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RELIGION OF ART, SELF-MYTHICIZATION AND THE FUNCTION OF THE CHURCH YEAR IN GOETHE'S *ITALIENISCHE REISE*

Vittorio Hösle

For my sister Adriana who twenty years ago in Naples urged me to read the *Italienische Reise*

Among Goethe's autobiographical writings, the *Italienische Reise (Italian Journey)* clearly has a peculiar position. The work or, to be precise, its two first volumes of 1816 and 1817 do not live from the tension between remembering I and remembered I that characterizes most autobiographies, and among them certainly *Dichtung und Wahrheit(Poetry and Truth)*, *Campagne in Frankreich 1792 (Campaign in France 1792)* and *Belagerung von Mainz (Siege of Mainz)* as well as the aesthetically less interesting *Tag- und Jahreshefte als Ergänzung meiner sonstigen Bekenntnisse*, the so-called *Annalen (Annals)*. We do not see an author trying to reconstruct experiences that occurred decades ago and recovering them from oblivion. On the contrary, we hear the immediate expression of those experiences, as the work *seems* to consist of letters and diary entries from the time it describes. But the appearance is deceptive.

Only in the third volume of 1829 *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt vom Juni 1787 bis April 1788 (The Second Sojourn in Rome: June 1787—April 1788)* Goethe combines the two forms of autobiographical writing: The parts with the title *Korrespondenz (Correspondence)*, which contains redacted letters, are followed in each month (with the exception of June) by parts called *Bericht (Report)*, in which the (almost) octogenarian Goethe himself speaks.[1] He furthermore includes into this last volume little essays, as the *Nachtrag: Päpstliche Teppiche*

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(*Addendum: Papal Tapestries*) at the end of the June chapter and the *Störende Naturbetrachtungen* (*Intruding Meditations on Nature*) after the *Bericht* on July, extracts from an article of 1791 in the *Bericht* on December and the essay on *Philipp Neri, der humoristische Heilige* (*Filippo Neri, the Humorous Saint*) after the chapter on this month and of course *Das Römische Karneval* (*The Roman Carnival*)—which had already been published separately in 1789—after the chapter on January. He even integrates into this work texts by other people, as letters by Tischbein in the June chapter, an essay by Heinrich Meyer in the *Bericht* about November or several pages from a book by Karl Philipp Moritz after the March chapter. The last volume is thus more polyphonic than the earlier two.[2] The reader has to decide herself whether, for example, Goethe's romance with the nameless young Milanese that appears almost only in the *Bericht* parts really concerned Goethe profoundly while in Italy or whether it acquired such an importance merely in the memory and poetic imagination of the old man.[3] After all, Goethe in the later part of his second Roman stay was busy with the "Faustina" celebrated in the *Römische Elegien (Roman Elegies)*.

But such doubts should vex also the reader of the first two volumes of the work, although Goethe consciously decided to drop the title *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, since, as he writes to his publisher C.F.W. Frommann, in the new work "the content is only too true."[4] For even if Goethe made extensive use of his diaries and letters from Italy, a comparison with what is extant of them shows that he not only worked on the style, but that he added, deleted, corrected and transposed a considerable amount—suffice it to compare what he wrote about the adventure in Malcesine in his diary[5] and what he made out of it in the *Italienische Reise*.[6] (Of course, we cannot exclude either that the original letters and diary are already a transfiguration of reality.) The fact that Goethe in 1818 and in 1829 destroyed most of his papers from the journey to Naples and Sicily and from the second Roman stay may furthermore be interpreted as a sign that Goethe did not want later biographers to check too precisely how he had transformed his original narrative. In a brilliant essay Nicholas Boyle has shown that it is very likely that Goethe traveled only once, not twice to Paestum, as he seems to claim in the *Italienische Reise*.[7] Certainly Goethe was sincerely convinced that in his autobiographical writings he had remained faithful to the "basic truth" of his life, at least that he had not deviated from the pure facts much more than any historical monument does.[8] But he regarded himself as authorized, even as duty-bound to present his life in an aesthetically pleasing way. In a famous letter to Zelter from 5.17.1815 Goethe claims about this work at the *Italienische Reise* "that I can give simultaneously a true account and tell a graceful fairy tale."[9] How is this possible? It would mean jumping to

conclusions to maintain that when something in Goethe's depicted life looks very artistic it cannot correspond to the historical truth. For Goethe may well have organized again and again his real life in a way that made out of it an artwork. In his letter to Josephine O'Donell from 1/22/1813 Goethe speaks about the first two parts of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* as his "biographic masquerade", and he agrees with the comment of O'Donell that he is hiding his later life behind the earlier one.[10] But the statement avers that what Goethe is hiding is *not* his earlier, but his *contemporary* life, about which he did not write. Masquerading was a part of Goethe's, and is perhaps of most people's, real life, and his autobiographical writings only increase a tendency present already in the way he lived. Doubts, however, are justified, when something is narrated too much like a fairy-tale, and they can motivate the search for documents that correct or confute Goethe's account.[11]

In what follows I want to point out one aspect of Goethe's *Italienische Reise* that, as far as I can see, has been ignored in the secondary literature, which focuses mainly on the objective contents of the book, on the world it describes, particularly on the single artworks depicted by Goethe. I mean its chronology—that is, so I should hasten to add after what I said before, the *fictitious* chronology of the work, for the question how much of it corresponds to the real chronology is beyond the scope of this essay. I want to show that Goethe ascribes to himself particularly momentous actions at days that play an important role in the church year. [12] By doing so, Goethe presents himself in a Christ-like role—not too surprisingly, if one considers that Goethe regarded the writing of autobiographies in general as a self-conscious Protestant alternative to the practice of confession.[13] (I will not analyze other works by Goethe in which he introduces functional equivalents of Christ—as, most notably, Iphigenie in *Iphigenie auf Tauris (Iphigenia in Tauris)*, but also Werther in *Die Leiden des jungen Werther(The Sorrows of Young Werther)*, who, significantly enough, kills himself in the Christmas week.[14]) In order to understand more precisely whether Goethe thereby continues the tradition of the *imitatio Christi* or satisfies his desire for automythomania or perhaps does both at the same time, I will begin by describing one of the purposes of the *Italienische Reise*, the foundation of what one could call a religion of art (I). I will then discuss the self-image that Goethe in general presents of himself in this work (II). Finally, I will analyze the function of the church year in the work (III).

I.

Why did Goethe interrupt the narrative of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, whose first three parts appeared in 1811-1814, but whose last part would be pub-

lished only posthumously in 1833, and began to redact the *Italienische Reise*? One motive was doubtless the irritation that Goethe felt in view of the success of the Romantic return to medieval Germany and its religion, an irritation he expressed aggressively in his essay *Neudeutsche religios-patriotische Kunst (Neogerman religious-patriotic art)* of 1816, written together with Heinrich Meyer, who had become his friend in Rome. Complementary to the criticism of contemporary art, the *Italienische Reise* was supposed to present the positive ideal of classic art, as Goethe had experienced it almost three decades earlier and revived in his own poetry. Doubtless the *Italienische Reise* depicts in great detail and with amazing understanding also the Italian landscape, particularly its geology, and the Italian people. Van Ingen exaggerates when he writes: "Italien interessierte Goethe überhaupt nicht, die Menschen blieben ihm fremd, für die soziale Wirklichkeit war er weitgehend blind, das Politische wird nur in einer gelegentlichen Nebenbemerkung gestreift." (227) But it is true that Goethe's account of Italy is an idealized one and that his work can be understood as "eine Art Seelengeschichte der Klassik" (226). In vain one looks in it for the social criticism that characterizes Johann Gottfried Seume's *Spaziergang nach Syrakus im Jahre 1802(A Stroll to Syracuse in the year 1802)*. For the center of the book is the art of Italy, both the ancient Greek and Roman art and the recent Italian art mainly from the Renaissance onward. (The interest in medieval art is very limited.[15] Suffice it to remind the reader that Goethe visited in Assisi only the temple of Minerva and ignored Giotto's frescoes, as he had done in Padua. His apparent contempt for the Franciscan places engendered even the suspicion that he might be a smuggler.[16])

This focus is linked to Goethe's desire to increase his knowledge and appreciation of the visual arts and even to become a painter himself. But Goethe had to recognize at the end of his stay that his latter desire was not to become reality. "It becomes clearer to me daily that I was really born for literature... The benefit I shall have from my rather long stay in Rome is that I am giving up the practice of the visual arts."[17] Still, his time in Italy was not lost, because at least his first wish was fulfilled and even a theoretical grasping of art would have been hardly possible without practical exertions.[18] Furthermore, Goethe gained through his attempts at painting a pictorial concreteness, clarity and precision in his poetry that the Sturm-und-Drang works had still lacked, while during his first Weimar stay his poetic capacities seemed to have been stifled.[19] In order to understand the importance of the encounter with the visual arts of Italy one has to consider first one of the peculiarities of Goethe's perception of the world from early on: he saw, as he says, reality with the eyes of the painters; they schooled him to look at the world from the proper angle. If a scene made a great impres-

sion on him, then often enough because he was able to link it back to some earlier experience of an artwork. In the eighth book of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* Goethe, who had been around local masters from his Frankfurt childhood on, tells us how he returned from the Dresden gallery to the house of the philosophical shoemaker who was his host during his first visit to this city with one of the richest art collections in Germany.

> When I returned to my cobbler's house to eat the midday meal, I could scarcely believe my eyes: I thought I was beholding a picture by Ostade, perfect enough to be hung in the gallery as it was. Everything I had admired in his pictures: placement of objects, light, shadow, the brownish tint over everything, the magical harmony of parts—I saw here in reality. It was the first time that I became aware to such a high degree of a gift that I afterwards used more consciously, namely of seeing nature through the eyes of this or that artist whose works had recently been the object of my special attention.[20]

Dichtung und Wahrheit as well as the *Campagne in Frankreich* give several examples of this interpretation of nature that is mediated by art.[21] Even in the calamities of war Goethe could not help being reminded of certain artworks. Of course, the fascinating thing about this approach is that it somehow inverts the normal mimetic relation: It is, as in Oscar Wilde's famous dialogue "The Art of Lying", reality or, to be philosophically more precise, our perception of reality that seems to mirror artworks.[22] None of Goethe's autobiographical writings describes this type of encounter with reality more frequently than the *Italienische Reise*. Already after crossing the Brenner, Goethe notes: "Several mills across the foaming stream, among very old fir trees, were perfect Everdingens."[23] And under the same date: "All the people walking to and fro remind one of the most charming artistic images… all of it constitutes a living, moving Heinrich Roos."[24] This impression does not engender a feeling of artificiality. On the contrary Goethe finally finds himself at home in the world and no longer in hiding or exile.[25] Of course it is not only Dutch and German painters of whom Goethe is reminded in Italy. Gentlemen playing ball in Verona are compared with the *Borghese Warrior* (the bronze original of the preserved marmor copy, today in the Louvre, is by Agasias of Ephesos),[26] peasants in their carts with a Bacchic triumphal procession.[27] When he arrives in Venice, he sees in the lagoons "the best, freshest picture of the Venetian school."[28] In Palermo he writes analogously: "I no longer saw nature, only pictures that a most artistic painter seemed to have gradated by applying a blue gaze to them."[29] Once Goethe even laments that after visiting the Sistine chapel he cannot enjoy nature, since he cannot see it with Michelangelo's great eyes.[30]

Greatness—this is the second reason for the formative role of the art

of Italy. Again and again, the *Italienische Reise* expresses Goethe's desire to transcend smallness and to encounter greatness. Already in Verona we read: "It is my nature to be willing and happy to revere what is great and beautiful; and to develop this tendency with the help of such magnificent objects day after day, hour after hour, is the most blissful of all sensations."[31] About the two large Greek lions in front of the Arsenal in Venice—one of the few things still praised in the *Venezianische Epigramme (Venetian Epigrams)* (no. 20), even if the context in which they are located now evokes the same disillusionment so typical of the second and last journey to Italy[32]—Goethe writes: "They are so large that they dwarf everything around them, and we ourselves would be nullified, were it not that sublime objects exalt us."[33] The contrast between one's own smallness and the greatness of the surrounding art is felt again in face of the Pantheon, the Apollo of Belvedere and the Sistine Chapel.[34] Goethe wants to expunge all smallness from his mind and his ideas about suitable subjects for drawing,[35] and Rome is the right place for growing, for "truly, there is nothing small here…I am not here to enjoy in my usual way; I want to apply my mind to the great objects, learn, and educate myself before I reach the age of forty."[36] In the third volume of the work the old Goethe speaks of the presence of classical soil and calls this the physical-intellectual conviction that greatness was, is, and will be here. Goethe adds that the transitoriness of even the greatest things lies in the nature of time and of the moral and physical elements operating against each other. One should not be depressed by that, but on the contrary be motivated to accomplish something significant oneself, something which will in turn incite our successors to noble activity.[37] Speaking about his rewriting of his *Iphigenie auf Tauris*, which was done in Italy, Goethe states: "In art the best is good enough."[38] Goethe's enthusiasm for and emulation of greatness is compatible with two things. First, he is too much of a realist to ignore that the contemporary Romans are as narrow-minded as other human beings. Their petty ambition would make him run from the world.[39] But the incognito he officially preserves allows him to ignore all that[40] and focus on the greatness that still can be found in Italy. Second, Goethe knows about the prerequisites of great art. Again and again, he insists on the necessity of a historical approach: Only by studying and assessing the predecessors of the greatest masters can one really grasp the peak their work signifies.[41]

No doubt, Goethe had truly desired to share all his new experiences with his Weimar friends. The letters show this, and the famous pheasant dream manifests that this wish operated even in his unconscious.[42] It is impossible to doubt the sincerity of his hope to return with a heart abler to savor the happiness prepared for him by love and friendship,[43] his gratitude for the allegedly acquired capacity to learn and to receive from others,[44] his pain

at his loneliness.[45] On the other hand, already in Rome Goethe realized that it was his need for artistic growth that kept him away from his friends. Goethe wanted not only to combine poetry and visual arts,[46] he also wanted to combine poetry and music by having friends composing music to some of his works. In a fascinating passage announcing the probable visit of the composer Philipp Christoph Kayser Goethe writes: "So, then, music will join me too, and the circle of arts dancing around me will be complete, almost as if they wanted to keep me from attending to my friends. And yet I hardly dare broach the subject of how lonely I often feel, and how I am gripped by a longing to be with you."[47] Somehow the longing for intersubjectivity is counteracted by the desire for the totality of arts, the wish to become a universal mind in the sense of Italian Renaissance. Goethe aims at nothing less than omniscience: "All the things that artists, with great effort, are forced to gather one by one now lie assembled before me openly and freely. I now see how much I do not know, and the way is open for me to know and comprehend everything."[48] The old Goethe recognized explicitly that the attempt to achieve greatness did isolate him. In the touching *Zwischenrede* (*Excursus*) that connects the two parts of the *Campagne in Frankreich* we find the same thoughts again: Italy liberated Goethe from petty thoughts and false desires, and it replaced the longing for the country of the arts with the longing for art itself. Having become aware of it, Goethe wanted to penetrate it.[49] But now he sees this as one of the reasons for the alienation from his old friends and the loneliness that became his fate after the return from Italy.[50]

The Italian journey is not only a schooling of perception and an encounter with greatness. Its culmination in Rome is nothing less than a rebirth, as Goethe does not tire to repeat. "I count the day when I entered Rome as my second natal day, a true rebirth."[51] "It does not matter whether I die now or last a while longer, in either case I am content."[52] At the end of his stay Goethe gives content to what he has called "rebirth": "In Rome I first found myself, for the first time I achieved inner harmony and became happy and rational."[53] Before the historical term "Renaissance" was coined in the 19th century by Jules Michelet, "Wiedergeburt" had a religious meaning—for Pietism it signified the awakening to a new life in Christ.[54] This leads to the third aspect of Goethe's voyage to be discussed. Goethe's encounter with great art is in his eyes a religious experience, "because any veneration of a worthy object is accompanied by a religious feeling."[55] Awe for true art and, what is more, the process of its appropriation[56] led Goethe to a new relation to himself, to a transformation of what he had been till now through an intelligent and loving relation to a standard of greatness—just as a religious conversion is supposed to do. Thus Goethe can claim at the

end of the second volume that what distinguishes his book from other travel literature about Italy is that he had his "mind only on inner" goals.[57]

Goethe has not yet reached Trent, when he comments: "I believe in a God again."[58] What is even more striking than the implicit confession of a temporary loss of faith in the divine is the use of the indefinite article. A Christian would speak of "God"; "a God" seems to point towards polytheism. But polytheism is at least not atheism, and if the encounter with beauty—here still that of nature, later that of art—leads to a fresh injection of religiosity, Goethe regards that beauty as certainly worth gratitude. In another passage the concept of God Goethe uses smacks more of pantheism. He claims that Johann Gottfried Herder's *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit (Ideas for a Philosophy of History)*—a work which sees God not only in nature, but also in history—could not have been written without the concept of God Herder developed in the dialogue *Gott*, a concept to which, Goethe claims, the work owes its noble, great, profound qualities. This concept is contrasted sharply with the orthodox religiosity of Lavater, Jacobi, and Claudius. Herder's book is even called a gospel, since, as Goethe explains, he has no messiah to wait for.[59] One sees that Goethe's religiosity rejects, at least at this point of his life, any eschatological dimension. But it would be unfair therefore to deny that it is a sincere form of religiosity. It is as sincere as Spinoza's religiosity that attracted Goethe all his life.[60] With Herder he sees God present in human history no less than in nature, and more than Herder he sees God immanent in great art.

I have already mentioned that Goethe in Assisi willfully overlooked the Franciscan monuments. The pilgrims to these places hoped, and still hope, to gain a reduction of their time in Purgatory. But Goethe stares only at the ancient temple of Minerva (the first great specimen of ancient architecture he had ever seen) and cannot tire of looking at its facade.[61] He recognizes that even Palladio—the hero of his journey through Northern Italy, whose *I quattro libri dell'Architettura (Four books on architecture)* from 1570 Goethe had bought in Padua[62] and in whom he professes in Assisi to have had a complete confidence (something one would traditionally reserve for religious authorities)—had misrepresented the temple. Even secular authorities have to be replaced by autopsy, but this may lead to eternal results: "Contemplation of this work awakens feelings in me that I cannot put into words, but they will bear lasting fruits."[63]

During the second Roman stay Goethe writes: "Now, at last, the alpha and omega of all things known to us, the human figure, has taken hold of me, and I of it, and I say, 'Lord, I will not let Thee go, except Thou bless me, and even if I wrestle myself lame.'"[64] The explicit quote is from Gen. 32.27 [65] Goethe models himself after Jacob wrestling with God. But instead

of God, the superior power Goethe is fighting with is the human figure or, to be precise, the artistic mastery of it. It is called "das A und O", another quote from the Bible, this time from the last book, where God calls himself so (Rev. 1.8). It may well be that Goethe, whose knowledge of the Bible is awe-inspiring, consciously draws from its first and last book—which could be called its A and O. Ascribing a divine attribute to the human figure and its artistic depiction is clearly a form of secularization. But Goethe skillfully avoids the danger of sacrilege by limiting his praise to the peculiar role of human figure among the things known to us. This leaves the possibility open that there is something which transcends it, but outside of immanence and knowledge. If Goethe's statement is to be compatible with a residual theological belief, it can only be a negative theology he has in mind. Shortly afterwards we read:

> I am so remote from the world and all worldly affairs now that it seems strange to me when I read a newspaper. The form of this world is transitory. I prefer to occupy my mind exclusively with enduring conditions and thus, according to the teachings of ***, truly procure eternal life for my spirit.[66]

Again, there is a quote from the Bible (this time 1Co. 7.31), and an ignorant reader who thumbs the work through could at first glance think that Goethe's rejection of newspapers is linked to an emerging monastic vocation. But on the contrary: The religious language is used to justify a Spinozan quest for eternity (for "Spinoza" is the name hiding behind the three stars), and eternity is found not in another world, but in the study of great and thus enduring and immortal art. Who has seen and grasped the first-rate artworks, may well "depart in peace"—so perhaps in allusion to Luk. 2.29. Goethe continues: "These sublime works of art are also the sublimest works of nature, created by men following true and natural laws. Everything arbitrary, everything imaginary crumbles away, there we have necessity, there we have God."[67] As a disciple of Spinoza, Goethe cannot oppose art and nature. Art is itself a product of nature, even if humans are its secondary causes.[68] The praise of necessity again follows Spinoza, and the anaphora at the end suggests that God and (natural) necessity are one. Of course this elicits the question what distinguishes great art from all the other things in the world, which are as well the results of natural necessity. But it would be unfair to press Goethe, who after all was not a professional philosopher, on this issue. One is not surprised that the access to Kant, whose whole philosophy is grounded on the idea of the irreducibility of epistemological, ethical, and aesthetical norms to nature, remained far more difficult to Goethe than to Schiller (and correspondingly, Kant reacted to Schiller, but never mentioned Goethe). Goethe's love for Spinoza was

partly elicited by the latter's rejection of final causes in the world. He saw something noble, and even religious, in doing something for its own sake, without any advantage for oneself. Thus he praises the fact that some of the sphinxes depicted on the obelisk brought by Augustus to Rome could not be seen by the human eye, as long as it stood erected, but were accessible "only to sunbeams. Here we have a case where the religious function of art is not calculated on any effect that is to be made on human sight."[69]

The profound change that occurred in German culture with the reception of Spinoza has often been discussed. It was the *Spinozastreit*, triggered by Jacobi, that made place for the development of a pantheism as a respectable alternative to religious orthodoxy. At the same time, the philosophical transformation that would culminate in Schelling and Hegel's systems led far beyond Spinoza's view. For it was connected to a philosophy of history still alien to Spinoza—think of Lessing's *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts (The Education of Humankind)*—and to the project of a philosophical foundation of the humanities, including a new philosophy of art as an autonomous activity of the human spirit. Goethe's mentor Herder and Karl Philipp Moritz, whom he befriended in Rome and with whom he read Herder's *Ideen* und *Gott (God)*,[70] play an important role in this transition, and Goethe's *Italienische Reise* of 1816/17 is the perfect artistic expression of it. At the same time it is decisive to recognize that most of the innovators sincerely believed that their transformation was a faithful continuation of the Christian tradition—a sign of this is Goethe's extensive use of Biblical quotations.

II.

Already early readers of the *Italienische Reise* have commented that in it Goethe seemed to hide his feelings behind his observations. In his monumental work on Goethe, Friedrich Gundolf writes: "Aber das Gewicht hat er auf die Gesichte, nicht auf sein Sehen gelegt, und insbesondere ist nicht er, der Reisende, in den Reisewerken der bewußte einheitliche Mittelpunkt, wie in Dichtung und Wahrheit." (637) Now this is certainly true of various parts of the work such as *Das Römische Karneval* as it is of other so-called autobiographical texts such as *Sankt-Rochus-Fest zu Bingen*. But Gundolf overlooks first that for Goethe the only way of finding oneself is through the encounter with reality. The desire to be objective is thus at the same time a tool of self-discovery.[71] And second he does not seem to perceive the role that Goethe ascribes to himself in *Italienische Reise*. He vies not only with great historical, but also with mythical figures.

In distinction from Plato, he writes for example, he would make knowledge of nature, not of geometry one of the conditions of access, if he were able to

found a school.[72] When on Monte Rosso he remarks that he almost fell into the mouth of Etna, and even if he is not mentioned, it is hard to avoid the impression that Goethe considers himself a new Empedocles,[73] particularly since on Vesuvius we saw him move around with almost divine self-assurance.[74] Once he compares his efforts to those of Sisyphus and Tantalus.[75] Several times Goethe relates himself to Ulysses, the paradigmatic traveler. His adventure in Malcesine is compared with the Laestrygonians' attacks against Ulysses.[76] When he is ordered to the choleric governor of Messina, he goes cheerfully, "calling on my patron saint Odysseus to intercede for me with Pallas Athene."[77] Note that the Greek goddess of wisdom plays a role analogous to that of Mary in what Goethe calls the "Catholic mythology."[78] But the most explicit passage is where Goethe describes his work on the never completed *Nausikaa* and his identification with its male hero.

> On a journey myself, in danger myself of arousing affections that, even without tragic endings, could still become quite painful, perilous, and injurious; in a position myself, so far from home, to entertain the company with vividly colored descriptions of remote objects, travel adventures, daily incidents, to be considered a demigod by the young, a braggart by more sedate persons, to receive many an undeserved favor, face many an unexpected obstacle; all of that made me so attached to this plan, to this project, that on account of it I dreamt away my sojourn in Palermo, indeed the greater part of my further Sicilian journey.[79]

Hachmeister comments: "His conceit of identification with Odysseus, albeit presumptuous, was surely not uncommon among eighteenth-century travelers." (46) This is true, but what is uncommon is Goethe's modeling his behavior after figures from both the Old and New Testament. We have already analyzed the passage where Goethe seems to present himself as a new Jacob. He does not hesitate to compare himself also to Jonah, when, crossing the Mediterranean from Naples to Palermo, he works on his *Torquato Tasso*. "In these last days in the belly of the whale the plan for my drama had progressed nicely."[80] Since already in the Gospel Jonah is interpreted as a type of Christ (Mat. 12.40), the passage could suggest that Goethe sees himself as a new Christ; what corresponds to the resurrection is the completion of his drama. One may object that this inference is farfetched, but there are several other passages where a Jesus-like role is explicitly played by Goethe. Think of the following end of a letter: "So I love happily, because I am about my Father's business."[81] These are the words of the twelve-year old Jesus, after his parents found him teaching in the temple (Luk. 2.49). But Goethe does not limit himself to speaking like the child Jesus. When he writes "Continue to love and have faith in me"[82], he echoes Joh. 14.11 and 15.9 from the last speeches of Jesus immediately before his arrest. Goethe speaks

to his friends in Germany, as if he were Jesus who takes leave from them, and this in order to teach them a worldview whose aesthetic paganism and pantheistic immanentism is quite different from the message of John's Jesus (cf. 17.16). Still, he is not satisfied. The famous scene in the return voyage from Sicily to Naples shows us that Goethe does not only speak like Jesus. He acts like Jesus in the episode related by all three synoptic gospels (Mar. 4.35ff., Mat. 8.23ff., Luk. 8. 22 ff.). The ship that carries him is drawn in by the current that goes around Capri and which usually attracts the boats to the steep rocks where they wreck. The passengers are scared to death and begin to rage at the captain. But as in Malcesine Goethe has been able to tame the masses that suspected him to be a spy, so also here he steps forward and addresses them:

> I pointed out to them that their only hope for rescue was with those men whose ears and minds were being so confused at this very moment by noisy shouting that they could neither think nor hear each other speak. 'As for you', I shouted, 'come back to your senses, and then address your ardent prayers to the Mother of God. It depends on her alone whether she will intercede with her Son, so that He will do for you what He did for His apostles when, on the stormy Sea of Tiberias, the waves were already splashing into their ship. The Lord slept, but when the wretched, helpless men woke Him He immediately ordered the wind to cease, as He can now command the breeze to blow, provided it is His holy will.'[83]

The scene is remarkable for various reasons. First, Goethe calms the panicking passengers. This does not yet save the ship, but it is a necessary condition for its salvation. Goethe confesses just before the passage quoted that he hates anarchy more than death. This explains why he loves to play such a role typical of political heroes.[84] To tame humans who are losing their minds is in a certain sense a nobler and worthier activity than to overcome nature. Second, Goethe appeals to the religious beliefs of the people on the ship—although the *Italienische Reise* is full of contemptuous remarks with regard to the Catholic religion,[85] Goethe speaks as if he were a Catholic himself. Surely there is no alternative to such a behavior, since Goethe wants to be socially effective, but it is still amazing that the disciple of Spinoza can recommend so convincingly petitionary prayers in which he himself does not believe, and even less in the mediating role of Mary. He achieves his ends; people begin to pray, and finally the boat is saved by a rising breeze. Goethe, however, is no longer on deck, when this happens. He has gone down to his cabin, because he was feeling seasick. Now it is not a good idea to leave the deck, when wreckage is imminent, even if one is seasick. Either Goethe is sure that the ship will be saved, or he follows an overwhelming model. This is, of course, Jesus himself, mentioned both in Goethe's speech and again when he goes down: "For the picture from Merian's illustrated

Bible hovered quite distinctly before my eyes."[86] But Goethe somehow bests Jesus. For Jesus slept *before* he knew about the danger. Goethe has the cold-bloodedness to doze *after* he has perceived it, obviously trusting that his act of taming the passengers will have an appropriate follow-up. "When I awoke early on the fourth day of our voyage, I felt fresh and well"[87]—one is reminded of the earlier self-comparison with Jonah and is tempted to read the recovery as a functional equivalent of the resurrection, even if the stay in the ship took one day longer than the canonical three days.

III.

We are now prepared to look at some striking features in the chronology of the *Italienische Reise*. In the second part of the *Campagne in Frankreich* Goethe describes his 1792 visit in Münster in the house of the devout Catholic Princess Gallitzin where he talks about the Roman church festivals so vividly that a guest asks whether Goethe is a Catholic himself.

> At that time these festivals were vividly present in my mind in all their characteristic details, for I was planning a work on 'The Roman Year,' which would have dealt with the whole character of religious and secular public events; since I could describe those festivals from my firsthand impressions, I was able to please the devout Catholics with the description I presented as much as I had pleased the more worldly people with my depiction of the carnival.[88]

The book plan was never realized, but Goethe included into the *Italienische Reise* descriptions of religious festivals.[89] More interesting than these "objective" passages are, however, those presenting Goethe himself acting in a peculiar manner on a holy day. Before leaving for Sicily, Goethe's fellow-traveler Kniep wants to introduce him to his girlfriend. The two men wait on the flat roof of a house, when, "suddenly, although it was expected, a very pretty little head rose up from below. [...] And now, when the little angel emerged completely, it occurred to me that older artists depicted the Annunciation in this way, with the angel coming up a stairs."[90] When does this happen? The date is not only given with the calendar day March 25th 1787, but Goethe explicitly adds "*Annunciation Day*." Is it an overinterpretation if one supposes that this angel had to communicate something important to Goethe, who is here in the position of Mary? In the next entry, but still under the same day, Goethe writes: "After this agreeable adventure I strolled by the sea and felt quietly happy. Then a good inspiration came to me concerning botanical matters."[91] It is well-known that botanical insights—perhaps putative ones—are granted, at least according to his own account—which is dubious—to Goethe on his voyage from the first germinal idea in Padua to

the developed concept of the primordial plant in Sicily.[92] Is it not plausible to assume that Kniep's friend has to announce to Goethe the conception not of a child, but of a theory that will see the light of the day in Sicily? Whoever considers how proud Goethe was of his contributions to natural science, will not reject this hypothesis hastily.

It is strengthened by what happens on the next major church celebration, on *Easter*. Goethe is now in Palermo, and on occasion of the Easter celebrations he is invited to dine at the viceroy's. He arrives too early at the palace, where he meets a Maltese knight. The man had spent some time in Erfurt and asks news about Thuringia.

> Hesitantly, but with interest, he asked for news of Weimar. 'How do things stand,' he asked, 'with the man who at my time was young and full of life and caused both rain and sunshine there? I have forgotten his name, but it is enough to say he is the author of *Werther*.' After a little pause, as though I was reflecting, I answered: 'The person you are so kindly inquiring about is myself!'—Showing the most visible signs of astonishment, he started back and cried: 'Then a great change must have taken place!'—'Oh, yes!' I replied, 'between Weimar and Palermo I have undergone many a change.'[93]

The self-manifestation of a great man till now underrated is a scene dear to the Storm-and-Stress—suffice it to remind the reader of Schiller's Fiesco. The reason for this is clear: In the long process of the replacement of God by the autonomous I, such a scene satisfied the need for a sudden experiencing of something extraordinary, but at the same time integrated it into immanence. But the date of Goethe's encounter and the importance of the category of rebirth discussed earlier suggest that Goethe stylizes himself as the resurrected Christ. He has been changed, even transformed and transfigured in his long voyage that now has reached the most distant region—he has even been born to a new life. Therefore he cannot be immediately recognized—as Jesus initially was not identified by the disciples on the way to Emmaus (Luk. 24.13 ff.) or by Mary Magdalene (Joh. 20.14 ff.). It adds to Goethe's aura that his name has been forgotten, but that he is correctly characterized by his most famous work. It is this, not the name once mocked by Herder,[94] that constitutes Goethe's identity, who after all traveled in Italy under a false name. It fits with what has been said that Goethe also in January of next year feels: "Towards Easter, an epoch will reach its climax"[95] and confirms in March after the Easter week: "The period of development I was hoping for has been concluded and rounded off."[96]

Goethe leaves Naples, as he mentions explicitly after the calendar date of June 3rd, 1787, on *Trinity Sunday*. The evening before he was guest of the Duchess of Giovane in the royal palace of Capodimonte, whence he

enjoyed a splendid view of the active Vesuvius. His coach is now just passing the customs, when completely unexpectedly his friend Kniep appears with a Chinese cup full of black coffee. "I was astonished and touched, for this was an unparalleled token of appreciation. 'You have,' he said, 'shown me so many kindnesses, and have had such an influence on my whole life, that I would like to offer you this symbol of my debt.'"[97] Does the gesture not look like a libation to a god? And does it not announce privately, but through Goethe's book to the whole world, the continuing influence of Goethe even after his departure from Naples, where Kniep would die as a professor at the Academy in 1825, as Pentecost promises the continued presence of Christ even after his ascension? Trinity, after all, is the Sunday after Pentecost. Whoever finds this interpretation forced, must explain why Goethe does *not* add after the 27th of May that it is Pentecost. Were he only interested in the religious calendar, this would be more appropriate than the mentioning of Trinity, the lesser festivity. The conspicuous absence of the word "Pentecost" seems to prove even more than the positive mentioning of the other church celebrations that Goethe is interested in the religious calendar only insofar as it sheds light on his own mission of artistic regeneration of humankind.

Should there remain any doubt with regard to Goethe's use of the religious calendar, they ought to be overcome by a look at his two entries under December 25th. Neither in 1786 nor in 1787 "Christmas" is added to the date, and in 1786 the distance from Christian religion is obvious. Goethe writes about copies he had ordered to be made of both the Medusa Rondanini and the Zeus of Otricoli and tells the story how the latter's beard had been licked by a cat. When his landlady discovered this, she thought she was seeing a miracle—the cat was worshipping God the Father. Goethe does withhold from her his alternative and scientific explanation—the cat was attracted by the grease from the mold.[98] Of course Goethe wants to make fun of the lady's naivete, who sees miracles everywhere. But he is clearly serious about his replacing the Christian god with pagan statues, as long as they are beautiful. Two weeks later, on Epiphany, January 6th, he speaks about his copy of the so-called Juno Ludovisi, "my first love in Rome", and announces that *Iphigenie auf Tauris* has been completed.[99] At the same time, Goethe's attitude is far more complex, for also the inverse relation holds: The Greek heroine is infused with Christian spirit. We had already heard in Bologna that the heroine of Goethe's drama should utter only such things as could be said by a Saint Agatha in a painting (now lost) he had ascribed, probably wrongly, to Raphael.[100] And indeed one cannot deny that the values of Goethe's Iphigenie, but also of her king, are profoundly Christian, even if the tendency of the drama is to replace the deus ex machina Euripides

still had needed by pure human feelings.

Let us take a look at the entry from Goethe's second Christmas in Rome. It begins by stating: "This time, Christ has been born amidst thunder and lightning! Just at midnight we had a severe storm."[101] The purpose of the remark is again to put the divine, or our conceptions of it, into a natural context. Goethe then continues by saying that he is no longer dazzled by the greatest artworks, but has acquired discerning perception. The man who helped him to achieve it, Heinrich Meyer, has "a heavenly clarity in his ideas, and an angelic goodness in his heart."[102] But Goethe's newly gained "quiet, attentive bliss"[103] does not mitigate his wrath against foreign visitors without aesthetic competence, who are compared to wasps. Still, Goethe hopes that after a time of isolation he has now returned to the intersubjective dimension.

> Now an intimate circle has gathered around me again, all good men, all on the *right path*, which just shows that it is necessary to be well along on the right path in thought and actions in order to put up with me, to like me, and enjoy my company. For I am merciless and intolerant toward all those who dawdle or get lost along the way, and nevertheless want to be considered messengers and travelers. I heap scorn and ridicule on them until they either change their lives or leave me.[104]

One may forgive Goethe regarding the capacity to like him as a sufficient condition for being on the right path. One may also submit to the prophetic voice that demands a change of life. After all, Goethe had subjected himself, too, in the last sixteen months to profound, often uncomfortable changes and had achieved a flabbergasting creativity. What is more difficult to digest is that Goethe in his personal Christmas proclamation takes pride in being merciless. It is with a feeling of unease that one is reminded of Nietzsche's Zarathustra, and one is not surprised at the utter loneliness of Goethe's next years before the friendship with Schiller.

Nevertheless: The religion of art Goethe contributed to founding is, in him as well as in his contemporaries, still rooted in a value system profoundly permeated by Christianity. The discovery of the autonomy of art does not imply the severing of its links with morality, neither in Kant's *Kritik der Urteilskraft (Critique of Judgment)* nor in Goethe.[105] Nor is art disconnected from a metaphysical vision of the world, even if Goethe's favorite metaphysical hero is Spinoza. But Goethe's *Italienische Reise* prepares the radical aestheticism of the 19th century taught by Wagner and Nietzsche. For them, however, Christianity is only a toy, *Also sprach Zarathustra (Thus Spoke Zarathustra)* a brutal parody of the gospel. Goethe, too, alludes playfully to passages from the Bible—which his contemporary public must have recognized much more quickly than readers nowadays -, but in taming the panicking passengers,

for example, he complies with the duties of a Christian aristocrat. His self-stylization is not incompatible with a sincere desire to live a moral life. Since he believed in the necessity of authority, he may easily have convinced himself that continuing to use a Christian language was necessary in order to maintain the social order and that the transformation of Christianity he aimed at was not its betrayal, but its further development. And certainly we have to recognize that the subtle tension between traditional religious language and imagery on the one hand and its use for a very new purpose on the other is one of the most profound reasons for the aesthetic power of classical German literature in general and of the *Italienische Reise* in particular.

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NOTES

1. On the reasons for the reduction of the number of original documents in the third volume of the *Italienische Reise* see Goethe to Eckermann (FA 39: 349 f.).

2. See Wild 351: "Mit dem im dritten Teil kulminierenden Arrangement erreicht es G., in der *Italienischen Reise* gleichsam mit zwei Stimmen zu sprechen." On the change between first and third person in the autobiographic statements of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* see Hösle, *Erste und dritte Person*.

3. Goethe met really a beautiful Milanese woman. Thanks to Angelica Kaufmann's letter from 11.1.1788 to Goethe we know even that her name was Maddalena Riggi. But this does not entail that Goethe's detailed novella is historically accurate. It is found in German in HA 11: 422 ff, 457, 520 f., 553 f., in English in IJ 339 ff., 366 f., 419 f., 446 f. In the correspondence part Riggi is mentioned once: IJ 333/ HA 11: 416.—On Goethe's likely real feelings for Riggi see Boyle, *Goethe* 487 f., on the literary function of the novella within the *Italienische Reise* see Rüdiger 104 ff., who points to its retarding role and the idea of *Entsagung* implied by it.

4. "Den früheren Zusatz 'Wahrheit und Dichtung' können wir dießmal entbehren, da der Inhalt dieser Bogen nur allzuwahr ist." (WA IV 26: 291)

5. FA 30: 37.

6. IJ 30 ff./ HA 11: 31 ff.

7. Boyle, *Goethe in Paestum*. See also Fechner 251: "Die Nutzung des Vorhandenen als eines dokumentarischen Materials verbindet die beanspruchte Authentizität erinnerter Unmittelbarkeit mit einer intendierten und reflektierten Artistik des frei eingreifenden Verfügens und Verfugens."

8. See his letter to C.L. von Woltmann from 2.5.1813: "Der gründliche und freidenkende Historiker ... stößt sich nicht daran, daß man ihm Dichtung und Wahrheit anbietet, da er weiß, wie viele Dichtung er von bedeutenden historischen Monumenten abziehn muß, um die Wahrheit übrig zu behalten." (FA 34: 179).

9. "so daß ich zugleich völlig wahrhaft und ein anmutiges Märchen schreiben kann"

(FA 34: 455). When sitting at the last volume of the work, he repeated in relation to it again the term "Märchen" ("fairy tale") in a letter from 5.21.1828 to this only real friend of his last decades (FA 37: 611). In the *Italienische Reise* itself the term occurs to depict the Roman festivities for Saint Peter and Paul (IJ 280/ HA 11: 353 f.).

10. FA 34: 160.

11. It is tempting to read two passages of the *Italienische Reise* reflexively, i.e., as alluding ironically to the aesthetic transformation occurring in that work itself. Goethe speaks about a landscape drawing by his travel companion in Sicily, the painter Christoph Heinrich Kniep, and notes that he had added a foreground that did not match reality. "I wonder how many illustrated travel books contain similar half-truths." (IJ 230/ HA 11: 288: "Wieviel malerische Reisen mögen dergleichen Halbwahrheiten enthalten.") "Malerisch" can also mean "with pictorial qualities" and then relate more directly to Goethe's work. See Flitner 104: "Nicht nur der Held der Erzählung reist als Künstler, sondern der Leser des Buches wird in eine malerische Stimmung versetzt." The other passage explicitly rejects complaints against the deviation from facts in poetical imagination (IJ 249/ HA 11: 312). Goethe occasionally means himself when he speaks about others. Thus, e.g., it is almost inevitable to apply the famous remark on Raphael about "the terrifying conditions imposed on even the most pronounced natural talent before it can rise to the highest possible success" (IJ 287/ HA 11: 363: "die furchtbarn Bedingungen, unter welchen allein sich selbst das entschiedenste Naturell zum Letztmöglichen des Gelingens erheben kann") to Goethe himself, even if just before Goethe, in an apparent bonhomie, seems to include himself among those who hesitantly approach the great man. There are several things for which one can reproach Goethe, but among them self-underrating is not to be found. Hohoff is correct when he states: "In Raffael spiegelt sich Goethe selbst im Gegensatz zu den deutschen Künstlern in Rom, den Nazarenern." (474) Also the praise of Palladio as having studied with incredible efforts the ancients and having then become able to reestablish them by himself (IJ 62/ HA 11: 71 f.) applies too well to Goethe himself, who does not tire to mention how much he worked in Italy (IJ 100, 121, 123, 317/ HA 11: 122, 148, 150, 396) and who certainly liked to see himself as the Palladio of literature.

12. My attention was directed to this issue by the obvious contrast with the recent autobiography of Johannes Hösle, in which the narrator presents his Catholic childhood not as development, but according to the cyclical year of the church, which seems to swallow every individuality.

13. HA 14: 84 and the letter to C.W.Göttling from 3.4.1826: "Es wäre schön zu untersuchen, ob nicht Protestanten mehr als Katholiken zu Selbstbiographieen geneigt sind. Diese haben immer einen Beichtvater zur Seite und können ihre Gebrechen hübsch einzeln los werden, ohne sich um eine fruchtbare Folge zu bekümmern; der Protestant im entgegengesetzten Falle trägt sich selbst die Fehler länger nach und ihm ist es doch um ein sittliches Resultat zu thun." (WA IV 40: 311 f.) See also HA 9: 283.

14. Self-fashioning after the model of Christ remains popular in German literature up to the 20th century. On Thomas Mann, see Marx.

15. I speak of the Goethe of the 1780es. It is well known that in Strasburg he had contributed to the discovery of the beauty of gothic architecture, to which he returned later in his life (see, e.g., HA 9: 382 ff.). In writing the *Italienische Reise* he dropped an early passage full of wrath and hatred against it—as Sulpiz Boisserée claims in his diary of August 1815 in order to show him "what a good guy he is" ("daß ich sehe welch ein braver Kerl er sei", FA 34: 494).—Goethe's interest in medieval literature, however, remained always limited. Think only of his judgment on Hartmann von Aue's *Der arme Heinrich (Poor Henry)* in the *Tag- und Jahreshefte* (HA 10: 511).

16. IJ 96 ff./ HA 11: 116ff. A similar non-pilgrim-like attitude characterizes his stay in Rome: "Überhaupt reist er ohne jeden Bezug auf die christlichen Gedenkstätten und Apostelgräber." (Flitner 106)

17. IJ 417/ HA 11: 518: "Täglich wird mir's deutlicher, daß ich eigentlich zur Dichtkunst geboren bin... Von meinem längern Aufenthalt in Rom werde ich den Vorteil haben, daß ich auf das Ausüben der bildenden Kunst Verzicht tue." It is possible that Goethe wanted his readers to relate Moritz' remark about the wrong course that human creative power can take, e.g., by trying to set before imagination what belongs before the eye (IJ 435/ HA 11: 540), to his own development.

18. IJ 139, 141, 327, 416/HA 11: 171, 173, 410, 517.

19. Cf. IJ 357, 383/ HA 11: 446, 477. Mayer has rightly suggested that the fact that Goethe in his autobiographical works did not include the first Weimar period from 1775 to 1786 shows that he regarded it as one of his least satisfying decades (59 f.). Besides the decline of his literary creativity, difficulties with Carl August's new political orientation (on that, see Andreas) and increasing tensions with Charlotte von Stein explain his departure, which appeared to his environment as a sudden flight, even if it had been carefully prepared.

20. PT 241/ HA 9: 321: "Als ich bei meinem Schuster wieder eintrat, um das Mittagsmahl zu genießen, trauete ich meinen Augen kaum: denn ich glaubte ein Bild von Ostade vor mir zu sehen, so vollkommen, daß man es nur auf die Galerie hätte hängen dürfen. Stellung der Gegenstände, Licht, Schatten, braunlicher Teint des Ganzen, magische Haltung, alles, was man in jenen Bildern bewundert, sah ich hier in der Wirklichkeit. Es war das erstemal, daß ich auf einen so hohen Grad die Gabe gewahr wurde, die ich nachher mit mehrerem Bewußtsein übte, die Natur nämlich mit den Augen dieses oder jenes Künstlers zu sehen, dessen Werken ich soeben eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet hatte."

21. Cf. HA 9: 322 (comparison with Schalcken), 431, 564; HA 10: 152, 223 (comparison with van der Meulen), 249, 260.

22. It is well-known that Goethe regarded his *Egmont* as having poetically anticipated the demonstrations against Joseph II and the regent Maria Christina in Brussels in 1787 (HA 10: 433 and IJ 292, 382/ HA 11: 367, 476).

23. IJ 24/ HA 11: 23: "Einige Mühlen zwischen uralten Fichten über dem schäumenden Strom waren völlige Everdingen."

24. IJ 26/ HA 11: 26: "Alles, was hin und her wandelt, erinnert einen an die liebsten Kunstbilder... alles bildet einen lebendigen, bewegten Heinrich Roos."

25. IJ 26/ HA 11: 26: "Da fühlt man sich doch einmal in der Welt zu Hause und nicht wie geborgt oder im Exil." Vgl. IJ: 350/ HA 11: 436.

26. IJ 41/ HA 11: 45.

27. IJ 47/ HA 11: 52.

28. IJ 73/ HA 11: 87. Immediately before, however, Goethe acknowledges the inverse relation: The Venetian painters paint as they do because of the objects among which they live. See also IJ 279/ HA 11: 352.

29. IJ 195/ HA 11: 240 f.: "Man sah keine Natur mehr, sondern nur Bilder, wie sie der künstlichste Maler durch Lasieren auseinander gestuft hatte."

30. IJ 119/ HA 11: 145. Several other passages comparing reality with artworks or biblical models can be found IJ 71, 99, 174, 180, 188, 213, 253, 269, 323/ HA 11: 83, 120, 213, 221, 231, 265, 319, 342, 403.

31. IJ 42/ HA 11: 47: "Es liegt in meiner Natur, das Große und Schöne willig und mit Freuden zu verehren, und diese Anlage an so herrlichen Gegenständen Tag für Tag, Stunde für Stunde auszubilden, ist das seligste aller Gefühle."

32. Cf. Miller, 549 ff: 'Verweigerte Wiederholung: *Venezianische Epigramme 1790*. Eine

Art Epilog.'

33. IJ 75/ HA 11: 88: "Sie sind so groß, daß sie alles umher klein machen, und daß man selbst zunichte würde, wenn erhabene Gegenstände uns nicht erhüben."

34. IJ 120/ HA 11: 147. Cf. IJ 304/ HA 11: 381.

35. IJ 188/ HA 11: 231. Similarly IJ 291, 326/ HA 11: 366, 408.

36. IJ 111/ HA 11: 134 f.: "Wahrlich, es gibt hier nichts Kleines ... Ich bin nicht hier, um nach meiner Art zu genießen; befleißigen will ich mich der großen Gegenstände, lernen und mich ausbilden, ehe ich vierzig Jahre alt werde."

37. IJ 366/ HA 11: 456 f. Still, Goethe knows the anxiety of influence. He ends his book mentioning the paralyzing influence of Ovid on him (IJ 448/ HA 11: 555). Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the greatest influences in Italy are artists, not poets.

38. IJ 157/ HA 11: 190: "in der Kunst ist das Beste gut genug." (I corrected slightly Heitner's translation.)

39. IJ 125/ HA 11: 153. On the faults of the Church State cf. IJ 94/ HA 11: 113, on the many crimes in Rome cf. IJ 118, 120/HA 11: 143, 146. Goethe blames also the location of Rome (IJ 135/ HA 11: 165 f.), in sharp contrast to what Cicero writes in the third book of *De re publica (On the Republic)*.

40. IJ 307 f./ HA 11: 385.

41. IJ 55, 87, 136, 179, 196/ HA 11: 62, 103, 167, 219f., 242. On "classicism and the historical sense" in the *Italienische Reise* see Atkins 85 ff. Se also HA 7:408 and HA 12: 144, 178 f., 204.

42. IJ 90 f., 102, 182, 318/ HA 11: 108, 124, 224, 398.

43. IJ 318/ HA 11: 398.

44. IJ 294/ HA 11: 370.

45. IJ 331 f./ HA 11: 414.

46. On the plan of a cooperation with Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein by writing poems to his pictures—a plan realized decades later—se IJ: 109, 114/ HA 11: 132, 139.

47. IJ 320/ HA 11: 400: "So wird sich denn auch noch die Musik zu mir gesellen, um den Reihen zu schließen, den die Künste um mich ziehen, gleichsam als wollten sie mich verhindern, nach meinen Freunden zu sehen. Und doch darf ich kaum das Kapitel berühren, wie sehr allein ich mich oft fühle, und welche Sehnsucht mich ergreift, bei euch zu sein." Goethe recognized in 1829 that he and Kayser were beaten by Mozart (IJ 351/ HA 11: 437).—On Goethe's interest in music see Ipser, 314 ff.

48. IJ 314/ HA 11: 393: "Alles, was Künstler nur einzeln mühsam zusammensuchen müssen, liegt nun zusammen offen und frei vor mir. Ich sehe jetzt, wie viel ich nicht weiß, und der Weg ist offen, alles zu wissen und zu begreifen."

49. HA 10: 308.

50. Blättner 467 ff. overlooks this threat to intersubjectivity. According to him, the achievement of friendship is one of the major topics of the book, which, after all, consists of letters. But the letters are only Goethe's letters—as *Die Leiden des jungen Werther* contain only the letters of the hero. We do not witness in either book a real exchange.

51. IJ 121/ HA 11: 147: "Ich zähle einen zweiten Geburtstag, eine wahre Wiedergeburt, von dem Tage, da ich Rom betrat." Compare IJ 104, 123, 177, 308, 314, 337, 358 /HA 11: 126, 150, 217, 386, 393, 420, 446 as well as the letter to Charlotte von Stein from 1.6.1787 (FA 30: 212). As is well-known, the most personal parts of Goethe's Italian letters to Charlotte are not included in the *Italienische Reise*.

52. IJ 122/ HA 11: 149: "Ich mag nun sterben oder noch eine Weile dauern, in beiden Fällen war es gut." Cfr. IJ 316/ HA 11: 395.

53. IJ 427/ HA 11: 530: "In Rom hab' ich mich selbst zuerst gefunden, ich bin zuerst

übereinstimmend mit mir selbst glücklich und vernünftig geworden." The paradox of development—increased in the case of extraordinary ones—is how identity is maintained despite all changes; cf. IJ 120, 424/ HA: 146, 525.

54. Cf. Langen 149, who mentions specifically Johann Heinrich Reitz' *Historie der Wiedergebohrnen (History of the Reborn)* of 1717. See also Schlaffer 100. See in general p. 93 ff. on the replacement of religion by art in the German literature of the time. For Barner 82, 88 f. "Wiedergeburt" in the *Italienische Reise* is also reminiscent of classical pagan concepts.

55. HA 10: 340: "indem jede Verehrung eines würdigen Gegenstandes immer von einem religiosen Gefühl begleitet ist." See also HA 9: 320, 366 on quasi-religious feelings in the Dresden gallery and in front of tapestries after Raphael's design. In connection with Winckelmann's friend Adam Friedrich Oeser, his own teacher of drawing in Leipzig, Goethe speaks of "Evangelium des Schönen" (HA 9: 314).

56. Cf. IJ 279/ HA 11: 352.

57. IJ 274/ HA 11: 348: "der ich nur die innerlichsten [Zwecke] im Auge hatte."

58. IJ / HA 11: 25: "man glaubt wieder einmal an einen Gott."

59. IJ 333 f./ HA 11: 415 ff. With a certain arrogance Goethe derides those who do not take him too seriously as a metaphysician. In the last part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* he is more modest regarding his own capacity to even understand Spinoza (HA 10, p. 78).

60. Cf. HA 10: 35 f, 76 ff.

61. IJ 97/ HA 11: 117: "An der Fassade konnte ich mich nicht sattsehen."

62. IJ 52 f./HA 11: 59 f.

63. IJ 97 f./ HA 11: 118: "Was sich durch die Beschauung dieses Werks in mir entwickelt, ist nicht auszusprechen und wird ewige Früchte bringen."

64. IJ 308/ HA 11: 386: "Nun hat mich zuletzt das A und O aller uns bekannten Dinge, die menschliche Figur, angefaßt, und ich sie, und ich sage: 'Herr, ich lasse dich nicht, du segnest mich denn, und sollt' ich mich lahm ringen.' "

65. The religious language of the *Italienische Reise* has been noted very well by Blättner 461. But he interprets it in too harmonious a way and ignores the challenge to traditional Christianity it represents.

66. IJ 309/ HA 11: 386 f.: "So entfernt bin ich jetzt von der Welt und allen weltlichen Dingen, es kommt mir recht wunderbar vor, wenn ich eine Zeitung lese. Die Gestalt dieser Welt vergeht, ich möchte mich nur mit dem beschäftigen, was bleibende Verhältnisse sind, und so nach der Lehre des *** meinem Geiste erst die Ewigkeit verschaffen."

67. IJ 316/ HA 11: 395: "Diese hohen Kunstwerke sind zugleich als die höchsten Naturwerke von Menschen nach wahren und natürlichen Gesetzen hervorgebracht worden. Alles Willkürliche, Eingebildete fällt zusammen, da ist die Notwendigkeit, da ist Gott."

68. Therefore Goethe calls art also a "second Nature" (IJ 306/ HA 11: 383: "eine zweite Natur").

69. IJ 323/ HA 11: 404: "...nur den Strahlen der Sonne erreichbar. Hier tritt der Fall ein, daß das Gottesdienstliche der Kunst nicht auf einen Effekt berechnet ist, den es auf den menschlichen Anblick machen soll."

70. See Adler 716.

71. Particularly significative in this context is the short text *Bedeutende Fördernis durch ein einziges geistreiches Wort (Important encouragement through a single ingenious word)*. "Hierbei bekenn' ich, daß mir von jeher die große und so bedeutend klingende Aufgabe: e r k e n n e d i c h s e l b s t, immer verdächtig vorkam, als eine List geheim verbündeter Priester, die den Menschen durch unerreichbare Forderungen verwirren und von der Tätigkeit gegen die Außenwelt zu einer innern falschen Beschaulichkeit verleiten wollten. Der Mensch kennt nur sich selbst, insofern er die Welt kennt, die er nur in sich und sich nur in ihr gewahr wird.

Jeder neue Gegenstand, wohl beschaut, schließt ein neues Organ in uns auf." (HA 13: 38) Cf. HA 9: 401.

72. IJ 331/ HA 11: 413.

73. IJ 235/ HA 11: 295.

74. IJ 158 ff., 175 ff. / HA 11: 192 ff., 214 ff.

75. IJ 279/ HA 11: 353.

76. IJ 33/ HA 11: 36.

77. IJ 244/ HA 11: 307: "Odysseus, den Patron anrufend und mir seine Vorsprache bei Pallas Athene erbittend."

78. IJ 86; HA 11: 102: "der katholischen Mythologie."

79. IJ 239; HA 11: 300: "Selbst auf der Reise, selbst in Gefahr, Neigungen zu erregen, die, wenn sie auch kein tragisches Ende nehmen, doch schmerzlich genug, gefährlich und schädlich werden können; selbst in dem Falle, in einer so großen Entfernung von der Heimat abgelegne Gegenstände, Reiseabenteuer, Lebensvorfälle zu Unterhaltung der Gesellschaft mit lebhaften Farben auszumalen, von der Jugend für einen Halbgott, von gesetztern Personen für einen Aufschneider gehalten zu werden, manche unverdiente Gunst, manches unerwartete Hindernis zu erfahren; das alles gab mir ein solches Attachement an diesen Plan, an diesen Vorsatz, daß ich darüber meinen Aufenthalt zu Palermo, ja den größten Teil meiner übrigen sizilianischen Reise verträumte."

80. IJ 185/ HA 11: 228: "Der Plan meines Dramas war diese Tage daher im Walfischbauch ziemlich gediehen." Goethe speaks about working even in sleep and half dreaming (IJ 185/ HA 11: 227). On the poetic creativity of Goethe's dreams cf. also IJ 102/ HA 11: 123 and HA 10: 80 f.

81. IJ 320/ HA 11: 400: "So lebe ich denn glücklich, weil ich in dem bin, was meines Vaters ist."

82. IJ 279/ HA 11: 353: "Bleibt in der Liebe und Glauben an mich."

83. IJ 252/ HA 11: 318: "Ich stellte ihnen vor, daß gerade in diesem Augenblick ihr Lärmen und Schreien denen, von welchen noch allein Rettung zu hoffen sei, Ohr und Kopf verwirrten, so daß sie weder denken noch sich untereinander verständigen könnten. 'Was euch betrifft', rief ich aus, 'kehrt in euch selbst zurück und dann wendet euer brünstiges Gebet zur Mutter Gottes, auf die es ganz allein ankommt, ob sie sich bei ihrem Sohne verwenden mag, daß er für euch tue, was er damals für seine Apostel getan, als auf dem stürmenden See Tiberias die Wellen schon in das Schiff schlugen, der Herr aber schlief, der jedoch, als ihn die Trost- und Hülflosen aufweckten, sogleich dem Winde zu ruhen gebot, wie er jetzt der Luft gebieten kann, sich zu regen, wenn es anders sein heiliger Wille ist."

84. Cf. the similar passages in the *Campagne in Frankreich*, HA 10: 200, 217 and in the *Belagerung von Mainz*, HA 10: 389 ff., where Goethe, sworn enemy of the French revolution (HA 13: 39), defends a revolutionary from the mob.

85. See, e.g., IJ 105, 127 f./ HA 11: 127, 156. Contrast, e.g., HA 9: 288 ff.

86. IJ 253/ HA 11: 319: "denn ganz deutlich schwebte mir das Bild aus Merians Kupferbibel vor Augen."

87. IJ 253/ HA 11: 320: "Als ich früh am vierten Tage unserer Fahrt erwachte, befand ich mich frisch und gesund."—An analogous quotation and functional transformation of another pericope can be found in Schiller's *Fiesco*: see Hösle, *Psychologie* 53.

88. IJ 733 f./ HA 10: 343: "Diese Feste waren mir damals nach allen charakteristischen Einzelnheiten vollkommen gegenwärtig, denn ich ging darauf aus, ein 'Römisches Jahr' zu schreiben, den Verlauf geistlicher und weltlicher Öffentlichkeiten; daher ich denn auch, sogleich jene Feste nach einem reinen, direkten Eindruck darzustellen imstande, meinen katholischen frommen Zirkel mit meinen vorgeführten Bildern ebenso zufrieden sah als die

Weltkinder mit dem Karneval." (I corrected the English translation by Heitner.)

89. IJ 104 ff. (All Saints), 132 (St. Anthony the Abbot), 195 (Easter), 277 (Corpus Christi), 279 f. (Saints Peter and Paul), 427 f. (Easter)/ HA 11: 126ff., 161 f., 241, 350, 353 f., 530 f. Goethe's timing of his journeys was partly determined by the desire to be able to observe these festivities (IJ 104, 269/ HA 11: 126, 342). As we will see, his final departure from Rome occurred deliberately after Easter.

90. IJ 180; HA 11: 221: "stieg, obgleich erwartet, doch unversehens ein gar artiges Köpfchen aus dem Boden hervor. [...] Und da nun das Engelchen völlig hervortrat, fiel mir ein, daß ältere Künstler die Verkündigung Mariä also vorstellen, daß der Engel eine Treppe heraufkömmt."—Marianelli calls the maid who wishes Goethe good night with a burning lamp in the hand (IJ 42/ HA 11: 47) "demütiger Engel einer 'Verkündigung' Rembrandtscher Schule" (124).

91. IJ 181; HA 11: 221 f.: "Nach diesem angenehmen Abenteuer spazierte ich am Meere hin und war still und vergnüglich. Da kam mir eine gute Erleuchtung über botanische Gegenstände."

92. IJ 53 f., 213 f./ HA 11: 60, 266 f.

93. IJ 196/ HA 11: 242: "Mit bedenklichem Anteil erkundigte er sich nach Weimar. 'Wie steht es denn', sagte er, 'mit dem Manne, der, zu meiner Zeit jung und lebhaft, daselbst Regen und schönes Wetter machte? Ich habe seinen Namen vergessen, genug aber, es ist der Verfasser des 'Werthers'.'—Nach einer kleinen Pause, als wenn ich mich bedächte, erwiderte ich: 'Die Person, nach der Ihr Euch gefällig erkundigt, bin ich selbst!'—Mit dem sichtbarsten Zeichen des Erstaunens fuhr er zurück und rief aus: 'Da muß sich viel verändert haben!'—'O ja!' versetzte ich, 'zwischen Weimar und Palermo hab' ich manche Veränderung gehabt.'"

94. Cf. HA 10: 407.

95. IJ 381/ HA 11: 475: "Es spitzt sich bis gegen Ostern eine Epoche zu." Cf. also IJ 383/ HA 11: 478

96. IJ 428/ HA 11: 531: "Die Epoche, auf die ich hoffte, hat sich geschlossen und gerundet."

97. IJ 273/ HA 11: 347: "Ich war erstaunt und gerührt, eine solche erkenntliche Aufmerksamkeit hat nicht ihresgleichen. 'Sie haben', sagte er, 'mir so viel Liebes und Gutes, auf mein ganzes Leben Wirksames erzeigt, daß ich Ihnen hier ein Gleichnis anbieten möchte, was ich Ihnen verdanke.'"

98. IJ 124/ HA 11:151 f. The incomprehension of the Italian people for the Northern religion of art is mocked IJ 129 f,/HA 11: 158 f.

99. IJ 126 f./ HA 11: 154 f.

100. IJ 89/HA 11: 107.

101. IJ 358/ HA 11: 446: "Diesmal ist Christus unter Donner und Blitzen geboren worden, wir hatten gerade um Mitternacht ein starkes Wetter."

102. IJ 358/ HA 11: 446: "Er hat eine himmlische Klarheit der Begriffe und eine englische Güte des Herzens."

103. IJ 358/ HA 11: 447: "stille, wache Seligkeit."

104. IJ 358 f. (with correction of an obvious typographic error)/ HA 11: 447: "Nun hat sich wieder ein enger Kreis um mich gezogen, die alle gut sind, alle auf dem r e c h t e n W e g e, und das ist nur das Kennzeichen, daß sie es bei mir aushalten können, mich mögen, Freude in meiner Gegenwart finden, je mehr sie denkend und handelnd auf dem rechten Wege sind. Denn ich bin unbarmherzig, unduldsam gegen alle, die auf ihrem Wege schlendern oder irren und doch für Boten und Reisende gehalten werden wollen. Mit Scherz und Spott treib' ich's so lang, bis sie ihr Leben ändern oder sich von mir scheiden."

105. Cf. HA 9: 539: "ein gutes Kunstwerk kann und wird zwar moralische Folgen haben,

aber moralische Zwecke vom Künstler fordern, heißt ihm sein Handwerk verderben." See also HA 9: 590.

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