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ORIGIN OF THE GERMAN NOVEL

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Introduction.--- As literature is the truest and deepest expression of a nation's inner life, it is linked inseparably with the nation's philosophical view of the world. The gift of any writer to his age is a return of what he received from it; his contribution is, however, ennobled and refined; it is precisely in proportion to the vigor of the ethical, religious, and intellectual waves of life around him. The epic, the drama, the romance, and the novel, more than other literary productions, reflect the spirit of a period; and it is especially the romance, the "subjective epopee" of the internal and external development of individuals, social ranks, and nations, that with seismographical certainty registers the slightest vibrations in the world of thought. The romance discloses a people's intellectual resources, its powers and weaknesses, its yearnings and hopes, its defeats and victories. Thus the romance rings with life, voice, and revelation.

Still the novel is said to hold a higher place in fiction than the romance on account of the more careful study of life and character it presents.

Why, then, is it considered intellectual suicide to spend one's time and to waste one's energies unravelling improbable plots or watching puppets of the brain? Why, then, did the British Museum prior to 1910 make the rule to let out no novels to readers till after the expiration of five years? Because popular favor is no criterion of worth. By nature the novel is a child of rebellion. Its very existence it owes to revolution and turmoil in the world of thought, to the breaking of ancient standards of traditions, as shall be shown later on.

Purpose of the novel.--- But the novel, nevertheless, may contain many a gem which brings home to us a beautiful lesson. A novel without a purpose is no

more to be conceived than an arch without a key-stone. "Various are the ways in which the goodness of that purpose may be shown: now it is to place before us an ideal of life in its diverse phases, now to caution us against some of the evils gnawing at the vitals of society, now to bring the past nearer, now to photograph glimpses of an order of things passing away forever, now to put us in the presence of higher truths and we have well-written and powerful novels illustrative of all these ways [1:53.]"

In America the novel was the dominating form of literature of the nineteenth century, although the short story was even more in vogue. As to the rank of the American novel, opinions differ. Brander Matthews, in his treatise on the short story, maintains that on account of special conditions of our civilization--the vast extent of the country, the heterogeneous population, the wide variety of interests--it will be almost impossible to bring forth a work of fiction which can be recognized as the "Great American Novel."

Nature of the German Novel.-- What, then, is the nature of the German novel?

In what aspects does it differ from the romance and from other types of objective literature? When did it first appear in German literature and to what circumstances can we trace its origin?

The problem concerning the nature and the origin of the German novel has been of long-standing interest to German authors. Throughout the last centuries various attempts have been made to arrive at a satisfactory explanation by way of definition and discussion; all statements, however, have been made from a more or less limited point of view, excluding from consideration the older and legitimate sister of the novel in the world abroad. To anyone who is in quest of theoretical information on the novel the period of Goethe up to the present day will furnish abundant and useful material. Indeed, no less distinguished writer than Goethe (1748-1832) himself had taken the novel within the sphere of his interest. In a writing to Eckerman

he sets forth his opinion of the novel, calling it merely the account of a "strange happening." Referring to the many literary articles current in Germany under the title of a novel, he comments on the illegitimate use of the term.

Guided by the literary standards of today, one can readily see that Goethe's definition is far from being correct: it not only fails to disclose the essence of the term, but is also does not go beyond the meaning of the French word, which, indeed, means "strange" or "novel." In this particular sense the term seems to have been universally applied during the Middle Ages. In Ben Johnson's writing we read: "Are there any novels this morning?" and Massinger writes in the same sense: "You promise some novels that might delight us!"

Prior to Goethe, Frederick Schlegel (1749-1832), a German philosopher and founder of the romantic movement in literature, had given utterance to his opinion on the novel (13:1:30.) He bases his judgment upon a study of the poetical works of Boccaccio and Cervantes. Discovering the subjective character of Boccaccio's novels, he draws the conclusion that among the various types of objective literature the novel is best suited to express individual views. The method he calls "indirect subjectivity," as the author is allowed to disguise his views or to project his personality into that of his characters. Schlegel then forms his definition somewhat as follows: The novel is an anecdote, a story hitherto unknown. For its interest it depends chiefly on the story element itself and not on any other factor such as nationality, time or social conditions. For this reason he calls the novel a narrative of social events lacking a social background. Alluding again to the novels of Boccaccio and Cervantes, Schlegel adds that

some novels contain but pranks and jokes, which statement of his largely widens the scope of the novel. Indeed, do we find in Germany literary productions published under the title "Schwanknovelle." Whether they deserve to be classified with the novel as such will be reserved for future discussion.

There is another item of interest in Schlegel's exposition on the novel. In substantiating his idea of "indirect subjectivity," he emphasizes the necessity of individual expression. Thus a plot worked out into stories by different authors will no longer be the same in both construction and content. Therefore Schlegel argues that it is less the subject-matter than the personal conception, the individual expression of thought and feeling, by which the merits of a novel are to be judged. He moreover grants ample scope to the individuality of the author, the highest perfection of which he thinks is attained in the creation of the symbolic novel.

A. W. Schlegel (1767-1845) resumes his brother's thought as to the relation of the novel to social history. He, too, speaks of social events that are neither influenced nor controlled by social agencies; it is for this reason that the novel relates strange facts which do not fall within the jurisdiction of the laws. He also--and this is of far greater import--makes a revelation as to the form of the novel. The novel is to have certain turning-points, so as to bring out the main phases of the story. A change of character or mental attitude, for instance, must be brought about in the novel by external forces, while a broad and gradual transformation of purely internal conditions is characteristic of the romance. Schlegel's concept of the turning-points is still further developed by Tieck. He asserts that although the turning-points apparently revert the story, they are a most

vital factor in carrying forward the plot. They help to develop the action by adjusting it to character and circumstances; they also by their very nature tend to influence strongly the imagination. The grip on the imagination will be the firmer, the more the events partake of the strange, the mysterious, the wonderful, and the more, under new circumstances, they prove to be but everyday happenings.

Visher in his "Aesthetics" draws a comparison between the novel and the romance. He says the former is to the latter what a single ray is to a mass of light. "Sie giebt nicht das umfassende Bild der Weltzustände, aber einen Ausschnitt aus ihnen der mit intensiver, momentaner Staerke auf das groessere Ganze als Perspective hinausweist, nicht die vollstaendige Entwicklung einer Persoenlichkeit, aber ein Stueck aus einem Menschenleben das eine Spannung, eine Krise hat und uns durch eine Gemuet---Schicksals-wendung mit scharfem Accente zeigt, was Menschenleben ueberhaupt ist (12: 192.)" The difference, therefore, between novel and romance we may roughly state as follows: The novel pictures but one situation while the romance pictures many of them. Today it is a widely accepted view among the learned in Germany that the novel is but a shortened romance.

Thus far the ideas of various authors have been employed in the attempt to cast more light upon the nature of the novel. The task placed next before us is, to weigh carefully the statements made, to point out contradictory opinions, and to undertake a study of historical facts, that is, of the novels of the past in the light of the principles discovered.

Historical Facts.-- History is an infallible source of information. The bulk of novels produced in the Occident are a written memorial of the intellectual, spiritual, and moral waves sweeping over Western Europe. As many another monument of art, they testify to man's double genius: they show it ascending the heights of human thought and aspirations, they also reveal it faltering and stumbling in the by-paths of a sordid and ruined

existence.

Logically, the nature and the origin of a thing cannot be separated, as one is understood only by a thorough knowledge of the other. To catch a glimpse of the nature of the oldest novels we have to retrace our steps far down into the Middle Ages.

"Disciplina Clericalis." The oldest mediaeval collection of novels is the "Disciplina Clericalis" of Petrus Alfonsi which supposedly came into existence about the year 1110. Arabian thought and customs furnish largely the subject-matter. It contains--as is mentioned in the prologue--philosophical quotations, anecdotes, fables, and novels. It will serve the purpose to select a story at random:

Exemplum II: De integro amico.

Generosity induces a man to leave his bride to a friend whom he loves dearly. He withdraws from the scene of his former happiness, sinks into abject poverty, and circumstances finally lead him back into the city where his friend lives. He arrives late at night. Fearing to be refused as a stranger, he dares not ask the friend for shelter; so he strolls about and comes to a temple where he decides to spend the night. Unfortunately this very night a murder happens to be committed right in the vicinity of the pagoda. The murderer escapes but the sheriff's officers chance to come upon the lonely man in the temple. To put an end to his miserable and wretched condition, the man professes to be the murderer. He is sentenced to death and led to the place of execution. His friend recognizes him and hearing the cause of his death he exclaims: "I am deserving of punishment, for I have committed the deed; he however is innocent." The officers seize him. Now a noble rivalry ensues between the two friends, each being eager

to save the other one's life. When placed before the jury they confess the truth, upon which both are set free. The poor man then is received into the family of his friend, where, of course, he lives happily to his life's end.

"Cento Novelle Antiche." The "Cento Novelle Antiche" is another compilation of novels which was composed before the close of the thirteenth century. Story Twenty-six deals with the adventures of a French burgher. The wife of a French burgher, envious of another beauty of the town, entreats her husband to buy her a gown as beautiful as that of her rival. The man promises to purchase one with the first profits resulting from his business. A few days afterwards a citizen presents himself and offers to accept a loan at high interest. The burgher refuses the offer, for he could have accepted it only by forfeiting his salvation. The disappointment causes his wife to go into hysterics, the end of which is that the husband consents to the interest and buys the gown. However, circumstances lead the woman to recognize her mistake. Not wishing to be an enemy of God, she lays the gown aside forever.

Boccaccio.-- Boccaccio's works are too well known to necessitate a lengthy analysis of his stories. "There are few works," say Dunlap in his History of Fiction, "which have had an equal influence on literature with the 'Decamerone' of Boccaccio (6:130.)" Boccaccio not only borrowed from the "Cento Novelle Antiche," but also drew his material from French literature. The story of Frederigo and the Falcon ranks among his best novels.

Frederigo, a Florentine youth, has spent a fortune in the vain attempt to win the lady of his heart. His wealth being exhausted, he retires with his favorite falcon to a small estate, where he endures his poverty with tranquil patience. Lady Monna Giovanna's husband dies. As Italian custom

prescribes that she should pass the mourning-year in solitude, she moves to a country house near Frederigo's estate. Her little son soon becomes acquainted with Frederigo and takes great delight in his falcon. Within a short time the boy falls ill. Strange as it may be, the boy's hope of recovery was placed upon the possession of the bird. One day, therefore, Monna Giovanna appears at the house of Frederigo without, however, stating the object of her visit immediately. Frederigo stands aghast; for the first time he keenly feels the effects of his poverty. To offset the embarrassment of the situation he kills the bird, thinking it to make a worthy dish for his noble guest. When Monna Giovanna finds out that she has lost all chance for procuring the bird she departs very much dejected. As a matter of fact her son dies. After the mourning-year is over, she marries Frederigo, his poverty being no obstacle to her personal happiness.

As to the novels of later periods, reference could be made to "Enea Silvio Piccolominis," "Euryalus and Lucrezia," to Albrecht of Eybe's "Der Kluge Procurator," to Cervante's "Preciosa," and to the novels of Kleist, Keller, Storm, Meyer, and others, all of which are well known even here in America.

What, then, are the outstanding features or characteristics common to the novels outlined and to all from the "Disciplina Clericalis" to the present day?

It is clearly seen that they all show the individual in his inner and outer relation to one or several persons. This relation is not brought out by way of a broad and gradual development--a method fitly applied in the romance--but by deliniating a few, brief situations, and such situations only as have an important bearing upon the character-development of the

individual. All situations from the very first work towards a catastrophe, be it of a tragic or a comical nature.

Now to return to Schlegel's ideal of the subjective character of the novel. He asserts that among all objective writings, the novel is best suited to voice personal views and the fact that one and the same material has been handled differently by different authors he considers a proof of his assertion. Schlegel's view is correct. The novel serves readily the purpose of individual expression; there are, however, other types of literature which allow the writer's subjectivity to find an outlet in his characters. There is for instance the epic, the romance, the drama, in all of which the subjective element increases as the historical element decreases. As we study the different types, however, in their intrinsic principles, we discover that individual conception does not as much depend on the subject-matter itself as on the writer's philosophical view of the world. It is, moreover, the form of the novel which accounts greatly for the writer's limitation in expression directly his personal views. The critical character of the incidents demands a rather close concentration of the life presented which must have a weakening effect upon the writer's power of subjectivity. It, too, must be remembered that the outer form of a literary work is always determined by innate principles. The principle underlying the epic and the romance is "universality." Here the hero is not pictured in his relation to one or several individuals, nor is his mission effectively brought out in one or a few situations. If he speaks, acts, suffers, glories, he does so in behalf of society as a whole. And still, there is a difference between the epic and the romance which must be sought for not in the external form but in the mind of the author. In the

epic we find the characters all co-ordinated. Their world, their thoughts, their feelings, their deeds are the deeds, the thoughts, and the feelings of the nation which they represent. The hero of the romance, however, be he historical or not, does not represent the nation. He is the champion of the social class to which he belongs, to which he is indebted for all,-- existence, wealth, honor, and power.

The Term "Novel" Defined.-- In defining, then, the novel we may say: The novel is a story showing the inner and outer relation of an individual to one or several other individuals. This is done by presenting a few situations, all of which must have an important bearing upon the character of the hero.

It might still be necessary to limit the term "novel" by setting it definitely apart from that of the "Anecdote" and the "Schwank."

Novel and Anecdote.-- An anecdote is a simple story which relates some incident that reveals wit or heroism or some other distinctive trait of either an individual or a group of persons. It should have one striking point, which must be brought out strongly and concisely. Obviously the anecdote differs from the novel in several essential points. In the former by a single situation a flashlight is as it were thrown upon the character to illumine it at the moment of action. There is no such a thing as character-development; the display of an extraordinary mental quality is all that is asked for. In the latter, however, we deal with a chain of situations all of which have a stirring and vital force upon the spiritual and mental development of the individual.

Novel and Schwank.-- In German literary-historical works, we frequently meet with the expression "Schwanknovelle." Is the term justified? What does

the "Schwank" have in common with the novel?

The "Schwank" is an odd or funny story. It consists of highly ridiculous situations and greatly exaggerated characters as we find them, for instance, in the old French Trubert Schwaenke: "Der Pfaff v. Amis" of Stricker, the "Eulespiegeleschichten" in their different versions, "Der Pfaff vom Kahlenberg," "Peter Len," etc. In all these stories it is merely the "prank" that excites the interest and keeps it alive; character-development and plot are of secondary importance. The character of the hero is something permanent. The hero himself is as a rule a sly and artful fellow. The situations in which he comes entangled only serve to display his cunning, and have no influence upon his spiritual development, nor do they by virtue of themselves bring about a catastrophe.

Thus the features which the "Schwank" has in common with the novel are purely external elements. The "prank" is the hero, and not the individual in his struggle for individual and social existence.

Parallel Phenomena in the Realm of Philosophic, Religious, and Political

Thought of the Middle Ages.--- There is an intrinsic connection between philosophical thought and the artistic productions of a time. It would, however, be false to think of this connection as a relationship of cause and effect. The art and philosophy of a period are but parallel phenomena, which contest in bringing out the wisdom, the folly, in brief, the spirit of the age. This parallelism so peculiar to the very essence of human thought and artistic genius does not at all demand a strict uniformity or congruity of ideas. In any epoch there must be contrasts; there must be influences counteracting all phases of philosophical and artistic thought to stimulate activity and progress in the various fields of human endeavor.

It cannot be the purpose of this paper to present a detailed account of the history of mediaeval philosophy, nor is it within the scope of the subject-matter to show the effect of philosophy upon art in its various form-expressions. Be it sufficient to sketch the main streams of mediaeval philosophical, religious, and political thought in their struggle for recognition and supremacy, in order to secure a foundation on which to trace the origin of the novel in general and that of the German novel in particular.

Literature is permeated by a spirit of philosophy. They both meet in the region of the ideal; yet it is not here that we find the beginning of the novel.

Mediaeval philosophical thought had reached its first climax in the teachings of Scotus Eriugena toward the end of the ninth century. In the following centuries different springs of thought gave rise to different schools and soon mediaeval philosophy degenerated in the struggle between rationalism and belief, in the combats between one-sided theologians and dialecticians, until it gained a vital support in Lanfranc, the future archbishop of Canterbury.

The first period of Scholasticism is well known for the part it took in facing the problem of "universals." During this period, too,--probably as a result of intellectual and social forces--an individualistic mode of thought came to be prevalent.

As the novel is essentially an individualistic type of objective literature, its origin must be traceable to a time when universalistic thought was being broken up by individualistic tendencies. A change of thought, however, so remarkable in its importance and so far-reaching in its

consequences, did not take place over night. In fact, it required centuries and necessitated endless struggles between the Church and the state to break with ideas, traditions, and customs, all sacred as the inheritance of the Church of Christ.

The theories essentially bound up with the appearance of individualistic tendencies of thought are especially those of Abelard and Occam. Abelard was a representative of nominalism or individualism. His ideas found an influential opponent in St. Thomas Aquinas, but a zealous defender in Occam. It is, however, their concept of God alone which here concerns us, as it was their relation to God that gave form and meaning to their principles of ethics. Before entering upon Abelard's theories, brief attention might be called to St. Anselm of Canterbury, who was the first scholar to attempt a synthesis of the facts of Christian tradition. In doing this he commences with the acceptance of all the principles established by the Church. Anselm's view is that faith must precede knowledge: not "intelligo ut credam" but "credo ut intelligam." Although Anselm's system is defective and incomplete, it became the foundation of Scholasticism, which aimed to establish religious doctrine more and more on the basis of growing reason and intelligence. St. Anselm reminds us of Pope Gregory VII, both being the most commanding figures of their day in the Middle Ages. As St. Anselm defined the relation of faith to knowledge, so Gregory VII completed the organization of the Church by assigning a separate sphere to the religious and the political power.

St. Anselm calls St. Augustine his favorite author; his idea of God, then, is precisely that of his master. The Augustinian concept of God might be best illustrated by quoting an article taken from the "Stimmen der

Zeit," August, 1923, "Gott in uns oder ueber uns," by Przywara.

St. Anselm's Concept of God. His Ethical Universalistic Principle.-- "Es

ist der grosse Gedanke Augustinus, der bei ihm bis in die feinsten Verzweigungen christlicher Ethic hinein sozusagen das Formprincip bildet: Deus interior et exterior--Gott in allem und ueber allem--Gott uns innerer als wir selbst, und doch uns uebersteigend und ueberragend als der Unendliche und Unbegreifliche. Und weil er so sich uns kundtut als ein Gott seliger, mystischer Naehue zugleich, und kuehlster Distance, so ist die seeliche Grundhaltung des Gottesglaebigen 'fuerchtende Liebe und liebende Furcht' eine Furcht die aus der Liebe entspringt, indem die Liebe fuerchtet, den Geliebten zu verlieren, und eine Liebe, die durch die Furcht sich heilige Nuechternheit und zarteste Ehrfurcht wahrte. Dem Element der Liebe entspricht der 'Gott in mir', dem Element der Furcht der 'Gott ueber mir', beide aber werden ineinander gebunden, damit die Immanenz des 'Gott in mir' nicht Gott zum Menschen und die Transszendenz des 'Gott ueber mir' nicht schliesslich den Menschen zu Gott mache. Denn das ist das Eigentuemliche, das bei Zerreiessung des Ineinandergebundenseins der zwei schliesslich beim gleichen Ergebnis anlangt, der Aufhebung der Zweiheit von Gott und Mensch. Das ist bei der Immanenz klar; denn wenn Gott nur 'in mir' ist so wird er zu einem objectiven Bestandteil oder einem subjectiven Zustand des Menschenwesens, wird entweder die Seelenspitze pantheistischer Mystik oder die Transszendenzfarbe der objectlosen religioesen Erlebnisform. Aber er gilt auch fuer die einseitige Transszendenz; denn wenn Gott nur ein 'ueber mir' ist, so ist der Mensch letztlich unabhaengig von Gott, damit aber letztlich selber Gott. So fuehrt beides zur Anfloesung des Gottesbegriffes, sowohl der mystische Taumel eines unterschiedslosen 'Einseins' wie der Furchtparoxysmus der Religion des unbekannten immer andern Gottes. Dem eigentlichen Geheimnis Gottes gegenueber ist beides gleich verkehrt, sowohl der allem 'Gott in mir' feindliche Objectivismus wie der vor allem 'Gott ueber mir' zurueckschauende Subjectivismus. Sie sind beide gleich weit von Gott entfernt und enden darum auch bei der gleichen Gottesleugnung (18:344.)"

By retaining the Augustinian concept of "Gott in uns" and "Gott ueber uns," St. Anselm naturally arrives at a universalistic principle of ethics. As might be imagined, Anselm was drawn into controversy with the nominalistic view. He wrote a vigorous treatise against Roscelinus under the title "The Doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation of the Word against the Blasphemies of Roscelinus." In Anselm we see the most perfect form of that subordination of the individual mind to the dictation of the organized Church which was to be the most marked feature of all mediaeval thought.

Ethical Individualism of Abelard, 1079-1142.-- Abelard substitutes the

Augustinian concept of the "immanent-transcendental God" by that of a purely "transcendental God." He attacks the supernatural character of mysteries and by doing so he effaces the distinction between natural and supernatural truths. Therefore Abelard is absolutely consistent in maintaining that all actions with regard to their ethical value are indifferent. He advocates ethical individualism in his treatise "Scito Teipsum" and in several other works, upholding the idea that the ethical character of any action is determined by the individual motive. If the intention is good, then the deed is morally good; if the motive is evil, then the deed is morally evil. Accordingly any deed may be good or blameworthy in proportion to the motive which prompted it. Abelard goes even further in his statement. He teaches that the difference between good and evil depends on the will of God alone and that even the morally bad act could turn into a morally good one if God so wanted it. What is to be held of Abelard's ethical individualism? Principles that are built up on subjective intention must lead to anarchy, chaos, and the overthrow of all that is sacred and lawful. The career of Arnold of Brescia is the clearest illustration of what the teaching of Abelard could lead to in the case of an ardent youth, filled with the enthusiasm of humanity and longing to work out into tangible forms the ideas he had been taking in.

The Mendicant Orders and Mediaeval Thought.--- With Abelard ethical individualism was introduced into the Occident and there it was not to die out anymore. Temporarily, however, it was kept in the background as, for instance, during the time of the great Dominican and Franciscan writers. The members of the Mendicant orders, the friars preacher and the friars minor, incorporated the world's desire for harmony in all spheres of human under-

taking and they found the looked-for solution in the harmony of faith and knowledge. Although one in purpose, one in the organization, and one in the chief means of attaining their common goal the orders differed essentially in their method. The ambition of Dominic was to restore the purity of faith already endangered by the rise of heretical thought; the aim of Francis was to kindle anew the flame of personal, religious fervor. Consequently Dominic appealed to the intellect, while Francis appealed to the heart. This difference in method is substantially accounted for by the hereditary tendencies of the founders. Dominic, a descendent of the Spanish nobility, manifested at an early age a great zeal for learning; Francis, the son of a Florentine burgher, showed but little desire for scientific training. He was a lover of nature and poetry, hence his strong inclination toward mystic theology. By intellectual and more so by hereditary tendencies Dominic was led to comprehend all individuals into one unit, the nobility, which was thought to be the basis of human society. Only by a lawful claim to the rank of nobility was the individual entitled to the exercise of his subjective rights. In Francis, the citizen of a democratic state, each individual represented the law in its fullest application. Duties were to be rendered, but only upon rights. Thus in both, in Dominic and Francis, we have the symbolic expression of "Community" in the sense of "Ecclesia," the mystical body of Christ and "Congregatio," or "Communitas fidelium" in the sense of Occam, a fact which renders the founders representative of different individualistic tendencies which in future years gave rise to great controversy in the schools of Thomism, Scotism, and Occamism.

Philosophic thought of the twelfth century showed but little of Abelard's rationalism until with Albertus Magnus and Alexander of Hales the

rationalistic element disappeared altogether. The Augustinian idea of the immanent-transcendental God grew more and more upon Catholic philosophers and found its deepest and truest expression in St. Thomas Aquinas. His lofty conception of theology assured him of the necessity of divine grace in the comprehension and interpretation of the sacred doctrines of theology. In his "Summa contra Gentiles" he sharply discriminates between natural and supernatural truths without however limiting the power of reason. Theoretically he emphasizes the value of grace as a supernatural factor in the discernment of the mysteries of the Church as far as such is within the possibility of reason. He particularly dwells upon the gifts of the Holy Ghost, which he considers excellent means in attaining a most perfect knowledge of the sacred doctrine.

That his thought was entirely rooted in the concept of an immanent-transcendental God we judge from his moral and political doctrines as well. With St. Augustine he teaches that God alone can fill the void of the human heart, and that man will not rest until he has attained a happiness which leaves no desire unsatisfied. It is, however, but the practical part of his ethics which here concerns us. "Divine law," St. Thomas says, "as far as it is knowable to reason is the norm for all actions." The substance of his thought we may sum up as follows: The moral value of any action depends ultimately on whether the action leads to or averts from the end for which man was created; proximately it depends on the object, the circumstances, and the purpose of the action. If object, circumstances, and intention are good, the action is good; if any of these is evil, the action is evil. Hence the Scholastic adage: "Bonum ex integra causa; malum ex quocumque defectu."

In the department of social ethics, St. Thomas far surpasses

Aristotle, his master. Aristotle considers the end of education to be self-development, self-sufficiency, or the good of the state. St. Thomas regards things in the light in which the Church places them before his apprehension. That light goes beyond the convenience of the state, it looks further than the gratification of human selfishness; and in doing so, it has benefited both the state and the individual. Consequently, St. Thomas declares that society is there for the sake of the individual and not the individual for the sake of the state. His view is that the individual by means of his social inheritance should be enabled to develop and exercise his faculties for his own benefit as well as for that of the state. As he knows the Church and the state to be of God, he sees absolute harmony in all their relations as he also sees harmonious adjustment between faith and philosophy, between truth and knowledge, between human and divine law. It is only when we look back to the thirteenth century through the perspective of ages less successful in the attempts at philosophic synthesis that we shall begin to realize the greatness of St. Thomas in the history of mediaeval thought.

Duns Scotus, 1308.-- At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Duns Scotus approached an excessive realism, and herewith mediaeval thought launched upon the period of its decay. In general the theologic-philosophical thought of Scotus manifests no essential difference; yet it shows an undercurrent of scepticism which affected the belief in an immanent-transcendental God. Scotus, in fact, inaugurated an age of criticism and formulated a system of voluntarism which found a more defined expression in the doctrines of Occam.

Nominalism had received a severe blow in the struggles with Scholasticism, yet it was not entirely crushed. As the middle period goes on there runs through it a steady current of independent thought which at its

close takes on once more the same forms it had had in the beginning. The nominalism of William of Occam at the beginning of the fifteenth century is the revival of the same instinct which had marked the thinking of Abelard and Roscelinus at the end of the eleventh century.

Occam's Autonomous Principles.--- Occam was a rash and bitter opponent of Thomism. He denied the power of reason to demonstrate the immortality of the soul, the existence, unity, and infinity of God and the immediate creation of the world by the Almighty. His scepticism, which resulted in an over-emphasis of faith, caused a radical split in the Augustinian concept of an immanent-transcendental God; Occam knows but a transcendental God. That he was dominated by this belief is obviously proven by his ethical doctrines. As a representative of voluntarism he teaches absolute self-determination of will and he goes so far as to confuse the spontaneous with the free act of will. As the free will belongs to the nature of the soul, and the nature of anything can neither increase nor decrease, the freedom of will cannot be measured by degrees. Any free act of the will presupposes the knowledge of a thing, which fact renders the primacy of the will an absurdity. Furthermore, the principle of absolute autonomy applied to God would make God the sovereign judge over good and evil for as in accordance with Occam's teaching all actions are indifferent in themselves, they are made good or evil only by the will of God.

Occam's teaching, if carried into practice, would have resulted in the overthrow of all divine and human law; for as Haller says in "Papacy and Church Reform," Occam did not preach a reform; he preached a revolution.

Indeed, well known is Occam's promise to Louis of Bavaria: "Tu me defendas gladio, ego te defendam calamo." In a struggle among the members of

his own order, he violently opposed the party adhering to the decision of the Pope. His hostile attitude against John XXII and his successors led him to argue concerning the validity of the temporal power of the popes and to proclaim the supremacy of the state.

Occam's doctrines are the natural outcome of both his native disposition and his thoughts. They, too, may be accounted for by the conditions in his mother country, where the English High Church just then was fighting her last struggle for supremacy. And last, but not least, the zeal and ambition he had employed in the defense of nominalism may have caused his attitude of mind. In his "History of Mediaeval Europe" Emerton states the difference between a realistic and nominalistic view of the Church. He says:

"The realist would conceive of the Church as having a peculiar existence of its own, independent of the individual men who at any time compose it. To him it would be a sacred entity, which no individual might properly criticize, but under which he must classify himself as completely as may be. The nominalist, on the other hand, would begin with his individuals and would define the Church as a mere name, by which we group these individuals for our own mental convenience (27:450.)" Nominalism knows but individual phenomena.

It recognizes, for instance, Christians; it also admits an assembly of Christians in the sense of "Congregatio" or "Communitas Fidelium," the members of which are united on a coordinate basis; (Occam) it does, however, not admit an "ecclesia" or any organized system or establishment comprehending all members in one living unit. With nominalism the belief in the Church of Christ is absolutely inexistent. If there is no Church, there is no use of Christ's representative, the Pope. Thus nominalism reduces the Church to a secular power, which would justify the state's omnipotence in spiritual affairs. It is in this particular regard that Occam violently tears apart supernatural from natural truths, the unification of which the Church has taught from its early beginnings. Occam, then, leads mediaeval

thought that had reached the harmony of universalism and individualism in Thomas Aquinas to pure individualism and subjectivism.

Spread of Occam's Autonomous Principles.-- Occam's doctrines were spread by his numerous pupils, John Buridanus, Peter of Ailly, Gabriel Biel, etc. In their struggles against Thomism and Scotism they undermined slowly the foundations of mediaeval universalism in all fields of theological, philosophical, social, and political thought. Their work was completed by Martin Luther, who had imbibed Occam's ideas at the university of Erfurt.

Heretical Sects of the Middle Ages.-- In the field of aesthetics it is less the mystical tendencies than the different sects of pantheistic and dualistic character that promoted individualism; for mystic and Scholastic thought are not hostile to one another; they are rather supplementary streams of religious thought and life. The Scholastics present the speculative, the mystics the contemplative element in their search for truth, natural and revealed. The predominant element of Scholasticism therefore is the intellect and it depends for its results upon distinctly intellectual processes. Mysticism draws its conclusions by quite a different process. The individual is to absorb the truth not only by putting it to the test of his reason, but also by fitting his individuality to the truth. The difference therefore is not in the ultimate aim but in the method which leads to it. In the works of the greatest mediaeval writers, as for instance, of Anselm of Canterbury, Hugo and Richard of St. Victor, Bonaventure, Albert the Great, and Thomas Aquinas, we find mysticism closely allied with Scholasticism to enforce the beautiful ideal of mediaeval thought. Grabman's comment on "Catholic mysticism" shows clearly the weakness of the arguments that try to denounce mysticism as a specific individualistic--in the sense of autonomous--stream

of mediaeval thought. He says: "Die Mystik ist das Innwerden des im Innersten der Seele wirkenden, das ganze Seelenleben an sich ziehenden und mit uebernaturlichen Inhalten durchleuchtenden und durchgluehenden Gottes (16:45.)" And of the mystic he says: "Der christliche Mystiker ist nicht ein selbstgenuegsamer, einsamer Sonderling, sein Denken, Lieben, Suehnen und Beten umfahst in uebernaturlich reiner herzlicher teilnehmender Liebe den Nebenmenschen (16:45.)"

It is of interest to know that the pantheistic and dualistic sects of a purely autonomous character made their appearance at a time when nominalism rose up in defense of individualistic ethical tendencies. During this period dissenting sects such as the Albegenses and Waldenses in France, the Cathari, Paterini, and the disciples of Dolcino in Italy, the Wyclifians in England and the Hussites in Bohemia cropped out. The false theories of Peter of de Bruys and Arnold of Brescia belong likewise to the time when nominalism was being propagated by Abelard and his followers. While all these hostile sects found themselves in opposition to Rome, there were some in which the element of opposition was largely doctrinal and speculative, while in others the chief emphasis was on the life of the individual and the uselessness or even wickedness of the elaborate forms of the Roman machinery. They were properly called anti-sacerdotalists on account of their hostility to the Church organization. "These sects," the historian Doellinger says, "were the socialists and communists of the age. They attacked marriage, family and the right of property. Had they succeeded in these efforts, the result would have been a universal revolution, a return to barbarism and pagan lawlessness (31:109.)"

The most destructive outcome of Occamistic thought, however, was the great Western Schism, which dealt an almost fatal blow to religion. The

breaking away from the Church was prepared by the "Defensor Pacis," a compilation of Occam's principles advocating the absolute omnipotence of the state in matters both secular and spiritual.

The Middle Ages a Catholic Age.-- The Middle Ages were predominantly a Catholic age. It was an age when man lived in one faith, recited one creed, taught one and the same doctrine, and breathed a common religious atmosphere. By agreement of nations and princes the Pope was the supreme judge of Christendom and all empires and kings were subject to the laws of the Church. The "Translatio Imperii," the symbolical representation of the coronation of Charlemagne, voices this very idea. It comprehends all nations of Western Europe in one large empire, in which spiritual and secular power united for the benefit of man's earthly and eternal welfare. Thus the Church represented the unity of the world in the sense of the "de Civitate Dei" of St. Augustine.

The "de Civitate Dei" written by St. Augustine in refutation of the arguments of the pagans that the capture of Rome by Alaric in 410 was due to the anger of their gods, defines the boundary of the kingdom of Christ. "Dominabitur a mari usque ad mare, et a flumine usque ad terminos orbis terrae: quod in Christo videmus impleri (23:90.)" Accordingly Christ's dominion was to extend from one ocean to the other, from the river Jordan, where Christ was baptized, to the bounds of the earth.

Imbued with this idea, Charlemagne did all in his power to civilize his subjects and to lift them towards the kingdom of God. Under Charlemagne's successors the power of the Church grew. Hincmar, a distinguished theologian and politician of the reign of Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald, wrote thus: "The king is a force and instrument in the

hands of the Church, who is superior to him, since she guides him to his true destiny. Without the special force which he wields, and that entails especial duties, the king is a man like other men. He must respect the Church and the property of others; his duties are the same as those of all Christians (24:221.)"

The underlying universalistic element of thought of the "de Civitate Dei" was also respected by the emperors of the imperial house of Saxony who, however, manifested a moderate individualism in political ideas. It may be truthfully said that whenever they interfered with ecclesiastical affairs they did so for the benefit of both the state and the Church. They never assailed the Church in her inner organization, her doctrine; notwithstanding an occasional blunder, they fought merely against abuses which threatened to defile her integrity.

Papal and Imperial Rivalship or Contest between Universalism and Individualism.-- Under Henry IV we meet for the first time with autonomous tendencies in philosophical thought. They manifested themselves in the attempt of the emperor to create a secular power superior to that of the Church. Whoever is informed of Gregory's policy, the principles of which have come down to us in the "Dictatus Papae," must realize the tension that was estranging the temporal and the spiritual power. Individualism was encouraging differences in all lines of activity, and nationality began to make its appeal to local patriotism. To be brief, a struggle arose between the powers and it ended in the victory of the Church.

The successors of Henry IV occasionally assumed an anti-sacerdotal attitude, but up to the time of the Hohenstaufen, historians report no serious breach between the Church and the state. With Fred. Barbarossa we enter upon a new stage of papal-imperial rivalry, but under very much changed conditions. Although imbued with the idea of a universal monarchy,

the Hohenstaufens looked upon the Augustinian "State of God" as a thing of the past. The empire was to make one more gigantic effort in order to revive the memories of its theoretical Roman origin, the name alone of which had carried it over so many obstacles in previous centuries. Being directed to the Justinian Code of Law by Abelard's doctrines, the emperor considered himself the sole source of all right. He was ever ready to protect the Church, but he insisted upon the acknowledgment of his lordship over the Church and upon modeling her administration according to the dictates of his sovereign will.

After the fall of the Hohenstaufen the power of the papacy was decidedly in the ascendant. Unity or harmony in the sense of the "Civitas Dei" had fought its way gloriously along with the Scholastic synthesis of Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas. However, during the struggle of the Hohenstaufens with the papacy anti-universalistic tendencies had made themselves felt in England and more so in the Romanic countries, France and Spain.

There the sentiment went against the idea of a universal monarchy as well as that of a universal church. In Italy likewise the idea of a universal monarchy had given way to that of a national monarchy as we may conclude from the temporary coronation of Arnold of Brescia, a heretic and political demagogue, as also from the creation of political factions such as the Ghibellines. With the development of the modern state difficulties arose, for as soon as the state was able to manage its own affairs, to protect its subjects, and to take care of their worldly interests, it was less inclined to tolerate the interference of the pope. It required the personality, the energy, and the influence of a Boniface VIII to unite once

more all nations of Western Europe under the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Church. French prerogative, however, proved to be a source of danger and Boniface succumbed in his struggle against Philip the Fair with the resultant subjugation of the papacy to French power.

The Great Western Schism. The Victory of the Individualistic Principle.--

From this time the decline of the papal power kept pace with the decay of mediaeval philosophical thought. The principles of Occam spread and resulted in the formation of anti-hierarchical, anti-monarchical, and anti-authoritative streams of thought until the unity of the Church and the State was definitely crushed, the former in the great Western Schism, the latter in the struggles of Louis of Bavaria, the tragedy of which ended at the Kurverein of Reuse. Here the electoral league declared, July 15, 1338, that the king of Germany received his authority solely from God and by the choice of the German electors; and that the pope had no right of decision, confirmation, or rejection of his election.

The Council of Constance failed to secure a political reunion; there was however a return to the Church for the period of about a hundred years. Thus the desire for universal harmony of thought and for a state according to the idea of St. Augustine was lost in the philosophical and political controversies of the fourteenth century, in the antagonistic relations between realism and nominalism, and in the endless struggles against papacy, monarchy, and princedom.

And out of the struggle emerged man, confusion around him, confusion within him. He who by strong binding forces was tied to the hierarchy of the Church, had now become supreme dictator of his actions.

The Individualistic Type of Man, the Hero of the German Novel.-- The

mediaeval individual carried within himself the germ of the individualistic element. As long as he was a member of the Augustinian state of God, he was a cornerstone in the spiritual, moral, and political edifice of his time; he was a solid part of the total structure of mediaeval thought and life although endowed with potentialities of a mysterious nature. Unlike the pagan of antiquity, he felt the desire to arise out of the narrow confines of self and to project his soul into regions hitherto unknown. He no longer resembled the "Antike," eyeless, sightless, symbolically staring into space, so indicative of man's earth-bound mind. He had become a visionary with a mind often leaning toward mysticism. The eye of his intellect was turned upon his soul, which offered problems, deep and wide and infinite as eternity. And with the dawning consciousness of his power he no longer possessed his soul in static tranquility. Strange vistas had opened to his thoughts; he wanted to see, to know, to exercise the faculties the Creator had given to him. His hour came, the hour of enlightenment, so he called it. Giving himself up to the novelties of thought, the sacred binding forces of tradition gradually relaxed their hold on him. A conflict arose against the established law and order in the moral, social, and political world. Philosophy had deprived man of the binding power of the Church; if it failed in placing him on a secure basis he was to go adrift on the ocean of life. But none of the anti-universalistic tendencies of thought could make for powerful ties; by virtue of their very nature they severed man from all he had kept sacred under the hierarchy of the Church. Thus the renaissance set free customs as humanism had set free minds; the reformation liberated man from his conscience as rationalism had liberated him from the necessity of dogmatic belief; materialism gave free play to the chaotic and primitive impulses

as relativism tended to separate man from any tie whatsoever.

And so the individual type of man has been chiseled out of the granite structure of the mediaeval "Civitas Dei." He no longer stands on sacred ground. Since he refused to live beneath the sheltering roof of the Church, he exposed himself voluntarily to the storms of heretic thought and to all climacteric influences of the soul.

The autonomous individual has become the hero of the German novel; he represents his author in all colors and shades of thought. In fact, historical evidence proves that the novel is a constant companion of individualistic tendencies. To show the verification of this statement will be the topic of the following pages, the more so as it profitably can be done in illustration of the origin of the German novel.

Causes of the Influence of France on Mediaeval Literature in Western Europe.

Intellectual Leadership of France.--- Early mediaeval thought was essentially cultivated in Western Europe. Its first representative were the Frenchmen, then followed the Italians, the Anglo-Saxons, and last the Germans. With the figure of Albertus Magnus, the German element assumed a decisive character and reached its greatest brilliancy in speculative mysticism. The intellectual leadership of France is especially accounted for by her history. As a province of the Roman empire, France was open to Christianity and civilization at an early period; moreover, during the time of the migrations large kingdoms had been established on her soil, such as the kingdom of the Franks in the north and that of the Visigoths in the south. French dominion soon was extended over the larger part of Gaul; conqueror and conquered became united by a common bond of faith, and there developed that national spirit which forms the basis of all culture and civilization.

But not only in philosophy, in literature, too, France was the great initiator. French literature of the Middle Ages was the most comprehensive in the number both of works and of poets. So it is but natural that French influence upon the literature of Western Europe was to be predominant. As a matter of fact, the entire stock of mediaeval literature has been first worked over in France. It was the Frenchman who gave to all its natural color, tone, and rhythm. The French element thereby became impressed so deeply that upon it any foreign translation would strive but in vain to hide it.

French literary genius reached its heights in the field of narration. No other literature abounds to the same degree in a variety of subject-matter, none has drawn its material from sources such as are to be found among prehistoric, Byzantine, Arabian, Hebrew, Celtic, and Germanic narrations; none as yet has succeeded in gaining equally universal esteem and favor as that of France. To France the credit is given for having revived all primitive forms of literature, among which the novel claims a place of foremost interest.

Factors of Civilization of Germany.--- The proximity of France is considered to have been a potent factor in the intellectual development of Germany, for French mental and scientific propensity proved a powerful medium in inspiring the neighboring nations with love for learning and art. Notwithstanding the fact that the process of German civilization was similar to that of France, there were some other elements that generously encouraged a rise of the nation. In general it may be said that culture and social efficiency spread from the Rhine and the Danube, which rivers long had separated the barbaric from the Roman world. Here the earliest cities had

grown up about Roman camps and colonies. During the great migrations, these once flourishing outposts of the Empire fell to ruin; but the bishoprics founded by Boniface and others in many of these Roman settlements restored them to importance. In this way arose in the Rhine country, Mayence, Worms, Speyer, Strassburg, Basel, Constance, Cologne; in Bavaria and along the Danube, Eichstaedt, Augsburg, Regensburg, Passau, and Salzburg. At the end of the Crusades the cities rose to still greater importance. Commercial negotiations with the Orient gave a new impulse to manufacture and merchandry, which caused especially the cities along the waterways to become centers of great commercial and intellectual activity.

The Knights.-- "The house of God is triple; some fight, others pray, and others work," was a saying of the twelfth century. Indeed, since the ninth century the knight had become the rule of Western Europe. Chivalry was not an institution; it was an ethical and voluntary association casting a ray of ideal beauty over a society endangered by corruption and anarchy. The knights passed from land to land in search of adventure; they vowed to protect the widow and the orphan, the lonely and the oppressed. They strove to be chaste in body and soul and they cultivated a tender devotion to the Blessed Mother of God as the purest and holiest ideal of womanhood. In brief, the maxim of the mediaeval knight was "Loyalty to God and to honor."

The Clergy.-- The clergy of the Middle Ages were always respected as the servants of God. They became distinguished for their ardor for truth and knowledge, their love for controversy and speculation and their interest in scholastic disputation. The regular clergy devoted themselves predominantly to the task of preserving and restoring fragments of ancient literature. They also--and the secular clergy as well--were the chief authors and

propagators of lyric and epic literature.

Members of the Mediaeval Guilds.--- It is a well-known fact that man is not able to settle down to learning and scientific investigation, or to lift his mind to higher purposes, unless relieved of material need. Therefore it is readily understood that the members of the mediaeval guilds, broadened by traveling and experience, were the first ones to awake to a sense of intellectual activity. A survey of the localities in Germany where literary interests were first cherished, points invariably to the fact that an understanding for higher and nobler things of life followed closely in the wake of industrial prosperity.

The body of the Knights and the clergy was the main carrier of mediaeval culture and civilization. With the growth of the cities the burgher attained to industrial and commercial recognition, and with the awakening of his intellectual capacities, he commenced to form a literature of his own which is especially characteristic of the rise of the novel.

The Novel, a Companion of Individualistic Tendencies.--- Before showing by analogy the intrinsic relation between the German novel and the various autonomous streams of philosophy, it might be advisable to recall once more the definition of the novel. The novel has been defined as that kind of objective literature which portrays the individual in his internal and external relations to one or several individuals. This portrait is presented by picturing one or a few situations, all of which must have a decisive bearing upon the moral, mental, and physical development of the hero. It is obvious, then, that a literature of so individualistic a nature could not have been written before man's mind was turned to the subjective nature of his Ego.

Subjectivism is the characteristic of the outer form of the novel, for all incidents and facts, all moral, spiritual and physical forces combine in bringing about the making or the undoing of the individual, the hero. Subjectivism is also the characteristic of the inner form of the novel, for the ego of the writer demands an outlet in the struggles, the thoughts, the experiences of the hero. The epic and the romance no longer could have served this purpose, as in them the writer's subjectivity is given but little play; it succumbs with the hero, who represents the ideals of his world.

The sketch on mediaeval philosophical thought has shown the reign of Henry IV in Germany as productive of political-individualistic ideas. Autonomous tendencies again exacted attention under the rule of the Hohenstaufen, who came to place an undue emphasis upon a universal monarchy. They not merely demanded the subordination of the ecclesiastical power; their maxim "the purpose sanctifies the means" led them even to require the alteration of moral principles whenever such could be done to the political advantage of the state.

There is a relationship to be found between the individualistic principles of Abelard and the autonomous ideas of the Hohenstaufen on one side and the first individualistic-aesthetical tendencies evinced in the "Imperial Chronicle" on the other.

The "Imperial Chronicle," completed by a clergyman of Regensburg in 1152, conforms in general to the universalistic principle underlying the structure of the epic; interpolations, however, such as the stories of Lucretia, of Duke Adelger of Bavaria, of Emperor Julian, the story of Charles the Fat and his royal consort are symbolical of the Advent of a new

artistic form. Moreover, on studying the single stories one can notice the poet's attempt to individualize his characters. When the work resembles the epic in betraying the spirit of the age, there are other facts, such as the contest between Peter the apostle and Simon the magician, the contrast between the Christian and the pagan view of life, that furnish ample proof for the antagonism between Christian ethical-universalism and magic-pagan autonomy.

At the beginning of the reign of Innocent III (1198-1216) the papacy was entering upon a new phase of its existence. It may safely be said that reverence for papal institution was never before and never was to be again more wide-spread or more sincere. The battle that during this time was fought in defense of the immanent-transcendental God is touchingly and delicately brought out in the novels of Hartmann of Owe. His works "Gregorius" and "Der arme Heinrich" are sometimes considered epics; both however display the essential features of a novel. In "Gregorius" the development of the individual, the "guoten suendaere," is clearly delineated by means of a few situations that have a dynamic force upon the actions of the hero. There is constant progress toward the catastrophe which occasionally is retarded by reflections and moralizations.

"Der arme Heinrich" shows a similar mode of construction; the plot, however, deals essentially with the spiritual transformation and the spiritual growth of hero and heroine. In the prime of life the heroine resolves to sacrifice her life for the leper, while the leper refuses the offer, bowing humbly to the will of God.

The aescetical element in Hartmann's novels is supplied by his belief and corresponds absolutely to the religious philosophical thought of

his time. The Catholic idea of God was that of an immanent-transcendental God. The individual of the thirteenth century voluntarily submitted to the will of God, not only a God "above him" but also "within him." Man comprehended the mysterious effect of God's grace, and the redemption offered to Hartmann's characters is in a final sense twofold: spiritual and physical.

There is another novel of the thirteenth century, some feature of which remind of the Franciscan movement in Italy. A mighty duke in Bavaria had a wife and an only child. The girl grew up with the son of a domestic and soon a deep affection sprang up between them. The parents of the girl died and so did the servant. By custom or law the latter's son became the protector of the girl, and after he had gone through many adventures, one of which caused him a crippled finger, he became united to the girl in marriage. Amidst their happiness it occurred to them to dispense with wealth and riches for the greater glory and honor of God and the salvation of their souls; so henceforth they lived on alms. Like outcasts they wandered about, begging gifts. However, people did not recognize their need as both looked healthy and strong. To escape a death of starvation the wife was sold by mutual consent for the price of 2 pounds. On the banks of a turbulent river the man lost his sons, one of whom was saved by the Archbishop of Rheims, the other one by the Count of Urliens. The father, who believed his sons dead, lay down by the riverside to sleep. An eagle stole his money and carried it to his wife, who in the happening saw an evidence of her husband's death. Being skillful in weaving artistic laces the woman attracted the attention of the Duke of Bleis. Seeing her and hearing the sad story of her life, the Duke supplied her with castle, land

and servants. Soon he died. The King of France made the acquaintance of the lady; he led her home in marriage, but died before the year was over, leaving her in possession of country and wealth. Soon after the mourning year was over, France again was preparing for the nuptials of her queen. Before, however, the solemnities took place, the queen arranged a memorial festivity in honor of the king. On the day appointed many beggars surrounded the queen, one of whom had a crippled finger. The queen recognized her husband who with great enthusiasm was proclaimed king. Their sons were led thither and acknowledged as the legitimate heirs of the crown. The man was Karleman, and the sons Charles and Pepin. The analysis of the story proves likewise the belief in an immanent-transcendental God.

The most important novel of the thirteenth century, "Moriz of Craon," was written near the upper Rhine by an unknown author about the year 1215. The novel is based on a tradition which has for its content the adventurous love-making of the knight of Craon to the countess of Beaumont.

The excellence of the novel is the realism with which the author presents even the most fantastical descriptions of the tournament. He succeeds in creating an atmosphere of reality to a degree that renders the poem almost unique in its kind.

There is another significance connected with the novel "Moriz of Craon"; it marks the decline of the knightly spirit. With the rise of the cities the burgher element demanded more and more expression in the realm of thought and living. It endowed the novel, as it were, with a new life; still, while in France, in Italy and Spain popular taste welcomed coarse and even obscene material, in Germany the plot was given almost universally an ethical solution. Already the novels of Stricker, who lived in Austria

during the first half of the thirteenth century, indicated a new phase of thought. His work, the "Amis," is the oldest collection of German "pranks." Stricker is also the author of a few novels, one of which could come into consideration for the paper on hand. The title reads: "The Nude King." The story relates the fate of a king who refused to acknowledge God's lordship, wherefore he forbade the chanting of "Deposuit potentes" during the church services. Somehow or other the king's mind was changed; he came to a recognition of God's power and his own weakness. Although some legendary features are interwoven with the plot, the story may lawfully be called a novel, for there is a concentration of situations which makes for a developmental change of the individual. The spiritual transformation of the king from satanic pride to angelic humility is caused by the king's effort rather than by any legendary miracle.

Stricker's ethical bent of mind places him far superior to the French novelists of his time. He was ever conscious of the poet's mission, which is the combination of ethical values with artistic forms.

The most remarkable story of the transition period from the knightly to the popular novel is "Helmbrecht," by Wernher dem Gartenaere, a religious brother of the monastery of Ranshoven in Bavaria. Toward the beginning of the fourteenth century, the ideal of chivalry more and more degenerated and in proportion to the decay of gallantry the burgher element rose in importance. As a consequence there was a parallel phenomenon to be observed in the realm of artistic production. The class of the burghers lacked a sense of the symbolical value of knightdom and its expression in the field of art. The citizens preferred a reproduction of their own life; they wanted to read their own thoughts; to voice their own ideals, to enjoy

their own wit and cunning. This individualistic tendency is clearly drawn in "Helmbrecht," for which reason it is considered a masterpiece of the Middle Ages; it proclaims the eve of a new culture. In "Helmbrecht" a contrast of opinions is brought out in the main characters, the father representing the age of chivalry and the son personifying the commencing era of the burgher class. Helmbrecht after being cast out by his family is seized by the peasants, whom he has maltreated instead of protected, and dies on the gallows.

Helmbrecht's end is symbolical of the fate of knighthood. By the admittance of unworthy members into its ranks, chivalry had prepared its own downfall; it had introduced a spirit not based upon law and tradition, but on personal conception. It was then that the "Schwanknovelle" came into existence, spreading its poison throughout the fifteenth century. Traveling knights, scholars, players, jugglers, buffoons, peddlers, thieves, and swindlers thronged through the land. Before the state and the authorities they were outlaws; but they were extremely welcome to the masses of the people. Some of them became famous in popular legend, and are still celebrated in tradition for their tricks and jests, as the "Parson of Kalenberg," in south Germany, and "Till Eulenspiegel" in the north. Eulenspiegel henceforth became a name for a popular clown or a Merry Andrew.

The decay of chivalry coincides with the decay of the German empire, the first signs of which were noticeable under Frederick II and increased with his successors.

In Conrad IV, the Hohenstaufen emperors once more seemed to have been restored to their former power, but already in Conrad's son, the youthful Conradin, who died on the seafoad in Naples, it came to a tragic

end.

So likewise in Conrad of Wuerzburg, (-1227) the ideal of gallantry and knighthood once more was held up in its primitive purity and beauty. His romances, legends, allegories and novels ring with the praises of chivalry. Strange to say, he, a representative of the burgher class, was doomed to sing the swan-song of the decaying glory of chivalry. Conrad tried in vain to copy his master, Godfrey of Strassburg. He developed a skill in the mastery of the outer form of the novel, but to him was denied that perfect grasp of the individuality that renders each character a soul-study.

Yet there are some other points of contrast which may favorably be set down to the account of Conrad. There is a moral background or an ethical undercurrent associated with Conrad's novels. The love he exalts, is spiritualized; it symbolizes the love of Christ to the Church. The love which Godfrey extols is worldly and transient; it typifies the taste of the earth. This difference of fact is due to a difference of philosophical view. Godfrey's philosophy is based on the principles of the Averroists and Conrad's on those of the Church. Both represent in their ideas the two main philosophical tendencies of their time, the belief in a purely immanent-transcendental God in the case of Conrad.

Several of Conrad's novels that would best fit into the realm of our discussion are "Engelhart and Engeltrut," "Emperor Otto," the "Herzmaere," and the story of St. Alexis.

If there is any doubt as to the poet's belief it is removed by the legend of St. Alexis, the canticle of celibacy. Alexis, the son of a Roman noble, departs from his wife on the night of his betrothal. After ten

years he returns to spend the rest of his life as a pilgrim in his father's house. He dies unknown and in dire poverty; after his death a letter reveals his identity.

Although entitled a legend, the story may lawfully be called a novel, for the fate of the hero is intimately bound up with character development. Alexis is, indeed, a hero. As such we see him actively and not passively undergo his suffering. The decisions that were to have so powerful an influence upon his life were not affected by any miraculous agency, they had grown out of his will, which was in conformity with the Divine Will.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, when Albert I renewed the plan of establishing the German monarchy, and when there was in general an attempt at unification and systematical agreement in the world of philosophy and politics as well as in that of art, the "Renner" appeared, a collection of individualistic stories, fables, and novels amounting to more than 24,656 verses. Knighthood had lost its poetry, its grace, its nobleness. While its symbolical forms did not appeal to the individualistic tendencies of the rising middle classes, the latter nevertheless adhered to the metrical expression of poetry, as they also cleaved outwardly to the idea of a universal monarchy.

Abelard's ethical individualism had been overcome during the golden era of Scholasticism; it survived, however, in the anti-scholastic movements, the advocates of which heralded the idea of purely transcendental God. The novels of this period are numerous, but with few exceptions they show a decrease of spirituality and true genius. Loftiness of thought was displaced by obscenity, artistic taste by coarse and vulgar forms.

Much indeed could be said in regard to the organic and the chaotic individualism of the Middle Ages, and these various types in their respective relation to the mediaeval novel; they constitute however a problem in themselves. Be it sufficient to call brief attention to Occam, the forerunner of the German religious reformation. No doubt, Occam's thought had contained the germ to this most radical of all chaotic-individualistic movements. The hideous aspects of the Reformation showed the Occamistic principle at full play: subjectivism and decay reigned supreme in all fields of philosophical, religious, political, and aesthetical thought. A wave of literature, anti-moral, anti-sacerdotal, swept over the country, to the lasting disgrace of Germany. Germany was politically torn to pieces. Nine-tenths of the German-speaking population were drawn away from their Mother Church, thus having lost their last claim to the Augustinian State of God.

The Catholic revival of Germany was effected by the Papacy, the labors of apostolic men, the foundation of religious orders, and a splendid array of contemporary and post-Tridentine Saints. The order of St. Ignatius was to play the greatest part in the work of true reformation and here it is especially the figure of St. Peter Canisius which stands out in lordliness and grace, in personal greatness and sanctity. He may truly be called the Apostle of Germany, a second Boniface.

With the reanimation of Catholicity and with the elevation of thought, a new incentive was given to literature--however, it was never restored to its former purity and beauty. Those excellences seemed to have been lost with the harmony of thought, with the mediaeval belief in the lordship of one supreme God.

The novel is a type of poetry and poetry is art. Art is the representation of the beautiful. According to Holy Scripture, God created the universe through the Word and the Holy Ghost embellished it with beauty.

Thus the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Love, is the Creator of beauty. Rightly, therefore, art may be called heaven's daughter.

But only true art is able to represent beauty in its various aspects. Faith teaches us that anything in the universe which is out of harmony with the law of beauty, is a consequence of sin, of the actual separation from God, the author of all beauty. Therefore, even then when art represents discord, disharmony, it must breathe the spirit of God, either His merciful love or His justice.

The statement that art is an end in itself and that it is autonomous in its principles suggests extreme subjectivism and falls little short of blasphemy. God alone has origin and purpose within Himself and God alone is autonomous; everything else is through God and therefore must serve God.

And so art must be placed in the service of God, lest it serve Satan. Thus during the time of the religious reformation in Germany when subjectivism was raised upon the altar the German novel degenerated. Heaven's daughter turned into a harlot, steeped in lust and vice.

The novel as any kind of artistic production is characteristic of the individuality of the author, who in turn is born of the spirit of the age, representing either the good or the evil genius of his time. "Ipsa veritas liberabit vos." Truth alone can liberate the artist from the tyranny of falsity. "Sursum corda." God's light and God's love must dwell in the artist's soul. Only then can his genius unfold in the creation of

a real masterpiece. In accordance with the words of St. Augustine, "God within us" and "God above us," he must feel the presence of God within his soul and in humble admiration he must see Him in the beauty of the creation.

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R E F E R E E S ' R E P O R T S

It is the practice of the Graduate School to have theses read by three referees. If the first two votes are favorable, the third reading is sometimes omitted. The Graduate Council regularly recommends for the degree all students who have a majority of favorable votes.

Students are frequently required to rewrite portions of their theses because of the referees' criticisms. This will explain why references to pages are sometimes inaccurate and why shortcomings concerning which comment is made in the reports are found not to exist.

THE ORIGIN OF THE GERMAN NOVEL by Sister Dulcissima Bette

The thesis may be accepted for the Master's degree.

The title might really more appropriately be: "The Rise of Scholastic Philosophy and Its Influence on the German Novel."

Minor defects in English and spelling and mistakes in statements should be corrected.

J. A. Mertz, S.J.

THE ORIGIN OF THE GERMAN NOVEL by Sister Dulcissima Bette

The thesis shows a great deal of study and work and should be accepted. Offences against English usage noted by me in the MS should be corrected.

M. V. Walsh

THE ORIGIN OF THE GERMAN NOVEL. by Sister Dulcissima Bette

The thesis may be accepted. It represents serious and sustained work at the graduate level.

In my opinion the subject was a dangerously broad one, especially when treated in the comprehensive way adopted by the writer. Although I am not an expert in the history of German literature, I feel that the writer may have erred by giving an account of the subject lacking in thoroughness and perspective. All of her literary authorities are German; true, these are the authorities of the first rank when there is question of the German novel, yet foreign authorities should have been consulted in order to secure true Catholicity of view.

The influence of Scholasticism upon the development of the novel is a proper topic for discussion in this paper. Hence, histories of philosophy may properly be consulted and listed in the bibliography. To list purely philosophical works, such as St. Thomas, would appear to me to be only an affectation of learning. Did the writer actually study the St. Thomas listed for the purpose of securing data to be used in this paper?

In the bibliography, the full Christian names of the authors should be given, together with publishers and dates of publication. This is not done consistently.

(Note. -- The Graduate Council passes favorably upon this student. The degree, without restrictions, will be conferred. The diploma, however, will be issued only upon receipt of the student's promise to correct the minor errors in her thesis and submit the same, retyped, by September 1, 1927. The student will get in touch with the Dean and make an appointment with him to go over the thesis.)