CHAPTER 3

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'Neither mere allegories nor mere history': Multi-layered Symbolism in Moritz's *Andreas Hartknopf*

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Scholarship on the development of classical and Romantic concepts of imagery has long since recognized Karl Philipp Moritz as playing a key role.[1] Above all, there has been a focus on his reliance on allegory (in contrast to Winckelmann)[2]and his concept of beauty in art as an autonomous purpose in itself.[3] Time and time again, however, the use of imagery in his (few) literary texts has evoked controversy — above all in the twin but by no means identical novels *Anton Reiser* and *Andreas Hartknopf*. According to the subtitles, one is a 'psychological novel', the other an 'allegory'. But apparently neither is an autonomous work of art that would match the theory: rather, one is the progeny of Moritz's 'Erfahrungsseelenlehre' [doctrine of experiential psychology], and the other is — what, actually? A self-contradiction?[4] A negative example, i.e., of precisely that which you should not do? A relapse into aesthetic heteronomy? Or have we simply not yet found the right 'Gesichtspunkt' [viewpoint] for reading it? As Moritz never tired of emphasizing, finding the correct viewpoint is a hermeneutically irrecoverable act itself — as in *Bestimmung des Zwecks einer Theorie der schönen Kunst*, for example:

> [J]edes schöne Kunstwerk, als ein für sich bestehendes Ganze zu betrachten, ist es nöthig, in dem Werke selbst den *Gesichtspunkt* aufzufinden, wodurch alles Einzelne sich erst in seiner nothwendigen Beziehung auf das Ganze darstellt, und wodurch es uns erst einleuchtet, daß in dem Werke weder etwas überflüßig sey, noch etwas mangle.[5]
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> [For every beautiful work of art, to be seen as a whole that exists for itself, it is necessary to locate a *viewpoint* through which all individual elements are represented in their necessary relationship to the whole; and through which it becomes evident to us that there is neither anything superfluous, nor anything missing.]

In the following analysis of *Andreas Hartknopf*, I would like to sketch a 'viewpoint' for Moritz's use of symbolism that will also shed new light on his novel. In order to do so, it is necessary above all to take the 'entire' Moritz into account, always to consider him even in the context of purely aesthetic questions as the teacher

of experiential psychology and self-observer; as linguist and grammarian; and finally, in his (still much less examined) role as a pedagogue.[6] What should not be forgotten, however well justified the rejection of purely biographical accounts may be, is the intermittently severe depression (or melancholia, to use the language of his time), which was so central to Moritz's person, and the resulting existential threat to his identity. This life-defining problem directly stimulated the personal questions underlying Moritz's work: how is something like a constant, personal identity, both self-consistent and unreliant on mood or situation, possible?[7] How do I master my melancholy moods and their life-threatening consequences? How can I regain vital activity after the depressive depths of apathy? It is possible to reformulate these questions in semiotic terms: how can I shape my relationship to my environment so as to achieve the closest possible connection between the internal and the external, my self and my world? How can I surround myself with as many significant signs and meanings as possible so that they keep the ever-threatening loss of self and meaning in check? How can I achieve congruency between my 'Geist' [spirit] as my internal sense of experience, and 'Buchstabe' [letter] as my external appearance and agency, in my life and person?

In this respect, Moritz in his analytical as well as his literary writings is always concerned with self-therapy, too. As an introspective observer of his own self, he felt and recognized his own pathological symptoms, and as an experiential psychologist, he struggled for a psychological explanation. As a pedagogue, he proposed prophylactic educational precepts that were to quell depression from the very beginning, at the very core of personality. Throughout the course of his life, he searched for a positive counterbalance to emptiness and abstraction in mystical or aesthetic experiences;[8] 'aesthetic' in the sense of art as a model for an entirely self-contained form of existence that is in tune with the universe and nature, purposed as art for its own sake, and immortal — indestructible by time or death. In all of his writings, Moritz attempts to achieve for himself in the work of art a relatively stable identity and productive attitude towards life. Hence the more conceptual, as well as figurative, connections that can be made between the internal and the external, the more personal stability one has:[9] 'Jedes denkende Wesen ist also ein *Vereinigungspunkt* des rundumher Zerstreuten' [Every thinking being is also a *point of coalescence* for everything scattered around it].[10] The answers to the predicament that Moritz diagnoses illuminate each other complementarily from various perspectives, so to speak; but they must be perceived from a point in the middle.

'Neither mere allegories nor mere history': The Symbol-Concept of *Götterlehre*

For this reason, Moritz's symbol-concept should not be derived from his aesthetic writings alone; it has many different layers and aspects that interact with one another and are by no means mutually exclusive.[11] Moritz himself sketched an exemplary model of this multi-layered symbolism in one of his most influential writings, the *Götterlehre*, which was published in the same year as the second *Andreas Hartknopf* novel. It had a strong influence on the Romantics in their search for a new mythology. In the proposed 'Gesichtspunkt für die mythologischen Dichtungen' [a

viewpoint for mythological fictions], the totality of Greek mythology is regarded as the language ('Sprache') of the imagination ('Phantasie'), which fulfils at the same time the requirements of a beautiful work of art: it is created through the process of isolation ('aus dem Zusammenhange der wirklichen Dinge herausgehoben' [extracted from the connection of real things]), and now subsists as a purpose in itself ('gleichsam eine Welt für sich' [a world in itself]).[12] This mythology thereby avoids metaphysical terms and abstractions and attempts instead, despite its unworldliness, 'ihre Bildungen an Zeit und Ort zu knüpfen' [to connect its images to time and place]. 'Sie ruht und schwebt gern über der Wirklichkeit' [It touches upon and hovers above reality], but without striving to reach its 'Nähe und Deutlichkeit' [immediacy and clarity].[13] It is much more about a close relationship between the imagination and reality: mythology is neither 'leeres Traumbild' [an empty vision], i.e. pure fancy, nor 'bloßes Spiel des Witzes' [a mere play of intelligence], i.e. pure artwork. Instead, it gains a certain 'weight' ('Gewicht') through its relationship to an early human history (and prehistory) that is considered real. This 'weight' 'wodurch ihre Auflösung in bloße Allegorie verhindert wird' [prevents it from dissolution into mere allegory].[14] Mythology therefore requires from the outset the most literal reading possible, one which excludes each and every figurative meaning and, above all, takes into account the inner coherency of the whole. But in addition, a figurative-allegorical meaning is then *also* possible. Moritz explains using Saturn as an example:

> Auf diese Weise ist nun Saturnus bald ein Bild der alleszerstörenden Zeit, bald ein König, der zu einer gewissen Zeit in Latium herrschte. Die Erzählungen von ihm sind weder bloße Allegorien noch bloße Geschichte, sondern beides zusammengenommen und nach den Gesetzen der Einbildungskraft verwebt.[15]
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> [In this way, Saturn is at once an image of the apocalypse and a king who ruled at a certain time in Latium. His narratives are neither mere allegories nor mere history, but rather both taken together and interwoven according to the laws of the imagination.]

Here, then, Moritz exclusively opposes 'bloße Allegorien' [mere allegories] — but he does not forbid allegory as an artistic device. Likewise with the external purposes of poetry: they should not outweigh internal self-purpose, but poetry must of course still teach 'Lebensweisheit' [worldly wisdom] and thereby fulfil pedagogical and therapeutic functions.[16]

According to this model, every work of art can be read at first literally and then understood as a (to some degree biographically or historically real) story; it is granted a kind of existential weight. The second step is to investigate its figurative meaning; and at this stage, it is above all important to explore its internal aesthetic coherence.[17] I will now demonstrate this kind of multileveled reading using the example of *Andreas Hartknopf*. The first step is to take into account the concrete autobiographical references, the reflections on language, as well as the psychological and pedagogical concepts treated in the novel.[18] Second, I will analyse the various figurative 'guises' ('Einkleidungen'), the biblical references, as well as the references to mysticism and freemasonry. And finally, I will focus on the genuinely aesthetic aspects of the text, as well as its specific form. In doing so, I will trace the

construction of the imagery, which is neither exclusively symbolic nor exclusively allegorical, neither purely natural nor purely conventional; it is polysemous in terms of its different levels of meaning and diverse readership. At the same time, I will test and reflect upon the application of the theoretical discussions of contemporaries, as well as Moritz's own semiotics.

The guiding thread running through this multileveled reading is the motto that Moritz prefixes to the novel. Its leitmotif-like occurrence in the text suggests that we should at the very least test it out as the sought-after, central 'viewpoint' that discloses all of the interrelations of the artwork: 'Der Buchstabe tötet, aber der Geist macht lebendig' [the letter brings death, but the Spirit gives life].[19] This well-known biblical quotation, from the Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians (3. 6), leads us directly to the core of the text. It refers to how God's word reaches the world: through writings and stone tablets (in other words, through 'letters') or through the behaviour and the hearts of men in whom his 'spirit', his higher meaning, lives. The dualism of 'spirit' and 'letter' in the novel, as it is already in the biblical quotation itself, is complexly nuanced; I will therefore point out the specific variations on the individual planes of imagery.[20]

Dingsymbole [personal emblems], Psychological Cures and Descriptive Names: Autobiography, Psychology and Grammar

I have already referred to the autobiographical background of the novel. Since it has a completely different literary form, *Andreas Hartknopf* may be seen as a continuation of *Anton Reiser* only in an abstract sense: for example, individual figures have concrete models in other texts,[21] or the novel evokes childhood memories which Moritz has depicted elsewhere.[22] In close relation to this, we can recognize a first kind of symbolism: while looking into a well, a dark, early-childhood memory causes 'in dessen Bilde gleichsam, alle die folgenden unzähligen Bilder seiner Seele zusammen' [the myriad of images of Hartknopf's soul to surge together all at once].[23] The narrator can convey this in a certain way in that he makes the individual, symbolic image once again a general allegory 'des Ländlichen, des Altertums, und der simplen Natur' [of the pastoral, ancient times, and of simple Nature]. He subsequently allows for the consideration that such *Dingsymbole* (personal emblems) will be 'freilich immer bei einem jeden wieder andre' [of course always different for everyone].[24] The *Dingsymbol* can indeed allow for Hartknopf's 'dark' experience of identity over time, but it is not limitlessly universal; instead, it is to be understood as highly intersubjective.[25]

In addition to these specific childhood memories, Hartknopf shares with his author a manic–depressive personality structure (not to the extent of pathological disorder, but rather a generally melancholic *Weltanschauung*): his 'fürchterlichsten Stunden' [most dreadful hours] are characterized by 'Zeichen der gänzlichen Leerheit, der Selbstermangelung, des dumpfen Hinbrütens, der Teilnehmungslosigkeit an allem' [signs of complete emptiness, of self-lack, of dull brooding, and of general apathy].[26] Significantly, however, Hartknopf finds both his melancholic and enthusiastic moods mirrored in the natural environment surrounding him. The author

interprets this explicitly as an asset: Hartknopf carries with him a 'certain harmony' of the soul with the 'surrounding nature',[27] so that all external changes are faithfully reflected in his soul: a spruce forest or a turf moor could, for example, bring about death, chaos and emptiness; a sunrise, on the other hand, could cause exaltation and exuberance.[28] In contrast, exactly the opposite occurs with other people: the narrator tells us that Hartknopf experiences an 'ewige Dissonanz aller äußern Umstände mit seinen innern Wünschen und Bestrebungen' [eternal dissonance between all external circumstances and his inner wishes and endeavours].[29] It is perhaps not pure speculation to say that we see here one of many, partial self-portraits of Moritz himself: in Hartknopf, the author has created a complementary, alternative sketch of himself, in both his positive and negative aspects.

This concept of a life in harmony with oneself and nature — at both its highest and lowest moments — includes the metaphors of 'Lebenstext' [life as text], as well as 'Lebenslampe' [life as lamp], the 'Lebensfaden' [web of life][30]or the predetermined 'Laufbahn' [path of life].[31] Discursively, however, this kind of coherence can never be obtained: 'Lieber Vetter, unser ganzes Leben und Sein drängt sich in ein großes Wort zusammen, aber ich kann es nicht buchstabieren' [Dear cousin, our entire life and being is compressed together in one, great word; only I cannot spell it].[32] It is therefore all the more important to listen to the 'Worte des Lebens' [words of life] in one's own soul and to feel the 'Takt' [rhythm] in oneself. This results in man's only assurance, that of his own existence: 'Vetter, *wir sind* ist das höchste, was wir sagen können' [cousin, *we are* is the highest thing that we can say];[33] or transposed into a mystical mode of speaking: 'Das Sein ist der Stift in dem Wirbel. Ohne Mittelpunkt ist kein Cirkel, ohne Sein kein Haben' [Being is the anchor in the storm. There is no circle without a central point, no possessing without being].[34] In this ontological model, every man is a single word, but one that only the Creator can spell; his entire life is an attempt to vest this perceived and experienced existence in deeds and his own creations, to give it a 'spirit', and to make it ascertainable to other men. For it is this 'spirit' (Geist) that Moritz is getting at; he celebrates its development and progress in many of his writings as the highest purpose of man.[35]

The 'Lied an die Weisheit' [song to wisdom] that closes the first part praises the immortality of the 'spirit' in contrast to the transience of all physical being. Hartknopf's maxim for life, 'resignation', ought to be understood in this context — but not by any means as a rejection of life. Rather it is a prerequisite for the free development of the individual: only he who recognizes death as 'ultima linea rerum',[36]as the last line of the first part of the novel significantly states, can lead his life free of fear and therefore wisely and cognizantly.

This old philosophical wisdom is presented in the novel with great consistency — in Hartknopf's martyrdom, and also for example as the educational precept of the innkeeper Knapp: 'Diesem von Kindheit auf seiner Seele fest eingeprägten Bilde des Todes, verdankt er den sichern und ruhigen Genuß, all der Freuden seines Lebens' [He owes the confident and calm pleasure, all of the joys of his life, to the image of death engraved on his soul since childhood].[37] For all intents and purposes, 'memento mori'[38]functions just like the ancient precept *carpe diem*; it invokes here, as in many other of Moritz's writings, a consciousness of the moment,

the present hour, the here and now. Alongside *carpe diem*, further maxims from classical dietetics of the soul appear as well, such as the basic values represented by Knapp: 'Gesundheit, Zufriedenheit, und Arbeit' [health, contentment and occupation].[39] On the other hand, the development of the 'letter' as opposed to the 'spirit' is conducted with the utmost caution: the son of the innkeeper Knapp was allowed to learn the alphabet only 'da er zehn Jahre alt war' [once he was ten years old], and not until he was fourteen years old should he pronounce the name of God.[40] According to this pedagogy, much of which concords with Rousseau, the 'spirit' comes first, and then only later, after one has reached advanced physical and spiritual maturity, the 'letter'.

In this respect, the antagonism between 'letter' and 'spirit' is also related to the fundamental problem of contemporary anthropology and experiential psychology, i.e. the *commercium* of body and soul. Andreas Hartknopf, along with his brother in 'spirit', Kersting, possesses the ability to carry out psychological treatments in order 'den Leib des Menschen durch die Seele zu heilen' [to heal the body of man through the soul] — as performed on the novel's narrator, for example.[41] The body is in this context clearly the materially definable 'letter'; the sign or the symptom that has in some way become estranged from the 'spirit', the human soul, so that both have become disharmonious. And just as the body can be healed through the soul, so can the soul be healed through the body. This is why the eponymous hero of the novel is necessarily, and with equal seriousness, a priest as well as a blacksmith,[42] and why he senses the proximity of gallows (bodily death) and the cross (spiritual resurrection) at the hangman's hill in Gellenhausen; this is why his maxim for life is not only 'ich will, was ich muß' [I want what I must],[43] i.e. resignation, but also 'ich muß, was ich will' [I have to do what I want], i.e. agency.[44] It is not despair and passivity that are associated with the submission to irrational strength (of nature, as well as malicious men), but rather the essential duty to educate oneself, to realize one's personal talents and abilities. Hartknopf experiences his greatest happiness accordingly in the 'Gefühl seiner Kraft' [feeling of his strength] or in the 'Gefühl der erweiterten Ichheit' [the feeling of enhanced ego-ness].[45] Body and soul, death and life are connected in this novel just as closely as 'letter' and 'spirit'; neither exists without the other. Rather, each gains its meaning and value through the complementary, but not dualistically determined relationship to the other:

> *Hartknopf* lehrte mich die Nacht lieben ohne den Tag zu scheuen, und den Tag ohne die Nacht zu scheuen. — Finsternis und Licht — Tod und Leben — Ruhe und Bewegung — mußten in sanfter Mischung sich ineinander verschwimmen.[46]
>
> [*Hartknopf* taught me to love the night without dreading the day, and the day without shying away from the night. Darkness and light, death and life, stillness and motion: all must blur together in a soft blend.]

Ultimately, the same model appears in the reflections on language and grammar that permeate the entire text. The diametrically opposed relationship of dead 'letter' and living 'spirit' also yields the relationship between the vitalizing word of God, as creation, and the deadening word of man (for example, of 'Satan *Hagebuck*' or of the catechizing sexton Ehrenpreiß);[47] the relationship between music as the

'Sprache der Empfindungen' [language of sentiments] and the verbal language of ideas;[48] between body-language and written language.[49] Incidentally, as with the neutral accordance of outer and inner nature, it also holds true that such a linguistic harmony can indicate both good and bad: thus the great 'Halleluja' at the celebration must fail, 'weil es zu einer gesuchten, *veranstalteten* Scene bestimmt war' [for it was fixed as part of a sought-after, *organized* event].[50] If one does not express the word of creation for its own sake, for the sake of its inner purpose and being, then it becomes only an external simulation.

The text reserves a special role for the relationship between 'spirit' and 'letter' for the characters' names in the text. They are not only already recognizable superficially as descriptive names that allow for the concurrence of person as 'spirit' and the name as 'letter' (as with the beautiful soul Sophie Erdmuthe, the tenant Heil, the sexton Küster, or the sexton Hagebuck), but they also have additional, allegorical meanings. This is relatively easy to see in the rector Emeritus, whose first name, Elias, refers to the biblical prophet and combatant of the cult of Ba'al.[51] The title figure is somewhat more difficult: 'Andreas' is not only a common, everyday name (on a literal level), but also stands for outstanding courage and virtue in Greek (the name, in other words, expresses as a natural sign exactly what the name-holder is). In addition, Andreas (Andrew) is the first apostle of Christ; and he died, like Hartknopf, a martyr's death on the cross. The surname adds yet further layers of meaning: Hartknopf, whose name translates literally as 'hard button', is 'von oben bis unten zugeknöpft' [buttoned up from top to bottom].[52] Hartknopf is compared with a diamond beneath a hard pebble — and this too may be seen as a reference to the 'spirit'–'letter' dualism.[53] His hardness is manifest not only in his unaccommodating and straightforward character, but also in his professional activity as a blacksmith. When, on the other hand, a multiple 'charging' of a name is impossible because it refers to a real historical person, the heightened referentiality can take the place of the enhanced imagery. There was indeed a Johann Adam Kersting who was an authority on horse medicine. In this case, conversely, the reality authenticates the fiction; the 'letter' of the name receives 'spirit' not only through allegorical meaning, but also through a lived life. On the level of language, as well, the relationship between 'spirit' and 'letter' is not to be determined partially, in favour of one or the other. Rather, music and verbal language enhance each other like melody and text, and the recurring metaphor for word as the 'guise' ('Kleid') of the thought indicates, too, that a designation can be fitting or unfitting.

The Bible, Mysticism and Freemasonry: Allegorical Systems of Imagery

The life that is indeed lived, in all its literal, biographical readability, as well as its psychological expressibility and its verbal representability, make up the text's first level of meaning. Above this first level appear further, figurative levels of representation in the novel that are classifiable within various systems of imagery. The most prominent among these is without a doubt the reference to Christianity, which is established by countless quotations from and allusions to the Bible. Writing to Goethe, Moritz himself characterized the novel as 'wilde Blasphemie' [crazed

blasphemy],[54] and critics have interpreted it as a 'parodistische Kontrafaktur zur christlichen Passionsgeschichte' [parodic contrafactum to the Passion of Christ].[55] It does indeed seem more plausible to me to read Hartknopf as a disciple or prophet of an awaited Messiah, who would then no longer exhibit all of Hartknopf's aesthetic and worldly deficits.[56] But what then did Moritz mean by 'wilde Blasphemie'? I think that this phrase gives us a hint about the general concept of the novel: not only does the reference to freemasonry serve as a 'guise' for 'bisher noch zu sehr verkante Wahrheiten' [truths that have until now been too greatly underestimated] (as Moritz himself explains in another statement), but the reference to Christianity represents ultimately only one of many 'guises'.[57] The Bible, like any other mythology, is in this context to be read as a 'language of the imagination' [Sprache der Phantasie]. This relegates the Bible, like mythology, not entirely to the realm of fiction, but rather to the realm of a dark prehistory of humankind that must be brought to life by imagination and re-translated for contemporary readers. But for this reason — and this was enough to fulfil known contemporary criteria for blasphemy — the Bible is on the same level as mythology.[58]

This process may be illustrated most effectively with the Genesis creation narrative, which Moritz extols in many other writings as the ontological and semiotic paradigma *par excellence*.[59] The creation narrative displays an exemplary act of revival through the word, which calls being to life — characteristically through an entire series of existential, fundamental dualisms according to the model of light and darkness[60] — and grants it a 'spirit'. Hartknopf then acuminates this for his model of the 'Viereinigkeit' [quadrinity].[61] The novel demonstrates anew a positive and negative variation of such a process of ensoulment through the word: while Hartknopf's first sermon about the quadrinity is interrupted by the wooden dove falling onto the pulpit — which at the same time cogently expresses the discord between the congregation and the preacher — it is this very sermon that turns out to be the best when repeated in front of the kindred spirits Sophie Erdmuthe and her brother. Its aesthetic perfection as work of art and well-ordered whole are proven to the narrator in that not only the congenial beauty of similarly tempered souls, but also the 'brutality' of the farmers,[62] oriented only towards sensuality, comes to light through its beauty. Both are, however, the effects of the perfect harmony of a work of art.

One variation of this biblical allegory displays the dealings with mysticism that are integrated into the novel through the figure of Herr v. G.; and which Moritz frequently struggled with as a result of his childhood experiences.[63] In this context, Herr v. G. represents an extreme position. He wants to exclude everything having to do with the body from religion, even nature and its 'Fülle' [abundance];[64] on the other hand, he trusts 'innern Worte' [inner words] alone.[65] In this sense, Herr v. G. and Hartknopf constitute a contrasting pair in the novel that is represented with various figurative dualisms:

> Der Herr v. G. [...] war für das Leichte, Auflodernde, Himmelanstrebende. — Hartknopf war für das Schwere, sich niedersenkende, in sich selbst ruhende [...]. Und doch trafen beide immer in gewissen Punkten zusammen. — Dann war es, als ob sie sich über einem Abgrunde die Hände reichten.[66]

> [Herr v. G. was for everything light, burning, heaven-aspiring. — Hartknopf was for everything heavy, sinking, self-contained [...]. And yet both always came together at a certain point. — Then it was as if they reached and joined hands across an abyss.]

Both are ultimately pursuing the same goal: a re-vitalization of the 'letter' through the 'spirit'; only they do so in different, individual ways. Hartknopf's means of doing so is depicted as broader, more all-embracing, for he is capable of integrating a greater 'abundance' of phenomena.[67] Nonetheless, mystical experience is presented here, as elsewhere in Moritz's work, with its own importance as a structural analogy to aesthetic experience and philosophy. This is shown, for example, in the depiction of a night-time encounter of the narrator with Andreas Hartknopf, who portrays this not only as a religious conversion experience, but specifically as a spiritual rebirth according to the Pietist model: 'Ich lernte die große Weisheit: *des Alles im Moment*. Ich ward zum neuen geistigen Leben geboren' [I learned the great wisdom: *everything in the moment*. I was born into a new, spiritual life].[68] The entire scene is once again depicted as an analogy to the creation narrative and ends eventually with the narrator's invocation of the *Unsagbarkeitstopos* [topos of unutterability] through the narrator and the biblical quotation about 'spirit' and 'letter'. Connected with this is the transition from the discursive 'Sprache des Verstandes' [language of understanding] to music as the 'Sprache der Empfindungen' [language of sentiments], when Hartknopf picks up the flute and 'übersetzt' [translates] his teachings.[69] In this example it is possible to follow almost microscopically how the various levels of language and image intertwine in the novel.

The third system of language and image that the novel invokes is that of freemasonry.[70] Certain masonic symbols serve as the spontaneous and wordless understanding of the insiders in the novel,[71] but they are at the same time in a more comprehensive sense symbols of life and natural signs — just like Hartknopf's orientation towards the sun, which I will examine in more detail in the following section. At the same time, the model of a refined 'großen Geisterrepublik' [great republic of spirits],[72] like that of the freemasons, stands for a spiritual community that includes living contemporaries, as well as certain literary works: Hartknopf finds them in equal measure in Wieland's *Musarion*, in Homer's epics, in Horace's *Epistles*, in Rousseau's *Emile*.[73] Literary works of art, too, make possible the survival of the spiritual individual over time, if only through 'erhabnen Egoismus' [sublime selfishness],[74] and they thus prevent the depressing loss of self and solipsistic isolation: 'Er fand sich wieder, wohin er blickte' [he found himself again, wherever he looked].[75] For the same reason, friendship as social and spiritual confraternity is valued more highly than love. On the other hand, a negative counter-image exists, as well: the equally like-minded and committed community of misguided, 'Afterweisen, der Weltreformatoren, der Hagebucks' [common sages, do-gooders, Hagebucks],[76] who not only wallow in reformatory fantasies, but also fail to maintain a grip on reality, in contrast to the blacksmith Hartknopf or his freemasonic friends Elias and Kersting. Indeed, here Moritz thematizes the moral neutrality of a 'Gleichlaut der Gemüter' [consonance of dispositions] quite explicitly:[77] not only do the sublime freemasonic figures of the text work harmoniously, but also the smarmy sexton

Ehrenpreiß and the former priest von Ribbeckenau. This is also a 'consonance' ('Gleichlaut') of 'tones' ('Töne'), even if it is not perceived as beautiful, but rather a form of 'grobe Selbstzufriedenheit' [crude self-satisfaction].[78]

Living Images, Guises and Curtains: The Criticism of Allegory and its Justification

Altogether, Christianity, mysticism and freemasonry are equivalent in terms of their function in the novel: they are systems of images and signs that reveal their historical conventionality and are made once again relevant for life. In the process, they do not by any means lose their allegorical quality, nor the closely related capacity for multiple meanings: the single 'letter', the conventional sign, once again contains the living 'spirit', without entirely losing its value as a sign. This process is thematized at an aesthetic level again and again in the novel, as Moritz seizes upon and at the same time tests his central concepts.

Thus the concept of the 'Metaphysische Schönheitslinie' [metaphysical line of beauty],[79] for example, is evoked at two different places in the novel. Hartknopf reflects in the very first scene on his misadventure with the ditch:

> Dies führte ihn zu tiefsinnigen Betrachtungen über die gerade und über die krumme Linie, und in wie fern die gerade Linie gleichsam das Bild des Zweckmäßigen in unsern Handlungen sei, indem die Tätigkeit der Seele den kürzesten Weg zu ihrem Ziele nimmt — die krumme Linie hingegen das Schöne, Tändelnde und Spielende, den Tanz, das Spazierengehen bezeichnet.[80]
>
> [This led him to reflect deeply on the straight line and the winding line, and to what degree the straight line was more or less the image of purposefulness in our actions: the activity of our soul takes the shortest route to its objective. The winding line, on the other hand, designates all that is beautiful, blithe and playful, dancing and taking walks.]

The line of beauty is here explicitly consigned to the realm of aesthetic phenomena, while the straight line is reserved for the purposeful activity of the soul, i.e. ultimately that which Hartknopf, the priest and the blacksmith rely upon. Therefore, Hartknopf is clearly not an artist, nor will he ever become one. However, as he stands at the crossroads of his life and has to make a decision whether to court Sophie Erdmuthe or to wander further, he does not allow himself to be guided by this realization and thus makes the wrong decision: he chooses the 'krummen Fußweg' [winding path] to the town and not the 'gerade Straße' [straight road],[81] and so drifts away from his life-task, his character, and his call to action:

> Für ihn war die breite Heerstraße, welche vom Aufgange bis zum Niedergange die Länder durchschneidet, die von den Menschen nach ihren Zungen und Sprachen benannt sind
>
> [For him, it was the wide Heerstraße, which from beginning to end, sunrise to sunset, cut through those countries named by man according to their tongues and languages].[82]

This short sentence compacts a series of images that are closely tied to the central issue of the text, as well as interwoven with each other: Hartknopf follows the

sun (an important freemasonic symbol) on his life journey from West to East, in other words anti-cyclically from decline to rise. Thus the road not only connects people to one another (it is, after all a Heerstraße, not a one-lane footpath), but also traverses various language areas — just as the text itself 'speaks' in various 'languages' and systems of images. In contrast, the winding footpath 'vollendete und verlor' [completed and lost] itself. This is undoubtedly a mark of aesthetic quality and an ideal of identity, for it reflects 'das in sich selbst vollendete ruhige Leben' [a peaceful life that is complete in itself].[83] However, such aesthetic quality is granted only to Sophie, who, as a beautiful soul, already embodies 'himmlische Weisheit' [heavenly wisdom] on earth.[84]

Indeed Hartknopf himself is similarly depicted as being essentially stable and in harmony with nature; but his destiny is altogether oriented towards expansion, influence, and activity in continually renewed contexts. It is his purpose to work as a doctor of souls. This is shown not only in the case of the narrator, but also with the Carthusian monk, the ultimate trial of Hartknopf's philosophy: 'Wenn es eine wahre Weisheit gibt, so muß sie lehren, wie man auch als Kartäusermönch, sobald man es einmal ist, auf seine Weise glücklich sein kann' [If there is such a thing as true wisdom, it must teach how each man can be happy in his own way — even as a Carthusian monk, once you have become one].[85] The Carthusian monk is a particular challenge for Hartknopf's psychological cures because he may be considered, as a result of his living cut off from all social contacts and human communication, a 'lebendiges Bild des Todes' [living image of death].[86] Hartknopf's therapy applies his steadfast maxim of resignation: the monk must learn to love his fate. Hence comes his freedom, which in turn makes possible an impartial perception of the self, without fear of death, and the configuration of one's own inner being as a substitute for failed, external activity. Just as with the spiritual rebirth of the narrator, an exemplary creation occurs here through healing — in the blasphemous style characteristic for the text and in allusion to the creation narrative: 'und Hartknopf sahe an, alles, was er hervorgebracht hatte, und siehe da es war sehr gut' [and so Hartknopf looked at all that he had made, and he saw that it was very good].[87]

Hartknopf's pedagogical-therapeutic mission clearly has a greater value than the aesthetic shaping of a lifestyle in the novel. Still, this mission profits from his own, also aesthetic, wholeness and the ever more closely tied connections to his life-text: 'Jemehr Zusammenhang, jemehr Wahrheit — jemehr Ordnung, jemehr Licht' [the more coherency, the more truth; the more order, the more light],[88] as the emeritus succinctly puts it. Hartknopf is therefore fully capable of aesthetic creations. He would have become a great musician (on occasion he composes verses), but his real talent is rhetorical: his tool is the word, brought to life by the 'spirit' in as many ways as possible.[89]Therefore, the novel, too, as Hartknopf's 'life-text', cannot round itself out to the classical, symbolic harmony of the internal and external, but rather has to rely more strongly on external rhetorical means — like those of the allegory that Moritz dismissed in his 'pure' aesthetic theory. The 'letter' of the novel can interact harmoniously with its 'spirit' if the 'letter' be expressed in its individuality, which is, in this case, to be prioritized over its beauty: 'Das Gleichnis hinkt!' [the

comparison is lame!], says Hartknopf. The emeritus replies, 'Laß er es hinken!' [Let it limp!].[90] This is most certainly not a maxim from the classicist aesthetics of beauty, just as an old, limping poodle is no 'beautiful' symbol. But it is a very vivid sign.

Moritz's theoretical criticism of allegory in *Über die Allegorie* is based above all on the claim that allegory draws the beholder's attention away from the inner coherence of the artwork; for it points to external, conventional meanings of signs that are not inherent to the work of art itself. As already implied, this does not systematically exclude allegory as an artistic device; but it may only 'dally' ('umgaukeln') about the artwork; 'nur gleichsam an seinem äußersten Rande spielen' [only more or less play on its outermost edges]. If allegory is limited to this subordinate function, it can even be 'beautiful'.[91] Moritz argues along quite similar lines in *Die große Loge* regarding symbols for freemasonry; they are 'schöne Einfassungen großer Gedanken' [beautiful encapsulations of great thoughts][92] and indispensable as 'Kleid' [guise] for thoughts: for 'ohne das Wort wäre der Gedanke nichts' [thoughts would be nothing without words].[93] Finally, the *Grammatische Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* offers a third understanding of allegory in the entry 'Allegorie, Gleichnißrede, Bildrede'. Allegory consists of pursuing a 'bildlicher Ausdruck' [figurative expression]: 'Diese Gemählde sind gleichsam durchsichtige Vorhänge, durch welche man die Gegenstände wahrnimmt, die uns dargestellt werden sollen' [these paintings are more or less transparent curtains, through which one perceives the objects that are being presented].[94] Encapsulations, guises, curtains: allegory, in the broadest sense of the basic mode of figurative speech, contributes decisively to the process of interconnecting and interweaving 'nackten Gedanken' [naked thoughts] as tightly as possible and thereby of strengthening aesthetic coherence. [95] Crucial here is the criterion of continuation, as mentioned in the *Wörterbuch*, which the leitmotif-like structure of *Andreas Hartknopf* brings clearly to the fore. Certain images appear again and again at various different levels and so structure the text. Thus, on the lowest level, the sun (as part of nature) is omnipresent and serves as a signpost for Hartknopf's personal life journey; at the next level, the sun is an image of enlightenment, as well as a conventional symbol for freemasonry; at the next, it plays a significant role in the first act of the creation narrative. The sun is most intimately interwoven with its opposite: the night and darkness as complementary parts of the original creation. Yet night and darkness also have equivalents in Hartknopf's character and his story. Ultimately, all other creatures arise from day and night, light and darkness; and not only in the Mosaic creation narrative, but also in the novel, which can be understood as an allegory of the creation narrative that has been re-translated into life. In this way, the original allegory is 'stripped' of its conventional character, and then traced back to its possible basis as a 'natural sign'.

On the Use of Multi-layered Symbolism: Forms of Comparison

Even the most superficial reading of *Andreas Hartknopf* makes clear that Moritz did not produce a prototype of an autonomous work of art as prescribed by classical theory. However, the reasons for his choice of the widely criticized 'allegory' as the large-scale form for the novel should now be somewhat easier to determine.[96]First,

there are reasons of a personal nature. It is no coincidence that Moritz often cites Goethe in his aesthetic writings at decisive points: Goethe, the brother blessed by fortune, the (in Schiller's terms) naive poet who can intuitively create beauty, for it is already inherent to his universal genius.[97] Moritz, on the other hand, is sentimentally conflicted,[98] to the point of pathology — and his literary works, so different from one another, demonstrate this as well; an old, one-eyed poodle can only be good for lame comparisons. This conflict defines the forms of representation of the text, not only in its thoroughly dualistically constructed symbolism, but also in the choice of literary means in the first place: next to enthusiastic sentiment is bitter satire; moments of deep tragedy are relieved by outbreaks of bizarre comedy;[99] songs alternate with prose, metaphysical reflections follow invocations of unutterability. The harmony that can be thereby achieved is either a positive one (the congruency of beautiful souls, as musical harmony) or a negative one (the congruency of base souls, as dissonance). What can in one instance be an aesthetic repetition and 'replicated appeal' [vervielfältigte[r] Reiz][100](Hartknopf's sermon in Ribbeckenäuchen) is in another instance merely a dull monotony and 'bland recurrence' [einförmige Wiederkehr].[101]

For this novel, ultimately more important than 'objective' [objektive] beauty is consistent individuality, understood as situative appropriateness of content and artistic means. For this reason various kinds of figurative language also appear: personal *Dingsymbole* (wells, drawbridges); complex 'living images' (the Carthusian monastery); descriptive names as models for an ideal language; conventional systems of signs that serve the solidarity of a social community (the symbols for freemasonry); pseudo-mythological stories based on systems of images (the Bible, above all the creation narrative); non-figurative imagery (mysticism, for example with its circle symbolism). Altogether, none of these phenomena may be apprehended or differentiated in any concrete terms; rather, they refer semiotically to boundaries between various kinds of images — boundaries which are only clear in theory, always blurred in practice.[102] They are different types of allegorical comparisons ('Gleichnißrede'), with different scopes of interpretation and various claims to validity, most comprehensive when an image may be read on several different levels (for example, the sun,[103] or the name 'Andreas Hartknopf').[104]

One advantage of such multi-layered symbolism[105] is its differentiated appeal to the audience. Moritz refers to this consideration twice. Thus he justifies the immersion in mysticism with the claim that 'zarte Gemüther' [tender souls] find relief in such 'mysticism without physics'; but such a paradoxical effect should also be taken seriously and investigated in terms of psychology.[106] In the case of *Andreas Hartknopf*, he ultimately legitimizes the above-mentioned 'guise', the 'freemasonic' guise, in stating that the author wants to 'gewisse bisher noch zu sehr verkannte Wahrheiten, auch unter die Classe von Menschen, [...] verbreiten [...], denen diese Einkleidung nun einmal lieb ist, und welche ihre Begriffe vom Guten und Schönen an Bilder zu knüpfen sich einmal gewöhnt haben' [promulgate certain truths that were up until now too little known, even to the class of people [...] to whom this dressing is dear, and who have become used to tying their notions of the good and the beautiful to images].[107] In terms of symbolism, one must address children

differently from adults; mystics differently from freemasons, learned readers differently from the unlearned readers — at least if one wants to be, in the interest of 'truth', as thoroughly understood as possible; that is, if the work of art is to deliver worldly wisdom.[108]

A particular organizational structure in the form of a repeated circle results from the artistic devices of the continuing allegory and multi-layered symbolism. Again and again, Moritz emphasizes the necessity of a self-contained centre as a 'Vereinigungspunkt' [point of unification] for a stable identity and for the recognition of truth.[109] The paradigm for such a centre is God, who is without physical extension, but in whom everything exists side by side in any given moment: 'Alles ist bei ihm ineinander Nichts außereinander' [In him, everything is interwoven; nothing is dispersed].[110] The temporal order of succession is thus only a result of the limited 'Fassungskraft' [mental capacity] of the human 'spirit'.[111] The epistemological as well as the aesthetic ideal, the greatest coherence imaginable, would be the simultaneity of all being in a great circle. In the end, Moritz attempts to approach such simultaneity in *Andreas Hartknopf*: chronology is abandoned in the representation, even if a life path (that is in itself circular) would be easy to reconstruct and to outline chronologically. The text circles tightly and extensively around its title character, who appears from the most varied perspectives and appears refracted through highly diverse narrative techniques and styles.[112]Above all, the continuing allegories and the interwoven discourses on images under the auspices of the dualism of 'spirit' and 'letter' create coherency: from this viewpoint, Hartknopf's entire life appears to be the continued attempt to spell the 'great word' [große Wort] of human existence in new creations and rebirths.[113] However, he himself is only Andreas: the precursor, the first disciple of the coming genius, one who does not have to subject himself to the arduousness of allegory and of the fourfold exegesis. Only the genius can create a great, ideally beautiful work of art, using his almost unlimited human apprehension and an inner being that is not only widely developed, but also focused on a central point.

In this respect, *Andreas Hartknopf* marks not just the transition from the didactic late Enlightenment to classical, autonomous aesthetics and symbolism: it becomes at the same time a model for kindred authors like Jean Paul, who develops his own concept of 'humour'. It is also a forerunner of the Romantic project of a 'new mythology'.[114]This is perhaps most evident in Schelling's philosophy of art, which explicitly recognizes Moritz's accomplishments. Schelling's understanding that mythology is the 'höchstes Urbild der poetischen Welt' [highest archetype of the poetic world],[115] one which is only to be grasped with imagination and which constitutes a 'totality', owes much to the *Götterlehre*.[116] However, Moritz's influence is also to be found more subtly in the approach to different concepts of imagery — schematism, symbol and allegory — which Schelling had systematically distinguished from one another in his *Philosophie der Kunst*. While schematism reveals something specific through something general, and allegory does the opposite (something general is revealed through something specific), the symbol incorporates both: the specific and the general become identical (as in art or organicism). However, despite Schelling's stringency in the abstract definitions, the

boundaries between those kinds of imagery are fluid, for allegory may be thought of as a particular kind of symbol: 'Aber eben deswegen ist auch alles Symbolische sehr leicht zu allegorisieren, weil die symbolische Bedeutung die allegorische [...] in sich schließt' [but because of this, everything that is symbolic is also quite easy to allegorize, for symbolic meaning [...] implies an allegorical one].[117] Schelling, as Moritz, cites mythology as an example, especially the work of Homer: 'Der Zauber der homerischen Dichtung und der ganzen Mythologie ruht allerdings mit darauf, daß sie die allegorische Bedeutung auch als *Möglichkeit* enthält' [the magic of Homeric poetry and all of mythology rests upon the inclusion of allegorical meaning also as *possibility*].[118] Moritz's *Andreas Hartknopf* may also be understood as an attempt at such 'realistische Mythologie' [realistic mythology]:[119] neither mere allegories nor mere history.

Translated by Kathleen Singles

Notes to Chapter 3

1. Cf. for example, Achim Geisenhanslüke, *Der Buchstabe des Geistes. Postfigurationen der Allegorie von Bunyan zu Nietzsche* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2003), p. 47: 'Winckelmann, Moritz und Goethe markieren die wichtigsten Stationen auf dem Weg der Dichtungstheorie im 18. Jahrhundert von der Allegorie zum Symbol' [Winckelmann, Moritz and Goethe represent the most important stations from allegory to symbol in the poetic theory of the eighteenth century].
2. Cf. Günter Niklewski, *Versuch über Symbol und Allegorie (Winckelmann — Moritz — Schelling)* (Erlangen: Palm & Enke, 1979).
3. Geisenhanslüke is quite right: he points out that Moritz never had a clear, differentiated definition of symbol, and for this reason, it is not possible to contrast allegory and symbol. The antonym of allegory is not so much 'innere Vollkommenheit' [inner perfection] as 'das Schöne'. But even this, however, is not consistent; at a different point, Moritz grants allegory the possibility of beauty (see below).
4. See, for example, Geisenhanslüke, *Der Buchstabe des Geistes* (p. 56): 'Daß Moritz' Ästhetik des Schönen wiederum auf ihre eigene Weise auf die Allegorie zurückgeht, zeigt sich in seinem Roman *Andreas Hartknopf*: "*der Buchstabe tötet, aber der Geist macht lebendig*", lautet das paulinische Motto, das Moritz seinem Roman voranstellt, um das Ideal des Schönen am Buchstaben der Allegorie scheitern zu lassen. So weist der widersprüchliche Umgang mit der Allegorie in Moritz' theoretischem und literarischem Werk zugleich auf die Doppelbödigkeit der Abwertung der Allegorie im 18. Jahrhundert hin' [The novel *Andreas Hartknopf* shows that Moritz's aesthetics of the beautiful refers back to allegory in its own way: "the letter brings death, but the Spirit gives life" is the Pauline motto that Moritz presents in his novel in order to allow the ideal of the beautiful to fail due to the "letter" of the allegory. In this way the contradictory handling of allegory in Moritz's theoretical and literary work portends the ambiguity of the devaluation of the allegory in the eighteenth century]. Other analyses see *Hartknopf* as, for example, as the 'ersten symbolischen Roman der deutschen Literatur' [first symbolic novel in German literature] (Langen), or as a 'sehr persönliche Form allegorischer Symbolik' [very personal form of allegorical symbolism], or a 'säkularisierten Evanglienbericht' [secularized evangelical testimony] (Schrimpf); cf. the research report in Karl Philipp Moritz, *Werke in zwei Bänden*, ed. by Heide Hollmer and Albert Meier, 2 vols (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1997–99), 1: *Dichtungen und Schriften zur Erfahrungs-Seelenkunde* (from now on cited with the siglum DSE), p. 1126 ff.
5. In Karl Philipp Moritz, *Schriften zur Ästhetik und Poetik*, ed. by Hans Joachim Schrimpf (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1962; from now on cited with the siglum S), p. 122.

6. Because of the limited space here, this will be presented primarily in the endnotes. Cf. the work of Barbara Thums, who also points to the fact that, in the work of Karl Philipp Moritz, the 'Gleichursprünglichkeit von empirischer Wissenschaft und Ästhetik' [simultaneous origination of empirical science and aesthetics] contribute to this agglomeration; also in this context, the 'Grenzen zwischen Fakt und Fiktion, zwischen Gesundheit und Krankheit' [boundaries between fact and fiction, between health and sickness] must be newly defined. Barbara Thums, *Aufmerksamkeit. Wahrnehmung und Selbstbegründung von Brockes bis Nietzsche* (Munich: Fink, 2008), p. 219.
7. Cf. for example, the many statements in *Beiträgen zur Philosophie des Lebens* (anonymous 1780; in Karl Philipp Moritz, *Werke in drei Bänden*, ed. by Horst Günther, 3 vols (Frankfurt a.M.: Insel Verlag, 1981; from now on cited with the siglum W and by volume number): the writer (who might very well be identified as Moritz) feels 'in der Seele eine beständige Ebbe und Flut' [a constant ebb and flow in his soul] (W 3, p. 8) or a 'Sturm' [storm] (p. 22), and desires nothing more than psychological balance and a soul that serves as a 'heiterer Spiegel' [bright mirror] (p. 83); he wrestles for 'Herrschaft über die Gedanken' [mastery of his thoughts] (p. 11), which control him instead; he finds idleness the worst condition (p. 24) and constantly refers to the necessity of using his rare good moods productively; he is already addressing the basic principle of resignation (p. 14). Various descriptions of depressive moods can be found in *Fragmenten aus dem Tagebuch eines Geistersehers* (1787), as well: Moritz writes about a 'kranken Phantasie' [sickly imagination] (W 3, p. 275) and swears by the healing powers of activity and movement as therapy (cf. p. 276). The basic life-principle of resignation and the healing power of moderation are also described (cf. p. 311). The particular closeness of this text to *Andreas Hartknopf* may also be seen through the fact that the opening episode seems to be a model for the latter novel (cf. p. 321 ff.), and the figure Knapp is prefigured by the pedagogue Sonnenberg; the fragmentary structure reveals further similarities.
8. On the therapeutic effects of art, cf. *Versuch einer Vereinigung aller schönen Künste und Wissenschaften unter dem Begriff des in sich selbst Vollendeten* (1785): 'Während das Schöne unsre Betrachtung ganz auf sich zieht, zieht es sie eine Weile von uns selber ab, und macht, daß wir uns in dem schönen Gegenstande zu verlieren scheinen; und eben dies Verlieren, dies Vergessen unsrer selbst, ist der höchste Grad des reinen und uneigennützigen Vergnügens, welche uns das Schöne gewährt' [in drawing our attention entirely to itself, the beautiful draws our attention for a while also away from ourselves; we seem to lose ourselves in the beautiful object. And this loss, the forgetting of ourselves, is the highest degree of pure and unselfish pleasure that the beautiful grants us] (S, p. 5).
9. Cf. for example, the description of a successful day in *Beiträge zur Philosophie des Lebens*: 'Ich habe doch heute einmal die ganze Wonne des Daseins empfunden — als ich alles, was ich um mich her erblickte, in mich hineindachte, und es gleichsam mit mir selber verwebte' [Once today I felt the entire delight in being, as I tried to understand everything that I saw around me and interwove it, so to speak, with myself] (W 3, p. 69).
10. *Versuch einer kleinen praktischen Kinderlogik* (W 3, p. 446).
11. Sabine Schneider has already drawn attention to the 'multidimensionality' of Moritz's central terms; she concentrates, however, on the aesthetic aspects. Sabine Schneider, *Die schwierige Sprache des Schönen. Moritz' und Schillers Semiotik der Sinnlichkeit* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1998), p. 73.
12. Karl Philipp Moritz, *Götterlehre oder Mythologischen Dichtungen der Alten*, W 2, p. 611. In Mark Boulby's translation: 'the fictions of mythology must be regarded as a language of the imagination. As such, they comprise so to speak a world of their own and are separate from the totality of real things'. Mark Boulby, *Karl Philipp Moritz: At the Fringe of Genius* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 1979), p. 194.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., p. 623.
16. Ibid., p. 613.
17. Given the dominant, intertextual reference to the Bible, one might also consider the old model of fourfold exegesis; cf. also Michael Voges, *Aufklärung und Geheimnis. Untersuchungen zur Vermittlung von Literatur- und Sozialgeschichte am Beispiel der Aneignung des Geheimbundmaterials*

im Roman des späten 18. Jahrhunderts (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1987), p. 513. Ulrike Morgner takes a similar approach in that she suggests an anthropological, aesthetic and semiotic means of interpreting the first part: see *'Das Wort aber ist Fleisch geworden'. Allegorie und Allegoriekritik im 18. Jahrhundert am Beispiel von Karl Philipp Moritz' 'Andreas Hartknopf. Eine Allegorie'* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2002), chapters 4.1–4.3. According to the anthropological interpretation, the title figure himself is a personification of his teaching; the 'allegory' in the title would in this case not refer to the text, but rather to its protagonist (cf. p. 125). According to the aesthetic interpretation of the text, Hartknopf's character and behaviour simultaneously personify Moritz's basic aesthetic principles (cf. p. 134); for example, on the basis of the aesthetic topos of development and destruction. And lastly, the semiotic interpretation allows for the identification of Hartknopf with the *logos*, with a focus on the word as sign (cf. p. 148); here, for example, the relationships between language and music or between orality and literality serve as evidence. However, for Morgner these three different kinds of interpretation are not to be seamlessly combined; rather, they open for the reader a multiplicity of perspectives on the text.

18. On the central role of pedagogy in this novel, cf. also Voges, *Aufklärung und Geheimnis*, p. 495.
19. AH, p. 520.
20. On the relationship between 'spirit' and 'letter' on the one hand, and symbol and allegory on the other, cf. Christoph Brecht: 'Die Macht der Worte. Zur Problematik des Allegorischen in Karl Philipp Moritz' *Hartknopf*-Romanen', in *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 64 (1990), 624–51: 'Die Dialektik von Geist und Buchstabe in ihrer wechselseitigen Abhängigkeit ist das eigentliche Thema des Moritzschen Erzählens' [the dialectical relationship between spirit and letter in their mutual dependency is the real subject matter of Moritz's narration] (p. 650); altogether, the Hartknopf novels can be seen as 'semiotische Experimentalromane' [semiotic experimental novels] (p. 632). For Ulrike Morger, Hartknopf himself has become an incarnation of the 'letter' of his own teaching (*'Das Wort aber ist Fleisch geworden'*, p. 7). Morgner's comprehensive study offers a nuanced contextualization of Moritz in the allegory-critical discourse of the eighteenth century, as well as a detailed analysis of the first part of the *Hartknopf* novels.
21. For example, the horse veterinarian Johann Adam Kersting (1727–1784), or the professors whom Hartknopf meets at the academy in Erfurt; his experiences with the philanthropist from Dessau in early 1778 and at Berlin's *St.-Johannes-Loge zur Beständigkeit*.
22. Cf. *Erinnerungen aus den frühesten Jahren der Kindheit* (DSE, p. 821).
23. AH, p. 549. At this point, an exemplary identity-building process is described, centring diverse aspects around a common middlepoint — this time a figurative centre.
24. Ibid.
25. On the identity-forming function of memory, cf. for example Moritz's *Beiträge zur Philosophie des Lebens*: 'Dies Gefühl meines Daseins, o Erinnerung, ist bloß dein Werk. Ohne dich, wie zerstückt, wie abgerissen, wäre das Leben, aber du reihest seine Augenblicke zusammen, wie auf eine Perlenschnur, daß keiner davon verloren geht [This feeling of my being, oh memory, is your work alone. Without you, life would seem fragmented, broken; but you arrange all moments together, as on a thread of pearls, so that none are lost] (W 3, p. 19). On the well as a 'symbolic object', whose symbolic value may be traced back to allegorical tradition, cf. Morgner, *'Das Wort aber ist Fleisch geworden'*, pp. 59 f.
26. AH, p. 621.
27. AH, p. 559.
28. The similar representation of the symbolic experience of nature in Goethe's *Werther* shows that this, however, can be a rather projective operation.
29. AH, p. 559.
30. AH, p. 554.
31. AH, p. 657.
32. AH, p. 540.
33. AH, p. 541.
34. AH, p. 599. A similar notion can be found in *Kinderlogik* (cf. W 3, p. 435).
35. Cf., for example, *Fragmente aus dem Tagebuch eines Geistersehers:* the purpose of nature is the

'Erhöhung der Denkkraft und die Veredlung des Geistes' [increase in the strength of thought and the ennoblement of the spirit] (DSE, p. 709).

36. AH, p. 600 f.
37. AH, p. 571.
38. AH, p. 572.
39. AH, p. 564.
40. AH, p. 573.
41. AH, p. 529.
42. The relationship between priest and blacksmith may be interpreted in many ways: literally speaking, Hartknopf did indeed learn both professions. Intellectually speaking, both professions stand for his physical ('leibliche') and his spiritual ('geistliche') birth (AH, p. 573); this is further illustrated by the mention of the mythological name 'Thubalkain' (AH, p. 574), the first ancestor of the blacksmith. The pairing gains existential-symbolic character lastly through the specific functions of the blacksmith and of the priest: the blacksmith realizes his creative work by imparting to it an 'unförmlichen Masse Bildung und Form' [unstructured measure of composition and form] and so is able 'eine Schöpfung neuer Wesen zusammenzuzwängen' [to achieve a creation of a new essence] (ibid.); similarly, Hartknopf as a priest cures various people whose inner being has been thrown out of balance, and he helps them to achieve a spiritual rebirth.
43. AH, p. 522.
44. AH, p. 525. A nearly identical phrase can be found in *Fragmenten aus dem Tagebuch eines Geistersehers* (cf. DSE, p. 748 f.)
45. AH, pp. 525, 557.
46. AH, p. 584.
47. AH, pp. 601, 624 f.
48. AH, p. 587.
49. Cf. A particularly original image: 'Der Händedruck hatte etwas Erhabenes, Nerven- und Seelenerschütterndes, und eine überzeugende Kraft, die mehr als der bündigste Syllogismus wirkte' [the handshake had something sublime, vibrations of nerve and soul, and a persuasive strength that had a greater effect than the most binding syllogism] (AH, p. 553) — which, in addition to the literal meaning, can also refer of course to the freemasonic handshake as a secret sign. For a comprehensive account of the related antagonism between natural and conventional signs in historical context, cf. Schneider, *Die Schwierige Sprache des Schönen*.
50. AH, p. 649.
51. In the text: of the gangs of do-gooders and of cosmopolitans, cf. AH, p. 525.
52. AH, p. 521.
53. Ibid.
54. To Goethe, 7 June 1788; cited from: AH, p. 1116.
55. See Horst Günther in his commentary on W 1, p. 590.
56. One could, quite speculatively, even see Hartknopf's own son (together with Sophie Erdmuthe), who was then raised by the foster father Kersting/Joseph, in this role.
57. Cf. Moritz's explanation of the novel in *Staats- und Gelehrtenzeitung des Hamburgischen unparteiischen Correspondenten*, which also emphasizes the reference to the audience and therefore the pedagogical-therapeutic intention (DSE, p. 1116 f.); see below.
58. Of course, this thought is not particularly revolutionary for the time; the blasphemous character of *Hartknopf* is revealed rather by the specific, individual, anti-dogmatic translation references, such as the famous quadrinity ('Viereinigkeit'), or the reinterpretation of the Last Supper.
59. Cf. for example, *Versuch einer kleinen praktischen Kinderlogik* (1786), which manifests many parallels to the novel (W 3, p. 441). In *Fragmenten aus dem Tagebuch eines Geistersehers*, the creation narrative is recommended as elementary reading for children (cf. W 3, p. 285).
60. Further dualisms in this context are: the inner and outer world of man; world and language; order and chaos; heaven and earth, body and 'spirit', destruction and construction, and in addition, the moral dualism of truth and falsehood, good and bad, and the anthropological dualism of motion and stillness, to culture and nature.
61. Cf. AH, p. 610.

62. AH, p. 617.
63. For more on Moritz's position on mysticism, cf. also his fragmentary text 'Über Mystik' (1789), in which he characterizes mysticism as a form of 'Metaphisik ohne Physik' [metaphysics without physics] (DSE, p. 897). Mysticism is completely non-figurative and non-empirical, but still has an undoubtedly strong appeal and strong effect on certain people; it must therefore be examined in terms of psychology. Cf. Bernhard Fischer on the relationship between mysticism and other aesthetic experience in Moritz's work: 'Kunstautonomie und Ende der Ikonographie. Zur historischen Problematik von "Allegorie" und "Symbol" im Winckelmanns, Moritz' und Goethes Kunsttheorie', *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 64 (1990), 247–77 (p. 259); Fischer also understands mysticism as a kind of system of language that can be applied to aesthetic experience.
64. AH, p. 623.
65. AH, p. 634.
66. AH, p. 623.
67. Hartknopf describes his own position on mysticism as follows: 'denn er konnte die Mystik wohl leiden, bis auf den Punkt hin, wo sie das menschliche Wissen ausschließet und für Torheit achtet. — Hartknopf hatte sehr viel Achtung für alles menschliche Wissen, es mochte sich aufwärts oder abwärts erstrecken; am liebsten war es ihm aber, wann es von der Ceder bis zum Ysop reichte' [for he could tolerate mysticism up until the point at which it excludes human knowledge and regards it as a folly. Hartknopf had great respect for human knowledge, whether it reached outwards or upwards; preferably, he would have it reach from the cedar to the hyssop] (AH, p. 632). Cedar and hyssop are not only particularly sonorous words that span the range of the alphabet. They also stand for the animals and plants, and therefore also the breadth of creation, with which Hartknopf has a particular relationship (in contrast to the mystics, with their fixation on the 'spirit', who kick an old poodle to death). They are, of course, ultimately a hidden reference to the Bible, as well: King Solomon wrote poetically of trees, 'from the cedar that is in Lebanon to the hyssop that grows out of the wall' (1 Kings 4. 33). In the Bible, the hyssop is also said to be a medicinal herb.
68. AH, p. 584.
69. AH, p. 586.
70. Cf. also the depiction of freemasonry in *Fragmente aus dem Tagebuche eines Geistersehers*: 'Als Bild betrachtet aber ist sie das schicklichste Symbol, um eine große edle uneigennützige Tätigkeit zu bezeichnen, wobei wir nicht uns selber zum Mittelpunkte machen, sondern außer uns ins Ganze wirken' [considered as an image, it is the most apt symbol that could be used to represent a great, noble, selfless activity; rather than making ourselves the focus, we seem to be outside of ourselves, part of the whole] (W 3, p. 309). For Moritz's position on freemasonry and his own freemasonic activities, cf. E. M. Batley: 'Masonic Thought in the Work of Karl Philipp Moritz: Sheen or Substance?', *London Germanic Studies*, 6 (1998), 121–46.
71. Thus Hartknopf exchanges the password 'humanitas' with Kersting (AH, p. 506). For the relationship of the *Hartknopf* novels to the literature of the secret societies of that time, cf. Voges, *Aufklärung und Geheimnis*, esp. ch. 3, III, which conceptualized a 'zunehmend ästhetisch realisierte Esoterik in pädagogischer Absicht' [ever more aesthetically realized esotericism with pedagogical intent] (p. 474) in the novel. Decisive for the structure of the novel is the figure of 'sinnstiftenden Verbergens' [meaningful concealment] (ibid.). Voges lists the exact references to the language of freemasonic rituals in detail (p. 517).
72. AH, p. 590. On Moritz's own membership of the Berlin's *St.-Johannes-Loge zur Beständigkeit*, cf. Voges (1987), p. 476 f.
73. AH, p. 591.
74. Ibid.
75. AH, p. 592.
76. AH, p. 595.
77. AH, p. 614
78. AH, p. 615.
79. Thus the title of an essay by Moritz, written in 1793.
80. AH, p. 525.

81. AH, p. 637.
82. AH, p. 637 f.
83. AH, p. 638.
84. AH, p. 645. As such, she embodies a human ideal of blissfulness that Moritz describes in his *Kinderlogik*: 'Das höchste Ziel seiner Wünsche ist *häusliche Zufriedenheit, verbunden mit dem ungestörten Genuß der schönen Natur*' [the highest goal of his desires is *domestic contentment, connected with the unhindered enjoyment of beautiful Nature*] (W 3, p. 470).
85. AH, p. 595.
86. AH, p. 592.
87. AH, p. 597.
88. AH, p. 555.
89. Cf. AH, p. 587 f., where Hartknopf's musical talent is first described, and then consequently his relationship to poetry, which he uses precisely 'wozu sie eigentlich da ist, zur Veredlung und Erhebung des Geistes, zur Beruhigung der Leidenschaft' [for its intended purpose: the ennoblement and exaltation of the spirit, the taming of passion] and as 'Seelenarzenei' [medicine for the soul] (AH, p. 589).
90. AH, p. 562.
91. S, p. 114.
92. W 3, p. 326.
93. Ibid., p. 325.
94. For more on the ancient tradition of this definition of allegory as 'metaphora continua' cf. Morgner, p. 21 f. Similar definitions may also be found in the eighteenth century, in Adelung's *Grammatisch-Kritischen Wörterbuch* or from Gottsched (cf. ibid.).
95. The prominence of the weaving metaphor has been explored above all by Barbara Thums, who also established the reference to genius. Barbara Thums, 'Das feine Gewebe der Organisation. Zum Verhältnis von Biologie und Ästhetik in Karl Philipp Moritz' Kunstautonomie und Ornamenttheorie', *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und Allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft*, 49.2 (2004), 237–60 (p. 243).
96. It is also worth noting, as Hollmer and Meier do in their commentary (cf. DSE, p. 1136), that Moritz's writings on aesthetics were produced mostly after the first part of *Andreas Hartknopf* and parallel to the second.
97. Cf. for example, the above-cited series Wieland, Homer, Horace, Rousseau, Mendelssohn, Lessing, and in the same breath, the repudiation of Young (AH, p. 462). Significantly, the texts named (Musarion, Horace's epistles, Emile, Phaidon, Nathan the Wise) can all be understood as texts of wisdom in a broad sense, or as pedagogical texts. They all reveal an intention similar to that of *Hartknopf*.
98. Like the authors Klopstock and Young, who are treated rather negatively in the novel, being accused of a certain artificial, staged sensibility; see, for example, the passage in which the narrator watches the sunset with Klopstock and is therefore criticized by Hartknopf (cf. AH, p. 581 f.).
99. Note a metafictional reflection in the text: 'Warum sind die Anekdotenbücher so voll von komischen Predigergeschichten? [...] Kömmt es nicht daher, weil man einen gewissen angenommenen feierlichen Ernst schon voraussetzt, mit dem das geringste Komische weit mehr, als im gemeinen Leben absticht?' [Why are the books of anecdotes so full of strange preacher stories? [...] Does it not come as a result of one's assuming a certain, affected, ceremonial seriousness, with which even the slightest comic moment stands out much more than in everyday life?] (AH, p. 649). Through a staging of their profession, the preachers effectuate the opposite. Mark Boulby, too, characterizes the novel as a 'weird melting pot of a variety of traditions and of several styles': *Karl Philipp Moritz*, p. 227).
100. AH, p. 617.
101. AH, p. 657.
102. Morgner, too, insists (p. 41) that the boundaries between allegory and symbol were by no means carefully delineated around the end of the eighteenth century, nor are they today: 'Insofern steht ein modernes, symbolisches Verständnis von Kunst, sofern sich ihre Deutungsoffenheit aus alternativen Lesarten konstruiert, in der Tradition der Allegorese, denn an die Stelle des

drei- oder vierfachen tritt der mehrfache, aber nicht unbegrenzte Schriftsinn. Der Unterschied von Allegorie und Symbol wäre dann kein qualitativer, sondern ein quantitativer' [In this sense, there is a modern, symbolic understanding of art; its interpretive openness is constructed by various different readings, in the tradition of allegoresis. For instead of three or four meanings, we get multiple (but not unlimited) possibilities for meaning. The difference between allegory and symbol would be then not qualitative, but quantitative]. Mark Boulby makes a similar statement about the *Hartknopf* novels: 'The line between allegory and symbolism is being crossed here at many points' (*Karl Philipp Moritz*, p. 239).

103. Cf. also the commentary of Hollmer and Meier (DSE, pg. 1142).
104. If we follow the model of the fourfold exegesis of the Bible in distinguishing a literal, an allegorical, a moral, and an anagogical meaning: first, on the literal level, the novel is the story of a concrete individual in a concrete, physical reality; next, it is an allegorical representation of biblical stories and fundamental ideas, in which Hartknopf may be typologically related to Christ or the disciple Andrew; on the moral level, it conveys wisdom; on the anagogical level, it is the proclamation of an imminent aesthetic, one that is truer to the ideal of the beautiful and is thereby connected to another life ideal as represented by Sophie.
105. Schimpf, for example, has already pointed out the similar diversity of topics and genres: 'Er ist ein Freimaurerroman, ein Pastorenroman, ein Schwärmer- und Ketzerroman; er ist aber dazu ein pädagogischer, ein empfindsamer, ein satirischer und humoristischer Roman' [It is a freemasonic novel, a clerical novel, a fanciful and heretical novel; but it is also a pedagogical, sentimental, satirical and humorous novel] (cited in DSE, p. 1127).
106. *Über Mystik* (DSE, p. 897).
107. Cited in DSE, p. 1117.
108. This is a realization that can also be found, for example, in Lessing's *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*.
109. Cf. in particular *Der letzte Zweck des menschlichen Denkens. Gesichtspunkt* (1786).
110. *Kinderlogik*, W 3, p. 445.
111. Cf. the formulation in the rhapsodic rendering of Hartknopf's sermon: 'Ist es die Fassungskraft nicht selbst, die sich erweitern muß, um das Edle aufzufassen?' [is it not mental capacity itself that must be furthered in order to grasp what is noble?] (AH, p. 618).
112. Voges makes a similar point, p. 517: 'Die episodenhafte, parataktisch reihende Struktur der *Hartknopf*-Romane erweist sich bei näherem Hinsehen als eine lakonisch gefügte Kette bedeutender Bilder' [the episodic, paratactically arranged structure of the *Hartknopf* novels proves itself upon closer inspection to be a laconically assembled chain of meaningful images].
113. Sabine Schneider also speaks of a 'Projekt der Resemiotisierung' [project of resemiotization], 'das den Bruch zwischen Zeichen und Dingen zu kitten und diese somit wieder in eine wesentliche Beziehung zueinander zu bringen hätte' [that bridges the gap between signs and things, and so was to have re-established a meaningful relationship between them] (p. 73).
114. For more on Moritz's influence on the artists and thinkers of his time, also through his lectures at the academy, which were attended for example by Tieck and Wackenroder, as well as the Humboldt brothers: cf. Boulby, *Karl Philipp Moritz*, pp. 207–23.
115. Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling, *Philosophie der Kunst*, in *Texte zur Philosophie der Kunst*, ed. by Werner Beierwaltes (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1982), p. 176. For more on Schelling's adaptation of Moritz's *Götterlehre*, cf. Boulby, *Karl Philipp Moritz*, p. 196: 'Schlegel's dependence is a good example of the influence of what was to be its author's best-known book. The *Götterlehre* soon became a standard text in schools, and was reprinted ten times in the course of the next seventy years'.
116. Ibid., p. 183.
117. Ibid., p. 194.
118. Ibid., p. 195.
119. Ibid., p. 211.