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WANDRERS STURMLIED

A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Arts

Degree

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Penelope J. Jackson Underwood

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents an in-depth study of Goethe's early hymn "Wandrers Sturmlied." Written in 1772/3, this poem was not published by Goethe until 1815, and he himself referred to it as "half nonsense." Despite Goethe's apparent disdain for the work, scholars continue to wrestle with it, as it is one of the poet's most intriguing poems.

"Wandrers Sturmlied" concerns a poet-wanderer who, when overtaken by a storm, finds comfort in the knowledge that his Genius will shelter him from life's set-backs. He thinks of the Muses and the Graces that have blessed his life. The sight of a peasant returning home happy in his anticipation of wordly pleasures makes the poet acutely aware of his own inadequacies. He begins to look elsewhere for inspiration: to Bromius, the god of wine; to Apollo, the sun-god. He realizes that he must contribute something of himself, and not merely be a passive recipient of inspiration. The poet becomes aware that his immediate source of inspiration is Jupiter, the god of rain. He then compares his situation with that of two pastoral poets, Anacreon and Theocritus. They are compared unfavorably with the fiery Pindar. The final stanza, written a year after the rest of

the poem, reflects the atmosphere of a Pindaric ode, as Goethe perceived it. The poet, now exhausted, no longer thinks of poetry or inspiration: all he asks is the strength to reach his hut.

The first chapter of this thesis places the work in its historical perspective and presents the text of the poem. Chapter 2 discusses the structure of the poem and tries to clarify the images and mythological references that abound in the work. The third chapter is a detailed study of the meter and vocabulary that Goethe used in the poem. Chapter 4 discusses the influence that the works of Pindar, Klopstock and Herder had on the young poet. The final chapter deals with some of the more problematic areas of the poem and presents an overview of the scholarship concerning this work during the past century. It also suggests a conclusion as to the significance of the poem, in itself and as a landmark in Goethe's poetry.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION, BACKGROUND AND TEXT OF "WANDRERS STURMLIED"

In the summer of 1771, Goethe left the University of Strassburg. The following years, until he moved to Weimar in 1775, were for Goethe unsettled years of indecision and searching. Much of his time was spent travelling, frequently on foot, between Frankfurt and Darmstadt, where he would meet with a circle of friends that included Herder and Caroline Flachsland. Years later, describing his youthful experiences and the genesis of his hymnic poetry, Goethe reports in Dichtung und Wahrheit that, because of his restless nature and his frequent long, solitary walks, these friends dubbed him the wanderer. "Man pflegte mich . . . den Vertrauten zu nennen, auch, wegen meines Umherschweifens in der Gegend, den Wanderer" (Dichtung und Wahrheit 521). Although he knew he needed his freedom from domestic ties, Goethe's conscience troubled him as a result of his abandonment of Friederike Brion, and describing his feelings at that time, he continued:

> . . . als der Schmerz über Friederikes Lage mich beängstigte, suchte ich . . . Hülfe bei der Dichtkunst. Ich setzte die . . . poetische Beichte wieder fort, um durch diese selbstquälerische Büßung einer innern Absolution würdig zu werden.
>
> (Dichtung und Wahrheit 521)

This "poetic confession" took the form of hymns and odes in the free-

rhythm style of Klopstock. Recollecting the birth of the first of these hymns, Goethe went on:

> Mehr als jemals war ich gegen offene Welt und freie Natur gerichtet. Unterwegs sang ich seltsame Hymnen und Dithyramben, wovon noch eine, unter dem Titel Wanderers Sturmlied, übrig ist. Ich sang diesen Halbunsinn leidenschaftlich vor mich hin, da mich ein schreckliches Wetter unterwegs traf, dem ich entgegen gehen mußte.
>
> (Dichtung und Wahrheit 521)

It appears that the poem was sent, in two parts, to Franz Jacobi and his wife Betty. The main part--lines 1 through 93--was sent first, in October 1773, enclosed with a letter to Betty, in which Goethe dismissed the work as 'that thing.' "Ich . . . habe nichts als das Ding da, das Sie vielleicht nicht interessirt. . . . geben Sie's der la Roche . . . " (Briefe 118). We can be fairly sure that the item he refers to here was this poem. In 1846, Jacobi's son Max published his father's correspondence with Goethe. By the words "das Ding da," he placed a cross, and, as a footnote, printed the poem "Wen du nicht verlässest, Genius . . . ," albeit without the final fourteen lines. These final lines (stanza XII) were sent to Fritz Jacobi almost a year after the first part of the poem, in August 1774. They were accompanied by a note that read: "Hier eine Ode, zu der Melodie und Commentar nur der Wanderer in der Not erfindet" (Briefe 194). The letter to Betty is now in the Goethe-Schiller Archive in

Weimar, the second letter, with the whole poem, in two parts, is at the Freies Deutsches Hochstift in Frankfurt. All four manuscripts have the same format, paper and folds, which convinces Klaus Weimar that the two letters and the two poems do indeed belong together (67).

In his letter to Betty, Goethe had asked her to forward the 'thing' to Sophie von la Roche, which she appears to have done, as the manuscript was found in la Roche's estate after her death. The work was first published in 1810 by Reinhold Steig, without Goethe's consent, in the Nordische Miszellen. The poem was given the title "Dithyrambus" and was signed "Göthe." It is assumed that a copy had been made by Frohreich, the clerk of la Roche's granddaughter Bettina Brentano, and that this faulty manuscript was the source of the first publication. In 1815, Goethe added his own, slightly amended version to the next edition of his collected works. Goethe had already omitted the poem from two separate editions of works, but he had thought highly enough of it in 1776 to include it in a manuscript of poems that he presented to Frau von Stein in Weimar, where it appeared between "Mahomets Gesang" and "Künstlers Morgenlied." It was in this manuscript that Goethe first used the title "Wandrers Sturmlied." The 1776 manuscript has formed the basis of many editions of the poem, most notably the Weimarer Ausgabe. Others, however, like the various editions of Der Junge Goethe, use the manuscripts first sent to the Jacobis. This is the version I have used, as it is the one closest to Goethe's original. It must be mentioned here, however, that a discrepancy exists in this version regarding stanza XII. In all other editions, stanzas XI and XII are separate, as I have given them. The

Fischer-Lamberg edition makes one large stanza. As this would seem to be an error, and certainly adds nothing to the poem, I have chosen to deviate in this one regard.

It is assumed by most scholars, including Heinrich Düntzer, Bertholt Litzmann, Arthur Henkel, and G. von Loeper, that the hymn was written in the spring of 1772, probably in April. Eugen Wolff, writing in 1907, felt however that the atmosphere is more autumnal and places the poem--or at least the experience that inspired it--in the fall of 1771, shortly after Goethe's departure from Strassburg (479). Whether this Sturmlied was written in the spring (as indicated by the word "Blumenfüssen") or in the autumn (as the farmer could be seen to be coming home from the harvest), is, in fact, irrelevant. The external elements in the poem are important only in that they reflect or inspire the poet's inner mood. Whenever the poem was created, there is no doubt that it represents a break with Goethe's own style up to this point and also with one tradition of eighteenth century poetry, represented by the "Empfindsamkeit" of his group of friends in Darmstadt.

I Wen du nicht verlässest Genius
Nicht der Regen nicht der Sturm
Haucht ihm Schauer übers Herz
Wen du nicht verlässest Genius,
Wird der Regen Wolcke
Wird dem Schlossensturm
Entgegensingen wie die
Lerche du dadroben,
Wen du nicht verlässest Genius.

II Den du nicht verlässest Genius,
Wirst ihn heben übern Schlammpfad
Mit den Feuerflügeln
Wandeln wird er
Wie mit Blumenfüssen
Über Deukalions flutschlamm
Python tödtend leicht gros
Pythius Apollo
Den du nicht verlässest Genius

III Den du nicht verlässest Genius
Wirst die wollnen Flügel unterspreiten
Wenn er auf dem Felsen schläfft
Wirst mit Hüterfittigen ihn decken
In des Haines Mitternacht.
Wen du nicht verlässest Genius
Wirst im Schneegestöber Wärm umhüllen
Nach der Wärme ziehn sich Musen
Nach der Wärme Charitinnen,
Wen du nicht verlässest Genius.

IV Umschwebt mich ihr Musen!
Ihr Charitinnen!
Das ist Wasser das ist Erde
Und der Sohn des Wassers und der Erde
Über den ich wandle Göttergleich

V Ihr seyd rein wie das Herz der Wasser
Ihr seyd rein wie das Marck der Erde
Ihr umschwebt mich und ich schwebe
Über Wasser über Erde
Göttergleich.

VI Soll der zurückkehren
Der kleine, schwarze feurige Bauer
Soll der zurückkehren, erwartend
Nur deine Gaben Vater Bromius
Und hellleuchtend umwärmend Feuer
Soll der zurückkehren mutig,
Und ich den ihr begleitet
Musen und Charitinnen all
Den Alls erwartet was ihr
Musen und Charitinnen
Umkränzende Seligkeit
Rings ums Leben verherrlicht habt,
Soll mutlos kehren?

VII Vater Bromius
Du bist Genius
Jahrhunderts Genius
Bist was innre Glut
Pindarn war
Was der Welt
Phöb Apoll ist.

VIII Weh weh innre Wärme
Seelenwärme
Mittelpunckt
Glüh ihm entgegen
Phöb Apollen
Kalt wird sonst
Sein Fürstenblick
Über dich vorüber gleiten
Neidgetroffen
Auf der Ceder Grün verweilen
Die zu grünen
Sein nicht harrt.

IX Warum nennt mein Lied dich zuletzt?
Dich von dem es begann
Dich in dem es endet
Dich aus dem es quoll
Jupiter Pluvius.
Dich dich strömt mein Lied
Jupiter Pluvius.
Und Castalischer Quell
Quillt ein Nebenbach,
Quillet müsigen
Sterblich Glücklichen
Abseits von dir
Jupiter Pluvius
Der du mich fassend deckst
Jupiter Pluvius

X

Nicht am Ulmen Baum
Hast du ihn besucht
Mit dem Tauben Paar
In dem zärtlichen Arm
Mit der freundlichen Ros umkränzt
Tändelnden ihn blumenglücklichen
Anakreon,
Sturmathmende Gottheit.

XI

Nicht im Pappelwald
An des Sibaris Strand
In dem hohen Gebürg nicht
Dessen Stirn die
Allmächtige Sonne beglänzt
Fasstest du ihn
Den Bienen singenden
Honig lallenden
Freundlich winckenden
Theokrit.

XII

Wenn die Räder rasselten Rad an Rad
Rasch ums Ziel weg
Hoch flog siegdurchglühter Jünglinge Peitschenknall
Und sich Staub wälzt
Wie von Gebürg herab sich
Kieselwetter ins Tahl wälzt
Glühte deine Seel Gefahren Pindar
Muth Pindar--Glühte--
Armes Herz--
Dort auf dem Hügel--
Himmlische Macht--
Nur soviel Glut--
Dort ist meine Hütte--
Zu waten bis dort hin.

CRAVEN CREST

CHAPTER II

DISCUSSION OF STRUCTURE, IMAGES AND MYTHOLOGICAL REFERENCES

The poem can be roughly divided into three sections. Stanzas I through V deal with Genius and its power over reality; stanzas VI through VIII introduce a peasant, a contrastive figure who does not enjoy the protection of Genius. These stanzas also reveal the poet's sense of insecurity. The final part--stanzas IX through XII--glorifies the bringer of the storm, Jupiter Pluvius, and ends with an ironic image of the bedraggled poet.

The work opens with an apostrophe to Genius; the poet addresses it directly, eight times in the first three stanzas. Yet this is not a personal appeal for help, more an incantation, stating the stimulating and protective powers that Genius has. "Genius" was, in the ancient world, similar to the Christian concept of a guardian angel: a spirit that accompanies a person from birth to death (Weimar 71). However, the feeling behind the word "Genius" here is even stronger, containing as it does the sense of a "Schutzgeist des Dichters" and "schöpferischer Geist" (Goethe-Wortschatz 826). The poet's Genius does more than merely protect: it gives him powers and talents that he otherwise would not have. Goethe describes what happens when Genius is present, but the line: "Wen du nicht verlässest, Genius" implies the disturbing possibility that the power could leave. The presence and active help of Genius give immunity against all unfavorable aspects of the weather and help the poet to overcome the difficulties of the road. The weather and the road are seen by most scholars as

metaphors for life's problems and hardships. Rain and storm hold no terrors for him, and Genius will enable him to react to rain clouds and hail storms in the same way that the lark does: he will defiantly sing towards them--"Entgegensingen" (line 7). Arthur Henkel remarks that the maturer Goethe would not have used this ornithologically inaccurate, "unwahrscheinlich gegen Sturm und Regen ansingende Lerche" (17), perhaps one of the reasons Goethe later described the poem as "Halbunsinn" (Dichtung und Wahrheit 521). Yet the image succeeds if the storm is viewed as approaching, rather than currently raging.

Genius will also provide the poet with more than courage: it will raise him up with its "Feuerflügeln" (line 12). These "wings of fire" have been interpreted as Will o' the Wisps (Düntzer Elberfeld 364) or as the wings of Pegasus (Weigand "Noch einmal . . ." 137), sometimes seen as the symbol of poetic creativity. There could also be biblical influence here and in the following stanza, with a reminder of the protective wings of the arch-angels. Not only does the poet have courage to face adversity (stanza I) he now has the ability to rise above it. With the help of his fiery-winged genius, the poet can walk over the mud of the flood with "flower feet," weightless but great like Apollo, the python-slayer. In the first book of the Metamorphoses, Ovid tells of Jupiter's plan to destroy mankind as a punishment for its pride. The god sent a great flood, which was survived only by Deucalion--a son of Prometheus--and his wife Pyrrha, when they landed on Mount Parnassus. After the waters subsided, animals formed themselves from the mud. A huge snake wrapped itself around the mountain of Parnassus, making the area treacherous for men

and animals. Apollo killed this python with a thousand arrows, so receiving the sobriquet "Pythius." The spot where the monster was killed became the place of the oracle and the Pythian games were celebrated here as a memorial to the deed. As Apollo brought life back to the place, so will the poet raise himself and his environment to a higher plane.

The phrase "Wie mit Blumenfüssen" has been interpreted in a number of different ways. It could mean: feet that step on flowers (Der junge Goethe 1: 345) or pure feet (Viehoff 77), or that the flowers receive their strength from the mud that also gave birth to the python (Düntzer Elberfeld 364). Berthold Litzmann (159) finds that Genius could also be seen as a peace-maker or as the preserver of peace: having destroyed the enemy, he will cause both beauty and peace to appear on the same spot (159). The most likely explanation seems to be that under the feet of Apollo, the god of the sun, the life-giver, flowers appear (Weimar 71). Death and destruction are a vital part of life and of the creative process. The meaning of the second stanza appears to me to be: whomever Genius does not leave will have the strength to rise above mundane problems (mud), to destroy what is destructive (the Python) and to survive and create in harmony with nature ("Blumenfüssen").

In the third stanza, the poet says that the woolen wings of Genius will protect him from below--"unterspreiten" (line 20)--and from above--"decken" (line 22). Heinrich Düntzer (Leipzig 319f.) complains that the image of wings both above and below is a clumsy, inaccurate one, forgetting that the arch-angel Gabriel has double

pinions. Gerhardt Kaiser (132) refers to the biblical image of wool as a symbol of purity: "Wenn eure Sünde auch blutrot ist, soll sie doch schneeweiß werden, und wenn sie rot ist wie Scharlach, soll sie doch wie Wolle werden" (Isaiah 1, 2). Düntzer (Leipzig 319) suggests that while writing this stanza, Goethe must have been thinking of Horace's description of himself when he once slept on the side of Mount Parnassus, protected by the Muses:

> In childhood's days . . . the doves of story
> covered me o'er with freshly fallen leaves.. . .
> how I slept safe . . . how I was overspread . . .
> with the gods' help a fearless child. . . .
> As yours, yes yours, O Muses, do I climb to my
> lofty Sabine Hills. Whenever ye are with me,
> gladly will I essay . . . as wanderer . . . the
> blazing sands of the Syrian shore.
>
> (Odes III. 4.9-20)

The "doves of story" are the Muses, which covered and protected Horace, as Genius does the poet; they gave Horace courage to brave the elements as a wanderer, as Genius does for Goethe.

The next two stanzas (IV and V) bring a sudden change from the third to the first person--from "wen"/"den" to "mich"/"ich"--and the mood becomes exalted. The Muses and Graces are commanded to embrace the poet, implying that the warmth that always attracts them (stanza III) is already present in him. The Muses--nine beings usually perceived as a group under the control of Apollo--and the Graces

represent everything that is beautiful and charming. The poet stresses the contrast between the external, real world--"Das ist Wasser, das ist Erde" (line 31)--and the ideal state ("Göttergleich"). With divine or spiritual help, he can transcend reality and become godlike. The line: "Sohn des Wassers und der Erde" (line 32) is interpreted by G. von Loeper and W. F. Michael as referring to the Python of the Deucalion legend: "Jener 'Sohn des Wassers und der Erde' des 'Flutschlamms,' . . . über den der Dichter wandelt, ist kein anderer als Python, den er sich als zweiter Apoll unterwirft" (Michael 177). Michael sees the poet as a victorious slayer of the huge snake, wrapped around the mountain. However, the most popular--and, in my opinion, most logical--interpretation is that this "son of the water and the earth" is mud.

In the fifth stanza, which marks the end of the first section, the poet, with the final word "Göttergleich" reaches a climax, a state of euphoria in the knowledge that he has the protection and warmth of genius and that the Muses and Graces, pure like the essence of water and earth, are now with him, drawn to that warmth. The poet has become "god-like." Breaking down the gulf between the Divine and the Artist was an essential part of Goethe's philosophy, already expressed in his Von Deutscher Baukunst (1773). From looking at the Gothic architecture of Strassburg cathedral, he had come to the realization that "Genius. . . gottgleich sprechen kann . . ." (Der junge Goethe 3: 105). In this work, Genius is indeed seen as something far more powerful than the classical guardian angel. Here, it meant the being that inspires the artist to create as well as the artist himself. In

the poem, with the reader's or listener's mind already prepared by references to Greek mythology, the next stage in the poem should come as no surprise: Hubris will be punished by Nemesis.

The Fall comes in the form of an abrupt change from the ideal world of the imagination to the world of a contrastive figure, identified as a "Bauer." The poet asks if it is fair and just that the peasant he sees (or imagines) and describes as "small, dark and fiery," can return home fearlessly, when all this man can expect are wine and a fire; whereas he, the poet, awaited by everything that the Muses and Charities have blessed the earth with, must go his way without courage. He sees an ironic contrast between the simple soul, whose courage does not fail him in adversity, even though he has only physical pleasures to look forward to, and himself, favorite of the gods, who has both earthly and spiritual gifts, but whose courage has left him. "Der kleine, schwarze, feurige Bauer," whether he is meant to be seen as a real peasant or as the symbol of a creatively limited soul, stands there in stark contrast to the mood the poet has just experienced. "Klein" could mean humble, unassuming, as well as small in stature. Klaus Weimar (77) defends this argument by saying that "klein" was frequently used in this sense in the eighteenth century. "Schwarz" could possibly mean melancholy (Weimar 77) or, more likely, simply dark-haired, suntanned, dressed in somber clothes, or even dirty. The word "feurig" has presented scholars with more of a problem. It could mean passionate or quick-tempered, which would seem to be the most reasonable interpretation. Weimar (77) thinks that it could refer to a state of poetic inspiration, as it frequently did in

Goethe's time--the eighteenth century equivalent, perhaps, of "high." If we accept this interpretation, Weimar argues, then the "Bauer" must be more than just another farmer Goethe saw on the road: he must symbolize a different type of poet, with a different source of inspiration, wine perhaps. If we assume this to be the case, then "zurückkehren" (lines 39 and 41) would mean more than merely returning home: it could mean returning from a state of poetic transport. This appears to me to be something of an over-interpretation and unnecessarily complicated, as the contrasting picture of poet and peasant is most effective in its simplicity.

In the same stanza, there is also a contrast in Goethe's use of the verb "erwarten" (lines 41 and 47). The peasant actively expects, looks forward to his hearth and his wine. But our poet's gifts await him. They are there, if he has the courage to pursue them, which at present he does not. We have seen that the possibility of being abandoned by his inspiration has already occurred to Goethe. Ironically, at the end of the poem, the poet does precisely what he envies--and maybe even despises--the peasant for doing here: he returns home through the mud to his hut. ("Klein" could be interpreted as a contemptuous epithet). For the peasant there is no pain or fear involved in his return, because his expectations are so limited.

The peasant's inspiration is Bromius, the god of wine, whose source is never exhausted. Bromius means "the noisy one," and the name comes from the events surrounding his birth. He was the son of Zeus and Semele, and she demanded to see the father of the child she

was carrying, in his true form. Zeus obliged and appeared to her as thunder and lightning. In the resulting tumult, Semele was killed and Bromius was born. This god is usually seen in contrast to the brighter, more rational god Apollo. Bromius--another name for Bacchus or Dionysus--was the god both of wine and of poetic inspiration (furor poeticus). Van Ingen (271) writes that the belief existed that if a man already had creative power, then the effects of intoxication would also be creative. This concept, he asserts, refers to the ancient poetic tradition--going back to Greek Dionysian festivals--that associated the worship of the gods, particularly this god, with alcohol and poetic inspiration. The term "Vater" was a usual form of address for this god and can be found joined with his other names: in Mahler Müller's "Dithyrambe," where he is called "Vater Evan, Vater Bacche" (349) and in Herder's "Dithyrambe" as "Evan, Vater" (29: 265). Whether Goethe intended Bromius to be seen merely as the god of wine or as a being with powers equal to those of Apollo will be discussed in part 5 of this thesis.

In the seventh stanza, returning to his original theme of a controlling spirit, Goethe calls Bromius "Jahrhunderts Genius," in a possibly critical reference to the materialistic banality and superficiality of his own century (Loeper 322), and, perhaps, to his own early works. Klaus Weimar maintains that the term "genius of the century" pertains to the many "Bromiusdichter" of the Anacreontic school, active earlier in the eighteenth century and up to the period when Goethe was composing "Wandrers Sturmlied." The poet compares Bromius with two other sources of inspiration: Phoebus Apollo, the

sun that warms the earth, and "innre Glut" which inspired Pindar, who did not need to look for external stimuli. Pindar is the first real being that Goethe has named. The gods are named, but are not real; the peasant is (perhaps) real, but is not named. Meredith Lee (21) suggests that the introduction of Pindar confirms "that the problem at issue here is centrally one of poetic identity." By this she could mean that, up to this point, the poem had dealt with art ("Genius") versus life ("Bauer"). By introducing Pindar, the theme is fixed and focused on one type of art. Possibly Goethe perceived Pindar as an ideal, a model for his own poetic creation at a time when he was looking for direction.

The next stanza (VIII) begins with the lament: "Weh, weh," which one scholar sees as echoing the labor pains of Semele at Bromius' birth (van Ingen 272). Whether or not we accept this, there is no doubt that it is a warning of what is about to happen. The poet now realizes that "innre Wärme" is what is required. External inspiration--in this case, wine--is of no use to him if inner warmth is lacking. Only with a combination of the two can he attain the "Mittelpunckt" (line 61). This "middle point," following as it does the concepts of "inner warmth" and "warmth of the soul," would seem to mean man's essential heart and being. Gerhardt Kaiser, however, writes that Goethe's knowledge of mysticism causes him to interpret "Mittelpunckt" more specifically:

> Im Innern ist der Gott, das glühende Innen tritt im Enthusiasmus nach aussen, das Aussen wird zum Innen in einer unio mystica. 'Mittelpunkt' ist der Gott und ist mit ihm identisch die Seele. (137)

In this stanza, the realms of Greek and Christian mythology have become merged into one concept. Van Ingen brings out the fact that for Goethe there was no essential difference between heathen and Christian religions and quotes a letter from Goethe, in which he wrote: "Der Mensch gewöhne sich täglich, in der Bibel oder im Homer zu lesen" (Letter to Kanzler von Müller, May 30 1814). At the beginning of the poem, Goethe had apostrophized Genius, but had not asked for help. He praised its power and its effects. Now, in the eighth stanza, he sees clearly that he has a responsibility of his own: he must show and use his inborn creativity, or he will receive no help. He is reminded of the inadequacy of his own inner warmth (line 63) and of the relationship of the "Glut" to that of Apollo: the god will warm only those who "glow toward" him. Only the already inspired will receive inspiration. "God helps those who help themselves." If the god's glance rests on someone devoid of warmth, then it will remain cold and move on to the green cedar tree that does not even need it. The cedar is not meant as a natural part of the landscape--certainly not of the landscape of northern Europe--but is a symbol of evergreen, eternal life. It seems to belong more in the realms of the gods than in the peasant's world.

The word "Neidgetroffen" has been variously interpreted and will be discussed in Chapter Five.

The final part of the triad begins in line 71 with the poet's realization that he has been overlooking the true source of his inspiration: the storm, which is now raging. Again, he calls directly on a god, as he did with Genius, the Muses and Graces, Bromius and Apollo. This apostrophe is more intense, however, the word "dich" being uttered six times in as many lines. The genius of the moment is Jupiter Pluvius, the bringer of rain, the cause of the poet's present physical discomfort. But Jupiter is also the most powerful god, the ruler of the heavens and father of both Dionysus and Apollo. As such, he unifies external and internal life. The poet begins to realize what he had not seen--or had chosen not to mention--at the beginning of the poem: that the source of his poetry is not merely abstract inspiration and that even adverse conditions can themselves be inspiring. He no longer feels the need for "Entgegensingen": he and the storm are now one. Goethe's apostrophe to Jupiter could come directly from the opening words of the Seventeenth Idyll of Theocritus:

> From Zeus let us begin and with Zeus in our poems,
> Muses, let us make end, for of immortals he is best.
>
> (Idyll XVII,1f.)

There is also an unmistakably biblical feel to these lines: Jehova (or, in this case Jupiter: Zeus) as alpha and omega. The unifying force of Jupiter as the father of Dionysus and Apollo is more than a

mere link. He is the poem and the poem is the storm. "Dich dich strömt mein Lied" (line 76), cries the poet, and with this transitive use of the verb "strömen," he stresses the pouring of the rain, the outpouring of his song and the fact that they are the same thing. It is a "Sturmlied," one that not merely sings about the tempest, but that sings and breathes it.

The torrent of rain turns the poet's mind to another stream--the "castalischer Quell." This was a spring on the southern slope of Mount Parnassus near Delphi, dedicated to Apollo, home of the Muses and often mentioned by Ovid and Pindar. Whoever drank from it received poetic inspiration and prophetic powers. Yet this stream is a mere tributary compared with the torrent now drenching our poet. The spring, he says, is still a source of inspiration, but only for "müsigen/Sterblich Glücklichen." Goethe sees himself as the very antithesis of that: he is active ("Wanderer"); he is immortal ("Göttergleich") and he is blessed with inspiring hardships (the storm and the mud). Jupiter does not provide him with a comfortable bed, as his Genius had done. But he is still covered and embraced--now by the rain itself: "Der du mich fassend deckst" (line 84). He is totally absorbed into the oneness of nature and his own spirit.

We now meet two of the "müsigen/Sterblich Glücklichen," poets inspired more by Dionysus-Bromius and Apollo, the keeper of the Muses, than by Jupiter, the "Sturmathmende Gottheit." The next two stanzas begin with the word "nicht" and move through lyrical descriptions, finishing with a one-word line, naming the poets Anacreon and Theocritus. Speaking directly to Jupiter, Goethe says that the god

never visited playful Anacreon by his elm tree with his doves and rose wreaths; nor did Jupiter embrace friendly, waving Theocritus, with his bees and honey in the poplar wood, in the mountains, by the shores of Sibaris. In other words, these two poets were not inspired by the raging power that Jupiter is now exerting.

A discussion of some of the elements Goethe uses in these stanzas (IX and X) will make their significance more comprehensible. Anacreon was a Greek lyric poet (c. 550 B.C.), famed for his songs in praise of the gentle pleasures of life. In Klopstock's "Lehrling der Griechen" (75), doves are seen as his playmates, and elms and roses figure in his poems and in those of the Anacreontic school. He was the poet of Bacchus and had been the inspiration for much of the contemporary verse that Goethe knew and wrote. Although only six of the poems attributed to Anacreon are known to be authentic, many poets of the early eighteenth century claimed to imitate the style, which dealt with the power of love, praise of the beloved, wine and the enjoyment of life. The fashion for this type of poetry lasted from c. 1740-1770 and Goethe followed the fashion in his early work. The other poet Goethe mentions in this stanza is Theocritus (c. 300 B.C.), who came from Syracuse in Sicily and was the originator of pastoral verse. Bees and honey are images often used by him. The "Pappelwald" occurs in one of Theocritus' own idylls, in which he describes a spring surrounded by black poplars: "And hard by the spring, poplars and elms, with green foliage . . . " (Idyll VII: line 7f).

It is not totally clear what Goethe meant by the phrase "An des Sibaris Strand." In Greek mythology, Sibaris was a monster that lived

in a cave on Mount Parnassus and killed men and animals. It was slain by Eurybatus and on that spot a spring and a stream arose and the area was named Sybaris. Later, a Greek provincial town in southern Italy was given the same name, and this area, on the Gulf of Taranto, is the scene of at least two of Theocritus' idylls. Goethe may have combined two images here: the stream on Mount Parnassus and the setting of Theocritus' Idyll VII:

> And for me may Sybaris flow with honey . . . .
> Tomorrow I'll wash you all in Sybaris lake.
>
> (Idyll V, lines 126 and 145f.)

This is indeed a reference to the town in southern Italy, which, before its destruction in 510 B.C., lay between the rivers Sybaris and Crathis and was renowned for the hedonistic life-style of its inhabitants. Goethe uses the word in its masculine form, however (the town is feminine), so he may even be referring to "the Sybarite," in other words Theocritus himself.

The next line, "In dem hohen Gebürg nicht," is also unclear. If Sibaris is the stream on Parnassus, then the "Gebürg" must be the mountain itself. This theory is supported by the fact that it is bathed in sunshine and Apollo is the sun-god and the keeper of the Muses on Parnassus. That Goethe was referring to the stream on Parnassus seems very likely, as it would be consistent with other poetic images in the work: Apollo, the Muses, the Castalian Stream and the Python. If, however, we pay more attention to the fact that Goethe refers to a beach and think of Sybaris as the river in Italy,

or as Theocritus himself, then the mountain could be the Sicilian volcano Etna. G. von Loeper maintains that Etna is too far away and that this reference is to Heräen, the scene of Theocritus' Eclogues (322). Neither of these arguments is very convincing. One explanation might be that, for the purposes of this poem, Goethe has used Theocritus' Sybaris and the Greek mountain Parnassus and created his own mythological scene, so locating Theocritus on Parnassus.

Both of these poets--the Dionysian Anacreon and the Apolline Theocritus--receive their inspiration from a "Nebenbach" (line 79). They are not criticized as being of no interest as lyric poets, but they are not involved with this powerful "Genius." They are "zärtlich" and "freundlich," "singend" and "lallend," "tändelnd" and "winckend," one might almost say "fair-weather poets," in contrast to Goethe's stormy outpouring.

With Stanza XII, the pace of the poem changes. These final fourteen lines, written at a later date than the rest of the poem, might almost be viewed as a separate work. Nothing more is said of the Muses, and little about the gods or the storm. Yet there are unmistakable links. "Waten" in the final line reminds us of the water and the mud, and the "Himmlische Macht" could be Jupiter. The hut reminds us again of the peasant's return home. The first image in these final lines--"Wenn die Räder rasselten Rad an Rad/Rasch ums Ziel weg"--recalls the Olympian Odes of Pindar, who was briefly mentioned in the seventh stanza as a poet inspired by "innre Glut." Pindar was a contemporary of Anacreon, but his powerful and solemn odes contrasted greatly with Anacreon's light-hearted verse and had a great

effect on Goethe, when he came to translate them--or what he thought were the works of Pindar--(Der junge Goethe 3: 433) in the early 1770's. Much of Pindar's work dealt with the Olympian and Pythian games, reflected in lines 104 through 109 in our poem. We see the chariots racing round the winning post, the young men glowing with victory, the whips cracking and the dust thrown up, falling like hail into the valley, This hail, however, is inspiring, not threatening like the "Schlossensturm" of the first stanza. This is the poetry of heroism: danger and courage combined. Pindar's heart glowed in the face of danger, glowed with courage. We are immediately reminded of the poet's lack of courage in stanza six.

The poet is also reminded of it (line 112). We see another sudden "return" such as we saw at the end of the fifth stanza. There we saw the poet fall from grace, back to the earth of the peasant. Here, he goes from "Glühte" to "Armes Herz"--from glowing inspiration to pitiable exhaustion. He is aware of himself and his own situation again. Not only can he no longer compare himself to the gods, he cannot even measure up to human genius. He has lost both his "Mut" and his "Glut." Surely it cannot be coincidence that the two words in the poem that rhyme are the two elements the poet most longs to possess! There is no more talk of bravely 'singing towards' the storm. Stammering disconnected phrases and words:

Muth Pindar--Glühte--

Armes Herz--

Dort auf dem Hügel--

and seeming to gasp for breath, he calls on a "Himmlische Macht," presumably any ear that will hear. Now he is begging for enough strength, inspiration and courage to take him home:

> Dort ist meine Hütte--
> Zu waten bis dort hin.

Any ideas of walking on or floating above the mud have gone. The key word now is "waten." His sights are lowered from the lofty heights of Parnassus to "meine Hütte," the symbol of his earthly existence, to which he wishes to return, like the peasant, expecting nothing more than earthly gifts.

CHAPTER III

FORM, METER AND VOCABULARY

When this poem was first published in 1810, it appeared with the title "Dithyrambus." Goethe also later referred to it as one of the "strange hymns and dithyrambs" that he used to sing to himself during his long walks. A dithyramb was originally a Greek choral song, inspired by wine, wild and vehement in character, usually irregular in form and written not as a personal testament, but in unqualified praise of Dionysus. Aritstotle said that tragedy eventuated from the improvisations of the composer-leaders of dithyrambs (Epp 7) and that this poetry used rhythm, music and meter simultaneously (Golden 3). Plutarch defined a dithyramb as "whim mixed with humor and arrogance, seriousness and madness" (van Ingen 283). Such a mixture of content must by its very nature produce a work that may seem confused, even incoherent. Herder also wrote of the form and content of a dithyramb but more specifically of the vocabulary used by ancient singers of such hymns:

> Ihr Gesang war voll von der thierisch-sinnlichen
> Sprache des Weins und der Wein erhob sich wieder
> zu einer gewissen mystischen Sprache der Götter:
> ein heiliger Gesang im doppelten Verstande. (310)

Lessing spoke of the unique metrical form of a dithyramb:

> . . . eine künstliche Prosa, in alle Teile ihrer Perioden aufgelöset, deren jeden man als einen einzeln Vers eines besondern Silbenmaßes betrachten kann. (Werke 5: 181)

So did Klopstock, who called them:

> Oden, welche in jeder Strophe das Silbenmaß verändern. (Oden I 235)

Klopstock, the iconoclast and creator of free rhythm, also asked of his creation:

> Wilst du Strophen werden, o Lied? oder
> Ununterwürfig, Pindars Gesängen gleich,
> Gleich Zeus erhabnem truncknem Sohne,
> Frey aus der schaffenden Sel enttaumeln?
>
> (Wagenknecht 92)

Our poem has many of the characteristics described above. The meter certainly varies with almost every line; it seems to have a "certain mystical language" of unusual vocabulary and strange syntax; it does indeed give the impression of tumbling out of the poet; it is obviously influenced by "Zeus' drunken son" and by the odes of Pindar; and it contains Plutarch's humor and arrogance, seriousness and, again in the syntax, a certain madness. Yet "Wandrers Sturmlied" is not a

dithyramb in the classical sense of the word, as it is not dedicated to the honor of Dionysus.

There is, however, no doubt that the form of the poem is that of free rhythm. This style, introduced by Klopstock, meant mixed rhythm and is best defined by negatives: it has no firm strophic structure, no firm number of stressed syllables per line and, within the line, no regular occurrence of stressed and unstressed syllables (Glier 168). It also lacks rhyme. On the positive side, it allows alliteration and is meant to be read according to the natural rhythm of speech, with natural pauses rather than metrical caesurae. Free rhythm differs from prose in that there are powerful and clearly accented elements which recur at roughly equal intervals. So the listener or reader is aware of meter, sometimes regular and repeated, at others varied and unique. Most importantly, the form and the rhythm of each line and each stanza are affected by the content. The language itself--and the way in which it is read--determines the rhythm. Klopstock explains his purpose:

> Vielleicht würde es dem Inhalt gewisser Gesänge sehr angemessen sein, wenn sie Strophen von ungleicher Länge hätten und die Verse der Alten mit den unsrigen so verbänden, daß die Art der Harmonie mit der Art der Gedanken beständig übereinstimmte. (Wolfgang Kayser 53)

In other words, the rhythm must be dependent on the thought. The language itself, and the meaning behind it, will set the rhythm.

Klopstock had thus created the possibility of following every nuance of meaning with rhythm, so producing variations in volume, hitherto rare in German poetry. Wolfgang Kayser writes that Klopstock was influenced by events going on in the world of music at the time. In Mannheim, Johann Stamitz (1717-1757) was developing a new sound, which included crescendo, diminuendo and decrescendo. His late symphonies placed considerable emphasis on such dynamic effects and forceful, vigorous, rhythmic drive. His innovation, although not original, as such changes were already being felt in Italy, had a revolutionary effect on German music. Even the young Mozart was advised by his father to go to Mannheim and study the modern style (Kayser 54). In this new form, the rhythm was now interpreted by the conductor, as in the new poetry it would be interpreted by the reader. The characteristic of that form was "Gleitdynamik"--the gradual shifting from piano to forte, from presto to lento--and corresponds closely with the changing moods in Kloptock's odes and, more particularly, with our poem "Wandrers Sturmlied." A description of Stamitz' new orchestra in Mannheim might very well be describing this work:

> Sein Forte ist ein Donner, sein Crescendo
> ein Katarakt, sein Diminuendo ein in der
> Ferne plätschernder Kristall, sein Piano
> ein Frühlingshauch. (Kayser 54)

Following the ideals of the free rhythm style, Goethe did not divide his poem into stanzas in the traditional sense of the word. We

find, rather, groups of lines, united by their content. The first three stanzas deal with the same subject--what happens if Genius does not leave--and are almost equal in their structure. Stanzas I and II have nine lines each, stanza III has ten. The length of the lines varies from four syllables to ten, but the number of beats (stressed syllables) varies little: from two to four. The meter is basically trochaic, each line beginning with a down-beat and with stressed and unstressed syllables alternating regularly, possibly echoing the footsteps of the poet as he tramps through the countryside. However, the rhythm is not allowed to become monotonous, as variations in meter occur when the poet lists the benefits his Genius will afford him:

Wird der Regen Wolcke (oo_o_o)
Wird dem Schlossensturm (oo_o_) (lines 5-6)

Wirst ihn heben übern Schlammpfad (oo_o oo_ _) (11)
Wie mit Blumenfüssen (oo_o_o) (13)

Wirst die wollnen Flügel unterspreiten (oo _o_ooo_o) (20)
Wirst mit Hüterfittigen ihn decken (oo_o_oo o_o) (22)
Wirst im Schneegestöber Wärm umhüllen (oo_o_o_o_o) (25)

The two unstressed syllables at the beginning of each of these lines break away from the trochaic plodding of the poet through the mud and add a lighter note.

The regularity of the meter in these stanzas is augmented by the regular repetition of the initial line ("Wen/Den du nicht verlässest Genius") and of individual words:

Nicht der Regen, nicht der Sturm (2)

Wird der Regen Wolcke

Wird dem Schlossensturm (5-6)

Wirst die wollnen Flügel unterspreiten (20)

Wirst mit Hüterfittigen ihn decken (22)

Wirst im Schneegestöber Wärm umhüllen (25)

Nach der Wärme ziehn sich Musen

Nach der Wärme Charitinnen (26-27)

In spite of the lack of rhyme and the fact that the rhythm is open to interpretation, "das Gesetz der Wiederkehr im Gedicht" (Jünger 134) helps to set this apart as a poem rather than a piece of prose. There is little punctuation, each idea merging with the next, a stream of parallel images and associations rather than a logical progression.

With the first two lines of the fourth stanza, Goethe again breaks away from the trochaic meter, beginning with an unstressed syllable and bringing two or three unstressed syllables together:

Umschwebt mich ihr Musen! (o_oo_o)

Ihr Charitinnen! (ooo_o or o_o_o) (29-30)

This change of rhythm reflects the poet's move from the descriptive incantation of the first three stanzas to a direct plea, an almost melodic prayer to the Muses. Stanzas IV and V have only five lines each, but they are similar in length to those of the first three

stanzas (3-10 syllables, 1-4 beats). The meter is relatively regular and Goethe continues to use the device of repetition:

Das ist Wasser das ist Erde (_o_o_o_o) (31)

Ihr seyd rein wie das Herz der Wasser (_o_oo_o_o)
Ihr seyd rein wie das Marck der Erde (_o_oo_o_o)
Ihr umschwebt mich und ich schwebe (_o_o oo_o)
Über Wasser über Erde (_o_o_o_o) (34-37)

These lines, with their repetitive elements, could be read differently, and one could stress the properties and the actions of the Muses and Graces rather than the beings themselves:

Ihr seyd rein wie das Herz der Wasser (oo_oo_o_o)
Ihr seyd rein wie das Marck der Erde (oo_oo_o_o)
Ihr umschwebt mich und ich schwebe (oo_o oo_o) (34-36)

Both stanza IV and stanza V end with the three-syllable word "Göttergleich," with its two stressed syllables (_o_).

In the sixth stanza, which I have identified as the beginning of the second major division, the basic meter changes from trochaic to iambic, as the "Bauer" is introduced. We also see for the first time punctuation within the line, as the poet takes stock of the peasant's and his own situation:

Soll der zurückkehren (o_o_oo)
Der kleine, schwarze, feurige Bauer (o_o_o_o)

Soll der zurückkehren, erwartend (o_o_ooo_o)

Nur deine Gaben, Vater Bromius (o_o_o_o_oo) (39-42)

In the next line (43) the meter adopts, through the use of a spondee, a variation unseen up to this point:

Und hellleuchtend, umwärmend Feuer (o__oo_o_o)

These four stressed syllables slow the pace, as do the following lines, which have a quality that is almost prose-like, yet is punctuated by breaks in the syntax and by the repetition of "Musen und Charitinnen," "Soll" and "kehren." The irregularity of the rhythm and the difficult syntax (the "ich" of line 45 is the subject of "soll . . . kehren" in line 51!) not only slow the tempo, as if the poet has come to a standstill, but also reflect the confusion in his mind. Only the peasant--"Der kleine, schwarze, feurige Bauer"--with his iambic gait, compared to the poet's trochaic plodding, has any energy.

The seventh stanza--the call to Bromius--consists of short, sharp lines, with three to five syllables and two beats each. As in the previous stanzas, the poet again uses the device of repetition in rhythm and vocabulary:

Vater Bromius (oo_oo)

Du bist Genius (oo_oo)

Jahrhunderts Genius (o_o_oo) (52-54)

These three lines match, both in their meter and in the sound of their final two syllables.

At the beginning of the eighth stanza, the reader's/listener's attention is caught by the two stressed syllables: "Weh weh" and the subsequent regular trochaic rhythm and repetition in:

. . . innre Wärme (_o_o)

Seelenwärme (_o_o) (59-60)

These two short and metrically identical lines build a tension that is resolved in the following, one-word line: "Mittelpunkt" (line 61). An abrupt halt is brought about by the powerful stresses in this word (_o_), reminiscent of the same meter and function of "Göttergleich" in lines 33 and 38. The next two lines could be treated as one, rhythmically, with a new iambic beat, if the word "ihm" is stressed:

Glüh ihm entgegen

Phöb Apollen

Again, the stress could be placed on the imperative rather than on the pronoun, giving the variation: _oo_o/_o_o and emphasizing that the action is most important. However, if only "entgegen" is stressed (ooo_o), this would imply that the importance lies more in the poet's response than in the god himself: glow back at Apollo, return his light. Yet Apollo, the most important being, the provider of inspiration, is set apart on his own line and it seems therefore that "ihm" should receive the stress.

With the stress on "Kalt," the rhythm now returns to trochaic meter, and two beats per line. The exceptions to this are the two

lines that refer to the distance and majesty of Apollo's glance, each of which has four regular beats:

Über dich vorübergleiten (_o_o_o_o) (66)

Auf der Zeder Grün verweilen (_o_o_o_o) (68)

The similarity of these two lines is also echoed in the assonance of their final words, which extends back to the penultimate accented syllable. Once again, the stanza ends with three powerful syllables: "Sein nicht harrt," all of which can be stressed, completing part two of the poem as the three-syllabled "Göttergleich" formed the climax of section one.

Here then, in these three stanzas (VI-VIII), we see and hear mounting tension and crescendo. It begins with the rising intonation of the question that completes stanza VI: "Soll mutlos kehren?" The tone becomes more uncertain (stanza VII) but rises again through thoughts of Pindar and Phoebus Apollo, peaking with the cry, in trochaic, Anacreontic meter:

Weh weh innre Wärme

Seelen Wärme

Mittelpunckt (59-61)

as the poet realizes what he needs and what may be lacking. With the word "Mittelpunckt" the fortissimo is reached. A slight decrescendo follows, taking us down to the calming "Sein nicht harrt."

The third and final part of the poem begins with the heavily stressed question: "Warum nennt mein Lied dich zuletzt?" (o_ _o_ _o_)

(line 71), reflecting the return of the poet's thoughts to his present circumstances. After asking this rhetorical question, he resumes a regular meter and repetition of phrases. Picking up the word "dich" from the first line of stanza IX, the poet increases the pace as he enumerates the reasons why he should have mentioned Jupiter before this moment:

> Dich von dem es begann
> Dich in dem es endet
> Dich aus dem es quoll (72-74)

The realization is underlined by the double repetition of "dich" in line 76: "Dich dich strömt mein Lied," the climax being reached with the second "dich." Of the fifteen lines in this stanza, four are reserved for the name "Jupiter Pluvius," which punctuates the poet's thought process, as he returns each time to his newly-perceived inspiration. This whole stanza, with the repetition in "Quell," "Quillt" and "Quillet" and the balanced ". . . müsigen/Sterblich Glücklichen," along with the almost total lack of punctuation, give the tumbling feeling that Klopstock had called for.

We saw that the crescendo built up in the second section had fallen to a calmer mood at the end of stanza VIII. But at the beginning of this final section, the question: "Warum nennt mein Lied dich zuletzt?" (line 71) begins to build the excitement again. It rises quickly to line 76 ("Dich dich strömt mein Lied") with a forte on the second "dich." A diminuendo follows, as Goethe turns his attention to the "müsigen" poets on Mount Parnassus. As the Castalian

Stream falls through lyrical descriptions and complicated syntax, the power diminishes--but not totally. The repetition of the name Jupiter Pluvius keeps the excitement simmering and does not let it die.

The following eighteen lines bring a quiet period, with gentle references to doves, roses, bees and honey and a matching gentle rhythm, brought about by the pairs of unstressed syllables in each line:

Mit dem Tauben Paar (oo_oo)
In dem zärtlichen Arm (oo_oo_)
Mit der freundlichen Ros umkränzt (oo_oo_o_) (87-89)

An des Sibaris Strand (oo_oo_)
In dem hohen Gebürg nicht (oo_oo_o)
Dessen Stirn die (oo_o)
Allmächtige Sonne beglänzt (o_oo_oo_) (94-97)

The mixture of regular rhythm and highly complex syntax reflect the calm atmosphere created by these poets, embedded in the decisive rejection of the poet as expressed in the words "Nicht" and "Sturmathmende Gottheit," which introduce and end stanza X. The rhythm becomes even more regular as the stanza (XI) progresses, with gentle alternations of trochee and dactyl and the repetition of present participles, unifying the three lines:

Den Bienen singenden (o_o_oo)
Honig lallenden (_o_oo)
Freundlich winckenden (_o_oo) (101-103)

finishing once more with a three-syllable word ("Theokrit") to mark the end of a section.

The final stanza opens with a sudden change in meter and tone, like the crash of cymbals after a pianissimo passage:

> Wenn die Räder rasselten, Rad an Rad
> Rasch ums Ziel weg (104-105)

The alliteration, assonance and powerful rhythm in this ten-syllable line (104) give us the greatest forte so far, peaking in line 106, with its twelve syllables and seven stresses:

> Hoch flog siegdurchglühter Jünglinge Peitschenknall

The lines now become shorter, the syntax more chaotic and the rhythm less regular as we follow the poet into the anacoluthic final lines of what appears to be desperation or panic. In this apparent disorder, however, a metrical pattern emerges. The lines in which the exhausted poet is asking for strength:

> Armes Herz-- (_o_)
> Himmlische Macht-- (_oo_)

and when he sees the hut in the distance:

> Dort auf dem Hügel (_oo_o)
> Dort ist meine Hütte (_o_o_o)

have the plodding, slower trochaic/dactylic meter of most of the poem.

The other two lines:

Nur soviel Glut (o_o_)
Zu waten bis dorthin (o_o_o_)

have the lighter, iambic step of the peasant: both poet and peasant now find themselves in similar positions.

We have seen that the meter and rhythm of this poem, although, at first reading seemingly erratic and often open to various interpretations, have, in fact, a pattern. This "dichterische Darstellung des Schaffensrausches" (van Ingen 270) of the type that the Sturm und Drang wished to see, shows the same control in its vocabulary and its syntax, although they too appear wild and confusing at first. Almost every line is a syntactical element, a colon, often, as we have seen, with a repeated pattern. For example:

Nicht der Regen nicht der Sturm (subject)
Haucht ihm Schauer übers Herz (predicate) (2-3)

A line can also be an adverbial phrase or clause, balancing the main clause:

Wirst die wollnen Flügel unterspreiten
Wenn er auf den Felsen schläfft
Wirst mit Hüterfittigen ihn decken
In des Haines Mitternacht (20-23)

The line might also take the form of a single name or noun:

Python tödtend leicht gros
Pythius Apollo (16-17)

Abseits von dir
Jupiter Pluvius (82-83)

Tändelnden ihn blumenglücklichen
Anakreon (91-92)

Freundlich winckenden
Theokrit (102-3)

In a descriptive passage, we can find similar corresponding elements on individual lines, as in this image of dust and hail:

Und sich Staub wälzt
Wie von Gebürg herab sich
Kieselwetter ins Tahl wälzt (107-109),

or in this depiction of the mud:

Das ist Wasser das ist Erde
Und der Sohn des Wassers und der Erde (31-32)

Each line then, has its own specific purpose, and apart from the lines:

Entgegensingen wie die
Lerche du dadroben (7-8)

and:

> Soll der zuzückkehren, erwartend
>
> Nur deine Gaben Vater Bromius (41-42)

there is no real enjambment, even though a sentence may continue through several lines. Goethe rewrote the first set of lines quoted above for the 1815 edition of his works, so that they read:

> Entgegensingen
>
> Wie die Lerche
>
> Du da droben

Both the stanzas of the poem and the lines within the stanzas form complete units with natural pauses. The length of a line varies according to its content: no attempt is made to force an element into a set pattern (Minor 328). The effect of this is to render punctuation almost unnecessary. For example, in stanza VI, the natural pauses at the ends of the lines make the otherwise confusing syntax clear. Similarly, in stanza IX, it becomes clear whom the poet is addressing and who the subject and the object of the verb are. "Du" is the "Sturmathmende Gottheit," in apposition in the last line; each "ihn" refers to Anakreon. With this pattern already established, the following stanza can be even more irregular, as the reader's/listener's ear has been primed. Goethe was therefore able to place the verb ("Fasstest") five lines away from its negation, without the sense being lost. Despite the unusual syntax, it is obvious that the subject and object are, once again, "du" and "ihn."

Another sign of the control Goethe exerted over this poem is, as we have seen, his use of two or more stressed syllables to rein in the rhythm (Fittbogen 87). Some examples of this are:

Python tödtend leicht gros (16)

Soll der zurück/kehren (39)

Und hell/leuchtend (43)

Weh weh innre Wärme (59)

Dich dich strömt mein Lied (76)

Sturmathmende Gottheit (93)

Hoch flog siegdurchglühter Jünglinge Peitschenknall (106)

Muth Pindar (111)

The periods of regular trochaic and occasionally iambic meter are never allowed to take over the poem. The reader's ear is constantly exposed to new and varied sounds and rhythms.

The same applies to Goethe's choice and use of words. Although he does not use rhyme in "Wandrers Sturmlied," Goethe often repeats a word to mark the end of a rhythmic unit. Examples are:

Genius (eight times in 1-29 and again in 53 and 54)

Sturm--Schlossensturm (2 and 6)

Erde (31, 32, 35 and 37)

Musen (26 and 29)

Charitinnen (27 and 30)

Wärme (59 and 60)

Jupiter Pluvius (75, 77, 83 and 85)

wälzt (107 and 109)

Repetition without rhyme has the effect of imparting the quality of poetry to language without the risk of having to use certain, possibly inappropriate words, merely in order to create a rhyme, and so gives the poet and his poem a great deal more freedom of expression.

Free rhythm tended to bring with it its own vocabulary. In "Wandrers Sturmlied," Goethe made full use of this new freedom, to the point of creating new words. Most frequent are compound nouns, of which Aristotle wrote that they were particularly suitable for dithyrambs (Golden 41) and of which there are many examples in this poem, some of them unique, others more conventional. Fittbogen divided these words into three categories: those that Goethe coined and used only in this one context (marked in the following text with an asterisk); those that Goethe coined but were later used by other poets ("neu") and those about which he was not sure (34f.). Examples of these are:

Schlossensturm * (pronounced: Schloßen) (6)

Schlammpfad (11)

Feuerflügel (neu) (12)

Blumenfüssen * (14)

fluthschlamm * (15)

Hüterfittigen * (22)

Schneegestöber (25)

Seelen Wärme (neu) (60)

Fürstenblick (65)

Nebenbach * (79)

Pappelwald (94)

Peitschenknall * (106)

Kieselwetter (109)

Whether or not these nouns are Goethe's invention or whether or not they are unique to this poem, they are certainly unusual and give the work a quality of its own.

It is not only compound nouns that are a characteristic of Goethe's Sturm und Drang lyric poetry. In this work we find several adjectives coined for the occasion:

Göttergleich (33)

Neidgetroffen (67)

blumenglücklichen (91)

Sturmathmende (93)

siegdurchglühter (106)

These expressions were seldom, if ever, repeated by Goethe or anyone else (Fittbogen 34f.). This fitted well with the idea of Hamann, expressed by Goethe in his "Von deutscher Baukunst," of individuals and nations being "charakteristisch," unique and peculiar unto themselves. Words and rhythms were to be original, dynamic, and uniquely appropriate to their content.

Complex though the nouns and adjectives are in this poem, Goethe uses simple verbs and rarely invents compounds. In spite of their simplicity, the verbs are often used to surprising effect in the poem. For instance, adopting a device often used by Klopstock, he makes a

normally intransitive verb transitive by adding a prefix, as with "entgegensingen" (line 7), "unterspreiten" (line 20), or "Glüh ihm entgegen" (line 62). Or, he simply uses the verb transitively, as, for example, "Dich dich strömt mein Lied" (line 76) or "Glühte deine Seel Gefahren" (line 110). The result may sound strange, but the meaning is obvious and Goethe has guaranteed a unique expression.

Not only are the verbs simple, they are also used sparingly. In the first stanza, only three different verbs are used (verlässest/ Haucht/entgegensingen). There are also only three in the second stanza (verlässest/heben/wandeln). In the following stanza, however--as the poet becomes aware of the warmth his genius is generating--there are six verbs (verlässest/unterspreiten/schläfft/ decken/umhüllen/ziehn). In the next two stanzas, as the poet is talking to the Muses, excitement is generated by the repetition of two of the three verbs ((um)schweben/ist/seyd/wandle). The poet's interest is focused on the essence of these beings and the sense of floating they engender.

As the peasant appears in stanza VI, a sense of bewilderment and questioning is created by the repetition of: "Soll . . . (zurück)kehren" (lines 39, 41, 43, 51). Stanza VII once again concentrates on essence rather than on activity--the essence of three types of inspiration: Bromius, "innre Glut," and Apollo. The only verb used is the verb "to be." There is more activity in the next stanza (VIII) as the poet realizes the danger he is in. With the imperative "Glüh," he exorts himself to return Apollo's favor, whose glance will otherwise slip by and come to rest where it is not needed.

The greatest number and variety of verbs occur in stanza IX, in which the poet finally realizes where his real inspiration lies. There are seven verbs, one of which (quoll/Quillt/Quillet) is repeated in three grammatical variations. This repetition, together with the verb "strömt," stresses the flowing of the stream, the rain and the poem, bringing them all together as one element.

The tranquil passages, describing Anacreon and Theocritus, contain only one verb each (besucht/Fasstest)--and even these are negated! There is one final burst of activity, in lines 104-111, as we see the youthful, energetic participants in the Olympic Games: "rasselten," "flog," "wälzt," and "Glühte." In the final six lines, as the exhausted poet struggles toward his hut, there are no more finite verbs, only the uncomfortable, earth-bound infinitive: "Zu waten."

The frequency and variety of verbs in this poem may be limited, but this is more than made up for by Goethe's use of present participles. These are not nearly as common in German as they are in English, though they were widely used in classical poetry and had become a favorite poetic device since Klopstock, as they give the language color, activity and the feeling of immediacy or continuing action. Examples of these are:

Python tödtend (16)

Soll der zurückkehren, erwartend (41)

Und hellleuchtend umwärmend Feuer (43)

Umkränzende Seeligkeit (49)

Der du mich fassend deckst (84)

Tändelnden ihn . . . (91)

Sturmathmende Gottheit (93)

Den Bienen singenden (100)

Honig lallenden (101)

Freundlich winckenden (102)

Each of these has the function of adding dynamism to an otherwise static quality.

Another element that makes this poem interesting is the way in which Goethe uses Greek mythology to illustrate his hymn. Goethe hand-picked his gods and demi-gods, choosing only those concerned with poetry and poetic inspiration: the Muses and Graces, Bromius and Apollo. Even Jupiter, not usually associated with art, is portrayed here as a source of inspiration: Goethe had broken away from tradition and had found a new "Muse" uniquely his own. The gods here are not described as corporeal beings in a mythological world, but as real forces at work in the physical world, and each is addressed personally and with emotion and familiarity. Most importantly, the center of interest is the poet himself, not the gods. The world of Greek mythology has left the realm of fiction and has become a powerful force in the world and mind of the poet.

CHAPTER IV

THREE MAJOR INFLUENCES ON THE POEM

What was the cause of the great change in Goethe's poetic style at the time of writing "Wandrers Sturmlied"? There seem to have been three major influences on the young poet immediately preceding the writing of the poem. First, there was his study of Greek poets and translation of the Odes of Pindar. Then there was the influence of the new style of Klopstock. Finally, and most immediately, there was the direct personal influence of Herder.

Herder introduced Goethe to the writings and teachings of Hamann. The greatest effect that these had on Goethe was to make him see the poet as a creator and poetry as the "Muttersprache des Menschengeschlechts" (Hamann 197). He came to view poetry as a divine medium and learned to look back into the origins of whatever subject he was studying. With regard to poetry, this meant falling back to an "Ursprache," a language without rigid syntax, in which ideas are expressed as soon as they are perceived. Herder encouraged Goethe to study the literature of ancient peoples--the Greeks, Romans and Hebrews--and to create poetry with as much soul and fire as they had. Herder also wanted to see the creation of a German dithyramb, a poem of emotional outpouring, far away from the constraints of a rigid "Vernunft." He was not convinced it could be done. Herder thought of Pindar as a model for this kind of verse and wrote of him:

> Voll kühner Bilder und großer Anspielungen folgte er keinem weitern Plan, als den innerlich die Einbildungskraft malte, äußerlich zum Theil das Auge sahe und der Tanz foderte . . . wo nüchterne Seelen wenig Verbindung, viel Übertriebenes und alles ungeheuer finden musten. (Sämmtliche Werke 312)

Encouraged but unsettled by his friend and mentor, Goethe set out to follow his advice. In July 1772--only a short time after the experience that led to "Wandrers Sturmlied"--he announced to Herder:

> Seit ich nichts von euch gehört habe, sind die Griechen mein einzig Studium . . . da gingen mir die Augen über meine Unwürdigkeit erst auf, gerieth an Theokrit und Anakreon, zuletzt zog mich was an Pindarn, wo ich noch hänge (Goethes Briefe 16).

Pindar was seen in the eighteenth century as the embodiment of the impetuous creator, his work springing directly from the soul, breaking the bounds of convention in grammar, meter and vocabulary. "Pindarisieren" meant to write in the way of Pindar, or--more often--in the way they thought Pindar wrote. Most scholars agree that the works of Pindar did indeed exert an influence on the young Goethe, but disagree as to the extent of that influence.

Fittbogen (20) thinks that Pindar was a powerful influence, felt in the "Mut" and "Glut" of this poem and in its glorification of individuality and in the boldness and novelty of its expression. He does not think, however, that "Wandrers Sturmlied" should be seen as an attempt to imitate Pindar. Goethe, he says, would have written his hymns with or without knowledge of Greek odes and dithyrambs. It is the very individualism that Goethe felt in himself--and in Pindar's odes--that would not permit Goethe to imitate. Paul Reiff maintains, however, that Pindar had little, if any, influence on Goethe and feels that Goethe borrowed as much from Horace, Homer and Klopstock, particularly Klopstock. He justifies his argument as follows (171):

--A number of lines in "Wandrers Sturmlied" begin with the same word or group of words. Pindar did not do this, but anaphora was a popular device with the eighteenth century anacreontic poets.

--Apostrophes to divinities run throughout the poem. It was most unusual for Pindar to address a god directly. He usually addressed princes or victors. Klopstock, on the other hand, frequently addresses God.

--In this hymn Goethe uses present tenses and imperatives almost exclusively, which is very unlike the work of Pindar. There are also very short phrases, which enable the poet to form groups of sentences of any length. This, Reiff says, is far more like Klopstock than Pindar, whose sentences usually consist of long main or dependent clauses.

--The ideas in the poem are also far from those of Pindar, whose odes usually presented the same sequence of thought: the strophe would

mention and praise the person to whom the ode was dedicated; the antistrophe was commonly a eulogy to his benefactor; the epode contained mythical allusions and references to contemporary events. In "Wandrers Sturmlied" there are certainly mythical allusions, but the subjectivism with which they are handled is, again, typical of Klopstock and totally unlike Pindar.

Reiff admits that Goethe's letters to Herder at this time would seem to disprove his argument that Pindar exerted little influence on the poet. He thinks, however, that these letters, which often praise Pindar in glowing terms, may well have been written merely to please and humor his teacher. Goethe's state of mind was turbulent at the time--" . . . es geht bei mir noch alles entsetzlich durcheinander" (Letter to Herder, July 1772). Reiff maintains that, given this emotional upheaval, it would have been impossible for Goethe to make a thorough study of Pindar. Wilkinson and Willoughby disagree (110), saying that Goethe did assimilate Pindar's work quickly, as it was just what he needed at the time. Goethe himself wrote the following to Herder in the letter quoted above:

> Seit ich die Krafft der Worte [Brust] und
> [Eingeweide] fühle, ist mir in mir selbst
> eine neue Welt aufgegangen. Armer Mensch, an dem
> der Kopf alles ist! Ich wohne jezt in Pindar.
> . . . Ueber den Worten Pindars [Meisterschaft
> üben] ist mirs aufgegangen. Wenn du kühn
> im Wagen stehst, und vier neue Pferde wild

unordentlich sich an deinen Zügeln bäumen, du
ihre Krafft lenckst, den austretenden herbey, den
aufbäumenden hinabpeitschest und iagst und lenckst,
und wendest, peitschest, hältst und wieder ausjagst
bis alle sechzehn Füse in einem Tackt ans Ziel tragen.
Das ist Meisterschaft . . . Virtuosität.

(Der junge Goethe 3: 255)

Goethe saw and appreciated the wildness, courage and strength in the works of Pindar, but did not fail to realize that the power of the words had to be kept under control and directed toward the goal: the creation of a work of art.

To summarize: it is known that Goethe was translating some of Pindar's odes at this time and his letters to Herder would seem to indicate quite clearly that he found them inspiring. There are enough elements in " Wandrers Sturmlied" that are "pindaric" (complicated sentence structure, oblique references, excitement, powerful vocabulary and references to divine beings) to indicate a strong influence. Also, Pindar plays an important role in the work itself. He reminds the poet of his need for "innre Glut," and, finally, he is used as a model for what the poet would like to be: glowing with excitement in the face of danger. Whether or not Pindar's influence was second-hand, the result of Herder's enthusiasm, or whether it came directly from Pindar's work, there can be no doubt that this poem was affected by the Greek odes.

Whatever doubts there may be as to the extent of Pindar's influence, there appear to be few about that of Klopstock, the father of free rhythm in eighteenth century Germany. His revolutionary ideas arrived on the literary scene around the year 1750 and "die Perücken schütterten merkbar" (Heusler 20). Goethe used free rhythm for the first time in this hymn. Klopstock had also used the device of building compound nouns and adjectives and had used intransitive verbs transitively, with and without prepositions, as we have seen Goethe do. Klopstock also perceived the poet to be a kind of prophet, speaking a divine language and protected by God, a concept clearly reflected in this poem. In Klopstock's poetry, God is seen as part of Nature. The same element of divine immanence is apparent in "Wandrers Sturmlied," where Jupiter, the storm, the poet and his song are all one. Favorite words of Klopstock were: "Feuer," "Glut," "Sturm"-- all words of heat and energy, as we have seen them used here by Goethe. The concept of Genius (in the sense of "Genie") comes not from Pindar but from the ideas of Lessing and Klopstock. In 1771 a collection of Klopstock's odes was published in Darmstadt, where Goethe was spending much of his time. The opening ode, "Der Lehrling der Griechen," begins:

> Wen des Genius Blick, als er gebohren ward,
> Mit einweichendem Lächeln sah,
> Wen, als Knaben, ihr einst Smintheus Anakreons
> Fabelhafte Gespielinnen,
> Dichtrische Tauben umflogt, und sein mäonisch Ohr

Vor dem Lärme der Scholien
Sanft zugirrtet, und ihm, daß er das Alterthum
Ihrer faltigen Stirn nicht säh,
Eure Fittigen lieht, und ihn umschattetet . . . (Oden II, 3)

The similarities in these two poems cannot be overlooked. Both works begin with the same word ("wen"); they both make immediate reference to Genius, to Anacreon's doves (the Muses) and to their protective wings; they both address the Muses directly ("ihr"); the rhythm is mixed; and both poems have unusual vocabulary and syntax.

Klopstock himself was a serene, self-confident figure, someone to be both admired and envied by a troubled Goethe struggling with the problems of artistic and personal identity (Lee 19). Klopstock--like Pindar--could have been a test for Goethe's poetic strength, with "Wandrers Sturmlied" as the response to the challenge. Fittbogen feels that any influence Klopstock had on Goethe came, not through reading his works, but through the enthusiasm that Herder felt and passed on (18). Yet the specific similarities of language and imagery in these two poems make this opinion hard to accept.

Fittbogen also claims that Goethe, through Herder, was influenced by the parallelism of Hebrew verse. Goethe's parallels in this poem are not as systematic as those in Hebrew lyrics, but the influence is clearly felt, especially at the beginning of the work. In stanza I, lines one through seven, we find two sentences that are exactly parallel, both grammatically and semantically. The main idea is taken and expressed in two different ways. These two sentences are

themselves divided into parallel elements. This balancing parallelism continues through the first five stanzas, when it gives way to a more irregular style, although an echo of it is heard in the stanzas dealing with Anacreon and Theocritus.

The most reasonable conclusion to this discussion seems to be that Goethe was moved and influenced by much of what he heard and read at this time. His mind was full of the works of ancient poets and "Naturgenies," and elements of all of them are present in this poem: the excitement of Pindar, the lyrical parallels of Hebrew verse and the religious enthusiasm and metrical freedom of Klopstock, all revealed to Goethe by Herder.

CHAPTER V

PROBLEM AREAS WITH REFERENCE TO PAST AND PRESENT SCHOLARSHIP

Given the difficult nature of this poem and the fact that Goethe himself referred to it as "Halbunsinn," it is not surprising that there are some aspects of the work that continue to defy consensus. Chief among these are:

the significance of the gods

the significance and identity of the peasant

the meaning of "Neidgetroffen"

the meaning of the poem and whether or not it is ironic.

The following is a survey of some of the theories to date.

The main area of concern with regard to the significance of the gods is whether or not we should see a divine hierarchy at work. It would begin with Genius as a "Hüter," rise through Bromius as "Vater" and Apollo as "Fürst," to Jupiter, the "Gottheit," finishing with the Unknown God, the "Himmlische Macht." Running parallel to this would be a hierarchy of poets: the poet himself, then Anacreon and Theocritus and, finally, Pindar. This theory was first put forward in 1945 by Leo Spitzer (164). Three years later, Wilkinson and Willoughby disagreed (108ff.), seeing Bromius as the synthesis of glowing life and poetry and Apollo as the god of the sun and poetry. In other words, they said, these two gods should be seen as equal parts of the same whole. In 1974, H. J. Weigand rejected this argument, asserting that "Vater Bromius" is indeed meant to be considered a lesser god. The words "Nur deine Gaben" (line 42)

support this view, he maintained ("Noch einmal . . . " 141). He warned against equating Bromius with the Nietzschian concept of Dionysus. Van Ingen, writing in 1968, thought the word "nur" refers only to the quantity of the gifts, not to the status of the god providing them. Gerhardt Kaiser (1974) also rejected the idea of a hierarchy of the gods, saying the feeling is more of a dynamic, changing divine whole, in which Bromius, Apollo and Jupiter appear only as parts (147). Klaus Weimar (1982) wrote that Bromius should be seen on an equal level with Apollo, as Bromius is to the century what Apollo is to the world, and he should, therefore, not be treated with contempt (78).

I agree, to some extent, with the hierarchy theory. The poet begins with his own natural, innate genius, which is enough, he believes at first, to protect him. The warmth created by this genius will attract the Muses, whom he needs in order to create. Creation, he realizes however, is impossible without inspiration. For this he needs even more powerful beings: the demi-god Bromius, the sun-god Apollo, the greatest of the gods, Jupiter, and, finally, an unknown being, whom he must believe is even more powerful than those already mentioned. However, this hierarchy forms a circle that begins and ends with the poet: he creates the work of art. Similarly, the hierarchy of poets begins with the impersonal "wen/den" (the poet himself), moves through Anacreon and Theocritus, who are seen as lesser poets; these are preceded and followed by the brave and admirable Pindar, the thought of whose genius seems to make the poet lose all courage and confidence. However, the protagonists in these hierarchies are all part of a whole. The gods and spirits are equally

powerful--or, rather, equally powerless, as not one of them is the sole source of inspiration for the poet. They are like beings ascending and descending a ladder. The poet cannot decide which is the most powerful, which he needs most or which he most wants to resemble. Hence his--and our--confusion.

The problem of the identity and significance of the peasant is far more complicated and hotly debated. W. F. Michael (1944) maintained that the man should not be viewed as a real character, but as an already named mythological figure. He supported this argument by saying that Goethe would never have used the demonstrative article "der," if he had not been referring to something already known. This is a weak argument, in the light of the irregular syntax of this poem! The peasant cannot be Deucalion, Michael wrote, as Deucalion was not a farmer. Therefore, he reasoned, it must be a combination of Deucalion and Noah, as the latter was a farmer and even grew vines, so linking him with Bromius. Michael also asked why a Hessian farmer should be small and dark, not to mention fiery, presumably imagining that tall, blond and slow would be more appropriate.

Two years later, in 1946, Weigand rejected this theory. He felt that Noah cannot be described as small and dark and that "feurig" does not fit either Noah or Deucalion. In the poem wine and warmth are linked, he wrote; Noah's drunkenness was not associated with comfort. The peasant is expecting immediate but temporary gratification; a life-time of blessings is awaiting the poet. The whole stanza, asserted Weigand, stresses the contrast between the poet and the peasant. To imbue this man with inspiration or give him a

mythological place among the gods is to defeat this purpose. The peasant is like the lark, the hail and the rain, Weigand maintained: he comes from the realm of physical reality ("Neidgetroffen" 169).

Arthur Henkel (1968) thought that the peasant figure must be based on a Swiss farmer, nicknamed "Kleinjogg," and immortalized by Kaspar Hirzel in his book Die Wirthschaft eines philosophischen Bauers, which appeared in 1761 and again in 1774. In this work, Kleinjogg was described as a character of steadfast purpose and honesty. He was also a poet and a friend of Gleim and Ewald von Kleist. He even took part in Klopstock's trip on the "Zürchersee." This, wrote Henkel, lends credence to the argument that our "Bauer" should be seen as a poet (33).

Both Henkel and Kaiser (1977) note that "klein," "schwarz," and "feurig" are adjectives used by Götz to describe Lerse in Act III of the first version of Götz von Berlichingen: "ein kleiner Mann, mit schwarzen, feurigen Augen . . . " (Der junge Goethe 2: 154).

In 1982, Karl Weimar picked up this clue and ran with it (76). The real Franz Lerse was a friend of Goethe from his student days in Strassburg. Later, in Weimar, Karl August Böttinger, a Weimar gossip, related Lerse's description of Goethe during their time at the university:

> Da gerieth Goethe oft in hohe Verzückung,
> sprach Worte der Prophezeiung und machte
> Lerse Besorgnis, er werde überschnappen.
>
> (Weimar 76)

Lerse, on the other hand, was more rational and down-to-earth. For his part, Goethe described Lerse as "ein vollkommen rechtlicher und bei beschränkten Glücksgütern mäßiger und genauer junger Mann" (Dichtung und Wahrheit 372). The contrast between that man of uncontrolled inspiration--the "ich" of the poem--and this man of modest tastes--the peasant--plus the coincidence of the adjectives chosen to describe both Lerse and the "Bauer," convinced Weimar that the historical Franz Lerse was the model for this character. Also, in the summer of 1773, Lerse returned from a lengthy stay in Versailles, which could, according to Weimar, give a whole new meaning to the phrase: "Soll der zurückkehren." The fact that Lerse was neither a peasant nor a farmer disturbed Weimar only slightly. He also fails to mention the fact that, in the same passage as the description quoted above, Goethe shows Lerse as a man "von ziemlicher Größe" with "kleinen blauen Augen," as the cleanest of all the students, who always used a napkin and never put his elbows on the table. Hardly a picture of a small, dark, fiery peasant!

The mystery of the identity of the peasant seems to me to be of little relevance to understanding his significance in "Wandrers Sturmlied." Whoever he was or is, this figure is in part an analogy with and in part a contrast to the poet. He reminds the poet of his true position: namely, that he too is of this earth and must ultimately return ("zurückkehren") to it from his flights of creative imagination.

The problem caused by the word "Neidgetroffen" boils down to: who or what is envious of whom or what? Baumgart, writing in 1931,

said that three basic concepts underlie an understanding of the lines 67 through 70. Greek society, he wrote, had a deep feeling for the "envy" of the gods. Men were expected to show respect, thanks and fear for the beings who had the power to grant or withhold favors. Arrogance and attempts to be self-sufficient would be met with "envy" (the Greek word also contained the meaning "anger" or "displeasure") and these favors could be withdrawn. This law applied only to man. So, in our poem, the cedar tree remains independent without fear of reprisal, whereas the poet must be careful not to incur Apollo's envy or anger (106).

In his 1946 article "Neidgetroffen," Weigand also suggested that the word "Neid" needed to be redefined as "Hass," "Groll," "Zorn," "Feindschaft," "feindseliger Eifer," namely as a negative feeling of revulsion, rather than envy or jealousy (169). These are the definitions given in Grimm's Wörterbuch. Weigand considered the possibility that Apollo might be jealous or angry because the cedar tree does not need him, but he immediately dismissed this theory as being too complex an idea in what he rather oddly called a poem of pure reason. More likely, he said, is that the word "Neidgetroffen" modifies "dich": the Wanderer is jealous or angry because Apollo has withdrawn his favor.

In 1968, van Ingen produced a new idea: that Apollo is jealous of Bromius (275f). If this poem is to be considered a dithyramb, he argued, then another element comes into play. The songs of praise to Bacchus were usually sung during the three winter months. There then followed three months of songs of praise to Apollo. If Bacchus

delayed--that is, if spring came late--then Apollo would be annoyed and jealous and would concentrate his powers on the already warm zones of the earth, leaving the north cold and neglected for a time.

Klaus Weimar said that grammatically, if for no other reason, it must be Apollo's glance that is struck by envy, the envy of the wanderer. If he cannot inspire himself, then he will envy the god's power which is being wasted where it is not needed (80).

I do not believe that, in this poem of irregular syntax, one can use such an argument alone. I feel that "Neidgetroffen" is an adverb, rhythmically balancing "Kalt" and modifying not so much the glance as its movement away from the poet and onto the cedar tree. In this case, the word must mean "Neiderfüllt," as defined by Grimm. Apollo is envious--namely, angry--because he is being ignored.

The deepest division of opinion lies in the area of what the poem means and whether or not it is ironic or even humorous. In a chronological survey of scholars' thoughts, we find a great diversity of opinion.

One area of discussion is whether "Wandrers Sturmlied" should be viewed as a product of the Sturm und Drang genius cult. Eugen Wolff (1907) was the first to interpret it this way, saying: "Wir stehen vor der ersten Kundgebung von Goethes Geniekultus" (471). In 1912, Viktor Hehn wrote that this hymn was the expression of Goethe's own transformation and of the new character of his poetry, which was on the point of moving into its Sturm und Drang phase (156). The following year, English scholar P. Hume Brown called the poem a "glorification of genius," a deeply personal testament, an outpouring

of literary faith and an illustration and exposition of the motives and ideals of the Sturm und Drang movement. In 1944, W. F. Michael called the hymn a "Genieschrei." He maintained that one basic thought lay behind the poem:

> . . . das Ingenium, das eingeborene Feuer
> siegt über alles und leuchtet hoch erhaben
> über all jenen künstlichen Formen, mit denen
> das ärmliche Jahrhundert sich behilft. (179)

The poem, he wrote, rushes forward in one breath and serves to glorify innate, individual genius.

The following year (1945), Leo Spitzer refuted Michael's interpretation, saying that, far from being a "Genieschrei," the poem is "Gedankendichtung" (165). Stormy though the form may be, he wrote, the content is "ruhig und sinnvoll." The meaning of the poem, Spitzer asserted is:

> Das Überlegenheitsbewußtsein des Geniedichters
> wird gedämpft durch die Einsicht in seine
> kreatürliche Ohnmacht. (179)

The poet is made--or kept--aware of his imperfection and mortality. In 1947 August Closs also made reference to the poet's awareness of his own genius and the tragedy of the creative artist. The tragedy, he said, lies in the fact that the poet must look for peace not in the realms of his genius, but rather on earth, in a common hut (79). In 1973, Theodor Gish returned to Michael's interpretation when he stated

that the poem should be seen as an ecstatic proclamation of the "Wanderer-Genie" (17). The majority of scholars, therefore, are of the opinion that "Wandrers Sturmlied" is indeed an early product of the Sturm und Drang mentality.

As to the meaning of the poem, however, few scholars are willing to commit themselves to a firm opinion. In 1858, Heinrich Düntzer wrote that he felt the allegorical significance of the work should not be taken too far, but attempted no interpretation. In 1912, a bolder Viktor Hehn wrote that "Wandrers Sturmlied" deals with the contrast between external forces and inner vitality (155). Little more was said about the actual meaning of the poem until, in 1958, one hundred years after Düntzer, H. A. Korff also expressed the same view: that we should not spend too much time searching for meanings. The poet had "über sich hinausgeschäumt" (113). In 1973, H. Henel maintained that the theme of the poem is the question: are there any gods or powers that can help? Although the answer does not come, Henel wrote, the fact that the poet calls on a "Himmlische Macht" at the end shows that he has not lost faith. Apart from Hehn and Henel, the only other real attempt to find an overriding theme was made in 1982 by Klaus Weimar. He wrote that, first and foremost, the work is about poetry itself, about its sources of inspiration, its variety and about the suffering it can cause (72). So, 125 years of scholarship seem to have produced only three definite opinions on the meaning of "Wandrers Sturmlied"!

More voices can be heard on the subject of how the poem ends. Heinrich Viehoff, writing in 1876, found the final twist not at all to

his taste and far from "wünschenswert" (80). In the same year, Düntzer replied to Viehoff's criticism, saying we must accept the poem as it is and not look for some ideal content, as this is a poem of feeling, not thought (324). In 1912, Bertholt Litzmann made an attempt to explain the end of the poem that Viehoff had found so undesirable and gave an optimistic interpretation:

> Es ist kein Verzicht, keine Niederlage.
> Es klingt ein heiteres Lachen, das diesen
> Sieg der körperlichen Schwäche erkennt,
> der aber nicht als Menschenlos tragisch,
> sondern als eine Laune der Gottheit
> hingenommen wird mit freudigem Vertrauen
> auf die Zukunft. (165)

Almost twenty years later, H. Baumgart wrote an article in which he, like Litzmann, saw the hymn in an optimistic light:

> . . . so klingt denn auch das "Sturmlied" . . .
> aus mit der . . . enthusiastischen Verwegung
> in den Ton mit gutem Humor sich fügenden
> Selbstbescheidung. (107)

This question of whether the poem should be seen to end on a note of victory or defeat occupied Meredith Lee in her 1982 article. She argued that if we see the main conflict or contrast as existing between the poet and Pindar, then the poem ends in defeat, as the poet fails to find the "innre Glut" he needs. However, she argued, the poet

is not totally defeated, as he has not lost hope: he believes, or at least he hopes, that there is still an ear to hear him. The majority opinion is, then, that the poem ends on an optimistic note.

The final and most heated division of opinion lies in the question of whether the poem is meant humorously and/or ironically. As mentioned above, Bertholt Litzmann had written of a "heiteres Lachen" in the poem and Baumgart said that in the work the poet is seen to humble himself, but "mit gutem Humor." This (1931) was the first time that the word "humor" had been used in connection with this poem, and the idea that the poet might be deprecating or laughing at himself was also new. Leo Spitzer, who as we have seen, refuted Michael's description of the work as a "Genieschrei," called the end of the poem an ironic twist, a return to reality from the illusions of the Sturm und Drang, but did not accept the idea of any humor in the poem. In their 1948 article, "A Study of Poetic Vagrancy," E. M. Wilkinson and L. A. Willoughby claimed that Goethe had handled the subject of his less-than-perfect genius with both irony and a "sense of humour" (103). They called the poem "evidence of his own power to dispose of the weightiest of matters with a playfulness that never deviates into nonsense" (115). Ten years later, H. A. Korff agreed with those who saw the poem as ironic, saying that the work closes with an "übermütigen Selbstparodie" which leads from exalted, spiritual heights back into the miserable weather (121). Arthur Henkel (1962) admitted that the picture of a poet trying to think exalted thoughts while his feet are sinking into the mud, is a humorous one. He did not, however, agree that in the "Augenblick des

Gedichts" there is any irony or humor. That, Henkel wrote, came later, in 1812, when Goethe distanced himself from the poem and described it as "Halbunsinn" (46f.). Heinrich Henel (1973) saw no ironic contrast between the poet and the peasant, because, he said, they are identical throughout (71). In the same year, Theodor Gish said that he too believed the poem concludes humorously, "with remarkable romantic irony" (17). A year later (1974), H. J. Weigand agreed that the poem contains self-irony, but he refuted the notion of humor in the work. Goethe, he said, would not have hesitated so long in having the poem printed if he had considered it an example of youthful humor (147). In 1977, Gerhardt Kaiser compromised, maintaining that no decision need be made regarding humor or lack of it in this poem. The work is both serious and humorous, he wrote, and contains "Ernst und Heiterkeit im Selbstverständnis des Genialen" (146). The possession of Genius, he said, brings with it both positive and negative elements. Finally, Klaus Weimar (1982) insisted that, far from being ironic or humorous, the poem should be seen to end in a collapse in the face of reality. The poet, he said, undergoes a "Selbstentlarvung." He sees himself for what he really is: an ordinary man (86). To claim any irony here, Weimar maintained, shows "absolutes Unverständnis."

Be that as it may, and adding yet another voice to the discussion of this most difficult of poems, it seems to me that the work is indeed ironic. Wilkinson and Willoughby, who appear to have started the controversy, had disagreed with Litzmann's 1912 description of the hymn as having "feierliche, ernste Akkorde" (Litzmann 160). They

argued that the poet's fall from sublime ecstasy back into the mud must be considered either ridiculous or ironic. As Goethe was frequently ironic and seldom ridiculous, they reasoned, then the poem must be meant ironically. I agree. To say, as they did, that Goethe treated this subject with a "sense of humour" does not mean that we are meant to laugh aloud at the poet in his distress. Rather, it means that Goethe was not so laid low by his inadequacies that he lost perspective or the ability to view himself with some objectivity. There are a number of places in Goethe's early works, particularly in the verse drama Die Laune des Verliebten and the 1767 collection An Annetten, where he made many ironic and amusing references to himself looking foolish. So why, only five years later, should Goethe suddenly have lost the ability to laugh at himself? Objectivity removes some of the tragedy from a situation and when the tragedy is gone, there is room for humor. The irony of "Wandrers Sturmlied" lies in the final contrast: the reality of the weather and the poet's discomfort, against his sublime dreams, hopes and expectations.

"Wandrers Sturmlied" is about such contrasts. They run through the poem, symbolized by the images of the "Wandrer" and his hut, by Pindar and Anacreon/Theocritus, Bromius and Apollo, the storm and the fire. There are also images of comfort and discomfort throughout the poem, principally those of warmth and cold. As a north-European (he had not yet visited Italy), Goethe will have associated extreme weather with being wet and cold. He had probably seldom, if ever, experienced too much heat, which could explain why he regards this element as something exclusively positive. Genius is associated with

fiery wings, wool and warmth; the peasant, whom he envies, is mentioned with thoughts of warming wine and fire; we see Pindar combined with an inner warmth, the sun-god Apollo and with the warm glow of victory. This in contrast to rain, storms, wind, clouds, hail, mud, rocks, midnight and snow, all of which will mean cold and misery to a northern traveller.

The poem is also about excitement and exhilaration. The poet gently reproaches Anacreon and Theocritus (and, by implication, his younger self) for their peaceful, idyllic inspiration in contrast to the "storm-breathing" impetus of Jupiter Pluvius. He praises the noise and danger that inspired Pindar and, in the last stanza (lines 104-111), the elements of warmth and dryness, danger and courage all come together in a final outburst.

There can be no doubt that this poem is about poetry itself. The center of the scene is Mount Parnassus, the home of Apollo , keeper of the Muses, the source of poetic inspiration. Deucalion landed on Parnassus, the Python lived and died there. The Castalian Stream is on Parnassus, as is is the spring, Sybaris. The Pythian games, immortalized by Pindar, were also held here. Nothing is mentioned that is not in some way connected to poetry or this mountain, the seat of poetic inspiration and genius (Weimar 72).

Despite the ambiguities and the controversies surrounding this work--when it was written, how it should be spoken, whether or not it is humorous, whether or not it belongs in the "Geniekult"--it seems to me that the thought behind the poem is indeed, as Spitzer wrote in 1945, "ruhig und sinnvoll" (165). The poet begins his song with

confidence, in the knowledge that he possesses Genius. Despite warning motifs that haunt the first three stanzas, he confidently, almost arrogantly, calls the Muses and Graces to attend him and raise him to a state of divine euphoria. The sight--or thought--of the peasant shakes this confidence, but (stanza VIII) self-pity is soon replaced by a determination to use his talent. It must not be forgotten that the final stanza was probably written over a year after the rest of the poem, in which time Goethe was able to look at himself with some objectivity. In this stanza he recognizes that inspiration lies more in adversity than in comfort and thinks of Pindar (stanza XII). He does not want to imitate Pindar, but he does want Pindar's courage and glowing inspiration. Having seen the direction he wants to go, the poet however suddenly loses all the confidence he had at the start, and, aware now of his own frailty and shortcomings, he begs only for earthly shelter.

I believe this poetic experience should not be seen to end with line 117. The defeat is only temporary, just as the moment of ecstasy, the "Mittelpunckt," can only be fleeting. The poet has seen the path he wants to follow. Exhausted though he is, he now knows where the source of his inspiration lies: it is both in the world and in himself. The poles, the contrasts, do not cease to exist, but he sees them now as parts of the same whole, of which he too is a vital part. The poet has distanced himself from the "persona" of the poem. Using the "Meisterschaft" he had praised in his letter to Herder (page 50f. of this thesis), Goethe has taken the conflicting elements (heat: cold, "Genius:" "Bauer," Pindaric Odes: pastoral verse, divine

inspiration: mundane existence) and pulled them together to produce a work at once exciting and controlled. With a lighter meter and with his hut in sight, the poet intends leaving behind the "tändelnden" works of his youth and is now about to enter the "sturmathmende" era of the Sturm und Drang.

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VITA

Penelope Joan Jackson-Underwood was born in Grimsby, England on August 18, 1946. She attended elementary and high schools in Leeds, England and received her General Certificate of Education Ordinary, Advanced and Special Level certificates in 1962 and 1964. In July 1967 she received a Bachelor of Arts degree in German from the University of Bristol, England. After attending the University of Leicester School of Education, she received the Graduate Certificate in Education in July 1968.

From September 1968 to July 1973 she was responsible for the teaching of German (ages 11-18) at Notre Dame High School, Northampton, England, and also taught elementary French. From August 1973 to July 1975 she taught English (grades 5-12) at the Gymnasium Müssenredder, Hamburg, Federal Republic of Germany. From June 1975 to June 1978 she lived and worked in Berlin, Germany, first as an editorial assistant for the textbook publishing company Cornelsen Velhagen & Klasing, and later as an interpreter/translator for the United States Army.

In February 1980 she moved with her husband to the United States. From September 1984 to June 1986 she was responsible for the teaching of German at Reitz Memorial High School, Evansville, Indiana. In September 1986 she entered The Graduate School of the University of Tennessee, Knoxville and is continuing her studies toward a Doctor of Philosophy degree in German.