ABSTRACT

The present thesis attempts to identify two broad principles behind the aesthetic views of Stefan George and his followers and show how George's attitude to music and the musical theories of some of his associates spring from these principles. The discussion of the first principle - Stefan George's attitude to music considered in relation to the aesthetic views of himself and his circle - will explain the aesthetic and philosophical views which were held by George and his circle before the time of Maximin. The symbolist aesthetic, the appreciation of music, the "cosmic" bylock upon life and historiography conceived as a continuous flux appear as ramifications of the idea that the world is in a state of flux. The second principle will be seen itself as the common denominator of the views which were held by George and his followers after the poet had encountered Maximin. This holds that the world is a being and resting rather than a flowing and becoming. The idea of significant form with its many variations, the dogma of the inferiority of music and its老爸iological repercussions, the functions of dancing and dance imagery in George's art and the rules laid down for the speaking of verse will all be discussed within the scope offered by this distinction. In both cases conformations will be established which, it is hoped, will elucidate the thinking of one of the most important groups of poets and intellectuals in modern European literature.

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ABSTRACT

The present thesis attempts to identify two broad principles behind the aesthetic views of Stefan George and his followers and show how George's attitude to music and the musical theories of some of his associates spring from these principles. The discussion of the first principle—that of reality apprehended as a flow of things—will explain the nature of some of the aesthetic and philosophical views which were current in the George circle before the time of Maximin. The symbolist aesthetic, the appreciation of music, the "cosmic" outlook upon life and historiography conceived as a creative process will appear as ramifications of the idea that the world is in a state of flux. The second principle will disclose itself as the common denominator of the views which were held by George and his followers after the poet had encountered Maximin. This holds that the world is a being and resting rather than a flowing and becoming. The idea of significant form with its many variations, the dogma of the inferiority of music and its musicological repercussions, the functions of dancing and dance imagery in George's art and the rules laid down for the speaking of verse will all be discussed within the scope offered by this distinction. In both cases conformations will be established which, it is hoped, will elucidate the thinking of one of the most important groups of poets and intellectuals in modern European literature.
I should like to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Edgar Salin and the Countess Gabriele Schwerin for assistance and advice, to Mr. Andreas Rasp-Bernhold for deepening my understanding of the work of Stefan George and Mr. George Campbell, Miss Clare Oxburgh and Mr. Laszlo Cs. Szabo who read the MS and helped me with valuable suggestions. Above all I have been indebted for criticism, guidance and advice to Professor Euna Purdie who supervised the growth of the present work and helped me generously over the exacting course I set myself when I chose the aesthetic views of the George circle as my subject matter.

Hampstead, 1956
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1891, Algebard 1892, Der Teppich 1897, Blatter für die Kunst 1898 and 1899.

Until 1919 - twelve years in all - the George circle met regularly and acquired the French symbols back to the years 1880 and 1881 who agreed to contribute their articles. Their meetings continued, with breaks as long as seven years at one time (1904). 1895 saw the beginning of an intimate friendship between George and the Dutch poet Albert Verwey. It bore rich fruit in the work of both men, but later the prophetic streak in George's attitude estranged the Dutchman. Verwey was a Protestant. George's prophetic view of life seemed too Catholic and too authoritarian to him to leave room for the kind of simple humanity on which their earlier friendship rested. For a short time, at the very beginning of his career, Nikke, too, sought publication in the Blatter. His verse appeared too soft and Slavonic to George and he...
INTRODUCTION

As a preliminary to the discussion of the aesthetic ideas of Stefan George and his followers it may be useful to direct the reader's attention to some of the principal dates in the history of the George circle.

Stefan George was born in Büdesheim on July 12th 1868. His first poems, composed in 1889, were written in a private language, "lingua romana". Later George put them back into German and they appeared in Der Fibel in 1901 ("Zeichnungen in Grau. Legenden"). Between 1889 and 1899 he published the main body of his lyrical work: Hymnen 1890, Pilgerfahrten 1891, Algalbal 1892, Die Bücher 1895, Das Jahr der Seele 1897, Der Teppich des Lebens 1899. The first number of the Blätter für die Kunst came out in 1892 and it appeared intermittently in single copies and later in collected volumes until 1919 - twelve series in all. George's acquaintance with the French symbolists and his first foreign travels date back to the years 1888 and 1889. In 1891 he met Hofmannsthal who agreed to contribute to the Blätter. Their meetings continued, with breaks as long as seven years at one time (1892-99), until 1904. 1895 saw the beginning of an intimate friendship between George and the Dutch poet Albert Verwey. It bore rich fruit in the work of both men, but later the prophetic streak in George's attitude estranged the Dutchman. Verwey was a protestant. George's prophetic view of life seemed too catholic and too authoritarian to him to leave room for the kind of simple humanity on which their earlier friendship rested. For a short time, at the very beginning of his career, Rilke, too, sought publication in the Blätter. His verse appeared too soft and Slavonic to George and he

1) O. J. Maximm's diary, extract published in Ein Augenblic für Kunst und Dichtung, Heidelberg 1894 by Kurt Italiansen.
was rejected. Introduced by Lou Andreas Salome, Rilke was present at one of the meetings of the George circle when poetry was read. A boy rather than a man, Rilke was impressed but frightened by the pomp and high seriousness of George's recitation.

In the meantime a circle of friends and followers gathered round the poet. Its headquarters were in the house of Karl Wolfskehl in Munich. Wolfskehl, his wife, Klages, Schuler, Derleth and Lechter were its principal members. Between 1900 and 1904 it gave rise to the cosmic movement. It was in Wolfskehl's home in 1899 that George first met Friedrich Gundolf who was nineteen at the time. A friendship of 25 years followed during which Gundolf was the poet's most trusted and gifted associate. He died on the 12th of July 1931 - the day on which the two main heroes of his life: Caesar and George were born.

The first encounter between the poet and the youth Maximilian Kronberger took place in February (or March) 1902 before No. 1, Nikolaiplatz in Munich. Maximin, as he has now come down in literature, was fourteen. He was in the company of his sister and a friend when the poet, accompanied by Wolfskehl, first spoke to him. The main part of their association, however, fell in the years 1903 and 1904. Maximin died on April 15th 1904, on his sixteenth birthday. The years between his death and 1928 saw the birth of much message-laden prophetic poetry: Der Siebente Ring 1907, Der Stern des Bundes 1914, Der Krieg 1917, Drei Gesänge 1921 and Das Neue Reich 1928 in which the two preceding sequences were later incorporated. In 1906 George published a prose epitaph on the youth, Maximin. Ein Gedenkbuch, which was later included in Tage und Taten.

In the meantime the circle gave rise to one of the main currents in the artistic and intellectual life of Germany. Between 1910 and 1912 Wolters and Gundolf published under George's aegis three volumes of the Jahr- 
buch für die geistige Bewegung - a forum for the discussion of Georgean dogma. A multitude of books followed: poetry, 
exegeses of George's work, literary criticism, history, 
philosophy, musicology and even a book on the tasks of 
science in the 20th Century). Apart from Wolfskehl, Gun­ 
dolf and Wolters, Frau Landmann, Vallentin, Bertram, Kantoro­ 
vicz, Hellingrath, and Boehringer were the mainstays of 
George's following. In 1931 George moved to Switzerland. 
He ignored Goebbels' appeal to return to Germany to lend an 
air of respectability to the cultural ambitions of National 
Socialism. He died in Locarno on the 4th of December 1933. 
He was buried with his head turned away from Germany. Of 
his friends some were persecuted on racial grounds, others 
withdrew, a few sympathised with National Socialism. After 
the unsuccessful attempt on Hitler's life Claus and Berthold 
Stauffenberg were both executed, the former on the 20th of 
July, Berthold on the 10th of August 1944. The poet's 
literary remains which were in Berthold Stauffenberg's 
custody, were confiscated and looted by the Gestapo. Other 
items were destroyed when Leipzig was taken by Soviet troops.

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CHAPTER I

The Idea of Process and its Implications

The views which were current in the George circle before the arrival of Maxims were largely dominated by the second view. The present investigation will show that up to
A. INTRODUCTION

It has often been assumed that the outlook upon life of Stefan George and his followers represents one integrated body of ideas, that the singleness of purpose with which they sought to rejuvenate the arts actually originated in a single view of the nature and purpose of things. In fact, their thoughts were rooted in two basic concepts. The first seizes upon the perceptible characteristics of objects which have attained lasting shape, assuming that in them lies the clue to reality; the second delves below the apparent clarity of form, assuming that the key to the understanding of reality is deposited not in these finished creations but in the flowing and becoming of which they are the fruit. On the aesthetic plane the first suggests that the plastic arts come nearest to offering reality's imaginative equivalent. The second implies a preference for an art that emulates the processes rather than the products of nature. The first, an art of being, is a thing of firm outlines and stable conditions. It reflects an articulate human order. The second is an art of becoming, an indeterminate waxing and waning of things. Vital and profound, it thrives on rebellion rather than on harmony. It revels in the unconscious, it aims at the universal.

B. STEFAN GEORGE

The views which were current in the George circle before the arrival of Maximin were largely dominated by the second view. The present investigation will show that up to
1903, when he encountered the youth Maximilian Kronberger, George was considerably devoted to music. Much of his early work aspired to a condition of music and in so doing introduced into poetry a number of musical characteristics. It was a new art whose claim to immortality was precisely its ability to cast the minutiae of mood and emotion into a special sonorous idiom. It is true that the musical character of George's poetry is not peculiar to his early verse, but the reasons which were put forward for approving this poetry were peculiar to the period which ended with the coming of Maximin. They were part of an aesthetic theory to which - as to the parent tradition of romanticism - reality disclosed itself as a flowing and becoming.

The main driving force behind George's art was the urge to say something of the most immediate and hitherto unapprehended processes of the mind with a minimum of conventional verbal machinery. If life was a chain of almost imperceptible transitions, poetry had to find a way of doing justice to it. This involved two things: it had to express the multiplicity of experience within the unity of a poem, and it had to do it directly. The best way of doing it was not, as some modernist poets thought, to discuss psychology in a technically poetic framework, but to deal with the high subjects of poetry in a language which was equipped to communicate something of the moving immediacy of inner life. 1) It was George's purpose to evolve the requisite idiom. How he went about it and how far he succeeded in achieving his purpose is not our immediate concern, but it is

interesting to observe how the poet and his friends conceived their task.

What the poets and critics, who made up the circle of the Elätter für die Kunst, had in mind from the beginning, was an early version of pure poetry. Poetry, they thought, should express the subtleties of mood and emotion unassisted by the idioms of a stale verbal tradition. This was no arbitrary aspiration to greater refinement. As Georg Lukács pointed out, the quest for poetic experience itself had taken a new direction towards the end of the last century. The demand for great sentiments and their elaboration in dramatic form was dead. The cross-roads of human life had been explored, but there were untrodden paths which offered adventure in the smaller emotions. Nature, once a demonic force, then a gentle recipient and consoler of man's sorrows, was now seen as furnishing a back-cloth, not to the majestic scenes of human conflict, but to embellishment and embroidery on a humbler . Transient colours and miniature sentiments were discovered. The frontiers were blurred between man and his surroundings and the kind of conflict which arose demanded no artistic equivalent on a tragic or epic level. A passing tune or a delicate colour expressed all that could be said of their relationship. The prevailing mode of experience demanded no plots and no concrete characters. The poetic mind found no scope for expression in the sustained consistency which drama required.

Altogether, drama with its complex machinery was replaced by dramatic fragments and lyrical plays. Dialogues gave way to monologues, because the kind of conflict which now appealed to the poetic imagination was too subtle to lend itself to grosser treatment. The other person was still there, but only as a spiritual aid for self-expression: an angel, a

God, or a "Thou", - some being with whom one holds intimate converse. Man alone with his confessor: this was the basic situation, and to enshrine their imaginary dialogue was the task of the new art.

How, then, did the members of the "Blätter-kreis" see the characteristics of this art? Poetry, they thought, was contracting its field. For the kind of inwardness which the modern poet wished to express, drama was too involved, narrative too impersonal an instrument. Poetry should capture the fleeting moment and hold it - but only for another very short time, just long enough to recall something of the original experience. Poetry, they believed, should be a symbolic art because symbols, more than traditional imagery, speak of the true connections of things in a concise and condensed manner. Symbols and mysticism, Gerardy wrote in the Blätter, enshrine in their purity the highest moments of the mind. Symbolic representation, one of the prefaces explained, was as old as language and poetry. To talk in symbols was a sign of depth and spiritual maturity. Once it was accepted that symbolism made for the profound and original, it was of little importance whether the poem contained a story or an argument over and above the meaning which attached to its symbolic function. The subject matter

1) At this time when musical supplements accompanied the B.f.d.K., mysticism was also tolerated and even encouraged. Cf. "...das strahlende geheimnis der dinge fühlen, darin leben und dann mit bewegter und von unsäglichen freuden zitternder stimme es stammeln - es mit bebender hand festhalten: Mystizismus. Und dann unter allen bedeutungsvollen dingen das herauswählen das den grössten und schönsten teil der schwingenden seele enthält, das die andern in seinem tieferen wesen wiederspiegelt ... Symbolik". Paul Gerardy: "Geistige Kunst", Blätter Auslese I. 1892-98 p.113.

2) Cf. Das Sinnbild (symbol) ist so alt wie sprache und dichtung selbst ... Sinnbildliches sehen ist die naturliche folge geistiger reifer. ibid. p. 12.
of poetry was relegated to a secondary place. Poetry, it was thought in the George circle, should express the oblique, the personal and the allusive: Wir wollen keine Erfindung von Geschichten, sondern Wiedergabe von Stimmungen, keine Betrachtung, sondern Darstellung, keine Unterhaltung, sondern Eindruck. Historical events had lost their significance except in so far as they served to inspire artistic creation. In the hands of the poet life was transformed and elevated, but it was of little interest what kind of life, when and where. Even in prose, incoherent, magic phrases were preferred to concrete statements, because obscurity left wider scope for the imagination. Words, it was thought, possessed a musical immediacy and that sufficed to justify their employment. Poetry was praise, and to praise was to sing. But George visualized a new "song"; in fact, his ambition was to create a new Ton in the mediaeval sense of the word. New words were coined and old ones revived to increase the phonetic appeal of the language. George was not only an innovator, but in the phrase of Gundolf, a Sprachschöpfer.

6) Cf. "... Wäre das Spiel mit Takten und Reimen überhaupt eines vernünftigen Wesens würdig wenn diese sich nicht unwiderstehlich als sangesweise aufdrängten?" ibid. p. 17.
He realized that a new idiom, a peculiar fusion of melody and rhythm was needed to transmit the new refinements of sense, mind and imagination. The "music" of poetry had to be recaptured. George recaptured it and was seen to have recaptured it by his followers. "Den Dauerton", Friedrich Gundolf wrote, "... hat George - polyphoner, schallender und gedrungener als Hölderlin - endgültig der deutschen Sprache erobert ...". Yet, George's aim was not modernist, but - in the words of Werner Günther - absolute poetry. The poet and his followers were little affected by the growing complexity of modern life. George was a modern poet who was not really up to date in the sense that scientific discoveries, new sense data and the like were not assimilated by his consciousness and secured no habitation in his mind. His art was addressed to the elevated and aristocratic, rather than to the intellectual mind. For him certain subjects were still poetic, while others were not susceptible of poetic experience. He used few private symbols, and one


2) Cf.: "'Absolut' bedeutet für die absolute Poesie dreierlei: Einmal die (bewusste oder unbewusste, jedenfalls praktisch geübte) Erkenntnis, dass die Welt und das Dasein - in Nietzscheschem Sinne - nur als ästhetisches Phänomen gerechtfertigt und dass die Kunst die einzige metaphysische Tätigkeit des Menschen sei; dann, mit dieser Überzeugung zusammenhängend, dass die Poesie wahrhaft nur sie selber ist, wenn sie sich jedes ihr wesensfremden Elementes entkleidet d.h. nicht 'Inhalten' ... nachstrebt, sondern als rein erscheinende Schöpferkraft den Weltgrund selbst offenbart; und endlich, wiederum mit der vorigen Erkenntnis zusammenhängend, den Willen der Poesie im wesentlichen nur jenen Gehalt zu belassen, der mit ihrer Form zusammenfällt." Werner Günther: "Über die absolute Poesie". Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte 23. Jahrgang, i. Heft, 1949 p.5.
finds none of that shock-treatment in his verse which Mr. C. Day Lewis has rightly described as the modern poet's attempt to make some impact on the sophisticated reader\(^1\). There are no nervous mannerisms in his style, he uses no violent of incongruous imagery and makes no attempt to hold up a mirror to a disintegrating world by showing it a similarly disintegrated poem. The purpose of his early art was to create a medium for the subtleties, but not for the analysis, of experience. And that these subtleties were expressed not, as many modernists attempted to express them, by the pure juxtaposition of diverse images, but through symbols which the general consciousness had, for the most part, assimilated, - this was the true sign of his genius. There are, to be sure, obscurities in George's work, particularly in the late poetry. But the reader never gets the impression that the poet attempted to convey something of the moving immediacy of his pre-prophetic mode of experience by linking together a number of hackneyed images and arbitrary associations. His respect for form, and the scorn in which he held the contemporary naturalists, safeguarded him against any naive imitation. George was a poet of dreams and an opponent of middle class taste; but he could communicate the first and fight the other without Freudian knowledge or Marxist analysis.

At this juncture one may venture slightly farther afield and examine a more general aspect of modern poetry. Why is it, one may ask, that poets like Rilke, George, Yeats and Eliot succeeded, where others failed? What, apart from their greater sensibility and better craftsmanship, accounts for their accomplishment? These four men, though different in outlook, style and background, had one thing in common: none of them were directly stirred to poetic reflection by the complexity of modern civilization or any one of its agents. While the

lesser poets laboured under their inability to respond to the multiplicity of the contemporary scene, and, either employed images which had no roots in the public awareness, or relapsed into a discussion of their inability, Rilke, George, Yeats and Eliot in his maturity made no attempt to answer the challenge. They confined themselves to a region of experience where the impact of the influence of modern existence was visible only in its final effect on the emotions and bearing of individual men and women. "There must always be an emotional response", Professor Isaacs wrote, "not a mere intellectual recognition". But, one should add, intellectual recognition also has its place in the modern poet's scheme of things as long as it is not a recognition of a technicality or a welter of technicalities. Rilke, George, Yeats and Eliot penetrated to those connections of mind and emotion where the general influences of a bewildering civilization cross the way of the more traditional responses of human nature. The basic mood of George's early art is loneliness of Rilke's solitude. Yeats worked his way back to the twilight of the Celtic myths and Eliot to a semi-religious idiom, so many responses - each perfect in its way - to an unmanageable materialist reality. But, and this must be stressed, they are responses transmitted by a delicate gear-changing mechanism which feeds the poetic consciousness only with the slow but intense power of a fast moving machine. All this helps to explain why in poetry, as in the other arts, imagism,


2) In his study of Wordsworth Sir Herbert Read wrote: "All art implies an act of deliberation: the poet does not create in the first access of his emotional experience. The particular event must first sink back into the general consciousness and there reckon with the criticism of the general trend of individual thought." Herbert Read: Wordsworth, London 1930 pp. 253-254.
surrealism, design in colour and the like have had, indeed, can have, no lasting life. These movements either encounter the challenge of the modern situation at a poetically immature technical level, or they are so preoccupied with methods of communication that they cannot unloose depths of feeling in the unconscious regions of the human mind. The service of art, A.N. Whitehead wrote, is "hindered by trivial truths of detail. Such petty conformations place in the foreground the superficialities of sense-experience." The trouble, it seems, lies not in any inherently unpoetic quality of modern life (although it is an open question whether the contemporary situation contains no unpoetic materials) but rather in the failure of the artist to see how far an unpoetic quality is part of a larger and potentially poetic relationship, and that a part or a function should not be represented unrelated to those points of experience where the changing superficialities of life flow back into an unchanging larger pattern.

George's early poems are, with few exceptions, symptoms of a growing and becoming rather than a resting and being, a Werden rather than a Sein. Friends and foes alike appreciated the musical immediacy of this verse and, indeed, a cursory acquaintance will convince the reader that the finest shades of emotion are enshrined here in fluxes and refluxes of a haunting musical idiom, whose penetrating power has rarely been equalled and never surpassed in German poetry. Whether, as in Das Jahr der Seele, the poet echoes the changing moods of the seasons or, as in Die Bücher der Hirten und Preisgedichte, draws his inspiration

from the Middle Ages or the sounds and colours of rural Germany, he always reflects his deepest personal sentiments. His subject matter is an excuse for opening up new reservoirs of feeling, and these feelings - melancholy and joyous, heroic and child-like - are reverberated, as if reflected by so many mirrors set at different angles, by imaginary partners and imaginary relationships. It is in this sense that one should read the warning which is given in his introduction to Das Jahr der Seele:

"Auch einige die sich dem sinn des verfassers genähert haben meinten es helfe zum tieferen verständnis wenn sie im Jahr der Seele bestimmte personen und örter ausfindig machten, möge man doch ... auch bei einer dichtung vermeiden sich umweise an das menscaliche, urbild zu kehren: es hat durch die kunst solche umformung erfahren dass es dem schöpfer selber unbedeutend wurde ... Namen gelten nur da wo sie als huldigung oder gabe verewigen sollen und selten sind sosehr wie in diesem buch ich und du die selbe seele." 1)

The variability of the reflecting agent is another symptom of the poet's outlook in these early years. The apprehension of reality as something fluid brought with it a tendency to project himself into various remote periods: Greek, Roman and mediaeval. The urge behind this tendency was a desire to escape from the limitations of an all too mundane present and seek fresh incentives for self-expression in the changing climates of history.

"Es steht wohl an vorauszuschicken," - he wrote in the preface to Die Bücher der Hirten und Freisgedichte, "dass in diesen drei werken nirgends das bild eines geschichtlichen oder entwicklungsabschnittes entworfen werden soll; sie enthalten die spiegelungen einer seele die vorübergehend in andere zeiten und örterlieheiten geflohen ist und sich dort gewiegt hat ..." 2)

The apprehension of the world as a continuous becoming, and the restless flow of his own imagination, were peculiar to George's early period. In the poetry which he produced

1) Das Jahr der Seele "Vorrede der zweiten ausgabe", Berlin 1897.
2) Die Bücher der Hirten- und Freisgedichte, 1894.
after 1904 and, to some extent, after 1899 when the Vorspiel was published, he addressed himself to the present or turned to those historical figures of the past whose poetic representation implied lessons for the present. After 1904 his mental state of flux and the lyrical poetry which it had produced, gradually turned into a more permanent outlook and a more serious idiom. The hymnic verse of the Vorspiel anticipated a religious experience. With the coming and death of Maximin conditions were ripe for that spectacular fusion of religious emotion and "greek" thought of which his prophetic work is the lasting embodiment.

The present investigation will show that before 1904 George's personal attitude to music was friendly and that nothing he wrote before that date struck a note hostile to music. Musicians and composers were among his closest friends and the early numbers of the Blätter had musical supplements, which included settings of poems, among them some of George's own. In 1897 the Blätter warned the young generation of poets against the dangers of an arbitrary isolation from music and the plastic arts. In the early stages of the movement the interdependence of the arts may have been an important article in the aesthetic creed of George and his followers. Like their fellow symbolists in France, they, too, conceived their movement as a continuation of the tradition which was started, among others, by Richard Wagner. In an essay which was later omitted from the selected edition, C.A. Klein wrote in the Blätter in 1892:

"Wir haben auch Vertreter einer neuen Kunst... Sie ist ganz anderer Art als die Zolas und der Norweger und ganz bei uns zu Haus. Ihre Hauptstützen Richard Wagner der Komponist, Friedrich Nietzsche der Orator, der Maler Arnold Böcklin..."

1) Cf. pp. 169-212 under
That Wagner was included among George's spiritual ancestry shows how little even the closest of George's friends could divine the future course of the Blätter-Kreis. At this time and for some years to come, nothing that appeared in the Blätter foreshadowed the poet's later prophetic philosophy. Hofmannsthal was a frequent contributor, Wolfskehl wrote an essay in praise of "die Dunkelheit" \(^2\), Klages underlined "das traumhafte" \(^3\) in the poetic constitution and Gerardy saw no harm in mentioning in the same breath symbolism and mysticism - twin pillars of the new art \(^4\).

Vorspiel (1899) marked the awakening of George's prophet-ic consciousness. It went hand in hand with the growth of a new habit of apprehension to which the significant occasions of reality disclosed themselves as so many aspects of a resting and being rather than a fluidity and becoming. How closely this new outlook affected his attitude to music will be seen from the fact that the last musical supplement of the Blätter appeared at the end of 1896, that is to say just after the completion of Das Jahr der Seele which came out in 1897. The feeling that further musical publications were undesirable coincided with the poet's work on Vorspiel (1897-99). This book marked the beginning of a change in George's whole system of mind and imagination. With it went a silent transformation of his attitude to music.

1) "Über Stefan George / eine neue Kunst" Blätter, 1. Folge, 2. Band, 1892.
2) Karl Wolfskehl: "Über die Dunkelheit" Blätter, Auslese 1892-98, pp. 128-130.
Hölderlin, Jean Paul, Nietzsche, to a lesser extent Novalis, and Goethe were the main spiritual influences in George's art. The change which took place in his outlook as a result of the growth of his prophetic awareness is well illustrated by two interpretations of the significance of Goethe, one from the early, the other from the prophetic period. In "Goethe Tag" (1898) George's aim was simply to uphold the "rich dream and song" of Goethe's lyric genius and secure it against the dilutions of the vulgar and profane.

Was wisst ihr von dem reichen traum und sange
Die ihr bestaunet! ...
Wenn er als ein noch schönerer im leben
Jetzt käme - wer dann ehre ihn? er ginge
Ein könig ungenannt an euch vorbei.

In "Goethes letzte Nacht in Italien" (1910), however, a different picture emerges. Goethe is now seen as an early protagonist of George's own faith in earthliness and plastic form. He is celebrated as the visionary who recognized:

"Zauber des Dings - und des Leibes, der göttlichen norm." 2)

His reading of Nietzsche's role before and after his encounter with Maximin underwent an equally significant change. His poem Nietzsche, published in 1900 3), was a picture, not so much of the prophet and the reformer of values, as of the tragedy and contradictions of Nietzsche's personal destiny. The emphasis of the poem falls on Nietzsche's personal isolation and the incongruities of his work and not, as one would expect, on the relevance of his teaching for a disintegrating civilization. The poem ends on the note:

Nicht reden sollen diese neue seele,

1) "Goethe Tag", Der Siebente Ring, 1907 pp. 10-11; first published under the title "Goethe-Spruch" in the Blätter, 4th series vol. 5 in 1899.

2) "Goethes letzte Nacht in Italien", Das Neue Reich, 1928, pp. 8-11; first published in the Blätter, series 8-9 in 1910.

3) "Nietzsche", Der Siebente Ring, 1907 pp. 12-13; first published in the Blätter 5th series 1900-01.
a note which is significant for the purposes of the present investigation if one considers that the words are taken from the foreword of *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik* and refer, as Nietzsche himself explained, to the representation of the Dionysian element in Greek culture by means of poetry, not philosophy. That in 1900 George chose to portray Nietzsche, not as a rebel and reformer, but as a frustrated, but, nevertheless, potential poet of Dionysian intoxication, - this is important evidence of the young poet's tacit assumptions.

His second poem on Nietzsche, which appeared in 1913, struck an altogether different note. The focus of the poet's interest had shifted from the personal to the impersonal, from the aesthetic to the ethical. By 1913 the contradictions of Nietzsche's life and work had largely lost their importance for George. What mattered was, above all, the awakening effect, or rather, the absence of the awakening effect which Nietzsche's thunder ought to have had on his countrymen. George now felt that the light he had seen should be communicated to others, and to recognize in Nietzsche the oracle and crusader was part of his vision. Nietzsche was now celebrated as the great forerunner, the voice in the wilderness, as lonely and unheeded as George's in a degraded and indifferent world. But it was a prophetic voice which was now heard in the fulness of its potential impact on the modern community.

The implications of the first poem lay in the thought - allied to the young Nietzsche's views - that the justification of life was its apprehension as an aesthetic experience. Not to philosophize but to sing, was George's message in 1900. The second poem was a hymn of loyalty to a prophet by a prophet

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1) Cf.: the poem beginning with the line: "Einer stand auf der scharf wie blitz und stahl ..." Der Stern des Bundes, 1913, p. 28. (All references to Der Stern des Bundes refer to the pagination of the 4th edition, 1920.)
who, in his quest for a new faith, was now searching for spiritual forbears.

Hölderlin, in whom George could not see the romantic, did not appear to him as a source of inspiration until after he had encountered Maximin and then he emancipated the figure of Hyperion from its original setting and, through a curious inversion of values, employed it to repudiate, of all things, German music and romanticism. Before 1904, however, George concerned himself in the main with the representation of pure emotion, irrespective of its constructive nature or otherwise for a wider scheme of values. In Jean Paul, for instance, he celebrated, if anything, an excess of pure feeling conveyed by a correspondingly extravagant medley of music, colour and ornament. The French impressionists taught him that pure impressions can be put over if musical characteristics are fused into the language of poetry. What, above all, attracted him to Jean Paul was that peculiar mixture of paint and sound which invests his idiom with an air of a dream-like unreality. Of this he gave evidence both in his panegyric on Jean Paul and in his anthology of Jean Paul's work which he selected with an obvious predilection for such passages. Even late in life, when he was aware of the over-rich ornamentation of Jean Paul's style and his too liberal use of sense-transference, he maintained that Jean Paul's language and imagery were the basic, if somewhat crude, stuff of all poetry.

George's indebtedness to the French symbolists is well known. In 1893 he published his panegyric on Mallarmé and in 1903 that on Verlaine. By 1905 he had completed his translations of contemporary verse, which included renderings of the poetry of Verlaine, Mallarmé, Rimbaud, De Régnier and

1) Cf.: "Hyperion", Das Neue Reich, 1928.
D'Annunzio. Their aristocratic bearing, their cult of the poet's seclusion from the world and, principally, the musical appeal of their verse were the main influences which these men exercised on the young German poet. But, in their detailed effects, these influences were not as immediate as has often been assumed. "Even in the first days of his enlightenment", G.M. Bowra wrote, "George was not the man to exploit the possibilities of Symbolism to the full . . . His response to things was not simple and immediate. What came to him did not pass directly into song."¹ But into song it did pass of an immediacy and beauty which the other symbolists seldom and the German romantics never equalled. "With George's song", G.M. Bowra went on, "a new art came to German poetry. Hitherto German songs had been too often composed for the musician. In even the best lyrics of Mörike or Lenau we feel that something is wanting, that they are not self-contained but wait for the musician to complete them. But George's songs sing themselves. They need no help from the composer. In them the springs of George's creativeness unite."²

George's devotion to music before 1904, his early views, the nature of his early poetry and, as we shall presently see, his friendships and the books and ideas he inspired fall into place as so many manifestations of a dynamic frame of mind and imagination. The precise nature of this outlook cannot be understood without the elucidation offered by each of its constituent ideas. George's attitude to music, his relationship with the symbolists and his early verse were specialized principles of a wider conception which assumed that a principle of fluidity and becoming lies below the surface-manifestations

²) ibid. p. 115.
of reality. With this assumption was secured a sense of infinitude widening, as it were, the poet's field of attention to include every shade of emotion in the minutiae of experience.

C. THE CIRCLE

This way of looking at things exercised a considerable influence on the friends and followers of Stefan George. In the present section it is proposed to examine those of their ideas which show signs of having sprung from this conception. It must always be remembered, however, that reality apprehended as a flow of things (Werden) was only one of the two basic assumptions, and that in many cases the two were knit together in a manner which leaves little room for a legitimate distinction.

1. The Cosmic View of Life - KLAGES

Reality apprehended as a flow of things which, as we have seen, dominated George's mind before 1904, found its most representative application in a narrow circle of semi-mystical adepts who were grouped around the person of the poet and were known as the community of the Munich "Kosmiker". Apart from George, its three leading figures were Karl Wolfskehl, Ludwig Klages and Alfred Schuler. Their philosophy, which advocated a return to the matriarchal way of life, received its initial impulse from Wolfskehl's re-discovery of the works of Bachofen. According to this philosophy, modern existence, shaped and controlled by the masculine principle, was urged forward by a false trust in the efficacy of rational reasoning. Modern man, they thought, had lost touch with the primitive, sustaining sources of nature, because in a patriarchal society logos and not materia (a thing closely allied to mater) reigned supreme. Judaism, Platonism and Christianity, the Cosmists believed, placed a ...
spiritual essence at the centre of their scheme of things, substituting a world of abstractions for the sensuous materialism of the pagan world. Today, man was the pale image of his primitive forefathers. As a member of modern civilization he had a technological mind, an economic outlook and a disillusioned heart. As a member of an essentially Christian community his senses were paralyzed. His faith had shifted from the bracing practices of the Dionysian religion to an inhibiting hereafter. The worst features of his dual status in the world were combined in Protestantism. Eros had given way to Charitas. The night, with all its sacred awe and intoxication (Urschauer), was replaced by the unrewarding clarity of daylight. Above all, individualism had taken the place of a supra-individual pagan community in which man had maintained permanent touch with the ever changing and developing processes of nature.

These views gained wide currency in Klages' later work "Der Geist als Widersacher der Seele". Wolfskehl's mystical poetry in the 5th and 6th series of the Blätter and Schüler's archeological theories show the scope of their influence. The Cosmic circle had its "Dionysian" festivals and fancy-dress celebrations, some of which are mentioned in George's and Wolfkehl's poetry. A cult of Aphrodite was encouraged and the wholesome chaos of primordial times which, under Bachofen's influence, the Cosmists associated

2) Cf.: "Härtere Irrlehre hat selten die Köpfe betäubt, als das Lasterwort vom Individualismus ...". "Nicht leidenschaftliche Wut, nicht grabender Scharfsinn, nicht 'ästhetische' Lauheit öffnet die Thore des Werdens... Nicht im Hirn, ... sondern im Blut quillt die Rauschwoge auf." ibid. pp. 12-14.
3) Cf.: "Maskenzug", "Feste" in Der Siebente Ring p. 211. "Das Fest", "Um die Mutter" "Maskenzug" etc. by Wolfkehl in B.f.d.K. Auslese II. and III.
with the matriarchal way of life, was now recreated in a more practical manner. One learns from Wolters that,

"... die geschlechtlichen Freiheitsstrebungen der Romantik, des Liberalismus, der Frauenbewegung und der eben damals einsetzenden Jugendbewegung wurden weit überstiegen und vor allem das Vaterrecht der Ehe verworfen: es gab eine Aphroditische Zeit ... in der die Ehe Frevel gegen die Urmutter Erde war, Amazontum und Demeterkult, schon Abschwächungen des Ursprünglichen, enthielten noch spuren davon, in der dionysischen Religion unter 'dem phallischen Herrn des üppigen Naturlebens' blühte der Aphroditismus in gewandelter Form noch einmal auf, um dann endgültig dem übersinnlichen Licht Apollons zu erliegen. Erklärte man also die urmütterliche Zeit als die lebendigste und wirklichste, so musste man auch das hetärische Dasein bejahen und die mütterliche Hetäre preisen, das Weib, das sich allen preisgibt und zugleich außerhalb jeder Eheform Mutter wird und werden will. Die Kosmiker waren so echte Glaubige der Allvermischung, dass sie vor dieser letzten Folgerichtigkeit auch Schwester und Geliebte ... in einer so vollkommener Lebenshaltung bestärkten."

That George chose to associate himself with a movement so Romantic, obscure and inarticulate, shows how little he was consciously heading for a new prophetic outlook. His mind was in a state of flux. He searched for a deeper and more spiritual understanding of things, and this involved him in exploring a wide range of ages, ideas and situations. The Cosmists' philosophy was one of them. The activities of the Cosmic circle began in 1899 and ended in 1904. Its last two years coincided with George's friendship with Maximin. Maximin was invited to some of their fancy-dress celebrations. In his Diary he describes one which he attended early in 1904.

"Wir bildeten eine Dichtergruppe," Maximin relates, "und zwar Wolfskehl, geführt von einem leierknaben, als Homer, dann ein Vergil, hierauf George als Dante, von mir als einem Florentiner Edelknaben geführt."2)

1) Fr. Wolters: Stefan George, p. 264.
Maximin in a Cosmical setting may at first strike one as a highly paradoxical situation. But at the time it was nothing of the sort. Although Vorspiel marked the beginning of the search for new values and a new philosophy, between

1) How easily the youth, who only three years later was appointed the official deity of the George circle, fitted into the Cosmic setting is shown by Wolfskehl's dramatic poem "Maskenzug". Published in 1904, presumably not long after one of the "poets' processions" in which Maximin also took part, "Maskenzug" offers a typical example of the Cosmic outlook. In it Dionysos, the symbol of divine power, rules over an empire

"Des schwingens und schwarmens grenzenlose zonen ..."

George as "Meister" represents the way to the attainment of truth, but there is, as yet, no telling where it will lead him:

"Bin ich noch nicht an der fahrten ziel?  Wohin mit mir? ... das bild zerrimt ..."

Then a chorus of women (naturally seven in number) appears: representatives of the matriarchial principle. Their song exalts the goddess of fire:

"Göttin schwester! schwester flamme!  Ewiger regung born und hort ...

And finally Maximin, who, as he reports in his diary, donned a red dress for the occasion, makes his appearance as "das rote kind". He seeks communion with the mystical deity of motherhood:

"Die weissen vögel schwingen  Weit weg, ihr singen  Weist mir die bahn.  Mutter! zu dir die bahn."

Vorspiel and 1904 George's outlook was curiously chequered by an extreme Romantic and a "Greek" type of apprehension. For some years the two overlapped, and it seems certain that the idea of significant form as a master concept for a completely new scheme of things did not enter his mind before the death of Maximin. With the completion of Vorspiel and Der Teppich des Lebens a new crisis developed in George's life. The mere poetizing of fleeting emotions no longer satisfied him. An angel had appeared to him; an imaginary partner for a higher relationship had been conceived. But the purpose and direction of this relationship were still hidden from his eyes. He was groping in the dark, and in his quest for a higher purpose he followed the first light which offered to point a way. It was the way of the Cosmists, full of chaotic thinking and romantic nostalgia. But it was a new way, with fresh minds applying their energies to the spiritual problems of the day. And, above all, their reading of the dangers of the 19th Century was correct. None of the evils which a few years later George castigated in his Vorrede zu Maximin were missing in the diagnosis of the Cosmic enthusiasts. The nature of the malady had been established. Only the correct remedies had to be found, - and, for some years, George was satisfied that a return to the kind of life which the Cosmists had in mind, was the correct recipe. But when, in 1903, the Cosmists, notably Klages and Schuler, demanded that George should openly set himself at the head of the movement and take public action, he realized that the time had come for him to part company with the extreme wing of the Cosmic group. In the meantime, he had met Maximin. His premonition of a higher calling gradually transformed itself into prophetic certainty. He emerged purified from his association with Maximin.

1) First published in 1906.
the Cosmic movement, and when, after a brief friendship, Maximin died at the age of sixteen, he suddenly realized that a visible sign had been given for the attainment of a new and spiritual grace. A new god had appeared to him to point the way to the solution of new maladies. And as the pure die young, Maximin's destiny was to deliver his message and then depart in the prime of his freshness and beauty. The groundwork of a religion was now established and it was the apostle's task to proclaim its dogma and provide a remedy for the afflictions of our civilization, - a remedy which he had vainly sought in the mist of Cosmic thought. But there he had sought it with all the ardour and daydreaming of his Cosmic friends.

The most striking product of the Cosmic view of life was Klages' book on Stefan George. Its interest for the present investigation is twofold. First, it supplies additional evidence of the views held by the Cosmic circle, and, secondly, it shows how George's personality and art were seen by a close friend immediately before Maximin appeared. In his foreword Klages tells us that his book is an attempt to create an understanding between mysticism and the "dead formulae of science". The first chapter is headed by two quotations, one from Hölderlin's Hyperion and the other from Schelling's Bruno. The latter throws an interesting light on the Romantic nature of Klages' whole approach. In it Schelling identifies the universe with an ethereal music, by whose melody those selected for a higher life, return to the original oneness of things:

"Auch einen Teil pflanzte es ihnen ein der himmlischen Musik, die im ganzen Universum, im Licht und in den Sphä-

1) "Zwischen lebendiger Mystik und den notwendigen toten Formeln der Wissenschaft". Ludwig Klages: Stefan George, Berlin, 1902, p. 4.
ren ist, und lehrte die, welche bestimmt waren, den Äther zu bewohnen, in ihrem Gesang sich vergessend zurückzukehren in die Einheit."  

For Klages, George represented the natural conclusion of the romantic movement. Among the German poets, he wrote, George was the sole re-invigorator of the faith which had been lost to mankind since the days of the Romantics. To understand the full meaning of this "faith", one has to place it in the perspective of Klages' whole scheme of things. Life, he thought, had reached its greatest intensity in pagan times. Primitive man lived in direct contact with nature. In his consciousness the myths of primordial times preserved their reality. From this arche-typal existence man was gradually alienated by the awakening of Apolline daylight. The history of man was the story of his growing estrangement from nature. But although he had lost most of the heritage of his forefathers' pattern of life, reminders of the lost perfection were produced by every age. In our time symbolic expression was its only, though distant, echo. It was in this sense that he saw in George's art a return to the pagan way of life. George, he thought, was a pagan poet because the source of his poetry was a mystical experience of oneness with the universe; and

1) ibid. p. 5.
2) Cf.: "Selten erhebt sich zur Bewusstheit, was den geistlos webenden Mächten alles Wachstum verwandt ist ... Mit solcher Gesinnung ist unter deutschen Dichtern George der einsame Erneuerer eines Glaubens, der seit den Tagen der Romantik verloren ging."
   Ludwig Klages: Stefan George, Berlin 1902, p. 7.
3) Cf.: "Nicht traumwandlerisch bannen wir urbildliches Leben mehr. Schlafloser Wille stellt in Stein und Wort ihm nach und zittert in Dankbarkeit wenn nur ein Schimmer ferner Glut ihm sprüht: solches Gebilde heisst uns Symbol."
   ibid. p. 15.
paganism was "the faith in the supra-individual reality of the glowing moment"\(^1\), - the faith in what later went by the name of *kairos* in the circle. The truths conveyed by this art superseded the truths of the rational mind\(^2\). In the world of which they report, Klages wrote, the trivial order of things is overshadowed by the "glowing circles of a more powerful reality"\(^3\). The life of which George's art rendered an imaginative equivalent was not accessible to rational thinking. It was approached through the "rhythmic beat of the blood"\(^4\) - rhythm and melody fused into a supreme poetic cadence. Archetypal life emerged from a chaotic merger of things. Hence, neither passionate feeling nor intellectual thought could, in themselves, reveal the nature of this ever changing and becoming base of life\(^5\). Kinship by instinct offered the only promise of an understanding.

In the light of these views it is not surprising that Klages' reading of George's early work should swarm with archetypal relationships, aeromancies and hieromancies, cosmogonies and primordial intoxications. Algabal now appears in the full pomp and barbarism of primitive times:


2) Cf.: "Von purpurnem Kerne verzehrt fällt der Trugschleier des Denkens." ibid. p. 11.


In the hands of Klages the delicate emotions and quiet melancholy of Das Jahr der Seele assume cosmic proportions. The fleeting sentiments of the changing seasons, which George described with so much intimacy, are now seen as so many manifestations of a vast and impersonal metempsychosis. 

"Was ist diese Seele? - Im Jahr der Seele und nur dort müsste forschen, wer das ergründen will. Sie war schon einmal, ist wiedergeboren, kommt mit unbegreiflichen Erinnerungen beladen und vorbestimmter Schicksale gewiss. Sie hat Schluchten durchirrt und Höhen überklommen, die einem andern Leben angehören. Ein schlafwandlerisches Wesen tastet sie zu früherem Sein zurück und sieht sich zugleich in ferner Zukunft zu sich selbst erfüllt ... Wir ahnen in Krypten verborgene Flammen, wir hören es im Innern der Erde klopfen; aber es loht nicht auf, kein Blitz zerspaltet die Dümpfe, kein Schacht führt in die Höhe der Toten, die noch nicht geboren sind. Diese Seele wacht nicht. Schwarze Trauergaze des Gedenkens hüllen wie Wolkenstreifen ihre in finsterem Gram gebeugte Stirn."  

This cosmic interpretation of George's work was part of the romantic tradition which dominated all thought and feeling in the early years of the circle. Klages was perhaps its most extreme representative, with a terminology so nebulous that to the ordinary reader much of his book must remain conjectural. Altogether, his spiritual loyalties lay in the

direction of the miraculous and the irrational. In Germany, he wrote with obvious satisfaction, Pindar's poetic vein, Dante's clarity and Shakespeare's manly realism never gained a lasting spiritual foothold\(^1\). In his view, the landmarks of the tradition which culminated in the art of George were Hölderlin and Nietzsche, the first with his Hyperion and Nietzsche with his Zarathustra\(^2\). He was grieved by the disappearance in Germany of the search for ultimate loyalties, because he felt that from this search Böcklin, Wagner, Nietzsche, as well as the Romantics, drew their inspiration.\(^3\)

He quotes Heraclitus to explain that a leaning towards asceticism was implied even in the early days of Christianity, because Christianity pointed a way upwards, and that was incompatible with an outlook which knew of no escape into otherworldliness.\(^4\) He quotes a dictum of Novalis to pillory naturalism\(^5\) and remarks that, before George's time, the "dark realms" of nature were only once adequately explored - in the poetry of Annette von Droste-Hülshoff.\(^6\)

Most of these views were conceived by a mind which saw process and changeability wherever it looked in nature. Duration, solid objects and repetition, Klages wrote, were abstractions of the rational mind, hence, they had no claim to be recognized as existent. The regulative principle of life lay in the process of continual becoming, and this implied a definition of existence as that which is in permanent transition between past and future. Hence, any interpretation of life in terms of the present, and any application

\(1\) Cf.: ibid. p. 24.
\(2\) ibid. p. 24.
\(3\) ibid. pp. 60-61.
\(4\) "Dennoch ist (das Christentum) der Weg zur Askese, weil es der 'Weg nach oben' ist."
ibid. p. 68.
\(5\) Cf.: "Das Geheimniss der Mechanik lag schwer auf diesen Anachoreten in den Wüsten des Verstandes." ibid. p. 10.
\(6\) Cf.: ibid. p. 44.
of the formulae of conceptual thought to the reading of its nature, were bound to produce irrelevancies. Life, he thought, is a flow of things and the standstills which our senses and thoughts register are but arbitrary stoppages on the road of becoming. It was in this sense that he wrote:

"Dauer, Wiederholung, Ding: drei Larven der Vernunft aus tauschenden Wortern gewoben. Was wir nennend dem Werden zu entschöpfen wähnen, das prahlrische Sein, ist nur Bewusstseinsschattenspiel - wie sehr auch von denen gelobt, die im Versanden ihr Geschick erfüllen. - ... Der Unterschied wird erlebt - nie begriffen. Kein Denken trennt Organismen auf; den im geringsten Bruchstück lebt ungeteilt und unteilbar das Ganze."  

The most interesting aspect of Klages' attitude to George lies in the somewhat damped enthusiasm with which he received Vorspiel and Der Teppich des Lebens. In 1902, when his book appeared, he could neither foresee George's encounter with Maximin, nor the nature of the poetry which was to issue from it. Yet, with astonishing insight, he was aware that Vorspiel marked the beginning of a reorientation of the poet's outlook towards the religious and supernatural. Klages' premonition was not entirely right. He believed that the new trend in George's art leaned towards the Christian conception of a transcendental spirit (logos, Geist) and that it was hostile to the "soul" of earlier pagan times. This being so, he sensed an enemy in the poet's turn of loyalties. In actual fact, the verse which George wrote after 1904 was the product of a very levelheaded philosophy of plastic form, and a religious, even mystical, faith in the supreme truth and redeeming power of that philosophy. Klages was clearly wrong in sensing a link between this component of George's later art, and the spirit of Christianity. On a superficial level there are elements in

1) ibid. pp. 18-19.
his poetry which might justify an analogy. Experiments have been made on that line.

But, although George's encounter with Maximin had religious repercussions, it did not lend itself to a re-interpretation of life on anything like a Christian pattern. In fact, George expected that his art would help to restore the unity of the body and soul, undoing the damage which the image of man had suffered when Plato and the Christians banished the soul to an otherworldly habitation. All the same, Klages' interpretation of the undercurrents of George's new verse came surprisingly near to the truth: in 1902 the decisive quality of George's new poetry lay not in the precise nature of the values which it foreshadowed, but rather in the fact that it did point towards a non-dionysian, transcendental mode of experience, and that it foreshadowed the birth of a god of "daylight," - both of which were anathema to the protagonists of cosmic thought. Thus, the important thing about Klages' interpretation of Vorspiel is not so much the Christian background with which he associated George's new attitude - this followed almost naturally from the distinction which he made between Geist and Seele - as the negative aspect which his interpretation of George indicated: that with Vorspiel George definitely turned away from his previous habit of seeing and judging things and replaced it by a new mould of apprehension which seized upon the crystallized products of life rather than upon the flux from which they emerged. It is in this light that one should read Klages' comment:

1) Cf.: for instance the poem "Das Zweite: Wallfahrt", Der Siebente Ring, "Maximin" pp. 105-06.
"Denn die Einheit (of Vorspiel), die mehr tyrannisch als freiwaltend herrscht, ist der Geist, der adelt, was von Natur der Weihe nicht teilhaftig ist. Und wenn die Liebe zum Menschen wird, so ist es nicht mehr Eros, sondern Caritas ... Und wenn die Seele ihr Reich träumt, so ist es nicht mehr dionysischer Blutreigen, sondern der geisterfrohe Himmel, den christliche Meister malten und dichteten..."1)

And later:
"...ein Dom wölbt sich über uns, in dem machtvollen Rufes der Geist regiert. Nie lebt hier eine Landschaft aus sich selbst, nie bricht eine Gestalt aus elementarem Lebensgrunde ... Es gibt nun eine Rangordnung der Sinne nach dem Grade ihrer "Geistigkeit" und ein Vorwalten des Gesichts, welches genau zusammengeht mit dem "verklärenden" Übergewicht des \( \omega^\beta \). Kein Werk Georges ist so farben - und liniensicher als der Teppich ..."2)

* 

The same outlook, suffused with more obvious reminiscences of Bergson's philosophy, can be observed in the works of Friedrich Gundolf. For the purpose of the present investigation it will suffice to examine his ideas under two headings. Under the first an attempt will be made to explain the nature of his views concerning the language of poetry, with special reference to Goethe's language. Under the second we shall examine his ideas concerning historiography and the nature of historical occasions.

2. The Language of Poetry - GUNDOLF

One of the most interesting aspects of the faculty to which reality revealed itself as fluid, is found in Gundolf's interpretation of the poetic technique involved in Goethe's lyric verse. Goethe's songs, he believed, possessed an

1) op. cit. p. 73.
2) ibid. p. 74.
immediacy of oral appeal. This appeal, in turn, presupposed that what the poet encountered in his experience was a fluency rather than a permanency, a becoming rather than a being. And if, he argued, experience registered a flow of things, it was the artist's task to speak of it in a manner which recalled this fluency. In poetry the music of words, a special combination of rhythm, melody and secondary meanings, came nearest to it. Consequently, lyrical verse could, at its best, do without the mediation of imagery and rely solely on the appeal of the "music" of poetry. Imagery, moreover, referred to a visual experience, and that was alien to the flow of becoming, which invited an oral rather than a visual apprehension. The most consummate illustration of these views was offered by Goethe's lyrical verse and particularly the poetry which he wrote after the Leipzig period. Thus, Gundolf explained:

"In Goethes Lyrik ist das Erlebnis gleich Wort, das Werden selbst ist Sprache, das Gefühl braucht keinen Bildleib, sondern hat gleich einen Klangleib. Das war nur möglich weil Goethe werdend das Werdende erlebte, und schon singend klangleibhaft erlebte."1)

It will be seen that in 1916 Gundolf saw (with Wundt and others) an important link between musical expression and the apprehension of nature as an ever changing, fluid thing. Later in the present inquiry it will be shown that Gundolf was not consistent in his views. Concurrently with these views he preached a philosophy of being, explaining that significant form postulated spatial circumscription which, in turn, implied that visual perception was the thing that really mattered in artistic experience 2). Having said this, however, it will be legitimate to confine ourselves to Gundolf's first mode of apprehension. As far as his views on the language of Goethe's lyrical verse are concerned, they were mostly variations on the larger metaphysical assumption. What distinguished Goethe's best lyrical work from that of his forerunners, he explained, was the recreation in language of the flux of experience.

2) Cf.: ibid. p. 75, Chapter IV.
This art no longer relied on imagery for the transmission of experience, because the music of poetry was its natural mouthpiece. Nor were symbols extraneous to the flux of experience. By virtue of their suggestive and evocative verbal organization, symbols had direct reference to, and were interwoven with the processes of reality.

Goethe, Gundolf thought, was the first German poet who, when dealing with nature, ignored the categories of the rational mind. His experience of nature was not confined to the senses. He could feel his way into the workings of those deeper processes of which the senses can give but a poor and profane report. The objects of sense perception, he argued, are the frozen deposits of a living flow of things: to understand the nature of this fluency is the pre-requisite of any profound apprehension of reality.

Even more striking - if only for their indebtedness to Bergson's scheme of things - are Gundolf's ideas when he explains the background of Goethe's notion of becoming (Werden). In Greek and Roman times, he wrote the mental map

1) Cf.: "Die Distanz zwischen Symbol und Erregung, die bei aller früheren Lyrik besteht, ist bei den besten Goethi­schen Gedichten aufgehoben... die Worte selbst suggerie­ren uns die Bewegung durch welche Goethe schwingt ..." op. cit. p. 101.

2) Cf.: "Dies Sprachmittel (Goethes) ist nur Zeichen oder Funktion des neuen Erlebnisses: dass die Natur nicht mehr als ein Museum abgegrenzter, rationell fassbarer, unter rationeller Gruppen verteilbarer Einzeldinge erscheint, sondern als bewegtes, atmendes Chaos wirkender Kräfte. Hinter den für die einzelnen fünf Sinne fassbaren Er­schei n un g e n werden die an fünf Sinne nicht gebundenen Kräfte und Prozesse gefühlt. Von denen sind die sichtbaren, hörbaren, tastbaren, riechbaren, schmeckbaren Einzelscheinungen nur gleichsam der Nieder­s chlag."
ibid. p. 63.

of the world was based on the assumption that reality was something full and complete, that, in fact, it was not a becoming but a being, - a closed circle which was permanent and stationary. Goethe, he wrote, was the first man who not only understood but actually experienced reality as motion and becoming. And this motion he apprehended not as a line which connects so many solid perceptions or stable conditions but as a continual flux wherein only changing states exist\(^1\): This being so, he needed little figurative illustration to express movement in poetry. He was sparing with the use of imagery, because the best way of reporting the process which he had experienced, was to exploit the flexibility of language for new verbal arrangements, or the reformed application of the old\(^2\). For one who experienced a becoming in nature, imagery was a detour. Thus he explained:

''... seine (Goethes) Epitheta bezeichnen nicht so sehr, wie die Shakespeares, Eigenschaften, sondern Tätigkeiten, Aktion oder Funktion. Auch dies entspricht dem neuen Weltgefühl das ein A e r d e n , kein S e i n mehr in der Welt erlebte.''

\(^1\) Cf.: ''... erst Goethe entdeckte als Dichter überall das Werden, die Bewegung, die Entwicklung, nicht als eine Kausalverknüpfung zweier Zustände, als eine ruhende Linie die zwei feste Punkte verband, sondern als ein we senshaftes Fließen, als ein 'Entwirken'.''' op. cit. p. 100.


\(^2\) Cf.: ''Gleichnisse und Bilder hat er (Goethe) sogar weni ger und braucht er weniger als Shakespeare: gerade des halb weil er keine Körperwelt mehr braucht, um daran seine Bewegungen zu verdeutlichen, er gibt die Bewegungen unmit telbar schon in der Wortbildung, in der Grammatik.''' op. cit. pp. 104-5.

\(^3\) Cf.: H. Bergson op. cit. pp. 131-132.
It is not difficult to see from these views that some of Gundolf's basic assumptions were inspired by Bergson's philosophy. It is outside the scope of this investigation to examine the precise nature of his indebtedness. In the footnotes an attempt has been made to direct the reader's attention to some of the relevant passages in Bergson's work. At this stage it will suffice to confine ourselves to the conclusion that Gundolf's reliance on a philosophy which aspired to the intuitive penetration of mobility and involved a novel interpretation of the notion of time, was perfectly consistent with the outlook which has been recognised as one of the two main mental attitudes in the George circle. Later examination will show that on the acceptance of Bergson's notion of time there was no unanimity among George's followers, and the reservations they made will enable us to draw useful conclusions. What is remarkable in Gundolf's views, is the reliance he placed for long on the chief tenets of Bergson's philosophy. These - as he himself subsequently realised - contradicted in all points the philosophical assumptions of the prophetic outlook, which strove to arrest the flow of becoming and represent life in fixed states and concrete outlines.

For Gundolf the greatest single attraction of Bergson's theories was their claim to the intuitive experiencing of

1) Few points illustrate his indebtedness more strikingly than the following: "Das Leben selbst hat keine Cäsuren, sondern ist ein ununterbrochener Strom von Gleichzeitigkeiten, ein ungeschiedener Übergang ungeschiedenen Beieinanders: erst unser Geist, kraft Raum und Zeit erfahrend, macht ... Einschmitten in das angeschaut und das erzählte Leben ..." Friedrich Gundolf: Goethe p. 611.

Cf.: also op. cit. pp. 273, 525.

In Bergson cf.: op. cit. pp. 104 - 106.

"Erst mit Henri Bergson", he wrote, "macht die wissenschaftliche philosophie wieder den versuch das leben als ein werdendes von innen heraus zu deuten, statt es zu zerlegen in gewordene teile."¹)

But between the view which this dictum implies, and those which were later developed in the George circle, there was a series of contradictions. First, reality seen as an endless flow of things, was incompatible with an apprehension to which the quintessence of life disclosed itself in finite states and stable conditions. Secondly, the idea of becoming as it was formulated by Bergson and adopted by Gundolf, posited a notion of time which controverted the spatial leanings of the philosophy of significant form. Thirdly, reality apprehended as a flow of things implied that artistic representation should aspire to a condition which was not far from that of music. This again was later superseded by the view that the artist should address himself to the manageable phenomena of his surroundings and art should aspire to the condition of statuary.

3. Historiography and the Nature of Historical Occasions - Gundolf and Bertram

Many of the views which we have attempted to examine in the preceding section were transferred by Gundolf and others to the investigation of the nature of history and historiography, including works concerning the history of literature. The present inquiry will be limited to the views of Friedrich Gundolf and in a smaller measure to Friedrich Wolters and Ernst Bertram, partly because they were closest to George and

¹) "Wesen und Beziehung", Jahrbuch II., 1911, p. 21.
partly because in their ideas the fusion and separation of the two apprehensions can be usefully studied. In the majority of cases the two were integrated, because the books under review were written well after the death of Maximin, hence most of them were born under the impact of both assumptions. The present examination will not be legitimate unless we constantly remind ourselves of this circumstance. It will be all the more interesting to see how they affected each other and which side of each was eventually sacrificed to clear the way for the rival apprehension.

Gundolf's attitude to the study of history was rooted in the assumption that history, like life, was a series of unique and irrecoverable occasions; unique and irrecoverable because reality conceived as movement permitted no repetitions or similarities. A unique phenomenon lies at the centre of all living things, he wrote, and he who has no personal experience of this centre, will never penetrate their secret. Hence, analogies and the notion of recurrence were external to the nature of reality. Individual life, he wrote, defies comparisons. It will either be apprehended as a thing in its own right, or it will not be understood at all.

But if uniqueness was the main characteristic of historical occasions, and if their real nature did not disclose itself to the habitual methods of inquiry, it followed that the job

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1) Cf.: "Im mittelpunkt jedes lebendigen steht ein einmaliges: wer diesen mittelpunkt nicht erlebt wird durch alle konzentrische schichtung von aussen nach innen niemals etwas wesentliches davon erfahren ..."


of historiography was their intuitive understanding. This, in turn, entailed that the student of history should conceive time as a "substantial flow of things", one which is not accessible to the spatialization of the practical mind. Here, clearly, Gundolf followed in the footsteps of Bergson and he acknowledged his debt to the philosopher:

"Wer die Tendenzen als die Einheiten und deren Darstellung als den Inhalt der Geschichte ansieht, in der Geschichte nicht die Zusammenstellung gewordener Fakten und Dinge, sondern die Erkenntnis des Werdens und Fließens selbst sieht, begreift die Zeit nicht als eine mathematisch einteilbare Länge, sondern als ein unteilbares substantielles Fließen. Die wird die erste Wirkung sein müssen, die Henri Bergsons Philosophie auf die Geschichtswissenschaft haben kann."

The conventional methods of the study of history, Gundolf thought, ignored the essential novelty of historical occasions. Unsuitable to appreciate the characteristics which made them different from other occasions, historiography sought to approach them with the yardstick of scientific thought. Thus of the late 19th Century student of history he contemptuously wrote:

"Verschlossen für das werdende, immer neue, muss er das unbekannte, fließende einfangen in starre gitter und maeasse, vor-bilder, gattungen, normen ..."

Modern scholarship, he believed, mistrusted the man who reenacted for himself the events of history to enhance his knowledge by direct experience. Uninspired by the urge to set themselves at the centre of the flow of history or to identify themselves with its leading figures, modern scholars seized upon the secondary characteristics of individual occasions, because these seemed less difficult to reduce to

1) Friedrich Gundolf: Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist, Berlin, 1911, pp. 51-52.
2) Friedrich Gundolf: "Wesen und Beziehung", Jahrbuch, II, 1911, p. 27.
a familiar common denominator. Absolute things were discussed in terms of relatives; inward apprehension was sacrificed to the analysis of the more manageable aspects of history. The modern scholar had lost the urge to approve or condemn the forces which were at work in history. Impartiality produced a stupor of the senses. It rang the death knell of imaginative understanding.

Gundolf’s solution of these problems followed the well-known arguments which, partly through his influence, have become familiar to us since the early twenties of this century. The width of the gulf which he had to bridge if he were to suggest a more satisfactory way of historical composition, will be seen from the paradox postulated by the following two of his statements on the subject:

"Wer sich mit lebendigem befasst, kann nicht historiker sein ..."  
and

"Geschichte hat es zu tun mit dem Lebendigem. Danach was jeder für das Lebendige hält bestimmt sich seine besondere Geschichtsauffassung und seine Methode."  

In order to understand Gundolf’s problem, we must set it against its contemporary background and remind ourselves that

1) Cf.; "Der Mensch mit 'historischem sinn' ... nimmt tote massen, abgeteilte fakta, starrgewordenes wahr und verknüpft durch willkürliche bezüge das getrennte. Da er lebendiges nicht unmittelbar von innen erfasst, als einmaliges, eigenes, so muss er es durch bekanntes ausdrücken und enormes material von analogien zusammentragen." ibid. pp. 25-26; see also next footnote.

2) Cf.; "Dieser historische sinn ... getraut sich nicht sein ja oder nein zuzurufen, er muss alles in einen haufen bekannten dinge auflösen, es gibt für ihn nur bekanntes, d.h. vergangenes, d.h. gleichgültiges ..." ibid. p. 26.

4) Friedrich Gundolf: Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist, Berlin, 1911, p. X.
Gundolf's notion of the "historian", who felt it his duty to produce a rigorously detached historical narrative, went back to the school of historical thought which was prevalent in the 19th Century. It may not be out of place here to quote A.N. Whitehead's verdict on this trend of thought, because it contains in terse formulation the essentials of Gundolf's arguments and throws into clear relief the type of historical approach to which Gundolf reacted.

"This notion of historians", Whitehead wrote, "of history devoid of aesthetic prejudice, of history devoid of any reliance on metaphysical principles and cosmological generalizations, is a figment of the imagination. The belief in it can only occur to minds steeped in provinciality - the provinciality of an epoch, of a race, of a school of learning, of a trend of interest ... The historian in his description of the past depends on his own judgment as to what constitutes the importance of human life. Even when he has rigorously confined himself to one selected aspect, political or cultural, he still depends on some decision as to what constitutes the culmination of that phase of human experience and as to what constitutes its degradation ... The whole judgment on thoughts and actions depends upon such implicit presuppositions."

For Gundolf, historiography devoid of any reliance on metaphysical principles was undesirable, even if it were possible. History was life and life was movement. But to remain in the continual flow of things which was also central to the nature of the historical process, it was necessary to select the gold from the dross and underline only those aspects of the past which tallied with the historian's own scheme of values and, by so doing, enhanced the life-processes of his own time. Gundolf's lights for this large-scale historical subjectivism were, as Rössner has shown, two of Goethe's remarks on the nature of history:

"Das Beste, was wir von der Geschichte haben, ist der Enthusiasmus, den sie erregt."

2) Goethe: Maximen und Reflexionen No. 495.
For Gundolf the selective study of history, whose beginnings he discovered in Goethe's historical method, and the ostensibly un-selective objectivity of a man such as Ranke, were only two different, though considerably different, forms of the same "objective" approach. The question of subjectivity did not arise because, once a particular outlook was accepted as the only legitimate attitude to things in the present, the study of history, that is the search for the sources and justification of this outlook, became part of the historian's own programme and could, naturally, not be lacking in objectivity. The search for historical objectivity, Gundolf explained, was particular to those epochs which had lost the conviction, that in them resided, in any important sense, the legitimate continuation of history, and which, therefore, possessed no universal, i.e. selective, sense of values.

"... an der Lust und Fähigkeit sich eignen Willens zu entäußern", he wrote, "um ganz in die Anschauung..."

1) ibid. No. 103.
2) Cf.: "Wo ein einheitlicher Kulturwille herrscht, kann jene voraussetzungslose, d.h. bewusst wunschlose Objektivität nicht entstehen die der große Historiker des 19. Jahrhunderts... Ranke, in dem Ausspruch formuliert: 'Ich will nur zeigen, wie es eigentlich gewesen ist.' Diese Art historischen Sinns konnte Goethe nicht haben, erstens weil er fest in bestimmten Kultur-gesinnungen wurzelt, zweitens weil ihm Erkenntnis des eigentlich Gewesenen an sich gleichgültig war, sofern es nicht Leben und Bildung überhaupt förderte, und drittens weil er gestalten und wirken wollte und folglich nicht sich in Fremdes, sondern Fremdes in sich verwandeln musste. Wenn Ranke sein Ich auslöschen wollte, um zu erkennen wie es eigentlich gewesen ist, so wollte Goethe allenfalls das Gewesene erkennen, damit sein Ich möglichst stark, reich und gerecht sein könne: das sind zwei sehr verschiedene Forderungen der Objektivität. (Übrigens war auch Ranke nicht so ich-los, wie er wollte und meinte, er wäre sonst nicht so reich.)"

Friedrich Gundolf: Goethe, p. 410.

Goethe, Gundolf thought, did not possess a sense for historical impartiality and yet in his biographical work he explored new channels of historical thought and supplied later historians with the beginnings of a more rewarding, vitalistic method of inquiry. And vitalism suggested itself to Gundolf as the principle that history is driven forward, as life is, by a continuous flow of things, and that no static concept can exhaust the wealth of its fluctuations 2). "Dichtung und Wahrheit", he wrote, "was the first autobiography whose author did full justice to the dynamic implications of the word 'life'." 3)

For Gundolf, and for the historiographical works which later appeared in the George circle, this interpretation of Goethe's notion of history was decisive. Goethe, Gundolf explained, saw the justification of history in the historical fables to which it gave rise, because the truths which these fables expressed, - though often lacking empirical basis, - stimulated, by their wealth and grandiosity, the imagination of mankind 4). How far Gundolf identified himself with this

1) ibid. pp. 409-10.
2) Cf.: "vitalistisch ..., nicht mechanistisch und nicht dialektisch" - ibid. p. 411.
4) Cf.: "Dass wir aus der geschichtlichen Überlieferung das richtige Bild der Dinge empfangen können glaubte er nicht; wohl aber liess er die Geschichte gelten, insofern sie überhaupt Bilder des Geschehens, besonders aber erhebende und begeisternde ... Gestalten und Taten wieder-gab, ohne Rücksicht auf die empirische Richtigkeit..." ibid. p. 404.
notion will be seen from his emphatic reference to one of Goethe's dicta concerning the nature of superstition and irreligion; namely, that superstition was the inheritance of energetic, enterprising and advancing minds, while lack of faith belonged to the nature of weak, petty-minded, and self-centred people.\(^1\) Goethe, Gundolf wrote, appreciated history as a fable and he disapproved of people who attempted to destroy its mythical content.\(^2\) The difference, on Gundolf's showing, between myth and superstition, was, indeed, cut dangerously fine.

With these views to support him, Gundolf attempted to solve the problem offered by the proposition that history was life and life was movement and that the academic historian could neither grasp the first nor set himself at the centre of the other. His solution took the form of a re-definition of the tasks of historiography. The historian's duty, he thought, in dealing with the mass of past evidence, was to select the live tissues from dead matter. He was to present his evidence in the light of a definite scheme of values because the object of his narrative was not to establish any truths or any connections, but only those which contributed in some way to the intensity of the present.\(^3\) His judgements

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2) Cf.: "Er (Goethe) ehrte die Geschichte als Mythus, und missbilligte die Bestrebungen die ihren mythischen Gehalt zu zertöten drohten ..." ibid. p. 404.

3) Cf.: "Aus der Geschichte entnahm er nichts als die weni
referred to unique experiences and his appraisals were based on the recognition of unprecedented qualities constantly emerging from the welter of historical events\(^1\). But the way to the intensity of the present lay through the maintenance of intense contact with the great figures of the past. This contact, however, was again conceived not as the veneration of unchanging past greatness, but as a constant regeneration of greatness under the influence and within the framework of present requirements. Greatness was to be registered not as an empirical truth but as an influence which carried a meaning for the present\(^2\).

"Die grossen", he wrote, "sind gross durch ihre nie versiegende Neuheit; nicht durch ihr wandelloses Altertum ... weil sie nach tausend Jahren si n d , nicht weil sie vor tausend Jahren w a r e n ".\(^3\)

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1) Cf.: "Der wahre historische Sinn, wie ihn Herder, Ranke, Nietzsche haben, ist Divination die in die fernsten einmaligen Zustände kraft innerer Anschauung eindringt ... Zum Historiker wird man geboren wie zum Dichter: alles was war ist dem ächten Historiker gleich menschlich, gleich gegenwärtig ... aber auch gleich einzig ... denn nichts wiederholt sich ... jede Inkarnation des Geschicht-Gottes lebt nach eigenem Gesetz. Eben das Immer-anders-erscheinen des ewig gleichen Seins, das Immer-neu-werden des ewig gleichen Wesens, die Unerschöpflichkeit von menschen-gewordenem Raum und Zeit ist der Zauber der Geschichte." Friedrich Gundolf: "Dichter und Helden", 1912, in Dichter und Helden, Heidelberg, 1921, p. 49.

2) Cf.: "Darum ist es die Pflicht jeder lebendigen Bewegung, in ihre Gegenwart hinein die Heroen wachzuhalten, sie umzusetzen in eigenes Dasein und die Strahlung die sie von ihnen empfangen in neues Gebild zu verwandeln. Sie übt dabei selber ... Wahl und Gestaltung und schafft die Vorbilder nach ih r e m Wesen, aus ih r e n Nöten und für ih r Werk. Sie hat dabei nicht alles aufzubewahren was die Vorbilder waren und taten, sie nimmt die Vorbilder nicht wie sie selbst sich nahmen oder genommen werden wollten: Reliquienkult ist nicht unsere Aufgabe ..." ibid. p. 24.

3) ibid.
Thus the historian's duty was to fluidify the notion of past attainment and so to employ it for the furtherance of the corporate vitality of the present, that out of it new achievements may arise.

"Der Historiker", he wrote, "der Hüter der Bildung (das ist sein Hauptamt) kann nicht gute Politik machen, nicht die fruchtbaren Entschlüsse fassen im werdenden Schicksal von Stunde zu Stunde. Doch die Luft kann er regen helfen worin einsichtige Taten gedeihen und Geister werben für kommende Helden."1)

Gundolf recognised that present existence contained the continuity of past occasions as its fluid undercurrent. But he insisted that no lesson of the past could apply to the present - to anything, in fact, outside the occasion or groups of occasions from which it had emerged. No great man of the past, he remarked, can point a way for the present, because he himself has become part of our time and time incorporates in a creative flow of things the surge of all past occasions 2).

All that the student of history could do was to unfreeze the channels between past and present and prepare the ground for significant achievement in his own time. The unfreezing of the right channels at the right time was the historian's art, because on the nature of the connections he established depended much of the élan of the present. But how, if not by teleological notions or intuition, was he to tell the right channels from the wrong ones? Here again Gundolf's argument boils down to one essential line of thought, viz. that the sole determinant of the presentation of history is the kind

2) Cf.: "... so gewiss ist es auch dass kein grosser mann der vergangenheit für ein neues zeitalter die richtige lösung geben kann, schon weil er selber element des neuen zeitalters ist, weil in die zeit schöpferisch neu alles vergangene unmessbar und unbeziehbar nachdrängt." Friedrich Gundolf: "Wesen und Beziehung", Jahrbuch II, 1911, p. 29.
of relationship which exists between the creative geniuses of the past and the percipients of genius in the present. In other words, the appreciation of history as a fluid, out of which a number of lasting yet changing achievements emerge, postulated a similarly fluid relationship between the historian and history. Out of this relationship the student of history evolved his own pattern of facts and re-enacted the past in his own particular way.

"Nichts anders ist Geschichte", Gundolf wrote, "die Wechselwirkung der schöpferischen und empfänglichen Menschen. Wie um ihre eignen Inhalte ringen die menschlichen Kräfte jeder Zeit um ihre grossen Ahnen."[1)

Subjectivism was complete. Historiography was the investigation of living things by living men for a living reality. Hence it was worthless unless it became a personal experience (erlebt[2]). Its very method was an Erlebnisart[3]. The sole criterion of the historian's objectivity was whether or not he apprehended the study of history as a series of intense and personal experiences[4]. In short, to write history was, in a very real sense, to make history[5]. The historian's

1) Friedrich Gundolf: Dichter und Helden, 1912, etc. p. 25.
2) & 3) Cf.: "Methode ist Erlebnisart, und keine Geschichte hat Wert, die nicht erlebt ist."
Friedrich Gundolf: Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist
Berlin, 1911, p. X.
4) Cf.: "Es gilt ... zu scheiden zwischen Totem und Lebensnigem, je zwischen Tö tendem und Belebendem der ganzen Überlieferung ... Dies Richter- und Sichteramt auszuüben mit eignem Blick auf den Rohstoff ohne vorgegebene methodische Einstellung ... ist die einzige Objektivität, d.h. Gerechtigkeit, die der begrenzte Mensch sich zutrauen darf."
ibid. p. X;
Cf.: also: Dichter und Helden pp. 50-51.
5) Cf.: "... heute (erscheint) monatlich ein Buch über Goethe ... aber kaum alle fünfzig Jahre eines welches neue Geschichte Goethes nicht nur schreibt, sondern ist und macht ... und nur mit solchen haben wir es zu tun."
Friedrich Gundolf: Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist,
Berlin, 1911, p. 252.
terms of reference were circumscribed, not by the truths, but by the effective occasions of the past. The life which history contained had to be made viable again and this implied a selective remoulding of its whole pattern. In its extreme form, however, selective remoulding meant the transformation of history into myths and fables.

The presentation of history as myths and legends was, in fact, the most remarkable contribution of the George circle to historiography. It was here that the "dynamic" outlook really came into its own. With a curious but rewarding inversion of the accepted standards of scholarship, Gundolf, Bertram and Vallentin addressed themselves, not to the investigation of the scientifically ascertainable aspects of past achievement, but to various myths and legends which lived on throughout the centuries as their radiation.

"Wir wollen nicht seine (Caesar's) Taten oder Eigenschaften zum Tausendstenmal betrachten, sondern seinen Gang durch das Gedächtnis der Völker," he wrote.

This constituted, indeed, a reversal of everything that went by the name of historiography. The historian's interest had shifted from a factual understanding of significant men and attainment, to the interpretation of their reputation in subsequent ages. Thus, two of the most remarkable books produced in this vein, Gundolf's "Caesar, Geschichte seines Ruhms" and "Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist," were not so much historical or literary studies in the conventional

1) Cf.: "... dass ... sich (eine Synthese) überhaupt vollzieht ... das ist bedeutsam für die Kräftegeschichte, die wir schreiben wollen." ibid. p. 254.


3) Berlin, 1924.

4) Berlin, 1911.
sense of the word, as brilliant expositions of the temper and assumptions of various epochs, reflected in the attitude which they had taken towards a particular figure of history or literature.

"Das Erscheinen der Gewaltigen," Gundolf wrote, "gehört zu ihrer Geschichte wie ihr Schaffen... Sie offenbaren sich zeugend in immer neuen Schüssen, strahlend aus immer anderen Augen, ihr ganzes Wesen kommt erst zum Vorschein, indem die Jahrhunderte es erwidern."¹

Thus the operative aspect of significant achievement was not its actual meaning for a particular epoch, but rather the change which it was capable of undergoing at the touch of the imagination of later periods. The notion of attainment was not complete until it was apprehended in terms of those fluctuating ideas by which various ages called it their own.

Ernst Bertram's idea of historical understanding was rooted in a similar assumption. For him, too, to understand essential human qualities was to understand the myths to which they gave rise, i.e. the character of the fables in whose shape these qualities appeared to successive generations. Every important individual was a potential source of myths and legends and every legend received its impulse from some truth discovered about important individuals. Myths were not phantasmagorias of uncontrolled minds but reflections of true connections, revealed, for a short time, to kindred spirits in a congenial hour. On the kind of legend the individual mind and character inspired depended their worth for the collective memory of mankind. Conversely, the true worth of the individual mind did not reveal itself until it appeared as the source of legendary articulation.

"Und so ist alles ein Mythos," Bertram wrote, "was wir

¹) Caesar, p. 8.
vom Wesen der Menschen aussagen können ... Ein Mythos ist jeder Verstorbene schon ... und die Kraft, die dieser Mythos ausstrahlt, die Umlaufzeit, die Verwandlungsfähigkeit, die ihm gungen für, sie entsprechen nach unberücksichtigen Gesetzen der Kraft, die das Wesen des Lebenden angehäuft hat. 1)

It will be seen that these views were again anchored in the assumption that reality, including history, was fluid and that the criterion of its correct interpretation was whether or not its percipient, in this case the historian, recognised the waxing and waning of the forces which were at work in it and which, in the case of history, conditioned, as their mythical substructure, the historical consciousness of successive generations. On this showing the unfolding of a legend depended on the imagination and assumptions of several centuries. Legends were living organisms pointing, by their growth, to future completeness but never attaining it in the present. Thus Bertram wrote:

"Die Legende eines Menschen, das ist sein in jedem neuen Heute neu wirksames und lebendiges Bild ... Ein eigenlebendiger Organismus ... ist dieses Bild, der seine selbständige Existenz führt. Wandelbar, wandelwillig ist es und wandelt sich auch stets, zeigt immer weniger, immer größere Linien; wird zugleich typischer und einmaliger, zugleich parabolisch und unvergleichbar." 2)

The joy of this evolution for the contemporary spectator lay not in the anticipation of the complete picture but in the work which the furtherance of its growth required. (An einer grossen Bildwerdung zu arbeiten3).) Bertram designed his own book to "mythologize" Nietzsche's figure for the present, and by so doing provide a source for the revaluation of his significance in future legends by future generations.

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2) ibid. p. 2.
3) ibid. p. 5.
CHAPTER II

FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS II:

The Idea of Permanence and Form

In his later experiences with difficulty in talking about the alternative notion "being" in a sufficiently
compact manner. Cf. "The elimination of meaning involved in the phrase "all things flow" is one of the
tasks of metaphysics. But there is a valid notion, antithetical
to the former. I cannot without caution recall one immortal
phrase which expresses it with the same completeness as that with
which the alternative notion has been rendered
by Heraclitus. This other notion dwells on the permanence
of things - the solid earth, the mountains, the stones,
the Egyptian pyramids, the spirit of men, God."

A.N. Whitehead: Process and Reality, Cambridge, 1929,
p. 205-06.
A. INTRODUCTION

The birth of the idea of Maximin introduced a new mode of apprehension and a new scheme of values into the life of Stefan George. Maximin was a Greek god, and the thinking to which he owed his existence issued from the principles suggested by statuary art. The assumption underlying George's own observations, the poetry written after Der Teppich des Lebens and the views subsequently developed by his followers show different sides of the conviction that the conditions under which statuary reveals essential connections of reality could be imposed on other important human activities. As statuary art arrested the flow of becoming, the study of art and history were also to address themselves to finished form rather than the process of finishing. Hence a crop of metaphysical notions, all of which express a loyalty to the apprehension of reality as permanent and being rather than fluent and becoming. Four of these are of considerable importance both for the appreciation of George's later work and the understanding of his influence on his friends and followers.

1) In English one experiences some difficulty in talking about the alternative notion "being" in a sufficiently compact manner. Cf.: "The elucidation of meaning involved in the phrase 'all things flow', is one chief task of metaphysics. But there is a rival notion, antithetical to the former. I cannot at the moment recall one immortal phrase which expresses it with the same completeness as that with which the alternative notion has been rendered by Heraclitus. This other notion dwells on the permanence of things - the solid earth, the mountains, the stones, the Egyptian Pyramids, the spirit of man, God." A.N. Whitehead: Process and Reality, Cambridge, 1929, pp. 295-96.
B. THE MEANING OF BILD, LEIB, TAT AND WORT IN THE POETRY OF STEFAN GEORGE

Nowhere in George's work is the identification of the aesthetic and the ethical points of view clearer than in his notion of Bild, and nothing in his work of comparable ethical significance was so deeply rooted in his apprehension of the world as an intelligent order of finite creations. This notion, together with the closely related symbols of Leib and Gestalt, had a number of connotations which gave the term an application wider and deeper than the meaning habitually associated with it. What, then, was its meaning in George's poetry?

The choice of the term indicates that after 1904 the plastic arts appeared to the poet to offer the most satisfying equivalent of experience. This leaning towards plastic expression involved the acceptance of some of the silent assumptions of plastic representation. What are they? Plastic art addresses itself to the leaps and upheavals rather than the steady stream of reality. It depicts certain representative moments out of a welter of occasions in the life of its subject. These moments show no formal relation either to the past in which they were born, or to the future which resides in them as their continuation. And by "formal relation" as distinct from "inward relation" it is meant here to indicate a particular kind of articulation whereby artistic representation evolves, as in poetry and music, its theme by a clearly recognizable progression of
motifs and images\(^1\). Further, the plastic arts transpose the temporal characteristics of experience into spatial relationships riveting, as it were, an elusive flow of things to concrete outlines and firm conditions. They disentangle the multiplicity of experience and transform it into images which can at once be seen to bear relation to the proportions of the human body.

1) It will be seen that in this sense poetry and music show both a formal and an inward relation to the past and the future. The first one may identify as the "theme" or "subject matter", the second reveals itself as the immediacy of musical appeal which depends for its effect on the cooperation of each note or syllable with every preceding and every following note or syllable. Plastic art, on the other hand, painting for instance, relies for the representation of the duration of time solely on establishing an inward relation to the past and the future, in other words, on depicting a moment which, despite its stationary nature, affords maximum insight into the time that precedes it and the time into which it is likely to stretch over. This explains why the plastic arts are, in a sense, more ambiguous than poetry and music.

It seems to the present writer that the fulness of artistic experience depends on how far it refers one immediately to the past and the future of the object perceived, not only by virtue of the nature of the thing depicted, but also by virtue of the progression of its motifs in time, i.e. through its formal reference to anterior and potentially later occasions. It lies in the nature of the plastic arts that they contribute less towards this widening of the temporal aspect of artistic experience and therefore demand a greater measure of intuition on part of the percipient than poetry and music. Hence, - granted that it is agreed, that what is more immediate is more real, and what is more intrinsic to the pattern of experience more objective, - one may conclude that, in a sense, poetry and music are more real and more objective than the plastic arts, that, in fact, their report of the world springs from richer soil and penetrates deeper than those of the plastic arts.
Bild and its related notions must be set against this background if we are to understand their full connotations. Bild in its principal sense was George's word for beauty. But what kind of beauty did he mean by it? He used three important words to explain his meaning: lightness, freedom and nakedness:

"Die Tat ist aufgerauscht in irdischem jubel
Das Bild erhebt im licht sich frei und nackt."[1]

This is statuesque beauty as one is accustomed to associate it with classical Greek sculpture: a beauty of natural clarity designed for enjoyment in his life by free and healthy men. It was, in the phrase of Yeats, the poet's protest against "the wrong of unshapely things"[2], against all things blurred, fettered and inarticulate. Bild, George proudly believed, pointed to an un-Christian and un-Platonic beauty.[3] And, indeed, this notion was uncongenial to "wondrous beauty" which, one learns from Diotima, is

"...everlasting, not growing and decaying... not in the likeness of a face or hands or any other part of the bodily frame, or in any form of speech or knowledge, or existing in any other being, as for example, in an animal, or in heaven, or in earth, or in any other place ..."[4]

1) Stefan George: Der Stern des Bundes p. 41.
2) Cf.: "The wrong of unshapely things is a wrong too great to be told..." etc.
3) Cf.: "Bei den Griechen ist das schöne nicht das exotische gewesen, sondern das gewöhnliche, bis Platon es in die sterne versetzte."
R. Boehringer: Ewiger Augenblick p. 46.
Cf. also: "Das mittelalter hatte keinen dichter, und es konnte keinen haben ... Weil es keinen christlichen dichter gibt. Wenn man dichtet, ist man kein christ."
Ibid. p. 42.
For George the naked human body was the prototype of perfection. Plato's divine beauty, unlike that visualized by George, was not for mortal eyes to behold.

"Remember", Diotima says, "how in that communion only, beholding beauty with the eye of the mind, he will be enabled to bring forth, not images of beauty, but realities (for he has hold not of an image but of reality), and bringing forth and nourishing true virtue to become the friend of God and be immortal, if mortal man may." 1)

In Stefan George's scheme of things the eye of the mind was no reliable agent for the reception of real beauty. For him, beauty was coterminous with articulate form fashioned out of and pointing back towards the order of human things.

In this order the human body was the central law-giver. In the principles suggested by its harmonies a key was deposited for the attainment of a loftier human existence. But loftiness was in no way aloofness, for George's divine "norm" represented a consecration of the senses in the face of the otherworldly leanings of the Christian way of life:

"Bis sich verklebung der augen euch löst und ihr merket; Zauber des Dings - und des Leibes, der göttlichen norm." 2)

But if, as George indicated, the artist's search for vital connections was worthless unless in his representation he obeyed the laws of statuesque form, two things followed. First, it was natural for him to attempt to ascribe divine nature to the principles suggested by the human body, and, secondly, he recognized divine nature only where artistic communication was loyal to the rules of statuesque expression. This, in fact, is the meaning of the poet's much quoted words:

"Den leib vergottet und den gott verleibt." 3)

1) ibid. p. 582.
2) Stefan George: Das Neue Reich, p. 10.
3) Stefan George: Der Siebente Ring, "Templer", p. 53.
It will be seen that this formulation of the duties of the artist was a point of departure for a gradual transformation of the tasks of art from representation to interpretation. The second part of George's line is only a short way of saying that, in an integrated society, art bodies forth in form some of the leading ideals of the general consciousness. The first part implies a moral imperative. It assumes that the human body harbours an indwelling principle of beauty which should be seen as a divine thing and respected accordingly. Followed to its logical conclusion, this thought produced the idea of Maximin and the values and manners which his service comprised. Its roots were clearly aesthetic. The trust in the perfection of the human form, its harmony and finiteness inspired certain principles for thought and action. A code of values was evolved, principles of a philosophical and religious nature were developed from the qualities suggested by Bild and Leib. The aesthetic point of view gradually merged with the ethical. The idea of perfection transmuted itself into a plea for the perfection of ideas. It was here, in George's late poetry, that his message came nearest to the Greek view of art. What he attempted to do was to create an art which, in the word of G. Lowes-Dickinson,

"made the finest and most harmonious appeal not only to the physical but to the moral sense, and while communicating the highest and most perfect pleasure to the eye or the ear, had also the power to touch and inform the soul with the grace which was her moral excellence".1

Of course, there were differences. In Greece, as one knows from Plato's stern verdict, musical art exercised a powerful, in Plato's view harmful, influence on moral character. For Plato it was a drug rather than a corrective and he banished it from his Republic. But there was no question of

1) G. Lowes-Dickinson: The Greek View of Life, London 1896, p
the potency of its influence or the immediacy of its appeal. In his prophetic period George's values were informed by the characteristics of plastic representation. The whole message of this period was a vast generalization of a sculptor's aesthetic creed; in it the qualities associated with the human form were given a universal currency. Thus, the clear outlines of statuesque form transformed themselves into a message of optimism, organic structure into a hierarchy of God, disciples and mediator, freedom into the voluntary acceptance of service, finiteness into the idea of a circle of the spiritually elect.

In Maximin the idea of perfection attained through beauty, and the quest for the perfection of ideas were finally united. Beauty radiated excellence, statuesque form contained a reminder that the work of man, like that of the universe, were directed towards the production of whole and wholesome things. These were George's assumptions when he described Maximin as a "benefactor" to mankind:

"...denn der ist der grösste wohltäter für alle der seine eigene schönheit bis zum wunder vervollkommnet."

Maximin, the poet tells us, marched through the world in his "bodily reality" (Leibhaft) to lift the darkness which reigned in the affairs of men. Such were the grace and moral excellence which his beauty inspired that his appearance was also the accomplishment of his mission. A host of new values emerged in his wake. They were no vague generalizations of beauty. Most of them were nerved by the properties which the poet ascribed to statuesque form. This transition from

1) "Vorrede zu Maximin", Tage und Taten, p. 79.
2) "Dann mach tragbar uns die überwucht
Unsres glücks da wir aus weltennacht
Leibhaft schreiten sahn das ewige kind."
Das Neue Reich p. 47.
the aesthetic to the ethical and philosophical sphere appears clearly in the lines:

"Da tauchst du Gott vor mir empor ans land
Dass ich von dir ergriffen dich nur schaue,
Dein erdenleib dies enge heiligtum
Die spanne kaum für eines arms umfassen
Fängt alle sternenflüchtigen gedanken
Und bannt mich in den tag für den ich bin."¹)

The correspondence, it will be noted, between the statuesque characteristics attaching to Bild and Leib, and the notions thence emerging as a basis for a universal scheme of values, is now almost complete. George turns his back on Christian imagery. God is toppled from his throne. He appears on "land", first among equals²). His way to mankind is not a descent from heaven but, on the Greek model, he ascends from the depths of the sea. The miracle of his appearance is unaccompanied by sound. He is only seen by the poet. The sole testimony of his divine nature is the beauty of his body. But this "narrow sanctuary" has a message to impart: it impresses on the chosen that the highest must be sought within the confines of earthly space and earthly time. Man is the measure of all things - this furnishes the hidden theme of the poem - and everything that points away from an articulate human order is hostile to the prophetic ideal. Beauty has not been apprehended merely as a source of high thinking and virtue. A definite brand of beauty has been translated into a definite code of values and ideals. A particular reading of the nature of beauty has been employed to guide thought and inform action.

¹) Der Stern des Bundes, p. 5.
²) Cp.: "Dann drängen die lippen
zu deinem noch menschlichen bilde
Als wärest du noch unter uns,
wärest uns noch - Herrlicher! gleich.

Der VII. Ring, p. 108.
A review of the main points of Maximin's message will show the closeness of their dependence on the characteristics of statuesque form. The following survey is an attempt to indicate some of the chief parallels.

A/. will summarize the aesthetic notion underlying B/.: the analogous ethical idea, and C/.: will list the evidence.

1) A. finite form

B. Maximin's message points to concrete measures and short distances.

C. Denn du bist ein gott der nahe... Ja du bist ein gott der frühe.

Du gabst genug mir welten zu bewegen: Den fussbreit festen grund worauf ich stehe.

Ihr baut verbrechende an maass und grenze: 'Was hoch ist kam auch höher': doch kein fund

Kein stütz und fick mehr dient ... es wankt der bau.

Nun probt nach sinn- und klangnetz zum Gestirnt

Das grösser wunderwerk der endlichkeit.

**

2) A. human proportions

B. Maximin: an impulse for the re-orientation of man's interest from his present (Christian and romantic) preoccupation with the infinite towards a search for fulfilment within the confines of earthly space and time.

C. Will ich mein ganzes teil von dir erobern

So muss ich seh wie ich ein eines fasse

Wie ich im raum den du mir maassest hafte...

Und mit dem traum von morgen mich vermähle.

Die krönungszahl birgt jede möglichkeit ...

Das in ihr Tuende tut die allheit bald

Und was ihr heut nicht leben könnt wird nie.

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1) Der Stern des Bundes, p. 65.
2) Ibid., p. 98.
3) Ibid., p. 25.
4) Ibid., p. 34.
5) Ibid., p. 18.
6) Ibid., p. 96.
"Du heb dich vom grund als gesunder!  
Bezeuge und preise mein wunder  
Und harre noch unten im leben";  
Schau wie er hienieden wirke  
Durch den staub mit feuer fahre;  
... Glaube  
Ist kraft von blut ist kraft des schönen lebens;  
**

3) A. clarity and light  
B. The light which Maximin brought into the world dispels the phantoms of Romanticism. Measure and rhythm were impressed upon indecision.  
C. Vom zug der schatten die nichts tun als stöhnen  
Dich und uns selbst befrein  
Gebeut den feurig wehn ...  
Du halt klang in unsren tollen wirbeln ...  
In unserm dunklen träumen du der strahl;  
"Lass das tosen! gib den arm!  
Anders will ich nun dich binden  
Anders dich zur freude führen  
Sonne-walten sollst du spüren,  
Brechen wird es deinen bann."  
Ich sah euch fluss und berg und gau im bann  
Und brüder euch als künftige sonnen-erben...  
**

4) A. form: the free choice of limitation  
B. freedom: the voluntary acceptance of law in service of a higher order of things.  
C. Ich bin nur frei weil ein gesetz mich engt ...  
Den ersten rang hat wem der Gott hienieden  
Erlaubt dass er die schwelle überspringt ...  
Viel mindren nicht wer dess bewusst zufrieden  
Am platz dient den das gesetz beschieden.

1) Der Siebente Ring, "Trauer I" p. 102.  
3) Der Stern des Bundes, p. 83.  
4) Der Siebente Ring, "Das fünfte: Erhebung", p. 11.  
5) Der Stern des Bundes, p. 6.  
6) ibid. p. 47.  
7) Das Neue Reich, p. 17.  
8) ibid. p. 98.  
9) ibid. p. 103.
... du bist rundum so bewehrt
Dass dich was jeden brechen muss nicht bricht:
Wenn sich dem starken nah dem werkes-ziel
Der Höhere zeigt du dann nicht heillos fichst
Nein voll en glücks sein erster diener wirst.¹)

**

   B. the "circle" conceived as the framework for the
      realization of Maximin's message. In it all have
      their individual contribution to make while subjecting
      their individuality to the requirements of the
      whole.
   C. Die uns nur eignet: dein und meine runde
      Sie sollst du füllen und wir sind erfüllt...
      Wo du dich schenkest und dich nur mehr empfindest
      Der raum den wir verengern mehr sich weitet ...²)
      So weit eröffne sich geheime kunde
      Dass vollzahl mehr gilt als der teile tucht
      Dass neues wesen vorbricht durch die runde
      Und steigert jeden einzel... wucht:
      Aus diesem liebesring dem nichts entfalle
      Holt kraft sich jeder neue Tempel...s
      Und seine eigne - grösse - schiesst in alle
      Und flutet wieder rückwärts in den kreis.³)
      Unser jahr ist uns die grenze
      Unser licht die glut im ringe.⁴)
      Wie muss der tag erst sein, gewähr und hoffen,
      Wo' du erschienen bist als schleierloser
      Als herz der runde als geburt als bild ...⁵)

**

6) A. the truth of statuesque beauty lies beyond the meaning
      of its relationship with outside things. Beauty is
      sovereign.
   B. Maximin summons up a new sense of health and unity.
      Sin and repentance, like the division between the body
      and soul, are alien to his message.

¹) Der Stern des Bundes, p. 15.
²) Ibid. p. 51.
³) Ibid. p. 95.
⁴) Ibid. p. 84.
⁵) Ibid. p. 9.
C.
Leib, seele sind nur worte
Wechselnder wirklichkeit.1)
	nie benötet
Wer sein herz nie weggeworfen,
Leibes furcht und erden-reue.2)

Wann geist wann leib bestimmt der Sinn ...
Und in der inbrunst lang gestaunten glücks
Versank nicht nur der geist - es schwieg der leib ...3)

ihr habt kein recht in zwein
Würde zu schänden und hervorzulocken
Brennende scham auf eures bruders stirn ...
Verzeichnung heischen und verzeihn ist greuel.4)

**

How deeply the notion of Bild was entrenched in the poet's mind, as the only legitimate pattern of expression, is shown by the distinction which he made between Zeichen and Bild. He explained that those who have direct experience of the secret nature of existence must report it in statuesque form and conceive their reporting as their mission. Zeichen, he added, that is to say, a piecemeal reconstruction of experience, is inadequate. A report of reality, the poet implies, which does not bear the impress of a significant human order, is barren of objects of major perfection and is too horrifying for the mind to contemplate:

1) Das Neue Reich, "Leib und Seele" p. 110.
The poem refers to Plato.
Cf.: "... Der staat ward faul
Und flach und dreist der bürger. Da erfand
Der göttliche zu hilf und heil die seele ...

ibid. p. 110.
Cf. also: Dwiger Augenblick p. 35.

2) Der Stern des Bundes p. 91.

3) ibid. p. 102.

4) ibid. p. 87.
In other words, the poet asks: what mode of representation offers the most fruitful equivalent of experience? Statuesque form —, is his answer, because the truth which it perpetuates summons up depths of feeling regarding man's relation with his fellow beings and the world in which he lives. For Stefan George, reality in its raw state, nature uneducated by models of human perfection, reveal no sources of major harmony. He assumes that among the finite perfections of the universe the human form embodies a special, penetrating truth, under whose auspices reality is made significant. Truth, he implies, matters only when the human form is brought to bear on it. Devoid of form, truth is a minor conformation, unworthy of the poet's attention. The ethical echo of this conception of truth appears clearly from Gundolf's explanation:

"Das Sollen ist nur die plastische Darstellung, Ausstellung, Herausstellung eines in sich ruhenden Seins ... Doch nicht der Widerspruch gegen die Gewöhnung der zerfahrenden und zerfallenden Menschheit hat Georges Norm gezeitigt: sie ist das einfach-uralte Wissen des menschlichen Leibes, der den Geist des Lebens enthält ... sie ist die Summe der ewigen Lebensgesetze selbst ..."2)

A subsidiary notion of this philosophy of plastic form is the idea of Tat. It has different shades of meaning in George's terminology. At its widest it may be defined as: any fact or event of accomplishment which owes its perfection

1) Der Stern des Bundes, p. 97
2) Friedrich Gundolf: George, p. 263
to the corporate presence of the characteristics of statuesque form. A more precise formulation is given by Morwitz who calls it "die Bildwerdung des Gottes auf hiesigem Boden". The term carries aesthetic and ethical connotations, but, in most cases, the two are inseparable. Its aesthetic content may be described as the act of artistic representation informed by the properties of the human form:

"Ein leib der schön ist wirkt in meinem blut
Geist der ich bin umfängt ihn mit entzücken." 2)

In one sense, therefore, Tat is the creation of beauty. In Hyperion the poet actually identified Tat with the bringing forth of statuesque form:

"Ahnung gesellt mich zu euch
kinder des Inselgebiets
Die ihr in anmut die tat
bilder in hoheit ersamnt ..." 3)

In another sense George linked the word with the production of prophetic verse:

nur dies verimmt:
Noch nicht begann ich wort und tat der erde. 4)

Mir ist nur lust wenn ich in gleicher weise
Eingrabe pracht und trümmer meiner tage,
Bei jedem weg nur meine trauer weise,
Hinschleppend ohne tat und lied die tage. 5)

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1) Ernst Morwitz: Stefan George, p. 135.
2) Der Stern des Bundes, p. 72.
3) Das Neue Reich, p. 15.
4) Der Stern des Bundes, p. 4.
Cf. also: "wort und tat", Der Siebente Ring, p. 68;
"die grosse tat und die grosse Liebe", Tage und Taten,
p. 74.
5) Der Siebente Ring, p. 104.
The principal meaning which informs the ethical overtones of Tat issues from the advent and death of Maximin. The coming of the boy-god was a "deed" in the sense that his beauty caused a new scheme of values to emerge. Looking at it from a purely formal point of view, it could be — and it has been — suggested that the death of Maximin was meant to be seen as an act of redemption on the Christian model. Some of the poet's imagery seems to corroborate this view. All the same, it cannot be seriously entertained. In George's scheme of things the death of Maximin was designed to redeem man from the Christian into a healthier, pagan world. His early passing was a reminder that perfection can be attained within limited time and within the confines of earthly life. His "deed" was the consecration of a pulsating and shapely human order in which guilt and otherworldliness were denied a place:

"Wie sein gesetz ist dass sich der erfüllt
Der sich und allen sich um opfer gibt
Und dann die tat mit seinem tod gebiert. 1)

How closely Tat depends for its ethos on plastic beauty is shown by the lines already quoted:

"Nun löst das herz von wut und wahn verschlackt
Von garung dunkelheit gespinst und trubel;
Die Tat ist aufgerauscht in irdischem jubel
Das Bild erhebt im licht sich frei und nackt." 2)

It would be unrewarding, and rather out of tune with the tenor of this verse, to attempt to draw a sharp distinction between the aesthetic and ethical connotations of Tat. The question whether, in the final analysis, there was any appreciable difference between the creation of beauty and the will to create it, was actually raised by the poet. But before

1) Der Stern des Bundes, p. 8.
2) ibid. p. 41.
one can arrive at a clear understanding of his answer, another subsidiary notion of Bild must be introduced. It is the notion of Wort. Like Bild, Leib and Tat it is peculiar to the prophetic poetry where it is employed as another word for logos, meaning the birth of an act of cosmic significance by virtue of the spoken word. That the word was, in fact, meant to evoke religious reminiscences and point towards action, appears clearly from the manner in which George employed it in a parallel context with Tat:

"Ihr wisst nicht wer ich bin ... nur dies vernimmt: Noch nicht begann ich wort und tat der erde Was mich zum menschen macht ..."¹)

In his late verse the redeeming nature of the word of the prophet was put with even greater emphasis:

"Wo zeigt der Mann sich der vertritt? das Wort Das einzig gilt fürs spätere gericht?"²)

But, again, Wort, like Tat, was only a projection of statuesque beauty tinged with a colouring of the ethical:

"Wir preisen ihn, froh dass des gottes volle Die für das wort und die gestalt verscheiden Die kalte erde immer noch gebiert..."³)

At its most general, statuesque beauty was conveyed by Bild, at its most terse and concentrated by the notion of Leib, and at its purest and most formal by Gestalt. Wort was a specialized definition of the beautiful in poetry, and also a summary statement of the desired effect of the beauty thus depicted. But of the three notions which amplified the meaning of statuesque form, it stood nearest to Gestalt. It would seem probable that the prophetic poetry which George had in mind would, as the term Gestalt suggests, owe its character not to any precise imitation of plastic form - as Bild and Leib would suggest - but rather to shapeliness conceived as a wider and almost metaphysical

¹) ibid. p. 4.
²) Das Neue Reich, p. 31.
³) Der Siebente Ring, p. 25.
application of the idea of plastic form. The preponderance, as a regulative principle, of this extended version of the idea of plasticity is particularly noticeable in the works of George's followers. While the poet was very sparing with the use of the word (he employed it only in one instance), his followers made it into the key notion of their whole philosophy.

Armed with this knowledge, we may now return to the consideration of the meaning of Tat. In one of his short prophetic poems George discussed the problem, whether it was legitimate to raise a question of priority between Wort and Tat. More precisely formulated his problem would read: is there room for legitimate distinction between the "word" conceived as "logos", and its actualization in significant achievement?

"Kommt Wort vor Tat kommt Tat vor Wort? Die Stadt
Das Altertums rief den Barden vor ...
Geruch auch seinem Arm und sein die Wucht
Sein vers ermannete das gebrochne heer
Und es ward spender lang vermissten siegs.
So tauscht das schicksal lächelnd stand und stoff:
Mein traum ward fleisch und sandte in den raum
Geformt ausüsser erde - festen schritts
Das kind aus hehrer lust und hehrer frön."

The poet, it will be seen, avoids giving a clear answer to his question, but the parallel between the bard's song and his own dream, both of which produced acts of universal significance (the first victory, the second a new faith) suggests that Wort, i.e. the vision depicted in poetry, anticipates Tat, the universal occasion. A more careful reading of the poem, however, shows that the analogy is incomplete, and one must assume that it was the poet's intention to make it so. For while in the first instance it is explicitly stated that the bard's song was responsible for the victory, in the second the poet intimates that his dream, that is to say his ideal picture of statuesque form, evolved the idea of a living God (Wort fleisch), and that therefore

1) Der Stern des Bundes, p. 20.
the vision expressed in verse (Wort) was not only a preparation for the redeeming office of action (Tat) but was the deed itself. Thus, in the narrowest sense, Tat spells a faith in the efficacy of beauty in poetry, "beautiful" being that which conforms to the qualities suggested by statuesque perfection (Eild). In a wider sense, however, Tat is a word that covers any important action or accomplishment related (to whatever extent) to the ethos of plastic form. But, taking the word in its narrower sense, the operative content of Tat is the bodying forth of a vision for which "Maximin" was the shorthand expression in George's vocabulary.

The creation of beauty similar to that embodied in Maximin, was the poet's highest ambition. Its service entailed a loyalty to the human form, and this, in turn, demanded "the shaping of bodies" as prototype of important artistic creation: "Der Sänger.../...schürt die heilige glut die überspringt/Und sich die leiber formt...") This shaping of the beautiful represented the apogee of human activity and the pattern thereby evolved suggested conditions under which man could address himself to various spheres of life and expect intelligible reply in significant form. As the capital letters with which they were often spelt indicate, Eild and its subsidiary notions were symbolic headings for a larger metaphysical point of view which seized upon the finished occasions of reality or sought to represent the changing order of things through forms which were borrowed from the permanencies of the stationary world. This adherence to the patterns or permanent being inspired a faith which was centred in an anthropomorphic conception of the divine, with plastic beauty

1) Das Neue Reich, p. 38.
as the visible agent of a larger order of perfection\(^1\). It produced an ethic of the "circle", a hierarchy (Herrschaft

1) Attention should be drawn here to an important contradiction in George's prophetic verse. While the secular qualities with which Maximin was equipped were borrowed from a sculptor's picture of an athletic Greek divinity, the "religious" interpretation of his epiphany called for mystical imagery. For the first Cf.: "geformt aus süßer erde"; "festen schritts"; "bald geht ... greifbar im glanz der Gott"; "schön wie kein bild"; "greifbar wie kein träum"; "im nackten glanz"; "blank und aller hüllen ledig"; "auge hell noch ohne schatten"; "erschienen bist als schleierloser"; etc.

For the second Cf.:

"Send ihn zu hor chender ruh
Lang in die furchtbare nacht
Dass er sich reinigt und stärkt
Du dich der hüllen befreist ..."

Der Stern des Bundes, p. 44.

"Heilige nacht von Ihm befohlen
Schätze noch mit deinen schleiern! ...
Wärmen soll mich nur und klären
Licht das mir durch Ihn erschienen.

ibid. p. 48.

"Wo du dich schenkest und dich nur mehr emprindest
Der raum den wir verengern mehr sich weitet

ibid. p. 51.

"Wo ich mich in dir vernichte ...
Wo ich mich in dir vollende

ibid. p. 53.

"Vernichte mich! lass mich dein feuer schlingen!
Ich selbst ein freier gab mich frei zu eigen.

ibid. p. 57.

"Seitdem ich ganz mich gab hab ich mich ganz.

ibid. p. 59.

"Ich weiss von Einem nur der vielgestaltig
Sich auswächst will dass er vernichtet werde
Und aufliebt jedesmal durch neue flamme ...
Entstiegen aus der nacht der reinigung.

ibid. p. 71.

"Tauch hinab in den strom
Den das weidicht umrauscht
Den der mond überblickt!
Was dich bestimmt hat bei tag
Alle hüllen wirf ab ...

Das Neue Reich, p. 95.
und Dienst\textsuperscript{1}) reminiscent of the mediaeval conception of a static society, and a metaphysics of form (Gestalt\textsuperscript{2}) which furnished the notion of permanence with attributes of the supernatural. It was also extended to the study of history and art where, as will be shown, it produced a number of interesting variants of the principal notions of the prophetic view of life.

\begin{center}
THE IDEA OF SIGNIFICANT FORM
IN THE WORKS \textsuperscript{**} FRIEDRICH WOLTERS
\end{center}

\begin{enumerate}
\item Friedrich Wolters: \underline{Herrschaft und Dienst}, Berlin 1920.
\item Friedrich Wolters: "Gestalt", in \textit{Jahrbuch} II., 1911, pp. 137-158.
\end{enumerate}
A. THE GESTALT-CONCEPT

The term Gestalt has no precise English equivalent. It implies form, wholeness and organization, but even in the German Gestalt-psychologists have found it difficult to reach an understanding of its precise nature. According to Köhler "Gestalt means a separate whole", while Wirtzheimer describes it as "some entity or set of variables are determined, not by the characteristics of the individual elements, but by the whole". In Koffka's definition "organization in the process that leads to Gestalt", while according to Matthison's Gestalt-concept "the whole and the parts mutually determine the structural coherence of a Gestalt". The scope of the term, as it was used in the vocabulary of George's followers, embraces all these definitions, but over and above these, it includes two further qualifications: 1) a reference to, clarity, likeness and limitation - characteristics suggested by the nature of plastic beauty - and, hence, 2) an emphasis on the apprehension of the world - and mainly of the visible world - as a specie formae hominis. In this sense Gestalt may be usefully compared with Clive Bell's "significant form", significant form being - and this must be emphasized - "the one quality common to all works of visual art". Both these qualifications of the Gestalt-concept assume that significant form is a spatial and stationary whole, a configuration which is "right" by virtue of its very being. Becoming, it was felt, is only a necessary prelude to its emergence. A handmaid to a superior truth, becoming is there.


2) Cf.: Clive Bell: Art, London, 1914, p. 8;
A. THE GESTALT-CONCEPT

The term Gestalt has no precise English equivalent. It implies form, wholeness and organization, but even the German Gestalt-psychologists have found it difficult to reach an understanding on its precise nature. According to Köhler "Gestalt means a separate whole", while Wertheimer describes it as "a whole whose characteristics are determined, not by the characteristics of its individual elements, but by the internal nature of the whole". In Koffka's definition "organization is the process that leads to Gestalt", while according to Matthaei's Gestalt-concept "the whole and the parts mutually determine the structural coherence of a Gestalt". The scope of the term, as it was used in the vocabulary of George's followers, embraces all these definitions, but over and above these, it includes two further qualifications: 1) a reference to clarity, balance and limitation - characteristics suggested by the nature of plastic beauty - and, hence, 2) an emphasis on the apprehension of the world - and mainly of the visible world - sub specie formae hominis. In this sense Gestalt may be usefully compared with Clive Bell's "significant form", significant form being - and this must be emphasised - "the one quality common to all works of visual art". Both these qualifications of the Gestalt-concept assumed that significant form is a spatial and stationary whole, a configuration which is "right" by virtue of its mere being. Becoming, it was felt, is only a necessary prelude to its emergence. A handmaid to a superior truth, becoming is there

to be absorbed into the organization of form. But stripped of the significance which accrues to it as the crude source of form, it is inaccessible to inquiry and incapable of articulation. Our knowledge of it is the result of an estimate of the forces which are at work in producing significant form. But the forces themselves are elusive and unmanageable. Man's business in life, it was held, is to address himself to the visible creations of reality, and of these those conforming to the pattern of Gestalt were the most satisfying to perceive and the best suited to inform action.

B. WOLTERS' NOTION OF GESTALT

The task of giving an intelligible account in English of Wolters' Gestalt-ideology - for no lesser term will do justice to his system - presents considerable difficulties. A desire for a return to the Greek view of life, a good deal of mystical emotion and the uncompromising habits of a scholastic mind, with its predilection for universals and rigorous classifications, - all these were merged into an unconvincing whole in his work, a work which is as obscure in its message as it is verbose and long-winded. A critical reading of his essay, however, will enable us to see the main points of his thesis. Cleared of verbiage, they emerge as the framework of a simple metaphysical attitude upon which, by transfer and muddled thinking, an enormous religious superstructure was built.

Wolters' basic concept - like that of George in his maturity - may be formulated in the proposition that the fluency of becoming is only preparatory to the emergence of finite and stationary creations. Reality appeared to him as a permanent struggle between form - which aspires to the condition of being - and chaos which seeks to remain in a condition of becoming. Becoming is a thing whose justification lies
outside its own nature. Form and being are the only modes of existence which contain their own end in relation to which becoming is a transitory maturing process:

"Das wesen des werdens aber ist der wandel um der erscheinung des seienden willen: der wandel dient dem herrschenden otwohl er sein gegensätzlichstes anderes ist ..."1)

But if self-containment and permanence were peculiar to the nature of being, it could be assumed that form, and more particularly that group of organic wholes of which the human figure was the consummate example, was the highest embodiment of being. But unconditional permanence was a property of divine nature, divine being that which is or expresses permanence in significant form. A model of form satisfying all these requirements, Gestalt partook of the nature of the divine:

"... das in die zeit geborene bildet sich in dem maasse als es das werden in sich zum sein rundet, zur ähnlichkeit des gottes, ist göttlich ... in der selbstdarstellung jenes zeitlosen bildes ... im Gestalt-sein."2)

This being so, Gestalt radiated beauty and inspired a desire for the beautiful in the whole moving universe. Such was the nature of this beauty that, like a closed circle, it referred to nothing outside its own radius, except in the sense that its existence served a constant reminder on all things moving and unsettled that their proper function was to attain to a state of significant form:

"... wie die sonne feurig ist ... so gestalt in ihrer fülle schön ist und schön in sich selber kreisend das ganze werdende all mit solcher gierde zum schönen erfüllt dass es sich selber ewig aufzuheben trachtet, mit tausend geöffneten schossen zum empfangen des Gestaltigen strebt."3)

2) ibid. p. 145.
3) ibid. p. 147.
But beauty in this sense was something more specific than an attribute of significant form. It was a quality which referred to spatial form and visual significance only. The meaning of beauty was the organized utilization of limited space in which imagination assumed enduring visible shape:

"Denn das schöne ist ... in Wahrheit die Fülle des begrenzten raumes in dem ausser ihm kein andres ... Platz hat, und dennoch ohne Beschränkung sich selbst wirkend und andres bewirkend ist es ... wie der kreis ... immer ganzes seiend die sichtbare erscheinung eines denkbar vollkommenen ist."1)

But the qualification of Gestalt as organized visual beauty was incomplete without the recognition of its essentially static nature. Form, Wolters thought, implied spatial limitation and this drew its permanence from the absence from its character of any inclination towards change or mobility. Gestalt, then, seen as significant and enduring spatial organization, was a self-contained and resting whole. In short, it was visual beauty as we know it from sculpture and painting, raised to a universal plane and equipped with certain ethical properties.

Thus, in the first place, Gestalt was conceived as an aesthetic phenomenon. At the centre of the Gestalt-concept stood the wholeness and indivisibility of beauty which admitted of no analysis. Gestalt was an integral whole in which a variety of divergent forces were brought to peaceful symbiosis, each depending for its existence on the other, and all constituting - not elements - but parts of a higher organism. Hence, it was held, Gestalt must not be approached in pursuance of any one aspect of its character, any more than the beauty it contains can be ascribed to any one quality of its organization:

1) ibid., p. 148.
"Denn zur Gestalt dringt kein teilsinn und kein teilglied; keinem der die gegensatze unterscheidet, nur wem das band der gebundenen gegenkräfte sichtbar wird ... ist Gestalt offenbar."¹)

But, again, no sooner was Gestalt conceived as a prototype of beauty, than ethical implications were read into its nature and indeed, more often than not, the two were hopelessly interwoven. But soon the implications were transformed into parts - or, rather, fragments - of a larger incoherent ideology, and these, in turn, supplied the beginnings of a new dogma, - Herrschaft und Dienst.

The first implication of the aesthetic nature of Gestalt was that significant form was an "implication" and not any precise lesson to be learnt or conclusion to be drawn:
"Gestalt lehrt nicht aber bildet doch mehr als jede lehre; begründet nicht aber richtet schärfer als jedes recht."²)

Yet, such was the suggestive power of the qualities attaching to Gestalt, that their mere existence sufficed to inform action and furnish life with a new purpose. Gestalt, Wolters thought, epitomized the divine nature of the universe because in it beauty, wholeness and equilibrium were fused into unity. Reality, stripped of all incidentals aspired to a state of organized perfection of which Gestalt was the epitome in the human order of things. This being so Gestalt not only reflected an aspiration towards perfection, but also inspired perfection by its significant presence: to apprehend its nature was also to comprehend its message.

"Gestalt... ist höchste richte und letztes urteil für tat und werk und schau, indem sie unberührt und unbeirrt den strahligen goldreif ihrer blüte trägt, kein ziel bekennt, nur ihr bild im All-Einen spiegelnd selber spiegel des gleichen ist: d e n n i h r s e i n i s t a u c h i h r s i n n ."³)

¹) ibid. p. 149.
²) ibid. p. 150.
³) ibid. p. 150.
Gradually the properties ascribed to Gestalt as an aesthetic entity were transformed into principles guiding action and regulating behaviour. Thus a significant though vaguely worded pair of ethical imperatives emerged from the transfer of the static attributes of Gestalt from the aesthetic sphere to the ethical. The first designated the main characteristic of the principles suggested by Gestalt as an aversion to fluidity and motion; the second as a kinship with all things which visibly conform to the stationary aspects of reality. At a later stage our investigations will show that much of Wolters', Wolff's and Petersen's hostility to music was due to their far-fetched interpretation of the principles derived from the "static" nature of Gestalt. It was part of their creed that a close connection exists between the fluency of becoming and the kind of impression which musical composition leaves in the mind of the percipient. Hence their insistence that the ethical sequence of music is incompatible with the values suggested by Gestalt. This assumption, as we shall presently see, determined their general outlook on life, influencing the growth of their personal aversions and attachments.1)

"Alles losgelöste, alles schweifende, alles eigensüchtige ist der begrenztheit fremd, jede bindung, jede bändigung, jedes gebot ist der begrenztheit lieb und das feste maass die inschrift ihres richterlichen stabes."2)

And later:

"Denn alles neugierig-erschendende, alles rück- und vorwärts nach verknüpfung lauernde ... ist der gegenwärtigkeit im schönen feind, jedes still-erwartende, jedes ruhig-schauende, jedes scheu-empfängliche ist ihr im tiefsten freund."3)

1) Cf.: Chapter VI under
2) ibid. p. 151.
3) ibid. p. 152.
Similarly the implications of Gestalt seen as a whole, that is, as something more and other than the sum of its component parts\(^1\) were also translated into ethical precepts, notably in the field of scholarship. Research, Wolters thought, should not attempt to dissect the living creations of the spirit merely to reveal interesting or piquant, but unimportant relationships. Research must be constructive. It must be guided by the recognition that all great achievements owe their greatness to a wide and bracing vision, and that investigations into the nature of significant accomplishment defeat their own ends if they are not conducted with the same loftiness of purpose and the same respect for organic creation which animated the subject of their inquiry:

"Wer forschen will der soll in ehrfurcht vor dem geiste forschen und wissend dass nichts anteil am lebendigen hat was nicht am schönen ganzen baut, dass nichts anspruch auf das seilende hat als was im gleichen bildet, nur in demut seinen stein zum baue tragen: denn nicht erkenntniss des teiles und der gegensätze sondern bindung des ganzen und der gegenkräfte heisst die losung des fruchtbaren tuns."\(^2\)

But, it will be remembered, Gestalt in its first aesthetic sense was conceived as something visual, self-contained and tangible with nothing in its nature to point away from its finite earthliness. Devoid of transcendental qualities, and the whole of its being open to sense-perception, Gestalt supplied the archetypal pattern of the visual organizations of the universe\(^3\). And vision being man's prime faculty, Gestalt, it was assumed, and more particularly the human form furnished man with something in the nature of a standard measure which was capable of application in the whole field of sense perception. Moreover, the long fraternization of the senses with Gestalt caused them to develop a

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1) Cf.: "Der blick sich auf das wesen der Gestalt richtend erkennt leicht, dass anteil am gleichen nicht gleichheit zugeteilter summen sondern gleiches sein bedeutet."

ibid. p. 155.

2) ibid. p. 157.

3) ibid. pp. 145, 156, 157, 149: "Gestalt...als das in sich schöne..."
mode of awareness anticipating, as it were, future encounters with organizations which were modelled on the pattern of Gestalt.

This aspect of the Gestalt-concept was now translated into terms of ethical properties. It was assumed that Gestalt was not only the prototype of all visual organizations, but that it also provided the pattern—the only possible pattern—whereby the operations of the intellect assumed intelligible shape. From this it followed that between sense-perception and the impressions created by the intelligible constructions of the mind there was no important difference, a) because mental processes were meaningless unless they were expressed according to the pattern epitomized by Gestalt and, b) once they were so expressed, sense-perception and the apprehension of the operations of the mind followed the self-same route. To differentiate between sense-perception and intellect was all but meaningless. The two were different names for the same thing, as Gestalt, in its original aesthetic form also represented a bracing spiritual vision expressed, without incurring the loss of any of its sublime qualities, by the senses and for the senses. Thus, without being fully conscious of it, Wolters made his Gestalt-concept the basis of an extensive sensationalism. There was nothing in the mind that was not in, or had not come via, the senses. Hence his ethico-metaphysical sequence which, after some purging and pruning for the sake of intelligibility, might be framed in the following proposition: the true appreciation of reality presupposes a healthy dependence of mind upon the senses, because nothing that the intellect contains can be divorced, or be thought to be divorced, from a vigorous experience by the senses of limited, visual and tangible organizations. To use Wolters'
image: the intellect can look for things and yet remain in its essential blindness; it will see things only when it trains its searchlight on limited objects whence pictures of strictly circumscribed constructions are reflected, manageable in their proportions, hence satisfying to perceive. In short: Gestalt acted as the regulative principle of sense-perception providing, at the same time and for that reason, a model to guide thought and qualify the imagination. To obtain a true and stimulating view of reality, the mind was to rely on the senses; and to contribute to it constructively from its own resources, the mind was to abide by the pattern offered by limited and significant creations. Of these Gestalt was the epitome in an aesthetic and, by now, also in a wider metaphysical sense:

"...das denkbare erscheint nur sinnenhaft als Gestalt: der inhalt des geistes ist gleich dem inhalt der sinne und die geistige sinneneinheit ist das einzige auf der welt. Es schaut das erscheinende an, aber das ange­schauten erzeugt erst den blick. Alles was ist wurde so als besonderes sein, als Gestalt: ohne sie gibt es kein angeschautes sondern nur ein vergehen des gedach­ten, ein zergliedern des angeschauten."1)

Thus Gestalt was the unique meeting point of mind and the senses. And since it was conceived as the prototypal phenomenon of all creation, it followed that any universal-concept of reality depended for its validity on whether or not it observed the laws laid down by Gestalt i.e. whether or not it was framed in terms of organic and coherent wholes. But a report of this nature presupposed the existence of its author. In man alone resided the ability to see things in an healthy organic fashion, and to transform his vision into a corresponding pattern of thought and action:

"Da die immer erneute schöpfung der welt, das lebendig­werden des geistes also in seinem sinnenhaften sicht-

But man's high office in conceiving and transmitting a coherent vision of the universe implied that he was not merely instrumental in procuring good but that he was the greatest good himself. This, in turn, implied the moral obligation to serve and respect him. Among all men worthy of respect none, it was thought, had greater claim to loyalty than those endowed with the ability and will-power to grasp things in accordance with the laws suggested by *Gestalt*. In them and in particular through their works, the same divine force which nerved the finite creations of the universe, bodied forth pictures similar in their constitution to those perceived by the senses, but deepened in their meaning by an extra dimension, superimposed on them by the conscious effort implicit in the creative act.

"In ihm (in dem Schaffenden Menschen) ist die der göttlichen fuge ähnlichste bildhaft und wirkend, ja in ihm offenbart sich dem einzigen auge der welt erst durch ebenbildung das auf gleiche weise sich verhaltende göttliche." 2)

What Wolters really had in mind was nothing more complicated than the view that "the work of Art is a fragment of nature with the mark on it of a finite creative effort, so that it stands alone, an individual thing detailed from the vague infinity of its background ... It requires Art to evoke into consciousness the finite perfections which lie ready for human achievement." 3)

1) ibid. p. 146.
2) ibid. p. 146.
Cf. also: "Die ewige wahrheit erscheint nur als gestalt und nur im sinnenhaft begrenzten zeigt sie ihre gesetze... darum ist der grösste mensch die tiefste wahrheit, ja der held und herrscher allein ist wahr! Fr. Wolters: "Mensch und Gattung", Jahrbuch III., 1912, p.
Not unnaturally for this type of thinking, Wolters' next step was to identify Stefan George as the supreme personification of the characteristics of Gestalt. In an uprush of emotion he recognized in the poet the spiritual law-giver of his time in whose life and work his (Wolters') vision of significant form assumed lasting visible shape:

"Gestalt kein allgemeines chaotisches, ein sonderes leben, in besonderen kern geboren, dreieinige fuge und sich entfaltend das ergruffene nach seinem bilde fügend, ist uns sichtbar geworden in einem Schaffenden Menschen der auf die immer unfassliche weise ausser den bedingnissen des werdens den archimedischen stand-punkt, das sich-selbstsetzende, das neue gesetz fand, aus der zeit tretend der herrscher der zeit ward, ist uns sichtbar geworden im menschen, denkbar im dichter, unserem geistigen herrscher Stefan George."  

But to understand fully Wolters' theory of the service of the spiritual ruler (Herrschaft und Dienst) one must pause to consider a further aspect of his thought.

His investigations into the implications of Gestalt led him to postulate a cosmological hypothesis. This was to provide a framework for the explanation of the genesis of significant form. As so many less woolly minds had done before him he, too, assumed the existence of The One (das All-Eine) whereby he appears to have meant a primal source out of which all things are created, - something in the nature of the Platonic "receptacle" which its author designated as "a natural matrix of all things". On the metaphysical world-ground provided by das All-Eine two distinctly separate forces met in permanent struggle: the eternality of being which aspired to a state of significant form, and the fluidity of becoming which strained after the infinite and sought to perpetuate chaos. Of this neatly thought-out dual arrangement Gestalt was the natural product. It emerged

1) Fr. Wolters: "Gestalt" etc. p. 146.
into being every time the force which aspired to the condition of permanent form overcame the resistance and absorbed into itself the fluency of becoming. Of this, the nature of the perceptible universe offered an unending series of illustrations. The existence of natural objects presupposed the superiority of permanent form, in the framework of which fluent matter received its proper, i.e., inferior place, forfeiting its identity for the sake of a higher organization.

At this juncture it may be added in parenthesis that, although Wolters' notion of ultimate reality leans heavily towards the Platonic conception of the receptacle, the main body of his Gestalt-theory follows the Aristotelian pattern. For Wolters, as for Aristotle, every object in the perceptible universe is a union of two ultimate principles: of being and becoming for Wolters; of form (eidos) and indeterminate matter (hyle) for Aristotle. Between these two sets of prime movers some striking similarities exist. The connotations of Wolters' notion of being suggest a practical identity with Aristotle's concept of form. Both insist that form has no meaning without material embodiment. Wolters' notion of becoming, on the other hand, shows many similarities with Aristotle's concept of hyle. According to Wolters, fluidity, indeterminateness, and a desire for the infinite are the chief properties of becoming; in Aristotle's system hyle is a mere potentiality, wholly unformed and indeterminate, whose indwelling qualities become actualized only through the activity of forms. Moreover both agree that the principle of form is superior to the principle of potentiality, that potentiality must be regarded as possessing a capacity for form and that form has being only in concrete material embodiment. And finally when Wolters ascribes the emergence of prototypal organization (Gestalt) to permanent shape taking control over the fluidity of becoming, he echoes Aristotle's theory concerning the origin of actual being (entelechy).
viz.: when indeterminate matter (hyle) assumes from (eidos), potential being passes over into actual being. The position of Gestalt in Wolters' hypothesis corresponds to the place which entelechy occupies in Aristotle's system. Wolters' archetypal organization possesses nothing of the nature of Plato's Ideas, nor is its function in any way analogous to theirs.1)

Seen from a morphological point of view, Wolters' dogma concerning the relationship between the ruler and the ruled in the spiritual empire was an ethical replica of the dual arrangement in the metaphysical assumption: as determinate from overcame the resistance of fluidity and produced an archetypal object (Gestalt), so in the ethical sphere the conception of reality as an organic whole and its corresponding creative representation were now explained as being the outcome of a special system of human relations, designated by Wolters as Herrschaft und Dienst. Further, as form absorbed into itself and utilized the services of fluidity, so the creative man (i.e. the spiritual Ruler) was entitled to demand obedience from others (the ruled) who, it was admitted, created conditions favourable for his growth of mind but possessed no value without him. The analogy is fairly straightforward: Herrschaft was conceived as the counterpart of the principle which aspired to a condition of permanent form on the metaphysical plane, while Dienst was modelled on the pattern offered by the notion of fluidity with its indispensable but nevertheless inferior services. To complete the picture it must be borne in mind that both the metaphysical, and the ethical ramifications of the Gestalt-concept were ultimately aesthetic.

On the basis of these assumptions, some of Wolters' explanations may be approached:

"Es bleibt aber dem menschen . . . über allen ordnungen eine ursprungsform deren mögliche verkörperungen unzählig sind, deren eine verwirklichung wir in Hellas verehren, deren wesen in einer ebewässigen fuge der gegenkräfte ruht dass also das wirkende und das zu-bewirkende, geist und blut, namen deren notwendige bildhafte enge sich in jeder innern schau nach neuen maassen erweitern muss, einträchtig gebunden, eine in sich ruhende einheit lebendiger bewegungen, Gestalt sind. Die einträchtige bindung zweier kräfte aber ist nur möglich im wechselverhältniss von herrschaft und dienst: wir begreifen das volkommene, das All-Eine der welt nur als in sich rollendes widerspiel des schöpferischen bildens mit dem chaotischen nichts, des seins und des werden."1)

And later in the same essay:

"Gestalt ist das siegel des göttlichen: auf immer der unendlichen kugel aufgeprägt beschliesst es das einfache geheimnis der dreieinigen fügung zweier gewalten durch die bindung in eine dritte deren wesen das einige wirken und ruhen jener beiden ist, und immer begierig dem wachsernen werden die denkbaren bilder seiner selbst aufzuprägen, wählt es das würdige mit einigendem kusse und drückt ihm das unwiderstehliche mal des schönen auf."2)

On this curiously mixed aesthetic and metaphysical basis a religious superstructure was raised. There is an earlier and a later set of dogmas in Wolters' thinking, the first largely composed on aesthetic, the second on mystical and religious lines. At the root of both lies the Gestalt-concept. Both anticipated the birth of a new spiritual Imperium (Das Neue Reich) which, Wolters' hoped, would revitalize the lethargy of modern civilization and revive the values of a more primitive age. Between the two a peculiar hierarchy of dogma and service took shape. It will be interesting to observe how the exponent of a faith who suspected the enemy's hand both in mysticism and every form of systematization allowed both to prevail as soon as the consecration of the Gestalt-concept demanded their incorporation in his own doctrine.

1) ibid. pp. 144-45.
2) ibid. p. 150.
In one respect the first dogma, which was part of Wolters' major treatises on the subject\(^1\), follows the pattern of his metaphysical hypothesis concerning the nature of Gestalt. He explained that to grasp and display the beauty of significant form one has to enter, as the first degree of initiation, the stage of "worthy preparation" (die würdige Bereitung). This consists of the recognition and subsequent acceptance for moral guidance of two sets of qualities: each derives from one of the two principal components of Gestalt. The first, which corresponds to the permanency of form on the metaphysical plane, is Law (Gesetz). It contains and suggests for guidance three essential qualities: limitation (Begrenztheit), perceptible presence (Gegenwärtigkeit) and uniqueness (Einzigkeit). The second, whose function is analogous to the function of fluidity in bringing forth Gestalt, is designated by the name of Miracle (Wunder). It possesses three important characteristics: the absence of limitation (Unendlichkeit), eternity (Ewigkeit) and universal significance (Allheit). In a way which must remain conjectural to the exoteric observer, the combination of the two constitutes the first step on the road to higher revelation:

"Das würdige nämlich ist die bereitschaft zur empfängnis des schönen: diese einzige eigenschaft der Gestalt zu erstreben ist also nur möglich auf dem Wege der würdigen bereitung der in dem dreifachen Gesetz der fuge: der begrenztheit, der gegenwärtigkeit und der einzigkeit begriffen ist, während ihre erlangung immer die unberufe- ne und unverdiente gnade bleibt die in dem dreifachen Wunder der fuge: der unendlichkeit, der ewigkeit und der allheit begriffen ist.\(^2\)

Wolters' first dogma comprised three essential categories, each circumscribing in a highly symbolic manner the nature and functions of Gestalt a) as a cosmological, b) as an

1) ibid. p. 150.
2) ibid. pp. 150-51.
ethical, and c) as an aesthetic and spiritual principle.

The role of Gestalt as a first-mover was paraphrased by the heading: Self-creation (Eigenwuchs). By this was meant a vigorous assertion of the laws of form and limitation over the fluidity of indeterminate matter. Gestalt was a vital force which fashions tangible organizations out of a vast and fluent background, without, however, separating them entirely from the fluidity of matter whence organic things draw their life-sap:

"Gestalt' als lebendige kraft bildet aus dem grenzenloses und heimatlosen toten den e i g e n w u c h s , die in sich selber strömende zelle, einheit von kern und umfang die abgeschlossen sich dennoch im abschliessenden ernährt, die im gleichen elemente bleibend von dem sie sich trennt das unendlichwandernde in ihren grenzen zu haren zwingt ..."1

The symbol for the function of Gestalt as an ethical category was Sonship (Sohnschaft) ('ethics' used here in special sense in anticipation of Wolters' third notion). Sonship was a shorthand expression for the idea that the type of organization of which significant form was the model encourages by its rightness and viability the multiplication of its pattern. In this sense Gestalt procreated its nature by offering an exemplary cause to all things fluent and inarticulate:

"Gestalt als zeugerische kraft bildet in den getrennten und dauerlosen einheiten die s o h n s c h a f t , die wunderbare doppelung ihres selbst die ... auf die zeitlose schnur die perle des gleiches an gleiches reiht und das sühnende-sühnende band über den abgrund des gegenwärtigen und ewigen knüpfend dem jetzosienden die wiederholung und mehrung seines eigenen wesens auf immer, im tausendfältigen spiel wieder eigener wesen gewährt."2

And finally the container of the highest functions of Gestalt was the new Imperium (Das Neue Reich) where the beauty and equilibrium suggested by its organization provided the law for a select spiritual community and determined the ends of

1) ibid. p. 156.
2) ibid. p. 156.
their activity. Gestalt was now the transfigurer of life, a creative impulse at whose command dead matter assumed significant shape and received transcendental sanction. The doctrine of beauty broke through to religious certainty, both presupposing, resting upon and absorbing into itself the nature and message of Gestalt:

"Gestalt als schöpferische kraft bildet mitten zwischen das stehende und in allen formen erschöpfte, ja mitten zwischen das erstarrte und unlöslich verschalte das neue reich, anfang und mitte einer jugendlichen welt die plötzlich aus dem umschwung des All-Einen ineinanderschneißen, in glühender drehung aus dem undenkbaren ins wirkliche, aus dem unwirklichen ins denkbare stossend wo nichts war einen nie gesehenen glutherd entziinden, alles stockende schmelzend, alles gewesene, aber noch glimmende zu ungeahnter mischung mitreissend sich immer deutlicher zu einer sichtbaren scheibe runden die ihre samenfunken von sich sprüht und als tau wieder in sich trinkt: eine einzige sonnenblume des alls."

Nine years later, in 1920, Wolters enunciated his second dogma: a formidable edifice of mystical sentiment comprising an elaborate restatement of the first, with many refinements and the additional disadvantage of a new framework. What intelligibility there was in his notions is obscured by his language which had deteriorated, by now, from the enigmatic to the incomprehensible. On the pattern of life suggested by his earlier Gestalt-concept, he superimposed a number of doctrines reminiscent of the legacy of the Munich Cosmists. To this odd assortment of principles he added some of the borrowed imagery of Christian dogma and erected out of their combination an unwieldy hierarchy which attracted, by its woolliness and misplaced eloquence, a good deal of contemporary attention.

1) ibid.
Herrschaft und Dienst was a sacred book written for the edification of the initiates of an esoteric faith. As its chief theme it reasserted the principle of absolute spiritual loyalty (Dienst) to a sublime and coherent philosophy of life (Herrschaft), whereby the multiplicity of life and the tangle of its connections were overcome and a single scheme of values appointed to guide it. In the course of their service, select disciples pledged themselves to follow the guidance of the spiritual ruler (Herrschers) in whom they recognized the mediator between a higher power and humanity. But their service did not mean slavery. In fact spiritual subjection was the highest form of freedom because "nur das rückhaltlose opfer des eigenen wesens an die höhere wesenheit macht frei". At its climax stood the mystical union with the Godhead affected by the mediation of the ruler (darum ist der dienst Gottes ... der ausfluss eines zustandes... in dem wir uns mit Gott in einer unbedingten einheit fühlen). To serve him was the necessary counterpart of his prophetic work, through which, after various stages of initiation, the disciples partook of the nature of the divine. The framework of their activities was the spiritual Imperium (das geistige Reich): over and above the bonds represented by nations, races and economic barriers, it united the family of kindred souls under the ruler's undisputed authority. In clear contrast with his earlier conception, Wolters now conceived life in the spiritual Imperium as the cooperation of two separate principles: Seele and Natur, the first accounting for mind, the second for the perceptible world. The two constitute die Ebenen des Reiches. From this background "pictures" (die grossen Bilder), modelled on Gestalt

2) ibid. p. 54.
3) ibid. pp. 7-8.
were seen to emerge, organic constructions which pass from a life-giving centre to a wider circle of recipients\(^1\). They penetrate all layers of the Imperium and convey, by the qualities implicit in their constitution, a message of form and harmony (die formenden Gewalten). But the nature of this message was considerably at variance with the doctrine which was earlier derived from the qualities of Gestalt. The formative power was now equipped with two faculties, neither of which would have secured a place under the same heading in his first dogma. In one sense it was designated rather vaguely as the source of all stable conditions, in another as the universal cause of change (die stillen träger aller zustände und die stummen verursacher aller umwandlungen\(^2\)). These two it was now thought, exhausted the possibilities of the principle of form.

\textit{Dienst} marked the way to discipleship, attained through four stages of initiation: Veneration (\textit{Ehrfurcht}), Worship (\textit{Verehrung}), Self-sacrifice (\textit{Selbsthingabe}) and Union (\textit{Einung}). The fourth and highest mystery was accessible only to those who, with minds purified of all incidentals \((\textit{von allem entblösst}\(^3\)), sought in humbleness and poverty the embrace of a supernatural divinity \((\textit{arm um die fülle des unendlichen Gottes ringt}\(^4\)). Of the final joy experienced in this union, words were too beggarly an instrument to convey an impression. Indeed, the last phase was beyond the realm of human things and defied intelligible representation \((\textit{da dieser zustand ... der letzten einung\,... ohne bild und unbegrenzt ist}\(^5\)).

\textit{Herrschaft} developed along the stages of the ruler's course of spiritual existence, symbolised by the title of

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{ibid.} pp.7-8.
  \item \textit{ibid.} p. 8.
  \item \textit{ibid.} p. 58.
  \item \textit{ibid.} p. 58.
  \item \textit{ibid.} p. 53.
\end{itemize}
George's works: Pilgerfahrten, Preisgedichte, Das Jahr der Seele, Weihe am mystischen Quell, Gestalten etc.

The sole purpose and content of Herrschaft were the ruler's own existence: der Herrscher ist selbst der inhalt seiner Herrschaft. As the Son completed the circle of the Holy Trinity by filling the gap between the Father and the Holy Spirit, so the ruler inserts with his prophetic words the missing link between the organ of speech and the organ of hearing. As the ruler conceives his relationship with ultimate reality (Weltgrund) in terms of a system of religious beliefs and observances (Kult), so the disciples conceive their situation vis à vis the metaphysical basis of Herrschaft (Herrschaftsgrund) as a framework of dogma and rites. Having traversed the four stages of initiation and partaken of the joy of Union, they seek to transform their vision into Works (Werk) and Discipline (Zucht). Eternally they produce a series of Deeds (Tat) and Gestures (Gebärde). The ruler, on the other hand, offers guidance and pursues his sovereign activity by means of his spiritual Deeds (die geistige Tat). Their function is the bodily forth of significant form in artistic composition (Bildwürdung). From the bulk of his creative work (Werk) significant form emerges as its highest and lasting spiritual summa.

The circle was squared: Wolters' original aesthetic concept had come back into its own. Now, as before, the human form, Gestalt, was the source and summit of significant achievement. Everything sprang from, and issued back into it. But between the two a clumsy body of doctrines was elaborated which had little in common either with the notions on

1) Fr. Wolters: Herrschaft und Dienst p. 31.
2) ibid. p. 31.
3) ibid. p. 60.
which it was raised, or with those towards which its philosophy was directed. It is not known, nor is it pertinent to our present investigation to ask, what exactly George thought of Wolters' aberration into dogma and mysticism; there is reason to believe that he disliked it\(^1\). What is important for us at this juncture is that between 1911 and 1920 Wolters considered that it was in keeping with the temper of the Circle and, indeed, with George's leadership, to lay down the rules of worship and suffuse them with a whole stream of ideas which were obviously inconsistent with George's and his own earlier Gestalt-concept. The notion which encouraged him to raise a mystical doctrine on a most unmystical foundation was implicit in the example provided by George's encounter with Maximin. He saw a parallel between the religious structure which he had erected on his original Gestalt-concept, and the worship of the boy-god which relied for its justification on the revelation to George of the central importance of the human form. In both cases the same earthly idea supplied the basis for mystical thought and a corresponding religious edifice.

But the analogy was based on flimsy foundations. George was a great poet and if one can point to any one outstanding aspect of his wisdom and genius it is surely that today, except for his Gedenkbuch, which is almost poetry, our only source of information with respect to his Maximin-experience is the poetry he left behind in his mature work. Without that verse, Maximin, as a shorthand expression of wholeness, form and beauty, is very nearly unthinkable. Indeed, it is not going too far to say that Maximin's role in that poetry was George's experience of Maximin, and

\(^1\) Cf.: Robert Boehringer: *Ewiger Augenblick* p. 29; "Wenn ich mal einen satz sag, so macht ihr gleich ein axiom draus. Kein laster ist so schlimm wie eine übertriebene tugend ... Keine prinzipien, sondern haltung."
as soon as the union of the two was disturbed, the whole edifice fell to the ground, leaving in its wake a vague religious fantasy and a handful of metaphysical ideas. Wolters was the exponent of a revelation of which he had no personal experience, and as such he followed the well-trodden path of the interpreters and exegeta of all lands and all ages: he reduced the art of creation to a science plus a religion of representation, substituting for a living organism the bone-work and anatomy of art. For Gestalt, which George's late poetry was thought to radiate, Wolters substituted a system of Gestalt-metaphysics, and when he was confronted with the task of accounting for the poet's supernatural experience, he unhesitatingly ignored everything he had earlier advocated about the nature and implications of Gestalt and directed his appeal beyond the boundaries of the human form and, for that matter, of human reason. That systematization seemed a desirable thing to him and that he made the central theme of his system a tangle - but a shrewdly logical tangle - of mystical ideas, violates everything he had earlier said about the direct and organic nature of art. The worthlessness of his enthusiasm and the pedantry of his neat dogmatization are hardly redeemed by the spectacular maintenance of a fairly important idea (Gestalt) at the centre of his system.

Wolters, like his master, realized the ineffectiveness of a faith from which the supernatural element had been eliminated. But George's quest for revelation produced a number of important truths, truths, which, in a very real sense, owed their existence to, and emerged as, significant poetry. Wolters, on the other hand, only perceived the emptiness of the contemporary heaven and sought to populate it with categories and the chimaeras of his imagination. But his dogma carries no conviction. As a basis for religion it was too obviously derivative and too much of a private vision to break through to convincing certainty; as a foundation
of metaphysics it was too fragmentary to provide the groundwork for universal hypotheses. George's supernatural experience, whatever one may think of the ethical construction which his followers placed on it, was justified by the poetry it generated. For us it only exists as poetry and it is in keeping with the poet's intention that it should do so. Wolters indulged in the dilettante's traditional pastime when he attempted to extract specific conclusions from George's art. But that is not the way in which ideas are disseminated. In a deeper sense, all art is didactic, but for the lesson to be brought home, long and unspectacular periods of spiritual incubation are necessary. And for this there are no short-cuts, least of all through the tortuous paths of dogma and moral legislation. George's late art came to life as a matter of faith: he was a believer. Wolters reduced it to an object of speculation. Church and faith were not to march together in the circle of Stefan George.\(^1\)

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1) The discrepancy between the two was noted by Kommerell when, shortly after Wolters' death, on December 7, 1930, he wrote to Hans Anton: "Er hat der ganzen Gründung durch sein Buch die Ansicht des Kirchlichen gegeben, hat Gegnerschaften von Rang mit kleinen Gesten der Sekte erledigt, hat die Verehrung des grossen Menschen entstellt zu einer Devotion, die ein Frösteln der Scham in feineren Geistern hervorrufen muss ...."
Cf.: Robert Boehringer: Mein Bild von Stefan George, München 1951, pp. 186-87 where the full text is given.
A similar ramification of aesthetic tenets into methodological assumptions and ethical precepts can be observed in the works of Friedrich Gundolf. Among the ideas which were current in the George circle after the death of Maximin none greater influence on the growth of Gundolf’s mind than that which expressed form as the epitome of significant creation. Formulated at its most succint in the ninth sentence, it provide us with a starting point where we can follow and its metamorphosis in the works of one of the most brilliant minds of 20th century Germany. In 1912, obviously under George’s influence, these words appeared in a preface to the Hänter:

“Hinter den erklärungen geschichtlicher schönheits-
und persönlicher art liegt der glaube dass
von allen äusserungen der uns bekannten jahrtausende-
der griechische gedanke: ‘der leib, diese simbelf der
vergänglichkeit, des leibs sind der göt’ weitnu
schaufangste und unsaudenbarste, weitau
gröste, kühnste und menschenwürdigste war, den an arhabenheit
jeder anders, sogar der christliche, nachstehen muss’.

For this aesthetic notion Gundolf found a more general framework in the message and implications of George’s work. To create a climate of thought and feeling for the appreciation of George’s verses in which, as by some natural process, every word the poet had written would fall into place - this was Gundolf’s ambition, and to pursue it with the disciple’s zeal and German thoroughness he had to accommodate his principles to an aesthetic desideratum and apply them to every aspect of an elaborate interpretation. It will be our task in the present chapter to observe this persistent harking back to a set of aesthetic principles.

1) B.f.A.K. IX. Folge, 1912, p. 2.
A. INTRODUCTION

A similar ramification of aesthetic tenets into metaphysical assumptions and ethical precepts can be observed in the works of Friedrich Gundolf. Among the ideas which were current in the George circle after the death of Maximin none had greater influence on the growth of Gundolf's mind than that which expressed the human form as the epitome of significant creation. Formulated at its most succinct in the ninth series of the Blätter, it may provide us with a starting point whence we can usefully pursue its metamorphosis in the works of one of the most brilliant minds of 20th century Germany. In 1912, obviously under George's influence, these words appeared in a preface to the Blätter:

"Hinter den erklärungen geschichtlicher schönheits-kundiger und persönlicher art liegt der glaube dass von allen äußerungen der uns bekannten jahrtausende der Griechische Gedanke: 'der Leib, dies simbild der vergänglichkeit, DER LEIB SEI DER GOTT' weitaus der schöpferischste und unausdenkbarste, weitaus der grösste, kühnste und menschenwürdigste war, dem an erhabenheit jeder andere, sogar der christliche, nachstehen muss."1)

For this aesthetic notion Gundolf found a more general framework in the message and implications of George's work. To create a climate of thought and feeling for the appreciation of George's verse in which, as by some natural process, every word the poet had written would fall into place - this was Gundolf's ambition, and to pursue it with the disciple's zeal and German thoroughness he had to accommodate his principles to an aesthetic desideratum and apply them to every aspect of an elaborate interpretation. It will be our task in the present chapter to observe this persistent harking back to a set of aesthetic principles

1) B.f.d.K. IX. Folge, 1912, p. 2.
and see how this attitude to the human form and human beauty gave rise to a body of metaphysical, social and ethical ideas.

If, then, as far as works of art were concerned, the human form furnished the archetype of significant form, it was legitimate to assume that the significant manifestations of reality also owed their existence to form (Gestalt) overcoming the resistance of indeterminate matter. As - one may add - composition is the quality which makes artistic form significant, so the human form (Leib, Gestalt) also possesses a property which urges all things unformed and indeterminate towards a state of lasting and significant shape:

"... die Gestalt selbst strahlt ruhelose kräft[e] aus die sich nach Wirkung sehnen und den Krieg führen wollen gegen heraufdrängendes Chaos." 3)

But if significant form was the source and outcome of artistic apprehension, it followed that the artist's awareness of reality was better suited to his particular task if he allowed himself to perceive it as a series of stable condi-

1) The human form and beauty always referred to "Eros", that is to say male form and male beauty, in Gundolf's vocabulary. Female beauty, "Aphrodite", was of inferior character. It was associated with process and becoming and hostile to Gestalt. Cf.: "Dieselbe Weltkraft die sich bekundet in schönen Leibern, Eros, drängte die Männer dies wahrgenommene Schöne zu besitzen ... der schöne Männerleib regte den geistigen Zeugungstrieb, den plastischen Formtrieb, den heroischen Tatentrieb in derselben Weise an wie der schöne Frauenleib den natürlichen Zeugungstrieb. Auch dieser ist eine Weltkraft, Aphrodite, aber sie will nicht die Gestalt fassen, sondern die Fülle entladen, nicht den Leib verewigen sondern das Leben fort- pflanzen, nicht das Offenbare festhalten sondern im Ge heimnis untertauchen." (italics my own).


tions (Sein) rather than the mere flow of inarticulate matter (Werden). What was demanded was not a selective assortment post factum of congenial evidence out of a welter of unrelated happenings and inconclusive impressions, but rather a mode of apprehension by which — as by a law of nature — things were perceived in their essential relation to the human form. Hence the permanency of being, Gundolf argued, offered a better working hypothesis for the artist than the fluency of becoming. The rightness of the artist's apprehension depended on whether or not he perceived in the immediacy of experience stable conditions and manageable proportions. The hallmark of his genius was his ability to apprehend things in terms of his medium ("medium" referring mainly to the plastic arts and poetry). For the poet or the sculptor to conceive of reality as the indeterminate flow of matter, was to externalize and, in a very real sense, falsify his own report of the universe:

"Aber wer gestalten will bedarf der Gestalt und die ist unmittelbar nur als Sein wahr-zunehmen...das Werden ist schon eine Umsetzung."

Another implication of the high value ascribed to significant form was the postulation of the autonomy and absolute nature of being on a personal and human (i.e. non-metaphysical) plane. From it followed the rejection of all genetic, relativist and psychological interpretations, particularly in the sphere of historiography and history of literature. Our investigations will show that — probably as a reaction to "progressive" and evolutionary theories which gained wide currency during the first two decades of the Century — these attempts also came under the heading of Werden in Gundolf's vocabulary.

Thus Gundolf's notion of being may be usefully examined

1) George p. 138.
under two separate headings: A) as the source and mode of existence of significant creation and, by implication, the negation of the notion of fluency; and B) as the assertion of the unique and absolute nature of human occasions and, by implication, the negation of the notion that the absolute can be apprehended by the collective realization of the relative. The first, it will be seen, was a reflection of the position of significant form vis-à-vis the notion of time—a reflection namely of its a-temporal nature: significant form was true and "right" without reference to the maturing process which preceded it or to its submergence in the general consciousness to which it served as one of many stimuli for further growth and change; analogously, being was conceived as the "right" apprehension of reality, i.e. as the apprehension, in the immediacy of experience, of manageable proportions and pleasing outlines, timeless because complete in their significant presence. The second derives from the spatial implications of significant form. At its base lies the thought that the human form is more and other than the mere sum of its parts or the coincidence or coordination of so many favourable conditions\(^1\). Hence, beyond a certain point, the specific nature of human occasions, their being "such and such"\(^2\) and not otherwise, could not be

1) The connection between the spatial aspect of Gestalt and its conception as a whole appears clearly from Gundolf's reading of the temper of the Renaissance: "Denn schon für die Renaissance und erst recht für das Bildungs-, das Entwicklungs- und Fortschritts-zeitalter gibt es keinen Kosmos, keine plastisch begrenzte Welt mehr, keine unabänderliche Welt des Raums, nur eine räumlich und zeitlich unbegrenzte, wandelbare Welt der Beziehungen, vom Menschengeist willkürlich geregelt nach Zwecken und Gründen."
Fr. Gundolf: *Dichter und Helden*, (Heidelberg, 1923,) p. 35 (italics my own).

2) The phrase is borrowed from Whitehead.
analyzed in terms of their genesis or their relatedness to external factors. Being, like the human form, possessed a high significance of its own. It lent itself to learned analysis but lay beyond it.

B. THE PHILOSOPHICAL IMPLICATIONS OF SIGNIFICANT FORM

The first implication of the "ethos" of significant form may, therefore, be summarized as the apprehension of reality as permanent and the vigorous assertion of the high value of apprehending it as such. How closely this important assumption owes its substance to the visual nature of significant form, that is to an aesthetic notion derived from the plastic arts, emerges clearly from Gundolf's unconvincing attempt to postulate apprehension (Schau, Wahrnehmen) and experience (Erleben, Mit-werden) as two distinctly separate things, the first referring to one's mode of awareness of reality conceived as permanent, and the second of reality conceived as fluid. To apprehend (wahrnehmen) was to see (schauen) and this referred to the perception of finite states and stable conditions (Erscheinungen, Bilder, Seinsformen und -zustände). The flux and reflux of becoming, on the other hand, permitted of no visual apprehension. We can only gauge their nature, Gundolf explained, by using our apprehension as a source of informative matter whence — with brain-work and luck — we may eventually derive certain characteristics indicative of fluency. But this would be merely placing a certain interpretation on the information contained, as a secondary matter, in our apprehension of form, and using it as an aid for the understanding of something that is not immediately accessible to the eye or the visual imagination:

"Das Werden kann man nicht unmittelbar wahrnehmen als solchen, nicht schauen (un die Zentralkraft des Wahrnehmens zu nennen), sondern man kann es aus Erscheinungen, aus Bildern, aus Seinsformen und -zuständen erschliessen, er-deuten...." 

1) George, p. 136.
But if, Gundolf argued, the fluency of becoming is intractable material for our apprehension, it nevertheless admits of immediate knowledge by way of intuitive experience. But this "immediacy" meant, in a very real sense, the absence of a medium and hence, to Gundolf, an inarticulate and, therefore, almost worthless knowledge: intuition (erleben, mit-werden) rather than the awareness and assertion of significant form (Schau, Sein des Augenblicks). To illustrate this point Goethe, Nietzsche and Bergson were mentioned as men to whom reality revealed itself as fluency and change; in other words, whose position in the universe was determined by their intuitive awareness of a becoming in nature. To this statement, however, an important qualification was added namely that among all "Werden" Goethe felt the most acutely the need to break out of his experience and express himself in fixed outlines and stable conditions.

"... man kann es (das Werden) unmittelbar erleben, innerlich mit-werden (wie Goethe und nach ihm Nietzsche oder Bergson). Doch dabei opfert man die unmittelbare Schau, das Sein des Augenblicks. Nicht dass ein Werdemensch von vornherein der eindringlichen Schau unfähig wäre: aber nie kam er von der Schau als solche schon durchaus bis zum Rand erfüllt sein, nie den Augenblick so besitzen wie Faust es ersehnt, nie ganz im Zauber des Seins gebannt sein. Goethe hat diese faustische Not, das vergebliche 'Verweile doch' tiefer gefühlt als je ein Mann, gerade weil er der Schaufähigste und Schaubedürftigste unter allen Wer dern war."¹)

According to this unconvincing explanation Goethe's achievement rested on a very precarious adaptation to a medium of an experience which was fundamentally uncongenial to expression. But, Gundolf explained, though Goethe experienced a fluidity in nature, he could yet make a virtue of his shortcoming and express his intuition within the region, though perhaps not in terms of, the perceptible,

¹) ibid. p. 136.
"apprehensible" universe. The permanencies he encountered in the perceptible world provided for him the vehicle whereby he could raise a sterner, though inevitably allegorical, edifice against the fugitive background of his experience. But, like all allegorical expression, Goethe's art referred to things lasting and finite only in an informative, verbal sense. It dealt with the eternal aspects of living but it never contributed to the significant permanencies of the universe by virtue of its own luminous organization. His art was rooted in an experience to which reality revealed itself as fluid and which, therefore, underwent an externalization every time it was given formal articulation. Goethe, to sum up Gundolf's argument, spoke of things eternal but his art evolved, in its own right and out of its own significant constitution, no genuine aspect of eternity.

"Er (Goethe) hat aus dieser Not, einer urdeutschen Not, seine Tugend gemacht, und für das Werden, das er nicht wahrnahm, nur erlebte, die schönsten Gleichnisse aus dem wahrnehmbaren Sein gefunden. Eine Not blieb es auch ihm, er hat nie als Dichter die Magie des in sich ewigen Augenblicks ganz in Sprache gebannt, sondern den Verganglichen zum Gleichnis der Ewigkeit, das Sein zum Träger des Werdens gemacht. In jedem seiner Augenblicke steckt das Werden, das ihn trägt, aber auch sprengt: keiner ist Ewigkeit, er bedeutet sie bloss." 1)

This was indeed a fundamental departure from the views expressed in his earlier book on Goethe. There the poet was celebrated precisely because he perceived, under Herder's influence a fluency and becoming in nature and expressed this fluidity not merely by the informative and representative content of his verse but, above all, by its verbal appeal and musical immediacy:

"Man sah im Altertum und in der Renaissance das Gewordene, das Sein: erst Goethe entdeckte als Dichter überall das Werden, die Bewegung, die Entwicklung, nicht als eine

1) ibid. p. 137.
Kausalverknüpfung zweier Zustände, als eine ruhende Linie
die zwei feste Punkte verband, sondern als ein wesenhaftes
Fließen, als ein "Entwirken". Nun erst ward die unsichtbare Natur sichtbar gemacht, nicht nur an Körpern, son-
dern die Bewegung selber ward Melodie, Stimme, Wort ..."¹)

That views so contradictory could be expressed with so much pungency and conviction within a short span of four years²) is, to say the least, astonishing. There is, first, the contradiction between reality conceived as fluid and reality conceived as permanent. Moreover there are some striking discrepancies in detail which merit attention because they throw additional light on Gundolf's gradual change of heart under the impact of George's new vision. Take the example of Bergson. In 1920 he was mentioned together with Goethe and Nietzsche as a philosopher who experienced change and becoming in nature. But so to perceive reality, he explained, was to produce a report which either was completely inarticulate in any important i.e. artistic sense or, at best, attained a measure of articulation by adapting to its purpose the signals and language of permanent being. But even then it fell short of the account given by a man like George, to whom permanent form revealed itself as the primary quality of the universe, and who sought to add to the permanencies perceived by creating significant form in his own art. Yet in his earlier work Gundolf attributed Goethe's achievement in his lyrical verse to the fulfilment of a strikingly "Bergsonian" condition. Goethe, he wrote, was the first poet to become aware of a universal becoming in nature, not as a causal relationship between two fixed conditions, nor as a stationary line between two stable points but, essentially, as a flow of

¹) Goethe, p. 100.
²) Goethe was published in 1916, George in 1920.
³) Cf.: p. 100 above.
Bergson cannot be doubted. On two notable occasions he paid tribute to Bergson's work and recognized the importance of its implications for historiography and literary research. The contrast between these two views is obvious: in 1916 the apprehension of reality as fluidity and change guaranteed for Gundolf the rightness of Goethe's inspiration, and the value of his art was measured by his success or failure to develop a corresponding fluency in his verse. In 1920 however he argued that Bergson, and with him Nietzsche, failed to do justice to some of the most radiant aspects of reality because they failed to apprehend it as a series of stationary, permanent organizations, because their approach was intuitive and, therefore, because their subsequent report of reality was marred by a tendency to forego the artistic medium, or else - as in Goethe's case - they relied for articulation on the borrowed equipage of the "permanent" world. If one accepts Gundolf's assumptions the contrast between these two views respecting the nature of ultimate reality may be compared with the division which some of George's followers observed between the Catholic and the Protestant point of view respecting the nature of divine revelation: the Catholic embodied in the figure of Stefan George, whose knowledge of God was imperfect, and certainly unimportant, without the meditation of form and imagery, and the Protestant represented by men such as Goethe, Nietzsche and Bergson whose minds trafficked in the immediacies of intuitive illumination and brooked no imagery to interfere with the purity and inwardness of their vision.

1) In 1911 Gundolf wrote: "Wer ... in der Geschichte nicht die Zusammenstellung gewordener Fakten und Dinge, sondern die Erkenntnis des Werdens und Fließens selbst sieht, begreift, die Zeit nicht als eine mathematisch einteilbare Länge, sondern als ein unteilbares substantielles Fließen. Dies wird die erste Wirkung sein müssen die Henri Bergsons Philosophie auf die Geschichtswissenschaft haben kann." Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist, pp. 51-52. 

 Cf. also: "Wesen und Beziehung", Jahrbuch II., 1911, p. 21.
At this juncture it may be fitting to refer in parenthesis to a revealing feature in the pattern of Gundolf's thinking, a feature which is common to both approaches. Whichever attitude Gundolf represented at any particular time of his life, whether it was the apprehension of reality as fluent or permanent, the evils he castigated, the trends and views he contrasted with his own conception of the nature of the universe, remained essentially the same. A few examples selected at random from his book on Goethe will show that when he shared Goethe's apprehension of reality as fluent, he contrasted this concept of a living and fertile flow of things with the shortcomings which he ascribed to the earlier German poets: with the dry moralizing of a rationalist such as Lessing, with the devout but conceptual idiom of Klopstock and the arid realism of Brockes, Haller and Ewald von Kleist. Conceptual thinking and ratiocinations were equally repulsive to him. Both were arbitrary arrests on the life-pattern of a vigorous world which was travelling after the expression and proper meaning of its own fluent nature:

"Während jene früheren Dichter ihre grenzenlose Erregung in eine begrenzte Gestalt bannen wollten, selbst die irrationellen Lebenskräfte in Passbarkeiten für Sinne oder Vernunft binden mussten, gelang es Goethe für jenes irrationelle Erleben, Beben und Glühen selbst irrationellen Sprachausdruck zu finden ... und die seelische Bewegung gleich ... in der Sprache zu fassen." ¹

"Alles noch so kühne Erhabene und Göttliche in den Goethischen Hymnen ... wird durch die sinnliche Schwere und Gegenwart der grossen Seele verbürgt: die Rhythmen sind die unmittelbare, klanggewordene Bewegung der verkündeten Gottheit selbst, und es gibt nicht wie bei Klopstock hier einen Dichter der von der Gottheit eingeweiht, begeistert, gewürdigt ist, und dort eine Gottheit mit ihrer Schöpfung ... nur einen sinnlich gegenwärtigen, bewegten Menschen, dessen Schwingen und Erklingen das Schwingen und Erklingen des gotterfüllten Alls ist ..." ²

² ibid. p. 114.
"Die deutsche Dichtung vor Klopstock ist wohl fähig Vorstellungen, ... d.h. abgezogene, feste und vertauschbare Bilder aus dem Sinnen-, oder Begriffe aus dem Geistesleben, aneinandergereiht ... aber unfähig Bewegungen und Entwicklungen als solche, Wallungen, Stimmungen, Schwängungen, kurz jede Art Bewegung als Bewegung, in der Bewegung darzustellen ... Der Begriff Bewegung ist keine Bewegung ... An genauem, differenziertem Sehen der Natur z.B. übertrifft keiner die Brükes, Haller, Ewald von Kleist ... Aber sie geben uns ein Museum von Vorstellungen ... nicht die Empfindungen selbst."  

But when Gundolf elected to identify himself with the view that the permanency of being - and not the fluency of becoming - offered the most stimulating, and hence, the true insight into the nature of reality, the targets for his earlier attacks and his aversions remained, nevertheless, essentially unchanged: the prosecution of Opitz, Gottsched, Lessing and the lesser German rationalists continued, but their vices were no longer assessed by the extent of their failure to convey intuitive knowledge of a changing and flowing universe, but rather by the measure of their inability to comply with the qualities emanating from the organic nature of the human form. Thus, it was argued, Shakespeare's dramas exhibit the supreme fusion of "body and mind" (Leib, Geist) in one organic whole. But among his German translators neither the early strolling players nor the rationalists apprehended this living unity. The strolling players were perhaps the worst offenders. Shakespeare's poetry was entirely lost on them but they had a keen eye for the frills and furbelows of the drama which they understood so imperfectly - for stage-craft, horse-play and buffoonery. The strolling players, Gundolf explained, emancipated the "body" from the mind, the machinery and the plot from the spirit which had animated them; but by so doing they also destroyed the whole-
ness and organism of the Shakespearean drama, substituting in its place the horrors, burlesque and rough house of theatre, some seeing little more in Shakespeare's plays than a vehicle for the dispatch of information (Stoff), others seeing no more than a challenge to entertainment and stage-craft (Betrieb).

The rationalists, on the other hand, took the reverse course with results which were equally unsatisfactory. They emancipated the "mind" from the body, the supposed moral or spiritual content of the plays from their human context and bracing earthiness (Niederschlag kein Körper). Their minds, Gundolf explained, trafficked in systems and abstractions: the translations of Opitz, Andreas Gryphius and Gottsched were but the versifier's contributions to moral improvement or the mere poetizing of intellectual conclusions, both of which were alien to the wholeness and simple immediacy of organic life (Bild, Gebild, Körperlichkeit, Gestalt). At the touch of the rationalists, so we may sum up Gundolf's argument, Shakespeare's universal vision of the world (Weltbild) turned into the moralizing reflections of a beggarly parochialism, or else, a spectacular but inorganic mixture of craft and information (Stoffkonglomerat) was put in its place.

"Das deutsche Stück ist eben nur ein Niederschlag, kein Körper, ein indirektes Produkt, nicht mehr unmittelbarer Ausdruck des Lebens das wir suchen. Die Aufführung ist, was wir brauchten ... Das englische Werk ist geboren aus dem Geiste des Dramas, das deutsche aus dem "Apparat." 1)

"Von Titus bis zum Juden von Venedig lässt sich eine Stufenfolge der Zersetzung des Organismus durch den Mechanismus aufstellen ... "2)

"Wir haben den Zerfall darin gesehen, dass der Organismus in seine Teile zerfiel, dass Stoff und Apparat sich selbständt machten. Die Komödianten verwandelten alles was

1) Fr. Gundolf: Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist, Berlin 1911, p. 29;
2) ibid. p. 42, namely in the early German translations of Shakespeare.
Sie anpackten einerseits in Rohstoff, andererseits in Bewegung. Ihre Geschichte ist die Emanzipation des Leibes vom Geist. Die andere Seite des Zerfalls zeigt uns Opitz und sein Zeitalter: die Emanzipation des Geistes vom Leib.1)

"Wo der Leib enthroniert war, wurde symbolisches Gestalten unmöglich. - Das Theater, auf Schau und Wirkung aus, hatte aus Shakespeare's symbolischem Weltbild ein buntes Stoffkonglomerat gemacht."2)


The division between these two views, however, was by no means as clear cut and definite as it would appear from this distinction. Often, particularly in his first book on Shakespeare, the two went side by side with each other, and if a case can be made out for a distinction it is only in view of the fact that in his later work and - as we shall presently see - notably in George, Gundolf identified himself completely with Stefan George's ideas respecting the primary nature of the human form. But, except for a brief spell of proselytizing ardour of which this book was the outstanding product, - Gundolf was too wise a man to be dogmatic about either view. In the exposition of both there were border cases allowing for synthesis and compromise. And a synthesis between the two was actually reached in his last work, a brief and nobly conceived memorial lecture on Goethe.4) Having said all this, however, it will be legitimate for us to conclude that in respect of some of his permanent aversions

1) ibid. p. 53.
2) ibid. p. 59.
3) ibid. p. 137.
4) Cf.: pp 161-65 below.
(e.g. German rationalism) these two principal concepts of the nature of reality had, at various times and in various contexts the same function to fulfil in Gundolf's work. And in this we may recognize a limited but significant addition to our knowledge of the mould of Gundolf's thinking.  

Having thus examined Gundolf's change of mind in the light of a comparative exposition of some of the illustrations offered by his own work, we may now resume our attempts at piecing together and placing the correct interpretation on Gundolf's rather fragmentary philosophical and aesthetic pronouncements.

Stefan George, Gundolf argued, it was par excellence who apprehended reality as so many finite states and stable organizations. But this awareness of reality (Dasein) was not in itself satisfactory because, though it seemed to guarantee for the poet the "right" inspiration, it could not vouch for a correspondingly right mode of expression. Satisfactory and significant form, which added in its own right to the significant permanencies of reality, did not necessarily follow in the wake of the right kind of apprehension. "Between the moment of inspiration and the finished work of art there was room for many a slip." But, Gundolf thought, George was intensely aware of the incompleteness of the right inspiration and of the pitfalls on the way to expression. His art, unlike the art of Goethe, gave birth to organizations which demanded a place in their own right among the permanent structures of the human world:

1) Even his tribute in 1911 to Bergson's influence on historiography was woven into a context in which "Werden" contrasted with the positivist methods of inquiry and the relativism entailed by them. (Cf.: p. 34 and p. 36 above. But when, in his book on George (1920), the issue between "Werden" and "Sein" had to be emphasised, Gundolf unhesitatingly approved of the latter. (Cf.: p. 96 above).

"Gerade Georges Gott verlangte Leib, nicht nur Dasein... dieser Seher verlangte Schau seiner Gestalt, nicht nur Wissen seines Wesens. Die andern... die minder unbedingten Gottsucher konnten sich begnügen mit der Gewissheit dass wieder ein göttliches im Werden sein... George selbst musste, als Seher eines leibhaftigen Gottes, ihn wirken und all sein Leben ist nur ein einzig Mühen um diese Erfüllung."

For Gundolf, as for George and Wolters, the prototype of significant organization was the human body, Leib, both in a material and in a spiritual sense. In Gundolf's case, however, it assumed a special metaphysical meaning: the human form was ultimate reality, substantia, God:

"Gibt es demgegenüber in der Welt eine nicht aufzulösende substanz, ein schlechthin in sich ruhendes, zeugendes, unzerstörbares lebenszentrum? Gibt es einen leib, oder theologisch gesprochen einen gott, oder philosophisch ein ens realissimum, eben eine substanz oder nicht? Das ist jetzt die Frage geworden...

In Gundolf's scheme of things the human form was the prototype of significant form and epitome of ultimate reality. To conceive of reality within the limits set to perception and imagination by the human form was the guarantee of the rightness of the artist's inspiration. This alone supplied the right kind of stimulus for his creative work, at the end of which the human form again emerged as the satisfying embodiment of the right apprehension. It may be added in parenthesis that Clive Bell, from whom the term "significant form" has been borrowed, agrees with some of this view. He argues that if his suggestions were accepted, it would follow that "significant form" is "form behind which we catch a sense of ultimate reality"; but he hastens to add that pure form can only be perceived when it is dissociated "from any qualities it may have acquired from keeping company with human beings".

4) Ibid. p. 69.
Both agree that the contemplation and creation of pure form is the highest good, but for Bell the commerce of form with human business diminishes rather than lifts its suggestiveness. For Gundolf form is significant because it is human and in this anthropomorphous epitome of things he discovers the God in everything, ultimate reality. To conceive of the world as a sensible significant whole was to see it as the visual order of perfect, hence durable, organizations.

"Jede Welt hat ihren Gott und wo ein Gott erscheint, offenbart er seine Welt, die im Gegensatz zum All, dem Inbegriff des Seienden, eine Ordnung der sichtbaren Werte, d.h. eben ein "Reich" ist."¹

This conception of the nature of reality suggested a convenient explanation for the kind of relationship which exists between the mind and the senses, particularly in the creation and perception of art. The human form being the pattern of ultimate reality outside which no spiritual "substantia" could be postulated, and the human body (Leib) being the perfect symbol for the simultaneity of sense-perception it followed, first, that great art had to rise from and effect in the percipient, a complete merger of the senses and, secondly, that this conjoint realization of the senses constituted, in fact, the "mind" as well as the "body" of art. To talk of the mind and the senses, of body and soul as though they were separate things with no permanent interweaving existing between them, was to follow the stale assumptions of verbal thinking and ignore their essential unity in the human form.

In George's Angel Gundolf recognized a symbol of their perfect fusion:

"Das triebhafte Mass des wohlgeraten Leibes macht er (der Engel) zur Plicht des begeisterten Lebens, die ahnungsvoll erfüllten Grenzen des Natur-Schicksal-See-
len-Raumes zieht er in den Plan seiner ordnenden Vor-
sehung..."²

¹ Fr. Gundolf: George, Berlin 1920, p. 208.
Christianity, Gundolf argued, was a religion of the Beyond, that is, the negation of the actual presence of God on earth, "of the divine on earth as of the blessedness which comes from the adoration of the Beauty of this tangible presence". George's Angel and, later, Maximin the beautiful boy-God, showed the way to a restoration of the ideals of the Greek view of life. In the religion they inspired, the "body" was no longer denied and cast aside. Now, as erstwhile in the cult of Eros, the beautiful body - not sensorial life - was the very substance of worship. Outside the vigorous assertion of reality through the senses the world was meaningless. God was made body; the mind and the senses were once again fused into unity. Asceticism ridiculed and mysticism discarded, the notion of holiness and spiritual excellence were given physical transfiguration.


But in Gundolf's thinking the human form was not merely an epiphany of reality. It also suggested a regulative principle for thought and action. Organic form being the principal truth of reality apprehended as permanent, it followed that no thought or feeling which either placed its focus outside the human order of things, or appealed only to one of the senses or one human faculty to the exclusion of others, deserved a place in his system. The character of Gundolf's twin aversion emerges clearly from his attitude towards speculative philosophy and mystical thought.

His objection to speculative thought was that it ent- 
bildet, that it was the creation of the rational mind and that 
the categories by which it sought to give expression to a 
universal concept respecting the nature of reality were abstract 
rationcinations. They showed no reference to the human order 
of things as he saw it epitomized in the perfect collaboration 
of the mind and the senses in the human body: 

"Die idealistischen Systeme und Methoden sind Verselbstän-
digungen und Verherrlichungen von Einzelkräften, sie zer-
reissen das Gesamt oder überspannen die Sonder-organe auf 
Kosten des menschlichen Gleichgewichts, sie entbilden die 
Welt."

Secondly the notion of significant organic form implied 
the rejection of mystical speculation because, it was argued, 
the union with an imaginary Godhead hid in the mists of di-
stance, ignored physical beauty and its divine attributes. 
With the appearance of Maximin in George's poetry, divinity 
in the shape of a beautiful youth once again disclosed itself 
to man who had seemed deserted by God. And the revelation of 
God in the beautiful body of man pointed to a larger truth viz.

1) Cp.: "Das Eröffnungsgedicht der Hymnen feiert die 'Weihe' 
as Vision ... Mächtiger als die noch konventionelle Er-
scheinung selbst kündet George den Zustand der ihn für sie 
reift: die vollkommene Verdichtung aller Kräfte auf das 
Ursprüngliche, Reinigung ... von 'der Deherstörung' ... - 
philosophisch ausgedrückt: unmittelbare Schau des Seins 
jenseits der Kategorien." (italics my own) 

2) ibid. p. 49.
Cp.: "Sinnbilder schafft jede lebensauswahl, allgültig-
keit haben nur die, welche ein gesamtmenschliches ver-
körpern ... die begrifflichen vertreter sind kaum die 
trager der wirksamen kräfte, denn was begriff geworden, 
ist schon schale erstarrten oder verdunsteten lebens." 
Fr. Gundolf: "Das Bild Georges", Berlin 1910, 
Jahrbuch I, p. 19.
that the natural trend of human evolution lay in the direction of gradual progress from Chaos to Cosmos\(^1\), from indeterminateness — not merely to greater differentiation, because that again led to fragmentary apprehension and the hypertrophy of the mind or the senses — but to self-contained organic structures of an ever higher order. Mysticism with its contradictory — either strictly logical or entirely hallucinatory non-visual-traditions represented the reversal of this process:

"Wir erhalten und erfüllen uns, indem wir den dunklen Urgrund gestalten durch Trieb, Wille, Geist, der uns Eignes und Fremdes, Höhen und Tiefen, Masse und Grenzen, Räume und Körper, Gesetze und Bilder schafft. Vom Tier bis zum Seher hinauf wirkt dies Hellerwerden, Heraufheben, Besondern ... Denn auch wer zum All werden will der will sein All werden ... nicht Chaos, sondern ein Kosmos der seines Blutes oder seines Geistes Züge trägt ... Die Mystik ist nicht ein Urtrieb des Lebens, sondern dessen Umkehr. Niemand wird als Mystiker geboren, wohl aber jeder als Gestalt ..."\(^2\)

\(1\) It will be noted that between the time of the Munich Cosmists and 1920 the notion of Cosmos and of what constitutes a "cosmic" view of life underwent a very drastic change in the George circle.


A thought kindred to the one indicated in this passage suggested itself to Gundolf by the poem:

"Nun bleibt ein weg nur: es ist hohe zeit ..."


By the same token Gundolf rejected the notion of pure "Geist". Cf.: p. 119, footnote 2) below.
The next step to take was to designate the human form as the source of religious qualities. In the figure of Maximin, organic form at its most balanced and radiant, was given physical transfiguration. But the worshipping of the boy-God was not so much a theological as a teleological affair. The cult of Maximin was the deification of a metaphysical assumption, of a certain pattern in the connection of things, of matter striving after form suffused with a degree of Christian inwardness and spiritualization. The original impulse for this metaphysical presupposition was aesthetic, but now with Maximin's elevation to divine status, George's aesthetic conception of Hellas rejuvenated on modern soil, received supernatural\(^1\) sanction. The assumptions derived from the Greek view of life were no longer matter for dispute or discussion. They were articles of faith in a universal scheme of things. To put Gundolf's position in its proper perspective, his views concerning the divine nature of man's state in the universe must be seen against this background. More particularly his indebtedness to George must be traced back to one of the less known remarks of the poet who - so Wolters tells us - declared presumably not long after Maximin's death, that the traditional argument respecting the existence of God in heaven left him completely unconcerned because it was idle to imagine that the Gods could go on living if once the living faith in the

\(^{1}\) Supernatural as distinct from supranatural.
I am using the term in the same sense as Gundolf uses "transcendent" as opposed to "transcendental" to qualify the nature of Maximin's divinity.
CF.: under p.116 footnote 2.)
Gods was dead among men\(^1\). This is the conception of God as created by his own creature, evolving as he evolves to fulfill a higher though not necessarily supranatural purpose. It is a conception common to the minds of Rilke, George and Gundolf. In Rilke we find it expressed in the celebrated lines:

"Was wirst du tun, Gott, wenn ich sterbe?
Ich bin dein Krug (wenn ich zerscherbe?)
Ich bin dein Trank (wenn ich verderbe?)
Bin dein Gewand und dein Gewerbe,
Mit mir verlierst du deinen Sinn."\(^2\)

And Stefan George describes his God as the essential image of himself in his prophetic book *Der Stern des Bundes*:

"Wer ist dein Gott? All meines traums begehr,
Der nächste meinem urbild, schön und hehr."\(^3\)

But George's *Urbild* was the consecration of significant organic form, body made God and God made body\(^4\), and the oneness of the two furnished the theme for Gundolf's masterly display of scholastic argument, whereby the poet's conception of the shape of things to come was given reasoned philosophic foundation. Significant form (*Gestalt, Leib*), Gundolf wrote, is the incarnation of the holiness of living, and God is either

\(^1\) Op.: "'Es wird das Schwerste für die Menschen sein zu glauben', sagte der Meister, 'dass die göttlichen Mächte ewig sind, aber die Götter sterben können und nur leben, solange der Mensch den lebendigen Glauben an sie in sich trägt und Kraft hat in ihnen das Ewige zu sehen... Dies zu fassen wird schwer sein, aber mir ist das andre unfassbar, wie ein Gott sein soll wo der Mensch nichts ist und ihn weder glaubt noch darstellt...'"


\(^3\) Stefan George: *Der Stern des Bundes*, Berlin 1914, p. 10.

\(^4\) Vergottung des Leibes und Verleibung des Gottes.
revealed in the beautiful body of man and makes him divine and
the world in which he appears; or else there is no God for
one to see:

"Nur wem Ein schöner Mensch Gott werden kann hat Augen für
die Göttlichkeit des schönen Alls. Nur wem Gott wirklich
Mensch werden kann für den ist das Himmelreich, die Liebe
Gottes zum Menschen keine Phrase. Dem Mensch ist Gott
nur menschhaft zu fassen ..."[1]

Man, in fact, was the measure of all things:

"Der vollkommene Mensch ist das Mass aller Dinge, und
also göttlich."[2]

With this view firmly entrenched in his mind Gundolf
castigated the afflictions and distractions of modern civiliza­
tion:

"Fragen wir nach dem einen Grundwillen dieser Zeichen, so
heisst es: weg vom leibhaftigen, gottgestaltigen welt­
haligen Menschen! ... weil den geschwachten Blut das
menschliche Leibgesetz zu streng wird, strebt es vom euro­
päischen Menschen der ewigen Gestalt hinweg zum tropischen
Pflanzentum der unbedingten Ruhe, ... zum russischen See­
zentum der ausschweifenden Wallung, zum amerikanischen
Maschinentum der sensationellen Wohlfahrt, zum Chinesentum
der alt-klugen Wohlfahrt, zur Allerweltmenschheit worin
alles gilt und nichts mehr west."[3]

And by the same token Gundolf expected that the human
form in its exalted new state would endow life with fresh
intensity. And to give the world a new report of its nature,
a report supplied by the unimpaired combination of the senses
telling of perfection attained through symmetry and cooperatbn
on this side of eternity - this, he thought, was the redeem­
ing office of George's message to mankind:

2) Fr. Gundolf: Dichter und Helden, Heidelberg 1923,
p. 15.
3) op. cit. Fr. Gundolf: George, Berlin 1920, p. 17.
"Wer also nicht im Fernen sondern im Nächsten, nicht im unendlich Leeren sondern im vollendeten Da-sein, nicht in der Raum-masse sondern in der Wesens-dichte, nicht in aller Ewigkeit sondern in jedem Augenblick Gottheit gewahr wird, für den ist die Vergottung des Leibes an sich fasslich und wer Georges Gedichte aus ihrem eigentlichen Ursprung empfindet der erstaunt nicht, in der Mitte seiner hellenisch-katholischen Welt eine Gottmenschen-gestalt zu finden."

But nowhere was the human form more nobly enshrined, nowhere was its uncontaminated wholeness more fully exhibited than in the leading figures of history and literature. The hero and the great man exemplified at its highest the metaphysical doctrine of the archetypal nature of significant form:

"Nur als Gestalten nehmen wir Göttliches wahr: Gesetze sind schon Deutung ... und die Gestalt schlechthin ist der grosse Mensch."  

"Der grosse Mensch ist die höchste Form unter der wir das Göttliche erleben..."

1) ibid. p.204.

How little some of these views have changed in the course of the last thirty years transpires from a recent (1952) commentary in Gastrum Peregrini, a periodical dedicated to the maintenance of the "Georgian" tradition:

"Ewigkeit ist nicht extensive Endlosigkeit, auch nicht ausserhalb der Welt gelagerte Fülle, die nur getrübt und zerstört auf Erden erscheint und sich höchstens nach dem Tode den Gläubigen auftut. Ewigkeit ist der allem Lebendigen den eigentlichen Seinstand verleihende quintessentielle Gehalt, sie ist der Traum, der unablässig in allen Geschöpfen webt, sie ihrer vollkommenen Urge stalt entgegenzubilden. Je dichter und umfänglicher ein Sichtbares vom unsichtbaren Glutkern her geformt ist, je symbolischer, das heisst je stellvertretender für den Kosmos ein Geschöpf oder ein Zeitaugenblick sich darstellt umso mehr Ewigkeit leuchtet durch ihn hindurch..."


3) ibid. p. 25.
Maximin was the condensed visible incorporation of all qualities which, at a lower level of concentration, received bodily shape in the artist and the doer (Täter). He was the incarnation of form, balance, cooperation and symmetry, that is to say, of pure beauty and - to use Whitehead's words - it was the trust in the self-justification of beauty which introduced the element of faith\(^1\) and cemented in the figure of Maximin firm association between humanity and the divine powers.

"Maximin ist nicht mehr und nicht weniger als der göttlich einfach schöne Mensch, bis zum Wunder vollkommen, geboren in dieser bestimmten Stunde, an diesem bestimmten Ort ... kein Übermensch und kein Wunderkind, das heisst Durchbrechung menschlicher Ränge, sondern eben ein "Gott"; Erscheinung menschlichen Ranges ..."\(^2\)

But, Gundolf argued, whether by early Christian analogy we think of Maximin as man adopted by God because of his radiant perfection (adoptionism)\(^3\), or as the pre-existent spirit or love of God who was made man (the pneumatic doctrine)\(^4\), the essential fact remains the communication between, if not the union of, a divine individual and a human person, destroying any notion of the immanence of God in non-human shape. Gods either descend from heaven to act among men as men excelling them in power and foresight (Dionysos), or they ascend from among men to a loftier office (Heracles) because they excel their fellow beings in so many human qualities. But men they remain, extending the limits of the human form to include

1) "The trust in the self-justification of Beauty introduces faith, where reason fails to reveal the details". A.N. Whitehead: Adventures of Ideas, 1933. Pelican ed.
2) Fr. Gundolf: George, Berlin 1920, p. 212. (p. 327)
3) More precisely the doctrine that Christ was the Son of God by adoption, and not birth. It must be emphasised that both doctrines belong to early Christian dogma. Hence Gundolf's seemingly "unorthodox" analogy.
4) More precisely, the pneumatic doctrine regarded Christ as a pre-existent spirit who was made man.
Divine, that is to say, super-human but not supra-human qualities:

"Die 'Götter' sind die oberste dem Menschen noch zugängliche Seinsart, ihr Wirkungsräum der äusserste menschliche Umfang ... Die Götter selbst umfassen in einer höheren Einheit alle bisherigen Spannungen und Spaltungen; sie sind kein Jenseits der menschlichen Spannungen, sondern ihre Umschliessung, ihre 'Vollkommenheit'."1) And it was in this sense that Gundolf placed Maximin among the transcendent - not transcendental - deities in the history of mankind - transcendent because surpassing his fellow-men from whose ranks he had risen in all things essential to their humanity, - but not transcendental - that is to say, not a priori to Man and not exempt from his conditions.

"Dieser transcendente (nicht transcendente) Allgott, der alle Menschenreihen, auch die Götterreihe umfasst und durchdringt, lässt sich als solcher von Menschen weder schauen noch sagen ... Das höchste was die Menschen davon fassen ist nicht sein Begriff ... auch nicht sein Gefühl ... sondern seine Erscheinung; also eine seiner Menschenwerdungen im jeweiligen Hier und Heut."2)

But not only was it impossible to postulate God outside the human form. The very idea of a deity - like all ideas and ideals - depended for its existence on concrete actualization within the human order of things. To talk of extra-human ideas was no more possible than to think of a science which was not interpretation or of pure knowledge unaccompanied by accessories of human emotion and purpose.3)

1) Fr. Gundolf: George, Berlin 1920, pp. 209/10. This passage refers to George's poetry written before Der Siebente Ring.
3) This latter thought is a recurrent feature in Gundolf's writing. It was expressed at it most extreme in Erich v. Kahler's Der Beruf der Wissenschaft (Berlin 1920), a book written in reply to Max Weber's: Wissenschaft als Beruf. Kahler applied the "Georgian" doctrine of the central position of the human form to the methodology of science, claiming - as the title of his book reveals - that scientific research, far from being an end in itself with objectivity as its guiding principle, has to accommodate its method and the direction of its inquiry to the larger truths of organic life. "Homology" not analogy was to be its method.
... es gibt für den Menschen keine aussermenschlichen freischwebenden Ideen: nur in Menschen verkörpern sich Ideen (auch die Idee Gottes)\(^1\).

"Denn Ideen, Gesetze, Pflichten, selbst Gottheit an sich, frei schwebend, gibt es nicht: nur in Menschen sind sie wirklich, in Menschen welche sie scharffen und in Menschen welche sie Empfangen und tragen."\(^2\)

Similarly, ideals had no valid currency outside the limits set to the mind and imagination by the human form. They carried meaning only in so far as they were conceived by men as targets for human purpose and contemplation. They were reflections, not sources, of human endeavour whose motive force - organic form - was a reality larger than theirs.

"Ideale sind nicht Begriffe die wir aus menschlichem Verhalten als Forderungen oder Ziele abziehen, etwa das Gute, Wahre, Schöne, Kunst, Staat, Religion, sondern sie sind die geistige Schau dieses Verhaltens selbst, die Erscheinung des sinnlichen Wesens auf der Geist-stufe. Es gibt so viele Ideale als es menschliche Wesensarts gibt ..."\(^3\)

It would be difficult to explore all the specialized applications of Gundolf's Gestalt-concept. Most of the shoots which he grafted on the bare trunk of the original aesthetic notion produced a hybrid crop, skilfully fusing into unity

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1) Fr. Gundolf: Dichter und Helden, Heidelberg 1923, p. 47;
2) ibid. p. 25;
In another context Gundolf blames the scholastic philosophers for the segregation of ideas from the senses, body from mind (Geist). Cf.: "Dichtung des durchgeisteten oder des geist-gewordenen Lebens ist nur da wo sich der Geist noch nicht als Widerpart der Welt, als selbständige Bedeutung aufgetan hat, im Zeitalter der Psalmen und in dem Hellas vor Aristoteles. Romantik des Geistes begann mit der Entstehung der Begriffe, der universalia in re oder post rem oder ante rem, mit dem Missverständniss der P\(\Lambda\)lttonischen Ideen als eines besseren 'Jenseits'." ibid. p. 166;
This is limiting life and "spiritual poetry" to a dangerously narrow circle. Behind Gundolf's hostility to conceptual thought one can hear the echoes of some of the views of Ludwig Klages.
3) Fr. Gundolf: George, Berlin 1920, p. 171.
tissues of ethical, metaphysical and religious thought. But for a movement whose primary aim was not to extend the limits of knowledge, or to deal with it conceptually, but to erect a coherent body of thought and emotion on a metaphysical intuition, this was a natural thing to do. Given the metaphysical intuition and the creative will to emancipate it from the evanescence besetting all momentary insight, the ethical issue followed almost automatically. The circle of Stefan George - like all spiritual and intellectual communities - aimed at depositing a message for mankind concerning the ultimate nature of things. To them the character of reality unveiled itself sub specie formae hominis providing an over-all picture of man's place in the universe. Symbolically it disclosed itself in the figure of Maximin with a number of aesthetic qualities emerging from his nature. But - so we must interpret Gundolf's line of thought - the apprehension of reality as a juxtaposition of so many specialized phenomena of significant form (Sein), postulated in those who shared this apprehension a definite attitude to things (Sollen), that is to say, a certain direction of purpose, a number of basic assumptions and silent acceptances which gave rise to a hierarchy of values:

"Jedes wahre Sein der Welt enthält unmittelbar ein Sollen des Menschen." 1)

This, as Gundolf openly acknowledged, was a return to the Platonic view that from the right apprehension of the secret character of things naturally follows the doing of the right things. Yet, he insisted, the acceptance of certain moral views did not amount to the acceptance of a system of "ethics".

1) Fr. Gundolf: George, p. 243.
Cp. also: "Das Sollen ist nur die plastische Dar-Stellung, Aufstellung, Herausstellung eines in sich ruhenden Seins."

ibid. p. 263.
was as arbitrary to associate the George circle with an independent body of ethical principles as it was to segregate beauty from goodness in Plato's system. To be right was, in the literal sense of the word, to do right:

"Das rechte Sein und das wahre Schaun ... sind eines: man schaut nur was und soweit man ist."1)

Thus the aesthetic notion of Gestalt which in the first place posited by analogy the apprehension of reality in terms of concrete outlines and stable conditions (Sein, das wahre Sein), now suggested a definite type of existence governed by a set of moral principles. To emphasize the visual nature of the alertness to significant form which was central to the realization of these principles, the attitude involved was designated by the name of Schau2); a term which has come down in the works of George's followers as the standard phrase for the outlook demanded by the philosophy of Sein. Both Sein and Schau were products of the aesthetic concept of significant form. The first was its metaphysical, the second its ethical sequence.

Unfortunately there is a certain amount of confusion in the manner in which Gundolf employed the Sein-concept. In one sense Sein was used as a shorthand expression for the apprehension of the world as form and harmony (Sein, das rechte Sein). In another and more practical sense, however, the Sein-concept was employed to suggest the sharing of certain lofty sentiments with an elite of likeminded people (So - und Mitsein3)).

Between the undertones

1) ibid. p. 263.
2) It is interesting to compare the meaning of Schau with Goethe's Anschauung. The latter, Erich Heller explains, 'is a Goethean word and hardly translatable. Its connotations are visual, and it means the mental process by which we spontaneously grasp, through observation aided by intuition, a thing in its wholeness. Goethe uses it as the opposite of analysis ...' The Disinherited Mind, Cambridge 1952, p. 58.
of the Schau-concept and the connotations of this particular application of Sein, there was little appreciable difference. The emphasis in the latter fell on the immediacy of participation in a mode of being rather than the sharing out of a given commodity, on the holiness of common experience and the grace issuing from "the panoramic moments" of Kairos, rather than mutual possession or gain. It was in this sense that Gundolf defined knowledge as Sein—more precisely, as three separate manifestations of the Sein-concept. But whether knowledge took shape as instinctive apprehension, reasoned understanding or divine illumination—they all had one thing in common: to know was not to sort facts and absorb information but to inhabit an imaginative world congenial to one's nature and assert a set of instinctive convictions. In Gundolf's definition of "knowledge" to be and not to have was the requisite predicate:


The next step from this combination of solipsist thinking and misconceived Goethe was to postulate, with the absolute finality of religious dogma, certain ethico-metaphysical concepts—fruits of the scholastic interpretation of George's prophetic poetry. Two of these are especially pertinent to our investigation: the notion of "secrecy" as the protective principle of an aristocratic Sein and the notion of the "circle", symbolic of the maintenance of Sein and the keeping of its secret within a self-contained


2) ibid. p. 264.
organization. Intense living, Gundolf remarked, profound apprehension and divine illumination admit of no analysis and no communication. To know is not to possess information but to share specific states of mind, plumb the depths of existence, penetrate into the hidden regions of Sein. Hence the words: *Daheim-sein, Bei-sich-sein, Drinne-sein, vom Grund-aus-erfüllt sein,* etc. They all point to profound truth instantaneously understood in the climate of an inspired hour. The secret nature of deep experience, its uniqueness and incommunicability, are reality's barbed-wire, erected to scare the vulgar and the uncongenial. In this region of things the categories of rational thought do not obtain. Insight will not be expressed in terms of information. The great truths of living shun the truths of practical life. But again, the subject of insight, the pattern revealed by profound apprehension was significant form. In the final analysis the operative content of the "secret" was not an arbitrary seclusion from the vulgarities of the profane but the emphatic assertion of initiated living governed by the central position of the human form; because, Gundolf thought, life, conducted on the principles which Gestalt suggested, ipso facto secured its secrecy.

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2) ibid. p. 104.

3) *Heut sind alle Werte Tausch- und Handelswerte, Marktwerte, Ware, Arbeit, Leistung, Umsatz, Besitz, Ziel ... kurz, lauter Dinge, die man haben, kaufen, machen, erreichen, erstreben kann. Einer solchen Zeit muss ihr Seher gerade das Geheimnis, das Unmachbare, Unerreichbare, Unersetzliche, Unveräusserbare, Unverreichbare, Unvertretbare, das Selbst und Brinne mit im neuen Strange wahren und wehren - nicht wie die Schnäufler meinen, aus Versteckspiel oder Eigenbrötelei und Vornehmum ... nein, er allein hat das Sein zu zeigen, durch es selbst, in ihm selbst und aus ihm selbst ..." ibid. p. 104.
"Geheimnis, das ist Offenbarung, klares Wort, helles Wissen, gestaltiges Sein aber gerade darum unfassbar und unnahbar denen die nicht im Sein, sondern vom Haben oder vom Gelten leben ...")

But if the "secret" was the living centre, round which the constituent parts of all things whole and healthy constantly revolved, the "circle" was its radiation. The clue to this notion was George's famous poem in *Der Stern des Bundes*. There the "circle" appears as a symbol of organic wholeness in which all parts have their function to perform and yet, while not prejudicing their individual existence, submerge in the greater reality of the whole. But, as Hans Roessner has pointed out, Gundolf's notion of the "circle" and the spherical nature of the growth and radiation of significant creation—both recurrent features in his work—had their roots in one of Goethe's remarks. On one occasion Goethe described his work as:

"Erzeugnisse eines Talents, das sich nicht stufenweise entwickelt und auch nicht umherschwärmt, sondern gleichzei-
tig aus einem gewissen Mittelpunkt sich nach allen Seiten hin versucht und in der Nähe sowohl als in der Ferne zu wirken strebt."

In Gundolf's definition of the nature and function of the "circle" Goethe's and George's views were closely integrated, only Gundolf lifted them out of their limited actuality and endowed them with the finality of religious truth. To separate the two is difficult but not impossible. To take the first strand, it may be observed that in 1910, when mystical speculation was still among the accepted things in the George circle, Goethe's view came to the surface with one

1) ibid. p. 265.
2) Cf.: ibid. p. 266.
3) Cf.: p. 59 above.
4) Goethes Werke, Festausgabe, Ed. 16, p. 404.
of Gundolf's remarks concerning the nature of the birth of art. Every creative act, he thought, was rooted in a mystical experience; the growth of that experience into significant shape was a three-dimensional, not a linear, affair:

"Am Anfang, der immer der Mittelpunkt ist, da das Schaffen sphärisch, nicht linear vor sich geht, steht ein Erlebnis mystischer Art."¹)

George's influence, on the other hand, appears from the remark:

"Was nicht einzelnes Atom ist das um sich selber dreht, sondern lebendige Kraft die in sich gebunden und geschlossen nach aussen strahlt, das bildet und schliesst das durchdringbare nahere oder fernere Wesen sich ein, versehelt es und verinnert es, und da diese Kraft überall einfach und ganz ist, so wird, wie weit sie auch reicht, einfach und ganz was ihr sich eint ..."²)

Gundolf's integration of the two produced a third notion, irrational in the extreme and complete with words like Selbst- und-inne-sein, das neue Einmal, Kräfte-reigen etc. In the widest sense of the word the "circle" was the natural diffusion of a strong living centre, Gundolf explained. The three in their togetherness - the centre, the circle and the radiation³) - constituted a broad ethical framework for the realization of the principles suggested by the figure of Maximin. They provided a platform for fruitful exchange through corporate life in a closed community. But over and above these ethico-religious implications, Gundolf associated the concept of the "Circle" with certain metaphysical properties. It was the lasting symbol of permanence attained through the organic exploitation of finite opportunity. It was exempt from the conditions of space and time because the self-contained roundedness of its organization postulated its own space,

¹) "Das Bild Georges", Jahrbuch I., 1910, p. 40.
²) Fr. Gundolf: George, Berlin 1920, p. 266.
³) "Mitte, Kreis, Strahlung sind nur die Dreieinigkeit des neuen Wesens ..." ibid.
and the rightness of such an organization posited its own time, that is to say, its eternality. This being so, the "circle" had no direct relevance to the circumambient world. The only "direction" of its activity was the centre round which it revolved, whence all things within the ambit of its radiation issued and into which they ultimately returned. Like the human-form it was indifferent to the fugitive occasions of the external world. Thus between the "circle" and the notion of the improvement of Man's condition in his everyday life by way of material enhancement or social progress, no effective contact was thought possible. Further the circle, like the human form, was a paradigm exhibiting the perennial trends in the secret organization of things. In it the general and the particular, the centrifugal and the centripetal, wholeness and function, symbol and the thing symbolized, spherical adventure and peace in the one living centre appeared as inalienable parts of one beautiful pattern: a grand scheme of diversity in a unity - but a diversity conceived in a neatly designed static receptacle. Obviously the notion of the "circle" was a projection into dogma of the metaphysical connotations of the Gestalt-concept. It was the canonic affirmation of the original aesthetic assumption that significant art is but another word for significant form: a corporate whole asserted against a background of fugitive irrelevancies.

"Da der Kreis keine Wache ist sondern eine Wirkung, kein Ziel in Raum und Zeit sondern das Raum und Zeit in sich befassende Selbst-und inne-sein eines bestimmten Mensch-tums, so ist er im Gegensatz zu allen Fortschritte-idealen und Entwicklungsreihen immer am Ziel, voll-endet am ersten Tag der Gott, Kümmer und Jünger im heiligen Feuer einte. Da er keine Organisation zur Verwirkli-chung eines neuen Einmal ist, sondern Organismus eines ewigen Kräfte-reigens, so enthält jeder Einzelne das Ganze gegenwärtig, wie jedem Samen das ganze Gewächs
eingebildet ist und damit die ewige Wiederkehr derselben
Art. Ueberall sind die Naturgesetze nur das Sinnenzei-
chen des Geistes- und Gottesgesetze, der Lebensgesetze."1)

* 

The notions examined in this section all rest on a
special mode of apprehension which discloses itself in Gun-
dolf's work as the metaphysical setting for the sublimation
into a more general pursuit of beauty and truth of the
qualities deduced from George's poetry. M.G. Sims' conten-
tion therefore that "The whole edifice of the Kreis's
conception of man is fundamentally unsound because it lacks
a real metaphysical foundation"2) cannot stand detailed
examination. The Kreis's conception of man may be deemed
unsound, but to ascribe its shortcomings to the absence of
metaphysical foundation is to ignore the facts which the
present section has sought to elicit. At the hand of Gun-
dolf the truths recorded in George's work were given meta-
physical treatment, though the assumptions on which he raised
his theories may at first sight not be obvious. The projec-
tion of the idea of significant form into so many and often
loosely connected fields, re-arranges and to some extent
distorts, the original pattern. There are gaps in the
sequence of contact between one notion and another, some are
coterminous, others display a lack or a seeming lack of
conformity with the basic assumption. Yet, behind them all
stands a stubbornly held fact deduced from the conception of
reality as aesthetic, namely that there is an abiding perfec-
tion in the nature of things and that the human form is its
visible embodiment. And from this perfection a sense of
timelessness emerged, a feeling that perfect harmony incorp-

1) Fr. Gundolf: George, p. 266.
2) M.G. Sims: The Idea of the Hero in Stefan George and his
ocrates an aspect of the eternal with which the ordinary notion of time, that is to say of time conceived as the transient succession of occasions in an ever changing pattern, can have no effective contact. To grasp this perfection a philosophy of Sein had to be introduced, a framework in which the notion of harmony was capable of extension to cover a large number of specialized occasions and postulate a concept of time where the present was not merely a receptacle of the past and a premonition of the future but a co-existence with eternity through intuition in "space-time\(^1\). It was in this sense that Gundolf celebrated the message of George's poetry as a call to redeem mankind from becoming into being, from the fluidity of indeterminate matter into lasting peace implicit in the habitual vision of significant form:


C. ABSOLUTENESS VERSUS RELATIVITY

In the present section it is proposed to examine the ramifications of Gundolf's notion of the human form not in their relation to the idea of becoming, but as distinct from the view that organic wholes can be understood in terms of the evidence gained from the analysis of subordinate functions.

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1) Gundolf actually uses "zauberhafte Raumaugenblicke", a phrase synonymous with Kairos. See Fr. Gundolf: George, p. 278.

2) Fr. Gundolf: George, p. 269. (sic.)
and conditions which are external to the law governing the life of the whole thing; in short, that the absolute can be understood through the collective realization of the relative\(^1\). The expansion of the Gestalt-concept into the notions revolving round absoluteness and relativity springs mainly from the spatial implications of Gestalt, and in this respect it differs from the metaphysical echo of the Gestalt-idea which, it will be recalled, was more closely associated with the a-temporal nature of significant form\(^2\). But while for the sake of clarity it is proposed to isolate, particularly in his early work, Gundolf’s philosophy of being from his apprehension of the world as a flux, it will be shown that in some important respects the distinction between absoluteness and relativity was common to both approaches.

Gundolf’s strength was his capacity for diagnosis, and whether he approached the malady of the contemporary world as a surgeon or a faith-healer, only the language, not the nature of his diagnosis changed. Similar symptoms of overlapping have been discussed in the foregoing analysis. The present section will provide further evidence.

Gundolf’s attitude to historiography - to take one of the most revealing aspects of the expansion of the Gestalt-concept - was part of the Symbolist reaction to positivist aesthetic theory; a protest against the application (under the influence of Taine, its protagonist) of scientific method and psychological analysis to the study of history and literature. The positivist doctrine and its associate ideas - and these will include for the purpose of the present inquiry a number of rather loosely connected views - underlie

1) Cf.: p. 97 above. The problem of absoluteness versus relativity is indicated by the title of Gundolf's essay "Wesen und Beziehung" (Jahrbuch II.). The title of Wolters' essay: "Mensch und Gattung" (ibid. III.) echoes the same distinction.

2) Cf.: p. 97 above.
those aspects of art which, to Gundolf's mind, were not intrinsic in significant form. They could, therefore, neither adequately explain nor convey an impression of its organic wholeness. The positivist doctrine of historical research was founded on the epistemological assumption that "the activities of the mind could be circumscribed, and with luck exhausted, within the limits of some kind of system constructed on analogy with one or other of the natural sciences, provided only that the net of the investigator was flung wide enough, and embraced all the data theretofore available".

1) I owe this definition of Taine's views to A.G. Lehman's book: The Symbolist Aesthetic in France, Oxford 1950, pp. 29-30. More light is thrown on the nature of the general revolt of European philosophy against positivism by R.G. Collingwood's introduction to Bradley's philosophy of history. "Positivism", he wrote, "was in fact nothing but the methodology of natural science raised to the level of a universal methodology: natural science identifying itself with knowledge. Consequently an attack on positivism was bound to appear in addition as a revolt against science and also as a revolt against intellect as such. Properly understood it was neither of these things. It was not a revolt against science, it was a revolt against the philosophy which claimed that science was the only kind of knowledge that existed or ever could exist. It was not a revolt against the intellect, it was a revolt against the theory which limited the intellect to the kind of thinking characteristic of natural science ... on its positive side this new movement of thought was an attempt ... to vindicate history as a form of knowledge distinct from natural science and yet valid in its own right."

"History", Taine explained, "like zoology, has found its anatomy"1). "Just as in its elements astronomy is a mechanical and physiology a chemical problem, so history in its elements is a psychological problem. There is a particular system of inner impressions and operations which makes an artist, a believer, a musician, a painter..."2). This approach to the study of history raised the methods of natural science to a universal methodology, though it must be added that Taine's conception of the 'anatomy of history' was less detached from an appreciation of the imponderable human factor than a cursory examination of his views would suggest. "Nothing exists except through some individual man; it is this individual with whom we must become acquainted"3), he wrote, and it was with a view to better acquainting himself with individual men, and not merely to digging out material for the benefit of the antiquarian, that Taine relied on scientific analogy, anticipating by nearly half a century later methods of psychological and sociological inquiry.

All the same, the primary assumptions of his investigation were taken from extra-human circumstances: Race, Surroundings and Epoch, and the individual qualities observed in men and civilizations were but projections of the interplay - a highly involved interplay - of these three factors. "So much we can say with confidence," he wrote, "that the unknown creations towards which the current of the centuries conduct us, will be raised up and regulated altogether by the three primordial forces; that if these forces could be measured and computed, we might deduce from them a formula the characteristics of future civilization."4) As a

2) ibid. p. 33.
3) ibid. p. 2.
4) ibid. pp. 24-25.
digression from our argument it may be added in parenthesis
that even in Western countries the positivist view has died
a slow death. Today, however, historians are more inclined
to hold with Toynbee that scholarship is now prepared "to
recognize that, even if we were exactly acquainted with all
the racial, environmental, and other data that are capable
of being formulated scientifically, we should not be able
to predict the outcome of the interaction between the forces
which these data represent"¹. Toynbee rejected this
particular aspect of positivist theory because he thought
that in any forecast of the nature of future civilization
certain psychological factors must escape definition, because
they are inherently impossible to weigh and measure². Gunt-
dolf rejected it for a different reason. Taine's scient-
ific optimism and the optimism of its spiritual progeny, the
school of "historicism" to which the past revealed itself
as organic evolution and the present as the necessary out-
come of past occasions, were anathema to Gundolf's whole way
of thinking. In one sense, it will be recalled, Gundolf
fought a determined battle against the kind of detached
historical narrative which historiography produced in the
19th century. He felt that objective analysis failed to
do justice to the fluid nature of historical occasions and
prevented their intuitive penetration³. In another sense,
however, he rejected the detached methods of positivist
inquiry for a different reason: their explanation of the
principal occasions of history, he thought, took no account
of the pattern offered by significant form without which
history was bogged down in a welter of inconclusive detail.
Above all, the positivists borrowed their weapons from

²) ibid. pp. 67-8
³) See pp 34-45 above
secondary characteristics such as the fluctuating conditions of race, time and environment\(^1\). They assumed that significant achievement—a beautiful whole for Gundolf—could be reduced to the aggregate presence of so many social impacts, environmental influences and changing dispositions\(^2\). In other words, the positivist doctrine and its associate ideas were first condemned because they arrested the living flow of historical occasions and circumscribed them by conceptual categories, and secondly rejected because they banalized the notion of significant form ascribing the rise of historical achievements to the collective influence of changing external agencies\(^3\).

By the same token Gundolf rejected the application of psychology to the study of history. History, he thought, appraised from the angle of psychology ignored the message of significant form. As soon as the historian's aim shifted from a sympathetic understanding of the finished occasion

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1) Cf.: Gundolf's dictum concerning Hölkerlin "Nicht was er meinte und dachte geht uns an, sondern wie er schaute und formte."
Fr. Gundolf: _Dichter und Helden_, Heidelberg 1923, p.11.
Cf. also: "dem sogenannnten Naturalisten wird alles Stoff, wird nichts Kraft und nichts Gestalt. Sie sind Zeichen der relativistischen Wahllosigkeit."

2) In contrast with this view Gundolf asserts of George: "Den Menschen, der in unsrem heutigen Schrifttum nur als historisches, psychologisches, physiologisches, moralisches Ergebnis erscheint, kündet er als ein welthaltiges und weltschaffendes ... Wesen, nicht als ein Bundel von Beziehungen, sondern als Ursein."
ibid. p. 61.

ibid. p. 72.
as a self-contained whole to an inquiry into the workings of the minds and conditions which produced it, he sacrificed an inspiring view of harmony for a petty computation of inessential characteristics. This sort of historiography was not concerned with the man of genius whose mode of being the principal events of history embodied. Its special effort was to discover latent traits of ordinary humanity and show how they affected—often through tortuous pathological ways—the fate of mankind. This sort of historical narrative was a produce of the frustration of intellectual minds. There was nothing noble or inspiring about it. "Psychological relativism" was Gundolf's word for it.

It is interesting to note that on certain occasions Gundolf identified the positivist method of inquiry with the notion of Werden. But in these cases the idea of becoming had little in common with the more general concept of reality apprehended as fluent. By this notion of becoming Gundolf understood something totally different from the meanings which the word assumed in Bergson's, and the majority of his own early work. As in Wolters' essay on Gestalt, fluency and becoming were now taken to mean precisely what one would least expect them to suggest, namely a piecemeal breaking up of wholes into their elements, an explanation of organic wholes in terms of categories, relationships and influences, in short, a method of inquiry which relies for its results on the rational evaluation of environmental and analytical data. It will be noted that Gundolf retained the word Werden—which had by now acquired ominous connota-

1) Cf. Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist, p. 231.
tions in the vocabulary of the George circle - only to underline his hostility to the positivist-inspired approach. But, except by the name arbitrarily assigned to it, this approach had obviously nothing in common with the outlook which Gundolf normally associated with the word in his early work. To illustrate the cleavage between the two one cannot do better than compare typical views from both groups of thought. Before doing so, however, it must again be emphasised that strictly speaking one cannot talk of an earlier and later body of thought in Gundolf's work. Although a stronger leaning towards the philosophy of becoming can be observed in his earlier writings and a predominance of the philosophy of Sein in his later work, the two often overlap within the framework of the same essay and not infrequently within the same sentence. This is particularly so in Gundolf's contributions to the Jahrbuch series (1910-12) which mark his young and most fiery, but also most woolly type of thinking. With this qualification one may quote, as a representative example of the meaning with which becoming is generally associated in his early vocabulary, his verdict on the 19th century historian who

"verschlossen für das werdende, immer neue, muss ... das unbekannte, fließende einfangen in starre gitter und maasse, vor-bilder, gattungen, normen",¹)

and contrast it with the special connotations which the word assumed in its commerce with the philosophy of form. In 1920, in his book on George, Gundolf described his method as one revolving round work and achievement (Sein) rather than environments and influences (Werden):

"Die geschichtlich nachweisbaren Ursprünge eines Menschen sind nicht die Ursachen seines Werdens, sondern die Grundstoffe seines Seins und wenn wir nach seinem Haus, Stamm und Volk fragen, so suchen wir was in ihm gestaltet

¹) Fr. Gundolf: Wesen und Beziehung, Jahrbuch, 1911, p. 27.
And by the same token, Gundolf explained, if a man's work was a self-contained cogent thing which had its own living "body", the biographer's duty was to present it as such, a unique phenomenon disengaged from the connections of time, custom and the stream of appearance.

"Georges Leben ist seit einem Jahrhundert des Werdens das erste das im Sein sich erfüllt und das seine Entwicklung als gegenwärtige Gestalt, nicht als Ablauf darstellt ... Darum schon bedarf er keiner Werde-biographie, wie denn überhaupt jedes geschichtlich bedeutende Dasein nicht nur einmaligen Gehalt verkörpert, sondern auch einmalige Darstellung fordert." [2]

The clearest example both of the practical identification of the notion of Werden with the computation of secondary characteristics, and of the assertion of Sein as a basis for historical investigation with a simultaneous rejection of the genetic approach, comes from one of Gundolf's much-quoted public lectures on the message of Stefan George for the contemporary generation. Sein again appears as absoluteness, that is to say as release from essential dependence on external and anterior factors, while conversely Werden appears as essential relatedness in a spatial and temporal sense.

"Wir Heutigen, beladen mit historischem Sinn und berückt durch den Entwicklungsgedanken, fragen das Vergangene danach wie es geworden ist und vergessen darüber was es gewesen ist ... und wenn uns ein Mitlebender auffällt, so forschen wir zunächst woher er kommt, eh wir uns darüber klar werden wer er ist: wie er sich zu uns stellt, ist uns wichtiger als wie er in sich steht. Der Mensch bedeutet für uns nur noch ein Stück Geschichte, ein Stück

1) Fr. Gundolf: George, Berlin 1920, p. 32.
2) ibid. p. 32.
But Gundolf's distinction between absoluteness and relativity did not confine itself to history. In all his inquiries, widely varied as they were, it was the supreme arbiter. In one characteristic instance it discloses itself in the idea concerning the decline of European civilization, its breakdown into isolated spiritual and material elements - a development which, Gundolf explained, brought in its wake the growth of mind (geist) detached from the "body", and the unnatural increase in the importance of matter (masse) in the life of civilized people. The first was a morbid over-growth post hominem, the second an individualization ante hominem. Under these two headings Gundolf discussed the symptoms of the disintegration of Western civilization since the Renaissance. Under the rubric of "mind" he listed romanticism (the isolated growth of emotion), the idea of progress (the independent course of "mind" in pursuance of its own goals), socialism (the blind pursuit of excogitated principles), and Protestantism (the individualization of God). On the material side he included scientific atomism and historicism (the charge against both being that they conceived the universe as a bundle of unrelated facts), individualism (here the danger arose from the segregation of the individual from a larger community, an "organism"), and capitalism (this being

condemned because in a capitalist society money was divorced from the larger values of the body of civilization). A recurrent and, for all its gloomy implications, favoured theme in Gundolf's work is the decline of civilization in the contemporary world. Gundolf looked upon society as an expansion of the human body - a body in a state of disintegration because, unsustained by a sense of wholeness, its elements assumed independent existence. A hypertrophy of the mind and the senses had set in. The body of society was unequal to the challenge offered by the diversity of modern life. Its responses were part-responses, unaided by higher purpose and a sense of inner cohesion. The reason for the failure of society to respond to the challenge was to be sought in the fact that civilization had lost contact with the human form; it was "disembodied" (entkörpert) both in a material and a spiritual sense. To redeem its organic nature from an ever faster growth of unconnected detail, it

1) See Fr. Gundolf: "Wesen und Beziehung", Jahrbuch, 1911, p. 11.

CP.: "In der trennung von leib und seele liegt der kein zu dem weltgefühl welches Renaissance und Reformation zur entwicklung gebracht haben: zur emanzipation des geistes von den leiblichen gegebenheiten, zur entwicklung ... zur idealisierung des alls, deren notwendige begleiterschei­nung die materialisierung ist. Wenn das denken nicht mehr kraft und ausfruchtung des leibes ist, wenn die den sinnen dargebotene wirklichkeit nicht mehr als schlechthin seiend hingenommen wird, wenn es nicht mehr einen denken­den Leib, sondern ein denken und einen leib als gegenstand des denkens gibt: so wird auf der einen seite der geist, auf der andern die masse frei ... der geist wird souveräne funktion seiner selbst, die masse wird toter gegenstand..." ibid. p."
had to be shown a way back to the human form:

"In der mitte zwischen der entkörperten sachlichkeit und der entkörperten geistigkeit steht der leib der weder geist noch materie, sondern die synthese - nicht die summe beider ist." [1]

Gundolf described the pattern of disintegration as two closely related forms of centrifugal action, one affecting the body spiritual, the other the body material of civilized society. Centrifugal action in the material body of civilization showed itself in the vast, impersonal mechanism of the modern state [2], whose life was no longer sustained by the unquestioned acceptance of a higher purpose. Today, Gundolf thought, the state is unsupported by the spiritual uplift inherent in the habitual vision of a grand design in the organization of things. The body has given way to mechanism, organization to order, wholeness to coordination. A mere apparatus for securing comfort and safety (Sicherheits-Zivilization [3]), the modern state has resigned its loyalty to an idea larger than itself or the interests of the people under its tutelage - its raison d'être being, in Macaulay's words, "not to make men more perfect but to make imperfect human beings more comfortable". The organic distribution of rights and duties in a more primitive society has given way to functionalism with the accompanying rise to predominance of a class of experts, technicians and professional men. Their idols, he thought, are the things with which they have learnt that they can deal, things which can be counted and measured and represented in graphs and tables. Where once a healthy interdependence prevailed between soldiers, traders, farmers and craftsmen - each responsible for a substantial and satisfying function in the life of the whole body of

2) ibid., p.18. Cf.: "...nicht mehr ... ausdruck von menschtum, sondern ... apparat ...".
society - a vast, but for all its vastness atomized civilization is now the framework of man's life. - Society, he thought, has become an immense network of specialists. More and more about less and less is Gundolf's diagnosis of the mental climate of our time. Fragmentary knowledge and lop-sided minds were the bane of modern civilization.

Gundolf's view of the centrifugal tendency in the material body of civilization extends over practically the whole range of human thought and action. The idolization of technological achievement and the honours assigned (in Germany) to hard work for its own sake were equally condemned as overgrowths of subordinate functions (übersteigerung der organe). Method, he wrote, and the search for piquancy and excitement, and not results and achievement, are the central issues of the sciences, the arts and education today. The study of law is less concerned with just verdicts and fair evidence than with oiling the wheels of an intricate legal mechanism. Philology no longer aspires to explore the heart of the great documents of language (sprachdenkmale). It contents itself with a study of analytical method and the manipulation of the materials obtained from the destruction of whole things. The study of history is as uninspired as it is uninspiring. It no longer awakens a sense of wonder in the percipient. An art in the hands of the great historian, historiography has become a discipline of menial skills, slavish because in the realm of spiritual work the splitting and assembly of facts and the preoccupation with the right way of doing it pertain to the functions of servants (Die historie ... beugt sich mit ... zerfasern und sammeln von fakten oder methodischen erörterungen).

1) Fr. Gundolf: "Wesen und Beziehung", Jahrbuch, 1911, p. 16.
2) ibid. p. 17.
3) ibid. p. 17.
Philosophy has degenerated into a classification of thought. It no longer demands productive thinking. The habit of experiencing art as one experiences religious revelation has been replaced by the doctrine of "aestheticism", a taste for pretty knick-knacks, pleasant decoration, clever design, craft, paint and sound – in short the age of the perfect means has arrived not because artists have in them something so important that only the best means is good enough, but because the possession of the perfect method and the exciting gadget appear as goods in themselves to the modern mind. And in the midst of so many disjointed activities, "unreality elevated to the substance of living", money reigns supreme supported by the whole apparatus of capitalist society. A bizarre system of impersonal relations and economic necessity, capitalism, Gundolf thought, is removed as no other thing from the human form.

But the popular organizations of the modern state fared no better at Gundolf's hand, although technically they were not classified under the same heading. The "people", he explained, is no longer a closed organic unity with common loyalties and unquestioned assumptions, but a mere congeries of classes, parties and trade-unions. They do not share an experience from within as the Greeks did; instead they subscribe to this or that professional attitude in the face of the otherness of the outer world, an attitude circumscribed by self-advancement and economic interest. The interest in the sustenance of a full life has been replaced by the defence of a secure livelihood. The notion of what is "people" and "popular", Gundolf thought, could once be comprehended in terms of purely human qualities, as the

1) ibid. p.4
2) ibid. p.4
3) ibid. p.18: "unwirklichkeit als gegenstand".
4) Cp. "Solange die welt eine bindende leibhafte mitte hatte, war geldwirtschaft, aber kein kapitalismus moglich... Heut rollt das geld aus sich selbst, und von dieser welt aus ist ein ende nicht abzusehen." ibid. p.12.
corporate presence of so many traditions, such and such loyalties and creative energies. To understand them today, they must be set against a background of extra-human characteristics as reactions to, and not formative influences on, the circumambient world. The soil from which centuries of poets and statesmen drew life-sap has dried up. The sifted loam of the green-house has been put in its place where, in unnatural company, plants from all climates grow side by with each other).

Gundolf's analysis of the centrifugal tendency in the spiritual body of society produced a special reading of certain trends in contemporary thought, - of relativism (occasionally mentioned as synonymous with "historicism" and "ethical indifference" and mysticism, "eine zerstäubung des geistes ... bodenlos im innern wie die geldwelt draussen". Both, he thought, arose out of the impotence of society to react soundly to the challenge of an increasingly multifarious environment; an impotence to choose and reject things and transmute into action the natural appetites of the social organism. The spiritual body of society, Gundolf thought, had lost its ability to assimilate and digest the on-coming material and, with it, its ability to obtain a balanced view of, and exert a balancing influence on the external world. To live, he explained, is to experience with the body, not the brain or the mind; and

1) Cp. "heut gibt es massen, klassen, parteien, konstellationen, nicht bestimmt durch ein gemeinsames leben von innen her, sondern durch beziehungen nach aussen ... Volk ist heute ein komplex von relationen, kein schöpferisches gesamtwesen mehr".
2) ibid. p. 32.
3) ibid. p. 18.
4) ibid. p. 22.
5) ibid. p. 21.
such an experience demands a discriminating selection of stimuli and nourishment, each of the right kind in the right balance at the right time. Uniformity of reaction to, or an undiscriminating absorption of the diversity of the material world is incompatible with the survival of organic form. Nature makes no mistakes because it is all the time biased. By the same token unselective assimilation and spiritual tolerance are alien to the temper of a robust society. Modern civilization, he explained, has lost its contact with the human form because it has lost its sense of selection. Its senses blunted, its reactions paralysed, it has forfeited something in human nature that helped men to maintain intense emotions, a vigorous sense of love and hatred in healthier societies. The pallid projections of the liberal mind: relativism, historicism and ethical indifference have stepped into their place and with them were ushered in the idea of tolerance, the rule of mediocrity and the idolization of the ordinary man. In short, a tame scaling down of the intensities and massiveness of a healthier type of living has become the order of the day.

Gundolf, it will be noted, invested the idea of a healthy society with qualities which were derived from the nature of organic form. He endowed it with self-sufficiency, wholeness and a pattern of connectedness between its elements. The corporate presence of these qualities secured for society a sense of absoluteness, their lack or partial absence reduced it to a congeries of functions unredeemed from excessive individualization by a higher purpose. The notion requisite for their relatedness with regard to the meaning of each function for a hypothetical whole was "relativity" in Gundolf's language. Life, Gundolf thought, and, analogously, society is that which refuses to be express-

1) ibid. p. 24.
2) ibid. pp. 24-25.
3) ibid. pp. 31-32.
ed in terms of relationships\(^1\)). Conversely that which can be exhausted in such terms is dead or disintegrating. Modern society and, with differences of degree, the whole civilization of the West since the Renaissance, were seen to belong to the second group. The duality thus postulated disclosed itself, with varying degrees of distinctness, under pairs of associated ideas, such as harmony and discord; instinctive apprehension and intellectual cogitation; earthliness and otherworldliness; organism and machinery; depth of emotion and triviality of emotion; central wholeness and centrifugal decomposition; selection and tolerance. At the centre of these radiations stood the human form (Leib) - not a bundle of physiological functions - but a metaphysical pattern disclosing archetypal connections in the secret organization of things (womit kein medizinischer komplex, sondern eine metaphysische wesenheit verstanden wird\(^2\)).

An echo of Gundolf's distinction which deserves special attention is the truth-and-reality relation. In the revolutionary ferment of 1910-12 this was one of Gundolf's favourite ideas to which he returned time and again to re-sharpen his weapons for the mighty battle which he was waging against the mediocrity of modern civilization. Its interest for the present inquiry lies in the fact that it relies in equal measure on both apprehensions. In one sense it reveals itself as an expansion of the idea of significant form, in another, however, - and this he openly admitted - it issues from Gundolf's general notion of becoming in the Bergsonian sense i.e. becoming conceived as a vital force which has no

\(^1\) Of.: "Lebendig ist - einerlei welchen bewusstseinsinhalts - was sich nicht mehr auflösen lässt, was sich nicht in beziehungen ausdrücken lässt, was in sich genügsam, in sich unbedingt ist."
Fr. Gundolf: "Wesen und Beziehung", Jahrbuch 1911, p. 35; Cf. also: p. 26, ibid.

\(^2\) ibid. p. 20.
important contact with the intellect. The truth-and-reality relation in Gundolf's thinking refers mainly to the study of history and literature. It moves on the borderline between two conceptions of the nature of history of which an analysis has already been attempted: the conception of history as process and the conception of history as the static juxtaposition of intense occasions. The fact that the truth-and-reality relation was woven out of this double texture, shows that in morphological inquiries an antithesis of views need not be taken ipso facto to entail their irreconcilability; that, in fact, possibilities of harmony exist between diverse patterns of thought and apprehension. That such harmony threatens to disturb the balance of systematic inquiry - (if by balance we mean a pattern of interaction between classes circumscribed by the outstanding characteristics of the things classified) - is rooted in the nature of critical interpretation. No investigation of facts can be written in its full variety. Reasoned generalizations lie at the bottom of all intellectual inquiry. The simplifications which they inevitably entail are part of the workings of the mind which can approximate but seldom arrive at the full meaning of particular occasions.)

In one

1) How far, therefore, aesthetic interpretation can be properly termed a "science" and how much of it belongs to the more comprehensive but less concrete discipline of the philosophy of history, in other words how far the application of the methods of natural science to the investigation of facts predominantly historical and emotional, relies itself on a morphological fallacy, a hang-over from the positivist optimism of the 19th Century, raises a hotly debated question.

Cf.: Sir Herbert Read: Form in Modern Poetry pp. 16-24.
respect the truth-and-reality relation was a result of the expansion of the Gestalt-concept. To distinguish between the absolute and the relative, between live tissues and dead matter, Gundolf could not afford to rely on the unselective isolation of "true" facts from "untrue" ones. "Truths" were meaningless unless they exhibited essential relatedness to the human form or the qualities therein embodied. But as soon as they exhibited such relatedness, they passed from "truths" into "realities", that is to say, they ceased to be mere statements of facts but emerged out of a welter of true but trivial occasions as effective truths, intrinsically connected with a larger chain of occasions. They carried a message.

As a detour from the main argument it may be pointed out here that Gundolf's distinction between truths and realities is common to associated pairs of ideas in the thought of several modern philosophers of history.

In Benedetto Croce (1915) it appears as the conception of "chronicle" versus "history", chronicle being a special type of pseudo-history which Croce also describes as "philological" history. It is the work produced by the pure scholar, the philologist, the archaeologist and the archivist, who edit and reprint texts, collect documents and monuments without necessarily being able to re-live the ideas they contain and, consequently, write history. "History is living chronicle" Croce wrote, "chronicle is dead history; history is contemporary history, chronicle is past history."

1) We shall presently see that the truth-and-reality relation also applied to reality conceived as vital process. Cp.: p. 151.
2) Cp.: Benedetto Croce: Theory and History of Historiography, first published in German in 1915, under the title: Zur Theorie und Geschichte der Historiographie. Chapter I and II - It must be added that "poetical" and "rhetorical" history are also classified under "pseudo-theories" in Croce's system.
3) ibid. p. 20.
4) ibid. p. 19.
And note the re-emergence of the truth-and-reality relation when Croce qualifies philological history as a type of chronicle which "can certainly be correct, but not true" (richtig and not wahr)\(^1\).

The same idea runs through Simmel's distinction (in 1916) between "Geschehen" and "Geschichte", the fundamental question of historiography being, "wie wird aus dem Geschehen Geschichte?"\(^2\). He has no complete solution to his problem, but he points a way when he asserts that "Geschehen" will make history only "vermittels des Hindurchlegens einer ideellen Linie"\(^3\), that is to say, by virtue of a conception peculiar to the historian's mind, a mesh which will allow truths to sift through but withholds realities.

"Und kennte man jede körperliche und seelische Bewegunznach ... sodass von den Begriffen, die die Reihenfolge der Tatsachen bezeichnet, keiner mehr einen messbaren Zeitraum des Geschehens zusammenfasste - so wäre damit die Absicht der Historik dennoch nicht erreicht. Denn sie begehrt gar nicht diese Einzelheiten zu wissen, sondern will das sie zusammenfassende, höhere Gebilde ... kennen".\(^4\)

It is the basic thought underlying Oakeshott's idea of history - history conceived as a special experience of the past in the present, as distinct from history conceived as "the past for its own sake"\(^5\), a finished and dead past (1933). Again it appears in Oakeshott's distinction between mere "recorded" events and "historical" events; between history conceived as a "series" - an undiscriminating account

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1) ibid. p. 29, sic.
2) Georg Simmel: Zur Philosophie der Kunst, "Das Problem der historischen Zeit", Potsdam 1922; (Essay first published in 1916) p. 168. Simmel's principal purpose in this essay was to extend Bergson's notion of time and continuity to the understanding of the nature of historical occasions. Simmel was an outer member of the George circle and for some time Gundolf shared his enthusiasm for Bergson's philosophy.
3) ibid. p. 165.
4) ibid. p. 167.
of recorded truths - and history experienced as a "world". "But", he wrote, "no distinction whatever can be allowed between the raw material of history and history itself" - "history is the historian's experience. It is 'made' by nobody save the historian; to write history is the only way of making it".

Lastly, Gundolf's distinction corresponds with the one Collingwood made between the "scissors-and-paste" historian who constructs history "by excerpting and combining the testimonies of different authorities" and the "scientific" historian - the historian proper - who reads his sources with a question in mind "having taken the initiative by deciding for himself what he wants to find out". The first works in "statements", the second in "evidences". The first incorporates ready-made "statements" in his historical knowledge, the second concentrates his attention on the fact that they have been made - he treats them as "evidence". The first enquires into the truth of his statements, the second deals with the reality of his evidence for the purposes of his investigation. The first produces "dry bones" of history, the second writes history. "If the historian", Collingwood wrote in 1936, "working against the grain of his mind ... tries to master the history of a thought into which he cannot personally enter, instead of writing its history he will merely repeat the statements that record the external facts of its development: names and dates, and ready-made descriptive phrases. Such repetitions may well be useful, but not because they are history. They are dry bones, which may some day

1) ibid. p. 91.
2) ibid. p. 100.
3) ibid. p. 99.
5) ibid. p. 269.
become history, when someone is able to clothe them with the flesh and blood of thought\(^1\). In Gundolf, the truth-and-reality relation appears formally as a sequel to the relationship between relativity and absoluteness, subsumed— as far as its actuality is concerned— under the categories of becoming and being—vital process and significant form. The actuality of the truth-and-reality relation depends on what kind of absoluteness "reality" was related to, in other words, whether "reality" was ascertained with reference to the absolute nature of being or becoming. In the first case the human form and its historical expansion, the hero, furnished the standard whereby historical occasions could be rejected as mere "truths" and others retained as "realities", and the idea of an "active presence" (mitwirkende Gegenwart) postulated as the historian's personal experience of the effective occasions of a dead past (Historie). With this distinction, born out of a purely poetic apprehension of the world, Gundolf anticipated the central epistemological issue in the debates of later and more systematic minds.

"Zu befinden was aus einem unerschöpflichen und unauflösbaren Gesamtwesen bloss Historie und was mitwirkende Gegenwart sei: dazu sind die lebendigen Wähler und Wirk er jedes Zeitalters da, das gehört zum Beruf dergeistigen Bewegungen. Sie wehren den Betrachtern nicht die wunschfreie Feststellung der Tatsachen, aber bei der Gestaltung ihrer Heroen fragen sie nicht nach 'Wahrheit'

\(^1\) ibid. p. 305.

An associated pair of ideas is suggested by Lord Acton's distinction between the study of problems and the study of periods. "Scissors-and-paste historians study periods ... Scientific historians study problems", Collingwood wrote. (ibid. p. 281).

It would be interesting to know whether he meant something in the nature of "Ideengeschichte" or "Adventures of Ideas".
In another context the actuality of the truth-and-reality relation in respect of the absoluteness of being emerged as two separate interpretations of the concept of "reality" - a correct and a false one: reality conceived as the experience of effective occasions (Erlebnis\textsuperscript{2}) and reality conceived as a collection of truths, facts and things (das Ding an sich, chimärische Dinge\textsuperscript{3}). The distinction then branched off into pairs of associated notions such as "material reality" (Wirklichkeit in den Sachen) versus "human reality" (Wirklichkeit ... in den Menschen); "occupation" (Beschäftigung) versus "experience" (Erleben); "clothes" (Kleider) versus "bodies" (Leiber):

"Alle Bemühungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts haben vielleicht nur dies Gemeinsame, dass sie die Wirklichkeit suchen. Dass man dabei mit erloschenen Instinkten,"

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1) Fr. Gundolf: Dichter und Helden, Heidelberg 1923, pp. 24-5
\end{flushright}

Cp. also: "Die moderne Scholastik hat am Ende als Gegenstand des Geistes nicht Gott, eine innerlich erfahrene Realität, nicht die Welt, eine äusserlich erfahrene Realität, sondern den Geist selbst, die Summe der aus der Wirklichkeit abstrahierten Denkbarkeiten: gespiegelte Spiegelung, vermitteltes Mittel. Der betrachtende Geist stand dem betrachtenden Geist gegenüber, und dahinter, unerreich, unerlebt, lag das Chaos der individuellen Wirklichkeiten ..."

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ibid. pp. 41-42. Gundolf, it will be observed, shares George's predilection for "Spiegel" and "Spiegelungen". The truth-and-reality relation has now undergone a terminological change "Denkbarkeit" and "Spiegelungen" being designated as "truths" and God and the world as "realities". The underlying thought, however, remains unchanged. A similar transmutation of the truth-and-reality relation, this time into the notion of "Vergangenheit" as opposed to the notion of "das Ewige", occurs later in the same essay: "Ueberlieferung ist immer vollständig oder nie. Der echte Historiker weiss was in der Geschichte Ewigkeit ist und was "Vergangenheit". Um das Ewige zu fassen, muss er nur Mensch sein."
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
2) ibid. p. 51.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
3) ibid. p. 10.
\end{flushright}
chimärenische Dinge für wirklicher nimmt als die phantastischsten Ideale der Romantik waren, z.B. das Geld, dass man die Wirklichkeit in den Sachen sucht statt in den Menschen, in den Beschäftigungen statt im Erleben, in den Kleidern statt in den Leibern, ändert an jenem Willen zur Wirklichkeit nichts".\(^1\)

The actuality of the truth-and-reality relation in respect of the absoluteness of becoming discloses itself in the notion of life conceived as "process"\(^2\) as distinct from the "discontinuity"\(^3\) entailed by its analysis. The human form and the qualities suggested by it are not in evidence now. But the contradiction between absoluteness and relativity still obtains, only the ideas branching off from this notion now receive their actual content from the distinction made between "process" and "discontinuity". They come under the broad definition of "truths" or "realities" by virtue of their respective position vis-à-vis the Bergsonian notion of vital process. In this respect the contrast between the absolute and the relative is not peculiar to the apprehension of reality as permanent—a characteristic which has been noted in our earlier investigation of Gundolf's thinking.

In addition to the truth-and-reality relation, the main antithesis produced other associated pairs of mutually exclusive ideas in respect of the absoluteness ascribed to

\(^{1}\) ibid. p. 320.

For a fuller list of typical phrases of: Appendix. A large number of similar distinctions may be quoted from the Jahrbuch. Cf. for instance: "schaeffende Kraft" versus "ordnende Kraft"; the first produces "Tat", "Werk" and "Verkündigung", the second "Methode", "Technik" and "System". (Fr. Wolters: "Richtlinien", Jahrbuch I, pp. 128-131), or in Berthold Vallentin's essay "Napoleon und die geistige bewegung": "gestalt" versus "stoff", "körperraftes" versus "stoff,materie", "gebilde" versus "material", "körper" versus "beamtenetz", "leib", "tat" and "traum" versus "das ferne", "das fremde", "musik", "geistiges" (ibid. vol. III. pp. 134-137).


\(^{3}\) "gewordene teile" - ibid. p.21.
becoming: the idea of "intrinsic" knowledge (von innen heraus deuten) as distinct from analysis carried out with formal aid (aufdroseln in versetzbar abstraktionen); the idea of intuitive understanding (kräfte die ... nicht be-tastet, sondern nur erfahren werden können) as distinct from explanations in terms of known properties (auf bekanntes zurückführen); the conception of art as a "real" thing, "life" (wirklichkeit, leben), and not a means, or a vehicle of "relative" values (mittel, beziehung auf etwas ausser ihnen).1)

It is characteristic of the particular mould of Gundolf’s thinking that although he often wavered between the conception of reality as significant form and "process, he was consistent in refusing to believe that the idea of progress should be allowed to govern cultural, social and scientific life. He was careful to distinguish between evolution - which implies no judgement of value - and progress, and when in 1911 he launched his first attack on the "progressive" conception of art; social life and history, he only gave expression to an attitude which twenty-five years later received logical formulation at the hands of Collingwood. "The conception of a 'law of progress'," the latter wrote; "by which the course of history is so governed that successive forms of human activity exhibit each an improvement on the last, is ... a mere confusion of thought, bred of an unnatural union between man's belief in his own superiority to nature and his belief that he is nothing more than a part of nature. If either belief is true, the other is false: they cannot be combined to produce logical offspring".2)

In one respect, namely in their rejection of

1) ibid. pp. 20-21.
For a fuller list cf. Appendix.
the progressive nature of historical change, Gundolf was to the exponents of the positivist doctrine of his age what later in England Collingwood was to Bradley and his successors: with varying degrees of explicitness both men superseded the doctrine condensed in the proposition that mind and nature are two separate things, that mind can know nature but cannot know, only enjoy, itself. Such an attitude carried the seeds of an orientation towards natural science and, by implication, the prospect of the application of its methods to the humanities. To this (positivist-inspired) empiricist attitude the world disclosed itself as something to be known in terms of scientific thought. And the prime quality of natural science being — in the 19th century view — its capability of progress, it followed that the split respectively between mind and nature, (in Bradley and his successors) and intellect and life, (in Gundolf's reading of the positivist view) postulated by analogy a general idea of progress in the nature of successive human activities. Gundolf repaired the split by asserting the organic unity of the human form in which mind and nature were completely integrated.

1) See: Alexander: Space, Time and Deity, London 1920, pp. 11-17;
"The act of mind is an enjoyment; the object is contemplated": ibid. p. 12;
"Always, ... the object is a distinct existence from the mind which contemplates it and in that sense independent of the mind": ibid. p. 15;
"To be an experiencer of the experienced is the very fact of co-membership in the same world. We miss this truth only because we regard the mind as contemplating itself. If we do so the acts of mind are placed on the level of external things, become ideas of reflection in the phrase of Locke; and thus we think of mind as something over and above the continuum of enjoyments, and invent an entity superior both to things and to passing mental states. Such a mind is never experienced and does not enter, therefore, into the view of an empirical metaphysics." ibid. p. 17.
(geist: der vernunft gewordene leib\textsuperscript{1}) and the question of whether mind can know itself did not arise. Collingwood annulled the distinction by postulating a kind of thinking which was subjective and objective at one and the same time, a self-conscious meditation "which is not mere experience or consciousness not even mere self-consciousness: it is self-knowledge"\textsuperscript{2}). Consequently both rejected the positivist idea of progress; Collingwood because he thought that the notion was borrowed from natural science and could consequently not apply to the human studies, least of all to the understanding of history, and Gundolf because he thought that ultimate reality conceived sub specie formae hominis was intrinsically a denial of any idea of progress in the successive activities of men. It was in this sense that Gundolf wrote:

"Die heutige form des atheismus, die eigentliche entgötterung ist der relativismus: die leugnung der substanzen aus der unfähigkeit mit dem leib zu denken, dem erlebnis des leibes ... noch zu vertrauen: der instinkt-mangel hat sich die relativistischen theorien als notwehr geschaffen ... der bloss instinktlos gewordene verstand muss sich das leben zurechtlegen als etwas berechenbares, willkürlich zu lösendes und zu bindendes ... Alle aufklärungs- und fortschrittstheorien dienen nur der aufrechterhaltung dieser, präsumierten herrschaft des intellekts über das leben."\textsuperscript{3)}

Confronted with a diagnosis so gloomy in its implications Gundolf set out to prescribe a remedy. He sought the answer to the ills of his time in a refurbishing of the "cosmic" idea, not on the pattern provided by Klages and his friends but in a sense which sprang directly from the human form. The romantic undertones of the "cosmic" view largely disappeared from Gundolf's formula and into their place stepped the "cosmic" man and his spiritual "cosmos" magnifications of the notion of significant form. To a

\textsuperscript{1} Fr. Gundolf: "Wesen und Beziehung", Jahrbuch II, p. 25.
\textsuperscript{3} Fr. Gundolf: "Wesen und Beziehung", Jahrbuch 1911, p. 20.
world equipped with too many gadgets and too keen a sense of refinement, to one which had lost its spiritual bearings in a multiplicity of unconnected detail and the automatism of daily living, something large, whole and organic had to be given, something taken from life and yet larger than life, a matrix of qualities, significant in space and eternal in time. For the collective realization of these requirements the "cosmic" man offered an effective formula. He alone exhibited a faultless unity of mind, life, form, soul and concentration and whether these qualities produced in their togetherness significant doing (Täterdrang) or significant creation (Bildnerdrang) they were one in the essential thing that they penetrated the whole of the external world with the wholeness given in their inner nature, and changed it. But there had to be a wholeness of inner nature first because, Gundolf explained, the destructive expansionism of an Attila or a Dzenghis Khan (blosse quantitative Ausdehnung der Macht­späre1) were Titanic individualizations of blind matter and bore no relation to the human form2). But given the inner balance and the genius to poise it between mere "vitalism" which was anterior, and mere "mechanization" which was posterior to the human form3), man's way was open to cosmic adventure.

"...nur der Mensch ist die kosmische Einheit. Die notwendigen Zeichen des 'Kosmischen' sind also Ganzheit, Zentralität, Leben, Gestalt, Geist, Seele - gerichtet auf das Ganze des Menschen, sei es als weltbauernder Täterdrang, sei es als weltschauender Bildnerdrang".4)

2) "denn ihr Weltraum ist Stoff, nicht Seele", ibid. p.52.
3) "Noch nicht menschlich, d.h. geistig besetzt, ist Stein-, Pflanzen- und Tierreich ... nicht mehr menschlich ist das Maschinenreich, schon als selbständig gewordenes Mittel aus dem Menschen herausgetreten. Das bloss Vitale steht noch diesesits des Geistes, und das Mechanische steht schon jenseits des Leibes ...", ibid. p.52.
4) ibid. p.52.
Accordingly the great deed and the great word were the ethical precipitates of cosmic form. The first penetrated the world from outside, the second expanded from a fixed centre, drawing an ever increasing portion of the world into its compass. Both were crystallizations of a cosmic purpose because in both Soul permeated Matter and became one with it (Einswerdung einer menschlichen Seele mit einer sachlichen Welt). Their mode of existence for the consciousness of posterity were "myths", the myths of Dante, Shakespeare and Goethe who drew the world into the compass of their Word - the myths of Alexander, Caesar and Napoleon who clothed the world with their deed, and the combination of the two, the myths of Buddha, Christ and Mohammed whose words and suffering charged the world with new meaning: three myths of cosmic action each deeply woven into the texture of our present-day reality. They exist for us, Gundolf explained, in "pictures", not laws or ideas because - one may add - "pictures" spring from the same tap-root of apprehension - the apprehension of reality as significant form - of which the idea of the "cosmic", or, as he sometimes called him, "total" man was the crowning notion.

"Ideen veralten, Gesetze erstarren ... fruchtbar sind nur die Menschen, der Quell immer neuer Ideen und Gesetze. Drum stellen wir Bilder auf, keine Systeme ... Die Vorbilder sind Gesetz und Anwendung zugleich." 

1) "Nur der Weg, nicht der Wille ist bei Seher und Tater verschieden ... Tat und Wort sind nur die Mittel worin die neue Gestalt sich ausdrückt..."

ibid. p. 47.

2) ibid. p. 49.


ibid. p. 42.

5) ibid. p. 29.
And in this indeed we may summarize the ethos of the cosmic man that he was both "Gesetz" and "Anwendung", a regulative principle suggested by the elevation of the human form to a universal example. At a few isolated points of history - in the phrase of M.G. Sims' eternity intrudes and, for a brief space, reveals itself to the world of men through the eternal nature of a great man. And it was precisely through the assertion of this eternal nature of great men, that is to say, their wholeness and intensity, that Gundolf hoped to give the world a footing for a return to a more vigorous and uncompromising type of existence.

Some of the views discussed in this chapter have been presented in rather arbitrary isolation from a host of connected ideas, the author's excuse being his ambition to turn this exercise in morphology into a satisfying whole thing without sacrificing his facts to a preconceived plan. In other cases the most uncompromising views have been selected to make clear the argument even though this entailed the omission of some important reservations. To mention only one of several such instances, Gundolf's opposition to the methods of positivist historiography was tempered by his admiration for Mommsen und Ranke - a fact which has not been investigated in relation to his attitude to positivist historiography, because the respect in which these two men were held by him was not due to a sudden change of heart or any approval in principle of the positivist doctrine, but rather to Gundolf's appreciation of their ability to animate the dry work of fact-finding with warmth and humanity. They were revered not because they were positivists nor

because they wrote philological history but because, although they shared methods, they were unaffected by the pedestrian attitude of the minor historians of their school\(^1\). - On the other hand certain correspondences have been observed in respect of contemporary thought. They show how little the metaphysical echo of some of the views held in the George circle stands in isolation from important trends in modern philosophy. At first sight few will see more in Gundolf's eulogies on George than an isolated cultural phenomenon peculiar to the German cast of mind and certainly meaningless outside Germany. But on closer examination the philosophy which emerged under the influence of the poet reveals itself as a reaction against the views disseminated by a sober but myopic generation in the late 19th century - a reaction supported with an apparatus of greater intellectual respectability and shorter words by some of the leading minds of the present day.

As for his diagnosis of the ills of our times, few will disagree with his findings - not many will agree with the remedies offered. But whether one agrees with him or not, there can be no doubt that Gundolf invested the metaphysical side of literary research with a new sense of depth and importance sorely needed at a time when another positivism - this time logical - threatened to reduce the wealth and variety of existence and confine the reflection of its final values to an area of knowledge circumscribed by the truths of a linguistic formula.

And finally it must be remembered that no precise dogma

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of being or becoming will be found in Gundolf's work. On the whole he did not vindicate one to the exclusion of the other and - except for a certain amount of shock-treatment administered to expedite the reader's conversion - he was not dogmatic about either. His attitude to Klages' book on George and to one of Borchardt's essays\(^1\) spring to mind as offering cogent examples of his rejection of both once he saw them elaborated in complete isolation from each other. He condemned Klages because there was too much "Werden" and "Urschauer" in him - because he failed to see that for George,

"sind alle urschauer nur um eines gesteigerten menschentums willen da ... Alles bei George drängt zur Gestalt ..."\(^2\)

And he condemned Borchardt because

"er sieht nur das gewordene, in geschichtsgrenzen verfangene und hat gar kein verhältnis zu werdern, also auch nicht zur substanz"\(^3\).

But, he explained, George was neither of the two but their synthesis, and of this the circle was the appropriate symbol:

"das unendliche fliessen in dem unentrinnmbaren ring geschlossen"\(^4\).

Gundolf was barely twenty when he wrote these lines, but the fusion of the two ideas is not peculiar to his early writings. It recurs with varying measures of explicitness in most of his later work, above all in his books on Goethe. Goethe, of course, lent himself ideally to a kind of treatment where form and process, centre and radiation, circumscription in space and endlessness in time could be represented.

\(^{1}\) Rudolf Borchardt: *Rede über Hofmannsthal*, Leipzig, 1905.
\(^{3}\) ibid. p. 30.
\(^{4}\) ibid. p. 29. This conception of the "circle" is not in evidence in his book on George.
as different categories under which significant creation could be legitimately discussed, none of which, however, could secure in isolation any but a poor vantage point for the apprehension of the real thing. Thus in his first great work on Goethe he described Goethe's notion of form as "der Leib einer Bewegung". Later, helping himself freely to a Bergsonian analogy, he explained that there was no inherent contradiction in the circumstance that significant creation springs from an experience which occurs in time, while, for the percipient, it only exists in, or, in terms of space, as Gestalt. "Der Widerspruch löst sich", he wrote, "wenn wir uns die zeitliche Entwicklung nicht vorstellen als das Abrollen einer Linie ... sondern als die kugelförmigen Ausstrahlungen von einer Mitte her ...". And, reducing Bergson's concept of the space-time relation to the simple proposition that time equals motion, space equals arrest, he added: "Denn im Vordringen, im Ausstrahlen, im Verwandeln ist die zeitliche Funktion, im Kugelartigen die räumliche Funktion der

1) Fr. Gundolf: Goethe, Berlin 1916, p. 106. This definition refers to Herder's influence.

Cp.: "Jetzt erst konnte sein (Goethes) Bildnertum sich auswirken, ohne seiner Bewegtheit, seinem entfesselten Sturm und Drang, seiner Aktion eintrag zu tun: denn all diese Bewegtheit war ja nur im eigentlichen Sinn Bildwerdung, Formwerdung, Leibwerdung.

Es war Bewegung wie das Leben der Organismen unablässige Bewegung ist ... es war die Bewegung die darin besteht, dass das Feste Geist wird und das Geisterzeugte sich fest bewahren will".

Gestaltung". And late in life, as though he had come to feel the need for a last reconciliation of the views round which his whole life-work revolved, he reasserted of Goethe:

"Er hat wie kein zweiter die Gestalt als Wachstum, und

Earlier Gundolf followed even more faithfully in the footsteps of Bergson. In 1911 he identified "life" with "form" subsuming them under "creative process", a thing which takes place in time, while the "mechanism" of living was thought to belong to space only. "Was Leib und Leben, d.h. Form und Gehalt hat, ist dem lebendigen Wandel unterworfen. Was bloss Stoff und Mechanismus ist gehört gewissermassen der Zeit nicht an als einem schaffenden Prinzip, sondern nur dem Raum."

Fr. Gundolf: Shakespare und der deutsche Geist, Berlin 1911, p. 33.

How far in later years, and principally in his book on George, Gundolf emancipated himself from Bergson's influence is shown by his dictum: "jedem Schaffen liegt eine Raumanschauung zugrunde".

Fr. Gundolf: George, Berlin 1921, p. 259.
The question of what precisely they should think of Bergson seems to have been an important one for the followers of Stefan George. Friedrich Gundolf's brother, Ernst Gundolf, discussed the problem at length in the Jahrbuch ("Die Philosophie Henri Bergsons" vol. 3, 1913) and his conclusions show how directly the creed of plastic form influenced their attitude. Much as he admired Bergson, he could not take his idea of vital process without reservation. Not a "werden" but a "sein das kein verharren ist" (ibid. p. 86) was his particular form of compromise. Ernst Gundolf was acutely aware that the connection established by Bergson between becoming and time relegated the notion of space to a very inferior place in any creative thinking. This was obviously unacceptable for a man whose views were nerveld by a trust in the superior truth of significant form. "Seine (Bergson's) lehre", he wrote, "birgt äusserlich aufgefasst die gefahr eines neuen skeptizismus in sich, weil sie eine unmögliche raumlose anschauung fordert und die wahre erkenntnis zu einer undenkbaren, unsichtbaren, nicht nur unberechenbaren und unnennbaren macht". (ibid. p. 91). Ernst, like his brother Friedrich Gundolf approved Bergson's revolt against the assumptions of positivist methodology. He hailed as the principal achievement of Bergson's thesis the separation of "das schaffende wesen... von ordnenden wissen" in his thinking, but he denied that the fluency of becoming and its intuitive understanding were a temporal rather than a spatial affair. For one whose landscape of the...
Das Wachstum als Gestalt erfahren und gezeigt...

Die Lehre hat er uns durch seine Heilsmittel seines und unsres Leidens hinterlassen als das Vermächtnis der Gestalt an Untergang und Übergang..)

But perhaps the most revealing formulation of the essential unity of the two modes of experience is offered by Gundolf's familiar dictum: "All ist ewig, aber nichts wiederholt sich"2). There is a principle of unrest, a grand process in the nature of things which at a few points in history precipitate unique organizations. They radiate a message of wholeness and perfection for eternity, but eternity proceeds without intermission, incorporating the significant occasions of the past in the memory of the present as raw material for future creations. It was in this sense that Gundolf either wrote of great men and significant achievement in their unique individuality, or else pursued their progress through the ideas by which various ages called them their own. But whichever course he followed, he looked for significant facts and vital processes. And when he

intelligible world was so firmly anchored in plastic form this was no surprising attitude to take. "Die verlangte intuition", he wrote, "war nie völlig erreichbar, weil wir alles was uns räumlich ist auch zeitlich sehen, da die zeit an sich keine dualität fasst, weil alles erleben.. raum schafft, weil alles leben gestalt hat. Das innerste.. ich kann erschlossen doch nicht geschaut werden".

1) Fr. Gundolf: Rede zu Goethes 100. Todestag, Berlin 1932, pp. 29-30; the eulogy ends with Goethe's words:
"Das Werdende, das ewig wirkt und lebt Umfass euch mit der Liebe holden Schranken,
Und was in schwankender Erscheinung schwebt,
Befestigt mit dauernden Gedanken."

2) Fr. Gundolf: George, Berlin 1921, p. 3. A complete misapprehension of the meaning of this dictum occurs in M.G. Sims' Thesis, The Idea of the Hero in Stefan George. Cp.: "Nothing recurs - happily, because the future will be no better, if no worse, than the past. Each passing moment equally mirrors eternity and the only value to be found in life consists in appreciating this fact and making the best of it."

ibid. p. 82.
addressed himself to the immense body of past occasions, his operative question was not "what" happened, but "how far" the lives and deeds of men were engaged in producing a higher kind of existence, a "God", if by that we understand with Gundolf human creativeness, big with a quality of wholeness and perfection. The naming of the Gods and not the names given to them were at the centre of his attention. He himself authorised a morphological interpretation of his work when, in an essay which appeared after his death, he reaffirmed his faith in the goodness of man's unceasing search for a fuller expression of his own divine nature, for "God" whom no age can exhaust with complete finality. The search, he wrote, remains, because to search is to be human and therein also lies the eternal life of the gods.


2) Cf.: "Die Waffen und Stosse wechseln und veralten. Wir suchen durch alle Moden und Zweiste hindurch die Streiter selbst, wie sie durch alle Glaubens-gleichen hindurch die unvergänglichen Götter suchen."

3) ibid. p. 81, Säkspärre und der deutsche Geist.

4) ibid. p. 54.
D. APPENDIX

A list of typical phrases may usefully be compiled to show how absoluteness and relativity produced two broad streams of closely related imagery in Gundolf's vocabulary. Most of these images appear in pairs, one of them symbolizing some outstanding quality of significant form, the other providing the contrast.

1. LEIB, KÖRPER, ORGANISMUS versus FLEISCH, KLEID, DENKEN, MECHANISMUS etc.


Fischart übernahm diese Leiber nicht als solche, sondern als einen Haufen Fleisch und Fett und schwellte all diese Materialien zu einem enormen und grotesken Neuen auf, das doch immer nur Fleischberg blieb, niemals Gestalt ward2). Das deutsche Stück ist eben nur ein Niederschlag, kein Körper, ein indirektes Produkt, nicht mehr unmittelbarer Ausdruck des Lebens ...3)

Was Leib und Leben, d.h. Form und Gehalt hat, ist dem lebendigen Wandel unterworfen. Was bloss Stoff und Mechanismus ist ... gehört nur dem Raum.4)

Die menschliche Welt - beim besten Hellenentum in den gotthaften Gesamtorganismus einbezogen - sah er (Hölderlin) in einem klappernden Mechanismus verwandel5).

Vom Titus bis zum Juden von Venedig lässt sich eine Stufenfolge der Zersetzung des Organismus durch den Mechanismus aufstellen...

Hatte aber Dichtung ihre Unschuld verloren, die nur aus dem Leibe kommt, nie aus dem Denken, so musste ihr auch eine neue Begründung werden ...7)

2) ibid. p. 5.
3) ibid. p. 29.
4) ibid. p. 33.
7) ibid. p. 54.
...schaft sich der Geist von Opitz ab bewusst ... seine intellektuelle Welt, staffiert sie mit allen Surrogaten der Sinnenwelt aus, indem er das was früher des Leibes, der Sinne Nahrung war, als Dekoration verwertet...1)

Der Shakespearische Blankvers ist das Symbol seelisch-leiblicher Vorgänge ... Lessings Vers ist die Rede, Denken über das Leben ... Darum hat sein Vers zwar Heiligkeit aber keine Körperlichkeit ... 2)

Dass man ... die Wirklichkeit in den Sachen sucht ... in den Kleidern statt in den Leibern, ändert an jenem Willen zur Wirklichkeit selbst nichts.3)

Auch Caesar ist zuerst als persönlicher Leib seiner Idee vergöttet worden. Neuplatonismus, Christentum, östliche Jenseitsträume bezeugen und fördern den Untergang dieser Religion, ersetzen Gestalten durch Ideen, höhlen allegorisch die Sinnbilder zu Begriffs-vorstellungen aus und Körper zu Bedeutungen.4)

Das Gesamtmenschliche ist die Verkörperung des unsterblichen Lebens in der konkreten Zeit, die immer neue Leibwirdung göttlicher Kräfte ... das Allgemeinmenschlich ist eine Abstraktion ... sie beruht auf der grundsätzlichen Trennung von Leib und Geist ...5)

Dantes Kosmos ist nicht wissenschaftlich, nicht ästhetisch, sondern gesamtmenschlich.6)

2. FORM, GESTALT, BILD versus FUNKTION, STOFF, SPIEGELUNG, GLEICHNIS etc.

Die Masse also solche verlangt aber niemals Stil oder Gehalt, Gestalt und Geist, sondern Schau und Erholung, Stoff und Belehrung ...7)

Hier wie überall suchen wir das Wesen, die Gestalt hinter den intellektuellen Begründungen und Spiegelungen auf.8)

1) ibid. p. 55.
2) ibid. p. 139.
3) ibid. p. 320.
4) Fr. Gundolf: Caesar, Berlin 1924, p. 43; see also footnote no. 8) p. 166.
5) Fr. Gundolf: Dichter und Helden, Heidelberg 1923, p. 34.
6) ibid. p. 36.
7) Fr. Gundolf: Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist, Berlin 1911, p. 4.
8) ibid. p. 11.
... nur was vom Geist gebaut ist kann Geist ausdrücken, nur was Form geworden ist, nicht der bloße Stoff und die bloße Funktion.1)

Von der biblischen Bilderverwelt unterscheidet sich die seine durch Plastik und Greifbarkeit, sie gibt nicht die Atmosphäre der Dinge, sondern ihre Gestalt, sie braut nicht, sie packt.2)

Gleichnis drückt Beziehung aus, Bild ist Wesen.3)

Er verwandelte alles was Urkraft oder Gestalt war, in Ideen, in ein Mittelding zwischen Leben und Denken.4)

Man muss das Ganze der jeweiligen Schriftsteller ... überblicken ... sonst nimmt man zumal ... geläufige Zeichen für lebendige Bilder, Namen für Sichten und rednerische, ja musikalische Floskeln für Glaubens-Inhalte.5)

Auch dieser (der natürliche Zeugungstrieb) ist eine Weltkraft, Aphrodite, aber sie will nicht die Gestalt fassen sondern die Fülle entladen, nicht den Leib verweigen sondern das Leben Fortpflanzen, nicht das Offenbare festhalten sondern im Geheimnis untertauchen.6)

Wohl sind alle Epochen "unmittelbar zu Gott" - zu Gott; doch wir wählenden und wirkenden Erdensehne müssen das Göttliche da sehen wo es Gestalt wird und uns die Zeiten die nicht für unsre Organe Gestalt, sondern nur Trieb oder Geist, Wunsch oder Wissen sind vermitteln lassen durch die Vollender.7)

3. RHYTHMUS, WERK, SEIN, KRAFT versus DAS METRISCHE, MEINUNG, KÖNNEN, ZEICHEN etc.

Was die grössten Geister von sich meinen ist oft nur das flächste dessen was sie sind, sie drücken durch Tat und Werk, nicht durch Meinung aus.8)

1) ibid. p. 41.
2) ibid. p. 213.
3) ibid. p. 214.
4) ibid. p. 255.
8) Fr. Gundolf: Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist, Berlin 1911, p. 43.
An Stelle des Müssens und der Fülle trat der gute Wille und die Berechnung...

Die Silbenzählung, die Zäsur, die Zweischenkeligkeit, alle sind gleichsam Zollschränken, Mittel des wachsa-
men Verständes zur Kontrolle des Sprachmaterials. Die-
ser Alexandriner bedeutet den vollkommnen Sieg der
Metrik, des Rechnens über die Rhythik...: eine wahre
Polizei des Intellekts, der glühenste Versuch die Spra-
che aus dem Bereich des leiblich-seelischen unter die
Kontrolle des Verstandes zu bringen...

Shakespeare hat keine Begriffe, sondern nur Anschauungen
und Rhythmen...

(Lessings Vers) ist im tieferen Sinn kein Vers, er ist
ein metrisches, kein rhythmisches Phänomen, Vers nicht
aus Müssen, sondern aus Können.

So bleibt Youngs Urteil über Shakespeare... mehr ein
Zeichen als eine Kraft der Zeit...

Vielmehr haben wir hier ein für die litterarische
Methode zu beachtendes Beispiel... wie sehr es nötig
ist jede Einzeläußerung sinnbildlich und im Zusammen-
hang zu sehen, um zu erkennen ob sie wesentlich ist,
d.h. wirkliches geistiges Leben ausdrückt, ob nur
litterarisch, d.h. toter Überrest eines bereits er-
loschenen Lebens.

Hier ist er als Ganzes endlich aus einem Stoffkonglome-
rat oder einem Formproblem zu einer dichterischen Welt
geworden...

Es ist ein methodischer Fehler, der zur Fälschung der
Geschichte führt, beide zu verwechseln, Sachen für
Kräfte, Stoff für Gehalt zu nehmen.

Am grössten erscheint wer den meisten Stoff schlept,
am schönsten wer aufs innigste kitzelt. Überall wird
das Sein mit dem Können verwechselt.

1) ibid. p. 50.
2) ibid. p. 65.
3) ibid. p. 138.
4) ibid. p. 139.
5) ibid. p. 143.
6) ibid. p. 170.
7) ibid. p. 190.
8) ibid. p. 199.

Italics my own.
Stefan George's attitude to music may also be discussed within the scope offered by the discussion which has been made between the finicity of sensation and the penetration of beings. His inclination, even devotion, to music in the first half of his life was a natural product of an outlook to which reality revealed itself as a film and the best in art as fruits of poetic sanction. By this stage his mind was open to a wide range of impressions. No single formula had yet been evolved for the creative understanding of man's place in the life of the world. But with the coming of Maxima in 1904 an aesthetic formula emerged itself and the poet's vital but ineffable world was suddenly given a lasting centre. A beginning and an end were set to the scope of human adventure. Man's very essence lay in his measure and, as by some natural process, an ethical was followed to chart his way in the changing values of a highly strung civilization. It is easy enough to explain and the aesthetic demanded extension into the ethical formula. Once a master-feeling had been found to absorb all uncommunicable emotions — and that is one way of describing the poet's earlier state of mind — a master-view was bound to follow committed to a more rational purpose. The body of human experience had grown too large to sustain a feeling which could not thrive on more than a limited number, and of a limited kind. To select what was wholesome from a stream of disconnected experiences was the task of this rationalization but, of course, once the chain of reactions was started it could not stop there; — soon George's disciples supplied a metaphysical foundation and religious wings were fitted to
A. INTRODUCTION

Stefan George's attitude to music can also be discussed within the scope offered by the distinction which has been made between the fluency of becoming and the permanency of being. His inclination, even devotion, to music in the first half of his life was a natural product of an outlook to which reality revealed itself as a flux, and the best in art as fruits of the romantic view of life. At this stage his mind was open to a wide scale of impressions; no single formula had yet been evolved for the creative understanding of man's place in his modern surroundings. But with the coming of Maximin in 1904 an aesthetic formula suggested itself and the poet's vital but aimless world was suddenly given a lasting centre. A beginning and an end were set to the scope of human adventure. Man's work received its measure and, as by some natural process, an ethical code followed to chart his way in the changing values of a highly strung civilization. It is easy enough to explain why the aesthetic demanded extension into an ethical formula. Once a master-feeling had been found to absorb all uncooperative emotions - and that is one way of describing the poet's earlier state of mind - a master-view was bound to follow committed to a more rational purpose. The body of human experience had grown too large to sustain a feeling which could not thrive on more than a limited number, and, of a limited kind. To select what was wholesome from a stream of disconnected experiences was the task of this rationalization but, of course, once the chain of reactions was started it could not stop there; - soon George's disciples supplied a metaphysical foundation and religious wings were fitted to
convince the incredulous. The key-symbol of their system was significant form and it is not difficult to see why the poet's friendly attitude to music had to be discarded once the master-feeling began to stir in his heart: music—a diffuse art—was no legitimate source of enjoyment for one to whom beauty and goodness disclosed themselves in one archetypal concentration.

To understand George's two attitudes to music one also has to remember that in the operative period (from 1895 to the 1910s) the central position of music was the most significant feature of German cultural life. The aesthetic views of Schopenhauer had gained common currency, Nietzsche was the rising giant in the nation's spiritual life, Wagnerianism was in the ascendant, the popularity of the Romantics continued and Bach was only beginning to reach the apogee of his fame. One must resist a comparison with Nietzsche, whose ideas found a ready response in much of George's philosophy, and it must be left to future students of literature to examine whether there were similarities in the reasons which produced so marked an alienation from music in both men.

The first task of the present chapter will be to follow the development of George's attitude to music as it appears in the evidence drawn from his conversations and letters.

1) Bach's name was little known before 1829 when, exactly 100 years after its first performance, the St. Matthew Passion was revived under the young Mendelssohn. Only after the foundation of the Bach Society in 1851 were his collected works gradually published.

2) Wilhelm Kusserow was unaware that there were two sharply defined phases in George's attitude. Cf.: Friedrich Nietzsche und Stefan George, Inaugural-Dissertation etc., Berlin 1927, Eingereicht von Wilhelm Kusserow etc., especially pp. 31-34.
P. LETTERS AND CONVERSATIONS

On the 12th of April 1896 George wrote to Hofmannsthal inquiring whether he could send him a musical setting preferably of one of his own (Hofmannsthal's) poems for the Blätter für die Kunst:

"Könten Sie uns auch vielleicht für dieses nächste Heft ein musikstück eines Ihrer freunde besorgen, eines Ihrer eigenen Lieder in tönen womöglich." 1)

On the 27th of April Hofmannsthal replied that partly on Franckenstein's own initiative and partly at his (Hofmannsthal's) request, Clemens Franckenstein would send him a musical setting for the periodical2). In the event, George received settings of his own poems. On the 1st of May he complained to Hofmannsthal that he had found Franckenstein's work very unsatisfactory:

"Clemens Franckenstein hat mir vor einigen tagen ein paar meiner verse mit seinen tönen geschickt ich gestehe Ihnen dass mich die anordnung durchnaus nicht angenehm berührte und die höchst nachlässige art des mit fehlern und entstellungen besätten textes mich für den absender nicht sonderlich erwärmt hat. auch muss ich Ihnen mitteilen dass die musikbeilagen nicht bei dem drucker in Berlin hergestellt werden konnten und die Herrn tonsetzer bis jetzt sich ihrer arbeiten ... selber angenommen haben.
Ich bestand auf einen wiener weil ich gern eines Ihrer gedichte mit würdigen tönen in den 'Blättern' sehen würde, ande jedoch zur genüge dasind."3)

On the 6th of May Hofmannsthal wrote back to say that he was not quite certain what George had meant by "Anordnung"4). Explaining his meaning on the 23rd of May, George assured his friend that, if a suitable arrangement of the poems could be found, he would be willing to help Franckenstein with the publication of his settings:

1) Briefwechsel zwischen George und Hofmannsthal, Berlin 1938, pp. 91/92.
2) ibid. p. 92.
3) ibid. pp. 93-4.
4) ibid. p. 95.
...unter 'anordnung' verstand ich damals: meine verse an
irgend welche thörichten reimspiele zu ordnen, wenn ge-
schäftliche oder andere gründe für Herrn v. F. vorlagen
meine dichtungen nicht getrennt zu veröffentlichen, so
hätte er es mir nur mitzuteilen brauchen; ich hätte ihm im
fall die hindernisse wegräumen helfen."1)

Later in the same letter he added some technical information
about the musical supplements:

"soviel ich weiss wurden diese musik-beilagen der 'Blät-
ter' höchst einfach mit stein und tinte hergestellt und
dem drucker zum einlegen in die betreffende nummer über-
sandt..."2)

By 1896 musical supplements were a regular feature of the
Blätter für die Kunst. Wolters reports that in and after
1894 George wished to include representative pieces of music
and painting in his periodical and that the second series
(1894) actually contained the compositions of Kurt Peters,
Karl Hallwachs and Franckenstein3). His information, how­
ever, is not quite precise because the second series only
included the music of Peters and Hallwachs, while a "ton-
stück" by Franckenstein and another by Hallwachs appeared
two years later, in the third. That George felt no aversion
to music in these years cannot be questioned. In 1896 he was
still anxious to publish settings of Hofmannsthal’s and his
own verse, and it appears that the only reason why he was
half-hearted about Franckenstein’s music was that he consid­
ered it to be unworthy of his words. This, however, did not
prevent him from dedicating a poem to the musician in Der Teppich des Lebens4). Even towards the end of 1897 he subscribed

1) ibid. p. 97.
2) ibid. p. 97.
3) Cf.: Friedrich Wolters: Stefan George etc., Berlin
1930, p. 81.
4) Cf.: "Winterwende", op. cit. p. 78.
This poem was accompanied by a letter of dedication.
Cf.: Robert Boehringer: Mein Bild von Stefan George,
München 1951, p. 58, where the text is given.
to the view that the poor state of contemporary poetry was due to the poets' lack of contact with musicians, sculptors and painters and their unwillingness to learn from them:

"nie wäre bei uns schrifttum und dichtung von heute in so traurige verödung geraten wenn ihre vertreter zu den gleichlebenden meistern der bildenden- und tonkunst denblick erhoben hätten."¹)

George does not indicate in his letters which of Franckenstein's settings aroused his indignation, but it seems likely that some of the poems in question were those which, a few years later, Cyril Scott also set to music. Scott tells us in his reminiscences that George's sequence "Sänge eines fahrenden Spielmanns"²)

"had been set by others before, but their setting had failed to produce the atmosphere he desired - an atmosphere of the Pre-Raphaelite."³)

Scott was more fortunate in his effort. His music was received with approval, so much so, that his settings of the master's verse were thought to justify his admission to the

1) Blätter für die Kunst; eine Auslese aus den Jahren 1892-98, p. 24. The quotation comes from the first number of the fourth series which was published in November 1897. George had to travel a long way from this before he could approve the view: "Höchster musik-rhythmus und höchster poesie-rhythmus schliessen sich aus ..." Blätter für die Kunst. Eine Auslese aus den Jahren 1904-09, p. 10.

2) In: Die Bücher, 1895.

3) Cyril Scott: My Years of Indiscretion, London 1924, p. 41.

The kind of atmosphere he had in mind may be divined from the lines:

| Worte trügen, worte fliehen, |
| Nur das lied ergreift die seele ... |
| Lass mich wie das kind der wiesen, |
| Wie das kind der dörfer singen ... |

Die Bücher, p. 70.

The same thought was expressed in the Blätter in 1896: "oft dienen worte gedanken ja bilder nur zur körperlichen darstellung der sangesweise". Blätter für die Kunst. Eine Auslese aus den Jahren 1892-98, p. 17.
circle:

"It was at the suggestion of Stefan George" - Scott further reports - "that I set out on what he termed a diplomatic mission. I was to reap the benefits of an entrée into his own particular circle, my justification being that I had set some poems of his called the 'Spielmanns Lieder' in a manner which awakened his admiration." 1)

For some time the young Englishman was one of George's closest friends, and since this was the only time that the poet associated himself with a musician, their friendship and, especially, the circumstances of their separation, deserve closer attention. As far as one can judge from George's poetry, the relationship between the two men was never straightforward and happy. How far Scott's estrangement from the circle in later years was due to his refusal to join the poet's followers in their cult of the master, and whether there were more personal reasons as well which account for his withdrawal, must remain a matter of speculation. It seems likely, however, that both conspired to precipitate the eventual break between them. Their friendship was at its closest in the period ending with the publication of George's first prophetic sequence Vorspiel (1899). At this time the poet was highly appreciative of Scott's musical talent. He was favoured by invitations to George's home in Bingen, and in the late nineties they also met on several other occasions. He divulged some of his views on art to the young musician - a favour reserved for the closest among the deserving. But, although music was still a thing to be appreciated in his eyes, he was anxious to rectify

1) Op. cit. p. 41. "Spielmanns Lieder" is obviously a misquotation of "Sänge eines fahrenden Spielmanns". Scott must have presented his settings between 1895, when the poems were published, and 1899, when Der Teppich des Lebens came out, because in the latter there are three poems dedicated to Scott, presumably commemorating the occasion. (Cf.: "Ein Knabe der mir von Herbst und Abend sang" pp. 72-74.)
what he thought to be a musician's natural onesidedness in Scott's outlook. George, Scott tells us, awakened in him a taste for poetry and urged him to widen his musical perspective by paying greater attention to painting, philosophy and science). When one recalls the contempt in which music and philosophy were held in the George circle after the death of Maximin, it is interesting to see that at a time when music had a great attraction for the poet, he also thought it necessary to commend the study of philosophy (among other things) to the musician.

But Scott was a difficult man to educate. All the time he was something of an enigma to George. In 1897 the latter was still hopeful that the power of love and the intimacy of a long friendship would bridge the "deep chasms" which separated them:

"Du teuer uns, doch rätsel das uns martert,
Dein lächeln spielt: die klüfte zwischen uns
Erkennt wie ich als unergründbar an
Und haltet ihr geheimnis hoch - ja jubelt
Sie nie zu fassen ... und wir suchen schmerzlich
Mit unserer Liebe sie zu überbrücken ..."

But by 1899 it was clear to him that the Englishman would not be converted. George's attitude to music cannot have been the cause of this failure because at this time no-one in the George circle professed an aversion to the art. What seems more likely is that Scott, like Albert Verwey later, had no inclination to become a disciple, and that the authoritarian atmosphere which the orphic verse of Vorspiel had ushered in, bewildered and repulsed him. In one of the poems which he dedicated to the Englishman in Der Teppich des Lebens, George speaks of the coming of a new God - an anticipation, no doubt, of Maximin, but one for which Scott could have felt

1) op. cit. p. 32.
2) Das Jahr der Seele p. 85.
singly little enthusiasm. In this curious poem George uses the image of a "klanges-kette" by which, according to the interpretation of Morwitz\(^1\), is meant the power of Christ to hold the souls of men together in one common brotherhood. But men no longer believed in the Christian God. His "sonorous chain"\(^2\), the poem concludes, would now be replaced by the bonds of a more vital divinity:

"Ihr kündigtet dem Gott von einst die liebe - ....
Neigt ihr euch jetzt nicht schmählicherem dienste?
Erwaltet er nicht die gewundnen arme
Mehr als die klanges-kette die ihr bracht? ....
Ja wie wir einst voll demut und verlangen
Uns zu des Heilands blutigen füssen bückten
So knien wir huldigend dem neuen Gott ...."\(^3\)

Although the implications that would hurt a musician's ears are very subtle in this poem, this is hardly the language that would appeal to him, and Scott who had a very keen sense of humour, relates with some irony that in later years the George circle developed two definite aversions: women and music. Music was held to be the most inferior of arts, hence, in common with women, musicians were to be discouraged.

"Whether", he writes, "this doctrine existed in such virulent form in the earliest days of the Stefan George circle is doubtful, seeing that Stefan George interested himself in the few simple songs I had composed to his own verse, but that it has now assumed the proportions of a dogma to be accepted by all the Georgites was evident, and was already evident in 1913-14, the last time I saw

\(^1\) Without Morwitz's help the meaning of this poem would be difficult to gauge. He explains: "Die Klangeskette, durch die der Heiland die Seelen bindet, wird durch die Kraft des neuen Gottes zerbrochen, dessen Lehre verzehrender, aber weniger verzichtend ist ...." Ernst Morwitz: Die Dichtung Stefan Georges, p. 80. Another strange thing about this poem is that the sequence, of which it is a part, was originally composed in English for Scott's benefit. The English text is given on p. 137 of Schlussband of the collected works.

\(^2\) George's own phrase for "klanges-kette".

\(^3\) From poem no. II. of the sequence entitled: "Ein Knabe der mir von Herbst und Abend sang": An Cyril Meir Scott. Der Teppich des Lebens, p. 73.
Of course the doctrine of the inferiority of music did not exist in the earliest days of the circle in virulent or in any other form. At the same time it cannot be doubted that the clumsy way in which George announced his vision of a new God cannot have endeared his prophetic doctrine to the musician or enhanced Scott's readiness to be re-educated.

But if the growth of a prophetic consciousness in George's mind was one reason for the eventual estrangement between the two men, one must assume that the poet's unrequited affection for the Englishman was another. This affection worked on a purely personal plane and the intimacy of the emotions involved shown by another poem which was also dedicated to Scott (in 1899):

"Die hand mit widmender verehrung hebt
Beschämt empor dir die verstreuten gaben -
So wenig von erträumter pracht ein zeichen
Wenn auch von mancher seltnen träne leuchtend ..." 2)

It will be seen that, for the present investigation, the most important feature of Scott's friendship with George is the Englishman's settings of George's poetry and the admiration with which they were received by him. Scott's compositions secured his admission to the circle and soon a close friendship developed between the poet and the musician. When, in the late nineties, the idea of a prophetic mission began to take shape in the poet's mind, their relationship began to show signs of strain but not on account of any revision of George's attitude to music, but rather because Scott would not be drawn into the acceptance of Georgite dogma, tentative though it was in those early days of the circle. There was, as we have seen, also a more personal angle to their relationship, and judging by George's poetry, it seems

1) op. cit. p. 122.
safe to assume that the poet's advances produced no response. This, again, may have hastened their separation. One should not make too much of George's effort to widen the musician's horizon. Looking at his admonitions in the light of the dogmatic attitude which he developed in later years, his suggestion that Scott should read science and philosophy as well as study poets and painters, seems singularly liberal and unselective. The master-view, had, as yet, not matured in his mind, although by 1899 its incubation was well advanced.

Further evidence of George's friendly attitude to music in the nineties comes from Sabine Lepsius, wife of the painter Reinhold Lepsius, both of whom, but especially Sabine, were close friends of the poet. A woman of inspiring personality and considerable musical accomplishment, Sabine Lepsius was, with the possible exception of Frau "Isi" (Ida Coblenz) perhaps the only woman in George's life in whose company he could find relaxation and an equal partner for intellectual conversation. In her memoirs Frau Lepsius relates that the first poem which opened her eyes to George's art\(^1\) also inspired her to improvise a musical setting which George received with pleasure:

"Ich sagte es oft vor mich hin, bis es eines Tages zum Lied wurde, das ich dem Freunde vorsang. Da er damals die Musik noch nicht auf den Index gesetzt hatte, so freute es ihn - wie er überhaupt kein Ärgernis an meiner Musikliebe nahm und willig

\(^1\) "Der Herr der Insel", \textit{Die Bücher}, 1895, p. 20.
lauschte, wenn mir Bach, Schubert und Chopin durch
die Finger glitt".)

Frau Lepsius' use of the word "index" seems to indicate that,
in her view, the poet's dogmatic aversion to music in later
years was not inherent in his nature. It is also interesting
to note that such a wide variety of music should have given
him pleasure. At the same time there is no intimation in
Frau Lepsius' memoirs of the reaction which these composers
produced in the poet. Considering that music was her main
interest in life and also the central subject of her
reminiscences, one can only conclude that although George
was easily brought under the spell of music, his was no selective
enjoyment of it or, if it was, he had no use for the verbal
commentary on an art which short-circuited the need for
verbal expression.

This inarticulate enjoyment of sound - a thing well
known to music lovers - is also borne out by a conversation
recorded in Maximin's diary. It took place on the 9th of
April 1903 between George, the youth and his two cousins.
They spoke of literature, George's travels were mentioned,
school-teachers were criticized and in the end the question
of the value of music came up for discussion:

1) Sabine Lepsius: Stefan George; Geschichte einer Freundschaft, Berlin 1935, p. 45.

An account of one of these occasions is given earlier in
Frau Lepsius' memoirs. On November 14th 1897 George
read some poems from Das Jahr der Seele to a small
invited audience in the home of the Lepsius'. Among
those present were Wolfskehl, the musician Ansorge who
had also set some of George's poems, Vollmoller and Lou
Andreas Salome accompanied by an unknown young poet:
Rainer Maria Rilke. When the reading was over Frau
Lepsius played Bach and Schubert on the piano: "Als nach
der Lesung die meisten fortgegangen waren ... erschien
George wieder zwischen uns, und ... begab ich mich zum
Klavier und spielte Bach und Schubert ...

op. cit. p. 21.
"Auch sprachen wir noch über Musik. Er, selbst ein großer Musikfreund, besuchte Konzerte nur wenig, und wenn er es tue, so bliebe er nur einige Zeit, da er dann so viel Stoff zu verarbeiten habe, dass er nicht mehr annehmen könne."

Here George's first attitude is expressed at its clearest. He encountered music as one encounters a new element of life in one's childhood, in all its primacy and overwhelming freshness. Musical sound was a metaphysical challenge to him. No qualms about its ethical implications appear to have entered his mind. But there is certainly some irony to be read into the situation that George's frankest admission of his love of music should have been made to the young Maximin, whose beatification in the years following his death in 1904 produced the doctrine of significant form and, subsequently, the dogma of the inferiority of music.

When, on the 23rd of December 1903, Maximin again called on the poet, their conversation turned to music once more. In the intervening months, however, George's attitude seems to have undergone a fundamental change:

"Er sprach von Musik", Maximin reports in his diary, "und dass die Fähigkeit zur Musik ganz wo anders liegen müsse als bei Dichtung und Malerei. In Jahren, in denen das Verständnis des Wiedergebens noch unbedingt nicht dasein könne, da zeige sich bei der Musik schon die Veranlagung ... Wie man Dichtung mit Malerei, Malerei mit Skulptur zusammenbringen kann, so vereinzelt steht die Musik da. Das oben gesagte bezieht sich aber nur auf reproductive Geister, Schöpfer dagegen arbeiten vollständig verstandesmässig. Auch seien Musiker meist sehr einseitig, während die Dichter meist Interesse für Malerei usw. zeigen. Als Gegenbeispiel führt er Melchior Lechter an, der sehr eingenommen für die Musik ist ... Einen Ausspruch von ihm will ich nicht versäu-

1) Maximin's diary was published by George's friends in Switzerland in a limited edition of 50 copies during the second world war. The quotations here used come from an article by Rolf Italiaander "Stefan George und Maximin" which includes substantial extracts from Maximin's diary. Cf.: Ein Almanach für Kunst und Dichtung von Rolf Italiaander und Ludwig Beimlinghoff, Reibek bei Hamburg 1948, pp. 123-33; p. 126.
Although the view that music occupies the lowest place in the hierarchy of the arts is attributed to Lechter in this passage, it seems certain that George was in full agreement with it. An examination of the views of George's followers will show that they based much of their curious musicology on the arguments which the poet used in his conversation with his young friend. That music, on the one hand, and poetry and painting, on the other, spring from different layers of the mind: that while all other artistic creation is a rational process, music is not; that the musician stands isolated from his fellow-artists; that music is a sub-human kind of articulation and, hence, inferior to the other arts,—all these views assumed the proportions of dogma in the writings of Wolfskehl, Wolff and Petersen.

George disliked the dogmatic interpretation of his words, but once the prophetic machinery had been installed and a faith in the infallibility of the master encouraged, nothing less thorough-going could be expected.

George first met Maximin in February or March 1903. The change in the poet's attitude to music appears to have taken place between March and December 1903. Maximin died on
The 15th of April 1904, one day after his sixteenth birthday. The story of George's attitude after that date is one of resentment and hostility. In the 7th volume of the Blätter published in 1904, he expressed a view which could have come from any number of Nietzsche's later scathing criticisms of music: culture and a preoccupation with music are incompatible, George explained, and promptly he contrasted 'culture with "Entrücktheit" and "Übersinnlichkeit". Human form had entered by the door and the respectability of music flew out through the window:

"Die schöpferischen geister eines volkes geben die bildungseinheit kultur durch wegräumung gewisser scheinbar äusserlicher widerstände und legung gewisser grundlagen

1) Cf.: Ein Almanach für Kunst und Dichtung, p. 133.
2) Cf. for instance: "Mit dieser (von Schopenhauer und Wagner angeführten) ausserordentlichen Wertsteigerung der Musik, wie sie aus der Schopenhauerischen Philosophie zu erwachsen schien, stieg mit Einen Male auch der Musiker selbst unerhört im Preise: er wurde nunmehr ein Orakel, ein Priester, ja mehr als ein Priester, eine Art Mundstück das "an-sich" der Dinge, ein Telephon des Jenseits, - er redete förderhin nicht nur Musik, dieser Baudredner Gottes, - er redete Metaphysik: was Wunder, dass er endlich eines Tages asketische Ideale redete? ..."
Friedrich Nietzsche: Zur Genealogie der Moral, No. 5. Dritte Abhandlung; p. 341.

It is a question worth considering whether the awakening of the prophet in George was bound to produce a hostility to music and how far this was due to the feeling that the contemporary cultural world was too small for the peaceful coexistence of two "prophetic" credits. Wagner had to go out of Nietzsche's life before music could reveal its dangerous metaphysical implications for the philosopher and Maximin had to arrive to serve a reminder of the same on George. Both bid their soul "sing", and can one blame them for recognizing that an art which was not theirs could do the singing equally well in a language which was purer and more universal?
ohne die ihnen das äussere leben unerträglich wäre.
Der schöpferische Deutsche aber vermeidet diese anstrengung und flüchtet in das reich der entrücktheit übersinnlichkeit: Musik. Solange der schöpferische Deutsche ausschließlich Musiker bleibt braucht er keine bildungseinheit.\footnote{Blätter, Eine Auslese aus den Jahren 1898-1904, Berlin 1904, p. 17.}

But if, in 1904, culture and the popularity of music seemed incompatible to Stefan George, soon music was to be equated outright with decadence. In Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen Thomas Mann records a phrase which Stefan George is said to have used when he was asked for his views on Buddenbrooks. Of course, he did not like it. Mann was not far from guessing George's thought when he paraphrased his novel in three words: "Ethik, Bürgerlichkeit, Verfall", adding as a fourth, "Musik". George's mind worked on similar lines when he brushed the book aside with a contemptuous "Das ist noch Musik und Verfall":\footnote{The date of George's remark cannot be established with precision. Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen was published in 1918, Buddenbrooks in 1901. It would be surprising if it had been made between 1901 and 1903. For the purposes of the present discussion it has been assumed that it dates from about 1904 or after. The chances are that it was made later than that, at the same time it is unlikely that George discussed a book of the importance of Buddenbrooks ten or fifteen years after its publication.}

"Ethik, Bürgerlichkeit, Verfall: das gehört zusammen, das ist eins. Gehört nicht die Musik dazu? Ich erinnere mich wohl mit welchen Worten, mündlicher Über-
lieferung zufolge, Stefan George meine 'Buddenbrooks' abgelehnt hat: 'Nein', sagte er, 'das ist für mich nichts. Das ist noch Musik und Verfall'.

A slightly less conclusive but still significant piece of evidence comes from Rudolf Kassner. Shortly before the death of Maximin, on the 29th of March 1904, Stefan George, accompanied by Friedrich Gundolf, visited Hofmannsthal in his home in Rodaun, near Vienna. This was the last time that the two poets saw each other. Hofmannsthal's father and Kassner were also present. In the afternoon, Kassner reports, George spoke some verses from his translations of Dante. Kassner was impressed by George's reading, although he felt that in Rilke's recitation the priestly and dramatic elements were more happily fused into unity. George's reading however,

"vermochte einen... Über das Verhältnis Georges zur Musik aufzuklären. Ich stand damals noch sehr im Bann der Musik Richard Wagners, ... Davon wollte George nun nichts wissen; er wurde ganz böse, als ich ihn, nicht ohne die gebotene Deferenz, nach seiner Stellung zur Musik und so weiter fragte. Das könne er mir jetzt nicht in fünf Minuten erklären, auf jeden Fall sei sie ganz anders als die meine."  

It seems that George's rather violent reaction to Kassner's question was principally addressed to the man in whom he suspected an admirer of Richard Wagner. Of course, not to be overwhelmed by Wagner's art was no sign of hostility to music in 1904. But, by that time, George's aversion was not limited to Wagner's music-drama, although the manner in which Wagner combined poetry and music in his works continued to annoy the poet's followers and provide the main target for their attacks on music. George spent the summer of 1904 with Sabine Lepsius and her children in a guest house near Klosters in Switzerland. Later the little group was joined by the poet's sister and the two Gundolfs. Long walks followed in

1) op.cit. Berlin 1918, p. 73  
the surrounding countryside. Music was again one of the main topics of their conversations. George now reveals himself as a man whose course is firmly set for a prophetic existence. To realize the message suggested by organic form is the purpose of his mission, but music lacks the necessary "forming power" for this realization:

"George griff die Musik an, der er die bildende Kraft absprach ... Das Wort, die Sprache stellte er als das Höchste hin, das Einzige, das dem Propheten zum Werkzeug dienen könne."¹)

And as George's picture of himself as a seer and saviour grew in stature, his aversion to music grew more final and uncompromising. In 1909 the poet and Sabine Lepsius had another spirited discussion about the worth and meaning of music. In the heat of the argument, probably to annoy her, George threw out a remark that perhaps they should consult a musician to see whether Frau Lepsius was really as musical as she fancied herself to be. She retorted that, in music, unlike in some other arts, talent and receptiveness were measurable:

"Ein Mensch der eine Quinte nicht mit derselben Treffsicherheit als solcher erkennen könne wie der Sehende die rote Farbe, sei eben unmusikalisch..."²)

George made no reply. Frau Lepsius thought that the victory was hers. She reports, however:

"Damals wurde mir von Georg Simmel auch berichtet, dass George sich zu ihm über meine Entwicklung zum Ungeistigen beklagt habe."³)

The story of George's estrangement from music, as far as its development is recorded outside his poetry, is now almost complete. The idea of significant form had certainly done its work efficiently. Between 1903 and 1909 music travelled a long way from "Übersinnlichkeit" through "Verfall" to an

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¹) Sabine Lepsius: Stefan George etc. p. 63.
²) ibid. p. 80.
³) ibid. p. 80.
identification with "das Ungeistige" in George's vocabulary. The idea of the human form demanded that no experience which pointed away from the senses should be regarded as legitimate. From here it followed that an art which was not legitimate possessed no educational value and hence, for a system which worked for the realization of legitimate types of experience, its continued existence was a symptom of regression and decline. And, finally, it would have been more than human to forego banishing an art which was neither legitimate nor constructive, from the poet's spiritual order of things. By now, music was another word for non-attachment in a system which demanded total attachment to one ruling pattern: it was the opposition vote which was there to be outlawed, not appeased or incorporated.

The student of literature must regard it as fortunate that George's friendship with Sabine Lepsius outlasted the death of Maximin. Without her testimony it would be difficult to understand the nature of the poet's hostility to music. Frau Lepsius was not sure herself whether the sudden change in his attitude was as genuine as he was trying to make out. She believed that there was nothing really anti-musical in his nature that would have justified the thoroughness of his renunciation:

"Immer blieb mir schmerzlich, dass George in den letzten Jahren eine, wie mir schien, nicht ganz in seinem Wesen begründete feindliche Stellung zur Musik einnahm. Nicht nur weil ich ihr fast meine grössten Erlebnisse verdanke, sondern vor allem, weil die Ablehnung eines so wesentlichen Stückes der Welt mir die Weite seiner Anschauung in Frage stellte." 1)

But the interest of Sabine Lepsius' memoirs lies not only in the facts which she supplies of George's frame of mind in the years following the death of Maximin, but also in the things one cannot find in her book. It is significant, 1) ibid. p. 79.
for instance, that Frau Lepsius' devotion to Bach should have produced no reaction in the poet. Considering the closeness of his friendship with such a fervent Bach-lover, and his obvious indebtedness to another, Nietzsche\(^1\), at least for the formulation of his case against music, one would have expected him to be stirred to take sides for or against the composer. But Frau Lepsius records no decisive comment in either direction. She relates that even when she confessed to the poet that only the music of Bach and Palestrina had opened her eyes to the inwardness of the Christian religion, George preserved a tactful silence, nodding thoughtfully, but with an expression of bewilderment on his face "als wollte er sagen: 'So bist du also - ich werde dich nicht stören'"\(^2\). For the pagan he then was, a woman's conversion to the otherworldly creed of Christianity was no recommendation, and least of all was it likely to enhance the worth of music in his own estimation. Nevertheless, it must be assumed that George was not consistent in his indifference to Bach's music. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain how Wolfskehl, Wolff and Petersen had the courage to exempt at least Bach's fugal compositions from the general condemnation\(^3\).

George's failure to look more deeply into any but the most general aspects of musical experience reflects the attitude of a man for whom, whether he approved or rejected it, music was never important enough to be weighed up and analysed in isolation from poetry. This is not to say that there was not a sharp break in 1903 in his readiness to expose himself to the metaphysical impact of music. But even in the first part of his life, when he interested himself

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1) The second part of the St. Matthew Passion was one of the most lasting musical influences in Nietzsche's life.
2) op. cit. p. 63.
3) Cf.: Chapter VI, p. 235, under.
in music on a liberal scale, his chief concern was to enrich the vocal appeal of poetry by embedding his words into a congenial musical pattern. After the death of Maximin, however, no musical sound was to detract from the potency of the spoken word. The message of significant form lent itself to no communication outside the language of poetry. In the circumstances, music was not merely irrelevant for the progress of the prophet's work, but also dangerous because, at least in Germany, it seemed to absorb the greatest part of the popular capacity for religious sentiment. It is in this sense that one should read the commentary of Wolters, who explains that George's feud with music in the prophetic period of his life was a struggle against a "staat- und tatauflösende Gewalt"\(^1\), a fight against all things which seemed to threaten the purity of his vision or interfere with the growth of the spiritual empire. But, again, the symbol of this empire was the circle, its raison d'être was the human form with its fixed symmetries and unchanging proportions, its business was conducted on authoritarian lines\(^2\), its manners observed a rigid hierarchy of values, its religion was governed by the rule of the "Herrscher" over his disciples; - altogether a man-made world, obviously modelled on a notion of form which had been borrowed from the plastic arts, a world of accomplishment and being, rather than one of groping and becoming. For an art whose message seemed ambiguous, whose appeal was too deep not to be unsettling, whose immediacy was so powerful that it

seemed to transport its recipient into a world beyond the senses, this was no place to prosper. Music was too elusive to be incorporated in a hierarchy of permanencies.

Once the poet was satisfied that his spiritual empire rested on solid foundations, even his distaste for philosophy could not prevent him from supplying a philosophical explanation of his aversion to music. In modern times, he thought, the idea of beauty renounced its loyalty to the human form. This was particularly obvious in the Northern parts of Europe where people were born iconoclasts. Children of an "eternal becoming", they produced music and metaphysical thought as their special mode of expression:

"Alles was man als ausdruck und character der schönheit gegenüberstellt, ist die vom körper losgelöste seele, die keine beziehung zur form hat und für die es daher verbrechen ist, form zu suchen. Ihr gemässer ausdruck mag die musik sein, deren material der immaterielle ton ist, an der form aber versündigt man sich. Kein nordisches volk hat einen stil ausgebildet ... Die nordmenschen sind ... bilderstürmer. In ihnen ist ein mangel an ökonomie, ist ein verrat an sich selbst und an andern wegen des ewigen werdens. Treu sind sie nur einer idee einem metaphysischen."¹)

One need not consider the validity of this statement. To Stefan George, in the 1920-ies, all products of the human mind seemed devoid of aesthetic significance, unless their relevance to organic form could be convincingly established. His idea of beauty was that of the human figure energizing by its example a plastic environment. But neither sound nor thought was accessible to such influence. Music and metaphysical thinking issued from an apprehension to which reality disclosed itself as fluent and becoming, while significant form demanded an apprehension of concrete outlines and stable conditions. This was the source of harmony.

on which the whole edifice of George's empire was erected. Music and philosophy assumed another type of harmony, but neither the realization of self-contained wholes, nor the pursuit of a finite creative effort was among the perfections which it could offer.

C. POEMS

In the present section it is proposed to examine those of George's poems of which music is the subject matter, or in which musical imagery belongs to the main body of the argument. It will be shown that nothing George wrote before 1903 struck a note of aversion to music, while nothing that appeared after that date and contained some reference to music showed anything else.

One of the very first poems George published (Im Park, 1890) depicts a young poet who is highly sensitive to the influence of music. He is aware, however, that the attraction of "soft sounds" — nothing more elaborate than the music of nature is probably meant — is also a distraction for him from the serious business of writing:

"... Die jenen wonnetag erwachen sahen
Empfinden heiss von weichem klang berauscht,
Es schmachtet leib und leib sich zu umfahen.
Der dichter auch der tone lockung lauscht.
Doch heut darf ihre weise nicht ihn rühren
Weil er mit seinen geistern rede tauscht:
Er hat den griffel der sich sträubt zu führen." 1

Although this poem anticipates much of the poet's later aversion (note, for instance, how the poet's communion with his "geister" prevents him from giving way to "der tone lockung"), it shows him to be susceptible to, if somewhat apprehensive of the challenge of music. His fear that

music might interfere with his work, is limited to one specific day ("Doch heut ..."), and it is left to the reader to infer that at other times, when no rival emotion occupies his mind, music is an art which he enjoys. The luring sounds, whose temptation he must resist, are ushered in by a reference to the dreamy unreality of the whole setting. The poet is alone, and in the spacious "schattensaal" of the surrounding trees he dreams to the accompaniment of soft melodies\(^1\).

But George needed no setting of nature to maintain a partnership (which proved to be more or less permanent in his poetry) between music and dreaming. Later in the same sequence, in a twilight world of candles, incense and burnt offerings, the poet again "dreams of a stream of melodies".

"Lass auf dem lüster viele kerzen flammen
Mit schwerem qualme wie in heiligem dom,
Die hände legen schweigsam wir zusammen
Zu träumen einen melodienstrom!"\(^2\)

Music was an enigma and a source of magic for George in these early days. His picture in Algabal\(^3\) of the bewilderment and confusion which music creates in the mind of the Roman emperor, shows him at this most responsive to the impact of music. Algabal is carried forwards and backwards in the poem by conflicting currents of sound. He is aware that music is an intoxicating panacea, soothing but dangerous. In the first stanza we see him tossed violently between bliss and melancholy. A quieter mood follows

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1) Cf. the first two stanzas of the poem:
"Rubinen perlen schmücken die fontänen,
Zu boden streut sie fürstlich jeder strahl,
In eines teppichs seidengrünen strählen
Verbirgt sich ihre unbegrenzte zahl.
Der dichter dem die vogel angstlos nahen
Traumt einsam in dem weiten schattensaal ..."


3) Cf.: p. 111, in the sequence "Tage".
in the second: the singing of the Syrian musicians now evokes a religious response in the emperor. A new tidal wave sweeps through his soul in the third stanza, as a breathtaking succession of diverse musical designs creates an equally quick succession of conflicting impressions in his mind. In the fourth, the tide of Algabal's turbulent emotions leaps to danger-point. Health and decay are now in the balance and music is the arbiter between them. He realizes that balance and sanity cannot survive unless music is banished from his surroundings. But a question-mark follows the last thoughts of the emperor, and it is left open whether he finally succumbs to the enticements of music or follows the way of life:

"Schall von oben!
Sind es hornen, sind es harfen
Die mich hoben
Und in grüfte niederwarfen?"

Wie betreten
Und als ob ein gott mich zwänge
Muss ich beten
Syrer während eurer sänge.

Leise triller, verjüngen gesunden.
Laute stösse, mit lachen vergeuden.
Gelle striche, die bohrenden wunden
Helle schläge, die brennenden freuden.

Weise Syrer
Werd ich dankend euch vertreiben?
Ihr verführer
Noch im leben zu verbleiben!"  

Thirteen years were yet to elapse before George met Maximin, but already the force of some inescapable magnetism began to draw his musical interest towards the images of the poet

1) "Algabal", Hymnen, p. 111.
and the emperor. \textit{Im Park} shows the dangers of music for the work of a poet; the foregoing stanzas depict the inhibiting influence which it can exercise over a man of action. This picture of the poet and the emperor, - both wavering in their reaction to the challenge of music, both responsive but, all the same, determined not to let music interfere with their work, - foreshadows the direction which George's own attitude was to take when, after 1904, he attempted to unite the poet and the monarch in his own person. Naturally, at this early stage, the jealousy of the poet and the caution of the emperor bear little resemblance to the dogmatic aversion of the poet-emperor. Neither the young poet nor Algabal is at bottom unfavourably disposed to music. It takes all their strength to break away from its allurement, renouncing an intoxication which is too powerful not to be dangerous.

\textit{Die Bücher}, which appeared in 1895, shows the poet's susceptibility to music undiminished. Sound imagery, employed on a considerable scale, again helps to evoke a variety of impressions, usually of a melancholy and soulful kind. In the poem "Vom Ritter der sich verliegt", for instance, a succession of conflicting sounds: the distant clatter of harnessing, the convivial laughter of banqueting visitors, the whizzing sound of spears, half-heard voices from the balcony conjure up so many hazy sentiments in the soul of a day-dreaming knight, - until a faint breath of music brings his feelings to a climax, awaking him to the lost beauty of bygone times:

\begin{verbatim}
"Wurde nicht in zarte saiten
Ein gedehnter griff getan:
Ahnungsloser schöner zeiten
Scheues gleiten?

Drunten schlägt ein tor nur an."\textsuperscript{1)
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{1)} \textit{Die Bücher}, p. 64.
The figure of the slothful knight was George's symbol of his own inability to cope with the mass of material which the mere act of living was throwing in his way. Morwitz explains:

"Fast unverhüllt zeigt der sich verliegende Ritter das Bild des von Unrast gequalten Künstlers, der die Unmöglichkeit erkennt, die Fülle des Lebens ins Werk einzufangen."

In 1895 the "fullness of life" was very far from being a purely visual affair for Stefan George. Music may well have reminded him of his inability to cope with it, but there is certainly no denying that he felt his inability, as he felt his music, very intensely.

In the same volume, "Sänge eines fahrenden Spielmanns", which were actually 'meant for singing', proclaim his faith in the superior magic of the "lied" over a mere concatenation of words and meanings:

"Worte trügen, worte fliehen,
Nur das lied ergreift die seele,
Wenn ich dennoch dich verfehle
Sei mein mangel mir verziehen.

Lass mich wie das kind der wiesen
Wie das kind der dorfer singen ..."

The word "lied", when considered in relation to the second strophe, appears to imply a simple song of a spontaneous character, and this was the kind of music which he expected to get from Franckenstein when, at Hofmannsthal's request, the composer made settings of his "Sänge". Franckenstein's music, it will be recalled, did not please the poet, but he liked the compositions of Scott. These formed the basis of their curious friendship. Between 1895 and 1899 George dedicated four poems to the musician which throw some light on the nature of their relations, though little on the

1) Ernst Morwitz: Die Dichtung Stefan Georges, p. 47.
3) Die Bücher, p. 70.
development of George's attitude to music\(^1\).

If further illustrations are needed of the extremes into which his sensitiveness to music could plunge Stefan George in these early years, they are provided by two of the "Sänge". Both are of the soulful kind, but in the first the sound of music ushers in an atmosphere of sombre melancholy, while in the second it intensifies an equally soulful feeling of happy expectation. Both poems walk on the borderline of dreamland, and in both it is clearly shown that it is the soulfulness of music of which the stuff of these dreams is made.

In the first poem George contrasts the simple bliss in which his "edelkind" lives amidst Spring-colours and natural melodies, with the gloom which the fiddler's tune casts on his spirits. At the sound of his music the flowers pale and Spring loses its fragrance; — and for the youth only the solitude of his chamber and the private world of dreamland seem to offer congenial surroundings for the nursing of his sorrow:

"Ein edelkind sah vom balkon
In den frühling golden und grün,
Lauschte der lerchen ton
Und blickte so freudig und kühn.

Ein fiedler — fiedler komm
Und gib deinen liebsten sang!
Das edelkind horchte fromm
Dann ward ihm traurig und bang.

Was sang er mir solches lied?
Ich warf ihm vom finger den ring.
Böser trugvoller schmied
Der mich mit fesseln umfing!

Kein frühling mehr mich freut,
Die blumen sind alle so blass,
Träumen will ich heut
Weinen im stillen gelass."\(^2\)

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1) See above, pp. 173-177.
2) Die Bücher, p. 73.
In the second poem the musical imagery amplifies a situation which, again, moves on the borderland between waking and sleep. The setting is mediaeval and the imagery follows a tidy hierarchical pattern from heaven through Christianity to earth. (1.) Dawn breaks and tunes of celestial singing flow through the air from the neighbouring bell-tower. (2.) The distant sound of horns announces the rising of the Christian day (festesmorgen) and, (3.) a call outside the bride's bed-chamber brings word that the messenger of the young knight whom she is expected to love and marry, is on his way to her:

"Erwachen der braut:
Es klingt vom turme her
Mit ersten dämmerstrahl
Das lied der himmelshelden,
Den festesmorgen melden
Ergreifend ernst und schwer
Die hörner im choral.

Bin ich im traum noch? nein.
Ein ruf am tor erscholl ...
Der nächte sanken sieben.
Es wird ein bote sein
Vom knaben den ich lieben
Und mir erwählen soll." 1)

The varied applications which "lied" had in George's early sound-imagery again point to the wide range of his musical sensitiveness. In the foregoing poem it expresses seraphic peace. (Das lied der himmelshelden), - a far cry from the natural simplicity of the children's singing which "Sänge eines fahrenden Spielmanns" set out to emulate. In Das Jahr der Seele (1897) George attempted to have the best of both worlds. A new "lied" now occurs in his poetry. The high purity of heaven is preserved, but it is put over without the assistance of celestial machinery:

1) ibid. p. 82.
"Wir stehen an der hecken gradem wall
In reihen kommen kinder mit der norme.
Sie singen lieder von der himmelswonne
In dieser erde sichrem klarem hall."

In the same volume another bold extension of the meaning of "lied" takes one from natural joy to dismal melancholy. In "Traurige Tänze" the sound of singing calls up three sombre pictures in the poet's mind. Each has at its centre a symbol of maladjustment; each falls short of health or normality: the beggar who has failed to come to grips with society; the blind woman whose disability debars her from the full enjoyment of life and the group of children whose emotional reactions are inadequate in adult surroundings. "Lied" alone holds them together. It provides the common backcloth to three groups of symbols each showing a facet of the poet's unrequited feelings, each with its note of failure. But for us their main interest lies in the stock associations which the song calls forth in the poet's imagination: the swiftly flowing brook which the thirsting lips of the beloved fail to reach; the enigma of the dream; and the transition from unfeeling words to softer and more soulful sentiments:

"Das lied das jener bettler dudelt
Ist wie mein lob das dich vergeblich lädt,
Ist wie ein bach der fern vom quelle sprudelt
Und den dein mund zu einem trunk verschmäht.

Das lied das jene blinde leiert
Ist wie ein traum den ich nicht recht verstand,
Ist wie mein blick der nur umschleiert
In deinen blicken nicht erwiderung fand.

1) Das Jahr der Seele, p. 17.
Das lied das jene kinder trillern
Ist fühllos wie die worte die du gibst,
Ist wie der übergang zu stillern
Gefühlen wie du sie allein noch liebst.\(^1\)

In the prophetic period Der Siebente Ring (1907) brings one to George's controversial epithaph on Beethoven. Frau Lepsius took it to be a straightforward tribute to music\(^2\) and, one must admit, that none but those initiated into the poet's prophetic terminology are likely to take it for anything else:

Haus in Bonn.

"Eh ihr zum kampf erstarkt auf eurem sterne
Sing ich euch streit und sieg auf oberen sterne.
Eh ihr den leib ergreift auf diesem sterne
Erfind ich euch den traum bei ewigen sterne."\(^3\)

Ernst Morwitz, however, whose interpretation covers as much of George's views as he wished to become known, explains that tribute was very far from being George's purpose with this poem:

"Beethoven lässt das dumpfe Brausen des Chaos Klang werden,
ehe es erlaubt ist, die Schönheit des Menschen auf seiner Erde zu feiern. Stets schafft der Musiker in einem absteigenden, von Lebensüberrasten zehrenden Jahrhundert, während Dichtung und Plastik bestimmt sind, ansteigende Zeiten heraufzuführen."\(^4\)

This must, indeed, be accepted as the correct interpretation of the poem. One cannot, however, suppress a doubt that...

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1) ibid. p. 95.
2) Cf.: "George griff die Musik an, der er die bildende Kraft absprach trotz seines an Beethoven gerichteten Gedichts über die Macht der Musik ..." op. cit. p. 63.
4) Die Dichtung Stefan Georges, p. 120.
George might not have been quite so outspoken, had someone asked him to explain his meaning in or around 1903. And this raises the question: should the commentary of Morwitz not be taken as evidence of how the poet wished his earlier work to be interpreted late in life\(^1\), when his views assumed dogmatic proportions, rather than evidence of his attitude to music at the time of writing? After all, it is most unusual, even for a poet of George's eccentricity, to compose an epitaph on a musician and then put into his mouth words of condemnation of his own music\(^2\). George's poem should be recognized for what it is: a symptom of his marginal attitude to music in the critical years 1903-04. Wolters was indeed right when he intimated that the poem expresses both George's appreciation of the inwardness and his fear of the otherworldliness of music:

"Immer bleibt sein Blick auf unsere innerste Geschichte gerichtet, die Orte bedeuten ihm den Vollzug einer guten oder freveligen Stunde unseres Schicksals: Bonn, den Sinn der weltenrückenden aber seelenbewahrenden Musik..."\(^3\)

The next stage in the development of George's attitude to music was to proclaim the approaching victory of his own prophetic verse over music and philosophy:

Rhein I.

"Ein fürstlich paar geschwister hieß in frone
Bisher des weiten Innenreiches mitte.
Bald wacht aus dem jahrhundertschlaf das dritte
Auch echte kind und hebt im Rhein die krone."\(^4\)

\(^1\) The first draft of Morwitz's book was completed in 1924 with the poet's cooperation. It was not published until 1933. Cf.: "Nachwort" op. cit. p. 176.

\(^2\) This point is recognized by H.A. Maier: "Beethoven lässt George die in des Musikers Munde leicht groteske Hoffnung aussprechen, dass die Deutschen, nach jenseitsgerichtetem Ton und Traum, welchen sein Werk noch dient, den hiesigen Leib finden mögen." H.A. Maier: Stefan George und Thomas Mann, Zürich 1946, p. 56.

\(^3\) Friedrich Wolters: Stefan George etc., Berlin 1930, p.342.

\(^4\) Der Siebente Ring, p. 198.
Morwitz, without whose commentary this poem would also be something of a puzzle to the uninitiated, explains that the "fürstlich paar geschwister" represent music and philosophy - occupants, in the 19th Century, of the deepest regions of the German mind. But their reign is nearly over. Into their places will step a pagan art of extrovert joy, limitation and earthliness. But even here one can hardly sense an outspoken hostility to music. The "third child" is shown to be also a legitimate offspring of the German mind (...hebt im Rhein die krone") i.e. not inferior to the other two "princely".

For a dogmatic statement of George's views on music one has to go to his orphic verse in Der Stern des Bundes (1913). The poetry which was destined to take the place of music and philosophy, has now arrived. The focus of man's imagination has been brought back to earth from its otherworldly habitation and with the growth of George's prophetic verse, the pagan world was beginning to recapture its mother tongue:

"Nun bleibt ein weg nur: es ist hohe zeit ...
Das härteste meist geglaubter dauer wankt
Doch was auch welcht: DER stamm spricht noch sein wort
Der fest im griff hält was ihm lang geschwant.
Wer adel hat erfüllt sich nur im bild
Ja zahlt dafür mit seinem untergang.
Das niedre fristet larvenhaft sich fort
Bescheidet vor vollendung sich mit tod...
Nun probt nach sinn- und klangnetz zum Gestirnt
Das grössre wunderwerk der endlichkeit!"

The poem presents obvious difficulties to the understanding. Between lines 5/6 and 7/8 a logical discrepancy arises which

1) Der Stern des Bundes, p. 34.
For commentaries on the poem:
Cf.: Edgar Salin: Um Stefan George, Godesberg 1948, p. 262.
Friedrich Wolters: Stefan George etc., Berlin 1930, p. 402.
is removed, however, if one considers that the meaning of "Bescheidet vor vollendung sich mit tod..." is "acquiesces in death before fulfilment". In other words, "Wer adel hat" may be called upon to pay the heaviest price for his creative work, while "Das niedre" is of too inferior growth to seek fulfilment at all. But this is not the whole meaning of George's words. The noble mind aspires to the state of significant form (bild), while the inferior mind is denied the awareness of a fuller existence (larvenhaft). For the first, death itself may be fashioned into a last confirmation of the human form, the second, when it dies, merely discontinues a process of vegetation. It is not quite clear how the last two lines link up with the first eight. "Sinn- und klangnetz" are George's symbols for philosophy and music, but the dots after the eighth line indicate that the poet himself may not have been certain how far the last and the penultimate lines could be taken as a summing up of the preceding eight. One may sense a link between the noble mind ("Wer adel hat") and the coming triumph of poetry ("Das grössre wunderwerk der endlickeit"), and perhaps there is a faint parallel between the death of "Das niedre" and the decline of music and philosophy. However that may be, the last two lines convey a clear meaning: now that philosophy and music have accomplished their mission, the major miracle of the finite world, - that is to say, the poetry of significant form, - is waiting for leadership and fulfilment.

This, as we shall presently see, was not the only occasion that the nature of philosophy and music suggested the image of a net to the poet. In Hyperion he employs the words "Ihr die in sinnen verstrickten" in passing sentence on the prepossession of the German mind with spec-

1) Das Neue Reich, p. 14.
Illative thought. In another late poem the word "zaubernetz" is employed to qualify the song of the sea god. In the meshes of this magic net the murmur of the waves and destiny encounter each other. Obviously the net was not an accidental symbol in George's vocabulary. It points to something essential in his apprehension of music and philosophy. They, like the net with its infinite tangle of connections, were seen by him to possess an aspect of infinity: both could be spun out and both could be restricted without harm because no measure of form attached to their nature. They showed no more relevance to the human form than a woolly mass of interweaving threads.

Many examples could be quoted of the influence which the poet's struggle for form exercised on his imagery, but one has to restrict oneself to a selection of those which link up with the development of his attitude to music. Two of these seem particularly pertinent to the present inquiry. Both come from the prophetic verse of Der Stern des Bundes. In both musical imagery is used in a manner which suggests that after the death of Maximin musical sound was both thought and felt to be a distracting influence from the prophetic view. The first poem is George's apologia for the non-prophetic verse of the earlier days of his career:

"All die jugend floss dir wie ein tanz
Ein berauschtes spiel von horn und fote?
'Herr so lockt ich deine sonnensorine.
Menschlich glück verschwör ich um dein lied
Fügte mich der not des wandertum es
Forschte bis ich dich in ihnen fände ..."2)

1) "An die Kinder des Meeres", part IV. Das Neue Reich, p. 25. Cf.: "Ihr seid gebannt; der Meergott blasst das lied
Um fels und insel schlingt sein zaubernetz
Verknüpfend schicksal mit dem ton der wogen .." etc.

It will be seen that the poet rejects the suggestion that his early work was unworthy of the light which he saw when Maximin appeared. But the question, in lines 1/2, in which his unworthiness is suggested, is cast in terms of three musical images, identifying, as it were, though only for the sake of a rhetorical question, the soft intoxication of music with a denial of significant form. George is satisfied that his early verse was a preparation which he was right in not foregoing, but his doubt that it may have been unworthy of him, demands, for exposing the full measure of its possible unworthiness, the use of musical imagery.

In the second poem George reaffirms his faith that for one to whom significant form has revealed the way of life, there should be no danger of relapsing into the "woeful sounds" of melancholy:

"Durch die gärten lispeln zitternd
Grau und gold des späten tags.
Irr-gestalt wischt sich vonsonnen
Sommerfäden aus der stirne.
Wehmut flötet ... dort in häusern
Dunte klänge laden sänmeichelnd
Seugen süß die seele ... Eilet!
Alles dies ist herbstgesang.
Stimme die in euch erklungen
Heischt nicht gift noch welken glanz."

Again, one must assume that the temptation to slide back into the waters of voluptuous emotion for the sake of emotion, would have been incompletely conveyed without the mediation of musical imagery. The poet's purpose was to contrast the bracing reality of significant form with the soft
sentimentality of the romantic tradition\(^1\). A skilfully designed chain of musical images was his answer to his problem, with the visual symbol of "Irrgestalt" thrown in to add to the inevitability of their effect. A lavish use of sense-transfer (grau und gold lispeln, bunte klänge saugen) sharpens the contrast between the simple wholeness of form and the diffuseness of an autumnal situation.

The lesson suggested by these two poems is not that George's receptiveness to music diminished in any way after 1904, but rather that he scorned his own susceptibility. Not only was music now labelled a "bad" thing in terms of the prophetic view of life, but musical sensation itself was considered dangerous almost on a physiological level. In poems such as "Ein edelkind sah vom balkon"\(^2\) or "Das lied das jener bettler dudelt"\(^3\) he had wallowed in the melancholy which music called up in his mind. But for the prophet he now was, music disclosed itself as a source of obscure sentiments, an art which took the unhappiness of the world upon its shoulders at a time when the world was being redeemed and there was, or should have been, no occasion

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1) In contrast with this poem, Maximin's figure was depicted in one long chain of visual images:

"Rückgekehrt vom land des rausches
Reicher strände frucht und blüte
Traf ich dich im heimat-lenze:
Der ist goldgrun zart und spröde.
Neben weissem birkenstamme
Blank und aller hüllen ledig
Stehst du fest auf blumigem grunde
Denn du bist ein gott der nähe.
Auge hell noch ohne schatten
Stark die balien deiner hände-
Hast des hirten brust und knie ...
Ja du bist ein gott der frühe."

Der Stern des Bundes, p. 65.

2) See above: p. 195.

3) See above: p. 197.
for experiencing such unhappiness. This explains his attempt to whitewash his earlier work by claiming that his "music" was no vain reveling in darkness, but the budding prophet's preparation for the classical adventure). It also explains George's nervous reaction to the allure of "bunte Klänge" and the banality of the last two lines, which one is inclined to take as a glorified footnote, added for the benefit of weaker minds.

As if to help the critic, George summarised most of the things he felt and thought about music in "Hyperion". Music and philosophy were again singled out for his attack; twin

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1) The same message is suggested by the first poem of the sequence ("Da dein gewitter oh donner die wolken zerreiist..." Der Stern des Bundes, Erstes Buch, p. 12). It is obvious that the subject of this poem is poetry and not music. But there is musical imagery in the poem and it is interesting to note how it puts the poet on his defensive. There is an unmistakable touch of apology in his statement that "the august tune of the harp and even the soft sounds of the lyre" can carry the message of the Prophet. In the penultimate and last lines "profetenmusik" and "heldengesang" obviously refer to poetry. George had Dante in mind (cf. Morwitz: Die Dichtung Stefan Georges, p. 130). Nevertheless, coming at this time, "profetenmusik" is a surprising combination. It shows that even in the prophetic period of his life he could not always dissociate the notion of some pure magnificence from music or, at least, that he did not go out of his way to find an alternative image, once "musik" was there with all the right connotations. Or was it that, left on its own, music was a dangerous seducer, but that it was safe enough in the company of the Prophet? However this may be, George was careful not to suggest that the actual work of redemption demands the presence of "profetenmusik" and "heldengesang". He confines the relevance of both to the birth and early childhood of the redeemer; in other words, his early work was rescued from the condemnation. Bild, Wort and Tat were to be the agents of redemption.
brothers of the same metaphysical parentage. For George both appeared to represent a straining after the unattainable; both scorned the idea of fulfilment in this life, both directed their attention to the next. A fundamental pessimism was their common denominator on an emotional level. Hence their danger to the German mind. Their spiritual energies absorbed by two such spurious pursuits, the Germans were unable to subscribe to a general code of existence. This is again the voice of the prophet. In a world where the measures of plastic orthodoxy filled the whole landscape of a worthy life, musicians and philosophers were anarchists, and their work led to insufferable abuses:

"Ihr die in sinnen verstrickten
Ihr die in tönern verströmten
Schlaf denn beim werk:
Klagend an ach welchen wassern,
Weinend an ach welchen weiden
Nach - welchem glücke!
Lern nicht des tanzenden schritts
Holde gebärde der freude
Roh da ihr schwank seid,
Fruchtbarem bund nicht gefüge
Ihr auch zu zweien allein!
Ihr mit dem spiegel."

1) George had no use for speculative thought or thinkers. "Philosophie macht hässlich", he said to Percy Gothein, but of course, the Greek thinkers were exempted from the condemnation. Cf.: Percy Gothein: "Die Halkyonischen Tage", Castrum Peregrini, Elfes Heft, Amsterdam 1953, p. 25.


2) Das Neue Reich, pp. 14-15. For the discussion of the dance imagery Cf.: Chapter 7, pp. 301-05.
It will be seen that the notion of fluency covers both the nature (verströmt) and the effect of musical experience (klagend an ... wassern). The second is strengthened by a reference to the willow tree - a symbol of mourning traditionally associated with water. The whole passage is a summary indictment of the German mind. It embraces both the case against music (lines 2, 4, 5, 10, 11) and - as a moral corrective - the remedy suggested by the dance imagery (line 7). That the fluency of musical experience and the mirror were brought together in this context is no mere accident: "Spiegel", like the ever changing surface of the water, was the agent of a senseless diversity. Ready to reflect anything that came in its way, the mirror was a symbol of helplessness in the face of nature, a denial of significant form and of the singlemindedness which its pursuit required. It was in this sense that George used the word "spiegelungen" in an earlier instance, but there the kaleidoscopic glimmer was actually identified with the reflections of the waves:

"Der strom geht hoch ... da folgt dies wilde herz
Worin ein brand sich walzt von tausendjahren
Den es verbreiten möchte in licht und tiefe
Und nicht entladen kann - den spiegelungen.
Es seufzt den wellen nach als soviel wesen
Die ihm entrinnen ihm entronnen sind..."1)

1) Music and the hereafter were almost coterminous in George's vocabulary. The image of the fluency of water was thought to apply to both in a very similar fashion. Cf.:

"...Ihr harrt und ruft
Dicht bei der schwelle: Überflut uns wirbel!
Umfass uns grosses Jenseits! brich hervor
O leuchtung Lösung! ... und was kommt ist nacht.
Der Stern des Bundes, p. 33.

2) Der Stern des Bundes, p. 5.
In other words, "light" and "depth" provided the appropriate setting for the realization of the prophet's message. Against the backcloth of these it was possible to visualize an order of finite perfections on the pattern of organic form. The "stream", the "reflections" and the "waves" stood for the opposite principle. Like music, they were symbols of a grand flow of things from which there was no return to a significant human order.

The last poem which offers major evidence of George's attitude to music, Burg Falkenstein, shows his apprehension firmly riveted to the net, the water and the mirror. Music and philosophy are again the main targets of his attack, and the pessimistic frame of the German mind is again attributed to their influence:

"Voll gedanken entbehrt
leichteren göttersinn ...
Wo ein lied ihnen quoll
meist war es klage." 1) The prophet's message was to put an end to this joyless existence. The poetry which was to carry it was a "golden tone", a "powerful breath" of "pure metal". But this harbinger of a new life was to overcome a significant collection of obstacles. It was to break away from the "fitful glitter of the sea waves" (schillern), leave behind the "wavy substance of the valleys" (gewell) 2) and the "vapours of the busy towns" (dunst) 3) and arrive in the sunny landscape.

1) Das Neue Reich, p. 56.
2) For the contrast between the waves and significant form in the earlier prophetic poetry Cf.:
   "...Taucht silberfusses aus der purpurwelle!
   So drang durch unser brünstiges beschworen
   Der wehe schrei nach dem lebendigen kerne.
   Der Stern des Bundes, p. 7.
3) "Dunst" had the same function on earlier occasions in the prophetic verse. Cf.:
   "...Wo ist das reine blut um uns zu tränken?
   Neblige dunste ballet euch zu formen!...
   ibid. p. 7."
of Southern parts without "manyvoiced confusion" (vielstimmig gewirr). From there it was to return to the North again, reinforced with the vision of significant form (gestaltenzug), ready to impart tidings of a more joyful future:

"Ungewohnt noch dem ohr schwingt sich der goldene ton:
Frühester ahnen geheiss unseres gottes verspruch...
Ab von dem schillernden sund über der täler gewell
Dunstiger städte betrieb zuckt er durchs alternde herz.
Über das Felsengebirt
bis zu der zedern gewölb
Bis an den strahlenden golf ohne vielstimmig gewirr
Hallend von reinerm metall dringt der gewaltige hauch..."

One misses a reference to dreaming in this passage, but, given a similar context, noone could expect George to forego the services of so tried a friend. His mind was too tidy for such omissions, and, in fact, about the same time when the net, the water and the reflections had their heyday in his imagination, he went back to his favourite dream-cum-music combination to press home a message which was almost identical with that of "Burg Falkenstein". "Unter euch lebt ich im lande der träume und töne", he makes a disgruntled Goethe warn his compatriots, and, of course, Greece is his answer to the temptation of both, complete with "Attic gestures" and the "powerful sound of Aeolian lips":

...so weiss ich allein die gebärden Attischer würde ... die süßen und kräftigen klänge Eines äolischen mundes ...

It will be seen that the picture pieced together from George's letters and conversations is confirmed by the

1) ibid. p. 57.
2) "Goethes letzte Nacht in Italien", Das Neue Reich, pp.10-11.
testimony of his poetic work. Additional conclusions, however, suggest themselves, which should fill in some of the missing details. The present section has not confined itself to those poems in which music provides the bulk of the poetic argument. To catch the poet unawares, one has to go to his imagery and see how his apprehension is related to the views formally expressed in his verse. An approach to the subject from these two angles exposes the fragility of the distinction which is traditionally made between a poet's thoughts and his feelings, as though a thought felt were no legitimate subject of poetry, or a feeling given a rational currency were not a natural expansion for a philosophically minded poet.

It has been shown, - and the appendix to this chapter will provide further evidence, - that in the majority of cases musical sound called up dream-like and sombre associations in George's mind, both before and after 1904. But before 1904 it was part of his lyrical creed to lay himself open to this influence, while after that date the prophetic view imposed a ban on the conscious enjoyment of sorrow. Music was put beyond the pale; in this sense, his hostility was not inherent in his emotional make up. George's insistence, however, that the predominance of music was principally responsible for the pessimistic mould of the German mind was, ultimately, anchored in his own experience. Some of his aversions, therefore, namely the reasons given for the condemnation of music on a cultural plane, issued from his own emotional reactions. Thus his attitude after 1904 was a composite thing: "thought" required that he should reject a tempting but harmful experience, and "feeling" demanded that this experience should secure some influence on the level of thought. In other words, music was outlawed.
because its workings seemed irreconcilable with the ethos of significant form, and the pessimism of the German mind was put down to the influence of music because in George's apprehension music was a source of soulful resignation.

The overlapping of the two influences is equally obvious in his late imagery. Normally a thing of the emotions rather than thought, his imagery now shows signs of an intercourse with the prophetic master notion. The net, the water and the mirror were reactions, almost at a subconscious level, to significant form. They were felt, and probably felt with great sincerity. But it would be absurd to assume that this kind of feeling could have suggested itself to him at all, let alone with the persistency of later years, in the absence of the stimulus provided by organic form.

In the last analysis one is left with two facts which, between them, account for George's aversion to music in the second part of his life. The first is an aesthetic formula which was hurried to the surface when the poet met Maximin. His philosophical views were all hung on this peg, including the dogma of the inferiority of music. The second fact may be described as the poet's constitutional inability to associate with music any but the most melancholy and unreal aspects of living. It will be shown that whenever this was not the case, and that represents a minority of instances, either the presence of dance-imagery or other reasons served to alter his reaction. The melancholy which musical sound normally produced in the poet after, no less than before, 1904, was a survival, at a deep and carefully camouflaged level, of his apprehension of reality as a pleasantly, sometimes disturbingly, chaotic flow of things. As the aesthetic formula matured in his mind, this apprehension was gradually harnessed to the prophetic view, providing, as it were, a background of evil without which the message
of the human form could not stand out in proper relief. The development of the poet's aversion to music, and the light thrown on it by his musical imagery thus reveal themselves as problems of the relationship between the "romantic" and "classical" type of apprehension. For Stefan George the first was the more natural, the second the loftier hypothesis.

a) Im dichten Dunst dringt nur dumpf und selten
   Ein ton herab**** unterworfener welten

b) Schon taucht die wüstenei
   Zurück zum dunkeln schacht -
   Ein ton von qual und nacht
   Dringt wie ein letzter schrei.
   Das Jenseits Seel p. 115.

c) Dass auch der abgrund hahl wie schwacher schrei
   Und todes flach wie klingen der schlamel.
   Der Tag p. 63.

d) Wenn sich die sitternden melodien
   Hängen empor aus dumpf hallenden schäichten.
   Der Siebente Ring p. 69.

e) Der gibt ersterbender und sanfter klang
   Von einer nie versunken kunde
   Ein dumpfes sargain unterdrückt vom tang
   Quillt spät empor aus dunkler schrunde.
   ibid. p. 73.

f) Wo jede wegsprur sich verliert im düster
   Stanzen des abgrunde dunkle harfen.
   ibid. p. 135.

g) Und nachts am felsen drönt der erne gesang
   Des ewigen triebes vereint der ewigen qual...
   Das Neue Reich p. 22.
D. APPENDIX

I. The majority of George's musical imagery (59 symbols, metaphors and similes out of a total of 76) convey or amplify moods of dejection and sombreness. This applies to the poetry written both before and after 1904.

1. George frequently associates musical sound with the dark and ill-foreboding forces of nature (Abgrund, Schlucht, Schacht etc.)

   a) Im dichten dunste dringt nur dumpf und selten, Ein ton herauf aus unterworfenen weiten

   b) Schon taucht die wüstenei
      Zurück zum dunkeln schacht -
      Ein ton von qual und nacht
      Erlicht wie ein letzter schrei.
      [Das Jahr der Seele p. 116.

   c) Dass euch der abgrund hallt wie schwacher schrei
      Und todes fluch wie klingen der schalmei.
      [Der Teppich p. 63.

   d) Wenn sich die zitternden melodieen
      Rangen empor aus dumpf hallenden schächten!
      [Der Siebente Ring p. 69.

   e) Dir gibt ersterbender und sanfter klang
      Von einer hier versunkenen kunde:
      Ein dumptes gurgeln unterdrückt vom tang
      Quill und spät empor aus dunkler schrunde.
      [ibid. p. 73.

   f) Wo jede wegspur sich verliert im düster
      Summen des abgrunds dunkle harfen.
      [ibid. p. 135.

   g) Und nachts am felsen dröht der erne Gesang
      Des ewigen triebs vereint der ewigen qual...
      [Das Neue Reich p. 22.
2. In a large number of cases sound-imagery is used to amplify situations of pain, sleep, dying and decline. (The poet employs some striking combinations such as "schlaflied", "todesvogel-ruf", "seufzerton", "sterbeglocken", "klaglaut").

   a) Ob ein sturm auch eben tose
      Und ein lied vom winter pfeife:...
      Hymnen p. 72.

   b) Den wandrern bietet ein gelispel halt,
      Ist es vom berg ein unsichtbares wasser
      Ist es ein vogel der sein schlaflied lallt?
      Das Jahr p. 11.

   c) Ich aber horchte in die nahe nacht
      Ob dort ein letzter vogelruf vermelde
      Den schlaf aus dem sie froh und schön erwacht.
      ibid. p. 45.

   d) Zu traurigem behuf
      Erweckte sturm die flur,
      Aus finstrem tag entfuhr
      Ein todesvogel-ruf.

   e) Indes deine mutter dich stillt
      Soll eine ledige fee
      Von schatten singen und tod.
      ibid. p. 55.

   f) Dem fern im licht geheiligten efeben
      Verklang sein schmerz in feierlichen weisen.
      ibid. p. 50.

   g) Ein schwaches floten von zerpfliicktem aste
      Verkündet dir dass letzte güte weise
      Das land (eh es im nahen sturm vereise)
      Noch hütle mit beglänzendem damaste.
      ibid. p. 9.
h) Und mit des endes ton - dem lied der grille -
Geht auch erinnerung sterben in der stille.
Der Teppich p. 34.

i) Und als du schiedest lispelte verworren
In seufzertönen das verwaiste tal.
Der Siebente Ring p. 89.

j) Und der vogel spielt leis auf:
Flur und garten sind vom blühen tot.
Der Teppich p. 89.

k) Bis traumstill auf höhn
Der strahl in dir tauscht
In goldnem geton
Dein leben verrauscht.
ibid. p. 92.

l) Der seltnen vögel klagendes gefistel
Verliert sich in den gipfeln kahler eichen,
Der Siebente Ring p. 74.

m) Mir klingen sterbeglocken von den heitren halden,
Du singst ein lied im blüten-überschwall.
ibid. p. 76.

n) Die teuren gärten wurden dumpfe pferche
Mit bäumen voll unzeitig giftigen schnees
Und hoffnungslosen tones stieg die lerche.
ibid. p. 81.

o) Nackter gott vorm schilfrigen fächer -
Welch ein klaglaut hat dich umgirrt?
ibid. p. 171.

p) Ein leiersang uns trifft wie tônend wah.
ibid. p. 204.
3. In many instances musical sound suggests a dream-like melancholy to the poet. Some of these have been mentioned in section B. There are several others such as the following:

a) Sie waren Wenn er sich im höchsten Schwunge
Die Welt entfliehend unter Träume setzte
Des Tempels saitenspiel und heilige Zunge.

Das Jahr der Seele p. 52.

b) Da auf dem seidnen Lager
Neidisch der schlummer mich mied ...
Nun schlingt mich in eure Bände
Flötenspieler vom Nil.

Hymnen p. 106.

c) Ahnendes Schweigen barnt die hier wohnen ...
Traumfittich rausche! Traumharfe kling!

Der Siebente Ring p. 126.

d) Und jedes heimlich horchte im Geäste
Dem Sang von einem Traum der noch nicht ist —

ibid. p. 132.

e) Wo Flöte aus dem weidicht tönt, aus Hainen
Windharfen rauschen, wo der Trugum noch webt

Das Neue Reich p. 33.

f) Was wisst ihr von dem reichen Traum und Sänge
Die ihr bestaunet! ...

Der Siebente Ring p. 11.
II. In a minority of cases George's sound images convey or supply an undertone to moods of joy and gaiety. In all these instances sound imagery is either (1) associated with dancing, (2) associated with the simple singing of children, or (3) referring to clear and metallic sounds, more in the nature of the sound which George associated with his own verse, than music. Sometimes these characteristics overlap.

1.

a) Hörst du das elfenlied zum elfentanz?
Hymnen p. 13.

b) Unter der weiden frühen erblühn
Horchen die kinder entzückt einer scherzenden flöte
In die weilchenwolkige blendende röte
Hüpfen und tanzen sie hoffend und kühn.
Der Teppich p. 80.

c) Sie kamen unter tanz und sang und sprunge
Stets dem gefährte wieder bei und weiter
Mit wildem jauchzen und unbändigem schwunge.
Der Siebente Ring p. 38.

d) Und hall von horn und pfeife eint und weitet:
Dann sprengt ihr eures eignen willens fesseln.
Dann schwillt das fest in rasendem getobe ...
Doch lockern sich die knäuel und die tänze ...
ibid. p. 178.

e) Wo zu der huldigung von flöt und horn
Von aller farbe sang und tanz umschwungen
Von aller frucht und blüte duft umdrungen
Das heilige Loblied steigt: der ewige born.
Der Stern des Bundes p. 105

f) Mit gliedern blank mit augen klar
Kommt nun ein kind mit goldinem haar,
Er tanzt und singt auf seiner bahn
Und schwindet hinterm grossen kahn.
Das Neue Reich p. 131.
2.

a) Das ist des kindes lallen
   Das seine Flöte prüft im rohr
   Dem dumpf entgegenhallen
   Gebüsch und ström und wind im chor.
   
   Die Fibel p. 8.

b) So begannst du mein tag:
   Von verheissungen voll
   Aus dem kindlichen tal
   Ein Jauchzen erscholl.
   
   Der Teppich p. 87.

c) ... weiss dass morgen
   Leicht alle schönheit kraft und grossé steigt
   Aus eines knaben stillem flötenlied.
   
   Der Siebente Ring p. 7.

d) from: "Die kindheit des helden":
   Ungelehrt erschallt sein klares
   Singen durch die wusteneien,
   Spielt zum jauchzen der schalmeien
   Flattern seines hellen haares.
   
   ibid. p. 58.

e) Im garten wiegt der kinder ringelreihn
   In weiche luft des abends dringt ihr sang.
   
   Das Neue Reich p. 107.

3.

a) Gib ein lied mir wieder
   Im klaren tone deiner freudentage -
   
   Das Jahr der Seele p. 94

b) (Note the contrast between "trauerrufe" and "stimme"):)
   Flöre wehn durch bunte säle,
   Trauerrufe dringen gell:
   Als die düsteren choräle
   Stimme spaltet jung und hell ...
   
   Der Siebente Ring p. 175.
c) (Note again the contrast between "Grell tönende saite" and "grundnote"): 
Grell tönende saite ziehn sie auf ihre leier ... 
Doch wer die grundnote hört der lacht und bleibt stumm. 

d) Horch eine stimme wird wach! 
Blüten-umspinnemem fach 
Heiliger brunnen entsprang; 
Sendet den einfachen sang 
Klar durch das dickicht einher ... 
ibid. p. 137.

e) ... Ein eisern klimren ... 
Und jubelnd drohend klang ein dreigeteilter 
Metallen heller ruf und wut und kraft 
Und schauer überfielen mich als legte 
Sich eine flache klinge mir aufs haupt - 
Der Stern des Bundes p. 114

f) ohne vielstimmig gewirr 
Hallend von reinerm metall 
dringt der gewaltige hauch ... 
Das Neue Reich p. 57.

g) Ersehnter kömmling der an unsrer tür 
Oft uns zu kurzem gang im herbstwind lud 
Dess fragend wort und sanft metallnes lachen 
Trost war der winternacht ... 
ibid. p. 22.

(Sometimes George actually named the instruments which 
produced the "metallic sounds"):)

h) All den tag hatt ich im sinne 
Klang der wirklichen drommete, ... 
Der Siebente Ring p. 114.

i) Dann hängt ihr die zunge am trocknenden trog, 
Irrt ratlos wie vieh durch den brenmenden hof ... 
Und schrecklich erschallt die posaune. 
ibid. p. 57.
It will be noted that all references to the "metallic sound" occur in the prophetic verse, and they all point to poetry.
CHAPTER VI

THE ATTITUDE

OF MEMBERS OF THE GEORGE CIRCLE TO MUSIC

AS SHOWN IN THE WORK OF WOLFF,

PETERSSEN AND WOLFSKEHL

5. WHICH WOLFF AND CARL PETERSSEN

As a history Dr, as they were pretentiously called it, survey of the "fate" of music, the work of Wolff and Peterssen can merit no serious academic attention. What attention it received at the expert hands of Professor Benz? was enough to reveal it for what it was a laboured product of wishful thinking raised on what little and inconclusive evidence musicologists possess of the nature of Greek music. Allowance being made for his inadequate appreciation of

1) Wolff-Peterssen: Das Schicksal der Musik von der Antike zur Gegenwart, Pösdau 1822, containing "Wort und Ton" by Wolff and "Vom Gesetz der Musik" by Peterssen.

A. INTRODUCTION

In the present chapter an attempt will be made to show that on closer examination the attitude to music which characterizes the followers of Stefan George also reveals itself as an expansion of the Gestalt-concept, similar to that examined in the works of Wolters and Gundolf. It will not be our immediate concern to investigate how far their rejection of almost the whole range of European music was a matter of prejudice generated by the loving care for the spoken word of a community of poetry lovers, once they realized that the overwhelming popularity of music threatened to relegate their art to a position which was bound to be inferior to that occupied by the poetry and poets of ancient Greece. Rather, we shall examine the reasons which were offered to justify this reaction and see how they relate to significant form and the metaphysical properties which were seen to have issued from it.

B. ERICH WOLFF AND CARL PETERSEN

As a history or, as they more pretentiously called it, survey of the "fate" of music, the work of Wolff and Petersen can merit no serious academic attention. What attention it received at the expert hands of Professor Benz was enough to reveal it for what it was: a laboured product of wishful thinking raised on what little and inconclusive evidence musicologists possess of the nature of Greek music. Allowance being made for his inadequate appreciation of

1) Wolff-Petersen: Das Schicksal der Musik von der Antike zur Gegenwart, Breslau 1923, containing "Wort und Ton" by Wolff and "Vom Gesetz der Musik" by Petersen.

George's art (something he was later anxious to rectify) which was probably part of a somewhat exaggerated reaction to the condemnation by Wolff and Petersen of his life-long preoccupation: the German romantics - there is nothing in Professor Benz's verdict that all but the most obstinate enemies of music could not fully endorse. And, indeed, the amazing amount of fantasy and misrepresentation which the two authors compressed into their work was only matched by the preposterous solemnity of their presentation and the inconsistency with which they pursued their thesis. Theirs will not be the consolation of the deliberately eccentric that posterity will discover method in their madness. Granted the initial bias, The Fate of Music has the fascination of the unusual, but it is deficient on the side of logic even within its very limited terms of reference.

However this may be, it is precisely by examining such distortions of fact and errors of judgement that a morphological inquiry can best attain its purpose, because the distortions encountered soon reveal themselves as reflections of a central pattern, each showing a slightly different application of the same basic assumption, each contributing something to our knowledge of the original. With these magnifications at our disposal laboratory conditions exist for the diagnosis of the disease - for no other term can do justice to this eccentric musicology - and for a fuller understanding of the things that caused it.

Music has no justification except as part of or accompaniment to poetry - this is the simple thesis behind the elaborate verbal tissues of Wolff and Petersen. Music, they thought, was not an independent art in Greece, hence the significance of its growth in later ages should be
assessed in relation to poetry and notably to classical verse, to which it once served as accompaniment. But at the heart of classical poetry the human form and statuesque beauty provided the principal images, and the worth of music was determined by the extent to which it could emulate their characteristics). In Homer, it was argued, words dominated the speaking of verse and when musical instruments were called in, their task was merely to furnish the hexameters with a fitting emotional background. But far from overpowering the spoken words by waves of musical sound, they underlined the plasticity and the spatial characteristics of the poetry, furnishing every line with a slightly different but extremely simple melodic inflection. The music produced by the aulete or the citharist was non-polyphonic and non-harmonic. Apart from intonation and colour there was, therefore, only one way of introducing variety and that was by delicate inflections, that is to say, by modulating the pitch employed in the preceding line. This spatial symbolism in sound, Wolff implied, helped to underline the statuesque origin of classical poetry. Both poetry and music were conceived in terms of spatial characteristics, both referred to manageable proportions in a finite articulate order — poetry by its trust in the high significance of the human world, and music by its adherence to plastic measures. From these assumptions two things followed: first, it had to be shown that Greek and, to a lesser degree, early Christian music were reflections in time of static spatial proportions (unfrozen architecture — to reverse a familiar analogy) and, secondly that the majority of later music was conceived as motion, without

regard to the guidance offered by the principles of the plastic arts. With these assumptions in mind it can be seen why Wolff repeatedly attempted to draw attention to the allegedly static nature of Greek music and its independence of the fluency which the principle of time was thought to represent:

"(Homers Melos ...) ist im wesentlichen keine Folge von Schritten, sondern in einem durch die Sprache gegebenen Tonraume die wechselvolle Darstellung höher und tiefer Töne, sozusagen die Absteckung einer besonderen Raumausfüllung in dem allgemeinen Raume ... (Das homerische Saiteninstrument) ... hatte ... die Aufgabe ... keineswegs Melodie als Bewegungseinheit, wohl aber feste Grenzpunkte im Tonraume zu geben."¹)

And later:

"(Nach diesem Vorbild) ist auch die losgelöste Melodie für den Griechen keine Reihe d.h. keine Folge von Bewegungen ...sondern eine sozusagen nur zufällig in der Zeit geschene Raumabsteckung. Durch jeden Ton wird der durch den vorhergehenden schon bestimmte Raum weiter gegliedert, ein Abstand wird sichtbar gemacht, der als solcher den gleichen augenhaften Wert hat wie etwa der Abstand zwischen zwei Säulen."²)

Followed to their logical conclusion, these ideas had disastrous effects on the musicology of Wolff and Petersen. It had to be assumed that music has been on the decline ever since it ceased to be part of poetry or serve as an ornament to its recital. And, in fact, a theory was put forward to show that, with but few exceptions, the whole body of European music represents a sad degeneration from the erstwhile perfection of the Greek musical arts³) and,

1) op. cit. pp. 7-8.
2) op. cit. p. 23.
3) Cf.: "Jeder irgendwie entscheidende Fortschritt, jeder Übergang zu einem neuen Musikstil ist erkauft mit dem Preis eines Abbruchs von der Substanz, eines Raubes vom Kapital des antiken Gesanges."
   ibid. p. 53.
more particularly, that European music had reached the summit of its achievement in the choruses of the classical tragedies to which it never ceased to look back with nostalgia. Oratorio, Passion music and Opera were but misconceived attempts at refurbishing some of their ancient glory.

But in order to understand the nature of so absurd a suggestion we must go back to the Gestalt-concept whence, after the death of Maximin, all ideas in the George circle received their initial impetus. Greek sculpture and painting, it was thought, and - under their influence - heroic poetry, produced the best things the human mind was capable of producing. But painting and sculpture bodied forth significant form detailing finite visual wholes from the moving continuity of reality. Statuesque beauty emerged from the indeterminate flow of things, form, with a message of health, balance and bracing earthiness, appeared against a background of vague infinity. But music, as the word is understood today, could not be shown to bear any direct relation to this conception of significant form. Musical form was not visual nor was it statuesque or finite in any accepted sense. In fact music was suspected of inspiring sentiments which were hostile to the ethos evoked by classical sculpture and poetry. It was assumed that somehow other music sounded the depths of extrahuman conditions, that it inspired feelings of the vastness of the universe, of the insignificance of man in this immense scheme of things, of the sweetness of death in such a mighty
These, at least, were some of the things with which music was associated in the minds of the followers of George and it must be said in fairness that since the middle of the 19th Century a school of thought existed from which they could draw qualified support.

It was with these ideas in mind that Wolff and Petersen embarked on writing their *Fate of Music*. Music gained its autonomy, the two authors thought, at the expense of its healthy dependence on Greek song. The further we are removed from Greek civilization, the wider the gap between music and significant form. Music, they argued, obtained its independence at its peril because, unassisted by the pattern offered by the plastic arts, it lent itself to the reflections of effeminate and over-spiritualized minds, in short, music was the romantic art *par excellence*. Hence the idea that music in its modern autonomy has a quality of otherworldliness and intoxication, that it conveys no ethos and consequently hampers the work of the doer:

"Musik ist an sich immer gestaltfeindlicher Rausch ... Kein abendländisches Tonwerk ist je Darstellung des Gleich- chen, leibhaftig gewordener Ausdruck einer bildnerischen Kraft, der Tat, den Werke, dem Worte gleichzuordnen. Schon die Herausstellung wortferner Tonwerke an sich ... ist ein bildfeindlicher Akt." 2)

1) *Cp.*: "Und wenn man gerade von den grössten Musikern weiss, dass sie auf dem Sterbebett erst die Musik zu hören motten, der sie ihr Leben lang vergeblich nachgetrachtet haben, ... so ist hieraus zu lernen, dass innerhalb der Grenzen des Leibes eine musikalische Erfüllung unmöglich ist, dass die Richtung der Musik an sich utopisch, ohne Urform, ohne Idee ist, dass sie immer wieder die Vernei- nung des Formhaften fördert und bedeutet, die wir im Letzten nur unter dem Namen 'Tod' kennen. Im Tode allein wird alle Musik vollkommen."

ibid. p. 233.

2) ibid. p. 56.
From this followed the condemnation in theory (the actual practice was rather different) of all types of music which were not known to have existed in Greece and this, of course, included nearly the whole body of European music. Polyphony and harmony, instrumental music, the Minnesang, the sonata, the symphony and opera were all cast aside as degenerations of the simple idiom of Greek monophony. The charge against polyphony was that it constitutes

"das ganz unvergleichliche sinnliche Symbol der
gestaltfeindlichen Seelenentruckung"¹)  
and even its earliest form, the two-part organum with its parallel motion in fourths and fifths was condemned because

"das geistige Gesetz versank in dem Augenblicke, wo das Organon, die Parallelbewegung zweier Stimmen über dem gleichen Text, zum ersten male in der Kirche erklung"²).

The roots of both judgements must be sought in the fact that polyphony introduced a vertical as well as a horizontal disposition, invalidating the analogy drawn from the purely horizontal pattern of poetry. For the kind of philosophy which Wolff and Petersen advocated this was a dangerous innovation. By the addition of a second melody to the song, the melodic freedom of the latter was limited and this, in turn, undermined the dominating position of the text which the song was merely designed to furnish with a congenial emotional background. The individual tones, having been isolated from the melodic flow, received a greater vertical impact and became parts of a sound complex whose appeal was less clearly associated with the words of the text than was the case with the cantus firmus. This, in short, meant that the words lost a good deal of their influence in moulding the pattern of the music. It was possible to design a

1) ibid. p. 64.
2) ibid. p. 145.
second melody which could not be shown to have any direct relation with the text. The two voices in their vertical unity relegated the melody and, even more, the words to the background. There was, incidentally, in this attitude something of condemnation of the Gothic because it could be argued that the vertical arrangement set no limit to the extent to which voices could be introduced to enrich the sound complex. That is to say, the music in its written form pointed heavenwards (Seelenentrückung), while in its vocal appeal it possessed a wealth and ethos of its own which exhibited no immediate reference of the meaning of the words. Morphologically this attitude has a deep significance because it shows that while it was the ambition of the two authors to convince us that music has no justification except in so far as it bears the imprint of the rounded, three-dimensional pattern of the plastic arts, they thought that this was best achieved by the kind of music which relies for its form on the primitive, one-dimensional pattern.

1) Ernst Gundolf, for instance, emphatically denied that there was such a thing as "Gothic form". Cp.: "...die notwendige unterlage des gestaltens fand sie (die gotische kunst) in der überlieferten romanischen form - eine gotische form gibt es eben nicht - und strebte nur danach sie zu entstofflichen und in bewegung, in rhythmus umzusetzen..." Ernst Gundolf: Über Stil, Jahrbuch II, p. 119.

Paul Tiersch, another member of the circle, wrote in 1911: "In bewegung ohne begrenzung streben die kräfte nach oben (in der gotischen kunst), in vielkantigen bündeln steigen erdfremd übersinnliche linien herauf ... in die verlorene spitze unendlicher flucht." Paul Tiersch: "Form und Kultus", Jahrbuch II, Berlin 1911, p. 132.
Cf. also pp. 131 and 135.
of Oriental music\(^1\). The initial bias against music which is at the root of this paradox, pervades the whole history. The latest form of music which Wolff and Petersen sincerely approved was the Gregorian chant because there, they thought, most of the characteristics of unaccompanied Greek song were preserved, although it was realized that in the Gregorian chant the correspondence between the words and the melody was less obvious than that between Greek poetry and its accompanying melos\(^2\). As the Gregorian art declined, one should add, the correspondence disappeared entirely, so much so that in the 9th Century certain traditional melodies were furnished with new texts, some of the songs having as many as seventy or eighty variants\(^3\).

But, the two authors thought, with the decline of the Gregorian mode the degeneration of music set in in earnest. Polyphony, as we have seen, was anathema to their

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1) The validity of this statement is not altered by the fact that the two authors refused to admit the Oriental nature of Greek music. Cf.: "Denn so tief sich die hellenische und frühmittelalterliche Musik ihrem klanglichen Material und seiner Verwendung nach von der neu-europäischen unterscheidet, so sehr die scheinbar rationale Konstruktion ihres homophon verwendeten Stoffes den Vergleich mit den vielfach reichentwickelten aussereuropäischen Musikern herauszufordern scheint, so weit trennt sich doch ihr geistiger Wille und ihre Einbeziehung in die Darstellungsmächte des Leibgeistigen, ihre Gebundenheit an das durchaus formende Prinzip, ihre Gelöstheit vom Chaos, das unter ihr wie unter jeder Musik schwingt und dämmt ..." ibid. p. 124.

2) Cf.: "Der gregorianische Gesang zeigt seine Einzigkeit zwischen den Zeiten am deutlichsten dadurch, dass er weder mit dem Wort wie der antike, noch gegen das Wort wie der moderne, sondern über dem Wort erklingt, eigentlich selber Wort ist." Ibid. p. 46.

whole way of thinking. The introduction of harmony, they argued, destroyed the liturgic simplicity of the Gregorian chant. It was a dangerous innovation because "Mystik und Harmonie sind urverwandt". Harmonic music had no poetic but only a harmful "gestalts-sprengende" power. Even the Minnesang, where words and the melody were fused into a rare unity, came in for some hard words, first because it was felt that the melody was not sufficiently subservient to the poetry, and, secondly, because the emotions it expressed were not "plastisch verkörpert". Equally damning was their verdict on the sonata which they described as "ein Drama von abstrakten Kräften, unkörperlicher Dynamik, leibloser Bewegung".

For similar reasons they rejected all symphonic music in whose creators they could see little more than "Medien eines Stoffwillens, den sie formhaft gestalten, ohne dass ihre Form ... menschliches Sein gestalten wollte".

The composers of such music had no constructive experience to express but merely a vague apprehension "ihres entkörperten Bewegungsgesetzes". Opera, our two musicologists thought,
was an art of intellectuals born of "dem spekulativen Wil- len kultivierter Menschen"\(^1\). And we must remember that in the vocabulary of the followers of Stefan George "philosophical" and "speculative" were terms of abuse, as scathing and bitter as any of the numerous words they coined to show their contempt for music.

But while on the one hand our two authors believed that the advent of polyphony relegated to the background the simple melody of earlier Christian and Greek music and the words which governed them, on the other hand they thought that one of the principal causes of the degeneration of later European music was the increasing independence of melody and, more particularly, its detachment in all instrumental music from the precision and balance offered by the words of poetry. The latter was one of the entrenched articles of their faith, so much so that they were at pains to demonstrate that even in Greek music the melos was the least indispensable and potentially the most dangerous element:

"es hat für sich kein Leben besessen und blieb ... an die Gesetze des Sichtbaren gefesselt"\(^2\).

But to justify their claim that Greek melody was merely a reflection in sound of something entirely extra-musical, they had to assume something equally startling about the Greek sense of rhythm. In Greece, they explained, the sense of rhythm had nothing to do with the sense of time. The Greeks conceived the rhythm of the melos as a translation into music of spatial features, notably of the rhythm of poetry and the rhythm of dancing\(^3\). Wolff and Petersen realized that this assumption was contradicted by Aristoxenos of

1) ibid. p. 208.
2) ibid. p. 137.
3) Cp.: "Rhythmische Gliederung für sich, an der Sprache und den Tanz vollzogen, ist noch nicht ein reines Zeitgeschehen, ist noch Bildwerdung im Raume durch das Mittel der Zeit."

ibid. p. 155.
Tarent who mentions three independent types of rhythm: the rhythm of poetry, the rhythm of dancing and the rhythm of melos or music. But such unpalatable evidence could not be trusted. It had to give way to the musical theory of Aristides in whom the two authors found a more helpful ally. It was now possible to quote a respectable ancient authority to the effect that

"dem Griechen eine andere als die am Sichtbaren gestaltete rhythmische Raumzeittgliederung undenkbar war" 1).

Greek melody, they concluded, should not be conceived as a continuous flow but as a series of spatial gaps, each bridged by a straightforward homophonic sound which seldom covered a distance larger than the tetrachord. Accordingly Greek melody was

"die durch den Willen vollzogene Überwindung eines räumlichen Abstandes" 2).

Its individual notes were self-contained, their function in the flow of the melody was little affected by the sounds which preceded and the sounds which followed them. Melody was, in fact, a coordination in sound of geometrical lines, each note connecting two stationary points in space and each rendered stationary in the process (beziehungsloses "Stehen der Stimme" 3).

It is not surprising that with views so biased Wolff and Petersen could find little to approve in the European bar system which they contemptuously described as pure "Zeitgliederung". Their attitude to the Italian form of recitative springs to mind as a characteristic example of this aversion. The general acceptance of the regular bar system 4), it will

1) ibid. p. 137.
2) ibid. p. 137.
3) ibid. p. 129; (the phrase in quotation marks is cited from Aristoxenos).
4) That is to say a steady two-beat or three-beat measure. Irregular barring existed before.
be remembered, coincided in the 17th Century with the advent of the Italian recitative. One would have expected that this type of music would be welcome to men who held strong views about instrumental and polyphonic music. But Wolff and Petersen thought otherwise. To them the main thing about the recitative was its detachment from the horizontal disposition and verbal rhythm of the Greek melos and the Christian plainsong. They argued that although the recitative displayed some superficial resemblance to Greek music, it had, in fact, lost all contact with "dem griechischen Wortleib". The explanation offered was logical enough: the bar system on which the rhythm of the recitative rested betrayed the legacy of the Greek and early Christian song in two important respects. First, it was a notation of time and not a translation into sound of the measures of poetic recitation (das deklamatorische Gefühl) which, in turn, conveyed spatial symmetries. Secondly the bars introduced another vertical division into a music which was already vertically constructed. The two authors concluded that although recitative offered a good opportunity for the restoration of the spoken word to its former position, the vertical disposition of the chords which accompanied the singing and, above all, the introduction of the time measure by virtue of the vertical bar combined to destroy it. No music worthy of the name (and that confined the art to its pre-Gregorian history) could be allowed to show any dependence on time-measures, nor could the authors of this startling theory admit that music, properly so called, was anything...

1) ibid. p. 90. This phrase in the text refers to the organum.
2) ibid. p. 92. In the text the phrase refers to the treatment of words as quantitative rather than accentual in the earlier recitative and in the organum.
less rudimentary than the human voice accompanied by a simple one-dimensional sound.

But the bar system was not the only fundamental thing about European music to which Wolff and Petersen took exception. They deplored the advent of instrumental music as well. In Greece, they argued, the sound of the flute and the cymbal only served to circumscribe the human form which was central to all works of art:

"zwischen tönendem Gestaltkern und tönender Gestaltgrenze stand der menschliche Körper als Sinn und Zweck dieses Teufelsspiels"1).

But when instrumental music became the order of the day, the central position of the human body vanished from musical thinking and, with it, the forms and idioms peculiar to the human voice lost their hold on the musical imagination of the leading composers. Music reverted to its real nature. Its links with the spatial world severed, it plunged back into chaos. European music became instrumental, rhythmic and harmonic - a treble betrayal of significant form, of the idea of the hero, of clarity and moderation:

"Es ist als ob die unmenschlichen Mächte, die seit dem Siege des griechischen Héroes nur gestaltet in den Kreis des Lebens traten, sich wieder losgebunden hätten ...
Mit der rhythmischen Instrumentalmusik verzichtet der europäische Mensch ... auf sein heldisches Erbe ..."2).

What, among other things, Wolff and Petersen did not care to mention was that Pindar celebrates the pipe virtuoso Midas of Agrigentum as a conquering hero and that the trumpet player Herodotus of Megara won the Olympic prize on several occasions.

Weighed down by so much prejudice on such fundamental issues, it is hardly surprising that the two authors found little to praise and nearly everything to condemn in the

1) ibid. p. 112.
2) ibid. p. 112.
history of music of the last three hundred years. It would be unprofitable to examine all the tortuous explanations which were put forward to show that from Monteverdi to Richard Strauss the greatest names in musical history did nothing but hasten the degeneration of music from its erst-while Greek perfection. It will be more rewarding and certainly shorter to examine why Wolff and Petersen found certain types of music less objectionable than others. Here our task is delightfully simple because there was so little our two authors thought fit to rescue from the scrap heap. But two important sections of the body of European music were lifted out of the general condemnation: Bach's fugues and Mozart's operatic works. This is not surprising.

J.S. Bach they considered a "catholic" composer, that is to say, one for whom Christianity was not exhausted by the inner struggle of the individual, but to whom religion revealed itself through the intensity, the high seriousness, the pomp and ceremony, and, above all, the artistic setting of the traditional Catholic ritual. But for the type of thinking which Wolff and Petersen represented it was difficult to vindicate the work of any musician without linking his music, however vaguely, with the human form. It was difficult to claim that Bach's music revolved round any plastic pattern or that it was inspired by the balance and symmetry of the human body. The most that could be done was to refer, as musicologists often do, to the architectural precision and strict geometry of Bach's music. But Wolff and Petersen refrained from doing so, the reason probably being that by the architectural and geometric nature of Bach's works most people understood the architecture and the geometry of the Baroque or the Gothic — and to them both were anathema. There was, therefore, a formidable stumbling
block in the way of their apologia for J.S. Bach. To evade the difficulty, more precisely, to maintain a notion of something visual and human at the centre of the discussion, the two authors transferred the idea of significant form from the human body, where it properly belonged, to another "body", the body of the Christian Church. To obscure the issue they also coined two new phrases. At the heart of Bach's work they now discovered the "visible" Church (die sichtbare Kirche) and the "body" of the visible Church (der Leib der Kirche). They argued that although Bach was born into a Lutheran world that was essentially introvert and inarticulate, his mind was the mind of the early Christians who identified their religion with the visible "body" of the Catholic Church, with its rites and ceremonies and especially with the plastic art it inspired:

"Bach war noch von den vergeisterten Kräften der sichtbaren Kirche erfüllt."  

The main difficulty thus overcome, it seemed possible to save at least some of Bach's works from the logic of their own assumptions. But in the process further heavy sacrifices had to be made. It had to be shown that Bach's rhythm was not so much a notation of time as a distant but definite echo of the verbal rhythm of the plainsong, that harmony was not the dominating element of his music and that altogether he was attempting to revive an earlier kind of choral polyphony which was by now regarded by the two authors as a lesser evil than harmony. Of all types of music in Bach's works the fugue was thought to come closest to fulfilling these

1) ibid. p. 184.  
2) ibid. p. 183. In Wolfkehl's essay on music Bach's work was vindicated by a similar token. Only Bach, he explained, could "die kirche als klanggebilde erfassen lassen ..." Karl Wolfkehl: "Über den Geist der Musik", Jahrbuch III, p. 29.  
3) ibid. p. 184.
conditions. The fugue, Wolff and Petersen explained, was an organic form of music\(^1\). It was rooted in the tradition of choral singing, it showed multiplicity within a unity, it was sober to the point of being mathematical and inspiring without pointing beyond its own firm limits. Bach, they argued, contrived to make harmony subservient to the laws of the fugue-form. In building his great contrapuntal arches, Peterson wrote, he made full use of harmony, but he never allowed harmony to be more than a "static means" (statisches Mittel\(^2\)) in the service of a larger design:

"Noch beherrscht der Formenbau die Entwicklung der Harmonischen Gesetze"\(^3\).

And this larger design followed the traditions of the melisma because Bach's fugue compositions were "melismatic" rather than harmonic in their origin\(^4\). From the vantage point obtained by this obscure explanation it was possible to draw further useful conclusions. If Bach's fugues were melismatic in design it followed that their rhythm was not a pure time measure but a notation of a verbal rhythm distantly related to the plainsong, of which the melisma was an elaborate decoration. And since the subtle melodic inflections, the irregular beat and the modal nature of plainsong showed striking similarities with the Greek melos, it was easy enough to assume that in the final analysis Bach's fugues followed an extra-musical, probably spatial tradition\(^5\). These assumptions, seen together with the view that Bach was all the time trying to eliminate the fashionable duality between the solo vocal recitative and its accompanying figured bass, and so get nearer to an

\(^1\) Cf.: "Die Fuge, als die aus dem Singen erwachsene Form einheitlicher Umfassung und Bündigung der Vielheit, gewährt noch den Anblick organischer Gewachsenheit." Ibid. p. 176.

\(^2\) Ibid. p. 176.

\(^3\) Ibid. p. 176.

\(^4\) "Die Fugenform entspringt aus dem nach melismatischem, nicht harmonischem Gesetz gestalteten Thema." Ibid. p. 176.

\(^5\) Cf.: Ibid. p. 176.
earlier tradition of many-voiced singing\textsuperscript{1)}, explains how, and at what cost to the facts, Wolff and Peterson secured Bach's acquittal from their own charges. But in this curious musicology Bach's immunity from attack was largely confined to his fugue compositions. The Chorales of his Passion music were branded as soft, sentimental and excessively luxurious (schwelgerisch), the arioso parts as completely "modern", that is to say, unrelated to the "body" of the Church which, so the two authors thought, was solely expressed by the choral fugues\textsuperscript{2}).

Similarly, what little Wolff and Petersen were prepared to condone in Mozart's music was also rescued from the general condemnation by virtue of a Greek analogy. The clear outlines of Mozart's operatic melodies reminded them of a "plastic roundedness"\textsuperscript{3)} similar to "die hellenisch-massvolle und ruhige Geste des im Tanze bewegten, schönen und lebendigen Menschen"\textsuperscript{4)}.

So clear, tracing and simple was his art that, for a while, the real, that is to say, form-defying and destructive nature of music almost disappeared behind the plastic beauty of his operatic melodies. But with his sonatas and symphonies and, later, with the symphonic music of Beethoven, the ghost of music returned, and the slow decline which Mozart's operas

\textsuperscript{1) Cf.: "Er führt die ... Zweiteil von Generalbass und Singstimme wieder in das untrennbare Bewegungsspiel der Einzelstimmen hinein." ibid. p. 97.}
\textsuperscript{3) "Die plastische Rundheit" ibid. p. 185.}
\textsuperscript{4) ibid. P. 185.}
seemed to have arrested, ended in a suicidal jump into final destruction (in den zerstörenden Wirbel niedersinkt)\(^1\)). They complained that, while Mozart's sonatas and symphonies were full of "happenings" (Geschehen\(^2\)), they were deficient in the restful meditation on the beauties encountered (Verweilen am Schönen und Befriedeten\(^3\)) - a remarkable echo of the dynamic and static points of view. In these works, they explained, Rousseau's nostalgia for an unspoilt kind of natural existence was given musical expression although the destructive (i.e.: romantic) forces raised by his utopian vision remained silent until they were hurried to the surface and given musical formulation in Beethoven's symphonies\(^4\).

The minds of our two authors were riveted to the stiff models inferred rather arbitrarily from the thought of their elders. Their blindness to many of the facts of musical history did not, however, mean that they were consistent in their misrepresentations. To save ourselves a dreary analysis of their more blatant contradictions it may suffice to sketch briefly their main characteristics. With few exceptions Wolff and Petersen discarded every type of Western European music and every Western European composer when considered in isolation from other genres and other musicians. European composers and their music were thought to possess but one great merit between them, namely, that they made the map of the decline of European civilization easier to read. As the distance grew larger between the Christian mind and the

1) ibid. p. 185.
2) ibid. p. 186.
3) ibid. p. 186.
4) Cf.: "Die destruktiven Mächte, die Rousseau in Wahrheit aufregten, sind freilich erst in dem durchbrochenen und gesprengten Bau der Beethovenschen Symphonien am Werke..." ibid. p. 185.
plastic imagination of the Greeks, Christianity, Petersen thought, increased its inwardness and mysticism, and every major step taken in this direction was marked by the rise of a great name in the history of music\(^1\). But as soon as any musician was seen in historical perspective and his work related to the achievement of those who went before him and those who came after, our two authors were considerably less rigid in their condemnation, always upholding the one who immediately preceded the man under discussion as the last representative of at least some of the traditions of plastic thinking. Inevitably, the role of being the real villain was reserved for the last man. His destructive influence was unsurpassed, except by the one who followed him. Thus Beethoven's symphonies seemed pernicious when considered in isolation, but not so bad when seen as an overture to the music of Schumann, Mendelssohn, Brahms\(^2\) and Wagner\(^3\). Viewed from this angle, Beethoven seemed Greek enough to warrant a few words of guarded praise. The same applies to our two authors' judgement of the merits of successive types of musical form. Harmony, for instance,


2) Discussing Brahms's role in the development of symphonic music Petersen wrote: "Brahms ... brachte es bei aller Glut ... nie dahin, wo der grosse Auftritt Musik wieder zu spielen anheben musste, von deren Düne Beethoven abgetreten war." ibid. p. 205.

3) Wagner, for whom Wolff and Petersen had nothing but abuse, also seemed different when seen as a forerunner of Richard Strauss. Cf.: "... die Kunst des entehrten, entseelten, physisch und geistig zerfallenen Grosskapitalismus hebt mit Salome und Elektra an. Heilig und hymnisch, voll antiker Geschlossenheit mutet Wagner an, wenn man von diesem Punkt auf ihn zurückschaut." ibid. p. 239.
which earned their unqualified condemnation in the analytical investigation, was found worthy of the highest praise when discussed in conjunction with the dissonances of contemporary music. What was once considered "gestalt-sprengend"\(^1\), mystical and un-Greek, now ranked equal with "das Geformte"\(^2\) and "das Gesetzliche"\(^3\). In short, innovation was always distasteful to Wolff and Petersen because, in their view, there was no way of improving on Greek music. But it certainly seemed disastrous when measured by the comparative standards of history because reform ipso facto represented a change for the worse in something that was degenerate enough in its unreformed state. This naive line of thought permeates their whole work. Fortunately it served to temper some of the more dogmatic conclusions of the purely analytic sections. When the last musician under discussion is always the worst offender, the misdeeds of the villains of earlier times seem puny and unimportant, and even a good word can be spared for the petty offender if the crimes of the last man are to stand out in proper relief.

Looking at their work from a morphological point of view we shall find that in Wolff's and Petersen's musicology the Gestalt-concept produced pairs of mutually-exclusive ideas similar to those encountered in the works of Friedrich Gundolf. In the following discussion an attempt will be made to circumscribe the pattern of three of these antinomies. They all bear the familiar imprint of those examined in

1) ibid. p. 123.
2) and 3) Cf.: "... so ist jetzt das Ziel die äusserste, fremdste Dissonanz, und die Konsonanz wird als hemmender Reiz dieses Triebes empfunden. Die Gesetze des Ohres und die ihm entsprechenden Harmoniegelasse zerbrechen mit dem Willen zum Geformten, zum Gesetzlichen überhaupt." ibid. p. 255.
Gundolf's thinking - the only difference being that in the present discussion the notion of fluency and becoming will appear as the negative pole of one of the three antinomies and not, as in Gundolf's scheme of things, one of the two principal modes of apprehension under which related patterns of thought could be subsumed. It is natural that this should be so because Wolff and Petersen were among the youngest of George's followers for whom reality apprehended as fluent never challenged the ideas grouped around the Gestalt-concept. The antinomies to be examined represent three interpretations of the Gestalt-concept, each showing a different facet of its application to musical analysis. For a discussion of how these ideas issued from the notion of human form and how the latter sprang from the apprehension of reality as permanent, we must refer back to our analysis of Gundolf's development of thought, because Wolff and Petersen helped themselves freely to the ready-made concepts of the older generation and applied them with little discrimination to their musical investigations. It will be our task to examine what metaphysical and formal characteristics of music were associated with each of these contradictory pairs of ideas and how this classification helped to mark out the place of music in our two authors' map of European civilization.

At an earlier stage of the present work an attempt was made to show that one of the ramifications of the Gestalt-concept in Gundolf's thinking produced the antinomy between absoluteness and relativity. The assumption behind these two ideas was that significant form was whole and self-contained, hence, absolute and that, consequently, it could neither be called into being without a conception of wholeness

1) Cf.: pp. 128-147. above
nor understood in terms other than the principles expressed by this wholeness. In other words, relationships observed between subordinate functions of a total thing, or functions ascertained between a total thing and its surroundings, were inadequate to explain and, even more, to reproduce for contemplation the original object. That is to say, the absolute could not be understood through the realization of various aspects of the relative, however skilfully coordinated. The absolute was more and essentially other than a sum of its parts or a shorthand expression for the smooth cooperation of their functions.

Wolff and Petersen believed that musical sound, divorced from poetry, possessed but a vague metaphysical appeal. Music without words pointed to a world where human measures no longer obtained. Form was alien to the nature of such music and if it was possible to talk of forms or types of music it was only by virtue of certain extra-musical characteristics which, having been reared and matured in the plastic arts and poetry, imposed themselves on it. Music, they thought, was a straining after the vague and unlimited and the only thing that could be said of it with certainty was that it was the form-defying art par excellence. To examine it unrelated to poetry or the plastic arts was to examine not an art but a mystical phenomenon of nature which lent itself to no verbal discussion.

1) Cf.: "Solange die griechische Lebenskraft ausdauerte, konnte auch das gebändigste Wort nicht entrücken und blieb der Erde treu. Später aber wurde eben diese durch höchste Bändigung erreichte Freiheit der Grund, dass das Wort, und zwar als reiner Ton, in ein Jenseits entschwante und von dorther an allem leiblichen zehrte ..." op. cit. p. 6.

But, the two authors argued, music properly so called, that is to say, the chanting or musical accompaniment of poetry, was a sovereign thing, self-contained and pleasing in itself. In this art the melody and the words complemented each other in conveying an unequivocal impression, a meaning which detached a significant whole from the indeterminate flow of reality. In this sense it was an absolute thing because it relied on nothing outside the characteristics of its wholeness for aesthetic significance and ethical meaning. At its most perfect it appeared to the listener as a translation into sound of plastic beauty. The hallmark of good music was, indeed, thought to be this: that it could be understood, and could only be understood, as vision transposed into sound, as a reflection of the visual imagination in a medium which was, essentially, uncongenial to plastic expression. There was no longer any question of a promiscuous adoption of all the material offered to the musician by an immense reservoir of experiences. He now had a firm footing. The words were his lights and these demanded earthly sounds and human loyalties. In short, significant form emancipated music from its fluidity, imposing limitation and concrete shape where the appeal of pure sound and, ethically, the straining after the unlimited had prevailed. This music was, in the words of Petersen, a "leibgebundener Ton"\(^1\), a means for spatial expression (Mittel der räumlichen Versinnlichung der Seele\(^2\)). It was, altogether, not a phonic phenomenon but "die Sichtbarmachung eines Klangwillsens"\(^3\).

But as soon as music and poetry parted company, one could no longer talk of a wholeness or absoluteness accruing

1) Schicksal der Musik, p. 170.
2) ibid. p. 170.
3) ibid. p. 145.
to the nature of music. While the two went side by side with each other, music, i.e. music-cum-poetry, was a self-contained, whole thing in which all parts were integrated and all were interdependent. It was also an absolute thing because neither any reference to externals nor to any of its parts viewed in isolation, sufficed to account for its significance. But as the words were gradually pushed into the background and pure sound began to play an independent part, the absoluteness which issued from their symbiosis ceased to be a property of music. One could, therefore, speak of music as an art to which a quality of relativity attached because, seen from this point of view, it appeared as an overgrowth of something that had but a mere function to discharge in a higher organism. But there was also a more technical reason for the absoluteness and wholeness of the vocal monody of Greek times and of its early Christian successors. The words of Greek and early Christian music relied for musical transmission on single sounds and their modulations, and these conveyed a single, unequivocal impression. The meaning of the words was undiluted by the admixture of a sound complex. The message of this kind of music stood out in clear relief not only because the music supplied a more intense interpretation of the actual meaning of the words but also, and principally, by virtue of the wholeness and wholesomeness impressed upon the listener's mind by a succession of clear single sounds. There was nothing vague or half-articulate about this art. It was a whole thing and it appealed to the whole man. It was an absolute thing and it made absolute demands on the "doer" and the statesman. But no such thing could be said of the nature of later music. Gradually the words were detached from the sound whose increasing complexity was an invitation to a vagueness of feeling and a multiplicity of associations.
It was no longer possible to talk of a message of music. The simplicity of fabric and the wholeness of the appeal of the earlier art were now replaced by the complexities of harmony and polyphony. Music became a bundle of functions - an unhealthy art for unhealthy minds. No wonder that the romantic sentimentalist and the modern neurotic with his longing for death and his escapism were thought to be its most fervent admirers.

Thus, the degeneration of a whole thing into its elements, of an absolute into a relative, appeared to be the principal feature of the history of European music. In Greece, Petersen wrote, "der Einzelton (war) eine unzerlegbare Einheit". The single sound was employed in much the same way as patterns of colours were employed by the painter or visual symmetries by the architect. Greek music was a visual affair. The things which occupied the imagination of the musician were no different from those which guided the work of the sculptor or the architect. They all shared one central image, that of the human body; its symmetries and wholeness informed the art of the musician no less than that of the painter or the architect. The reason for the decline of the Greek type of music, Petersen explained, was the weakening of spatial imagination and, with it, the gradual disappearance of the human body from the focus of artistic thinking. Its place was filled by "Beziehungs gesetzen", a trust in the efficacy of the coordination of parts and functions; a kind of faith that it was possible to promote so many relatives to something in the nature of an absolute provided that the machinery of coordination ran smoothly. To Petersen's mind the decline

1) ibid. p. 129.
2) ibid. p. 140.
of spatial thinking eo ipso meant the decline of das geistige Gesetz in all fields of human activity and especially in the development of European music.

"Wir dürfen," he wrote, "...das Gebiet mittelalterlicher Melodik nur kurz betreten, um die leise und allmähliche Wandlung der Klangstoffgliederung nach dem Raumgesetz in eine solche nach Beziehungsgesetzen das Ende der Herrschaft geistiger Gesetze des Tonbaues und die Heraufkunft eines neuen Gesetzes zu beobachten."

In Greek music, he explained, the single sound was something like "die Säule im architektonischen System als Element der Raumgliederung, nicht als Beziehungselement eines aufgelösten Zusammengesetzten zu betrachten."

It followed that after the advent of the two-part organum all music was a congeries of such "Beziehungselemente".

"Mit der Schaffung der Sonata," Petersen remarked, "beginnt der Ausbruch der musikalischen Kräfte selbst ins Teilhafte."

The sonata was, in fact, but "die Analyse von Beziehungen des Tonalen". Modern musical sound was, altogether, "ein Beziehungsbündel seiner Teiltöne". But there is nothing startling in these ideas if we consider that in the view of our two authors musical sound, unsustained by the patterns of poetry or the plastic arts, was a "lösender Schrei", that all music later than the one dimensional melos of Greek times was a "Sonderleben", a renunciation of "der gesamtgeistigen Bindung" - whatever that phrase may be taken to mean.

1) op. cit. p. 140.
2) ibid. p. 129.
3) ibid. p. 134.
4) ibid. p. 150.
5) ibid. p. 129.
6) ibid. p. 193.
7) ibid. p. 129.
8) ibid. p. 120.
The validity of the present analysis is further endorsed by the correspondence observed by Petersen between the nature of later European music and what went by the name of "der historische Sinn" in the circle of Stefan George. From a morphological point of view it is significant that a common pattern of development should have been identified in two such unrelated phenomena as the post-mediaeval phase of European music and a particular discipline of historical inquiry. The only connection between the two was the distrust with which both were regarded by many of George's followers. But that, in fact, explains why the negative side of the antimonism under discussion, the notions of fragmentariness and relativity, should have been associated with both and why — when a less flimsy kind of evidence was called for — both were rejected for the same pseudo-scientific reasons.

"Der 'historische Sinn'," Petersen wrote, "als verknüpfende, in relationen die Erscheinungen ordnende Kraft, als Fähigkeit zur Synthese vergangener Lebenseinheit nicht aus verwandter Seelenform, sondern aus dem Mangel eines eigenen Seinsgesetzes, ist ein Produkt derselben geistigen Form, der die Musik entwächst"1).

Music, as long as it was inspired by the plastic patterns of poetry, and historiography as long as it was limited to the intuitive penetration of significant historical events and their exploration for contemporary meanings — this type of music and this type of historiography possessed a "seinsgesetz", a principle of life peculiar to all things whole and organic. But music which renounced its dependence on plastic imagination, and historiography which no longer looked at the chronicle of events as a store-house of myths suitable to serve the

1) ibid. p. 121.
needs of the present, were seen as a mere pile of connections, functionally coordinated but not subordinated to any regulative principle of wholeness. The first two evoked a sense of absoluteness, the latter a feeling of relativity in the mind of the percipient.

A similar aspect of the dichotomy of wholeness-versus-connectedness may be observed in Petersen's views concerning the musical element in the prose of Jean Paul. This time it was argued that the music of prose or poetry, however soft and effeminate, retains a loyalty to "das kosmische Gesetz"\(^1\), that it penetrates nature with concrete shape while the instrumental music of modern times — and here 20\(^{th}\) century composers were principally meant — is a vehicle of the sounds of nature, an ambassador as it were, of the phonic life (Hörwelt\(^2\)) of those regions of reality which the epitome of the human form cannot penetrate. Again, the first appealed to the whole man, the second only to his nervous vitality.

"Jean Paul's visionäre Klangräusche", Petersen wrote of Debussy's impressionism, "kehren hier musikalisch wieder, aber nicht in ihrer zauberischen Seelenmagie von Maiental, sondern als das Spiel einer aussermenschlichen Hörwelt auf den menschlichen Nerven"\(^3\).

The music of poetry, Petersen thought, even the oversweet melody of Jean Paul's idiom, was a rounded cosmic affair. Instrumental music, on the other hand, and, above all, the music of the 20\(^{th}\) Century, was a reflection of chaos, no matter how hard Debussy and others tried to tie their work to visual imagery in the titles of their compositions\(^4\).

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2) ibid. p. 254.
3) ibid. p. 254.
4) Cf.: "... auch die programmatischen Überschriften ... vermitteln nicht ein mit Licht und Farbe umgossenes Schaubares, sondern nur die Nervenreaktion ..." ibid. p. 254.
"Der dichterische Traumklang," Petersen explained, "... beseelt die Natur, lässt sie in einer astralischen Harmonie, in der Formel ihres kosmischen Gesetzes schwingen; das Aufrauschen des Orchesters im Reinklanglichen vermittelt nur die Lau-
te unbeseelter Natur, ihr Chaos, Ehyshaftes,... etwas, das (den Menschen) in das Wogen des Ungestalten hinabreisst, seine Physik packt und im Unbelebten mit-
schwimmen heisst." 1)

It will be seen that although Petersen realized that Jean Paul's language suggested a lulling sentimental type of verbal music (Traumklang), he insisted that the over-all impression even of this soft idiom was one of bracing wholeness, while the impression suggested by modern music, including those compositions which displayed a technical relationship with plastic imagery (programme music), conveyed an altogether unhealthy quality, an appeal to parts (Physik 2), Reizkomplex 3), Nervenreaktion 4), Erotik 5) rather than to a whole, a message of a preponderance of functions, whose newly acquired sovereignty spelt a feeling of relativity in the mind of the percipient. A part or a function, one may add in explanation, whose role was fully satisfying and hence, in a sense, "absolutely" right as long as it observed its relationship to the principle of the whole thing, became relative as soon as it broke away from the organism within which its relativity was an absolute thing and claimed for itself a quality of self-containment and independence. In this limited sense of "absoluteness" a part was absolute only as long as it was really relative, in other words, only as long as it worked well as a part or a function; but it became relative when,

1) ibid. p. 154.
2) ibid. p. 154.
4) ibid. p. 254; Cf.: footnote 4) p. 250, above.
in a technical sense, it assumed the qualities of absoluteness, that is to say when the aggregate of its own inflated properties could no longer be related to anything outside itself.

Our second antimony concentrates on a slightly different aspect of the first. It corresponds with a considerable degree of precision to the dichotomies observed between organism and matter, body and abstraction and form and mechanism in the thought of Gundolf. The music of Greece and of the early Christian era, Petersen argued, were organic growths. Even the frenzied tunes and mime of dionysiac music were visual imagery cast into sound and dancing\(^1\). But music in its natural state, that is to say, sound unaided by poetry was cursed with a double dose of original sin. It could give an enraptured expression of the elements themselves, of crude instincts, overrefined emotions, spiritual abstraction and, in more recent times, of the nervous vitality of modern living. What it could not do was to express the kind of sensation which comes from the sight of a beautiful man, strong and healthy in body and mind. In primitive Greece, too, Petersen thought, music was a vehicle for the expression of crude instincts, but later it gradually identified itself with the human form and all the things it suggested. For a short time music was redeemed from its sins. Under the civilizing influence of Greek poetry and the plastic arts it was changed from a foe into a friend of the representation of man\(^2\). Organic form was central to its

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1) Cf.: "Uns genügt zu wissen, dass ... in der Mittagshelle des dionysischen Rausches das Auge herrscht, und das Bild erwächst ..." ibid. p. 225.

2) "... einst zu Sprache und Bild aufdrängte ..." ibid. p. 194.
mould of articulation and there it remained until the later Middle Ages. But with the decline of the Gregorian chant music lost contact with the human order of things. Into the place of the inspiration offered by the human form stepped the dictates of blind matter.

"Von nun ab", Petersen wrote, "gab es kein Gesetz mehr, das von Menschen her genommen wäre, der Stoff selber entlässt aus sich das Gesetz".1)

But if the arbitrariness of matter was one of the principal characteristics of European music, Petersen could range himself with Rousseau who believed that harmony was little more than a translation into sound of certain physical laws, a source of irritation to the whole man, removed as nothing else was removed, from the healthy monody of Greek times. But Petersen pushed his theory to extraordinary lengths. Once it was assumed that music was incapable of evolving organic form in its own right, the temptation to confuse the absence of a good thing with the presence of a positive evil was too strong to be resisted. Petersen was certainly not the man to forgo drawing the conclusion that, consequently, all music could do was to reflect in sound the analysis and synthesis of inorganic matter.

"Sie (die Musik)"), Petersen explained, "ist dem Sprachgebilde, dem sie am verwandtesten scheint, an entgegengesetzten, da sie nicht am organischen, an

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1) ibid. p. 146.
2) Cf.: "Rousseau allein hat das Wesen der ethischen Wirkung der homophonen, aus dem Gesetz der Sprache fliessenden Musik erkannt ... Die Harmonie dagegen lasst er als eine 'physische Ursache rein physischer Wirkungen, die nicht Erregung der Seele, sondern Beunruhigung des Körpers veranlasst', die einen von den dichterischen verschiedenen Rhythmus fordert ... die unbeseelte Körper packt, Steine summen und Pfeil r erzittern macht, das menschliche Nervensystem in krankhafte Schwingungen versetzt, aber nie zu der Seele spricht." ibid. p. 143.

menschlich Verhafteten, Gewachsenen, sondern mit den
analytisch-synthetischen Gesetzen an einem ausser-
menschlichen Stoffhaften formt[1].

But in doing so, music remained true to its extra-human
"natural" origins. Music, Petersen believed, was an art
of "nature" - poetry, on the other hand, was an art of the
mind.

"... So tut (der Musik er) etwas wesentlich anderes", he wrote, "als der Dichter, dessen Formwille sich
nicht an Natürlichen, sondern an Geistigen, an dem
der Seele entwirkten, durch keine Bande des Natur-
haftenen gefesselt, der schöpferischen (nicht ge-
spiegelten) also rhythmischen Bewegung der Seele
entfaltet".[2]

Obviously, Petersen's hint that the musician was "chained to
nature" was not meant to be taken too literally, because
otherwise how was it to be explained that music, which was
a product of "nature" and not of the mind, was so decisive-
ly detached from everything whole and organic? Nature,
it would seem, was but another word for matter in his
vocabulary. Both stood for the opposite of organic growth
in the human order of things (das Gewachsene, das mensch-
lich Verhaftete).

Equally confusing are the negative aspects of his
definition of the sonata form. Again the problem arose
of how best to circumscribe the opposite of wholeness and
organic growth. The sonata, Petersen argued, marked the
final renunciation of organic form and the degeneration of
music into a purely mechanical type of unity.

"Die Sonate", he wrote; "bedeutet ... die Entstehung
der mechanischen Einheit."[3]

But while in one sense the sonata appeared to be the result
of the disintegration of an organism into a mechanism, in

1) Cf.: ibid. p. 171.
2) Cf.: ibid. p. 172; the way in which "gespiegelt" is
again associated with music may be
noted. Cf.: p. 261 under.
3) Cf.: ibid. p. 177.
another it revealed itself as pure mind.

"... hier zeigt sich das Formprinzip", Petersen wrote, "... in seiner Losgebundenheit von allem Gewachsenen, von allem Seienden überhaupt, als reines Geistgesetz".1) Obviously, there is a profound contradiction in saying that poetry is a good thing, because, unlike music, it is an art of the mind, and then rejecting the principal body of European music precisely because, on closer examination, it is also found to be an art of the mind. Nor is it easy to see how - granting the initial assumption - the sonata could combine to express two such unrelated things as pure mind and mechanism. It would probably be nearer to the mark to assume that the word "Geist" was meant to be heard with those undertones of meaning which it acquired in its commerce with Klages' book on George and later in his celebrated Der Geist als Widersacher der Seele2). In this sense "Geist" could be taken to express the idea of otherworldly abstraction rather than mind, while "Seele" would appear to denote a kind of pagan soul which - unlike the Christian Spirit - maintains a healthy dependence on the human body. This interpretation seems to be confirmed by the dissimilarity of the contexts in which "Geist" was employed by Petersen. In the first case3) the word "das Geistige" is amplified by two references to "Seele", all three complementing each other's meaning. In the second case4), however, the word "Geistgesetz" stands by itself as a counterpoise to "das Seiende" and "das Gewachsene".

1) ibid. p. 177.
2) Ludwig Klages: Der Geist als Widersacher der Seele, Leipzig 1929.
3) Cf.: second quotation on p. 254: "So tut (der Musiker) etwas wesentlich anders als der Dichter, dessen Formwille sich nicht an Natürlichem, sondern am Geistigen, an dem dem der Seele entwirkten, ... der schöpferischen ... also rhythmischen Bewegung der Seele entfaltet." ibid. p. 172.
4) Cf.: first quotation on this page.
But whether matter, mechanism or abstraction seem to us to suggest the logical counter-agent of "organism", to Petersen all three appeared hostile and objectionable.

In the next section an independent analysis will be made of the antinomy which exists between motion and the static principle. Yet the present discussion would be incomplete if no mention were made of the affinity which the meaning of the words "matter" and "motion" assumed in Petersen's musical jargon. In several instances, when the differences between "matter" and organic growth appeared to demand special emphasis, of all unlikely things the word "motion" was called in to underline the negative principle. Thus of Beethoven's sonatas Petersen remarked:

"Selbst das Thema ist nun Stoff und Funktion geworden, an dem sich die Bewegung, der dynamische Prozess, als der einzige Inhalt der Sonata, auswirkt" 1)

And later:

"Das melodische Thema soll nicht durch sein Sosein wirken, sondern als Stoff, an dem der Wille, die Bewegung geschieht." 2)

Whatever the exact meaning of these statements may be, it is clear that matter was closely associated with motion in Petersen's mind, matter being that which lends itself in servile impotence to some principle of infinite fluency. What, apart from the condemnation which both evoked from him, induced Petersen to link matter with motion in this curious context, is a question to which no reasonable answer can be given.

Even in the discussion of so clearly circumscribed a subject as the nature of Beethoven's sonatas, contradictions

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1) ibid. p. 178.
2) In the same vein he wrote of Wagner "dass er Gestalt weder zeigen will noch kann, sondern wie alle Romantik, deren tiefster Erfüller er ist, durch die Einsenkung in das grenzenlose Wehen und Fließen der Materie sich von dem nicht mehr ertragenen Einzelsein zu erlösen strebt." ibid. p. 225.
crop up behind our author's spectacular verbiage. The charge returns time and again in Petersen's essay that Beethoven's themes were "inorganic", that its elements 
"werden aneinander gepasst wie metallene Werkteile, 
werden im Druck und Prall zur höchsten Festigkeit 
und Kraft des Statischen gepresst. Sie wachsen nicht, 
sondern werden durch Anpassung geformt"1).

The new thing about this definition is the addition of 
"das Statische" to the standard mechanistic formula. It 
will be seen that only a few pages earlier2) Petersen 
likened the nature of Beethoven's themes to the fluency of 
matter; now he describes it as a clumsy and completely 
static mechanism. Both were thought to contrast neatly 
with organic growth, no matter how inconsistent they seemed 
with each other and, to the unbiased observer, with the real 
nature of Beethoven's work.

The idea that after the decline of the Gregorian mode 
all music became a mechanistic affair, was probably respon-
sible for the assumption - far fetched but associated -
that the enjoyment of such music was no different from the 
kind of sensation which the mathematician has, when his 
search for an answer to his question is rewarded by a nice, 
tidy solution.

"...die Musik", Petersen wrote, "ist auf die leere 
Mechanik ihres Ablaufs zurückgeführt, an deren Beobach-
tung man Freude haben mag, wie an einer 'elegant' durch-
geführten mathematischen Gleichung"3).

Stripped of all contact with organic form, such as its 
dependence on visual imagery had earlier secured, music 
degenerated into a purely formal affair. Like a mathematie-
al formula, it was detached from organic life and empty of 
human meaning. In the final analysis, music was seen as

1) ibid. p. 179.
3) ibid. p. 174.
an abstraction from the principle of organic growth, and, actually, matter, mechanism, otherworldliness and the mathematical type of symbolism were, in the widest sense of the word, "abstract" i.e. "separated from" that larger human whole with which, it was thought, only poetry and the visual arts could identify themselves with complete finality.

The third antinomy to be discussed here is the result of an application to musical theory of two basic forms of apprehension which have earlier been identified as the permanence of being and the fluency of becoming. Most of the things said and written in the circle of Stefan George drew their life-blood from these two principal antinomies. In the musical theory of Wolff and Petersen they appear simply as the idea of rest and the idea of motion. Generally speaking the idea of rest was a concomitant in their vocabulary of the absoluteness ascribed to the nature of organic wholes. The idea of motion, on the other hand, served to amplify the notions of relativity, connectedness, mechanism and abstraction. Sometimes one, sometimes more or all of these notions were called in to add matter to a point made about some aspect of one of these antinomies. The principle involved on the negative side of the present antinomy was clearly stated by Petersen when he explained that the kind of motion which, he thought, dominated all later European music, was devoid of "spiritual" meaning.

"Das musikalische Geschehen", he wrote, "... sein unendliches Verschwinden in tausenderlei Möglichkeiten, ist völlig leer, vermittelt nicht einmal ein ungefähres
geistiges Bedeutung".¹)

On the other side of the antinomy Greek music was again shown to be the matrix of all positive values. This time its function was to suggest that the idea of rest was implied by the proposition that Greek music was but a translation into sound of fixed spatial symmetries. In the Greek type of music, Petersen thought, "motion" was an incidental quality of the flow of the melody, not a fluency with any essential meaning of its own, but a juxtaposition in sound of so many bridges erected between two points in the vocal scale. The whole configuration was stationary; each of the bridges was an end in itself, satisfying and intelligible without reference to its neighbours.

"Nicht die Bewegung an sich", Petersen explained, "die in ihren Wirbel willenslos mitreist, sondern die durch den Willen vollzogene Überwindung eines räumlichen Abstands, der Antrieb zur jedesmal neugliedernden Stufe, die auch jedesmal wieder ein Ende ist ... ist die Wurzel."²)

With these two main points established, most major developments in European music after the decline of Christian homophony could be represented as the gradual victory of the idea of motion over the idea of rest. Thus Petersen

¹) ibid. p. 248. The word "geistig" should again be read according to the explanation offered in connection with footnote 3) on page 255. In the present context Petersen amplified his point by adding: "Wie der Ton aus der geistig bestimmten Eindeutigkeit des vorharmonischen Singens in die assoziative Bedeutungsfahtigkeit übergeht, wäre an der Geschichte der Oper leicht zu zeigen: die Richtung geht über die dramatisch-seelische Zeichenbedeutung der mannigfach abgestuften Form zum transzendenten Musikraum, in dem sich jede mystische Ahnung wiederfindet..." ibid. pp. 248-49.

It will be seen that "Geistig" is again employed in a parallel sense with "seele", this time with "die dramatisch-seelische Zeichenbedeutung".

²) ibid. p. 137.
believed that although Bach's music was rooted in the mediæval picture of a resting world, it already betrayed an inclination towards the acceptance of "motion"\(^1\)

"noch nicht als sprengende Dynamik, aber als Hauch des Kommenden, plötzlich gewaltsam Ausbrechenden"\(^2\). Later musicians were less fortunate in their attempts to check the outbreaks of this "dynamism". One of the least successful was Beethoven. His sonatas were contemptuously described as expressing a mere "Bewegungsprozess"\(^3\), a macabre dance of "unkörperlicher Dynamik" and "leibloser Bewegung"\(^4\). His symphonies were altogether inadequate — not only to represent a resting organic whole ("modern" music fell hopelessly short of any such high task) — but even to convey some impression of the principal movements of the universe. The reason for this was that these movements were unintelligible without the silent acceptance of a larger cosmic philosophy and such an acceptance implied the postulation of a whole thing. A whole thing, on the other hand, was alien to Beethoven's imagination. Hence, it was argued, Beethoven's music was incapable of portraying even a thing of such low worth as the processes which are at work in the life of the universe. The movements involved in organic growth and decay offered intractable material to his art. All he could and did depict in his symphonies was the unwinding of the clockwork of a man-made mechanism\(^5\).

1) Cp.: "die Sehnsucht des Ich nach der sich selbst darstellenden Eigenbewegung"
ibid. p. 182.
2) ibid. p. 182.
4) ibid. p. 178.
5) Another curious combination, this time of "motion" and "mechanism".
It was in this sense that Petersen wrote:
"Seine (Beethoven's) Symphonie ist nicht Bewegung der Welt,
sondern eines 'Modells der Welt', eines Schemas des Welt-
prozesses, Spiegelung der Ablauigesetze hintere dem
Kosmos..."\(^1\).

Fidelio and the Ninth Symphony were discarded because their
melodies were subject to the caprices of "motion" and not to
the guidance offered by the words. Worse still, this
perversion of melody served to "dramatize" the musical
material. Obviously, the combination of two such evils was
bound to corrupt whatever remnants the art had retained of
the form and poetry of earlier and less perverted types of
vocal music.

"Nicht das Wort trägt hier das Melos", Petersen explained,
"sondern die ungeheure aus sich rollende Bewegung und die
Dramatisierung des musikalischen Geschehens sprengen jeden
melodischen Raum und vernichten das Wort"\(^2\).

By the same token Wagner was accused of having had no respect
for the "Leibcharakter der Sprache"\(^3\). Its wholeness and
precision were destroyed by a "musikalische Verfliessung"\(^4\) -
the principal and most harmful feature of his art. But in all
this there was nothing really surprising. In the modern
world - and in Petersen's scheme of things that world began
with the advent of harmony - there was no room for the language
of poetry. Harmony and the idea of a resting significant

1) ibid. p. 188.
   Note the role of "Spiegelung".
2) ibid. p. 190.
   Cp. also: "... so sehr ist die Musik selber dramatody-
   namisch bewegt, dass sie es ist, die aus sich die
   Handlung, ganz unbekümmert um die Texthandlung, erzeugt".
   ibid. p. 190.
3) ibid. p. 218.
4) ibid. p. 218.
whole precluded each other's existence. The mental climate which nourished one, spelt the death of the other. No wonder that, in the view of our two authors, the music of our times was dominated by "die fluide Musikdramatik".}

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These, then, were the adventures which the story of music underwent at the hands of Wolff and Petersen. But our account would be incomplete if no reference were made to the final purpose of the book, to which the historical survey was but a long-winded introduction. Today, our two authors thought, music in the Greek sense of the word was neither possible nor desirable. It was impossible because, at a time when things fall apart; the centre cannot hold; there could be no general desire nor a requisite ability to revive the idiom of a healthier heroic age and invest it with modern meaning. And it was undesirable for the simple reason that in Germany a new poetry had arisen in which the traditions of antique music - diverted for a thousand years into underground channels - had again broken through to the surface and continued where the mediaeval Christians had left off. Like their peer and forerunner Karl Wolfskehl, our two authors believed that in the work of Stefan George poetry and music returned to their tried and fruitful partnership, that the melody and rhythm of his art were informed by the same visual apprehension which also inspired the poetry, and that the chanting of this verse was the only legitimate music

1) ibid. p. 251.
of its day. Here were organic growth, wholeness and form—all compressed in the art of one man. The centuries which elapsed between the age of monody and the coming of Stefan George seemed like a long hibernation of the musical mind—a relapse which was not altogether unwholesome because, while it lasted, music emancipated itself from the power of its original perversions, preparing the ground for the health and intensity which the art of Stefan George was to bring back to it.

"Wenn wir es als höchsten Segen der Gegenwart fühlen", Wolff wrote, "dass das heilige Wort erneuert, lebhaft, wie das antike geworden ist, so erscheinen uns die Formen des Klangrauschens als grosse Mittel, in der im Tiefsten noch wortfernen Menschheit des Zwischenalters den Raum für das Wort vorzubereiten".

Spiritual Sons of Wolters, Wolfskehl and Gundolf, our two authors inherited not only certain patterns of thought and apprehension, but also a passion for teleology and they employed their inheritance ruthlessly.

C. WOLFSKEHL AND OTHERS

There can be no doubt that Wolff and Petersen were indebted for the bulk of their unusual musicology to the ideas of Karl Wolfskehl. In his essay Über den Geist der Musik the antipathy which many of George's followers felt for music was given its first reasoned formulation, and for many of the junior members of the circle the line laid

1) Wolff-Petersen: Das Schicksal der Musik p. 61.

down in this essay carried the sanction of a higher and infallible authority. It was published in 1912, five years after George's decisive encounter with Maximin had given birth to the poetry which immortalized the youth's name. Its argument was, again, mainly informed by those notions which were shown to have sprung from the apprehension of reality as permanent, resting rather than fluent, "being" rather than "becoming". In broad outline there is no appreciable difference between Wolfskehl's essay and the work of Wolff and Petersen. If anything, some of Wolfskehl's ideas seem more far-fetched because they lack the support even of such inconclusive and heavily doctored evidence as Wolff and Petersen were able to produce. But if the story of music is much the same in the work of all three men, there are points in Wolfskehl's essay which a morphological inquiry would do wrong to ignore.

In Wolfskehl's scheme of things only two sovereign manifestations of the human soul were thought possible: soul was either expressed by some image fashioned after the human body, or in language. In the first case soul assumed shape in space, in the second in time. Time and space were conceived as alternatives in this arrangement, they were treated as equals, but within "time" only one vehicle of expression was thought admissible, and that was language, not music. Nevertheless, Wolfskehl showed himself to be more liberal in this matter than his disciples. Whereas they insisted that the rhythm of music, to say nothing of the rhythm of poetry, were translations into time of spatial symmetries, Wolfskehl recognized that this was not the only direction in which a transfer could take place but that it

was also possible to think of rhythm as a transmutation into space of a time measure.

"Rhythmus", he wrote, "ist das raumwerden der seele in der zeit, rhythmus ist das zeitwerden der seele im raum."¹)

From these assumptions it followed that the plastic arts and poetry were the archetypes of artistic expression, and it was contended that in classical tragedy for a short time the two were fused into unity. There the human form obtained an extra dimension in time and the language of poetry a fresh relevance to spatial imagery²). Time, it will be seen, so far from being an outcast in this system, was looked upon as the very womb of poetry. Poetry aspired to a state of plastic perfection but the medium in which this was to be achieved was language. Language, again, was an acoustic phenomenon whose rhythms were governed, and were known to be governed by measures of time.

In their choice of the principal antinomy arising from the tension between "being" and "becoming" there was a closer identity between the views of the three men. Organic form versus mechanism, connectedness and abstraction, was the predominant antinomy in all three cases. But in detail and emphasis Wolfskehl's essay shows some notable differences. For instance, the notions immediately associated with the "fluency of becoming" (motion, change) were not designed to contrast too sharply with (let alone flatly negate) those ideas which we earlier identified as the surface realizations

¹) ibid. p. 20.
²) Cf.: "Plastik und dichtung sind einmal eines geworden, sinn-bild-gestalt geworden, in der hellenischen tragödie der vollkommenen zeitwerdung des leibes als menschenbild, der vollkommenen raumwerdung der sprache als menschen-bild ..."
ibid. p. 21.
of a metaphysical trust in the "permanency of being" (absoluteness, organic form, the idea of rest etc). Wolfskehl was more emphatically aware than his two musical executors that organic form, which was central both to poetry and to the plastic arts, was won from a fluid substance and that it was precisely the overcoming of the resistance of this mute but indispensable element, that invested form with "sweetness and light". In fact, one of the key-notions

1) Cf.: "Das all-durchdringend strömende, das all-durchleuchtend duftende, ... das wandellos wechselnde, das leben als chaos, als gebären und verschlingen ist in kosmos zum gestalteten drängen geworden; aber dass dies drängen einzelbild werde, muss das geheimnis des todes, ... muss ein ungestaltetes, ein chaos zeitlos die zeit durchwehen, ausdehnungslos den raum durchzittern. So wird die form substanz, das bild symbol." ibid. p. 21.

Sixteen years later Wolfskehl was, to be sure, nearly as dogmatic in his views, at least as far as the question of time versus space and motion versus form were concerned, as Wolff and Petersen. Comparing the reception of Das Jahr der Seele with the earlier Die Bücher he wrote:

"Aber allerdings, sein Inhalt ist nicht mehr das räumlich (seelen-räumlich) Umrissene, sondern das zeitlich (seelen-zeitlich) Strömende ... Es ist das Buch des Wellengangs, der Verwandlung, des Aufkommens, des Reifens und der Vergängnis ... Wird vorher alle Bewegung Bild geworden, aufgegangen gewissermassen in der atmenden, aber streng gesonderten Gestalt, so wird nun jedes Bild ... Bewegung ... Flutung, Natur."

of his thought, the idea of "kairos" was designed to signify the moment of transition from a speechless flow of things into organic form and articulation. "Kairos" was a point in space-time; a point at which, at the command of creative imagination, cosmos was caused to emerge from chaos. It was the moment of the birth of living form out of the fluxes and refluxes of indeterminate matter. But - and this must be emphasised - all the time "fluency" was seen and, implicitly, approved as the necessary condition of permanent being and it was only considered harmful when it showed an obstinate wrongheadedness by refusing to be redeemed into a higher organic state. This was thought to be the case with music, but even there, among the original sins which Wolfskehl so lavishly ascribed to the art, "fluency" counted for one of the lesser evils. The principal shortcoming of music was neither its "fluency" nor that it took place in time, but its denial of visual organic form. In Wolfskehl's argument visual form was the main surface realization of the apprehension of reality as permanent\(^1\), and the range of contrasting ideas was very far from being exhausted by the notions associated with a general flow of things. "Fluency" was, so to speak, a side line in this battle of ideas, a reserve which was seldom put into action without the support of more persuasive weapons\(^2\). The poles of the main tension were: living form, with an emphasis on its visual nature, and one or several of

\(^1\) Cf.: "Alles schaffen ist ein sichbarmachen, alles leben ist ein sichtbarwerden, jedes gottesmysterium ein gesicht, eine erleuchtung für den menschen". ibid. p. 22.

the following concepts: matter, mechanism, connectedness, analysis, abstraction and an acoustic "blindness" to visual form. Music was equated with one or several of these things. In every case it was thought to be hostile to or, worse, completely turned away from the image of man from which the sculptor and the poet received their inspiration.

The view which was held most passionately in this spurious musicology suggested that in the final analysis, organic form and visual form were one and the same thing. So intense was his faith in this assumption that at one point in his essay Wolfskehl approved without reservation the "tremendous discovery" of one Lazarus Geiger who submitted that even language was an "optical phenomenon" and that only the material in which it was communicated was acoustic. But even here Wolfskehl was careful not to suggest that language was a spatial vehicle of expression. The farthest he allowed himself to be tempted in this respect was to admit that the music of language was spatial imagery cast into sound and motion (both, and not merely a static visual image cast into an equally "static" melody of language, as Wolff and Petersen had it), and that the rhythmic beat of this type of speech moved in "space-time".

The one art, Wolfskehl thought, which was incapable of embodying forth significant form in space or time, was

1) Cf.: "Das auge ist der könig und hüter des menschlichen sinnengefüges des menschen allsinn, ... sogar die menschliche sprache ist (nach Lazarus Geigers ungeheur er entdeckung ...) ein optisches phänomen daran nur die ausdrucks materie akustisch ist." ibid. p. 22.

2) Cf.: "Das wort ist ton gewordnes bild, bewegung gewordne vision, ist übergreifende augengebärde." ibid. p. 22.

3) Cf.: "So lebt im wort der urdrang der seele, zeiträumlich zu werden ..." ibid.
music\(^1\). Wholeness, balance, natural growth and plasticity were equally hostile to its nature. How music contrived to represent such a massive concentration of evil, and why it was right to see in its history the story of the decline of European civilization, - the answers to these questions, and the manner in which they were formulated, are no different from those we encountered in the work of Wolff and Petersen. To begin the discussion of Wolfskehl's indictment with a charge which figured predominantly in his essay, but less so in the book of his two disciples, one has to go back to the meaning of "organic form" in his vocabulary, - a term for which, as we have just seen, it is always legitimate to read "the visual representation of the human body". But if organic form was visual, music, he explained, was purely acoustic

"weder den leiblichen (optisch orientierten) noch den sprachlichen (ebenfalls optisch orientierten) phänomen beizugesellen"\(^2\).

It was in no way connected with the feelings and outlook of the healthy whole man (das gesamtmenschliche\(^3\)), and showed no inclination for plastic expression (das bildhafte\(^4\)). It was eyeless\(^5\) and analytic\(^6\). It partook of no organic growth\(^7\), it reflected the disjointed elements of an elaborate machinery, not the integrity of a whole thing; crude matter was its central law-giver\(^8\), it conveyed a feeling of decomposition of the kind which occurs when life is reduced

1) Cf.: "Darum sind die ausserordentlichen erscheinungen der musik ... keine geburten schöpferischer all-kraft, keine Gottes-bilder in zeit und raum". ibid. pp. 30-31.
2) Ibid. p. 25.
3) Ibid. p. 15.
4) Ibid. p. 25.
5) Cf.: "... alles andre menschenwesen ist geben und erleben des bildlichen, ist augenhaft". ibid. p. 22.
6) Cf.: "die zerfetzzung der letzten schon imaginären einheit..." ibid. p. 31.
7) "die gesetze organischer bildung" ibid. p. 27.
8) "blosse stoffgesetze" ibid. p. 17.
to the formulae of physics and physiology\(^1\), and it produced
the phonic equivalent of the idea of connectedness, the like
of which one encounters in mathematics and speculative
thought\(^2\). Vitality detached from the service of living\(^3\),
sensuality divorced from love\(^4\), harmony disconnected from a
larger artistic design\(^5\), technical dexterity unguided
by a higher purpose\(^6\), cleverness unrelieved by vision\(^7\),
perfect tools in the hands of the blind craftsmen\(^8\) —
these were thought to be the principal characteristics of
modern music and, it will be seen, they were no different
from the symptoms by which Gundolf and others identified
the final collapse of European civilization. For Wolfskehl
the story of its decline was also the history of music from
Greek times to the present day.

"Die geschichte der musik," he wrote, "der einzigen
kunst die eine logische (nicht organische) entwicklung
hat, erweitert sich damit zur geschichte der europä-
schen seelenentartung, von den ersten lockerungen an
bis zur heutigen agonie"\(^9\).

Nietzsche, he thought, was aware that music was always the
last nostalgic cry of an epoch which was doomed beyond
repair and beyond the desirability of repair\(^10\). But the
earlier views of Nietzsche he conveniently passed over in

1) "physikalische oder physiologische (stoffgesetze)" ibid. p. 27.
2) "reine verknüpfungsgesetze ..." ibid. p. 27.
3) "musikalisches das blose dynami
cische" ibid. p. 31.
4) "das blose sensuale" ibid. p. 31.
5) "das blose harmonische" ibid. p. 31.
6) "wunder der technik" ibid. p. 32.
7) "kün
tisches wirtschaften mit künstlichen fähigkeiten" ibid. p. 32.
8) "verwendung der ausdrucksmittel", "angewandte him-
athletik" ibid. p. 32.
9) ibid. p. 27.
10) Cf.: "So erklärt sich Nietzsche's grosse entdeckung, dass
in der musik jeweils ein zeitalter sich 'aussinge' ..." ibid. p. 28.
silence, and, it must be added, that in this respect even Wolff and Petersen showed greater intellectual honesty because they, at least, openly fought some of the opinions expressed in *Die Geburt der Tragödie*\(^1\) and attacked Nietzsche's nostalgia (which returned to him towards the close of his conscious life\(^2\)) for the redemption of the world by music. The slow dying of music and civilization, Wolfskehl explained, which began with the coming of Christianity, reached its final agony in the work of Wagner. Here music sank to the lowest point of its career.

"Nun stellt das chaos", he wrote, "das ur-ungleiche, sich selber dar ... Die auflösung ... ist am eignen ende, wendet sich nun gegen sich selber"\(^3\).

Everything fluid, restless and unlimited\(^4\) had gone into the making of this art. A blend of individual eccentricity, nervous mannerism and romantic nostalgia, it reflected the sordid tale of life in the late 19\(^\text{th}\) Century.

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(Indeed, Nietzsche's work destroyed some of the most favoured ideas of "the conventional enthusiasts of classicism, who look upon ancient Greece as a prolonged jamboree of sunburned optimists and philosophizing athletes, and gives to tragic pessimism the central position in the picture he draws of their culture".

Erich Heller: *The Disinherited Mind*, Cambridge 1952, p. 66.)

2) Cf.: "Dafür, dass er die Musik in sich nicht ganz sterben lassen konnte, ohne selber zu versinken, zeugt die ungeheure Musiktrunkenheit seines letzten Jahres, das Wiederaufbranen des Tristanrusses, jenes Gefühl göttlicher Vollendung im musikalischen Ausklingen nach dem Werke ..." Wolff-Petersen: *Das Schicksal der Musik*, p. 236.


4) Cf.: "... dass in ihm das grenzenlos gewordene chaos zur 'unendlichen melodie' sich gewandelt hatte, ist kein abfall von den alten prinzipien der musik, sondern die letzte wahrste erscheinungsart ihres innersten gehalts." *ibid.* p. 31.
It should be obvious by now that here, as elsewhere, the followers of Stefan George rationalized their aversions, furnishing them with a number of properties which were thought to clash effectively with significant form and its various attributes. From a morphological point of view it is of great interest that the distaste which men such as Wolfskehl, Wolff and Petersen felt for music should have produced the same arguments and almost the same phraseology as Gundolf, Wolters and others employed when their hostility to modern life and its intellectual climate was rationalized. It was as though from time to time an unchanging set of vices and shortcomings were allocated to various fields of human activity to assist them in finding their position vis à vis significant form. The theories — cultural, historical and religious — which were thus produced disguised but thinly the real driving force behind them.

It may seem surprising that Wolfskehl should have recognized a quality of "absoluteness" in music and that, of all things, the association of music with this "absolute" should have been one of the main charges in his attacks. But one need not go very far to find the reason. Wolfskehl put down much of the metaphysical respectability which music enjoyed in the 19th Century to Schopenhauer's heretical views. After all it was Schopenhauer who suggested that music was completely independent of poetry and that words — prose or verse — were alien, detrimental and, in any case, inferior to the stuff of which music was made¹). For Schopenhauer

music was the purest, most profound and metaphysical of all arts, "absolute" in the sense that it was blessed with an immediacy which no other art possessed, and essential in the sense that it attained its depth and purity without showing formal correspondence with any section or situation of actual life 1). Wolfskehl was not in a position entirely to ignore the fact that a man of Schopenhauer's authority ascribed a kind of absoluteness, ultimate reality 2) to the nature of music; but there was nothing to restrain him from furnishing this concept with a meaning which bore little relation to what Schopenhauer understood by it. Music was absolute, Wolfskehl wrote, because it stood completely isolated from the forms and measures of man 3).

For Wolf and Petersen the ancient unity of music and poetry offered music's nearest approach to a state of absoluteness, the reason being the natural oneness of this combined art with the feelings and apprehension of the whole man. But now we have Wolfskehl, their master and mentor, ascribing an "absoluteness" to pure music precisely because music was detached, as

1) Cf.: "... auch die Musik beantwortet sie (die Frage: 'Was ist das Leben?'); und zwar tiefer als alle andern, indem sie, in einer ganz unmittelbar verständlichen Sprache ... das innerste Wesen alles Lebens und Daseyns aus-spricht. Die übrigen Künste also halten sättlich dem Fräger ein anschauliches Bild vor und sagen: 'Siehe hier, das ist das Leben!' -- Ihre Antwort, so richtig sie auch seyn mag, wird jedoch immer nur eine einstweilige nicht eine gänzliche und finale Befriedigung gewähren." ibid. p. 464.

2) I have not found Schopenhauer using the actual word "absolute" in connection with music, but he obviously refers to its absolute nature every time he identifies it with "will" or qualifies it as "das Metaphysische", "das An-sich der Welt", or "das Herz der Dinge". ibid. pp. 310, 312, 311 resp.

he thought, from the human form. The contradiction is resolved if we consider that Wolfskehl was probably lured into the discussion of the absoluteness or otherwise of music by Schopenhauer's way of putting his point. (Cf. for instance:

"Denn die Musik ist ... unmittelbar Abbild des Willens selbst ... und also zu allem Physischen der Welt das Metaphysische, so aller Erscheinung das Ding an sich darstellt."1)

Once he found himself entangled in Schopenhauer's terminology, there was nothing for him to do but confine the notion of absoluteness to an extra-human habitation. Yet there can be no doubt that a notion of the absolute was implicit in his own thought, and that — to reverse the chronology — it was hatched in the same nest in which Wolff's and Petersen's acquired their metaphysical wings. In both cases reality apprehended as permanent being, was the basic assumption, and in both the human form was its main practical realization. For Wolfskehl, man was the only legitimate repository of ultimate being and the arts gained their value by the measure of their approximation to his forms and apprehension. Within the valid order of things the human form was the legitimate surface realization of the absolute, and if there was an absolute outside it as well — and this was thought to be the case with music — then Wolfskehl was satisfied that it bore no relevance to the thoughts and feelings of the whole man. And, to put this point into a wider perspective, if it were suggested that God was absolute in the sense that he was the mover of all things, prior to man and outside his limitations, Wolfskehl had his answer ready, explaining that such a deity was irrelevant to the state of man. God must

1) Schopenhauer: Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung, Sämmtliche Werke, Brockhaus, Leipzig 1891; Vol. 2; p. 310.
be a man, he wrote, before he can become God for men. To transpose this statement into the key of the present discussion all we need do is to read "music" for God and "poetry" for man and we have Wolfskehl's recipe for the fundamentals of a musical theory: music must become poetry before it can become music. And this, indeed, was the essence of his faith. By a curious contortion of argument, music and the Christian God stood at judgement for the self-same reason. The apprehension of reality as permanent bore some strange fruit.

Wolfskehl, we have noted, assumed that music was alien to the mind of the whole man, and since of all artists it was the poet in whose work organic form asserted itself with the greatest lucidity, it followed that no poet worthy of the name approved the musical setting of his verse. Musical accompaniment was a refuge of the second-rate man in whose work a desire for shape never matured into significant form.

But if music belonged to an area which had nothing in common with the human order of things it was logical to assume that the musician, too, was an outcast in a world of human loyalties. His importance, Wolfskehl thought, could not be denied, but it was the importance of the rebel who had set his mind on destroying the values of a community which would not assim-

1) Cf.: "Wir aber ... wissen, ... dass Gott mensch werden muss, um Gott zu sein den menschen." Karl Wolfskehl: Über den Geist der Musik", Jahrbuch III; p. 25.

2) Cf.: "Darum wirkt sie (die musik) in einem zum vollen dasein herausgereiften dichtwerk ausnahmlos zerstornerisch und zersetzend und kann heilsam werden nur den schöpfungen der halbschlachtigen, im gestaltungsverbrauch unvermög, lich ermarteten, den was im eigenen chaos vor aller verleiblichung erstickt, oder was zur blossen linie, zum zeichenbild geschrumpft ist". ibid. p. 25.
ilate him. In this connection Wolfskehl made some interesting distinctions. The musician, he thought, may well be a "superman" but he can never be a full man in whose soul a spark of the divine (not of the supra-natural) makes its appearance and blends imperceptibly with his humanity (gottmensch\(^1\)). He may well be a "Titan" but he is debarred from the company of the "heroes" in whose lives the noblest qualities of man assert themselves as a whole, subordinating the manifoldness of the surrounding world to the unity of an idea. He may be a "genius" but he will know nothing of the reality of human existence. For this he is too much of an outsider, too big and too different. His work towers above the manageable world of man, threatening to annihilate it by the sheer force of its otherness\(^2\).

Even Prometheus, the message-ridden figure of Prometheus, was relegated to the company of "Titans", probably because he stole the fire, as music its inspiration, from a region which lay outside man's legitimate sphere of knowledge\(^3\).

Prometheus, the son of a Titan\(^4\), and music, the art of

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1) ibid. p. 27; for context see footnote 2).
2) Cf.: "Sie sind 'genies', übermenschen, keine gottmensch'en, titanen, nicht heroen, ungetümisch aus der art gerecktes riesenwesen, göttern und menschen eine verwunderung oder ein schrecken."
   ibid. p. 27. (Italics my own, they refer to the bracketed passage in the text "not of the supra-natural" above.
3) Cf.: "Wohl kann ein Beethoven, kann ein Richard Wagner, vom drang des chaos sehnsuchtsgeschwellt über die menschliche grenze hinausgreifend, klänge aus einer andern welt - vielleicht einer klangwelt ... herüberreissen in sein werk, aber auch dies ist raub und gottverhasster ... frevel; und noch Prometheus ... war titan, war wider die ewigen ordnungen ..."
   ibid. p. 27.
4) Son of lapetus.
Cybele¹) (wife of a Titan),—both stood condemned in Wolfskehl's eyes because both sprang from the same supra-natural world.

But why, one may ask, did Wolfskehl associate music with the figure of Cybele? Why did he not abide by Orpheus or Dionysos or one of the Muses? The explanation seems simple enough. Wolfskehl was looking for a symbol, a god or a hero, whose worship was orgiastic—preferably with a measure of music thrown in—without, however, showing any trace of a kinship with poetry. Obviously, Orpheus could not satisfy these conditions. Of the Muses, Euterpe, Terpsichore and Erato were the inspiring goddesses of music, choral dancing and poetry,—a combination too typical of the Greek lyrical arts to be employed in the genealogy of pure music. Dionysos, the representative of the fertility and intoxicating power of nature, was a more likely candidate. His cult was wild, dissolute and musical. Yet, he, too, had to be rejected. In classical times he was regarded as the god of tragic art, because the Greek drama had grown out of the dithyrambic choruses sung at his festivals. Clearly, it was impossible for Wolfskehl to impute to the father of the classical tragedies a complicity in the birth

¹) Cf.: "Aus diesen verschiebungen ... ergeben sich ihre scheinbar so entverschiedenen äusserungen, ... das schwanken von Kybele-haft (nicht dionysisch) — orgiastischem zerfliessen bis ... zur romantischen ironie — dieser von tragischen mysterium am weitesten entfern- ten seinstufe der seele." ibid. p. 30.

The condemnation of the "titanic" world had, of course, the sanction of George; Cf.: "Dann liess ich dich zu maasslosen Titanen Und einsam steigen zu den grausen Mittern. Ich hasste die vergeblich dunklen bahnen ..." "Fahrt-Ende", Der Teppich des Lebens, 1899; p. 61.
of pure music\(^1\)). Hence the choice of Cybele, who had the double advantage of being the wife of the Titan Cronos, the rival of Zeus in the Titanomachia, and of being the centre of a poetically inarticulate but extremely orgiastic kind of worship. Her rites were conducted by the Corybantes who performed their frenzied dances in full armour to the accompaniment of drums, horns and cymbals.

Music, the form-defying, extra-human art had to be supplied with an equally form-defying, extra-human parentage. Cybele, with her connections in the family of the Titans, was well qualified to be placed at the head of its ancestral lineage.

If one were to summarize the answers given by Wolfskehl, Wolff and Petersen to the problems raised by the predominance of music in contemporary civilization, one would have to take into account all the things said or implied by the three men, among them many which the two younger ones inherited from Gundolf and Wolters without, however, expressing them as pungently as their elders. With the

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1) It is very revealing to note here that Wolfskehl was not alone in his effort to rescue Dionysos from purely musical associations. Kurt Hildebrandt in his essay "Romantisch und Dionysisch" attempted to purge the term "Dionysian" of the romantic connotations it had acquired in Nietzsche's Die Geburt der Tragödie. Dionysos and Apollo were symbols for complementary processes. "Dionysisch und Apollinisich", he wrote, "gehören Einem ringe, sind gegensätzliche zustände, rausch und gestaltung - derselben lebenseinheit." (Jahrbuch III., pp. 119-120). Hildebrandt's attempt to clear Dionysos from musical associations was informed by the same thought on which Wolfskehl's distinction between "dionysisch" and "Kybelehaft" relied. If it was true that Greek tragedy owed its birth to the ithyphallic chorus sung at the Dionysian festivals, it was impossible to associate Dionysos either with music or with Romanticism. "Soweitlos hat Nietzsche geirrt, Hildebrandt wrothe",als er in der 'geburth der tragödie' das Dionysische als dunkel-musikalisch auffasste; er sah dabei mehr den romantischen Wagner als die dionysische tragödie..." (Jahrbuch III., p. 121.)
coming of Stefan George, they thought, a new and elemental force had been introduced into the spiritual life of mankind. The message and the nature of his work would endow man with an ability to respond creatively to reality apprehended as "being", and not merely as a process or a connection of things. A fresh energy would inhabit society and bring forth a new sense of loyalty to the confined but, ultimately, expanded space in which man and his works embraced between them the whole scale of legitimate values. Awe and respect for greatness, daring and vision would replace the unselective acceptance of the values thrust upon society by the blind mechanism of an over-ripe civilization. And in the process, the kind of thing people thought, felt and experienced would come to be nourished by a common reservoir of unquestioned assumptions. At the heart of this imaginary world would stand the figure of man, restored to his pre-Christian primacy, uniting in his wholeness the life of the mind and the senses which 2000 years of Christian culture had severed.

But before so vast a spiritual reconstruction could be embarked upon the disintegration of the old had to be hurried to a conclusion. The outworn forms of life had to disappear and the spiritually elect realize the irrelevance of civilized progress for the deeper issues of existence. And with the collapse of the show of civilization music would also end its tyranny over the minds of men\(^1\), because music was a condensed realization of the same universal processes which express themselves in decline.

\(^{1}\) Cf.: "Denn wenn unsere gewisse hoffnung wahr wird, wenn das nie u e l e b e n sich erkennt und das r e i c h sich erfüllt, dann muss die entartung ein ende haben und mit ihr die herrschaft der musik."

ibid. p. 32.
machinery and the creeping growth of anaesthesia\textsuperscript{1)} on a social and intellectual plane.

But the end of pure music would not mean the end of the "musical" arts. George's poetry was destined to fill its place. He would supply the "music" of the new times - much the same kind of didactic music as Plato envisaged for the education of his guardians in the Republic: "no lamentations and strains of sorrow\textsuperscript{2)}, no melodies which come from "lyres with three corners and complex scales\textsuperscript{3}) and other "many-stringed curiously-harmonised instruments\textsuperscript{4})\), but, rather, such harmonies which "a brave man utters in the hour of danger and stern resolve\textsuperscript{5}). "Heute ist nur die dichtung erlaubt, die der seele ein starkes ruckgrat gibt\textsuperscript{6})", George said to his friends in conversation over the dinner table, "NUR verneinendes dichtet ... (der dichter) nicht. Poetry is praise\textsuperscript{7})\). And the tone of his "music" was to have as little in common with "lamentations and strains of sorrow" as had the harmonies which Plato prescribed for the mental conditioning of his soldiers, because in such "strains of sorrow" George recognized the most characteristic and most baneful manifestation of the German mind:

"Wo ein lied ihnen quoll / meist war es klage\textsuperscript{8}).

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1)} The phrase is A.N. Whitehead's. Cf.: "We have seen that there can be no real halt of civilization in the indefinite repetition of a perfected ideal. Staleness sets in. And this fatigue is nothing other than the creeping growth of anaesthesia ..." etc. Adventures of Ideas, Pelican p.238.
\item \textsuperscript{2)} Plato's The Republic, trans. by B. Jowett, The Modern Library, p.100.
\item \textsuperscript{3)} ibid. p. 102.
\item \textsuperscript{4)} ibid. p. 102.
\item \textsuperscript{5)} ibid. p. 101.
\item \textsuperscript{6)} Robert Boehringer: Ewiger Augenblick, 1945, p. 34.
\item \textsuperscript{7)} ibid. p. 41 sic.
\item \textsuperscript{8)} Stefan George: Das Neue Reich, "Burg Falkenstein" p. 56.
\end{itemize}
Nor was his "music" to show any resemblance with the complex scales of "many-stringed curiously-harmonised instruments" which Plato banished from his republic because they were too soft and intoxicating even for "women who have a character to maintain".

"Ohne vielstimmig gewirr / Hendlend von reinem metall / dringt der gewaltige hauch".

in George's verse - the high song of a "courageous and harmonious life". And did he not call it "ein helden-

2) Stefan George: Das Neue Reich, "Burg Falkenstein" p. 57.
3) Plato's The Republic, p. 103.

That George himself saw a likeness between Plato's utopian state and the spiritual empire which he and his friends were trying to build appears from a remark he made - one of his most beautiful - at their own "symposium": "Die augenblolcke rinnen meist gleichmässig fort, aber es kommen andre, in denen sich plötzlich ein unendliches leben zusammen ballt. Das ist nicht zu beweisen, nur zu erleben. Es hängt daran, dass man heidnisch ist. Dass man nicht vom sinnlichen wegsicht, um das göttliche zu fassen, sondern das göttliche im sinnlichen sieht... Der sinn aber unseres staates ist dieser, dass für eine vielleicht nur kurze zeit ein gebilde da sei, aus einer bestimmten gesinnung hervorgegangen, eine gewisse Höhe des menschentums gewährleistet. Auch dies ist dann ein ewiger augenblick wie der griechische." Robert Boehringer: Ewiger Augenblick, 1945, pp. 35-36.

Earlier in the conversation a typical argument develops about Plato, music and the "spiritual" empire:

WERNER: Was würde Platon tun, wenn er heutzutage käme?
OTTO: Er würde sich wundern.
FORDER: Er würde gesetze erlassen gegen die polyphonie musik.
DER MEISTER: A, was für garstige buben! würde er auf gut attisch fluchen.
MEINZ: Und dann käm er zu uns.
FORDER: Wenn wir staat sagen, ist er mit im raum.
DER MEISTER: Er hat die seele erfunden und damit auch den
This, then, was the art which Wolfskehle, Wolff and Petersehn hope to put in the place of pure music—a poetry whose chanting, as we shall presently see, followed a very real musical tradition. But the role of this music was not merely to be one of the more necessary ornaments of human life. It was to suggest the formative principle of the new community not so much by virtue of its message, as, principally, by the model it offered of the realization of a law which was thought to be continuous throughout reality—of blind energy taking shape in organic form. But if, in one sense, this kind of poetry owed its form and integrity to the right measure of the right ingredients absorbed from mind and matter, from the internal and external world, it owed them, equally, to the exclusion of the right measure of the wrong things from its system. These unattached energies, the surplus equipment of reality, inhabited, like so many phantoms, a dangerous void on all sides of organic form. In one sense or another matter, becoming, connectedness, abstraction and

leib gerettet. Wenn er die seele nicht entdeckt hatte, so waren all seine bucher, aus denen wir die vor-seelische griechische welt kennen, von den christen vernichtet worden.

RUDOLF: Durch ihn fuhlen wir heut noch die luft jener Tage."

ibid. p. 35.

1) Cf.: "Und diesen spruch verschliesse für dich: dass auf erden
Kein herzog kein heiland wird der mit erstem hauch
Nicht saugt eine luft erfüllt mir profeten-musik
Dem um die wiege nicht zittert ein helden-gesang.

Der Stern des Bundes, p. 12.
music, all belonged to their number; some had made a direct contribution to the birth of form, others, again, possessed a relevance by virtue of contrast only. But to keep them excluded and maintain the identity of organic form amidst their incursions - in this, we may conclude, the followers of Stefan George recognized the central function of his prophetic poetry. The musical theories of Wolfskehl, Wolff and Petersen should, therefore, be seen as parts of a single large-scale operation, - the clearing of the decks for the master's art.
A. THE FUNCTION OF DANCING AND DANCE IMAGERY IN GEORGE'S VERSE

"Nur im Tanze weiss ich der höchsten Dinge Gleichnis zu reden", Nietzsche wrote in Also sprach Zarathustra. Stefan George, the poet-priest of Der Stern des Bundes, would have subscribed to this view. For a man as firmly opposed to music as Stefan George was at that time, this was a surprising admission to make but it was by no means revolutionary among George's Symbolist contemporaries. Stephane Mallarmé, on whose literary circle Stefan George rode, was in the stage of his life that the dance to be the art of the future. But although it would be wrong to see here more than superficial resemblance, it is nevertheless true to say that in their own particular ways both agreed with Nietzsche's dictum, and both believed that the metaphor of bodily movement was especially suited to express the "highest things". Mallarmé approached the idea of dancing from a Wagnerian angle, and this involved a leaning towards music not only in the sense that he wished to charge the spoken language with a special musicality, - George was at one with him on this point, - but in the wider sense that, for a time, he placed music at the head of the hierarchy of the arts. For a poet this was a difficult position to maintain and it did not take him long to abandon it. But while it was held - and he held it seriously - Mallarmé followed in the footsteps of Wagner who distinguished two groups in the hierarchy of the arts, a higher and a lower. The first comprised music, poetry and dancing, their common feature being their closeness.

1) Fr. Nietzsche: Also sprach Zarathustra, Körner Verlag p. 121.
"Nur im Tanze weiss ich der höchsten Dinge Gleichnis zu reden", Nietzsche wrote in Also sprach Zarathustra. Stefan George, the poet-priest of Der Stern des Bundes would have subscribed to this view. For a man as firmly opposed to music as Stefan George was at that time, this was a surprising attitude to take but it was by no means revolutionary among George's Symbolist contemporaries. Stéphane Mallarmé, on whose literary circle Stefan George modelled his own Kreis, also believed at one stage of his life that the dance was destined to be the art of the future. But although it would be wrong to see here more than superficial resemblance, it is nevertheless true to say that in their own particular ways both agreed with Nietzsche's dictum, and both believed that the metaphor of bodily movement was especially suited to express the "highest things". Mallarmé approached the idea of dancing from a Wagnerian angle, and this involved a leaning towards music not only in the sense that he wished to charge the spoken language with a special musicality, - George was at one with him on this point, - but in the wider sense that, for a time, he placed music at the head of the hierarchy of the arts. For a poet this was a difficult position to maintain and it did not take him long to abandon it. But while it was held - and he held it seriously - Mallarmé followed in the footsteps of Wagner who distinguished two groups in the hierarchy of the arts, a higher and a lower. The first comprised music, poetry and dancing; their common feature being their closeness.

1) Fr. Nietzsche: Also sprach Zarathustra, Körner Verlag p. 121.
to man and his emotional world. The second consisted of painting, sculpture and architecture. These were thought to be constructed on the pattern of nature and their authors were thought to be more or less constrained to imitate natural objects. Mallarmé did not fully observe this classification, but he was in agreement with Wagner on one essential point, namely that in his own envisaged synthesis of the arts - one conceived rather differently from Wagner's music-drama - dancing would play an outstanding part, because in it Mallarmé recognized an expression of pure ideas with the highest attainable serious immediacy. It was his intention that this total art should embody whatever was valuable on the stage, that it should absorb as much as book-art can absorb of music and something of the gestures of dancing. In the prophetic verse of Stefan George the idea of dancing played an equally important rôle but not, as in Mallarmé's aesthetics, as part of a quest of pure ideas but as one of three images which, as we shall presently see, were grouped around significant form. For Mallarmé the dance was linked with music and the theatre. To George these were anathema. Both Mallarmé's and Wagner's total art aimed at transmuting the dance into something abstract and universal: Wagner into his music-drama, Mallarmé into a specialized speech into which the metaphoric movements of dancing and the immediacy and suggestiveness of music were to be imported. For George the idea of dancing had a different meaning. He was insensitive to abstraction, he had a positive distaste for the theatre, for him music was at this stage the least universal and least human art. We have seen how under the impact of Wagner's aesthetic Mallarmé developed an attitude towards
dancing which Nietzsche could have called his own\(^1\). In what sense can the same be said of Stefan George? To answer this question we must trace the development of the idea of the dance in his work.

In a powerful poem of his first prophetic sequence, *Vorspiel*, George indicated that the saviour of mankind (der tätter) would employ a secret art of "new dances" to charge life with a fresh vitality:

"Er darf nur reden wie herab vom aether
Der neue lichter zündete im nachten
Erlösung fand aus dumpfen lebens schmachten
Der lang verborgen als ein sichrer tätter
Die welken erden hob durch neue glänze
Und seinen brüdern durch sein amt bedeutet
Wo sie vor allen wahren ruhm erbeutet
Und das geheimnis lehrte neuer tänze."\(^2\)

Dancing, the poet suggests, would introduce the community of the spiritually elect (seinen brüdern) into a life both deep and original. They would partake of a vision which no uninspired eyes were meant to perceive. To learn the art of "new dances" was to absorb the Täter's way of life and that involved adopting a philosophy of bold action, pure thought and intense emotion. But taken as a whole, this sequence of prophetic verse expressed only a rather vague yearning for fulfilment, and the prize to be won was nothing more precisely defined than a happiness issuing from lightness and sunshine. Here again George was at one with Nietzsche.

"Gottes Fürsprecher bin ich vor dem Teufel:" he

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exclaimed, "der aber ist der Geist der Schwere. Wie sollte ich, Ihr Leichten, göttlichen Tänzen feind sein?"

For George, too, Schwere, the melancholy gloom of the Northern regions was the very incarnation of the devil, and he knew that to emancipate himself from this heaviness he would have to overcome perhaps the most powerful trend in his nature. The "dancing hearts" whose playful game he admired in Der Teppich des Lebens were but objects of his envy, — a loving envy, to be sure, for was his admiration not a lover's demand for perfection in his beloved, — perfection of a kind which he himself was incapable of attaining?

"Tanzende herzen die ich bewundre und suche
Gern mich erniedernd dass ich eure balle nicht hemme
Die ihr mich rührdet ihr leichten — und ganz erfüllet
Die ich verehre dass selber ihr lächelnd erstaunet:

Die ihr mich schlinget in euren geselligen reigen
Mimmer es wiset wie nur meine verkleidung euch ähnelt
Spielende herzen die ihr als freund mich umfanget;
Wie seid ihr ferne von meinem pochenden herzen!"

The "dancing hearts" (and their dancing like the täter's secret art was unassisted by music) were belated projections of the poet's earlier desire for an art "aus anschauungsfreude aus rausch und klang und sonne". Their message was, in fact, a message of health and sunshine, into which merged almost imperceptibly the first lights of the Kreis-principle, as yet faintly depicted against the greater reality of a simple and joyful dancing. A similar scene occurs in a much later poem. But between 1899 and 1920, when the latter was written, the idea of a Kreis had hardened into a firm principle and although the "dancing hearts" changed into nothing more serious than a group of

1) Fr. Nietzsche: Also sprach Zarathustra, Körner Verlag, 1911, p. 116.
2) Der Teppich des Lebens, "Lachende Herzen ...", 1899 p. 85.
3) Blätter für die Kunst, Eine Auslese aus den Jahren 1892-98; p. 16.
dancing children, this time a leader appears in the centre of the dancing (Einer sic.) guiding their song and ruling their rhythm:

"Im garten wiegt der kinder ringelreihen
In welche luft des abends dringt ihr sang
Sie ziehn in paaren schwingen sich im kreise
Und hüpfen nach des gleichen liedes weise
Wie sie sich froh die kleinen hände leihm!
Doch Einer gibt den takt an und den gang."

Both poems issued from the poet's lighter moods, consequently it would be wrong to read too much meaning into the difference between them. Nevertheless it is obvious enough that George's conception of the Tänzer in 1920 was a reflection of the picture he had of himself, ruling as a spiritual law-giver in a circle of like-minded people. Edgar Salin reports that the key to the figure of the young dancer was Heinz Zimmermann, a youth born and educated in Heidelberg. George, who had seen the young man several times before his friends were made aware of his graceful deportment, reproached them for their blindness, and the words he used throw an interesting light on the change which had taken place in the poet's mind.

"Und Sie haben nie auf der grossen Wiese der Werderstrasse dem Ringelreihen der Kinder zugesehen", he said to them, "nie den blonden Anführer bewundert, der den Takt gibt und den Kreislauf der kleinen Paare bestimmt?"

But those twenty years which span the distance between the two poems saw the growth of much message-laden poetry and it was during this time that the idea of dancing assumed a special significance. In Der Siebente Ring George depicts a number of orgiastic tableaux in which dancing plays a significant part. Sommwendzug symbolises the merging of mind and matter, or perhaps more accurately, the mutual

1) Das Neue Reich, "Der Tänzer"; p. 107.
2) Edgar Salin: Um Stefan George, Godesberg 1948, p.82.
dependence of the power of the spirit and of the unconscious continuity of nature. A group of frenzied young enthusiasts, emissaries of the spiritual power, encounter in their dance-like march the harvester, the shepherd and his animals. Mind and matter meet; both give and are given. The symbols of the natural world (die nährenden blicke / Scheuen tiers) sustain with their earthiness the agents of the world of the spirit (der helle blick des traumes) and prevent them from becoming isolated. At the same time they themselves are mellowed by the impact of spiritual contact which saves them from relapsing into crude vegetation. And in the mad orgy that follows a dissolute Dionysian dance serves to link subsequent stages of this curious feast of fertility:

"Unsre fackeln verlöschen...
Wir verlassen die becher ...
Frehen durch das stadt­tor in die dörfer
Unter klingendem tanze,
Sehn die flur im brünstigen morgen rege
Von den scharen der mähder
Hirten pflanzer - stürzen nackt entgegen
Ihren strotzenden kräften,
Haften unsren hellen blick des traumes
In die nährenden blicke
Scheuen tiers die staunen und nur langsam
An der glut sich entzünden ..." 1)

But if the theme dominating Sonnwendzug was the light of the spirit pervading the fertile but unconscious regions of nature, its counterpart Hexenreihen represents the chaotic play of the forces of earth unrelieved by any commerce with the power of light. This, too, is a dance-song 2) and here again the dance represents the magic of some primitive oneness with nature. An eery twilight surrounds the poem.

1) Der Siebente Ring, pp. 48-49.
A primeval world emerges before our eyes. Poisonous swamps, mysterious undergrowths, roots nourished by secret waters make up the setting in which mother earth exercises her witchcraft and dancing is part of her magical repertoire:

"Wir wissen tausend Namen
Von Wind- und Wolkenschub
Vom Heer im Wassergrund
Von Tausend dunklen Samen
Die Finsternis vergrub.

Uns ist der Tanz im Krampfe ..."\(^1\)

But even this uncanny world is not entirely given to darkness. Dancing reminds the poet of the beauty of the human form and that again brings forth a demand for clarity of shape and sound which neither an excess of ornament nor the rank multiplicity of natural vegetation can drown:

"In Wulsten und gekrös
Sind uns die leifer schön.
Duft ist in der dampfe
Im Wirbelnden getös.
Vernehmen wir geton."\(^2\)

In Feier the image of dancing again appears as a symbol of the poet's loyalty to the human order of things. Maximin has now redeemed man from Christianity and the other-worldliness of its mental climate. Nevertheless the initiates of the new faith are incapable of dedicating themselves to the sober truths of their vision without having recourse to mysticism. It is true that their submergence in the godhead demands no mortification of the flesh. But theirs is a merging of identities just the same, a voluntary sacrifice of their humanity for the sake of an eternal and impersonal life. And this is exactly what they condemned in Christianity. Yet the story is less straightforward than this. A curious compromise takes place between the

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1) Der Siebente Ring, p. 50.
2) ibid. p. 50.
sovereignty of the human form and a traditionally other-worldly notion: the purification of the body by the fire of a superior reality. The dance which is instrumental in bringing about this purification is conducted to the accompaniment of "serious songs" and although this may suggest nothing more than an embellishment of the ceremony, its place in the poem points to an act of religious significance, inseparable from the main body of the ritual;

"Statt der wild gerizten schrammen
Schnellen tanzend unsre glieder
Zu den takten ernster lieder
In die reinigenden flammen." 1)

But nowhere is the idea of dancing so closely associated with the act of mystical union as in Fest. This poem is a classic of its kind: amidst coloured flames leaping out into the darkness a mad orgiastic dance is conducted to the rousing music of pipe and horn. Its mounting rhythm drives the dancers into a state of religious hysteria. They shake themselves free from the shell of their ordinary personality, - self and will-power are surrendered to an impersonal godhead. All are lost in each other and all are lost in the One. Body and soul are fused in one mad act of abandon and in the embrace of God the dancers are received into his community:

"Sobald das dunkel die gemächer spreitet,
Farbigé flammen schlagen aus den kesseln
Und hall von horn und pfeife eint und weitet:
Dann sprengt ihr eures eignen willens fesseln.

Dann schwillt das fest in rasendem getobe
Und in den bremenden und blutigen küssen
Wo alle sich in eins verlieren müssen,
Voll eines atems bei des gottes probe." 2)

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1) ibid. p. 145.
2) ibid. p. 178.

Cf.: Der Siebente Ring, p. 38.
The last four poems discussed represent late reverberations of one of George's two principal attitudes to life. It may be described as the more romantically inclined of the two, the one seeking to wrest a spiritual significance from life by way of a deep all-embracing communion with nature. It is the same attitude which explains his association with the Cosmic circle in Munich. But between the hysteria and extravagance of the cosmic twilight and his more heavily message-laden Der Siebente Ring the encounter with Maximin took place and soon a religion of the human form began to unfold in the poet's mind. In this early period, however, to which all four poems belong, Maximin's message was not as unequivocal as one is tempted to assume in the light of its later development. At this stage the idea of Maximin was a composite thing, a passion for form suffused by a love for the ecstasy and, even, the chaos of the moment which comes before form. If Maximin stood for nothing more closely defined than intensity and earthliness, there was, equally, nothing to keep the poet from exploring all possible approaches to this intensity. And George was too much of a romantic to turn his back lightly on so tempting a collection of tools as the imagery offered by the mystic's grove and the magician's workshop). Dancing was one of these tools and if the idea of an amorphous oneness of life is the thread running through all these poems, the metaphoric movement of the body - a combination of form and frenzy - was

1) Even Fr. Gundolf could not suppress a note of embarrassment when he was trying to explain, how exactly this mystical verse fits into the general pattern of George's later work. Cf.: "Es sind stoffliche Lebsel und Wirksel welche Ursprünge und Untergänge umschmuppern und umkriechen, die Taster der Vergängnis. Sie durften nicht fehlen in einem Werk von Ende und Beginn." Fr. Gundolf: George, Berlin 1921; p. 231.
well fitted to express part of this oneness. But, again, we must guard against imposing too simple a pattern on evidence which will brook no such simplification, because even in some of this ecstatic poetry dancing has a moderating influence. In Hexenreihen and Feier it helps to arrest some of the wildness within the contours of the human body. One can detect a faint desire in these poems to reconcile the fulness of life with an articulate human order. In the first poem music is completely ignored. In the second we have a reference to "den takten ernster liedere" to which a dance of purification is conducted. But this, again, is no reference to music in the full sense of the word. "Lieder" points to a chant rather than a song and its qualification by "ernst" confirms one's suspicion that what the poet had in mind was something in the nature of Christian plainsong worked into a pagan ritual. But in the other two poems (Sonnwendzug and Fest) where dancing has precisely the opposite function from that of tempering the dancers' chaotic ecstasy, music is also in evidence, although it is of a simple, Dionysian kind ("flöte", "unter klingendem tanze", "hall von horn und pfeife"). It is, indeed, remarkable that, although the dance employed in these two poems serves to increase the dancers' frenzy, in one case to the point of a complete surrender of their identity, nothing more elaborate suggested itself to the poet in the way of musical associations than the sound of the flute, the horn and the pipe. If this aspect is "Greek" in the poet's thinking, then there is evidence of a much closer identification with the Greeks' alleged insensibility to music in a poem which deals with dancing as its main subject. Südlicher Strand: Tänzer gives one a fair idea of the sort of picture which the thought of a group of young
dancers in a Southern landscape conjured up in his mind. The dance which he depicts in this poem is anything but ecstatic. An easy gracefulness runs through its gestures but it generates no whirlwind of emotions, sacred or otherwise. A feeling of unclouded joy dominates the poem, light without being shallow, intense but not exuberant. But what sort of a mirror does the poet hold up to his dancers and how does it reflect their movements? The picture he impresses on our mind is not a "motion"-picture. There is a slow unreeing of a succession of still photographs, but all the time the scene is strangely silent - music is absent from George's conception of Greek dancing. The dancers, two young men - appear to be moving to rhythm only, to the beat, as it were, of an imaginary drum. Their dance is not, as one would expect, an unbroken sequence of movements, but rather a series of carefully arranged tableaux, connected only vaguely by the identity of the bodies. For George this type of dancing was a purely visual affair and, in this respect, the language into which his pictures are cast shows two important features. First, there is the sheer colour appeal of some of the imagery such as: "junge schwinger; Mit gliedern zierlich regen kräftig braunen; Mit offner augen unbefangner weide; Ins volle licht getauchte lächelnd reine; göttlich nackte; auf weiss-gesterten wiese". Secondly, we have a number of images in which the slow, almost stationary features of the dancing predominate. If the former were designed to appeal to the painter in us, the latter were selected to catch the latent sculptor's eye. It is no longer the immediacy of colour that appeals but the statuesque positions of life arrested for a moment in significant form: "Ihr wart ... Ins gras gelagert; Ihr hobet euch vom boden auf im takte; Und schrittet vor und rückwärts; Die breite brust gewiegt auf schlankem beine;
Die ihr euch leicht verneigtet und euch küsstet". One cannot help feeling that there is something too stylized and too precious about the whole picture to be an adequate representation of Greece. But to George it appeared inspiring and certainly Greek enough to warrant the lines: "Von welcher urne oder welchem friese / Stiegt ihr ins leben ab ..."

SÜDLICHER STRAND: TÄNZER

"Ihr wart am pinienhage ohne staunen
Ins gras gelagert, junge schwinger, beide
Mit gliedern zierlich regen kräftig braunen
Mit offner augen unbefangner weide.

Ihr hobet euch vom boden auf im takte
Ins volle licht getauchte lächelnd reine
Und schrattet vor und rückwärts - göttlich nackte
Die breite brust gewiegt auf schlankem beine.

Von welcher urne oder welchem friese,
Stiegt ihr ins leben ab zum fest gerüstet
Die ihr euch leicht verneigtet und euch küsstet
Und tanzend schwangt auf weiss-gesternter wiese!" 1)

A similar spirit of serenity pervades the poem Stimmen der Wolkentöchter. The ethereal daughters of the clouds - and it is remarkable that here, as in Hexenreihn, women are called in to serve as agents of the supernatural - have dancing in their bones and their mission is to impart some of their lightness to their less ethereal human fellows:

"Anmutig ist unser reihen / Lasset uns liebend euch nahen" 2).

1) Der Siebente Ring, p. 168.
2) ibid., p. 42.

Of all dance-poems only three contain references to women: two of those have been mentioned in the present context and the third poem is Lachende Herzen. In all cases women are the vehicle of a supernatural lightness. In the first instance the dancing hearts step in with a cloud-imagery "Als ein mädchen von wolken herniederwandelnd". In the second dancing witches appear, also descended from an imaginary world, and in the third we have the dancing of the Wolkentöchter.
But man is ill equipped to absorb the message of the light-footed dancers. He fails to understand the high seriousness of their mission, "Spiel das nicht fasst und nicht füllt". But for the dancers there is nothing but to try again, although they know that in their union with the heavy stuff of humanity lies their undoing:

"Ihr die ihr rauh seid und stählern
Reisst aus der hand uns das heft:
Und wir vergeben den quälen
Wenn ihr auch todlich uns trefft."  

These two poems, it will be noted, form one group with the poems Lachende Herzen and Der Tänzer. A feeling of lightness and joy predominates in all of them and an essential element of this lightness is the dancing which is not accompanied by music. Only in one case does a reference occur to sound (Der Tänzer) and that, too, is a reference to singing. Following their chronological order, the first poem in this group, Lachende Herzen, expresses the poet's yearning for the kind of gaiety and playfulness which the dancing hearts symbolise. The second poem, Stimmen der Volkentöchter, goes one step further. An ambassador of a light-winged supernatural world is brought in to soften the stuff of which humanity is made. The third, Südlicher Strand: Tänzer, stands for lightness accomplished, and a couple of Greek dancers are selected to suggest the nature of this accomplishment. And finally the poem Tänzer combines the lightness of the dancing with the principle of spiritual leadership.

The role of dancing in the poetry that followed after Der Siebente Ring was closely associated with the prophetic message of George's later work. Dancing was no longer one of many stations on the way to initiation, as in the eclectic

1) ibid.
2) "Stimmen der Wolken-töchter", Der Siebente Ring, p. 142.
verse of Der Siebente Ring, nor a mere instrument for transmitting a feeling of lightness and joy. In the hymnic poetry of Der Stern des Bundes the poet returned to his earlier attitude to dancing of which he gave a brief indication in the seventeenth ode of Vorspiel.) If in the poetry that was written between, dancing was employed as one of the tools with which the search for a vision was conducted, it now marked the arrival of the vision, it was, in fact, the vision itself. In the four books of Der Stern des Bundes final grace was achieved and "dancing" was one of the words by which those selected for the sacrament were admitted to the sanctuary. It ranked equal with such familiar symbols of wholeness and form as Bild, Gestalt, Ton and Ring. Twice he used the word reigen in this important sense and in both cases the image of dancing was worked into some of the most message-laden lines of his art. In the third book dancing appears as one of three sacred symbols. They guard the poet's teaching from the eyes of the vulgar and profane. Without their mediation no one can partake of his message. Significant form in the visual arts (Bild) and in poetry (Ton) is now extended to cover an art which moves on the borderline of music but is deliberately divorced from it:

"Hier schliesst das tor: schickt unbereite fort.
Tödlich kann lehre sein dem der nicht fasset.
Bild ton und reigen halten sie behütet
Mund nur an mund geht sie alsweisung weiter
Von deren fülle keins heut reden darf ..."

A similar symbolic value is ascribed to dancing in the first book. In one of the most significant poems of the whole sequence the poet proclaims that he is no solitary seer

1) Cf.: p. 287, above.
2) Der Stern des Bundes, p. 94.
but a child of the prophets of more vital times. His mission is to wrest his disciples from the indifferent mass of humanity and lead them into a "dancing":

"Ich komme nicht ein neues Einmal künden:
Aus einer ewe pfeilgeradem willen
Führ ich zum reigen reiss ich in den ring."1)

Even more interesting is the method which he used in Das Neue Reich to rid Christ of his traditional otherworldly attributes. There was an earlier indication of the changes which the figure of Christ would have to undergo before he could claim a place among the poet's spiritual ancestry. In Der Siebente Ring George assailed in unmerciful language the "terrifying haughtiness" of the Christian God. Man's dignity on earth was incomplete as long as the distant figure of Christ threatened to disturb his rightful preoccupation with earthly things for earthly good. There was, he thought, an inherent contradiction in Christianity. If God bestowed on man the gift of "dancing", he cannot have expected him to renounce his humanity in the face of his maker. Dancing and Christian humility seemed utterly incompatible:

"Ist uns dies nur ant: mit schauern
Zu vernehmen dein gedröh
Und im staub vernichtet kauern
Vor dir Furchtbarer der Höhn?
Warum schickst du dann die sommer
Wo wir schnellten frei und nackt?
Wo sich nachbar nennt dein frommer,
Helle raserei ihn packt?"2)

From this conception of Christianity a direct line leads to the figure of the dancing Christ in Das Neue Reich. The Lord had to be emancipated from the mysticism which

1) ibid. p. 19.
2) "Gebete II"; Der Siebente Ring; p. 116.
surrounds His person. It will be seen that by now "dancing" was another shorthand expression for George's philosophy of significant form, and the most promising way of purging the figure of Christ of its transcendental qualities without destroying the magic of his name, was to represent him as a dancing God. In Gespräch des Herrn mit dem Römischen Hauptmann Christ was, in fact, brought back to earth from his otherworldly habitation and rendered acceptable to George's exacting humanism. In this short dialogue the Lord is asked by a Roman officer whether he, too, - like the prophets of earlier religions -, had passed through the ritual of dancing before he was admitted to the presence of the Godhead. The Lord replies that although the Christians chose not to remember it he, too, had danced with his brethren after the Last-Supper. 1) His age, he says, was not prepared - nor would future ages be - to receive the fulness of His

1) George uses the misleading word "liebesmahl" (agape, love-feast) in the poem. The love-feast was a ritual meal of the early Christians which had the double purpose of satisfying hunger and thirst and giving expression to the sense of Christian brotherhood. "At the end of this feast, bread and wine were taken according to the Lord's command, and after thanksgiving to God were eaten and drunk in remembrance of Christ and as a special means of Communion with the Lord Himself and through Him with one another."
(The International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia, Chicago 1930, vol. 1; p. 70.)
The poet probably shared the popular misconception that the Agape and the Bucharist were one and the same thing. Otherwise one cannot explain why he associated the Lord's choral dance, which (Cf. Footnote 1) on p. 301) took place after the Lord's Supper, with the Agape.
being. Mankind, the poet implies, is content with understand-
ing the spiritual side (glut) of the Lord's nature but is
inseparable of grasping the whole beauty of his earthbound
humanity. Man can see the sublime, but he cannot perceive
the "dancing" God in his Saviour:

"Der Herr

..... Ich schlang ihn nach dem liebesmahl
Mit aller schar: doch schweigen herrscht wo deutung
weit.
Mein weisen brauchen sie nicht ganz - nur meine glut.
Des Sohnes banner mag im erdrund siegend wehn
Aonenlang sein sinnbild ob den völkern stehn
En wer des bundes fülle schaut: - den Christ im tanz." 1)

George's attitude towards dancing has so far revealed
itself in three different types of poetry. The first group
comprises poems whose dance-imagery conveys a quality of
gracefulness and light hearted joy. In none of these poems
is there any reference to music 2). To the second group belong
the ecstatic poems. Here dancing is worked into a larger
orgiastic setting. Music is in evidence wherever the ritual
leads to a complete surrender of the dancers' individuality.
But where this does not happen, the dancing - now unassisted
by music - exercises a moderating influence. In the third
group we have those poems in which the dance-imagery points
to, or is a symbol of, the art of the whole man. In this
group the word "dancing" assumes a special significance.
Its meaning is similar to that associated with Bild and
Gestalt in the poet's vocabulary. But over and above
that, the word "reigen" (round dance) adds an undertone of
circular limitation and self-sufficiency to the more general
notion of significant form which Bild and Gestalt principally
imply. Music is again absent, and there are no frenzied

1) Das Neue Reich, p. 80.
(See Appendix to present chapter).
2) Cf. p. 297 above.
scenes in these poems. In one case, however, (Gebete II,\(^1\)) which is a forerunner of this type of dance-imagery) the whole man's enjoyment of his mission still hovers on the verge of madness. But he is no longer allowed to plunge into its murky waters. His "raserei" is qualified as "hell" (Helle raserei ihn packt), pointing to the sober and serious connotations which "dancing" was soon to acquire in the prophetic verse. Ecstasy, like the figure of Christ, is hellenized\(^2\) in these poems. A state of grace has been reached, and "dancing" is one of the moulds in which its symbols are cast. "Dancing" is now the heart of George's spiritual empire, but it is also the pass-word at whose call all barriers crumble and the light of truth reveals itself to the eyes of the chosen.

All three types of dance-imagery are woven into Hyperion, - one of the most magnificent poems of the later period of George's maturity. The conception of dancing as something light appears in the first section of the poem. Hölderlin in whose name the poet speaks in this ode, points to two vices of the German mind which, he says, prevent his race from emulating the Greeks: speculative thought (Ihr die in sinnen verstrickten) and music (Ihr die in tonen verstromten). Both bring a heaviness and morbid melancholy in their wake, both strain after the unattainable and the unlimited (Nach welchem glücke!) With these the poet contrasts the light joy of dancing which has failed to gain a foothold in the Teutonic mind. But now, as in the poem Der Tänzer\(^3\) which

1) Cf.: p. 299 above.
2) Erich Przywara sees a resemblance between George's "Germanischer Dionysos" ("Apollo lehnt geheim an Baldur") and his picture of the dancing Christ. Cf.: Heroisch, Wien 1936; p. 62.
3) Cf.: p. 239 above.
belongs to the same period, the serenity ascribed to dancing is linked up more emphatically with the major message of the poet. It acts in two directions: it provides a contrast to the melancholy of the musician's and the gloom of the philosopher's world, and it also reminds the poet of the high value of corporate life (the chain-reaction which the "round-dance" had started, ended in the assertion of corporate life, Cf.: reigen - ring - kreis - bund). But corporate work in a Bund, again, contrasts sharply with the loneliness of one who, like the musician and the philosopher, relies on his inwardness for inspiration:

"Der ist nicht des tanzenden schritte
Holde gebärde der freude
Roh da ihr schwank seid,
Fruchtbarem bund nicht gefüge
Ihr auch zu zweien allein:
Ihr mit dem spiegel."

In the second section of the poem the whole man appears in the shape of the dancing Sophocles. He is one of four outstanding figures in whom the poet celebrates the fusion of all important (i.e. Greek) human virtues. In Pericles he celebrates the statesman and the patron of the arts, the father of all wisdom in Plato, and the sage married to the practical politician in Aristotle, the teacher of Alexander. His eulogy on

1) "Hyperion", Das Neue Reich; p. 15.
2) Cf.:

"Lieblichen gastmahls ist herr
Lenker in staates gefahr
Eifernder stämme bewerb
Einiged tempel und spiel
Und keine weisheit bis heut
Hat dort die Gründer vertieft...
Wo als die neige schon nah
Unter zypressen des tals
Weitester lehrer der zeit
Adligsten schüler geführt.

Ibid. pp. 15-16.
Sophocles is addressed to the man who united in his person the art of Athens and the military excellence of Sparta. For George the Greek poet now symbolises the collective presence of three essential features: heroism (tat, mut), poetry (bild, süss) and dancing:

"Ahnung gesellt mich zu euch
kinder des Inselgebiets
Die ihr in anmut die tat
bilder in hoheit ersaunt
Spartas gebändigten mut
Ioniens süsse vermählt.
Jugendlich tanzt Der den chor
helden gestaltend als mann ..." 1)

Later in the poem there is a return to our second type of dance-imagery. Once again the wild, chaotic dance comes back into its own; this time it is depicted as the cradle in which the Greek gods were reared. But as the airy dance in the first section of the poem was less purely airy and more message laden than in earlier cases, so now the ecstatic dance is less purely ecstatic than in the main body of the mystical verse. It represents the Dionysian side of Greek life, but the Apollo- linian is also there to hold the balance. The words "reigen" and "rausch" are preceded by a reference to significant form of which, the poet says, in art as in life, Greece had given mankind lasting models:

"Die ihr in fleisch und in erz
muster dem menschtum geformt
Die ihr in reigen und rausch
unsere götter gebart." 2)

It will be seen that in the first instance the statuesque gestures of the dancers (holde gebärde der freude) rather than the continuity of their movement 3) dominate the picture.

1) ibid.
2) ibid.
3) Generally speaking Greek dancing had two elements: movement (Phorai) and gestures (schemata).
Following on the heels of philosophy described as "verstrickt" and music described as "verströmt", the emphasis on the visual, mimetic aspect of dancing serves to underline the distance between the Greek and the German view of life. In the second instance, where no such comparison occurs, it seemed sufficient to represent Sophocles as a dancer in the Choros. Since Greek choral dancing comprised elaborate schemes of mimetic representation and was conducted to the chanting of verse, there was no need, and no occasion to contrast it with the fluency of music. In the third case, however, there was nothing for the poet to do but to call up the magic of the ecstatic round dance and fuse it into Hölderlin's picture of Greece. Significant form, limitation and balance were all very well but obviously no Greek gods worthy of the name could be worked into the poem without the appropriate machinery of "reigen" and "rausch". H.A. Maier was, indeed, right when he spoke of "die rauschhafte Dunkelheit, die auch das reife Menschentum Georges noch in sich schliesst"¹). But "rauschhaft" as this darkness may have been, no reference occurs to music either in Hyperion or in any of the poems written after the ecstatic verse of Der Siebente Ring.

Dancing, like the speaking of verse, occupied a special place in the minds of George and his followers. In the light of the present inquiry both appear to have been marginal cases of music. Short of identifying himself in his mature work with an art that both attracted and repulsed him (love-hate complex would be the psychologist's word for it), the

best George could do to satisfy his philosophy and yet remain within the marginal lands of music, was to ascribe a special significance to two musical arts, making sure, however, that both could be dissociated, whenever circumstances required, from any obvious dependence on pure music. The message which dancing symbolised in the prophetic work shows no important difference from that covered by Bild, Wort and Gestalt. The only explanation one can offer for its inclusion is that without a symbol drawn from the musical arts something essential must have been lacking in his message. Dancing and the chanting of verse were designed to supply the missing element. Both were employed to keep up contact with a dark but tempting world whose principal representative had been banned from the precincts of the prophet's spiritual empire. The price which George's musically inclined nature had, and was perfectly willing to, pay for the inclusion of dancing among the symbols of the inner sanctuary, was the exclusion of any really musical features from most of the earlier and all of the major.

1) There is a small number of exceptions, but in no case is dancing a major image in the context. Cf.:

"...Hörst du das elfenlied zum elfentanz?...

Hymnen; p. 13.

"Ich komme vom palaste
Zu eurer kinder tanz
In ihrem frohen kranz
Will eines mich gaste? ...

Die Bücher; p. 80.

Cf. also: Der Teppich des Lebens; p. 30.
prophetic dance imagery\(^1\)). Poetic instinct and prophetic zeal had come to a compromise, and dancing without music and the chanting of verse without musical accompaniment were the results of their understanding.

It has been remarked in an earlier chapter\(^2\)) that nothing George wrote before 1903 struck a note of hostility to music, while nothing he wrote afterwards in connection with music expressed anything but an aversion to the art. To this must now be added that in the poetry written before Vorspiel no important dance imagery occurs. Die Bücher der Hirten- und Preissgedichte, where his friendly disposition to music is most convincingly expressed, contains no major reference to dancing, nor does Das Jahr der Seele, where the elaborate vowel schemes and rhythmic symmetries of his verse show a profound leaning towards music in a technical sense\(^3\)). In other words, as long as the poet was inclined to lay himself open to the influence of music, dancing played no part in his imagination. But as soon as he began to search for a wider purpose of life, dancing gradually worked its way into his poetry. The three types of dance imagery which occur in his verse, represent the poet's vacillation between a closer and a less close partnership with music within a larger prophetic message. But they all fit into it: the light dance as a counterweight to the heaviness of the German

\(^1\) Again there are a number of insignificant exceptions. Cf.: Der Stern des Bundes; p. 105.

\(^2\) Cf.: Chapter 5, p. 190.

\(^3\) One of George's sternest critics, Rudolf Thiel wrote: "Georges Lieder haben mir oft als Musikersatz gedient. Reden nicht seine vollkommensten Gedichte zum Gehör allein? so suggestiv, dass man vergisst, verschmäht, was sie bedeuten? ... Kann man die Kunst Georges überhaupt bewerten, wenn man sie nicht als Tonschöpfung würdigt?.." Rudolf Thiel: Die Germination ohne Männer; Berlin 1932; p. 331. Fritz Strich thought otherwise: "Rilke war im Unterschiede von George eine ursprüngliche musikalische Natur." Dichtung und Zivilisation, München 1928; p. 159.
mind, the ecstatic dance as the Dionysian approach to the Greek way of life, and the whole man's dance as a key-symbol of the message of the spiritual empire.

That the poet's interest in music had to flag before he could take a real interest in dancing, and the way in which this change reveals itself in the internal organization of his work, confirms the distinction which has been made between the nature of his outlook before and after the encounter with Maximin. Imagery springs from the innermost layers of the poet's soul. That a new symbol should have issued from his mind almost at the same time as music fell into disgrace and his philosophy of life was taking a new turn, shows a tidy cooperation of feeling and thought the like of which one seldom encounters in the poetic mind. It must be remembered that the harmony revealed here cannot be taken for granted. The conformity between the two was no result of cool headed calculation. For a considerable time after the change had taken place in his thinking, the precise significance of dancing was as little revealed to him (hence the first and second groups of dance-imagery) as the nature of the spiritual community, whose outlines he could see but whose details were yet to be filled in.

Unquestionably, the most remarkable thing about the role of dancing in George's mature work, is that it should have been given a role at all, purged though it was of all musical features. George may well have changed his outlook about 1904, but he could not change his nature which demanded that, even on his freshly drawn mental map of the world, the borderland of music should not remain uninhabited. That is why dancing had to be added to "Bild", "Wort" and "Gestalt".

1) *Vorspiel* (1899) was a premonition of Maximin. 1899 to 1904 were the poet's formative years in which the idea of his prophetic mission began to take root in his mind.
The "highest things" - one can, indeed, say with Nietzsche - he could not express without its symbolism. At some deep level of his consciousness George was aware that, for a poet, the message of significant form was incomplete without the intoxication that comes from significant rhythm.

B. THE SPEAKING OF VERSE

To understand Stefan George's attitude to the speaking of poetry one has also to take into account the views held by the members of his circle, because most of these were directly inspired by the poet's special way of recitation. One can, indeed, say that their opinions were put forward in an attempt to find critical reasons for approving George's speaking of verse.

George, like the French impressionists, attributed supreme importance to the oral appeal of poetry. In the words of Mr. Eliot, he believed that "poetry can communicate before it is understood". In the years before 1903 he scorned everything that distracted from the pure sound-impact of the words. He wished to free poetry from any unnecessary dependence on thought so that its rhythm and melody could stand out and give pleasure in their own right. Professor Isaacs relates how in one of Shelley's notebooks he found a draft of one of Shelley's finest poems: a rhythmic scheme, connecting a chain of completely meaningless syllables.

George went further than both his romantic and his impressionist forerunners. As a schoolboy he invented a special vocabulary for his first poetic experiments. Later he made

up his own language, - "lingua romana" he called it, - complete with grammar and a selection of rich-sounding words, and for some years all his verses were composed in this melodious tongue\(^1\). If a substitute for music were needed, this supplied its nearest equivalent:

"Schon als die ersten kühnen wünsche kamen ...
Erzehlt er für die dinge eigne namen —

Die hier erdornerten von ungeheuern
Befehlen oder lispelten wie bitten.
Die wie Paktolen in rubinen feuern
Und bald wie linde frühlingsbäche glitten."\(^2\)

A poem, George believed in these early days, was principally a combination of sounds and rhythms. Its task was to discover the hitherto unapprehended atmospheres of living, — not by virtue of its thought-content but, rather, by the immediacy of its musical appeal, and that, as Mr. Eliot has pointed out, issues from the combination of "a musical pattern of sound and a musical pattern of the secondary meanings of the words which compose" the poem\(^3\). A significant poem, George thought, would entirely escape paraphrase because the representation of thought was none of its business. It was in this sense that he wrote:

"Das Gedicht ist ... nicht wiedergabe eines

---

1) His early "Legenden" and "Zeichnungen in Grau" are the young poet's translations from this private language back into German. Cf. Carl August Klein: *Die Sendung Stefan Georges*, Berlin 1935; pp. 6-9.

2) *Das Jahr der Seele*, p. 52.


Clearly, this was part of the late 19th century revolt against all superfluous padding. The poem was not there to teach, or to carry a story, but to catch the secret mood of things and seek out their musical equivalent by a special selection of words, melodies and rhythms:

"In der dichtung - wie in aller kunst-betätigung ist jeder der noch von der sucht ergriffen ist etwas 'sagen' etwas 'wirken' zu wollen nichteimal wert in den vorhof der kunst einzutreten ..."2)

Den wert der dichtung entscheidet nicht der sinn ... sondern die form d.h. durchaus nichts äusserliches; sondern jenes tief erregende in maass und klang..."3)

Poetry, he thought, presupposed an emotional experience, but even the deepest feelings were useless for the poet, unless they resolved themselves into a "sonorous mood" (klangliche stimmung4)), to which the poem held up a musical mirror. Altogether, poetry was an art which registered on account of its vocal appeal (sangesweise); a rhythmical pattern held in place by a chain of Shelley's meaningless syllables was the epitome of all poetic creation. Words and imagery were a poet's auxiliaries. Their job was to furnish the sound with overtones of meaning, and push it to the border of consciousness where words normally fail, though poetry can still communicate. These were George's assumptions when he wrote:

3) ibid. p. 25.
It was this immediacy of the musical appeal of their verse which George celebrated in his "Lobreden" on Verlaine, Mallarmé and Jean Paul. In Verlaine he extolled, above all, the simple music of his "Songs without Words". Verlaine, he thought, had done away with all the conventional frills and padding (das redende beiwerk); his melodies went home without the trappings of the Greek stage: they could penetrate to the deepest level without the help of mask and buskin. Freed from its task of supporting so much lame machinery, poetry could now plumb the depths of a fundamentally new situation and speak of it in a simple musical idiom:

"Was aber ein ganzes dichtergeschlecht am meisten ergriffen hatte das sind die Lieder ohne Worte ... hier hörten wir zum erstenmal frei von allem redenden beiwerk unsere seele von heute pochen: wussten dass es keines kothurns und keiner maske mehr bedürfe und dass die einfache flöte genüge um den menschen das tiefste zu verraten." [2]

Mallarmé on the other hand, was no less a poet for his obscurity. The Egyptians, George explained, Pindar, the Church fathers, Dante and even Goethe sometimes shrouded their meaning if at that price they could invest their verse with a special musical intensity. The age, he assumed, demanded a more concentrated form of writing than the relaxed long-windedness of the 18th and 19th Centuries. To convey a precise meaning was less important than to stir the "auditory imagination" [3]. Impressions, not thoughts,

2) Tage und Taten, "Verlaine" p. 57. First published in 1903.
3) The phrase is T.S. Eliot's. It seems a fitting counterpart to George's "klangliche stimmung".
the moods of a passionate moment, memories charged with fading emotion were grist for the poet's mill, and the function of the poetry that came out at the other end was to explore these in words at once suggestive and evocative. Mallarmé, often reviled for the obscurity of his images, had done all these things. His verse, like the magic chant of primitive races, was now celebrated because it worked on a width of emotional range which is normally associated with music:

"Denken wir an jene sinnlosen sprüche und beschworungen die von unbezweifelter heilkraft im volke sich erhalten und die hallen wie rufe der geister und götter, an alte gebete die uns getröstet haben dne dass wir ihren inhalt überlegt; an lieder und reime aus grauer zeit die keine rechte klärung zulassen bei deren heraung aber weite fluten von genüssen und peinen an uns vorüberrollen und blasses erinnerungen auferstehen ..."1)

George's tribute to Jean Paul also centred in the wide musical appeal of his vocabulary. Father of the modern impressionist tradition, Jean Paul, he wrote, had explored new layers of sound and colour for the German language:

"wenn andere mit der worte klarheit und richtigkeit siegen so hat Er mit der worte verschwindend zarten abschat- tung gewirkt, über ihren geheimnisvollen unsichtbaren rauschenden und anziehenden unterstrom auf schlüsse gegeben und zuerst ... die erde mit unerwarteten glämen ... belebt mit heimlichen tönen mit versteckten pulsschlä- gen seufzern und verwundungen."2)

All these views were held before 1904. For much of his early aesthetic creed George was obviously indebted to the German romantics, principally to Herder, Hölderlin and

2) "Jean Paul" ibid. p. 60. First published in the Blätter für die Kunst, III. Series in 1896.
Novalis. It is a remarkable fact that, although after 1904 the poet and, under his influence his followers, showed a growing aversion to music and wished to dissociate poetry from musical accompaniment, the canons laid down for the speaking of verse largely continued in the earlier tradition and poetry was chanted according to a definite musical pattern. Naturally, as the idea of significant form developed in his mind, the doctrine of recitation was also made to conform more closely with the prophetic scheme of things. Poetry was to be spoken as a significant whole. The way to achieve this was to recite the poem as a unit of sound, but its rhythm and melody were to have nothing in common with "music". Nor was the recitation to be influenced by the contemporary style of stage-declamation, or have a purely cerebral appeal. All these things: music,

intellectual thought and the theatre were in the enemy's camp and before the music of poetry could be approved, it had to be cleared of their corrupting influence. How thoroughly the appreciation of poetry, as a thing of direct musical appeal, was purged in later years of any implication that this appeal may have any connection with music in the conventional sense of the word, is shown by one of George's remarks in his panegyric on Hölderlin. With 15 years of prophetic existence behind him he could now argue that Hölderlin caused a new "life-giving" word to emerge from its unwholesome partnership with factual narrative and "distintegrating sound":

"... und (Hölderlin) heraushob zwischen tatsächlicher Beschreibung und dem zerlösenden Ton das lebengebende Wort."

For a more detailed explanation of how these views are linked with the recital of poetry one has to go to the writings of the followers of George.

Wolters, for instance, held the view that in every good poem three elements are fused into unity: melody, rhythm and meaning. From their integration a sound-phenomenon emerges which admits of no rational analysis. This "music" of poetry, when properly enunciated, offers the reader's only chance of gaining access to the poet's experience:

"Die Verlautbarung des Gedichts ist die Wiedererweckung der gleichen Erschütterung, aus der es geboren wurde: die Teilhabe am Weltgang des Dichters." 2)

Robert Boehringer, who was especially interested in finding aesthetic sanctions for George's recitation, argued that the speaking of verse must leave the audience with the sensation


2) Friedrich Wolters: Stefan George, etc. Berlin 1930; p. 139.
of a phonic whole. What makes a poem into a poem is this special combination of melody and rhythm.

"der wahre hersager...sieht nur die einheit, kann keine einzelheit selbständig begrifflich erfassen und darstellen wollen; von gesetz ausgehend fügt er rhythmus und tonverhältnisse jedes verses mühlos in das ganze ein."[1]

These views implied the condemnation of the kind of speech which was then popular on the German stage. For some time now the theatre had been singled out for outspoken attacks by George's followers. One important factor which accounts for their estrangement from the theatre, must be sought in their claim that stage-declamation threatened to impose its own corrupt conventions on the communication of verse. Poetry was to be recited, not declaimed. Boehringer brought considerable learning to his attempt to show that from Greek times to the 19th Century the best minds had preferred a rhythmic, detached, chanted and rather monotonous delivery to a more pretentious and outwardly expressive kind. Flaubert, he wrote, recited poetry in a singing tone, Mallarmé in a hushed, soft voice. Swinburne and Coleridge spoke in a monotonous rhythm. Herder's reading was also monotonous and serious. Goethe himself preferred recitation to declamation and that, Boehringer thought, explains why he would rather speak Shakespeare's plays than see them acted on the stage.

It is interesting to note how in Boehringer's explanations the philosophy of significant form merges with the doctrine of the musical appeal of poetry. The actor, he argued, was unable to grasp the essential oneness of poetry. In his hands the poem fell into pieces. Either it became a magnifying glass for the projection of his own personality,

(and that, he implied, was an undesirable thing to magnify,) or else he translated the inwardness of the poem into visual gestures (mimik, nachahmung, gestikulation\textsuperscript{1}). Worst of all, actors were inclined to regard it as an excuse for the display of their psychological insight into the workings of the poet's mind. They destroyed a phonic whole, assuming that if they overplayed some of its "fragments", a unity would again miraculously emerge\textsuperscript{2}. Dramatic declamation, Boehringer implied, having committed itself in asking the wrong questions received the wrong answers. Poetry must always be read in the third person and this demanded an approach which was alien to the mind of the theatre. One can hear behind this view George's contention that poetry is the overcoming of emotion, - grief and joy transformed into a purer and more detached sentiment\textsuperscript{3}. A rhythmic, contemplative and monotonous mode of delivery, Boehringer thought, came nearest to creating the requisite atmosphere, but the actor was incapable of producing it:

"Den demklamierenden schauspieler ist das gedicht material, Statt von dem gesetze auszugehen, sucht er jede vorstellung, jeden begriff und jede beziehung einzeln zu erfassen, psychologisch zu durchdringen und aus seinem leben heraus zu verstehen. Er zerschlägt eine einheit, ... verse werden prosa, tonverhältnisse assonanzen, empfindung wird mimik, gestikulation und spiel."\textsuperscript{4}

In the Blätter the dramatic approach to the recital of verse was rejected on similar grounds. On the modern

1) ibid. p. 87.
2) ibid. p. 97.
stage, it was argued, the natural relationship between the poet and the actor has been reversed. The actor has won his independence and poetry is now at his mercy. He applies the inflated language of the theatre to the reciting of verse. He destroys the poem to produce an effect or extort a message. But exhibitionism was not the only danger. As, in the case of Boehringer, the philosophy of form whose increasing influence one can detect behind these views, demanded not one but a trinity of antinomies. Intellectual reading was considered the second, and a dry scanning of verse the third danger, the latter because it substituted a mechanical division of the lines for the natural lilt of the whole poem. Poetry, it was concluded, should be chanted in a rhythmic, monotonous tone:

"man ist bei uns nur gewöhnt, sinngemäß, skandierend (abzählend) oder schauspielerisch, nicht aber rhythm-

1) Cf.: "Bei uns ist die schauspielerische gepflogenheit selbstherrlich geworden und wird unbarmerzhig auf die verschiedenartigsten dichterischen gebilde angewandt." Blätter für die Kunst, Auslese III., 1904-09; Berlin 1909; p. 9.

2) The holy triad was a universally liked pattern in the George circle. Wolters, for instance, explained that, before George re-integrated them, melody, rhythm and meaning lived in a state of undesirable separation. Fragments of an ancient unity, melody had degenerated into pure music, rhythm into metre, and meaning had assumed separate existence on the stage. Cf.: Friedrich Wolters: Stefan George etc., Berlin 1930; p. 192.

3) Gundolf offers a more detailed explanation of the differences between metre and rhythm. "Das Metrum ist das Messbare, Zählbare, Fassbare, ist die verstandemäßig zerlegte, nach Länge und Gewicht eingeteilte Bewegung, der Rhythmus ist die individuelle, als solche dem Denken nicht zugängliche Bewegung, Wallung, Schwingung selbst, dargestellt im Material der Sprache. Das Metrum verhält sich zum Rhythmus wie ein Seismogramm zum Erdbeben, wie ... die Landkarte zur Landschaft." Friedrich Gundolf: Goethe, Berlin 1916; p. 61.

Gundolf's distinction bears the marks of Bergson's influence. Cf.: H. Bergson: Creative Evolution, chapter IV, Time and Free Will, pp. 99-101 and An Introduction to Metaphysics, p. 65 (Cf. for instance Bergson's metaphor: "... the leadline sunk to the sea bottom brings up a fluid of mass which the sun's heat quickly dries into solid and discontinuous grains of sand."
misch und dichterisch zu lesen. was aber an berichten über dichterisches lesen auf uns gekommen ist beweist dass ein dichter niemals anders (als liturgisch psalmodierend) gelesen hat und nie anders lesen kann."1)

Erich Kahler, a member of the outer circle who made his name by his spectacular attack on Weber’s "Wissenschaft als Beruf", also scorned any suggestion that poetry should or, in fact, could seek the partnership of the theatre. The stage was not a mediator, but a barrier in the way of the spoken word:

"Von einer vermittlung der dichtkunst durch das theater kann unserer erörterung gemass in der gegenwart nicht mehr die rede sein... Dinen, der ... zu lesen versteht,... wird das theater von heute wie eine unsaglich rohe, willkürliche, verheerende gewalt zwischen den spendenden und empfangenden geist sich schieben."2)

If the theatre and the style of stage-declamation were seen as threatening to graft historic features on to the recital of poetry, the predominance of music in German cultural life appeared to deprive the spoken word of the cream of an artistically appreciative public.

"Vielleicht gibt es darum kein verlangen nach dichterischem rhythmus", it was stated in the Blatter, "weil das verlangen nach dem musikalischen so stark vorhanden ist."3)

Boehringer, too, blamed the monopolistic position of music for the failure of the German public to respond to the recital of verse. No "spiritual" life was possible where music held sway over the majority of sensitive minds:

"Das musikalische getriebe übertönt heute aufdringlich die edleren ansätze, lasst das chaotische gefühl als eine mächtige welle erscheinen und kein geistiges leben

1) Blätter für die Kunst, Auslese III., 1904-09; pp. 8-9.
2) Erich Kahler: "Theater und Zeitgeist", Jahrbuch III., Berlin 1912; p. 112;
3) Berthold Vallentin, another member of the outer circle, held similar views. Cf.: "Wie die grossstadt an sich antithese jeden baues ist... ist das theater antithese der dichtung..." etc. "Zur Kritik des Fortschritts", Jahrbuch I., Berlin 1910; p. 53.
3) Blätter für die Kunst, Auslese III., 1904-09; p. 10.
But the popularity of music, it was now thought, did not in itself account for the clash between the two. Their very rhythms were irreconcilable and although for some time before 1904 the *Blätter* carried musical supplements including settings of George's verse, it was now argued that poetry must not rely for its oral appeal on musical composition, nor should the melody of the spoken words be set down in musical notation. Karl Wolfskehl, for instance, explained in 1910 that good poetry needs no musical setting, because an art whose special characteristic is a denial of form cannot enhance one which aspires to a state of statuesque beauty. The speaking of verse was, therefore, to be unaccompanied by music:

"Darum wirkt sie (die Musik) in einem zum vollen dasein herausgereiften dichtwerk ausnahmslos zerstörerisch und zersetzend und kann heilsam werden nur den 'schöpfungen der halbschlachtigen, im gestaltungsversuch unvermöglich ermatteten, dem was im eigenen chaos vor aller verleiblichung erstickt ... ist."3)

Six years later Friedrich Gundolf argued that although poetry and music might have sprung from the same root, they were now independent of each other: each had its own canons, each had developed its own particular types of genius. Their synthesis was undesirable, and even a man of Wagner's ingenuity could produce nothing better than a mongrel art (Zwitterwesen): the blending of music and poetry destroyed both, without bringing forth a third, universal genre 4. Poetry was to be

called back to its ancient sovereignty. To achieve this, it had to be spoken unassisted by music, as a thing of oral beauty in its own right.

Even the musical notation of the spoken melody was to be discouraged because no profane symbolism was necessary where, for those who could read, poetry suggested its own particular rules for a "musical" recitation:

"Der wahre hersager," Boehringer wrote, "ist also das erkennende und wiedergebende medium, dem die richtige art des lesens im gedicht selbst genau geschrieben steht und darun jeder versuch, diese art noch durch besondere zeichen, etwa nach art musikalischer noten festzulegen... überflüssig scheinen muss."[1]

Friedrich Wolters held similar views. The notation of the "music" of verse, he thought, offended the spirit of poetry. No extraneous symbols could help where all that was needed was to let the poem exercise its full phonetic impact:

"Die strenge Gesetzlichkeit des Baues verbürgt, dass er (der Ton des Hersagens) immer wieder erzeugbar ist, aber er ist weder durch ein fixiertes Notengesetz noch andre zeichen festlegbar, sondern nur durch die gleiche Er- schütterung der in lautgebilde gebannten Kräfte vernehmbar und darstellbar."[2]

The evidence so far examined suggests two conclusions: the recital of poetry was neither to follow the pattern of dramatic declamation nor be intellectual. It was to be rhythmic and melodious, in fact, "musical", but not in a concrete musical sense. The rules of poetry would brook no interference from an art which was felt to be alien and destructive. How, then, was one to read a poem?

Boehringer suggests that when a poem is recited, it should appear as a whole thing, excluding the possibility

2) Fr. Wolters: Stefan George etc. Berlin 1930; p. 192.
of a one-sided, either purely intellectual or emotional apprehension\(^1\)). This distinction is significant because it implies that the speaking of poetry should be purged of the same influences from which, under the more general terms "philosophy" and "music" - George and his followers attempted to free the whole field of German cultural activity. Boehringer's argument against a purely conceptual (begrifflich) and a purely emotional (gefühlsmässig) interpretation of poetry was, in smaller compass, an expression of the same attitude which inspired George's aversion to music and philosophy. Boehringer's idea that the speaking of poetry, thus purged of undesirable influences, should bear the hearer into a deep and intense life (in ein grösse­ res leben reisst) reminds one of the views expressed by George in Der Stern des Bundes that poetry should now take the place of music and philosophy as the major influence in the cultural life of Germany\(^2\). It is interesting to observe here how, after varying periods of incubation, a basic assumption produced similar patterns of thought in people so different in their approach to things as George and Boehringer\(^3\). In the present case the actual occasions

1) Cf.: "Denn nur wenn das gedicht nach seinem gesetze her­ gesagt wird, entzieht sich seine runde geschlossenheit begrifflichen und gefühlsmässigen annährungsversuchen und legt sich der fruchtbare bann auf die seelen der hörer, der sie aus dem chaotischen einzeldasein in ein grösse­ res leben reisst." Robert Boehringer: "Über Her­ sagen von Gedichten", Jahrbuch II., Berlin 1911; p.88.

2) Cf.: Der Stern des Bundes; p. 34; also p. 321 above.

3) Ernst Cassirer: Philosophie der symbolischen Formen, Vol. I., pp. 8-9 where this problem is discussed in a wider philosophical setting.
of these thoughts show little resemblance: the recital of poetry in the first and an attitude to music and philosophy in the second instance. Yet both were modelled on the same pattern showing that a general idea, once it is intensely experienced, can imprint in our consciousness a particular template for often widely different bodies of thought and feeling.

In Greece, George's followers believed, the recitation of poetry steered a middle course between ordinary speech and singing. Poetry was chanted rhythmically and in a monotone. Today the reader's duty was to emulate this manner of recitation. Its rhythm and melody and, above all, its sustained monotony should leave the audience with the impression that it had heard words of profound, although perhaps conjectural, meaning. Altogether, the speaking of verse was looked upon as a religious occasion: "Lesen ist die letzte Kulthandlung".


2) Cf.: "In schmalem intervall ... die nicht zu weit auseinander liegen, einem tiefsten und einem höchsten". Robert Boehringer: Ewiger Augenblick, Berlin 1945; p. 63.

In another place Boehringer quotes Verwey's view: "Er (der lesende) muss ... liebe fühlen für diese neue schattierung des eintonigen und er muss von den laien, die ihm zuhören, heischen, dass sie die schönheit dieses eintonigen einzehen lernen." Robert Boehringer: "Über Hersagen von Gedichten", Jahrbuch II., Berlin 1911; p. 85.

At the same time, significant form had to be fitted into the picture. To do this, it had to be shown — and it was shown as early as 1899 — that the rhythmic cadence of poetic speech was no measure of time, but an imitation in time of certain spatial characteristics. Through the rhythmic division of time, the Blätter indicated, the speaker should call up the symmetries of a "körperlichkeit" on which all good poetry was ultimately modelled. Boehringer described the total effect of this recitation in a style which is remarkable both for its religious imagery and for the mystical sentiment which obviously inspired it. Stefan George had just died when these lines appeared, and perhaps the religious atmosphere with which Boehringer now clothed the recitation of poetry was partly due to the grief which he felt over the passing of the poet.

1) As early as 1897 a tendency to see a correspondence between the rhythmic division of time and the proportions of plastic form was noticeable in the George circle. Cf.: "Kunstverständnis ist nur da zu finden wo ein kunstwerk als gebilde (rythmisch) ergreift und ergriffen wird." Blätter für die Kunst, Auslese I., 1892-98, Berlin 1899; p. 26; first published in 1897; 4. Series 1st vol.

That a correspondence might exist between spatial proportions and the rhythmic division of time was a current idea among George's followers. In his early essay on the poet Klein admitted their indebtedness to Novalis and the German Romantics, quoting the former's dictum: "Die Poesie im strengen Sinne scheint fast die Mittelkunst zwischen den bildenden und tönenden Künsten zu sein. Sollte der Takt der Figur, der Ton der Farbe entsprechen?" C.A. Klein: Die Sendung Stefan Georges, Berlin 1935; pp. 65-66; first published in the B.f.d.K. in 1892.

It will be seen that Hardenberg's view does not imply that poetry is rooted in visual experience.

2) Cf.: "Wir halten in diesen vorführungen auf die abrichtung der stime zum hersagen der neuen rhythmischen gebilde - das hervortreten der körperlichkeit in einem schönen licht..." Blätter für die Kunst, Auslese II., 1898-1904, Berlin 1904; p. 13.
"(die runde der lesenden) gleicht hierin den ohne laiengemeinde zur messe versammelten mönchen, die desselben geistes voll, einformig und doch vielfältig, immer wiederkehrend und doch abstufend, einzeln, abwechselnd, verschlungen und im chor den text halb reden und halb singen, bewusst verzichtend auf das kurze spiel des verstandes und vordergründlichen betriebsamkeit, aber leidenschaftlich flehend dass durch solche hingabe des ganzen wesens an den im gebundenen worte wohnenden grossen geist das geheimnisvolle geschehen auch in ihnen sich erfüllt: anfang war das wort und das wort ward fleisch und wohnte unter uns."

But if the recital of poetry was a sacred thing, it was the "musical" potency of human speech which accounted for the religious feeling accompanying it. The human voice, Boehringer explained, when it moves in rhythm and conveys melody, has an immediacy of sound appeal, even though it may not communicate meaning:

"Die menschliche stimme ist ein so unfassbares geheimnis, dass schon sie allein ergreift; sie wird geformt und gesteigert durch rhythmus und klang, durch jene elemente durch welche die sprache der musik verwandt ist."

At the same time, on ideological as well as aesthetic grounds it was wrong to assume that a musical setting could add to the phonic beauty of a "musical" recitation. Did George not say that the one could not come to the help of the other, because music was a decline, poetry - his poetry - a beginning?

"Die (die musiker) sind ein ende, und wir sind ein anfang, hat der meister gesagt..."

From all this it followed that the poetry which was thus to be spoken had to be suitably constructed for a rhythmic, monotonous and liturgical recitation. It had to unite, or, as Wolters thought, reunite, in the brief compass of a lyrical poem three essential features: rhythm, melody and

2) ibid. p. 33.
3) Robert Boehringer: Ewiger Augenblick, Bern 1945; p. 64.
meaning. For hundreds of years these had led a separate
life, until George came and fused them into the unity of
his art. A poem could now be represented in accordance
with its true nature. Rhythm, melody and meaning were one
indissoluble "Lautgebilde". Form and magic returned to
their well tried partnership.

"Die Übung eines einheitlichen Hersagens wurde erst wieder
möglich, als im Georgischen Gedicht jene Urkräfte eine
neue Bindung gewonnen hatten, ihr Gesamtrhythmus eindeu-
tig bestimmt und im Lautgebilde unmittelbar zu finden
war." 2)

The "music" of George's short and condensed stanzas: his
vowel schemes 3), the careful symmetry of his consonants and,
underlying it all, the uniform beat of his lines seemed well
suited to a style of recitation whose aim was to re-invigorate
the spoken word and recover some of its sacred undertones.
This music of poetry was what C.A. Klein, one of George's
most trusted friends, celebrated in the early work of the
poet. George's verse, he thought, possessed all the virtues
required of poetry if it was to lend itself to the canons
of recitation which the disciples evolved from the master's
special way of speaking:

"Durch genau erwogene Wahl und Anhäufung von Konsonanten
und Vokalen bekommen wir einen Eindruck ohne Zutat des
Sinnes ... Ganze Verse däumen uns aus einer an,dern
Sprache und versetzen uns in seltsame Unruhe. Alles läuft
auf eines hinaus: den grossen Zusammenhang, wobei wir
durch die Worte erregt werden wie durch Rauschmittel ... 
Die Strophe ist ein musikalisches Ganzes, dessen Glie-
derung sich von selbst ergibt ..." 4)

How, then, did Stefan George read poetry? Cyril Scott

1) Cf.: p.315 above.
2) Friedrich Wolters: Stefan George etc. Berlin 1930; p.192
3) Cf. Appendix p. 339/a
4) C.A. Klein: Die Sendung Stefan Georges, Berlin 1935;
 pp. 67-68; first published in the Blatter für die
Kunst, I. Series, vol.2. in 1892
relates that George spoke the words in a monotonous, chanting fashion.

"...I was often requested to read my translations in his circle. I say read, but he had taught me to intone poetry rather than read it in the ordinary way... The Stefan George circle used almost to chant it, but to my mind in a manner almost too monotonous to be pleasant especially when it lasted with short intervals for a whole evening."[1]

In his reminiscences of the poet George, Bondi underlines the even tone and solemnity of George's recital. His speaking of poetry had something of the intonation of a psalm. At the same time it avoided theatrical effects:

"Die Art, wie George las, stand in vollem Gegensatz zu aller Theatralik; etwas psalmodierend in gleich stark bleibenden Ton, ohne die Stimme zu heben oder senken. Es ging auch beim Lesen eine zauberhafte Wirkung von ihm aus, wie immer."[2]

According to Boehringer the poet spoke to a notation which was as definite as that of a song. He chanted with a delicate sense of rhythm and melody and perfect respect for meaning. He pronounced the words with the high seriousness of one who is a priest and a poet in the same person:

"Sein scheinbar eintöniges Lesen hielt die Mitte zwischen Sprechen und Gesang; es war ein Intonieren, das die Besonderheiten der Dichtung - Rhythmus, Zäsur, Klang und Reim - zu ihrem Recht kommen liess. Das Gedankliche ... sprach mit ... Der grosse Ernst, mit dem der wunderbare Mann die Verse sagte, gaben seinem Lesen die Bedeutung einer Litanei."[3]

Sabine Lepsius also notes the even tone of George's chanting. The solemnity of his reading reminded her of the responsory which is sung after the lesson in the Catholic

1) Cyril Scott: My Years of Indiscretion, London 1924; p. 121.
Cf. also: Robert Boehringer: Zwiger Augenblick, Bern 1945; p. 64.
church service. King of verse was to do justice to the true

der Ton seiner Stimme wechselte seine Höhe und Tiefen nur in ganz seltenen Abständen, wurde dann streng behalten, fast wie eine gesungene Hymne, ähnlich dem Responsorium in der katholischen Kirche... es schien als sei das Gedicht nicht ein einzelnes, in sich abgeschlossenenes, sondern ohne Anfang, ohne Ende, wie herausgegriffen aus dem Reich der grossen Gedanken und erhöhter dichterischer Vorstellungen."1)

Rudolf Kassner's account again emphasizes the even lilt of George's words. They were sung out in a way in which one normally chants a prayer. There was no dramatic pathos in his voice.

"Er las uns aus seiner Dante-Übersetzung vor: murmelnd Wort an Wort reihend, jedes Pathos vermeidend, als läse er Zauberformeln, Gebete vor in einer Sprache, die niemand zu verstehen brauche, weil sie heilig und zu rein magischen Wirkungen bestimmt sei. So wird in den Moscheen arabisch vorgelesen oder gebetet."2)

According to Percy Goethein George sacrificed the gross effects of gesture and intonation to more delicate effects. His voice assumed a subtle monotony, within which he could produce an endless variety of expression:

"Und nun hörte ich mit eigenen Ohren dieses seltsame vorlesen. Seltsam, denn man war von schauspielerischen Vortrag im Theater und in der Schule an heftige Wellungen und Schwelungen innerhalb des Verses... gewöhnt... Und jetzt kaum ein Schwanken in der Stimme um einen halben Ton von einem zum andern verse... Trotz der verhältnismässig geringen Möglichkeiten die Stimme zu andern, vernimmt ein feines Ohr die leisesten Unterschiede im Schwung und hört darin die unerwartetsten ausdrucksmöglichkeiten."3)

If, therefore, poetry was the archetype of art and the poet its appointed priest, recitation was its ritual.

1) Sabine Lepsius: Stefan George, Berlin 1935; p. 17.
2) Rudolf Kassner: Buch der Erinnerung, Leipzig 1933; p. 90.
3) Percy Goethein: "Die halkyonischen Tage", Castrum Peregrini, 11. Heft; Amsterdam 1933; p. 15.
And if the speaking of verse was to do justice to the true nature of the poem, it had to steer a middle course between the complexities of a dramatic communication and the rival art of a musical adaptation. George's aversion to dramatic declamation was based on the recognition that modern audiences were more easily moved through the eye than the ear, and that modern stage productions had to take account of this fact. George and his friends believed with Yeats that the growing emphasis on the visual element in the modern theatre threatened to deprive poetry of its leadership. Yeats observed that the "emotion that comes with the music of words is exhausting" and that, to avoid the strain, the stage sought to address itself to the eyes rather than the ears of their audience. The George circle would have subscribed to these views. Today, they thought, the rhythmic speaking of verse was replaced by an extrovert manner of declamation. An elaborate art of décor was developed until the imitation of the superficial appearances of nature: the painted scenery, the realistic costumes and the mimic gestures of the actors became as important as the poetry itself. That special combination of melody and rhythm on which poetry depended for the representation of its inwardness was gradually transformed into an externality whose means of communication was not sound but vision.


2) To illustrate this point: Cf.: "Über hersagen von gedichten weiss man in Deutschland nur durch deklamationen von gastierenden autoren, vortragskünstlern und schauspielern, die alle unrythmisch akteurhaft nach der jeweiligen mode lesen... Von den schriftstel- lern...begleitet Hauptmann sein lesen mit gesten, und deklamiert Dehmel mit theatralischem pathos... Selbst Hofmannsthal liest unter dem einfluss der alten wiener theaterschule schauspielerhaft..." Robert Boehringer: "Über Hersagen von
The sovereign position of poetry was further threatened by the increasing popularity of psychology. This approach widened the scope for mimic representation. It deprived poetry of its musical emphasis, turning it into an elaborate way of saying what might have been said more simply in prose. George's aversion to the theatre was rooted in his opposition to this predominance of the visual element in the stage-production of poetry. In opposition to the theatre and its visual sources of distraction, he asserted melody and rhythm as the regulative principles of recitation.

As soon, however, as the relationship of poetry and music was considered, any cooperation between the two was rejected on the grounds that an art of plastic form, and one which was insusceptible of form, would make very strange bedfellows. In his early period, it will be recalled, George found nothing reprehensible in the musical setting of poetry. Nor were his followers discouraged from seeing a special link between music and his own art. C.A. Klein mentioned Wagner among George's peers and precursors\(^1\), both he and Klages compared the phonetic beauty of his verse to

\[1\] C.A. Klein: Die Sendung Stefan Georges, Berlin 1935; p. 70; first published in the *Blätter für die Kunst*, 1. Series, 2. vol. in 1892.

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Cf. also Wolters' dictum: "Eine Rettung ... sahen die deutschen Dichter nur in der Abkehr von der ganzen Äusserlichkeit der modernen Bühne..." Friedrich Wolters: Stefan George etc., Berlin 1930; p. 48.

*Gedichten*, Jahrbuch II., Berlin 1911; p. 77.
that of music\(^1\) to which they implied, his early work aspired; and even in later years Edith Landmann celebrated the intoxication\(^2\), Wolters, paradoxically, the strict form\(^3\) of his verse, the like of which, they wrote, only

1) Cf. ibid.: "Im ersten Buch (Hymnen) herrschen Trompete und Pauke vor, im zweiten (Filgerfahren) Leier und Flöte, im dritten (Algabat) lange, vibrierende Fiedelstriche..." ibid. p. 69.

For Klages Cf.: "Grosse langsam schwingende Glocken aus aetherverlorenen Turmen: 'Frauenlob'. Fanfarenenschall mit Orgelsang vermischt: 'Sporenwache' etc.

Ludwig Klages: Stefan George, Berlin 1902; p. 53.

That outsiders as well as his followers were aware of the musical features of George's verse is attested by Rudolf Thiel who remarked that George was not only a "Meister" but a "Kapellmeister".

Cf.: "Will man Belege für die musikalische Befähigung dieses Lyrikers? Aber hört man nicht Klavierakkorde in dem wuchtigen Sang von Traum und Tod ... und hört man etwas anderes als blosse Melodie in diesen Versen? ... Hab George nicht die Dissonanzen in die Poesie einge führt? ... Bleibt mehr zurück als ein Hauch Musik, ein rhythmisches Gewoge, wenn er dichtet... Gibt es nicht Klangspiele von ihm, ebenso formvoll wie sinnlos, ebenso kunstlich wie leer?"


2) Cf.: "Nicht die vertrauten Wendungen der Goetheschen Sprache... sondern eine neue Klangfülle, eine neue Concreteit und Gefülltheit, kunstvolle Formen, die ... die Sprache zum Ausdruck einer Berauschung und Entzückung steigern wie man dessen bisher höchstens die Musik für fähig gehalten ..."

Edith Landmann: Georgika, Heidelberg 1924; p. 37.

3) Cf.: "Die strenge gesetzlichkeit der Form bei George, wie sie bisher mit solcher Folgerichtigkeit nur in der Musik durchgeführt worden war, gelangte zu einer solchen Klang- Mass- und Sinneneinheit, dass ... alle Nebenbedeutungen eines Wortes... für unser Ohr ausgeschaltet werden."

Fr. Wolters: Stefan George, etc., Berlin 1930; p. 192.
music was capable of producing. It has been noted that in his prophetic period George became increasingly aware that in primitive times poetry began in ritual and that the sacred undertones of the spoken word had to be restored before poetry could lend itself to prophetic usage. But poetry and its recitation could claim no sovereignty unless they renounced their dependence on other arts, music in particular. The kinship between the two was too close not to endanger the autonomy of verse. Hence, in relation to pure music, plasticity and spatial limitation were asserted as the regulative principles of poetry and its recitation.

It was in this sense that a prefatory note in the Blätter pointed to the common origin of music and poetry maintaining, however, that in their present form they were alien to each other and incompatible. This statement was amplified by a significant illustration:

"Höchster musik-rhythmus und höchster poesie-rhythmus schliessen sich aus weil sie verkörperung derselben weltsubstanz aber verschiedene aggregatszustände sind, also weil wasser nicht zugleich eis sein kann."\(1\)

It will be seen that music, like water, appeared to represent a state of fluency and unshapeliness; poetry, like ice, possessed a quality of concrete shape and condensation. In relation to the rhythm of music, that of poetry was seen to share the same features of form and limitation which ice possessed in relation to water.

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1) Blätter für die Kunst, Auslese III., 1904-09; Berlin 1909; p. 10.
Taking their cue from this view Wolfskehl\(^1\), Wolff\(^2\) and Hildebrandt\(^3\) developed their doctrine of the visual nature of poetry which has been discussed in an earlier context. When, in short, poetry was discussed in relation to the visual exhibitionism of the theatre, "musical" qualities governed its recitation. But when poetry had to be detached from a vague musical background, a visual pattern was appointed to regulate its recital. The stage, it was assumed, translated a temporal unity into a spatial diversity. Conversely, music transformed a unity of space into a temporal diversity.

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1) Cf. chapter VI. C above and particularly:
"Das wort ist ton gewordenes bild, bewegung gewordene vision, ist übergreifende augengebärde ..."
and later:
"(Die musik) ist die einzige seelenäusserung ... deren deutlichkeit nicht auf einem bildhaften beruht ... Denn sie ist zunächst als ausschliesslich akustisches gebilde weder den leiblichen (optisch orientierten) noch dem sprachlichen (ebenfalls optisch orientierten) phänomen beizugesellen."

2) Cf. chapter VI. B above and particularly:
"... wir wissen, dass der Kläng das Wesen des Wortes nicht ausmacht, dass dies vielmehr im Sichtbaren, im Augenhaften zu suchen ist."
Erich Wolff: "Wort und Ton", Das Schicksal der Musik, etc., Breslau 1923; p. 9.

3) Hildebrandt's agreement with this view is less explicit. Cf.: "Dichtung ist auch Musik im einfachsten Sinne, aber was heute Musik heisst, ist dichtungsfeindlich, chaotisch, gestalten-einschmelzend."
Kurt Hildebrandt: Wagner und Nietzsche, Breslau 1924; p. 430.
When due account has been taken of the fact that, in later years, George and his followers were anxious to segregate music from poetry, it yet remains to be emphasised that their manner of speaking verse did not succeed in conveying any visual quality of poetry, but, like pure music, was suggestive and evocative\(^1\). Underlying their recitation was a desire to identify poetry with as many musical characteristics as possible, without sacrificing the verbal rhythm of poetry for a purely musical idiom\(^2\). The recurring emphasis on chanting, the importance attached to the even lilt of the progression of the words and the rhythmic beat of the lines, taken together with the critical reasons which were put forward to vindicate this delivery, suggest that, although in relation to music poetry was felt to be an art with strong leanings towards the visual, it was spoken in a manner which was all but a substitute for music. The recital of verse was designed to produce a response in the deepest recesses of the mind by virtue of the same immediacy of oral appeal as that possessed by music. In his prophetic years George, like Yeats, felt the emphasis of pure music to be incompatible with the idiom of poetry. He attempted to lay the groundwork for a semi-musical kind of recitation. In its practical

\[\text{In its practical}\]

1) Rudolf Thiel, one of the poet's sternest critics wrote: "Georges Lieder haben mir oft als Musikersatz gedient, reden nicht seine vollkommenen Gedichte zum Gehör allein? so suggestiv, dass man vergisst, verschmäht was sie bedeutet..." Rudolf Thiel: *Die Generation ohne Männer*, Berlin 1932; p. 331.

2) This point was recognized by Hans Albert Maier. Cf.: "Man wird erkennen... dass Georges Auseinandersetzung von Musik und Sprache nicht für alle Dichtung gilt. Nicht für Romantische, die sich auch als Sprachkunstwerk dem musikalischen Geiste öffnet, aber auch nicht für den nach Klassizität strebenden ursprünglich musikalischen Dichter, der zwar gegen die Musik als entformende Kunst Stellung nehmen muss, gleichzeitig aber musikalische Werte in sein Sprachkunstwerk überträgt."

H.A. Maier: *Stefan George und Thomas Mann*, Jürgach 1946; p. 60.
effect, however, this special way of speaking differed as little from the musical setting of verse as the recitation devised by Yeats for accompaniment by the psaltery¹). To pursue the parallel, both men felt that "modern acting and recitation have taught us to fix our attention on the gross effects till we have come to think gesture and the intonation that copies the accidental surface of life more important than the rhythm"²). Both men believed that poetry should be recited in a chanting fashion, in a voice of subtle monotony because all art was a "monotony in external things for the sake of an interior variety"³). Art, they believed, was neither pain nor happiness but "a sacrifice of gross effects to subtle effects"⁴), their "overcoming and transfiguration"⁵). Both borrowed from the store-house of musical expression because both felt that, unassisted by musical characteristics, poetry was not fully articulate. On one point, however, their views did not agree. Yeats employed the psaltery to supply a stream of undertones to the spoken sounds, and his friends invented a musical notation

²) ibid. p. 25.
³) ibid. p. 25.
⁴) ibid. p. 25.
⁵) Cf.: "Tiefster schmerz deutet sich auch nicht an durch ausstossen von wehlauten auf offenem markt... Tiefste wollust gibt sich auch nicht zu erkennen durch anwendung heftiger worte und bilder sondern durch ein lacheln, durch eine zerrdruckte træne und durch ein bebenv. Aus der grossé des sieges und der verklärung fûhle man grossé und echtheit der erregung. So dachte gewiss auch Nietzsche, sonst hätte er nicht gesagt: 'screebe mit blut' sondern 'screebe mit roter tinte'." Stefan George: Tage und Taten; pp. 87-88; first published in the Blatter für die Kunst, III. Series, l. vol. in 1896.
which obviated any discord between the two rhythms. Yeats accepted this system because he was convinced that if the new art could muster among its followers "well-taught and well-mannered speakers"¹, they would always know that poetry and not music was their objective. George's attitude was more uncompromising. With the growth of his prophetic awareness his aversion to music gradually assumed the proportions of a dogma. Music was a hostile art, musicians were to be discouraged. Nevertheless, poetry continued to be spoken in a distinctly musical tradition and at some of the celebrations of the circle the "music" of the words was augmented by the flute and the lyre. But the musical notation of poetry was never permitted. How can one account for this rigid attitude? Whatever George may have said, or prompted to be said, of the competing rhythms of poetry and music, he was aware that music - more than any other art - possessed a quality of utmost penetration, and that his poetry was too intimately related to music not to compromise its autonomy if it admitted its dependence on an art so close and yet so overpowering. Poetry was there to be spoken musically, but it was inadmissible to borrow a weapon from the enemy when, for all who could read, the music of poetry was written large in the poem.

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¹) W.B. Yeats: Ideas of Good and Evil, London 1903; p. 27.
Ernst Morwitz's authorised interpretation explains:

George's reference to the Lord's dance is obviously based on the Apocryphal Acts of John, Para. 94, 95, 96, - one large fragment, and not "Evangelienreste", as Morwitz thought (there is no other evidence of the Lord's dance either in the Bible or in Apocryphal literature). The operative passage in the translation of M. R. James is as follows:

"Now before he was taken by the lawless Jews ... he gathered all of us together and said: Before I am delivered up unto them let us sing an hymn to the Father, and so go forth to that which lieth before us. He bade us therefore make as it were a ring, holding one another's hands, and himself standing in the midst he said: Answer Amen unto me. He began, then, to sing an hymn and to say: ...."

Of the doxology which follows it will be sufficient to quote:

"Glory be to thee, Father. And we, going about in a ring, answered him: Amen.... Grace danceth. I would pipe; dance ye all. Amen... The number Eight (lit. one ogdoad) singeth praise with us. Amen. The number Twelve danceth on high. Amen. The Whole on high hath part in our dancing. Amen. Whoso danceth not, knoweth not what cometh to pass. Amen...."

All authorities of Biblical scholarship agree that the key to this hymn must be sought in the Valentinian system of Gnosticism. "Grace" or Charis was the representative of the female principle (also known as Sige, Silence or
Ennoia (Thought) who stood with the primal father (Euthos) at the head of the system. The number Eight or Ogdoad and the number Twelve or Dodecad were two of the three groups of aeons (divine existences) which made up the Pleroma, the whole sum of divine existence.

(Cf. Otto Pfleiderer: Primitive Christianity, trl. by W. Montgomery, London 1910; vol. 3; p. 151.) The Ogdoad was regarded as the most divine of the Aeons from which the spiritual nature of Christ sprang. It also represented the heaven of the fixed stars. (Cf. Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Tübingen, 1928; vol. 2; columns 1273-74.) The Whole, or Alpha and Omega, points to the Gnostic Pleroma (lit. fulness) into which the soul was redeemed after it had been released from its imprisonment in the body. (Cf., ibid. 1278 and D. Adolf Hilgenfeld: Zeitsehrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie, Leipzig 1900; pp. 31-32.)

The symbolism of the doxology has so far not been deciphered with finality. A comprehensive explanation has been offered by Lipsius: "Unter dem Reihen ist sinnbildlich der Hochzeitstanz der pneumatischen Seelen (the Pneumatics were the highest of three classes of natures to whom had been communicated the higher truths of the world of aeons) bei ihrer Teilnahme an der Hochzeit der Sophia (the Gnostic world-soul or wisdom) zu verstehen ... Die 'Gnade', welche in der Offenbarung an den pneumatischen Seelen sich wirksam erwiesen hat, führt den Reihen, indem sie die in den Hochzeitsaal aufgenommenen Seelen mit Freude und Frohlocken erfüllt. Das Pneuma oder die Sophia als Braut 'flötet' und die pneumatischen Seelen 'tanzen' als Hochzeitsleute."


The weakness of this explanation is that it leaves out of account the symbolism of the numbers and of the Whole. According to some scholars one part of the hymn is a later addition and this includes the reference to the Ogdoad and the Dodecad. Hilgenfeld explains that the last line quoted from the doxology ("Whoso danceth not ..." etc.) refers to the Lord's Crucifixion. (loc. cit.).
It will be seen that the Lord's message in the poem of Stefan George has no historical foundation. The symbolic meaning ascribed to the Lord's dancing rests on a completely arbitrary interpretation of the original apocryphal reference or, possibly, an unawareness of its Gnostic setting. According to the Gnostic school of Valentine, Christ was the divine Aeon. He was born of Mary but not as a mere creation of the Demiurg, like the posterity of Adam. He received from the Demiurg only his body, his inner being came from the Holy Spirit of which the material world represented a sad defection. The message of Christ's dancing in the poem of Stefan George is designed to suggest the opposite. The only true connection between the poem and its source is that the Lord's dancing in the apocryphal passage does, in fact, represent a survival in the first and second Centuries of the mystic rites of Oriental religions.
A significant example of the great care which went into the construction of vowel-music in George's verse comes from part I. of the sequence "Hyperion". The first version of this poem appeared in the 10th Folge of the _Blätter für die Kunst_, 1914. In this version the lines

Klagend an ach welchen wassern  
Weinend an ach welchen weiden  
Nach welchem glücke!  

... do not appear at all. In a copy of the 10th Folge, however, which Fr. Gundolf presented to Frau Runhilt von den Steinen in 1917, an early, possibly the original, version of the three lines was inserted in handwriting; probably in Gundolf's, possibly in George's. In any case it is safe to assume that the inserted lines came from George. This version of the insert reads as follows:

Trauernd ach an welchen weiden  
Weinend ach an welchen wassern  
Nach welchem glücke!

It will be noted that the stressed vowels:

\[

da\quad a\quad e\quad ei  
\quad ei\quad a\quad e\quad a
\]

were changed into:

\[
\quad a\quad a\quad e\quad a  
\quad ei\quad a\quad e\quad ei
\]

producing lines of considerably increased musical potency. The symmetry developed by changing "ach an welchen" into "an ach welchen", should also be noted.
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" 9. Das Neue Reich
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