Imagining Stewardship:

Roots of a Poetic Eco-Politics

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Abstract –

Green politics in West Germany emerged as the offshoot of environmental movements in the 1970's. This environmental activism has its roots in the development of an environmental consciousness within German identity in the early 19th Century. My project lays a framework for understanding how environmental activism and the stewardship that it demands are tied to regional identity and embedded within a cultural consciousness. The growth of environmental activism into a national political discussion represented the re-emergence of a uniquely German environmental consciousness. I begin with an investigation of the German word for economy, *Wirtschaft*. A genealogical etymology reveals that a plurality of meanings and lived interpretations is expressed through the various environments from which livelihoods are derived. This provides the basis for my interpretation of individual works by the authors Novalis, Alexander von Humboldt and Heinrich Heine to understand how such an environmental stewardship resides in the literature of the early 19th Century. Their work lays the foundation for the poetic embodiment of that stewardship reawakened by contemporary activists and develops an imagining of *Wirtschaft* as a care- and gift-giving host-scape rooted in the reciprocal relation with the land. These three authors highlight the development of an environmental consciousness within the German identity in the aftermath of the French Revolution. Both the political tumult of 19th century Europe and the environmental activism of the 20th century were revolutions that heightened awareness of how identity is connected to places. These authors (Novalis, Humboldt, Heine) thereby present quintessentially Romantic world-views: they seek to reconcile the counterpoints of individuality and universality by understanding interconnections with the natural world. These interconnections provide insight into how German identity emerged from association with particular natural spaces. The literary expression of this identity and the connection with particular spaces continue to resonate in contemporary environmental activism today.

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German Environmental Consciousness: An Introduction –

In his 1976 song, *Mir sin eifach wieder do*,[1] Roland Burkhart expresses the sentiments of those who protested the construction of a nuclear power plant near Wyhl am Kaiserstuhl, a village in the upper Rhine Valley. The song, written and performed in Burkhart's native Kaiserstuhler dialect, is an adamant affirmation of the protesters' connection to the place in which they live- a connection that they seek to protect from potentially disastrous environmental consequences. In this case, Burkhart intended this song for the "particular situation towards the end of 1976," since the song was written after the conflict-ridden, yet successful, occupation of the construction site (Führe and Pflaum 81). In the second verse, Burkhart says: "We have left the site. But still it won't be built"[2], which reaffirms the initial success of the protesters occupation of the construction site (Führe and Pflaum 50).

However, the titular phrase "We'll be back" grew to become an independent warning in the continuing demonstrations against nuclear power. The phrase appeared on flyers, posters and stickers that were distributed in the aftermath of the protests of 1976, through the legal proceedings and up until the successful cancelation of the project in the late 80's (Führe and Pflaum 81). That this title could evolve into a phrase known beyond any singular event in the Kaiserstuhl can be seen in how the song acknowledges its rootedness in and interconnections across time and space. As the final refrain declares:

> Mir sin eifach wieder do, wänn si kumme wänn.
> Wyhl isch dert und do. Mir häns in dr Händ.
> Nai! Do wird kei Stei uff dr ander druff gsetzt fir dä Affekaschte

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[1] Trans. "We'll be back"
[2] De Platz hämmer verlo. Trotzdäm wird's nit boit

am Rhin. Sunscht wird wieder…

gsunge uffem Platz…gsunge uffem Platz…   (Führe and Pflaum 51)

We'll be back when they want to come.

Wyhl is there and here. We have it in our hand.

No! There won't be any stone placed on top of another for the Monkey-house

on the Rhein. Otherwise it will happen again...

singing at the site... singing at the site…

The people, whose livelihoods are rooted in the land that would be affected by any environmental consequences, will be back and will not allow any stone for the "Affekaschte" ("Monkey-house") to be built on the Rhine. Should the industry or government try again, then the people will go out to the site to let their voices be heard once more. With the double assertion of where Whyhl is located, using the phrase "dert und do," which is an idiom for "there and here," Burkhart situates the events in the Kaiserstuhl within a wider, global context (Post and Scheer-Nahor 74). Burkhart thereby implies that the "Affekaschte am Rhin" is not the only one in Germany or Europe; such exploitation is experienced in other regions as well.[3]

Many such songs that recognized how individual circumstances were situated in wider contexts came out of the 70's, both newly written and adaptations of traditional works. In the protests between the Vosges and the Black Forest, the use of the Alemannic dialects became a nexus for turning the environmental concerns of local inhabitants into activism; it served to fuse local and global discussions of land and livelihood into a coherent resistance against the exploitation of the land which is the foundation of people's livelihoods. The 1970's were a time period that heightened awareness of the role that the land plays in the

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[3] Burkhart names other nuclear power plants and chemical factories in Europe

contrast between the needs of local peoples and the perceptions of those needs by centralized

state institutions or exploitative corporate industries. From these movements, Green politics

in West Germany emerged;[4] or rather, they represented the re-emergence of a distinctly

German environmental consciousness.

The songs of artists like Burkhart, collectively known as *Dialektliedermacher*, are a

contemporary political expression of an imagination of stewardship that is rooted in regional

identity. By using the regional dialect shared by Southwestern Germany, the Elsass in

France and German-speaking Switzerland, such artists assert a tradition of vernacular

authority.[5] *Lieder sind poetisches begleitendes Gedächtnis, Orte der inneren Heimat*, "Songs

are poetic, accompanying memory, places of inner home," reads the quote along the rear

cover of the Alemannic Songbook, a collection of these songs published in 2012. Their

spoken language is one that developed in the unique interaction of people and landscape, the

particular socio-environmental context, of that place. The land itself thereby lends its

strength to the language and the moral direction that lets it blur differences of political

opinion, profession and social standing. The fact that these songs were sung for

environmental demonstrations in particular illuminates how regional identity and the

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[4] The first environmental alternative parties were founded in 1977. In that same year, those parties won
positions in local elections for small villages and counties in the Federal Republic of Germany. Small activist
initiatives were able to successfully communicate to voters that their message was important. They specifically
focused on regional environmental issues, such as water and air quality. The core of their message reflected the
new Umweltpolitik (Environmental politics), which were introduced under the regime of then Bundeskanzler
Willy Brandt as a response to the 1972 UN Environmental Conference in Stockholm. Later, these scattered
local movements began to form coalitions and political alliances to increase the reach a broader audience.
(GRÜNE Chronik- Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Bundespartei)

[5] This tradition in German has its foundation in Martin Luther's translations of the New Testament from Latin
into German in 1521 (the full translation of both Old and New Testaments was first released in 1534). Luther
wanted to give the laypeople access to scripture. The legacy of the Reformation in contemporary dialect is also
expressed in another song printed in the *Alemannisches Liederbuch*: „Die Bure sin ufriarig wore." The first two
verses and the refrain are renditions of a song from the 1525 Bauernkrieg, the farmers' revolution led by the
Reformation theologian Thomas Müntzer.

environment in which it is located co-evolve (Führe und Pflaum 220); they are bound together by language and poetic expression. These expressions describe how livelihood and well-being are rooted in the land itself, and that to sustain them people must actively engage in practices of stewardship.

The goal of my project is to lay a framework for understanding how poetic expression weaves regional identity together with environmental activism and the stewardship it demands by embedding them within a cultural consciousness. Speaking and writing, amongst other creative endeavors, are senses that allow people to directly engage with and perceive the more-than-human world[6] and then share those experiences with others. Rather than simply facilitating "dialogue between humans," language enables humans "to converse with the more-than-human cosmos," and to "give voice to, and thus enhance and accentuate, the sensorial affinity between humans and the environing earth" (Abram 70-71). The songs of the *Dialektliedermacher* in the Alemannic-speaking region reveal one such voice, which draws strength from one's roots in the land and creates new avenues for further growth and development that acknowledge the power of the world around us.

By revealing the interwoven relationships between people and the land, these songs articulate a culturally specific idea of what it means to be a steward of the environment. Stewardship as a responsibility to the gifts of the earth is a key concept in the American tradition of environmentalism: in environmentalist discourses the term stewardship has come to encapsulate the human responsibility to protect, maintain and sustain the world around us

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[6] This is part of the subtitle to *The Spell of the Sensuous* by David Abram. Abram examines how humans use language as a sense to perceive the world of which we are apart. I will continue to use this phrasing rather than "non-human," which implies a dichotomy between what is uniquely human and what is not. I feel that "more-than-human" expresses better the sense that humans form dynamic and permeable relationships with things, which in turn form such relationships with others beyond the human.

because of our disproportionate affects in it.[7] However, there is no equivalent word in

German that describes their own specific, but analogous tradition of environmentalism.

German environmental discussions often revolve around the term for protection and

conservation (*Naturschutz*). That such a tradition of environmental stewardship does indeed

exist in German culture led me to search for a word that encompasses the same idea of

reciprocal responsibility and dynamism between the participants in socio-environmental

assemblages, rather than one constrained to the perpetuation of a static dichotomy. Here, and

throughout the project, I am using the term assemblage as Jane Bennet it defines it in her

2010 book, *Vibrant Matter*: "ad hoc groupings of diverse elements…living, throbbing

confederations that are able to function despite the persistent presence of energies that

confound them from within" (Bennett 23-24). These diverse elements each have their own

individual effectivity, but they also contribute to agency of the assemblage as a whole. They

thereby also take part in reciprocal relations to one another. The relationship between two

interacting subjects generates the emergent qualities of the assemblage. By using the term to

describe the social interactions between people and phenomena of the environment, I wish to

highlight the dynamic reciprocity that asymmetries between the various parts of an

assemblage create.

  Awareness for the dynamic relationships between places, things and people creates

space for new imaginings of the human role in these interactions. Imagining describes how

we, as individual subjects, conceptualize and perceive interactions with the more-than-human

world. But imagining also expresses the potential for other, more nuanced ways of

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[7] The development of this notion can be seen most prominently in the creation of both the US Forest Service within the US Department of Agriculture (1905) and the National Park Service as part of the Department of the Interior (1916). These agencies were intended to manage and protect public lands, "stewarding" the ecological and historical resources for future generations.

perceiving and experiencing those relationships; it is the image that we place before ourselves of what lies just beyond the horizon. By using all of our senses, including language both spoken and written, individuals and communities share and make these imaginings of their environmental stewardship part of the present.

In this project, I focus on the concept embodied by the word *Wirtschaft*, the contemporary German term for economy, as a term that can most clearly convey the stewardship demanded by contemporary environmental activists. Etymologically, *Wirtschaft* could and should encompass a conception of environmental stewardship, but this has mostly been neglected. Like the Greek *oikonomía*, *Wirtschaft* is a term that encompasses much more than the linear conception of production-distribution-consumption, which has become the hallmark of industrial capitalism. In their centralizing processes, the governments of nation-states adopted notions of national wealth and growth that marginalized more nuanced definitions of "economy" and *Wirtschaft*. However, the word itself expresses the inherent connections to the more-than-human world that enables human livelihoods. In the face of ecological devastation in the modern world, it has become increasingly important to have a more nuanced understanding of *Wirtschaft* as stewardship.

Inherent to the word *Wirtschaft* itself is what it means to be a good, responsible steward and care-taker: it expresses all aspects of human interactions with the more-than-human world that contribute to creating a reciprocal and relational host-scape (a literal translation of the compound – *Wirt*: host; -*schaft*: -scape). A plurality of meanings that co-exist in this word emerge by exploring the historical development of the socio-environmental assemblage that this word has and continues to participate in. I offer a genealogical etymology of *Wirtschaft* that seeks to revitalize the roots of this word by re-grounding it in

living relationships with the more-than-human world. Such roots convey particular notions of morality and reciprocity that are expressed through participation in the plurality of living interpretations that emerge from a word's use. These interpretations bring together various imaginings of stewardship that coalesce into the term *Wirtschaft*.

These imaginings are thereby inherently poetic; they integrate the experiences of the sensing individual and the sensed relationships to create something new. This poetic aspect is the creative impetus and intent to shape these imaginings and their realization in the socio-environmental assemblages in which we participate. Creative endeavors can thereby enable the perceptions of marginalized, forgotten imaginings; they are a synaesthesia that empowers all participants to re-member the past as part of and living in the present. Language is one such poetic sense that mediates human participation with the more-than-human world. Since the history of a word is always present, re-membering these imaginings that have been pushed to the periphery allows speakers to resituate themselves in relation to the other participants in reciprocal relationships, revitalizing the memories of the word to live again in the present. In the case of *Wirtschaft*, revitalizing the memory of the word reawakens our awareness to the intersections of times and spaces that in turn shape our relationships with the more-than-human world.

The Alemannic songs written and performed by the anti-nuclear activists in Wyhl indicate one such instance where the memory of *Wirtschaft* has been revitalized and expressed as grounded in the environment. By articulating an earth-rooted morality and acknowledging the powers of the more-than-human world, such activism voices an eco-politics that describes and reimagines the interacting influences that shape and impact our home, the earth and its natural bounty. Part of the potency in the presence of these

imaginings comes from their long growth and development from cultural roots. This imagining of stewardship presented by these activists of the 1970's has its origins in German intellectual history. These activist artists are essentially returning to the roots of *Wirtschaft* and a more nuanced understanding of it that we can find present in the cultural memory of the German language.

In seeking these origins, I examine the works of the authors Novalis, Alexander von Humboldt and Heinrich Heine to understand how such an environmental stewardship resides in the literature of the early nineteenth Century and provides the basis for the poetic embodiment of that stewardship reawakened by contemporary activists. An understanding of *Wirtschaft* as stewardship is already evident in the relationships that these authors describe with their environments. The aftermath of the French Revolution was a defining moment for German national identity. German-speakers started to become German, associating their linguistic identity with the desire for a cohesive territory controlled by ever more centralized institutions. In this way, the revolutionary tumult of nineteenth century Europe, like the environmental activism of the twentieth century, was a revolution in consciousness that heightened awareness of how identity is connected to places. Each of these three authors thereby presents a Romantic world view: they seek to reconcile the counterpoints of individuality and universality by understanding interconnections with the natural world. These authors' works provide insight into how German identity exists as a literary expression of particular spaces.

More precisely, they can show us an imagination of *Wirtschaft* as stewardship rooted in the ever-present past of the land, I analyze the works of an early Romantic, Novalis; a naturalist and explorer, Alexander von Humboldt; and a political satirist, Heinrich Heine.

The comparison of these expressions of very different Romanticisms is crucial to understanding stewardship today as a plurality of intersecting imaginings that define human-environment interactions as localized individualities interacting with greater totalities.

Novalis is often considered the most mystical of the German Romantics; in particular, his work emphasizes the search for deeper and transcendental truth. Nature is, for him, the key to understanding God's divine essence; it is a confounding mystery. Only by close examination of the organic world can humans comprehend the unifying divinity that exists in all things and continue their approach towards the vastness of the supra-natural Heaven beyond. Nature speaks a transcendent language that humans have forgotten how to understand. In a world that speaks and deserves to be heard, the role of human stewardship is to preserve the mystical spaces of divinity.

Alexander von Humboldt, on the other hand, relied on his personal scientific experiments to examine the world as it exists in the physical, measurable present. Through such measurements, people are connected to the greater world through interacting natural processes and systems. Humboldt expresses a Romantic empiricism that emerges from the wonder of the early Romantics, but he seeks to go further and understand the physical functioning of the world as interacting, dynamic systems. His experiments take him far afield to explore the inner workings of organisms as well as the relationships between them. For Humboldt, environmental stewardship is rooted in an understanding of what would later become the scientific field of ecology: that humans are but a single entity in a web of living relationships.

In comparison with Heinrich Heine, both of these other authors are lacking a crucial element: the drive to political action. Over the course of his life, Heine uses his poetry and

other writings to criticize the contemporary political situation and move readers to political

participation. He is the quintessential *Zeitschriftsteller*, a "Writer of the Time." His political

Romanticism expresses itself in a "poetic contemporaneity:" Heine often makes direct,

satirical reference to political actors and events. Heine thus binds his poetry to the time in

which it is written. This poetic contemporaneity also underlies his understanding of the

environment Individuals are connected to a political whole that is based in the natural world:

stewarding the environment simultaneously cares for and nurtures regional identity; it roots

political engagement in the interaction between people and place.

These three authors together demonstrate the budding of a conception of an

environmental consciousness within the German identity. This development in German

intellectual history finds expression in the environmental activists of the 70's. Burkhart's

song is filled with references to localized events of transnational consequence. Further, by

singing in his own dialect, Burkhart weaves environment and culture together with his poetic

expression. He and his fellow activists are one aspect of the nexus of environmental

stewardship. They are key components of imagining *Wirtschaft* as a care- and gift-giving

host-scape rooted in the reciprocal relation with the land.

By expressing an earth-rooted morality and acknowledging the powers of the more-

than-human world, such activism expresses an eco-politics and actively takes part in

reshaping structures of thinking and power-relations. It reinvigorates each individual's

connection to environmental interrelations by conveying them through poetic expression. As

such, an environmental consciousness is inherently tied to a poetic imagination of reciprocal

stewardship that connects humans and their environments. These 19th century authors set a

firm foundation for German environmental activism of the 20th Century and today. Through

poetic expression, past and forgotten imaginings of stewardship become present once again

and *Wirtschaft* becomes more than commerce or business transactions.

Reimagining Stewardship: A Genealogical Etymology of *Wirtschaft* –

   In order to reimagine the word *Wirtschaft* as a term for environmental stewardship, we must explore the roots of this word. By recovering forgotten elements of this words story, its use and development in changing socio-environmental contexts are revealed. Historical definitions of *Wirtschaft* resided in a conceptual framework that revolved around sustaining life and the foundations of livelihood rather than accumulating wealth; this word encompasses the responsibilities of a host to care for guests. The good host takes part in a gift-giving exchange based on reciprocity rather than commercial exchange. The particular etymology of the Germanic term indicates a unique context that is distinct from the Greco-Latin tradition that eventually became the English word "economy." The latter is derived from the Greek *oikonomía*, which is the care and ordering of an agricultural household according to customs and laws of distribution. Despite the different etymological roots of *Wirtschaft* and economy, both rest on a notion of stewardship, particularly with regard to its contemporary usage in environmentalist discourses.

   Because of this inherent relation, I suggest that *Wirtschaft* can be imagined as the German equivalent of stewardship in relation to the environment. There is no direct translation of the term into German; stewardship is always translated as *Verwaltung*. But this is a word for management and the exercise of power. While the exercise of power is inherently a part of any sense of responsibility, the specificity of *Verwaltung* does not encapsulate the socio-environmental contexts that define what makes the exercise of power right or good. These contextual frames are taken up by the word *Wirtschaft* to describe the environmental stewardship that exists as part of the German cultural consciousness.

The term *Wirtschaft* in modern German inhabits a semantic field similar to that of the word "economy" in English. These two words have come to define the abstract organization of the interactions between people as a complex system of exchanging goods and services. They have moved from describing inter-personal relationships to meaning instead impersonal, deterministic, and measurable laws of economic activity. Words change, however, as their sound, written form and meaning are adapted to their participation in the contexts of new social interactions. From one person to the next, the understanding of a word emerges from the individual experiences and relationships that he or she has been a part of. Language mediates the personal imagining and the phenomenal world – it allows us to perceive, interact with, and shape our participation with a more-than-human world. The general consensus of meaning on behalf of individual speakers builds language communities that share a perception of the world.

Changing socio-environmental contexts, the interactions with different cultures and natural phenomena, lead to shifting interpretations of a word itself. Both the terms, "economy" and *Wirtschaft*, demonstrate long historical developments that have only recently been reduced to terms that collectivize the complexity of economic relationships into the simplified, abstract meanings of today's usage. Such simplification "implies […] a remarkably attenuated and impoverished" meaning (Tribe 2). Bureaucracy and its employment of language in the formation and perpetuation of the nation-state intervene in the participatory relationships between humans and the more-than-human world. The vibrant topography of words that emerges from their relationships in the world is weathered down and obscured. Through the standardization and normalization of interpretations into

definitions and grammatical rules, the rich historical development of words becomes concealed, delineated as only a dormant part of the past.

But the definitions and usages of a word that emerge from human participation in socio-environmental assemblages still leave a trail that allows contemporary speakers of a language to explore the roots of their linguistic inheritance. Once on this trail through the lesser-known regions of a word's story, one can see where it joins other paths for understanding a particular word. Exploring such junctures reveals how the diverse genealogies of words enrich human participation in the living relationships of the more-than-human world. My project follows the trail left by the word *Wirtschaft* in order to explore the roots of a distinct cultural consciousness of environmental stewardship embedded in German identity. In this section, I will first explore the broader global context of the word *Wirtschaft*'s development as it is wed to the concept of the economy. The construction of the economy as the object of economics, the study of the material sphere of life, is the result of a narrow vision that quantifies only certain material elements. The relationship between *Wirtschaft* and economy is established through processes of state- and nation-building. Within these processes can be found the mediating properties of language, as it functions to weave culture and nature together. The standardization that is an innate part of state-building processes extended to language. Through an analysis of this juncture between language, place and identity, the historical multiplicity of meanings and interpretations becomes apparent.

While at first this appears to be an excursion back in time, this journey reveals that *Wirtschaft*'s past relation to stewardship is inherently ever-present in the word itself. The older meaning is still a presence within the word and its derivatives; a part that can

reinvigorate a contemporary understanding of the word by revitalizing the awareness of its

etymological roots. The vast diversity of environments that humans inhabit has resulted in

myriad cultural interpretations of how humans participate in relationships with the more-

than-human world. *Wirtschaft* emerges from the German cultural context as a distinctively

German word for imagining human responsibilities as environmental stewardship rooted in

the life-sustaining world.

Making the Economy: Relocating *Wirtschaft*

Because of its association with the English word economy, I will examine in this

section broader global processes that have shaped these two terms' meanings in recent

history. In the usage of these two terms, a tension between state-making and social identity

becomes apparent. Institutional structures implemented certain definitions of *Wirtschaft* and

economy which relocated these terms. They went from being lived experiences, knowledge

generated by engaging directly with the material world, into a statistical abstraction. The

history of the close semantic relationship between these two terms suggests that the processes

that affected the economy in English also applied to the German context of *Wirtschaft*.

The definition of *Wirtschaft* in the modern sense describes only those activities that

pertain to the exchange of goods and services for satisfying human needs. The modern

definition of the word thereby privileges the abstraction that is the market-oriented context

for the global movement of capital. This is evident in the initial definition for *Wirtschaft*

listed under its entry in the Duden dictionary, the premier reference for German spelling and

grammar: "die Gesamtheit der Einrichtungen und Maßnahmen, die sich auf Produktion und

Konsum von Wirtschaftsgütern beziehen"[8] (Duden Online). Additionally, Duden lists trade,

industry and enterprise as synonyms which refer to the commercial implications of

Wirtschaft in its modern usage.[9] By emphasizing that these arrangements revolve around the

mass production and consumption of tradeable goods, *Wirtschaft* has become the

"contemporary substantive equivalent of the English 'economy'" (Tribe 33). Because its

meaning has been linked to specific conceptions of generating wealth, this definition asserts

that the institutional structures that allow humans to satisfy their needs are bound to a system

of accumulation and growth. This linkage can be traced back to the 19th century, when the

term *Wirtschaft* began to be used for "developing a science of political economy following

on from Adam Smith" (Tribe 72). *Wirtschaft* thus became a term associated with the

objective of the new intellectual endeavor of political economy, which was to determine and

define the relationships between individual, private property owners and the state in a system

for generating wealth. Furthermore, it was used to describe an inherent characteristic of

these states in order to compare themselves with one another. Political economy, in its

development throughout the nineteenth-century, "came to mean the knowledge and practice

required for governing the state and managing its population and resources" (Mitchell,

Economy 92). The intellectual frame of political economy created a new system for

analyzing the social interactions that took place under the jurisdiction of the state.

The foundational structure for such a system was said to consist of three main factors:

production, distribution and consumption of wealth by individuals. This wealth was "created

by human labor," and distributed according to its utility and value through mechanisms of

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[8] The entirety of the institutions/arrangements and methods that pertain to the production and consumption of
goods which serve to satisfy human needs
[9] *Handel*, *Industrie* and *Unternehmen*

exchange (Tribe 61). Such distribution took place through interactions within a political

hierarchy. Rather than describing the interactions with material phenomenon, political

economy emphasized the economic actors involved in these exchanges, because their

exchange of material objects generated wealth, and this could further be managed by the

state. Individual economic actors exist alongside and interact within the "traditional practical

areas of economic administration" governed by the state (Tribe 74). The relationship with

the state thus did play a part in shaping the economic life of individuals. However, the

state's role was considered to be "limited to the facilitation of individuals' desire to better

their conditions" by providing the necessary infrastructure for satisfying those needs (Tribe

75). The basis of German, state-supported *Wirtschaft* as economic activity in the 19th century

rested on the accumulation of property as the foundation for creating these "better

conditions." *Wirtschaft* as an economic term revolves around the acquisition of "as great an

amount of goods" as will achieve "the most complete satisfaction of need" (Tribe 77-78).

Since these needs are necessarily framed in the perspective of a single individual, the

emphasis of the word shifted to describe the decisions of independent actors with

measurable, and thereby predictable relationships.

This development in the meaning of *Wirtschaft* paralleled the further shift in English

terminology to simply "economics" rather than political economy. The "'political' in the

sense of 'political economy'" lost "much of its meaning" with "the new science of

production and distribution [economics] rendering the body politic a shell within which

inexorable economic laws" functioned (Tribe 83). Economics became the scientific study of

"the economy," as a singular independent entity itself. The economy, referred to with the

definite article, "came to refer to a self-contained structure or mechanism whose internal

parts are imagined to move in a dynamic and regular interaction, separate from the irregular

interaction of the mechanism as a whole with what could now be called its exterior"

(Mitchell, Rule of Experts 82). Economy thereby came to mean the collective activities that

constitute a "form of behavior" in making decisions on how to use "various means to achieve

particular ends" (Tribe 86). Economics became the primary means for discussing the

interactions of political, decision-making entities. These decision-makers constitute an

assemblage of equal, interacting individuals, whose perceived homogeneity becomes the

basis of transforming the economy into an object of scientific study. In this space of

interaction, the economy can "be constituted as an autonomous domain distinct from the

polity or the domestic household" (Tribe 4). As a method for scientific inquiry, economics

provided the means to understand, know and study decision-making processes. The

economy, as the object of economic study, could thus be shaped and influenced by the

particular agents who had acquired certain types of knowledge. The emergence of this new

science marked the transition from "'economy,' understood as a way of exercising power and

accumulating knowledge" to "the contemporary idea of 'the economy' understood as an

object of power and knowledge" (Mitchell, Economy 92-93). The "particular ends" of

wealth and the accumulation of material property for private individuals necessitated the

formalization of an organizational, analytical structure for observing the exchange of goods.

In the twentieth century, this single, definite object, the economy, came into being as

one sphere of the nation-state. The application of statistical analysis to the material elements

of livelihood created and has maintained the emphasis of economics on wealth-generating

exchange. Describing the economy as a singular, definite "object of economic knowledge

rested on the proliferation of sociotechnical processes of representation" (Mitchell, Economy

94). In the mid-twentieth century, this followed a development that coincided with the devolution of European empires and the independence of many of their colonies. The first step in this process was that "economists and government agencies defined the economy in a way that enabled them to claim new powers to measure it, manage it, and make it grow" (Mitchell, Economy 93). These new measures shifted the lens of analysis away from the physical terms of economic activity. Rather than defining the underpinnings of the economy "in terms of human labor, the management of resources, or the accumulation of national wealth," the economy became the "sum of all those transactions in which money changes hands," whereby "its size and growth are calculated by estimating this sum" (Mitchell, Economy 93). The analytical emphasis on exchange established a more precise accounting of the value of material flows within and between nation-states. This approach gained further prominence following the dissolution of empires because the economic object continued to maintain the bonds between the former imperial powers and newly independent states. The understanding of "human sociality…as a series of equivalent national units" meant that each of these units has a claim to "the right to its own national state…composed of a series of distinct sociotechnical spheres," namely society, economy and culture (Mitchell, Economy 93). These three entities exist separately from the state; however, the combination of the four constitute the nation-state in its entirety as an assemblage of social interactions within a delimited territory.

Each of these spheres became the object of different academic and professional fields. By conceptualizing a distinction between these various spheres of human life, the cultural and social sciences (political science, sociology, economics and anthropology) "contributed to the making of its respective object, providing it with concepts, calculations, agents and

methods of evaluation" (Mitchell, Economy 93). In the case of the economy, the application

of abstract mathematical and statistical methods to the material reality of the world solidified

the differentiations between these spheres of life. The rational calculability of the economy

distinguished it from the more subjective fields of that dealt with perceived cultural

abstractions. However, the economy was instead "a set of practices for producing this

bifurcation," revealing itself as "an artifact" that "like all things artefactual, was made out of

processes that were as much 'material' as they were 'cultural,' and that were as 'real' as they

were 'abstract'" (Mitchell, Rule of Experts 82). Rather than a means for encapsulating the

interactions of material realities with cultural abstractions, the economy became the attempt

to describe only the material by assuming that they could be separated.

This development of the economy as the solely material sociotechnical sphere

continued later in the twentieth-century. The emphasis on transactions or exchange in

economic discourse and practice was influenced by the emergence of "neoliberal economics,

which has turned attention away from the economy and back toward the seemingly simpler

idea of 'the market'" (Mitchell, Economy 94). Markets, in a neoliberal conceptual

framework, transcend the responsibility of the state. They are not subject to the same

management from the state. Instead, the market "stand[s] for a system of forces that the state

claimed was independent of its management" (Mitchell, Rule of Experts 246). The essence

of the market is that it "appears to be a self-contained space, distinct from other social

spheres" precisely because it has "no particular spatial connotation" such as the way that the

economy refers to the "specific territory" of the nation-state (Mitchell, Rule of Experts 246;

Mitchell, Economy 94). Rather than being confined by the regulatory management of the

state, markets should be liberated from these non-market actors. Markets disperse their

regulation "and the forming and governing of market agencies" to various other levels (Mitchell, Economy 94). Regulation is enacted by actors internal to the market itself, instead of those defined by the territorial limitations of the state. Because of this distribution of accountability, well functioning markets are believed to regulate themselves, without the need for state intervention.

This essential self-regulation is the key element of economic liberalism. Karl Polanyi describes how this "organizing principle of society engaged in creating a market system" ultimately defined its own existence by evolving "into a veritable faith in man's secular salvation" through a self-regulating market (Polanyi 141). By relying on markets to regulate themselves while providing for the material well-being of populations, states would no longer need to play an active role in economic affairs. In effect, the market could then be the main directive force of the economy because "economic liberalism is the organizing principle of a society in which industry is based on the institution of the self-regulating market" instead of the state. The seemingly inherent ability of the market economy to regulate itself enables the conception of a certain universalism which is based on the basic exchanges and transactions that humans regularly engage in. This apparent universalism allows the telling of the market's narrative in its own terms:

> There must be some characteristic that is the essence of capitalism, some element of sameness, so that as it develops and expands one can recognize its occurrence through different material and temporal manifestations and hold together its story…the sameness supplies the theme that enables the narrative to move forward. It provides a logic that becomes the source of historical movement and the motor of social transformations.
>
> Mitchell, *Rule of Experts* 245

These "material and temporal manifestations" of markets in the sense of economic liberalism do not neatly emerge as the ultimate mode of human interaction. Like the economy, markets are made from the interactions with non-market factors. "[T]he market has no essence because it always requires a changing variety of nonmarket methods at its core," such as the "complex organization of desire, agency, price, ownership and dispossession" that accompany and perpetuate the market's existence (Mitchell, Rule of Experts 256; Mitchell, Economy 94).

Since markets are produced, they can not be inherently self-regulating. The existence of the so-called self-regulating market always requires the response and intervention of the state to re-produce the conditions necessary for the market to operate. Because of the interdependencies involved in market exchange for the growth of wealth and the expansion of industrial production, "nothing less than a self-regulating market on a world scale could ensure the functioning of this stupendous mechanism" (Polanyi 145). The power of the state thereby provided the means of enforcing the supposedly free market exchange of material goods. This enforcement was not only practiced as military force. The state also exerted executive force by performing its task, which was to "collect statistics and information, to foster science and experiment, as well as to supply the innumerable instruments of final realization in the field of government" (Polanyi 146). Markets were thereby wedded to the state as well, even as their proponents sought to divorce them. Because of its sponsorship from the state, "the introduction of free markets, far from doing away with the need for control, regulation, and intervention, enormously increased their range" (Polanyi 147). The expansion of free markets also created and developed new spaces for the state to intervene and exercise its managerial power.

These new spaces for the exercise of this power emerge from this interplay of

government intervention and the exchange of free markets that increases the industrial

production of wealth. The interplay of these two forces results in a dislocation of people

from their environments, which includes social as well as natural environments in which

humans participate. The interactions between state managerial mechanisms and liberalized

markets represent a "double movement,"[10] whose dialectic progression facilitates the

estrangement of peoples from their environments. This begins at the roots of "the extreme

artificiality of market economy" because, in such a system "the process of production itself is

here organized in the form of buying and selling," which originally brought social systems

"under the organizing leadership of the merchant… he who bought and sold" and so

"incidentally, provided for production" (Polanyi 77). The role of the merchant emphasizes

the industrial market system of production: exchange drives the production of wealth. This

redefined the social meaning of production. By operating in the space of exchange, the

merchant interposes himself between the interlocking spheres of human activity that provide

the very foundation of life. The act of exchange begins "divorcing the economic motive

from all concrete social relationships" and turns productivity away from sustaining the multi-

faceted social aspects of livelihood to profiting through the expansion of a livelihood's

material aspects (Polanyi 57). Instead of a social entity, the individual human being becomes

subsumed under the ubiquitous, general term of labor; the human is reduced to its propensity

to operate within a calculable method of productivity, taking part in a long chain of

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[10] Polanyi defines this "double movement" as the driving force of social history in the 19th century. It is the simultaneous "extension of the market organization in respect to genuine commodities" and "[market organization's] restriction in respect to fictitious ones [land, labor, money]." The development of the market system grew the total volume of goods produced on a global scale, but this system was also "integrated into powerful institutions" that provided a check on the market. (Polanyi 79)

transactions that links production in one place to consumption in another.   The economic system of social organization for material gain thus becomes the space of social relations instead of "the economy being embedded in social relations" (Polanyi 60).   Thus, the material reality of human existence could be described in terms of an economic role instead of describing the economic activities of individuals as part of social relationships. The economy as directed by market forces became the primary means for understanding the material sphere of human relationships.

For Polanyi, such dislocation is epitomized in the fictitious commodities of land, labor and money. Although the market system assumes that all commodities that can be traded are produced with the express purpose of being bought and sold, land, labor and money are only fictitious commodities because they precede any existence of the market. Therefore, "the postulate that anything that is bought and sold must have been produced for sale is emphatically untrue in regards to them" (Polanyi 75). This necessitates their construction as fictitious commodities in order to orient societies around the institution of the self-regulating market. But the reduction of such complex, pre-market elements will have disastrous effects on these commodities themselves. Polanyi states that:

> To allow the market to be the sole director of the fate of human beings and their natural environment indeed, even of the amount and use of purchasing power, would result in the demolition of society…In disposing of man's labor power the system would, incidentally, dispose of the physical, psychological, and moral entity "man" attached to that tag… [human beings] would die as the victims of acute social dislocation through vice, perversion, crime and starvation. Nature would be reduced to its elements, neighborhoods and landscapes defiled, rivers polluted, military safety jeopardized, the power to produce food and raw materials destroyed.

Constructing specifically labor and land as fictitious commodities dislocates the people and

environments that they reference from social relationships that would instill a responsibility

to appropriately manage the social and environmental foundations of livelihood. As such,

this fictionalization did not occur in a vacuum: where the expansion of the market

organization dislocated people from social and natural environments, it was the role of the

state to limit and brake the deleterious impacts of an un-reigned expansion of the market.

In this way, the interaction with non-market factors was crucial in creating the

economy as an object to be controlled by the knowledge generated in economics as a field of

study. The state ultimately provided the lens through which to structure the economy. This

generated the "possibility of representing the economy as the object of economic knowledge

[which] rested on the proliferation of sociotechnical processes of representation" (Mitchell,

Economy 94). Such representations necessarily involved the movement of people and

knowledge away from the spaces of experiential, place-based wisdom to new sites of

statistical, algebraic knowledge. State institutions could do this through "a wide range of

sociotechnical projects that embedded people and things in new machineries of calculation,

new techniques of accounting, and new impulsions of discipline and desire" (Mitchell,

Economy 93). Instead of knowledge being situated in the experiences of social relationships,

states created new sites for where knowledge is housed and generated. The act of exchange

could be represented in a space that "was formulated geometrically, by the axes of a chart, as

the two-dimensional plane in which the desires, or utilities, of a buyer and a seller

intersected;" whereby the "planar space carried no reference to the countryside, the city…or

any other conception of place" (Mitchell, Rule of Experts 85). Such relocating is evidenced

in the role that mapping in particular played in resituating knowledge. It helped to produce

"the distinction between land as 'mere object' and the abstractions of law, taxation, and title"

(Mitchell, Rule of Experts 93). By creating a new way of visualizing material reality, simply

representing it on a page, government agencies could redistribute knowledge. The new site

of knowledge was the surveyor, statistician or bureaucrat who exercised legal power through

calculation. This transferal of knowledge opened a gap between "reality and its

representation" be recasting "the question of accuracy or truth…as the degree of

correspondence between the object-world on one side of this divide and the maps, images,

and numbers on the other" (Mitchell, Rule of Experts 93). The ability to investigate this

"degree of correspondence" thereby resided with the government institutions and other

elements of an economic society that could exercise their power to establish and maintain

this divide.

In order to exercise power in creating and perpetuating the economy and the system

of market exchange, states require a uniformity of measures. This standardization follows in

the footsteps of an older tradition of bureaucracy that is found at the emergence of the nation-

state idea from its roots in Western Europe. James Scott describes this as a process for

making complex socio-environmental realities "legible" to and thereby governable by a state.

For a state to operate and control most efficiently, it requires a narrow visual field of

knowledge, which allows for minute measurement and calculation of "certain limited aspects

of an otherwise far more complex and unwieldy reality" (Scott 11). The new legibility of

particular phenomena constructs "an overall, aggregate, synoptic view of a selective reality"

that further enables "a high degree of schematic knowledge, control, and manipulation"

(Scott 11). Such knowledge, once it had been transformed into a legible schematic, could then be applied across the territory of a state.

In the particular case of absolutist France, the methods of measuring varied immensely within its given territorial boundary. The variety of local measurements "exhibited a diversity and intricacy that reflected a great variety of purely local, not state, interests" (Scott 24). This was because measurements were relational. The local unit is bound to a particular action, thereby embedding the "process of measuring…in the activity itself and require[ing] no separate operation" (Scott 26). In dividing the measurement from the local practice, state institutions "transformed or reduced [measuring] to a convenient, if partly fictional, shorthand" of standardized units of measure; the power of the state was then implemented to transform reality into that which the state presumed to have observed all along (Scott 24). This process stemmed from the narrow objectives of the state itself in combination with a number of other factors.

On the other side of the Rhine river, a similar process was underway in the German-speaking states and principalities. This is most evident in the development of scientific forestry in eighteenth-century Prussia and Saxony. The same process of simplification took place that enabled the statistical representation of the economy as a whole: the complex and variable diversity of forest ecosystems was reduced, simplified and abstracted to the "revenue yield of the timber that might be extracted annually" (Scott 12). Such an abstraction disregarded all other elements of the forest that could not yield a fiscal revenue for the state. This was epitomized in the concept of the *Normalbaum*, a key component of the *Normalwaldmodell*.[11] The *Normalwald-modell* was one of the initial mathematical

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[11] The compound nouns built with the word *normal* in this context refer to the mathematical standardization and predictability of the particular aspect of forest planning. The *Normalwald*-model was first proposed for

renditions of the forest that was meant to ensure a sustainable, yearly yield of equal-quality timber. This model was based on a homogenous species mix or a single species (represented in the *Normalbaum*), distributed along a constant area (the *normale Fläche*). The *Normalbaum* was the mathematically postulated version of a given tree species to optimize the revenue yield of each timber harvest. This became "an archetype for imposing on disorderly nature the neatly arranged constructs of science" (Lowood 340). Through the calculating methods of planting and cutting, the state could implement this model, which thereby initiated a self-perpetuating cycle. Concrete and practical objectives of the state provided the motivation for the mathematical utilitarianism that then enabled new possibilities for organizing and controlling nature (Lowood 341). Through the intervention of the state, the mathematical abstraction of the *Normalwald* became material reality in the expansion of homogenous, even-aged forests.

But this narrow vision of the forest bracketed off and marginalized many aspects of the forest. The relocation of the physical forest into the legible optic of yield-tables and charts brought about a similar destruction to that which Polanyi envisioned and the corresponding response of the double movement. The formal ordering and standardizing of forest management methods led to what is termed *Waldsterben*: the death of trees and collapse of forest ecosystems. Because of the disregard and lack of understanding of the complex and diverse interactions that sustain forests, these ecosystems lost much of their resilience.[12] In order to combat the loss of the forest resource, foresters then developed

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forest management by Johann Christian Hundeshagen in his 1826 book, *Die Forstabschätzung auf neuen wissenschaftlichen Grundlagen* (Gadow 287)

[12] Scott provides a brief overview of the various ecological results of particular forestry practices. For example, the loss of animal and understory plant diversity, as well as the extraction of biomass resulted in a reduced soil building capacity; homogenous stands were more susceptible to pests (Scott 20)

methods that "attempt to work around an impoverished habitat still planted with a single species…for production purpose" (Scott 21). This new branch of management, for the restoration of forest ecosystems, ignored the marginalized aspects of ecologic diversity that had initially provided the natural resources to begin with. By subjugating forests to standardized measurements and rules, the state's governing institutions dismembered "an exceptionally complex and poorly understood set of relations and processes in order to isolate a single element of instrumental value" (Scott 21). Instead of allowing the forest to regenerate and rejuvenate its own inherent complex resilience, foresters only restored certain elements of the ecosystem that were considered useful for attaining their goals. This then only served to perpetuate the cycle of consequences and interventions that initially dismantled the very foundation of that resources existence.

The impoverishment of resources came from the dislocation and subsequent relocation of knowledge in the statistical and mathematical representations of the state. Such a process took place in the linguistic developments of nation-states as well. Through the standardization of languages and grammars, words that have variate meanings relative to the context of their use lose much of the nuance that enables such contextual flexibility.

Geschichte(n) Sammeln: The Language and Landscape of National Identity

Forstwirtschaft shows a unique development in the usage of *Wirtschaft* with regards to the environment. In this context, the compound emphasizes the management of a particular resource, the forest, for the states objectives. This underscores the quantification and standardization that took hold in eighteenth-century Europe and how the resulting processes of violence and marginalization also affect the languages of a nation. By

emphasizing that the object of management is a *Forst*, the term draws heavily on the

managerial qualities inherent to *Wirtschaft* that could be statistically quantified. This

represents a certain disregard for the other elements of the word's meaning. Such other

elements can only be found under layers of dynamic interactions between people and places.

Precisely these interactions are what create notions of identity that burgeoned into the

political landscape of nation-states.

The process of shaping national identity occurred simultaneously with developments

of state-making. Scott cites two factors beyond the system of market exchange as

contributing to the making the nation-state a reality in France, which also had tremendous

consequence for their German-speaking neighbors: "[B]oth popular sentiment and

Enlightenment philosophy favored a single standard throughout France. Finally, the

Revolution and especially Napoleonic state building actually enforced the metric system in

France and the empire" (Scott 30). The Enlightenment attempt to standardize measures also

relied on the assumption of universal applicability. This is innately tied to the use of

language as a unifying factor. In order to make local knowledge "legible" to the state, the

application of standard measures also required a bureaucratic, standardized language. The

enlightenment ideal of the "uniform, homogenous citizen" was envisioned as "a series of

centralizing and rationalizing reforms that would transform France into a national community

where the same codified laws, measures, customs, and beliefs would everywhere prevail"

(Scott 32). Additionally, the enforcement of such standards through Napoleon's state-

building efforts greatly influenced these same developments not only in France, but also in

Germany. The German-speaking states and principalities were direct recipients of this state-

building effort. These two factors greatly influenced the beginnings of a German national

identity at the same time period as a response to the expansion of Napoleonic France.

Language played a significant role in building of the German national identity and its

particular expression of the Revolutionary age in German Romanticism. In his *Imagined*

Communities, Benedict Anderson describes the nineteenth century in Europe as "a golden

age of vernacularizing lexicographers, grammarians, philologists, and litterateurs" and the

various "energetic activities of these professional intellectuals" were then "central to the

shaping of nineteenth-century European nationalisms" (Anderson 71). This turn to the

academic study of the people's languages represents a particular adaptation of the

Revolutionary sentiment emerging from France. Each people was to have its own unique

place in the constellation of emerging states. The philological and lexicographic efforts of

these primarily German, French and English scholars in recreating the linguistic histories of

Europe made these national pasts "increasingly accessible" to a broad public (Anderson

72).[13] The people of a nation are connected to each other through time and space through

their lineage as native speakers of a given language. The notion of certain linguistic

underpinnings of belonging constructed a historical national consciousness.

However, as the re-discovery and philological comparison of long-dead languages

appears to reveal, these pasts had been lost. Because of the progression of time and the

changes that it wrought, the contemporary, living communities are distinct from those that

have faded from memory. A certain sense of "estrangement" here precedes "a conception of

personhood," a unique identity (Anderson 204). The records of apparent continuities

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[13] Here, Anderson describes the "lexicographic revolution" as it influenced the emergence of national
sentiments among the Greeks, Romanians, Hungarians and other ethnic groups that were politically part of an
empire. Anderson uses the metaphor of "an arsenal light, as each small explosion ignites others, till the final
blaze turns night into day" to trace this phenomenon (Anderson 72)

between the past and present generate a tenuous temporal connection while simultaneously emphasizing a loss from memory. The desire in nineteenth-century Europe to then also recover what was lost, or what seems to have been lost, initiated various encounters with traditional narratives. Since the memory can not be completely recalled, it "must be narrated" as a way to restore memory and thereby also restore a sense of community (Anderson 204). The conjuncture of estrangement and memory loss necessitate that "these narratives…are set in homogenous, empty time" (Anderson 204). This homogenous, empty time is defined as a conception of temporal progression "in which simultaneity is…transverse, cross-time, marked not by prefiguring and fulfillment, but by temporal coincidence based on a conception of 'meanwhile;'" this is "a precise analogue to the idea of the nation, which is conceived as a solid community moving steadily down (or up) history" (Anderson 24-26). This allows an individual to conceive of himself as taking part in the progression of time as one member of a community, composed of many other contemporaneously active individuals. This is an act of imaging. It is through imagining oneself as belonging to a nation that individual communities are able to bridge the anonymity of geographic distance and topographic difference.

Perhaps the most widely-known philologists and nationalists involved in the construction of an imagined Germany are Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, the authors and editors of numerous German linguistic, cultural and literary texts. German intellectuals around 1800 repeatedly expressed enthusiasm for the texts that they hoped would lead them to a sense of nation-hood and common culture growing out of a shared and illustrious past.[14] In their

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[14] This would be how the Grimms view the role of philology and *Märchen* and the role of the German language in telling German stories. Of course, not all Germans were enthusiastic supporters of this backward-looking, emotion-filled and extremely patriotic trend in literature. Goethe was an eloquent opponent of this trend, favoring a more open and less isolating move toward world literature based on the classical ideals that had

texts, they make use of language that exemplifies the characteristics of the energetic

intellectuals to which Anderson refers. In 1818, Jacob Grimm wrote the earliest comparative

Germanic grammar (*Deutsche Grammatik*), which described the unique phonologic features

of the Germanic languages that distinguished them from the other languages in the Indo-

European language family (Waterman 168). The 1822 edition of the *Deutsche Grammatik*

"set forth…what is usually considered to be the definitive statement of [the Germanic] sound

shift, coining the term *Lautverschiebung* to describe the systematic and regular transition

from one sound to another" (Waterman 25).[15] Such phonologically distinguishing features

differentiated the Germanic-speaking peoples from other cultural-linguistic contexts. The

linguistic differentiation continued within the Germanic dialects, eventually resulting in the

evolution of a literary tradition in what Jacob Grimm termed the Old High German period.[16]

The unique development of the German language to its contemporary form was the

focal point of further study by the Grimm brothers, in particular the etymologies which

allowed such comparisons. They began a project to collect the various historical meanings of

words in the German vocabulary. Their "most enduring philological achievement" was the

Deutsches Wörterbuch, a monumental project that "claimed much of their time and

proven themselves as models since antiquity. See Helmut Brackert, "Die 'Bildungsstufe der Nation' und der Begriff der Weltliteratur. Ein Beispiel Goethescher Mittelalterrezeption." (*Goethe und die Tradition*. Hrsg. Hans Reiss. Königstein: Athenäum, 1972) 84-101. Brackert's essay discusses Goethe's position on the medieval "fashion" of the time, a kind of "Gemütskult" the poet considered a dangerous narrowing of focus. Goethe favored a broader concept of "Weltliteratur" that would increase connections between intellectuals among nations rather than separate them from one another. (96)

[15] This shift refers to the development of a Proto-Germanic branch of the Indo-European language family that is distinguished by a unique phonological structure (24). Jacob Grimm then also identified a further shift that differentiated Old High German from other dialect branches of Proto-Germanic (*die zweite Lautverschiebung*), which would eventually develop into the modern standard New High German (52, 63)

[16] The further development of German in particular is designated by the Old High German (until ca. 1050) and Middle High German (ca. 1050-1400) periods. Jacob Grimm initially coined terms based on evidence presented in literature, where there are sharp distinctions between the two (Waterman 52). The primary distinctions are the spread of the Umlaut and the weakening of vowels in unstressed syllables (85).

devotion," despite being "too far-reaching to be completed within their lives" (Waterman 168).[17] A compilation such as the *Wörterbuch* shows the unique role that language plays in this identity that can be turned into nation-hood. The particular history from which a word derives its contemporary meaning mimics that of natural cycles of growth and development. Etymologies thus served as a fitting outlet for their "typical Romantic enthusiasm for the natural and the unsophisticated," which is encapsulated in Jacob's preface to the *Grammatik* where he "calls upon every native-born German to forsake the pedantry of the schoolmasters' rules and speak the language as he learned it at his mother's knee" (Waterman 167-168). Although the Grimms were very much involved in imagining a German national identity, this shows the Romantic response against the standardization and formalization represented by the narrow analytical field of state institutions.

While the creation of a dictionary is one embodiment of this narrow vision, the Grimms' emphasis on the etymological roots of the words also preserved the opportunity to revisit these histories. This is most evident in the question of a standard orthography. For the German-speaking states and principalities of the nineteenth-century, "the basic issue [in developing a standard orthography] was whether to spell etymologically or phonetically" (Waterman 171). While many of those involved with this complex debate were in favor of a phonetic orthography, Jacob Grimm, in particular, "came out in favor of an orthography that would relate a word to its etymon" (Waterman 171).[18] By relating a word to its etymon, any writer of German would have tangible access to the history of the word, letting the history

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[17] While the initial results of their study began to appear in 1854, the completed work was finally published in 1960. The brothers themselves only completed the entries through D (168).

[18] The debate over the standard orthography (*Rechtschreibung*) eventually led to the original publication of the Duden dictionary in 1880, which Konrad Duden based on the Prussian ministerial orthographic practices (172).

live in the present, not only hidden in the sounds of a work, but also in that word's very physical manifestation.

The organic connection between past and present can be seen in the Grimms' other major literary endeavors: their world famous collection of folk tales, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, and legends, *Deutsche Sagen*. In the prologues to *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* and to *Deutsche Sagen*, they describe the emergence of German national identity as the growth of a poetic, story-telling tradition. At the beginning of the prologue to the 1819 edition of their *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm speak to the relevance of old materials as they feel the need to justify their dedication to the collection of seemingly unimportant texts of questionable literary quality. These hardy kernels of story may only be remembered at the hearth or on a few holidays, say the Grimms, but they are known and enjoyed simply because they exist.[19] The tales continue to exist, because they move and teach and entertain their listeners. The German cultural memory of the listeners receives its nourishment from the wellspring of poetry, the eternal source *die alles Leben betaut, und wenn es auch nur ein einziger Tropfen wäre, den ein kleines zusammenhaltendes Blatt gefaßt hat, so schimmert er doch in dem ersten Morgenrot* (Grimm and Grimm, Kinder- und Hausmärchen 16).[20] For the Grimms, even a single drop of this poetic energy would suffice to refract the shining dawn of an imagined Germany, providing the sustenance that would unfold the leaf that it may grow as part of a wider landscape. The fertility of this landscape, the soil which gives it such vibrancy, is provided by *der epische Grund der Volksdichtung*

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[19] *Wo sie noch da sind, leben sie so, daß man nicht daran denkt, ob sie gut oder schlecht sich, poetisch oder für gescheite Leute abgeschmackt: man weiß sie und liebt sie, weil man sie eben so empfangen hat, und freut sich daran, ohne einen Grund dafür* (Grimm and Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen* 9).

[20] "That bedews all life, and even if it were only a single drop that a small, folded leaf had kept hold of, it would still gleam in the first light of morning"

(Grimm and Grimm, Kinder- und Hausmärchen 20).[21] This is the landscape waiting to be

cultivated and appreciated by those who would grow its future; it "resembles the manifold

shades of green spread out over the whole of Nature that satisfy and soothe, but never bring

fatigue."[22] Nature might be a bit coarse or unrefined at times, and one might notice this also

in differences between certain regions of the country (as, for example, in a comparison of

Saxony with Hesse). Nevertheless, declare the Grimms, inhospitable regions produce

inhabitants with strength and integrity. This is why "the Hessians must be counted among

the tribes of our Fatherland who, over the changing course of time, have held the fastest not

only to their old dwelling places but also to the distinctiveness of their essential character as

people."[23] The Grimms go on to describe their collection of tales as a project designed to

educate their public through the living presence of poetry, not just add to the history of

poetry and mythology.[24]

        In seeking the common stories that would unite a German *Volk*, the Grimms sought to

establish and codify not only stories like the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*; in their efforts to

articulate a common history for Germans, they also collected and edited older stories of past

heroes and past glory in their editions of *Deutsche Sagen*. A nation needs stories because it

needs a history to celebrate and around which to create an identity. The Grimms thus see the

role of legends and stories as supporting the history a people knows itself. Stories are the

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[21] "The epic ground of popular poetry"

[22] *Der epische Grund der Volksdichtung gleicht dem durch die ganze Natur in mannigfachen Abstufungen verbreiteten Grün, das sättigt und sänftigt, ohne je zu ermüden.* (KHM 20)

[23] *Überhaupt müssen die Hessen zu den Völkern unseres Vaterlandes gezählt werden, die am meisten wie die alten Wohnsitze so auch die Eigentümlichkeit ihres Wesens durch die Veränderung der Zeit festgehalten haben.* Grimm and Grimm KHM 20; Gumbrecht, 485.

[24] *Das ist der Grund, warum wir durch unsere Sammlung nicht bloß der Geschichte der Poesie und Mythologie einen Dienst erweisen wollten, sondern es zugleich Absicht war, daß die Poesie selbst, die darin lebendig ist, wirke und erfreue, wen sie erfreuen kann, also auch, daß es als ein Erziehungsbuch diene.* (KHM 16-17)

repositories of ancient, collective memory. They begin their volume of *Deutsche Sagen* with:

> Es wird dem Menschen von Heimats wegen ein guter Engel beigegeben, der ihn, wann er ins Leben auszieht, unter der vertraulichen Gestalt eines Mitwandernden begleitet; wer nicht ahnt, was ihm Gutes dadurch widerfährt, der mag es fühlen, wenn er die Grenze des Vaterlandes überschreitet, wo ihn jener verläßt. Dies wohltätige Begleitung ist das unerschöpfliche Gut der Märchen, Sagen und Geschichte, welche nebeneinander stehen und uns nacheinander die Vorzeit als einen frischen und belebenden Geist nahezubringen streben.
>
> Grimm und Grimm 7

Stories function like a guardian angel that accompanies us as a trusted fellow traveler when we leave our home, but who can not know what we will encounter when we pass the borders of our native land. Tales, legends and story (or history, „Geschichte") work together to bring us our past as a fresh and refreshing spirit.

Furthermore, legends offer a mixture of that which is "natürlich" and "begreiflich" with that which is "unbegreiflich."[25] They follow the *Volk* with just the right distance from reality, unlike the nebulous time of fairy-tale fantasy. Legends also contain all of the innermost thoughts of the people. In contrast to games or a mere trifle, the stories and legends are a necessity that belongs in every home because the stories will offer to all the right words in the right time with a consistency that proves they are *eine der trostreichsten und erquickendsten Gaben Gottes* (Grimm and Grimm, Deutsche Sagen 9). Without the legends and their message for the people of the present, the *Volk* would be spiritually

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[25]*Deutsche Sagen,* 8.   This is a characteristic that the legends share with *Märchen*. Furthermore, both fairy tales and legends continue because their constituent audiences believe in them: "Die Kinder glauben an die Wirklichkeit der Märchen, aber auch das Volk hat noch nicht ganz aufgehört, an seine Sagen zu glauben." (8)

impoverished, passing into mourning and fading away.[26] Additionally, the people would

lack any kind of unity in (and appreciation for) language and custom.[27] Equally instilling

fear in those who would seek ill and offering joy to those who seek good, the German legend

wields a special power that can reach places that history no longer can reach.[28] The Grimms

seem to convey a sense that history has been forgotten, or there are no records to be found

any longer, or the historical record is incomplete. And yet the history that may have been

forgotten can still be found in the present, because history and legend tend to flow together

where one can often find the legend preserved as an inherently indivisible unit over time,

remaining visible like the currents of another stream that have fed another river flowing more

forcefully into the present.[29] The legends that the Grimms researched, collected and

published are intended to help contemporary readers find their stories again. They enable

their audiences to take part in the envisioning of a shared Germanic past that exemplifies

what the Grimms describe as the inexhaustible legacy of legends, fairy tales and histories:

they strive to breathe new life into the past for those who live in the present.[30] The past,

present and future all are intertwined by the nourishing flow of narratives and legends.

The nature imagery in which the Grimms cloak their vision of German identity,

growing from the roots of stories and legends, indicates a sense of how past, present and

future all converge. Such Romantic and impressionistic language actually invokes the

perceptions and experiences of the *Volk* as one part of a national landscape. While "[w]e

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[26] *Ohne diese sie begleitende Poesie müßten edele Völker vertrauern und vergehen* (*Deutsche Sagen* 9)

[27] *Sprache, Sitte und Gewohnheit würde ihnen eitel und unbedeckt dünken, ja hinter allem, was sie besäßen, eine gewisse einfriedung fehlen.* (9)

[28] *Auf solche Weise verstehen wir das Wesen und die Tugend der deutschen Volkssage, welche Angst und Warnung vor dem Bösen und Freude an dem Guten mit gleichen Händen austeilt.*

[29] *[W]ie in Strömen das aufgenommene grünere Wasser eines anderen Flusses, noch lange zu erkennen vermag.* (9)

[30] *[U]ns nacheinander die Vorzeit als einen frischen und belebenden Geist nahezubringen* (7).

certainly have a sense that the past and the future are not the same," they blend together to create an experience of the present, becoming "strangely comingled within all that we perceive" (Abram 207). Perceiving the present requires a sense of the story from which it emerges and an intuition of how that story will continue. This experience is embodied in the very earth itself, the physical realm of subjective experience. In searching for the earthly embodiments of Martin Heidegger's three ecstasies of time, Abram reaches the following conclusion:

> It is precisely the ground and the horizon that transform abstract space into space-time. And these characteristics—the ground and the horizon—*are granted to us only by the earth*. Thus, when we let time and space blend into a unified space-time, we rediscover the enveloping earth.
>
> Abram 216

Space, the geometrical abstraction, is innately intertwined with the dynamic interactions across time. They are not two distinct experiences. A sense of a distinct separation between time and space only emerges from the experience of them both as a dynamic, integrated whole. Heidegger describes "primordial time" as "ecstatic" because "the irreducible dynamism of existence opens us to what is outside ourselves;" only by engaging with "that which is *other*," such as past and future, do we have a sense of the self in the present (Abram 205). The interplay of these ecstatic presences complement one another and compose the intersubjective field of physical perceptions and experiences.

Since humans are part of this intersubjective field, what humans perceive is inherently bound to how they perceive and experience it. Humans perceive this convergence of space-time in places through the conjunction of our senses. "Our primordial, preconceptual experience…is *inherently* synaesthetic" in that our various "sensory

modalities" create a unified experience within ourselves (Abram 60). The different senses

intertwine and complement each other to mediate the experiential, more-than-human world

and ourselves. The abstractions of absolute time as distinct from absolute space serves only

to estrange one from direct, sensorial experience. Just as space-time is a single, coherent

phenomenon, the human body is the convergence point of the various modes of experiencing

it. To become aware of our experience as a synaesthetic perception of the world's

phenomena does not "deny that the senses are distinct modalities;" rather it "assert[s] that

they are divergent modalities of a single and unitary living body" and as such, they "are

complementary powers evolved in complex interdependence with one another" (Abram 60-

61). This is particularly apparent in the magical experience conferred by the interplay of

vision and hearing. Each of these two sense enable a human being to perceive and encounter

different aspect of worldly phenomena:

> Looking and listening bring me into contact, respectively, with the outward surfaces
> and with the interior voluminosity of things, and hence where these senses come
> together, I experience, over there, the complex interplay of inside and outside that is
> characteristic of my own self-experience… *wherever* these two senses converge, we
> may suddenly feel ourselves in relation with another expressive power, another center
> of experience
>
> Abram 128-129

The expressive potential of other phenomena allows humans to blur the distinctions between

the self and the other. The phenomenal world becomes filled with the life and stories of the

more-than-human phenomena that inhabit it.

The senses are what mediate this experience, enabling humans to express and

perceive the expressions of others. If the senses are conceived in this way, as participating in

the expressive interaction with the stories of other phenomena in a more-than-human world, then human language also becomes a sense. Language is the means by which humans express these stories about how they relate to and interact with the more-than-human. Story-telling is an example of blending the abstractions of time and space into a unified space-time in our sensorial perception. Rather than experiencing space as simply an empty vessel to be filled, itself devoid of any temporal movement, culturally defined *places* are the sites of experience, the points at which spatial and temporal dimensions coalesce into the perceived experience of intersubjective interactions. These places take shape through the stories that inhabit them: "To speak was to live within a storied universe, and thus to feel one's closeness to those protagonists and ancestral heroes whose words often seemed to speak through one's own mouth" (Abram 109).[31] The stories themselves make the past a presence to be felt and experienced, one that will actively shape the future as they intermingle. But the stories take shape only through the language used to express them. Thus language is what enables such perception of our worldly experience. Instead of "set[ting] us outside of the animate landscape," the act of speaking "inscribes us more fully in its chattering, whispering, soundful depths" (Abram 80). Speech, like the other senses, enables humans to perceive and interact with the more-than-human world of which we are a part; language represents an interaction between the body and the phenomena that surround it. Humans thus engage in a reciprocal relation in which "neither the perceiver nor the perceived…is wholly passive in the event of perception" (Abram 53). Language communicates how humans perceive other phenomena and how their expressions represent a certain perception of the human. As a sense, the act of speaking thus serves as "a vocal gesticulation wherein the meaning is

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[31] Here, Abram is describing the cyclical and encircling experience of reality in oral traditions, in this particular case the ancient Greek tradition of epic storytelling.

inseparable from the sound, the shape, and the rhythm of the words" (Abram 74). This

meaning is communicative because it is "always, in its depths, affective; it remains in the

sensual dimension of experience, born of the body's native capacity to resonate with other

bodies and with the landscape as a whole" (Abram 74). We are able to perceive the

interactions between ourselves and the more-than-human world through language. These

interactions with the various forms of other establish a sense of self

This can also be said of the phenomenon of language itself. Just as the differences

between past, present and future converge and create a sense of the present; or how the

interactions of phenomena create the particular distinctions between them, the

communicative meaning of language is also relational. The meaning of a word is found "not

in the words themselves, but in the intervals, the contrasts, the participation *between* terms;"

the individual terms draws "precise meaning from its participation…in a wider nexus of

related terms" (Abram 83). While this observation focusses on the present use a term, as it

exists in a language today, it can also be applied to a words history, its etymology. As we

have seen previously, time and history play an important role in the human experience of

these reciprocal relationships with the more-than-human world. This allows us to again

return to the Grimm brothers. By applying this phenomenological understanding in an

examination of the word *Wirtschaft*, we can see how the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, as a project

to remember the linguistic inheritance of a nation, reveals another interpretation besides the

statistical abstraction that made *Wirtschaft* the equivalent of the economy. The relationships

encompassed by the word *Wirtschaft* indicate an interpretation as a term for environmental

stewardship and the responsibility to manage, redistribute and reciprocate the gifts of the

earth.

Deep Roots: Etymology and Its Nourishing Presence

As described earlier, *Wirtschaft* has a unique relation to natural resources, as seen in its use in the compound *Forstwirtschaft*. This compound noun brings the managerial meaning of *Wirtschaft* into direct contact with the object of management, in this case a forest, an element of the environment that needs to be administered. *Wirtschaft* on its own, then, has a meaning akin to management, the organizing and distributing of particular materials and resources. However, the meaning is far more nuanced than simply management; the actions and relationships that are expressed with this word are far more diverse than the simple giving of direction. The German translation of "management" is *Verwaltung*. The root of this term, *walten*, is cognate with English "to wield." Management, in the German sense of *Verwaltung*, then, is only the exercise, the wielding, of power. Such a word only expresses one aspect of an assemblage composed of multivariate power relations. *Wirtschaft*, on the other hand, appears to encapsulate a broader range of such dynamic interactions. The goal of *Forstwirtschaft* is not only to manage the forest as it exists, but to manage it to sustain its longevity, and plan for the future so that the forest and its bounty will be available for later generations. *Wirtschaft* thereby inhabits a semantic field that much more closely resembles a sense of stewardship, particularly in relation with contemporary environmental discourse. The word expresses the making, strengthening and maintenance of relationships beyond the self. Exploring these relationships within the etymology of *Wirtschaft* and its derivatives in German today reveals that this reciprocal element is still a presence that nourishes ideas of stewardship in German-speaking culture.

   Wirtschaft has always shown a strong material element in its meaning. In earlier

stages of the words development, it displayed two meanings that highlighted the relationships

with the material foundations of livelihood. Both of these meanings relate to role of the *Wirt*,

the head of the household, in managing and maintaining livelihood: the home and food. The

first of these definitions is that of the concrete meaning of *Wirtschaft* as a household, which

needs careful planning and provisioning to sustain its longevity. In this sense, the household

is conceived of as an independent organization; as such the emphasis of *Wirtschaft* describes

the planned, ordered operation and activity or the management of the items that are part of

the home. (Grimm and Grimm, DWB)[32] *Wirtschaft* is therefore not only the sum of the

material components of the household, it also means the entirety of work and activity

necessary for its sustainable management.[33] The strong implication of its material

connections shows where this word could be turned to the purposes of state and market

economics. As a term, it encompasses many of the various interactions and exchanges that

such institutions sought to analyze and control. The strong object relation eventually fully

developed into a meaning that includes the elaborate complex of institutions and activities

that serve to preserve life as well as the to produce, multiply and transform general material

goods required to satisfy human needs.[34] This was, however, only one particular

instantiation of the word *Wirtschaft*'s meaning as a concrete object.

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[32] All translations of the cited entries in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (DWB) are my own. Citations are given by the volume number (V.) and the column (C.), as indicated in the source: *von der haushaltung als selbständigem organismus, oft mit hervorhebung des planvollen, geordneten arbeitens und wirkens oder auch der zum hauswesen gehörenden gegenstände* (Grimm and Grimm, DWB, V. 30, C. 673)

[33] *[H]aushalt, hauswesen. sowohl die gesamtheit der zu seiner führung und verwaltung notwendigen arbeiten, als auch die summe der dazugehörigen gegenstände.* (DWB V. 30, C. 672)

[34] *[V]erwaltung von haus und besitz, hauswesen; dann auch die gesamtheit des wirtschaftlichen lebens einer größeren gemeinschaft oder seine teilgebiete;* **A.** *die art und weise, kunst des wirtschaftens, der führung und verwaltung des haushalts oder allgemein der materiellen güter und bedürfnisse.* (V. 30, C. 670) and *der organismus des wirtschaftlichen lebens einer gröszeren gemeinschaft und seine zweige, d. h. der vielgestaltige complex der einrichtungen und tätigkeiten, die der erhaltung des lebens und der vermehrung bzw. umwandlung*

The aspect of *Wirtschaft* that no longer garners much consideration is its meaning as a meal. This particular sense of the word *Wirtschaft* also emerged from its relation to object terms. *Wirtschaft* is in this case the actual meal prepared for someone else. In relation to the household, this meaning underscores the relationships within the home. The term thus includes the activities of gathering, preparing and serving the actual food itself. Furthermore, it also applies to the responsibilities of the head of a household towards guests or strangers. The concrete meanings as *Gastmahl* or *Gastwirtschaft* (a meal for a guest) developed alongside a broader group of terms that are derived from the same root, *Wirt* (host), such as *Bewirtung* and *bewirten*, to serve a meal.[35] By deriving concrete objects from the responsibilities and characteristics of a *Wirt*, *Wirtschaft* highlights the functional element of the *Wirt* himself. As an object, *Wirtschaft* places strong emphasis on the *Wirt* and its relation to a *Gast*; that it is the *Wirt*'s duty to make or prepare a *Wirtschaft* for someone.[36] *Wirtschaft* encompasses the responsibilities and activities of a host, particularly as a display of friendliness towards a guest, or even taking in and caring for him.[37]

This root, *Wirt*, lends *Wirtschaft* the core of its meaning. As such, an etymology of *Wirtschaft* should also include a thorough examination of the roots of this key element. The earliest appearances of *Wirt* as a host, a "guest-giver" and "active friend to a guest," express

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der materiellen güter dienen (V. 30, C. 676)

[35] *[I]n der bedeutung noch weit vielgestaltiger als* wirt; *denn* wirtschaft *zeigt die neigung, sich durch die ihm zugeordneten sachbezüge von der ursprünglichen bedeutung* 'amt, eigenschaft, tätigkeit des wirtes' *abziehen und in den objecten selbst befestigen zu lassen, was zu den concreten bedeutungen* 'gastmahl' *bzw.* 'gast-wirtschaft' *führt. die erneuerung von* wirtschaft *als ableitung von* wirt 'hausherr' *im nhd. fügt zu einer gruppe älterer, im mhd. und frühnhd. breit entfalteten bedeutungen* 'bewirtung, gastmahl' *u. s. w. eine solche jüngerer, von denen einige den sachbezug auf* 'haus' *stark erweitern zu* 'verwaltung des hauswesens' (*dann das hauswesen selbst, s.* II) (V. 30, C. 661)

[36] *[A]ls object, und zwar mit starker verdeutlichung der* wirt: gast-*beziehung;* einem eine wirtschaft machen, bereiten (V. 30, C. 665)

[37] *[A]uch noch im frühnhd. und, da offenbar von der erneuerung des functionalen elementes in* wirtschaft I B 'gewerbe des gastwirts' *und* II A 'verwaltung von haus und besitz' *berührt, öfters erweitert zu* 'gastliche aufnahme, pflege' (V. 30, C. 662)

the early development of a consciousness for the moral connection between the landed and

strong with the needy and weak.[38] The role of the *Wirt* can therefore only be expressed

relationally, in the interaction with a *Gast* (guest). As the house-holder, the manager and

caretaker of the material well-being of his family, the *Wirt* is responsible for redistributing

goods and organizing the fundamental activities of livelihood. Being part of a broader

community extends these responsibilities to those who are not members of the immediate

family. Through various activities and responsibilities, the *Wirt* becomes the caregiver for a

guest as demonstrated in that he provides a meal, drink and lodging. This relationship to the

guest is always expressed as a friendly relationship and thereby positively connoted.[39] The

initial development of this meaning are relatively easy to identify. The existence of various

forms of the root word *Wirt* in various Germanic dialects, with the similar meaning of "host,

guest-friend," shows that the core of *Wirt* is a term for caretaking activity, which was crucial

for the further development of the word's meaning, for example, simply as a "caretaker" or

as part of the compound *Wirtschaft*.[40]

    In its simple meaning as a caretaker, *Wirt* also expresses a limited meaning of

security. This is particularly evident in the relation to the objects of the house. Particularly

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[38] *[Z]ufrühest als 'gastgeber, aktiver gastfreund' bezeugt; so ausdruck des entwickelten bewußtseins der sittlichen bindung des besitzenden und starken an den bedürftigen und schwachen, daher von den frühesten zeugnissen an in begriffskorrelation zu gast* (V. 30, C. 630)

[39] *[D]urch verschiedene tätigkeiten und verhaltungsweisen bezeugt sich der wirt dem gaste als sein pfleger.; α) zunächst insofern, als er ihn bewirtet, d. h. mit speise und trank versorgt; β) insofern als er den gast beherbergt; γ) immer wird das verhältnis zum gast als ein freundschaftsverhältnis aufgefaszt und daher positiv gewertet* (V. 30, C. 631-632)

[40] *[D]ie bedeutungen und gebrauchsweisen lassen den ausgangspunkt der bedeutungsentwicklung verhältnismäßig deutlich erkennen; das nebeneinander von got.* wairdus *'gastfreund'*, ahd. wirt *'gastfreund, gastwirt, ehemann'*, as. werd *'gastgeber, ehemann' und ahd.* wirtscaft, mhd. wirtschaft *'bewirtung, gastmahl,' erfährt eine bestimmte beleuchtung durch schlüsse, die die weitere entwicklung des wortes erlaubt; als kernelement in* wirt *ist der tätigkeitsbegriff für die bedeutungsentfaltung ausschlaggebend gewesen* (vgl. auch die erneuerung von wirt *'pfleger' im nhd. unter* III B, *sowie die von* wirtschaft *'verwaltung des hauswesens'*) (V. 30, C. 629-630)

in Middle High German, this element of security became pronounced in the extension of a

Wirts's concrete responsibilities in various other social settings, such as the city, court and

land.[41] Such a development draws on even older elements of the words meaning that derive

from not only Germanic roots, but also a further Indo-European term. The reconstructed

Proto-Germanic *werðuz can easily be understood as a tu-construction. The "tu"-

construction is used to create a noun denoting the agent, the action, or the result of an

action.[42] These various interpretations of the term led to the double meaning of host (the

agent) and meal (the result of the action). This "tu" element is affixed to an Indo-European

root that clarifies what the action is. From the word *Wirt* and related terms, the Indo-

European etymon *uer- was reconstructed. A meaning "[to show] favor or friendliness" was

assumed because of the derivations into "host" and "meal" in some of the daughter

languages. This is, however, the same root for "to watch" and "to care for," which finds

expression in derivatives such as *Wart*, or the English cognate 'ward,' which is the heart of

the word 'steward.' This etymological connection shows that, despite their distinct

evolutions over millennia, *Wirtschaft* and "stewardship" are inherently related. Both terms

emerge from a fundamental notion of safety, protection and trustworthiness; the

responsibility of interacting and engaging with the social and natural environments in which

one is embedded.[43] Thus, the differences appear only in the orientation of the agent and

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[41] *[H]err' schlechthin, 'landwirt'; die festigkeit der grundbedeutung zeigt sich auch weiterhin insofern, als der sachbezug auf haus sich leicht erweitert auf hof, stadt, heimat, land...für das ahd. nicht mit sicherheit zu erschließen, da wirtun Otfrid I 6, 3 eher hospita als hera bedeutet, vgl. unten wirtin; mhd. aber in breiter entfaltung bezeugt, die frühere existenz dieser bed. möglich erscheinen läszt, vgl. unten 1-6; im nhd. gegenüber I und III B in den hintergrund tretend, sodasz wie bereits im spätmhd. (vgl. hûswirt Lexer 1, 1407) die beziehung auf das haus oft besonders ausgedrückt wird* (V. 30, C. 640)

[42] *[L]ieße sich in seiner doppelbedeutung als 'wirt' und als 'mahlzeit' gut als* tu-*bildung, die seit alters sowohl für nomina agentis wie für nomina actionis bzw. acti gebräuchlich war, zur idg. wurzel   *uer 'achtgeben auf, sorgen für' verstehen* (V. 30, C. 629)

[43] This root has also been attributed a meaning of turning. Compare the entries for *Wirt* and *Wart* in the Duden *Herkunftswörterbuch* (815 and 801 respectively), and their relation to the same root of *Wurm*, 'worm' (820).

direction of the action. The *Wart* or steward turns inward, to protect and mediate the effects of such interactions, whereas the orientation of the *Wirt* is outward to facilitate them. The responsibility of the *Wirt* is thereby to participate in and ensure the success of reciprocal relations. The reciprocity inherent in this relationship is the respectful acknowledgement of the asymmetry between the *Wirt* and his *Gast*. Both have a responsibility to each other, as the provider and the one requesting and accepting provision. The one who possesses space, shelter and food is expected to care for the un-possessing, who will in turn provide for and enrich the home which he has entered.

The reciprocal relationships that a *Wirt* facilitates extend his social responsibilities to the more-than-human world as well. The *Wirt* is caregiver of a home that is not delimited to a sphere of material needs inhabited by humans. As a participant in numerous compounds, *Wirt* emphasizes the care-giving that is the responsibility of participants in socio-environmental assemblages. Since the seventeenth century, *Wirt* has been used as a term for the farmer in general, often with special emphasis on his function as the caregiver of the land. [44] This is particularly evident in the compound *Landwirt* (another similar example is that of *Forstwirt*, "forester," the caregiver of the forest) which emphasizes the particular relationship being expressed. Even in these compounds the positive role of the *Wirt*'s participation in such relationships is apparent. Oftentimes, *Wirt* will appear with a negative adjective to describe the failings of a particular example. However, the meaning 'good host' is inherent to the word *Wirt* itself, such that a positive qualifying adjective is unnecessary. [45] In this way,

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[44] *[S]eit dem 17. jh., zuerst im schles. belegt, allgemeiner für 'landwirt, bauer', oft mit betonung der funktion als pfleger des landes; in älterer sprache ausgeweitet zur allgemeineren bedeutung 'herr, besitzer' schlechthin;'* (Grimm and Grimm, DWB V. 30, C. 644)

[45] *[D]er begriff 'guter haushalter' kann in wirt selbst einbezogen werden, sodasz ein positiv qualifizierendes adj. entbehrlich wird;* (V. 30, C. 646)

a *Wirt* in the truest sense actively participates in regenerative practices that sustain reciprocal

relationships with the land.

These responsibilities and activities are encapsulated in the word *Wirtschaft*. To

achieve the collective nominalization of these responsibilities, the word *Wirtschaft*

demonstrates again the unique characteristic of the Germanic languages in creating

compound nouns. Affixed to the root word, *Wirt*, is the suffix, -*schaft*. This suffix is a

derivative from the stem of the verb *schaffen* (to create, to shape). This lends it a meaning as

"condition, quality, behavior;" hence its use in compound, abstract nouns means "having the

quality of" which further developed into a collective meaning (also spatially as in

Landschaft) (Drosdowski 618). -*schaft* expresses the series of relational interconnections,

both material and abstract, between a group of the affixed nouns. The eventual use of

Wirtschaft for farming and rural livelihood in general is then not so far-fetched.[46] Rather, it

shows the underlying notion of being part of a household that is not confined by a definition

as a human space.

The moral responsibility and proper behavior of a *Wirt* is inherently tied to the

landscape in which a *Wirt* is embedded. The *Wirt*, in this way, lives at an intersection of

reciprocal relationships between the land and humans: this includes social relationships of

gift-giving with the more-than-human world. The derivative *bewirtschaften*, even as it is

used in economic discourse, indicates just these relationships. To sustain a livelihood from

the particular means of say a farm or a forest requires careful consideration of the impacts

that one has on those ecosystems. A further linguistic element comes into play here that

enables the creation of this verb from *Wirtschaft*. The *be*-prefix indicates the application of

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[46] *[B]esonders von einem landwirtschaftlichen hauswesen oder betrieb, sodann von der landwirtschaft überhaup* (V. 30, C. 674)

the particular skill or ability designated in the stem.[47] Thus, a forest or land *bewirtschaften* is

to apply the practices and responsibilities of *Wirtschaft* to that particular object. The *Wirt*, as

the human interlocutor in these ecosystems, thereby becomes a nexus for an assemblage of

multivariate social and environmental factors that are bound by reciprocal responsibility to

one another. He enters into a *Wirt – Gast* relationship with the environment and all its

constituent parts. The recognition of the asymmetry between the human and more-than-

human enables the exchange and interaction between them that empowers their continued

coexistence. Being connected relationally in this way with the more-than-human world thus

informs the morality of reciprocity and establishes gift- and care-giving as a significant part

of the relationship with the land.

By tracing the different pieces of such a compound noun as *Wirtschaft*, the plurality

of interpretations becomes apparent even in their multiple usages in contemporary discourse.

Wirtschaft is the uniquely German phenomenon of a word that encompasses the reciprocal

relationships with the more-than-human world. In this way, language becomes a "thoroughly

incarnate medium," helping to compose "speech as rhythm and expressive gesture" which

makes "spoken words and phrases…active sensuous presences afoot in the material

landscape" (Abram 89). The wide variety of diverse geographies and ecologies that humans

inhabit joins all the various ways that humans might express their world's stories. Language

is the means for engaging with a "field of appearances" that is "inhabited by *multiple*

subjectivities;" rather than "the isolate haunt of a solitary ego," the "phenomenal field"

becomes a "collective landscape, constituted by other experiencing subjects as well as by

oneself" (Abram 37). The foundations of all such stories are the same: "the earth is the

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[47] *Ferner drückt be- das Versehen mit einer Sacher oder das Zuwenden einer Fähigkeit aus…auch das Bewirken einers Zustandes* (Drosdowski 68).

encompassing 'ark of the world,' the common 'root basis' of all relative life-worlds" (Abram 43). Human societies have developed in an interdependent relationship with unique landscapes. This interaction between people and the land has created a shared memory discernable in both the geographic features of the landscape and the cultural expressions of those landscapes. Environment and human culture shape and are shaped by one another through living and emotional experiences. Language becomes a prominent cultural representation of this reciprocity which is used to convey these experiences

As seen in the work of the Grimms, this "root basis" is what enables the distinctions between various national characters. But this memory has been forgotten and must be remembered. However, there are other examples of traditions that still retain many of these storied connections to place. This holds in particular for indigenous communities that still rely significantly on the oral transmission of stories and experience. For one example, I would like to turn to Keith Basso's study of the Western Apache story-telling traditions, in particular their "historical tales." When Western Apache "tell stories about incidents that have occurred at specific points upon [the land]," they convey it "in relation to themselves" (Basso 40). By expressing landscapes in terms of personal experiences, storytelling becomes an ecological relationship. Basso explicates this further in the context of the Western Apache, where he engages with storytelling as map-making. Western Apache place-names are "pointedly specific in the physical details they pick out," which allows them to create a detailed mental image of their cultural landscape (Basso 47). Thus detail embedded in the linguistic structure of a place-name also enables the construction of a shared framework in narrative settings. Through the use of place names to frame "historical tales," narratives

become situated within the physical world of the community's living relationships (Basso 48). They transmit a knowledge of how people and places interact.

However, these "historical tales" are more than just the recounting of past events: they also have a role in communicating the community's social values regarding those interactions. These stories are just as much "'about' the system of rules and values according to which Apaches expect each other to organize and regulate their lives" (Basso 52). The "critical and remedial" intent of these stories, which is aimed specifically at "individuals having committed one or more social offences," is strengthened by the intimate relation to the land (Basso 55). Because they are situated in specific points in the geographical landscape, these "historical tales" express the social agency of the land itself. The memory of the land lives in the present of the recipient of such a narrative reprimand. Enduring physical landmarks become simultaneous emotional reference points for communal living. The land's social agency is interpreted as a hunting metaphor. The land perpetuates the moral lessons of the narrative by "stalking" the offending individual as its presence continues "inviting people to recall their earlier feelings and encouraging them to resolve, once again, to avoid them in the future" (Basso 60-61), even as the relative who originally gave the reprimand has died. The kind of emotive narrative expression of relationships with the land creates potent memories. The language of places binds past, present and future together.

This example of the Western Apache shows that unique, place-based cultural developments are embedded in relationships with the land in cultural practice. Such place-based expressions of human-environment relationships are individually expressed in particular languages and cultures, but there are "general similarities" between the Western Apache and "the moral dimensions of [other] Native American moral conceptions of the

land" (Basso 63-64). For many such communities, the colonial experience has blurred these connections. Older community members "are concerned that as younger people learn more and more of the 'whiteman's way' they will also lose sight of portions of their own" (Basso 63). If younger generations no longer participate in the practices that connected the growth of indigenous communities with their place, they also lose the connection to the memories of these storied relationships.

The "historical tales" of the Western Apache underscore the "primacy of language and word magic in native rituals of transformation, metamorphosis, and healing" (Abram 89). The stories themselves provide moral direction for how one should navigate the socio-environmental landscapes in which one is embedded. The *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* and *Deutsche Sagen* of the Grimms serve a similar function. Such stories of moral conduct and the historical narrative of a people occur throughout the variety of landscapes that humans inhabit.[48] What distinguishes the remaining indigenous traditions from the abstract, statistical developments in the European traditions, is that such traditions have continued to acknowledge the past, present, and future as interacting presences; they have not forgotten the role that language plays in their relationships with the more-than-human world. Still apparent in these oral traditions is what Wilhelm von Humboldt, a contemporary German intellectual and linguist to the Grimms, calls the "Arbeit der Sprache" which is to function as "die vermittelnde Bewegung von Subjekt und Objekt; Arbeit heißt die Ent-äußerung und Hingabe des Subjekt an die Objektwelt, was gleichzeitig auch ein Prozeß der

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[48] In addition to drawing on the extensive study done by Basso (Abram 154), Abram also discusses the Amahuaca Indians in Peru (141), the Koyukon Indians of northwestern Alaska (145), and the Dreamtime of Aboriginal Australian cultures (163).

Verinnerlichung und Subjektivierung dieser Objektwelt bedeutet" (W. v. Humboldt 255).[49]

The internalization of and subjectification of the relationships with the more-than-human

world keeps these same relationships as tangible presences in socio-environmental

interactions. Rather than perceiving the landscape as merely an inanimate object, the world

engages directly with humans as a subject.

For a language like German, this interaction appears to have been lost. The Grimms

were, however, on the right course to remembering them with their collections of stories and

their dictionary. To tell the stories of the topography of our own words we must look back at

the etymologies of language. Wilhelm von Humboldt suggests a reasoning for the study of

historical languages in his *Einleitung zum Kawi-Werk*:

> [Der Wortvorrat] ist auch ohne ausschließlich der beständigen Bildung neuer Wörter
> und Wortformen zu gedenken, so lange die Sprache im Munde des Volks lebt, ein
> fortgehendes Erzeugnis und Wiedererzeugnis des wortbildenden Vermögens, zuerst
> in dem Stamme, dem die Sprache ihre Form verdankt, dann in der kindischen
> Erlernung des Sprechens und endlich im täglichen Gebrauche der Rede…Mit den
> toten Sprachen verhält es sich nur um weniges anders. Ihr Wortvorrat ist allerdings
> nach unserer Seite hin ein geschlossenes Ganze, in dem nur glückliche Forschung in
> ferner Tiefe liegenden Entdeckungen zu machen imstande ist. Allein ihr Studium
> kann auch nur durch Aneignung des ehemals in ihnen lebendig gewesenen Prinzips
> gelingen; sie erfahren ganz eigentlich eine wirkliche augenblickliche
> Wiederbelebung. Denn eine Sprache kann nicht wie eine abgestorbene Pflanze
> erforscht werden. Sprache und Leben sind unzertrennliche Begriffe und die
> Erlernung ist in diesem Gebiete immer nur Wiedererzeugung
>
> (W. v. Humboldt 99-100)

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[49] "the mediating movement of subject and object; function means the expression and projection of the subject into the object-world, which simultaneously results in a process of internalizing and subjectifying this object-world".

The word-repertoire of a language is a constant process of production and re-production of the word-building capacity, so long as the language lives in the mouths of the people. In this way, the language owes its form to the people that speak it, and the process continues in how children learn to speak, and finally in the daily use of speech. For Humboldt, the "dead" languages are not much different. Even though they are composed of a completed and non-expanding word-repertoire, as we perceive them, research can be done to make discoveries in their depths. The study can only be successful by the adoption of the previously living principles of the language itself. This results in these "dead" languages actually experiencing a momentary re-vitalization. Such re-vitalization is also the principle for revisiting the etymologies within a language. The pasts of individual words within the repertoire of a language also come back to life in the present. But, unlike the repertoire of a "dead" language, which is a completed whole, the etymology clings to life in the continued use and interpretation of its derivative. In this way, such pasts exist just beyond our perception, present yet not in full view.

To perceive these pasts requires an extension of our senses; because they are not immediately apparent, the presence of the past requires some mediation. In order to achieve this, we must also consider *imagination* as part of our synaesthetic experiencing of the more-than-human-world. From the perspective of phenomenology,

> that which we call *imagination* is from the first an attribute of the senses themselves; imagination is not a separate mental faculty, but is rather the way the senses themselves have of throwing themselves beyond what is immediately given, in order to make tentative contact with the other sides of things that we do not sense directly, with the hidden or invisible aspects of the sensible.

(Abram 58)

By imagining, exploring the contact with what appears to only be indirectly sensible, we reaffirm and strengthen those very contacts. Language, as another of our senses, also establishes such contact; it creates a connection, mediating between the human and the more-than-human. It can therefore also be used to explore these as yet unseen relationships. In re-grounding *Wirtschaft* by its roots in living relationships with the more-than-human world, we find how the memory of language, even when hidden, lives as a co-existent aspect in our contemporary socio-environmental assemblages. These roots find expression in language that is hidden from the narrow view of statistical analysis. This leads to a different view of language and its role in the interaction between humans and the more-than-human world: poetry. Poetic, creative expression gives new form to something that is already present; it helps a different imagining re-emerge from the margins. By unveiling and strengthening multivariate connections to the more-than-human world, poetic endeavors give words a concreteness that defies the essential abstraction of statistical analysis.

Although the German word *Wirtschaft* currently is equated to the English "economy," it shows a distinct etymological history. The etymology of *Wirtschaft* reveals how it recognizes and strengthens the innate connections to the more-than-human world. However, in the historical development of the German nation, the word and its meaning became relocated by the statistical and narrow vision of the state. Implementing a rigid, legible analytical framework resulted in losing the connection between the individual and others, including the natural environment. Making the economy required the standardization and marginalization of material processes; of the more-than-human world and of language. But by exploring the past that is present, we can encourage growth towards a new future. The presence of the past serves as the foundation to reimagining, re-member and re-vitalize

Wirtschaft as a German term for the responsibility to participate in reciprocal relationships

with others.

Novalis and the Divinity of Nature: *Die in-sich-geschlossene und aus-sich-heraus entfaltende Unendlichkeit –*

In the following chapters I look at specific authors from the nineteenth century, at the beginnings of German identity as a nation, to recover what they can tell us about how they imagined *Wirtschaft* as stewardship. The authors describe the aspects and responsibilities that are a part of an earth-rooted *Wirtschaft*. The Grimms, who played a prominent role in this endeavor, were working in the company of their illustrious contemporaries of early nineteenth century German literary and cultural circles. Their description of literature and poetry in natural and organic terms reflects how nationalism and story connected for the Grimms in drawing from the intellectual heritage of the Early German Romanticism at the turn of the century. The first author I turn to is Friedrich von Hardenberg (1772-1801), known by the pseudonym Novalis, who is considered one of the initiators and quintessential figures of the Early German Romantic movement.

Georg Friedrich Philipp was born to Erasmus von Hardenberg and his second wife, Auguste Bernhardine von Bölzig on May 2, 1772. He was thus a descendant of an aristocratic lineage in Lower Saxony that was ennobled in the twelfth century and whose seat had eventually become the former nunnery, Oberwiederstedt, in the eastern foothills of the Harz mountain range. His writing and development were unfortunately cut short by his untimely death due to tuberculosis in March, 1801. Friedrich von Hardenberg supposedly chose as his pseudonym Novalis because it was a fitting ancestral name. The name not only intimately connected him with his past, it also showed his intention for his own course: "*Novale* refers to newly plowed land (*Neubruch*), a terrain of unknown fertility over which poets and plowmen must sow their seeds," which is precisely the call to action that appears in the epigraph to *Blüthenstaub*, his "best known fragment collection" (Holland 617). He saw

himself as sowing that seed with his own poetic works. The poet begins these miscellaneous observations (*vermischte Bemerkungen*) with an invitation: *Freunde, der Boden ist arm, wir müssen reichlichen Samen ausstreun, daß uns doch nur mäßige Ernten gedeihn* (Novalis, Fragmente 5). The poor soil needs much work to yield even a decent harvest.

For Novalis, this harvest appears within his work as the emphasis on the search for deeper and yet transcendental truth. Novalis is often considered the most mystical of the German Romantics; he conceives of the paradox between materiality and transcendence as unified within nature. Meyer describes Novalis as the "initiator" of the Romantic interest in depth, whether geologic or internal to the self, because he plumbs the depths of nature and thought to find the heights of transcendence (Meyer-Sickendiek 269).[50] The diversity of Nature is for him the key to understanding God's divine essence; it is a confounding, paradoxical mystery. Only by close examination of the world can humans comprehend their unifying divinity and continue their approach towards the vastness of the supra-natural Heaven above. The role of human stewardship is therefore to preserve the mystical spaces for divinity. Novalis depicts an organic conception of divinity that is embodied in nature, which I have tried to capture in the German title for this chapter. Translating this idea as a constantly unfolding organic infinity is, however, only an approximation; the difficulty of translating this title highlights the distinctively German construction and complexity of the thought. The use of the two participles, *geschlossen* (perfect) and *entfaltend* (present, a gerund) encapsulate the paradoxical foundation of divinity embodied in nature. Unpacking Novalis's conception of the divinity of nature is the purpose of this chapter. Nature for Novalis is a contained, unified whole of continually unfolding, interacting parts.

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[50] Meyer uses here the German term *Tiefsinn*, which, translated literally, is the sense or perception of depth. This is particularly pertinant to Novalis because he worked in administering mines in Weißenfels.

To better understand Novalis in his intellectual context, I turn to Breckman's overview of European Romanticism and Smith's summary of Schleiermacher's religiosity, which was influential in Novalis's own development. After situating Novalis's intellectual growth in the contexts of Early German Romanticism and the theology of his contemporary Schleiermacher, I will focus specifically on his distinctive conceptualization of the interaction and mediation between humanity, material nature and the transcendental divine. Novalis provides an interesting and intricate insight into the role of language, poetry and creativity in this exchange when he expresses the paradox of the simultaneous experience of transcendence while searching deeper within the self, which consequently informs his political conservatism in the later stages of the French Revolution. According to Breckman, the role of humanity as a creative entity, for Novalis, is "to be the active mediator between nature and spirit, world and God", utilizing imagination as that mental faculty with which to "actively forge new unities from the diversity of experience, reinvest the world with spirit, and reunite the visible and the invisible" (Breckman 21). This theoretical framework provides the lens through which to interpret Novalis's individual works, specifically his six *Hymen an die Nacht* (Hymns to the Night) to understand how he presents the reciprocal responsibilities inherent in *Wirtschaft* as an imagining of environmental stewardship.

German Romanticism flourished alongside the cultural and social outbursts in Europe that ignited in the aftermath of the French Revolution. The Romantics perceived a dislocation of identity—the loss of connection between the individual and others, the natural environment, and the self—that needed to be addressed. People were being torn away from the interactions with their social and natural environments. This separation necessitated that these relationships somehow be substituted elsewhere; identity needed to be anchored

somewhere. The attempted relocation of identity in the national institutions of government is evident in the state-building efforts of post-Revolution France which had a corresponding effect in the German states. Romanticism represents a certain push-back against this perceived dislocation from historical relationships. The name for the movement itself "stemmed in large part from the enthusiasm of some young German writers for the medieval literary genre of the 'romance;'" an enthusiasm which here seems to indicate an orientation on the past (Breckman 1). This is, however, contradictory to the Romantics' expression of the evolutionary potential that emerges from the past. The medieval narratives represented a genre of literature that encapsulated the revolutionary fervor of these nineteenth century intellectuals. The German Romantics found these medieval stories to be endowed with expressive power that "seemed to burst out of the confines of artistic rules and conventions, freely mixing narrative with lyrical flights, the real with the visionary, the religious with the mythical, the human with the divine, and the temporal with the eternal" (Breckman 2). The paradoxical unity of seemingly separate elements broke with many of the forms and features that had defined works as timeless, universal epitomes of art. Rather than implying "a slavish reverence for the past," Romanticism's fascination with different literary forms represented "a declaration of freedom for artists who had come to believe that the paramount task of art lies in the struggle to create external forms that adequately express the artist's inner vision (Breckman 2). The subjective experience of the artist is the material from which he draws to create his work. The artist takes what he perceives in the world around him and sets it in relation to his vision of how that phenomenon can be shaped.

In this way, German Romanticism represented a revolution in the cultural perception of the vast array of socio-environmental relationships that individuals take part in. The

frictions between the inner vision of the artist and the material that he seeks to shape lead to a nuanced definition of Romanticism as a revolution. It is not simply the complete overturning of an old order; rather, it is the paradoxical coexistence and evolutionary resolution of contradictions, such as spirit and material, love and pain, that lend Romanticism its revolutionary quality. This subjectivity, which necessitates the acknowledgement of coexistent and competing intellectual currents, makes a singular Romanticism impossible to define; it "is marked by an extreme pluralism that seems to defy all efforts to identify a specific set of essential Romantic elements" (Breckman 2) Therefore, "contradiction itself should be recognized as a defining feature of Romanticism" because it is the "[e]xacerbated polarities in the culture of the period" that "give us perhaps the truest index of how the arts and intellectual life belonged to, contributed to, and reflected an age of revolutionary upheaval and change" (Breckman 3). As a cultural revolution, Romanticism thus had two competing notions that are closely interrelated and represent a fundamental shift in the perception of humanity's place in a world full of contradictions. The first was "a commitment to self-expression," which "tapped directly into the new sense of individual liberation born of the revolutionary age" by pitting "Romantic artists against the constraints of aesthetic rules, hierarchies, and ideals of formal perfection" (Breckman 3). The individual artist should seek to bend, break, re-shape, re-constitute and re-imagine limitations that had been imposed upon him. The various Romanticisms that are thus expressed share a common sense for the multiplicities of unfolding developments the emerge from a unique and distinct experience.

The limitations set by the normative status of classical antiquity disconnected the artist from aspects of his own identity, hindering his ability for self-expression. The

medieval literature, so recently rediscovered in German, offered a way out of the normative

confines of Classicism and a return to one's own literary roots. Thus the second feature of

Romanticism that adds to the complexity of its paradoxical foundation is "a desire to connect

the liberated individual with a greater whole" (Breckman 3). For the Romantics, the artist

did not exist in a vacuum; he was innately connected to a greater totality. The Romantics

"were acutely aware of the inadequacy of a naked individuality shorn of roots, connections,

and belonging;" so much so that they pursued a quest for the simultaneous reconciliation of

"the most radical emancipation of the creative person" and a longed for "connection with

something larger and grander than the self" (Breckman 4). This would result in the

"harmonious and endlessly enriching exchange between the individual and the totality,"

whether this be God, nature or a national community (Breckman 4). In experimenting with

stylistic and thematic conventions, Romantic aesthetic criteria revealed themselves as

"intrinsically historical and subjective, and thus relativistic," tied to ideas of organic growth

(Breckman 11). The expressive force of the unbound individual, for Romanticism, is found

in the irreducible connections that he has organically grown from. The predominance of the

organism as a metaphor enabled the fluidity to bridge divisions and demarcations.

This reciprocal exchange between individual self and universal totality was most

aptly expressed by Novalis. He viewed nature and God as virtually identical. Novalis does

this in such a way that makes him "perhaps the closest thing to a true mystic among all the

Romantics" (Breckman 19). Other sources of division that Novalis observed, besides the

politics of the Revolution and Neoclassical aesthetics, included the Industrial Revolution in

England, where modern commercial society destroyed older bonds of loyalty and obligation

between people. This corresponded to the growth of industrial cities, which stood in stark

contrast to the destruction of the rural countryside. For Novalis, like many of the other

Romantics, this revealed the alienation of modern society from nature. The same critique

was brought to bear on the Enlightenment. Since reason was perceived as "a faculty that

weighs, calculates, and parcels out" it not only divides "humanity from emotion and

intuition," it also hinders "the development of a more comprehensive and flexible rationality

capable of both analysis and synthesis" (Breckman 18). These flexible synthetic qualities

were to be found in the mysteriousness of nature and God's divinity which represented an

indivisible totality.

The divinity within nature was a revitalized expression of an older conception of

nature as great web of meaningful interactions. Novalis takes up this political alienation in

his study, *Die Christenheit oder Europa.* For Novalis, the unity offered by the Catholic

Church allowed everyone in Europe access to the divinity of an organic political body. But

the Protestant Reformation unleashed by Martin Luther began splitting the indivisible Church

(*die untrennbare Kirche*) that had held Europe together (Novalis, Fragmente 72). These

divisions were then further entrenched and propagated by the meddling rulers of states and

Enlightenment intellectuals. By dividing states and people from their underlying unity in

Christianity, the Enlightenment, in the form of thinkers and rulers, alienated the people of

Europe from the world itself. For Romantics like Novalis, the religious philosophies prior to

the French Revolution found their epitome in "[t]he dissolution of the republic into the

Jacobin Terror, warfare and the attempt to create a surrogate religion of reason and

republican virtue" which compounded society's alienation (Breckman 18). Rather than

emphasizing the unifying connections between people, the idolization of reason removed

people from the divinity of the intertwining web of social and environmental relations. In

order to resituate the human in these relationships, the individual within the totality, required uncovering, once again, the unifying divinity within the natural world.

Along with his intellectual companions, Novalis sought to combine the idea of the organism with religion. In this endeavor, the Early Romantics present their response to the religious philosophies of the late eighteenth century by developing ideas of an ensouled nature, which provides the connection to and the basis of the divine presence in the earth. In his response to Fichte in particular, Novalis is exemplary of "one of the key features of Romantic philosophy" which "was its search for a paradoxical anti-foundationalist grounding of philosophy, i.e., a grounding that at the same time takes into account the impossibility of a first principle," whereby he "introduces a fundamental duality as the basis of all things and yet simultaneously recognizes that in thinking that duality, he is conceiving of their impossible identity" (Smith 149). There is an underlying unity that enables one to perceive the asymmetries and distinctions between the subject self and the object world. The subject can only extend itself and take part in interactions with the object world if there is a part of the object world inherent to the subject. This is taken up by the theologian and philosopher Friedrich Schleiermacher in his concept of *Anschauung*, the observing that takes place to experience the world. The "simultaneity of difference and identity that must be presumed in every act of *Anschauung*" is the result of the influence that the observed has on the observer in their interaction (Smith 143). The observed phenomenon engages in its own independent actions, which then interact with the observer as he sees and seeks to understand them. This living unity of differences in *Anschauung*, for Schleiermacher, is precisely the experience of religion, as the mediation between the human and the divine (Smith 143). The act of *Anschauung* is practiced most evidently in religion as both a unifying and mediating force.

Religion thus also becomes the place to experience this same unity in the world. The material world of nature, as a living totality, becomes a physical and experience-able embodiment of the divine. The problem of simultaneous unification and mediation is taken up in the Romantic "*Naturphilosophie*" which "takes on a terminology of divinization" as it attempts to explore and revitalize Spinoza's earlier conception of the interchangeability and identity of God and nature (implied in his formulation *deus sive natura*, God or nature) (Smith 142). In their reception of Spinoza, the Romantics developed a vitalistic religiosity that was not "an extension of radical Fichtean subjectivism" and its "ethics of the autonomous subject," but rather a conception of the divine as its own and part of other living organisms (Smith 141). In this way, religion, as the observance and experience of the organic unity that is nature and God, resolves the philosophical problem between mediation and unification in the human experience at the juncture between the natural and the divine. Schleiermacher's lasting impact on the intellectual development of Novalis and the other early Romantics is that he "embraces as the source of religious piety the 'universe' as the *organized*—that is, modeled on the living organism—system of laws and interactions" (Smith 145). This is a system defined by its interactions, as each separate piece must work in conjunction with others, both in pulling them to itself and repulsing them, to create the unique yet diverse totality. The organism is a whole that is closed unto itself, yet made up of the dynamic growth of its individual constituent parts.

If divinity is an organism, then divinity can be experienced in all organisms of the world. The way that humans interact with and experience the organicism of divinity then is through religion as a practice. For Schleiermacher, "the goal, then, is to recognize in religion precisely this site of primal identity, for it makes possible the inherent drive from a

metaphysics and morality of the individual to an intersubjectivity" whereby the divine

subjectivity of God establishes and permeates the connections between various organisms

(Smith 146). Novalis adopts just this notion in his *Hymnen an die Nacht*, as he explores the

alienation of modern human society. Novalis's conception of human's alienation is similar

to "a strain of Enlightenment thought, found in Rousseau and Herder, that man was no longer

close to nature and had lost a sense for the uncomplicated, instinctual truth and confidence

that animals display" (Kuzniar 430). Humans have been displaced by the complex systems

of classifications and boundaries delineated by the reason of the Enlightenment. Religion, in

contrast, blazes the path back to these connections "as the transcendental means to overcome

philosophical and historical divisions" (Smith 141). Divinity, for Novalis, thus becomes

defined as the ultimate resolution of material differences in the transcendence of Christianity.

　　　In all six *Hymnen an die Nacht*, the transcendent divinity of the Night itself is a

prominent theme. The Night thus becomes the encompassing totality, the naturally occurring

phenomenon with multiple diverse instantiations through which humans experience an

organic divinity. This imagery is even more potent as the distinguishing characteristics of

the Night, which is intimately emotive, imaginary and sensual, are compared to the detached

rationality of the Light, the primary symbol of Enlightenment Reason. *Die Hymnen an die*

Nacht were all published in the August issue of the 1800 volume of the Schlegel brother's

Athenäum. While the exact origin of the *Hymnen* is not known, certain elements appear to

have been written shortly after the death of Novalis's first betrothed, Sophie von Kühn, in

1797, particularly in the *Hymnen* 1 – 4 (Novalis, Das dichterische Werk 116). While the

theme of lost love does appear throughout all six *Hymnen*, in various forms, this is also

indicative of a disillusionment Novalis expresses regarding the French Revolution and the

failures of Enlightenment Reason. In the *Hymnen an die Nacht*, Novalis presents his

reception of Spinozist pantheism in his portrayal of the Night, and other worldly phenomena,

as representative of an organic divinity.

The Romantic critique of Enlightenment theology is particularly poignant in the

contrast between the Light of Reason and the mysterious, emotional Night in the first and

second *Hymnen*. In the first, Novalis begins with praise for the Light. The opening sentence

is a question, whereby he asks which living thing, with the gift to sense and experience the

world, does not love the Light, beyond all other wonders of the world that are arrayed around

it:

> *Welcher Lebendige, Sinnbegabte, liebt nicht vor allen Wundererscheinungen des*
> *verbreiteten Raums um ihn, das allerfreuliche Licht – mit seinen Farben, seinen*
> *Strahlen und Wogen*
>
> Novalis, *Das dichterische Werk* 131

The Light is present in all things; every thing breathes it and is filled with its presence.

Despite the vastness of the world, the Light permeates everything from stars to stone, plant

and animal. Each of the main elements of nature are hereby represented and described with

their unique characteristics: the air, where the restless stars reside, is a wide blue flood in

which the Light dances; the earth's foundation comes to life in the stone that glints, but is

forever reposed; water gives life to the sensory plant which drinks deeply; and fire is what

burns in the wild and polymorphous animal. The Light (*das allerfreuliche Licht*) is the

innermost soul (*des Lebens innerste Seele*) of all these diverse forms of life:

> *Wie des Lebens innerste Seele atmet es der rastlosen Gestirne Riesenwelt, und*
> *Schwimmt in seiner blauen Flut – atmet es der funkelnde, ewigruhende Stein, die*
> *sinnige, saugende Pflanze, und das wilde, brennende, vielgestaltete Tier…*

Novalis, *Das dichterische Werk* 131

The use of the singular form for stone (Stein), plant (Pflanze) and animal (Tier) is also indicative of Novalis's organic conception: although there are many different types of stone, plant and animal, they are each only different expressions of a unified elemental mold. This notion is also divine in how its heavenly image enshrouds every earthly being (*hängt sein himmlisches Bild jedem irdischen Wesen um)* and reveals the wondrous riches of the world (*Seine Gegenwart allein offenbart die Wunderherrlichkeit der Reiche der Welt*).[51] The heavenly image is the unifying totality that is expressed by the individual existence of these diverse beings as they interact with one another. All differences are resolved in the transcendence of divinity.

However, the Light has an equally divine counterpart: the Night, the Light's opposite. Where the light seems to give everything new life as each being awakens to the day, the Night is a manifestation of pain and sorrow. Rather than the fullness of bright energy, the emptiness left behind by the loss of hope, joy and the dreams of youth, which only return as distant shrouded memories, is what characterizes the Night:

> *Fernen der Erinnerung, Wünsche der Jugend, der Kindheit Träume, des ganzen langen Lebens kurze Freuden und vergebliche Hoffnungen kommen in grauen Kleidern, wie Abendnebel nach der Sonne Untergang.*

Novalis, *Das dichterische Werk* 131[52]

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[51] Novalis, Das dichterische Werk 131

[52] *Fernen der Erinnerung, Wünsche der Jugend, der Kindheit Träume, des ganzen langen Lebens kurze Freuden und vergebliche Hoffnungen kommen in grauen Kleidern, wie Abendnebel nach der Sonne Untergang.* (Novalis, Das dichterische Werk 131)

The mysteries of the Night are, however, also far more intricate. The Night brings with it an exquisite balsam that raises the narrator's spirits once again. This balsam is the product of the Night's divinity: the resolution and end of pain. The Night's balsam returns images of his happily surprised mother's loving youth as she cares for him (*ein ernstes Antlitz seh ich froh erschrocken, das sanft und andachtsvoll sich zu mir neigt, und unter unendlich verschlungenen Locken der Mutter liebe Jugend zeigt*).[53] Instead of taking all the dreams and memories away, the Night actually becomes the vehicle for the narrator to find them once again. The author thus has a change of heart with regards to the Light. Since the Night enables the sensorial remembering of the narrator's dreams, he feels that the departure of day is a joyous and blessed occasion: *Wie arm und kindisch dünkt mir das Licht nun – wie erfreulich und gesegnet des Tages Abschied* (Novalis, Das dichterische Werk 133). Compared to the comfort and security of night, the light of day appears poor and childish.

This is a sentiment that is also expressed in the second *Hymne*. In keeping with the notion that the departure of the daylight is more blessed, the narrator begins the second *Hymne* with a question: must the morning always return (*Muß immer der Morgen wiederkommen?*)?[54] The Light, reason and rationality, dissipates the sensuous Night. But the Night, this time of feeling and emotion, is still present even in the time of the Light in the shadows that are cast pitifully in the twilight of the true night for the fools.[55] These fools are the ones who do not feel the presence of the Night in the golden flood of the grapes, in the magic oil of the almond tree and even the brown juice of the poppy.[56] Night, as the most

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[53] Novalis, Das dichterische Werk 133

[54] Novalis, Das dichterische Werk 133

[55] *Nur die Toren verkennen dich und wissen von keinem Schlafe, als dem Schatten, den du in jener Dämmerung der Wahrhaften Nact mitlidig auf uns wirfst.* (Novalis, Das dichterische Werk 133)

[56] *Sie fühlen dich nicht in der goldenen Flut der Trauben – in des Mandelbaums Wunderöl, und dem Safte des Mohns* (Novalis, Das dichterische Werk 133-135)

blessed time, becomes the place to experience God's own presence in all things. The divinity of the Night, the quality of resolving and transforming the materiality of worldly beings, is present in all the relationships between them as they flow fluidly from one form to the next.

The Night in these *Hymnen* is not simply an object environment in which these interactions take place. In addition to being the permeating essence of worldly beings, the Night is a phenomenon that is itself an active agent in these interactions. In both of these initial *Hymnen*, the narrator speaks directly to the Night as not only a facilitator of, but also another participant in social relationships with the world. The questions, "Hast auch du ein Gefallen an uns, dunkle Nacht?" and "Was hälst du unter deinem Mantel, das mir unsichtbar kräftig an die Seele geht?" are addressing the Night in the second person, as someone of comparable standing and agentic capacity within a social interaction (Novalis, Das dichterische Werk 131).[57] The divinity of Nature, as symbolized by the Night, is then not only its transcendent quality, but also its capacity to act. The narrator in the second *Hymne* identifies the others as fools, which indicates that he, in contrast, is aware of the Night's presence in these other beings and organisms: he perceives and recognizes this agency of the Night. The Night is the underlying totality that all individual worldly beings engage with and participate in. Again, this agentic quality is associated with divinity: the Night is the silent messenger of infinite mysteries, the one who carries the key to the residence of the blessed.[58] True salvation lies in the recognition of the divinity that resides in all beings. While they are separate organs, the people and the Night, their interactions create a single organism that ultimately resolves in the transcendent totality of Heaven.

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[57] Do you also take a pleasure in us dark Night; What do you hold under your mantle that pulls my soul with hidden power?

[58] *ahnden nicht, daß aus alten Geschichten du himmeleröffnend entgegentrittst und den Schlüssel trägst zu den Wohnungen der Seligen, unendlicher Geheimnisse schweigender Bote* (Novalis, Das dichterische Werk 135).

This organic conception of divinity that underscores Novalis's Romanticism, particularly in regards to Nature, enable him to redefine human relationships with the more-than-human world. He seeks to become free of "the Enlightenment delineation of the boundaries between man and [the more-than-human]" (Kuzniar 427).[59] The classification and quantification that drove the spirit of the Enlightenment had erected these boundaries. But for Novalis, the natural borders that could be perceived were not impenetrable; they were far more fluid and dynamic. Novalis abandoned the notion of the Great Chain of Being, which many Enlightenment writers still subscribed to, "so that he could freely imagine the interchangeability of rocks, plants, animals, and man" (Kuzniar 429). Instead of being concerned with defining the essence of humanity as his ability to use reason, Novalis saw the human essence expressed in his role in interactions with the more-than-human world. Thus, "Novalis's first step in releasing man from these [boundaries] is to realign him with nature…[and] to see nature in a positive light as the reverse image of mankind" (Kuzniar 429). This is precisely the shift represented by addressing the Night in the second person in the *Hymnen an die Nacht*. Instead of objects without life, plants animals, and other worldly phenomena are presented as almost equal counterparts of humans. They are only almost equal because differences remain between them. Novalis, however, provides a "respectful acknowledgement of the asymmetry between them" which allows him to "resist anthropomorphism, in other words, having the term of reference or measurement be the human and human consciousness" (Kuzniar 436). Although they have outwardly apparent and perceptible differences, their underlying unity provides the basis for their similarity.

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[59] In her chapter, Kuzniar is specifically referring to the depiction of animals in Novalis's works, but this also has implications for other natural phenomena as well.

Being on the same level as the other individuals that make up the divine totality of the world enables the conception of an underlying, unifying similarity between the self and other subjective phenomena. These similarities are most prominent in the beginning of the fifth *Hymne*, where Novalis describes the evolution of religion. The initial lines refer to ancient Greek mythology in describing the beginnings of the world. The world is alive as the children of Mother Earth reside in the world. Her first children, the Titans, are imprisoned beneath the mountains as the new line of gods and their human relatives.[60] The relation to the gods is visible, all-encompassing, which allows the humans to stay in good spirits and take joy in life. Their relationship is alive in the world: rivers, trees, flowers and animals all have human senses.[61] Or, in a more direct translation of the German, specifically a singular sense. This sense that all things share is language, the ability to communicate the relationships between interacting beings.

In the scene that Novalis depicts in the fifth *Hymne*, the animals, plants and other natural phenomena take part in the festivities of living as they celebrate the godly bounties of the world. The beings of the world are able to perceive the joyous presence of the gods. In this way, Novalis displays "[Nature's] capacity for listening" because language, particularly in the form of song becomes a "form of communication understood and appreciated by animals" (Kuzniar 434). Humans, on the other hand, have forgotten how to hear this song. By placing this joyous communication between the world, gods and humans in the long distant time of ancient myth, Novalis depicts this as the real fall from grace: the inability, or unwillingness, to understand the more-than-human world as it itself speaks. He thereby

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[60] *Fest unter Bergen lagen die Ursöhne der Mutter Erde. Ohnmächtig in ihrer zerstörenden Wut gegen das neue herrliche Göttergeschlecht und dessen Verwandten, die fröhlichen Menschen* (Novalis, Das dichterische Werk 141).

[61] *Flüsse, Bäume, Blumen und Tiere hatten menschlichen Sinn* (Novalis, Das dichterische Werk 141).

suggests "that one desires a return…to a (universal) home with its Edenic implications," because being able "to commune with nature would thus entail recovering something lost and signify regaining a native place or abode" (Kuzniar 437-438). The distance in time shows just how far removed people have become from the natural world, as they were driven from the paradise of Eden. Since the gods had left the world, only returning to it at night, it is therefore the responsibility of humans to strive towards joining this totality once again.

In order to re-member oneself in the divine totality of nature, one must re-learn how to interact with the more-than-human world. This is precisely the lesson that Christianity reveals. The salvation granted to humans through Christ's sacrifice is the opportunity for reunification with the world and resolution in transcendence. In the verses concluding the fifth *Hymne*, the narrator declares:

> Getrost, das Leben schreite
> Zum ewgen Leben hin;
> Von innrer Glut geweitet
> Verklärt sich unser Sinn.
> Die Sternwelt wird zerfließen
> Zum glodnen Lebenswein,
> Wir warden sie genießen
> Und Lichte Sterne sein.
>
> Die Lieb' ist frei gegeben,
> Und keine Trennung mehr.
> Es wogt das volle Leben
> Wie ein unendlich Meer.
> Nur Eine Nacht der Wonne –
> Ein ewiges Gedicht –
> Und unser aller Sonne

Ist Gottes Angesicht

Novalis, *Das dichterische Werk* 153

Eternal life is the flowing together of all worldly things, the heavens and the earth. People

will metamorphose between plants, animals and other things in joyous union. There will be

no more differences and the light of God will shine on in the everlasting song of His

presence. Christ's extraordinary existence as both God and Human is the ultimate example

of this union. He represents the return of the gods' holiness in the world. The divine unity of

Christ is the resolution of materiality in transcendence. Novalis thus uses the example of

Christianity to make the reciprocal move "to assimilate the natural world with its animals,

plants, and stars into man, as part of him, but also to transform the human into another

example of these other natural beings" (Kuzniar 431). Because of his seemingly paradoxical

essence, Christ provides the key instantiation of how to acknowledge the asymmetries

between the human and the more-than-human in order to bring them to their common home

once again.

But these asymmetries require mediation. Christ embodies in a single person the

interaction between individual and totality; however, he is a unique case as the only begotten

son of God. The rest of humanity must strive for this mediation, strive to recognize and

bring the organic divinity into ourselves. Since humans are part of a diverse unity, they are

not the only agents. Thus, bringing and recognizing nature into the self is part of a creative

process that is not reliant on solely human agency; instead, humans participate in

relationships that then enable the transformations between them and all other worldly

phenomena. These transformations are implicated in the reciprocity of the *Werkzeug* (tool or

instrument), which Novalis uses as a metaphor for making the human part of something

larger. Because of the *Werkzeug*'s mediating role between the human and the more-than-

human, it "displaces the centrality of human agency" (Holland 630). The *Werkzeug* is

neither part of the wielder nor the recipient, it is merely the juncture between them which

creates new relationships. Instead of defining instrumentality as simple cause and effect

relationships, Novalis combines this "with a new [Romantic] way of thinking about the

organism: the reciprocal relationship between agent and tool" (Holland 621). Both agent and

tool limit and enable certain characteristics of one another in the organically influenced

conception of the *Werkzeug*. This is evident in different types of productivity such as "the

relation between artist, instrument, and artwork—as well as autoproduction" (Holland 618).

The *Werkzeug*, like the agent, has inherent characteristics that allow it a certain amount of

self-sufficiency.

 The reciprocal interactions embodied in the *Werkzeug* is the core of what connects

humans with the more-than-human, particularly a transcendent divinity. But to mediate

between the material of nature and transcendence of God's divinity, one must become a

Selbstwerkzeug, an instrument unto himself. The *Werkzeug* is part of "a creative process" in

which it "is integral to all stages" because "it transforms the intangible and formless into

something which can be differentiated through visual metaphors" (Holland 626). This is

precisely the role that the human plays in the fourth *Hymne*. Here, Novalis depicts "a

perceptive openness to the world," while "he is also describing the receptivity that bonds

man to nature" which is indicative of the *Werkzeug*'s characteristics that are innately human

(Kuzniar 433). One who has become a *Selbstwerkzeug* mediates the differences between his

own materiality and the transcendence of nature's divinity.

 The narrator in the fourth *Hymne* describes his journey to the borders of the world.

Once there, he proclaims that no one who had truly looked over the border-mountains into

the realm of the Night would ever return to the world where Light has its abode.[62] This place, on the border between the two realms is where the human dwells: he builds himself buildings of peace to await the hour to come down to the waters of the spring where all that has become holy by the touch of love flows and mingles.[63] The human constructions are what mark humanity's place at the juncture between earthly material and heavenly spirit, reason and feeling. Novalis further declares that this is the rightful place of humanity because humans were sent be the Night into the world. Their mission, ordered by the Night, was to settle the world and make it holy with love so that it might become an eternally present monument.[64] This new monument is the product of the human *Selbstwerkzeug* that will eventually come to exist. By perceiving the reciprocal interconnections with the divinity of nature, humans can most effectively exercise their role in a more-than-human world. Rather than being separated from the connections of the world, humans must find a way to resituate themselves at the intersection of the material and the transcendent.

Throughout the *Hymnen an die Nacht*, Novalis never explicitly states how humans are to achieve this resituating. This is instead implied in the recipient of these hymns: the Night herself. Night is the time for sleeping, and with sleep come dreams. In all of the *Hymnen* where the human is unbound from nature's divinity, either because it is lost to a distant past or they are still awaiting the salvation of the future, Novalis counters with the

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[62] *Wer oben stand auf dem Grenzgebürge der Welt, und hinübersah in das neue Land, in der Nacht Wohnsitz – wahrlich der kehrt nicht in das Treiben der Welt zurück, wo das Licht in ewiger Unruh hauset* ((Novalis, Das dichterische Werk 137).

[63] *Oben baut er sich Hütten, Hütten des Friedens, sehnt sich und liebt, schaut hinüber, bis die willkommenste aller Stunden hinunter ihn in den Brunnen der Quelle zieht – ...was heilig durch der Liebe Berührung ward, rinnt aufgelöst in verborgenen Gängen auf das jenseitige Gebiet, wo es, wie Düfte, sich mit entschlummerten Lieben mischt* (Novalis, Das dichterische Werk 137).

[64] *Die Mutter schickte mit meinen Geschwistern mich, zu bewohnen deine Welt, sie zu heiligen mit Liebe, daß sie ein ewig angeschautes Denkmal werde* (Novalis, Das dichterische Werk 139).

image of slumber. Dreaming is the action that people can take in the present to connect with

and realize these distant times. In these instances, the Light awakens and burdens the sleeper

with toil of rationality in the disconnected and un-meaningful world of reason. The

dreamtime of sleep is therefore the only time for the true introspection that will allow one to

reestablish the connections he has lost. Dreams allow one access to the memories of this

long forgotten past and it is up to the dreamer to unlock the mysteries of these memories.[65]

Discovering the unifying divinity that underlies this distant past will enable the dreamer to

also perceive that same unity in what is to come and therefore strive to bring about

resituating himself within the interrelated connections of the world.[66] Introspection is simply

a different modality of the retrospection that was part of the Romantics' and in particular

Novalis's conception of the organism and divinity- of the rooted connections binding the

individual with a broader totality.

Novalis was one of the quintessential figures of the early Romantic movement in the

German-speaking states immediately following the French Revolution. Although he did not

live to see the extent of the affect that his work had, Novalis develops the notion of

organicism into a theme that has broad consequences for contemporary and successive

generations of writers and thinkers. By conceiving of a divine nature, Novalis presents an

imagination of human relationships with a nature that speaks and tells us how to return to the

heavenly paradise from which we have fallen. The *Hymnen an die Nacht* provide a synopsis

of how different themes in Novalis's writing come together to reveal this imagination. All of

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[65] *Erinnerungen sind vielmehr als Rätsel zu verstehen, die der Grübler entschlüsselt* (Meyer-Sickendiek 274)

[66] *Der grübelnde Tiefsinn der Romantiker impliziert ausgesprochen häufig die Suche des Helden nach dem Sinn seiner eigenen Vergangenheit, nach dem Rätsel seiner Herkunft* (Meyer-Sickendiek 271); *vielmehr durchforstet der romantische Grübler das erinnerte nach Elementen jener Erinnerungen, die ‚Züge des Kommenden' in sich tragen* (Meyer-Sickendiek 273).

Nature is endowed with divinity, as represented by the organism: the interactions of diverse parts make up a unique whole. For Novalis, the resolution of the parts into the whole is the essence of divinity, as God is the transcendent resolution of the world's diverse material components. Novalis thus posits a conception of the human role in the world as the mediator of this resolution. By interacting with, shaping and being shaped by the more-than-human world, humans return to the heavenly home with the rest of nature. Being at this juncture means that it is humanity's responsibility to mediate and steward the asymmetrical instantiations of divinity. The dreams and memories that resurface in the night are what make it possible to imagine oneself as part of an endless cycle of growth and transformation. This conception of the interchangeability between individuals as part of a whole has a far-reaching influence on imagining environmental stewardship as intersubjective, reciprocal relationships.

Excursus – *Naturwissenschaft*: Humboldt and Knowing Nature

Novalis presented a divine conception of the organism, seeking to make the borders between humans and the more-than-human world more fluid. These divisions had been erected in Enlightenment thought, which is most evident in the mechanical conception of the world. Only humans have souls, endowed to them by God, and all other forms of animal life are simply automata, created to serve a function as a cog in the grand divine project. The Romantic turn to the organism as the organizing principle of life was revolutionary. Such a notion saw life and agency in all things. This conception of the organism, the unto itself unified whole, composed of diverse, interacting parts, began to take hold in the natural sciences as well. Novalis was interested in the contemporary studies into Galvanism, which sought a phenomenal, measurable occurrence of a unifying life force. Also interested in these theories of Galvanism was Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859). Alexander von Humboldt, relied on his personal scientific experiments to examine the world as it exists in the physical, measurable present. Through such measurements, people are connected to the greater world through interacting natural processes and systems. Humboldt expresses a Romantic empiricism that emerges from the wonder of the early Romantics, but he seeks to go further and understand the physical functioning of the world as interacting, dynamic systems. His experiments take him far afield to explore the inner workings of organisms as well as the relationships between them. For Humboldt, environmental stewardship is rooted in an understanding of what would later become the scientific field of ecology: that humans are but a single entity in a web of living relationships.

In this brief section, then, I would like to focus for a moment on how Humboldt develops the Romantic notion of the organism by conjoining it with the empiricism and

materiality of scientific study. Humboldt´s connections between materiality and empiricism and the organic whole provide a bridge, in this study, between the transcendent Romanticism of Novalis and the politically material Romanticism of Heinrich Heine. For purposes of illustrating this bridge, a short interpretation of Humboldt's own foreword to *Ansichten der Natur* (Perspectives on Nature) and his *Naturgemälde* (mural of nature) will suffice.

For biographical information, I have drawn on Andrea Wulf's description of Humboldt's early years from her 2016 book *The Invention of Nature: Alexander von Humboldt's New World*. Born in September 1789 as the second son of a noble officer in the Prussian army, Alexander von Humboldt expressed a longing for adventure and a passion for the natural world at an early age. He was the younger brother of Wilhelm von Humboldt, cited earlier for his studies into the relationship between language and culture. Where Wilhelm was interested in the ancient languages they were required to study in lessons, Alexander longed to be outside of the classroom where he could be amongst the plants and animals. After studying at the university in Hamburg, his interest in science and geology (as well as the need to appease his demanding mother) Humboldt studied at the mining academy in Freiberg in 1791. During his time there, he carried out many of his own experiments in addition to curriculum set out by the academy. Humboldt here drew on the quantifying spirit of the Enlightenment: he sought to identify, measure and classify what he saw, making careful note of all his observations. His desire for adventure and knowledge are what carried him through his time in Freiberg. Humboldt observed various connections between different aspects of mining, such as the conditions of the miners themselves, which only served to widen his interests further. Instead of the supposedly separate disciplines he began to imagine the ways in which they overlapped and flowed into one another.

Humboldt's knack for blending ideas received a new component when he traveled to Jena in 1794. The original purpose of the journey was to visit his brother and sister-in-law. But these two had joined the circle of friends surrounding Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller, the famous German Classicists. Goethe had been, at the time of Humboldt's visit, the administrator of mining and manufacturing in the Duchy of Saxe-Weimar. He was extremely interested in Humboldt's insights into geology and mining. Goethe had his own rock and botany collections. In observing these specimens, Goethe had developed an idea of an *Urform*, an underlying form that unifies and informs all the other diverse parts of a plant (Wulf 29-30). This is very similar to the notion of the organism posited by the Early Romantics, where the interaction of the subjective parts enables the expression and existence of a greater totality. This emphasis on subjectivity and perception led Humboldt to believe that imagination was just as important as reason in trying to understand the world. Goethe infused his poetry with scientific observation, which convinced Humboldt to infuse his empirical observations with poetic elements to show how sensing and perceiving nature were as important as any measurements (Wulf 37-38). The figure of Faust comes to mind, a figure that Goethe worked on over the course of his creative lifetime. Wulf says "Goethe wrote Faust in bursts of activity that often coincided with Humboldt´s visits. Faust, like Humboldt, was drive like a relentless striving for knowledge." (Wulf 37) Where Goethe was a poet interested in science, Humboldt was a scientist interested in poetry.

This is precisely how Humboldt processed his five-year journey to the Americas from 1799 to 1804. The journey to and in the Americas provided unique insights for Humboldt's view of the world as an organism. Humboldt arrived in Venezuela and began a long journey

around much of the northwestern portion of the South American continent. His desire to

explore took Humboldt to the Casiquiare River, which was a natural waterway that connected

the Amazon and Orinoco river basins. The next destination was the Andes mountains, where

Humboldt hoped to explore the unimaginable (for a European) heights of living volcanoes.

On the passage through the Andes, Humboldt attempted to summit Chimborazo, about 100

miles from the city of Quito. Before returning to Europe, he also traveled through Mexico to

the United States where he met with the president, Thomas Jefferson. All along this journey,

Humboldt made observations of indigenous language and culture, commenting on the

barbarity of supposedly civilized men that they would treat these people so poorly. Here, it is

evident that Humboldt is interested in the connections between people and place, culture and

nature. The resolution of these divisions can be found in unifying the expressions of each

part in these contradictions: poetry and scientific observation.

In blending his science and poetry, Humboldt sought to express the connections that

he could imagine and see in the world around him to the fullest extent possible. This is what

Humboldt declares to be the purpose of his book, *Ansichten der Natur* (Perspectives on

Nature), which details his journey. In the foreward of the first edition he states:

> Überblick der Natur im großen, Beweis von dem Zusammenwirken der
> Kräfte, Erneuerung des Genusses, welchen die unmittelbare Ansicht der
> Tropenländer dem fühlenden Menschen gewährt, sind die Zwecke, nach
> denen ich strebe. Jeder Aufsatz sollte ein in sich geschlossenes Ganzes
> ausmachen, in allen sollte ein in die selbe Tendenz sich gleichmäßig
> aussprechen.
>
> A. v. Humboldt 5

The goal which he is striving for is to present an overview of nature in its entirety, to provide evidence for the interaction of forces, to reawaken the desire that the unmediated view of the tropics provide for feeling people. Each essay in the collection is supposed to be a closed whole unto itself; however, in them all, the same unifying tendency should become apparent. Humboldt sees his work as an organic whole, composed of diverse parts. It is even more so because of the combination of scientific observations and poetic descriptions. This work is supposed to be an *ästhetische Behandlung naturhistorischer Gegenstände* (aesthetic handling of natural history's subject matter) (A. v. Humboldt 5). In combining the aesthetic and the empirical, Humboldt perceives the influence that nature has on people, not just the other way around. His travels and observations revealed that everywhere he can find the eternal influence which physical nature exerts on the morality of humanity and its fate: "Überall habe ich auf den ewigen Einfluß hingewiesen, welchen die physische Natur auf die moralische Stimmung der Menscheit und auf ihre Schiscksale ausübt"[67] (A. v. Humboldt 6). Humanity is embedded in a web of meaningful relationships that extend all around the world. In order to see these connections, one must imagine and envision them poetically as well as measure them.

Not only does Humboldt write to imagine and reveal these connections, but he also visualizes them for his audience. Humboldt's famous *Naturgemälde* (mural of nature) is a drawing of the relationships that Humboldt sees from the heights of Chimborazo. He produced the first sketch while he was in South America and then published it nature. The *Naturgemälde* depicts a cross-section of Chimborazo as it rises from the depths of a tropical jungle to the snow-covered peak. In the mountain, Humboldt lists in detail the different

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[67]Translation mine.

types of plants as they are distributed across altitudes. Along the sides of the image are columns which detail the changes in climate, temperature, humidity or atmospheric pressure that correspond to a given altitude. Perceiving nature as a living whole, Humboldt was connecting the facts that he had so meticulously gathered to one another. On the slopes of Chimborazo, as he and his companions climbed higher and higher, Humboldt had seen plant species that reminded him of his travels in Europe. The climate and species were similar even though they were separated physically by thousands of miles. With this image, Humboldt provided a method for comparing Chimborazo with other mountains around the world whose height had been measured or estimated. The vast array of climates, and the associated diversity of species, are represented by the different zones that Humboldt depicts on the mountainside of the *Naturgemälde*. Humboldt perceives on Chimborazo and creatively expresses in his drawing that the world itself is an organism. The fundamental elements hold together diverse parts of nature, expressed in the measurable changes of which Humboldt took note.

Although his initial obsession with measurement and classification marks him as a child of the Enlightenment, Humboldt comes to embody many of the ideals of Romanticism, particularly in his presentation of a world organism. He applies Romanticism's organic model to the world itself. What differentiates Humboldt from other Romantics, however, is precisely his inquisitive need for empirical evidence. The measurements that he takes are what binds the diverse elements of the world organism together; the materiality of nature can be read and understood through this direct engagement with it.   Heinrich Heine translates this direct engagement into a call for, and an exhortation to, political action.

Der Heine'sche Wald: The Bridge between Poesy and Politics –

Humboldt's concept of nature anticipates Heinrich Heine's Romantic nationalism. The nationalism expressed by Heine is indicative of Breckman's revealing comment that the Romantics did not "automatically associate diversification with conflict." Breckman suggests that Charles Darwin shifted the thoughts about natural diversity "from a model of harmony to a model of competition." Breckman continues: "and it was the Darwinian concept of nature, not the Romantic one, that fed into the competitive nationalist ideologies of the later nineteenth century" (Breckman 33). However, before this shift, the Romantic association of diversity with peace rather than conflict prevailed. While Breckman refers here to the shift in the context of English Romanticism, notably with respect to Sir Walter Scott, I believe these comments relate also to the work of Heinrich Heine. Heine takes the organic model, seen by Novalis in a mystical transcendence of the world and by Humboldt in the natural empirical world, and applies that organic understanding to a national political context. In the following, I show how Heinrich Heine resituated the idealization of nature in political awareness as he developed a Romantic nationalism whereby he expressed his desire for the harmonious coexistence between France and Germany.

Born in Dortmund in 1797, Heine lived and wrote in a period of turbulent political transition as the ramifications of the French Revolution were still playing out in Germany and Europe at large. During his self-imposed exile in Paris, he became one of the most well-known writers of the revolutionary group known as *Junges Deutschland*. As a censored satirist and German exile in Paris, Heine embodied a political Romanticism that sought to reconcile the clashing identities of the French and Germans. Heine viewed his Romantic predecessors as idealists lacking a crucial element: the drive to political action. Over the

course of his life, Heine uses his poetry and other writings not only to criticize the contemporary political situation in Germany but also to move readers to political action and engagement. Although Heine declared himself an anti-Romantic, he recognized that he is himself very much rooted in the Romantic age. Heine's Romanticism is evident in how he turns the Romantic dynamism of thought and conception of the organism into a conception of poetic politics, growing from and shaping the future course of history. In his critiques of Romanticism, Heine puts forth a notion of *Wirtschaft* as a stewardship that heightens awareness for how people and places are bound to one another by nurturing interrelationships. He achieves this by resituating Romanticism in a politically active environment. The importance of these nurturing interrelationships between people and place as political actors becomes apparent throughout his main poetic cycles, which parallel his development leading up to and following the crucial failure of the 1848 revolutions in German-speaking Europe.

Heine develops a politically active Romanticism as he develops nature- and forest-imagery into a symbol of a German nation grounded in a natural reality that hints at its historical emergence and further development. Heine criticizes his Romantic predecessors for having striven towards a false and imagined vision that offered no real solutions to the worldly suffering of humanity. Heine reconciles this distance between the far-off dream and the immediate reality by showing how the dream itself emerges from the inherent qualities of a nation, drawing from roots in the landscape and is then realized through the political action of the people. This realization happens simultaneously inside and outside of the nation, because it is a political realization of the native poesy and its natural images, which can only succeed through the cooperation with other peoples, in particular the French. Home, which

consists of connection to a real Nature, in this way knows no borders. What separates

humans is resolved by the recognition of how social relationships rooted in the landscape

nourish the growth of a nation. To the end of Heine's time, his vision for a Europe grounded

in Franco-Germanic cooperation remains unrealized. But his effort still works itself into the

present. Heine shows why people, and artists in particular, can not afford to be disengaged

from their political reality. Because of the revolutionary social developments in Europe at

the time, Heine is always critical of the individual's retreat from society. The interaction

with nature is a mediation between individuals of person and broader universals. In

particular, this occurs between people and their larger political wholes, since they are

embedded in a place with its own cultural history and organic development through time.

However, Heine also emphasizes the necessity of cooperation with other peoples. The native

forest has its place in the memory and stories of a people that will become a nation; but it

also finds itself in constant interaction with others. These very same stories and memories

need to be understood in their international context. Heine recognizes the need to be

poetically and politically engaged with and for the gifts that the forest willingly provides in

order to enable the creative potential of all peoples.

     The social transformations that resulted from the French Revolution had a far-

reaching impact on the development of his poetry. Heine's early poetry very clearly

mirrored the strife and desire often depicted by the Romantics. Over the course of his

writing, however, his poetry became more markedly formed by the goal of being a

Zeitschriftsteller ('writer of the time').[68] This is a term for a writer who is bound to and

writes out of the particular time in which he lives. Such a writer serves as a catalyst for

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[68] The original term *Zeitschriftsteller,* was defined by Ludwig Börne (1786-1837), a contemporary of Heine, in the political upheaval after the end of Napoleon's reign

socio-political change and his goal is thereby to bring about the progression of history.

Although Heine takes up the mantle of the *Zeitschriftsteller*, his roots in Romanticism remain

apparent in how he continues to develop ideas of the individual striving for unity within a

whole in a national political context. The enlightening duty of the writer to reveal such

interwoven relationships is consequently also carried over onto the natural environment and

how it informs identity. The way in which Heine connects natural environment and identity

leads to what Renate Stauf terms a *poetische Zeitgenossenschaft* (which I will translate

throughout as "poetic contemporaneity"). This is a term that encompasses both the literature

and the writer: the role of literature and poetry is to engage with the present in which the

author finds himself and thus to embed aesthetics and ideals in reality. This kind of

contemporaneity, awakens a new relevance for the contemporary present. The

contemporaneity in which Heine embedded his work connected his readers to the political

situation unfolding as an early stage in the formation of a German national identity. This

identity co-evolved alongside the environments in which people lived. Heine's

contemporaneity is therefore also fundamental to the nature imagery in his poetry: regional

identity is not only a factor of time, but also place. Individuals are connected to a political

whole that is based in the natural world: stewarding the environment simultaneously cares for

and nurtures regional identity; it roots political engagement in the living ecological web.

Poetry can express how people are tied to the land and it can transform the political

framework in which these connections are expressed. In the development of his poetry,

Heine combines the creativity of poetry and writing with the power to agitate for and enact

change. He thereby sets an example for succeeding generations to imagine interactions with

the more-than-human world and how to express those imaginings with the poetic tools that allow audiences to perceive those relationships.

Heine's conception of poetry's political capabilities is representative of a contemporaneity that is not only manifest in the presence of the author, but also the work itself as a contemporary actor in political events. For Heine, this contemporaneity is also rooted in the context of place; both a writer and his work are situated in a landscape that is actively participating in shaping the people who live in it. Aesthetics and ideals are organic outgrowths of the present time and place that the author can actively express and help to become reality through his poetic endeavors. Heine therefore ascribed a completely unique artistic role to journalistic writing: describing the political situation of the day is a form of contemporaneous literature. But journalism is not only reporting and taking a political position, it is also a form for expressing the aesthetic values and poetic creativity of the writer. Just as Heine straddled "the real" and "the ideal," he also bridged the worlds of journalism and poetry.

In espousing a *poetische Zeitgenossenschaft*, Heine stands in opposition to the artistic and aesthetic ideals of the Classic and Early Romantic periods which is emphasized by his endeavors as a *Zeitschriftsteller*. In keeping with the desire for transformation that emerged from the French Revolution, the *Zeitschriftsteller* did not orient himself on the past for the forms his poetic expression should take. Instead, the *Zeitschriftsteller* is a participant in the present. Literature should, as a snapshot of a specific time, take up and convey the social events taking place. For Börne, who originally coined the term, an examination of different epochs of time reveal a living spirit in each that is embodied in the wishes and desires of a people as a socio-political whole. Therefore, the role of the *Zeitschriftsteller* is to express

this *Geist der Zeit* ('Spirit of the Time') in his writing in order "to give the people a public voice" (Stauf, Zeitgeist und Nationalgeist 21). [69] Literature, particularly among the revolutionary voices in the fractured German states, is supposed to express the creation of a German national identity as intertwined with the *Geist der Zeit*. Such writers tried to conjoin the political revolution implemented by the French with a similar revolution to create a cohesive German national identity. This often took the form of a journalistic style of writing with reference to specific political events and actors, which bound the *Zeitschriftsteller* to his time. Heine was one such author who tried to express the *Geist der Zeit* as the interdependent obligations between politics and identity in a revolution of consciousness.

For Heine, revealing these interdependencies was the guiding principle of emancipation that emerged from the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. This principle of enlightened emancipation was instrumental in his critique of Romanticism and fundamentally integrated into his poetry. He uses irony and satire to criticize Romantic nature imagery by fetching it back into reality, thus exposing the Romantic authors' flight to an imaginary past. By using nature imagery to reference specific places and people, Heine presences the relationships between humanity and nature. He joins these relationships ever tighter with his poetic-political goal of enlightening people to the "freedom-doctrine of the 'hidden' God, the God [that is actually] within Humanity itself" (Stauf, Traum von der Menschengöttlichkeit 129). Heine's conception of how nature creates a home consists of replacing transcendence and the divine with reality and human nature. In this way, Heine does not completely dismiss the aesthetic ideal of the Romantics. Instead, he reframes the role that perceiving the beauty of nature plays in determining what is divine. He wants "to

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[69] All following quotations from the works of Renate Stauf will be cited in the text. All translations from Stauf's original German are my own.

help the divine in humanity itself again attain its rightful place," because to be religious is to have a sense for the beautiful (Stauf, Traum von der Menschengöttlichkeit 134). Such beauty is the expression of a secular divinity rooted in the human experience as part of lived and living relationships in the world.

This "human-divinity" weaves its way throughout Heine's poem-cycles. Although Novalis believed that divinity is inherent to humans and all elements of the natural world, he still ascribed the resolution of that divinity to the transcendence of Christianity. In contrast, Heine sees the expression of such divinity as a political manifestation emerging from the interactions between people and place. Knowing the self and understanding how it is bound to and grows from the land enables further the interaction of nations as political organisms. Heine portrays this political divinity throughout the development of his poetry. In his early critique of the Romantic in the poems of his *Harzreise*[70] and *Neuer Frühling*, Heine begins to break down the aesthetic asceticism of the Romantics. The politicization of nature continues then through the *Zeitgedichte*, in which Heine engages most critically with the contemporary political landscapes in Germany. Finally, in his *Lamentazionen*, written after the failed 1848 Revolution, Heine describes a bleak outlook for the future should the cooperation between the peoples of France and Germany fail to come to fruition. Nature is portrayed in all of these cycles as simultaneously political as well as poetic. The natural world becomes the fundamental principle that underlies Heine's notion that the desired future emerges from the present and becomes reality when poetry becomes political and politics poetic.

Heine perceived the artificial worlds ('*Kunstwelten*') of his predecessors as estranged from both the world and time (Stauf, Gedichte und Prosa 11). They wrapped themselves in

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[70] These appeared in Heine's *Buch der Lieder* as *Aus der Harzreise,* published in 1827 (Heine, 874)

the garb of the intellectual whose task, as an educated individual, was only to raise awareness the lack of morality within society. In Romantic literature especially, this is achieved through the idealized depiction and imagination of the world. With the disintegration of the French Revolution into the Terror and later Napoleon's Empire, the Romantics often lost much of the revolutionary zeal that they had themselves had. The Romantic disillusionment with the outcome of the Revolution led to a "flight from politics into imagination, a massive displacement of energy and emotional investment from the world of society and politics onto nature or a transcendental level of spiritual freedom" (Breckman 16). For Romantics like Novalis, discussed previously, this transcendence was evident in Christian conception of salvation and redemption that was to come. Rather than being a politically revolutionary event, this needed to come from intrinsic human experience: the imagination was the tool to change perceptions of the world. Imagination was considered the inherent human experiencing of the world which "could lead one to hope for a more fundamental revolution…that would now be won within the consciousness itself" (Breckman 16). Heine perceived this 'flight into imagination' as also a flight from the present. The Romantic 'revolution in consciousness' could never become reality because of its detachment from the world. With the dynamic social changes in Europe, artists should have to actively take part in and shape the happenings around them.

Heine's *Harzreise* presents his initial critiques of both the Classics and the Romantics. Instead of following the "customary path of all European artists on a journey to Italy," Heine describes a journey through the Harz mountains, situated in northern central Germany (Breckman 35). He thus situates his poetry in the German landscape. Heine acknowledges the Romanticism inherent to setting off on such a journey. In the prologue to

„*die Harzreise*,"[71] the narrator announces the reason for his journey, which emerges from the Romantic dichotomies that cause emotional and social strife. The narrator is dissatisfied with urban life. Those who live in the city no longer have hearts, with which to feel warm love (*warme Liebe in den Herzen* V. 6). Superficial materiality forces any sympathy or pain out that love brings about. He wants to escape this tight strait and the illusory life that accompanies it. The pious huts (*die frommen Hütten* V. 10), in their isolation, allow for the transcendence of the real for the pure, spiritual realm of Nature, which cleanses the soul. From above, he can finally be happy and laugh as he looks down upon the men and women who are trapped in the tedious confines of the dull city (*Glatte Herren, glatte Frauen! / Auf die Berge will ich steigen, / Lachend auf euch niederschauen* V. 18-20). Already, this last line presents Heine's ironic tone: he wants to reveal and satirize the irony of the Romantics with this account of his journey.

Heine's critique begins in earnest in the second poem, which describes what the traveler thinks as he leaves Göttingen.[72] He goes into nature, where he feels alive and active. As he distances himself from the city, his old dreams (*alten Träume* V. 1) return with the opening of the gate of his hearts (*Herzenstor* V. 2) and all of his melancholy tears stream wonderfully away (*Wehmutstränen / Strömen wunderbar hervor* V. 3-4). In doing so, he does not observe where he is. He does not perceive the world around him in his wandering. Instead, he contemplates the medieval, a time long past:

> Auf die Berge will ich steigen,
> Auf die schroffen Felsenhöhn,
> Wo die grauen Schloßruinen

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[71] Heine, *Sämtliche Gedichte. Kommentierte Ausgabe*, Reclam (181)
[72] Heine 271

> In dem Morgenlichte stehn.
>
> Dorten setz' ich still mich nieder
> Und gedenke alter Zeit,
> Alter blühender Geschlechter
> Und versunkner Herrlichkeit.   V. 9-16

The castle ruins (*die grauen Schloßruinen*) are the single remaining monument to the distant past. They were the palatial home of great noble families (*alter blühender Geschlechter*) that are now lost. The natural features pull the onlooker back to this ancient time. Back then, battles were fought and opponents were overcome in tournaments, as only the best could achieve the highest praise and respect. And after the battle, even the victor was defeated. The lovely lady (*die schöne Dame* V. 22) defeats the champion with only her eyes (*Die den stolzen Überwinder / Mit den Augen überwand* V. 23-24). Love was the strongest force, which had even smitten down the proudest men and knights; they became lost in their love for the lovely lady. It is precisely this overpowering longing for what was that Heine criticizes. Heine brings the narrator back to reality with the irony of the last strophe:

> Ach! Den Sieger und die Sieg'rin
> Hat besiegt des Todes Hand. –
> Jener dürre Sensenritter
> Streckt uns alle in den Sand   V. 25-28

The withered scythe-wielding knight, Death, cuts everyone down into the sand. Even in his reflection and versifying, the narrator can not escape the progression of history. The place, at which one finds oneself, changes constantly with the course of time. Heine is here criticizing a certain characteristic timelessness of the Romantics. Like the transcendence that Novalis

ascribes to the world, the past grandeur (*Herrlichkeit* V. 16) of this castle and its noble

inhabitants can never again be attained. With such a Romantic perspective of the world,

humanity can only ever strive for it.

But this perspective estranges humanity from its reality. The Romantics created a

veil that steals all agency from humanity. This critical position of Heine's is illustrated in the

sixteenth poem of his *Neuer Frühling*.[73] Each of the first lines in the first and second strophes

hint at how humans perceive the world with their senses. If the reader has good eyes (*Wenn

du gute Augen hast* V. 1) and good ears (*Wenn du gute Ohren hast* V. 5), then he should be

able to discover a young beauty (*eine junge Schöne* V. 3) in the narrator's songs and stories.

The sounds of her voice, her laughter and song will beguile the reader's poor heart (*Und ihr

Seufzen, Lachen, Singen / Wird dein armes Herz betören* V. 7-8). However, immediately

thereafter follows a warning:

> Denn sie wird, mit Blick und Wort,
> Wie mich selber dich verwirren;
> Ein verliebter Frühlingsträumer
> Wirst du durch die Wälder irren.   V. 9-12

The writer himself, who wrote the songs about this beauty, has become lost within the

fantastical and idealized dream that he created (*Wie mich selber dich verwirren*).   The

sensuality of humans can be exploited to the point that they no longer comprehend their

reality. The young beauty is only an illusory image, imagined and brought to life from the

sight and word (*Blick und Wort* V. 9), the senses that the narrator used. The narrator can be

interpreted here as a Romantic, because he has himself become bewildered by this image and

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[73] Heine, 289

can not escape the forests (*durch die Wälder irren*). Like the politically conservative

Romantics, the narrator closes himself into a logic that does not allow him to be able to

create a new reality. The dreamed and the real exclude one another. The past consumes all

of his time, which leaves no room for the present in its course on towards the future. Using

the senses to chase after this beauty will leave the reader lost in a fantasy; but he cannot

pursue her if he turns his senses in his reality. If the reader strives to be in one of these

places, the other remains forever distant.

This is also a crucial indicator for the societal role of religion, which surrounds Heine.

Heine critically examines and ironizes the role of religion in the ninth poem of *Neuer

Frühling*.[74] In this poem, an old sparrow is telling its young how the world came into being.

The very first line is a rewriting of the first sentence of the Gospel of John, making this poem

from the outset a noticeable critique of the conservative Christianity of authors such as

Novalis. Instead of the Word, the nightingale exists at the beginning (*Im Anfang war die

Nachtigall*). This bird created the world with its song. The divine agency to create that is the

characteristic of the Christian God is thus placed on the same level as nature. The

nightingale bit itself in the breast (*Sie biß sich in die Brust* V. 5) in order to reconcile all of

the birds in this forest (*Uns Vögel all in diesem Wald / Versöhnt das Blut aus jener Wund* V.

9-10). The nightingale appears thereby simultaneously as a Christ- and God-figure,

sacrificing itself for the beauty and life of the world. The third piece of the Holy Trinity, the

abstract Holy Spirit, is represented in the Song of the Rose that the nightingale sings

constantly, because without it the whole forest will fall apart (*Doch wenn das Rosenlied

verhallt / Geht auch der ganze Wald zugrund* V. 11-12). Here, Heine, similarly to Novalis,

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[74] Heine 285-286

draws a connection between divinity and the natural world. Only the underlying divinity of

the nightingale's song sustains the world as a living totality. Heine, however, ironizes the

transcendence of Novalis's theology. By completing the embodiment of the divine in the

natural in the last lines of the poem, Heine disregards the necessity of transcendence: the old

sparrow teaches his little children the catechism only to waste time (*Der Alte gibt zum*

Zeitvertreib / Den Kindern Glaubensunterricht V. 19-20). Divinity, as the organic totality

and resolution of interacting parts, is not transcendent for Heine. Faith is in this way instead

only a story that was thought up to depict divinity that can be found in the natural world.

Divinity can therefore also be experienced within a natural reality that is separated

from a transcendent creator. Humans can only recognize their own divinity through a

personal experience of and participation in the more-than-human world that surrounds them.

Heine seeks to develop this recognition in the eighth poem from *Neuer Frühling*.[75] The

narrator hears the music of the trees and the animals, of the green forest-orchestra, and it asks

itself who the chapel master might be who leads the forest in it's wondrous song (*Wer ist der*

Kapellenmeister / In dem grünen Waldorchester? V. 3-4). He sees how the different animals

appear to be involved in the music-making. While some appear to be performing as if a

conductor, like the lapwing that is constantly nodding (*der graue Kibitz / Der beständig nickt*

so wichtig V. 5-6) or the stork who is clacking while everything else makes music (*Ist es*

jener Storch, der… / Mit dem langen Streckbein klappert, / Während alles musiziert? V. 9-

12), each appears to be involved in the music itself rather than separate from it. All of the

plants and animals are pieces playing their part in the total musical work. This leads the

narrator to a realization:

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[75] Heine, 285

> Nein, in meinem eignen Herzen
>
> Sitzt des Walds Kapellenmeister,
>
> Und ich fühl wie er den Takt schlägt,
>
> Und ich glaube Amor heißt er.   V. 13-16

He will not find the conductor outside of himself; it actually resides within his own heart (*in meinem eignen Herzen / Sitzt des Walds Kapellenmeister*). Love (*Amor*), the caring and nurturing relationship between the narrator and all the entities that make up the forest, allows them all to play a part in the music. *Amor* represents the inherent human divinity. Humans are one part of a larger organic whole. But an understanding of this totality can not be found by transcending and separating from the world. Only sensuality and the gathering of one's own experiences allow this divinity to appear within the human, or rather shine through and emerge from it. If one opens his heart and senses to reality, he will find harmony between himself and his world.

In order to do so, one must be engaged with the present., Heine sees it as his responsibility to establish such connections and interactions. As a *Zeitschriftsteller*, the author must above all "write about and for the present" (Stauf, Gedichte und Prosa 13). The time in which he lives provides him with the material that he must actually grapple with in order to genuinely experience life first hand. From this perspective, journalism has an important function for Heine. Reading from and writing newspaper articles allows him to inform himself about and discuss day to day events. Of the poems that would later compose his complete opus, many had their first appearances in newspapers and magazines as he sought to disseminate his works as he finished small clusters of poems (Heine 918). That these poems appeared in such socio-political settings emphasized their relevance as actors in and interpretors of contemporary events. Heine thus resolves the distance between literature

and the social environment in which life is embedded by writing himself into the present.

Journalism thereby becomes a literary genre that has both historical roots as well as

consequences. Heine's critique of the Romantics is based on their erudite retrospection on

the past, especially since they tended to support the restorative powers of the nobility.

However, poesy should not remove the individual from his own time with distant, dreamt

imaginings. Heine saw a stasis that is only ever allowed to renew itself within the literature

of the Romantics and Classics. Instead, literature should enlighten about the interchange of

time and its potential for a collectively desired change; its ability to reshape all dimensions of

social life, not just renew the existing social structures. Elevating a journalistic style of

writing represents this reimagining aspect of poetry. Change can only be achieved if the

thoughts that poesy generates are then also transformed into political action. Because of the

course history had taken in his present, Heine saw the world as "a thicket, densely riddled

with signs and contradictory messages that hinder the progression of correct thinking" (Stauf,

Gedichte und Prosa 18). Although here Heine has the Romantic authors and their aesthetic

asceticism in mind, this assertion can also pertain to Heine's contemporaries in political

literature.

The members of the *Junges Deutschland* were younger contemporaries of Heine,

active in the wake of the 1830 July Revolution in France. In this cultural-political

environment, the other writers of the *Junges Deutschland* movement and the *Vormärz* (pre-

March 1848) era, like Heine, wanted to inspire the Germans to complete their own

revolution. They have the hope that Germany will finally bring itself together as a nation. In

the opinion of the *Junges Deutschland* writers, it is the German nation that must take over the

leading role in the "emancipation process" in order to achieve "in the spirit of the

Enlightenment [...] the perfection of the human race" that emerges from the French

Revolution (Stauf, Zeitgeist und Nationalgeist 11). The French could not complete the

Revolution, which became clear in its dissolution into the Napoleonic Empire. But, the

"thoughtful people of the Germans" could still contribute to the progress of all of Europe in

spite of its delayed historical development into a nation (Stauf, Zeitgeist und Nationalgeist

11).

With his articles and other writings, Heine takes a political stance and mixes himself

into public life, in order to represent and criticize different opinions. Stauf suggests that he

"uncovers the fraud and betrayal" of the powerful and then exposes them to the people with

satire and sarcasm (Stauf, Gedichte und Prosa 16). This focus on the reader presents the

most important part of the poetic contemporaneity of a *Zeitschriftsteller*, namely how the

audience is the core of his work. Literature can not be withheld from the people as "the

literary worlds of small, privileged educated classes," because it, and the understanding of

the world that it expresses, should be accessible by all people (Stauf, Gedichte und Prosa 14).

Heine's poetic contemporaneity is an attempt to tie literature to the culture that holds a

people together. Knowledge, and particularly a political awareness, needs a broader,

participating readership in order to set the wishes of the people into motion. Because it is

rooted in the politically moved present, poesy determines its function by facing these

problems of political integrity and identity. By engaging with the world poetically, Heine

recognizes that, just as culture has its historical roots and must be placed within its context, a

poetic contemporaneity maintains its own historicity through its "acknowledgement of

change" (Stauf, Gedichte und Prosa 18). Art and literature are a part of a dialectical

exchange with time itself. This dialectic of art, that the written as well as the described

constantly change and transform, allows it to constantly renew itself.

This is the essence of Heine's poetic contemporaneity: humans should bring their

experiences to bear to be poetic and creative in the here and now. Rather than being lost,

wandering in the distant past, sensing and actively participating in the present will attain the

goals and dreams of the artist. In order to do this in his own writing, Heine brings the natural

world into the political realm of human interactions. Heine politicizes Nature as one aspect

of the manifestation of human divinity; to make it a subject of a politically effecting

movement. This politicization manifests itself specifically in his *Zeitgedichten*, all of which

are underscored by a "revolutionary promise" (Stauf, Gedichte und Prosa 44). Heine thereby

measures and criticizes the German reality. But he does not take any party position and

ridicules "the activism of the […] patriotic-political poetry" of his contemporaries (Stauf,

Gedichte und Prosa 44). Instead, Heine criticizes here the narrow view of his contemporaries

and their antagonistic approach to furthering the desired revolution in German political

consciousness.

At the beginning of the cycle, the second poem exhibits the revolutionary and

overarching pan-humanist tone with its title: *Adam der Erste*.[76] In the Biblical tradition,

Adam is the very first human, whom, along with his wife, God drove out from Paradise. The

narrator, in the figure of Adam, directly accuses God for casting him out unjustly, completely

without right or compassion (*Ganz ohne Recht und Erbarmen*. God is then deprived of his

power:

Du kannst nicht ändern, daß ich weiß

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[76] Adam the First; Heine 403-404

> Wie sehr du klein und nichtig,
> Und machst du dich auch noch so sehr
> Durch Tod und Donnern wichtig.   V. 9-12

He is powerless to change the fact that Adam now knows how small and powerless his
creator is (*Du kannst nicht ändern, daß ich weiß / Wie sehr du klein und nichtig*). And just as
Adam's knowledge will not change, God can not make himself any more important no matter
how much loud and thunderous noise he makes in an attempt to scare the humans. But even
this feeble commotion only furthers his decline in the narrator's eyes. He no longer retains
the support of his followers, because they have enlightened themselves. He had deceived
humans from the very beginning, and has consequently lost their faith in him. His paradise
was no true Paradise (*Das war kein Wahres Paradies* V. 19) because there were forbidden
trees in that place (*Es gabe dort verbotene Bäume* V. 20). These trees are representative of
how God had forbidden knowledge. The very act of forbidding, limiting one's access to the
knowledge of the world, is inherently antagonistic to the liberating revolution of the intellect
that Heine seeks for humanity. By forbidding that the humans near these trees, God stands
between humanity and its inherent connections with the vibrancy of the living world:

> Ich will mein volles Freiheitsrecht!
> Find ich die g'ringste Beschränknis
> Verwandelt sich mir das Paradies
> In Hölle und Gefängnis.   V. 21-24

Even the slightest constraints (*die g'ringste Beschränknis*) turns the apparent paradise into an
imprisonment like Hell (*Verwandelt sich mir das Paradies / In hölle und Gefängnis*). The
play on the tree as a source of knowledge mirrors the Biblical story. However, Adam's
indictment of God here can also be interpreted as promoting a sensual experiencing of

Nature. To have the complete freedoms and rights (*volles Freiheitsrecht*) that humanity

deserves means experiencing Nature as it is. Adam has received this knowledge because he

has tasted the fruit of knowledge (*ich genoßen des Wissens Frucht* V. 7). But Adam has

done more than simply receive his new understanding of God; rather, Adam has experienced

and literally internalized it. Nature, embodied in the tree's fruit, conveys its knowledge only

through eating and digesting. The sensuality, that Adam now recognizes, is hunted by the

heavenly Gendarme (*Den himmlischen Gendarmen* V. 2), driven out of Paradise in God's

attempt to preserve the security that human ignorance and faith lend him. The revolution of

human consciousness, which begins with Adam's sensual experience and knowledge,

dethrones the Father from his position outside and above the world. Instead of transcending

reality, divinity is revealed within the human who engages the world around him with his

own senses. And as the reference to the Genesis story suggests, it is every human's birthright

to participate in the world. By experiencing the world as it is and makes itself known, each

person can more effectively act within the world as it is, instead of seeking a supposed

paradise where they are not welcome.

   The world is also the site of political activity, the interactions of diverse groups and

individuals. In order to politicize Nature and make it a contemporary actor in political

events, Heine must pull it into the realm of actual contemporary politics and establish its

interconnections with various cultural characteristics. He does this by examining national

identity and how people are connected to their homes. Although he is very critical of

German culture, Heine describes it with the recognition of its own revolutionary potential. In

the poem, *Zur Beruhigung*,[77] Heine writes from the perspective of the German people, from

whom the powerful nobility has nothing to fear:

> Wir schlafen ganz wie Brutus schlief –
> Doch jener erwachte und bohrte tief
> In Cäsars Brust das kalte Messer;
> Die Römer waren Tyrannenfresser. (V. 1-4)

He here compares the German nation to Brutus of ancient Rome. Both were sleeping,

awaiting their own time to arise (*Wir schlafen ganz wie Brutus schlief*). Brutus awoke and

murdered Caesar (*Doch jener erwachte und bohrte tief / In Cäsars Brust das kalte Messer*).

The comparison to Brutus, however, is no reason to be frightened; after all, it is the French

who have Roman forefathers and therefore toppled their monarchy. The Germans, on the

other hand, have always remained in their healthy plant-sleep (*Wir schlafen gesunden

Pflanzenschlaf* V. 10). From this sleep in the forests of the German nation, a Brutus-figure

will never find himself (*Im Land der Eichen und der Linden / Wird niemals sich ein Brutus

finden*); never awaken to kill the tyrant king. Evident from this assertion is that the history of

a people is an important condition for how it will realize its revolution. Brutus and Caesar,

whom he murders, are the historical heritage of the French; they are not part of the German

story. As such, the German's revolution must and will be different.

Rather than the single tyrant king, the Germans have thirty-six lords (*Wir haben

sechsunddreißig Herren* V. 21) who are the rulers of the provinces and states. The land only

belongs to the princes, because they inherited it. But, since every people has its greatness

(*Ein jedes Volk hat seine Größe* V. 7), it is up to the German people to find what binds them

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[77] For Reassurance; Heine, 421

together to eventually achieve their national maturity. In this regard, the 36 provinces must

join together around their common Nature in order to fulfill their obligation to the further

development of humanity. Instead of identifying with the political institutions of the land,

the Germans connect their identity with their natural surroundings. Their loyalty is as strong

as oak wood and they are proud of their lindens (*Wir sind so treu wie Eichenholz, / Auch

Lindenholz, drauf sind wir stolz* V. 13-14). By discovering what makes the Germans

distinctive, they can grow to become more than just the servants to the nobility. Rather than

the revolutionary institutional changes of the French, it is in the down-to-earth, homely

qualities of the Germans, deeply rooted in their homes that will enable them to complete their

own revolution. But it is precisely this rootedness that has allowed the German people to

stay in this *Pflanzenschlaf*; their piety and childish nostalgia has allowed the princes to rule

for so long. In order to awaken to their political potential as a nation, the Germans must

become something other than the pious children's room (*die fromme Kinderstube* V. 31) that

the princes can so easily control. Instead, they need to nurture the connections between one

another and between the German and the French nations and what they can learn from one

another. By rediscovering and reinvigorating these connections with political vigor the

German-speaking peoples will be able to unify across their shared natural and cultural

heritage.

Here is where Heine deviates from the *Junges Deutschland* image of the German

Nation. Heine is more than a German patriot; he is also a European-visionary. The

imagination of the German nation that emerges from the literature of the *Junges Deutschland*

faces off against France, revealing an antagonistic conception the relationship with the

French. Heine, on the other hand, develops a Romantic nationalism whereby he expresses

his desire for the harmonious coexistence between France and Germany. By resituating the

Romantic imagination in the political, Heine shows an affinity for the idea "that the nation is

the best vehicle for the achievement of true human universality…true individuality will

reveal the universal, and, conversely, that true universality will contain a rich diversity of

individual forms" (Breckman 31-33). Rather than conceiving of the relationship between the

French and Germans as pure antagonism, Heine is more nuanced and believes that a

reciprocal relationship between France and Germany is important for the European "freedom

movement" (Stauf, Gedichte und Prosa 144).

The basis of his vision of Europe is the cooperation between the two peoples. He

ascribes to them various characteristics that assume certain historical stereotypes. The

French radiate warmth and are open and politically engaged, but they are rash and

revolutionary; the Germans, on the other hand, are serious, pensive, but rooted in their noble

status quo and slow to change (Stauf, Gedichte und Prosa 26). When these characteristics

are brought together, they complement one another in their interaction. The deficits of the

one are balanced by the strengths of the other. However, the potential greatness of the two

peoples, and of the Europe that they could create, is withheld from them when they act

against each other. The reactionary, adversarial political institutions prevent the cooperation

and thereby overshadow the potential of their peoples. Heine's critique of the *Junges*

Deutschland is that they agree with this hostility and thus also betray the liberal ideal. Their

German patriotism is no more than "an inward-turning and withdrawing from a world

educated class" that would facilitate the participation and understanding between nations

(Stauf, Gedichte und Prosa 139). For Heine, true patriotism for a German nation, is an

outward expression of a rooted identity which must engage and interact with its French

equivalent. With cooperation, the differences between the two nations will be reconciled as they learn from one another and create a stronger, more enlightened Europe.

However, Heine understands these differences to be not only cultural characteristics. The opposition "between Spirit and Material, Thought and Life, Reason and Sensuality," which permeated the Classical and especially Romantic literature, carries far more significance (Stauf, Interkulturelle Kopfgeburten 79). This dichotomy reveals itself in the idealized nature imagery of Romantic literature: they describe the "romantic-bourgeois desire for a healthy world" that is removed from reality (Stauf, Gedichte und Prosa 63). The Romantics present a nostalgic perspective of a natural world that suffers from humanity's inability to comprehend the universal divinity that gives it life. But the natural world as it should be, according to the Romantics, exists only in a dreamt of time-space distantly removed from the present. Instead of searching for a transcendental resolution of these dualities, Heine finds new creation in the dialectical reconciliation of contradictions. Heine tries to shift this notion of the "transcending of reality" in his poetry by perceiving Nature as an experience of history (Stauf, Zeitgeist und Nationalgeist 14). The organic growth of the natural world is also experienced in the historical progression of national identity expressed in the nation's politics.

As much as he criticized the Romantics for their nostalgia, Heine himself remains bound tightly to Nature. Heine, like many other German republican authors, travels to the urban centers of Europe to better understand the meaning of freedom. How he describes his experiences, however, rarely lends credence "to the urbanity and economic progress" that emerged from the political shift (Stauf, Gedichte und Prosa 78). It is precisely industrial progress, which destroys this hard-won freedom: the exploitation of the earth for the money

replaces the old God and Emperor. The home, the connections and relations that made one who he is; whence one comes, is lost. With his *poetische Zeitgenossenschaft*, Heine wants to uncover the interactions between where people root their identities and other places; to awaken recognition and understanding between them. Completely in the "enlightenment belief of the right to a life that may not be allowed to become either mean or end of something else," Heine lets Nature become an active co-participant in the struggles of political and poetic identity (Stauf, Gedichte und Prosa 78). Nature is for Heine more than the simple background for human experiences. His nostalgia emerges from a perspective of the historical progression of both nature and identity that are intertwined with one another. Instead of a painful longing for a time long past that can no longer be reached in this world, it is the world, the assemblage of social and natural environments, in which his identity is rooted that Heine longs for.

The price of mistakes, if this unification between the social and natural does not occur within a nation, is high. This is clearly described in the "Lamentation" *Waldeinsamkeit*.[78] As a lamentation, *Waldeinsamkeit* is a retrospection on what has been lost and at which point the ideals of the narrator failed to be realized. The narrator of this poem fled into the green forest-solitude (*Ich floh in die grüne Waldeinsamkeit*) in order to escape the yellow human envy (*Ich floh den gelben Menschenneid*) for his magical wreath and to lead a free life with the spirits and animals of the forest (*Im Wald, im Wald! da konnt ich führen / Ein freies Leben mit Geistern und Tieren* V. 5-10). The magic of this wreath was that it connected the bearer to the entirety of the natural world. It exchanges the greed for gold and destruction, which lurks behind the illusion of prosperity, for the green aliveness of Nature, a place of

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[78] The original term *Waldeinsamkeit* was used Thiek in his novella *Der blonde Eckbart*. Heine, 559-564

growth and renewal. This is why the spirits and animals approach the narrator completely

without timidity (*Sie nahten sich mir ganz ohne Zagnis*) and recognized in him a love of

nature, instead of a man of reason (*Daß ich kein Vernunftsmensch, wußte die Fee* V. 12-16).

The sprits of the forest accept him because of his belief in the Romantic ideal; he is not a

rationalist. He is thereby not actually alone in the forest; he is living in harmony with the

broader forest-society. The inhabitants of the forest are happy and free and they teach him

about the forest. He hears stories form the "airy" elves; the nixes play and sing; the

mandrakes teach him how to disappear and search for treasures (V. 21-110). The blissful life

of the forest beguiles his heart; he becomes lost in their fables (*Nixentanz und Koboldscherz /*

Umgaukelt mein märchentrunkenes Herz V. 120).

   But this happiness does not last forever. The narrator has ignored the revelations of

the spirits; most importantly the one from the wights. The narrator discovers their secret,

which leads him to think that everyone has a secret that they keep, hidden even though it may

already have been found out (*Wir haben ja alle etwas zu verbergen; / Kein Christenmensch,*

wähnen wir, hätte entdeckt, / Wo unser Entenfüßchen steckt V. 63-72). The narrator's secret

is that he fled into the forest, but never truly learned the ways of the spirits. In addition to

disregarding this revelation of the wights, he also never really learned the mandrakes way for

finding treasures (*Hab nie begriffen die Schatzgräberkunst* V. 112). Their earthly treasures

were meaningless because he still had his heavenly air-palaces (*Besaß auch in Spanien*

manch luftiges Schloß, / Wovon ich die Revenüen genoß V. 115-116). And so the wreath is

stolen from him (*Der Kranz ist mir vom Haupt genommen* V. 129) and everything changes in

the forest. The wreath held his soul and anchored it in the world; after it was stolen the

narrator's soul has becomes detached from the world, the material context that enables it to

exist (*Doch seit der Kranz mir fehlt, / Ist meine Seele wie entseelt* V. 132). Without his divinity, which was lent through the wreath, the exploitation of the forest begins. The forest becomes sepulchral; the animals die; and the spirits disappear before him (V. 133-148). In the end, he appears before a nix in the forest, but his ghostly figure causes her to flee(*Am einsamen Ufer sitzt eine Nixe, / …Und sie entflieht mit entsetzten Mienen, / Als sei ihr ein Gespenst erschienen*V. 156). He is no longer connected to that, which is; rather he is a destructive and horrific memory of what was.

The narrator only has this horrifying form after he has lost his wreath which shows what the true loneliness of this forest is. It is not that he withdrew from humanity and went into the forest. Rather, the loneliness emerges from the destructive exploitation that drives the happily coexisting forest-spirits to disappear. The loss of foresight and stewardship on the part of humans leads to destruction. Because he also retreated from the humans, the narrator could not protect the world that creates such happiness, since he could not be politically active on behalf of the forest. One can not flee the relationships of and with the world. Because he never reciprocated the gifts of the forest, it was lost to him. The destruction of the forest is a result of the narrator's inability to comprehend the intimate reciprocity of stewardship.

The destruction of the forest leaves behind a somber outlook for a German nation that identifies itself with the forest. The peoples must represent their home-grown living-together in the world outside as well, in order to sustain their forest and themselves. In *Waldeinsamkeit*, Heine clearly expresses why the German nation needs to become political. Thereby, however, emphasis must also be placed on the cooperation with various peoples. The native forest has its place in the memory and stories of a people that will become a

nation. But these very same stories and memories need to be understood in their

international context and should enable all peoples to explore their creative potential.

Belonging and Memory: Pasts, Presence, Futures –

The environmentalist songwriters of the 70's took up Heine's mantle of the poetically and politically engaged *Zeitschriftsteller*. The recognition that their own common natural environment was endangered again unveiled the connection between language and land, people and place, and that those connections can be mostly viscerally expressed through creative endeavors like music. Through their poesy, activists continue to craft their dreams into new realities. Songs like "Mir sin eifach wieder do" engage with the present as the artists draw on the issues of their day to connect themselves to their time and place; their use of the regional dialect can transcend national borders. This use of language, as an expression of both cultural and natural environment, is indicative of the relationship that the authors Novalis, Humboldt and Heine all described in their creative works: a nature that speaks.

For the *Dialektliedermacher*, language mediates the relationship between people and place, forming the foundation for their poetic expression of environmental stewardship. By engaging in this relationship, they draw on a cultural heritage of interacting with a nature that speaks, as presented by these earlier authors. While each of these individual authors describe a nature that speaks, each hears it differently. For Novalis, nature is the embodiment of divinity. The language that it speaks is therefore the holy language that humans have forgotten in their alienation from God and the world. Poetry and other creative endeavors are what allow humans to express their connections to these other beings and strive to understand them. Only by understanding our own relationships with the more-than-human world can humans find resolution in our transcendent home with all other beings. Humboldt listens to the voice of the world in his travels in the tropics. In making countless measurements of natural phenomena, Humboldt finds the language of nature to be spoken in every observable

occurrence. The empirical evidence he gathers makes the underlying unity within the world

discernable no matter where one finds himself. Heine then draws the bridge between these

aesthetic and empirical Romanticisms. A nature that speaks through interactions and

relationships is the foundation for culture and national identity. That interaction between

people and place expresses what nature has to say to and through a community. For Heine,

this can be found in the political expression of the nation.

By intertwining these Romanticsims, aesthetic, empirical and political, we are

presented with an organic poetic contemporaneity in the cultural heritage of Germany. This

heritage of an organic poetic contemporaneity is the roots that the *Dialektliedermacher* of the

twentieth century draw from to imagine their stewardship. This element of their cultural

heritage is organic in that it is an assemblage that is unto itself whole, but composed of

diverse parts; these parts are poetic because they constantly initiate and engage in creative

processes of unfolding; lastly, their contemporaneity is created by the interactive presence of

pasts and futures. The *Dialektliedermacher* like Burkhart use their linguistic, environmental

and cultural roots to situate themselves as organic poetic contemporaries in a fluid and ever-

evolving time-space. While the place and time may change, the connections that they

describe and embed themselves in defy the confines of a delineated notion of time as distinct

pasts, presents and futures. Instead, these songs encapsulate the dialectic movement between

closure, emphasizing the distinctions of the self apart from others, and flow, transgressing the

fluid borders between the self and others. Pasts and futures become presences that are

engaging and interacting.

Roland Burkhart's song contains many of the elements that Heine incorporated into

his own works to be a *Zeitschriftsteller*, a writer who, along with his poetic work, was

embedded in contemporaneous events. For Heine, this contemporaneity is also place based, situated in a landscape that is actively participating in shaping the people who live in it. In Burkhart's song, not only does the dialect situate the singer and artist in a particular socio-environmental landscape, but the specificity of explicitly stating the names of places and events gives this landscape a temporal dimension as well. The Wyhler Wald and Wyhler Platz, which are names for the site of the protests against the construction of the nuclear power plant in Wyhl, appear twice in the verses of the song. This location is also the referent for the refrain when the singers declare: "we'll be back when they want to come" (*Mir sin eifach wieder do, wänn si kumme wänn*). Additionally, Burkhart mentions Harrisburg, Fessenheim and Seveso. Harrisburg (Three Mile Island facility in Pennsylvania) and Fessenheim (just across the Rhine in France) are the locations of two nuclear power plants that had already been in operation by the time this song was written. Burkhart references these to highlight the potential disaster that could result in the future (and ultimately did in the case of Three Mile Island). Constructing a nuclear plant in Wyhl would bring the potential for far reaching fallout into the presence of this village. Seveso, a village in Italy, just north of Milan, represents the past; a place where the community and landscape are already dealing with the result of a chemical leak. In July 1976, a reactor in the Industrie Chimiche Meda Società Azionaria (ICMESA) chemical plant overheated and released a highly toxic chemical into the environment (Disaster of Seveso, Italy). The chemical leak had various impacts on the health of the local community and contaminated the environment. Drawing his material from these contemporary places allows Burkhart to write himself into the present, connected across distance to these other similar situations and events. But the

present is not merely a waystation in the linear progression from past to future; it is clearly the juncture at which past and future interact as contemporaneous presences.

Contemporaneity and coexistence are not only manifest in the imminent dangers of exploitative and unchecked industry, but also in the interaction of people as they resist this exploitation as it takes physical form with the construction of structures and institutions. People speak, and their words connect with a nature that speaks in a place that demands their stewardship. In situating themselves in a place, defining it as their own, the *Dialektliedermacher* are determining where they belong. By expressing such a relationship of being rooted in the land, the *Dialektliedermacher* are engaging in a discussion of autochthony, "to be born from the soil" (Geschiere 2). The deep, elemental belonging that autochthony supposedly represents reveals the potency of these diverse presences. The autochthon is truly rooted in the soil. But as Geschiere points out, autochthony is a problematic term and far more indicative of a paradox of belonging. While autochthony roots someone in a place, this simultaneously excludes someone else who does not have those same roots. Autochthony thus defines itself only in opposition to a mobile Other, which represents a "basic denial of history" and "implies a claim to priority and the right to exclude strangers" (Geschiere 12; 16). History is itself a process of interaction and movement; movement and change are what humans engage with to write and learn new stories. These interactions, which make up a dialectical movement, necessarily entail tension. The tension inherent to belonging, unveiled by autochthony, is the dialectic of flow and closure in identity. The tense interaction "between global flows and the continuing importance of national controls" is what makes belonging, autochthony and the relationships with the more-than-human world an important theme in discussions of identity, sustainability

and environmental stewardship. There is an inherent restlessness to autochthony as people

constantly strive to create and must constantly renegotiate spaces for themselves.

The tense relationship between the static assumptions of autochthony and the

dynamism of history, has shaped the landscape of memory in Europe in general.

Commenting that "Europe has become a memoryland," Sharon Macdonald suggests that the

apparent loss of cultural heritage and memory in the face of increasing globalization has led

to a proliferation of formal sites of memory, such as museums on regional and local history

and traditions (Macdonald, Memorylands 1).[79] Remembering the past, letting the past be

present again, is the goal of museums: their purpose is to hold the past firmly in the present

by commemorating the cultural memory that seems to be disappearing. To encapsulate this

process, Macdonald coins the term past-presencing to define "the ways in which people

variously draw on, experience, negotiate, reconstruct, and perform the past in their ongoing

lives" (Macdonald, Presencing Europe's Pasts 234). Much like the paradox of belonging, a

certain amount of re-construction is part of this process. The intentional collection of certain

memories and artifacts construct an elaborate, but limited, impression of a specific past. This

construction allows only certain kinds of pasts to persist into the present. The versatility of

past-presencing then is that it seeks to incorporate all of the various ways that people

experience a plurality of pasts as presences in their daily lives. As a concept, the act of past-

presencing can also apply beyond the work of museums to myriad practices: cultural, artistic,

social and linguistic.

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[79] As Macdonald later notes, there is a tension in using either the above formulation in the singular or saying
that Europe is a set of memorylands. Macdonald contends that while there is a significant amount of diversity
in approaching memory within different culturo-historical contexts, there are also patterns that underlie the
fundamental understanding of the past throughout Europe (Macdonald 2-3).

As the *Dialektliedermacher* have shown us, language is one sense with which we experience the presence of pasts and futures. Like the Romantics whom they emulate, these singers and songwriters are using their poetic agency to create a wider imagination of the multiplicity of pasts and futures. They renew and revitalize pasts to live again in the present. The past that they present to us is a re-imagining of *Wirtschaft* as a term for the responsibilities that humans have as participants in the reciprocal relationships of a socio-environmental assemblage. *Wirtschaft* can be understood as a care-giving host-scape, which is fundamental to the asymmetrical relationships between the human and the more-than-human. It enables the *Wirt* to respectfully acknowledge the differences with a *Gast*, as the second part of the interaction, to create a unified whole that can prosper and enrich both. Such an understanding of *Wirtschaft* needs to be present in our political discourses today; stewardship needs to become our economy. I want to reclaim the term *Wirtschaft* in the German cultural and linguistic context as a way to imagine such responsibilities; I hope to have shown that the word carries within it understandings and meanings that, for example, encapsulate the Romantic urge to hear and listen to the world. And the world is telling us how to belong, to be a part of a diverse totality. Being embedded in these relationships means that we need to act accordingly. Precisely these roots in Romanticism are what enables Burkhart to make a linguistic distinction between the protestors and the nuclear industry they are demonstrating against. The German word for a nuclear power plant is *Kernkraftwerk,* a place that produces and shapes the power of the atom. In the last verse of his song, Burkhart replaces this *Kern*-element with people: he describes the *Volkskraftwerk,* the protests which express the power of the people. Industrialization and globalization have taken the poetry out of *Wirtschaft* and stewardship; these activists show us a way to re-

member them. By recognizing their relationships with each other and a more-than-human

world, these singers poetically re-imagine the home that shapes the foundations of any

Wirtschaft.

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