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DES KNABEN WUNDERHORN (1806-08):
ITS RECEPTION AND AN ASSESSMENT OF ITS IMPACT.

A thesis submitted to the University of Durham, Department of German, in candidature for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

by

Susan Elizabeth Brown

1979

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ABSTRACT

The thesis treats of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* with particular reference to the first volume and to the development of the project. Having examined the circumstances surrounding the genesis of the first volume and the social and political situation to which it was addressed, an assessment follows of its reception and impact during the turbulent years 1806 to 1818.

A two-fold conclusion is reached. The anthology had a specific impact upon folksong collectors and poets. Arnim and Brentano were both collectors and poets and the Wunderhorn project contained elements of both 'Sammeln' and 'Dichten'. The common ground between researcher and poet lay in the desire to preserve and capture the quality of childlike innocence which was considered to be the mark of true folk-poetry and the ideal state of human existence.

Similarly in general terms the anthology was seen as more than just a collection of old German songs. It enshrined values which were anathema to those convinced of the superiority of the Enlightenment way of life, and offered hope for the future in the shape of proof from the past to a young generation disillusioned with, and frustrated by, the status quo. The *Wunderhorn* brought sharply into focus the tension between two world-views, a tension heightened by the political crisis.
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I hereby state that no part whatsoever of the material contained in this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree in the University of Durham or in any other university.

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* * * * *
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I should like to acknowledge my debt of gratitude to a number of people. Among Wunderhorn scholars I single out Professor Heinz Rölleke of the University of Cologne to whom I am indebted both for his published work and for his personal assistance.

My greatest thanks go to my supervisor, Professor Emeritus Douglas F. Scott, who warned at the outset of the 'loneliness of the long-distance research student' but who has supported me throughout. I also owe much to Dr Lilian R. Furst who first taught me to appreciate German Romantic literature.

Lastly, my thanks go to colleagues at St. John's College Durham, at Thwaite Hall in the University of Hull, and at the Universities and Colleges Christian Fellowship in Leicester; also to Dr E. Langstadt of the Brotherton Library in Leeds and to Dr A. Ward of the University of Newcastle for their technical help and guidance.

C.S. Lewis has written that 'even in literature and art, no man who bothers about originality will ever be original: whereas if you simply try to tell the truth (without caring twopence how often it's
been told before) you will, nine times out of ten, become original without ever having noticed it'. It is easier said than done, but it has been my intention to try and tell the truth.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADB</td>
<td>Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (Leipzig, 1875ff)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Am</td>
<td>H. Amelung, Briefwechsel zwischen Clemens Brentano und Sophie Mereau, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1908)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BN</td>
<td>Baier-Nachlaß, Stadtarchiv, Stralsund</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bode</td>
<td>K. Bode, Die Bearbeitung der Vorlagen in Des Knaben Wunderhorn, Palaestra LXXVI (Berlin, 1909)</td>
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<tr>
<td>EZ</td>
<td>L. A. v. Arnim, Zeitung für Einsiedler (Heidelberg, 1808)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fam 3</td>
<td>O. Fambach, Der Aufstieg zur Klassik 1750-1795 (= Ein Jahrhundert deutscher Literaturkritik 1750-1850, Berlin, 1957-63, III)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fam 5</td>
<td>O. Fambach, Der Romantische Rückfall 1806-1815 (= Ein Jahrhundert deutscher Literaturkritik V)</td>
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<td>FBA</td>
<td>Clemens Brentano: Sämtliche Werke und Briefe. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe veranstaltet vom Freien Deutschen Hochstift, ed. by J. Behrens, W. Frühwald, D. Lüders (Stuttgart, 1975ff)</td>
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<td>FBA 6, 7, 8</td>
<td>Des Knaben Wunderhorn. Alte Deutsche Lieder, ed. by H. Rölleke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBA 9, 1; 9, 2; 9, 3</td>
<td>Lesarten und Erläuterungen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA</td>
<td>J. W. v. Goethe, Gedenkausgabe der Werke, Briefe und Gespräche, ed. by E. Beutler, 24 vols (Zürich, 1948-54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goed. Gr.</td>
<td>K. Goedke, Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung (Berlin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GS</td>
<td>Clemens Brentano: Gesammelte Schriften, ed. by Christian and Emilie Brentano, 9 vols (Frankfurt am Main, 1852-55)</td>
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<tr>
<td>JALZ</td>
<td>Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung, ed. by H. K. A. Eichstädt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JbdFDH</td>
<td>Jahrbuch des Freien Deutschen Hochstifts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MhLb</td>
<td>R. Z. Becker, Mildheimisches Liederbuch, facsimile of the 1875 edition with a postscript by G. Häntzschel (Stuttgart, 1971)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
NA Des Knaben Wunderhorn. Neu herausgegeben und vermehrt nach Achim von Arnims hinterlassenen Vorarbeiten, ed. L. Erk and R. Baier, 4 vols (Berlin, 1845-54)

NDB Neue Deutsche Biographie (1953ff)


Sb Clemens Brentano: Briefe, ed. by F. Seebass, 2 vols (Nürnberg, 1951)


Schoof, Jugendbriefe: Briefwechsel zwischen Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm aus der Jugendzeit, ed. by H. Grimm and G. Hinrichs, second revised and enlarged edition by W. Schoof (Weimar, 1963)

Schoof (1960): Unbekannte Briefe der Brüder Grimm, ed. by W. Schoof (Bonn, 1960)

Steig 1: R. Steig, Achim von Arnim und Clemens Brentano (Stuttgart, 1894)

Steig 2: Achim von Arnim und Bettina Brentano (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1913)

Steig 3: Achim von Arnim und Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1904)

Steig 4: Clemens Brentano und die Brüder Grimm (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1974, reprinted Bern, 1969)

Steig 5: Goethe und die Brüder Grimm (Berlin, 1892)


UL Das Unsterbliche Leben: Unbekannte Briefe von Clemens Brentano, ed. by W. Schellberg and F. Fuchs (Jena, 1939)

VN L. Stern, Die Varnhagen von Enseschen Sammlung in der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin (Berlin, 1911)

'Everyone knows about that famous early 19th-century collection of folksongs, Des Knaben Wunderhorn,' writes E. Sams. (1) 'And whoever can discover how this most potent magic still works today, after nearly two centuries, will find a very powerful instrument in his hands.' (2)

Sams is rightly sceptical about the authors' claim to have collected 'old German songs', but there is no denying the lasting influence of this three-volume collection of poems, published in 1806 and 1808 by Ludwig Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano. The majority of literary historians agree with R. Tymms in pronouncing it 'a compilation of undeniable quality, one of the great romantic books -- and no doubt in fact one of the most influential and widely read and loved of them all'. (3)

It is a more difficult task, as Sams admits, to establish the reasons for its extraordinary appeal. A survey of respected opinions offers a variety of suggestions. Among its many admirers some have emphasized the book's evocative magic. K. Bode calls it 'ein wunderliebliches Buch, einen Garten mit tausend duftenden Blüten, erfüllt von dem Zauberschall unsterblichen Gesanges, in seiner Märchenpracht ein unvergängliches Denkmal.
der deutschen Romantik'. (4) Less rhapsodically, the modern East German commentator H.G. Thalheim speaks of the astonishing appeal of the poems and likewise dubs the anthology one of the most important achievements of the Romantic period. (5) That it became a poetic resource and lasting inspiration for subsequent generations of poets and musicians is a fact beyond dispute. (6)

Folklorists, especially those of the nineteenth century, see the primary value of the anthology in the impulse it gave to folksong research, and place Arnim and Brentano among the pioneers of this branch of study. J. Fetzer points out that the bulk of research done in connexion with Des Knaben Wunderhorn has been concerned to establish 'the extent to which Arnim and Brentano did or did not embellish the original rough-hewn songs at their disposal'. (7)

Another strand of commentary draws out the national importance of their work, from the Freiherr vom Stein who said that the fire which later consumed the French had been kindled largely in Heidelberg, (8) to H.A. Korff who states 'es ist wirklich die nationale Tat gewesen, als die es von seinen Schöpfern gemeint war'. (9) M. Kommerell puts it succinctly: 'Wir spüren das zarte geistige Wehen einer im reinsten Sinn vaterländischen Bewegung'. (10)
Overlapping with all these interpretations is the recognition that *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* is rich not only in poetry but in its expression of human nature, or, as Goethe put it, in character. He and Görres were the two contemporary critics who appreciated this aspect of the anthology most clearly, but it was Heinrich Heine, Jew and outsider, who gave it most poignant expression:

Dieses Buch kann ich nicht genug rühmen; es enthält die holdseligsten Blüten des deutschen Geistes ... In diesen Liedern fühlt man den Herzschlag des deutschen Volks. (11)

'Es ist kaum zu viel,' writes E. Ermatinger, 'wenn man sagt: durch das Wunderhorn würde das deutsche Gemüt geschaffen', (12) and P. Kluckhohn also concedes, 'so ist mit diesen Liedern neben der künstlerischen Wirkung auch jene andere auf Gemüt und Gesinnung erreicht worden, die Arnim anstrebte'. (13)

Writing in 1855, H. von Fallersleben concludes that, in spite of its weaknesses, the anthology

ist und bleibt ... ein Werk, dessen wir uns immer freuen dürfen und mit Liebe und Dank gedenken müssen. Es war von nachhaltiger guter Wirkung, zunächst auf unsere lyrische Poesie, dann auch auf die Musik und die zeichnenden Künste; es hat das deutsche Element mit wieder zu Ehren gebracht; es hat den Sinn für das Volkstümliche geweckt und genährt;
es hat das Studium des Volksliedes angebahnt und Manchen zum Sammeln und Forschen ermuntert, so dass nach und nach der Schatz unserer alten Lieder aus seltenen Büchern und Handschriften ans Licht getreten ist und die noch im Volke vorhandenen vom allmäßigen zwar, aber doch sichern Untergange gerettet sind. Das Wunderhorn hat seine Sendung erfüllt. (14)

All these influences are undisputed, but do they in fact represent the fulfilment of Arnim's and Brentano's original intention in compiling the Wunderhorn? How did they conceive of their mission? To what extent were their hopes for the anthology realized? These are the questions to which the present study addresses itself, concentrating upon the reception and impact of Des Knaben Wunderhorn at the time of publication and in the decade which ended with the second edition of the first volume of the anthology.

* * * * *

'Bewundert viel und viel gescholten' wie kaum ein zweites bedeutsames Werk hat sich die Arnim/Brentanosche Liedersammlung des Knaben Wunderhorn schon früh einen festen Platz in der deutschen Literaturgeschichte erobert, ohne daß man bislang durch erschöpfende Quellenforschung oder unvoreingenommene Darstellung hinsichtlich der Idee und der Bedingungen seiner Entstehung bzw. seiner mannigfach faszinierten Wirkungsgeschichte zu einer wirklich gegründeten Beurteilung gekommen wäre. (15)

H. Rölleke has himself gone a long way towards achieving the goals he sets here for Wunderhorn researchers. His newly published historical-critical edition of Des Knaben Wunderhorn (16) indeed provides
the 'erschöpfende Quellenforschung' on the basis of which, as B. Gajek gratefully acknowledges, work on the history of the anthology's influence may now safely proceed. 'Die Wirkungsgeschichte kann jetzt erst angemessene Kriterien entwickeln.' (17)

In seeking to reach 'truly justifiable' conclusions, a method of study has been adopted which gives due consideration to factors influencing both the genesis of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* and its reception and impact. Five important factors must be borne in mind.

Firstly, the anthology is the work of two men, each of whom made a distinctive contribution to the execution of the project. Secondly, it is the work of practising poets rather than scholars and must be treated as such. Thirdly -- and this is a fact sometimes overlooked by commentators -- the work itself evolved in the process of completion. A distinction must be drawn between the first volume (which is the main concern of the present study) and the later ones. Fourthly, although not strictly a folksong anthology, it is evident from advance publicity and from Arnim's essay *Von Volksliedern*, that the anthology is indebted to, and was intended as a contribution towards, the interest in national folk-poetry which had developed since the 1770s. Lastly, this interest embraced wider social, cultural, historical and political factors which also have a bearing on the genesis and reception of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*. 
To attempt an analysis of the work itself and of the society in which and for which it was written is a difficult task requiring a high degree of competence in a variety of skills. However, for various reasons, it is important that the attempt be made. By adopting a comprehensive approach, the worst dangers of selective documentation should be avoided and the misconceptions of earlier commentators corrected. The conclusions of the present study are based upon a wide reading of contemporary evidence in the hope of giving more precise formulation to the influence of a work which has hitherto been described in general emotive terms or from one particular (for example, folkloristic) viewpoint.

The conclusions offered, however, can be no more than a partial and tentative contribution to the question, raised by many critics in passing but rarely dwelt upon at length, as to the history of the influence of this remarkable collection of songs.

* * * * *
Notes


2. Ibid.


13. P. Kluckhohn, Die deutsche Romantik (Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1924) p. 121.


edited by H. Rölleke, vols 6-8 (Text) and 9,1 – 9,3 (Commentary), (Stuttgart, 1975-78). This new Frankfurter Brentano-Ausgabe will be referred to throughout as FBA.

The first edition of Des Knaben Wunderhorn. (Heidelberg, 1806-08) will be abbreviated to Wh 1, 2 and 3 respectively.

All quotations follow the FBA text, but references will give the original page numbers first and the FBA page numbers in brackets thereafter.


* * * * *
PART ONE

DES KNABEN WUNDERHORN, VOLUME ONE (1806)
CHAPTER ONE


In einem alten Mantel gehüllt, ohne Plan mit einem Freunde und einem Buche umherirrend, im Gesange der Schiffer von tausend neuen Anklängen der Poesie berauscht, ohne Tag und Nacht zu sondern, frei von Sturm und Ungewitter, denn unser Gesang führte sie uns wie Bilder unsres Gemüths -- so möchte ich wohl noch einmal leben; das Leben war frisch angebrochen wie die echte Quelle des rheinischen Weines. (1)

The writer of these lines is Ludwig Achim von Arnim, the friend to whom he refers is Clemens Brentano and the book is Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea*. Although the two young men had made each other's acquaintance a year earlier when they were both students at the University of Göttingen, their excursion down the Rhine in June 1802 set the seal upon their friendship. They little knew, as they surrendered to the magic of the Rhine, that the foundations were being laid for a lasting friendship and a literary partnership which culminated in the publication of an anthology of old German songs, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*. As time went by, their Rhine holiday served as a reminder of life at its best and remained a source of inspiration to which they frequently returned for renewal and encouragement. Friendship, freedom, poetry and song, life in all its fullness and freshness: these were the elements which, recorded so vividly by Arnim, left an indelible impression upon their minds and prompted subsequent plans for joint poetic activity. The
songs of Des Knaben Wunderhorn are steeped in this same atmosphere; Brentano's Rheinmärchen evoke the magic of the region; Arnim's essay Von Volksliedern addresses itself to the question of true vitality; both poets long to find the secret of authentic living and to tap the source of genuine poetry. With justification therefore, this summer cruise down the Rhine may be regarded as the appropriate starting-point for an enquiry into the intentions of Arnim and Brentano in compiling their anthology and for an assessment of their achievement.

* * * *

The significance of this episode cannot be fully appreciated, however, without some knowledge of the respective backgrounds of Arnim and Brentano. Three factors in their upbringing are of particular relevance: their family circumstances, the social and political environment in which they grew up and their early encounters with the folk tradition.

'The ideal place for the child is in the family', writes Swiss psychologist, Dr Paul Tournier. 'He who has once had the experience of belonging in a place, always finds a place for himself afterwards; whereas he who has been deprived of it, searches everywhere in vain.' (2)
Born into an old-established Prussian family whose home had been for centuries in the Brandenburg Marches, Arnim inherited all the advantages (and the disadvantages, as he was later to recognize) of a continuous and well-defined tradition. This was his 'place' just as it had been for generations of his family before him, the context in which he belonged. 'Vaterland, du bist kein leerer Name,' he once wrote after several months away from home, 'es ward gleich anders, Wohlsein überall, wo ich in die Ukermark kam.' (3) Though his early life was spent mainly in Berlin, he retained a strong attachment to his native soil and spent most of his married life on the family estate at Wiepersdorf. His school years brought him into contact with the sons of the middle-class intelligentsia from whom he gained an understanding of the outlook of the bourgeoisie, and while he moved easily in all levels of society he was often embarrassed by the inflexible insistence upon class distinctions which characterized many of the aristocracy.

Like many of his formative experiences, Arnim's first encounter with the folksong was in the context of the local community:

Wo ich zuerst die volle, thateneigene Gewalt und den Sinn des Volksliedes vernahm, das war auf dem Lande. In warmer Sommernacht weckte mich ein buntes Geschrey. Da sah ich aus meinem Fenster durch die Bäume, Hofgesinde und Dorfleute wie sie einander zusangen:
Auf, auf ihr Brüder und seyd stark! ... Sie brachen ab und auf zu ihren Regimentern, zum Kriege. Damals klang manches daran, was mir so in die Ohren gefallen, alles reizte mich höher was ich von Leuten singen hörte, die nicht Sänger waren, zu den Bergleuten hinunter bis zum Schornsteinfeger hinauf. Später sah ich den Grund ein, daß in diesen schon erfüllt, wonach jene vergebens streben, auf daß ein Ton in vielen nachhalle und alle verbinde. (4)

Here are themes which recur throughout Arnim's life and work: the community as the context in which the individual and the folksong find their true place; the power of the folksong both to stimulate and to express corporate identity. These ideas are germane to Des Knaben Wunderhorn and will be analysed in detail in subsequent chapters.

If Arnim's early life was largely an experience of community, Brentano's was one of intense personal isolation and insecurity. The family home in Frankfurt am Main also served as the headquarters of his Italian father's thriving business, but Clemens, the child of a second marriage, never felt at ease there. From the age of six he was denied the security of living at home, and, being a sensitive and impressionable child, he suffered deeply as a result of being separated from the family, especially from his mother, Maximiliane, to whom he was very attached. His early schooldays were spent in a succession of places, Koblenz, Mannheim and Bonn, but nowhere did he settle down or feel happy. His mother's death in 1793 came as a shattering blow,
but his austere father, showing little comprehension of the boy's needs, determined to prepare him for a business career by placing him first in the family business, then with a colleague in Langensalza, and finally with his uncle, Carl la Roche, near Magdeburg. Brentano was suited neither for business nor for a career in mining, so having failed in both he finally enrolled as a student at the University of Halle in 1797.

His early letters are a moving testimony to the pain of separation and reveal the anguish he felt at being denied his 'place' in the family. The effect of this traumatic experience was a lifelong fear of being deserted or rejected, and of living alone. Similarly, the premature separation from his mother may have caused the personal insecurity which manifested itself in a succession of very dependent relationships. His elder sister Sophie became the centre of his attentions until her death, whereupon he transferred his loyalty to his younger sister Bettina, and later to a number of different women. Brentano was well aware of his problem, as a letter to an early sweetheart, Minna Reichenbach, testifies:

Sie wissen nicht wie so ein armer Mensch, wie ich, sich mit seinem Reichtum an etwas hinauf schlingt, ich habe nichts in der Welt, wo ich etwas finde, schlinge ich mich mit Heftigkeit hinan, ich biete mein ganzes Herz hin, um eine Heimath zu erkaufen. (5)
Throughout his life Brentano searched for a place to belong. Helmine von Chezy corroborates the impression he gave to many of his contemporaries: 'Sein Wesen kam mir ... vor wie eine Efeuranke, die hoch und einsam in den Lüften umher nach einem Felsen sucht'. (6) Childhood insecurity was at the root of the succession of deep personal attachments which fill the pages of his biography. (7)

Socially and politically, too, Brentano's early life was marked by an insecurity which was the antithesis of Arnim's experience. While Prussia was enjoying relative peace and stability as a result of the Treaty of Basle in 1795, the Western territories of the Holy Roman Empire were in turmoil. The political turbulence of those years during which the French revolutionary armies proceeded to annex the towns of the Rhine had personal implications for Brentano's family which were keenly felt by Clemens. His elder brother Franz was among those taken hostage by the invading General Custine in 1792. The political uncertainty combined with worry for the family caused Clemens great anxiety. A remarkable letter to his mother conveys the tortured state of mind of the sixteen year-old away from home:

Ich schäme mich fast Ihnen als Deutscher zu schreiben, weil die Deutschen das Einrücken der Franzosen gar nicht einhalten ... ich bin in ein Labyrinth von schrecklichen Möglichkeiten versetzt, aus welchen ich mich nicht wickeln kann ... Ich bin sehr ängstlich, mein Gehirn ist das Schlachtfeld von tausend grausen Ideen, eine unterdrückt die andere und zeigt sich mir immer in einem schrecklichen Gewande. Ich bitte Sie, beste Mutter, reißen Sie mich aus dieser Ungewißheit. (8)
B. Gajek sums up Brentano's early political experiences and their psychological implications:
'Was wir als psychologischen Einfluß der Französischen Revolution auf die Kinderjahre feststellen konnten, fixiert sich zu dem Gefühl, ständig in Krisen zu leben'. (9)

Brentano's problems were compounded by a lifelong struggle with his poetic daemon. At the end of his life he wrote to his niece, Sophie von Schweitzer, 'O mein Kind! Wir hatten nichts genährt als die Phantasie, und sie hatte uns theils wieder aufgefressen'. (10) Others who knew him well bear witness to his daemonic nature. Guido Görres records that in his lifetime Brentano was rumoured to be 'der leibhaftige Mephistopheles', (11) while Marianne von Willemer's comment to Johann Böhmer suggests that Brentano never mastered his own creative gifts. 'Sie werden einen Mann kennen lernen,' she wrote, 'der nicht von sich sagen kann, ich besitze Phantasie, sondern die Phantasie besitzt mich.'(12)

Although possession of, or possession by, 'die Phantasie' was found to be such a debilitating experience, Brentano was nevertheless caught in its spell from the moment that he could appreciate the bedtime songs sung to him by his old Swabian nanny, Therese Boheim. (13) She taught him the ballad 'Großmutter Schlangenköchin' which he incorporated in his first novel, Godwi, and later included in Des Knaben Wunderhorn. Another important figure
from his childhood was Herr Schwab, his father's book-keeper and general factotum, who used to tell him stories. These songs and tales fed his lively imagination in an otherwise austere and prosaic home environment. (14) All his life he associated childhood with simple, ordinary people and constantly sought their company, as indeed he sought the company of children, for in such resided a natural creative ability which found best expression in folktales and folksongs. Brentano's early contact with the folk tradition was therefore primarily on a personal and imaginative level, whereas Arnim's was a social experience.

The formative years of Arnim and Brentano were, then, very different indeed. Arnim's childhood was personally, socially and politically stable; Brentano's was the reverse. It comes as no surprise, therefore, to find that, at the time of their first acquaintance in 1801, Arnim, although the younger by three years, was the more mature. It remains to be seen how their early experiences influenced their later outlook on life and left their mark upon Des Knaben Wunderhorn.

* * * * *

Brentano began his university career in Halle almost one year before Arnim went there. He did not settle however, and transferred in the summer term of 1798 to Jena where, influenced by the Romantic
turning back:

Suggests that Brecht knew there was no
statement.Bird der Mutterm, the presence of which
was an autobiographical novel; God's, order, his
his poetical talent. The first fruit of this resolve
enemies were directed towards the continuation of
was the only course open to him, and henceforth this
then poets. Nevertheless, the latter career
personality was one executed bad the necessary

His struggle with the tensions in the own

Resolute to help with the development and the foundation of this education to help with
his brother Kreuz in December 1798 he conferred this
writing to live up to his father's expectations. With this
he was expected, and he was well aware of this future
had seven years of measure of independence for which

Interestes Grow (17) His father's death in 1798

critic of poets and philosophers, his literary
The awareness of his vocation had grown out of painful self-examination; he knew it would not be an easy course to follow.

Arnim's university experience was one of expanding horizons. After an outstanding career at the Joachimsthal Gymnasium in Berlin, he and his brother Karl enrolled at the University of Halle in 1798. His chosen discipline was law, but he launched with equal enthusiasm into the study of mathematics, chemistry and physics, showing particular aptitude for the latter. While at Halle, Arnim renewed contact with an old friend of his father's, J.F. Reichardt, whose home at Giebichenstein was a meeting-place for many famous men. (19) Here Arnim first met Ludwig Tieck, the older poet who was instrumental in encouraging the latent artistic gift which Arnim had inherited from his musically talented father. His transfer to the University of Göttingen in May 1800 brought him into contact with other literary-minded men, but the most decisive factor in the awakening of his literary awareness was the arrival, in the spring of the following year, of a group of students from Jena, among them August Winkelmann and Clemens Brentano.

Winkelmann, an ardent admirer of Goethe, encouraged Brentano's growing enthusiasm for the Weimar poet and his waning admiration for the Jena Romantic circle. As H. Härtl points out, Winkelmann also exerted an influence upon Arnim, so much so that
The works published in 1807:

Goethe's works published in 1807: in simple formulas, as is apparent in an essay on Goethe's genius with the aspects to express, first essentially of Dein Kenner Wunderthron, (22) associated to whom Brentano later attached a part in the test of puppet to its greatness, Wunderthron, as not only Brentano but also Gurnim and Wunderthron.

Germany's subsequent lesson of their study of Goethe.

Totentanz (21).

Wenin mehre von uns haben poetisces
Wichte unser Studium Goethens kenntniss
Geschaffen Wunderthron geworden,
Denn Goethen wurden, in der Ekstase,
Wunderthrones Salzene,
Wunderthrons Zeitgenossen, den
Geist seines Werks der Wunderthron.

Gut ist der Name, was uns alle verbergen
Goethe's influence was also tried in other works. Among his first novels, *Hollins' Teiderein*,

Goethe's influence in the years which followed.

Many of the defects of expression and the absence of interest for the reader made the poems which were an enthusiastic collection of his poetry and his enthusiasm for the subject which existed in Germany increased the love of Goethe, which was fostered by the General impression on the young friends, and the romantic ballads, romances, and stories, these made a great

Neue Schriften of 1800 which brought together his songs,

The essay refers to the seventh volume of Goethe's
When the group of friends disbanded for the summer vacation of 1801, Arnim and his brother set off on the first leg of their grand tour travelling south to Austria and Bavaria. In November they stayed in Dresden for three weeks and Arnim renewed contact with Tieck. Arnim had already resolved to try his hand at writing a novel; the result, *Hollins Liebleiben*, was published in 1802. While Tieck encouraged the younger man's literary inclinations and may be held partly responsible for the subsequent confession to Brentano that he intended to dedicate himself henceforth to poetry, his formulation of this resolve also betrays the influence of Goethe:

Es ist mir jetzt ernster geworden mit der Poesie, ich habe ihren Zauberklang gehört, aus ihrem Becher getrunken, und ich tanze nun wie es das unendliche Schicksal will, gut oder schlecht, meinen Reihen hinunter. (26)

In the course of his travels Arnim encountered many famous and influential men and had ample opportunity to test and develop his own, still embryonic, literary and political ideas. In Munich he moved in the best circles and found evidence to support the political convictions which he later developed more fully in *Von Volksliedern*. To Brentano he wrote:

Es weht ein wohlthätiger Geist in allem Thun, alles wird hier noch und treibt und wächst wie in der Natur. Noch ist kein todter Stillstand im Schlechten. Alles sehnt sich nach etwas Höherem und findet es, indem es danach strebt ... Das Neue und Alte streitet herrlich mit einander und beschränkt sich wohlthätig. (27)
His organic view of human history and development is here in embryo, and he goes on to speak of the unity between the Northern territories of the Holy Roman Empire and the Southern lands which overrode the artificial demarcation line imposed by the French after the Treaty of Basle. Quoting from a poem which was later included in the Wunderhorn, Arnim argued that the distinction was as unnecessary as the argument between water and wine, 'denn im Grunde, weiß kein Mensch recht, wo das südliche Deutschland anfängt, und wo das nördliche aufhört'. (28)

The highlight of his journey was a stay in Vienna which resulted in further clarification of his philosophy of life. Here he not only met influential men like the Swiss historian, Johannes von Müller, and the Prince de Ligne, but in his exploration of the city he mingled with people of all social classes. His memorable letter to Brentano from the Kahlenberg, begun in March and finished in April 1802, suggests that from the perspective of the mountain-top he was able to synthesize his recent observations of life in an understanding of the organic and harmonious nature of existence. Two further mountain-top experiences in the course of his travels reinforced this conviction.

His formulation of his experience on the Kahlenberg is interesting for its similarity to his description of the Rhine trip: 'Ich habe in einem Rausch abwechselnder Freuden gelebt ...
Paradiesische Tage lebte ich'. (29) He perceived a common core of human experience in all social classes though he noticed the difference between town and country people:

Wien hat viel Schönes und viele Freude, ich habe es in allen Ständen kennen gelernt ... Wie schrecklich verderbt sind hier die unteren Klassen der Stadtbewohner, wie reich an Geist und Frohsinn die Landbewohner! (30)

It was as if man's true home and the truest expression of his creativity were in the context of nature. Thus, on the mountain, his companions were 'vier Frauen von poetischem Gemüthe' and an old man 'der kindisch geworden, denn so muß sich jedes ruhig glückliche Leben schließen'. (31) Winkelmann linked these same elements together in connexion with Goethe: nature, childhood, innocence and poetry were the hallmarks of a truly creative human existence in the eyes of Arnim, Brentano and their contemporaries.

From Vienna Arnim returned via Munich to Frankfurt where he was reunited with Brentano prior to their joint excursion down the Rhine. Of deep significance for them both, it is illuminating to compare Arnim's recollection of the trip with one of Brentano's many references to the episode.

For Arnim, the experience provided vivid confirmation of the organic theory of creativity and history which was taking shape in his mind. He had already sensed on the Kahlenberg that nature
had a poetry and rhythm of her own. (32) Now, as he stood upon the Ostein gazing out on the vast panorama before him, he recognized the existence of a powerful force operating through nature and history of which he himself was a part. He recounted the incident to his aunt, Countess Schlitz, in a letter written shortly afterwards:


Arnim was suddenly and overwhelmingly aware of his place in the whole of creation. With startling clarity he now perceived the continuity running through nature and history which derived from the activity of an eternally creative life-force, linking together in an organic synthesis the past and the present, nature and art, the individual and the whole. Recalling the same experience in the conclusion to Der Wintergarten, Arnim wrote:
wer erst in spätern Jahren zum erstenmal
einen bedeutenden Berg erstiegen, kann
nur die Überraschung dieses neuentdeckten
Weltteils mitfühlen, diese ungeahndeten
Weiten alle mit uns zu einem Leben verbunden.(34)

Later, in vindicating his editorial procedures in
Des Knaben Wunderhorn, Arnim refers to poetry as
something 'das sein Wesen nicht von der Jahrszahl
borgte, sondern das frey durch alle Zeiten hindurch-
lebte'. (35) In communicating its essence the poet
is free to assimilate extant material and make it
distinctively his own in a new creative act.
Arnim cites Goethe in support:

Diesen Zustand selbst bezeichnet Göthe
sehr schön in der begeisterten Periode
seines Lebens mit den Worten: Ein Gefühl
aber, das bey mir gewaltig Überhand nahm
und sich nicht wundersam genug äussern
konnte, war die Empfindung der Vergangenheit
und Gegenwart in Eins, eine Anschauung,
die etwas Gespenstemäßiges in die
Gegenwart brachte. (36)

While Arnim was jubilant in the face of his
momentous discovery, Brentano was still preoccupied
with his quest for personal security. He could not
feel any sense of integration in the cosmos because
he lacked it in his own personality. However,
the Rhine interlude seemed temporarily to meet his
need. He looked back upon it as the scene of his
happiest memories; here his friendship with Arnim
had been consolidated and the security found which had
hitherto eluded him. In subsequent letters Brentano recalled
the holiday time and again as a cherished interlude
of peace and stability in an otherwise restless and
troubled existence. (37) Feelings of anxiety and
inadequacy dominate the following remarkable confession
of dependence written some eight months after the
incident to which it refers:

Es war, da wir miteinander in den Turm
bei Rüdesheim gestiegen waren, da
dstelltest Du Dich an das einzige
Fenster in dem Turm und sahst den
Rhein sehr ernsthaft hinauf, ich aber
stand im dunklen Turm und spielte
Gitarre, sehr einsam fühlte ich mich,
und es war mir, als wärst Du hundert
Meilen von mir. Als wir wieder von
dem Turme stiegen, fühlte ich recht,
wie ich hinter Dir in allem zurück-
bleiben würde, ich kletterte so langsam
herab und Du sprangst so geschwind. (38)

Clemens clung to Arnim with almost pathological
attachment. Indeed, he felt as if he could not
survive, let alone write, without Arnim's supportive
presence. (39)

Yet the relationship was not as one-sided as
it might appear at first glance. Arnim may have had
the greater strength of personality but Brentano
possessed a greater degree of artistic sensitivity
and discernment, so much so that Arnim was reluctant to
submit Hollins Liebeleben to his scrutiny, knowing
him to be 'ein strenger Richter'. (40) By helping
Brentano to find a measure of personal stability,
Arnim enabled his friend to settle down and write,
while in his advice and constructive criticism
Brentano assisted Arnim's development as a poet.
In W. Migge's words:

In der Freundschaft zwischen Arnim und Brentano stand dem Gemeinsamen eine große Andersartigkeit, durch Herkunft und Anlage bedingt, als belebende Spannung und Ergänzung gegenüber. (41)

This perfect complementarity produced an outstanding creative partnership and friendship. The young Eichendorff, who knew them later in Heidelberg, compared the relationship to a marriage-bond:

Beide verhielten sich ... untereinander aber wie ein seltsames Ehepaar, wovon der ruhige, mild-ernste Arnim der Mann, der ewig bewegliche Brentano den weiblichen Part machte. Arnim gehörte zu den seltenen Dichternaturen, die wie Goethe, ihre poetische Weltansicht jederzeit von der Wirklichkeit zu sondern wissen und daher besonnen über dem Leben stehen und dieses frei als ein Kunstwerk behandeln. Den lebhafteren Brentano dagegen riss eine übermächtige Phantasie beständig hin, die Poesie ins Leben zu mischen, was denn häufig eine Konfusion und Verwicklungen gab, aus welchen Arnim den unruhigen Freund durch Rat und Tat zu lösen hatte. (42)

* * * *

The Rhine interlude, though brief, remained the chief impulse behind their subsequent plans for joint literary activity. After taking leave of Clemens in Koblenz, Arnim and his brother set off south on a further leg of their grand tour while Brentano remained at home. The separation lasted two years, but their regular exchange of letters bears witness to the fact that, although nothing had been formally decided on the Rhine, the seeds had
been sown for several projects.

The first such plan was broached by Arnim and represented a further crystallization of his earlier vision. It was prompted by a visit to the spectacular Falls of Rhine at Schaffhausen. He was now able to articulate to Brentano the truths which he had grasped on the Ostein and to elaborate upon their implications for his own career. It was as if the pieces of the jigsaw of life had fallen into place and he was able to discern its intricate pattern for the first time:

Die Einsamkeit hat mir einen großen Lebensplan angewiesen, den ich auf dem Frankfurter Marktschiffe schon ahndete, mir aber jetzt erst recht deutlich geworden ... Alles geschieht in der Welt der Poesie wegen, die Geschichte ist der allgemeinste Ausdruck dafür, das Schicksal führt das große Schauspiel auf. (43)

Given this fundamental presupposition, the ultimate goal in life is to enjoy its 'poetry' and all else is subservient to this aim. The poet's vocation is to promote this experience of the poetry of life among his fellow men. But how is this to be achieved?

Arnim's argument moves on to consider the clearest expressions of this poetry: 'Dichtkunst und Musik'. (44) These grow like red and white roses on the poetic tree. Like a careful gardener the poet must protect and nurture these tender flowers so
that the plant may grow strong and healthy:

Die Sprache der Worte, die Sprache der Noten stärker und wohlgefälliger zu machen, dies ist klar als erster Standpunkt unserer Bemühung anzusehen. (45)

Applying this principle to the contemporary situation Arnim decided in favour of a teaching exercise:

Also eine Sprach- und Singschule! Sowie Tieck den umgekehrten Weg einschlug, die sogenannte gebildete Welt zu bilden, indem er die echte, allgemeine Poesie aller Völker und aller Stände, die Volksbücher, ihnen näher rückte, so wollen wir die in jenen höheren Ständen verlornen Töne der Poesie dem Volke zuführen, Göthe soll ihnen so lieb wie der Kaiser Octavians werden. (46)

Arnim, like Winkelmann, discerned that folk-poetry and the purest art-poetry were in essence the same. Whereas Tieck had chosen to educate the educated classes to appreciate folk-poetry, Arnim now proposed to tackle the problem from the other end by disseminating Goethe's poetry among as wide a public as possible. He wanted to establish a folk-press and a school which would teach poetic, musical and dramatic skills:

Hier wird die allgemeine deutsche Sprache erfunden, die jeder Deutsche versteht und bald von allen Völkern der Erde angenommen wird. (47)

Yet Arnim's ultimate objective was not simply to raise the general level of appreciation of poetry. His purpose was to unite the nation:
Dies giebt den Deutschen einen Ton und eine enge Verbindung, jeder Streit zwischen ihren Fürsten muß sich selbst verzehren, weil der Deutsche gegen seine Brüder nicht zu Felde zieht, die Ausländer, ihrer Unterstützung gegen sie beraubt, müssen ihnen verbündet, Deutschland der Blitzableiter der Welt werden. (48)

The direction of Arnim's thinking becomes even clearer in comparing the foregoing letter with a draft, the text of which is published in full by H. Härtl. (49)

Here Arnim repeats the points just made and stresses the national dimensions of his plan:

Tieck hat aus den Volksbüchern vornehme Bücher gemacht, ich möchte vornehme Bücher zu Volksbüchern machen. (50)

All Arnim's recent experience of life confirmed the fact that there is a common core of humanity to which both the simplest and the most profound art gives expression. Using this essential 'poetry of life' as his starting-point Arnim wished to foster national identity and raise morale by encouraging an awareness of the nation's common language and culture:

Nein Vaterland ist Preußen, aber ich bin ein Deutscher, d.h. ich suche aus Liebe zu Deutschland ihm einen Mittelpunkt zu bilden, der es erhebt aus seiner jetzigen schmäligen Lage. (51)

While the plan did not materialize in this particular form, the vision remained and its fulfilment will be traced in subsequent chapters.
Brentano's reply reveals that, while he was in sympathy with Arnim's aims, he realized that the project lacked feasibility. For the time being he urged him simply to collect as much folklore material as possible on his travels through Switzerland. (52)

During Arnim's long absence, Brentano continued to struggle with problems related to his sense of personal inadequacy. He became painfully aware of the lack of harmony in his own personality and began to see, largely through the influence of Goethe, that his inability to harness his creative gift effectively was closely bound up with his unstable temperament. He came to the conclusion that the remedy to both problems lay in a stable relationship, so with Arnim far away, he turned his attention once more to Sophie Mereau, talented wife of the professor of law in Jena, whom he had first met as a student in 1798. After their stormy relationship broke down, Brentano sought distraction or consolation in one affair after another, until finally, in December 1802, his brother Christian effected a reconciliation. They saw each other from May 1803 onwards and by the autumn Clemens had persuaded Sophie to be his wife. The marriage took place in Marburg on 29 November 1803.

His letters to Sophie at the time of their decision to marry show how much confidence Brentano placed in her ability to bring order out of chaos:
A letter to Bettina written a month earlier reveals that the issue of freedom and form was uppermost in his mind as far as art was concerned also. After a long diatribe upon the state of the contemporary theatre, Brentano concludes that 'die Freiheit ist die Blüte des Gesetzes'. (54) His preoccupation with the question of freedom and form shows some awareness of Goethe's views on the matter, pithily expressed in a sonnet entitled Natur und Kunst' which Goethe wrote in 1802. Its final tercets put Brentano's personal and artistic dilemma in a nutshell:

So ists mit aller Bildung auch beschaffen:  
Vergebens werden ungebundne Geister  
Nach der Vollendung reiner Höhe streben.  

Wer Großes will, muß sich zusammenraffen;  
In der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister,  
Und das Gesetz nur kann uns Freiheit geben. (55)

This then was the goal towards which Brentano was striving: freedom within form. For his personality this meant the structure of marriage, and for his art it implied a disciplined method of working.
His model was Goethe, whom he described to his sister Gunda as 'unschuldig wahr', (56) and it is noteworthy that the two others he admired most at this time, Sophie and Arnim, shared the same characteristic. To Arnim he wrote of Sophie:

Aber ich fand in ihr eine Güte, eine Unschuld, eine Menschlichkeit, die nur die Götter und die Kinder auf der Erde rein erhalten können. (57)

In the same letter he expressed admiration for Arnim's youthful spirit: 'In Dir ergötzt mich der ewige, unschuldige Jugendmut und er ist es, der mich so gewaltig zu Dir hinreißt'. (58) This quality of youthful innocence expressed in a perfect blend of nature and art drew Brentano to the folksong as it drew him to the folk-poetry of Goethe.

His literary studies during Arnim's absence bear witness to his growing interest in the folksong and in the literature of the past. Already quite an expert on 'Minnesang', he enjoyed collecting rare books and frequently commissioned Savigny or Winkelmann to make purchases on his behalf.

Arnim, meanwhile, was travelling in France and England. Though an equally avid reader, he was more concerned to widen his experience in the social and political realm. Disillusioned by the failure of revolutionary ideals in France, his patriotism grew, and when he describes a fellow-countryman, Count
Gustav von Schlabrendorf, the impression given is that here is the ideally fruitful life to which Arnim himself aspired:

Ein Mann, der wie ein Adler aus der Höhe das Kleinsten genau erkennt und im Kleinsten wie eine Pflanze das Mitwirken zum Allgemeinen wahrnimmt; ein Mann wie er sein muß, der sich dem Wirken ganz hingibt, sich willig im Zeugen vernichtet, im Leuchten verbrennt; ein heiliger Mann, in dem sich Idealität und Realität durchdringen; ein Phantast und ein schlichter Praktiker in gleich höher Bedeutung. (59)

Not surprisingly Arnim chose to unburden himself to this man concerning his plans for a folk-press in Germany. In spite of Brentano's fears that he had forgotten his earlier resolve, Arnim was quietly pondering his future usefulness to his 'holy fatherland'. (60)

During his remaining weeks in Paris and through contact with Count von Schlabrendorf, a convinced German patriot and an opponent of Napoleon, Arnim's awareness of the dangers facing Germany increased. Prior to his departure for England in June, he wrote to Brentano in serious vein:

Es ist jetzt eine harte Zeit, sie führt eine gewaltige Mörserkeule und stößt die Menschheit klein, und die Menschheit ist selbst schon so klein. Die Deutschen sitzen an ihrem Tische, wie Odysseus in seinem Hause, und lassen sich mit Kuhfüßen ins Gesicht werfen von den fremden Freiern, die an ihrem Tische zechen! Es ist ein böses Kirschenessen mit den Franzosen, sie werfen die Steine ins Gesicht. Mich schaudert vor dem allgemeinen Abgrund! (61)
His year-long stay in England, which included a three-month period of travelling around the country, brought many new experiences but left him with the overriding impression that the rise of capitalism had caused a corresponding growth of materialism:

Was sonst das Latein war, das ist jetzt das Geld geworden, man kommt damit durch die ganze Welt. Der Mensch gilt hier wie eine Kanone, wieviel Pfund er verschießen kann. Wie will ich die deutsche Erde küssen, da gilt noch etwas andres als Geld! (62)

The spring of 1804 was a time of uncertainty for Arnim. Upon his father's death in December 1803, his family had pressed him to return home and take up some permanent career.

Brentano was also unsettled. Sophie was expecting their first baby in May, but meanwhile their closest friends in Marburg, the university professors Friedrich Creuzer and Karl von Savigny, were on the point of leaving. (63) In his letter of condolence to Arnim, Brentano confessed to his continuing feelings of inadequacy as a poet in the contemporary cultural climate but also admitted to a sense of mission. This was prompted by the immediate need to help the cause of poetry by encouraging folk-poetry and by waging war against what he had earlier described as the prevailing destructive poetic pedantry. (64) He knew full well that he could not fight alone, however:
In dieser Zeit allein stehen zu können, heißt ein Riese sein, und ich glaube beinahe, man kann in unsern Tagen nicht dichten, man kann nur für die Poesie etwas thun. Der Dichter lebt wie in einer Wüste, die wilden Thiere fallen ihn an, denn alle kann man sie nicht zahm singen, und die Affen tanzen ihm nach. Lieber Arnim, ich fühle so einen treuen, guten, bescheidenen Muth, mich mit meinen Freunden, und das bist Du allein, zu vereinen und etwas zu beginnen, was unsre Zeit bedarf. (65)

But they did not stand alone. Tieck had already entered the fray with his edition of the Minnelieder aus dem schwäbischen Zeitalter, (66) and J.P. Hebel had published his Allemannische gedichte, (67) which Brentano prized for their simplicity. 'Es liegt etwas unbegreiflich Genialisches und Einfältiges in ihnen', he wrote to Arnim. (68)

Now was the time to act, he felt, and Tieck was the man to lead them in a venture of editing medieval poetry.

Arnim could no longer acquiesce unreservedly in his friend's plans, however. Because of family commitments and the need to support himself he had decided upon a journalistic career in Berlin, though his return there was delayed by serious illness until August 1804.

By this time Clemens was even more unsettled. His son had died within a few weeks of birth, and since their friends had deserted Marburg, the town held no further attraction. They decided to move to Heidelberg where Brentano hoped to recover...
his spirits and the desire to write, for Sophie had seemingly failed to provide the framework he needed. With all the more desperation he turned again to his faithful friend. His soul was bursting with literary schemes, he confessed pathetically to Arnim, but he lacked the motivation to accomplish them. Unable as ever to come to terms with present reality, he pinned all his hopes on their forthcoming reunion:

Ach Arnim, was wird Dein Umgang mich gut machen! Lieber Arnim, vielleicht gelingt es Dir, die Ruhe und Hoffnung in mir zu befestigen, die oft wie Abendrot und Mond in mir aufsteigen und niedersinken! (69)

On his eventual return to Berlin, Arnim decided to settle there permanently and was soon installed in new quarters. Clemens eagerly accepted Arnim's invitation to join him there, so convinced was he of the necessity of such a reunion. 'Du glaubst nicht,' he wrote to Arnim just prior to departure,

wie froh ich bin, bei Dir zu sein.
Der ganze poetische, unerschütterliche Plan meines Lebens muß von diesem Wiedersehen ausgehen; ich weiß vortreffliche Dinge, die zu tun sind, und welche zu vollbringen mit Deiner Hilfe ich fähig bin. (70)

Leaving Heidelberg at the end of October, he travelled first to Gotha where he took the opportunity of scouring the local library for old manuscripts, then on to Berlin where Arnim welcomed him into his own lodgings. Here, for five productive weeks, they
shared one another's recently amassed literary treasures, read and criticized each other's work, and discussed plans for the future. At the Pistors' home they enjoyed many pleasant evenings in the company of sympathetic friends, including Reichardt. They also visited Tieck in nearby Ziebingen, shared their plans with him and listened to his newly-begun translation of the Nibelungenlied. From hints given in later correspondence, it would seem that plans for Des Knaben Wunderhorn were laid in Berlin although there is no mention of any formal decision.

Brentano, however, was missing Sophie and his longing for her finally compelled him to return home. By New Year 1805 he was back in Heidelberg looking forward to the birth of his second child and to a projected spring reunion with Arnim. In the meantime, both were reading and collecting material for the poetic mission which was beginning to take shape in their minds.

The year 1805 was as momentous for them personally as it was for their nation. Hand in hand with their poetic aspirations went a growing awareness of the cultural and political needs of the day. Napoleon was steadily annexing German territory along the Rhine and destroying much of the national heritage in the process. He carried his offensive across Southern Germany until, at the battle of Austerlitz in December 1805, he defeated the combined forces of Austria and Russia. The Holy Roman Empire
had virtually ceased to exist and was formally dissolved by Emperor Francis II the following August.

A study of their correspondence during the early months of 1805 reveals that Arnim and Brentano, through a variety of means, were building up an impressive amount of material. They left no stone unturned in their search. Brentano missed no opportunity to acquire books through librarians, antiquarians, and friends like Savigny who was then in Paris. (72) No period of German literature was excluded: 'Minnesang', folksong, the poetry of the Baroque era and of the Reformation were all given consideration. Further help was received from folksong collectors of the older generation. (73)

In a letter of 15 February 1805 Brentano elaborated upon his idea of 'ein wohlfeiles Volksliederbuch ...welches das platte, oft unendlich gemeine Mildheimische Liederbuch unnötig mache'. (74) He saw the necessity for separate volumes for Southern and Northern Germany since their respective folksongs were so different, but Arnim must have convinced him later of the ideological undesirability of such a division. As regards its contents, Brentano conceived it thus:

Es muß so eingerichtet sein, daß kein Alter davon ausgeschlossen ist, es könnten die bessern Volkslieder drinne befestigt und neue hinzugedichtet werden. Ich bin versichert, es wäre viel mit zu wirken. (75)

Arnim’s reply suggests that he already expected their plan to go ahead: 'Über das Volksliederbuch, denke ich, sind wir lange einig'. (76) In fact, he had just formulated his own views on the folksong in an essay entitled Von Volksliedern, extracts from which were published by Reichardt in the Berlinische Musikalische Zeitung. (77)

In his next letter Brentano, now full of plans for the future, introduced a scheme which had been prompted by his recent reading of Otmar’s Volkssagen (78) to encourage the collection of saga and legend. (79) This is the first mention of a practical collecting method, the implementation of which will be documented in a later chapter. (80) Both projects were mentioned in a letter to Savigny about the same time:

Arnim trifft Ende Mai bei mir ein, wir wollen ein teutsches Volksgesangbuch ausführen, das an die Stelle des schlechten Mildheimischen treten soll. Auch habe ich das Projekt, ein Büro zur Rettung der vaterländischen historischen Sage zu errichten und in einem Zirkular die Prediger Deutschlands nach Distrikten hierhin abzuernten, aufzufordern. (81)

Arnim had shared his vision for the renewal of German national life and culture in his folksong essay; here Brentano voices his hopes and offers a means of realizing them.
The opportunity to implement the first of their objectives was finally granted them. At the end of April Brentano went to Frankfurt on family business; Sophie, nearing her confinement, accompanied him. She gave birth to a daughter on 13 May, but the child contracted scarlet fever and died shortly afterwards. Arnim arrived in time for the funeral. Returning to Heidelberg at the end of May the two friends immersed themselves in the work of compiling their song anthology. Brentano, who had long been looking forward to this moment, hoped for a re-enactment of their former happy interlude together on the Rhine, this time in the new setting on the Neckar.

The carefree enjoyment of former times was now clouded, however, by the increasing threat from Napoleon. There was a new urgency about their task as the very heritage they were seeking to preserve was being destroyed before their eyes. 'Stelle Dir vor,' Brentano had written to Arnim in February, 'die Franzosen verkaufen die alten Schlösser am Rhein um ein Lausegeld; Krämer verkaufen sie und lassen sie als Baumaterialien abbrechen.' (82) However deep his personal grief, Brentano found solace in his friend's company, in their shared task, and in the irresistible charm of Heidelberg in the springtime.

The work must have proceeded well, for by the end of June Brentano was able to report to Savigny:
The friends parted company in August. Arnim went to Frankfurt to supervise the printing while Brentano, suffering from rheumatism, left for Wiesbaden in the hope of finding some alleviation at the spa.

On their return to Heidelberg, Clemens and Sophie found the town full of French soldiers. Napoleon was preparing his attack on Austria as the proofs of the *Wunderhorn* were being revised, new songs added and an index made. The final product was ready for the Michaelmas book fair.

Both Arnim and Brentano were eager for a swift continuation of their work, while its political justification grew daily more apparent as Napoleon pursued his ruthless ambitions in Europe. After the defeat of Austria, Prussia was certain to be his next target, and Arnim, who had long foreseen the necessity of Prussia's entering the war, returned home in December 1805 with the intention of serving his country. Almost two years were to elapse before joint work on the anthology could be properly resumed.

* * * *
Notes

1. R. Steig, Achim von Arnim und die ihm nahestanden, 3 vols (Stuttgart, 1894-1913) I: Achim von Arnim und Clemens Brentano (Stuttgart, 1894), p. 35. (Hereafter Steig 1).


3. Steig 1, 180 (14 June 1806).


7. See G. Schaub, Le Genie Enfant: Die Kategorie des Kindlichen bei Clemens Brentano (Berlin and New York, 1973) for a fascinating insight into the significance of Brentano's childhood for his later life.


12. J. Janssen, Johann Friedrich Böhmers Leben, Briefe und Kleinere Schriften, 3 vols (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1863), 1, 102.


15. The circle centred on Caroline Schlegel's salon in Jena and included her husband, A.W. Schlegel, his brother Friedrich, Dorothea Veit, Ludwig Tieck, Fichte and Schelling.
16. Sb 1,18 (20 December 1798).


20. For a full exposition of Goethe's influence on Arnim, see H. Härtl, Arnim und Goethe (Diss., Halle/Saale, 1971).


22. Sb 1,298 (1 June 1806).


24. Georg Spangenberg and Professor Blumenbach were both keen collectors (see Appendix C, pp. 435 and 447). Blumenbach had amassed a sizeable collection of folksongs by 1799.

25. Goethe and Schiller sponsored a 'Dramatische Preisaufgabe' which they announced in their journal Propyläen, III, 2, pp. 169-71. Brentano wrote Ponce de Leon. Ein Lustspiel in the summer of 1801 but it was not published until 1804, by Dieterich of Göttingen.

26. Steig 1,32 (17 April 1802) and compare Goethe's poem, 'Der König in Thule'.

27. Steig 1,31 (New Year 1802).

28. Steig 1,31 (12 February 1802) and compare 'Vom Wasser und Wein', Wh II, 37f (FBA 7, 38f).

29. Steig 1,32 (6 March 1802).

30. ibid.

31. Steig 1,33 (17 April 1802).

32. Steig 1, 32: 'Ich habe es hier ganz gefühlt, welch ein freundschaftliches Silbenmaß in aller Natur ist, mit mannigfaltigen Reimen durchflogen.'

33. Steig 1, 35 (28 July 1802). The Ostein gets its name from Count Karl Maximilian von Ostein (1735-1809) who built a hunting lodge, Niederwald, high above the Rhine at Rüdesheim.


36. ibid. (FBA 8, 378). The quotation is from Goethe's Dichtung und Wahrheit, (1814) III, 14 and refers to his meeting with Jacobi in 1774.


38. Sb 1, 178 (February 1803).


40. Steig 1, 32 (17 April 1802).


43. Steig 1, 37-38 (9 July 1802).

44. Steig 1, 38.

45. ibid.

46. ibid.

47. Steig 1, 39.

48. ibid.

49. Härtl, op. cit. p. 369ff. The original manuscript is among Arnim's posthumous papers in the Zentralbibliothek der deutschen Klassik, Weimar, Signatur 226 u. 7.

50. ibid. p. 371.

51. ibid.

52. Sb 1, 125-28 (August 1802).

53. Sb 1, 210 (12 October 1803).

54. Sb 1, 205 (September 1803).

56. Sb 1, 185 (February/March 1803).
57. Sb 1, 216 (12 October 1803).
58. Sb 1, 222 (12 October 1803).
59. Steig 1, 68-69 (4 April 1803).
60. Steig 1, 69 (4 April 1803).
61. Steig 1, 94 (6 June 1803).
62. Steig 1, 108 (May 1803).
63. See Appendix C, p. 436 and p. 446.
64. Sb 1, 172 (February 1804).
65. Steig 1, 106 (2 April 1804).
66. L. Tieck, Minnelieder aus dem schwäbischen Zeitalter (Berlin, 1803).
67. J. P. Hebel, Allemannische Gedichte für Freunde ländlicher Natur und Sitten (Karlsruhe, 1803).
68. Sb 1, 221 (12 October 1803).
69. Sb 1, 244 (3 October 1804).
70. Sb 1, 247 (25 October 1804).
71. Karl Pistor (1778-1847) was a Privy Councillor who had studied with Brentano in Halle and was married to Charlotte Hensler, Reichardt's step-daughter.
73. See chapter two, pp. 73-83, and chapter five, pp. 327-32.
74. Sb 1, 274 (15 February 1805).
75. Sb 1, 275 (15 February 1805).
76. Steig 1, 134 (27 February 1805).
78. Otmar was the pseudonym of Superintendant J.K.C.
Nachtigall of Halberstadt. His Volkssagen
were published in 1800 by Wilmans of Bremen,
with additions in 1801 and 1802.

79. Sb 1, 278 (2 April 1805).

80. See chapter five, pp. 282-318.

81. UL, 337 (8 May 1805).

82. Sb 1, 272 (15 February 1805).

83. UL, 345 (June/July 1805).

* * * * *
CHAPTER TWO

The Social and Cultural Theories of Arnim and Brentano.

The impression gained from the developments recorded in the previous chapter is that while Arnim's social and political ideas matured as a result of his observation and experience of life from the standpoint of a committed German, Brentano's views grew out of his personal conflict with a society in which he felt himself to be a misfit. There is a sense, however, in which Arnim as well as Brentano was a voice crying in the wilderness. Their views on contemporary society and culture are formally rehearsed in two essays: Arnim's treatise Von Volksliedern was written in January 1805 and Brentano's diatribe against philistinism, entitled Der Philister vor, in und nach der Geschichte dates from 1811, although parts of it were conceived while he was still in Jena. (1)

The former must be considered the more important document as far as the present study is concerned, since it was incorporated in the first volume of Des Knaben Wunderhorn and therefore represents an official policy statement. The latter is interesting, however, in that it offers substantial corroboration of the criticisms expressed in the earlier essay and shows how much Brentano was in sympathy with the opinions of his friend. The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the criticisms voiced by Arnim and
Brentano and to relate them to the contemporary situation to which they were addressed. In view of its special significance to *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, the main emphasis will fall upon Arnim's essay.

* * * * *

This relatively short but powerful work constitutes Arnim's first public statement of an ideological position which he maintained all his life and which has direct bearing not only upon his editorial practice in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* but also upon his subsequent creative writing. Since his ideology is germane to the question of the reception and impact of the anthology, it will be necessary to examine his views in detail before proceeding to an analysis of their validity. The essay dates from January 1805 and therefore represents his considered opinions on contemporary society and the role of the folksong after fruitful discussion with Brentano, Reichardt, Tieck and other Berlin friends. Conceived initially as a preface to a joint poetry anthology which never materialized, the essay was also prompted by the reading of Otmar's *Volkssagen*. (2) Arnim commented modestly upon it to Brentano in April:

Mein Aufsatz über Volkslieder wird Dir gefallen. Ich dachte ihn als Vorrede unserer Liederbrüder für meinen Antheil als Entschuldigung und Rechtfertigung meiner geringen Gaben, als Aufforderung der Leser uns zu belehren mit dem, was sie wissen und wir nicht. (3)
The final version, which was appended to the first volume of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, was probably revised in July at the same time as Arnim wrote the *Nachschrift an den Leser*. (4) There it stands, not as an apology for his meagre talents, but as a glowing testimony to deeply-held convictions about culture and society in contemporary Germany.

The essay is addressed to Johann Friedrich Reichardt, who, in Arnim's eyes, was unique among contemporary musicians in his espousal of the folksong cause. It is both a panegyric upon the folksong and its life-renewing powers and also a vigorous and frequently scathing critique of contemporary German society, indeed a denunciation of the cultural landslide which had taken place in Western Europe since the end of the Middle Ages.

Arnim's introductory comments on the nature of our appreciation of the folksong anticipate much modern folksong theory. The genuine folksong, he suggests, is the product of the deepest level of human experience and therefore elicits a correspondingly profound response from us. Folksongs alone become embedded in our consciousness because only they possess a total appropriateness of words to music. Their effect upon the listener is unforgettable. Speaking of his own day Arnim laments the fact that prevailing taste opted for shallow words to singable tunes. Thus the true folksong, once such an integral part of life, had gradually been
supplanted by a proliferation of popular songs in which genuine feeling had been replaced by a sentimental veneer merely concealing an emotional vacuum beneath. The consequences for cultural life were devastating:

Standards had slipped so much that people could no longer discriminate between good and bad, genuine and artificial. The public had been conditioned to accept sentimentality in place of deep human experience, not just in Germany but all over Europe.

Having thus briefly outlined the nature and the extent of the harm done to cultural life, Arnim closes his introduction with a moving lament and commits himself to the task of reversing this regrettable trend:

O mein Gott, wo sind die alten Bäume, unter denen wir noch gestern ruhten, die uralten Zeichen fester Grenzen, was ist damit geschehen, was geschieht? Fast vergessen sind sie schon unter dem Volke, schmerzlich stoßen wir uns an ihren Wurzeln. Ist der Scheitel hoher Berge nur einmal ganz abgeholzt, so treibt der Regen die Erde hinunter, es wächst da kein Holz wieder. Daß Deutschland nicht so weit verwirtschaftet werde, sey unser Bemühen. (6)
As far as Arnim and Brentano were concerned, the current situation was grave enough to warrant immediate and drastic action. This is the raison d'être of Des Knaben Wunderhorn. Using a different image, Arnim justifies their enterprise in similar terms in his Nachschrift an den Leser:

Wär ich ein Bienenvater, ich würde sagen, es war der letzte Bienenstock, er wollte eben wegschwärmen, es hat uns wohl Mühe gemacht, ihn im alten Hause zu sammeln, bewahrt ihn, stört ihn nicht, genießt seines Honigs wie recht. (7)

The main section of the essay introduces in enthusiastic, vigorous, but none too coherent argument, a critique of contemporary society based on the view that present ills derived from the disruption of the organic development of national history and culture. Folksong, Arnim argues, is both an expression of the true 'Ton' which finds an echo everywhere and is the primary means of uniting people, whatever their class. Indeed, all true art is similarly the product of such a synthesis and itself possesses synthesizing power:

Wo etwas lebt, da dringt es doch zum Ganzen, das eine ist Blüte das andre Blat, das dritte seine schmierige Wurzelfasern, alle drey müssen vorhanden seyn, auch die saubern Früchtchen, die abfallen. (8)

The prevailing attitude to art and society had driven a wedge, however, between the upper classes and the
rest of the people. Arnim illustrates this problem with reference to the contemporary theatre and to the use of language. The continuous tradition had been broken, he maintains, because contemporary artists had deliberately divorced themselves from the mainstream of ordinary life and wrote exclusively for the entertainment of the upper classes. This self-imposed limitation he calls 'das Tugendprincip der Schwachheit'. (9) Art produced on this basis would never rise to truly great heights but would simply be fashionable entertainment for the few. He reminds such artists that the great masters of the past were artisans.

As far as language was concerned, the same regrettable trend was reflected in the determination to avoid dialect on the one hand, and to cultivate a refined, elegant style on the other which had resulted in mediocrity and impoverishment, because artists had severed themselves from the source of truly living language:

Hinter dem vornehmen Anstande, hinter der vornehmen Sprache versteckt, scheidet sie sich von dem Theile des Volks, der allein noch die Gewalt der Begeisterung ganz und unbeschränkt ertragen kann, ohne sich zu entladen, in Nullheit oder Tollheit. (10)

As a result of constant exposure to the banality of the contemporary theatre and concert repertoire, the public was no longer able to respond to genuine expressions of the human spirit. By contrast, the art of the day was merely a diversion, a superfluous luxury which would
leave no lasting mark upon society because it was not
born of vital necessity and activity: 'Kunst wendet
sich selten mit der Noth unsrer Zeit zu einer reinen
Thätigkeit, sie ist fast nie nothwendig, sondern den
meisten eine böse Angewohnheit'. (11)

Whence came this degeneration in German culture?
Arnim suggests that the reasons lie in history:

Zunächst hängt wohl dieses Herabsinken
schönerer Bildung mit einer allgemeinen
großen Erscheinung der vorigen Jahrhunderte
zusammen, ich meine mit dem allgemeinen
Klage- und Elend-Wesen. (12)

He proceeds to elaborate his central thesis that
folksong goes hand in hand with corporate activity;
the decline of the latter in his own day was mirrored
in the decline of the former. The Thirty Years' War
had left in its wake a political fragmentation and a
general social malaise which governments had under-
estimated. Instead of setting higher goals for the
people and encouraging participation in the machinery
of government, they had hidden the processes of
statecraft from the people with the result that there
was increasing and wide-spread alienation:

Die Spaltung war gemacht, der Keil
eingetrieben, bald sollte der Staat
nicht mehr für die Einwohner, sondern
als Idee vorhanden seyn, manches Volk
kannte seinen eigenen Namen nicht mehr,
und wo ein Staat sich selbst geboren,
da sah man, daß die andern eigentlich
nur noch Namen waren. (13)
The overall effect upon society had been debilitating: the quality of life as experienced by the individual and by the community was impoverished; people had lost any sense of purpose and joy in their work; morale sunk to a new low ebb as previous life-promoting values were reduced to concepts of duty, utility and material advantage. Social harmony had given way to a new, counter-productive class consciousness:

Kein Stand meinte, daß er wie die Früchte der Erde durch sein nothwendiges Entstehen trefflich gut sey, sondern durch einige Taufformeln vom Zweck ihres Geschäfts. So wollte der Adel das Blut verbessern, die Kaufleute bildeten sich ein, eigentlich nur zur sittlichen Kultur der Welt zu gehören, die Grübelnden, in ihren Worten sey Seligkeit, die aber alles verachteten, meinten es besonders getroffen zu haben. (14)

The effect of this general phenomenon on the folksong had been disastrous: it was virtually extinct in some places and totally degraded in others.

Arnim makes much of the wedge that had been driven between 'Freude und Bedürfnis' and the ensuing poverty of life in all levels of society. (15) The new priorities which, for instance, insisted on the curtailment of journeymen's travels, of military service and of educational trips abroad, had had a detrimental effect upon national identity. The decline in folk festivals, changes in educational practice and new emphases in religious teaching had conspired to all but extinguish
'Lust des Lebens'. (16) The breakdown of traditional social structures had affected not only individual security but local and national cohesiveness:

Immer nur die Sucht der Bösen die Welt sich, und alles der Nichtswürdigkeit in der Welt gleich zu machen, alles aufzulösen, was enger als ein umzäundes Feld, an den Boden des Vaterlandes bindet, der Gedanke, es ist derselbe Boden, auf dem wir in Lust gesprungen. Wer so denkt, wird fest und herrlich sich und seinen Nachkommen bauen, wem aber die Baukunst fehlt, dem fehlt ein Vaterland. (17)

Socially and spiritually the inner life of the people had been undermined almost to the point of extinction, and because there was no longer any real community life there was also no real art. And yet the artist's role in society was potentially an exceedingly fruitful one:

Wisset, Künstler sind nur in der Welt, wenn sie ihr nothwendig, ohne Volks-thätigkeit ist kein Volkslied und selten eine Volkstätigkeit ohne dieses, es hat jede Kraft ihre Erscheinung, und was sich vordergehend in der Handlung zeigt, das zeigt in der Kunst seine Dauer beym müssigen Augenblicke. Kritik ist dann ganz unmöglich, es gibt nur Bessermachen und Anerkennen, nichts ganz Schlechtes; unendlich viel lässt sich dann in der Kunst thun, wenig darüber sagen denn sie spricht zu allen und in allen wieder, kein Vorwurf ist dann das Gemeine, so wenig es den Wäldern Vorwurf, daß sie alle grün, denn das Höchste, das Schaffende wird das Gemeinste, der Dichter ein Gemeingeist, ein spiritus familiaris in der Weltgemeine. -- (18)
The note of optimism which Arnim introduces here asserts itself even more explicitly as he concludes with a panegyric upon the vitality of the folksong and with a reiteration of his personal confidence that there is hope for the future. He feels certain that the tide must turn, or to use his own image, that the wintry ice which had held German culture in its grip for so long was about to thaw; the nation was on the threshold of a new springtime. Furthermore, the lessons of history gave substance to his belief:

Was ich hoffe ist kein leerer Traum,  
die Geschichte hat es so oft bewährt,  
wie das reine Streben der Menschen in gewissen Perioden siegend und singend hervortritt, Kunstwerke gefunden, erfunden und höher verstanden werden! (19)

He detects indications of this imminent springtime in the many contexts where the folksong was still an integral part of the living tradition: among gatherings of Germans abroad, among freemasons and students, sentries and soldiers. Quoting Zinkgref's song from the Thirty Years' War, Arnim compares the freedom and force of its language with the sterility of present-day German. (20) Sadly, he reports, songs of this kind had been forgotten by the people as a whole and remained of academic interest only. Nevertheless, he is pleased to note the preservation of much of the old heritage through the efforts of men like Tieck and, with reservations, Friedrich Nicolai. (21) He blames the scholars for trying to systematize language and argues that, until it is allowed to develop freely once again,
the nation will not produce folksongs. His romantically conceived missionary vision for the future is a process of reconciliation and synthesis, a healing of divisions and a restoration of harmony:

He concludes with a brief but wide-ranging survey of the natural contexts of the folksong, from the Danube to the Rhine. Recalling his personal experience of the living tradition in the company of Brentano he cannot help but feel that Germany is on the brink of a new birth. The means of regeneration would be living art, rooted in the life of the people and binding them together, as had been the case in the past. Simple art had succeeded where sophisticated art had failed, and the lesson Arnim draws from history is that the individual artist must be the servant of, and mouthpiece for, the community:

Wer nicht das Höchste will, kann auch das Kleinste nicht; wer nur für sich schafft in stolzer Gleichgültigkeit, ob es einer fasse und trage, wie soll er andre erfassen und ergreifen; wer nur um jenes Völkchen buhlt, das immer läuft und klappert, sich immer was zu sagen hat und eigentlich nie etwas sagt; sie gleiten beide ab, nicht weil die Welt wirklich Eis, sondern weil sie die beiden Eispole aufsuchen. -- (23)
On the other hand, anyone is an artist, 'der das mittheilen kann, was ihm eigenthümlich im All, die andern zu erklären'. (24) The height of achievement is represented in Arnim's view by the poet who is sensitive to his people:

Jeder kann da, was sonst nur wenigen aus eigner Kraft verliehen, mächtig in das Herz der Welt rufen, er sammelt sein zerstreutes Volk, wie es auch getrennt durch Sprache, Staatsvorurtheile, Religionsirrtümern und müßige Neuigkeit, singend zu einer neuen Zeit unter seiner Fahne. (25)

This is the heart of Arnim's ambitions for his people. Des Knaben Wunderhorn was conceived as a sample, a modest contribution to this task, based on the two-fold conviction of the necessity for continuity in the living, native tradition on the one hand, and of the indestructibility of the creative life-force on the other which will ultimately reassert itself even in the most sterile of contexts:

Was da lebt und wird, und worin das Leben haftet, das ist doch weder von heute, noch von gestern, es war und wird und wird seyn, verlieren kann es sich nie, denn es ist, aber entfallen kann es für lange Zeit, oft wenn wir es brauchen, recht eifrig ihm nachsinnen und denken. Es gibt eine Zukunft und eine Vergangenheit des Geistes, wie es eine Gegenwart des Geistes gibt, und ohne jene, wer hat diese? (26)
While Arnim's essay treats ostensibly of the folksong, he ranges over issues of a significance wider than the purely aesthetic, and in so doing, places himself among the successors of Johann Gottfried Herder, the first German to use the folksong to illustrate an ideological position. Herder's influence upon Arnim will be considered in due course; here it suffices to say that if, as O. Bollnow maintains, Herder was one of the founding fathers of 'Lebensphilosophie', then Arnim undoubtedly was his child. (27) 'Leben' is the chief criterion by which Arnim assesses any culture or society. Both his philosophy of life and his view of art hinge upon the concept of vitality, for he argues that the degree to which a society is alive is reflected in its culture: 'ohne Volkstätigkeit ist kein Volkslied und selten eine Volkstätigkeit ohne dieses'. (28)

A fundamental equation may thus be extrapolated from Arnim's critique of his own society in Von Volksliedern, namely, where there is life there is health and wholeness, creativity and vigour. This applies equally to the individual, to the community, to the nation and to its culture. Furthermore, since the folksong is essentially an expression of these characteristics of life, Arnim argues for a close correlation between the degree of a society's vitality and the degree of its response to the folksong. Applying this principle to his own day, Arnim is forced to the conclusion that whereas the Germany of the
Middle Ages possessed all the marks of vigorous life, his own society was sadly lacking in true vitality by comparison. This was reflected not only in its inability to respond to the folksong but also in other social and cultural manifestations: in language and art, educational practice, political inertia, lack of national identity, class-consciousness, sentimentality and materialism.

The reason for this regrettable state of affairs lay, in Arnim's view, in the severance of contemporary society from its native tradition and in its failure to build creatively on the past. In order to go forward once again, Germany needed first to go back, to restore the connexion with her living tradition and to rediscover her true identity. The folksong, in so far as it expressed Germany's own authentic culture, was the best means of making this connexion. Arnim viewed the folksong as the most powerful expression of, and emanation from, the fundamental creative impulse which breaks out throughout history in different forms. It expresses itself variously according to historical context, but this in no way violates the integrity and power of the poetic impulse behind it. Thus Arnim writes of the Scottish bards: 'wer dichtete, dem war dies Natur und Leben, wobey er keine Gesichter schnit '. (29) The medium and the message matched perfectly, for form and content
fused together in a natural expression of the spirit of life. (30)

In conclusion, a medical analogy serves to isolate the two uses to which Arnim puts the folksong. On the one hand, the response which it evokes could be used like a thermometer to measure the degree of health and vitality: this is the message of *Von Volksliedern*. On the other hand, the folksong in its own right as an expression of national health and wholeness was the therapy which a sick society needed in order to be restored to full health: this is the conviction which prompted *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, as Eichendorff perceived:

Die gesinnungskranke Zeit, mit den widersprechendsten Medikamenten künstlich überfüttert, konnte nur im stärkenden Luftbad auf den heimatlichen Höhen genesen; von innen heraus allmählich und allmächtig wachsend, mußte erst die Sitte sich wiederherstellen, auf der allein die Rettung stand. Und in diesem Sinne, um dieses Heimweh und jenen Gedanken rechter Baukunst im Volke wieder zu wecken, unternahm er (Arnim) 'Des Knaben Wunderhorn', den fast verschollenen Klang der Herderschen Volksstimmen vertiefend, indem er ihn auf Deutschland konzentrierte. (31)

In thus using the folksong both as a diagnostic aid and as a means of treating sickness in German society and culture, Arnim was a true successor to Herder. In other respects, however, he distanced himself from his famous predecessor and introduced ideas of his own which were derived from first-hand experience of life and which crystallized in the
face of the political exigencies of his day. Nevertheless, Arnim would have been the first to agree with Goethe's comment to Eichstädt:

Das Wunderhorn, das ich sehr schätze, ist keineswegs unmittelbar und augenblicklich aus dem Boden entsprungen. Es geziemte denen, die sich mit solchen Dingen abgeben, die Geschichte solcher Erscheinungen zu erforschen. (32)

Having looked, therefore, at the skeleton of Arnim's ideology, the attempt must now be made to clothe it with historical flesh. Arnim himself facilitates this task by providing helpful data in his footnotes and acknowledgements. From these it is possible to trace the important influences upon the development of his thinking as well as to identify his distinctive contribution to the ideological debate which had been initiated by Hamann and Herder some thirty years previously.

It has been shown that Arnim's social criticism evolved as a result of experiences of various societies during his grand tour, viewed from the perspective of a Prussian patriot in a context of growing political danger. The values which he had inherited from the social and political tradition in which he grew up, and which had then been modified through contact with other social classes and ideologies, he now sought to translate into a practical course of action. Though frequently at odds with the values of his contemporaries, Arnim was far from being a conservative
reactionary who longed for the good old days of the German past. Rather, his concern was for a better future and he criticized those who resisted change: 'Die meisten Leute in Deutschland bleiben in der Vorzeit bei einem Punkte stehen,' he wrote to Brentano in 1806, 'fortlebend denken wenige'. (33) His commitment was determined partly by his background and partly by an idealism which transcended the immediate political crisis in its affirmation of the universal principle of life. In this concern for the whole of life and the wholeness of man, of society and of culture, Arnim was a successor to Herder and the Classical view of life.

Yet his social criticism was not merely idealistic; it had both a prophetic and a practical aspect. Arnim was not an armchair critic but a practising poet. His insights cannot be compared with the erudite, intellectual theories of the Schlegel brothers, for example. He laid no claim to the title of 'Gelehrter' nor could he boast the encyclopaedic knowledge of his scholarly predecessor, Herder. Rather, he was first and foremost a man of action who resisted the office of criticism unless it was allied to some constructive end. This positive attitude arose partly from his conviction that privilege brings responsibility but also from the traditional Junker view that too much learning tended to inhibit action. Action, for Arnim,
meant decisive intervention to save German culture, hence *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* and the *Zeitung für Einsiedler*, and the active propagation of positive social, moral and political values which he achieved through journalism and in creative writing.

It is in this essentially practical as well as prophetic ministry on behalf of his nation that Arnim is to be distinguished from his fellow practitioners in the field of 'Kulturkritik'. In this respect, he was as much a pioneer as Herder had been before him.

Nevertheless, his social and cultural criticism owes a great deal to predecessors, as is apparent from his acknowledgements in *Von Volksliedern*. From these it is possible to draw up two main battle lines, though the distinctions between them are not always clear-cut, and Arnim is always generous in according praise where appropriate, even to his opponents. In terms of ideological polemics the battle raged between the popular rationalist philosophy of the late Enlightenment and what may for convenience be called the new romantic philosophy of life. (34) In terms of the protagonists involved, it was a battle between Friedrich Nicolai, Rudolf Zacharias Becker, and other pedagogues of their ilk, and Hamann, Herder, and their disciples, especially Ludwig Tieck and Goethe. Though the battle was fundamentally a general ideological one, folk-poetry was a specific target to attack, in that it brought numerous major issues into sharp focus: it raised questions about the nature of man and society, the
nature of human creativity, history and culture. Controversy on these matters raged steadily from the 1770s onwards and was still raging at the time of the publication of Des Knaben Wunderhorn.

It is difficult to assess how much of Arnim's thinking is specifically indebted to Hamann and Herder. Hamann is nowhere mentioned in the essay and Herder only briefly, but in general terms Arnim's debt to them is clear, for they were the first to take issue with the dominant rationalist philosophy of life and art as practised by the Berlin school whose chief spokesman was Friedrich Nicolai. (35) Led by him, the group sought in the 1760s to implement the philosophy of Christian Wolff and his disciples in a practical and popular way. (36) In positive terms this meant that their efforts were directed towards the general education of the reason of the citizen with a view to reforming society according to rationalist dogma. In negative terms it meant that they were committed to combatting ecclesiastical and hierarchical despotism, bigotry and superstition. The result was a practical philosophy of life designed to foster middle-class initiative, a rational religion which freed morality from theology, and a system of the arts which left out of account any idea of artistic expression but imposed rules according to dogma. Language suffered a similar subjugation to rationalist theory in that dialects were erased for the sake of a uniform German language, as indeed were all vestiges of folk literature and
belief. During the last decades of the eighteenth century the Berlin school still exercised a powerful influence, though the positive achievements of the group had given way by this time to a fixation, on Nicolai's part at least, that his views were normative. In setting himself up as a rigid arbiter of good taste and common sense, Nicolai proved that he had outlived his time and exposed himself to justifiable ridicule. Ludwig Tieck, who grew up in the heavy rationalist atmosphere of Berlin and was dominated by Nicolai during the early part of his career, well describes the situation in his preface to the second edition of William Lovell:

Die erste Jugend des Verfassers fällt in jene Jahre, als nicht nur in Deutschland, sondern im größten Teil der kultivirten Welt der Sinn für das Schöne, Hohe und Geheimnisvolle entschlummert oder erstorben schien. Eine seichte Aufklärungssucht hatte sich der Herrschaft bemächtigt, und das Heilige als einen leeren Traum darzustellen versucht. Gleichgültigkeit gegen Religion nannte man Denkfreiheit, gegen das Vaterland, (welches freilich zu verschwinden drohte), Kosmopolitismus. Ein seichtes populäres Gespräch sollte die Stelle der Philosophie vertreten, ... Selbst die Poesie, in welche das Gemüt sich hätte retten können, lag erstorben, und seelenlosen Mißverständ entspann nur aus den Werken des Altertums ein unnützes Gewebe von Worten und schiefen Regeln, die endlich die Welt in den Tempel des Götzen, der angebetenen Korrektheit, führen sollte. ... Was wir mit dem Worte Aufklärung bezeichnen, im schlimmen oder tadelnden Sinn, war von Berlin aus vorzüglich verbreitet worden, jene Seichtigkeit, die ohne Sinn für Tiefe und Geheimnis alles, was sie nicht fassen konnte und wollte, vor den Richterstuhl des sogenannten gesunden Menschenverstandes zog. (37)
The 'shallow popular debate' of which Tieck speaks had reduced a full-blooded rationalist philosophy to a code of practice which governed all aspects of culture, morality and social structures with a rigidity which was resulting in atrophy. Starting from the thesis that man is the highest rational being on earth, the Enlightenment view of life posited the progressive perfectibility of man and society according to a code of behaviour, dictated by reason, which regulated not only public morality and duty, education and aesthetics, but even the private life of the individual, his emotional responses and inner development. The emphasis on form, good taste, correctness of behaviour, right thinking, moral obligation and the importance of leading a socially useful life tended towards a stultifying orthodoxy which, in setting up a blueprint for the ideal citizen, militated against any real development of the individual. The result was a superficial uniformity of life and art, as all irregularities were erased and the individual was virtually indoctrinated with rationalist values.

The reign of reason also gave rise to the sentimentality which Arnim deplores in *Von Volksliedern* as Enlightenment man was encouraged to divorce his emotional life from his powers of reason. Having been taught to make all other aspects of his personality subservient to his cognitive faculty, he was to impose Rationalist values upon his feelings in the pursuit of true morality. To assist him in this endeavour, the pedagogues of the late Enlightenment flooded the book
market with appropriate didactic material, mainly in the form of 'moral weeklies' and sentimental novels in which sin was punished and virtue rewarded. Gustav Freytag well describes this tendency towards self-examination, in which all indulged with true delight, as a process of 'observing the tears on their own cheek'. (38) It was contrived, induced artificially and therefore shallow.

In the late 1750s and early 1760s, a stout resistance movement began to develop, initiated by Hamann and continued by Herder. Hamann both rebelled against the tyranny of reason and pioneered a new approach to man and society. In place of the rigid categorization imposed by the all-powerful faculty of reason, Hamann argued for the rehabilitation of feeling and for a new doctrine of man in which all aspects of human nature were given equal value and together formed a composite whole. Goethe sums up Hamann's basic philosophy as deriving from one fundamental principle:

Das Prinzip, auf welches die sämtlichen Äußerungen Hamanns sich zurückführen lassen, ist dieses: 'Alles, was der Mensch zu leisten unternimmt, es werde nun durch Tat oder Wort oder sonst hervorgebracht, muß aus sämtlichen vereinigten Kräften entspringen; alles Vereinzelte ist verwerflich.' Eine herrliche Maxime! aber schwer zu befolgen. (39)

In so doing, Hamann laid his axe to the root of the Enlightenment philosophy of life. Man could
not by the power of objective reasoning stand, as it were, on the sidelines of life and dictate its processes as if he were supreme arbiter; rather, man was rooted in a natural and historical context where he functioned as a totality. There was no universally valid blueprint for man, art or society, for any imposed uniformity destroyed the rich variety and diversity of nature. Poetry, according to Hamann, was as natural to man as language itself, therefore to insist upon rules of artistic production was heresy to him. (40)

Hamann's fructifying influence upon Herder resulted in further clarification of these new concepts of man and society, of the processes of human creativity and human history. The initial reaction of Hamann's young disciples was to swing to the opposite extreme and exalt individual freedom and creativity where the Enlightenment had exalted reason. During the 'Geniezeit' of the 1770s, this assertion of the individual reached its peak, but was later modified by the mature Herder and by his disciple, Goethe, to a more balanced ideal of man as a harmonious being within himself and at one with society.

It was during the 1770s that Herder, and, fired by him, Goethe, came to recognize that the folksong represented the genuine expression of man's fundamental nature. Here was the product of an earlier age in which man was still whole, his faculties all perfectly integrated: natural man as distinct from so-called civilized man. This was man as he should be: truly
alive, spontaneous in his responses to the world around him, intuitive rather than self-consciously reflective, and whose artistic utterances, therefore, were the natural and inevitable product of his experience, having a form which was entirely consonant with content. Herein lies the crucial difference between rationalist and romantic man, and between rationalist and romantic aesthetics: the former standpoint emphasizes the organizing power of reason to determine what man, society, language and art ought to be, applying absolute criteria and imposing a form from without; the latter, by contrast, asserts the principle of inherent vitality expressing itself variously in history in a form which is relative but always appropriate to context and content. Rationalist art is made or manufactured; romantic art is created by an organic process, just as life itself and all history is a process of constant flux and evolution. The same is true of language and society. In the rationalist understanding of life a universal standard could be applied, but from Hamann and Herder onwards, their development was viewed as conditional upon historical context. In short, where rationalism insisted upon the law of reason and its enactment to the very letter, romanticism asserted the law of life and its interpretation according to the spirit.

From the foregoing analysis, it is easy to see how the folksong became the target for attack on the one hand, and was held up as the model for human expression on the other.
Where did Arnim stand in these polemics? Ideologically speaking he was convinced of the rightness of the new philosophy of Hamann and Herder, especially as he saw it practised by Goethe and Tieck, and was implacably opposed to the Berlin school. As far as the folksong was concerned, however, he was prepared to overlook ideological differences where the best interests of folk-poetry were served. Thus he is neither wholly condemnatory of Nicolai and the rationalists, nor unreservedly in favour of the efforts of Herder. His greatest respect is reserved for those who, in some senses, have a foot in both camps, Reichardt, Elwert and Gräter, and for the one who towers above both, Goethe.

Writing about folk-poetry in 1809, Bernhard Docen states that the controversy over the value of the German folksong began thirty-three years previously, that is to say in 1776. (41) This was the year in which Gottfried Bürger published his Herzensausgüß über Volkspoesie. (42) Herder had in fact already broached the subject in his essay on Ossian in Von deutscher Art und Kunst, and added further fuel to the fire by publishing a collection of folksongs in 1778-79. (43) Meanwhile, however, in his determination to stem the rising tide of folksong enthusiasm, Friedrich Nicolai produced an Almanach of folksongs which was intended to ridicule Herder and Bürger. (44) It was not the
folksong as such that he objected to, but the mania for adapting and translating which was a feature of the 'Sturm und Drang' decade. Arnim, with his usual generosity, was prepared to concede praise for the Almanach, and indeed found it an invaluable source book for his own anthology, but he censured Nicolai for 'die angehefteten schlechten Spässe, wunderliche Schreibart und Ironie gegen Herder' which spoilt its effect. (45) Arnim's criticisms were possibly tempered by the fact that Nicolai's musical collaborator in the venture was none other than Reichardt, whose later influence upon Arnim was strong and who was even considered as a potential co-worker on the Wunderhorn project. (46) As the dedicatee of Von Volksliedern he merits particular attention.

Already an established composer and journalist, 'Kapellmeister' to two successive Prussian princes, this well-known personality had set himself up at a country estate near Halle in 1794, provisionally for a three-year leave of absence from the Prussian court. The Giebichenstein years (he stayed there until 1806) saw Reichardt at his most influential as he entertained there most of the important literary and intellectual figures of the day. His son-in-law, Henrik Steffens, records of him:

Both Arnim and Brentano visited Giebichenstein while students at the University of Halle and were greatly stimulated by their contact not only with Reichardt's large and lively family, but with his numerous eminent guests. The atmosphere at Giebichenstein furthered their burgeoning interest in folksong, for hardly a day went by without music and singing, as Steffens recalls:

Reichardt hatte seinem Kutscher und seinem Bedienten Unterricht geben lassen im Waldhornblasen, seine Töchter bildeten zusammen Gesangchöre, die in ihrer einfachen Weise großen Eindruck machten. Nicht allein um das Clavier versammelt hörte man sie gerne singen. Wenn, oft an schönen lauen und stillen Sommerabenden, die alten wehmütigen, lyrischen deutschen Gesänge, von dem Waldhorn begleitet, in dem stillen Garten erklangen, war der Eindruck hinreißend. (48)

It is not surprising that both Arnim and Brentano were glad to return there whenever possible. (49)

Why did Arnim consider Reichardt to have done more for the folksong than any other living artist? As a youth Reichardt had come under the influence of Hamann and Kant in his home town, Königsberg, and later assimilated the teaching of Herder and Rousseau. His mature position was somewhere between the entrenched Enlightenment of Berlin and the Romanticism of the younger generation. From the former he gained the principles of popular philosophy and the musical training which equipped him to write songs in the service of same: 'rational Faßbares und für Jedermann leicht zugänglich'. (50) But he deepened the meaning
of this philosophy under the influence of Hamann and Herder, and came to recognize the power of the folksong not merely to buttress rationalist morality but to foster in man a richer inner experience which would, in turn, create a better, more truly human society. Like Herder before him and Arnim after him, he saw the necessity for, and the possibility of, cultural regeneration through the folksong:

(Volkslieder) sind wahrlich das, worauf der wahre Künstler, der die Irrwege seiner Kunst zu ahnden anfängt, wie der Seemann auf der Polarstern, achtet, und woher er am meisten für seinen Gewinn beobachtet. (51)

In trying to practise what he preached, Reichardt produced several collections of songs 'im Volkston' by which the benefit of simple but good songs could be infiltrated into wider circles and thus encourage higher standards in art. It is precisely in this sense that Schulz, whom Arnim also mentions in his essay, justifies his settings of the best poetry of his day. In the preface to the first part of his Lieder im Volkston of 1785, Schulz states:

Und das ist doch der Endzweck des Liederkomponisten, wenn er seinem einzigen rechtmäßigen Vorsatz bey dieser Kompositionsgattung, gute Liedertexte allgemein bekannt zu machen, getreu bleiben will. Nicht seine Melodien, sondern durch sie sollen blos die Worte des guten Lieder-dichters allgemein und durch den Gesang erhöhte Aufmerksamkeit erregen, leichtem Eingang zum Gedächtnis und zum Herzen finden, zum öfteren Wiederholen derselben Lust erwecken, und so mit dem Reize des Gesanges verbunden ein schätzbarer Beytrag zu den Annehmlich- keiten der Gesellschaft und des menschlichen Lebens werden. (52)
The didactic tendency of the Enlightenment is here undisguised, but although Arnim may have quibbled with some of the values Schulz was trying to inculcate, he nevertheless applauded his endeavours as a step in the right direction. Arnim had to admit, in Von Volksliedern, that Schulz's melodies 'sind nicht ohne Beystand gewesen gegen das damalige Streben zu Krankheit und Vernichtung (die Sentimentalität), es war doch darin ein wahrer Ton, wie im derben Lachen aus Herzensgrund'. (53) That was what mattered to Arnim, and the fact that Reichardt and Schulz spread such music throughout middle-class society was all to their credit.

This pedagogic ambition was institutionalized to some extent by the popular educationalists in the form of 'Singschulen' and by introducing singing lessons into schools. Reichardt, Schubart and Horstig, to name but three advocates of the pedagogic value of the folksong, are also represented in Des Knaben Wunderhorn, and it is not without significance that the warmest response to the anthology came from teachers and pastors of their generation. (54) That Arnim, too, was concerned for general education is apparent from his plan for a 'Sprach- und Singschule', and it must have gladdened his heart later to hear songs from Des Knaben Wunderhorn arranged for choir by Karl Zelter and sung at the latter's Berlin 'Liedertafel'. (55)

In one other important respect, Reichardt must be considered a significant supporter of the folksong, namely, in his personal collecting and researches.
On his many travels he noted down folksongs in country areas and often published them in his musical journals. His interests, like Herder's, were cosmopolitan and his procedures strict: unlike Arnim and Brentano he was generally reluctant to make alterations, believing that:

Charakteristische Nationalmusik muß ... ohne alle Umänderungen bekannt gemacht werden, so nur hat sie, wenigstens für den Forscher, einen reellen Wert. (56)

Arnim the man of action valued Reichardt as a man, above all, who practised what he preached. Brentano, too, recognized his good intentions, but was perhaps more discerning than Arnim in his assessment of the older man's ambivalence towards the folksong. His comments in letters to Arnim show an acute perception of Reichardt's strengths and weaknesses. In 1805 he wrote:

Reichardts Manier ist mir selbst nicht die liebste: in seiner Einfachheit liegt zu viel Bewußtsein, in seiner Erfindung zu viel Bekanntes, in seiner Unschuld zu viel Absicht. (57)

Paradoxically, Brentano's verdict could with equal justification be pronounced upon much Romantic folksong writing, including some of his own folksong adaptations. The reason for Reichardt's failure, however, lay in the fact that he was too bound by his rationalist background ever to identify completely with the new Romantic aesthetics, as Brentano saw:
Er ist zwar im leichten Artigen, was die Liederspiele beweisen, nicht ohne Talent, im Romantischen aber ohne alles. Überhaupt fühle ich, daß schon aus seiner Ansicht der Poesie hervorgeht, daß seine Musik den neuen romantischen Schritt nicht machen wird. (58)

Nevertheless, his influence upon Arnim and Brentano should not be underestimated; in his advice and contributions to their anthology he proved an invaluable friend, but his general influence, especially upon Arnim, was even more pervasive. Reichardt was in many ways representative of his generation of folksong enthusiasts: by training a man of the Enlightenment, yet with a strong sympathy for the aspirations of the younger generation; a man with a foot in both camps, yet, in his own practice, identifying more with the values of the old school than the new. To his younger friends he passed on a conviction about the regenerative power of the folksong for both art and society and set an example in his tireless efforts to implement his beliefs in journalism and composition alike. The living embodiment of his convictions in his home and family life was a powerful witness to their validity, so that W. Salmen is right in speaking of Giebichenstein as 'eine der Wiegestätten' of Des Knaben Wunderhorn. (59)

Arnim makes specific reference to several other contemporaries of Reichardt who similarly owed their initial interest in the folksong to the pioneering work of Herder. The general development of interest is well documented in H. Lohre's book, Von Percy zum
Wunderhorn, which shows that the first wave of interest reached its peak during the 'Sturm und Drang' decade, lost momentum during the 1780s but revived in the 1790s thanks to the untiring efforts of an Ulm schoolteacher, Friedrich David Gräter. (60) He, and the small circle of dedicated amateur folksong collectors who contributed to his journal Bragur, kept the interest in folksong alive throughout this period and paved the way for Arnim and Brentano. (61) The journal itself, and others of that time, became invaluable source-books for the Wunderhorn editors, while Gräter and his colleagues passed on a wealth of material and advice to them. Arnim refers specifically to Gräter, Anselm Elwert and Otmar in Von Volksliedern; through their works each had a direct influence upon him before he actually met them.

Otmar, whose Volkssagen were published in 1800, appears to have been the immediate inspiration behind Arnim's essay. Here was a man who had realized, in a manner which both Arnim and Brentano considered exemplary, the very ambition they shared. He had done in the realm of saga and legend what they longed to do for the folksong. Arnim must have read the book early in 1805 for he wrote to Brentano, in almost identical terms to those used in his essay, recommending that he should read it:

Es wird Dir eine neue Welt von herrlicher Erfindung aufgehen. Tieck und Novalis haben ihn schon bestohlen und nie genannt; er hat mich zu einem Aufsatze veranlaßt, von dem ich für die gute Sache etwas hoffe. (62)
Brentano did in fact read the work and it prompted in his mind a plan for a 'fortlaufende Zeitschrift für deutsche Volkssage' to be stocked with material supplied by correspondents who would have been canvassed previously by means of a circular letter. (63)

Anselm Elwert is mentioned by Arnim in the same breath as Herder as a folksong collector who stood higher in his estimation than Herder, who, for all his commitment to the folksong, could never quite overcome his scholarly tendency to criticize and stand aloof from his material. Elwert, whose Ungedruckte Reste alten Gesanges (Marburg, 1784) was the only complete folksong collection to be published between Herder's Volkslieder and Des Knaben Wunderhorn, laid aside what C. Day Lewis calls the 'cerebral filter' and advocated an approach to the folksong based on simple empathy. Identification with the mood of a folksong is only hampered, he suggests in the 'Nachwort' quoted by Arnim, by too much technical knowledge. (64) Arnim's own approach both to the folksong and to the process of composition is entirely in keeping with Elwert's: he, too, deplored the idea of keeping a poem, as it were, at arm's length, and is unashamed in his admission of bias, as for instance in the postscript to the first volume of his anthology:

Von dieser unserer Sammlung kann ich nur mit ungemeiner Neigung reden, sie ist mir jezt das liebste Buch, was ich kenne. (65)
Friedrich David Gräter, like Herder, was both a collector and a theoretician. His work helped to provide a basis for the field of study which is today known as 'Volkskunde', and Arnim draws attention to one particular essay, über die teutschen Volkslieder und ihre Musik, in which Gräter differentiates between various categories of folksong. In attributing the differences to such factors as 'Gegenstand, Entstehung und Gelegenheit', he stresses, like Herder, the organic growth of the folksong depending on context, and the natural processes of creativity:

Den ungelehrten Mann, der aber Herz und Geist von der Natur empfangen hat, kann nur die Sprache der Natur, und das was den Menschen, oder die Nation interessiert, so lebhaft rühren, daß er darüber in Gesang ausbricht oder die Empfindungen eines andern, wenn sie natürlich genug sind um allgemein zu gelten, für die seinigen sprechen läßt. Daraus entstehen die eigentlichen Volkslieder. (66)

Both Goethe and Arnim subscribed to this view. But Gräter's distinctive emphasis lay in the anthropological and historical value he accorded to the folksong. Although doubtful as to their poetic worth, he considered folksongs remarkable 'für die Sittengeschichte von Teutschland'. (67) Again, Arnim certainly conceded the validity of that viewpoint.

One other folksong enthusiast is mentioned by Arnim in glowing terms: Georg Forster, whose Frische Teutsche Liedlein provided more raw material for Des Knaben Wunderhorn than any other printed source. (68) As with Reichardt, Elwert and Gräter, it is Forster's
constructive stand on behalf of good art for the benefit of society which Arnim finds inspiring. He quotes the preface, 'eines meiner liebsten Herzblätter', at length because it supports his thesis that the folksong has the intrinsic power to weld society together. (69) Arnim welcomed this insight into the socially beneficial, community-orientated use of good music, which Forster maintains 'hat kein andres Fürhaben, denn daß sie gedächte, wie sie nur die Einigkeit der Stimmen mit allem Fleiß möchte erhalten, und aller Mißhellung wehren'. (70) Predictably, Brentano, though equally captivated by Forster's collection, saw its value primarily in artistic terms and was quick to capitalize upon the wealth of poetic and thematic material contained therein. In his circular letter of 1806 he drew particular attention to this class of sixteenth-century printed song-books. (71)

Common to all these disciples of Herder was a twin concern: on the one hand they shared a belief in, and love for, the folksong in its own right as an expression of the human and of the national spirit, and on the other, they recognized in the folksong's authentic record of human and national 'Sittengeschichte' the means of influencing society for good. It was because of Herder's direct influence upon Reichardt, Gräter, Elwert and Goethe that Arnim, Brentano and their Romantic colleagues had such a strong foundation upon which to build. This continuity of tradition issued ultimately in the establishment of properly scientific study in the
fields of 'Volkskunde', Germanic philology, anthropology and mythology, and also gave a significant new impulse to the creative arts.

It has been shown that the folksong was used from the 1770s onwards as a peg upon which to hang an ideological argument. This usage gave rise to the correlative practice of making the folksong into an ideological tool. In the case of Herder and Reichardt it was employed with due respect for its historical nature. Those of strict rationalist persuasion, however, adopted it for entirely different ideological purposes and adapted it to meet their own requirements which were based on different ideological presuppositions concerning both the nature of 'folk' and the nature of 'song'. This radical difference is illustrated in one of the best selling books of the period, Rudolph Zacharias Becker's Mildheimisches Liederbuch, which, with its counterpart, the Noth- und Hülfs-Büchlein, aimed at spreading the ideals of popular Enlightenment philosophy among the broad mass of the public. (72) Arnim and Brentano were utterly opposed to Becker's usage of the folksong for reasons which become apparent from Becker's self-confessed method of disseminating 'wahre menschliche Aufklärung'. (73) His apologia for publishing an encyclopaedia of basic knowledge for the countryman with a companion volume of simple songs reads as follows, and his methods will be discussed in the next chapter:

The method employed is reminiscent of subliminal advertizing: the material to be absorbed was presented in an attractive fictional framework well decorated with wood-cuts and laid out in a hymn-book format. At its heart there is a 'Danklied für die fortschreitende Aufklärung' with a footnote suggesting it should be sung to the well-known hymn tune 'Herr Gott, dich loben wir'. (75) In other words, this musical manual on how to live was to sustain the new religion of the ordinary man, and the folksong, as manipulated by Becker, became the basis of the new hymnal. The anthology was an enormous success. The first edition of 1788 was reprinted six times (including a pirated edition), while the second edition underwent three reprints, making a total of eleven impressions in thirty years. (76)
Arnim's comments in *Von Volksliedern* suggest that he was aware of the pernicious effects of such rationalist propaganda, though it appears that he both underestimated the effect of the *Mildheimisches Liederbuch* and misunderstood the publisher's intentions:

Die verkehrten Versuche einiger Gutgesinnten—zur Herstellung und Ermunterung des Volksliedes durch Sammlungen, die weder den niedern Ständen gefielen, noch die höheren befriedigten, übergehe ich, meine Achtung in gleichem Sinne ihrem Sinne zu bezeugen. (77)

Arnim and Brentano hoped to achieve with their collection the popularity which they felt Becker had failed to achieve with his, and to do so without sacrificing the integrity of the folksong. In the event, however, it was Becker's anthology which dominated the market and reinforced the philistinism to which Goethe and Tieck, Arnim and Brentano took such exception.

Goethe and Tieck were the two contemporaries par excellence in whom the principle of life and creativity was manifested most clearly, and with whom, therefore, Arnim and Brentano felt the greatest affinity. Both, but especially Goethe, were folk-poets in Arnim's sense of the word, speaking with an authentic individual voice, yet at the same time representing Everyman. This judgement was not peculiar to Arnim and Brentano, as the following comment makes clear:
Goethe, eigentlich keinem Zeitalter angehörend, vielmehr alle umfassend, hat in den meisten seiner kleinen Gedichte, z.B. dem Fischer, Erlkönig, Jägers Abendlied, dem Schäfer u.a.m. den poetischen Sinn unserer altdeutschen Zeit am vollkommensten und reinsten ausgesprochen, und wenn ich ihm in dieser Hinsicht noch einen an die Seite setzen möchte, so wäre es Tieck, der, wenn er wollte, vollständiger Repräsentant der ganzen altdeutschen Poesie werden könnte. (78)

Both were firmly embedded in their native, organic tradition and were therefore naturally able to give expression to the life principle which transcends, because it embraces, all historical contexts. Goethe achieved it in creative writing; Tieck had the gift of releasing it through his sensitive adaptations of old German poetry.

Brentano and Arnim met Ludwig Tieck early in their careers, Brentano at Jena when Tieck was associated with the Romantic clique gathered around the Schlegel brothers, and Arnim at Giebichenstein, the home of Tieck's brother-in-law. Initially both Arnim and Brentano were devoted disciples of the older poet who had already achieved so much for the renewal of old German literature through his re-telling of folktales and his careful edition of the 'Minnelieder'. (79) In Jena, Brentano's fervent and often embarrassing hero-worship of Tieck made him the object of ridicule while Tieck himself even resorted to satire in an attempt to cool the ardour of the youthful fanatic. (80)
Yet, if Winkelmann's 'Nachrichten' at the end of Godwi are anything to go by, Brentano remained a staunch admirer. (81) While his enthusiasm persisted, he was not blind to the failings of his hero and frequently voiced criticisms of his work, but he nevertheless respected him as a man and valued the friendship which burgeoned especially during the years 1803 and 1804. (82)

Arnim's admiration for Tieck's Volksmärchen finds expression in his first novel, Hollins Liebeleben, in which the young lovers admit a mutual passion for Tieck's version of Die schöne Magelone in a scene reminiscent of Goethe's Werther. (83) The visit by Arnim and Brentano to Ziebingen in November 1804 cemented their friendship with Tieck and hereafter they followed one another's careers with interest. In 1808 Brentano even talked of the possibility of the three of them setting up house together and forming a central archive for German art and literature. (84)

The fact that Arnim saw his own plans as complementary to Tieck's and that joint activity was envisaged testifies to their feeling of affinity with him in his endeavours on behalf of old German literature. As far as Arnim was concerned, it was Tieck's achievements as an editor that merited special praise in Von Volksliedern:
Warum Tiek vor allen früheren Bearbeitern und Herausgebern ein unsterbliches Verdienst zukommt, das wird jedem mitfühlenden Leser seine herrliche Einleitung zu den Laienbürgern bewähren; nicht Neugierde, sondern reiner Sinn für ihren Wert bestimmte ihn, er hielt das Große vom Gemeinen frey. (85)

The 'splendid introduction' to which Arnim refers is a satirical attack upon the literary taste of the Enlightenment which prefers insipid, modern didactic works to the old chapbooks. A brief quotation will suffice to show the similarities between Tieck's cultural criticism and that of Arnim: Tieck consoles a bookseller with the thought 'daß die Menschen, das Volk am liebsten erziehn möchten, die das Volk nicht kennen und selbst die Erziehung bedürfen, so wie diejenigen gern Lesebücher für alle Stände anfertigen, die für keinen Stand lesbar schreiben'. (86) He advises the bookseller who sold him old chapbooks not to worry about the 'Noth- und Hülfsbücher' and other moralistic writings of that ilk,

die so unbeschreiblich albern sind, weil sich die Verfasser das Volk so gar dumm vorstellen und daher nicht wissen, wie sie sich genug herablassen wollen; denn in jenen alten sogenannten Scharteken stecke eine Kraft der Poesie, eine Darstellung, die im ganzen so wahr sey, daß sie bei'm Volk, so wie bei jedem poetischen Menschen, noch lange in Ansehn bleiben würden. (87)

No one was more aware than Arnim that Tieck's efforts to revive folk-poetry by disseminating it in the very quarters where it had hitherto been despised was of crucial importance for contemporary German culture.
His own tactics were the reverse, namely to counter the damaging effect of popular didactic trash by producing material of a better quality to improve people's taste.

In one other important respect, Tieck was a forerunner to Des Knaben Wunderhorn: his editorial procedure in revising the 'Minnelieder' bears close resemblance to the policy adopted later by Arnim and Brentano in the compilation of their anthology. Arnim makes no mention of Tieck's work, but Brentano refers to it in a significant context. Writing to Arnim in London of his desire to help the cause of poetry he says:

Lieber Arnim, ich fühle so einen treuen, guten, bescheidenen Muth, mich mit meinen Freunden, und das bist Du allein, zu vereinen und etwas zu beginnen, was unsere Zeit bedarf. Vielleicht gesellt sich Tieck auch zu uns und dirigirt das Ganze, wozu er durch die Herausgabe der Minnelieder schon den Grund gelegt hat. (88)

At the same time, Brentano wrote directly to Tieck about the possibility of his being appointed to a professorship in Heidelberg and made a similar point:

Bei dieser Gelegenheit sage ich ihnen mein herzlichen Dank für die große Belehrung, die sie mir und allen ihren gelehrtigen Lesern in der Vorrede zu den Minneliedern gegeben haben, lieber Tieck. (89)
Tieck's description of his editorial policy as recorded in his preface is so similar to that adopted by Arnim and Brentano that it seems probable that they were influenced by him. On his own admission, Tieck chose only the best songs for inclusion:

Ich habe alles weggelassen, was nur den Gelehrten interessiren kann, alles, was sich auf die Geschichte der Zeit bezieht, und ich habe lieber einigemal den Namen von Städten und Ländern unterdrückt, um das Gedicht allgemeiner zu machen. Ich habe versucht, die Strophen in Ordnung zu bringen, zuweilen habe ich unbedeutende ausgelassen, oder sie auch in der Stellung verändert, wenn es mir nöthig schien. (90)

It will become apparent in the next chapter how closely Arnim and Brentano followed this procedure. The key to Tieck's significance for them lies in the fact that he was already doing - and with some success - what they themselves felt called to do as poets and patriots. The hopes which Friedrich Creuzer expressed in the following letter to Brentano from Heidelberg were ultimately fulfilled in Des Knaben Wunderhorn:

In der That, wenn ich jezt bei meinen einsamen Wanderungen in den mächtigen Ruinen des hiesigen Schloßes unsere neudeutsche Kleinheit fühle, empfinde ich lebhaft, daß hier ein Ort für Männer sei, die das alte große Deutschland im Herzen tragen, für Dichter, wie Tieck einer ist, die den alten romantischen Gesang in seiner Tiefe aufzufassen und auf eine würdige Art wieder zu beleben vermögen. (91)
In spite of the antipathy that existed between Tieck and Goethe at this time, the general consensus of contemporary opinion linked their names together in the field of creative revival of old German poetry. For Arnim and Brentano, the supreme exponent of the poetry of life was Goethe; he above all practising poets merited the title of folk-poet. There was no question of pale imitation when it came to Goethe's ballads and folksongs, but rather, they shared the characteristics of naturalness and abundant life which Arnim saw in the songs of Des Knaben Wunderhorn and described in his postscript: 'jedes athmet, pulsirt in sich, lauter frische, spielende, ringende Kinder, keine hölzerne Puppen, die selbstechte Dichter, aus Angewohnheit des Bildens, ihren echten Kindern nachmachen'. (92)

In F. Scholz's words, the folksong taught Goethe to 'use his own limbs' and he quotes Goethe's own comment upon his first contact with Shakespeare and the folksong: 'Ich sprang in die freie Luft und fühlte erst, daß ich Hände und Füße hatte'. (93) In this sense, Goethe was as much a folk-poet as the ancient Scottish bards of whom Arnim wrote in Von Volksliedern: 'Wer dichtete, dem war dies Natur und Leben'. (94) Not only did Goethe find the folksong a natural vehicle through which to express his own naive subjectivity but it enabled him to catch the essence of humanity in a paradigmatic form with which all could empathize. He achieved that natural balance of art and nature, form and content which Arnim looked for in great art
and which Brentano strove to achieve but found so
difficult. This was the common ground between the
master and his disciples.

A footnote in Von Volksliedern suggests that Arnim
distanced himself both from the extreme form-worship
of the Enlightenment and the extreme worship of genius
which marked the 'Sturm und Drang' period. In his view
mere formal correctness does not constitute true art
any more than unbridled creativity does:

Die Wortspielerey unsrer. Zeit hat Kunst
und Genie einander entgegengesetzt ...
Wenn Genie das Schaffende genannt werden
kann, so ist Kunst die Art der Erscheinung
dieses Geschaffenen. Genie ohne Kunst,
ware Luft ohne Beschränkung, Kunst ohne
Genie wäre ein Punkt ohne alle Dimension. (95)

In defending a synthesis of nature and art in the
creative process, Arnim cites Goethe to Jacob Grimm
as a living witness to the truth of his argument:

Es bezieht sich ... auf Deinen alten
Lieblingsunterschied zwischen Natur-
und Kunstpoesie, den ich Dir nach innigster
Ueberzeugung als etwas in Menschen ganz
getrenntes gar nicht zugeben kann. Nie ist
eine ohne die andre, aber leicht mag in
einem Menschen eine von beiden abwechselnd
das Uebergewicht gewinnen... Ich wollte in
Göthes Namen beschwören, daß bei allem
Bewuβtsein dessen, was er treibt, was
gewöhnlich Kunst genannt wird, er sich
doeh häufig von der Eingebung seiner
Natur überrascht fühlt, die ihm
Erfindungen und Einwirkungen auf andre
unbewußt schenkt, an die er nie voraus-
gedacht hatte. (96)
A comparison of these two quotations with two of Goethe's must suffice to show how closely their views resemble each other. The qualities which Arnim admired in Goethe's poetry are those which Goethe considered to be the mark of true poetry. Thus in his review of the Wunderhorn songs he wrote:

Das wahre dichterische Genie, wo es auftritt, ist in sich vollendet, mag ihm Unvollkommenheit der Sprache, der äußeren Technik, oder was sonst will, entgegenstehen, es besitzt die höhere innere Form, der doch am Ende alles zu Gebote steht, und wirkt selbst im dunkeln und trüben Elemente oft herrlicher, als es später im klaren vermag. Das lebhafe poetische Anschauen eines beschränkten Zustandes erhebt ein Einzelnes zum zwar begrenzten doch unumschränkten All, so daß wir im kleinen Raume die ganze Welt zu sehen glauben. Der Drang einer tiefen Anschauung fordert Lakonismus. (97)

To illustrate the universal from the particular, to give archetypal expression to archetypal human experience: this is the function of folk-poetry, in Goethe's view, which raises it above social and racial boundaries. Such poetry may lack formal perfection but it possesses an inner integrity and dynamic which makes it effective: in short, it has natural life. Yet Goethe also insisted that there must be form and was severe in his censure of the Romantic writers, including Arnim himself, for their formlessness. He wrote on this theme to Zelter in 1808:
Kein Mensch will begreifen, daß die höchste und einzige Operation der Natur und Kunst die Gestaltung sei, und in der Gestalt die Spezifikation, damit jedes ein Besonderes Bedeutendes werde, sei und bleibe. Es ist keine Kunst sein Talent nach individueller Bequemlichkeit humoristisch walten zu lassen; etwas muß immer daraus entstehen. (98)

As far as Arnim's imaginative writing is concerned, Goethe's criticism was well justified, but in theory at any rate, Arnim subscribed to Goethe's view and venerated his poetic achievements to the extent that he wished to find a way of bringing them to the attention of the widest possible audience. (99)

Goethe represented the pinnacle of human and poetic achievement for Arnim and Brentano; he well deserved the title of folk-poet because of his ability to assimilate, and then to reproduce in artistic form, the experiences of life which were common to men. In this sense he was truly a poet of the people. Goethe himself was fully aware of the debt he owed to his fellow men and spoke of it to Eckermann at the end of his long life:

Ich verdanke meine Werke keineswegs meiner eigenen Weisheit allein, sondern Tausenden von Dingen und Personen außer mir, die mir dazu Material boten. Es kamen Narren und Weise, helle Köpfe und bornierte, Kindheit und Jugend wie das reife Alter; alle sagten mir, wie es ihnen zu Sinne sei, was sie dachten, wie sie lebten und wirkten und welche Erfahrungen sie sich gesammelt, und ich hatte weiter nichts zu tun, als zuzugreifen und das zu ernten, was andere für mich gesät hatten. (100)
In all important respects, the seeds of the new philosophy of life and art which had been sown by Hamann and Herder in the 1770s reached fruition in the life and work of Goethe, the greatest living poet. Arnim and Brentano felt particularly drawn to him because he was primarily a practising poet and only secondarily a critic and theoretician.

Common to all the influences upon Arnim's thinking which are recorded in *Von Volksliedern* is a commitment to the cause of a dynamic, organic culture, whatever minor differences in outlook there may have been. He stood firmly in the tradition which upheld the ideal of a living, native culture and sought to promote it in his own hostile environment. This commitment to the principle of life is illustrated in Arnim's own life and in his work; those who knew him well all testified to it. Thus Wilhelm Grimm could write of the man: 'Er nahm an allem Theil, was eigentliches Leben zeigte'. (101) Of his work he wrote that out of it 'quillt uns eine Fülle von Leben entgegen', (102) while Joseph Görres described the quintessence both of Arnim's life and work with reference to his *Nachschrift an den Leser*:

Das Wesen alter Zeit, wie es in den Dichtungen der Vergangenheit fortlebte, schien mit Recht Arnim am tauglichsten, um die erstarrte Gegenwart wieder einigermaßen zu erwärmen und zu beleben, und die Volkspoesie, wie sie keinem der früheren Jahrhunderte noch ihren Dienst versagt, schien auch hier willfähig sich zu bieten, um das Volk wieder zu sich...
selbst zu bringen... Beide (Arnim and Brentano) hatten die Herausgabe des Wunderhorns unternommen, wie sie in der Nachschrift sagen: den letzten Bienenstock just zur rechten Zeit auffassend, als es eben weg-schwärmen wollte. Arnim's ganzes Wesen hat sich in dieser Nachschrift sich ausgesprochen... Seine lebendige Theilnahme an Allem, was vom Leben ist und wieder ins Leben geht; sein Zorn gegen jede lügenhafte Fratze in der Zeit, im Auffahren doch immer sich begütigend durch die angeborene Milde; das Alles ist dort so entschieden, wie im letzten Briefe ausgesprochen, den er wenigen Wochen vor seinem Tode mir geschrieben.

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A comparison of Arnim's essay with Brentano's later treatise on philistinism reveals that the two friends were in substantial agreement on all the major questions of their day, though they differed somewhat in approach and in emphasis. Brentano showed an unusually acute perception in the realm of aesthetics from quite an early age, while Arnim had the greater political acumen. Similarly, Brentano concentrated his efforts upon resisting the principle of negativity which was at work in bourgeois, materialistic society and which he first encountered in his own home, whereas Arnim bent his endeavours primarily towards the promotion of the principle of life. Finally, it is apparent that, for autobiographical reasons, Arnim was more inclined to think in terms of the wider community, while Brentano retained a lifelong interest in matters relating to individual psychology and morality. In essence, however, they were at one in their opposition to the philosophy of the late Enlightenment and in their reverence for Goethe.
Before proceeding to examine the outworking of their convictions in practice, it will be well to adduce specific evidence from Brentano in corroboration of shared criticism of society and culture. Did Brentano in fact uphold Arnim's all-important principle of life? The answer must be a qualified affirmative, for he did so in a negative way. While one is left in no doubt that Arnim criticized in order to be constructive, and that his intentions were serious and motivated by an earnest desire for improvement, it is more difficult in Brentano's case to establish the degree of his commitment to contemporary society. His ready wit and facility with words gave many the impression that he was nothing more, in Henrik Steffens' phrase, than an 'extravagant dilettante'. (104) And yet, Steffens remarked, he was nevertheless capable of immersing himself in a project of the magnitude of Des Knaben Wunderhorn.

And yet -- any attempt to elucidate the complexities of Brentano's personality is forced ultimately to resort to such a qualifying phrase. He knew himself to be an outsider, on the fringe of respectable society, both because of his temperament and because of his awareness that the poet's vocation was unacceptable to the bourgeois mentality which surrounded him at home. 'Ein Bürger werde ich wohl nicht werden', he wrote to his elder brother in 1798,
and yet part of him longed to find a place in the very society he rejected. (105) He knew that his state of suspension in a social limbo was conducive neither to personal stability nor to artistic productivity, hence his determination to marry Sophie Mereau when she would have preferred to remain his mistress. Nothing could be more orthodox than the following extract from a letter to her in 1803:

Ich halte es überhaupt für unsre Ruhe und Zufriedenheit für durchaus nöthig, unserm Umgang eine feste, bestimmte Form vor der Welt zu geben, und darum sei mein Weib, oder meine unzertrennliche Genossin, das erste giebt uns Ruhe, Würde, Sicherheit und die Wohltat bürgerlichen Schützes, das andre hängt von Deinem Willen, Deinem Muthe ab, es nimmt uns manchen Vorteil, und ist mir in Hinsicht Deiner Tochter, die nicht schicklich unter so freien Verhältnissen aufwachsen kann, nicht ganz lieb, doch ich stehe in Deiner Hand, mache, was Du willst. (106)

And yet, in the very society to which he sought access, his tactlessness and lack of diplomacy frequently caused the alienation he wished to overcome. No one saw this more clearly than Sophie, who wrote to him at that time:

Wundre Dich nicht, daß er (Savigny) Dir nicht ganz vertraut, kein vernünftiger, selbst kein muthiger Mann kann Dir je vertrauen, denn Dir fehlt etwas, was Dich von allen bürgerlichen Verhältnissen ausschließt. Du hast keinen Sinn für Schonung und für Schicklichkeit. Du kannst Dinge aussprechen, die das innerste Wesen des andern zerreißen; wie von einer fremden, bösen Macht gezwungen sagt Deine Zunge oft Worte, von denen Dein Herz, Dein Verstand nichts wissen können, die auch das nicht verschonen, was Du selbst für das heiligste erkennst. (107)
Here is another paradox: the objects of his scathing criticism or flippant remarks were often those things which he held most dear and sacred. Whether he adopted sarcasm as a posture of self-defence to hide his own vulnerability or not, one thing seems clear: only when he was free from insecurity could the more positive, constructive side of his character assert itself. His friendship with Arnim provided such a framework and enabled him to engage all his talents in the 'Beschäftigung... die nicht ohne Bedeutung war', as Steffens described the Wunderhorn project. (108)

One other early influence which was not without significance for Brentano's stance towards society was that of the Romantic group in Jena to which he was loosely attached during his student days. Unlike Arnim, who had little in common with Friedrich Schlegel, Brentano found himself drawn for personal and literary reasons to this coterie which, in the words of H.-J. Heiner, 'erfüllte für die Romantiker die Funktion einer überindividuellen Bestätigung. Er (der Jenaer Freundeskreis) verwandelte ihre soziale Außenseiterposition in ein Zeichen genialischer Auserwähltheit'. (109) The group saw itself as the initiated few; their attitude was one of superiority which tended to perpetuate the 'them-us' dichotomy which repelled Arnim but which, at that stage, gave Brentano a way of coming to terms with society and met his personal need for security.
The development of Brentano's social and cultural criticism may be summarized as follows. At the root of it was the enigma of Brentano's complex personality which, in turn, was reflected in his ambivalence towards society. Torn between his desire for security and his poetic vocation which isolated him from bourgeois society, Brentano found himself repelled by the middle-class, materialistic attitudes which he first encountered in his own home and which he labelled 'philistine'. He equally rejected the artistic products of the bourgeois mentality as being aesthetically inferior and morally dangerous and was vigorous in his campaign against the detrimental effects of exposure to the banal, sentimental novels of Cramer and Spieß. (110) Significantly, in the education programme which he prescribed for Bettina, Brentano recommended her to read 'meistens Goethe und immer Goethe, und vor allem den siebenten Band der neuen Schriften; seine Gedichte sind ein recht Antidotum der Empfindsamkeit'. (111)

His aversion to the middle-class mentality was strengthened in Jena through his contact with the Romantics, as indeed was his aversion to middle-class art. It is significant that Brentano's anti-philistine writing at this time reflects the influence of Tieck's satires on the Enlightenment authors, for Tieck was also on the fringe of the Jena clique. (112)
Lastly, Brentano's growing patriotism, which was in evidence from childhood onwards, became increasingly linked with his aversion to the Rationalist attitude to life, which militated not only against individuality and creativity, but also against regional and national distinctiveness. Like everything else, Brentano's patriotism was rooted in his personal needs, but, as Guido Görres warns, it should not therefore be underrated:

Er war... einer jener begeisterten Sänger, deren Posaune das Vaterland aus seinem feigen Schlummer erweckt, und durch seinen Mund sang die Muse patriotischer Poesie. (113)

All of these attitudes find mature expression in the treatise which Brentano delivered, with great success, to the 'Christlich-Deutsche Tischgesellschaft' in March 1811, entitled Der Philister vor, in und nach der Geschichte. (114) The basic themes of the essay, however, date back to Jena days when Brentano first conceived the idea of a natural history of the philistine, material from which was subsequently incorporated in Godwi and in Bogs der Uhrmacher. (115) His letters during the years 1802 - 1804 give further evidence that questions of cultural and social criticism were uppermost in his mind. At the risk of oversimplification, Brentano may be said to have posited two states of humanity, one positive, the other negative. The former state, which may be described
as the state of authentic existence, is characterized
by innocence, youthfulness, simplicity and naturalness;
it is the state of true freedom. How is it achieved?
Brentano answered the question in a letter to Gritha
Hundhausen, an early love:

Der einfachste Weg ist ein seliges Verweilen
in kindlicher Unschuld, denn nur in der
Unschuld ist Freiheit ... (eine Unschuld),
die darin besteht, nur das einfache,
natürliche Verhältnis der Dinge zu begreifen,
nur das Ewige, keinen bürgerlichen Gesetzen
Unterworfene zu lieben, nur mit der Liebe zu
lieben und nicht mit erlernten Empfindungen,
nur mit dem ursprünglichen Gedanken zu denken
und nicht mit auswendig gelernten Maximen.
Das heißt, in jeder Minute des Lebens ein
Kind zu sein. (116)

The artistic product of such a childlike state is
the poetry which Brentano calls 'das sterbliche Kind
der Unsterblichkeit'.(117) In an earlier letter to
Bettina, he described this state in terms similar to
those employed by Arnim:

Seelenreinheit im Verkehr mit andern, ohne
Vorbedacht, ohne Berechnung, die allein ist
der helle Kristall, durch den das Leben in
seiner Ursprünglichkeit begriffen wird, und
die aus sich selbst die ewigen Motive immer
wieder erzeugt, welche eine verwirrte Welt
umwälzen und ihre primitive Kraft ihr wieder
verleihen. Verstehst Du mich? -- Nur solchen
Naturen schließen sich alle Lebenstiefen auf,
nur sie werden gesund zwischen Lastern,
ansteckenden Krankheiten der verwirrten Zeit
hindurchgehen, nur sie werden Heilung
ausströmen, nur sie werden taube Ohren
hörend und blinde Augen sehend machen. Sei
unbekümmert um die Zukunft, es gibt keine;
wenn Du in jeder Minute rein und voll und
ohne Langeweile lebst, so gibt es nur eine
gegenwärtige Ewigkeit. (118)
This was the state for which Brentano yearned, the state which he found to be symbolized in the poetry of Des Knaben Wunderhorn and which he recognized as having been achieved supremely by Goethe in his own day.

Rules and regulations were introduced into society when innocence was lost, Brentano argued in another letter to Bettina, as a means of supplying a framework within which freedom could still be achieved. But rules and regulations were only a means to an end, not an end in themselves; when once divorced from their true end, they became a straight-jacket which shackled freedom and choked life. (119)

The resultant state was that of the philistine, having the appearance of life, but in reality dead.

The philistine was the prototype of the bourgeois, materialistic man whom Brentano despised and who will be encountered in the following chapter as the hero of the Mildheimisches Liederbuch. The description Brentano gives of him in his treatise is couched in cynically forthright terms:

Ein Philister ist ein steifstelliger, steifleinener, oder auch lederner, scheinlebendiger Kerl, der nicht weiß, daß er gestorben ist, und ganz unnötigerweise sich länger auf der Welt aufhält; ein Philister ist ein mit allerlei lächerlichen Lebenszeichen behängter, umwandelnder Leichenbitterstock seines eigenen innern ewigen Todes. (120)
Brentano attributes his origins to the principle of negation which operated when Adam and Eve disobeyed God and thus fell from a state of innocence into guilt. It was a fall 'aus der Einheit des Lebens in die Eigenheit des Todes'. (121) Philistines have been in the world ever since and Brentano traces their history up to his own day before proceeding to expose the characteristics common to their kind. Their symptoms include a preference for town to country: 'eine schöne Gegend, sagen sie, lauter Chaussee!'; a preference for French culture; an inability to appreciate originality in the arts, and a total reluctance to allow for any expression of individuality:

Sie unterhalten sich besonders gern von Vaterland und Patriotismus; wenn man sie aber genauer fragt, warum sie ihr Vaterland lieben, so fangen sie an, sich selbst darüber zu wundern; denn sie gestehen gern ein, daß sie ewig damit umgehn, alles, was ihr Vaterland zu einem bestimmten individuellen Lande macht, zu vernichten, und sie arbeiten dahin, daß der Guckuck, der in fremde Nester baut, das ihrige mit dem Lobe begrüße: Partout comme chez nous. Sie vernichten, wo sie können, alte Sitten und Herrkömmlichkeiten... sie möchten nur die Individualität der Genialen zerstören. (122)

The opposite of the philistine, in Brentano's essay, is represented by the student, whom he further defines as someone who is always hungry for knowledge and experience, a discoverer, and an explorer of eternity. He goes on to cite Goethe as the greatest living example of the 'student' and in so doing, erects his personal monument to the man he had admired consistently for over a decade:
Wenn ich nun das Studieren ein tätiges Leiden oder ein Empfangen aller Erkenntnis, als einer unendlich zusammenhängenden, ewigen, nenne, so könnte ich den in seiner Individualität vollendeten Studenten... jenen nennen, der auf allen Punkten seiner selbst gleich stark empfängt und giebt, und diesen denke ich mir als eine Kugel, nenne ihn den Gesunden, Natürlichen, den Gebildeten; will aber, um meine Meinung dem Bilde zu nähern, ihn jenen nennen, dessen Berührung mit der äußeren Welt, dessen Haut... in gleichem Maße einatmet und ausdünstet. Goethe scheint mir bis jetzt unter den Bekannten der zu sein, dessen ideelle Erscheinung ich am ersten eine solche nennen möchte. (123)

The picture is one of perfect balance and harmony, health and wholeness, and represents the ideal state which Brentano longed to achieve. Goethe had achieved it in the context of contemporary society; he had discovered the secret of remaining innocent in a fallen world, and therefore he was to be admired and emulated both in his humanity and in his creativity, for the difference between the true folksong (the product of the age of innocence) and Goethe's folksongs (the product of the innocent poet) was one of degree only and not of kind.

Much more could be said about Brentano’s social and cultural ideas, but the foregoing must suffice to show that he shared Arnim's concerns and was happy to align himself with his friend in an editorial undertaking designed to combat philistinism and promote the cause of authentic existence. His retrospective comment to
Goethe certainly suggests that, whatever minor differences there may have been between them on technical matters, they were absolutely united in this goal. The anthology, he wrote to Goethe, 'ist gewiß voll herrlichen Lebens aller Art, das vielleicht noch nie und nirgend so versammelt war'. (124)
Notes


The earlier version, which Brentano wrote at the end of 1799, was called Naturgeschichte des Philisters.

2. Steig 1, 128 (14 January 1805).
3. Steig 1, 142-43 (April 1805).
4. A. v. Arnim, Nachschrift an den Leser (July 1805), see Wh 1, 464 (FBA 6,443).
5. A. v. Arnim, Von Volksliedern (January 1805), see Wh 1,427-28 (FBA 6, 408).
6. Wh 1, 428 (FBA 6, 408-09).
7. Wh 1, 464 (FBA 6, 443).
8. Wh 1, 430 (FBA 6,411).
9. Wh 1, 431 (FBA 6, 411).
10. Wh 1, 432 (FBA 6, 412).
11. Wh 1, 433 (FBA 6, 413).
12. Wh 1, 434 (FBA 6, 414).
13. Wh 1, 435-36 (FBA 6, 415).
14. Wh 1, 437 (FBA 6, 417).
15. Wh 1, 439 (FBA 6, 418).
16. Wh 1, 440 (FBA 6, 419).
17. Wh 1, 443 (FBA 6,422).
18. Wh 1, 444 (FBA 6, 423).
19. Wh 1, 446 (FBA 6, 425).
20. J.W. Zinkgref's song, 'Drum gehe tapfer an' was written in 1622, during the Thirty Years' War, and published in Soldaten-Lob (1632). Arnim used it again in 1806 as the third of his 'Kriegslieder'. (see chapter three, note 19).
21. Wh 1, 451 footnote (FBA 6, 429).
22. Wh 1, 452 (FBA 6, 430).
23. Wh 1, 461 (FBA 6, 439).
24. Wh 1, 462 (FBA 6, 440).
25. Wh 1, 463 (FBA 6, 441).
26. Wh 1, 463-64 (FBA 6, 441-42).
28. Wh 1, 444 (FBA 6, 423).
29. Wh 1, 461 (FBA 6, 439).
33. Steig 1, 180 (14 June 1806).
34. 'Romantic' (with a small 'r') is used throughout to describe the stance which opposed a one-sided emphasis upon reason. In general terms it refers to the new doctrine of man as a whole person in whom all faculties have equal significance. It came most strongly to the fore during the Storm and Stress period, but, variously modified, is also present in the Classical and Romantic views of life. 'Romantic' (with a capital 'R') is used in the specific literary-historical sense to refer to the Romantic Movement.
35. Christoph Friedrich Nicolai (1733-1811) was an influential critic, writer and publisher based in Berlin; an ardent advocate of the values of the Enlightenment, he was equally forceful in his condemnation of the new school of thought.
36. Christian Wolff (1679-1754) was the popularizer of Leibniz's philosophical rationalism. A dedicated campaigner for the education of the bourgeoisie, he ushered in the second phase of the German Enlightenment. After him came J.G. Gottsched (1700-1766) who implemented grammatical reforms of the
German language, and A.G. Baumgarten who developed a system of aesthetics based on Wolff's teaching.


42. G.A. Bürger, Herzensaussguß über Volkspoesie, aus Daniel Wunderlichs Buch (1776), in Deutsches Museum, edited by H.C. Boie, I, 440f.


Nicolai's pseudonym reveals that Bürger is the target of his parody.

45. Wh 1, 451 (FBA 6, 429).

46. Sb 1, 274 (15 February 1805).


48. H. Steffens, op. cit. VI, 84.

49. Arnim visited Giebichenstein at Christmas 1804 and again in May 1805. He and Brentano paid a joint visit in November 1807, and Brentano was there in the summer of 1809.


J.A.P. Schulz, Lieder im Volkston. (1785), preface to the second edition, quoted from M. Friedländer, Das deutsche Lied im achtzehnten Jahrhundert (Stuttgart und Berlin, 1902) p.257.

Wh 1, 426-27 (FBA 6, 407).

Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart (1739-91) wrote on this theme in his Deutsche Chronik, VI, 261. On Horstig, see Appendix C, p. 441.

See chapter six, pp. 385-86.


Sb 1, 273 (15 February 1805).

Sb 1, 360 (March 1808). J. Fetzer, in Romantic Orpheus: Profiles of Clemens Brentano (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1974), p. 22f points out that Brentano's early ambivalence towards Reichardt's music later changed to 'manifest distaste', caused more by the man than his music, (compare Steig 1,233 and Sb 1,353-54). Nevertheless Reichardt composed the music for Brentano's two cantatas in 1810 (see Sb 2, 59).


On Gräter, see Appendix C, p. 438. Bragur. Ein literarisches Magazin der deutschen und nordischen Vorzeit, 8 vols (Leipzig, 1791-1812) Braga und Hermode was the title of vols 4-8 of the above. Gräter later began another journal, Idunna und Hermode, Eine Alterthumszeitung, which was published in Schwäbisch Hall from 1812-1816.

Steig 1, 128 and compare Wh 1, 441-42 footnote (FBA 6, 420-21).

Sb 1, 278 (2 April 1805).

A. Elwert, Ungedruckte Reste alten Gesanges. (Gießen und Marburg, 1784), p. 739 quoted by Arnim in Wh 1, 457 footnote (FBA 6, 435).

Wh 1, 464 (FBA 6,443).

67. ibid. p. 217.


69. Wh 1, 429 footnote (FBA 6, 409).

70. Wh 1, 430 footnote (FBA 6, 410).

71. FBA 8, 350-52.

72. R.Z. Becker (1752-1822) was a publisher in Gotha who wrote a Versuch über die Aufklärung des Landmannes (1785) and Vorlesungen über die Pflichten und Rechte des Menschen (Gotha, 1791-92). The principles of the former were incorporated in his Noth- und Hülfsbüchlein, oder lehrreiche Freuden- und Trauer-Geschichte der Einwohner zu Mildheim (Gotha, 1798-99).


74. R.Z. Becker, op. cit., MhLb, p. 8*.

75. R.Z. Becker, MhLb pp. 474-75.

76. The first edition, containing 518 songs, was published in 1799, and reprinted in 1800, 1801, 1804 (pirate edition), 1806, 1808 and 1810. The second 'neue verbesserte Auflage' of 1815 containing 800 songs was reprinted in 1822, 1833 and 1837.

77. Wh 1, 437 footnote (FBA 6,417).

78. H... S....ch, 'Etwas über altdeutsche und Volkspoesie', in Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände, Nr. 256 (26 September 1807) p. 1022.


80. Tieck parodied Brentano in the person of the 'Bewunderer' in Der neue Herkules am Scheidewege, in Poetisches Journal, I/1 (Jena, 1800).


82. See Sb 1, 274, 332-33 for criticisms and Sb 1, 195-96, 247 for expressions of friendship.

84. Sb 1, 351 (January 1808).

85. Wh 1, 451 footnote (FBA 6, 429).

86. L. Tieck, preface to Denkwürdige Geschichtschronik der Schildbürger (1795), in Schriften, IX, p. 9.

87. ibid.

88. Steig 1, 106 (2 April 1804).

89. Briefe an Ludwig Tieck, edited by K. Holtei, 4 vols (Breslau, 1864) I, 100 (22 April 1804).


92. Wh 1, 464 (FBA 6, 443).


94. Wh 1, 461 (FBA 6, 439).

95. Wh 1, 437 footnote (FBA 6, 416).


98. GA XIX, 566 (30 October 1808).
99. For a detailed study of Arnim's creativity as reflected in his imaginative writing, see G. Rudolph, Studien zur dichterischen Welt Achim von Arnim's (Berlin, 1958). Rudolph speaks of the 'schöpferische Urkraft und der Form spottende Fülle...was Arnim einseitig mit Leben zu verbinden scheint' (p.132). While his commitment to the principle of life may have been at the expense of form in his creative writing (and both Wilhelm Grimm and Brentano draw attention to this—see Steig 3,101 and Steig 1,266), his ethical stance was always clearly in favour of the subordination of the individual's desires for the good of society.

100. GA XXIV, 768 (17 February 1822), Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens.


105. Sb 1, 18-19 (20 December 1798).

106. Am 2, 68 (27 October 1803).

107. Am 1, 164-65 (13 September 1803).


111. Sb 1, 114 (May 1802).

112. Brentano's Satiren und poetische Spiele von Maria, Erstes Bändchen. Gustav Wasa (1800) was directed against A. Kotzebue, popular dramatist and theatre director, and betrays the influence of Tieck's play, Der gestiefelte Kater (1797).

114. On the 'Christlich-Deutsche Tischgesellschaft' see chapter seven, pp. 406-07.


116. Sb 1, 117 (June 1802).

117. Sb 1, 205 (September 1803).

118. Sb 1, 101-02 (January 1802).

119. Sb 1, 204-06 (September 1803).

120. C. Brentano, Der Philister vor, in und nach der Geschichte, in Werke, edited by F. Kemp, II, 987. J. Fetzer (op. cit.) has an interesting final chapter on Brentano and the philistine in which he concludes that Brentano 'shared both the Orphean blessing and the philistine curse' (p. 292).

121. F. Kemp, op. cit., p. 973.

122. ibid. pp. 990, 998-99.

123. ibid. p. 984.

124. Sb 1, 390 (February 1809).

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CHAPTER THREE
Editorial Principles and Practice.

From a consideration of the attitudes to life and art propounded by Arnim and Brentano in their theoretical writing, attention must now be turned to the way in which they translated their ideas into practice. The subject-matter of the present chapter, therefore, is the material of the anthology itself.

There are various reasons which make it appropriate to divide this chapter into a study of editorial principles on the one hand, and their embodiment in practice on the other. The most important reason concerns the reception of the anthology in the literary press, for critics fell roughly into two categories: those who based their judgements primarily on the editors' principles, and those who took issue with their practice without giving proper consideration to the policies involved. (1) Secondly, as work on the anthology progressed through the troubled years of 1806 to 1808, discrepancies increased between the editors' declarations of intent and their actual practice in the compilation of the later volumes, indeed the very nature of their assignment seemed to change for a variety of personal, circumstantial and historical reasons. Thirdly, the fact that Arnim's essay was included in the first volume suggests that the ideals for which he contends in Von Volksliedern are also striven for in the poetic content of the
work. (2) Finally, Arnim was himself of the opinion that the distinctiveness of the first volume resided in its 'Einheit der Gesinnung, Auswahl und Sprache', a unity which was lacking in the later volumes. (3) The unity manifested in the contents of this first part was the reason for its success, in Arnim's view, and was a reflection of the substantial agreement on matters of editorial policy which existed between Brentano and himself at that stage of their collaboration. (4) Caution is needed, however, in talking about principles lest a too strict and rigid editorial procedure be inferred; Arnim and Brentano were too much poets to adhere consistently to a formal procedure. Their principles were extrapolated from their general attitudes to life and art but in actual practice were no more than rough guidelines, never considered to be inflexible and always open to personal interpretation. Their procedure thus stands out in sharp contrast to that of R.Z. Becker in the production of the Mildheimisches Liederbuch which adhered rigorously to predetermined rules.

* * * * *

The editorial principles here enumerated have their source in a corpus of material which includes both prospective and retrospective, private and public commentary on Des Knaben Wunderhorn. The bulk
of it comprises correspondence: the letters of Arnim and Brentano to each other and to friends and collaborators such as the Grimm brothers and their publisher J.G. Zimmer. The rest consists of 'Buchhändleranzeigen', statements in the public press and in the postscripts which Arnim added to the first and second editions of the first part of the anthology. Not only do these sources reveal discrepancies between public and private statements, and between intention and practice, but they also show up differences between prospective and retrospective comments, and between the respective views of Arnim and Brentano. It is therefore well to begin with the one principle posited by both editors before work on the first volume began, and subsequently upheld, with only slight divergences in practice, to the end of their collaboration. This was the principle of contemporary relevance.

Arnim's concern that art should be both relevant and necessary to society has already been noted, as has his sympathy for Tieck's editorial policy based on the need for general comprehensibility. Arnim and Brentano took their cue from him in this respect. Behind their earliest formulations of literary plans lay a pedagogic ambition: Arnim desired to improve the quality of German culture by improving public taste, while Brentano's immediate concern was to produce a more effective replacement for the Mildheimisches Liederbuch. He saw this as a pressing
'mehrere sehr vernünftige Prediger der Pfalz haben mich schon darum gebeten', he wrote to Arnim in February 1805. 'Ich bin versichert, es wäre viel mit zu wirken.' (5) He also envisaged the possibility of including not only 'die bessern Volkslieder' but also of adding new ones. (6) Yet a slight variation in emphasis is discernible even at this early stage. While Brentano was fully aware of the need to do something 'was unsre Zeit bedarf', he defined it primarily in terms of the cause of poetry. (7) He believed in the intrinsic power of good poetry to validate itself and in its value as an inspiration for modern writers, though in the case of old German literature he was also aware of the need for sensitive editing to suit contemporary requirements. Arnim's emphasis, on the other hand, fell not so much on the intrinsic poetic strength of old German literature as upon its intrinsic life, borne out by its durability. It was of prime importance for his own lifeless times that such evidences of life be preserved and made available to society at large, hence his policy of altering material 'zum Verständniss in unserer Zeit'. (8) This, then, was the object of their endeavours: to maintain life where it was being neglected, to restore the link between the old, vital tradition of German culture and the current, sterile situation, and to administer an injection of new life where it was desperately needed.
What, then, were the specific needs of contemporary society? Psychologically speaking, the individual needed to recognize his uniqueness and break away from the stereotyped image of man put forward by the philosophers of the late Enlightenment. Socially speaking, the mechanistic caste system of the Enlightenment needed to be rejected in favour of a harmonious society in which all classes accepted and complemented one another: society should be seen not as an organization but as an organism. Nationally speaking, those who shared a common language needed to be united whatever their religious or regional differences might be, and culturally speaking, the rift between the intelligentsia and the rest of the people needed to be bridged. All these needs derived from a fundamental awareness of the need for potent life.

How was this basic need to be met? Arnim was acutely aware of the close interrelationship between culture and society. On his own admission, he found in poetry 'etwas, das sein Wesen nicht von der Jahreszahl borgte, sondern das frey durch alle Zeiten hindurchlebte'. (9) Here was potent life which could be applied beneficially to his own day: 'Diesem Wesen, das mich in neuen und alten Schriften gleich lebhaft anregte, suchte ich in seinen sichtbarsten Zeichen auch andern mitzutheilen'. (10) In a political essay written in 1806, Arnim used a medical analogy to compare the spirit of the French Revolution with the spirit of former times:
With characteristic relativity of judgement Arnim acknowledged the place of both surgery and medicine. His task was to collect the ingredients which together constituted the antidote to disease. The elements of this powerful medicine were all present in the poetry of the past and may be defined as individuality, activity, national unity and poetic potency. The desire to highlight these features underlies the editorial principles of Arnim and Brentano.

The characteristic which Arnim noted in the heroes of folk-poetry and missed in the members of his own society was that of true individuality. Where modern society presented a drably uniform face, medieval society was the reverse: the individual took full responsibility for himself, was his own master and made his distinctive contribution to the community. Modern society, by contrast, had chosen to adopt utilitarian, materialistic values which had produced
monotonous mediocrity. As Arnim expressed it in his essay: 'Immer nur die Sucht der Bösen die Welt sich, und alles der Nichtswürdigkeit in der Welt gleich zu machen'. (12) The prevailing philosophy believed that 'viele zusammen könnten etwas werden, was kein Einzelner darunter zu seyn brauche'. (13) This was a poor substitute for authentic existence, in Arnim's view: 'Ob sich etwa die Welt ausruht zum Auserordentlichen?' be asked. (14) Before a change could take place, the crucial value of the individual had to be reasserted. Arnim, who consistently argued for the importance of the individual within the community and resisted J. Grimm's assertion that folksongs were the product of anonymous, collective authorship, summed up his position in a letter to W. Grimm by quoting a sentence from an old author which read:

'Mythische Zeit ist die Gewohnheit der Menschen, was sie allgemein geltend fühlen, doch im Einzelnen anschauen zu wollen, sowohl in Zeiten wie in Namen.' (15)

The potency principle as applied to the question of individuality meant for Arnim and Brentano the editorial task of highlighting examples of authentic individual existence, be it in terms of emotions or actions, in ordinary folk or in the extraordinary. Their fellow Germans needed to be shown, by example, how to live fully and positively at the individual level.
The heightening of individual awareness would inevitably result in the second characteristic which Arnim and Brentano admired in the heroes of the folksong, namely their activity. The subject-matter of folk-poetry is invariably a definite event, a concrete situation, and more often than not, a deed. In this context, actions speak louder than words: the man who is truly alive reveals his vitality in significant activity not in empty theorizing. For this reason, folk-poetry, which Arnim considered as the fruit of activity, was deemed an appropriate means of activating contemporary society by releasing individual potential. The ideal is expressed in his essay Was soll geschehen im Glücke: 'es muß die individuelle eingeborene Kraft jedes Einzelnen frey werden ohne die Familienbildung zu vernichten'. (16)

The extension of the principle of individual activity was that of corporate activity, locally and nationally. When the individual pulled his weight, argued Arnim, then society as a whole functioned properly. In Von Volksliedern he complained of the lack of opportunity for the individual to participate in local government and public life, and when his own country was on the point of entering the Napoleonic Wars he could find no outlet for his patriotic zeal. 'Doch zum Teufel mit all der öffentlichen Wirthschaft,' he exploded in frustration, 'wenn man dabei nicht selbst mitwirthschaften kann.' (17)
The implications of the social caste system which operated in his day were serious: true communal activity had all but died out and with it true folksong:

Wir begreifen nun leicht, wie unsere gebildetere Zeiten bey der Vernachläsigung des ärmeren Lebens (denn das sind die unteren Klassen jetzt) so viele leere Kriegslieder entstehen sahen, während jeder der früheren deutschen Kriege in dem gemeinsamen Mitwirken Aller zu großer That herrliche Gesänge hervorrief. (18)

In order to stimulate such corporate activity Arnim and Brentano saw it as an editorial priority that they should make known these 'herrliche Gesänge' in Des Knaben Wunderhorn. The same motivation lay behind Arnim's gesture of distributing 'Kriegslieder' among Prussian soldiers in Göttingen at the outbreak of hostilities with France. (19)

The third principle posited by Arnim was a logical extension of the principle of activity. When men strive together in communal activity, so his argument ran, then the idea of the state becomes a reality. National unity, however, must not be confused with uniformity. Rather, it is an organic linking together in complementary activity of the many diverse groups which together make up the state. Social, geographical and religious differences, rightly understood, need in no way impede the development of the state as an organism. For Arnim the state was analogous to the family, therefore, in that it could be described as a collection of individuals...
bound together by a blood relationship. Thus, what mattered most to Arnim was not the idea of the state but the people who together made it a reality. Writing to Brentano on this theme in 1806 he stated: 'Kommt es zum Kriege, so ist unser Vaterland nicht in Berlin, nicht in der Mark, nicht hie und da, sondern in den Menschen'. (20) The factor which united people of any nation was internal not external, as he explained to his aunt a short while later:

Sie erinnern Sich vielleicht meiner ruhigen Ueberzeugung, die ich in Strelitz oft streitend vorgelegt, daß ohne eine innere höhere Staatsentwicklung kein glücklicher Krieg möglich sei. (21)

It was secondary factors which hindered the development of true national identity: petty material considerations and social prejudice. Arnim and Brentano sought to raise the bigger issue of national consciousness by concentrating on matters of primary importance and by playing down the peripheral and potentially divisive factors. As far as their editorial practice was concerned, this meant avoiding controversial issues such as religious polemics, linguistic divisions and class jealousy, and emphasizing instead the deeper unity which bound all Germans together, a unity based on 'inward joy' not 'outward necessity'. (22)
Arnim was unequivocal about the national significance of their undertaking and the national dimensions of the folksong. In one of his earliest public statements he described folksongs as 'unbekannt in ihrer Entstehung, an keinen Stand, an keine Zeit -- nur an das deutsche Volk im Ganzen gebunden'. (23) Had the German-speaking peoples already been united, he commented a few months later, there would have been no need for a printed collection,

aber eben jetzt, wo der Rhein einen schönen Theil unsres alten Landes los löst vom alten Stamme, andere Gegend in kurz-sichtiger Klugheit sich vereinzen, da wird es nothwendig, das zu bewahren und aufmunternd auf das zu wirken, was noch übrig ist, es in Lebenslust zu erhalten und zu verbinden. (24)

Brentano, too, conceived of their task in terms of a national mission. Writing to a collaborator who had offered material, he talked of being allowed to scrutinize the manuscript in order to decide 'um was ich im Namen der Nation Sie bitten dürfte'. (25) To Goethe he wrote of their principle of including only the best extant version of any one song, 'und somit findet nun mancher, der sich ärgernd will, etwas, was nicht Kunz oder Klaus, sondern was die Nation gesungen'. (26) Brentano also planned and executed the scheme for a nationwide collection of all remaining vestiges of the folk tradition, not only for its literary value but for its moral worth. (27)
In short, both Arnim and Brentano felt that there was something intensive as well as extensive about the unifying power of the folksong: it not only bound German-speaking people together across a vast geographical tract but it also united them in depth in that it was the record of 'the German spirit'. (28)

The final principle which lay behind the editorial practice of Arnim and Brentano was that of poetic potency. They saw a direct correlation between the potency of life expressed in the folksong and the potency with which it was formulated poetically. In the absence of vital activity, Arnim argued, poets had nothing to sing about; when nothing was actually achieved there was nothing to report. This was the essential difference between the literature of former times and that of his own day, as he explained to Brentano in connexion with his Zeitung für Einsiedler:

Denn so wie im Allgemeinen alles in unserer Zeit nur in Anspielungen erscheint, lauter Begebenheiten, die nie geschehen, Gelegenheitsgedichte ohne Gelegenheiten, so würde dieser Beitrag aus alten deutschen Büchern in Herrlichkeit und innerm Leben wirklicher Geschichte gar herrlich zwischenprangen. (29)

Arnim hoped that one of the by-products of disseminating folksongs would be an improvement in the quality of poetry:
Wir erwarten sehr viel von der festen, freudigen Lebensweise dieser Lieder, einen mannichfaltigen volleren Ton in der Poesie, einen Anklang von bestimmten, echteigenen Gedanken. (30)

He seemed to think in retrospect that his confidence had not been misplaced, judging by the following comment from his postscript to the second edition:

Eine andre Absicht, jene Eintönigkeit und Fremdartigkeit, die sich im Nach-bilden fremder Sprachen über unsre Dichter verbreitete, durch diese würdigen Zeichen eigner mannigfaltiger Regung in unserm Volke zu durchbrechen, ist längst eingestanden, ja großentheils schon wirklich erreicht worden. (31)

Brentano's concern for the poetic beauty and potency of the folksong overrode all others, hence his desire not only to preserve 'das Trefliche in jeder Zeit und ihrer Form' (32) but also to polish each poetic gem until it shone, as Arnim expressed it:

Wir wollen allen alles wiedergeben, was im vieljährigen Fortrollen seine Demantfestigkeit bewährt, nicht abgestumpft, nur farbespielend geglättet. (33)

Whether this 'Demantfestigkeit' was conceived primarily in poetic terms, as in the case of Brentano, or in terms of the inherent vitality which Arnim stressed, the impression the songs made was essentially the same: they communicated life, vigorous, authentic experience and activity, in poetry which was equally vigorous and effective.
The issue at stake was the issue of life.

The remainder of this chapter, therefore, will be devoted to an analysis of the practical procedures adopted by Arnim and Brentano in order to ensure that the living folksong should make a dynamic impact on contemporary society.

* * * * *

Bearing in mind that the editorial practice of Arnim and Brentano is of concern only in so far as it relates to the reception and impact of the anthology, there is no need to embark here upon a full-scale textual and stylistic analysis. Nevertheless, since the extent of their adaptation of source material was a point at issue in numerous contemporary reviews of the work, some attention must be paid to this question. H. Rölleke's recently published critical edition of Des Knaben Wunderhorn provides a reliable basis for such a study and the following conclusions are largely based on a careful study of his meticulous work. (34)

If, as the editors seemed to think, the strength of the anthology lay in the songs themselves, then its contents must be examined in order to ascertain the reasons for its impact. However, since Arnim and Brentano exercised what they considered to be their editorial prerogative of deciding not only what material should be included but in what form it should be included,
this necessarily raises the question of editorial interference. By far the most important consideration, however, is that Arnim and Brentano felt they had good and legitimate grounds for exercising that prerogative in the way they did, although their reasons mainly became apparent after the furore which arose upon publication but which they could not have anticipated. Admittedly, Brentano voiced some doubt over the discrepancy between their title 'Alte Deutsche Lieder' and some of the contents, but on the whole there was little exchange of views on editorial practice prior to publication. (35) Subsequently, however, as friends and critics took them to task, and as Arnim and Brentano themselves moved further apart in their respective thinking and practice, there was a great deal of discussion of editorial principles.

The main recorded debate between Arnim and Brentano took place in 1808 as work on the final volumes was coming to a close. Arnim, it seems, had not shifted his ground at all. 'Du siehst,' he wrote to Brentano after a long explanation of his basic position,

daß ich hierin so unverändert innerlich
einig geblieben bin seit der ersten
Arbeit am Wunderhorn, daß es also wohl
meine Natur sein muß, und Du als Studiosus
müßt es mir wohl ansehen, wie ich
'genaturet was'. (36)
Arnim never lost sight of his fundamental aim in compiling the anthology. The war years which interrupted work on the later volumes served only to strengthen his resolve, whereas Brentano became increasingly torn between his poetic-cum-patriotic commitment on the one hand and his literary-historical leanings on the other. While the former was undoubtedly in the ascendant during the production of the first volume, the following years of intensive absorption in old German literature developed the scholarly side of him, which was further reinforced by his friendship with the Grimm brothers during Arnim's absence.

Adding together his twin principles of life and contemporary relevance, Arnim arrived at a practical conclusion which rendered alteration of material not only perfectly legitimate but highly desirable. After all the controversy had subsided he remained as adamant as ever on this point:

Mögen andere an unsre Lieder die Liebe wenden, die wir an jene alten gewendet haben; statt um Entschuldigung bey den Lesern zu bitten, daß wir so manches in den Liedern änderten, bitte ich jetzt um Nachsicht, daß nicht noch manches andere darin gerundet, gekürzt und ergänzt ist. (37)

Arnim and Brentano were agreed upon the right of an editor to modify his source material, as Tieck had done, but they came to disagree on the extent and the
nature of justifiable alteration. This was the point at issue in their dialogue of 1808. (38)

What did Arnim mean by the public statement that the songs of the anthology were 'gesammelt, geordnet und ergänzt'? (39) During the work on the first part he spoke of his editorial practice in terms such as 'crystallization', 'condensation' and 'successful alteration'. (40) Subsequently he referred to the 'Ausstattung eignen Arbeit' which characterized the first volume but was less necessary in the later ones. (41) Later still, in the face of an accusation of forgery, he defended his practice of 'restoration' on the grounds that it was 'ein Mittel ..., manches Schöne, das von dem Ungelehrten durch Zeit und Sprache geschieden, wieder in lebendige Berührung zu setzen'. (42) Modest restoration in the spirit of the original for the benefit of the contemporary layman: this was Arnim's practical purpose, and he considered it to have been vindicated by public reaction to the first volume. But not only did the end justify the means. Arnim was of the convinced opinion that his practice could be justified on artistic grounds also. His central thesis, as he expressed it to Brentano in 1808, was as follows:

Es gibt keine Poesie, die man nicht ebenso wie die Maler ihre Gruppen nach der Beleuchtung des Orts verändern könnte, ohne in die Bedeutung des ganzen Bildes einzugreifen. (43)
As applied to the Wunderhorn material, the essential substance of the songs was 'die Lebenskraft des Alten' which could be preserved intact even though the form in which it was preserved might need alteration. (44) Arnim thus argued that the medium was historically conditioned but the message was universally applicable. If effective communication was to take place, therefore, the editor's responsibility was to adapt the medium to suit the requirements of the contemporary readership.

As far as restoration was concerned, Arnim felt he was doing no more than generations of artists had done before him. It was hard to distinguish, in considering a great work of art or the work of any great artist, how much was strictly original and how much was an adaptation of previously existing material. In support of his argument he cited the poetry of the Scottish writer Macpherson, which, purporting to be the bardic utterances of the ancient Celtic poet Ossian, had captured the imaginations of readers in England and right across Europe. (45) Among many imitations of ancient poetry, Arnim felt, 'ist nie etwas erschienen, was den Geist der Zeit so lebendig berührt hat wie Macpherson mit seiner Neumachung der alten Gedichte'. (46)

Such a process of poetic renovation might indeed necessitate the most striking combinations of old and new if potency of life was to be preserved, but the process was vindicated if it truly engaged the imagination of the present-day readership. Arnim
cited Goethe's review of their first volume as living proof of his argument, and with good reason, for Goethe subscribed wholeheartedly to this view. Writing of the 'Weimarische Kunstausstellung vom Jahre 1803' he stated explicitly:

Denn der Künstler hat das Recht, ja die Pflicht, das unvollkommene Gebildete als Stoff zu behandeln und sich es anzueignen, als wenn es von Hause aus sein gehörte. Er leistet allerdings etwas Rühmliches, wenn er einem flüchtigen mangelhaften Entwurf mehr Gehalt verleiht, die Anordnung verbessert, die Charaktere mehr bestimmt und entwickelt. (47)

In this conviction Arnim showed himself both more radical and more consistent than his colleague who, nevertheless, was equally guilty before the bar of strictly historical assessment. However, as far as Arnim was concerned, the criterion of historical accuracy was inappropriate in passing judgement on the Wunderhorn; rather, he insisted, it should be judged as Goethe judged it, by its power to speak to the contemporary situation of the universal truths of life:

Und darin liegt es, daß unser Wunderhorn etwas ward, was bis dahin noch nicht vorhanden. Die Menschen, die bis dahin hundert alte Lieder bloß als Merkwürdigkeit, als Sinnbilder einer andern Zeit hatten vorderstreichen lassen, sahen sie auf einmal mit ihren eigenen Worten verbunden. (48)
If Arnim's concern for contemporary relevance sometimes caused him to sacrifice artistic standards, Brentano was much more rigorous in this respect. Although he agreed in principle with Arnim's argument, he endeavoured to make him apply it consistently to the material in question so that the end-product was not merely topical but also of a high standard artistically. During the printing of the first volume which Arnim supervised alone, Brentano warned 'lasse nur nichts Besseres heraus bei der Einschiebung des Bekanntesten'. (49) He wanted consistency in the choice of material as well as in its treatment: if a popular contemporary poet like Pfeffel were represented in the anthology then surely poems by Goethe, Schiller and Bürger should be included also? (50)

Brentano's overriding concern was for poetic beauty. Of Docen's review of part one he complained, 'er will nicht wissen, was sie Schönes gesungen, er will nur wissen, was und wann sie gesungen'. (51) Yet as time went by Brentano began to waver in his adherence to this principle and he came to wonder whether historical accuracy should not take precedence over poetic beauty. His reverence for source material, his literary sensitivity and his historical sense caused him much heart-searching as he observed his friend's method of dismantling and reassembling old songs in the most unlikely and bizarre combinations. None was more aware of this ambivalence than Arnim.
... der alle acht Tage, nachdem er sechs
dage daran gearbeitet, das streng Historische
daraus zu vernichten, am siebenten behauptete,
es soll eigentlich eine Historie des Volks-
liedes sein, und ein Paar Verse wieder
ausstrich, die übrigen aber stehen ließ. (52)

Brentano admired Arnim for his ability to create a
new song from next to nothing but castigated him for
a lack of sensitivity in restoration work. Like
Jacob Grimm, Brentano felt that Arnim was not
endowed with the talents necessary for editorial
revision, except in the case of 'Herstellung ...
naturberauschter Poesie'. (53) Rather, Arnim was
divinely gifted with poetic imagination and
inventiveness which, when given free rein, rendered
him incapable of moderation and consistency:

Was aber am meisten gegen die Gültigkeit
Deines Zustandes, in dem Du restaurierst,
 spricht, ist, daß er Dir nicht gleich ist:
kurzum Du dichtest. Und wenn Du in Zug
kommst, kannst Du nicht glauben, wie angst
und bange mir wurde. Denn in einem
poetischen Fieber von 1808 nahmst Du
hintereinander alle saecula vor und
gabst ihnen oft wider Willen und ohne Not
von Deiner Hippokrene. Aber das ist alles
leeres Geschwätz und ist nicht des kleinsten
Liedes wert, das Du in jenem Atem dichtest.
Könntest Du nur die Welt so anhauchen, so
wäre goldne Zeit, die hat keine Vorzeit
und keine Vorurtheile von Kritik. Aber in
einer Zeit, welche Kritik ausübt, ist Kritik
notwendig. (54)
With his usual perspicacity Brentano here put his finger on the heart of the matter. Arnim was unable to apply his own principles with any degree of artistic consistency because he was essentially a poet: once fired, his imagination simply carried him away, and however marvellous the result in poetic terms, it was often far from his original intention. This lack of control over the creative process was apparent in all his work and gave rise to the frequent criticism that, as Wilhelm Grimm put it,

...manchmal war der Becher zu klein, und der Wein strömte über, oder er war zu groß und wurde nicht bis zum Rande gefüllt, immer aber war der Duft, der davon aufstieg, rein und erfrischend. (55)

Brentano saw the implications of this weakness for the Wunderhorn and warned Arnim, 'wenn wir alte Lieder der Zeit näher rücken, müssen wir es ganz gleichmäßig, sonst fallen sie um wie Mauern, die aus der senkrechten Linie kommen'. (56) For his own part, Brentano described himself as 'weniger frei und eigentümlich' in comparison with his friend. (57)

In a delightfully evocative passage he elaborated their respective approaches to the editorial task:

Will er (Arnim) aber ein steinernes Ritterbild, ein altes Schloß, einen Grabstein aus eiserner, armer, einfältiger Zeit, der zusammengestürzt, wieder aufrichten, so wäre er imstand, ein Fenster quer auf einem Tulpenbeet zuzumauern oder dem Ritter einen Nachtviolenstock hinters
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Brentano, then, for all his approval of Arnim's concern for contemporary relevance, chastised his friend for lack of editorial consistency in the way he operated his principle in practice. Arnim, on the other hand, criticized Brentano for the ideological inconsistency underlying his technique of 'künstliches Altmachen', for he argued 'daß eigentlich die größere Zahl der Leser fortschreitend, nicht rückschreitend in ihrer Sprache ist'. (59)

In the main, such criticisms have a greater application to the later volumes than to the earlier one. The great strength of the first part lay in its happy integration of ideology and content, principle and practice; signs of hesitation on the part of the editors, especially on Brentano's part, only came later as critics and friends queried their integrity. At the end of the day, however, even Brentano's scruples were silenced as he saw the difference between their folksong anthology and the more academically acceptable but less poetically potent Kinder- und Hausmärchen of the Grimm brothers.
Ich finde die Erzählung aus Treue äußerst liederlich und versudelt und in manchen dadurch sehr langweilig, wenngleich die Geschichten sehr kurz sind... Will man ein Kinderkleid zeigen, so kann man es mit all der Treue, ohne eines vorzuzeigen, an dem alle Knöpfe heruntergerissen, das mit Dreck beschmiert ist, und wo das Hemd den Hosen heraushängt... Ich habe bei diesem Buch recht empfunden, wie durchaus richtig wir beim Wunderhorn verfahren, und daß man uns höchstens größeres Talent hätte zumuten können. (60)

* * * * *

Given that both Arnim and Brentano indulged in restoration for the sake of contemporary relevance and poetic potency, the nature of their editorial interference must now be ascertained. What methods did they adopt to ensure comprehensibility? How did they heighten individuality, emphasize activity, promote the cause of national unity and increase the poetic value of their material? What considerations governed their choice of material?

In general terms their selection criteria were based on the need for comprehensibility and relevance to contemporary society, and upon the conviction that the raison d'être of the anthology was practical rather than historical or purely literary. Arnim never countenanced the idea that their work should provide the raw material for a history of the German folksong, and resisted the suggestion when Brentano proposed to write such a history. He wrote to Zimmer in 1809 that it was simply not feasible, 'denn gerade die
bedeutendsten Sachen für die Geschichte der Lieder enthält unsere Sammlung gar nicht, weil sie nie auf die Geschichte, sondern auf das Gegenwärtige Rücksicht genommen'. (61) It was the needs of the present and the needs of the people which governed the choice of material, and as far as Arnim was concerned, Görres would have fared better with his publication of the German chapbooks if he had simply reprinted 'die besten... nach ganzer Kraft und bester Quelle... für das Volk'. (62) This had been their own plan, certainly as far as the first volume was concerned, hence the exclusion, as Arnim put it, of 'Alterthümlichkeiten und bloße literarische Merkwürdigkeiten'. (63) By the same token, songs which contained too much historical reference were also omitted as being accessible only to academics, and such historical material as was included was carefully edited so that it should be generally understandable.

Another of the criteria governing choice of material was that of general popularity. If a song was well-known in his own day then it merited inclusion, according to Arnim, especially if its theme was in accord with the aim of the anthology. Thus Arnim was prepared to include Pfeffel's popular song, 'Gott grüß' euch Alter', and Overbeck's 'Blühe liebes Veilchen', as well as Schubart's familiar 'Kapplied'. (64) The point about these songs, as a later comment makes plain, is that they had become part of the anonymous folksong tradition. To Brentano's riposte that they were not old and, from an artistic point of view, not particularly good, Arnim
countered that they were loved by the people. (65)
True to their conviction that the individual poet was able to express the sentiments of many, Arnim and Brentano included many songs penned by major and minor poets of a former day, the majority of which were culled from printed sources in Brentano's extensive library of old German literature.

Brentano provides some significant information as to why songs by Friedrich von Spee were included in the first volume. (66) Writing in 1806 to J.H. Wyttenbach on receipt of a manuscript of Spee songs, Brentano replied:

Von Spee können wir nichts mehr brauchen, die Lieder von ihm, die das erste Band des Wunderhorns umfaßt, sind eigentlich schon kleine Sünden gegen den Plan, die nur seine gänzliche Unbekanntheit verzeihen konnte. (67)

His inclusion was justified on the grounds of his relative anonymity, and, as his later inclusion in Brentano's Kinderlieder makes clear, on the grounds of his qualities of childlike innocence and naiveté, which Brentano was not alone in recognizing. (68)

If Spee, the baroque poet, was possessed of the childlike qualities which Brentano so admired, Luther, his protestant forerunner, was a fine example of the community-minded poet whom Arnim revered, and therefore merited inclusion in the anthology, not only as a counterpoise to Spee, but because he wrote for, and within the context of, the community.
In short, individual poets were chosen for inclusion on the same grounds as truly anonymous folk-poets, namely, because they expressed some aspect of authentic German life and culture which added to the general picture, or because they possessed the marks of the true folk-poet and were, or deserved to be, popular with the people. All the songs chosen for inclusion reflected some aspect of the rich variety and vitality of German society in former times, for herein lay their relevance to a contemporary society which was sadly lacking in these qualities.

In purely statistical terms, the first volume of the anthology comprises 212 songs ranging from medieval times to the end of the eighteenth century, the majority of which, however, date from the sixteenth century. Of the printed sources used, Forster's Frische Teutsche Liedlein provided the greatest number of songs, twenty-eight in all, while the eighteenth-century collections of Herder, Elwert and Nicolai provided a further thirty-eight songs. More than seventy poems by baroque and other authors were included, among whom Spee, Opitz and Luther figure prominently. (69) Approximately forty songs were gathered from broadsheets and the rest were contributed by contemporary collectors, notably
A. L. Grimm, who is represented by no less than twelve songs in the first volume. (70)

It should be noted that H. Rölleke's critical edition of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, building on the preparatory work of H. Schewe, has provided evidence which refutes many of the conclusions of K. Bode and shows that, although they have been authoritative for more than half a century, they were in fact based on inadequate data and therefore frequently inaccurate. Bode, for instance, postulates a far greater degree of editorial capriciousness than is in fact the case, and credits Arnim with the lion's share of alterations, whereas H. Rölleke has shown that editorial revisions were undertaken - in the majority of cases - with circumspection and that Arnim and Brentano were equally involved in the task. (71) Bode's conclusions are therefore corrected in the light of more detailed information about the editors' sources and it becomes plain that both Arnim and Brentano had a more extensive knowledge of folksong and folklore than was previously assumed. Behind virtually all their modifications and improvements to source material there is some underlying strand of folk tradition.

As regards the subject-matter of the songs, the anthology concentrates upon human emotions as reflected in the variety of life-situations, the most important of which is the area of inter-personal relationships: love, jealousy, grief, death, separation, marriage, disappointment and the like. Songs which treat of some
aspect of love comprise half the volume, those with a religious theme take second place, thereafter come historical ballads and adventure stories, soldier songs, drinking songs, seasonal songs, nursery rhymes, and songs of humour and magic. By far the largest proportion of these songs have ordinary people as their heroes: youths and girls, hunters, soldiers, millers and farmers, tailors, shepherds, musicians and miners. However, there are also a good number of knights and noblemen, and, in the less ordinary category, legendary heroes, saints and martyrs, witches and gypsies, and historical figures. On the whole, they are songs of the country rather than of the town, representative of the interests and imagination of ordinary people who enjoy listening to exploits of an heroic, miraculous or extraordinary nature as much as they like songs which reflect their own experiences of life. In short, the two elements which Brentano wanted are present in the volume: the everyday and the exotic. (72)

With regard to their treatment of material, Rölleke again furnishes evidence which calls Bode's conclusions in question. According to his findings, almost half the volume comes into Bode's category of songs which were unaltered or only marginally revised as compared with their sources. The next largest category comprises songs which were either abridged or extended without unduly altering their content. Roughly ten per cent were modernized and improved poetically while a similar proportion were contaminations. The remainder,
a mere fifteen songs, were revised to such an extent that their actual meaning changed. (73) In other words, there is far less capricious revision of the songs than Bode suggests, and such 'Austattung eigener Arbeit' as there is in the first volume is almost entirely in keeping with the spirit of the original source material or based upon a genuine folksong theme. The measure of their editorial sensitivity may be gauged from the fact that even practised folksong experts like Elwert could not distinguish between genuine folksongs and those rewritten by Arnim and Brentano, as Brentano recorded with delight:

Aber stelle Dir vor, dieser alte Praktikus selbst erkennt unsre Restaurationen und Ipsefakten für echt; das liebste ist ihm Dein verlorner Schwimmer; er fragte mich, was es für ein altdeutscher Gebrauch sei, den die Zeile so wie auf dem Pokale usw. berühre, und sagte mir, daß er bereits im Reichsanzeiger darum habe fragen wollen; da erklärte ich ihm dann hin und her, wie die Mandelkerne eins der altdeutschen Konfekte sei usw. und er war vollkommen zufrieden. (74)

As far as general editorial practice was concerned, Arnim and Brentano kept the needs of a contemporary readership firmly in mind. This priority justified the modernization of archaisms, though this was not always adhered to consistently, even within one poem, and the standardization of dialect forms. In order to accommodate such linguistic alterations further metrical changes and modifications to existing rhyme schemes became necessary, and since the anthology was designed for reading rather than for singing, refrains were also omitted. Other editorial practices which
were justified on the grounds of facilitating general comprehensibility included the excision of classical and esoteric allusions and the removal of specific historical references where possible. Topical appeal was guaranteed through the introduction of contemporary themes, the classic example being Brentano's version of a gruff soldier song, 'Der Schweizer', in which a money-grubbing mercenary was transformed into a homesick deserter pining for his Swiss mountains. (75)

In deference to public taste, Arnim and Brentano felt obliged to omit, or at least to tone down, too coarse or overtly erotic elements, while moralizing verses were generally expunged both for poetic reasons and because of the surfeit of didactic poetry already on the market. All other editorial practices may be summed up as heightening techniques, justified on ideological and poetic grounds, and designed to further the basic purpose of the anthology.

A careful reading of the anthology reveals a strong emphasis upon the individual. While many of the heroes of the songs are standard folksong types, Arnim and Brentano took pains to avoid conventionality and to draw out those characteristics which reveal true individuality and vitality, in accordance with their presuppositions about the nature of life. The emphasis falls upon experience: life is to be lived to the full, to be embraced in all its height and depth; it is a challenge which calls for whole-hearted commitment of the whole man, leaving no room for
compromise or half-measures, hesitation or evasion of responsibility. The joys and the sorrows of life are faced with equal honesty; the heroes of the songs reveal a happy balance of realism and idealism, and an appreciation of the good things of life combined with the knowledge that material well-being is no guarantee of happiness. Throughout the anthology it is quality of life which is stressed.

The opening poem in the first volume sets the tone for the rest of the book, conjuring up in a few vivid strokes a world of movement and music, sight and sound, clarity and mystery, beauty and purity, youth and vitality. (76) It is followed by a succession of poems in no particular order which paint a picture of life in all its richness and variety, and man in all his dignity and frailty. The typical Wunderhorn hero, be he knight or peasant, lives, as 'Jäger Wohlgemuth' hunts, 'aus frischem freien Muth'. (77) The soldier is prepared to fight to the death for his country and his comrades, while 'Der Dollinger' rises to the challenge to fight for God and his king who calls angrily:

Wie steht mein Hof so lästerlich,
Hab ich kein Mann,
Der Stechen kann
Um Leib und Seel, um Gut und Ehr,
Und daß unserm Herrn die Seele wär?' (78)

They are wholesome characters, free from sentimentality and self-pity, who expect to get out of life what they put into it. Each is conscious of his own dignity and worth, even those whom 'society' would label criminal,
immoral or undesirable: beggars, gypsies and thieves. There is no fawning servility on the part of members of the lower classes: a shepherdess maintains her pride and independence before a king, while a humble girl is unimpressed by the material superiority of a class-conscious count's son:

'Ey, Jungfer, wärt ihr ein wenig reich,
Wärt ihr ein edler Zweig,
Fürwahr ich wollt euch nehmen,
Wir wären einander gleich!'

'Und ob ich schon nicht reiche bin,
Aller Ehren bin ich voll.
Meine Ehr will ich behalten,
Bis daß meins Gleichens kommt.' (79)

In fact, it is those whom 'society' calls respectable who come off worst in the Wunderhorn songs: town councillors, merchants' sons, members of the upper classes who act irresponsibly or who cherish inflated ideas of their own importance. (80) Arnim's ideal men of action are well represented, as indeed are Brentano's childlike natures whose strength is their innocence. The essence of human wisdom and the source of true life, as seen by the Wunderhorn editors, are summed up in the poem, 'Werd ein Kind':

Wenn dich aber hoch beflecket
Deiner Weisheit stolzer Witz,
Sich alsdann vor dir verstecket
Wahrer Wahrheit klarer Blitz:
Wenn der Buchstab dich gefangen,
Kannst du nicht zum Geist gelangen. (81)
It should not be thought, however, that the injunction to become a child affords protection against life's more difficult and bitter experiences, indeed it is the young and innocent who most often wrestle with painful situations, as in the case of the young girl who encounters death in the poem 'Der Tod und das Mädchen im Blumengarten', (82) or the young miller grown prematurely sad through being parted from his sweetheart:

Ach Scheiden, ach, ach!  
Wer hat doch das Scheiden erdacht,  
Das hat mein jung frisch Herzlein  
So frühzeitig traurig gemacht. (83)

Arnim and Brentano were naturally drawn to such characters and were therefore able, sensitively and unobtrusively, to give them extra depth by expunging superfluous detail and by replacing conventional folksong formulae with apt personal descriptions. Thus, for example, in the ballad 'Der Graf im Pfluge', the excision of a few conventional phrases and the insertion of new and sharper formulations gives extra definition to the characters and assists the action. This technique is well illustrated from a comparison of the source material with the final Wunderhorn version. For example, two couplets of the original text read:

Der König sprach mit züchten  
wol zu dem graffen schon ...  
Dem Boten thet sie nachreiten  
vber da man da faren thut.

The corresponding lines in the Wunderhorn text read:
In terms of individuality, then, the heroes of the Wunderhorn mainly speak for themselves, though Arnim and Brentano assist them in places by adding psychological depth to characterization, and by inserting personal narrative where an impersonal form was less effective.

As far as activity is concerned, the poems again speak mainly for themselves since the subject-matter of the folksong is invariably a concrete event or 'Begebenheit', as Brentano put it in his circular letter of 1806. The folksong gives no opportunity for the sentimental self-analysis of the late Enlightenment; rather, the folkpoet communicates direct experience of life from constant contact with his fellow men. The experiences about which he writes are those with which all can identify: the archetypal experiences of the human heart rather than the intellectual processes of the head. Common experience is of the essence of the folksong; the individual speaks for all men. The emphasis falls upon situations and encounters, and even the internal is externalized in symbol and formula. Arnim and Brentano sought to highlight this aspect of the traditional folksong by eliminating any material which was inessential to the central action of the songs. In the pursuit of this objective they therefore
systematically expunged framework verses, authorial introductions and conclusions, historical scene-setting verses and didactic and theological passages. All is action and immediacy, but the question of what kind of activity is also pursued. Academic study is eschewed on the basis that first-hand enjoyment of life is better; undue prudence is eschewed on the grounds that life is short and one must make hay while the sun shines. (86) Arnim made a revealing comment in connexion with the poem 'Die Eile der Zeit in Gott', which is indicative of his fundamental attitude to life: what matters is not how much time is available but how it is used. A lapse of time of 120 years seems but an afternoon to the girl who spent it with her Saviour:

Der Jahre Zahl man bald nachschlägt,
Hundert und zwanzig Jahr austrägt,
Die Jungfrau war so schön und klar,
Als wenn sie wäre fünfzehn Jahr. (87)

Arnim's comment on the poem reads:

Täglich wird angenommen, Einer sei wahn-
sinnig, die ganze Welt rings sei wahr;
hier der Gegensatz: Eine ist wahr, die
ganze Welt rings wahnsinnig in leeren
Beschäftigungen sich quäelend bildet sich
hundertzwanzig Jahre ein; ihr ist es ein
schöner Nachmittag, und wer mag leugnen,
daß ein seliger Nachmittag nicht mehr sei
als hundertzwanzig elende Jahre? (88)

That Brentano was similarly aware of this possibility is apparent from a remarkable letter to Gritha Hundhausen in 1802, in which he described himself as living in this state of eternal youth:
Das leere zerstreuende Leben ist mir schon in früher Jugend aus den Händen gewunden worden, und Gott hat mir statt dessen im jungen Herzen schon eine reinere, unsichtbare, herrliche Welt erschlossen.... ich lebe ewig, und in ewiger Jugend, und gebe alles hin. (89)

The life-situations depicted in the Wunderhorn songs, then, stress the importance of authentic, first-hand activity and experience. Corporate activity is also stressed, particularly in the context of war, but attention is likewise drawn to the pleasures of communal festivity. Life's joys, as much as life's crises, need to be shared. The call to corporate activity in the face of war was particularly relevant at the time of the anthology's compilation, hence the inclusion of Weckherlin's 'Schlachtlied' with its challenge to heroism:

Frisch auf, ihr tapfere Soldaten!
Ihr, die ihr noch mit teutschem Blut,
Ihr, die ihr noch mit frühem Muth
Belebet, suchet große Thaten. (90)

Appropriate, too, was the emphasis on festivity at a time when the authorities were set on prohibiting folk festivals:

Lasset uns scherzen
Blühende Herzen,
Lasset uns lieben
Ohne Verschieben,
Lauten und Geigen
Sollen nicht schweigen,
Kommet zum Tanze,
Pflücket vom Kranze. (91)
In order to emphasize the importance of national identity and solidarity, Arnim and Brentano were rigorous in minimizing regional distinctions, mainly by replacing dialect forms with standard German which all could understand, and also by playing down religious differences. Thus Arnim transformed the hero of the 'Lied vom alten Hildebrandt' into 'ein edler Degen/ aus deutschem Lande stolz' where the original has 'aus Griechenlande', (92) and the German character is stressed in soldier songs especially. The model German is described in the 'Schlachtlied':

Der ist ein Teutscher wolgeboren,  
Der von Betrug und Falschheit frey,  
Hat voll der Redlichkeit und Treu,  
Nicht Glauben, nicht Freiheit verloren. (93)

His sense of identity with his German fatherland is brought out in Schubart's 'Kaplied', in which soldiers on the way to Africa sing:

An Teutschlands Grenzen füllen wir  
Mit Erden unsere Hand  
Und küsuen sie, das sey der Dank  
Für deine Pflege, Spei3 und Trank,  
Du liebes Vaterland. :,: (94)

Several of the songs in the anthology date from the time of the Reformation and were originally written for purposes of political or religious propaganda. In these cases, Arnim and Brentano invariably expunged all polemical passages, as for example in the song about the protestant martyr 'Algerius', where several verses of anti-papal propaganda were omitted and all references to historical context, with the result that the song
concentrates exclusively upon the faith of its hero. (95) Similarly, the ballad of 'Moriz von Sachsen' is prized from its historical context and loses its political message. (96) Whatever their personal convictions, Arnim and Brentano preferred to stress the importance of Christian faith rather than to discuss the relative merits of Catholicism and Lutheranism, and by the same token, they highlighted national solidarity rather than petty local controversies.

By all these editorial means, the purpose of the anthology was underlined. Songs were brought in line with the ideological convictions of the editors as well as with their artistic standards. However, it should not be forgotten that, for all their ideological convictions, Arnim and Brentano were primarily poets; their code of practice was by no means consistently implemented, and, as contemporary readers testified, the greatest successes were more often than not those songs whose final form owed more to the poet's imagination and skill than to their original sources.

* * * * *

In conclusion, a comparison of Des Knaben Wunderhorn with the Mildheimisches Liederbuch serves to illustrate the great gulf fixed between the romantic and rationalist philosophies of life. At heart lies a fundamentally different approach to life, the former starting from experience and the latter from theory. It will be
recalled that the experience which first prompted, and which effectively symbolized, the intention of Arnim and Brentano in compiling the anthology was the Rhine trip of 1802:

Auf den Postschiffen ist ein herrliches Leben, ganz wie im Himmelreich... so möchte ich wohl noch einmal leben; das Leben war frisch angenommen wie die echte Quelle des rheinischen Weines. (97)

It was the experience of abundant life which called forth song. How different, by contrast, was R.Z. Becker's determined attempt to regulate life by first influencing the mind. He invited any who were in accord with his viewpoint to contribute material for his anthology:

Ich habe nun zu dem Preise, den ich jetzt aussetzen will, einen Gegenstand gewählt, dessen wirksamer Einfluß auf den Geist und folglich auf das wahre Wohl und die Zufriedenheit unserer deutschen Nation, von ächten Menschenkennern und Menschenfreunden schon längst erkannt wurde, der aber noch immer unter die unbefriedigten Bedürfnisse und frommen Wünsche unsers Zeitalters gehört. Dieses ist eine Sammlung von Volksliedern -- für alle Vorfälle des Lebens... Volkslieder, welche für junge Leute vom gemeinen Bürger- und Bauernstande Fälschlichkeit und Reitz genug hätten, um die unter ihnen bisher gewöhnlichen theils unsittlichen, theils sinn- und empfindungslosen Lieder zu verdrängen, und dabey zu machen, daß diese Stände bey freudigen und traurigen Gelegenheiten mehr sängen, als bisher. (98)

On the face of it, there are strong resemblances between Becker's ambitions and those of Arnim and Brentano: both had the younger generation in mind and both were striving for the dissemination of
good folksongs among the people. In fact, however, their respective understanding of contemporary needs and how to meet them were virtually antithetical. Arnim and Brentano believed that the best songs and the best examples of unspoilt human existence were to be found among the very classes whom Becker sought to improve, while the so-called 'enlightened' middle class was the one which they considered to be in need of regeneration. The editors of the *Wunderhorn*, and others of their persuasion, took exception to Becker's patronizing philanthropy, however. Well-meaning his intent, because they rejected his philosophy of life and his use of the folksong. Becker placed such strictures upon his intending authors that the songs produced were doomed to turn out as nothing more than sermons in rhyme. 'Diese Volkslieder sollen nähmlich', he exhorted would-be authors,

1) möglichst deutlich und faßlich seyn: dürfen also keine Anspielungen auf Dinge und Begriffe, die außer dem Gesichtskreis des Volkes liegen, keine Mythologie, keine personificirten Abstracta, nichts von der süßen Natur, vom keuschen Mond u. dergl. enthalten, und sollen gleichwohl so bilderreich und so edel und erhaben in Gedanken und Ausdruck seyn, als es möglich ist.

2) Scherz und Laune muß in den meisten herrschen; wenigstens Munterkeit und lebhafte Darstellung der Gegenstände von solchen Seiten, die für das Volk anziehend sind. Satyrische Züge wider Laster und Thorheiten werden vorzüglich wohl angebracht seyn, wenn sie nur verständlich sind.

3) Es darf kein unsittlicher Scherz, auch nicht die entfernteste Zweydeutigkeit und kein gar zu platter oder plumper Ausdruck gebraucht werden.

4) Jedes Lied, auch das lustigste, muß gute moralische Empfindungen oder Gesinnungen erwecken oder befördern. (99)
It is hardly surprising that those who responded to his challenge were not primarily poets, but teachers and clergymen whose names are now forgotten. They were men of whom Arnim would have said: 'Jeder wuste über sein Leben etwas zu sagen, nur hatte keiner Leben'. (100)

The difference between the Wunderhorn and Becker's anthology is the difference between a book which is full of life and one which is full of advice about life. This is immediately apparent from the respective structures of the two anthologies. Des Knaben Wunderhorn has no structure as such; there is no principle behind the order of the material presented save that of variety and contrast, a reflection of the richness of life itself. Brentano spoke of their having woven a beautiful garland. (101)

The Mildheimisches Liederbuch, by contrast, has a carefully premeditated structure of different sections designed to illustrate different aspects of man's life and with man himself always in the central position. Thus the first section on nature revolves around man, as is apparent from its title: 'Die Natur außer und um den Menschen in ihrer Herrlichkeit'. (102)

This leads on to 'Der Mensch, nach seinem Lebenszweck, seinen Eigenschaften, Pflichten und Tugenden, verschiedenen Geschlechtern und Altersstufen, und mancherley Lagen des Gemüths und des Lebens', (103) followed by 'Der Mensch im häuslichen und gesellschaftlichen Leben', (104) and finally, 'Der Mensch
in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft, nach den verschiedenen Ständen, Geschäften und Gewerben'. (105) In other words, everything is catered for: the reader is told how to think and act in every mood, at every stage of life, in every circumstance and in his job. Equally important are the dangers which are to be avoided in all these cases.

Any attempt to paint a vignette of the Mildheim hero runs the risk of tending to caricature, and yet, as the Romantics saw him, he undoubtedly was a caricature of what a real human being should be. He is presented as a paragon of virtue who knows how to enjoy the good things of life in moderation. He knows that money cannot buy happiness but is sensible enough to admit that a certain amount is necessary. Aware that no man is perfect, he is prepared to be tolerant with himself and others -- up to a point, but sin is not worth the fleeting pleasure it affords if society finds out. In his relationships with the opposite sex, the Mildheim hero is distinctly cautious: girls with whom it is fun to flirt are undesirable as wives, while the Mildheim heroine, having been well taught by her practical mother, is set on acquiring a reliable and preferably rich husband who will keep her not in luxury, for that is too decadent, but in comfort. As far as nature is concerned, if the Mildheim hero keeps alert he will not only enjoy, but also be edified, by the many little lessons nature has to teach. Finally, if he takes all these lessons to
heart and lives a morally upright and socially useful life of moderation in all things, avoiding emotional excesses and thinking before he speaks and acts, life will be good to him, his neighbour, his wife and children will respect him, business will prosper, and he may look forward to a happy retirement and a peaceful death in hoary old age, mourned by many respectful fellow citizens.

'Ein kleinliches Tugendleben voll minutioser Hemmungen und Quälereien' was Eichendorff's description of the way of life as regulated by rationalist utilitarian principles. (106) Justifying what appeared to be a totally negative impression of late Enlightenment society, he went on to say:

Wir haben in der vorherrschenden Skizze fast nur Unerfreuliches bieten können, weil es unsere Absicht war, eben nur das Vorherrschende und allgemein Bezeichnende jener guten alten Zeit der Mittelmäßigkeit in Erinnerung zu bringen. (107)

Undoubtedly the picture just painted must be seen as an exaggeration of Becker's anthology as a whole, for it also contains much that is laudable in its advocacy of the best of Enlightenment and post-Revolution thoughts about man's dignity and potential. However, the best is frequently obscured in the plethora of moral platitudes and earnest exhortations to opt for the paths of virtue, common sense and security.
The rationalization of religion, for example, resulted in poems like the following which are at best only a half-truth (when measured against the full biblical revelation), and at worst a downright lie:

Schön ist es auf Gottes Welt, wo die Tugend meistens lächelt, stets ein West die Unschuld fächelt, die sich an den Engel hält. Schön ist es auf Gottes Welt.


Bleibt ihr Gott und Tugend hold; dann geht ihr zur Grabesschwelle sanft und still, wie eine Welle, die sich über Goldsand rollt: bleibt denn Gott und Tugend hold! (1C8)

Job would have found these verses difficult to accept, as indeed would the heroes of numerous Wunderhorn poems whose innocence and virtue may have been vindicated ultimately but not without much suffering beforehand, as in the case of the young boy who died for a crime he did not commit:

Sein Vater beim Gerichte stand,
Sein Herz wollt ihm zerbrechen:
'Ach Sohne, liebster Sohne mein, Dein'n Tod will ich schon rächen.'

'Ach Vater, liebster Vater mein, Meinen Tod sollt ihr nicht rächen, Brächet meiner Seele schwere Pein, Um Unschuld will ich sterben.' (109)

The real world contains a great deal of inexplicable and undeserved suffering, some of it admittedly caused by men's folly and sin, but some that is harder to understand, like the death of a young girl in her prime. To her, death reveals its ugly features:
Gar häßlich thät er sehen,  
Scheußlich war sein Gesicht. (140)

And no amount of persuasion or promises to lead a virtuous life can prevail upon it:

'Erbarm dich meiner Jugend,'  
Sprach sie mit großer Klag,  
'Will mich in aller Tugend,  
Ueben mein Lebetag.  
Nimm mich nicht gleich dahin jetzund,  
Spar mich noch eine Weile,  
Schon mich noch etlich Stund!' (111)

Life is not always as black and white as the Mildheimisches Liederbuch makes it. The rain falls on the just and the unjust and the wicked seem to prosper. There is no programme of life to follow which automatically guarantees a happy end. And what is true happiness in any case? The definition put forward by Becker differs radically from that contained in the Wunderhorn: the former is essentially a material happiness, the latter is of a different order altogether, the happiness of the 'one blessed afternoon' of eternal youth. (112)

Eichendorff described the Enlightenment way of life thus:

Nebenbei lief auch, noch von Sulzer her, eine Nützlichkeitstheorie durch das Land, ja sogar über die Kanzeln, nicht etwa von dem, was zum ewigen Leben, sondern was für des Leibes Nothdurft nutz ist, von Sparsamkeit, Runkelrüben und Kartoffelbau. Mit Fleiß im täglichen Haushalt und etwas negativer Moral, die eben niemanden totschlägt oder bestiehlt, meinte man mit dem Jenseits, wenn es überhaupt eines gäbe, schon fertig zu werden, den Spruch: 'Trachtet nach dem Himmelreich, so wird euch das Andere zugegeben', geradezu umkehrend. (113)
It is perhaps true that the avoidance of extremes ensures safety, but it also rules out the possibility of real exhilaration and its counterpart of deep despair. If contentment alone is the desired goal of life, then the Mildheimisches Liederbuch offers sound advice:

Weil ich jung bin soll mein Fleiß eifrig sich bestreben, daß ich mög' einst, als ein Greis, recht zufrieden leben.

Zwar ich will mich jugendlich meiner Tage freuen; doch nicht also, daß es mich darf im Alter reuen. (114)

No Wunderhorn hero, young or old, is so totally ruled by his head as to be impregnable in his heart. In opting rather for the 'blessed afternoon' of life, the absorbing, demanding moments which call for total commitment or none at all, he may make himself vulnerable and he may do wrong, but he never chooses the safe course if it means forfeiting the exhilaration of a more dangerous one, nor does he forego the pleasures of life for the sake of avoiding its pains. Better a happy afternoon than 120 miserable years! The same principle applies to the poetic content of the Wunderhorn: Arnim and Brentano preferred one vital and powerful poem to any number of mediocre, if historically accurate, ones.

In sum, the Mildheimisches Liederbuch preaches and teaches by precept and example a utilitarian view of life based on an optimistic understanding of human
nature and the world, which was intended to promote individual and social welfare. It uses the folksong genre as its ideological tool. The Wunderhorn, by contrast, is governed by its heart and not its head, learning wisdom largely from its mistakes but stubbornly refusing to bow to the gods of materialism, expediency and common sense. Life, it concludes, is both more complex, more inscrutable and infinitely more stimulating when embraced in its totality without flinching. In the crucible of authentic experience there has to be room for both height and depth, the miraculous as well as the humdrum, joy and grief, innocence and guilt, bravery and cowardice, God and the devil. In watching his step so carefully, the Mildheim hero fails to live to the full. Arnim called such an existence 'Scheinleben'; Brentano labelled such a man a 'Philister'.

The irony of the situation, as far as Arnim and Brentano were concerned, was that bourgeois society of the early nineteenth century comprised mainly those of a Mildheim mentality who were so accustomed to the rationalist system that they were constitutionally incapable of responding to the exploits of their more virile forbears as recorded in Des Knaben Wunderhorn. It was the situation Arnim documented in his essay and which was corroborated by Eichendorff:

Mit einem Wort: das fragliche Subject hatte, von der lüderlichen Ueberspannung stark mitgenommen, wie ein alter Roue sich die Schlafmütze über den Kopf gestülpt, und wollte es sich als ein ruhiger, guter, fetter Bürger endlich einmal bequem machen in der Welt. Solcher Philister aber wußte denn
freilich mit der Poesie eben so wenig anzufangen, als die Poesie mit ihm; und in dieser Verlegenheit verfiel er darauf, fortan mit dem bloßen Verstande zu dichten. (115)
Notes

1. The outstanding example of the first category is Görres and of the second Voß. For a full analysis of the reception of the anthology in the critical press, see chapter 4.

2. See Arnim's footnote in Von Volksliedern: 'Diese Sammlung sey dem Leser eine Probe von dem, was wir wünschen.' Wh 1, 463 (FBA 6,440). He further links essay and poems in his postscript, Wh 1,464 (FBA 6, 443).


4. ibid. and compare Brentano's comment to Arnim: 'Du weist, wie herrlich und schnell es mit unsern Liedern ging'. Sb 1, 313 (May 1806).

5. Sb 1, 274 (15 February 1805).


7. Steig 1, 106 (2 April 1804).


10. ibid.


12. Wh 1, 443 (FBA 6, 422).

13. Wh 1, 438 (FBA 6, 418).


15. Steig 3, 245 (25 November 1812). In defending his thesis to J. Grimm, Arnim shows that his view of individuality is related to history. He explains the correlation between history and society in a letter to J. Grimm of 14 July 1811,(Steig 3,134-136), in which he allows for the possibility of collective authorship 'under certain conditions'. Basically however, he sees the development of history as one of progressive individualization.


17. Steig 1, 181 (14 June 1806).

18. Arnim, Von Volksliedern, Wh 1, 448-49 (FBA 6,427).
19. For the full text of the 'Kriegslieder' see Steig 1, 197-206. They were printed in broadsheet format and comprise Zinkgraf's song (Wh 1, 449), Weckherlin's 'Schlachtlied' (Wh 1, 254), part of 'Frommer Soldaten Seligster Tod' (Wh 1, 245), 'Husarenbraut' (Wh 1, 188), 'Husarenglaube' (Wh 1, 43) and Luther's 'Kriegslied des Glaubens' (Wh 1, 112). See further H. Rölleke, 'Kriegslieder'. Achim von Arnim's Imitation eines fliegenden Blattes im Jahr 1806', Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung 16 (1971), pp. 73-80.

20. Steig 1, 191 (8 September 1806).

21. Steig 1, 209 (18 November 1806).

22. Arnim, Von Volksliedern: 'die äußere Noth hat sie verbunden nicht innere Lust, sonst wäre e i n Volk, so weit man deutsch am Markte reden hört.' Wh 1, 443 (FBA 6, 423).

23. Full bibliographical details of all public statements concerning the Wunderhorn are listed in Appendix B. They will be referred to throughout according to their listed number in Appendix B, and quotation sources will be given afterwards in brackets. Thus, Appendix B, 3 (Fam 5, 11).

24. Appendix B, 7 (Fam 5, 13).

25. GS VIII, 131 in a letter to Ernst Höpfner (20 May 1806).

26. Sb 1, 389 (February 1809).

27. see chapter five, pp. 283-318.

28. Appendix B, 1 (Fam 5, 11).

29. Steig 1, 238 (18 February 1808).

30. Appendix B, 1 (Fam 5, 11).

31. Wh 1, 479 (FBA 8, 374).

32. FBA 8, 351.

33. Arnim, Von Volksliedern, Wh 1, 463 (FBA 6, 441).

34. see bibliography for full details of H. Rölleke's impressive and comprehensive contribution to Wh research.

35. Steig 1, 146 (September 1805).

36. Steig 1, 235 (6 February 1808).

37. Arnim, Zweite Nachschrift an den Leser (1818), Wh 1, 484 (FBA 8, 378-79).
38. H. Schewe points out that Steig ignores the chronological sequence of the letters and also occasionally misquotes them. See 'Neue Wege zu den Quellen des Wunderhorns' (hereafter, Schewe, NW); Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung. 3 (1932), pp. 120-47.

39. Appendix B, 1 (Fam 5, 11).

40. Steig 1, 146 (September 1805).

41. Z, 146 (Arnim to Zimmer, 28 November 1807).

42. Appendix B, 29 (Fam 5, 34).

43. Steig 1, 234-35 (6 February 1808).

44. Steig 1, 235.

45. Macpherson published Fragments in 1760 and Fingal in 1762. The latter appeared in German translation in 1764 and was immensely popular. Later, Ossian proved to be the invention of Macpherson's imagination.

46. Steig 1, 236 (6 February 1808).

47. GA XIII, 391 (JALZ, January 1804).

48. Steig 1, 235 (6 February 1808).

49. Steig 1, 146 (September 1805).

50. ibid.

51. Sb 1, 301 (February 1806).


53. Sb 1, 358 (March 1808).

54. Sb 1, 358-59.


56. Sb 1, 357 (March 1808).

57. Sb 1, 390 (to Goethe, February 1809).

58. Sb 1, 357-58 (March 1808). H. Schewe. (NW, p. 143) inserts 'mit' after 'quer auf' and gives as the penultimate word 'Hund' instead of 'Huhn'. Sb would appear to follow Steig.

59. Steig 1, 229 (25 January 1808).

60. Sb 2, 87-88 (to Arnim, early in 1813).
61. Z, 149 (25 March 1809, not 1808 as Z wrongly states).

62. Steig 1, 221 (to Brentano, 8 October 1807).

63. Steig 3, 137 (to J. Grimm, 14 July 1811).

64. Wh 1, 384 (FBA 6, 371); Wh 1, 329 (FBA 6, 319); Wh 1, 315 (FBA 6, 306).

65. Steig 1, 147 (Summer 1805) and compare Steig 3, 135.

66. Friedrich von Spee (1591-1635), Jesuit theologian and poet, is represented in Wh 1 by 4 songs from his Trutz Nachtigall (1660). They are Wh 1, 157, 166, 172, 283 (FBA 6, 148, 157, 162, 276).


68. See G. Schaub, op. cit, p. 162f.

69. This figure includes both the works of named poets and material by individual authors which Arnim and Brentano took from journals and periodicals. See FBA 9, 3, 719-775 for full details of all three Wh volumes.

70. See Appendix C, p. 438.

71. According to Rölleke's analysis, Arnim had editorial responsibility for sixty-six poems approximately and Brentano for forty-four. Both were involved in the revision of a further nine songs. Rölleke does not commit himself in every case, however, and the figures do not include those songs which underwent minimal revisions.

72. Sb 1, 275 (to Arnim, 15 February 1805): 'Es muß sehr zwischen dem Romantischen und Alltäglichen schweben'.

73. The breakdown is as follows (figures my own), based on a comparison of Bode's formal categories with Rölleke's findings (though Rölleke makes no such formal classification):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bode's categories:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. unverändert oder wenig redigiert</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. a. Sprachmodernisierung</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Dialekt</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>c. Metrum</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. a. Textänderung</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Kürzungen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Zusätze</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Umdichtungen, Weiterdichtungen, Kontaminationen, Neubildungen</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Originale</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A breakdown of Rölleke's findings into roughly corresponding categories offers the following conclusions:

1. Only slightly revised poems. -- 85
2. Modernised and improved more substantially. -- 19
3. Shortened or expanded poems. -- 66
4. Contaminations -- 24
5. Poems substantially altered in meaning. -- 74

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74. Sb 1, 309-10 (to Arnim, May 1806).
75. Wh 1, 145 (FBA 6, 136) and see FBA 9,1, 285.
76. Wh 1, 13 (FBA 6, 11).
77. Wh 1, 303 (FBA 6,294), line 2.
78. Wh 1, 36 (FBA 6,33), lines 13-17.
79. Wh 1, 70 (FBA 6, 66-67); lines 21-28.
80. See, for example, the 'Vogt' in Wh 1,17 (FBA 6,15), the rich merchant's son in Wh 1,22 (FBA 6,20) and the town councillors in Wh 1,44 (FBA 6, 41).
81. Wh 1, 291b (FBA 6, 284).
82. Wh 1, 24 (FBA 6,22).
83. Wh 1, 102 (FBA 6, 96-97), lines 17-20.
84. Wh 1, 330 (FBA 6, 320), lines 33-34 and 87-88.
   The original lines are reconstructed from FBA 9,1, 565.
85. FBA 8, 351.
86. Wh 1, 57 (FBA 6, 53).
87. Wh 1, 64 (FBA 6, 64), lines 105-08.
89. Sb 1, 129 (summer 1802).
90. Wh 1, 254 (FBA 6, 239), lines 1-4.
91. Wh 1, 181 (FBA 6, 170), lines 1-8.
92. Wh 1, 128 (FBA 6, 124), lines 107-08 and compare FBA 9,1, 267.
93. Wh 1, 254 (FBA 6, 239), lines 9-12.
94. Wh 1, 315 (FBA 6, 307), lines 31-35.
95. Wh 1, 353 (FBA 6, 342), and compare FBA 9,1,595-600.
96. Wh 1, 270 (FBA 6, 263), and compare FBA 9,1,464-72.
97. Steig 1, 34-35 (to his aunt, 28 July 1802).
98. R.Z. Becker, Deutsche Zeitung (1787), p. 404f, quoted from MhLb, pp. 70*-71*.
99. ibid. p. 13*.
100. Arnim, Von Volksliedern, Wh 1, 436 (FBA 6, 416).
103. ibid. p. 95.
105. ibid. p. 353.
108. MhLb, p. 98.
109. Wh 1, 220 (FBA 6, 209), lines 45-52.
110. Wh 1, 24 (FBA 6, 22), lines 15-16.
111. ibid. lines 92-98.
112. See note 88 and the Conclusion, where the theme is taken up again.
114. MhLb, p. 186.
PART TWO:

RECEPTION AND IMPACT.
Historical Introduction: 1806 - 1818.

Die enge Verbindung der politisch-sozialen und der literarisch-künstlerischen Bewegungen ist für die deutsche Geschichte um die Wende des 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert besonders bezeichnend; sie veranlaßt den Historiker, oft ebenso eingehend von den Gedanken über die Dinge als von den Dingen selbst zu handeln, und sie legt ihm die Verpflichtung auf, diese innige Wechselwirkung von Gedanke und Tat zum Gegenstande seines Studiums und seiner Darstellung zu machen. (1)

What F. Schnabel sees as the historian's duty is equally applicable to the literary historian, though, as W.H. Bruford points out, the task is not an easy one:

Social and political factors exercise at all times a pervasive influence on culture in general, an influence which is none the less important for being difficult to trace with any final certainty. (2)

A bald summary of the political events in Europe between the French Revolution and the Congress of Vienna cannot hope to communicate what must have been the state of mind of those who lived through these turbulent times, and yet a proper understanding of the historical and political context in which Des Knaben Wunderhorn was produced is vital to the analysis of its reception and impact. The general uncertainty of life under the Napoleonic regime renders the task more difficult, for there was little unanimity
concerning Germany's precarious position in the years 1805 to 1815, but an examination of contemporary records and retrospective analysis thereof nevertheless indicate certain commonly held views.

Europe had been intermittently at war ever since 1792. Prussia withdrew from the first War of Coalition by making peace with France at Basle in 1795, an arrangement whereby she enjoyed peace for a full decade at the cost of her territories west of the Rhine. The second War of Coalition, which led to the defeat of Austria at Marengo and was formalized in the Treaty of Lunéville in 1801, brought in its wake the sweeping changes of the Act of Mediatization of February 1803, whereby the German Diet was obliged by Napoleon to secularize the ecclesiastical principalities of the Holy Roman Empire and mediatize the Imperial Cities. But it was the third War of Coalition in which the political die was cast as far as the Holy Roman Empire was concerned. The defeat of Austria at Austerlitz in December 1805 led to the inclusion of the West German states in a new French-dominated Confederation of the Rhine in the summer of 1806. The creaking and unwieldy constitutional machinery of the Holy Roman Empire was formally dismantled some three weeks later, an act which has been described by one British observer as not so much one of political murder as of euthanasia. (3)
For more than a century, Germany had suffered from a fragmentation which had left a deep scar on her political consciousness and which had produced successive generations of Germans who had no concept of national identity nor of loyalty to any entity bigger than their own particular state or city. The policy of political separatism destroyed national cohesion and undermined national culture, for, in W.H. Bruford's words:

Lasting works of literature (generally speaking) have been rooted in great systems of beliefs and emotions that far transcend the individual. One of these great complexes, piety, in the Roman sense of the pride in the part still played by their country and a sense of responsibility shared with compatriots, was almost entirely lacking in Germany as a result of the conditions that had produced separatism, for the individual states were too small to inspire it except in a very limited degree. It is well-known that the word 'national' was almost meaningless for the average German citizen of those days. (4)

The politics of the ordinary citizen were strictly confined to local interests. His horizon may have extended to the borders of his own state, but hardly beyond. The ruling houses of the many small states of the Holy Roman Empire operated mainly on principles of expediency and self-preservation; political opportunism was the legacy of separatism and continued to be the major consideration in the thinking of the absolute petty princes until well into the period of the Napoleonic Wars, although a new awareness of national identity was slowly emerging, based initially
on a sense of cultural community but gradually asserting itself in more explicitly political terms. Arnim and Brentano were among those who sought to encourage this trend.

Yet the task was not an easy one, so deeply entrenched were the social and political attitudes which had prevailed since the Thirty Years' War, the damaging repercussions of which Arnim documents in Von Volksliedern. Speaking of the role of the German citizen in the society of the 1790s, Gustav Freytag writes that even the best 'waren immer noch Privatmenschen. Das Interesse an dem Staat, an den höchsten Angelegenheiten der Nation war noch nicht ausgebildet'. (5) There was neither an enterprising middle class nor a political tradition of self-government in Germany at that time.

As far as the younger generation was concerned, there was no scope for significant activity, no general direction given whereby its energies could be channelled into positive social outlets, hence the increasing preoccupation with internal rather than external affairs. This, at least, is the explanation Goethe gives retrospectively for the enormous appeal of his novel, Die Leiden des jungen Werthers, in the 1770s:
In einem solchen Element, bei solcher Umgebung, bei Liebhabereien und Studien dieser Art, (i.e. Ossian, Goldsmith, Gray, Young et al) von unbefriedigten Leidenschaften gepeinigt, von außen zu bedeutenden Handlungen keineswegs angeregt, in der einzigen Aussicht, uns in einem schlepptenden, geistlosen, bürgerlichen Leben hinhalten zu müssen, befreundete man sich, in unmutigem Übermut, mit dem Gedanken, das Leben, wenn es einem nicht mehr anstehe, nach eignem Belieben allenfalls verlassen zu können, und half sich damit über die Unbilden und Längeweile der Tage notdürftig genug hin. (6)

The young men of the 1770s proved that Germany was a nation of thinkers and poets but not of political activists. The literary heroes of the period, according to Freytag, give ample evidence of this, for they 'leiden an einem Mangel von Tatkraft, von eroberndem Mannesmut und politischem Scharfblick'. (7)

The decade 1795 to 1805, during which political events of unprecedented significance were changing the face of Europe and altering men's very consciousness of the processes of history, was the period of Weimar Classicism and of Germany's greatest cultural achievements. Freytag draws out the paradox well:


It was true that the culture of the aristocracy owed more to France and Greece than it did to its own native traditions; it was true that a similar cosmopolitanism marked the best cultural achievements of the day and was a feature of the best education. There was much to be commended in this. But it was equally true that for an increasingly vocal, though still small section of thinking Germans such an attitude was untenable while a foreign invader was devastating the country. (9) Germans could no longer bury their heads in the sand but should be striving together to confront the enemy.

Such voices as were raised belonged mainly to men of the younger generation, Arnim's contemporaries. They clamoured in protest against the political apathy and indifference of educated Germans and against the escapist tendencies in much of the literature of their day. E.M. Arndt testifies in his memoirs to his personal reactions at this time of crisis:

The strength of his feeling may be assessed from his book, Geist der Zeit, published in 1806. (11) Arndt voiced the sentiments of many who were looking for a leader. Another important spokesman for the younger generation of patriots was Johann Gottlieb Fichte, whose powerful Reden an die deutsche Nation, delivered in Berlin in 1807, contended for the idea of a political, as opposed to a purely cultural, sense of national identity. (12) Arnim's admiration for Fichte is expressed in a sonnet written on his death in 1814 which contains the lines:

Auch dich hat uns die Pest der Zeit entrissen,
Dich muthigsten Bestreiter schlechter Zeit;

... Du sprachst zu Deutschen, als die Andern schwiegen,
Du riefst uns aus der Schmach zu neuen Siegen. (13)
A lesser-known figure, whose views were much in sympathy with those of Arnim and Brentano, provides an interesting record in his personal correspondence of the sense of frustration so keenly felt by many patriots during the years after 1805. A practical businessman rather than a theorizing intellectual, the Hamburg bookseller Friedrich Perthes was a man who had Germany's best interests at heart, and who, like Arnim, was convinced that the pen was as mighty as, if not mightier than, the sword. Realizing the strategic force of the written word to educate people politically, he bent all his personal and professional powers to the furtherance of that goal. His exchange of letters with friends during the years 1805 to 1808 corroborated Freytag's assessment of the period. (14) He felt indignant, for instance, at the appearance of Goethe's Die natürliche Tochter in 1804:

Our hearts must and should be filled with shame, burning shame, at the dismemberment of our Fatherland, but what are our noblest about? Instead of keeping alive their shame, and striving to gather strength, and wrath, and courage to resist the oppressor, they take refuge from their feelings in works of art! (15)

Writing to the Swiss historian, Johannes von Müller, in a similar vein in August 1805, he stressed again Germany's cultural weakness and the need for strong leadership to give the nation direction:

Jetzt fühlt Jeder der Jüngern, daß das Vaterland nicht zum Dienst der Wissenschaften da ist, sondern umgekehrt. Wie viel sind jetzt nicht schon überzeugt, daß Kraft und Tugend nicht aus moralischen Grundsätzen erwachsen, sondern einen ganz andern Boden haben! wie dringt es jetzt in die Menschen, daß die Liebe und freie Sorge für ihre Hütte, und was dazu gehört, mehr ist, als eine allgemeine Umfassung, herzvoller, vielleicht leidenschaftlicher Patriotismus besser sey, als kalter Kosmopolitismus! (16)

This was exactly the feeling of many young men who grew to manhood in the 1790s. Theirs was an 'all or nothing' approach to life which rejected the constraints of a uniformly imposed, average morality as militating against free development to maturity, and longed to be employed in some significant activity for their country.

Perthes did what he could. Placing all his hopes on Prussia, he urged Müller to convince the King of Prussia that the future of Germany lay in his hands. But Prussia failed to take action when Austria was hard pressed and, after the surrender of Ulm, Perthes and others realized that the future of a united Germany lay in a determined effort to kindle a national awareness among the people. Echoing Arnim's ideology, Perthes wrote to Müller of the need for
collective activity:

Sey über Deutschland verhängt, was da wolle, der Hauptzweck müste immer seyn, bei dem besonders Interesse der Staaten und Völker, das Allgemeine, was das Deutsche ausmacht zu erwecken, zu erhalten! -- Dies Allgemeine, Biedere, Gerade, Einfache, Wahre des Nationalcharakters zu bewahren, vor aller politischen und gelehrten Eitelkeit es beim Ausland geltend zu machen -- vor allem Egoismus, das Gute fremder Völker zu verkennen! -- Dies Allgemeine mehr zur Selbsterkenntniß beim Volk zu machen! (17)

In the first instance, this consciousness of German identity could be fostered by some kind of corporate activity by which leading Germans might be linked together in a common purpose:

Wenn die Deutschgesinnten aller Länder mit einander Communication hätten, ihrer Liebe für's Vaterland gemeinschaftliche Richtung gäben -- es könnte viel geschehen. Verschiedene Theorien, Meinungen, Ansichten müßten eben als das Charakteristische deutscher Nation geehrt werden und könnten noch viel weniger einem deutschen Bund ein Hinderniß seyn. -- Verstehen Sie mir nur recht -- ich meine keinen Bund, der geknüpft, gebunden werden soll -- er, der schon da ist in jedes Deutschen Brust, soll nur gemeinschaftliches Leben erhalten. (18)

A plan for an historical association of patriots was broached but came to nothing as Johannes von Müller defected to the French in 1807. There was a lot of talk but little action, at any level, partly because of lack of opportunity but also because those who were prepared to take action were given no encouragement or direction from the governments. Charlotte von Schiller, for instance, lamented this fact to her husband's publisher, Cotta, in 1806, knowing how much it would have grieved Schiller:
The ordinary citizen, especially in Prussia, had never been encouraged to exercise initiative: 'bis in das kleinste wurde bevormundet,' writes Freytag, 'die Selbsttätigkeit der Bürger fehlte'. (20) As for the educated classes, 'es war ihre politische Nichtigkeit,' which oppressed them, 'die Unbehilflichkeit der Reichsverfassung, die Empfindung, wie sehr der Deutsche durch ein vielgeteiltes Regiment zum Philister geworden sei'. (21) It caused the exasperation which Arnim felt so keenly of wanting to be of use and yet having no outlet for his energies.

Not surprisingly, Prussia was totally crushed by the French within days of having entered the war; Napoleon's supremacy in Western Europe was now established. Perthes, who suffered crippling financial losses as a result of the French trade restrictions, found his business in ruins but his courage and patriotism undiminished as 1806 drew to a close. The root problem remained. Prussia's failure, in his view, lay in her inability to think in wider terms than the purely selfish. 'Grade dies war Preussens
Verbrechen,' he wrote to Müller in August 1807,

daß es uns in bloßen Nationalenthousiasmus setzen wollte, da doch Preussen selbst für Deutschland nie etwas gethan hatte, und gar nicht wüste, was Eigenthümlichkeit der Deutschen sey. (22)

The nation as a whole had not learned to think practically and collectively and had failed at every turn to capitalize upon her undoubted resources of intellect and character. Thus Perthes to Jacobi in 1807:

We have every right to take credit to ourselves for intellectual wealth and for depth of character, but, alas! we have never known how to use our treasures. We have never given a general education, or a general business aptitude to our people; nor have we ever founded those national institutions which would have a tendency to keep alive the feeling of national honour, and which might preserve us from the aggressions of foreign enemies. That which we think and have thought can only be real and influential, when we shall have learned to act as well as to think.(23)

H. Muchow documents the fact that the young men of this decade were struggling to find direction in a society which was disunited ideologically and politically. He quotes a letter from Alexander von der Marwitz to his friend, Adolf Müller, which clearly substantiates the dichotomy between thought and deed and illustrates the dilemma facing the young:

Wunderlich steht die Zukunft vor mir; die Loose der Welt werden ja gegenwärtig erst geschütet, und damit auch die meinigen. Unglaublich beunruhigt es mich, daß ich noch nicht eine feste wirklichkheit vor mir sehe; es wird sich dieser Tage entscheiden; zwei
The decade 1807 to 1817 was highly critical for the future of Western Europe. It marked, in Germany, the rise of a definite sense of loyalty and patriotism, especially in Prussia, which reached its zenith during the Wars of Liberation. As Germany was devastated by one wave of war after another, none could remain impervious to its effects. In G. Steiner's words:

Until the French Revolution ... history had been, very largely, the privilege and the terror of the few. Certainly in respect of defined consciousness. ... It is the events of 1789 to 1815 that interpenetrate common, private existence with the perception of historical processes ... Wherever ordinary men and women looked across the garden hedge, they saw bayonets passing. (25)

It was as if those historical processes had suddenly speeded up. W. Grimm was certainly aware of it: 'Die Geschichte geht so schnell,' he wrote to Arnim in 1815, 'daß wir scharf blicken müssen, um sie zu sehen, wie mancher gelangt nicht zur Besinnung über den beständigen Wechsel'. (26) This experience brought, in turn, a quickening of expectation and of hope.
As Napoleon proceeded to sweep all before him, many came to see him as a historical necessity in the march of progress. Even Perthes viewed him in this light. 'By a practical path of suffering and distress,' he wrote in 1807, 'God is leading us to a new order of things; the game cannot be played backwards, therefore onward must be the word. Let that which cannot stand, fall!' (27)

The views which Perthes expressed in his letters are formulated programmatically in Von Volksliedern and symbolically and creatively in the songs of the Wunderhorn. They give expression to a 'new order of things' based upon the old order and highlighting the values needing to be reinstated if Germany was to become great once more: the emphasis upon the individual and corporate enterprise of the citizen, upon the need for national rather than provincial consciousness, and a recognition that Germany must move forward, building on the foundation of the past, under good leadership.

Among politicians, the man whose thinking and practice corresponded most closely to Arnim's during these troubled years was the Freiherr vom Stein. What Arnim strove for in his literary and journalistic sphere, Stein sought to implement in the political arena. In F. Schnabel's words:

Während die andern Vorkämpfer der nationalen Einigung nur auf dem Umwege über die Wissenschaft oder Literatur zum nationalen Gedanken gekommen sind, trug er allein das Bewußtsein der deutschen Einheit in seinem Blute. (28)
A native of Nassau, Stein became the foremost campaigner in the Prussian government for thorough-going reforms based on those values which Arnim had advocated in theory. He shared Arnim's dismay over their nation, 'zur Spekulation verdammt, weil sie zum Handeln gelähmt ist', (29) and his political credo, expressed to Graf Münster as a commitment to a united Germany:

Ich habe nur ein Vaterland, das heißt Deutschland, und da ich nach alter Verfassung nur ihm und keinem besonderen Teile desselben angehöre, so bin ich auch nur ihm und nicht einem Teile desselben vom ganzen Herzen ergeben. (30)

Arnim, who had resisted any division in Des Knaben Wunderhorn between the songs of North and South Germany, and who, in his friendship with Brentano bridged the differences between North and South, Catholic and Protestant, aristocracy and middle class, wrote during the war years of the need for good leadership, for steady reform, for significant activity and personal involvement, and for a sense of national identity. He wrote to Brentano from Berlin in June 1806 after an argument with his brother Karl:

Unser Streit betraf Preußen. Die meisten Leute in Deutschland bleiben in der Vorzeit bei einem Punkte stehen, fortlebend denken wenige, daher der meiste Schimpf gegen unsere Regierung. Daß sie hätte etwas Außerordentliches leisten können vor einigen Monaten, daran zweifle ich nicht! Doch vor allem gehörte dazu ein ordentlicher Kopf zur Führung, oder wir hätten ebenso unsere Kräfte verspilttert wie Oestreich und Rußland. Dazu könnte noch das völlig Unbildsame der Russen und Oestreicher, die nie miteinander und mit uns zu einem
organischen Ganzen zusammenwirken können. Ich läugne gar nicht, daß ein Talent an der Spitze das alles aufheben könnte ... Doch zum Teufel mit all der öffentlichen Wirthschaft, wenn man dabei nicht selbst mitwirthschaften kann. (31)

That Arnim's mind was occupied with political considerations at this time is apparent from his letters, from plans to launch a patriotic newspaper called Der Preuße, and from a political essay, Was soll geschehen im Glücke, which, though never published, testifies clearly to his political thinking immediately prior to Prussia's defeat in October 1806. In it he gives expression to the political ideology which he had always upheld and which he later felt to have been implemented, in large measure, during Stein's ministry. He approaches the subject from a historical angle. Napoleon is seen as the leader of a great 'Volksbewegung' who has overstepped the limits of his authority. Arnim bears no grudge against the movement as a whole but takes exception to Napoleon's interpretation and manipulation of historical developments. In place of the Napoleonic 'Zerstören aller historischen Verbindung' (32) Arnim proposes organic development, eschewing force and preserving a proper respect for the achievements of the past. He advocates the free development of individual powers without destroying the whole. In short, 'was untergegangen muß nicht aus dem Grabe citirt werden, aber was lebendig begraben muß auferweckt werden'. (33)
Arnim had every opportunity to observe the effectiveness of Stein's brief term of office as Prussian First Minister, as he was in Königsberg with the Court throughout the troubled period immediately preceding it. Stein's major reforms - the abolition of serfdom (in principle at any rate), and the Municipal Act which laid the foundations for genuine local government - helped to rectify the situation which Arnim found so frustrating. How much he felt in sympathy with Stein's ministry is apparent from a retrospective statement about the respective achievements of Stein and his successor, Hardenberg, of whom he largely disapproved. In an essay published in Oken's journal *Isis* in 1821 he wrote:

Niemand zweifelt, der Königsberg in den Jahren des Unglücks gekannt hat, daß es nicht einzelne Theorie, sondern Ueberzeugung der meisten aus der Erfahrung war, daß die allgemeine Lähmung aller Verhältnisse beim Eindringen der Franzosen aus der Gewohnheit des allzuvielen Regiertwerdens hervorgegangen sey. Die Selbstthätigkeit aller Stände durch Hinwegräumung ihrer Hemmungen wieder möglich zu machen, war das erste Bemühen der Gesetzgebung, welcher der Minister Stein vorstand. ...

... Stein behandelte die Verfassung des Landes als eine achtbare Grundlage für sein künftiges Gebäude; er riß niemals etwas nieder, ohne etwas Besseres an die Stelle zu setzen; er kannte nicht bloß eine Provinz, er hatte sie alle anzuschauen gesucht; er glaubte nicht durch Willkür eine constitutionelle Regierung zu begründen. (34)

The similarities with Arnim's earlier essay, and indeed with *Von Volksliedern*, are striking. Stein achieved in direct and practical political action the legislation which would facilitate the renewal of the German nation in the way which Arnim had envisaged.
In 1809 Arnim seriously entertained the idea of taking up a diplomatic career and applied for the post of secretary to Wilhelm von Humboldt. He was rejected, however, because of the adverse publicity surrounding his dispute with J.H. Voß over the Zeitung für Einsiedler. (35) Thwarted in his efforts to make a direct contribution, Arnim - and in his own way, Brentano also - bent his powers towards the same end. Des Knaben Wunderhorn marked their first attempt to help inculcate a sense of national identity by introducing a specifically German element into their contemporary culture; the Zeitung für Einsiedler followed, and thereafter came journalistic activity in Berlin (working on Kleist's Berliner Abendblätter and then the Preußischer Korrespondent). (36) In his creative writing, Arnim left a lasting monument to the ideals of the Stein reform period in his novel, Gräfin Dolores. (37)

The ideology which Arnim consistently upheld in his writing was shared to a certain extent by Brentano. As a non-Prussian, he did much to encourage a patriotic spirit in Berlin, participating fully in the activity of the 'Tischgesellschaft' and producing in that context his trenchant satire on philistinism which contained much political comment. (38) Furthermore, Brentano produced a steady stream of patriotic poetry and newspaper articles. His commitment was such that Guido Görres, defending him against the charge of lack of patriotic fervour, could write in 1846:
An dem Sterne des Vaterlandes jedoch, selbst in dieser trübesten, unheilvollsten Zeit nicht verzweifelnd, erkläng die Stimme seines Liedes, Muth und Selbstvertrauen weekend und in unverzagtem Ringen und geistigem Streben mahnend, wo sich irgend neues Leben, eine bessere Zukunft verkündend regte. ... Wer dürfte es darum wagen, der Theilnahmslosigkeit, womit das Vaterland seine Dichtungen aufgenommen, damit zu entschuldigen, daß ihm selbst vaterländischer Sinn gemangelt; nein! er war vielmehr einer jener begeisterten Sänger, deren Posaune das Vaterland aus seinem feigen Schlummer erweckt und durch seinen Mund sang die Muse patriotischer Poesie. (39)

The literary influence of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* is undisputed. Less has been made, however, of the political and social implications of the work, hence the stress given to this aspect of its impact in the present study. It remains to be shown, in the chapters which follow, how great was its contribution to the revival of national life for which Arnim and Brentano longed. The impulse - though not always the initial impulse - which the work gave to later philological, historical, social and political developments will be documented in considering its influence on such key figures as Uhland and the Grimm brothers.

In the light of the foregoing brief outline, the famous comment of the Freiherr vom Stein to Johann Böhmer seems both understandable and well justified: 'In Heidelberg, sagte mir einmal Freiherr vom Stein, habe sich ein guter Theil des deutschen Feuers entzündet, welches später die Franzosen verzehrte'. (40) Josef Görres made a similar point in his *Nachruf auf*
Arnim:

In Zeiten einer allgemein herrschenden Seuche vermag der Einzelne nur wenig gegen das Verderben ... Aber wie wenig auch immer auszurichten, und wie ungleich der Kampf seyn möge, es zielt sich nicht, ihm aus dem Wege zu gehen ... Das bedachten wir, und trugen am Fuße des Jettenbühels ein wenig Reißig und Holz zusammen, um ein kleines Feuer dort zu zünden, an dem wir uns in der kalten, neblichen Zeit einigermaßen erwärmen könnten, und an dem der übelriechenden Heerrauch, der die Sonne trübte, sich lichten und zerstreuen möchte. Das Wesen alter Zeit, wie es in den Dichtungen der Vergangenheit fortlebte, schien mit Recht Arnim am tauglichsten, um die erstarrte Gegenwart wieder einigermaßen zu erwärmen und zu beleben. (41)

How much Arnim himself reckoned the anthology to have contributed not just to the growth of patriotic fervour but also to a thoroughgoing revival of German life is apparent from his comment in the postscript to the second edition of 1819:

Die Bewegung ist doch vorhanden und läßt das Lebende nicht mehr untersinken. ... das leichtsinnige Gesetzgeben scheint endlich zu stocken, die Notwendigkeit allgemeiner Berathung und Mithwendung soll durch Verfassungen begründet werden. Alles, was einmal ernst und tief in die allgemeine Geistesbildung eingriff, wird immerdar einen belehrenden Anklang bewahren, und so sey denn dieser Anhang (i.e. Von Volksliedern) als ein ausgewachsenes Kleid der herangewachsenen Welt, der es einst zu weit war, als Erinnerung beygefügt. (42)

Des Knaben Wunderhorn was not the only contribution to the revival of which Arnim speaks, nor were he and Brentano the first to think in these terms, but they were among the first explicitly patriotic men and their anthology was a major and distinctive factor in the realization of a united, vigorous and active nation.
Generally speaking, the effects were shortlived. For a brief spell during the Wars of Liberation the hopes of the younger generation were granted; they found an outlet for their energies and an opportunity for active service in the army which helped to defeat Napoleon. But once the crisis was over, inertia set in once more, and apart from the isolated pockets of corporate activity which Arnim noted in his second postscript, the Wunderhorn's main influence was in the field of nineteenth-century folklore studies and in the creative arts.

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Notes

1. F. Schnabel, Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert, 4 vols (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1948-51), i, p. 284.


11. Arndt's Geist der Zeit was published in stages. The first part was published in Altona in 1806, (second edition 1807, third edition 1815). The second part appeared in 1808 and was reprinted (Leipzig, 1812-13) by J. Gruner at Stein's request. Part Three was published in Berlin, 1814, and the final part in 1818.

12. Fichte's Reden an die deutsche Nation, (Berlin, 1808) were delivered from 13 December 1807 to 20 March 1808.


14. F. Perthes, Beiträge zur Geschichte Deutschlands in den Jahren 1805-09, (Schaffhausen, 1843).


17. ibid., p. 13 (3 November 1805).

18. ibid., p. 14.


22. F. Perthes, Beiträge zur Geschichte Deutschlands, p. 66 (7 August 1807).


26. Steig 3, 323 (13 April 1815).


29. See H.H. Muchow, op. cit., p. 112.


31. Steig 1, 180-81 (14 June 1806).


33. ibid., p. 200.


35. See chapter four, pp. 254-57.

36. Heinrich von Kleist edited the Berliner Abendblätter from 1 October 1810 until summer 1811. Arnim, Brentano, Bettina and W. Grimm were among those who helped him. The Preußischer Korrespondent
was founded by Barthold Niebuhr in April 1813. Arnim took over the editorship on 1 October 1813 for four months. See Steig 1, 323.


39. Die Märchen des Clemens Brentano, edited by G. Görres, 2 vols (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1846), I, pp. xxvii and xxxiii. Brentano at this time wrote a series of war songs, a cantata to celebrate the founding of the University of Berlin (15 October 1810), a cantata to mark the death of Queen Louise of Prussia, and the patriotic spectacle Viktoria und ihre Geschwister (1813). See Werke, edited by F. Kemp, I, 204 ff.


42. Wh 1, 476-77 (FBA 8, 371-72).
CHAPTER FOUR

The Critical Reception of Des Knaben Wunderhorn.

The critical reception of a literary work is as much influenced by general historical, cultural and sociological factors as is its genesis, for just as no work of literature arises in a vacuum so none is launched into a vacuum. Author, critic and public alike are influenced by the context in which they live. Furthermore, the natural arena for discussion of these wider influences and their implications is more often than not the public press.

It has been shown that during the 'Goethezeit' the issue of folk-poetry was the focal point for discussion of a number of other related ideological issues. It is not surprising, therefore, that the publication of Des Knaben Wunderhorn added extra fuel to the fires of controversy which had been raging steadily since the 1770s. Besides giving fresh impetus to the debate, however, Arnim and Brentano also found themselves at the mercy of the public press, for the role of the reviewer at that time was evidently very influential. Goethe's justification for reviewing the Wunderhorn supports this conclusion:
Weil nun aber in der neueren Zeit, besonders in Deutschland, nichts zu existiren und zu wirken scheint, wenn nicht darüber geschrieben und wieder geschrieben und geurtheilt und gestritten wird: so mag denn auch über diese Sammlung hier einige Betrachtung stehen, die, wenn sie den Genuss auch nicht erhöht und verbreitet, doch wenigstens ihm nicht entgegen wirken soll. (1)

The business of reviewing was taken seriously, then, by author, critic and public, and journals correspondingly devoted a great deal of space to the discussion of new publications. The Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung, for example, reckoned to review all the books listed in the annual catalogues of the Leipzig Book Fair and sought to maintain the highest standards by calling only upon collaborators of established reputation. (2) Journals were often the main link between an author and the general reading public for, while the number of readers who might actually buy his work was relatively low, a great many more might be persuaded to read it if it was well received in the critical press. Had Des Knaben Wunderhorn been reviewed in the Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung alone, the circulation figures of which stood then at the two thousand mark, it would still have penetrated into all levels of German society, for according to the publisher G. J. Göschen, the paper was read 'by all classes in every city, in every little town, almost in every village' of Germany. (3)
In fact, the anthology was reviewed in a great many more journals, newspapers and periodicals ranging from fashionable magazines at one end of the spectrum to scholarly journals at the other. It received ample comment, for example, in Bertuch's entertaining *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* which had a regular readership of around twelve hundred at that time, and it was also given extensive coverage in the *Heidelbergerische Jahrbücher* which, instituted by Zimmer in 1808, soon reached a subscription number of four hundred and fifty because, according to Görres, 'die Teutschen sich nimmer satt an Rezensionen lesen können'. (4)

What conclusions may be drawn from the fact that *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* was so widely reviewed? An examination of the reviews themselves and their importance shows that it was not simply the fact of being widely discussed in the press which guaranteed success. What mattered more was the reputation of the reviewer and his opinions, for in all the literary polemics of the day there was no more controversial subject than folk-poetry. The nation was crossing a watershed and several of the issues it felt most keenly were associated with the question of national poetry. Any attempt to answer the question as to the reception and impact of the anthology must take these wider issues into account. The conclusions of this chapter are therefore based upon an analysis...
of the full texts of the Wunderhorn reviews in so far as they were available, set against the background of other critical writing on the theme of folk-poetry and the issues related to it. For convenience, the relevant material has been listed separately in Appendix B. (5) A more detailed study is anticipated in W. Mainz, Die Wirkungsgeschichte der Volkslieder-
sammlung 'Des Knaben Wunderhorn' unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der zeitgenössischen Rezensionen, (Diss., Cologne), which at the last date of enquiry had not been completed. (6)

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As late as 1809, in the columns of the Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände, B. Docen lamented

unsre heutige zank- und tadelsüchtige, wankelmüthige, immer in Widersprüche sich umtreibende Literatur! Ueberall Mißverständnisse, zu deren Lösung es oft vieler Jahre bedarf; die kleinste Opposition zieht die Meinungen herüber, hinüber, und wie so leicht würde man sich gleich anfänglich verstanden haben, wenn nur eben eine klare Darlegung der Sache der Hinneigung zum Verworrenen entgegen-gearbeitet hätte! Der Streit über den Werth der deutschen Volkslieder begann vor etwa drey und dreißig Jahren, so viel auch seitdem über diesen Gegenstand an manchen Orten zur Sprache gebracht wurde, so liegt es doch am Tage, daß auch jetzt noch nicht jeder Stein des Anstoßes beseitigt sey. (?)
Why was folk-poetry such a bone of contention? The answer lies in the fact that it raised issues about which there was fundamental disagreement, issues concerning the nature of society, the rôle of the artist within it, and the content and purpose of education. The controversy revolved around questions of nature, nurture and culture.

As far as the literary press was concerned, the most heated debate was provoked by Gottfried Bürger's famous dictum, 'Popularität eines poetischen Werkes ist das Siegel seiner Vollkommenheit', (8) a claim he supported with the contention that the world's greatest poets had all been popular. But, as Schiller immediately perceived, it was a claim which begged the question: popularity with whom? If it was a matter of popularity with the general public, who was to say whether its judgement was reliable? Bürger, like Schiller, readily admitted the great gulf between the culture of the masses and the culture of the educated minority, but applauded the former and denigrated the latter. Why? Bürger believed that foreign influences had produced an alien culture among the educated classes, whereas it was only in the context of a truly organic cultural development that genuine rapport was achieved between the artist and his society:
Die größten, unsterblichsten Dichter aller Nationen sind populäre Dichter gewesen. Durch die ganze Geschichte der Dichterei findet sich, daß gerade bei denen Nationen, welche die Poesie nicht aus fremden Landen eingeführt haben, sondern wo sie aus ihrer eigenen Natur aufgesprossen ist, die größte Liebe und Allgemeinheit derselben geherrscht hat. Das gibt die echte wahre Popularität, die mit dem Vorstellungs- und Empfindungsvermögen des Volkes im Ganzen am meisten harmoniert. (9)

For Bürger, as for Herder before him, the implications of this fact were obvious: the poet must climb down from his esoteric heights and learn to relate once more to his native tradition which is readily comprehensible to all.

The embodiment of these conclusions in practice resulted in two volumes of poems, the second edition of which Schiller reviewed at length in the Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung in 1791. Addressing himself to Bürger's criterion of popularity, Schiller argued that it could only be a reliable guide to artistic merit in a unified culture. Society was no longer the unity that it had been in Homer's day, and it was therefore pointless to pretend otherwise. The dilemma of the contemporary poet was to decide for which sector of society he should write:

Ein Volksdichter für unsre Zeiten hätte also bloß zwischen dem allerleichtesten und dem allerschweresten die Wahl; entweder sich ausschließlich der Fassungskraft des großen Haufens zu bequemen und auf den Beyfall der gebildeten Klassen Verzicht zu thun, -- oder den ungeheuern Abstand, der zwischen beiden sich befindet,
The latter course was by far the more difficult, but not impossible according to Schiller, provided that the poet chose his subject-matter carefully, handled it with the utmost simplicity and concentrated upon that 'was im Menschen bloß menschlich ist'. (11) The poet thus employing his powers would give noble expression to the common experiences of man and become a promoter of true education:

The achievement of such an objective, in Schiller's view, would not result in the sacrifice of artistic standards but would stretch the poet to the furthest limits of his art. He could only conceive of the poet who, 'zu dem Volke bildend herniedersteigt, aber auch in der vertrautsten Gemeinschaft mit demselben nie seine himmlische Abkunft verläugnet'. (13) Bürger, he felt, frequently compromised his art for the sake of achieving popularity.

However noble Schiller's ideals, the reality of the situation suggested they were not viable. Writing to Cotta of the failure of the Propyläen, he expressed
dismay 'daß eine Schrift, worin ein Kunstgenie vom ersten Rang (Goethe) die Resultate seines lebenslänglichen Studiums ausspricht, nicht einmal den gemeinen Absatz finden sollte'. (14) The general reading public, it appears, preferred the poetry of Bürger to the artistically superior productions of Goethe and Schiller.

Given that 'Bildung' was a desirable objective, the question at issue was: what kind of an education should the people be given, and how could it best be achieved? In the Enlightenment system, the poet was seen as an educator whose talents could be employed to mediate a rational culture to a society in need of improvement. Schiller also envisaged the rôle of the poet as being primarily educative, but it was towards an ideal of human wholeness that the poet should bend his powers, poetry being the means,

welche die getrennten Kräfte der Seele wieder in Vereinigung bringt, welche Kopf und Herz, Scharfsinn und Witz, Vernunft und Einbildungskraft in harmonischem Bunde beschäftigt, welche gleichsam den ganzen Menschen in uns wieder herstellt. (15)

Questions concerning the relationship between poetry and people were kept alive during the 1790s because of the increasing number of publications which could loosely be categorized as 'Volkslieder' or 'Lieder im Volkston', some of which Goethe reviewed in the Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung. With the publication of Grübel's Gedichte in Nürnberger Mundart, Goethe was able to introduce a new dimension
into the debate, for whereas the educated poet had previously shouldered responsibility for imparting wisdom to the uneducated classes, here was an untrained, but naturally gifted poet who might be able to achieve more among his peers than his academically and socially superior counterpart.

Unlike Schiller, the idealist, who insisted that the poet should only climb down to the level of the masses in order to draw them up to a higher plane, Goethe, the pragmatist, recognized that more might be achieved by a sensitive and poetically gifted social peer. From Herder he had inherited the conviction that the poetic gift was not the exclusive preserve of any one class of people but that it was a fundamental feature of human nature: 'Das poetische Talent ist dem Bauer so gut gegeben als dem Ritter, es kommt nur darauf an, ob jeder seinen Zustand ergreift und ihn nach Würden behandelt'. (17) This is why Goethe devoted so much time to reviewing folk-
literature of many nations and the poetry of nature-poets. In terms of humanity, he drew no distinctions between members of his own class and those of the lower classes, and by the same token, he placed equal value on the poetry of natural poets and educated poets, the difference between them being one of degree only and not of kind.

Ten years after Schiller's review of Bürger's poems, the question of the poet's relationship to the public and his role within society was still a live issue. Those of Enlightenment and of Classical persuasion had stated their respective cases, and now it was the turn of a Romantic, August Wilhelm Schlegel, whose essay entitled Über Bürgers Werke was published in 1801.

Schlegel shared Schiller's high view of poetry and Goethe's conviction that poetic receptivity was not confined to the educated classes alone. He therefore resisted the suggestion that the poet must invariably climb down to a lower level if he is to engage the imaginations of all classes. Why not accept the fact that contemporary society was divided into an educated minority and an uneducated majority and let poets write for both? Schlegel feared that to insist upon Bürger's criterion of popularity was to encourage artistic mediocrity and to ignore the realities of the social situation:
In raising the question of impact upon the public,
Schlegel here rightly argues for a proper understanding of human nature. Bürger's criteria of clarity and comprehensibility were acceptable to him within certain limits, but to stretch them beyond the limits imposed by a proper awareness of human nature was to fall into precisely the trap which had caught the poets of the popular Enlightenment.
'Unser Dasein ruhert auf dem Unbegreiflichen,' Schlegel maintains, 'und die Poesie, die aus dessen Tiefen hervorgeht, kann dieses nicht rein auflösen wollen.' (19) When a poet endeavours to fulfil the obligations of popularity, he runs the risk of spoiling the taste of the uneducated classes for true folk-poetry which is frequently mysterious and rationally incomprehensible. Indeed, this had been the result of the efforts of the late Enlightenment poets to 'improve' the lower classes:

Denn auch diese sind jetzt durch eine abgeschmackte Aufklärung so vielfältig bearbeitet worden, der Einfluß eines unpöetischen, alles für den Nutzen erziehenden Zeitalters hat sich auf so manchen Wegen bis zu ihnen erstreckt, daß sich von der Popularität bei unserem jetzigen Volke kein Schluß auf die gültigere bei einem für Naturpoesie noch nicht verbildeten machen läßt. Gedichte, sie seien nun für Könige oder Bettler bestimmt, sollen kein Beitrag zu einem Noth- und Hülfsbüchlein, sondern eine freie Ergötzung sein; und die Denkarten und Ansichten, die man als Vorurtheile auszurotten bemüht ist, möchten gar nahe mit den wunderbaren Dichtungen alter Volkspoesie zusammenhängen. (20)

Schlegel, then, was one with Tieck, Arnim and Brentano in the value he placed upon the natural expressions of unspoilt human nature and in his rejection of the Enlightenment programme of rational education. In terms of impact, he also formulated a theory of poetic effectiveness which was borne out by public response to the poetry of various kinds of poets. It was true that the Classical ideal of expressing human insights in a stylized form had direct appeal for a small, initiated audience only because it presupposed a level
of culture to which most had not attained. Natural poetry, on the other hand, was much more readily accessible to a wide audience because the emphasis fell upon its human content couched in universally acceptable terms. When Goethe turned to this kind of writing, a wide reception was assured, as Schiller noted in the case of his 'Gesellige Lieder' published in Cotta's *Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1804*:

> Der innere Wert dieses Lieder-Almanachs, der Name Goethens und der Umstand, daß jedermann die Lieder sogleich singen kann, weil die Melodien schon alt und im Gange sind, läßt einen großen Absatz dieses Almanachs sicher erwarten. (21)

Goethe did not, however, abandon the former for the latter; indeed, he saw them as ultimately sharing the same fundamental quality of objectivity in their respective expression of the human condition.

This conviction lay behind Goethe's admiration for those poets who wrote neither true folk-poetry nor highly stylized art-poetry, but whose work nevertheless possessed the characteristic qualities which Goethe attributed to both. His approbation is expressed in a series of reviews in the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* in the early years of the nineteenth century.

In Goethe's understanding of life, all men shared the same basic humanity but not the same level of culture. Poetry was a basic human gift, but the form in which it found expression was determined by
cultural considerations. Thus the poetry of the 'Volk' (which he defined in 1808 as 'eine ungebildete bildungsfähige Menge, ganze Nationen, insofern sie auf den ersten Stufen der Kultur stehen, oder Teile kultivierter Nationen, die untern Volksklassen, Kinder') found expression in a form consonant with its level of culture, while the poetry of the highly educated found a more formally refined expression consonant with its higher level of cultural attainment. But the difference was one of degree and not of kind: the basic process is the same in both cases, as Goethe describes it in his review of Voß's poetry, 'eine vorzüglich der Natur, und man kann sagen der Wirklichkeit gewidmete Dichtungsweise'.

To express truths about the human condition in such a vivid way that the reader is encouraged to think more deeply and experience life more fully is the office of the poet. In fulfilling this task he promotes the cause of true education and of growth to maturity.

It is clear that Goethe envisaged growth to maturity in general human terms rather than in specifically national ones. Yet a consciousness of national character together with an appreciation of the characteristics of other nationalities was an integral part of his cultural education programme. This is apparent from his plans for a German 'Volksbuch' to serve as 'Grundlage der allgemeinen Bildung der Nation', which envisaged the
inclusion of foreign folk-literature in so far as it expressed and developed character. The special contribution of the folksong was in human, qualitative terms: here was preserved the vigour and robustness of healthy human character, hence Goethe's description of the Wunderhorn songs as 'ächte, bedeutende Grundgesänge'. (25)

In summary, then, numerous lines of thought converged on the issue of folk-poetry, the starting-points of which, however, were very different. The orthodox view of the late Enlightenment saw the basic raw material of human nature as in need of education according to Rationalist principles and in the pursuit of Rationalist, materialistic and utilitarian goals. The folksong was a prime means of realizing this ambition.

The Classical view of life placed high value on both nature and culture and strove in its educational objectives to develop humanity to the full, its human ideal being the whole man. Stress fell on inner strength of character, however, and not upon external refinements of good taste.

According to the Romantic understanding of life, the Enlightenment concept of 'Bildung' was in fact a 'Verbildung', a distorted education which robbed the uneducated man of his greatest asset: his unspoilt humanity and nearness to nature. Following in the footsteps of Herder, 'Volk' for the
Romantics was no longer a purely horizontal concept: the lowest stratum of society, the uneducated masses. Rather, it was a vertical concept: 'Volk' signified the core of the nation, the repository of its cultural and moral strength. The folksong, by extension, was the expression of this national character at its purest, and as the political crisis grew worse, the emphasis shifted more and more onto the need for national solidarity and activity.

The distinctive contribution of Arnim and Brentano lay not so much in their insistence upon life and character in general as upon German life and character in particular.

* * * * *

The critical reception of Des Knaben Wunderhorn, especially by older critics, betrays the strong influence of the continuing debate about the worth of folk-poetry, but one of the first reviews to appear was by a young man, Varnhagen von Ense. He stands alone among the host of Wunderhorn critics in his insight into, and full approval of, the central concern of Arnim and Brentano for their nation. On his own admission, the anthology was one of several literary publications to arouse 'unsern stärksten Antheil' at that time, (26) and it prompted him to write a short and very positive review in the Hamburg newspaper, Nordische Miscellen.
Das duftigste, frischeste Sträuslein
unverwelklicher Blumen, wie sie nur
immer in verschiedenen Zeiten und Orten
aufgeblüht sind! Volkspoesie, wie ihrer
das Zeitalter bedarf, um zu Gesang und
That wieder aufgeweckt zu werden, wie
ihrer der Höhere bedarf, um der erfüllten
Seele Tiefen in dem leichten demüthigen
Gewande des bloßen Naturtriebs lustig und
beruhigt anzuschauen. Die Lieder sind
deutsch; nur den, welchem der innere Kern
der Deutschheit noch nicht verdorben ist,
können sie ansprechen. Der Ernst und die
Kurzweil in der alten, heiligen Verbindung;
wenig auch in den neueren Liedern der Sammlung
die religiöse Gesinnung weniger durchscheint,
so ist doch die frische Kraft und die
gedrängte Lebensfülle in ihnen, die sie zu
Volksliedern machen konnte, ein Üeberbleibsel
aus früheren Zeiten, da der Glauben die
innersten Kräfte regte. Wohl sollte dies
Buch, wie ein Noth- und Hülfs-Büchlein von
wohlgesinnten Obrigkeitens und ächt
patriotischen Gesellschaften unter das Volk
ausgetheilt werden, damit das Geschwätz
getödtet würde, und die erwachsenden Singer
das Deutsche Reich wiederherstellen. Siehe
den unvergleichlichen Anhang über Volkslieder,
den Achim von Arnim geschrieben hat. Es ist
Ernst, es soll nicht beim Buchstaben bleiben:
'Diese Sammlung sey dem Lesern eine Probe von
dem, was wir wünschen. Wer der Gelegenheit
und Lust ermangelt, was er entdeckt, bekannt
t zu machen, dem entbieten wir uns, mein Freund
Clemens Brentano in Heidelberg und ich in
Berlin (abzugeben im Viereck Nr. 4) zur
schnellen Herausgabe.' Diese redliche Eifer
wird erkannt und belohnt werden.

Als Probe heben wir folgendes aus.
(He gives the texts of 'Die fromme Magd',
'Schlachtlied' and 'Zauberformel zum Festmachen
der Soldaten'.) (27)

Varnhagen shows an awareness of topical themes
currently being debated in the literary press, but
restricts his comments to the patriotic and practical
intentions of the editors in publishing their folksong anthology. In so doing, he reveals a clear understanding of, and sympathy for, the message of Arnim's essay to which he alone among contemporary reviewers accords unqualified praise. He recognizes that the songs themselves were a spiritual and political necessity for a nation in distress, a rallying-point for Germans who had lost morale and credibility, and taking up Arnim's emphasis upon the need for corporate activity, he suggests that here was a means by which the authorities could restore confidence to a disheartened nation. The anthology could serve as a veritable 'Noth- und Hülfs-Büchlein' at this time of crisis. Varnhagen's response was representative of his generation of young, enthusiastic German patriots.

Brentano, although ignorant of the reviewer's identity, guessed that patriotic thoughts were uppermost in his mind, for he wrote in that vein to Arnim in January 1806:


With the discovery of Varnhagen's review, there is now a body of material which throws light upon the reception of the first part of the Wunderhorn in Hamburg and underlines the importance of reviews
in promoting new publications. A number of factors conspired to assist its sales there.

Firstly, there was the personal connexion between the famous Hamburg bookseller, Friedrich Perthes, and the Heidelberg publisher, Zimmer. Not only did Perthes have one of the best bookshops in Germany at that time, but he was also a determined and outspoken patriot. H. Steffens, who knew him in Hamburg, records that 'seine Vaterlandsliebe in dieser bedenklichen Zeit (war) entschieden und warm'. (29) For two important reasons, therefore, Perthes would have been eager to promote Wunderhorn sales. Another personal contact in Hamburg was the painter, Philipp Otto Runge, (30) to whom Zimmer sent a complimentary copy. Runge wrote back expressing his approval of the enterprise and enclosing two folktales in dialect, one of which was eventually published in the Zeitung für Einsiedler. (31)

Secondly, there were political and social reasons why Hamburg would have been receptive to a patriotic anthology. Justinus Kerner testified later to the fact that folk-poetry was at home there; during his stay he found it rich in old chap-books and was able to buy up many editions of these. (32) A comment to Uhland in 1809 is revealing:
Hier in der großen Stadt ist, wie ich nun erst recht einsehe, die Volkspoesie zu Hause ... Ach! Ich wünschte so sehr in einer großen Stadt leben zu können. Welch ein Unterschied gegen all dies Hüttenleben! Auf einsamen Bergen und Wäldern kann man kein Volksdichter werden. (33)

There were historical reasons for this. Hamburg was one of the free Imperial cities of the Holy Roman Empire. The atmosphere of a busy port with international trading connexions would have fostered folksong as sailors and merchants came in and out of the city. A thriving commercial life also led to independence of spirit, a characteristic shared by all the great Hanseatic cities of the North, yet when Napoleon was in the process of annexing Hamburg to the French dominions, Perthes reported a strong resistance among his fellow citizens. He wrote of it to the Swiss historian, Johannes von Müller, with a mixture of distress and fighting spirit:

Wir Hamburger haben gar sehr Ursache, Alles beim Alten zu lassen, und doch ist's zu sehen, wie bereit man wäre, vieles aufzugeben, um den fremden Joch zu entgehen! (34)

The letter was written after the defeat of Ulm and before the decisive battle of Austerlitz in December 1805. Varnhagen's review, which dates from the same month as Perthes's letter, shares his standpoint. Neither was a native of Hamburg yet both sensed the urgency of the situation and the need for action.
Whether or not it was the political emergency which made the readership of the *Nordische Miscellen* receptive to Varnhagen's review, it provoked an immediate reaction. This is substantiated by the riposte, dated 16 December 1805, from a Hamburg reader signing himself 'Misophylaros', which was published in Kotzebue's widely read journal, *der Freimüthige*. (35) The anonymous author had not actually seen a copy of the *Wunderhorn* but suggests, tongue in cheek, that if it was as good as the reviewer made out, then it behoved the editor to bring it before the public eye. From his criticisms of Varnhagen's samples, it appears that he was no great supporter of the current interest in folk-poetry and would have preferred to revive the poetry of Gleim and his colleagues. (36) The editor of *der Freimüthige* declined his challenge.

Varnhagen was annoyed. 'Ich hatte des Knaben Wunderhorn in den Nord. Misc. gut und herzlich angezeigt, der Freimüthige hat sich über diese meine Anzeige hergemacht, jedoch sehr dumm: ich hatte mich nicht genannt, werde auch nichts antworten', he wrote to a friend on 10 January 1806. (37) A month later, Arnim wrote to Goethe of the defiance expressed 'bey dem alten Drachen dem Freymüthigen'. (38)

If Goethe was correct in stating that a new book only made its mark if it was widely discussed in the press, this may account for the good sales of the
anthology in Hamburg. The book had been on the market since the Leipzig fair of autumn 1805, yet the fact that Perthes reported to Zimmer at the end of January 1806 that he had already sold twenty-five copies could well reflect the interest aroused by Varnhagen's review at a time of national crisis. (39)

One other review appeared before the end of 1805. It makes no mention of national crisis, though it does recognize the distinctively German value of the anthology and appreciates its contents for their vitality and humour. Reichardt was twenty years older than Varnhagen and had seen, indeed assisted in, the publication of the Wunderhorn's forerunners, and so he naturally locates it within the continuous tradition.

Nothing, he says, will be so welcome to friends of the true old German folksong as this anthology, for not since Herder's collection has anything been published of such quality and scope.

Hier findet man den süßesten Honig aus den Blumen mehrerer Jahrhunderte sorgfältig zusammen getragen. (40)

Quoting from Arnim's postscript, he stresses the inherent vitality of the songs and prefers them to Herder's because Arnim and Brentano have made no concessions to modern taste, but have brought out the quality of life so characteristic of former times but so lacking in their own day:
Dieses Leben ächter Volkspoesie weht durchaus, und die Sammlung ist in diesem Betracht reiner und zweckmäßiger noch veranstaltet als Herders Volkslieder, ... Herder hat auch manchem der von ihm aufgenommenen ächten Volkslieder, zur Befriedigung des modernen, feinen, eckeln Geschmacks, Gewalt angethan, und nirgend den Muth gehabt, den jugendlichen Muthwillen und die derbe sinnliche Lust, die ein Hauptcharakterzug der lustigen Volkspoesie ist, frei und frech verlauten zu lassen. (41)

Reichardt here stresses the characteristics of the folksong so greatly admired by Arnim and Brentano: the expression of a wholehearted approach to life and of a childlike enjoyment of it. The response Reichardt recommends to the reader corresponds exactly to the spirit in which the anthology was compiled:

So muß der Reichthum der alten deutschen Volkspoesie jedem, der diese Sammlung mit Liebe beherzigt und auch mit Aufmerksamkeit betrachtet, höchst erfreulich erscheinen. Ein solcher findet hier von den zärtsten Blümlein naiver, kindlicher Dichtung bis zur schauervollen Romanze und Geistermärä, von der reinsten zartesten Sentimentalität bis zur lautesten ausgelassensten Lustigkeit, alles in seiner eigenthümlichen Farbe. (42)

The aspect of the anthology which he appreciates above all is its gaiety and laughter, and as if suggesting that this is a part of life conspicuous by its absence in his own day, Reichardt continues:
Wer aber mit den jugendlich frohern
Sammlern Lust und Lustigkeit für die
Gesundheit des Gemüths und den schönsten
Gewinn der freien Lebensweise hält, für
den wird so leicht keins, auch der
Unbedeutendsten nicht, zu viel da stehen. (43)

Ideally, of course, he would like to see the songs
set to music because not only do they require to be
read aloud for full effect, they also need to be sung,

und das nicht mit moderner Ziererei
verschlossener Lippen und Zähne, sie
wollen so herzlich frei und rein
herausgesungen seyn, wie sie zuerst
sicher aus voller Seele strömten, die
schönen lieblichen Töne und Weisen
fröhlicher lebendiger Naturmenschen
und heiterer Kunstseelen. (44)

To encourage the authors, Reichardt lists the songs
which he would most like to see set to music, and he
concludes with an appreciative mention of Arnim's
essay.

It comes as no surprise to discover that Arnim
and Brentano were delighted with the review. Arnim
must have rejoiced to find in Reichardt a model
reader, responding to the spirit of the anthology
and stressing its value for the promotion of authentic
living in a sterile situation. Brentano recorded his
delight in predictably personal terms in a letter to
Arnim:

Solange ich lebe, ist nie heimlich oder
öffentlich etwas von mir gesagt worden,
was mich innig erfreute, was mich erweckt
und ermuntert, als von Reichardt in der
gütigen Rezension des Wunderhorns, wo er
uns zwei reine innig befreundete Dichterseelen
nennt. (45)
How different by comparison is the review by J. D. Falk of Weimar in his short-lived journal Elysium und der Tartarus. (46) For some reason he chooses to ignore Brentano's contribution and directs all his attention to Arnim, whom he takes to task not so much for what he says as for the way in which he says it. Calling upon Lessing, Ramler and Herder to act as judges, he eventually passes the following sentence:


Brentano dismissed it in one brief sentence but was obviously perplexed by Falk's seeming inconsistency:

Die an Pedanterie grenzende Rezension Falks, der mit schlechten Totenmasken verstorbener Dichter Puppen spielt, ist merkwürdig, weil er bloß Deine Abhandlung rezensiert und am Ende Dich so ganz prächtig gekrönt entläßt. (48)

In their own way, each of these three reviews published prior to Goethe's definitive comment is indicative of current attitudes. Varnhagen speaks with youthful patriotism and stresses the need for patriotic deeds if the nation is to survive. Reichardt, older and more experienced, is conscious of the poverty of life of his day and responds
vigorously to a publication which, in his eyes, brought a much-needed emphasis on full enjoyment of life. Falk, conscious of the importance of good taste to conventional society, nevertheless finds himself applauding a genuinely poetic endeavour. Each in his own way corroborates Goethe's judgement: 'Unsere Zeit hat Geschmack aber keinen Charakter'. (49)

The most decisive landmark in the history of the reception of Des Knaben Wunderhorn is Goethe's review, which towers above the rest in importance just as Goethe himself towered above contemporary reviewers in his whole approach to the critic's task. No-one was more aware of this than Arnim who, on the whole, found critics were more of a hindrance than a help to the cause of literature. He divided them into two main categories. On the one hand, there were those critics whose minds were set and whose reviews, therefore, became a platform from which to advertize their own opinions or to snipe at the opposition. Others in this category used the medium of a review to display their own erudition, but in so doing frequently destroyed the work under discussion. Arnim spoke of 'die kalte Schlegelsche Kritikluft', (50) and was contemptuous of Büsching and von der Hagen, whose preface to their Sammlung deutscher Volkslieder was unacceptable 'wegen des falschen kritischen Geistes, der wie ein Tod die Lebenden umklammert und Schönheit und Häßlichkeit mit gleichem Grimm an sich reißt'. (51) The idealistic Arnim made no concessions to critics of this ilk; he
denounced their misdirected skills as 'Höllenkünste' and 'kritisches Waschweibergeschwätz'. (52) Addressing himself in his postscript to the Wunderhorn to 'dem verständigen Leser', he dismisses all potential critics in one brief sentence:

Was die Recensenten anbelangt, sie lesen dies so wenig als das Übrige, wir lesen sie dafür eben so wenig, so sind wir miteinander im ewigen Frieden. (53)

The practical Arnim, however, knew only too well how much power was wielded by an influential reviewer and was therefore glad to be able to turn for support to the most eminent representative of the other category of reviewers. Goethe's approach to the critical task was thoroughly constructive. In the first place, he only reviewed such works as he felt able to commend and his reviews took the form of a 'Charakteristik' rather than a detailed critique, his purpose being to enhance the reader's enjoyment and appreciation of the work in question. His judgements were based not solely on literary or aesthetic criteria but on general human values. While never glossing over serious defects, he preferred to dwell upon an author's good points. So, for instance, he could write of Gottlieb Hiller's Gedichte und Selbstbiographie, with a perfect blend of honesty and charity, that the poems were unremarkable but:
Warum sollte man ... gegenwärtiges Büchlein geradezu von der schwächsten Seite, von der poetischen her, betrachten? Beseitigen wir doch den Dichtertitel, wenn er auch schon in Hillers Passe steht, und halten uns an die Person. Denn wie man sich sonst gegen den Menschen dankbar erzeigt, daß er uns treffliche Poesien liefert, so muß man es hier der Poesie recht lebhaft verdanken, daß sie uns mit einem wackern Menschen bekannt macht. (54)

With good reason, therefore, Goethe was widely respected as a reviewer; indeed, his reviews in the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* set the tone for others, especially those of the younger generation. Budding authors sought Goethe's approval of their work and Arnim and Brentano were no exception. Their hopes were well-founded, for Goethe's review of their anthology came to be seen as the authoritative pronouncement from which other critics took their lead. Its importance may be gauged from the fact that Falk even saw fit to comment upon the review in his journal:


Subsequently, when Arnim and Brentano needed to invoke extra authority to lend weight to their appeals and to defend their editorial practices, it was always Goethe's review which was cited. H. Härtl makes the
interesting and valid point that many contemporaries in fact misread the review, Arnim and Brentano included, and saw in it far greater approval of the national-patriotic cause than was actually intended. (56) The fact that it was thus widely misconstrued simply underlines the reality of existing preconceptions about folk-poetry and about the current political and cultural climate which inevitably coloured people's judgement.

Goethe himself was well aware of existing literary factions and of their potentially destructive power. His comment to Arnim in March 1806 suggests that this was one reason why he decided to review Des Knaben Wunderhorn:

Durch das Wunderhorn haben Sie uns eine so lebhafte und dauernde Freude gemacht, daß es wohl billig ist nicht dem Urheber allein, sondern auch der Welt ein Zeugnis davon abzulegen, um so mehr da diese nicht so reich an Freuden ist, um einen Genüß, den man so leicht und so reichlich haben kann, entweder aus Unwissenheit oder aus Vorurteil zu entbehren. (57)

The opening sentence of his review asserts that criticism is out of place in any response to the anthology; gratitude and enjoyment alone are appropriate. Ideally, the anthology should be put to the use for which it was intended and find a place on a handy bookshelf 'in jedem Hause, wo frische Menschen wohnen'. (58) Better still, Goethe continues, if able musicians were to set its songs to music, they
would become part of the living tradition once again:

So könnte man sagen, das Büchlein habe seine Bestimmung erfüllt, und könne nun wieder, als geschrieben und gedruckt, verloren gehen, weil es in Leben und Bildung der Nation übergegangen. (59)

It will be seen later how Goethe contributed to the fulfilment of this vision.

Having suggested at the outset that criticism had no claim on this particular work, Goethe nevertheless acknowledges that, given the present cultural climate, something needs to be said about it if it is to have any effect at all, and so he proceeds to give a brief description of each song on the grounds that each is unique and that the greatest charm of the anthology lies in its rich variety of material:

Was man entschieden zu Lob und Ehren dieser Sammlung sagen kann, ist, daß die Theile derselben durchaus mannichfaltig charakteristisch sind. (60)

For Goethe, this was the most prominent feature of folk-poetry. He mentions it in his very next review where, writing of Hiller's poems, he says:
By 'character' Goethe seems to imply not merely distinctiveness but also a certain intrinsic strength and vitality.

In the next section of his Wunderhorn review Goethe comments briefly upon each song, drawing out mainly characteristic qualities but also allowing himself the occasional judgement on style and treatment. He reveals a sure touch in characterization and in literary assessment, spotting with unfailing accuracy those songs which have been modernized or restored and those which are out of place in such a collection. Criticism is reserved for songs which lack inner coherence or which fail to match up to the high poetic standard of the rest. He warns the editors to guard, in any future undertakings, against 'dem Singsang der Minnesinger, vor der bänkelsängerischen Gemeinheit und vor der Plattheit der Meistersänger, so wie vor allem Pfäffischen und Pedantischen'. (62)

Goethe calls this section a 'Charakterisirung aus dem Stegreife', (63) from which H. Härtl infers that he is at pains to point out the provisional nature of his comments. (64) It seems clear, however, that he adopted this approach deliberately, 'denn wie könnte man sie anders unternehmen?', (65) though...
not without careful study of the texts beforehand. His diaries give evidence that the anthology occupied his thoughts for some three weeks prior to the publication of the review. (66)

In closing, Goethe discusses the nature of folksong and its effectiveness, picking up the threads of the debate which had continued since Herder's first pronouncements on the subject. Folksongs, he maintains, are written neither by the people nor for them, but, because they possess, and express, sturdy and vigorous qualities, they are embraced by the correspondingly vigorous elements of nations and passed down from generation to generation. This response to the characteristic qualities of the folksong is independent of cultural sophistication because it is essentially a naked human response:

-Dergleichen Gedichte sind so wahre Poesie, als sie irgend nur seyn kann; sie haben einen unglaublichen Reiz, selbst für uns, die wir auf einer höheren Stufe der Bildung stehen, wie der Anblick und die Erinnerung der Jugend fürs Alter hat. (67)

Goethe here puts his finger upon the crux of the matter. For sophisticated contemporary society the folksong possessed deeply therapeutic value, stripping away the progressively more complicated layers of civilization and showing man what he is at heart. Herein lay its great attraction for those who were tired of sophistication. In calling folksongs the
'Grundgesänge' of human nature, (68) Goethe echoes Arnim's wistful comment upon the effect of folksong, in Von Volksliedern:

Mit wehmüthiger Freude überkommt uns das alte reine Gefühl des Lebens, von dem wir nicht wissen, wo es gelebt, wie es gelebt, was wir der Kindheit gern zuschreiben möchten, was aber früher als Kindheit zu seyn scheint, und alles, was an uns ist, bindet und löst zu einer Einheit der Freude. (69)

He also comes close to Brentano, for whom the life-long appeal of folksongs lay precisely in their expression of childhood wholeness. Arnim argues that the contemporary public could not respond to the deep human note of these songs because souls had grown 'slack'.(70)

Goethe's spontaneous response to the songs of the Wunderhorn is therefore appropriate: in reacting primarily to the human potency of the songs and in warning potential critics of the dangers of a purely cerebral approach he shows himself to be an exception to the 'slack-souled' general public described by Arnim. He readily admits that in the folksong, nature and art may be at odds with each other, but this in no way impairs the final product, for the true poetic genius, however lacking in technical artistic skills, nevertheless finds powerful expression because 'es besitzt die höhere innere Form, der doch am Ende alles zu Gebote steht, und wirkt selbst im dunkeln und trüben Elemente oft herrlicher, als es später im klaren vermag'. (71) This, then, is the chief characteristic
of the poetically-gifted: an ability to penetrate
the meaning of a limited subject and to display its
universal, human significance:

Das lebhafe poetische Anschauen eines
beschränkten Zustandes erhebt ein Einzelnes
zum zwar begrenzten doch unumschränkten All,
so daß wir im kleinen Raume die ganze Welt
zu sehen glauben. Der Drang einer tiefen
Anschauung fordert Lakonismus. (72)

This is the mark of all good art, in Goethe's view,
and not just of folk-poetry.

He concludes his review with a word of encourage-
ment to the editors to pursue their collecting work
and to give serious consideration, in any future
volumes, to the folk-poetry of other countries. The
reason for this suggestion lies in Goethe's understanding
of folksongs as primarily human documents and in his
conviction that there has to be cross-fertilization
between nations and cultures if true character is to
develop. (73)

Returning briefly to the question of criticism
and as if anticipating what was to come, Goethe
explicitly rejects the idea of examining the songs of
the anthology with a view to establishing their degree
of authenticity or otherwise. The editors have every
right, given the needs of the time, to adapt their
material, and should be thanked for their restoration
work, for:
Wer weiß nicht, was ein Lied auszusetzen hat, wenn es durch den Mund des Volkes, und nicht etwa nur des ungebildeten, eine Weile durchgeht! Warum soll der, der es in letzter Instanz aufzeichnet, mit anderen zusammenstellt, nicht auch ein gewisses Recht daran haben? (74)

Goethe had ever subscribed to that view.

His last word is one of censure and exhortation, however, and foreshadows his own plans for a 'Lyrisches Volksbuch' in which he admits that: 'Das Vortreffliche aller Art, das zugleich populär wäre, ist das seltenste'. (75) Nevertheless only the highest should be aimed for, and he exhorts the Wunderhorn editors to keep their poetic archive 'rein, streng und ordentlich', to exercise discernment in their choice of material and integrity in their handling of it so that any eventual history of German poetry may be 'gründlich, aufrichtig und geistreich erhalten'. (76)

Arnim and Brentano were overjoyed at Goethe's response; whether the review surpassed their expectations it certainly confirmed them in their high estimation of their revered master. Brentano spoke of Goethe's defence of a poem 'in seiner herzlichen, herrlichen, jungen Rezension', (77) while Arnim distinguished Goethe from all other practitioners of criticism:
Göthes Urtheil über das Wunderhorn habe ich mit einer eigenen Demuth gelesen. Ich verehre seinen herrlichen Willen für alles an sich Lobenswerthe, und wenn er in diesem Willen uns besser sieht, so hebt er uns an sein Auge, an dessen Glanz wir unsere Straße weiter erhellt sehen. Er ist der einzige Feuerwurm in dieser Kimmerischen Nacht der Gelehramkeit, und genauer betrachtet wird es ein hoher Wandelstern. (78)

Although Goethe never restricted himself to purely German considerations, as did Varnhagen for instance, he nevertheless recognized the distinctively German character of many of the songs and their value to the nation. Similarly, although he never referred explicitly to Arnim's essay, he appeared to share many of Arnim's opinions concerning both the state of contemporary society and the value of the folksong. Of far-reaching importance was his prophetic anticipation of probable critical reactions, which, by drawing attention to them publicly, he effectively disarmed although he did not succeed in silencing them completely.

The importance of his review, then, can hardly be overestimated, yet it is all too easy for the modern commentator to fall into the same trap as numerous of his contemporary critics did over the question of his support for Arnim and Brentano. Goethe, then a man of fifty-six, had learnt that the position of greatest strength was to be found in standing aloof from all topical issues and in maintaining a certain remoteness. He had no particular axe to grind, and although many tried to identify him as belonging to a certain faction, he firmly resisted all attempts
to categorize him within any one tradition. His was an all-embracing approach to life exemplified, for I. Parry, in his attitude at the battle of Valmy:

He must have seemed utterly remote from the realities of the day, but this opinion simply placed him in the long tradition of divine fools who seem aloof, perhaps stupid, because they are integrated in a life larger than the vainly human segment. (79)

The issues which concerned him were larger than the exclusively German, topical issues which were uppermost in the minds of many of his contemporaries. He saw the folksong on both a wider and a deeper canvas than Arnim and Brentano, going as far as them and further. Yet at the same time, he was fully aware of the limitations of his age and able to predict with unerring accuracy the likely responses of the contemporary audience, particularly of his fellow critics. History has proved him right, for some read into his review unqualified support for the Heidelberg poets, (80) while almost all critics polarized into two main categories, depending on their loyalties and preconceptions, either for or against the undertaking. These will now be examined in turn.

The next major review to appear suggests that folk-poetry was a subject which had as much to do with good taste as it did with character, for whereas Goethe had emphasized the latter, the reviewer in Bertuch's \textit{Journal des Luxus und der Moden} implies that it was now
the height of literary fashion to read folksongs. In an extensive article entitled 'Literarische Musterung für eine Dame', Des Knaben Wunderhorn is assessed with the dialect poetry of Hebel, Kuhn and Grübel respectively, (81) all of which had been published within the last few years and three of which had already been reviewed by Goethe. 'Jene Werke', the reviewer comments,

verheißen uns eine neue literarische Mode, und es dürfte doch wohl rathsam seyn, ein wenig zu untersuchen, ob sie uns zum Vortheil oder Nachtheil gereichen werde. In Gesellschaften wird man jetzt, da der Krieg vorüber, die großen Pariser Feste verschoben sind, nach den kosmetischen, ja wohl auch wieder zu den literarischen Moden greifen, vor langer Weile wieder in Büchern blättern, und wer weiß, ob nicht, statt der sonstigen Musenalmanache, ein altes Gesangbuch in den Rüdicül stecken, welchen die neuesten Dichter im Volkston nachtragen sollen. (82)

Not only was reading coming back into fashion but folksongs were greatly in vogue, as evidenced by the good sales of the afore-mentioned anthologies. (83)

Whence came this remarkable growth in popularity of the folksong? The reviewer names Herder as its instigator, but while his pioneering efforts were both laudable and even necessary, the situation has now got out of hand. After tracing Herder's influence on later poets, Bürger and Goethe are singled out as deserving the title 'Volkssänger', Goethe because he expresses 'das Höchste im Menschen', (84) and Bürger because he represents the character of the German nation.
It is interesting to note that even in an avowedly fashionable magazine and in an article designed for ladies, the reviewer enters into discussion of controversial technical issues such as the meaning of 'Volk'. Having first cited A.W. Schlegel's review of Bürger's poems, he goes on to quote from Arnim's essay, choosing to draw attention to Arnim's sharpest criticisms of contemporary society and its rejection of the values of former days. (85)

Arnim's insistence that Enlightenment reforms were in fact a retrograde step in German cultural life provokes a strong reaction from the reviewer whose pro-Enlightenment sensibilities were wounded thereby:

Dies war mein drittes und letztes Aktenstück, das Bekenntniss des Hrn v. Arnim, und daraus nun sehen Sie klar und baar, was Volkspoesie ist, die Lieder der Handwerksburschen, der Fischer, der herrlichen Studenten, die uns aus den Wachstuben herschallen, und in der Bauern alten Gesangbüchern stehen, welche sie mit aller Gewalt gegen neue nicht vertauschen wollen. Wie viel Stoff zum Spott, wenn ich Lust zu spotten hätte! Wir lachen schon noch an einem lustigen Abend darüber; jetzt ernsthaft: diese Klagen des Hrn v. Arnim, sind sie gerecht? Sind sie billig? Stand es besser um Volk und Land, als man jene schöne Poesie noch sang? Wollen wir im Ernste nicht vorwärts, sondern rückwärts schreiten? Die Gespenster des Aberglaubens quälen die Nacht; die Büttel der Hierarchie und Politik den Tag durch; der Muth wurde eingepeitscht wie jetzt; grause, finstere Gestalten umlagern Wiege und Grab; die Sterne verkünden dunkles Schicksal; Gott selbst ist mir ein finsterer Barbar, -- wollen wir zurück? Was wollen aber, wir können ja nicht, denn wer greift dem Rade des Schicksals in die Speichen? Phantasie ist freilich in jenen Dingen, allein -- fühlen Sie den Erlkönig weniger schaurig und wunderbar auf Sich wirken, weil Sie nicht an sein wahres Daseyn glauben? -- Hinweg von diesen Kobolden,
Feelings obviously ran high on this particular issue. Those of Enlightenment persuasion simply could not conceive that their definition of progress should be considered defective by any intelligent person, nor that there should be serious support for a campaign to turn the clock back.

Having thus dismissed Arnim's essay on ideological grounds, the reviewer nevertheless concedes a certain value to the songs, but reserves his greatest approbation for Grübel, 'weil wir an dem wackern, biederherzigen, so hellsehenden Nürnberger Klempner selbst dabei ein Interesse nehmen'. (87) In other words, he is prepared to recommend folk-poetry to his female readers but strongly resists the ideological adjuncts where they threaten the status quo.

Brentano, quick as ever to muster reviews, wrote to Arnim in October 1806 that he had seen 'eine weitläufige nicht ungeschickte Kritik' of his essay, adding the single comment, 'es ist, wo nicht verstanden, doch verständig'. (88)
It was not until six months later, that is to say a full year after Goethe's review, that Des Knaben Wunderhorn was reviewed in the Hallische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung. The critic does not identify himself but was evidently a scholar, judging by the technical nature of his comments and his familiarity with the subject of old German poetry. This is only to be expected from a reviewer in a journal of such calibre. (89)

His tone is subdued and scholarly and he addresses himself almost exclusively to academic issues raised by the anthology in the hope of clarifying current misunderstandings and uncertainties as to the nature of folk-poetry and of encouraging greater accuracy in future volumes of this kind.

He begins with a brief history of the interest in folksong which was inaugurated by Herder and carried on by Bürger and Goethe, and although he locates the Wunderhorn within this tradition, he distinguishes between the international flavour of Herder's Volkslieder and the purely German contents of the later collection. Though basically in favour of their enterprise, he wishes Arnim and Brentano had been more careful in their approach:

Ihr Unternehmen ist lobenswerth, und wäre es noch mehr, wenn sie erstens von festeren Begriffen über das, was sie wollten, ausgegangen wären, und sodann ihr ganzes Geschäft mit etwas mehr Nüchternheit betrieben hätten. (90)
Like Brentano, he has scruples about the propriety of labelling as 'old' songs which are manifestly new and questions the inclusion of a song by Pfeffel when Goethe is not represented at all.

In the following detailed section, he takes issue with the procedure of indiscriminate inclusion of good and bad material simply because it happens to be folk-literature. Citing several songs which none would have missed had they been omitted, he finds others too pedestrian in print (though acceptable in performance) and yet others inappropriate to the context: allegorical and spiritual songs, nursery rhymes and contrafacts should have been deleted. Among suggestions for improvements, he mentions the need for better titles and explanatory notes to help the reader.

Insisting that his intentions are positive, the critic then goes on to express approval of the undertaking:

Wir sind es daher der Gerechtigkeit schuldig, ebenso unumwunden auch unsern Dank den Herausgebern für das viele zweckmässig gesammelte Treffliche zu ertheilen, das man in dieser Blumenlese altdeutscher Poesie finden wird. (91)

Many of the songs are genuine, and while several have been printed elsewhere, never before have so many been collected together in one volume. He suggests further sixteenth-century sources for future reference.
The review draws to a close with a brief history of the folksong, again designed to encourage discernment in choice of material and evidently intended to rectify some of the less acceptable statements in Arnim's essay, which he had earlier referred to as a 'trunkene Nachrede': (92)

Rec. hat sich diese Ergiessung als Epilogus hauptsächlich darum erlaubt, weil unter den Einflüssen des Zeitgeistes, wo nüchterne, besonnene Einsicht so gern für gemeine gescholten wird, so viele jetzt alles Heil in der Volkspoesie, ohne oft recht zu wissen, was für ein Begriff mit dem Worte verbunden sey, suchen, und weil es ihm schien, als ob wirklich die Herausgeber dieser sonst in vieler Rücksicht schätzbaren Sammlung theils keine ganz bestimmte Idee von ihrem Unternehmen, theils zu abenteuerliche Begriffe von der Volkspoesie selbst, wie wenigstens die Arnim'sche angehängte ganz dithyrambische Abhandlung bezeugen möchte, gehabt hätten. (93)

1807 was a significant year for folk-poetry. Not only were reviews of the Wunderhorn continuing to appear in the press, but there were also several new publications in the field which provoked a further spate of reviews. Among them, the most important were Johannes von Müller's new edition of Herder's collection, published as Stimmen der Völker in Liedern (94) and the Sammlung deutscher Volkslieder of Büsching and von der Hagen. (95) It appears that others were engaged in compiling folksongs with a view to publication, including Leo von Seckendorf and Bernhard Docen. (96)

Docen belonged to the rising generation of academic German philologians. A year younger than
Arnim, his chief claim to fame during the first decade of the nineteenth century was as a prolific reviewer and essayist on the subject of old German literature. During the years 1805 to 1809 he reviewed all the new folksong publications, and every public comment contains some reference to the Wunderhorn. These will be considered briefly in turn.

Docen was in fact the first critic to pronounce publicly upon the first part of the anthology. His review in the South German journal, Aurora, appeared in October 1805. (97) The general tone of his review was favourable, although Brentano thought it could have been better. He praises the songs, but is less enthusiastic about Arnim's essay:

Die lange dithyrambische Schlußrede des Herrn von Arnim ... steht mit der Absicht, diese Lieder in die Hände des lesenden Volks zu bringen, in einem sonderbaren Contrast; dergleichen Corruscationen und Klagen über die Jämmerlichkeiten des Zeitalters verstimmen nur für den leichten, freundlichen Sinn jener Lieder. (98)

Brentano took exception to his scholarly insistence upon historical and textual accuracy. 'Er will nicht wissen, was sie Schönes gesungen,' he complained to Arnim, 'er will nur wissen, was und wann sie gesungen.' (99) Nevertheless, Docen responded promptly and practically to the editors' request for new material, sending six songs immediately and others later. (100)
His next mention of the *Wunderhorn* comes in a long essay on a subject dear to his heart, 'Altteutsche Lieder, aus dem sechszehnten Jahrhundert' in the first volume of his *Miscellaneen*. (101) In this much more personal statement, Docen clearly identifies himself as a supporter of Arnim's ideology (though not of his editorial practice), and reserves the bulk of his criticism for the pseudo-folksongs of the Enlightenment.

Contrasting the ingenuousness of the folksong with the artificiality of the present day, Docen shows himself a true child of his times in preferring the lively culture of an earlier epoch to the sterile scholarship which gradually supplanted it after the Thirty Years' War, when

unsre Volkspoesie allgemach durch die gelehrte Poëtenschaar verdrängt wurde, oder vielmehr, weil in jenem Zeitpunkt die freye, thätige Bildung des Volks durch Despotismus, unglückliche Zeiten, Krieg, und den unteutschen Anstrich französischer Hofzucht ganz unterdrückt wurde, und daher die alte Lust und Regsamkeit, in der so manches liebliche Gedicht gedeihen konnte, sichtbar auf dem vaterländischen Boden dahinwelkte. (102)

He regrets the demise of the folksong brought about by the zeal of reformers who have purified language and replaced the folk tradition with empty doggerel which they pass off as folksong: 'diese Herren scheinen zu glauben, nur recht verständlich, eine gute Gesinnung, und ein bischen Witz dazu, mehr bedürfe es in einem ächten Volksliede nicht'. (103) Docen evidently had little respect for the poetry of
late Enlightenment pedagogues.

His real concern is for the genuine folksong, but in arguing against textual interference he adds a rider that no criticism of Arnim and Brentano is thereby intended, for theirs was a special undertaking:

Sie sichten ihre reichhaltige, keiner bestimmten Epoche angehörende Sammlung, ohne historische Rücksichten oder kritische Beziehungen ...in die Hände des lesenden Publikums zu bringen, dem es bey der Ueberladung so vieler untauglicher und schaler Messprodukte um eine gesunde Speise Noth thut. (104)

Such an ambition more than justifies their procedures, and Docen echoes Goethe's admonition when he warns:

So geht es oft; statt jemanden Dank zu wissen, für eine gute, unbillig vergessene Sache auf irgend eine Art mitgewirkt zu haben, beäugelt der müßige Tadel das Wie, und vergisst, dass, wenn es auf ihn angekommen wäre, das Ganze unberührt und unbekannt noch hundert Jahre hätte fortruhren können. (105)

Arnim and Brentano have done the nation a service in calling attention to these forgotten treasures (he singles out their promotion of Forster's Frische Teutsche Liedlein); now it is incumbent upon those concerned to preserve the national heritage to do their part. As his own contribution he plans an anthology of the great literary monuments of each century and has been collecting material to that end.
Docen makes two further references to the Wunderhorn in 1807, both in the context of reviews. Commenting on the new edition of Herder's folksongs he records his thanks to the Wunderhorn editors once again, although 'auch diese Sammlung realisiert noch keineswegs die Idee eines ächten deutschen Percy'. (106) Comparing the Wunderhorn with the smaller anthology of Büsching and von der Hagen, he finds the latter 'treuer und zuverlässig' and the former 'im ganzen geistreicher und lieblicher', (107) but he is obviously still eager to see the songs reconstructed in their original condition. In 1809 he is still talking about producing an anthology himself from the material he has been accumulating since 1803, but it never materialized. (108)

Two remaining public comments about the anthology suggest that Docen was not alone in his assessment. The anonymous reviewer in the Neue Leipziger Litteratur-Zeitung damns with faint praise, and although avowedly leaving the reader to make up his own mind, himself feels that Arnim and Brentano do not qualify for the 'Kranz, welchen das Vaterland demjenigen seiner Söhne schuldig sein würde, dem es gelänge, die schönsten Blüten altdeutscher Volkspoesie aus ihrer Asche wieder ins Leben zu rufen'. (109) The reviewer of Müller's preface to the new Herder edition is even more explicit; indignant at the spate of undiscriminating folksong babble, he disapproves of the sudden disparagement of Enlightenment poets, and while he finds the Wunderhorn
undertaking praiseworthy, 'es würde noch mehr Dank verdienen, wenn sie (Arnim and Brentano) in ihrer Hitze nicht oft etwas zu blind gegriffen hätten'. (110)

While reviewers of Enlightenment persuasion resisted the Wunderhorn for ideological reasons, and Docen and younger reviewers were happy to follow Goethe's lead, Friedrich Schlegel, by then an acknowledged literary innovator, trod his own distinctive path. Indeed, such were his current feelings of animosity towards the universally acclaimed master that Goethe's approving review was bound to elicit a negative reaction from him. Furthermore, there existed a degree of personal animosity between himself and Brentano which dated from their Jena days. The fact that Goethe appeared to support Brentano's undertaking merely added insult to injury, and Schlegel reacted, in private at least, with an unreasonable vehemence indicative of his vulnerability at this point. (111)

Schlegel evidently received a complimentary copy of Des Knaben Wunderhorn fromArnim shortly after publication, for he wrote to his brother in November 1805 to that effect, describing its contents in scathing terms and hinting at the existence of a distinct literary grouping in Heidelberg:
Aus Deutschland hab' ich ... nichts neues erhalten, außer einen dicken Band von Arnim (und Brentano) sogenannte Alte Deutsche Lieder, was man sonst Volkslieder nannte; sehr viel bekannte und oft gedruckte aus Herder pp, dann einige gute alte die ich noch nicht kannte, vorzüglich aber eine grosse Menge Schund, Kropzeug, Crethi und Plethi, mit vielen eigenen Brentanereien die wenn sie nicht unverständlich wären pöbelhaft heißen würden. Die meisten dieser Lieder schweben zwischen Kuckuck und Galgen; dieses sind die Lieblingsgedanken oder Factoren dieser Art. Man könnte das Buch in dieser Rücksicht auch Gassenjungiana nennen. Es ist aber eigentlich doch zum Erbarmen wie jeder gute Gedanke, noch eh er ganz reif ist, von dieser Compagnie breit geschlagen wird! (112)

The sarcasm is unmistakeable, as is his enmity towards Brentano. He writes with a consciousness of personal superiority, which, however, he tempers in a letter to Arnim two months later by giving respectable literary reasons for his misgivings:

In Ihrer Liedersammlung habe ich mit Freude manche schöne alte Lieder gefunden, die ich noch nicht kannte; doch gesteh ich Ihnen, daß mir das ganze Buch viel besser gefallen würde, wenn Sie in der Auswahl strenger gewesen wären; dagegen hätte ich mehr geschichtliches über Herkunft und Geburtsstätte mancher Lieder gewünscht, einige, und zwar mit die besten, hätten dieses durchaus bedurft; ich meyne, Sie hätten die hinten angehängte Abhandlung in das Werk selbst als dienstfreundliche Umgebung verweben sollen; auch wäre es doch vielleicht besser gewesen, die eigenen Lieder mehr abzusondern. (113)

He evidently intends Arnim to realize that he is fully aware of editorial interference and disapproves of it. If a challenge to their editorial integrity is here implied, it later becomes explicit that he considers them literary charlatans.
Schlegel's next private comments to his brother date from the spring of 1806 and are provoked by Goethe's review. His animosity towards both Goethe and Brentano reaches a new level of spiteful hate:

Goethe hat ... ein ausschweifendes und scandalöses Lob auf Brentano wegen der Pöbellieder in seinem Freimüthigen (JALZ) aufgestellt; die Deutschen Gelehrten zusammen, lieber Freund, sind jetzt ein wahres Zigeunergergesindel. Gott sei Dank daß wir heraus sind! (114)

His sweeping generalizations and exaggerations, and his final exclamation in particular show that this is a case of sour grapes. He sees Goethe's advocacy of Arnim and Brentano as a criticism of his own faction:

Hat er (Goethe) ja doch Brentano bis in den dritten Himmel gelobt, so mag er uns denn tadeln. Sein Reich wird ohnehin bald zu Ende gehe'n. (115)

Historically speaking, there was good reason for his vindictiveness. Jacob Grimm wrote to his brother in 1805: 'Daß man die neue Schule mit aller Gewalt zu Grabe läuten will, rührt wohl größtenteils aus Parteiernbitterung, Einfalt und Nachbeterei her'. (116) The Jena group had become increasingly critical of Goethe. While their preoccupations grew increasingly philosophical and theoretical, Goethe was experimenting with simpler art forms in order to reach a wider audience. The only way Friedrich Schlegel could claim ascendancy over his enemies was by implying
that they had prostituted their art, hence his derogatory comments about German academics and Brentano's poems.

The strength of this line of argument should not be underestimated, for then, as now, the appeal of belonging to an esoteric inner circle had great force. This kind of superiority is apparent in the following advice from Lisette Nees von Esenbeck to Karoline von Günderode in 1805. She recommends

das gänzliche Ausschließen alles Mittelmäßigen aus Deiner Lektüre. Weit besser ist es, gar nichts Belletristisches zu lesen und hören, als solche Zwitter, die nicht schlecht genug sind, um sie ganz verbannen zu wollen, und die man aus Gefälligkeit toleriert. Hier möchte ich mit A.W. Schlegel wünschen, daß lieber gar keine Buchdruckerkunst erfunden worden wäre, um nicht dem Pöbel so Thor und Thür geöffnet zu sehen, und nur Standespersonen und Edlen den Zugang zu erlauben. (117)

She suggests that her friend confine her reading to the works of Tieck, A.W. and F. Schlegel, Goethe and Novalis.

Such literary views were inextricably bound up with personalities and personality cults and frequently impeded an objective appreciation of new work. A great deal of name-dropping went on, and what better name to drop than Goethe's? Certainly in the ensuing debate over Des Knaben Wunderhorn Goethe's name was bandied around in numerous appropriate and inappropriate contexts. F. Schlegel provides a case in point. In actual fact, Goethe was not nearly as rapturous in his praise of Arnim and Brentano as Schlegel seemed to think, but,
as H. Härtl points out, his repeated insistence on Goethe's unqualified support had the effect of identifying him in the public eye even more closely with the Heidelberg poets than was warranted from an objective reading of the review alone. (118) Unwittingly Schlegel helped to foster the misconception that Goethe was fully behind the patriotic aims of the Heidelberg group, for by now the Heidelberg poets were seen as forming a distinct grouping, just as the Schlegel brothers had earlier formed the nucleus of the Jena circle. From now onwards critics tended to polarize into distinct factions depending not only upon their attitude to Arnim and Brentano, but also upon the weight they accorded to Goethe's authority.

Schlegel's first public attack on Des Knaben Wunderhorn took the form of a parody of its contents called 'Proben der neuesten Poesie'. (119) Two months later, he was more circumspect in his review of the Sammlung deutscher Volkslieder. Büsching and von der Hagen had provided Schlegel with the very ammunition he needed to justify his criticisms of Arnim and Brentano, for in a clear reference to the Wunderhorn, their preface explains:

Noch weniger haben wir diese Lieder durch Auslassungen, Zusätze, Überarbeitung und Umbildung versetzen, Fragmente ergänzen, oder gar ganz eignes Machwerk dabei einschwärzen wollen; dies ist, aufs gelindeste, eine poetische Falschmünzerey, wofür die Historie keinen Dank weiß. (120)
After grudging praise for the editors' efforts to rescue many lovely folksongs from oblivion, Schlegel voices misgivings about the way in which Arnim and Brentano have handled their material:

Wenn nur auch die Sorgfalt der Behandlung und der Auswahl dem Reichthum einigermaßen entspräche! wenn nur nicht so manches Schlechte mit aufgenommen, so manches Eigne und Fremdartige eingemischt wäre, und die bey einigen Liedern sichtbare willkürliche Veränderung nicht bey dem größten Theil der Leser ein gerechtes Mistrauen auch gegen die übrigen einflößen müßte. (121)

These are the same criticisms which he had made privately in his letter to Arnim two years earlier, and which, in academic circles at any rate, constituted the main objections to the anthology, just as Goethe foresaw. He goes on to describe two pitfalls which folksong editors must avoid at all costs: that of trying to contrive strangeness and mystery, since it could easily degenerate into poor taste, and that of mistaking for genuinely 'volksmäsig' what is merely commonplace. The first pitfall, he says,

findet natürlich nur bey den willkürlich ändernden Sammlern Statt, oder bey denen, welche die Art und Weise des Volksliedes in eignen Gedichten absichtlich nachbilden zu können vermeinen. Auf diesem Abwege glauben wir die Sammlung von Arnim und Brentano einigemal betroffen zu haben. (122)

Büsching and von der Hagen fall into the other trap, although he commends them for their scholarly principles. (123)
Schlegel was not the first to voice such misgivings about the editorial practices of Arnim and Brentano, but he was the sharpest of the critics of the first volume. In the light of their experiences, it is hardly surprising that Brentano expressly forbade Zimmer to give the later volumes to Schlegel to review:

Nun aber noch eins: es muß Ihnen allerdings jetzt von größter Wichtigkeit sein, eine tüchtige Rezension von dem Wunderhorn zu erhalten, welcher nach keiner Seite schwankend den gewiß großen Wert des Buches ohne irgendeine Art von Parteilichkeit darstelle; ... in jedem Falle müssen Sie, wo immer möglich, dem Friedrich Schlegel die beiden letzten Bände nicht zu rezensieren geben. (124)

* * * * *

How, then, was the anthology received by the critics? In what light was it presented to the reading public? And what contribution, if any, did the critics make to its general impact?

Where was it reviewed? It is significant that the anthology was reviewed in a wide variety of contemporary journals, by no means all of which were of a technical academic kind, but most of which represented a particular point of view or catered for a certain sector of the reading public. So, for instance, under the direction of Kotzebue, der Freimütige was the mouthpiece of the late Enlightenment, the Heidelbergerische Jahrbücher were invariably associated with the Heidelberg Romantic group, in their early days at least, while Cotta's Morgenblatt became the chief organ of the
opposition. The *Modejournal* and the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, as their names imply, aimed to cover fashionable and topical subjects, while newspapers set greatest store by issues of current concern and relevance. The fact that *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* was reviewed in journals which came into all these categories suggests that it held interest for a readership much wider than the purely academic.

How, then, was it reviewed? In scholarly periodicals, it was reviewed by academics or literary historians of standing who accorded it varying degrees of approval for the rich vein of poetry it had unearthed, but who also took the editors to task for their failure to meet the requirements of textual accuracy. Their interest was primarily in the poetry and, with the exception of Docen, they tended to overlook the rationale behind editorial procedures as justified in Arnim's essay, and therefore failed to appreciate the cultural and patriotic intentions of the authors. Its practical relevance was largely ignored, except by Goethe and Reichardt, while Varnhagen alone responded fully to its patriotic message.

It is worthy of note that whereas the learned reviewer of the *Hallische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* traces the pedigree of the folksong from Herder, through Bürger, Goethe and Claudius to the *Wunderhorn*, the fashionable critic of the *Modejournal* locates the
anthology with the popular dialect poetry of Hebel, Kuhn and Grübel, while at the same time citing the theoretical writings of Herder, A.W. Schlegel and Arnim in order to demonstrate the growth of interest in the folksong. In the final analysis, however, he recommends his lady reader to play safe with the established, socially acceptable poets, Goethe, Schiller, Bürger and the Göttingen group. It would seem, therefore, that there was considerable overlap between the academic, literary interest in the folksong, and the fashionable general interest. In so far as reading had become a fashionable and popular pastime, discussion of reading matter was deemed an important feature of magazines whose aim was to entertain as well as to educate. Since folk-poetry was, by definition, a subject which had the closest connexion with the general populace, and bearing in mind the current focus of interest on 'Volkslieder' and 'Lieder im Volkston', the publication of a large folksong anthology was bound to arouse curiosity.

Critics were touchiest wherever personal or ideological loyalties were threatened, resorting to satire, sarcasm and invective on occasion. This tendency became even more pronounced as time went by, but was held in check initially by the favourable review from Goethe's pen, the effect of which was recorded later by Görres:
Zarte Wesen wohl auch haben sich geärgert an manchen Vorstellungen; spotten endlich wollten Viele, hätte nicht ernsthaft der Herr in der Loge gesessen und Stillschweigen geboten den lärmenden Haufen. Manche erfüllten sich dadurch mit ungeheucheltem Respect vor der trefflichen Erscheinung, andern würgte der Verdruss die Kehle ab, und sind sie nur einmal der verdamnten Ehrfurcht aus dem Wege gegangen, so werdet ihr Wunder hören, wie sie aufschreyen. (125)

Had the positive comments been taken seriously, then the book ought to have gained entrance to every home 'wo frische Menschen wohnen', (126) it should have been distributed 'von wohlgesinnten Obrigkeit en und ächt patriotischen Gesellschaften unter das Volk', (127) and it might even have found its way into fashionable ladies' reticules. (128) In actual fact, it is very difficult to assess how much the critics contributed to the book's impact, especially since some of the reviews were not published until two or more years after the book itself. Varnhagen's stirring words may well have assisted sales in Hamburg; Goethe's undoubtedly had a beneficial effect. As for the rest, one suspects that their influence was confined mainly to fellow academics, who, in any case, were already drawn up in their respective battle lines with their supporters behind them. Given the undoubted fact that folk-poetry was popular in reading circles at the time, it may be assumed that the Wunderhorn reached a wider audience than just the highly-educated. It is impossible to state with any certainty whether reviews in the fashionable magazines stimulated this trend or merely reflected it, though subsequent developments incline to the acceptance of the view that journals played a part.
in its success, while the vendetta waged by J.H.Voß emphasizes the power of the critic of standing.

* * * * *

Between the publication of the first part of Des Knaben Wunderhorn and the later volumes, certain developments took place which had a profound influence upon the fortunes of the Heidelberg group. Mohr and Zimmer had established themselves as the publishers of the patriotic circle consisting of Arnim and Brentano, Creuzer and Görres, the main concern of whom was old German literature and culture. Early in 1808, Arnim decided to publish a newspaper which would bring such treasures to the attention of the general public. Called the Zeitung für Einsiedler, it appeared twice weekly from 1 April 1808 until circumstances forced its demise five months later. Arnim subsequently published it in book form under the title Tröst Einsamkeit. (129) The history of this short-lived newspaper is of interest here in so far as it sheds further light on the relationship between author, critic and public at this time, and also because it had a direct effect upon the reception of the two later volumes of the Wunderhorn.

The dispute between J.H.Voß and Arnim and Brentano is ably presented in an article by H.Rölleke which makes plain that, for purely personal reasons, the older man who had once been so well-disposed
towards the young folksong collectors, suddenly became their arch-enemy. (130) First of all he fell out with Brentano in the summer of 1806 over the purchase of a property in Heidelberg. Creuzer and Görres were the next to fall from grace, and finally Arnim, by dint of his friendship with the others, became the target for Voß's criticisms. The Zeitung für Einsiedler provided him with the excuse he needed to attack Arnim publicly. The younger man replied with friendly irony, (131) but Voß was roused to such a pitch that nothing short of a full-scale vendetta would satisfy him. The feud continued unabated until long after the remaining Wunderhorn volumes had appeared, and so notorious did the main protagonists become that Arnim's reputation was severely harmed. (132) As far as the Zeitung für Einsiedler was concerned, Voß carried on a remorseless campaign through the pages of Cotta's Morgenblatt which effectively sabotaged the undertaking. (133)

If Goethe's reviews were to Arnim the acme of good criticism, Voß's were the opposite. In the preface to Tröst Einsamkeit, Arnim voiced his sadness over the state of the reading public and his bitterness towards Voß for having taken such a negative stand against an enterprise which had been undertaken in a positive spirit. He described him as one who 'mit hämischer Besonnenheit auf alles Werdende und Wachsende den plumpen starren Fels seines literarischen Rufes stürzt, um es durch den Staub den Augen der Welt zu entziehen'. (134) The fact that Voß succeeded - and this was not
the only case of sabotage - is testimony both to the power of the critic and to the malleability of public opinion. (135) Arnim talked in his preface of a public waiting for the critic to make up its mind, (136) but Görres used even stronger language to describe how the public could be manipulated by the unscrupulous:

Es ist nichts zu verderben am Publikum, das da sitzt wie eine Hure am Tempelthor, und von jedem sich gebrauchen läßt, der ihm ein Stück Geld zuwirft. (137)

The Zeitung für Einsiedler was at a double disadvantage both in having called down the wrath of an influential critic and in containing material which was not considered easy reading. Görres, in 1812, spoke of 'das liederliche Publikum, dem alle Poesie im Munde zerschmelzen soll wie Zuckereingemachtes', (138) while Jacob Grimm admitted that his book on the poetry of the mastersingers would in all probability not do well, 'weil der Gegenstand so trocken ist, von Sagen und dergleichen Erholungen konnte nichts angebracht werden'. (139) The Zeitung für Einsiedler, on the other hand, did contain material of that kind but still did not sell, because, in Brentano's view, it was too difficult to understand. (140) The public, then, was not likely to respond to material which called for careful and concentrated reading, but it was only too happy to follow spicy controversies in the press.
Just as the Zeitung für Einsiedler was reaching the point of nemesis, the final two volumes of Des Knaben Wunderhorn were nearing completion. They were published in the autumn of 1808. Although the present study concentrates upon the first volume, this particular chapter would be incomplete without some reference to the fortunes of the remaining volumes, since, in the eyes of critics, all three volumes later came to be linked together.

Encouraged by the response from both reviewers and public, Arnim and Brentano struck a confident and assertive note in their jointly written appeal for further material, dated November 1807:

Die unterschriebenen Herausgeber der von dem Publikum sowohl, als der Kritik mit dem erfreulichsten Beifall aufgenommene(n) Sammlung altdeutscher Volkslieder ... sind in diesem Augenblicke mit der Anordnung des zweiten Bandes beschäftigt, welcher in den ersten Monaten des folgenden Jahres erscheinen soll. Die mannigfaltigen Beiträge von bekannten und unbekannten Gönern altdeutscher Poesie, welche sie vor sich sehen, erregen in ihnen das Vertrauen, keine Fehlbitte zu thun, indem sie alle geneigte Freunde ihres Unternehmens ersuchen, Alles, was sich von Beiträgen dieser Art durch Zufall noch in ihren Händen befinden sollte, sobald als möglich ... einzusenden. (141)

There were indeed good grounds for their confidence; the response thus far had been encouraging. However, with the vicissitudes of the Zeitung für Einsiedler in the following year, Arnim and Brentano found their public image tarnished, so much so, in fact, that when the later volumes of their anthology came on the
market they suffered from the adverse publicity which had surrounded them during the previous six months. Brentano recognized this clearly and wrote of it to Goethe and to Wilhelm Grimm in the early months of 1809. 'Voß hat eine so ungeschickte Wut gegen den armen Einsiedler bekommen,' he wrote to Goethe,

der bloß sich gegen ihn wehrte, weil er ihn schon im Mutterleibe verflucht hatte; dadurch nun ist sein Zorn gegen uns und unsern Verleger, der einer der trefflichsten und rechtschaffensten Männer ist, so groß, daß er besonders letztterm zu schaden sucht, wo er nur kann. (142)

Voß's public harangue had resulted in prejudice against the Wunderhorn volumes even before they were published:

Sehr leid tut mir Vossens Niedertracht gegen das Wunderhorn, und durch Arnims mir nicht genug tuende Antwort ist jetzt Vossens Gegenerklärung, die mit arglistiger Bosheit alles, wo er sich getroffen fühlt, umgeht, ist die Sache für das Buch noch mehr verdorben. Alles das haben wir dem Einsiedler zu danken; mir tut es gar leid Zimmers wegen, den Voß jetzt auf alle Art verfolgt. (143)

It was a veritable persecution. Voß lost no time in publicly condemning the two latest volumes of the Wunderhorn and in blatantly accusing its editors of secrecy and forgery, in a review published in Cotta's Morgenblatt. (144) He tries to explain away Goethe's praise of the first volume and quotes Büsching and von der Hagen, as well as their reviewer, Friedrich Schlegel, in support of his claims. To many observers, this review provided the final proof, if more were needed, that Voß was no longer fully in control of himself. (145)
That being the case, it would doubtless have been wiser of Brentano and Arnim to ignore such totally irrational invective, but Arnim felt constrained, in the face of personal insult and misrepresentation of himself and others, to make a public reply. His letter to Voβ, which he sent to Eichstädt, the editor of the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, and which Eichstädt immediately forwarded to the addressee, was published on the latter's advice and with his retort. (146) With humour and sublety, Arnim countered the charges against him, pointing out that he had even discussed the matter of alterations with Voβ in person and had received the latter's approval and assistance in the enterprise. (147) Voβ was not to be placated, however. Brentano, meanwhile, added his contribution to their defence by publishing his own riposte quite independently of Arnim. (148) He also placed an announcement in the *Morgenblatt* to the effect that he was about to write, with the help of friends, a history of the folksong which was evidently intended to spike Voβ's guns once and for all:

Da die Absicht, aus welcher deutschliebenden Lesern die nun mit dem 2ten und 3ten Bande und den Kinderliedern geschlossene Sammlung mannichfacher alter und immer sich erneuernder Lieder und Volkslieder, unter dem Namen: Wunderhorn, mit nicht geringer Mühe und großer Liebe zusammengestellt worden, hie und da, theils aus gutmeinender Kritik, theils irrigem Ueberverständniß, gänzlich, doch keineswegs mir unerwartet, mißdeutet wurde: so finde ich für nöthig, hier voraus anzuzeigen, was ich ohnedas zu leisten entschlossen war, nämlich nach meinen Kräften und mit der Beyhülfe einiger Freunde ... eine gedrängte Geschichte der Volkslieder, mit möglicher Zeitbestimmung, wie auch eine Kritik der ächten und zweifelhaften Stücke unserer
Brentano's announcement is interesting for a number of reasons. Firstly, its very formulation betrays the influence of Jacob Grimm, as indeed does its intention. Jacob Grimm had ever contended for a historical appreciation of the folksong as being the only valid approach, and Brentano, whose ambivalence on this subject has already been noted, found himself increasingly under pressure from Grimm as they worked together in Cassel during Arnim's absence. Secondly, it shows how much Brentano had taken the comments of critics to heart and wanted to justify himself in their eyes. This was especially true of Goethe, for letters to potential collaborators as early as 1806 show that his plan to write a history dates from the time of Goethe's review. For example, in a letter to the Trier librarian, J.H. Wyttenbach, of June 1806, he speaks of collecting material 'ernstlicher und kritischer als vorher' immediately after a reference to Goethe's review, (150) while a similar letter to J.G. Müller states: 'Das endliche Ziel unserer Sammlungen liegt nicht in der Herausgabe selbst, sondern wir hoffen, einstens den Versuch einer Geschichte des deutschen Volksliedes darauf zu begründen'. (151)

Both Arnim and the Grimm brothers saw immediately what Brentano had seemingly overlooked, namely, that to carry out such an intention would be to concede the validity of the enemy's charges and thus to play into
his hands, and also to compromise the expressed purpose of the anthology. (152) Brentano, however, was more conscious of the voice of the critics than he was either of his own editorial convictions or of the general approval of the non-academic reading public. Fortunately for the anthology, J.H. Voß was not to have the last word.

With the publication of Arnim's second riposte 'An Herrn Hofrath Voß', (153) that particular public exchange of letters came to an end. Arnim's final challenge may have acted as the ultimate deterrent for he flung down a gauntlet which even the expert Jacob Grimm dared not accept. 'So födere ich Sie auf,' he challenged Voß,

mir ein Lied anzuzeigen, dem kein älteres Fragment oder Sage zum Grunde liegt, oder eine Aenderung, für die ich keinen Grund anzugeben wüßte, aus höherer Kritik oder allgemeiner Verständlichkeit.' (154)

Whether Jacob Grimm believed Arnim's claim or not, (155) H. Rölleke's recent studies of Wunderhorn source material show that Arnim was telling the truth.

Three other major reviews of the anthology were published in 1809 and 1810. Görres's review was divided into two parts, the first of which appeared in March 1809 while the second was delayed until August 1810. In the meantime an anonymous review appeared in the Hallische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung which called down
Brentano's wrath. 'Welch ungemeiner gemeiner Esel hat das Wunderhorn in Halle rezensiert?' (156) he asked Wilhelm Grimm, from whom came the equally disparaging reply:

Die Recension der hiesigen Zeitung vom Wunderhorn könnte wohl von dem Büsching sein, den ich an seinem albernen Styl in mehreren Recensionen erkannt ... vielleicht ist sie auch von dem jungen Schütz, diesem höchst fatalen, albernen aufgeblasenen Menschen. (157)

Besides the serious reviews, it is noteworthy that, following in the wake of Friedrich Schlegel, a critic of Enlightenment convictions resorted to parody of Brentano's special collection of 'Kinderlieder' which were appended to the third volume. (158) From the ideological point of view, to publish nursery rhymes as part of a serious poetry anthology was considered the height of Romantic lunacy by critics of Enlightenment persuasion.

Arnim and Brentano could overlook these taunts, but the lengthy review by von der Hagen in the Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung proved to be the straw that broke the camel's back. (159) Hitherto, Arnim had remained adamant about the rightness of his editorial procedures, but when von der Hagen referred explicitly not only to his feud with Voß but also to Brentano's expressed intention of producing a critical commentary on the folksong, Arnim felt obliged to meet the demands for an explanation. (160) The text of their letter, 'An die Leser des Wunderhorns', is given in full
because it traces the history of the Wunderhorn controversy in the press and reveals the authors' reactions so clearly:

Vielen schriftlichen und mündlichen Aufforderungen zur Fortsetzung des Wunderhorns glauben wir die öffentliche Anzeige schuldig, daß diese Fortsetzung zwar nicht in der nächsten Messe, aber doch gewiß in den nächsten Jahren erscheinen wird. Beyträge sind uns willkommen; wir bitten, sie durch Buchhändlergelegenheit an die hiesige Realschulbuchhandlung gelangen zu lassen. Ein Anhang dieses künftigen vierten Bandes wird Berichtigungen und Zusätze zu den erschienenen drey Bänden enthalten; auch wollen wir, was bisher außer unserem Plane lag, literarische Anmerkungen zur Geschichte des Volksliedes und unserer Sammlung den Literatoren zu gefallen hinzufügen, wobey wir uns die Hülfe unserer Freunde Grimm in Cassel versprechen, deren gründliche Kenntniß bisher so erquicklich zur Anregung lebendiger Ansicht der älteren deutschen Literatur gewirkt hat. Was uns durch Recensenten an gutem Rath und Berichtigung geworden ist, soll benutzt werden; aber freylich ist diese Ausbeute bey den späteren beiden Bänden nicht groß. Die Recension im Morgenblatte enthielt außer der widrigsten Verdrehtheit und Unwissenheit durchaus nichts als Schimpfreden; eine andere in den heidelberger Jahrbüchern, die uns vollkommen zu verstehen schien und manches Lehrreiche hoffen ließ, ist mit der Einleitung abgebrochen worden und unbeendigt geblieben; eine andere in der hallischen Zeitung ist beym gänzlichen Mangel an Volkssinn und Kenntniß so urtheilslos, unveränderte alte Lieder für neu, und halb ergänzte für alt zu erklären; das ernsthliche Bemühen des Recensenten von zweyten Bande in der jenaer Zeitung, sich in das literarische hineinzuarbeiten, verdient alles Lob, ein paar Nachweisungen über den früheren Abdruck von Liedern sind uns lieb; wenn er sich noch ein paar Jahre fleissig mit dem Gegenstande beschäftigt, wird er vielleicht anders darüber urtheilen; zu einer Sammlung in unserer Gesinnung gehört überhaupt mehr, als er zu ahnden scheint, wovon aber der jenaer Recensent des ersten Bandes sehr wohl unterrichtet war. Haben die beiden später erschienenen Bände manche eigenthümliche Freude gewährt, die dem ersten fehlte: so danken es die Leser hauptsächlich den Erinnerungen jenes Recensenten des ersten Bandes, der mit Weisheit das
Literarische und Kritische von unserem Unternehmen sonderte, und uns immer aufmerksamer machte auf charakteristische Individualitäten in den älteren Liedern, die wir durch Erneuerung und durch Zusammenstellung mit einigen neueren Liedern noch mehr herauszuheben trachteten. Wir bedauern, daß die Sammlungen, die der erste Theil des Wunderhorns veranlaßte, wir meinen die von Seckendorf, Docen, Hagen und Büsching herausgegebenen, so bald aufgehört haben; Seckendorf hat ein früher Tod hinweggerafft, ihm schien Glück und Gelegenheit besonders günstig. Wenige Jahre ändern in unserer Zeit sehr viel,-- mit Bedauern müssen wir bemerken, daß jetzt ein breites literarisches Geschwätz, das in überflüssigen Citaten stolzirt, die erwachte Liebe zu älterer deutschen Literatur allmählich wieder unterdrückt und lebendigere Menschen davon zurückschreckt!

Berlin, den 1 März 1810.
L. Achim von Arnim. Clemens Brentano. (161)

Although Arnim assured Wilhelm Grimm that this letter was not meant to be taken too seriously, a definite note of disappointment and disillusionment is discernible, which not even the favourable reviews of Goethe and Görres had alleviated. The increasing and relentless pressure from critics of the opposition, in particular, forced Arnim to capitulate, for they had succeeded in undermining his own confidence by constantly labouring the historical, philological issue and thereby deflecting attention from the real concern for Germany's needs. This literary polemic had become counter-productive, as far as Arnim was concerned, and he was heartily sick of the whole business: it must have seemed to him a bitter vindication of his critique of German scholarly circles in Von Volksliedern.
And yet, however gloomy the overall picture, the review by Görres gloriously and powerfully reasserted the claims which Arnim and Brentano had made on behalf of the folksong. Görres, who had known Brentano since his youth, and whose personal contribution to the cause of old German literature had been prompted through having access to Brentano's library, had been resident in Heidelberg since 1806 and thus knew the editors well. After some discussion of possible alternative authors, Görres had eventually been invited to review the final volumes of the Wunderhorn for the Heidelbergerische Jahrbücher. (162) Although his manuscript was ready in early November (i.e. even before Voss's review appeared) and was submitted to the editor, Friedrich Creuzer, in December, there was some delay over its publication owing to the need for modification and amputation: it was both too long and too ecstatic. (163) Creuzer sent it to Brentano and Savigny for approval in January 1809 and the first part was published in March. Then came the hiatus during which the other Wunderhorn reviews were published. Creuzer, who relinquished his duties as editor in April 1809, feared that as a result, the editorial committee of the Jahrbücher might decide to veto the second half of the review altogether. In the event, his fears proved correct as Thibaut tried to prevent its publication on the grounds that Arnim, Creuzer and Görres had conspired together over its writing. On Creuzer's return to Heidelberg later that year the confusion was cleared up; Arnim wrote an explanatory note to August Böckh, the new editor, denying any collusion over the manuscript. (164)
and eventually, in August 1810, the second part was published, almost two years after the Wunderhorn volumes. Although Arnim complained about the detrimental effects of tardy reviewing, (165) Böckh argued that there was some advantage to be gained thereby:

Auch ist der Spruch so wahr, daß erst nachdem der erste Rausch verbraust ist, nach Jahren die Bücher frey und partheylos beurtheilt werden können, und so schadet das Späte auch nichts. (166)

As far as Görres's review was concerned, the lateness of its publication at least gave it the advantage of being the last word on the subject of Des Knaben Wunderhorn, and most commentators agree that it was a very impressive word. Not without justification F. Schultz calls it 'Görres glänzendste Leistung auf dem Gebiete der litterarisch-wissenschaftlichen Tageskritik'. (167) In a few pages Görres addresses himself to all the major themes of the folksong controversy, particularly as they had been manifested in critical responses to the Wunderhorn, and sweeps the reader to the conclusion that Arnim and Brentano had done the nation an inestimable service in saving and restoring its poetic heritage.

He begins with an explicit reference to critical responses, warning, as Goethe had done, that the only proper response should be 'einfältiglich und bescheiden' and not 'altklug und gelehrt'. (168)
Then, in a literary tour de force, he explains how poetry preceded art, how natural expression found its own appropriate form and how, in the course of human development, artistic rules were formulated until it was possible to separate the techniques of art from the spirit which first prompted its production. 'Die neueste Zeit', he suggests, 'kann auch immer das treffendste Zeugnis für die Wirklichkeit dieser formlosen Begeisterung und der geistlosen Form geben.'

He draws a distinction between the results of technology and those of nature, and while not wishing to denigrate the former, his love is reserved for the latter.

As far as reception is concerned, Görres ascribes to folk-poetry both a horizontal and a vertical effect:

Wie nämlich diese Poesie am meisten räumliche Verbreitung gewonnen hat, so hat sie auch zeitlich die meiste Tiefe erlangt, eine starke Pfahlwurzel hat sie senkrecht hinab in die Zeit gesenkt, während die adeliche Poesie mehr horizontale Ausläufer an der Oberfläche um sich her verbreitet.

The reason for this lies in its archetypal expression of the deep inner life of man. Folk-poetry is the product of the intense moments of life and its effect is correspondingly profound:

Einer der hellen, klaren, lichten Lebensmomente war ergriffen worden, und aus ihm sprang der blaue Blitzfunken in einem Schlag hervor, und fernhin sprühte der ganze Umkreis im elektrischen Lichte. Die ganze Menge fühlte sich erregt, ohne viel zu fragen, woher ihr der Schlag gekommen sey.
Görres praises Arnim and Brentano for gathering together the vestiges of this original folk-poetry when it was on the point of extinction and for restoring it so sensitively 'daß ein Geist durch die Bilder zieht, und alle sich als die Glieder eines Leibes zusammenfügen'. (172) Since, above all else, these songs together illustrate the essential characteristics of the German nation, and since in his own day these characteristics were blurred and faded, Görres considers it important to delineate the German personality as reflected in the songs of the Wunderhorn. Starting with childhood, he proceeds to classify them according to the various categories of life and experience, for 'die Nation selbst hat in diesen Gesängen ihr Inneres aufgethan'. (173) Here is truth about authentic existence, and herein the value for contemporary society:

Darum ist die Existenz einer so klangreichen, tönenden federkräftigen Poesie in der Mitte der Nation eine so tröstliche Erscheinung, ihre innere Trefflichkeit zeugt für ihre Wahrhaftigkeit, und daß sie Volkspoesie geworden, beweist, daß diese Wahrheit nicht bloß individuell für die Dichter gelte, sondern in der ganzen Masse ein durchgehender Zug sich gefunden habe, der den Dichter und die Nation in eins geschmolzen. (174)

Görres ends with a reiteration of the point which Goethe had also made, namely that such poetry, as a distillation of the deepest truths about man, transcends a purely historical frame of reference and should not therefore be judged according to historical criteria. The anthology was not intended to be 'eine Chronik
deutschen Volksgesanges', but rather, Arnim and Brentano 'wollten vielmehr in Einen Brennpunct die durch das Volk zerstreuten Strahlen sammeln, um im engsten Raume eingeschlossen, was über die Weite unscheinbar auseinander gelaufen, der Anschauung vorzuführen'. (175) Distinguishing between the office of historian and artist, Görres fully accepts the poetic intentions of Arnim and Brentano and upholds the validity of their editorial approach:

Paradoxically, Brentano considered that Görres had written in this review the very history of the folksong which he himself had in mind to write,(177) and yet Görres, in these concluding sentences, gives the clearest and most persuasive justification of what had ever been Arnim's conviction: that the criteria of history and textual accuracy have no place in the appreciation of that poetry which at heart expresses the timeless essence of the German national character.

* * * *
And so the wheel came full circle. Görres's review both supported Arnim's convictions as expressed in *Von Volksliedern* and, in documenting critical responses, showed that Arnim was ahead of his time just as Herder had been before him. His critique of contemporary society and his assessment of the nation's needs cut right across the orthodox opinions of the majority and demanded a radical reorientation in social, cultural and political thinking. Most were not prepared to surrender the security of the status quo; it was left to the old and wise (Goethe and Reichardt), and to the younger men (Görres, Varnhagen and the Grimm brothers) to recognize the value of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*.

In retrospect, however, Arnim considered his judgements to have been vindicated. However much reviewers may have deflected attention from the real issues, however much they may have caused Arnim and Brentano to waver temporarily in their editorial convictions, ultimately they could not silence the insistent voice of the songs themselves. This, at any rate, is how Arnim explains the demand for a second edition in 1818. In his second postscript he looks back over the dozen years which had elapsed since the publication of the first volume - momentous years which had changed the face of Europe - and everywhere sees signs of new life and hope. The prophetic message of *Von Volksliedern* had been adopted by others and 'zu längeren Werken ausgearbeitet
worden'. (178) Social and political conditions had improved steadily and community spirit was growing. While Arnim refutes the suggestion that the Wunderhorn had been undertaken as 'eine Art poetischer Revoluzion gegen die geehrten Liederdichter der Zeit', (179) he is nevertheless glad that, as a result of it, 'die Dichter fingen wieder an von unten auf zu lernen und zu dienen'. (180) He is grateful for the musical settings which have helped to disseminate the songs among a wider audience, but most of all he gratefully acknowledges Goethe's inestimable contribution through his review, which Arnim then quotes at length. Recalling his reactions to other reviews, Arnim can only wonder at his own sensitivity and remains unrepentantly convinced of the rightness of his actions in altering and improving source material. His final hope for the songs is entirely in keeping with these convictions:

... so ein Lied habe seine beste Geschichte in sich selbst und freue sich recht herzlich, wenn es ein anderer mit wahrer Zuneigung in seine Seele aufnimmt und nach seinem inneren Verlangen gestaltet ... Sucht jeder sinnige Leser, wenn ihn eins dieser Lieder innerlich berührt, alles ihn Störende hinwegzurräumen, alles hinzuzufügen, was es in ihm bildete und anregte, so hat unser Bemühen sein höchstes Ziel erreicht, und wir verschwinden unter der Menge sorgfältiger und erfindsamer Mitherausgeber des Wunderhorns. (181)

The passage of time brings a greater awareness of priorities and a greater appreciation of the things that endure. With the wisdom of hindsight, Arnim attributes greater power to the songs of the anthology than to any amount of writing about them. It was
indeed a milestone in the history of German life and letters, because, if Brentano's words to Bettina in 1839 may be trusted, among all the works which were produced under the influence of the times, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* was produced, as it were, in the teeth of the times:

Das Wunderhorn hat einen allgemeineren Namen als Arnims Werke, welche durch die Zeit in ihm entstanden, Jenes aber brachten wir in der Zeit hervor. (182)

* * * * *
Notes

1. Appendix B, 13 (Fam 5,1).
5. Appendix B: Publicity, Correspondence and Critical Comment pertaining to Des Knaben Wunderhorn in the Contemporary Press, pp. 430-34.
6. See Jahrbuch für internationale Germanistik, Jg. II/2 (1972), p. 139. An enquiry to the Hochschulbibliothekszentrum, Köln in 1977 confirmed that 'die gewünschte Arbeit ist zwar vergeben aber bisher noch nicht abgeschlossen'.
7. Appendix B, 42 (p. 447).
11. ibid.
12. ibid.
15. Fam 3, 448.


19. ibid. p. 486.

20. ibid. p. 487.


25. Appendix B, 13 (Fam 5,9).


27. Appendix B,5.

28. Sb 1, 296 (1 January 1806).


30. On Runge, see Appendix C, p. 446. Zimmer was introduced to Runge by Perthes.

31. P.O. Runge, Von den Machandel Bohm and Vom Fischer und syner Fru. The former appeared in the Zeitung für Einsiedler, Nr 29 (9 July 1808) and Nr. 30 (12 July 1808).

32. See Justinus Kerners Briefwechsel mit seinen Freunden, edited by T. Kerner, 2 vols (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1897), I,51 (a letter to Uhland, 8 June 1809).

33. See Ludwig Uhland, seine Freunde und Zeitgenossen, Erinnerungen von Karl Mayer, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1867), I, 140 (an undated letter of 1809).
34. F. Perthes, Beiträge zur Geschichte Deutschlands in den Jahren 1805-09 (Schaffhausen, 1843), p. 13 (3 November 1805).

35. Appendix B, 11 (Fam 5, 14-15).

36. This conclusion is inferred from his reference to the 'Prussian grenadier'. Gleim published Preußische Kriegslieder in den Feldzügen 1756 und 1757, von einem Grenadier (Berlin, 1758).


39. Z, 272 (25 January 1806). Perthes would have collected his stocks of the Wunderhorn at the October book fair and could only have been back in Hamburg a few weeks before the publication of Varnhagen's review.

40. Appendix B, 10 (p. 395).

41. ibid.

42. ibid. pp. 395-96.

43. ibid. p. 396.

44. ibid.

45. Sb 1, 295 (1 January 1806).

46. Appendix B, 12.

47. ibid. (Fallersleben, 'Zur Geschichte des Wunderhorns', p. 266).

48. Sb 1, 300 (to Arnim, February 1806).


50. Steig 1, 38.

51. Steig 1, 220 (to Brentano, summer 1807).

52. L.A.v. Arnim, Von Volksliedern, Wh 1, 460 footnote (FBA 6, 438).

53. Wh 1, 464 (FBA 6, 443).

54. J.W.v. Goethe, Aus dem Nachlaß, a review of Gottlieb Hillers Gedichte und Selbstbiographie, Erster Teil (Cöthen, 1805), in GA XIV, 222-27, (p. 222). The review was written on 17 and 18 January, according to Goethe's diary.
55. Appendix B, 14 (Fam 5, 16).
57. GA XIX, 490-91 (9 March 1806).
58. Appendix B, 13 (Fam 5, 1).
59. ibid.
60. ibid.
61. GA XIV, 222.
62. Appendix B, 13 (Fam 5, 9).
63. ibid. p. 8.
64. H. Härtl, op. cit., p. 88f.
65. Appendix B, 13 (Fam 5, 8).
67. Appendix B, 13 (Fam 5, 9).
68. ibid.
69. WH 1, 451-52 (FBA 6, 430).
70. WH 1, 432 (FBA 6, 412).
71. Appendix B, 13 (Fam 5, 9).
72. ibid.
73. Compare Goethe's plans for a Lyrisches Volksbuch (1808), in GA XIV, 460-73.
74. Appendix B, 13 (Fam 5, 10).
75. GA XIV, 461.
76. Appendix B, 13 (Fam 5, 10).
77. Sb 1, 300 (to Arnim, February 1806).
78. Steig 1, 162-63 (to Brentano, 17 February 1806).
80. Foremost among these was Friedrich Schlegel. See J. Körner, Krisenjahre der Frühromantik, Briefe aus dem Schlegelkreis, 3 vols (Brünn, Wien, Leipzig, Bern, 1936/37/58), I, 292,320.
81. J. P. Hebel, Allemannische Gedichte für Freunde ländlicher Natur und Sitten (Karlsruhe, 1803); G. J. Kuhn, Sammlung von Schweizer-Kuhreihen und alten Volksliedern (1805); J. C. Grubel, Gedichte in Nürnberger Mundart, 3 vols (1798, 1800, 1803).

82. Appendix B, 16 (p. 426).

83. Hebel's anthology was reprinted in 1804 and there were four subsequent new editions between 1806 and 1821. Kuhn's work was reprinted in 1812 and 1818.

84. Appendix B, 16 (p. 482).

85. He quotes Wh 1, 442-50 (FBA 6, 421-29).

86. Appendix B, 16 (p. 486f).

87. Ibid. p. 489.

88. Sb 1, 335 (October 1806).

89. See Appendix B, 17.

90. Ibid. (Sp. 329).

91. Ibid. (Sp. 332).

92. Ibid. (Sp. 330).

93. Ibid. (Sp. 334-35).


96. See chapter five, pp. 353-54.

97. Appendix B, 4.

98. Ibid. (quoted from FBA 9, 1, 731).

99. Sb 1, 301 (February 1806).

100. See Appendix C, 436-37.


102. Ibid. (p. 248).
103. ibid. (p. 250).
104. ibid. (p. 251).
105. ibid. (p. 252 footnote).
106. Appendix B, 19.
108. Appendix B, 42.
110. Appendix B, 23.
111. See H. Härtl, op. cit., chapter 1.
113. R. Volpers, Friedrich Schlegel als politischer Denker und Patriot (Berlin and Leipzig, 1917), P. 228 (3 January 1806).
115. ibid. p. 320 (15 April 1806).
117. L. Geiger, Karoline von Günderode und ihre Freunde (Stuttgart, 1895), pp. 57-58. Lisette (nee von Mettingh) was a highly intelligent, well educated woman, equally at home in science and letters. She acted as Karoline von Günderode's spiritual and intellectual mentor.
118. See H. Härtl, op. cit., p. 100f.
119. Appendix B, 24, (Fam 5, 17-18).
121. Appendix B, 25 (Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe 1/III, 103.
122. ibid. (p. 104).
123. ibid.
124. Sb 1, 379 (Landshut, 1808).
125. Appendix B, 41 (Fam 5, 453).
126. J.W.v. Goethe, Appendix B, 13 (Fam 5, 1).

128. Appendix B, 16 (p. 426).

129. Zeitung für Einsiedler (hereafter EZ) was published by Mohr and Zimmer (Heidelberg, 1808) and later republished as Tröst Einsamkeit, alte und neue Sagen und Wahrsagungen, (Heidelberg, 1808).


131. Appendix B, 29 (Fam 5,34).


135. Voß further attacked Arnim's Halle und Jerusalem, (1811) and his publisher Zimmer, through a review by Aloys Schreiber in the Morgenblatt, Nr. 84 (1811). See O. Reichel, Der Verlag Mohr und Zimmer in Heidelberg und die Heidelberger Romantik, (Augsburg, 1913), p.79.


137. J. Gärres, Gesammelte Schriften, VIII, 328, (to W. Grimm, 2 June 1812).

138. ibid. p. 323.

139. Steig 3, 79 (to Arnim, 27 October 1810).

140. Sb 1, 371 (to the Grimms, 9 June 1808).

141. Appendix B, 26 (Fam 5,477).

142. Sb 1, 389-90 (February 1809).

143. Sb 1, 385-86 (Brentano to W.Grimm, 20 January 1809).

144. Appendix B,28 (Fam 5, 26-30).

145. See, for example, Creuzer's comment to J.H.C. Bang in December 1808: 'Diese Recension ist eines von den vielen Zeichen, worin man ihm (Voß) hier
das Prognosticon stellt, daß er noch wahnsinnig werde.' (Fam 5,30).

146. Appendix B, 29 (Fam 5, 34) and B,30 (Fam 5,35-36).

147. Voß assisted Arnim on the Wunderhorn project up to the early part of 1808. See Steig 1,237.

148. Appendix B, 32 (Fam 5,38) and compare H. Rölleke, op. cit., p. 299f.

149. Appendix B, 34 (Fam 5, 481).


152. See Steig 1, 270 (Arnim to Brentano, 2 March 1809) and Steig 3,22 (W. Grimm to Arnim, 2 March 1809).

153. Appendix B,35 (Fam 5,40).

154. ibid.


156. Sb 1, 408 (2 July 1809).

157. Steig 4, 60 (2 August 1809).

158. Appendix B, 27 (Fam 5, 477-78).

159. Appendix B, 45 (Fam 5, 45-46).

160. See Steig 3, 56 (to W. Grimm, 4 April 1810): 'Was hast Du zu unserer Anzeige in der Jenaer Literaturzeitung gesagt? so gar hitzig ist es damit nicht gemeint, es ist ein Krähen über dem Hagenschen Miste.'

161. Appendix B, 46 (Fam 5, 485-86).

162. Others considered for the task were Jean Paul Richter and W. Grimm. See Fam 5,476 and Sb 1, 377-79).

163. See J. Görres, Gesammelte Schriften, VIII, 45-46, (Creuzer to Görres, 11 December 1808).


165. ibid. p. 247.

166. ibid. p. 252 (Böckh to Arnim, 2 April 1810).

168. Appendix B, 41 (Fam 5, 454).

169. ibid. p. 455.

170. ibid. p. 457.


172. ibid. p. 459.

173. ibid. p. 469.

174. ibid. p. 470.

175. ibid. p. 475.

176. ibid.

177. Sb 1, 402 (to Arnim, May 1809): 'Ich hatte die Anzeige von einer Geschichte der Volkslieder nicht so streng genommen, wie Du geglaubt; ich wollte ohngefähr das tun, was Görres in der Rezension des Wunderhorns gesagt, nur etwas historischer und lesenerlicher sagen. Durch diese Rezension aber muß ich das Ganze jetzt gern aufgeben, da er das Beste gesagt hat.'

178. Wh 1, 476 (FBA 8, 371).

179. Wh 1, 478 (FBA 8, 373-74).

180. Wh 1, 479 (FBA 8, 374).

181. Wh 1, 484 (FBA 8, 378-79).


* * * * *
CHAPTER FIVE

Arnim and Brentano believed wholeheartedly in the intrinsic worth of their anthology. The more they pursued their researches the more they came to enjoy the business of acquiring new material. This was especially true of Brentano whose interest in book collecting developed along with his creative gift, as his sizeable personal library bears witness. (1)

As far as old German poetry was concerned, the first volume of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* represented but the tip of the iceberg, and so, leaving it to make its own mark upon the reading public, Arnim and Brentano now embarked upon preparations for later volumes by seeking first and foremost to draw others into their collecting network. Their campaign, launched immediately after the publication of the first volume, was a significant factor in the promotion of the anthology, although this was not its primary intention. It resulted in the development of a network of collaborators and contributors which spanned the German-speaking world and bound together in a common purpose men of widely differing convictions.

In the absence of a comprehensive and authoritative edition of the correspondence pertaining to *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, the conclusions of this chapter have
necessarily been derived from a host of scattered sources. (2) The forthcoming publication of Brentano's letters in the new Frankfurt edition should do much to rectify the situation and will provide a firm basis for future research, but this material was not available for consultation. (3) In the meantime, R. Steig's major volumes continue to be an indispensable, albeit somewhat discredited, source of basic information, supplemented by numerous other publications of letters all of which are listed in the bibliography. Although incomplete, such data as is currently available was deemed a sufficient basis upon which to build the arguments of this chapter for the following main reason.

Previous research into the subject of Wunderhorn contributions has mainly endeavoured to ascertain the authorship of various manuscripts among the Wunderhorn papers and to establish the extent to which they were utilized in the compilation of the three volumes. The emphasis has fallen, by and large, upon those contributors who furnished material which was actually incorporated into the anthology in some shape or form. This is a perfectly understandable and proper preoccupation for scholars who, like K. Bode, H. Schewe and H. Rölleke, have aimed principally at the elucidation of textual and critical problems. The present study, by contrast, shifts attention away from purely critical concerns, indeed it reverses the priorities of traditional Wunderhorn research in so far as it seeks to ascertain, not the impact of contributors upon the anthology, but the nature and
the extent of the Wunderhorn's impact upon them. While textual evidence is therefore desirable it is not indispensable: what matters most, for present purposes, is not what was contributed so much as why and by whom.

In several respects, this chapter forms a corollary to the second chapter in that contributors to the Wunderhorn project reflect the diversity of tradition which moulded the initial vision of its authors. Arnim and Brentano, in their turn, exerted an influence upon the tradition, causing new developments on the one hand, and giving fresh impetus to what was already well established on the other. They represent one important point in the continuum. In terms of impact, Des Knaben Wunderhorn reached representatives both of the old guard and of the new, each finding something valuable in the anthology and, while not always responding to its total concept, nevertheless rising to its challenge to collect and preserve folksong for the benefit of the community.

The first task, then, must be to examine the growth of the collaborator network during the years 1805 to 1808, and then to look at it from various points of view in order to ascertain how far the personal promotion work done by Arnim and Brentano contributed to the reception and impact of the anthology. Much of the material has been ordered for convenience in two appendices, one tracing the
chronological development of the network and the other containing biographical information about collaborators.(4)

* * * * *

However great the importance of reviews to the success of Des Knaben Wunderhorn, much of the credit for its dissemination amongst the public at large must be given to Arnim and Brentano themselves. Thanks to their untiring personal efforts the cause of old German poetry gained a momentum it was never again to lose. In terms of the ideological vision which inspired it, Des Knaben Wunderhorn owes its bold message to Arnim, but in terms of the painstaking detail which made the vision a reality, Brentano must be credited with the lion's share of the work, particularly in the areas of collecting and canvassing support.

The methods adopted for gathering material fall into two categories: on the one hand a campaign was launched through the medium of the public press to enlist the co-operation of other folksong enthusiasts, and on the other Arnim and Brentano embarked upon an extensive programme of personal canvassing among friends and contacts. The latter course brought the greater harvest, though the former helped to prepare the ground.
Even as he was writing *Von Volksliedern* it was in Arnim's mind to induce others to join their project, and Brentano had long been involving collaborators, from Kohler in 1802 to A.L. Grimm, a Heidelberg student, who was well represented in the first volume. (5) A footnote towards the end of Arnim's essay encouraged participation in the Wunderhorn enterprise:

Diese Sammlung sey dem Leser eine Probe von dem, was wir wünschen. Wer der Gelegenheit und Lust ermagelt, was er entdeckt, bekannt zu machen, dem erbiethen wir uns ... zur schnellen Herausgabe. (6)

The wording of his advertisement in the *Reichs-Anzeiger* of 22 September 1805 reveals a similar preoccupation and draws attention to the amount of work involved in compiling such an anthology. While acknowledging that it was by no means exhaustive, Arnim nevertheless considered the first volume to be 'umfassend und reich', worthy of extension yet at the same time offering 'in sich ein gewisses Ganze des Volksgesanges'. (7) Both were convinced that a continuation of their work was not only feasible but also highly desirable, and to that end Arnim placed a direct challenge to the public in the *Reichs-Anzeiger* of 17 December, the text of which is here reproduced in full:
Frankfurt a. M. bey Mohr 1806. ' Die Leser dieser Sammlung können jetzt beurtheilen, ob wir ihre Unterstützung, die Mittheilung des noch übrigen versteckten, fast verjährten Eigenthums unserer Völker verdienen; wir hoffen, daß unsere Arbeit unsre Bitte um Mittheilung der Ueberbleibsel rechtfertige. Wie das Bedürfniß uns glücklich und sicher zu dem Gefundenen hinführte, so wird sicher auch andere dasselbe Bedürfniß, dieselbe Lust daran zum gemeinschaftlichen Mitwirken uns verbinden, uns einander bekannt machen. Wären die deutschen Völker in einem einigen Geiste verbunden, sie bedürften dieser gedruckten Sammlung nicht, die mündliche Ueberlieferung machte sie überflüssig; aber oben jetzt, wo der Rhein einen schönen Theil unsres alten Landes los löst vom alten Stamme, andere Gegenden in kurzrichtiger Klugheit sich vereinzeln, da wird es nothwendig, das zu bewahren und aufmunternd auf das zu wirken, was noch Übrig ist, es in Lebenslust zu erhalten und zu verbinden. Der Krieg kann viele zerstören, der Friede viele einschläfern, nur die nicht, welche in öffentlicher Tätigkeit das große innere Treiben des Volkes leiten, Vorgesetzte und Beamte jeder Art, Pfarrer, Schullehrer u.a. mehr. Von ihnen kann ich das Meiste erwarten, denn sie verstehen den Werth der Volkslieder, sowohl der neuen, welche in einer neuen Thätigkeit entstehen, als auch der alten, die ihren innern reinen Gehalt bewiesen, nachdem alles Zufällige der ersten Gelegenheit davon verflüchtiget. Der gute Erfolg meines früheren Aufsuchens, manche hülfreiche Mittheilung, die mir unerwartet kam, läßt mich an dem rechten Verständniß dieser Bekanntmachung nicht zweifeln; sie wird eher wirken, als vergessen werden, und vielen erfüllen, was sie selbst zu thun nur aufgeschoben, nicht aufgegeben haben. In allem, was jeder mitzuteilen sich berufen glaubt, leite ihn sein eignes bestes Wohlgfalle, mich leitet das meine in der Bekanntmachung, alle verstehen, alle dienen zu lernen; ich werde häbichtiger, wie mein Vorrath mit jedem Tage anwächst, auch Melodien, Zeichnungen, besonders Nachstiche alter Holzschnitte und Landschaften, alte mündlich überlieferte Sagen und Mährchen werden mit der Fortsetzung dieser Sammlungen sich verbinden, recht viele Fäden dem großen Gewebe wieder anzuknüpfen, worin unsere Geschichte sich darstellt, und an dem wir wacker forzuarbeiten angestellt sind.

Lud. Achim von Arnim, zu Berlin im Viereck Nr. 4. (8)
The important themes of *Von Volksliedern* are here reasserted and given greater urgency because of the worsening political situation. More than just the preservation of German folksong was at stake: it was a question of national identity. The recruits Arnim sought to enlist for his mission were those in strategic positions of leadership and moral influence, those who needed no convincing of the intimate connexion between folksong and corporate activity. Thus, although this was primarily a cultural call to arms, it had political and social implications. Arnim was confident that others would respond for he had already witnessed a response during the production of the first volume. Thus encouraged, he spoke out with the compelling urgency of a crusader knight who believed not only in his mission but also in the trustworthiness and sense of responsibility of the professional classes to whom he addressed his challenge.

Arnim evidently delivered this text in person to R.Z. Becker, publisher of the *Reichs-Anzeiger*, in Gotha. He had set off in early December on the first leg of a journey which was to take him back to Berlin in the desire to serve his country at this time of crisis. Neither Arnim nor Brentano could have known, as they took leave of each other, that almost two years were to elapse before they would meet again, momentous years which wrought great changes not only in their personal circumstances but also in the life of their nation, as Napoleon pursued his ruthless ambition to establish French hegemony in Europe. After Prussia's ignominious
defeat at Auerstadt and Jena, the Prussian court was forced to flee to Königsberg whither Arnim accompanied it, and for the following year he and Brentano were separated by a vast distance and prevented from regular contact by the disruption of normal postal services; in fact, technically speaking they were enemies. Arnim knew nothing of Sophie's death nor of his friend's ill-advised second marriage to Auguste Bußmann until after the event, and such progress as was made on the Wunderhorn was carried out, perforce, on a largely independent basis. Conditions could hardly have been worse, yet, for all the confusion and uncertainty, Arnim and Brentano were never seriously deflected from their goal, as Arnim admitted to Zimmer:

Hat mich auch die wunderbare Zeit mannigfach in andrer Art ergriffen und zerstörend in mir geschaffen, hab' ich doch das Volksliederwesen fortdauernd lieb behalten, bin auch nicht durch das viele Gerede gestört worden, habe ruhig fortgesammelt, so auch Clemens. (9)

Indeed the turn of political events may have been the proverbial ill wind which ultimately benefitted their endeavours.

Some three years after its inception their project reached completion, but during that time Arnim and Brentano were actually together for only a few months, from October 1807 to the new year in Giebichenstein and Cassel, and for two months in Heidelberg during the printing of the final two volumes and the production of the Zeitung für Einsiedler.
From December 1805 until October 1807 Arnim and Brentano were obliged to go their separate ways, although contact was good initially. Their exchange of letters at the time reveals that their respective activity fell into a predictable pattern. Prior to his flight to Königsberg Arnim did a considerable amount of travelling and was able, through personal publicity, to canvass support for the Wunderhorn project. His journey from Heidelberg to Berlin in December 1805 serves as a good example.

His first port of call was Schwäbisch Hall, home of F.D. Gräter whose journal Bragur had been of such help in the compilation of the first volume. Here Arnim was given access not only to Gräter's considerable collection of folk-poetry but also to that of his friend, C.T. Heinze. (10) The harvest was not insignificant, as Arnim reported to Brentano:

Ein zwanzig bis dreißig einzelne Lieder habe ich von ihm, die sind gut, theils aus der Handschrift, theils aus drei Bänden alter und neuer fliegender Blätter und Musikbücher. Zwei Tage hat mein Bedienter und ich vom Morgen bis Abend das weiße Feld gepflügt. (11)

Moving on to Nuremberg, Arnim visited contacts Murr and Stromer and investigated the bookshops for rare old books. Then in Gotha there were both his own acquaintances to visit and those of Brentano. In each case he managed to combine business with pleasure:
But there were also constant reminders of the political situation, and the same letter gives vent to an increasing sense of frustration in the face of Germany's poor performance.

After Gotha came Weimar and a visit to Goethe, who had already received his copy of the Wunderhorn and was on the point of reviewing it. The same pattern may be discerned here as in Arnim's previous stops: social calls on friends, conversations about the Wunderhorn project and the utilization of all possible means of acquiring more material. Goethe had already proved a keen advocate of the anthology, defending it against criticism and commending it to Zelter; he personally arranged with Eichstädt for Arnim to see the Jena Codex. (13)

Arnim reached Giebichenstein in time to spend Christmas with his old friends, the Reichardts. Here too he promoted the anthology by means of public recitation, as the Danish poet, Adam Oehlenschläger, records in his memoirs:

Arnim las gut, besonders trug er die Fischpredigt des heiligen Antonius vortrefflich vor. Seine edle Gestalt und sein schönes Gesicht, seine Liebe zum Mittelalter und sein Vertrautsein mit demselben machten ihn mir lieb, obgleich seine eigenen Arbeiten mir nicht schmecken wollten. (14)
Journeys from his home base in Berlin followed the same pattern of visiting libraries and bookshops, friends and colleagues. Whatever the main purpose of his journey, the needs of the Wunderhorn were never far from mind. On a visit to relatives in Mecklenburg he reported: 'Hier in Mecklenburg erwarte ich wenig für unsere Volkslieder, doch vielleicht etwas', (15) and to Bettina a month later he announced that he had received 'manche Beiträge ... aus Schlesien unter andern einige sehr schöne historische'. (16) From Braunschweig he wrote: 'Von Eschenburg erhielt ich mancherlei. In Wolfenbüttel habe ich wohl hundert Musikbücher durchsucht, in den meisten Wiederholungen gefunden, auch eine andre Ausgabe der frischen Liedlein, sechs Lieder überhaupt nur aus allen abgeschrieben'. (17)

The political crisis was, however, beginning to dominate his thinking as Brentano was all too uneasily aware. He sought initially to dissuade his friend from any rash action by using all his powers of persuasion. 'Die Lage Deutschlands ist so, daß sie kaum verdient, Dir am Herzen zu liegen,' he replied to the Gotha letter quoted above, (18) but Arnim was too deeply committed to his homeland to ignore the present predicament. Aware of his unsuitability to be a soldier, he planned to take up the weapon he wielded best, his pen, and to become the editor of a patriotic newspaper, Der Preuße. (19) But the gesture which most clearly reflected his convictions about the close connexion between people, poetry and patriotism was his distribution of 'Kriegslieder' in broadsheet format
among the troops in Göttingen, by means of which he hoped to fire their imaginations and strengthen morale. But his sense of helplessness and impotence is conveyed in a letter to Bettina to whom he sent a copy of the songs:

So nehmen Sie das Blättchen, was ich unter meinen Landsleuten vertheilt habe, keiner wußte, woher es kam, da hört ich mit Tadel und Lob: die alten Soldaten meinten wohl, wenn es solchen Wisches bedürfte, da wär es schlecht bestellt. Freilich sie bedürfen es nicht, sie sind, sie meinens, aber ich bedarf es und viele, die zusehen müssen, ohne helfen zu können. Was kann die Mutter thun bei der Krankheit eines Kindes, das noch nicht sprechen kann; sie kann es doch nicht lassen, sie läuft und horcht und sieht und fühlt, das Kind indessen erdrückt selbst die Schlangen, die es umwunden. (20)

Consistent with his character, Brentano, though not unmoved by the predicament of Prussia, was less concerned for her welfare than for that of his friend. A patriot he clearly was, but the thought of Arnim becoming a soldier was utterly repugnant to him. While Arnim struggled to master his ambivalent feelings concerning his rôle in the war and fluctuated between extremes of optimistic idealism and a crushing sense of personal and national impotence, Brentano gave himself without compunction to the work which Arnim's vision had inspired. For the latter's call did not pass unheeded, and as the year 1806 wore on, it became apparent that many were prepared to offer their services to the Wunderhorn editors. With Arnim far away, Brentano, who was still in Heidelberg, became the mainstay of the operation. Where Arnim had sketched the bold outline, Brentano filled in the details, dealt
with the correspondence and planned each new stage of the project. This year of unprecedented activity saw Brentano at his most collected and disciplined, applying himself to his self-appointed secretarial rôle with a devotion and a degree of practical common sense which had hitherto been but a latent talent. (21) If it was predominantly Arnim's vision which inspired the first part of Des Knaben Wunderhorn, it was Brentano's sheer hard work which kept the momentum going during the war years and made the later volumes possible.

His letters to Arnim throughout 1806 testify to this devotion to the task in hand. They also testify to the imperceptible but definite evolution of Brentano's conception of their project. In the methods he developed for gathering material lay the foundations for later academic 'Volkskunde', while his association with the Grimm brothers in Cassel paved the way for subsequent studies in Germanic philology. Thus the Wunderhorn moved away from its initial tightly-knit and unified concept and evolved into something of a hybrid, no longer purely 'ein romantisches Kunstwerk sui generis' (22) as the first volume arguably had been, but more of a poetic archive. Several factors contributed to this evolution besides the influence of the Grimms: the lack of consultation between Arnim and Brentano in 1806, the increasing pleasure gained by Brentano from collecting the purest and most artless examples of the folk tradition for their own sake, and the pressure brought to bear by
reviewers clamouring for greater textual accuracy. How much importance must be attached to each of these factors is open to question, but when Arnim and Brentano entered into dialogue on the matter of editorial procedures in the spring of 1808, Arnim's basic standpoint had not altered whereas Brentano now argued for a more conservative, historical approach.

The period of Brentano's most concentrated activity spanned the months from Arnim's departure in December 1805 to Sophie's death in October 1806, reaching its point of greatest intensity in June of that year with the distribution of his printed circular letter. There are four main elements in his work.

Firstly, following the lead which Arnim had given in his public challenge, Brentano was a fertile source of suggestions for Arnim to pursue. Time and again he urged his friend by letter to follow up potentially fruitful contacts and to widen his horizons. Thus, for example, in his letter of January 1806:

Wie wär es, wenn Du an Winkelmann schriebst, er ist mit Eschenburg bekannt, der bestimmt alte Notenbücher hat, und dann schreibe auch an Wilhelm Körte in Halberstadt, Gleims Neffe, der dessen Briefschaften herausgegeben hat. Dieser Mensch ist überaus dienstfertig und literaturhitzig; auch hat Gleim, der auch volksliederisch war, vielleicht welche hinterlassen oder kann Dir dieser wenigstens viel vom Ganzen verschaffen. Weiter könntest Du Franz Horn in Bremen aufmuntern; dort ist eine alte, reiche Stadtbibliothek ... Für Schlesien treibe Redtel, für Dessau Raumer, für Bärwalde Deinen Prediger, für Ziebingen
Burgsdorf an ... Etwas sehr Großes könntest Du mir erweisen, wenn Du mir nach und nach von allen neugesammelten Liedern eine Abschrift machen ließest, damit ich nicht umsonst fortsammle; wo nicht, wenigstens ein recht treffendes Register. (23)

Even a short extract betrays the breadth of Brentano's knowledge and the scope of his thinking. But no excerpt can do justice to the total impression given in Brentano's letters during these months, with their mixture of ebullience and practicality, of political and personal comment, of technical and literary detail. He was totally preoccupied with the Wunderhorn. As the reviews began to appear, all of which he read avidly, the generally favourable reception encouraged him to think in terms of a sequel. Reports and contributions were coming in from all sides, according to his February letter, which prompted him to ask Arnim, 'Wann, mein Lieber, glaubst Du, daß wir eine Fortsetzung geben könnten?'. (24) A masterpiece of its kind, reflecting Brentano's total commitment and great industry, is the long letter of 1 June in which he announced the printing of his circular. Having explained its purpose, he challenged Arnim:

Weiβt Du keine Quelle nach Tirol hinein oder nach Levante, Krain usw.? ... Ich lege Dir hier einen meiner Briefe bei; ich habe dreihundert Exemplare; wenn das Formular Dir recht ist, so will ich Dir eine Partie schicken, die ich Dich besonders in Schlesien und im Riesengebirge zu verbreiten bitten muß. (25)

Constantly spurring him on was the hope of Arnim's imminent return and the completion of their undertaking. Writing in July he urged Arnim to capitalize upon
every opportunity which the journey back to Heidelberg would afford:

Trifft Dich dieser Brief in Göttingen, so suche doch Herrn Doktor Oken auf ... In Kassel suche auf Herrn Kriegssekretär Grimm, der mit Savigny in Paris war, ein guter Mensch; er sammelt Lieder für uns, auch bei Engelhardt.--- In Marburg Christian ... und Pfarrer Bang. (26)

In fact Arnim got no further than Göttingen where the outbreak of hostilities prevented further progress and effectively put an end to further postal communication.

Brentano, then, was in no doubt as to the crucial importance of Arnim's travels both as a promotion exercise and as a means of generating interest in a continuation of their work. In both cases the personal element figured prominently. The young Prussian nobleman was held in such general esteem that he himself was the best advertisement for their work, and Brentano was humbly grateful that, by dint of his association with Arnim, some of the limelight also fell on him. This, at any rate, is the impression given in his letter of February 1806:

Du glaubst nicht, Lieber, wie ich es Dir danke, daß ich so glücklich neben Dir aufgetreten bin, und daß unsre Gesellschaft so gute Gesinnung für unser Buch erwirkt hat. (27)

The second distinctive aspect of Brentano's activity concerns libraries and antiquarians and reflects his interest in old and rare books.
Realizing that these two sources would provide a vast store of useful material, he was eager to establish connexions in strategic places. Among antiquarians, Joseph Mozler of Freising was the greatest help to him, sending three sets of manuscripts in 1805 alone. Savigny, who was put in touch with Mozler through Brentano, referred to him as 'der unvergleichlichste Antiquar, den ich kenne'. (28) But Brentano also had links with other bookshops and scanned current catalogues with a view to acquiring old German poetry for his library if not for the Wunderhorn. (29)

Similarly, he liked to keep abreast of auction news, knowing that private libraries could prove a rich hunting ground for old books. He anticipated, for instance, that Herder's library, which was up for auction on 15 April 1805, would contain much of interest to them, (30) and when the library of Georg Panzer was advertized, Brentano lost no time in contacting a certain Diakonus Roth who was in charge of the catalogue. Indeed, Brentano was surprised that Arnim had seemingly overlooked this promising source:

Es wundert mich, daß Du mir gar nichts von der Panzer'schen Bibliothek meldest; sie enthält viele einzelne ungedruckte Lieder von den Ältesten, da der Diakonus Roth, soviel ich weiß, doch den Katalog macht. Ich bin auf die Idee gekommen, demselben zu schreiben, ob die Erben nicht eine Partie der Sammlung im ganzen außer der Auktion veräußern, sollten und erwarte seine Äußerung, um Dich von dem, was zu erhalten wäre, und von der Forderung zu unterrichten, um alsdann um Deine Mitwirkung anzusuchen. (31)
On the whole, however, it was the public and institutional libraries which most attracted his attention, for civic, court and monastery libraries contained a vast amount of old manuscripts and early printed books. At Brentano's instigation, Arnim visited some of these, but in the main it was through Brentano's direct approaches to librarians or local residents that material was garnered from these sources. In 1806 he was in regular correspondence with Gottlieb Leon of the Vienna court library, whose name he knew from the pages of Bragur. In the course of his own prolific reading Brentano occasionally stumbled upon a reference which excited his interest and gave him a clue to follow up. (32) In a newly published biography of the Swiss chronicler Tschudi by Idelfons Fuchs, he came across a reference to twelve hand-written song collections in the Sankt Gallen library and, without further ado, wrote directly to Pastor Fuchs. This prompt action resulted not only in the acquisition of the desired songs and more besides (from Kloster Rheinau), but also engaged Fuchs in the project as a local correspondent. (33) Savigny was another expert on bookshops and libraries and proved a great asset as he travelled widely, furnishing Brentano with useful information and names of contacts. Returning from Paris in the autumn of 1805, Savigny visited the civic library in Trier and passed on the name of the librarian to his brother-in-law. As a result, Wyttenbach sent four songs by Friedrich Spee and a further twenty-eight folksongs from a variety of published and unpublished sources. (34) It was Savigny also who first drew Jacob Grimm into the
Wunderhorn network by passing on to him Brentano's request for material to be copied from the Cassel library. Other librarians to be approached were Gerhard in Amorbach and the administrator of the school library in Zwickau, while B.J. Docen of the Munich library was an old friend. One final evidence of his boldness may be adduced from a letter to a total stranger, Ernst Höpfner in Darmstadt. After thanking him for a small contribution, Brentano enquired:

Ist Ihnen vielleicht die Hofbibliothek zugänglich? Enthält sie nicht alte, gedruckte Liederbüchlein von 1500 bis 1600, meistens Quart oder Queroctav, oder gar Handschriften? Sein Sie so muthig, Ihr gutes Vorhaben recht ernstlich fortzusetzen. (35)

In summary, it seems that there was no limit to Brentano's resourcefulness, effort and determination in the pursuit of promising material. By 1808, he could describe his personal library as the potential basis of a 'Zentralbibliothek deutscher Poesie'. (36) Certainly his unique collection of old and rare books was ample proof that Brentano well deserved the epithet 'Gottesbücherspürhund'. (37)

Brentano's third distinctive contribution to the Wunderhorn project, his researches into the living oral tradition, may be linked with the foregoing. G. Schaub sees a close connexion between the two fields of activity and traces the source of both in Brentano's complex and contradictory personality in so far as he
attributes Brentano's talent 'als Büchersammler wie überhaupt seine Lust am Stöbern, Kramen, Entdecken' to his childlike curiosity. (38) Furthermore, although Schaub accepts this as a natural propensity in Brentano, he also relates it to a current socio-cultural phenomenon: namely, the postulation of 'Kindlichkeit' as the ideal model for life at the turn of the century.

The reason for this wistful longing for a return to a childlike state of existence lies in the fact that the younger generation of Brentano's day was both alienated from the materialistic, reason-dominated attitude to life of the older generation, and had also been deprived of its own proper childhood. In short, Brentano's personal deprivations as a child were symptomatic of a widespread phenomenon. E. Brandes describes the youth of the 1780s as:

Eine Jugend, die alles gelernt, alles gesehen, alles genossen hatte, ohne Feuer, ohne Kraft, durch nichts lebhaft angezogen, durch nichts entzückt, herumschleudemd wie matte Greise, Langeweile verbreitend und voll der Unruhe der Langeweile, nur diese im sinnlichen Genusse für den Augenblick vergessend, um desto erschöpfter sie noch stärker zu fühlen, der Annehmlichkeiten der Jugend nebst der Reife der Erfahrungen und des Nachdenkens des Alters gleich beraubt. Aber jene Jugend, wie man sie in dieser Periode häufiger zu sehen anfing, zeigte sich in der folgenden noch weit häufiger. (39)

E.M. Arndt passes a corroborative judgement on the youth of his day:
Es ist ein entsetzliches Gefühl, wie die Jugend alt und grau geworden ist. Kann man dem Menschen nicht ansehen, daß er ewige Jugend bewahrt, so muß man ihm doch ansehen können, daß er älter werden kann. Diese sind schon alt geboren. (40)

The yearning for the experience of childhood is thus understandable in a generation grown old before its time. Understandable, too, is its revulsion against the materialistic society which had made it so. Therefore, in O. Bollnow's words:

Man wendet sich ab von den Spätzeiten, die als Verfall und Degeneration erschienen, und sucht in den Anfängen das noch volle und ungebrochene Leben. Darum preist man das noch unverdorbene Dasein des einfachen Volkes und die Frühzeiten der geschichtlichen Entwicklung. (41)

Brentano embodies this yearning in so far as, according to G. Gürres, he was both a child of his times and also remained 'im guten und bösen Sinne des Wortes bis in sein hohes Alter ein Kind'. (42) But his affirmation of the value of childhood was more of a psychological necessity than the result of cultural conditioning. The determining factor in his own espousal of 'Kindlichkeit' was an existential one: the strong childlike element in his nature drew Brentano irresistibly towards manifestations of the same in others, hence his fascination for children and for simple country folk who represented the antithesis of the philistine both in their life and art. 'Das Kindliche' was the sum of all he admired and longed for, as W. Migge makes plain. (43)
If, for Brentano, the childlike state represented the summum bonum of human existence, its counterpart in the aesthetic realm was the quality of artlessness. Just as he longed to escape from the decadence of contemporary philistine society, so he longed to escape from the artificiality of its culture, hence his love for expressions of innocence and simplicity in nursery rhyme and folksong.

This predilection for the childlike explains the particular pleasure Brentano derived from his sorties into the local countryside to gather folksongs from the oral tradition. Such activity distinguished him from Arnim, who, apart from on his travels in Switzerland in 1802, concentrated more upon the written than the oral tradition. Brentano, however, took every opportunity to take down songs directly from country folk, and he was the instigator of numerous other local collections. His letters and the formulation of his circular show that this was a particular preoccupation of his during the summer of 1806.

His first experiences of folksong collecting from the oral tradition had been with Savigny and the Grimms in Marburg in 1803 when, according to R. Steig, 'Clemens' Vorliebe für alte deutsche Lieder regte auch sie an, auf ihren Ausflügen in die schöne Gegend Volkslieder, Sagen und Märchen zu sammeln'. (44) Now, in the company of Sophie, Zimmer and Fries, he
undertook frequent excursions in the locality of Heidelberg and invariably returned home with a few more songs for his collection. In May 1806 he mentioned the possibility of a folksong-collecting expedition to Dossenheim (45) and reported on two other outings: one on foot to Worms, and the other into the Odenwald region with Fries. What struck him on the latter occasion was the innocence of the young girl who dictated songs to him:

Dort (i.e. in Eberbach) habe ich verschiedene Liederbestellungen gemacht, auch einiges weniger Bedeutendes hat mir eine gar unschuldige hübsche Bauernmagd bei einem Kienspahn diktiert. (46)

An account of a similar experience on a Whitsuntide walk with Sophie to Neckarsteinach fills the opening section of his next letter to Arnim:

Übrigens habe ich dort etwas erlebt, was am Rhein nicht zu finden ist, Gesang und Unschuld. Auf einem der Schlösser saßen sechs Mädchen auf einem flachen Turm, der weit über den Neckar und alle Berge hinsieht, und sangen in reinem, gleichen Orchesterton eine Reihe schöner Lieder in das sonnige Land hinaus. Ich setzte mich zu ihnen und bat sie, sich nicht stören zu lassen. Sie machten keine Miene und sangen herrlich weiter; die Lieder, die ich wollte, sagten sie mir ruhig her und wunderten sich, daß ich manches nicht kannte ... Ich habe mir einige aufgeschrieben. (47)

Leaving the girls, Brentano came upon a scene in another part of the castle ruins which suddenly brought to mind a vivid recollection of that expedition
with Arnim to the ruins above Rüdesheim some four years earlier. (48)

Whether from a sense of loneliness, or from the association of youth, song and innocence, Brentano undertook another excursion shortly afterwards to the home of Herr Schwab, his father's old factotum, in Miltenberg. (49) This was the man in whom Brentano had early encountered the childlike quality he appreciated so much. Of Schwab's departure from the family home in February 1805 Brentano wrote significantly to Arnim: 'Jetzt habe ich keinen geliebten Mann mehr zu Haus, keine Heimat, das hängt mit den alten Rheinburgen zusammen'. (50)

The foregoing incidents demonstrate that Brentano's research into the oral tradition was not determined exclusively by his desire to build up a song archive and to garner material for his 'Kinderlieder'. Indeed, according to H. Rölleke, he noted down 'zwei Dutzend' at most, while Arnim has not a single one 'nach mündlichem Vortrag' to his credit. (51) This is part of the explanation for his collecting activity, but the major determining factor was his own inner compulsion. The innocent, childlike quality of the folksong symbolized the ephemeral peace which he had found, albeit fleetingly, in the company of Herr Schwab, and later in the person of Arnim. Similarly, the artlessness of the Wunderhorn songs made an indelible impression upon those sectors of the contemporary reading public which were tired of
artificiality or which were able to embrace the songs in what was essentially a childlike way, spontaneously from the heart rather than reflectively with the mind.

The final proof that considerations of 'Gesang und Unschuld' were uppermost in Brentano's mind during the summer of 1806 is to be found in personal correspondence to contributors and is summed up in the printed circular which was distributed in June and July. A letter to J. Mozler provides the clue to Brentano's fascination both for old books and for the simple folksong, for according to his understanding, the older a poem the more childlike it is: 'je älter, je kindlicher'. (52) This line of thought is even more explicit in his letters to Wyttenbach, the first of which speaks of 'diese leichten wahren Urkunden untergangener Jugend', (53) and a later one exhorts:

Ich verspreche mir aus ihren Bemühungen ungemein viel, wenn Sie nur die echten Quellen nicht verschmähen, das einsamste unwissendste Landvolk, das wie ein Stein den Umriß einer verlorenen Blume, oft eine herrliche poetische Reliquie ewig, ewig wiederholt, wie ein Echo, das noch schallt von dem Ruf untergegangener Riesenstimmen. (54)

Such poetry has been preserved in pristine purity because it has remained 'einsam', uncontaminated by later impure elements. To recognize such requires 'ein gewisses Religieuses Talent für die Heiligkeit des ewigen Kindes, des echten Romantischen Volkslieds' but, he adds significantly, 'die meisten Menschen sind des Sinnes dafür beraubt, und müssen erst die Unschuld
erlernen, die dazu gehört, die Schuld zu verlernen, und jene Lieder wieder zu hören, die vielen Ohren gar nicht hörbar sind'. (55) Brentano encourages Wyttenbach to collect from the lowliest and most childlike categories of town and country folk, to ignore the kind of material which Becker included in his Mildheimisches Liederbuch, for:

Wir können nur brauchen, was dem von der Heerstraße aller Bildung ganz entrückten, dem sozusagen nicht verlassenen, sondern gelassenen Menschen, dem tiefsten Bauren im Wald, dem niedrigsten Pöbel in der Stadt, dem kindischsten Kind auf der Gasse, von altem, uraltem Gesange noch übrig ist, und was wir als herrliche Reste der Nation im allgemeinen wie einen unendlich zerstreuten Schatz sammeln und zur erquickenden Anschauung wiedergeben wollen. (56)

Unlike J. Grimm, who was one of the chief contributors of songs from the oral tradition, Brentano envisaged the possibility of a modern poet possessing this quality of childlike innocence. Grimm confined it to the realm of nature poetry alone and saw it as the mark of historical authenticity. For Brentano, however, the childlike quality was a characteristic of all great poetry and the mark of human authenticity.

This stress on human values is clearly apparent in the wording of his printed circular, where moral strength and innocence are again closely linked. More explicitly than Arnim, Brentano viewed the lower classes, especially the country folk, as the repository of moral strength and purity, hence his determination to penetrate into the remotest corners of the German-
speaking world in his search for genuine examples of 'das einsame Lied des gemeinen Volks'. (57)

The mention of Brentano's circular leads on to his fourth major contribution to the Wunderhorn in the years 1805 to 1808, namely his secretarial work. Throughout 1806 he was immersed in a vast amount of personal correspondence relating to the project because he had early realized that personal canvassing of potential contributors was likely to bring greater dividends than a general invitation through the medium of the public press.

Although Arnim's public challenge had not gone entirely unnoticed, such material as was received during the first months of 1806 was the fruit of personal contact either by visit or by letter. By March, Brentano, who had long ago entertained the idea of a nationwide collecting network, (58) decided that a more systematic approach was needed. Although he had already written a number of canvassing letters he reported little response:

Ich habe wegen Lieder auch nach Wien an Leon bei der Hofbibliothek geschrieben, außerdem habe ich mich noch an Himmel und Erde gewendet, aber es ist bis jetzt nichts erfolgt als viel Regen und einige ordentlich erschrecklich heiße Tage. (59)

But facetiousness gives way to genuine seriousness as he mentions having approached Zimmer about the possibility of a sequel:
Ich habe mit Zimmer gesprochen, ob er Michaelis den zweiten Bands des Wunderhorns drucken wolle, aber er schien keinen bestimmten Wunsch dazu zu haben. Ich sehe auch nicht recht ein, wie es zugehen könnte; wenn wir nicht selbst wieder zusammensteckten ... Ich möchte auch wegen der Volkslieder ein Zirkular drucken lassen in Briefform; es könnte vieles dadurch bewirkt werden, wenn es zweckmäßig an Landprediger in den waldigen und gebirgigen Gegenden Deutschlands verbreitet würde. (60)

In the meantime, his personal persistence is revealed in the same letter through the unobtrusive mention of his having written a fourth time to a friend of his brother Georg in Switzerland. (61) His next report to Arnim, in May, urges the matter of the circular one again and suggests that progress is being made on the collecting front:


Without waiting for Arnim's permission, Brentano felt compelled to proceed, and in his June letter reports that the circular was expected from the printer's at any moment. His systematic plan for its distribution is as remarkable as his vision for the extent of its circulation:

Three hundred copies were printed. Brentano hoped that Arnim would canvass the northern and eastern parts of the country while he concentrated upon the south and west. Although there is much evidence that Brentano's ambitions were to some considerable extent realized, Arnim makes no further mention of the circular. (64)

The full text of the circular, reproduced here from H. Rölleke's edition of the Wunderhorn, brings out Brentano's personal convictions and reveals the differences in emphasis between himself and Arnim:

Wir nehmen uns die Freiheit, Sie um ihre Unterstützung in einem deutschen literarischen Unternehmen zu bitten, in dem Vertrauen, daß, sollten Sie selbst nicht dazu geneigt seyn, Sie unsern Wunsch wenigstens mittelbar befördern möchten, indem Sie ihn solchen Männern aus ihrem Kreise, mitzuteilen die Güte haben, welche sich diesem so würdigen als leichten Geschäfte gern unterziehen mögen. Wir wünschen nämlich, recht viele brave deutsche Männer, die mit dem Landmann und den übrigen untern Volksklassen in näherer Berührung stehen, dahin zu bewegen, alle ältere Volkslieder, welche die Tradition im Gesange dieser Stände noch erhalten hat, schriftlich aufzufassen. Das gewaltsame Vordringen neuer Zeit und ihrer Gesinnung droht diese Nachklänge alter Kraft und Unschuld ganz mit sich fortzureissen, und es scheint
sich uns eine gute Gesinnung in dem Vorhaben zu bewähren, wozu wir sie einladen, wir wollen nämlich literarisch zu befestigen suchen, was wir moralisch als beinahe untergegangen voraussetzen dürfen, jene frische Morgenluft altdeutschen Wandels, die noch in diesen Liedern weht, deren wissenschaftlichen Werth für Sitten und Sprachgeschichte auseinander zu setzen, hier nicht der Ort ist. Wir bitten Sie uns die Ausbeute ihres Sammelns sodann zu öffentlicher Bekanntmachung mitzuteilen, und besitzen wir gleich schon einen ansehnlichen Vorrath solcher Gesänge, so zweifeln wir doch nicht, daß sich noch manches vorzügliche finden dürfte, und wünschen so viel als möglich wenigstens in den Gattungen vollständig zu werden. Ausser der dankbaren Erwähnung des Einsenders, versprechen wir auch, wo es verlangt wird, für alles, was wir nicht schon besitzen und aufnehmen können, ein den Gränzen des Instituts entsprechendes Honorar, das nach der Bekanntmachung entweder bar oder in äquivalenten auszuwählenden Büchern erhoben werden kann. Vorzüglich wäre auf jene Lieder zu achten, welche die Kunstsprache mit dem Namen Romanze, Ballade bezeichnet, das ist, in welchen irgend eine Begebenheit dargestellt wird, Liebeshandel, Mordgeschichte, Rittergeschichte, Wundergeschichte u.s.w. je älter und einfacher, je größer der Gewinn. Weiter scherzhafte und elegische Volkslieder, Spottlieder, charakteristische Kinderlieder, Wiegenlieder u.s.w. Alte Dienstboten, Kinderärgerinnen, haben meistens diese Lieder im Gedächtniß und viele Dörfer beurkunden ihren Reichtum an solchen meist in den gemeinsamen Gesängen der Spinnstuben. Die Lieder sind uns in der Mundart jeder Gegend, wo sie gesammelt sind, willkommen, und kann von manchem die vortreffliche Melodie mitgewonnen werden, doppelt würth. Sehr angenehm wäre uns zugleich, wenn, sollten Ihnen handschriftliche Sammlungen solcher alten weltlichen Lieder bei Bauern, Bürgern, Handwerkern oder Schullehrern vorkommen, Sie solche uns entweder käuflich oder gegen Belohnung zur Einsicht verschaffen könnten; ähnliches wünschen wir, wenn Sie von jenen gedruckten musikalischen weltlichen Liedersammlungen auffinden sollten, die in so großer Menge von 1500 - 1650 in 8. quer 8. und 4. meist in Nürnberg, München, Frankfurt u.s.w. herauskamen, auch alte gedruckte fliegende Blätter mit Liedern sind uns willkommen.


Zeitraubenden Briefwechsel zu vermeiden, bitten wir Sie ihre Neigung für unser Vorhaben nur dann erst zu erklären, wenn Sie Ihr Schreiben bereits mit einer kleinen Sendung alter Lieder oder Nachricht, wo und wie solche zu finden, begleiten können. Sollten Sie aber nicht mit unsern Wünschen befassen können, so wird dieses selbst alle Erklärung unnütz machen. In der Hoffnung erfreulichen Erfolgs und im entgegen- gesetzten Falle Ihrer Verzeihung mit vollkomener Hochachtung. (65)

The most striking features of this letter are its practicality and its precision. The last paragraph was doubtless prompted by the personal experience of the last few months in which Brentano had carried on a regular but largely fruitless correspondence with Kölle of Tübingen, but the rest also testifies to his first-hand experiences. Where Arnim, fired by a grandiose vision, sketches a bold outline, Brentano, more aware of what the implementation of the vision involves, gives exact instructions and meticulous detail. With a touch of realism, he offers two weighty reasons for his appeal: the anthology itself and the support of Goethe, but he is shrewd enough to bolster these with the promise of more tangible rewards.
Equally specific are the descriptions of the kind of material he seeks, both oral and written. Whereas Arnim had stipulated new songs as well as old in his 'Aufforderung', Brentano places his entire emphasis on the old. Arnim based his appeal on current national needs and stressed corporate activity; Brentano, though aware of the national importance of their work, highlights the literary and human value of the songs themselves. Lastly, Brentano locates the folksong among the lower classes and points would-be collectors to farmers, artisans, country schoolteachers, servants and especially to women. While he mentions printed sources, he seems most eager to acquire songs culled directly from the living tradition.

The distribution of the circulars in the southern and western parts of the country went ahead and undoubtedly bore fruit. Through the good offices of Savigny, the Nuremberg area was throughly canvassed. (66) Aloys Schreiber furnished a list of collaborators in Baden (67) and J.H. Kaufmann in Hessen. (68) Idelfons Fuchs acted as local agent in his part of Switzerland (69) while Kölle was asked to forward sixteen circulars in Swabia and Wyttenbach ten in Trier. (70) Other key contacts, such as the Grimms in Cassel, were also circularized. (71)
September it is clear, however, that the amount of work involved in the posting of the circulars was nothing compared to what ensued. Every letter testifies to the fact that Brentano was submerged in correspondence and copying work. Apologizing to Kölle in August 1806 for his tardy reply, Brentano speaks of 'eine entsetzliche Abschreiberei und Korrespondenz', (72) while by October the situation was so bad that he could hardly hold a pen:

Ich habe eine so unsägliche Korrespondenz geführt, daß ich gestern ein Vogelkäficht den ersten in meinem Leben von Drath gemacht, um das Schreiben aus den Fingern zu kriegen. (73)

Yet his efforts were being rewarded. Röther had already sent in his large accumulation of broadsheets which amounted to six times more than they already possessed, (74) and as replies to the circular began to pour in, Brentano could report at one stage, 'Ich erhalte täglich mannigfaltige Beiträge und habe einiges ganz Treffliche'. (75)

Fortunately for Brentano, the stream of correspondence slowed down as 1806 drew to a close and the war brought postal communications to a virtual standstill. A second spurt of activity followed almost a year later when Arnim and Brentano were reunited in Cassel in October 1807. By then, Brentano had married Auguste Bußmann (76) and had set up home in Cassel, where, in the company of the Grimm
brothers, he resumed preparations for the second volume of songs. In July, he had written to Arnim of 'Lieder in die Tausende'(77) and in October he is insistent that Arnim must join him in Cassel:

Wir können es hier außerordentlich gut und besser noch als damals in Heidelberg, Denn ich habe hier zwei sehr liebe, liebe altdeutsche vertraute Freunde, Grimm genannt, welche ich früher für die alte Poesie interessiert hatte, und die ich nun nach zwei Jahre langem, fleißigem, sehr konsequenten Studium so gelehrt und so reich an Notizen, Erfahrungen und den vielseitigsten Ansichten der ganzen romantischen Poesie wiedergefunden habe, daß ich bei ihrer Bescheidenheit über den Schatz, den sie besitzen, erschrocken bin. (78)

A letter from Jacob Grimm to his brother in August 1807 suggests that work on the second volume of the anthology was already underway before Arnim arrived, which, with the letter quoted above, supports the conclusion that he and Brentano were in close contact. While still distancing himself from their editorial policy as practised in the first volume, he nevertheless concedes the validity of the editors' intentions. The letter implies that the second volume will be superior to the first because of its greater fidelity to the original sources:

Sodann wird auch der zweite weit über dem ersten stehende Theil des Wunderhorns nicht lange mehr ausbleiben, von mehreren vortrefflichen, welches mir Clemens angeführt, fällt mir gerade nur das wahre Original zu Bürgers Lenore ein, wodurch diese nun ganz überflüssig werden wird. (79)
As soon as Arnim and Brentano were together again work began in earnest. Although a considerable amount of material had been accumulated, they were eager to canvass any possible remaining sources and therefore decided to make one last public appeal in the press. A joint statement, dated Cassel, November 1807, was published at the new year in several leading newspapers, the text of which substantially reproduces that of Brentano's circular. Whether the authors were in too much of a hurry to formulate an entirely fresh appeal, or whether Brentano had gradually supplanted Arnim as 'die erste Geige in diesem Duo', it became apparent to all involved that the second volume was more in line with Brentano's thinking than with Arnim's. J. Grimm and Brentano deemed it superior to the earlier volume, while Arnim, who made no comparisons, nevertheless conceded to Zimmer that the second part 'wird reich, ohne der Ausstattung eigner Arbeit so viel wie der vorige zu bedürfen'.

By the end of January 1808 the manuscript was ready and Arnim travelled to Heidelberg to supervise the printing, leaving Brentano to finish work on the 'Kinderlieder' for which he was entirely responsible. Progress was slow, held up on the one hand by congestion at the printer's and on the other by complications caused by Brentano's marital troubles and by the constant acquisition of new material. Eventually, so much extra material had accumulated that Arnim was obliged to divide the one volume into two and to arrange all remaining material as best he
could under the circumstances. Matters were further complicated by the disagreement over editorial policy which manifested itself during the early months of 1808. (83) Adding to Arnim's worries were the extra responsibility of the recently begun Zeitung für Einsiedler and the incipient feud with J.H.Voß.

The final content of the later volumes of the anthology was thus inevitably revised and represented a major alteration of the original plan for a second volume only. Arnim's personal disappointment that the anthology should have wandered so far from its original conception was voiced much later to J.Grimm. A letter of 1811 testifies to the difficulties under which he was labouring at the time of production, and is borne out by a comment to Goethe that he and Brentano had argued more bitterly than 'die Babylonischen Bauleute'. (84) 'Bei dem ersten Bande', he wrote to J. Grimm,

dessen Bearbeitung ich beinahe allein gemacht habe, fand sich dieser Streit selbst nicht einmal, und ich war voraus überzeugt, was die Erfahrung bestätigt hat, daß die beiden letzten Bände ungeachtet der Menge trefflicher Beiträge, im Allgemeinen den Eindruck, das Anregen, die Freude nicht erwecken könnten, was der erste hervorbrachte; es fehlte ihnen die Einheit in der Gesinnung, Auswahl und Aussprache des ersten, ich hatte gegen meine Ueberzeugung Alterthümlichkeiten und bloße literarische Merkwürdigkeiten einschleichen lassen, weil Clemens als Mitherausgeber eben das Recht wie ich in der Auswahl hatte. (85)
It is beyond the scope of the present study to give these later volumes more than a cursory mention. What matters for the purposes of this chapter is how the material came to be gathered, and, more specifically, how much this harvest was directly attributable to the impact of the first volume. In terms of results, a publisher's notice of January 1809 records that only one tenth of all contributed material was used in the later volumes, (86) which suggests that Brentano was too conservative in his estimate that 'bei allem Lärm, unendlichem Schreiben' he had acquired 'zum Wunderhorn kaum zehn Einsender, und unter diesen etwa vier bis fünf brauchbare'. (87) Rölleke puts the number of contemporary collaborators at around fifty, while the sum total of extant papers relating to the Wunderhorn amounts to some two thousand sheets. (88)

The total number of those canvassed was considerably larger than the number actually represented in the anthology. (89) This particular constituency will now be analysed according to its composition and geographical distribution in order to elucidate the extent of the Wunderhorn's impact upon it.

* * * * *
Folksong collecting was, of course, not a new thing; Herder and Goethe had paved the way and others followed suit. (90) Arnim and Brentano were able, therefore, to capitalize upon an already existing tradition. The epoch-making significance of their collecting campaign lay in its systematic and thorough exploitation of what had been, up till then, more of a hobby than a matter for serious research. They established a methodology of folksong collecting which laid the foundation for a serious academic study of folklore, as pursued by the Grimm brothers, Ludwig Uhland and August von Haxthausen, to name but a few of their successors. In terms of methodology alone, then, Des Knaben Wunderhorn made its mark.

The criteria chosen for the following analysis of the heterogeneous group of Wunderhorn collaborators overlap to a certain extent, and since many of the contributors also provide documentation for the next chapter, some duplication will be unavoidable.

As far as their geographical distribution is concerned, the details have been condensed for easy reference onto two maps which demonstrate the extent of the collecting network as it grew during the years from 1805 to 1808. Map A shows those areas which yielded a harvest of local folksong while Map B gives the exact location of contributors, libraries and bookshops canvassed. (91) In the case of the latter, it should be borne in mind that the material deriving from each location was not necessarily the product of
that region, although there is a broad correlation between the material collected and its geographical source. (This holds less good, of course, for library material.)

The territory covered may be divided roughly into two halves, Brentano being responsible for the south and west, Arnim for the north and east. The highest concentration of collaborators was located in the south-west, partly because the folksong-collecting tradition was already established there, but mainly because of Brentano's determination to exploit all possible sources. Arnim was less energetic in the pursuit of collaborators in the north and east, although he conscientiously followed up Brentano's suggestions. Relying more on personal connexions, he showed less initiative than his friend in exploring the oral tradition. Brentano's ingenuity, however, knew no bounds. When he had exhausted his own personal contacts he enlisted the help of influential friends who, in turn, could draw upon a further circle of potential assistants. Savigny, Bettina, Sophie and Zimmer were all used in this way to throw the collecting net wider. It was a strategy based on personal recommendation and careful guidance and it undoubtedly succeeded in penetrating into the remotest rural areas.

Brentano's greatest successes were in the regions he knew best and in which he had contacts, with the notable exception of Swabia, where contact
was established initially through the more impersonal means of Arnim's appeal in *Von Volksliedern*.

In Baden, the Wunderhorn editors had already acquired a staunch supporter in the person of the 'indefatigable' Albert Ludwig Grimm (92) whom they had first met as a student in Heidelberg. Not only was Grimm a prolific contributor to the anthology but he was an important link between the editors and collaborators in outlying areas of the Odenwald region. Most of these, predictably, were pastors and teachers, but through them, Brentano gained access to those sections of the local community which were closest to the oral tradition, namely the womenfolk. A line of contact can thus be traced from Grimm to A.L. Danquard in Mosbach, and through him to one of his wife's female relatives, Amelie Hermanny. (93) Their collections, augmented by the personal researches of Brentano, Zimmer and others, amounted to a thorough exploration of the Odenwald and Neckar valley regions and give substance to Zimmer's warning to A.W. Schlegel in 1811 that he would not find many 'altdeutsche Gedichte' in that area 'da die Herren Brentano und von Arnim ziemlich aufgeräumt haben'. (94) Other helpful Baden contributors were Pastor Röther and Frau von Pattberg, both of whom knew A.L. Grimm, and Aloys Schreiber. Brentano could therefore write to Arnim with some justification in July 1806: 'Rings um Baden habe ich eine Menge liedersammelnder Männer'. (95)
A similar circle grew up around Kreuznach and along the Moselle valley, where the initial impetus came from F. J. H. Schlosser, a Frankfurt lawyer to whom Brentano evidently sent several copies of his circular. Replying to Brentano in August 1806, he reports having set the wheels in motion for a thorough investigation of the local folksong tradition:

Ich habe besonders durch Prediger, und durch eine mündliche den Brief begleitende Bitte eines Freundes bei dem alten Badenheimer Maus einige Gegenden des Hunsrükes und sonst auf dem linken Rheinufer in Bewegung gesetzt, und überall solche Zusagen erhalten, daß ich auf den Eifer und die Bereitwilligkeit meiner Leute fest traue ... Vor allem muß ich aber um einige Exemplare ihres Briefes bitten, da mein Vorrath bis auf eins zusammengeschwunden ist. (96)

Again, it is country pastors who are considered most strategic in this work, although the farmer poet Isaac Maus is also drawn into the network through the good offices of Schlosser's friend, J. H. Kaufmann of Kreuznach. Kaufmann, whose name matched his profession, furnished Brentano with folksongs and with the names of ten other addressees, in response to which Brentano sent more meticulous instructions:

Eine recht herzliche Freude hat mir ihre kleine Sendung Volkslieder gemacht ... ich habe nichts weniger vor, als daß sie mir so viel als möglich die Liederernde ihrer ganzen Gegend einthun sollen ... ich bitte sie ..., mir die Sendungen nebst Briefen jedes einzelnen mit einem Streifchen Papier zu umkleben, worauf sie Nahmen, Charakter, und Ort des Einsenders notiren. (97)
This pattern was repeated, with varying degrees of success, all over the south and west. Contact was first established with a key figure who could act as local correspondent; through him circulars were disseminated into the remoter districts and the material thus gleaned was forwarded to Brentano. Ignaz von Wessenberg, a diocesan administrator of Konstanz, provided Brentano with some of his best material by canvassing country pastors in the Black Forest. Pastor Fuchs served in a similar capacity in the Sankt Gallen area of Switzerland, as did Brentano's childhood friend, H.R. Sauerländer, in Aarau.

There were similar pockets of collecting activity all over Germany. Georg Veesenmeyer, an erstwhile contributor to Bragur with a special interest in historical songs, led the work in and around Ulm, while folksong collecting was already underway in Göttingen long before Arnim and Brentano promoted it. Professor Blumenbach had amassed a sizeable collection of songs by the time Arnim first met him in 1800, but continued, with his daughters, to provide the Wunderhorn editors with oral and printed material. Another colleague at the university, Professor Georg Spangenberg, sent in several songs with the note that they had been gathered 'um Göttingen'.(98) In Halle, the main contributor of local songs was J.C. Hendel, a bookseller with an interest in local folklore.
Savigny was instrumental in the canvassing of the Nuremberg area and also established the first important link with the Grimms, who subsequently formed the nucleus of collecting activity in Cassel. H. Rölleke makes the point that both Jacob and Wilhelm are singled out for mention in the 'Dankadresse' written at New Year 1808, (99) and that Cassel was synonymous with the Grimms, as far as Brentano was concerned, for in his circular address list, among entries such as 'Horn Bremen' and 'Körte Halberstadt', he simply notes 'Cassel'. (100) Through the Grimms, Paul Wigand was also won for the Wunderhorn project; in his memoirs he recounts having taken down fifty songs from a serving girl in the vicinity of Wetzlar. (101) Other collectors of the oral tradition in and around Cassel were Philippine Engelhard, a poetess in her own right and friend of Sophie, and the Mannel family in Allendorf with whom a link was forged through the mediation of J.F. Reichardt.

So much for the oral tradition. There were, of course, many other collaborators whose contributions consisted of material copied from local libraries, or extracted from their own collections. Röther, Wyttenbach, von der Hagen and Varnhagen were among those who supplied material in this way.

Everything points to the indisputable conclusion that, in spite of the obstacles caused by the war, Arnim and Brentano succeeded in canvassing a huge
tract of German-speaking territory, stretching from the north coast to Switzerland and Austria, from the left bank of the Rhine to the Oder. It was an operation of some magnitude, which, with varying degrees of success, realized Brentano's ambition to penetrate 'in alle deutsche Winkel'. (102) In terms of extent alone, B. Docen rightly concludes, in a general essay on folksong of 1809, that the anthologies of the preceding three years had encompassed virtually all German territory:

Die in einem Zeiträume von drey Jahren bisher erschienenen ältern und neuern Volkslieder dürften sich ungefähr auf achthundert belaufen, -- eine Gesammtheit, zu der vier Jahrhunderte und fast alle Provinzen Deutschlands contribuirten! (105)

As regards its composition, the collaborator network may be divided roughly into three categories of age which broadly correspond, as might be expected, to similar categories of ideological sympathy. The largest category (approximately half the total number listed in Appendix C) comprises men and women of the same age group as Arnim and Brentano; of the remainder, roughly two-thirds belong to the middle category of those born between 1750 and 1770, the rest were born before 1750. These three generations correspond to the three periods of interest in the folksong: the first, in the 1770s was led by Herder; the second, in the 1790s centred on the person of F.D. Gräter; and the third, in the first decade of the new century, was
both a culmination of all that had gone before and the beginning of a new era of 'Volkskunde' and 'Germanistik'. Just as critics located the Wunderhorn within this continuous tradition, so too the composition of the collaborator network reveals how consciously and deeply indebted Arnim and Brentano were to their predecessors in the field, for, of the older contributors to their project, it was 'the supporters of Bragur and of similar journals who were most generous in their assistance. The Wunderhorn collaborators came from all walks of life but shared a common bond in their love for old German literature. The vast majority came from the educated middle and upper-middle classes, the only exceptions being the personal servants of Arnim and Brentano, and the nature-poets, Maus and Grübel. One tenth of the total number were women.

Leaving aside Goethe, whom one contemporary describes as 'eigentlich keinem Zeitalter angehörend, vielmehr alle umfassend', (104) the small group of older collaborators was very diverse in composition, ranging from Wieland, the famous poet of the Enlightenment, to Grübel and Maus, also poets, at the other end of the social spectrum. The former had access to printed material, while the latter were representative of that stratum of society in which the true folksong was embedded and were therefore of particular interest to Brentano, who appreciated Grübel for his local dialect poetry and Maus for giving expression to the experience of the pure,
rough peasant whom he prized so highly. These were the men of Herder's generation who had initiated folksong collecting from the local tradition (Goethe, Hendel, Spangenberg) and had come to appreciate the legacy of old German literature, represented, for example, in Eschenburg's *Denkmäler altdeutscher Dichtkunst*. (105) Irrespective of the motivation behind their activity, they had accumulated a wealth of knowledge and material which Arnim and Brentano were eager to draw upon.

Of the three categories, the middle group was the most cohesive, bound together by strong ideological convictions about the value of the folksong and centring its activities upon the journals *Bragur* and Reichardt's *Berlinische Musikalische Zeitung*. Gräter gathered around him men of similar outlook including the older Eschenburg, and the younger men, Röther, Elwert, Kosegarten, Koch, Veesenmeyer and Leon. Some were professional scholars and the rest enjoyed folksong and old German poetry as a hobby. All were characterized by an attitude of reverence towards the subject and shared a strong faith in its importance to social and cultural life, hence the pedagogic ambitions of Reichardt, Horstig and others to see the establishment of proper 'Singschulen'. (106) Indeed, a good number were teachers themselves (Gräter, Hebel, Horstig, Rudolphi, Schreiber, Veesenmeyer, Voß and Weinrich), while the clerics shared their didactic concern and viewed the folksong as a means of general edification.
A certain ingenuousness, piety and simplicity of nature characterizes many of the men in this category. Jacob Grimm describes J.P. Hebel, for example, as 'fromm', uninitiated in the technical squabbles which were raging over old German literature in 1814. (107) J.F. Schlosser characterizes Kaufmann as 'ein guter, äußerst offener und naiver Mensch von bestem Willen'. (108) The response of this generation to the folksong was, on the whole, unimpeded by the ideological strictures of the Enlightenment or by the academic scruples of later philologists, and their reception of the Wunderhorn was correspondingly generous: they welcomed it with a mixture of delight and reverence, emphasizing its value as an 'Erbauungsbuch'. (109)

This sympathetic reaction is best revealed in their terminology. A comparison of comments on the folksong made before and after the Wunderhorn controversy of 1808 is instructive in this respect and shows how the voices of Herder and Hamann in the early days were gradually drowned by the wave of academic criticism from later philologists. For example, in the essay on folksong which Arnim refers to in Von Volksliedern, Gräter writes:

Aber schlendern wir doch ein wenig durch den Garten Gottes, und denken, wenn wir nicht lauter Rosen und Vergißmeinnicht finden, daß auch das Schmalzblümchen und das Gänseblümchen aus seiner Hand gekommen sind. (110)
The field is the natural environment of the folksong and is not to be despised because it does not produce the flowers of the cultivated garden. Similarly, if the folksong is wrested from its proper context, it dies:


By 1812, Gräter had lived through the new surge of interest in the folksong which had, in turn, generated a wave of cold criticism. While his praise for the Wunderhorn is couched in the same nature terminology, he shows himself to be not unmindful of the academic arguments of F. Schlegel, Docen and others. In the preface to the fifth volume of Braga und Hermode (the journal which succeeded Bragur), Gräter explains that the new journal is a resumption of his earlier activities, and, in recounting what has transpired in the intervening years, he thanks Büsching and von der Hagen, Görres, Arnim and Brentano for their respective endeavours on behalf of old German literature, but adds, in the latter case, a request for accurate source information:

Einen freundlichen Handschlag endlich reiche ich dem edlen Achim von Arnim und seinem Getreuen, Clemens Brentano. Was für einen reichen Garten voll Blumen alter kindlicher Einfalt haben sie uns vor die Augen gezaubert! wie vieles gerettet, wie vieles aus dem Dunkel der Vergessenheit hervorgezogen! und wie freundlich und anspruchslos uns das alles
dargereicht. Möchten sie noch ein Verdienst hinzufügen, genaue Nachweisungen auf ihre Quellen, und bei der mündlichen Aufnahme auch die Nachricht, wo? in welchem Lande? aus wessen Munde? (112)

A similar progression takes place in Reichardt's comments on the Wunderhorn. His review, written before the controversy began, is much like Gräter's essay in its use of nature imagery: 'Hier findet man den süßesten Honig aus den Blumen mehrerer Jahrhunderte sorgfältig zusammengetragen'. (113) He, too, locates the primary appeal of the folksong in its impact upon the senses and points out the necessity of actual performance in song rather than mere reading. A year or two later, however, Reichardt expresses reservations about the editors' treatment of their material, criticizing as their one mistake the alteration of almost everything that was included in the anthology. (114)

The evolution of this new historical and critical stance was thus general. Arnim and Brentano were affected by it; it was documented in the public press; and it influenced the thinking of folksong enthusiasts of all three generations. Attention was turned from the question of the basic correlation between the folksong and society to a more strictly academic concern for the historical phenomenon of folk-poetry.

But the men of the middle generation, Herder's disciples, remained those most able to respond to the Wunderhorn in the proper spirit, uninhibited as they were by too much academic self-consciousness. Brentano
records the response of one such with obvious delight: Pastor Röther was living proof of his conviction that modern man was not precluded from enjoying the simple but profound expression of genuine experience as captured in the folksong. The following description of a visit by Röther to Zimmer's bookshop in February 1806 offers evidence of the influence of the Wunderhorn on one of its readers:

Ein Liedersammler, nach dessen Sammlung wir uns früher so sehr gesehnt, ist recht wunderlich allhier erschienen... Da trat ein Landprediger herein, der das Wunderhorn lange mit seltsamer Leidenschaft betrachtete und sich kaum davon trennen konnte, es war ihm zu teuer. Einige Tage hiernauf schickte derselbe Mann ... an Zimmer ein vollständiges Manuskript von Volksliedern, zierlich geordnet und bevorredet zum Druck; er ist derselbe Röther, hat aber in dieser Sammlung nichts, als was man in Flugblättern findet. Ich habe ihm nun das Wunderhorn geschickt und hoffe zur Auswahl zu erhalten, was er hat. (115)

The collection referred to is Röther's Feldblumen, the preface of which, dated 1795, is indicative of the ideological motivation behind the folksong-collecting activity of many of his generation. It is noteworthy for its biographical detail, for its elucidation of the powerful effect of reading-matter and for its association of folksong and childhood:


Later, in Swabia, Röther's collecting activity revived and was enhanced 'durch das erneuerte Andenken an meine Knabenfreuden', (117) until finally he had amassed more than a thousand songs either from the local tradition or from broadsheets. These he now sent to Brentano with thanks for the Wunderhorn: 'Ich labe mich täglich an diesen schönen Strauß, den Sie und Ihr edler Freund Arnim so geschmackvoll gebunden haben'. (118)

If the study of the folksong had been more of a hobby for the older generation and was a way of life for the men of Röther's generation, it became increasingly a subject worthy in its own right of full-time research for the members of the younger generation. While it is true that adherents of the earlier tradition were still much in evidence, a new kind of folksong collector was emerging whose interest in the subject was not primarily poetic or pedagogic but historical. The folksong was still
valued for its authentic expression of life -- especially for its expression of childhood wholeness and spontaneity -- but at the same time a strand of interest developed which concentrated upon its national or local significance. Here, too, Arnim and Brentano paved the way, for it was among their contemporaries that they promoted the greatest amount of direct collecting from the oral tradition. They succeeded in activating a large and heterogeneous group of collaborators, most of whom shared their ideological convictions. It contained both 'die tiefern Kenner' and mere 'Liebhaber' of the folksong, and comprised mainly those 'Vorgesetzte und Beamte jeder Art, Pfarrer, Schullehrer u.a. mehr' (119) envisaged by Arnim, as well as the 'brave deutsche Männer, die mit dem Landmann und den Übrigen untern Volksklassen in näherer Berührung stehen' of whom Brentano speaks in his circular. (120)

Pastor Bang of Goßfelden near Marburg is a good example. Drawn into the project through personal connexions, he had strong Romantic and literary sympathies. Wilhelm Grimm, who first met him in 1810, describes him thus:

Er ist mit Savigny, Creuzer und Arnim bekannt und ein sehr tüchtiger, braver und gelehrter Mann, ebenso kräftig und stark wie der Mannel, nur viel gebildeter. Von ihm konnte ich Creuzers Symbolik leihen. (121)

Wessenberg and Dankward might similarly be described as initiated laymen in the field of folk-poetry. Both had access to the oral tradition and pursued
literary interests in their spare time. Yet the number of full-time, professional folk-poetry scholars was increasing all the time, as the spate of publications in this field proves. Several important contemporary philologists are represented in the Wunderhorn material and were undoubtedly influenced by its ideology and its methodology. The remainder of this chapter will therefore be devoted to tracing the influence of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* upon the rising generation of folksong scholars, beginning with the Grimm brothers.

Their debt to Arnim and Brentano, not just in terms of friendship, but in terms of methodology also, can hardly be overestimated. In R. Steig's words:

> Je tiefere Einblicke in die Jugendgeschichte der Brüder Grimm uns die Briefwechsel mit Arnim und Brentano gewähren, desto deutlicher wird es, daß ihre Anfänge durchaus von den Bestrebungen der beiden älteren Freunde abhängig sind. (122)

It was Savigny in the first instance who put Brentano back in touch with the Grimms in 1806, when Brentano was looking for someone to copy out material from the Cassel library. (123) Jacob Grimm carried out the assignment himself and further set about the task of collecting songs locally, as he reported to Savigny:

> Ich habe selbst einige Lieder gesammelt, welche nicht im Wunderhorn stehen, die der Clemens wahrscheinlich auch besitzt oder kennt ... Alles was mir in Zukunft noch von dergleichen in die Hände gerät, will ich mit Freude dem Clemens schicken, dessen
Brentano responded enthusiastically with further clues for him to follow up in the library and a copy of his circular. (125) True to his word, Jacob was able to report the execution of Brentano's wishes in September and he also forwarded all the material he had amassed to date:

Nach Ihrem gütigen Verlangen schicke ich Ihnen hierbei alles, was ich habe finden können, aber mehr, um meinen guten Willen zu bezeigen, als daß ich wirklich etwas bedeutendes, Ihnen Werthes schickte. Denn das meiste werden Sie schon haben, oder anders wohl besser erhalten. Ich glaube überhaupt, daß in diesem biertrinkenden, u. vielleicht in ganz Norddeutschland viel weniger von Volksliedern steckt, als in dem südlichen Theil, u. ich hoffe Sie werden von Ihren dortigen Sammlern recht viel bekommen, wenn diese anders eine solche Neigung als ich für Ihr Vorhaben gefaßt haben, woran nicht gezweifelt werden darf. (126)

He and his brother were of the same mind, impressed by the Wunderhorn and what it stood for, and keen to help in any way they could. Indeed, they would have appreciated the opportunity of discussing the project with him. Undeterred by Brentano's failure to acknowledge receipt of his first dispatch, Jacob sent off more songs in February 1807, (127) which was about the time of his formal decision to forsake a career in law for a full-time commitment to the study of old German poetry. (128)

By the summer of 1807 Jacob Grimm was prepared to take issue with Tieck and Brentano over the matter of textual alterations. A letter to his brother
outlines the position which he subsequently maintained throughout his career:

Ich kann nicht abreden, daß diese Ansicht, welche Tiek, Brentano p. mit der Bearbeitung und Erneuerung dieser Poesie verbinden insofern die richtige und wahre ist, als man dieselbe wieder ganz ins Volk u. Leben zurückführen will, gleich den Homerischen, jeder Studirende wird aber immer noch die älteren Recensionen vorziehen, u. einen höheren Genuß haben, denn mit jeder neuen Recension wird am ursprünglichen mehr oder weniger zerstört oder verdorben, obgleich wir vom Ganzen schon selbst nur eine neuere Recension haben ... Clemens läßt vermutlich seine Bibl. hierher kommen ... da werden wir unzähligen Stoff zu allen Arbeiten finden, zu meiner großen Freude. (129)

Later in the year when Brentano did indeed move, with his library, to Cassel, Jacob's hopes were realized. He then not only had access to Brentano's literary treasures but he was able to fulfil his earlier desire to discuss the whole question of old German poetry with him. When Arnim joined the company in November, the numbers were evened up: two academics ranged against two poets must have ensured much lively and stimulating debate, with Arnim and Jacob Grimm representing the two poles of poetry and scholarship while Brentano, a poet with academic leanings, and Wilhelm Grimm, an academic with literary sympathies, occupied the middle ground between them. Their friendship and their debate on old German poetry lasted for years afterwards, and the indebtedness of the younger men to their older friends is apparent from the dedication of various works to Arnim and Brentano. (130)
While their differences of opinion proved constructive in the development of the scholarly discipline of Germanic philology, it was the practical benefit derived from access to Brentano's library and from utilization of his methodological expertise which greatly assisted the future efforts of the Grimm brothers in this field.

The similarities between Brentano's canvassing operation and Jacob Grimm's plans for the collection of German sagas and legends five years later are striking, as Brentano's letter of January 1811 makes plain. Since Brentano had cherished hopes of this kind since 1805, (131) it is not unlikely that he and Jacob had already discussed the possibility:

Das Journal, der altdeutsche Sammler, der nicht sowohl philologisch als mündlich sein würde, ist ein pium desiderium, das ich längst schon gehabt, aber dergleichen ist bis zur Ummöglichkeit schwierig, wenn ich bedenke, daß ich bei allem Lärm, unendlichem Schreiben, zum Wunderhorn kaum zehn Einsender gehabt, und unter diesen etwa vier bis fünf brauchbare. Stellen Sie sich vor, was dazu gehört, nur zu verstehen, was Sie wollen. Dazu gehört nicht sowohl wahre Einfalt, als vielmehr eine Bildung, die die Einfalt würdigen kann. Weiter, wie viele Menschen würden Ihnen dasselbe schicken, und dann das ungeheure Porto, welches der Ertrag gewiß nicht decken würde. Der einzige Weg, wodurch es möglich, ist eine förmliche Einteilung von ganz Deutschland in Kreise, in jedem muß ein verstehender Freund sein, der seine Unterarbeiter unterrichtet, eine Anzahl gedruckter Zirkulare erhält, verteilt und sammelt und von Zeit zu Zeit einsendet ... Die Hauptsache ist mit, unter die Zirkulare einige bekannte Namen setzen zu können, Arnim, Sie, Görres, ich, ist wohl nicht genug. (132)
In spite of Brentano's jaundiced comment about the success of the strategy as used in connexion with the Wunderhorn, Jacob Grimm wrote back to the effect that this was indeed the only way to achieve the desired goal:

Ihren vortrefflichen Rath zu der Ausführung des Plans, durch Eintheilung Deutschlands in gewisse Sammelgegenden, habe ich benutzt, er ist der einzige Weg gewiß, worauf wir zu etwas in dieser Sache kommen. (133)

Among the sympathetic and influential men whom he hoped to recruit, Jacob makes explicit reference to several of the Wunderhorn collaborators, 'den Westenberg, der ohne Frage die besten Stücke ins Wunderhorn zugeschickt hat', (134) Aloys Schreiber and A.L. Grimm. Enclosed with the letter was a detailed plan for Brentano to criticize and comment upon and which was intended as the basis of a printed circular. Although lengthier and more insistent upon accurate notation of material than Brentano's had been, Jacob's 'Aufforderung an die gesammte Freunde deutscher Poesie und Geschichte erlassen' (135) nevertheless betrays the strong influence of his older friend. In a general introduction he speaks of the need to penetrate into remote areas where the influence of a false enlightenment has not yet been felt and where old native customs, sagas and superstitions are still preserved intact. Building significantly upon Brentano's emphasis on innocence, he goes on to speak of the difficulties attaching to the collecting task:
Like Brentano, Jacob sees it as a delicate operation requiring much sensitivity on the collector's part and an awareness that he is treading, as it were, on holy ground. Grimm goes on to make explicit mention of the encouragement gained 'durch den schönen Fortgang, welchen das Sammeln der Volkslieder bereits gehabt hat' (137) and then enumerates five main points. The plan is, firstly, to collect from the oral tradition sagas and legends still extant in the life of the ordinary people, for, like Arnim, he sees folk-poetry as 'der Lebenssaft, der sich aus allen Thaten herausgezogen und für sich bestanden hat'. (138) Secondly, the collecting activity must be broken down into small local units to ensure thorough coverage and exact notation at source. In order to achieve this he envisages, thirdly, 'einen verständigen Mann' (139) in every region to act as local correspondent. His fourth point insists that the enterprise is non-profit-making but simply a means of recording for posterity the history of German poetry which is not contained in books, and lastly, he suggests that the material thus accumulated shall be published in a series entitled 'Altdeutscher Sammler' as a kind of yearly 'Weinlese'. (140) To this end, he asks potential contributors and volunteers to make themselves known so that a list of addresses can be published,
and adds, in a postscript, that 'the good Perthes' might be asked to publish the challenge in his Vaterländisches Museum. (141)

The plan remained a 'pious hope' for the time being, but was resurrected in a different guise in Vienna in 1815. There were, by this time, numerous schemes being considered for the preservation of old German history and literature, most of which arose independently of each other, but in which, significantly, Wunderhorn collaborators were involved. The Grimm brothers were not the only scholars committed to the extension of the vision which lay behind the Wunderhorn. In Berlin, Savigny was mulling over a scheme for the collection and preservation of historical records, which he shared with Jacob Grimm in November 1814, since he wished his two former students to act as secretaries for the undertaking. At about the same time, the Freiherr vom Stein was also considering plans to establish a national society for the preservation of historical archives, and asked both Goethe and the former Wunderhorn collaborator, Wessenberg, for their opinions as to its feasibility.

Shortly after Savigny had communicated his ideas for a nationwide collecting network to Jacob Grimm, the latter, prompted by several young folklore enthusiasts in Vienna, decided to print and distribute a circular letter as a first step towards a more ambitious project, namely the foundation of 'eine förmliche Gesellschaft ... die sich allерwärts in
Deutschland verbreiten soll', as he wrote to Wilhelm in December 1814. (142) While the plan to collect sagas and legends fell into abeyance, the new scheme for the collection of folktales was taken a stage further, in that the 'Circular, die Sammlung der Volkspoesie betreffend' (143) was actually printed and dispatched 'in alle Talerdes Reichs' to potential supporters, including a number of Wunderhorn collaborators. (144) Brentano reported having seen a copy in Berlin and wrote with further helpful suggestions for Jacob to follow up. (145) Once again, he furnished Grimm not only with a strategy but with important contacts in useful positions.

The Freiherr vom Stein's plans were more limited in scope than those of his academic colleagues, and ultimately proved to be more practicable. His interest focussed on historical documents. After discussions with Goethe, Stein wrote to Wessenberg, who had strong academic leanings and an extensive knowledge of the historical material housed in the monastery libraries of Bavaria, for his advice. In response, Wessenberg drew up a document entitled 'über die Sammlung der Hilfsmittel, die nötig wären, um eine durchaus befriedigende Geschichte des deutschen Vaterlandes zu erhalten'(146) which proposed a primarily bibliographical enterprise. This scheme was more in line with Stein's own thinking than Savigny's, for when the latter was asked for his opinion, he responded with his own scheme, entitled 'Der Berliner Plan für Deutsche Geschichte, im Sommer 1816', (147) which was more comprehensive than Wessenberg's purely historical
proposition and included in its programme the collection of folklore and folk-poetry as well as national history.

Although Savigny also discussed this plan with Jacob Grimm because he still wanted his services as co-ordinating secretary, the latter's third scheme, formulated about this time, evidently arose quite independently of the Berlin programme. It came to light when Stein sent Savigny's plan to Goethe for comment, and Goethe, knowing of the Grimms' expertise in this field, forwarded it to them for an opinion. Wilhelm Grimm wrote back giving detailed comments which amounted to a criticism that the scheme was too vague and idealistic to be implemented as it stood, and he also enclosed their own 'Plan zu einer deutschen Gesellschaft für altdeutsche Literatur', (148) which had arisen at the instigation of Herr von Hammerstein of Hildesheim who was a keen amateur collector. This third scheme of the Grimms' was very detailed, both in the technical arrangements for its implementation and in the enumeration of scholarly tasks which required urgent attention. Wilhelm Grimm suggested to Goethe that it might be incorporated into Savigny's more comprehensive programme.

When Goethe sent Grimm's comments and suggestions to Stein, the latter made no reply. It seemed that the more scholars were asked for their opinions, the more schemes proliferated, but nothing was actually done. In the end, Stein took the law into his own hands and, together with other non-academic colleagues,
founded the 'Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde' in Frankfurt in 1819. Although Goethe was made an honorary member later that year, neither he nor Savigny and the Grimms were involved at its inception. It is noteworthy, however, that some of its keenest supporters had earlier been deeply involved with the Wunderhorn project, especially Fritz Schlosser and Wessenberg, Docen and Wigand. In 1826, twenty years after the first volume of Des Knaben Wunderhorn, Stein's society produced the first in its series of 'Monumenta Germaniae Historica'. During that time, the strategy first evolved by Arnim and Brentano was modified and developed on a national basis and institutionalized in a formal society with its own administrative structures and staff, government recognition and financial backing. In all this activity, methodology and ideology went hand in hand. Starting from the central thesis that a unified Germany needed to be aware of its national heritage, a strategy was developed which would embrace the entire German territories and which would both symbolize and promote national consciousness.

Without wishing to denigrate the undoubted achievements of scholarship during this period, it is nevertheless significant that - in national terms - it was the non-academics who put these schemes into operation. After the Wunderhorn and the Zeitung für Einsiedler, both designed to promote national consciousness, there came Perthes's Vaterländisches Museum which was conceived out of a similar concern
and which used a similar strategy. (151) In a chapter entitled 'Efforts to keep alive the German spirit: 1809-10', Perthes's biographer tells of the distribution of a prospectus for the journal to all parts of Germany, 'wherever men were to be found of whose patriotism and intelligence he had knowledge'. (153) The response was evidently good; expressions of support flooded in from all corners, including once again from many former Wunderhorn collaborators, and the journal was officially launched in the spring of 1810 with contributions from several eminent men, among them Jean Paul, Stolberg, Fouque, Görres and Arndt. Later, the practical Perthes, realizing that to heal the rift between north and south required certain administrative changes, did what he could in his own field to bring about greater national unity by campaigning for a thorough reform of the book trade. (154)

There was a close association between ideology and methodology in each of these collecting ventures where a national ambition was uppermost in men's minds. But this same strategy was also employed to great effect in the setting up of purely local or regional folklore societies devoted to the preservation and study of the special historical and folk heritage of a particular area. To cite but one instance, two younger contemporaries of Arnim and Brentano, who were friends of the Grimm brothers, founded a 'Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde Westfalens' in which the notation and study of dialect and folklore played an important part. The men were
Paul Wigand and August von Haxthausen. The latter had a particular interest in folksong and, with his brothers and sisters, collected more than four hundred Westphalian songs and melodies between 1806 and 1820. He was in direct consultation with Arnim at one stage over a projected publication of his findings. (155) It would seem, therefore, that the Wunderhorn editors gave a significant impulse, sometimes even the first impulse, to subsequent collecting activity on both a local and a national basis. It is interesting to note that several of the hand-written sources to which Erk and Böhme later had access in the compilation of their Deutscher Liederhort date from the time of the Wunderhorn and reflect the collecting activity of its contributors. (156)

The methodological repercussions from Brentano's collecting strategy were, then, particularly strong in Westphalia where they radiated out from Cassel. But there was one other similar pocket of intensive concern for the aims and ideals of the Wunderhorn, namely in Swabia.

While it would be wrong to imply that Des Knaben Wunderhorn was the most important landmark in the early careers of the Swabian Romantic poets, there is plenty of evidence which points to its centrality for a few years at least in the lives of Justinus Kerner and Ludwig Uhland. As in the case of Arnim and Brentano, Gräter's Bragur was instrumental in developing their interest in folk-poetry, especially since it was itself a Swabian publication. H.Moser
maintains that Swabian Romanticism grew directly out of its local precursor: 'Die Herkunft aus einem landes patriotischen Sonderbewusstsein teilt sie mit ähnlichen Erscheinungen in der Schweiz und in Bayern'. (157) There is no doubt, however, that during the years immediately following the publication of the Wunderhorn, the group of friends based in Tübingen recognized Arnim and Brentano as kindred spirits and eagerly set about the task of gathering material for them, so much so that Tübingen became, like Cassel, almost an offshoot of Heidelberg, as far as collecting was concerned.

The development was as follows. Christoph Kölle, a Tübingen lawyer, wrote to Brentano as a result of reading Arnim's appeal in Von Volksliedern, to the effect that he had been collecting folksongs for the past two years and would like to exchange his findings with Brentano's. (158) Brentano replied in December 1805 but had to wait until March of the following year before an answer from Kölle was forthcoming. It appears that Kölle was in two minds as to whether to give his material to Brentano or to Leo von Seckendorf who was also currently engaged in compiling an anthology. (159) In his letter, Kölle made certain stipulations concerning payment of an honorarium which aroused Brentano's indignation, but his reply must have been couched in more moderate language than that used in his letter to Arnim, (160) for Kölle wrote back in July 1806 sending his entire collection, including material from Uhland and
Kerner, and some names of other potential sources. (161) These contributions were eventually returned to Kölle after copies of the desired material had been made; they included ten songs of Uhland's and seven of Kerner's, though not all were deemed worthy of incorporation into the Wunderhorn. (162) Nevertheless, as H. Rölleke rightly points out, Brentano was the first person to acknowledge the worth of Kerner's earliest poetic endeavours. (163)

Neither Kerner nor Uhland was directly in touch with the Wunderhorn editors at this stage, but Karl Nehrlich, a native Saxon who now lived in Hechingen and was an enthusiastic collector of Swabian folksongs, was in regular contact with Brentano whom he had known since student days in Jena. Nehrlich, who contributed over four hundred songs to the Wunderhorn project and is represented in the anthology by no less than ninety songs, wrote to Kerner in February 1807 asking for material and seeking to arrange a visit to Tübingen. (164) The projected transaction must have taken place, for when Kerner first wrote to Brentano in March of the following year, he mentioned that Brentano should already have received material from him via Kölle and Nehrlich. (165) He had been collecting ever since:

Ich habe seitdem wenig Beute mehr gemacht. Einiges unbedeutende das ich Ihnen hier beilegte konnte ich Ihrer schönen Sammlung nicht vorenthalten, und wenn Sie es auch gleich schon besitzen oder für zu unwichtig halten, so hab ich doch das meinige gethan. (166)
He also mentioned the two ballads which Uhland had brought back from a trip to Switzerland in 1806 and which had been passed on to Seckendorf for his almanach. (167)

Although there was no direct contact between Uhland and the Wunderhorn editors at this stage, it is clear from his correspondence that Uhland's views about folk-poetry were very close to those of the Heidelberg poets. He, too, wanted to play his part in the 'Wiederbelebung unserer poetischen Vorzeit', (168) because of its intrinsic worth and contemporary value for 'ein verbildetes Zeitalter'. (169) 'O daß erschiene die Zeit,' he wrote to Seckendorf in 1807,

da zwischen den sonnigen Bergen der alten und neuen teutschen Poesie, zwischen denen das Zeitalter der Unpoesie wie eine tiefe Kluft hineindämmert, eine befrendende Brücke geschlagen und darauf ein frohes Hin- und Herwandeln lebendig würde! (170)

Uhland saw both the Wunderhorn and the Zeitung für Einsiedler as worthy attempts to bridge the chasm between the old and the new, praising the latter for 'die darin herrschende Liebe zur alten Zeit' (171) and sending contributions to it.

That Arnim felt himself to be of one mind with Uhland is apparent from his quotation of a poem in the second Wunderhorn postscript of 1818:

Mein Gefühl für diese Lieder und für jene Sammlerzeit kann ich nicht besser schildern, als mit den Worten eines lieben Unbekannten:
Als Knabe stieg ich in die Hallen
Verlassner Burgen oft hinan,
Durch alle Städte thät ich wallen
Und sah die hohen Münster an.
Da war es, daß mit stillem Mahnen
Der Geist der Vorwelt bei mir stand,
Da ließ er frühe schon mich ahnen,
Was später ich in Büchern fand. (172)

Uhland and Arnim had much in common, as their respective careers clearly illustrate. Indeed, Uhland vindicated Arnim's theory, explained in Von Volksliedern, that the individual could become a genuine poet of the people, writing songs which were assimilated into the anonymous folk tradition. This is not surprising in the case of Uhland whose lifelong commitment, in art as in public service, was to the community:

Für eine Poesie vom Volke abgewendet,
eine Poesie, die nur die individuellen
Empfindungen ausspricht, habe ich nie
Sinn gehabt. Im Volke muß es wurzeln. (173)

This conviction was reinforced by a strong sense of history and of the importance of continuity, as the following poem makes clear:

An unserer Väter Taten
Mit Liebe sich erbaun,
Fortpflanzen ihre Saaten,
Dem alten Grund vertraun;
In solchem Angedenken
Des Landes Heil erneun;
Um unsere Schmach sich kränken,
Sich unserer Ehre freun;
Sein eignes Ich vergessen
In aller Lust und Schmerz:
Das nennt man, wohlermessen,
Für unser Volk ein Herz. (174)

In the midst of an increasingly active political and public life, Uhland's love of the German past expressed
itself in philological study and in the faithful collection of folksong. In this academic context, he turned again and again to the Wunderhorn as a source book, locating it in the tradition of those who sought to preserve the national heritage for the benefit of contemporary society, and viewing it as an important landmark in a time of transition. Once the bridge between the past and the present had been built, then scholars could set about the task of producing critical editions of early masterpieces, as indeed they did, but in the meantime, Tieck and others had done valuable work in popularizing them through careful modernization. (175)

Ideologically speaking, Uhland was in total sympathy with the aims of the Heidelberg poets, and his own work was given direction through their example. In the case of his friend Kerner, Des Knaben Wunderhorn stood right at the beginning of his poetic career and was a symbol of all that he valued. Brentano's inclusion of his poems in the anthology must have been a great source of encouragement to the younger man, who, in any case, had many affinities with his older patron. Both had a fertile imagination and a love of the fantastic, which prompted, on Kerner's part, an interest in the mysterious manifestation of somnambulism, and on Brentano's part, a fascination with the religious experiences of the stigmatized nun, Katharina Emmerich. Even more striking, however, is their shared respect for the childlike quality in others as in art, and the childlike element in their own
natures. Varnhagen describes Kerner as 'ein unschuldiges kindliches Gemüth'. (176)

There are various clear pointers to the fact that *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* exerted a major influence upon Kerner. In 1807, when he led a group of Tübingen friends in the production of a home-made weekly newspaper called the *Sonntagsblatt für gebildete Stände*, (177) Kerner liked to be known as 'Kulekeia' after the refrain of a Wunderhorn song, (178) while lines from the anthology prefaced items in the newspaper. The *Wunderhorn* was constantly at Kerner's side; he recommended it to friends and lent it out on many occasions, and it frequently cropped up in conversation and letters. Varnhagen, for instance, recalls an evening in 1809 when the anthology was the subject of heated debate:

Da giebt es die lebhaftesten Gespräche: die romantische Schule, die Naturphilosophie, und vor allem das Wunderhorn, werden schrecklich angegriffen, hartnäckig verteidigt. (179)

In the same year, Kerner was contemplating an anthology of his own which was to be a sequel to the *Wunderhorn*, according to a letter from Uhland to Karl Mayer which mentions 'die wenigstens halb ernstliche Äußerung Kerners, daß, da die Herausgeber des Wunderhorns ihre Sammlung für geschlossen erklärt, er nunmehr eine Nachlese versuchen wolle'. (180) Kerner asked Uhland to write a preface, and the latter promptly obliged with a text which begins:
Einiges über dem Titel dieses Buches. Ich hätte nemlich dasselbe gar zu gerne Fortsetzung des Wunderhorns betitelt; allein die Herausgeber des letztern haben solches für geschlossen erklärt, wiewohl des Klangs halber zu wünschen wäre, daß sie es offen ließen. (181)

Kerner never completed his plan, but in later life made a confession to David Friedrich Strauß which throws a retrospective light on the utmost importance of the Wunderhorn for his poetic development. In Strauß's words, it was contained in a letter,

worin er gegen Heine's Reden von einer schwäbischen Dichterschule bemerkt, er wisse nichts von einer Schule, höchstens sei das Wunderhorn die seinige gewesen, und zwar vorzüglich der Vers: Zimmermäntle, Zimmermäntle, leih mir Deine Hosen. (182)

Kerner was perhaps being deliberately provocative in naming one of the 'Kinderlieder' as his poetic model, yet he may also have been pointing to a genuine truth: for him, as for many of his generation, the simplicity of the very simplest of nursery rhymes had more appeal and greater existential validity than the sophisticated, intellectual poetry of the Enlightenment. (183)

Here, then, are two men who were both deeply influenced by Des Knaben Wunderhorn and who, in many respects, stood closest to the Heidelberg poets of all their contemporaries, Uhland as Arnim's counterpart and Kerner as Brentano's successor. Both went on to put the spirit of the Wunderhorn into operation, in daily life, in their poetry and, in Uhland's case,
in his efforts to preserve the national heritage of history and culture.

The story of Swabian endeavours on behalf of the folksong would be incomplete without mention of Leo von Seckendorf, who, though not a Swabian himself, was in close contact with the Tübingen poets at the time of the Wunderhorn and was full of plans for the furtherance of the folksong cause. A letter to Kerner of February 1807 unfolds various schemes: firstly, to publish the greatest monuments of old German poetry in their original form with commentary, an objective which he visualized in connexion with a 'Gesellschaft für vaterländische Altertümer'; (184) secondly, he wished to publish a German version of Percy's anthology containing original folksongs in their dialect forms with melodies attached; (185) lastly, he planned a series of folktales called 'Bibliothek der Volks- und Ritterromane'. (186) None of these objectives was achieved by Seckendorf as he died in 1809, but it is significant that he saw the second objective as in some sense complementary to the Wunderhorn:

Das Wunderhorn hindert mich hier nicht. Ich habe manches daran auszusetzen; aber die Herausgeber würden schwerlich meine Meinung annehmen, daher kann mein Werk sehr wohl neben dem ihren beistehen. ... Kommt doch ein zweiter Teil des Wunderhorns heraus, ... so gebe ich gern die Texte meiner Lieder dazu -- einstweilen stehen sie da gut. Sonst veranstalte ich eine eigene Sammlung -- und suche diese hauptsächlich durch die möglichste Wohlfreiheit dem Landmann selbst in die Hände zu spielen.(187)
In fact, Seckendorf got no further than publishing folksongs in his two poetry almanachs of 1807 and 1808, but in the latter he expressly states that the folksongs contained therein are offered as a 'Nachtrag Spätlinge zu jenem herrlichen Stock' which had been collected by Arnim and Brentano. (188)

For Seckendorf, then, the Heidelberg anthology acted as a spur to his own activity and helped him to sharpen up his own ideas and ambitions. The same could be said of the rising generation of German philologians, not all of whom were in full sympathy with the ideology and practice of Arnim and Brentano, but for whom, nevertheless, the Wunderhorn served as an incentive to further production.

* * * * *

The emphasis of this chapter has fallen upon the close association between ideology and strategy as witnessed in the growth of the collaborator network and the various national schemes for the collection and preservation of the German cultural heritage which developed subsequently. The ideological principles governing the editorial practice of Arnim and Brentano during work on the first part of their anthology were later embodied in a strategy of corporate and nationwide activity which, however, may not have been a conscious policy on their part so much as a simple extension
of their personal friendship. For it is undoubtedly true that what Stein and Perthes and others strove to achieve in institutional structures and reforms was realized and symbolized quite naturally in the friendship between Arnim and Brentano.

Their friendship was a microcosm of the national collaborator network in several respects. Geographically speaking, it brought together north and south; from the denominational point of view, it reconciled Catholic with Protestant; in social terms, it linked together a member of the landed aristocracy with the son of a city merchant; politically speaking, it bridged the gap between sections of the country, which, for a time at least, found themselves in opposition to each other; and lastly, in terms of literary aims and values, it united one whose paramount concern was to improve the present with one whose natural sympathies drew him increasingly to the historical study of the past. Des Knaben Wunderhorn testifies as much to their friendship as to their ideals.

The collaborator network was a logical extension of the vision which inspired the first part of the anthology as well as a practical necessity. In terms of strategy alone, its influence was far-reaching and its achievement seems all the more remarkable when one considers that, of the many projected schemes to establish similar national activities, only Stein's was implemented with any degree of success. Their strategy also left its mark on the regional folklore
and historical societies which proliferated during the nineteenth century and provided a basis for the academic discipline of 'Volkskunde'. The Wunderhorn similarly marked the beginning of a new and prosperous phase in the history of German philology, and, although this has barely been touched upon, it made an indelible impression upon the rising generation of German poets.

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Notes


2. All sources are given in the Bibliography.

3. FBA volumes 29-34 (Briefe) and 35,1 and 2 (Briefe: Erläuterungen) will not be published before 1980. Most of the letters pertaining to the Wh are now in the possession of the Freies Deutsches Hochstift, Frankfurt am Main, and the Goethe und Schiller Archiv in Weimar. Material relating to the Wh is listed in FBA 9,1, 28-31 and comprises mainly Arnim's posthumous papers, now housed in the University Library, Heidelberg and catalogued Heid.Hs. 2110-2117. The papers of Rudolf Baier are housed in the Stadtarchiv, Stralsund, and are catalogued Hs. X, 29.

Appendix C: Contributors and Correspondents, pp. 435-49.


6. Wh 1,462 footnote (FBA 6,440).

7. Appendix B,2 (Fam 5,11).

8. Appendix B,7 (Fam 5, 13-14).


10. On Heinze and all contributors mentioned hereafter, see Appendix C, pp. 435-49 where they are listed in alphabetical order.

11. Steig 1, 149 (December 1805).

12. Steig 1, 151.

13. See GA XIX, 486-87 (16 December 1805).

14. Quoted from Steig 1, 154 (A. Oehlenschläger, Lebenserinnerungen, II,19).
15. Steig 1, 164 (12 March 1806).


17. Steig 1, 188 (to Brentano, 30 July 1806).

18. Sb 1, 291 (23 December 1805).

19. Steig 1, 191 gives Arnim's 'vorläufige Anzeige' but the plan was not executed, presumably because of the suddenness of Prussia's defeat.


21. Brentano later took this role upon himself again when he recorded the sayings of the stigmatized nun, Anna Katharina Emmerick, from 1818 to 1824. His intention, in both instances, was to preserve examples of artlessness.

22. FBA 9,1,63. H. Rülke speaks of the Wh project as evolving from the idea of a song collection 'zu einem romantischen Kunstwerk sui generis'. The present study, however, argues that a distinction should be drawn between the first volumes and the later ones.

23. Sb 1, 297-98 (1 January 1806). Arnim followed up the Braunschweig contacts, but it seems that Brentano contacted Körte and Horn since both appear on his mailing list for the circular letter (FBA 9,3, 659).

24. Sb 1, 301.

25. Sb 1, 320.


27. Sb 1, 300.

28. Stoll 1, 276 (to Brentano, 2 February 1806).

29. See, for example, his exchange of letters with Savigny, then in Paris, March to May 1805, (Stoll 1, 252-56), also his letter to Winkelmann in connexion with Cramer's bookshop in Bremen, (UL, 285). There are frequent mentions of bookshops and purchases in the correspondence of this period (see further Am 2,190 and Sb 1, 271).

30. Sb 1, 277 (2 April 1805). Brentano's name did not appear, however, in the official list of purchasers though he may have instructed someone else to buy for him.(See B. Gajek, op. cit., p. 13 footnote.) Other auctions mentioned are one in Heidelberg (Sb 1, 270) and another in Marburg (Sb 1,299).
31. Sb 1, 290 (23 December 1805).

32. E.g. Sb 1, 307 (reading K. Spazier, Wanderungen durch die Schweiz, Gotha, 1790).

33. Fuchs's readiness to help is acknowledged in the 'Dankadresse' (FBA 9,3,407). See also FBA 9,3,771, on Tschudi.

34. See G. Schaub, 'Die Spee-Rezeption Clemens Brentanos', Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch, Neue Folge 13 (1972), pp. 151-79. Wyttenbach's manuscript is now among the Wh papers in the University Library, Heidelberg (Heid. Hs. 2110,22), labelled 'MS religiöser Lieder, enthaltend 32 Lieder aus der Trutznachtigall und verwandten Sammlungen'.

35. C. Brentano, GS VIII, 131 (20 May 1806).

36. Sb 1, 351 (to Arnim, January 1808).


40. E.M. Arndt, Geist der Zeit, Erster Teil. (1806), in Ausgewählte Werke, IX, 63-64.


42. G. Görres, Die Märchen des Clemens Brentano, I,xxxiv.

43. W. Migge, Clemens Brentano. Leitmotive seiner Existenz (Pfullingen, 1963), chapter 1.

44. R. Steig, Goethe und die Brüder Grimm (Berlin, 1892), p. 70.

45. Sb 1, 310 (to Arnim, May 1806).

46. Sb 1, 312.

47. Sb 1, 315-16 (1 June 1806).

48. Sb 1, 316 and compare Sb 1, 178.

49. Sb 1, 324 (Brentano to Arnim, 14 June 1806).

50. Sb 1, 275-76 (15 February 1805).


53. ibid. p. 124 (12 June 1806).

54. ibid. p. 125 (undated).

55. ibid.

56. ibid. p. 126.

57. ibid. p. 125.

58. See Sb 1, 278 (Brentano to Arnim, 2 April 1805).

59. Sb 1, 304 (18 March 1806).

60. Sb 1, 306.

61. Sb 1, 307.

62. Sb 1, 313 (May 1806).

63. Sb 1, 319 (1 June 1806).

64. The war may have put an end to all thoughts of distribution by post, and Arnim may have assumed that their intended reunion in Heidelberg made an answer unnecessary.

65. FBA 8, 350-52 and compare FBA 9,3, 653-58.

66. See Stoll 1, 289 and 290.


68. See Bode, p. 104 (Kaufmann to Brentano, 11 July 1806).

69. Steig 1, 168 (Fuchs to Brentano, 20 August 1806).

70. Sb 1, 331 (20 August 1806). Seebaß follows Steig's mistake in naming Kerner as the recipient of this letter.

71. For address lists, see FBA 9,3, 658-662.

72. Sb 1, 331 (August 1806).

73. Quoted from H. Schewe, NW, p. 120.

74. Sb 1, 324 (14 June 1806).

75. Sb 1, 334 (October 1806).
76. Brentano married Auguste, niece of Moritz Bethmann, on 20 August 1806 in Fritzlar, after a brief and stormy courtship.

77. Sb 1, 342 (July 1807).
78. Sb 1, 348 (19 October 1807).
80. Appendix B, 26 (Fam 5,477). The 'Aufforderung, altdeutschen Volksgesang betreffend' was also published in the Badische Wochenschrift, Nr. 50 (11 December 1807), Sp. 799f, and in the Heidelbergsche Jahrbücher der Literatur, Jg. 1, Heft 1 (March 1808), Intelligenz Blatt 1, pp.3-4.
82. Z, 146 (28 November 1807).
83. See chapter three, pp. 130-40.
85. Steig 3, 137 (14 July 1811).
86. Appendix B, 31 (Fam 5, 480).
87. Sb 2, 68 (Brentano to the Grimms, 10 January 1811).
88. See FBA 9,1,57 and 9,3, 719-904.
89. See FBA 9,3, 795. Rölkeke states that of about 5,000 songs submitted, only 230 of contributors known by name and 60 of contributors not known by name were used in the anthology.
90. Goethe collected 'Zwölf Volkslieder aus den Kehlen der ältesten Müttergens' in Elsaß, September 1771 for Herder, (see GA XVIII, 162).
91. See pp. 450-453.
92. Sb 1, 310 (Brentano to Arnim, May 1806): 'Außerdem habe ich ... einige sehr gute (Lieder) durch den unermüdlichen, lieben Grimm.'
94. See O. Reichel, Der Verlag von Mohr und Zimmer in Heidelberg und die Heidelberger Romantik (Augsburg, 1913), p. 25 (2 May 1817).
95. Sb 1, 326 (16 July 1806)
96. Bode, p. 110 (7 August 1806).
97. H. Schewe, Vorauswort, p. 56 (8 July 1806).
98. H. Schewe, Vorauswort, p. 60.


100. See FBA 9,3,660.


102. Sb 1, 313 (to Arnim, May 1806).

103. Appendix B, 42 (p. 447).

104. Appendix B, 22 (p. 1022).

105. J.J. Eschenburg, Denkmäler altdeutscher Dichtkunst (Bremen, 1799). See FBA 9,3,754.

106. Arnim's association with these men has been noted in chapter two, p. 77.


109. Sb 1, 320. Brentano supposedly quotes Elwert, but as Bode has shown (p. 36 footnote), part of the quotation was pure fabrication on Brentano's part. There seems no reason to doubt the first sentence, however, which runs: 'Diese (Elwert's) Kinder konnten das Wunderhorn beinahe auswendig, welches überhaupt ein rechtes Erbauungsbuch bei uns ist.'


111. ibid. p. 218.


113. Appendix B, 10 (p. 395).


115. Sb 1, 301 (Brentano to Arnim, February 1806).


117. ibid.

119. Appendix B, 7 (Fam 5, 13).

120. FBA 8, 350.

121. W. Schoof, Jugendbriefe, p. 199 (to J. Grimm, 4 September 1810).


123. UL, p. 353 (Brentano to Savigny, 22 March 1806).


125. ibid. (28 June 1808).

126. ibid. p. 126 (2 September 1806).

127. Steig 4, 6 (10 February 1807).


130. W. Grimm dedicated his Altdänische Heldenlieder to Arnim and Brentano, and Arnim is mentioned in the preface to the full edition of the Kinder- und Hausmärchen. (see Kleinere Schriften von Wilhelm Grimm, edited by G. Hinrichs, 4 vols (Berlin, 1881-87), I, 317.

131. See Sb 1, 278 and 313.

132. Sb 2, 68-69 (Brentano to J. Grimm, 10 January 1811).

133. Steig 4, 161 (22 January 1811).

134. Steig 4, 163 (he means Ignaz von Wessenberg).

135. Steig 4, 164-71 gives the full text.

136. Steig 4, 165.

137. ibid.

138. ibid. p. 166.

139. ibid. p. 168.

140. ibid. p. 170.

W. Schoof, Jugendbriefe, p. 364 (31 December 1814).

For the full text see Jacob Grimms Kleinere Schriften, edited by C.V. Müllerhoff, 8 vols (1864–90, reprinted Hildesheim, 1965), VII, 593.


Sb 2, 130 (to W. Grimm, 15 February 1816).

For the full text, see Jacob Grimms Kleinere Schriften, edited by C.V. Müllerhoff, 8 vols (1864–90, reprinted Hildesheim, 1965), VII, 593.

For full text, see G.H. Pertz, Das Leben des Ministers Freiherrn vom Stein, 6 vols (Berlin, 1849–55), VI, 2, 101f.

For text, see 'Neue Mitteilungen', Goethe-Jahrbuch 9 (1888), pp. 20–47, (pp. 34–39).


Schlosser served on the central committee. Büsching and von der Hagen were also involved.

Whether Perthes consciously adopted the strategy of Arnim and Brentano is a moot point. It seems likely that he knew of it, in view of his close association with Zimmer, but he and Johannes von Müller had discussed the possibility of forming a similar national society as early as 1806–07. The idea was, in any case, not new. In response to a challenge from Prince Karl Friedrich of Baden, Herder drew up a plan for a national institute in 1787 which was published posthumously in Adrastea 6 (1803–4), p. 215f. (See J.G. Herder, Sämtliche Werke, edited by B. Suphan, 33 vols (Berlin, 1877–87), XVI, 600–16.)


ibid. p. 167.

Perthes's Vaterländisches Museum ran from July 1810 to January 1811 (7 issues). It was then suppressed by the French who had by then taken Hamburg. Perthes was still full of ideas for uniting the nation. In 1814 he was instrumental in calling booksellers together to fight for proper copyright laws. In 1816, in the hope of introducing legislation at the 'Bundesversammlung', he wrote and distributed Der deutsche

See L. Erk and F.M. Böhme, *Deutscher Liederhort*, 3 vols (Leipzig, 1893, reprinted Hildesheim and New York, 1972), I, xviif. In their 'Quellen-Verzeichnis' Erk and Böhme list, besides Arnim's papers and Brentano's sixteenth-century song collection and the Wunderhorn itself:

Nr. 17: a nineteenth century song collection from Cassel, found in the papers of von der Hagen and collected for and by him between 1810 and 1840 (p. xviii).

Nr. 30: More material from the papers of von der Hagen dating from 1807 to 1840 and including manuscripts from the papers of Nicolai and Seckendorf (p. xix).

Nr. 34: Haxthausen's manuscript of about four hundred Westphalian folksongs, collected between 1806 and 1820 (p. xx).

Nr. 40: Folksongs of Franconia and Thuringia collected by Carl Hohnbaum of Hildburghausen between 1815 and 1840 (p. xx).

Nr. 77: More than one hundred folksongs with tunes, collected from the oral tradition in Bavaria, Württemberg and Lower Austria between 1800 and 1808 by Leo von Seckendorf (p. xxiii).


H. Rölleke, op. cit., p. 283.

ibid. Brentano wrote to Arnim in May 1806: 'Wie unverschämt! und am Ende hat der Kerl nichts -- ich habe ihm geschrieben, er möge seine Sammlung so bald als möglich drucken lassen.'

ibid. (24 July 1806).

For details see Rölleke, op. cit., p. 284f. Only two of the songs submitted by Uhland were copied and neither was included in the Wunderhorn, whereas of the six copies made from Kerner's seven submissions, three were incorporated in the anthology (Wh 2, 161,250 and Wh 3, 124).
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165. See H. Rölleke, op. cit., p. 280.

166. ibid.

167. Arnim took them from Seckendorf's Musenalmanach für das Jahr 1808 and included them in Wh 2 (274 and 289). See FBA 9, 1, 456f and 467f.

168. Uhlands Briefwechsel. Im Auftrag des schwäbischen Schillervereins, edited by J. Hartmann, 4 vols (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1911-16), I, 14 (Uhland to Seckendorf, end of 1806).

169. ibid. p. 11.


171. ibid. p. 98 (to Karl Mayer, 28 July 1808).

172. Wh 1, 477 (FBA 8, 372).

173. Quoted from R. Schneider, Vom Geschichtsbewusstsein der Romantik (Mainz, 1951), p. 163.


175. See Uhlands Briefwechsel, 1, 23 (Uhland to Seckendorf, 6 March 1807).

176. K.A. Varnhagen von Ense, Ausgewählte Schriften, II, 156.

177. See Das Sonntagsblatt für gebildete Stände. Eine Zeitschrift der Tübingen Romantiker, edited by E. Zeller (Marbach, 1961), the introduction to which explains how the paper developed in opposition to Cotta's Morgenblatt, (pp. 6-29).

178. Wh 1, 328 (FBA 6, 318) the refrain of which runs: 'Mit der kleinen Killekeia, / Mit der großen Kum Kum'.


180. Uhlands Briefwechsel, I, 110 (13 March 1809).


183. Varnhagen supports this conclusion in a comment of 1809: 'In der Poesie ist ihm (Kerner) das Wunderbare der Volksromane, der einfache Laut und die rohe Kraft der Volkslieder am verwandtesten, Dichtungen höherer Art läßt er gelten, aber er begehrt ihrer nicht; so spricht er auch mit Vorliebe die rohe Landesmundart, will sie nicht ablegen und verstockt sich wohl gar gegen die Schriftsprache.' (Ausgewählte Schriften, II, 161.)

184. See Justinus Kerners Briefwechsel, I, 8.

185. ibid. T. Percy published his Reliques of Ancient English Poetry in 1765.

186. ibid.

187. ibid.

188. Quoted from Steig 1,360.

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CHAPTER SIX

Des Knaben Wunderhorn and the General Reading Public

Having examined the critical reception of Des Knaben Wunderhorn and its influence upon the development of folksong collecting and related studies, attention must now be turned to its reception by the general reading public. This chapter seeks to establish the constituency reached by the anthology against the background of contemporary reading habits at a time of economic and political instability.

Were Arnim's ambitions for the anthology mere pipe-dreams? Could he in reality bridge the gap between the intellectual minority and the rest of the nation and unite both in an appreciation of their German heritage? Certainly, if his theories about the folksong were correct, Arnim had human nature on his side: he was offering material to which all could in theory respond, irrespective of their degree of education. Yet, as he was aware, society at the turn of the century had been conditioned to prefer the shallow works of the popular Enlightenment and could no longer respond spontaneously to the genuine folksong. Could the anthology ever replace the popular Mildheimisches Liederbuch, as Brentano hoped?
Did the anthology achieve its objective? In what quarters did it gain a hearing? How wide a readership did it in fact secure and how was this achieved? These are the questions to which this chapter addresses itself.

For what kind of readership, then, was the anthology designed? The answer is to be found in the general publicity with which the book was launched on the market. Several notices appeared in the press at the time of the Michaelmas book fair of 1805. Arnim's advertisement in the *Reichs-Anzeiger* suggests that he intended the anthology to have general appeal: he addresses 'die tiefer Kenner, wie den Liebhaber und den, der blos unterhalten seyn will'. (1) His confidence is based on the fact that there was a growing interest in folk-poetry which had not yet been catered for in a satisfactory manner:

Wir glauben durch diese Sammlung dem allgemeinen Wunsche nach näherer Kenntniss deutscher Volkslieder alles das zu gewähren, was ähnliche Sammler in Schottland und England, bey viel leichterer Mittheilung kaum erreichten: eine Auswahl des beßten in jeder Gattung zu liefern. (2)

Similarly, in another advertisement, he speaks of 'ein mannigfaltiges Interesse' (3) in old German
poetry, and in his December challenge addresses himself boldly to 'den zahlreichen Freunden deutscher Volkslieder'. (4)

Further proof of his desire to reach the widest possible constituency is found in an advertisement for the later volumes in which he admits to deliberately limiting their size for economic reasons:

...doch schien es in dieser armen Zeit eine wichtige Rücksicht, ein Werk, das der allgemeinen Unterhaltung und Ermunterung gewidmet, durch keinen zu theuern Preis dem Besitze größerer Menge und der Leihbibliotheken zu entziehen. (5)

In a shorter advertisement written at the same time, Arnim again emphasizes the book's general appeal although he hopes that the academic will also find it satisfactory. (6)

However, Brentano's announcement heralding a projected history of the folksong which was printed immediately after Arnim's notice in the Morgenblatt implies the realization, on Brentano's part at least, that it was impossible to satisfy simultaneously the demands of academic initiates and the requirements of the ordinary reader:

Es war durchaus unmöglich, eigene Liebe, das verschiedenste lebendige Interesse und das bloß geleherte zugleich zu befriedigen; und ich hoffe, durch wenige Bogen jedem Bedürfnisse zu zeigen, was ihm in dem großen Umfang der Sammlung taugen kann, indem ich zugleich nicht in Abrede seyn kann,
It is apparent, therefore, that *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* was intended for a wide constituency ranging from academics at one end of the spectrum to the local library user at the other. A conscious effort was made to keep the price down so that the book should not be denied access to lower income groups.

Were Arnim and Brentano justified, however, in thus imputing to the general public a widespread and lively interest in the folksong? The question has been illuminated in part in an earlier chapter, but an examination of reading tastes as revealed in book sales during this period throws further light upon the subject. The following general conclusions are derived from A. Ward's compact analysis of book production and reading habits in the eighteenth century, and J. Goldfriedrich's seminal work, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*.

Ward concludes, on the basis of an analysis of the catalogues of the Leipzig book fairs, that by far the most popular reading material at the turn of the century was fiction: 'the supremacy of narrative literature as a popular reading material was now established'. Goldfriedrich documents the fact that the novel-reading habit in particular had grown steadily throughout the eighteenth century among all classes of society, and he quotes Fichte in support
of the conclusion that reading was the currently fashionable pastime. 'An die Stelle anderer, aus der Mode gekommener Zeitvertreibe', he wrote in 1805, 'trat in der letzten Hälfte des vorigen Jahrhunderts das Lesen.' (12) This trend developed as reading-matter became more easily available on the one hand, and on the other as a result of the conscious efforts of popular Enlightenment pedagogues to feed the minds of the people.

Isaac Maus, for example, supplies evidence of his own literary initiation in the confession which prefaces his Gedichte und Briefe of 1786:

Auch stand ich damals noch in der Meinung, daß das Gesangbuch, welches man hier wie die Bibel Gotteswort nennet, etwas übermenschliches sei, bis ich einmal wegen den unter den Liedern stehenden Namen, als Luther, Frank, Hermann, Gerhardt u.s.w. fragte, und erfuhr, daß dieses die Namen der Verfasser wären. Ey, dacht' ich, wenn Menschen dieses machen konnten, so sollt' ich es auch wohl lernen? und fing an zu reimen. Einer von meinen Brüdern fand Gelegenheit, mir Hagedorns poetische Werke zu verschaffen; und wie staunte ich, ein Buch zu sehen, das kein Gesangbuch war, und doch aus Versen bestand. (13)

But his enlightenment had another, a social, dimension as his poem 'An die Kunstrichter' makes plain:

Zu diesem Schritt, den ich mit Furcht gethan, Hat mich kein eitler Stolz bewogen. Ich zeige nur, was unsre Mutter kann. Denn viele haben sich betrogen, Und Dir, Natur, zu wenig zugetraut; Und einen Stand, in dem man mich erzogen, Zum Vieh verdammt: Dem widersprech' ich laut. (14)
Paradoxically, it was the exposure of such literary innocents to the moralizing and didactic tendencies of a dominant middle class which produced the lamentable perversion of taste which Arnim so deplored. Yet at the same time, a healthy and relatively uncontaminated strand of interest in the genuine folk tradition persisted stubbornly, in spite of the determined efforts of rationalist pedagogues to eradicate it. Alongside the spate of moralizing literature which, in H.H. Muchow's words, spread 'ein allgemeines flaches Wissen', (15) there was a continued demand for the old chapbooks and broadsheets of the sixteenth century, while folktales, legends and fairy-stories were well represented in the catalogue of 1800.

As far as current reading habits are concerned, it would therefore seem that Arnim's confidence in the appeal of his anthology to a wide cross-section of the reading public was not misplaced. Leaving aside economic and political considerations, it appears that not only was reading a common pastime in all classes of society, but that the subject matter of folk-poetry in particular was of general interest to all, albeit for different reasons.

This being the case, the anthology might have been expected to sell well, but it must be borne in mind that book sales were closely bound up with the prevailing economic conditions which, in turn, were largely determined by the political situation. However ready the public may have been in principle
to buy works of this kind, the fact remains that it was hindered by the depressed state of the economy and general shortage of funds caused by the political upheaval.

The turbulence in society during the years of Napoleonic domination is clearly reflected in the fluctuating fortunes of the German book trade. Goldfriedrich divides the period into two segments: the first, from 1801 to 1805, was a time of expansion culminating in the Easter fair of 1805 at which the total number of new publications topped all previous records; the years 1806 to 1813, by contrast, were the lean years following the defeat of Prussia. The year 1813 saw the German book trade at its lowest ebb, and recovery was slow. It took until 1821 to reach the production level of 1805 again. (16)

It must be firmly borne in mind, therefore, that Des Knaben Wunderhorn was introduced on the market at an economically inauspicious moment. The Michaelmas fair of 1805 was the first to be held after the outbreak of hostilities. In March of the following year Brentano reported a certain reluctance on Zimmer's part to publish a sequel to their first volume, (17) although he returned from the Easter fair apparently well satisfied with the sales of the anthology. (18) Certainly, if Perthes' sales in Hamburg were typical of the general situation Zimmer had grounds for confidence in the book's appeal. (19)
Yet the Easter fair of 1806 was viewed as disappointing. Perthes wrote to Zimmer at the end of June, 'Ich hoffe nun, Sie haben alles Leid der Messe vergessen'. (20) The war had caused such severe disruption of travel and communications that no Viennese booksellers had attended the fair and only a few Swiss and South Germans. Books sold badly; the market was captured by journals and monthly magazines.

During the Michaelmas fair of that year the French moved into Leipzig and the entire proceedings ground to a halt. There was a marked overall drop in production and trade was severely curtailed by the devaluation of currency and disruption of communications. Book orders for Scandinavia and North Germany were held up in Berlin for several months.

The year 1807 saw Prussia at its lowest ebb and the book trade in a similarly sorry state. According to Goldfriedrich the Easter 'Meßrelation' read like a funeral oration, (21) yet although business generally was bad, Zimmer was eager to publish a continuation of the Wunderhorn. The first volume had by this time made its mark and Brentano obviously expected a further volume to do well since he asked Zimmer for a bigger honorarium, 'da Sie nichts mehr bei dem Buche riskieren, sondern das Buch täglich mehr an Abnehmern gewinnt und durch den gewiss viel grösseren Wert des zweiten Bandes noch gewinnen wird'. (22)
Trade picked up slightly in 1808, but the recovery was short-lived, and the two final volumes of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* were launched on the market as a further period of decline set in which was to persist until 1813.

The year 1809 was an appalling one for business generally and a particularly bad one for Zimmer. The *Zeitung für Einsiedler* was a financial disaster, and Brentano was afraid that Zimmer might also lose money on the *Wunderhorn*. (23) The economic depression alone was enough to warrant his pessimism, but chances of success were further jeopardised by their public dispute with Voß and by Zimmer's failure to give the work enough advance publicity. (24) Wilhelm Grimm's confident assertion that those who had bought the first volume would in all likelihood buy the later ones seems to have been only partially vindicated. (25)

1810, the year of peace, saw a brief improvement in the fortunes of the book trade. New publications reached the highest level since 1806 and more foreigners attended the Easter fair. However the situation had worsened again by October. The 1811 catalogues show a further decrease in production and in 1812 the numbers sank lower still. Writing to Cotta in 1813 Adam Oehlenschläger drew the inevitable conclusion:
Ich weiß wohl, daß in diesen schrecklichen Zeiten nicht an Literatur zu denken sei aber eben weil die Sachen so schnell gehen, müssen wir bald ein Ende des Krieges sehen. Deutschland ist verwüstet, aber es ist eine physische Unmöglichkeit, daß dieses schöne Land untergehen könnte. Es wird wieder eine Zeit kommen, wo man Bücher kauft und liest; und wenn nur erst einigermaßen Friede da ist, muß das bald geschehn. Und eben wenn der Schwarm politischer Journale und Schriften nicht da sind, weil die Staatsverhältnisse vieles nicht erlauben, wird doch die unschuldige Poesie immerfort blühen können, wenn nur Dichter da sind, und viele Menschen werden im Reiche der Phantasie und des Gefühls ihren Trost finden. (26)

In 1814 Creuzer predicted that it would take five years for the German book trade to recover from the effects of the war, (27) and it was indeed five years later that the idea of publishing a second edition of Des Knaben Wunderhorn was entertained.

In the face of these economic and political difficulties, the first volume of the anthology fared remarkably well, the later volumes less so.

The size of the 1806 edition is not known, but as Zimmer's first publishing venture it seems likely that it will have been on the conservative side. H. Rölleke surmises that it may have been around the 800 mark. (28) At a price of 2 thalers 12 groschen in the cheap edition the anthology was relatively expensive for a book of its size and content. (29) Its price was prohibitive for all but those in the highest income brackets. (30) Pastor Röther, for instance, longed to possess a copy of his own but could not afford to buy one. (31) Nevertheless, books were generally expensive at that time, which
suggests that some were prepared to buy them. (32)

Though the first edition was relatively small and the price comparatively high, this was not unusual for a book of its kind. J. Grimm describes von der Hagen's *Buch der Liebe* as 'expensive' at the same price, (33) but he was prepared to pay that and more for books of a similar nature. Tieck's *Minnelieder* cost 2 thalers in 1803 and sold 'tolerably well', according to W. Grimm, though a second edition was out of the question. (34)

The Grimm brothers' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* provide an interesting standard of comparison. The first volume published in 1812 was the same size (480 pages) as the first volume of the *Wunderhorn* but was marginally cheaper. The 900 copies were virtually sold out by 1815 when the second volume came on the market. (35) A second revised and enlarged edition of both volumes was printed in 1819, and its continuing popularity may be gauged from the fact that there were seven full editions between 1812 and 1857, as compared with only three (two partial and one complete) of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*. (36)

Another interesting comparison may be made with the book which *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* was designed to replace. The *Mildheimisches Liederbuch*, first published in 1799 in an edition of 30,000 copies, cost a mere 6 groschen and underwent ten new impressions in the next forty years, including one pirate edition, which was a sure sign of popularity. G. Häntzschel draws the obvious conclusion:
Wenn das Mildheimische Liederbuch dennoch in unveränderter Form bis 1837 erscheinen konnte, so bringt das den Beweis, daß die anspruchsvollere Lyrik des Heidelberger, Jenaer und Weimarer Kreises nicht unmittelbar in die Breite wirkte und kaum von allen verstanden wurde. (37)

However, like its equally popular counterpart, the Noth- und Hülfsbüchlein, Becker's anthology was designed for a different constituency.

While there can be no doubt about the influence of such manifestly popular works upon the general public, the correlation between sales figures and influence is not always so clear. Repeated new editions of any work reflect public demand, and demand reflects popularity, but popularity alone is no guarantee of influence. Mere sales statistics are an insufficient guide to a book's impact.

This is well illustrated by the fortunes of the Zeitung für Einsiedler whose influence was out of all proportion to its sales. Explaining the scarceness of copies of the paper in 1855, Varnhagen writes:

Die Seltenheit entstand daraus, daß die Blätter bei ihrer Erscheinung wenig beachtet wurden, und bald so vergessen waren, daß der gedruckte Vorrath vom Verleger als Makalatur verwendet wurde. (38)

At the time of publication, however, the paper made an impact in certain quarters, if Ringseis's report of reactions to his poems is to be trusted. At that
time of crisis, anything of a political nature elicited a sharp reaction, either for or against, which sales figures alone do not reveal:

Die Gedichte verursachten ihres Inhaltes wegen einen Höllenspektakel. Von allen Seiten erhielt ich Zuschriften, theils zustimmende (vorzüglich aus Bayern), theils bekämpfende (so bis aus Hamburg). (39)

So it was with Des Knaben Wunderhorn. The first volume sold steadily thanks to Goethe's influential review, to its topical message and appealing contents, and to the tireless efforts of Arnim and Brentano to further its cause. By the time of the second edition, Arnim wrote that there were repeated requests for the anthology 'ungeachtet der erste Band schon seit längerer Zeit vergriffen war und überall vergessen schien'. (40) The later volumes did not do nearly as well. In 1816 there were still 600 unsold copies of the 1808 edition and the price was halved in an effort to sell them. Judging by the sarcasm with which this offer was greeted in Der Freimüthige, the controversy surrounding the first edition had not been forgotten:

**Literärisches Gespräch**

A. Freund B ... das Wunderhorn des Knaben
   Ist für den halben Ladenpreis zu haben.
   Nun schaffst du es dir wohl noch an? --

B. Ich? -- Nein, ich wende keinen Kreuzer dran,
   Zu lesen es, würd' ich mich sehr besinnen,
   Könnt ich dadurch den Ladenpreis zehnfach gewinnen. (41)

According to H. Rölleke, copies of both the 1808 and 1819 editions were still on the market in 1900 and after. (42)
Nor was there a complete new edition of the anthology until the mid-century 'Neue Ausgabe' of Arnim's collected works, (43) although there has been a steady stream of new editions ever since. As H. Rölleke rightly remarks:

Die Breitenwirkung des Wunderhorn setzt erst etwa 100 Jahre nach seinem Erscheinen ein. Seither erschienen 16 vollständige Neuausgaben und an die 30 Auswahlneudrucke. (44)

In more recent history, therefore, it appears that the three volumes of Des Knaben Wunderhorn have been considered as a unity. In its early history, however, a careful distinction must be drawn between the first volume and the other two. These were adversely affected by the dispute with Voβ and by the growing fashion for folksong collections which had saturated the market. (45) Worsening economic conditions further impeded their success which, in any case, Arnim felt was jeopardised by their intrinsic lack of momentum. (46)

In the face of a tendency to ascribe poor sales to the anthology as a whole, this distinction is important. The relatively good sales of the first volume must be differentiated from the poor sales of the later ones.

Given that Des Knaben Wunderhorn was intended to appeal to a wide cross-section of the reading public, but that only a small proportion of that readership could have afforded to buy the anthology, an important question remains: who read the Wunderhorn?
This is a difficult question to answer in any definitive way, since the evidence available is both limited and selective, but one fact is incontrovertible: far more people read, sang or listened to the poems of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* than sales statistics alone would suggest.

The publisher G.J. Göschen throws an interesting light on the correlation between sales and readership when he writes in connexion with the magazine market:

> The reading clubs, the lending libraries, are really the sole cause why the Mode-Journal is not sold in Germany to the tune of 6000, a figure which would be reached if only a twelfth part of its readers were also purchasers. (47)

If his estimate is correct, it is not difficult to understand how *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* could have reached the attention of a wide cross-section of the reading public: many of the literary-minded educated classes must have been prompted to buy, or borrow, a copy on the strength of Goethe's review; a good many more who enjoyed reading as a fashionable pastime must have read it on the grounds of its topical appeal and because of its mention in magazines like the *Modejournal.*
Its extensive coverage in the academic press ensured its admittance to the shelves of both university and local libraries. The poet Heine, for example, borrowed a copy from the Göttingen university library in 1824. (48)

There is evidence that the anthology was popular reading matter in the 'Lesegesellschaften' and 'Lesezirkeln' which sprang up during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Not all were as intellectual as the Wednesday evening gatherings which Goethe held from the autumn of 1805 for the ladies of Weimar, but there old German poetry was the chief interest. Charlotte von Schiller recorded details of its proceedings in 1809 for Cotta's benefit:

Wir machen jetzt einen Kursus der alten Poesie -- Goethe hat uns das Lied der Nibelungen gelesen. Es ist eine der schönsten Erscheinungen alter Zeit. -- Falk liest in einer andern Gesellschaft uns das Heldenbuch, das nicht die Tiefe des Gehalts des Nibelungenliedes hat, aber als alte deutsche Poesie doch bedeutend ist. (49)

Goethe himself attributed the popularity of such works to patriotism. Looking back on the first decade of the nineteenth century he wrote:

Nun aber ward, wie alles seine Reife haben will, durch patriotische Tätigkeit die Teilnahme an diesem wichtigen Altertum allgemeiner und der Zugang bequemer. (50)
Des Knaben Wunderhorn enjoyed a further advantage: not only was its subject matter topical but it was eminently readable. Goethe's report of the activities of the Weimar reading circle in 1809 makes this point:

Goethe's diary for 1808 records more than one occasion when he read songs from the Wunderhorn at Johanna Schopenhauer's evening gatherings. (52) He also told Arnim that 'die Prinzen und Prinzessin hätten es mit Lust gelesen'. (53) Yet in Weimar, as elsewhere, approval of the anthology was by no means universal and Goethe found himself defending the first volume 'gegen viele'. (54) What was true of cosmopolitan Weimar was true of other places: Des Knaben Wunderhorn aroused interest and debate wherever it was read. (55)

A further significant aid to its general dissemination and popularity were the musical settings which appeared shortly after its publication. Musical evenings were as popular at that time as reading parties, and songs from the anthology set to music by Böhl, Himmel, Luise Reichardt and others will have formed part of the standard repertoire, especially in
the homes of patriots. The place of musical settings in the history of Des Knaben Wunderhorn is worthy of detailed study but here a few pointers must suffice. (56)

Arnim himself was well aware that the anthology had benefitted from the various musical settings which ensued upon its publication and records his gratitude to the composers responsible in his second postscript: Reichardt, his daughter Luise, Zelter, Himmel and the unnamed Heidelberg composer. (57) To Reichardt he owed thanks for a general promotion of the folksong through his journalistic activity as well as for his tunes. (58) Luise composed Zwölf deutsche und italienische Gesänge in 1806, of which, according to Arnim, several from the Wunderhorn were 'besonders schön ... gelungen'. (59)

Zelter, whose initial impulse to compose tunes for Wunderhorn songs was prompted by Goethe, (60) set several songs for the Berlin 'Liedertafel' which was founded in December 1808 as a means of promoting 'die Gegenstände des Vaterlandes und allgemeinen Wohles'. (61) These were subsequently published in the Gesänge der Liedertafel of 1811 and 1818. (62) Arnim and Brentano, though not members of the 'Liedertafel', were guests there on occasion and were fully in sympathy with Zelter, both in his admiration for Goethe and in his understanding of the value of good music to promote patriotism and corporate activity. Zelter's views as expressed to W. Bornemann in 1813 are very close to Arnim's:
Volk und Heer soll erfahren, was es sagen will, wenn ein König in den verzweifeltesten Zeiten den mannhaften Muth aufrecht hält und nicht vergißt, daß auch der Gesang in schlimmen Tagen aufzurichten weiß. Beharrlich vorausgehen müssen und wollen wir mit tüchtigen Liedern. Volk und Heer wird folgen. Alle werden lernen und fassen, was ein gutes Lied vermag, das aus dem Herzen kommt und wieder zu Herzen geht. (63)

The men of the 'Liedertafel' were drawn largely from the ranks of the Berlin 'Singakademie' of which Brentano wrote to Savigny:

Schon die Sing-akademie ist etwas Herrliches, wo alle Stände, die etwas von Musik verstehen, Hausfrauen und Noblesse, in ernster anständiger Vereinigung herrliche Musiken aufführen, wie sie in der Kirche ja auch durcheinander knien. Da braucht kein Talent zu Grunde zu gehen, weil die Frau jetzt Kinder hat, und was einem so viel Geld zu lernen kostet, kann man mäßig fortüben und ohne Störung genießen. (64)

Both societies represent - in some measure - the fulfilment of Arnim's vision for collective activity. Throughout the nineteenth century, the communal songs and choral practices of students and 'Männerchöre' were closely associated with national, patriotic feelings. (65)

F.H. Himmel composed twelve tunes for Wunderhorn songs which were published in 1810, (66) and the Heidelberg composer was a merchant, Johann Nikolaus Böhl von Faber, who matched suitable extant folktunes to twenty-four songs from the anthology. (67)
Just as the songs enjoyed wide circulation through their recitation in reading circles, so too they achieved popularity in their musical settings, although few of them became folksongs in the traditional sense of the word. (68) The practice of folksong singing at home is well documented.

At Reichardt's home, folksongs of all nationalities were given a hearing although the main emphasis fell naturally on the German folksong. W. Salmen sees him as a dedicated promoter of 'die bürgerliche Hausmusik' through his personal practice:

Im eigenen Hause hat Reichardt diese den Gegenstand überfordernde Absicht vorbildlich zu erfüllen gesucht. Fast täglich sang er abends gemeinsam mit seiner großen Familie und den Hausgästen wehmütige oder fröhlich stimmende Volkslieder begleitet von Gitarre, Klavier oder zwei Waldhörnern, die sein Kutscher und sein Diener bliesen. (69)

Nor was Reichardt's influence confined to Giebichenstein. Goethe's entry in his diary for 8 November 1807 records that music also formed part of Madame Schopenhauer's social evenings:

Abends ... zu Mad. Schopenhauer, wo die sämtlichen Fremden und sonst viele Gesellschaft war, Reichardt und Arnim. Der erstere sang einige Lieder. (70)

Goethe himself used to run a Sunday morning musical gathering which Charlotte von Schiller described as 'eine kleine werdende Singakademie'. (71)
The homes of folksong enthusiasts and patriots were the places where the German folksong was most often heard. W. Grimm records his enjoyment of musical evenings in the Haxthausen home on more than one occasion:

Nach Tisch aber abends ward gesungen bis in die Nacht, die Brüder (Karl, Fritz) bliesen Waldhörner und August die Flöte, und die Mädchen sangen; einige Volkslieder haben außerordentliche schöne Melodien. (72)

Folksongs were sung in such homes out of a sheer love of the genre. Marie Niethammer, daughter of Justinus Kerner, recalls that when the family moved into its own home in Weinsberg, there was a constant stream of visitors, especially students, and that evenings were frequently spent in the garden reading and singing folksongs. (73)

Elsewhere they were sung for patriotic reasons. At the Imhoff home in Sweden Germans gathered to sing of their homeland and were grateful for the Wunderhorn's old songs as a counterweight to much modern poetry. (74) Eichendorff records a birthday celebration in Vienna in 1812 at which the poet and patriot, Theodor Körner, sang songs from the anthology. (75)

Poets and folksong lovers were naturally drawn to the anthology and read it avidly. Kölle records of Hebel, for instance:
Er ließ die drei Bände in einen zusammen in Schweinsleder binden und in den Rauch hängen, um es nachher recht con amore genießen zu können. (76)

A sure sign of its popularity was that it was frequently given as a gift. Hebel gave it to a Straßburg friend as a birthday present in 1806, (77) Wilhelm Grimm bought a half-price copy at an auction with a view to giving it away, while much later, Eduard Mörike suggested that Kerner might like to present Friedericke Hauffe with 'eins oder das andere hübsche Büchlein, etwa des Knaben Wunderhorn'. (78)

Furthermore, those who read it did so thoroughly and repeatedly. In Runge's words to Zimmer,

Es ist unmöglich, daß man das Buch, welches Sie mir da schenken, ohne lebhaft interessiert zu werden, in die Hand nehmen könnte. (79)

Röther testified to reading it daily, Auguste Bußmann claimed to know all the songs in the anthology, (80) and Longfellow reckoned to know it almost by heart. (81) Kerner regularly lent his copy to friends. (82)

One final category of readers deserves special mention: children. Children responded warmly to the anthology, according to Brentano, who commented to Goethe on the reception of the first volume:
In einem recht schönen Sommer hatte mich Arnim in Heidelberg besucht und in wenigen Wochen ordneten wir lustig aus meinem Vorrat den ersten Band des Wunderhorns, den Sie und die Welt und die Kinder so gütig aufgenommen haben, als er gut gemeint war. (83)

Allowing for Brentano's bias in favour of children there is some evidence to support his claim. Tieck's children -- much to their father's disgust -- evidently knew several songs from the first volume off by heart, (84) an achievement which was surpassed by the children of Anselm Elwert. Their father is reported to have told Brentano in 1806, 'Diese Kinder konnten das Wunderhorn beinahe auswendig, welches überhaupt ein rechtes Erbauungsbuch bei uns ist'. (85)

In conclusion, although the economic depression caused by the war may have hindered the sales of Des Knaben Wunderhorn, the political crisis lent extra weight to the book's appeal. If not widely sold, it was nevertheless widely read, discussed and sung, and gained a hearing among a great variety of people, ranging from academics at one end of the spectrum to children at the other. With good reason, therefore, the anthology could be described by a contributor to a fashionable newspaper as 'die bekannte Sammlung von altdeutschen Liedern'. (86)
Notes
1. Appendix B, 2 (Fam 5, 11).
2. ibid.
3. Appendix B, 3 (Fam 5, 11).
4. Appendix B, 7 (Fam 5, 13).
5. Appendix B, 31 (Fam 5, 480).
6. Appendix B, 33 (Fam 5, 481).
7. Appendix B, 34 (Fam 5, 480).
8. See chapter four, pp. 233-35.
12. J. Goldfriedrich, op. cit., III, 256. (From J.G. Fichte, Über das Wesen des Gelehrten, 1805.)
16. J. Goldfriedrich, op. cit., IV, 10-16 gives a summary of the period.
17. Sb 1, 306 (to Arnim, 18 March 1806).
18. Sb 1, 319 (Brentano to Arnim, 1 June 1806).
22. O. Reichel, Der Verlag von Mohr und Zimmer in Heidelberg und die Heidelberger Romantik (Augsburg, 1931), p. 27 (29 November 1807).
23. Sb 1, 403 (Brentano to Arnim, May 1809).
24. See O. Reichel, op. cit., p. 98, (25 January 1809). Arnim writes: 'Viele Leute glauben hier (i.e. in Berlin) gar nicht, daß die beiden Teile wirklich herausgekommen, sie meinen es sei eine bloße Mythe von Voß.'
25. See Steig 3, 24 (to Arnim, 2 March 1809).


27. J. Görres, Gesammelte Schriften, VIII, 406 (Creuzer to Görres, 9 January 1814).


29. Wh 1 contains 480 pages in octavo format, i.e. 30 sheets. This works out at an average of 8 pp. for 1 groschen. Writing to Cotta in 1795, Fichte suggests that a cheap edition on good paper should cost 1 thaler per alphabet, i.e. 12 pp. for 1 groschen. (See Briefe an Cotta, I, 205)

30. Its price was the equivalent of over two weeks' wages for a labourer, almost a fortnight's wages for an artisan, a day's pay for a young lawyer and a month's rent for a student.

31. See Sb 1, 320.

32. According to an advertisement in the Reichsbote in 1805 (see J. Goldfriedrich, op. cit., III, 261), the prices of lending library favourites ranged from 8 groschen to 1 thaler 6 groschen, from which Ward concludes that 'even the most popular type of novel was by no means cheap' (A. Ward, op. cit., p. 151).


34. ibid. p. 104 (20 May 1809).

35. ibid. p. 435 (4 May 1815).

36. The editions of the Kinder- und Hausmärchen were as follows: first edition, 1812-15; second, 1819; third, 1837; fourth, 1841; fifth, 1843; sixth, 1850; seventh, 1857. There were also ten impressions of the 'Kleine Ausgabe'.

37. G. Häntzschel, MhLb, p. 35*.


41. See Appendix B, 51 (Steig 3, 369).

43. Initiated by Bettina, the NA appeared between 1839 and 1856. For the Wh volumes, see O. Mallon, Arnim-Bibliographie. (Berlin, 1925, reprinted Hildesheim, 1965), Nrs. 143, 153, 154, 199-201, 222-224.


46. Steig 3, 137 (to J. Grimm (14 July 1811).

47. The Life and Times of G. J. Göschen, by Viscount Göschen, I, 305 (a letter to Wieland of 16 July 1788). E. Brandes corroborates the fact that periodicals were the best way for writers to draw attention to their work: 'Lieferten auch fast alle Denker von der schreibenden Klasse einen mehr oder minderen Theil von Arbeiten zu den Journalen, weil es die einzige sichere Art wird, in Publiko Gehör für den Augenblick zu erlangen.' (E. Brandes, Betrachtungen über den Zeiteist in Deutschland in den letzten Decennien des vorigen Jahrhunderts, Hannover, 1808, p. 255.)


49. Briefe an Cotta, I, 47 (9 February 1809).

50. GA XI, 823.

51. GA XI, 834.

52. SA III/3, 322 and 399 (entries for March and November 1808).

53. Steig 1, 153 (Arnim to Brentano, 16 December 1805).

54. Steig 1, 152.

55. For example, in Heidelberg where Zimmer founded the reading society in 1807, in Giebichenstein where Arnim read aloud from the Wh and in Tübingen, where the debate among Kerner and his friends has already been noted (chapter five, p. 351).

56. For an introduction to the subject, see E. Stockmann, Des Knaben Wunderhorn in den Weisen seiner Zeit (Berlin, 1958).

57. Wh 1, 479 (FBA 8, 374).
58. Reichardt supplied tunes for Wh 1, 251 and songs which had been taken from Nicolai's Almanach, (1, 63, 207, 210, 253).

59. Steig 2, 35 (to Bettina, 12 July 1806), and see L. Reichardt, Zwölf deutsche und italienische Gesänge (Berlin, 1806) which includes Wh 1, 77 and 1, 159.

60. SA IV/19, 94 (Goethe to Zelter, 5 January 1806): 'Sie haben doch das Wunderhorn im Hause und lassen sich dadurch wohl manchmal aufregen? Theilen Sie mir ja die Melodien mit, die gewiß dadurch geweckt werden.'


62. They included music to 'Ein Musikant wollt fröhlich sein' (Wh 2, 412) which was very popular with the 'Liedertafel' members, 'Antonius zur Predig' (Wh 1, 357) and 'Zu Klingenberg am Maine' (Wh 2, 414).


64. UL, 423 (January 1810).

65. See A. Sydow, op. cit. p. 80f.


68. See H. Schewe, Vorauswort, pp. 62-63. He mentions one (Wh 1, 100) which was assimilated into the folksong tradition. 'Der Schweizer' (Wh 1, 145) was another.


70. SA III/3, 293.

71. Briefe an Cotta, I, 51 (2 January 1810).

72. W. Schoof, Jugendbriefe, p. 221 (Annette and Jenny von Droste-Hülshoff were present on that
occasion). See also p. 219.

73. Des Leben des Justinus Kerner, erzählt von ihm
und seiner Tochter Marie, edited by K. Pörmbacher,

74. See H. J. Schoeps, Aus den Jahren preußischer Not
und Erneuerung. Tagebücher und Briefe der
Gebrüder Gerlach und ihres Kreises, 1805-20
(Berlin, 1963), p. 429 where Gustav von Carisien
writes to W. von Gerlach from Stockholm, 20
April 1808: 'Sehr oft kommt, was sich einziger-
maßen gebildete Deutsche nennt, hier bei den
Imhoffs zusammen; dann werden alte deutsche
Lieder gesungen, neue gemacht, worin besonders
Arndt Meister ist, wacker wird auf ehrliche
deutsche Art dazu getrunken und so erinnert
man sich seines Vaterlandes'.

75. J.W.v. Eichendorff, Werke, 11, 309 (diary
entry for 13 February 1872).

76. C. Kölle, 'Zu Hebel's Ehrentag vom
Adjuncten des rheinl. Hausfreundes', in
J.P. Hebel's Werke, 5 vols (Karlsruhe, 1843),
I, cxviii.

77. See Johann Peter Hebel. Briefe, edited by
W. Zentner, 2 vols (Karlsruhe, 1957), I, 309.
The present was for Sophie Haufe (nee Bögner)
whose birthday was in September.

78. See F. Seebä, Mörike. Unveröffentlichte Briefe,

79. Briefe von Ph. O. Runge, edited by E. Hancke

80. Steig 1, 255.


82. Justinus Kerner's Briefwechsel mit seinen Freunden,
edited by T. Kerner, 2 vols (Stuttgart and Leipzig,
1897), I, 81, 217, 375, 379.

83. Sb 1, 389 (February 1809).

84. Steig 2, 269 (Arnim to Bettina, 10 March 1809):
'Tiecks Kinder wissen dem Tieck Vater zum Trotz
mehrere Lieder aus dem ersten Theile des
Wunderhorns auswendig.'

85. Sb 1, 320 (to Arnim, 1 June 1806).

86. Appendix B, 44 (Fam 5, 483).

* * * *
CHAPTER SEVEN

The Impact of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*: 1808-1818.

Having considered the early history of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* and its reception among various sectors of contemporary society, it remains finally to attempt the difficult task of assessing its impact. The fact that the anthology provoked such strong reactions, both favourable and unfavourable, is proof enough of its considerable impact. It is more difficult to establish the reasons for this sharp polarization of opinion over the book's merit, but if Wilhelm Grimm is correct, the kind of comment it attracted in the literary press is a guide to its general influence, certainly when compared to the reception of the *Nibelungenlied*:

Daß, wenn es wahr ist, es (Nibelungenlied) viel gekauft würde, verschlägt nichts, der Name des Buchs hatte einen Ruf und darum kann es gekauft werden, und beim ersten Versuch auch hingelegt sein. Wenn es bekannt wäre, müßte ein ganz anderes Geschrei davon in den Journalen der lesenden Welt sein, wie ganz anders beim Wunderhorn. (1)

The *Wunderhorn*, he implies, caused 'ein ganz anderes Geschrei'. Why was this so?

The fundamental answer to this question lies in the fact that the folksong raised controversial issues of more than just literary importance: the *Wunderhorn* presented a serious challenge to the established world-
In making explicit the deficiencies of the old order and in offering a new way of life, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* was an affront to the rationalist rearguard and a symbol of the aspirations of the younger generation. This was more than just a literary polemic; a whole way of life was at stake, and as the political situation worsened, so the need to resolve the tensions between the two generations became more urgent. Herein lies the significance of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*. This, whatever other personal and academic issues it raised, is the reason for the furore caused by its publication.

As far as the rationalists were concerned, the message of the anthology constituted a threat to the status quo, to a way of life and set of values which they had been trying to instill into the German populace: the values of the *Mildheimisches Liederbuch*. The *Wunderhorn* challenged all that they held dear, which explains why they judged it in moral terms. It also accounts for the scorn, sarcasm and downright vehemence of their criticisms. True, there were personal grievances between Vöß and the Wunderhorn editors, but underlying his accusations, and behind the parodies of the 'Kinderlieder', was a fundamental repugnance towards the attitude to life enshrined in the anthology. The issues which had been so hotly debated since the 1770s came to a head at a time when nothing seemed secure any more.
How high feelings ran may be gauged from a private letter, written in 1807, which shows how close were the views of strict orthodoxy to the rationalist philosophy of the late Enlightenment. The point at issue is not the literary worth of the folksong but its moral and social implications. Whereas those who espoused the doctrines of Hamann and Herder saw in nature-poetry a powerful influence for the good of society and culture, those of Enlightenment persuasion were implacably opposed to all manifestations of the residual folk tradition on the grounds that it ran counter to their ideas of rational, moral progress. They were determined to eradicate, by legislation if necessary, all vestiges of what, in their view, was superstition. Arnim had already drawn attention to the demise of folk festivals in Von Volksliedern; Wilhelm Grimm pointed out that the authorities were responsible for this, not the people themselves, (2) and the following letter shows the degree of dedication with which religious as well as secular reformers pursued their ruthless campaign against the folk tradition.

Written by Christoph Friedrich Spittler, the letter was sent anonymously to Brentano in 1807. (3) Spittler, the son of a protestant parsonage, later became the secretary of a Christian mission based in Basle which published edifying anthologies 'für Liebhaber christlicher Wahrheit und Gottseligkeit'. (4) His vituperative complaint is quoted in full:

Ihnen ist es überlassen, ob Sie der Stimme Ihres mächtig schreienden Gewissens folgen wollen oder nicht. — An einem andern Ort werden Sie und ich den Erfolg dann erfahren.

Nicht Menschenschüchternheit hält mich zurück, Ihnen meinen Namen zu nennen, sondern das Nachteilige, welches für meine Wirksamkeit daraus entstehen könnte. (5)

The vehemence of this outburst is testimony enough to the strength of feeling and moral outrage which Des Knaben Wunderhorn aroused in some quarters. However exaggerated it may sound to modern ears, there can be no doubt as to the writer's deeply-held convictions about the pernicious effects of folk-poetry and the extreme irresponsibility of those who encourage its propagation. His condemnation is outright: the anthology has spread a social poison and its authors have been engaged in 'a work of the devil'. His accusation against Brentano and Arnim is quite plain: they and their accomplices have undone at a stroke the good work of the reformers and have dragged their fellow men back down into the gutter, an act for which God will one day hold them responsible.

This moral condemnation from a young man of strictly orthodox persuasion is all the more remarkable when compared with the moral approval voiced by the folksong lovers of Gräter's generation, many of whom were characterized as pious. They hailed the Wunderhorn with a mixture of reverence and delight, referred to it as a source of edification, and, as F. Schlosser said of Kleinschmidt, studied it 'mit hoher Andacht'. (6)
Arnim and Brentano were therefore labelled as enemies by some and as saints by others, but their greatest impact was upon the rising generation of students, poets and patriots who acclaimed them as heroes. For these, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* was the quintessence of their hopes and aspirations, for themselves, for their art and for their nation. These were the young men who, in H.H. Muchow's words, were 'eine Jugend ohne Leitbild'. (7) The values of the Enlightenment held no attraction for them; they rejected the lifestyle and attitudes of their parents as being materialistic and empty. Adolf Müller voiced the frustrations and ambitions of his generation when he wrote to his father in 1806:

Meine Idee, daß ein Leben kräftig und thätig geführt mit ganzem Bewußtsein und ganzer Konzentration -- und sollte es dabei auch auf eigene Kosten gehen -- dem langen mit Sparsamkeit geführten weit an Werth vorangehe, mag Dir, da Du sie nicht anschauest, immerhin falsch bleiben. (8)

This was the vigorous, concentrated approach to life enshrined in the *Wunderhorn* which not only appeared more desirable but a necessity, if Germans were to take decisive action against the twin enemies of rationalist popular philosophy and Napoleonic tyranny.

The Swabian circle has been mentioned already. Uhland, Kerner and their friends sided completely with Arnim and Brentano in their attitude to contemporary society and culture. Uhland sensed
increasing dissatisfaction with established values and linked the emergence of this new understanding of life with the general preference for simple poetry. 'Die Poesie ist ein Gemeingut der Menschheit,' he wrote to a friend in 1805,

That is why the 'Kinderlieder', which were the chief target for Enlightenment ridicule, became the poetic model for Kerner and childhood: was held up as the ideal state of human existence.

As the political crisis grew more serious, the patriotic concern of the younger generation grew correspondingly. In this context Des Knaben Wunderhorn was tantamount to a political gesture. The Zeitung für Einsiedler was viewed in a similar light.

Patriotically speaking, the ripples from Heidelberg spread far and wide among the younger generation from Bavaria to Berlin.
In Landshut, a group of students at the university dedicated themselves to the cause of true religion and patriotism. On the admission of Nepomuk Ringseis they were angered by the attempts to de-christianize Bavaria, which, coupled with 'die verhaßte napoleonische Tyrannen', (10) prompted them to write some poems and submit them to Arnim:

Der Ingrimm, der in mir kochte, machte sich Luft in etlichen Gedichten, welche, ungelenk von Gestalt, jugendlich unausgegohren von Gedanken und fast ungeberdig vor brausenden Über schwänglichkeit, hervorsprudelnd aus einem wahren Krater der Begeisterung, in religiösem und patriotischem Selbstgefühl, auch nicht ohne persönliches Kraftbewusstsein die ganze schlechte Welt mit ihrem übel begründeten Hochmuth und ihrem Wühlen in der Materie herausforderten, wie ich mich ausdrückte, 'auf den röthlichen Sand'. (11)

To Ringseis's amazement, Arnim published the poems in the Zeitung für Einsiedler along with his own 'Rundgesang gegen Unterdrücker des Werdenden in der Literatur'. (12) The depth of their appreciation for this gesture may be measured from a grateful letter which the group sent to Gärres in August 1808:

Den herrlichen Rundgesang des edlen Ludwig Achim von Arnim haben wir mit Begeisterung, nicht gelesen, sondern gesungen, gejubelt, verschlungen, in Geist und Leben verwandelt... Die Zeichen der Zeit sind außerordentlich; Erdbeben, Pestilenz und allgemeinen Religionskrieg erwarten wir, und wir brennen durch und durch, für das Höchste, für Religion und Vaterland zu kämpfen, und zu siegen, oder im Kampfe zu sterben. Helden thaten möchten wir thun, werth, von Dichtern besungen zu werden; denn schändlich arm, nackt und bloß ist die Zeit an Thaten, welche Dichter erschaffen möchten, Aber dringendere Noth, deutlichere Zeichen und Aufforderungen vom Himmel erwarten wir. (13)
Here is the same emphasis on decisive action and heroic deeds which Arnim longs for in *Von Volksliedern* and which many of the younger generation wished to perform (and did, indeed, perform during the Wars of Liberation).

A similar circle of patriotically minded young men gathered in Berlin. When Arnim arrived there in November 1808, followed by Brentano in the September of 1809, they found that the fame of their literary undertakings had preceded them. August Stägemann, later to become a member of Arnim's 'Tischgesellschaft', referred drily to Arnim as the one who 'mit seinem Freunde die Wunderhörner noch nicht abgestossen hat', (14) while Wilhelm von Humboldt called him simply 'den Wunderhornmann'. (15)

They received an enthusiastic welcome, however, from the members of the Nordstern group (16) who recognized in the Wunderhorn and the *Zeitung für Einsiedler* a concrete expression of their own poetic and political aspirations. Varnhagen, it will be recalled, spoke of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* as arousing 'unsern stärksten Antheil'. (17) Arnim's entry in his 'Stammbuch' when they met for the first time in the summer of 1806 must have confirmed his high opinion of the man:

Fest beiß ich mich, mein schwankend Vaterland,  
Und beiß in dich mit allen Zähnen ein,  
Dir thuts nicht weh, ich mag nicht schrein! --
Seys Liebeswuth, seys häßlich ohn Verstand,
So tief ich einbeiβ, bist du gerne mein,
Willst Mutterbrust dem Kinde seyn.

So schwanke denn im Wind, du loser Sand:
Er schwankt, will meine lustge Wiege seyn,
Mein Vaterland, und ich bin sein.

Giebichenstein Zur Erinnerung der Zeit
d. 6 July 1806. Ludwig Achim von Arnim
(18)

In 1808, Varnhagen banded together with Chamisso,
Neumann and Fouque to write a romantic novel, Die
Versuche und Hindernisse Karl's, which in its patriotism,
cheerful courage and poetry, clearly reproduces the
ethos of the Wunderhorn and reflects the desire of
their generation for significant activity, as the
following extract makes plain:

Unzufrieden mit seinem bisherigen Leben,
das zu lange nur Vorbereitung geblieben
war, fühlte er (Adolf) zum erstenmal recht
kräftig, daß ihm ein anderer Platz in dem
ganzen gebühre, als der sei, den er jetzt
einnehme, und die Aussicht in das Leben eines
beglückten Ehemanns konnte ihn keineswegs
beruhigen ... Jetzt ... erblickte Adolf eine
ihm bisher ganz unbekannt gebliebene Sphäre,
er sah sein Vaterland in unendlicher Herrlichkeit strahlen und versenkte sich in
die Betrachtung Deutschlands, des deutschen
Geistes und der hohen Bestimmung deutscher
Bildung. Besonders rührte ihn der alte
Kriegsruhm deutscher Völker, die großen
Zeiten gingen mit ihren Heidengestalten vor
seine Seele vorüber, und es erloschen vor
ihrem Schein die lieblichen Schimmer eines
weichen, sanften Lebens, das ihm vom Glück
beschrieben war und ihn vor allen andern
beneidenswert erscheinen ließ. Warum, sagte
er bei sich selbst, bin ich denn ausgerüstet
mit so mancherlei Gaben, als daß ich sie zum
Heil und zur Ehre des Vaterlandes verwende
und ihm dankbar sei für die Treue, die es
an mir bewiesen? (19)

A troop of Prussian dragoons interrupts these musings
as it arrives in his village singing an old song from
the Seven Years’ War:

'Schön!' rief Adolf, 'daß die Soldaten sich selber ihre Poesie schaffen und nicht die neuen Lieder sich aufdringen lassen. Es ist doch ein wahres Kernleben in ihren Gesängen.’ (20)

The soldiers seemed to know that they were marching to their death, but, as the Frussian officer said to Adolf, and as Adolf Müller would have agreed, better a glorious death in battle (and, by implication, 'one blessed afternoon' of life) than a long life lived sparingly.

The more Napoleon tightened his grip on Europe, the more the yearning for vigorous, active life among the younger generation came to be associated with patriotic activity. One expression of this was the 'Christlich-Deutsche Tischgesellschaft’, founded by Arnim and Brentano in January 1811, to wage war against Jew and philistine on the one hand, and to promote national solidarity on the other. (21) The philistine, whom they viewed as the archetype of late Enlightenment man, was the product of a society subject for too long to an exclusive emphasis on the powers of reason, a society which had passed through the stage of vigorous manhood and had grown old, tired and complacent. Its values were incarnated in the philistine, who, in the eyes of the younger generation, was the staid and lifeless man of the fireside armchair, pipe and slippers. The Enlightenment philosophy of life, they felt, encouraged a withdrawal
from practical involvement in national life and promoted egotism. In contrast, the 'Tischgesellschaft', like Zelter's 'Liedertafel', aimed to develop a corporate, idealistic and essentially active approach to life. Rationalist philosophy, it was felt, would never lead to national liberation because it stressed material goals. The members of the 'Tischgesellschaft' were therefore fighting two enemies: Napoleon had conquered a nation whose vitality was already undermined.

What constituted true vitality? For the aristocratic Prussians of the 'Tischgesellschaft' it was bound up with the concept of activity or 'Handeln'. Admittedly, their preference for action as opposed to reflexion, so clearly revealed in the writings of Heinrich von Kleist, (22) stemmed in part from the Junker conviction that too much study could hinder a man from living a properly active life. But it was also an expression of the general longing of the younger generation for engrossing, significant activity. Study only increases knowledge, and knowledge increases self-consciousness which in turn inhibits action, or conversely as Kleist expressed it:

Wir sehen, daß in dem Maße, als, in der organischen Welt, die Reflexion dunkler und schwächer wird, die Grazie darin immer strahlender und herrschender hervortritt. (23)

Des Knaben Wunderhorn enshrined all the values which the younger generation held dear. It pictured an ideal society whose hallmarks were youthfulness, innocence, creativity and vigour, a society in which
social classes were perfectly, because organically and unselfconsciously, integrated into a harmonious whole. These values find best expression in the folksong, and in human terms are incarnated in the child or the childlike nature, whose natural environment is that of fresh air and fields and who experiences the 'one blessed afternoon' because he commits himself wholeheartedly and unreservedly to life.

Here is the point of convergence of Arnim's insistence upon significant activity and Brentano's absorption with the idea of childhood innocence. The truest state of integration and unselfconsciousness is enjoyed by the child, and this is where creative activity flourishes. The folksong gives evidence of this, hence its enormous appeal to the younger generation. So Friedrich Meier could write to Wilhelm von Gerlach of the 'herrliche, vortreffliche Sachen' in the Wunderhorn, (24) and Görres could write of its effects in his review:

Nicht alle haben dies Schauspiel im Guten aufgenommen, sie möchten lieber als halbjährige Kinder Spinnmaschinen, denn diesen Ammenkram getrieben haben: andere gute Seelen sind bey dieser Unschuld zur Kirche gewesen, und sind freudig und gestärkt aus dem Tempel gegangen. (25)

Possibly the fullest endorsement of the conflict between world-views is given in an article entitled 'Etwas über altdeutsche und Volkspoesie' by an anonymous author in 1807. It represents the
Achim von Arnim und Clemens Brentano haben uns in des Knaben Wunderhorn manche schöne Reliquie altdeutscher Dichtkunst aufbewahrt. Die meisten von uns haben das den wackern Sammlern gewiß innigen Dank gewußt, und mit großer Liebe ein Werkchen aufgenommen, dessen gute Absicht wohl schwerlich zu verkennen war. Viele haben sich glücklich gefühlt bey der Erinnerung an jene alte vergangene Zeit, wo die Natur sich noch so voll Einfalt und Treuherzigkeit aussprach; wo das freye Gemüth keine Regung des Herzens verhehlte, und wo Liebe und Zorn, Andacht und Freundschaft, Begierde und Schaam unverstellt hervortrat, und unbekümmert, ob irgend ein Richterstuhl der Moral sie verdammen, billigen oder entschuldigen werde. Viele haben sich verstärkt gefühlt bey der Erinnerung an altdutsche Kraft, altdutschen Muth und Sinn, und wenn manche, gebeugt vom Drucke der Gegenwart, von der Hoheit und Größe der Vorfahren beschämt, die Blicke senkten, so liegt doch eben schon in dieser Schaam die Hoffnung besserer Zeiten, und wir dürfen glauben, daß auch unserm Himmel einst wieder schönerne Sterne leuchten werden. Laßt uns, meine Lieben! nur nicht den Muth verlieren und die Hoffnung! Laßt uns erkennen, was Noth ist, und nicht, wie bisher, nur mit Worten thun, sondern mit Thaten reden. Erhaben über alles, was nichtige, vergängliche Form ist, bilde sich der freye Geist in ihm selbst aus, und so laßt uns, durch Glauben und Zutrauen ewig und innig verbunden, den Moment abwarten, wo der Phönix, der sich selber sein Flammengrab bereitete, aus der Asche hervorgehen wird, vielleicht herrlicher und schöner als je! (26)

The writer continues with a call to collect folksongs before it is too late, characterizing them as artless, honest and transparent:
Oft zwar will es uns bedürfen, als vermißten wir in manchen dieser Dichtungen Zusammenhang, Sinn; aber das liegt mehr an uns selbst, als an den Dichtern. Wir sind, möcht ich sagen, wenn es nicht gar zu wunderlich klänge, nach und nach dahin gekommen, fast ebenso logisch zu fühlen, wie wir logisch denken gelernt haben. Nicht so unsere Alten ... Unter den Modernen -- mehr in der Reflexion befangen, als sich dem Eindrucke der Natur liebend und sorglos hingebend ist es nur wenigen gelungen, in jenem Genius (Genius der reinen Natur selbst) zu dichten. (27)

Bürger, he concludes, occasionally achieves this; Goethe achieves it par excellence, with Tieck worthy of a place at his side. Some other modern poets, he concedes, could be described as 'mehr handelnd als reflektirend', and he appends three folksongs, two of them noted down from the oral tradition, which remind him of childhood. (28)

The differences between this essay and Spittler's letter are striking and clearly illustrate the fact that the folksong represented the place of confrontation between two ideologies. They present two antithetical definitions of what is desirable for man, art and society; what the one exalts, the other despises; what is true 'Bildung' to the one is 'Verbildung' to the other. The heightening of the powers of self-conscious reflexion and of logical thinking which is the mark of progress to the rationalist is the mark of emotional atrophy and loss of nerve to the younger generation. Of paramount importance to the latter is the need to be liberated from the paralysis caused by undue emphasis on reflexion, in order to act decisively: 'nicht, wie bisher, nur mit Worten thun, sondern mit Thaten reden'.
The writer of this short essay endorses the conclusions of Arnim and Brentano: it is not the fault of nature-poetry that it is no longer appreciated and understood; rather the fault lies with a society which has atrophied in all but its cognitive faculty and is therefore unable to respond to the folksong. He echoes the longing of the younger generation for concentrated, creative living and links it with a recollection of childhood. In short, he identifies completely with the message of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*.

With the mention of the political crisis, the writer points to the most significant factor in the reception and impact of the anthology. It was not just that *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* challenged the established way of life. It challenged a way of life which was inadequate to meet national needs in a time of emergency and it offered a better alternative: hope for the future in the shape of proof from the past. In the poems of the anthology the younger generation found proof that German society and culture had once been strong and vigorous, that community spirit had existed, that Germans had once 'spoken in deeds instead of words'. If this had been true of their ancestors, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* was more than just a record of the past; it was a promise for the future.
In offering hope for the future in the shape of proof from the past, Des Knaben Wunderhorn paved the way for the soldier-poets of the Wars of Liberation. For them the folksong was the natural vehicle for poetry which, in S. Engelmann's words, 'sollte wecken, zünden, anfeuern, sie sollte weit verbreitet und gesungen werden'. (29)

The synthesis of poetry and life for which Arnim and Brentano strove was achieved, albeit fleetingly, during the Wars of Liberation when 'Leier und Schwert' fought side by side. (30) Arndt, Fouque, Körner and Schenkendorf became the poets envisaged by Arnim in Von Volksliedern who could lead the nation 'singend zu einer neuen Zeit'. (31) Here was poetry arising from among the people and in the context of concentrated corporate activity: a glorious, if shortlived, vindication of Arnim's thesis that 'ohne Volkstätigkeit ist kein Volkslied und selten eine Volkstätigkeit ohne dieses'. (32) Varnhagen reports that Prussian troops celebrated their victory in 1815 by singing old German songs, (33) while Stein ordered several hundred copies of Schenkendorf's Gedichte for distribution. (34)

The young men whose patriotism had been strengthened and imaginations fired by Des Knaben Wunderhorn rose eagerly to the challenge of the national emergency and were indeed granted their 'blessed afternoon', though not all survived it. For a brief moment in history, the hopes of Arnim and Brentano were realized
and the yearnings of the younger generation were fulfilled. They were given their 'one blessed afternoon'.

* * * * *
Notes

1. Steig 3, 29 (to Arnim, 14 April 1809).

2. W. Schoof, Jugendbriefe, p. 150 (to J. Grimm, 18 August 1809): 'Grad von oben, daß man sie (die Volksbücher) nicht mehr druckt, werden sie entzogen, nicht daß sie nicht mehr gewollt würden; wie Volksfeste durch Dekrete abgeschafft sind, nicht aus Überdruss vom Volk selbst.'

3. The addressee is not named, but the mention of requests for material and the offer of remuneration suggests that Spittler was thinking of Brentano, or possibly Zimmer, rather than Arnim who, in any case, was away in Prussia for most of 1807.


5. ibid. pp. 283-84.

6. See Bode, p. 104.


11. ibid.

12. EZ, Nr. 33, (23 July 1808), Sp. 264.


16. The group comprised Varnhagen, Adalbert von Chamisso (1781-1838), Wilhelm Neumann (1790-1847) and Friedrich Baron de la Motte Fouque (1777-1843).


20. ibid. p. 64.


22. See, for example, Über das Marionettentheater (1810) and Von der Überlegung (1810).


24. See H. J. Schoeps, Aus den Jahren preußischer Not und Erneuerung, p. 441 (7 February 1809). Meier, a young doctor in Dresden, was later killed in the Wars of Liberation. Wilhelm von Gerlach and his younger brother Leopold were members of Arnim's 'Tischgesellschaft'.

25. Appendix B, 41 (Fam 5, 453).


27. Appendix B, 22 (pp. 1021-22).

28. ibid. (p. 1030).


30. Theodor Körner's anthology Leier und Schwert (1814) was very popular, possibly because the author died an heroic death in battle. E.M. Arndt published Lieder für Deutsche (1813), Im Jahr der Freiheit (1813) and Kriegslieder und Teutsche Wehrlieder (1814). Max von Schenkendorf published Christliche Gedichte and Gedichte (1815). Fouque published Vaterländische Schauspiele and Undine in 1811, and Gedichte (1816-27).


32. Wh 1, 444 (FBA 6, 423).


* * * * *
CONCLUSION

In attempting to identify the important factors influencing both the genesis of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* and its reception and impact in the decade following publication, certain broad contours have emerged which were discussed in the last two chapters. But the lasting importance of the anthology resides in its specific influence upon certain sectors of society.

It had special significance for two categories of people: in J. Grimm's terminology, 'Sammler' and 'Dichter'. Writing of his misgivings about the *Wunderhorn* in 1812, Grimm drew the following distinction between the offices of researcher and poet:

Wie zum Backen Mehl, zum Schmieden Eisen gehört, so hat auch der Dichter Befugnis den alten Stoff zu nehmen und zu bearbeiten, nur muß in ihm erst die Gährung und der Fluß entstehen, ohne den nichts zu machen ist; kurz es liegen jedem neuen Dichterwerk ... unbewußte Schätze von Lebens- und Lernenserfahrungen unter, die sich im Augenblick des Niederschreibens aufthun. Mangelt diese, wenn ich so sagen kann, ruhige, sichere Begeisterung, so wird das Alterthum verrathen und nichts neues aufgebaut. Euer Wunderhorn ist nicht ohne solche Sünden, und das hat ihm auch in der Meinung des Publicums geschadet ... Ueberhaupt erkläre ich mich gegen jede bewußte Mischung, Sammeln und Dichten sind unverträglich miteinander, weil das erste kühl und besonnen, das zweite warm und weltvergessen geschieht. (1)
Grimm insisted that the offices of researcher and poet were fundamentally irreconcilable because two mutually exclusive processes were involved. Nevertheless, both elements are present in the anthology and this accounts for its influence upon folksong collectors as well as upon poets. If Grimm was right, how then may this apparent contradiction be resolved? The answer lies at a deeper level: in the contemporary fascination for, and preoccupation with, the concept of 'Kindlichkeit' and its connotations of innocence, wholeness and vitality.

The researcher and the poet, however different their scholarly presuppositions, were both drawn irresistibly to the phenomenon of folk-poetry, as was society at large, for its expression of human wholeness and vigour. In the case of Arnim and Brentano and many of the younger generation, their desire was to see new life blossoming from the vitality of the old. For Grimm, such a kiss of life was but artificial respiration (unless it happened naturally and unselfconsciously) and was by academic standards unethical. The same point is made in the preface to the 1819 edition of the Kinder- und Hausmärchen:

Zwar ist es unbezweifelt, daß in allem lebendigen Gefühl für eine Dichtung ein poetisches Bilden und Fortbilden liegt, ohne welches auch eine Überlieferung etwas Unfruchtbares und Abgestorbenes wäre... Aber es ist doch ein großer Unterschied zwischen jenem halb unbewußten, dem stillen Forttreiben der Pflanzen ähnlichen und von der unmittelbaren Lebensquelle getränkten Einfalten und einer absichtlichen, alles
If Grimm is right, the Wunderhorn foundered when its authors became unduly selfconscious about the process involved in creating a new song out of an old one, and 'ruhige, sichere Begeisterung' gave way to 'bewußte Mischung'. Arnim and Brentano felt no compunction initially about their method of editing material; indeed Arnim never doubted the validity of their approach. Brentano's reservations grew, however, partly through the comments of reviewers in the critical press, partly through the influence of Jacob Grimm, and also because of his own respect for historical material. Thus what began as 'ruhige, sichere Begeisterung' in the production of the first volume of the anthology developed into a selfconscious process. Having been forced, as it were, to observe their face in the mirror of the critical press, poise and confidence were lost: the 'Einheit in der Gesinnung, Auswahl und Sprache' which characterized the first volume, and which, in Arnim's view, accounted for its success, (3) was never fully recaptured.

It should not be assumed, however, that Arnim and Brentano abandoned their original stance. While it is true that their collecting activity increased and their historical knowledge of folk-poetry grew, Rölleke maintains that their selection criteria for the later volumes upheld their original policy:
Es ging ... beiden Herausgebern keinesfalls um die unverfälschte Wiedergabe 'echter' Volkslieder, d.h. getreu nach mündlicher Überlieferung aufgezeichneter Lieder, sondern vielmehr um eine Sammlung volkstümlicher Lieder in einem einheitlichen Ton, dem schwer spezifizierbaren, aber unverkennbaren Wunderhorn-Ton. Aufzeichnungen, die diesen Ton bereits 'haben' wurden bevorzugs; die übrigen wurden auf diesen Ton umgestimmt. (4)

There was something about the ethos of the Wunderhorn songs, and indeed about the spirit of the whole project, which appealed to both poets and collectors. It was the ethos of the 'one blessed afternoon' with its overtones of absorbing, unselfconscious activity, of youthful innocence and of childhood wholeness. This was the quality of life which the younger generation missed in late Enlightenment society and which they sought in their own lives and strove for in their poetry. And at a time of national crisis, it was overlaid with an increasing awareness of what it meant to be German.

Jacob Grimm and other collectors may have felt that it was impossible deliberately to reconstruct the quality of life of an earlier society in the present day by means of folk-poetry. But that conviction did not detract from its appeal. His editorial policy in the compilation of the Kinder- und Hausmärchen was avowedly different from that of Arnim and Brentano, yet their aims were similar:
Darum geht innerlich durch diese Dichtungen jene Reinheit, um derentwillen uns Kinder so wunderbar und selig erscheinen ... 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. (5)

Similarly, in discussing the qualities needed in a researcher he speaks of 'unschuldige Einfalt' as a prerequisite, but also 'wieder Bildung, um jene Einfalt zu fassen, die ihrer ganz unbewußt ist'. (6) His criticism of Arnim and Brentano was that their deliberate policy of alteration did violence to the innocence of the original poems.

Nevertheless, Arnim and Brentano did give a significant impulse to folksong research and established a methodology which was adopted by later collectors. Even though the anthology was never intended as a scholarly exercise, it came to be seen as a landmark in the development of folklore research and remained a reference work until it was replaced by something more reliable. Uhland, Erk and Böhme all referred to it in this way.

It also stimulated a number of other undertakings in this field. W. Grimm attributed a collection of Swedish folksongs to the impulse given by the Wunderhorn:
Das ist doch wieder eine Folge des Wunderhorns, und wir Deutsche sind es, welche das alte nordische Eis aufhauen, in welchem der greise Held Starkather eingefroren war. (7)

He also connected his own Altdänische Heldenlieder with the Wunderhorn; there was talk at one stage of its being published as the fourth volume of the anthology, though that idea was soon dropped. (8) Nevertheless his debt of gratitude to Arnim and Brentano is apparent from the dedication. (9) Seckendorf's publication of folksongs in his Almanach for 1808 is described in the preface, with allusion to Arnim's Nachschrift an den Leser, as a supplement of 'Spätlinge zu jenem herrlichen Stock'. (10) Considerably later, J. Grimm refers to Görres's Alte Volks- und Meisterlieder as 'eine Art von Nachtrag zum Wunderhorn aus Handschriften'. (11)

In the decade following publication, therefore, Des Knaben Wunderhorn undoubtedly acted as a spur to further collecting activity and to publications in the field of folklore. While this was not its primary purpose, according to Arnim in his Zweite Nachschrift an den Leser, he nevertheless acknowledges that these subsequent collections marked a continuation of their own work of penetrating into the remotest corners in search of the genuine folksong, a task which had yet to be completed. (12)
While collectors sought to preserve the original, innocent quality of the folksong, Des Knaben Wunderhorn provoked the younger generation of poets and patriots into seeking to emulate the achievements of their more virile forbears. The effect of the anthology was heightened by the political crisis; it inspired both the desire to engage in concentrated activity for the sake of Germany's future and also a new kind of poetry, the hallmarks of which were simplicity, vitality and patriotism. In practice, the intensity of experience achieved during the Wars of Liberation could not be sustained, but it was nevertheless true that the Napoleonic Wars, coupled with the general dissatisfaction with the social status quo, kindled the general imagination, not, in C. Day Lewis's words, 'by turning everyone into a poet or a poetry-lover overnight, but by compelling all to share a common experience too powerful to be bought off with the ordinary spiritual evasions and disarming catchwords. The common experience created an impulse towards community'. (13)

If many were disillusioned by the 'ordinary spiritual evasions and disarming catchwords' of the late Enlightenment, they were irresistibly drawn to the poetry of genuine experience in the Wunderhorn, expressed not in the careful, moralizing style of the Mildheimisches Liederbuch, but in the full-blooded, vigorous tones of life lived on the 'one blessed afternoon' principle.
The common experiences remain, which is why, for all the fluctuations of economic, social and political fortune, men will continue to respond to the poetry of common experience. This perhaps accounts for the lasting appeal of Des Knaben Wunderhorn. The last word, then, must go to Brentano, who wrote cryptically of a projected new edition in 1839:

Einzelnes aus der alten Sammlung kann gebessert werden, Anderes auch wegbleiben. Vor allzuvielen historisch politischen Liedern ist sich zu hüten, sie sind auch damals wie heut zu tage außer wenigen, kaum gelesen und nicht gesungen worden, nur was so kurz dauert wie die Liebe, wird gesungen, weil es ewig wiederkommt. (14)
Notes:

4. H. Rölleke, FBA 9,3, 796.
7. Steig 3, 61 (to Arnim, 21 May 1810).
10. L.v. Seckendorf, Musenalmanach auf 1808, quoted from Steig 1, 360.
12. Wh 1, 475 (FBA 8, 370).

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APPENDIX A: Summary of Events in Connexion with the Development of the Collaborator Network during the Years 1805 to 1808.

1805 Feb: Arnim receives folksongs from Elwert.

1805 Mar: Mozler sends material to Brentano.

1805 Apr: Brentano expects Docen in Munich to help them, Herder's library is auctioned and Arnim receives material from Koch and Reichardt.


1805 Aug: Contributions received from Docen and Nehrliech, and Sophie acquires two songs from C. Rudolphi and 'einiges Hübsches' from P. Engelhardt.

1805 Dec: Brentano intends to write to 'Diakonus Roth' about the possibility of acquiring folksongs from Georg Panzer's library. He also receives two more songs from A.L. Grimm and writes to K. Gündereode asking her to sound out the historian Fischard in Frankfurt and Nees von Esenbeck for material. Arnim, on his travels, has access to the collections of Gräter and Heinze in Schwäbisch Hall, visits Murr and Stromer and buys old books in Nuremberg, and sees R.Z. Becker, Geißler and Jacobs in Gotha. His 'Aufforderung' is published, and Külle is the first to respond to it. Goethe writes to Eichstädt asking permission for Arnim to see the Jena Codex.

1806 Jan: Brentano intends writing to Körte and Hebel and implies that Seckendorf is already involved in the work. He asks Arnim to get in touch with Winkelmann and Horn and to enlist Redtel, Raumer and Burgsdorf as local correspondents. He further requests a complete catalogue of his material acquired thus far. Zimmer collects for the Wunderhorn throughout this period and encourages others to help by giving complimentary copies, e.g. to Runge in Hamburg. Goethe recommends the anthology to F.A. Wolf and Zelter and defends it in Weimar. Perthes reports having sold twenty-five copies.
1806 Feb: Brentano writes to Fuchs about the St. Gallen library and complains to Arnim that Kölle has not yet produced any material. Docen, Koch and von der Hagen all send songs, meanwhile Brentano is writing to all and sundry as well as searching through old printed books. Röther visits Zimmer’s bookshop, expresses delight at the Wunderhorn and is sent a complimentary copy.

1806 Mar: Brentano writes to Leon in Vienna who agrees to help, also to Docen and to a friend of his brother Georg in Altdorf. He mentions the Ansbach library to Arnim. Kölle finally writes back but makes unreasonable demands. First mention of a printed circular letter. Höpfner sends material, also Frau von Pattberg, and Bang writes to Brentano via Savigny. Arnim, still travelling, expects a meagre harvest in Mecklenburg but is still receiving contributions. Brentano further reports much letter-writing in connexion with the anthology but says that Zimmer is not keen to publish a sequel.

1806 Apr: Hinze sends Arnim some excellent songs. Brentano receives material from C. Müller, thanks Höpfner for his contribution and enquires about the Darmstadt library. A similar request to Savigny about the Cassel library is passed on to J. Grimm.

1806 May: Leon and Fuchs promise help, Dr Oken of Göttingen library sends a copy of 'Thedel von Walmoden' and Mozler thirty Bavarian songs. Brentano mentions the idea of a circular again and says Arnim's 'Aufforderung' has had little effect. He is encouraged by a visit from Elwert, receives material from Höpfner, Frau Hose and A.L. Grimm, and letters from Sauerländer and C. Müller. Meanwhile he is collecting from the local oral tradition.

1806 Jun: Brentano intends to copy material from the Zwickau library and to sound out Horn in Bremen and Gerhard in Amorbach. He receives letters from Rother, Elwert and a student in Speyer. Zimmer is pleased with the sales of the first volume. Brentano's circular is printed and distributed to many supporters, including Kaufmann, Kohler, Murr, the Grimms and Fuchs. Kaufmann soon sends material in response. Arnim is to circulate in Silesia, the Riesengebirge and the Oder area. Merck and Kosegarten are to be approached.
1806 Jul: Fuchs sends material from Kloster Rheinau. Brentano sends 10 circulars to Wyttenbach in Trier who responds positively in due course. Nehrlich sends material. Arnim looks through old music books in Wolfenbüttel. Kaufmann suggests 10 further recipients for Brentano's circular and Brentano writes a letter of thanks. Kölle sends his entire collection, which includes songs from Uhland and Kerner. More material is received from Bettina, Schlosser, Frau von Pattberg, Müller, Varnhagen and Hendel. Hohnbaum makes an offer of help. Brentano is also in touch with Seckendorf and A. Schreiber in Baden where he reports having 'eine Menge liedersammelnde Männer'.

1806 Aug: Arnim receives material from Göttingen library and visits Förkel and Blumenbach there. Leon sends contributions from the Vienna Court library. Fuchs writes confident of reaping a harvest from his distributed circulars; Brentano sends sixteen copies for Kölle to forward in Swabia and one to J.G. Müller in Schaffhausen. He hears from Sauerländer, Schlosser, Fuchs and Wessenberg.

1806 Sep: Lassaulx promises Brentano more material in due course; Veesenmeyer, Frohreich, K.F. Danquard and Fanny Breitenstein write, and he exchanges more letters with Wessenberg.


1806 Nov: Leon sends material and promises more later; Fuchs also sends further contributions. Arnim travels to Königsberg where he meets Dorow and Schenkendorf.

1806 Dec: Dorow gives him printed material. Uhland writes to Seckendorf about the Wunderhorn and folk-poetry in general.

1807

1807 Feb: Arnim is in Königsberg most of the year. Brentano receives material from J. Grimm who also mentions an earlier despatch. Sauerländer writes encouragingly. Seckendorf writes to Kerner of his plans to publish folksongs.
1807 Jun: Wigand is collecting for the work. Wessenberg sends songs collected by Jäck. Arnim mentions the Sammlung deutscher Volkslieder as a potential source book. Brentano tells Zimmer that he has thousands of songs and is eager to publish a sequel.

1807 Sep: Brentano marries Auguste Bußmann and settles in Cassel. He writes to Wessenberg.

1807 Oct: The Grimms and Wigand help him, and F. Mannel sends songs. Arnim makes his way to Halle with Reichardt and Brentano joins them there.

1807 Nov: Their jointly written 'Aufforderung' from Cassel seeks final contributions from the public. After a visit to Weimar, where Arnim discusses plans with Seckendorf, they settle down to work on the remaining volumes.

1807 Dec: Brentano tells Zimmer that they are immersed in the preparation of their sequel and that it will be better than the first volume.

1808 Jan: Mozler sends a text by Diebold Schilling. The 'Dankadresse' (FBA 9,3,407) is written in Cassel. Nehrlich, Frau von Pattberg, Savigny and Wieland give material. Arnim sees Görres. Docen writes to J. Grimm about Seckendorf's misappropriation of Wunderhorn material. Arnim goes to Heidelberg to supervise the printing, while Brentano continues to order material in Cassel.

1808 Feb: Brentano writes to F. Mannel. Arnim is on good terms with Schreiber and Vöß sends him a copy of Seckendorf's Almanach. Work is held up by Brentano's domestic problems.

1808 Mar: Kerner and Bertuch send songs; Veesenmeyer would like his material returned. Good progress on the anthology.

1808 Apr: The Zeitung für Einsiedler begins.

1808 Jun: From Aurich, von Halem sends printed material. Brentano visits the Mannels in Allendorf.

1808 Aug: Everything is ready, apart from Brentano's 'Kinderlieder'.

PUBLICATION OF DES KNABEN WUNDERHORN VOLS 2 AND 3.
APPENDIX B: Publicity, Correspondence and Critical Comment pertaining to Des Knaben Wunderhorn in the Contemporary Press.

Items are given in chronological order and references to sources (other than original) quoted in the main text are given afterwards in parentheses.

1. 21 September 1805: Jenaische Allgemeine Literaturzeitung, (hereafter JALZ), Intelligenzblatt (IB) Nr. 106, Sp. 891f, an advertisement signed A. (Fam 5, 11)

2. 22 September 1805: Kaiserlich privilegirter Reichs-Anzeiger, published by R.Z. Becker, (Gotha), Nr. 254, Sp. 3258f, an advertisement signed A. (Fam 5, 11)

3. 1 October 1805: Zeitung für die elegante Welt, (hereafter ZfdeW) edited by S.A. Mahlmann, (Leipzig), IB Nr. 47, an advertisement signed A. (Fam 5, 11-12)


6. 7 December 1805: ZfdeW, IB Nr. 61, a publisher's announcement. (Fam 5, 12)

7. 17 December 1805: Kaiserlich privilegirter Reichs-Anzeiger, Nr. 339, Sp. 4305f. An 'Aufforderung' signed by Arnim asking for contributions to the collection. (Fam 5, 13-14)

8. 18 December 1805: ibid, Nr. 340, Sp. 2313, a request for old books, placed by Arnim. (Fam 5, 14)


11. 30 December 1805: Der Freimüthige, Nr. 260, p. 624. A letter from a Hamburg reader, signed 'Misophlyaros' and dated 16 December, in response to Varnhagen's review (see item 5). (Fam 5, 14-15)


14. 12 February 1806: Elysium und der Tartarus, Nr. 13, p. 42. A note on Goethe's review. (Fam 5, 16)


16. July and August 1806: Journal des Luxus und der Moden, published by F.J. Bertuch, (Weimar), Nr. 20, pp. 411-27 and Nr. 21, pp. 478-90. The Wh is compared with other recent folksong publications in an article entitled 'Literarische Musterung für eine Dame'.


22. 10 and 11 October 1807: MOBL, Nr. 256, pp. 1021-22, and Nr. 258, p. 1030. An article entitled 'Etwas über altdeutsche und Volkspoesie', signed H.... S....ch. (i.e. Freiherr von Goechausen).

23. 25 and 28 December 1807: MOBL, Nr. 308, p. 1229f and Nr. 310, p. 1237. An article prompted by J.v. Müller's preface to Herder's folksongs (see item 19) and signed -m-.


27. 8 November 1808: MOBL, Nr 268, p. 1071f. A parody of the 'Kinderlieder' signed N.T. Görrasto (i.e. J.C.F. Haug). (Fam 5, 477-78)

28. 25 and 26 November 1808: MOBL, Nr. 283, pp. 1129-30, and Nr. 284, pp. 1133-34. A review by J.H.Voß of Wh 2 and 3 and the 'Kinderlieder', entitled 'Beitrag zum Wunderhorn'. (Fam 5, 26-30)


30. 11 January 1809: JALZ, IB. Nr. 4, Sp. 31f. Voß replies 'An die Redaction der Jen.A.Z.Z'. (Fam 5, 35-36)

31. end January 1809: HJB, II/2, IB.Nr. 3, p. 9f. An advertisement for Wh 2 and 3 and the 'Kinderlieder' written by Arnim. (Fam 5, 480-81)

32. 30 January 1809: Der Korrespondent von und für Deutschland, (Nürnberg), Nr. 30, p.122. Brentano publishes his own reply to Voß's review, entitled 'Zu allem Überfluß an Herrn Hofrat Voß in Heidelberg, daß man keine Kirchenlieder an ihn gedichtet'. (Fam 5, 38)
33. 8 February 1809: MOBL, IB. Nr. 4, p. 15. A short advertisement for Wh 2, 3 and the 'Kinderlieder' which is unsigned, but was formulated by Arnim. (Fam 5, 481)

34. 8 February 1809: ibid. 'Anzeige, betreffend die altdutsche Liedersammlung: des Knaben Wunderhorn' is a notification by Brentano of his intention to publish a history of the folksong. (Fam 5, 481)

35. 15 February 1809: JALZ, IB. Nr. 13, Sp. 103f. Arnim publishes his second riposte 'An En. Hofrath Vöß in Heidelberg', dated 20 January, in which he challenges Vöß to find any song in the anthology which is not based on an old song or legend. (Fam 5, 40)

36. 25 February 1809: ALZ, Vol I, Nr. 54, Sp. 447f, a repeat of Brentano's notification (item 34). (Fam 5, 481)

37. 4 March 1809: JALZ, IB. Nr. 18, Sp. 142f. Brentano's letter to Vöß 'Zu allem Ueberfluss' (see item 32). (Fam 5, 842)

38. 8 March 1809: ALZ, Nr. 65, Sp. 535f. The same letter is reproduced, slightly edited.

39. 8 March 1809: JALZ, IB. Nr. 19, Sp. 147. Brentano's notification (item 34) is published.

40. March 1809: HJB, II/2, IB. Nr. 8, p. 29 also publishes Brentano's notification.

41. March 1809: HJB II/5, pp. 222-37. The first part of a review by J. Görres of Wh 2,3 and the 'Kinderlieder'. (Fam 5, 453-462)

42. 11, 12, 13 May 1809: MOBL, Nr. 112, p. 447; Nr. 113, pp. 450-51; Nr. 114, pp. 454-55. An article by B.J. Docen entitled 'Uber Sammlungen deutscher Volkslieder'.

43. 13 May 1809: ALZ, Vol. IV, Ergänzungsblatt Nr. 57, Sp. 449-56. A review of Wh 2 and 3 which W. Grimm attributes either to Büsching or Schütz. (Fallerseleben, op. cit. pp. 276-77)

44. 3 June 1809: Zfdew, Nr. 110, Sp. 876-78. The Wh receives a mention in an article entitled 'Miszellen', signed -s. (Fam 5, 483)

45. 10-14 February 1810: JALZ, Nrs 35-38, Sp. 273-303. An extensive review by von der Hagen. (Fam 5, 45-46)

46. 10 March 1810: JALZ, IB. Nr. 21, Sp. 166. A joint announcement by Arnim and Brentano of their intention to publish their sources, entitled 'An die Leser des Wunderhorns'. (Fam 5, 485-86)
47. March 1810: HJB, III, IB. Nr. 11, p. 45f. 'An die Leser des Wunderhorns' (item 46) is repeated.

48. August 1810: HJB, III/9, pp. 30-52. The second part of Görres's review. (Fam 5,462-75)


50. 14 and 18 October 1813: MOBL, Nr. 246, p. 981f and Nr. 249, p. 996. F. Weiβer ridicules the Wh in his 'Geistesfreyheitslied'. (Fam 5,47-48)

51. 1816: Der Freymüthige, edited by A. Kuhn, Nr. 139. A 'Literarisches Gespräch' greeting the news that Wh 2 and 3 were now available at half price. (Steig 3, 369)

* * * * *
APPENDIX C: CONTRIBUTORS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

BANG Johann Heinrich Christian (1774-1851)
A country pastor at Goßfelden in Hessen, he was F. Creuzer's cousin and Savigny's teacher. R. Steig describes him as 'das Muster eines für literarische Interessen offenen Landesgeistlichen'. (Steig 5,153) VN records five letters from him to Brentano from 1803 onwards. He contributed material for the Wh and read it 'with joy'. (Stoll 1,279 and KH)

BERTUCH Carl (1777-1815) NDB II,171
Publisher and writer of Weimar, responsible for the JALZ and the Modejournal. He contributed songs which his father (Friedrich Justin) had taken down and is described as a 'Beförderer' of the Wh. (Sb 1,365)

BETTINA (1785-1859) 'Goed. Gr. VI,78f
Younger sister of Clemens and later wife of Arnim, she assisted on the Wh project from the beginning. Before July 1805 she had already amassed ten 'Aufzeichnungen' (see Willige) and canvassed teachers, lawyers and pastors in Fulda, Hessen and part of Saxony through friends in those areas. She did transcriptions for Arnim and Brentano and contributed 21 songs in all to the Wh, three of which are in the first volume (72, 300, 317). The NA was her initiative. see W. Willige, 'Ein Brief Bettinens an Clemens Brentano', Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde 37 (1923), pp. 182-188.

BLUMENBACH Johann Friedrich (1752-1840) ADB II,748-751
Professor of medicine at the University of Göttingen. Arnim got to know him as a student there in 1800. His folksong collection was later put at the disposal of A. von Haxthausen, but he and his daughters also provided material for the Wh editors. VN mentions one letter from him to Arnim in 1807, see also Steig 1,189. He is mentioned in the 'Dankadresse'.

BOSTEL Johann von
A fellow student of Brentano's in Jena who came from Bocholt bei Wesel. Savigny suggested him as a possible recipient of Brentano's circular. (Stoll 1,289)
BREITENSTEIN Franziska
A servant in the Brentano household, there are seven extant songs noted by her dating from the Heidelberg - Landshut period, but she probably also dictated nursery rhymes to him. (Schewe, NW, 133) Bode quotes a letter of hers dated September 1806. (Bode, 116)

BRENTANO Sophie (Mereau) (1770-1806) ADB III, 313
As a poetess in her own right, Sophie helped generally with the production of the Wh by copying material and by encouraging others to contribute. She provided a source for Wh 1, 283. (FBA 9, 1, 487)

BURGSDORF Wilhelm von (1772-1822) ADB III, 617
Tieck's friend who owned an estate at Ziebingen. Brentano hoped that he would serve as a local correspondent for that area, but there is no record of his having contributed any material. (Sb 1, 297)

BÜSCHING Johann Gustav Gottlieb (1783-1829) ADB III, 645f
Germanist in Breslau and co-editor, with von der Hagen, of the Sammlung deutscher Volkslieder (1807). Arnim thought their anthology might provide some songs for the Wh. (Steig 1, 220) A patriot and a collaborator with vom Stein, Büsching founded the 'Verein für schlesische Geschichte' in 1817.

COMPAGNIA of Trieste. Nothing is known of him other than that Brentano intended writing to him for support. (Sb 1, 320)

CREUZER Georg Friedrich (1771-1858) ADB IV, 593-96; NDB III, 414
A teacher and later professor of philology in Marburg and Heidelberg, he introduced Brentano to Heidelberg society and supported the Wh editors in their subsequent disagreement with Voß.

DANQUARD Albert Ludwig Goed. Gr. VII, 803
He was a theologian and headmaster of the Latin school in Mosbach, Baden. He knew both A.L. Grimm and Pastor Röther, and may have been responsible for the latter's involvement in the Wh project. VN contains 17 songs which Schewe attributes to him, (NW, 131) and Bode quotes a letter of his dated September 1806. (Bode, 118) He is mentioned in the 'Dankadresse'. (FBA 9, 3, 407)

DANQUARD Karl Friedrich
Brother of the above, he was a soap-maker by profession and the town clerk of Mosbach. Brentano received both oral and printed material from him. (Bode, 118)

DOCEN Bernhard Joseph (1782-1828) NDB IV, 8f
Born in Osnabrück, he became the librarian of the Munich Court Library. By his own testimony his interest in the folksong had been kindled by Gräter and he had started to collect in 1803. Although a prolific writer of essays and reviews of old German literature, he never produced a folksong collection
of his own. Brentano considered him an old friend and a potentially fruitful source of material, but while he did send a few, some strayed into Seckendorf's hands, and the best were published in his own Miscellaneen. He reviewed Wh 1 in Aurora, and wrote four letters to Brentano between 1805 and 1807. (see Steig 1, 139, 160, 240; Am 2, 167; UL, 349)

DOROW Wilhelm (1790-1846) ADB V, 359f
Dorow, who was Reichardt's nephew, lived in Königsberg where Arnim first met him in 1806. Later he sent in excerpts from J. Tauler, Nachfolge des armen Lebens Christi which appeared in Wh 2 and EZ. (Steig 1, 210)

ELWERT Anselm (1761-1825) ADB VI, 76
An 'Amtsassessor' of Dornberg near Darmstadt, Elwert published his Ungedruckte Reste alten Gesangs in 1784. Having collaborated with Gräter on the journal Bragur, he became an enthusiastic supporter of the Wh. (see Steig 1, 132, 164, 172, 178-79; UL, 361) Eight of his contributions are included in Wh 1. (13, 30, 48, 77, 102, 205, 229, 232)

ENGELHARD Philippine (1756-1831) ADB VIII, 73-81
nee Gatterer. A well known poetess in her day and a friend of Sophie Brentano, she collected folksongs in and around Cassel and may have had a hand in Wh 1. (Am 2, 167f) Arnim visited her in Cassel in October 1806. (Steig 1, 194-95)

ESCHENBURG Johann Joachim (1743-1820) ADB VI, 346f
A writer and literary historian of Braunschweig. Winkelmann knew him and Brentano suggested to Arnim that he should be approached for material. He complied by sending songs from old folkssong collections and broadsheets. Three songs from his Denkmäler altdeutscher Dichtkunst (Bremen, 1799) appear in Wh 1. (128, 204, 298, see also Steig 1, 188)

FORKEL Johann Nikolaus (1749-1818) ADB VII, 155f
From 1768 onwards he was a teacher and organist in Göttingen and allowed Arnim to look through his material in 1806. (Steig 1, 189) He is mentioned in the 'Dankadresse'.

FRIES Jacob Friedrich (1773-1843) ADB VIII, 73-81
Professor of philosophy in Heidelberg and Jena, he was loosely involved in the Wh project. He drew the title-page for Wh 2, (Z, 181) and may have acted as a local correspondent in Allstädt. His patriotism led him to found the 'Burschenschaft' in Jena.

FROHREICH
Arnim's personal servant from Cammin in Pomerania. A faithful copyist for the Wh editors, there are several transcriptions in his hand among the Wh papers. (see Steig 1, 193)
FUCHS Idelfons (1765-1823) ADB VIII, 164f
A pastor in Engelburg, Switzerland, Fuchs was the biographer of Tschudi. There was a steady stream of correspondence between him and Brentano in 1806 and he provided the Wh with material from Tschudi's song collection and other songs from the St. Gallen library. He also distributed circulars for Brentano in his area and is mentioned in the 'Dankadresse': (see Steig 1, 160, 168, 172 and Bode, 100)

GERHARD
A librarian in Amorbach whom Brentano found 'unsäglich dienstfertig' when he looked through the library of the former abbey in the town. (UL, 357-58)

GOETHE Johann Wolfgang von (1749-1832)
see Härhl, 123ff for a full survey of Goethe's involvement with the Wh and the EZ. He arranged for Arnim to see the Jena Codex, and promoted the first volume of the Wh through his review and by personal recommendation.

GRÄTER Friedrich David (1768-1850) ADB IX, 599
A headmaster in Ulm, and later in Schwäbisch Hall where he edited the famous journal Bragur. Brentano studied in Jena with his son and Arnim visited him in December 1805 and was given access to Gräter's own material and in all probability that of Heinze too. (Steig 1, 149) Numerous folksongs from his journal appear in Wh 1. (42, 53, 70, 239, 345) He is mentioned in the 'Dankadresse'.

He met Arnim and Brentano when a tutor in the home of Kirchenrat Schwarz of Heidelberg. Later he became pastor of Weinheim in Baden. Grimm was one of the first and most prolific contributors to the Wh, and through him A.L. Danquard and Frau von Pattberg were drawn into the work. Eleven songs in Wh 1 may be ascribed to him. (32, 83, 90, 114, 120, 190, 211, 213, 252, 259, 319) (Schewe, NW, 129-131 and Steig 1, 146, 156, 172). He is mentioned in the 'Dankadresse'.

GRIMM Jacob (1785-1863)
A former pupil of Savigny in Marburg, where he first met Brentano, Grimm became a civil servant in Cassel. Schewe has traced the beginning of his involvement in the Wh project (Schewe, JG). Together with his brother Wilhelm he played a large part in the compilation of the later Wh volumes. A recipient of Brentano's circular, he is also mentioned in the 'Dankadresse'.
GRIMM Louis Emil (1790-1863) ADB IX, 689f.
Brother of the above, a painter and engraver who made the title engravings for Wh 3 and KL.

GRIMM Wilhelm (1786-1859)
Younger brother of Jacob and fellow worker in the field of German philology. He contributed material for the Wh and is mentioned separately in the 'Dankadresse'.

GRÜBEL Johann Konrad (1736-1809) ADB IX, 786f.
A Nuremberg poet. Savigny was asked by Brentano to send him a circular (UL, 359).

GUNDERODE Karoline von (1780-1806) ADB X, 126
A friend of Bettina's, she wrote poetry under the name of Tian. Brentano approached her for material at the end of 1805 and asked her to approach the historian Fischard and her friend, Nees von Esenbeck. Nothing apparently came of this (see L. Geiger, Karoline von Günderode und ihre Freunde, p. 113).

HAFNER
Preceptor of Altensteig in Württemberg, he sent some material to Brentano but none was used in the Wh. (see Schewe, NW, 140)

HAGEN Friedrich Heinrich von der (1780-1856) ADB X, 332f
A philologian, based in Berlin, who published a folksong anthology jointly with J.G. Büsching in 1807, and a translation of the 'Nibelungenlied'. He provided Arnim with the Bergreyen and reviewed the later volumes of the Wh. A later collaborator with Stein, he collected steadily from 1807-40 and acquired the posthumous papers of both Nicolai and Seekendorf, which, together with his own posthumous papers were a source for Erk and Böhme. Brentano mentions him in the 'Dankadresse'. (see Steig '1, 163)

HALEM Gerhard Anton von (1752-1819) ADB X, 407f
Poet, editor and lawyer from Aurich, he sent Brentano a collection of baroque songs by Nickolaus Barnsdorf in 1808, but they were not used (KH).
HEBEL Johann Peter (1760-1826) ADB XI, 188ff
Teacher and poet from Karlsruhe and author of the Allemannische Lieder which Brentano prized so highly. Brentano intended to write to him but the outcome is not known (see Sb 1,297).

HEINZE Christian Traugott (1765-1813)
An antiquarian and friend of Gräter's from Niederlausitz. Arnim was given access to his folksong material and among the copies he made were versions of Wh 1,70 and 292 (see Schewe, NW, 138).

HENDEL Johann Christian (1742-1823) ADB XI, 734
A bookseller and expert on the shooting club in Halle, he was interested in folk customs. He sent Arnim some local songs and is credited with Wh 1,40. (see Steig 1,184)

HERMANNJ Amelie
She may have been the sister or sister-in-law of A.L. Dankward's wife. There is material from her in the Wh papers (Heid.Hs. 2110,36).

HINZE August Heimbert (1765-1832)
A doctor from Warmbrunn in Silesia who contributed to Bragur. He sent Arnim several good songs with the promise of more, hence his mention in the 'Dankadresse'. Three songs in Wh 2 are based on his sources. (see Steig 1,168f)

HOHNBAUM Carl
A doctor of Hildburghausen, he offered material to Brentano which was never followed up. Later he offered it to Arnim for the EZ but it arrived too late for inclusion. One of his songs which Seckendorf published was incorporated into Wh 2. His sizeable collection of Franconian and Thuringian folksongs (1815-40) provided source material for Erk and Böhme. (see Steig, 'Zur Einsiedlerzeitung', Euphorion 19,1912, p.238ff)

HÖPFNER Ernst (1780-1845)
His father, Julius Friedrich, was a friend of Goethe and Merck, which explains his knowledge of the posthumous papers of Merck with its folksong notations. He wrote offering Brentano three samples from the manuscript, and later sent the whole of it. (see Brentano, GS VIII, 131.)
**HORN** Dr Franz Christoph (1781-1837) ADB XIII, 136f
A literary historian from Braunschweig who studied in Jena, was librarian in Bremen for a time and then moved to Berlin. Brentano suggested that Arnim should write to him, but the outcome is unknown. (Steig 1, 157). He was on the circular address list.

**HORSTIG K.G.** (1763-)
A contributor of folksong essays to Reichardt's Berlinische Musikalische Zeitung, he was initially friendly with Brentano but later grew hostile. (see Steig 1, 163)

**HOSE** Frau
Wife of A.F. Hose of Heidelberg, Brentano described her as 'ein rechtes Wundertier mit Liedersammeln'. She provided him with several good songs. (Steig 1, 172)

**JÄCK** Marcus Fidelis (1768-1845) ADB XIII, 530f
Born in Constanzt, he was rector of Gütenbach in the Black Forest from 1804-08. Wessenberg encouraged him to contribute to the Wh. Three songs of his notation were included in Wh 2 unaltered, possibly because he collected directly from the local oral tradition. He was also a writer of dialect poetry.

**JOSEPH J.A.**
A theological student from Dallau near Mosbach who sent in material via A.L. Grimm. One of his songs was included in Wh 2. (see Schewe, NW, 131)

**KAUFMANN** Johann Heinrich (1772-1844)
A merchant of Kreuznach who collected local songs and legends. He had miscellaneous publications to his credit, wrote poetry himself, and provided the Wh editors with songs and the names of ten other potential contributors. He is mentioned in the 'Dankadresse'. (see KH; Schewe, NW, 138 and Bode, 104)

**KERNER** Justinus (1786-1862)
A doctor and poet, friend of Uhland, and keen folksong enthusiast who sent material for the Wh via Köhle and Nehrlich. The Wh was a formative influence on his own poetry. (see Steig 1, 248)
KLEINSCHMIDT
A theological student and tutor of Hessen whose name was given to Brentano by Kaufmann. He sent songs to Brentano and is reputed to have studied the Wh 'mit hoher Andacht'. (see Bode, 104 and KH)

KOCH Erdvin Julius (1764-1834) ADB XVI, 375
Brentano met this preacher and literary historian in Berlin in 1804. Author of the useful Compendium, he further provided extracts from literary periodicals, hence his mention in the 'Dankadresse'. (see Steig 1, 139, 163)

KOHLER Kaspar (1778-1844)
A fellow student in Jena with Brentano who lived later in Weimar and then in Nehresheim in Swabia. Brentano visited him in 1802 in search of folksongs and he was on the circular address list which Brentano drew up. (see Z, 164 and Steig 1, 178)

KÖLLE Christoph Friedrich Karl (1781-1848) ADB XVI, 473f
A lawyer in Tübingen who corresponded with Brentano as a result of Arnim's first public appeal for songs. He eventually sent a collection of songs, including contributions from Uhland and Kerner. Brentano asked him to distribute 16 copies of the circular in the area. (see Steig 1, 156, 174, 248)

KÖRTE F.H. Wilhelm (1776-1846) ADB XVI, 725
A theologian and literary historian of Halberstadt, he had access to Gleim's posthumous papers. Brentano suggested writing to him since Gleim had an interest in folksong, and he was also on the circular address list. (see Steig 1, 157)

KOSEGARTEN Ludwig T. (1758-1818)
A cleric on the island of Rügen, Brentano thought he might be a fruitful source of material. (see Steig 1, 179)

LASSAULX Franz Georg Joseph de (1781-1818)
A lawyer in Coblenz and Görres's brother-in-law, he served as a local correspondent for Brentano and gathered as much support for the Wh as he could muster. He too was on the circular address list.
LEON Gottlieb (1757-1832) ADB XVIII, 296f
Librarian of the Vienna Court Library, he wrote poems and was a contributor to Bragur. He and Brentano corresponded regularly in 1806. He is represented in Wh 3 and is also mentioned in the 'Dankadresse'. (see Steig 1,165,168,172 and Bode,98)

LOREYE (1765-1844)
Privy councillor, theologian and headmaster of the Lyzeum in Rastatt, he is mentioned in the 'Dankadresse'.

MANNEL Sophie Frederike (1783-1835)
Daughter of Johann Adam Mannel, pastor of Allendorf near Treysa, and friend of Brentano. Together with her brothers, Fritz and Karl, she collected songs for Brentano and is mentioned in the 'Dankadresse'.

MAUS Isaac (1749-?)
A farmer of Badenheim near Kreuznach, his name was given to Brentano by J.H. Kaufmann.

MERCK Wilhelm Christian Jacob (1782-1820)
Fourth son of J.H. Merck, the friend of Goethe, Herder and Wieland. Höpfner encouraged him to send folksongs from his father's posthumous papers to the Wh editors. (see UL,351; Steig 1,179, and Schewe, NW,127f.) He is listed in the 'Dankadresse'.

MOZLER Joseph Matthias (1761-1817)
An antiquarian and publisher of Freising who furnished Brentano with printed material including folksongs, songs by Orlando di Lasso and a copy of Renner by Hugo von Triierg. (see Steig 1,172,226 and Bode,71)

MÜLLER Caspar
Known to Brentano through the family factotum, Herr Schwab, Müller of Luzern sent in a volume of Swiss folksongs by Pastor Häfliger and Kuhn's Sammlung von Schweizer-Kuhreihen und alten Volksliedern, as well as 42 broadsheets. He is mentioned in the 'Dankadresse'. (see Bode,102f)
MÜLLER Johann Georg (1759-1819)
Brother of the historian Johannes von Müller and professor of classics in Schaffhausen, he had an interest in old German literature. Brentano sent him a circular and asked him to supply further names.

MÜLLER
Referred to in the 'Dankadresse' simply as 'H. Müller in Speier', this is possibly the student in Speyer who sent contributions to Brentano. (see Sb 1,320)

MURR Christoph Gottlieb von (1733-1811) ADB XXIII, 76f
A customs official in Nuremberg whom Arnim visited in 1805 and to whom Savigny sent a circular at Brentano's request. (see UL, 359 and Steig 1,149)

NEHRLICH Johann Karl (1773-1849)
Born in Eisenach, Nehrlich studied in Jena before moving to Hechingen in 1802. A writer and painter, he later became a teacher in Karlsruhe. He amassed a sizeable collection of folksongs, some from Thuringia and the remainder from Swabia, 93 of which he contributed to the Wh. A friend of the Tübingen poets, he is mentioned in the 'Dankadresse' and was the only Wh contributor to receive an honorarium. (see Steig 1,229,250 and Sb 1,365)

OKEN Dr Lorenz (1779-1851) ADB XXIV, 216f
A natural scientist, Oken was a librarian in Göttingen when the Wh editors consulted him. He had Thedel von Walmoden copied out for Brentano. (see Steig 1,185,190)

PAGLIATESCHI
of Windischgrätz. Brentano intended to send him a circular, but he receives no further mention. (see Sb 1,320)

PANZER Georg Wolfgang (1729-1805) ADB XV, 132f
Born in Oberpfalz, he became a pastor in the Nuremberg area where he also pursued a lively interest in the folksong. Brentano intended to write to him about his library which evidently contained some of the best and most ancient manuscripts. (see Sb 1,290)
PATTBERG Frau Auguste von (1769-1850)
A poetess who lived in Neckarelz and collaborated with A. L. Grimm and A. L. Danquard in the publication of a magazine Persephone. They drew her into the Wh work and she subsequently contributed poems of her own and the Mayersche Liederbuch (1768), a total of 24 contributions, hence her mention in the 'Dankadresse'. (see Steig 1,168,229,233)

RAUMER Karl August von (1783-1865)
Brentano hoped that Raumer, a son-in-law of J. F. Reichardt, would serve as local correspondent for Dessau. (see Sb 1,320)

REDTEL
A fellow student with Arnim who also knew Reichardt. Brentano suggested he might serve as a local correspondent in Silesia, but although VN records two letters from him to Arnim in 1807, there is no evidence of contributions to the Wh. (see Sb1,320)

REICHARDT Johann Friedrich (1752-1814)
This influential composer whose home at Giebichenstein was a meeting-place for many famous men of the day, reviewed Wh 1, published the first version of Arnim's essay Von Volksliedern, and furnished the editors with songs he had collected himself. Wh 1, 218 was reprinted from his Musikalisches Kunstmagazin.

REICHARDT Luise (1780-1826)
The eldest daughter of the family, she was a composer in her own right and set some Wh songs to music, including Wh 1,159. Both she and her father are acknowledged in Arnim's Zweite Nachschrift.

RÖTHER (1766-1817)
A country pastor in Aglasterhausen near Mosbach, this collector and contributor to Bragur handed over a complete manuscript of songs which he had been collecting since the 1780s. These were mostly broadsheets and represented six times more than the Wh editors already had in 1806. He loved the Wh and was happy to forward circulars in the Stuttgart area. (see KH; Steig 1,160; Sb 1,324; Bode, 71 and Alemannia, 10, 1882, pp 142-154)
RUDOLPHI Caroline (1750-1811) ADB XXIX, 579f
She ran a girls' boarding school in Heidelberg
and also wrote poetry. Brentano asked Sophie to
press her for material, and Wh 1,235b and 258
are credited to her. (see Steig 1,158,217)

RUNGE Philipp Otto (1777-1810) ADB XIX, 692f
A painter in Hamburg and friend of Zimmer, Runge
received a complimentary copy of Wh 1 and
responded with two dialect tales. Later he sent
Arnim some low German songs. (see Schewe,NW,140
and E. Hancke, Briefe von Ph.O.Runge (Berlin,1913)
pp. 264-5,347)

SAUERLÄNDER Heinrich Remigius
A friend of Brentano's youth who later set up a
publishing house in Aarau, where he served as a
local correspondent for the Wh, sending several
batches of material in 1806 and 1807 (see Bode,103)

SAVIGNY Friedrich Karl von (1779-1861) ADB XXX, 425f
Professor of law in Marburg, Landshut and Berlin,
Savigny was married to Brentano's elder sister
Gunda. He was involved in the Wh from the beginning
furnishing Brentano with books and acting as an
agent for the editors in the distribution of
circulars, hence his mention in the 'Dankadresse'.
(see Steig 1,225; UL, 353,359 and Stoll 1,290)

SCHLOSSER Friedrich Johann Heinrich (1780-1851) ADB XXXI,
A friend of the Brentano family who 425f
became a lawyer in Frankfurt am Main and a keen
collaborator on the Wh project. He supplied material
from libraries and from connexions along the left
bank of the Rhine and the Hunsrück. He well
deserved his mention in the 'Dankadresse' both
for his own contributions and for those acquired
from others. (see Schewe, NW,126 and Bode,99)

SCHREIBER Aloys (1763-1841)
He was professor of aesthetics in Heidelberg from
1805 and the editor of the Badische Wochenschrift,
whose subscription list he supplied to Brentano
for the purpose of mailing his circular. This
initial support for the Wh later gave way to
enmity as he sided with J.H. Vogel in the public
feud. (see Steig 1, 162,185,186,244,245)
SECKENDORF Freiherr Franz Karl Leopold von (1775-1809)
A poet and soldier and publisher of poetry almanachs in 1807 and 1808. Arnim was in correspondence with him throughout 1807 while Brentano early considered him an ally in their cause, though he later became disillusioned. Seckendorf saw his own collecting activity as in some way complementary to the Wh project, but Docen accused him of having misappropriated material destined for the Wh. There were over 100 songs and tunes in his collection, but his death prevented publication. Von der Hagen gained possession of his posthumous papers which later served as source material for Erk and Böhme. (see Steig 1,156,186,227,228 and 2,146)

SPANGENBERG Georg August (1738-1806)
He was professor of law at Göttingen University and sent numerous local folksongs for the Wh, hence his mention in the 'Dankadresse'. (see Schewe, Vorauswort, 60)

STROMER Freiherr Christoph Friedrich von (1757-1828)
Arnim visited him in Nuremberg and was given access to the 'Memorialbuch' of Wolf-Jacob Stromer, from which he copied three songs. He is also acknowledged in the 'Dankadresse'. (see Steig 1,149)

UHLAND Ludwig (1787-1862)
A Swabian poet, philologian and later politician who was an early supporter of the Wh and the EZ. He sent contributions for the anthology via Kölle, and is gratefully acknowledged in Arnim's Zweite Nachschrift.

VARNHAGEN VON ENSE, Karl August Ludwig Philipp (1775-1858)
A diplomat and writer who had connexions with the Tübingen circle, the Hamburg patriots and the young aristocratic Prussian poets in Berlin. He reviewed Wh I and sent Arnim material from Zausper's Idiotikon. (see Steig 1,184f)

VEESENMEYER Georg (1760-1833) ADB XXXIX, 519f
Professor of history in Ulm and a contributor to Bragur, he had a famous library of his own and a special collection of historical songs. His letter of August 1806 suggests that he had drawn other local people into the collecting network, including his wife and maid. He was on the circular address list and is also mentioned in the 'Dankadresse'. (see BN, Steig 1,250 and Bode,100)
VEITH Johann Wilhelm
A pastor in Andelfingen, Württemberg, and later in Schaffhausen who was drawn into the collecting network by A.L. Grimm. He contributed 13 songs. (see Bode, 118)

VOSS Johann Heinrich (1751-1826)
An expert in classics, he was professor of philology in Heidelberg from 1805 where he first became friendly with the Wh editors and contributed material. Although he is mentioned in the 'Dankadresse' he later fell out with Brentano, and then with Arnim, and became the Wh's most implacable enemy. Wh 1,300 is credited to him.

WEDEKIND F.
Of Mannheim. He wrote to Arnim in 1807 promising material from friends in Salzburg and enclosing two Silesian songs which a Herr von Erlach had noted from an oral source. (VN)

WEINRICH Alexander Theodor (1762-1830)
Savigny's former tutor and pastor of Klein-Rechtenbach near Wetzlar. Brentano asked Savigny for his address with a view to sending him a circular. (see UL, 359 and Stoll 1,298)

WESSENBERG Freiherr Ignaz Heinrich Karl von (1774-1860)
ADB XXXXII, 147f
From 1802 he was 'Generalvikar' in Konstanz, where he acted as local correspondent for the Wh. He distributed circulars in remote areas and recruited M.F. Jäck whose material he forwarded to Brentano in 1806. His is the last name in the 'Dankadresse'. (see Bode, 104)

WIELAND Christoph Martin (1733-1813)
Enlightenment poet and friend of the Brentano family, he sent Brentano a manuscript from the second half of the seventeenth century. (see Schewe, NW, 140)

WIGAND Paul (1786-1866) ADB LV, 89f
A friend of the Grimm brothers who contributed 50 songs dictated by a serving girl in the Fritzlar region, he later founded a folklore society for Westphalia in collaboration with August von Haxthausen. (see Schewe, Vorauswort, 57)
WYTTENBACH Johann Hugo (1767-1848)
Librarian of the Trier state library, he was interested in old German poetry and edited Friedrich von Spee. He contributed Spee songs and almost 30 others from various sources for the Wh, and served as local agent for the distribution of Brentano's circular.

ZIMMER Johann Georg (1788-1853)
With J.C.B. Mohr he set up a publishing house in Heidelberg in 1805 which published the work of the Romantic poets. Keenly interested in folksong himself, he often accompanied Brentano on collecting trips into the Odenwald region.

* * * * *

The names in this appendix represent people who are mentioned in the Wh papers and correspondence only. Rölleke gives three address lists which Brentano used for the mailing of his circular letter which include many more names not mentioned elsewhere.

The first of these has 12 names taken from the magazine Georgia (20.6.1806) from an article entitled 'Gallerie Halberstädtischer jetzt lebender Dichter'. (see FBA 9,3,658-9)

The second list was compiled by Brentano himself as he came across potential contributors. Of the 60 or so names on the list, some had already been contacted and others were suggested by Savigny and other correspondents. (see Stoll 1,289-290 and FBA, 9,3,659-661)

The third list was the subscription list of the Badische Wochenschrift and was made available to Brentano by Aloys Schreiber. It contains 31 names but the end of the list is missing. (see FBA 9,3,661-662)

* * * * *
MAP A
Showing areas canvassed between 1805 and 1808.

- Red areas yielding rich oral tradition.
- Green areas yielding printed sources.
MAP B
Location of contributors, collaborators, and libraries canvassed.
- contributors
- libraries
KEY TO MAP B.

(C) denotes a recipient of Brentano's circular.

(?) signifies uncertainty as to whether an expressed intention to canvass was ever carried out.

* denotes a distributor of Brentano's circular.

2. Rügen: Kosegarten.
4. Bremen: Cramer (bookseller), Horn (library), (C).
5. Aurich: Halem.
7. Braunschweig: Eschenburg(C), Winkelmann, Klingemann (C).
8. Wolfenbüttel: library, Langer (C).
11. Dessau: Raumer (C).
15. Fritzlar: Wigand.
17. Marburg: Bang, Savigny*.
18. Wetzlar: Weinrich (O?).
19. Koblenz: Lassaulx (O), Dippel (C).
22. Frankfurt am Main: Bettine, Schlosser*(C).
27. Jena: Eichstädt (library).
28. Zwickau: Goerenz (library), (C).
31. Wien: Leon (library).
32. Regensburg: Seckendorf.
33. Nürnberg: Grübel (C), Kiefhaber (?), Murr (C), Stromer.
34. Erlangen: Mehmel (?), Pfeiffer (?).
35. Ansbach: library (?).
36. Schwäbisch Hall: Gräter.
37. Mosbach: Danquard, Hermanny, Joseph, Röther*.
39. Amorbach: Gerhard (library).
42. Speyer: 'a student'.
43. Karlsruhe: Hebel, Ring (C).
44. Baden: Schreiber, Loreye (C).
45. Stuttgart: Röther*(C), Werthes (C), Petersen (C).
46. Neresheim: Kohler (C).
47. Ulm: Veesenmeyer (C). Prof. Schmidt (C).
49. Tübingen: Kerner, Kölle*(C), Uhland.
51. Gütenbach: Jäck.
52. Hechingen: Nehrlich.
53. Andelfingen: Veith.
54. Freising: Mozler (bookseller).
55. München: Docen (library).
56. Salzburg: Wedekind (?).
58. Sankt Gallen: library.
59. Altdorf: Siebenkees (C), 'a friend of Georg's'.
60. Engelberg: Fuchs* (C).
61. Luzern: C. Müller.
62. Aarau: Sauerländer (C).
63. Schaffhausen: J.G. Müller (C).
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