary whims of whatever ruler was in power at the time. And in doing this, they praise the same virtues of simplicity, modesty, and even bravery which were already to be found in Tacitus' *Germania*. On the other hand, they always distance themselves from such characteristics as excessive emotionality, shortness of temper, and aggressiveness which Tacitus had equally stressed.

Because of this attitude, most German liberals retreated fearfully from the events of the French Revolution, especially from the propagandistically exaggerated "bloodthirsty rule" of the Jacobins. Instead, they placed their faith more and more in the uplifting powers of aesthetics, ethics, or pedagogy. It was their conviction that political liberation had to be preceded by an intellectual and spiritual liberation guided by the upper classes, a position Friedrich Schiller put forward in his letters *Über die ästhetische Erziehung* in 1793. "The German empire and the German nation are two different things," Schiller wrote four years later. "The German has established his own worth apart from the political sphere, and even if the *imperium* would pass away, German dignity would still remain intact. It is a moral quality; it resides in the culture of the nation and in its character, which is independent of its political fate. This empire is flowering in Germany, it is

in full bloom . . . and while the political empire is tottering, the empire of the mind has become ever more secure and perfect."⁴

Through this retreat from politics into the life of the mind, this flight into "high-flown misery," as Friedrich Engels later described it,⁵ German 'High Court Classicism' was to remain a cultural phenomenon which had a certain "anticipatory" character, but which mostly avoided the political and social challenges of its own time.⁶ This is not to say that its main representatives did not continue to advocate Enlightenment concepts of reform in their most highly idealized visions; yet they elevated such concepts more and more out of the sphere of reality into that of universal humanity. In this way, they constructed social utopias like those in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre* (1821) or *Faust II* (1833). Here, the focus is on aristocratic organizations of governance (the so-called Tower Society) or energetic, independent figures (such as Faust, who reclaims land). As "utopian" as their constructions might appear, it is nevertheless clear that these models of a different, better society originate in the thinking of reform-minded bourgeois liberalism from the period before the French Revolution.

In contrast to these liberals, the more radically oriented groups after 1750 usually claimed to be "patriots" or "democrats." To be sure, they, too, participated in the Enlightenment, but they also sought to develop concepts which would encompass all of society rather than merely the bourgeoisie. Accordingly, they did not only envision a gradual integration of the bourgeois representatives of property and education into the aristocratic sphere of unrestrained freedom and the extravagance which resulted from it. Rather, they wanted freedom to be created by a revolutionary act from below, a popular rebellion, a unified national will—that is, they wanted "equality" and "fraternity" along with "liberty." Whereas the liberals had thought that the state should always be governed by the upper classes, the democrats almost always advocated the idea of "popular sovereignty." They did not place the main emphasis on privilege, luxury, or abstract cosmopolitanism. Rather, they understood themselves as speaking for a people whose overwhelming majority (over 80%) were peasants, artisans, small tradesmen, servants, farm hands, or serfs, and whose main interest was not so much freedom than a better livelihood, a more equal distribution of financial burdens, and a greater social consciousness in general.

What infuriated these groups—whose political and literary manifestations can only vaguely be described with labels like patriotic-pietistic sentimentalism, Teutonic-Germanophile Klopstockianism, and Rousseauistic-Jacobinistic Storm and Stress—was not so much the discrimination they felt personally (though this also bothered them). Rather, it was the suffering of the people who were constantly subjected to despotic measures, to merciless exploitation by the aristocracy, to the horrors of war, to the results of chronically bad harvests, as well as to all the disadvantages of the still underdeveloped means of production. They realized that the idea of a good sovereign was a hopeless illusion, since even "bet-

ter" rulers like Frederick II (though called the "Great") were really concerned mainly with conquering new territory; moreover, the people continued to be subjected to aristocratic whim and caprice even under such an enlightened monarch as Joseph II. Therefore, these more democratically oriented groups stopped placing their hopes in some kind of benevolent despot from the disintegrating "Holy Roman Empire." Rather, they began to dream of a state, a nation, a community founded on the idea of simplicity, which *all* citizens could call their own.

The first moves in this direction arose within Protestant Pietism in the first half of the 18th century. This movement identified Christian Protestantism more and more closely with German Protestantism, and thus promoted the identification of the inner with the outer fatherland. And this in turn meant that Christ's martyrdom in the end came to be clearly associated here with such national martyrs as Siegfried and Arminius.⁷ Accordingly, Tacitus' *Germania* wielded a significant influence once again among the pietists, for it provided the model of a morally upright, modest, unpretentious life which could easily be equated with the concepts of moderation and virtue important for a pietistically oriented, respectable middle-class life. In literature, this identification first appears in Klopstock's *Messias* (1749-73) and in his *Hermanns-Dramen* (1769-87), which express thoughts of national and religious awakening with the same ecstatic fervor.

The publication of the *Nibelungenlied* had a similar effect on the growth of German national feeling (the second half appeared in 1757 and the whole work in 1782). A so-called enlightened monarch like Frederick II rejected this work as "miserable stuff." Goethe made no comment upon its appearance in 1782.⁸ But it was greeted all the more enthusiastically by the admirers of Tacitus' *Germania* and Klopstock's *Hermanns-Dramen*. Among the most important representatives of this new Germanic orientation, with its emphasis on straightforwardness and plainness, were the members of the "Göttinger Hain" (Ludwig Christoph Heinrich Hölty, Johann Martin Miller, Friedrich Leopold zu Stolberg and Johann Heinrich Voss), a writer of "patriotic" hymns like the young Friedrich Hölderlin, the "Teutonic" patriot Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart (who focused on Arminius the Cheruscan in his "Hymn to Freedom" as the "symbolic figure of German republicanism"), and a man like Justus Möser, whose *Osnabrückische Geschichte* (1768) also highlighted the irrepressible longing for freedom of the "old Teutons."⁹

None of these authors viewed the German people from the perspective of absolute despotism or from that of liberal reform efforts. That is, they did not view the German people from above, but always from below. They saw even the nation's leaders as representatives of a common will who were organically united with those they led—beyond all claims to divine right or right of dynastic succession. Consequently, in their works, Germany is depicted neither as a universal Hapsburg monarchy nor a "Holy Roman Empire." Rather, it is always that Germania or Teutonia which derives its inner coherence primarily from its volkish origins, its native language, the simplicity of its inhabitants, and its pronounced

sense of a shared national spirit. Yet in spite of their pride in their origins and culture, this group of democrats or patriots seldom yielded to feelings of national—let alone chauvinistic—arrogance; rather, they remained within the framework of enlightened concepts of humanity. This is demonstrated especially well by their attitude toward the French Revolution, which most (even Klopstock) had welcomed at first as a movement for liberty, equality, and fraternity. Even Herder (in his *Ideen zur Geschichte der Menschheit* of 1794) and Fichte (in his *Der geschlossene Handelsstaat* of 1800) continued to situate their concepts of an intensified “Germanness” within the context of a family of humanity spanning the entire globe, where every nation would be equal. Instead of raving about cosmopolitan generalities, these democrats were convinced that the German people could establish universal liberty and equality only when political sovereignty would be exercised directly by the people, when everyone would feel volkish, Germanic, or Teutonic, when the fatherland would become the object of universal love—in short, when the common “countryman” and the common “artisan” could also identify with *their* state.¹⁰ Therefore, in contrast to the liberals, their political utopia was not a constitutional monarchy but a German republic;¹¹ and, indeed, they came to use “patriotism” and “republicanism” as synonyms.¹²

But this wave of German Jacobin enthusiasm lasted only a few years. It was replaced toward the end of the 1790s by a kind of nationalism which intensified after the occupation of many German states by the French and the ensuing collapse of the “Holy Roman Empire.” Due to the necessary mobilization against the French invaders—and because of the strategic need to stir up patriotic emotions—this nationalism shows a clear tendency toward chauvinism. This is especially true of the poems of Theodor Körner, the *Reden an die deutsche Nation* (1807–8) of Fichte, the *Katechismus der Deutschen* (1809) by Kleist, the megalithic graves painted by Friedrich, some of Arndt’s writings, or the book *Deutsches Volkstum* (1810) by Jahn. These works sometimes identify the virtues of the Germans all too closely with the valorous model of the old Germanic tribes created by Tacitus—that is, along with moderation and moral purity, they also emphasize bravery and aggressiveness as inborn characteristics of the Germans. And yet, there still remain humanistic elements even in Arndt’s patriotic hymns about the “God who wanted no slaves,” in Kleist’s *Hermannsschlacht* (1808), which ends with the idea of an elected monarchy yet does not forget Herder’s concept of the great family of peoples; in Friedrich’s slogan, “Down with the aristocrats, long live the people”;¹³ and even in Jahn’s longing for a fraternal union of all Germans. To sum it up, the humanistic elements in all these statements are still so strong that the spirit of the Wars of Liberation and also the students’ corporations organized afterward cannot simply be dismissed as “chauvinistic.”

That this truly democratic national movement could come to be viewed as chauvinistic is due mainly to the fact that, even though the dream of a new German Reich was realized twice after 1815, it was realized in a wrong way—in both the Second and the Third Reichs, which attempted to exploit these movements

for their own ends. In doing this, the Second Reich was less chauvinistic than the one to follow. Because of its national-liberal tendencies, it included among its forbears not only the volkish attitudes around 1800 but also Weimar Classicism. All the more strongly, the Nazi ideologists insisted on the significance of this movement for them. This is shown by numerous writings, with titles like *Die nationale Idee von Herder bis Hitler*,¹⁴ which, coming out after 1933, interpret every reference to the nation or the "Volk" in German history in a fascist sense. Such writings always brush aside most of the humanistic, enlightened elements in these earlier works, and highlight only those things which can be interpreted in a chauvinistic way. In so doing, they reemphasize all the tendencies toward aggressiveness as the only important remnants of the patriotic, democratic utopias of "liberty, equality, fraternity" between 1750 and 1815, among them the well-known concepts of "Volk" and "Führer," which these Nazi ideologists interpreted as pointing the way toward wars of conquest, or "Germanic colonization."

Because of the pervasiveness of this kind of fascist historiography, it is understandable that after 1945 most scholars avoided that whole complex of ideas for the time being. And even those who tried to grapple with it in the light of their own experiences still viewed most of its representatives as forerunners of National Socialism, evaluating its symptoms negatively, rather than positively.¹⁵ This attitude is totally understandable, as it arises from righteous anger over the disastrous course of German history. Nevertheless, it is precisely this attitude which has damned that movement to a part of the past the Germans must still come to terms with. Hence they should investigate its concrete historical, political, economic, sociological, and ideological causes, rather than giving it positive or negative labels in regard to any dubious forms of "national identity." Who actually were the groups that stood behind this Teutonic revival movement? Whom did they oppose? What ideological models did they use? What were their political, social, and moral intentions? The following discussion will attempt to offer at least a few tentative answers, emphasizing the new simplicity and naturalness of life which this movement propagated.

Upon more careful analysis, it can hardly be denied that this movement was not based simply on a hazy longing for national identity. Rather, it also demonstrated a very concrete, largely lower middle-class opposition to the conspicuous luxury of the countless royal households of those decades, and to that intellectual liberalism whose reform efforts could develop only in the environment of the existing courts or aristocracy. As early as the mid-18th century, this opposition had a clearly anti-French component. However, the latter was not so much an expression of a specifically chauvinistic attitude as that of a petit-bourgeois class hatred directed against the extravagance, frivolity, and ostentation of the German aristocracy. After all, these aristocrats gave their palaces names like Mon repos, Eremitage, or Sanssouci, spoke French with each other, loved Louis XV furniture, and kept expensive mistresses. And they smiled condescendingly at everything German, everything bourgeois, as clumsy, coarse, or even barbaric—if

they did not despise it outright. To be the subjects of such rulers, and to be harassed by them in every conceivable manner, necessarily led to a political and social radicalizing of those which felt themselves to be excluded from this world. In the process, they turned not only against the courts but also against that reform-happy upper bourgeoisie which advocated ideas imported from France or England about raising industrial production or intensifying urbanization. For this stratum of society was also moving in the direction of greater luxury—that is, of liberal “freedom to do as one wants” and of materialist egoism—and thus was clearly proving that it sympathized more with the ruling aristocracy than with the democrats, the great uneducated masses, the rabble.

The patriotically inclined democrats countered all these material and ideological tendencies with a concept of the people that has a specifically common touch and which expresses solidarity with all those whom the upper classes viewed as mere subjects. Unlike the patriciate, these groups did not conform to the aristocracy and the courts, nor seek to climb the social ladder or have themselves raised to the nobility like Goethe and Schiller. Rather, they developed a self-esteem that defiantly rejected all aristocratic and liberal values, emphasizing primarily such Germanic and Christian virtues as moderation, community spirit, and moral purity.¹⁶ These groups did not want a class society in which the few would live a life of luxury and the many would live in poverty; rather, they wanted a democracy which would be founded on the brotherhood of all. Searching for models of such a way of life, their thoughts often wandered back to antiquity, when—as they saw it—there were as yet no classes, and everyone was still free and equal. As examples, they liked to point to the stories of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and their children, Greek pastoral poetry, Virgil’s *Eclogues*, the Germanic tribes of Tacitus, and the image of the “noble savage” in Rousseau’s works. These democrats realized that there was little national poetry of this kind in Germany and, indeed, that German literature in general was dominated almost exclusively by the voice of the educated classes. They usually attributed this to the infiltration of foreign cultural influences by way of the aristocracy, who suppressed all “communal spirit” and always identified with the taste of the Romans, Italians, or French, fancying themselves better than the “great unwashed.” These democrats liked to maintain that German literature had only been “truly close to the people” at the beginning. Later on, they wrote, it had become more and more corrupted until it came to reflect only the “different class interests”—due to the conditions of feudal or absolutist rule.¹⁷

For this reason, many democrats in the second half of the century placed their political hopes entirely in a “constitution for all,” as they called it,¹⁸ which would be established by means of struggles from below. They reached this conclusion because they thought that a true spirit of freedom could only develop within a national state which would level all class barriers, whereas the retention of absolutism would necessarily lead to a continuation of the unbearable rule of the French-speaking aristocracy. Consequently, the democratic insistence on a Ger-

man "sense of community" in these decades is more the expression of a petit-bourgeois class hatred than of national arrogance. Among other things, this is shown by the writings of Herder, who always spoke out for a stronger German identity with an emancipatory, rebellious note—turning against the German rulers rather than against non-Germanic peoples. Accordingly, Herder viewed the main thrust of this German identity as an all-encompassing perfection of "humanity." And this is set up as a postulate which other peoples should also imitate in order to unite at the end of this development—like the individual members of a family—into a family of nations encircling the globe, a free, equal, and brotherly confederation of states.

Along the same lines, the German Jacobins urged after 1789 that in Germany, too, the *levé en masse* which they so ardently desired should be carried out. Accordingly, in their calls to action directed at the great masses, most of them proclaimed that the people should finally rise as a "nation" and send the rulers packing.¹⁹ For example, Anton Joseph Dorsch expressed these ideas with apodictic clarity in his essay "Über die Geschichte der Vaterlandsliebe" (1791). Here, he wrote that the "real seats of patriotism" had always been the republics, whereas in monarchies, where politics were conducted by a single individual, the "great masses" could hardly develop an interest in public affairs.²⁰ And even Fichte in *Der geschlossene Handelsstaat* envisioned a German republic in which the "welfare of the nation," rather than the welfare "of a few individuals," would stand in the forefront. "In this state," he wrote, "all are servants of the whole, and for this they receive a just portion of the goods of the whole. No one can enrich himself very much, but no one can become impoverished, either. Each individual is guaranteed permanent security, and thus the whole is also permanently guaranteed a tranquil, well-ordered existence."²¹

The number of literary works reflecting these extremely popular convictions between 1750 and 1800 is legion. These ideas reached their wide audience through songs, a genre which, because it does not depend on a printed text for dissemination, can be considered quintessentially democratic. Klopstock's odes were not to enjoy this popularity, although they also became relatively well known. But through their patriotic conviction, they provided many of the images and motifs that subsequently appeared everywhere: their references to Arminius and Thuiskon and to Germanic bards, groves, and oaks, their description of simple country life and indigenous peasant customs, their hatred of despots, their praise of the North American struggle for freedom and the beginnings of the French Revolution. Among the most ardent champions of these ideas were the members of the *Göttinger Hain*, the group of young students around Hölty, Miller, Stolberg, Voss, and Hahn. In the early 1770s, they met in a grove near Göttingen, wore wreaths of oak leaves, took vows to liberty, friendship, and patriotism, and gave Klopstock's motifs a somewhat more agreeable, lyrical form in their own poems. On the one hand, their works continually refer to the Harz mountains as the German

Olympus; German oaks; the graves of forefathers; Braga, the mythical Teutonic god of poetry; traditional German country life; the plainness of peasant huts; the overdue return to ancestral customs; to national heroes like Arminius, Tell, Hutten, Gustav Adolph [!], and Klopstock; German virtue, loyalty, and honesty; and the readiness to sacrifice and die for the holy fatherland. On the other hand, they wrote just as often of French and Italian deception, moral decay, frivolity, fickleness, intrigue, ostentation, and wantonness.²² In short, simple life is set up here against luxury, Germania against Lutetia, as if everything were already leading to a "war of liberation" of Teut's sons against the corrupting Romans and Gauls. Therefore, many things that appear at first glance to be Germano-Christian arrogance, petit-bourgeois narrow-mindedness or exaggerated nationalism, upon closer analysis prove to be an expression of a middle-class aversion to those French "fashions" which were imitated mainly by the courts, the aristocracy, and the upper bourgeoisie.

Only those who take freedom to be the only important value—and who hold equality and fraternity to be insignificant—will turn up their noses at such poems. After all, when these democrats reject aristocratic "gallantry," "cheap finery," "imitations of the French," and the love of "pomp and gold," they are not only rejecting the aristocratic pleasure in "Gaul's affectations";²³ rather, they are also rejecting that liberation into capitalism which was then taking place in France and which the German democrats observed with the greatest distrust. Consequently, it is not simply due to moralistic narrow-mindedness that in their poems they oppose to the corrupt life of the upper classes, with their lackeys and mistresses, the positive image of the simple German peasants, the servant girls, the common people. That is, their positive alternative consists of all those representatives of the lower classes who, although having no cultural polish and no "family tree," possess instead a pronounced sense of justice and simplicity, are extremely "honest, noble, and good," and lead a modest, virtuous life in their little "huts."²⁴ All of this goes far beyond that rococo or sentimental bucolic fashion with which even the courts and the upper bourgeoisie flirted for a time in the second half of the 18th century. Thus, many of these poems evoke a life oriented around Teutonic or old German simplicity, a life that resists the corrupting influence of the upper classes, closes itself off, tries to avoid the pull of urban, industrial modernization, and appears to have found in the image of the free, self-sufficient peasant a model for the genuine, eternal, truly virtuous human being.

Even during the French Revolution, many of these democrats—such as Weisshaupt, Möser, Pfeffel, Voss, Bürger, Seume, and Rebmann—persisted in this anti-urban orientation, continuing to advocate improvements in the social condition of German peasants.²⁵ As these groups often explained after 1789, the Germans should return to the virtues of their forebears in order to carry out a *Revolutio germanica*, just as the French were recalling the traditional virtues of the early Romans and Gauls to further their own revolution. Consequently, it was

precisely the revolutionary-minded groups that painted a picture of the old Germanic tribes in ever more glowing colors. At that time, as they wrote, all were peasants, everyone was free, no one would have tolerated an aristocracy over him; there was no knowledge of luxury or moral corruption, everyone viewed the fields as common property, and it was only in times of need that anyone would have subordinated himself to some sort of elected monarch. Out of this conviction evolved a closer and closer identification of Germanic with German, German with moral, moral with simple, simple with peasant or petit-bourgeois, petit-bourgeois with protestant and pietistic, and so forth. Therefore, those who were really taken by the old Germanic ways were also most enthusiastic about the French Revolution, whereas the liberals tended to view it more as a rebellion of the masses, or even as a reign of terror carried out by sinister egalitarians.

As long as this revolutionary spirit flourished, clear ideological fronts prevailed: The German liberals viewed revolutionary agitation as a danger to their property and their cultural privileges, whereas the democrats viewed it as a movement against luxury and for virtue and brotherhood. Only when the victory of the Girondists in France established the "freedom to develop capitalism," and Napoleon seized power and conquered half of Europe and large parts of the decaying "Holy Roman Empire," the ideological situation became more complex again. The liberals, including many intellectuals such as Wieland, Goethe, Hegel, and Jean Paul, as well as some of the rulers in the Confederation of the Rhine, heartily welcomed this development, celebrated Napoleon for subduing the French Revolution, and hoped for an extension of bourgeois privileges through the "code civile." By contrast, democrats like Kleist, Beethoven, Friedrich, Fichte, Seume, Arndt, and Jahn viewed Napoleon as a traitor to the French Revolution, a greedy conqueror and emperor—and continued to place their hopes in the German people, in a national uprising, or even in a *Revolutio germanica*. Under the given conditions, this hope was not absolutely unrealistic. Since Napoleon proved to be not only a liberal, but also just as much an imperialist, the liberals—and finally even the German rulers who feared for their thrones—had to unite with the democrats in order to liberate themselves from Napoleon and his armies through well-planned wars of coalition.

And so the time was ripe again for the German "friends of the people." For in order to free themselves from a charismatic ruler like Napoleon, who was idolized by his troops, the German rulers were forced to stir up a patriotic spirit among their own subjects which would make possible a *levé en masse*. Accordingly, the years between 1806 and 1812 are full of statements, manifestos, and rebellions where a spontaneously "patriotic" feeling bursts forth. And this happens in spite of the censorship of the French and the anxiety of the German rulers who, while supporting these sentiments, always tried to direct them outward in order to prevent the wave of national-democratic enthusiasm from swelling, which would have called the legitimacy of their own power into question. And so works

appeared which express a national spirit of rebellion the German sovereigns would not have tolerated in this form either before 1806 or after 1815.

For example, in his enthusiastically received *Reden an die deutsche Nation*, dating from the winter of 1807–8, Fichte presents the Germans as a people who had a real bent toward freedom even in ancient times. He goes on to say that they had lost this quality due to the influence of foreigners and of class division and that their task was to recover it in the coming wars of liberation. Furthermore, in his utopian fragment *Die Republik der Deutschen*, Fichte sharply attacked the rulers and the aristocracy whose “corruption” had shown them to be “incapable” of continuing “to lead the nation.” Here, Fichte dreamed of a free republic whose highest office would be an elected “imperial magistrate.”²⁶ Just as passionately, in his *Geist der Zeit* of 1808–18, Arndt took up the cause of a republic founded on a Germanic spirit of community. Here, he strongly advocated the abolition of serfdom (which still existed) and of all class differences, in order to awaken the old feeling for social justice among the German people. Also, along these lines, he rejected 18th-century dress and uniforms and proposed an “old Germanic” costume which would be both unpretentious and lacking in indications of social class. Almost the same theses appear in the book *Deutsches Volkstum* (1810) by “Turnvater” Jahn, who proceeded like Fichte from the idea that absolute autarky was necessary for a people to develop its national characteristics and thus perfect its “humanity.” For this reason, Jahn rejected every form of luxury-oriented foreign influence, which he viewed as a corruption of the naturally simple and freedom-loving qualities of the old Germanic tribes. Jahn’s specific suggestions here lay mainly in the areas of public education, gymnastics, the national dress, popular festivals, preference for the mother tongue, and a national feeling which would unite all members of the state. It should be stressed that the volkish character of these suggestions appears to be social, and not biological or racist in the modern sense. However, because of the peculiar overemphasis on an unclearly defined national character, Jahn’s ideas sometimes pass over into a Germanomania which was exploited later on for the worst fascist purposes.

The same thing is true of some of the patriotic poetry which appeared a short time later in the course of the Wars of Liberation, including certain poems by Arndt, Körner, Rückert, Arnim, or Schenkendorf, which sometimes express a national pathos bordering on the chauvinistic. Especially, poets who were strongly influenced by patriotic pietism like to speak of the “Holy Fatherland,” the “German God,” a “German mission,” or of “death for the fatherland as a sacrifice and a passion.”²⁷ But even such writers as Kleist, whose works are free of any religious excesses, tend to chauvinistic exaggerations in their anti-Napoleonic tirades of hate. Because it was the goal of this poetry to stir up the masses to a fever pitch in order to prepare them for a democratic war of liberation, it was probably impossible to avoid such strategies, which include highly charged emotional elements in their propaganda. We should, therefore, refrain

from classifying this movement simply as proto- or pre-fascist even though it sometimes overemphasizes the "Teutonic" heritage. After all, it is near invariably the thought of a *Revolutio germanica* that is behind such proclamations. And for the democrats, this meant a return to the simple life of the free peasants, a Rousseauistic glorification of the "noble savage," or a deep sympathy with the "old German" artisans of the early 16th century. That is to say, all of this represents a strong dislike for the extravagances of the courts as well as for the urban bourgeoisie's love of luxury. Moreover, this dislike seems much more democratic than the romantic enthusiasm for the Middle Ages which began at the same time, and could only have an antirevolutionary effect, considering its glorification of the ancien régime.

Consequently, in discussing the national-democratic movement between 1750 and 1815, what we should keep in mind is its Janus-faced ideology. It was not only the expression of a nationalism that became increasingly chauvinistic after 1871 and, even more so, after 1933. Rather, it was also an expression of truly republican convictions, whose best representatives tried to fight a war on two fronts, against the feudal ancien régime as well as against the development of industrial modernization in the large cities. And along the lines of the best utopian, egalitarian traditions, they leaned toward simplicity and an alliance with the peasants and the common people—that is, along with liberty, their watchwords were equality and fraternity. To be sure, they did this as a bourgeois, not a peasant, movement, and were thus fighting a losing battle from the beginning. They succumbed not only to the powers of the ancien régime, which emerged victorious once again at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, but also to the process of industrialization and urbanization that spread from England and France over all of Europe in these decades, and later struck the death blow to the ancien régime. Viewed in such a manner, the "Teutonic" movement before 1815 was the last significant German reaction to the passing of feudalism, but also the first reaction to newly developing capitalism. And both of these reactions were quite authentic. It is only in neo-Romanticism around 1900 and in fascism after 1933 that such reactions ring hollow. Here, emphasis was also placed on a Teutonically oriented peasant cult, but this was almost always done for the purpose of stirring up imperialistic urges (with the express support of heavy industry).²⁸

In contrast to such movements, the "Teutonic" movement between 1750 and 1815 seems somewhat bizarre, but always honest to the core. It sought to create a simple, egalitarian, brotherly life for the majority of the German people who were still living in the bitterest poverty and oppression. Therefore, we should not criticize this movement from a liberal perspective as not having emphasized liberty enough—as almost all analyses have done in the last thirty to forty years. Rather, it is perhaps more appropriate to praise it for its longing for social equality and for simpler and more natural forms of life, and for its intense concern for the lowest of the low, the serfs. In contrast to many other movements, these democrats were not merely thinking of expanding their own privileges. They still be-

lieved, in a relatively innocent way, that a strengthening of the national consciousness could have only positive effects. And so, if we view this movement in the light of Thomas Mann's *Doktor Faustus* and its accompanying essays, we could almost say that it actually manifested the best German political traditions—the traditions which were later to become the worst in German politics.

Translated from the German by Carol Poore

Notes

- 1 Cf. Tacitus, *Germania*, ed. Franz Fuhrmann (Stuttgart, 1971), pp. 71f.
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 73. See also Klaus von See, *Die Ideen von 1789 und die Ideen von 1914: Völkisches Denken in Deutschland zwischen Französischer Revolution und Erstem Weltkrieg* (Frankfurt, 1975), pp. 9ff.; Francis G. Gentry, "Mittelalterfeiern im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Deutsche Feiern*, ed. Reinhold Grimm and Jost Hermand (Wiesbaden, 1977), pp. 10f.; Jost Hermand, "Ultima Thule: Völkische und faschistische Zukunftsvisionen," in my *Orte. Irgendwo: Formen utopischen Denkens* (Königstein, 1981), pp. 61ff.; Werner Weiland, "Die 'deutsche Freiheit' in der bürgerlichen und proletarischen Emanzipationsgeschichte," in *Die Restauration der Götter: Antike Religion und Neo-Paganismus*, ed. Richard Faber and Renate Schlesier (Frankfurt, 1986), pp. 215ff.
- 3 See Gabrielle Bersier, *Wunschbild und Wirklichkeit: Deutsche Utopien im 18. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg, 1981), pp. 173–231.
- 4 Friedrich Schiller, *Sämtliche Werke* (München, 1958) 1: 473f.
- 5 Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Über Kunst und Literatur*, ed. Manfred Klein (Frankfurt, 1968) 1: 468.
- 6 Compare *Die Klassik-Legende*, ed. Reinhold Grimm and Jost Hermand (Frankfurt, 1971), pp. 7ff.
- 7 Compare Gerhard Kaiser, *Pietismus und Patriotismus im literarischen Deutschland: Ein Beitrag zum Problem der Säkularisation* (Wiesbaden, 1961) and Peter Pütz, "Aufklärung," in *Geschichte der politischen Lyrik in Deutschland*, ed. Walter Hinderer (Stuttgart, 1978), pp. 128f.
- 8 See Jost Hermand, "Hebbels *Nibelungen*: Ein deutsches Trauerspiel," in *Hebbel in neuer Sicht*, ed. Helmut Kreuzer (Stuttgart, 1963), p. 315.
- 9 Cf. See, pp. 13f. and Weiland, pp. 222f.
- 10 Compare *Von deutscher Republik: 1775–1795*, ed. Jost Hermand (Frankfurt, 1968) 2: 90ff., 136ff.
- 11 *Ibid.* 2: 168ff.
- 12 Inge Stephan, *Literarischer Jakobinismus in Deutschland: 1789–1806* (Stuttgart, 1976), p. 87.
- 13 Cf. Jost Hermand, "Das offene Geheimnis: Caspar David Friedrichs nationale Trauerarbeit," in my *Sieben Arten an Deutschland zu leiden* (Königstein, 1979), pp. 17ff.
- 14 Compare Eugen Schmähl, *Der Aufstieg der nationalen Idee* (1933) and Hans Dahmen, *Die nationale Idee von Herder bis Hitler* (1934).
- 15 The best study in this field is still Wolfgang Emmerich, *Zur Kritik der Volkstumsideologie* (Frankfurt, 1971), pp. 22ff.
- 16 Compare George L. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York, 1985; rpt. Madison, 1988), pp. 66ff.
- 17 Johann Gottfried Herder, *Sämtliche Werke* (Stuttgart, 1852ff.) 30: 139; 16: 139.
- 18 *Ibid.* 30: 139.
- 19 Compare Walter Grab, *Ein Volk muß seine Freiheit selbst erobern: Zur Geschichte der deutschen Jakobiner* (Frankfurt, 1984), pp. 51ff.
- 20 Anton Joseph Dorsch, "Über die Geschichte der Vaterlandsliebe," in *Hansen* 1 (1791): 1042.
- 21 Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Sämtliche Werke* (Berlin, 1845ff.) 3: 419.

- 22 Cf. *Der Göttinger Hain*, ed. Alfred Kellertat (Stuttgart, 1967), pp. 11, 83, 143, 151, 154, and 408ff.
- 23 *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 151, 154, 255.
- 24 *Ibid.*, p. 256.
- 25 *Von deutscher Republik* 2: 90–106.
- 26 Fichte, *Sämtliche Werke* 7: 531.
- 27 Compare Hasko Zimmer, *Auf dem Altar des Vaterlandes: Religion und Patriotismus in der deutschen Kriegsliteratur des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt, 1971), pp. 18ff. and Jürgen Wilke, "Vom Sturm und Drang bis zur Romantik," in *Geschichte der politischen Lyrik in Deutschland*, ed. Walter Hinderer (Stuttgart, 1978), pp. 163–68. About the pictorial representations of the same spirit, compare Jost Hermand, "Dashed Hopes: On the Painting of the Wars of Liberation," in *Political Symbolism in Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of George L. Mosse*, ed. Seymour Drescher et al. (New Brunswick, 1982), pp. 216–38.
- 28 Compare Jost Hermand, *Der alte Traum vom neuen Reich: Völkische Utopien und Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt, 1988).

Marriage and the Not-So-Simple Life in the 1840s

NANCY KAISER

The writers of the 1830s and 1840s who were seeking social and political change were well aware that life was not simple. Their literary intent was definitely not to present idyllic images or themes in their fiction. No portrayal of a carefully circumscribed existence against a backdrop of nature could possibly have been adequate for the complexity which they perceived in their social environment. In Theodor Mundt's novel of 1834, significantly entitled *Moderne Lebenswirren*, the assertion is made that humankind is once again searching for Arcadia, "diesmal aber das Arkadien der politischen Glückseligkeit." The modern yearning here characterized is not for "idyllische Hirtenzustände," but rather for "zwei Kammern und eine verantwortliche Ministerbank."¹ Similarly, the preface to Louise Aston's novel *Aus dem Leben einer Frau* (1847) acclaims rather than laments the fragmentary and turbulent character of both the modern world and of her literary contribution. The first chapter deliberately evokes for the reader the standard idyllic scene of a country parsonage, characterized in the opening sentence as "das heimathliche Reich der Idylle." However, Aston quickly moves from evocation to polemic: "Doch der idyllische Kuhreigen hat in unserer Litteratur ausgetönt."²

In the years following the July Revolution of 1830, with the gradual, if not always steady, increase in socially progressive thought and intellectual production in German lands, authors such as Aston and Mundt were intent on combating stagnation and any attempts at withdrawing from the entanglements of modern social life. They were decidedly disinterested in the genre of the idyll, or in promoting the idyllic as a concept in their writings and discussions. Mistrust of the "simple life" was common to the writers generally labeled Young Germans and to the more actively progressive authors of the 1840s, including the women authors publishing in ever greater numbers. The avowed emphasis on complexity notwithstanding, it is the narrative images of the simple life in works by these authors of the 1830s and 1840s, both male and female, which I shall be analyzing. Renate Möhrmann has termed the first generation of professional women writers emerging in the pre-1848 period "die Ausbruchs- und Aufbruchsfrauen."³ Their writings, particularly when read in conjunction with works by their progressive male colleagues, portray the complex contradictions of women's lives and political strug-

gles in the *Vormärz*. An analysis of narrative images of the simple life in works written by male and female authors of this period enables conclusions regarding the interrelationship of questions of gender and emancipatory endeavors.

Issues of gender are of course not peculiar to women's writing of this period. The emancipation of women was an often repeated slogan. In the 1830s, especially for the Young Germans, it was associated with the German reception of Saint-Simonian ideas from France and with issues of sexuality. The standard quotations are familiar: "Keine Wassersuppenhochzeiten mehr!"; "Das freie Weib ist souverain; sie entscheide, sie spreche, denn sie darf reden! Und das Glück der freien Liebe ist süß!"; "Wir ziehen unseren Weibern neue Hemde an."⁴ The public heroines of the 1830s were Bettina von Arnim, Rahel Varnhagen, George Sand, and Charlotte Stieglitz. These were the women whose names, lives, and writings were widely known. However, I must hasten to add that Bettina von Arnim was admired for her 1835 book *Goethes Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde*, in which her self-presentation was that of the child, no matter how obstreperous or cleverly critical.⁵ The reading public's acquaintance with Rahel Varnhagen was through *Rahel: Ein Buch des Andenkens für ihre Freunde*, three volumes edited by her husband to downplay her most radical political statements, emphasis on her Jewish identity, and her close friendships with women such as Pauline Wiesel.⁶ George Sand appears to have been admired more for her extravagant life-style than for her literary creativity, and Charlotte Stieglitz won attention in 1834 by committing suicide in order to inspire her husband, a mediocre poet, to greater artistic endeavors.⁷

The liberalism of the 1830s has its well-known shortcomings. It should be hardly necessary to point out that slogans such as "freie Wahlumarmung" and "Wiedereinsetzung des Fleisches" have little to do with liberating women from debilitating social situations and psychological struggles. In the 1840s, on the other hand, the progressive writers were dedicated to a more fundamental critique of concrete socioeconomic conditions.⁸ In male-authored texts, however, this shift in emphasis to a more tangible political agenda is accompanied by the omission of issues of gender. Critique of religion, social reforms, and the requisite political activism as a response to impoverization, a growing working class, and the effects of beginning industrialization—these were major categories for the Young Hegelians and other politically committed intellectuals of the years between 1840 and 1848. The emancipation of women was no longer a featured goal.

The "Ausbruchs- und Aufbruchsfrauen" of these years engaged such concrete socioeconomic topics as well, but without dismissing the central issues of gender. The effects of economic pressures upon the middle classes, for example, were also analyzed in terms of families and the fate of daughters. Denied a useful education and forbidden to accept employment, since that would indicate the true economic situation of the family, unmarried daughters were often socially and psychologically handicapped. Fanny Lewald, Louise Otto, and Mathilde Fran-

ziska Anneke agitated for a realistic and functional education for girls and for the opportunity for women to be gainfully employed. Nor did the circumstances of married women escape scrutiny. Louise Aston, Fanny Lewald, Louise Otto, and Ida Hahn-Hahn all wrote about the personal and social implications of current customs and legal stipulations concerning marriage and divorce. Far from the emancipatory slogans of the Young Germans a decade earlier, these analyses by women in the 1840s are serious critical and progressive social documents.

An extremely informative example of women in the *Vormärz* engaging in a fundamental critique of the complexities of modern social and political existence while maintaining a firm focus on issues of gender is Louise Dittmar. Her name is probably less familiar than the novelists and activists to whom I have already referred. Unfortunately, we do not have the extensive biographical information, unpublished papers, and documented correspondence for her that we do for other writers of the period. An essential text which we are fortunate to have is a collection of essays she edited in the late 1840s entitled *Das Wesen der Ehe*. In the title essay, Dittmar presents a rigorous analysis of the function of marriage. Similar to Feuerbach's strategy in *Das Wesen des Christentums*, her inquiry extends beyond the social institution indicated in the title. *Das Wesen der Ehe* is a trenchant indictment of the economic and social circumstances which lead to the projection of legitimate desires for self-fulfillment onto the exploitative institution of marriage.

Feuerbach is remembered; Louise Dittmar has been effectively forgotten. Her essay on marriage, however, emphasizes the centrality of the questions she raises for female-authored progressive writing of the period. For all of the women writers I have named, marriage was a complex social issue. The solutions they suggested varied from reformist to radical. Fanny Lewald and Louise Otto-Peters affirmed the potential of "valid" marriages; Mathilde Franziska Anneke, Louise Aston, and Ida Hahn-Hahn were considerably more critical of what Dittmar termed the "Mundtotmachung während der Zeit des ehelichen Lebens."⁹ For all of these authors, marriage was a principal demonstration of women's lack of power, even over their own personal lives.

How does the "simple life" enter into the questions I am raising? What I have outlined is the conscious rejection by progressive writers, men and women, of simple analyses and solutions, an effective complication. I have indicated how the women authors retain gender as a central category of political activism, and I have highlighted their trenchant critique of marriage as an existing social institution. None of these authors, women or men, would have defended "the simple life." Yet the topic of this volume is not phrased discursively; the focus is not on theorizing about the simple life, but on images. What I intend to explore regarding the subject of marriage in "progressive" fiction of the *Vormärz* is the retention of the imagery of simplicity even in the most modern of "Lebenswirren." Studies of the idyll as a literary form emphasize the reduction of the idyll as genre to the residual idyllic scene in the 19th century.¹⁰ In relevant idyllic

scenes, the remnant images of the simple life in emancipatory literature of this period, I have examined the position of marriage. Amid vociferous critique of the social institution of marriage, there is still recourse in fictional presentation to scenic representations of marriage as a simple life, as an achievable idyll. The contradiction bears investigating.

The scenes which will occupy us do not necessarily form the main concern of the works in which they appear. Subsidiary images are, after all, the inadvertent gestures of a text and for that very reason extremely informative. The representation of the "simple life" betrays basic cultural assumptions regarding gender definitions, the culturally determined yet supposedly inherent traits of man and woman. Especially in the manner in which married life is portrayed in conjunction with, or "framed by," nature, the underlying assumption is of a "natural order." That "natural order" is patriarchal. By patriarchal, I mean a hierarchical social structure based on categories of opposition and domination which ultimately serves male interests as they are defined within that system. While not as obvious as in, for example, Voss's "Luise" or "Der 70. Geburtstag" or the Lotte scenes of *Werther*, the patriarchal structure as the "natural order" still underlies the images of marriage as the simple life in the works I am discussing.

As one might imagine, however, there is a difference in the position and function of these images and scenes in texts written by male and female authors. The distinctions are not simply evident in the content, but also in the narrative structure. It is necessary also to analyze the degree of ease with which the idyllic image is incorporated into the narrative. Scenes of marriage as the simple life, and the cultural assumptions underlying them, may go unquestioned, or be undercut and made suspect by the text itself.

Let me begin with a *cause célèbre*. Karl Gutzkow's novel *Wally, die Zweiflerin*, published in 1835, was banned within six weeks in Prussia, confiscated throughout German lands, and made the subject of a court case charging the author and his publisher with blasphemy, libel against the Church, and presentation of immoral material. The work figured prominently in the Federal German ban in December of the liberal writers Heine, Gutzkow, Laube, Wienberg, and Mundt. A capricious novel, *Wally* portrays the vacuous existence of a young countess, her relationship with an intellectual baron named Cäsar, her bizarre marriage to a Sardinian diplomat whose brother commits suicide because of his unrequited love for her, and, finally, the suicide of the title figure herself, ostensibly because she is unable to resolve her own existential religious doubts. The infamous scene in which Wally appears nude before Cäsar on her wedding night is actually tame, although strange. There are connections to Charlotte Stieglitz, whose suicide Gutzkow had attributed in part to her inability to comprehend contemporary intellectual issues. And Gutzkow's own fiancée had ended their engagement the year before in response to his published critique of religion. The biographical and contemporary references are relatively clear and have been duly noted.¹¹

An extremely convoluted narrative, *Wally* hardly depicts simplicity of existence. The union of Wally and the Sardinian ambassador mocks socially arranged marriages, and the interpolated stories which Cäsar tells Wally in Schwabach emphasize the painful complexity of modern relationships between men and women. As the narrator comments: "Hütet euch, ihr Frauen! Die Liebe der meisten Männer ist nichts als eine Huldigung, welche sie sich selbst bringen" (31). Cäsar analyzes for a friend the economic pressures underlying many marriages, the enticement for an impoverished artisan in the 1830s of even a modest dowry.

Nevertheless, the cynical Cäsar does marry, and his choice is Delphine. On the one hand, it appears to be a modern, enlightened marriage; there is no church ceremony, Delphine is Jewish, her parents "ohne Vorurteile." In Wally's diary, however, the bride is characterized by "Willensschwäche," "Hülflosigkeit," "Hingebung" (89), "weibliche (aber wollüstig-ergreifende) Gedankenlosigkeit" (91). Delphine conforms to cultural expectations of womanhood and is markedly different from Wally. Characterized as being as natural as a plant (91), Delphine's manner of loving eases Cäsar's existence. They depart to live in freer lands, "wo das französische Recht herrscht" (98). What deserves emphasis here is the connection of the politically progressive orientation toward France with the restrictive gender definition of woman.

The description of Cäsar's marriage is a brief but telling episode in *Wally, die Zweiflerin*. Delphine is the more "natural" woman, the one who needs a husband, "um sie ganz durchströmen zu können mit seiner eignen Willenskraft" (89). Particularly in contrast to any relationship with the title figure of Gutzkow's novel, the simplicity of married life with Delphine is a comfortable option for Cäsar.

Theodor Mundt tried to distance himself from Gutzkow's *Wally, die Zweiflerin*. But even the journal in which he announced his disdain was confiscated simply for mentioning the work. Mundt's own *Madonna* (1835) is often seen today as a companion piece to *Wally*, although there are more differences than similarities. *Madonna* combines travel sketches, the defense of a more liberal Protestantism against rigid Catholicism, adherence to Saint-Simonian doctrines, literary polemic, and veiled protest against censorship. The work rejects the tradition of the idyll from the opening pages. The narrator announces his intention to tear "das letzte Stück Naturidylle aus dem fühlenden deutschen Herzen."¹² He would prefer to write an "antischillerischer Spaziergang" (281), a modern "Stadtelegie" (280). With obvious reference to Goethe, the central portion of the book, "Bekenntnisse einer weltlichen Seele," relates the experiences of Maria, the Madonna figure of the title. It is a protest against the sexual objectification of women, and unusual in the presentation of the lack of consequences for a young woman who discovers sexual pleasure. Maria does not end up pregnant. It is Meltenberg who throws himself into the river.

There is no marriage of a main character in the Mundt novel. Instead, there is the narrator's retelling of the end of the Libussa saga, the *Böhmischer Mägdekrieg* from the 8th century. Libussa was the legendary founder of Prague and ruler of a realm in which women were strong, educated, and proud. The attempt at subjugating them after her death resulted in revolt and eventual defeat: "die Jungfrauen, die nicht durch das Schwert fielen, wurden geheirathet, und gelobten Treue und Gehorsam, und ein sanftes Gemüth—" (341f.).

It would appear that Mundt presents marriage and docility of the female spirit as punishment, most assuredly a critical view. Yet I am again as interested in the imagery as in the programmatic intent of these literary works, in the inadvertent linguistic gesture of the text and its gendered assumptions. A letter from Maria to the narrator closes the book. She explains that she will be unable to write the continuation of her confessions, because only unhappy women can write. In Maria's presentation, the truly feminine aesthetic nature is neither intellectual like Rahel Varnhagen nor powerful like the Bohemian maidens, but reflective of blue skies and sunshine. She represents it as a "Begränzungs- und Einfriedigungs-Kunst" (425). The imagery is that of the idyll—the carefully circumscribed existence against a backdrop of nature. The letter goes on to describe her conversion to Protestantism, the progressive position within the novel. For the occasion, she wears a white dress and a simple veil: "Wie eine Braut" (427). The day of her conversion, "ein Madonnen-Tag," is a reference to the first glimpse the narrator had of her at the beginning of the book. With the phrasing and accouterments of a bride, she simultaneously conforms to the narrator's image of her and stands before the altar. For the description of the ceremony itself, she switches to the third person: "Das Mädchen, das ihr neues Bekenntnis an dieser heiligen Stätte ablegen wollte, stand vor dem Altar" (428). The bridal imagery, the idyllic references, the "natural" woman as reflective of blue skies and sunshine—the scene is accompanied in the closing pages of the book by the female character's repudiation of women's access to written language and by her loss within the narrative of the first-person voice.

Wally and *Madonna*—(in)famous texts of the Young Germans, whose liberal deficiencies, as I have pointed out, are indisputable. The idyllic remnants in these hectically modern works, the assumptions made in unguarded moments with respect to the "true nature of woman," in combination with the simple imagery of marriage, emphasize the patriarchal orientation underlying the progressive discourse.

One might expect that I would now shift to fiction by the progressive women writers of the 1840s, and characterize their writings as exposing the gendered bias evident in works such as *Wally* or *Madonna*. Since the women writers already mentioned critique the institution of marriage so perceptively and trenchantly, a parallel representation should be evident in their fiction. Unfortunately, it is not all that simple. As an analysis of novels by Fanny Lewald, Luise Mühlbach,

Ida Hahn-Hahn, and Louise Aston will demonstrate, writers critical of existing social arrangements for women cannot always so easily extricate themselves from assumptions regarding gender. In varying degrees, their fiction betrays their implication in the dominant patriarchal culture as well as their powerful struggle with the process of "Ausbruch" and "Aufbruch."

Fanny Lewald's autobiography, published in 1863, stands as documentary evidence of the situation of young women in middle-class families during the first half of the 19th century. In *Meine Lebensgeschichte*, she reproduces the "Stundenplan" which her father drew up for his young daughter. The average day includes 4 to 5½ hours of "häusliche Handarbeit, gewöhnliches Nähen und Stricken," and only through meritorious behavior may she earn the privilege of supplementary lessons or "gute Lesebücher," the latter to be carefully selected by her father.¹³ As a young woman, she was not allowed to engage in any gainful employment, as this was regarded as a disgrace for the family. She refused to enter a marriage arranged by her parents and finally managed to leave the parental home at age 32, promising her father that her literary efforts would be published anonymously. She became not only a very popular novelist but also a resolute advocate of reforms in women's education and the right of women to work outside the home.

In Fanny Lewald's second novel, which was not published anonymously, the protagonist resembles Gutzkow's Wally or Mundt's Maria in her religious deliberations. *Jenny* (1843) tells the story of a young Jewish woman of liberal upbringing. Although intellectually and emotionally resistant to Christian doctrines, she converts in order to please her fiancé. In contrast to the rather helpless musings of the female characters in *Wally* and *Madonna*, the presentation of Jenny's conflicts does not belittle the intellectual capabilities of women.

Marriage is a central theme in *Jenny*, inextricably linked to the progressive tendencies. Jenny's brother Eduard is a steadfast proponent of civil rights and social equality for Jews. His love for Clara is thwarted because he will not convert, and she cannot break free from family. His attempts to obtain legal permission for a mixed marriage fail, and Clara marries William, an English relative. The planned marriage between Jenny and Reinhard also fails to take place after Jenny shares her inability to accept fully her fiancé's Christian beliefs. Unable to grant her the capability of strong intellectual or religious doubts, he suspects instead her involvement with another man. Lewald's novel denounces in Reinhard the familiar Pygmalion motif; Reinhard is unable to accept Jenny's refusal to be his creature/creation.¹⁴ The issues of equality and independence for women and Jews, the need for social reform are clear messages in Fanny Lewald's *Jenny*. The themes are carried in part by the marriage plots, so that emancipatory themes of necessity engage questions of women's endeavors for social reform. Toward the end of the text, marriages are represented in idyllic scenes, with ambivalent results that deserve closer scrutiny.

The final section of the book brings Clara and William back from England. In contrast to the otherwise urban setting, their idyllic marriage and the reunion with Jenny are presented "in der freien, ländlichen Natur."¹⁵ The narrator informs us that there could be "kein anmuthigeres Bild ehelichen Glückes" (272), and Jenny dedicates to them her symbolic sketch of the ideal marriage: two trees standing together, equally magnificent in size and foliage, with intertwined boughs and the caption: "Aus gleicher Tiefe, frei und vereint zum Aether empor!" (271). Yet there is an incongruity between the programmatic statement and the idyllic marriage of Clara and William, between the emancipatory intent and the supposedly representative couple. The husband is characterized as "selbstbewußt" and "kräftig," the wife as "blühend schön" (272). Of Clara, it is stated that she only takes an interest in the outside world to the extent that William's opinions and desires are involved, "denn sie lebte eigentlich nur in ihrem Mann und ihren Kindern" (274). The adherence to a gender dichotomy and the subordination of woman to man belie the image of the autonomous yet connected trees. In addition, the text seems to fall prey to a peculiar amnesia at the end. The union of Clara and William was enabled by the restrictive political situation, which would not allow the marriage of Clara to Eduard, and by Clara's own lack of independence. The foundation of the idyllic marriage is oppressive sociopolitical circumstance and female subordination. The exemplary status accorded the simple life of Clara and William at the end of *Jenny* conflicts with the progressive message of the novel.

The other marriage which is in sight in the final section is that of Jenny and Graf Walter. The unconventionality of their match comes closer to Jenny's idealized sketch. Walter himself polemicizes against the traditional metaphors for marriage: "Baum und Schlingkraut," "Eiche und Epheu," "Ulme und Rebe" (270). He also scorns the social prejudice that he and Jenny face. Nevertheless, in the end he must fight a duel with a baron who taunts him about marrying a Jewish woman for financial advantage. Walter is mortally wounded, and Jenny dies at his deathbed. Although certainly a melodramatic conclusion, the final section of *Jenny* vividly emphasizes the necessary connection between social and political transformation and the situation of women. Fanny Lewald's novel does not separate the two, but presents them as congruent struggles. At the same time, the positive position accorded the marriage of Clara and William reveals a residual adherence to traditional gender categories.

Luise Mühlbach's novel *Der Zögling der Natur* was published one year before *Jenny*.¹⁶ Although it is not set in the present, the political implications are clear. Using the familiar plot device of the naïve youth who encounters the hierarchy and intrigues of a corrupt court, the work criticizes abuses of power and applauds the honest integrity of "das Volk" as well as the good yet thwarted intentions of the ruler. A rather improbable narrative set in Sicily in the early 18th century, *Der Zögling der Natur* resembles *Jenny* in certain contradictions in the ending. Mühlbach's novel is ultimately much less decisive than the concluding political

projects on the horizon in Lewald's work. Antonio, the innocent youth in Mühlbach's *Zögling*, experiences everything from his first ballet, his first (almost literal) backstabbing at the hands of a friend, to his first sexual experience and passionate love. When he immediately proposes marriage to his lover, she laughs and terms him a child: "Mußt Du denn bei der Liebe gleich an Heirathen denken? Wie idyllisch! Wie unschuldig!" (150). Catharina Gabrieli is a famous singer, a very independent woman, and she states clearly her inability to subordinate her professional commitment to his demands. Antonio's responses are basically a variation on two themes: "Das Weib soll sich dem Manne unterordnen in Liebe. . . . Das ist die hohe naturvolle Weiblichkeit . . ." (227). And: "In die Einsamkeit wollen wir flüchten, in die stille, ewig heitere, ewig liebende Natur" (151). His desires are almost a caricature of the simple life.

For a brief interval, Antonio and Gabrieli manage to build an alternative, a space of integrity for themselves within society. However, the combination of Antonio's patriarchal attitudes and the corrupt power structure obstruct any permanent arrangement. He literally flees into nature, and a fisher-maiden, whose life he had once saved, happens along and begs to accompany him, as she phrases it: "als Eure Magd, Eure Slavvin . . . wie das Hündlein seinem Herrn folgt!" (244). The Pygmalion legend is upheld in Mühlbach's novel. A year later, Antonio has re-formed Tonina "zu einem anderen Wesen."

The story is in many ways preposterous. What interests me is the combination of the strong female figure in Catharina Gabrieli, the possibility of an alternative both to traditional gender arrangements and to existing political power structures, and the eventual capitulation of the narrative to exorbitant patriarchal imagery. The contradictions are a magnified version of any residual ambivalence at the conclusion of Fanny Lewald's *Jenny*. I would still suggest, however, that the end of *Der Zögling der Natur* does carry a similar message. Any resolution of the plot to allow the union of Antonio and Catharina Gabrieli would require both a radical change in the political situation and a transformation of patriarchal attitudes. *Jenny* offers the analysis more clearly and has a "new man" already on the scene in Graf Walter. What the reader must deduce from Mühlbach's text is represented within the plot of Lewald's novel.

Ida Hahn-Hahn is in many ways the anomaly among the novelists I am considering. Her upper-class background distinguished her from the other writers and, indeed, at times earned her their scorn. Herself the survivor of an abusive marriage which ended in a divorce on trumped-up charges, she has little good to say about existing possibilities for socially condoned arrangements between men and women. The female characters in her novels of the 1840s repeatedly and heatedly explain to well-meaning friends and would-be advisors that the standard reasons for marriage are unconvincing and insulting. In Hahn-Hahn's first novel, *Aus der Gesellschaft*, Ilda Schönholm contradicts every argument offered her by a friend: she finds herself well positioned in society with her own name and on her own merits; she feels no need of protection and shelter and finds it

banal to insist that children are a woman's greatest aspiration; and praise of "die Freuden der Häuslichkeit" reminds her of "die Leute in Ifflandschen Schauspielen."¹⁷ The reasoning is echoed by many of the female figures in the ten novels written by Hahn-Hahn between 1838 and 1848.

Hahn-Hahn's women do, however, upon occasion choose to marry. It is sometimes a second marriage, following an initial disastrous union reminiscent of Hahn-Hahn's own experience. In the imagery and scenic representation, these marriages of choice sometimes resemble idyllic illustrations of the simple life, modified to accommodate the life-style of the class Hahn-Hahn is depicting. Yet unlike Cäsar's marriage to Delphine or the weddinglike finale of *Madonna*, the position of such depictions does not go unchallenged within the narrative. The structure of Hahn-Hahn's novels may provide the relativization of the gender definitions assumed in the simple life, or the accompanying circumstances may undercut the positive presentation of marriage as idyll. I shall draw my exemplary illustrations mainly from *Gräfin Faustine* (1840), with reference as well to *Zwei Frauen* (1845).

The title figure in *Gräfin Faustine*, having survived a destructive marriage, has very firm views on matrimony. As she informs her brother-in-law:

"Wie komisch sind die Männer! ganz ernsthaft bilden sie sich ein, der liebe Gott habe unser Geschlecht geschaffen, um das ihre zu bedienen! . . . Das ist euch schon zur Natur worden! in diesem Sinne richtet ihr die bürgerlichen Verhältnisse ein, erzieht ihr die Kinder, schreibt ihr Bücher."¹⁸

Her brother-in-law's marriage could stand as an example of the modest pleasures of domestic life in the country. Faustine's sister Adele is utterly content. The narrator leaves no doubt on that account: "Sie wurden und blieben ein glückliches Paar, d.h. glücklich auf ihre Weise; denn jeder hat seine eigene" (25). The novel presents Adele's traditional marriage as an option, not as an ideal. Within the narrative, it is treated with tolerant humor. The structural device of comparing two sisters allows alternatives, although the accent is clearly on Faustine's perspective.

This narrative strategy is the organizing principle for Hahn-Hahn's novel *Zwei Frauen*, which portrays the lives of twin sisters. Aurora, a restless spirit, marries a man who is obsessed with living the simple life. Cornelia, who would like nothing better than to settle down to an idyllic existence, has the cynical Eustach for a husband. Predictably, both marriages in this 1845 novel are disastrous. Trapped by continual childbearing and the lack of an outlet for her intellectual energy, Aurora turns to religious fanaticism. She makes life miserable for her husband and children, as well as for herself. Cornelia is forced by circumstance to develop an independence and strength beyond her original intent. The final scene of the novel, however, does grant her the idyll she had sought. The book closes with a family portrait of Cornelia, her new husband, their son, and the son she had raised alone from her first, unhappy marriage.

Sorting out what *Zwei Frauen* is saying about marriage and the simple life and remembering the options offered in *Faustine*, I reach the following conclusions for Hahn-Hahn. Forcing a woman into a role limited by cultural assumptions regarding gender is destructive for all involved. This is the case and the lesson of Aurora. Adele's willing adherence to such assumptions in *Faustine* allows a contented, if limited existence, which is devalued within the narrative. Such a life would have been Cornelia's goal in *Zwei Frauen*. But Hahn-Hahn's novel of 1845 presents two obstructions to such an endeavor and, actually, only resolves one of the questions raised. Cornelia achieves the final idyllic scene only on the basis of equality; she has herself become an independent human being. The other obstacle to living out the simple life in *Zwei Frauen* is raised only obliquely. As Eustach puts it in one of his moments of enjoying his marriage to Cornelia: "Weißt Du wol, daß zwei Menschen die glücklich sind und es auch bleiben wollen, sich eigentlich absperren müssen gegen die ganze Außenwelt?"¹⁹ The outside world in this case is the news of the July Revolution in Paris (1830). The novel, while underscoring the necessity of women's independent development, leaves an unanswered question regarding the compatibility of any idyll with impending social change.

Direct political statements are a rarity in Hahn-Hahn's novels.²⁰ There is no "outside world" in *Faustine*. The novel is concerned with the individual psyche of the title figure, and the emancipatory content is at the level of individual change and social roles available to women. *Faustine* rejects all established roles but does eventually enter a second marriage of choice. Yet the narrative presentation of both the choice and the marriage at the end of the novel undercuts any portrayed tranquillity. While *Faustine*'s longtime lover was absent, she had begun a relationship with Mario Mengen, who eventually insists on marriage because, as he puts it, he can only be happy if she belongs completely to him. Her answer identifies the patriarchal impulse behind his demand: "Und er soll dein Herr sein—steht in der Bibel. Wohlan, Mario, ich werde dich heiraten" (202).

Any idyllic images in the final section describing *Faustine*'s marriage to Mengen are countered by the change in narrative perspective. After Mario Mengen carries *Faustine* out of her house in his arms, a first-person narrator finishes the text. She tells of meeting Mengen years later, and he recounts the rest of *Faustine*'s story. This change in narrative perspective shifts the focus. Mengen relates the story to the first-person narrator, who reproduces it for the reader. With her marriage, *Faustine*'s direct presence in the novel comes to an end. The shift underscores the effect of marriage on female identity; her story falls under the control of her husband.

Ida Hahn-Hahn's *Gräfin Faustine*, like Fanny Lewald's *Jenny*, complicates the standard literary happy end of marriage. The political import of *Jenny*, the linking of emancipation for women and Jews, obstructs any matrimonial "happily ever after." At the personal psychological level, the refusal of a narrative closure in marriage in *Faustine* also reinforces the critical thrust of the novel.

For Faustine does not remain in the union with Mengen. After several years of what Mario Mengen describes to the final narrator as his "Glück in Weib und Kind," Faustine renounces that role of wife and enters a convent. The restless striving characteristic of this Faustian woman carries her in the course of the novel through all the social roles available for women. She finds fulfillment in none of them, and her path from marriage to the convent to death shortly thereafter emphasizes the inadequacy of restrictive definitions of what a woman can be and do. Both the narrative structure of the final section and the circumstances of Faustine's last years dispute Mengen's representation of the idyllic potential of marriage.

Any representation of a simple life of matrimony in Hahn-Hahn's novels is subverted or devalued. Her critique is consistent, although based on other criteria than those evident in writings by middle-class women of the 1840s. The final author whom I wish to consider shared with Ida Hahn-Hahn an adamant unconventionality of life-style and a dedicated exposure of the oppression of marriage for women. Louise Aston, however, incorporated the socioeconomic conditions of women's oppression into her writings and in the 1840s was attentive to issues of class as well as gender. Her autobiographical novel of 1847, *Aus dem Leben einer Frau*, combines a polemic against the patriarchal idyll as genre with an analysis both of the dilemmas of women and of the necessity for political and social transformation in the *Vormärz*.

As Kay Goodman has perceptively analyzed in her study of women's autobiography in Germany between 1790 and 1914, Aston's novel is written in conscious opposition to Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, which has as its full title *Aus meinem Leben: Dichtung und Wahrheit*.²¹ Louise Aston's book is conceived as a representative portrait of one woman's life, an examination of the social options available to women. It relates the story of Johanna Oburn, who is married off to a wealthy industrialist. Forced to recognize that money and economic status are determining factors in society, she vows to enter the game on the ruling terms, but without compromising her virtue. The novel traces her struggles and the accompanying changes in her consciousness. When her husband's factory reduces wages, and she sees the effect on the workers who are already at a subsistence level, she first attempts to cut down her household expenses and offer charity. But she feels uneasy with altruism, and the narrator points out that Johanna Oburn realizes instinctively the message of her century: One cannot repudiate "die Industrie, die Mutter des Proletariats, die zugleich den Reichthum und die Armuth bringt," nor can one hope simply to mitigate the suffering of its victims.²² The narrator warns the propertied classes that if they do not enact concrete economic changes, there will be a revolution of the masses which will make the French Revolution look like a political nine-pins game ("politisches Kegelschieben"; 133). Of Johanna's husband, it is stated that he certainly entertained no such ideas. When total economic ruin threatens his business, Herr Oburn attempts a financial deal. He offers a night with his wife to Prince C., who in return would bail

out the factory. Oburn tells his wife it is the only way for both of them to survive. The book ends with her refusal to be treated like a piece of property. She leaves her husband and departs for Berlin.

Aus dem Leben einer Frau combines a critique of the oppression of women with an analysis of the economic structure in the 1840s. It is an amazingly radical book. It also contains the most relentless refusal to subscribe to images of the simple life. The opening scenes of the novel insist on unmasking the oppressive reality behind the idyllic scene. The country parsonage and the requisite "Greis" are presented in detail, but the narrator informs us that she intends to reveal the social struggles ("soziale Schlachten"; 2) at the heart of the idyllic tranquillity. The "Greis" is Johanna's father, who notifies his daughter that he and Herr Oburn have reached an agreement. When she attempts to refuse the planned marriage, the answer of the sentimental "Greis" exposes the patriarchal power underlying the scene of the simple life:

"So wagst Du, mit mir zu sprechen, thörichtes Kind? Bist Du nicht mein Geschöpf? Ist nicht mein Wille Dir Gesetz? Du mußt ihm gehorchen; denn ich bin Herr über Dich! Es bleibt dabei: heute Abend wirst Du dem Herrn Oburn ehlich angetraut! Ich will es und befehle es!" (12-13)

Johanna's continued resistance results in physical abuse, but also has a curious aftereffect. Her father, utterly amazed at his daughter's revolt, suffers a stroke. He recovers, but has lost his power of speech. We might read the initial two chapters of the novel as demasking the patriarchal power structure of the idyll and also as portraying the potential of revolt. Johanna goes on to marry the industrialist Oburn because she feels guilt at her father's condition. The process of "Ausbruch" and "Aufbruch" will occupy her for the remainder of the novel.

With the possible exception of the analyses by Louise Dittmar, Louise Aston was the most radical of the women writers of the 1840s. Her advocacy of free love, her preference for trousers and cigars, the founding of a "Club Emanzipierter Frauen" in Berlin: such activities and attitudes dismayed other proponents of women's rights in the *Vormärz*. Exiled from the city of Berlin for promoting ideas "welche für die bürgerliche Ruhe und Ordnung gefährlich seien," she went to the public with her case, criticizing the Prussian authorities in her 1846 pamphlet *Meine Emancipation, Verweisung und Rechtfertigung*.²³ In 1848, she earned the reputation of a "Barrikadenkämpferin" and published the weekly *Der Freischärler für Kunst und soziales Leben*, which was censored and closed down after one month of publication. She was again exiled from Berlin. Besides *Aus dem Leben einer Frau*, she wrote two other novels, one of which treats the events of 1848, as well as poetry.²⁴

As with so many of the early women writers and activists of this period, 1848-1850 formed a watershed for Louise Aston. She married again and published nothing more before her death in 1871. We can trace a similar break in the other writers I have considered. Ida Hahn-Hahn entered a convent, and her further writ-

ings reflect her conversion to Catholicism. Louise Mühlbach, since 1839 the wife of Theodor Mundt, began to write historical novels which have none of the critical import of her works from the 1840s. Fanny Lewald's later works exhibit the influence of the Goethean model she set for herself after 1850.

This leaves us with the extraordinary novels written by these women, the "Ausbruchs- und Aufbruchsfrauen," in the *Vormärz*. They are documents of the conflicted process of women's emancipatory struggle and of the participation by these women in the progressive debates and political efforts of the years between 1830 and 1848. As I hope to have demonstrated, looking at progressive writings from this period is informative—part of the process of revitalization, rediscovery, reconsideration with which we are concerned. Beyond this work of excavation and reconsideration, I hope I have raised questions regarding the centrality of issues of gender in emancipatory discourse (and since I believe in a world beyond discourse, the centrality of issues of gender in emancipatory endeavors and political activism) and the struggles which such reorientation and revitalization involve.

Notes

- 1 Theodor Mundt, *Moderne Lebenswirren* (1834; rpt. Frankfurt, 1973), p. 30.
- 2 Louise Aston, *Aus dem Leben einer Frau* (1847; rpt. Stuttgart, 1982), pp. 1f.
- 3 Renate Möhrmann, "Die lesende Vormärzautorin: Untersuchungen zur weiblichen Sozialisation," in *Literatur und Sprache im historischen Prozeß*, ed. Thomas Cramer (Tübingen, 1983), p. 317.
- 4 The first and last examples are quoted from the preface to an anthology of women's writings of the period where additional examples of such slogans may be found: *Frauenemanzipation im deutschen Vormärz: Texte und Dokumente*, ed. Renate Möhrmann (Stuttgart, 1978), pp. 4f. The middle quote is from Theodor Mundt, *Madonna: Unterhaltungen mit einer Heiligen* (1835; rpt. Frankfurt, 1973), pp. 325f.
- 5 For a discussion of the stylization of Bettina von Arnim as "Kind" by her contemporaries, see Wulf Wülfing, "Zur Mythisierung der Frau im Jungen Deutschland," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 99 (1980): 558–81.
- 6 Hannah Arendt writes of "deliberate falsifications" in the editing; cf. her *Rahel Varnhagen: The Life of a Jewess* (London, 1957). See also Katherine Goodman, *Dis/closures: Women's Autobiography in Germany between 1790 and 1914* (Berne, 1986), pp. 87f. For the influence of Rahel Varnhagen on women authors of the *Vormärz*, see Goodman's "The Impact of Rahel Varnhagen on Women in the Nineteenth Century," in *Gestaltet und Gestaltend: Frauen in der deutschen Literatur*, ed. Marianne Burkhard (Amsterdam, 1980), pp. 125–53.
- 7 The following year, Theodor Mundt published *Charlotte Stieglitz: ein Denkmal* (Berlin, 1835) consisting of original letters and Mundt's commentary. On the curious relationship of Mundt to the Stieglitzes, see Jeffrey L. Sammons, *Six Essays on the Young German Novel* (Chapel Hill, 1972), pp. 63–7. Additional information on the Young Germans and women may be found in Eliza M. Butler, *The Saint-Simonian Religion in Germany* (1926; rpt. New York, 1968) and Marsha Meyer, "The Depictions of Women in Gutzkow's *Wally, die Zweiflerin* and Mundt's *Madonna*," in *Beyond the Eternal Feminine: Critical Essays on Women and German Literature*, ed. Susan Cocalis and Kay Goodman (Stuttgart, 1982), pp. 135–58.

- 8 A succinct overview of the different "generations" before and after 1840 is provided by Jost Hermand in the afterwords to two standard Reclam text collections for this period: *Das Junge Deutschland: Texte und Dokumente*, ed. Jost Hermand (Stuttgart, 1966); *Der deutsche Vormärz: Texte und Dokumente*, ed. Jost Hermand (Stuttgart, 1967). He refers to the Young Germans' "schwankende Einstellung gegenüber der Frauenemanzipation" (*Das Junge Deutschland*, p. 380).
- 9 *Frauenemanzipation im deutschen Vormärz*, 96.
- 10 The following studies provide relevant background on the literary development of the idyll and debates regarding "das Idyllische" in this period: Renate Böschstein-Schäfer, *Idylle*, 2d ed. (Stuttgart, 1977); Ulrich Eisenbeiß, *Das Idyllische in der Novelle der Biedermeierzeit* (Stuttgart, 1973); *Idylle und Modernisierung in der europäischen Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Hans Ulrich Seeber and Paul Gerhard Klussmann (Bonn, 1986); Friedrich Sengle, *Biedermeierzeit: Deutsche Literatur im Spannungsfeld zwischen Restauration und Revolution 1815-1848*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1971-80); idem, "Formen des idyllischen Menschenbildes," in *Formenwandel: Festschrift zum Geburtstag von Paul Böckmann*, ed. Walter Müller-Seidel and Wolfgang Preisendanz (Hamburg, 1964), pp. 156-71, rpt. in Sengle's *Arbeiten zur deutschen Literatur* (Stuttgart, 1965), pp. 212-31; idem, "Wunschbild Land und Schreckbild Stadt," *Studium generale* 16 (1963): 619-31. In Sengle's *Biedermeierzeit*, the designation of the cult of the family as the remnant idyll is of particular relevance; cf. 1: 57 and 3: 1036-39.
- 11 Useful background on the novel is provided by Sammons, pp. 30-51; in the introduction to the English translation *Wally the Sceptic*, trans. Ruth-Ellen Joeres (Berne, 1974), pp. 15-28; in Herbert Kaiser, "Karl Gutzkow: *Wally, die Zweiflerin* (1835)," in *Romane und Erzählungen zwischen Romantik und Realismus: Neue Interpretationen*, ed. Paul Michael Lützel (Stuttgart, 1983), pp. 183-201, esp. pp. 183-87; and in the extensive critical apparatus to the Reclam volume *Wally, die Zweiflerin*, ed. Günter Heinz, 2d ed. (Stuttgart, 1983). References to the novel are to this edition and will be given in the text.
- 12 Theodor Mundt, *Madonna*, p. 21. For the full citation, see n. 4 above; all further references are to this edition and will be given in the text.
- 13 *Frauenemanzipation im deutschen Vormärz*, p. 15.
- 14 The use of the Pygmalion motif in literature of the period is analyzed in a relevant fashion by Leonie Marx, "Der deutsche Frauenroman im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Handbuch des deutschen Romans*, ed. Helmut Koopmann (Düsseldorf, 1983), pp. 445-48.
- 15 Fanny Lewald, *Jenny* (1843; rpt. Berlin, 1972), p. 267. All further references are to this edition and will be given in the text.
- 16 Mühlbach's pre-1848 novels are not available in the United States. I did have access to *Der Zögling der Natur* and chose it for that reason. References to the novel will be given in the text and are to the following edition: Louise Mühlbach, *Der Zögling der Natur* (Altona, 1842).
- 17 Ida Gräfin Hahn-Hahn, *Aus der Gesellschaft* (Berlin, 1938), p. 173.
- 18 Ida Hahn-Hahn, *Gräfin Faustine* (1840; rpt. Bonn, 1986), pp. 49f. Further references to the novel will be given in the text.
- 19 Ida Gräfin Hahn-Hahn, *Zwei Frauen* (Berlin, 1845), p. 100.
- 20 Margaret Kober Merzbach analyzes Hahn-Hahn's political position, both in the socially critical dimension of her novels and in the regressive aspects, particularly after her conversion to Catholicism; cf. her "Ida Gräfin Hahn-Hahn 1805-1880," *Monatshefte* 67 (1955): 27-37. Gerlinde Geiger, in an analysis of the pre-1848 novels, outlines the political critique of social institutions implicit in Hahn-Hahn's analysis of the position of women; cf. her *Die befreite Psyche: Emanzipationsansätze im Frühwerk Ida Hahn-Hahns (1838-1848)* (Berne, 1986), pp. 41-50.
- 21 Goodman, *Dis/closures*, p. 123.
- 22 Louise Aston, *Aus dem Leben einer Frau*, p. 130. For the full citation, see n. 2 above. All further references will be given in the text.
- 23 Louise Aston, *Meine Emancipation, Verweisung und Rechtfertigung* (Brussels, 1846).
- 24 Excerpts from her works are readily available in Germaine Goetzinger, *Für die Selbstverwirklichung der Frau: Louise Aston in Selbstzeugnissen und Dokumenten* (Frankfurt, 1983).

Representing the Expressionist's Simple Life: Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's Modern Bohemia

BARBARA C. BUENGER

I

Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's *Modern Bohemia* of 1924 (fig. 1) prompts reflection both on his situation in post-World War I Switzerland and on his changing interpretation of the simple bohemian life he and other members of the Künstlergruppe Brücke had first adopted in Dresden almost twenty years earlier. In the early 1900s, the Brücke artists had led a bohemian existence, both out of desire and necessity. As was true of contemporaries throughout Europe, most had taken the artist's calling in opposition to parents' wishes, received little or no financial support from home, and had considerable difficulty in establishing careers.¹ In assuming ways long associated with artistic bohemianism—in the emphatic freedom and subjective individualism of their life and work in both the city and the country; in their exotic, primitively handcrafted decoration of their living quarters and studios; in their taste for unusual fashions; in their frequenting of variety shows and other places of popular entertainment; and in their informal friendships with workers, prostitutes, and entertainers in the inexpensive neighborhoods in which they lived—the Brücke artists placed themselves in a framework outside and opposed to many of the restraints and expectations of the bourgeois backgrounds from which most had emerged.² Well aware of the presumption of that stance, Kirchner frequently exaggerated and questioned their bohemian posing in his works.

In 1917, crippled by severe and long-lasting health problems brought on by the war, injuries in accidents, and his own self-destruction through starvation, drugs, and alcohol, Kirchner finally left Berlin, Jena, and Germany for physical and psychological care in Davos, and ultimately took up permanent residence in the tiny village of Wildboden in the Swiss alps.³ In war and largely because of the war, Kirchner left the German cities, with both their challenges and problems, for a more protected bohemian existence amid nature and peasants.

The pronouncedly rustic *Modern Bohemia* and other Swiss works present the artist and his bohemian life in a manner markedly different from those of his Dresden and Berlin years. With the exception of the almost ridiculously promiscuous nude female model—that token symbol both of the wild bohemian life and of modernist art at large⁴—the figures in *Modern Bohemia* are more pensive, restrained,

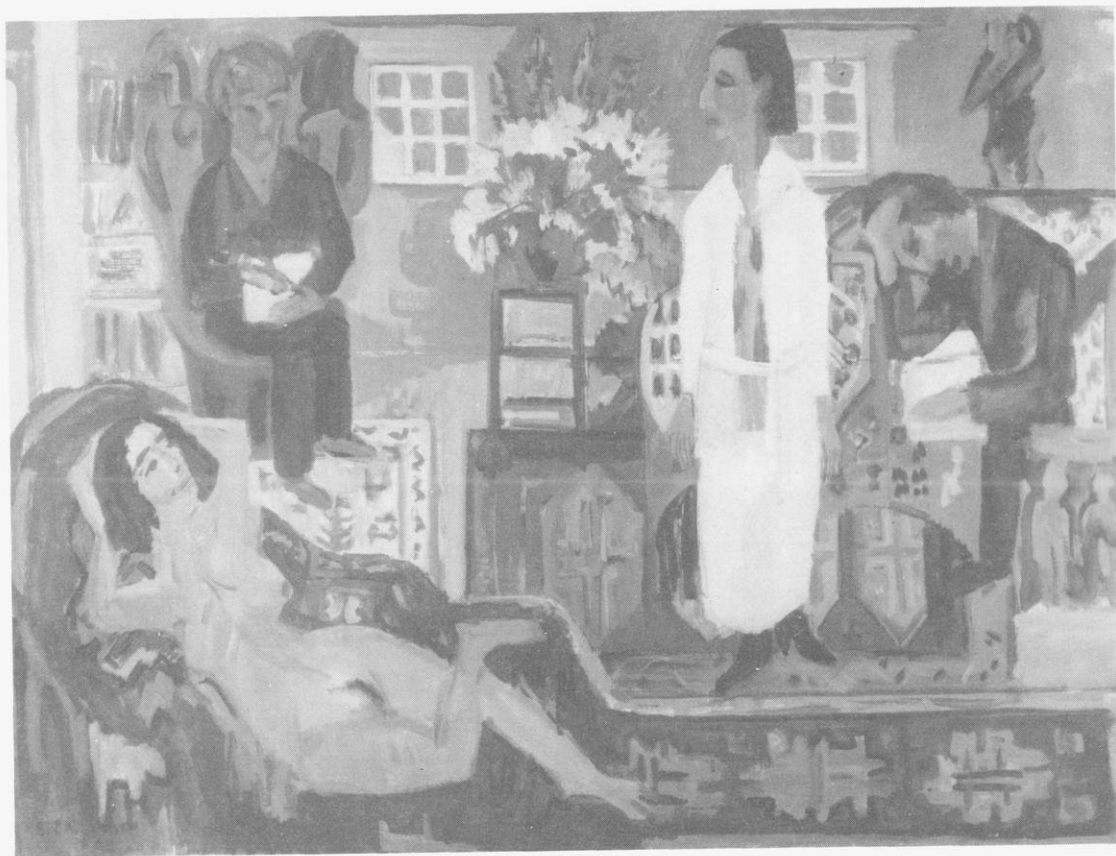


Fig. 1. Kirchner, *Modern Bohemia*, ca. 1924, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, oil on canvas, 49¼ × 65¼.

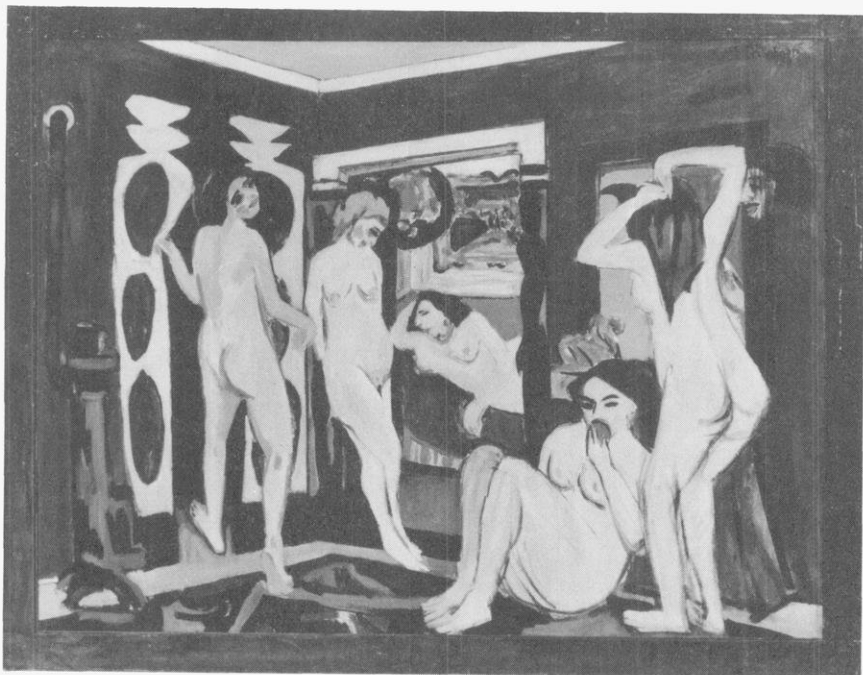


Fig. 2. Kirchner, *Bathers in Room* (earlier titled *Bacchanal*), 1909, reworked after 1926, Saarbrücken, Saarland-Museum in der Stiftung Saarländischer Kulturbesitz, oil on canvas.

and complex than the closely overlapping naked figures totally abandoned to sensual pleasure in such early Brücke interior scenes as *Bathers in a Room* of 1909 (fig. 2) or *Couple in the Studio* of 1908 (fig. 3). The painting of 1924 depicts a seemingly older, more mature group of bohemians who have chosen to make the comfortable surroundings of Kirchner's spacious peasant's home the center of their activity.

Kirchner himself is seated at the upper left in the Swiss stone pine, oxblood-stained Adam and Eve chair he had carved for his lifelong companion, Erna Schilling.⁵ Schilling, whose chief occupation was to handle Kirchner's oeuvre and business affairs, seems to be the standing woman in the fashionably cut white dress at the center. Albert Müller, one of several younger artists who would join Kirchner at his mountain retreat in order to study and work with him, seems to be the male figure in earnest concentration on the right; and Anni Müller might be the naked model.⁶ All are interlocked in a tapestry-like pattern with the flowers, furniture, sculpture, carpets, and other weavings in keeping with Kirchner's current ideal of a flattened, folklike, symbolically rich, and abstractly decorative "woven" art that could hold its own when compared to one of his Caucasian carpets.⁷



Fig. 3. Kirchner, *Couple in a Studio*, ca. 1908, Chicago, Alice Adam Ltd., crayon drawing on brown paper, 600 × 494 mm.

Kirchner introduced different poles of attraction, sensuousness, and self-absorption in the figures and in their relations to one another and their surroundings. His pairing of Adam and Eve in the chair and the free abandon both of the nude model and of his own small primitivizing wood sculpture of a naked dancing couple above Müller humorously heighten—and almost mock—the clothed separateness and sobriety of Müller, Kirchner, and Schilling, a contrast that also

draws attention since Kirchner frequently spoke of his sexual ambivalence toward Schilling in contemporary diaries and letters. The separate, civilized propriety of these clothed modern bohemians might also seem at odds with the sensuous force of the Caucasian rugs Kirchner emulated and illustrated in the same painting. In a diary of 1917, he had spoken of wrapping himself in one of his "Caucasians" to absorb the love of the distant nomadic woman he presumed to have woven the carpet.⁸ Kirchner's contemporary written discussion both of the "primitive" art of India, Africa, New Guinea, and other non-Western countries and of his own life repeatedly gave marked emphasis to eroticism. Unlike those writings and his much louder prewar works, however, *Modern Bohemia* sublimates eroticism into a somewhat quieter order of flickering color, pattern, and form.

In Kirchner's earlier *Bathers in a Room*, for instance, rawly sensuous, burgeoning colors and patterns enhance the impression of the studio as a fantastic, orgiastic harem filled with a seemingly unlimited supply of languorous and available nude women. Male presence—dominant in every aspect of the subject and its arrangement—is figuratively confined to the carved, Cameroon-like figure of a sensuous black male on the mirror to the right of center and to an enigmatic, dark, and diabolically grinning male mask seemingly suspended without support on the far right.⁹

In fact, Kirchner introduced that fiendish face only in the later 1920s, when he revised the painting and changed its earlier, more evocative title of *Bacchanal* to the more neutral title of *Bathers in a Room*. In his original version of 1909, he had shown only an orange body—whether male or female is unclear—entering into the scene from the far right. When he removed that body, heightened the strangeness of the male head, and changed the title of the painting, he presented a sharpened, more ironic, and somewhat more kinky view of bohemia more in keeping with his later practice. In *Modern Bohemia*, executed sometime before he changed his *Bathers*, the flaunting of the supposedly free and untroubled eroticism of bohemia introduced by the preposterous nude has a similarly puncturing twist and humor. With both works, Kirchner does not just illustrate, but draws attention to, the whole modern aggrandizement of the myth of bohemia.

Kirchner and the other Brücke artists had consistently trumpeted the liberties of their bohemian way of life. They exemplify Jerrold Seigel's characterization of bohemia as "the appropriation of marginal life-styles by young and not so young bourgeois for the dramatization of ambivalence toward their own social identities and destinies."¹⁰ "Defining Bohemia's significance," Seigel has argued, "was a crucial way to participate in it. Bohemia arose where action and meaning, gesture and awareness intersected. It was at once a form of life and a dramatized interpretation, both of itself and of the society to which it was a response."¹¹ The differences of Kirchner's Dresden, Berlin, and Swiss conceptions of his bohemia are not just the outgrowth of artistic development or of changed personal circumstances. They reflect not only his broadened understand-

ing of his individual stance, but also his increasing determination to use the bohemian identity as a persona. In Switzerland, the bohemian integration of life, love, art, and decoration that had been central to Kirchner's output from the beginning continued to be central. In that postwar period, however, it received a newly controlled, rustic, and self-protective inflection.

II

As such major contemporary essays on modern bohemia as Julius Bab's *Die Berliner Bohème* (Berlin, 1904) and Erich Mühsam's "Boheme" (1906)¹² indicate, the traits, activities, politics, social position, and authenticity of the bohemian—widely discussed and disputed in the last decades of the 19th century—continued to be a topic of lively interest at the time Kirchner, Erich Heckel, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, and Fritz Bleyl formed *Die Brücke* and adopted their bohemian ways in Dresden in the early 1900s. In their founding years, however, the *Brücke* artists rarely seem to have gravitated toward the extreme, narcotized excesses and isolation commonly associated with the bohemianism of such older artists as Gauguin, van Gogh, Munch, or Toulouse-Lautrec. Nor were they actively engaged with ideas of social and economic reform that concerned such well-known German bohemians as Peter Hille and Gustav Landauer in the circles of Friedrichshagen, *Die Neue Gemeinschaft*, or the Garden City movement.

Die Brücke was a consciously avant-garde tendency that chose bohemianism and the vigors of modernist art to explore the realities and fantasies of a life freed of bourgeois complacency and restriction. Fired by the assertiveness of the contemporary youth, reform, art colony, and bohemian movements,¹³ by extensive readings in Nietzsche, Whitman, Dehmel, Heym, and the *Arabian Nights*,¹⁴ and by the great sensual force unleashed in the art of Jugendstil, Neo-Impressionism, Post-Impressionism, and Fauvism, the *Brücke* artists determinedly created and celebrated a life and art fraught with freedom, intensity, and eroticism. They readily participated in that Baudelairean sense of bohemianism as "a cult of multiplied sensations," a life lived in a state of constant arousal.¹⁵

They adopted the forcefully abrupt title of "Künstlergruppe *Brücke*"¹⁶ presumably because of its suggestion of their desired role as a connector or bridge between artists. From the beginning, they sought to identify and exhibit with an international contingent of similarly inspired artists—including Kandinsky, Gallen-Kallela, Matisse, Munch, and van Dongen¹⁷—and hoped that some of those would eventually join the group. Schmidt-Rottluff spoke of them as radical when he introduced them as a bridge "for all revolutionary and surging forces" in 1907,¹⁸ but the revolution he and the others anticipated was more one of youth, art, and culture than of economic and social conditions.

Their founding "manifesto" of 1906 was concerned primarily with the creation and promotion of a new art, but also with the liberation that art presupposed

and hoped to further: "With faith in development and in a new generation of creators and appreciators, we call together all youth. As youth who carry the future, we want to create room and freedom of movement against the well-established older forces. Everyone who renders with immediacy and authenticity that which drives him to create belongs to us."¹⁹ In its exaltation of individual freedom and vision of individuals cooperating in a natural life of creativity freed from authoritarian restraints, the *Brücke* manifesto also bore the imprint of anarchism. Basic tenets of anarchist thought, closely associated with French revolutionary traditions and freedoms in general, would have been well known to the *Brücke* members and others who had grown up in the 1890s. Even German critics, like critics confronted with modernism throughout Europe, readily used the term "anarchistic" both to damn and to praise the *Brücke* artists' brashly colored and executed works.²⁰

At the turn of the century, bohemianism often seemed synonymous with anarchism, in part because of German bohemians' increased attraction to radical anarchist ideals since the 1890s, and in part because of the extreme liberation manifested both in the bohemian life-style and in the aesthetics of modern art. Although anarchism never found as strong a base in Germany as in other countries, it held special appeal for many idealists who had grown frustrated with the seemingly petty political maneuverings of the Social Democrats, who otherwise offered the only official opposition to the Prussian order.²¹

Young artists throughout Europe had also been made aware of art's anarchistic potential by the radicalism of the late-19th century French artists. Moreover, the Neo-Impressionists' advocacy of radical anarchist deeds even as they moved toward an increasingly art-for-art's sake position would not have seemed contradictory to the following, largely apolitical generation. The latter saw true anarchism—and opposition to all that was merely superficial, materialistic, and routine in modern society—in the profound new sensualism of modern French art.²² As Hugo Ball observed in 1915, for young Germans discouraged with the state of art in their own country, the radicalism of French culture and politics seemed inseparably related to the new aesthetic, formal, and decorative tendencies of French art.²³

Although Kirchner often denied or minimized the influence of his French predecessors and contemporaries to stress the fundamental Germanness of his origins, he, too, found modern French art the source not just of a style but of a much more liberated, aggressive, and authentic attitude toward art and life. He was deeply engaged by the styles and subjects of Seurat, Cézanne, van Gogh, Gauguin, Matisse, and Toulouse-Lautrec, and, at the end of his life, readily acknowledged that early contact with the Neo-Impressionists had helped move him toward a new orientation. In a 1937 letter to Curt Valentin, he wrote that he found both the spontaneous drawings of Rembrandt and the art of Neo-Impressionism²⁴ vital awakenings after the dull modern German art he saw in an exhibition of the Munich Secession: "I learned a great deal from an exhibition of French

Neo-Impressionists. I found the drawing weak but I studied their color technique, founded on a study of optics, only to arrive at an opposite conclusion; namely not to let complementaries and the complementary colors be formed while one looked at them. My goal was always to express emotion and experience with large and simple forms and clear colors, and it is still my goal today. I wanted to express the richness and joy of living, to paint humanity at work and at play in its reactions and interactions and to express love as well as hatred."²⁵

Another revolutionary artistic force behind the Brücke's development and philosophy was the Jugendstil arts and crafts movement. All four of the original members had first studied architecture in Dresden, and in the course of that study would have been exposed to the works and writings of leading Jugendstil exponents, such as Wilhelm Kreis, Fritz Schumacher, and Henry van de Velde, then active in North Germany. Kirchner also came into contact with some of the more independent and progressive spirits of the Jugendstil during his year's leave from architectural studies to study art in Munich, in the course of which he attended Hermann Obrist and Wilhelm von Debschitz's radically innovative school of teaching and applied arts.

Obrist and Debschitz placed special emphasis on individual discovery, abstraction, and nature study, and encouraged their students to seek inspiration in such untraditional sources as the arts and crafts of Africa and Oceania and the art of children.²⁶ Although Kirchner barely mentioned those artists in later accounts of his early development,²⁷ he often recalls their ideas in his continued preoccupation with arts and crafts, fashion, work in raw materials, and the decoration of his studio; in his later theorizing on artistic stimulus, creation, and education; in his insistence on the importance of nature study to free artistic invention; and in his emulation of the arts of Africa and Oceania. Along with the potent modernism of Cézanne, van Gogh, Gauguin, Toulouse-Lautrec, Munch, and Matisse, the teachings of Obrist, Debschitz, van de Velde, and others who encouraged an art of greater natural immediacy and independence would have been influential on Kirchner's and the other Brücke artists' decision to choose art—rather than architecture, or the arts and crafts—as the most challenging, dynamic, and expressive area in which they could work.

III

In view of the hostility toward most forms of modernism in Germany, it is not surprising that the Brücke artists—almost all autodidacts working in a loose manner with bright antinaturalistic palettes and provocatively erotic subjects—received criticism and had considerable difficulty establishing their careers. Yet they did find favorable reception among numerous private collectors in Dresden, Hamburg, and other North German centers, and won increasing acceptance as Expressionism finally established its stronghold by the eve of World War I. At the turn of the century, a desire for the renewal of German art had in fact been wide-

spread, and in Dresden—much smaller and less international than Munich or Berlin—the flourishing of the Jugendstil arts and crafts movement had readily encouraged the sort of enthusiastic collectors and patrons the Brücke sought.

To support themselves, and to establish further outreach, the Brücke artists produced print portfolios for subscribers who in turn became passive members of Die Brücke. The impressive roster of passive members²⁸ shows that even in the years in which they did not sell many paintings they did attract substantial, largely middle-class support from art-loving architects, art historians, feminists,²⁹ museum directors, professors (including Kirchner's father), doctors, bankers (including a Hamburg Bleichröder), jurists, and consuls, among others.

Though they generally had little money and at times suffered considerable hardship, the Brücke artists usually could live passably well on what little they had. They were never totally separated or estranged from their bourgeois families, as indicated, for instance, by the passive membership of Kirchner's father in the group and by Heckel's continued residence with his family. In fact, Heckel's and Kirchner's first Dresden studios, former cobbler's and butcher's shops in the working-class district of Friedrichstadt, were close to the official railway residence in which Heckel's family had lived for the previous two years. Like other bohemians, then, they made no effort to destroy the bourgeois connections that continued to sustain them. They distanced themselves from the commonplaces of bourgeois life-styles and thought more exclusively and aggressively in the tonic hedonism of their life and art.

IV

Aside from the representation of his major works, Kirchner also depicted his bohemian life, work, and interests in a remarkable series of illustrated postcards and letters sent to Heckel from 1909–1912, in the so-called Davos diary of 1919–1928, and in other writings of the 1920s and 1930s. The vibrant, informal postcards to Heckel,³⁰ for instance, record enraptured views of dancing women's high-stepping, splayed-leg, and rump-revealing acts in numerous Dresden and Berlin variety shows, cafés, circuses, and popular theaters. They indicate Kirchner's excited exploration of African, Oceanic, and Eskimo art, and an attraction to different cultures' depictions of nakedness and sexuality in particular.³¹ His depiction of a New Guinea sculptured figure of a young female, on the other hand, used bright pink to emphasize her swollen genitals more in the manner of his current representations of teenaged models than in that of the Oceanic piece itself.³² His watercolors, drawings, and notes indicate a well-informed acquaintance with modern art seen in reproductions and exhibitions. They include copies of Matisse's naïve-style representations of children, of a Daumier depiction of an engagedly singing couple, and of Cézanne's vigorous and unconventionally honest posing of his father and a group of bathers, works that were all directly relevant to Kirchner's new stylistic and thematic concerns.³³

The Heckel correspondence also registers Kirchner's worry about finding a suitably large new apartment for their communal study of nude models, naked dance of joy at finding one, and eagerness for Heckel's return to join him;³⁴ graphic and crude remarks about prostitutes in the street and about a bad-breathed woman Kirchner followed, undressed, and fondled;³⁵ scenes of naked lounging, relaxation, dancing, sports, and copulation in the studio and outdoors; and fascination with the developing bodies, sexuality, and variously awkward, shy, unself-conscious, and aggressive behavior of the teenage girls brought into the studio "family" as models.³⁶

Although the Brücke artists befriended workers in the Friedrichstadt and other working-class areas in which they lived, they much less frequently drew on those subjects than on ones from their own bohemian life, entertainments, and work. Almost all of the gypsies, blacks, and other ethnic types depicted by Kirchner, for instance, were entertainers in popular theaters. In his representation of these, just as in his renderings of persons in his own studio, he was chiefly interested in depicting the racy recklessness, energy, freedom, and humor of modern behavior, many times intensified by the sensuality of exotic costume and movement.

At the center of their practice was study of the nude in a series of freely and quickly modeled poses in the atelier and the open, something Kirchner and Heckel had already inaugurated at the Moritzburg while architectural students. They did not want to use—and could not have afforded—professional models, and are said to have drawn their models from entertainers at the Circus Schumann as well as from among themselves, their friends, their lovers, and others. Kirchner, the only of the original Brücke members with prior academic training in the nude, worked more intensely on the nude than the others. From the relaxed, relatively free, and exuberantly natural poses of his first studies from the model in Dresden (fig. 3) and the Moritzburg, he moved increasingly to ones of more exaggerated, and even absurd, bodily and sexual display.

Kirchner's earliest works had included illustrations both of harem scenes from the *Arabian Nights* and of an emphatically sexual union of lovers inspired by Richard Dehmel's *Zwei Menschen*.³⁷ His subsequent works from freely posed models continued to give special emphasis to sexuality. He was intent on sustaining the hothouse studio existence that would seem to have permitted him and the others unlimited access to draw, paint, mingle, cavort, touch, and love in the nude with their models. Although he frequently depicted males in the nude and making love, in works such as *Bathers in a Room* he much more insistently accentuated women's sensuality, languor, promiscuity, and physical intimacy with one another in his almost caricatural overexposure of female nakedness, pubic hair, genitalia, buttocks, breasts, and body contact. The Brücke's depiction of their studios and nakedness was geared preeminently to the display of eroticism and of woman as erotic target. They thus continued as well as recalled Western romantic, orientalizing traditions that imagined the harem as an unreal, daydream

locus in which women awaited the arrival, gaze, or touch of the men who possessed them.³⁸

Kirchner's nude poses are striking not just for their frankness and abandon but for their frequently audacious—and even ridiculous—carnality. He went to great lengths to flaunt, heighten, egg on, mystify, offend, and entice with his figures' bareness and eroticism. Against the canons of social propriety, he asserted that his generation of bohemians was able to enjoy the hedonism of liberated sexuality more fully than any other. In Kirchner's harem, however, sexual freedom also implied control, much more the province of the men and artists who did the peering and arranging than of the female sexual objects.

But Kirchner draws attention to the voyeurism of that "freedom" as well. In at least two of his representations of "dancing schools," for instance—a subject frequently used as a metaphor for his women-filled ateliers—the female "students" are naked for no good reason at all. In one, two naked women nestle up to a fully clothed male instructor.³⁹ In *The Dancing Lesson* (fig. 4), the awkward, somewhat distrustful, and split-legged naked teenager Fränzi is warmly and maternally supported by a clothed and large-breasted female instructor. In *The Tent* (fig. 5), a vigorously striding naked female waves fondly at the fully clothed, red-jacketed circus trainer, none other than Kirchner himself. They stand before the parted opening of a circus tentlike enclosure—a structure based directly on the "tent" in his Berlin studio—in which the trainer has presumably tamed her into love.

Donald Gordon has read the Brücke representation of nakedness and sexuality as a relatively inoffensive, unchauvinistic, hedonistic, and Whitmanesque celebration of sensuality and equality of the sexes.⁴⁰ He has failed to note, however, that Whitman, Dehmel, and many other progressive males of their and later eras frequently continued to conceive woman as more sensual than intellectual, and as fundamentally dependent upon men for arousal and guidance. Kirchner and the Brücke artists regularly depicted energetic, confident, freely moving, and unabashedly loving women, and numerous images of males and females equally enjoying the release of naked freedom in nature. In their works, however, the male artist, the bohemian, or the circus trainer essentially remains in charge. Like their depictions of dancing gypsies, blacks, or other exotic Others, their seemingly unending representations of both languorous and active women almost always depict women as physical objects, and thus not entirely as equals. Women are generally shown to be more sensual, indulgent, sexual, scratching, and bulging than the naked men. It would be difficult, for instance, to find one of the naked white artists or males represented in the pronouncedly sexually displayed poses that are repeatedly used for woman. This, in fact, accorded perfectly with the currently popular, progressive, reformist, and blatantly sexist theories of writers such as the sexologist Iwan Bloch, who argued that women had a much greater capacity—as well as a much greater body area—for sex than men.⁴¹

Kirchner's own written comments on women rarely speak of equality. Though

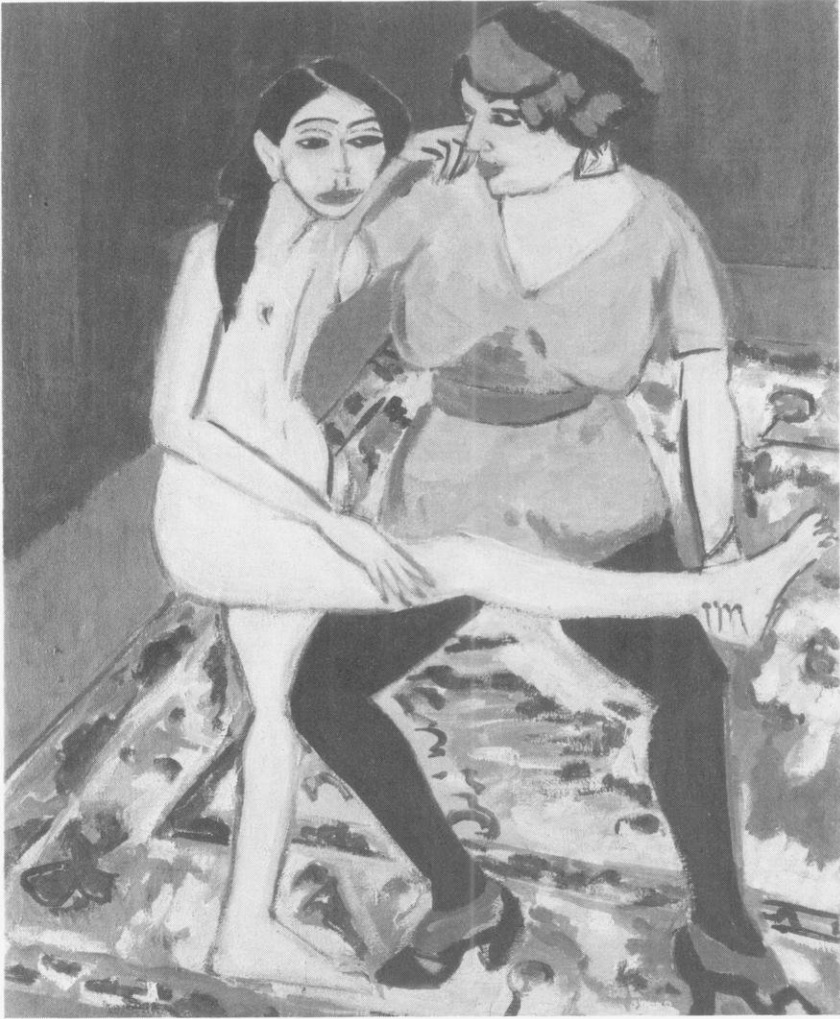


Fig. 4. Kirchner, *The Dancing Lesson*, ca. 1909, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Charles B. Meech, oil on canvas, 47 × 35¼ in.

he once wrote that he found Erna Schilling his true equal, an ideal soul mate who was intellectually and spiritually much more challenging than the women he had loved in Dresden, he simultaneously expressed this in terms of his preference for the more architectonic bodies of his Berlin female models (chiefly Schilling and her sister Gerda) over the more softly curving bodies of the Saxons.⁴² In his Davos diary, on the other hand, he spoke of how the softly erotic Saxon Doris (Dodo) Große was the only woman he had ever really loved,⁴³ of his total inability to communicate with Schilling spiritually, and of

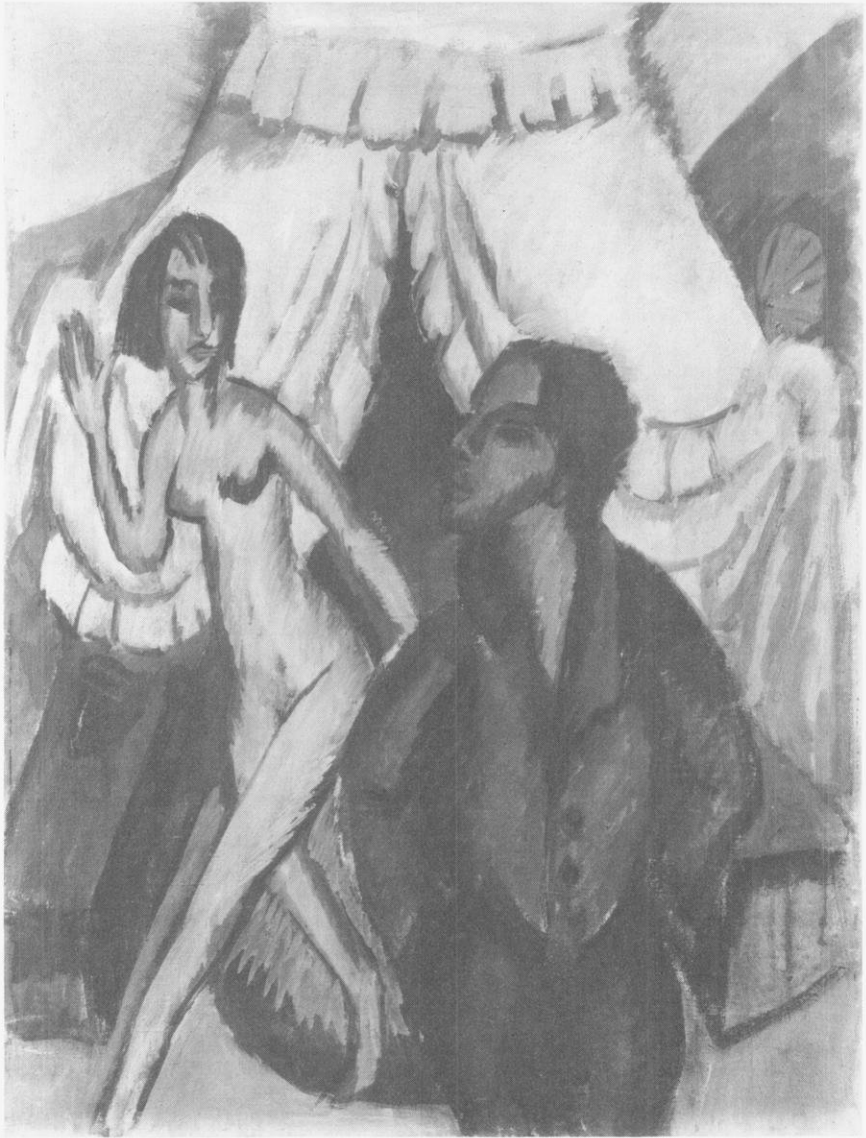


Fig. 5. Kirchner, *The Tent*, 1914, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen.

his rolling up in his Caucasians to feel the love of the distant nomad. In an elevated mood, he declared that woman's highest attainment was the ordering of the home; in a more surly one, he argued that women's most important duty was to be clean.⁴⁴

As Lothar Grisebach has noted, the Davos diary, like the other personal writings, shows Kirchner

in all his triviality. No common person, but a person of the everyday. He is intelligent and sensitive. He knows the secrets of art. He is the painter Ernst Ludwig Kirchner. But his writing style is petty-bourgeois, his expressions come from the street. He distrusts persons whom he might otherwise wish well, and in that is primarily interested in their sexual relations. He has prejudices against Jews and Saxons. Above all, he loves the type of generalization that would be taken as a sign of his having only a smattering of culture. What he otherwise expresses about persons and situations is frequently not very wise and influenced by an exaggerated distrust.⁴⁵

The narrow-mindedness, distrust, sexism, and swagger of those diaries are necessarily related to Kirchner's wartime illness and neuroses, but are not at all missing from his earlier period. In fact, they are intimately related both to that larger scheme of exaggeration and willful slumming that Kirchner had first adopted with the stance of a bohemian, and to that more complicated, real life of the artist that rarely finds direct expression in his bohemian colors.

V

In the 1923 history of the Brücke in his Davos diary, Kirchner stressed that the group's aims were basically unrevolutionary, simple, and strongly influenced by the modern crafts' ideal of restoring a harmony of art and life through imitation of the simple life. Though their way of living might have seemed "at the least strange to normal people," he wrote, "it was motivated not by a desire to *Épater les Bourgeois*, but by the wholly naïve, pure need to bring art and life into harmony." He emphasized the importance he and the others attributed to the decoration of their studios, which he saw as inseparably connected both with their other works and with their larger vision of life and sexuality:

Our development of our surroundings, from the first appliqué cover in the first Dresden atelier room through the finished harmonious space in my Berlin atelier was an unbroken, logical intensification that went hand in hand with our painterly development of pictures, graphics, and sculpture. The first bowl we carved, because no one could find an agreeable one to buy, brought sculptural form into the planar form of the picture; to the last stroke, our personal form was kneaded together with our work in a variety of techniques. The love that the painter had for the girl who was his companion and assistant was transferred to the carved figure, purified itself via the environment into the picture, and then mediated the form of a particular chair or table. That was the way in which the individual work of art came into being and that was the Brücke's conception of art.⁴⁶

Kirchner's 1923 description of the continuous interflow between eros, decoration, carving, and painting in his studio evokes the vision of a primitive idyll, almost as if the artists had really lived the sort of simple life illustrated in Gauguin's

representations of the South Seas. Yet his stress both on their early simplicity, innocence, and industry and on the erotic basis of their creativity also accords with the emphases on the pure, earthy sexuality of primitive art and on the importance of construction found throughout his postwar diaries.⁴⁷

Kirchner's tendency to effect or invent the simple life in the isolated, decorated retreat of the studio seemed romantic from the start. Fritz Bleyl noted that the young Kirchner's first quarters in Dresden looked more like those of a romantic painter than of an orderly architectural student;⁴⁸ and Nele van de Velde—not uninfluenced by the artists's own posturing—observed that a visit to Kirchner was like entering a scene of the *Arabian Nights*.⁴⁹ Throughout the prewar years, Kirchner placed himself, his models, and his colleagues in draped or tented interiors decorated with embroidery, painting, and batik to elicit the sense of an exotic, though deliberately crude and handcrafted, harem. He surrounded himself with an excess of sensuous decoration and pattern, roughly invigorating colors, and works of art that proliferated images of energetic lovemaking and naked romping. He further extended or crowded that space with his own carved furniture and sculptures of active, swelling figures.⁵⁰

For his studio, Kirchner derived and combined motifs and colors from the Palau [Belau] Islands, Africa, India, and Java with images of his own and other European cultures. As is well documented, he was particularly fascinated by the lively forms and overt sexuality of the painted decorations of the Palau Islands men's clubs, which would have been well known to him both from beams that were exhibited in Dresden by 1902, an entire clubhouse especially commissioned for exhibition in Berlin in 1907, and from colored reproductions in books.⁵¹ The influence of the Palau men's clubs is especially clear in the decoration of the Dresden studio seen in *Bathers in a Room* (1908/1910–20) and *Seated Girl, Fränzi*.

Unlike Nolde, Pechstein, and other Expressionists, Kirchner would never visit the South Seas or even—beyond a short trip to Bohemia in 1911—leave German-speaking ground. He probably knew about the Palau Islands and the South Seas only from museums and readings, although the considerable German interest in and acquisitions from those areas certainly would have given him more than a passing acquaintance with their art and background. He probably would have been intrigued both by what he did and did not know of the Palau men's clubs, the central social, religious, and protective organizations open only to males, who joined them upon leaving their parents' homes, and to women from neighboring villages who cared for them.⁵² One can easily imagine that he would have liked to see his studio as a sort of men's club as well.

His borrowings from the Palau clubs, tempered by his own tendencies and assimilations from the Jugendstil, the French modernists, and contemporary ideas of primitivism, suggest that Kirchner shared widely held Western views of the South Seas as a sort of last undisturbed Eden in which natives lived in a state of continuous sexual bliss.⁵³ In any case, his attraction to the art of Palau was a response not just to the excitement of a new and "primitive" form of art but to the whole Palau life-style and its presumably liberated sexuality. His fascina-



Fig. 6. Kirchner, *Seated Girl, Fränzi*, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, The John R. Van Derlip Fund, oil on canvas, 31¼ × 35½ in.

tion with the Palau Islands' art as the manifestation of a tranquil, youthful, and free paradise is nowhere more evident than in his numerous Dresden representations of his studio and outings and of teenagers in particular.

VI

Kirchner and the other Brücke artists' representations of the teenaged Fränzi (figs. 4 and 6) are among the most emblematic of their early practice. Fränzi and her sister Marzella, the daughters of a circus performer's widow, were twelve and fifteen years old when Kirchner and Heckel invited them and other teen-aged girls to join the studio "family" as models. Their mother frequently modeled for the group herself and is said to have regularly accompanied the girls on sittings.⁵⁴ Though the artists' treatment of naked adolescent females also would have been considered provocative in Wilhelminian Germany, it does not seem to have been singled out for much more special criticism than the rashness of their styles at large.

The girls are often shown as children who enjoy themselves, their excursions, their nakedness, their dolls, and their play, but the Brücke artists did not always just represent the innocent “polymorphous playfulness” that Donald Gordon has seen, for instance, in a work of Heckel.⁵⁵ As previously noted, the artists were intrigued with the girls’ bodies, developing sexuality, and mixture of embarrassment, acceptance, and boldness about posing in the nude. Many Brücke works display the girls’ genitalia just as exaggeratedly as the grown women’s; several—especially the works of Heckel—seem to equate adolescent female sexual aggressiveness with promiscuity; and others suggest that Heckel or others touched and cuddled the girls in more than just brotherly ways.⁵⁶ They showed what they interpreted as the girls’ alive and generally accepting attitude toward their sexuality and bodies. In almost all cases, they were more interested in projecting their own young male conceptions of liberated sexuality and physicality than in exploring the feelings of the teenagers themselves.⁵⁷

As has already been seen in *The Dancing Lesson* (fig. 4), Kirchner portrayed the girls’ modeling, nakedness, and treatment by the artists with some sensitivity and irony. His lost painting titled *Naked Couple in the Sun* (1910),⁵⁸ for instance, stems from a large series of works that depict the artists and their models mingling in the nude at the Moritzburg, and would seem to depict Heckel—or, at least, a counterpart for the artists themselves—as the naked man with the beard at the left.⁵⁹ In the place of Fränzi or the other German models seen in all the other works, however, Kirchner shows a naked, dark-skinned South Sea Islander teenager of the sort regularly represented by Gauguin.

Most unlike the figures in Gauguin, though, Kirchner’s dark teenager sits with her enlarged genitals fully exposed as she unselfconsciously plays with her feet. His stereotypical image of the catlike South Seas adolescent bride who has uninhibitedly enjoyed sexual pleasure with a white—now shy, self-conscious, and hesitant—Western male is a romance similar to those told by Gauguin in *Noa-Noa*, Robert Louis Stevenson, and numerous other writers of South Seas fiction. Kirchner’s modern romance, however, is more brazenly pungent. He might suggest that Heckel and the others wanted their teenaged white Europeans to be teenaged brown South Sea Islanders so that they presumably could love them freely as they could not in reality. In any case, only the South Sea Islander—the fully imaginary, exotic, dark-skinned Other—seems able to enjoy the sexual freedom the Brücke artists advocated but apparently found difficult to attain.

Kirchner also fantasized on his studio’s and adolescent models’ reality in his various juxtapositions of Fränzi to her surroundings, and in this, too, recalls a similar tendency of Gauguin’s. Paintings such as *Seated Girl, Fränzi* (fig. 6) are in fact so reminiscent of Gauguin’s Tahitian works such as *The Ancestors of Tehamana* of 1893 (fig. 7) or *The Dream*⁶⁰ that a direct influence seems highly probable. By 1910, when most of their representations of Fränzi were produced, Gauguin’s influence on the Brücke and on Kirchner in particular—reinforced by the latter’s considerable study, absorption, and imitation of the art of the South

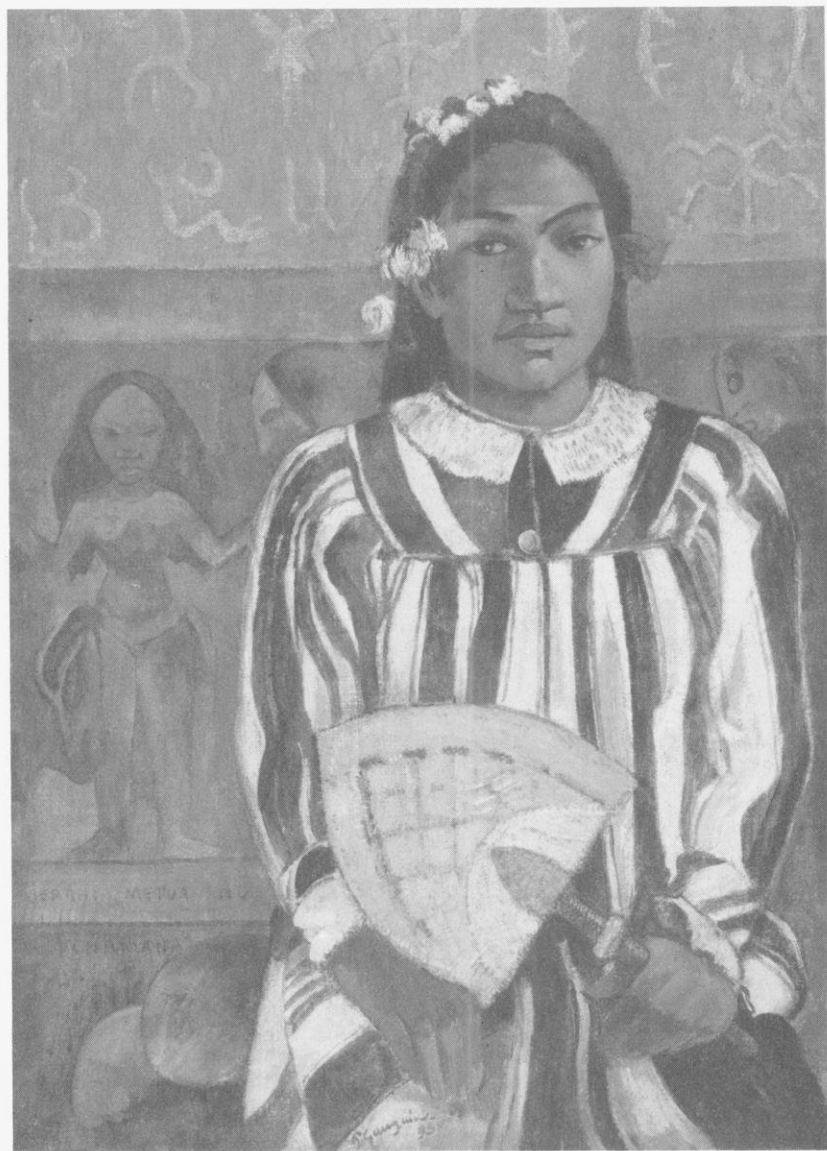


Fig. 7. Gauguin, *Ancestors of Tehamana*, 1893, The Art Institute of Chicago, oil on canvas, 76.3×54.3.

Seas and other non-Western area—was both paramount and readily acknowledged.⁶¹ By that time, however, German artists had been familiar with Gauguin's works for several years. Just after the Brücke's founding in 1905, for instance,

a major show of thirty-three Gauguin paintings was exhibited by Count Harry Kessler in Weimar.⁶² *Noa-Noa*, Gauguin's explication of his seemingly total escape into the simple life of an exotic South Seas paradise, appeared in German translation the following year.⁶³

The decorative wall figures in Kirchner's Dresden studio—for the most part, inspired by the playing figures of the Palau beams—were naked and energetically active, evocative of a more primitive, free, and natural state in much the same way as the background figures in Gauguin's *Dream* or *Ancestors of Tehamana*. In *Seated Girl*, the naked decorative figure at the left can be read both as a painted wall decoration and as a doll (or painting of a doll) such as Fränzi held in other works.⁶⁴ Here, as in Gauguin's representation of Tehamana, clothes introduce a contrast of primitive nakedness and civilization. Fränzi is now shown in a more normal, proper state as a dressed young girl, at the moment distanced both from the naked modeling in the studio "paradise" and from the primitively naked infant stage symbolized by the decorative figure at her side.⁶⁵

Gauguin's *Ancestors* synthesized many of the episodes of his marriage to a 13-year-old Tahitian narrated in *Noa-Noa*. The mysterious pictographs and idol-like figures on the walls in the background summon up the rich enigmas of the heritage of Tehamana, now distanced from those origins both in her missionary dress and in her relation to Gauguin.⁶⁶ Tehamana clearly remains the idealized, tranquil Tahitian Other, a dream object who has been civilized by her contact with colonial culture and Gauguin, yet remains attractively linked to the darker figures behind her.

In the more impassioned sensuous and raw gestures of Kirchner's Expressionism, the chartreuse of Fränzi's face serves less to make her exotic than to heighten her reality. Though she participates in the sexualized life of the studio, she remains the modern, wise, and doubting child who holds herself somewhat apart from it. Kirchner injected the exoticism of his own bohemia with a thoroughly modern flaunting, skepticism, and awareness. Unlike Gauguin's, his primitivism was less an escape to another realm than an attempt at amplifying some of the fresher, more casual, unimportant, and intense moments of the daily life around him.

VII

The Brücke artists' numerous depictions of Fränzi and the other teenagers were produced chiefly within the relatively short period of their close association in Dresden for several months in 1909 and 1910. Thereafter, the artists largely dropped adolescent subjects from their art. In the years of his Berlin residence from 1911 to 1917, Kirchner turned with increasing frequency to a repertoire of city subjects—cabarets, variety shows, theaters, prostitutes, and city views—as he continued his preoccupation with nude subjects in the studio and in the outdoors on the island of Fehmarn.

In this period, he evolved a much more complex, vigorous, and challenging mature style and profited greatly from the extensive contact with a variety of modern tendencies, exhibitions, artists, writers, and intellectuals that Berlin afforded him. During these years, as the several different Expressionist directions won increasing support and recognition, Kirchner and others went to great lengths to stress the fundamentally German nature of their undertakings,⁶⁷ and often even denied or underplayed the French influences that had been so liberating for their beginnings. From this time on, he said he felt much more beholden to Rembrandt, Cranach, Dürer, and other older German masters than to any modern ones. His



Fig. 8. Kirchner, *Bathing Scene under Overhanging Tree Branches*, 1913, Chicago, Alice Adam Ltd., woodcut.

newly robust, dark, and resonant Berlin palette seems even more emphasizedly North German than that of his Dresden period.

Kirchner's Berlin bohemian life was initially much more outward- and city-oriented than it had been in Dresden. His art grew correspondingly more sophisticated, his representation of bohemia, somewhat more racy and ironic. This was also the period of his most exuberant representation of nature and nakedness, when he most frequently depicted active, strong, angular, and "architectonic" female nudes whose energy, resolve, and drive seem fully equal to those of their male counterparts. His caricature of the realities of bohemian sexual freedom and male dominance, however, continues in such works as *The Dancing Lesson* and *The Tent* and in numerous self-portraits. A self-portrait seems intended, for instance, in the single, jockey-capped, pipe-smoking male in *Bathing Scene under Overhanging Tree Branches* of 1913 (fig. 8). The hunter squats nonchalantly in the splayed-leg pose normally reserved for woman, although he alone is fully clothed and seen from the rear. He scrutinizes the buoyant, sexually charged union of the Fehmarn seascape with the energetic naked females, but has not yet sprung into action.

Kirchner probed his bohemian identity with new profundity and eccentricity in a series of self-portraits related to his wartime service and breakdown. The *Self-Portrait* (or *The Drinker*) of 1915 (fig. 9) was painted "as the military convoy screeched past my window in Berlin," soon after his discharge from the military for physical and mental breakdown.⁶⁸ From that time on, he tended to isolate himself even from some of his best friends and lived a truly impoverished, narcotized bohemian life.

In this portrait, the lively markings of his bohemian surroundings and smart clothes seem to taunt both Kirchner and his observers. Gordon has suggested that his brightly colored robe and high-heeled shoes might have been clothes belonging to Erna Schilling,⁶⁹ and that they and his generally androgynous appearance might be read as willful signs of Kirchner's questioning of his sexual identity in this period. Kirchner does not just show himself as emaciated and effeminate, however, but gives his face the stereotypical slit eye, flared nose, and enlarged lips associated with a "primitive" black African. The overly indulgent bohemian suggests that he has lost control in his world-fleeing retreat. At his weakest—or at his more surly—he becomes the confused, partly effeminate and partly animalized Other.

The playwright Carl Sternheim, who met and spoke frequently with Kirchner as both took health cures at a Königstein sanatorium in the summer of 1916, quite probably took Kirchner and such exaggerated images as *The Drinker* and *The Tent* as models for the simple bohemian life fantastically parodied in his novella *Ulrike*, begun the following November. Though Sternheim's figures of Ulrike and the primitivizing Jewish artist Posinsky are known to have been modeled on the art historian and Africanist Carl Einstein and his lover, the Countess Ära vom Hagen, the story's final episode of their regression into a life of total sexual bliss



Fig. 9. Kirchner, *Self-Portrait (The Drinker)*, 1915, Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum.

in an African kraal erected in their apartment closely recalls the tent life recorded in Kirchner's representations of his bohemia. Whereas Posinsky's final painting of Ulrike is plainly modeled on Gauguin's *Nevermore* and on Gauguin's whole idyllic vision of the South Seas, the couple's life-style is undeniably Expressionist.⁷⁰

Sternheim, a confirmed pacifist, portrayed the couple's primitive retreat as

a fantastic, radically sensuous alternative to the violence of the war and to the orderly, self-denying Prussian life in which Ulrike had previously been enslaved. His parody of the extremes of the Expressionist's simple life and retreat to primitivism, on the other hand, also underlined the absurdity of that primitive alternative. Sternheim found a channel for his hostility to the war in his writings and in pacifist circles in Belgium. Kirchner, largely cut off from the avant-garde interaction that had influenced the heady first period of his Berlin Expressionism, remained more suspended and imprisoned in his wartime breakdown, illness, and bohemian isolation.

VIII

At the persuasion of the many friends who looked after and tried to support him, Kirchner left Germany for a cure and ultimately took up permanent residence in the Swiss mountains. Although he was impatient with Swiss provincialism, Kirchner basically found his calm and ordered mountain life idyllic, healing, and inspiring.⁷¹ He revered the mountain surroundings; he appreciated his rural neighbors' way of life and friendship; he admired Swiss folk traditions, art, and culture; and he thought Swiss democracy exemplary.⁷²

Kirchner felt his generation had been betrayed by German chauvinism and the war, but thought that he could appreciate both Germany's faults and strengths more clearly from his position in Switzerland. He was sympathetic toward Germany's postwar struggles, looked forward to their resolution and to the rebuilding of Europe, and in 1926 even entertained the possibility of returning to Germany to teach in the Dresden academy. He did not receive the offer, however, apparently gave little further thought to moving, and returned to Germany only for two short trips in 1926 and 1929. Although his art had come to enjoy considerable popularity in Germany, he remained convinced that Switzerland was the center from which he wanted to operate.

Kirchner quickly returned to the production and promotion of his art. He continued his exploration of non-Western art, especially in his copies from John Griffith's book on the Ajanta, India, cave paintings and in the Basel ethnographical museum,⁷³ but he most frequently spoke of his desire to emulate the color, flatness, and decorative patterns of the Caucasian carpets he increasingly studied and acquired. He was attracted to folk art, crafts, and weaving in particular. He admired and emulated local folk painting and carving, observed and practiced embroidery with Erna Schilling, and commissioned his neighbor, Lisa Gujers, to weave several of his designs into tapestries.⁷⁴

He continued to examine certain traditions of modernism as he formulated a more flattened, abstractly patterned, and synthetic style of his own. In the first several years of his Swiss stay, for instance, he spoke frequently of both Gauguin and Seurat.⁷⁵ His letters reveal careful scrutiny of Gauguin, although on one occasion he insisted to Nele van de Velde that Gauguin could not mean much for

modern artists who sought a more direct path from life itself.⁷⁶ He studied Seurat intently both in photographs and in the writings of Signac. In fact, the carefully articulated and mediated relations of the figures and the almost caustic contrast of provocative nudity and clothed restraint in *Modern Bohemia* might even be said to recall the formal characterization, humor, and social symbolism of Seurat. Kirchner also frequently voiced his admiration for the spiritual force of the modern Swiss artists Böcklin, Hodler, Klee, and Segantini.⁷⁷

By this time, Kirchner was largely distanced from, and bitterly scornful of, most of his earlier Brücke colleagues. In 1919, for instance, he wrote that he never wanted to see Heckel again.⁷⁸ He was skeptical of the others' attempts at meeting him after ignoring him for years; he was disappointed with most of their contemporary works; and he was bitter that critics had always pigeonholed him with the Brücke and failed to recognize his own contribution. If he had long since lost the desire to subordinate himself to that particular group, however, he seems to have remained devoted to what it had represented. In 1925, for instance, he expressed anger at the art historian Carl Einstein's harshly critical assessment of the Brücke, even though Einstein had warmly and perceptively endorsed his own art.⁷⁹ He also paid tribute to the Brücke in published statements, letters, and a group portrait of 1926–27. *An Artist's Group: Otto Mueller, Kirchner, Heckel, Schmidt-Rottluff* (Cologne, Museum Ludwig)⁸⁰ shows the artists as they might have appeared in the 1920s, in proper jackets and suits that even bohemians could sport, but in a meeting that did not take place. These modern bohemians, rendered in the cool hues and geometries of Kirchner's later constructive style, correspond less to the revolutionary youth of the Brücke's early history than to Kirchner's new utopian ideal of artists producing work that could be integrated into postwar society.

Kirchner championed similar ideals in his participation in collaborative undertakings⁸¹ and artists' groups. In this, he was undoubtedly influenced by his contact with Henry van de Velde and such younger artists as Paul Camenisch, Albert Müller, Hermann Scherer, and Hans Schieß, and by their shared concern about the new forms and role postwar art could take. In the 1925 essay on his own sculpture written under the pseudonym of Louis de Marsalle, for instance, Kirchner suggested that his commemorative sculpture of his two recently deceased friends Müller and Scherer, *The Two Friends* (1924–25; Basel, Kunstmuseum) would have a spiritually restorative effect if placed in a "modern place of meeting." "Kirchner," he wrote, "is one of the very few contemporary artists who is gifted enough to create new forms and a new style. But his works also have a spiritual message. That is their specifically German quality."⁸²

Kirchner remained aware of the output of his contemporaries and insistent that his own art be seen at the leading edge of the postwar wave. In diary entries of the mid-1920s, for instance, he clearly indicated that he felt his new textile style, with its fresh articulation and liberation of planes, bright colors, and basis in folk weaving, stood on par both with the new constructive tendencies of the

Bauhaus, Kandinsky, and Klee and with the contemporary abstraction of Picasso that often directly inspired him. Kirchner said he felt closest in spirit to Kandinsky, although he himself had no interest in nonobjectivity, and considered the Bauhaus—a direct outgrowth not only of van de Velde's *Kunstgewerbeschule* and teachings in Weimar, but also of Blauer Reiter and Brücke Expressionism—one of the greatest sources of promise in Germany.⁸³

Buoyed by the great popular success he and Expressionism had come to enjoy in Germany, Kirchner devoted considerable time to the documentation, revision, preservation, and furtherance of his reputation. Acutely concerned—even paranoid—about his place in the history of modern art, and acutely angered by accounts of the Brücke that did not seem to give him the preeminence he felt he deserved, he worked hard to present his own image of himself and the Brücke's activities. As Gordon has persuasively demonstrated, he substantially altered a large number of paintings, such as *Bathers in a Room* and most of his representations of nudes from the earliest Dresden years, to assert that he had arrived at a firmer, flatter, and more decisive style at an earlier stage. He also changed many of the dates of his paintings, some out of honest forgetfulness, but many out of an effort to make them seem to have been executed much earlier than they really were. Above all, he wanted to suggest that his early works were done earlier than the radical works of Matisse that had so strongly influenced him.⁸⁴

Kirchner wanted to be seen as formally innovative and avant-garde—a prerogative he and many others feared would always be attributed exclusively to the French—but he simultaneously sought to stress his thoroughly individual, yet also fully German and traditional, orientation. In the 1923 history of the Brücke in his Davos diary, for instance, he insisted that the Brücke artists were inspired more by the older Germanic artists, and by those from before the 10th century, than by any other source.⁸⁵ In that history, as in many of his earlier writings on the Brücke, he made no mention of modern influences. In contemporary diary entries and letters, he regularly repeated—but also questioned— clichés about Germans as artists of the spirit, and French as masters of form,⁸⁶ and argued that he combined both strengths. His adoption of the French pseudonym de Marsalle, too, seems to have been prompted by the assumption that the formal strengths and independence of his art would go unappreciated unless recognized and admired by a Frenchman.⁸⁷

Kirchner saw that his art had become successful in the market of modernism, and felt compelled to carve out a place for himself. He was not a simple, world-shunning dreamer, but a sophisticated, intelligent, and anxiously self-interested modern bent to create and sustain his own legends.⁸⁸ Even as he wrote that he sought to keep his history of the Brücke objective by mentioning himself as little as possible, he urged the reader to consult the authoritative accounts of de Marsalle.⁸⁹

Moreover, the simple life of the Brücke described in his history of 1923 is

much too simple. Kirchner acts as if the Brücke artists were merely productive, inventive, and innocent young men in love, inspired by little more than nature and the nude in free motion. He acts as if they knew nothing of the provocation of modern art; as if the irony, sharpness, flaunting, and swagger that permeates their works were not there; as if their life were as simple as the Swiss mountain life he was then trying to portray as his own. Yet he warned the reader not to forget the Brücke too hastily. The forty-three-year-old noted that artists produced their really important art only with the attainment of maturity at forty. In comparison, the earlier Brücke art was no more or less than an outlet for youthful sensuality.⁹⁰

IX

Soon after he resumed work in Switzerland in 1919, Kirchner wrote van de Velde that his "periods of the circus, cocotte, and society were past." He felt he had worked through those subjects thoroughly in Berlin, and that his new concerns were in Switzerland. Unlike the more worldly van de Velde, Kirchner said, he was a one-sided artist chiefly interested in the discovery of new forms with which to present inner experiences.⁹¹

Aside from his bohemian preferences for unusual dress, colorfully patterned and handcrafted surroundings, and life on the edge of the bourgeois world, Kirchner also retained his central prewar practices of depicting both freely posed nudes and himself and his milieu. He newly concerned himself with the simple life of the Swiss peasants and the mountainscapes around him, and with the vast project of carving, painting, and acquiring woven and embroidered decorations for his own quarters finally perfected in the peasant's home represented in *Modern Bohemia*.

As if immediately reflecting the greater ease and comfort of his new life and surroundings, his art acquired much warmer hues, fuller decorative amplitude, and a deliberately folklike simplicity. As Joseph Masheck has perceptively observed, the concertedly rustic and handcrafted appearance both of the patterns and the "woven" execution of such works as *Modern Bohemia* is part and parcel of a larger postwar tendency to return to a rustic "passionate naturalness."⁹² Like the freely spreading and broadly rendered patterns of the folk art, flowers, and window-lattices beside them, the designs of the Caucasian carpets are deliberately much cruder, more primitive, and more sensuously evocative than the originals in Kirchner's collection that inspired them.

As Gordon has observed, "for all of its compact order and sensuous appeal, *Modern Bohemia* . . . replaces the radical strivings of an earlier, emotionally intense and classless generation of artists with the dispassionate intellect of a more critical and less illusioned milieu."⁹³ The more ardent, energetic, caustic, and aggressively simple life of Kirchner's young Dresden and Berlin bohemia was

much more provocatively and loudly presented. The more protected, contented, and willfully less erotic milieu of his simple life in Switzerland is more quietly rendered in the more sociable forms of an ordered mountain rusticity.

As Seigel has noted, by 1922, amid centenary celebrations of Henri Murger's birth in Paris, many artists and writers of the next generation readily and unequivocally declared that bohemia was dead.⁹⁴ To them, many of whom were disgusted with the idea of the avant-garde as well, the interests and preoccupations of bohemia seemed both frivolous and totally remote from reality.

Kirchner's "less illusioned" 1924 representation of his Swiss bohemia was nowhere as critical, questioning, or fantastic as Sternheim's treatment of the artist's simple life in the inflammatory, wartime *Ulrike*. Nor was Kirchner ever as socially, politically, or personally critical.⁹⁵ Though he saw himself as an artist of inner experiences and sexuality, his art rarely dealt with those more mundane, troubling, and real confrontations of life and sexuality recorded in his letters and diaries. The man who took drugs, wrapped himself in his Caucasians, mused angrily about his fellow artists and critics, and spent as much time working on his reception as on his art itself,⁹⁶ was never painted nakedly in his art. Kirchner and the Expressionists did use their raw art and nakedness as a form of social protest, but that protest was more often ironic, eccentric, and pungent than truly radical or anarchistic. Even his most emphatically "modern" themes of the city life and prostitutes of Dresden and Berlin were similarly viewed through the eyes, and colored glasses, of the bohemian.

Kirchner's modernity lies less in its accurate view of modern life than in its revelation of his thoroughly individual, modern self-awareness and subjectivity. In that, he plainly recognized both the strengths and the limitations of bohemia. In the prewar period, the Brücke's revolutionary fervor had been directed toward the liberation of immediate and authentic expression and toward the creation of a new and youthful culture. That revolution, the success of modernism and its message, had been extensive, and inspired many of the more radical movements that had since come into being. With the war's end, as revolutionary ideals had become more realizable, threatened, and real, art seemed to demand nothing short of active political engagement or a totally new language.

Kirchner adopted his postwar bohemian life much more out of desire than by necessity, and chose to represent his bohemia, whether the early history of the Brücke or his current life in Switzerland, as much more simple and idyllic than it actually was. Bohemia had provided a space, time, and field in which to explore inner sensation, and it was in its representation that he sought to continue to give those sensations form.

Since the war, Kirchner had increasingly introduced humor, mellow sensuousness, and greater personal distance as he realized a more spiritual or mystical view. As Botho Graef had already noted in 1917: "He does not view the world tragically and passionately, but he does not see it coolly and objectively, either. He views the whole world as his own kind, I would like to say in a friendly way,

and then perhaps lovingly, although then I would have to make further restrictions. . . . His stance shows neither selection nor prejudice, not because he lacks the ability to make value judgments, but because of the richness of his ability to empathize with and enter into the spirit of a thing. Just as for the mystic God is present in the smallest and most despised objects, there is nothing with which this mystic citizen of the world cannot unite himself. Behold, I teach you the sense of the earth, reads Zarathustra: that is what Kirchner paints.'⁹⁷

Kirchner felt that his complex welding of abstract pattern and color inspired by folk weaving, Caucasian carpets, Seurat, Gauguin, and Matisse helped him realize a more abstract, musical, and spiritual art. "Everything is plane," he wrote:

In this plane, the spiritual values of color speak purely. . . . Color and form interlock and work harmoniously together. Amid this richness, simplicity, order, and clarity generate a new beauty that is capable of conveying all the forms and feelings of present-day life. Because these pictures are made with blood and nerves, not from a coldly calculating intellect, they speak directly and suggestively. They give the impression that the painter is piling many forms of an experience on top of one another. In all this quiet is a hot, passionate struggle to make things perceptible.

Kirchner felt that in Switzerland he was

involved with such totally new problems that one cannot measure him with the old standards if one wants to be faithful to his work. Those who would like to pigeonhole him with his German pictures will be disappointed; they will still find surprises in him. Instead of destroying him, his difficult sickness has ripened him. In addition to his work from the visible world, the realm of creation from pure fantasy has now opened to him, for which the short span of his life will hardly begin to suffice.⁹⁸

For his new Swiss works, Kirchner's modern bohemia and simple mountain life remained the richest sources of inspiration. His 1924 *Modern Bohemia* no longer depicts a bridge to a new culture, but a last refuge of a fully modern, fantasizing, idiosyncratic, and ambivalent subjectivity.

Notes

- 1 On the modern bohemian tendencies, see M. R. Brown, *Gypsies and Other Bohemians: The Myth of the Artist in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ann Arbor, 1985), pp. 93-100; H. Kreuzer, *Die Boheme: Beiträge zu ihrer Beschreibung* (Stuttgart, 1968); and J. Seigel, *Bohemian Paris: Culture, Politics, and the Boundaries of Bourgeois Life, 1830-1930*. On the social and political background of modern artists, see D. D. Egbert, *Social Radicalism and the Arts* (New York, 1970), and T. Shapiro, *Painters and Politics: The European Avant-Garde and Society, 1900-1925* (New York, 1976).
- 2 On the history of the early Brücke, see *Brücke. 1905-1913: Eine Künstlergemeinschaft des Expressionismus*, exh. cat. (Essen, 1958); D. E. Gordon, *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner* (Cambridge, 1968);

- idem; *Expressionism: Art and Idea* (New Haven, 1987), pp. 14–15, 29–31; idem, “Kirchner in Dresden,” *The Art Bulletin* 48 (1966), 335–66; G.-W. Koltzsch, “Begriff und Programm der ‘Brücke,’” in *Künstler der Brücke*, exh. cat. (Saarbrücken, 1980), pp. 205–45; L. Reidemeister, *Künstlergruppe Brücke: Fragment eines Stammbuches* (Berlin, 1975); G. Reinhardt, “Die frühe ‘Brücke,’” *Brücke-Archiv* 9/10 (1977–78); E. Roters, “Beiträge zur Geschichte der Künstlergruppe ‘Brücke’ in den Jahren 1905–1907,” *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 2 (1960): 172–210; H. Wentzel, “Zu den frühen Werken der ‘Brücke’-Künstler,” *Brücke-Archiv* 1 (1967): 4–18. “Gordon, cat. no.” will refer to the number of Kirchner paintings in the catalogue raisonné of Gordon’s *Kirchner*.
- 3 On Kirchner, see also H. Bolliger, “Lebensdaten” and “Bibliographie,” in R. N. Ketterer, ed., *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner: Zeichnungen und Pastelle* (Stuttgart, 1979), pp. 233–307; A. and W.-D. Dube, *E. L. Kirchner: Das graphische Werk*, 2 vols. (2d ed., Munich, 1980); *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner 1880–1938*, exh. cat. (Berlin, Munich, Cologne, Zurich, 1979–80); and K. Gabler, *E. L. Kirchner: Dokumente* (Aschaffenburg, 1980). “Dube, cat. no.” will refer to the numbers of Kirchner’s graphics in the catalogues of Dube, *Das graphische Werk*.
 - 4 Cf., for instance, the somewhat flippant and provocative image of bohemia, with a naked, chicken-chomping wife and fully clothed, pipe-smoking husband, in Roger de La Fresnaye’s *The Married Life* (1913), Cleveland Museum of Art.
 - 5 On Kirchner’s sculpture, see S. Barron, *German Expressionist Sculpture* (Chicago, 1984), pp. 13–28, 43–46, 113–29.
 - 6 This seems born out by contemporary photos of both Schilling and Müller; see, for instance, Gabler, *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner: Dokumente*, pp. 245, 255. The same identifications are made in a related drawing in Ketterer, *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner: Zeichnungen und Pastelle*, no. 79. The discussion of *Modern Bohemia* in E. W. Kornfeld, *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner: Nachzeichnung seines Lebens* (Berne, 1979), p. 219, on the other hand, identifies the nude as Schilling, the seated figure on the right as the art historian, Will Grohmann, and the standing woman in white as Frau Grohmann.
 - 7 On Kirchner’s many references to oriental carpets during these years, see E. L. Kirchner, *Briefe an Nele und Henry van de Velde* (Munich, 1961), p. 29; L. Grisebach, ed., *E. L. Kirchners Davoser Tagebuch* (Cologne, 1968); J. Masheck, “The Carpet Paradigm: Critical Prolegomena to a Theory of Flatness,” *Arts* 51 (1976): 82–109; and idem, “Raw Art: ‘Primitive Authenticity’ and German Expressionism,” *Res* 4 (1982): 92–117.
 - 8 Kirchner, *Davoser Tagebuch*, 43 (5 July 1919).
 - 9 The painting was probably revised and retitled sometime after its 1926 publication in Will Grohmann’s monograph on Kirchner. On the different versions, see the discussion by Koltzsch in the Saarbrücken catalogue, *Künstler der Brücke*, pp. 76, 221–30, 238–39.
 - 10 Seigel, *Bohemian Paris*, p. 11.
 - 11 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
 - 12 Reprinted in T. Anz and M. Stark, *Expressionismus: Manifeste und Dokumente zur deutschen Literatur. 1910–1920* (Stuttgart, 1982), pp. 390–94.
 - 13 On these tendencies, see also C. Hepp, *Avantgarde: Moderne Kunst, Kulturkritik und Reformbewegungen nach der Jahrhundertwende* (Munich, 1987); R. Hamann and J. Hermand, *Expressionismus* (Munich, 1976); M. Jacobs, *The Good and Simple Life: Artist Colonies in Europe and America* (Oxford, 1985); U. Linse, *Zurück, o Mensch, zur Mutter Erde: Landkommunen in Deutschland 1890–1930* (Munich, 1983); G. Wietek, *Deutsche Künstlerkolonien und Künstlerorte* (Munich, 1976).
 - 14 For a list of the books in Kirchner’s library, see the appendix in Gabler, *E. L. Kirchner: Dokumente*, pp. 353–61. On Kirchner’s illustrations to the *Arabian Nights* in the group’s first album, see Reidemeister, *Künstlergruppe Brücke: Fragment eines Stammbuches*.
 - 15 Discussed in Seigel, *Bohemian Paris*, pp. 97–124.
 - 16 D. E. Gordon, “German Expressionism,” in “Primitivism” in *20th-Century Art*, 2, exh. cat. (New York, 1984), p. 371, notes the difference of this title from the more folkish one of *Künstlergemeinschaft Brücke* once mistakenly attributed to the group by L.-G. Buchheim.
 - 17 Emil Nolde, Max Pechstein, the Swiss artist Cuno Amiet, and the Finnish artist Akseli Gallen-Kallela would join them by 1906, and Franz Nölken, Otto Mueller, the Dutch Kees van Dongen, and the Czech Bohumil Kubista over the following years. Among the many artists who exhibited with them the first year was Wassily Kandinsky; among the artists who were apparently asked to join but declined were Henri Matisse and Edvard Munch. M. Beckmann-Tube, “Erinnerungen

- an Max Beckmann," in *Max Beckmann: Frühe Tagebücher* (Munich, 1985), p. 174, noted that the artists also tried to win Beckmann to their group.
- 18 Schmidt-Rottluff, letter inviting Emil Nolde to join the group (Jan. 1906), quoted in Reinhardt, "Die frühe Brücke," p. 40.
 - 19 "Mit dem Glauben an Entwicklung, an eine neue Generation der Schaffenden wie der Genießenden rufen wir alle Jugend zusammen und als Jugend, die Zukunft trägt, wollen wir uns Arm- und Lebensfreiheit verschaffen gegenüber den wohlangesessenen älteren Kräften. Jeder gehört zu uns: der unmittelbar und unverfälscht das wiedergibt, was ihn zum Schaffen drängt."
 - 20 On the early criticism see Költzsch, "Begriff und Programm," pp. 210-14; L. Reidemeister, "Die 'Brücke' im Spiegel der Zeitschriftenkritik," *Brücke-Archiv* 1 (1967): 41-53; Roters, "Beiträge," pp. 196-210.
 - 21 On the background of anarchism, see Egbert, *Social Radicalism and the Arts*, pp. 43-46, 212-26, 583-600, 610-16, 621-22; J. Joll, *The Anarchists* (New York, 1964), pp. 140-41; Kreuzer, *Die Boheme*, pp. 301-26; U. Linse, *Organisierter Anarchismus im Deutschen Kaiserreich von 1871* (Berlin, 1969); Shapiro, *Painters and Politics*, pp. 19-41.
 - 22 See R. L. and E. W. Herbert, "Artists and Anarchism: Unpublished Letters of Pissarro, Signac, and Others I," *Burlington* 102 (1960): 473-82.
 - 23 H. Ball, "Die junge Literatur in Deutschland" (1915), rpt. in Anz and Stark, *Expressionismus*, pp. 397-98.
 - 24 He would have seen the show of Neo-Impressionism organized by Kandinsky and the Munich Phalanx group for Dec. 1903-Jan. 1904.
 - 25 "A Letter from Ernst Ludwig Kirchner," *The Minneapolis Institute of Arts Bulletin* 42 (1953): 37-38.
 - 26 See J. Campbell, "Social Idealism and Cultural Reform in the German Arts and Crafts, 1900-1914" and N. G. Parris, "Van de Velde, Obrist, Hoelzel: The Development of the Basic Course," in G. Chapple and H. H. Schulte, *The Turn of the Century: German Literature and Art, 1890-1915* (Bonn, 1981), pp. 311-25, 327-46; H. Obrist, "Die Lehr- und Versuch-Ateliers für Angewandte und Freie Kunst," and "Die erste öffentliche Ausstellung der Lehr- und Versuch-Ateliers," *Dekorative Kunst* 7 (1904): 228-37; F. Schumacher, "Aus der Vorgeschichte der 'Brücke'," *Der Kreis* 9 (1932): 7-11.
 - 27 In a letter to B. Graef (21 Sept. 1916), for instance, Kirchner mentioned only: "War auch bei Debschitz und einem anderen, dessen Namen ich vergessen habe." See L. Grisebach, ed., *Maler des Expressionismus im Briefwechsel mit Eberhard Grisebach* (Hamburg, 1962), p. 53.
 - 28 Listed in *Brücke*, p. 18.
 - 29 The large number of women members and of members from Hamburg in particular seems to have been due chiefly to the efforts of Rosa Schapire. See G. Wietek, "Dr. phil. Rosa Schapire," *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen* 9 (1964): 114-60.
 - 30 See the messages, illustrations, and commentary in A. Dube-Heynig, *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner: Postkarten und Briefe an Erich Heckel im Altonaer Museum in Hamburg* (Cologne, 1984).
 - 31 *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 80, 124, 143, 161, 201.
 - 32 *Ibid.*, p. 124.
 - 33 *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 111, 45, 45, 49.
 - 34 *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 37.
 - 35 *Ibid.*, pp. 242.
 - 36 *Ibid.*, pp. 238, 242-43.
 - 37 Dube, woodcut cat. nos. 103-8, 40-48.
 - 38 On the Western romantic construction of the harem, see M. R. Brown, "The Harem Dehistoricized: Ingres' *Turkish Bath*," *Arts* 61 (1987): 58-68. On the 20th-century avant-garde construction of female nakedness, see C. Duncan, "Virility and Domination of Early Twentieth-Century Vanguard Painting," in N. Broude and M. D. Garrard, eds., *Feminism and Art History: Questioning the Litany* (New York, 1982), pp. 293-313.
 - 39 *Dancing School* (1914), Munich, Bavarian State Painting Collections; Gordon, cat. no. 388.
 - 40 Gordon, *Expressionism*, pp. 29-31.
 - 41 See I. Bloch, *Sexual Life of Our Time*, 2 vols. (New York, 1925), pp. 68-86, and P. Gay, *Education of the Senses: The Bourgeois Experience. Victoria to Freud* (New York, 1984), pp. 133-34, 144-45, 165-66.
 - 42 Kirchner, "Die Arbeit E. L. Kirchners," quoted in *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner 1880-1938*, p. 60.

- 43 See, for instance, *Davoser Tagebuch*, pp. 43, 53.
- 44 *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 55.
- 45 Grisebach, introduction; *ibid.*, p. 20.
- 46 This was originally written for Paul Westheim's *Das Kunstblatt* but survives only in the *Davoser Tagebuch*, pp. 77–78 (6 March 1923).
- 47 Cf., for instance, the related, albeit cruder, postwar emphasis on sexy, unspoiled primitivism in Wilhelm Hausenstein's closely contemporary *Barbaren und Klassiker: ein Buch von der Bildnerlei exotischer Völker*, a book owned by Kirchner: "Only lust is the bridge between maker and object. The root of the shaping hands thrusts itself down into the loins of figures who squat and kneel. . . . Lust turned into art—that is creative power." Quoted and discussed in Masheck, "Raw Art," p. 115.
- 48 "Seine Bude war die eines ausgesprochenen Bohémiens, voll von überall bunt herumliegenden Bildern, Zeichnungen, Büchern, Mal- und Zeichengerät, weit mehr eines Malers romantische Behausung als das Heim eines ordentlichen Architekturstudenten." F. Bleyl, "Erinnerungen" (1968), quoted in Reinhardt, "Die frühe 'Brücke,'" p. 19.
- 49 *Briefe an Nele*, p. 5.
- 50 See the extensive discussions and photos of Kirchner's sculpture and decorated studio in Barron, *German Expressionist Sculpture*, and E. Billeter, "Ernst Ludwig Kirchner: Kunst als Lebensentwurf," in *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner 1880–1938*, pp. 16–25.
- 51 On the Palau structures and their relation to the influences of Gauguin and other moderns, see especially Dube-Heynig, *Postkarten an Heckel*, pp. 143, 255; L. D. Ettlinger, "German Expressionism and Primitive Art," *Burlington* 110 (1968): 192–99; Gordon, "German Expressionism," pp. 373–74; B. Martensen-Larsen, "Primitive Kunst als Inspirationsquelle der 'Brücke'," *Hafnia* 7 (1980): 92–98; and M. Schneckenburger, "Bemerkungen zur 'Brücke' und zur 'primitiven' Kunst," in *Weltkulturen und moderne Kunst*, exh. cat. (Munich, 1972), pp. 456–79.
- 52 G. Koch, *Südsee: Führer durch die Ausstellung der Abteilung Südsee* (Berlin, 1976), pp. 100–105.
- 53 See P. Peltier, "From Oceania," in "Primitivism" in 20th-Century Art 1: 99–109.
- 54 M. Pechstein, "Erinnerungen" (1960), quoted in L. Reidemeister, *Künstler der Brücke an den Moritzburger Seen 1909–1911*, exh. cat. (Berlin, 1970), pp. 8–14.
- 55 Gordon, *Expressionism*, pp. 30–32.
- 56 Cf., for instance, *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner 1880–1938*, cat. no. 59.
- 57 On their practice, see especially Dube-Heynig, *Postkarten an Heckel*, pp. 64, 82, 89, 93, 149, 228–32, 238–43, 250–56, and passim; Z. Felix, ed., *Erich Heckel 1883–1970*, exh. cat. (Berlin, Essen, 1983); Költzsch, "Begriff und Programm," pp. 221–30; Reidemeister, *Künstler der Brücke an den Moritzburger Seen*.
- 58 Gordon, cat. no. 145.
- 59 Cf., for instance, the closely related images by Pechstein and Kirchner illustrated in Reidemeister, *Künstler der Brücke an den Moritzburger Seen*, cat. nos. 35–36.
- 60 G. Wildenstein, *Gauguin 1* (Paris, 1964), cat. no. 557. This would have been well-known in Germany following its 1905 exhibition in Weimar and illustration in *Noa-Noa*, and subsequently in *Kunst und Künstler*, the following year.
- 61 On the influence of Gauguin, see Ettlinger, "German Expressionism and Primitive Art," p. 195–99 and Gordon, "Kirchner in Dresden," pp. 355–56.
- 62 The exhibition, held from July to September in the Großherzogliches Museum am Karlsplatz, including several works from the collections of G. Fayet and D. de Monfreid, the latter an acquaintance of Kessler. It included such major works as *The Dream* and the large frieze, *Where Do We Come From? Who Are We? Where Are We Going?*, cat. nos. 557 and 561 in Wildenstein, Gauguin. I am grateful to Deborah Goodman, Research Assistant at The Art Institute of Chicago, and to R. Krauß and M. Franke of the Kunstsammlungen zu Weimar for a list of the works shown.
- 63 Numerous illustrated excerpts of *Noa-Noa* appeared in *Kunst und Künstler* in 1907; cf. 6:2, 78–81; 6:3, 125–27; 6:4, 160.
- 64 Cf. Gordon, cat. no. 105, and Dube, woodcut cat. no. 715.
- 65 As has often been noted, in the other variation on this figure in the well-known *Brücke* poster of 1910 (Dube, woodcut cat. no. 715), the "doll's" placement at the naked Fränzi's pubes and sharing of the teenager's skin color seem deliberately evocative of a fetus or earlier primal state.
- 66 On Gauguin's primitivism, see K. Varnedoe, "Gauguin," "Primitivism" in 20th-Century Art 1: 179–209.

- 67 See, for instance, Kirchner's "Chronik der Künstlergruppe 'Brücke'" (1913), rpt. in *Brücke*, pp. 28–29. On the increasing presentation of Expressionism as an essentially German phenomenon, see M. Werenskiold, *The Concept of Expressionism: Origin and Metamorphoses* (Oslo, 1984), pp. 35–62.
- 68 On this portrait and series, see *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner 1880–1938*, pp. 70–78, cat. nos. 231, 233, 236; G. Gercken, *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner: Holzschnittzyklen* (Stuttgart, 1980); Gordon, *Expressionism*, pp. 54–55; idem., *Kirchner*, pp. 101–2; J. Masheck, "The Horror of Bearing Arms: Kirchner's *Self-Portrait as a Soldier*, the Military Mystique and the Crisis of World War I (with a Slip-of-the-Pen by Freud)," *Artforum* 19 (1980): 56–61; G. Reinhardt, "Im Angesicht des Spiegelbildes: Anmerkungen zu Selbstbildnis-Zeichnungen Ernst Ludwig Kirchners," *Brücke-Archiv* 11 (1979–80): 23–32.
- 69 Gordon, *Expressionism*, pp. 54–55.
- 70 On *Ulrike*, see *Carl Sternheim Gesamtwerk*, vol. 4 (Neuwied am Rhein, 1964), pp. 141–59, 429–33, R. W. Williams, "Primitivism in the Works of Carl Einstein, Carl Sternheim and Gottfried Benn," *Journal of European Studies* 13 (1983): 247–67, and Jost Hermand, "Artificial Atavism: German Expressionism and Blacks," in *Blacks and German Culture*, ed. Reinhold Grimm and Jost Hermand (Madison and London, 1986), pp. 65–86.
- 71 See *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner 1880–1938*, pp. 78–97; Kirchner's letters to Nele and Henry van de Velde in *Briefe an Nele*; the diary entries, letters, and essays in the *Davoser Tagebuch*; K. Gabler, "E. L. Kirchners Doppelrelief: Tanz zwischen den Frauen—Alpaufzug. Bemerkungen zu einem Hauptwerk expressionistischer Plastik," *Brücke-Archiv* 11 (1979–80): 3–12; Gordon, *Kirchner*, pp. 107–32; and the extensive correspondence of Kirchner and his friends in Grisebach, *Maler des Expressionismus*, pp. 52–150.
- 72 Letter to Henry van de Velde; *Briefe an Nele*, p. 93 (13 Oct. 1918).
- 73 See, for instance, *Briefe an Nele*, pp. 7, 13, 14, 20f., 81.
- 74 For his many references to weaving, embroidery, and his Caucasian rugs, see *Davoser Tagebuch*, pp. 43, 49, 50, 55, 57, and *Briefe an Nele*, pp. 17, 29, 56–57, 82.
- 75 See especially *Briefe an Nele*, pp. 25f., 30f., 74, 78, 83, 94.
- 76 *Ibid.*, p. 31 (29 Nov. 1920).
- 77 *Ibid.*, pp. 85, 87f., 94, and *Davoser Tagebuch*, pp. 73, 155.
- 78 *Davoser Tagebuch*, p. 46 (11 July 1919).
- 79 *Ibid.*, p. 99 (27 Oct. 1925).
- 80 Gordon, cat. no. 855.
- 81 Three of his major projects, the settlement at Uttwil and decorations for the Krölller-Müller Museum in Otterlo planned with van de Velde, and the decoration of the Folkwang Museum in Essen, were never executed. In or near his homes in Switzerland, he executed decorations for a local jail, church, and theater.
- 82 Louis de Marsalle, "Über die plastischen Arbeiten von E. L. Kirchner," *Davoser Tagebuch*, pp. 218–21; English trans. by P. W. Guenther in Barron, *German Expressionist Sculpture*, p. 43f.
- 83 See *Davoser Tagebuch*, pp. 73, 80, 93–95, 136, 177.
- 84 See especially Gordon, "Kirchner in Dresden," pp. 335–37, 348f., and passim, and idem, *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner*, p. 28.
- 85 *Davoser Tagebuch*, p. 73.
- 86 See, for instance, *ibid.*, p. 178.
- 87 See, for instance, the letter to G. Schiefner (9 Jan. 1923), *ibid.*, p. 198.
- 88 On Kirchner's place within modern art and creation of his own legend, see F. Whitford, "Kirchner und das Kunsturteil," in *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner 1880–1938*, pp. 38–45.
- 89 Kirchner, *Davoser Tagebuch*, p. 76.
- 90 *Ibid.*, p. 73.
- 91 Letter to van de Velde; *Briefe an Nele*, pp. 99f. (5 July 1919).
- 92 Masheck, "Raw Art," p. 115. Masheck compares this, for instance, to the idiosyncratic rusticity of Walter Gropius and Adolf Meyer's 1921 Haus Sommerfeld near Berlin.
- 93 Gordon, *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner*, p. 128.
- 94 Seigel, *Bohemian Paris*, p. 367.
- 95 See, for instance, the questions raised in D. E. Gordon, "Ernst Ludwig Kirchner: By Instinct Possessed," *Art in America* 68 (1980): 81–95.
- 96 Whitford, p. 38.

- 97 B. Graef, "Über die Arbeit von E. L. Kirchner," quoted in *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner 1880-1938*, pp. 78f.
- 98 Louis de Marsalle, "Über die Schweizer Arbeiten von E. L. Kirchner" (1922), in *Davoser Tagebuch*, p. 195f.

Böll's Utopia: Great Refusal, Small Pleasures

JOCHEN VOGT

Peter Braun zum 60. Geburtstag

“Man sollte sie in den Lesebüchern unserer Kinder verewigen, die Unzähligen, die sich des ehrenwerten Delikts der Befehlsverweigerung schuldig gemacht haben . . .”

Böll, *Frankfurter Vorlesungen*, 1964

The importance of Heinrich Böll's work has become even clearer since his death than it had been before. His novels and stories, his speeches, essays, and reviews represent an unbroken and unique commentary, both narrative and critical, to postwar West German history. He made it possible for his own generation to articulate its collective experiences of war and the ruins the war had left behind. For the younger generation (and for that generation's children) he spelled out a critical perspective on society and the state, in his late years, with an unparalleled authority and a mature radicalism. Above all, in the middle period of his work, he decisively shaped our critical perceptions of West German society, dominated as it was by the so-called economic miracle and by rearmament. We may, without exaggeration, regard him as a “representative figure of the postwar period” and as providing, at least in the world of ideas, a counterfigure to Konrad Adenauer.¹

Böll's themes, therefore, repeatedly return to a direct criticism of the socially dominant values and ways of life of his time. He portrays contemporary life in complication and conflict, rather than in simplicity and at rest. However, I shall concentrate on this alternative model, and establish the idea of the “simple life,” or, rather, its elaboration in literary form in Böll's work. Hence I propose to look, especially in his fiction, for models, wishful images, and dreams of a personal way of life for the individual in society, a way of life which rejects the ever-increasing pressures of a consumer society under late capitalism, an alternative, self-determining, and meaningful life—in short, a life without alienation. My search will be not exactly for the true life within the false one, but—somewhat in Adorno's sense—for images and figures of the simple life in the literature of an affluent society.

In order to prevent the search for the simple life from becoming too complicated, I intend to examine the one character of Böll's who most impressively incorporates such an alternative way of life. We recall her credentials: Leni Gruyten, five foot six, no fixed employment, mother of one son, who is registered as illegitimate under the non-German-sounding name of Lev. He is, for the time being, in the fair City of Cologne—where we suspect Leni also lives—inhabiting

against his will a building which enjoys the name of *Klingelpütz*. Leni, in short, is the passive but, nonetheless, fascinating heroine of Böll's most ambitious and accomplished novel, *Gruppenbild mit Dame*, first published in 1972. By his own admission, the author put "the whole burden" of German history "from 1922 to 1970" onto the shapely shoulders of this "woman in her late forties." It is not this fact, however, which interests us here, important though it is for Böll's personal concept of historical narration;² we are more indiscreet and interested in Leni's private, not to say intimate, behavior: her way of life in the years after 1968, which form the narrative present of the novel.

On the very first page, we learn that Leni has given up her job, "for no good reason and without being sufficiently sick or old" (11/11).^{*} She lives on her war widow's pension and from the very modest profit she makes letting out rooms in her spacious old flat. She dresses in the fashions of 1942, still wears her old skirts, jackets, and blouses; nor must we forget to mention a 'once' wine-red terry-cloth bath-robe, long since faded and much mended. "When the time comes," she would like to be buried in it (29/28). She never goes to the hairdresser, never to a supermarket; and only after closedown, when the national anthem has died away, does she use her TV to exchange strangely intimate glances and conversation with no less a person than the Virgin Mary.

We cannot argue that it is Leni's strained circumstances—her poverty—that make her do without the blandishments of consumerism, the wide range of goods and services. The opposite is true. She refuses to participate in "the processes of that strange phenomenon known as the labor process" (11/11) because she has no interest in increasing her income and is, rather untypically, emancipated from these blandishments—or pressures—in a fashion which her society finds surprising and even threatening; in short, she resists out of a sense of freedom. Society expresses its irritation at this through Leni's cousins, Kurt and Werner, the building speculators who hope to evict Leni from the family flat. If we believe their account, that gentle person has not only messed up their questionable business deals, but she has rocked the value system of modern society to its foundations. "Aunt Leni," says the narrator, "he [Werner] regarded as being reactionary in the truest sense of the word; it was inhuman *oder, um ein deutsches Wort zu gebrauchen, unmenschlich*, one might even say monstrous, the way she instinctively, stubbornly, inarticulately, but consistently refused—not only rejected, that presupposed articulation—every manifestation of the profit motive . . . She emitted destruction and self-destruction." (345/336)

In actual fact, as we shall see, Leni operates, quite without meaning to, as a sort of multiplier of alternative ways of life. Above all, she has bequeathed her sense of values to her son, Lev. Toward the end of the novel, we see him accomplish incredible feats of underachievement, *Spitzenleistungen der Lei-*

^{*}For convenience, page numbers are given in double form: first, in the readily available English translation by Leila Vennewitz (Harmondsworth, 1976), then, in the German standard edition (*Werke: Romane und Erzählungen 5*; Cologne, 1977).

stungsverweigerung . . . He systematically sabotages the brilliant career offered to him in the city's garbage-disposal hierarchy. As a time-and-motion-man specializing in nonactivity, he devotes his "intelligence" and "organizational talent" to the sole purpose of producing longer and longer work pauses for his multinational cleaning squad. We may regard him as a living refutation of Gottfried Benn's famous definition of the simple life, which reads: *Dumm sein und Arbeit haben: das ist das Glück*.³ Lev's combination of intelligence and laziness lands him not only in jail but on the psychiatrist's couch. As the medical report says, Lev achieves "the required amount of work," but because he finishes his work more and more quickly, he does not place his work, time, and energy "entirely at the disposal of his employer." In other words, he makes his life simpler than it is supposed to be. This may be understandable, the report suggests, in the light of his early upbringing, but, objectively speaking, it amounts to a "significant damage to the economy as a whole" (380/370). Diagnosis: serious "deliberate underachievement," or *Leistungsverweigerung*—*Lvw.* (376/364), an abbreviation, by the way, that became rather popular in German academic circles in the early 1970s.

To return to Leni: It would be quite mistaken to see her, on the basis of her rejection of consumerism, as an ascetic person, opposed to enjoyment and pleasure. On the contrary, it is precisely her instinctive resistance to the pseudo-needs suggested by the consumer society, by advertising, by the media, and by convention that encourages her extraordinary and highly individual capacity for enjoyment. She loves equally sensual and spiritual pleasures, is able to integrate both naturally into her everyday life, and energetically sees to the satisfaction of her real needs. Describing these needs and pleasures, and going so far as to speak of *Leidenschaften*, the narrator lists "not only the eight daily cigarettes, a keen appetite (although kept within bounds), the playing of two piano pieces by Schubert, the rapt contemplation of illustrations of human organs . . .; not only the tender thoughts she devotes to her son Lev," but also that she "enjoys dancing" (23/23). To complete the list: Leni paints a huge pointillistic picture, a real *work in progress* if ever there was one, a true-to-life "cross-section of *one* layer of the retina" with its "six million cones and one hundred million tiny rods, and all this with the child's paint box that was left behind by her son" (40/48). And Leni also reads. In her *Jugendstil* bookcase, the narrator tracks down "seven or eight surprising titles: poetry by Brecht, Hölderlin and Trakl, two volumes of Kafka and Kleist stories, two volumes of Tolstoy"—a collection, in sum, which would have greatly got under the skin of old Georg Lukács even though it did not yet include—as the narrator suspects—Samuel Beckett's prose. These volumes "are so honourably dog-eared, in a manner most flattering to the authors, that they have been patched up over and over again, not very expertly with every conceivable kind of gum and gummed tape . . . Offers to be presented with new editions of the works of these authors . . . are rejected by Leni with a firmness that is nearly rude" (23/23).

All this may sound whimsical or even gossipy. But Leni's life-style must certainly not be understood as a "complete absence of needs" in the way once suggested by a somewhat naïve reader of the novel, Karin Struck. At the time, Böll rejoined that he considered Leni anything but "modest" in her needs; indeed, he said, he regarded her as "very immodest, precisely because she does not submit, but despite this lives pretty well—let's call it that. She has everything she needs."⁴ Böll's simple life is certainly a 'good life,' drawing its quality essentially from the individual's ability to determine her or his own needs, and from the natural correspondance of need and satisfaction. It is a life in which physical and sensual pleasure, aesthetic activity (in its receptive, reproductive, and productive forms), and erotic experience happily coexist and even overlap. In every case, it is the intensity of feeling, not the number or extent of the various pleasures—it is the qualitative, not the quantitative aspect—which creates true satisfaction. Three examples will suffice to illustrate this.

Let us first look at Leni's food. "Her main meal is breakfast, for which she positively must have two crisp fresh rolls, a fresh, soft-boiled egg, a little butter, one or two table-spoons of jam [more precisely, *Pflaumenmus*], strong coffee that she mixes with hot milk, very little sugar" (15f./14). Anyone boasting recent experience—for instance, with German hotel breakfasts—of the dire effects of deep-freezing on the ancient craft of the German baker will readily agree with the narrator that Leni's insistence on two crisp fresh rolls is very demanding; indeed, almost immodestly so. Anyway, these things she "positively" insists on; we hear that they are "essential," and only to provide them does Leni venture outside each morning, running the risk of having to accept "insults, spiteful gossip and abuse as part of the bargain" (15/15). Her breakfast rolls—I shall come back later to this comment of the narrator's—are "more important to Leni than any sacrament could ever be to anyone else" (26/25).

Second, from bread to circuses, from the breadboard to the keyboard. For we turn now to Leni's music. She keeps up her piano playing according to the motto of her eating: intensely but with moderation. No Mozart, therefore, no Beethoven—there are 'only' two movements by Schubert which she has been playing over and over again for thirty years. We learn this from a clandestine but more than competent eavesdropper, the much-feared music critic Schirtenstein, who lives next door. He "pricked up his ears" for the first time one evening in 1941: "I heard the most astonishing interpretation I have ever heard," he recalls. "That wasn't someone playing the piano—that was *music happening*." Fifteen years later—well, this is a historical novel—on his return as a prisoner of war from Russia: "What do I hear and recognize after fifteen years—the moderato from the Sonata in A-minor and the allegretto from the Sonata in G, with greater clarity, discipline and depth than I had ever heard them . . . It was playing of the very highest calibre" (*Das war einfach Weltklasse*; 108/104f.).

In dealing with the third case, the erotic, I shall confine myself to one quota-

tion. Something unusual happened to Leni—*es ist ihr "widerfahren"*—and the narrator (who, we may assume, has read his Proust) can fill in the details:

That morning, as she was crossing the street to pick up her rolls, her right foot recognized a slight unevenness in the pavement which it—the right foot—had last felt forty years before when Leni was playing hopscotch with some other girls; the spot in question is a tiny chip in a basalt paving stone which, at the time the street was laid out, around 1894, must have been knocked off by the paver. Leni's foot instantly passed on the message to her brainstem, the latter transmitted this impression to all her sensory organs and emotional centres and, since Leni is an enormously sensual person who immediately transforms everything—everything—into terms of eroticism, her delight, nostalgia, recollection, and state of total stimulation caused her to experience that process which in theological reference works—although with a somewhat different meaning—might be termed 'absolute fulfillment'; which, when embarrassingly reduced, is termed by clumsy erotologists and sexotheological dogmatians, an "orgasm" (15f./15f.).

To summarize: Leni's refusal of the pressures on her to achieve and to consume, her independence in articulating and satisfying her needs, the "almost inspired sensuality" (40/38) with which she takes in everyday perceptions and events and, so to speak, eroticizes them—all this amounts to "features of a *Menschenbild* consciously juxtaposed to a society based on profit" (thus Hans Joachim Bernhard, pioneer of Böll research in the German Democratic Republic).⁵ I cannot here go on to explore the narrative techniques with which Böll idealizes his heroine to the point that she appears as the "projection of hope in human shape" (Kurt Batt).⁶ But Böll's concept of a simple life would in any case be incomplete if we were to look no further than Leni herself. So let us cast a quick glance at the "group" to which the novel's title gives equal prominence.

Even Kurt, the speculator cousin with a command of sociological terminology, had suspected that "these types of apartment . . . are the breeding grounds for—let us say the word without emotion—a communalism that fosters utopian idylls and paradisiacal notions" (351/342). But Leni's effects on society go further than the formation of a *Wohngemeinschaft*, so typical of the Federal Republic around 1970. We are given a paradox: Leni, apparently self-contained as she is, generates a great social force—or, to be more precise, a force which restructures her social environment. A group takes shape around her, under both the spell of her emotional strength and of her practical helplessness. The ironic overtones of this group's title, the "Help Leni Committee," must not deceive us as to its profoundly serious function as an alternative model for social cooperation, within a social-utopian horizon once proclaimed by two of Böll's fellow Rhinelanders: "In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."⁷

Things do not happen as quickly and simply as that, either in history or in

a novel like Böll's, with its elements of fairy tale. Anyhow, we see Leni as the focus of a rather mixed group made up, for the most part, of members of underprivileged, or, at the very least, marginal sections of West German affluent society. They include Leni's women friends and former work colleagues (in today's political jargon, they would be called *Trümmerfrauen*) but also foreigners, the work comrades and tenants of Lev and Leni (we recall that his father and the love of her life was the Soviet prisoner of war and forced laborer, Boris); finally, there are the nonconformist intellectuals such as the music critic and, last but not least, the narrator himself. They come together in a "unity of the loners," *Einigkeit der Einzelgänger*,⁸ which even they find surprising. All these people have a twofold relationship to the central character: they protect her against eviction, the brutal intervention of the profit society into her life, and they do so by various forms of resistance, not least the forward-looking device of blockading streets with garbage carts. On the other hand, they benefit directly from the woman they protect: namely, by gaining a basic sense of values and emotional enrichment from her pure and simple humanity and genuine human fellowship. This is the source, unplanned and unexpected, of an ever closer bond of sympathy and affection that ties the group together—a group that we might imagine as a mixture of an early Christian community and a *Bürgerinitiative* of the 1970s. The narrator sees the veritable epidemic of "handholding" as a sign of their sympathetic involvement and registers "quantities of happy endings"—in fact, he cannot dodge his own happy end in the shape of an attractive ex-nun with a Ph.D. in German. It produces a string of new pairings—for instance, that of Leni herself and her Turkish tenant Mehmet, who "looks like a farmer from the Rhön mountains or the central Eifel" (369/358f.)—pairings in which social and national differences seem to be effortlessly transcended. It comes out like the final curtain of an operetta with utopian elements—*halbernst*, as Thomas Mann would have said. But even this sort of ending has had, at least since *Wilhelm Meister*, a thoroughly respectable pedigree.

Enough of the plot—although, of course, a serious question is posed by the narrative strategy which so encourages the reader to join in and to go on with the storytelling. We may categorize our findings as follows. The idea of a simple life that Böll outlines in the figure of Leni has three complementary components:

1. The overall spontaneous and all but instinctive *refusal* of the offers, demands, and pressures of late capitalism. This involves a rejection of the receptive aspect, consumption and surplus, as well as the productive side of the economic process, which is based on the division of labor, total rationalization, profit orientation, and high levels of performance.
2. No less spontaneous (by which I mean that there obtains no political or theoretical underpinning) is the self-determining of individual needs and the cultivation of a personal *capacity for enjoyment* in which no distinction or evaluation is made between physical-sensual, aesthetic-intellectual, and erotic pleasures; all these can be integrated into an overall everyday cultural praxis.

3. A social structure emerges, based on this individual orientation, which is in itself pluralistic, egalitarian, and cooperative, and able in particular to achieve the integration of socially excluded and underprivileged people.

Such an idea seems to cry out for further social-theoretical interpretation. Ten years ago,⁹ I myself used Max Weber's terminology to interpret the social-behavior type Leni, and the social model derived from her, as the concept of value-rationality, *Wertrationalität*, i.e., a system of behavior patterns and interactions being of value in themselves, and thereby standing in subversive opposition to the socially dominant purpose-rationality, *Zweckrationalität*, which defines the majority of our actions as mere means to achieve a purpose lying outside of them.¹⁰ I have stayed in the minority on that point. The mainstream of Böll research has formed a sort of East-West consensus on it, explaining—for historically understandable reasons—the Leni syndrome by reference to Herbert Marcuse's theory of the Great Refusal. I quote, in chronological order, Kurt Batt from the German Democratic Republic, who in 1972 was the first to identify Leni as an "artistic and dream creation" in which "elements of early Christianity and utopian communism were linked to the Great Refusal"; then, from the Federal Republic, Christian Linder and Herbert Herlyn, whose books on Böll, both published in 1978, drew a number of comparisons between Böll and Marcuse; finally, from the United States, H. E. Beyersdorf, who repeated the same point, in a rather generalized form, in 1983.¹¹

Duly impressed by this majority, I do not wish to challenge the fact that Böll the novelist and Marcuse the social philosopher in their separate ways pursue very similar ideas and aims. *Gruppenbild*, on the one hand, and *Eros and Civilization*, or, especially, *An Essay on Liberation*, on the other, do offer a series of demonstrable parallels: among other things, the rejection of the whole principle of performance, the *Leistungsprinzip*, in its various forms, particularly as the pressure to consume; the transformation of externally determined labor into play or self-determining aesthetic activity; the liberating power of the imagination, of memory and art; the deregulation of the erotic and the abolition of goal-oriented sexuality; the hope placed in the power to change the system, wielded by the activity and cooperation of the so-called marginal groups. It also is surely correct to assume that Böll—the width of whose reading should never be underestimated—knew the works¹² or the public pronouncements of the German-American philosopher. Marcuse, in any case, was frequently in the Federal Republic and in West Berlin during the late 1960s, exercising a very broad influence, if not giving the student movement its most profound theoretical input. Be that as it may—I should like to go beyond these parallels, or this influence, and to look at other elements that are important for Böll's concept of the simple life.

For if we as literary historians, or critics, only seldom manage to make a difficult life simpler, it is easy enough for us to make simple theory more difficult. And this is precisely what I shall try to do in three stages, taking one step back, one step forward, and then one more.

Stepping back to Böll's earlier fiction may be useful because, over the years or decades, his works have been concerned with the same problems and themes, and have always remained especially closely tied to individual and contemporary experiences; in that dual link I see both Böll's strength and his limitation as a writer.¹³ We might add in particular that Böll has always been concerned with—and kept writing about—the conditions, the material and spiritual and emotional *food*, of so-called ordinary people; their *Lebens-Mittel* in more than one sense.¹⁴ This is, in fact, the theme of his Frankfurt lectures of 1964. Hence, I suggest that the idea of refusal was not first outlined in *Gruppenbild* under the influence of Marcuse, but had its origins far back in Böll's biography, far back in his writing, and back in the history of his and our time. It would indeed be possible to gather together quite a number of Böllian refusers, and to put them into a sort of post-historic *Group Portrait*. But I am old-fashioned enough to insist on the differences of historical situations, and I hope to show, however briefly, that the gesture of refusal can apply to a whole series of different social norms and institutions, in a way closely involved in West German history.

In 1966, for instance, we encounter two gentlemen by the name of Gruhl, father and son. Their very direct act of refusal certainly amounts, unlike Leni's, to a criminal offense. Not only do they, in a most provocative manner, purloin a Jeep forming part of the military equipment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, they even set fire to it. An act of sabotage, or "violence against property," as it would be called in 1968. *Ende einer Dienstfahrt*, however, was aimed less at rearmament and militarism as such than against the pointlessness of military service and organization. Let us remember that Gruhl, Jr., in the *Bundeswehr* at the time, has to drive his jeep around on extensive trips just to get the meter up to the required figure.

Two years before, in 1964, Böll had used a technical (legal) term from the military, *Entfernung von der Truppe*, as title of a short story. Wilhelm, a great breakfaster and lover of fresh rolls, escapes from the collectivist pressures of Hitler's Germany by desertion; he then pulls out of the economic miracle and its conventions and retires into eccentric resignation. Böll claimed in his *Frankfurt Lectures* that the theme of *Abfall* and *Abfälligkeit* was a sublime concern of literature; and it is implicit in his choice of word that the defectors are the garbage of social life, rejected by society like most of Böll's melancholy heroes.¹⁵

Prominent among these is Hans Schnier, the clown and renegade with a millionaire father. We might call him a "total refuser" today. Böll uses him, as Bernhard has said, to draw up his indictment of the CDU state¹⁶ of the 1950s and early 1960s. Schnier's refusal is essentially a reaction against the disappointment and rejection he has suffered at the hands of representative figures of the West German restoration. He himself is basically a positive and public-spirited fellow, with a strong work ethic—only society does not take his art work seriously. He has a serious moral code—only a hypocritical church bureaucracy has little time for his sacramental view of marriage. And he is a great believer in the work of memory—only the powers that be do not like his attacks on the collective repres-

sion of the Nazi past and his reminders of collective responsibility. So he is kicked out as a troublemaker and ends up on the steps of Bonn's railroad station, just a few hundred yards from the *Hofgarten* where Böll in his later years would address the major demonstrations of the Peace Movement.¹⁷ For all his subjectivity and despair, one can see the clown as a literary prefiguration of the protest movement which started some years later.

Ansichten eines Clowns is written as a monologue, whereas the novels of the 1950s juxtapose two well-matched groups of characters: the refusers and the collaborators. *Billard um halbzehn* (1959) has been much criticized for presenting these groups through the clumsy symbolism of buffaloes and lambs. A closer examination would suggest that the "lambs" include two types of people, both rejecting in very different ways the socially accepted values of reconstruction, the economic miracle, and the whitewash of the past. There is the passive, resigned type, as for instance the disillusioned émigré Schrella, and the activist, violent type, as for instance Frau Fähmel with her bomb. The novel *Haus ohne Hüter* of 1954 contains the same Manichaean division. On the one side, there are those characters who live under the spell of their past and their suffering, neither able nor willing to join in the business of restoration. They cannot work out any alternative course of action, and fall back into melancholy or dream of emigrating to Ireland. On the other side, there are those who have systematically wiped out their memories, *ihre Erinnerung geschlachtet*.¹⁸ Greedy for power and unfettered by inhibitions, they are working to build up the system again: in business and politics, in cultural life and in the Catholic Church.

I leave out Böll's *Irisheses Tagebuch* (1957), an apparently idyllic work of distinctive shape and qualities, the unwritten motto of which could read: Escape from Germany. Instead, I turn to the first novel on postwar society, *Und sagte kein einziges Wort*, of 1953. Some critics claimed to see in this book the start of a Catholic revival in Germany. But the official church itself, as administrator of the sacraments, is in fact the target of a refusal. The story tells of a marital crisis which is also a crisis of faith, with its origins in the material distress and housing shortage of the *Trümmerjahre*. Yet these crises have their origins no less in the failure of the Catholic Church, which cannot, or will not, offer consolation and help. In this novel, the characters are reintegrated into society, and the marriage is salvaged by the force of personal faith—but that is a way out Böll soon will not allow himself anymore.

My time machine stops in February 1949, when the legendary magazine *Der Ruf* published Böll's short story *By the Bridge*—by now a classic anthology piece. One might suggest that this story, despite its light-hearted and simple tone, offers a miniature model for Böll's writing and, especially, for his idea of the simple life. The narrator, an invalid from the war, is put back into the labor process. His job is to count the people passing over the new bridge, as part of a statistical survey. (Böll himself was working at the time in the statistical office in Cologne.) The story shows that the organizational world after 1945 had nearly as little room for individual autonomy as had been in the organized chaos of war or the Nazis'

forced labor gangs. Its narrator defends himself against being reduced to a mere function through subversion, a covert form of refusal. "When my girl comes over the bridge—and she comes across twice a day—my heart stands still . . . and I'll not tell them about everyone who crosses the bridge during that time."¹⁹ The way in which he protects his beloved as a person, by stopping her being turned into an impersonal statistic, is also his own chance to hold on to the personal quality of experience. Time is rescued from emptiness and abstract quantification: in Marxist terms, from reification.²⁰ And this opens up, at least occasionally, the chance of a qualitatively complete and savored experience of time. Refusal is the precondition for enjoyment and for impersonal sympathy and community. For the narrator, this takes on the form of dreaming that he will spend the time he has rescued from the statistics with his girl in the ice cream parlor. If this seems trivial, then one should imagine—or remember—what ice cream meant to Germans in 1949 . . .

We have found, in condensed form, all three elements of the simple life we isolated in *Gruppenbild mit Dame*. In both cases, they take shape as part of a resistance against being taken over by a counting, calculating, alienating society. From this, we may infer that such a relatively optimistic combination of ideas, with an open view of the future, was possible only at two historical moments: in the late 1940s, when social development could at least appear to be relatively open, and immediately after the year 1968, with its hopes of change and reforms, however illusory they may have been. I shall test this thesis by reversing our time traveling through Böll's work, and trying to find the other two elements of his view of the simple life.

Moving forward again, we notice that the idea of a nonalienated life is repeatedly linked with motifs of oral enjoyment and sympathetic community of friends. The two motifs frequently come together in the form of a communal meal, a shared cigarette or cup of coffee (as in the case of Leni). But this "communion of the meal," to use Michael C. Eben's phrase,²¹ does not always work, due to the suppression of the outside world. In the novel *Und sagte kein einziges Wort*, both principal characters still find spiritual support in that group of outsiders who gather, as a kind of alternative church, in a snack bar—*auf gut kölsch: e Kaffe-bud*. And in the story *Das Brot der frühen Jahre* (1955), the narrator's chance meeting with a girl is enough to free him of all the ties of the world of the economic miracle. A shared roll starts this reversal, but where it will lead remains uncertain.

In the novels published between 1954 and 1963, by contrast, we can see how eating and drinking (not to mention smoking anymore) lose their positive qualities, their ability to create pleasure and community, how they are deformed and even perverted. In *Haus ohne Hüter*, a young boy is forced by his authoritarian grandmother to partake of ritualistic, almost cannibalistic, excessive meals which make him literally sick, and it is significant that these meals are associated with the leitmotif "money." In *Billard um halbzehn*, it is during the heavy lunch with an opportunistic ex-Nazi that the émigré Schrella feels his resistance to the new-style old Germany like nausea in his guts. He gets the waiter to wrap up what

is left of his chicken (which still looks *unfein* in a German restaurant) and leaves the dining room, the exclusive Hotel Prinz Heinrich, and, finally, the Federal Republic of Germany. Great meals, associated symbolically not with bread but with bloodred meat, thick sauces, uncontrolled greed—and money—are typical of the men and women of power in these novels.

On the other hand, the radical refusers as well are incapable of that simple and natural enjoyment which distinguishes Leni. Hans Schnier, for instance, in his social and personal isolation, leads a simple but hardly a healthy life: his staple diet is cognac and coffee. And even in his drinking habits he is deviant, breaks conventions, and refrains from full enjoyment by drinking his cognac (or, more probably, German *Weinbrand*) straight out of the icebox. His isolation is all but total; there is no protecting group and only one person, a sort of Rhenish whiskey priest, who utters words of consolation.

Against the run of its plot, *Und sagte kein einziges Wort* brings the married couple together after all their trials. *Haus ohne Hüter* shows new openings and the sympathetic characters pulling out of town—that is to say, they withdraw from society and retreat to the idyllic life of a country pub famous for its *Obstkuchen*. In *Billard um halbzehn*, the Fähmel family finally sit down with their friends over a huge birthday cake. *Ende einer Dienstfahrt* shows how neighborly solidarity protects the Gruhls from serious punishment and clears the way for a really (and intentionally) clichéd happy ending. We shall come back to the "Help Leni Committee" in a moment, but I first have to mention that even Katharina Blum looks forward in prison to a reunion with her "dear Ludwig."

Böll's last novel but one, *Fürsorgliche Belagerung* (1979), is still more typical in that respect. Here, Böll tries to come to terms with the new social pressures and violent conflicts which had affected the Federal Republic after 1972 and 1977, both in the wake of terrorism and as a result of the novel techniques of surveillance and persecution, plus the campaigns of certain mass media. Böll illustrates this by the experience of the liberal publishing tycoon Tolm and his family, who are the goal of terrorist threats and objects of total surveillance—i.e., the "safety net." But the author has compassion on his characters and takes them out of this wicked world into the peaceful idyll of an abandoned parsonage, where they live happily ever after.

The novel's fairy-tale ending elicited bad reviews. Critics saw it as Böll's usual recipe: offering his threatened and bruised characters the sanctuary of a supportive group, a substitute family, a rustic idyll. They thought, and quite properly so, such was a nice but utterly inappropriate way for Böll to resolve the social conflicts and potential for violence which he had revealed. This criticism was not just an attack on Böll's clumsiness as a craftsman. It raised the issue as to whether his straightforward narrative model had not simply been overtaken and made redundant. Ever since *Und sagte kein einziges Wort*, his work had been constructed around personal relations, the family or the group as a practical or symbolic sanctuary against the destructive pressures of postwar society. Only once, at the highpoint of the restoration, did Böll deliberately eschew this model; and

only once, in the euphoria of 1970, was he able to expand it from a mere happy-ending tableau into a genuinely utopian alternative social model. For this reason, I regard *Ansichten eines Clowns* and *Gruppenbild mit Dame* as by far his most convincing novels. By contrast, in his posthumous novel in dialogue form, *Frauen vor Flußlandschaft* (1985), intended to show the depths of political corruption, Böll bitterly returns to his familiar finale as a family tableau.

I hope I have established—if not actually accounted for—the fact that there is in Böll's work a strong continuity of the motifs of "refusal," "enjoyment," and "group." The question remains why our author should so tenaciously hold on to these motifs. Some other lines of Gottfried Benn come to mind: "Habe mich oft gefragt und keine Antwort gefunden . . . / weiß es auch heute nicht und muß nun gehn."²² But before I do that, I should like at least to make three good guesses at the answer.

Refusal—to begin with—is a central element and pattern of self-description and self-definition in the literary-political discourse of the first generation of postwar German literature. Ingeborg Bachmann wrote in a famous poem in 1952: "War is no longer declared, but continued." The everyday war she refers to had its military (or, rather, pacifist) decorations, too: namely, the "not very brilliant star of hope" she wants to award for "running away from battle and ignoring any order."²³ That is a typical position for intellectuals in the Adenauer era. Retreating to a radical individualism and a private moral code, they take up a counterposition to what they regard as the crypto-militaristic attitudes of postwar society. This position, labeled 'nonconformism,' was expressed in poetry and essay, in fiction and autobiography by the motifs of refusal, of "going it alone," or, in the extreme case, of desertion. The writer sees him- or herself as a loner, a critic of the status quo, yet incapable of suggesting or putting into practice any concrete alternative. The writer's criticisms stem from an idiosyncratic rejection of all tendencies on the part of the state or its institutions to take over the individual: that was the overwhelmingly negative experience of the Nazi state and of the war.

This position was typical not just of a whole generation of writers after the war, but remained influential until the mid-1960s—and, in some cases, even longer. Here are some characteristic statements. "I had resolved to run away," wrote Alfred Andersch in his account of his desertion from the *Wehrmacht*, published in 1952.²⁴ "He did not want to play along with the system any longer, he was incapable of playing along any more": thus Wolfgang Koeppen on the nonconformist Keetenheuve in his novel *Das Treibhaus* (1953).²⁵ "All my life it's been my ambition to become unfit for military service": such is the confession of Böll's narrator in *Entfernung von der Truppe* (1964).²⁶ And Andersch again, as late as 1970, in *Winterspelt*, a novel which describes the failure of a mass desertion: talking of his hero, he calls him "the boy who cannot play along. He doesn't want to."²⁷ In one of his last texts, *Brief an meine Söhne oder vier Fahrräder* (1985), Böll told the story of his own desertion just before the end of the war.²⁸ And Adorno the philosopher praised Böll, on the occasion of his

50th birthday, in similar terms: he was "incapable of playing along." And: "With a sense of freedom which is truly unprecedented in Germany, Böll has preferred an exposed and lonely position in society to the kind of sycophantic consent which would have been based on a terrible misunderstanding."²⁹

Second, and contrarily, the *aesthetics of bread* is highly personal to Böll. He regards himself—remarkably, for so modest an author—as specially prepared and predestined for this task. Speaking of an "aesthetics of bread in literature; at the first level, the real bread, that of the baker, housewife, and peasant," Böll claims that it is "something more, far more—not only a sign of brotherhood, but of peace and even of freedom, and still more again: the most effective aphrodisiac, and still more: the Host, *Oblate* and *mazze*, magically transformed into a pill which takes its shape from the Host, a surrogate brotherhood, peace, freedom, aphrodisiac . . ."³⁰ In his *Frankfurt Lectures*, from which I have just quoted, Böll lists those few of his contemporaries who, like himself, took eating and food as a signal and symbol of the human condition; he mentions Wolfgang Borchert and Günter Eich in particular. Böll, of course, remains with the theme of bread—equating it sometimes with those craved-for pleasures of the war and postwar years: coffee, cigarettes, and brandy—all the way into the 1970s, and he turns it into one of his central motifs. We can tell not only the external prosperity but also the humanity or inhumanity of the society at the time simply by looking at the food, the circumstances in which it is enjoyed, and the personal interactions at the meal. We recognize this technique as an extension of that "symbolic realism" Böll praised in Borchert and which, as we saw in *Gruppenbild*, can be varied for *half-serious* purposes as well.

We may see here two overlapping types of experience, or models of writing. First of all, in terms of Böll's life and times, the repeated individual experience of hunger and shortages which came to a man born "in the year of the war when hunger was as its worst,"³¹ that is in 1917: a man who spent his childhood in the Great Slump, his early manhood in the Second World War, and who tried to bring up a family in the years of hunger after 1945. Second, the symbolic understanding of eating and drinking is, of course, prefigured in the Christian tradition to which Böll remained close even after leaving the Church. We recall that for Leni the two really fresh bread rolls were more important than "any sacrament could be to other people." In his "aesthetics of the bread," Böll secularizes the symbolism of the eucharist and at the same time spiritualizes the process of our physical reproduction. We might call this "sacramental realism."³²

There is a similar explanation—to come to my third and final point—for Böll's groups. Their form depends on their context, ranging from prayer circle to love group, from rural commune to support group; but their basic structure in each case is either that of the family or that of the early Christian community. Böll frequently described the unusually strong family ties from which he drew his identity—take, for instance, the account titled *Was soll aus dem Jungen bloß werden?*³³ He makes it clear there how important his parental home had been to him in providing the affection and values that kept the claims and pressures

of the Nazi system at bay: constraint, family ties as a precondition for refusal. Christian Linder sees these ties as the sole mainspring behind Böll's literary work. He claims that Böll's writing was "the attempt to defend and preserve his childhood." The "small compact world of the family," Linder goes on, "is juxtaposed in Böll's work to the modern world, with its industrialization, bureaucracy, and regimentation."³⁴

That seems to me a rather sweeping view, for we should not forget, once more, that individual experience is molded by established models from the Christian tradition. The ideal family groups in Böll's novels are very similar to the image of the Holy Family, which was of course not so much a natural family as a symbolic, a surrogate family. Theodore Ziolkowski has shown how Böll followed a principle of figurative, or typological, transformation, creating, for instance, in *Gruppenbild* the family idyll—the triangle of Leni, Boris, and Lev—on the model of the Christmas story.³⁵ And the same novel presents us with another variant: the communion of the faithful, the original apostolic community. Since this was an essentially egalitarian, noninstitutionalized community, Böll can use the model for his criticism of the contemporary Roman Catholic Church and of the part it plays in a power-seeking and bureaucratic society. He does this, for example, in *Und sagte kein einziges Wort*. On the other hand, this model can easily be combined with the motif of food, in order to portray, within his "aesthetics of bread," a secularized form of the eucharist.

Family or religious community: either way, Böll tries to bring together his disoriented, isolated, and despairing characters in the symbolic shelter of nonrepressive association, be it the realistic scene of a modest meal, be it the affection and consciousness of family tradition.

I want to finish on that note, with a few lines³⁶ that Böll dedicated to one of his grandchildren a few days before his death:

Für Samay

Wir kommen von weit her
 liebes Kind
 und müssen weit gehen
 keine Angst
 alle sind bei Dir
 die vor Dir waren
 Deine Mutter, Dein Vater
 und alle, die vor ihnen waren
 weit weit zurück
 alle sind bei Dir
 keine Angst
 wir kommen weit her
 und müssen weit gehen
 liebes Kind

Notes

- 1 See Jürgen Busche, "Vergangene Verehrung: Die Zeitfigur der Nachkriegsepoche," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 24 Dec. 1977, p. 17.
- 2 Compare my *Heinrich Böll* (Munich, 1987), pp. 106ff.
- 3 Gottfried Benn, *Gedichte*, ed. Dieter Wellershoff (Wiesbaden, 1960), p. 311 ("Eure Etüden").
- 4 See Heinrich Böll, "Schreiben und Leben. Gespräch mit Karin Struck am 23.10.1973," in *Werke: Interviews 1* (Cologne, 1978), p. 255.
- 5 Hans Joachim Bernhard, *Die Romane Heinrich Bölls: Gesellschaftskritik und Gemeinschaftsutopie* (Berlin/GDR, 1973), p. 364.
- 6 Kurt Batt, "Die Exekution des Erzählers: Westdeutsche Romane zwischen 1968 und 1972," in *his Revolte intern: Betrachtungen zur Literatur in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Munich, 1975), p. 173.
- 7 Cf. "Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei," in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Werke* (Berlin, 1972) 4: 482.
- 8 See Heinrich Böll, "Einigkeit der Einzelgänger: Rede zum Schriftstellerkongress in Stuttgart am 21. 11. 1970," in his *Werke: Essayistische Schriften und Reden 2* (Cologne, 1978), pp. 482ff.
- 9 See my *Heinrich Böll*, p. 109.
- 10 Compare Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft: Grundriß der verstehenden Soziologie* (Tübingen, 1976), pp. 12f.
- 11 Batt, p. 173; Christian Linder, *Böll* (Reinbek, 1978), pp. 59f. Heinrich Herlyn, *Heinrich Böll und Herbert Marcuse: Literatur als Utopie* (Lampertheim, 1979); H. E. Beyersdorf, "The Great Refusal in Heinrich Böll's *Gruppenbild mit Dame*," *Germanic Review* 58 (1983): 153ff.
- 12 A German translation of *An Essay on Liberation*, for example, had been published in 1969, and sold in forty thousand copies that year (*Versuch über die Befreiung* [Frankfurt, 1969]).
- 13 See Böll's "Frankfurter Vorlesungen," in his *Werke: Essayistische Schriften und Reden 2*, pp. 34ff.; also, compare my *Heinrich Böll*, pp. 14ff.
- 14 Cf. "Frankfurter Vorlesungen," p. 8ff.
- 15 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 71.
- 16 Bernhard, *Die Romane Heinrich Bölls*, p. 301.
- 17 Cf. "Rede auf der Bonner Friedensdemonstration vom 22. 10. 1983," in Heinrich Böll, *Ein- und Zusprüche: Schriften, Reden und Prosa 1981-1983* (Cologne, 1984), pp. 233ff.; "Grußadresse an die Friedenskundgebung in Bonn am 20. Oktober 1984," in Heinrich Böll, *Die Fähigkeit zu trauern: Schriften und Reden 1983-1985* (Bornheim-Merten, 1986), pp. 199f.
- 18 "Haus ohne Hüter," in *Werke: Romane und Erzählungen 2* (Cologne, 1977), p. 436.
- 19 "An der Brücke," in *Werke: Romane und Erzählungen 1* (Cologne, 1977), p. 55.
- 20 See my interpretation in my *Heinrich Böll*, pp. 31f.
- 21 Michael C. Eben, "Heinrich Böll: The Aesthetic of Bread=the Communion of the Meal," *Orbis Litterarum* 37 (1982): 255ff.
- 22 Benn, *Gedichte*, p. 321 ("Menschen getroffen").
- 23 The poem is quoted in Böll's "Frankfurter Vorlesungen," in his *Werke: Essayistische Schriften und Reden 2*, p. 55.
- 24 Alfred Andersch, *Die Kirschen der Freiheit: Ein Bericht* (Zurich, 1968), p. 74.
- 25 Wolfgang Koeppen, *Das Treibhaus* (Frankfurt, 1972), p. 175.
- 26 Heinrich Böll, "Entfernung von der Truppe," in his *Werke: Romane und Erzählungen 4* (Cologne, 1977), p. 270.
- 27 Alfred Andersch, *Winterspelt* (Zurich, 1977), p. 472.
- 28 Heinrich Böll, "Brief an meine Söhne oder vier Fahrräder," in his *Die Fähigkeit zu trauern*, pp. 79ff.
- 29 Theodor W. Adorno, "Keine Würdigung," in *In Sachen Böll: Ansichten und Einsichten*, ed. Marcel Reich-Ranicki (Munich, 1977), p. 7.
- 30 "Frankfurter Vorlesungen," in *Essayistische Schriften und Reden 2*, p. 83.
- 31 Heinrich Böll, "Über mich selbst," in his *Essayistische Schriften und Reden 1*, p. 284.
- 32 See my *Heinrich Böll*, pp. 33f., 165f.
- 33 Heinrich Böll, *Was soll aus dem Jungen bloß werden? oder: Irgendwas mit Büchern* (Bornheim-Merten, 1981).

- 34 Christian Linder, *Heinrich Böll*, p. 36.
- 35 Theodore Ziolkowski, "Typologie und einfache Form in *Gruppenbild mit Dame*," in Renate Mathaei, ed., *Die subversive Madonna: Ein Schlüssel zum Werk Heinrich Bölls* (Cologne, 1975), pp. 123ff.
- 36 Cf. Heinrich Böll, *Wir kommen von weit her: Gedichte* (Göttingen, 1986), p. 82.

The Greens: Images of Survival in the Early 1980s

STEPHEN BROCKMANN, JULIA HELL, AND REINHILDE WIEGMANN

I

The rise of new social movements in West Germany in the 1970s and 1980s was accompanied by the emergence of new utopian and dystopian texts informed by the discourse of which the new movements were a part. These texts illustrate and problematize the discourse in aesthetic ways unavailable to the realm of theory, expressing the ambiguity inherent in the central criticism in the new political discourse: the critique of modernity and the idea of progress and the desire for new utopian forms of social integration governed by the longing for a simpler way of life. While this discourse is new in the context of postwar German politics, it is also part of the critical philosophical tradition that has followed the development of modernity from the very beginning. As Umberto Eco has remarked, "Immediately after the official ending of the Middle Ages, Europe was ravaged by a pervasive medieval nostalgia,"¹ i.e., the sense that the very project of modernity was wrong, an affront to God and nature, and that man properly belonged not at the center of creation as its ruler, but at the periphery as a mere part of a larger whole. The nostalgia for premodern social forms was accompanied by a growing realization that the modern project contained within itself the seeds for its own negation, and that the development of science and technology had become an end in itself, threatening to destroy both outer and inner nature and decentering mankind, whose location in an anthropocentric worldview had been the *sine qua non* of the Enlightenment.

Hence, at one level, the growth of the new social movements and their critique of what Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno called the "Dialectic of Enlightenment"² is part of a longer tradition that includes Romanticism and the *fin-de-siècle* movements associated with the concepts *Jugendstil* and *décadence*. But any discourse put into a new context necessarily takes on new dimensions, and since the end of World War II the critique of modernity has taken on a special significance which has given it a broad cultural and political impact that it never had before. Several new historical phenomena gave rise to this changed context: the debacle of the German Third Reich and the Holocaust of Europe's Jews; the development of man's capacity for destruction to such an extent that with nuclear weapons he now had the ability to arrogate to himself the power of absolute

destruction that had formerly belonged only to God; and the acceleration of the breakdown of traditional social structures such as organized religion, the family, the organic community, and traditional political parties based on class politics.³ Moreover, the widespread postwar emergence of peripheral groupings and of a new middle class of white-collar functionaries and intellectuals enjoying economic well-being and leisure time led to the creation of an almost institutionalized system of critique, as the new class was able to devote itself to politics and an analysis of the very process of modernization that had brought it into existence. This suggested, on the other hand, that the critique was a permanent fixture of modern society, and, on the other, that self-conscious criticism of progress had become a necessary and inalienable part of the very progress that it criticized.

The West German Greens are the political expression of this philosophical and social development. The Greens, established as a political party in January 1980, were the culmination of the proliferation of alternative lists, citizens' initiatives, and grass-roots movements that sprang up in West Germany in the late 1970s, after the initial euphoria of social-liberal reformist policies in the Brandt era during the late 1960s and early 1970s had given way, first, to a new sobriety and pragmatism, then, to an increasing sense of betrayal and crisis in the Schmidt era during the rest of the 1970s and the early 1980s. In the wake of this trend, called *Tendenzwende*—or change in tendency—the optimistic leftism of the 1960s began to give way to increasing doubts about the idea of progress itself, which lies at the root of Marxism. While the leftists of the 1960s had tended to accept the necessity for economic growth and material progress, arguing for a redistribution within the context of a growing economy, the new social movements of the 1970s began to turn away from traditional leftist politics, and instead to emphasize the limits of growth and industrialization, the danger to the environment of unchecked human expansionism, as well as a whole host of cultural and social issues not usually associated with the traditional left: women's issues, issues of sexuality, questions of cultural and spiritual domination, and the destruction of the environment. In the modern idea of progress, they began to see a kind of uncontrolled cancer that was leading inexorably to the destruction of the ecosystem and of humankind itself. Instead of progress, they stressed survival; instead of the anthropocentric worldview of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, they stressed man's embeddedness in an ecological whole.⁴

The Greens' statement, "We are neither left nor right; we are in front,"⁵ emphasized their understanding of themselves as something radically new, outside the traditional left-right dynamics of West German politics. Since the Greens in fact came from a very loose coalition of various groups and ideas, largely but not exclusively leftist in orientation, it is exceedingly difficult to assign them an exact ideological location. The Greens' *Bundesprogramm*, or federal program, identifies four pillars of their political activity: (1) ecological, consisting of the effort to save the planet and its ecosystem from the threat posed by industrial pollution and unchecked growth; (2) social, meaning the attempt at achieving a

politically and economically just society without exploitation; (3) grass-roots democracy, meaning the Greens' determination to remain open to their political roots and not be dominated by a professional political elite; and (4) nonviolent, meaning the Greens' rejection of violence as a political tool under the motto, "Humane ends cannot be achieved by inhumane means."⁶

Chronologically, the history of the Greens and of the new social movements of which they are the center can be sketched in three stages. The revolt against the pragmatism of Helmut Schmidt's "Model Germany" policies was crystallized in the TUNIX meeting of German leftists in January 1978, which initiated a massive wave of so-called *Aussteiger*, people who simply wanted to get out of modern society and set up their own independent, autonomous life-styles. The revolt against politics as usual led to the creation of new citizens' initiatives, green and alternative lists; and in 1980, a period of politicization marking the second stage began as the Green Party was formed, to try to channel the secessionist tendencies into direct political action. The NATO two-track decision of 1979 to arm Western Europe with Pershing II and cruise missiles, as well as the election of Ronald Reagan as president of the United States in 1980, led to an increasing feeling of crisis and to fears of a Third World War. These fears flowed into the spectacular renaissance of the peace movement after 1980 and tended to make the issue of peace predominant in the second period, overshadowing the other issues that had originally been part of the new social movements. Pure survival became of paramount importance. This feeling of crisis culminated and came to its end in the "hot autumn" of 1983 and the stationing of American Pershing II missiles on West German soil. After this, the peace movement diminished in importance but did not disappear, and a new period of pragmatism and openness to questions succeeded what had been a period of intolerance and urgency characterized by a rapid swing from Messianic to apocalyptic visions. Meanwhile, the Greens continued to build on their electoral successes. The Chernobyl nuclear accident in late April 1986 strengthened the general feeling in the third period that secession alone was not enough, as even isolated ecological communes could not escape the spreading radioactivity. It became clear that salvation could not be had individually, but only collectively. Since 1983, the left-alternative scene of the third period has been characterized by an increasing normalization, as its anti-institutional aspects have been institutionalized and its critique of the system has become a part of the system. The normalization is further underscored by the fall of the Schmidt government in 1982 and the rise of the conservative-liberal coalition government under Chancellor Helmut Kohl, which marked the end of the period of bitter frustration with broken leftist promises and the emergence of a more familiar left-right confrontation, with both the SPD and the Greens in the opposition.⁷

From the very beginning, the new social movements' relationship to leftism has been problematic. The traditional left, based on an optimistic historical philosophy and a belief in progress, was bound to have difficulties with a move-

ment that seemed to come from the left, but put these values in doubt. Because they touched on social, environmental, and cultural problems traditionally ignored by the Marxist or trade-union left, and because they no longer emphasized class politics, the alternative groups were seen by traditional leftists as petit bourgeois radicals. Moreover, the critique of modernity and the idea of progress led to accusations of romanticism and hidden conservatism from their detractors on both the left and the right. These tensions reflected real differences within the movements themselves. Some members of the movement took the critique of modernity and progress so far that they got caught up in a quasi-religious nostalgia for a more organic, natural order associated with a distant and healthy past. They sometimes seemed to reject the entire path of historical progress leading out of the Middle Ages, and to want to get back to a posited, original condition of innocence. These Greens sometimes expressly approved of earlier, consciously conservative cultural critique. Other members of the movement, coming more from the traditional left, accepted the idea of modernity and progress as essentially positive while at the same time realizing the need to moderate and temper its development with human reason. The first, more conservative, grouping can be identified as anti-anthropocentric, the second, as anthropocentric in the Renaissance sense. The former sees human beings as a problem which led to modernity, the latter sees modernity as a problem for human beings.⁸

This ideal categorization does not negate the fact that the Greens are above all an extraordinarily rich and unusual new party composed of a plethora of different and sometimes conflicting tendencies. It is thus difficult to speak in terms of a unified Green position on any but the most basic issues, and it is impossible to find a picture of the utopian simple life or a critique of modernity to which all Greens would subscribe. Among the Greens are former members of Communist cells; dissatisfied renegades from the three traditional parties, especially the SPD; members of the peace movement and the women's movement; citizens' initiatives; animal rights groups; homosexual groups; religious groups; enthusiasts for new cults; ecologists; vegetarians; farmers; students; and even former Nazis. In a party which combines the pragmatist Joschka Fischer with the fundamentalist mystic Rudolf Bahro, it is remarkably difficult to find any common ground, and the Greens' determination to let everyone have their say, and not use traditional party discipline, has led to a situation in which even unpopular people have sometimes seemed to be speaking for the Greens. This openness to many voices is both a strength and a weakness of the Greens, and it is blatantly evident in the literary texts under consideration here.

Above and beyond the multiplicity of their origins and basic philosophies, the Greens are also divided along tactical political lines among fundamentalists and realists, the former insisting on the unnegotiable nature of Green positions, the latter seeking compromise and dialogue with other parties in order to gain political effectiveness. A multitude of Green theoreticians and publicists produce books arguing from many different and sometimes conflicting points of view.

Among the best known are Bahro, with his *Pfeiler am anderen Ufer*, and his fellow party radical Manon Maren-Grisebach, with her *Philosophie der Grünen*, an attempt at the formulation of an entire Green philosophy. Carl Amery's book *Natur als Politik* can also be characterized as fundamentalist, as Amery combines his love of nature with nostalgia for a simpler past. Joseph Huber's *Die verlorene Unschuld der Ökologie*, on the other hand, is the antifundamentalist political statement of a realist who has had great influence on Joschka Fischer.⁹

In the following investigation, we shall consider a number of literary reflections of Green and movement philosophy. The first group of texts, belonging chiefly to the late 1970s, the period of secessionism, deals with the creation of alternative utopian images of the simple life. The second group of texts, dating from the second period and dominated by the peace movement, expands the critique of modernity by looking at nuclear Holocaust as its inevitable outcome. In conclusion, we shall look at Christa Wolf's 1987 book *Störfall* as the typical product of the new normalization and uncertainty of the third period, in which we are still living.¹⁰

II

In 1978, Rotbuch published the German translation of Ernest Callenbach's *Ökotopia*,¹¹ which immediately became a bestseller in the Green-alternative scene. Callenbach's utopian narrative is a simple one: William Weston, a journalist, is sent to *Ökotopia*, and the reader participates in the discovery of the country through Weston's diary. What is *Ökotopia*? It is a state that came into being through the secession of Washington, Oregon, and Northern California from the rest of the United States, at a time when the productivist American system began experiencing its limits. *Ökotopia* is founded on the principle that mankind was not meant for production but instead for harmony with nature.¹² Ecotopians conceive of "progress" as the attempt at reaching a perfect equilibrium. One of them describes their system in the following way:

Ich stelle mir unser System als eine Wiese in der Sonne vor. Vieles verändert sich—die Pflanzen wachsen oder welken, Bakterien zersetzen sie, die Mäuse fressen die Samenkörner, die Habichte fressen die Mäuse, einige Bäume wachsen in die Höhe und werfen Schatten auf die Halme. Die Wiese selbst aber behält ihr natürliches Gleichgewicht—sofern nicht der Mensch kommt und es stört.¹³

To achieve *Ökotopia's* new goal—survival—both consumption and the general standard of living have been drastically reduced. Yet this "simple life" not only guarantees survival but also has its positive results: the American Protestant work ethic is broken down and daily life becomes fun.

All dimensions of *Ökotopia's* society are organized around the principle of perfect balance. At the level of its economy and administration, this is achieved through extreme decentralization and grass-roots democracy. Even *Ökotopia's*

emotional economy is kept in balance through such curious means as ritual Indian war games, during which male aggression is purged. In general, Ecotopians value the Indian tradition and its aspiration to live in balance with nature.¹⁴ And Ecotopians also value what they define as "the feminine," the orientation toward "Kooperation und Biologie."¹⁵ The ruling party—the Survivalists—is based on this principle, and run almost entirely by women.

Callenbach emphasizes above all two things: first, the strongly emotional behavior of Ecotopians and their spiritual relationship with nature—which is probably the reason why most of the lovemaking occurs in, on, or under trees. Second, he stresses numerous ecological gadgets such as magnetic suspension trains with linear motors, or the complex Ecotopian sewage system.¹⁶ This technological enthusiasm contrasts strongly with the asserted overall trend to abandon the fruits of all modern technology in favor of a poetic but costly return to nature. The centrality of these technological passages brings out a strong contradiction in the Ecotopian model, one between eco-technological fetishism and the desire for a Rousseauistic state of nature.

The next two texts are German variations on the same theme—ecology and the "simple life." One of them is Robert Havemann's essay *Die Reise in das Land unserer Hoffnungen*;¹⁷ the other is a novel by Uwe Wolff called *Papa Faust*.¹⁸ Even though some aspects of these books do of course refer to the authors' national context, the common problematic transcends the East-West border.

Havemann's text is based on a very tight and functional narrative. The narrator, his wife, and his daughter arrive in Utopia on July 1, 1980. A young couple takes them on what might be called a utopian sight-seeing tour that allows the author to unfold step by step all the important aspects of this new society.

Havemann's model is not the "noble savage" in touch with nature, but Marx and Engels in touch with history. His intention is to rewrite the universal Utopia of the Communist Manifesto, with the two most urgent problems in mind: Stalinism and the worldwide ecological crisis. The problem of Stalinism is overcome by the complete withering away of the state. Havemann's Utopians solve the second problem by reducing their production and by eliminating whole sectors—in Utopia, "Trabis" are replaced with donkeys. Utopia is only possible because private property has been abolished worldwide. Both industry and agriculture are centralized and entirely automated.

Havemann thus shares Callenbach's optimism according to which technology and social structure can be put at the service of humankind. There are other similarities: Utopia's culture is based on a "neues Matriarchat,"¹⁹ which expresses some universal principle of love; and Utopians, just like Ecotopians, lead a very simple, almost idyllic life in small rural communities scattered all over the world.

Havemann's project was to define a new goal behind which all of the fragmented oppositional forces of East and West could finally unite. This master plan

failed—the positions within the movement had become too different. There is no book that is better suited to illustrate that point than *Papa Faust* by Uwe Wolff.

Whereas Havemann replaces Callenbach's secessionist vision with a worldwide Utopia, Wolff carries its secessionist tendencies to an extreme, articulating the mood of West Germany's alternative left after the dreary fall of 1977. *Papa Faust* is a novel in the spirit of the 1978 TUNIX conference, fantasizing the exodus from Schmidt's "Modell Deutschland" and the creation of an autonomous "zweite Gesellschaft."²⁰ Its gesture of withdrawal and refusal rests on a fundamental decision: "Es gibt keine Fortsetzung mehr, weder wirtschaftlich, noch politisch, noch kulturell."²¹ Unlike the other TUNIX species, the infamous *Stadtindianer* who carved out their countersphere in the middle of West Germany's metropolises, *Papa Faust* follows those who chose the path back to the countryside. The characters of Wolff's novel see their farm in Schafstedt as a model of a new life based on a complete, definitive break with technology: refrigerators and electric ovens have to go, open fires and millstones are back. And then they start producing. They produce various kinds of *Müsli*: with nuts, without nuts, with sesame or sunflower seeds, with millet or with raisins. And they make "pea-beer" (*Erbsenbier*).

This new way of life is symbolized in two figures: Noah and Papa Faust. Noah was, according to Wolff, "der erste Grüne der Weltgeschichte."²² And Papa Faust is the reversal of another familiar character:

Papa Faust ist ein zur Ruhe gekommener Faust, ein Faust, der das Resümee seiner Epoche zieht, der die Nachgeborenen warnt, nicht mehr den Weg der Väter fortzusetzen.²³

Wolff leaves no doubt: the technical-constructive spirit has failed miserably. His book implies a new understanding of politics, whose goal is no longer to "make" progress, but to prevent the catastrophe and to preserve what exists.²⁴

Uwe Wolff's book captures the tension between the isolated *Aussteigerutopie* and the dream of turning all of Northern Germany into a "Freie Republik Schafstedt";²⁵ it also captures the conflict between the desire to withdraw and the necessity to confront what in the alternative jargon is called the "megamachine." However, under the weight of the apocalypse, this "megamachine," i.e., the industrial system, is demonized and the utopian images of survival turn into dystopian ones.

III

A qualitatively new stage in the critique of modern society was reached after 1945 with the realization that the technological-scientific progress that had led to the modern world had at the same time created the means for the total destruction of that world, since man had it in his power for the first time to destroy himself and his environment, and to put an end to history.

Four novels of the early 1980s offer secular or pseudoreligious variations of an apocalyptic structure reflecting this heightened awareness and anxiety. They are meant as a critique and as a means of outlining a new beginning, an alternative model or a turning point: Anton-Andreas Guha, *Ende: Tagebuch aus dem Dritten Weltkrieg*,²⁶ Udo Rabsch, *Julius oder der schwarze Sommer*,²⁷ and the two novels by Matthias Horx, *Es geht voran: Ein Ernstfall-Roman* and *Glückliche Reise: Ein Roman zwischen den Zeiten* (which takes place a generation later, but still within the apocalyptic transitional period).²⁸ The three texts by Rabsch and Horx exhibit the following common features. They are novels of a transition period in which a limited nuclear war destroys parts of Central Europe and large segments of its population. A small number of people are chosen to survive, due to their state of relative uncorruptedness by the evils of society. A strong friend-foe duality emerges in which all difficulties, problems, and evils of progress are projected onto an enemy, legitimizing his destruction by nuclear war and murder. The evolution of society has arrived at an impasse that appears to make peaceful constructive change impossible. War is depicted as the only way to provide a chance for a new beginning based on ecological principles.

Julius oder Der schwarze Sommer by Udo Rabsch is the story of the survival of one individual, Julius. His original childlike wonder at, and longing for, nature symbolized by sunflowers,²⁹ the symbol of the "Greens,"³⁰ is thwarted by society. Totally alienated, he experiences a split of body and soul which results in aggression, alternately directed against himself as a death wish or against other people as fantasies of destruction.³¹ As the outside world literally drowns under a flood of radioactive ashes, Julius is slowly healed. Nuclear destruction is the vehicle, both for the elimination of the enemy and for revelation. In this unmasking, nuclear war adds nothing new:

Wüste Alpträume und Vernichtungsphantasien . . . Angst, Einsamkeit und die zehntausendfache Mumie des städtischen Lebens gab es immer.

Nur daß jetzt der Deckmantel weggenommen war, die Fassade des angeblich Normalen . . . wo aber das innere Wesen, die drunter liegende Wahrheit schon Fäulnis, Gestank und Wüste immer war. (P. 66)

Julius participates in the removal of evil by murder, in particular that of women who carry the plague literally and metaphorically. The same "reflex of playing dead" (*Totstellreflex*) that kept Julius from actively attempting to change society aids him now in his survival. A god manifesting himself in nature institutes, as Julius says, the "miraculous destruction" of society and his survival. Slowly, Julius loses all connections to, and memories of, the past and of civilization, rejecting all models of society. He emerges alone on the shores of Lake Constance, his goal achieved: unity with nature.

The survival of Julius is dependent on the destruction of Western civilization. The state desired by the narrator, and achieved by Julius, is that of total innocence in the Garden of Eden before the Fall. No Eve is there to tempt him

with knowledge. He is a being devoid of all humanity, neither social nor intelligent. Rabsch envisions no possibilities of emergence from that prehuman stage, indicates no humanity compatible with innocence. The alternatives—evil alienating society or blissful creature state—are exceedingly pessimistic. His idyll of a prehuman existence, i.e., regression, is the ultimate inhuman image of survival.

In contrast to Rabsch's text, the utopian model of a new society is strongly developed, at least theoretically, in the two novels by Matthias Horx. Each book depicts a deep caesura in history followed by a new era. *Es geht voran* tells the story of a limited nuclear war in Europe that marks the end of the existing era and the beginning of a transitional period that, in the second book *Glückliche Reise*, culminates in the decisive and final defeat of opposing forces by a second nuclear explosion followed by the new society. In the first book, two groups representing radically opposed models of progress are hoping and planning for nuclear confrontation: the Synergists, high-tech industrialists with plans for unlimited expansion and progress into outer space as well as for the ultimate hubris, immortality, and their opponents, the Transformers, a "green" group.³² In the words of the Transformers: "Wir sehen, daß der Schritt in den Zusammenstoß nicht nur das Resultat des bio-evolutionären Fehllaufes ist, sondern zur Zeit die einzige Möglichkeit darstellt, einen neuen Anfang zu gewährleisten" (*Voran*, p. 30). In order to be able to establish postwar communes, which are to form the nucleus of the new society, the Transformers' central planning group, the "Phoenix organization," selects individuals from the "alternative scene," as they are less bound to, and corrupted by, society. Through fantastic psychotherapeutic procedures, aided by drugs, the postulated disruption of the bond between bio-evolutionary and social-emotional processes is reconnected in their psyche. In addition, a block against the fear and terror of nuclear war and human suffering is instituted in order to guarantee the survival and functioning of these groups. The "Phoenix organization" also establishes binding ecological principles. The groups are to be mostly agrarian, employing only technology which is natural, i.e., understandable and demonstrable through the senses. Artificial, abstract knowledge and thinking (binary logic) is forbidden to the members. This higher knowledge is guarded by the central group for future implementation when natural evolution is no longer threatened by it.³³ The central group also retains the power to "eliminate" offending members. It is clear that hierarchical organization prevails at least through the transitional phase. Grass-roots democracy and self-sustaining bio-evolutionary production cycles are the ultimate goal.

While *Es geht voran* follows essentially the structure of the Great Flood and Noah's Ark, the sequel *Glückliche Reise* depicts the survival of three major groups: the "Normalos," groups of ordinary surviving citizens, the Synergists, and the Transformers. Most of the Normalos left before the war or were killed. Those surviving are exploited in the reestablished industrial centers of the Synergists or have formed small fringe groups. Some are killed by the Transformers because they use computer technology. The Synergists are organized as exploitative, hierar-

chical, inhumane production and research centers. The Transformers form a churchlike organization with an "Order" and brothers and sisters, still essentially centralized. Theoretical, philosophical texts of both groups are interspersed with the narration. They reflect roughly the arguments currently employed by the different factions of the political parties in Germany. The book ends with the final battle of the Transformers and the Synergists. Citing verses from the Apocalypse, Jonathan, prophet of the Transformers and author of their "bible," *Metanoia* ("repentance"), pushes the button and detonates the last bomb. His own Christ-like temptation by the devil "binary logic" is overcome. The Synergists are destroyed. Jonathan thus becomes judge and executioner, god and savior. The female principle of tolerance, of living with human contradictions is set aside to free the world of evil. The male principle of aggression is used to save the world. Tolerance is extended only to those within the creed, not to the opponents.³⁴

Horx depicts the first, timid, idyllic vision of a new beginning in the first book after the long winter of war. A young couple takes over an abandoned farmhouse. With tools, goats, and seeds left over from before the war, they start to weed, plant, and, finally, harvest. The short entries in their diary show the joy and meagerness of this existence:

25. April

Die Radieschensamen sind aufgegangen

. . .

20. Mai

Frische Erbsen. Wer nicht ein Jahr lang nur Konserven gefressen hat, weiß nicht, wie das schmeckt. (Pp. 121, 123)

This minimal image of the simple life and of survival is overshadowed by the consequences of nuclear war: diseased people and animals, difficulties in obtaining medical help from a central agency, marauding bands of disoriented survivors, and so forth.

In the second book, more advanced communities are mentioned, existing, farming, and manufacturing on a small scale. In order not to rob or exploit nature, all manufactured goods must be biodegradable and absolutely essential. A lively trade with farm surplus and with implements and goods from "before" is taking place. The showpiece and model is represented by the community of the central order. Architecture, farms, the fish hatchery, stables—in short, the whole community is integrated into a bio-cycle within nature. Ecological considerations override all other concerns. Even entertainment is natural: listening to the music of the plants, their electrical impulses amplified. "Der Gesang erfüllte die Luft, durchflutete ihren Körper mit seinem fremden und doch vertrauten Puls" (p. 46): an attempt at synthesizing an aesthetic-spiritual dimension with pragmatic technological aspects of ecology. Yet this idyllic life is threatened from without by the products of the Synergists in the South, computer chips, and from within by

those impatient and dissatisfied with the lack of technical advances and the restrictions imposed by the stern ecological principles. Though disunity within appears to be managed by tolerance or mediation, the threat from without is dealt with by elimination of the enemy.

Horx outlines a future life that is strikingly similar to Bahro's ideas in *Pfeiler am anderen Ufer*.³⁵ But while Bahro's communes are to be models in and for an existing society, Horx has put these ideas into a framework of sin, guilt, and punishment. He uses nuclear war to establish a clearing, a *Freiraum*, in which a single intolerant ideology is to prevail. Conviction of its righteousness quickly leads to legitimizing all means for its implementation. After the final battle, the New Era, the utopian vision is to start.

The notion of the ability to limit and to survive nuclear war is problematic. The arguments of the peace movement strongly object to its viability. The last book to be discussed, Anton-Andreas Guha's *Ende: Tagebuch aus dem Dritten Weltkrieg*, attempts to dispel this very notion, narrating the final weeks of global nuclear destruction as experienced by a family, their friends, community, and, finally, the earth. Suffering, inhumanity, and death pervade this war journal, which ends with the suicide of the narrator, as the final hours are imminent. Guha, editor of the *Frankfurter Rundschau* since 1967, has published several books on aspects of weapons, armament, and the peace debates.³⁶ His extensive factual knowledge serves to create a novel that illustrates all the major arguments the peace movement and the platform of the Greens have posited. The book is intended to instill a healthy fear leading to solidarity and resistance of *all people* against nuclear arms. We are all in the same boat, and that is not a Noah's Ark.³⁷ There is no survival for anyone.

Nuclear war is not necessarily, or even likely, to be containable. The outcome is not a new beginning for man but the image of a simple life to be avoided:

Diese Flammen sind das Ende—und ein Anfang. Die Natur wird sich regenerieren, wieder von vorne anfangen. Sie hat die Zeit, um in Jahrmillionen in Ordnung zu bringen, was der Mensch in einigen Jahrtausenden, zuletzt in wenigen Jahrzehnten, aus dem Gleichgewicht gebracht hat . . . Der Film saust zurück zu den Anfängen des Lebens. (P. 167)

A life without man. This secular version of the apocalypse offers no second chance, since nature does not know guilt or redemption. Written as a diary, Guha's reflections include the possibility that nuclear war is nature's way of correcting an error, the experiment of a "thinking being," removing it like a cancerous growth: "Die Natur säubert sich. Sie brennt sich ein unaufhaltsam wucherndes Geschwür aus." This, Guha states, would prove that history is determined by nature. Yet, here he plays a dubious game with definitions of nature, man, and responsibility. He uses nature-determined and man-determined history as mutually exclusive alternatives. By assigning purposive action to nature and designating man as an "experiment of nature," Guha makes him a victim of nature's mistake, a *Fehlent-*

wicklung, which nature corrects: "die Korrektur eines epochalen Fehlers, den sich die Natur geleistet hat" (p. 167). All responsibility seems to lie with nature. But Guha confronts *us* with the choice of action: to stop nuclear destruction. He recognizes the human element of freedom and choice. Man-made technology threatens both man and nature, removing man from the position of a "mere creature of nature." The responsibility of humankind for continuing or ending its history can't be denied.

Guha's chilling novel contradicts the possibilities of the utopias of Rabsch and Horx, suggesting that they are dubious and dangerous. Preventing the catastrophe is the only chance to gain the time for a transformation toward a peaceful, ecologically sound, and humane society. The problematic and questioning, opened again by Christa Wolf, must be addressed responsibly and by all.

The recurring metaphors of the Great Flood, Noah's Ark, and the Apocalypse bear the same underlying structure as these novels. A central religion or ideology governs the world order and history. An agent or god functions as the creator and guardian and as the judge of the conduct of men and women. Trespassers are eliminated in order to reestablish an original state of harmony. This pattern invites the polarization into good and evil and legitimizes inhumanity toward nonbelievers or projected trespassers. To entrust global survival to a single ideology or solution is dangerous, to say the least. It is very questionable whether the old biblical metaphors can still be used to transport the "good" toward survival. Apocalypse can be achieved now, globally, not by nature or a transcendent being, but by humankind. The metaphors are disquietingly close to becoming reality.

IV

The Chernobyl accident of April 1986 made it immediately clear that—after years of heated debates, after all those utopian and dystopian images—the same basic problem still existed: the double-edged nature of progress, simultaneously destructive and constructive. With her book *Störfall*,³⁸ which appeared in 1987, Christa Wolf decided to return to the problem. This book contains utopia and dystopia, idyll and apocalypse as possibilities; however, both idyll and apocalypse remain on the periphery of the text, while the core of it is devoted to an intense reflection around the concept of progress.

How does Wolf approach the question of progress, and where does her investigation lead her? *Störfall* rests on the ingenious construction of a narrator waiting for news of two critical events: the catastrophe at Chernobyl and her brother's ongoing brain operation. Thus the narrator confronts the reader with the destructive as well as the redemptive side of technology, without ever allowing us to rest securely in a simplistic pro- or anti-technology position. This does not mean that Wolf underestimates the dangers of technology. On the contrary, she establishes throughout her text an analogy between the near-meltdown and

the German catastrophe of 1933 as the two events which separate the century in a *Vorher* and *Nachher*.³⁹ Yet, Chernobyl strikes even deeper than fascism, threatening the very concept of historical progress itself:

Jenes Ziel in einer sehr fernen Zukunft, auf das sich bis jetzt alle Linien zubewegt hatten, war weggesprengt worden, gemeinsam mit dem spaltbaren Material in einem Reaktorgehäuse ist es dageblieben zu verglühen.⁴⁰

The use of the term *DIE NACHRICHT Störfall* is clearly a self-quotation referring back to Wolf's earlier work, and allows to reconstruct the subtext. *DIE NACHRICHT* in her first novel *Der geteilte Himmel*—which was: "Seit einer Stunde haben die Russen einen Mann im Kosmos"⁴¹—promised the realization of a socialist society based on scientific-technical growth; in contrast, *DIE NACHRICHT* of Chernobyl disqualifies "real existing socialism" as having substituted the means for the goal. Science does not solve but rather creates problems, and "progress" denotes only the exploitation of men and nature. At the end, the narrator realizes that the culture to which she belongs is founded upon what she calls a *blinder Fleck*.⁴² namely, the link between killing and invention.

On the one hand, the text thus generates a definition of progress similar to the one in Horkheimer and Adorno's *Dialektik der Aufklärung*.⁴³ Simultaneously, the narrator attempts to answer a more disturbing question: Why is this destructive system still in place? At the outset, she answers her own question by pointing to other people's desire for a comfortable life. And then she immediately retracts her answer. She retracts it because it avoids the issue of her own responsibility, her own involvement in the values and mechanisms of the system.

Rather than being answered, the question of her own *Teilhabe an der Schuld*⁴⁴ is first displaced by another question: How did the link between killing and invention, science and death originate? Here Wolf's text opens up into a network of groping questions and tentative answers, of which only the dominant ones can be addressed here.

On one level, the narrator considers the possibility of a *Störfall* in the evolutionary process, the overdevelopment of the human brain, resulting in what she calls *skrupellose Neugier*.⁴⁵ She identifies this relentless search as "male" and condenses it in the image of a new Faust fascinated by a *Sog des Todes*, a *Machbarkeit des Nichts*.⁴⁶ On another level, she confronts this destructive male subjectivity with a preserving female one. Finally, she proposes a universal need for domination and surrender, which depends on knowledge as its main instrument. Through the discovery of this nexus of power and knowledge, the narrator suddenly returns to the topic of her own responsibility, because she is forced to recognize that her own writing, and therefore her own subjectivity as well, is tied up with the "blind spot" of Western culture.

Again, the very tentative and multifaceted character of the text should be emphasized. On the one hand, the obvious tension between the different explanatory frameworks—such as the cultural critique based on Adorno and Hork-

heimer's work or the more deterministic evolutionary approach—is never solved. On the other hand, those ruminations on the historical meaning of Chernobyl and its subjective groundings are only one aspect of the text. Another one is the sensitive tracing of Chernobyl's destructive effects on the simple daily life. Wolf makes the reader painfully aware of the fact that even the most remote and idyllic countryside is now drawn into the cancerous sphere of modern science and technology.

What remains? Not much. Or better: ambiguities. There is for a short moment the hope that there will be yet another summer in the country. But then, the narrator speculates, this *trügerische Hoffnung*⁴⁷ may have been the reason why she herself never protested more vehemently. And then there is the feeling of freedom produced by the recognition that there are no more fixed historical goals. And the anxious question: "Wie aber könnte ich gehen ohne Ziel?"⁴⁸

Finally, and most important, the readers of Wolf's text are left with the uneasy balance between the destruction of Chernobyl and the triumph of medical technology, for the brain operation is successful. If there is any suggestion of a different, more positive, relationship between nature and technology, it is the extremely cautious, scrupulous form of intervention represented by this operation. Like the motif of weeding that is woven into the text, the operation is depicted as treading a thin line between intervention and destruction. And if there is any suggestion of a different concept of progress, it would have to be one where the relationship between means and end would finally be reversed. There is only one thing that counts: "Der Mensch will starke Gefühle erleben und er will geliebt werden. Punktum."⁴⁹

Wolf's text derives all its momentum from the experience that there is no possible "outside." There is no possible way of thinking outside of the dominant paradigm, as the narrator slowly realizes:

Mein Gehirn, über das Normalmaß empfänglich für Sprache, muß gerade über dieses Medium auf die Werte dieser Kultur programmiert sein. Wahrscheinlich ist es mir nicht einmal möglich, die Fragen zu formulieren, die mich zu radikalen Antworten führen könnten.⁵⁰

And there is no possible way of living outside of the existing system, neither in Mecklenburg, nor in Schafstedt or Ecotopia—neither as Indian nor as Papa Faust. Yet being aware of the limits in which one is forced to move does not mean closure. Unlike Havemann, who wants to establish a new goal, and unlike Rabsch and Horx, who try to impose a new meaning on history, Christa Wolf accepts the radical openness of the future.

V

It is the same openness that characterizes the green-alternative movement, both in terms of the variety of social forces it is able to integrate and in terms of the

variety of issues it raises and solutions it proposes. This movement has constructed a new discursive system in which the traditional leftist focus on class politics has been articulated with questions of the human race and survival.⁵¹ Yet it has not produced one single solution or blueprint. The texts here analyzed participated in the construction of this system by elaborating the central questions and proposing several diverging solutions: Callenbach's answer lies in the reconciliation of the "project of modernity" with science and technology; Horx proposes the complete abandonment of the industrial system; with Christa Wolf, perplexity prevails, although she does consider a more careful, moderate relationship between science and nature, an attitude Guha openly advocates in the preface to his dystopian novel. All these positions express the basic tension within the green-alternative movement between the complete abandonment of industrial society and some kind of ecological or even ecosocialist reform.

In the texts, this new discourse crystallizes around such cultural-literary images as the noble savage or the Indian warrior, the Great Flood and Noah's Ark, nuclear war and the Apocalypse, the figure of Faust and others. It also crystallizes around some kind of "feminine principle" close to nature as the "other" of technology; this is, of course, as much a literary construction of an alternative to a purely growth-oriented progress as it is a cultural definition of what is "feminine." Nevertheless, this polyvalent metaphor uncovers with striking clarity both the intense desire for a new solution as well as its repeated failure to take on concrete shape.

Notes

- 1 Umberto Eco, *Travels in Hyperreality* (New York, 1986), p. 66.
- 2 Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialektik der Aufklärung* (Frankfurt, 1981).
- 3 Karl-Werner Brand, Detlef Büsser, and Dieter Rucht, *Aufbruch in eine andere Gesellschaft: Neue soziale Bewegungen in der Bundesrepublik* (Frankfurt, 1986). See also Matthias Horx, *Das Ende der Alternativen: Was aus den Kommunen, den Aussteigern und Spontis geworden ist* (Munich, 1987) and Claus Offe, "Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics: Social Movements since the 1960s," in *Changing Boundaries of the Political*, ed. Charles S. Maier (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 63-107.
- 4 Carl Amery, *Natur als Politik: Die ökologische Chance des Menschen* (Reinbek, 1982).
- 5 Quoted in Fritjof Capra and Charlene Spretnak, *Green Politics: The Global Promise* (New York, 1984).
- 6 Die Grünen, *Das Bundesprogramm* (Bonn, n.d.), p. 5. (Green publications are available by writing to the Greens directly at Colmantstrasse 36, 5300 Bonn 1, West Germany.) See also Die Grünen—Hessen, *Landesprogramm* (Frankfurt, n.d.) (available from the Greens at Schwanthalerstraße 59, 6000 Frankfurt 70, West Germany). Many other Green position papers, programs, and pamphlets are also available directly from the Greens.
- 7 Brand, Büsser, and Rucht, *Aufbruch*, pp. 241-46.
- 8 This categorization came under fire when the paper was read at the Wisconsin Workshop in

September 1987, because it seemed to place large segments of the Greens in an antihumanistic and, therefore, negative camp. Ironically, the following day at a counterculture festival in Madison, Wisconsin, the authors picked up several leaflets handed out by a green group trying to form itself locally. The pamphlets explicitly attacked anthropocentrism and called for a return to a nature-centered worldview, going so far as to advocate radical direct action against the anthropocentric system. Carl Wege pointed out to us that many Greens attack the system not because it is anthropocentric but because it is itself anti-anthropocentric. They are thus trying to save, not destroy, humanistic values. On this point, we are in full agreement with him. There is a radical and unbridgeable split here in the philosophical motivation of various Greens; it is precisely this split which we intended to point out. It should be stressed that this split on the philosophical level does not necessarily coincide with the better-known tactical split among the Greens about political behavior, the split between the two groups known as the fundamentalists and the realists (or, to use the somewhat infantile-sounding terminology of the participants themselves, the Fundis and the Realos). This tactical split could lead to a schism in the Green Party at almost any moment, as it is becoming increasingly bitter; but it is not the subject of this study. Those interested in a concise summary of these problems from the point of view of an astute American observer may refer to Steven Dickman, "Taste of Power Brings Conflict to West Germany's Greens," *Nature* 327 (11 June 1987): 451.

- 9 Rudolf Bahro, *Pfeiler am anderen Ufer* (Berlin, 1984); Manon Maren-Grisebach, *Philosophie der Grünen* (Munich, 1982); Carl Amery, *Natur als Politik* (Frankfurt, 1976); Joseph Huber, *Die verlorene Unschuld der Ökologie* (Frankfurt, 1982). See also Wolf Schäfer ed., *Neue soziale Bewegungen: Konservativer Aufbruch in grünem Gewand?* (Frankfurt, 1983), where two essays by Carl Amery and Wolf Schäfer nicely illustrate the fundamental philosophical discord between anthropocentrists (Schäfer) and anti-anthropocentrists (Amery): cf. Amery, "Deutscher Konservatismus und der faschistische Graben: Versuch einer zeitgeschichtlichen Bilanz," pp. 11–19; Schäfer, "Das Nein zur künstlichen Welt und die verändernden Philosophien," pp. 20–26. See also the informative series of essays collected by Hans-Werner Lüdke and Olaf Dinne, eds., *Die Grünen: Personen—Projekte—Programme* (Stuttgart, 1980).
- 10 We are aware of the problems inherent in asserting that a particular book is "Green." Therefore we prefer to view all the books we are dealing with as participating in a particular cultural discourse of which the Greens are also a part. However, it is impossible here to do an analysis of Green *Kulturpolitik* per se. For those interested in this topic, the Greens' recent publication *Dem Struwwelpeter durch die Haare gefahren: Auf dem Weg zu einer grünen Kulturpolitik*, available at the Bonn address given in n. 6 above, provides a useful introduction to the many and intricate debates among the Greens on cultural policy. Two recent scholarly articles have dealt with some of the same books we are dealing with here: Carsten Gansel, "Phantastische Romane, Science-Fiction, Anti-Utopie: Einige Bemerkungen zur Phantastik in der BRD," *Weimarer Beiträge* 33 (1987): 399–419; Hiltrud Gnüg, "Warnutopien in unserer Gegenwartsliteratur," *Kürbiskern* 20 (1984): 148–58. We are dealing with Christa Wolf here not as a GDR author, but as an author who participates in the cultural discourse we have identified.
- 11 Ernest Callenbach, *Ökoptopia* (Berlin, 1986). The original American text was published in 1975.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 60.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 44.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 42.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 113.
- 16 In this respect, Callenbach continues an important trend of the traditional utopian novel as analyzed by Michael Eckert, "Der fragwürdige Charm der Utopie: Von Bellamys Paradies 2000 zu Callenbachs Utopia," *Kommune* 1987, Heft 8. Another article which locates Callenbach's *Ökoptopia* within the utopian tradition is Jost Hermand, "Möglichkeiten alternativen Zusammenlebens," in *Literarische Utopien von Morus bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Klaus Berghahn and Hans Ulrich Seeber (Königstein, 1983), pp. 251–64.
- 17 Robert Havemann, "Die Reise in das Land unserer Hoffnungen," in his *Morgen: Die Industriegesellschaft am Scheideweg* (Munich, 1980), pp. 78–177.
- 18 Uwe Wolff, *Papa Faust* (Frankfurt, 1982).
- 19 Havemann, "Die Reise," p. 141.
- 20 See *Zwei Kulturen? Tunix, Mesclero und die Folgen* (Berlin) ed. D. Hoffman Axthelm, et al. O. Kallscheuer, E. Knödler-Bunte, B. Wartmann.

- 21 Uwe Wolff, *Papa Faust* (Frankfurt, 1982), p. 135.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 120.
- 23 *Ibid.*, p. 108.
- 24 See Claus Offe, "Griff nach der Notbremse: Bewirken oder Bewahren—der Aufstieg der Grünen bringt zwei Politikbegriffe ins Spiel, die einander widersprechen," in *Was sollen die Grünen im Parlament?* (Frankfurt, 1983), pp. 85–93.
- 25 Wolff, *Papa Faust*, p. 127.
- 26 Anton-Andreas Guha, *Ende: Tagebuch aus dem Dritten Weltkrieg* (Königstein, 1983).
- 27 Udo Rabsch, *Julius oder Der schwarze Sommer* (Tübingen, 1983).
- 28 Michael Horx: *Es geht voran: Ein Ernstfall-Roman* (Berlin, 1982); idem, *Glückliche Reise: Roman zwischen den Zeiten* (Berlin, 1983). Udo Rabsch studied theology and medicine and is now a physician in Stuttgart. His previous novels include *Mexikanische Reise oder Abschied vom Regiment der Schwangeren* and *Der Hauptmann von Stuttgart: Ein Roman über Liebe, Gewalt und Tod*.
- 29 Rabsch, *Julius*, p. 63 (pagination for further citations in the text).
- 30 Maren-Grisebach, *Philosophie der Grünen*, p. 15.
- 31 Jens Huhn calls this phenomenon a form of "negative hedonism." Due to modern processes of society, true human needs such as security, closeness to nature, and a sense of belonging are suppressed, resulting in aggression and self-aggression, which Huhn identifies as both a critique of the status quo and as forms of *Selbstbehauptung* ("self-assertion") against societal forces. Huhn is doubtful whether the insistence of the Greens on peaceful tactics will be able to use these aggressive impulses or will repress them again, as the Greens fail to distinguish between aggression and violence. Jens Huhn, "Alternative Sicherheit durch Friedfertigkeit?," in *Nicht links nicht rechts? Über Politik und Utopie der Grünen* (Hamburg, 1983), pp. 97–108.
- 32 The *Organisation Phoenix* is the founding organization of the Transformers. They are, based on the Club of Rome founded in 1969, research institutes for peace and ecology and theoreticians for psychological transformation. Horx, *Es geht voran*, p. 30 (pagination for further citations in the text). On the topic of "transformation," see Bahro, *Pfeiler am anderen Ufer*. A critique of Bahro's position is given by Otto Kallscheuer, "Fortschrittsangst," *Kursbuch 74* (1983): 159–97.
- 33 Horx, *Glückliche Reise*, pp. 23, 50f.; Freimuth J. Weber functions as main character in the second book and as author of the fictitious programmatic text *Metanoia*, which is said to have been published in 1988 in three volumes. Excerpts of this text are interspersed in the novel (p. 18). The opposing theoretical text of the Synergists, *Reißt die Mauern ein!—Der synergistische Weg*, also published in 1988, elaborates their position (p. 129). Both texts formulate extreme positions of different factions of the political parties in the late 1970s and 1980s.
- 34 Horx's utopian goal follows essentially the ideas outlined by Bahro in "Notizen für eine Vorlesung über 'Dimensionen des Exterminismus und die Idee der allgemeinen Emanzipation'." Here, Bahro identifies hierarchical patriarchal power to be the fundamental force resulting in exterminism, a longing for annihilation, as the last stage of civilization (pp. 185f.). In an attempt at a fundamental "critique of human nature" (p. 188), Bahro sees the emancipatory process toward freedom as having erroneously concentrated on the area of material expansion, leading to self-destruction and the hubris of rising against nature, a perversion of the idea of progress (p. 191). Combining ideas from Fritjof Capra's *Turning Point*, psychoanalysis, and psychotherapy with religious ideas, he wants to achieve a rebirth of man, a kind of "cosmic consciousness" (pp. 196f.). The means and path, however, outlined by Horx in these two texts, are in sharp contrast to Bahro's.
- 35 See n. 9 above.
- 36 Guha coauthored *Das Geschäft mit dem Tod* (1982); he is the author of *Die Neutronenbombe oder Die Perversion menschlichen Denkens* (1977; rev. ed. 1982), *Der Tod in der Grauzone: Ist Europa noch zu verteidigen?* (1980), and others.
- 37 Anton-Andreas Guha, *Ende: Tagebuch aus dem Dritten Weltkrieg*, p. 37 (pagination for further citations in the text).
- 38 Christa Wolf, *Störfall* (Darmstadt and Neuwied, 1987).
- 39 *Ibid.*, p. 43.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p. 9.
- 41 Christa Wolf, *Der geteilte Himmel* (Munich, 1973), p. 143.
- 42 Wolf, *Störfall*, p. 118.
- 43 See n. 2 above.
- 44 Wolf, *Störfall*, p. 56.

45 Ibid., p. 23.

46 Ibid., p. 72.

47 Ibid., p. 68.

48 Ibid., p. 30.

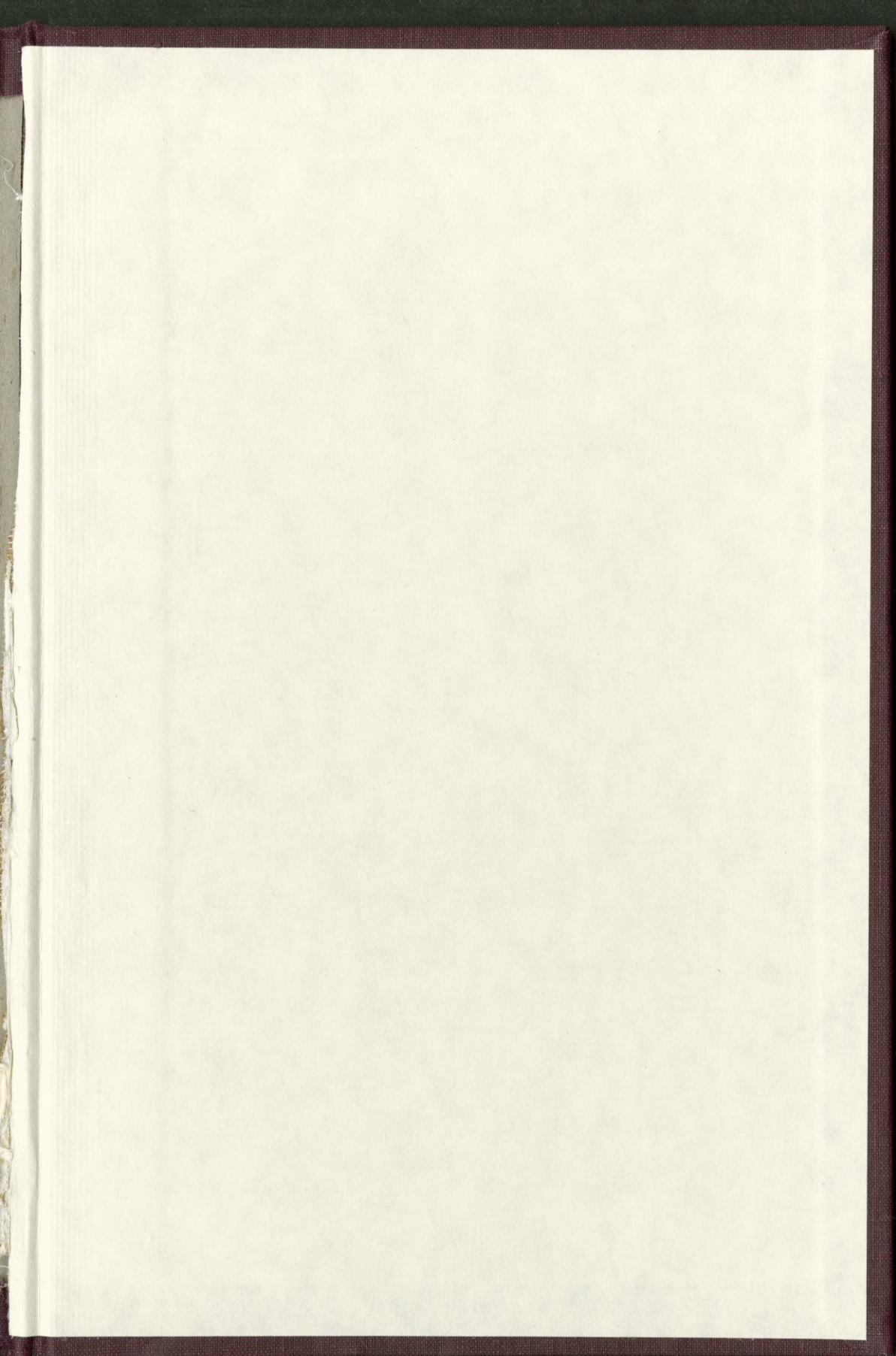
49 Ibid., p. 38.

50 Ibid., p. 99.

51 Helmut Dubiel, "Über eine neue Symbolisierung des historischen Fortschritts," in *Neue soziale Bewegungen: Konservativer Aufbruch im bunten Gewand?*, ed. Wolf Schäfer (Frankfurt, 1983), p. 126.







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