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FRIEDRICH MAXIMILIAN KLINGER
IN HIS RELATION TO THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT

BY

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY
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ENTITLED Friedrich Maximilian Klinger
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CHAPTER I.

TWO RELATED LITERARY MOVEMENTS: STORM AND STRESS AND ROMANTICISM

It is an interesting phenomenon in the history of literature that, in general, the first two of three consecutive literary movements are antagonistic. There would be no distinction between them were this not the case. The third movement, however, usually reveals a definite connection with the first of the series. So it is with the Storm and Stress and the Romantic periods of German literature, separated as they were by the Classical period of Goethe and Schiller. Because of this relationship it may be that Friedrich Maximilian Klinger, whose play "Sturm und Drang" gave the earlier period its name, and who is always classed as a Storm and Stress writer, has more Romantic elements in his works than his repeated opposition to certain phases of the latter movement would lead people to believe. But before beginning a study of Klinger's relation to the Romantic movement it is necessary to have clearly in mind the elements of Storm and Stress that carried over into Romanticism, the similarities and differences between the two periods. These differences can be most clearly seen in comparison with the Early Romanticism, where the strongest contrasts present themselves:

The chief difference between the two movements is found in the attitude toward the part emotion and reason should play in life. Rousseau, as a philosopher demanding a return to nature, a development of an emotional life in contrast to the cold reasoning attitude of the Period of Enlightenment, was epoch-making for Storm and Stress and had a great influence upon Romanticism**. Friedrich

*Walzel: Deutsche Romantik. pp. 2 - 7.

**Gschwind: Die ethischen Neuerungen der Früh-Romantik, 5.

Schlegel by calling his "Rhetorik der Liebe" an apology of nature and innocence fights on the side of Rousseau and the older Storm and Stress men against law and custom and all conventionality*. But the men of the Storm and Stress period, under the influence of Rousseau, were content with feeling. Indeed they were afraid to analyze their emotional experiences lest they destroy them. The Romanticist had no such fear, and subjected himself to a constant analysis, making his emotions and dreams mean something, always attempting to reveal a secret. The Storm and Stress writers, particularly Hamann and Herder, made fun of reason. On the other hand Friedrich Schlegel openly confessed his indebtedness to Kant and learned not to think that reason is necessarily in opposition to all that is great and good and high in the human soul. The Romanticists realized, as the Storm and Stress writers did not, that it was from the demands of reason that the desire common to both movements came, of longing to see the innermost relation of the whole of human experience. La Feu in Klinger's "Sturm und Drang" expresses the Storm and Stress ideal perfectly when he says, "Man must dream, dear Blasius, if he wishes to be happy, and not think, not philosophize".** Romantic development, however, demanded not only emotion and deeds but also thought and observation***.

The Storm and Stress attitude toward the individual⁺ held that everyone had the right to live his own life to the fullest possible extent. So, too, the Romanticists believed in the worth of the individual, and on this point Schleiermacher opposed Kant and agreed with Herder. Schleiermacher developed for the Romanticists an ethics based on the moral law of the great personality, a moral law that was to be derived from obedience to the voice of the individual's inner spirit. This, like the ethics expressed by Heine for the Storm and Stress period

*Gschwind: l.c. 102

**Sturm und Drang, Act III, Scene I.

***Walzel: l. c. 8.

+Ibid. 9.

was in revolt against the moral attitude of the period of Enlightenment. The difference between the two movements consists in the fact that the Storm and Stress aim was to break down all barriers, to make the mood of the moment the law-giver, rather than observing the law which has been derived from the personality through meditation and self-examination*. As historians the Romanticists made way for the rights of the individual when they showed where and why a personality was not free but was bound by the period of development in which it existed, another thought which they owed to Herder. At the same time it must be remembered that the Romanticists often developed Herder's thoughts in a way that was far from Herder's intention. Thus they carried his idea that history as a whole had no definite aim over to the personal psychological realm, and for some of the Romanticists lack^{of} aim was another expression for Romantic ability**.

Two ideas of genius developed for the Romanticists***. The conception of the Storm and Stress period that genius was an unconscious, dreamy, instinctively creating activity was definitely discarded by Friedrich Schlegel. He taught that creative genius must be conscious, must be able to guide itself, to lift itself above its best work. In this latter connection he developed the theory of Romantic irony. Further, since the most perfect harmony was a union of all opposing forces, the genius, according to the Romantic view, must be extremely versatile. He must move quickly from one extreme to another and must possess a nature including these extremes. Later, through Schelling, came the expression of the belief that all art was derived directly from God, that the Divine was realized therein. This conception came much nearer that of the Storm and Stress than had the earlier efforts of the Romanticists as they tried to comprehend the wisdom of great creative artists, particularly of Shakespeare.

*Walzel, l. c. pp. 56 ff.

**Brandes: Die Literatur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts in ihren Hauptströmungen. Vol. II, 616.

***Walzel: l. c. pp. 32 - 3; 54 - 5.

Although the Romanticists for the most part neither realized nor acknowledged their debt to Herder, they nevertheless owed almost as much to him as did the Storm and Stress writers. He it was who for both movements opened the way to Shakespeare, Old German poetry, to the Middle Ages and the folk song. Each of these interests was developed somewhat differently by the Romanticists than it was by the promoters of the earlier movement. Thus some Storm and Stress writers read Shakespeare for his portrayal of Nature, others for his expression of freedom, and others for his representation of emotional experiences*. For all of them, however, Shakespeare was great as the creator of characters who performed great deeds, who were men of action. The Romanticists, on the other hand, in reading Shakespeare were not particularly concerned about human beings and their fate, but rather were they interested in the poetic quality of his plays, and this they found in Shakespeare's caprices and fancifulness. Shakespeare as a poet satisfied Romantic needs along three lines, as a man of fanciful imagination, as an ironical thinker of universal application, and as a master of language**.

The men of the Romantic movement developed the interest in the folk song to a greater extent than their predecessors had done. So, too, they had a deeper interest in the Middle Ages with an attendant enthusiasm for the Catholic religion. To Herder, also, the Romanticists owed their love for the distinctly national characteristics which they sought in foreign literatures, particularly of Spain and the Orient. And finally the Romanticists in their Nature philosophy created a new mythology of which the young Herder had dreamed.

In regard to characteristics belonging strictly to the Romantic period we find several words which have become practically synonymous with Romanticism. First and most important of these, and the central point upon which all the others depend, is the Romantic yearning, "die Sehnsucht". It may be the longing for a

*Gundolf: Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist, 252.

**Gundolf: l. c. 333.

distant land, for the presence of the beloved, or the almost overpowering desire to comprehend the Infinite, to attain a union of the finite with the Infinite. Such a longing as the latter necessarily introduced a mystic element into religion, a mysticism expressed by Novalis in "Hymnen an die Nacht" and in "Heinrich von Ofterdingen".* In the symbolism of the Romantic movement the "Blue Flower" connotes for us the end and aim of Romantic yearning by representing love, human and Divine. Music, poetry, and art were viewed as attempts to satisfy this yearning. Music, says Wackenroder, seems like "stories, without connection, yet with associations, like dreams".** Fairy tales, both the folk tales and the conscious fantastic inventions of authors, the magical and the purely grotesque, are all expressions of Romantic interests. Romantic also is the portrayal of morbid mental states, of dual personalities, of the "night side of Nature", and the phenomena of sleep, dreams, and insanity***. Closely connected with this is the Fate tragedy with its superstition and terror and characters hypnotized by Fate.+ And finally, to turn again to a different field, we have the interest in Nature, in the babbling brook, the quaint German village at night, the palace in ruins, the magic and lonesomeness of the woods - all as means of awakening yearning.++

We see, then, that Romanticism is clearly a continuation of Storm and Stress, but that there are differences in the conceptions of reason and emotion, of the individual, of genius, of the ideas primarily due to Herder, and that Romanticism has in addition distinct characteristics traceable not at all or in a very slight degree in the earlier movement.

In seeking the direct influence of Storm and Stress writers upon Ro-

*Walzel: l. c. 65.

**Ibid. 91

***Walzel: l. c. 140 - 148.

+Ibid. 152 - 159.

++Ibid. 1.

manticists one thinks first of all of Goethe with his "Götz von Berlichingen" and its influence. It is worthy of note that Tieck, all his life long, considered "Götz" the best of Goethe's works.* We remember, too, Goethe's interest in medieval legends and his collection of folk songs, and then from his maturer years, after the true Storm and Stress was past, the far-reaching influence of "Wilhelm Meister" in Romantic circles. It is significant that the greatest of the Storm and Stress writers was able to follow "Iphigenie" and "Tasso", truly classical works, with the "Lehrjahre" which held such a strong appeal for the Romanticists. Similarly among Schiller's later works "Die Jungfrau von Orleans" shows traces of Romantic influence, despite Schiller's inability to be thoroughly Romantic, and "Die Braut von Messina" is related to the group of Fate-tragedies produced by Werner and his contemporaries later.**

Among the other Storm and Stress writers Maler Müller has been called the Romanticist of the period***, due to his love for medieval knighthood and for the folk song as well as on account of the lyrical elements in his drama "Golo und Genoveva". Tieck read Müller's play in 1797 and undoubtedly found in it the inspiration for his own "Genoveva", but the two plays have in common only a few lines of song.+ Of the early Romanticists Tieck undoubtedly best understood the Storm and Stress writers. He was sufficiently interested in Maler Müller and Lenz to edit their works++, a plan which Brentano, too, had had in mind in his first enthusiasm over Lenz's writings+++.

Maler Müller's most intimate friend in Rome was Heinse, who looked to Wieland and Rousseau as his teachers. Heinse not only influenced his contemporary Klinger, as we shall see later, but also affected Tieck. Tieck's "William

*Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum: 25 : 307.

**Robertson: A History of German Literature; 392,399.

***Gschwind: l. c. 20.

+Robertson: l. c. 424.

++Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum; 25 : 307.

+++Steig: Achim von Arnim und die ihm nahe standen: I : 355.

Lovell" reveals his knowledge of "Ardinghello", which he had known in 1792*, and a part of "Franz Sternbald" is similarly connected with "Hildegard von Hohenthal".**
Indeed "Ardinghello" may be considered as the first of the series, Lovell-Sternbald-Lucinde-Godwi.***

Argument from analogy suggests that if Goethe, Schiller, Maler Müller, Lenz and Heinse are related in one way or another to Romanticism, Klinger, too, may have a definite connection with the movement. Rieger thinks it was impossible for Klinger to have been in sympathy with Romanticism.⁺ Nevertheless opposition to certain tendencies of the Romantic School does not necessarily eliminate Romantic characteristics in Klinger's writings, and it is with this in mind that Klinger's opinions on the subject should be examined.

*Gschwind: l. c. 67.

**Ibid. 74.

***Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum: 25 : 306.

⁺Rieger: Friedrich Maximilian Klinger: Sein Leben und Werke. II, 476

CHAPTER II.

KLINGER'S VIEWS IN REGARD TO ROMANTICISM.

In a letter to Nicolovius written from St. Petersburg in May 1799, Klinger first expresses himself concerning the writers of the day: "The German writers especially, since they are now for the most part confused in regard to esthetics and to Kant, are people who no longer provoke mere laughter. For instance, I read recently in Schlegel's Athenais (!) several odd statements. It says there aphoristically: Wilhelm Meister and Fichte's Wissenschaftslehre and the great wild events of the century are the chief tendencies of our time. - - - What is one to do and say with such nonsense?"*

Klinger's "Betrachtungen und Gedanken über verschiedene Gegenstände" contain numerous references to various elements of the Romantic movement. The "Betrachtungen" first appeared anonymously in 1803 and 1805. In Klinger's collected works they were revised, a number omitted entirely, and were then published in 1809 as volumes 11 and 12 of the series. An examination of the comments which were directed at the contemporary literature of Klinger's day shows that the Fate-tragedy, mysticism and the Romantic attitude toward the Catholic religion were the chief points with which Klinger took issue. Number 695 will serve as a general summary of the opinion he expressed about the Romanticists:

"The educated portion of the public would gladly respect German literature, because it really has much to offer that is worthy of respect, but the geniuses themselves and their echoes, these distorted spirits, do not permit it. If the ones strive to make us subject to that powerful specter, Greek Fate, in order to put us in a receptive mood for their sublime productions, the others

*Rieger, l.c. Vol. II, Letter No. 41, page 49.

want to lead us back into the fifteenth century in order to awaken in us the feeling for poetic or Romantic poetry. The means to this elevation of the spirit they find in the obscuring of reason, in the destruction of Protestantism, in the revival of magic, astrology, alchemy and so forth; the political and moral world is only there for the sake of the poetic, Romantic poetry - in this lies the welfare of mankind, and reason and understanding have only pushed us into our political and moral wretchedness, from which nothing can save us but this principle which has been advanced. I do not know what effect these teachings have in their immediate vicinity; at a distance they only provoke the painful smile that the wild notions of raving people force from us upon a visit to an insane asylum, and for which we are already reproaching ourselves as we smile".

Absolute disgust with the writers of the "horrible, monstrous, trite novels of knights, spirits and ghosts" is shown in number 354. Elsewhere we read that the writers of the period are bringing the "old, iron fate out of the lumber-room of the Greek theater, unconcerned as to whether it is in keeping with our customs, method of thought and enlightenment."* Again, "Are ghosts of fate, accident, mysticism, superstition and oracles, besides all the horrible ghouls with which they now seek to bewitch the sublime and the touching, suited to the time in which we live?""** "Plato banished the poets from his Republic; what would he do in the nineteenth century if he should read the newest productions of our poets, in which they try to so subject us to fate that even our purest innocence, our most powerful, most active virtue avails us nothing, and who can give us no further comfort in the benumbing feeling of our powerlessness than the one we find in their beautifully arranged curses against the ancient gods?""***

*No. 537.

**No. 618.

***No. 683. Cf. also the ironical references in 680, 681 and 762.

We may well question how it happens that the author of "Der verbannte Göttersohn", of "Medea" and "Raphael" should be so bitter against the introduction of the fate element, since, as we shall see later, he had used it to so great an extent himself. To my mind the explanation of the inconsistency may be found not only in a change of view point on Klinger's part, as Rieger implies*, but also in the very human characteristic of variation between theory and practice, and in the fact that Klinger's ideal of human action lay in accomplishment of deeds, in power to overcome difficulties. Since he realized the moral danger of a submissive resignation to fate, he felt that in his "Betrachtungen" aimed to "awake power"*** he must make it clear that "only the weak, the cowardly, the thoughtless and the characterless can comfort themselves with the words Fate, chance, and sigh over the blind working of these invisible spirits. - - - The man of character who acts according to duty and who recognizes only the most rigid, earnest justice as his guide, at least proves, if he still complains about his fate, that he does not think as consistently as he acts."*** Klinger's opposition to the Fate-tragedy was on the basis that it offered a poor philosophy of life rather than on the basis that it was a product of the Romantic school and therefore to be looked at askance.

Mysticism, as we have seen, Klinger classed with fate and superstition as being unsuitable for men of character. Much may be expected from German writers, he believes, if only their high intelligence is not strangled by the misused philosophy of Kant, the political statistical arithmetic, and the flourishing mysticism.† "A new contradiction, if there is still a new one! While our theologians pay homage to Reason, our poets - our great poets - now cultivate mysticism".*† The virtue pictured in the new mystical German novels is so ideal-

*Rieger; l.c. II, 286.

**No. 651.

***No. 622.

†No. 570.

††No. 641.

ized that one could pardon the man who begs for the introduction of vice.* The new theory of esthetics and the productions which are based upon it prove to Klinger that a poet can use only a practical philosophy; a speculative philosophy either kills his poetic talent or leads him to mysticism which then fills his mind with shadows and ghosts.** Eöhme, Lavater, Swedenborg, representing to Klinger types of mystical thinkers, receive their share of sarcastic treatment.*** The modern mystical poetry seems to Klinger to have the effect of music set to words in a language not understood by the hearer.†

Despite these statements, mysticism, in the better sense of the Romantic movement, was not so foreign to Klinger's nature as he would have us believe. "Every noble nature", he tells us in 234, "has something of a supernatural mysticism that places it and keeps it in relation with a higher world. This mysticism, however, is as distinct from asceticism as is the latter from true religion".†† "The philosophers who would base religion on reason forget - - - the imagination".††† Rieger, too, speaks of Klinger's "almost mystical conception of religion".*† In connection with the question of religion we may notice that of three statements definitely directed at Catholicism in the original edition of the "Betrachtungen",*†* but one was incorporated in the collected works. This places the German writers who slander the Reformation in an ignominious contrast with the Frenchman, Villers, who writes with such praise concerning Luther.*††

With our twentieth century perspective of Romanticism we can see that Klinger's conception of emotion, reason and imagination approached the Romantic

*No. 675

**No. 676.

***Cf. Nos. 618, 702, 722.

†No. 678; Rieger: l.c. II, 478.

††Cf. also Nos. 231, 646.

†††No. 617.

*†Rieger: l.c. II, 459.

*†*Ibid. II, 478.

*††No. 781

view point more closely than he himself suspected. "Emotion and Reason are the sun and the moon of our moral firmament. Were we always only in the hot sunlight we should burn up; always only in the cool moonlight we should grow numb with cold".* Such an expression, while perhaps laying somewhat more emphasis on reason than most of the Romanticists did, is at any rate far from being acceptable to the Storm and Stress writer with his emphasis on emotion, or to the Rationalist with his emphasis on the intellectual. In phrases suggesting the symbolism of the Romantic prose writers he says, "The most beautiful, the rarest and the happiest marriage of our spiritual powers is this: the high poetic power of imagination with the reason of the man of affairs who has to live in the world and determines to remain a poet, because in this he finds his most delightful enjoyment, his firmest support. But he must guard himself lest the imaginative wife rule too much over the serious, earnest husband. The latter must understand the art of charming the warmly inspired wife to fall into a gentle sleep when he wants to work and act in practical life. All that can be granted the loving husband is at times to secretly steal a kiss from the sweetly slumbering beloved, so that the heart may not grow too cold during the separation. Only when the serious husband, after the day's work is ended, enters the quiet secret room, may the lovely sleeping one awake entirely."** A similar mood is expressed in the following: "We ought to realize the presence of the intellectual, ideal, or spiritual world, but not dwell in it. By means of this realization, through which the spirit lifts itself to a height from which it discovers for a moment a new land, woven about with a veil of morning red, that moves before him like a beautiful, happy dream of youth which one feels, sees, but cannot describe, - - by means of this realization the son of Earth becomes a great poet or artist, a noble citizen, and finds

*No. 115.

**No. 103.

there, where nothing real seems to exist, the basis for the greatest realities. But he who wishes to dwell always in the spiritual world or fondly imagines that he dwells therein, without looking back the more constantly and surely to the known land in which we live and where we are to work, is in danger of building for his spirit the narrow lodging place of a fool or a visionary in that immeasurable, incomprehensible, enchanted, invigorating place of exaltation. He believes that he lives there where the wise man remains only a few seconds, and where the latter in these few seconds finds for this variable, fleeting life on earth, a center of gravity on which he stands so firmly in his own strength that a foreign force can perhaps move him but not displace him".*

It is obvious that these last two quotations from Klinger warn against the dangers of letting the imagination carry one too far. They are warnings from a man who was both practical statesman and author against Romantic excesses but they do not warrant the conclusion that Klinger was un-Romantic. Indeed, three others of the "Betrachtungen" reveal a characteristically Romantic interest in the hero legend and the fairy tale. In spite of the effect of the pointed satire at the end of 702 against Böhme and Lavater, against mysticism and fate and the contemporary poets, the first part expresses a longing which is Romantic for a "German hero poem, out of German material, sung by a German poet", and there is a regretful note in the complaint that the sciences have destroyed all the elements necessary to such a poem and that we are so far advanced in civilization that "author and readers seem to have lost the belief in moral and physical miracles".

In Wieland's poems such as "Musarion", "Oberon", and the fairy tales, and poems about knights, Klinger finds a "Greek-Italian fancy, warmed with German feeling". Wieland's poems please foreigners more than those of other German

writers, not only because of the grace and harmony of the language but because "his subjects belong to all peoples".* Is there not a hint here of Romantic cosmopolitanism and of interest in folk tales? And again, "Whenever I read a fairy tale (which I still like to do) and the beautiful good fairy appears to the hero of the story, then I think of the powerful, noble fairy who in our youth touches us with her magic wand at the moment when our perceptions are developing - - the poetry in my mind. I know beforehand that now the hero of the tale goes out into the world with faith and confidence, and that he will succeed even in what seems impossible as long as he possesses the talisman which has been bestowed upon him, to which his faith and confidence are anchored. If he loses it through the snares of an enemy of the good fairy, or if the story ends with her disappearance, then hero and heroine sit before me in as ordinary a form as I do before myself, when I do not perceive with my spirit the gentle motion of the pinions of the companion of my youth. Discontented but silent, I lay the book aside, look at the world, rub my hand over my forehead and feel how much the enchanting power of my talisman has grown weak."**

From these statements of Klinger's and from several of his letters*** we may conclude that Klinger was sincere in believing that he was opposed to the Romantic movement. At the same time we see that he also gave expression to certain interests essentially Romantic. Perhaps had it been his lot to come in close contact with the Romantic School he would have recognized these tendencies in himself and have come to appreciate Romanticism more and to have felt a sympathy for it.

*No. 125.

**No. 239.

***Rieger: l.c. II, letters 131, 189, 192, 195-98, 209.

CHAPTER III

THE INTEREST SHOWN IN KLINGER BY ROMANTICISTS

A consideration of the little material we have available concerning the opinions held by some of the Romantic writers about Klinger's works will at least serve to show that the St. Petersburg general was not entirely ignored by contemporary writers in Germany. As early as the summer of 1791 Friedrich Schlegel writes to his brother Wilhelm as follows: "In Klinger's dramas I have found many great characters, especially in Medea, Die neue Arria, Der verbannte Göttersohn and Der Derwisch". In February 1792 he writes: "Faust's Life by Klinger is a book full of originality, glowing characterization, wit, and ingenuity. Whoever reads it hastily will consider it a satire upon Providence; it is certainly not that and as such would be poor. As always with Klinger, skillful completion is lacking. The aim of the whole is entirely hidden. If the work is not to be a multitude of disconnected pictures, then the unity must lie in the character of Faust. A great deal is lacking, however, in order that all details might point to this end, or even that it might be clearly understood. With him Faust is a man, with all power for good and evil, but not a great man as with Goethe. He is full of conceit, voluptuousness and indolence".*

Wilhelm Schlegel rarely mentions Klinger. In his Berlin lectures he superficially touches the Faust novel, none too favorably**, and in his Vienna lectures mentions Klinger and Leisewitz only to accuse Schiller of plagiarism.

*Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum. 25; 307, 382

**Ibid. 308

1917

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

Subject: [Illegible]

Reference is made to [Illegible]

and [Illegible]

which [Illegible]

is [Illegible]

and [Illegible]

is [Illegible]

and [Illegible]

Tieck's utterances concerning Klinger show a rather complete knowledge of his works, due perhaps to Tieck's interest in the Storm and Stress period. In his essay on "Goethe und seine Zeit" he discusses Klinger together with other members of the Storm and Stress movement*. He finds Klinger less talented and colder than Lenz but thinks that "Die Zwillinge" justly aroused great expectations. He mentions briefly Goethe's and Shakespeare's influence, and then continues: "He early turned his attention to comedy which he sought in a certain repelling coldness such as the humor of a mood that wavers between the younger Crébillon and the cynicism of a Rabelais. These novels and earlier dramas, despite their insistence on strength, have the character of indefinite weakness. Later he tried to imitate the ancients. - - - The man of reason and insight shows himself on all sides, but the poet vanishes almost entirely in the coldness of a consciously planned purpose. So it is in his half philosophical novels, which the more recent they are have so much the more knowledge of the world, observation of men, correct judgment and keen perceptions with which the older reader is delighted and which can be of great value to the younger one." In another report** of Tieck's opinion we find the same estimation of Klinger and Lenz, of "Die Zwillinge" and the early novels where "he still appears as an imitator of Wieland. On the other hand his later serious novels are gloomy, repellent, and violent. His best work in this field is 'Dichter und Weltmann' ".

It was this latter book that first interested Achim von Arnim in Klinger. He wrote to Brentano in May, 1807 as follows***: "I am now making myself acquainted with Klinger; his book 'Der Weltmann und der Dichter' - - affected me greatly, as I am now living between the two different spheres. I shall now go on to the 'Geschichte eines Deutschen neuester Zeit' ". Brentano pays tribute

*Tieck: Kritische Schriften, 2: 244-5.

**Köpke: Ludwig Tieck, Erinnerungen aus dem Leben des Dichters. II, 201.

***Steig: l.c. I, 212.

to Klinger as the author of "Die Zwillinge" in the second stanza of his prologue to "Die Gründung Prags". In his essay on "Philister" he mentions Klinger as being an exception among the various Faust writers who secretly fume at Goethe's work.* One of Bettina Brentano's favorite books is said to have been the "Betrachtungen".**

Arndt, as one of the singers of the War of Liberation, was not strictly Romantic, although as Walzel points out the Schlegels turned their attention to the patriotic lyric at the same time that Arndt did.*** Arndt had the privilege of meeting Klinger personally and describes the appearance of the seventy-year old general who was at that time saddened by the death of his only son.**** He finds in Klinger's writings something "kaltes Geistiges und Dämonisches doch über diese Welt Emporschwebendes", but feels, too, that "a cold, proud wind of aristocratic contemplation blows over the individual appearances and inspiration of noble feeling; at times a sentiment which one might call a Neva sentiment, such as often freezes one by the heat of a glowing fire". The discussion of Klinger ends with a further description of his personality and the details of a call upon him.

Another of the Heidelberg Romanticists, Joseph von Görres, shows genuine appreciation of Klinger as a man in his essay upon him.⁺ He says, "Experience with the world and an inner moral strength make up the two characteristic elements of Klinger's nature; the best in his writings, particularly in his thoughts about the world and literature, proceeds from these two points. But these two elements have always been hostile, and they cannot live together easily in the same disposition. - - - Practical industry, relations of right and duty, moral action,

*Brentano: Gesammelte Schriften: VI, 5; V, 430.

**Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum: 25, 382. (Careful search failed to locate the exact reference for this statement in the "Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde".)

***Walzel: l.c. 99.

****Arndt: Sämtliche Werke, 56-7.

⁺Görres: Charakteristiken und Kritiken. Part I, 33-88.

swift touching of life and the relations of men, the laws of the moral world and its great epochs in the future and the past - these bound the sphere in which his spirit is pleased with love. His cycle of novels - - - are moral writings, throughout which the theme of theodicy is developed; they all deal with the relations of providence, fate, and the devil, the fight of good with evil, of the bad in human nature with the ideal, the outrages of the clergy and the despots, the crimes of peasant society and the misuse of power". Like Arndt, Görres feels a coldness in Klinger's writings, "a cutting north wind that breaks out of a gloomy, cloudy sky and blows ice cold on the mind", but in contrast to Arndt he thinks that sentiment and touching elements are entirely foreign to Klinger's nature as well as to his works. Görres' charge that Klinger did not appreciate women on account of this lack may have a little truth in it but is best answered by Klinger himself in a letter to Fanny Tarnow evidently replying to a similar charge from her.* In it he makes clear his personal regard for his mother, sister, nieces, wife, and cites several characters from his writings to prove that he does esteem women highly. The "Fragmente" as Görres calls the "Betrachtungen" contain among much that is excellent "innumerable sins against art, to which almost all that he says about German poetry belongs". "Raphael" seems to Görres Klinger's best novel; "Faust" his poorest. Of special interest, in view of Fichte's intimate relation with the Romantic movement is the following: "When, however, he expresses himself against Fichte in particular, he does not know how much his whole being and whatever is best in it is like that of the man he is censuring."

But of all the Romanticists interested in Klinger Jean Paul alone discovers anything truly Romantic in his works. Although he feels that in general Klinger's works only widen the breach between the real and the ideal, and gives

*Rieger: l.c. II, letter 191

us the often quoted comparison between Klinger's novels and the village fiddler's music which resolves the dissonances by a final shriller one, yet he writes:*

"With the following Romantic examples I call attention to the fact that I consider only the writings Romantic and poetic, not their authors. People will therefore pardon me when I say that Klinger's 'Bambino' or the love of the page Fanno and the Princess Rose in his 'Goldner Hahn' are Romantic, and assert justly that he there first let Romantic rose and lily light fall upon the court life".

The Schlegels, Tieck, Arnim, Clemens and Bettina Brentano, Arndt, Görres, Jean Paul - these make up a goodly number of Romantic writers who found something worth while in Klinger's writings. Nor can one keep from wondering if there were not other Romanticists, perhaps Novalis for example**, who read Klinger but have left us no record of their impressions.

*Jean Paul: *Sämtliche Werke*, XLI, 129-30. *Vorschule der Aesthetik*.

**O. E. Lessing, Article in "Der Zeitgeist", I, No. 4. Chicago.

CHAPTER IV.

ROMANTIC ELEMENTS IN KLINGER'S DRAMAS

Inasmuch as Klinger began his literary career as a writer of dramas it is obvious that the earlier productions were typically Storm and Stress, and that we may therefore expect to find in them only such Romantic elements as carried over into the latter movement. Among these were the interests in the Middle Ages and in foreign lands. Klinger's first drama, "Otto", influenced especially by Goethe's "Götz von Berlichingen" plays in medieval Germany in the days of the struggles between the knights and the clergy. The scenes of "Die Zwillinge", "Die neue Arria", and "Stilpo" are in Italy. Raphael and Ariosto are contemporary characters in "Die neue Arria". Medieval Spain is the scene of "Simsone Grisaldo" and definite Spanish places such as Granada and Valladolid should give the effect of reality. Nevertheless so far as impressions are concerned "we find ourselves in the old romantic land of Ariosto, and the action has entirely his fantastic style".* "Der Derwisch" takes us to the Orient, the land which rivalled Italy in fascination for the Romanticists. Among the later dramas several deal with classical interests in motive and setting, but "Elfride" is based on tenth century English history, and "Der Günstling" and "Roderico" use the scenes of medieval Spain again, the latter play with Navarra substituted for Granada by way of variation.

An interesting point in the study of symbolism is the question of establishing some kind of connection between external Nature and the emotions of men. Whether Klinger's treatment of the subject is conscious or half instinctive is difficult to determine. At any event it is worthy of note that in the

*Rieger: l.c. I, 129.

third act of "Die Zwillinge" the storm in Guelfo's soul is paralleled by the storm raging without. He says, as in inner torture he tries to make his final decision to murder his brother, "Let me never see the sun again. Let black, foreboding thunder clouds hang over the earth until I am through".* In "Stilpo und seine Kinder" Antonia, the mother, with an anxious presentiment of the future sees visions of her children's death when the gardener reports that his two beloved trees, which he had named for the two boys, have been destroyed, one by being eaten at the roots by a worm and the other torn by a storm just as it was in full bloom.**

In addition to this Nature-symbolism there are genuinely fantastic elements to be found in some of Klinger's dramas, fantastic in the Romantic sense. There is a hint of the supernatural in Klinger's first drama where Otto meets the old witch in the woods who prophesies of coming danger, a scene which reminds us of "Macbeth".

It is "Der Derwisch", however, which possesses more of the purely fanciful than any of Klinger's other plays. Much that is fantastic in it undoubtedly arose from Klinger's interest for the time being in Freemasonry, an influence which as Schneider points out*** was also at work in Goethe's "Wilhelm Meister", Jean Paul's "Unsichtbare Loge" and "Titan", Werner's "Söhne des Thals", and Arnim's "Die Kronenwächter" so that "Der Derwisch" is in company with Romantic productions in this respect.

The Dervish lives alone in his simple hut in a manner to rejoice the heart of a follower of Rousseau. He is heir to all the wisdom and magic arts of

*Die Zwillinge, Act III, Scene I.

**Rieger: l.c. I, 210; Stilpo und seine Kinder, Act II, Scene V.

***Schneider: Die Freimauerei und ihr Einfluss auf die geistigen Kultur in Deutschland am Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts. 192.

an ancient Egyptian order, but few people know this. They do know, however, that he possesses the art of restoring people to life by means of a candle which he lights after placing it between their lips. He refuses to bring anyone back to life who in his opinion is not worthy of it, but he gives us sufficient demonstration of his power by restoring Fatime's mother, by his desperate attempts, finally successful, to rectify his bungled work with Fatime and Halli, and by the joke he played on the Mufti of Samarcand in keeping him alive but causing him to lose his wealth and his position. The love affairs of the Dervish and Fatime are interfered with by the Sultan and that brings the Dervish in touch with the other plot of the play which concerns the marriage of the Sultan's sister. She cannot speak to any suitor until she has found her ninety-ninth diamond, and count as she will all day long there are only ninety-eight. The other one is hidden in a fold of the petticoat of one of the Princesses of Illyria and they, so we learn at the beginning of the play, have been changed into two clocks by the magician Primroso. They can be released from their enchantment if someone winds them up just at midnight and so they keep rolling from one new home to another always hoping their new owner will free them.

After the Princesses are changed to their proper form - the details of the plot do not concern us here - they appeal to the magician Primroso to help the Dervish out of his difficulties with Fatime and her brother. Primroso's voice is heard in the midst of thunder and lightning. By means of music the magician causes the Sultan and his court to fall asleep so that the Dervish can get Fatime and Halli together and restore the right heads to the right bodies. Thunder and lightning continue while the Dervish is accomplishing this act and is succeeded by soft music when all is complete. Then the Dervish, Fatime and Fatime's mother are taken to the Ganges in a carriage of clouds provided by Primroso.

The love which the Dervish has for the Ganges and the longing to be there which he and Fatime share is comparable to Mignon's longing for her beloved Italy, "das Land, wo die Citronen blühen", although it is not so poetic in character or expression as was Mignon's. Fatime says in talking with her mother*: "Now I imagine myself by the Ganges. My Dervish's hut is close to its banks. Citron trees, poplars, and cedars shade it. There no Sultan disturbs us, there we are alone". Rieger considers this play, which "reflects the reality of human life in a fantastic setting", the best of Klinger's early dramas.**

Mor are fantastic elements lacking in "Medea", the drama that was Klinger's favorite.*** Medea, the daughter of Hecate, has inherited from her mother a knowledge of magic. In the later drama "Medea auf dem Kaukasos" this power is also revealed; for example in her rescue of the young girl by calling up a thunderstorm which kills the priest, shatters the altar, scatters the crowd and thus prevents the sacrifice. As to Hecate, "It is nothing else than the Faust idea as Goethe originally understood it. The bursting of the bonds of a mortal personality, the intuitive knowledge of Nature in and from her innermost being, the becoming one with her and the adaptation of her powers to the service of a great will - Hecate, thought of not as a goddess but as a mortal woman, had accomplished this end."† So Medea is feared and hated because of her weird and dangerous knowledge. She is banished from Corinth and takes her children with her to the boundary of the kingdom so that she may be with them as long as possible before the final farewell. As the sun sets - again Nature symbolism - she begins to feel that she is thoroughly Hecate's daughter and the "Nachtseite ihrer Natur"†† holds sway. In an uncanny scene worthy of a Hoffmann she calls

*Der Derwisch: Act III, Scene V.

**Rieger: l.c. I, 300.

***Ibid. l.c. II, 162.

†Ibid. l.c. II, 101.

††Ibid. II, 102.

her mother from the Lower World and Hecate appears first as a dark cloud in a cypress tree, then she reveals herself in her shadowy form to Medea. Later she appears to the children as owls on the nearby tree and finally her voice seems to speak to Medea again from an invisible form.

A similar use of uncanny apparitions is found in "Der Günstling" and "Roderico" where Klinger uses the motive of hallucinations due to a guilty conscience. In the latter play the king hears some one pass him quickly but sees no visible person, or he sees his dead father sitting on the throne or perhaps standing between him and the person with whom he is talking.

To return to the "Medea". Her appearance in the last act in her dragon chariot is, of course, traditional. Then at her command the three invisible Erinyes who have been tormenting Kreon, Kreusa and Jason, become visible and carry their victims away to the Lower World. The last act is written in a lyrical, rhythmical prose which suggests a type of free verse to be found "neither in Goethe nor Klopstock, - - - but perhaps in Novalis in the 'Hymnen an die Nacht'!"*

The "Medea", through an error on the part of the printer,** originally appeared with "Das Schicksal" printed in place of the actual title as headings for the pages. The error due to stupidity was not so inapt after all, for Klinger has spared no pains to make us feel that the events of the play are unavoidable consequences of Fate. The prologue spoken by Fate herself forecasts the mood of the play. All is peace and quiet, but the sun brings sorrow and woe to the realm. Kreon, the King of Corinth, has terrible dreams and begins to fear for the future and to plan to get rid of Medea. Aphrodite is revenging herself on the children of Helios because he revealed her love for the god of war. So she shoots an arrow into Medea's heart and later another into Jason's heart. And Jason in his new love for Kreusa stores up great misfortune for himself and

*Rieger: l.c. II, 104.

**Ibid. l.c. II, 172.

his sons. The prologue ends with a grewsome description of the revenge of the Erinyes. So when Medea bewails the curse of Aphrodite which persecutes the children of the sun, and fears that the spirits of revenge which she banished to the Lower World when she took up her life as a human being may overpower her in spite of herself, we feel that her fears are indeed well grounded, and that Fate will demand a revenge.

It is clear that Klinger has made the "Medea" a Fate-tragedy, despite his later spirited opposition to the introduction of the Fate element in the drama. Furthermore "Medea in Korinth" is not the only play of Klinger's which uses a Fate motive. In the fragment "Der verbannte Göttersohn", Jupiter is thoroughly disgusted with the behaviour of mortals and tired of their prayers and complaints and offerings. But then he remembers, "Do I not drive them like a whirlwind against each other and among each other? Have I not formed their hearts and minds thus, turned their faith thus to me, and laid in their hearts the fatal conceptions of Fate and Destiny which must crush their greatness and strength?" In "Oriantes" Nemesis has a prologue before the first and the fifth acts, and she it is who kills the only remaining heir to the throne with a stroke of lightning. In "Medea auf dem Kaukasos", Klinger's last drama, Fate instead of being given a prologue is made an actual character of the play.

It is of course true that the Greek literature was the ultimate source of the Fate-tragedy. Nevertheless the use of the Fate element in the drama was a typically Romantic interest in the first decade of the nineteenth century, and in the last of the eighteenth also if we consider Tieck's "Karl von Berneck". Storm and Stress gives no expression to this conception of Fate and we are therefore justified in considering it one of the chief Romantic elements in Klinger's dramas, together with the interests in distant lands and times, in a connection between man and nature, and in the fanciful, the grotesque and the magical.

CHAPTER V.

ROMANTIC ELEMENTS IN KLINGER'S NOVELS

"A fairy-tale in the style of the younger Crébillon" - such is Rieger's characterization of Klinger's first novel, "Der neue Orpheus". It will be remembered, however, that Crébillon and his French contemporaries so twisted and turned the folk fairy-tale that it became almost unrecognizable, and all the adventures and wonders and enchantments were worked into a plot centering about sex impulses. Nevertheless there are fantastic elements in the story of Bambino of the same type as appeared in "Der Derwisch". The similarity is not surprising when we remember that Klinger wrote the drama between the fourth and fifth parts of "Orpheus", for it must be admitted that the last of this apparently inexhaustible novel was written more on account of the money it would bring than on account of trying to satisfy an inner need for self expression.

Most of the more fantastic touches are to be found in the stories subordinate to the main one of Bambino's adventures. Thus in the third part the magician Linko appears. He has a wonderful temple in which three kinds of echoes can be heard, he sends his gnomes to play jokes on stupid folk, and he has about his castle an enchanted woods inhabited by sylphs, knights and princesses. The adventures of the knights and ladies provide considerable material for the fourth part of the story*, and perhaps might have continued to do so for later parts had not author and readers tired of them. Most of the fourth part, however, is concerned with Bambino's adventures, which had been rather neglected in part three.

*Rieger: l.c. I, 271 - 286.

The fifth and last part*introduces an entirely new episode in the shape of the story of Formoso, later published separately under the title "Prinz Formosos Fiedelbogen". This is a story submitted to the King by Ali, one of the characters, to prove that he is a skillful enough writer to be the King's biographer. Prince Formoso is given a fiddle bow by the magician Bradames and is to find the fiddle that matches it since "fiddles and fiddlebows rule the state". When he has found the right one he will be able to play on it the most wonderful music ever heard. The fairy Solitaire gives him an owl to warn him when he and the bow are in danger, a string of little silver bells which fulfill his wishes when they ring and warn him of danger when they whirr, and a jew's harp which the prince must learn to play. Meanwhile the fairy Sorena has given the Princess Sanaclara the fiddle which matches Formoso's bow and it will begin to play by itself when the right bow is found. But since many fiddlers are attracted to Sanaclara the fairy has also given her a trumpet at whose sound all but the right bow will break in pieces. With this situation as a setting Formoso has one strange adventure after another.

An interesting point in relation to the style of "Formoso" is the constant interruption of the story by questions that the King asks, or by comments addressed to the reader, or by answers to supposed questions of the reader's. The effect of such interruptions is practically the same as that of the Romantic irony in the rather exaggerated form in which the aim was "Zerstörung der Illusion". It is only in the episode of Formoso that Klinger breaks into the continuity of his story to carry on an interview with the reader. "Der neue Orpheus" was revised by Klinger in 1791 and published under the title of "Bambino".

We turn now to Klinger's philosophical novels which were his attempt to answer the question as to why evil and slavery ruled in a world where goodness

*Rieger: I, 307-334.

and freedom ought to exist. The plan which he worked out for the series involved ten novels, but of these only eight were fully completed, one remained a fragment, and the tenth was replaced by the two volumes of the "Betrachtungen" in the collected edition of his works. The series was as follows:-

1. Fausts Leben, Thaten und Höllenfahrt. 1790.
2. Geschichte Raphaels de Aquilas. 1792.
3. Geschichte Giafars des Barmeciden. 1790-1793.
4. Reisen vor der Sündflut. 1794.
5. Der Faust der Morgenländer. 1795.
6. Das allzu frühe Erwachen des Genius der Menschheit; Bruchstück. 1797.
7. Geschichte eines Teutschen der neuesten Zeit. 1797.
8. Sahir, Evas Erstgeborner im Paradiese, 1797; unter dem Titel: goldener Hahn 1784.
9. Der Weltmann und der Dichter. 1797.

For the purposes of this study "Faust", "Raphael" and "Sahir" will be especially considered. But limiting the more detailed analysis to these three novels is not intended to imply that the others are destitute of any Romantic characteristics. Quite the contrary is true. The scenes of "Giafar", one of the companion novels of "Faust" are in the Orient. Giafar has fled from Bagdad with his mother and his niece Fatime, and in a wilderness by the Euphrates learns all that he can about his own and other religions. As a result of his study he is convinced that there remains only a gloomy outlook so far as moral evil is concerned. "To the impressions of moral danger which overwhelmed Giafar's inner world was added an overpowering impression of physical danger".* This was a tremendous flood which would have taken the lives of Fatime and Giafar's mother had not a stranger, Ahmet, rescued them. The moral storm and the physical storm - again the expression of an intimate relation between Nature and Man.

*Rieger: l.c. II, 292.

Another Romantic element is the dream motive modelled after Voltaire and used by Grillparzer later in "Der Traum ein Leben". Just as Giafar awakes thinking that he has avenged his father and is caliph himself, Ahmet reveals the fact that it was his power that caused Giafar to have the dream. We therefore suspect that Ahmet has something supernatural in his nature. Our suspicion is confirmed when he vanishes in the midst of a flame. The next book shows that Ahmet is the Leviathan of "Faust", and he continues his intercourse with Giafar when the latter returns to the service of the Caliph.

"Reisen vor der Sündflut" and "Faust der Morgenländer" are oriental fairy-tales and have in them a certain fancifulness characteristic of such stories combined with the Faust idea of striving to fathom the sources of good and evil. In the former there is a framework for Mahal's travels which has the flavor of the Arabian Nights' Tales, for the stories are told to the Caliph by Ben Hafi. The character of Mahal is portrayed as a finally despairing one who turns to stone as he bewails the fate of men. "This monument still stands on the mountain and in the stone still seems to weep over the descendants of Noah who live and sin below him".* "Faust der Morgenländer" begins with a description of the mythological dwelling place of the departed spirits of noble characters, where all that is beautiful and good in the world is mirrored upon its walls. Abdallah, who is the Oriental Faust, conjures up a spirit, not from the dwelling place already described but from a cold and dismal neighboring island, made thus by the rule of Reason. The spirit is the abstraction of beauty, without a soul, and ice-cold in his nobility. He therefore constantly checks and warns Abdallah as the latter is about to carry out the impulses arising from the dictates of his heart. The spirit knows all of Abdallah's future except the last page which he hesitated to read, but it is only bit by bit that he is allowed to reveal the

*Reisen vor der Sündflut. 358.

events to Abdallah. Abdallah's adventures, his search for the happiness of innocence, his final despair, attempted suicide and his rescue form the basis for Ben Hafi's tales. After Abdallah's rescue from the sea, an event which had been on the last page of the book of Fate and had therefore not been known by the spirit, the latter appears for the last time and gives Abdallah a signet ring, which if carefully guarded will restore to him what he has lost - greatness, happiness and power.

In the "Geschichte eines Teutschen der neuesten Zeit" it is easy to recognize at once the close parallel between Ernst and Rousseau's *Émile*, and Prosch analyzes the similarities in detail in his book on Klinger's philosophical novels. He shows, however, that there are also traces of influence from Jean Paul's biographical novels,* and, still more important for establishing a relation between Klinger and Romanticism, from Goethe's "Wilhelm Meister". In connection with this point he says** : "The thought cannot be lightly pushed aside that Klinger, influenced through Goethe's 'Wilhelm Meister' lets Hadem and Kalkheim exercise an influence upon Ernst's fate which is scarcely clear to Ernst himself". In common with the symbolic significance of the figure of stone and of the signet ring in the Oriental novels, there is that of the wreath in the "Geschichte eines Teutschen". Ernst hung this wreath in the grotto as a sign of his belief in virtue. After years have passed, after his wife and friend have proved faithless, and his child is dead, he returns there seeking shelter from a thunderstorm. Seeing the withered wreath he tears it down and hurls it into the abyss below. His faith in mankind is destroyed, and he continues his life absolutely alone. Hadem, the former teacher, can find no approach to Ernst's inmost soul until one day he is carried to Ernst's house, all weak and bleeding

*Prosch: Klingers philosophische Romane; 16.

**Ibid. 41.

from a severe fall. During his convalescence he succeeds in making Ernst promise to visit the grotto with him. They do so; the wreath hangs in its accustomed place, and we realize that it is in search for it that Hadem has suffered his fall.

Nor are Romantic touches absent from the character of the "Weltmann" in "Der Weltmann und der Dichter". He might reasonably be expected to be an exponent of a materialistic philosophy, but even he finally begs the poet to read to him. "For some time I have been longing for dreams, for at last reality becomes entirely too real for us".*

It lies outside the field of this study to attempt an analysis of Klinger's novels which shall concern itself with details of plot, technique, or the philosophical views represented by the characters, interesting as these points are. Therefore they will be discussed only as they are needed to furnish a background for the Romantic touches that occur to a greater or less degree in each of the remaining novels.

We have seen in other works of Klinger's the significance he attached to storms. So we again have a storm when Faust is about to pronounce the words of his magic spell. "The clock in the nearby Gothic tower strikes eleven. Black night lies on the earth. The storm howls from the north, the clouds hide the full moon, Nature is in an uproar".** The conjuration results in the appearance of the Genius of Humanity as the storm increases and the very foundations of the house tremble. The Genius has come to save Faust if such a thing is still possible, but Faust will have nothing to do with him and the Genius vanishes, sighing, "You will see me again". All the horrors of Satan's feast are described in the next few chapters. The feast, however, is interrupted by Faust's voice which sounds insistently louder and louder in his attempt to call

*Der Weltmann und der Dichter. 279.

**Faust: 13.

up one of the devils. Leviathan is chosen to go and Faust demands of him an explanation of the things that perplex him. "You must speak and tear away the dark covering that hides the world of spirits from me. I insist upon knowing the cause of moral evil in the world, why the just suffer and the wicked are happy".* Leviathan promises to speak but warns Faust that he will not understand, and vanishes in a dazzling flame. The murmuring of a gentle west wind is heard, the murmur increases to a louder howling that is like rolling thunder and Faust collapses within the magic circle. Recovering himself with difficulty he is angered as he realizes his inability to comprehend Leviathan. Finally they make a wager. Faust is to force Leviathan to believe in Man's virtue; Leviathan is to prove that virtue does not exist, and thus Faust's journeys begin.

It is to be expected that Leviathan will give some demonstrations of his magic power over people and things, not to mention the times that ^{he} assumes the form of some other person, such as a monk or a nun. After the wager is made he tempts Faust with a casket of gold and a passing procession of beautiful women. Then he shakes out insignia of various honors which at the command "Become what you are", change to dust. To help Faust gain revenge upon the stupid Bürgermeister and his associates he causes a fog to fill the banquet hall. "The glasses began to dance about the table. The roast geese, ducks, chickens, pigs, veal, mutton and beef quacked, crowed, grunted, bleated, bellowed, flew over the table and ran across it. The wine gushed out of the flasks in flames of fire".* Again with the motive of revenge, which is usually the cause of these odd performances, Leviathan changes the pieces of gold which the judge accepted as a bribe into rats and mice which ate him up alive.*** A bishop drives a peasant to commit suicide because he will not even allow the peasant to sell his cattle

*Faust: 53.

**Ibid. 79-80

***Ibid. 99.

in order to pay the rent but confiscates them instead. Faust derives a horrible satisfaction from seeing the bishop terrorized and fainting as the roasted calf's head suddenly turns into the head of the dead peasant.* Leviathan also rescues Doctor Robertus from the executioner by causing him to disappear just as the blow was about to fall, and he takes the hypocritical favorite of the Prince to the burning deserts of Africa. At another time Leviathan laughs at a story a nearby spirit is telling him and at Faust's command a voice sounds forth close beside him and tells him the tale. And as Faust in increasing anger, despair, and disgust passes from one experience with human vice and crime to another, Leviathan destroys, disturbs, and murders according to his command, only at last to show him the frightful results of all his deeds, even those which Faust had intended as kindnesses.

In addition to the introduction of the miraculous there appears in "Faust" another Romantic characteristic in the shape of the emphasis laid upon dreams. These, according to the Romantic conception, were means of gaining new revelations of the Infinite.** Faust's young wife first gives expression to the prophetic significance which she feels her dreams have. "Your father and I have suffered more on your account than on our own. We had such fearful dreams and apparitions; when my eyes, weary with tears, closed I saw you torn from us forcibly and everything was so dark and fearful". Faust's father questions when he sees all the money and jewels which Faust has brought, "Have you gained these things in an honest fashion? - - - I have had terrible visions and presentiments for several nights but I hope they arise from our worries".*** Even Leviathan makes use of the influence of dreams to win his point with the abbess: "Have you not had a foreboding of what is in store for you? No warning dream?" †

*Faust: 116

**Walzel: l.c. 140 ff.

***Faust: 91, 93

†Ibid. 101.

And finally Faust has an allegorical dream interpreted to him by the Genius of Humanity. He sees all people working with joy and happiness at the building of a great temple. Faust tries to enter the temple but is repulsed with such force that he falls into an abyss, and just as he awakes his father's shrouded form pulls aside the bed curtains saying, "Faust! Faust! Never did a father beget a more unhappy son; with this feeling did I die".* Such a dream and vision surely satisfies the Romantic requirement of symbolic revelation.

Four phases of Romanticism find expression in "Raphael" - the moods of Nature, a delight in loneliness ("Einsamkeit"), a certain mystical relation which Raphael feels binds him to the world of spirits, and resignation to Fate. The description of the landscape and its effect upon the chance traveller in the introductory chapter of "Raphael" might easily have come from the pen of a Romantic writer. "In Valencia, by the river Guadalavir, there towered an old, romantic castle, in Arabic-Gothic style, which Almansor, one of the most famous Moorish heroes had built. - - - Its high towers were reflected in colossal size in the stream which flowed past, and at sunset they cast their shadows far over the flat bank opposite. A thick, dark woods was back of the castle and only a steep, toilsome path led to its iron gate, the entrance of which two gigantic pillars of basalt seemed to guard. Their threatening, terrifying appearance startled everyone who discovered them for the first time upon coming out of the solemn darkness of the woods. The nearby mosque, built of rocks, which had been covered with moss-grown ruins in order to guard it from destruction by the Christians, moved the soul of the traveler to deep contemplation about men, time, birth, death, fame and oblivion. The wind that sighed through the oaks, whose dark tops shaded the ruins, was like the complaining of the departed souls who once lived here in the consciousness of their power and great deeds, and believed they had

*Faust: 260-265.

built lasting temples and dwellings for their children as monuments to their fame".* In contrast to the quiet impression given by this description of castle, mosque and forest is the account of the night when Raphael learns that his faithful Moorish servant, friend and teacher has been murdered at the command of the Christians. "The night fell dismal and gloomy. The storm roared from the sea. Surrounded by the howling wind, by the rushing pinions of revenge, he sprang on the rock. Through the darkness the fire blazed up opposite him. The priests in muffled, hollow tones cried out to Eternity the last song of condemnation over the dead as their bones sank into ashes". Affected by this mood Raphael revenges himself upon the priests.**

In the peaceful environment of the opening chapter Raphael and his blind father, Don Roderiko, live contentedly. The father feels that death is near and he therefore tells his son the story of his life. So we hear how Don Roderiko happened to become blind, a story which arouses one's indignation, and we learn of his life in hiding with his wife and child, Raphael's older brother. The death of the child, however, destroyed their happiness and the "Trost der Einsamkeit".*** Raphael, like his father, finds a consolation in being alone or with only those dear to him about him, as is shown at a later point in the story when Suleima performs the marriage rites in the stillness of night for Raphael and Almerine in the secret room of the mosque where Raphael's father and mother rest. Again, in the loneliness of the prison in Madrid, Raphael's soul "attained the highest point of its power".⁺

Numerous references are made to Raphael's relation to the unseen world. From Madrid he writes to Suleima with regret at having left his home: "Why have

*Raphael: 3-4.

**Ibid. 243.

***Ibid. 40

⁺Ibid. 200.

I left the place where the spirits of the noble hover? Where I was near them, thought I perceived them, did perceive them?"* Of his father he says, "Death cannot have loosed entirely the bond between my father and me. - - - He lives in me, is in me, and I live and am in him".** This spiritual communion between father and son is not always of the same intensity, for as Raphael is about to marry Seraphine he writes to Suleima, "Why am I so unhappy in my good fortune? - - - The spirit of my father has entirely deserted me".** After two months of married life he writes again to Suleima telling of his wife's faithlessness and her relations with the king, saying, "Suleima, the presentiments which hovered about me came here from my father's grave as warnings from the world of spirits".[†] As Raphael is taken to the Madrid prison he gives Suleima a last embrace and tells the officers in perfect confidence, "Human power affects only the visible; who is able to separate those who live in each other?" The peculiar power which Raphael felt as he was alone in prison has been mentioned before. There he "separated himself from all that surrounded him, rose to the regions of the spirit world, and felt that he was, like them, a being that no longer belonged to the ranks of sorrowing creatures. - - - Impatiently his heart longed for the hour which should place him there, where united with Almerine and his friends he would soar in the light, ethereal regions".^{††} His wish was at last fulfilled. "The world of spirits opened before him in all its beauty; he felt that he was awaited by father, mother, wife, friends and all the unhappy ones whom he had seen perish around him." "Raphael's spirit - - had fled from its tortured body. The spirits of the loved ones received him, - - and they all

*Raphael. 61.

**Ibid. 96

***Ibid. 105.

[†]Ibid. 106.

^{††}Ibid. 200-201.

hastened toward the regions of rest, again united by the bond founded upon the grave".*

Running parallel with the interrelation of the spirits of the living with those of the dead, we find a complete acceptance of Fate. At the very beginning of the story Don Roderiko says in reference to the Moors, "My son, your arm cannot stay the misfortune that hovers over them. - - - The fate which, as our poets say, rules gods and men, rolls to us over the worlds; no power can stop it in its course".** He refuses to tell Raphael the name of the man who was responsible for his losing his eyesight, believing that if Fate wills his son to be his avenger the knowledge will be revealed in some way to him.*** So we see an explanation for Raphael's instinctive hate of Don Antonio when they meet in Madrid, and it is clear that the latter must meet his death by Raphael's hand. Such is the inevitable will of Fate.+ Again, "I must run the course marked out for me by Fate until that which is to happen through me has happened". And at the close, "I feel thy hand, all-powerful Fate, and hope this is the last of thy crushing blows".++ A more striking counterpart to the Fate element of Romantic dramas could scarcely be found.

There remains for our consideration only "Sahir", the revision of the story which Jean Paul considered Romantic. It is represented as being an Arabian fairy tale which the author retells for readers in general and a certain Angelika in particular. The Circassians are a half-barbarous Asiatic people, living undisturbed by their more civilized neighbors whose visits would mean destruction. The fairy Morena has given them a golden cock with the warning that if it ever falls into the hands of a woman the peace and happiness of the Circassians will disappear. So we touch upon the element of the miraculous at

*Raphael: 269, 282.

**Ibid. 8, 12.

***Ibid. 39.

+Ibid. 114.

++Ibid. 190, 268

the very beginning of the story. Princess Rose's page, Fanno, has heard her express a wish to see the golden cock and so he secures it for her. She has such a sensitive nature that she cannot endure the sight of anything ugly and she therefore cuts off one great, ungainly, heavy feather which the little cock has. Immediately the enchantment is broken and a beautiful youth appears*, who, we learn later, is Sahir, Eve's first-born child in Paradise, and who represents Enlightenment. He vanishes without telling who or what he is.

After the disappearance of the golden cock there come suitors from other lands to woo Princess Rose. They are astonished at the ignorance of the Circassians and immediately teach them at least the vices of their civilization. Thus the fairy's prophecy comes true and faithlessness to marriage vows becomes the general rule in the land. In the midst of this environment of vice the Princess Rose and Fanno remain pure and true. They confess their love for each other as they are exploring a cavern which they have found in their wanderings. As they do so the invisible Spirit of the cavern speaks to them angrily, but since they are able to answer him without fear he is appeased and tells them to flee to him if they are ever in danger.**

Through the influence of Don Pedro, who represents the orthodox Catholic church, Fanno and Rose are condemned to be burned. But just as the fire is lighted a great storm comes up and puts it out. Then from a shining golden cloud Sahir appears to reproach the people for the misuse of their knowledge.*** Rose flees from the place guided by an invisible hand. In search of Fanno she goes to the cavern. At the entrance the howling wind, the storm and the earthquake frighten her until the voice of the Spirit of the cavern tells her that these are merely tests of her heart. She rushes in and instantly the storm dies

*Sahir: 89-90

**Ibid. 129-132.

***Ibid. 194-196.

down and music plays softly.* Fanno, too, after severe tests reaches the cavern and the joy of the lovers is complete as the Spirit speaks to them, "You will always return to me for we are one, and you cannot separate yourselves from me".** Such are the chief elements of the supernatural in "Sahir".

The remaining important Romantic element of this novel is the symbolism. As to the relation between Nature and human beings we have already mentioned the two storms. Then on the day that Fanno and Rose were to be burned at the stake the sun refused to shine on the Circassians.*** There are also delicately beautiful descriptions of Nature in her gentle moods, such as those of the "earthly Paradise" where the two children lived, and of their wanderings through woods and cavern.+ But more important than the feeling toward Nature are the Romantic characters, Fanno and Rose, whose love suggests that of Heinrich and Mathilde in Novalis's "Heinrich von Ofterdingen".++ Rose is the beautiful princess who is so affected by anything not beautiful that she faints and almost dies because of the presence of the ugly Ober-Hofmeisterin. Her companion, Sophie, thinks that her only fault is too great a passion for music.+++ The music in the cavern was one of its attractions for Rose, and she delighted in Fanno's ability to move her inmost soul through his music. Their love for each other is so great that when separated in the prison tower they still feel that a spiritual communion exists. "Fanno sang his sorrows to the lonesome, echoing walls and thought that Rose heard him; Rose lamented to her lute and thought that Fanno heard her".*+

Two comments made by the author in imagined dialogues with Angelika

*Sahir: 207-209.

**Ibid. 213.

***Ibid. 191.

+Ibid. 27; 125-128.

+†O. E. Lessing: l.c.

+++Sahir: 158.

*†Ibid. 184.

add to the atmosphere of the story of Fanno and Rose, with their love for the beautiful, for Nature, for music, their union with Nature and their strange experiences with supernatural beings. "All of our visions, waking or dreaming, are truth", says Angelika of passionate love, "but a rose-tinted mist conceals them and keeps us from knowing them intimately. Living pictures arise from music, song; even the softest west wind becomes embodied as it touches our lips or our cheeks. The flowers assume souls, all Nature speaks to us in a tongue whose secret meaning we divine and feel, although we think each of her tones is an enigma".*

In connection with Rose's entrance into the cave to find Fanno, the author says of the glorious revelation of Nature there: "Who is able to describe what thou hidest in thy bosom, thou mother of the world? No tongue names it, no heart, no spirit comprehends it. - - - Thou permittest us to see the working of thy All-power, but thou hidest from our eyes the creating of thy hands. Still thou hast laid in our inner being a presentiment of thy presence and we feel that we are a beloved part of thee and again unite ourselves with thee".**

From the foregoing survey of Klinger's novels we are in a position to appreciate the estimation of them which Hettner gives.*** "At the turning of the century there are four important things that especially stand out in addition to the great writings of Goethe and Schiller: Klinger's last novels, Jean Paul's talented humor, Hölderlin's contemplative character, deeply touching on account of the tragedy of his life, and the beginnings of the Romantic School. In all these manifestations is the same common impulse and basic thought, the inviolable character of Idealism".

*Sahir: 37.

**Ibid. 209.

***Hettner: Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im achtzehnten Jahrhundert. Vol. III, part 2: 354 (The italics are mine.)

CHAPTER VI.

SUMMARY.

From the preceding discussion the question of Klinger's relation to Romanticism can now be definitely answered. We have found that the emphasis placed by the Storm and Stress writers on emotion, individuality, genius, Rousseau's theories and Herder's ideas carried over into the Romantic period and were further developed there. It has long been recognized that some of the other Storm and Stress writers possessed characteristics that bordered on the Romantic, but Klinger presumably lacked such qualities since he opposed the Romantic School in the "Betrachtungen". However in addition to his unfavorable comments we have found that Klinger also gave expression in the "Betrachtungen" to the half-mystical tendency in his nature and his delight in fairy tales.

Several of the Romantic writers were interested in Klinger and read his writings with care. Not all of them understood him or judged him aright, but they found material to hold their attention and Jean Paul at least was appreciative of the Romantic tendency in Klinger.

In the dramas and novels we have found mingled with the most realistic portrayals of unlovely phases of human life, many Romantic characteristics. The latter may, indeed, have stood out the more clearly because of their setting. Klinger used the supernatural elements of the fairy-tale --- magicians, fairies, genii, witches and devils; enchanted princesses and youths; magic candles, fiddles and bells. He was cosmopolitan enough, although there was also the added motive of avoiding the Russian censorship, to put the scenes of some of his stories in Italy, Spain and the Orient. He gave a symbolic significance to dreams, to phenomena of Nature, and in a completely Romantic sense to the love

of Fanno and Rose. He described a mystical communion of spirit with spirit in "Raphael", and he who so bitterly denounced the Romantic Fate-dramatists himself introduced Fate in his writings.

Thus this man of sturdy character who towered above the corruption of the Russian court, who in the midst of his active work long cherished the desire, unfulfilled, of returning to his native land, who gave to the world his solution of the problem of good and evil in his series of novels --- this man with all his experience in the world of men and his insistence upon the importance of accomplishing practical results was also Romantic and revealed the Romantic phase of his nature in his writings. Further study may perhaps show that Klinger was one of the forces along with Herder, Goethe, Lenz and Maler Müller that helped bring about the change from Rationalistic to Romantic thought and from Classical to Romantic literary standards. But the problem of Klinger's influence upon Romanticists is one that will require a more extended investigation than has here been carried out.

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