Classical Humanism and the Challenge of Modernity

Debates on classical education in Germany c. 1770-1860

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Klassiek Humanisme en de Uitdaging van de Moderniteit

Debatten over klassieke vorming in Duitsland ca. 1770-1860

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

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Uxori carissimae

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Preface

The desire to write this dissertation arose out of my teaching. About ten years ago, when studying Classics at the University of Amsterdam, I was seriously in love with the ancient Greeks and Romans. Having read worrying amounts of Romantic German literature in my adolescent years, I strongly sensed that the classical world was permeated by a kind of mysterious spirit that infused its cultural expressions with a nearly sacred aura. For a long time, it was the most normal thing in the world to me to look upon classical antiquity as a singularly blessed epoch of rare significance and beauty.

My unbridled enthusiasm was only challenged when some eight years ago – by a complete coincidence – I started teaching. From one moment to another I saw myself face to face with a class of thirteen-year old boys and girls who exhibited a disturbing but fascinating indifference to everything that mattered to me. Although they were certainly willing to learn, their minds were not in any way predisposed towards the subject that I was so enthusiastic about. If I was to inspire them at all, I had to begin from scratch. Thus, I made the fundamental realisation – obvious but often forgotten – that the survival of what we call 'the classical heritage' is almost *entirely* dependent on education, and therefore *anything* but self-evident.

By this confrontational experience I became interested in the complex relation between classical education and modern society. Why do we still teach the classics at the beginning of the 21st century? What is their meaning? Their use? Their value? I soon realised that these arresting questions can only be addressed in a meaningful and constructive way by tracing them back to their historical roots in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, that is, to a time when classical education first came into conflict with the changing needs of modern society. The present book is the result of this intellectual enterprise, to which I have gratefully dedicated myself over the past four years.

Utrecht, May 2013

Introduction

„Man hat (...) die Behauptung aufgestellt, der Neuhumanismus (...) habe mit der Antike kaum etwas zu tun. Ich kann dazu nur sagen: wer so denkt, der irrt." (Wolfgang Schadewaldt)

1. Classical education and modern society

There was a time when the classics were by far the most important subject in higher education. The numerous Latin schools and colleges scattered across the European continent in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries offered extensive education in Roman and, to a lesser extent, Greek literature. At these schools, other topics, such as history or geography, were not taught independently but only insofar as they were relevant to the study of classical texts. Also at the *artes*-faculties of the universities, the classics were prominently represented. Moreover, up to the late 18th century, higher education, apart from centering on classical subjects, as a rule was conducted in Latin.

Until the late 18th century, the dominance of classical education was practically justified by the unchallenged status of Latin as the universal language of scholarship and the church. Moreover, classical literature was still the fundament of important branches of human knowledge, such as law, medicine and philosophy. Finally, in most European countries, Latin retained its function as a literary language besides the national languages until far into the 18th century. It was only by the end of the 18th century that the practical relevance of the classics substantially decreased. Latin gradually ceded its position as academia's official language to the national tongues and a diligent exploration of new areas of knowledge as well as the flourishing of national literatures marginalised the importance of the classical heritage.[1]

Yet, despite the weakening of the classics' practical basis in scholarship, science and literature, throughout the 19th century European higher education

[1] For a good discussion of the gradual displacement of Latin by the modern languages, see Leonhardt (2009: 221-244).

remained invariably cast in the classical mould. The curricula of the English public schools, the French *lycées*, the Italian *ginnasi-licei*, as well as the *Gymnasien* in Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia were all dominated by the Roman and Greek classics. The same was true of the philosophical faculties of the European universities. Meanwhile, alongside the classical institutions, competing forms of both secondary and academic education emerged, especially in the second half of the 19th century. The schools offering these new kinds of education, however, mostly did not acquire a status distantly comparable with that of the classical institutions. Indeed, the classics succeeded in preserving a mighty sway over European education down to the outbreak of the Great War in 1914.[2]

Thus, the question rises how the continuity of classical education related to its abating practical relevance. How could the ideal of classical education enjoy such wide popularity at a time when both the Latin language and classical literature lost their traditional position in intellectual culture at an ever increasing pace? Of course, it is important not to overestimate the tempo of change. Although Latin lost its *monopoly* as the language of scholarship, far into the 19th century scholars were expected to express themselves in Latin on official occasions. Yet, despite unmistakable continuities, the marked stability of classical education seems drastically at odds with its evidently decreasing practical relevance in modern society.[3]

In this book, I will examine the relation between classical education and modern society by the example of Germany, where the opposition between the two was particularly pronounced. On the one hand, the German 'humanistic *Gymnasium,*' as a secularised, state-directed institution, bore a manifestly modern stamp. On the other hand, most of its representatives were outspoken

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[2] For a general survey of the prominence of classical education in 19th century Europe, see Mayer (1981: 253-73).

[3] In this book, I use the term 'modern' to refer to late 18th and 19th century developments that have decisively influenced current ways of thinking. The secularised, 19th century *Gymnasium* I call 'modern' because in nearly all Western-European countries education is nowadays largely independent of Church supervision. The rise of the *Bürgerschule* I describe as a modern development because it was intimately connected to the professional differentiation and industrialisation that have decisively influenced the outlook of the society we live in. For a very good discussion of the terminological history of the term 'modern,' see H.U. Gumbrecht, 'Modern, Modernität, Moderne,' in: Brunner (a.o.) (ed.) *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, vol. IV (1978: 93-131). For the concept of 'modernity,' see also section 4 below.

proponents of classical education, which they advocated and promoted with lyrical verve and unrelenting vigour. The humanistic *Gymnasium* remained firmly footed on a classical curriculum throughout the 19th century and functioned as a model for educational reforms in countries as diverse as Italy, Russia and the Netherlands. When it comes to the relation between classical education and modern society, then, Germany can be seen as a paradigm case.

2. The concept of 'neohumanism' (*Neuhumanismus*)

Ever since the late 19th century, when the tension between the continuity of classical education and modern society was first seen as a problem, scholars have sought to make clear that despite its traditional appearance, the ideal of classical education pursued in the late 18th and 19th century was unmistakably a response to its own time. In his magisterial *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten* (1885), Friedrich Paulsen demonstrated that two of the most ardent champions of classical education, Friedrich August Wolf (1759-1824) and Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835), advocated the study of classical literature in a distinctly modern way.[4] Wolf, Paulsen pointed out, was fully aware that the importance of classical literature to modern science had substantially decreased and that Latin had lost its monopoly as the language of scholarship.[5] Therefore, the practical ideal of *imitation*, which was the essence of "the older humanism,"[6] in his view was no longer useful.[7] Instead, classical studies should be conducted solely because of "their own, absolute value,"[8] which both Wolf and Humboldt found, not in Roman culture – which had been the main focus of classical education in the past – but in Greek culture. In ancient Greece, and only in ancient Greece, they believed to behold "the exemplary

[4] Although Wolf's and Humboldt's ideas on classical education were not identical, they were similar enough to be discussed in combination. Wolf and Humboldt were bound by a close friendship and corresponded by letters during the major part of their professional lives. See Ph. Mattson (ed.), *Wilhelm von Humboldt, Briefe an Friedrich August Wolf* (Berlin, New York, 1990).

[5] Paulsen II (1885, 3rd. ed. 1921: 217). Paulsen mainly drew on Wolf's famous *Darstellung der Alterthumswissenschaft* of 1807.

[6] All translations in this book are mine, unless stated otherwise.

[7] Paulsen II (1885, 3rd. ed. 1921: 217). With "imitation" Paulsen referred to the age-old practice of cultivating stylistic and oratorical skills by imitating Roman (and Greek) literary models.

[8] Paulsen II (1885, 3rd. ed. 1921: 217).

representation of the Idea of man."[9] By gathering a most complete, historical knowledge of Greek antiquity, they contended, students enabled themselves to penetrate into the very nature of mankind and thus to acquire "self-knowledge and self-education (*Selbstbildung*)."[10] In Wolf's and Humboldt's ideal of education, the traditional focus on the classical *languages* did not disappear, but these languages were understood in a distinctly different way. Whereas traditional education chiefly focused on the imitation of stylistic models, the classical languages were now philosophically understood as "the first artistic creations of the human mind [which] contain the entire supply of general ideas and of forms of [human] thought."[11] With Wolf and Humboldt, then, the traditional, Latin-oriented ideal of practical imitation was replaced by a new, Greek-oriented ideal of historical contemplation. It was because of this innovative outlook, that Paulsen named Wolf's and Humboldt's ideal of classical education '*neo*humanism,' thereby coining this term.[12]

Paulsen emphasised that the transformation of humanism into 'neohumanism' correlated to the transformation of German society. Not only did the old practice of imitation no longer make sense at a time when the influence of Latin had substantially decreased, but, moreover, confronting young people with the ideal image of Greek mankind seemed of particular importance to Wolf and Humboldt in an age "that paid more attention to things than to people (...) and focused more on outer values and usefulness than on inner content."[13] Wolf's and Humboldt's ideal of classical education, then, arose from dissatisfaction with the utilitarian tendency of their time, which they aimed to counterbalance by the historical study of a bygone but ideal civilisation**.** According to Paulsen, 'neohumanism' should primarily be understood as a critical response to the rise of modern society.

The concept of 'neohumanism' has been massively adopted by later historians of education and acquired a firm place in the terminology of

[9] Paulsen II (1885, 3rd. ed. 1921: 203).
[10] Paulsen II (1885, 3rd. ed. 1921: 204).
[11] Wolf (1807: 91); Paulsen II (1885, 3rd. ed. 1921: 214).
[12] Since the term was not known before Paulsen, I will consistently put this word in single quotation marks.
[13] Paulsen II (1885, 3rd. ed. 1921: 203).

educational historiography.[14] Especially after the Second World War, scholars have sought to further expose the modern foundations of Wolf's and Humboldt's educational ideal. For example, Humboldt expected classical education to contribute to cultivating values that were of particular importance to modern society. Studying Greek literature he deemed pre-eminently suited to achieve "the highest and most proportionate formation (*Bildung*) of man to a whole."[15] Calling freedom "the first and indispensable condition" of humanistic education,[16] he aimed to develop a unified school system that would "make the meanest day labourer and the most finely cultivated man (...) like-minded."[17] In other words, Humboldt expected classical education to contribute to the making of a new society that would be grounded in the typically modern values of individuality, freedom and equality.[18]

In other words, on the prevailing view, early 19th century humanism gave the appearance of continuity, but was in fact an attempt to *adapt* the study of classical antiquity to distinctly modern needs.[19] "Neohumanism," we read in the *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, "while sharing with Renaissance humanism the love of classical antiquity, differs from it by its philosophical depth, by the longing for ancient Greece (*Griechensehnsucht*) sprung from

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[14] In the first half of the 20th century, the term 'neohumanism' was still used *beside* other terms such as 'humanism' or 'old humanism.' It was only after the Second World War that it achieved its present currency.

[15] Humboldt (1792, in: 1960: 64).

[16] Humboldt (1792, in: 1960: 64).

[17] "*Der gemeinste Tagelöhner und der am feinsten Ausgebildete muss in seinem Gemüth ursprünglich gleich gestimmt werden*." (Humboldt (1809, in: 1964: 189).) See Landfester (1988: 33). For an extensive discussion of Humboldt's concept of a unified school system, see below, section II.1.2.3.

[18] For this view, see e.g. Kraul (1984: 28-34); Landfester (1988: 30-55); Hamann (1993: 105-114).

[19] This view is found in nearly all major studies on the subject. I confine myself to mentioning those works from which I have learnt most: M. Fuhrmann, ‚Friedrich August Wolf,' in: *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 33 (1959: 187-236); H.J. Heydorn, *Über den Widerspruch von Bildung und Herrschaft* (1970), *Bildungstheoretische Schriften* Bd. 2 (1979); G. Buck, *Rückwege aus der Entfremdung* (1984); M. Landfester, *Humanismus und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert* (Darmstadt, 1988); D. Benner, *Wilhelm von Humboldts Bildungstheorie. Eine problemgeschichtliche Studie zum Begründungszusammenhang neuzeitlicher Bildungsreform* (1990); G. Bollenbeck, *Bildung und Kultur. Glanz und Elend eines deutschen Deutungsmusters* (1994); D. Benner, H. Kemper, *Theorie und Geschichte der Reformpädagogik, I: Die pädagogische Bewegung von der Aufklärung bis zum Neuhumanismus* (2003).

dissatisfaction with one's own time, as well as by a new, anthropologically founded conception of literary, aesthetic and historical *Bildung*."[20]

Yet, the sheer currency of the concept of 'neohumanism' makes us easily overlook the fact that it was wholly unknown to the people to whom it refers. It is a telling fact that only shortly before the term 'neohumanism' was coined by Friedrich Paulsen, classical education was seen in a very different light. In his history of the *Gelehrtenschulwesen* published in 1860, for instance, the classical philologist Friedrich Lübker described the late 18th and early 19th century revaluation of classical studies as a "newly revived humanism" (*neu belebter Humanismus*), that is, as a revival of the ideal of education that had been propagated by the great Renaissance humanists.[21] Some decades earlier, Benjamin Otto, a declared opponent of classical education, denounced the enormous enthusiasm of many school teachers for Latin education as the continuation of a "four-hundred-year-old prejudice."[22] Even after Paulsen, the concept of 'neohumanism' for a long time was not as established as it is today. Richard Needon, for example, in his history of the *Gymnasium* of Bautzen written in 1927, described the entire period from 1790 to 1895, when the classics were taught with particular zeal, as the era of "old humanism" (*Althumanismus*).[23]

The fact that for a very long time, 19th century humanism was not yet seen as particularly 'modern,' but on the contrary as the continuation of an age-old tradition raises serious questions as to the validity of the current concept of 'neohumanism.' Is this concept, with its emphasis on innovation, truly suitable to describe the educational ideal embraced by late 18th and early 19th century classicists? Or must the 'neohumanistic' theory of *Bildung* that has been discussed above be distinguished from other, more traditional forms of humanism?

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[20] J. Ritter (ed.), vol. 3 (1974: 1218).

[21] In: Schmid II (1860: 669).

[22] See B. Otto, *Gänzliche Umgestaltung aller Gelehrten-Schulen Deutschlands, eine höchst dringende Zeitförderung! Oder Drittes Gebrechen der Gelehrten-Schulen: Die vorurtheilsvolle und unwissenschaftliche Überschätzung des lateinischen Unterrichts* (1831: 2-4). Otto wrote that most teachers, being "encased in a Latin nimbus," were part of the "old philological school" (*altphilologische Schule*). (*ibid*.)

[23] Needon (1927: 70).

3. 'Neohumanism' versus classical humanism

It is noticeable that the common view of the displacement of a traditional humanism by 'neohumanism' is based on the example of chiefly academic philologists like Friedrich August Wolf and utopian pedagogues such as Wilhelm von Humboldt. Wolf's ideas were shared by a large number of academic colleagues, such as Friedrich Creuzer (1771-1858), Karl Ottfried Müller (1797-1840), August Böckh (1785-1867), and many others. Pedagogues with ideas very similar to that of Humboldt included Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814) and Reinhold Bernhard Jachmann (1767-1843). However, a pressing question is how the 'neohumanistic' ideal of education related to the practice of *Gymnasium* education. Do we have reasons to believe that 'neohumanism' as represented by the above group of well-known educationalists really made its entry into the schools?

The introduction of 'neohumanism' into the *Gymnasien* is usually measured by the increased importance of classical Greek, which has been called the "external indicator of the entry of neohumanism."[24] Scholars have often pointed out that at the 'neohumanistic' *Gymnasium* classical Greek was much more prominently represented than it was in the past. This can already be observed in the late 18th century, when at some schools Greek literature was studied with great zeal.[25] With the Prussian reforms of 1809-1819, the requirements for ancient Greek were pitched exceptionally high. A Prussian examination regulation of 1812 decreed that "the *examinandus* [should] be capable of understanding, even without previous preparation, Attic prose, (...) the simpler dialogues of Sophocles and Euripides, next to Homer; of explaining a

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[24] Landfester (1988: 9; cf. 31). – As Humboldt's ideal was emphatically an ideal of *general* education ("*allgemeine Menschenbildung*"), also the inclusion of other topics in the curriculum, such as mathematics, natural sciences, history, geography etc., is sometimes seen as typically ‚neohumanistic.' (See e.g. Kraul (1984: 31f.).) In this book, however, I confine myself to *classical* education, and thus to the increased importance of classical Greek.

[25] As early as 1772, at the Frankfurt *Gymnasium*, Homer, Xenophon, Theophrastos, Thucydides, Herodotus, Plutarch and some Greek poets were all on the program. (See Purmann (1772: 21). In 1781, at the *Friedrichswerdersches Gymnasium* Berlin, the Greek curriculum was even more extended: Homer, Aristophanes, Euripides, Xenophon, Herodotus, Plutarch, Pindar, Sophocles and Plato. (See Fr. Gedike, ‚Praktischer Beitrag zur Methodik des öffentlichen Schulunterrichts' (1781), in *Gesammelte Schulschriften* (I, 1789: 132-5). Cf. ‚Neue Nachricht von der Einrichtung des Friedrichswerderschen Gymnasiums' (1788), in *op. cit.* (II, 1795: 57f.)).

non-critically difficult choral [ode] and of producing a (...) translation from German into Greek without violating grammar or accent (!) [rules]."[26] In the school plan of the same year, the Greek-Latin ratio was set at 2:3, which was unusually high at the time.[27] Also in the *Vormärz* period, when the greatest upsurge of Hellenophilia was well past and even the Prussian government weakened its requirements,[28] Greek preserved a significantly larger share in the curriculum than had been common in the past. At most schools, this situation would remain unchanged in the late 19th century.[29]

However, we should realise that despite its consolidated curricular position, classical Greek was hardly ever assigned sufficient scope as to make the curriculum truly correspond to Wolf's and Humboldt's conviction that true *Bildung* can only be acquired by studying the Greeks and that "the Romans do not provide desirable material for (...) study."[30] Only at a very small number of schools, educationalists temporarily experimented with giving Greek actual precedence over Latin.[31] At most *Gymnasien*, however, even in the Prussian

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[26] For a survey of the official Prussian regulations concerning the requirements for classical Greek, see Schmidt (1849: 209-14).

[27] This school plan can be found in Paulsen II (1885, 3rd. ed. 1921: 292).

[28] A governmental Circular of 1828 decreed that even in *Prima*, chief attention should be paid to relatively simple authors (such as Homer and Xenophon) instead of more difficult authors (such as Aeschylus and Pindar), and that "no *Gymnasium*-headmaster should venture on beginning Greek education already in *Quinta*" (i.e. the second-lowest grade). (See Schmidt (1849: 212).) In the so-called Prussian *Normalplan* of 1837, finally, the Greek-Latin ratio was reduced from 2:3 to 1:2. (This school plan is printed in Paulsen II (1885, 3rd. ed. 1921: 354).)

[29] A weekly share of five to seven hours of Greek to eight to thirteen hours of Latin was very normal at most German *Gymnasien* until the end of the 19th century. – The "introduction" of 'neohumanism' in other German states that followed the Prussian example is discussed in various studies: See e.g. Kopp, *Der Neuhumanismus in der Pfalz* (1928), Dürr, *Die Einführung des Neuhumanismus in Württemberg* (1930); Ruf, *Der Neuhumanismus in Baden und seine Auswirkungen auf die Gelehrtenschulen* (1961), Apel, *Das preußische Gymnasium in den Rheinlanden und Westfalen* (1814-1848) (1984).

[30] Wolf (1807: 131).

[31] Two of such experimental schools, the Conradinum in Jenkau (from 1810) led by Reinhold Bernhard Jachmann (1767-1843) and Franz Passow (1786-1833) and the Kantonsschule Aarau (Switzerland) led by Ernst August Evers (1779-1832) are discussed by K. Sochatzy, *Das Neuhumanistische Gymnasium und die rein-menschliche Bildung. Zwei Schulreformversuche in ihrer weiterreichenden Bedeutung* (1973).

reform era (1809-1819), Greek was credited with substantially less weekly hours than Latin, a subordination that was only to be reinforced in *Vormärz*.

This major discrepancy between theory and practice is remarkable in view of the theory of the replacement of a traditional humanism by 'neohumanism.' As the 'neohumanistic' theory of education was manifestly based upon giving priority to Greek over Roman culture, it seems hard to understand why even in the greatest heyday of German Hellenophilia, there was hardly any school to adopt an *evidently* 'neohumanistic' curriculum. Thus, most scholars conclude that classical education was plagued by a tragic gulf between a lofty humanistic ideal and a sluggish, inert practice. On the common account, the early 19th century was characterised by "an ever increasing tension between the high-pitched humanistic claim" and a "dusty educational reality" that failed to respond to it.[32] "The strong emphasis on Latin [in practice]," is has been stated, "entered into an almost absurd contrast with the (...) pronounced predilection of the Germans for the Greeks."[33]

Correspondingly, the heyday of 19th century humanism is commonly seen to virtually coincide with the Prussian reform era (1809-1819), when Greek was at the peak of its popularity. Ever since Paulsen described the school plan of 1812 as the "constitutive document of the new *Gymnasium*,"[34] most scholars have analysed the entire history of classical education in the late 18th and early 19th centuries in the light of the Prussian reforms. Paulsen's student Eduard Spranger (1882-1963) described the revived interest in Greek culture in the late 18th century as a "preparatory" phase of 'neohumanism' that pointed forward to its early 19th century "heyday." The decades following the Prussian reforms Spranger described as the "mature" phase of neohumanism, a period in which the juvenile enthusiasm of the preceding period fell prey to gradual decline.[35] This heyday/decline-paradigm has dominated the historiography on the German *Gymnasium* ever since. The decreasing popularity of Greek from the 1830s onwards is usually interpreted as the dramatic failure of the august humanistic ideals that Wolf and Humboldt had forwarded with such high expectations two decades earlier. Thus, it has been stated that at the *Vormärz Gymnasium*, "the subjects that Humboldt had in mind [were] nominally maintained, but had

[32] See Fritz Graf, *Einleitung in die Lateinische Philologie* (1997: 45f.).

[33] Leonhardt (2009: 268).

[34] "*Konstitutionsakte des neuen Gymnasiums*," Paulsen II (1885, 3rd. ed. 1921: 291).

[35] See Spranger (1910, ed. 1960: 5f.).

nothing in common anymore with the humanistic theory of *Bildung* from which they originally emerged."[36] The *Vormärz Gymnasium* effectuated a "relapse into the pre-reformatory state of knowledge," which "wasted" the Prussian *Gymnasium's* "lead with regard to modernity (*Modernitätsvorsprung*)."[37]

This very widespread view of the failure of 'neohumanistic' ideals to strike root in a slothful, Latin-based practice rests on an assumption which I deem worth bringing out with full precision. The underlying reasoning is this: in the 19th century, classical education was justified on 'neohumanistic' grounds. In other words, 19th century humanism *equals* 'neohumanism.' In the 'neohumanistic' theory of education, the study of Greek takes marked precedence over the study of Latin. Therefore, humanism can only be found where Greek is studied with exceptional ardour. Conversely, *wherever this is not the case, there can be no humanism*. Thus, the fact that Latin preserved its traditional dominance at the large majority of schools throughout the period in question proves the failed implementation of humanistic ideals in practice.

This common view, which denies 19th century classical education a claim to humanistic values as soon as it does not correspond to the specific 'neohumanistic' ideals set forth by Wolf and Humboldt, is radically at odds with the facts. It was not exceptional figures like Wolf and Humboldt who gave concrete substance to classical education, but a very large group of local headmasters and ordinary teachers of much lesser fame. Throughout the period under consideration, the large majority of these "practical school teachers" (*praktische Schulmänner*), as they were called at the time, defended classical education in markedly traditional terms. Let us take the examples of Johann Georg Purmann (1733-1813), who taught classical literature from 1756 to 1806, from 1770 as headmaster of the Frankfurt *Gymnasium*; and Karl Gottfried Siebelis (1769-1843), who worked as a classics teacher from 1798 to 1841, from 1804 as headmaster of the *Gymnasium* in Bautzen (Saxony). The professional activity of these two practical school teachers spanned the entire period of 'neohumanism:' its early phase, its heyday as well as its decline. When we study their writings, we notice that their ideas on classical education substantially deviated from the

[36] Schneider (1988: 281).

[37] Landfester (1988: 46). Elmar Schwinger (1988: 206) described the "mature" phase of 'neohumanism' as a time of "rigidity" (*Erstarrung*). A comparable view is found in, a.o., Sochatzy (1973) and Kraul (1984).

'neohumanistic' theory set forth by Wolf and Humboldt.[38] Firstly, although both Purmann and Siebelis, like most of their contemporaries, had a very high opinion of Greek literature and theoretically acknowledged the unique character of the ancient Greeks,[39] it was to Latin that they devoted themselves with most ardour. Not only did Latin occupy a considerably larger curricular share than Greek at the schools they directed, but moreover, they were known as accomplished Latin stylists, who produced Latin treatises, poems and speeches in great numbers throughout their lives.[40]

Secondly, in justifying classical education, Purmann and Siebelis made no essential distinction between Latin and Greek. They recommended the study of *both* Greek and Roman literature for its capacity to cultivate "humanness" (*Humanität*).[41] By entering on a dialogue with the great authors of the past, they believed one could become a better person and refine one's sense of beauty and morality. Thirdly, both teachers insisted that classical education not only focus on the interpretation of classical texts, but also on the acquisition of eloquence. They were firmly convinced that students could refine and ennoble their human nature by imitating the classical models.

Purmann's and Siebelis' ideal of classical education, then, wholly lacked the typically 'neohumanistic' prioritisation of Greek over Latin. In their writings, there is hardly any trace of the exalted adoration of Greek culture or the abstract philosophy of language characteristic of 'neohumanism.' Yet, although Purmann's and Siebelis' ideal of education can hardly be called '*neo*humanistic,' it was *emphatically* humanistic. One only has to open up their writings to see that the ideal of *Humanität* was at the forefront of their minds. They recommended above all the study of classical, particularly Latin literature, because they

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[38] Johann Purmann produced many writings, e.g. over a hundred German and Latin texts that were included in annual school programs. For the literary output of Karl Gottfried Siebelis, see the introduction to the next chapter.

[39] Purmann, in: *Archiv für die ausübende Erziehungskunst* (henceforth *AAE*) V (1779, part 3: 16-8); Siebelis (1817: 97f.).

[40] Purmann composed Latin poems on a variety of topics throughout his life. Also his short autobiography he wrote in Latin hexameters (printed in the 1814 autumn program of the Frankfurt *Gymnasium*). To Siebelis, a great admirer of Cicero, Latin was like a second mother tongue. Not only did he widely publish in Latin, but he also wrote Latin letters to his personal friends.

[41] For a discussion of this term, see below, section I.2.i.

expected it to contribute to refining our characteristically human features. Thus, there is simply no reason to assume that Purmann's and Siebelis' adherence to Latin-dominated curricula was caused by an inert reluctance to keep pace with the rise of 'neohumanism.' Both Purmann and Siebelis subscribed to a *form* of humanism that was distinctly more traditional than that propagated by their well-known 'neohumanistic' colleagues. Since this form of humanism was in fact very similar to that of their great Renaissance forerunners – whose sayings they, tellingly, regularly addressed in their writings – it is best described, not as 'neo-,' but as 'classical humanism.'[42]

A second important thing to note is that the ideals of classical education set forth by Purmann and Siebelis are strikingly similar. Although one could point to minor shifts of emphasis,[43] the core arguments in favour of classical education are precisely the same. Educational practice, as far as this can be judged from the available sources, also seems to have remained largely unchanged.[44] Since the professional activity of both men nearly spanned a full century, the ideal of classical education in this period seems not only to have been strikingly traditional, but remarkably *constant* as well.

It is justified to presume, then, that in the historiography of classical education, disproportionate attention has been paid to the 'neohumanistic' theory of education that, for an intensive but relatively short period of time, captured the imagination of a select group of innovative scholars such as Friedrich August Wolf and Wilhelm von Humboldt. To most practical school

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[42] On the relation between 19th century classical humanism and Renaissance humanism, see also below, section I.5.

[43] Purmann, for example, laid much emphasis on the concept of taste, which enjoyed wide popularity in the late 18th century. Siebelis, on the other hand, often stressed that in the turbulent political and social climate of the 1830s classical studies, if properly conducted, could contribute to strengthening Christian morality.

[44] This can be judged, for example, from a comparison between Purmann's detailed account of the way the classics were taught at the Frankfurt *Gymnasium* in 1772 and Siebelis' account of 1843. See J. Purmann, *Kurze Beschreibung der gegenwärtigen, innern Verfassung des Gymnasii zu Frankfurt am Mayn* (1772); K.G. Siebelis, *Kurze Lebensbeschreibung des M. Carl Gottfried Siebelis, Rectors am Gymnasium zu Budissin und Ritters des Königl. Sächs. Civilverdienstordens, von ihm selbst abgefasst* (1843).

teachers, however, this complex, philosophical theory was only of marginal importance.[45]

4. The paradigm of modernity

Before setting out how I will attempt in this book to discuss the ideal of classical education as conceived and transmitted by practical school teachers, it is worth considering that the pivotal significance commonly assigned to 'neohumanism' originates from a marked tendency amongst modern scholars to look upon classical education from the perspective of modernity. The late 18th and early 19th centuries are nowadays widely considered to be characterised by the rise of the professional middle class, the genesis of liberal, civil society and the emergence of the modern bureaucratic state. Also classical education is therefore mostly studied from these perspectives. Wolf's 'neohumanistic' attempt to defend Greek education as an absolute value in itself should be seen against the background of an unprecedented professional differentiation that made classical education seem useless to increasing numbers of professionalists.[46] Humboldt's ideal to make classical education contribute to the cultivation of individuality, freedom and equality points forward to modern liberal society in more than one respect. Finally, the gradual decline of the 'neohumanistic' ideal from the 1830s onwards

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[45] The danger of attaching disproportionate attention to exceptional figures such as these clearly emerges from Klaus Sochatzy's book *Das Neuhumanistische Gymnasium und die rein-menschliche Bildung* (1973). In it, Sochatzy conceived a kind of manifesto containing the ten identifying "theses" of what he called "strict neohumanism" (147-9). According to Sochatzy, one only qualified as a "strict neohumanist," when, amongst other things, one considered 1) Greek superior to Latin, 2) the Greeks as incarnating 'pure humanness;' 3) a grammar school a metaphysical institution, 4) Greek history the 'childhood of mankind;' 5) the German nation commissioned with the noble task to "rescue humanity." In Sochatzy's view, strict neohumanism "came to a clear victory" in the 19th century, whereas other, more moderate forms of neohumanism remained relatively impotent (156). In reality, however, there has never existed a group of classicists considering themselves to be "strict neohumanists," let alone a manifesto identifying them as such. Significantly, Sochatzy could find no more than six (!) German classicists to meet all ten requirements of "strict neohumanism" (Gottfried Hermann, Friedrich Thiersch, Franz Passow, Reinhold Jachmann, Ernst August Evers and Friedrich Niethammer (22)). In other words, the countless classicists falling outside this group, i.e. almost *all* classicists at the time, he interpreted as deviating from a norm which barely existed at all.

[46] For this conflict, see below, section II.2.1.1.

is closely connected to the transformation of the humanistic *Gymnasium* into a breeding place for officials of the modern bureaucratic state. The predominant attention paid to 'neohumanism,' then, points to an underlying aim to expose classical education's interrelation with the genesis of modern society.[47]

The current tendency to look upon the late 18th and 19th century chiefly from a perspective of modernity is found amongst historians of widely different signature and has been frequently observed by theorists of historiography, most notably by Arno Mayer in *The Persistence of the Old Regime* (1981). In this book, Mayer demonstrates that in a very general way, the innovatory forces in 19th century European society were by far not as omnipotent as is commonly assumed. "For too long," Mayer writes, "historians have focused excessively on the advance of science and technology, of industrial and world capitalism, of the bourgeoisie and professional middle class, of liberal civil society, of democratic political society, and of cultural modernism. They have been far more preoccupied with these forces of innovation and the making of the new society than with the forces of inertia and resistance that slowed the waning of the old order."[48] In his book, Mayer demonstrates in great detail that in all major respects – economics, politics, culture, world-view – 19th century Europe remained pervaded by the hierarchic power structures inherited from the *anciens régimes* and by corresponding nobilitarian modes of thought.

As Mayer argues, the fundamental problem with the common approach to the 19th century is that it fails to acknowledge the actual strength and resilience of the omnipresent forces of historical perseverance. By an exclusive focus on the making of the new society, these forces of perseverance are either seen as unimportant relics of a dying past, or as delaying, deranging and complicating

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[47] This interrelation is the focus of many eminent studies. See e.g. K.-E. Jeismann, *Das preußische Gymnasium in Staat und Gesellschaft,* 2 vol. (1974/1996); M. Kraul, *Das deutsche Gymnasium 1780-1980* (1984); E. Schwinger, *Literarische Erziehung und Gymnasium. Zur Entwicklung des bayerischen Gymnasiums in der Ära Niethammer/Thiersch* (1988). Many studies, especially from the 1960s to the 1980s, have a sociological orientation to the changing social and political significance of the *Gymnasium*. See e.g. D.K. Müller, *Sozialstruktur und Schulsystem. Aspekte zum Strukturwandel des Schulwesens im 19. Jahrhunderts* (1977); P. Lundgreen, *Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Schule im Überblick, Teil I: 1770-1918* (1980); M. Kraul, *Gymnasium und Gesellschaft im Vormärz. Neuhumanistische Einheitsschule, städtisches Gesellschaft und soziale Herkunft der Schüler* (1980); L. O'Boyle, ‚Klassische Bildung und Soziale Struktur in Deutschland zwischen 1800 und 1848', in: *Historische Zeitschrift* 207 (1968: 584-608).

[48] Mayer (1981: 4).

the inevitable advance of modern society.[49] Such a view might easily lead to a skewed reading of history, since, as Mayer puts it, "the 'premodern' elements [in 19th century society] were not the decaying and fragile remnants of an all but vanished past, but the very essence of Europe's incumbent civil and political societies."[50]

Mayer's viewpoint is well applicable to the historiography of classical education. For the striking focus on the innovatory features of 18th and 19th century humanism is paralleled by an equally striking neglect of, or indifference to, its traditional features. The making of modern society is generally considered of such overriding importance that the entire history of classical education is usually understood from its perspective. Nothing proves this better than the fact that the continued predominance of Latin education, if deemed worth mentioning at all, is nearly always interpreted as proving the failure of progressive, 'neohumanistic' ideals. It is hardly ever recognised that continuing the tradition of Latin education is precisely what most humanists sought to do.[51]

5. Structure and method

In this book I intend to discuss the ideal of classical education propagated and transmitted by practical school teachers in the period 1770-1860. Since I have found this ideal of education to have been strikingly continuous throughout this period, I will introduce this topic on the basis of a case study. The first part of my book highlights the ideal of classical education propagated by Karl Gottfried Siebelis (1769-1843), whom we have already met. Siebelis' ideal of classical education can be seen as an 'ideal type' of humanism that was broadly representative for the period in question. Since it was emphatically conceived as a *continuation* of Renaissance humanism, I choose not to describe it as 'neo-' but as *classical humanism*.

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[49] *Ibid*. 5

[50] *Ibid*. 5f.

[51] Mine is not the first study to underline the continuity of traditional ways of looking at classical antiquity. On the persistence of classical humanism at the Dutch universities up to 1850, see J.P. Guépin, *Het Humanisme* 1350-1850 (1993); id., *Typisch Nederlands. De Latijnse Poëzie* (1993). On the continued importance of classical *exempla virtutis* amongst the Dutch revolutionaries during the Batavian revolt of 1795, see W.R.E. Velema, *Omstreden Oudheid. De Nederlandse achttiende eeuw en de klassieke politiek* (2009).

In the second part of my book I will investigate how this classical-humanistic ideal of education was challenged by a number of major intellectual and social developments: the rise of a new concept of 'science' (Section 1), the rise of the *Bürgerschule* (Section 2) and the rise of Christian critique on the alleged pagan character of the humanistic *Gymnasien* (Section 3). I will argue that these developments are best understood, not as being *opposed* to classical humanism, but as tending to stretch its boundaries. In the course of the period in question, various new perspectives on classical studies were *incorporated* into the classical-humanistic ideal of education. As I will argue, it was above all by its marked *adaptability* that classical humanism succeeded in securing its survival far into the 19th century.

Since my focus is on an 'ideal type' of classical humanism as represented by average school teachers, I have avoided attaching primary importance to the handful of well-known and easily available writings by exceptional figures such as Wolf and Humboldt. Instead, I have primarily focused on another type of sources: the numerous locally published speeches, school programs, essays and pamphlets written by regional school teachers, often addressing a restricted, local readership. As a rule, such texts, directed as they were towards sympathising audiences, attracted little opposition, which is why they often soon fell into oblivion. However, it is not despite, but *because* of their obscurity, that such texts are valuable to us. The very fact that they usually went unopposed might be taken as evidence that their content was widely shared. I have also amply drawn on articles on classical education published in journals, magazines and daily newspapers.

Secondly, I have deliberately avoided to primarily focus on Prussia in general and the Prussian reform era in particular, as most scholars before me have done. As Manfred Landfester has already shown, the public debate on classical education was an emphatically "pan-German phenomenon."[52] Not only were the debates conducted far beyond state boundaries, but moreover, there was a lively movement of classical humanists across Germany, especially in the 19th century. In view of this pan-German character, I have drawn from texts from widely different provenance: Northern and Southern, urban and regional, Catholic and Protestant, etc.

[52] Landfester (1988: 12).

Thirdly, since my aim was to construct an average ideal of classical education, it was of particular importance to consult a very large number of primary sources. Thus, my account is based on a corpus of roughly 450 primary texts, most of which date from 1770 to 1860.

Yet, I have restricted myself in three ways. Firstly, since my goal is to describe the *public* opinion about classical education, I have mainly drawn on published sources. Secondly, I focus on *Gymnasium* instead of university education for the following reason. Up to the 19th century, providing classical-humanistic education was the task both of what we now call secondary schools and of the *artes*-faculties of the universities. Although the "philosophical faculty" of the German universities did not officially abandon this function, from the early 19th century onwards it was an increasingly ambivalent place as it offered scope for the professionalisation of classical scholarship that, as we will see, posed a serious challenge to the humanistic ideal of classical education. For the scholar interested in classical humanism, the philosophical faculty is therefore troubling water in which to fish. My focus will therefore be mainly on the *Gymnasien*.

Finally, although classical humanism dominated German education right down to the Great War, I confine myself in this book to the period of its greatest heyday: c. 1770-1860. By the end of the 19th century, an extensive network of *Realschulen* and *Bürgerschulen* had evolved alongside the humanistic *Gymnasien* and had broken the latter's monopoly on university access for at least a select number of studies. Besides, a large array of *technische Hochschulen* provided professional instruction in the applied sciences and in engineering, topics consciously shunned by the humanistically oriented universities. Above all, in the wake of the German unification, the greatest upsurge of classical enthusiasm had passed. Emperor Wilhelm II famously stated that he wanted "to educate national young Germans, and not Greeks or Romans."[53] Besides, the arena was entered by people who openly declared education in the natural sciences to be superior to classical education.[54] By the 1900s, then, the classics' traditional supremacy was at least seriously contested. I therefore focus on the period in

[53] 'Wilhelm II., Eröffnungsansprache zur Schulkonferenz 1890,' in: G. Giese (Hg.): *Quellen zur deutschen Schulgeschichte seit 1800*, (Göttingen 1961: 196f).

[54] A famous example is the physicist and philosopher Ernst Mach (1838-1916), who deemed mathematics and natural sciences of greater educational benefit than philological subjects. See e.g. Mach (1886, esp. p.20).

which downright hostile voices as those mentioned above were still very rarely heard.

Part I

The Persistence of Classical Humanism

19th century classical humanism
The case of Karl Gottfried Siebelis (1769-1843)

Lithography (1841) by Julius Fiebiger (1813-1883)[1]

"*So oft Siebelis die Classe betrat, war ein würdevoller Ernst über sein Antlitz verbreitet. In langsamen, gemessenen Schritten bestieg er das Katheder. Gleich beim Anfange der Stunde sah und hörte man, daß er vom Gegenstande auf's tiefste erfüllt war und mit ganzer Seele darin lebte und webte.*" (Karl Ameis, 1845)

1. Introduction

In this chapter I will describe the ideal of classical education endorsed by the Saxon classicist Karl Gottfried Siebelis (1769-1843). As rector of the *Gymnasium* in Bautzen (Saxony), Siebelis played a leading role in educating the local citizenry of the *Oberlausitz*, the region around Bautzen, for almost four decades. Both in his utter devotion to classical literature and in his unwavering commitment to

[1] Printed with kind permission of the Stadtmuseum Bautzen. – Siebelis gave copies of this lithography to his best pupils upon graduation. The maxim by his own hand reads: "So manchen giebt's der seinen Lehrer übertrifft." ("There are quite some who surpass their teacher.")

education he can be considered a typical example of a 19th century classical school teacher.[2]

[2] For the most telling representatives of classical humanism, one should not look in the first place at well-known academic philologists, but at classicists who devoted themselves above all to *Gymnasium* education. Good examples are Johann Michael Heinze (1717-1790), from 1753 headmaster of the *Michaelisschule* in Lüneburg, from 1770 of the Weimar *Gymnasium*; Karl Ludwig Bauer, headmaster of the *Lyceum* in Hirschberg (Silesia) from 1766 until 1799; Johann Purmann (1733-1813), headmaster of the Frankfurt *Gymnasium* from 1770 to 1806; Gottfried Benedikt Funk (1734-1814), headmaster of the *Domschule* in Magdeburg from 1771 to 1814; Immanuel Johann Gerhard Scheller (1735-1803), headmaster of the *Gymnasium* in Brieg (eastern Prussia) from 1771 to 1803; Johann Andreas Rizhaub (1745-1797), headmaster of the *Gymnasium* in Idstein (modern day Hessen) from 1784 to 1797; Friedrich August Wiedeburg (1751-1815), headmaster of the *Pädagogium* in Helmstadt from 1779 tot 1815; Johannes Gottfried Gurlitt (1754-1827), headmaster of the Magdeburg *Gymnasium* from 1779 to 1802, afterwards headmaster of the Hamburg *Johanneum*; Christian Wilhelm Snell (1755-1834), teacher, from 1797 headmaster of the Idstein *Gymnasium* from 1784 to 1817; Friedrich Wilhelm Döring (1756-1837), headmaster of the Gotha *Gymnasium* from 1786 to 1833; Ludwig Friedrich Gottlob Ernst Gedike (1760-1838), headmaster of the Bautzen *Gymnasium* from 1791 to 1803; Friedrich Jacobs (1764-1847), teacher at the Gotha *Gymnasium* from 1785 to 1807, and at the Munich *Gymnasium* from 1807 to 1810; August Matthiä (1769-1835), headmaster of the Altenburg *Gymnasium* from 1802 to 1835; Friedrich Koch (1769-1849), headmaster of the *Marienstiftsgymnasium* in Stettin (Prussia) from 1816 to 1828; Johann Fröhlich (1780-1849), headmaster of the Munich *Gymnasium* from 1823 to 1849; Friedrich von Thiersch (1784-1860), professor at the Munich *Gymnasium* from 1809 and professor at the Munich university from 1826; Karl Wilhelm Baumgarten-Crusius (1786-1845), headmaster of the *Landesschule* in Meissen (Saxony) from 1832 to 1845; Georg Andreas Gabler (1786-1853), headmaster of the Bayreuth *Gymnasium* from 1821 to 1835; Karl Ludwig von Roth (1790-1868), headmaster of the Nürnberg *Gymnasium* from 1822 to 1850, of the Stuttgart *Gymnasium* from 1850 to 1858; Ludwig von Döderlein (1791-1863), headmaster of the Erlangen *Gymnasium* from 1819 to 1862; Friedrich Traugott Friedemann (1793-1853), headmaster of the *Gymnasien* of resp. Wittenberg, Braunschweig and Weilburg from 1820 to 1840; Franz Dorotheus Gerlach (1793-1876), professor of the Basel *Gymnasium* from 1819 to 1875; Karl Friedrich Weber (1794-1861), headmaster of the Kassel *Gymnasium* from 1835 to 1852; Wilhelm von Bäumlein (1797-1865), professor at the *Gymnasium* and seminary of Maulbronn (modern day Baden-Württemberg) from 1827 to 1865; Christoph von Elsperger (1798-1873), headmaster of the *Gymnasium* Ansbach from 1839 to 1869; Rudolf Rauchenstein (1798-1879), professor, then headmaster, then again professor of the *Kantonsschule* in Aarau (northern Switzerland) from 1822 to 1866; Moritz Karl August Axt (1801–1863), headmaster of the *Gymnasium* in Wetzlar (modern day Hessen) from 1842 to 1863; Leonhard von Spengel (1803-

Karl Gottfried Siebelis was born on the 10th of October 1769 as a baker's son in Naumburg (Saxony).[3] Since both his parents died when he was three years old, he grew up in very difficult circumstances under the guardianship of his step-grandparents. Being of lower middle class origin, a university career initially seemed not a very likely prospect. However, as his eminent talents were discovered at the *Gelehrtenschule* of Naumburg, he was encouraged to graduate. Thanks to a small inheritance from his parents he could afford to study theology, philosophy and philology in Leipzig. As a student, he was extremely poor and had to make some money as a private tutor. In 1798, he got his first official job as conrector of the *Stiftsschule* in Zeitz (Saxony). In 1804, thirty-four years old, he was appointed to the rectorship of the Bautzen *Gymnasium*, a position he would keep for the rest of his life.[4] Under his leadership, the school developed into a highly-reputed institution, and Siebelis acquired considerable prestige amongst the local citizenry. As a member of the mayor's cabinet, he had personal contact with the Saxon king when important decisions concerning the *Gymnasium* were to be made. On his retirement, he won the honour of being elected a Knight of the *Königlicher Sächsischer Zivilverdienstorden*, and his financial security was guaranteed by the local citizenry. His private life, however, continued to be miserable. His wife died in 1810, his eldest daughter in 1833. Yet, he found great

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1880), teacher/professor at the Munich *Gymnasium* from 1826 to 1841, and Karl Friedrich von Nägelsbach (1806-1859), professor at the Nürnberg *Gymnasium* from 1826 to 1842. Apart from these classicists, whose lives are relatively well documented, there was a large group of educationalists who are almost entirely unknown to us today but whose ideal-typical views on classical education emerge from only a single or a few writings that happen to have survived. Some examples are Johann Baptist Bolla, professor of Greek in Vienna, active from the 1770s to the 1790s; Johann Heinrich Heumann (*1751, Westfalen), teacher and philologist; Georg Horn, professor at the *Gymnasium* in Hadamar (modern day Hessen), active around the 1800s; Johann Christoph Huscher, professor at the *Gymnasium* in Bamberg (Bavaria), active from the 1800s to the 1820s; Johann Göbbel, headmaster of the *Gymnasium* in Hermannstadt (modern day Sibiu, Romania), active in the mid-19th century; Franz Xaver Richter, teacher at the *Gymnasium* in Eichstätt, active from the mid-19th century onwards. For the relevant educational writings, see the bibliography.

[3] The following biographical notes are drawn both from Siebelis' short autobiography (Siebelis (1843)) and a biographical sketch by F. Fiedler and U. Fiedler, *Lebensbilder aus der Oberlausitz* (2012: 94-99).

[4] At Siebelis' time, the name 'Bautzen' was used next to the much older, Slavic name 'Budissin,' which Siebelis mostly used himself. Yet, I opt to use consistently the now more familiar name Bautzen, which acquired official status in 1868.

comfort both in his Christian faith and in the classical studies to which he devoted himself throughout his life with heart and soul. He retired in 1841 because of physical debilitation, only to live on for two more years. He peacefully died in his bed in the morning of the 7th of August 1843.

Siebelis set out his educational views in various 'school programs' (*Schulprogramme*) that were published annually. Four program texts directly relating to classical education were jointly published in 1817 as *Vier Schulschriften* (henceforth *VS*).[5] The 1832 text, *Stimmen aus den Zeiten der alten griechischen und römischen Klassikern*, was published in an extended version in 1837 (from now on *SZ*). A number of other school programs, in which Siebelis expounded the harmonious relationship between classical education and Christianity, were published in 1837 as *Disputationes quinque* (*DQ*).[6] Important and detailed information about Siebelis' teaching practice is contained in his autobiographical notes, published by his son shortly after his father's death in 1843 (from now on *AB*), as well as in the memories recorded in 1845 by Siebelis' student and admirer Karl Friedrich Ameis (1811-1870), who attended the Bautzen *Gymnasium* between 1828 and 1832.[7] Next to educational writings, Siebelis published many academic

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[5] I: *Warum den Zöglingen gelehrter Schulen das Privatstudium der griechischen und römischen Klassiker empfohlen, und wie es von ihnen getrieben werden müsse?* (1809); II: *Wie müssen Jünglinge auf gelehrten Schulen studieren?* (1811); III: *Johannes von Müller, ein Muster für studierende Jünglinge* (1813); IV: *Wie Johannes von Müller über die griechischen und römischen Classiker und ihr Studium urtheilte* (1817).

[6] The full title was *Disputationes quinque, quibus periculum factum est ostendendi, in veterum Graecorum Romanorumque doctrina religionis ac morum plurima esse, qua cum christiana consentiant amicissime, neque humanitatis studia per suam naturam vero religionis cultui quidquam detrahere, sed ad eum alendum conservandumque plurimum conferre, iterum edidit multisque locis auxit Carolus Godofredus Siebelis* (1837); in 1842, Siebelis elaborated the subject in the *Additamenta ad Disputationes quinque, quibus ...* etc.

[7] Kurze Lebensbeschreibung des M. Carl Gottfried Siebelis, Rectors am Gymnasium zu Bautzen und Ritters des Königlichen Sächsischen Civilverdienstordends, von ihm selbst abgefasst, K.G. Siebelis (1843); Der Gymnasiallehrer in seinem edlen Berufe und als Mensch. Blätter der Erinnerung an Carl Gottfried Siebelis, K. F. Ameis (1845). – Other sources on Siebelis and the Bautzen Gymnasium are F.A. Klien, Über den Zustand des Budissiner Gymnasiums zu Anfange dieses Jahrhunderts (1839), R. Heller, *Erinnerungen eines Bautzner Schülers* (1844) (In: *Rosen, Zeitschrift für die gebildete Welt* (1844, no. 76-83). Unfortunately, not a single copy of the fascicle in which this essay was printed is available anymore in any European university library, which is why I have to rely on secondary sources); K. Schubart, Zur Geschichte des Gymnasiums in Bautzen (1863-4); K. Fleischer, Aus den Tagebüchern

works. The most important was his well-known Pausanias edition, produced between 1822 and 1828.[8] Besides, Siebelis published some text books for school use as well as theological works.[9]

In the first part of this chapter, I will identify nine 'constitutive' features of Karl Gottfried Siebelis' ideal of classical education that I found to be shared by virtually all classical humanists of the time. In the second part of the chapter, I will give an account of Siebelis' teaching practice. With this twofold portrayal I aim to describe an 'ideal type' of 19th century classical humanism.[10]

2. Nine constitutive aspects of classical humanism

2.i. Refining human nature

In Siebelis' view, the "main purpose" of higher education was to educate pupils to "*Humanität.*"[11] This term, which I will translate as "humanness," was greatly popularised by Herder's *Briefe über Humanität* – which belonged to Siebelis' favourite readings.[12] Siebelis used it to refer to the human condition in which the properties that make a human being a human being are fully developed. To Siebelis, becoming truly 'human' was only possible by cultivating "the nobler

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eines Bautzener Gymnasiasten (1909) (In: Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und Deutsche Literatur und für Pädagogik, Vol. 12 (1909: 264-75)) and R. Needon, Das Bautzener Gymnasium in vier Jahrhunderten 1527-1927 (1927).

[8] *Pausaniae Graeciae Descriptio*, 5 vol. (1822-8); other academic works include *De Aeschyli Persis diatribe* (1794); *Philochori Atheniensis librorum fragmenta* (1811); *Phanodemi, Demonis, Clitodemi atque Istri Ἀτθίδων fragmenta coll., ed., ill. C. G. Lenz et S* (1812); *De Ἀτθίδων scriptoribus* (1812). Moreover, Siebelis was a member of the *Societas Philologica Lipsiensis* (after acquiring his master's degree), and of the *Oberlausitzische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* (from 1826).

[9] *Ἑλληνικά* (1800), see below, note 53; *Kleines griechisches Wörterbuch in etymologischer Ordnung* (1833). Much acclaimed was *Die Bibel, die beste Grundlage der Erziehung unsere Kinder* (1817), written on the occasion of the 300-year anniversary of the Reformation. An exhaustive survey of Siebelis' published works is found in *AB* (1843: 56-9).

[10] It goes without saying that Siebelis did not always achieve the ideal that he pursued. My primary interest, however, is not to describe what Siebelis realised, but what he *strove* to realise. Also my discussion of teaching practice, in the second half of this chapter, serves to elucidate Siebelis' ideal of education rather than to chronicle school routine.

[11] Siebelis (1825: 28); *VS* (1817 (I): 3). Another expression was "*rein menschliche Bildung.*" (*VS* (1817 (I): 3)); Karl Ameis described Siebelis' character as "baptised by the spirit of the purest *Humanität*." (Ameis (1845: 66))

[12] Ameis (1845: 66f.).

part of our nature," that is, "our immortal soul," which distinguishes us from animals.[13] He considered it education's task to "lift" students "above common inclinations" (*der gemeine Sinn*) and to raise them to a "magnanimous way of thinking" (*großherzige Denkungsart*).[14] Siebelis' educational ideal, then, was emphatically an ideal of *elevation*. In his view, the human race fell apart in "uncultured and ordinary people who always prefer the useful to the decent" and people who, being "ennobled by humanness and culture (*Bildung*) esteem human dignity above anything else."[15] Only those people he deemed worthy to be called 'human' who had managed by way of study to acquire a certain nobility of mind.[16]

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[13] *VS* (1817 (I): 3). Cf. Siebelis (1831: 7): "[Our spirit] we share with the deity, [our body] with animals. Therefore it seems reasonable to seek glory through intellectual more than through material predominance."

[14] *VS* (1817 (I): 4). Cf. (1821: 8): "If there is anything truly great and glorious, it is to work with all our strength towards (...) ennobling people (*Menschenveredlung*)." According to Karl Ameis, Siebelis' entire teaching practice was directed at turning the student's gaze to what was "morally noble and beautiful, great and uplifting" and at making them "despise base human affairs" (*contemnere res humanas*). (Ameis (1845: 70))

[15] *VS* (1817 (I): 4). Siebelis' words were an almost literal translation of Cicero, *Orat. partit.* 25.

[16] *VS* (1817 (I): 4). With his definition of 'humanness,' Siebelis continued an ancient tradition. Already in the Renaissance, the term *humanitas*, which was of Roman origin, was generally understood as referring to the "sum of the intellectual and practical standards of behaviour that make a human being a human being." (R. Rieks, in Ritter (ed.), *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie* (vol. 3, Stuttgart: Schwabe 1974: 1231)) The Renaissance meaning of *humanitas* itself went back to antiquity, see e.g. Cic. *De re publica* I, xvii, 28 : "appellari ceteros homines, esse solos eos, qui essent politi propriis humanitatis artibus.**"** – Scholarship on the history of terms such as *Humanität*, *humaniora*, *Humanismus*, etc. is extensive. Good studies are V.R. Giustiniani, 'Homo, Humanus, and the Meanings of Humanism,' in: *Journal of the History of Ideas* 46 (vol. 2, April–June, 1985: 167-195); 'Humaniora' (D. Klemenz), 'Humanismus, Humanität' (I. Pape) and 'Humanitas' (R. Rieks) in: Joachim Ritter (ed.), *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, vol. 3, Stuttgart: Schwabe 1974, col. 1216f., 1217-1230 and 1231f., and 'Menschheit, Humanität, Humanismus' (Hans Erich Bödeker), in: Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, Reinhart Koselleck (eds.), *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, vol. 3, Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta 1982, 1063-1128; W. Schadewaldt, ‚Humanitas Romana,' in: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* 1,4,1 (1973: 43-62); C.J. de Vogel, *Het Humanisme en zijn historische achtergrond*, Assen (1968); H. Rüdiger, "Die Ausdrücke humanista, studia humanitatis, humanistisch," in *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung* (Vol. 1, Zürich, 1961: 525f.). For a survey of older literature, see Giustiniani (1985: 172) and Schadewaldt (1973: 44).

It is notable that Siebelis spoke of 'humanness' instead of 'humanism.' This last term was coined in 1808 by the Bavarian pedagogue Friedrich Immanuel Niethammer (1766-1848), who used it as a polemical tool to distinguish the ideal of classical education from another, allegedly inferior ideal of education – based on criteria of efficiency and utility – which he named "philanthropinism" or "animalism."[17] Although the term '*Humanismus'* was picked up by a small number of educationalists, it was only in the second half of the 19th century that it came to be widely accepted.[18] Until the mid-century, classicists like Siebelis generally preferred the term *Humanität*, which had been sanctioned by tradition.[19]

2.ii. Exemplary subject matter

According to Siebelis, cultivating one's human qualities was only possible by a continuous engagement with an ideal, exemplary subject matter. Students should intensively study "the true, the beautiful and the good," that is, the three elements of the "Platonic triad," which was highly popular amongst classical humanists.[20] As the only "aspirations worthy of a human being" were those

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[17] F.I. Niethammer, *Der Streit des Humanismus und Philanthropinismus in der Theorie des Erziehungsunterrichts unserer Zeit* (Jena, 1808). The term ‚humanistic' (*humanistisch*) was already known slighty earlier. See e.g. J.H. Heumann, *Über den Werth der humanistischen Wissenschaften zur Bildung der Jugend, und der dahin führenden Lehrmethode* (1779)**;** *Humanistisches Magazin zur gemeinnützlichen Unterhaltung und insonderheit in Beziehung auf akademische Studien* (5 vol. (1787-1794)). See also Nicolai (1784: 677) and Gedike (1789, I: 24). The term "*Philanthropinismus*" was derived from the so-called "*Philantropine*," experimental schools founded in the 1770s and 1780s. On these schools, see the introduction to part II, Section 2.

[18] Above all by the publication of Georg Voigt's *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums, oder das erste Jahrhundert des Humanismus* (1859).

[19] Up to the mid-century, the term ‚humanism' was mostly used as a *polemical* tool, either to defend classical education against opposing currents such as 'philantropinism,' or 'realism' (e.g. Niethammer), or to criticise it in favour of alternatives (see e.g. Klumpp (1829f.); Otto (1831)). Precisely this polemical dimension explains why the term 'humanism' was only rarely used in the first half of the 19th century, when agreement on the right way to achieve *Humanität* was still remarkably broad.

[20] *VS* (1817 (I): 3); cf. *VS* (1817 (II): 35f.), where Siebelis defined studying as the "pursuit, arising from deep within [us], of understanding and knowing all that is true, good and beautiful." Cf. (1821: 8): "The study of classical literature, occupying our soul with what is true, beautiful and good, lays equal claim to its (i.e. the soul's) three major faculties, (...)

based on "truth, beauty and morality," humane education should focus exclusively on what was intellectually, aesthetically and morally *exemplary*.

2.iii. The classics

Like most humanists, Siebelis was of the opinion that "the true, the beautiful and the good" had never been more perfectly represented "than in the writings of the ancient Greek and Roman classics."[21] According to Siebelis, the ancient Greek and Roman authors were called 'classics' in the proper sense of the word "because, being endowed with excellent intellectual and moral gifts, they possessed a cultured taste for the true, the beautiful and the good, which they preserved in their writings."[22] Therefore, there was no better means to the "advancement of humanness" than to embark on an intensive spiritual dialogue with the great writers of classical antiquity.[23]

It seems never to have occurred to Siebelis that "the true, the beautiful and the good" might also be studied in anything else than classical literature. It is a revealing fact that under his rectorship, German literature was never taught as a separate subject, not to mention French or English literature. Throughout his life, Siebelis adhered to the distinctly traditional view that where it came to education, the Greek and Roman classics were the only kind of literature truly worth studying.[24]

2.iv. Intellectual education

Siebelis laid his beloved Platonic triad at the foundation of his analysis of the individual educational benefits of the study of classical literature. Firstly, classical studies were of eminent importance as a "means to excite, cultivate and exercise the intellectual faculties of the human mind: comprehension (*Verstand*),

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thereby bringing it into closer communion with that [classical] spirit, which is the purest mirror of truth, the most comprehensive epitome of beauty, the ultimate source of all good." Cf. *SZ* (1837: ix).

[21] *VS* (1817 (I): 3).

[22] *VS* (1817 (I): 3f.).

[23] *VS* (1817 (I): 4).

[24] The lack of education in German literature was compensated by the fact that many students included German literature in their domestic readings. Moreover, a school library and a student-run reading club (*Leseverein*) contributed to the study of German literature. See Ameis (1845: 32-4).

judgment and reason, wit and acumen, the faculty of divination and memory."[25] The study of classical literature stirred the human mind in so many different ways that Siebelis considered it eminently suited to the "harmonious refinement of our human nature."[26]

2.v. Aesthetic education

Besides its intellectual benefit, Siebelis expected classical education to serve an aesthetic purpose. Above all he admired the classical world for a quality, rarely recognised today, but widely celebrated at the time as the pre-eminent forte of classical civilisation: perfect form. In Siebelis' view, no other people had climbed to such heights "in the art of sensualising (*versinnlichen*) thoughts," that is, in the art of "representing (*darstellen*) beautiful thoughts lively and vividly."[27] It was

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[25] *VS* (1817 (I): 4). Cf. *VS* (1817 (II): 40), where Siebelis described the "main goal" of classical education as "exciting, cultivating and strengthening the faculties of the mind, so that it frees itself of its awkwardness, acquires the required agility and is enabled to make free use of its powers and knowledge."

[26] *VS* (1817 (I): 4, 7). This intellectual argument in favour of classical education was known at the time as the argument of *formale Bildung*. For this concept, see below, section II.2.1.3.

[27] *VS* (1817 (I): 7, 23) – '*Darstellung*' is an interesting term that could best be translated periphrastically as 'to transmit into palpable and appropriate forms.' (For want of an English equivalent, it must remain untranslated.) Humanists like Siebelis admired the ancients, not just for their ideas and moral values, but above all for having transmitted them in an unrivalled idiom of appropriate forms. The term *Darstellung*, or *schöne Darstellung*, pervaded literature on classical education throughout the period 1770-1860. It also figured prominently in the lemmata relating to classical education in the *Enzyklopädie des gesammten Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswesens*, edited by K. Schmid from 1859 to 1878. A. Hauber (1859: 677), in the lemma *Bildung*, stated that more important than the formal educational value of classical literature was the fact that ancient culture excelled in "shaping" (*Ausgestaltung*), that in the ancient works of literature "the human has emerged from the depths" and "the bottom of the spirit and the heart (...) has entered into clear forms. That is what is really formative (*das real Bildende*) about [learning] classics for young people – the plastic forms of a beautiful humanness." K. Schmid (I, 1859: 834), in the lemma *Composition*, wrote that by education in verse composition, students learned "to know the higher laws of *Darstellung* and to value the perfect form (*Formvollendung*) of a classical writer." Schmid therefore described classical education as a "practical course in aesthetics." For other references to the educational importance of classical *Darstellung*, see e.g. Pauly (I, 1785: 189-201); Rizhaub (1791: 454-8); Barby (1805: 22); Humboldt (18??, in 2002: 66); Hegel (1809, in 2008: 318); Rauchenstein (1825: 7-18); Weber (1831: 164f.); Richter (1849: *passim*); Herbst (1852: 148). For entire works devoted to illustrating classical literature's quality of *Darstellung*, see e.g. Snell, *Über frühe Bildung des*

because of their aesthetic accomplishments that Siebelis considered the classics pre-eminently suited to cultivate one's "sense of beauty."[28] With Johannes von Müller he valued the ancients as "prototypes of good taste."[29]

In Siebelis' teaching practice, this valuation of classical literature's aesthetic qualities came down to a predominant emphasis on the cultivation of stylistic and oratorical skills. One of the major benefits of classical education Siebelis considered the fact that it provided "examples after which one could refine one's [faculties of verbal] expression."[30] As classical literature contained "the best samples of each style of writing,"[31] there was no better means to perfect one's writing skills than by imitating the classical models. He also extensively used classical examples to train his students' oral proficiency.[32] In Siebelis' view,

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Geschmacks (1782); Borheck, *Magazin für die Erklärung der Griechen und Römer zum Gebrauche der Schullehrer* (1784-5); Nitsch, *Vorlesungen über die klassischen Dichter der Römer* (1792-3); Jenisch, *Vorlesungen über die Meisterwerke der griechischen Poesie* (1803); Fuhrmann, *Handbuch der classischen Literatur, oder Anleitung zur Kenntniss der griechischen und römischen classischen Schriftsteller, ihrer Schriften und der besten Ausgabe und Übersetzungen derselben* (1804-10); in many works, discussions of classical *Darstellung* had a place next to discussions of modern literature. See e.g. Dusch, *Briefe zur Bildung des Geschmacks* (1764-73); Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* (1771-4); Garve, *Sammlung einiger Abhandlungen aus der Neuen Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* (1779); Groddeck, *Über die Vergleichung der alten besonders griechischen mit der deutschen und neuern schönen Literatur* (1788); Hottinger, *Versuch einer Vergleichung der deutschen Dichter mit den Griechen und Römern* (1789); Dyk/Schatz, *Charaktere der vornehmsten Dichter aller Nationen*, (1792-1808); Schiller, *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* (1795); Delbrück, *Das Schöne* (1800).

[28] *VS* (1817 (I): 4).

[29] *VS* (1817 (IV): 102; cf. 97). Classical humanists often mentioned the cultivation of taste as one of the main objectives, if not *the* main objective, of classical education, esp. in the late 18th century. See e.g. Sulzer (1765: 10); Rollin (1770: 51f.); Große (in Res. *GVW* IV, I: 62); Res. (*GVW*, I: 18); Borheck (I, 1784: 5); Rehberg (1788: 261); Schulze (*BJ* 1788: 11); Gedike (1789, I: 297); Jenisch (1789: 36f.); Beyschlag (1792, III: 46); Schmieder (1797: vii-viii); Bergk (1799: 402); Koch (1800: 23); Weinzierl (1801: 17). In the *Archiv für ausübende Erziehungskunst*, Johann Purmann, headmaster of the Frankfurt *Gymnasium* from 1770 to 1806, devoted an article of over three hundred pages (!) to a minute description of classical education's contribution to cultivating taste (*AAE* IV (1778: 113-205); V (1779: 1-97); VI (1779: 56-175).

[30] *VS* (1817 (I): 12).

[31] *VS* (1817 (I): 28).

[32] For an account of the specific teaching methods Siebelis applied to achieve this goal, see below, section I.4.

true humanness could only come to full growth through the cultivation of what he considered one of man's defining characteristics: speech.[33]

The aesthetic value of classical education was of such eminent importance to Siebelis that the classical curriculum at the Bautzen *Gymnasium* was principally determined by aesthetic criteria. It only featured authors whose writings were considered excellent stylistic models, which precisely for that reason were worthy to be called "classical."[34] The large majority of works that

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[33] Also in this regard, Siebelis' ideal of classical education was emphatically traditional. The concept of speech as the essential hallmark of man was regularly expressed by Siebelis' idol Cicero, see e.g. *De oratore* 1.8.31-3: "Hoc enim uno praestamus vel maxime feris, quod colloquimur inter nos et quod exprimere dicendo sensa possumus." Cf. *De inventione* 1.4.5.

[34] Far into the 19th century, classical humanists preferably used the term "classical" in its original meaning of "perfect with regard to (literary) form." This was the only meaning known in the Renaissance, when the term was invariably used with respect to the great stylists from Greek and Roman antiquity (a use that itself goes back to Aulus Gellius (*Noct. Att*. XIX, 8, 15). From the late 18th century onwards, the meaning of the term "classical" gradually expanded, so that it could be used to refer to "anything that relates to the ancients in general" (e.g. 'classical art,' 'the classical hexametre,' 'classical antiquity,' see Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (vol. V, 1873: 1006)). Afterwards, the 'classical' further flattened to "excellent," or "exemplary." (See *ibid*.) We should realise, however, that the original, form-(and literature-)related sense of the word remained in use for a much longer time than is commonly assumed. In the 1792 edition of Johann Sulzer's famous *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, the lemma '*classisch'* was still subsumed under the heading '*redende Künste'* and defined as exclusively referring to writers who excelled by their stylistic qualities. (Sulzer (1792, I: 475)) This meaning remained alive well into the 19th century. Friedrich Creuzer (*Studien*, Vol. 1 (1805: 5)) defined classical literature as characterised by "regularity of form" and governed by "the eternal idea of beauty." In 1813, Karl Böttiger wrote in Joachim Campe's *Wörterbuch zur Erklärung und Verdeutschung der unserer Sprache aufgedrungenen fremden Ausdrücke*, that when using the word 'classical,' we "first and foremost think of linguistic accuracy and perfect style." As the new, broader meaning of 'excellent' could easily be expressed by other words, Böttiger proposed to translate the originally Roman word 'classical' into German as '*sprachrecht'* ('linguistically and stylistically accurate') (Campe (1813: 194)). In 1828, Friedrich Jacobs, in the entry ‚classisch' in Ersch' and Gruber's *Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste* wrote that the terms „classisch" and „Classicität" referred "in a higher sense" (i.e. higher than the general sense of "excellent") to those "products of the mind which distinguish themselves by beauty of form," by a "type of *Darstellung* (i.e., *literary* form), in which appropriateness, symmetry, harmony and correctness are united." (Ersch & Gruber I, 17 (1828: 384)) In 1838, Eduard Eyth, a professor at the seminary in Schönthal (modern day Baden-Württemberg), wrote that "beauty of form (...) is

Siebelis treated in class belonged to the three genres in which beauty of form was of central importance: poetry, oratory and historiography.[35] As a *Primaner*, Siebelis' student Ameis read Cicero (selected orations), Horace (*Epistulae* and *Carmina*), Vergil (*Georgics*), Juvenal (*Satires*); Sophocles (*Ajax* and *Electra*), Euripides (*Hecuba*), Homer and Theocritus (*Idylls*), all of which were unanimously agreed to be great stylists.[36] Historians were also read, but in *Prima* they were left to private reading.[37] One additional genre was moral philosophy, which Siebelis only deemed suited to education when the texts in question excelled not only by their content but also by their style. Hence he devoted much attention to the philosophical works of Cicero (*Disputationes Tusculanae*; *De finibus bonorum et malorum; De natura deorum; De officiis*).[38] Also Plato he considered suitable for young men because of the "magic of his language."[39] Works falling outside the curriculum were without exception works deemed to be of insufficient stylistic quality: philosophical texts without literary pretension (Aristotle);[40] literary works with a non-classical style (Silius Italicus, but also works of Tacitus (e.g. *De Oratoribus*) that heralded the "degeneration"

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the quality which gives the classics (i.e. Greek and Roman authors) their name and ensures their durable reputation in the circles of the educated." (Eyth (1838: 140)) – The prominent importance of the form- (and literature-)related meaning of the term 'classical' is often overlooked in scholarship. For instance, historical accounts of the concept of 'the classical' (e.g. Burger (1972), Shankman (1994) and Setti (2006)) hardly pay any attention to it.

[35] Like most classical humanists, Siebelis considered historiography a primarily *literary* genre. In his view, the art of historiography consisted, not of "going through many governments in little time," but of giving an "accurate *Darstellung* of everything that is useful to people and states." *VS* (1817 (IV): 104). – This inclusion of historiography into the literary genres was distinctly traditional. It was common, not only in the Renaissance, but also in the late 18th century, when poetry, oratory and historiography were often grouped together under the interesting heading of '*darstellende Künste*' (as opposed to mimetic arts (*mimetische Künste*)), that is, the literary arts that centre on perfect form (roughly corresponding with what is better known as the *belles-lettres*).

[36] Ameis (1845: 71f.).

[37] They were treated in class only at lower grades. See Ameis (1845: 71f.).

[38] Ameis (1845: 71f.).

[39] *VS* (1817 (IV): 111).

[40] *VS* (1817 (IV): 111).

(*Ausartung*) of the classical style);[41] and all other texts that did not claim literary quality, such as scientific or technical texts.[42]

2.vi. Moral education

To serve the third part of the Platonic triad, Siebelis strongly recommended classical education on ethical grounds. In his view, Greek and Roman literature were "rich storehouses of lessons of wisdom and virtue."[43] In *Stimmen aus den Zeiten der alten griechischen und römischen Klassikern* (1837), he went at great length to discuss the various virtues which he considered the fruit of intensive classical study: curiosity (3-11), piety (15-19), decency and moderation (19-25), justice (25-31), prudence, (31f.), bravery (32-7), and a lofty, noble way of thinking (38-42). He underlined the importance of these virtues with numerous quotations from classical authors, mostly from Cicero and Plato, but also from many others, such as Lucrece, Horace, Vergil, Pliny, Seneca, Quintilian, Homer, Aeschylus, Xenophon, Herodotus, Demosthenes, Theocritus, Plutarch, Lucian and Polybius. Emphasising the "exemplary aspect" of classical studies, Siebelis found that "the Greek and Roman classics (...) should influence our cast of mind and life."[44]

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[41] *VS* (1817 (IV): 118f.). Characteristically, Suetonius was only treated in a separate class devoted to 'antiquities' (*Alterthümer*) (Ameis (1845: 72) – For private reading, the norms of classicality were less strict. In the 1810s, private reading still included Claudian, Ausonius, Pomponius Mela, Justin and Minucius Felix. In the course of time, however, also the curriculum for private reading was increasingly subjected to classical standards (see Fleischer (1909: 274)).

[42] This aesthetic selection was typical for almost all late 18th and 19th century *Gymnasium* curricula. Besides the above mentioned authors, generally known as 'classical' were Caesar, Livy, Terence, Ovid, Seneca, Plautus, Tibullus, Propertius, Sallust, Quintilian and Pliny the Younger. For Greek: Aeschylus, Anakreon, Aristophanes, Herodotus, Xenophon and Thucydides. Discarded as non-classical, besides Silius Italicus, usually were Varro, Cato, Columella, Statius, Valerius Flaccus, Apuleius and Ammianus. For surveys of canonical authors, see e.g. Jenisch (1798: 267f.); Hübler (1800: 148); Schelle (1804: 7); Döderlein (1843: 258f.); Nägelsbach in Schmid I (1859: 803-7)). For the selection of philosophical texts on aesthetic grounds, cf. e.g. Purmann, *AAE* V (1779: 95); Jenisch (1798: 267-9).

[43] *AB* (1843: 32).

[44] *SZ* (1837: viii). – Even when rebuking students Siebelis liked to avail himself of classical *exempla*. When a student once tried to apologise for his absence with a feigned illness, Siebelis replied: "Socrates said: "I have no time to be sick."" (The reference must be to Plato, *Polit*. III, 406d.) (Ameis (1845: 21, see *ibid*. for more examples)).

With particular emphasis Siebelis taught students the importance of patriotism (*Vaterlandsliebe*), which he considered a "sacred feeling, which needs to be maintained and cultivated in young hearts with the most faithful care."[45] Substantiating its importance by addressing great classical *exempla*, such as Aristides, Epaminondas, Camillus and Cato, he aimed to incite in his students "love of [their] homeland and ancestral folk."[46]

Typically, Siebelis believed that the moral benefit of classical studies was intrinsically connected to its aesthetic benefit. To him, the ancients' highly developed sense of form had much to do with their strong patriotism and sense of public responsibility. Precisely because the ancients wrote "for the common good" and not, such as modern writers, "for *après-diners,*" they avoided "metaphysical language and abstract concepts."[47] Conversely, Siebelis expected a highly developed sense of form to exert a beneficial influence on morality. With Cicero he regarded the study of great literature as the "mother of [both] doing right and speaking well."[48]

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[45] Ameis (1845: 14).

[46] Ameis (1845: 14f.). – In his school address on the occasion of the jubilee of the Saxon king Friedrich August in 1818, Siebelis also lavishly advanced classical *exempla* of patriotism, e.g. king Kodros of Attika, Solon, Aristomenes, Aristides, Leonidas and Camillus (Siebelis (1818: 9f.); cf. Siebelis (1831: 7-9).

[47] *VS* (1817 (IV): 100, 103). Here, Siebelis quoted words by Johannes von Müller (1752-1809), a famous Swiss historian whom he greatly admired.

[48] Cic., *de Orat*. III, 15, see *VS* (1817 (I): 13). – The close relation between aesthetics and ethics, which was already central to Renaissance humanism (see e.g. Nauert (2006: 23f.)), was emphasised by many 18th and 19th century educationalists. Cf. e.g. Niemeyer (1805a): I, 154): "A human being in whose soul good taste" (explained as "sense of order, harmony" and "contempt of the disordered and ugly") "has been fully developed, is more moderate, pleasant and graceful in his way of thinking and acting than other people;" Snell (1782: 13): "Humanness and virtue have always been side effects of good taste;" *ibid*. 23: "A child, used to what is ugly and what is beautiful, to what is natural, moving and elevated, will be taught love of virtue and hate of slander and wicked deeds without much effort." Cf. Johann Sulzer (1786: ix), who described the aim of the fine arts (*schöne Künste*) as cultivating a "vivid sense of the beautiful and good and an aversion of the ugly and evil" (cf. Sulzer (1765: 6)). To Bergk (1799: 170), a person who did not love the „regularities" of the fine arts, was capable of "the lowest debauchery." Daniel Jenisch (1803: 88) regarded the mood effectuated by the contemplation of beauty in art (...), "equanimity, tranquillity [and] being at peace with oneself," as beneficial to morality. Friedrich Adolf Klien (1839: 22) wrote that "moral education has to do with (...) reawakening [people's] sense of the beautiful, the noble and the

Finally, it should be noted that Siebelis hardly ever made an essential value distinction between the Greeks and the Romans. Although approvingly quoting Johannes von Müller's words on the singular glory of the Greeks,[49] as far as the *educational* benefit of classical studies was concerned, he saw no reason to estimate the study of Roman literature even slightly lower than the study of Greek literature. Therefore, throughout his life, he advocated a traditional, Latin-dominated curriculum. His greatest idol, who took pride of place in his classes and whose sayings he never grew weary of quoting, was not a Greek, but a Roman author, who ever since Petrarch's days had been celebrated as the ultimate model of stylistic and moral excellence: Cicero.[50]

2.vii. Thoroughness

Apart from its intellectual, aesthetic and moral benefits, there was one overarching aspect of classical education that Siebelis mentioned time and again with great emphasis: the fact that, by its high degree of difficulty, it contributed to the virtue of *thoroughness*. To Siebelis, true humanness only came about when we "learn to understand something by hard work and effort, which does not automatically present itself to us. This is particularly the case with the ancient classics, and the fact that understanding them requires some effort, *that is chiefly what is so good about [them]* (*it*. original), apart from the fact that painfully-won knowledge of truth, beauty and goodness penetrates the mind more deeply than knowledge that was easily acquired."[51]

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sublime." Cf. Johann Göbbel (1852: 18): "He, in whom breathes the pleasure of classical perfection, is captured at the same time by distaste and abhorrence of everything skewed and impure, of everything distorted and exaggerated; his heart delights only in the equilibrium of morality, in the purity of innocence and in nobility of spirit." Cf. Rollin (1770: 46, 54); Delbrück (1800: 14-8); Hübler (1800: 135); Graser (1805, II: 159). On the relation between classical studies and serving the common good, cf. section II.2.1.4.

[49] *VS* (1817 (IV): 97). On Müller, see above, note 47.

[50] The large majority of classical humanists, although mostly willing to acknowledge the Greeks' superiority over the Romans in theory, did not deem this superiority relevant for educational purposes. See e.g. Fr. Gedike (1779: 159); Purmann (*AAE*, V (1779: 17f.)); Nösselt (1786: 148); Wolf (1835: 111); Jenisch (1798: 269); Degen (1802: 21); Schelle (1804: 70f.); Niemeyer (1805a, I: 470); Drobisch (1832: 34).

[51] *VS* (1817 (I): 12). On the importance of thorough learning, cf. *VS* (1817 (I): 24); *VS* (1817 (II): 37). Siebelis admiringly addressed the example of the famous French humanist Guillaume

Since it were above all the *formal* aspects of classical texts which granted them their high degree of difficulty, Siebelis believed that "precise knowledge" (*Genauwissen*[52]) of a text's formal structure was conditional to a thorough understanding. The most important form of textual explanation, therefore, was grammatical explanation, "without which each other [form of] explanation (whether aesthetic or philosophical) is unhappy chattering, an empty game with bubbles, and [without which] nobody will or can succeed to understand a writer in the proper way."[53] For the same reason, Siebelis rigorously disapproved of using translations (which "suppress thinking and inhibit the [student's] own effort") and was even opposed to the practice of annotating texts in school editions (as students must be "practically forced to think [for themselves]"[54]). In sum, Siebelis' ideal of humane education was emphatically an ideal of *learning*. He could not possibly conceive of 'humanness' if it was not to be intrinsically bound up with *studiousness*.[55]

2.viii. Anti-utilitarianism

A penultimate constitutive aspect of Siebelis' view of classical education was his conviction that the study of classical literature served, and should serve, a non-vocational purpose. Like most humanists, he held that "a mind nourished by this [classical] study will also better understand the *Bedarfswissenschaften* and apply

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Budé (1467-1540), who "usually worked twelve hours a day, and four [hours] only on his wedding day." (*VS* (1817 (II): 50).

[52] *VS* (1817 (I): 20).

[53] *VS* (1817 (II): 41; cf. I, 1809: 20, 23; *AB* (1843: 34)). In 1800, Siebelis produced a popular Greek textbook, called *Hellenika*, in which he united grammatical and historical education with the express purpose of avoiding that the latter would be conducted at the expense of the first. (See Siebelis (1800: iv-v)). The full title of this book was *Hellēnika seu Antiquissimae Graecorum historiae res insigniores usque ad primam Olympiadem cum geographicis descriptionibus e scriptoribus Graecis collegit, digessit et usui secundae classis scholarum accommodavit M. Car. Godofr. Siebelis*, 3 vol. (1800-3).

[54] *VS* (1817 (II): 41).

[55] Also in this respect, Siebelis' ideal of education was distinctly traditional. In classical Latin, *humanus* had, a.o., the specific meaning of 'learned.' (See e.g. Cic. *Part*. 90; *Fam*. 13.22.2; Aulus Gellius described *humanitas* as *eruditio et institutio in bonas artes*. (*Noct*. *Att*., XIII, 15). '*Humanissimus vir'* was the usual Latin way to refer to a scholar (see e.g. Cic. *de Orat*. 2.3). This specific shade of meaning was also of vital importance to Renaissance humanism. See Giustiniani (1985: 168).

them more skilfully and productively than he who, without having first awakened the prudent human being within him, restricts himself to a skilled profession (*bürgerliches Fach*)."[56] Therefore it was Siebelis' express purpose to keep classical education entirely remote from vocational considerations.

This emphasis on the classics' general (i.e. humane) educational potential also explains Siebelis' ambivalent stance towards academic philology. Although he never stopped producing philological work himself and even acquired fame with some of his publications, he was of the opinion that academic philology derived its ultimate justification from the classics' educational value. He saw himself first and foremost as a school teacher, whose primary concern were the seventeen hours of classical education he delivered in *Prima* each week.[57] Sometimes he even derogated his own philological writings, describing them as "rather the product of (...) collecting zeal" than of "acumen and a creative mind."[58] So convinced was he of the classics' educational value that in the year of his death, he "thank(ed) God that he had let [him] become a practical teacher (*praktischer Schulmann*) and that [he] had not followed [an older colleague's] advice to pursue a habilitation."[59]

2.ix. Enthusiasm

Last, but not least, Siebelis' ideal of classical education was animated by a lofty, almost religious admiration for classical civilisation in general and classical literature in particular. Throughout his life, he remained in the grip of "a fiery, passionate love" for the Greek and Roman classics, which made him feel that he could only truly "live in [classical] literature."[60] His task as a school teacher he regarded as nothing short of a sacred mission. Wishing to bestow humanness on young men "entering the forecourts of the temple of science,"[61] he estimated "the

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[56] *VS* (1817 (I): 9); cf. Siebelis (1807: 6-8).

[57] See Ameis (1845: 60).

[58] *AB* (1843: 54; cf. *ibid*. 40, 51).

[59] *AB* (1843: 19). Ameis (1845: 8) spoke of the "practical tendency of [Siebelis'] entire nature."

[60] *VS* (1817 (II): 36). Siebelis approvingly quoted Cicero (*Epp. ad Fam*. IX, 26): *aut possem vivere nisi in litteris viverem?*

[61] *AB* (1843: 36).

honour of his school, the moral well-being and scientific progress of his pupils above anything else."[62]

Siebelis' exalted enthusiasm also permeated his teaching. According to Karl Ameis, in Siebelis' classes "imagination and feeling played an essential role,"[63] so that "a wonderful fragment of an old classic was never read without the bright flow of [Siebelis'] speech merging into the rapid oscillations of enthusiasm."[64] Siebelis' "utter devotion to the [classical] cause"[65] also emerged from the solemn celebrations of his birthday, when he addressed his students from the balcony of his official residence, summoning the best five in Latin to toast with him on "the enthusiasm for the profession."[66] When he finally retired after thirty-seven years of faithful service to classical education, he kept spending most of his spare time reading classical authors, alone as well as in the comforting company of students and ex-students.[67]

Yet, for all his passion, Siebelis was careful of losing control. Although being "imperturbably cheerful," his basic mood of "honest seriousness" was only very rarely broken by merriment.[68] Karl Ameis mentioned that in all the years he attended Siebelis' classes, he only heard him laugh heartily twice.[69]

The inexhaustible, high-minded enthusiasm which Siebelis exhibited as a classical school teacher is important to keep in mind as it preserves us from an over-analytical interpretation of his educational ideal. Siebelis' persuasion rooted in a deferential attitude towards what he saw as the awe-inspiring classical heritage. It was this basic sense of *reverence* which was the animating force

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[62] Words of Siebelis' student Robert Heller (1812-1871), quoted from Fiedler (2012: 97). In the 1807 school program, Siebelis described *Gymnasien* as "sacred breeding places (*heilige Pflanzgärten*) of humanness and religiosity." (Siebelis (1807: 3))

[63] Ameis (1845: 13).

[64] Ameis (1845: 13). Cf. *ibid*. 13: "When he therefore (...) came to characters such as Socrates, Aristides, Epaminondas, Camillus, Fabius Cunctator and similar ones, there was a rising movement at the lectern, his eyes brightened (...) and from the open brows of the enthusiastic teacher an ethereal beam shot through all susceptible minds, with which the eye speaks to the eye, the heart to the heart." Ameis (1845: 6) also noted that because of his overflowing enthusiasm, Siebelis often forgot the time and continued for fifteen minutes too long.

[65] Ameis (1845: 15).

[66] Ameis (1845: 78).

[67] *AB* (1843: 61f.)).

[68] Ameis (1845: 17f.).

[69] Ameis (1845: 18f.).

behind the individual arguments with which Siebelis defended classical education throughout his life. These arguments, for all their rational vigour, would ultimately not have made sense to him if he had not deeply cherished and considered genuinely worth investigating the literary legacy to which they referred. In the final analysis, then, Siebelis' ideal of education must be understood, not as a sum of rational arguments, but as an organic conglomerate of views jointly rooting in a heartfelt love of the Greek and Roman classics.[70]

3. The variety of classical humanism

The fact that classical humanists widely agreed on the core values of classical education did not prevent them from disagreeing in other respects. Siebelis' aversion to utilitarianism was so strong that he could hardly appreciate education in topics derived from or relating to the material rather than the spiritual world, such as natural history, geography or statistics. Such 'material' topics Siebelis did not expect to have a stimulating effect on the human soul.[71] To him, they dealt with little more than "empty facts, which one gets to know the

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[70] Enthusiasm was very widespread amongst classics teachers and, in my view, is of pivotal importance in understanding the striking predominance of classical education throughout the period 1770-1860. During this time, hardly any defence of classical education was written in which the author, apart from furnishing analytical arguments, did not convey his genuine love for classical literature and humanistic education. As examples could be addressed *ad infinitum*, I restrict myself to providing one additional quotation from the man whom Siebelis repeatedly celebrated as the ideal classical school teacher, Friedrich Jacobs (1764-1847). In his 1807 inaugural speech at the Munich *Gymnasium*, Jacobs addressed his pupils in words that perfectly illustrate the elevated sense with which he fulfilled his task as a classical school teacher: "Where could the mind be raised by happier expectations, than in a circle of young people devoted to the sciences by their own impulse (...), filling their mind with the noblest sentiments and collecting such treasures as the fortune and prosperity of the fatherland needs; in the circle of young people who, at the altars of science and wisdom, fulfil themselves with the feelings of a pure and noble patriotism, (...) with the desire to expand and cultivate the realm of beauty." Their classical school, Jacobs proclaimed, would form a "bunch of lively forces, tending with selfless love to a common centre of the best and noblest; emulation without envy; freedom combined with order; love without jealousy; in one word, an association of humanness, in which science and wisdom are entwined by the graces of love, charm and beauty." (Jacobs (1823: 104, 106f.))

[71] ‚Material' topics were more commonly known as '*real*-topics' (*Realfächer*, *Realia* or *Realien*). For this term, see the introduction to Part II, Section 2.

moment one needs them."[72] At the Bautzen *Gymnasium*, geography, natural history and technological subjects were therefore credited only a few hours a week and were concentrated in the school's lower grades.[73] In *Prima*, the only topics left besides the classics and religion were history (two hours) and mathematics (two hours).[74]

However, although such scepticism towards 'material' topics was widespread amongst classical humanists, appreciating them was not *principally* incompatible with a humanistic perspective on education. Unlike Siebelis and others like him, some humanists were convinced that a modern *Gymnasium* curriculum should contain both 'spiritual' and 'material' topics. Ludwig Gedike (1760-1838), for example, Siebelis' predecessor at the Bautzen *Gymnasium*, had a markedly positive opinion of the latter. Not only did he actively advocate the transformation of some neighbouring Latin schools into *Bürgerschulen*, he also introduced subjects at the Bautzen *Gymnasium* which had never been part of the curriculum before, such as natural history, physics and drawing. In 1803, he even withdrew from the Bautzen *Gymnasium* to become director of the *Bürgerschule* in Leipzig.[75] That nonetheless he was a classical humanist in the full sense of the

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[72] Words quoted from Johannes von Müller. (*VS* (1817 (I): 11)) Throughout his life, Siebelis kept opposing "Dame usefulness" (*Die Nützlichkeitsdame*) whom he saw gaining ever more ground, see Ameis (1845: 73). Siebelis spoke of his time as „an age when one estimates the value of people in terms of money, just as in America, [an age when] the mechanical engineering and the gold-making depresses people's spirit (*Geist*) and the sciences enter into the service of politics and trade." (*SZ* (1837: vii-viii).

[73] The lowest grades had the double function of *Progymnasium* and *Bürgerschule* (see Siebelis (1807: 4), as was the case at most *Gymnasien*. The topics at the two lowest grades were 1) religion, 2) Latin (two hours a day, obligatory for all pupils, including those who would not pursue academic careers), 3) Greek (two hours a week, obligatory for all pupils except for future merchants, simple craftsmen and farmers (see Siebelis (1807: 8)), 4) history, 5) geography, 6) calligraphy, 7) orthography, 8) arithmetic, 9) exercises in German style and declamation, 10) technology and 11) natural history. For a detailed account of the lowest grades of the Bautzen *Gymnasium*, see Siebelis, *Einige Worte über die beyden untern Classen des Bauzner Gymnasiums* (1807).

[74] Ameis (1845: 32). In his school address on the occasion of the inauguration of a new conrector in 1825, Siebelis complained about the popularity of "additional classes" (*Nebenunterricht*) in subjects such as French, Italian, English, astronomy, drawing, singing, etc., which in his view greatly distracted students from classical education. (Siebelis 1825: 9-11).

[75] See Needon (1927: 54, 56).

word, is unmistakable on reading his views on classical education. In *De finibus, institutioni iuventutis in studio scholastico et academico rite assignandis, commentatio brevis*, the program text of 1792, he sang the praises of classical studies in the most lyrical tones, touching upon most constitutive aspects of classical humanism just reviewed, including anti-utilitarianism.[76] Gedike's belief in the importance of 'material' topics, then, did not detract from his basically humanistic view on education.

A second conviction most classical humanists in the period 1770-1860 shared was that classical education was very well compatible with Christian faith. Siebelis, himself of Lutheran confession, was strongly opposed to the idea, cropping up with increasing frequency in the course of the early 19th century, that the predominance of classical education adversely influenced Christian morality.[77] He found that there was "no higher principle of humanness (*Humanität*) than pure, merry religiosity, free of superstition, that is, knowledge of, reliance on and love of the highest."[78] In various writings, Siebelis attempted to illuminate the harmonious relationship between classical humanism and Christianity. In *Stimmen aus den Zeiten der alten griechischen und römischen Classiker* (1837), he substantiated the importance of acknowledging our dependence on God and of piety with an extensive list of quotations drawn from classical literature.[79] In his *Disputationes quinque*, published in the same year, he went to great length to show that the God of classical antiquity corresponded in essential respects with the God of Christianity.[80] In the school program of 1821, he

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[76] Gedike (1792: 8) described students' tendency to study "useful" subjects as a "sad condition, unworthy the nature of man," which could be counteracted by focusing on "the Greek and Latin Muses."

[77] For the debates on this issue, see below, Part II, Section 3.

[78] Quoting Johannes von Müller, *VS* (1817 (II): 54).

[79] *SZ* (1837: 15-9). The quotations were drawn from authors as diverse as Seneca, Plato, Cicero, Xenophon, Apuleius, Herodotus, Juvenal and Stobaeus.

[80] In the first part (*DQ* (1837: 13-35), Siebelis showed that ancient writers fully recognised the existence of God (or of Gods); in the second part (35-59) he illustrated that the ancients believed God to be eternal, spiritual, omnipresent, omnipotent, omniscient, benevolent, wise, just, blessed, indispensable and worthy of imitation; in the third part (60-105), he explained that the ancients thought that a wise, providential God could be known from his "divine works" of creation (*creatio*), preservation (*conservatio*) and world-government (*gubernatio*); in the fourth part (105-53) Siebelis discussed the dutifulness and piety with which the ancients honoured their gods; in the fifth part (154-96) he showed that the moral principles set out in

described the *Gymnasium* as a "temple of God's Spirit" where "as servants of Christ we must do with all our heart and with good intentions the will of God."[81] Not only did he consider religious education a "main subject" next to the classics,[82] but he even found that religious education was best offered by classics teachers.[83] Teaching both subjects himself all his life, he was asked by the town magistrate to confirm in person those students who had attended his confirmation classes.[84]

Although the large majority of humanists believed that classical education rather contributed to Christian faith than detracted from it, some humanists were not so sure about this. Friedrich August Wolf (1754-1824), for example, largely refrained from comments on the relationship between classical education and Christian faith and due to some other statements in his writings even acquired the reputation of being a kind of disguised heathen.[85] A classical humanist like Eduard Eyth (1809-1884), on the contrary, teacher of classics in Württemberg, was seriously worried that a surplus of classical humanism would harm the Christian religiosity of normal people, which is why he advocated a considerable extension of religious education. Despite their divergent views on the relationship between humanism and Christianity, however, both Wolf and Eyth were classical humanists in the full sense of the word. As we shall see later, they both fully shared the nine constitutive views that have been outlined above.[86]

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classical literature were consistent with Christian values. In 1842, Siebelis even further elaborated his argument in the *Additamenta ad disputationes quinque* (1842). Cf. (1821: 9-13). See also *Die Bibel, die beste Grundlage der Erziehung unsere Kinder* (1817).

[81] Siebelis (1821: 25, 27).

[82] Siebelis (1807: 10). – The New Testament, despite its non-classical style, never disappeared from the curriculum of the Bautzen *Gymnasium* (see Siebelis (1838: 3)).

[83] *AB* (1843: 33).

[84] *AB* (1843: 44). As a theologian, Siebelis was entitled to do so. (Needon (1927: 64)) – Religion also played an obvious role in school life. Prior to the speech with which Siebelis welcomed the new conrector in 1825, the assembled crowd sang the following poem: *Dir, dir, du Höchster, will ich singen / Wer ist an Huld und Macht so reich wie du? / Vor dich will ich mein Flehen bringen / Erhörer des Gebets, wer hilft wie du? / Durch Jesum kenn' ich dich; darf dir vertraun / Wer dir vertraut soll deine Hülfe schaun*. (Siebelis (1825: 35))

[85] For an evaluation of this view, see section II.3.1.3.

[86] On Wolf, see section II.1.1.5-8, on Eyth, see section II.3.2.4.i.

Thirdly, there was a distinct tendency amongst classical humanists to conceive of education as principally separate from political issues. Most classics teachers spent their days in the relative seclusion of a local school community without ever engaging in political controversies. In Siebelis' view, politics fell entirely outside the scope of *Gymnasium* education. "Neither Jesus nor Socrates," he wrote, "dealt with politics; their job was to teach people about God and divine things, about their destination and responsibilities." How could *Gymnasium* teachers therefore "desecrate the sanctity of their profession by worthless political chatter?"[87] Calling the state "a divine institution," Siebelis held that "everyone should subject himself to the authorities (*Obrigkeit*), since they are ordained by God."[88] Siebelis himself "consciously passed various opportunities to write, in order not to sin against the strict commandment: "see to it as a leader (*Vorgesetzter*, i.e. when holding a prominent position in society) "that what belongs to the state does not suffer damage.""[89] Teaching, Siebelis argued, was a "silent profession,"[90] which should be guided by the principle: "Fear the Lord and the King, and do not mingle with the rebellious."[91]

According to this principle, Siebelis' comments on Saxon state policy remained remarkably scarce. Once he approvingly quoted Johannes von Müller's words that the study of classical literature, although imbued with a republican ethics of virtue, was easily compatible with a monarchical state.[92] In general,

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[87] Siebelis (1821: 15). Cf. *ibid*. 16: Students should not be led away "from the pure and charming sources of light and knowledge, of joy and gladness, of excitement and enthusiasm into the Lybian deserts (*Sandwüsten*) of politics." In an article commemorating the 90th anniversary of Siebelis' death, Otto Flössel addressed the following quote by Siebelis: "A people falls from its national innocence once it begins not only to observe the moves of its government, but also to look for change in unjust and crooked ways. That is its fall (*Sündenfall*)." (See *Heimatklänge. Organ der Gesellschaft für Lausitzer Schrifttum*, no. 31, Saturday 5. August 1933 (unpaginated))

[88] Siebelis (1818: 5).

[89] *AB* (1843: 55).

[90] Siebelis (1821: 17).

[91] Siebelis (1821: 16).

[92] *VS* (1817 (IV): 104). – This view was widely shared amongst educationalists. Philipp Lieberkühn (1782: 23) contended that a school teacher, in order to become a "happy subject (*glücklicher Unterthan*) of the Prussian monarchy," should not only know the constitution of Rome, Athens and Sparta, but also of his own country; Ferdinand Delbrück (1796: 108f.)

however, he kept himself decidedly aloof. His only comment on the quartering of French and Russian troops in the Bautzen *Gymnasium* and his personal residence during the 'Battle of Bautzen' (1813) was that it annoyingly interrupted school routine.[93] He contacted the Saxon king a few times, but only to request money for the *Gymnasium* or approval for a school plan.[94] Since to Siebelis the best place at which to work was a place "about which the newspapers had least to say,"[95] he personally saw to it that the annual school reports of the Bautzen *Gymnasium* did not grow too long and were only a kind of appendices to the treatise they opened with.[96] Also the fact that he left many school addresses unpublished (e.g. on the occasion of translocations, confirmations, graduations, etc.[97]) illustrates Siebelis' inclination to shun publicity.

Consistent with his restraint in political matters was Siebelis' reluctance to look upon the *Gymnasium* as an instrument of social change. Although basically considering classical education the best preparatory schooling for future students and non-students alike,[98] in practice he focused exclusively on the *Gelehrtenstand*, which he aimed to supply with "worthy members."[99] Like many other humanists, Siebelis was worried about the overcrowding of the classical schools, which he hoped to reduce by not leaving vocational choices to

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contended that apart from "republican virtues" such as courage and mental greatness, one should cultivate "monarchical virtues" such as devotion to rank and dignified obedience.

[93] *AB* (1843: 29). During this battle on May 21st/22nd 1813, Napoleon succeeded in pushing back a Russian/Prussian army.

[94] *AB* (1843: 30f.; 32).

[95] *AB* (1843: 38).

[96] Ameis (1845: 54). Besides the opening treatise, school reports regularly included an overview of education of the past year; a report on changes in the teachers' corpus; a survey of the number, names, hometowns, and class of pupils; a survey of pupils who had left school or graduated; a survey of text books; and the program of the public examinations. During Siebelis' rectorate, however, the school reports were of a substantially smaller scope, only containing surveys of the pupils leaving school and of the programs of the *Mättigsche Gedächtnißactus* (see below, section I.4.ii) and public examinations. Siebelis and his colleagues did rarely include information on the education of the past year, which they recorded instead on hand written sheets that were never published. (These sheets are preserved in the Bautzen city archive).

[97] See *AB* (1843: 54).

[98] *VS* (1817 (I): 9)); cf. Siebelis (1807: 6-8).

[99] *VS* (1817 (II): 36).

children themselves.[100] "True enlightenment" (*wahre Aufklärung*), he wrote, was "rather the state in which every member of civil society thinks and judges correctly in all matters which must be important in his professional sphere, and in which each man has the knowledge necessary for his profession, whereby he is enabled to become within his circumstances a good, useful, content and happy man."[101]

Although the large majority of classical humanists were as restrained as Siebelis in political and social matters, some humanists actively participated in politics. The most famous example is Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835), who from 1809 onwards was in charge of the Prussian educational reform that aimed at nothing less than effectuating by humanistic education the spiritual elevation of the Prussian people, needed to compensate for the loss of external power suffered by the defeat against Napoleon in 1806/7. One of the leading thoughts of Humboldt's reform proposal was to spread classical education amongst such broad layers of society that even a simple carpenter would profit from the blessings of being educated in ancient Greek.[102] It should be realised, however, that Humboldt, for all his attempts to make classical education serviceable to political and social goals, wholeheartedly shared all the constitutive views of classical humanism that together make up its ideal type. Political commitment, in other words, could well be combined with a humanistic view on education.[103]

For a sound understanding of classical humanism it is worth realising that besides the core values discussed in the previous section, there was a broad range of values and ideas that offered ample scope for disagreement. We should take care not to narrowly equate classical humanism to the constitutive features that remained constant over time. In reality, classical humanism occurred in

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[100] *VS* (1817 (II): 36f.). Already in the late 18th century, the classical schools were attended by many students of deficient capacities, with the result that many poorly qualified students attended the German universities. For this problem, see section II.2.1.2.

[101] Siebelis (1831: 13). Cf. *ibid*. 13f.: "Knowledge of things which lay outside the circle of activities specifically assigned to him cannot enlarge the sum of his happiness, but can decrease it when he detracts from his profession a part of his time (...) and uses it for something alien [to his profession]."

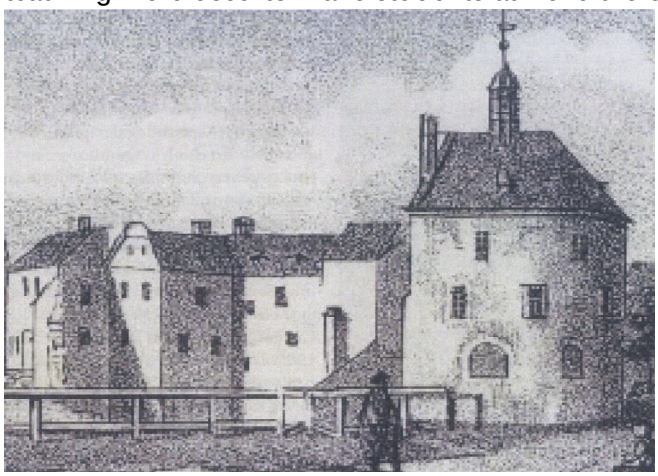
[102] For Humboldt, see below, section II.1.2.3-5.

[103] Other politically active educationalists adhering to the constitutive views of classical humanism were e.g. Reinhold Bernhard Jachmann (1867-1843) and Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814). For Jachmann and Fichte, see section II.1.2.2.

many different forms and proved well able to conform to changing circumstances. To this characteristic adaptability I will return in the second part of this book.

4. Teaching practice

Let us now investigate how 'ideal type' classical humanism as discussed in the previous sections related to educational practice. Which ways and methods of teaching were used to make students achieve the desired goals? At the Bautzen *Gymnasium*, as at all German *Gymnasien* of the time, classical education was divided into a receptive, philological and a productive, oratorical component. On the one hand, students intensively studied classical texts, not only to understand them as well as possible, but also to grasp their aesthetic and moral value. On the other hand, they were expected to apply classical standards themselves, in both written and spoken Latin, and to a lesser extent Greek, productions.



The old *Gymnasium* at the Bautzen corn market (until 1868; lithography ca. 1840)

4.i. Explaining the classics

Like all humanists, Siebelis described the philological side of classical education as 'explaining' (*erklären*) the classics.[104] This process of explanation he divided

[104] See e.g. Siebelis (1807: 12); *AB* (1843: 51). – The concept of "*Erklärung*" was widespread long before leading German scholars such as Friedrich Schleiermacher, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Philip August Böckh and Gustav Droysen famously transformed the doctrine of interpretation into a general theory of understanding nowadays commonly known as "(modern) hermeneutics." The term "*erklären*" figured prominently in writings by classical humanists from the mid-18th century onwards, being mostly used in reference to classical texts. See for example I.J.G. Scheller's much-acclaimed *Anleitung die alten lateinischen Schriftsteller philologisch und kritisch zu erklären* (1783)); cf. A.C.B. Borheck's *Magazin für die*

into three different levels: grammatical, historical and spiritual (*geistige*) explanation.[105] Grammatical explanation in turn fell apart into verbal and syntactical explanation. The first included learning the properties of individual words: their spelling, their pronunciation, their inflection as well as their significance. Attention was paid not only to their common, but also to their original meaning.[106] Furthermore, Siebelis recommended precise distinctions between synonyms and awareness both of Latin idiom in general and the specific idiom of individual authors.[107]

Closely tied to verbal explanation was syntactical explanation, which was concerned with the use of tenses and modes, particles, elliptic and proverbial expressions and, in the case of poetry, dialects and metre. To elucidate obscure passages, Siebelis recommended careful analysis of a sentence's syntactical structure, a practice that was known as "construing" (*construiren*).[108]

Grammatical explanation was practiced intensively in the two lowest grades of the Bautzen *Gymnasium* and materialised in the following way.[109] Of the ten weekly (*i.e.* two daily) hours devoted to Latin at the two lowest grades, one entire hour was devoted to exercising the declinations and conjugations. Another hour was dedicated to translating German into Latin, while a third hour was devoted to grammatical exercises taken from Heinrich Esmarch's 1779

Erklärung der Griechen und Römer zum Gebrauch der Schullehrer (1784-5).) Precisely by its narrow focus on canonical texts, the concept of "*Erklärung*" as used by classical humanists distinctly differed from the concept of interpretation current in modern hermeneutics, which understands the interpretative process as including both verbal and non-verbal forms of communication. For a good discussion of modern hermeneutics, see K. Müller-Vollmer (ed.), *The Hermeneutics Reader. Texts of the German Tradition from the Enlightenment to the Present* (New York, 1994).

[105] *VS* (1817 (I): 17).

[106] Attention to "original" meanings was recommended by many classical humanists. I. Scheller (1735-1803), for example wrote that the word *egregius* should not only be memorised in its common meaning of "excellent" but also in its literal meaning "off the herd" (= *e-gregius*, from *ex* and *grex*, *gregis* = herd) (See Scheller (1783: 78.).) For many other examples, see *ibid*. 75-85.

[107] *VS* (1817 (I): 17f.).

[108] *VS* (1817 (I): 18-20).

[109] The following description is drawn from Siebelis' *Einige Worte über die beyden untern Classen des Bauzner Gymnasiums* (1807: 11f.). It should be remembered, however, that as the school's rector, Siebelis did not teach in the lowest grades himself.

adaption of Christoph Speccius' *Praxis Declinationum et Coniugationum* of 1655.[110] At the second lowest grade, a separate hour was devoted to the explanation of important grammatical rules. In the remaining hours, original Latin texts were read, both from Friedrich Gedike's *Lesebuch für die ersten Anfänger* (1782) and from Eutropius.[111] Expected to have prepared the assigned text at home, pupils were alternately asked to read a paragraph aloud, explicate its grammatical construction and to translate it into German, first literally, then more freely.[112] When the entire text had been treated in this way, all grammatical difficulties were extensively analysed and explained. Then, one pupil was asked to paraphrase in his own words the content of the text just discussed, so that the teacher could verify whether it had been properly understood. Finally, all pupils were required to produce a written German translation of the treated fragment at home.

A second level of explanation, which Siebelis captured under the generic name of "historical explanation," focused on what we nowadays would call 'contextual' subjects. To fully understand a classical text, it was necessary to

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[110] The other seven hours were spent on reading or *erklären*.

[111] For Gedike's *Lesebuch*, see section II.2.2.4.

[112] The method of 'construction,' which takes the grammatical structure of a sentence as a starting point, rather than the original, left-to-right word order, is a topic of major confusion in academic literature. The conventional view is that this typically *grammatical* method of explanation arose only in the 19th century (under the influence of scientific philology) and gradually *supplanted* the old method which aimed at direct understanding of classical texts and at active use of the Latin language. (See e.g. Luigi Miraglia, *Lingua Latina per se illustrata, Nova via Latine doceo*, *Guida per gl'insegnanti*, vol. I (Rome 1999: 1-20)). This view, however, is misconceived. Firstly, construction was already widely practiced long before the 19th century. Indeed, it was not until the late 18th century that the construction method met with serious criticism on the part of educators who blamed it for creating an unnecessary detour in the learning process. (See e.g. C. Etzler, *Beyträge zur Critik des Schulunterrichts*, part 4 (1800), cf. Siebelis (1807: 12).) Secondly, both at pre-19th century and at 19th century schools, construction was primarily intended for pupils in the *lower* grades, i.e. for pupils whose linguistic proficiency was insufficient to directly perceive the meaning of complex Latin and Greek phrases. At the *higher* grades, however, both before and during the 19th century, students were supposed to have acquired such mastery of the Latin language, passively as well as actively, that construction was something they hardly needed anymore. To advanced students, Siebelis therefore especially recommended construction in the case of "obscure passage(s)." (See Siebelis *VS* (1817 (I): 25)) Construction, in other words, as a typical method for the lower grades, did not at all *exclude* the natural, active use of Latin at the higher grades.

reflect on many aspects relating to political and literary history, mythology, geography, religion as well as so-called *Alterthümer* (antiquities).[113] In his own lessons, Siebelis only dwelled on such topics "insofar as it seemed necessary to clarify the meaning" of the texts.[114] Delving more deeply into them he left to the students' "private industry" (*Privatfleiß*), especially since at his time so many excellent textbooks on a wide range of contextual subjects were available.[115]

The last, highest level of explanation Siebelis called "spiritual understanding" (*geistiges Verständniß*).[116] Like many classical humanists, he considered it the ultimate goal of the explanatory process to "penetrate into the spirit" of classical authors by getting intimately familiar with their "individuality" and "peculiarity."[117] Apart from thorough philological

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[113] The term *Alterthümer* referred to the "constitution (*Staatsverfassung*), religion, institutions (*Einrichtungen*), morals and customs." (Schaaff (II, 1808: 3)) Siebelis (*VS* (1817 (I): 21f.)) divided them into "domestic tasks, commerce, industry, agriculture, household, customs and traditions."

[114] *AB* (1843: 51). – This tendency to stay as close to the text as possible is characteristic of many classical school teachers. According to Karl Ameis, Siebelis touched on topics such as rhetoric, poetics and logic so cursorily that they rather served to "stimulate curiosity than to properly impart knowledge." (Ameis (1845: 31f.))

[115] *VS* (1817 (II): 44). – The production of textbooks on non-textual aspects of classical antiquity increased spectacularly from the late 18th century onwards. Much acclaimed and often reprinted was Eschenburg's *Handbuch der klassischen Literatur* (1783). Sabbathier's *Dictionnaire pour l'Intelligence des Auteurs classiques Grecs et Latins* (1766ff.) was well known amongst German classicists and was largely copied by Bergsträßer in his *Realwörterbuch über die classischen Schriftsteller der Griechen und Lateiner* (1772-81); Cf. Barthélemy, *Reise des jungen Anacharsis durch Griechenland vierhundert Jahre vor der gewöhnlichen Zeitrechnung* (1792, translated from French); Schaaff's *Encyklopädie der klassischen Alterthumskunde* (1806) and various works on ancient antiquities by Paul Friedrich Achat Nitsch. Older works that long remained in use were Pitiscus, *Lexicon Antiquitatum Romanarum* (1713); Gesner, *Novus linguae et eruditionis Romanae Thesaurus* (1749). For more works, see Nösselt (1786: 142-6).

[116] *VS* (1817 (I): 22).

[117] *VS* (1817 (I): 22f.). – Manfred Beetz (1983) has interpreted this widely popular expression ('*in den Geist der Alten eindringen*') as arising from a historically unique alliance of aesthetics, hermeneutics and classical philology that emerged around 1800. The phrase, however, was already used earlier. Cf. e.g. Sulzer (1765: 31); Klotz (1766: 53-6); Rollin (1770: 53); Bolla (1774: 26); Westenrieder (1774: 3, 5f.); Nösselt (1786: 111); Wiedeburg (*HM* 1787: 31); Buhle (*BJ* 1788: 3); Degen (1792: 11); Reichel (1797: 159, 167); Koch (1800: 12); Weinzierl (1801: 6); Schelle (1804: xvi, 140); Graser (1805, II: 46).) In the 19th century, it preserved its popularity for many decades. In 1840, Ludolf Wienbarg observed that when classical philologists "admire

knowledge, this required "psychological insight:" only when one sympathetically put oneself in the position of the author in order to fully understand the particular choices he had made, one could ultimately succeed in capturing his spirit.[118]

Spiritual understanding could come about in several ways. One was to change the word order and metre of an ancient poem. When the fragment really possessed a "poetic spirit" (*poetischer Geist*), it would still be there after any such interference. Another method was rewriting a poetic text in prose. By comparing the prosaic and poetic version one would get deeper insight into the nature of the poetic spirit.[119]

Typically, Siebelis considered a deep, spiritual understanding of ancient texts only feasible once the process of grammatical and historical explanation had been successfully completed. Nothing was more repugnant to him than the "aesthetic and philosophical reasoning of those who use to subtilise (*vernünfteln*) and rant about the spirit and the beauties of prose or poetry without properly understanding their language."[120] Therefore, although recognising spiritual explanation as the highest form of understanding, in practice Siebelis was more than satisfied when students succeeded in properly understanding a text grammatically as well as historically.[121] Even in his own teaching, he appears to have predominantly restricted himself to these two basic levels of explanation.[122]

Another integral part of Siebelis' teaching was to point out the many positive, formal qualities accountable for the texts' classical status. "Wherever he could," he tried to make students aware of "the clarity, simplicity, and precision" characteristic of the classical style[123] and asked them to mark "beautiful,

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antiquity, they admire the spirit of antiquity, always only the spirit (...), which they consider to be the real source of all light, all greatness and beauty. The spirit of antiquity must be studied! That is the refrain of everything that comes from their eloquent lips." (Wienbarg (1840: 41f.).)

[118] *VS* (1817 (I): 22).

[119] *Ibid*. 23.

[120] *Ibid*. 23.

[121] *Ibid*. 22.

[122] In his autobiography, Siebelis wrote that "when he explained the ancient classics (...) he only asked [his students] what the author himself had to say, what kind of meaning we must ascribe to his words after [a] grammatical-historical interpretation." (*AB* (1843: 51))

[123] *AB* (1843: 51).

thoughtful passages."[124] The ultimate aim of the explanatory process, then, was not only to make students *understand* classical literature, but also to appreciate and admire its quality of form.[125]

Finally, Siebelis found that the process of "explaining" the classics could only bear fruit when two conditions were met. Firstly, students would only learn to truly love the classics when they would complement the fragmentary readings in class with sustained reading of classical literature at home. He required all *Primaner* to read by their own strength both a Greek and a Roman author and took ample time to lend a hand when they asked for help.[126] So convinced was Siebelis of the importance of domestic reading that he wholeheartedly agreed with an older colleague that the success of *Schulpforta* (Saxony), one of the best-reputed *Gymnasien* in the German-speaking world, was due "almost exclusively to the domestic industry of its pupils."[127]

Secondly, Siebelis believed that classical education could only be achieved if what had been learnt in class was repeated over and over again. In his own classes, he included daily, weekly, monthly as well as holiday-related

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[124] *VS* (1817 (I): 28). Cf. Ameis (1845: 8): "[Siebelis] had such a refined feeling for each form of oratorical and poetic beauty and he exhibited it in such a clear and convincing way that it did not fail to have a stimulating effect on the students."

[125] The importance of this normative dimension of classical education can hardly be overestimated and was emphasised by almost all classical humanists. According to A. Tamm (1767-1795), teacher at the city school of Muskau (Saxony), a student, by cultivating "his ability in discerning (...) what is beautiful and pleasant in respect of *Darstellung*," should come to draw "the highest degree of pleasure from [the author's] choice of subject, his structuring of ideas, his formulations and expressions." By "getting used to the classical" he would learn to "no longer tolerate the inferior." (Tamm (1984: 32f.)) Johann Purmann argued that the teacher should illustrate and clarify the beauty of a text in order to enable the student to orient his thoughts towards the classical models. In doing so, the teacher would regularly exclaim „O that is beautiful!" „This is an excellent passage!" „How appropriate is this thought!" (Purmann *AAE* V (1779: 28)). To I. Scheller (1770: 98-118), exposing and clarifying the beauty of classical literature was one of the constitutive aspects of the explanatory process; cf. Bergk (1799: 405). K. Nägelsbach (in Schmid I (1859: 802)) stated that "everything belonging to treating a [classical] author at school should aim at making the student notice that, when reading the ancients, he continuously resides in the realm of ideal beauty."

[126] On domestic reading of classical literature, see *VS* (1817 (I): 14ff.). Greek authors whom Siebelis proposed for domestic reading were Homer and Xenophon; Roman authors were Nepos, Caesar, Livy, Cicero, Terence, Vergil and Horace. (*VS* (1817 (I): 16))

[127] *VS* (1817 (IV): 94).

repetition sessions.[128] Furthermore, he required students to take extensive notes of almost everything that seemed worthy of being memorised.[129] These notes he encouraged them to arrange into clearly categorised *Collectanea* that had to be perused at least monthly.[130]

4.ii. Imitating the classics

The philological side of classical education was paralleled by an oratorical side. Late 18th and 19th century classical education aimed at an active command of the Latin language.[131] Students were educated to write and speak Latin fluently and, moreover, classically.[132] At the Bautzen *Gymnasium*, like at all German *Gymnasien*, Latin for a long time retained its traditional status as a language of *communication*. In *Prima*, *i.e.*, in the three highest year-classes of the *Gymnasium*, Siebelis consistently spoke Latin when explaining classical (both Latin and Greek) texts.[133] Since the classics occupied approximately half of the curriculum, the Bautzen *Gymnasium* at Siebelis' time might be reasonably said to have been a bilingual institution. Bilingualism is also apparent from the fact that about half of the writings that Siebelis included in the school reports which were distributed annually amongst the local citizenry to inform them about recent developments, were written in Latin.[134] Also at official gatherings, the bilingual character of the

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[128] *VS* (1817 (II): 43); on the importance of frequent repetitions, cf. Siebelis (1807: 12f.).

[129] E.g. notes on the meaning of words, syntax, metre, tropes and figures, syllable lengths, verse types, scansion rules, as well as on a variety of "historical" topics. See *VS* (1817 (I): 27f.).

[130] *VS* (1817 (I): 29f.).

[131] Full active command of Greek was not required, although Greek writing exercises were a regular part of *Gymnasium* curricula far into the 20th century.

[132] It goes without saying that this goal was not always achieved, which was often mentioned as a serious problem, see e.g. Clesca (1833: 2).

[133] *AB* (1843: 51); Ameis (1845; 6). Also the conrector, teaching in *Sekunda*, often spoke Latin. (Fleischer (1909: 273)) Siebelis' corrections and *iudicia* were in Latin, too: '*bene,*' '*partim bene*,' '*non male*,' '*non valde male*,' '*mediocriter*,' '*non satis diligenter*.' (See Ameis (1845: 11); Fleischer (1909: 274).) The same applied to his graduation testimonies, one of which (on Theodor Wilhelm Richter), dating from 1825, is preserved in the *Sondersammlung* of the Saxon State Library.

[134] The 1804 school program was still entirely drafted in Latin, a practice that soon fell into disuse. Of the thirty six program texts listed in the online catalogue and bibliography of school programs of the *Justus-Liebig-Universität* Giessen, nineteen (53%) were in Latin. Two texts were even in ancient Greek. The first was an elegy on the occasion of the return of

school clearly showed. When Siebelis applied for the rectorship of the Bautzen *Gymnasium*, he had to teach two trial classes, one in Latin (on a letter by Cicero) and one in German (on ancient mythology).[135] Shortly later, on the occasion of his inauguration, he produced a Latin invitation letter next to a German speech.[136]

Most importantly, however, Siebelis not only actively used the classical languages himself, but expected the same of his students. Firstly, they were obliged to submit monthly Latin- or Greek-written extracts (*Excerpte*) from the classical texts which they were required to read for themselves.[137] Secondly, each *Primaner* had to submit weekly Latin (and sometimes Greek) essays of a four-to-six-page length which Siebelis would elaborately correct at home with regard to "disposition, composition and expression."[138] Thirdly, Siebelis often prescribed exercises in Latin, and sometimes in Greek verse composition.[139] The latter practice was so widespread that students who violated school rules were obliged

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Friedrich August I to Saxony in 1815: Ἐν τῷ καθελθεῖν τὸν τῆς Σαξονίας βασιλέα Φρεδερικὸν Ἄυγουστον τὸν δίκαιον τὸν λαοτρόφον εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐλεγεῖον τοῦ ἐν Βουδίσσῃ γυμνασίου (1815). The second was an announcement of a festive ceremony on the occasion of the 300-year anniversary of the Reformation: Πανήγυριν ἦν τὸ ἐν Βουδίσσῃ γυμνάσιον διὰ τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐκκλησίας καὶ παιδείας τὴν πρὸ τριακοσίων ἐτῶν ἀρχομένην αὔριον ἐν τῷ τῆς πόλεως βουλευτηρίῳ ἄξει προεῖπε καὶ τοὺς βουλομένους τῶν ἐκεῖ δρωμένων μεταλαμβάνειν ἐκάλεσε τούτοις τοῖς ἐλέγοις Καρ. Γοδοφρ. Σιέβελις (1817). Both texts were printed together with a German translation. Of the total of fifty three works by Siebelis' own hand, which he listed at the end of his autobiography, twenty eight (53%) were in Latin (see *AB* (1843: 56-9)). – Generally, Siebelis used Latin when treating philological topics and German when treating educational topics or other topics of broader, public interest. However, there were exceptions. For example, there is a Latin text on how to treat mythology in school (1804) and a Latin text in memory of Christian Gottfried Müller, Siebelis' former colleague at the Stiftsschule in Zeitz (1824). Also Siebelis' 'Disputations' on the harmonious relation between classical education and Christianity were in Latin.

[135] *AB* (1843: 25).

[136] *AB* (1843: 27f.). The Bautzen *Gymnasium* remained a bilingual institution long after Siebelis' retirement. At the solemn inauguration of the new school building in 1867, for example, not only many Latin speeches and declamations were delivered by teachers as well as students, but even the menu at the festive dinner was entirely drafted in Latin. (See Needon (1927: 72).)

[137] Siebelis not only used these excerpts to verify whether his students had properly understood the texts' contents, but regarded them as useful writing exercises in their own right, see *VS* (1817 (I): 30f.).

[138] *AB* (1843: 53). According to Ameis (1845: 9), however, such Latin essays were submitted less frequently, only fifteen to sixteen times a year.

[139] *AB* (1843: 32); Fleischer (1909: 274).

to produce so-called "punitive disticha" (*Strafdistichen*), which were compiled in a special book.[140]

Since Siebelis, as rector of the school, only taught at the higher grades, his exercises in the active use of Latin and Greek were all clearly intended for advanced students. Yet at the Bautzen *Gymnasium*, as at most German *Gymnasien*, active writing exercises were part of the curriculum from the lowest grades onwards. Traditional beginners' exercises were those in 'composition:' translating German into Latin (or Greek).[141] Such exercises in 'composition' were generally known as *Exerzitien*, *Stilübungen*, or *Scripta*: concise German texts on a variety of themes (such as moral maxims, nature or mythology) were to be translated into Latin or Greek.[142]

Apart from Latin writing skills, Siebelis also strove to cultivate his students' oral proficiency.[143] Twice a year, each class was officially examined, once in front of the *Schulcollegium* and *Gymnasialcommission* (in late September),

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[140] Needon (1927: 70). Verse composition and Latin essay writing remained in use long after Siebelis' rectorship. The first was only substantially reduced by an official regulation of 1882, a fact that the then headmaster Kreussler highly deplored (*ibid*.). The Latin essay lost its status of an official requirement by a regulation of 1892, although the practice continued for some time. (*ibid*. 71)

[141] See Siebelis (1807: 11). 'Composition' was the counterpart of 'exposition' = translating Latin or Greek into German.

[142] Sometimes, the text was not submitted on paper, but dictated by the teacher: students had to 'pick it up' aurally (*excipiren*) and translate it extemporaneously, in which case the exercises were called *Extemporalien*, *Extemporaneen*, *Exceptionen* or *Subita*. (See the lemma *Composition* in Schmid's *Encyklopädie des gesammten Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswesens* (I, 1859: 803-8).) These were practiced with great frequency at the Bautzen *Gymnasium*, see e.g. Siebelis (1827: 10)). – Exercise books were published in great number from the late 18th century onwards, see e.g. Sintenis, *Versuch einer Practischen Anleitung zu Cicero's Schreibart* (1794); Schmieder, *Anleitung zur feineren Latinität in Übungen und Anmerkungen* (1797); *Hülfsbuch zu Stylübungen nach Cicero's Schreibart* (1805); Bauer, *Anleitung zum richtigen und guten Ausdruck in der lateinischen Sprache* (1798); Döring, *Anleitung zum Übersetzen aus dem Deutschen ins Lateinische* (1800ff.); Creuzer, *Deutsche Chrestomathie, Abschnitte Schulz, Vorübungen zum Übersetzen* (1802); Zumpt, *Aufgaben zum Uebersetzen aus dem Deutschen ins Lateinische* (1822). Besides these new productions, good handbooks of earlier date continued to be used, above all Scheller's acclaimed *Praecepta styli bene latini* (1779).

[143] For a general historical survey of the practice of speaking Latin in classical education, see Fritsch (1990: 6-60).

and once at a solemn public ceremony shortly before Easter.[144] At these public ceremonies, which lasted for several days and were presented in front of an audience consisting of the students' relatives as well as a variety of local dignitaries, oral graduation exams in Latin and Greek were invariably conducted in Latin.[145] Sometimes, other subjects, such as history, were examined in Latin as well.[146] Moreover, the examinations were interspersed with declamations and speeches delivered by a selected group of excelling students. Far into the 19th century, about half of these speeches were delivered in Latin.

At the Bautzen *Gymnasium*, the speeches and lectures were concentrated in the so-called *Mättigscher Gedächtnisactus*, a ceremony directly preceding or following the public examinations, held in reverent memory of Gregorius Mättig (1585-1650), a local scholar, politician and patron who established a foundation that at Siebelis' time still funded annual 'free places' (*Freistellen*) at the *Gymnasium*, intended for gifted children from disadvantaged families.[147] The majority of Latin speeches delivered on this occasion were on moral issues, e.g. "On the essential causes that should encourage the student to industry," or "On the art of winning affection from other people."[148] Very often they related to classical literature: e.g. "On Horace's words: dulce et decorum est pro patria mori" or "On the words of Xenocrates in Cicero: ita instituendos esse adolescentes, ut id sua sponte faciant, quod cogantur facere legibus."[149] Each year, the *Primaner* who had delivered the best piece of self-composed Latin prose or poetry was awarded the *Stipendium Siebelisianum*, which had been created for

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[144] See *AB* (1843: 42). On the *Schulcollegium* and the *Gymnasialcommission*, see below, section I.6. On public school examinations in general, see the lemma '*Schulprüfungen'* (by O. Frick) in Schmid (VIII, 1869: 193-205). Cf. W. Beschmann, 'Die öffentlichen Prüfungen,' in *ZGW* (1861: 545-52).

[145] This practice was only abolished by Karl Schubart, who directed the school from 1883 to 1895 (see Needon (1927: 71)).

[146] Needon (1927: 65).

[147] The foundation exists to the present day. See www.maettig-stiftung.de.

[148] See Siebelis (1805: 23).

[149] See Schubart, resp. (1863: 53) and (1864: 47). Cf. "On some advantages of the Greeks over modern people" (Siebelis (1807: 21)) or "On the origin of myths" (Siebelis (1805: 24)). Sometimes, there were even Latin speeches on technical subjects. In 1805, a student delivered a Latin speech in which he tried to show "that amongst the inventions of the last century, cowpox vaccination is unquestionably the most beneficial." (Siebelis 1805: 25)

this purpose in 1829.[150] Finally, students could exhibit their oral Latin proficiency at special occasions, such as at the annual official ceremony on the king's birthday. Moreover, at pivotal points in Siebelis' career, students and former students sometimes composed solemn Latin or Greek speeches or poems in which they expressed their gratitude for the headmaster's contribution to their education.[151] Also when leaving school, they bade farewell with a Latin valediction speech.[152]

Within the class room, too, there was ample opportunity to exercise one's oral Latin proficiency. In *Prima*, where classical education itself was conducted in Latin, Siebelis regularly organised so-called 'disputations' (*Disputationen*): first, he read aloud a thesis on which he asked a student to write a Latin disputation, that is, a short defence (or refutation). After Siebelis had examined it, he assigned three opponents to refute (or defend) the thesis that the disputant, being assisted by a so-called 'respondent,' was about to defend (or refute). The next day the students would dispute in Latin for an entire hour under the auspices of their teacher. Although the disputation proper was performed by the five appointed students, all class members were allowed to intervene. At the end, Siebelis evaluated their performances.[153] Also Latin and Greek declamations were a regular part of the curriculum and of examination programs.[154]

It is worthwhile to expatiate a little on this practice of disputing, since it reveals an often forgotten fact about 19th century classical education. In the 19th century, the practice of disputing had become much less common than it had been in the past. Disputations had been very regularly exercised in the 16th to 18th centuries at the *evangelische Ratsschule*, as the Bautzen *Gymnasium* was

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[150] The *Stipendium Siebelisianum* survived into the 20th century, see Needon (1927: 83).

[151] See e.g. the Latin poem in *Carolo Godofredo Siebelisio (...) gratulantur ejus quondam discipuli* (1829) and the Greek poem in *Diem tricesimum mensis ianuarii quo ante hos viginti quinque annos vir excellentissimus et clarissimus Carolus Godofredus Siebelis munus rectoris adiit pie gratulantur cives gymnasii Budissensis* (1829). At Siebelis' 25-year wedding anniversary in 1837, some friends and former students composed two Latin poems, his colleagues and present students two Greek poems.

[152] Fleischer (1909: 275).

[153] See *AB* (1843: 53f.). Disputations were still practiced long after Siebelis' retirement, for example by Otto Kreussler, who directed the school from 1871 to 1883. Latin speaking exercises were still recorded in the school report of 1910. At many German *Gymnasien*, the practice of speaking Latin only died out in the 1930s. See Fritsch (1990: 59).

[154] See the curricula printed in the school reports of 1827 and 1834.

traditionally called. Their function was to prepare students for university life, which centred on the practice of disputing.[155] By the 19th century, the importance of disputations in the academic world had radically decreased. However, we must keep in mind that disputations, which were nearly always conducted in Latin, remained a regular part of official academic occasions, such as inaugurations, throughout the century.[156] Beyond any doubt, Siebelis' disputing exercises at the Bautzen *Gymnasium* must be understood in the light of this ongoing academic practice.[157] The major emphasis Siebelis put on the cultivation of oratorical skills, then, should not *exclusively* be explained from the exalted, classical ideal of eloquence and virtue with which he defended it in his educational writings. It was additionally justified by the plain fact that far into the century, not being able to speak Latin fluently, or at least properly, came down to not being able to pursue an academic career.[158]

5. The persistence of classical humanism

Surveying this picture of 19th century classical education, we can hardly escape noticing that, both in its objectives and in practice, it was markedly traditional. The nine 'constitutive' aspects of classical humanism as they have been outlined above, were equally important to Siebelis as they had been to Renaissance

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[155] The underlying idea of this widespread practice was that as someone who aspired to an academic position should be able to defend his views against any potential criticism, he should be thoroughly versed in the art of highlighting subjects from different angles. The subject matter of disputations usually varied from grammar/philology to dialectic/rhetoric and physics/theology. For an extensive survey of subjects of disputations at Bautzen's old *evangelische Ratsschule*, see Schubart (I, 1863: 23-4). For a thorough discussion of disputations at the German universities from the 16th century onwards, see E. Horn, *Die Disputationen und Promotionen an den Deutschen Universitäten, vornehmlich seit dem 16. Jahrhundert* (1893).

[156] The first ever German disputation took place at the university of Breslau in 1845. See Meyer, *Conversations-Lexicon*, VII, 4 (1846: 876).

[157] After Siebelis' retirement, the practice was continued by his successors. As late as 1878, headmaster Kreussler still conducted exercises in disputing in *Prima*.

[158] Therefore, an obviously critical writer in J. Meyer's *Conversations-Lexicon* (VII, 4 (1846: 876)) maintained that when disputations from then on would be conducted in German, "the last reason would disappear, with which one can (...) defend the extensive, time-consuming exercises in writing and speaking Latin."

humanists.[159] Sharply aware of this continuity, Siebelis substantiated his position as easily by quoting great educationalists from the Renaissance as by quoting contemporary humanists. In his 1809 program text, for example, he quoted Muretus (1526-1585) to prove that classical education provided the best preparation even for the so-called *Bedarfswissenschaften*.[160] On the importance of learning grammar rules, he recommended Melanchthon's letters.[161] The importance of slow, intensive reading he underlined with a quotation from Coelius Secundus Curio (1503-1569).[162] To Martin Luther's ideas about classical school education he devoted even an entire essay.[163] Next to Renaissance educationalists, he lavishly quoted from both classical authors and contemporary humanists, often in the same footnote.[164] In other words, Siebelis expressly intended to continue the age-old tradition of humanistic learning. He characteristically stated that in setting out his views on how to conduct classical studies, he "did not presume to say anything new (...), but only intended to encourage the execution of and compliance with long-established and well-known ideas."[165] Nor did he see himself as 'looking back' on a bygone age of classical wisdom, and Muretus or Melanchthon as people defending classical

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[159] The only argument in favour of classical education that was unknown in the Renaissance in its specific 19th century form was that of 'intellectual' (or 'formal') education. As we will see in section II.2.1.3, however, this argument originated from an attempt to reemphasise in modern jargon the *traditional* view of humane education as an end in itself.

[160] *VS* (1817 (I): 9; cf. 26); cf. *ibid*. (1817 (II): 43). For Siebelis' admiration for Guillaume Budé, see above, note 51.

[161] *VS* (1817 (I): 21).

[162] *VS* (1817 (I): 26).

[163] *Einige Gedanken von Luther über die alten Sprachen und Klassiker, und über die Schulen und Städte, in welchen das Studium derselben betrieben und befördert werden soll* (1822).

[164] In *VS* (1817 (I): 25f.), for example, he addressed Seneca, Quintilian, Coelius Secundus Curio and Gottfried Benedikt Funcke (1734-1814) in the same footnote to underscore the importance of thoroughness. Contemporary humanists whose ideas Siebelis recommended were, a.o., Johann Sulzer (1720-1779), Daniel Hübler (1734-1805), Christian Garve (1742-1798), Friedrich Niethammer (1766-1848) and Karl Morgenstern (1770-1852). (See *VS* (1817 (I): 26).)

[165] *VS* (1817 (I): 15). It is probably because of this distinctly traditionalist view, that I have not been able to observe the slightest change in Siebelis' views on education from his first writings around 1800 to his last around 1840. In 1839, Friedrich Adolf Klien, president of the *Gymasialkommission,* praised Siebelis for having "worked tirelessly to ensure that [the] school maintained its old reputation" by remaining loyal to the age-old principle that "at a *Gymnasium*, classical education should be in the foreground." (Klien (1839: 13f.))

education from a distant past. All humanists who over the centuries had propagated and spread the study of the ancient classics he regarded as intimate, spiritual companions, no matter the gap of historical time between them. To Siebelis, they were all citizens of an enduring republic of letters founded on the timeless fundament of classical literature.[166]

Secondly, although Siebelis shared his time's enthusiasm for the ancient Greeks and spent much more time on Greek than had been common in the past, this did not effectuate a significant change of the pursued educational ideal. The increased attention to Greek was incorporated into the traditional, classical-humanistic ideal of education. In Siebelis' view, *Humanität* could equally well be achieved by the study of Greek as by the study of Roman literature.

Thirdly, and finally, the Latin language, far from being reduced to a ceremonial oddity, retained its traditional status as a language of communication far into the 19th century.[167] Classical education itself was not limited to the laborious decipherment and explanation of ancient texts but remained closely oriented to the practical ideal of eloquence passed down through the centuries.

Nonetheless, some changes were unmistakable. Compared with the pre-modern *Gymnasium*, the importance of Latin as a spoken language declined. At the highest grades of the old *evangelische Ratsschule*, *all* lessons had been given in Latin and students were even officially prohibited to avail themselves of their mother tongue,[168] whereas at the bilingual 19th century *Gymnasium* such strictness

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[166] Typically, Siebelis, far from just not *bothering* about historical reality, expressly aimed to keep education away from it. To Siebelis, the *Gymnasien* would lose sight of their true destination as soon as they began paying attention to "things that corresponded to the taste of the time." (1821: 8) Cf. *ibid*. 14: "The best school is that [school], which strives to *improve* the 'Zeitgeist.'" (*it*. mine). With approval, Siebelis quoted the words of an acquainted preacher (D. Reinhard): "As for the school teacher, there are nowadays very great temptations to do things (*Dinge treiben*) that are adjusted to the taste of the age, instead of promoting humanistic learning and love of literature; and [a school teacher] who would give in to these temptations, would indisputably be unfaithful to his obligation." (*VS* (1817 (I): 10); Siebelis (1818: 12).)

[167] With regard to the importance of Latin as a language of communication, we do not need to distinguish sharply between the training of writing and the training of speaking skills. As writing exercises contribute in a *general* way to the improvement of verbal expression, the major emphasis on Latin (and Greek) writing exercises in my view can be seen as part of an over-all emphasis on the training of oratorical skills.

[168] At the *evangelische Ratsschule*, a student who broke the rules by speaking German received a special 'sign,' the so-called *signum Germanicae linguae*. When this sign had not been taken

did no longer obtain. And although Siebelis continued to teach rhetoric as a separate topic,[169] the number of opportunities to speak Latin significantly decreased. At the *evangelische Ratsschule*, there were about fifteen solemn celebrations a year, mostly linked to ecclesiastical Solemnities, at which students publicly gave proof of their improvements in the form of Latin or Greek speeches or recitations of self-written Latin or Greek poetry.[170] In Siebelis' time, such celebrations had been radically reduced to the half-yearly public examinations and some sporadic official ceremonies.

The decreased importance of Latin as a living language is further reflected by the disappearance from the curriculum of Neo-Latin authors. At the old Latin school, the ancient classics were explained next to neo-Latin authors such as Muretus and Lipsius, and church fathers such as Cyprianus.[171] At the 19th century *Gymnasium*, as we have seen, the curriculum was restricted to authors from antiquity alone. Another substantial change was the gradual disappearance from the Bautzen *Gymnasium* of the Latin school drama. Having played a prominent role in school life at the old Latin school, by the 19th century, it had finally become defunct.[172]

Finally, the decreased importance of speaking Latin was compensated by an increased curricular share of classical reading. Much time originally devoted to exercises in the active use of the Latin language was now spent on extended reading loads. At the 19th century *Gymnasien*, reading acquired an autonomy that it did not yet have in the past.[173]

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away from him by the end of the day, he was assessed a penalty that itself testified to the importance of spoken Latin: reciting by memory a letter by Cicero, an act from a play by Terence, or a number of verses by Vergil or Hesiod. (The integral school laws of the *evangelische Ratsschule*, dating from 1592, are printed in Schubart (I, 1863: 32-4).)

[169] Ameis (1845: 32).

[170] See Schubart (I, 1863: 22).

[171] See Schubart (I, 1863: 21).

[172] The last school drama in Bautzen seems to have been staged in 1777. In the 19th century, plays were only staged in highly exceptional cases, see Needon (1927: 74, 81). For a survey of the history of school dramas in Bautzen from the early 15th century onwards, see Schubart (II, 1864: 31-3). Cf. Heiland (1858).

[173] On the increased importance of classical reading, see D. Kopp and N. Wegmann, 'Die deutsche Philologie, die Schule und die Klassische Philologie.' In: *DVjs für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*. Vol. 61 (1987: 123-51).

However, the gradually decreasing importance of spoken Latin should not make us believe that Latin altogether lost its practical relevance at the 19th century *Gymnasium*. As the teaching practice of Karl Gottfried Siebelis makes abundantly clear, classical education retained its traditional dual orientation towards explaining classical texts and learning to write and speak Latin and Greek. Siebelis' students, far from being initiated only into the minutiae of textual interpretation, were also encouraged in a very practical way to improve their stylistic and oratorical skills by imitating the Roman and Greek models.

6. Humanism or neohumanism?

The persistence of classical humanism now confronts us with the question whether the term 'neohumanism' is appropriate for late 18th and 19th century classical education. One might understand the term 'neohumanism' as indicating a revival of the preceding humanism from which it does not necessarily or radically distinguish itself and thus as highlighting *continuity*. Yet, as I argue in the introduction, most scholars use it in a sense that, emphasising the 'new,' highlights *change*.

Changes the Bautzen *Gymnasium* underwent in great number in the period in question, but these were mainly of an organisational nature. Under Siebelis' rectorship, the school underwent a gradual process of *Verstaatlichung* and bureaucratisation that met the needs of modern society. In 1820, in order to increase state supervision, a *Schulkollegium* was established alongside the traditional '*Gymnasialdeputation,'* which had in been charge of almost all important decisions concerning the school. The competence of the *Gymnasiadeputation* was now reduced to "internal affairs," whereas matters of wider impact fell to the *Schulkollegium*.[174] In subsequent years, the influence of the state only increased. Since 1821, an official *Abiturientenprüfung* guarded the entrance to the university.[175] Since 1833, each school in the *Oberlausitz* was obliged to publish annual school reports with a fixed content.[176] The most far-reaching reform followed in 1835, as the traditional four grades were divided into six grades, with the highest grade, *Prima*, being divided into thirds. From

[174] Such as school fees, major decisions concerning the school building, large expenditures and provisions on the required amount of knowledge students were supposed to have before coming to the *Gymnasium*, etc. See Needon (1927: 60).

[175] See Schubart (1864: 16); *AB* (1843: 42).

[176] Needon (1927: 61).

now on, *Prima* and *Secunda* formed the actual *Gymnasium* (making up four years) whereas the new grades *Quinta* and *Sexta* formed the so-called *Progymnasium*, which was specifically intended to prepare for the *Gymnasium* and was therefore no longer considered appropriate for pupils who would not continue their studies at the university.[177] Thus, the Bautzen *Gymnasium* developed from an inclusive school serving a hybrid clientele to an institution that by specialising in university preparation became an exclusive breeding place for state officials.[178]

Also the curriculum of the Bautzen *Gymnasium* differed strongly from that of the old Latin school. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the classics were practically the only subject besides religion, whereas by the early 19th century, the curriculum had been considerably extended.[179] Greek was now amply represented, although this was nothing new in itself. Already at the old Latin school, *Secundaner* (students at the second-highest grade) read Lucian, Plutarch, Pythagoras, Phocylides and Theognis next to the New Testament, whereas *Primaner* read Homer, Hesiod, Isocrates and Demosthenes. In the 18th century, the proportion of Greek in the curriculum temporarily decreased, until Siebelis' predecessor Ludwig Gedike fully restored its rights.[180]

Against the background of these changes, which distinguished the 19th century Bautzen *Gymnasium* from the preceding Latin school, it is even more notable how markedly traditional Siebelis' views were concerning classical education. He never subscribed to the philosophically and anthropologically tinged ideal of cultivating individuality and equality that captivated the minds of utopian pedagogues such as Wilhelm von Humboldt and Johann Gottlieb Fichte. Nor did he advocate the transformation of classical studies into *Altertumswissenschaft* that was initiated by academic philologists such as Friedrich August Wolf and Friedrich Creuzer. As a practical school teacher, Siebelis remained faithful to the principles of what long before him had been established as the classical-humanistic creed. Since his case can be seen as

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[177] *AB* (1843: 42); Fiedler & Fiedler (2012: 97).

[178] The result was a substantial decrease of the number of pupils. Whereas this number had first increased under Siebelis' rectorship from appr. 120 to 280 in 1835, in 1841 there were still only 111 pupils left.

[179] See above, note 73. Most new subjects entered the curriculum in the course of the 18th century, see Schubart (II, 1864: 11-5); Needon (1927: 44-52).

[180] For the Bautzen *Gymnasium* under Ludwig Gedike, see Gedike's *Nachricht von der gegenwärtigen Verfassung des Gymnasiums zu Bautzen* (1796).

broadly representative, we can conclude that with regard to classical school education, the term 'neohumanism' with its emphasis on innovation is inappropriate. Not only does it downplay the continuity which is its most striking feature, but it also obscures the fact that continuing a tradition was exactly what humanists like Siebelis sought to do. After all, it is not coincidental that the early 19th century gave birth to the term 'humanism,' whereas 'neohumanism' was something of which nobody had yet ever heard.

Part II

The Adaptability of Classical Humanism

Introduction

„Die [humanistische] Bildung war eine Provokation und mußte zur Auseinandersetzung herausfordern, die freilich diese Bildung nicht schwächte, sondern nur (...) stärkte."
(Manfred Landfester, 1988)

The classical-humanistic ideal of education as outlined in the previous chapter was so widely endorsed that it might reasonably be said to have been *the* dominant educational ideal in 19th century Germany. Yet, for all its popularity, classical humanism faced some serious challenges at three different levels. Firstly, within classical studies an approach to the ancient world arose that deviated in important respects from the traditional approach propagated by humanists like Karl Gottfried Siebelis. From the last decade of the 18th century onwards, a group of leading academic philologists sought to transform classical studies into a so-called "science of antiquity" (*Altertumswissenschaft*). They aimed at an objective, historical reconstruction of the ancient world in all its facets, which replaced the traditional focus on a limited number of canonical texts. It is commonly assumed that this new ideal entailed a turn away from the exemplary perspective on classical antiquity that belonged to the essence of traditional humanism.[1]

A second challenge arose from outside classical studies, on the part of educationalists who endeavoured to develop an alternative form of education that focused not on classical, but on modern languages, as well as on what we nowadays would call 'science subjects,' such as mathematics, physics and natural history. Especially from the 1830s onwards, non-classical schools, called *Bürgerschulen* or *Realschulen*, were founded in great number next to the classical *Gymnasien*. The rise of these schools is usually seen to have unleashed a tiresome

[1] For this view, see below, section II.1.1.2.

battle between "realists" and "humanists" that significantly reduced the scope of classical humanism.[2]

A third challenge originated entirely outside the field of education. Since the 1820s, many intellectuals held classical education responsible for the troubled political and social climate. Because the *Gymnasien*, these people argued, paid predominant attention to pagan literature, they obstructed the revival of Christian morality and religiosity needed to turn the tide. The Christian critique of classical education – a topic that has hardly received any serious attention in scholarship – is mostly seen a having posed a grave threat to humanistic education.[3]

The intellectual controversies around 19th century humanism, then, are usually analysed in oppositional terms. On the prevailing view, humanists appear as a relatively small and clearly demarcated group of people struggling to defend their ideals in an increasingly non-humanistic climate, whereas the

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[2] For this view, see the introduction to Section 2: 'The Challenge of the *Bürgerschule*.'

[3] For this view, see the introduction to Section 3: 'The Challenge of Christianity.' – Theoretically, it is possible to identify even more challenges to classical humanism. Some educationalists, for example, aiming to reinforce the German national identity, advocated the reduction of classical education in favour of the study of the German language and German literature. (See e.g. B. Otto, *Gänzliche Umgestaltung aller Gelehrten-Schulen Deutschlands, eine höchst dringende Zeitförderung!* (1831), F. Salgo, *Vergangenheit und Zukunft der Philologie in ihrem Verhältnis zur Bildung des deutschen Volkes* (1835); J. Neumann, *Über die Nothwendigkeit einer Abstellung des Latein-Schreibens und Redens auf Schulen und Universitäten, und des ausschließlichen Gebrauches der Mutersprache für alle wissenschaftlichen Gegenstände* (1839); R. Hiecke, *Der Deutsche Unterricht auf deutschen Gymnasien* (1842); M. Preßler, *Das Normalgymnasium, eine (...) Theorie der zeitgemäßen Umgestaltung des humanistischen Unterrichtswesens* (1848). Also H. Köchly, *Zur Gymnasialreform* (1846)). Other educationalists wanted students to be educated for the 'public sphere' (*Öffentlichkeit*) alone, aiming to do away with everything that reeked of knowledge for its own sake. (See e.g. A. Diesterweg, *Die Lebensfrage der Civilisation; oder: über das Verderben auf den deutschen Universitäten; dritter Beitrag zur Lösung der Aufgabe dieser Zeit* (1836) and *Streitfragen auf dem Gebiet der Pädaogik* (1837-8)). Moreover, classical humanism was criticised by some conservative politicians, who feared that classical studies would infect the young with subversive, republican ideas. (A good example is Karl von Kamptz (1769-1849), director of the Prussian police ministry. On Kamptz, see Varrentrapp (1889: 380ff.); cf. Paulsen II (1885, 3rd. ed. 1921: 349); on the relation between classical humanism and political conservatism, see Landfester (1988: 59-61)). However, these and other criticisms, for all the ardour with which they were expressed, were voiced relatively rarely. The most frequently debated issues related to the three major challenges discussed above.

various groups of critics of the classical *Gymnasien* seem *opponents* of classical humanism. However, on close scrutiny, humanistic ideals and values were shared much more widely than is commonly assumed. Not only classical humanists, but also representatives of modern *Altertumswissenschaft* described their profession as "*Humanitätsstudium*" that would educate "the entire person" and yield an "exalted view of divine and human things."[4] Advocates of "realist" education did not grow weary of emphasising that the *Bürgerschule* or *Realschule* should not "deal with technology (...) but be an institution for *Bildung* (*Bildungsanstalt*), a *Humanitätsschule*."[5] Also Christian critics, who hackled the classical *Gymnasien* for their allegedly pernicious, pagan influence, were quick to admit that "the persistence of a solid humanistic *Bildung* is no less dear to us than to people who rise against us in its interest."[6]

Upon close examination, then, the intellectual controversies around early 19th century humanism do not appear as simple confrontations between opposing camps, but as differentiated, constructive attempts to redefine humanistic values in their relation to modern society. Critics of the humanistic *Gymnasium* do not seem to have been intent on combating humanism, but either on freeing it from its narrow focus on classical literature or on reintegrating to it values that it tended to neglect. Their aim does not seem to have been to replace humanism by an alternative educational ideal, but to broaden its horizon by applying humanistic ideas and values in ways that vastly exceeded their traditional scope. If this view is valid, it seems that precisely its capability to adapt itself to contemporary needs and interests secured the survival of classical humanism until far into the 19th century.

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[4] August Böckh, *Encyklopädie und Methodologie der Philologischen Wissenschaften* (1877: 14, 258).
[5] Karl Mager, *Die Deutsche Bürgerschule* (1840), ed. Eberhardt (1888: 11).
[6] Words by an anonymous critic, writing in the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* (1841, 4: 27).

Section 2

The Challenge of Science

Chapter 1 Philology as *Wissenschaft*

„*Philologie [ist] ihrem Ursprunge nach und zu allen Zeiten zugleich Pädagogik gewesen*."
(Friedrich Nietzsche, 1869)

1. Introduction

In the last decade of the 18th century, current ideas about classical education were influenced by the rise of a new concept of science (*Wissenschaft*). The publication of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), *Critique of Practical Reason* (1788) and *Critique of Judgment* (1790) nourished the belief that the term '*Wissenschaft*,' up to then mostly used in the plural ('*Wissenschaften*') and in a variety of different meanings, was unacceptably ill-defined. Due to this increased need for conceptual clarity, various concepts of knowledge that had been generally accepted in the past were discredited, leaning as they did on hard-to-grasp phenomena as common sense, tradition or belief. Ideas about classical education were strongly influenced by this philosophical paradigm shift, as the new demands of science were transferred to two fields closely related to classical education: philology and pedagogy. As we shall see, in both fields, the traditional, humanistic ideal of classical education was seriously challenged.

2. Classical humanism and scientific philology

In 1840, Ludolf Wienbarg (1802-1872), one of the leading exponents of a group of progressive writers known as 'Young Germany' (*Junges Deutschland*), launched a vehement attack on the course that classical studies had taken in recent decades.[1]

[1] L. Wienbarg, *Das Studium der Alten*, in: *Vermischte Schriften*, vol. I (1840: 1-124). – Having studied philology and philosophy in Kiel and Bonn, Wienbarg taught at the University of Kiel. In 1834, he acquired fame with a collection of lectures titled "Ästhetische Feldzüge" ("Aesthetic Campaigns"). The opening words, "To you, young Germany, I dedicate these speeches," helped create the expression "Young Germany," referring to a group of loosely

Wienbarg maintained that the pursuit of "classical humanness" (*classische Humanität*), which in his view should be the sole motivation behind the study of antiquity, had increasingly disappeared from view by the rise of scientific philology, which had recently "claimed the authority of a self-contained science" (*abgeschlossene Wissenschaft*) that was exercised "for its own sake." (8; cf. 69f.) With these words, Wienbarg referred to the attempts of a previous generation of academic philologists, represented by Friedrich August Wolf (1759-1824), Barthold Niebuhr (1776-1831) and August Böckh (1785-1867), to transform the study of the ancient world to a proper "science of antiquity" (*Altertumswissenschaft*) that served no other purpose than that of "*reine Wissenschaftlichkeit*." (72, 92)

Wienbarg felt deeply worried by this development because it brought in its wake a distinct movement away from what he deemed the proper task of classical studies: to enable students to "ennoble" their human nature by the study of the "eternal models" provided by the Greek and Roman classics. (59, 95) In Wienbarg's view, the "psychological and anatomical interest of science" gained ever more ground on a "poetic and artistic interest" in classical antiquity. (77) "Science advances unstoppably," he noted with great concern, "leaving behind it in mournful solitude poetry, the young, the heart that wants to admire, the character that wants to be toughened, the eye that wants to be formed by great examples (*großartige Existenzen*). It's not the ancients anymore whom one meets in antiquity, it's our professors' views on the ancients and on the ancient world. One seeks the Athenians and finds Böckh; one seeks the Romans and meets with Niebuhr. "Up to now – said Goethe – the world believed in the heroic spirit of a Lucretia, of a Mucius Scaevola and allowed itself to be warmed and inspired by it. But now comes historical criticism and says that those persons have never lived, but should be seen as fictions and fables which (...) the Romans invented. But what are we to do with such a miserable truth! (...) When the

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connected progressive writers including Heinrich Heine (1797-1856) and Karl Gutzkow (1811-1878). In 1835, Wienbarg began co-editing the progressive journal "Deutsche Revue." In the same year, however, Wienbarg's writings, together with all writings produced by "Young Germany," were banned by the German government, first in Prussia, later in all states of the German Confederation. From the 1850s onwards, Wienbarg was gradually forgotten by the literary public. He died impoverished and alcohol-addicted in 1872.

Romans were great enough to invent such a thing, so should we at least be great enough to believe in it."" (78)

In Wienbarg's view, the scientific approach to the classical world, or the "scientific principle" (*wissenschaftliches Princip*), as he called it (87), *excluded* a humanistic approach.[2] Scientific philology placed the classics at such a distance that a modern philologist could hardly be expected to take delight in their "classical humanness." Therefore, the only option left to Wienbarg was to ban scientific philology from the realm of humanistic studies. Although he did not intend to put an end to scientific philology as such, he solemnly declared to defend "a sacred boundary within which the unapproachable heroes of antiquity rule." This sacred, humane realm, off limits to scientific philology, should form "the antique hall (*Antikensaal*) of the young, where nothing surrounds them but what is great and beautiful, the last asylum of all strong, educated minds." (87)

Wienbarg was so pessimistic about the suffocating and seemingly irreversible advance of scientific philology, that the only way he saw to reorient classical studies to their proper humanistic goal was, ironically, to rigorously *curtail* classical education. His reform proposal, in fact, belonged to the most radical of the entire century. Wienbarg contended that learning Latin and Greek should lose its obligatory character and be left to the students' personal choice. Moreover, he held that classical education should at the earliest commence at the age of fifteen, as truly understanding the classics would not be possible at a younger age. (32, 37)[3]

Although Wienbarg received virtually no support for his exorbitant reform plan, the antagonism between scientific philology and classical humanism was soon widely acknowledged as a serious problem. Ever since Wienbarg's days, classical humanists have been concerned about the impact of

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[2] „The study of antiquity (*Alterthumskunde*) either has its center in the concept of science, [in which case] it does not have it in another [concept] (e.g. in that of humanistic studies); or it has its center in another [concept, in which case] it does not have it in the concept of science." (72)

[3] Wienbarg's views on classical education have never been adequately studied. Manfred Landfester (1988: 56f.) grouped Wienbarg amongst the "opponents of humanism," apparently not aware that Wienbarg's criticism on the humanistic *Gymnasium* was entirely grounded in humanistic ideals. Indeed, it is hard to find a better example of the *persistence* of classical humanism than the fact that one of the fiercest attacks against the humanistic *Gymnasium* of the entire 19th century was a cry for true classical *Bildung*.

scientific philology on the original importance of their discipline.[4] Yet, the *actual* conflict between science and humanism has hardly ever been the object of thorough research. Although scholarship on the scientification of classical philology is immense, as far as the conflict between science and humanism is concerned, most scholars restrict themselves to observing that Wolf's foundation of *Altertumswissenschaft* has "left philology and (...) the humanities with a dilemma" that is "still open."[5]

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[4] Let me give two notable examples from the 20th century. Worries about what philology had done to classical humanism lay at the heart of the powerful temporary revival of classical humanistic thought that experienced its heyday at the time of the Weimar Republic. To Werner Jäger (1888-1961), the most important representative of this so-called "third humanism" (*dritter Humanismus*), revitalising the tradition of classical humanism seemed of utmost importance in the precarious, unsettling political and social climate of his time. In 1936, Jäger wrote that "the extreme concentration upon [scientific methods] in our day and the narrow specialisation which they have produced threaten to obscure and nullify our main service to society, never more needed than today, of keeping alive and developing the universal tradition of humanism." W. Jaeger, 'Classical Philology and Humanism,' in: *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 67 (1936: 363). To Jäger, as to Wienbarg, this revitalisation inevitably entailed curtailing the role of scientific scholarship. In his inaugural address in Basel in 1914, he stated that "the role of history and all its apparatus of research" was "to give (...) background and setting" to "the contemplation and understanding of the immortal masterpieces of ancient art and literature." (*ibid*. 367) A similar concern about the demise of humanistic values under the influence of scientific scholarship was the starting point of Victor Davis Hanson's and John Heath's book *Who killed Homer?* (1998), which caused an enormous stir among classical philologists. In this book, the authors argue that the explosive growth of the output of professional classicists in recent decades was paralleled by an equally explosive decrease of insight amongst these classicists in the fundamental importance and value of classical antiquity to Western civilization. To improve on this situation, they advocate a revaluation of teaching (instead of research) as the classicist's core task and a corresponding reduction of classics tracks to core curricula that provide an overview of important, canonical texts.

[5] Horstmann (1978b: 61). – The conflict between classical humanism and scientific philology has also often been described as a conflict between classical humanism and *historicism*. (See e.g. Fr. Aly, *Humanismus oder Historismus* (1902); A. Horstmann, Die "Klassische Philologie" zwischen Humanismus und Historismus. in: *Berichte Zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Vol. I (1978: 51-70).) The different namings largely come down to the same thing, as the central aim of scientific philology was to make a historical reconstruction of the ancient world. Yet, I prefer not to speak of 'historicism' for three reasons: firstly, unlike the term 'science' (*Wissenschaft*), the term 'historicism' was not yet known to the classical philologists that I have studied.

Yet a critical evaluation of this dilemma is highly needed for at least two reasons. Firstly, by assuming an opposition between scientific philology and humanism one easily tends to downplay the fact that what is known as the 'philological method,' i.e., a procedure aiming at sound textual interpretation through thorough study of historical sources**,** had been at the very core of classical humanism ever since the days of Lorenzo Valla (1407-1457) and Poliziano (1454-1494).[6] Critical, philological method was of such central importance to the tradition of humanism that the very modern, scientific philology that many classical humanists decry would have been wholly unthinkable without it. It is true, of course, that various *specific* research methods that were developed in the 19th century (such as the method Lachmann) as well as specific academic subdisciplines (such as archaeology) were still unknown to older humanists. Yet, to radically *oppose* the use of scientific method to the tradition of classical humanism is certainly to put matters much too simply.[7]

Secondly, in the first half of the 19th century, the term 'historical' was often used in a sense that markedly differed from the one familiar to us today. Friedrich August Wolf, for example, who is now generally known to have prepared the way for 'historicism,' was widely criticised in the 19th century for having established a decidedly *un*historical approach to the ancient world (see below, section II,3.2.2). Applying the term 'historicism' to philologists such as Wolf would therefore be unnecessarily confusing. Thirdly, the term 'historicism' is strongly associated with the (later) 19th century, whereas the conflict under discussion occupies the minds of classical humanists up to our own day, as the examples given in the previous footnote illustrate.

[6] On the importance of critical method to Renaissance humanism, esp. to Valla en Poliziano, see Nauert (2006: 38-43).

[7] Wienbarg, to be sure, was well aware of this and, although the most harmful effects of scientific philology were obviously of recent date, he found that classical studies had been plagued by "a glaring contradiction between means and ends" from a very early stage. (22) Only the Italian Renaissance of the 14th and 15th centuries largely escaped his criticism, since this time had still been characterised by an "enthusiasm" and "wonderful splendour" that inspired people to converse with the ancients as with personal friends and to work towards a beautiful "union between poetry and art." (66) With the rise of scholarly humanism, however, represented by people such as Scaliger (1484-1558), Grotius (1583-1645) and Ruhnkenius (1723-1798), the decay of classical humanism already began. (64) Wienbarg, then, was so sceptical of scholarship in general that he felt necessitated to reject almost the entire tradition of classical humanism. Tellingly, his motto for classics students from his own time was: "Study the Greeks as if you do *not* study them!" (61) (*it*. added) Werner Jäger expressed a comparable scepsis towards scholarship in general, writing that "humanism, which was in its

Secondly, it is important to realise that the opposition between scientific method and humanism is itself a product of a typically 19th century way of thinking. Indeed, it was only in the *second* half of the 19th century that the idea that true science excludes humanistic values began to gain a broad foothold. The idea that humanistic studies were *eis ipsis* unscientific would not have made any sense to Renaissance humanists, nor to virtually all philologists of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, who, as we shall see in this chapter, employed a concept of science that manifestly *did* incorporate humanistic values. Thus, the fundamental problem with the supposed opposition between scientific philology and humanism is that it ultimately begs the question. It excludes humanism from the realm of science on terms that are only acceptable to people who already believe in this exclusivity from the outset. The relation between scientific philology and humanism, then, is usually analysed in a distinctly one-sided fashion.

In this chapter I aim to restore the balance by first discussing the concept of science employed by late 18th century classical humanists who were still unaffected by 19th century developments; secondly, I will examine how this initial concept of science was gradually undermined under the influence of the philosophy of Immanuel Kant. Finally, I will consider how two leading academic philologists, Friedrich August Wolf (1759-1824) and Friedrich Creuzer (1771-1858), incorporated this 'Kantian turn' into their views on classical scholarship. We shall see that both Wolf and Creuzer, for all their endeavours to transform classical philology into an independent "science of antiquity," remained ultimately committed to humanistic ideals. Far from sacrificing humanism to science, their greatest dream was to make scientific philology subservient to humanistic ends.

3. Classical education as '*schöne Wissenschaft*'

In the 18th century Germanies, classical studies were usually grouped amongst a set of disciplines known as the '*schöne Wissenschaften*.'[8] This interesting term,

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origins the creation of the great Italian poets of the early Renaissance and of the neo-Latin poets and prose writers, competing with the ancients in their own forms and language, had by the end of the sixteenth century narrowed to a sterile erudition." (*op. cit.* 365)

[8] After *Darstellung* (see section I.2.v.), *schöne Wissenschaften* is another term untranslatable into English. Its excessively complicated history was minutely analysed by Werner Strube: 'Die

originating in the 17th century, reached the peak of its popularity between 1750 and 1780. Negatively, the *schöne Wissenschaften* distinguished themselves from the 'faculty sciences' (*Fakultätswissenschaften*) – theology, law and medicine – as well as from other "higher sciences" (*höhere Wissenschaften*), such as mathematics and physics.[9] Positively, the *schöne Wissenschaften* were characterised by a primary focus on what later became known as *aesthetic* disciplines, that is, disciplines in which beauty of form played an essential role: poetry, architecture, painting, music, dance, etc. When relating to education, its meaning was usually narrowed down to literary genres alone, above all poetry, rhetoric and historiography, that is, to the genres that formed the primary object of classical school studies.[10] As the ancients were unanimously considered the unrivalled masters of these literary disciplines, the term *schöne Wissenschaften* was often equated with classical literature.[11]

Apart from classical literature itself, the term *schöne Wissenschaften* also comprised disciplines that were needed for a full understanding and appreciation of classical texts, such as history, mythology, antiquities, geography etc. Although in these ancillary disciplines, beauty itself did not play a central role, they could be grouped amongst the *schöne Wissenschaften* because they ultimately contributed to the understanding and appreciation of beautiful, classical literature.[12] As far as education was concerned, the term *schöne Wissenschaften* therefore took on a meaning very similar to that of classical school studies. It comprised both the classical writings that formed the main subject of classical education and the ancillary disciplines needed to explain them.

Geschichte des Begriffs "Schöne Wissenschaften,"' in: *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 33 (1990: 136-216)). In my account, I gratefully draw on Strube's analysis.

[9] Strube (1990: 149). Although mathematics and physics were taught at the philosophical faculty – next to the classics – they did not count as 'faculty sciences,' as this term was reserved for subjects with a faculty of their own.

[10] Strube (1990: 147-52).

[11] According to Friedrich August Wolf (1807: 11), the terms *schöne Wissenschaften* and "ancient literature" were used interchangeably. Cf. Bertram: „Summarische Einleitung in die so genannte Schöne Wissenschaften *oder* Litteras Humaniores" (1725). (*it.* added)

[12] In Campe's *Wörterbuch zur Erklärung und Verdeutschung der unserer Sprache aufgedrungenen fremden Ausdrücke* (1813: 355), the *humaniora* were defined as "the *schöne Wissenschaften*, to the extent they are understood (...) as the ancient languages and the ancillary sciences necessary to the understanding of the ancients." Cf. Strube (1990: 150f.).

It is significant that in the late 18th century, both classical literature and classical school studies were understood as *sciences* (*Wissenschaften*), a term that had a distinctly different and broader meaning than that familiar to us today. As Werner Strube points out, the element '*Wissenschaft'* in '*schöne Wissenschaft*' in the first place denoted a certain *disposition*: both the *knowledge* of the rules that must be observed to produce something beautiful and the *capacity* to put this knowledge into practice.[13] Poetry, for example, was seen both as the science (knowledge) of the rules that must be applied to compose a beautiful poem and as the capacity to write such a poem.[14] In the second place, the term *Wissenschaft* was also used to refer to the aesthetic disciplines themselves: e.g. poetry, oratory, etc.[15]

For our present investigation it is of crucial importance that in the late 18th century, the concept of science did not yet exclude values. On the contrary, the very term *schöne Wissenschaften* testifies to the fact that values were seen, not just as *involved* in a substantial number of 'sciences,' but as their central point of focus. Beauty, far from being relegated to the realm of subjective judgment, was seen as a worthy object of scientific knowledge. Although it was generally agreed that knowledge of the beautiful could not lay claim to the same degree of certainty as the higher sciences,[16] it was nevertheless recognised as a science in its own right.[17]

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[13] Strube (1990: 139-41). This last meaning brings *schöne Wissenschaft* very close to *schöne Kunst* (fine art), terms which were often used interchangeably up to the early 18th century. See Strube (1990: 162f.).

[14] Strube 1990: 139).

[15] *Ibid*.

[16] See e.g. J.F. Bertram's words in his *Summarische Einleitung in die so genannte Schöne Wissenschafften oder litteras humaniores* (1725): "The kind of knowledge [of the *schöne Wissenschaften*] is not as demonstrable as the mathematical or as another [kind of knowledge], but both languages and historical sciences are largely concerned with *fides humana* (human faith) and probabilities, which not uncommonly reach a degree of certainty little inferior to that of a demonstrable truth." (Quoted from Strube (1990: 149).)

[17] The reason that beauty was seen as an objective phenomenon was that is was widely believed to root in universal principles. See e.g. Sulzer (1786: 75), who described the "principles of taste" as "the same for all times, because they are based on the immutable qualities of the mind." Charles Rollin (1770: 44) spoke of "the immutable rules (...) of the beautiful." F. Delbrück (1800: 10) stated that "with regard to beauty, (...) everyone lays claim to [the] universal validity of his judgments." Etc. Nonetheless, taste was often divided in

The close association between beauty and science, reflected in the concept of *schöne Wissenschaft*, was of eminent importance to the classical-humanistic ideal of education that I have exemplified by the case of Karl Gottfried Siebelis. This ideal, which was already widespread in the late 18th century, was based on a *normative* approach to the ancient world: it focused on classical literature and art as storehouses of eminent *values*. However, this normative approach, which is reflected in the majority of 'constitutive aspects' – in the concept of *Humanität*, in the ideal of elevation, in the focus on intellectual, aesthetic and moral values as well as in the phenomenon of enthusiasm – could not possibly be epistemologically justified if values would have been excluded from the domain of true science. Only because values were considered an object of solid and, therefore, communicable *knowledge*, classical education could preserve its markedly normative character. The concept of *schöne Wissenschaft*, then, was a *sine qua non* of the humanistic approach to classical studies.

The anti-utilitarian tendency of classical humanism, too, was consolidated by the concept of *schöne Wissenschaft*. This can well be illustrated by an essay by Johann Gottfried Herder on the relation between the *schöne Wissenschaften* and the higher sciences.[18] Herder started from the common perception that the higher sciences related to various forms of professionalism, whereas the *schöne Wissenschaften* preceded, or transcended, professional training: "The *schöne Wissenschaften* have the advantage of being suited for all classes and occupations, whereas each of the higher sciences forms a separate field of its own."[19] As the *schöne Wissenschaften* formed a "common field" (*Gemeinflur*) to everyone's advantage,[20] they alone laid a valid claim to humane education. At one point,

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"general" and "specific" taste, the last of which could change over time, see e.g. Purmann (*AAE*, IV (1778: 137)); Snell (1782: 6).

[18] *Über den Einfluß der schönen in die höheren Wissenschaften* (1781, in: *Sämmtliche Werke* (Suphan (ed.)), vol. IX (1893: 289-306). Herder also set out his views on classical studies as *schöne Wissenschaften* in *Vom Begriff der schönen Wissenschaften, insonderheit für die Jugend* (1782? (dating uncertain), in 1962: 35-42) and *Vom echten Begriff der schönen Wissenschaften und von ihrem Umfang unter den Schulstudien* (1788, in 1962: 70-8).

[19] Herder (1781: 303). Cf. Friedrich Wiedeburg (1787: 22), who proposed to sharpen the distinction between the *schöne Wissenschaften* and the higher sciences by redefining it as a distinction between "human" and "professional" education (*Menschenbildung* and *Berufsbildung*).

[20] Herder (1781), in: *Sämmtliche Werke* IX (1893: 303).

Herder therefore even proposed to rename them as "*bildende Wissenschaften*."[21] Herder's colleague Friedrich Gedike, director of the *Friedrichswerdersches Gymnasium* in Berlin, argued in a similar vein that "the *Gymnasium* should only educate the dilettant." (*Die Gelehrtenschule soll nur den Dilettanten bilden.*)[22] In other words, the concept of *schöne Wissenschaften*, by its marked opposition to the specialised, higher sciences, contributed to creating and protecting a realm of education that remained free from occupational restrictions and exclusively aimed at providing general, humane *Bildung*.

Finally, the concept of *schöne Wissenschaft* offered ample scope for education to focus thoroughly on the classics as a single, main subject. This follows from the fundamental distinction between school and academic

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[21] Herder (1782, in 1962: 38)). Cf. 1781, in *Sämmtliche Werke* IX (1893: 303): To show them (= students) good things (...) fine examples, beautifully presented, to inculcate well-ordered images and phantasies in beautiful language, *that* is what forms [them] ("*... das bildet.*") (*it.* mine)

[22] Gedike (1802: 36). In the same work, Gedike stated that not philology, but the *humaniora* were the true subject of the *Gelehrtenschule* (*ibid*. 16; cf. 6, 15). – The non-professional dimension of classical education can also be measured by the fact that up to the 1800s, classical studies were referred to by a confused and indefinite terminology. An impressive number of terms was in use to refer to the study of classical literature, none of which was strictly defined: *schöne Wissenschaften*, *Philologie*, *Classische Gelehrsamkeit* (classical learning), *alte Literatur* (ancient literature), *Humanitätsstudien* (humanity studies), *Alterthumskunde, antiquarisches Studium*, or, in Latin, *studia humanitatis* (*studia*) *humaniora* or *litterae humaniores* or *elegantiores*, etc. It is not coincidental that the terminological confusion was only cleared in the early 19th century, by philologists who aimed to transform classical studies into a *professional* science (see below). Furthermore, the non-professional quality of classical studies appears from the dominant *type* of writings on the subject. The large majority of late 18th century publications on classical education were of an essayistic character. Most were small in size and some betrayed a certain informality with their titles alone. An example is Sulzer's *Gedanken über die beste Art die classische Schriften der Alten mit der Jugend zu lesen* (1765). Having stressed that he did not speak as a professional philologist (4f.), Sulzer discussed a number of unrelated arguments of studying the classics in no more than forty pages. Comparable essayistic texts, a.o., are Ernesti (1742), Westenrieder (1774), Schumann (1776), Funk (1776f.), Bolla (1777), Heinze (1777), Walther (1779), Heyne (1780), Gurlitt (1786), Rehberg (1788), Snethlage (1790 and 1792); Rizhaub (1791), L. Gedike (1792), König (1792), Niemeyer (1792), Stapfer (1792), Starke (1792), Witte (1798) and Morgenstern (1800). Systematic or encyclopaedic surveys of classical philology were yet almost entirely unknown. A rare exception is C.G. Ludovici's *De disciplinarum philologicarum numero et nexu pauca ... disserit* (1766). Cf. J.J. Eschenburg, *Handbuch der klassischen Literatur* (1783).

education that was built into the concept of *schöne Wissenschaft*. In Herder's view, it was the task of the *schöne Wissenschaften* to cultivate and discipline "the so-called lower faculties of the soul, sensual knowledge, wit, imagination, the sensuous instincts, pleasure, the passions and the inclinations." Only on this fundament, the higher mental faculties ("the judgment, the intellect, the will and the intentions") could be successfully developed.[23] From this view, it naturally followed that the *schöne Wissenschaften* belonged to school education, whereas the higher sciences were reserved for the academy. The schools, Herder argued, should be careful not to "overburden" the young with "so-called higher knowledge" (*höhere Kenntnisse*) at a stage when they had not yet trodden "the beautiful path of the ancient writers." To him, the classics must be extensively studied before other topics were allowed to enter the curriculum.[24] Thus, the concept of *schöne Wissenschaft* helped justifying the thorough study of the ancient classics as a "main subject" characteristic of the classical-humanistic ideal of education.

It appears, then, that the concept of *schöne Wissenschaft* provided the classical-humanistic ideal of education with a solid theoretical foundation. It was well suited to justify a type of classical education that was characterised by a

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[23] Herder (1781, in *Sämmtliche Werke* IX (1893: 295)). This idea was also fundamental to A.G. Baumgarten's influential *Aesthetica* of 1750. Cf. Meier (1748: 21): "The higher sciences are not even possible (...) if they have not been preceded by the *schöne Wissenschaften.*" See also Nösselt (1786: 288) and Jenisch (1798; 263-5).

[24] Herder (1781, in *Sämmtliche Werke* IX (1893: 301). Herder's views were broadly shared. Johann Daniel Schumann (1776: 678) described the classical languages and the *schöne Wissenschaften* as the "core" of school education; Friedrich Gedike (1780, in: 1789, I: 21) described the recent inclusion of non-classical subjects into the school curricula as an intrusion of the schools "in the field of the universities." Friedrich August Wiedeburg (1787: 23) stated that the classics were the only proper school subject, whereas all other school subjects were "derived from the academy;" Karl Gottlob Schelle (1804: 7), in an acclaimed work on the classical school curriculum, emphasised time and again that the higher sciences fell outside the scope of the schools. In Schelle's view, classical school education should exclusively focus on „purely human subjects, which relate to the true, the good and the beautiful," that is, classical literature. – Yet in practice, the divide between school and academy was not as big as in theory. Already in the late 18th century, various subjects had entered the school curricula which belonged to the domain of the *strenge Wissenschaften* (e.g. mathematics). Likewise, the study of classical texts did not stop with high school graduation, but continued well into the academy. The philosophical faculty was not exclusively devoted to "higher" sciences such as mathematics or physics, but offered major attention to classical studies as well.

normative approach to the ancient world, an anti-utilitarian concept of general, humane *Bildung* and a primary focus on the classics as a main subject.

4. The Kantian turn

With his *Critique of Judgment* (1790), Immanuel Kant launched a trenchant and utterly influential critique on the concept of *schöne Wissenschaft*, which he considered an "absurdity" (*Unding*). He was convinced that there was "neither a science of the beautiful, but only a critique [of the beautiful], nor *schöne Wissenschaft*, but only *schöne Kunst*."[25] Kant's critique sprang from an attempt to narrow down and solidify the concept of science, which up to then had been used in a variety of meanings. Although Kant did not yet develop a consistent concept of science himself, he insisted that true science exclusively deal with knowledge that was obtainable by the application of strict method and therefore determinable with complete certainty. "True science," he wrote, is "only *that* [science], whose certainty is apodictic."[26] Thus, if the concept of *schöne Wissenschaft* would be viable, "it should be possible to establish in a scientific way (*wissenschaftlich*), that is, by arguments (*Beweisgründe*), whether something should be considered beautiful or not; therefore, the judgment on the beautiful, if it were to be attributed to science, would not be a judgment of taste,"[27] which, to Kant, was "not to be determined by arguments at all."[28] To Kant, however, it *was* a judgment of taste, as there seemed to be no objective concepts on the basis of which it could be decided why certain things are considered beautiful whereas others are not.[29]

This "subjectification" of aesthetics by Kant, as Gadamer called it, was of profound and immediate influence on the philosophical way of reflecting on

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[25] *Kritik der Urteilskraft*, Hamburg: Meiner (1959: 157).

[26] *Metaphyische Anfangsgründe der Naturwissenschaft.* Akademie-ed. IV, Berlin (1911: 467).

[27] *Kritik der Urteilskraft*, Hamburg: Meiner (1959: 157).

[28] *Ibid.* 133.

[29] However, Kant did not exclude all disciplines traditionally ranged amongst the *schöne Wissenschaften* from the domain of *Wissenschaft*. He accepted the ancillary disciplines needed for the interpretation of classical texts (such as language study, history, antiquities etc.) as legitimately scientific (calling them "historical sciences"). Their inclusion into the *schöne Wissenschaften*, however, he attributed to a condemnable "terminological confusion" (*Wortverwechslung*). See *Kritik der Urteilskraft*, Hamburg: Meiner (1959: 157).

science.[30] Since Kant, the concept of *schöne Wissenschaft* fell prey to rapid decline. As early as 1801, August Wilhelm Schlegel called the expression "almost obsolete."[31] A few years later, Hegel wrote that the term *schöne Wissenschaft* was no longer in use.[32] Meanwhile, the ideal of rigorous science experienced a spectacular upsurge. August Wilhelm Schlegel wrote that "all science is rigorous by nature; the appearance of play and freedom, which plays an essential role with everything beautiful, is entirely excluded [from science]."[33] In his *Geschmackslehre oder Ästhetik* (1818), the philosopher Wilhelm Traugott Krug wrote: "Art we call 'fine,' inasmuch as it is concerned with production or presentation of the aesthetically-pleasing; science is never concerned with that, but only with the production, or rather the discovery of truth."[34] This dissociation between science and art, realised in the wake of the Kantian turn, drove a wedge between the elements of knowledge and beauty, which for long had been successfully combined in the concept of *schöne Wissenschaft*.

The paradigm shift in the philosophical way of defining science profoundly influenced ideas on classical education. The study of classical literature, with its major focus on aesthetic values, was increasingly at risk of not being acknowledged as a true science and therefore of being discarded as frivolous.[35] As a result, defenders of classical education endeavoured to transform classical studies in such a way as to make it meet the new demands of science. Aiming to reduce the traditional focus on aesthetic and other values, they highlighted that aspect of classical studies that was the most strictly methodical and therefore best fitted the Kantian view: philology.

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[30] H.G. Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode. Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik* (1990, 6th ed.: 48-87).

[31] Schlegel (1963: 9).

[32] Hegel (1970: 557).

[33] Schlegel (1963: 9).

[34] Krug (1818: 11f.).

[35] Well before Kant, educationalists had been concerned that the contemporary interest in concepts such as taste and *schöne Wissenschaften* would provoke amateurism and superficiality. Heinze (1777: 3f.) feared that the "tasteful" young man would lose his interest in textual explanation altogether; Herder (1788, in 1962: 74) wanted to prevent the "humaniora" from degenerating in what he polemically called "galantiora" (Cf. *ibid*. 37f.; (1781: 291-3)); Gibbon (1792: iv) lamented that the abundance of "men of taste" was paralleled by a shortage of "men of letters." Comparable views are found in Sulzer (1786: ix-x); Fr. Gedike (1779: 191); Nösselt (1786: xiv-xvii; 4) and Nicolai (*Briefe*, ed. Ellinger (1894: 9)).

5. Classical philology as 'pure science:' Friedrich August Wolf

From the 1790s onwards, a group of leading academic philologists undertook to apply the changing demands of science to classical philology. The central aim of these scholars was to conceive of classical philology as a clearly ordered system in which interdependent subdisciplines were all assigned their proper place and task.[36] This quest for clarity and systematic order can be measured by a new type of publications emerging in the last decade of the 18th century, which provided theoretical, encyclopaedic surveys of the constitutive parts of classical philology. One of the first of those works was the *Encyklopädie aller philologischen Wissenschaften, für Schulen und Selbst-Unterricht* (1793) by Erduin Julius Koch. Koch's initiative was followed by a whole series of subsequent publications, prominent amongst which were G.G. Fülleborn, *Encyclopaedia Philologica* (1798); J.H.C. Barby, *Encyklopädie und Methodologie des humanistischen Studiums oder der Philologie der Griechen und Römer* (1805); J.C.L. Schaaff, *Enzyklopädie der classischen Alterthumskunde*, 2 vol. (1806-8); Fr. Creuzer, *Das Akademische Studium des Alterthums* (1807); F.A. Wolf, *Darstellung der Alterthumswissenschaft* (1807); Fr. Ast, *Grundriss der Philologie* (1808); Fr. Ficker, *Anleitung zum Studium der griechischen und römischen Classiker* (1821-5); A. Matthiä, *Enyzklopädie und Methodologie der Philologie* (1835).[37]

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[36] Eminent studies on the transformation of classical studies to *Altertumswissenschaft* are K. Reinhardt, ‚Die Klassische Philologie und das Klassische' (1942), in H.O. Burger (ed.), *Begriffsbestimmung der Klassik und des Klassischen* (Darmstadt, 1972); R. Pfeiffer, *The History of Classical Scholarship II: From 1300 to 1850* (1976); A. Horstmann, ‚Die „Klassische Philologie" zwischen Humanismus und Historismus. Friedrich August Wolf und die Begründung der modernen Altertumswissenschaft,' in: *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, 1978, I: 51-70; *id*. 'Die Forschung in der Klassischen Philologie des 19. Jahrhunderts,' in *Konzeption und Begriff der Forschung in den Wissenschaften des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. A. Diemer (1978: 27-57); A. Grafton, "Polyhistor into Philolog: notes on the Transformation of German Classical Scholarship, 1780-1850," in: *History of Universities* 3 (1983: 159-92); H. Flashar, K. Gründer, A. Horstmann (eds.), *Philologie und Hermeneutik im 19. Jahrhundert*, 2 vol. (1979/83); G.W. Most (ed.), *Disciplining classics. Altertumswissenschaft als Beruf* (2002); For an extensive bibliography, see W.M. Calder, *An introductory bibliography to the history of classical scholarship chiefly in the XIXth and XXth centuries* (1992) and *A supplementary bibliography to the history of classical scholarship chiefly in the XIXth and XXth centuries* (2000).

[37] Before the 1790s, there had been endeavours to capture the humanities in an encyclopaedic overview, see e.g. Sulzer, *Kurzer Begriff aller Wissenschaften und anderer Theile der Gelehrsamkeit* (1745); Gesner, *Primae Lineae Isagoges In Eruditionem Universalem* (1774f.); J.H.F. Meinecke,

The most famous and influential of these publications was Wolf's *Darstellung der Alterthumswissenschaft* (1807).[38] In this work, Wolf aimed to "elevate everything that belonged to the full knowledge of (...) antiquity to the value of a well-ordered philosophical-historical science." (5) All different subfields of classical philology he wanted to assign a clear place and task. (*ibid*.) Already in his lectures on the "encyclopaedia and methodology of the studies of antiquity," which he delivered from 1785 onwards at the University of Halle, Wolf defined his goal with great precision: his aim was to present an "encyclopedia of philology in which, after the entire circle of (...) subjects covered by ancient literature would have been passed through, the scope, the content, the [mutual] linkages, the utility, the tools [and] finally the correct and fruitful treatment of each one of the individual disciplines [were] explained." (6) Wolf's penchant to transform the study of antiquity into a systematically ordered whole showed the influence of Immanuel Kant, who wrote that "each doctrine (*Lehre*) is called science (*Wissenschaft*) when it is a whole of knowledge that is ordered according to principles."[39]

In *Darstellung der Alterthumswissenschaft*, Wolf gave further substance to his objectives by subdividing classical studies into twenty four subdisciplines, ranging from "fundamental" disciplines (grammar, hermeneutics and criticism), to specialist ones such as mythology, numismatics and epigraphy.[40] Because he

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Synopsis eruditionis universae (1783). These works, however, did not focus on classical philology alone.

[38] Wolf also lectured for many years on the "Encyclopädie der Alterthumswissenschaft." See S.M. Stockmann (ed.), *Friedrich August Wolf's Encyclopädie der Philologie* (henceforth *Encyclopädie*).

[39] Kant (1911: 467).

[40] The twenty-four disciplines were 1) philosophical linguistics, 2/3) grammar of Greek and Latin, 4) hermeneutics, 5) textual criticism, 6) theory of style and metrics, 7) geography and uranography, 8) general ancient history, 9) chronology and historical criticism, 10) Greek antiquities, 11) Roman antiquities, 12) mythology, 13) Greek literary history, 14) Roman literary history, 15) history of the Greek oratorical arts and sciences, 16) history of the Roman oratorical arts and sciences, 17) history of the mimetic arts of the Greeks and Romans, 18) archaeology, 19) principles of the visual arts, 20) general history of ancient art, 21) history of ancient architecture, 22) numismatics, 23) epigraphy, 24) history of Greek and Latin philology. – In his *Encyclopädie*, Wolf undertook even further subdivisions, e.g. into curious disciplines such as *Cälatographie* (the doctrine of the art of engravings) and *Toreumatographie* (the doctrine of reliefs). See Stockmann (1831: 18). Comparable subdivisions are found in Creuzer (1807:

emphatically wanted these interdependent disciplines to form a systematic whole, he chose to denote the study of antiquity by a name that was expressive of the intended systematic ordering: *Alterthumswissenschaft*. (30)[41] His quest for conceptual clarity was accompanied by a quest for solid, certain knowledge. Wolf expected the knowledge yielded by a properly operated science of antiquity to possess a degree of certainty that would "often not be less" than that yielded by "the mathematical calculus." (40f.) He clearly modelled his concept of *Altertumswissenschaft* on the example provided by what he called the "exact" or "more precise" (*genauere*) sciences. (9, 40) Also in this respect, Wolf's concept of science closely resembled that of Immanuel Kant, a resemblance that earned him the reputation of being the "Kant of philology."[42]

As order and precision were amongst Wolf's main concerns, he was highly critical of the conceptual obscurity that characterised classical studies up to his day. He strongly disapproved of the fact that the various subdisciplines of the study of antiquity were plagued by "fluctuating boundaries and an indeterminate scope." (11) Therefore, right at the beginning of his treatise, he expressed his discomfort with the conceptual and terminological confusion surrounding classical learning. Above all, the term *schöne Wissenschaft* aroused his disapproval, which he described as "wholly unsuitable" to capture the nature

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125-9). – It should be noted that although Wolf was one of the first to recognise so many different subdisciplines, the primacy in his survey was still clearly held by the properly *philological* disciplines. The first six disciplines on his list were 1) philosophical linguistics, 2/3) grammar of Greek and Latin, 4) hermeneutics, 5) textual criticism and 6) theory of style and metrics. The study of ancient literature, in Wolf's view, laid a "natural" claim to the first rank. Since through literature one obtained insight "into the ideas and expressions of antiquity," philology was the "main means" to "rightly understand and evaluate" other remnants of the ancient world. (34f.) Thus, classical philology provided "an organon for science in its totality." (35)

[41] Wolf did not invent the term, which surfaced occasionally in the time before, see e.g. Koch (1795: 19); Barby (1805: 5). – For all Wolf's efforts to make the study of antiquity meet the new demands of science, it should be realised that the concept of science in general and that of *Altertumswissenschaft* in particular was still very unsteady in the early 19th century. Wolf therefore emphatically described his project of transformation as work in progress: "Understandably, the content and treatment of the subject changed and developed with each repetition of (my) presentation." (1807: 6)

[42] Word by Christian Garve (1742-1798), see A. Horstmann (1978b: 62). – On Kant and the applicability of mathematical models, see *Metaphysische Anfangsgründe der Naturwissenschaft* (Akademie-edition Vol. 4, Berlin (1911: 470)).

of classical studies. Antiquity, Wolf argued, had various "sides that plainly attract by everything else than by *beauté*."[43] To Wolf, the ultimate objective of the true scholar of antiquity (*Alterthumsgelehrte*) was not to value the quality of perfect form, but "to raise one's view to the purely-scientific."[44]

Nothing illustrates with more clarity the shift in thinking about classical studies than Wolf's attempt to replace the concept of *schöne Wissenschaft* by a new concept of "pure science." "It would be to adversely narrow down the scope of classical studies," he wrote, "if, as happens (...) by most people studying the ancient works of art, one would highlight with false disgust (*Eckel*) only the classical and the beautiful, leaving everything else to the so-called antiquity-mongers."[45] The traditional, exemplary perspective on the ancient world Wolf complemented with an historical perspective, which he even considered superior to the traditional view: "The point of view focusing on the classicality (*Classizität*) of individual writers and works of their kind should prevail less in the true expert on antiquity than the purely historical [perspective]."[46] In Wolf's view, then, the primary aim of classical studies was no longer to appreciate classical texts for their exemplary qualities, but to gain "historical and philosophical knowledge, by which we can get to know the nations of the ancient world (...) in all possible respects through their remaining works."[47]

This gradual shift of emphasis from an exemplary to an historical perspective on the ancient world is also discernible in the works of several of Wolf's colleagues. In *Über das Studium des Alterthums, und des Griechischen insbesondre* (1793), Wilhelm von Humboldt warned against the risk of neglecting

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[43] Wolf (1807: 11).

[44] "*Dem rein Wissenschaftlichen*," Wolf (1807: 53).

[45] "*Alterthums-Krämer,*" Wolf (1807: 34). With this term, Wolf referred to the tradition of antiquarianism, in which great learning had been associated with enthusiastic, amateur collectors. On antiquarianism, see the authoritative studies of Arnaldo Momigliano: 'Ancient History and the Antiquarian,' in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13 (1950: 285-315) and 'The Rise of Antiquarian Research,' in: *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography* (1990: 54–79).

[46] Wolf (1807: 109).

[47] *Encyclopädie,* Stockmann (1831: 13). Cf. *Praefatio secunda ad Iliadem* (1795) (In: *Kleine Schriften*, Vol. I (1869: 210f.)): "Tota quaestio nostra historica et critica est, non de optabili re, sed de re facta. (...) Amandae sunt artes, at reverenda est historia!" ("Our research is entirely historical and critical. It does not deal with ideals, but with facts. The arts are charming, but history is venerable!")

the historical perspective on antiquity by an exclusive focus on matters of form.[48] In *Das Akademische Studium des Alterthums* (1807), Friedrich Creuzer argued in similar vein that a classical philologist should not only study the famous classical works of literature, based on the "immutable laws of beauty,"[49] but also "the polished, elegant, meticulous works of the learned Alexandrians and of the Romans."[50] Under the influence of the post-Kantian concept of science, then, the traditional interest in valuable, classical works of art gradually gave way to the objective of historically reconstructing the ancient world in all its different facets.[51]

6. The challenge to classical humanism (i)

The transformation of classical philology initiated by Wolf and Creuzer posed a major challenge to the classical-humanistic ideal of education as transmitted by most practical school teachers. In the first place, as the concept of *schöne Wissenschaft* was discredited by the Kantian turn, classicists faced increasing difficulties in justifying their primary focus on classical literature as a storehouse of intellectual, aesthetic and moral values. As values were no longer considered a worthy object of scientific knowledge, the epistemological foundation of the traditional, normative approach to the ancient world significantly weakened.

Secondly, the traditional view that classical education served a non-vocational purpose became harder to maintain. From the early 19th century onwards, classical philologists increasingly tended to equate the educated man with the professional scholar, specialising in scientific philology. Friedrich Ast described the academic philologist as the "*Gebildete par excellence.*"[52] S.M. Stockmann, in his edition of Friedrich August Wolf's *Encyclopädie der Philologie*, maintained that "the most learned man should be the most educated and noblest man as well."[53] Wolf himself even expressed contempt for amateurs, whom he derogatorily described as "persons of general curiosity" who, acquiring "a

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[48] Humboldt (1793, in: 2002: 1)).

[49] Creuzer (1807: 5).

[50] "*[D]ie gefeilten, zierlichen, correcten Werke der Alexanderiner und der (...) Römer*." (Creuzer (1807: 13f.)).

[51] This shift was largely limited to the academic study of antiquity. For the continuity of the traditional perspective in *Gymnnasium* education, see below, section II.1.1.9.

[52] Ast (1808: 16).

[53] Stockmann (1831: v)): „*der gelehrteste Mann soll auch der Gebildetste und Edelste sein*."

certain familiarity with the ancient world," never met the ideal of the "true expert of antiquity" (*der eigentliche Alterthumskenner*).[54] To Wolf, these "unlearned wretches" (*ungelehrte Stümper*) would never be able to serve the interest of true science.[55] In other words, the increasing emphasis on classical studies as a professional, academic discipline weakened the focus on general, humane values that had been central to the traditional ideal of classical education.

Thirdly, as the traditional distinction between the *schöne Wissenschaften* and the 'higher sciences' seemed no longer tenable, the schools were at risk of losing their relative independence from the academy. In the course of the 19th century, the *Gymnasien* included more and more subjects in their curricula that traditionally fell outside the scope of school education: modern languages, physics, astronomy, technology, natural history, etc.[56] The curricula offered by the schools increasingly resembled that offered by the universities. Thus, the thorough focus on the classics as a main subject, characteristic of traditional education, gradually lost strength.

In short, the transformation of classical studies by scientific philology effectuated no less than an outright reversal of the traditional ideal of classical-humanistic education, at least at a theoretical level. In the wake of Kant's expulsion of the *schöne Wissenschaften* from the realm of scientific knowledge, there was ever less room for a type of classical education that was characterised by a normative approach to the ancient world, a non-vocational concept of general, humane *Bildung* and a thorough focus on the classics as a main subject.[57]

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[54] Wolf (1807: 47, 109).

[55] Wolf (1807: 48). Cf. Georg Horn, a *Gymnasium* professor in Hadamar (modern day Hesse): Only the "truly scientifically educated man, the true scholar" (*der eigentliche wissenschaftliche Gebildete, der wahre Gelehrte*) "enjoys a purer life, the life of Reason, which illuminates the kingdom of truth, like the sunlight illuminated the solar system." (Horn (1810: 56))

[56] We have seen above that Karl Gottfried Siebelis was seriously worried about the popularity of additional classes (*Nebenunterricht*), see section I.3.

[57] Precisely for this reason, some philologists, unlike Wolf and Creuzer, fiercely criticised the Kantian philosophy that had made this transformation possible. A good example is the originally Swiss philologist Daniel Wyttenbach (1746-1820), who hackled Kant in a eulogy on his famous teacher David Ruhnken (1723-1798), the *Vita Ruhnkenii* (1790). (See Guépin (1993a: 105-8)) In 1808, in his capacity as professor at the University of Leiden (Holland), he intensified his critique in an aggressive polemic against the Dutch Kantian philosopher Paul van Hemert (1756-1825). (This polemic is printed in *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Philologische und Historische Klasse* (1878: 264ff.).)

7. Scientific philology as a humanistic discipline

Despite the major challenge that the quest for a new concept of science posed to classical humanism, it is noticeable that Wolf and Creuzer themselves did not consider scientific philology and values to be mutually exclusive. On the contrary, as has often been observed, both Wolf and Creuzer explicitly motivated their intended transformation of classical studies in normative terms. It was because they considered classical antiquity the best and most beautiful world that had ever been, that they recommended it as the perfect object for scientific study. In the introduction of *Darstellung der Alterthumswissenschaft,* Wolf described antiquity as "the inner sanctum of the (...) arts of the Muses," which houses the "eternal sources of beauty."[58] Even the non-exemplary remains of the ancient world in Wolf's view were sanctified by the sacred stature of antiquity as a whole. Even the "mediocrity" of many remains of the ancient world, he wrote, "still had a nobler stamp than modern mediocrity." For unlike the latter, the first always remained ultimately oriented towards the "eminent models" from which they drew their ultimate justification.[59] Wolf's colleague Friedrich Ast described Greek antiquity as a "perfectly organised and beautifully shaped body," in which "everything individual has the character of general, humane *Bildung*, because in everything [individual] the spirit of the whole is reflected."[60] Friedrich Jacobs stated that "if we consider antiquity in its most dignified form as a closed world of the noblest and most beautiful that has been formed by the human mind, (...) as a world in which everything that can elevate, purify and fertilise the human mind reveals itself in the most varied and perfect of forms, then we can not be indifferent to anything filling this sacred circle. (...) Then the entire inner coherence of the ancient world (...) is worth our most careful attention."[61] Only seemingly, then, did Wolf's and Creuzer's transformation of classical philology entail a turn away from a humanistic perspective on antiquity. At a deeper level, it testified to their conviction that not only ancient literature and art should be studied as exemplary models, but that antiquity at large was the most beautiful world of all times and should therefore be studied in its entirety.

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[58] Wolf (1807: v).

[59] Wolf (1807: 33).

[60] Ast (1805, in 1962: 16).

[61] Jacobs (1807, in 1962: 38).

Their high appreciation of the ancient world is also evident from the fact that Wolf and Creuzer conceived of *Altertumswissenschaft* not only as a clearly ordered system, but also as an "organic whole," another concept that was central to Kant's view of science.[62] Underlying Wolf's endeavours to transform classical studies into scientific philology was his conception of ancient civilisation as a self-contained work of art, whose beauty and inner coherence was worth the highest admiration. This conception of antiquity's "organic unity," however, could not *itself* be traced back to scientific principles. As Axel Horstmann put it, the organic unity that Wolf perceived in the ancient world was not guaranteed "by a particular method of knowledge, but (only) by the *object* of research itself, by Greco-Roman antiquity, which was (...) *a priori* identified as an organic whole."[63] (*it*. added) It appears, then, that Wolf's concept of science had much more in common with the concept of *schöne Wissenschaft* than he would have been willing to admit. It is an ironical fact that Wolf, in the same treatise in which he made short shrift with the concept of *schöne Wissenschaft*, celebrated antiquity as harbouring the "eternal sources of beauty." His introduction of a broad, historical perspective on the ancient world was still motivated by the conviction that the classical world was the most beautiful that had ever been.[64]

From Wolf's and Creuzer's normative approach to the ancient world we can conclude that the concept of *Altertumswissenschaft* was a far cry from what we nowadays call 'historicism.' Wolf and Creuzer aimed at anything else but a detached, empirical knowledge of the ancient world. Instead of *relativising* classical antiquity by studying it from a contextualising or comparative perspective, they assigned an absolute status to it that in their view justified its timeless educational value. Ironically, the 'historical' study of antiquity which they propagated was ultimately legitimised by their conviction of antiquity's *supra*-historical value.[65]

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[62] Wolf (1807: 5). For Kant on the organic unity of science, see e.g. *Kritik der Urteilskraft* AA V, 381.

[63] Horstmann (1978a: 34f.).

[64] This normative dimension also shows in the term "*classical* philology" or "*classical* Altertumswissenschaft," which was widely used in the 19th century. (See Horstmann 1978a: 36; 1978b: 54, 64.)

[65] It is not coincidental that in the *Vormärz* period, Wolf's transformation of classical studies to scientific philology was widely criticised for having *deprived* classical philology of its historical dimension. In 1843, the classical philologist Theodor Rumpel (1815-1885) blamed Wolf for

Wolf's and Creuzer's understanding of scientific philology as a humanistic discipline is also unmistakable from the ultimate purpose they wanted it to serve. Both scholars believed that one could only truly identify with the ancients by fully immersing oneself into the school of academic philology. Creuzer described the ultimate goal of academic philology as to "restore the image of a more divine humanity" and to "reveal the meaning and eternal value" of "the best which the human mind had ever brought forth."[66] Wolf contended that only the academic scholar, who succeeded in getting hold of "fixed, general principles" would succeed in capturing the ancient "spirit, which unite[d] everything individual to a harmonious whole."[67] Both Wolf and Creuzer, then, were not only *inspired* by a humanistic perspective on the ancient world, but looked upon scientific philology as the only true *access* to it.

This can be well exemplified by Wolf's and Creuzer's view on textual criticism. Both scholars distinguished between a lower and a higher form of textual criticism. In its lower form, they argued, critical judgment was formed by deduction on the basis of "historical evidence," usually consisting of "handwritten documents."[68] In its higher form, critical judgment must do without such palpable evidence and was formed entirely by "inner arguments,"[69] accessible to the initiate alone. Higher criticism required no less than a "genial

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having transformed classical studies into a fundamentally *non*-historical discipline. (See ‚Über das religiös-sittliche Bewusstsein der Philologen,' in *Literarische Zeitung* (Berlin, 1843: no. 5, 42 and 43).) By valuing antiquity higher than any other civilisation, Rumpel wrote, Wolf detached the ancient world from the historical context in which it had its natural place. Rumpel quoted the following words of Wolf: "Reading and contemplating [the classical] works will constantly rejuvenate our spirit and heart, *not as historically established characters*, but as the confidentiality between esteemed and beloved people. By the attitudes and feelings they communicate, they will improve the defects of education in depraved ages and elevate people above the manifold limitations of the present." (*it*. Rumpel, p.67; original quote: Wolf (1807: 115)) To Rumpel, then, Wolf's *Altertumswissenschaft* had effectuated, not a historicisation, but a *de*-historicisation of classical studies. For a detailed discussion of Rumpel's critique, see the introduction to Section 3.

[66] Creuzer (1807: 19f.).

[67] Wolf (1807: 141). Cf. Fr. Jacobs (1807, in: 1962: 42): "(...) to penetrate into the spirit of antiquity is definitely bound up with that knowledge (i.e. of academic philology) and cannot be accomplished without it."

[68] Wolf (1807: 106, 40). Creuzer (1807: 38f.) spoke of „documentary (i.e. grammatical and historical) aids."

[69] "*Innere Beweisgründe,*" Wolf (1807: 40).

vision" of "the nature of things" itself.[70] Being an "art" (*Kunst*) in the full sense of the word, it could not dispense with "lively imagination," "ingenuity and profundity" and "feeling."[71] It was "divinatory" by nature, enabling one, not to logically reconstruct, but to "*sense* the original."[72] (*it*. added) This highest form of academic philology would ultimately induce an "*Epoptie*," a "vision of the sacred," a sudden "insight in ancient humanity itself."[73]

It is noticeable that although higher textual criticism entirely lacked the possibility of reasoned demonstration, Wolf nevertheless credited it with a degree of probability "no less convincing than that of which the exact sciences rightly boast."[74] Neither Wolf nor Creuzer regarded this visionary treatment of ancient texts as unfounded or murky. On the contrary, they understood it as the highest form of *professional* philology. Obtaining a mystical "vision of the holiest" they perceived as the greatest conceivable token of *academic* competence.

The humanistic objectives of scientific philology finally explain why Wolf and Creuzer considered *Altertumswissenschaft* of crucial importance to educational ends. It was because they looked upon antiquity as an ideal, exemplary world that they regarded classical philology eminently suited to „educate and discipline one's faculties (...), to sharpen one's sense of truth and beauty, to refine one's judgment on the beautiful, to tailor and regulate one's imagination, to awaken and bring to equilibrium all the faculties of the soul."[75] So convinced was Wolf of philology's educational value that he could not believe "that what is gained by historical studies of the ancient world for the harmonious development of the mind could be as perfectly achieved in any other way."[76] In Wolf's view, then, "knowledge of ancient mankind acquired by philological-historical research [was] (...) more than arbitrary, empirical knowledge."[77] It

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[70] Creuzer (1807: 38).

[71] Wolf, quoted from Horstmann (1978a: 38).

[72] *Das Ursprüngliche ahnen*, Wolf (1807: 40, 108). Creuzer (1807: 57) spoke of restoring the classical works to their original form by means of a "religious sense."

[73] Wolf (1807: 124f.).

[74] Wolf (1807: 40).

[75] Wolf (1807: 139f.; cf. 125-7; 130): scientific philology would provide "new occasions (...) for the increased perfection of all the faculties of our mind and heart."

[76] Wolf (1807: 9).

[77] Horstmann (1978b: 56).

ultimately served the humanistic purpose of educating a human being as a human being.[78]

In the final analysis, then, the often assumed opposition between scientific philology and humanism does not stand up to scrutiny. In its first origin, the concept of *Altertumswissenschaft* sprang from a recognition of the exceptional value of ancient civilisation that had inspired classical humanists for many centuries. Wolf's and Creuzer's wish to emancipate classical philology as a self-contained science cannot possibly be detached from their humanistic perspective on the classical world. Indeed, it was precisely *because* they considered classical antiquity far superior to any other civilisation that they deemed it worth a true science of its own. To them, scientific philology was the ultimate form of humane education.[79]

8. Conclusion

With this conclusion we are in the position to consider the relation between humanism and the changing concept of science in more detail. With 'ideal type' classical humanists such as Karl Gottfried Siebelis, Wolf and Creuzer shared the conviction of the unique, universal value of classical culture. For all three men alike, classical studies drew their final justification from antiquity's potential of

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[78] Cf. Horstmann (1978a: 37): "Wolf sees research as a process of *Bildung* and considers it sufficiently legitimated by it."

[79] The close association between scientific philology and humanistic objectives never quite disappeared from 19th century classical philology. Even Wolf's student August Böckh (1785-1867), who is well known to have redefined the purpose of classical studies in a decidedly non-humanistic fashion (i.e. as "the knowledge (...) of the known"), never quite gave up on humanistic values. In the introduction to his *Encyklopädie und Methodologie der Philologischen Wissenschaften* (1877) he wrote that "philology should lay claim to the entire person and cultivate all his faculties in an all-round way." In Böckh's view, it "belonged (...) to philology (...) to be '*Humanitätsstudium*.'" (14) For "when antiquity had been reconstructed in such a [scientific] way, (...) a magnificent, exalted view of divine and human things must be created, as the noblest creations of thousands of years (...) are regenerated in us." (*ibid*. 258) Also Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1848-1931), who is known like no other to have valued science as en end in itself, described the purpose of scientific philology as the "pure and exhilarating contemplation of what has been understood in its truth and beauty." (See the introduction to his *Geschichte der Philologie* (1921). Quoted from Horstmann (1978a: 56).) On Böckh, see Reinhardt (1970: 72-5) and Horstmann (1978a: 40-8); on Wilamowitz, see Horstmann (1978a: 52-7) and Baumbach (2002: 132ff.).

providing timeless models that could help people approach the ideal of true "humanness." Wolf and Creuzer differed from Siebelis, however, in their belief that not only classical literature and classical artefacts were of exemplary significance, but the classical world as a whole. No matter how seemingly trivial or obscure the object of scientific philology, Wolf and Creuzer considered its study apriorically justified by the sacred stature of antiquity at large.

When seen from this perspective, the new epoch that begun with Wolf and Creuzer is best described, not as heralding the 'decline' of humanism, but rather as a gradual *broadening of the humanistic horizon*: Wolf and Creuzer projected the exemplary perspective on classical civilisation – a perspective that had traditionally been largely confined to classical literature and art – to antiquity as whole, thus incorporating into classical studies many a poorly exploited field of knowledge.

Yet, this projection was not without problems. Traditional humanists such as Karl Gottfried Siebelis based their appreciation of classical culture on a relatively small number of texts and artefacts whose qualities could be concretely demonstrated. Although Siebelis extensively occupied himself with non-classical authors – such as Pausanias, Clitodemus and Philochorus - he made it very clear that he considered such research to be of secondary importance.[80] His priority was to teach and explain the canonical, exemplary texts that he deemed worthy of explanation as well as imitation. Even when he spoke of "the ancients," "the Romans" or "the Greeks" in generalising terms, he nearly always referred to the select company of exemplary, classical authors that he taught at school.

With Wolf and Creuzer, this traditional distinction between exemplary and non-exemplary remnants of the classical world became increasingly difficult to sustain. Wolf and Creuzer looked upon antiquity as imbued with an all-pervasive, sanctifying spirit that made the most obscure detail reflect the beauty and splendour of the whole. Thus, not only canonical texts and artefacts, but *all* aspects of ancient culture were seen in an appreciative light. The problem with this view, however, was that the supposed exemplary character of the studied objects could no longer be concretely demonstrated. The beauty and unity that Wolf and Creuzer had in mind could not be exposed, explained or imitated, but only be *sensed*. It is not coincidental that both scholars described the ultimate phase of scientific philology in terms of an initiation into a mystery that would

[80] See above, section I.2.viii.

finally yield a sacred "vision" of ancient humankind. They were sharply aware of the mystical, nearly religious nature of their scientific ideal.

In my view, this *mystification* of classical antiquity was the real challenge that Wolf and Creuzer posed to classical humanism. They rid the traditional, exemplary perspective on the ancient world of its primary relation to values that were concretely demonstrable, making it dependent instead on a vague, mystical vision of ancient humankind that could only be time-bound. In *Vormärz*, academic philology touched upon ever more aspects of the ancient world that did not have an obvious connection with concretely demonstrable values. As the greatest upsurge of Hellenophilia had well passed, philologists were less and less inclined to consider these individual aspects as infused by an all-pervasive, unifying "spirit." As a result, there was an ever widening gap between the positive results of academic philology and its underlying humanistic motivation. At the end of the century, this gap would become so wide as to compel many a classicist either to turn his back on academic philology and to reorient himself to the tradition of classical humanism, or to give up on humanistic values and to focus on a new ideal of objective science. This last step would be taken by Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1848-1931), who expressly aimed to altogether abandon the traditional, exemplary perspective on the ancient world and replace it by a concept of pure, self-contained *Wissenschaft*.[81]

It is easy to see that Wolf and Creuzer would not have approved of the course that classical philology has taken after their deaths. The ongoing weakening of the exemplary perspective would have deeply worried them, not just because it put an end to their personal vision, but because in their view it deprived scientific philology from its ultimate justification. Ironically, however, they were themselves to blame for putting this development in motion. By severing classical philology from its primary relation to concretely demonstrable values, they enabled it to steer a course that would eventually thwart the very humanistic purpose that it was intended to serve. Wolf's and Creuzer's transformation of classical studies into *Altertumswissenschaft,* then, is overshadowed by a deep irony. Precisely because their humanistic perspective on the classical world assumed nearly religious proportions, they eventually

[81] Wilamowitz, *Philologie und Schulreform* (1892: 108f.). Wilamowitz strongly disapproved of the traditional predicate "classical," which he thought should have no place in scientific philology. See Horstmann (1978a: 53f.).

weakened the position of classical humanism. Against their intentions, the concept of *Altertumswissenschaft* turned out not to consolidate, but to jeopardise the classical-humanistic ideal of education.

9. The continuity of classical school education (i)

At this point, we need to observe that the transformation of classical studies into scientific philology only had a restricted impact on classical education at the *Gymnasien*. First and foremost, the transformation of classical philology was realised at academic institutions. Wolf wrote his *Darstellung der Alterthumswissenschaft* in his capacity as a university professor, addressing an academic audience.[82] Creuzer, who never spent one day teaching at a *Gymnasium*, titled his treatise on classical education "The *Academic* Study of Antiquity." (*it.* added)

Nevertheless, the transformation of classical philology clearly left its traces in school education. By the spectacular rise of scientific philology, the academic competence of classics teachers at the 19th century *Gymnasien* was astonishingly high. Nearly all of them had attended the philological seminars at the university for some years, where textual criticism was conducted at the highest level. Often, they published widely on academic subjects and enjoyed esteem comparable to that of university professors. As a result, classical school education was at risk of falling prey to academism. The inclination of classics teachers to indulge in philological, often text-critical digressions was an object of wide complaints.[83] This academism can be seen, for example, in the distinction between "statary" and "cursory" reading (*statarische* and *cursorische Lectüre*)

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[82] Wolf only taught at secondary school level for three years, from 1781 to 1783 (in Ilfeld and Osterode).

[83] Ludolph Wienbarg (1840: 16f.), for example, held that the thoroughness and formalism in classical school education spoiled many students' "lust in [reading] the ancient writers;" August Vilmar wrote that not only the universities, but also the *Gymnasia* were haunted by "Alexandrinism," *i.e.*, the tendency of philologists to indulge in discussions *about* writers, whilst ignoring the glorious texts of these writers themselves (see Lübker 1858: 3). Friedrich Lübker (1858: 4) feared that the philological interest in "less exemplary authors" and more "remote areas" of the ancient world would harm a "just (...) appreciation of individual achievements of the creative spirit of the ancients." Friedrich Nietzsche (*Sämtliche Werke I* (1988: 686)) alluded to the same problem when in 1872 he famously stated that at the German *Gymnasium*, he had "never found even one fiber of what could justly be called classical *Bildung.*"

which grew increasingly common in the course of the 19th century.[84] Statary reading, which consisted in analysing texts into great detail, focusing above all on grammar, philology and textual criticism, not only tended to slow down the reading tempo, but also to result in (quasi-)academic philological lectures hardly appropriate to school education.[85] Therefore, resort could be taken to "cursory" reading, which gave less attention to linguistic and philological details, aiming instead at global understanding and the cultivation of taste.[86] The very distinction between statary and cursory reading testifies to the increasing importance of philological rigour in classical school education.[87]

The influence of academic philology can also be measured by the increased production of classical school editions. The commentaries to the texts in these editions were often of a purely academic nature, whereby, according to critics, they tended to "turn attention away from the author rather than towards him."[88]

However, despite the obvious impact of classical philology on school education, a very large gap separated the schools from the universities. In 1858, at a time when the transformation of academic philology was largely completed, Friedrich Lübker observed that "the philological science and its treatment in academic teaching (...) with few exceptions seems to abstain from an immediate

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[84] The distinction dates back to the 18th century (see Gesner, *Vorrede zum Livius*, in: *Opuscula Minora* vol. VII (1745: 249)), and was a general effect of the increased emphasis in classical education on reading above speaking.

[85] See e.g. Niemeyer (1805a I: 481). – Statary readings were above all applied to difficult texts, especially complex poetry, see e.g. Steuber (1817: 108f.).

[86] See e.g. anonymous (1809: 43): "The rules of hermeneutics are practiced in statary reading, whereas in more cursory reading attention is paid (...) to beautiful, artistic form (*schöne Kunstform*)." Cf. Dinter (1818: 19) - "Cursory" readings were often applied to easier authors, such as Homer or Curtius, or to Neolatin texts. (See Steuber (1817: 108f.).)

[87] This is exactly why the distinction between statary and cursory reading was often criticised in the 19th century. Various educationalists argued that it should not be necessary at all to resort to cursory reading to counterbalance the damage done by statary reading. August Spilleke (1821: 40) criticised the distinction for stimulating superficiality. According to Friedrich Thiersch, *Über Gelehrte Schulen I* (1826: 293f.), a teacher should give no more information than necessary for a sound understanding of a textual fragment. Karl Nägelsbach was of the same opinion, which he expressed in the motto: "read statarily if necessary, cursorily if possible." (See Schmid I (1859: 801).)

[88] Lübker (1858: 7). Lübker mentioned Karl Kirchner's edition of Horace's *Satires* (1829ff.) as too learned for school purposes (*Ibid*. 8).

(...) effect on the *Gymnasien*."[89] Lübker perceived that throughout the century, classical school education preserved much of its traditional form. Firstly, it aimed primarily at the greatest possible mastery of the classical languages, above all of Latin. Secondly, the curriculum retained its almost exclusive focus on texts, a further limit being raised, thirdly, by the criterion of *Classizität*. In other words, classical school studies clearly preserved their traditional bias towards the *schöne Wissenschaften*. Although text-critical digressions may have regularly occurred, they never became a central focus of school education.[90] Likewise, "statary" readings might on occasion have seriously slowed down the average reading tempo, but they did not prevent students from going through quantities of texts vastly surpassing any classical pensum prescribed at schools today.[91] By its traditional focus on classical form, school education offered only limited room for academic innovations to integrate. The turn away from the aesthetic and moral qualities of classical texts, characteristic of 19th century academic philology, did hardly gain foothold at the schools, nor did the high-blown ideals accompanying such shifts of focus. Indeed, one can easily imagine an academic scholar like Friedrich August Wolf fantasising about an *Altertumswissenschaft* yielding a mystical vision of "ancient humankind." But it is hard to see what such a vision could have meant to an average classics teacher, labouring to explain the subtleties of a Ciceronian period to a noisy group of adolescent sixth-graders.[92]

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[89] Lübker (1858: 7). Cf. Friedrich Gotthold, headmaster of the Friedrichs-Collegium Königsberg, who assumed it "to be well-known that three-quarters of [the] science [of antiquity] are not taught by *Gymnasium* teachers." (Gotthold (1842: 32))

[90] Friedrich Gotthold (1842: 32) said that he only discussed text-critical questions about ten times a year.

[91] On the alleged detrimental effects of statary readings, Friedrich Lübker (1858: 5) wrote that "in general, much more is read (...) at the schools than the judgment [in question] seems to acknowledge." Only in *Prima*, Friedrich Gotthold read 130 pages of Greek prose, as well as a Greek tragedy, within a half year. (See Gotthold (1842: 32).)

[92] The slow integration of the new concept of science and scientific philology into *Gymnasium* education can also be measured by the fact that in school programs, language education (Latin, Greek, German, Hebrew, French, etc.) was often listed separately from "science" education ('*Wissenschaften:*' history, mathematics, physics, geography, etc.) until the end of the century. At the Bautzen *Gymnasium*, languages and sciences were listed in separate columns up to the 1850s. From the 1850s onwards, they were put together in one column titled

Secondly, it should be noted that the academic philologists who set the transformation of classical philology in motion were not only fully aware of the major difference between school and university education, but advocated its preservation. Although Wolf considered the expansion of philology to serve a humanistic purpose, he held that the "study of humanness" (*Humanitätsstudien*), in its "properly understood" meaning – that is, as opposed to the highest ideal of humanness pursued by academic philology – should be restricted "to what the English call classical learning." Since true, scientific philology would "remain forever unknown to most people,"[93] the "propaedeutic education (…) for literary careers" should be confined to the traditional humanistic curriculum, which aimed at the acquisition of "knowledge of (…) beautiful and classical works."[94] Wolf even uttered the wish that "this [classical] means of education (…) in all parts of the fatherland will (…) soon again become what it was in earlier times."[95] It is a remarkable fact that the founding father of modern, scientific philology pleaded for a return to the past with respect to *Gymnasium* education.[96]

"languages and sciences." It was only in the 1890s that the heading "languages" altogether disappeared. From now on, languages were subsumed under the heading "sciences."

[93] Wolf (1807: 139, cf. 129)

[94] Wolf (1807: 79f., 125). Wolf (1807: 81) realised that to the average student, "much of the material from the encyclopaedia of knowledge designed here" (i.e., in his *Darstellung der Alterthumswissenschaft*) was "not more useful to the cultivation of human *Bildung* than our admirable exact sciences." Cf. *ibid*. 141: "But the *Wissenschaft* designed here is helped no more by such promotion of humanistic knowledge than is philosophy by the popular treatment of wisdom." Cf. *ibid*. 48.

[95] Wolf (1807: 140). Wolf obviously hinted at the worrying bias towards "material" topics characteristic of Enlightenment pedagogy.

[96] Wolf (1807: 125). Cf. Wolf, *Grenzbestimmung zwischen dem Unterrichte auf den Schulen und auf den Universitäten und zwischen der Bildung in den nachherigen praktischen Bildungsanstalten, in: Consilia Scholastica* (1835: 98) "Only the university (i.e. as opposed to the *Gymnasien*) must aim at actual learning (*Gelehrsamkeit*) and scientific education." Creuzer, too, made a clear distinction between school and academic education. He was the author of a widely used textbook with traditional Latin style exercises, intended for the middle and higher grades of the *Gelehrtenschulen*, see Creuzer (1800). Cf. also Karl Nägelsbach (in Schmid I (1859: 800)): "Explaining [the classics] requires us to strictly distinguish between the school purpose (*Schulzweck*) of reading [classical authors] and the scientific purpose of completely understanding [them]." cf. *ibid*. 797: "So let's not talk about classical reading as performed by the philologist, but insofar as it is the main means of education (*Hauptbildungsmittel*) for a *Gymnasium* student."

Wolf was not the only scholar to make a clear distinction between school and university education. Johann Gottfried Herder, for example, is best known as an adventurous philosopher who was amongst the first to point to the superiority of Greek over Roman culture. He was of pioneering importance to the development of an historical understanding of the classical world, which he based on a theory on the natural rise and fall of national cultures.[97] As a result, Herder has often rightly been seen as anticipating 19th century trends in classical philology. However, his much lesser known school addresses, delivered at the Weimar *Gymnasium* in a period stretching from 1765 to 1802, show a substantially different picture.[98] In these speeches, aiming to convince a local audience of students, parents and townspeople of the importance of classical education, Herder was not occupied at all with proving the superiority of the Greeks over the Romans nor with commenting on their historical genesis. Instead, he recommended both Greek and Roman classics as "eternal monuments of *schöne Wissenschaft*."[99]

Another example is Barthold Niebuhr, a typical new-type philologist, whom Wienbarg branded as standing "at the forefront of scientific aberrations in the study of antiquity."[100] Niebuhr's fame is largely based on his *Römische Geschichte* (1811-32), in which he discussed Roman history from a detached, historical perspective. In his "Letter to a Young Philologist," however, a short treatise on the use of classical education, he recommended his addressee to abstain from "scholarly investigations" and to focus primarily on the classics' stylistic excellence.[101]

A third example is August Böckh, who is well known for having been one of the first scholars to highlight various negative aspects of Greek culture in his *Staatshaushaltung der Athener* (1817), thus paving the way for an approach to the ancient world that would aim at "knowledge of the known" (*Erkennen des*

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[97] For this theory, see above all the *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*. (*Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 13-14); see also Labrie (1986: 46-53).

[98] Herder was director of the Weimar *Gymnasium* from 1776 until his death in 1803.

[99] **"***Die ewige Denkmale der Wissenschaft des Schönen.*" Herder (1782? (dating uncertain), in 1962: 36). Cf. Karl Morgenstern who, in a defence of classical humanism delivered at the university of Dorpat (modern day Tartu, Estonia) in 1802, did not present Herder as an innovator, but put him on a par with Petrarca, Erasmus, Shaftesbury and Hemsterhuis. (p.98)

[100] Wienbarg (1840: 92).

[101] Niebuhr, *Brief an einen jungen Philologen* (ed. Jacob (1839: 143)).

Erkannten).[102] However, in a speech delivered at the birthday of King Friedrich Wilhelm III in 1822, Böckh stated that the unique importance of classical education was to fulfil young people with the most beautiful forms through the study of classical texts.[103]

Finally, the discrepancy between academic developments and classical school education was also reflected in the *Encyklopädie des gesammten Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswesens* (1859-1878), edited by K.A. Schmid. Here, the entries *classische Philologie* and *classische Bildung* were no longer listed independently, but rallied under the general entries *Philologie* and *Bildung*, reflecting the disappearance of the normative element from both ancient philology and pedagogy. "*Classische Schullectüre,*" however, was still listed as a separate lemma, reflecting the preservation of the normative approach to antiquity in school practice.

As these examples poignantly indicate, we are all too inclined to consider academic developments in isolation from school education. By only studying the philological innovations made by Wolf, Creuzer, Niebuhr or Böckh, we tend to ignore the fact that every single one of these scholars advocated traditional classical education for *Gymnasium* students. Although academic philology clearly left its traces in the schools, the *Gymnasien*, by their primary focus on classical texts remained immune to academic influences to a remarkable extent. The broadening of humanism that we have discussed in the present chapter remained primarily confined to the universities. In the protected atmosphere of the schools, the classical-humanistic ideal of education was able to survive for a long time indeed. The *Gymnasien* lived on as breeding grounds of *schöne Wissenschaften*, long after the term itself had fallen out of use.

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[102] Böckh (1877: 10).

[103] "*[Q]uidquid recens aetas protulit eximii, non desierunt veteres potissimum scriptores classici esse, tenerique animi iis, quae optima sunt, debent imbui, ut pulcherrimis formis repleantur.*" ("Whatever [works] of outstanding quality the modern age has produced, the ancient [authors] still are the pre-eminently classical authors. The delicate souls (of children) must be imbued with what is best in order to fulfil them with the most beautiful forms.") (A. Böckh, *De antiquitatis studio* (1822), in: *Gesammelte Kleine Schriften* I (1858: 107).) In his *Encyklopädie und Methodologie der Philologischen Wissenschaften* (1877: 258), Böckh described the classics' „mighty effect on the heart (*Gemüth*)" as "the main reason why the young at school should be educated in philology."

Chapter 2 Pedagogy as *Wissenschaft*

> "*Wer Schulen auftut und Belehrung anbietet, der verrichtet ein Werk der Liebe. Eine Liebe aber, die ihre Wohltaten aufdringen, die durch ein Gesetz die Annahme ihrer Gaben erzwingen will, zerstört sich selbst und hört auf, Liebe zu sein.*" (Ludolph von Beckedorff, c. 1820)

1. Introduction

It was not only by its application to philology that the changing concept of science posed a challenge to the classical-humanistic ideal of education. At the same time that Wolf and Creuzer made their first steps on the way to a well-ordered and clearly conceptualised *Altertumswissenschaft,* theorists of education were occupied with applying the new concept of science to pedagogy. Their central objective, very much like that of Wolf and Creuzer, was to transform pedagogy into a "doctrine of education" (*Erziehungswissenschaft*) in which the different, interdependent subfields would all be assigned their own place and task. By the 1800s, the scientification of pedagogy materialised in the publication of many textbooks, the most authoritative of which was August Niemeyer's *Grundsätze der Erziehung und des Unterrichts für Eltern, Hauslehrer und Schulmänner* (1796), which enjoyed reprints well into the late 19th century.[1]

Idealist philosophers also took vivid interest in developing a pedagogy that would meet the demands of science. Prominent amongst them were Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814) and Reinhold Bernhard Jachmann (1767-1843), who in

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[1] Other well known handbooks were: W. Fr. Lehne, *Handbuch der Pädagogik nach einem systematischen Entwurfe* (1799); Fr. H. Chr. Schwarz, *Erziehungslehre* (1802ff.); K. Weiller, *Versuch eines Lehrgebäudes der Erziehungskunde*, 2 vol. (1802-5); H. Stephani, *System der öffentlichen Erziehung* (1805); J. Herbart, *Allgemeine Pädagogik* (1806) and K. Pölitz, *Die Erziehungswissenschaft, aus dem Zwecke der Menschheit und des Staates practisch dargestellt* (1806). – On the genesis of pedagogy as a modern „science," see Th. Ballauff, ‚Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Pädagogik als Wissenschaft in der Neuzeit," in: *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Vol. I (1978: 71-85).

1808, shortly after Prussia's humiliating defeat against Napoleon, embarked on an ambitious project of establishing a "national (i.e. Prussian) education" (*Nationalbildung*) that would be entirely based on scientific pedagogical principles.[2]

The scientification of pedagogy was of eminent importance to classical studies, as it directly affected the famous Prussian educational reforms of 1809-1819. The two leading representatives of this reform, Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835) and Johann Wilhelm Süvern (1775-1829), were deeply influenced by Fichte's and Jachmann's views. In their role as educational reformers, Humboldt and Süvern were not so much concerned with the positive content and practice of classical education, as with the question of how they could give substance to its legitimising, scientific "idea." Convinced that the necessity of classical education could be scientifically deduced from the "nature of man," they propagated the fundamentally equal importance of classical education to all people alike. With the proposed reform they aimed to develop a unified school system that would enable many more people than before to come into contact with classical education. In other words, as a result of the pursuit of scientific pedagogy, ideas on classical education took on a political and social dimension that in the past had played a marginal role at most.

It has never been properly investigated how the concept of science underlying the Prussian educational reform of 1809-1819 related to its humanistic objective. Humboldt is generally represented as a profound thinker whose noble endeavour to make classical education contribute to the formation of individuality and self-understanding was brutally curtailed by the advent of the Restoration.[3] However, as we will see in this chapter, one of the major reasons for the ultimate failure of the intended reform was its uncompromising rigidity, which was itself a direct consequence of the underlying concept of science. To a significant extent, then, the concept of science that Humboldt and Süvern

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[2] Fichte and Jachmann were not the first idealists to apply the new demands of science to pedagogy. Earlier attempts are found in the *Philosophisches Journal einer Gesellschaft Teutscher Gelehrten*, edited by J.G. Fichte and Fr. Niethammer between 1795 and 1800. See also J.H.G. Heusinger, *Beytrag zur Berichtigung einiger Begriffe über Erziehung und Erziehungskunst* (1794); *id.*, *Versuch eines Lehrbuchs der Erziehungskunst* (1795); G. Fähse: *Grundriß der technisch-praktischen Erziehung* (1797); J.P. Harl, *Über Unterricht und Erziehung nach den Principien der Wissenschaftslehre* (1800); Jean Paul, *Levana oder Erziehlehre* (1807).

[3] On this common view, see below, section 4.

employed put them at odds with the humanistic purposes that they intended to serve. It is the aim of the present chapter to investigate the challenge that scientific pedagogy posed to classical humanism in more detail.

2. *Nationalbildung*: Fichte and Jachmann

Johann Gottlieb Fichte and Reinhold Bernhard Jachmann, with their respective *Reden an die deutsche Nation* (1808) and publications in the *Archiv deutscher Nationalbildung* (1812), embarked on the project of basing a theoretical pedagogy on the foundation of true science.[4] This foundation both Fichte and Jachmann understood idealistically as the "rational principle" (*Vernunftprinzip*) of man himself, that is, as the "idea" of man, directly known to us by Reason. From this idea of man, the entire doctrine of education should be deduced: "(The) ideal of perfect mankind," Jachmann wrote, "is the fixed scientific point (*der feste wissenschaftliche Punkt*), towards which all education should be directed and to achieving which every educational measure should be chosen."[5] Thus, the doctrine of education should be given a "philosophical foundation" and a "scientific derivation from a principle of reason."[6]

From the rational idea of man, Fichte and Jachmann drew two far-reaching conclusions. Firstly, as it was applicable to all people without distinction, they argued that *Bildung* should not take into account traditional differences between people, such as determined by position, class or wealth. Rather, it should transcend existing class-boundaries and focus exclusively on the ideal of mankind to which all people equally aspire. In Fichte's words, the new *Bildung* was "not *Bildung* of a specific class, but (...) *Bildung* of the nation as

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[4] Reinhold Bernhard Jachmann (1767-1843) studied philosophy and theology in Königsberg. He was a student and fervent admirer of Immanuel Kant. From 1801 onwards, as headmaster of the *Conradinum* in Danzig, he gradually turned towards the idealism of Johann Gottlieb Fichte, which he aimed to square with pedagogical theory. He also held the position of *Schulrat* in various eastern-Prussian cities.

[5] Jachmann (1812c: 230).

[6] Jachmann (1812c: 208); cf. *ibid*. 237: „Educate your child in accordance with the ideal course of development of [a] perfect human nature to [realise] the rational ideal of perfect humanity;" cf. Jachmann (1812a: 5): „The pure rational purpose (*der reine Vernunftzweck*) of mankind is (...) the purpose of pedagogy;" cf. Jachmann (1811, in 1962: 91). Much like Jachmann, the philologist Franz Passow wanted to "trace back the entire educational system to a scientifically consistent treatment" (*wissenschaftlich consequente Behandlung*) (1812: 103).

such," in which "all class-distinctions" would be "fully dissolved."[7] As the equality of all people was dictated by Reason itself, ignoring it was seen as a serious offense: "To deflect only one single human soul from its divine destination by directing it towards a worldly goal would be a crime."[8] Each individual human being was called to nothing less than to become the "representation of mankind" (*der Stellvertreter der Menschheit*) at large.[9] Paradoxically, realising this universal ideal was seen to be a specifically German task. The final goal was to develop a German "national education" (*Nationalbildung*) which, by transcending traditional class differences, would finally "educate the Germans to a whole" (*die Deutschen zu einer Gesamtheit bilden*)."[10]

To achieve this purpose, the educational landscape should be cleared from all institutions that tended towards differentiation rather than unity. Calling vocational schools a "great sin against humanity,"[11] Jachmann wanted to unify the educational system to the greatest possible extent. "Away with the so-called academic and non-academic schools!," he exclaimed in his treatise *Über die Nationalschule*, "away with the *Gymnasia*, away with higher and lower

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[7] Fichte (1808) (ed. 2008: 24).

[8] Jachmann (1812b: 69).

[9] Jachmann (1812a: 8).

[10] Fichte (1808) (ed. 2008: 23). Cf. Jachmann (1812c: 213): „National education (*Nationalerziehung*) tries to direct individual efforts into a converging point (*Vereinigungspunkt*) and connect all members of a nation into a unity [in order] to achieve the highest aims of humanity." – This tension between the universal idea of man on the one hand and the German national character on the other pervaded German intellectual discourse in the early 19th century. Both Fichte and Jachmann considered the German people particularly blessed because, in their view, the Germans pre-eminently represented the universal idea of man. This widespread view was carried to extremes by their younger colleague idealist Joseph Hillebrand (1788-1871) in his voluminous study *Über Deutschlands National-Bildung* (1818). In this book, Hillebrand meticulously analysed the German 'national character,' which he found, amongst other things, in loyalty towards family and fatherland, as well as in a sense of freedom, religion, science and art. To Hillebrand, however, these specifically German characteristics were at the same time the highest conceivable virtues in general. In Hillebrand's view, the Germans, just as the ancient Greeks, were "appointed by the supreme cosmic spirit as guardian[s] of humankind." As "faithful priest[s]," the Germans should "guard and maintain the holy flame on the sacred altar so that (...) also in other countries, the sun of Enlightenment could be ignited." (Hillebrand (1818: 55))

[11] Jachmann (1812b: 70).

Bürgerschulen and whatever might be their name! There is only one humanity! There is only one German nation! There should be only one national school!"[12]

Furthermore, as the "national school" was to be wholly oriented towards the rational idea of man, it should consequently turn its back on the everyday world. For the everyday world, according to Jachmann, "uses her mental powers merely to attain sensual purposes,"[13] that is, purposes that could not match the *ideal* purposes prevailing at the national school. To Jachmann, the concepts of world and school were "mutually exclusive."[14] Therefore, a student should "deliberately be distracted from the confusing activities of the outside world and be directed with fixed gaze towards his inner self."[15] Only in "the realm of Reason" should the school "build its quiet temple, in whose sanctuary, protected from the pestilential breath of the worldly spirit," it should "develop and nourish the delicate seeds of humanity and educate [students] to an active life of Reason.[16] The most striking testimony of the national school's tendency away from the everyday world was Fichte's plea not to allow students to know anything of base values such as self-preservation and well-being by "completely isolating" them "from the community."[17] To Fichte, only such physical distancing would enable students to exclusively live and act according to the scientific idea of man as prescribed by Reason.

Focus as they did on the rational idea of man, Fichte and Jachmann came into conflict with the concept of individuality. To Jachmann, each individual human being who did not conform to "the archetype of the perfect nature of man" was a "disproportion" (*Missverhältnis*) which it was education's task to correct.[18] "Education (*Erziehung*) consists in converting the individual disparity into the ideal ratio of perfect human nature and in developing it to the highest perfection."[19] In practice, this meant that a student making rapid progress in a

[12] Jachmann (1812b: 98).
[13] Jachmann (1811 (Joerden (1962: 90)).
[14] Jachmann (1811: 89).
[15] Jachmann (1811: 102).
[16] Jachmann (1811: 91).
[17] Fichte (1808) (ed. 2008: 39; cf. 41).
[18] Jachmann (1812c: 222).
[19] Jachmann (1812c: 226). Cf *ibid*. 225f.: "Individuality, as it appears to us in nature, is a disproportion, and the task of education is not to preserve or even increase it, but to convert

particular subject should not be stimulated in further cultivating his talent. On the contrary, he should be urged to focus on other subjects.[20] Only by thus restoring the balance, the ideal nature of man could be given true substance.[21] The risk that in this way precious talents be wasted, did not interest Jachmann in the least. To him, "man is not born to be an excellent scholar, artist or craftsman in a short life on earth, but to approach the ideal of perfect humanity in an infinite progress."[22] Likewise, Fichte intended to forcibly make students conform to the rational ideal of man. "The new education," he contended in his second address to the German nation, should consist in "completely destroying free will." "Strict necessity of decisions and the impossibility of the opposite" should take its place.[23] Like Jachmann, Fichte was unwilling to allow students the slightest deviation from the universal ideal of mankind.

It is important to note that the radicalism inherent in Fichte's and Jachmann's educational philosophy derived from their concept of science and its particular alliance with philosophical idealism. Fichte and Jachmann were amongst the first theorists of education to take the idealist foundation of science as their guiding principle. It was by wanting to scientifically deduce the entire doctrine of education from the universal idea of the "nature of man" that they produced a pedagogical theory that strikes many a modern interpreter as downright totalitarian.[24]

3. The unitary school (*Einheitsschule*): Humboldt and Süvern

After the defeat against Napoleon in 1806/7, the Prussian authorities famously set out to compensate for the losses of "external power and outward splendour"[25] by "cultivating a moral, religious, patriotic spirit in the nation,

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the individual disproportion into the idealistic proportions of perfect human nature and to develop it to the highest perfection."

[20] Jachmann (1811 (Joerden (1962: 98)).

[21] Jachmann (1812c: 236).

[22] Jachmann (1812c: 238).

[23] Fichte (1808) (ed. 2008: 29).

[24] As many educationalists, Fichte and Jachmann were less radical in practice than they were in theory. Jachmann, for instance, acknowledged the necessity of vocational schools, but wanted them to *follow* the general, humane education provided by the "national school." (1812b: 80; cf. 1812c: 241)

[25] Words by king Friedrich Wilhelm III. Quoted from Clausnitzer (1892: 48).

instilling again courage, self-confidence, willingness to make any sacrifice for independence from what is foreign."[26] A special role was reserved for an educational reform that aimed at "developing each mental power from within and encourage and nourish every noble principle of life."[27] From December 1808, this reform was led by Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835), director of the Home Office's "Section for Culture and public education" (*Sektion für Kultus und öffentlichen Unterricht*).[28] After his resignation in June 1810, his colleague Johann Wilhelm Süvern (1775-1829) elaborated his ideas into a proposition for a general Education Act (*Unterrichtsgesetzentwurf*) published in 1819.[29]

Both Humboldt and Süvern were deeply influenced by idealist educational philosophy.[30] In Humboldt's view, the highest task of educational authorities was to produce "the deepest and purest view of science."[31] He regarded "*wissenschaftliche Bildung*" as conditional to realise the "the highest, generally-human" (*das höchst allgemein Menschliche*), which he described as the focal point (*Brennpunkt*) of all education.[32] Süvern likewise attached overriding importance to the idealist concept of science, wanting the entire doctrine of education to be derived "exclusively from the idea."[33] To Süvern, education was "far too great and holy to derive its norm and goal from anything external,

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[26] Words by Freiherr von Stein (1757-1831), see *ibid*.

[27] *Ibid*.

[28] Humboldt studied law and classics at the University of Göttingen. In 1802, he was appointed Prussian resident at the Holy See in Rome. In 1809 and 1810, he was in charge of Prussian public education as director of the Home Office's "Section for Cult and public education." After his resignation, Humboldt continued to hold political and diplomatic positions for some time. From 1819 onwards, however, he lived an increasingly secluded life, devoted to the fine arts and sciences, above all to comparative linguistics and the philosophy of history.

[29] The bill is integrally published in Schweim (1966: 123-221). – Having studied at the universities of Jena and Halle, Johann Süvern was headmaster of the *Gymnasien* in Thorn and Elbing (Eastern Prussia). In 1809 he was appointed *Staatsrat* in the *Sektion für Kultus und öffentlichen Unterricht*. In this capacity, he worked on the general Prussian Education Act. After its final rejection in the Restoration era, Süvern gradually withdrew from politics.

[30] Süvern had been a student of Fichte, who was the first rector of the Berlin University, founded in 1809 on the basis of ideas of Wilhelm von Humboldt.

[31] Humboldt (1964: 191).

[32] Humboldt (1964: 202).

[33] See Quarck (1929: 38).

accidental, changeable and not be considered and treated in the purest independence."[34]

Concretely, the idealist tendency can be measured by various aspects of Humboldt's and Süvern's reforms. Firstly, they wanted to develop a unified school system, which in later history would be known as the '*Einheitsschule*' (unitary school). This new type of school would only provide one single type of elementary education. Whether elementary schools were independent institutions or integrated into a *Bürgerschule* and/or a *Gymnasium*, the content of education would be exactly the same. Thus, all pupils would finish their primary education at an equal level, thus being theoretically enabled to proceed to the next level without transitional difficulties. The same principle applied to the levels of the *Bürgerschule* and the *Gymnasium*.[35] By thus precisely aligning the various educational levels and by excluding all parallel school forms, the reformers tried to strictly orient education towards the "idea of man" which they considered universally valid.[36]

Secondly, the unitary school, which aimed at "general education" alone, would abstain from "immediate preparation for specific, individual

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[34] Quoted from Quarck (1929: 38). – The same idealist view on education was found amongst colleague reformers. August Ferdinand Bernhardi (1769/70-1820) aimed to found the educational system on "scientific universality," which he expected "to single out man from his individual state to integrate him into the totality." (See Horstmann (1925: 15).) Bernhardi was a member of the "scientific Deputation" (*wissenschaftliche Deputation*) of the Section of Cult and Public Education. The foundation of this advisory body in 1809 itself testified to the importance the Prussian government attached to science. In Humboldt's words, it was the Deputation's task to make educational reforms comply with "general, scientific principles" (*allgemeine*, *wissenschaftliche Grundsätze*). (Humboldt (1964: 201))

[35] Humboldt developed his ideas on the unitary school in *Der Königsberger und der Litauischer Schulplan* (1809) (Humboldt (1964: 168-95)). The unitary principle underlies Süverns *Unterrichtsgesetzentwurf* of 1819.

[36] Since the large majority of people only enjoyed primary education, most people could never get as far as to fully realise the "idea of man." To get away with this uneasiness, Humboldt and Süvern proclaimed that the lower levels of education were complete in themselves. "Even the poorest," Humboldt (1964: 175) wrote, should be given "complete human *Bildung*" (*vollständige Menschenbildung*), which only differed from higher forms of *Bildung* as it was "delimited differently, [namely] there, where it could proceed to further development." Accordingly, Süvern included a paragraph (§4) in the 1819 Education Act which decreed that each school level not only prepare a subsequent level, but also have a "goal of its own." (See Schweim (1966: 125).)

professions."[37] Also class-related differences should be avoided as much as possible: "The organisation of the [unitary] school," Humboldt wrote, "is not concerned with a caste, not with an individual craft, nor with the learned (*gelehrte*) caste (an error of former times). (...) General school education (*der allgemeine Schulunterricht*) focuses on man himself."[38] Since the idea of man applies equally to all people, "the meanest day labourer and the most finely cultivated man must (...) be made like-minded."[39] Humboldt and Süvern, then, conceived of a school system that would perfectly fit the two main requirements set by Fichte and Jachmann: it should provide purely humane *Bildung* to all people alike and resolutely turn its back on worldly purposes.

Thirdly, the high ideal set by idealist philosophy materialised in very demanding curricular requirements. Süvern proposed the following curriculum for the elementary school alone (attended by children who had not yet reached the age of boyhood (*Knabenalter*), that is, children less than 10 years old[40]): religion, German, foreign languages, elementary mathematics, drawing, arithmetic, natural history, elementary geography and history, singing, calligraphy, handicraft and agriculture.[41] By thus confronting children of the most humble origins with a curriculum of almost encyclopaedic breadth, he hoped that even they would leave school as harmonically educated human beings.[42]

Finally, the idealistic tendency of the Prussian educational reform emerges from Humboldt's intention to deny any dispensation for classical education. "All students," regardless of origin, class or wealth, "should

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[37] Süvern §1, see Schweim (1966: 124).

[38] Humboldt (1964: 188).

[39] "*Der gemeinste Tagelöhner und der am feinsten Ausgebildete muss in seinem Gemüth ursprünglich gleich gestimmt werden*." (Humboldt (1964: 189)).

[40] §3, see Schweim (1966: 124).

[41] §11, see Schweim (1966: 133f.).

[42] As it was hardly realistic to impose such a curriculum on pupils of, let say, an average country school, Süvern added a clause stating that, in case the extensive program could not be realised, resort could be taken to an "incomplete" curriculum, "at least" comprising religion, reading, writing, arithmetic and singing, that is, the basic subjects which had traditionally been part of elementary education (§11, see Schweim (1966: 134)). Apparently, Süvern realised that reality could not be squared with his idealist view of man. Even so, he aimed to *standardise* the comprehensive curriculum while degrading common elementary education to a fallback as practically necessary as theoretically indefensible.

absolutely (*schlechterdings*) learn both [i.e. classical languages] at the lowest grade."[43] Whether the required effort would ever prove of any practical value, did not bother Humboldt at all. As the idea of man applied to all people alike, he famously stated that "to the carpenter it would be as useful to have learned Greek, as to the scholar to make furniture."[44] The idealist classicist Franz Passow (1786-1833) formulated it in much the same way: "Greek (...) does not befit better the King's son than the meanest of his (...) subjects."[45]

4. The challenge to classical humanism (ii)

Despite its noble appearance, there was clearly a dark side to the idealism pervading Humboldt's and Süvern's educational philosophy. This becomes poignantly clear from a couple of rarely quoted paragraphs of the 1819 Education Act, relating to school sanctions. In §40, Süvern addressed the question how to take action against parents who, by refusing to send their children to the unitary school, deprived them of the possibility of being educated according to the rational idea of man. In this case, Süvern wrote, school officials or policemen (!) should drag the children forcibly away from their homes and bring them to school. The parents should be "appropriately" punished: they should be fined, and, if that did not make them change their mind, even be imprisoned or forced to penal servitude. If even these measures would not succeed in breaking the parents' will, the penalties would even "be increased."[46] Nowhere does the totalitarian tendency of Süvern's school plan surface more clearly than in these paragraphs on punitive measures. Süvern conceived them in perfect accordance with Reinhold Jachmann's view that it was a "crime" to keep a child away from his "divine destination" in the idea. The idea of man was of such importance to him, that he had no scruples with isolating disobedient parents from society and seeing them publicly disgraced.[47]

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[43] Humboldt (1964: 176).

[44] Humboldt (1964: 189).

[45] Passow (1812: 126).

[46] See Schweim (1966: 158).

[47] Obviously, underlying these sanctions is an ideal of compulsory education. Formally, compulsory education had been introduced in Prussia as early as 1717. Thus, Süvern's plan was not exceptional by the underlying notion of compulsory education, but by the radicalism with which Süvern wanted to implement it.

The totalitarian inclinations of the Prussian reformers did not go unnoticed at the time. The conservative educationalist and statesman Ludolph von Beckedorff (1778-1858), evaluating Süverns school plan shortly after its final rejection, criticised its totalitarian character.[48] In Beckedorff's view, individuals should not be indiscriminately treated according to the same, uniform idea. On the contrary, to Beckedorff, a sound society thrived on the "natural inequality of people."[49] "Civil society," he wrote, "(...) exists as its citizens live in various activities, trades and occupations." Therefore, everyone must be educated "according to the class or profession to which he has been appointed, either by birth or by his parents' wishes or by his own resolution."[50] By its radicalism, Süverns plan struck Beckedorff as outright dangerous: "Who can guarantee that this [plan] will not finally, stepwise, result in Inquisition and Auto da Fé?" How is such a plan possible, he exclaimed, "in our age that uses to be proud of its liberality? (...) What would happen to our freedom of conscience and conviction?"[51]

Beckedorff also denounced the radical intellectualism underlying the 1819 Education Act. "Schooling," he argued, "(...) is not the exclusive fundament of (national education).[52] (...) The [parental] home, public life, the church and the school all have an equal share in the education of the young." To Beckedorff, Süverns plan "credited intellectual education (...) with an exaggerated influence (...) on the moral direction [of man]."[53]

Taking the rigidity of Humboldt's and Süvern's reform plans into account, it may seem strange that the Prussian educational reform is usually very positively assessed in scholarship. Especially since the Second World War, scholars are keen on highlighting its "democratic" tendency. Its class-transcending ideal of elevating the common man by means of *Bildung* is mostly acknowledged as a forward-pointing attempt to utilise education as a tool for

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[48] Beckedorff's evaluation, dating between 1819 and 1822, is integrally printed in Quitschau (1931: 305-21).

[49] „*Die natürliche Ungleichheit der Menschen*," see Quittschau (1931: 308).

[50] See Quittschau (1931: 308).

[51] „*Wer bürgt dafür, daß es nicht am Ende von Stufe zu Stufe bis zur Inquisition und Auto da Fé kommt*;" „*... in unserm Zeitalter, das sich vorzugsweise der Liberalität zu rühmen pflegt ...*;" „*wo bliebe denn da die Freiheit des Gewissens und der Überzeugung?*" See Quittschau (1931: 317f.).

[52] "*Nationalerziehung*," see Quittschau (1931: 310).

[53] See Quittschau (1931: 310f.).

social emancipation.[54] Correspondingly, modern scholars usually dismiss Beckedorff as a mouthpiece of the Restoration, keen on little more than on returning to pre-modern class society.[55] What is rarely acknowledged, however, is that the allegedly "democratic" principles of Humboldt's and Süvern's reform plans were applied with such ruthless consistency as to make it highly questionable whether they were truly democratic at all. The egalitarianism inherent in Humboldt's and Süvern's educational philosophy sprang from an unconditional enthusiasm about the "idea of man," *not* from enthusiasm about the people on whom this idea was to be imposed. Humboldt's sympathy with a carpenter learning Greek stemmed not so much from a sincere commitment with carpenters, but rather from a discomforting lack of interest in their true needs. Moreover, neither Humboldt nor Süvern succeeded in giving much concrete substance to the scientific "idea of man," which they laid at the foundation of their educational philosophy. They were so strongly bent on stressing this idea's universal nature that they shunned any attempt to relate it to the concrete living conditions of human individuals. Despite its noble appearance, then, Humboldt's and Süvern's reform plans bear the unmistakable stamp of idealist arrogance.

It was precisely this radical idealism that played an essential role in the rejection of Süvern's Education Act in 1819. Whereas this rejection is usually unambiguously attributed to the reactionary climate,[56] on closer inspection, it appears to have been an extremely complex case. In his 1913 edition of the Education Act, Gunnar Thiele included an extended survey of comments on the Act drawn from different sides of society at the request of Karl von Altenstein, head of the Prussian Culture Office (*Kultusministerium*). This list convincingly shows that Süvern's plan was rejected, at least partly, out of concern about its idealist rigidity. A commission of catholic bishops, consulted by King Friedrich Wilhelm III, stated that they appreciated the "spirit" (*Geist*) of the plan, but criticised it for being unfeasible and idealistic.[57] In practice, they said, elementary

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[54] This perspective is found, a.o. in Menze (1975), Blankertz (1982: 101-4), Kraul (1984: 28-34), Landfester (1988: 33f.), Hamann (1993: 108-11).

[55] See e.g. Blankertz (1982: 134f.); Kraul (1984: 48f.), Hamann (1993: 134f.). These scholars quote Beckedorff highly selectively, omitting those passages which betray the liberal signature of his viewpoints. A more nuanced account is found in Herrlitz (2001: 48-51).

[56] According to Margret Kraul (1984: 48), for example, Friedrich Wilhelm III rejected the plan out of fear that the "objectives of the reform era would lead to revolution."

[57] Thiele (1913: 98).

schools, *Bürgerschulen* and *Gymnasien* did not smoothly join together, so that a unitary school could never be realised. To them, it would be much more efficient to provide the *Gymnasien* with separate preparatory classes. They also found it too idealistic to teach compulsory Latin at each city school, as the Act proposed. Here, they argued, Latin was better taught as a facultative subject. And city schools in factory regions were better off without any Latin at all. Here, it would be much more useful to teach a modern language.[58] Interestingly, the bishops' criticisms do in no way betray a specifically "reactionary" character. Although overtly praising the Act's "spirit," they considered it at risk of nullifying society's natural diversity.[59]

It appears, then, that the rejection of the 1819 Education Act cannot be unequivocally be attributed to a climate of anxious reactionary sentiments. It is true that after 1819, the German governments were generally not favourable to radical reform proposals like that by Süvern, but this should not make us overlook the fact that the Act was criticised for many a well-considered reason.[60] Humboldt and Süvern, by trying to square classical education with a highly abstract, scientifically justified "idea of man," lost sight of educational reality to a considerable degree. It is not coincidental that their pedagogical theory struck many a contemporary as outright dangerous.

5. The continuity of classical school education (ii)

At this point, it is worth observing that the idealist pedagogy underlying the Prussian educational reforms, despite its profound influence on the development of the German concept of *Bildung*, had a relatively minor impact on classical school education in practice.[61] This observation can be substantiated by at least five different arguments.

In the first place, despite their interest in scientific-idealist pedagogy, the traditional, humanistic view on classical education was not lost on Humboldt and Süvern. Besides his aspirations to base pedagogy on the foundation of true science, Humboldt acknowledged that "the study (...) of great masterpieces of

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[58] See Thiele (1913: 98f.).

[59] The bishops' criticisms were highly similar to that by Beckedorff which we have discussed above.

[60] Apart from its content, the Act was widely criticised for its weak financial structure. (See Thiele (1913: 100ff.).)

[61] For Humboldt's influence on the concept of "general education," see Rang (1986: 481-3).

poetry and eloquence of ancient and modern times cultivates a sound, strong sense of beauty."[62] To him, "the Greeks [were] not just a people of which it is useful to have historical knowledge, but an *ideal*."[63] In a letter to Wolf, he confessed to study mainly those Greek authors "who strongly lead us to an idealist perspective."[64] Süvern, too, valued the classical world above all for its unsurpassed works of literature, which as a teacher he is reported to have explained with great devotion and enthusiasm.[65] Moreover, the anti-utilitarian tendency of Humboldt's and Süvern's reform plans well comported with the traditional, classical-humanistic conviction that people should be educated to "humanness" before following their professional calling. It was only the radicalism with which they wanted to implement their ideas that made Humboldt and Süvern stand out from ideal type classical humanists such as Karl Gottfried Siebelis.

In the second place, no matter how radical their ideas were in theory, in *practice*, Humboldt and Süvern had no option but to compromise. It was not only entirey unclear how their concept of a unified school system could materialise under the given circumstances, but they also knew that their revolutionary educational philosophy was not very likely to meet the sympathy of political authorities. Humboldt, in an attempt to win king Friedrich Wilhelm III for his reform plans, made it therefore very clear that overthrowing class society was far beyond his intentions. He assured that his aim was to produce "good and decent people" who were "enlightened according to their class."[66] Each man should be educated "as the circumstances allowed him."[67] Humboldt did not object that "the very poor had their children educated in the cheapest or free elementary schools, the less poor in better, or at least more expensive [schools]," and that

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[62] *Unterrichtsverfassung der Gymnasien und Stadtschulen* (1816, in: Gloege (1921: 118)).

[63] See ‚Über den Charakter der Griechen, die idealische und historische Ansicht desselben,' in: Humboldt (2002: 65).

[64] Letter to Wolf of January 23rd 1793. *Gesammelte Werke*, Bd. 5, Berlin (1846: 18).

[65] See W.A. Passow, *Zur Erinnerung an Johann Wilhlem Süvern* (1860). – Süvern also published widely on ancient literature. Amongst his works were *Pindari Carmen Primum In Psaumidem Sive Olympicorum Quartum Cum Commentarii Specimine* (1796); *Über Schillers Wallenstein in Hinsicht auf griechische Tragödie* (1800); *Über den Kunstcharacter des Tacitus* (1825); *Über Aristophanes Wolken* 1826; *Über Aristophanes Vögel* 1827. Süvern also made translations of Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* (1797) and Sophocles' *Women of Trachis* (1802).

[66] Humboldt (1964: 218, cf. 224).

[67] *Ibid.* 217.

[people] who could spend even more attended the academic schools."[68] As we have already seen above, nor Humboldt nor Süvern intended to encourage large numbers of children to attend the unitary school from beginning to end. It is a remarkable fact that Humboldt and Süvern, for all their efforts to make education serve the equality of all people that they deemed dictated by Reason, showed a striking reluctance as soon as they were confronted with practical decisions.[69]

In the third place, Humboldt's and Süvern's influence on classical education is usually primarily measured by the reinforced position of classical Greek. Conversely, the reduction of Greek in the so-called *Normalplan* of 1837 is commonly taken to indicate that the influence of Humboldt's and Süvern's reforms had largely subsided.[70] However, a close look at the figures shows that this interpretation is hardly tenable. In the Prussian school plan of 1812, the classical languages occupied nearly 40% of the curriculum, of which 24% was taken by Latin and 16% by Greek. The plan of 1837 showed a substantial increase of Latin and a relative reduction of Greek: of the nearly 46% occupied by the classics, 31% was taken by Latin, and only half as much (15%) by Greek.[71] This shifting relationship of Latin and Greek is credited with exceptional weight by modern academics. Klaus Sochatzy interpreted it as signalling that the "neohumanist enthusiasm for *Bildung* belonged to the past."[72] Margret Kraul regarded the reduction of Greek as typical of the reactionary climate, which left no room for the ideal of "freedom, which the Greeks expressed in their works."[73] Manfred Landfester spoke of a "relapse into a pre-reformatory state of knowledge."[74]

However, it is highly questionable whether such bold conclusions may be drawn from what, after all, remain relatively minor changes. Firstly, the 1837

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[68] *Ibid.* 175.

[69] Note that the above quoted words by Humboldt convey precisely Karl Gottfried Siebelis' conviction that the true task of education was to "enable [a student] to become within his circumstances a good, useful, content and happy man." See above, section I.3.

[70] On this subject, compare the Introduction, section 3.

[71] Both curricula are printed in Paulsen II (1885, 3rd. ed. 1921: 292, 354).

[72] Sochatzy (1973: 155).

[73] Kraul (1984: 54).

[74] Landfester (1988: 46).

plan only assigned 8% less time to Greek than Süverns plan of 1812.[75] Secondly, in 1837, Greek occupied only a 1% (!) smaller share of the entire curriculum than in 1812 (15% to 16%). Thirdly, the 1837 plan had not a smaller, but a *larger* total proportion of classical education than the plan of 1812 (46% to 40%). By far the most striking feature, then, of the development of the Prussian classical curriculum between 1812 and 1837 is its *stability*. Of course, subtle shifts in emphasis are not to be ignored, but to interpret the 1837 plan as the definite failure of the neohumanist *Gymnasium* is certainly to grossly over-dramatise the facts.[76]

In the fourth place, it seems often to be overlooked that the unitary school plan that should give substance to Humboldt's and Süvern's theory of education did not only never obtain legal status, but has never existed as anything else than a draft.[77] The ideal of the unitary school was so far removed from educational practice that there could be no question of an effective implementation. Without denying the profound significance of the Prussian educational reforms, we should not forget that the Humboldtian unitary school did never materialise.

In the fifth and last place, the limited impact of the Prussian reform era on ideas about classical school education appears from the fact that well into the 19th century, the Prussian reformers were rarely mentioned in writings on classical school education and educational history. Friedrich Thiersch, in his three-volume work on the *Gelehrtenschule* (1826-1829), did not once mention Wilhelm von Humboldt, nor any other of Humboldt's colleague reformers. In a comment on recent developments in Prussian education, he focused on the administrator

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[75] Moreover, this reduction was due to the shortening of the duration of *Prima* (the highest grade of the *Gymnasium*) from three to two years, which not only affected Greek, but other subjects as well.

[76] Something similar applies to the 1834 regulation concerning the graduation examination, which was obviously less demanding than the notorious regulation of 1812. Whereas the latter required graduates to fluently read Greek tragedy and fully master the Greek accent system, the former required them to understand relatively accessible Greek texts, such as Homer, Herodotus, Xenophon and Plato's simpler dialogues. Despite the obvious difference between the two regulations, however, we should not trivialise the fact that the 1834 regulation still required all *Gymnasium* graduates to fluently read ancient Greek and to understand the above named authors "without previous preparation." (For the Prussian regulations concerning ancient Greek, see Schmidt (1849: 209-14).)

[77] In 1819, it was "put to the acts" ("*zu den Akten geschrieben*") by King Friedrich Wilhelm III, see Blankertz (1982: 134).

Johannes Schulze (1786-1869), who only entered the Prussian Ministry in 1818.[78] In 1835, Samuel Hoffmann published a voluminous textbook on *Alterthumswissenschaft*, intended for both *Gymnasium* and university students.[79] In it, he provided a lengthy survey of 18th and 19th century writings on the value of classical studies, figuring numerous names and titles completely unknown to us now. However, the now famous names of Humboldt, Jachmann and even Friedrich August Wolf were not on this list.[80] Another example is a defence of classical education by the Bavarian school teacher Konrad Zeug, published in 1832.[81] Zeug's list of recommendable writings on the value of classical education did not include works by any of the Prussian reformers, nor by Friedrich August Wolf or Friedrich Creuzer.[82] In the 11-volume educational encyclopaedia edited by Karl A. Schmid between 1859 and 1878, the Prussian reform era was not credited with much importance either.[83] In the lemmas '*Gelehrtenschulwesen*' (by Fr. Lübker), *Bildung* (by A. Hauber), *Classische Schullectüre* (by K. Nägelsbach) and *Classische Studien* (by W. Bäumlein) the names of Wilhelm von Humboldt, Süvern and Jachmann are not found at all, nor are the names of other influential reformers such as August Bernhardi and Friedrich Schleiermacher.

It seems, then, that the importance of Humboldt's and Süvern's reforms to 19th century classical *Gymnasium* education has been substantially exaggerated. Scholars have attached so much importance to the revolutionary ideas underlying the Prussian reforms that they have often lost sight of the marked discrepancy between theory and practice. This conclusion is consistent with the results of recent research on the relation between the Humboldtian reforms and the development of the German university. In "*Bildung durch Wissenschaft? Mythos 'Humboldt,'*" Ulrich Hermann shows that Humboldt's concept of the ideal

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[78] Thiersch, *Über Gelehrte Schulen III* (1830: 312-43).

[79] S.F.W. Hoffmann, *Die Alterthumswissenschaft. Ein Lehr- und Handbuch für Schüler höherer Gymnasialclassen und für Studirende* (1835).

[80] Hoffmann (1835: 37f.). This may seem all the more surprising since Hoffmann was a declared advocate of a "purely scientific" philology. (Hoffmann (1835: 16))

[81] K. Zeug, *Haben Kirche und Staat aus der Lesung der griechischen und lateinischen Classiker auf unseren Gymnasien etwas zu befürchten?* (1832)

[82] Zeug (1832: 22). Writings that *did* feature on both Hoffmann's and Zeug's lists were mostly of the traditional, essayist type such as produced by Karl Gottfried Siebelis. On this type of essayist writing, see above, section II.1.1.3, note 22.

[83] K.A. Schmid, *Enzyklopädie des gesammten Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswesens* (1859-1878).

university was not only far removed from the practice of 19th century German university education, but was only assigned with pivotal importance roughly a century after Humboldt's activity as an educational reformer.[84] It was only by projecting the "Humboldt myth" back to the 19th century, Hermann argues, that historians of education gave birth to the view that Humboldt was directly responsible for "Germany's rise (...) to the world's leading nation in science and research."[85]

Something similar, we can now see, applies to *Gymnasium* education. As least as far as classical education is concerned, the differences between the situation before, during and after the Prussian reform era are incomparably smaller than is commonly assumed. Despite minor changes in the relation between Latin and Greek, classical education, both in its objectives and teaching methods, remained a very constant factor at the German *Gymnasien* throughout the period 1770 to 1860, both inside and outside of Prussia. It was only at the end of the 19th century that scholars such as Friedrich Paulsen gave rise to the view that with the Prussian reforms, a new, 'neohumanistic *Gymnasium*' rose from the ashes of the perished Latin schools. To the large majority of Humboldt's contemporaries, however, such a view would not have made much sense. Most classicists saw themselves as heirs of an age-old tradition that remained largely unaffected by the many changes that the time brought by.

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[84] See U. Herrmann, *Bildung durch Wissenschaft? Mythos "Humboldt"* (Ulm, 1999).

[85] Hermann (1999: 13). Cf. M.G. Ash's (ed.), *Mythos Humboldt. Vergangenheit und Zukunft der deutschen Universitäten* (Vienna, 1999). – Significantly, the renowned Humboldt University in Berlin only acquired its present name after the Second World War, in 1949. From 1828 to 1946, it was called the *Friedrich Wilhelms-Universität*, named after the famous king Friedrich Wilhelm III (ruling from 1797 until 1840). (From 1810 to 1828, it was called the *Berliner Universität*.). Only in the ideological, progressive climate after the Second World War it was decided that the Berlin University must be named, not after the restorative king Friedrich Wilhelm III, but after Wilhelm von Humboldt, whose egalitarian aspirations well suited post-war predilections.

Section 2

The Challenge of the *Bürgerschule*

Introduction

In 1838, the influential Bavarian classical humanist Friedrich Thiersch (1788-1860) launched a vehement attack on what he called the "material direction" (*materielle Richtung*) of his time.[1] Increasing numbers of people, Thiersch noted with concern, exclusively strove to "obtain, accumulate and use material goods" and to acquire "the social esteem and honour that come with them." (7) To those people, everything seemed "foolish or annoying that could neither be counted nor measured," nor understood as "directly beneficial to their wishes and aspirations." (*Ibid*.) They steered towards a future that, being entirely freed of "imaginary states and dangerous dreams," would be wholly determined by concrete means to material gain, such as "railways, steam engines, blast furnaces and sugar factories."[2] (7f.)

This "material direction" deeply worried Thiersch as it tended to dispel the traditional, "ideal direction" (*ideale Richtung*) that, "by filling the young with enthusiasm for the noble, the sublime and the beautiful, elevated them above the pursuit of the common and the palpable."[3] (10) When the "material direction" would not be stopped, it would inevitably "dissolve the corpus of society, with everything that binds and nourishes it, (...) into quicksand that the winds blow back and forth." If the tide would not be turned, *Bildung* would be replaced by "barbarism" and politics by "anarchy." With the "material direction" finally taking over, the "European world order" would be "completely ruined."[4] (9)

This critical situation, Thiersch argued, was caused to a large extent by recent developments in education. On an inspection tour of schools made in 1834-1836 in the Western-German states, Holland, France and Belgium, Thiersch

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[1] Thiersch, *Über den gegenwärtigen Zustand des öffentlichen Unterrichts in den westlichen Staaten von Deutschland, in Holland, Frankreich und Belgien*, vol. I (1838: 3-12).

[2] On Germany's incipient industrialisation in the second quarter of the 19th century, see Fuhrmann (2001: 206-8).

[3] Thiersch called this view "ideal" because "none of the quantities in question, neither faith nor sense of beauty, neither elevation of the mind nor enthusiasm are countable or measurable, nor root anywhere else than in the mind." (*Ibid*. 6)

[4] In a speech called "On the common interests of the humanistic and realistic direction of our time," delivered at the Assembly of German Philologists and School Teachers in Mannheim in 1839, Thiersch contended that the two types of *Bildung* prevalent in the modern world, "humanistic" and "industrial" (or "realistic") *Bildung,* had finally learnt to recognise each other. Although in this speech Thiersch's judgment was relatively mild, he reaffirmed the dualistic view that he had presented with full vigour in his book of the previous year.

found that the young were "overloaded with an excessive number of (...) subjects" that turned children's attention towards the material, rather than the spiritual world. (10) These 'material' subjects were commonly known at the time as '*Realfächer*,' '*Realien'* or '*realia*,' terms mostly used to refer to subjects that related to the study of nature, such as natural history, geography, physics or astronomy.[5] Besides, the terms could be used in a broader sense to refer to all topics that fell outside the scope of the classics and the ancillary disciplines needed to explain them. To Friedrich Thiersch, also subjects such as mathematics, modern history, modern languages or drawing had a "realist" ring, since they were not needed for the explanation and interpretation of canonical works of classical literature.[6]

In Thiersch' view, the ever-increasing attention paid to *real*-topics was responsible for the worrying "material direction" of the time. The only way to turn the tide, he contended, was to refocus education on the ideal subject matter provided by classical "poetry, (...) history [and] philosophy," as well as by "Holy Scripture." (6) Only thus could children be made to look with reverence upon the present "as a treasure handed down in word and deed by the past and its noblest minds."[7] (*Ibid*.)

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[5] I will consistently use the term '*real*-topics.' The type of education primarily focusing on such topics I will call '*real*-education.'

[6] The distinction between "real" and "ideal" subjects can be traced back to the Mediaeval distinction between the Trivium and the Quadrivium. The Trivium originally consisted of the so-called '*artes sermocinales*,' that is, Grammar, Dialectic and Rhetoric, which were all studied by means of classical literature. The Quadrivium consisted of '*artes reales,'* that is, four subjects that were taught independently: arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music. In the Renaissance, more subjects were added to the original Quadrivium, such as history and geography. From the 17th century onwards, the Quadrivium-subjects were together described as '*realia*.' It was only in the 19th century, however, that "humanism" and "realism" were widely acknowledged as two competing currents in higher education. See 'Realia,' in: Ritter (ed.), *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, vol. VIII (1992: 139f.).

[7] In 1829, asked by Ludwig I, Thiersch designed a *Lehrplan* for the Bavarian *Gymnasien* that was extremely traditional. At the *Gymnasium*, 16 hours a week would be spent on the Greek and Roman classics, leaving only some time for religion, geography, history and mathematics. German was not granted separate hours but integrated into the classical course. Physics, natural history (*Naturgeschichte*), astronomy and other *real*-topics, as well as French, drawing, music, etc. were not included in the regular curriculum but were all assigned to optional private education. The entire *Lehrplan* of 1829 is printed in Döllinger (1838, II: 589-633).

With his fierce polemics against education in *real*-topics, Thiersch greatly contributed to the now common view that 19th century humanism was gravely challenged by the rise of an opposing educational ideal called 'realism.' Before Thiersch, this view of an opposition between humanism and 'realism' had already been nourished by Friedrich Niethammer's mightily influential book *Der Streit des Philantropinismus und Humanismus* (1808), in which the author juxtaposed humanistic education – focusing on "the life of ideas," on "liberal knowledge" of "the true, the good and the beautiful" – to "philantropinist" education, which focused primarily on the surrounding material world.[8] Both Thiersch and Niethammer could hardly imagine defenders of *real*-education to be interested in anything else than material gain and thus as posing a grave threat to the ideals of humanistic education. Humanism could in their view only survive when it would somehow be forced upon the time's 'realistic' trend.[9]

This view of an *opposition* between humanism and 'realism' has been massively adopted by historians of education. Like Thiersch, most modern scholars interpret 19th century classical education against the backdrop of the professional differentiation and incipient industrialisation that fundamentally changed the outlook of German society. In view of these radical changes, they usually interpret the unrelenting predominance of humanistic education as unexpected, strange or even contradictory. Manfred Fuhrmann, for example, described 19th century classical education as an "anachronism." In his view, it was "astonishing" that "the humanistic *Gymnasium* succeeded in asserting its monopoly claim" to university admission "until the beginning of the 20th

[8] Niethammer (1808, ed. 1968: 78). – With the term "philantropinism," Niethammer referred to a powerful current in Enlightenment pedagogy, now commonly known under the name *Philantropismus* (or English "Philanthropinism"), which stronlgy favoured *real*- above classical education. Famous philanthropinist schools were the *Philanthropin* in Dessau, founded by Johann Basedow in 1774 and an institution in Schnepfenthal, founded by Christian Salzmann in 1784. For a good discussion of philantropinist pedagogy, see D. Benner, *Theorie und Geschichte der Reformpädagogik, vol. I: Die pädagogische Bewegung von der Aufklärung bis zum Neuhumanismus* (2003).

[9] For other early 19th century references to an opposition between 'humanists' and 'realists,' see e.g. C. Clesca, *Über den Streit zwischen Humanismus und Realismus*, 1833; cf. *Bayrisches Volksblatt* (1829, no. 20: 320), *Hesperus* (1827, no. 128: 509); *Literatur-Blatt* (1830, no. 10: 37). The dualism can also be seen from the fact that from 1844 onwards, *Realschulmänner* did no longer attend the assemblies of German Philologists and School Teachers but gathered at assemblies of their own. See Thomas (1951: 57).

century."[10] Manfred Landfester stated that the 19th century humanistic *Gymnasium* was plagued by an "unprecedented legitimacy deficit" that could only provoke vehement opposition.[11] Also in Fritz Graf's *Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie* we read that "the longevity of Latin at German schools" is "much more surprising than its gradual disappearance."[12] In other words, 19th century humanism is commonly interpreted as *outdated*. It is usually seen as a remnant of a slowly dying past that increasingly came into opposition with the 'realistic' spirit of the time.

Yet, this common view of an opposition between humanism and 'realism' is highly problematic. In the 19th century itself, the term 'realism' for a long time was mostly used by classical humanists who aimed to deny *real*-education a claim to humane values.[13] By describing their opponents as 'realists,' they emphasised that only classical education contributed to cultivating "ideal" values, whereas *real*-education made students "gaze at the earth as (...) animal[s] without seeing the sky."[14] The term 'realism,' in other words, had a marked pejorative ring that strongly played into the hands of classical humanists.

Many defenders of non-classical education clearly sensed this value distinction. As early as 1806, Ernst Gottfried Fischer (1754-1831), professor of mathematics and physics at the Berlin/Cologne *Gymnasium*, designed a non-classical type of school which he proposed to call *Realgymnasium*, a name that clearly conveyed a claim to humanistic values. Two decades later, Friedrich Klumpp (1790-1868), teacher at the Stuttgart *Gymnasium*, wrote a much-acclaimed book called *Die gelehrten Schulen nach den Grundsätzen des wahren Humanismus und den Anforderungen der Zeit* (2 Vol., 1829-30). In it, Klumpp described the best type of education, which would comprise humanistic and *real*-topics alike, as "true humanism," thus emphatically distancing himself both from the pejorative term "realism" and from the narrow, traditional meaning of the term "humanism." Also Karl Mager (1810-1858), one of Prussia's most zealous advocates of the *Bürgerschule,* observed with dismay that "stock philologists laid claim (...) to a privilege of humanness." Convinced that a true *Humanitätsschule*

[10] Fuhrmann (2001: 208, 221).

[11] Landfester (1988: 97).

[12] Graf (1997: 45).

[13] As the term 'realism' did never acquire a well-defined meaning, I will consistently put it between single quotation marks. The same applies to its derivate 'realists.'

[14] Niethammer (1808, ed. 1968: 135).

dealt “as little with technology as with Greek accents,” Mager considered the *Bürgerschule* the right place to cultivate true humanness.

It appears, then, that the common opposition between humanism and ‘realism’ disregards the very essence of the ‘realists’‘ desire for recognition. Advocates of the *Realschule,* far from wanting to reduce the scope of humanistic education, sought to convince their opponents that education in *real*-topics laid a valid claim to humanistic values. Classical humanism was challenged, not by the rise of an opposite educational ideal, but by critique on the part of people who held that the ideal of humanness could be achieved in more than just one way. On close examination, then, humanism and ‘realism’ appear to have been different *forms* of humanism.

In the present section, I will consider the challenge that *real*-education set to classical humanism in more detail. In the first chapter, I will examine the criticisms leveled against the classical schools in the wake of the unprecedented professional differentiation in the 1770s and 1780s, as well as efforts on the part of classical humanists to reaffirm their educational creed in a distinctly modern way. In the second chapter, I will investigate the endeavours to reform Latin education in such a way as to make it suited to members of the lower middle classes. In the third chapter, I will examine how 19th century advocates of *real*-education adopted humanistic values and objectives and integrated them into their concept of the *Bürgerschule*.

Chapter 1 Classical education and the rise of the *Bürgerschule* (1770-1800)

„Der größte und tiefsinnigste Gelehrte [muß] der nützlichste, der brauchbarste Bürger seyn."
(Lorenz von Westenrieder)

1. Introduction

By the mid-18th century, the Latin schools and the *Gymnasien* still had a virtual monopoly on higher education. Next to them there only existed what we now would call 'elementary' schools: preparatory institutions where young children (from about 5 to 10 years old) learned to read, to write and cipher and studied the catechism. Some of these schools, especially in the bigger cities, offered more comprehensive curricula and accommodated students to about 14 years of age. There was no official transition, however, between an 'elementary' and an 'advanced' level. Significantly, the elementary schools usually defined themselves geographically (*Dorfschule*, *Stadtschule*, *Bezirksschule*, *Districtsschule*) or socially (*Armenschule*, *Bürgerschule*). As a rule, children did not choose a specific *type* of education, but attended the school of the village, city or district in which they happened to live or belonging to the social class into which they had been born.

The only form of higher education that was clearly delineated was offered by the so-called Latin schools. Consolidated by an agelong tradition, they provided teaching up to the age of 14 and often accepted children well before the age of 10. In some bigger cities, their curriculum extended to the age of 18 or 20, in which case they would sometimes be called *Gymnasien* (or *Lycea*). The classical curricula of these schools were determined by the needs of the '*Gelehrtenstand*' ('academic class'), whence they were often called '*Gelehrtenschulen'* ('academic schools').[1] They were principally intended for those who after attending university would hold higher civil offices or academic positions.

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[1] I will leave the term '*Gelehrtenschule'* untranslated.

The *Gelehrtenschulen* offered the only type of higher education available. Big cities with about 150,000 inhabitants often had no less than six or seven *Gelehrtenschulen*[2] and even provincial towns had sometimes two.[3] City schools (as opposed to rural schools (*Landschulen*)) were almost without exception *Gelehrtenschulen*.[4] As a result, at the lower grades there was usually an overwhelming presence of pupils who were destined for skilled professions, for which university education was not required.[5] For many centuries, the lower grades of the Latin schools had therefore been populated by substantial numbers of pupils for whom classical education was not primarily intended. In the late 18th century, however, as the amount of skilled professions that required non-academic higher education substantially increased, the *Gelehrtenschulen* faced a major clientele problem. The lower grades were now attended not only by simple craftsmen like cobblers, tailors and wool carders or merchants and manufacturers, but also by future pharmacists, wholesalers, surgeons, economists and forest, mining or financial officials.[6] As the classical schools still

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[2] Degen (1802: 9).

[3] Lachmann (1800: 5).

[4] Niemeyer (1805b: 5). – Their lower grades usually formed elementary schools. Only in bigger cities those were separated from the Latin schools (see Lachmann (1800: 5)).

[5] In German, such skilled professions were usually named after the social origin of the people who usually exercised them: '*bürgerliche Berufe*' ≈ '*middle class professions.*' The type of education preparing for them was usually called '*Bürgererziehung*,' '*Bürger-Bildung*,' etc. These terms are confusing, as the professions that required academic education too were usually exercised by people of middle class origin. Yet, as we shall see in this chapter, the *perceived* class distinction between skilled and academic professions was very large, as academic education was a proven means to social ascent and ennoblement. Therefore, schools that prepared for the skilled professions were mostly called '*Bürgerschulen*,' whereas the classical schools preserved their distinguished name of '*Gymnasien*.' This did not change in the 19th century, when the concept of the *Bürger* gradually broadened to that of '*Staatsbürger*,' which incorporated people from the lower middle classes and academics alike. As there is no English equivalent for '*Bürgerschule*,' I will leave the term untranslated. '*Bürgererziehung*,' '*Bürger-Bildung*,' etc. I translate as ‚*Bürger* education.' '*Bürgerliche Berufe*' I translate as 'skilled professions.' – For a good discussion of the concept of the '*Bürger*' in late 18th and early 19th century Germany, see 'Bürger, Staatsbürger, Bürgertum,' in: Brunner, Conze, Koselleck (eds.), *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, vol. I (1972: esp. 683-719).)

[6] For an extended survey of the type of higher professions for which academic education was not required, see Fischer (1806: 22-32).

had a monopoly on higher education, pupils with such future callings had no option but to subject themselves to a curriculum that prepared them for a career that would never be theirs. Compelled to study Latin for many hours a week, they missed the chance to acquire knowledge relevant to their professions. Moreover, they would mostly not finish the curriculum up to the age of 18, and therefore not be able to fully enjoy the fruits of a classical education.

By the late 18th century, it was not uncommon that pupils preparing themselves for skilled professions vastly outnumbered future university students, whose interests the classical schools aimed to serve. On average, only one out of seven to ten pupils of a Latin school would go to university.[7] *Prima*, the highest grade of the *Gymnasien*, was sometimes attended by only three or four pupils.[8] In 1804, the Prussian educational reformer Bernhard Natorp (1774-1846) stated that in 15 to 20 years time, only a handful of pupils of the protestant *Gymnasium* of Essen pursued academic careers.[9] The curricula of the *Gelehrtenschulen*, then, were tailored to the needs of a clientele which in the most extreme cases was hardly present at all. Therefore, from the 1770s onwards, it was widely argued that pupils preparing for skilled professions deserved a type of education accommodated to their own needs and interests.

2. The quest for *Bürger* education

One of the earliest attempts to conceive of a special type of education for *Bürger* was made by Friedrich Resewitz (1729-1806), one of the most famous pedagogues of his time.[10] Since the establishment of independent *Bürgerschulen* was still a bridge too far, Resewitz thought about redefining and reorganising the Latin schools' lower grades, the so-called *Bürgerclassen*. In his *Erziehung des*

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[7] Beyschlag (1792, I: 19); cf. Fischer (1806: 38); Lachmann (1800: 6) even stated that at some schools, only one out of fifty or hundred (!) pupils would be a scholar.

[8] Seidenstücker (1836: 21f.).

[9] Natorp (1804: 11).

[10] Born in Berlin, Resewitz studied theology in Halle from 1747 to 1750 and worked as a pastor for many years. In 1771 he founded a royal *Realschule* in Kopenhagen. In 1774, the Prussian minister Karl von Zedlitz appointed Resewitz as abbot of the *Kloster Berge* and headmaster of the associated famous convent school. In this position, Resewitz published many influential educational writings, above all in the periodical „*Gedanken, Vorschläge und Wünsche zur Verbesserung der öffentlichen Erziehung*" (henceforth *GVW*), which he edited himself from 1778 to 1784.

Bürgers (1773), Resewitz distinguished academic education from *Bürger* education by pointing out that the latter, unlike the former, was to be determined by the criterion of *applicability*. His argument ran as follows: 1) whereas the academic has to *search* for truth, the *Bürger* only has to know it, in order to comprehend and to apply it (14); 2) whereas the academic seeks knowledge for its own sake, the *Bürger* aspires to put it to good use (*ibid.*); 3) whereas the academic knows how knowledge comes about (by the application of academic methods), the *Bürger* sticks to the *results* of academic research (*ibid.*); 4) whereas the academic does not care how his findings "fit in with the real world," the *Bürger* only "thinks for the world" (*ibid.*); 5) whereas the academic deals with abstract ideas and propositions, the *Bürger* concentrates on details primarily derived from observation (15).[11] According to Resewitz, then, education for *Bürger* should be essentially *practical*.[12]

In the late 18th century, the need for practical training was met by the creation of a large number of vocational schools, for pharmaceutics, surgery, architecture, mining, military education, etc.[13] At the preparatory level, however, providing practical education for *Bürger* was more complicated, as the large majority of cities could not afford to have two different schools for *Bürger* and academics.[14] As choosing between them would seriously dupe one of both groups, most city schools had no choice but to keep offering education to *Bürger* and academics alike.[15] Therefore, the debate on *Bürger* education gravitated to the question whether the lower grades of the *Gelehrtenschulen* should be *transformed* into *Bürgerschulen* (or *Realschulen*), so that classical education would be largely restricted to the higher grades. As many provincial towns only had smaller Latin schools (without a full *Gymnasium* on top), in many cities this

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[11] Cf. Resewitz *GVW* II, 3: 92-4.

[12] The need for a conceptual distinction between *Bürger* and academic education was widely acknowledged. See e.g. Böttiger (1789: 96); Trapp (1788: 274f.); Villaume (1793: 133); Jenisch (1798: 180f.); Lachmann (1800: *passim*); Niemeyer (1805a II: 212); cf. Spilleke (1821: 41).

[13] Fischer (1806: 21, 86). This proliferation of vocational schools would only increase in the first half of the 19th century. In 1840, Karl Mager complained that the lack of a proper *Bürgerschule* had spawned the creation of vocational institutions for a multitude of specialised topics: pharmaceutics, surgery, veterinary medicine, horticulture, forest management, agriculture, mining, engineering, trade, architecture, military schools etc. (1888: 133).

[14] Far into the 19th century, there was no financial state support for independent *Bürger* education. See Lachmann (1800: 17f., 19).

[15] See Fr. Gedike (1789, I: 117f.); Beyschlag (1792, I: 36).

would come down to the complete transformation of the Latin school into a *Bürgerschule* that would offer considerable scope to practical subjects while paying relatively little attention to Latin and Greek.

Although the program of 'transformation' ('*Umschaffung*') was hotly debated at the time,[16] it met with stern resistance at the large majority of schools, as it was on classical education that a school's reputation often exclusively depended.[17] Attending a *Gelehrtenschule* widely counted as a prerogative of the distinguished,[18] of "*honette Bürger*" who aspired to fulfil leading functions in society.[19] The perceived class distinction between classical and other types of education was so profound that for most city schools, to abandon classical education would be the final blow to both their intellectual and social reputation.[20] Therefore, many city schools ignored the fact that the large majority of pupils did not have academic ambitions and kept adhering to standards set by a small, privileged minority.

Conversely, the high reputation of classical education attracted many people with a crave for social ascent. Parents often troubled to give their children a classical education because of the bright prospects it offered, and many pupils industriously laboured to move on to *Prima*.[21] The schools themselves aspired to get as many *Primaner* as possible, often being all too willing to overlook deficient

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[16] See Fr. Gedike (1779: 164; 1799: 10); Resewitz (*GVW* II, 3: 82-8); Beyschlag (1792, I: 38f.); Hamann (1794: 4f.); Seidenstücker (1799: 20); Weiller (1801b: 26); Niemeyer (1805a, II: 353); Pölitz (1806, II: 198); Cunradi (1808: 52f.); Schaarschmidt (1809) – In 1800, the *Litterarische Gesellschaft der Freunde der Humanität* in Berlin issued a contest on the question what were the main obstructions to this transformation and how they could be overcome. The winning entry was submitted by Karl Lachmann: *Über die Umschaffung vieler unzweckmäßigen so genannten lateinischen Schulen in zweckmäßig eingerichtete Bürgerschulen* (1800). Many educationalists hoped that the transformation of the lower grades of city schools into *Bürgerclassen* (or *Bürgerschulen*) would materialise in nearly all city schools. (See Niemeyer (1805b: 25); Pölitz (1806, II: 47f.; 98f.).)

[17] See Lachmann (1800: 5).

[18] Wiedeburg (1783: 16).

[19] Natorp (1804: 25). – By contrast, the *Bürgerclassen* were poorly reputed. Many parents from the upper classes kept their children away from them, providing them with private education instead (See Herder (1787?**sic**, ed. Reble (1962: 69f.)); Lieberkühn (1785: 24f.; Pölitz (1806, II: 104). Cf. Böttiger (1789: 43).

[20] See e.g. Steinbart (1786: 152). Cf. Resewitz *GVW* V, 4: 9; Seidenstücker (1799: 21); Degen (1802: 15); Niemeyer (1805b: 24f.).

[21] Böttiger (1789: 30).

capacities.[22] As a result, in the late 18th century, the *Gelehrtenschulen* were not less, but *more* popular than ever before.[23]

Since most Latin schools were reluctant to being transformed into *Bürgerschulen*, the only way to meet the needs of their clientele was to offer increasing numbers of 'practical' subjects next to the classics. By the end of the century, this resulted in a curricular chaos that was widely recognised as a major problem.[24] At the Berlin *Friedrichswerdersches Gymnasium*, for example, in 1789, the curriculum of the *Bürgerclassen* included German, French, religion, calligraphy, arithmetic, geography, exercises in reflection (*Vorübungen zur Beförderung des Nachdenkens*), Brandenburg history, "practical knowledge" (*Bürgerkenntnisse*), a newspaper class (*Zeitungsstunde*) intended "to explain many concepts occurring in everyday life," universal history and natural history.[25] However, no matter the unprecedented extension of the curriculum in the *Bürgerclassen*, it rarely had the effect of dispelling the classics. At the school mentioned above, like at most schools, Latin continued to be taught from the lowest grade, Greek from the third grade onwards. Academic and non-academic students alike still dedicated many hours a week to studying Latin and

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[22] Lachmann (1800: 5f.).

[23] As a result, many poorly qualified students attended the German universities, a problem known in the time as *Studirsucht*. The phenomenon was widely debated at the time, see e.g. Wiedeburg, *Untersuchung der Frage: In wiefern kann verhütet werden, daß diejenigen sich nicht dem Studiren widmen, welche dazu nicht taugen?* (1783); Böttiger, *Über die besten Mittel die Studirsucht derer die zum Studiren keinen Beruf haben zu hemmen* (1789); Weiller, *Über die Nothwendigkeit, den Eintritt in die gelehrten Schulen, und den Aufenthalt darin zu erschweren* (1801b).

[24] See e.g. Fischer (1806: 6f.).

[25] Fr. Gedike (1789, I: 155-7). Another example is provided by Ernst Christian Trapp, who taught no less than 35(!) subjects at the short-lived *Philanthropin* in Dessau. Trapp soon discovered, however, that he overshot the mark with this "*Polymathie*" (see Grube (1934: 23)). Broad-scale curricula were presented by Steinbart (1786: 115-30); Lorenz, in: Beyschlag (1792, I: 48); Fr. Gedike (1799: 16-22); Schram (1803: 187); Hufnagel (1804: 17f.); Natorp (1804: 36-9); Graser (1805: II, 240-61). Also many handbooks aimed to introduce pupils in *Bürgerclassen* to a broad range of different subjects: important ones were G.S. Klügel, *Enzyklopädie oder zusammenhängender Vortrag der gemeinnützigsten Wissenschaften, insbesondere aus der Betrachtung der Natur und der Menschen* (1792); C.P. Funke, *Allgemeines Lehrbuch für Bürgerschulen*, 1795; J.H.G. Heusinger, *Die Familie Wertheim, eine theoretisch-praktische Anleitung zu einer regelmäßigen Erziehung der Kinder* (1798ff.). For other works, see Niemeyer (1805a, I: 317f.).

sometimes Greek.[26] The quest for *Bürger* education, then, did not have the effect of reducing the predominance of classical education.

The unrelenting dominance of classical education can be explained, at least partly, by the fact that throughout the late 18th century, the appreciation of classical education *itself* remained very high. For all criticisms levelled against the monopoly of the classical schools, educationalists who did not consider classical education of eminent educative value were very hard to find. This can be illustrated by the fact that even the most ardent champions of *Bürger* education generally respected classical education and did not think of a serious rivalry between the two. Friedrich Resewitz, for example, did not direct his plea for independent *Bürger* education *against* the classical schools. On the contrary, Resewitz fully endorsed the importance of classical education, but only considered it improper to impose it upon all people alike. "Most classical works," he wrote, "were written by statesmen, men of the world, generals, leaders of entire countries, astute philosophers etc., and can therefore only be understood by people of comparable culture, morality, state of mind and customs."[27] Resewitz held that "most people are mediocre, whereas for genuine scholarship talent is needed. Therefore you should not, as is current practice, bestow learning on many people."[28] Resewitz, rather than promoting the *Bürgerschule* at the expense of classical education, attempted to restrict the latter to the leading social classes for which it was essentially intended. Underlying Resewitz' reform plans was a recognition, rather than a rejection of classical humanism.[29]

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[26] At the *Friedrichswerdersches Gymnasium*, pupils could be dispensed from Latin if they wanted. This regulation, however, was only very rarely used, as most parents did not want their children to miss out on the opportunity to get a classical education. (See Fr. Gedike (1799: 13f.).)

[27] Cf. Resewitz *GVW* II, 3: 96.

[28] Cf. Resewitz *GVW* II, 3: 104.

[29] Even Ernst Christian Trapp (1745-1818), commonly seen as an exceptionally fierce opponent of classical education, acknowledged the aesthetic and moral superiority of classical culture, in: 'Über das allgemeine Studium der alten Sprachen,' in: *Braunschweigisches Journal* (1788, VII: 269-310, here 306); and 'Über das Studium der alten classischen Schriftsteller und ihre Sprachen, in pädagogischer Hinsicht,' in: *Revisionswerk* VII: 311ff., esp. 325f.) Trapp's critique of the *Gelehrtenschulen* was not directed at classical education as such, but at the fact that "the higher purpose of the few" had been made "the common goal of all." (See *BJ* 1788, VII: 289.)

Precisely because of the unabated predominance of classical education, classical humanists were frequently confronted with the charge of providing a type of education that was practically useless to large numbers of people. At a time of unprecedented vocational differentiation that was fundamentally changing the outlook of German society, the traditional monopoly of classical education became increasingly difficult to maintain. Thus, classical humanists were urged to prove that classical education fully compensated for its obvious lack of "practical" use by another, "formal" use that could benefit academics and non-academics alike. Moreover, they contended that studying ancient literature was of crucial importance to make a contribution to the "common good," as it was in typically "public" virtues that the ancient Greeks and Romans excelled. In other words, in the late 18th century, classical humanists endeavoured to prove that classical education was in fact eminently suited to meet the needs of modern society. At the same time, however, the *type* of classical education they advocated remained distinctly traditional. In the next two sections, we will examine their defence of classical education in more detail.

3. Materiale and *formale Bildung*

In 1783, Johann Stuve (1752-1793), co-director of the *Stadtschule* of Neu-Ruppin (Prussia), launched a vehement attack on the monopoly of the classical schools.[30] Stuve argued that the study of classical languages was so excessively difficult that only very few pupils were able to draw benefit from it. As classical literature was "written only for men, and was only truly understandable for men," it was hardly commendable reading for children. (124)[31] Moreover, Stuve pointed out

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[30] J. Stuve, *Über das Schulwesen* (1783). – Born in Lippstadt, Stuve studied theology and pedagogy at the University of Halle. Together with Philippe Lieberkühn (1754-88), he directed the city school of Neu-Ruppin until 1784. From 1789 onwards, he was professor at the *Collegium Carolinum* in Braunschweig. Johann Stuve was one of the eminent representatives of Enlightenment pedagogy. He was contributor to the "*Allgemeine Revision des gesammten Schul- und Erziehungswesens*" (1785-92) (ed. by Johann Heinrich Campe), one of the foremost forums for pedagogical innovation at the time.

[31] Like Resewitz, however, Stuve was not opposed to classical education as such. On the contrary, he fully acknowledged that studying the ancient writers contributed to "practical wisdom and activity that would be of public benefit." (Stuve (1783: 124)) He also gave numerous detailed instructions on how a thorough and elegant study of ancient literature could best be implemented. (Stuve (1783: 128-38)) Moreover, Stuve wholeheartedly

that knowledge of the classical languages was hardly useful anymore for the large majority of professions that required academic education.[32] By the major attention paid to classical literature, many people holding higher civil offices had insufficient opportunity to acquire the specific knowledge and skills that their professions required. Therefore, Stuve argued that far fewer people than before should be obliged to study the ancient classics. (124f.)

Stuve was most critical about the widespread practice of writing and speaking Latin, which he denounced as "needless, superfluous and harmful." (138) According to Stuve, active use of the Latin language was neither necessary to understand Latin-written books, nor useful in ordinary life and in business ("*im gemeinen Leben*" and "*in Geschäften*"). (139) As "learning and science do not exist for their own sake, but derive their value from their communicability (*Mittheilbarkeit*)," there was no point in preserving Latin as the language of science. (140f.) Also Latin's international status was hardly a recommendation, since very few writers were broadly read and the best were usually translated. (141) What was called for, then, was nothing less than the complete abolition of the active use of Latin.[33]

Stuve's argument was answered by the classical philologist Friedrich Gedike (1754-1803), an eminent pedagogue who exercised a major impact on Prussian education as superintendent (*Oberkonsistorialrat*) of the state school

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recommended what older classical humanists as Gesner, Ernesti and Heyne had written on how to study the classics. (Stuve (1783: 135f.))

[32] The concept of 'usefulness' ('*Brauchbarkeit;*' '*Nützlichkeit*;' '*Nutzen'*) figured very prominently in late 18th century educational debates. In the early 19th century, it took on a markedly negative meaning, as it was strongly associated with a type of education that aimed at material rather than spiritual gain. However, most late 18th century educationalists did not conceive of "useful" education in a materialistic way. Far from wanting to reduce education to vocational preparation, Stuve held that schooling should enable people to live their life in a responsible and conscious way, something to which the classical schools in his view did not greatly contribute. The late 18th century concept of 'usefulness,' then, was part of an ideal of *general* rather than vocational education. The truly 'useful' member of society was the man who, having developed public responsibility, was capable to contribute to society at large. This essential relation between 'usefulness' and the common good was expressed by the widely used term '*Gemeinnützigkeit'* (see e.g. Resewitz (*GVW* V, 4: 20f.); Mutschelle (1799: 15); Weinzierl (1803: 30)).

[33] For contemporary attacks on classical education, see above, note 29.

board (*Oberschulkollegium*).[34] Gedike wholly agreed with Stuve that the criterion of utility had become very important in a society characterised by major professional differentiation. As director of the *Berlinisch-Kölnisches Gymnasium* in Berlin, he did much to provide special education for *Bürger* next to classical education.[35] At the same time, however, Gedike criticised Stuve's concept of utility for being limited to *material* values alone. The fact that Latin was unnecessary in ordinary life, he argued, did not mean that is was *altogether* unnecessary. In Gedike's view, Stuve, by only assessing education on the basis of its material utility, betrayed an ignoble vision of the human race. "It is to downgrade and humiliate the human mind," he wrote, "(...) to appraise all knowledge according to the profit it brings (*bürgerlicher Ertrag*)."[36] The true purpose of classical education, according to Gedike, was "to cultivate the mind" (*Ausbildung des Geistes*).[37] Writing and speaking Latin was not socially, but "psychologically useful. It gives the soul a certain suppleness and flexibility, and by the difficulty of finding the most appropriate expression for each thought, our faculty of judgment is (...) nourished and strengthened."[38] This psychological use Gedike would later rephrase as 'formal education' (*formale Bildung*). Classical education, by harmoniously cultivating and disciplining our mental faculties – our "mind, wit, ingenuity, imagination, memory, judgment and taste"[39] – contributed to educating a man to a full human being, regardless of any vocational considerations. Exactly for this reason, Gedike considered classical education useful even to people who would not need the Latin language in their

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[34] Friedrich Gedike, the older brother of Ludwig Gedike, Siebelis' precedessor at the Bautzen *Gymnasium*, studied theology and classics in Frankfurt (Oder). From 1779 onwards, he was headmaster of the *Friedrichswerdersches Gymnasium* Berlin, from 1793 of the *Berlinisch-KölInisches Gymnasium*. In this role, he taught the classics the greater part of this life. Whereas in his twenties he was an outspoken adherent of the Enlightenment pedagogy of Johann Basedow (1724-90), later he became a fervent defender of classical humanism. As superintendent of the Prussian *Oberschulkollegium* he had a decisive influence on the introduction of the graduation exam (*Abiturientenexamen*) in Prussia in 1788.

[35] Fr. Gedike preferred to entirely separate *Bürger* education from the classical schools, which at his school, however, as at most schools, was not feasible. (Fr. Gedike (1781, in 1789, I: 117f.)) For Fr. Gedike's view on *Bürger* education, see *Über den Begriff einer Bürgerschule* (1799).

[36] Fr. Gedike (1789, I: 303).

[37] Fr. Gedike (1789, I: 302).

[38] Fr. Gedike (1789, I: 313).

[39] Fr. Gedike (1802: 18).

professional lives. Classical education, he argued, was the "best preliminary training, not only for the scholar, but also for the future businessman" (*Geschäftsmann*).[40]

It is noticeable that Gedike did not consider himself a true *opponent* of Stuve. Fully endorsing the importance of the utility concept that had recently acquired considerable importance, he only *elaborated* it by pointing out that practical utility should be distinguished from "formal utility" (*formaler Nutzen*[41]), which, being *superior* to practical utility, should be the primary object of all higher education. Starting from educational values and concepts that were of current interest, Gedike attempted to redefine the importance of classical education in a contemporary fashion.

The concept of *formale Bildung* proved extremely successful. Already Stuve himself, in a response to Gedike's defence, acknowledged the substantial "formal" value involved in thoroughly studying classical literature.[42] In subsequent years, many classical humanists adopted similar arguments in their defences of classical education.[43] By the 1800s, the value of *formale Bildung* was so

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[40] Fr. Gedike (1802: 20). – Besides this intrinsic argument, Gedike gave various time-bound arguments pertaining to the position of Latin as a *lingua franca*. Gedike disagreed with Stuve that Latin had lost its practical importance, pointing out that in the German countries bordering on Poland and Hungary, Latin was still indispensable in "*bürgerliche Geschäften*." (1789, I: 303) Moreover, Gedike emphasised that Latin was not only still seen as the language of science, but should also continue to be used in this manner, both because the 'republic of letters' required a universal, unchanging language (297, 308f.) and because it would be safer not to report on expansions of knowledge in the vernacular. (307). Such arguments pertaining to Latin as a *lingua franca* were still frequently heard at the time. Cf. e.g. Heinze (1777: 2f.); Tamm (1784: 17); Nösselt (1786: 125f., 130); Weinzierl (1801: 9-12).

[41] Fr. Gedike (1799: 5).

[42] Stuve *Berlinische Monatsschrift* (1783, II: 340f.). Stuve, however, stuck to his opinion that no matter how (formally) useful classical education could be in theory, it was inappropriate to require from all students what could only reasonably be asked from those students who were to hold "the more noble positions" in society (*id.* 341).

[43] See e.g. G.B. Funk, *Gedanken von dem Nutzen richtig getriebener Philologie in den Schulen* (1776f.); J. Rizhaub, ‚Ist das Studium fremder, besonders der alten Sprachen, auf Schulen noch ferner beyzubehalten?,' in: *Magazin für öffentliche Schulen und Schullehrer*. (1791, II: 432-70); G. Starke, *Nachtrag zu den Schriften über die fernere Beschäftigung studirender Jünglinge mit den Sprachen und Schriften der Alten* (1791); L. Gedike, *De finibus, institutioni iuventutis in studio scholastico et academico rite assignandis, commentatio brevis* (1792); Ph. Stapfer, *Die fruchtbarste Entwicklungsmethode der Anlagen des Menschen zufolge eines kritisch-philosophischen Entwurfs der*

broadly acknowledged that there was hardly any pedagogue who dared to assess education on its practical value alone.

As the term *formale Bildung* only came into vogue in the late 18th century, it is tempting to interpret it as demarcating an essentially new way of thinking about classical education. On closer inspection, however, this presumption turns out to be mistaken. Gedike felt a need, not for a new educational ideal, but for a new way of defending it. With his concept of "formal utility," he combated critics of classical humanism with their own weapon. Regardless of the new terminology, however, *content-wise*, Gedike did little more than reaffirm constitutive features of the classical-humanistic creed. By distinguishing "formal" from "practical" utility, he underlined that classical studies aimed at education for its own sake, independent of vocational considerations. By highlighting the classics' potential of cultivating our "mind (...), judgment and taste," Gedike indicated that he considered classical education eminently suitable to discipline one's intellectual capacities and to cultivate one's moral and aesthetic judgment. As can be seen from his descriptions of educational practice at the *Friedrichswerdersches Gymnasium* Berlin, Gedike taught the classics in a way very similar to Karl Gottfried Siebelis.[44] As "promoting skills in oral and written presentations" was "the main purpose of all teaching,"[45] he paid lavish attention to the active use of Latin and Greek.

In other words, both in his objectives and in his teaching methods, Gedike was a classical humanist in the full sense of the word. It was only because classical education was frequently criticised for its poor practical utility, that he advanced the concept of *formale Bildung*, thus enabling himself to rebut his critics in their own jargon. Despite its contemporary outlook, however, his concept of

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Culturgeschichte unsers Geschlechts: in der Form einer Apologie für das Studium der claßisschen Werke des Alterthums (1792). J. Gurlitt wrote an extensive essay on the "utility" of classical education: *De utilitate ex poetarum, in primis veterum, iusta lectione capienda, scriptiuncula* (1786). For a discussion on the concept of *formale Bildung* and the factors explaining its rise, see E. Lehmensick's still highly readable *Die Theorie der formalen Bildung* (1926).

[44] These descriptions are found in Gedike's *Gesammelte Schulschriften*, (1789, I: 131-54; 1795, II: 54-8).

[45] Fr. Gedike (1789, I: 148).

formale Bildung comprised many values that had been integral to classical humanism for many centuries.[46]

4. The common good

A similar attempt to defend classical humanism in a contemporary fashion is found in the response of classical humanists to another frequently voiced criticism. In the 1770s and 1780s, the classical schools were often branded as "sectarian" institutions, which, by their purely inward orientation, did not contribute to the common good. The "common good" was a much-debated theme in the late 18th century, when many members of the middle classes, scholars amongst them, began to interconnect on a much larger scale than had been customary in the past. Their cohesion was strengthened by an unprecedented flourishing of reading societies, journals and correspondence as well as by a spectacular increase of literacy and book publications.[47] This interconnection of different members of society was seen to contribute to an organic state of society, which is commonly known as the "public sphere" (*Öffentlichkeit*).[48] Educationalists widely agreed that the public sphere could be decisively influenced by means of education. By ridding people of their ignorance and making them conscious of their public responsibilities, education could encourage them to contribute to the common good.[49]

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[46] For other educationalists who considered *formale Bildung* to *comprise* the cultivation of e.g. the sense of beauty, see a.o. Wiedeburg (1787: 41-3); Koch (1795: 21). In the 1840s, Moritz Wilhelm Heffter, pro-rector at the Brandenburg Gymnasium, noted that what in his time was called "*formelle Bildung*" referred to the thorough study of the classical languages, which had always been part of classical school humanism: "At the *Gymnasien* there always has [been] such a method that looks with the greatest rigour [and] with the most scrupulous accuracy at positive knowledge, on memorising rules, words and word forms, on repetition (...), on fluency and skill in the use of what had been learnt. (Heffter (1846: 404f.))

[47] For statistics, see Safranski (2007: 48f.).

[48] The best known analysis of the genesis of the public sphere is J. Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (1962).

[49] The theme ‚*Öffentlichkeit'* figured very prominently in late 18th century pedagogy, as can be easily seen from book titles: see e.g. F. Resewitz, *Gedanken, Vorschläge und Wünsche zur Verbesserung der öffentlichen Erziehung* (5 vol. 1777-86); Lieberkühn, *Über den öffentlichen Geist des Schulmannes* (1782) and *Über den Werth und die Rechte der öffentlichen Erziehung* (1785); Niemeyer, *Über die Organisation öffentlicher Schulen und Erziehungsanstalten* (1805b); Stephani, *System der öffentlichen Erziehung* (1805).

In the late 18th century, it was broadly agreed that the public sphere was primarily dependent on the lower and middle classes. Friedrich Resewitz valued people from these classes as society's "productive members" (*werbende Glieder* or *Nährstand*), who did not serve their own purposes, but made their labour fruitful to society as a whole.[50] They constituted the "only reliable force of the state, the source of the population, the foundation of all public welfare."[51] Farmers, merchants and tradesman, Resewitz argued, excelled in the characteristically public virtue of *activity* (*Thätigkeit*).[52] It was by productively contributing to society that these people helped transform the findings of academic scholars "into national prudence and wisdom."[53]

The criterion of public interest that inspired people such as Resewitz to commit themselves to *Bürger* education effectuated a critical stance towards the classical schools. To many educationalists, the *Gelehrtenschule*, literally translating as a "scholars' school," did not serve an obvious public purpose. It was principally directed to providing the *Gelehrtenstand* ("academic class") with new recruits, whose children were in turn destined to attend the *Gelehrtenschule* and to pursue academic studies. The *Gelehrtenschulen*, in other words, were self-oriented institutions with no obvious orientation towards public benefit.

The criticisms against the unworldly outlook of the *Gelehrtenschulen* took on additional vehemence because of their association with the social class considered pre-eminently hostile to the public domain: the clergy. Although the *Gelehrtenschulen* had long lost their original primary objective of educating theologians and clergymen, in the late 18th century it was still difficult not to associate them with the clergy. Since future clergymen still formed a substantial part of their clientele, the *Gelehrtenschulen* were dragged into the fierce assaults launched against the clergy, being decried as breeding places for the "*gelehrte*

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[50] Resewitz *GVW*, II, 3: 82.

[51] Resewitz (1773: 11).

[52] Resewitz (1773: 4). In the educational debate much emphasis was placed on the value of actively participating in society. See e.g. Seibt (1771: 9); Niemeyer (1787, I: 25); Hamann (1794: 8); Mutschelle (1799: 7); Weiller (1801b; 10); Graser (1805, I: 49). – Frequent equivalents of *Thätigkeit* were *Arbeitsamkeit* (Schram (1803: xiv; cf. Vollbeding (1789: 73); Lachmann (1800: 20); *Betriebsamkeit* (see e.g. Resewitz *GVW* V, 4: 3); and *Geschäftigkeit* (see e.g. Resewitz (1773: 4).

[53] Resewitz (1773: 16).

Clerisey"[54] or as "*Pflanzörter für Pfaffen und Mönche*."[55] Many reformist educators considered the self-oriented *Gelehrtenschulen* to embody the very opposite of *Öffentlichkeit*: they saw it as representing the medieval "sectarian spirit" they considered their most formidable foe. In their view, this pre-modern "*Sektengeist*"[56] had frozen the development of the European public sphere since early Christianity and thwarted the advance of modernity up to the present day.[57] Therefore, they branded the Latin schools not only as "unworldly" or "scholastic," but also as "barbaric."[58] The dominance of the Latin schools was seen as representing the barbarous "*Sektirerei*" from which the continent was only slowly escaping.[59]

The attitude of classical humanists regarding these severe criticisms can well be measured by the views of, again, Friedrich Gedike. Just as in his controversy with Johann Stuve, he went a long way with educationalists who criticised the *Gelehrtenschulen* for their unworldly outlook. Gedike wholly agreed that the contemporary classical schools had degenerated into sectarian institutions with an upsetting disregard of public utility. Gedike pointed out, however, that this sectarianism found its roots at the time when the study of classical literature had *lost* its civilising influence: early Christianity. Gedike described early Christianity as a time when „under the pressure of age,

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[54] Resewitz (1773: 5).

[55] Hamann (1794: 4); cf. Koch (1795: 5-9).

[56] Schram (1803: 43).

[57] A range of pejorative synonyms denoted the „sectarian" spirit: *Parteigeist* (Delbrück (1796: 102); Weinzierl (1803: 5); *Corporationsgeist* (Villaume (1793: 167); *Zunftgeist*, *Ordensgeist* (Weiller (1801a: 39; cf. Lechner (1802: 5)); *Verfolgungsgeist* (Westenrieder (1774: 34).

[58] 'Unworldly:' Lieberkühn (1785: 11f.); 'scholastic:' Lechner (1802: 6); Trapp (*RW* VII (1787: 330)) spoke of "*Lateinische Barbarey*"; Weinzierl (1801: 33) of "*barbarischer Schulwitz*;" cf. Resewitz (*GVW* II, 3: 83), who called the use of Latin in jurisdiction a "*barbarische Mode;*" cf. Hamann (1794: 4) and Reichel (1797: vi). – For comparable reasons, the traditional Latin names for teachers' functions (*Rektor*, *Subrektor*, *Konrektor*, *Subkonrektor*, *Kollaborator*, etc.) and even the name *Gelehrtenschule* could incite vehement ridicule (see resp. Lachmann (1800: 22f.) and Pölitz (1806, II: 231f.)).

[59] Stuve (*BM* 1783, II: 354). – As a result, the term '*Gelehrtheit'* (learning) sometimes took on a negative ring. Vollbeding (1789: 34) exclaimed that with only scholars the world would certainly perish; Delbrück (1796: 77) lamented that in recent times, 'learning' had taken the place of 'true wisdom;' cf. Villaume (1793: 231); Gibbon (1792: 7f.); Koch (1795: 28f.); Mutschelle (1799: 15). The proverb '*je gelehrter, desto verkehrter*' was well known at the time (see e.g. Heumann (1779: 72); cf. Thiersch (1837: 7)).

barbarism and bigotry (...) the Xenophontic grace shrank into a patristic, ascetic and monastic skeleton."[60] The revival of classical studies in the Renaissance brought a temporary "return of good taste," which over time was again lost as the classical schools developed a sectarian, one-sided interest in the *Gelehrtenstand* alone.[61] Gedike, then, while fully sharing the critique of the sectarian outlook of the modern academic schools, differed from his critics by pointing out that the sectarianism had been caused by a *neglect* of the "Xenophontic grace" that pervaded classical culture.

Gedike's views were shared by the large majority of his colleagues.[62] Many classical humanists emphasised that in the ancient world, especially in Greece, the public sphere had been exceptionally well developed, for which reason the study of classical literature could be of eminent importance in making people commit themselves to the common good. The ancient Greeks were exceptional, it was widely argued, for putting the common good above their own individual interests. Their commitment to "the state, the welfare of the citizenry and to performing acts beneficial to the common good" (*gemeinnützige Thaten*) was unrivalled.[63] Accustomed as they were from an early age to "concord" and "sociability,"[64] they developed a strong mutual bond which encouraged them to

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[60] The rhetoric of the full German quotation can hardly be rendered in English: "*Eine Zeit wenn unter dem Druck des Alters, der Barbarei und einer bald grübelnden bald in träumender Beschaulichkeit brütende Schwärmerei und einer nach neuen Worten für ihre neue Spitßfündigkeiten haschenden Ketzermachersucht die Xenophontische Grazie in ein patristisches, asketisches und mönchisches Knochengerippe zusammenschrumpfte.*" (Gedike (1789, I: 291)). Such critique on scholastic ways of dealing with the classical heritage was widely shared amongst defenders of classical education. Johann Gottfried Herder, to give just one other example, contended in one of his school speeches that classical education for a long time had been misused by monks, who "lacked *sensus humanitatis*, health of mind and speech, symmetry, accuracy and truth. All mankind only appeared to them in the context of their convent, whence they could not by their writings educate people, citizens, statesmen, but at best monastic clergymen who prayed as they themselves preached, rhyming Latin verses and writing dry or factitious chronicles." (Herder (1788, ed. Reble 1962: 75))

[61] Fr. Gedike (1789, I: 294).

[62] In the next five paragraphs I quote from writings by a wide variety of late 18th century classical humanists.

[63] Westenrieder (1774: 12f.).

[64] Seibt (1771: 31).

sacrifice themselves to the common good.[65] Greek society was imbued with the public spirit, as was amply illustrated by the Greek way of life. "Public sacrifices, festivals, games and competitions,"[66] as well as "the forum, the army camp, the battlefield and the court:"[67] they were all *public* institutions, requiring the commitment of society at large.[68]

The Greek dedication to the common good was also seen to affect the fields of science and literature. Contrary to the sectarianism widespread in the contemporary world, in Greek antiquity, "the history of the state, [the history] of law, the knowledge of nature and language" were still "of general interest to the *Bürger*."[69] Accordingly, Greek writers were not scholars, locked up in the sectarian atmosphere of their studies, but mostly held prominent positions in society. Demosthenes defended the Greeks against the Macedonians and Thucydides, Xenophon and Plutarch were amongst the many Greek writers to make their mark as generals in the army.[70] The same was true for the Romans: Cicero won his spurs as a consul, Caesar as a general, and Vergil, Horace and Ovid all frequented Augustus' court.[71] The great writers of antiquity were not educated in sectarian schools, but were formed by life itself.[72] Consorting with their fellow countrymen,[73] they enjoyed full access to the "big and urbane world."[74] Correspondingly, they neither wrote for a sectarian public nor for

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[65] The Greek interest in the common good was emphasised time and again. See e.g. Hochheimer (1785: v); cf. Sulzer (1765: 13-5); Wiedeburg (*HM* 1787: 47); Matthiä (1805: 4).

[66] Jenisch (1798: 143).

[67] Jenisch (1798: 271).

[68] The supposed dedication of the Greeks to the common good was also the reason why they were often described as 'patriotist' (*patriottistisch*), see e.g. Seibt (1771: 31); Scheller (1770: 6); Hochheimer (1785: v); Degen (1792: 6); Delbrück (1796: 105); cf. Westenrieder (1774: 12); Jenisch (1789: 47); Hübler (1800: 106ff.).

[69] Rehberg (1788: 268).

[70] Hübler (1783: 4). Hübler praised Demosthenes for having been "a Pitt, a Franklin and a Washington at the same time." (*ibid*.) Cf. Jenisch (1798: 272), who praised the fact that writers as Homer, Sophocles and Plato enjoyed no less public esteem than statesmen as Miltiades, Themistokles and Aristides.

[71] Hübler (1773: 4f.); Scheller (1770: 6).

[72] Jenisch (1789: 46).

[73] Jenisch (1798: 271).

[74] Hübler (1783: 4f.).

profit, but "to enlighten" their compatriots.[75] They wrote, in one word, "for the nation itself."[76]

It is noticeable that many classical humanists directly associated the huge admiration for the ancients' sense of form with their commitment to the common good. As early as the 1770s, Johann Sulzer, an authoritative philosopher and staunch defender of classical education, argued that "everything thought out by philosophers, if it is to be useful, has to be expressed in popular conceptions, that is, put into words in a smooth, sensual way, easily leaving an imprint in our memory." To Sulzer, orators, historians and poets were the "mediators between speculative philosophers and the people."[77] The classical refinement of style he saw as a necessary condition for important ideas to be communicated and made useful to people. To Sulzer, it was a sign of the authors' public commitment.[78]

Conversely, most classical humanists had an aversion to the poorly developed sense of form they considered characteristic of the contemporary world. Largely indifferent to matters of form, the contemporary world was seen to focus instead on "reflection."[79] Contemporary literature, it was widely argued, tending to "speculation" and "abstraction," utterly lacked the refined and

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[75] Degen (1792: 6). Jenisch (1798: 274) pointed to an (almost certainly fictional) anecdote from antiquity on Herodotus, stating that he read his *Histories* in public at the Olympic games (Lucian, *Herodotus* 1-2).

[76] Jenisch (1798: 272). Cf. Groddeck (1788: 34).

[77] "*... muss auf populäre Vorstellungen gebracht, das ist, auf eine leichte, sinnliche und dem Gedächtnis leicht inhaftende Art ausgedruckt werden können.*" (Sulzer (1786, IV: 61))

[78] This connection between a highly developed sense of form and the public sphere was often observed. Snell (1782: 27) maintained that a "lucid and agreeable speech" was required for becoming a useful man; Hübler (1800: 150f.) asserted that without a "pleasant and entertaining way of expressing oneself" one could never become successful in either official or middle class professions. Cf. Jenisch (1798: 270f.); Delbrück (1796: 53); Matthiä (1805: 4, 6): "*Faßliche Mittheilung und populäre Form.*" Herder (1782, ed. Reble (1962: 109)) described decent speech as the hallmark of all „*wohlgesittete, bürgerliche Nationen*." In his view, the Greeks' frequent public speeches enabled them to cultivate their language and therefore their "taste, reason, eloquence and sense of humanity." (72)

[79] Jenisch (1789: 45). Cf. Adelung (*Über den Deutschen Styl* (1785)), who argued that the ancients' concern for „embellished sensuality" (*verschönerte Sinnlichkeit*) contrasted sharply with a contemporary focus on „cultivating the intellect and cold-bloodedly considering intentions and resources" (*Cultur des Verstandes; kaltblütige Erwägung von Absichten und Mittel*). (Quoted from Groddeck (1788: 68f.).)

vibrant appearance of classical narrative.[80] This was the result of traditional education with its sectarian focus on erudition.[81] As contemporary writers were far removed from "what happens daily,"[82] they were determined, not by what "they had seen, heard, felt and done," but by what they had "read together, reasoned, pondered and fabricated."[83] In other words, the contemporary neglect of form was seen to derive from the poor development of the public sphere. Unlike the ancient classics, contemporary authors did not write for the nation. Lacking commitment to the common good, they only wrote for the "study" (*Studierstube*) and "for reviewers."[84] The result were works which "only function by their content" (*Werke die nur durch ihren Stoff wirken*), thus unable to serve the common good.[85] For want of formal qualities, they remained "mere, dead masses" (*blosse, todte Massen*),[86] characteristic of sectarian societies caught in "darkness and barbarism."[87] To further cultivate the public sphere, then, classical humanists considered it of essential importance to follow the classics' lead by reviving their singular sense of form.

Finally, classical humanists pointed out that in order to overcome the sectarian character of the modern *Gelehrtenschulen* it was essential to recognise that their clientele included many more people than only prospective scholars. To Friedrich Gedike, the *Gymnasien* should reorient themselves to "the educated and enlightened classes of the nation" in general, whose leading positions required a humanistic education.[88] In view of the public virtues in which the Greeks and Romans excelled, classical humanists deemed classical education pre-eminently suited to equipping people for the "management of civil affairs."[89] It was not the *Bürgerschule*, but the *Gymnasium* and the universities that produced "the most useful businessmen in the state" (*die brauchbarsten Geschäftsmänner im*

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[80] Sulzer (1786, I: 78).

[81] Jenisch (1798: 273).

[82] Jenisch (1798: 273). Cf. Morgenstern (1805: 81).

[83] "(...) *was sie zusammengelesen, raisonnirt, gegrübelt und erdichtet haben*." (Jenisch (1789: 45)) The sarcasm inherent in the German verbs is largely lost in translation.

[84] Jenisch (1798: 274).

[85] Schelle (1804: 50).

[86] *Ibid*.

[87] Heinze (1777: 9).

[88] Fr. Gedike (1799: 9f.).

[89] Böttiger (1789: 18).

Staate).[90] In the eyes of classical humanists, then, classical education was pre-eminently suited to cultivate the very public virtues that it was widely asserted to jeopardise.

Again, we see that classical humanists in response to their critics redefined the importance of classical education in a markedly contemporary fashion. It was because they *shared* the typically late 18th century interest in *Öffentlichkeit* that they underscored the exemplary character of the ancient public sphere and highlighted the ancients' sense of form from its perspective. At the same time, their ideal of classical education remained distinctly traditional. I have not come across one single defender of classical education who wanted the major emphasis on the ancients' public virtues to be at the *expense* of other aspects of classical education, such as grammar or textual interpretation. On the contrary, the large majority of late 18th century classical humanists advocated a type of classical education that was broadly similar to the 'ideal type' offered by Karl Gottfried Siebelis. It was only when *defending* classical education that they gave special prominence to values that were of particular, contemporary interest, thus trying to prove that classical humanism, far from being a dying relic from a distant past, was fully capable of meeting the demands of the time.[91]

5. Conclusion

We have come to see that in the period 1770-1800, classical education was severely criticised for not meeting the demands of the time. The unprecedented professional differentiation made classical education seem of little benefit to increasing numbers of professionalists. Moreover, the classical *Gymnasien*, with their primary orientation to the *Gelehrtenstand*, were often branded as "sectarian" institutions that thwarted the cultivation of the public sphere. Interestingly, classical humanists, instead of parrying these criticisms from an opposing camp, adopted them to a large extent. Challenged by the serious need for *Bürger*

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[90] Pölitz (1806, II: 249).

[91] The relation between classical education and the common good was not only stressed in the late 18th century. In fact, it already played a central role in Renaissance humanism. As early as the *Quattrocento*, classical education was valued for fostering "exactly the sense of obligation to public service needed for those who governed the (...) communes." (Nauert (2006: 13)) Moreover, aversion to sectarianism and scholasticism was as widespread amongst Renaissance humanists as it was to late 18th century humanists. (See Nauert (2006: 17-9).)

education, they vested much energy in pointing out that classical education was eminently suited to cultivating values relevant to academics and *Bürger* alike. The emphasis on the "formal use" of classical education, as well as on the public virtues pervading classical literature, must be seen from this perspective. It was by their highly responsive attitude to the challenges posed by the incipient, modern society that classical humanists reinforced their position in the educational debates. Far from anxiously defending the classical-humanistic ideal of education as a rigid, pre-conceived set of ideas, they set out to prove that the *traditional* ideal of classical education incorporated many norms and values of contemporary interest.

By the end of the century, the revived humanistic view on classical education was so widely shared that it did no longer make sense to speak of two rivalling camps of 'advocates' and 'critics.' From the 1800s, most defenders of *Bürger* education stopped caricaturing the *Gelehrtenschulen* as obsolete relics of a sectarian past. Instead, they widely began to adopt the humanistic objectives of the classical schools and undertook to demonstrate that not only the *Gymnasium*, but also the *Bürgerschule* laid valid claim to being a true *Humanitätsschule*. To this topic I shall return in chapter three.

Chapter 2 Latin education in *Bürgerclassen*

"Und wenn das Latein, das (...) auf Schulen getrieben werden soll, (...) nur Colloquienlatein ist, das der Schüler (...) durchs Schwatzen lernen soll, (...) bey dem er nimmermehr einen lateinischen Redner, Philosophen oder Dichter wird verstehen können: so heißt das einen Fehler durch einen anderen verbessern wollen."
(Albrecht Walch, 1785)

1. Introduction

In the last chapter we have seen that in the late 18th century, despite the many criticisms levelled against the *Gelehrtenschulen*, classical education was so highly esteemed that it proved impossible to ban or substantially reduce the curricular share of Latin, even at the lower grades. Yet, it was a plain fact that the large majority of pupils in the "*Bürgerclassen"* would leave school at about the age of fourteen and would therefore never be able to enjoy a full classical education. As most pupils only attended *elementary* Latin training and thus broke off their course half way, it was highly doubtful whether the humanistic ideal that underlay the classical education they attended would ever be of much benefit to them. Therefore, many educationalists took up the challenge of reforming Latin education in *Bürgerclassen* in such a way as to make it suitable, not only for future university students, but also, and especially, for children preparing for skilled professions. As these children would only attend the Latin school for a couple of years, the central objective of these reform efforts was to increase the efficiency of Latin education: children should learn Latin as fast as possible in the shortest possible time.[1]

[1] The proposals to reform classical education in *Bürgerclassen* were largely directed towards Latin education. Greek was usually begun at a higher age or only taught at a very elementary level.

The attempts to increase the efficiency of Latin education in *Bürgerclassen* fell into four different categories: 1) postponing Latin; 2) integrating Latin education into ‚*Sachunterricht*;' 3) producing modern Latin text books; and 4) teaching Latin as a colloquial language.

2. Postponing Latin

One of the measures widely proposed to increase the efficiency of Latin education was, ironically, to postpone it. This measure was advocated with special fervour by Ernst Christian Trapp (1745-1818), one of the most famous pedagogues of his time and a declared advocate of *Bürger* education.[2] Trapp held that education can only be fruitful when it keeps pace with the child's natural development. As a child first acquaints itself with the present before coming into contact with the past, education in the lower grades should primarily address the „immediately accessible."[3] It should conform to the natural development of a child between 6 and 12, who acquires most knowledge by grappling with the surrounding material world. Accordingly, Latin education should be postponed until a solid foundation had been laid in *real*-education, which Trapp and many of his contemporaries usually described as '*Sachunterricht.*'[4]

Trapp's concern with the child's natural development also conflicted with the fact that in most 18th century school curricula, education in German rarely exceeded the level of learning to spell and write. Usually, the first and only language seriously and systematically taught was Latin, which was not uncommonly begun at the age of 6 to 8.[5] Therefore, Trapp argued that linguistic education should begin with the vernacular. Latin should be postponed until a

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[2] Having studied theology, philology and pedagogy in Göttingen, Trapp became a teacher at the short-lived *Philantropin* in Dessau, founded by Johann Basedow in 1774. In this position, Trapp experimented with teaching largely non-classical curricula of encyclopaedic breadth. In 1779, he was appointed to the first Chair of Pedagogy at the University of Halle. Trapp was a leading exponent of Enlightenment pedagogy, being a main contributor to Friedrich Nicolai's *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* (1765-1806) and Heinrich Campe's *Allgemeine Revision des gesammten Schul- und Erziehungswesens* (1785-92).

[3] Trapp (1788, VII: 282)).

[4] Trapp (1788, VII: 282-5). – Trapp's view that education should keep pace with the child's natural development was widely shared. See e.g. Resewitz *GVW* II, 3: 88; Steinbart (1786: 153); Beyschlag (1792, III: 4); Hamann (1794: 4; 6-7); Schram (1803: 204).

[5] See e.g. Buhle (1788: 280); Cunradi (1808: 19f.).

solid mastery of the native tongue had been secured, that is, not before the age of 10 to 12.[6]

The idea underlying Trapp's proposal to postpone Latin education was that its efficiency could be substantially increased by restoring its 'natural' position in the learning process. Once children would have acquired thorough knowledge of their native language, it would be much easier for them to master a foreign language. This would even save years of time.[7] For several reasons, however, this proposal to postpone Latin education could not easily materialise. As seen above, most schools were unwilling to reduce the scope of Latin education in fear of losing their academic reputation. Moreover, parental aspirations to open up bright career perspectives by having their children learn Latin as early as possible remained unchanged. On the whole, then, reformers had to resort to other solutions: one of them was the integration of Latin education into *Sachunterricht*.

3. *Sprachen* and *Sachen*

One of the measures widely proposed to improve the efficiency of Latin education in *Bürgerclassen* was to integrate it into *Sachunterricht*. In 1788, Karl Ludwig Bauer (1730-1799), headmaster of the *Gelehrtenschule* of Hirschberg (Silesia), published a book in which he combined Latin writing exercises with the transmission of 'material' knowledge.[8] Children had to improve in Latin

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[6] At one point, Trapp even contended that exclusive education in the mother tongue should continue until the age of 15 (Trapp *RW* VII (1787: 359). Cf. Fr. Gedike (1779: 144); Campe (1788: 201f.); Snell (1782: 203f.); Stuve (*SJ*, 1792, III: 320). – For elaborate discussions on the most natural order of subjects in *Bürgerclassen*, see Lorenz, *Die idealische Bürgerschule nebst einem Beytrag zur Methodik* (1788); Seiler, *Schulmethodenbuch* (1789); Fr. Gedike, *Einige Gedanken über Ordnung und Folge der Gegenstände des jugendlichen Unterrichts* (1791).

[7] It was expected that full mastery of the Latin language could be acquired in three to four years, instead of the usual seven to nine. See e.g. Snell (1782: 211); Niemeyer (1805a, I: 471); Cunradi (1808: 56).

[8] K.L. Bauer, *Übungsmagazin zum Lateinisch-Schreiben in Verbindung nützlicher Sach-Kenntnisse* (1788). – Karl Bauer counted as one of the foremost philologists of his time. Having lectured on the ancient classics for three years at the University of Leipzig, he was appointed headmaster of the *Gelehrtenschule* in Lauban (Silesia) in 1756. Ten years later he changed the rectorate of this school for that of the *Gelehrtenschule* in Hirschberg (Silesia). Together with C.D. Beck he co-edited an authoritative edition of Thucydides (1790-1804). Next to major

grammar by expressing themselves in Latin on material subjects. For example, they familiarised themselves with Latin words deviating from German in genus by writing on both astronomical and historical topics, invoked respectively by the words *coelum* (neuter as opposed to German masculine *Himmel*) and *bellum* (neuter as opposed to German masculine *Krieg*).[9] A lesson on genitives on *–is* served to expatiate on topics as divergent as the god Apollo (genitive: *Apollinis*), the human lungs (Latin: *pulmo*, genitive: *pulmonis*) and the distribution of salmon over the oceans (Latin: *salmo*, genitive: *salmonis*).[10] Bauer obviously attached major importance to the integration of Latin into *Sachunterricht*, describing his Latin exercise book as „*Elementar- oder Vorbereitungsbuch nützlicher Kenntnisse*."[11]

Another way to integrate Latin education into *Sachunterricht* was realised by Philipp Lieberkühn, director of the Elisabeth *Gymnasium* of Breslau (Silesia). He made a translation into Latin of the very successful German adaptation of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, delivered by Joachim Heinrich Campe (1746-1818) under the title *Robinson der Jüngere* (1779/80).[12] To Lieberkühn, a Latin translation of this popular travelogue was a suitable means to make pupils learn Latin on the basis of subjects taken from the visible, surrounding world. Likewise, Campe planned to deliver a translation of his own *Seelenlehre* in order to use it as a Latin text book.[13] A third frequent proposal to integrate Latin into *Sachunterricht* was to teach *Sachen* by means of non-literary texts from antiquity. Thus, Latin reading would be extended to incorporate non-canonical ancient authors whose writings were worth studying, not because of artistic excellence, but because they dealt with *Sachen*.[14]

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philological and theological works, he wrote more than hundred school programs and other occasional texts. Moreover, he was an officially crowned *poeta laureatus*.

[9] For example, they had to translate into Latin the sentence "*Der kleineste Stern ist größer, als die Erde. Der Mond ist kleiner, als die Erde, aber die Sonne weit größer als beyde.*" (Bauer (1788: 148f.)).

[10] Bauer (1788: 207f.).

[11] Bauer (1788: 5). For other proposals to integrate Latin into *Sachunterricht*, see e.g. Lechner, *Über die Verbindung des Sach- und Sprachunterrichts in den gymnastischen Schulen* (1802); also Walch (1785: 2f.); Trapp (*RW*, VII (1787: 354)); Gedike (1789, I: 136).

[12] Joachimi Henrici Campe, *Robinson secundus. Tironum causa latine vertit, atque indicem latinitatis adjiciendum curavit, Philippus Julius Lieberkühn* (1785). The German original, *Robinson der Jüngere* (1779f.), counts as the first German youth novel.

[13] See Cunze (1788: 367).

[14] See e.g. Fr. Gedike (1789, I: 26); cf. Matthiä (1805: 6).

Yet, of the three proposals to integrate Latin education into modern *Sachunterricht* discussed so far, none proved very successful. Many classical humanists were sceptical about combining Latin with *Sachunterricht* because it effectuated a conflict with what they considered one of Latin education's most important objectives: Latinity (*Latinität*). It was widely agreed that the purpose of Latin education was not just to learn the language, but also, and above all, to develop a truly "classical" style. This could only be realised by studying the great classical authors from antiquity who embodied this style. When restricted to *Sachunterricht*, however, Latin education would largely lose sight of classical literature and thus of the classical stylistic standards it recorded. It was because of a typically humanistic concern about true Latinity, then, that proposals to combine Latin with *Sachunterricht* were widely criticised.

It is noticeable that concern for the classical style was not only expressed by old-fashioned philologists, but also by educational reformers. In an earlier book, Karl Bauer took 388 pages to expose the minutiae of a perfect, Latin style.[15] In the prologue of his Latin translation of Campe's *Robinson der Jüngere*, Lieberkühn assured his readership that "in expressing new things, he had stayed as close as possible to the rules of Latinity," but confessed that he had not been able to avoid impurities.[16] Lieberkühn's translation was widely criticised by colleague reformers on stylistic grounds. Johann Heinrich Campe hackled its lack of Latinity.[17] Ernst Trapp, one of the most fervent advocates of combining Latin education with *Sachunterricht*, was dissatisfied with Lieberkühn's translation for being "not correct enough."[18]

It was the typically humanistic emphasis on Latinity, then, which prevented reform proposals from acquiring more than marginal significance. Most newly published books with Latin writing exercises exclusively focused on

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[15] *Anleitung zum richtigen und guten Ausdruck der Lateinischen Sprache* (1775).

[16] "*In [novis rebus] exprimendis linguae latinae rationes quam proxime (...) secutus sum*." (Preface (not paginated)). "*[H]oc mihi non arrogo, Robinsonis mei latinitatem ad veterum auctorum puritatem atque elegantiam accedere. Neque vero hoc quenquam, qui quidem idoneus et aequus sit arbiter, in eo libro aut expectaturum, aut postulaturum puto, qui tot novis rebus, apud Romanos plane inusitatis, abundet*." (*Ibid*.)

[17] See Cunze (1788: 368f.).

[18] Trapp (*RW*, VII (1787: 357)) – The argument of Latinity was also advanced against the proposal to teach *Sachen* by studying ancient 'scientific' texts, for example by the philologist August Matthiä (1805: 6), who pointed out that these texts rarely had a "*classische Sprache*."

the classical style[19] and the most successful textbooks for *Sachunterricht* were written, not in Latin, but in German.[20] To the large majority of educationalists, sacrificing Latinity was clearly a bridge too far.

4. The quest for Latin text books

The standards of Latinity were not only challenged by *Sachunterricht* but also by the fact that the canonical Latin authors whose works provided models for the classical style were far too difficult as beginners' reading. It was out of the question to begin a Latin course with such authors as Vergil, Horace, Livy or Tacitus. The great Latin classics were, as was widely acknowledged, written for grown-ups and utterly unsuitable as schoolbooks.[21] Therefore, reading Latin traditionally began with Roman authors whose style was simpler and more easily accessible than that of the famous classics. Common beginners' authors were Marcus Iunianus Iustinus (the *Historiarum Philippicarum libri XLIV*), Cornelius Nepos (*De viris illustribus*), Flavius Eutropius (the *Breviarium historiae Romanae*), Quintus Curtius Rufus (the *Historiae Alexandri Magni*) and Phaedrus (*Fabulae*).[22] However, the style of these ancient, but second-rate authors, was not considered truly classical.[23] Moreover, as concern for the child's natural development increased, they attracted serious criticism for not being particularly

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[19] See e.g. Scheller, *Anleitung, die alten lateinischen Schriftsteller philologisch und kritisch zu erklären und den Cicero gehörig nachzuahmen* (1770), *Praecepta Stili Bene Latini In Primis Ciceroniani* (1779); Sintenis, *Versuch einer Practischen Anleitung zu Cicero's Schreibart* (1794); Schmieder, *Anleitung zur feinern Latinität in Uebungen und Anmerkungen* (1797); cf. Bauer (1775).

[20] Such as Sulzer's *Vorübungen zur Erweckung der Aufmerksamkeit und des Nachdenkens* (1771), Rochow's *Der Kinderfreund* (1776) and Thieme's *Erste Nahrung für den gesunden Menschenverstand* (1786).

[21] This point was frequently emphasised, see e.g. Westenrieder (1774: 7); Resewitz *GVW* II, 3: 96; Hübler (1783: 7); Stuve (1783: 113f.); Buhle (1788: 272f.); Cunze (1788: 364f.); Campe (1788: 109); Fr. Gedike (1789, I: 122).

[22] Often, Cicero's more accessible letters to Atticus functioned as beginners' reading as well. – Common beginners' texts in Greek were *On Incredible Things* (Περὶ ἀπίστων) by Palaephatus; the *History of the Empire from the Death of Marcus* by Herodian; the *Various History* (Ποικίλη ἱστορία) by Claudius Aelianus and Aesopus' fables.

[23] For comparable reasons, it was widely argued that Greek education should not begin with the New Testament, the language of which Fr. Gedike (1779: 227) described as "barbaric and un-Greek."

attractive to the young mind while being relatively demanding nonetheless.[24] Next to the beginners' authors, various elementary books (*Elementarbücher*) circulated, such as the widely used *Colloquia captui tironum accommodata* by Joachim Lange (1779). Also older books, such as the *Colloquia* by the 16th century scholars Maturinus Corderius and Cornelius Valerius, and the *liber memorialis* by the 17th century classicist Christophus Cellarius were still widely used. But these works were now criticised, most importantly because they did not meet contemporary methodical ideals or because they violated the standard of Latinity.[25] The desire to break through the rusty, traditional beginners' curriculum by producing text books both methodologically sound and observant of the norms of Latinity, was strongly felt.

As a result, in the late 18th century, many new Latin *Elementarbücher* were published. The most influential one was the *Lateinisches Lesebuch für die ersten Anfänger* by Friedrich Gedike (1782). Next to a first chapter listing individual Latin sentences, the book contained fables, stories (*Erzählungen*), "curiosities from natural history" and a short chapter on mythology. A glossary and lengthy grammatical compendium were provided at the end. Although Gedike's book was an example of combining Latin education and *Sachunterricht*, exemplified in the chapter on natural history, all texts were deliberately derived from original authors. The fables were those by Aesopus, translated into Latin by Camerarius (1539). The "stories" came, amongst others, from Cicero and Plinius, and even the "curiosities from natural history" were mostly derived from ancient Roman sources.[26] This is of essential importance, as it illustrates the typically humanistic endeavour to protect the norms of *Latinität* against the influence of modern *Sachunterricht*. Gedike's book was clearly informed by the aspiration to introduce pupils to the world of the original Roman authors and their classical style.[27]

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[24] See e.g. Buhle (1788: 273-5); cf. Matthiä (1805: 4).

[25] Fr. Gedike (1805: iii) held that traditional text books presented moral lessons "*ohne (...) Anschaulichkeit*;" Buhle (1788: 283f.) described Lange's *Colloquia* as "*etwas unlateinisch;*" Cellarius' *liber* was often criticised for provoking mindless memorising (see e.g. Purmann (*AAE*, vol. 5 (1779: 31)); Hamann (1794: 3; cf. Niemeyer (1805a, I: 474)).

[26] Fr. Gedike (1805: v).

[27] A year before, Gedike had published a Greek text book (*Griechisches Lesebuch für die ersten Anfänger* (1781)), similar in structure and very widespread as well. Another popular text book which aimed at combining Greek history with *Gräcität* was K. G. Siebelis' *Hellenika* (1800-3). In this book, intended for *Sekundaner*, all texts were drawn from classical authors. – Other new

Gedike's *Lesebuch* was in great demand, reaching its thirteenth edition in 1805, and can be seen as one the landmarks of reformed Latin education in the late 18th century.[28] At the same time, as it aimed to protect *Latinität* against both the distortions of *Sachunterricht* and the simplifying influence of elementary education, it was exemplary of an unsolvable problem of Latin education in *Bürgerclassen*. By respecting the norms of *Latinität*, elementary Latin education profiled itself as merely *preparatory* of the true classical authors, scheduled for the higher grades. As far as Gedike strived for Latinity, he could not avoid implicitly directing himself to those pupils who would move on to *Sekunda* and *Prima*. His book retained a clear upward orientation towards the higher levels of classical education. Moreover, notwithstanding Gedike's preference for original Roman texts, the simple subject matter conflicted with true *Latinität* nonetheless. Where the texts in Gedike's book were most '*lateinisch*,' they were hardly suitable for the lowest grades, and where they were truly simple, they were not genuinely '*lateinisch*.'[29] Combining *Latinität* with simplicity of style was plainly impossible. To pupils moving on to the higher grades, this was no problem, as they would be able to tighten their stylistic standards in later years. But to most pupils of the *Bürgerclassen*, leaving school at fourteen years of age, true Latinity remained out of reach once and for all. Despite its popularity, then, Gedike's *Lesebuch* was a fundamentally hybrid production. Incorporating *Sachunterricht* and reflecting the child's natural development, it sprang from the aspiration to create a reformed type of Latin education suited for academics and *Bürger* alike. But in its pronounced emphasis on Latinity it showed clear traces of a humanistic view on classical education, which Gedike, like most of his colleagues, was not willing to sacrifice.

Latin *Elementarbücher* were produced, amongst others, by Büsching, *Liber Latinus* (1767), Mertens, *Der kleine Lateiner* (1779), Schütz, *Neues Elementarwerk für die niedern Klassen lateinischer Schulen und Gymnasien* (1780), Münzer, *Liber latinus tironum usui capituique accomodatus oder der leichte Lateiner* (1783), Fels, *Lehr- und Lesebuch der lateinischen Sprachen für die lateinischen Klassen des Gymnasiums der Stadt und Republik St. Gallen* (1789) and Rizhaub, *Elementarwerk zur leichtern Erlernung der lateinischen Sprache*, 4 vol. (1797ff.).

[28] It was also used at the Bautzen *Gymnasium*, see Siebelis (1807: 12).

[29] Some teachers preferred Gedike's *Lesebuch*, not for the lowest, but for the middle grades (Stuve (1783: 135); Cunze (1788: 364f.).

5. The fight against grammar: Latin as a colloquial language

A last, widely debated proposal to increase the efficiency of Latin education in *Bürgerclassen* was to give up on grammar books, which were widely used at the lower grades. Time could best be gained, it was argued, when children would learn Latin as easily and naturally as they had once learnt their native language: by speaking it. Speaking Latin was not only the most efficient way of mastering the language, but also the most natural way, as it was the only way not impinging on the child's natural development.[30]

The ideal of naturalness was so popular that fierce criticisms were directed towards the traditional educational system, in which children only moved to practical skills as reading, writing and speaking Latin once they had acquired a detailed knowledge of Latin grammar. The "old method" was widely dismissed as outdated and was treated with serious enmity.[31] Criticisms were mainly directed against allegedly excessive emphasis on memorising,[32] on learning grammar,[33] on Latin (and even Greek) writing exercises[34] and on mindless imitation.[35] In general, traditional Latin education was considered

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[30] The above-discussed reform proposal only pertained to the *Bürgerclassen*. At the higher grades of the *Gelehrtenschulen*, that is, at the actual *Gymnasien*, education in classical literature was as a rule entirely conducted in Latin. At the higher grades of the *Friedrichswerdersches Gymnasium* Berlin, for example, Friedrich Gedike explained the classics in Latin, only occasionally switching to German for the sake of clarity. (See Gedike (1789, I: 148f.); cf. above, section I.4.ii.) The question under discussion was not whether Latin should be spoken, which was unanimously agreed, but whether speaking Latin should replace Latin grammar education in the *Bürgerclassen*.

[31] In general, great caution should be observed with the negative reputation of the "old method." Classical education at 18th century *Gelehrtenschulen* has yet hardly been studied, which makes it very difficult to get a reliable impression of educational practice. By far most of what we hear about the traditional Latin schools comes from the polemic initiated by pedagogues from the mid-18th century onwards, who, imbued with Enlightenment optimism, were keen on depicting the "sectarian" past as darkly as possible. The image they created is tainted by caricature and should therefore be taken with a big grain of salt.

[32] Köster (1765: 16); Walch (1785: 2); Gedike (1789, I: 20), Lachmann (1800: 8); Weiller (1801a: 28); Lechner (1802: 6); Cunradi (1808: 23f.).

[33] Köster (1765: 34); Westenrieder (1774: 4); Heyler (*AAE*, III (1778: 188f.); Resewitz *GVW* I: 17-9; Hottinger (1782: 71); Snell (1782: 71, 73); Hübler (1800: 3).

[34] Fr. Gedike (1779: 216); Stuve (*Berlinische Monatsschrift* (1783, II: 338-56); 1783: 123-46); Sintenis (1794: 7-9).

[35] Trapp (*RW*, VII (1787: 329)); Campe (1788: 107); Böttiger (1789: 35).

inefficient.[36] Children usually had to memorise Latin paradigms without having first encountered individual forms in the natural context of Latin texts or speech.[37] They were prompted to write Latin at an age when they had hardly developed any skill in organising their thoughts;[38] and they were asked to imitate individual, classical phrases which had been severed from their original context.[39] The challenge, then, was to improve teaching methods in such a way as to enable children to construct Latin grammar rules on the basis of their own findings.[40] Therefore, grammar classes, which slowed down rather than precipitated the learning process, should be banned from elementary Latin education.[41]

One of the ways of getting rid of grammar lessons was by teaching Latin as a colloquial language. Grammatical understanding was to be cultivated from within, rather than be imported from outside. It was widely believed that this modern, "natural" learning method would result in a better mastery of the Latin language and lead to large gains in efficiency. One of the proposals to transform Latin education in this way was provided by Johann Bergsträsser (1732-1812),

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[36] This inefficiency was often pointed to with the term '*Schlendrian*,' see e.g. Purmann (*AAE*, IV (1778: 116)); Gedike (1779: 137); Schelle (1804: viii); Cunradi (1808: 12).

[37] It was normal that pupils were expected to memorise glossaries so extended as to resemble dictionaries. Purmann complained that Cellarius' notorious 17th century *liber memorialis* compelled pupils to memorise Latin words separated from their context (e.g. *aceo* as "ich bin säuerlich" ("I am sour") and *amentum* as "der Riemen am Wurfspieß" ("the belt at the javelin")) (see Purmann, *AAE*, V (1779: 19)). Fr. Gedike (1779: 147f.) criticised the practice of memorising ‚*patris'* (the genitive of ‚*pater*,') as "of the father" before an understanding of the genitive's function and meaning from a concrete Latin sentence had been established.

[38] See Snell (1782: 75); Sintenis (1794: 7-9).

[39] Fr. Gedike (1799: 147).

[40] This ideal of "*Selbsterziehung"* was seen to require an interrogative, rather than a declarative teaching method. This 'Socratic method' was advocated by Heumann (1779: 212-388); Lieberkühn (1782a: 25); Bauer (1788: 6); Trapp (1788: 305); Fr. Gedike (1789, I: 147); Hoffbauer (1800: 16f.); Göring (*NJPM*, 1804: 94) and many others.

[41] This view was set out by e.g. Gesner (1756: 309-15); Krüger (1760: 133); Köster (1765: 28); Fr. Gedike (1779: 150f.); Snell (1782: 88f.); Stuve (1783: 128); Campe (1788: 91); Beyschlag (1792, II: 66f.). – The proposal only applied to the lowest grades. Most educationalists held that grammatical education would be useful once a natural, basic proficiency had been secured. After all, the grammar books recorded the very classical stylistic standards which it was Latin education's task to convey.

headmaster of the *Lyceum* in Hanau (Hesse-Kassel).[42] Bergsträsser maintained that Latin should be taught as a colloquial language. (212) A first possible way of doing this, he argued, was by translating daily classroom prayers into Latin and having children repeat them, so that they gather knowledge of Latin by comparing it with the German original. (218-20) A second way was to initiate simple dialogues on instructive Latin maxims, for example on "*loquitor paucula*" ("say as little as you can," from Terence's *Self Tormentor* (v. 828)). In his book, Bergsträsser designed a possible conversation on this maxim. First, the teacher explains the maxim's meaning and says: "*age, fili, repete id praecepti!"* The pupil, not understanding him, answers: "*age, fili, repete*," after which the teacher corrects him by explaining the exact meaning of his last words in German. Then the pupil understands that the right answer would have been "*loquitor paucula*." (231) Thus, by unfolding simple conversations, the pupil was expected to both playfully learn Latin and incorporate the wisdom conveyed by the maxim.

Likewise, Bergsträsser conducted dialogues with his pupils on *real*-topics (*Sachen*). For example, he taught on the interrogative pronoun "who?" by a simple conversation on animals. After saying: "*Zebra mulo est simillima*," he asked: "*Cuinam zebra est simillima*?" (238). By eliciting the answer "*Mulo*," he conveyed the interrogative's meaning, not by grammatical analysis, but by showing it in its natural context. Thus, by trial and error, the pupil was supposed to master the Latin language in a natural and efficient way**.**

Although many teachers experimented with methods to develop a more 'natural' way of teaching Latin, radical reform proposals as that by Bergsträsser met with much opposition, the *pièce de résistance* being, again, the ideal of *Latinität*. Teaching Latin by translations of Christian prayers, by chatting on Latin maxims or by simple talk on animals would unavoidably violate the stylistic standards set by the ancient Roman classics. Just like combining Latin education with *Sachunterricht* it would turn attention away from classical literature. Many educationalists therefore strongly opposed the new method and tried to defame

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[42] J.A.B. Bergsträsser, ‚Vorschläge zur lateinischen Erziehung,' in: *Archiv für die ausübende Erziehungskunst*, vol. 1, 1777: 206-42. – Having studied theology and philology in Jena and Halle, Bergsträsser worked as a teacher at the Waisenhaus of Halle from 1756 to 1758. Thereafter he was appointed headmaster of the *Lyceum* in Hanau. Much acclaimed was his *Realwörterbuch über die classischen Schriftsteller* (7 vol., Halle, 1772-81). Bergsträsser also devoted himself eagerly to entomology, writing widely on entomological topics throughout his life.

it as "*Latein plaudern"* ("chatting Latin").[43] It was the humanistic appreciation of Latinity that prevented it from becoming successful.

Yet, most educationalists did not entirely fall back on the old method either. The aspiration to harmonise Latin education with the child's natural development was so broadly shared that many educationalists resorted to a middle position. Elementary Latin should be learnt, they argued, neither from "chatting," nor from grammar books, but from reading classical texts. One of the educationalists advocating this view was, again, Friedrich Gedike, who devised a method that responded to both of the above interests:[44] at the very beginning, the teacher starts out with translating a sentence read in Latin and with explaining every term. He consistently compares the Latin expressions to those of the native language. The pupil repeats the translation and rehearses it at home. Over time, he will be able to repeat longer fragments until he reaches the moment when he does no longer need the teacher's translations anymore at all. Only when the pupil has thus naturally and easily acquired a reasonable basic knowledge of the language, a grammar book would be helpful in solidifying and deepening it. Many educationalists adopted views such as Gedike's and thus compromised between modernising Latin education on the one hand and preserving the standard of Latinity on the other.[45] But the most far-reaching reform proposals, to teach Latin as a colloquial language and to ban grammar from elementary education altogether, did not materialise. Neither grammar books nor the classical authors were abolished. On the contrary, new successful grammar

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[43] See e.g. Rollin (1770: 242-5); Fr. Gedike (1779: 150f.); Schütz (1780: xiv); Nösselt (1786: 73); Degen (1792: 20); Voss (1805: 53) speaks of '*Latein plappern*.' Cf. Walch (1785: 3): '*schwatzen*.'

[44] See Fr. Gedike (1779: 184-6).

[45] Rollin (1770: 191-8) maintained that Latin writing exercises should be postponed to later years and that Latin education should begin with "*Erklärung*" (explanation); Meierotto's famous Latin grammar from 1785 encouraged pupils to distil grammatical rules from a multitude of concrete examples, mostly taken from Cicero. Cf. Snell (1782: 211); Niemeyer (1805a, I: 471); Cunradi (1808: 56). Others, however, did not believe in postponing grammatical education at all and remained loyal to much of the traditional method, see e.g. Nösselt (1786: 73); Resewitz *GVW* I, 3: 17-43; Buhle (1788: 281f.). Nösselt, however, insisted that grammar rules be applied as soon as they had been mastered, and Resewitz held that the Latin *paradigmata* should be illustrated visibly by writing them down on the school board and by using different colours for stem and ending. Buhle insisted that learning words could only be successful when the vocabulary would be made "interesting" to pupils. Even the most cautious reformers, then, were influenced by the time's consciousness of method.

books were published[46] and the ideal of Latinity grew ever more important. Latin education was certainly subjected to much methodical experiment, but in general, both the classical style and the grammar books that recorded its rules preserved their sway over Latin education in *Bürgerclassen*.

The proposal to teach Latin as a colloquial language failed on the same grounds, then, as the proposal to combine it with *Sachunterricht*. Both proposals ignored the fact that the acquisition of stylistic proficiency was of central importance to Latin education and that giving up on this typically humanistic objective would be to undermine the very foundation of classical education. For children who would pass on to the higher grades, the colloquial method could very well have been an efficient beginners-method, as later they would get sufficient opportunity to perfect their sense of style by imitating classical models. But this argument did not apply to those pupils for whom the colloquial method was initially intended. Children who only attended the *Bürgerclassen* would arbitrarily be "chatting" Latin without working towards a justifying, humanistic goal. It was clear to most educationalists that to abandon this goal would be to abandon the *raison d'être* of Latin education itself.

6. Conclusion

We have seen that attempts to increase the efficiency of Latin education were obstructed by the humanistic aspiration to preserve Latin as a classical language. This remarkable emphasis on Latin's *classical* status is closely connected with the fact that at the end of the 18th century, its practical importance had been strongly reduced. As Jürgen Leonhardt convincingly argued, up to the 18th century, the Latin language had a double function as "*Bildungssprache*" on the one hand and *lingua franca* on the other.[47] Latin was widely studied at school, not only because of the exemplary status of Roman literature, but also because Latin, as the language of the church, of science, of literature and even of diplomacy was a cornerstone of intellectual intercourse. In the late 18th century, however, Latin had largely lost its status as *lingua franca*, so that increased emphasis was placed

[46] See e.g. Schmieder, *Anmerkungen zur Lateinischen Grammatik* (1778); Rambach, *Vollständige und sehr erleichterte lateinische Grammatik nach der Grundlage der beliebten Langischen* (1786); Bröder, *Practische Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache* (1787); Scheller, *Ausführliches und möglichst vollständiges deutsch-lateinisches Lexicon oder Wörterbuch zur Übung in der lateinischen Sprache* (1789).

[47] See Leonhardt (2009: 221-66).

on its function as a *Bildungssprache*. The emphatically humanistic interest in its classical quality was a result of this development.

The changed importance of Latin in the modern world sheds an ironic light on the above discussed proposals to revive Latin as a colloquial language. These proposals aimed to breathe new life into a practice that was on the brink of dying out. No matter the obviously modern arguments underlying them, the attempts to restore Latin as a colloquial language could only have succeeded at a time when Latin still was a *lingua franca*. Many reformist pedagogues overlooked the fact that by the late 18th century, the meaning of Latin education laid less and less in practical, and more and more in humanistic values.

Likewise, the proposal to integrate Latin education into *Sachunterricht* was doomed to fail because it was not based on any *intrinsic* reason to preserve Latin education at all. On the contrary, behind the efforts to integrate Latin into *Sachunterricht* lurked the view that Latin had lost its practical relevance to the modern world. As its complete abolition was still unthinkable, the integration was little more than a way to make a virtue of necessity. Obviously, this was not a compelling argument in favour of Latin at all.

It was soon agreed that the practical relevance of the classical languages belonged to the past. If the classics were to survive at all, the main focus should lay on *humanistic* arguments for studying them. The question was which specific values could be derived from studying and interpreting texts from classical antiquity. As such values could only fully be realised at the higher grades, Latin education in *Bürgerclassen* retained its preparatory status. By the 1790s, attempts to make Latin education at the lower grades suitable for academics and *Bürger* alike were gradually given up. Classical education was finally agreed to be essentially *higher* education.

Chapter 3 The *Bürgerschule* as humanistic institution (1800-1860)

> *„Mathematik und Naturwissenschaften [haben sich] zu einer früher ungeahnten Höhe emporgearbeitet, und (...) eine (...) Classicität erlangt, die sich mit der ästhetischen Classiciät der alten Literatur wohl messen kann."* (Moritz Drobisch, 1832)

1. Introduction

In the last two chapters we have seen that in the late 18th century, the humanistic perspective on education was so widespread as to seriously obstruct efforts to promote independent *Bürger* education or to reform Latin education in a non-humanistic way. However, over time, the *practical* need for *Bürgerschulen* only increased. By the 1830s, an estimated 75% of the higher professions laid outside of the academic domain.[1] In Prussia, from the 52.262 students who attended the *Gymnasien* between 1831 and 1841 only 12.150 (less than one out of four) went to university.[2] Therefore, in the first half of the 19th century, many Latin schools were transformed into so-called *Realschulen*, and especially from the 1830s onwards, new *Bürger*- or *Realschulen* were founded in large numbers.[3]

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[1] Troxler (1832: 5).

[2] Hoffmann (1843: 173).

[3] For the history of the German *Realschule,* see Wollenweber (1997); cf. Buchinger (1983). – In most German countries it took a long time for the *Realschule* to acquire official recognition. In 1834, the Prussian government issued a „Vorläufige Instruktion über die an den höheren Bürger- und Realschulen anzuordnenden Entlassungsprüfungen," which focused only on graduation examinations. In 1859, this „preliminary instruction" was replaced by a full-fledged 'Unterrichts- und Prüfungsordnung für die Real- und höheren Bürgerschulen,' in which three types of different *Realschulen* were distinguished. The most important of these was the 9-year '*Realschule 1. Ordnung*,' which counted as the foremost competitor of the humanistic *Gymnasium*. It was not until 1900, however, that the full equality of the *Gymnasium* and different types of *Realschulen* with respect to university admission was officially recognised. See Fuhrmann (2001: 206-16).

Due to the dominant humanistic perspective on education, however, defenders of *Bürgerschule* had a hard task to ideologically justify a school curriculum that did not focus on humanistic, but on *real*-topics. From the 1800s onwards, therefore, many advocates of *Bürger* education set out to rethink their educational vision in a humanistic way. They attempted to show that education in *real*-topics could very well contribute to humanistic goals. Thus, the 19th century debate on the *Bürgerschule* distinguishes itself clearly from the late 18th century debate. To Friedrich Resewitz, for all his efforts to promote education for *Bürger*, the fundamental inequality of both types of education was still beyond dispute. From the 1800s, however, defenders of the *Bürgerschule* set out to prove the equality of *real*- and humanistic education.

2. The concept of the '*Realgymnasium*:' Ernst Gottfried Fischer

One of the earliest examples of a humanistic defender of the *Bürgerschule* was Ernst Gottfried Fischer (1754-1831), professor of mathematics and physics at the *Berlinisch-Kölnisches Gymnasium*.[4] In school programs written between 1801 and 1827 he conceived a type of school specifically designed for the many in society who were in need of higher, albeit non-academic, education, such as officers, mining-, construction-, forest- or financial officials, teachers at non-academic schools, merchants, manufacturers, pharmacists, surgeons, artists, etc. Like his late 18th century predecessors, Fischer criticised the fact that people from these "*gebildetere Stände*" ("more educated classes"), who mostly left school at an early age, were compelled to intensively study Latin (and Greek) without ever being able to enjoy a full classical education. Unlike Resewitz and Gedike, however, Fischer wanted to develop a type of education for these people that would be of equal value to the classical education offered by the *Gymnasien*. His central aim was to make clear that education in *real*-topics could lay equal claim to humanistic values.[5]

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[4] Having studied theology and mathematics, Fischer taught mathematics and physics at the Berlin *Gymnasium* for many decades (1782-1829). Being a highly respected scientist, who taught the Prussian crown prince Friedrich Wilhelm (the later King Friedrich Wilhelm IV (1840-61)) mathematics and physical sciences, was appointed professor of physics at the Berlin university in 1810. His greatest significance lies in bringing to recognition the pedagogy of mathematics and physics.

[5] This equivalence Fischer wanted to be reflected in the schools' nomenclature: besides the traditional "*Sprachgymnasium*," which prepared students for the university, Fischer wanted to

In *Über die zweckmäßigste Einrichtung der Lehranstalten für die gebildetern Stände* (1806), Fischer expounded his concept of the *Realgymnasium* at great length. Firstly, he noted that education, next to a vocational purpose, had an intrinsic purpose of harmoniously cultivating the mental faculties. (7f.) Fischer pointed out that in the recent past, the sciences (*Wissenschaften*) had expanded over more than only academic subjects, so that they were now being cultivated by academics and non-academics alike. (109f.) To him, people exercising higher skilled professions were not necessarily trapped in a vocational straightjacket, but could very well be respectable scientists. Accordingly, the goal of the *Realgymnasium* was not to provide vocational training, but overall "scientific education" (*wissenschaftliche Ausbildung*). (12) This education, as Fischer explicitly stated, would be no less "scientific" than that provided by the *Sprachgymnasium*. (52) For comparable reasons, Fischer wanted students of the *Realgymnasium* to have the opportunity of continuing their studies at a "*Realakademie"* that, being of equal value to the existing humanistic universities, had the task of providing "complete lectures" (*vollständige Vorlesungen*) on mathematics and natural science (*Naturlehre*), independent of vocational considerations. (117)

Secondly, Fischer adopted the typically humanistic argument of "formal" training, which he considered one of the main objectives of education at the *Realgymnasium*. He pointed out, however, that formal training could in principle be achieved by studying any topic and was therefore not dependent on the classical languages. (7f., 55) In his view, particularly useful to formal purposes were "pure mathematics" (*reine Mathematik*), which effectuated a special "prudence and precision in thinking." For this reason, pure mathematics should be one of the *Realgymnasium's* central topics, just as Latin was the central topic at the *Sprachgymnasium*. (44f., 64f.)

Thirdly, Fischer believed that students would not acquire true humanness (*Humanität*) when they would not study "humane" subjects next to *real*-topics. He explicitly stated that at the *Realgymnasium* "the same subjects" should be

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constitute a "*Realgymnasium*." To Fischer, the nomenclature was of major importance. The term *'Bürgerschule'* was so strongly associated with lower forms of vocational training that attempts to bring this school to general respect often were accompanied by a change of name. The fact that Fischer chose the classical name *"Gymnasium"* testifies to his humanistic view on education. It was not until 1882, however, that the term *Realgymnasium* was officially acknowledged by the Prussian government. See Fuhrmann (2001: 213).

taught as at the *Sprachgymnasium*, albeit "in a different extension and proportion." (70) Therefore, another main subject in the *Realgymnasium* would be German, from which Fischer expected benefits highly similar to those furnished by classical education at the *Sprachgymnasium*. The central aim of German education would be to cultivate both the student's analytical and rhetorical skills through thorough study of classical (German) writers: Let's "read (..) with pupils," Fischer exclaimed, "the classical writers of the nation. Train them in the (...) art of reading aloud correctly and with expression. Study with them carefully selected pieces (...) with just the critical accuracy [which is commonly applied when] studying an ancient writer. (...) Train them in (...) in the form of conversation and cohesive presentation." (41) So important were the benefits of thorough literary studies that, in Fischer's view, even the classical languages (Latin as well as Greek) themselves should not be missing at the *Realgymnasium*, although they would only be offered to those who could make use of them. (68, 76f.)[6]

Fourthly, Fischer's humanistic view of education appears from the fact that he wanted to orient the curriculum of the *Realgymnasium* to the capacities of the very best students, thus largely neglecting the needs of a large number of students of more modest capabilities. With this orientation towards the 'ideal' student, Fischer clearly turned his back on earlier defenders of the *Bürgerschule*, who had sharply criticised the fact that the high claims of classical education could not possibly be met by the majority of pupils. In Fischer's view, it would be a "sin, not only to the good student, but to science itself, if you stop him (*i.e.* the good student) from becoming what he could be." (88f.) Therefore, it was a "pernicious prejudice" to think that a man who "applies scientific knowledge in business (*in Geschäftsverhältnissen*), is enlightened enough if he only has piecemeal knowledge of the sciences." (87) To Fischer, it was the *Realgymnasium's* task to provide an exhaustive survey of the particular sciences which occupied a central place in its curriculum. (*ibid.*) Only by thus orienting the *Realgymnasium* to the highest possible ideal, Fischer felt entitled to propagate it as a true *Humanitätsschule*.

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[6] In 1824, in Cologne an experimental *Realgymnasium* was founded according to Fischer's ideas. Tellingly, even at this school, the optional status of Latin was short-lived. In 1840, Latin was upgraded to a compulsory subject. For a description of this school, see Müller (1977: 148-53).

Fifthly, Fischer believed that a humanistic education was the best preparation, not just for academic, but also for higher skilled professions. The fact that around 1800, England and France widely surpassed the Germanies in the fields of trade and economics, Fischer explained by pointing out that in these countries mathematics, physics and chemistry were taught as theoretical subjects, that is, as *sciences* (*Wissenschaften*), whereas in Germany a pragmatic spirit prevailed.[7] (88f.) Tellingly, it was precisely the English and French strength in *practical* matters that Fischer traced back to their humanistic, *anti*-utilitarian approach to *Bürger* education. (90f.)

We must conclude that Fischer's concept of the *Realgymnasium* was inspired by the model provided by the traditional, humanistic *Gymnasien*. It is not coincidental, therefore, that Fischer greatly respected the latter schools, including the classical education they offered. In the same document in which he expounded his concept of the *Realgymnasium*, Fischer sang the praise of the ancient Greeks, "whom nature seems to have chosen as her favourite people before all [other] peoples of the earth." (40) Like the most fervent humanists, Fischer emphasised that no future academic student should be dispensed from Greek.[8] (*ibid*.) The only thing that distinguished Fischer from traditional humanists was that he contested the *exclusivity* of the classics' claim to humane education, maintaining that also topics such as mathematics and natural history could seriously contribute to this goal.

3. 'Realism' as a form of humanism

Ernst Gottfried Fischer's view of *real*-education is broadly representative for the period 1800-1860. Throughout this period, the *Bürgerschule* (or *Realschule*) was usually defended in markedly humanistic terms.[9] Like defenders of the classical *Gymnasien*, advocates of *real*-education pursued an ideal of *Humanitätsbildung*,[10]

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[7] Probably, Fischer pointed to the German tradition of philanthropinism, see the introduction above, note 8.

[8] Fischer also stated that "nobody with a concern for the welfare of the state and humanity" could propose to ban the study of classical literature. (15) To him, more extensive study of classical Greek literature would bring humanity to an even "higher level of *Bildung*." (*Ibid*.)

[9] A humanistic view on *real*-education is found, a.o., in Bernoulli (1825); Troxler (1832); Mönnich (1832); Mager (1840); Nagel (1840); Beger (1845); Freese (1845); Leizmann (1846); Beneke (1848); Scheibert (1848).

[10] Stephani (1828): 106; Klumpp (1829, I: 33).

allgemeine Humanitätsbildung,[11] *allgemeine Menschenbildung,*[12] *Menschenbildung, etc.*[13] Like classical humanists, they were convinced that the criterion of utility should be separated from the sphere of humane education.[14] *Bildung* should be directed primarily to the formal aim of fully developing the faculties of the human spirit (*Geist*).[15] Moreover, most defenders of the *Bürgerschule* acknowledged the eminent educational value of the ancient classics. Not only did they fully appreciate the classical languages' formal capacity of strengthening the intellect,[16] but they also acknowledged the importance of studying the treasures of ancient wisdom and beauty.[17] For this reason, most of them granted Latin an important place at the *Bürgerschule*.[18] In other words, the gap that separated humanists from their 'realistic' opponents was by far not as great as is commonly assumed. "*Gymnasien* and *Realschulen*," we read in Schmid's *Enzyklopädie des gesammten Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswesens*, did "not essentially differ in their goal, but in (...) the ways (...) [to achieve this] goal."[19]

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[11] Beger (1845: 32).

[12] *Sophronizon* (1829, XI, 4: 29.); cf. Beger (1845: 16).

[13] Oken (1809: 7); Troxler (1832: 13); Stephani (1828: 77); Leizmann (1846: 26). Cf. Nagel (1840: 115). Examples could be added *ad infinitum*. Preusker in the 1830s promoted the *Realschule* in Saxonia by pointing out that *Humanitätsbildung* could be successfully acquired by studying *Real*-topics (see Scholtze 1894: 20). His countryman Vogel considered it the *Realschule's* task to generate "noble sentiments" (*edle Gesinnungen*) (*ibid*. p.26). August Beger (1845: 16) hoped the *Realschule* to produce an „aristocracy of intelligence and humanness "and considered it this school's task to bring about the "strengthening and refinement of the mind in general." (32) In Prussia, Karl Mager (1840: 11) promoted the *Bürgerschule* by propagating that it was the only true *Humanitätsschule*. (Cf. Steuber (1825: 752).) Friedrich Leizmann (1846: 51) contended that it was the responsibility of the *Realschule* to educate the "entire human being" and to direct the young towards "the heavenly beauty of the creations of the Eternal Spirit."

[14] Oken (1809: 3, 7); Raumer (1823: 66).

[15] Beger (1845: 32).

[16] Stephani (1828: 89); Scheibert (1848: 116-20).

[17] Spilleke (1821: 11f.); Stephani (1828: 89); Klumpp (1829, I: 9, 111); anon. (1829: 14); Nagel (1840: 91f.).

[18] See below, note 66.

[19] Schmid VI (1867: 659). – This equality was also reflected in governmental regulations. In the 1859 regulation (see above, note 3) it was stated that none of the different types of *Realschulen* or *Bürgerschulen* were "vccational schools, but deal with general means of *Bildung* and basic knowledge. Between *Gymnasium* and *Realschule* there is therefore no fundamental contradiction, but a relation of complementarity." See Fuhrmann (2001: 211).

The common, misleading view of a classical humanism that was challenged by 'realism' was strongly nourished by the fierce polemics that characterised the educational debates in the first half of the 19th century. In tracts, journals as well as in the daily press, humanists and 'realists' could not get enough of caricaturing each other's viewpoints. Classical humanists, on the one hand, were keen on branding their opponents as *Nützlichkeitskrämer,*[20] *Materialisten,*[21] or *Industrielle,*[22] thus nurturing the impression that 'realists' were interested in the criterion of utility alone. Conversely, 'realists' did not grow weary of debunking classical humanists as *Buchstabenmenschen*,[23] *Sylbenstecher*,[24] *Phrasenmacher*[25] or *Wortklauber*,[26] thus depicting them as close-minded quibblers blindly dedicated to an unworldly profession.[27] In other words, the heat of the battle closed both parties' eyes to their opponents' true positions, suggesting a polarity which did not really exist. In order to obtain a clear view of the actual differences between humanism and 'realism,' then, we must try to see through the debate's polemical acuity.

4. The *Bürgerschule* as humanistic institution

In the period 1820-1860, defenders of the *Bürgerschule* advanced various arguments to prove the suitability of *real*-education to pursue humanistic values. Firstly, they argued that *real*-topics were well suited to provide "*formale Bildung*." Secondly, they maintained that *real*-topics could be taught in such a way as to direct the student's mind towards to the spiritual rather than the material world. Thirdly, they tried to conceive of a *type* of *Bürger* education that would be emphatically humanistic while being fundamentally different from the education offered at the *Gymnasien*. A fourth argument was that not the *Gymnasium*, but the

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[20] Schulze (1827: 88).

[21] Thiersch, *Über Gelehrte Schulen III* (1830: 200).

[22] *Ibid*.

[23] Weiller (1801a: 28).

[24] anon., *Beleuchtung des Auffallendsten* (1829: 48).

[25] *Sophronizon* (1829, XI, 4: 38).

[26] Beger (1845: 52).

[27] The creativity in inventing terms of abuse was inexhaustible and the list can therefore be easily extended: *Chriendrechsler (Sophronizon* (1829, XI, 4: 38)); *Dissertationenschreiber (Literatur-blatt*, 1830, 10: 39); *Conjecturenhascher*, *Parallelstellenkrämer (*Beger (1845: 102); *Regelpauker (*see Ruf (1960: 58)); *Sentenzensammler* (see Dürr (1930: 29)).

Bürgerschule in its ideal form would be the true *Humanitätsschule* of modern times. I will successively discuss these four arguments in the following sections.

4.i. *Formale Bildung*

In the first half of the 19th century, defenders of the *Bürgerschule* vested much energy in proving that the argument of *formale Bildung* could easily be applied to a multitude of different *real*-topics. One fine example is provided by Karl von Raumer (1783-1865), a well known geologist and geographer and teacher at a private school in Nürnberg.[28] In a tract called *Über den Unterricht in der Naturkunde auf Schulen* (1823), Raumer wrote down his experiences with teaching minerology (*Steinkunde*) in great detail.[29] Raumer started out with making his pupils have a first look at many different minerals. They had to observe them as closely as possible and form themselves an overall impression of the minerals, without yet analysing this impression. Secondly, Raumer asked them to describe the separate characteristics of the minerals, although the overall impression was still kept firmly in mind. Thirdly, he introduced the names of the species and the relations between them. Finally, he explained the theory of properties (*Eigenschaftslehre*). Only when the pupils, by going through these different stadia of studying minerals, had acquired proficiency in observing as well as naming them, they were allowed to study the writings of famous minerologists, which would further sharpen their understanding and add a historical dimension. To Raumer, then, by encouraging pupils to systematic thinking, mineralogy contributed considerably to the formal training of the mind.[30]

Raumer was only one out of many educationalists who undertook to prove that *real*-education was not only of practical, but also of formal use.[31]

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[28] Raumer's interest in geology was awakened early. He studied mineralogy and geology in Freiberg and Paris and published widely on geological topics. In 1810, he got a position at the Berlin *Oberbergdepartement*. A year later, he was appointed professor of mineralogy at the University of Breslau. In 1827, he changed his Breslau Chair for one in Erlangen. The later part of his life, Raumer chiefly devoted himself to teaching. Apart from scientific interests, Raumer also had a strong religious interest. He insisted on a strict religious upbringing of his pupils and students and was co-editor of the orthodox *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*.

[29] Raumer (1823: 40-4).

[30] Raumer (1823: 48f.).

[31] Fr. Klumpp (1829: 62), for example, stated that studying the natural sciences generated "clarity, order, and regularity of mental activity;" Mönnich (1832: 30) argued that the natural

Although many classical humanists held on to the conviction that with respect to *formale Bildung* the classical languages were unsurpassable,[32] most of them acknowledged the formal educative potential of at least some *real*-topics, especially mathematics, which most of them granted a substantial place in the *Gymnasium* curricula.[33] When it comes to the humanistic argument of *formale Bildung*, then, humanists and 'realists' were not far apart. They all endorsed the typically humanistic principle that education should not aim primarily at practical use, but at "formally" educating a human being as a human being.

Yet, as we have already seen before, classical humanists aimed at much more than the purely formal training of the mind. To Karl Gottfried Siebelis, *formale Bildung* was only one out of many arguments in favour of classical education.[34] Friedrich Gedike considered *formale Bildung* to *comprise* the cultivation of one's sense of beauty and truth. Friedrich Thiersch, for all the ardour with which he defended and recommended classical education's formal educative potential, called the cultivation of a sense of beauty and morality a "completely different, higher, more comprehensive and more fruitful task" than the purely formal training of the mind.[35] Thiersch even described those educationalists as "opposed" to classical humanism who "observed in [classical studies] *only* a means to certain formal purposes."[36] (*it*. added)

To advocates of *Bürger* education, then, adopting and applying the humanistic concept of *formale Bildung* was by far not enough to substantiate their view that *real*- and classical education were of equal value to the pursuit of

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sciences are particularly well suited to learn to "organise, appropriate, compare, separate and connect." For other pleas for the formal educative value of *real*-topics, see e.g. E. Engel**,** *Welchen Einfluß äußert das Studium der mathematischen Wissenschaften auf das Gemüth?* (1820); J. Schulz, *Die Naturgeschichte als Bildungsmittel, beleuchtet nach ihrem Werthe, Stoffe und der dabei anzuwendenden Methode* (1837); E. Fries, *Sind die Naturwissenschaften ein Bildungsmittel?* (1844); see also Nagel (1840: 225-314) and Scheibert (1848: 55f., 182-92).

[32] Thiersch, for example, in the third volume of his *Über gelehrte Schulen*, *mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Bayern* (1826-31) argued at great length that education in natural history could not possibly be as useful to the formal training of the mind as the classical languages. The chapter is called *Vergleichung des naturhistorischen und grammatischen Unterrichts in der Schule* (1830: 245ff.).

[33] See e.g. Thiersch, *Über Gelehrte Schulen I* (1826: 370-80); Köchly (1846: 20); Elsperger (1847: 9).

[34] See above, section I.2.iv.

[35] Thiersch, *Über gelehrte Schulen III* (1831: 463).

[36] Thiersch, *Über den gegenwärtigen Zustand des öffentlichen Unterrichts*, Vol. I (1838: 10).

Humanität. To convince their opponents of this view, they had to prove that *real*-education laid a valid claim to other humanistic values as well. Above all they had to demonstrate that *real*-topics, contrary to appearance, could well be used to lift the student's view above the material world and turn his gaze to spiritual values.

4.ii. *Ideale Bildung*

In the first half of the 19th century there was not only a broad consensus amongst educationalists about the importance of *formale Bildung*, but also about the superiority of spiritual above material values. Supporters of both the *Gymnasium* and the *Bürgerschule* shared the typically humanistic vision that higher education has the noble task of exalting man above the material world and make him lead his life in correspondence with his higher, spiritual nature. Therefore, many advocates of the *Bürgerschule* spilled much ink to prove that *real*-education, although primarily concerned with the material world, could ultimately transcend it. To this purpose, *real*-topics should be studied from a spiritual perspective. According to Moritz Drobisch (1802-1896), professor of mathematics at the University of Leipzig, education in natural history should ensure that children developed a sense for "the quiet-friendly glowworm, the royal splendour of the lily, (...) the sweet grace of the rose, the proud stature of the oak, (...) the meaningful-delicate construction of the passion flower [and] the seductive luster of metals."[37] As his adjectives beautifully demonstrate, Drobisch wanted children to perceive the surrounding nature, not as a deadly machinery governed by random, mechanic laws, but as enlivened by *meaning* and as part of a coherent whole. When studying the treasuries of nature, children should "awe at the teleological coherence (...)" and be "compelled to recognise a superhuman, ordering wisdom whose purposes (...) [they] will gradually understand!"[38] It was this conception of an animated, God-reigned universe that made Drobisch believe that "the mathematical-physical sciences [are] in no respect poorer in

[37] Drobisch, *Philologie und Mathematik als Gegenstände des Gymnasialunterrichts betrachtet* (1832: 24).
[38] *Ibid*. 24f.

means to (…) promote true humanness and religiosity as the philological-historical [sciences]."[39]

Drobisch' humanistic perspective on the study of nature was shared by nearly all advocates of *real*-education. Karl von Raumer expected education on stones to nourish a „childlike admiration of the mysterious and (...) an alert contemplation of beautiful, fixed regularity."[40] Christian Nagel, professor of mathematics and physics at the Ulm *Gymnasium*, required education in mathematics to expose the „ideas laid down in nature: the simple, pure utterances of the deity."[41] Karl Freese, director of the *Gymnasium* in Stargard (east-Prussia) asserted that from astronomical insights it is possible to fathom the "sovereignty and wisdom of the Creator."[42] August Beger, director of the *höhere Bürgerschule* in Neustadt-Dresden, contended that in the various branches of industry the „power and greatness of the human spirit" manifests itself „in a brilliant way."[43] In the view of August Spilleke, director of the *Realschule* Berlin, the obligation to approach nature from a spiritual perspective was even laid upon us by Christianity. As Christianity "promises a kingdom of God on earth, in which everything is to be absorbed more and more into the life of the spirit," man has the obligation to make nature "subservient to his purposes (...) so that all manual work, [all] mechanical labour turns into a free, spiritual act" (*freie, geistige That*).[44]

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[39] *Ibid*. 25. Drobisch' plea for *real*-education was not directed *against* classical education. On the contrary, in the same book in which he criticised the predominance of classical education, he praised the ancients for having cultivated the „noblest spiritual and moral human faculties," which in one word is called „*Humanität*." Since life in the ancient world was „deeply steeped in art" and full of exempla of „patriotism, steadfastness and nobility of soul," studying the classics could not fail on making one „a better, nobler human being." (Drobisch (1832: 9f.))

[40] Raumer (1823: 17).

[41] Nagel (1840: 92).

[42] Freese (1845: 57). Cf. Drobisch (1832: 22f.) on astronomy: "Not just the number of these worlds (i.e. that we see when looking at the sky), the size, the dizzying distance (...) fills us with a holy awe of the immensity of the world, also the harmonic order in which the heavenly bodies describe their orbits, the same, eternal law and order (...) strikes a deep-sounding chord within us, and lift us up – far from only unrolling before us the dead mechanism of chance – to the idea of the All-Wise."

[43] Beger (1845): 11.

[44] Spilleke (1822: 72). – The spiritual approach to *real*-education is also found in Karl Schmid's *Enzyklopädie des gesammten Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswesens*. In his entry on *Bildung*, A.

It appears, then, that defenders of the *Bürgerschule* massively adhered to a humanistic perspective on the study of nature. It was precisely by propagating this humanistic perspective that they attempted to emancipate nature-focused *real*-education as a full humanistic equivalent of classical education. In doing so, however, they encountered major problems, as it remained largely unclear how the humanistic perspective on *real*-education could be implemented in practice. As *real*-topics were not spiritual by *content*, they could only be comprehended in a spiritual way by imposing on them a perspective which was alien to their outward appearance. Spiritual ideas or divine wisdom might very well be assumed to underlie the eternal laws of mathematics and astronomy, but what could a maths teacher possibly do in practice with such an abstract and elusive insight?

Precisely for this reason, many classical humanists remained sceptical about the viewpoint proposed by advocates of *real*-education. Although many of them were willing to concede the equivalence of *humane* and *real*-topics at an abstract level,[45] they did not expect much humanistic benefit from *real*-education in practice. Most classical humanists held on to the traditional viewpoint that humane education required a major emphasis on those topics that could not only be *approached* in a humanistic way, but were actually humanistic by *content*. As Karl Hirzel, director of the Latin school in Nürtingen (Württemberg), put it: „Where the spiritual and ideal approach is to prevail, empirical (*sinnliche*) and tangible subjects should not be put to the fore.[46]

It is noticeable that not only classical humanists like Hirzel, but also advocates of *real*-education were keenly aware of the problem at stake. August Spilleke expressed the fear that by *real*-education pupils would entirely lose sight

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Hauber wrote that "In [the man] who studies nature, when only he continues long enough, reverence for the greatness and wisdom of the Creator will find additional support." See Schmid I (1859: 674).

[45] In a speech delivered to the *Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner* in Mannheim in 1839, Friedrich Thiersch argued that '*humanistische'* and '*industrielle' Bildung* have come to acknowledge, and draw profit from, each other. (The speech was titled *Über die gemeinschaftlichen Interessen der humanistischen und realistischen Richtung unserer Zeit*, see Mager (1840: XXIII).

[46] Hirzel (1838: 131). Cf. Moritz Axt (1840: 9), who pointed to the absurdity of expecting *humanistische Bildung* from a school where education focused on "*Maschinen, Dampf, Retorten, Ventile und Blasebälge.*"

of the spiritual world.[47] Friedrich Leizmann, author of a monograph on the position of the *Realschule* in modern times, admitted that he often felt "fear of *real*-topics" and warned against the *Realschule*'s natural tendency to favour "lower" (*i.e.* materialistic) educational aims to the detriment of "higher" (*i.e.* humanistic) ones.[48] Karl Scheibert, one of the most inspired defenders of the *Bürgerschule*, acknowledged that civil servants (*Staatsbeamte*) who had attended a classical *Gymnasium* had "a position much more ideal, more pure and more secured against egoism than the *höhere Bürgerstand*."[49] August Beger, finally, even considered it the task of the *Realgymnasium* to *counterbalance* its natural "practical tendency" by the "power of ideas and ideals."[50] Thus, in the eyes of its defenders, the *Bürgerschule* had the strange obligation to protect pupils against the dangers inherent in its own curriculum. It goes without saying that this was anything but a compelling argument in favour of *real*-education.

4.iii. The search for *bürgerliche Humanität*

Another way to prove the fundamental equality of the *Bürgerschule* and the *Gymnasium* with respect to humanistic values was to make clear that both types of school pursued essentially different *sorts* of humanness. One of the educationalists to expound this vision with great ardour was Karl Scheibert (1803-1898), director of the *Realgymnasium* in Stettin (Prussia).[51] In *Das Wesen und die Stellung der höheren Bürgerschule* (1848), he gave a painstaking description of the precise type of humanness needed by students who were to occupy leading, though non-academic positions in society.

Scheibert began his analysis with observing that up to his day, the *Realschule* owed its success to partly taking over from the *Gymnasien* the preparatory education of lower civil servants. Since 1832, graduates from the

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[47] Spilleke (1822: 118).

[48] Leizmann (1846: 34).

[49] Scheibert (1848: 67).

[50] Beger (1845: 48). – Snell (1834) describes tuition in the natural sciences as "the only way" to counteract children's "craving for the real" (see Beger (1845: 109).

[51] Having studied theology in Halle and Greifswald, Scheibert was appointed at the *Marienstiftsgymnasium* in Stettin, where he taught religion, classical languages, mathematics and history. From 1840 onwards, he dedicated himself to promoting *real*-education as director of the newly founded *Realgymnasium* in Stettin. From 1855 to 1873 he attempted to implement his educational ideas as a member of the provincial school board in Silesia.

Realschule were officially allowed to positions in postal and tax services and finance, mining and forest management. (19f.)[52] The status of *Realschulen* often entirely depended on this possibility of acquiring a graduation certificate that would give access to certain privileged professions. (*ibid*.). The *Realschule* owed its increasing recognition, then, not to distinguishing itself from the *Gymnasium*, but to taking over some of its tasks.[53] In Scheibert's view, this was a highly dangerous development. For as it was clear that the highest, and most desired offices in the civil service – the honourable positions of the higher *Staatsdienerschaft* (*Staatsräte*, *Geheimräte*, ministers, etc.) – still were, and would continue to be, monopolised by the *Gelehrtenschulen*, only the mediocre offices would be open to graduates from the *Realschule*. By taking over some of the privileges of the *Gymnasium*, the *Realschule* did not emancipate itself from it, but on the contrary consolidated its inferior status. (21-3)

This circumstance particularly worried Scheibert as it made the *Realschule* neglect its duty of providing a type of education that would be specifically tailored to *Bürger*. In his view, educated *Bürger* ("*Gebildeten"*) and academics were two clearly distinguished social groups with clearly distinguished needs and tasks. He therefore proposed to reorganise the *Bürgerschule* in such a way as to make it cultivate a *type* of humanness specifically appropriate for *Bürger*.[54]

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[52] This was determined by the 1832 „Vorläufige Instruktion über die an den höheren Bürger- und Realschulen anzuordnenden Entlassungsprüfungen," see above, note 3.

[53] This can also be seen from the fact that in the course of the 19th century, the *Realschule* acquired limited entitlement to university admission. By the 1850s, the *Realgymnasium* gave access to the philosophical faculty and to the new faculty of *Kameralistik* (the science of administration, covering finance, economics and public policy), but not to the higher faculties. See Lechner (2003: 176); cf. Beger (1845: 56).

[54] The attempt to develop a concept of the "educated man" (the *Gebildete*) *apart* from the traditional concept of the scholar (the *Gelehrte*) was characteristic of the time. For a long time, however, there was little consensus about the exact distinction. Moritz Drobisch (1832: 40) wrote that a student arriving at the university should lay claim to the name "*Gebildete*," instead of to the name "*Gelehrte*." Wilhelm Mönnich (1832: 65) stated that the modern world demanded "*humane Bildung*" instead of "*humanistische Bildung;*'" Heinrich Stephani (1828: 56) wrote that the educational struggle was fought between *"Humanisten"* and *"Philologen*." Karl Mager (1840: 127; cf. 37) contended that secondary education should revolve around *"studium humanitatis*," and not around *"Wissenschaft."* Cf. Beger (1845: vii)**;** also Steffenhagen, discussed by Scheibert (1850: 353). The distinction between *Gelehrten* and *Gebildeten* dates back to the late 18th century: Friedrich Gedike (1802: 4-5) distinguished the "*eruditus*" (a man with *feinere Geistesbildung*) from the "*doctus*" (a man with academic learning). The same distinction

Scheibert began his argument by defining the *Bürgerschule*'s task as generating "*zweckbewußte, gesinnungsvolle Thatkräftigkeit.*" (43) It should prepare students to *actively* participate in society and shape their abilities towards their actions. For this reason, it was of crucial importance that children at the *Bürgerschule* not only passively collected knowledge, but were enabled to put it into practice. Therefore, each *Bürgerschule* should have an extended "school life" (*Schulleben*), to which Scheibert devoted a major part of his book.[55]

At the *Bürgerschule*, students arrived at the level of ideas by way of induction. (56) The inductive method Scheibert also called the "natural-historical method" (*naturhistorische Methode*), as natural historians derived their knowledge from observation. (55f.) Scheibert's implication was that the *Gymnasium* mainly employed the "deductive" method: at the *Gymnasium*, students looked at the world from the perspective offered by "preconceived, intellectual concept[s]" (*vorgegebnen, geistigen Begriff[e]*). (56)[56]

From his definition of the *Bürgerschule*'s task to prepare children for an active life by employing the inductive method, Scheibert derived the specific virtues and skills that the *Bürgerschule* should cultivate. One of these was "practical sense" (*praktischer Sinn*). (26) Children's attention should be continuously directed towards the particular, the coincidental, the specific, because in their future lives, they would be required to act and make decisions in ever-changing situations. Of course, recognising the particular is only possible with some knowledge of the general, but the general should be derived from the particular and should never be a starting point (*ibid.*). In religious education, for example, children should study the lives of individual, pious men as recorded in Holy Scripture, and only by comparison and induction arrive at the Ten Commandments. Even the figure of Christ should not be granted apriorical authority. Only as a result of inductive biblical study, he will finally appear to

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underlay Ernst Gottfried Fischer's attempt to develop a separate *Gymnasium* for the "*gebildetere Stände*," see above.

[55] Scheibert (1848: 248-342).

[56] The methodical difference between the *Gymnasium* and the *Bürgerschule* was often described in oppositional terms, e.g. as 'ideal' and 'real' (see Beger (1845: vii) or as 'theoretical' and 'practical' (Deinhardt (1837: 21)). Friedrich Resewitz too opposed 'practical' *Bürger* education to 'theoretical' academic education, see above, section II.2.1.2.

the students as "the personalised concept of the singular religious individuals." (148)

Because of the same practical direction, the *Bürgerschule* should stimulate *productivity*. (26) As production was one of the *Bürger's* important pursuits, pupils should be continuously urged to be creative. A sense of beauty should not be cultivated by *observing* the beautiful (as in Scheibert's opinion was the case at the *Gelehrtenschulen*), but by imitation and creation. (64) Likewise, the *Bürgerschule* should lay major emphasis on the cultivation of taste (*Geschmack*). As knowledge of ethics alone would never suffice to generate virtuous behaviour, a *practical* moral theory was necessary to put moral knowledge into practice. As the *Bürgerschule* was the practical school par excellence, it had the particular responsibility to encourage students to make their moral education serve the common good. (35f.) Finally, because of their practical participation in society, *Bürger* should have a "sympathising heart for humanity" ("*ein teilnehmendes Herz für die Menschheit*," 33), a strong "public spirit" (*Gemeinsinn*) (30) and a deep-felt love for their native country and royal family. (36f.)

From the particularities of the life of *Bürger*, then, Scheibert derived a broad range of specific abilities and virtues which he contended to be distinctly different from the abilities and virtues cultivated at the *Gelehrtenschulen*. However, one glance at Scheibert's argument suffices to see that the abilities and virtues he expected the *Bürgerschule* to cultivate were far from *exclusively* relevant to the *Bürgertum*. Although there are certainly methodological differences between the natural sciences and the *humaniora*, to suggest that the *Gelehrtenschulen* employ a narrowly deductive method and only study the world by forcing it into the framework of pre-existing concepts, is certainly to create a caricature of the *Gymnasium.* To imply that at the *Gelehrtenschulen* a sense of beauty is cultivated only by observation, rather than by creation, is simply to distort the facts – as the common practice of, for example, verse composition and the stimulation of rhetorical skills illustrates. To pretend that only the *Bürgerschule* aimed at practical moral behaviour, is to overlook that it was one of the classical humanists' most forceful arguments in support of classical education that it cultivates one's moral sense and encourages one to contribute to the common good.

Scheibert's argument, then, ultimately foundered on a conceptual confusion. On the one hand, Scheibert wanted to conceive of a type of higher education that, both in its teaching methods and objectives, would be

emphatically distinct from that offered by the traditional *Gymnasien*. On the other hand, by requiring this type of education to be humanistic, he could not avoid laying claim to a broad variety of abilities and virtues that were obviously of universal value. This conceptual confusion might explain why the type of school that Scheibert envisaged did never materialise. Throughout the century, the *Realschulen* and *höhere Bürgerschulen* continued to lay claim to the very same educational ideal as pursued by the classical *Gymnasien*. Very few colleagues shared Scheibert's belief that the phenomenon of *Humanität* could be divided into different types. Just like classical humanists, most advocates of *real*-education believed humanness to be of universal validity.

4.iv. The *Bürgerschule* as true *Humanitätsschule*: Karl Mager

In view of the universal claim of humane values, a number of educationalists gained the conviction that the *Bürgerschule*, if it was to have a future at all, must be conceived of as the *only* true *Humanitätsschule.* According to Moritz Rothert (1802-86), headmaster of the *Gymnasium* in Aurich (Lower Saxony), "the *Gymnasium* should be the *allgemeine Bildungsanstalt* of the entire higher class of *Bürger* (*höhere Bürgerstand*). It should fuse into the true *höhere Bürgerschule.* The true, *höhere Bürgerschule* of the future, thát exactly is the pure *Gymnasium*."[57] Rothert's view of a "*Gesammtgymnasium"* or "*Einheitsgymnasium"* that would unite the traditional *Gymnasium* and the *Bürgerschule* under a common flag was shared by a large group of educationalists who rejected the possibility of defining two essentially different kinds of humanistic education.[58] Acknowledging the universalistic nature of the concept of *Humanität*, they realised that the only way to bring the *Bürgerschule* to full recognition was by

[57] M. Rothert, *Das Latein im Deutschen Gymnasium. Eine Lebensfrage des höheren Schulwesens* (1850), quoted from Scheibert, (1850, I: 361).

[58] See e.g. A. Beger, *Die Idee des Realgymnasiums* (1845); A. Steffenhagen, *Zur Reform der deutschen Gymnasien* (1848); Fr. Lübker, *Die Gymnasialreform* (1849); K. Dilthey, *Zur Gymnasialreform* (1849-50). The endeavour to unite the *Gymnasium* and the *Bürgerschule* under a common flag is also reflected in the history of the famous conferences of German philologists and *Schulmänner*. From 1843 onwards, the *Realschulmänner* organized conferences of their own, apart from those of the philologists. In the course of the 1840s, both parties aspired to establish a general teachers' society in which humanists and 'realists' would be united. This society met for this first time in 1848, but it did not exist for long. Later in the century, the societies of philologists and *Realschulmänner* would again be separated. See Thomas (1951: 57).

developing a distinctly new school that, by bringing the former *Bürgerschule* and the *Gymnasium* to a unity, would constitute the true *Humanitätsschule* of the future.

One of the most zealous advocates of this view was the famous pedagogue Karl Mager (1810-1858), who played a prominent role in consolidating the ideological foundation of the *Bürgerschule*.[59] In *Die Deutsche Bürgerschule* (1840),[60] he made a clean sweep of the educational debate by completely refuting the common distinction between humanism and 'realism,' denouncing *both* as "enemies and false friends" of true education (141; cf. 34). "The *Bürgerschule*," Mager contended, "wants to have as little to do with technology as with Greek accents, it wants to be a *Bildungsanstalt,* a *Humanitätsschule*." (11)

Mager stronlgy preferred the term "*Bürgerschule*" above the term "*Realschule*," not only because the latter hardly veiled its pejorative ring,[61] but also because the former helped restore the school's connection to the concept of *citizenship*, which he considered of essential importance to a true *Humanitätsschule.* (11) For this reason, Mager embarked on his ideological defence of the *Bürgerschule* by tracing the concept of citizenship down the centuries. In so doing, Mager drew heavily on values taken from classical civilisation. In Greek antiquity, he argued, the concept of citizenship was fully realised. In this era, mankind lived in "natural, reflectionless unity with the state" (12) and found "the measure of his life and the law of his existence not in himself, but in the whole." (*ibid*.) The sense of community, which Mager tellingly named "aristeia," prevailed over individuality, so that *Bildung* was not put to private, but to public use. In antiquity, *Bildung* was a typically *civic* virtue (*politische Tugend*). (12) Correspondingly, *Bildung* did not yet comprise erudition

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[59] Mager studied literature, natural sciences, history and philosophy in Bonn, Paris and Berlin. He worked as a teacher at various schools, a.o. as director of the *Bürgergymnasium* in Eisenach. He also was an advisor in education policy in the Grand Duchy of Saxony-Weimar. From 1840 to 1849, Mager edited the *Pädagogische Revue*, Germany's foremost platform of 'realist' educational thought. Mager's most important works are *Die Deutsche Bürgerschule* (1840) and his three-volumed *Die modernen Humanitätsstudien* (1843-6).

[60] K. Eberhardt (ed.), Karl Mager, *Die Deutsche Bürgerschule*, (Langensalza, 1888).

[61] On the pejorative ring of the term 'realism', see the introduction to Section 2: "The Challenge of the *Bürgerschule*."

(*Gelehrsamkeit*). Knowledge had not yet retreated from society to be pursued for its own sake, but took its meaning from being anchored in communal life. (18)

Although Mager highly admired the Greeks for their exemplary civic *Bildung*, he regarded the rise of Christianity as an essential step forward. The egalitarianism propagated by the new faith at least theoretically opened up citizenship to every human being and could therefore no longer be justified as a social privilege, as it used to be in the past. (24f.)[62] It took an enormous amount of time, however, for this theoretical advantage to materialise. In the feudalism of the Middle Ages, the range of citizenship was yet restricted to the nobility, the free imperial cities (*freie Reichsstädte*) and the like, but remained out of reach for the majority of the population. Moreover, the nobility didn't care about "poets, music, mathematics and rhetoric," largely leaving them to the clergy, lawyers and doctors (24). This, in Mager´s view, was detrimental to true *Bildung*. For as those members of society who where invested with most authority in public and political affairs lost their interest in education, knowledge was put into the hands of the *Gelehrtenstand*. Being thus transmitted for its own sake, it was stripped of every connection with public life. *Bildung*, by losing its anchoring in communal life, dissipated into *Gelehrsamkeit*. (*Ibid*.)

In the 16th to 18th centuries, the wings of citizenship were clipped even more tightly, as the monarch's absolute despotism ruled out the last traces of republican rule. The nobility exchanged its political rights for privileges. The *Bürgerstand*, which had enjoyed some standing in preceding centuries, dilapidated into the professions of scholars, clergymen, lawyers or doctors and, as the monarch availed himself of standing armies, was no longer expected to defend the country. As the concept of citizenship now fully disintegrated, so did that of *Bildung.* (21)

It was only with the dawn of modernity that the idea of citizenship experienced an ultimate revival. Only when society's hierarchical structure - estates, slavery and, especially, priesthood, which Mager considered to be "essentially alien to the idea of Christianity" (21) – was finally overcome and even the monarch was obliged to obey the law, could the idea of citizenship fully merge with Christian thought and thus be raised to unprecedented heights. Of course, the monarchies remained in place, but they were permeated by

[62] To Mager (14), it was a major problem that classical Athens thrived on a huge machinery of slaves and only reserved citizenship for a relatively small minority.

republican idealism. (55) The world finally experienced the revival of Greek "aristeia," but not as the privilege of a minority, but as being principally obtainable for everybody. "We are all noble (*adlig*)," Mager proudly exclaimed, "because we are citizens (*Bürger*)." (31) And last but not least, since general conscription had been introduced in Prussia in 1813, the citizens were soldiers again, prepared to sacrifice their lives to the common good. (32)

The recent revival of the idea of citizenship in Mager's view opened up new perspectives for *Bildung*. Whereas its pre-modern neglect had forced *Bildung* to vegetate as erudition within the narrow confines of the academic world, now at last it was restored in its proper connection with the common good. Once the *Bürgerstand* (that is, non-scholars) had found renewed access to jurisdiction, administration and military service, it also reacquired an obligation to obtain *Bildung*. The social influence granted to non-academic *Bürger* required these people to be educated and well-informed citizens.

Mager's historical analysis implied a critical stance towards the traditional *Gymnasien*. With their narrow focus on the *Gelehrtenstand*, they were representative of the sectarianism that in Mager's view had overshadowed European civilisation for many centuries. Moreover, precisely because of their pre-modern outlook Mager considered them downright antithetical to what he saw as the true classical tradition that had been initiated by the ancient Greeks. As Mager put it, "when one institution on earth has a right to appeal to Greece, it is not (...) the *Gymnasium*, but the *Bürgerschule*." (48)

In view of his hostility towards the traditional *Gymnasien*, it is notable that Mager proposed a curriculum that did not deviate that far from that of the traditional, classical schools. Admittedly, Mager deviated from most classical humanists in his belief that at a true *Humanitätsschule*, education should cover a wide variety of *real*-topics. At the same time, however, he realised that it was above all the *humaniora* that contributed to humanistic *Bildung*. As he put it, mathematics and natural sciences were "simply not able to constitute the main subject matter (*Hauptgegenstand*) of humanistic education (...), which cultivates not only the mind, but also the heart (*Gemüth*), will and character; therefore in all (!) schools, in academic, *Bürger*- and elementary schools, instruction in the humane subjects, in languages, literatures, history (...) ethics, must (...) be preponderant, because (...) in these humane subjects, more educative elements

are found than in the natural [subjects]."[63] Thus, at Mager's *Bürgerschule* the largest curricular share would not be taken by the "natural," but by the "ethical sciences,"[64] of which the classical languages were an integral part.[65] The ideal *Bürgerschule* that Mager envisioned, then, was substantially different from the *Real*- and *Bürgerschulen* that had been founded so far, as Mager himself fully realised.[66] With its major emphasis on "humane subjects," it was clearly inspired by the model set by the classical-humanistic *Gymnasium*.[67] We might wonder, then, whether Mager was entirely clear about his true objectives. His fierce polemics against the humanistic *Gymnasien* seem hardly justified when compared to the curriculum that he proposed himself. The *Gesammtgymnasium* of

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[63] *Ibid*. 59. Cf. Mager, in: *Die modernen Humanitätsstudien*, chapter II, quoted from Beger (1845: 61): „Not mathematics, physics, chemistry and natural history are at the centre of the *bürgerliche Gymnasium*, although these subjects should in no way be neglected. The *bürgerliches Gymnasium*, when it wanted to be a *Bildungsanstalt*, must lay emphasis on the spiritual, ethical subjects (language, literature and history), because in them lay the most and best educational elements."

[64] Mager (1840: 157).

[65] *Ibid*. 62.

[66] *Ibid*. 11.

[67] This paradox is found in most early 19th century defences of the *Bürgerschule*. As a 'main subject,' Leizmann (1846: 46) proposed history and language; Beger (1845: 61) languages; Troxler (1832: 15) religion, morality, philosophy and poetry. Also Latin was very popular amongst advocates of *real*-education. Friedrich Klumpp, for example, who vigorously pleaded for exclusion of Latin from elementary schooling in favour of German and *real*-topics, held that when Latin education eventually starts (at the age of 12), it should dominate the curriculum with up to 12 or 14 hours a week. (Klumpp (1829: 135)). Beger (1845: 92-107) extensively explained why true *Bildung* cannot be acquired without Latin. At Scheibert´s *Bürgerschule*, during the first three years, Latin was by far the most important topic (Scheibert (1848: 160)). Cf. Kalisch, *Über das Lateinische in der Realschule* (1840); also Raumer (1823: 27). The importance of Latin at *Realschulen* was also reflected in governmental regulations. In 1841, Latin became an obligatory subject at the graduation exams of the Prussian *Bürgerschulen* and *Realschulen*. See Fuhrmann (2001: 210). At the Berlin conference on the reform of the school system in 1849, it was proposed to remove Latin from the curriculum of the *Realschule*. Most participants, however, thought that it should be offered as an extracurricular subject, not in the last place because it was still conditional for admittance to the university. The proposals by the conference members, though, were soon rejected. See Lechner (2003: 182-7). At the '*Realschule 1. Ordnung'* that was officially recognised in 1859, Latin was taught at all grades. See Fuhrmann (2001: 210).

the future would have much more in common with the existing classical schools than he would probably have been willing to admit.

The characteristic ambivalence, which is found in most early and mid-19th century defences of *real*-education, might explain why throughout the 19th century the reputation of the *Realschulen* could hardly match that of the *Gymnasien*. Although advocates of *real*-education were keen to underline the fundamental equality of both school types in theory, in practice they were so obviously inspired by models set by the traditional, humanistic schools that they did not succeed in conceptualising the *Realschule* as a clearly defined, autonomous school type. As late as 1859, the year in which the first official Prussian regulation for the *Realschule* (*Realschulordnung*) was issued, A. Hauber wrote that "ideas on a wholly new type of *Bildung* chiefly based on *real*-topics" were "still not clarified."[68] It goes without saying that this was hardly a recommendation for *real*-education at all.

5. Conclusion

In sum, we can see that in the period 1770-1860, the *Bürgerschule* faced a major identity problem. On the one hand, it fulfilled the vocational needs of large numbers of pupils who would never attend university and for whom classical education seemed little more than an awkward *detour*. As these vocational needs substantially increased over time, by the mid-19th century, the *Bürgerschule* had developed into a highly important, indispensable institution.

The same circumstance, however, which explained the success of the *Bürgerschule*, accounts for the lack of full recognition it faced throughout the period. It was precisely *because* of its clearly vocational, utilitarian orientation that it proved so hard for the *Bürgerschule* to gain recognition as a full equivalent of the *Gymnasium*. Thus, the *Bürgerschule* was clearly torn between practical needs and humanistic objectives. In order to reinforce its humanistic justification, its defenders had to downplay the vocational orientation to which it primarily owed its success. Therefore, for a very long time, it proved almost impossible for educationalists to agree on its proper outlook.

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[68] Schmid I (1859: 684). – The persistent conceptual unclarity might partly explain why in most German countries it took a long time for the *Realschule* to acquire official recognition. Cf. above, note 3.

The *Gymnasium*, on the contrary, developed in an opposite direction. While the practical use of classical education was rapidly shrinking, its ideological foundation grew only firmer. Humanistic ideas were so deeply embedded in educational thought, that even at a time of profound social change and professional differentiation, the classical *Gymnasium* was not seriously jeopardised. Of course, the heated debates with advocates of *Bürger* education indicate that the predominance of classical education was getting increasingly problematic. For a long time, however, solving this problem was a task left to the *Bürgerschulen*, whereas the *Gymnasien* could securely continue steering their traditional course.

We must conclude, then, that the common view that 19th century classical humanism was an "anachronism" that could only arouse increasing astonishment and opposition in an essentially 'realistic' age is fundamentally mistaken. Humanistic ideas and values were so widely endorsed by educationalists of such widely different signature that the unwavering popularity of classical humanism is anything but surprising. Even the most zealous advocates of *real*-education were guided by values and principles that could ultimately be traced back to the very classical-humanistic tradition against which they conducted their polemics. Despite its increasingly 'realistic' outlook, then, the period 1770-1860, might reasonably be described in its *entirety* as a heyday of educational humanism.

Section 3

The Challenge of Christianity

Introduction

In 1843, the Berlin *Literarische Zeitung* published a series of anonymous articles in which the *Gymnasien* were criticised in a fashion that we have not yet encountered before.[1] "With few exceptions," it was passionately stated in the opening article, "(...) we have nothing but people of *Bildung,* scholarly and general *Bildung; Bildung* and nothing than *Bildung* we find in them, hardly a trace of ethos (*Gesinnung*), character, assertiveness (*Tatkraft*); the new God [of *Bildung*] has overthrown with triumphant violence the old giants of the Middle Ages."[2] With these words, the Protestant classical philologist Theodor Rumpel (1815-1885), who later made himself known as the author,[3] poignantly summarised a fundamental problem that increasingly occupied educationalists in the first half of the 19th century: the relation between education and morality.

Rumpel, who was seriously concerned about the turbulent and unsettling political and social climate of the *Vormärz*-period, directed his gaze at the humanistic *Gymnasien*. In his view, most modern classics teachers, by their deep sympathy with pagan classical culture, had developed a "religious-moral consciousness" that was in essence unchristian.[4] The roots of this problem Rumpel traced back to the transformation of classical studies initiated by Friedrich August Wolf. Until the late 18th century, Rumpel wrote, "a theological spirit and theological interests pervaded the *Gymnasium.*" The study of antiquity was nothing more than a "side topic" (*Parergon*), an "aesthetic supplement and a beautiful element for general, liberal education (*allgemeine freie Bildung*)."[5] Under the influence of Wolf's *Darstellung der Alterthumswissenschaft* (1807), however, philological studies "declared themselves autonomous and mature," with the result that they lost their proper ancillary function.[6]

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[1] ‚Über das religiös-sittliche Bewusstsein der Philologen,' in *Literarische Zeitung* (henceforth *LZ*) (Berlin, 1843: no. 5, 42 and 43).

[2] *LZ* (1843, 5: 70).

[3] See Rumpel (1852: 93)**.** – Rumpel studied classical philology at the University of Halle. From 1851 to 1868, he was headmaster of the *Evangelisch Stiftisches Gymnasium Gütersloh*. He died in 1885 as school superintendent in Kassel.

[4] Rumpel, *LZ* (1843, 5: 65, 68).

[5] Rumpel, *LZ* (1843, 5: 66).

[6] Rumpel, *LZ* (1843, 5: 66f.).

To Rumpel, more problematic than the emancipation of philology as such was the fact that it entailed a movement away from Christian values. By propagating the study of classical antiquity as an end in itself, Wolf tended to integrate religion and morality into the realm of classical education. In Wolf's world view, Rumpel wrote, "all salvation comes from education, namely classical education. Amongst the ancients alone live the Muses, amongst them alone everything is found that is humane, great and perfect."[7] It was in view of this integration of religion and morality into the realm of education that Rumpel felt entitled to describe Wolf as "a complete heathen"[8] and to brand the "living substance" (*Lebenssubstanz*) of modern philologists in general as "ancient-pagan" (*antik-heidnisch*).[9]

Although Rumpel's attack on the humanistic *Gymnasien* in the name of Christianity met with much criticism, his conviction of the essentially unchristian nature of late 18th and early 19th century humanism has become widely accepted amongst historians of education. Friedrich Paulsen, in his *Geschichte des Gelehrten Unterrichts* (1885), which strongly influenced later historiography of classical education, wrote that the "Greek-humanistic religion" professed by Friedrich August Wolf and Wilhelm von Humboldt betrayed its unchristian signature by "pure immanentism" (*reine Diesseitigkeit*).[10] Wolf and Humboldt, according to Paulsen, were „at home in [an] earthly-temporary existence" and tended to wholly exclude "the transcendental."[11] Although Paulsen acknowledged that most humanists did not in fact actively *oppose* Christianity, he concluded that they at least "ignored it."[12] In similar vein, Heinrich Graffmann, in a monograph of 1929 on the relation between religion and 'neohumanism,' stated that "in

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[7] Rumpel, *LZ* (1843, 5: 67).

[8] Rumpel, *LZ* (1843, 5: 67); cf. 42: 670: "[Wolf's] inmost essence was so similar to the ancient spirit, that it seemed to be created out of it."

[9] Rumpel, *LZ* (1843, 5: 66). Comically, this was apparently so unexpected a conclusion to the printer, that he misspelled the word as '*anti*-heidnisch,' which initially led to some confusion amongst the respondents.

[10] Paulsen II (1885, 3rd. ed. 1921: 205).

[11] *Ibid*. 200, 203.

[12] *Ibid*. 203. This last view is almost literally found in the *Literarische Zeitung* (1844, 23: 362): " Those men (...) were (...) far from an offensive opposition against Christianity whence one will look in vain for outbursts (*Ausfälle*). (...) It was rather ignored." Although we can not exactly trace Paulsen's sources, it seems clear that his analysis, which was adopted by most later historians, ultimately goes back to the educational debates of the *Vormärz* period.

essence," 'neohumanism' was "hostile to Christianity." The rise of 'neohumanism' at the end of the 18th century Graffmann even described as coming down to a "triumph over religion."[13] Correspondingly, the increased emphasis on Christian values in the Restoration (from the 1820s onwards), Graffmann interpreted as heralding the "disintegration of neohumanism."[14]

After the Second World War, the image of the unchristian character of late 18th and early 19th century humanism has only been further confirmed. Rudolf Pfeiffer, in a speech held at the Bavarian Academy of Sciences in 1960, stated that "since Winckelmann up to this day, a basically primitive paganism coloured a not insignificant part of philological writings."[15] Manfred Landfester, in his well-known monograph on the relation between humanism and society in 19th century Germany, went even so far as to assert that 19th century humanism was not only conceptually distinct from Christianity but downright "anti-Christian." "The preachers of the new education," he maintained, "*consistently* presented themselves as non-Christians or even pagans" and even came "to *reject* Christianity."[16] (*it*. added)

It should be noted, however, that this common view of the stark opposition between 18th/19th century humanism and Christianity derives from extremely selective source material. Theodor Rumpel based his sweeping statements on the pagan character of modern philology exclusively on the example of Friedrich August Wolf.[17] Paulsen mainly based his judgment on Wilhelm von Humboldt, who sporadically commented on Christianity in overtly disapproving terms.[18] Apart from Humboldt, Paulsen discussed the views of Goethe and Winckelmann.[19] Graffmann largely adopted Paulsen's selection, only

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[13] H. Graffmann, *Die Stellung der Religion im Neuhumanismus* (1929, here 24, 108, 123).

[14] Graffmann (1929: 128).

[15] Pfeiffer, *Philologia perennis. Festrede gehalten in der öffentlichen Sitzung der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in München am 3. Dezember 1960* (München, 1961, here 21).

[16] M. Landfester, *Humanismus und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert* (1988, here 43f., 65).

[17] Apart from the fact that his admirers – whom Rumpel quoted – allegedly called him „a complete heathen," Rumpel mentioned that „Wolf (...) in his lectures did not like to pass an opportunity to mock theologians and theology; [his] great awareness of his own, new science left him with no respect for other [sciences]." (Rumpel, *LZ* (1843, 5: 66))

[18] For a more detailed discussion of Wolf's and Humboldt's views on Christianity, see below, section II.3.1.3.

[19] Paulsen II (1885, 3rd. ed. 1921: 205). Winckelmann once described himself as a „born pagan, whom Christian baptism had not been able to initiate as a Christian." See *ibid*.

extending it with the example of Schiller.[20] Manfred Landfester, finally, substantiated his radical diagnosis of the "insuperable opposition"[21] between 19th century humanism and Christianity with only two arguments: the fact that Goethe once called himself "a decided non-Christian" and the fact that Wolf described himself as "an old heathen."[22]

In other words, the prevailing view of the opposition between late 18th and early 19th century humanism and Christianity is based on the example of only a handful of 'neohumanists,' some of whom (Winckelmann, Goethe, Schiller) had hardly anything to do with classical education. As long as one considers classical humanism sufficiently represented by this small group of prominent intellectuals, the common view is not unfounded. It immediately loses its validity, however, once one understands classical humanism as a much *broader* phenomenon that was largely practiced and passed on at the humanistic *Gymnasien*. For as we will see, the large majority of classics teachers throughout the Germanies remained faithful to the traditional idea that the classics, if properly taught, do not harm, but *benefit* Christian religiosity. To ignore this unceasing benevolence of average school teachers towards Christianity seems particularly problematic since the allegedly unchristian character of humanism was mainly highlighted by people who regarded it as the fault, not of a few exceptional intellectuals, but as a *general* problem of the modern *Gymnasium*.[23]

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[20] See Graffmann (1929: 59-66).

[21] Landfester (1988: 43).

[22] This was mentioned by Wolf's friend Johann Carl Bertram Stüve (1798-1872). See *Briefe Stüves*, Bd. I, Göttingen (1959: 25). On Goethe, see Graffmann (1929: 58).

[23] In Paulsen's and Graffmann's time – the late 19th and early 20th century – it was very common to think of an opposition between classical humanism and Christianity, as it corresponded to a strong paradigm that had been established by Jacob Burckhardt's mightily influential *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, first published in 1860. In this book, Burckhardt analysed Renaissance humanism as being based on an intrinsically secular, even anti-religious, set of values. (See Nauert (2006: 1).) Thus, Paulsen and Graffmann, by assuming an opposition between Christianity and 19th century humanism only applied a pre-existing, paradigmatic view to a later period. (Tellingly, Paulsen complemented his remark on Wolf's and Humboldt's "pure immanentism" with the observation that "already in the Renaissance, the direction towards the *Diesseits* clearly emerged." See Paulsen II (1885, 3rd. ed. 1921: 205).) The Burckhardtian paradigm has long since been refuted, so that no serious scholar nowadays believes Renaissance humanism to have been an essentially anti-Christian phenomenon. (See Nauert (2006: 2-4).) With respect to 18th and 19th century humanism, however, the

Yet, assuming a tension between 19th century humanism and Christianity is certainly not entirely out of place. Not only was Theodor Rumpel right that the recent emancipation of philology was without historical precedent, but moreover, and more importantly, the *possibility* that classical education would harm Christian religiosity was acknowledged by large numbers of classics teachers, as we shall come to see in this chapter. It seems therefore worthwhile to investigate the relation between 19th century classical humanism and Christianity in more detail.

In the first chapter, I will examine under which intellectual influences the conviction of the unchristian character of 'neohumanism' came into being. In the second chapter, I will investigate how classical humanists responded to accusations from orthodox Christians in the period 1830-1860. We shall see that nearly all classical humanists, despite their overt sympathy with classical culture, remained genuinely committed to Christian religion and morality.

Burckhardtian paradigm seems to survive to our day, the obvious reason being that the newer humanism's relation to Christianity has yet hardly been the object of serious research.

Chapter 1 Classical Humanism and Rationalism

"*Der Geist des classischen Alterthums mag bilden am menschlichen Geiste, was er will, nur nicht die Gesinnung. Für diese giebt es nur einen Bildner und Lehrer, und das ist Christus und sein Geist*." (August Tholuck, 1823)

1. The quest for religious *Gesinnung*

Theodor Rumpel's view of modern classical humanism as an intrinsically unchristian phenomenon was obviously time-bound. In the *Vormärz* period there was a great anxiety in Christian circles about the many disrupting forces that tended to change German society beyond recognition. Liberalism and nationalism, which after the French domination had gone hand in hand, constituted a major progressive political force. Although most liberals were admittedly moderate, they all were to some extent dissatisfied with the still substantially feudal outlook of German society. Many of them mobilised enthusiasm for Germany as a cultural, rather than a political unity, while others went further and claimed a unitary state with a national parliament as well as reduction of the local monarch's absolute power.[1] The liberal writers of 'Young Germany' (*Junges Deutschland*), who aimed to effectuate a total transformation of religious and social ideas by daily reading (*Tagesliteratur*), articulated their ideas in serial-like, politicised writings.[2] The true republicans, such as Arnold Ruge (1802-80), Bruno Bauer (1809-82) and Karl Marx (1818-83), who praised the French Revolution as the "realisation of philosophy" and passionately summoned the Germans to follow the French example,[3] were a small minority. Yet, in the second quarter of the 19th century, especially after the French July

[1] For a good discussion of the German liberals' ambition as well as their major indecision, see Sheehan (1978: 7-76).

[2] The circle, which had no official status, consisted of Heinrich Heine, Karl Gutzkow, Heinrich Laube, Ludoph Wienbarg, Theodor Mundt and Ludwig Börne. Their works were banned by the German Confederation in 1835.

[3] See *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* (1844: 12; 8).

Revolution of 1830, the revolutionary threat was felt so sharply, that even moderate forms of liberalism or nationalism easily became suspect.[4]

The increasing political unrest was accompanied by catastrophic mass poverty (*Pauperismus*) as the result of exponential population growth and the related increase of wage labour. This problem triggered the rise of the utopian socialism of Wilhelm Weitling (1808-71) and Moses Hess (1812-75) and eventually resulted at a European level in the *Communist Manifesto*, written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in 1848. The belief that society could only be saved by a fundamental transformation of property relationships quickly gained popularity.[5]

In orthodox Christian circles, these turbulent, unsettling developments were widely associated with the declining influence of Christianity and particularly with 'rationalism,' a powerful current in theology that aimed to reduce religion to morality and to exclude from it everything that related to so-called "positive" Christianity, such as its historical aspects as well as the doctrines of grace and revelation. Theological rationalism rooted in the mid-18th century, when it was better known as "neology," represented by prominent theologians and philosophers such as Christian Wolff (1679-1754), Johann Semler (1725-1791) and Karl Friedrich Bahrdt (1741-1792).[6] After it had been transmitted to the 19th century through Kant, Fichte and Hegel, rationalism was put to extremes from the 1830s onwards by the so-called 'Young Hegelians' (*Junghegelianer*), a group of young students and followers of Hegel. In particular the work of David Friedrich Strauss (1808-1874) and Ludwig Feuerbach (1804-1872) knocked away the foundations of traditional Christian theology. In their respective works *Das Leben Jesu* (1835f.) and *Das Wesen des Christentums* (1841), Strauss and Feuerbach drew the ultimate conclusion that, since man can have no knowledge of the supernatural, the moral law of nature is left as the sole foundation of religion, which is thereby identified with ethics. The entire domain of revelation, that is, everything that belonged to historical (or "positive")

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[4] Even the "Conferences of German philologists and school teachers" (*Versammlungen deutscher Philologen and Schulmänner*) were occasionally put under strict governmental supervision, even though their content was almost exclusively academic and most classicists attending them were declared royalists. See Thomas (1951: 1-19; 51-80).

[5] See F.A. Steinmann, *Pauperismus und Communismus* (1846). Cf. W. Abel, *Der Pauperismus in Deutschland am Vorabend der industriellen Revolution* (1966).

[6] For a very good discussion of the "neological school," see Epstein (1966): 112-75.

Christianity, was thus relegated to the realm of fantasy.[7] No authority could be acknowledged but man himself, with his rational understanding of the natural world.[8]

In the view of many orthodox Christians, rationalism was exceptionally harmful, not only because it seemed to deal the final blow to Christian religion, but also because it seemed to lie at the root of the social and political turmoil characteristic of the time. Thus, they invested much energy in exposing "the deep, inner coherence between spiritual radicalism (...) and the material direction" of the time.[9] According to orthodox Christians, "the Hegelian and Weitlingian teach precisely the same: God and his will are dismissed and gone, but he who does the will of the world (...) lives forever."[10] In short, the many initiatives to reorganise society on a preconceived theoretical basis, characteristic of the *Vormärz* period, were ultimately retraced to the fallacy of rationalism.

It was this analysis of rationalism as the core problem of modern society that underlay the so-called *'Erweckungstheologie'* ("revivalist theology") that gained strong momentum after the Wars of Liberation (1813-1815).[11] *Erweckungstheologie* aimed to defend a positive theological position against the rationalists' immoderate overestimation of Reason. It was represented by leading theologians such as August Neander (1789-1850), August Tholuck (1799-1877) and Wilhelm Hengstenberg (1802-1869), the latter of whom founded the

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[7] In *Das Leben Jesu*, Strauss described the miraculous elements of the New Testament as 'mythical,' thereby denying them the status of historical facts. In *Das Wesen des Christentums*, Feuerbach maintained that the many false Christian beliefs, such as the belief in revelation, destroyed man's most divine feeling, his sense of truth.

[8] It is worth realising that even the most radical German rationalists were ultimately motivated by a search for Christian truth and never gave up their view of religion as man's highest vocation. (See Binder (1838: 42)). Wilhelm Weitling, for example, the founding father of German communism, traced communism back to early Christianity. See his *Das Evangelium der armen Sünder* (1845).

[9] Herbst (1852: 85).

[10] Vilmar (1846: 141); cf. Mezger (1855: 17f.). To Wilhelm Herbst (1852: 85), the "left-Hegelian school" and "materialism" shared a deeply-rooted "hatred against history." August Gladisch (1852: 229) pointed out that Giuseppe Mazzini, the great Italian Republican, aimed to "break with history and build (...) life anew on the basis of Hegel's logic."

[11] Religious revivalism was not limited to the Germanies, but occurred also in France, Britain and the Netherlands, especially in the decades following the Vienna Congress. On religious revivalism outisde of the Germanies, see Ward (1994) and Van Lieburg (2012.)

Evangelische Kirchenzeitung in 1827, one of the most influential platforms for revivalist theology at the time.[12] Revivalist theologians aimed to turn the rationalist tide by reawakening the moral and religious layers of the human mind. These layers were often collectively grouped under the common denominator '*Gesinnung*.' '*Gesinnung'* is an interesting but hard-to-grasp concept that figured very prominently in the publications or religious revivalists. Being mostly contrasted with knowledge-based concepts such as "*Wissenschaft*," "*Bildung"* and "*Vernunft*," it was often mentioned in one breath with terms such as "*Charakter"* or "*Tatkraft.*"[13] It might therefore be defined as denoting a person's 'cast of mind to the extent that it is not determined by knowledge.' Religious revivalists almost invariably used it in a religious sense. Their central objective was to counterbalance rationalism by reawakening a "truly Christian, ecclesiastical *Gesinnung*."[14]

2. *Gesinnung* and education

The quest for religious *Gesinnung* is of crucial importance to our present investigation, as many religious revivalists were convinced that the alarming spread of rationalism narrowly cohered with recent developments in education. A substantial percentage of the publications in the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* and the *Literarische Zeitung* dealt with educational topics. In the first place, rationalism was found in the spectacular rise of German essay writing, which encouraged students to form an opinion about a broad range of different topics.[15]

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[12] Henceforth *EKZ*. – For a minute account of this journal's campaign against theological rationalism, see W. Kramer, *Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg, die Evangelische Kirchenzeitung und der theologische Rationalismus* (1972). Other *'Erweckungsblätter'* were, a.o., the *Christenbote. Eine allgemeine christliche Zeitschrift* (from 1831), the *Literarische Zeitung* (from 1834) and the *Schlesisches Kirchenblatt. Eine Zeitschrift für Katholiken aller Stände, zur Beförderung des religösen Sinnes* (from 1835).

[13] See e.g. Rumpel, *LZ* (1843, 5: 70). Cf. Roth (1830, in (1857, I: 81): When judging other people, it is "wrong and one-sided" first to ask, not "what kind of *Gesinnung* they have, but what they know."

[14] Rumpel, *LZ* (1843, 42: 672). Cf. "*sittlich-religiöse Gesinnung*," "*Glaubenssinn*," „*religiöser Sinn*". (Rumpel, *LZ* (1843, 21: 336; 42: 671; 92: 1468).)

[15] For a detailed, contemporary discussion of German essay writing, including a survey of frequent essay subjects, see Friedrich Günther, in *Über den deutschen Unterricht auf Gymnasien* (1840: 34-59). Cf. Glanzow, *Kritik der Schulen und der pädagogischen Ultra's unserer Zeit* (1824).

Widely branded as a "national plague,"[16] it was criticised for making students "narrate, present and treat topics of which they have no knowledge (...) nor can have [knowledge] nor (...) should have [knowledge]."[17] Rationalism was also measured by the reduced importance of religious education, both in scope and in content. At many early 19th century schools, religion was assigned far fewer hours than had been common in the past.[18] Moreover, religious education increasingly aimed, not at cultivating religious *Gesinnung*, but at establishing a rational and critical understanding of Christianity. This appears above all from August Niemeyer's successful, but highly controversial *Lehrbuch für die oberen Religionsclassen in Gelehrtenschulen* (1835), in which complete Biblical literary history was presented, including the highly complicated source studies of rationalist theologians such as Johann Michaelis (1717-1791), Johann Eichhorn (1753-1827) and Wilhelm de Wette (1780-1849).[19]

Thirdly, and most importantly, the spirit of rationalism was considered to be nourished by classical education. Theodor Rumpel's attack on Friedrich August Wolf was motivated by his conviction that in Wolf's view, education in its entirety – *i.e.* not only intellectual, but also *moral* education – could be made entirely dependent on something as intellectual as the study of ancient culture. In Rumpel's view, it was by *incorporating* morality and religion into the intellectual study of antiquity that Wolf showed his fundamentally unchristian nature.[20] "Pagan morality, Rumpel wrote, "has as its highest principle that all morality is

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For a general history of the German essay, see O. Ludwig, *Der Schulaufsatz. Seine Geschichte in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1988).

[16] *EKZ* (1841, 3: 19).

[17] *EKZ* (1842, 45: 355). As the writings of *Gymnasium* students were as "shallow and void as [Heinrich] Heine's books," German essay writing was called a practical course in "*heinisiren*"(!) (*ibid*. 356). This was an obvious allusion to the so-called *Junges Deutschland* (to which Heine belonged), which propagated the view "that Christianity nowadays can be nothing but hypocrisy." (*Ibid*. 355)

[18] At the Weimar *Gymnasium*, until 1785, six weekly hours were devoted to prayer and reading Scripture, two to four weekly hours to the Catechism and two weekly hours to Biblical history, the Gospels and the Psalms. (See Herder, *Sämmtliche Werke*, XXX (ed. B. Suphan (1888: 429f.)) and Graffmann (1929: 55)) In the Prussian school plans of both 1812 and 1837, by comparison, only two hours were reserved for religion. At some schools, religion was even altogether removed from the curriculum. (See Vömel (1843: 13).)

[19] See *EKZ* (1842, 4: 26).

[20] Rumpel, *LZ* (1843, 5: 67).

based on knowledge; the consciousness that *by virtue of this knowledge* one can and will, by one's own absolute power, do what is good, arrive at perfection and consummation and final satisfaction, [is] the nerve of (...) pagan morality."[21] (*it*. added) In Rumpel's view, then, paganism and rationalism came down to one and the same thing.

Rumpel's argument was broadly shared amongst religious revivalists. The classical, humanistic *Gymnasien* were regularly branded as "seedbeds of rebellion and revolution."[22] An anonymous critic in the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* associated the "nearly exclusive occupation (...) with pagan literature" characteristic of the *Gymnasien* with the fact that they were "occupied by supporters of a philosophy that was hostile to Christianity [and], indeed, to all religion."[23] The Protestant theologian Bernhard Snethlage (1753-1840) held that the "moral disintegration" caused by "turning *Gymnasium* students into Solons and Catos**"** would be followed by "political disintegration."[24] Konrad Zeug (1803-33), clergyman and teacher at the *Gymnasium* in Bamberg, was forced to defend classical education against the charge of spreading "anti-Christianism, philosophism (*Philosophismus*) and revolutionism (*Revolutionismus*)."[25] To religious revivalists, then, it seemed obvious that the essentially *pagan* spirit of

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[21] Rumpel, *LZ* (1843, 43: 687). The charge of rationalism pervaded Rumpel's critique on the humanistic *Gymnasien*. See e.g. *ibid*. 681: "The enemy, at whom [my] attack chiefly aimed [was] philological rationalism." Cf. 1843, 5: 70: "Hegelian rationalism (...) is characterised by nothing else than (...) by having torn the last thread of morality." – On the relation between paganism and rationalism, cf. the words of Karl Stirm (1799-1873), a theologian and pastor from Württemberg: "The Greek and Roman sages, when elevating themselves to the idea of the salvation of mankind, only preserved it in their thoughts and expected [salvation to come] only from thoughts, ideas [and] philosophy," while lacking "the sanative (*das Heilskräftige*), the appearance of salvation in a human person, in fact and reality." (Stirm (1835: 261))

[22] Vilmar (1846: 44). Cf. Günther (1841): 77; Mezger (1855): 17f. As early as 1823, August Tholuck warned against the dangers of studying pagan literature in his much-acclaimed *Über das Wesen und die sittlichen Einflüsse des Heidenthums, besonders unter den Römern und Griechen* (1823).

[23] *EKZ* (1842, 4: 25). This philosophy, again, is Hegelian rationalism, as is made clear by Gotthold's response to the article. See Gotthold (1842: 18f.).

[24] Quoted from Müller (1977: 133). Cf. Gotthold (1842: 10).

[25] Zeug (1832: 30)

rationalism that threatened to ruin society at large drew substantial nourishment from the *Gymnasium's* major focus on the ancient classics.[26]

3. 'Neohumanism' and Christianity

Although Theodor Rumpel's view of 18th and 19th century humanism as an essentially unchristian phenomenon was unmistakably time-bound, embedded as it was in *Vormärz* religious revivalism, it was not entirely unfounded. It is well known, for instance, that some prominent representatives of 18th century classical humanism were strongly influenced by neology.[27] Under the influence of Kant, Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729-1812) lost his belief in the possibility of knowing the transcendental.[28] Friedrich August Wolf, an enthusiastic adherent of the theology of Johann Semler, made a typically rationalist distinction between theology – as dogmatics – and religion, the last of which he only deemed accessible as far as it leaned on "inner righteousness and goodness of heart," that is, on morality.[29] Because of his conception of religion as a basically moral phenomenon, Wolf subsumed it under the heading of philosophy (instead of theology), thus following the ancients' example.[30] Wilhelm von Humboldt had

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[26] It is good to realise that the attacks on the allegedly 'pagan' influence of classical education have never been based on hard evidence. As an anonymous school teacher wrote in the *Correspondenzblatt für Lehrer an den gelehrten und Realschulen Würtembergs*, (1838, 4th issue: 201): „Nowhere a statistician has appeared, who for example compared the pagan sense of young Englishmen, entirely brought up on the classics, (...) with (...) students from (...) German commercial and polytechnic schools, showing how the former's subject matter related to the latter's with respect to Christian education (*christliche Ausbildung*)." In other words, the accusation of 'paganism' was largely a strategic move by those people who searched to trace political, social and religious misery back to one single root cause.

[27] This influence has been meticulously analysed by Graffmann (1929: 24-87); see also Arnoldt (II, 1862: 387-406)). I confine myself to sketching some outlines.

[28] Heyne confessed this in a letter of May 27th 1789 to Georg Forster (1754-1794). See Forster (1829, I: 809). Cf. Graffmann (1929: 41).

[29] Wolf, *Miscellanea maximam partem litteraria* (1802: 257), quoted from Arnoldt, Vol II (1862: 396).

[30] Wolf: "What seems to us to be of interest in religion, morality, the ancients assigned to philosophy." (Quoted from Arnoldt (II, 1862: 396).)

comparable difficulties with the notion of revelation and once contended that believing in a supernatural world "easily leads to *Schwärmerei*."[31]

In view of their marked preference for a rationalist interpretation of Christian faith, it is not surprising that Heyne, Wolf, Humboldt, as well as some other eminent 18th century classical humanists, were downright sceptical about traditional, so-called 'positive' Christianity. As little as they could make of the concept of the 'supernatural' – such as expressed by the divine nature of Jesus or the doctrine of revelation – so strongly they felt attracted by classical civilisation, with its major focus on earthly life. It was in this sense that Heyne stated that "if I've not become an entirely bad person, I owe it more to the pagans than to the Christians."[32] Wolf praised the Greeks and Romans as "the only enlightened and learned nations of the ancient world"[33] and considered the transition from antiquity to Christianity a decline into "barbarism, ignorance and immorality."[34] Humboldt complained that Christianity had introduced a "conflict" (between spirit and nature) into the world[35] that encouraged man to "distrust the divinity of his own, pure and uncorrupted nature."[36] He was convinced that "morality (...) is simply independent of religion and not even connected with it."[37]

However, care should be taken not to caricature the alleged unchristian nature of Wolf's and Humboldt's world view. Firstly, the above remarks can be

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[31] Humboldt, letter of March 14th 1789 to Georg Forster. See Humboldt, *Gesammelte Werke*, *I* (1841: 273f.); cf. Graffmann (1927: 81).

[32] From a letter to the librarian Langer in Wolfenbüttel, quoted in *Literarische Zeitung* (1844, 23: 363).

[33] Arnoldt (II, 1862: 395).

[34] *Encyclopädie*, Stockmann (1845: 8).

[35] Fr. Bratanek (ed.), *Goethes Briefwechsel mit den Gebrüdern v. Humboldt* (1867), quoted from Graffmann (1929: 82).

[36] Humboldt, *Gesammelte Schriften* III (1904: 203). For a more extensive discussion of Heyne's, Wolf's and Humboldt's critical stance towards 'positive' Christianity, see Graffmann (1929: 35-44, 68-87). – Also the classical philologist Gottfried Hermann (1772-1848) was often accused of having pagan sympathies. In a school address at the famous boarding school of *Schulpforta*, Hermann defamed the "unpious piety of darkness-lovers, who say that man is evil and only obtain grace by believing: for cowards, there is no divine grace, whereas for the brave it is automatically there. Not supplications, but virtue and work strengthened Hercules. May it be Heraclides, ancient *Pforta*, who, shielded and armed, proceed from thy armoury." (Quoted from *Literarische Zeitung* (1844: 23: 363).)

[37] Humboldt, *Gesammelte Schriften* I (1903: 152).

easily qualified by other quotes or facts that invoke a substantially different picture. For example, in his *Consilia Scholastica*, Wolf stated that all basic education (*Grundbildung*) should consist in "the principles of morality and religion" (in addition to knowledge of the native language).[38] Teaching about nature he expected to lay the "fundament of the idea of the greatness of the Creator, on which religion is built."[39] He also confessed to Heyne that "the excessive desire to doubt" (*Zweifelsucht*) was nothing better than "the excessive desire to believe" (*Glaubsucht*), and considered the former's intrusion into sermons and humanistic schools a "disgrace."[40] His memoirs, begun in 1824, commenced with the following words: "Here, supreme Being who rules the world and directs the fate even of the most insignificant [human being], I turn to Thee, moved by gratitude for so much unmistakable proof of Thy grace, whereby my life was made happy, beautiful and blessed. Oh how unworthy I feel of Thy goodness."[41] Wilhelm von Humboldt, being downright sceptical about Christianity in the 1790s and early 1800s, changed his viewpoint shortly later, reading the Bible several times integrally during his stay in London in 1818.[42] Both the Old and the New Testament he counted "amongst the most powerful, pure and beautiful voices that have come to us from dark (!) antiquity (*aus dem grauen Alterthum*)."[43] In his personal letters he underlined the importance of Christian humility, praised the "peace that the world does not give [us]" and even spoke of undeserved grace.[44]

Secondly, nor Heyne, nor Wolf or Humboldt, nor any other contemporary classical humanist I know of has ever seized an opportunity to publicly draw attention to the sensed tension between humanism and Christianity. Their allegedly pagan world view has been constructed from scattered remarks which almost invariably derive from private correspondence. In their published

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[38] Wolf *CS* (1835: 55).

[39] Wolf *CS* (1835:43).

[40] See Arnoldt (II, 1862: 397).

[41] Quoted in Körte (1833, II: 147).

[42] Humboldt (1853, I: 102). See also Graffmann (1929: 83).

[43] Humboldt (1853, I: 132f.). See also Graffmann (1929: 83).

[44] Humboldt (1853, I: 254, 262, 285f.; II: 82, 119). See also Graffmann (1929: 83). Humboldt's gradual switch from a nearly-pagan to an emphatically Christian world view from the 1820s onwards is beautifully described by Eduard Spranger (1928: 294-305) and by Werner Schultz (1932: 75-87).

educational writings, they hardly ever commented on a tension between humanism and Christianity. On the contrary, to the extent that Wolf and Humboldt were involved in the practice of classical school education, they seem to have adopted a distinctly traditional attitude. As headmaster of the *Gymnasium* of Osterode, Wolf insisted that students show true reverence towards God and religion and fully participate in religious life and prayer.[45] Humboldt, in his function as an educational reformer, fully acknowledged the importance of religious education.[46] In the 'unitary school' plan published in 1819, religion was mentioned as the first subject at all three school levels, *before* the classics and German.[47]

In other words, the fact that classical humanists such as Wolf and Humboldt combined their deep sympathy with classical civilisation with a private scepsis towards positive Christianity does not mean that they took humanism and Christianity to be conflicting forces in educational practice. On the contrary, as far as being involved in the practice of education, both Wolf and Humboldt had no difficulty with the fact that the same classical schools that initiated students into the paradise of classical humanness, offered schedules of daily prayer, meditations and collective worship.[48]

Thirdly, and most importantly, Wolf and Humboldt remain after all highly exceptional cases. The large majority of early 19th century classical humanists were guided by the belief that classical studies and Christian religion were not mutually exclusive. By solely focusing on the example of Friedrich August Wolf, Theodor Rumpel created a highly tendentious picture that has been adopted by historians of education ever since. Precisely on this point

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[45] Arnoldt (II, 1862: 72f.).

[46] See Graffmann (1929: 87).

[47] See Schweim (1966: 133-5, 137). Paragraph 8 of Süvern's plan (*ibid*. p.128f.) was devoted to the importance of religion to education in a general sense: „Each school must consider it its highest and most important task to educate the young for their eternal destiny in such a way that their feeling of this [destiny] together with insight into their nature and into man's relation to God, on which [their nature] is founded, work in them equally vividly in the spirit of Christianity, so that [the young] gain strength to live according to this destiny and subordinate to it all purposes and aspirations. The school must therefore raise (...) its pupils already at an early stage to the spirit of true religiosity and piety." Therefore, each day at school "must begin and end with prayer and religious contemplation."

[48] For a discussion on religious education at 19th century *Gelehrtenschulen*, see A. Kolbe, 'Religionsunterricht in höheren Schulen,' in: Schmid VII (1869: 40-70).

Rumpel was fiercely criticised in his time. Friedrich Ellendt (1796-1855), for example, director of the *Gymnasium* in Eisleben (Saxony), was downright indignant about Rumpel's insinuations. He pointed out that most school teachers still "regarded religious education the vital principle and bond of all tuition."[49] An anonymous critic in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* hackled Rumpel's article as an "unimaginable defamation,"[50] assuring that "the philological *Lehrstand* (...), especially amongst its professors and [school] rectors, no matter whether they were mere philologists or also theologians, [were] (...) a very respectable and influential group of men, who are generally recognised and honoured as firm in their ecclesiastical conviction and way of teaching."[51] The critic in question not only pointed to the example of school teachers, but also to that of other academic philologists. At about the same time as Wolf, he argued, other famous philologists likewise contributed to the establishment of philology as an independent discipline, such as Wolfgang Reiz (1733-1790), Friedrich Creuzer (1771-1858), Friedrich Jacobs (1764-1847), Christian Lobeck (1781-1860), Philipp Buttmann (1764-1829), Georg Spalding (1762-1811), Immanuel Becker (1785-1871) and August Böckh (1785-1868). These men, however, were not mentioned by Rumpel since there was not a single reason to doubt their Christian faith.[52]

In other words, the common image of late 18th and early 19th century humanism as an *essentially* unchristian phenomenon stands in need of serious qualification. Although it is true that some of its leading exponents cherished private scepsis about certain aspects of positive Christianity, as a broad phenomenon, classical humanism is inappropriately described as opposed to Christianity. Most late 18th and early 19th century humanists held that using the ancient classics to cultivate "the purely-human in the nature of man" by no

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[49] Ellendt (1843: 19). Equally indignant, Wilhelm Schmitz, *Gymnasium* teacher in Saarbrücken, claimed that is was his "Christian duty to act against such generalised conclusions." (Schmitz (1852: 313))

[50] *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* (henceforth *AAZ*) (1843, 77: 577).

[51] *AAZ* (1843, 76, 570).

[52] See *AAZ* (1843, 77: 577). – The extravagance of Rumpel's viewpoint also appears from the fact that his articles received most criticism, not from rationalists, but from indignant, ordinary Christians, who branded Rumpel as a "Pharisee," a "sycophant" and even a '*Neupäpstler*' (though he was a Protestant!). Rumpel himself annoyedly observed this in a response of the same year. See Rumpel, *LZ* (1843, 43: 681, 689).

means exempted them from the obligation "to do the will of God from all [their] heart and with good intentions, as the servants of Christ."[53] At most schools, classical studies and Christian devotion peacefully co-existed, just as they had done in the past. For all the attention paid to pagan literature, a classical-humanistic education that was "hostile" to Christianity has never existed.

[53] Words by K.G. Siebelis (1821: 8, 25).

Chapter 2 Classical humanism and Christianity

> *"Suchen wir objectiv die Aufgabe der höheren Schulbildung festzustellen, so erscheinen darin vor allen Dingen philologisch-humanistische und christliche Bildung keineswegs als Gegensätze, sondern als Factoren eines gemeinsamen Resultates, indem das Humanistische durch das Christliche die sittlich-religiöse Weihe erhält, ohne welche alles Wissen und Können Barbarei bleibt."*
> (*Literarische Zeitung,* anon., 1843)

1. Introduction

Theodor Rumpel's critique of the classical *Gymnasien* found a wide audience, which included not only theologians and clergymen, but also many school teachers. Most classical humanists, while not sharing Rumpel's radical conclusions, took his criticisms very seriously. Keen to free classical education of the suspicion of being conducted at the detriment of Christianity, they vested much energy in exposing parallels and similarities between the Christian and the classical world view. They argued that classical education, when properly given, could have a beneficial effect on Christian religiosity. Only a very small number of humanists was of the opinion that the study of antiquity seriously endangered Christian religiosity and that the classics should therefore be replaced by Biblical or patristic literature. In the present chapter, we will have a closer look at each of these two positions.

2. Classical antiquity as *Vorstufe* of Christianity

With his attack on modern classical humanism, Rumpel had anything in mind but dispelling classical studies.[1] For all his polemical pungency, he was guided

[1] Rumpel, *LZ* (1843, 42: 668) stated he had deliberately not mentioned that banning classical studies was not his intention, since this would be "very redundant, indeed, even ridiculous."

by the reconciliatory objective to make philology refind "itself and its object in its proper relation to the highest truth, to the highest life: to Christianity."[2] To Rumpel, redefining classical studies came down to reassessing antiquity's historical role as anticipating Christianity. He found that the "idealising conception [of the classical world] (...) prevails too much and prevents antiquity from being recognised in its specific, historical existence; still one sees with partisan fondness only the beautiful and great in isolation, without thinking of its embeddedness in life (*Lebensverband*), by which one would be easily brought (...) to [see] terrible dark sides (*Nachtseiten*)."[3] Rumpel contended that the widespread, idealised presentation should be replaced by an "objective presentation" of antiquity, "in which its historical development through different nationalities and epochs of *Bildung* are clearly understood."[4] Rumpel expected historicising classical education to benefit Christian religiosity, as a historical presentation can "only arise from a deep knowledge of the eternal, revealed truth, [because] only in [such truth] the measure of everything else is given."[5] In short, what Rumpel was after, was to restore to classical education the perspective of the Christian history of salvation.

It is noticeable that many classical humanists did not refute, but *adopt* Rumpel's argument to a remarkable extent. Firstly, they fully agreed with Rumpel that it was of vital importance that education contributed to a sound religious *Gesinnung*, as can easily be seen from titles such as '*Über die Bildung zu einer ächt christlichen Gesinnung'* (1836, L.v. Döderlein[6]); "*Über den Einfluss der klassischen Studien auf sittliche-religiöse Gesinnung*" (1843, C.F. Most); *Über das religiös-sittliche Bewußtsein der Philologen und Schulmänner* (1843, Fr. Ellendt), etc.[7] Secondly, most classical humanists agreed with Rumpel that in the decades around the turn of the century, classical studies had been disproportionately

[2] *Ibid*. 668f.

[3] Rumpel, *LZ* (1843, 42: 672).

[4] Rumpel, *LZ* (1843, 43: 692).

[5] Rumpel, *LZ* (1843, 43: 692).

[6] See Döderlein (1843: 125ff.).

[7] The importance of a religious *Gesinnung* was also stressed by the Prussian government, which issued a *Circular-rescript* in 1826 stating that the Prussian subjects should be educated as "true Christians" with a "pious, moral *Gesinnung*." See Landfermann (1852: 319).

hyped[8] and that this evil should be fought by redefining classical studies in its proper historical relation with Christianity. August Vilmar, for example, director of the Marburg *Gymnasium*, contended that generating "a sense for history" was one of the "major tasks of education."[9] In Vilmar's view, the three "fundaments of all culture, (...) classical *Bildung*, Christianity and the history of [the German] people" should be understood in their proper, historical relation."[10] Students should be made to understand "that Christian education, with respect to its outer foundation, is supported by classical education, which it recognises as its predecessor and servant, and [that it] influences German life in a creative, penetrative and sanctifying way. When one of these elements is missing, *Bildung* becomes anti-historical, revolutionary, and ultimately falls prey to corrosion and putrefaction."[11] To Vilmar and other classical humanists, the ultimate task of the *Gymnasium* was not to provide classical *Bildung* as an end in itself, but to lead *through* classical *Bildung* "into the church of Christ."[12] At the *Gymnasien*, students should receive a "consecration preparatory of Christian science" (*Vorweihe zur christlichen Wissenschaft*).[13]

This point of view was shared by great numbers of classical humanists. Indeed, the historical relation between classical antiquity and Christianity was one of the most frequent themes in publications by classical humanists in the period 1830-1860.[14] Taking the criticisms on the alleged pagan character of

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[8] See Klumpp (1838: 180, 183): "We teach [students] to find in the classical world the highest and almost only ideal of what is beautiful, great and glorious, and nearly rejoice about deifying the ancients." The result was that students believed in antiquity's "absolute excellence." Cf. e.g. Roth (1857, I: 80)); Döderlein (1843: 137)); Karl (1846: 42);. Meister (1852: 18); Wiese (1852: 30); see also *Neue Jahrbücher der Philologie und Pädagogik* (henceforth *NJPP*) (1853, 67: 67).

[9] Vilmar (1846: 78).

[10] Vilmar (1846: 789).

[11] Vilmar (1846: 81).

[12] Words by Moritz Axt, quoted in: *Anekdota zur neuesten deutschen Philosophie und Publicistik* (1843: 255). Cf. Held (II, 1866: 130).

[13] *Ibid*. 254f. Cf. Döderlein (1843: 137): "We treat pagan antiquity not as an ideal (...), but as a beautiful morning time of our secular culture."

[14] Classical humanists who published on this theme, next to Karl Gottfried Siebelis, include: Friedrich Gotthold (1778-1858), headmaster of the *Friedrichs-Collegium* Königsberg; Friedrich Thiersch (1788-1860), professor at the Munich *Gymnasium;* Gregor Nitzsch (1790-1861), conrector at the Wittenberg *Gymnasium*; Ludwig von Döderlein (1791-1863), headmaster of

humanistic education very seriously, many humanists undertook to demonstrate that classical *Gymnasium* education, if properly given, could be made "useful and salutary to the conviction of the truth of Christianity and to the promotion of true religiosity."[15] To this end, classical antiquity should be defined, not as an isolated, ideal world, but as an invaluable, preliminary stage (*Vorstufe*) in the Christian history of salvation.

Before we embark on a discussion of the concept of classical antiquity as a *Vorstufe* of Christianity, I would like to point out that we should take care not to interpret the historical redefinition of classical studies as an example of 19th century historicism. Historicism is commonly understood to be characterised by a primary focus on historical context, which leads to a relativisation of the concept of historical truth and a rejection of the possibility to derive universal values from first principles.[16] Classical humanists, on the contrary, aimed at the very *opposite*. To them, approaching classical antiquity historically meant measuring it by the one and only, absolute criterion of Christianity. Historicising classical education, as one of its fervent advocates put it, was a way to make Christianity the universal "corrective of classical studies."[17] Classical humanists

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the Erlangen *Gymnasium*; Johann Vömel (1791-1868), headmaster of the *Gymnasium* in Frankfurt am Main; Johann Held (1791-1873), headmaster of the Bayreuth *Gymnasium*; Friedrich Ellendt (1796-1855), director of the *Gymnasium* in Eisleben (Saxony); Wilhelm Bäumlein (1797-1865), professor at the *Gymnasium* and seminary of Maulbronn; August Vilmar (1800-1868), headmaster of the Marburg *Gymnasium*; Dietrich Landfermann (1800-1882), headmaster of the *Gymnasien* in Duisburg and Eberfeld; Moritz Axt (1801–1863), headmaster of the *Gymnasium* in Wetzlar; Georg Mezger (1801-1874), headmaster of the *Gymnasium bei St. Anna* in Augsburg; Ernst von Lasaulx (1805-1861), professor of classical philology in Würzburg and München; Karl Nägelsbach (1806-1859), professor at the Nürnberg *Gymnasium;* Ludwig Wiese (1806-1900), headmaster of the *Marienstiftsgymnasium* in Stettin; Karl Hirzel (1808-1874), director of the Latin school in Nürtingen (Württemberg); Karl Roth (1811-1860), teacher at the Basel *Gymnasium*; Friedrich Lübker (1811-1867), headmaster of the *Gymnasium* in Flensburg (a.o.) and Karl Heiland (1817-1868), headmaster of the Weimar *Gymnasium.* For the relevant writings, see the bibliography.

[15] Seemann (1856: 3).

[16] For a concise introduction into this complex subject, see P. Hamilton, *Historicism* (London, 1996).

[17] Klumpp (1838: 194). Cf. *ibid*. 197: "The classical world, the products of its imagination and art, its judgments and principles and the moral value of its actions must henceforth be measured by Christianity, must be thrown into the (...) melting pot (*Schmelztiegel*) of the Gospels."

recommended historicising classical education as a means to *combat* the risk of relativisation and to cling to Christian standards and values they considered of eternal and universal validity.

The representation of antiquity as an invaluable, but imperfect *Vorstufe* of Christianity pervaded the writings of classical humanists in the middle decades of the 19th century.[18] Some of them devoted entire studies to this theme. In *Der Fall des Heidenthums* (1856), Friedrich Lübker, director of the *Friedrich-Franz-Gymnasium* in Parchim (Mecklenburg-Schwerin), suggested that in ancient Eastern civilisations, nature and spirit were still separated. Still completely submerged in nature, man was not yet able to gain freedom of spirit. The first people who succeeded in doing so were the Greeks. They conjectured that man is of divine lineage and managed to bridge the gap between nature and spirit. Instead of raising themselves to the gods, however, they brought the gods down to the world of man, whereby 'man became God.' Only in Christianity this misunderstanding was set right, when God, in his son Jesus Christ, finally became man.[19] August Gladisch, director of the *Gymnasium* in Krotoschin (eastern Prussia), developed a theory of standard patterns of development of human thought, which recurred in several phases of history. The succession of the Chinese belief in a Primal Unity (*das Ur-Eine*), the Bactrian explanation of evil from a transformation of Primal Unity, the Indian negation of change and exclusive acknowledgment of the 'One' (*das Eine*) and the Egpytian view of Primal Unity as an amalgam of the four elements,[20] was repeated in Greek history in a very short time by Pythagoras (Primal Unity), Heraclitus (transformation of Primal Unity), Parmenides (the One) and Empedocles (four elements) respectively.[21] Only with Plato, a specifically Greek, and markedly proto-Christian, contribution to the history of thought was made: the doctrine of the ideas.[22] When in Aristotle's thought these ideas had come to include not only

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[18] The conception of classical antiquity as a preliminary stage in the Christian history of salvation is, of course, as old as Christianity itself. The topic features very prominently in patristic literature, as was regularly pointed out by 19th century humanists, see e.g. Karl (1846: 47-50); *Historisch-Politische Blätter* (henceforth *HPBl*) 30 (1852: 213f.); Wiese (1852: 15).

[19] Lübker (1856: 3f.). Lübker meant that it was not up to man to decide to identify himself with God, but to God to identify himself with man.

[20] Gladisch (1852: 74-7).

[21] *Ibid*. vi.

[22] *Ibid*. 222.

the essence, but also the empirical character of the "real,"[23] the way had been finally prepared for the rise of Christianity, in which reality is derived from the one and only spiritual God.[24] In Gladisch' view, Greek thought constituted the penultimate phase of his plan of salvation.[25]

These attempts to understand classical antiquity as a stage within the overall scheme of human history were accompanied by endeavours to gain precise insight in the classical concept of (the) God(s). Karl Nägelsbach for example, professor at the *Gymnasium* of Nürnberg, acquired great fame with his *Homerische Theologie* (1840), in which he analysed the Homeric concept of the gods, their relation to man, sin, atonement, life and death into great detail.[26] Friedrich Lübker did comparable work on Sophocles and Euripides.[27]

The most important goal classical humanists set themselves, however, was to prove that the great individual authors and thinkers from classical civilisation had come astoundingly close to essential Christian truths. This

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[23] *Ibid*. 225.

[24] Gladisch traced a similar development of human thought in modern philosophy: in the succession of Spinoza (Parmenides), Leibniz (Empedocles), Kant (Socrates), Schelling (Plato) and Hegel (Aristotle), *ibid*. 214-25.

[25] For comparable analyses, see e.g. Ernst von Lasaulx, *Über den Entwicklungsgang des Griechischen und Römischen und den gegenwärtigen Zustand des deutschen Lebens* (1847) and Karl Hundeshagen, *Über die Natur und die geschichtliche Entwicklung der Humanitätsidee in ihrem Verhältniß zu Kirche und Staat* (1853). – Interpreting classical antiquity as a *Vorstufe* of Christianity was also of concern to scholars who did not spend their lives teaching at school. The historian Johann Sepp (1816-1909) embarked in the 1850s on the ambitious project of charting the anticipatory significance of pagan history to Christianity in general. See his three-volumed *Das Heidenthum und dessen Bedeutung für das Christenthum* (1853). The same idea was of guiding importance in Schelling's *Philosophie der Mythologie* (1842), as well as in Friedrich Welcker's *Griechische Götterlehre* (1857-62). Also theologians were extensively involved in the topic. Heinrich Gottlieb Tzschirner (1778-1828), for example, professor of theology in Leipzig, received much acclaim with his voluminous work *Der Fall des Heidenthums* (1829), in which he discussed the relation between antiquity and Christianity in great detail.

[26] In 1857, this work was followed by *Die nachhomerische Theologie des griechischen Volksglaubens bis auf Alexander*, which received wide acclaim too, not in the last place from critics in the *evangelische Kirchenzeitung (*See Lübker (1858: 10)). See also G. Nitzsch' three-volumed *Erklärende Anmerkungen zu Homer's Odyssee* (1826-40).

[27] See *Die Sophokleische Theologie und Ethik* (1851-5) and *Beiträge zur Theologie und Ethik des Euripides* (1863).

viewpoint they substantiated with a wide range of different arguments.[28] Firstly, religion had been of central importance to ancient life in general. As there existed no separation between religion, state, culture and other segments of communal life, religion was the binding and sustaining force of public life in general.[29] It was not coincidental that only in times of political and religious decline (Hellenism) rationalist philosophies (like Euhemerism) attempted to explain religion and myth away.[30] Moreover, the ancients had been fully aware of their dependence on the gods.[31] Next, behind the polytheistic facade lurked a notion of God's unity and a divine world order.[32] Finally, the notion of an omniscient, omnipotent and righteous deity had been familiar to the ancients, as evidenced by many passages in mainly Pindar and the tragedians.[33]

Also with regard to the relation between man and God, the ancients had captured much of Christian truth. The notion of sin underlay their acknowledgment of *hybris* as the most serious crime against the gods.[34] The concept of ultimate justice could be deduced from the belief in punishments in the underworld,[35] and even a belief in salvation had not been entirely unfamiliar to the ancient mind, as could be illustrated by the myth of Prometheus, who was finally saved from his plight by Heracles, as well as from the peace offerings that

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[28] In the next four paragraphs, I draw on writings by a large number of classical humanists.

[29] Meister (1855: 22); *HPBl* 30 (1852: 215). – Friedrich Jacobs called the ancients "conspicuously pious." (See *Verhandlungen der Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner* (1840: 12); also Meister (1855: 23).)

[30] *HPBl* 30 (1852: 216f.).

[31] Robert Geier (1853: 521) mentioned Achilles, who, on the verge of going astray against Agamemnon, was stopped by Athena (Hom., *Iliad* I, 194-222). Martin Meister (1855: 23) mentioned the city of Thebes, which owed its fortunes entirely to the gods (Soph. *Ant*. 162f.). Cf. Stirm (1835: 259); (1838: 26).

[32] Belief in divine providence can for example be sensed from Cic., *Tusc*., 1, 41: "But it is time," says he, "for me now to go hence, that I may die; and for you, that you may continue to live. Which condition of the two is the best, the immortal gods know; but I do not believe that any mortal man does." (Mentioned by Meister (1855: 23).) Cf. Stirm (1835: 258f.).

[33] E.g. Pind. 1 *Olymp*., 64: "If any man expects that what he does escapes the notice of a god, he is wrong;" or Soph. *Ant*. 184: "Zeus, who always sees everything" (quoted in Meister (1855): 23). Cf. Siebelis, *Disputationes Quinque* (1837: 48f., 52-5).

[34] See Lübker (1856): 20; cf. Stirm (1835: 259); Meister (1855: 23); *HPBl* 30 (1852: 583); Seemann (1856: 12f.).

[35] Meister (1855: 23), *HPBl* 30 (1852: 585).

were so highly popular amongst the ancients.[36] The ancients, though ignorant of Christian revelation, had clearly come remarkably close to the heart of Christian doctrine. In the words of Friedrich Lübker, there was "no important and deeply engaging truth of [the] Christian creed (...) that had not in any way been pursued by the Greeks by a certain idea or presumption."[37] Ignorant of Christian religion as such, the ancients had fully observed the "religion of truth."[38]

No matter how closely the ancients had approached Christian truths, however, their many delusions, caused by their ignorance of Christian revelation, should not be obscured. The ancients might have considered man as dependent on the gods, they also inappropriately represented the gods as dependent on man.[39] Fate, though sometimes presented as a righteous, guiding principle, in other cases displayed a "ghostly mug" (*gespenstige Fratze*) which dispelled every association with these positive qualities.[40] Likewise, beneath the level of divine providence, many writers (including Homer) assumed the existence of many individual gods, whom they depicted as capricious and erring.[41] Next, notwithstanding their conception of *hybris* as a religious crime, the ancients didn't know anything of typically Christian virtues like humility and self-denial.[42] They often equated the immortality of the soul with the immortality of fame[43] and the vague notion of salvation they adumbrated was grossly

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[36] *HPBl* 30 (1852: 586f.); cf. Lübker (1856: 9).

[37] Lübker (1856: 20) Cf. Seemann (1856: 4): "In all pagan religious systems (...), the main truths of God and divine things are recognisable, though being obscured, and figuratively point forward to Christ and His church."

[38] Mezger (1855): 8. – Classical humanists exposed the similarities between the classical and Christian world view by quoting from a multitude of classical authors and from a broad range of different genres. However, amongst the addressed authors philosophers figured most prominently, and amongst philosophers it was Plato who took pride of place. Ever since the publication of C C. Ackermann's much-acclaimed *Das Christliche im Plato und in der platonischen Philosophie* (1835) Plato was widely considered to have "prophetically sensed what Christ realised." (Stirm (1835: 261))

[39] Lübker (1863: 6) pointed to Eur. *Hipp*. 7: "For it is natural to the gods to rejoice about homage by mortals."

[40] Meister (1855: 25).

[41] Roth (1857, II: 26).

[42] Meister (1855: 26).

[43] Meister (1855: 25).

obscured by false mythological images.[44] The classical concept of the gods and man's relation to them, then, was clearly defective.

Given the positive and negative qualities of pagan religion, the task of classical education was to convey a twofold message. On the one hand, it should make clear to which great heights the ancients had climbed without the support of Christian revelation. Antiquity was often even expressly recommended for showing us the highest attainable from a purely human perspective. It showed us "the [human] mind, left to itself in its eternal struggle for truth, (...) the ultimate goal (...) that Reason, without being illuminated by the light of revelation, has ever achieved."[45] On the other hand, however, by their ignorance of revelation, the ancients were eventually destined to perish, as could be seen from the history of Hellenism. Hellenism in this time was generally considered not to be part of 'true' classical antiquity. Especially the prominence of rationalist philosophies and the lack of authenticity were often taken as symptoms of moral decline. With Hellenism, there began "an artificial afterlife, built on reflections and restorations, which, without security and inner support, sought for help and salvation from the ever-more-threatening abyss of ultimate ruin, now in old memories, now in subjective and philosophical morality."[46] The rise of Hellenism pointed to man's incapability to survive on his own and proved his fundamental dependence on God. Despite the glorious heights classical culture had reached, it represented a "genetic history of decline."[47] One of the tasks of classical education, then, was to provide students with a presumption of the pre-ordained replacement of classical civilisation by Christianity. Most humanists agreed that „a thorough contemplation of (...) paganism, both by what is true, and by what is false about it, leads to a better recognition of Christian truth."[48]

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[44] *HPBl* 30 (1852: 587).

[45] *LZ* (1843, 88: 1406). Cf. Fr. Klumpp (1838: 198), who spoke of the "the silent, wishful presentiment (*Ahnen*) of the eternal truth shining through, as bright spots in the dusk, from Socrates' and Plato's teachings on wisdom and virtue;" cf. Vilmar (1846: 4): classical education should make intelligible "how far paganism has come by its own development, facing away from the living God;" Seemann (1856: 5): ancient culture "represents everything that human Reason is able to find without new supernatural revelation and grace;" cf. Wiese (1852: 3); Meister (1855: 7f.).

[46] Rumpel, *LZ* (1843, 5: 68). Cf. Fr. Klumpp (1838: 191), who analysed Stoic philosophy as coming down to the "deification of human nature and of the self."

[47] *HPBl* 30 (1852: 224).

[48] Stirm (1836: 262).

Thus, if one thing is clear from writings by classical humanists in the period 1830-1860, it is that they were deeply concerned not to make classical education appear antithetical to Christian faith. This concern was so widely shared that in the 1850s, a number of so-called *christliche Gymnasien* were founded, which propagated the Christian perspective on education by their naming.[49] Although most of them did not exist for long,[50] their foundation in a short period of time points to the major enthusiasm for the Christian cause.[51] The broad consensus can also be measured by the meetings of the '*pädagogische Section'* of the conference of philologists and school teachers held in the Erlangen *Gymnasium* in the autumn of 1851.[52] At this conference, President Wilhelm Bäumlein formulated three propositions which concisely summarised the Christian, historical perspective on classical studies:[53] 1) Classical studies and Christianity can be reconciled. Antiquity is the religious precursor of Christianity. The humane quality (*Humanität*) of antiquity is in perfect harmony with Christianity. 2) Christian faith does not exclude *Humanität*. In antiquity, traces of divine wisdom can be found. The study of antiquity should never cause enmity towards Christianity, as dedication to Christianity should not cause contempt of pagan faith. 3) Christian faith should play the leading role at the *Gymnasien* and constitute the standard by which all education should be measured. However, every particular subject should be preserved in its individuality and not be absorbed by religious education.[54] It is a telling fact that the more than eighty philologists present adopted these propositions nearly

[49] E.g. in Gütersloh (directed by Theodor Rumpel), Stuttgart and Greiffenberg. (See Meister (1855: 4).) In 1832, the Catholic revivalist theologian Franz Georg Benkert (1790-1859) had already advocated the foundation of separate "Episcopal *Gymnasien*," that would be wholly free from the spirit of paganism. Some of these schools were indeed founded, see *Zeitschrift für das Gymnasialwesen* (henceforth *ZGW*) (1852: 328).

[50] The school in Gütersloh was the only one to survive into the 20th century.

[51] The naming, however, aroused much discontent, since it suggested that the other *Gymnasien* were *not* Christian. See L. Wiese, 'Über die Stiftung neuer Christlicher Gymnasien,' in *Deutsche Zeitschrift für christliches Wissen und christliches Leben* (1851: 147); also J. Held, 'Christliche Gymnasien' (1852), in *Schulreden II* (1866: 124-37).

[52] The record of this conference was printed in *ZGW* (1852: 327-40).

[53] I give a condensed version of the propositions.

[54] *ZGW* (1852: 330f.).

without any comment.[55] A better proof of the consensus about the compatibility of classical humanism and Christianity could hardly be given.

3. The continuity of classical school education (iii)

The newly advocated, historical perspective on the ancient world, for all its popularity amongst classical humanists, seemed to have only a very limited influence on educational practice. The *Christliche Gymnasien* that were expressly founded to propagate the historical perspective offered curricula that did not significantly deviate from that of the regular *Gymnasien*.[56] This continuity of classical education may be accounted for by several reasons. Firstly, the purpose that most humanists pursued with advocating the historical perspective on the ancient world was to convince both themselves and their readership that classical education was not intrinsically harmful to Christian religiosity. Their purpose was *not* to substantially change the practice of classical education itself. Most classical humanists were acutely aware that when the Christian perspective would constantly be explicitly projected on classical texts, the result would be unbearably moralistic. Martin Meister, a fervent advocate of a Christian interpretation of the classics, expressly opposed the view "as if reading and explaining the classics should become as it were a surrogate of religious education. The [textual] passages that are of positive or negative moral-religious content should neither be sought, neither should there be any theological or moral discussions, extensive arguments or unctuous perorations (*salbungsvolle Perorationen*).[57] It was only in rare cases that Meister considered the explicit projection of the Christian perspective on ancient texts acceptable. Only when „without [any] intimation and allusion, either false ideas would be tacitly (...) adopted by the young, or when the positive side of antiquity would not appear in an appropriate light," he demanded "the required explanation from a Christian standpoint, whether through a quick question, by a simple exposition of the correct facts, by a passage from sacred Scripture that would generate

[55] *Ibid*. 331.

[56] See Held (II, 1866: 128). At the *Gütersloh* Gymnasium, for example, directed by non other than Theodor Rumpel (from 1851 to 1868), there were about fifteen weekly hours of classics to two weekly hours of religion, as can be seen from the *Programmen des Ev. Gymnasiums zu Gütersloh*, published from 1856 onwards.

[57] Meister (1855: 21).

understanding, or by some other clue."[58] Ludwig Wiese, another declared proponent of an historical interpretation of classical antiquity, argued in similar vein that "a special Christian interpretation that aims to use the contrast between different viewpoints in an edifying way is definitely an evil." For "the young are not made religious by force of instruction, but by force of habit and examples." Therefore "it suffices when the teacher is a sincere Christian."[59]

Of central concern to classical humanists, then, was not Christianising the *content* of classical education, but the religious '*Gesinnung*' of the teacher. As long as they could trust that the teacher guided the study of classical literature "in a Christian spirit,"[60] being *himself* aware of antiquity's historically subordinated role, they saw no reason to expect the slightest danger from the study of pagan texts. Indeed, they even had an obvious aversion to blunt projections of the Christian perspective, as these could only be performed to the detriment of philological values. Meister emphasised that "when judging the subjective value of individual personalities and their actions, the Christian criterion should be used, since they who were only able to think and act as pagans, should also only be judged as pagans."[61] Wiese argued that Homer, Xenophon and Tacitus should not be treated "as (...) only (...) a Christian affair."[62] By forcing the Christian perspective on classical texts, it was easy to fail on the philological requirement of understanding them within their own context.[63] It must be avoided "that a

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[58] Meister (1855: 21).

[59] Wiese (1851: 153f.; cf. 157). Scepsis about moralising education was widely shared. Cf. e.g. *LZ* (1843, 92: 1465): teachers should abstain from „protective religious words" and a „pietistically coloured presentation;" cf. *LZ* (1844, 23: 361): care should be taken not to oppose „each pagan dictum with a Bible verse." Cf. Döderlein (1843: 137)); *HPBl* 30 (1852: 102; *ZGW* (1852: 311f.)).

[60] *NJPP* (1853, 67: 67). Cf. e.g. Held (1837: 80); Vömel (1843: 15); Wiese: in *Deutsche Zeitschrift für christliches Wissen und christliches Leben* (1851: 153); *HPBl* 30 (1852: 93); Geier (1853: 515); Meister (1855: 19-21).

[61] Meister (1855: 21). With the "Christian criterion" Meister pointed to the principle that everyone should be judged by his own measures.

[62] Wiese (1853: 303). Cf. *HPBl* 30 (1852: 102).

[63] Cf. Wiese (1853: 303). The importance of contextual interpretation of classical texts was also underscored by the Erlangen conference of philologists, as can be seen from the third proposition. (See above.)

Procrustean bed be made out of Christianity, to stretch or cut antiquity when it was too short or too long."[64]

A second important reason why classical education remained relatively immune to the newly advocated historical perspective is the fact that it was only *susceptible* to Christian colouring to a limited extent. Since classical education's major focus was on grammar, syntax and style – subjects in which Christianity had no role to play – historical conceptions did not stand much chance of gaining influence. Indeed, setting out in detail an historical perspective on classical antiquity would rather seem the task of a history or philosophy teacher than of a classics teacher.[65]

Finally, although classical humanists spent much ink to underline the importance of an historical (i.e. Christian) perspective on classical antiquity, most of them did not agree with Theodor Rumpel that the historical perspective should *replace* the widespread ideal perspective on the ancient world. Unlike Rumpel, most classical humanists were content with *integrating* the former into the latter. Being very willing to add a Christian, historical dimension to classical education, they stuck to the traditional perspective on classical literature as a treasury of timeless moral and aesthetic exempla. This integration of the historical into the exemplary perspective on the ancient world can be finely illustrated by the words of August Vilmar: "From the knowledge of classical antiquity," he stated in one of his school addresses, "should be derived a series of *subordinated but nevertheless unchanging* standards."[66] (*it*. added) In Vilmar's view, acknowledging antiquity's historical subordination to Christianity did not exclude a traditional, ideal perspective on the ancient world.

4. Curtailing classical education

In the same decades in which many classical humanists attempted to invalidate the charge of paganism by highlighting antiquity's historical relation with Christianity, the humanistic *Gymnasien* were confronted with a much more

[64] *LZ* (1844, 23: 358).

[65] Franz Georg Benkert, a Catholic theologian who heavily attacked classical education in a publication of 1832, seemed to sense this discrepancy. On the one hand, he stated that "the education of the young is threatened by (...) the anti-Christian presentation of history and philosophy at public schools." On the other hand, his attack against the humanistic *Gymnasien* was exclusively directed at *classical* education. (See Benkert (1832).)

[66] Vilmar (1846: 80).

vehement – though less frequently voiced – critique. Some critics argued that the spirit of paganism that plagued society was not the result of the a-historical character of classical education, but of the intense and extensive occupation with pagan antiquity in general. In the eyes of these critics, Christian religiosity could only be restored, not by historicising, but by drastically curtailing classical education.

4.i. Eduard Eyth

One of the first educationalists to argue in this direction was Eduard Eyth (1808-1884), teacher of classics at the Latin school in Kirchheim unter Tecak (Württemberg). In 1838, Eyth published a series of school lectures in which he discussed the dangers of studying pagan literature in great detail.[67] Eyth's attack on classical school studies, like that of Rumpel a few years later, was motivated by a deep concern about the moral decay of German society. All around, Eyth observed a "great indifference and lack of knowledge of things of a higher nature." (8) His countrymen had "little sense of heavenly and sacred things" (*ibid*.) and were led by "many incorrect views, disbelief in the good, superstitions and vain virtue." (160) These deficiencies Eyth particularly perceived to affect the educated classes (*gebildete Stände*), which thus provided people with bad examples. (160, 8)

In Eyth's view, the moral crisis was largely caused by the disproportionate attention given to the pagan classics in school education. Especially to younger children, Eyth argued, studying pagan literature was seriously dangerous. His argument ran as follows: classical literature was full of negative examples. As Roman society was incessantly at war (93f.), Latin textbooks dealt almost exclusively with battles and bloodshed. (94f.) The ancients were mainly interested in honour and glory, which was true not only for politicians like Themistocles and Caesar, but for poets as well. (96) Classical mythology was pervaded by seduction, murder, falsehood and adultery. (143) How could a child, being persistently confronted with such distorted morality,

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[67] *Classiker und Bibel in den niederen Gelehrtenschulen. Reden an Lehrer und gebildete Väter*. Basel 1838. A very similar attack was launched by Friedrich Klumpp (1790-1868), teacher at the *Gymnasium* of Stuttgart: 'Die classischen Studien vom Standpunkte des Evangeliums,' in: *Correspondenzblatt für Lehrer an den gelehrten und Realschulen Würtembergs*, (1838, 4: 179-200). For a comparable critique by a theologian, see A. Tholuck (1823: 205-9).

ever acquire the Christian virtues of peace, gentleness and kindness? (95) How could he ever come to know and respect the only true God? (143)

To Eyth, the core problem of the ancient world was the absent belief in the "workings of a divine providence." (98) The ancients, he argued, were capable of only two perspectives. On the one hand, they felt joy and pride about the beauties and glories of earthly life, as could be seen from the ancient epics, but also, for example, from Horace's famous ode on the Bandusian source.[68] (38f.) Secondly, the ancients had full insight into the nullity of everything transient, which they lamented in tragedy and parodied in comedy and satire. (40) Completely lacking, however, was the belief in a supreme divine power which opened a perspective on hope, comfort and salvation (49f.) At long last, the ancients were irreversibly bound to earthly life (43) and, therefore, godforsaken. (101)

Eyth expected that the intensive occupation with classical literature almost inevitably brought in its wake the *adoption* of the erroneous beliefs and crooked values that pervaded pre-Christian civilisation. The danger he warned against was the danger of *assimilation*.[69] He therefore proposed to altogether remove classical education from the lower grades of the *Gymnasium*. Its place should be taken by a substantially extended education in the Bible and Biblical history. Pagan literature was only allowed to enter the curriculum later on, when a solid Christian foundation would properly protect pupils against its harmful influence. (183)[70]

In the same year, Eyth's attack on classical education was countered by Karl Hirzel, director of the Latin school in Nürtingen (Württemberg).[71] Hirzel's response finely demonstrates classical humanists' attitude towards the alleged danger of assimilating pagan values. In the first place, Hirzel, although acknowledging the *potential* danger of classical studies, pointed out that a proper treatment of classical literature and civilisation was guaranteed as long as

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[68] Horace, *Odes III*, 13.

[69] Cf. Klumpp (1838: 187). Friedrich Gotthold (1842: 16f.) summarised the premise of criticisms such as forwarded by educationalists like Eyth as follows: "One becomes such [a person as the one] with whom one deals. The *Gymnasien* deal with paganism, therefore the *Gymnasien* are pagan, and the teachers and students pagans."

[70] For a similar proposal, see Klumpp (1838: 195).

[71] Hirzel, *Die Classiker in den niederen Gelehrtenschulen, Zur Würdigung der Schrift von Dr. Eyth: „Classiker und Bibel in den niederen Gelehrtenschulen.*" (1838)

teachers deliberately focused on its positive qualities. It was true, he wrote, that the Romans were often at war, but his opponent seemed to ignore that large parts of the Roman world were at peace for long stretches of time. (51-2) Moreover, Hirzel contended that "the crude, straight and honest," inherent in most war texts, strongly appealed to the imagination of children. (62)

Hirzel agreed with Eyth that antiquity, especially in times of decline, had produced many people with evil motives, such as Caesar, Pompey, Crassus, Marius, Anthony, Alcibiades, Cleon, Critias, Chares and Aeschines. But this should not blind us to the fact that there were many heroes as well. Great men such as Demosthenes, Phocion, Epaminondas, Agesilaus, Cato, Brutus and Cicero (65-6) excelled in eminent virtues such as self-sacrifice, energy, insight, humanness, patriotism and religiosity. (59)

Hirzel also agreed with Eyth that teaching ancient mythology entailed serious dangers, but unlike Eyth, he found it unnecessary to elaborately lecture on myths at school. (97) In most cases, knowledge of the key names sufficed. (95) Moreover, in case of a glaringly improper passage, a teacher could very well expressly comment on the immorality involved, instead of banning the entire text from the curriculum. (96)[72]

Hirzel could also not accept Eyth's conviction that the highest divine perspective was wholly absent from the ancient world view. Reconciliation between man and God, he argued, was the very essence of Aeschylus' *Prometheus* and *Agamemnon*-triptych. (29f.) Antigone, deeming God higher than man, clearly acknowledged the divine perspective. (30f.) And Ajax' horrible fate was the apparent result of rebellion against the divine order. (31) In Hirzel's view, then, the image that Eyth created of classical studies was highly tendentious and failed to take into account the fact that in practice, classical education focused on the many positive values that could be drawn from studying classical literature.[73]

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[72] Most classical humanists agreed that patently obscene fragments should not be read. In general, though, there was a broad consensus that the students' morality would not easily be harmed under the guidance of a pious, Christian teacher. See e.g. Fr. Lübker (1858: 13-19). Cf. Hirzel (1838: 96). For a slightly more anxious viewpoint, cf. G. Mezger, ‚Pädagogische Gutachten über commentirte Schulausgaben von Horaz' Satiren und Episteln,' in *Pädagogische Revue* VI (1857, 45: 1-28). Also 'Die Schule in ihrem Verhalten zu erotischen Schriftstellern,' in: *PMBl* (1857, 9: 352-66).

[73] It is worth noting that these positive qualities were certainly not lost on Eyth. On the contrary, for all his religious objections against classical school studies, Eyth repeatedly sang

Underlying Hirzel's elaborate counterargument was a second, equally important conviction that the moral quality of education was not primarily dependent on its content. If Eyth's fear of assimilation would be justified, hardly any subject seemed appropriate to children except Christianity itself. If poetry and art were about *content*, Hirzel exclaimed, the protestant student should reject Dante or Tasso, the Catholic Luther or Shakespeare, (24) a conclusion he found obviously ridiculous. To Hirzel, it was essential to "avoid laying crucial emphasis on the content of education." (8)

The conviction that the moral quality of education was not primarily dependent on its content was widely shared amongst classical humanists. As early as 1821, when the complaints about the pagan influence of classical studies began to multiply, Karl Gottfried Siebelis rhetorically asked "whether we read descriptions of journeys through remote areas of the world with the intent to return to the brutality of their wild inhabitants? (...) Do we acquaint ourselves with the old Spanish Inquisition, with Turkish jurisdiction, with the African

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the praise of classical beauty of form: "I would be lying if I did not want to confess that I myself have spent many hours reading aloud a Greek or Roman author, exclusively to take delight in the harmony of their languages; (...) that even now the liveliness, the dancing motion and urbanity of the Greek [language], and the robust, concise (...) and resolute temperament of the Roman [language], have an almost a magical effect on me, enabling me in an almost unexplainable way to forget about the base views expressed by their content. (102f.) (...) "Beauty of form (...) is a merit which the ancients (...) can never be denied. It is the merit which gave the classics their name and which secures its lasting reputation in the circles of the educated." (140) Such was Eyth's enthusiasm about classical beauty of form that he proposed to cast education on modern history and statistics (the analysis of state-related data) "in the form of the classics" (90), that is, to treat modern history and statistics in Latin-written (!) text books. Finally, Eyth, who had even written Greek poems and translations of Homer's *Odyssey* and Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*, proposed to remove the classics only from the lower *Gelehrtenschulen*, but wanted them to be studied in full scope at the higher ones. Once a student had entered the proper *Gymnasium*, Eyth encouraged him to "read the ancients twice and thrice, yes, so oft and much as he wants, cultivating his form to their example and taking delight in it." (196) Also Friedrich Klumpp (1838: 193), who likewise proposed to radically curtail classical education at the lower grades, lavishly praised the ancients for "the naturalness and simplicity of their views and feelings, the clarity and transparency of their thoughts, the harmony of their presentation (*Darstellung*), [and] the beauty and perfection (*Vollendung*) of their language." After Ludolph Wienbarg, Ernst Gottfried Fischer and Karl Mager, we have two other examples of serious *critics* of classical education who were highly enthusiastic themselves about Greek and Roman culture and literature.

pirate system, with slave trade amongst Christian nations of our time with the intent to recommend their introduction [in] our [country]?[74] Friedrich Gotthold in similar vein countered a charge against the pagan character of classical education by pointing out that an animal painter did not imagine God as a lion. Nor did a mathematician imagine him as a pentagon. Just "ask a *Primaner* of any *Gymnasium*," Gotthold argued, "whether Greek mythology exerted the slightest influence on his Christian faith," and one will find this young man "laughing [you] in the face and regarding [you] as crack-brained."[75]

In the eyes of many humanists, the very wish itself to anxiously protect Christianity against external influences was to betray a downright low opinion of Christian religion. "Is it not to suspect the inner strength of Christian faith itself," wrote an anonymous critic of the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, "when one takes it to be endangered by Stoic doctrine? (...) Nothing would better prove the utter despair about the thing one wants to defend, than when in order to protect it, one deems it necessary to prevent it from being touched by anything strange."[76] Again, what mattered most to classical humanists was not the Christianisation of the *content* of education, but the teacher's religious *Gesinnung*. As long as education was given by teachers of sound, Christian principles, most of them did not expect the slightest danger to arise from classical studies.

The response of classical humanists to criticisms such as those by Eduard Eyth reveal a noteworthy ambivalence. On the one hand, classical humanists parried critique of the depraved content of classical literature by highlighting its innumerable positive qualities. On the other hand, they contended that the importance of content should not be exaggerated. Although these arguments might seem contradictory, they in fact reinforced one another. Classical humanists would not have been able to defend their educational ideal when classical education would not have primarily focused on the ideal subject matter provided by classical literature and correspondingly turn its back on negative aspects of the ancient world. At the same time, the large majority of humanists held that if the teacher's religious *Gesinnung* was beyond criticism, it was not only unnecessary but downright ridiculous to anxiously strip the curriculum of everything that did not perfectly correspond to Christian values. It was because

[74] Siebelis (1821: 11f.).
[75] Gotthold (1842: 16f.).
[76] *AAZ* (1843, 79: 592).

Eduard Eyth proved himself insensitive to both typically humanistic viewpoints that his critique of classical education elicited little else than indignant responses.

4.ii. The debate on patristic literature

A last proposal to reduce the allegedly unchristian influence of classical education was to substitute classical by patristic literature. Most critics who advanced this radical proposal were members of the Catholic clergy.

In 1851, the German translation was published of a book by the French theologian and abbot Jean-Joseph Gaume (1802-1879). *Le ver rongeur des sociétés modernes ou le paganisme dans l'éducation* (1851), translated into German as *Der Nagende Wurm der heutigen Gesellschaften oder das Heidenthum in der Erziehung* (1851), contained the most merciless attack against classical education of the entire 19th century. In this work, the zealous French abbot traced all political, social and moral problems of modern society back to the study of classical antiquity. With the restoration of classical studies at the end of the 15th century, Gaume argued, man had put himself in the centre of the universe and removed Christianity from its proper place. The principle of the "flesh" had defeated the principle of the "spirit." (85)[77] From now on, the "gnawing worm" of paganism started its destructive advance and penetrated into all segments of society. Literature experienced a far-reaching paganising of expression and thought, as could be clearly seen from innumerable examples.[78] In the visual arts the pagan principle could be recognised in the increasingly obscene iconography.[79] Architecture had been stripped of all Christian elements and thus become "wholly pagan" (128). In the military, the influence of paganism could be traced as well. Modern (e.g. Napoleonic) warfare had become so utterly destructive because it sprang from a restoration of the pagan Roman ideal to create nations

[77] I refer to the pagination of the German translation.

[78] Pietro Bembo, for instance, made pope Leo X say in his letters that he had become pope "by the decree of the immortal gods" (98); Marco Girolamo Vida described the Holy Virgin Mary in his *Christiad* as *nympharum pulcherrima*. (103) (Pp. 90-106 contain many more examples.) The final result of this had been the paganising of modern religious language, evidenced in the widely practiced replacement of *Gott* by *Gottheit* or *höchstes Wesen*, *Religion* by *Cultus*, "faith' by "religious persuasion," "brotherly love" by "philanthropy" or *Humanität*, "alms" by "support," etc. (110)

[79] For instance in Michelangelo's *Last Judgement*, in which the flesh was clearly more important than the spirit. (120) For more examples, see pp.119-24.

of soldiers (89).[80] In philosophy, modern paganism had effectuated the deification of Reason which had been utterly harmful to the modern world at large. Since Erasmus, who confessed to have become a better man by studying Cicero, the tendency to reduce the importance of Christianity had gained ever more ground, culminating in its outright rejection by modern rationalism as represented by David Friedrich Strauss and Ludwig Feuerbach, which was nearly equivalent to atheism. As a last consequence of this development, the 19th century had seen the birth of the ultimately pagan doctrines of socialism and communism, which propagated an image of man as relying exclusively on himself. (25) To Gaume, then, the entire misery of contemporary society could be traced back to the paganism lurking beneath the surface of modern society.

Unlike Theodor Rumpel, Gaume found the major problem of education not in *modern* classical philology as represented by Friedrich August Wolf, but in classical philology as such. Gaume believed that at the *Gymnasien*, the classical languages should not be taught by means of the pagan classics, but by the study of Christian texts, especially those of the church fathers. Studying patristic literature would be as beneficial to learning Latin and Greek as the ancient classics, because its style was not inferior and even wonderfully simple (62). Moreover, the church fathers were only interested in the ancient classics as far as their study could be made fruitful to Christian faith. They never fully rejected the classics but were always thoroughly aware of their subordinate status. (41) Gaume proposed that patristic and other Christian literature should be beginners' material for every student of the classical languages, whereas the classics had to be entirely expelled from the early phases of *Gymnasium* education. Only when a solid Christian foundation was laid in this way, the classics, rendered harmless, were allowed to enter the curriculum.

[80] This pagan turn in military practice was painfully reflected, as Gaume observed, in naval nomenclature. Of the 204 ships of the Holy League which participated in the 1571 battle of Lepanto against the Ottomans, only two bore pagan names (*Diana* and *Sirene*), whereas no less than 68 ships were called after Christian saints. In 1846, by contrast, not one single of the 371 ships of the French navy bore the name of a saint, whereas as much as 95 ships were called after pagan characters. To Gaume, this was such a telling fact that he took pains to list all names of the hundreds of ships in question. (111-5).

Gaume was not the only critic to analyse the historical role played by classical humanism in radically negative terms.[81] In 1842, the *Historisch-Politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland* published a series of articles (called "*Leben und Schule"*) in which the Reformation was criticised for launching the emancipation of philology and in which Francis Bacon's separation of science from religion was analysed as lying at the root of modern atheism.[82] Also Gaume's proposal to replace the classics by the church fathers at the lower grades of the *Gymnasien* found some support, above all from colleague clergymen.[83] As early as 1832, Franz Georg Benkert, a Catholic theologian and one of Germany's most fervent proponents of Catholic *Erweckung*, advocated the foundation of "Episcopal" (*bischöfliche*) *Gymnasien*, which would be largely devoted to the study of patristic literature.[84] Johann Auer, a priest and professor of Greek at the *k.k. akademisches Gymnasium* in Vienna, devoted an entire book to the subject. In *Die Kirchenväter als nothwendige und zeitgemäße Lectüre in den Gymnasien* (1853) he extensively discussed the major appreciation of the church fathers amongst philologists from Muretus to Heyne[85] (38-298) and concluded with insisting that the church fathers were indispensable for restoring the religious and moral *Gesinnung* of modern society.[86] A comparable view was set forth by the philosopher and politician Franz Joseph von Buss (1803-1878) in his lengthy *Die Reform der katholischen Gelehrtenbildung in Teutschland an Gymnasien und Universitäten* (1852).

Nevertheless, the proposal to replace the classics by patristic literature never gained broad acceptance. At least three reasons account for this. Firstly, patristic literature was widely considered of minor educational value because of its stylistic inferiority. Even the most fervent Catholic theologians themselves had difficulties with denying this fact. Gaume, for example, praised the

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[81] Some of Gaume's sympathisers tried to enforce a papal judgement on the matter, but received the notice that the discussion did not belong to the field of dogmatics. Yet, on March 21st 1853, pope Pius IX issued a circular letter in which censured school editions of classical texts were approved.

[82] *HPBl* 9 (1842, I: 558-80, II: 321-40, 697-712).

[83] However, in Protestant circles, inclusion of the church fathers was occasionally advocated as well. See Mezger (1854: 301). Cf. Thiersch, *Über Gelehrte Schulen* I (1826: v).

[84] Benkert (1832: 46).

[85] Auer (1853: 38-298).

[86] See also *NJPP* (1853, 67: 66) and *HPBl* 30 (1852: 105).

"simplicity" of the patristic style (62), but could yet never get himself to recommend it as a model. The Catholic theologian Joseph Kleutgen (1801-1883) pointed to the lack of an "exemplary realisation of artistic form" and stated that patristic literature offered no alternative to the canonical classical authors.[87] The Bavarian philologist Johann Krabinger (1784-1860) denied the church fathers educational potential because of their "artificial" and "sophistic" style.[88] Georg Mezger (1801-1874) hackled the church fathers' style for its "clumsiness and opacity."[89] The importance of this stylistic argument against the church fathers cannot easily be overrated. For as we have seen before, the stylistic quality of ancient literature ranked very high amongst classical humanists' arguments in favour of humanistic studies. With respect to aesthetic qualities, then, there seemed no other option but to acknowledge the unsurpassed quality of the great, pagan authors from classical antiquity.

A second argument often advanced to contest the replacement of classical by patristic literature was that the church fathers themselves were substantially indebted to classical literature. Although they criticised their pagan forerunners in many respects, Gaume was undoubtedly wrong in stating that they looked upon classical studies only as a "necessary evil."[90] Many of them, like Basilius, Chrysostomus and Athanasius, had been educated at the schools of pagan orators, where they acquired deep sympathy with classical literature.[91] Augustine, famously brought to his conversion by reading Cicero's *Hortensius*, interpreted the ban on classical education that Julian the Apostate imposed on Christian boys as an act of hostility.[92] Furthermore, in defending Christian doctrine, the church fathers amply availed themselves of supportive quotations from Greek poets and philosophers.[93] Lastly, their view of the Roman Empire as a precursor of the kingdom of God seemed to be in conformity with the widely

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[87] In: *Über die alten und die neuen Schulen* (1846: 60f.), published under the pseudonym J.W. Karl.

[88] Krabinger (1853: 13f.).

[89] Mezger in: *PR* (1854: 305). Cf. Zeug (1832: 23-5); Roth (1857, II: 24)).

[90] Gaume (1851: 36).

[91] Mentioned in *HPBl* 30 (1852: 214). Cf. Krabinger (1853: 14f.).

[92] *Ibid*. 214. – The similarity between Julian's measures and those proposed by some 19th century Catholic critics is arresting. The most importance difference was that Julian intended his measures as a punishment, while the Catholic critics meant them as a benefaction.

[93] *HPBl* 30 (1852: 213f.).

proposed reinterpretation of classical antiquity as a *Vorstufe* of Christianity.[94] One could not truly appreciate the church fathers, then, without valuing the classics as well.

A third argument to account for the little enthusiasm to include patristic literature into the school curricula was that their writings exclusively dealt with religion. Although they were undisputedly varied (ranging from apologetics and homiletics to exegetics and dogmatics), they were strictly confined to the field of theology. As a consequence, granting patristic literature a prominent place at the *Gymnasien* would be to radically narrow down the curriculum by giving it a decidedly religious twist. In the eyes of most classical humanists, this was as undesirable as it was unnecessary. By continuously engaging young people "with religious things, religious beliefs and thoughts," their minds would be "necessarily blunted for the religious in general."[95] Care should be taken not to transform the *Gymnasium* to a theological seminary, since its task was not "to educate novices of spiritual orders, but young men who (...) live in the world and for the most part remain in the world."[96] Again, classical humanists protested against the naive fear of assimilation underlying the proposals to replace classical by patristic literature and stuck to the view that the Christian content of education was not primarily determined by the subject matter, but by the Christian *Gesinnung* of the teacher. As long as they saw no reason to question the latter, they saw no reason either to expect a real danger from classical education. In fact, the consensus on this principle was so large that proposals in favour of patristic studies did hardly stand any chance of being implemented.

5. Conclusion

Having examined classical humanists' response to the challenge of Christianity, we may conclude that it is inappropriate to describe the relation between 19th century classical humanism and Christianity as an opposition. Around the 1800s, when German Hellenophilia reached its highest peak, most humanists, although convinced Christians, saw no need to lay special emphasis on the compatibility of classical education and Christian values. In the turbulent political and social climate of *Vormärz*, however, they were quick to underline the importance of

[94] Wiese (1852: 16).
[95] Meister (1855: 8f.).
[96] Karl (1846: 63f.).

redefining classical antiquity as a preliminary stage in the Christian history of salvation. To this end, they extensively exposed the innumerable parallels that can be drawn between classical antiquity and Christianity. Prompted by the specific religious needs of the time, they diligently highlighted those aspects of classical literature that could best be squared with Christian ideas and values.

Yet, as we have seen, the reinforced Christian perspective on ancient literature did not entail an apostasy from classical-humanistic beliefs. Most humanists agreed that as long as classics teachers were of sound Christian principles, classical education could be safely allowed to steer its traditional, humanistic course. Few things, indeed, were more repulsive to them than to squeeze classical literature into the straightjacket of Christianity. The renewed Christian perspective on the ancient world did not make them abandon the traditional view of classical literature as a storehouse of timeless moral and aesthetic values. Once again, classical humanism proved capable of adapting itself to the needs of the time while remaining unchanged at its core.

Conclusion

In the period 1770-1860, classical humanism was subjected to both forces of perseverance and forces of innovation. On the one hand, the constitutive ideas of the classical-humanistic ideal of education were so widely shared that classical humanism succeeded in maintaining a dominant position in German *Gymnasium* education throughout the period. On the other hand, classical education was seriously challenged by a variety of developments that closely cohered with the rise of modern society and culture. By the quest for an advanced, up-to-date concept of science, by the urgent need for *Bürger* education as well as by the irrevocable breakdown of the social structure of the *ancien régime*, classical humanists had to defend their ideal of education in a fashion that had been unnecessary and unthinkable a century before.

Yet, I have argued that the forces acting on classical humanism were not diametrically opposed. Continuities and innovations were not mutually exclusive, but often co-existed peacefully and regularly influenced each other. Firstly, in the course of the period 1770-1860, classical humanists were repeatedly urged to redefine their educational ideal in a distinctly modern way. In the late 18th century, they underscored classical education's importance to the common good**,** a major value at a time that saw the genesis of the public sphere. In the *Vormärz* period, classical humanists emphasised classical education's compatibility with Christian faith and morality, since Christian faith and morality were widely agreed to be jeopardised by the time's political and social climate. Yet, this eagerness on the part of classical humanists to underline classical education's compatibility with modern values and ideals did not point to an apostasy from humanistic beliefs, nor to a radical transformation of classical humanism itself. While highlighting properties that pre-eminently related to current needs and interests, most classical humanists remained wholeheartedly loyal to the constitutive views of their creed.

Secondly, the continuity of classical education at the German *Gymnasien* proved compatible with innovation in other areas. Friedrich August Wolf and Friedrich Creuzer, who launched a concept of academic philology that clearly distinguished itself from classical studies as practiced in the past, advocated a clearly traditional form of school education. Moritz Drobisch and Eduard Eyth, who for various reasons wanted to reduce the classics' curricular position, were anything but enemies of traditional, classical education, singing its praise in the very works in which they criticised its predominance. Most sceptics of the

traditional classical schools, then, were not bent on combating classical humanism *as such*, but on establishing new kinds of education and learning alongside it.

Thirdly, and most importantly, even the most radical innovators and critics of traditional classical education were inspired by humanistic ideals. Wolf and Creuzer conceived of *Altertumswissenschaft* as the highest form of humane education. Advocates of *real*-education propagated the *Bürgerschule* as a breeding place of *Humanität*. Christian critics of classical education pointed out that Christian religion and morality could not dispense with true "humanness."

We must conclude, then, that 19th century classical humanism was anything but a fossilised relic of the past, exposed to the challenges of an increasingly non-humanistic climate. Such a view, as we can now see, is very nearly the reverse of the truth. Up to the 1860s, nearly all debates on higher education were conducted within the context of humanistic ideas. Thus, the period 1770-1860 in its entirety can justly be called a heyday of educational humanism.

Yet, as we have seen, the tradition of *classical* humanism was seriously challenged. It was far from clear whether new applications of humanistic ideas contributed to humane values in equal measure as traditional, classical education. Many classicists became convinced that Wolf's ideal of historical reconstruction tended to detract from the very ideal of *Humanität* it was supposed to realise. Many humanists did not believe that *real*-education, no matter its humanistic objectives, could as efficiently elevate pupils above the material world as the "ideal" subject matter provided by the Greek and Roman classics. The real challenge to classical humanism, then, was not posed by competing educational ideals, but by competing strategies to achieve traditional, humanistic goals. Classical humanism was challenged, not by being reduced, but by being *broadened*.

For a long time, however, the persistence and broadening of classical humanism did not work against, but reinforced each other. It was *because* humanistic ideals appealed to educationalists of widely different signature that they retained a remarkable vigour and dynamism. Classical humanism was hugely popular not only because it was propagated by a large number of ideal type humanists such as Karl Gottfried Siebelis, but also because it inspired educationalists of distinctly different persuasions. Conversely, the persistence of classical humanism provided a fertile ground for new initiatives and enterprises.

Innovators and critics of traditional classical education were not compelled to design new educational theories *ex nihilo*, but they elaborated on widespread, humanistic modes of thought that had been laid down by tradition.

In the last resort, then, the persistence of classical humanism on the one hand and the challenges to which it was subjected on the other should not be understood as opposing but as mutually reinforcing forces. It was the lively interplay between persistence and adaptation that ensured the survival of classical humanism throughout the century. Far from being a rigid set of ideas that threatened to collapse each time it was challenged, classical humanism time and again proved capable both of assimilating external influences and of giving rise to new initiatives. It is best seen, therefore, not as a dried-out remnant of a dying past, but as the continuation of a *living* tradition.

Epilogue

Three lessons to learn

At the end of my study, I will attempt to relate the 18th and 19th century debates on classical education that are the subject of this book to the debates on the classical *Gymnasium* in our own time. There is no denying that in the course of the past decades the time-honoured tradition of classical humanism has finally come to an end. Yet, despite the radically different conditions, the old debates still provide us with some perspectives that in my opinion can fruitfully affect current ideas on classical education. In this epilogue I will offer three lessons that we might learn from 18th and 19th century classical humanism.

My purpose with this epilogue is not to 'justify' my historical research by pointing out its current relevance. If there is one thing to be learnt from the tradition of educational humanism, it is that asking for demonstrable use or relevance is the death of all true learning and higher education. The sole reason that I include this epilogue is that the future of the modern *Gymnasium* is a subject close to my heart. These last pages are therefore principally independent from the historical research that precedes them and clearly bear the stamp of some of my own values and beliefs.

1. The tools of learning

There was a time when pre-university education was blatantly one-sided. In the late Middle Ages and Renaissance, 'secondary' schools, as we now call them, focused on hardly anything else than the study of Latin and Latin literature. In the course of time, more and more subjects entered the curriculum, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries. Nonetheless, the classics preserved a marked predominance at the European *Gymnasien* up to the First World War.

As Dorothy Sayers (1893-1957) has memorably argued in her seminal essay 'The Lost Tools of Learning,' the one-sidedness of traditional education finds its explanation in the original function of the late mediaeval Trivium.[1] The Trivium, consisting of Grammar, Dialectic and Rhetoric taught on the basis of Latin and Latin literature, preceded the Quadrivium, which consisted of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music. As Sayers explains, the Trivium, unlike the Quadrivium, did not primarily aim at conveying knowledge, but at teaching pupils the preliminary discipline of *thinking*. With Grammar – "the

[1] D. Sayers, *The Lost Tools of Learning. Paper Read at a Vacation Course in Education, Oxford, 1947*. London, 1948.

medium in which thought is expressed" – pupils learned "the structure of a language (...) and hence of language itself – what it was, how it was put together, and how it worked." After Grammar they continued with Dialectic, embracing Logic and Disputation. The purpose of Dialectic was to teach students how to use language in a clear and meaningful way, "how to define (...) terms and make accurate statements; how to construct an argument and how to detect fallacies in argument." The final part of the Trivium was Rhetoric, which taught pupils how to express themselves in language, "how to say what [they] had to say elegantly and persuasively."[2]

As Sayers repeatedly emphasised, the three parts of the Trivium were not "subjects" in the proper sense of the word, but rather "methods of dealing with subjects." "The whole of the Trivium," she wrote, "was intended to teach the pupil the proper use of the tools of learning, before he began to apply them to "subjects" at all."[3] Precisely for this reason, the Quadrivium, which consisted of proper "subjects," only commenced when the Trivium had been completed.

It was the *preliminary* function of the Trivium that in Sayers' view justified mediaeval education's predominant focus on (the classical) languages and literature. For it was only by studying language and great examples of how to use it that one could properly learn to think, argue and speak. In mediaeval education, then, the classics were not taught as a "subject," but as providing a "coherent scheme of mental training to which all "subjects" [stood] in a subordinate relation."[4]

Although the mediaeval terminology fell into disuse in the course of time, a Trivium-like character has remained integral to the tradition of classical education down to the First World War. As late as the 19th century, one of the prime objectives of classical education was to teach pupils the preliminary discipline of thinking. Grammar, as we have seen, retained its dominant position in the curriculum and was taught very thoroughly and extensively. By producing large numbers of their own writings, such as extracts and weekly essays, as well as by the practice of disputing, pupils learned how to structure an argument, to distinguish accurate from false statements and to highlight topics from different angles. Finally, many opportunities to deliver speeches and

[2] Sayers (1948: 8f.).

[3] *Ibid*.

[4] Sayers (1948: 10).

declamations enabled students to learn to express themselves in an audible, intelligible and persuasive way. In other words, until far into the 19th century classical education did not lose a Trivium-like character. The classics were not just taught as a subject, but also as a means to teach pupils how to think, argue and speak. In my view, the dominant curricular position that the classics preserved at nearly all European *Gymnasien* in the 19th century cannot possibly be understood without taking into account this essentially preliminary function, which had been at the heart of classical education since the Middle Ages.

The notion of a preliminary type of secondary education that *precedes* education in "subjects" has almost entirely disappeared from modern debates on higher education. Both *Gymnasien* and so-called liberal arts colleges – the two school types that by their naming purport to *continue* the tradition of classical education – nowadays usually offer curricula that distinguish themselves above all by broadness of subject matter. Most modern *Gymnasien* offer extensive education in a variety of subjects drawn from both the humanities and the sciences.[5] Also most Liberal Arts and Sciences colleges, which were founded in great number on the European continent in the last fifteen years, offer programs of remarkable curricular breadth.[6] Although the classics often have their own share in the curriculum of these schools, as a rule they are taught as just one amongst many subjects.[7]

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[5] This applies to both 'humanistic' and other types of *Gymnasien*, whose curricula differ gradually at most. At a humanistic *Gymnasium* near Amsterdam where I taught for two years, pupils at the second-lowest grade learned no less than seventeen (!) subjects: Dutch, Latin, Greek, French, German, English, History, Philosophy, Geography, Mathematics, Physics, Music, Technology, Drawing, Computing, Gymnastics and "practical knowledge" (in Dutch: "verzorging").

[6] At The University College Utrecht (UCU), courses are taught on subjects as different as 17th century Dutch painting, Health Psychology, Nazi Germany, Gender and Sexuality, Astrophysics, Post-Modern Literature and Orientalism. In the academic year 2013-2014, UCU offers courses on no less than 209 (!) different subjects. (See www.uu.nl/university/college/EN/studying/courses.)

[7] Not all Liberal Arts and Science Colleges, however, are organised in this way. Sayers' article laid the foundation of the so-called 'Classical Education Movement,' an educational current in the 1990s that led to the foundation of several American colleges that offer education according to the traditional Trivium-Quadrivium-structure. Examples of such colleges are Gutenberg College in Eugene, Oregon (founded in 1994), Patrick Henry College in Purcellville, Virginia (founded in 2000), and Wyoming Catholic College in Lander, Wyoming

Underlying the common curricular breadth is an ideal of education that can be rightfully said to be characteristic of our time: *encyclopaedism*. General education, it is now widely assumed, should offer students an overview of a "broad range of knowledge" that provides them with a global first impression of the entire scope of academic scholarship.[8] Such an overview has a twofold aim: on the one hand, it aims to broaden the student's horizon before the moment that he will unavoidably narrow it down by choosing a profession. Thus, it enables him to see "across the borders of disciplines and to develop cross- or interdisciplinary ways of thinking." On the other hand, it enables him to choose his future profession on a well-informed basis. By this ideal of encyclopaedism, which reigns supreme at the large majority of modern institutions for general education, the traditional concept of preliminary education has largely been dispelled. "Subject" education has largely replaced "Trivium" education.

I cannot deny agreeing with Dorothy Sayers that there is much reason to be worried about this radical shift of emphasis.[9] For it is highly questionable whether the huge amounts of scattered, piecemeal knowledge that modern education pours out over students will ever be of much value to them as long as they have not learned to *deal* with it in a meaningful way.[10] As John Henry Newman (1801-1890) famously put it, "education consists not only in the passive reception into the mind of a number of ideas hitherto unknown to it, but in the mind's energetic and simultaneous action upon and towards and among those new ideas."[11] As long as students are not truly skilled in the art of thinking, how

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(founded in 2005). An important inspiration of the Classical Education Movement was D. Wilson's *Recovering the Lost Tools of Learning* (Wheaton, 1991), which was inspired itself by Dorothy Sayers' famous essay.

[8] The quotes in this paragraph are taken from the "Educational Philosophy" of University College Utrecht, see www.uu.nl/university/college/en/whyUCU/philosophy.

[9] Modern education's structural neglect of truly propaedeutic education made Dorothy Sayers (1948: 7) exclaim that in the modern world, pupils "learn everything, except the art of learning."

[10] I have experienced this problem myself in my years at the above mentioned high school. As the seventeen different subjects were mostly assigned only one or two hours a week, pupils never truly learnt to master the subjects that they were obliged to study. This tendency to superficiality can also be seen from the major number of courses at Liberal Arts and Science Colleges that are titled "Introduction to…", e.g. "Introduction to Literature," "Introduction to Political Theory," "Introduction to Chemistry," etc.

[11] Newman (1873, ed. 1996: 19).

can they be expected to make use of newly-acquired knowledge in a meaningful and constructive way?

It seems highly commendable, therefore, to restore to our educational system a special phase – preferably its "secondary" phase, or at least its first three or four years – which is entirely devoted, not to teaching subjects, but to providing pupils with the "tools of learning." In practice, this would inevitably lead to a prioritisation of language and literary education above science education. When one accepts that pupils should have learnt to properly think, argue and speak before they venture on learning "subjects," language and literary studies should be their primary focus for a sustained period of time. Whether in such a Trivium-like curriculum the Greek and Roman classics or other literatures must take a central position is a question that must be left open here. Yet we will certainly fail on a basic requirement of higher education as long as we continue to delude ourselves that we can teach the Quadrivium without teaching the Trivium before. Only when we reorient ourselves to the classical tradition of *preliminary* learning can we hope to achieve the "sole true end of education: (...) to teach men how to learn for themselves."[12]

2. The inflation of meaning

In this book, we have seen that many humanistic concepts that were originally closely associated with classical studies, in the course of the 19th century underwent a noticeable broadening of meaning. Whereas in the late 18th century, the ideal of *Humanität* was still inextricably linked with classical literature and art, a century later it was transferred to new areas, such as scientific philology and the natural sciences. Correspondingly, the term '*Gymnasium'* gradually lost its traditional exclusivity. In the course of the 19th century, it was not only claimed by classical humanists, but also by advocates of *real*-education. In 1882, the Prussian *Realschule,* being renamed '*Realgymnasium*,*'* was officially recognised next to the traditional, humanistic *Gymnasium*.

The term 'classical,' too, was used in an ever broadening range of meanings. Whereas it traditionally referred to perfect, literary form,[13] it came gradually to be applied to anything that related to the ancient world. Later, it

[12] Sayers (1948: 30).

[13] In the Renaissance, the term *classicus* was exclusively used in reference to writers. This use dates back to Aulus Gellius 19,8,15.

flattened even further to "excellent" or "exemplary" and could refer to subjects as diverse as modern literature, music and even mathematics.

A comparable broadening of meaning is observable in the development of the concept of *Bildung*. By the 1800s, the term '*Bildung'* was still mostly used in its literal meaning of 'formation.' In Campe's *Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (1807), *Bildung* was defined as an object's or a person's "natural condition and inner organisation." So one could speak of the "*Bildung* of plants and animals" and of "a girl of pleasant *Bildung.*" Due to its close relation to form, the education-related use of the term *Bildung* was narrowly associated with classical studies, since the classics were largely admired for their perfect form.[14]

In the course of the 19th century, however, the concept of *Bildung* was used in an increasingly broad and abstract way. Compare the above concrete use of the term with the definition in Schmid's *Enzyklopädie des gesammten Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswesens*, written about half a century later: „*Bildung* is the development of the inner person to a manifestation of life (*Lebenserscheinung*) that is harmonious in itself; and [this development] comes about by an activity that, while combating sinful elements, produces the natural essence from the raw state [of man]; thus the personality orients itself in life by means of acquisition, selection and assimilation of the available elements of *Bildung* [and] by means of self-development and self-restraint; and as a part [the personality] enters into an interaction with the whole by [a process of] receiving and acting."[15] With this extremely abstract definition, the concept of *Bildung* had been wholly severed from its association with classical studies and could therefore from now on theoretically be applied to almost any type of education.

In the 19th century, the ideas of classical humanism were still so widespread that it took a long time for the above discussed broadening of meaning to gain a broad foothold. Until far into the 19th century, the terms '*Humanität*,' '*Gymnasium*,' 'classical' and '*Bildung,'* were still *primarily* associated

[14] Friedrich Ast understood *Bildung* to be virtually synonymous with *Darstellung*. In his *Grundriss der Philologie* (1808: 6f.) he acknowledged modern society's superiority in the field of content, but criticised its poor development in the field of "vivid formation and representation" (*lebendige Gestaltung und Darstellung*), "that is, [in the field] of true *Bildung*" (*eigentliche Bildung*).

[15] A. Hauber, in: Schmid I (1859: 665).

with the study of Greek and Roman literature.[16] It was only in the course of the 20th century that their emancipation from the ancient classics was fully completed. In our time, terms such as '*Humanität'* and '*Bildung'* have become so widely applicable that they do no longer invoke a specific association with classical education. The same applies to the term '*Gymnasium*,' which in modern Germany is used to refer to a wide variety of school types, most of which do not assign a central place to Latin and Greek. The term 'classical,' too, in our time has altogether lost its original meaning. It has broadened up to a point of being easily applied to topics as diverse as film, perfume and jeans.

Yet – and this is the point to note – the unmistakable inflation of meaning seems not to have made the humanistic jargon less, but *more* popular. Never before, indeed, did so many different types of schools lay claim to humanistic values. This paradox can well be illustrated by the momentous educational reforms that were implemented throughout Europe in the 1960s and 1970s. *Content*-wise, these reforms effectuated the final abolition of classical humanism: in Germany, classical education was no longer officially required for university admission from 1965 onwards**.** However, at the very moment that the classical-humanistic creed was thus officially renounced, *all* schools that now acquired a right to university admission took on the humanistic name *Gymnasium*.[17]

A similar development took place in the Netherlands in 1968, when the 'Hogere Burgerschool' (HBS) – the equivalent of the German *höhere Bürgerschule*, existing since 1863 – was granted full entitlement to university admission. With this official departure from the classical-humanistic tradition, the 'Hogere Burgerschool' was renamed with the classical-humanistic name '*Athenaeum'* – after the famous institution for higher education in Rome, founded by the emperor Hadrian. Also in the Netherlands, the farewell to the *content* of classical

[16] It is noticeable that A. Hauber, after having extensively discussed the above quoted abstract definition of *Bildung*, suddenly transferred his argument to classical education (p.673ff.), which he defended in markedly traditional terms (recommending verse composition as an "exercise in virtue" and describing the great works of classical literature as "the palpable forms of a beautiful humanness," p.677f.). Hauber did not explain at all, however, how classical education related to his own highly abstract definition of *Bildung* quoted above.

[17] Nowadays, in Germany alone there are ,*altsprachliche*,' '*neusprachliche*,' '*naturwissenschaftliche,'* '*musische' Gymnasien* and even *Sportgymnasien*. Moreover, the terminology is subject to frequent change.

humanism was paralleled by an increased popularity of classical-humanistic terminology.

In my view, there is much reason to be concerned about this conceptual inflation, as it tends to complicate the use of educational key concepts and thus to obstruct the possibility of constructive debate. Surveying the modern educational landscape, with its proliferation of schools bearing humanistic names, one might be inclined to believe that educational humanism today still reigns supreme. As we have seen, however, the predominant educational ideal of our time is not humanism, but encyclopaedism. Even at the so-called humanistic *Gymnasien,* Greek and Latin have usually been reduced to such an extent that they are taught as just one amongst many "subjects." Even at the most traditional schools, encyclopaedism lurks behind the humanistic facade.[18] The same applies to the popular Liberal Arts and Science Colleges. Whereas innumerable institutions proudly bear this humanistic name, only a handful of them offers a type of education based on the Trivium-Quadrivium-structure to which the term 'liberal arts' properly refers. In modern education, then, humanistic terminology is at risk of being stripped of all meaning and of degenerating into mere window dressing.

For this reason, it is highly commendable to reconnect humanistic key terms to their proper, historical meaning. Of course, at the modern *Gymnasium* the classics can hardly lay claim to the same predominance which they used to have in the past. One of the challenging questions of modern humanistic education, indeed, is to what extent classical education could be replaced by education in other languages and literatures or by other educational strategies. Yet when we want education to be *truly* humanistic, we have no option but to orient ourselves to concepts and values that are integrally part of the humanistic tradition, such as the superiority of 'ideal' above 'material' subject matter, anti-utilitarianism and the concept of the 'classical.' The unmistakable broadening of meaning to which humanistic key terms have been subjected in the past hundred and fifty years does not entitle us to use these terms completely at will. For all their broadness, they still have a clearly identifiable meaning that can ultimately be traced back to the age-old tradition of classical humanism.

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[18] The schools that we nowadays call humanistic *Gymnasien*, in the 19th century would invariably have been described as *Realschulen*. For the important role played by Latin at 19th century German *Realschulen*, see above, section II.2.3.4.iv.

3. The futility of argument

In the first part of this book, I have pointed out that enthusiasm about ancient culture was a constitutive feature of classical humanism. The rational arguments that classical humanists advanced in favour of classical education would ultimately not have made sense to them if these arguments had not been embedded in a deep-felt awe for the rare significance and beauty of the classical world. From this we can draw a conclusion that is not only relevant to our understanding of 19th century classical humanism, but also to debates on the *Gymnasium* at our own time. This conclusion is that *any argument* in favour of classical education is *by definition* insufficient. It is in the nature of an argument that it explains the worth of something in terms of something else. To advance arguments in favour of the classics is to conceive of the classics as being subservient to a purpose that lays outside the classics themselves, whether it is 'intellectual training,' 'moral improvement' or 'historical awareness.' Of course, it is very well possible to argue for classical education in a powerful, well-substantiated way, and many of the arguments discussed in this book are at least worth pondering. Yet, arguments cannot possibly do justice to what the classics primarily are to classical humanists: a value in themselves.

Because of their fundamental insufficiency, arguments for classical education can be very easily refuted with counterarguments. If the purpose of studying the complex classical languages is to train our intellect, why not study Sanskrit? Or mathematics? When it comes to cultivating our sense of beauty, why not study English or Italian, instead of classical literature? Or why not study art history? When we aim at moral improvement or historical awareness, why not read the classics in translation? As the importance of classical education cannot be argumentatively *proven*, any debate on its pros and cons is at risk of foundering on what I would call the 'futility of argument.' The one and only possible *compelling* argument in favour of the classics, indeed, are the classics themselves.

It might be objected that the 'futility of argument' perfectly applies to Dorothy Sayers' valuation of classical education as a means to teach pupils the preliminary discipline of thinking. Yet, such an objection would not be appropriate, since in the Trivium, the instrumental and the exemplary dimension of classical studies were inextricably linked. As Dorothy Sayers argued, Latin grammar was always considered the best grounding for education because Latin

is an inflected language with a beautifully articulated grammatical structure.[19] Dialectic, the art of using arguments in a clear and meaningful way, always comprised imitating models taken from classical literature, which was widely admired for its remarkable clarity and transparency of expression. Also with respect to stylistic refinement and oratorical finesse, the classics have always been seen as great models. In other words, education in the basic arts of thinking, arguing and speaking was intimately connected with studying a language and literature of exemplary status.

Because of the futility of argument, a deep irony pervades most debates on classical education, in the 19th century just as today. For the more the value of classical studies is explained in terms of *other* values, the more it becomes clear that the same effect can be achieved in other ways. Ever since the late 18th century, when the monopoly of classical education was first seriously challenged, defenders of the humanistic *Gymnasium* have become entangled in this paradox.

Yet, there is an important difference between the present and the past. In the 19th century, belief in the profound, intrinsic value of the classical heritage was so widespread – amongst classicists, non-classicists, as well as outspoken opponents of the traditional *Gymnasium* – that advocates of classical education were not *dependent* on rationalising defences. Although they diligently advanced arguments in favour of classical education whenever challenged to do so, they could comfortably rely on a broad underlying consensus about the unsurpassed value of the classical heritage. The foundation of 19th century classical humanism, then, was much more solid than the heated debates suggest.

In our time, this situation has radically changed. For reasons on which I cannot expatiate here, classicists are no longer inclined to look upon ancient literature as being of timeless, universal value. Especially since the educational reforms implemented in many European countries in the 1960s, most classicists have become very cautious about, if not aversive to defending classical education in normative terms. The traditional interest in intrinsic values has largely been replaced by a new interest in rationalising arguments.[20] This tendency clearly shows in recent defences of classical education. In *Warum Latein? Zehn gute*

[19] Sayers (1948: 15f.)

[20] On this shift, see Rainer Nickel, ‚Die Abkehr vom „Bildungswert" zum „Lerninhalt" und die Versachlichung der Lernzieldiskussion,' in: *Altsprachlicher Unterricht* (Darmstadt 1973: 1-14).

Gründe (2008), Friedrich Maier, professor of the didactics of classical education in Berlin, advances ten different arguments in favour of Latin education, ranging from Latin's contribution to intellectual training to its usefulness for learning other languages and its basic importance to European culture. Karl-Wilhelm Weeber (*Mit dem Latein am Ende? Tradition mit Perspektiven* 1998) and Klaus Westphalen (*Basissprache Latein, Argumentationshilfen für Lateinlehrer und Freunde der Antike* 1992) published similar books in which they advance respectively sixteen and six arguments in favour of classical education, all well comparable to the ones forwarded by Maier. Significantly, however, none of the arguments advanced by these three scholars underlines the *intrinsic* value of classical literature. Maier, Weeber and Westphalen all attempt to prove the value of classical education from its contribution to external purposes. Westphalen even expressly states that great care should be taken not to "re-ideologise" the subject by allowing the exemplary perspective on the ancient world to regain its traditional dominance.[21] Modern scholars, in other words, for all their eagerness to defend classical education, are mostly aversive to the normative perspective that reigned supreme in the classical-humanistic tradition.

This widespread aversion to approaching the classics from a normative perspective has created a queer situation. For whether there is some point in being sceptical about the normative approach or not, the classics' very presence at the modern *Gymnasium* would have been wholly unthinkable without it. The classics have never been introduced into the curriculum to facilitate education in modern languages, nor to contribute to the students' historical awareness or to provide them with a weekly portion of mental gymnastics. The fundamental reason why the classics have been preserved at the modern *Gymnasium* is because they were so widely believed to be of unsurpassed intrinsic value. Thus, many modern advocates of classical education face the very strange task of justifying the classics' presence at the modern *Gymnasium* while rejecting the historical conditions that have brought this presence about. No longer truly *believing* in the subject they teach, they resort to enumerating rationalising arguments that must compensate for their loss of inner conviction.

In my view, this situation, which characterises debates on the modern *Gymnasium* since the 1960s, borders on the ridiculous. If classicists can no longer appreciate the classics for their intrinsic value and begin justifying them

[21] Westphalen (1992: 35).

exclusively on external grounds, one must seriously ask whether there is any point in preserving the classics at all. The future of classical education does not depend on the rationalising arguments that will be advanced in its favour, but on the single question whether the classics will again be recognised as a value in themselves. The future of classical education, in other words, depends on the extent to which the classics will again be truly valued and loved. It is with this insight in mind that Wilfried Stroh, one of the rare modern classicists to remain faithful to the principles of classical humanism, wrote that "if we want to reduce the study of [Latin] to just a means of mental training and discipline, the demise of Latin would perhaps not be too painful. But when we succeed in reawakening the magic that once, at the threshold of modern times, enchanted the young Francesco Petrarca, the *dulcedo et sonoritas linguae*, (...) then (...) also the generations of the future will exclaim: *o Latinitas!*[22]

[22] W. Stroh, ‚O Latinitas! Erfahrungen mit lebendigem Latein und ein Rückblick auf zehn Jahre Sodalitas, in: *Die Antike und ihre Vermittlung*, Festschrift Friedrich Maier (1995: 168-181, here: 181).

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Samenvatting in het Nederlands

In dit proefschrift stel ik de vraag centraal hoe de continuïteit van de Griekse en Romeinse klassieken in het 19e eeuwse Europese onderwijs zich verhield tot de veranderende, moderniserende samenleving. Deze vraag behandel ik aan de hand van de situatie in Duitsland, waar de beoogde relatie bijzonder spanningsvol was: enerzijds ontwikkelde Duitsland zich tussen ca. 1750 en 1871 van een verbrokkelde, feodale en grotendeels door de kerk bestierde samenleving tot een seculiere, bureaucratische eenheidsstaat; anderzijds werd de overtuiging van de eminente vormingswaarde van de klassieken nergens met zo veel vuur uitgedragen als in Duitsland in juist deze periode. Het eerste deel van dit proefschrift behandelt de continuïteiten in het denken over klassieke vorming. In het tweede deel staat de adaptibiliteit van klassieke vormingswaarden centraal.

Deel 1

In de wetenschappelijke literatuur wordt de opmerkelijke toewijding aan de klassieken in laat-18e en vroeg-19e eeuws Duitsland gewoonlijk onder de noemer 'neohumanisme' gevat. Met deze term wordt enerzijds op continuïteit met het klassieke humanisme van de Renaissance gezinspeeld, maar anderzijds een belangrijk verschil aangeduid: terwijl traditionele humanisten zich hoofdzakelijk richtten op de praktische imitatie van Latijnse stijlmodellen, zouden 'neohumanisten' vooral interesse hebben in typisch moderne waarden zoals authenticiteit en historiciteit. Om die reden hielden 'neohumanisten' zich bij voorkeur met de om hun oorspronkelijkheid bewonderde Grieken bezig en stelden zij zich ten doel de oudheid in haar totaliteit historisch te reconstrueren. Volgens de gangbare opvatting droeg het humanisme van de late 18e en vroege 19e eeuw dus duidelijk het stempel van de moderne tijd.

In het eerste deel van mijn proefschrift toon ik aan dat deze opvatting niet onjuist, maar eenzijdig is, gebaseerd als zij is op het werk van een hoogst selectief aantal uitzonderlijke filologen en pedagogen van grote naam, zoals Friedrich August Wolf (1759-1824) en Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835). De talloze humanisten echter die aan de Duitse Gymnasia werkzaam waren, en wier namen meestal in het vergeetboek zijn geraakt, worden in de gangbare beeldvorming in de regel niet gekend. Toch waren zij het die door hun grote aantal en grote verbreiding voor de verspreiding van humanistische waarden grotendeels verantwoordelijk waren. Zoals ik in mijn proefschrift aantoon, hing de grote

meerderheid van de laat-18e en vroeg-19e eeuwse schoolhumanisten een veel traditioneler vormingsideaal aan dan hun 'neohumanistische' collega's aan de universiteiten.

Aan de hand van de Sachsische Gymnasiumrektor Karl Gottfried Siebelis (1769-1843) laat ik zien dat dit gymnasiale onderwijsideaal was gebaseerd op de overtuiging dat de mens zichzelf intellectueel, esthetisch en moreel kon vormen door bestudering van een select aantal hoogwaardige Romeinse en Griekse teksten. Niet alleen door het lezen en interpreteren hiervan, maar ook door nabootsing van de klassieken in woord en daad kon hij zichzelf veredelen en mens worden in de ware betekenis van het woord. Vanwege deze praktisch-ethische doelstelling had ook het 19e eeuwse Gymnasiumonderwijs een sterk praktische inslag. Niet alleen werden klassieke teksten grondig bestudeerd, maar bovenal diende de leerling zich te oefenen in de Latijnse eloquentie. Pas door zich de klassieke talen en het klassieke denken actief en van binnenuit eigen te maken, zo geloofde men, kon men ware humaniteit verwerven.

Zowel door de primaire gerichtheid op exemplarisch bevonden Latijnse (en in mindere mate Griekse) literatuur als door het praktische ideaal van nabootsing had het gymnasiale onderwijsideaal van de 19e eeuw veel gemeen met het vormingsideaal van Renaissance-humanisten. Weinig betekenis op de Gymnasia had daarentegen de typisch 'neohumanistische' prioritering van het Grieks, evenals het filosofisch gekleurde ideaal van 'objectieve,' historische reconstructie dat vaak kenmerkend wordt gehouden voor het 19e eeuwse humanisme. Ik concludeer daarom dat het dominante vormingsideaal in laat-18e en vroeg-19e eeuws Duitsland niet het neohumanisme, maar het *klassieke humanisme* was.

Deel 2

In het tweede deel van dit proefschrift bestrijd ik de gangbare opvatting dat het humanisme in de loop van de 19e eeuw toenemend gemarginaliseerd raakte. Diverse ontwikkelingen die gewoonlijk als bedreiging van het humanisme worden geïnterpreteerd, blijken bij nader inzien als *verbreding* of *transformatie* van het humanisme te moeten worden begrepen. Naast *continuïteit* laat het humanisme dus ook een duidelijke *adaptabiliteit* zien.

In 'The Challenge of Science' onderzoek ik het streven van Friedrich August Wolf de klassieke studiën te transformeren tot een helder gestructureerde oudheidswetenschap (*Altertumswissenschaft*) die tot doel had alle

facetten van de klassieke beschaving zo objectief mogelijk en in hun onderlinge samenhang in kaart te brengen. Deze transformatie, die een afscheid betekende van de traditionele nadruk op een beperkt aantal exemplarische teksten, is vaak als het einde van het humanistische vormingsideaal geïnterpreteerd.

Bij nader inzien blijkt echter dat Wolf zijn ideaal van *Altertumswissenschaft* nadrukkelijk humanistisch legitimeerde. Het doel van de academische filologie was de mens binnen te voeren en in te wijden in de 'geest' van de antieke mensheid, die naar Wolf's idee niet alleen in klassieke teksten, maar in álle restanten van de klassieke oudheid te vinden was. Op welk aspect de oudheidswetenschap zich ook richtte, zij zou volgens Wolf altijd bijdragen aan de "harmonieuze ontwikkeling van de geest." Met het oog op Wolf's humanistische rechtvaardiging kan de opkomst van de *Altertumswissenschaft* beter niet als ondergang, maar als *verbreding* van het traditionele, klassieke humanisme worden begrepen. In plaats van te worden afgeschaft, werden humanistische idealen door Wolf juist op vernieuwende manieren ingezet.

In 'The Challenge of the *Bürgerschule'* bespreek ik de gangbare opvatting dat het burgeronderwijs, dat in Duitsland vanaf ca. de jaren 1770 opkwam, tot een belangrijke *concurrent* van het humanistische onderwijs uitgroeide. Hierbij doe ik een drietal observaties:

1) In de late 18e eeuw kregen de klassiek-humanstische scholen van voorstanders van burgeronderwijs veelvuldig het verwijt 'sectarisch' te zijn. Zij zouden, in tegenstelling tot de burgerscholen, slechts hun eigen, nauw afgebakende clientèle bedienen en weinig interesse tonen voor het algemeen belang. Verdedigers van het klassiek-humanistische onderwijs reageerden op dit verwijt door uitvoerig aan te tonen dat juist het klassiekenonderwijs, mits goed gegeven, het bewustzijn voor het algemeen belang kon vergroten. Zij wezen hierbij, onder andere, op de in de Griekse oudheid opvallend sterk ontwikkelde 'publieke sfeer.' Pleitbezorgers van klassieke vorming verschansten zich, met andere woorden, niet binnen de muren van hun eigen instituties, maar gingen het debat met hun critici aan en probeerden de relevantie van de klassieken op een eigentijdse wijze aan te tonen.

2) Pogingen het Latijnonderwijs te vereenvoudigen door het Latijn door middel van niet-klassieke teksten of zelfs als omgangstaal te doceren liepen stuk op het breed aangehangen criterium van de *classiciteit*: aan de ontwikkeling van een daadwerkelijk klassiek-Latijnse stijl werd zoveel waarde gehecht dat

pogingen het Latijnonderwijs radicaal te moderniseren weinig kans van slagen hadden.

3) In de periode ca. 1800-1860 legitimeerden vrijwel alle verdedigers van de burgerschool – in de debatten vaak 'realisten' genoemd – het burgeronderwijs in humanistische termen. In plaats van hun humanistische collega's te bestrijden, namen zij hun vormingsideaal juist over. Van een *strijd* tussen humanisten en realisten, waarover in de wetenschappelijke literatuur veel geschreven is, was inhoudelijk geen sprake. Het enige waarin 'realisten' van humanisten verschilde was hun overtuiging dat humanistische vormingsdoelen niet alleen door de klassieken, maar tevens door onderwijs in niet-klassieke vakken zoals moderne talen of wiskunde konden worden gerealiseerd.

Uit bovenstaande observaties trek ik de volgende drie conclusies: 1) het klassieke humanisme was geen verdroogd relict uit verleden tijden, maar vormde zich aantoonbaar naar de eisen van de tijd. Pleitbezorgers van het Gymnasium verdedigden het klassieke vormingsideaal in nadrukkelijk moderne termen. 2) Humanistische vormingidealen waren zo wijd verbreid dat hervormingen die de humanistische *kern* van het klassiekenonderwijs zouden aantasten geen kans van slagen hadden. 3) Daar humanistische vormingsidealen in het burgeronderwijs op nieuwe manieren werden aangewend, moet de opkomst van de burgerschool niet als bedreiging, maar juist als *verbreding* van het klassieke humanisme worden begrepen.

In 'The Challenge of Christianity' bespreek ik de gangbare these dat het tijdperk van het humanisme vanaf de jaren 1820 goeddeels voorbij was, toen onder invloed van de Restauratie het onderwijs in de heidense klassieken in discrediet raakte. Bij nader inzien blijkt deze these onhoudbaar te zijn. In de eerste plaats is de wijd verbreide opvatting dat 'neohumanisten' van vóór 1820 on-christelijk of zelfs anti-christelijk waren zowel sterk overdreven als gebaseerd op zeer selectief bronmateriaal. Zij kan dan ook zeker niet als representatief worden beschouwd voor het humanisme van vóór de Restauratie.

Wel kreeg het klassieke Gymnasium vanaf de jaren 1820 in toenemende mate het verwijt een 'heidense geest' onder de bevolking te verspreiden, die verantwoordelijk zou zijn voor de sociale onrust, de revolutiedreiging, etc. In de wetenschappelijke literatuur is om die reden vaak van een strijd tussen humanisten en hun christelijke critici gesproken. Ook deze opvatting blijkt bij nadere beschouwing echter grotendeels ongegrond. In de restauratietijd waren

klassieke schoolhumanisten net als hun critici van mening dat het aankweken van een goede christelijke gezindte een van de speerpunten van het Gymnasiumonderwijs moest zijn. Tegelijkertijd vonden zij echter dat de klassieke literatuur en het christendom zich allerminst in een gespannen verhouding bevonden. In een veelheid aan publicaties lieten zij de vele overeenkomsten tussen het christelijke en het heidense wereldbeeld zien om aan te tonen dat bestudering der klassieken heel wel kan bijdragen aan de vorming van een christelijk wereldbeeld. Daar bovendien de grote meerderheid der klassieke schooldocenten uit vrome christenen bestond, was er vrijwel geen klassieke humanist die de klassieke schoolstudiën als een serieuze bedreiging voor het Christendom zag.

Ook uit de debatten over de christelijke waarde van de klassieke studiën komt de adaptibiliteit van het klassieke humanisme naar voren. Aangespoord door de veranderde eisen van de tijd, benadrukten klassieke humanisten in de Restauratietijd het christelijke belang van het klassieke schoolonderwijs, zonder hiermee de grondslagen van het klassiek-humanistische credo aan te tasten.

De hoofdconclusie van dit boek kan als volgt worden samengevat: enerzijds bleef het klassieke humanisme in de periode c. 1770-1860 opmerkelijk traditioneel en constant, ondanks de ingrijpende veranderingen die de samenleving in deze tijd onderging. Anderzijds begaf het humanisme zich voortdurend in een dynamische relatie met de moderne tijd. Aan de ene kant werden nieuwe waarden en concepten in het klassiek-humanistische vormingsideaal geïntegreerd. Aan de andere kant werden humanistische waarden op een veelheid aan nieuwe manieren toegepast. De *kern* van het humanistische, klassieke schoolonderwijs bleef door deze vernieuwingen echter grotendeels onberoerd. In mijn analyse was het juist door het samengaan van continuïteit en adaptabiliteit dat het klassieke humanisme erin slaagde tot zeer ver in de 19e eeuw voort te leven. Juist door zijn dynamische karakter gaf het klassieke humanisme er blijk van deel van een *levende* traditie te zijn.

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