Gottfried Arnold's
"Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie"
in Goethe's intellectual life
GOTTFRIED ARNOLD'S "KIRCHEN-UND KETZERHISTORIE"
IN GOETHE'S INTELLECTUAL LIFE

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GOTTFRIED ARNOLD'S "KIRCHEN- UND KETZERHISTORIE" in
GOETHE'S INTELLECTUAL LIFE.

Chapter I.
Reason of Goethe's Interest in Arnold.

In Dichtung and Wahrheit' Goethe tells us, describing his life in Frankfurt after the Leipzig academic experience: "Einen grossen Einfluss erfuhr ich dabei von einem wichtigen Buche, das mir in die Hände geriet, es war Arnold's Kirchen- und Ketzergeschichte. Dieser Mann ist nicht ein bloss reflectierender Historiker, sondern zugleich fromm and fühlend. Seine Gesinnungen stimmen sehr zu den meinigen, und was mich an seinem Werk besonders ergetzte, war, dass ich von manchen Ketzern, die man mir bisher als toll oder gottlos vorgestellt hatte, einen vor teilhaftern Begriff erhielt."

Broken in body and spirit Goethe returned home from Leipzig in the early fall of 1768. The long days of his convalescence were shortened by the visits and kindly teachings of his mother's friend and relative, Fraulein von Klettenberg, the schöne Seele of Wilhelm Meister, who, after many painful worldly experiences

1. Book 8, Weimar edition, XXVII, 217
2. Bielschowsky I 92. (translation by W. A. Cooper)
and disappointments, had found peace and joy of soul in a devotion to piety which was a combination of love of Jesus and renunciation of worldly pleasure.

Since Spener started his "Christian reform within the church", at Frankfurt, all Germany had been the scene of a great change of religious thought which had its real origin far back of Spener and developed along lines quite foreign to his ideas. In 1670 he established his "collegia pietatis", a small circle of persons aroused by the orthodox preaching in which he had sought to awaken a personal and living Christianity and a feeling against the luxury existing in the rich commercial centers to which Frankfurt am Main belonged. Five years later he published the "Pia desideria", his reform program, as an introduction to a new edition of Johann Arndt's sermons. In this he recommended private assemblies for religious devotion.

These pietistic conventicles, as they were soon called, came rapidly into popularity. 1682, against Spener's advice, one of these groups of worshipers severed its connection with the church—the entering wedge of separation. A similar movement of reform had started a little earlier in the Reformed Church of Holland under Labadie, resulting in a pantisocratic community of his followers until the community died out 1744.

1. Ritschl: Geschichte des Pietismus, II, 526
2. Ritschl: " II, 125
3. Hauck: Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, article on Spener.
From Frankfurt pietistic ideas went with Spener to Dresden and Leipzig. Inspired in Leipzig, A.H. Francke founded in 1692 a pietistic university in Halle. 1722 Count Zinzendorf, a godchild of Spener, founded a community, the Moravian brethren. During these hundred years since 1670 many different ideas had worked into pietistic thought; likewise works of many widely differing authors had been produced. Among them are, in addition to strictly pietistic and separatistic ideas, thoughts mystical, alchemistical and neoplatonic with still another influence from the long series of ecstatic phenomena of inspiration, within the conventicle membership in various places, which began about 1692.

In her own experience Fräulein von Klettenberg had progressed from simple thoughts of quiet communion with God to the Halle pietistic idea of the necessity of conversion. Here she was not quite at home, since she had never needed any violent act of conversion herself, to learn the peace of calm contemplation of divine love. In 1756 she turned to the Moravian views of active, passionate love of Jesus, but she never became convinced that her duty lay in joining the community. Goethe's mother read books of devotion with her and sometimes visited with her the conventicles of Frankfurt.

The religious convictions that our convalescent was forming

1. Ritschl II 185 ff.
were helped to a climax in December by a violent illness, in which his life was in danger. At his mother's earnest entreaty Dr. Metz, likewise a member of their pietistic circle, risked his professional career by using an "elixir of life" made according to mystic and alchemistic directions rather than the current rules of therapy. Goethe soon joined Fräulein von Klettenberg in her alchemistic study, which had dated at least from 1763.¹ Of the books that they used he gives us a list in Dichtung und Wahrheit,² mentioning in the same connection Gottfried Arnold's Kirchen und Ketzerhistorie. In this work he found an exposition of all of these to him new and startling yet fascinating ideas, oftener in their original and undeveloped form; he read here a justification of magic and alchemy; and he found himself not only permitted but urged on to formulate for himself, unhindered by church or creed, his own religious conceptions and belief.

Altho severely condemned by contemporaries for his mystical and separatistic tendencies, Arnold exerted upon his own and succeeding generations an influence that can hardly be too highly estimated.³ An eminent theologian of high poetic gifts, he is best known as an epoch-making church historian.

He was born at Annaberg in Saxony September 5, 1666; studied theology in Wittenberg; was tutor, in Dresden 1689, in Quedlin-

1. Goethe Jahrbuch XXVII 104
2. Book 8. W. XXVII 217
3. Hauck: Article on Arnold.
burg 1693; professor of history in Giessen 1697-8 returning to Quedlinburg; court-preacher in Altstadt 1702; pastor at Werben (Altmark) 1705, at Perleberg 1707; died 1714.

As a student Arnold made friends neither among his professors, whose teaching of theology could not satisfy his longings, nor among his fellow-students, whose rough life was distasteful to him. Thus he laid the independent foundation for his future as historian, writing several treatises and finally qualifying for his doctor's degree, of which his pietistic ideas later caused him to become ashamed. At this time he had decided for his future life only that he would not be a preacher.

Through Spener's recommendation Arnold became tutor in a noble family in Dresden. He had previously been deeply impressed by Spener's "Buch von der allgemeinen Gottesgelahrtheit" and tract "Ueber Natur and Gnade" and became now a regular attendant upon his sermons and "collegia philobiblica" or meetings of a group of students studying biblical interpretation. At this time occurred his conversion; he strove for union with God through intercourse with the Saviour, in the cult of love of Jesus as taught in the pietism founded on Arndt's "Wahres Christenthum." From a second tutorship in Dresden he was dismissed because of ostentatious unworldliness in the hope of converting

1. Published 1680
2. Ritschl II 306
his employers. Again through Spener he gained, 1693, a similar position in Quedlinburg. Here he found enthusiastic pietistic activity in a group of Separatists under the leadership of Hofkiaonous Sprögel. His polemic ardor was aroused. He sang "Babels Grablied" against the church and produced his first large work, "Die erste Liebe, das ist, wahre Abbildung der ersten Christen nach ihrem lebendigen Glauben und heiligen Leben", 1696. This treats of the apostolic and early church of the first four centuries with a practical purpose of edification in idealizing the early Christians at the expense of their later-day brethren. The fall of the church he directs to its union with the state.  

This book led the landgrave of Hessen Darmstadt to appoint Arnold professor of history at the university of Giessen which had recently acquired a theological faculty of pietistic tendency. Induced by friends to accept the position, Arnold quickly became dissatisfied and returned to Quedlinburg. In his justification of this action comes out his belief in the hermit-life as the only type of life wholly acceptable to Christ, because, according to his own experience, in the activity of an official position, the intercourse with the Saviour is forgotten and the tender "life of Christ within" is destroyed. From this standpoint he develops a pietism, widely differing from Spener and Francke, according

1. In "Gottliche Liebesfunken", 1698, the 126th song, quoted by Ritschl II, 306.  
2. Ritschl II 307  
3. "Offenherziges Bekenntniss, was ihn bewogen bei unlängst geschehener freiwilliger Verlassung eines akademischen Amtes" 1698

4. Ritschl II 309
to which the inner light or "Christ in us" as the ground and measure of all salvation, belongs not only to the converted Christian but to all non-christians, Jews, heathen, Turks alike. Thus he dispenses with the worth of the historical manifestation of God in Christ. This indifferentism goes back beyond 1654 when George Fox first made known the idea of it in England. In Weigel, as we shall see, the idea of the "inborn inner light" is fundamental.

The leisure that Arnold sought in Quedlinburg for the "practice of the presence of God" was not evidence of a desire for idleness. He was a man of naturally active temperament, taking delight in hard work. In less than a year he had begun publishing the great work by which he is now known; "Unparteysiche Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie von Anfang des Neuen Testaments bis auf das Jahr Christi 1688", 4 parts in two folio volumes, 1699 and 1700. A second edition, the most wide-spread, appeared 1729; in 1740 a complete edition containing the controversial matter concerning it that had appeared up to that time. The use of the word "unparteisich" Arnold explains as evidence that he had not written from the standpoint or in the service of any particular church, since the law of love for our neighbors taught him

1. Ritschl II 294
2. Hauck: on Arnold
3. Ritschl II 310
"to look toward the invisible, universal church, not united in a certain visible society as our theologians teach, but rather, hidden and scattered throughout the whole world amid all peoples and congregations". He believes that no existing church-form is a "best" form, since the church as an institution has not possessed truth since the golden age of the apostles; both church and society are indeed so far from good that there is hardly a chance for their improvement. Yet in the invisible, universal church the right view of the world has been held by individuals since the beginning and is held now by the pietists. Prejudiced in spite of himself by his own experiences of strife between pietists and orthodox believers, incapable of holding an unbiased opinion regarding the church of his own time, he nevertheless calls his judgment of past church history "unparteiisch". That such a book should call forth opposition from Lutheran theologians, even long after Arnold's death, is a matter of course. On the other hand, Christian Thomasius declared it the best and most useful book of its kind next to the gospels. The theologians of Halle praised it, even while acknowledging its partiality. Spener refused to express a judgment. In his dedication to Kurfürst Friedrich III of Brandenburg, celebrating him as protector of freedom of conscience, Arnold seems to deny his former expressed theory of the indifference of church to state. Replying to one of his opponents, he expresses

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1. K. und K. historie: Vorrede 5§25
2. K. und K. historie II 1363
3. Ritschl II 312
a belief in a state church for its disciplinary value for the uneducated. He explains his absence from the celebration of the Eucharist as being not from disregard but from a reverence for it and an objection to sharing it with the unrepentant, in which he merely followed the example of many good Lutherans. Still believing as he does in the teachings of Luther, he considers himself a Lutheran.

Weigel's idea of "inborn inner light", the basis of Arnold's indifferentism, was closely related to another mystical idea, the "divine God-humanity" of Christ, which he developed in the "Geheimniss der Göttlichen Sophia", 1700. According to Jacob Böhme's version, which Arnold gives in the Kirchenhistorie, the first human being lost his complete or hermaphroditic nature through sinful desire, and the separation of the sexes took place. This ideal original state may be attained in the sight of God by believers, through regeneration in Christ, who, by virtue of his divine nature and birth, the "divine God-humanity" of Christ, is the second complete human being. Marriage prevents the attainment of this perfection. Two years after writing this book Arnold experienced a sudden and complete change of view. He accepted a position as pastor, married one of the daughters of Hofdiakonus Sprögel in Quedlinburg and spent the remainder of his days until his sudden death in 1714 in untiring activity within the established church.

1. I 1146§36
2. Hauck: on Arnold
Chapter II

Relation of Neoplatonism to Pietism.

Freedom of the individual, the fundamental idea of Lutheranism, was more and more lost sight of as the Lutheran creed and dogmas were developed. The same thought had been started by the Anabaptists and lost in their extravagance of doctrine. It was no new idea when it became the fundamental thought of Arnold's church and heretic history, but it was one that the world needed to learn. This book has been called an epoch-making historical work, not because it was "unparteiisch", but because of the new way in which the attempt at impartiality was made. In earlier histories, if men had been accounted heretics by the church, heretics they were and that was the end of them. As a pietist, Arnold himself had often been called a heretic. In his book the works of the so-called heretics are quoted, page after page, to give the reader, "practiced in the ways of the Lord", an opportunity to judge if the church may not have been mistaken. "O wie grausam ist's", exclaims our author in speaking of David Joris, "iemanden um seines Glaubens willen, weil er mit allem seinem Wissen in Gott ist, zu tödten!" From his quotations many valuable sources, otherwise lost, have been preserved and the history of the church given a completeness that it had hitherto lacked.

The book is really an apology for heretics. Part 1 describes the church from the beginning to 1500, part 2 from 1500 to 1688,

1. K. und K. historie: II 500
2. II 634
including the history of rulers and outside nations affecting the development of the church. Parts 3 and 4 (published in the hope, "dass es von rechtschaffenen und verständigen gemüthern zu ihrem und dem gemeinen besten, absonderlich aber zu steuer der so lange und gewaltig unterdrückten wahrheit angewendet werde.") give much detail of the lives and writings of the so-called heretics, closing with a long list of "witnesses to the truth", men and women who have suffered for conscience's sake at the hands of the church.

While neither recommending nor discouraging the reading of his book, Arnold suggests at the end that, since God, after giving us free will, graciously makes our acts conduce to his own good ends, this history may serve some useful purpose, and again he makes a plea for freedom of conscience.

The justification of his interest in alchemy that Goethe found in this church history the pietists of his day were finding in the theosophical writings of Jacob Böhme. But Böhme had not originated the belief in alchemy. Arnold traces its development from Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, the systematizer of neoplatonic thought, through Paracelsus, Weigel, Böhme and many other theosophists who carried it out along Christian lines. He is clearly in sympathy with one of the two essential elements of religion, the ever-changing, personal, mystical element, while rather disregarding for his own view the permanent, unchanging, traditional element, the conservative force binding the ages together and making

1. Vorrede I sections 11, 12
2. " II 1
3. II 1090-1110
4. II 1117§5
5. II 1117§4
6. II 1179§20
possible one humanity. Just so long as these two elements are harmoniously combined, as long as organized religion resists its weakening tendency to settle into a "sacred" form or system, and as long as the "divinely illuminated" escape the exaltation of their own experience, the ignoring of the gains of the race in the light of master-revelations of the past, just so long will religion be ideal and powerful. It is this lack of balance between the two elements that has caused the established church to denounce the mystics, whom they have throughout the ages branded as heretics, with varying names as time went on, as Simonites, Gnostics, New Prophets, Anabaptists, Paracelsians, Böhmists, Rosicrucians, Pietists, Separatists, Quakers, Enthusiasts, fanatics! "Mysticism is fundamentally that type of religion which puts emphasis on immediate awareness of relation with God, on direct and intimate consciousness of Divine Presence. It is religion in its acute, intense and living stage and is not necessarily confined to Christianity".

But with the mystical element in the Christian church has been associated since earliest times the idea of magic, which alchemy teaches, of spirits and angels that appear to man, of visions, of wisdom and control of nature attainable through inner illumination. According to a contemporary of Arnold's, mysticism is a mixture of heathen philosophy, the Jewish Cabala and Christianity, with the result that people are led away from the word of God and the service of the church to waste their lives in vain delusions of Platon-

ic dreams of inner revelation. The movement seems to have begun with the introduction into the church of Platonic ideas through the converted church fathers.

Neoplatonism, the last great intellectual effort of paganism, had perhaps the greatest influence upon the development of mysticism. For many generations it was a necessary part of the Graeco-Roman world. Most Christian thinkers knew their Plato not directly but through the influence of neoplatonism. The master-mind of this school was Plotinus, one of the most profound thinkers between the flowering period of Greek philosophy and the creators of modern philosophy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He was born in Lycopolis, Egypt, in 205 A.D. His biography by his pupil Porphyry, a third century Boswell, gives plenty of gossip but little fact. Plotinus himself seems to have been ashamed of his earthly existence and would tell nothing about himself. His teacher for ten years had been Ammonius Saccus of Alexandria, a Christian who had left the church to return to Greek philosophy. In 244 Plotinus went to Rome, where he became the center for the seekers after truth. Many rich and educated men made him the guardian of their children, for whose education he was so careful that he even listened to their school-compositions. Caring nothing for money himself, he yet managed his wards' property efficiently— that they might have something to give away when they became philosophers! His teachings were collected by his biographer and given out in six Enneads. He died 269, saying, "Now is the Divine in me struggling to unite with the Divine in the All".

1. Colberg: Das Platonisch-Hermetische Christenthum, I 4, 68
2. Jones 70
To supply an origin for Plato's world of ideas and to give opportunity for the conception of development, change and motion, Plotinus places reason as a higher principle above the world of ideas. The foundation of his system is a kind of eternal reciprocal motion based on a statement something like this: "God is not external to anyone, for he is the root of the soul, the center of the mind, and the way home to him is within every person." The first principle of the universe, God, the Unity above all difference, the unknown yet knowing, absolute and beyond all being is the One, which contains All, "like the brilliance radiating from the sun, continually giving light, yet losing nothing of itself." (Ennead V. 1, 6)

From the One emanates the second principle, mind. This is the Overmind, of which all minds partake, in which is everything real and intelligible; it contains the universal principles or patterns; it is Plato's world of ideas, of which the world of sense is only a deceptive picture.

From the Overmind emanates the World Soul, the real mediator between the intelligible world and the world of sense-perception. In it, distinctly separate and yet one, are all individual souls. The outer rim of the world soul is objective reality or matter. The visible world is the manifestation of the ideal world through matter; it is the picture of the ideal world, mirrored through the agency of the world soul in material. Itself above space and time, the world soul in eternal, even calm enlightens the visible world which forms its body. "And the

1. Arthur Drews: Plotin, 118
worldsoul itself, not bound or affected by the world through desire or displeasure, unites the single souls, surrounds the whole world and encloses it in its entirety within itself. As the One is not in the overmind, but rather the overmind is the One; as the overmind is not in the worldsoul, but the worldsoul in the mind, so likewise the worldsoul is not in the world of sense, but the latter is in the worldsoul and is formed and borne by it. All individual souls and objects are in the same way contained as individuals in the worldsoul.

Thus from the highest emanates the lowest. The second principle is the energy or functioning of the One, and the third principle is the energy or functioning of the second. Each is form and content, formative principle and thing formed at the same time. In each is the idea - Urbild - of the following. "Thus one life pervades the whole universe. One sun radiates all existence as its circle of light, enlightening the whole. To the center the connecting threads of all individuals are drawn." (VI 5, 5; 9, 8)²

The other half of the reciprocal motion, the opposite of emanation, is the return of All to the One. Corresponding to the threefold nature of the One is the threefold nature of man, a higher and a lower soul, or soul and spirit, and body. In its twofold nature the soul is amphibian, a citizen of two worlds; the lower soul desires a body and sinks; the higher soul "always   "

1. Drews 173
2. Drews 120
leaves something of itself above." The higher soul is sometimes spoken of as reason, like the reason at the foundation of all things, the One. Originally the human being belonged to the sphere of the intelligible, the overmind. But according to the law of unceasing progress by steps, he gained a soul, the power of separate existence, in the sphere of the worldsoul. The beginning of evil was then his desire for separate existence, his desire to belong independently to himself alone, and this produced the last step in his development, the achievement of a material body. According to Plotinus that desire was the fall of man and resulted in the servitude of the soul. Altho the stay in the body is a remaining evil, it is nevertheless valuable, for it teaches the soul its own worth. That is the first step on the way back to freedom and to the One; the realization of self. "When a man recognizes that he is living in a foreign place, he is then able to begin purifying himself from his body." The second step is a rising into mind by withdrawing himself from desire to a contemplation of the world of ideas. This demands the highest faculty of the individual mind. The third step is ecstasy, a state beyond the ordinary subject-object consciousness, a state of insight into the harmonious working of the universe that comes only in the way of a flash-like illumination or perception. The purified soul looks into itself to realize its

1. Jones 74
2. Drews 215
3. Boucke: Goethe's Weltanschauung auf historischer Grundlage, 49
4. Colberg I 5
5. Boucke 52
identity with the overmind, denying all connection with its own ego. The second half of the reciprocal motion is complete. Thus the universe is an endless activity of diffusion and collection, of dissemination and concentration.

The relation of the One to the overmind Plotinus also speaks of as that of father to son, in which mind represents the absolute completeness and beauty of the One. (V 9,8; 8,13). As son, the overmind is related in love, not only to the father, so that a reciprocal relation of inner unity exists between the two, but is in its turn related as father to the worldsoul, in as far as mind gives content to the soul and is realized in it. (V 1,8; II 3,18). Like the One, the overmind is also called a great god, the substance of all divine, the second God, King of truth, father of all other gods, to whom all pray. With these three were identified in Greek mythology Uranos as the One, Kronos as overmind and Zeus as worldsoul.

The theory of threefold nature is further developed as a necessary harmony. Altho the world of sense is only a copy of the ideal world mirrored on the worldsoul, it is complete. This world of sense-perception as it exists is the best possible world and must not be disregarded. There is a certain enthusiasm for reality in Plotinus, a stirring of the old classic nature-feeling and joy of life. Beauty should be known and reckoned with. Indeed Plotinus is the founder of esthetic pantheism in his philosophic treatment of his idea of the beautiful. The wise

1. Drews 133
2. " 182
3. Boucke 53
man, in this best possible world, cares for his health and the
development of all of his powers. "Only he is sound who cares
for his health." Feeling is the common product of the body and
lower soul. The body serves and suffers, the soul takes up the
impressions and forms opinions. When our actions are not right,
nature or matter alone is acting. Right actions proceed from
our true inner being. To sin is to act from necessity rather
than freedom. The soul becomes truly free in striving for the
good through reason. Death is not something to be feared; it
is only a changing of bodies like the changing of masks or gar-
ments by actors on the stage.

Harmony or sympathy between different natures is not
necessary to the human being alone. It is fundamental to the
whole system and through its teaching Plotinus tried to rational-
ize and improve the existing belief in magic, prophecy etc. The
stars are divine beings, emanated from the world-soul. They
are visible gods, in distinction to the invisible God, the One.
The life of all gods is free from evil; they have no need to make
decisions, to judge; they have no passions, no memory, but live
in an eternal present. "Their life is like an eternal dance to
the harmony of the spheres in the sunlight of the One." With
no memory, the stars can take no conscious part in the life of
man, for only through similarity with the object is perception
possible. Their influence, due to their position, is unconsci-
ous and may be compared to a heavenly writing from which man may
read the future. Between divine and earthly beings are dämonen -
the descending tendency of the worldsoul. Their realm is the

1. Drews 194 3. Drews 239 5. Drews 199
7. " 145; Boucke 50
space between the moon and the earth. Like men they are citizens of two worlds; they are eternal and can behold the ideal world but they have passions, memory, sense-perception. Their bodies are not material yet can be visible in fire or air. Through the universal sympathy of all things they can be guided and controlled by something higher in the scheme of things, man's soul in harmony with the overmind. The earth also has a soul, a reasoning living being, a divinity, which is the creative principle of plants and animals.

Plotinus' dual nature of the human soul, or soul and spirit, has remained the pattern for all succeeding theosophical systems. In working out his master's system, Porphyry turned more to the practical and religious side and completed the transition from philosophy to theology, which determined the form of Christian theology for the middle ages. His pupil, Jamblicus, took neo-platonism from Rome to Asia Minor and interpreted it there, according to his age and environment, allegorically. He divided the members of Plotinus trinity into triads and sacred sevens and with the pythagorean number speculations brought a mathematical fantasy into his system. Jamblicus might have given a strong impulse to the study of natural sciences but he was rather a charlatan and too thoroly enjoyed dabbling in magic. Under his influence the Hermetic writings came to have great significance in philosophic and theological thought. These are old

1. Drews 202
2. " 206
3. Colberg I, 3; Boucke 47
4. Hauck: on neoplatonism
Egyptian treatises on mathematics, astronomy, medicine etc., ascribed to the Egyptian God Tehut or Hermes, the inventor of alchemy and magic, whom the neoplatonians considered an old prophet or king. A mixture of later anonymous Greek and Egyptian mystical writings, also ascribed to him, is included under the same name. After Jamblicus no new element was added to the struggle of Greek philosophy for the true idea of God.¹

Through the earliest church fathers, themselves philosophers perhaps only superficially converted, the ideas of neoplatonism got into the church. In Origen's² doctrine of the Trinity, the Son was less than the Father and the Holy Ghost less than the Son.³ Gregory of Nyssa (died 395) insisted upon a possibility of a union of the Divine and the human through their kindred nature and taught that the outward universe is a visible symbol or parable of a real tho invisible world.⁴ The actual deification of man however is not by mystical vision but through the sacraments. An actual divine nature is born within us by baptism and the Divine life is nourished by the Eucharist. These magical, mystical sacraments came to be in one form or another the prevailing belief throughout Christendom.⁵ It combined the prevailing belief in magic with the yearning of the soul for the real presence of God and became the basis of the later church distinction between good and bad or white and black magic. The real father of Catholic mysticism was St. Augustine. In his

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1. Drews 317  
2. Born 185, died 254  
3. Colberg I, 35  
4. Jones 85  
5. Jones 86
great architectural plan for the church he realized the impossibility of separating the religion of authority and the religion of the spirit. Through him the established church, with its mysterious sacraments, became the final instrument of Divine Grace and the individualistic type of catholic mysticism was determined.

Another way in which mysticism came into the church was through the works of a man writing under the name of Dionysius the Arcopagite, probably a pupil of Proclus, the last neoplatonic teacher. Proclus died 485. Dionysius' system is a religion of ripe speculation, "neoplatonic philosophy slightly sprinkled with baptismal water from a Christian font." He deals, not with the Father of Christ's revelation, an immanent God in whom men live, but with the "Absolute One," in whom the universe exists as emanations from a hidden center. In the ninth century Dionysius was translated into Latin by the Irish scholar John Scotus Erigena who likewise wrote an original work permeated with Dionysian views. This was destined to have a great influence on later generations through the "Summa Theologiae" of Thomas Aquinas, directly founded as it was upon Erigena. The mystical practice of the middle ages reached its height in the monasteries and convents. These institutions themselves were not of strictly Christian origin but were a development of the hermit life early prevalent in Egypt as a mode of attaining platonic purity.

1. Jones 110
2. Born 1225, died 1274
3. Jones 100
Under Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus scholastic theology reached its height about 1250. Aristotelian philosophy was then the instrument of the church and platonic teachings were supposedly excluded. Yet those very teachings were at the basis of Albertus' conception of creation, incarnation and the Trinity! With the new interest in all hellenic life that came with the renaissance, platonic teachings again came to the front, and again through the interpretation of neoplatonism. In Italy, 1440, the Medici founded a neoplatonic academy. There Marsilius Ficinus translated Plato and Plotinus', 1482, interpreting Plato according to Plotinus and treating the Hermetic writings as serious old-Egyptian originals. This gave a great impulse to the existing decided interest in necromancy. A distinction had already been made by Pico della Mirandola, born 1463, one of the foremost Italian naturalists, between white and black magic or magia diabolica and magia naturalis. He recommended also the study of the Cabala, old Jewish writings of the first and second centuries with additions of later times.

Great German mystics, of the negative, renunciation type, had been Meister Eckhard, born about 1260, John Tauler, born 1300 and Thomas a Kempis, born 1380, with his well-known "Imitation of Christ." The great book of this religious movement is the "Theolo-

1. Moriz Carriere: Die philosophische Weltanschauung der Reformationszeit, I, 26
2. Moriz Carriere: I, 85. "This distinction seems to go back to St. Augustine, De civitate Dei, XXI, 4-6." Julius Goebel: Introduction to Faust, XVII.
gia Germanica", in beauty of style and depth of inner experience a classic of mystical literature. Its author is unknown for the reason that he practiced what he taught - the hiding of the "creature", that no glory might accrue to him who held the pen. Luther said: "Next to the Bible and St. Augustine no book hath ever come into my hands from which I have learned more of what God and Christ and man and all things are!" Yet the teachings of all this mystical theology expressed clearly the three steps of the Platonic method of perfection, through purification to enlightenment, through enlightenment to union with Christ and God.

This is some of the most important material that lay before Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim of whom we have already heard as the systematizer of neoplatonic thought. He attempted to unite these various elements in his "De occulta philosophia sive de magia", 1510, laying however most stress upon the practical side of magic. For this, as Arnold tells us, he was denounced as a heretic. Of course there had been heretics, whole sects of them, before Agrippa's day. But since the time of Marsilius Ficinus, also a heretic, the church was especially on its guard against teachers of Hermetic, cabalistic and platonic views. It is of this struggle that Arnold's book is the history.

Before the end of the fifteenth century the traditional, form-element of religious life in the Roman church had completely

1. Jones 291
2. Colberg 61
3. Above page 11
stifled all life of the personal, mystical element. As a result the growth of the mystical side of religion outside of the church had every opportunity to go to undesirable extremes. Platonic mysticism, disseminated by Paracelsus in one form and by Thomas Müntzer in another, bore rapid fruit in the development of new religious forms or communities along with and also even within the Lutheran church.

The freedom that Luther was demanding in the spiritual realm, Karlstadt and Thomas Müntzer and their followers were demanding in the social and political realm. Karlstadt rejected the sacraments, teaching that faith itself is a power of God through which He speaks directly to the soul; by realizing itself the soul knows God. Müntzer was a devout student of Tauler; he was also affected by the prophecy of a churchman of the twelfth century concerning the immediately approaching millennium. Moreover he was still very young and had seen his innocent father hung by order of an unjust prince. We cannot here go into the history of the extravagances and final destruction of many Anabaptists, as the followers of these men were generally called from their insistence upon adult rather than infant baptism. Failing as a social and political force, the movement lived on as a form of religious belief. Founded wholly on inspiration, naturally many sects arose. Once started, inspiration could not be controlled! In the main however the various sects agreed to the

1. Doctor Andreas Bodenstein of Karlstadt.
2. Carrier; I, 202
following doctrines: they reject the preaching of the word of God and disregard the final authority of the scriptures; rely upon inner illumination, trust only to the voice of the spirit within, believing that God dwells bodily within them; believe in "calmest tranquillity" and ecstasy, in the manifestation of God in dreams, visions and in nature; reject the teaching of the Trinity, the work of the Holy Ghost in men through the sacraments, the need of an atonement through Christ; and teach the three parts of man, body, soul and spirit and that God is the original cause of sin.

The believers in these mystical, neoplatonic doctrines formed sects or communities and were named according to their leaders or the places in which they lived. Prevented from organization of any sort by their form of belief, they dwindled away or became merged with other groups holding similar views. The Menorites, a form of Anabaptism, were finally taken by Zinzendorf into his community, 1724.

This was neoplatonism among the common people. In Paracelsus we have the effect of similar basic principles upon a man of science.

Theophrastus Paracelsus was born in Switzerland 1493. His father was a physician and astrologer. Theophrastus studied first with him, then at several universities, took his degree in medicine and completed his education by extensive travel in Europe and the Orient. In 1526 he became professor of natural 1. Colberg: I, 332-4.
science and medicine at Basel. But his restless, eager soul drove him forth to new experience and made his life a series of short stays in widely differing localities. He died 1541. His was an utterly independent nature. The lectures at Basel he began by burning the works of former physicians that he might turn unhindered to the open book of nature. He was the first to deliver lectures in German, and that in a poetically forceful style. His love of wit and irony was the cause of his being often misunderstood by his followers who interpreted his every word seriously. He had a great practical knowledge of chemistry and in his use of drugs was the forerunner of modern materia medica.

A point of difference between Paracelsus and his predecessors was his disbelief in the philosopher's stone as a means of transmutation of metals. This had been the secret goal of all study since Plotinus taught that through absolute harmony all material things may be controlled by a higher power, namely soul of man, and it had been high in favor during the middle ages. His writings however are full of the neoplatonic ideas reexpressed by Picinus and Agrippa, couched in the language of theology, with which his contemporaries bitterly accused him of meddling. He calls the Bible and the Cabala the key to all wisdom and frequently quotes from the Hermetic writings.

His medico-theological system Paracelsus founded on philosophy, astronomy and alchemy and a three-fold nature of man corresponding to the three-fold order of the universe. God is the

1. Carriere: I, 117
2. Colberg: I, 187
founder of all existence, the light of all souls, which emanate from him as his likeness, in each man the same inborn, inner light. From the stars man gets spirit or mind, divided into heavenly and animal mind. From the elements he gets his body, which is the prima materia or quintessence of the whole world, the kernel and foundation of all created things. As microcosm man is the center of creation and is sustained and nourished by all three realms, heaven, the stars and the elements. Nothing exists in heaven or on earth that is not likewise in him. From chaos were all things created through contrast or the law of opposites. Everything - man, stones, animals, water - has a spirit, the active power governing matter. In everything exist the same three elements, salt, sulphur and mercury. Through separation and reunion the manifoldness of all things is attained, that is, through sublimation, combustion and dissolution of the elements under different conditions and grades of purity. Salt is the characteristic firmness; mercury, mobility; sulphur, inflammability. One element must predominate and form the receptacle of the others and lend visible form to the object. Everything lives; death is but a change of activity, the creation of a new nature. The secret power bringing everything to completion is the nature-spirit Adech or Archäus!

Philosophy refers to the knowledge of man and the world and follows the natural light of reason; it is invisible nature. Human knowledge of nature is at once a certain creative power in the natural realm, for whoever becomes rapt in meditation on God

1. Carriere: I, 121
and attains to communion with Christ is truly learned; he knows things in their original source and creative ideas. Out of himself only does man learn; he must develop everything within himself through his own activity. The activity of the mind, in the rapt or enthusiastic, enlightened state, is the imagination. This Paracelsus discovered and he set no limit to its power. God teaches man through the imagination, or through it also the devil acquires power over him.

The true study and use of alchemy is to make effective medicines and restore the harmony of the world. Through the resolution of chemically complicated matter, the prima materia or quintessence may be found. This is the arcana, elixir of life or philosopher's stone, for the preparation of which he describes methods. It cannot be used to make gold from baser metals. It means a regenerated world, the completion of the work of creation. That Adam broke the commandment and was ejected from Eden was not from dishonor but from necessity, that he might take God's place in the world. Good cannot be known without knowledge of evil. The genuine magus or seer is an adept in alchemy; he can read the signature of earthly existence in the heavenly bodies; he distinguishes between bad magic and good, which is merely the knowledge of the secrets of nature and the ability to make use of hidden forces.

The most notable of Paracelsus' followers was Johann Baptista van Helmont, a young nobleman who had given up his position and possessions in accordance with the teachings of Thomas a Kempis and wished to know medicine to be of utmost service to mankind. He returned to the old belief regarding the philosopher's stone but otherwise carried out Paracelsus' teachings, particularly of the imagination. He emphasized the three steps toward union with God: Withdrawal from the life of sense perception through quiet tranquillity to enthusiastic contemplation, through this purification to union with God.

"The neoplatonic and Hermetic theology is best known among the Germans," reads a book published 1710, "under the name of Weigelianism, because it was vigorously promulgated by Valentine Weigel. For altho it had already been pursued by Paracelsus and his following and in part by Schwenkfeld and the Anabaptists, it had been rather kept secret by them or practiced only in part, until Weigel brought it to the light of day in his writings."

Before Weigel's writings became known however, we find the spirit of mystical theology in the work of a younger writer, Johann Arndt. This man enjoyed the unusual reputation of completing the work of Luther and of being a heretic as well. From his pastorate in Badeborn in Anhalt he was dismissed, 1590, for objecting to Calvinistic innovations in the Lutheran church; 1618 he was denounced as a heretic by Lutheran church officials. His work on "true Christianity" was a popular religious treatise like Thomas a Kempis' "Imitation of Christ". It is founded

1. Colberg I 199
2. Carriere I 121
3. Colberg: I, 206
4. Born 1555, died 1621. See page 5 above for influence on Arnold
on a Kempis, Tauler and the "Deutsche Theologie". Of the latter Weigel says "um der ietzigen wohlklingenden liebklaffenden Welt willen, die mehr auf die Zierlichkeit der rede siehet, denn auf den Geist Gottes, habe ich ihm ein wenig seine schwere zunge erleichtert." Arndt makes no pretense of formulating a system of theological doctrine; he hoped merely to give rules for active, genuine Christian life at a time when the Lutheran church was overburdened with the letter rather than the spirit of the law. The highest good of life is a feeling of the beauty of God. There are three steps to its attainment; repentance, enlightenment, union with God through love. True freedom results from an utter denial of self, the giving up of will and all desire. The preached and written Word of God has authority, but no more than faith, the outgrowth of the inborn "inner light". Society should be avoided; "everything in the world is to the Christian only a cross, a temptation to evil". The great demand of true Christianity, the "unio mystica", is the "wedded love for Christ the bridegroom." Arndt was a friend of Johann Valentine Andrea and confessed to a strong interest in philosophy, magic and alchemy.

Johann Valentine Andrea was the probable originator of the secrete order of Rosicrucians. This was an apparently widespread secret society of the middle ages, known about at the

1. See above page 22
2. K. und K. historie; II, 374.
3,4. Ritschl II 47, 48.
5. K. und K. historie II 947.
beginning of the seventeenth century, of which not a single real member has ever been discovered. It is one of the unsolved world mysteries. The style and content of a youthful writing by Andrea led to the conclusion that he was also the writer of the two original Rosicrucian writings, the authorship of which he neither claimed nor denied. "Chymische Hochzeit Christiani Rosenkreutz" was published 1616 but written by Andrea as early as 1602 or 3. "Allgemeine und General Reformation des gantzen weiten Welt. Beneben der Fama Fraternitatis, dess Lüblichen Ordens des Rosenkreutzes, an alle Gelehrte und Häupter Europae geschrieben", 1614 and "Confessio fraternitatis R.C. Ad eruditos Europae", 1615 continue the story and style of the Christian Rosenkreutz of the first writing, supposed founder of the order, and give the rules and history of the society and its plans for the general reformation of church and state. These men believe that through alchemy a philosopher's stone may easily be made and metals transmuted, but they scorn such work in the light of their real task of redeeming mankind through true religion. The interest in this secret society and the polemic ardor for and against it died out during the Forty Years' War. But the writings themselves, whoever the author, are important as showing the general feeling of the time, a belief in magic and alchemy along with a desire for religious freedom and a true inner spiritual life.

Valentine Weigel became known after his death as a supporter of mystical Christianity against the dead religious life of his

1. K. undK. historie I 1118
2. Born 1533, died 1588.
time, when his writings were published in 1612. He had studied
the "Teutsche Theologie", also writings of Dionysius, Erigena,
Paracelsus and Münzer. A twofold philosophy seems expressed in
his system: all things, from God the eternal source, may be learned
either through ardent study of the "book of nature"-(magic) or
through the light of faith in a "still Sabbath", that is, in the
absolute tranquillity of soul in which God speaks to man. A union
of these two sources of wisdom discloses all secrets. Since man
is the microcosm, a knowledge of self is the key to the knowledge
of the world. The reality of all knowledge is in the observer
or subject; the object is only the exciting cause of knowledge.
But God is both subject and object, and since there is, inborn
within us all, the spirit or "inner light" from Him, we can know
Him and all things as well. "God sees Himself through Himself
and knows Himself in us and we in Him". When God rules in man,
he is redeemed; it is a matter of giving up individual will and
waiting in peaceful tranquillity of soul on God. Ceremonies, good
perhaps as reminders of God, are in themselves useless. Sin is
any attempt to accomplish something without God. Peace of soul
and harmony of mind come to the man who lives in God; he has become
divine(vergottet). Weigel differs from Arndt in recognizing no
compromise between the individual measure of all things and external
spiritual authority. With Erigena he considers the separate exis-
tence of the sexes the sign of the fall and sinful state of man,
not however deducing it in the same way. He considers divine
wisdom, or the heavenly Eve, a part of the godhead who from eternity
is bearing the Son of God in the Trinity, who is mother of all

1. K. und K. historie I 1093
2. Ritschl: II 299
living souls and as a virgin born in the flesh in the person of Mary bore Christ into the world. The reception of divine wisdom (Eve) by the faithful forbids marriage.

The highest form of this mystical religious thought, the form in which it gave most to the Christianity and philosophy of modern times was reached in the writings of a simple workingman, Jacob Böhme. In his own day he was called by a few advanced thinkers "the German philosopher", and rightly, for "from how many different standpoints after him the totality of things was viewed and whatever principles of knowledge were discovered, he had indicated them one and all." Jacob Böhme was born 1575 at Alt-Seidenberg near Görlitz, son of poor peasants. He had a little instruction in reading, writing and religion at the village school. He was a quiet, thoughtful child, living in imagination in a world of German goblins and fairies. During his apprenticeship to a shoemaker a stranger prophesied his future greatness and suffering. Dismissed on account of his gentle yet too insistent piety, he finished his training under various masters. On his wanderings he observed with sadness the enmity existing between churches and even within the church itself. He read religious and astrological books, works by Paracelsus and Weigel among others, and prayed ardently for an indwelling of the Holy Spirit. 1594 he became master-shoemaker and married in Görlitz. He died 1624.

At critical times in history, or times of greatness in science, art and moral actions, forces that are working generally among men

1. Ritschl: II 300-1
2. Carrierie I 310
break forth powerfully and suddenly in the case of individuals. The experience is mainly a result of the individual, yet it seems to be happening to another, so opposed is it to his ordinary life; it bursts without reflexion from the depths of the soul and seems like a gift from on high. Such enthusiasm of knowledge or creation appearing suddenly, especially to an utterly unprepared person, results in a condition often passing for ecstasy; it utterly over-whelms the body as Plotinus explains, to whom the experience came three times. Such insight into nature and God came three times likewise to Böhme. After the third time he began to write "Der Morgenröthe im Aufgang", simply for himself, as a memorial. Once known, this raised bitterest opposition among the clergy; at the same time it won friends for him among scientists and philosophers who encouraged him to continue writing.

In his later works we find the clearer statement of his system. The prerequisite of all knowledge is regeneration or being born in God, that is, a consciousness of the "inner light", for an unen-lightened soul (Gemüt) may not grasp heavenly thoughts in an earth-ly receptacle; like comprehends like only. God is the divine, unlimited, indivisible existence, at the same time both rest and activity; creation is not one completed act but a continuous process, with no first and last of development but a circle. This self comprehensive, ever self-creating unity or God includes likewise within itself the Trinity. The desire of love produces the Son and the expression of this love is the Holy Spirit. Nature is as eternal as spirit, for without objective reality the subjec-

1. Carriere I 313
tive or spirit could not prove its own existence; they are inseparable! Eternal nature is called the mysterium magnum or undeveloped possibility of all existence. It is the chaos from which light and darkness eternally evolve, the origin of the four elements. All opposites are held together in chaos by love. Divine life is expressed in the seven forces of nature. These are as closely interrelated as members of a physical body and in them is the essence of all living beings. Böhme calls these forces Quellgeister or Mutter. There are three principles of life, light, darkness and their union, which is the visible world. A continuous uniting and separating, an eternal attraction and repulsion, an everlasting wrath and love is necessary to life. This is the law of opposites.

In the human soul ever-continuing creation is expressed through thoughts or imagination; out of these is born will and from will, actions. Man as manifestation of God bears the seal of the Trinity in his three-fold nature. In his own realm he is the microcosm. Since all existence is conceived as a revelation of the will and love of God, evil cannot exist as a force by itself. Darkness, for example, does not merely express the bad. Any turning away from God to independence apart from him is evil. It appeared first as pride in the archangel Lucifer, in his selfish desire to be more than others. Created as a perfect being, man was higher than the angels and greater than the fallen Lucifer, because he was fully complete. But he lost

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1. Carriere I, 336
2. K. und K. historie, I 1143
the inner divine wisdom from his nature by imitating Lucifer in his desire for separateness from his origin, lost therefore his completeness and was separated into the two sexes under the forms of Adam and Eve. Hence marriage is holy, since only through union with his complementary nature can an individual gain his birthright of harmonious completeness. No man has any right to more possessions than his neighbor has. Government is necessary until all men return to full freedom in God. The sacraments are outer symbols of the inner Christ, helpful according to the measure of our faith. The philosopher’s stone, some day to be found by "the enlightened", will help bring in the time of peace and harmony throughout the whole earth.

Since the rise of Lutheranism, various church communities had been formed, separate from the established church, often bitterly opposed to it. Into their possession came this literature of Platonic Christianity. With the inauguration of conventicles within the church itself, by Spener, the ideas of separatism and the leaven of mysticism followed this same literature through the conventicle into the church itself. Pietism flourished in groups within the church as well as in sects without. Thus as a young man Goethe, under the shelter of the old church, imbibed those new doctrines which allowed him to formulate his own religion, which gave him material for some of his greatest productions and which became the battle-cry of the Storm and Stress period.

1. K. und K. historie I 1147
In his religious thought Goethe was profoundly impressed by Arnold's insistence upon freedom of conscience. The religious scheme that he formulated after studying Arnold seems taken in its fundamental ideas from the quotations from Böhme. The Godhead, eternally self-producing, appears in successive creations as a Trinity. As Böhme explains: "Gott Vater, Sohn, heiliger Geist, von ewigkeit von nichts herkommend, von und aus sich selber von ewigkeit immer erbohren, keinen anfang noch ende, sondern in sich selbst wohnend, mit nichts gefasst, keiner raumlichkeit unterworffen, weder ziel noch ort....Der Sohn sey das hertz in dem Vater in allen seinen kräften....Der heilige Geist gehe vom Vater und Sohn aus, als der heilige quellende freuden-quell in dem Vater." Yet, instead of having man created directly by God, "ist es ein schöner, der Poesie zusagender Gedanke, die Menschen nicht durch den obersten Weltherrschers, sondern durch eine Mittelfigur hervorbringen zu lassen, die aber doch, als Abkörning der ältesten Dynastie, hierzu würdig und wichtig genug ist." This is the general idea of the emanations of Plotinus, each creation dependent upon the preceding and only indirectly upon the central source. In Böhme there are the "Seven Spirits of God" from which

2. " 218 ff, 4-15.
the spirit of nature and all material existence proceeds; Lucifer also has an influence in man's creation. Man's soul however comes directly from the Holy Spirit. "Wir Menschen sind alle vom Göttlichen so durchdrungen, dass es uns hält, dass wir darin leben, weben und sind", Goethe says to Eckermann. Lucifer, the creator of the Angels in Goethe's system, forgets his origin in the glory of his creation and believes himself possessed of unbounded power. Böhme expresses the same ingratitude: "Lucifer sey ein gross theil der Gottheit, und habe dennoch dem hertzen Gottes oder dem Sohn Gottes sich widersetzet, und dessen licht verachtet, auch wider seine sanftmuth und liebe in harten donnerschlägen und feuer gestürmet." Part of the angels leave Lucifer, part join with him against God. "Dass aber Lucifer, als der kern und das grösste theil der Gottheit dennoch von Gott abfallen, und also in der durch die englische creaturen sich offenbarenden Gottheit ein streit entstehen können, sey so gar nichts falsches, weil alsdenn nicht Gott wieder Gott, sondern die aus Gott ausgegangene und sichtbar gewordene creatur wieder ihren schöpfer sich erhoben!"

1. K. und K. historie I 1143§28
2. " I 1145§33
3. " I 1144§31
4. 28. Februar 1831. Quoted in Bode: Meine Religion 4
5. K. und K. historie I 1145§34
7. K. und K. historie I 1145§34
Like Lucifer man was created with the power of choice ("zugleich unbedingt und beschränkt"). From Böhme: "Also liess' Gott den baum des erkäntniss gutes und böses...wachsen. Denn die grosse macht der seelen und des leibes hatten das verursacht: so musste der mensch probiret werden, ob er wolte in eigenen krafften vor dem versucher dem teuffel..., ob die seele wolte in der gleichen concordanz der eigenschafften stehen bleiben, in wahrer gelassenheit unter Gottes geiste als ein zugerichtetes Werkzeug der harmony Gottes". Man followed the example of Lucifer in leaving God. But "die ganze Schöpfung ist nichts und war nichts als ein Abfallen und Zurückkehren zum Urspründlichen".

This falling away from God and returning to Him or concentration and expansion, as Goethe also expressed it, is like Böhme's teaching of the two principles of life: "Es sey in dem unergründlichen abgrund liebe und zorn, gnade und gerichte, barmhertzigkeit und strengigkeit wunderbarlich impliciret, das sich hernach nur in den creaturen scheidet und aussere". The underlying thought of the system is the opportunity, even the duty given us "uns zu erheben und die Absichten der Gottheit dadurch zu erfüllen, dass wir, indem wir von einer Seite uns zu verselbstigen genötigt sind, von der andern in regelmässigen Pulsen uns zu entselbstigen nicht versäumen!"

1. D. u. W. -W. XXVII 220 ff 25,6
2. K. und K. historie I 1147§38
3. D. u. W.-W. XXVII 221 ff 8-10
4. K. und K. historie I 1144§29
5. D. u. W. -W. XXVII 222 ff 2-6
Weigel teaches this same striving for knowledge of self that man may find God and then lose self in Him.

The thought of God existing and continuing in activity and creation, or "Gottheit wirksam im Werdenden und sich Verwandeln-
den", Goethe expresses in Faust 1. 1237, "Im Anfang war die Tat!"

In the Neoplatonic system evil is not represented as a force existing independently of good and nearly as strong, though to be conquered in the end. The origin of evil is rather the act of Lucifer's ingratitude. With Böhme, as we have seen, lack of balance between the opposing principles of life develops as evil in the "creature". There can be no original evil, since all is from God. Goethe tells us that just this question of the origin of evil has more than once caused division within the church; "Ein Theil behauptete, dass die menschliche Natur durch den Sündenfall dergestalt verdorben sei, dass auch bis in ihren innersten Kern nicht das mindeste Gute an ihr zu finden, deshalb der Mensch auf seine eigenen Kräfte durchaus Verzicht zu thun, und alles von der Gnade und ihrer Einwirkung zu erwarten habe. Der andere Theil gab zwar die erblichen Mängel der Menschen sehrgern zu, wollte aber der Natur inwendig noch einen gewissen Keim zugestehen, welcher, durch göttliche Gnade belebt, zu einem frohen Baume geistiger Glückseligkeit empornwachsen könne. Von dieser letztern Ueberzeugung war ich auf's innigste durchdrungen".

5. D. u. W.-W. XXVIII, 305
This is clearly the teaching of Weigel, "Es ist das angebohrne licht in einem jeden, daraus alle erkäntnüss fleusset, und ist in uns allen; Wer in diesen licht wandelt, der fehlt nicht, er geht auf dem engen schmahlen wege zum leben." Paracelsus likewise speaks "von dem wahren überbliebenen saamen Gottes in uns, der nach dem fall übrig geblieben."

Arnolds preference for the "inivisible universal church" and the statement of Dieterich Cornhertz, "dass einer wohl ein wahrer Christ sein konne, wenn er sich gleich nicht zu einer sichtbaren kirchen halte", may have been in part what was in Goethe's mind when he had Faust explain his religion to Gretchen, leaving out all reference to the church or to the necessity for such an institution.

In his philosophical thought under Arnolds influence Goethe included a belief in magic, or at least an interest in magic sufficient to produce Faust. Paracelsus defines magic, or "himmlisch philosophia" as Weigel calls it, as "die verborgenste kunst und grosste weissheit übernaturlicher ding[e] auf erden: Und was menschlicher vernunft unmöglich zu erfahren und zu ergründen, das mag durch die kunst magica erfahren und ergründet werden." According to Böhme, "das verbum fiat noch heute im schaffen sey, ob

2. " I, 782
3. Above, page note
6. " II, 462
es wohl nicht sternen und erde schafft, so würcket es doch noch in derselben eigenschaft, formet und coagulirt; der natur ist alles möglich, gleichwie ihr im anfange ist möglich gewesen, steine und erde zu gebären, sowohl sternen und vier elemente, und solche aus einem einzigen grunde ausgeführt hat; also ist's noch heute; durch die starcke begierde (welche der magische grund ist) mag alles vollbracht werden, so man die natur in ihrer ordnung zu einem wercke braucht. Alle wesen stehen in den sieben eigenschaftsen (sieben Geister Gottes): Wer nun das wesen erkennt, der kan es durch denselben Geist derselben essentz, daraus es ein wesen worden ist, in eine andere form transmutiren, auch in ein ander wesen einführen'.

The realm of magic is "das grosse Weltbuch der Natur"², "das höchste buch sapientia, welche von dem einzigen Geist Gottes ausgehet, als dem centro der natur gesucht werden. Im selbigen ist der grund, die wahrheit und erkantniss aller dinge."³ It is taught by alchemy and astrology⁴, which give"einen freyen zutritt zu den innersten geheimnissen der natur."⁵

Control of nature is possible because man is the quintessence of nature, the microcosm in which are all elements of the great world. "Der menschliche leib ist ein aus den allersubtilsten stücklein metallischer, mineralischer, meteorischer und thiere-leiber durch den willen des fleischlichen gesetzes von unterschiedlichen gliedern aufgerichtetes sichtbar gebau." Through the soul

1. K. und K. historie II, 464
2. " II, 12 §5.
3. " II 445: Paracelsus
4. " I, 1123 § 19: Julius Sperber
5. " II, 949: Rosenkreutzer
6. " II, 113 § 16 Kozak, an "adeptus"
which receives the Holy Ghost, the controlling wisdom of the Father comes to man. "Der Vatervermag alle dinge durch seine weissheit und kunst. Also nun sollen wir auch alle dinge vermögen, nichts soll uns widerstehen, weder magia, incantationes, chiromantia, dann diese dinge alle sind aus Gott und sind seine kunst." Also "der Mensch ist aus dem gantzen wesen der Gottes-heit gemacht." Therefore he can come into direct relation with the Deity; he can evoke and control spirits, subject nature forces to his will, understanding as he does the sympathy connecting the phenomena of nature.

The power of magic comes from the stars, since from them man has his lower reason, just as his higher (divine) reason is from the Holy Spirit. This lower reason is also called vis imaginatio, the faculty of mind through which the spirits of the stars communicate with the human soul. Paracelsus ascribes great power to the imagination: "Denn also sind sehr viel bessessen worden vom teuffel, daran ihre eigensinnige böse gedancken und ihre imaginatio schuldig ist gewesen...Bildet Gott euch ein, so möget ihr ihm gleichen." And again, "Die perfecte imagination, die von den astris kommt, entspringt in dem gemüt, in dem alle astra verborgen liegen." The best time for the exercise of the imagination is at night, when all is quiet, also "in heimlichen besondern orten." Compare Faust, lines 391-3:

1. K. und K. historie, II, 444: Paracelsus
2. " I, 1144 § 31: Böhme
3. " II, 445: Paracelsus
4. " II, 439
5. " II, 442
"Ach, könnt' ich doch auf Bergeshöhn
In deinem lieben Lichte gehen,
Um Bergeshöhle mit Geistern schweben...

Nostradamus' Astrological book, that Faust wanted to take with him out into the night for his study of magic, Arnold mentions. Nostradamus lays great emphasis on astrology - medicine is nothing without it.

Each human being has his own spirit or guardian angel, who appears to him in dreams or visions, or even as an apparition, since spirits have visible bodies of fire. The Earthspirit appears to Faust in "röntlicher Flamme" (line 481). He leaves Faust with the mocking statement, "Du gleichst dem Geist, den du begreifst, nicht mir!" (l. 512). That was because all magic depends upon "Gleichheit" and its opposite. "Alle dinge zu verändern, muss durch die gleichheit als durch sein eigenes geschehen; denn das fremd ist sein feind...Also steht alles in der gleichheit und ein jedes ding mag in seine gleichheit einge-führet werden." This Earthspirit or "Spiritus mundi" is "der Geist des erschaffenen welt-wesens, welcher vergehen wird mit dem globo oder kugel der welt. Aus diesem fliesset die irdig-keit; er regieret den menschen durch das gestirn."

The divine wisdom lost in Adam may again become the possession of man through magic. "Allda weil Adam auch nach derselben lust magiam zu erkennen und zu prüfen imaginirte, und wolte seyn als Gott, so liess es ihm doch Gott zu, dass er sein himmlisches

1. K. und K. historie, II, 429
2. I, 1095 § 13: Weigel
3. II, 86 § 44: Campanella
4. II, 336 §§ 11, 13
5. II, 464: Böhme
6. II, 1460: Böhme
bild mit der eitelkeit der natur füllte und ganz finster und
irdisch machte, wie Lucifer auch that... So will ich denn den
leser gewarnet haben: dass er die magiam recht brauche, als in
einem rechten glauben und demuth gegen Gott."

"Magiam recht brauchen" presupposes the difference between
black magic, the magia diabolica that evokes evil spirits and
is in league with Satan, and the magia naturalis that has just
been described, in which even Luther believed. In white magic
there is no conjuration. "Dann magia ist eine behende reine
kunst, nicht mit ceremonien oder conjurationibus befleckt, wie
denn nigromantia." In Faust's monologue, written under the
influence of Goethe's alchemistic studies, there is no conjuration;
Faust simply calls on the spirit by name (l. 481); the spirit is
obliged to obey by reason of Faust's "starcke begierde der ein-
bildung". Later in the play, after the original plan had been
changed to include a compact with the devil, Goethe no longer
keeps strictly to the magia naturalis and Faust uses conjurations
(l. 1273 ff.) to find the spirit that has followed him home from
his walk in the form of a dog. Agrippa von Nettesheim, who was
accused of being in league with the devil "hatte einen schwartzen
hund stets bey sich, welches ein böser geist gewesen wäre." A
companion between Faust's monologue and the witch scene in which
he is given the love-philtre is a striking illustration of the

1. K. und K. historie, II, 464: Böhme
2. " II, 466
3. " II, 463: Böhme
4. " II, 1458: Böhme
5. " I, 789
difference between white and black magic and a confirmation of Böhme's statement, that evil is wrought upon the soul of man by witches. They have control over "irdische geister, die dem erleuchteten wesen Jesu Christi im menschen entgegen stehen und in seele und leib das verderben wirken."^2

Goethe's introduction to Spinoza was through Arnold.\(^3\) From the general high regard in which he held the men whom Arnold respected, it seems probable that his interest in the Dutch philosopher may have arisen then and that Arnold represented one of the sources of which Bielschowsky speaks.\(^4\)

The foundation of all learning Goethe placed in knowledge of self. "Suchet in euch, so werdet ihr alles finden, und erfreuet euch, wenn da draussen, wie ihr es immer heissen möget, eine Natur liegt, die Ja und Amen zu allem sagt, was ihr in euch selbst gefunden habt."^5 Very similar sounds Weigel's belief: "Der mensch hat die ewige seele durch das einblasen von Gott sammt dem heiligen Geist, derhalben liegt auch die himmlische weissheit in ihm, daraus geschlossen wird, dass alle erkännis göttlicher dinge nicht aus den büchern genommen werde, sondern aus dem menschen selbst herfliesse in den buchstaben; Derhalben wer oft betrachtet die ewige Gottheit und seine Wercke, auch sich selber

1. K. und K. historie, II, 463
2. " II, 31: Hiel
3. " I, 1085
4. B: Life of Goethe, II, 157
5. Sprüche in Prosa, Aphorismen.
lernet und kennet, der erlangt vollkommene weissheit und sein studiren kommt ihm leicht an'. Lerne zuvor selber, ehe du andere lehrest," warns Arnold.

In Faust and elsewhere Goethe expresses emphatically the difference between the spoken work and the real idea back of it, the inadequacy of words for ideas. "Was ich recht weiss, weiss ich nur mir selbst, ein ausgeschossenes Wort fördert selten". "Die Symbolik verwandelt die Erscheinung in Idee, die Idee in ein Bild und so, dass die Idee im Bild immer unendlich wirksam und unerreichbar bleibt und selbst in allen Sprachen ausgesprochen doch unaussprechlich bliebe." Faust expresses his disgust for mere words. "Dass ich...schau' alle Wirkenskraft und Samen, und tu' nicht mehr in Worten kramen" (11. 384,5). He hesitates to express his belief in God, since words are the only medium: "Wer darf ihm nennen?" (1. 3432). Mephistopheles says, "Gewöhnlich glaubt der Mensch, wenn er nur Worte hört, "Es müsse sich dabei doch auch was denken lassen." Goethe sums up his feeling: "Leider denkt und weiss der Mensch meistenteils, besser als er sich ausspricht." Among the alchemists we find the same complaint of difference "zwischen dem sprechen und wesentlichen wort".

3. Sprache in Pros: Naturwissenschaft
4. "
5. " , Sechste Abteilung.
6. K. und K. historie, II, 31
This is oftener, however, because of the secrets contained within
the word itself of which the spoken word conveys no meaning. For
example, "Was für geheimnisse im wort schaffen verborgen liegen!"
and "Was für grosse geheimnisse unter diesem wort anfang verborgen sein." Paracelsus speaks of secrets of nature, "zum theil
sonst mit subtilen geheimen worten beschrieben." A psychological conception of great importance that Goethe
gained from Arnold was in Paracelsus' idea of the heart or feel-
ings as the center of truth and feeling, the eternal part of man,
rather than the mind. "Von dem sitz der weissheit, dem mensch-
lchen Gemuth," Paracelsus writes: "Es ist solch ein gross ding
um des menschen gemuth, also dass es niemand möglicher ist aus-
zusprechen; und wie Gott selbst, und prima materia, und der himmel,
diese drey, ewig und unzergänglich sind; also ist auch das gemuth des menschen. Darum wird der mensch selig durch und mit
seinem gemuth, das ist, er lebt ewig, und stirbt nimmermehr,
as wenig als Enoch und Elias, die auch ihr gemuth recht erkennen
haben. Und wann wir menschen unser gemuth recht erkennen, so
wäre uns nichts unmöglich auf erden."^3

The exalted, illuminated condition of the feelings, the enthu-
thusiasm in which perfect imagination is possible, resembles an
ecstatic state; it is that lack of self-consciousness on the part
of genius that results in unconscious creative activity; it is

1. K. und K. historie, II, 3 §§ 6,7
2. " II, 439
3. " II, 442 § 13
"das Unbewusste". "Wie aber dasselbige recht zu erkennen seye, wann es in seiner exaltation ist, so wisse, dass das gemuth in ihm selbst ist versunken und ertrunken, das ist, der mensch ist mit sehenden augen blind, mit hörenden ohren hörlos, mit seiner nasen schmäcket er nichts, mit seinen händen betastet und greift er nichts, sein leib empfindet nichts. Das ist nun also zu verstehen: Er siehet wohl, weiss aber nicht was er siehet: Er höret wohl reden, verstehet aber nichts; hat wohl den thon und hall eines jeden dinges, weiss aber nicht was es ist, verstehet es nicht. Also; er schmäcket wohl, weiss aber nicht was er schmäcket. Er greiffet wohl, weiss aber nicht was er greiffet; dann er hat sich allein an dem ding, so ihm in seinem gemuth liegt, ersehen und vergafft, wie ein affe in einem spiegel, oder wie ein kind an einem schönen krägen, oder wie ein narr an einem gemälde. Dann ein mensch, der in solchen tieffen gedancken ist, und in seinem gemuth also ertrunken, der ist gleich, also hätte er seine fünff sinne verlohren, und für der welt vor den grössten stock - narren gehalten wird; ist aber bey Gott der all-erweiseste mensch, dem er seine heimlichkeit wissen läst, und in das verborgene hineinsehen läst, mehr dann alle welt-weise. Darum solt ihr auch wissen, dass die perfecte imagination ent- springt in dem gemuth; Und das gemuth, der glaube und die imagina- tion sind drey dinge zu rechnen; dann die namen sind unterschied- lich, haben aber gleiche krafft und starcke, dann es kommt eins aus dem anderen!" Goethe tells us, in much shorter form, "Vom eigentlich Produktiven ist niemand Herr, und sie müssen es all nur so gewöhren lassen."' The insight into the workings of

1. Sprache in Prosa, Dritte Abteilung
nature and God that comes these moments of enlightenment Goethe calls "Aperçu.".

The power of the imagination Paracelsus also realizes. He seems almost to ascribe to it what was formerly ascribed to magic. "Durch das gemüth kommen wir zu Gott, durch den glauben zu Christ, durch die imagination empfahen wir den heiligen Geist. Darum auch diesen dreyen, wie der Trinitati Dei, nichts unmöglich ist. So werden wir gleich denen Aposteln, wir färchten weder den tod noch gefängniss, weder marter noch pein, arbeit, armuth, hunger noch anders dergleichen. Wir können den teuffel austreiben, krancken gesund machen, todtle lebendig machen, berge versetzen, wie dann wir de Dei Trinitate schreiben." The imagination has also true creative power: "Ein exempel haben wir an der speculation: Dann wir sehen einen, der da speculirt, und hat deren dinge einem verstand, darinnen er speculiret; Läst er nun nicht davon ab, und ihme ernstlich angelegen seyn, so erfindet er in solcher speculation die practick." Goethe says: "Es giebt eine enthusiastische Reflexion, die von dem grössten Wert ist, wenn man sich von ihr nur nicht hinreissen lässt." Of his own creative activity he says: "Mein ganzes inneres Wirken erwies sich als eine lebendige Heuristik (Erfindungskraft), welche, eine unbe- kannte geahnete Regel anerkennend, solche in der Aussenwelt zu finden und in die Aussenwelt einzuführen trachtet."

The idea of direct inspiration from God was also in Paracelsus teaching as well as the thought of a helpful, guiding spirit or "genius": "Gott wird dich auch selbst durch seinen heiligen

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1. K. und K. historie, II, 442, § 13
2. Sprüche in Prosa, Dritte Abteilung.
3. "Sprüche in Prosa, Dritte Abteilung."
Geist lehren, und in nutzbaren dingen in der wahrheit unterrichten, nicht allein im traum, sondern auch wachsend in der contemplation im lesen, in gedancken und sinnen, sowohl im wirken, als in imagination. Er wird dir auch seine heilige liebe engel zu dienen geben und zuorden, welche deine gehulffen, lehrer und fuhrer seyn werden."

The significance of the unconscious, "plant-like" growth of genius, the power of the imagination as truly creative activity, the emptiness of head-knowledge unaccompanied by heart-knowledge, the idea of unity in nature, of a thought-process that identifies subject with object, of a helpful, guiding genius,—all of these ideas Goethe might have found in Arnold. The same thoughts were in Herder's mind; he helped to clarify them for Goethe and mould them into action, but he could not have presented them as something entirely new to Goethe.

Thus it was partly from Arnold that the Sturm and Drang movement took its origin. The Divine Being was the source of all, hence all men were brothers; the Divine Being was the source (Quelle) of art and progress, free to all men or even within each one who recognized Its presence, every man might be a creator, each one might help in the spiritual regeneration of the world, the poetical revelation of the true depths of human nature.

"Alles ist gleich, alles ungleich, alles nützlich und schädlich, sprechend und stumm, vernünftig und unvernünftig. Und was man von einzelnen Dingen bekennt, widerspricht sich ofters." In

1. K. und K. historie II 460.
2. Goethe Jahrbuch XXV, Goethe und Herder, Julius Goebel
other words a law of opposites rules the universe. It exists in
the moral realm: "Alles Edle ist an sich stiller Natur und scheint
zu schlafen bis es durch Widerspruch geweckt und herausgefordert
werde." It exists likewise in the realm of nature, as one of
the two great forces of nature, "Polarität und Steigerung. Jene
ist in immerwährendem Anziehen und Abstossen; diese in immer-
strebendem Aufsteigen.²" Harmony results from these forces since
they maintain the equilibrium of the universe. Nature itself
is limited and defined by opposites; "sie ist lieblich und schreck-
lich, kraftlos und allgewaltig; ist ganz und doch immer unvol-
lendet. Was wahr ist und was falsch ist, alles hat sie gesproch-
en."³

The theory of color is founded upon the opposing forces of
light and darkness in their effect upon the retina. "Das Auge
hat sein Dasein dem Licht zu danken. Aus gleichgültigen thier-
ischen Hülfsorganen ruft sich das Licht ein Organ hervor, dass
seines Gleiche werde; und es bildet sich das Auge am Lichte für's
Licht, damit das innere Licht dem äusseren entgegentrete. Hierbei
erinnern wir uns der alten ionischen Schule, welche mit so grosser
Bedenksamkeit immer wiederholte: nur vom Gleichen werde Gleiches
erkannt; wie auch der Worte eines alten Mystikers, die mir in
deutschen Reimen folgendermassen ausdücken möchten:

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1. Eckermann 1. April 1827
3. " " " p. 9
"War' nicht das Auge sonnenhaft,
Wie könnten wir das Licht erblichen?
Lebt nicht in uns des Gottes eigne Kraft,
Wie könnt' uns Göttliches entzücken?"

The idea of a Weltseelea Goethe likewise retains in his nature philosophy, beginning with the thought that there is no matter without spirit, and no spirit that is not pervading matter.²

It is not difficult to recognize in all this parallels to the teachings of Paracelsus and Böhme, as we have learned them, concerning the "two principles of life" and the attracting power of similarity."³

In one of his unfinished poems Goethe planned a work that would have shown conclusively his indebtedness to Arnold. This is "Die Geheimnisse", which begins the history of the secret order of Rosicrucians."⁴

3. Above page 39, note 4
4. " " 44, note 5
5. K. und K. historie, I, 1114-30 and II, 947-9
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