

Copyright © 2009 by the Editors and Contributors

All Rights Reserved. Except as permitted under current legislation, no part of this work may be photocopied, stored in a retrieval system, published, performed in public, adapted, broadcast, transmitted, recorded, or reproduced in any form or by any means, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

First published 2009
by Camden House

Camden House is an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Inc.
668 Mt. Hope Avenue, Rochester, NY 14620, USA
www.camden-house.com
and of Boydell & Brewer Limited
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK
www.boydellandbrewer.com

ISBN-13: 978-1-57113-395-3
ISBN-10: 1-57113-395-X

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A companion to the works of Johann Gottfried Herder / edited by Hans Adler and Wulf Koepke.

p. cm. — (Studies in German literature, linguistics, and culture)
(Camden House companion volumes)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN-13: 978-1-57113-395-3 (acid-free paper)

ISBN-10: 1-57113-395-X (acid-free paper)

1. Herder, Johann Gottfried, 1744-1803—Criticism and interpretation.

I. Adler, Hans. II. Köpke, Wulf, 1928- III. Title. IV. Series.

PT2354.C66 2009

838'.609—dc22

2008055469

A catalogue record for this title is available from the British Library.

This publication is printed on acid-free paper.
Printed in the United States of America.

Contents

Acknowledgments	vii
List of Abbreviations	ix
Introduction	1
<i>Hans Adler and Wulf Koepke</i>	
1: Herder's Life and Works	15
<i>Steven D. Martinson</i>	
2: Herder's Epistemology	43
<i>Marion Heinz and Heinrich Clairmont</i>	
3: Herder and Historical Metanarrative: What's Philosophical about History?	65
<i>John Zammito</i>	
4: Herder's Concept of <i>Humanität</i>	93
<i>Hans Adler</i>	
5: Herder and Language	117
<i>Jürgen Trabant</i>	
6: Herder's Aesthetics and Poetics	141
<i>Stefan Greif</i>	
7: Myth, Mythology, New Mythology	165
<i>Ulrich Gaier</i>	
8: Particular Universals: Herder on National Literature, Popular Literature, and World Literature	189
<i>Karl Menges</i>	
9: Herder's Views on the Germans and Their Future Literature	215
<i>Wulf Koepke</i>	

10: Herder's Biblical Studies <i>Christoph Bultmann</i>	233
11: Herder's Theology <i>Martin Kessler</i>	247
12: Herder and Politics <i>Arnd Bohm</i>	277
13: Herder's Poetic Works, His Translations, and His Views on Poetry <i>Gerhard Sauder</i>	305
14: Herder's Style <i>Hans Adler</i>	331
15: Herder as Critical Contemporary <i>Robert E. Norton</i>	351
16: Herder in Office: His Duties as Superintendent of Schools <i>Harro Müller-Michaels</i>	373
17: Herder's Reception and Influence <i>Günter Arnold, Kurt Kloocke, and Ernest A. Menze</i>	391
Bibliography	421
Notes on the Contributors	459
Index	463

Introduction

Hans Adler and Wulf Koepke

Herder, the Famous Nobody

THE PRESENT VOLUME TRIES TO CONVEY a comprehensive picture of the life and works of Johann Gottfried Herder. The nineteen authors of the following seventeen articles provide an overview of the diverse aspects of Herder's contributions to eighteenth-century culture and beyond. It is no coincidence that this volume is the first collaborative attempt ever to compile a *Companion* to Herder's works. Today it is possible and timely to do justice to Herder's work and ideas as an achievement in their own right, to view his work as an independent historical-philosophical approach to almost all important problems of the Enlightenment and beyond. Today, we can read this author in a different, more open way and, indeed, he "speaks" to us in a way that lets us discover a partner in discourse bridging more than two centuries. This *Companion* is, furthermore, the result of a *collaborative* effort because the diversity of Herder's work defies a single-authored approach. The only attempt to provide a presentation of the "whole" Herder was that of Rudolf Haym in his *Herder nach seinem Leben und seinen Werken*.¹ Emil Adler's *Herder und die deutsche Aufklärung*² and Robert T. Clark's *Herder: His Life and Thought*³ have merits of their own but do not match Haym's monumental work. One of the hallmarks of Haym's still dominating, all-encompassing biography is the impressive figure of four complete reprints of the two volumes with their more than 1500 pages in the original edition. Haym's work constitutes, however, a liability as well as a legacy, because his book determined posterity's reception of Herder in a decisive but unfortunately misleading way. He depicted Herder as a thinker of the second order, one who, already at the age of twenty-one, had lost contact with the avant-garde of the early 1770s, Kant above all. Herder as the pre-critical Kantian, the "poetic" philosopher, as Kant claimed in a malicious review of the first two volumes of Herder's *opus maximum*, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Humankind, 1784–91),⁴ Herder as a discursive chimera, merging poetry and philosophy in — as Kant saw it — an illegitimate way. Haym also reinforced the notion that

while the young Herder had a decisive impact on the *Sturm und Drang* generation, his later works, especially those written after the French Revolution, showed a retrograde mind whose jealousy of Goethe and Schiller blinded him to their merits and made him irrelevant to the cultural development of Germany.

During the first decades of the twentieth century the dominant trend of scholarship favored wholesale notions and generalizations, often allied with a political agenda that did not do justice to Herder's ideas and texts. The most salient example is the misuse and abuse of Herder's concepts of *Nation* and *Volk* to justify all forms of aggressive nationalism. Today, research is much more open and better prepared to focus on the independent quality of Herder's work instead of condemning it on the shaky ground of unquestioned epistemological standards. Herder's difficult position resulted in his being present but not known, exercising a considerable influence without being named, one of the famous unknowns in the history of ideas.

Most recent research, however, has dramatically shifted the perspective on Herder and allows for a new and fresh view on this exciting and challenging author. Having been muffled for almost two centuries, abused by one-eyed as well as highly ideological misappropriations, and, time and again, distorted in a viciously reductionist way by biased readings from a certain ideological point of view, it has taken a considerable effort to clear the path to Herder's work. Further, a more precise reading of Herder's texts reveals that Herder's allegedly obscure terminology is indeed clear and consistent, and that his ideas are surprisingly relevant, once decoded in an appropriate manner. Herder is now on his way to being rediscovered, not only in the Western world, but also in non-Western languages and cultures, particularly in Japan. The attempt to do justice to Herder in order to unveil the wealth of his ideas and his own paradigmatic way of thought — from linguistics to theology, comparative literature to cultural studies, aesthetics to political science and history — is a synergetic endeavor. This volume tries to contribute to and encourage these efforts so that Herder's work may become an integral part of teaching and understanding in today's humanities.

Herder the Perennial Forerunner vs. Herder the Innovator

Johann Gottfried Herder was born into very modest circumstances. Born in 1744 in the small town of Mohrungen in East Prussia (today Morąg, Poland) as the third of five children of a poor Protestant family, Herder received a stipend to study theology at the university of Königsberg, a stipend that he had to supplement by tutoring. During his student years from 1762 to 1764, his main interest was the lectures of the young philosopher

Immanuel Kant. He was an outstanding student of Kant; at the same time he became a friend of Kant's friend Johann Georg Hamann, a deeply religious critic of rationalist Enlightenment.

After graduating in theology, Herder accepted an offer from the Dom-schule in Riga, where he became a successful teacher and preacher. The port city of Riga was then part of the Russian empire. With his three collections of fragments under the title *Über die neuere deutsche Literatur* (On Recent German Literature, 1766–1767), Herder became well known in Germany as a literary critic.

In 1769, Herder left Riga abruptly, and went on a sea voyage to France, first to Nantes and then to Paris. His *Journal meiner Reise im Jahr 1769* (Journal of My Voyage in the Year 1769) was first published posthumously in 1846. Herder continued to make his name with the *Kritische Wälder* (Critical Forests, 1769) and his prize-essay, the *Abhandlung über die Ursprung der Sprache* (Treatise on the Origin of Language, written 1770, published 1772). During a stay in Strasbourg in 1770 for the cure of an eye ailment, Herder met the young student Johann Wolfgang Goethe, the beginning of a lifelong relationship. In 1771 Herder was appointed preacher and church administrator in the small principality of Schaumburg-Lippe. Foremost among the works Herder produced during his five years there were the controversial Bible commentary *Älteste Urkunde des Menschengeschlechts* (The Oldest Document of the Human Race, 1774/1776) and the polemic treatise *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit* (Another Philosophy of History for the Education of Humankind, 1774). In 1773, Herder married Caroline Flachsland from Darmstadt. They had eight children, born between 1774 and 1790. Caroline became Herder's foremost confidante and collaborator.

In 1776, with the help of Goethe, Herder was appointed as court preacher and general superintendent for the duchy of Sachsen-Weimar, where he lived for the rest of his life. As leader of the church and the school system of the duchy, Herder made many efforts to reform both institutions. He was active and successful as a preacher, although the secularized court society did not share his religious views. In Weimar, Herder entered an extraordinary personal, intellectual, and artistic constellation, where he communicated intensely with the leading figures of German cultural life at that time: Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Friedrich Schiller, Christoph Martin Wieland, Karl Ludwig von Knebel, Johann August von Einsiedel, Prince August von Gotha, not to talk about the duke's mother Anna Amalia and the duchess Luise. Herder entertained contact with leading representatives of the rising bourgeois culture all over the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.

In spite of heavy and time-consuming duties as a church and school administrator, Herder continued his literary production in various fields, such

as philosophy of history, bible studies, literary criticism, aesthetics, and practical theology. Among his major publications of the earlier Weimar years are *Vom Erkennen und Empfinden der menschlichen Seele* (On the Cognition and Sensation of the Human Soul, 1778), *Plastik* (Sculpture, 1778), *Briefe, das Studium der Theologie betreffend* (Letters Concerning the Study of Theology, 1780/81), *Vom Geist der Ebräischen Poesie* (On the Spirit of Hebrew Poetry, 1782/83), *Gott. Einige Gespräche* (God, Some Conversations, 1787) and his most important work, the aforementioned *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*. One should also not forget Herder's seminal collection of folk songs, entitled simply *Volkslieder* (1778/79). Herder reedited shorter essays and translations of poetry from various languages in six collections called *Zerstreute Blätter* (1785–97).

A journey to Italy in 1788/89 proved to be rather a disappointment. The French Revolution of 1789 affected Weimar in various ways. Herder initially had high hopes that the revolution would have beneficial consequences for Germany, which caused tensions in the Weimar society. As a response to the events, Herder published his collections *Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität* (Letters for the Advancement of Humanity, 1793–1797). He regarded the growing friendship between Goethe and Schiller and their non-political, “classical” ideal of literature, as presented in their journal *Die Horen* (1795–97), with growing skepticism.

In his last years before his death in 1803 Herder was increasingly isolated in Weimar. He was dissatisfied with the cultural developments, particularly the upcoming of German Romanticism, the impact of Kant's critical philosophy, and the idealism of Johann Gottlieb Fichte. Herder's polemics against the Kantian philosophy in his *Metakritik* (1799) and *Kalligone* (1800) were not well received at the time, but are finding more receptive readers today. Herder's writings on the New Testament and religion are usually called *Christliche Schriften* (Christian Writings, 1794–98). In his last years Herder published the periodical *Adrastea* (1801–4), to assess the cultural and political heritage of the eighteenth century. Herder died on December 18, 1803. He was buried in “his” church in Weimar on December 21.

It is not easy to trace and appropriately assess the achievements of this extremely active and influential thinker of the German eighteenth century. In the tenth book of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, Goethe provided a blueprint for the assessment of Herder as critic, but not creator, motivating others, but not being their leader: “. . . he [Herder] was more inclined to test and stimulate than to lead and direct.”⁵ Forerunners in the history of ideas share the unfortunate fate of serving as an intellectual spark for later developments that go far beyond the initiator's original intention and then being forgotten or fading into obscurity. In this sense, forerunners are never fully aware of their own achievements, catalysts not fully conscious of the consequences of their thoughts and actions. Indeed, Herder was the forerunner of the

German version of protest against a narrow understanding of Enlightenment. Not only did he share the assumption of many of his contemporaries that the human being has to be conceived of as a complex entity consisting of mind and body, with a clear and challenging anti-Cartesian emphasis on the body and the senses, but Herder also thought that the surreptitious reduction of the human being to the faculties of intellect and reason — a mobile (and nimble) head without a body, a *cephalopod* — was fundamentally wrong. But Herder did not promote the idea that human thinking and action is irrational. He was neither a mystic nor an irrationalist. His essential message on this point was to always be conscious of the fact that the “crown of creation” is firmly rooted in its animal past. This idea came close to evolutionary thinking, although Herder was no Darwinist *avant la lettre*, nor was he a psychoanalyst before Freud. But by conceiving of the human being as an *animal rationale*, he initiated the German *Sturm und Drang* movement. With his emphasis on the Promethean character of the human being — the “genius” — on the one hand, and his transformation of history from a mere description of the past into a system and an argument, on the other, and, finally, with his discovery of the “simple folk” as the origin of poetry, fiction, and culture in general, Herder belonged to the avant-garde of eighteenth-century thinking. He is typically remembered in his role as a mentor to others, above all Goethe. The frequently used formula “Herder and . . .” (Herder and Hamann, Herder and Kant, Herder and Goethe) has been overused with the effect that his own originality has been minimized.

Herder was also the largely unacknowledged forerunner of German Romanticism, although he did not share the religious views of most Romantics or their glorification of the Middle Ages. Herder did not share Goethe’s and Schiller’s ideas of German (or “Weimar”) Classicism because he deemed the idea of installing a realm of “pure” art and literature as elitist, esoteric, and ignorant about the role of the people (*Volk*). Herder expected a renewal of a truly national literature to come from “below,” from the folk, the common people, and not from “above.” His philosophical emphasis on history as a system and constant historical change as a pragmatic argument in its own right, on extra-rational cognitive forces, and on language as a form of cognition determined by time, region, and climate made him attractive for the early German Romanticists, and they acted as so many did after them: they erased his name or even criticized him harshly after taking their share of ideas and knowledge from him.

No serious history of historiography can ignore Herder’s contributions to the fields of the philosophy of history (for which he developed a non-teleological concept), to memory, and to the discourse of history. Moreover, no history of the concepts of the people or folk, of the nation, of cosmopolitanism — which differs from the primarily economic phenomenon of globalization — and humanity can do without reference to Herder. Herder

Index

The index includes names of people, geographical places, mythological figures as well as subjects and titles of publications. The entries refer to the main text only, not to endnotes, the bibliography, or other corollary texts. Noun entries also cover the adjectives. The spelling of work titles follows the alphabetical order. German umlaut ä, ö, ü are treated as a, o, u. German ß is represented as ss. Titles of all publications are given in italics with an indent.

- Abbt, Thomas 18, 20–21, 67, 73,
189, 216, 218–20, 224
Vom Tode fürs Vaterland 220, 224
Vom Verdienste 220, 224
See also *Briefe, die neueste
Literatur betreffend*
- Abraham 238
- absolutism 8, 190, 200, 204, 222,
298, 368, 381
- abstraction 9, 13, 43, 97, 105, 137,
147, 179, 182, 249, 345–46, 350,
377
- academy 16, 65, 70, 120, 123, 134,
146, 161, 192, 195, 216, 219,
223, 227, 229, 247–48, 259, 261,
264, 353, 357, 387–88, 392, 403,
409, 411
- Academy of the Sciences, Bavaria 31
- Academy of the Sciences, Berlin 25,
28, 31, 50, 122–23, 134, 146,
216, 224, 291–92, 357, 388
- Achilles 184
- Adam 130, 176, 182, 237
- Adler, Emil I, 93, 403
- Adler, Hans I, 11–12, 93, 277, 331
- Adorno, Theodor W. 10, 113
- Adrastea 112, 339
- Aesop 165–66, 175–76, 315
- aesthetics 2, 4, 6–7, 9, 11, 19, 22–23,
47–48, 66, 68, 70, 136, 141–57,
160–62, 165, 183, 189–93, 195,
200, 202–4, 207, 216, 223–26,
229, 319, 324, 331, 355–57, 375,
381, 383–84, 391, 399–400, 414
- Africa 324, 415
- Agamben, Giorgio 294
- aisthetics 143–44, 146–48, 151–52,
154, 162, 193, 331
- allegory 112, 144, 167, 171–73, 182,
208, 282, 285, 317, 321, 336
- Allgemeine historische Bibliothek* 70
- Allgemeine Literaturzeitung*
(Jena) 365
- America 7, 81, 160–61, 190, 202,
204, 278–79, 324, 352, 392,
403–7, 414–15
- analogon rationis 47, 146
- analogy 25, 52–54, 56–57, 60, 77–
81, 101, 103, 122, 136, 147, 151,
175–77, 183, 185, 192, 205,
207–8, 250, 252, 257–59, 309,
335, 341–42, 367
- anatomy 17, 69, 79, 207
- Andreae, Johann Valentin 283, 285–
86, 293
Christianopolis 285–86, 293
- angel 107–8, 254, 363

- Anna Amalia, duchess of Saxony-Weimar 3, 34
- Anquetil-Dupéron, Abraham
Hyacinthe 235
- Anthologia graeca* 112, 310–11
- anthropology 6, 8–10, 24, 47, 99, 113, 134, 138, 141–42, 144–47, 150, 160, 165–66, 170, 173, 176, 178, 181, 185, 205, 234, 254, 277, 322, 324, 334, 392, 394, 401
- a posteriori 46, 250
- a priori 9, 46, 51, 103, 136, 147, 250, 367
- Arabashin, K. 413
- Aris, Reinhold 277
- Aristotle 94, 97, 106, 109, 124, 136, 151, 165, 173–75, 178, 374
Nicomachean Ethics 109
Poetics 165, 173
Rhetoric 109
- Arndt, Johann 15, 250, 285
Vom wahren Christentum 15
- Arnim, Achim von 322, 392
Des Knaben Wunderhorn 322, 392
- Arnold, Gottfried 280
- Arnold, Günter 12, 38, 252, 324, 367–68, 391, 403
- Arnold, Matthew 405
- art(s) 5–7, 16, 20–22, 27, 32, 34, 37, 48–49, 59, 70–72, 80, 142–46, 148–63, 167, 169, 172, 175–76, 180, 184, 190, 194, 202, 217, 222–25, 230, 233, 288–89, 307, 311, 335, 339, 354, 357, 363, 378, 381–84, 387–88, 392, 397, 406
- Asia 7, 235, 395
- assimilation 52, 62, 151, 285, 335
- atheism 32, 393
- August, prince of Saxony-Gotha 3
- Augustine 30, 125, 128, 251
- Auserlesene Bibliothek der neuesten deutschen Litteratur 229
- authority 8, 83, 171, 173, 279, 283–84, 291, 354, 384, 412
- Babel 21, 130–31, 190, 284
- Bach, Johann Christoph
Friedrich 317
- Bacon, Francis 117, 123, 125, 166, 285
De sapientia veterum 166
Instauratio magna 285
New Atlantis 285
- balance 7, 23, 82, 110, 112, 183–84, 222, 224, 231, 254, 293, 315, 398
- Balde, Jacob 309, 326–27
Lyrica 327
Poema de vanitate mundi 326
Silvae 327
- ballad 181, 222, 230, 325–26, 329, 392
- Bancroft, George 406
- Barbara Eleonore, countess of Lippe-Biesterfeld 26
- Barnard, Frederick M. 81, 278, 405
- Basedow, Johann Bernhard 385
- Basilius (“the Great”) 233
- Batteux, Charles 229, 382
- Bauer, Barbara 327
- Baumgarten, Alexander Gottlieb 6, 22, 43–44, 47–48, 102, 145–46, 148–49, 151, 165, 167, 175, 183, 193, 357
Aesthetica 6, 22, 43, 47, 145–46
Meditationes de nonnullis ad poema pertinentibus 175
Metaphysica 43
- Bayle, Pierre 38
- beauty 6–7, 19–20, 22–24, 28, 31, 33, 37, 48, 71–72, 97, 117, 129, 142, 145–46, 148–52, 154, 163, 167, 170, 183, 191, 193–94, 215, 219, 225–26, 231, 235, 248, 311, 315–16, 319, 321, 333, 336, 339, 342, 356, 358, 360, 363, 381–82
- Becker, Bernhard 398
- being (*Sein*) 17, 22, 43, 45–47, 49–53, 55–56, 58, 60–62, 69, 99–100, 102–4, 108, 138, 147, 154,

- being (continued)
 177, 182, 192, 205, 238, 251,
 254, 346, 393
- Belgium 24
- Bellay, Joachim du 119–20, 122
*Défense et illustration de la langue
 française* 119
- Benjamin, Walter 342
- Benveniste, Émile 136
- Berens, Johann Christoph 184
- Berkeley, George 7, 50
- Berlin 21, 25, 28, 31, 50, 122, 216,
 224, 263, 291–92, 379, 394–95,
 397
- Berlin, Isaiah 76, 352–53, 405
Three Critics of Enlightenment 353
- Bernhardi, August Ferdinand 393
- Berr, Michel 408
- Besonnenheit* 25, 113, 124–25, 127–
 28, 134, 230
- Bestandtheit* 175–76, 178, 315–16
- bible 3–4, 6, 8–9, 32, 37, 66, 123,
 135, 203, 216–19, 233–37, 242,
 248, 250, 280, 321, 392, 395–96.
See also scripture
- Bibliothèque universelle des
 romans* 325
- Biedermeier 398
- Bienenstock, Myriam 409
- Bildung* 6, 10, 22, 28–29, 31, 33–
 35, 38, 71, 80, 98, 103, 107, 111,
 119, 122–23, 132, 134, 161, 202,
 215, 226, 230, 259, 304, 309,
 359, 362–63, 380, 386
- Billigkeit* 105–6, 108–10, 112, 231,
 254, 256, 260, 339, 385, 389. *See
 also* fairness
- Blumenberg, Hans 341
*Paradigmen zu einer
 Metaphorologie* 341
- body 5–6, 10–11, 19, 34–35, 49,
 51–52, 55, 58, 60, 99, 101, 103,
 124, 130, 136, 153, 167, 175,
 182–83, 254, 259, 261–62, 282,
 331, 336, 341, 345, 389
- Boening, John 404
- Bohm, Arnd 11, 277
- Böhme, Franz 393
Deutscher Liederhort 393
- Bollacher, Martin 81, 340
- Bonstetten, Karl Viktor von 410
- Boyle, Robert 250
- Brandt, Reinhard 81
- Brentano, Clemens 322, 392
Des Knaben Wunderhorn 322, 392
- Breslau 379
- Breysig, Kurt 401
*Briefe, die neueste Literatur
 betreffend* 20–21, 189, 217–18,
 220, 355
- Bückeberg 3, 26–27, 29–30, 220,
 261–62, 306, 310, 317, 378, 401,
 403
- Buffon, George Louis Leclerc,
 Comte de 76–77, 182, 333
- Bultmann, Christoph 11, 216, 233,
 395
- Burckhardt, Jakob 400
- Bürger, Gottfried August 325–26,
 392
Lenore 325–26
- (*See also* under K)
- cabbala 235
- Cain 284
- Calvin, John 280, 287, 406
- Campanella, Tomaso 285
City of the Sun 285
- Canada 294
- Cancionero de Romances* 326
- cantata 316–17
- Carl August, duke of Saxony-
 Weimar-Eisenach 29, 204, 262–
 63, 291, 376, 379
- Carlyle, Thomas 405
- Caroline. *See* Herder, Karoline
- Carriere, Moritz 399
- Cartesian. *See* Descartes
- Cassirer, Ernst 104–5
- Catholicism 119, 249, 282, 287

- cause and effect 55, 205, 255
- Chamberlain, Houston Stewart 399
The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century 399
- China 324
- Chomsky, Noam 124, 127–28, 132–33
- Christ 16, 29–30, 118, 182, 248, 255–58, 281
- Christian 4, 15, 20, 22–23, 32–33, 36, 81–82, 106, 118, 148, 173, 184, 201, 227, 233, 235–37, 240–42, 247–49, 251, 255–58, 280–82, 284–86, 292, 307, 318, 396, 401, 406, 413
- church 3–4, 6, 11, 15–17, 20, 22, 24, 29–30, 36, 38, 118, 215, 226, 247–48, 257, 261–64, 277, 280, 282–83, 287, 291, 293, 316–17, 373–74, 378, 388, 403, 413
- Churchill, T. O. 406, 408
- Cicero 190
- Cid, Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar 325
- Clairmont, Heinrich 11, 43
- Clark, Robert T. 1, 94, 405
- Classicism 5–6, 93, 95, 160–61, 180–81, 190, 194, 200–202, 204, 217, 225–26, 231, 279, 323–24, 326, 383, 398, 412. See also *Klassik*
- Claudius, Matthias 24, 201, 392
Abendlied 24, 201
- climate 5, 73, 169, 225, 344, 408
- Closs, August 306
- cognition 4–6, 9, 11–12, 28, 43, 46, 48–57, 59–61, 78, 82, 103, 106–9, 111–12, 120–21, 123–25, 127–30, 138, 141, 145–46, 169, 174–75, 182–83, 193, 196, 205, 315–16, 331, 334, 341, 367
- Coleridge, Samuel Taylor 405
- colonialism 104, 190, 284, 294, 358
- Comenius, Johann Amos 285–86, 385. See also Komenský
- Condillac Etienne Bonnot 117–18, 120, 123, 125, 165, 357
Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines 117
- conjecture 69, 166, 170–73, 176–77, 183–85, 254
- consciousness 4–5, 43–45, 53, 57–58, 113, 151, 155, 160, 162, 167–68, 170, 173, 197, 203, 248–49, 393, 396
- Constant, Benjamin 409–10
De la Religion 410
- Coppet Circle 410
- cosmology 40, 76, 109, 154, 177
- cosmopolitanism 5, 155–56, 292, 401–2, 406, 410
- Couchut 325–26
- Cousin, Victor 410
- creation 5, 7, 27–28, 33, 71, 74, 79–81, 98, 100, 103, 106–10, 112, 117–18, 120, 134, 145–46, 151, 153, 155, 157–58, 176, 182, 185, 195, 199, 201, 205, 207, 221, 234, 240, 242, 248, 250–51, 253–55, 257–59, 308, 311, 321, 386
- creativity 18, 43, 70, 142, 144, 147, 154, 156, 179–81, 184, 305
- Creutz, Friedrich Carl Casimir von 311
- Creuzer, Friedrich 395
Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker 395
- criticism 1, 3–5, 7, 9–12, 17, 19–22, 25–26, 29, 36–37, 43, 47–49, 53, 55–56, 66–67, 70, 80–81, 97, 104, 132, 135–38, 142–46, 150, 152, 165–66, 180, 189, 197, 202, 207–8, 215–16, 218–19, 222, 225–26, 228–30, 233–34, 236–37, 239, 241, 250, 253, 294, 305, 309, 322, 324, 326–28, 333–34, 337–38, 340, 344, 346, 351–58, 360, 365–67, 369, 382, 391, 398, 401–3
- Crusius, Christian August 45, 49
Vernunftlehre 45

- culture 1–5, 7–8, 16–18, 21, 24–25, 30–32, 34–36, 38, 61, 65, 67–68, 70, 72–74, 77, 79, 81, 93, 95, 101, 105, 118, 122, 131, 133, 137–38, 142–43, 150, 152–58, 160–62, 171–73, 175, 178–79, 181, 184–85, 190, 192–93, 195–200, 203–4, 215–19, 221–22, 225–27, 231, 235–38, 278, 289, 322, 325, 329, 334, 339, 346, 354, 357, 359, 367, 377–78, 381–73, 388, 393, 396, 401, 404–5, 407, 411–13
- Cyrus 16
- Czechoslovakia 285, 413
- Dahlhaus, Carl 318
- Dalberg, Johann Friedrich Hugo von 34
- Dalberg, Karl Theodor von 229
Nachrichten von gelehrten Sachen 229
- Dann, Otto 291, 308
- Dante Alighieri 122, 131
- Darmstadt 3, 24, 26, 31, 220, 315, 320
- Darwin, Charles 80
- Darwinism 5, 80, 399
- deism 238, 252, 393
- demiurge 341
- democracy 36, 196, 203, 288, 400, 402, 405
- Denis, Johann Nepomuk Cosmas Michael 229, 319
- Denkbild* 342
- Descartes, René 5, 56, 103, 124, 127, 151, 205–6, 252
Discourse on the Method . . . 124
- despotism 67, 283, 285, 289–91, 356, 365
- Dessau 379
- destiny 67, 98–100, 102, 104, 107, 111, 126, 312
- difference 18, 24, 54, 58, 61, 67, 79, 83, 104, 106, 109, 120, 122, 124, 128, 131–33, 143–44, 152, 155, 160, 203, 208, 220, 222, 225, 228, 255, 259, 262, 278, 285, 288, 310, 325, 328, 331–32, 366, 404, 413
- dilettante 37, 229, 305, 395
- Dilthey, Wilhelm 65
- Dippel, Johann Conrad 285
- distinct 19, 21, 43–44, 49, 51, 66, 125–26, 137, 151, 174, 356
- diversity 1, 17, 24, 44, 54, 98, 100, 104, 111, 123, 130–33, 141, 146, 156, 162, 215, 325, 393
- divine 8, 25, 28, 30, 34, 44, 49, 51, 70, 79, 99, 101, 107, 118, 134, 144, 167, 170–71, 173, 198, 205, 237–38, 249–50, 252–55, 257, 282, 284, 314, 339–40, 363
- Dobbek, Wilhelm 16, 307, 316, 402
- Dobrovský, Joseph 411
- Dockhorn, Klaus 345
- dogmatics 17, 53, 55, 196, 208, 248, 252–53, 365
- Dostoevsky, Feodor 413
- drama 21, 34, 154, 204, 215, 217, 220, 222, 224, 227, 236, 305, 316–18, 329, 392, 394, 398
- Droysen, Johann Gustav 65
- Düntzer, Heinrich 305
- Dusch, Johann Jacob 229
- Düsing, Wolfgang 81, 83
- Eckermann, Johann Peter 230
Edda 201, 392
- education 3, 6, 9, 15–16, 20, 27, 29, 35–36, 65, 71, 132, 166, 183, 202–3, 205, 215, 226, 230, 247, 250, 260–64, 293, 314, 342, 356, 373–84, 386–89, 396–97, 402, 409, 412
- Egypt 70, 167, 194, 235, 239
- Eichhorn, Johann Gottfried 392
Einfühlung 21, 65, 205, 230, 319
- Einsiedel, Johann August von 3
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo 405, 407

- emotion 26, 151, 159, 197, 220,
228–31, 239, 318, 320, 335, 342,
344, 378, 383
- empiricism 43–44, 50, 58, 77, 82,
102–3, 107, 117–18, 128, 136–
37, 141, 145–48, 152, 175–76,
183, 185, 191, 193, 196, 205,
208, 247, 249–50, 321, 367, 394
- encyclopedia 9, 38, 233, 248, 353,
394, 402, 413
- England 8, 17, 31, 67, 94–95, 160,
190, 198, 201, 218, 221–22, 252,
278–79, 285, 287, 306, 319–20,
323, 352, 392, 394, 404–8, 412
- Enlightenment 1, 3–8, 10–11, 21,
24, 34, 38, 46, 49, 51, 67, 82–83,
93, 95–96, 99, 118, 122–23, 134,
141–49, 158, 160–62, 165, 174,
176, 190–93, 195–97, 200, 204–
6, 215, 217, 226, 228, 230, 234,
248, 260, 278, 283, 285, 287,
292, 314, 318, 333, 342, 346,
353–54, 357–58, 360–61, 377–
78, 380, 383, 387–88, 395, 400,
402–3, 405, 408, 411–12, 414
- epigenesis 80, 206–8
- epigram 154, 217, 223, 227, 230,
307, 310–11, 327–28
- epistemology 2, 9, 18, 27, 31, 43–
44, 46–53, 55–56, 58, 60–62, 66,
71, 97, 102–3, 109–10, 117, 128,
130, 141–42, 145–46, 154, 165,
171, 174, 182, 193, 196, 206,
208, 332, 337
- Erasmus 382
- Erk, Ludwig 393
Deutscher Liederhort 393
- Ermatinger, Emil 305
- Estonia 323
- ethics 23, 68, 106, 108–10, 112,
184, 193, 226, 230, 279, 288,
377, 383, 405
- Eurocentrism 67, 104, 160, 401
- Europe 7–8, 17, 24, 38, 67–68, 118–
19, 122–24, 131, 141–42, 160–
61, 190, 195, 200–203, 215–17,
219, 282–85, 287, 294, 314, 319,
322, 325, 329, 359, 378, 382,
387, 389, 399, 403, 408, 411–14
- Eutin 24
- evolution 5, 10, 18, 24, 75, 104,
177, 203, 205–6, 339, 364–65,
400
- external sense 44–45, 50
- Ezra 16
- fable 34, 38, 145, 159, 162, 165–66,
173–78, 181, 192, 194, 217, 223,
227, 230, 307, 312, 315–16,
328–29, 412. *See also* myth
- fairness 105–6, 108–10, 112, 231,
254, 256, 260, 339, 385, 389. *See
also* Billigkeit
- Falk, Johannes Daniel 396
- father tongue (‘Vatersprache’) 130
- Federal Republic of Germany 402–3
- feeling 7–8, 16, 18, 20, 22, 25, 27–
28, 47–50, 52, 55, 58, 73–74, 98,
125, 144, 146–47, 149–53, 156–
59, 161–62, 175, 197, 218, 250,
259, 310–11, 335, 337, 342–44,
378, 382. *See also* *Gefühl*
- Feldman, Burton 407
- Fénelon, François de Salignac de La
Mothe- 342
- Ferguson, Adam 67
*Essay on the History of Civil
Society* 67
- Fichte, Johann Gottlieb 4, 99, 312,
331–32, 393–94
Die Bestimmung des Menschen 99
- fiction 5, 33, 163, 175, 180, 193,
215, 227, 237, 337
- finite 44–46, 49–50, 61
- Flachsland, Caroline. *See* Herder,
Karoline
- Flachsland, Friedrich Sigmund 320
- folk 5, 158–62, 200, 217, 219, 222–
23, 225–26, 322–23, 392–93,
407, 412. *See also* *Volk*

- folk poetry 24–25, 32, 68, 162, 201, 208, 222, 235, 320–21, 392, 412
- folk song 4, 30, 142, 145, 149, 159–61, 170, 198, 200–201, 216, 221–22, 225, 231, 308, 316, 320–26, 329, 392–93, 412
- Fontane, Theodor 392, 400
- Fontenelle, Bernard Le Bovier de 341
- force 5, 21–22, 27, 29, 33–34, 43, 45–47, 49–55, 57–58, 60–61, 74, 77–78, 80, 94, 103, 107–8, 111, 127, 147–48, 151–52, 155, 198, 204–8, 251–54, 259, 309, 398.
See also *Kraft*; power
- Forster, Georg 393
- Forster, Michael 124–27, 130–33, 278
- France 3, 8, 23, 94, 118–20, 122, 128, 136, 190, 192, 197, 204, 216, 218–20, 223–24, 235, 278, 287, 289, 294, 319, 323, 325–26, 353, 357, 368–69, 374, 383, 396, 404, 406–12, 414
- Francke, August Hermann 285, 287
Frankfurter Gelehrte Anzeigen 229
- Franklin, Benjamin 184, 190, 199
- Frederick II (the “Great”) 21, 184, 204, 290, 359, 388
Anti-Machiavel 286
- Frederick William II 311
- freedom 8, 24, 33, 35, 80, 96–98, 100–101, 151, 241, 254, 257, 280, 294, 309, 339, 359, 368–69, 380, 383, 388–89
- French Revolution 2, 4, 9, 36, 82, 118, 217, 224–25, 231, 286, 291, 311, 327, 363, 389, 402
- Freud, Sigmund 5, 165
- Friedrich. See Frederick
- Friedrich Ernst Wilhelm zu Schaumburg-Lippe 26, 29
- Frisi, Paolo 222
- Fuller, Margaret 405
- Gaier, Ulrich 11, 160, 165, 252, 307–8, 315, 319–20, 322–23, 325
- Gefühl* 20, 22, 28, 50, 68, 143, 147, 149, 152, 158, 197, 250, 259, 335, 337, 343
- Gehlen, Arnold 6, 401
- generalization 2, 73, 146–48, 191, 343, 345–46
- Genesis (Old Testament)* 27, 81, 201, 216, 234–39, 241, 254, 284, 321
- genius 5–7, 13, 20–21, 26, 32, 119–20, 123, 134, 142, 154–56, 166, 170, 180, 190–91, 194, 204, 211, 238, 308–9, 319, 328, 335, 356, 366
- German Democratic Republic 279, 402
- Gerstenberg, Heinrich Wilhelm von 220, 228, 383
Ugolino 220, 228
- Gervinus, Georg Gottfried 399
Grundzüge der Historik 399
- Geschichte* 1, 3–4, 10, 17–18, 27, 32–34, 38, 65–68, 70–76, 78, 81, 83, 113, 122, 132–34, 155, 172, 176, 179, 184, 215, 220–21, 230, 233–34, 236, 248–50, 253, 257–58, 260, 280, 316–19, 334–35, 342, 347, 358, 361, 365–66, 387, 393–95, 397, 400–401, 404, 409, 413–14. See also history
- Gessner, Johann Matthias 383, 385
- Gessner, Salomon 383
- Gillies, Alexander 404, 409
- Gleim, Johann Wilhelm
Ludwig 225, 326, 361
- Gluck, Christoph Willibald 317
- gnoseology 43, 47–48
- God 4, 7, 15–20, 23, 27–30, 33–34, 43, 46, 49–51, 54, 58, 61–62, 78, 81, 83, 99, 101–2, 106–9, 111, 115, 118, 122–23, 172–73, 175–76, 182–85, 200, 205, 236, 238, 240–42, 247–57, 283–84, 312, 354, 359, 378, 393

- god(s) 99, 102, 106, 112, 131, 158,
165–68, 170–71, 173, 178–79,
184, 191–92, 194, 202
- Goethe, Cornelia 323
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang 2–6, 25,
29–30, 32, 34–37, 65, 95, 142,
161, 180, 200–201, 203–4, 219,
220–22, 224–26, 229–31, 262,
277, 306, 311, 323, 326–28, 346,
351–52, 361, 368, 374, 383–84,
389, 391–94, 396–97, 401, 404
Dichtung und Wahrheit 4, 25, 32,
392
Die natürliche Tochter 352
Egmont 204
 Götz von Berlichingen 204, 222
Iphigenie auf Tauris 180, 204
Italienische Reise 361
Roman Elegies (“*Römische
Elegien*”) 180, 327
Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre 384
- Goeze, Johann Melchior 24
- Gogol, Nicolai 412
Arabesken 412
- Goldsmith, Oliver 227
The Vicar of Wakefield 227
- Görres, Joseph 395
*Mythengeschichte der asiatischen
Welt* 395
- Göttingen 28–29, 35–36, 65, 70,
229, 234, 392, 395, 397
- Gottsched, Johann Christoph 165,
218
- Götzinger, Ernst 305
Götzingers Deutsche Dichter 305
- government 6, 18, 30–31, 34, 73,
100–101, 167, 199, 224, 256,
262, 277–80, 283, 288–89, 291–
94, 361, 378, 381, 388–89, 396,
413
- gradation 52, 207
- Great Britain 404
- Greece 6–7, 31, 34, 66, 70, 95, 105,
109, 119–20, 128, 131, 136, 152,
158, 161–62, 165, 167–68, 172,
179–81, 184, 191, 193–94, 199–
200, 202, 218, 222, 225, 227,
233, 235–37, 241, 287–89, 310–
12, 319, 321, 323–25, 327–28,
346, 353–54, 382, 394, 413
- Greenland 160, 323
- Greif, Stefan 11, 141, 357
- Grillparzer, Franz 398
- Grim(m) (school principal) 16
- Grimm, Jakob 392
- Grotius, Hugo 285–86
Gründerzeit 399
- Guizot, François 410
- Gunkel, Hermann 396
- Gustavus Adolphus 184
- Gutzkow, Karl 397
- Halle 22, 287, 357
- Haller, Albrecht von 52, 206–7,
311, 382–83
- Hamann, Johann Georg 3, 5, 17–18,
31, 68, 81–82, 134–35, 166–67,
178–79, 181–82, 184, 220, 239,
248, 250, 284, 353, 365–66, 373,
394, 400
Aesthetica in nuce 17, 239
Kreuzzüge eines Philologen 18
- Hanka, Václav 411
- Harich, Wolfgang 402
- Harrington, James 285
Oceana 285
- Hartknoch, Johann Friedrich 82
- Haym, Rudolf 1, 19, 82, 331, 337–
38, 355, 399, 402, 413
- hearing 25, 49–50, 54, 57–59, 107,
128–30, 134, 143, 149, 157
- Hebrew 4, 32, 161, 168, 195, 201,
216, 229, 233–34, 236–38, 240,
258, 319–21, 328, 347, 392, 396,
399, 408, 412
- Hederich, Benjamin 165
*Gründliches mythologisches
Lexikon* 165
- Heeren, Arnold Hermann
Ludwig 395

- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich 6, 37, 65–66, 79, 138, 198, 393, 395
Glauben und Wissen 393
Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte 395
- Heidegger, Martin 103, 138
- Heine, Heinrich 397–98
- Heinz, Marion 11, 43, 394
- Hemsterhuis, Frans 34, 53, 408
Œuvres philosophiques 408
- Heracles 184, 318
- Herder, Anna Elisabeth (née Peltz) 15
- Herder, Catharina Dorothea (married Güldenhorn) 15
- Herder, Christoph 15
- Herder, Gottfried (father of Johann Gottfried) 15
- Herder, Johann Gottfried *passim*
Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache 3, 25, 77, 122–23, 156, 175, 182, 206, 216, 292, 357, 360, 392, 401, 409
Admetus Haus 317
Adrastea 4, 38, 150, 154, 215, 217, 229, 251, 285, 311, 313–15, 318, 324–25, 347, 368–69
Aeon und Aeonis 317
Aesop und Lessing 315
Als ich von Liefland aus zu Schiffe ging 23
Alte Fabeln mit neuer Anwendung 315
Alte Volkslieder 153, 158–59, 161–62, 201–2, 323
Älteste Urkunde des Menschengeschlechts 3, 26–27, 33, 81, 201, 216, 235, 321, 347, 395–97
An den Kaiser 309
An Prediger 28, 347
Ariadne-Libera 317
Arist am Felsen 312
Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit 3, 27, 34, 65, 67–68, 73, 81, 83, 122, 132, 215, 250, 342, 346, 358–59, 409
- Aurora* 367
- Auszug aus einem Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker* 26, 154, 159, 216, 221–22, 310, 322, 325, 392
- Blätter der Vorzeit* 181, 312
- Blumen aus der griechischen Anthologie gesammelt* 328
- Blumen aus morgenländischen Dichtern gesammelt* 328
- Briefe, das Studium der Theologie betreffend* 4, 31–32, 233, 236, 248–50, 253, 256, 347, 395–96
- Briefe, die Fortschritte der Humanität betreffend* 36, 361
- Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität* 4, 36, 38, 68, 83, 94–95, 181, 217, 224–25, 229, 283, 285–86, 313–14, 364, 374, 388, 402, 412
- Briefwechsel über Ossian.*
 See *Auszug aus einem Briefwechsel . . .*
- Brutus* 317
- Christliche Schriften* 4, 32, 36–37, 236, 248, 251, 256–57, 396, 401, 413
- Cid.* See *Der Cid*
- Das Flüchtigste* 307
- Das Ich* 312
- Das Land der Seelen* 260
- Der Cid* 162, 181, 316, 320, 324–26, 399, 408–9
- Der deutsche Nationalruhm* 309
- Der entfesselte Prometheus* 277, 318, 329
- Der Fremdling auf Golgatha* 317
- Der Genius der Zukunft* 309
- Der Mensch* 312
- Deutschlands Genius* 308–9
- Dichtungen aus der morgenländischen Sage* 181, 328
- Die Auferweckung Lazarus* 316

Herder, Johann Gottfried

(continued)

- Die Brüder* 313
Die Frucht am Baume 313
Die Kindheit Jesu 316
Die Lerche 307
Die Lyra 157–58, 309
Die rechte Hand 313
Die Wassernymphe 307
Dithyrambische Rhapsodie 168
Edward 325, 400
Eine Metakritik zur Kritik der reinen Vernunft 4, 37, 53–61, 98, 134–38, 182, 347, 393
El Cid. See *Der Cid*
Entwurf der Anwendung dreier akademischer Jahre für einen jungen Theologen 387
Entwurf eines Seminariums zu Lehrern für Landschulen 379
Erläuterungen zum neuen Testament aus einer neueröffneten morgenländischen Quelle 235, 238, 257
Erlkönigs Tochter 325
Fragment über die Ode 175, 309
Fragmente über die neuere deutsche Literatur. See *Über die neuere . . .*
Gedanken einiger Bramanen 328
Gesang an den Cyrus 16
Gesangbuch. See *Weimarisches Gesangbuch*
Gott. Einige Gespräche 4, 33–34, 61, 251–52, 393, 409
Gottes Rat und Tat über das Menschengeschlecht 312
Hades und Elysium 260
Hodegetische Abendvorträge an die Primaner Emil Herder und Gotthilf Heinrich Schubert 378
Homer, ein Günstling der Zeit 162
Homer und Ossian 162
'Humanitätsbriefe.' See *Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität*

Hyle 328*Idee zum ersten patriotischen**Institut für den Allgemeingeist Deutschlands* 286, 291–92, 387*Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte**der Menschheit* 1, 4, 18, 33–34, 36–37, 65, 75–77, 79, 81–83, 98–102, 104, 106–8, 110–12, 133–35, 176, 182–85, 206–8, 229–30, 234, 236, 249, 251, 253–54, 238, 260, 280–83, 288–90, 334, 336, 338–40, 347, 361, 365, 374, 393–96, 398–99, 401–2, 406, 408–15*Iduna, oder der Apfel der**Verjüngung* 181*Ist die Schönheit des Körpers ein**Bote . . .* 19*Jahrbuch der Schriften für die**Menschheit* 353, 377*Journal meiner Reise im Jahr 1769*

3, 23, 33, 48, 148, 287, 353, 376, 381–82, 388, 409

Jüdische Parabeln 328*Kalligone* 4, 37, 143–44, 149–55, 163, 347, 357*Kantate bei dem Kirchzuge**der regierenden Herzogin von Sachsen-Weimar und Eisenach . . .* 317*Kantate zur Einweihung der**Katharinen Kirche auf Bickern* 316*Kritische Wälder* 3, 21–23, 37, 48, 143, 216, 356–57, 391*Lehrer der Offenbarung* 28*Liebe und Selbstheit* 166, 408*Lieder der Liebe* 31, 184, 216, 235*Luthers Katechismus* 253, 255, 257, 263*Maran Atha* 235*Metakritik*. See *Eine Metakritik**Michaels Sieg* 316*Nachlese aus der griechischen**Anthologie* 328