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The Golden Age of German Literature and Philosophy— from a cultural policy perspective.

An outline

Cultural policy is first and foremost the financing of culture or of people engaged in cultural activities: theatres need financial resources to be able to operate; scientists need salaries to be able to conduct research and teach at their own pace; teachers and schools must be financed in order to exist, etc., etc. Cultural policy is the distribution of free funds made available for culture according to criteria that may be laid down or intuitive. It can be viewed from two sides: from the side of culture, from the question of what kind of culture a particular cultural policy has produced; or from the side of politics, from the question of what political purpose a particular cultural policy has served, what it wanted to achieve politically or what it has achieved. At one extreme, cultural policy is a form of propaganda and brainwashing, an attempt to steer the thoughts of a people in a certain direction that seems advantageous to a particular policy; at the other, it can be an attempt to selflessly 'serve' culture, to make the cultural life of a people richer, better, more beautiful and more authentic. Of course, it is not always easy to decide which is which.

In today's understanding, cultural funding is primarily a task of the state, even if private sponsorship by companies and foundations is playing an increasingly important role. State funding ultimately means that governments and civil servants decide on the culture of a country by determining who receives money for what and who does not. This in turn means that the specific nature and quality of a country's culture depends to a large extent on the nature of its politicians and civil servants. A special chapter in this sense is the cultural policy of the classical age of German literature and philosophy, which was significantly shaped by one unusual civil servant, the Weimar Privy Councillor Goethe.

1. The German cultural movement of the Goethe era

John Stuart Mill (1806–1873), the nineteenth-century English economist and philosopher, once called the great period of German culture between about 1770 and 1850 one of the three greatest ages of mankind, alongside classical Athens in the 5th/4th century BC and Renaissance Italy. These were times, so the idea went, when the human spirit had conquered the greatest space of freedom and given the light of the Enlightenment the widest possible scope in contrast to the darkness of misunderstood forces and powers; times when human beings had, one might say, made their earthly life a kind of home to the greatest extent possible.

In the understanding of German intellectual history, this era is represented above all by three currents or tendencies: Classicism and Romanticism in literature (and to some extent also in painting and music), and Idealism in philosophy. While in Germany these things are typically seen and treated as separate and sometimes contradictory phenomena, other countries have taken a different, more illuminating view: all three have been perceived as facets of a single common phenomenon. Goethe, the quintessential German classic, appears there as the 'master' of Romanticism, as the inaugurator of European Romanticism and its greatest poet. His *Faust* is the romantic poem par excellence. In English, Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Percy B. Shelley, two of the most important English Romantics, undertook translations; a French translation was by Gerard de Nerval, who can be counted among the Romantics; and settings in France were by Hector Berlioz and Charles Gounod. The American transcendentalists, who drew heavily on this German culture, regarded transcendentalism as another word for idealism, and

Goethe, in turn, was for Emerson, the most important of the ‘transcendentalists,’ the true representative of this German idealistic culture, to whom he also devoted a chapter in his *Representative Men*.

Here one could also mention Goethe’s strange long-distance relationship with the English poet Lord Byron (1788–1824): it is that of the grand master of European poetry to his designated successor, who was, of course, a ‘Romantic.’ Between the 1820s and 1840s, Byron was the romantic hero and poet par excellence in Europe, the idol of European youth, not least thanks to his ‘romantic’ death in the Greek War of Independence in 1824. Byron described himself in a dedication to Goethe in 1823 as ‘a literary vassal offering homage to the first of all living writers as his feudal lord – he who created the literature of his own country and enlightened that of all Europe.’¹

The connection between the three movements in Germany becomes striking and remarkable when one considers their temporal, geographical and institutional links. All three actually emerged in the 1790s, and for all three, the Thuringian region around Weimar and Jena was the decisive birthplace. German Romanticism emerged between 1795 and 1800 in Jena, where its founders studied or came together: the brothers August Wilhelm and Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829) with their wives Caroline Böhmer-Schlegel and Dorothea Veit, Friedrich von Hardenberg (1772–1801), who called himself Novalis, the pastor Friedrich Schleiermacher and the novelist Wilhelm Tieck. From 1798 to 1800, the Schlegel brothers and Novalis published the journal *Athenäum*, the intellectual highlight of early Romanticism. August Wilhelm Schlegel (1767–1845), the older of the two brothers, also taught at the University of Jena from 1795, initially as a private lecturer and from 1798 as an ‘extraordinary professor’ (until 1801), while Friedrich was a private lecturer from 1800 to 1801.

The German ‘Classical Period’ emerged from the collaboration between Goethe and Schiller between 1794 and Schiller’s death in 1805. It was born at a meeting in Jena in 1794, and its classic document is the correspondence between the two.

The most important protagonists of German Idealism also worked at the University of Jena during its decisive years: Johann Gottlieb Fichte from 1794 to 1799, when he had to leave the university due to charges of atheism, Friedrich Wilhelm Schelling (1772–1854) from 1798 to 1803, and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831) from 1801 to 1807. Schelling and Hegel, who had already known each other from the Tübingen seminary, where they had both studied, briefly published a joint philosophical journal in 1802 and 1803. In Jena, Hegel wrote the *Phenomenology of Spirit*, perhaps the most important, probably the most influential, and certainly the most fascinating work of German idealism. Fichte initially exerted a powerful influence on the emerging circle of Romantics in Jena. Friedrich Schlegel summed up this influence in a famous aphorism: ‘The French Revolution, Fichte’s science of knowledge, and Goethe’s *Wilhelm Meister* are the greatest tendencies of the age. Anyone who takes offence at this combination, anyone who cannot see the importance of a revolution that is not loud and material, has not yet risen to the high and broad standpoint of human history.’²

For the Romantics, Goethe was the reference point for what they understood by Romanticism. The Romantics were the Goethe party within the German literary scene. August Wilhelm Schlegel expressed their admiration in a play on Goethe’s god-like name:

‘Admire only the finely carved idols / And let Goethe be our master, guide and friend / [...] You Goethe were sent to us through the goodness of the gods [Götter] / Befriended with the world through such a messenger / Divine [Göttlich] in name, appearance, character and mind.’³ Goethe was initially very sympathetic to the Romantics, but later distanced himself from them by defining the Romantic as

1 Quoted from: Siegfried Unseld, *Goethe und seiner Verleger*, Insel Tb Frankfurt/Main and Leipzig 1998, p. 490.

2 Friedrich Schlegel in the 216th Athenaeum fragment, quoted from: https://ekvv.uni-bielefeld.de/kvv/publ/publ/vd%3Bjsessionid=A1EC8F6C73CAC47FDE81F609F441A9B0.publ_ekvva?id=32718869&toggleTerminAnzeige=X. (21.10.2024)

3 „Bewundert nur die feingeschnitzten Götzen / Und lasst als Meister, Führer, Freund uns Goethe’n / [...] Uns sandte Goethe, dich, der Götter Güte / Befreundet mit der Welt durch solchen Boten / Göttlich von Namen, Blick, Gestalt, Gemüte.” Quoted from Ricarda Huch, *Die Romantik. Blütezeit, Ausbreitung und Verfall*. Die andere Bibliothek, Berlin 2017, p. 192. (originally published in 1899)

sick and the Classical as healthy.⁴ In particular, he later came to regard Friedrich Schlegel, who eventually became a Catholic apocalypticist, as a highly problematic figure.

The network of relationships that shaped German literature and philosophy in Goethe's time can be traced back to an astonishing degree to the university town of Jena and thus to Goethe himself.

2. Goethe in Weimar

Goethe arrived in Weimar on 7 November 1775, aged 26, at the invitation of the young Duke Carl August (1757–1828), who had ascended the throne just two months earlier. Carl August's mother, Anna Amalia, probably saw Goethe as a suitable companion, playmate and advisor for her son. From the outset, it was also intended to involve him in the affairs of government. He became a member of the Privy Council (the highest government authority) on 11 June 1776, Privy Councillor in August 1779 and, at the Duke's request, received a diploma of nobility (issued by Emperor Joseph II) on 3 June 1782. In 1782, he was also appointed Chamber President, which made him something like a finance minister. Goethe, who took his duties seriously, was probably the busiest government official in Weimar during these years. This had a negative impact on his literary output, which in the years before his stay in Italy was reduced mainly to occasional poems, impromptu dramas and Singspiele for Weimar's aristocratic society.

On 3 September 1786, he made his long-planned but unannounced 'escape' to Italy, where he remained for almost two years. The trip to Italy was the result of a kind of mid-life crisis, an attempt at self-discovery after Goethe increasingly felt that he was spending his time in Weimar on things that did not correspond to his actual purpose in life and were weighing him down. In fact, Goethe found the trip and his long stays in Rome deeply fulfilling and a kind of self-affirmation and self-discovery, believing that he had rediscovered his true mission as an artist and poet.

On the other hand, the trip and the sudden abandonment of his professional obligations was a risk, as his position in Weimar also meant financial security for Goethe. He had to try, with some diplomacy, to keep the Duke on side from Italy and persuade him to forgive this great insubordination. In fact, on 12 March 1788, when he began to contemplate his return, he wrote the following submissive letter to Carl August from Rome: 'I can only say: Lord, here I am, do with your servant as you will. Every place, every little place you reserve for me shall be dear to me; I will gladly come and go, sit down and stand up.⁵ In other words, he surrendered himself unconditionally to the Duke's terms in order to be able to return to Weimar.

In fact, however, Goethe was then quite well able to impose his own conditions and wishes in Weimar after his return from Italy. He resigned from the Secret Council, freed himself largely from day-to-day government work and took on only the supervision of projects that were more in line with his artistic and scientific inclinations. He became head of the palace building commission and took over supervision of the local library and natural science collections in Jena. In 1791, despite his initial resistance, he also became director of the new Weimar Theatre. Thanks to his close, albeit not unproblematic, friendship with the Duke, Goethe remained the second most powerful man in the state and was consulted on all important matters. However, his influence in business matters is now much less well documented than in the period before 1786 and must apparently be inferred mainly indirectly. Regarding his role concerning the University of Jena, Gebhard Müller writes: 'Although Goethe's signature or even detailed votes hardly appear in the relevant files, his authority must be seen behind all scientific policy decisions of any significance made by the Duke and the secret Consilium.'⁶

3. Goethe and the University of Jena in the 1790s

The University of Jena was the joint university of the four 'Ernestine' duchies of Saxe-Weimar, Saxe-Gotha, Saxe-Eisenach and Saxe-Meiningen. All four had joint supervision. Jena was actually located on

4 'I call the classical healthy and the romantic sick,' Goethe defined apodictically in a conversation with Eckermann on 2 April 1829, in: Johann Peter Eckermann, *Conversations with Goethe in the Last Years of His Life*. Edited by Christoph Michel. Deutscher Klassiker Verlag Tb 2010, p. 324.

5 Unseld, op. cit., p. 95

6 Müller, op. cit., p. 375

the territory of Saxe-Weimar, and Weimar had a prominent, usually decisive influence on the university. In the 1790s, Jena had approximately 4,000 inhabitants, making it slightly smaller than Weimar. Among them were approximately 500–700 students.⁷ With its several hundred students, the university was also economically important as a source of income for the duchy.

Before 1786, the University of Jena had been part of Goethe's official duties, but this was no longer the case after his return from Italy. Nevertheless, Goethe's interest in the university increased significantly in the 1790s. In the meantime (1791–1792), he was commissioned by the Duke to regulate student fraternities, whereby the Duke seemed primarily concerned with curbing the influence of the French Revolution in Jena and keeping the university politically quiet.

Nevertheless, Jena became the 'most progressive' university in Germany in the 1790s and thus experienced a considerable upswing. This was mainly due to a consistent shift towards modern Kantian 'critical' philosophy, which had been pursued since around 1785 and was significantly promoted by Goethe – astonishing, given Goethe's own problems with Kant. But he had apparently recognised the modern interest of this philosophy and was 'selfless' enough to give in to it. The appointment of Carl Leonhard Reinhold as associate professor in 1787 (1787–1794), which was mainly promoted by Wieland, was important here. Reinhold was also Wieland's son-in-law. Goethe had supported this appointment in a letter from Italy.⁸

Five appointments in and around the 1790s are particularly noteworthy for Jena, as they ultimately made it the birthplace of idealism and romanticism: Friedrich Schiller (1789), Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1794), August Wilhelm Schlegel (1798), Friedrich Wilhelm Josef Schelling (1798) and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1801). Goethe seems to have been decisively involved in all of these appointments except for Hegel's.

3.1. Schiller

In 1788/89, Goethe lobbied the Duke to appoint Schiller as an extraordinary professor in the philosophy faculty,⁹ albeit without a fixed salary. Goethe had met Schiller briefly in Weimar in 1788 and was familiar with his plays, albeit without particular enthusiasm. The first meeting between the two in September 1788 did not spark any personal chemistry. Some time later, Schiller wrote to a friend in a letter that has since become famous: 'Being around Goethe often would make me unhappy [...] I believe in fact that he is an egoist to an unusual degree [...] People should not allow such a person to flourish around them. I hate him for this, even though I love his spirit with all my heart and think highly of him.'¹⁰ At least Schiller was big enough to look beyond his personal antipathy and appreciate Goethe's spirit. And that must also have been true of Goethe, who thought highly enough of Schiller's abilities to help him get a university position.¹¹

Schiller spoke mainly about history in Jena. His career and influence as a historian resulted from this position. His impact on the young people of Jena must have been great at first, resulting from his idealism, a kind of moral relentlessness and fearlessness that made an impression. Novalis, who attended his lectures, testified to this. Later, this influence seems to have waned.

Until his move to Weimar in 1799, Schiller was also a fixed star in Jena's intellectual life. This was especially true after his friendship with Goethe came about in 1794 and the two formed a unique literary and productive alliance between two strongly contrasting natures. Schiller occupied a central position in the network of relationships, particularly with the magazine *Die Horen*, which he published from 1794 to 1797 and which sought to bring together the assembled intelligentsia in Jena and Weimar in a joint venture that aimed to establish a kind of leadership position in

7 For figures, see Boyle, op. cit., pp. 322 and 324.

8 Müller, op. cit., p. 314.

9 Gerhard Müller, *Vom Regieren zum Gestalten. Goethe und die Universität Jena*. Universitätsverlag Winter, Heidelberg 2006.

10 Quoted from Unseld, op. cit., p. 298.

11 Siegfried Unseld, however, believes that Goethe, who did not want Schiller in Weimar at the time, praised him away to Jena by offering him a university position there. Ibid., p. 299.

Germany.¹² This was only partially successful, as the magazine's reception and circulation remained weaker than hoped.

From around 1797, Schiller became involved in disputes with the emerging Romantic movement, particularly the Schlegel brothers, who criticised and mocked him and sought to play Goethe off against him. This led to a complete breakdown in relations and also made Goethe's position difficult with the Romantics, who nevertheless revered him as the 'viceroy of poetry on earth.'

3.2. Fichte

Perhaps the most momentous appointment in these years was that of Johann Gottlieb Fichte in 1793/94.¹³ Fichte (1763–1814) was then a rising star in the Kantian firmament, but had until then made his mark primarily through anonymously published writings justifying the French Revolution and advocating a kind of rational theology ('Critique of All Revelation'). Fichte's actual character was apparently deliberately left unclear and vague to the Duke in order to make this appointment possible. The Duke, who had inwardly aligned himself completely with the princely reaction against the French Revolution, would otherwise hardly have given his consent to such a revolutionary-minded writer. On the other hand, Fichte was also pressured to leave such political-revolutionary sentiments outside the university gates. It was probably all the easier for him to agree to this because, like the majority of the German intelligentsia, he had turned away from the French Revolution in disappointment after the mass guillotining in 1793/94 and the murders of the king and queen.

Similar to Schiller, Fichte also made a particular impression in Jena through his personality, which radiated something unconditional, free and at the same time demanding. His lectures attracted hundreds of students, i.e. a considerable proportion of the student body in Jena. His philosophy of science, which is difficult to access today and was based entirely on the self, also made a great impression at the time and had a profound influence on the emerging Romantic movement. Friedrich Schlegel ranked him among the great German national figures such as Dürer, Luther and Jakob Böhme. By freeing philosophy somewhat from the narrow confines of Kant's narrow limits of knowledge, he also paved the way for the later philosophies of Schelling and Hegel.

Jena was Fichte's breakthrough to public influence and fame. Given the nature of his publications and his personality, it is unlikely that he would have received a similar offer anywhere else. His catalytic role in both the Romantic movement and idealistic philosophy was only possible thanks to this appointment, as was his later position as a fiery public speaker and, finally, from 1810 to 1812, as rector of the newly founded University of Berlin.

Fichte's teaching career in Jena ended prematurely in the so-called 'atheism dispute' of 1798/99. The Elector of Saxony threatened to ban his subjects from studying in Jena because of publications by Fichte and his students, and other princes were ready to follow suit. The Duke of Weimar saw his reputation endangered, as well as the trust placed in him by the other Ernestine princes. Jena had been considered a dangerous, progressive university for years and was viewed with suspicion. In 1800, Emperor Franz II issued a ban on his (Protestant) students from Hungary and Transylvania attending the University of Jena.

Fichte, who refused to give in or back down in the atheism dispute, resigned himself to his dismissal. Goethe had initially defended him, but abandoned him when he realised that Fichte himself was no longer willing to show any conciliation. He had his correspondence with Fichte burned.

During Fichte's stay in Jena, Goethe cultivated a very intense relationship with him and apparently familiarised himself quite extensively with his philosophy, even if he occasionally mocked it. At some point, he identified it as inverted Spinozism.

12 'Versammelte Intelligenz' (Assembled Intelligence) with the exception of Wieland, whom Schiller did not like, but who also had his own well-established magazine company, 'Teutscher Merkur' (German Mercury).

13 'One must [...] assume that the offer of appointment made to Fichte in November 1793 was largely due to Goethe's influence and that he, if not in a legal sense, then at least in a political and moral sense, took responsibility for it, fully aware of the "recklessness" of this step.' (Müller, op. cit., p. 382)

In his daily and annual notebooks, Goethe later wrote about Fichte: 'After Reinhold's departure [...] Fichte was appointed to his place with boldness, even recklessness, who in his writings had expressed himself with grandeur, but perhaps not entirely appropriately, on the most important moral and political issues. He was one of the most capable personalities ever seen, and there was nothing wrong with his convictions when viewed from a higher perspective; but how could he have kept pace with the world he regarded as his created property?'^{14,15}

The Duke's harshness in Fichte's case may have been due to the special circumstance that Weimar was at that time courting the Russian Tsar's daughter, Grand Duchess Maria Pavlovna, as a wife for the heir to the throne. However, in relation to the Tsarist Empire, the actual centre of European reaction, it was important to dispel any doubts about the 'orthodoxy' of the Duke and the Duchy. On 26 December 1798, the Duke sent a strongly worded letter on the matter to the Weimar minister Voigt, which was probably co-written for Goethe's eyes and which reflects his entire view of Goethe's university policy in Jena, as well as his contempt for the professoriate: 'I have been annoyed and almost ashamed of Goethe at least ten times, who is properly childish in relation to the whole critical stuff and has such taste for it that he has spoiled his own taste: he regards the whole academic institution with such frivolity that he neglects all the good he could do during his frequent visits to Jena; he could more easily than anyone else (...) keep them in order by admonishing them; they would certainly be willing, for with all their infinity babbling they are a very restricted race, attached to their place and position: But as it is, he finds the scribblers charming, and the people believe that they are approved [...] I can no longer discuss this matter with Goethe, for he immediately loses himself in such a discussion rich in words and sophistry that I lose all patience.'¹⁶

3.3. August Wilhelm Schlegel

A.W. Schlegel (1767–1845), the older of the two Schlegel brothers, came to Jena in 1795 at Schiller's request to work on the *Horen* with his wife Caroline (1763–1809). Schlegel also taught at the university, but did not receive an extraordinary professorship until 1798.¹⁷ Together with his younger brother Friedrich (1772–1829), Schlegel formed the inner core of the early Romantic movement that grouped around them. His presence in Jena also drew Friedrich back there time and again, and in 1798 and 1799, the so-called Romantic commune in Jena, consisting of August Wilhelm and Friedrich and their wives, with frequent visits from Novalis, Schleiermacher and Tieck, who lived outside Jena, as well as Fichte and Schelling from Jena, became the actual birthplace of the Romantic movement. August Wilhelm was appreciated and employed by Goethe and Schiller for his Shakespeare translations and his thorough literary knowledge. From 1795 to 1799, A.W. wrote 285 reviews for the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literaturzeitung* (ALZ), the most important literary publication in Germany.¹⁸ Relations were clouded by the impertinence of Friedrich Schlegel, the more talented and interesting of the two brothers, who had angered Schiller with his reviews and remarks. The Romantics revered Goethe and were the true heralds

14 This is a somewhat ironic allusion to Fichte's philosophy, which allows the (external) world to emerge from the self as a positing of the non-self.

15 JW Goethe, *Tag- und Jahreshefte*. Edited by I. Schmid. (=Goethe, Complete Works, Letters, Diaries and Conversations, Section I, Volume 17) Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, Frankfurt/ Main 1994, pp. 30-31.

16 „Über Göthen habe ich wohl zehn mal mich halb zu schanden geärgert, der ordentl. Kindisch über das alberne critische Wesen ist, und einen solchen geschmack daran findet dass er den seinigen sehr darüber verdorben hat: er besieht dabei das Ding, u[nd] das ganze akademische Wesen mit einem solchen leichtsinn, daß er alles das gute was er bei seinen häufigen anwesenheiten zu Jena stiften könnte, unterläßt; er könnte leichter wie jemand (...) sie durch Vermahnungen in der ordnung halten; sie würden sich gewiß willig finden, denn mit aller ihrer unendlichkeit ist es eine sehr eingeschränkte, an ihrem platz u[nd] einnahme hängende race: So aber findet er die sudeloyer charmant u[nd] das Volk glaubt man approbiere sie [...] Mit Goethen kann ich gar nicht mehr über diese Sache reden, denn er verliert sich gleich dabey in eine so wort- und Sophismen reiche discution daß mir alle Gedult ausgeht.“ Quoted from Friedrich Sengle, *Das Genie und sein Fürst. Die Lebensgemeinschaft Goethes mit Herzog Carl August*. Verlag J.B. Metzler Stuttgart and Weimar 1993, p. 165.

17 S. Müller, op. cit., p. 393f for the events surrounding the appointment of AW Schlegel and Goethe's hopes associated with it.

18 The *Jenaische Allgemeine Literaturzeitung* (ALZ), founded in 1785 by the Weimar businessman Friedrich Justin Bertuch and run by professors from the University of Jena, was at that time the most important organ in Germany for the announcement and review of books and literary works of all kinds. It was another link in the dominant position of Weimar-Jena in the intellectual life of Germany at that time.

of his fame in Germany, elevating him to the prominent position he has held ever since. They saw him as the 'representative of poetry on earth,' a unique genius, and placed him far above Schiller.

The Romantics also had close friendships in Jena with Fichte and Schelling, the exponents of idealistic philosophy. From 1798 to 1800, they published the journal *Das Athenäum*, an avant-garde literary magazine that remains fascinating to this day but had to be discontinued due to a lack of public interest. An event that complicated and tore apart the community was the love affair between August Wilhelm's wife Caroline and Schelling, who finally married in 1803 after Caroline had divorced the older Schlegel brother.

3.4. Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling

Schelling had been recommended to Goethe in 1797 by Schiller and the Jena professors Niethammer and Paulus. Goethe overcame a certain scepticism towards Schelling's philosophy of nature, which was based on ideas, only when he met him in person at the end of May 1798. He reported on this meeting to his Weimar colleague Voigt: '[Schelling] is a very clear, energetic mind, organised according to the latest fashion; yet I have not been able to detect any trace of sans-culotte affectation in him; on the contrary, he seems moderate and educated in every sense. I am convinced that he would do us honour and be useful to the Academy.'¹⁹ Goethe read Schelling's *Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Nature* and *On the World Soul*. The Duke approved the appointment immediately.

Schelling taught in Jena from 1798 to 1804 and associated closely with the Romantic circles, who were attracted by his natural philosophy. He was considered a young genius and was a star in Jena. He also developed an intense relationship with Goethe, for whom Schelling's philosophy of nature became an important point of reference against which he could measure his own, much more empirically oriented, natural philosophical ideas.²⁰

3.5. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel

Hegel (1770–1831) came to Jena in 1801, not through Goethe's intervention, but on his own initiative, attracted by the city's reputation as the intellectual centre of Germany and by Schelling, with whom he had been friends since their student days at Tübingen, where the two had formed a friendship circle with Hölderlin. Hegel had come into a small inheritance in 1799, moved to Jena, qualified as a professor there and was appointed associate professor in 1801. Together with Schelling, who was much more famous at the time, albeit younger, he briefly published a joint journal, the *Kritische Journal der Philosophie* (1802–3), which was almost entirely written by Hegel alone. He first came to Goethe's attention in 1803, and this developed into a lasting friendship, or a kind of intellectual brotherhood. Hegel described himself to Goethe as 'one of your sons'; Goethe valued their conversations, although he found Hegel's writings difficult to digest. Since his own birthday was one day before Goethe's (27 and 28 August), Hegel drank a glass to Goethe at midnight at the end of his own birthday every year.

3.6. Goethe himself

Finally, Goethe himself, not only as a cultural politician but also as a personality, played an important role in the transformation of the German cultural landscape that took place in Jena in the 1790s. Goethe spent long periods of time in Jena, which is only about 20–25 kilometres from Weimar, in the 1790s and especially between 1794 and 1799. Jena became a refuge for him, which he needed in order to be able to work poetically. On the one hand, it offered him the peace and solitude he needed away from the demands of the Weimar court and his family (Goethe had been living with his girlfriend Christiane Vulpius since 1788; their son August was born in 1789). On the other hand, it offered him a literarily stimulating and receptive social life that he no longer had in Weimar. In addition to the intellectuals associated with the university, Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) also lived in Jena from 1794 to 1797, forming a very close friendship with Schiller and also becoming important to Goethe.²¹ Goethe was

19 Goethe to Voigt, 29 May 1798, quoted from Müller, op. cit., p. 395.

20 On Schelling's appointment and Goethe's interest in and engagement with Schelling, see Nicholas Boyle, *Goethe. Der Dichter in seiner Zeit. 1790–1803*. Insel, Frankfurt am Main, n.d. (originally published in English in 1999), pp. 724–733.

21 See *Wilhelm von Humboldt on Schiller and Goethe. Aus den Briefen und Werken*. Edited by Eberhard Haufe. Kiepenheuer Verlag, Weimar 1963.

particularly interested in Humboldt's younger brother, the natural scientist Alexander von Humboldt, who often came to visit. For the Jena literati and philosophers, Goethe was a fixed star whom everyone could agree to admire. All in all, Goethe spent about five years of his life in Jena, most of it in the 1790s. In 1796 alone, for example, he spent 138 days, i.e. more than a third of the year, in Jena.

Jena's golden age suffered a severe setback when several professors moved to Würzburg in 1803/4, and it came to an end in 1806 when Saxe-Weimar was occupied and affected by the French war against Prussia. The university was closed for some time and never regained its importance of the 1790s.

4. The background to the French Revolution

The actual heyday of this cultural policy with regard to the University of Jena began around 1794. This was the time when the majority of the German intelligentsia turned away from the French Revolution. The murders of the king and queen in 1793 and 1794, the culmination of the mass purges unleashed by the Montagnards faction, had dampened the initial widespread enthusiasm. Although the French Revolution had triumphed politically, morally the hopes for humanity's advancement to a higher level had been deeply shaken. The revolution, the realisation of the Enlightenment, had at the same time led to a return to barbarism, to a frenzy of murder and death.

Goethe maintained a certain distance from the events in France from the outset, trying as far as possible to remain free of the partisan passions they unleashed. Months after the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789, he did not want to talk to anyone about it in order to protect himself from being drawn into fanaticism. On the other hand, he was deeply shaken by it: 'Then the contemporary world history completely took hold of my mind,' he wrote, for example, about his situation around 1790 in the *Campagne in France*.²² Duke Carl August, the ruling prince and general in Prussian service, leaned more and more towards the legitimist camp, which was hostile to the revolution, and took part in the coalition wars of Austria and Prussia against revolutionary France. He viewed the intellectuals in his circle with increasing suspicion, suspecting them of sympathising with the revolution. Until around 1794, Herder appeared at the Weimar court as the most uncertain cantonist in this regard. This was probably one of the reasons why the Duke ordered Goethe to take part in the coalition campaign of 1792, in order to draw him deeper into the anti-revolutionary camp.

Around 1794, the intellectuals at the Weimar court and in Jena, and in Germany in general, found themselves in a double bind: 1) disappointment with the course of the revolution, 2) the threat of political repression, which they had to avoid all the more in Weimar-Jena because they were largely economically dependent on the duchy.

In this situation, a certain intellectual attitude or a kind of programme emerged, which was shaped by Weimar-Jena and passed on to the wider German cultural development as an ideal. It drew on the ideal of 'humanity' that Goethe had brought back with him from his stay in Italy in 1786-1788.²³ This ideal had found its way into his plays *Iphigenia in Tauris* and *Torquato Tasso*, written at that time, without initially encountering anything but complete incomprehension and rejection. The new ideal was formulated in a certain sense in Schiller's letters *On the Aesthetic Education of Man*, written in 1795, where the programme of the French Revolution, the self-legislation of man, was affirmed on the one hand, but on the other hand declared impossible as long as man was not harmonised within himself through a kind of education. His sensual drives and moral ideals had to be brought into free harmony, whereas their divergence had been precisely the reason for the revolution's descent into the most terrible excesses. The ideal of personality that Schiller sketched in his letters was modelled on Goethe, as Schiller confessed in a letter to him: 'You will find your portrait in these letters, under which I would gladly have written your

²² Unseld, op. cit.

²³ It could be pointed out that for Goethe, the French Revolution had already begun in 1785, with what was then known as the Necklace Affair. According to his own testimony, he had already experienced all the horrors of the revolution in a kind of clairvoyance and entered a state that seemed completely incomprehensible to everyone around him; i.e., the ideal of humanity as it developed in Italy in 1786-88 may have been, in part, a response to this catastrophe he had already experienced internally. It is therefore fitting that his first literary reaction to the actual revolution, the play 'Der Großkophta', was a dramatisation of the necklace affair.

name if I did not hate to anticipate the feelings of thinking readers.²⁴ Goethe, for his part, was extremely impressed by the Aesthetic Letters: 'I read the manuscript sent to me with great pleasure, devouring it in one sitting. Like a delicious drink analogous to our nature, which slips down willingly and already shows its healing effect on the tongue through the good mood of the nervous system, these letters were pleasant and beneficial to me, and how could it be otherwise? For I found what I had long recognised as right, what I had partly lived and partly wished to live, presented in such a coherent and noble manner.'²⁵

Hölderlin expressed the same basic idea about the revolution succinctly in his Hyperion 1798: 'Indeed! It was an extraordinary project to plant my Elysium through a band of robbers.'²⁶ This was an epitaph to the revolution: a great idea – an unworthy race, incapable people. Schiller's Weimar theatre from 1798 to 1805 was then an attempt to inaugurate a new, better race with the theatre as a moral and aesthetic educational institution.

In this context, one could also cite a maxim of Goethe's such as the following: 'Everything that liberates our spirit without giving us dominion over ourselves is pernicious.'²⁷ The revolution had 'liberated' the 'spirit' from the superstition of the old feudal order, but it allowed people to fall back into the wildest passions and barbarism. The aim had to be to give us 'dominion over ourselves.' That was the meaning of Schiller's aesthetic education and Goethe's ideal of humanity.

Goethe expressed his attitude somewhat more simply in a couplet written around 1797:

*French ways in these confused days are pushing back steady education,
as Lutheranism once did.*²⁸

'Steady education' as opposed to the turbulent political party passions of the revolution – that was what it should be about.

Goethe also made a more concrete attempt to educate his own and the next generation in accordance with his programme. This was his short-lived magazine *Propyläen* (1798–1800). It was initially intended as a journal of art criticism and artist training and sought to make fruitful for such an artistic education what Goethe believed he had understood during his self-education in Italy: the importance of precise, even pedantic observation of the external world, self-education in objectivity, and the inclusion of science. The magazine propagated a classicism that corresponded to Goethe's ideal of art; its educational maxims were also intended for application in literature. However, the magazine, Goethe's first venture with his new publisher Cotta, was a complete disaster: of the 1,300 copies printed, only 450 were sold, and after three issues it had to be discontinued. Schiller, who had acted as mediator between Goethe and Cotta in the venture, wrote indignantly: 'I cannot even think about this matter without my blood boiling, for nothing the German public has ever done to me has been so despicable.' Goethe must have been at least as deeply disappointed, but he replied to Schiller with a certain serenity: 'Meanwhile, the matter is proceeding so naturally that one should not be surprised at all. For one should appreciate

24 Schiller to Goethe, 20 October 1794

25 „Das mir übersandte Manuskript habe sogleich mit großem Vergnügen gelesen, ich schlurfte es auf einen Zug hinunter. Wie uns ein köstlicher, unserer Natur analoger Trank willig hinunterschleicht, und auf der Zunge schon durch gute Stimmung des Nervensystems seine heilsame Wirkung zeigt, so waren mir diese Briefe angenehm und wohlthätig, und wie sollte es anders sein? da ich das, was ich für recht seit langer Zeit erkannte, was ich teils lebte, teils zu leben wünschte, auf eine so zusammenhängende und edle Weise vorgetragen fand." Goethe to Schiller, 26 October 1794. Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit* could also be seen as another representation of the Weimar-Jena ideal of humanity – as a (more complex) counterpart to Schiller's *Letters on Aesthetic Education*.

26 „In der That! Es war ein außerordentlich Project, durch eine Räuberbande mein Elysium zu pflanzen" Quoted from Boyle, op. cit., p. 711

27 „Alles, was unseren Geist befreit, ohne uns die Herrschaft über uns selbst zu geben, ist verderblich." JW Goethe, *Sprüche in Prosa*. Edited by Harald Fricke. (= Complete Works, Letters, Diaries and Conversations, Section I, Vol. 13) Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, No. 1.264, p. 42. The maxim, first published in Wilhelm Meister's Journeyman Years in the 1820s, is nevertheless intellectually one of the fruits of the French Revolution.

28 „Franz tum drängt in diesen verworrenen Tagen, wie ehemals Luthertum es getan, ruhige Bildung zurück." Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Poems 1800–1832*. Edited by Karl Eibl. (=JW Goethe, Complete Works, Letters, Diaries and Conversations, Section I, Vol. 2) Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, Frankfurt/ Main 1988, p. 244.

the whole, which one does not know, from the many integral parts that one does know.²⁹ In other words, if one drew conclusions about the whole from what they knew at the time about individual parts of the German public, the result could only be this complete lack of understanding.

Die *Propyläen* also highlighted Goethe's antagonism towards the emerging Romantics for the first time. His classicism stood in opposition to their turn to the Middle Ages and Gothic art. His emphasis on objectivity in relation to the outside world was diametrically opposed to what the Romantics valued so much in Goethe himself: his spontaneous inspiration, his original genius, his rich imagination. Goethe himself had recognised the dangers that came with these gifts and imposed self-discipline on himself, but the Romantics preferred to cultivate a certain lack of discipline.

Goethe's often very harsh judgements of representatives of the following generation, such as Hölderlin, Kleist and Caspar David Friedrich, are fuelled by this conflict. In fact, they were all 'his children,' products of a cultural constellation that he had largely created, but at the same time they eluded his actual educational efforts and thus threatened to go astray in ways that he strongly disapproved of and considered dangerous (both personally and socially).

It is perhaps not insignificant to point out the political background to this cultural movement between 1794 and 1806. Prussia (and thus also Saxe-Weimar) had concluded the Peace of Basel with France in 1795, thereby withdrawing from the anti-French coalition. As a result, the central and northern German region lived in a kind of (moderate) free space until the collapse of 1806, shielded from the intervention of major world events and the Napoleonic Wars, which initially developed elsewhere. It was this free space that allowed the Weimar-Jena cultural seed to develop. It was not until Prussia re-entered the war in 1806 and was defeated that Saxe-Weimar also became a war zone and French occupation territory, and then part of the Rhine Confederation until 1814. This brought this period to a complete end, after which Goethe remained more or less alone in Weimar, especially since Herder had died in 1803 and Schiller in 1805.

5. After Jena

After 1806, this cultural movement had become homeless, and the defeat and occupation of Germany gave rise to desperate fantasies that the German people were now finished. On the other hand, however, the entire movement had put down roots that were deep enough to continue spreading even without the fertile soil of Jena. Berlin became an important university centre, where a new university was founded in 1810 as part of the Prussian reform movement. The decisive founding figure was Wilhelm von Humboldt, then Prussian Minister of Culture and Education in the Prussian Ministry of the Interior, who had spent his formative years in Jena, where he lived from 1794 to 1797. Throughout his life, Humboldt looked back on his close relationship with Schiller as the most intellectually productive and interesting period of his life, which also provided the most important inspiration for his later work. In this respect, the University of Berlin, with its famous unity of research and teaching, which in turn became the model for the entire German university system, which was the world leader until 1914 or even 1933, was a product of the Weimar-Jena soil. Fichte, whom Humboldt had heard in Jena, became professor of philosophy there in 1810 and remained so until his death in 1814. He was also founding rector from 1811 to 1812. In 1818, Hegel arrived, who developed his Europe-wide influence in Berlin until his death in 1831, and in 1841 Schelling, who gave profound lectures on religious philosophy.

Other important universities were Bonn and Heidelberg, which fostered the Romantic enthusiasm for the Rhine, as well as Catholic Munich, where Schelling worked from 1827 to 1841.

6. The relationship to politics

The hallmark of this German 'golden' age was an expansion of intellectual space accompanied by a widespread turning away from politics. One would have thought that the demand for intellectual freedom, freedom of expression and freedom of the press would necessarily have accompanied such a movement. In Schiller's *Don Carlos*, written in the mid-1780s, on the brink of revolution, the cry is still heard: 'Geben

29 See *The Correspondence between Schiller and Goethe*, op. cit., Volume II, 1798-1805, letters dated 5 July and 6 July 1799, pp. 233-4.

sie Gedankenfreiheit, Sire! | Give us freedom of thought, Sire!’ (Schiller, *Don Carlos*, III, 10). However, with the cultural movement initiated by Goethe in 1794, this expansion was undertaken without any real concern for its political prerequisites, thereby also undermining its political opposition. Goethe himself succeeded in surrounding himself with an aura of untouchability. He associated with people from all walks of life. A man like Metternich, for example, who after 1815 undertook a Europe-wide campaign against all causes and consequences of the revolution, saw this German cultural movement as an essential part of it: one of his aims for Austria was to isolate the country from it as far as possible. Nevertheless, the political establishment did not succeed in actually grasping this movement, which was only politically radical at its fringes.

This expansion of intellectual space, without the demand for, let alone the enforcement of, political rights, can be seen as a characteristic of Germany’s specific development. In the 19th century, it led to the label ‘land of poets and thinkers.’³⁰ Hölderlin called the Germans ‘inactive and thoughtful.’³¹ Heinrich Heine, who was himself a descendant of this tradition, described this specific German political and cultural constellation with a touch of irony in his major essay ‘On Literature and Philosophy in Germany,’ written for the French public. Thomas Mann later spoke of ‘power-protected inwardness’³² as a characteristic of Germanness, and this may be an echo of this situation. When massive criticism rained down on Germany in the era of the world wars, all this was understood as the origin of a fatal German Sonderweg away from a Western path of development. In particular, the development of a state-uncritical mentality of subjects instead of a democratic civic consciousness was derived from this. The establishment of ‘democracy’ in Germany in 1919 and especially in 1949 was then supposed to correct this *Sonderweg*.

In fact, it can certainly be said that it was a weakness of the intellectual movement at the time that it developed few ideas for shaping social life and thus lacked the power to anchor its momentum permanently. This may have been largely due to the social situation of important protagonists, who were dependent on princely courts for their material existence.

Goethe himself, although he was a minister and thus involved in government affairs, did not develop any coherent social ideas. He did hint at some things in this direction, for example in his *Märchen* (1795) and his *Wilhelm Meister* novel, but these remained vague and esoteric. Hegel undertook a profound examination of social life in his 1820 philosophy of law, but ended up exalting the state, which undoubtedly had problematic effects. Fichte’s *Geschlossener Handelsstaat* (1800), which in a certain way sought to bring about a moral renewal of humanity, was, viewed differently, a construct that pointed to modern totalitarian states; Wilhelm von Humboldt’s contrasting, radically liberal youth work *Ideas for an Attempt to Determine the Limits of the Effectiveness of the State* (which influenced John Stuart Mill) from 1792 was not printed until the middle of the 19th century and was hardly noticed in Germany. And in the Romantic milieu, state philosophers such as Adam Müller and Karl Ludwig von Haller emerged, who were highly reactionary, wanted to restore medieval divine right, and served Metternich’s politics after 1815.³³

Goethe himself has been accused on various occasions of being a ‘prince’s servant’ and a ‘reactionary,’ most vehemently during his lifetime by Ludwig Börne.³⁴ He himself commented on this to Eckermann

30 Menzel, Wolfgang (1836): ‘Das sinnige deutsche Volk liebt es zu denken und zu dichten, und zum Schreiben hat es immer Zeit. | The sensible German people love to think and write poetry, and they always have time for writing.’ Menzel: *Die deutsche Literatur*, Hallberger’sche Verlagshandlung Stuttgart, 2nd edition, p. 3.

31 ‘Spottet ja nicht des Kinds, / [...] Denn, Ihr Deutschen, auch ihr seid / Tatenarm und Gedankenvoll. | Do not mock the child, [...] For you Germans, too, are weak in deed and strong in thought.’ Friedrich Hölderlin: *To the Germans*. Pocket book for educated women for the year 1799. Stuttgart 1798, p. 68.

32 Thomas Mann on 10 February 1933 in his lecture *Leiden und Größe Richard Wagners* (The Suffering and Greatness of Richard Wagner) in the auditorium maximum of the Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich.

33 See generally Karl Heyer, *Sozialimpulse des deutschen Geistes im Goethezeitalter* (Social Impulses of the German Spirit in the Goethe Era). 2nd edition. Stuttgart 1987.

34 *Ludwig Börnes Goethe-Kritik* (Fundstücke). Edited by Christoph Weiss. Wehrhahn-Verlag 2004. – Reference should also be made here to the British-American professor and Goethe scholar W. Daniel Wilson, who for 25 years has been ‘exposing’ Goethe’s reactionary, anti-Semitic and anti-freedom attitudes in several books. (*Geheimräte gegen Geheimbünde: Ein unbekanntes Kapitel der klassisch-romantischen Geschichte Weimars; Das Goethe-Tabu: Protest und Menschenrechte im klassischen Weimar; Unterirdische*

in a conversation in March 1832, shortly before his death: 'If a poet has spent his whole life striving to combat harmful prejudices, to eliminate narrow-minded views, to enlighten the spirit of his people, to refine their taste and to ennoble their attitudes and ways of thinking, what better can he do? And how can he be more patriotic than that? [...] You know that I care little about what is written about me, but it does come to my ears, and I know very well that, however hard I have made my life, all my work is considered worthless in the eyes of certain people, precisely because I have refused to get involved in political parties. To please these people, I would have had to become a member of a Jacobin club and preach murder and bloodshed.'³⁵

Today, one may well ask to what extent the establishment of democracy has really promoted democratic civic consciousness. The indicators suggest rather that the omnipotence of the state – and with it the mentality of subservience – has continued to grow even in democratic states. Ultimately, this also applies to the Anglo-Saxon model democracies of the United States and Great Britain. At the same time, the 'politicisation' and 'polarisation' of the population has grown, as has its tendency towards party fanaticism. These were Goethe's 'enemies,' typical modern tendencies that he considered harmful to the calm, steady enlightenment and education of the people, and ultimately saw as a sign of modern barbarisation.

Today, an almost hysterical affirmation of democracy is accompanied by a re-primitivisation of the intellectual sphere in Germany and beyond. Between 'right-wing populism' and 'defence of democracy,' something like a democratic apocalypse is taking place, a collapse of political forms of communication and the ability to communicate. Formally, freedom of expression is upheld, but in reality, certain differentiated points of view no longer have any chance of being heard in public. The 'narrowing of the space for debate' is a frequently observed phenomenon.

On the other hand, this may not be an entirely new state of affairs. John Stuart Mill already lamented the paralysing pressure to conform in (from today's perspective, very impressive) English society in the mid-19th century, i.e. at the height of the British Empire. It was against this conformism that he upheld the German idealistic cultural movement. And there are other succinct statements. Mark Twain, the quintessential writer of classical democracy in the USA, said: 'It is through the goodness of God that we have three infinitely valuable things in our country: freedom of opinion, freedom of conscience, and the wisdom never to use any of them.'³⁶

Goethe's attitude towards the French Revolution was ultimately shaped by his aversion to party politics and fanaticism. His intellectual diet was entirely geared towards not allowing himself to be drawn into such a party atmosphere and thereby corrupted. It may be that he was evading something that is inevitable in democratic circumstances, but on the other hand, in an age marked by such extreme party formations as today's, there is much in this attitude that is worth heeding. Goethe was not a supporter of cancel culture, the absolute exclusion from one's own field of vision of all opinions and opinion leaders that run counter to one's own. Cancel culture is ultimately the classic totalitarian disposition of consciousness: those who hold disturbing opinions must be eliminated – from one's own field of vision, but ultimately also from the world altogether. This has its precursors in the medieval Church's treatment of heresy and heretics.

If one keeps these things in mind, one can have more understanding for Goethe's insistence on calm development, increasing education, etc., and his abhorrence of political party passions and

Gänge. Goethe, Freimaurerei und Politik; Goethe und die Juden. Faszination und Feindschaft.) These books combine investigative flair and simplistic interpretation. Their impetus is to track down and present material that passes certain judgements on Goethe based on preconceived prejudices (rather than attempting to trace Goethe's actual thought process). They clearly want to 'pillory' Goethe, to make him impossible. They tend to be characterised by a kind of persecution complex that is at work here in the academic sphere, analogous to the way in which state security agencies in totalitarian regimes try to get to the bottom of dissidents or deviants in order to expose and unmask them. In this respect, these books are probably not entirely atypical of certain tendencies in the humanities today.

35 Johann Peter Eckermann, *Conversations with Goethe in the Last Years of His Life*. Edited by Christoph Michel. Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, Tb, 2nd edition, 2019, p. 494f.

36 Mark Twain (1897): *Following the Equator*. Hartford and New York: American Publishing Co. and Doubleday & McLure Co. Motto of Chapter XX, p. 195.

fanaticism and their regressive effects. Enforcing the truth, even though one has no explicit right to do so or demands it, is perhaps more important than demanding the right to make the truth public, but then beating it with clubs wherever it actually appears.

Intellectual freedom is ultimately the core of all freedom. And freedom is ultimately measured not by what might be theoretically possible to say, but by what is practically possible to say, i.e. what resonates with people. In this sense, it can certainly be said that Goethe significantly expanded the scope of freedom in Germany, that with his own works and his cultural and political initiatives he created a space for communication so vast that it could appear to someone like John Stuart Mill as one of the great eras of humanity. The great prestige that Germany enjoyed in the 19th century among all educated people in Europe and America can be traced back to this. The fact that it was not possible to anchor this space for communication more firmly (politically, if such a thing is even possible) was a kind of tragedy that foreshadowed the catastrophic developments of the 20th century.

7. Goethe's theatre directorship

Goethe had another, clearer but less successful cultural-political mandate as director of the Weimar Theatre from 1791 to 1817. Goethe's directorship was an express wish of the Duke, which Goethe himself had fulfilled only somewhat reluctantly and hesitantly. After his return from Italy, Goethe had completed *Iphigenia* and *Torquato Tasso* as prime examples of his new classical style. The plays were met with icy rejection at the Weimar court, which in the case of *Tasso* was additionally due to the fact that it was seen – not without reason – as alluding to the conditions at the Weimar court. Goethe only dared to put them on the theatre's programme after some time had passed. *Iphigenia* (completed in 1787) was first performed in 1802, and *Tasso* (completed in 1790) did not premiere in Weimar until 1807.

Goethe's attempts to establish a catchy, contemporary theatre that took political conditions (the revolution) into account, a kind of sophisticated boulevard theatre, failed. The plays written for this purpose, *Der Groß-Cophta* and *Der Bürgergeneral*, failed to catch on and were taken off the programme after only a few performances; Goethe himself abandoned this line of production. Ultimately, it was not possible in the theatre of a small, provincial, residential town like Weimar to establish a national theatre culture such as that which had been sustained in Shakespeare's London or Molière's Paris.

The most frequently performed author during Goethe's time as artistic director was August von Kotzebue, with 638 performances. Goethe and Schiller did not appreciate him, but he was unavoidable if the audience was to be kept entertained.

About two-fifths of the evenings were devoted to *singspiele* and operas, including Mozart's *The Magic Flute*, which Goethe loved very much and even drafted a sequel to, almost a hundred times between 1794 and 1817.³⁷

Goethe's directorship was further restricted by the frequent interventions of the Duke, who wanted his own tastes to be taken into account. For example, he forced Goethe to stage Voltaire's *Mahomet*, a play that Goethe was ambivalent about due to its somewhat crude criticism of religion. In addition, the actress Karoline Jagemann, who had been at the Weimar Theatre since 1797, was the Duke's mistress from 1801 and thus gained a position of power at the theatre that rivaled that of the director.

The stylistic core of Goethe's directorship was then formed by Schiller's plays, from *Wallenstein* (1798) to *Wilhelm Tell* (1805), all of which began their triumphant march across German stages from Weimar and created something like a classical idealistic German theatre with audience appeal. Although they also met with resistance in Weimar's court circles, they enjoyed significantly greater and more lasting success than Goethe's own plays.

While Schiller's influence on the German stage continued into the twentieth century, the generation following the Weimar Dioscuri saw the emergence of a movement against the idealistic theatre and its 'high style' that had been inaugurated in Weimar.³⁸ Christian Dietrich Grabbe (1801–1836), for example, mocked

37 Figures according to Thomas Steinfeld, *Goethe. Porträt eines Lebens, Porträt einer Zeit*. Rowohlt Berlin 2024, p. 320.

38 In 1803, Goethe laid down 'Rules for Actors' that were intended to clarify this style and make it learnable. See JW Goethe, *Aesthetic Writings 1771–1805*. Edited by Friedmar Apel. (= JW Goethe, *Complete Works. Letters, Diaries and*

the Goethe-Schiller correspondence in a long essay,³⁹ and Georg Büchner (1814–1837) professed his deep aversion to Schiller's idealism.⁴⁰ Both took Shakespeare as their ideal, which they played off against Weimar.

Looking back in 1825, Goethe remarked to Eckermann: 'I really did once have the delusion that it was possible to create a German theatre. Yes, I had the delusion that I myself could contribute to it and that I could lay some of the foundations for such a structure. I wrote my *Iphigenia* and my *Tasso* and thought, in childish hope, that it could work. [...] Had I made an impact and found approval, I would have written you a whole dozen plays like *Iphigenia* and *Tasso*. There was no shortage of material. But [...] there were no actors to portray such things with spirit and life, and there was no audience to hear and absorb such things with feeling.'⁴¹

8. Conclusion

Considering all the things listed here, the golden age of German intellectual life from 1770 to 1850 was, to an astonishing degree, the work of one man – Goethe. Herman Grimm, the son of Wilhelm Grimm, said in his lectures on Goethe in 1874/75: 'Goethe had the same effect on the intellectual life of Germany as a powerful natural phenomenon would have had on the physical world.'⁴² One can adopt this analogy: After these birth processes in the 1790s, which Goethe accompanied like a midwife, intellectual life in Germany had indeed taken on a completely different colour and density than in the decades and centuries before. It had been fundamentally changed. Goethe's cultural and political work in Weimar and Jena had created the energy fields in which the people who formed the romantic-idealistic culture came together. This gave rise to synergistic effects and clusters of inspiration that continued to radiate for decades and only faded with the triumph of scientific materialism in the mid-nineteenth century.

On the other hand, there is something else behind Goethe: the Weimar royal house, which at least allowed him to do his work. His friendship with Prince Carl August was the central prerequisite for Goethe's cultural and political work at the Weimar court. And behind that stands the figure of Carl August's mother: Anna Amalia (1739–1807), who actually created the Weimar 'court of muses,' which then became the nucleus of the larger cultural movement since the 1790s: Anna Amalia first brought Christoph Martin Wieland (1733–1814) to Weimar in 1772 as a tutor for her sons, then Goethe arrived in 1775 as a companion for her son, and later, in 1776, Johann Gottfried Herder was appointed court preacher on Goethe's recommendation and at his insistence. In the 1770s and 1780s, an intense cultural life developed at the Weimar court, which at that time still had a more intimate, lover-like character. The appointments of Wieland, Goethe and Herder cannot necessarily be described as cultural policy; the princess and her son wanted to bring an intellectually stimulating society into their circle and to their court, but in doing so she created a cluster of intellectuals that had a far-reaching influence and became a prerequisite for the developments of the 1790s.

Goethe, the leading representative of this German era, used a metaphor in another context that could be applied when considering the decline of such golden ages: 'It was claimed that the course had been broken, since in all earthly things there can rarely be any question of a course: for just as the water displaced by a ship collapses again immediately behind it, so too does error close up again very quickly behind those excellent minds who have pushed it aside and made room for themselves.'⁴³ After the heyday of truth, the waters of error quickly close again. In the German case, where Nietzsche spoke of the 'Exstirpation des deutschen Geistes durch das deutsche Reich | the extirpation of the German spirit by the German Empire' in the first of his *Untimely Meditations* shortly after the founding of the Reich in 1871, this happened in a particularly striking and ugly style.

Conversations. I. Abteilung, Vol. 18.) Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, Frankfurt/ Main, pp. 857-883.

39 C.D. Grabbe, *Etwas über den Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Goethe*, in: C.D. Grabbe, *Werke* Vol. 2, Carl Hanser Verlag Munich 1977, pp. 483–503

40 See Büchner's letter to his family dated 28 July 1835, in: Georg Büchner, *Writings, Letters, Documents*. (= *Complete Works, Letters and Documents*, Vol. 2). Insel Tb 2002 (first published by Deutscher Klassiker Verlag in 1999), pp. 409ff

41 Eckermann, *Conversations with Goethe in the Last Years of His Life*, op. cit., p. 553. (27 March 1825)

42 Herman Grimm, *Goethe. Twenty-five lectures given at the Royal University of Berlin in the winter semester of 1874/75*. First volume. Winterbach 1989, p. 7.

43 JW Goethe, *Poetry and Truth*, Insel Verlag Ffm, 2nd edition 1980 (=Insel Tb 151), Volume 3, p. 730 (Book 15)



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Cultural Policy against the Grain 流れに逆らう文化政策

liber amicorum for Matthias Theodor Vogt in honour of
his 65th birthday, edited by his colleagues and students

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Cultural Policy against the Grain 流れに逆らう文化政策 (Volume II, English version)

liber amicorum for Matthias Theodor Vogt in honour of

his 65th birthday, edited by his colleagues and students

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Matthias Theodor Vogt, Görlitz
Photos von Andreas Zgraja, Görlitz

Documentation of the conference – 30 Years of IKS on 24 May 2024

Conference *Against the Grain – Cultural policy in history and in present-day Saxony*

30 years of the Saxon Cultural Area Act and its accompaniment in research and teaching by the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony

24 May 2024, 2 – 7 p.m.

Large lecture halls G I 1.01 and 0.01

Zittau/Görlitz University, Brückenstr. 1, D-02826 Görlitz

<https://kultur.org/veranstaltungen/tagung-24-mai-2024/>

Organisers:

Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony, Upper Lusatia-Lower Silesia Cultural Area and Zittau/Görlitz University in cooperation with Chemnitz University of Technology and the Institute for Territorial Development of the Lower Silesian Voivodeship

Download Documentation (Photos: Andreas Zgraja, Görlitz)

https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Kulturpolitik24Mai2024Goerlitz_PhotosZgraja_2024-06-01k.pdf

Presse

Andreas Hermann: Gepfeffelter Gruß aus Görlitz

(Spicy greetings from Görlitz)

Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten. Dresden, 31. Mai 2024. S.11.

Photo: Andreas Hermann, faktenreich Dresden

<https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Hermann-Dresdner-Neueste-Nachrichten-31.05.2024->

[Seite-11.pdf](https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Hermann-Dresdner-Neueste-Nachrichten-31.05.2024-)



Peter Chemnitz: Wissenschaftler verabschieden Professor Vogt

(Scientists bid farewell to Professor Vogt)

Görlitzer Nachrichten Sächsische Zeitung, 29.Mai 2024, S. 16

https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/SZ-Goerlitz-29Mai2024_Wissenschaftler-verabschieden_Professor-Vogt.pdf

(1) Invitation

by Dr. Stephan Meyer, Landrat des Landkreises Görlitz (shire county president) and Chairman of the Cultural Convention for the Upper Lusatia-Lower Silesia Cultural Area

Thirty years ago – on 1 August 1994 – the Saxon Cultural Area Act came into force.

In the same month, the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony was founded to support the Cultural Area Act in research and teaching. In order to attract the experts needed for cultural policy, the institute and the Zittau/Görlitz University shortly afterwards established the Görlitz degree programme ‘Culture and Management,’ which now has around 500 graduates who are successfully working all over the world.

We would like to celebrate this with you and Professor Matthias Theodor Vogt, the ‘father’ of the Act, on Friday, 24 May 2024, in Görlitz. After 27 years, he is retiring from his university position with a keynote speech on the future of cultural areas in Saxony. In cooperation with the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony and the Zittau/Görlitz University, we invite you to a symposium with keynote speeches from academia and practice, as well as a panel discussion.

We don’t just want to celebrate and engage in navel-gazing within Saxony, but also to receive external input on the history and present of cultural policy in order to reflect together on the next thirty years of cultural spaces in Saxony. We have invited speakers from the Council of Europe, Tokyo, Riga, Naples, Krakow, Marburg and, of course, Görlitz, who will present core elements of state, municipal and independent cultural policy ‘against the grain’ in keynote speeches and short presentations. Afterwards, we will discuss with the chair of the Culture Committee in the Saxon State Parliament, members of the Culture Senate and Culture Convention, and representatives of the art scene.

(2) Welcome



Rector of Zittau/Görlitz University, Alexander Kratzsch
https://youtu.be/6Imh0TNbyIM?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_je3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0



(3) Introduction

Landrat Stephan Meyer, Görlitz: *Outline of current problems and expectations of municipal cultural policy in Saxony by the Chairman of the Cultural Convention of the Upper Lusatia-Lower Silesia Cultural Area,*
https://youtu.be/cjROQsTqrCY?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_je3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0

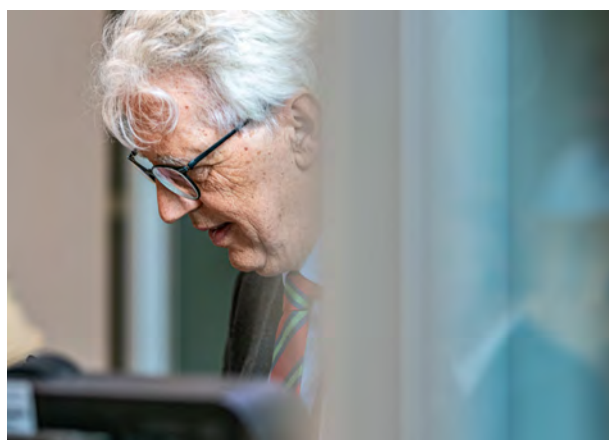
(4) Impulses: External suggestions for Saxony's cultural policy

Una Sedleniece, former State Secretary, Riga: *Memories of her time as a student in Görlitz from 1997 to 2001 in the first cohort of the UNESCO degree programme 'Culture and Management' in Görlitz at the Zittau/Görlitz University and the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony*
https://youtu.be/jKB-0Govtac?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0



Kimura Goro Christoph (Sophia-University, Tokyo): *Japan learns from Saxony*
https://youtube/3gVq1Btd5sc?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0

Gregor Vogt-Spira
 (Philipps University of Marburg):
Emperor Augustus and the invention of 'cultural policy'
https://youtube/00iVWcYxYT?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0



Róża Zuzanna Różańska (Jagiellonian University Krakow): *Royal cultural policy of the Baroque era*
https://youtu.be/o4rVJFW1Yp4?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0



Stefan Garsztecki (Chemnitz):

Province takes place in the mind

https://youtu.be/_XavYiqjEi0?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0



Beate Sibylle Pfeil
(Council of Europe expert):

Minorities in three classes.

Current language policy in Ukraine

https://youtu.be/ZPjNQLPoiPc?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0

[OrrW0](https://youtu.be/ZPjNQLPoiPc?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0)



Luigi Ferrara (University of Federico II Naples): The Saxon Cultural Areas Act as a model for Italian legislation?

https://youtu.be/yKympfBwEGo?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0

[jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0](https://youtu.be/yKympfBwEGo?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0)

(5) Coffee break in the auditorium





(6) Keynote speech

Matthias Theodor Vogt (IKS and HSZG):

On the future of cultural areas in Saxony

https://youtu.be/M5HIZcKotuc?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0



(7) Discussion:

30 years of cultural areas in Saxony



Moderator: Cultural Secretary Annemarie Franke, Cultural Area Oberlausitz-Niederschlesien

Theresa Jacobs (Leipzig): Sorbian Institute Bautzen and Leipzig Dance Theatre

Franz Sodann MdL: Deputy Chairman of the Committee for Science, Higher Education, Media, Culture and Tourism in the Saxon State Parliament

Thomas Zenker (Zittau): Lord Mayor and member of the convention

Kirstin Zinke (Dresden): Senator for Culture and Managing Director of the Saxony State Association for Socio-Culture

https://youtu.be/Zev0Hpg3fYk?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0





(8) Closing remarks

Benedikt Hummel, Mayor for Culture of the City of Görlitz
as representative of the graduates of 'Culture and Management'
https://youtu.be/t7EuD-oQ_a4?list=PLwU1_FuHyok3HB_jc3E7rV8vtbJhOrrW0



Many thanks to all the hard-working helpers who made this conference possible:

Dr. Annemarie Franke and her team from the Upper Lusatia-Lower Silesia Cultural Area: Sabine Hohlfeld, Manuela Mieth, Maria Förster, Liane Seiffert, Sabine Zimmermann-Törne, Anna Caban
Dipl.-Ing.(FH) Andreas Sommer, IT administrator at the Faculty of Management and Cultural Studies,
Remigiusz Socha, Maximilian Helm, computer science students, Zittau/Görlitz University

Clara Linnemayr [remote coordination from the USA], Zoe Schulmayer, Victoria Hentschel, Antonia Weber (students of „Culture and Management“)

Joanna Bär and Alexandra Grochowski (translators)

Johanna Metzner, student of culture and management, and her family from the ‘Bierblume Görlitz’
<https://www.bierblume-goerlitz.de/>

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INSTITUT FÜR
KULTURELLE INFRASTRUKTUR
SACHSEN

*30 Jahre
1994 – 2024*



Hochschule
Zittau/Görlitz



Freistaat
SACHSEN

Matthias Theodor Vogt, Görlitz
Photos von Andreas Zgraja, Görlitz

Documentation of the art night celebrating 30 years of IKS and the premiere of the film 'Görlitz Rhythms – A Dance of Cultures' at Benigna, Görlitz

<https://kultur.org/institut/30-years-iks/>



The Art Night took place at the 'Benigna' on Görlitz's Untermarkt, one of the city's most historically significant buildings. It is named after Benigna Horschel. On Pentecost Sunday 1464, she was impregnated by the mayor's son Georg Emmerich and then callously abandoned. The conflict between the Emmerich and Horschel families was to become a turning point in the city's history, far more exciting than the teenage drama Romeo and Juliet [https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Hoch_Benigna_Spannender-als-Romeo-und-Julia_in_Vogt-et-al-Benigna-2024-04-25.pdf].



In the fine tradition of debate among Görlitz students of 'Culture and Management' [https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Vogt_3Gruende-fuer-Goerlitz-als-Studiengangsort_Benigna-2024-04-25.pdf] with complex issues in the city and region (and often far beyond), the institute received an enquiry from Robert Lehleiter and Christian Weise. They wanted a concept for the use of the 'Benigna'. Supervised by Matthias Theodor Vogt and Maik Hosang, 12 female students and 1 male student explored this issue in a research seminar, in collaboration with council archivist Siegfried Hoche and a Bonn theatre group, supervised by René Harder.



The theory [download: https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Hoch_Benigna_Spannender-als-Romeo-und-Julia_in_Vogt-et-al-Benigna-2024-04-25.pdf] was put to the test at the art night on 24 May 2024.

Art Night

Photo documentation

[https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/IKS30y-Benigna24Mai2024_PhotosZgraja-k.pdf] with photos by Andreas Zgraja, Görlitz mail@andi.film.



Maestro Luca Lombardi and Miriam Meghnagi from Rome performed a work to mark the institute's 30th anniversary (world premiere and first joint performance of the couple).



Former Prime Minister Georg Milbradt from Dresden gave the laudatory speech.



Maria Davydchyk performed a Belarusian folk song.



Steffi Bärman from Zittau recited in the Upper Lusatian dialect.



Elisabeth Domsgen from Görlitz recited a ballad by Bürger.



Honorary Consul Stefan Liebing from Hamburg commended the research and institute projects on Africa.



Princess Esperance from Bafoussam sang a Cameroonian song.



Joseline Amutuhair performed a Ugandan dance, accompanied on the drums by Tomas Ondrusek from Waldheim.



Hans-Peter Struppe from Görlitz and Cornelia Wosnitza from Dresden sang cheeky modern songs.



The art night ended with a song by 21 former UNESCO students of 'Culture and Management' (class of 1997), who offered their congratulations in Latvian, Polish, Sorbian, Czech and German.

Museum: Thirty Years of IKS

Some of the 30 years of work of the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony is documented at <https://kultur.org/>. To mark the institute's anniversary, the archives were opened and an exhibition was put together, supported by our student intern Jakob Bormann as curator.



Film Görlitz Rhythms – A Dance of Cultures

Premiere 24 May 2024, Benigna Görlitz

on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony

Concept: Matthias Theodor Vogt, Görlitz

Camera and editing: Andreas Zgraja, Görlitz mail@andi.film

The film can be downloaded free of charge as Creative Commons ShareAlike CC BY-SA (1.0 2.0 2.5 3.0 4.0) and installed on your own website.

‘Without immigration, Görlitz is lost,’ said the then mayor Siegfried Deinege during research for the study ‘Arriving in the German world’ [<https://kultur.org/forschungen/merr/>]. However, immigration is a process in which preconceived assumptions – positive or negative stereotypes – play a decisive role in choosing a destination.

When Cameroonian mayor Roger Tafam promoted Görlitz in June 2023, he found that the city was so heavily disparaged as xenophobic on English-language social media that the parents of the young people he wanted to send to Görlitz for training vetoed the idea and none of them wanted to come.

The objective data tells a completely different story. No city in Saxony has a higher proportion of foreigners than Görlitz, not even Leipzig, and certainly not the state capital Dresden. Data from the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and the criminal investigation departments indicate peaceful coexistence (see Vogt 2023). If Görlitz entrepreneurs want to attract excellent workers in times of skilled labour shortages, they urgently need to counter the media's denigration with facts. The inglorious first-place finish of the Görlitz district in the European elections on 9 June 2024 has opened the door to further suspicions.

Roger Tafam suggested presenting parents with a film about the real Görlitz in English in YouTube format in order to respond to the allegations of ‘manifest xenophobia’ circulating on the internet. With the film **‘Görlitz Rhythms – A Dance of Cultures’** and in cooperation with the Municipal Hospital, the Maltese Hospital, the Zittau/Görlitz University and many civil society actors, the Institute implemented this idea together with Andi Zgraja, Görlitz (camera and editing).

The film is short and asks only one question: **What is so special about Görlitz?** The data is impressive and stimulates discussion.

To mark the institute's anniversary, we are making the film available to all Görlitz-based companies in two audio tracks: (a) with Leoš Janáček's 2nd String Quartet ‘Intimate Letters’ and (b) a brass recording. **Which music do you prefer? And which one do you think your contacts will like best?**

Film “Görlitz Rhythms – A Dance of Cultures”**Musik: Leoš Janáček (1854-1928): String**

[\[https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Goerlitz-Rhythms.IKS-30y.Janacek.2024-05-24_HD_neu_2.mp4\]](https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Goerlitz-Rhythms.IKS-30y.Janacek.2024-05-24_HD_neu_2.mp4)

Film “Görlitz Rhythms – A Dance of Cultures” Musik: Leoš Janáček (1854-1928): String Quartet No. 2, „Intimate Letters“, IV. Allegro – Andante – Adagio. With kind permission of Erica Brenner and Jessica Sherwood [6 December 2023) Alexi Kenney, violin 1 (Chamber Fest Cleveland Young Artist), David Bowlin, violin 2, Dimitri Murrath, viola, Julie Albers, cello Performed on June 24, 2016 Mixon Hall, Cleveland Institute of Music Cleveland, Ohio Chamber Fest Season 5 <http://chamberfestcleveland.com> Audio: Ian Dobie – Dobie Digital Productions, Editing: Erica Brenner <http://ericabrennerproductions.com>

Film “Görlitz Rhythms – A Dance of Cultures”**Musik: O Chanucah (Instrumental).****YouTube Audio-Bibliothek**

[\[https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Goerlitz-Rhythms.IKS-30y.Brass_2024-05-24_HD_neu_1.mp4?_=1\]](https://kultur.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Goerlitz-Rhythms.IKS-30y.Brass_2024-05-24_HD_neu_1.mp4?_=1)

Görlitz Rhythms: A Dance of Cultures

Uraufführung 24. Mai 2024, Benigna Görlitz
aus Anlaß der Dreißigjahrfeier des
Instituts für kulturelle Infrastruktur Sachsen

Konzeption: Matthias Theodor Vogt, Görlitz
Film: Andreas Zgraja, Görlitz

Görlitz Rhythms: A Dance of Cultures

Uraufführung 24. Mai 2024, Benigna Görlitz
aus Anlaß der Dreißigjahrfeier des
Instituts für kulturelle Infrastruktur Sachsen

Konzeption: Matthias Theodor Vogt, Görlitz
Film: Andreas Zgraja, Görlitz

Wissenschaftliche Vorarbeiten unter anderem

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2002年に東京の単一橋大学を卒業し、博士論文「少数言語の保存と再生における人間の介入に関する展望」で学位を取得しました。2004年から東京のソフィア大学に勤務し、2007年から准教授、2012年から教授を務め、現在は外国語学部の学部長です。北海道大学(札幌)のスラヴ・ユーラシア研究センターで客員教授、ソルビアン研究所(バウツェン)、ヨーロッパ大学ヴィアドリーナ、ライプツィヒ大学で客員研究員として勤務。彼は、ポンテス・ゴリツィー・ズゴジェレツ・ゾルジェレツ・カレッジウムの研究員でした。2022年から日本スラヴ語文学研究会の理事兼事務局長を務めている。

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は、ザクセン州文化インフラ研究所(<https://kultur.org/>)の所長兼経営責任者、ツィッタウ/ゲルリッツ高等専門学校名誉教授、ペッチ大学名誉教授、ティビリシのイリア大学名誉法学博士です。ミュンヘン、パリ、Aix-en-Provenceで演劇学、現代ドイツ文学、哲学の修士号を取得。音楽学の博士号を取得。都市計画学のハビリタツィオンを取得。ウィーン、プラハ、ヴロツワフ、クラクフ、ドレスデン、ボストン、ヤウンデ、カイロ、ウランバートル、上海、神戸、豊岡の大学および音楽大学、ならびにローマのグレゴリアナ大学とアンジェリカム大学で客員教授を歴任。演劇経験：モスクワ、ルッセ、ウィーン、ザルツブルク、ベネチア、ミラノ、ローマなど。研究分野：文化政策と芸術政策、文化史(医学史を含む)、少数民族。ヨーロッパ、アフリカ、アジア、北米の60の大学で教鞭を執る。

Dr. phil. Reiner Zimmermann (Dresden)

Former head of department, born in Neustadt/Orla, Thuringia. 1960–1965 Studied musicology, art history, and theater studies in Leipzig, editor at the music publishing house Editions Peters Leipzig/Dresden 1966–1985, music theater dramaturge at the Dresden Music Festival 1986–1991, 1991 to 2003 Head of the Art Department at the Saxon State Ministry of Science and the Arts. Publications include *Mehr Sein als Scheinen. Kulturpolitik in Sachsen nach 1990* (Donatus-Verlag, Niederjahna/Käbschütztal, 2022). Editor of musical works by Mendelssohn, Fauré, Debussy, Meyerbeer, and others; editor of the musical

writings of Camille Saint-Saens and the autobiography of Jules Massenet. Author of *Giacomo Meyerbeer - Biografie nach Dokumenten* (Giacomo Meyerbeer - Biography Based on Documents), 1991. Since 2009, editor-in-chief of the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Dresden* (Monuments of Music in Dresden). See also *Viele Stimmen. Festschrift für Reiner Zimmermann zum 75. Geburtstag am 27. November 2016*, published by his friends.



TECHNISCHE UNIVERSITÄT
IN DER KULTURHAUPTSTADT EUROPAS
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To listen, to reflect, to act Cultural Policy against the Grain

What are the premises of today's cultural policy? What insights can the past, present and theory offer for a contemporary cultural policy? How can art counteract agoraphobia, digital isolation and populist temptations? How can local authorities give their citizens ample space to develop civil society solidarity 'for the good of the city. For only when the city is well will you be well.' (It should be noted that Jeremiah 29:7 addresses immigrants who are to become citizens in foreign Babylon. Does our cultural policy also achieve this?) Are the arts not precisely the place where we can first listen to the other before we think together and then act together?

It is the historical achievement of Matthias Theodor Vogt, in the Free State of Saxony, which was re-established in 1990, to not only conceive the Saxon Cultural Area Act between 1991 and 1995 in a unique process of analysis and dialogue with the state, municipal and civil society levels, but also to have it enshrined in law and, last but not least, to have it implemented with little friction. It was therefore only natural that, on the thirtieth anniversary of the law's entry into force, the cultural areas of Saxony invited Matthias Theodor Vogt's colleagues and students to a conference entitled 'Kulturpolitik gegen den Strich' (Cultural Policy Against the Grain). We are hereby presenting the results of this conference in a commemorative publication to mark his 65th birthday.

What can art do better and differently than the digital world? What political, structural, economic, and, last but not least, intellectual conditions are necessary for art to develop its own life for the benefit of humanity? The cover image shows Haus Klingewalde, Görlitz, home of the Institute for Cultural Infrastructure Saxony since 1998. The watercolour by Lynne Beal, Cologne, relates to a conversation with Matthias Theodor Vogt about the vanishing point in Alberti: *De pictura* | *De pictura* (1435 – 1436). According to Corinna Laude, in the *centricus punctus* of Alberti's intromission theory, 'the orthogonal vanishing lines, the depth lines of the representation, converge "quasi persino in infinito" (as it were out into infinity), it lies in infinity – and thus, according to contemporary understanding, in God'. Which "vanishing points" does today's post-secular society use?

How can political science in Chemnitz interact in a multidisciplinary, cross-continental manner, always with reference to human beings themselves, with cultural studies in Tokyo and linguistics in Leipzig, with legal studies in Naples and social sciences in Rome? This volume shows that cultural policy studies require a fact-based holistic approach and that this may be achieved by working together.

Cultural Policy against the Grain (Volume 2, English version)

liber amicorum for Matthias Theodor Vogt in honor of
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