IN MEMORIAM WOLFGANG SCHADEWALDT

Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff to Wolfgang Schadewaldt on the Classic

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² W. Schadewaldt, Monolog und Selbstgespräch: Untersuchungen zur Formgeschichte der griechischen Tragödie (Berlin 1926; repr. 1966) iii.


⁴ For Schadewaldt on Jaeger see HuH II² 707–30.
schen Epinikion" to Wilamowitz "in Dankbarkeit und Verehrung." In 1946 he wrote his Die Heimkehr des Odysseus in imitation of Wilamowitz's book of the same title, both inspired by the returning veterans of two wars. There was another reason for Schadewaldt's attraction to the book. On the one-hundredth birthday of Wilamowitz, Schadewaldt delivered at the Berlin Academy a brief impassioned memorial address that still deserves close attention. He once at the request of Wolfgang Schmid wrote down a memorable apothegm of Wilamowitz, heard in student days, on philological method. Besides its intrinsic importance the fragment is a rare example of Wilamowitz's spoken style, which I have often heard imitated by those who knew him well. I append an English version here:

Why, this prized 'philological method'? There simply isn't any—any more than a method to catch fish. The whale is harpooned; the herring caught in a net; minnows are trapped; the salmon speared; trout caught on a fly. Where do you find the method to catch fish? And hunting? I suppose there is something like method there? Why, ladies and gentlemen, there is a difference between hunting lions and catching fleas!

At Tübingen on 10 June 1974, one of his last public appearances, Schadewaldt reminisced about the greatest man among many great men he had known. He stressed the uncanny learning and memory, the fierceness of his character, and confided an important insight that "Wilamowitz was a third general, a third actor and—a third pastor (Pfarrer)." He said also that Wilamowitz had only written one book, his Staat und Gesellschaft der Griechen. All the others were interpretation. And he made the brilliant suggestion that one reason for

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9 The original is "Der Butt wird getreten," which means nothing to modern readers.
the friendship with Kaibel was to prove that a musician could be his friend, an apology for the enmity with Nietzsche. Kaibel ought in part to be interpreted as a Nietzsche substitute. That Nietzsche had argued the birth of tragedy from the spirit of music had been a red flag to the man who never learned to play an instrument nor taught his children to.\textsuperscript{11}

Wilamowitz's enthusiastic support of Schadewaldt at an early stage was decisive for his later career. In a review of the Berlin dissertation at DLZ 47 (1926) 851–54 (= KS I 464–66), Wilamowitz proclaimed:\textsuperscript{12} "Hier . . . begrüssen wir das Auftreten eines wirklichen Forschers noch freudiger als ein gutes Buch." He had read Monolog during the summer of 1926 while writing "in einem Zuge" Die Heimkehr des Odysseus. He ended that book\textsuperscript{13} with an excited endorsement of Schadewaldt's work.\textsuperscript{14} This was the other reason why Schadewaldt later took Wilamowitz's title for a study of his own.

Once again the aged Wilamowitz was to refer to Schadewaldt in print. Unthinking readers criticize the haste and dogmatism of Wilamowitz's last books. In 1918 he was 70.\textsuperscript{15} He did not know that he would live to be almost 83. The post-1918 books are written in a desperate effort to transmit and preserve knowledge that could never be reduplicated. Preoccupation with the history of Greek religion had led Wilamowitz to Hesiod, Theogony. Glaube der Hellenen had long been planned. Schadewaldt had suggested in 1927, while still Dozent at Berlin, that he and Wilamowitz read the Erga together. "That happened, and it came to light how much the poem needed and deserved attention. Therefore, I put everything aside and did what was required."\textsuperscript{16}

Schadewaldt left Berlin to become Ordinarius at Königsberg in 1928. During 1929–34 he was at Freiburg im Breisgau. Between 1928

\textsuperscript{11} The last is attested by Schwester Hildegard von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.
\textsuperscript{12} KS I 464.
\textsuperscript{13} U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Die Heimkehr des Odysseus (Berlin 1927) 197–201, esp. 199.
\textsuperscript{14} It was typical of Wilamowitz’s enthusiasm to allow irrelevant material that excited him to intrude into the subject at hand. Schadewaldt on tragedy had little to do with Homer's Odyssey. But neither in Winter Semester 1907/08 had Menander with “Greek Literary History in the Attic Period.” The Cairo papyrus had just been published and Wilamowitz had worked through it: see Ed. Fraenkel, apud Leo, KS I xxxii n.1.
\textsuperscript{15} For his despair at his seventieth birthday see GRBS 12 (1971) 570 n.60.
\textsuperscript{16} U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Hesiodos Erga (Berlin 1928; repr. 1962) 1.
and 1931 a certain amount of correspondence between the two scholars occurred. Enemy action later destroyed Schadewaldt’s library at Berlin and all his cherished Wilamowitz letters. One card had so impressed him that he had memorized it and later was able to reconstitute the text. On 10 June 1974 he entrusted me with his version and the task of publishing it.

Whitsuntide 1930 Werner Jaeger (aged 42), since 1921 holder of Wilamowitz’s Berlin chair,17 directed a conference (Fachtagung) at Naumburg on the subject “Das Problem des Klassischen und die Antike.”18 Eight lectures were delivered and discussed: Johannes Stroux (Manifestations of the Classic in Antiquity); Wolfgang Schadewaldt (Concept and Essence of the Ancient Classic); Paul Friedländer (Pre- and Post-Classic); Ed. Fraenkel (The Classical Poetry of the Romans); Bernhard Schweitzer (On the Classical in Ancient Art); Ed. Schmidt (Classicism and Classic in Ancient Art); Matthias Gelzer (Does a Classical Form Exist in Political Development?); and H. Kuhn (‘Classic’ as an Historical Concept). The whole conference was decidedly un-Anglo-Saxon in tone. Sterling Dow once remarked of it to me: “It is not a problem; it is a Problem”—pronouncing the latter noun in the German manner. Jaeger in his summary of the proceedings19 allots special praise to Schadewaldt’s contribution.20 Before Dr Alfred Giesecke of B. G. Teubner invited Jaeger to allow him to publish the addresses in a single volume, Jaeger had asked Schadewaldt, alone of the contributors, to publish his lecture in the Hausorgan, Die Antike.21 The article appeared dedicated to “den Königsberger Freunden” at Die Antike 6 (1930) 265–83, the first contribution in the last number of the year. Offprints would be available possibly in December 1930; and Schadewaldt immediately mailed one to Wilamowitz at Westend. What follows is Wilamowitz’s extraordinary

17 For Jaeger as Wilamowitz’s successor see HuH II 713–14.
19 Jaeger, Problem vii–x.
20 Ibid. ix: ‘theoretisch am scharfsten ausgeprägten Standpunkt Schadewaldts.’
I reproduce exactly the copy given me by Schadowaldt on 10 June 1974.

Ohne Datum

Lieber Herr Kollege!

Immer wenn ich 'Die Antike' lese, geht mir ein Mühlrad im Kopfe herum, aber Mehl mahlt das Rad nicht, für mich nicht.—Ich habe eine Vorstellung davon, was klassische Physik ist, und klassische Musik gibt es auch.


Aber nichts für ungut, wie der Berliner sagt, oder zu meiner Zeit gesagt hat, die vorbei ist.

Ihr Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff depontanus

TRANSLATION

Dear Colleague:

Whenever I read "Die Antike" a millstone goes round and round in my head. But the stone grinds no meal. For me it

22 Ca 7 June 1931 Wilamowitz collapsed in the Berlin heat and for a time his son Hermann wrote his letters for him. The last preserved letter of substance known to me is to James Loeb, dated 28 April 1931: see Illinois Classical Studies 2 (1976).

23 December 1930 or January 1931.

24 Wilamowitz would have written without exclamation point Hochgeehrter Herr College.


26 Plut. Mor. 45b. A rebuke surely; see Die Antike 6 (1930) 276= Problem 25: "Sophokles ist der Vollender der klassischen Form der Tragödie . . . So vermag sich bei Sophokles die Sprache kühn und straff zu entfalten, ihrer selbst gewiss, gefügig und sprungbereit, einzigartig in Wortwahl, Fügung und Wortstellung, dabei ohne bewusste Caprice, ein naturhaftes Organ für Rede des Heros wie des niederen Mannes."

27 Cf. HuH II* 699: "Hier zeigt sich dann freilich das Wunderbare, dass der grosse geschichtliche Realist des Altertums, dem, wie er noch in seinen letzten Jahren einmal schrieb, das Wort 'klassisch' ein 'Greuel' war, rein aus dem Instinkt des gesunden Gefühls in seiner Seele praktisch dann doch wieder das Grosse in seiner Grösse hingestellt hat. Es war in ihm eben beides, der 'kühle Kopf' und die 'heisse Liebe', beianander."

doesn't. I have an idea what classical physics is, and classical music exists too. But what else? English literature is rich enough—does 'classic' exist there? Is Shakespeare classic? Why with Sophocles his 'anomalies' were discovered, as Plutarch reports. I have never been able to make a start with the word 'classic', which is an abomination to me, and so I also do not expect that others do so.

But no harm intended as the Berliner says, or said in my time, which is over.

Yours,
Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff
depontanus

One understands why Wilamowitz did not attend the Naumburg Conference. He is not named once by any of the eight speakers nor by the chairman. Others more competent than I may set Wilamowitz's rejection of 'the classic' into the historical context of German intellectual history. Heinz Otto Burger's useful recent volume will simplify the task. Karl Reinhardt's famous address "Die klassische Philologie und das Klassische" (1942) remains fundamental. Richard Harder wrote that for Ritschl, Rohde und Usener—the first two friends and benefactors of the unspeakable Nietzsche, the third of questionable competence—the great authors were an inviolable Garden of Eden. Wilamowitz entered this garden to clear and plough it. Schadewaldt's 'great historical realist', while, in Harder's words, he destroyed classicism, built anew roads to these authors. With stones, papyri, monuments, with a universal knowledge of politics, law and daily life, he set the authors into an historical context. "He wanted his Greeks naked," wrote Reinhardt half in despair. As a

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31 Richard Harder, Kleine Schriften, ed. Walter Marg (Munich 1960) 469.

32 HüH II* 699.

38 K. Reinhardt, apud H. Heimpel, T. Heuss and B. Reifenberg, Die Grossen Deutschen 5 (Berlin 1957) 419: "Er will die Griechen nackt."
schoolboy he had rejected the worship of Antigone.\textsuperscript{34} He stressed the sameness of the Greeks not, after Winckelmann, their exclusiveness. The George circle ridiculed his 'Plato for servantmaids'. Two famous passages deserve notice where the great advocate of Historismus denied the idea of 'classical'. This letter provides the last and most vigorous denial. He began the history of Greek literature\textsuperscript{35} with the outrageous epigram that nothing makes an author so difficult to understand as his apotheosis.\textsuperscript{36} Greek literature from Homer to the Roman Empire was equally classic from the moment it began to be studied historically. But his most eloquent rejection of classicism occurs in the introduction to a work which cost much effort and to which he attached considerable importance, his Griechisches Lesebuch,\textsuperscript{37} where he justifies the learning of Greek by the young. We learn Greek in the last analysis to read Greek books, but:

\begin{quote}
Greeke is more than a language in which a few heroes in a distant beautiful springtime of the world have sung and spoken with melody beyond our grasp. In this light Hellas itself turns into a fairyland, the acropolis of Athens scarcely less than the isle of the Phaeacians; and Greek history turns into heroism,\textsuperscript{38} the Persian War no less than the battle round Ilium. But this is an artificial false light; and our boys are entitled to the truth.\textsuperscript{39}
\end{quote}

Fondation Hardt

June, 1975


\textsuperscript{36} A rephrasing: "Nichts trübt ein Menschenbild so stark wie die Apotheose" (\textit{Ibid.}).

\textsuperscript{37} I cite from U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, \textit{Griechisches Lesebuch} II\textsuperscript{a} (Berlin 1929) iv.

\textsuperscript{38} \textit{Heroentum}: something between 'heroism' and 'heroics' but neither.

\textsuperscript{39} I am grateful to Schwester Hildegard von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and the late Professor Dr Wolfgang Schadewaldt for permission to publish this document. I thank the Fondation Hardt for the leisure to write this paper.