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Sylvia Yvonne McCullar

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"Ideal" versus "Real": Womanhood as Portrayed in the Literature and Correspondence of Early German Romanticism

by

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Abstract

The early Romantics idealistically envisioned the individual as an entity whose primary duty is toward himself and his own self-realization and "Bildung." Theoretically, such a demand was made for women as well, for instance by Friedrich Schlegel in his "Über die Diotima," advocating that it is essential for a woman to command respect through her preoccupation with the development of "Geist, Schönheit, Unabhängigkeit." The emphasis, however, on this kind of self-development does not proceed so much from a preoccupation with a woman's need for a participatory role in intellectual affairs as it does from a beginning departure of society's forced role expectation upon her; i.e., the self-effacement and loss of individualism attendant upon her being a woman and therefore an object of suppression, conscious or subconscious.

It is interesting to note, however, that the "liberated" woman which the early Romantics attempted to create in theory, i.e., the individual possessing a combination of "Geist, Schönheit, Unabhängigkeit" does not become realized in the literary portrayals
by the male Romantic author, who rather depicts her as a self-serving catalyst, a microcosmic reflection of the universe which is to inspire the male artistic force to a pursuit of the universal. Her role, however, is conceived essentially as a passive one of static perfection, for in the process of bringing the male counterpart to the realization of his own creativity, her function ceases.

Essentially, the conflict between the female and the male Romantic portraiture of woman is one of the real versus the ideal, the individual versus the universal principle. Her portrayal by the Romantic authors Schlegel and Novalis endows her with an ideal of divine quality and of the absolute. At the same time, such a depiction renders her an inactive, static principle as opposed to his role as active creator. A model, she inspires the male towards his own self-realization— that of his creativity. Woman, beyond this process of subjectively embodying the universal, is given normative function, participatory only as an influential guide to this creative process, not herself an active creator.

The Romantic women, which for this study are defined as the wives of the Romantic authors and thus most closely associated with the formation of Romantic thought (Dorothea and Caroline Schlegel, and, outside the Jena circle Rahel Varnhagen), interestingly enough did not pursue or take issue with the tendencies their husband writers established. They remained essentially private and
passive, not examining their lives beyond the form of letters, the most personal mode of expression apart from the diary. Their concept of love and marriage places the beloved soul mate within the center of their sphere of existence, innovative and liberated in the sense that her choice of partners does no longer follow conventional tradition. To the question of whether or not the female counterpart views herself in the same light as the one in which the Romantic author perceives her, it is my consensus that she does not. Although she does see herself as a kind of influence on men, she is not concerned with a fusion of body and soul as a microcosmic representation of the macrocosm as much as with the all-important issue of leaving the microcosm as such; i.e., establishing upon earth a peaceful, harmonious relationship that fulfills her individual demands. Having assumed a more personal determination of her sex, hers becomes a self-realization from the vantage point of private fulfillment, whereas to the Romantic male the process of self-realization remains largely conventional in orientation, because his view of woman rests mainly on aesthetic functionality.
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Introduction

The issues involved in a discussion of the concept "love" and its portrayal in any period of history are inextricably interwoven with the subject of sexuality, and, consequently, with the evaluation of womanhood. In other words, we are faced with a reciprocal inter-relationship of subjects. The assessment of love affects the estimation of woman, and therefore the greater the evaluation of womanhood, the greater the respect for the concept and the reality of love. The history of the interpretation of love is consequently not to be divorced from the history of the view of woman. Therefore, as a focal point for this study stands an examination of love in theory and in the literature of early German Romanticism, thereby focusing as well on the depiction of woman in that literature, and on the evaluation of her in the ethical system of the Romantics as well as in life. At the same time it becomes all-important to examine in what way, if any, the Romantic depiction of love/woman differs from the standard eighteenth century portrayal thereof.

The depiction of love and womanhood as encountered in the literary works of two movements in Germany prior to Romanticism, i.e., "Empfindsamkeit" and "Sturm und Drang," stresses the dualistic manner in which both had heretofore been portrayed. Paul Kluckhohn in his work Die Auffassung der Liebe in der Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts (1922) notes that the dualistic nature of the love concept during the eighteenth century can be symbolized by the works of two authors who heavily influenced the new generation of Romantic
authors. Kluckhohn refers to Jacobi, a defender of indulgence in a sentimental spirituality which regards every physical demonstration of love as insignificant and inferior to the overwhelmingly preferable qualities of spiritual friendship, and Heinse, a staunch advocate of the sensual and physical aspects of the love relationship. Two very diverse ideals of womanhood are represented and pitted against each other by these two writers: on the one hand the simple, naive, innocent girl, and on the other the virago type, possessed by a spirit which may give of itself freely to only the strongest of men.1

Sentimental love feverishly attempts to assert itself as pure, brotherly, and entirely soulful. Woldemar and Henriette, the two main characters in Jacobi's novel (Woldemar (1974), denote their relationship as a unique friendship between members of the opposite sex. However, the association must never exceed the bounds of friendship. To Woldemar, Henriette comes to represent neither man nor woman. A sexless creature, she is the opposite of her friend Allwina, whom Woldemar marries but with whom he cultivates a relationship based on possession on his part, without at the same time being possessed; it is an association which is passionless in nature and only serves to satisfy his immediate sexual needs. Allwina's depiction corresponds entirely to the concept of the adoring, submissive, housewifely woman; however, her womanly adoration constitutes at the same time an insufficient motive for love, whereas Woldemar's "soul friendship" with Henriette, a type of "schöne Seele," assumes
a closer proximity to that emotion, with, however, the concomitant severance of all physical aspects from those spiritual in nature.

Such a distinction between physical and spiritual love ties exists for Heinse in his novel Ardinghello (1787) as well, but in reverse order. True love, he declares, ensues from a love of both the soul and the body (most importantly) of the beloved. Heinse emphasizes that the basis of love is to be encountered in the physical aspect of the relationship, with the resultant goal of childbearing. The term "love" is not to be confused with "lust" or "Wollust," and a distinction is made between animalistic desires and refined sensuality, and as a result love is conceptualized as a striving towards an enjoyment which is capable of constantly being heightened and refined. By "enjoyment," physical satisfaction is meant, for a true unity of individuals in a sense other than the physical one is not envisioned by Heinse, whose vocabulary contains a veritable celebration of refined sensuality, from which lovers emanate who are characterized as one in a physical sense. Love as viewed from such a standpoint does not insist upon fidelity on the part of the lovers involved; however, as an outgrowth of the love relationship there does exist the insistence upon childbearing, and each of Ardinghello's mistresses (Fiordimona, Lucinde, Fulvia and Emilia) bear children as a matter of course. The need for the production of offspring exists independently of any need to marry, for in her role as mother a woman has reached her full potential.

Evidenced in Heinse's evaluation of woman is his characteri-
zation of her by means of his vantage point of masculine superiority and sensuality. She makes her appearance in one of two roles: she exists either as the embodiment of her own feminine sensuality (such as Fulvia and Isabella in Aringhello), or as the same type, additionally contributing innate quickness of wit and understanding (such as Fiordimona), becoming a representative of the worthy counterpart to her lover, aware of the superfluity of marriage contracts and the expectant ties of fidelity from the partners involved. An independent figure, Fiordimona is a believer in free love, both in respect to herself and to her lover.

Heinse and Jacobi, then, the proponents of physical versus spiritual love, form the two-pronged basis upon which Friedrich Schlegel and Friedrich von Hardenberg (Novalis) lay the foundation of the early Romantic love theory. However, to the early Romantics the ideal love relationship rests on spiritual as well as physical compatibility between the sexes, for within the successful physical/spiritual amalgamation of the lovers the two souls believed to be existent within man, denoted by terms such as "reason" versus "fantasy," "philosophy" versus "poetry," and "masculine" versus "feminine," are most successfully and completely united.

The most basic hindrance to the blending of the "masculine" and the "feminine," according to the early Romantics, is the concentration of the sexes on those traits considered by society as part of the respective "masculine" or "feminine" makeup. Society's standard of viewing the sexes has especially adversely affected the manner in which
woman has been and is being portrayed in both literature and in real life, Schlegel contends in his essay "Über die Diotima" (1795). And one of the factors which has kept her from being depicted in the proper perspective of woman as both woman and human being, the embodiment of both physical and spiritual qualities, is the education which has been denied her. In the essay "Über die Diotima" Schlegel contends that from a complete blending of "schöne Weiblichkeit" and "hohe Menschlichkeit" emanates a perfect example of ideal womanhood such as Diotima, distinguished because of her "höhere Bildung." He adds that "proper" Greek women enjoyed no real education and were excluded from the company of men, subjected and despised. Only courtesans enjoyed the benefits of an education, and Diotima, because of her exceptional upbringing, would almost certainly have been declared a courtesan. It was the consort of Pericles, Aspasia, who taught that it is essential for a woman to command respect through her preoccupation with the development of "Geist, Schönheit, Unabhängigkeit." Pythagoras himself taught a group of women who even enjoyed education in the sciences, and Plato stipulated that women should take part in the activities of men, while to the contrary Aristotle contended that the mental capacities of women were inferior to those of men. Such an attitude as Aristotle's towards women was the rule rather than the exception. Schlegel believes that such an exaggerated view stressing the differences between the sexes rather than their common humanity creates an overstated concept of masculinity and femininity as well, "welche
die Freiheit des Gemüths vernichten würden." Unfortunately, he states, one of the major characteristics of femininity is that of absolute unconditional surrender and total self-annihilating clinging to a man:

Man nimmt überdies in den Begriff der Weiblichkeit zu viele Merkmale auf, die zwar aus der Erfahrung geschöpft sind, aber nur einer übertriebenen Weiblichkeit zukommen; indem man jene unbedingte Hingebung und ein gänzliches Anschmiegen an den allein selbständigen Mann, ohne allen eignen Willen und inneren Bestand, als den eigentlichen Vorzug des Geschlechts aufstellt und betrachtet.4

Her most positive characteristic, on the other hand, is her ability to perceive and convey every utterance of the soul, a capability which is of inestimable worth in understanding that part of man which is called "Gemüt," i.e., temperament, nature, feeling: "Dagegen stimmt die Natur der lyrischen Begeisterung mit dem Begriff der Weiblichkeit und mit der Natur der weiblichen Seele so ganz überein, dass man sie auch die weibliche Begeisterung, wie die dramatische die männliche, nennen könnte."5 However, Schlegel adds, due to an inadequate or nonexistent "Bildung," unfair depreciation and suppression had for the most part stifled those abovementioned qualities so natural and ingrained within the makeup of the woman raised in the culture of ancient Greece. And in literature, Schlegel states in his 27th Athenäum fragment, Greek women were treated no more justly than in real life: "Die weiblichen sind nicht idealisch und die idealischen sind nicht weiblich."5

In his essay "Über die Diotima," Schlegel's personal ideal
representative of womanhood becomes Diotima, a woman combining the qualities of both Aspasia and the Greek poetess Sappho. Although Schlegel does not believe that a woman can comprehend philosophy, he does state that she possesses marked talents in music and lyric poetry. Due to a lack of force, universality of mind, and a sense of systemization, the study of philosophy and science becomes difficult for her. Yet she does possess one unconscious, extremely sensitive sense, "die tiefsten und zartesten Laute der Seele innig vernehmen und rein mitteilen zu können." "Der weibliche Charakter," Schlegel states in "Über die Darstellung der weiblichen Charaktere in den griechischen Dichtern" (1794), "wird so oft nicht verstanden, weil es die Natur des Weibes ist, seine Seele zu verhüllen, wie seine Reize; selbst die offenste weibliche Hingebung ist noch scheu und zart."

However, even more important to Schlegel than a desire for women's education is the wish that a woman transcend the conditioning which society has forced upon her and which she has been willing to accept; i.e., the self-effacement and loss of individualism attendant upon her being a woman and therefore an object of suppression, conscious or subconscious. The "education" of women in his day, he claims, has created women who are exaggeratedly feminine, and in order to combat such a stifling position which man has forced upon her but one for which she is partially responsible, woman has no recourse but to turn to the eternal, i.e., to the study of the metaphysical. A love of the universe, Schlegel pro-
claims, is a trait peculiar to woman, and her natural inclination towards subjectivity, tenderness, passivity, combined with a sense of quiet animation, sincerity and ardor suit her to the role to which the Romantic is to relegate her in his literary depiction of her as a symbol of his conception of the ideal and the universal, i.e., the absolute.

Although Schlegel in "Über die Diotima" bemoans the loss of individualism attendant upon society's concept of woman as exaggeratedly feminine, the early Romantic's literary portrayal of her is not significantly altered; only the direction in which the process of this sacrifice of feminine individuality proceeds differs slightly. Antagonistic to the idea of a stressed femininity as a threat to individualism, the Romantic nevertheless encases the woman in his literary depiction of her within the confines of existing only as a catalyst towards his concept of himself as an individual, capable, by an active, subjective creation and perception of the microcosm/macrocosp, of perceiving his individuality within the universal, and vice versa.

In order to become totally immersed in the manner in which his own individuality relates to the universal of which he is a part, the Romantic requires the love impetus, by means of which he becomes capable of encountering his "feminine" soul, the other half of himself, without which he is rendered incapable of capturing a full understanding of the universal. It is in this direction of
the male's process of self-realization that the woman's entire reason for existence is directed, making her enormously important and attractive to the male believer in his powers of fusing the disparate pieces of his real or imagined self-image. It is in this intuitive and unconscious symbol of womanhood as a unifying factor that the Romantic believes, not in the real representative of her sex.

Once the Romantic author's/protagonist's search for every facet of his self-image as symbol of the universal has been completed and he has achieved the capacity to incorporate within himself his lost feminine identity, he at the same time assumes the ability successfully to "create," as it were, the symbol of that immanent universality, the art work itself. He himself has therefore become a receptacle of those qualities considered exclusively "feminine." The outcome, in terms of his power of creativity, is one in which the art work is "conceived," so to speak, in the sense of being born of instinct, inspired fantasy (the "feminine" principles) and intellect and reason (the "masculine" principles).

Three qualities which Schlegel demanded of a novel, the one genre capable of uniting individuality and universality, science and poetry, are "das Fantastische," "das Mimische," and "das Sentimentale" in order to fulfill the quest of reflecting "heilige Lebensfülle."7 "Das Sentimentale" is the most important element for the purpose of this study, since in his literary notebooks Schlegel referred to "sentimental" poetry as a depiction of the
And in his "Gespräch über die Poesie" (1800) he further comments on the function of sentimentality in the literary work:

Was ist denn nun dieses Sentimentale? Das was uns anspricht, wo das Gefühl herrscht, und zwar nicht ein sinnliches, sondern das geistige. Die Quelle und Seele aller dieser Regungen ist die Liebe, und der Geist der Liebe muss in der romantischen Poesie überall unsichtbar sichtbar schweben.\(^9\)

The term "Roman," the literary "creation" of the Romantic author, does not come to assume a genre meaning at all, but is rather employed in the wider sense as being an element common to all poetry. The universality inherent in Romantic poetry, "ein hieroglyphischer Ausdruck der ungebundenen Natur in dieser Verklarung von Phantasie und Liebe," is infused into a literary work through the all-important spirit of love.

The poetry of which Schlegel speaks, the fusion of philosophy and poetry, finds its highest expression in words, but its origins are to be encountered "in der Pflanze," "im Lichte," "im Kinde," "in der Blüte der Jugend" and "in der liebenden Brust der Frauen," the great art/nature works of the Creator which his prophet, the artist, attempts to interpret and consequently re-interpret "aus der innersten Tiefe des Geistes," i.e., through the elements of not only fantasy, but also irony into a new mythology which focuses on the infinite, which Schlegel postulates should constitute the yearning of each individual.\(^10\) It is, after all, a quest which man undergoes in order to reintegrate himself into the genesis of his being, i.e., the realm of the "godly infinite," "zum göttlichen Unendlichen."
This goal involves a universal movement with the purpose of fusing all opposites, including the distinctions between the "classical" female principle and the "progressive" masculine essence. Modern poetry, or universal poetr, as Schlegel terms it, becomes an unending intermingling and fusion of modernity and classicism, progression and regression. And the individual creating that universal poetry, then, becomes a "priest" of the ideal: "Wenn jedes Individuum Gott ist, so gibts so viele Götter als Ideale...Wem dieser innre Gottesdienst Ziel und Geschäft des ganzen Lebens ist, der ist Priester..."  

In the process of artistic creation, the Romantic author has insofar recognized the woman as a catalyst towards his creative process in that he has viewed the process not only through the eyes of the role which his particular "masculine" intellectuality plays in the birth of the literary work, but also the importance which the feminine intellect, inspired and "sentimental" in form, plays in the production of the literary work itself.  

It is here, however, at the point at which the Romantic author becomes aware of the necessity of both masculine and feminine creative characteristics, that the woman's function ceases and she is reduced to the status of being a revered, passive, perfect, but essentially static representative participating in the creation of the Romantic's worldview only insofar as she serves as an influence towards that creation, not the
active participant therein.

The basic egocentricity of the Romantics' belief can be noted further in a comment by Hans Wolfgang Kuhn in Der Apokalyptiker und die Politik (1961) concerning Novalis' concept of love, in which the beloved, in spite of the interrelationship with the "I," is really only a mirror of the I and therefore the Creator, the means by which the I arrives at the establishment of self-identity. The "you" does not love the "I" as much as the physical manifestation therein "der göttlichen Idee." Kuhn goes on to say:


Does the Romantic's female counterpart view herself in the same light as a microcosmic representation of man's desire towards the unity of his "masculine" and "feminine" souls? The consensus on my part is that she does not. Rather than as a metaphysical symbol of the divinity (his creation, the art work) towards which man aspires, the Romantic woman considers her sphere of influence in a totally different light. Although she does view herself as a kind of influence on men, she is not concerned with a fusion of the body and soul as a microcosmic representation of the macrocosm as much as with the all-important issue of leaving the microcosm
as such; i.e., establishing upon earth a peaceful, harmonious, well-ordered household in which husband and wife are friends as well as lovers, and in which the mutual respect and love of children towards parents, husband towards wife and vice versa, exists. It is in this direction that the Romantic woman realizes the importance of the force of which her inner nature is capable. Of an essentially self-giving, selfless nature, hers becomes a self-realization from the vantage point of self-sacrifice, whereas to the male Romantic, as the reader will discover in the first chapter of this work, the process of self-realization remains egocentric in orientation, although couched in universal, metaphysical terms.

The Romantic women to be treated in this study, wives of the Romantic authors and in that manner closely associated with the formation of Romantic thought, do not of themselves pursue the tendencies which their husbands establish. Essentially passive and private, she is not assertive enough to be a Romanticist at the same time. Therein lies her subjugation as an individual.
The Romantic Author's Concept of the Woman as Catalyst

A. Schlegel, the Spiritual Sensualist

The early Romantics required much of a woman, viz., that she be both a creature of nature and of spirit capable of synthesizing body and soul, the human and the Divine. As Kluckhohn states it: "Der Liebende erblickt in der Geliebten sein ursprüngliches Gottesbild, das er mit ihrer Hilfe in sich herausarbeiten soll. Die Geliebte wird zur Mittlerin Gottes."¹ Love to the Romantics becomes religion, for in love the Divine, i.e., the possibility of perfection, is revealed within man. They have altered the standard eighteenth-century view of woman insofar as they have created in their literary works portrayals of revered women who at the same time supposedly inspire their men, due to the comprehension of their own inner selves as androgynous. Woman is therefore given the literary function to lead the man she loves to an understanding of the truths of life, since these truths are considered by all male Romantic authors as her inherent qualities. Although she is incapable of creating an art work on her own accord, she does inspire the man, through his relation to and contact with her, to place him within the grasp of a deeper understanding of the nature of life.

It is due to the possibility of understanding his own disjointed self that the artist strives to comprehend a woman's nature and the scope of her love capacity, for within such a model lies the possibility of creating the art work, the greatest expression of universal truth of which the artist/man is capable of "giving birth." The art work per se, then, comes to gain the significance of not only a model
of procreation (in direct imitation of the woman's physical capability of giving birth), but also the "creation," the discovery of the artist/man's soul, in the all-important process of self-realization. The male, the Romantics state, who does not realize the tremendous inner forces which a woman possesses, being too occupied and engrossed with making his way in the world and performing duties ascribed to him by such a role, is not as capable of seeing beyond himself and his world as is the woman, who possesses greater freedom of soul—a quality which she has always owned and will never lose. The nature of a woman always remains unified, contrary to the man's, which is constantly in danger of being torn asunder. Because of the woman's innate unity, love naturally assumes a central position in her life, and thus that body-soul duality which creates so much difficulty for the man is of no real consequence to her, who sees a much greater possibility for a union of opposites within herself. The woman's ability to retain her link with humanity can be accomplished within the confines of her sex, without the sacrifice of her womanliness. However, for the man to achieve this same kind of harmony, he must tear himself away from the characteristics of his sex and attempt to attune his mind and spirit to the woman in order to reach her level of humanity.

The love element as an impetus towards artistic development and its dependence on the amalgamation of both the physical and the spiritual as a symbol of the artist's creative process must therefore be given great consideration. Schlegel, in Lucinde, proceeds
to probe the differences in the manner in which men and women experience love physically and spiritually. A woman has the greater capacity for love, since life and love mean one and the same to her. She represents the unity to which man must aspire, since his attitude toward love constantly oscillates between friendship and passion. Within desire, Schlegel contends concerning the physical aspect of the love relationship, there must exist "ein stilles leises Lauschen," an ability to appreciate the sexual act as one would an art object, for example, in order to perceive beauty and at the same time spiritual contact with the universe. A man must pass through the gradations of first exclusively physical love, proceeding ultimately to a relationship amalgamating the physical and the spiritual in order to be able to love like a man and at the same time like a woman. Above all, in the relationship between the lovers, since the partners involved are one united personality as well as separate, individual entities unto themselves, all possible care must be taken in order that the individuals involved will retain their respective personalities, for love makes the individual more aware of himself and his inner nature and thereby better equipped to understand his partner.

Ideally, through the woman, the love relationship must fill the lovers completely; i.e., they must experience all facets of the emotion, both spiritual and physical.²

Woman, Nature's most perfect human representative, does not sacrifice her physical desirability in lieu of her spiritual importance. In Lucinde, for instance, various women's features are described in
phrases such as "die Knospe des schönen Mundes," "die Früchte des schönen Busens," "frische Lippen," "feurige Augen," "schwarze Locken," "Schnee des vollen Busens," and "schöner Rücken." Schlegel believes beauty in a woman to be representative of the beauty of nature, which in turn mirrors the image of the Divine Creator. The love of a woman, Schlegel contends in the Ideen fragments, the essays "Über die Diotima" and "Über die Philosophie. An Dorothea," and finally in the novel fragment Lucinde, is greater than love of philosophy or poetry, since it most strongly shapes and cultivates the growth process of a man.

Esther Hudgins, in the article "Das Geheimnis der Lucinde-Struktur: Goethes 'Die Metamorphose der Pflanzen'" (1976), views the theme of love as the structural symbol, the hieroglyph denoting a universal principle of creation which is not only personal in scope (in the "Lehrjahre der Männlichkeit," for instance), but which symbolizes the process of artistic creation per se; i.e., the concepts of male and female principles (nature, the finite) are broadened to encompass the infinite (art, the synthesis and metamorphosis of physicality and spirituality). Hudgins believes that Goethe's "Metamorphose der Pflanzen" played a great role in influencing Schlegel's writing of Lucinde, especially as concerns the structure of the novel fragment. Schlegel was to write Caroline Schlegel in the fall of 1798: "Unter Goethes Sachen bete ich die Metamorphose absonderlich an." Love in Goethe's poem is seen as a universal impetus towards creation which must develop and mature, as a plant undergoes a process which proceeds from leaf to bloom of fruit, symbolizing in its finite, natural process the development of friendship/
love within man and woman. In the poem love is portrayed as a universal creative principle initiating a process of continuous growth and development, "Stufenweise geführt", emanating from the appearance of a formless, colorless, chaotic mass exuding the moistness of rich earth and the darkness of night: "Quillet strebend empor, sich in milder Früchte vertrauend,/ Und erhebt sich sogleich aus der umgebenden Nacht." A product of such luxurious fecundity, it eternally undergoes a process of becoming, fulfillment and re-creation, a cyclical development, "Hold in den Mutterschoss schwellender Früchte gehüllt." The archetype of the woman as mother earth principle is clearly established here. The beloved whom Goethe addresses in the poem, standing in the midst of a garden replete with a panorama of blooming flowers and chaotic growth, is herself an unconscious part of the whole. I say "unconscious," for the poem's intent becomes that of systematically instructing the beloved in the mysteries of the growth process, the relationship between the part and whole, the individual and the universal, the development which graduates from seed to leaf to flower, terminating in the fruitbearing stage. "Das lösende Wort," the key to the mysteries of creation, is incapable of being uttered by the poet, who, in spite of his preoccupation throughout the poem with the particulars of the step-by-step creative act, is concerned that the beloved (unconscious of her importance as a plant symbol) might not grasp the universal significance of the procedure:
Dich verwirret, Geliebte, die tausendfältige Mischung
Dieses Blumengewühls über dem Garten umher;
Viele Namen hörest du an, und immer verdrängt
Mit barbarischem Klang einer den andern im Ohr. Alle Gestalten sind ähnlich, und keine gleicht der andern,
Und so deutet das Chor auf ein geheimes Gesetz, Auf ein heiliges Rätsel.

At the same time, close to the poem's ending, the reader may note that an analogy is established between the natural growth process and the blossoming from friendship to love of the relationship between a man and a woman:

O, gedenke denn auch, wie aus dem Keim der Bekanntschaft Nach und nach in uns holde Gewohnheit entspross,
Freundschaft sich mit Macht aus unserm Innern enthüllte...
Die heilige Liebe Strebt zu der höchsten Frucht gleicher Gesinnungen auf,
Gleicher Ansicht der Dinge, damit in harmonischem Anschau
Sich verbinde das Paar, finde die höhere Welt.

The fusion of the spiritual and physical aspects of the love relationship may be represented as well by the various plant symbols employed in Schlegel's Lucinde. One of the symbols most frequently associated with Lucinde is the rose. Following Julius' initiation into the mysteries of love, he states that "Dieser Augenblick, der Kuss des Amor und der Psyche, ist die Rose des Lebens," and "Lebe wohl Sehnsucht und du leise Klage, die Welt ist wieder schön, jetzt liebe ich die Erde, und die Morgenröte eines neuen Frühlings hebt ihr rosenstrahlendes Haupt über mein unsterbliches Dasein." Lucinde herself is referred to as "der volle Blumenstrauss" made up of roses, violets and forget-me-nots, flowers with attributes such as
"sittsam," "still" and "bescheiden"—passive qualities describing
the quiet contemplation and childlike innocence present in the
untouched woman. At the same time, however, she is depicted as the
"hellbrennende Granate" and "die lichte Orange," rather erotic
images suggesting the woman's dormant sensuality which awaits only
the man's physicality.

Earth, woman, nature—the terms are synonymous in the Romantic
concept of "woman." However, such an association was certainly not
original. Bengt Sorensen informs the reader in his work Symbol und
Symbolismus (1963) that the concept of cosmic love between heaven
(male) and earth (female) exists as a leitmotiv in almost all
mythologies and as a common topos of literature, for example in
the lyrics of Petrarch, within Baroque poetry or in the tradition
of mysticism. Jakob Bohme, a German mystic whose ideas heavily
influenced Novalis' thinking, sees nature as being penetrated by a
kind of erotic "Magie" by which the earth (the female) desires
union with heaven (the male). In one of his fragments Friedrich
Schlegel explains the union in this way:

\[
\text{Das Leben ist nur das Mittlere zwischen dem Licht und der Materie...Die Erde ist der Eierstock aller Pflanzen und Tiere; der Äther ist das männliche Glied...Jedes Verbrennen ist nur eine Wiederholung der ältesten Liebesgeschichte. Das Oxygen stürzt sich mit Ungestüm auf das Hydrogen.}
\]

Within that which is earthly is contained the mother concept, which
is set against the masculine symbol of the firmament. Her essence
is synonymous with color, darkness, warmth, heaviness, fecundity and
luxurious opulence—characteristics which suggest sexuality and
abundant procreation.

The cosmos engages in a continuing process of conception and birth, not only in the outward sense, but also as a spiritual birth or rebirth. The theme of "becoming," the re-creation of the macro-cosm, becomes symbolized through the love process of the individual, and it is this process of individual/cosmos creation which is the theme of Schlegel's Lucinde. Love, the impetus towards the realization of such a process, exists as the catalyst, a union which through its physical love manifestations symbolizes the spiritual growth process having taken place; i.e., what Hudgins calls "der mit Absicht gestalteten Kunstform der 'wahren Arabeske'." Hudgins makes note of terms which may be employed to describe the contrast between Schlegel's concepts of what constitutes the principles "masculine" and "feminine": "aktiv" versus "passiv," "Bewegung-Ruhe," "Verstand-Phantasie," "System-fruchtbares Chaos," "Tag-Nacht," "Geist-Seele," and "das Bestimmte-das Unbestimmte." Within these contrasting pairs of characteristics and the fusion thereof lie inherent not only the possibility of an attainment of a higher plane of humanity, but also fulfillment in the formation of the art work itself, since to the Romantics love, life and art are terms of synonymous importance and meaning. The novel Lucinde itself is characterized as "Gewächs von Willkür und Liebe." Inherently, the themes of both Lucinde and the "Metamorphose der Pflanzen" deal with the presupposition that, within the state of true love, mankind may perceive the eternality of creation; within the art work emanating
from that apprenticeship towards love, a physical symbol of such
an amalgamation of reason and fantasy, masculine and feminine
principles will have been created; i.e., a synthesis of life and
art.

In Lucinde, Julius retraces the stages of that apprenticeship
("Lehrjahre der Männlichkeit") which led to an understanding of the
concept of love. The "education" which Julius must undergo in
order to develop his own individuality (thereby microcosmically
representing the development of mankind in general) can be divided
into three periods of trial and error in which he gradually comes
to grips with and overcomes his mistaken and one-sided concept of
love, since a mistaken concept of that emotion is considered by
Schlegel to be the main impediment to the successful completion of
an individual's development, or "Bildung." In his youth, Julius
appears extremely restless, moody and devastated by nameless
passions which he initially keeps locked within himself:

Eine Liebe ohne Gegenstand brannte in ihm und
zerrüttete sein Innres. Bei dem geringsten
Anlass brachen die Flammen der Leidenschaft
aus; aber bald schien diese aus Stolz oder aus
Eigensinn ihren Gegenstand selbst zu verschmähen
und wandte sich mit verdoppeltem Grimme züruck
in sich und auf ihn, um da am Mark des Herzens
zu zehren. 16

An affair seems interesting enough until he makes love to the object
of his desire and gets to know her more fully. The old story repeats
itself: once the novelty and excitement of the affair wear off,
total disinterest and ensuing contempt set in. And of course the
result continues to be a dissatisfaction which nothing can cure,
least of all his brand of "love." "Es war ihm, als wolle er eine Welt umarmen und konnte nichts greifen." His ill attempt at understanding women is mirrored by his futile efforts at art. As a so-called artist, he makes a conscious effort to re-initiate the ancient artists, but there is no warmth, no ofe in Julius' paintings—they are monstrosities, and that is all. The desire to extract himself from such an agonizing situation does not seem to be great, and Julius becomes mired in a general aimlessness and uncertainty.

Julius begins the history of his apprenticeship period by describing encounters with women which are grounded on a purely physical basis. His first "victim" is a young girl, Luise, whom he almost succeeds in seducing. Her physical features are portrayed in terms such as "die Knospe des schönen Mundes," and "die Früchte des jungen Busens." Two episodes later he meets Lisette, a courtesan who surrounds herself with paintings of fruit and flowers and of a faun overcoming a nymph. There exists within her a love for the naturally tactile and potentially sensual for nature and sensuality's sake, in which nature and art blend in unabashed profusion and oriental luxury. However, Hannelore Schlaffer points out in "Frauen als Einlösung der romantischen Kunsttheorie" (1977), both Luise's and Lisette's relationships with Julius end in unhappiness. In both cases the unhappiness is caused by undue attention to moral codes—in Luise's case the danger of having a reputation destroyed by an attempted seduction by Julius, in Lisette's case Julius' own disgust at having loved a prostitute and doubt as to the paternity of the child he has supposedly fathered.
But on encountering Lucinde, all affairs, scruples and futile soul searching fade into insignificance. Julius and Lucinde initially discover an affinity for each other in their common interest in art and music. Also, they develop a mutual understanding of each other's past experiences, for Lucinde also has had her share of sorrow; she had given birth to a son who had died not long after his birth. The bond of common interest and experience creates within them both a very warm feeling for each other resembling friendship, with a blossoming tendency towards love as well. For the first time Julius shyly kisses a woman and feels a being beside him who interests him not only because of her feminine charms but also because of the divinity she emanates: "Mit ewigem Entzücken fühlte er das göttliche Haupt der hohen Gestalt auf seine Schulter sinken."

He finds their relationship at this time "rein und gross," but at the same time wishes there to be no secret between them. Spiritual barriers have already been broken down; only physical barriers remain to be erased. She has become his divinity; she must now become his earthly lover. If she oversteps the boundaries of either goddess or woman she will destroy him, he claims. She decides to let circumstance dictate the moment of her surrender, which when it arrives reveals to Julius her entire vast physical and spiritual self. Her body, made for love, is harmoniously proportioned and developed to its fullest, and in her arms Julius finds the passion of a young girl as well as the well-developed feelings of a mother. However, still hesitant to name such a combination of spiritual
and physical proximity between the sexes "love," Julius calls it "Zärtlichkeit, Erinnerung, Hingabe und Hoffnung"—terms implying that a full unity has not evolved as yet. Something is still missing in the relationship, but what, we ask ourselves? Only gradually does Julius realize that what he had been seeking for so long has been found. He attributes his slowness in recognizing love to the constant wavering of the male between passion and friendship. Lucinde, to whom love is a concept incorporating every facet of human existence, there exists no such vacillation: passion and friendship, the physical and the spiritual are inextricably bound together. Her whole psychic and physical makeup create her for love; it is her natural inclination. Womanhood is endowed with such a capacity for two-pronged love, but what makes this love between Julius and Lucinde so special is the fact that they are much alike in spirit, a consideration which attracted them to each other in the first place. This emphasis on kinship of spirit between man and woman being the primary consideration for love makes the Romantic concept of love of noteworthy interest. The masculine manner of approaching the love relationship, seeing a woman primarily in terms of physical beauty to be approached with more or less delicacy in order to be seduced proceeds to the exclusion of any consideration but the immediate gratification of the senses. The female, her needs and wants, not necessarily immediately physical in nature, can be and often are totally disregarded by such an egocentric thoughtlessness on the part of the male. But as both Julius and Lucinde
love more than only each other's masculinity or femininity respectively, both benefit from the relationship. Admittedly, Julius stands to gain the most from the relationship: he learns to find pleasure in his existence, to cherish a sense of peace after the physical and spiritual turbulence which had formerly beset him; and, most importantly, he has experienced the unity of physical and spiritual love with a woman who naturally possesses an unusually sensitive balance between these two extremes of love. Physically and spiritually, we find, Lucinde has benefitted from their love: "Ihr Aussehen sogar schien jugendlicher und blühender in seiner Gegenwart; und so blühte auch ihr Geist durch die Berührung des seinigen auf und bildete sich in neue Gestalten und in neue Welten."22 Through love she has reached the state of maturity of a fully developed plant, a blooming flower at the very peak of perfection and ripeness.

Julius at the end of his apprenticeship period has to a great extent attained the unity which has always been a part of Lucinde. He believes there should exist only two classes of mankind on earth: those who actively create (the male principle) and those who are already created in the sense of being fully cultivated to the fullest extent (the female principle). While the male's role can be labelled as an "active" one, important enough in the physical world of cause and effect, the woman's "passive" role is just as vital, in that spiritually she is at one with herself and therefore can lead the man to such a level of harmony by training him away from the life-robbing quality of constant, restless, anxious vacillation in the
name of activity and towards a greater sense of inner harmony through contact with the mother nature principle microcosmically personified in her. Helga Slessarev, in her article "Die Ironie in Friedrich Schlegels 'Idylle über den Müssiggang'" (1965), notes that the passivity which Schlegel advocates in the idyll is one which emanates from a heightened sense of self-awareness and the need for truth concerning one's self. There exist two types of "Müssiggang" for Schlegel, Slessarev points out in the same article: that of the pensive girl, which Slessarev describes as a lower form of irony and only the initial step in a cyclical progression which originates in a subjective, narcissistic passivity (as exemplified in the "nachdenkliches Mädchen"), and that of an irony which is capable of elevating itself above the finite and the conditional, including the self. In other words, Slessarev calls this cyclical process one that evolves from "Selbstschöpfung" to "Selbstvernichtung" to "Selbstbeschränkung." The crucial element, the actual theme of Schlegel's Lucinde, is love, and it most vividly exemplifies the cyclical process which Slessarev stresses. The possibility of an eternal embrace becomes the goal of the process, since, like irony, love sets its sight upon the realm of the unconditional, the infinite, which assumes greater significance than the reality of the human experience.

Julius' apprenticeship towards a recognition of love provides the model for the process of artistic creation, in which not only a transition between temporal and eternal takes place, but a complete
unity of both the earthly and the heavenly. "Nur in der Antwort
seines Du kann jedes Ich seine unendliche Einheit ganz fühlen."27

Within the sphere of Lucinde's influence Julius is able to finish
paintings, and we learn that

Aeine Gemälde belebten sich, ein Strom von
beseelendem Licht schien sich darüber zu
ergießen und in frischer Farbe blühte das
wahre Fleisch...Die Formen selbst entsprochen
vielleicht nicht immer den angenommenen Gesetzen
einer künstlichen Schönheit. Was sie dem Auge
empfahl, war eine gewisse stille Anmut, ein tiefer
Ausdruck von ruhigem heitern Dasein und von Genuss
dieses Daseins. Es schienen beseelte Pflanzen in
der gottähnlichen Gestalt des Menschen...Wie seine
Kunst sich vollendete und ihm von selbst in ihr
gelang, was er zuvor durch kein Streben und
Arbeiten erringen konnte: so ward ihm auch sein
Leben zum Kunstwerk, ohne dass er eigentlich
wahrnahm, wie es geschah. Es ward Licht in seinem
Innern, er sah und übersah alle Massen seines
Lebens und den Gliederbau des Ganzen klar und
richtig, weil er in der Mitte stand.28

A cognizance of his microcosmic representation of the cosmos leads
Julius to the realization that the Divine "becomes" the individual
in his most complete form. The mediators between the physical and
the universal are given various names: art, nature, philosophy,
poetry, music, love, woman, death, the romantic—in other words,
embodiments of a metaphysical concept.

The role which the woman assumes in the search for the cosmic
within the finite certainly outstrips any immediately evident
part the male might hope to play within it. He is, of course, like
the sun, in that he actively gives towards the creation of new life;
otherwise, however, he is rather powerless to do anything but
learn the essentials of life and love from her who completely and
innately understands their fundamental qualities and importance. A
love of such proportions does not feed on itself alone:

Alles, was wir sonst liebten, lieben wir noch wärmer. Der Sinn für die Welt ist nur erst recht aufgegangen. Du hast durch mich die Unendlichkeit des menschlichen Geistes kennen- gelernt, und ich habe durch dich die Ehe und das Leben begriffen, und die Herrlichkeit aller Dinge.29

There exists no separation between them, though they may not always be together physically, for everything Julius and Lucinde feel is perceived mutually. Even death, at first a state the thought of which creates despair within Julius when he hears of Lucinde's illness, serves only to show Julius that he has one step further to go in throwing off mortal considerations and becoming worthy of a higher state of immortality to which Lucinde's existence attempts to bring him. Unconsciously Lucinde becomes a kind of priestess of death, bringing Julius to the realization "dass unser nächstes Dasein grösser, im Guten wie im Schlechten kräftiger, wilder, kühner, ungeheurer sein wird."30 Her death would be nothing but "ein sanftes Erwachen nach leisem Schlummer."31 The present world, he realizes as he places himself in the position of having lost her, is made up of nothing but somnabulists ("träumende Nachtwandler")32 who seem healthy but in fact are ill and walking in what seems a dark and impenetrable fog. The love which Julius and Lucinde bear towards each other has taught him this: "dein Wesen und meine Liebe sei zu heilig gewesen, um nicht ihr und ihren groben Banden flüchtig zu enteilen."33 A kind of medium between earthly and heavenly existence, she incorporates both worlds within herself. She symbo-
lizes both life and death, beginning and end, and it is she who is capable of leading Julius into one and the other. Even death, with her by his side, holds no fear for him:

Und dann weiss ichs nun, dass der Tod sich auch schön und süss fühlen lässt. Ich begreife, wie das freie Gebildete sich in der Blüte aller Kräfte nach seiner Auflösung und Freiheit mit stiller Liebe sehnen und den Gedanken der Rückkehr freudig anschauen kann wie eine Morgensonne der Hoffnung.\textsuperscript{34}

Life is only a yearning towards the eternal peace of night and death, which have achieved synonymous status as liberators both of body and soul. In death/night, sorrow will become joy, and man and woman may finally blossom and become recipients of the freedom which allows the fulfillment of every desire from one zenith to another, for the differences between physical and spiritual considerations will be of no more consequence.

To recapitulate, the golden age, the early Romantics contend, will arrive when love (the female principle) and creative genius (the male principle) are universally and undifferentially accepted, generalized, universalized. Schlegel states: "Wie beim Manne der äussre Adel zum Genie, so verhält sich die Schönheit der Frauen zur Liebesfähigkeit, zum Gemüt.\textsuperscript{35}

Love, as we have noted, to a woman is synonymous with her belief in the perfection of the man she loves. What are the implications of such views? Immediately the extreme male-orientedness of the above statement becomes rather evident. It also creates room for doubt as to Schlegel's seriousness to carry his views on
the spiritual emancipation of women to a satisfactory conclusion.

Critics do speculate as to the success (or lack thereof) of a genuine focus on women's emancipation particularly in the literary work of Schlegel, *Lucinde*. In 1940 Korff, in the second edition of his *Geist der Goethezeit*, defended the treatment of marriage in Schlegel's *Lucinde* as "etwas durchaus Neues und sehr Schönes." 36 Wolfgang Paulsen in his article "Friedrich Schlegels *Lucinde* als Roman" (1946) believes that the moral reservations of such critics as Dilthey and Haym prevented the proper concentration on the merits of the structural aspects of the novel. Ludwig Marcuse, in his book *Obszön--Geschichte einer Entrüstung* (1962), makes what I believe to be a correct, if understated assessment of the situation when he says that "Die Romantiker waren keine Frauenrechtler. Sie hatten nur ihre Freude an der Selbständigkeit des anderen Geschlechts." 37 Mary Kay Flavell, in her article "Women and Individualism" (1970), states that towards the end of *Lucinde* Schlegel reverts into a Schillerian mode of thinking concerning women, viewing them as domestic, sensitive creatures guided by man and responsive to his every need. 38 Richard Littlejohns, in his article "The 'Bekenntnisse eines Ungeschickten': A Re-examination of Emancipatory Ideas in Friedrich Schlegel's 'Lucinde'" (1977), correctly points out that Friedrich Schlegel did not suggest in *Lucinde* that women be given equal political rights as men. However, Littlejohns' statement that Schlegel had in mind the "emotional and intellectual" emancipation of women, and that the portrayal of Lucinde is that of an "independently-
minded woman" projects perhaps a more generous depiction of Schlegel's demand for equality for women than was truly the case.³⁹ In fact, Littlejohn proceeds in the course of the article to modify this position by saying: "By attributing primitive naturalness to women alone Schlegel seeks to idealize the female sex; but such an idealization, based on the traditional assumption that women are more instinctive and less complicated intellectually than men, can hardly be termed emancipatory."⁴⁰ However, Littlejohns strongly emphasizes that both children and women are equated as the representatives of the lost paradise.⁴¹ He cites as example one of Schlegel's statements in his literary notebooks: "Die Kindheit und die Jugend ist bei den Frauen übers ganze Leben gleich verbreitet."⁴² A passage in Lucinde itself reaffirms the belief that women "den kindlichen Sinn haben mit dem man die...gabe der götter annehmen muss." The characteristics (in Littlejohn's opinion indistinctiveness and indefiniteness) which denote her inner makeup include naivety, spontaneity, intuition, naturalness, sensuality and continuity, as compared to a man's negative, degenerative principle of what Littlejohns calls "utilitarianism."⁴³ Furthermore, Littlejohns rightly recognizes the blatant egotism inherent in Julius' belief in the essential function of woman when he cites the passage of Lucinde concerning the news that Lucinde is ill. The vision which occurs to Julius at such a moment is one in which he is capable only of imagining his own emotional reaction to the eventuality of her death. Although innovative in the conception of woman's role, what Schlegel sketches
in the novel fragment is the apprenticeship process to manhood of an immature, egocentric, essentially self-aggrandizing young man, who, through the appearance of the very shadowy, imprecisely drawn figure of Lucinde, has his protagonist gain personal fulfillment, through her ability to love, to make his "Übergang von Jugend zur Männlichkeit" less painful, bringing him closer to a realization of his self but nowhere nearer an explanation or an understanding of her own essence, according to Littlejohns.44

Of Schlegel's contemporaries it was Fichte who declared Lucinde one of the best "Genie-Produkte" he had ever known. Heinrich Heine, in his book Romantische Schule (1835) was to characterize Lucinde in the following manner:

Lucinde ist der Name der Heldin dieses Romans, und sie ist ein sinnlich witziges Weib, oder vielmehr eine Mischung von Sinnlichkeit und Witz. Ihr Gebrechen ist eben, dass sie kein Weib ist, sondern eine unerquickliche Zusammensetzung von zwei Abstraktionen, Witz und Sinnlichkeit.45

In 1799, the same year in which Lucinde was published, there appeared a satirical attack against the novel fragment and its supposedly blatant references to Friedrich Schlegel's relationship with Dorothea Veit. The title was "Billet-doux der geschiedenen Madame Veit, jüdischer Nation, nummehr halbverehelichter Friedrich Schlegel, an Herrn Friedrich Schlegel über seinen Roman Lucinde.46 At the time the work was considered a shameless depiction of sensual love, indeed eroticism, and as a "Metaphysik des Beischlafs." Baerbel Becker-Cantarino in her article "Schlegels Lucinde. Zum Frauenbild der Frühromantik" (1976) believes that the main objection to the
"immorality" of the work in the view of Schlegel's contemporaries was that Schlegel did not distinguish between sensual and spiritual love; indeed, that he looked upon the physical act of love as a visible expression of the unity of the finite and the infinite. As to the real or imagined "Bildung" of Julius, critics also differ. The French critic I. Rouge declares in his Erläuterungen zu Friedrich Schlegels Lucinde (1905) that by the end of the novel, Julius has undergone a "Läuterung des Charakters." Before, where only love and passion existed, Julius comments that he has perceived "das Nützliche in einem neuen Licht." Wolfgang Paulsen, on the contrary, contends that a definite narrowing of ideas into bourgeois straits has taken place, and that a "change" which Julius has supposedly undergone entails no great progress, only an altered perception of love. Love in the latter part of the novel, Paulsen states, seems impersonal, and Julius' talk of love does not appear to emanate from the ecstatic feelings which at one time had been his. The love he bears to Lucinde has become secure, but has ceased at the same time to be fruitful. Friedrich Gundolf basically agrees in a remark he makes in his work Romantiker (1930), when he calls Lucinde "ein Bildungsroman ohne eigentliche Bildung"; i.e., "sie enthält keine Welt, woran sich der Held bilde, nur Spannungen des Ich zum leeren, bloss genannten Unendlichen hin, oder Reaktionen dieses Ich auf ebenfalls blos erwähnte Endlichkeiten." I do not believe that in Julius' case the process of apprenticeship has been a fruitless one as far as his own personal search for contentment and self-realization is concerned. By the end of the
novel fragment we see him reconciled to and cognizant of the meaning of life and death. Whereas life had heretofore consisted of an aimless transience characterized by indefinable, relentless, blind passion, Julius is now capable of making future plans which include life in a country house with his wife and daughter:


Later, upon learning that Lucinde is ill, Julius' initial reaction is one of a spontaneous emotional outbreak expressing anxiety concerning the possibility of Lucinde's death. However, such an outburst is immediately tempered by the realization that through the power of Lucinde's love one lesson at least must have been taught him; i.e., how to view each individual event only as part of a whole:

Unwürdiger, du kannst nicht einmal die kleinen Dissonanzen dieses mittelmässigen Lebens ertragen und du hältst dich schon für ein höheres reif und würdig? Gehe hin zu leiden und zu tun was dein Beruf ist, und melde dich wieder, wenn deine Aufträge vollendet sind.--Ist es nicht auch dir auffallend, wie alles auf dieser Erde nach der Mitte strebt, wie so ordentlich alles ist, wie so unbedeutend und kleinlich? So schien es mir stets; daher vermute ich--und ich habe dir diese Vermutung, wenn ich nicht irre, schon einmal mitgeteilt.--dass unser nächstes Dasein grösser, im Guten wie im Schlechten kräftiger, wilder, kühner,
ungeheuer sein wird.\textsuperscript{51}

A balanced subjective as well as objective grasp of the realities of both the finite and the infinite through the love element is mirrored as well in Julius' powers of literary creation and his concept of life/death itself. However, with all the sophistication he has gained in such respects, I believe him to be a mere novice when it comes to understanding a woman's function other than the one which relates to his own welfare. Becker-Cantarino ("Schlegels Lucinde. Zum Frauenbild der Frühromantik", 1976) makes the assertion that the perspective always remains that of Julius, the man, and that the "Eine ewig und einzig Geliebte" to which he refers is relegated to the three traditional roles of girl, wife and mother:

Schon die Gestaltungs Kraft für die Frauenfigur Lucinde fehlte, die für weitere Personen oder gar äussere soziale und gesellschaftliche Umstände aber völlig.... So ist auch die Frau Lucinde vollkommen blass und lediglich als Echo auf die Gefühläusserungen des Julius hin konzipiert. Wenn Julius die sinnliche und geistige Vereinigung von gleichen Partnern der bürgerlichen Ehe gegenübergestellt, so ist gewiss eine Kritik der vorherrschenden bürgerlichen Moral darin enthalten, die das Erotische als niedrig betrachtet und in der Frau noch weithin die Dienerin des Mannes sah. Doch ist es keineswegs für ein neues Frauenideal, das im Lucinde-Roman gestaltet wurde. Die eigentliche Triebfeder für Schlegel ist die bekennnishaft Darstellung seines in der Gesellschaft unakzeptables Verhältnisses (das freie Zusammenleben mit einer geschiedenen, älteren und jüdischen Frau), dass er mit der Verinnerlichung dieser Beziehung nicht in der Gesellschaft, sondern gegenüber dem eigenen Ich--und mit der religiösen Erhöhung der sinnlichen Liebe zu rechtfertigen sucht. Das Erotische ist das eigentliche Emanzipierte in diesem Roman, das durch die menschliche Beziehung und die seelische und künstlerische Bereicherung,
die der Mann in dem Liebeserlebnis durch die Frau erfahren hat, legitimiert wird.

At the end of the same article, Becker-Cantarino points out:

Die von Schlegel konzipierte Priesterin und Lichtbringerin verdrängte vollkommen die gesellschaftliche Problematik und legte die Frau auf einen idealisierten Gattungstyp fest, den sie als Individuum nicht erfüllen konnte, und der ihr keine Eigenentwicklung ermöglichte. Statt biblischer Dienerschaft in Ehe und Familie wurde sie von Schlegel zu einer seelisch-sinnlichen Erlöserrolle für die existentiellen Nöte des Mannes verpflichtet. 52

The truth of such a statement may well be illustrated in the chapter "Sehnsucht und Ruhe," in which only once we are given an insight into Lucinde's concept of herself and the love emotion she shares with Julius.

It is startling to note that on the subject of life/love and death they are on entirely different wavelengths. Julius believes that Lucinde and the priestess of night are one and the same; Lucinde, however, states that he only fantasizes or imagines her in this role when he does not think of her as an object of physical desires: "es ist die Wunderblume Deiner Fantasie, die Du in mir, die ewig Dein ist, dann erblickst, wenn das Gewühl verhüllt ist und nichts Gemeines Deinen hohen Geist zerstreut." 53 To her, the revelation that Julius considers her in the light of being a priestess of death is a sorrowful one, but one which she even recognizes as true. While Julius finds his peace in a yearning for death, Lucinde finds hers in Julius; he is the focal point in whom all her yearnings come to rest. She therefore does not look
forward to death for fear that she will lose Julius in the transition. His earthly existence is the pivot around which both her physical and spiritual self revolves, and an existence unknown to her, in which all earthly concepts and forms are changed, holds only anxiety for her and trepidation that she will lose Julius in the afterlife. To Lucinde, peace and completeness exists in him, and her existence becomes fulfilled in his. The passivity of the female principle finds its rest not in the yearning and struggling for an ideal in love, but in clinging to the male, content even in his imperfection to have found a haven, a sun in which it may flourish. While Julius waits for the veil to be lifted which separates present light from future darkness, Lucinde appears to consider the day/night imagery in a terminology which seems opposed to Julius'. To her the future life after death is "ewig kalter ernster Tag," serious, sober and cold. The closer death approaches, the more she realizes that youth lasts only too shortly and that she must resign herself to losing Julius' love at death. It is also interesting to note that Julius mentions a former friendship he had had with a woman who is unknown to Lucinde. Of all the women that Julius knew before Lucinde, it is only the strength of this woman's friendship which will carry as much weight with him as does his love to Lucinde. The spiritual unity of man and woman seems to be particularly emphasized at this point, and we become aware of its almost overriding importance both in life and death. After all, the feelings of friendship Julius had experienced towards a certain woman constituted the last
stage of his apprenticeship before he became capable of fusing physical and spiritual love harmoniously with the aid of Lucinde. And the sentiments of spiritual kinship had brought Julius and Lucinde together in the first place. Its initiation into the love relationship implies growth and maturity. Of course, exclusively it makes up only one-half (albeit a very strong half) of the perfect love experience. And it is precisely the maintenance of a perfect balance of love/life in death which makes Julius long for "eine grosse Liebesnacht." Obviously, in spite of the successful culmination (or so it seems) of his apprenticeship in love, the danger of the weight of the love relationship being unequally distributed is too great and too arduous and prevents the achievement of complete harmony in an imperfect "herbe Welt." The incomplete male is but a reflection of the life/light/day imagery of earthly existence. Woman, who knows the love concept to be but the image of death/night, is unconscious of all imperfection, yearning or striving, for she focuses her whole being on only one entity, the man she loves.

Again, as to the supposed hint of women's emancipation evident here, Becker-Cantarino, in her paper "Priesterin und Lichtbringerin: Zur Ideologie des weiblichen Charakters in der Frühromantik" (1977), points out that, in spite of the emphasis on the feminine in the novel, Lucinde serves mainly to further the development of Julius' character to the exclusion of her own. She, the perfect female figure, becomes over-idealized in the process. Becker-Cantarino sees the Schlegelian woman not as emancipated, but as once again in chains which are emotional in structure; i.e., decreeing that
only in loving unity is self-realization fulfilled. The same can be said of Novalis' female figure Mathilde, Heinrich's beloved. Julius and Heinrich attain "Bildung" through the influence of Lucinde and Mathilde respectively; they behold their souls, as it were, mirrored in their beloved women, and by them they discover the true meaning of love. The woman's entire function becomes that of aiding her lover in the realization of his own godliness, that divine spark called a soul. Otherwise she really serves no other function in life and is hereby relegated to those duties to which she had always been resigned. It is in life (and especially in death) that she is revered, worshipped, adored, but only due to her capacity to reveal to her husband his kinship to the Divine. Take this spiritual function away from her and she becomes relegated to her traditional temptress and courtesan role, at the opposite spectrum of her portrayal as the adored, revered Virgin Mary.
B. Novalis, the Sensual Spiritualist

In the year 1841, the English novelist Thomas Carlyle translated several poems by Novalis, and, in an introduction to this compendium stated:

As a poet Novalis is no less idealistic than as a philosopher. His poems are breathings of a high, devout soul, feeling always that there he has no home, but looking, as in clear vision to a city that hath foundation! He loves external nature with a singular depth, nay, we might say he reverences her, and holds unspeakable communings with her; for Nature is no longer dead, hostile matter, but the veil and mysterious garment of the unseen; as it were, the voice with which the Deity proclaims to man.

The new and secret language of poetry Novalis describes as "ein musikalisches Ideeninstrument."\(^2\) The novels in which the all-important element of love appears are in Novalis' viewpoint to be renamed "Märchen," and it follows logically that all poetry is symbolized and concretized within the sphere of the fairy tale itself: "Die neue poetische Weltschöpfung, als Reich einer freischaltenden Phantasie...konnte nur im Märchen noch sinnvoll dargestellt werden."\(^3\)

Robert Kahn, in his article "Tieck's Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen and Novalis' Heinrich von Ofterdingen" (1968), sees the theme of Heinrich von Ofterdingen as the serene and steady progress of recapturing the Golden Age of poetry by a hero who is himself a "representative of humanity."\(^4\) To Paul Emanuel Müller (Diss., "Novalis' Märchenwelt," 1953) the act of creating poetry becomes
synonymous with the act of conception, the surrender of the "I" to the "You" in order to construct a world system. The knowledge and the consciousness of the I will be retained within such a system; the only activity required of the I is that of actively giving of itself to the You in an act which symbolizes and re-creates the unity of past and present.5 We ask ourselves, however, (so does Müller in "Novalis' Märchenwelt") if in the process of self-giving to the cause of unification a danger point is reached in which there comes to exist only a world of symbols, allegory, i.e., hieroglyphs totally devoid of tangibility and therefore perceptible only to one who has been initiated into the world of which Novalis has become a part. The problem, states Müller, becomes especially pronounced in the context of the love relationship, which by its nature relies on continual unity from a physical as well as a spiritual vantage point. From Paul Haberlin's book Kinderfehler (1921), Müller quotes a definitive statement concerning Novalis' concept of love and the danger of its stultification and essential lack of continued fulfillment:

Liebe geht ihrem Sinne nach immer auf Ineinssetzung, Vereinigung, Verschmelzung des Ich mit dem Du, auf dass sie nicht mehr zwei, sondern eines seien. Dies gilt von jeder Art der Liebe, von der sublimsten wie der grobsten. Es ist aber gewissermassen die Tragik aller Liebe (wenn man bei Trieben überhaupt von Tragik reden darf), dass sie sich niemals restlos erfüllen kann. Denn das Ich bleibt immer ein Ich, ein Besonderes, und das Du bleibt immer ein Du, ein Anderes. Es sind hochgradige Verschmelzungen möglich, aber niemals vollständige.6
The world of Heinrich von Ofterdingen is, as Robert Kahn states in "Tieck's Franz Sternbaldi Wanderungen and Novalis' Heinrich von Ofterdingen," a "world of dreams" which proceeds from the inward visions of Heinrich, radiates outward towards the realistic as well as the idealistic goal of consciously poetizing the world. Eleonore Zimmermann points out in her article "Heinrich von Ofterdingen: A Striving Towards Unity" (1956) that Novalis does not "feel at ease" in the world of semi-reality which exists in the first part of the work, in which Heinrich is prepared for his calling as herald of the Golden Age. Even in his own words Novalis writes Schlegel in June of 1800, declaring that "Der zweite Teil wird schon in der Form weit poetischer als der erste." It is true that Heinrich gradually gathers within him the range of all human experience, the two basic elements which pervade and dialectically separate human nature; i.e., the active and the contemplative natures. His physical self as well undergoes metamorphosis after metamorphosis from animal to plant to stone, revealing the gamut of shapes and aspects which nature may assume. Nature itself becomes a hieroglyphic script created in order to be deciphered. Behind it lies the nucleus of the world, which will be penetrated only when man and nature no longer exist diametrically opposed to each other. Initially the nucleus of truth is beyond Heinrich's grasp; i.e., he has not penetrated beyond the hieroglyph. The unification of the cosmos, the reader recognizes throughout the work, becomes the theme of Heinrich's "Bildung," religion, art and nature are one and the same, and only the barriers
which man has created have separated him from the perfect union which, having once been, might once again be found. Love, the last step in Heinrich's "Bildungsprozess," is closely akin to poetry, and Mathilde herself is the priestess of poetry: "Deine Liebe wird mich in die Heiligthümer des Lebens, in das Allerheiligste des Gemüts führen; du wirst mich zu den höchsten Anschauungen begeistern." Love, manifested by means of poetry itself, becomes poetry, religion, nature—all expressions and outpourings of the spirit of love. Heinrich, the representative of Man in general, attains a glimpse of the Golden Age by the means of three different states or conditions—the dream, death, and love. R. Leroy in the article "Der Traumbegriff des Novalis" (1963) defines the dream as "Tagtraum," and in the article "Die Novalis' schen Bilder der 'Nacht'" he goes on to say: "Der Tagtraum befreit uns in der Tat von der Herrschaft der Vernunft und gibt uns die kindliche Fähigkeit des Staunens zurück, die uns die Welt ganz anders sehen lässt, als wir sie gewöhnlich sehen." Children are considered to dream little at night, but heavily during the daytime. Novalis notes in the second part of Heinrich von Ofterdingen:

Ein Geist ist hier geschäftig, der frisch aus der unendlichen Quelle kommt, und dieses Gefühl der Überlegenheit eines Kindes in den allerhöchsten Dingen, der unwiderstehliche Gedanke einer näheren Führung dieses unschuldigen Wesens, das jetzt im Begriff steht, eine so bedenkliche Laufbahn anzutreten, bei seinen nähern Schritten, das Gepräge einer wunderbaren Welt, was noch keine irdische Flut unkenntlich gemacht hat, und endlich die Sympathie der Selbsterinnerung jener fabelhaft Zeiten, wo die Welt uns heller, freundlicher und seltsamer dünkte und der Geist der
Weissagung fast sichtbar uns begleitete, alles
dies hat meinen Vater gewiss zu der andächtigsten
und bescheidensten Behandlung vermocht.\textsuperscript{11}

Also, death itself affords Heinrich a preview of the Golden Age to
come; "eine hohere Offenbarung des Lebens,"\textsuperscript{12} it is considered a
positive state in which man assumes a new and perfect existence.
The only other state which may lead mankind towards the zenith of its
existence is that of love. It is in the beloved that man discovers
himself and his essence; i.e., the beloved not as physical being,
but as the embodiment of an unknown and holy world of the eventually
deciphered hieroglyph, the realm of eternal night. R. Leroy, in the
article "Die Novalis' schen Bilder der 'Nacht'" (1965), equates the
Golden Age with night, the symbol of the moment in which eternity
is embodied as the highest goal of man's striving, when he shall
once again be able to decipher the hieroglyph. However, try as he
may, man at this point is as yet incapable, in the present incomplete
state of mankind, to arrive at the zenith of development ushering in
that Golden Age. Only through the means of the dream, poetry and
religion, death and love is man capable of at least temporarily
penetrating the finite bounds which separate him from an everlasting
perception of the infinite. Religion, in Leroy's definition, is based
upon feeling, not dogma: "er (der Begriff) bedeutet nicht nur einen
Glauben an Gott, sondern ein Gefühl für Gott, eine Liebe zu Gott."\textsuperscript{13}

Poetry itself is viewed as "etwas Magisches," the highest and most
complete form of synthesis of reason and fantasy, and it is the poet
alone who is considered the harbinger of all those qualities which
man had once possessed in the previous Golden Age. Religion, un-

orthodox in nature, is renamed "Gewissen" by Novalis. It is the

sense leading to all senses. From it and from poetry emanates an

understanding of the cosmos itself. Religion itself will eradicate
every evil which is due to "geringe sittliche Empfänglichkeit"

and "Mangel an Reiz der Freiheit." 14

Through love, the key ingredient, the return to a golden age

is assured in which no dualism exists, and Eros (love) and Fabel

(poetry) of Klingsohr's tale in the ninth chapter of Heinrich von

Ofterdingen will bring about this paradise, in which Eros and

Freia (peace), whose throne will be transformed into a wedding bed,

will reign in an eternal embrace. Through love, each individual

becomes aware of his inner nature, and every meeting which takes place

between two lovers assumes the aura of religious sacredness as well

as a return to nature. Through death, love attains maturity and

fulfillment.

Although Novalis in many respects emulated Empfindsamkeit

theories concerning love, such as the belief in the predestination

of love, the reverence of the beloved, and love at first sight, he

did not view the lovemaking of two individuals as a kind of sensual

abandonment, but as an awakening within each other to a more perfect

world. In his "Ergänzungen zu den Teplitzer Fragmenten" (1798),

Novalis notes:

So ladet uns alles in der Natur figürlich und

bescheiden zu seinem Genuss ein--und so dürfte
die ganze Natur wohl weiblich, Jungfrau und
Mutter zugleich seyn...Das Schöne Geheimnis der Jungfrau, was sie eben so unaussprechlich anziehend macht, ist das Vorgefühl der Mutterschaft—die Ahnung einer künftigen Welt, die in ihr schlummert, und sich aus ihr entwickeln soll. Sie ist das treffendste Ebenbild der Zukunft.

Novalis concurs with Schlegel in quite a number of points concerning the love relationship. Although his beloved Sophie von Kühn dies, Novalis feels he belongs to her in spirit, and that their engagement has begun to assume far greater dimensions. His aim is to become worthy of her in order that their unity may eventually become a true one. For the rest of his life he determines to live in communion with her soul, believing himself to be part of both the physical and the spiritual worlds. This experience of true love aids him in becoming a poet; through love he believes in his capability to understand the connection between life and nature and the relationship of man and nature, which is important to him. Hans Wolfgang Kuhn, in his work *Der Apokalyptiker und die Politik* (1961), claims it was Sophie's death which awakened within Novalis the will to annihilate the existent dualism between what Fichte called "Ich" and "Nicht-Ich," the physical and the spiritual, the finite and the infinite to the point at which his own existence would cease as well. Before Sophie's illness, Kuhn explains, their love, a triadic relationship incorporating the lover, the beloved and God, was based on faith in the tangible, perceptible, earthly reality of love as represented in Sophie. As her condition worsened, however, Novalis' love towards her assumed an entirely different tenor. His
first reaction had been one of having lost himself, his own being:

Ihr Leben hiel...meine geistige Existenz zusammen—seit dieser Geist hich, fangen schon die organischen Teile an sich zu trennen und zu ihren Elementen zurückzukehren. Die Gestalten meines Innern zerbröckeln—ich lebe in Ruinen und bald wird alles dem Erdboden gleich sein...

Mich selbst hab ich verloren.

In other words, with her death and the loss of her physical presence, that element of earthly reality in which he had taken part had vanished. He either was to become relegated to walk the earth, a shadow of its former self when devoid of her presence and the power of her love, or he had the choice of following her into the hereafter spiritually, somehow infusing the new world, the nascent golden age, with a poetic realism mutually divided between the spheres of both the finite and the infinite. The latter choice became Novalis', which he was to call in 1797 his "Beruf zur apostolischen Würde" and the "Beruf zum Unsichtbaren." 17

Schlegel, basically in agreement with Novalis, believes, however, more strongly in a unity of soul and body, of poetry and philosophy in the present life, while Novalis' emphasis rests more strongly, I believe, in a synthesis to take place in the afterlife. And, whereas the trust in the undoubted and everlasting to the first person, the initial beloved, is demanded by Novalis of the woman as well as the man, Schlegel and Schleiermacher dismiss the belief as incapable of consideration and application. There must always exist a few initial experiences with women which a man must undergo, they state--a "Lehrjahre der Männlichkeit" from which nothing
remains but whose lessons are invaluable in seeking and finding the one great love relationship. Women, states Schleiermacher in his *Vertraute Briefe über Friedrich Schlegels Lucinde* (1800), should have the sensitivity to distinguish a real love relationship from a passing experiment in order that they might not give themselves freely to the first available man. In order for a woman to be capable of making such a distinction, Schleiermacher suggests the proviso of a "Lehrjahre der Weiblichkeit," which Schlegel did not believe to be a necessary consideration. Of course it would be unthinkable for a woman to experiment in the same manner—evidence of a double standard of morality.\(^{18}\)

Schlegel, however, does not place the emphasis in the love relationship as primarily on the scale of almost religious significance as does Novalis, to whom a soul partnership is fully as important if not more so than physical union. In the prologue to *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* the reader gains an insight into the importance which the beloved's spiritual presence occupies within the poet's life. She has brought him to an understanding, "tief ins Gemüt der weiten Welt zu schauen,"\(^{19}\) and has taught him to confidently prevail against all storms which might beset him in this world. The physical, the material hold no more threats for one whose heart belongs entirely to the one he loves. She, the epitomy "zartgesinnter Frauen," the "stiller Schutzgeist meiner Dichtung" and "Muse," is the source of artistic inspiration to Heinrich and the soul of poetry, art and music.\(^{20}\) It is clear that, though her spirit is alive to the poet, her physical
existence is terminated at the time the author writes of her. Her influence upon him had already begun during their earthly love affair: "An ihrem vollen Busen trank ich Leben; ich ward durch sie zu allem, was ich bin, und durfte froh mein Angesicht erheben."\(^{21}\) Still, the realization is present that he has not attained the full measure of happiness, tranquility and completeness until she appears to him in the otherworldly form of an angel in order to open his eyes to the light, heretofore hidden under the veil of darkness which is part of this earthly existence.

At the beginning of his apprenticeship Heinrich has at least a more definitely defined goal than does Julius. Whereas Julius in all the turmoil of his passions has a very indefinite idea of what it is he is seeking, only realizing at the moment he has attained that goal (perfect spiritual and physical amalgamation in Lucinde) that this had actually been what he had sought, Heinrich does not experience the seemingly blind helplessness of having first to break through the barrier of seemingly aimless and vain pursuits after love. Whereas Julius casts aside one woman after another in order to find the perfect one, Heinrich finds her immediately. And while Julius has no guide but his own feelings and passions, Heinrich dreams of the blue flower and longs to behold it some day.

Leslie Willson, in "The 'Blaue Blume': A New Dimension" (1959), recognizes the importance of the flower symbol for the Romantics in the creation of a new mythology which intermingled the most disparate myths into a "universal expression of metaphysical truths." An
increasingly important role must be ascribed to the same blue flower, Leslie Willson states, due to its symbolic nature of "perfect, transcendental love." The image of the flower as not only a natural, but also as a universal phenomena occurs in Indian mysticism as well as in the mysticism of Jakob Bühme. According to both systems of thought the quality of the flower may be encountered in every physical and spiritual aspect of the universe.

Heinrich's passion for a simple flower is not to be comprehended by those who surround him, although that is not to say that Heinrich has been the only one possessed by a yearning to discover its existence. Heinrich's father, we learn from his own mouth, had once been a different man ("von Lust und Mut floss ich über") and his mother "ein heisses köstliches Mädchen." Both had overflowed with the passion of life and youth they had spent in southern climates ("die südliche Luft hatte mich aufgetaut"). Heinrich's father had once lived in Italy; his mother in Augsburg, a city in southern Germany. From Italy Heinrich's father had brought the wine with which they had celebrated the marriage feast, and it is due to this wine ("der feurige welsche Wein") that Heinrich indirectly owes his existence and temperament. Heinrich's father had once had a dream which had led him to seek and woo Heinrich's mother, just as Heinrich dreams of his future beloved in the form of the blue flower. A feeling of homesickness and love had set the stage for Heinrich's father's return to Augsburg in order to woo the girl he had already met and admired due to her "freundliches, holdes Wesen." While in this state
of yearning, Heinrich's father had met an old man, with whom he had enjoyed conversations concerning antiquity, art and poetry. That same night a dream had befallen him which revealed him travelling to a wedding, meeting an old man in a cave, gazing continuously at the statue of a beautiful girl, and finally coming upon a flower in the field clothed in a kind of shadowy light, a flower imperiously beautiful but one whose color he cannot remember. He only recalls his guide telling him that he has viewed the wonder of the world. During the time of the dream Heinrich's father had experienced cataclysmic changes, time in a nutshell, eternity in an instant and humanity at its noblest. Even his speech had become music; his being, a song. He had seen Heinrich's mother in the form and attitude of a Madonna/mother figure:

Sie hielt ein glänzendes Kind in den Armen und reichte es mir hin, als auf einmal das Kind zusehends wuchs, immer heller und glänzender ward und sich endlich mit blendendweisen Flügeln über uns erhob, uns beide in seinen Arm hoben und so hoch mit uns flog, dass die Erde nur wie eine goldene Schüssel mit dem saubersten Schnitzwerk aussah."

The child foreshadows the figure of Heinrich; the parents, however, have not attempted to proceed in search of the blue flower. Yet, even in setting aside those glorious moments for his present mundane existence, Heinrich's father still fondly remembers the wonderful thoughts and feelings which a momentary insight into such a wonderful world had afforded him.

Helmut Schanze in his article "Zur Interpretation von Novalis'
Heinrich von Ofterdingen. Theorie und Praxis eines vollständigen Wortindex" (1970) notes the significance of the color blue: "Blau verband sich mit einer 'Romantik' des Wirklichkeitsverlustes und der unbestimmten Sehnsucht nach unerfüllbaren Zielen," as the "Farbe des deutschen Traumers, bar jeder Rationalität."29 The world of art in general, and poetry in particular, becomes the symbol of the golden age to come. And, as important as the element of art, women and love are praised as well:

Euer Geschlecht darf die Gesellschaften schmücken und ohne Furcht vor Nachrede mit holdseligem Bezeigen einen lebhaften Wetteifer, seine Aufmerksamkeit zu fesseln, erregen....
die Liebe wird in tausendfachen Gestalten der leitende Geist der glücklichen Gesellschaften.30

The first woman whom Heinrich encounters on his quest and the one who makes a great impression on him is Zulima, the oriental woman. She is identified by her song, her music; she represents a kind of muse. She too re-echoes Heinrich's yearnings, but her longing has a more substantial focal point upon which it is fixed: the homeland to which she refers is the land of the Orient from which she had been torn by the invading Crusaders. It is a land in which art and nature are gratefully received by its inhabitants, a land in which lovers remain true to each other. Due to the war which has been waged against it by the Christians, however, her country has been irretrievably separated from Europe, which by its greed and evil has only caused sorrow and destruction; i.e., the loss of paradise, a fall from grace and a determined separation from all that is good and beautiful. Heinrich, filled with compassion for her plight, determines somehow
to become the champion of her cause. Even the thought of such a deliverance is comforting to both Heinrich and Zulima, who presents him with a lute, the last reminder of her homeland and a symbol of Heinrich's quest, although he cannot as yet play the instrument. The wish to comfort Zulima becomes the initiation point of Heinrich's process to become an artist. In this episode Heinrich has learned to experience compassion for a fellow human being, and his concern has extended beyond only finding the blue flower for himself, but also the wish to see the chaotic age in which he lives transformed into a future golden age. The object of his quest assumes both concrete and metaphysical proportions. Armand Nivelle notes concerning the growth process of Heinrich:


The action towards self-realization is a contemplative one in nature:
Es sind die Dichter, diese seltenen Zugmenschen, die zuweilen durch unsere Wohnsitze wandeln und überall den alten, ehrwürdigen Dienst der Menschheit und ihrer ersten Götter, die Gestirne, des Frühlings, der Liebe, des Glücks, der Fruchtbarkeit, der Gesundheit und des Frohsinns erneuern; sie die schon hier im Besitz der himmlischen Ruhe sind und, von keinen törichten Begierden umhergetrieben, nur den Duft der irdischen Früchte einatmen, ohne sie zu verzehren und dann unwiderruflich an die Unterwelt gekettet zu sein.\textsuperscript{32}

says Novalis of the poet's role in Heinrich von Ofterdingen. Let us note the two categories "Liebe" and "Fruchtbarkeit" from which ultimately all other godlike qualities are descended. The importance of the woman and the love she inspires in the male extends to mankind in general. Heinrich, not having experienced love as yet, envisions only fragmentarily his future life as well as the approaching golden age. A great link is yet missing: the element of love. But the shortly forthcoming advent of this the greatest force available to lead him to his calling as a poet as well as to the golden age is close at hand: "Schon nahte sich ein Dichter, ein liebliches Mädchen an der Hand, um durch Laute der Muttersprache und durch Berührung eines süßen zärtlichen Mundes die blöden Lippen aufzuschliessen und den einfachen Akkord in unendliche Melodien zu entfalten."\textsuperscript{33}

An apparent lack of interest in the fairer sex brands him as a northern creature in the house of Schwaning, in which joy and song reign: "Man merkt es, dass du aus dem Norden kommst," comments Schwaning. "Wir wollen dich hier schon auftauen. Du sollst lernen, nach hübschen Augen sehen."\textsuperscript{34} Heinrich, in order to fulfill his life, must first
discover his youth. When he does finally meet Mathilde, Klingsohr's
daughter, for the first time, we feel that they immediately know
that their love for each other is no ordinary one: "Heinrich und
Mathilde wurden rot." Again it is music which brings them together
and specifically dance music. While they are waltzing, Heinrich has
a chance to closely observe her. He focuses immediately on her eyes,
on the eternality of their vision ("aus ihren grossen ruhigen Augen
sprach ewige Jugend.") At the same time she represents evanescence
itself; her face is described as a lily ("Eine nach der aufgehenden
Sonne geneigte Lilie war ihr Gesicht,") and the very distinct,
delicate blue veins which are visible from her neck and her cheeks
imply that her earthly presence is only a temporary one.

The main metaphor employed by the Romantics to symbolize the
woman is that of the flower, both the revelation of nature and the
symbol of the human soul, the harbinger of peace and love, the
embodiment of poetry, or, as Jutta Hecker states in "Das Symbol der
Blume im Zusammenhang der Blumensymbolik der Romantik" (1931), "Blume
der Erkenntnis, die eine Erlösung ist in der Welt der ursprünglichen
Harmonie." The flower, symbol of love and woman per se, liberates
everything bearing the taint of the finite. Other flowers appear
in Heinrich's dreams in addition to the blue flower, above all
the aforementioned lily and the rose, the flower of love and the
symbol thereof. In his dreams flowers and trees speak to
Heinrich, and in the second part of the novel fragment both plants
and animals possess the power of speech in a world which is now
no longer made of dreams, but which has been transformed into a real
fairy tale world. The flower imagery is also used in relation to children due to their mutual inherent qualities of innocence and the close connection they bear to mother earth. Heinrich declares:

Den vollen Reichtum des unendlichen Lebens, die gewaltigen Mächte der späten Zeit, die Herrlichkeit des Weltendes und die goldne Zukunft aller Dinge seh'n wir hier noch innig ineinander geschlungen, aber doch auf das deutlichste und klarste in zarter Verjüngung. Schon treibt die allmächtige Liebe, aber sie zündet noch nicht. Es ist keine verzehrende Flamme; es ist zerrinnender Duft.

In her role as liberator from the taint of the finite, Mathilde is the embodiment of the infinite element to be encountered in the unconscious pursuit of art. She plays an instrument, in this instance the guitar, and she is the essence of song. Heinrich's desire to play her instrument, i.e., to become the soul of music that she is, is overwhelming: "O was sollte ich nicht erwarten können, da Eure blosse Rede schon Gesang ist und Eure Gestalt eine himmlische Musik verkündigt."

A complete harmony spiritually is established instantly upon meeting. Eternality and a return to the golden age are at stake in its wake; the feeling of love is not just a passing fancy, a momentary feeling which may or may not last. Heinrich feels "Lust und Liebe zugleich" towards Mathilde, to whom he swears eternal fidelity. And it is due to her that in the dream which he experiences that first night in Augsburg he gains an insight into the communion of lovers and the secret word which fills his entire being. His state of mind before sleep is one of anticipation. Mathilde is somehow mysteriously connected in his mind to the vision of the blue flower, and it is she
who, Heinrich feels, will make him dissolve in music, for she is part of his soul, "die Hüterin meines heiligen Feuers." Tscheng Dsche-Feng points out in his dissertation "Die Analogie von Natur und Geist als Stilprinzip in Novalis' Dichtung" (1935), that the element of fire is often used and associated with the emotion love, the only path by which man is led to a higher level of existence. Fire in Novalis mythology does not possess the characteristics of being raging or consuming, and is therefore not similar to an unbridled passion; on the contrary, it is a sublime force which purifies, purges and cleanses man, i.e., his soul. In his Romantic eagerness to bridge the gap existing between the physical and the spiritual, Novalis imbues the symbol of fire with physical attributes as well as spiritual ones. Woman is the keeper of the fire; concerning the mutual love which he and Mathilde share, Heinrich states: "Wer weiss, ob unsere Liebe nicht vereinst noch zu Flammenfittchen wird, die uns aufheben, und uns in unsere himmlische Heimat tragen, ehe das Alter und der Tod uns erreichen." Mathilde herself makes a comment in the same vein: "Auch mir ist jetzt alles glaublich, und ich fühl ja so deutlich eine stille Flamme in mir lodern; wer weiss, ob sie uns nicht verklärt, und die irdischen Banden allmählich auflöst." Heinrich further comments on his metamorphosis: "Auch mir bricht der Morgen eines ewigen Tages an. Die Nacht ist vorüber. Ich zünde der aufgehenden Sonne mich selbst zum nievergührenden Opfer an."

Another symbol which enjoys great importance in the novel is that of water. Heinrich's dream reveals Mathilde sitting in a boat, rowing,
gazing at Heinrich with a kind of wistful countenance of mixed joy and sorrow. Both water and sky are calm, but not for long; suddenly the boat begins to turn and eventually sink in a kind of whirlpool. Water, Tscheng Dsche-Feng reveals in "Die Analogie von Natur und Geist als Stilprinzip in Novalis' Dichtung," is yet another symbol of the soul of man, the place in which the foundation of his own essence and the origin of all things reside. Again, it is also considered the physical embodiment of rejuvenation, sexual union, fertility and reproduction, and the dream becomes the visualization of the sensations which a highly charged spiritual as well as physical union symbolized and produced by the healing, beneficial effects of water has upon Heinrich:

Es dünkte ihn, als umflösse ihn eine Wolke des Abendrots; eine himmlische Empfindung überströmte sein Inneres; mit inniger Wollust strebten unzählbare Gedanken in ihm sich zu vermischen; neue, nie gesehene Bilder entstanden, die auch ineinanderflossen und zu sichtbaren Wesen um ihn wurden, und jede Welle des lieblichen Elements schmiegte sich wie ein zarter Busen an ihn. Die Flut schien eine Auflösung reizender Mädchen, die an dem Jünglinge sich augenblicklich verkörpert. ...Berauscht von Entzücken und doch jedes Eindrucks bewusst, schwamm er gemach dem leuchtenden Strome nach, der aus dem Becken in den Felsen hineinfloss.

Mathilde's reaction to her death in the whirlpool is an unexpected one. She betrays no anguish over the perilous situation; on the contrary,

sie lächelte und legte das Ruder in den Kahn, der sich immerwährend drehte...Sie winkte, sie schien ihm etwas sagen zu wollen, der Kahn schöpfte schon Wasser; doch lächelte sie mit einer unanglichen Innigkeit und sah heiter in den Wirbel hinein.
Hers is a completely passive, joyfully received acceptance of her
death, while Heinrich desperately attempts to rescue the one he
loves. Having crossed the threshold of death, however, Mathilde
becomes active; she calls Heinrich, reaches him (he had been running),
answers his questions concerning the water which by now has covered
both of them, kisses him, explains that they will never be parted
again and whispers the secret word in his mouth. Let us note
Heinrich's reactions throughout the dream. He is filled with anxiety
for Mathilde's life and therefore for his own, which is but a mirror
of hers; "Die entsetzliche Angst raubte ihm das Bewusstsein. Das
Herz schlug nicht mehr." Without her he is lost, and aimlessly
he wanders as if in a dream. But as he proceeds further his fears
leave him and he experiences the peace of finally having found his
home.

Only below the waves do the lovers find their origins--"bei
unseren Eltern," as Mathilde expresses it. The word which she
speaks into Heinrich's mouth, geared towards his speech and not his
hearing, is the key which will lead him to this origin. Mathilde's
words are compared to song; consequently Heinrich, under her in-
fluence, will ultimately become a musical mouthpiece of the eternal
as well. However, he is unable to remember the word due to Schwaning
awakening him immediately after the word has been spoken to him in
the dream. The time is not yet ripe for the fulfillment of Heinrich's
development. His world is as yet one of dreams.

Mathilde incorporates many figures: she is first the muse who
inspires the poet by the secret word, in that he might gain insight into the essence of artistic creation. Although she is a kind of goddess figure inspiring reverence, she is also very much the poet's beloved, and her kiss becomes not only the symbol of his poetic fulfillment but of his becoming a man as well in the physical sense of the word:

...indem sie ihre Lippen an die seinigen drückte und ihn so umschloss, das sie nicht wieder von ihm konnte.\(^52\)

implies a physical union of the lovers as well:

'Freude, Lust und Entzücken sind nur die Glieder des Vergnügens, das sie zu einem höhern Leben verknüpft.' Er drückte Mathildens Hand an sein Herz und versank mit einem feurigen Blick in ihr mildes, empfängliches Auge.\(^53\)

Nature or art, physicality or spirituality viewed separately from each other have hitherto created the chaotic conditions present in the imperfection preceding the golden age. Klingsohr himself, Mathilde's father, still leans towards favoring art as a creation stemming overwhelmingly from reason rather than feeling, i.e., nature: "Die Poesie will vorzüglich als strenge Kunst betrieben werden. Als blosser Genuss hört sie auf, Poesie zu sein."\(^54\) but Heinrich himself, as the representative modern poet of the future golden age, believes that, though there is much he may learn from Klingsohr concerning the craft of creating art, it must also emanate from a wellspring of spontaneous feeling as well. Mathilde, his mediator between both worlds, art and nature, reinforces the validity of such a future union in a gesture mingling both physical and spiritual aspects of their love relationship:
Sie neigte sich unmerklich zu ihm hin, er umschlang sie und küsste den weichen Mund des errötenden Mädchens. Nur sanft bog sie sich von ihm weg, doch reichte sie ihm mit der kindlichsten Anmut eine Rose, die sie am Busen trug. Heinrich sah ihr mit stillem Entzücken nach, küsste die Rose, heftete sie an seine Brust...

From such a love springs an equally endless poetry. Mathilde, like Lucinde, is a fully developed and unconscious nature principle turned poetic.

Novalis' preoccupation with what constitutes this poetic principle, as Gerhard Schulz points out in the article "Die Poetik des Romans bei Novalis" (1964), had occurred in three stages: (1) the study of Goethe's Wilhelm Meister, in which his first original theories come to focus in connection with the planned "Roman in Sedez" and "Lehrlinge zu Sais," (2) a meeting with Tieck and Goethe 1799, after which a polemic appeared against Wilhelm Meister, followed by the appearance of the first part of Heinrich von Ofterdingen, (3) thoughts on the "Poetik des Romans" in the notebooks from June to October 1800 and plans for the continuation of Heinrich von Ofterdingen and other novels. From January to July 1798, Novalis, in his "Vorarbeiten zu verschiedenen Fragment-sammlungen," discusses three types of artists, which include the (1) "rohe, diskursive Denker" who builds his world "aus logischen Atomen," (2) "der rohe, intuitive Dichter" who creates without giving any thought to content or form. The first type of poet creates with his mind; the second, through his emotions. Both, however, produce works which are one-sided, lacking in balance and therefore incomplete representations or hieroglyphs of the "unendlich geistiges Universum."
Die dritte Stufe ersteigt der Künstler, der Werkzeug und Genie zugleich ist. Er Findet, dass jene ursprüngliche Trennung der absoluten philosophischen Tätigkeiten eine tief liegende Trennung seines eigenen Wesens sey--deren Bestehn auf der Möglichkeit ihrer Vermittlung--ihrer Verbindung beruht. Er findet, dass so heterogen auch diese Tätigkeiten sind, sich doch ein Vermögen in ihm vorfinde von Einer zur andern Überzugehn, nach Gefallen seine Polaritaet zu verändern--Er entdeckt also in ihnen nothwendige Glieder seines Geistes--er merckt, dass beyde in einem Gemeinsamen Princip vereinigt seyn müssen.57

It is a process of striving towards mutual unity as well as diversity, at the highest plateau of which the author aspires to transcend his own self in the process of creation. In a letter to Caroline Schlegel, February 27, 1799, Novalis notes that his novel Heinrich von Ofterdingen is vastly different from Schlegel's Lucinde. Schlegel's concept of "Lehrjahre der Männlichkeit," he contends, will be replaced by his own "Lehrjahre der Nation," although, upon second thought, the word "Lehrjahre" appears inadequate as well: "Das Wort Lehrjahre ist falsch--es drückt ein bestimmtes Wohin aus. Bey mir soll es aber nichts, als--ÜbergangsJahre vom Unendlichen zum Endlichen bedeuten."58

"Poesie ist Darstellung des Gemüths--der innern Welt in ihrer Gesamtheit," Novalis states. Our physical self does not possess the importance which is attached to our "Personalität des Geistes," which is the organ by which the eternal is reborn and renewed within each element of nature. The renewal will lead to an idealized sphere of reality as beauty (represented by Fabel), love (Eros) and wisdom (Sophie).59 Friedrich Hiebel, in his book Novalis (1951), defines the Golden Age perception of Heinrich in the following manner: "Es ist eine apokalyptische Zukunftsschau der Menschheit und offenbart
einen Zustand, welcher innerhalb der Menschenseele erreichbar ist und den die Mystiker und Alchimisten Erleuchtung, Erweckung und Einweihung nannten.60

The artist has the free will to pursue the harmonious entity of the forthcoming Golden Age, but he is not forced to do so. His conscience becomes his medium in the matter, and the process therefore assumes the connotation of a moral deed which is fulfilled when the conscience of Man has been driven to the act of reunification. It is the artist's mission as creator to become at once subject and object in order to unconsciously bring forth a true communion of the finite and the infinite: "Der Dichter ordnet, vereinigt, wählt, erfindet--und es ist ihm selbst unbegreiflich, warum gerade so und nicht anders."61

Klingsöhr's tale in the ninth chapter of Heinrich von Ofterdingen serves to further illuminate the role of the woman in the creation of the forthcoming "ÜbergangsJahre" leading to the golden age. The women employed in Klingsöhr's fairy tale are all facets of the total concept of the female. Fabel is the child, Ginnistan the temptress, Freya the bride and finally Sophie, the being combining within her essence bride, mother and Christ figures, masculine and feminine, soul and spirit.

Fabel herself is responsible for the destruction of the evil principle which is present in the scribe and his assistants, the sphinx and also the Fates. It is she who leads the three pairs of lovers, the father and Ginnistan, Eros and Freia, and Sophie and
Arktur to eventual unity. Fabel's central position becomes clear:
"Perseus wandte sich zu Fabel, und gab ihr die Spindel. 'In deinen
Händen wird diese Spindel uns ewig erfreuen, und aus dir selbst wirst
du uns einen goldnen unzerreisslichen Faden spinnen.'"62 Her found-
ing of the new age is in no way passive; her influence is felt by
everyone, especially by her parents. She liberates her mother
Ginnistan from her infatuation with Eros and her father from the
clutches of a scribe overly endowed with reason.

In Ginnistan the world of the fairy tale is embodied. The name
itself Novalis came upon in a book of Wieland's called "Dschinnistan
oder auserlesene Feen-und Geisternährchen" of 1786.

Also, the "Dschinn" is an Arabian term for evil spirits; however,
contrary to this oriental connotation, the mother of Fabel is the
embodiment, not of evil, but of the imagination from which all
poetry must emanate: "Die Einbildungskraft ist das wirkende Prinzip.--
Sie heißt Phantasie,..."63 She is the essence of loveliness. Both
"der Vater" and Eros become infatuated with her, and in her essence
the physical side of the love relationship is translated into meta-
physical terms as the stress on the imaginative powers vital to the
art process.64

The third important female figure, Sophie, becomes the embodi-
ment of the unity of heart and soul, physicality and spirituality,
love and life: "Sophie und Liebe."65 The riddle which Fabel must
unravel is contained in the watchword 'Sophie und Liebe," a kind
of slogan for the future when Fabel has conquered the evil forces
of the past. The use of Sophie as the symbol of wisdom and unity by Novalis is due greatly to the influence which the mystic Jakob Böhme exercised upon him. According to Böhme, the desire existed within God to become conscious of Himself, i.e., to create himself a being of spiritual physicality. Thus the first creature to embody the harmony of the two worlds became Sophia, the mediator figure. But mankind is not content with this plan and seeks freedom from the harmony of opposites. Due to its rebellion, mankind falls and becomes embodied in a physical creature unlike God/Sophia.66 To Novalis, Sophie is the figure in whom the fullness of God becomes evident in creation and history. She is not distinct from the Godhead, as Böhme believes she is. Man as part of God's creation is like God in his mystical self-consciousness. That which parts him from God is his physical, empirical existence. Joined in marriage with Sophia, man comes to the realization of his soul. The manner in which this inner self is encountered is through the medium of love, which Böhme defines as a yearning to recapture Sophia, the prototype of God. Novalis goes one step further, redefining her as the initiator of the artistic process as well.67

Mathilde, the mediator, the Sophia figure to her lover Heinrich, brings forth the embodiment of the blue flower, the goal of Heinrich's search within his dream. But such a flower lasts only a short while on earth. Novalis writes shortly after he finished the first part of Heinrich von Ofterdingen: "Es gibt so manche Blumen auf dieser Welt, die überirdischen Ursprungs sind, die in diesem Klima nicht
gedeihen und eigentlich Herolde, rufende Boten eines besseren
Daseins sind. Unter diese Blumen gehören vorzüglich Religion und
Liebe." The terms "Religion und Liebe" embody within themselves
overwhelmingly spiritual, but also physical considerations. A study
of lines six through twelve of the "Astralis" poem of the second
part of Heinrich von Ofterdingen illustrates what I mean:

Nach inniger, gänzlicher Vermischung
Werd dringender mit jedem Augenblick.
Wollust ist meines Daseins Zeugungskraft.
Ich bin der Mittelpunkt, der heilige Quell,
Aus welchem jede Sehnsucht stürmisch fliesst,
Wohin sich jede Sehnsucht, mannigfach
Gebrauchen, wieder still zusammenzieht.

The situation is the following: Mathilde has been separated from
Heinrich by death, and that marriage which had been planned on earth
is therefore incapable of being consummated in mortal form. Yet
it has been spiritually founded between the two lovers. Astralis,
conceived when Heinrich had first kissed Mathilde, is that super-
natural creation of their spirits, the secret word which in Heinrich's
dream had been whispered into his mouth by Mathilde. The poem to a
great extent manifests the life process which she undergoes (as a
plant) as Heinrich and Mathilde's love grows ever deeper. That
which is dream and that which is reality cannot be distinguished
any longer ("Die Welt wird Traum, der Traum wird Welt."
The entire
creation is suspended in a magic which incorporates death and life,
physicality and spirituality. There exists a constant flaming desire
for union, conception and bearing compounded by the constant plant
images and the representation of the blue flower itself, Astralis.
A line such as "Wollust ist meines Daseins Zeugungskraft" (line 8), with its strongly sensual overtones suggests not only spiritual but also physical union of the lovers. Such strongly vibrant sexual imagery had not been used as forcibly in the first part of Heinrich von Ofterdingen, and only serves to manifest that Novalis did not really believe the union could ever be fully realized in this world, but only in the hereafter. We are to assume that at the beginning of the second part Mathilde has drowned in the stream, an event foreshadowed in Heinrich's dream. Heinrich is now wandering away from Augsburg, anxious, desperate, yet also intermittently aware that he stands at the threshold of a new and more wonderful existence:
"Eine neue unübersehbliche Herrlichkeit schien sich vor ihm aufzutun."

Already he has the marks of death upon him:


Mathilde, now a part of nature itself, speaks to him from a tree, consoling him in song and assuring him that for only a little while longer he will remain on earth, "bis du auch stirbst und zu unsern Freuden eingehst." Due to her voice, the anxiety he feels at her absence and his loneliness leave him, and death appears not as something to be feared, but as a "höhere Offenbarung des Lebens... Zukunft und Vergangenheit hatten sich in ihm berührt und einen innigen Verein geschlossen." And now for the first time, as the youth in Atlantis tale, Heinrich sings his first song, accompanying
himself on the lute. He has come into his own as a poet.

At the end of his song he notices a girl standing beside him. This is Cyane, whom Mathilde has sent to console Heinrich. She does not replace Mathilde; she represents only the earthly continuance of Heinrich's beloved. In Novalis' life she is Julie von Charpentier, the woman to whom he was engaged and whom he planned to marry following Sophie von Kühn's demise. He was prevented from carrying out this plan, however, due to his own death. Cyane's and Heinrich's conversation concerning their parentage is quite cryptic and rather difficult to understand if we do not take into account Novalis' philosophy. As to the question of Heinrich's parentage, Cyane tells him: "Du hast mehr Eltern." Cyane calls herself both a daughter of Maria von Hohenzollern and of Maria, the mother of God, implying that both women are one and the same. Maria, Christ's earthly mother, the prototype of all women, appears in each earthly woman. In the same manner, the hermit who had shown Heinrich a chronicle of his life as well as the history of the world is his father, at least symbolically. The pilgrim Sylvester, to whom Cyane leads Heinrich in the second part of the work, is to be considered in that same relationship to Heinrich, for Sylvester leads him to a complete understanding of the blue flower. Each individual represents a facet of one master individual, Christ/

Sophie is represented by Mathilde, Cyane, Zulima the princess of the Atlantis tale—they are all one. The same can be said of Ginnistan, Fabel and Freya, again individual facets of the total woman concept. The blue flower Heinrich calls "eigentliche Offenbarung der Kindheit," the fusion of love and religion. It is the basic symbol of poetic development, "der allerhöchste Sinn." A symbol of the natural, physical world, it is at the same time the essence of all art creation. Art, nature, physicality, spirituality, man and woman are but interconnecting links in the process of finding the blue flower, the essence of all creation.

However, a most important question has not yet been answered. How does Mathilde react towards the metaphysical role which has been assigned her as the Sophie/blue flower figure? It is interesting to note that, like Lucinde, Mathilde doubts the permanence of Heinrich's love, despite all protestations to the contrary. As to the question of Heinrich's ability to love, Mathilde seems skeptical. "Kannst du mich denn lieben?" she asks him, and he answers that he does not comprehend the meaning of the term "love" but that he believes for the first time that he has begun to live: "das kann ich dir sagen, dass mir ist, als finge ich erst jetzt zu leben an, und dass ich dir so gut bin, dass ich gleich für dich sterben wollte." He is even ready to die for her, since death has become to him only a part of life, there being no real room provided for two states in an eternal night of love/life. To Heinrich, Mathilde is "der Himmel, der mich trägt und erhält," "die Heilige, die meine Wünsche zu Gott
bringt, durch die er sich mir offenbart, durch die er mir die Fülle seiner Liebe kund tut" and "die göttliche Herrlichkeit, das ewige Leben in der lieblichsten Hülle." The emphasis on the part of Heinrich, however, is heavily placed on love in another world and at another time; Mathilde has been transformed into a celestial mediator, and Heinrich has been given the gift of prophecy. But of course the roles remain isolated from any contact with the problem of coping with that love in a world of reality; they relate, rather, to a life-in-death situation. Mathilde comments: "...und ich fühle ja so deutlich eine still Flamme in mir lodern; wer weiß, ob sie uns nicht verklärt und die irdischen Banden allmählich auflöst." Such a yearning for the eternal on both lovers' parts manifests a silent skepticism in Heinrich's mind and a clearly voiced one in Mathilde's that the two realms can ever be joined in this world. Heinrich's entire vocabulary and metaphors concerning love and the beloved are geared to the vision of another world, and Mathilde very frankly states her doubts concerning the strength and fidelity of a man's love in general and of Heinrich's in particular: "Ach! Heinrich, du weisst das Schicksal der Rosen, wirst du auch die welken Lippen, die bleichen Wangen mit Zärtlichkeit an deine Lippen drücken? Werden die Spuren des Alters nicht die Spuren der vorübergegangenen Liebe sein?" However, Heinrich vehemently denies that the loss of beauty due to age will diminish his love for her in any way, and that in nature and the physical world we see but a symbol of a greater world to come. We are still made aware that Mathilde is a
real woman of flesh and blood afraid of growing old and aware, even at her young age, of the strong emphasis which physicality, though drastically and almost forcibly underplayed here by Heinrich, plays in the masculine makeup. She is presented at this point as a real woman with a very vital and pertinent female concern; i.e., will this man ever leave her for another, and if so, what is she to do? Only by reversing the conversation to Heinrich's preoccupation with the transcendence of their love does Mathilde assuage her fears: "Sage mir nur, Heinrich, ob du auch schon das grenzenlose Vertrauen zu mir hast, was ich zu dir habe? Noch nie hab' ich so etwas gefühlt, selbst nicht gegen meinen Vater, den ich so unendlich liebe." 

Essentially, the masculine egotism and its correlative impossibility of attaining a unity of masculine and feminine opposites presuppose the paradoxical and fragmented quality of the Romantic author's creativity. Again and again in Romantic works we see the same syndrome appearing before the consummation of the physical and spiritual aspects of the love relationship: one or both of the individuals die. There exists the threat of death for Lucinde and the actual demise of Mathilde, factors which unite both sets of lovers more powerfully than their lives would ever have done. One of the main credos of Romanticism is the strong belief in the transcendence of life. It seems as if the possibility of achieving an end to the duality is for the most part recognized as unrealizable within the confines of this world. This is perhaps why love and religion are placed on the same plane: the godly appears in its purest form in man, since he carries within him a portion of
the Divine. But man, though he may be part of that Divine and retain within himself a facsimile of the universal, must still contend with the physical world, and it is perhaps the recognition that a successful outcome of this struggle had been heretofore and would continue to be unsuccessful or at least incomplete in an imperfect world which frustrates the basic creative instincts of the early Romantic author, resigning him to the creation of fragments in despair of ever fusing an implacable duality existant in the universe. In order to attain perfection in love a far more expanded scope than earthly love and marriage must be open to man. A woman cannot be content with her role as wife in the sense of fulfilling her husband's physical desires. A mystical union of souls within the physical, concrete manifestations of the empirical world must also take place between man and woman, and it is the ultimate impossibility of fulfilling such an overwhelming demand on the love relationship and the lovers themselves which creates the Romantic frustration of being stagnated between two worlds, unable to assume either's characteristics. The result, in terms of the role to which the woman is relegated? As a physical and spiritual being she becomes the impetus towards the creative artistic process in which the man indulges. That is the entire scope of her role, the reason for her existence. Apart from this she assumes no individuality and no identity. In spite of the pedestal upon which she is firmly placed by the Romantics, she becomes a statue without life, a representative, essentially, of the man's desire to glorify himself.
Having viewed the literary presentation of woman from the male perspective, it is consequently essential that we examine her from her own vantage point as authoress with her own self-portrayal. Does there exist an essential difference in the manner in which women view themselves both as a sex and as individual entities? Does her sphere of influence extend in the same direction as the one to which the male relegates her? In order to answer these questions, it is important that we proceed from one premise which I believe may be borne out in the literature and correspondence of the female members of the German Romantic circles; i.e., that she realizes the important role which the force of inner nature must place in the establishment of as close to a "heaven on earth" situation as possible without resorting to the concern of a metaphysical universality, the male Romantic's chief concern. Her great goal in life is that of encountering a soul-mate to realistically carry out these earthbound goals. Liberation on her part and only in this sense novel can be defined as the goal of self-realization leading towards the establishment of the perfect marriage on earth as supported by her husband. Both subjective (self-realization) and objective (the perfect marriage) in content, her principal goal wavers between the ideals of Enlightenment and Romanticism, and prepares her, not for emancipation, but for self-fulfillment in the greatest realistic sense.
The Romantic Woman and the Quest for the Ideal Soul-Mate

A. Some Thoughts on Women's Education and Function Prior to Romanticism

The manner in which woman is perceived by her own sex during the early Romantic period is inextricably linked to her depiction of herself and her sex within the realm of education and in the scope of the marriage relationship with a suitable soul-mate. These two concerns become interconnected and point to the fundamental issues to which the eighteenth century woman had already addressed herself.

Any "forward" strides in the case of women's individual and social evolution in Germany during the eighteenth century can only be observed in terms of a few representatives of the bourgeoisie and the nobility: exceptional women who did not completely conform to the role designed for them and accepted by themselves. They include women like Dorothea Schlözer, one of the first female graduates of a university in Germany (1787); the princess Amalie von Gallitzin; women such as Luise von Preussen or Luise von Weimar, who in political circles often outshone many of her male counterparts; writers such as Sophie Mereau, Therese Huber, and Karoline von Günderode; female members of the Romantic circle, Caroline and Dorothea Schlegel, and leaders of salons such as Henriette Herz and Rahel Levin--well-educated and intelligent women who, however, were
hardly known as well on their own account as for having been the wives of celebrated men.

The main role of woman at this time is still considered to be that of wife and mother. The love she feels for her husband encompasses the scope of her happiness. Her education must always assume second position and must never interfere with her duty as housewife and mother. A career can never be constructed around her learning, and her education can be at most only a pleasant pastime. It seems the main purpose of woman's education did not arise from a concern over the benefits it might have accrued the individual woman, but from the belief that by her learning she could teach her children and carry on a more intelligent and coherent conversation with her husband in order to make his home life happier and more pleasant.

The issue of education assumes an important role in the eighteenth century, especially with the appearance of Rousseau's famous treatise "Emile, ou de l'éducation" in 1762. His theories ushered in a new era in education, in which the processes of reasoning with the pupil and teaching him a trade became integral components of the educational program for the future. However, there was no room in his system for women's education. In "Emile, ou de l'éducation" Rousseau argued that the subjection and inferiority of the female was a natural law:
L'Être suprême a voulu faire en tout honneur à l'espèce humaine: en donnant à l'homme des penchants sans mesure, il lui donne en même temps la loi qui les règle, afin qu'il soit libre et se commande à lui-même; en le livrant à des passions immodérées, il joint à ces passions la raison pour les gouverner; en livrant la femme à des désirs illimités, il joint à ces désirs la pudeur pour les contenir....La rigidité des devoirs relatifs des deux sexes n'est ni ne peut être la même. Quand la femme se plaint là-dessus de l'injuste inégalité qu'y met l'homme, elle a tort; cette inégalité n'est point une institution humaine, ou du moins elle n'est point l'ouvrage du préjugé, mais de la raison: c'est à celui des deux que la nature a chargé du dépôt des enfants d'en répondre à l'autre.1

Each of the sexes has a totally different sphere in which to move; the male superiority rests on the basis of greater physical and mental strength. Rousseau concedes that, although the male seems master of the world, he is dependent on the woman, whose power is rooted in Nature. This belief that the feminine is representative of the nature element becomes a cornerstone tenet of the German romantic view of the woman's position. Everything a woman learns must be geared towards the benefit and enjoyment of her husband, and her greatest regard above all must be the impression she makes upon the opposite sex. In all her actions she must continually ask herself what effects they will provoke. Nature had, after all, subjected her to the superior strength of her master. Her realm is that of sentiment, rendering her incapable of forming a social judgment or conviction without the help of others. As to her instruction, Rousseau definitely emphasizes in "Emile, ou de l'éducation" that reading literature is a very dangerous pastime for women due to the
instability of the female mind, relying as it does upon the powers of sentiment and imagination:

La recherche des vérités abstraites et spéculatives, des principes, des axiomes dans les sciences, tout ce qui tend à généraliser les idées n'est point du ressort des femmes, leurs études doivent se rapporter toutes à la pratique; c'est à elles à faire l'application des principes que l'homme a trouvés, et c'est à elles de faire les observations qui mènent l'homme à l'établissement des principes. Toutes les réflexions des femmes en ce qui ne tient pas immédiatement à leurs devoirs, doivent tendre à l'étude des hommes ou aux connaissances agréables qui n'ont que le goût pour objet; car, quant aux ouvrages de génie, ils passent leur portée; elles n'ont pas non plus assez de justesse et d'attention pour réussir aux sciences exactes, et, quant aux connaissances physiques, c'est à celui des deux qui est le plus agissant, le plus allant, qui voit le plus d'objets; c'est à celui qui a le plus de force et qui l'exerce davantage, à juger des rapports des êtres sensibles et des lois de la nature. La femme, qui est faible et qui ne voit rien au dehors, apprécie et juge les mobiles qu'elle peut mettre en œuvre pour suppléer à sa faiblesse, et ces mobiles sont les passions de l'homme.

Woman should learn rather by reflection and observation, although, with no basis of thought upon which to begin this process, the suggestion seems quite absurd. This kind of random osmotic process seems to contain within it many more elements of danger to the "feminine" mind than the method by which she would be educated to think for herself, since the impressions received by reflecting and observing life are equally capable of rousing the imagination as any piece of literature. Rousseau's attitude can only be viewed as reactionary in that he could not reconcile moral and intellectual
education for women, though he would gladly grant the best of both worlds to men. Only after the Revolution, when an interest in public education increased, did theorists like Condorcet attempt to include women in the educational scheme. 3

In eighteenth century England the situation was no better. Woman was viewed purely from the sexual vantage point; the only standards by which to judge her lay in her physical attractions, and when these had faded she was discarded by her habitually unfaithful husband. During the seventeenth century the same opinion concerning her had prevailed. I refer to the period of the Stuart Restoration—an era characterized by decadence, in which, of course, the evaluation of womanhood suffered as well. According to Lord Chesterfield, a contemporary, women are intellectually inferior and unworthy of notice, childlike and easily swayed by passions which reason can hardly control. In Chesterfield's "Letters to his Son," composed between 1739 and 1769, he notes that women are ruled by vanity and love, and "love" those men who flatter them most. If it were possible to get along without them, Chesterfield would recommend it, but they are the principal means of advancing one's position on the social ladder, and are in that way useful as a significant social factor. 4 Education for women, even in its most elemental form, was virtually non-existent. It is reported that ladies of quality were not even able to sign their names. And for the most part women were content to remain in this state of ignorance. As a matter of fact, any display of knowledge in a woman was to be avoided
at all costs; the only qualities considered worthy of development became those of enticing the opposite sex for physical gratification. A woman could be skilled at carrying on meaningless and trivial conversations in her circles, and she could eventually dance and play an instrument, but past this point all training and instruction ceased and her faculties of reason were left fallow, to be disposed of under the will of her husband, whose supreme authority over her was understood to be law. An Englishman of the time, Lord Halifax, exhorts his daughter on the subject of marriage:

...remember that next to the danger of committing the fault yourself, the greatest is that of seeing it in your husband. Do not seem to look or hear that way, if he is a man of sense he will reclaim himself; the folly of it is itself sufficient to cure him; if he is not so, he will be provoked, but not reformed.  

There exist statements concerning the amelioration of this far too pitiable state to which women had sunk, such as Jonathan Swift's "Letter to a Young Lady on Her Marriage" (1727) and "Hints Towards an Essay on Conversation" (1710), but they were hardly geared towards women's educational needs as regarded their self-development. Females, it was stated, were greatly responsible for their own situation, due to their fondness for such idleness as gossip and gambling. In order to prove themselves more worthy of their husbands and to provide for the later years of marriage when a woman's beauty has disappeared, it is essential that women be rendered better companions to men. The creation of girls' schools in England during the eighteenth century were founded due to the conviction
that women's morals needed to be improved, and as a result the
main subjects taught were foreign languages and religion. Daniel
Defoe concedes that

Without partiality, a woman of sense and
manner is the finest and most delicate part
of God's creation, the glory of her Maker,
and the great instance of his singular
regard to man, his darling creature, to whom
he gave the best gift either God could be-
stow or man receive,

and that her education would create a
creature without comparison, whose society
is the emblem of sublime enjoyments.6

A unique note is added in Defoe's comments on female education in
his "Essay upon Projects" (1702) which foreshadows the view of
a later Mary Wollstonecraft:

for I cannot think that God Almighty ever
made them such delicate and glorious
creatures, and furnished them with such
charms, so agreeable and delightful to man-
kind, with souls capable of the same accom-
plishments with men, and only to be stewards
of our houses, cooks and slaves.7

But the principal aim of eighteenth century women's education
seems still to be quite misdirected by both male and female theorists
in the view that learning is considered mainly an antidote to idle-
ness instead of an end unto itself. An all encompassing interest
in women's education as well as the women's question in general
are not brought to the forefront until 1792 with the publication of
Mary Wollstonecraft's "Vindication of the Rights of Women."8 She
was to place herself in opposition to the view which set taboos
against women involved in literary pursuits and social involvement.
According to Wollstonecraft, a woman's education was only the first step of a long process of development needed to elevate her to her rightful stature of human being.

Wollstonecraft had read Rousseau's "Emile" and concurred with his idea of bringing society back to nature and country life, but violently disagreed with his assertion that girls must be "educated" for the benefit of men. In her works she strongly contends that the principles of education must be the same for both sexes, and that above all a strong ethical background following the dictates of reason must be established within the child. All depends on forming the mind, and therefore the basis of a sound education becomes so important. Education for girls must be equal to that given to boys, and those innate characteristics of male reason and female sentiment dictated by those who, like Rousseau, viewed women's educational capabilities as inferior, were seen as non-existent by her.

It is incorrect, however, to state that Wollstonecraft's ideas concerning women's education as an instrument by which the mind is made capable of reasoning in order to prevent moral depravity and general uselessness were without precedent. Helvetius in his "Traité de l'homme" (1774) made much the same plea for an education based on reason, although he cannot be classified as at all interested in the issue of women's education per se. D'Holbach's "Social System" (1774), however, devotes an entire chapter to that subject. He objects to an education which has made the woman of his time irresponsible and inconstant instead of worthy of man's respect.
The fault, he says, does not lie with women themselves, but rather with men who would refuse them the education which would render them productive and useful members of society:

C'est dans l'éducation que nous devons chercher la source principale des vices et des vertus des hommes, des erreurs ou des vérités dont leurs têtes se remplissent, des habitudes estimables ou blamables qu'ils contractent, des qualités et des talents qu'ils acquièrent.9

The two great evils of female education are, according to d'Holbach, an excessive amount of religious instruction preparing them only for the life hereafter instead of making them more concerned with the pressing problems of daily existence, and the opposite evil of filling their heads with only thoughts of frivolous vanities of life such as dancing, manners and dress. Both emphases on women's instruction have therefore been posited in an irreal, impractical sphere of existence not relating to the world. Women are asked to learn the values of reason, which alone can be of service to them.10

D'Holbach as well as Helvetius, in their emphasis on an education based on reason, influenced Mary Wollstonecraft's "Vindication of the Rights of Women" (1792). Reason, Wollstonecraft believes, must govern all human beings. It is the one quality which elevates man above other creatures. Unless the woman is included in this scheme of rationality she will remain an inferior creature—not the companion of the male, but his slave. In a society in which such a slavelike condition exists, the male of the species becomes responsible for her pitiable state. Women either have been neglected, Wollstonecraft
states in the "Vindication," or have received absolutely no consider-
ation:

The education of women has, of late, been more attended to than formerly; yet they are still reckoned a frivolous sex, and ridiculed or pitied by the writers who endeavour by satire or instruction to improve them. It is acknowledged that they spend many of the first years of their lives in acquiring a smattering of accomplishments; meanwhile strength of body and mind are sacrificed to libertine notions of beauty, to the desire of establishing themselves,—the only way women can rise in the world—by marriage. And this desire making mere animals of them, when they marry they act as such children may be expected to act:—they dress; they paint, and nickname God's creatures.—Surely these weak beings are only fit for a seraglio!—Can they be expected to govern a family with judgment, or take care of the poor babes whom they bring into the world."

The result of such a treatment has been that women have had to subject themselves to unworthy and unloved husbands, with no alternatives to this lot (supporting themselves being considered degrading). A good government should provide means, Wollstonecraft stipulates, for women to pursue professions, and concomitantly with that belief exists the conviction that history and politics provide far better educational material than idle romances. That women's education should only relate to men, a view held by Rousseau, provides a strong point of disagreement for Wollstonecraft, who resents the fact that "Emile," his educational tract, only treats the instruction of the male, not the female. Wollstonecraft regards woman as a human being who possesses the same powers of reason as man. Woman has only had these powers of reason suppressed by being
taught that her chief aim lies in marriage, beauty, and a state of childishness, sensitivity and delicacy in general, all of which are the desirable qualities upon which men base their good opinion of women. According to Wollstonecraft, a woman must instead prove an equal companion to her husband and an educator to her children. The cultivation of her soul should be her foremost concern, and not the enhancement of that physical beauty which is praised falsely by men. 12

In order to ease relations between men and women, Wollstonecraft states that it is imperative that they be jointly educated, regardless of class distinctions. Their instruction should include as little time in the classroom as possible, and more of their education should be conducted outside. Only in the afternoon should the two sexes be separated—girls to pursue chores such as needlework and boys learning skills for a future trade. The suggestions were unique enough for her time, and the publication of the "Vindication of the Rights of Women" (1792) gave Wollstonecraft a name not soon to be forgotten. Hannah More, her contemporary, had commented well on the situation in her "Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education" (1799), labelling it

\[ a \text{ singular injustice which is often exercised towards women, first to give them a very defective education and then to expect from them the most undeviating purity of conduct; to train them in such a manner as shall lay them open to the most dangerous faults and then to censure them for not proving faultless.} \]

Although the physical superiority of men could not be contested, the
intellectual capacities of women are not able to be dismissed so quickly, Wollstonecraft contends.

Wollstonecraft's rather modest ideals, or so they seem now, were at first reviled and considered seditious. They were to be consigned to an oblivion which, however, would not last permanently. When the "Vindication of the Rights of Women" first appeared in 1792, the literary journals as well as the general public aligned themselves on predictably opposing sides; most women found her ideas to be exaggerated, and Hannah More, a member of a group which called itself the "Bluestockings," even wrote:

I have been much pestered to read the Rights of Women but am invincibly resolved not to do it. Of all jargon, I hate metaphysical jargon; beside, there is something fantastic and absurd in the very title. How many ways there are of being ridiculous I am sure I have as much liberty as I can make use of, now I am an old maid; and when I was a young one, I had, I dare say, more than was good for me....To be unstable and capricious, I really think, is but too characteristic of our sex; and there is, perhaps, no animal so much indebted to subordination for its good behaviour as woman. 14

One woman of More's Bluestocking circle, Anna Seward, was to view it slightly more favorably: "It has, by turns, pleased and displeased, startled and half-convinced me that its author is oftener right than wrong." 15

Neither pamphlets in reply to the "Vindication" nor the appearance of adverse criticism concerning Wollstonecraft's work hindered the second publishing of the "Vindication of the Rights of Women" in 1793. It was also published in the United States, and
translations of it appeared in France and Germany. When it appeared in Germany in 1793, it was dismissed as fantastic and was called a "Hirngespinst." It was generally believed that the equality of rights between men and women was not possible. That is not to say that German counterparts of Wollstonecraft's document did not appear. In 1792 two anonymous works appeared concerning the education of women: "Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung des Weibes" and "Das Weib." In 1795 and 1797 a "Botanik für Frauenzimmer und Pflanzenliebhaber, welche keine Gelehrten sind" and a "Geschichte der Deutschen für Frauenzimmer" appear. The stigma and undertone of paternalistic assuagement of the female can definitely be felt in the wording of these titles.

In general, the main object of a woman's "education" as presented in those weekly journals published for the benefit of the eighteenth century German woman and inspired by Addison and Steele's Tatler and Spectator was not so much educational as moralistic in nature, presenting a catalog of duties considered womanly, and basically generalizing on feminine virtues and vices. The first German women's journal, "Der Vernünftler," appeared in the year 1714. The subsequent popularity of these publications is amazing. Christine Touaillon, in Der deutsche Frauenroman des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts (1919), comments on their popularity:

Selten hatte ein geistiges Unternehmen so ungeheuren Erfolg wie dieses. Die Frauen greifen die moralischen Wochenschriften begierig auf, unterhalten sich mit ihnen,
Correspondences between the editors of these periodicals and their female subscribers concerning the issues treated in the articles become commonplace. Even appropriate reading lists are compiled which supposedly suit the needs of the female readers.

Letterwriting itself is developed into an art in which women indulge both privately and publicly, and at times the editing of the moralistic journals is left entirely in the hands of women. However, regardless of the advice for self-improvement a woman might extract either from the reception of ideas or through her own contribution to the material contained within these moralistic writings, the principal object of such an acquisition of practical knowledge lies in the positive results which this kind of an education will provide her in the raising of her children. Isolated, some women come to the realization that their own personal well-being and future is at stake as well. One of those women, Frederike Baldinger, states in her "Lebensbeschreibung" that the worst evils to befall women arise from the fact, "dass man seinen Leib für Essen und Trinken zeitlebens an Männer verkauft, die man nicht lieben kann."18

The issues which most directly affect the woman and which demand attention concern her lack of education, the absence of a free choice of marriage partner, dissension within marriage itself,
and the conflicts arising in the raising of children. And within the scope of all the issues noted above, women display a growing concern with the inadequacy of intellectual growth and self-development present in the members of their own sex, with the result that the husband, requiring compensation for a deficient home atmosphere, finds solace in his work and in the outside world, whereas the wife is relegated to the home circle, i.e., to her children, whom she can teach nothing and who indirectly serve only to remind her of her own insufficiencies.

It is a rather narrow sphere of education which a woman can enter. However, at the end of the eighteenth century, the development of a woman's intellectual abilities occupies a position of somewhat greater importance than before, it being recognized that a woman's first duty is to become an educated human being, for without the benefits of such discipline she can never hope to become an acceptable wife and mother. The main goal of her education is still to serve the interests of her husband and the teaching of her offspring, however. A woman's ability to give of herself intellectually as well as physically to her husband, for example, elicits a great deal of praise from such men as Humboldt, who believes that such a woman has raised the potentiality of true womanhood.

Let us examine in detail the case of Dorothea Schlözer, daughter of the Göttingen university professor and publisher August Schlözer. She enjoys the distinction of being the first female graduate of this renowned institution. Her father, August Schlözer, was to
express himself concerning the efficacy of a woman's education:


Dorothea was eventually also to learn Latin and Greek, French, Italian, Dutch, Swedish, English, Spanish and Hebrew—she did not, however, study the literatures of these languages, her father considering such a study a waste of time—and her passion for traveling, inherited from her father, left her far more knowledgeable concerning the world around her than the average girl whose only
sphere remained the home. The study of physics led her eventually
to pursue higher mathematics, and history and later mineralogy
studies were added to her learning experience. August Schlözer
was of the opinion that

...nichts nützen sie für die Zukunft, aber
währenddessen sie dieses für sie unnützes
Zeug lernt, beschäftigt sie sich, und
Beschäftigung sichert ein sechzehn-
jähriges Mädchen vor den Anfechtungen des Teufels.20

At fifteen years of age Dorothea was allowed to decide for
herself whether to concentrate solely on housework or continue with
her studies. She chose to continue the latter, not, it may be
added, with the intention of becoming learned, but solely in order
to possess a more than commonplace literary education enabling her
to provide for a marriage suitable to her wishes. Her studies
were ultimately to lead her to the attainment of a doctor of philoso-
phy degree. This event caused quite a sensation in learned circles,
and Dorothea Schlözer became a celebrity in her country and abroad.
It is crucial to view how her life proceeds after the termination
of her studies, and interesting to read her brothers' reactions
to her new title in a poem they composed for the occasion:

...Glück indes zum Männer-Hute,
Der Dein Mädchen Köpfchen schmückt!
Trag ihn, Dir und uns zu Ehren,
Bei der Freunde lautem Jubel,
Und der Eltern stiller Wonne,
Frei, empor,--doch nicht zu lange--
Bis die Haub' ihn deckt und drückt,
Und ein jüngerer Decanus
Dir statt Lorbern Myrthen pflückt.21
Dorothea did not even attend her own graduation ceremony, believing this to be too presumptuous. Instead, she spent her time in the library watching the proceedings. Everyone commented on and appreciated her naturally unaffected, joyful personality, free of pretension and unobtrusive erudition. Dorothea herself emphasizes that she is also capable of performing housewifely duties. However, she adds that

Weiber sind nicht in der Welt, blos um Männer zu amüsiren. Weiber sind Menschen wie Männer; eines soll das andere glücklich machen. Wer blos amüsirt sein will, ist ein Schlingel, oder verdient nur ein Weib von schönem Gesicht, das er in vier Wochen satt ist. Nun, macht ein Weib einen Mann blos dadurch glücklich, dass sie seine Köchin, Näherin und Spinnerin ist? Ey so wollet, ich mich doch lieber als Köchin, Näherin und Spinnerin vermieten, so könnt' ich ja von dem Teufel, wenn's ein Teufel ist, wieder loskommen. -- Aber meinst Du denn nicht, dass ein Mädchen durch das, was ich lerne, einen Mann wirklich amüsiren könne? Meinst Du, dass ich durch mein Lernen dem Stande, dem ich gewidmet bin, ganz entgehe?"22

She goes on to say that of course she can make no decision in the choice of husband and that when she marries she must give up her studies in order to fulfill her housewifely duties. But she will always retain her ability to speak languages, which will amuse and perchance even aid her husband.

While not totally committed to the importance of women's education during this time, there do exist men (Gottsched, Bodmer, and Gellert among them) who do discern a definite streak of literary talent in their female counterparts. Gellert, for instance, notices that in the domain of letterwriting women are the superiors of men,
in that they employ a much more natural style than men. And it is in this capacity of "letterwriter" that the eighteenth century authoress emerges, heavily influenced by the moralistic novels of Samuel Richardson and his German followers as well as by the German novelist Hermes, whose works are specifically intended for a female audience. They deal with the typically "feminine" subjects of love, marriage, and the family. Touaillon explains the impetus towards female authorship which such "Familienromane" as Hermes created:

Deshalb kann die Leserin nun zum erstenmal in einer Dichtungsgattung selbst mitreden. Der Mann schildert vieles, was sie aus eigener Anschauung kennt: hier kann sie ihn berichten oder ergänzen. Sie empfindet diese Möglichkeiten so stark, dass ihr bald der Genuss, die blosse Aufnahme nicht genügt und dass sich das Bedürfnis in ihr regt, ihre Wünsche und Forderungen, welche jetzt so bequem Raum im Roman finden, künstlerisch zu vertreten.23

A case in point is Sophie la Roche's *Die Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim*, the first part of which appeared in the spring of 1771. Initially the author was believed to have been Wieland, but the revelation of the true author proved Sophie la Roche the first female German novelist to appear before the public, an honor which accorded her great distinction. However, according to Touaillon, it was from Wieland that la Roche gained the courage and determination to bring a full-scale work to fruition.24 Although she was said to have been heavily influenced by Wieland literally, Wieland himself denies such a statement in his critical comments concerning *Geschichte des*
Fräuleins von Sternheim, noting that the difference in their styles of writing consists in the fact that he lets nature triumph over reverie, whereas to Sophie la Roche, "Schwärmerei" inveterately conquers nature.  

The truth of such a statement can be substantiated by a cursory plot summation of la Roche's novel. Sophie von Sternheim, orphaned in her youth, wins the love of a good man, Lord Seymour. However, an envious relative has designs on her, wishing to couple her with a nobleman. Lord Seymour begins to distrust Sophie's virtue, and she in turn loses faith in his love and instead gives herself to an irresponsible cad who calls himself Derby. They are secretly married, or so Sophie thinks until the marriage proves to have only been a trick. Derby leaves her. Sophie departs for England in order to carry out her philanthropic activities, in which she finds her only comfort. Derby has her abducted from England and sent to a poor Scottish family as a prisoner. She narrowly escapes the death which Derby has planned for her, and at the news of her supposed death, Derby is very uncharacteristically plunged into a paroxysm of despair and remorse. The result on his part is a grand confession to both Lord Seymour and his brother Rich, who make their way to her grave to pay their respects. They find her alive, however, Lord Seymour repents of his hastiness in judging Sophie too quickly, and the couple is united in marriage. Rich, who happens to be in love with Sophie as well, nobly relinquishes her to his brother.

The plot development concerns itself basically with the three
stages which the heroine must undergo towards development. Sophie la Roche strongly emphasizes the role which virtue plays in the furthering of the plot of Die Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim. The preservation and subsequent forfeit of Sophie's virtue, however, does not necessarily characterize the progression of any inner development within the heroine. Why? Let us examine the main characters of the novel for the moment. Christine Touaillon makes a statement concerning them: "Sie sollen nicht so sehr unterrichtet und erzogen als durch das Schicksal moralisch und geistig gebildet werden." Sophie is characterized as a modest, cultivated, virtuous young woman whose nature is truthfulness, purity and piety. She possesses a "Gesicht voll Seele" characterized especially by beautiful, soulful eyes. In other words, not only her physical beauty (which according to the book is overwhelming) creates physical desires within such men as the antagonist Derby, but also her inner beauty inspires feelings within Lord Seymour, sentiments which are purer and more permanent than those of Derby, who is nothing but a sensual, unscrupulous, cynical and perverse scoundrel who acknowledges himself to be a kind of Satan figure. Sentimental elements are encountered in the constant desire to freely express one's feelings in letters, tears, glances. Love occurs between man and woman at first sight, but cannot be gratified until the characters have proceeded through great sorrow and tears, since one of the foremost credos of the sentimental novel stipulates that a character undergo development through pain. Reiterated constantly is the depiction of
the effects of sorrow on the physical body and the sickness which emanates from worry or sorrow. The trials which the heroine under-
go, however, constitute the ingredients of what the authoress considers the lesson of life. Suffering, perhaps the greatest privilege, assumes foremost importance in the struggle for inner development.

Touaillon notes that the most important influences on Sophie von la Roche's theory of suffering as the vital impetus towards "Bildung" seem to have been the pietistic teachings found in Arndt's Wahres Christentum, Brocke's Iridisches Vergnügen in Gott, and August Hermann Francke's sermons which demand that the individual who desires to ascertain a true understanding of Christianity must initially experience despair. An ideal life according to pietistic doctrine consists in the patient endurance of all tribulations, in a yearning for a life of peace and friendship towards all mankind, and in the belief that action, specifically social work, is of the greatest importance within Christianity. The conflict within the novel rests on the contrast virtue-vice, as well as on the antagonism between the world (i.e., "society") and the inner nature, the heart of the individual. Common to both Sophie la Roche's and Samuel Richardson's writings is the theory that although a girl may be forced to relinquish her physical innocence through the intrigues of a man, her spiritual purity can remain intact. Common to both authors is the belief that man is the master of his own fate. Through philanthropic acts, the sufferer begins to work out his own salvation. The hero or heroine may wish
to sever themselves from the world in order to nurture their individual
griefs, but according to Sophie la Roche's philosophy as illustrated
in Fräulein von Sternheim, the struggle between heart and mind can be
resolved positively, and Sophie is even allowed to believe in the
possibility of future happiness. She comments:

Und ich! Ich wollte fortfahren über mein
selbstgewebtes Elend zu weinen? Ich habe
vieles verloren, vieles gelitten; aber sollte
ich deswegen das genossene Glück meiner ersten
Jahre vergessen und die Gelegenheit, Gutes
zu thun, mit gleichgültigen Augen zu betrachten,
um mich allein der Empfindung meiner Eigenliebe
to überlassen? 28

Sophie's main interest in her philanthropic work, however, lies al-
most totally in the fact that it keeps her from brooding too extensively
on her own sorrow, thus isolating herself from the world around her.
Her care of others extends to those who are members of her family as
well, not only to strangers.

Another la Roche work which deals with a married woman's relation-
ship to her family and the transferral of her philanthropic, self-
sacrificing spirit to those immediately surrounding her, i.e., the
members of her family and the immediate circle of friends is Rosaliens
Briefe an ihre Freundin Mariane von St., written 1779-1781. This
subject of woman's relationship to her husband and children and the
spirit of self-giving (in absence of a concentration on her own
individual goals and needs) is treated as well by such eighteenth
century authoresses as Helene Unger, Sophie Tresenreuter, Maria Anna
Sagar, Karoline von Wobeser, Benedicte Naubert, and Caroline von
Wolzogen, to name only a few. The problems relating to the family circle are of the greatest importance to these women; the position of the individual in society assumes only secondary consideration. Besides depicting the outward actions of the characters in their works, these authoresses concentrate heavily on the inner "states of soul" of their protagonists as well. Let us examine the work of one of Sophie la Roche's contemporaries, Caroline von Wolzogen's *Agnes von Lilien*, which appeared 1795 (in the same year as Jean Paul's *Hesperus* and Quintus Fixlein and Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*) in the *Horen*. The main theme is one of marriage, the prerequisite of a harmonious life. Touaillon classifies *Agnes von Lilien* as a kind of link between Enlightenment and Romanticism: "Das Leben erscheint ihr nicht mehr als etwas Selbstverständliches und Klares, aber auch nicht als ein Geheimnis, sondern als eine Aufgabe, die in Schönheit gelöst werden muss."29 The story begins with Agnes' mother, a princess who is secretly married to a nobleman. Upon learning that she is wed, Agnes' father banishes the nobleman, who proceeds to wander far and wide disguised as a painter. Agnes' identity becomes a guarded secret; she is declared dead by her grandfather and given up for adoption to Nordheim, a friend to the grandfather. Agnes matures and falls in love with Nordheim's son. Agnes' grandfather, upon learning that she is his granddaughter, has her abducted in order to marry a man named Julius, who is magnanimous enough to free her from this obligation. With the death of Agnes'
grandfather, Nordheim's son and she are free to marry.

In her depiction of Agnes and of womanhood in general, Wolzogen advocates neither the image of the emancipated woman nor that of the subservient one. She does concede that an ignorant, uncultivated woman may prove to be the ruination of an entire family. However, men are partially to be blamed for the pitiable state of ignorance in which women are mired, she suggests, since most men "Stärke an den Weibern nicht zu tragen...vermögen, so suchen sie nur die über alles gepriesene Sanftmut und nehmen sie ohne Untersuchung hin." 30

Her image of the sexes conforms to Schiller's and Humboldt's concept; i.e., the man embodies the drive towards outward action punctuated by struggle, in which the qualities of strength and tenacity are shown to their best advantage, whereas women possess the ability to internalize love, creating an emotion which is at once deep, intense and lasting. Only through the mutual manifestation of love between the two sexes can each individual attain maturation, fulfillment, balance and harmony. Wilhelm von Humboldt comments that Agnes, having experienced true love, dwells "ganz im Odem der Liebe," unable to hate and capable only of sweetness and gentleness towards all mankind. Her love is similar to Sophie von Sternheim's in that it is characterized by neither an overwhelming dependence on reason or upon sentiment, spirituality or physicality. The far more important ideal towards which both sexes must strive in Wolzogen's theory is the humanistic one in which simplicity, clarity, truth, kindness, gentleness, mercy and above all a balance between intellect and senti-
ment become securely ingrained within each individual. Love to Wolzogen is definitely not to be confused with passion; it is on the contrary a deep feeling, not born of egotistic self-gratification, but of a self-giving nature. The same type of love as that between a man and a woman should ideally be transferrable to mankind. The creation of a child from such a union becomes absolutely imperative, in that it symbolizes the harmonic ideal, i.e., the discovery of the mystery of life towards which humanity yearns.

Another contemporary authoress, Charlotte von Kalb, expresses a very similar view towards the position of woman in society as does Caroline von Wolzogen. Kalb contends that a woman functions as the guardian of the good and beautiful within the sphere of the family relationship. The highest honor a woman is capable of attaining, Kalb states, is that of motherhood. A woman cannot belong to herself; she must instead pledge herself primarily to her husband, secondarily to her children, as friend, guide and comforter. In this capacity she will earn the greatest respect. However, that does not mean that Kalb did not recognize that the reality of a woman's existence in her own day left much to be desired. In a letter to Goethe she writes: "Mich dünkt das ganze Leben eines Weibes ist mit nichts erfüllt-als stets den Schutt wegzuräumen-der von den Decken unserer grossen Moralischen, Kirchlichen und Polizey Gebräuche über sie fällt, und sie zu ersticken droht."31 Essentially, hers is a conflict between a desire for receptivity and a need for self-expression, a struggle pitting the yearning to be loved and the dependence upon
another individual for one's own happiness and spiritual welfare against the danger a woman experiences when her independence is forfeited. The inner imbalance which results from such a constant fluctuation results in Charlotte von Kalb's preoccupation with spiritual well-being, which even outweighs a desire for love. Her criterion for a lover is that he lead her to a recognition of her own spiritual equanimity, since it is her belief that she is incapable of coming to that acknowledgment on her own accord. Again, humanity and friendship provide the basis for her love concept.

A theme which pervades the writings of eighteenth century women writers is the problem of the loveless marriage in which there exists no basis for either love or friendship. Sophie von Mereau's *Amanda und Eduard* deals with just that subject. The events depicted are largely autobiographical. Amanda is unhappily married to a man who is egotistical and devoid of sensitivity or kindness. She desperately attempts to ameliorate conditions between herself and her husband, but the attempt is futile. Her husband's opinion of her and indeed of womanhood in general is clearly revealed in the comment

> Vertändle du dein Leben, Amanda, und kümmere dich nicht um ernste Dinge. Wenn ihr nur spiest, seid ihr wenigstens nicht schädlich, wenn ihr ernsthaft sein wolt, seid ihr es immer. Handle du nach Laune und überlass dem Mann nach Vernunft zu handeln.⁹²

Amanda's single consolation is the passionate love she feels towards Eduard. Even his appearance characterizes the inner beauty he possesses: he is endowed with the head of a genius, a forehead
expressing sensitivity and soul, beautiful eyes, fine lips—in short, an expressive face. He finds Amanda delightful as well, for surrounding her there exists a magical sense of deep feeling which attracts both men and women to her. Her effect upon Eduard is startling:
"Die Morgensonne glänzte mit heiligen Strahlen über die Berge, und meine Seele erklöng wie Memons Bildsäule, beim Wiedersehen der Mutter."33 The tenor of their love relationship is carefully established in a statement Eduard had once heard which comes to his mind as he considers the effect Amanda has upon him:

Nichts hindert die Bildung besserer Menschen mehr als Liebeleien. Leidschaften können zerrütten und erheben; die Seele, die sich ganz der Liebe hingeben kann, ist zu jeder Grösse fähig, aber sie werden nur selten empfunden, und kleinlich ist es ihren Schein zu erkünsteln.34

Amanda is totally different from her best friend Nanette, who views men solely in the light of being antidotes to her own boredom to be ruled at her own will, "denn wenn irgend etwas der verständigen Plumpheit der Männer beikommt, so ist es die verständige Ziererei des Weibes."35 For Amanda, however, the emotion of love assumes such a magnitude that she believes that the golden age of humanity has returned, symbolized by the fact that two hearts have become perfectly attuned to each other: "Liebe hält das Flüchtige fest und erneuert das Vergangene."36 Love pervades every facet of her existence and is expressed not in physical demonstrations such as embraces or kisses, but in mutual understanding and complete faith in the sincerity and authenticity of each other's love emotion. The
lovers are parted, however, when Amanda's husband Albret becomes ill and implores Amanda to renounce Eduard. Only through the death of Albret does she become free to pursue her happiness with Eduard.

Within her depiction of Amanda and Eduard, Sophie Mereau conforms to the definition of the sexes as established by both Schiller and Humboldt. A woman, she contends, proceeds in all her actions by intuition; a man, through clear, logical research. All of Amanda's thoughts and actions are therefore not the result of carefully considered reflection, but "der lichte, glückliche Fund eines reinen, unfehlaren Sinns, der die Wahrheit nicht erst durch Dunkel suchen darf, sondern dem sie sich gleich im heitern, schimmernden Lichte zeigt." However, Mereau does employ the figure of Albret to depict how greatly a woman's freedom and worth may be stifled by a man's overevaluation of his own sex and its importance. In Albret, Sophie Mereau explores the type of husband who acts not only as an unnatural tyrant, but as a human being with blatant faults as well. His own exaggerated view of his importance as a member of the male species whittles his female counterpart into a certain mold, "um es in sein System zu passen, und nennt es dann verschroben, wenn es anders ist als er es sich dachte." Mereau bemoans the resultant lack of freedom and the level of inferiority to which a woman is thus automatically relegated: "Wo haben wohl Weiber das Recht, sich unmittelbar des Schuusses der Gesezze freuen zu dürfen? Sind sie nicht fast allenthalben mehr der Willkühr des Mannes unterworfen? Wie
wenig wird noch jetzt auf ihre natürlichen Rechte, auf den ungestörten Genuss ihrer Freiheit und ihrer Kräfte Rücksicht genommen! Werden sie nicht viel mehr bloss geduldet, als geschützt?" 39

Love to Sophie Mereau as well as to the authoresses we have discussed until now, is an emotion which is of the greatest importance to the well-being of a woman. But it is a type of love which can only exist in the presence of freedom. It can be no coincidence that Sophie Mereau admires the French courtesan Ninon de l'Enclos, whose letters she published as well as about whose life she wrote the essay "Kalathiskos," for her spirit which demanded freedom and independence from convention, "weil sie sich ihres eigenen Werths bewusst war, und auf sich selbst mit Sicherheit rechnen konnte." 40 Mereau is aware of the fact that one's first encounter with love is not necessarily a lasting one, and that it is a harmful error in a woman to believe that it is. As much as Amanda attempts to overcome Albret's hardness of heart towards her, thinking that it is only due to some unknown unhappiness, she cannot deny that their love has diminished, if not extinguished altogether. Her need for true love is entirely satisfied when she encounters Eduard, a man to whom she feels true kinship of mind and spirit, again and again stressed as the prerequisites of a genuine love relationship. In the case of Albret and Amanda's marriage, when there occurs a definite lessening of love between man and woman, or at least on the part of one of the parties involved, Sophie Mereau recognizes the dissolution of such a marriage as a definite necessity: "Nichts sollte die Ehe trennen,
als gerade das, was nicht trennt, die unheilbare Verschiedenheit der Gesinnungen."41 Like Friedrich Schlegel, Sophie Mereau contends that the lovers by their own power are capable of upholding their mutual love in a bond which need not necessarily be consecrated by the blessing of a priest or the approval of society:

Was hat der Staat, was haben die Gesetze mit unseren Empfindungen gemein? Können Sie uns dieses... gegenseitige Vertrauen, unter dessen Himmel die zarte Blume ehelicher Liebe allein gedeihen kann, anbefehlen? Ist Beides nicht nach allem Rechte bloss unser Eigentum? Wer darf sich zwischen uns stellen? War unser Vertrag auf Wahrhaftigkeit gegründet, so ist seine Dauer ewig und war es nicht, so ist er nie gewesen."42

B. The Romantic Woman's Theories on Love and Marriage

I. Dorothea Schlegel

The concern for an abiding happiness in love and marriage continues as the all-important theme to the Romantic authoress and woman at the turn of the century. Her demand for fulfillment in these spheres in which her influence is felt most deeply does not, however, mean that she seeks a real "emancipation" of herself as an individual entity as much as she attempts to create an atmosphere conducive to the well-being of her husband and, in turn, of the entire family circle. As a participator of sorts in her husband's creative endeavors, she fulfills socially what she considers her role as a woman: to support her soulmate in his own creative process.

Let us, for example, examine the case of Dorothea Schlegel. Ensconced within the drudgery of her marriage to David Veit, a
marriage based not on love, Dorothea yearned to disentangle herself from the "lumpigen Mittelstrasse" of middle class mentality, represented and personified in her marriage, which, as Franz Deibel states "weder die Bedürfnisse ihres Geistes noch ihres Gefühls befriedigte." Both she and Henriette Herz, he states, sought to satisfy their need for frequent, enriching contact with the intelligentsia of the period in order to further their "Bildung" and expand their minds beyond the confines of bourgeois mentality. In this respect Dorothea Schlegel manifests herself to be a true disciple of the foremost Romantic credo which stipulates that only through the cultivation of the mind and soul can Man attain a meaning for his existence and as a result the union with the Divine. Dorothea's yearning to free herself from the stifling boundaries wastes itself in passive, resigned longing until she meets Friedrich Schlegel, becomes his lover and consequently in December of 1798 breaks ties with David Veit, calling their relationship "unwürdig." Deibel notes her great relief concerning the separation in a letter which she wrote to her friend Brinkmann in February of the year 1799:

Kaum fühle ich mich noch recht--noch bis jetzt
ist mir es wie einer der lange eine grosse
Last getragen, er glaubt sie noch zu fühlen
nachdem er ihrer schon längst entledigt
ist. Jetzt bin ich was ich längst hätte sein
sollen lieber Freund!

and

Aus dem Schiffbruch, der mich von einer langen
Sklaverey befreit, habe ich nichts gerettet,
alas ein sehr kleine revenue, von der ich nur
äusserst sparsam leben kann, vielen guten,
frohen Muth.
Her liaison with Friedrich Schlegel entitles her to a carte blanche reception into and personal acquaintance with the leaders of the early Romantic circle in Jena. Deibel informs the reader that Dorothea became involved in writing due not so much to the influence of the literary circle of which she was a part as to the pressing obligation to improve the economic picture on the homefront by supporting Friedrich financially. But while the economic situation of the Schlegel household provided Dorothea with a chance to engage in the unique, rather uncommon task of sustaining the family monetarily, I do not believe that such conditions in and of themselves merit Deibel's remark that through her literary pursuits Dorothea necessarily fulfilled the Romantic demand for the spiritual emancipation of women, "wenn sie aus der Sphäre bloss häuslicher Wirksamkeit heraustrat und sich gleichberechtigt in die Reihe der romantischen Genossen stellte." Dorothea is under no illusion that she might be a literary genius, and prefers to label herself a kind of "Geselle" or apprentice to Friedrich. Content with that role, she aids him in the translation and copying of his own works. "Ich mache mir nichts aus dem Gedrucktwerten," she states at one time. Each literary contribution she makes is either modestly undersigned with the letter "D," or it is noted that Friedrich Schlegel is the editor thereof. Such is the case with her novel Florentin. Published in 1799, the frontispiece reads "Florentin. Ein Roman herausgegeben von Friedrich Schlegel." In another instance, specifically in a letter which Dorothea writes to Friedrich in 1806, she states her dependence upon
him for love, guidance, and happiness: "Ich suche all mein Denken
dem Deinigen anzupassen und Dich ganz zu verstehen." 48

Her literary contributions extend from approximately 1799 to
1807. In 1799 she contributes a small critique to the Athenäum
concerning the French authoress Mme de Genlis' popular novel Les
voeux téméraires. From this critique the reader is able to construe
what in her opinion does not constitute a literary work of merit.
Indeed, the first sentence of the article succinctly summarizes her
adverse reaction to the overbearing emphasis on the convention of
Richardsonian virtue and Rousseauian sentiment in both the French
and German novels of the time written by such authoresses as the
French Mme de Genlis and the German Sophie la Roche:

Wenn man den Roman der Genlis, les voeux
téméraires in einem Strich gelesen hat,
mit allen ihren Künstlichkeiten und
appretierten Tugenden und Delikatessen:
so sehnt man sich ordentlich mach ein
wenig derber Natürlichkeit und Härte,
wie man sich nach einer Krankheit, in
der man zu Habersuppen verdammt war,
nach irgendeiner Säure sehnt. 49

Her main criticism concerns the total lack of "Witz" to be found
in the novel, the stiffness of description ("Galanterie, aber alles
geschnürt im Reifrocke") 50 and the fact that a character mold (either
virtuous or villainous) is created to which each character, without
deviation, must conform. As to the overwhelming amount of sentimen-
tality permeating the book, Dorothea declares that
Thränenströme durchwässern das ganze Buch auf
eine höchst traurige Art. In dieser Krankenluft
der Verhältnisse athmet die Liebe nur mit grosser
Beängstigung, und verwegen ist in dem Buche
nichts§ so sehr, als dass es sich an die Liebe
wagte.

The year 1800 marks the appearance of another critique by
Dorothea Schlegel in the Athenäum concerning Friedrich von Ramdohr's
"Moralische Erzählungen." In order to support herself and Friedrich
after the break with David Veit, she begins plans for the trans-
lation of the memoirs of a French tragedian, Mademoiselle Clairon
(a task which is, however, never brought to fruition), and she begins
to translate a French novel by Louvet de Couvrays, Les amours du
Chevalier de Faublas, considered to be one of the best novels of the
time. Again, this translation is never completed.52

Following the disintegration of her marriage to David Veit,
Dorothea and Friedrich Schlegel settle down in Jena, where she is
initiated into the intimate circle of Romantics, whose avid intel-
lectual activity she describes in a letter to her friend Rahel von
Varnhagen: "Man geht hier nicht aus, oder man hört von 'Wilhelm
Meister', von der Transcendental-philosophie und von Sylbenmassen
sprechen."53 It is in the atmosphere of this circle that she begins
plans for the writing of her first novel. After all, one of the basic
tenets of Romantic thought was that each person attempting to form or
cultivate himself carried within himself a novel. Having been
prompted by both August and Friedrich Schlegel to write a novel, she
completes the first part of the work in less than one year. She was
to have finished the second part by Easter 1801; however, due to illness and a preoccupation with writing translations and critiques in order to bring in the money which Friedrich was not earning, the second part remained unfinished.\textsuperscript{54} It is interesting to note that in this venture, as well as in the work of translating, she is always prompted by friends, and never by confidence in her own ability to produce anything of worth. In her zeal to support herself and Friedrich financially through her translations, for instance, she writes to Brinkmann in July 1799, asking for material to translate, noting that only through the help of friends will such translations come about, and stipulating that the original be a worthy literary work:

\begin{quote}
Ich habe viel Zeit, wenig Geld, und gute Freunde, die mich in der Arbeit unterstützen, und durch deren Hülfe meine Übersetzung gewiss nicht schlecht werden kann....Ausser im mathematischen und physikalischen Fach mag es übrigens sein was es will, nur freilich nicht wie es will: denn vor der Übersetzung eines schlechten Buchs bekomme ich einen kleinen Schauer.\textsuperscript{55}
\end{quote}

Her purpose in writing Florentin, she modestly declares, is not so much to create a literary work of merit, but rather "was ich thun kann liegt in diesen Gränzen: ihm Ruhe schaffen und selbst in Demuth als Handwerkerin Brod schaffen, bis er es kann.\textsuperscript{56} With this avowed pragmatic purpose in mind, i.e., financial amelioration, it is difficult, if not impossible, to describe Dorothea Schlegel as a "Romantic" in the vein of Schlegel, Schleiermacher, Tieck and Novalis. Indeed, she views popularity as perilous to a woman, who in her
opinion should rather seek happiness in love and under the dominion of a husband.

In essence, Florentin, excepting scattered elements of Romantic undertones in character sketching and setting, is not basically a Romantic work at all. Novels such as Goethe's Wilhelm Meister, Tieck's Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen, Schlegel's Lucinde, Novalis' Heinrich von Ofterdingen, Brentano's Godwi influenced the writing of Florentin, although by far the most imitated model was Wilhelm Meister.

Florentin's contribution admittedly does not lie in proclaiming the Romantic credo, although we will examine the influences of such works as Lucinde and Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen. Superficially, Romantic elements arise in the story in the form of descriptions of scenery which are reminiscent of scenes in Tieck's Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen. Conventional nature descriptions mainly serve to provide a setting, a backdrop for the mood of the characters at hand. Florentin himself strikes a rather Romantic pose as a kind of driven wanderer figure, à puppet questioning the value of life a William Lovell:

War mir doch mit allem bunten Spielzeug schon längst Hoffnung und Erwartung entflogen... Nährisch genug wäre es, wenn mich dieser Weg auch endlich an den rechten Ort führte, wie alles Leben zum unvermeidlichen Ziel.58

Like Julius in Lucinde and Sternbald in Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen, Florentin is an artist; like Julius he seeks something shadowy, unknown—a goal and a reason for living. The first part of the book
deals mainly with the events which occur when Florentin stays as a guest in the castle of a nobleman he has rescued from a fatal accident. Here he meets and perhaps falls in love with the nobleman's daughter Juliane, who is, however, engaged to Florentin's noble friend Eduard. Due to his possible feelings of love for Juliane (I say "possible" because in my mind his feelings for her are never made entirely clear) and a sense of foreboding which cannot be explained he leaves Juliane's house before her marriage to Eduard and journeys forth to find the castle of the girl's aunt Clementine, whom the reader can strongly suspect of being Florentin's mother, although that supposition is never actually proven as the first part of the fragmentary novel ends, heavily veiled in mystery. Her intention, Dorothea explains, is "eine einfache Geschichte grade weg zu erzählen" without creating a psychological novel "in dem Konfessionston." 59

The first part of Florentin is divided into two distinct story lines bound together solely by the shadowy figure of Clementine, whom the reader only briefly meets at the end of the fragment as she attends the performance of her own requiem. The link between Florentin and Clementine is Juliane, the daughter of the nobleman Florentin had saved, Graf Schwarzenberg. Christine Touaillon, in her work Der deutsche Frauenroman des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, makes a very valid assessment of the disjointedness of this fragmentary novel in general and of the main character, Florentin, in particular, when she points out that between the actions, the character and the
environment of Florentin there exist deep and unbridgeable abysses.  

Superficially Romantic, he appears to us as the vagabond, the puppet
image of William Lovell, Franz Sternbald and Julius—a driven wanderer
cursed by a restlessness which from his earliest years has led him
from one adventure to another. However, in his yearning for peace he
cries out for a beloved, as yet unseen woman:

...noch hat mein Auge sie nicht gesehen, aber
ich kenne sie,...o sie wird alles verlassen
was sie halten will, und hat sie mich gefunden, mir
hierher folgen, und hier mit mir der Liebe leben.
Lass dich in meine Arme fassen! komm, ruhe hier
aus an diesem Herzen, das harte Schläge des Schicksals
erlitten hat wie deines; lass mich deine
Tränen trocknen, blick um dich! Was du verliessest,
war nicht die Welt: Fesseln, enge Mauern, nanntest
du das die freie schöne Welt?...Schwer hast du
geträumt, o erwache, erkenne hier was du suchtest!...

This passage is interesting in that it most unromantically denies
the credo of woman as a harmonic entity unto herself, classifying her
as a fellow being equally as driven and in need of solace, pro-
tection, warmth and love as the man. The reader finds in Florentin's
words a desire to return to nature ("Ihm war, besonders in der
Einsamkeit und im Freien, als hätte er alles, was ihm jemals weh
getan, zurückgelassen").  

A few pages later, however, Florentin ex-
presses his yearning to render his services to the revolutionary forces
in America in order to eventually witness the birth of an independent
nation, a concrete wish which, clearly expressed, hardly seems plausi-
ble from a man who had only just wished to completely cut himself off
from the world and retreat into a pastoral idyll with some imaginary
beloved.

And so we continue to be subjected to both Romantic and Enlightenment elements within the story. Indeed, the account which Florentin gives of his youth is not at all Romantic in tone, but, as Karin Thornton points out, is firmly rooted in the tradition of the Enlightenment and the teachings of Dorothea's philosopher father Moses Mendelssohn, exponent of the Enlightenment "Popularphilosophie."63 Dorothea goes out of her way to describe Florentin's religious tutors' intolerance and advocacy of narrow religious dogma which seeks to stifle all personal religious convictions within the young man. They succeed only in instilling within Florentin a fear of God: "Jeden Morgen beim Erwachen fiel mir das Kruzifix in die Augen, auf das oft ein solcher blasser Strahl schräg hinfiel und es so schauderhaft erleuchtete, dass ich davor zurückbebe."64

Much of the fragmentary novel Florentin is devoted to the description and contrast between the "perfect" and the "imperfect" household, Florentin's versus Juliane's family. The polarity established between Florentin's unhappy family life and the joyfulness, mutual love and understanding to be found in the count's household is great indeed: "Hier zum erstenmal bemerkte Florentin die wahre innige Liebe der Kinder zu den Eltern, und die Achtung der Eltern für die Rechte ihrer Kinder."65 The contrast is most well-defined when we observe the female heads of both households, Juliane's mother Eleonore and Florentin's mother, that unnamed, unknown figure whose identity is
never actually substantiated. Whereas the first insight the reader gains concerning Eleonore in a comment made by her husband is an extremely favorable one, in which she is characterized by gentleness, serenity and kindness towards all living things ("Meine Gemahlin hat durch diese Hecke einen Teil des Waldes als Park erklärt, oder zur Freistatt für die Hirsche und Rehe, die vom Jäger verfolgt, sich hierher retten; denn hier darf weder der Huf eines Pferdes, noch das Anschlagen der Hunde oder ein Schuss gehört werden"), Florentin's mother stifles the freedom of both her son and daughter by consigning them to the instruction of a strict, dogmatic, unlikeable cleric who forcefully keeps them caged to the confines of their rooms poring over disinteresting, dry lessons. Florentin's sister becomes a creature of wordless submission in the process, while within Florentin is born an intense hatred towards orthodox Christianity. Juliane's mother Eleonore is characterized as a woman whose every feature embodies gentleness, motherly love and bountiful goodness. Although Eleonore's role is described as a stereotyped one by her husband ("Eigentlich leben wir wie unsre deutschen Väter: den Mann beschäftigt der Krieg, und in Friedenszeiten die Jagd, der Frau gehört das Haus und die innere Ökonomie"), her influence seems at one time to have extended beyond the confines of the home, in that in the past she followed her husband into the field of battle because she loved him too much to be separated from him. Her husband in turn has occupied himself with the concerns of the home as well as with his own occupations of war and hunt. A closeness in their relationship
and an ability to retain their respective masculine and feminine identities more or less gracefully while at the same time concerning themselves to a certain extent with each other's interests characterizes their "ideal" marriage.

Franz Deibel compares Eleonore to Therese in Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, both being practical women who control the operation of the estate with a firm hand, constantly attuned to possible improvements such as ameliorating the lot of the peasants.\(^6^8\) Eleonore is the ideal representative of the woman treated as an individual of equal importance as the man, and in the interchange of masculine and feminine role characteristics which she and her husband undergo, a definite connection to Friedrich Schlegel's and Schleiermacher's system of ethics is established, in which the cardinal stipulation is that love exist for love's sake alone. Like Schlegel, Dorothea believed that the physical side of the love relationship cannot be ignored. Both Juliane's mother Eleonore and the saintly aunt Clementine are examples of women who do not seek to deny the aspect of sensuality in their love relationships. In fact, Eleonore once comments that she owes her virtue to luck alone. Clementine herself expresses a tolerance towards the physical expression of love, "die wahre Ehrfurcht, die zarteste Scheu für die Sinnes-Freyheit andrer Personen."\(^6^9\) Eleonore's marriage, striking a delicate balance between spiritual understanding and sexual compatibility, can be viewed as an embodiment of what early Romantics considered an "echte Ehe." But hers is the only marriage in the novel which is destined to continue to be a compatible
one. Juliane's marriage to her fiancé Eduard seems doomed from the start, although their relationship seems innocent enough at the start. Dorothea, however, soon informs the reader that the lovers, awaiting their wedding day, face the impending ceremony with two sets of entirely different and not necessarily compatible emotions. Eduard can hardly await the day when Juliane, a valuable treasure which he feverishly desires to possess, is totally his:

\[\text{er träumte nichts als den Augenblick, sich im ungeteilten ungestörten Besitz der schönen Geliebten zu sehen; seine Phantasie lebte nur in jenem so ersehnten Moment, alles Leben bis dahin würdigte er nur als Annäherung zu jener Zeit, wie der Gefangene, der der bestimmten Befreiung entgegensieht.}\]

But the nature of his love and the reason for his haste, "Julianen ganz die Seinige zu nennen" is poignantly and succinctly revealed in the phrase "er liebte sie mit der ungestümen Heftigkeit des Jünglings." Although he seems to be aware of her spiritual qualities ("Ach, wenn du ihre Seele kenntest, so weich! zugleich voller Kraft und Liebe, ihren Charakter, die herrlichen Anlagen!")\(^7\) her physical attributes and innocent, yet calculated coquetry are even more sharply accentuated, and it is these qualities which are stressed repeatedly. Juliane is described as one of those unusual beauties whose features bespeak her soul. Florentin calls her "unwiderstehlich anziehend und liebenswürdig."\(^7\) Like Mathilde in Heinrich von Ofterdingen, Juliane is a delicate half-child, half-woman. Dorothea, like Novalis, concentrates on the blue veins in Juliane's hand (similar to the veins at Mathilde's temples) and on
her beautiful blue eyes,

die bald voll Seele und frohem Leben blitzten,
bald tränenschwer, wie taubenetzte Veilchen
sich unter die langen seidnen Wimpern senkten,
bald mit kindischer Unbefangenheit vertrauend
in ein anders schauten, bald mit grosser, beinahe
mit zurückschreckender Hoheit um sich her schauen
konnten.74

Besides delicacy, Juliane at the same time exhibits resolve and a
penchant towards mischievousness, whereas Mathilde is almost immediately
recognizable as an otherworldly being. Juliane bears a certain
resemblance to Friedrich Schlegel's Lucinde. Although she does not
possess the sexual maturity of Lucinde in full bloom, metaphorically
she does resemble a bud awaiting love in order to burst into flower.

Florentin notices this characteristic:

Auffallend war es ihm, wie ihr Bau und ihre Reize
bei der beinahe noch kindlichen Jugend doch schon
so vollkommen aufgeblüht prangten; dieses Wunder
glich einem Werk der Liebe, an deren Hauch sich
diese junge Knospe eben zu entfalten schien.75

Juliane, however, approaches her forthcoming marriage to Eduard with
completely different sentiments than her fiancé, who, as we have pointed
out, anxiously desires to possess her, body as well as soul. She is
unable to comprehend his impatience, and the comment is made that
she loves him "mit aller Innigkeit ihres reinen Herzens."76 It has
become a matter of course to accept him as her eventual husband; she
has never met anyone "liebenswürdiger,"77 and the question of another
man taking his place has never occurred to her. However, she does feel
a slight trepidation towards the marriage itself, a "bängliche
Ahndung"78 of what awaits her on the wedding night. To a girl of correct
upbringing, it is implied, such shyness and coyness is only natural. Juliane's greatest wish is that everything might remain as it is. Florentin describes her as "schön, reizend, liebenswürdig." Despite an inclination towards coquetry and artifice, there is no denying a natural depth of feeling and spirit within her makeup. It is to her spirit and not to the outward mask which she presents to society that Florentin directs himself. Juliane, realizing this, ultimately comes to respect and prefer his approval of her actions to all the accolades of her other acquaintances. She chides Eduard for not having pointed out the fault of conceitedness within her: "Und jetzt merken Sie erst, dass ich besser sein könnte! ich kann mich wenig auf Ihre Erziehungskunst verlassen." Eduard, however, has never considered love as a kind of "Bildungsprozess." He, as a lover, knows only how to love, not to cultivate the good qualities of the beloved in order to aid in the creation of an improved individual. As latent sensuality disguised in the form of reverential adoration, Eduard's basis for love is a very narrow one. The reader must remember that the Romantic feminine ideal is the woman who stands by her husband as a friend and companion as well as a lover. Juliane in a letter to Clementine reminds her of a statement she had once made: "Einst sagten Sie mir: das schönste Glück auf Erden für eine Frau wäre, wenn der Gatte zugleich ihr Freund sey." Florentin himself yearns for a woman to love him, but this love should be synonymous with her belief in him, i.e., each partner should ideally be capable
of recognizing the other's individuality and ability to reach fulfillment of his or her potentiality. Adoration alone cannot constitute the basis for a lasting relationship. For that reason, Juliane seems rather unconcerned about her forthcoming marriage to Eduard. Whereas Eduard only admires her, Florentin seeks to bring to light that aspect of her character which sets her apart from other human beings: the depth of her soul.

However, it cannot be said that Florentin is not aware of her physical attractiveness as well. From the first time he encounters her, he is incapable of deciding whether his feelings for Juliane exist within the boundaries of friendship or whether they extend into a sentiment of love. Friedrich Schlegel had considered friendship between man and woman impossible, and, as Franz Deibel points out in his article "Dorothea Schlegel als Schriftstellerin im Zusammenhang mit der romantischen Schule," the authoress is also aware of Florentin's ambivalence towards his capability to retain strictly "platonic" feelings for Juliane. Eduard, not insensitive to the possibility that Florentin might be a rival for his fiancé's affections, naively believes that his rising passion will resolve itself into "das reinste Freundschaftsgefühl," although Florentin does not have that assurance within himself. Franz Deibel notes that although Friedrich Schlegel attacked Jacobi's novel Waldemar, it served in one respect as a model for both Lucinde and Dorothea Schlegel's Florentin: in the treatment of the attempted marriage à trois. It is not difficult to understand why this facet of Jacobi's writing particularly interested
these Romantic authors.

Jacobi's characters manifest their spiritual condition in the manner in which they approach friendship and love relationships. Woldemar has cultivated his temperament to such an extreme that spiritual friendship never descends into the passion which exists in the love relationship. Henriette makes no further demands on him than those which friendship require, and this communion of souls Woldemar considers a gradation, an improvement upon the concept of love (i.e., physical passion) with which he and his wife are content. Woldemar establishes a kind of spiritual bigamy in his "marriage" to the two women. One marriage is spiritual, and the other is physical and legal in the eyes of society. His triadic relationship becomes one in which love comes to denote sympathy, not erotic passion.85

Dorothea, before her marriage to Friedrich, had belonged to a "Tugendbund" whose members included Henriette Herz and Wilhelm von Humboldt. Members of the "Tugendbund" had enjoyed each other's company on a first name basis, revelling in an exaggerated cult of almost saccharine, overly sentimentalized demonstration of friendship. Deibel notes that here Dorothea found an outlet for feelings which were stifled "in der nüchternen Ehe" to Simon Veit. It is this sentimentality which is at first revered but ultimately discarded as unfeasible by Dorothea in Florentin.86 Florentin comments the night following his first introduction to Juliane: "Wie ein Frühlingsmorgen erschienst du mir, reizendes Geschöpf, und dein Anblick erfüllte meine Brust mit Ahndung und Freude. Nur Barbaren
können Gefühllos bleiben bei solcher Schönheit! Eure Verabredungen
sollten mich nicht hindern,...auch nicht der unschuldige Bräutigam,...
und am Ende?...Betrüge dich nicht Florentin!"87

An even more definite influence on Florentin is Goethe's
novel Wilhelm Meister, and it is Dorothea Schlegel's great attention
to and imitation of its philosophy to which we must refer in order to
understand how she overcomes the rather unrealistic view of love
proposed by Jacobi in Woldemar and by the spirit of the "Tugendbund"
to which she belonged before meeting Friedrich Schlegel. Christine
Touaillon points out that during the writing of Florentin a copy of
Wilhelm Meister was a constant source of consultation, and that
members of the Romantic circle referred her again and again to the
novel. Pointing out similar plot elements common to Wilhelm Meister
and Florentin, Touaillon mentions the heroes' search for the develop-
ment of their respective personalities and the subsequent result
through the influence of the love relationships which form the
impetus for Wilhelm's and Florentin's "Bildung."88 To Friedrich
Schlegel, the cultivation towards a higher standard in the art of
living is the most important theme depicted in Wilhelm Meister.
Life to Florentin bears comparison to an art work, and it becomes im-
portant to him that every vestige of youth and strength be employed
to bring this art work to its most flawless finish, so to speak.
Goethe's Wilhelm, Schlegel's Julius and Dorothea Schlegel's
Florentin all undergo a process of "Bildung." But whereas Wilhelm
is finally integrated into society as a useful, contributing member
thereof, Julius, although he completes his private process of self-improvement, remains isolated from meaningful contact with society, preferring instead to retire to a farm with his beloved Lucinde. Florentin, however, the reader distinctly surmises from the fragmentary story, realizes that he is miserable outside the fellowship of human beings, yet unable to endure the company of the world which to him represents "Fesseln, enge Mauern." Deibel points out that for Wilhelm, Florentin and Julius, the cultivation of the individual becomes the focal point. However, only Julius' "Bildung" adheres to the Fichtean premise that an individual must liberate himself from the strictures of convention, authority (i.e., society) in order to devote himself to the life-giving principle of concentrating on and recognizing his own individuality and worth through the process of "Bildung." Florentin states: "Wie werden vom schweren Geschütz der Konventionen Deine zarten Freuden zertrümmert, göttliche Liebe!" Deibel remarks that between the world of Goethe's Wilhelm Meister and that of the Romantics' novels such as Lucinde and Florentin there exists a chasm which may be construed as the antithesis between Goethe's world of the practical and the Romantics' dreamlike creation, or, as Novalis expressed it, between poetry and prose. Such a statement may hold true to express the basically Enlightenment message of Wilhelm Meister as opposed to the Romantic one of Lucinde, but it cannot hold true in relation to Dorothea Schlegel's Florentin, which, in spite of its Romantic elements, is basically an Enlightenment work.
Dorothea herself felt an ambivalence towards Wilhelm Meister. On the one hand, many of the secondary characters of Florentin, especially the women, are reminiscent of characters in Wilhelm Meister. Eleonore and her husband the count resemble Therese and Lothario; the Roman model is another Philine, and above all, Clementine emanates from the character Natalie, the "schöne Seele" of Wilhelm Meister. Yet at the same time Dorothea confesses in a diary entry written during her stay in Jena:

Für mich ist 'der Meister' ein Buch, das ich verehre, studiere, immer wieder und wieder lese, das aber meiner innersten Natur so grade entgegen ist, dass ich wohl sagen muss: Ich verstehe es nicht.

This ambivalence between recognition of the importance of a man integrating himself into society as a useful member and the Romantic tenet that man retain his individuality in the midst of a society which would crush him serves, I believe, as a principal explanation for the fragmentary nature of this work. However, there exists within Florentin a definite tendency towards a greater realism in the important subject of the hero's "Bildung" through the means of a woman than that found within works such as Schlegel's Lucinde, Brentano's Godwi, Tieck's Franz Sternbald or Novalis' Heinrich von Ofterdingen.

There is one token "Romantic" love vignette in the style of Tieck of which Florentin speaks in the narrative concerning his travels in Venice, in which in the dreamy setting of a flower-scented night
of gondolas and music Florentin encounters "eine schöne junge Frau, im leichtesten zierlichsten Gewande, die schwarzen Haare oben auf dem Kopfe zusammengeknüpft,... in ihrem Arm ruhte die Gitarre, die sie mit vieler Anmut spielte." Her body movement, the manner in which she peels an orange, and her ability to play the guitar constitute the grounds for a momentary infatuation and confession of love which culminates in Florentin's wish to spend the night with the lady. In the dark, however, the fantasy land created by Florentin's lively imagination fades and he commits the unpardonable sin of falling asleep in the company of the woman whose favors he had begged not an hour before. Again Dorothea stresses that the danger of over-romanticising the concept "love" is as dangerous as that of attempting to approach the subject of "Bildung," of life in general without order or plan. Florentin remains frustrated at the constant inconclusiveness of his own action, yet he also realizes that he is largely responsible for his own indecisiveness. His final attempt to find happiness within the center of Graf Schwarzenberg's family can be viewed as a desperate manner of justifying his existence in the eyes of society as well as in his own. Florentin's own fantasies, he realizes, cannot constitute reality. For that reason his stay with Juliane and Eduard breaks off so abruptly, although Eduard, who realizes that his friend is in love with his fiancé, believes Florentin is capable of mastering his passion. Florentin replies: "Wahr ist es, Julianens Schönheit überraschte mich: sie ist ein anmutiges Wesen, mit immer neuen, immer lieblichen Bildern erfüllt ihre holde
Gestalt die Phantasie, however, unfeasible economically and socially the marriage would be:


It is a feeling of class-consciousness, economic inferiority which strikes the reader as a rather staunchly eighteenth century idea in a circle whose members violently protested against marriages concluded on the grounds of equal socio-economic conditions instead of being firmly rooted in the basis of love, which meant plumbing the far more intangibly difficult balance of flesh and spirit in order to establish a delicate harmony in which the definition of the word "love" could enjoy more than the most superficial of meanings relegating "love" to the level of duty. Juliane appears to have gained an insight into the true nature of love and the awesome responsibility of retaining that love throughout a marriage:

The need for such a question strikes at the heart of the triangular love relationship Eduard-Juliane-Florentin and foreshadows the ambiguity, the uncertainty of a happy marriage between Eduard and Juliane. Juliane expresses the nature of the problem very succinctly when she comments on the origin of Eduard's melancholy and uneasiness before their marriage: "...ich liebe ihn nicht so, wie er hoffte, von mir geliebt zu werden." Although Eduard has no real cause for jealousy towards Juliane's relationship with his friend Florentin, there is no doubt that, of the two young men, the latter much more fully understands her psyche, her makeup—in other words, her innermost being. Although such a relationship does not necessarily contain within it the elements of a physical relationship, it bears the traits of a much stronger union than the Juliane-Eduard marriage, based on blind adoration and a repressed yearning for physical union on his part and an uncertain, vacillating attitude on Juliane's part that is grounded only on the hope that all might right itself after the ceremony and the festivities of the nuptials have ended.

Florentin becomes as essential to the "blessing" of Juliane's marriage as does her aunt Clementine. Juliane admiringly says of Florentin:

Ich musste voll staunender Achtung vor ihm stehen, denn so tiefe Blicke in mein Inneres hat niemand noch, ausser Ihnen (Clementine) getan;...Er hat mich aus den tiefsten Winkeln meines Herzens, da wo ich selbst nicht hinzudringen wagte, herausgefunden."
With Clementine's absence and Florentin's disappearance before the marriage ceremony, a sense of the ultimate unhappiness of the Juliane-Eduard union besets the novel, in which neither the main or the subsidiary plot developments are brought to a satisfactory or conclusive ending. Juliane, only vaguely aware of the meaning of the concept "marriage" or the self-knowledge which must constitute her maturity in entering into such an unknown, foreign relationship, proves as immature a subject for marriage as Eduard. Clementine thinks of her: "sie fängt kaum an, sich selbst zu erkennen, sie wird aus einem Kinde zur Gattin, und wird gewiss einst auf die übersprungene Stufe ihres Lebens mit Wehmut zurücksehen." However, such an immaturity present in a young girl inexperienced in the matters of love may prove dangerous in that she might very well allow passion to rule over reason. At least Eleonore implies that this element of passion constituted the peril to her own self-knowledge as well as to her correct understanding of the nature of love. Eleonore comments on the happy outcome of a rather unsteady beginning in her introduction to love:

> Was anders bewahrte sie vor jeder Gefahr, die aus ihrem Innern drohte, als die Zufriedenheit mit ihrem Lose, die sie an den Pforten der Selbsterkenntnis empfing; als die ruhige Liebe in ihrem Herzen; als der Gatte, die Schwester, die Kinder! Ihr kostbaren Reichtümer! Meinem Glück verdanke ich meine Tugend!102

The conflict between Clementine's skepticism towards and Eleonore's support of a marriage which may or may not be grounded on a true understanding of the kind of love on which such a commitment is based
upon is essentially, I believe, the conflict in Dorothea's mind between the Enlightenment and Romantic conceptions of love. Although both Clementine and Eleonore are in accord as to the importance of friendship in the love relationship, they are at variance concerning the priorities towards the establishment of a successful marriage. Eleonore believes that passion predominates in a man-woman relationship unsanctified by marriage, and that only through the sanctification of a couple through marriage and children is passion suppressed and friendship, a much more permanent basis for love, established. Friendship therefore supplants passion as the key ingredient to a successful marriage. Eleonore is therefore very anxious to initiate an action which will eliminate the perils and vicissitudes present outside the marriage relationship. Clementine, however, seems to believe it to be an error to enter into a marriage as an uninitiated child devoid of self-knowledge, of "Bildung." Though both women appear to agree that friendship in marriage is essential, Clementine stresses that the principal consideration a woman must face before she commits her body and soul to a love relationship is the surety, the security that she possesses the self-awareness and self-knowledge to maturely consider her husband and herself in the light of both friend and lover. And this problem of self-awareness does not plague Juliane alone; it extends as well to Eduard and Florentin. In Clementine's vocabulary, Dorothea labels the term "Selbsterkenntnis," essentially it possesses the same meaning as Friedrich Schlegel's concept of "Bildung."
Eleonore, however, has possessed the chance to test her theories concerning marriage and love in the realm of practical application, whereas Clementine, whom the reader encounters only as an unmarried woman (although there does exist the possibility that she might have been Florentin's mother) has come to self-knowledge without the benefit (or hindrance) of a relationship with a man either as friend or lover. Her emphasis on the knowledge of "self" becomes particularly evident in the case of Clementine's coquettish maid Betty and her jealous fiancé Walter. Florentin wonders why Clementine would permit a union which will only result in unhappiness and degradation for Betty, who in a moment of passion had given herself to a man to whom, for some inexplicable reason, be it "wachsende Treue eines unverdorbenen Herzens," "Reue," or "Stolz," she feels pledged and obligated.\(^\text{104}\) Clementine, Florentin believes, should take matters into her own hands, "sich dem Vorurteile mit Macht entgegenzusetzen."\(^\text{105}\) However, the doctor with whom Florentin is conversing on the subject comments that

\[\text{Clementine gehört zu den seltnen Seelen, die wahre Ehrfurcht, die zarteste Scheu für die Sinnesfreiheit anderer Personen hegen. Diese, in sich und in den sie Umgebenden, nie zu verletzen und auf das höchste auszubilden, ist ihr grösstes Bestreben. Nie hat sie aber jemand durch Autorität zum Bessern zwingen versucht. Sie hat nicht versäumt, Betty das Elend vorzustellen, dem sie entgegengeht; da diese aber fest ist in ihrem Glauben: Walter liebe sie, die Liebe würde ihn ausbilden, und einer liebenden Geliebten sei alles möglich, so erlaubt sie sich weiter keinen Schritt dagegen zu tun, weder offen noch heimlich;}\]
ausser dass sie die Vermählung noch lange
aufgeschoben hat, damit sie Zeit habe, ihren
Irrtum gewahr zu werden. 

Her absence from Juliane's marriage serves to heighten the uncertainty and hesitancy concerning the wisdom of such an important action. It almost seems as if Eleonore in her letter to Clementine must somehow justify the forthcoming wedding ceremony. Without Clementine's blessing, an ominous future to the Eduard-Juliane relationship becomes a looming prediction whose outcome can be rather accurately guessed by the reader. Eleonore comments in her letter to Clementine:

Wie? Juliane wird zum Altar geführt, und Du bist nicht bei ihr? Wie magst Du es nur verantworten?... Denkst Du nicht daran, wie notwendig Du auch hier bist? Wer unter uns soll wohl Julianen das Beispiel der Sammlung und Frömmigkeit geben, das sie von ihrer Tante erhalten würde! Es werden viele gedankenlos um sie stehen, und sie wird umsonst die Augen suchen, an deren frommer Andacht sie sonst gewohnt war, die ihrlgen zum Himmel zu erheben! Wird nun nicht die wichtigste Angelegenheit ihres Lebens fast leichtsinnig vollendet werden?

Her one consolation re-echoes Juliane's conviction that all will be well once the marriage ceremony has united Juliane and Eduard:

Es fehlt ihm vielleicht nichts weiter, als die bestimmende Vereinigung mit der Geliebten, um ihn ganz festzuhalten...Lass uns nur nicht weiter mit unserer Vorsorge dringen wollen! Unsre Hoffnung ist, sie dauernd glücklich zu sehen. Doch wer enthüllt uns die Zukunft? Dürfen wir uns erlauben, Böses zu verüben, um ein künftiges Gut zu sichern? Das wäre ja sogar gegen Deinen eigenen Grundsatz.

In Juliane's aunt Clementine, Deibel notes, Dorothea created a figure which can be traced back to Goethe's Wilhelm Meister, i.e. the character of the "schöne Seele." Indeed, Florentin himself
enjoys the benefit of her influence as well. Sickly, Clementine experiences comfort and strength in religion and music. However, Deibel notes, unlike the "schöne Seele," who is primarily concerned with her own heart and feelings, Clementine also resembles Goethe's figure Natalie in her emphasis on philanthropy. Hers is a very unobtrusive type of charity, aiding the poor (especially their children) and the sick. Upon viewing the small utopia Clementine has created around her, Florentin asks a very important question and is given an equally interesting answer to the implied query of why she has concerned herself with those less fortunate than herself: "Hat Clementine nie geliebt?" The doctor assisting Clementine in her philanthropic work answers:

Ich weiss nichts Eigentliches von ihrer Geschichte, auch weiss diese wohl niemand als Eleonore; jetzt spricht sie nie darüber. Was könnte es aber anders sein, das eine so fromme Seele beugt und erhebt, als Leiden der Liebe? So wie es nur durch die Liebe allein möglich ist, die zweckmässigste Wohltätigkeit im schönsten Sinn zu verbreiten.

The comment implies that when a woman has been denied the benefit of love towards husband and children, she must seek her consolation elsewhere, most commonly in philanthropic deeds. Florentin, however, believes that only from a loving heart can deeds of comfort and kindness proceed:

Die Frauen verstehen auch am besten die Bedürfnisse einer schwachen Natur; der Mann würde die Schwächheit lieber vertilgen von der Erde, als sie in Leiden unterstützen....Immer werden diese (fromme Stiftungen von ungünstlichen Männern errichtet) das Gepräge des wilden, herben Schmerzes tragen, werden eigentlich
mehr für Büssende als für Leidende taugen. Erinnern Sie sich des Männens, der den strengsten aller Orden gestiftet! Auf dem Gipfel der Hoffnung seiner glühenden Liebe von einem vernichtenden Schlage getroffen, indem er die Geliebte tot unter den Händen der Wundärzte antraf,...verbannt er sich auf immer aus der menschlichen Gesellschaft, und bildet eine um sich her, wo aus keinem Munde je ein anderes Wort erschallt, als die beständige Erinnerung des Todes. Eine Frau an seiner Stelle würde eine milde Stiftung errichtet haben. 112

The caritas love which Clementine bears towards mankind appears to be much more universal and all-inclusive than the love which she might feel for only one man. However, there is a definite impression on the part of the reader that this type of love serves as a rather incomplete substitute for the mutual love and understanding which man and wife should ideally enjoy. It is emphasized, though, that a woman must "grow" towards a true comprehension of love. Although love plays an important enough role in the forming of the individual in Florentin as well as in Goethe's Wilhelm Meister and in Friedrich Schlegel's Lucinde, the emphasis in Florentin is as much and more on the "Bildung" of the female figures Juliane and Betty as on the the principal male figures Florentin and Eduard. Both women are mere inexperienced, coquettish young girls for whom the concept "love" has not acquired substantial meaning. Julius' development in Schlegel's Lucinde is marked by the women he loves, culminating in his discovery of Lucinde. Friedrich Schleiermacher had noted in his "Monologen" that there exists no development within an individual without the benefit of the love element ("Keine Bildung ohne Liebe"). 113 Florentin himself
proceeds through the gamut of several light love affairs which are of no consequence or permanence, reiterating Schleiermacher's emphasis on the "Hirngespinst von der Heiligkeit einer ersten Empfindung" in his "Vertraute Briefe über Friedrich Schlegel's 'Lucinde'." "Auch in der Liebe muss es vorläufige Versuche geben, aus denen nichts Bleibendes entsteht." Like Julius, Florentin desperately seeks permanence in love:

Einen Gegenstand der Liebe aber, die mir bis jetzt nur unbelohnt, aber tief im Herzen lebt, wo würde ich den wohl finden? Er existiert irgendwo, das weiß ich, von dieser frohen Ahndung werde ich im Leben festgehalten.\textsuperscript{115}

However, unlike Franz Deibel's emphasis on love as the key factor in the development of Dorothea Schlegel's principal character Florentin,\textsuperscript{116} I would like to suggest that her primary insistence is rather on the self-knowledge, self-development and self-improvement which must occur within the characters prior to their comprehension of the nature of love. As the Romantic tenet stipulates, the man and the woman entering into a marriage must view each other in the light of both friend and lover. Also, ideally, the Romantics strongly believe in union without sacrifice of mutual individuality. And yet, as I have attempted to point out in the first chapter of this work, the individuality of the woman must suffer in a relationship in which only the man is depicted as in need of "Bildung," which he must receive through the love of a woman who must be capable of suppressing her own needs of self-improvement and self-knowledge in the more important
task of recognizing those needs within her husband. Julius and Florentin are alike in that they both seek to possess self-knowledge through the all-important process of "Bildung." The difference, however, lies in the fact that Julius' development is not as much due to his own efforts as to his dependence on the wholeness and perfection which Lucinde represents to lead him to self-realization. Florentin, on the other hand, encounters a half-girl, half-woman figure in Juliane, for whom his feelings, wavering between friendship and love, are as ambivalent as the sentiments she bears towards him. The Fichtean concept of the development of the individual as the center of existence extends, however, beyond the masculine character Florentin in this novel and includes his feminine counterpart Juliane as well.

This concentration on feminine self-realization, not necessarily through the betterment of her education, becomes the cardinal theme of both the literary output and the personal correspondence of the feminine Romantics.

II. Caroline Schlegel

Margarete Susman in her work Frauen der Romantik (1923) calls Caroline "die geschichtliche Frau der Romantik...Geschichtlich in dem Sinne, dass in ihr das in jenem Augenblick ins Bewusstsein tretende Lebensideal reine Verwirklichung gefunden hat."117 Caroline Schlegel is considered a Romanticist in that she dared to live in and of herself
and her own personality without considering either the rejection or the commendation of those around her. Instead, she appeared to rely on herself and her own judgment without regrets, whatever the outcome of those personal decisions might have been. Again and again there exists in her letters the evidence of resignation and contentment with whatever situation she faced. On June 16, 1780, she writes to her friend Luise Gotter: "ich überlasse mich so ganz, mit so ruhiger Seele der Führung Gottes, dass ich ohnmöglich unglücklich werden kann." From Clausthal, May 28, 1786, a letter arrives addressed to Lotte Michaelis, her sister, concerning a rumor that Caroline was unhappy with her husband:

Ich bin nicht unglücklich, wenigstens nicht durch meine Lage, ja was sag ich wenigstens? Bin ichs denn überall?...Fiel mir auch in den ersten Zeiten wohl der Gedanke ein—warum musst Du hier Deine Jugend verleben, warum Du hier vor so vielen anderen; und vor manchen doch fähig eine grössere Rolle zu spielen, zu höhern Hoffnungen berechtigt? Das war aber Eitelkeit. Jetzt sagt mir mein Stolz, was ich habe ist mir gegeben, diese Situation zu tragen, mich selbst zu tragen. Ich bin sehr zufrieden. Ich leugne es nicht, es im Anfang nicht gewesen zu seyn...Ich bin nicht mehr Mädchen, die Liebe giebt mir nichts zu thun als in leichten häuslichen Pflichten—ich erwarte nichts mehr von einer rosenfarbenen Zukunft—mein Loos ist geworfen...Durch Interesse an Dingen ausser mir, durch Betrachtung, durch Mutterschaft, durch alles was ich thu, geniess ich mein Daseyn.

In yet another letter written to the same sister one year later, Caroline confesses that no situation is either as terrible or as wonderful as our fantasy imagines it to be. In fact, the thoughts which the mind imagines are often much more horrifying than the
deed itself, she claims, "und ich habe oft gedacht, selbst ermordet zu werden könne nicht so fürchterlich seyn, als die schaudernde Vorstellung." In other words, the one consolation for the consequence of her actions becomes that of dwelling upon them as little as possible. It is imperative, she repeatedly states, to suffer as quietly and as gently as possible in order to retain an equilibrium which would only be upset by excessive lamentation. To Philipp Michaelis, her brother, she repeats this credo of hers in another letter dated October 25, 1788: "Man muss früh lernen, sich jeden Aufenthalt erträglich zu machen." From Göttingen she writes her friend Meyer in 1791: "Wer sicher ist, die Folge nie zu bejammern, darf thun was ihm gut dünkt," and in 1792:

Und dennoch zürnt meine milde Seele nicht mit dem Schicksal—und trachtet nut danach, sich auch das härteste zu versüssen. Es ist doch nicht zu läugnen, dass mir vieles fehlt—und wenn ich es tief im Herzen fülle, klag ich mich wohl am Ende darüber an. Nichts verzeih ich mir weniger als nicht froh zu seyn—auch kann der Augenblick niemals kommen, wo ich nicht eine Freude, die sich mir darbietet, herzlich geniessen sollte. Das ist mir natürlich—das wird immer meine Unruhe dämpfen, meine Wünsche zum schweigen bringen—and wenn es auch lange noch keine Gleichmütigkeit wird, so kann ich doch nie unterliegen. Ich habe mich nun einmal so fest überzeugt, dass aller Mangel, alle Unruhe aus uns selbst entspringen—wenn Du nicht haben kanst was Du wünschest, so schaff Dir etwas anders—and wenn Du das nicht kannst, so klage nicht—nicht aus Dehmuth, aus Stolz ersticke alle Klage.

Never from her youth on did Caroline demand reasons for any of her own inner convictions, a kind of impenetrable ring which kept her virtually unscathed from the devastating effects of whatever sorrow might be-
fall her existence. Having constructed an invisible barricade against adversity, Caroline appeared to possess no problems, neither did she question circumstances. Whether or not there existed in her case the need for development therefore becomes a question which seems readily answerable in the negative, and it is unquestionably evident from the above-mentioned quotes from her letters that every event in her life seems only a matter of course, natural and to be dealt with, mastered but not altered.

The only works which Caroline left behind are her personal letters, and from a sampling of these we possess evidence of an astoundingly precise sense of truth with which she examines the situations she has faced and the relationships she has cultivated. Within her feeling of self-sufficiency there existed no great need for friendship with women. Concerning her rival Therese Heyne, Caroline comments in a letter written to Meyer in 1791:

Auf ihre Freundschaft habe ich nie gerechnet--es gibt keine unter Weibern--ich zweifle selbst daran, dass sie mir recht aufrichtig gut ist...und ich liebe sie, weil sie mir merkwürdig ist, und es bleiben wird, wenn sie mir auch nicht mehr neu ist.124

Therese Heyne, her strong-willed rival and according to Susman perhaps an influence on the forming of Caroline's own character,125 and Luise Gotter, a submissive friend devoted to Caroline through her lifelong admiration of this self-contained woman--these are women who fascinate Caroline. In Ricarda Huch's evaluation of Caroline Schlegel in Erich Schmidt's Carolinens Leben in ihren Briefen
(1923), she points out that, while love to a man does not play an insignificant role,

so offenebart sich ihr eigenes Wesen doch am meisten in der Mütterlichkeit. Der Drang zu besitzen und angehörig zu sein, war nicht so stark in ihr wie die Kraft, liebend zu umfassen und aufzunehmen, zu pflegen, zu fördern, zu schonen und zu verstehen.\textsuperscript{126}

Huch speaks of Caroline's experiences with love as a process of "stetes Wachsen und Reifen";\textsuperscript{127} however, I believe it is evidenced in her letters that she possessed a fixed idea of exactly what should be the nature of a relationship between a man and a woman in general, a wife and husband in particular. As we have noted from some of the previous quotes from her letters, Caroline does not believe in the realization of her innermost yearnings concerning her own possible happiness within the love relationship. For instance, her marriage to August Wilhelm Schlegel is based, at least on her part, not upon love, but upon a sentiment comprising gratitude, admiration, and affection. Their common intellectual interests and their love for Caroline's daughter Auguste create an atmosphere of congeniality, not love. Caroline comments in a letter to Luise Gotter dated July 9, 1784, concerning her first husband Böhmer and the state of their marriage: "Und doch glaub ich, es wird bleibend seyn, weils nicht übertrieben ist. Böhmer muss ein guter Ehemann seyn, so lang ich ihn liebe, und meine Zärtlichkeit für ihn trägt nicht das Gepräge auflodernder Empfindungen."\textsuperscript{128} A lasting marriage, according to
the tenor of this statement, is one based not upon passion or self-
gratification, but upon reason. A letter to her sister Lotte
Michaelis in the same year warns her of entering a love relation-
ship unadvisedly:

...nimm Deinen ganzen Verstand zu Hülfe, um
Dir selbst jene Wahrheiten recht anschaulich
zu machen, damit, wenns nun gedämpft ist,
Du doch etwas festes davon trägst. Sonst bist
Du ewig der unglückliche Raub Deiner eigenen
Fühlbarkeit, das elendeste Wesen, das durch Dich
selbst stets hin und her geworfen wird. O Lotte,
dass Du doch auf immer dem gröbsten und
hülflösesten aller Leiden, nicht eins mit sich
zu seyn, entgehn möchtest.129

She reiterates this belief in a letter to her brother Philipp,
dated June 22, 1791:

Was könnt ihr denn von Verbindungen erwarten,
die sich auf blosse Eitelkeit, auf die rege
Hofnung zu gefallen, und die vorschnelle
Überzeugung, übergewöhnlich gefallen zu haben,
gründen? Männer wirst Du wie Weiber unzu-
verlässig finden, wenn Eigennutz die erste
Angel war.130

Women, she comments after having read Mirabeau's letters, do not
love a man for his looks alone, citing that even the supposedly
ugly Mirabeau was loved. Caroline's own first infatuation at
sixteen is later dismissed as a "Hirngespinst" based on a young
girl's sentimentality and reliance upon feeling rather than upon
reason. Susman says of Caroline in this respect:

Hierin erscheint sie als eine Goethe verwandte
Natur. Das Formlose, Masslose, Grenzenlose,
das sie wohl kannte, widerstrebte ihr,
entsetzte sie. Sie rief alle gestaltbildende
Kräfte ihres Wesens auf, sie aus dem Chaos
zurückzuziehen, sie wieder in die Klarheit des
Lebens einzubilden. Sie lebte in der Gestalt und wollte die Gestalt. Nichts Auflösendes war in ihrem Wesen—-auch da nicht, wo sie sich ganz hingab; niemals fehlte ihr der Zauberspruch, um die Geister, die sie rief—-und oft mit welcher Entscheidung rief—-wieder los zu werden. Von Anfang an war Caroline weder Dienerin noch Gehilfin des Lebens, sondern seine Meisterin.\textsuperscript{131}

Her relationships with men ranged the entire gamut from friendship (with August and Friedrich Schlegel), passionate abandon (the young French officer she met during the siege of Mainz), to a love relationship which embodied both of these aspects—i.e., her marriage to Schelling. Without openly rebelling against the conventions of society, she did not allow their code to dominate the course of these love relationships, relying rather on her own judgments. I would not go so far, however, as to agree with Susman that Caroline deliberately drifted from one relationship into another in a kind of personal expression of the concept of "das Unendliche,"

dieser Sinn und Rhythmus des ewigen Don Juan, dem alles menschliche vergängliche Gestalt seines eigenen Traumes ist,...der-- unbekümmert um die lebendige Seele der an ihm vorüberfliehenden Gestalten, die ihm als Liebendem anvertraut ist--in seiner Liebe nur den Rhythmus seines Wesens, seines Traumes, das unerbitlliche Gesetz seines eigenen Daseins lebt.\textsuperscript{132}

Such a statement presupposes Caroline to have been a kind of coquette at worst, an egotistical, self-centered woman at best for whom it was not possible to experience love. Such a statement is proven false by her relationship with Schelling, firmly established on the Romantic ideal of love both physical and spiritual in content. In other relationships in which such
a balance was disturbed, Caroline was capable, by the uncanny ability she possessed in penetrating the essence of a relationship and exposing the truth or falsity thereof (Friedrich Schlegel called it "ein ordentlich göttlicher Sinn für Wahrheit"), 133 of ending a situation which she felt would destroy her ability to master her own fate to the extent that she could retain an inner balance within the confines of any circumstances. In this capacity we may label her a self-preservationist, not an egoist.

After Caroline's marriage to August Wilhelm Schlegel she followed him to Jena, where she became the focal point of the Jena Romantic circle. Her own house became the meeting place for this intimate group of friends and acquaintances who indulged in interesting conversations and discussions of literary events. Caroline is most welcome in such a circle for her uncanny ability to penetrate "tief ins Innere" 134 concerning any topic. She was also said to possess great talent for story-telling as well as narration, which earned her the title of the "geistvollen Frau" 135 which the Romantics called her. She did not, however, appear to be interested in the theories and thought processes of the principal members of her circle such as Novalis and Schlegel. In a letter to Novalis she confesses that she understands little of the particulars of their theories and works under discussions, preferring to label these intellectual efforts "einen rechten Zauberkessel." 136 Alice Apt in "Caroline und die frühromantische
Gesellschaft" (1936) implies that Caroline, from her vantage point of spiritual harmony and completeness, viewed the Romantics' ponderous thought processes ironically, "...die ihr von ihrer eigenen Klarheit her oft sonderbar verworren schien."\textsuperscript{137} However, she was capable of penetrating the essential meaning, import and overall connection between them, and it is this ability of "freundschaftliche Vermittlung," this "Sinn für alles"\textsuperscript{138} for which she earned great respect. Schleiermacher says of her: "Sie vernahm jede Andeutung, und sie erwiderte auch die Frage, welche nicht gesagt war."\textsuperscript{139} To Friedrich Schlegel her friendship was "ein fester Mittelpunkt und Boden einer neuen Welt...Er stand in Wahrheit auf frischem Grün einer kräftigen mütterlichen Erde, und ein neuer Himmel wölbte sich unermesslich über ihm im blauen Äther."\textsuperscript{140} "Selbständige Diotima" he called her, "in welcher sich die Ammuth einer Aspasia, die Seele einer Sappho, mit hoher Selbständigkeit vermählt, deren heiliges Gemüt ein Bild vollendeter Menschheit, darstellt."\textsuperscript{141} In this "Gefühl des Richtigern," Schlegel states, women who have been brought up in a knowledge of that which is good, beautiful and true and who have remained unspoiled in the process overshadow their male counterparts.\textsuperscript{142} That is not to say, however, that Caroline was a mystic; on the contrary, Ricarda Huch emphasizes that mysticism or superstition, separated and diametrically opposed to the process by which knowledge is gained through the faculty of reason, is totally antithetical to Caroline.\textsuperscript{143} It was precisely this quality of
rationality which endeared Goethe's writings to her as well. In a letter to her friend F. L. Meyer, dated August 12, 1792, she states: "Göthe hat auch sonst nur gewöhnliche Menschen--keine in die Höhe geschraubten Posas--und die liebte ich."\textsuperscript{144}

Caroline's ability to extract the essence of any thought process at hand and her clarity of perception summons the question of her intellectual prowess and her attitude towards learned women. In her father's house there was provided ample opportunity for learning, since Johann David Michaelis was known as an Orientalist and writer. Caroline was to learn French, Italian and English. In a letter to Julie von Studnitz dated 1778 she comments:

\begin{quote}
J'aprends l'Italien à présent; c'est une langue très facile et très agréable. Il est vrai que l'Anglais est plus utile, mais il est aussi sans comparaison, plus difficile, mais peut-être je l'apprendrais encore quand je saurai l'Italien; car je ne veux pas justement savoir parler cette langue, mais seulement l'entendre tout à fait. Je traduis les comédies de Goldoni, et mon maître n'a presque pas besoin de me dire quelque chose. Ce qu'il y a de plus pénible c'est la prononciation aussi ces obstacles comme un autre Hercule.\textsuperscript{145}
\end{quote}

In another letter of 1783 she mentions nothing but history, biography, Spinoza's philosophy, French and English authors, Pope, Hume, and the works of Goethe. Her sister Luise mentions her reading Schiller's "Die Räuber," as well as her great interest in Shakespeare and Goethe, and adds in another letter that the learned Schlözer valued Caroline highly and recommended that she dedicate
herself to the pursuit of knowledge as did his own daughter, who graduated from the University of Göttingen. However, Caroline Schlegel decided not to carry out his suggestion, in the belief that a learned woman could only be viewed as a caricature, curiosity, or as a bizarre being. Her comments concerning the learned princess Gallizin dismiss her with the ironic comments:

Sie ist eine sehr gelehrt Dame und in grieschischer Art gekleidet, mit kurzen Haaren, flachen Schuhen, man sieht sie nie ohne Begleitung eines ihrer Domestiken, der ein halb Dutzend dicker Bücher in Folioformat hinter ihr herträgt...Die Kinder sind legere...Beide gehen barfuss, die Haare sind abgeschoren. Sie sind schwarz wie Neger...Sie muss viel Kenntnisse, Geist und Bekannte haben. Homer liest sie im Original...Zur Erziehung ihrer Kinder scheint sie die Natur zum Vorbild zu nehmen, ohne sich darum zu sorgen, dass diese Natur manchmal ein wenig schmutzig ist. Vielleicht will sie Rousseau nachahmen, aber ich glaube doch, dass Rousseau seinen Emile anders erzogen hat. Sie geht ohne ihren Gatten nach Münster, um sich ganz ihren Kindern und der Philosophie zu widmen...[147]

The tenor of this letter to Julie von Studnitz (dated 1781) is very apparent, i.e., it is the primary duty of a woman to act as mother and as spouse within the confines of the family circle. A woman, Caroline seems to contend, has many duties to fulfill which do not cause the furore and the notice which a man's tasks are bound to occasion, but which are far more difficult and of greater impact to mankind.[148]

It is interesting to note the painstaking effort Caroline expanded in the education of her own children. In a letter to Luise Gotter dated June 28, 1795, Caroline states:
Unsere Kinder plappern hoffentlich mehr mit dem
Mäulchen von einander als mit der Feder. Dies
ist auch nicht die Lebenszeit zum singen,
sondern zum hüpfen und springen...Gustel ist
jetzt sehr regelmässig beschäftigt, von 9-10
Clavier, welches sehr gut geht, vorzüglich
was das Notenlernen betrifft--ihr Kopf ist
gelenkiger wie ihre Finger. von 10-11
Französisch. von 11-12 Zeichnen. Nach Tisch
Schreiben. Gegen Abend unterrichtende
Lektüre. Es wird eine ruhmwürdige Edukation
wenden und ich werde Dir à la Genlis Bericht
davon abstatten..."149

Caroline herself takes great interest in the arrival of any new
philosophical or literary works, and her correspondence with
Friedrich Schlegel reveals her desire to be informed of his works,
recommending to him authors to be read and criticizing their work.
During the period of her life which she spends in Jena, beginning
1796, she is able to devote herself even more intensively to the
events occurring in the literary world and to intellectual life in
general. However, she does no writing, although she is urged to
do so by Friedrich Schlegel. The reason for such an unwillingness
is the fear, Friedrich states, "unweiblich zu sein."150

Gisela Ritchie, in "Caroline Schlegel--Schelling in Wahrheit und
Dichtung" (1968) states:

Schon immer ist es ihre Überzeugung gewesen,
dass die weibliche Sphäre das Unbekannte,
Bescheidene bedeute. Auch sagt ihr vielleicht
der Instinkt, dass sie die stärksten Wirkungen
ihrer Gaben nicht in der schriftstellerischen
Arbeit suchen darf. [5]

Ritchie goes on to say that Caroline's sphere of influence lies in
society, i.e., in holding together the various members of the Jena
circle through the power of her "Geist," her uncanny sense of judgment, the "esprit" which is most evident in her letters, and through the force of her own personality. Ritchie further describes a typical meeting of the circle of intimates:


As Wilhelm Schlegel's wife she participates in his literary activities insofar as she constructively criticizes his plays and verses and aids in the translation of several Shakespearian masterpieces, including "Macbeth," "Othello," and "King Lear." She also shared the intellectual interests of her husband Schelling, contributing her own critiques for the "Jenaische Allgemeine Literaturzeitung," for which Schelling also wrote. Her own personal criteria and values in the evaluation of a literary work come to light in these critiques. In the "Jenaische Allgemeine
Literaturzeitung" number 107, dated May 6, 1805, Caroline reviews the "Musenalmanach auf das Jahr 1805" edited by Chamisso and Varnhagen. Caroline's main criticism directs itself against the fact that the tone of the entire "Musenalmanach" is a sentimental one, "wie zu Werthers Zeiten, die aber bey weitem nicht so unschädlich ist." She makes comment to the effect that the simplest form of love is often the truest and the most joyful, but that the same emotion in the hands of the "Musenalmanach" editors becomes only "glutvoll und muthvoll, strafend und anbetend;" generally descending into a state of "reine Nichtempfindung" due to its vehemence. Sentiment, she contends, cannot ever be totally overcome within us; it belongs to our nature. It would be preferable, however, she goes on to say, for each individual to possess his own brand of feeling in order that it might be of some worth and not descend into a display of borrowed, maudlin sentimentiality:

Gebricht es ihr an eigener Kraft oder Erfindung, und sie giebt sich deswegen einer ausser ihr seyenden mit Liebe und Bewunderung hin: so liegt selbst in dieser persönlichen Anhänglichkeit noch etwas, das mehr ist, als ein tönendes Erz und eine klingende Schelle, und ihr helfen würde, vor gewissen Dingen eine geziemende Scheu zu bewahren, welches aber keineswegs zu thun, sondern frech an dem Heiligthume der Natur und der Kunst Kirchenraub zu begehen, die Sentimentalität unserer Tage bezeichnet. Wenn doch besonders unsere schreibende Jugend die Kräfte des Himmels und der Erde ruhen lässe, bis sie durch stilles fleissiges Forschen sie im eigenen Wahrnehmen erkennen lernte, statt sie bloss auswendig zu wissen, und dann mit ihren wunderbaren Beziehungen wie mit den Reimen zu spielen. Legen sie wohl einen tieferen Sinn hinein,
als dass sie ihnen, wie diese, dazu dienen, 
Gedichte zu vervftigen? Der Taschenspieler 
aber, der die Eigenschaften der Dinge zu 
seinen Künsten gebraucht, ist respectabler, 
als wer in Worten und Bildern sie missbraucht.155

III. Rahel Varnhagen

Rahel Varnhagen was, like Caroline Schlegel and Dorothea 
Schlegel, a product of the time in which Romantic tenets stipulated 
that a woman liberate herself from the burdens which society and 
convention had beset upon womanhood and assume her rightful 
position at the side of, and not behind, the man.

Rahel was not so much involved with the circle of Jena Romantics 
as she was with that of Berlin, to which she belonged and at whose 
center Schleiermacher stood,

dieser Mann, der, weil in ihm wie in keinem 
der anderen die Menschlichkeit Geist und der 
Geist menschlichkeit war, jeder menschlichen 
Wahrheit Gestalt und Ausdruck zu geben vermochte, 
und der dadurch als ihr guter Geist sichtbar 
oder unsichtbar hinter dem Leben aller dieser 
Frauen stand.156

Like the Jena circle, the Berliner circle of Romantics became the 
focal point for new creations of the mind—great thoughts, ideas, 
art works brought to light by men and women who were not required 
to possess titles of nobility, but only "das ganze Gewicht des 
Geistes."157 Susman describes this particular salon as the 
necessary breath of life and the total sum of reality for Rahel:
Bei ihr fast mehr noch als bei Caroline... war sie der Ersatz für alles Gemeinschaftsleben... Der persönliche Austausch von Mensch zu Mensch war und blieb die Form ihrer Geistigkeit selbst. Das Gespräch... nahm alle Kräfte ihres Lebens unmittelbar auf. Auch ihre Briefe sind im Grunde nur ein fortgesetztes Gespräch. Jean Paul, der ihren Geist leidenschaftlich bewunderte, fügte Varnhagen gegenüber hinzu, es sei aber notwendig, dass sie an jemanden schreibe. Sie bedarf zum Ausdruck ihrer selbst und des anderen. Ihr Geist ist Wein, der nur in diesem Gefäß so voll leuchtet, der nur aus ihm unmittelbar aufgenommen werden kann. Erst wenn sie die Lippen fühlt, die sich an den Rand der Schale legen, strömt sie ihr bestes Gut aus.  

In her individualism Rahel manifests herself as a true product of Romanticism, but within the seeds of that individuality lay as well her prerogative for originality, the wish for individual acceptance, and not blind adherence to the Romantic credo. In a letter to her friend Gustav von Brinckmann she points out: "Keine Begeisterung muss anwenden von außen, sie muss aufglühen von dem heiligen Opferherd unseres eigenen Gemüts. Auf das Selbstdenken kommt alles an."  

A strong individualist like Caroline, Rahel becomes a proponent of Fichte's philosophy which makes the I the creator of the world, the universe the work of the I, i.e., the individual. The right of the individual, she strongly believes, must be protected from society: "Ich verlange ein besonderes, persönliches Schicksal. Ich kann an keiner Seuche sterben, wie ein Halm unter anderen Ähren auf weitem Felde von Sumpfluft versengt. Ich will allein an meinen Übeln sterben: das bin ich, mein Charakter, meine Person, mein Physisches, mein Schicksal."
Words such as "virtue" and "duty" in the conventional sense assume an odious meaning for her. On the other hand, however, she is very much a gregarious creature given to loving and admiring people. The ambivalence which a strong individualism versus an attraction to the very society which she scorned created a chasm which Emma Graf in her dissertation "Rahel Varnhagen und die Romantik" (1901) describes in this manner:


Rahel herself comments in the same vein:

Ich habe viele Gaben, aber keinen Mut, nicht den Mut, der meine Gaben zu bewegen vermag, nicht den Mut, der mich geniessen lehrte, wenn es auch einem anderen etwas kostete. Ich setze jenes anderen Persönlichkeit höher als meine, ziehe Frieden dem Genuss vor und habe nie etwas gehabt.162

Individuals, she believes, are after all ruled by society, and repeatedly she points out that a plentiful supply of courage is required of an individual who would validate his originality in his own eyes as well as in those of the world. Her ideal, not to endure but to desire and seize happiness without regard for others, is embodied and fulfilled in one of her female friends, Pauline Wiesel, the mistress of prince Louis Ferdinand. Practically, therefore, some of her envied, daring friends carried out the
idealistic theories which she was never able to realize. She considers this flaw within herself as a sign of decay which has begun and will continue throughout the remainder of her life: "So muss ich weiter sterben: viel bin ich schon gestorben." 163 In one respect, however, she remained a true Romantic: in her preservation of the individual personality at the center of importance. With the passage of time she also assumed less radical views concerning the extreme sovereignty of the individual, preferring to consider the possibility of concord between assertion of the individual personality and harmony with the establishment, a task which was not part of the Romantic plan, according to Emma Graf. 164

Graf also informs us that Rahel Varnhagen's individualistic view of life turned her against the institution of marriage, which to her was capable of stifling the freedom and assertion of the individual. When Rahel finally did marry she did so in the confidence and assurance that her husband, a man fourteen years her junior, would allow her undiminished freedom. This man, Varnhagen von Ense, had nothing but the highest praise for Rahel's "Bildung," considering himself inferior to her. Acknowledging her great gift to him, Varnhagen states:

Ich weiss keine Erscheinung, keinen Dichter, keinen Helden, der mir grösser wäre, als ich dich sehe: und du, diese Rahel, als in Bezug auf mich betrachtet, löscht alles andere, was sich aus diesem Gewühl auf mich bezieht, völlig aus. Ich beteuere es vor Gott, dass die grösste Gunst, die mir zuteil geworden ist, die ist, dich erkannt, dich empfunden zu haben. 165
In another familiar metaphor of nature, Varnhagen more explicitly comments on the splendid power which arises from her soul's attunement to the world around her:

O Rahel, wie bist du! Ich versenke mich in Nachdenken über dich! Aus welchen Quellen hat dich die Natur geschöpft? Sie eröffnete tausend Kristallblumen, tausend Flammenhöhlen, ich müsste in jede hinabgehen, um dich zu ergründen; deine Sinne, deine Gedanken, Deine Herzensempfindungen sind Riesenblüten der Natur...

166

In this relationship with Varnhagen, Rahel's personality becomes neither annihilated nor absorbed; in other words, due to Varnhagen's desire to elevate himself in some degree to his wife's level of "Bildung," her own freedom is kept intact, for she is the donor, and not the recipient, the superior, and not the inferior in the relationship. Varnhagen's letters to Rahel indicate that he is pleased with this kind of relationship and point out that she should not feel forced to any action on his account alone:

"Mir durchschaudert's die Gebeine mit Angst und Schrecken, Dich als gehorsame Gattin, mich als philisterhaften Eheherrn zu denken. Weisst Du was, wir wollen es ignorieren, dass wir verheiratet sind; so bleiben wir ungeschiedene Leute." 167 Emma Graf explains Rahel's marriage to a man fourteen years younger than herself and inferior to her spiritually in the fact that he was the only one of her many friends who totally understood her and her desire and need for uninterrupted, free development of her own personality. He alone is capable of bringing an understanding to her quest. 168 Rahel,
like Varnhagen, strongly stresses the friendship and mutual comprehension which exists between herself and Varnhagen, not the fact that they are "bride" and "bridegroom":

Dieser ist der Mensch, den man meinen Bräutigam nennt. So sehr dumm sind die Leute doch; so nannten sie noch Niemand... Wie kann ich aber wohl zu dem albernen Zustand einer Braut kommen? So jung war ich nie! Ich erkenne aber kein Verhältnis zu einem Menschen für frey und schön an, welches mich beschränkt, wo ich lügen... müsste, oder welches meiner Natur Möglichs und Erforderliches ausschiessen wollte. So vernünftig ich nur seyn kann, so viel Gewalt habe ich über diesen Freund; und noch bis jetzt habe ich ihm alles von mir verständlich machen können.169

However, Margarete Susman in her work Frauen der Romantik (1962) points out that Varnhagen's and Rahel's relationship, although a beautiful one without disharmony, did not aid Rahel in attaining a "Heimkehr ihres Geistes und ihrer Seele, wie es die letzte Ehe Carolinens war."170 Susman explains the phenomenon in this manner:

Denn auch ihr Leben mit Varnhagen war doch im letzten Grunde nur eine Steigerung ihrer inneren Einsamkeit. Wie eine Göttin hob er sie empor auf ein Piedestal, hoch in ihr eigenes Leben hinein, das er wohl zu begreifen und zu ehren--aber, letzthin doch nicht zu teilen vermochte.171

What the marriage did achieve was a sense of peace and contentment with a man who admired, cared for, protected and adored her.

Their mutual friendship must have meant more to Rahel than relationships based on passion, such as those she briefly but painfully enjoyed with Karl von Finkenstein and Don Raphael d'Urquijo, both handsome but vain men who possessed little if any of the spiritual
attributes of Rahel and therefore did not comprehend her in the least. Very similar to the stoic bearing prevalent in Caroline's letters is Rahel's attitude in a letter to Dorothea Schlegel's son David Veit, June 1, 1795: "Ist man aber gefallen, setze ich hinzu, und sei's eine Mamsell, so steh' man mit Anstand und Freimut auf, und suche sich zu kurieren, wenn man nicht tot ist." Concerning the subject of love, Rahel assumes much the same view as Caroline, convinced that this emotion too often is relegated to the level of a sentiment based on empty, fleeting and sudden passion rather than on a deep understanding and friendship between two people. She states in a letter to David Veit, August 28, 1795:

Daher, dünkt mich, ist unsere Freundschaft ein wahrer Triumph--der einzig geniessbare für mich--, das Produkt zweier vereinigt vernünftiger Wesen, die, sie mögen weichen und wandeln, sich unbezweifelt bei der Wahrheit wiedertreffen, wohin sie immer kehren, die sie immer im Ernst suchen. Untersuchen Sie einmal die eklatanteste Liebe--was man so nennt--was ist denn die? Augenblickliches Übereinstimmen--meistens bei einer Irrung gegründet, fortgesetzt, besieget, und verschwunden--was sie denn für recht himmlisch und mit Wut festhalten, je weniger Grund die wider die Unzuverlässigkeit desselben aufzufinden ahnden. Nicht dass ich die Liebe von dem ganzen Wahrheitsboden wegräsonnieren dachte!...Nein, sie findet nur bei gewissen Freundschaften--...nicht statt, und mit denen zusammen ist sie zwar die grösste Idee für Menschen und ihre Verhältnisse--hingegen ist sie mir bis jetzt auch nur als solche begegnet....Hab' ich nun nicht recht, dass ich Liebe, wo ich kann, oder muss, und meine Freunde wieder besonders betreibe? Kurz! Was liebt man? Das Schöne und Gute. Wo liebt man's? Wo man's findet. Wann liebt man's? Wenn man's findet. Also seitenweise, seitenweise: wie uns die ganze Welt ercheint."
In another letter to Veit dated March 9, 1799 she says: "Reden muss ich können, was ich will: und mein Lästern muss er lieben; und wenn ich ihn ehren könntest, ich ehren nenne!!--ich glaube, ich weiss nicht--ich wäre noch glücklicher als durch die Liebe."[174]

To Gentz she writes December 27, 1827: "Erdenglück ist nur in Menschenliebe, in unserem eigenen Wohlwollen und Wohlgefallen an ihnen zu finden; dies, und sein Gegenteil, empfind' ich noch."[175]

She was eventually to describe objectively the anguish, the near disastrous effects of her relationships with Finkenstein and d'Urquijo and of the perils of love based on passion: "Wenn wir einen all unseren Anforderungen entsprechenden Gegenstand fänden, würde nur Liebe, nie Leidenschaft entstehen: die Anstrengung, die uns übrige Liebe anzubringen, ist Leidenschaft."[176]

In her ability to penetrate the heart of anything or anyone through her own experiences and feelings, which constituted the unity of her own person, she became an ideal friend to both men and women. Within each tragedy which accompanied her unhappy relationships with Finkenstein and d'Urquijo, she assumed a greater humanity and understanding towards both her own dilemma and that of her friends in coping with the vicissitudes of life. If this, her superior sense of humanity, necessarily stifled a great capacity for a passion which had been thwarted through adversities in love, it created an individual who possessed an uncanny degree of penetration into the core of humanity's; especially the individual's makeup, action—indeed, his essence. She was greatly admired by her friends for
this ability, and it was their esteem which seemed to justify her existence. In a letter dated December 26, 1813 and written to Caroline von Humboldt, Rahel comments on her love of penetrating the inner nature of an individual:

Menschen zu ergründen, und ihre Möglichkeiten, die sie in sich tragen, bleibt doch die grosse Wonne. Ich will Dir viel davon schaffen. Ich bin im Leben, im Erfahren, in realen Geschichten unerschöpflich. Ich fange sie ordentlich auf eine Leimstange, ohne Verschulden.177

Experienced in the art of real life, Rahel became a strong advocate of the emancipation of her own sex, insisting that a woman set her sights beyond only the demands of her husband and the wishes of her children. A preoccupation with such considerations alone creates a woman incapable of assuming her own foothold in the world, following instead in the footsteps of her husband, "wie etwa einer, der wie ein Baum mit Wurzeln verzaubert wäre. Jeder Versuch, jeder Wunsch, den unnatürlichen Zustand zu lösen, wird Frivolität genannt oder noch für strafwürdiges Benehmen gehalten."178 Among the professions she believes a woman ought to pursue if she has the inclination, time, and talent to do so is that of writing. A great writer owes it to her public to discard the false modesty of authoresses, she stresses, who often write under a male pseudonym, an action initiated by the feeling that they are invading a sphere dominated by men. She comments on a woman's claims to authorship: "Ist es aus der Organisation bewiesen, dass eine Frau nicht denken und ihre Gedanken nicht
ausdrücken kann? Wäre dies, so bliebe es dennoch Pflicht, den Versuch immer von neuem zu machen."179

Although Rahel herself did not produce a literary work, she took a great interest in the literary productions of her own time. Her main contributions to journals such as Troxler's "Schweizerisches Museum," Fouqué's "Berliner Blätter für deutsche Frauen," Börne's "Wage," and Cotta's "Morgenblatt" are characteristically fragmentary and aphoristic in style.180 And there exist, of course, her letters. In them the reader encounters her beliefs concerning a topic uppermost in her mind: "Bildung," specifically her own process of self-improvement and the ramifications of that process within her various roles as wife, woman and Jewess. In a letter to David Veit dated January 3, 1794 she states what she considers to be her raison d'être:

Also ist es wahr, ich bin nicht umsonst auf der Welt, nicht nur darum da, um den Zucker mit konsumieren zu helfen und die Sechser in Umlauf zu bringen, und meine individuellen Eigenschaften dienen, einen Menschen nützlich und seine Talente geltend zu machen! Verstehen Sie nur unter "nützlich" keine Plattitude, nicht dass ich jemals glaubte, ich wäre zu nichts nütze--niemals! aber ungenutzt lassen, ist bei mir so was Schreckliches--dass mir sogar die Dinge, die ich für Meisterstücke halte, fast so viel Leid als Freude machen, immer um den ängstlichen Gedanken, wie wenige das goutieren können--man weiss das so.181

It appears that quite a few contemporary authors sought her out as a valid critic of their literary output. Concerning her obvious importance as a literary critic, Rahel comments:
Mir geht's komisch. Sonst werden die Autoren besucht; ich bin ein elender Leser, und die Schreibenden suchen mich auf.\textsuperscript{182}

Emma Graf describes why her opinion was of such importance to them: "Die Schriftsteller schätzen an ihr die Geistesfunken des Genies, die, wie Gentz sich ausdrückt, 'weit grössere Räume erleuchten, als bogenlange Dissertationen.'\textsuperscript{183} Her insights are described by both Susman and Graf as possessing the characteristics of life and the power of uncluttered, lucid truth. In her style of writing, they claim, she pays little attention to form or clarity in her style:

Rahels Stil ist nicht schön--von aller Schönheit weit entfernt; er ist lapidar, eruptiv, wild, unbedenklich...also ganz ohne Anspruch an Form und Vollendung. Und doch liegt in diesem Verzicht Rahels eine eigentümliche Tragik. Denn Rahel wusste um Form und Vollendung wie wenige Menschen. Aber ihr Verhältnis zu ihnen war ein im tiefsten Sinne platonisches. Die Idee der Schönheit war ihr mit der anamnestischen Gewalt eines ursprünglichen Teilhabers gegeben--aber dies Teilhaber war nicht in ihrem Sein, sondern in ihrem Wissen. Ihr selbst, ihrem Sein fehlte die Schönheit, die Harmonie, die Vollendung; aber wo immer, in wie verschlossener, neuer, noch fremder Form Schönheit, Vollendung ihr begegnete, da zuckte ihr Geist wie eine Wünschelrute darauf hin.\textsuperscript{184}

A subjectivist, she criticizes a literary work in the light of how well it bespeaks her inner nature. One author remains her ideal, Goethe, in her mind the one who most poignantly revealed the thoughts and feelings of man. His novel\textit{ Wilhelm Meister} stands at the center of her interest in Goethe; the characters of that work embody her own joys and sorrows: "Mit einem Zauberschlage hat
Goethe durch dies Buch die ganze Prosa unseres infamen, kleinen Lebens festgehalten, und uns noch anständig genug vorgehalten."185

Here was an unqualified admiration for and interest in to her the most important factor in the novel, i.e., the self-knowledge through "Bildung" to which the hero must strive in order to successfully complete the process towards self-improvement and self-realization. Susman points out that she felt Goethe called her to go her own way in life: "Der Stern im Leben ist er, aber ohne ihn muss man alles sein."186 From his writings she gleaned that each individual must come to a comprehension of his own characteristics and qualities in order to initiate and continue a never-ending process of growth. Her stress on the importance of self-cultivation can also be felt in her preoccupation with Fichte's philosophy of the individual, the "Ichlehre". She considered Fichte her "lieben Herr und Meister."187 Towards the works of his disciples, the Romantics, she reacts with a subjective feeling emanating from her heart, not from the standard of Romantic theory. Emma Graf comments that there does not exist among the Romantic authors one who received her unqualified approval, however.188 The only one with whom she shared a kind of spiritual kinship was Novalis:

Schon die spekulativ religiöse Richtung des jungen Denkers und Dichters musste sie anziehen, und es reizt sie, seine oft schwerverständigen Aphorismen auszulegen. Es ist ja dies ihr eigenes Genre literarischer Betätigung, Gedankenblitze hinzuschleudern, deren fluchtigen Schein
Unable to accept any conventional system of which her inner nature was not totally convinced, she strove towards her own concept of religion, scoffing at those Romantics such as Schlegel and Schleiermacher, who followed a "new" Catholicism which to her meant a surrender to a system which threatened to submerge the individual into a self-annihilation in which he was only capable of imitation, never creative "Bildung." Although she was interested in mystic literature and studied Saint-Martin's, Angelus Silesius' and Jakob Böhme's mysticism with great interest, there existed a capacity for intellect within her which demanded at the same time that she arrive at the truth of a matter through the faculty of reason as well. Fichte's, Spinoza's and the Enlightenment philosopher Lessing's writings stand beside those of the abovementioned mystics as equally indispensable to her development. Emma Graf says of Rahel:

Sie selbst legt beredtes Zeugnis ab, dass sie nicht nur das Gefühl, sondern auch das Denken als Quelle religiöser Erkenntnis betrachtet, indem sie die einseitige Lavatersche Auffassung vom Gebet zurückweist. Auch Denken, Ergründen, Forschen ist in ihren Augen Gebet; denn auch dadurch kommt man Gott näher. Dieses rationalistische Element bewahrt Rahel von dem geistigen Niedergang der Romantik.

Again, it is the "Poesie der Poesie" of Novalis' Heinrich von Ofterdingen, which attempts to transcend the depiction of real life as found in Goethe's Wilhelm Meister which Rahel finds in error.
in her analysis of Novalis' work:

In Ofterdingen und ähnlichen Unternehmungen herrschst das Bemühen zu zeigen, was Poesie ist: und daher werden diese Anfertigungen gerade unpoeitisch. Poesie ist in der Natur, das will sagen da, wo unser Geist ein Freies, Bedeutungsvolles wahrzunehmen vermag; also auch in der Natur der Begebenheiten und der Vorfällen des menschlichen Lebens, und folglich in den Schilderungen desselben. Diese täglich zu schauenden Weltersignisse, in einem beliebigen Raum, wie in Email, zwar klein und fein gemalt, doch fasslichst, farbglänzend, deutlichst und klar dargestellt, in Weltblick erfasst, aus langer, vielfältiger Beurteilung ergriffen und erwählt, aus den tiefsten Betrachtungen hervorgegangen und mit Ihnen geschmückt,...: das ist ganz gewiss Dichterwerk und Poesie, und mit dieser Skizze von Erörterung ist es hier schon unwiderleglich, dass Wilhelm Meister etwas anderes ist, als wofür der grösste Geist, Novalis, ihn hält. 192

There is present in her critique of both Novalis' and Tieck's works a yearning for the depiction of "real life" in literature and a definite devaluation of works based solely on the freedom of the writer's fantasy. And although she does agree with Friedrich Schlegel's ethical considerations in his work *Lucinde*, i.e., the element of self-realization and the necessity of the woman in the process of "Bildung" and the importance of both the physical and the spiritual components of a love relationship, she finds herself unable to support him from an aesthetic point of view. Again Emma Graf comments on the reason behind her inability to completely maintain a consistent enthusiasm for the Romantic credo:

Das gar zu freie Spiel der Phantasie, welches ganz den Boden der Wirklichkeit verlässt, befriedigt sie nicht. Sie sucht in der Poesie
C. The Romantic Woman's Stance on the Question of Her Own Equality

Spiritual equality for women had become a definite criterion in the cultural process of socialization during the period of early German Romanticism. However, only the very surface of woman's emancipation was touched, since her intellectual and political role remained tabu. The Romantic women, who for this study were defined as the wives of the Romantic authors and thus closely associated with the formation of Romantic thought, interestingly enough did not themselves pursue or take issue with the tendencies their husband writers established. They remained essentially private and passive, not examining their lives beyond the form of letters, the most personal mode of expression apart from the diary. Let us consider Dorothea Schlegel once more. Her misfortune lies in the fact that she is not assertive enough to be at the same time a true Romanticist. Although she does adhere to the Romantic theory of the importance of finding the right marriage partner and the dissolution of any marriage not based on true love (symbolized by the dissolution of her own marriage to Simon Veit), she sacrifices her own individuality through her boundless surrender and submission to a man whom she adores to the point of worship. In a
letter to Caroline Schlegel after her marriage to Friedrich, Dorothea states that in this love she has finally found the center and basis of her existence. Caroline Schlegel, too, although she always remained the mistress, artist, and creator of her own life, possessed a distaste for renown as an author, preferring to retain an anonymous profile towards the public. As I have attempted to point out, Caroline concerns herself greatly with the important issue of being a good wife and mother. Both she and Dorothea, I believe, can only be classified as Romantics in the sense of being concerned with a matter of greatest importance to them as members of a sex repressed and unconsulted in one issue of cardinal concern: that of finding the perfect soul-mate with whom friendship and trust could be cultivated above all things. Had Dorothea Schlegel met Friedrich and had Caroline encountered Schelling initially, one could not really speak of these women as essentially Romantic in nature, for it is only in their courage covertly to discard the elements and individuals which do not contribute to their happiness which sets them apart as Romantic women. Although Rahel Varnhagen concerned herself more overtly with issues such as politics, social reform and the subject of women's emancipation, she possesses a quality which is inherent in her contemporaries Dorothea and Caroline Schlegel as well: she was able to view life, marriage, her role as wife (and mother, in the cases of Dorothea and Caroline) in a realistic light devoid of pretension and metaphysical yearning towards the universal,
characteristics inherent in the writings of their male counterparts Novalis and Friedrich Schlegel. These women felt that only thin air existed in the purely aesthetic orientation of the Romantics, geared as it was towards the realm of the inner nature and its interests.

The demands of the Romantic credo on the "emancipation" of woman become externalized by the Romantic woman to the extent that she is urged towards self-realization and self-improvement in a process of spiritual growth and enhancement of her own personality. If necessary, it is considered her duty "mit männlichem Trotz" to make her way through unsuitable husbands and/or lovers in search of the perfect soul-mate in this issue of greatest importance to her own self-recognition, her primary duty towards herself. In short, the Romantic tenet of self-realization declares that an individual "in einer selbstgedachten und selbstgebildeten Welt lebt und nur das für massgebend hält, was er von Herzen liebt und ehrt."\(^{194}\) It is within the idealistic confines of such a tenet that the Romantics' dreams were realized.

Conclusion

To recapitulate, then, the early Romantic idealistically envisioned the individual as an entity whose primary duty is towards himself and his own self-realization and "Bildung." Theoretically, as the reader may have noted, such a demand is made for women as well,
for instance by Friedrich Schlegel in his "Über die Diotima," advocating that it is essential for a woman to command respect through her preoccupation with the development of "Geist, Schönheit, Unabhängigkeit." The emphasis, however on this kind of self-development does not proceed so much from a preoccupation with a woman's need for education as it does from a transcendence of society's forced conditioning upon her; i.e., the self-effacement and loss of individualism attendant upon her being a woman and therefore an object of suppression, conscious or subconscious.

It is interesting to note, however, that the "liberated" woman which the early Romantics attempted to create in theory, i.e., the individual possessing a combination of "Geist, Schönheit, Unabhängigkeit" does not become realized in the literary portrayals by the male Romantic author, who views her as a much-needed catalyst which leads his released artistic force to the microcosmic reflection of the universal.

Her role, however, is essentially a passive one, for in the process of bringing her male counterpart to the realization of his own creativity, her function ceases.

Essentially, the conflict between the female and the male Romantic portraiture of woman is one of the real versus the ideal, the individual versus the universal principle. A woman's concept of love and marriage places the beloved soul-mate within the very center of her sphere of influence, expecting to encounter a harmony
of soul and life within the bounds of finite existence. The contrast established between her realistic goals and those idealistic ones of the early German male Romantic, which would efface her individuality in the quest for the realization of his own soul and the product of that search, the literary creation, is one in which the woman is neither totally emancipated nor repressed, but rather relegated to the status of a self-serving principle.
FOOTNOTES
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Schlegel, the Spiritual Sensualist


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16 Schlegel, Lucinde, pp. 35-36.
17 ibid., p. 36.
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22 ibid., p. 56.
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192 ibid., pp. 63-64.
193 ibid., p. 68.
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