
Notes

Preface

1. J. G. Herder, *Metakritik zur Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (1799) (East Berlin, 1955) 68.
2. *Neuzeit*, literally, “new time.” Modernity is not an exact translation here, but is appropriate to the extent that Koselleck is concerned with the varying historical constructions of “modernism.” See also “Notes on Translation and Terminology.” (Trans.)
3. *Geschichte*. See “Notes on Translation and Terminology” for the manner in which *Geschichte* and *Historie* are dealt with in this translation. (Trans.)

Modernity and the Planes of Historicity

Koselleck's inaugural lecture as professor of history in Heidelberg in 1965. First published as “Vergangene Zukunft der frühen Neuzeit,” in H. Barion, E.-W. Böckenförde, E. Forsthoff, W. Weber (eds.) *Epirrhosis. Festgabe für Carl Schmitt* (Berlin, 1968) Bd. 2, 549–66.

1. This is known in English as “The Battle of Issus.” Points raised in a discussion with Dr. Gerhard Hergt are taken up in this essay. On the term *vergangene Zukunft*, see the use made of it by R. Aron, *Introduction to the Philosophy of History* (London, 1961) 39 ff.; and R. Wittram, *Zukunft in der Geschichte* (Göttingen, 1966) 5. On the interweaving of the three temporal dimensions, see N. Luhmann, “Weltzeit und Systemgeschichte,” in P. Ludz (ed.) *Soziologie und Sozialgeschichte*, Sonderheft 16 of *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* (1972) 81–115.
2. Luther, *Tischreden* WA 678. On Altdorfer, see E. Buchner, *Albrecht Altdorfer und sein Kreis* (Munich, 1938); K. Oettinger, *Altdorfer-Studien* (Nuremberg, 1959); and A. Altdorfer, *Graphik*, ed. F. Winziger (Munich, 1963). For more recent work, see G. Goldberg, “Die ursprüngliche Schrifttafel der Alexanderschlacht Albrecht Altdorfers,” *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 3 Folge, Bd. 19 (1968) 121–26; F. Winziger, “Bemerkungen zur Alexanderschlacht Albrecht Altdorfers,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* Bd. 31 (1968) 233–37; and K. Martin, *Die Alexanderschlacht von Albrecht Altdorfer* (Munich, 1969); and finally, for other analyses of the painting, see J. Harnest, “Zur Perspektive in Albrecht Altdorfers Alexanderschlacht,” in *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (Nuremberg, 1977) 67–77.

3. Luther, *Tischreden* 2576b (Addendum).
4. Robespierre, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. M. Bouloiseau (Paris, 1958) t. IX, 495.
5. St. Augustine, *De civitate Dei* XVIII, c. 53; and XX, c. 7.
6. Luther, *Tischreden* WA 6893.
7. K. Zeumer, *Quellensammlung zur Geschichte der deutschen Reichsverfassung* (Tübingen, 1913) 346 ff.
8. Cited in R. Schnur, “Die französischen Juristen im konfessionellen Bürgerkrieg des 16. Jahrhunderts,” in *Festschrift für Carl Schmitt* (Berlin, 1959) 186.
9. That is, religious confession was determined by and coextensive with the government of a territory by a ruler. (Trans.)
10. Grotius, *De jure belli ac pacis* (Amsterdam, 1670) 389, 398 (II:22, para. 15).
11. Approximately: “Objections to visions, based on biblical authority.” (Trans.)
12. Regarding the above, see H. Grundmann, “Die Papstprophetien des Mittelalters,” *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* Jg. XIX (1929) 77–138; A. Hübscher, *Die grosse Weissagung* (Munich, 1952); A. Klempt, *Die Säkularisierung der universalhistorischen Auffassung* (Göttingen, 1960); W. E. Peuckert, *Die grosse Wende* (Darmstadt, 1966, 2 Bde); R. Taylor, *The Political Prophecy in England* (New York, 1911); and, fundamental for England, K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York, 1971).
13. Guicciardini, *Ricordi* (Bari, 1935) II:58, 114.
14. Richelieu, *Testament politique*, ed. L. André, L. Noel (Paris, 1947) 334.
15. Leibniz, “Letter to Coste 19 December 1707,” in *Leibniz—Deutsche Schriften*, ed. G. E. Guhraner (Berlin, 1838) II:48 ff.
16. D. Hume, “A Theory of Politics,” in *Essays I*, ed. F. Watkins (Edinburgh, 1951) 162.
17. Barozzi, Berchet, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti nel secolo decimosettimo, Ser. II: Francia* (Venice, 1859) II. Cf. B. Nani, *Ein Venezianischer Gesandtschaftsbericht*, ed. A. von Schleinitz (Leipzig, 1920) 61, 72.
18. Lessing, *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts, Gesammelte Werke*, Bd. 9 (Leipzig, 1858) 423.
19. Raynal, *Histoire Philosophique et Politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* (Geneva, 1780) IV:488 ff. Dieckmann has proved in *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France* (1951) 431, that these passages are in Diderot’s handwriting. Cf. Diderot, *Oeuvres politiques* (Paris, 1963) XXXIII.
20. Talleyrand, “Conversation in Erfurt, 9. October 1808,” in *Mémoires*, ed. le Duc de Broglie (Paris 1891) I.

Historia Magistra Vitae. The Dissolution of the Topos into the Perspective of a Modernized Historical Process

Based on Koselleck's faculty lecture, Heidelberg. First published as "Historia Magistra Vitae. Über die Auflösung des Topos im Horizont neuzeitlich bewegter Geschichte," in H. Braun, M. Riedel (eds.) *Natur und Geschichte. Karl Löwith zum 70. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart, 1967) 825–38.

1. F. von Raumer, *Erinnerungen* (Leipzig, 1861) I:118.
2. J. H. Zedler, *Universal-Lexikon* (Halle and Leipzig, 1732 f.) Bd. 13, 281 ff.
3. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, ed. F. Vogel (Leipzig, 1883) I:1.
4. Cf. H. Friedrich, *Montaigne* (Bern, 1949) 246 ff.; and Jean Bodin, *Methodus ad facilem cognitionem historiarum* (Paris, 1572) chap. 3.
5. "History is the inexhaustible well from which everyone draws the water of example to wash away their filth." This was taken by K. F. Wander in his *Deutsches Sprachwörterlexikon* (Leipzig, 1867) I:1593, from Jassoy in *Welt und Zeit* (1816–19) V:338, 166, and III:80.
6. *The Histories of Polybius* (Bloomington, 1962) II:102, and I:40–41; see M. Gelzer, *Kleine Schriften* (Wiesbaden, 1963) III:115, 175 ff.; and A. Toynbee, *Greek Historical Thought* (New York, 1952).
7. "History indeed is the witness of time, the light of truth, the life of the memory, the messenger of antiquity; with what voice other than that of the orator should it be recommended for immortality?" Cicero, *De oratore* II:9,36 and 12,51.
8. "History is full of examples." Cicero, *De divinatione* I:50. See K. Keuck, "Historia, Geschichte des Wortes und seiner Bedeutungen in der Antike und in den romanischen Sprachen" (diss., Münster, 1934).
9. Manitius, *Geschichte der Literatur des lateinischen Mittelalters* (Munich, 1911) 478 ff.; and Zielinski, *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig, 1908).
10. J. Fontaine, *Isidore de Seville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique* (Paris, 1959) I:174 ff.
11. "The history of the world is not a burden to its readers insofar as what it says is useful. Many wise men have applied the past deeds of men which they have read in histories to their behavior in the present." Isidor of Seville, *Etymologianium sive originum libri XX* I:43. Cf. H. Friedrich, *Die Rechtsmetaphysik der Göttlichen Komödie* (Frankfurt, 1942), in which reference is made to Gregory the Great's toleration of expressly heathen examples (36).
12. "For if history records the good deeds of good men, the careful listener will be aroused to imitate this good; and if it relates the bad deeds of bad men, the devout and religious listener or reader will no less be stirred to avoid what is harmful and evil and to seek all the more carefully those things which he has learned to be good and worthy." Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum, Proöm*. Cf. H. Beumann, *Widukind von Korvey als Geschichtsschreiber* (Weimar, 1950); and H. Grundmann, "Eigenart mittelalterlicher Geschichtsanschauung," in *Geschichtsdenken und Geschichtsbild im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 1961) 143 ff., 430 ff.
13. This is shown in Klemp, *Die Säkularisierung der universalhistorischen Auffassung* (Göttingen, 1960) 21 ff., 142. On Luther, see H. Zahrnt, *Luther deutet Geschichte* (Munich, 1952) 16 ff.

14. Machiavelli, *The Discourses* (Harmondsworth, 1970) 207–8.
15. Bodin, *La méthode de l'histoire* (Paris, 1941) XXXVIII:14, 30, 139.
16. See, for example, the *Lexicon Juridicum*, printed in several editions, of J. Kahl: “True history is an account of those things in whose doing the author played a part. But since the creation of the world, God has wanted history to be written in order that he might create before our eyes an image using examples from all ages, which we can follow when we are deliberating how we may best restore the state in times of crisis.” See also G. A. Viperano, *De scribenda Historia* (Antwerp, 1569), where the task of the historian is described as “to tell of deeds which provide examples of how to act.”
17. “A historical education consists of good practical examples which are to be gained from reading history. History is the theater of the whole universe, the mirror of time, a treasure chest of illustration, the eye of wisdom, the mirror of foolishness, weakness, and stupidity, the first principle of practical wisdom, the guardian and spokesman of the virtues, a witness to malice and wickedness, the prophet of truth, the mother city of wisdom, and a treasure house for posterity, and a *κτῆμα ἰς αἰ* [a possession forever].” J. H. Alsted, *Scientiarum omnium Encyclopaediae* (Lugdini, 1649) IV, Book 32.
18. De Mably, *De l'Etude de l'histoire* (Paris, 1778) chap. 1, which recommends the reading of Plutarch so that the ruler might choose his model.
19. “The teacher of future times.” F. Wagner, cited by P. Moraw, “Kaiser und Geschichtsschreiber um 1700,” in *Welt als Geschichte* (1963) 2:130.
20. Cited by T. Schieder in *Deutscher Geist und ständische Freiheit* (Königsberg, 1940) 149.
21. Cited by H. Haussherr in *Hardenberg, eine politische Biographie* (Köln, 1963) I:30.
22. Abraham de Wicquefort, whose work *L'Ambassadeur et ses fonctions* was repeatedly published after 1682, demanded that “the principal study of those who wish to be employed as ambassadors must be history.” (Amsterdam, 1746) I:80. He named Tacitus and Comynes as teachers of equal standing for diplomats. See also V. Pöschl's introduction to Tacitus's *Historien* (Stuttgart, 1959) II ff. J. C. de Folard translated the *Histoire de Polybe* (Paris, 1727 ff.) and added a technical military commentary of contemporary standing. This work was so well regarded by Frederick II that he arranged for a section to be published, which was then translated into German (Leipzig, 1760).
23. Frédéric le Grand, *Oeuvres* (Berlin, 1846) 2: “Avant-Propos” of 1746 to the *Histoire de mon temps*, III ff.
24. “Whoever diligently reads history will see that sometimes the same scenes are reproduced, it being necessary only to change the names of the actors.” Frédéric le Grand, *Oeuvres* 2:34. Cf. G. Arnold, *Wahres Christentum Allen Testaments* (1707) 1:5: “The same comedy or tragedy is played out in the world, with a constantly changing cast of actors.” Frederick drew the conclusion that it was therefore preferable to follow the discovery of truths and progress in the enlightenment of intellect.
25. Frédéric le Grand, *Oeuvres* 9:166. The prognosis was deduced in 1770 as a consequence of Holbach's *Système de la Nature*.
26. Guicciardini, *Ricordi* (Bari, 1935) II:58, 110, 114, and, in contrast, I:114.
27. Gracian, *Criticón* (Hamburg, 1957) 179 ff.

28. “For it is a property of the human spirit that examples never provide a corrective for anyone; the follies of the fathers are lost on their children, and it is necessary that each generation commit its own” (written 17 December 1763). Frédéric le Grand, *Oeuvres* 5:233.

29. J. Burckhardt, *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen* (Pfullingen, 1949) 31. See K. Löwith, *Jacob Burckhardt* (Stuttgart, 1966) 19, 53, 94.

30. G. W. F. Hegel, *Phenomenology of Spirit* (Oxford, 1977) 124.

31. “I go back from age to age to the remotest antiquity; but I find no parallel to what is occurring before my eyes: as the past has ceased to throw its light upon the future, the mind of man wanders in obscurity.” A. de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (London, 1889) II:303. See H. Arendt’s comments on this in *On Revolution* (London, 1963).

32. Cf. Heinsius, *Allgemeines Bücherlexikon (1700–1810)* (Leipzig, 1812) Bd. 2, in which the displacement of *Historie* by *Geschichte* is evident in the headings. This process is examined in detail by Koselleck in “Die Herausbildung des modernen Geschichtsbegriffs,” in the article “Geschichte, Historie,” in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* Bd. 2 (Stuttgart, 1975) 647–717.

33. See J. Hennig, “Die Geschichte des Wortes ‘Geschichte,’” *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 16 (1938) 511–21; and H. Rupp, O. Köhler, “Historia—Geschichte,” *Saeculum* 2 (1951) 27–38.

34. J. G. Droysen, *Historik* (Munich, 1943) 325, 357 para. 83.

35. H. Luden, *Handbuch der Staatsweisheit oder der Politik* (Jena, 1811) vii ff. The expression “history itself” forbids drawing the conclusion that an equivalence exists between the usage of Luden and the old topos, according to which the historian should only let the facts speak, or present only a mirror, or act as a painter reproducing the naked truth (an expression that continually reappeared from Lucian onward, through his reception and the Latin translation by W. Pirckheimer in 1514, and the German translation by Wieland in 1788). See R. Reichardt, “Historik und Poetik in der deutschen und französischen Aufklärung” (diss., Heidelberg, 1966). This self-conception of historians remains bound to a naive epistemology according to which the historical facts can and should be imitated as they are represented. Cf. Mosheim: History should “paint, but without colors. This means that it should adorn as little as possible the deeds and persons which it forms by comparisons, images, or fanciful turns of speech. Everything, if I might so express myself, should be shown and presented in the state of nature.” *Versuch einer unpartheyischen und gründlichen Ketzergeschichte* (Göttingen, 1748) 42 ff. Here the bridge to Luden is provided by Möser, who demands in his preface to the *Osnabrückische Geschichte* (1768) (Berlin, 1843) I:vii that “in history, just as in a painting, it is only deeds that talk; impression, observation, and judgment must remain the part of the viewer.”

36. Radowitz, *Ausgewählte Schriften* (Regensburg, n.d.) II:394.

37. “Die wahre Lehrerin ist die Geschichte selbst, nicht die geschriebene.” G. von Mevissen, cited in J. Hansen, *Ein rheinisches Lebensbild* (Berlin, 1906) I:133. (This is from the year 1837 and is also directed against Hegel.) An early form of this critique may be found in Lichtenberg, *Gesammelte Werke* I:249: “That history is the teacher of life is a saying that is quite certainly used by many without further thought. One instead considers the source from which men, having raised themselves up through reason, draw this reason. It is found in affairs themselves; where things take place, and not where they are recounted.” Lichtenberg does, however, resort to an old topos in maintaining that it was preferable for great men to write their own histories; Mevissen, by contrast, found even this to be without value, posing as a new task instead “the writing of the history of the reflection of history.”

38. Droysen, *Historik* 354.

39. Ibid., 2d ed., Col. 386. [In modern German, *die Geschichte* (f. nom. sing.); plural, *die Geschichten*. (trans.)]

40. Benecke, Müller, Zarncke, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1866) II:2, 115 ff.

41. In Zedler's *Lexikon*, there is still no entry for *Geschichte*. Adelung, who registered the displacement of *Historie* by *Geschichte* and sought in this way to promote this process, wrote: "Die Geschichte, plur. ut nom. sing. . . ." In its usual sense, he went on, history (*Geschichte*) constituted "a definite whole" and was true, i.e., not fabricated. "The history of this man is quite remarkable, that is, all that has occurred around him, his affairs. It is in this meaning that the word is frequently collective and without a plural: several affairs of one kind." *Versuch eines vollständigen Grammatisch-kritischen Wörterbuches der Hochdeutschen Mundart* (Leipzig, 1775) II:600 ff.

42. Bd. 34 (1778) 473. Anonymous review of C. F. Flögel, *Geschichte des menschlichen Verstandes* (Breslau, 1776).

43. "The principal perfection of history consists in order and arrangement. To attain such good order, the historian must embrace and possess all of his history; he must see it entirely as a single perspective . . . its unity must be shown." Fénelon, *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris, 1850) III:639 ff.: *Projet d'un traité sur l'histoire* (1714). I would like to thank H. R. Jauss for this reference; cf. his *Literarische Tradition und gegenwärtiges Bewusstsein der Modernität* (Göttingen, 1975) 173. For Germany, see Moser, who in his *Patriotische Phantasien* (Hamburg, 1954) IV:130 ff., outlines a plan for German *Reichsgeschichte* from the year 1495, writing that it would be necessary to lend it "the course and the power of the epoch." "As long as we do not elevate that plan of our history [*Geschichte*] to a unity, it will remain like the body of a snake which, flayed into a hundred parts, carries along each part of its body connected by the vestiges of remaining skin." A complete *Reichshistorie* can consist solely in the "natural history [of its] unification."

44. See M. Scheele, *Wissen und Glauben in der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Heidelberg, 1930).

45. *Einleitung zur richtigen Auslegung vernünftiger Reden und Schriften* (Leipzig, 1742). Chladenius distinguishes between a *Geschichte an sich*, which is never completely apprehensible, and the idea of it; from this discrepancy he derives the points of view (para. 309), the compulsion for elaboration (para. 316), and the representation of histories in rejuvenated images. Cf. his *Allgemeine Geschichtswissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1752).

46. Cf. P. S. Jones, "A List from French Prose Fiction from 1700 to 1750" (diss., Columbia University, New York, 1939) (I owe this reference to H. Dieckmann); and H. Singer, *Der deutsche Roman zwischen Barock und Rokoko* (Köln, 1963). Singer's sources for the period 1690–1750 reveal far more *Geschichten* than *Romane*. For an overview, see W. Krauss, *Studien zur deutschen und französischen Aufklärung* (Berlin, 1963) 176 ff.; and H. R. Jauss, *Ästhetische Normen und geschichtliche Reflexion in der "Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes"* (Munich, 1964).

47. Aristotle, *De Arte Poetica* (Oxford, 1958) chap. 9, 1451b. For Lessing, see *Über den Beweis des Geistes und der Kraft* (Berlin, 1958) 8, 12; or *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* pt. 19 (3 July 1767). The traditional location of historical science did not prevent Lessing—as it did not prevent the Encyclopedists—from opening up new historicophilosophical paths, even if he did not use the concept *Geschichte* in this way in *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*. See H. Blumenberg, *Paradigmen zu einer Metaphorologie* (Bonn, 1960) 105.

48. Leibniz, *Theodizee* (Leipzig, 1932) Teil 2, 148, 149.

49. Kant, "Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose," in H. Reiss (ed.) *Kant's Political Writings* (London, 1970), Ninth Proposition. This antithesis was taken over by Köster in his article "Historie," in *Teutsche Encyclopädie* (1790) 15:652; it was first formulated by the Göttingen School.

50. B. G. Niebuhr, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Revolution* (Hamburg, 1845) 41.

51. *Die Geschichte* “is of service not so much on account of individual examples to be followed, or to be avoided: these are often misleading and are seldom instructive. Its true and immeasurable utility in animating a sense of the treatment of reality and elucidating it is more a matter of the form taken by events, rather than the events themselves.” W. von Humboldt, *Über die Aufgabe des Geschichtsschreibers* (1821), *Gesammelte Schriften* IV:41.

52. J. von Müller, *Vier und Zwanzig Bücher allgemeiner Geschichten besonders der europäischen Menschheit* (Stuttgart, 1830) VI:351. E. M. Arndt developed a similar transition from pragmatic instructiveness to the historical fulfillment of fate: “There is little instruction that we take as *Bürger* from the past, when we could take more, but . . . it is well that it is so. Only in the sense of totality can one pass from the past to the future; teachings, rules, and examples mean little on their own, for each era passes without pause according to its own spirit.” *Der Bauernstand — politisch betrachtet* (Berlin, 1810) 109.

53. L. von Ranke, ed., *Sämtliche Werke* (Leipzig, 1867–90) Bd. 33, vi ff.

54. “Only too often do we in the present entertain the notion that our conditions are new and quite novel. We readily seize what our neighbor today thinks good; we seldom recall the teachings which past centuries provide. . . . The Book of History lies open; we can know the means by which nations become great, and why they decline; we have the concurrent examples of the ancient past and the freshest memory.” *Historisch-Politische Zeitschrift* (Hamburg, 1832) I:375.

55. See, for example, K. von Rotteck, *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte* (New York, 1848) I:42 ff., paras. 70 ff.: “Uses of History.”

56. Voltaire, *Philosophie de l'Histoire* (1765) (Geneva, 1963); reviewed by Gatterer in *Allgemeine Historische Bibliothek* (Halle) I:218; and translated and provided with a theological commentary in the following year by J. J. Harder, *Die Philosophie der Geschichte des verstorbenen Herrn Abtes Bazin* (Leipzig, 1768).

57. Cf. R. V. Sampson, *Progress in the Age of Reason* (London, 1956) 70 ff.; and H. M. Köster, *Über die Philosophie der Geschichte* (Giessen, 1775).

58. H. M. Köster, article on “Historie, Philosophie der Historie,” in *Teutsche Encyclopädie* (1790) 15:666. Even in 1838, J. Schaller wrote in the *Hallische Jahrbücher* 81:41, that “History [*Geschichte*], as the representation of what has taken place, is in its realization necessarily at once philosophy of history.”

59. Wherever Christian-theological interpretations of earthly events are placed in the genealogy of the modern concept of history, salvational history presupposes as a concept the decline of *historia sacra* and *historia profana* and the formation of an autonomous “Geschichte an sich.” T. Wizenmann consciously took up the complete range of meaning of the modern concept of history in titling his history of Jesus, *Die Geschichte Jesu*, “On the Philosophy and History of Revelation” (Leipzig, 1789): “The time has finally come when one begins to treat the history of Jesus not simply as a repository for dogma, but as the higher history of mankind” (67). “I wished to confirm philosophy on the basis of history, rather than history on the basis of philosophy. History is the source from which everything must be drawn” (55).

His intellectual teacher, Bengel, was not yet able, as was Lessing, to make use of the modern concept of history in interpreting the succession of hitherto failed apocalyptic exegeses as a process of increasing exposure and consciousness, in which factual and spiritual *Geschichte* converge in a final and thus ultimately true prophecy (*Erklärte Offenbarung Johannis*, 1740). In this way, a theological model was set up for the *Phenomenology of Spirit* which made Kant remark in the “Contest of Faculties”: “It is, however, a superstition to take belief in history as a duty

and a part of blessedness” *Werke* VII:65. Only subsequent to the full development of idealistic historical philosophy was it possible for J. C. K. von Hoffman to coin in the forties the necessarily partial counterconcept of a salvational history. See G. Weth, *Die Heilsgeschichte FGLP* (1931) IV:2, and E. Benz, “Verheissung und Erfüllung, über die theologischen Grundlagen des deutschen Geschichtsbewusstseins,” *ZKiG* 54 (1935) 484 ff.

60. “Natural history, improperly called history, and which is an essential part of physics.” Voltaire, article “Histoire,” in *Encyclopédie* 17, 555 ff. Adelung, *Wörterbuches* II:601: “In a very loose meaning, [the expression *Geschichte*] is used for the term ‘natural history.’” On the historicization of the concept of nature, see Kant’s *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte* of 1775 and his philological remarks in the *Critique of Judgement*, para. 82. See also L. Oken, *Über den Wert der Naturgeschichte besonders für die Bildung der Deutschen* (Jena, 1810). Marx’s comment that history is the “true natural history of men” is discussed by Löwith in *Sinn der Geschichte* (Munich, 1961) 43.

61. Cf. Kant, *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View* (The Hague, 1974) 62.

62. Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History. Introduction* (Cambridge, 1975) 21.

63. R. Kornmann, *Die Sybille der Zeit aus der Vorzeit* (Regensburg, 1814) I:84.

64. Goethe, Reinhard, *Briefwechsel* (Frankfurt, 1957) 246.

65. D’Alembert, *Discours préliminaire de l’Encyclopédie* (1751).

66. “Was man von der Minute ausgeschlagen, gibt keine Ewigkeit zurück.” Schiller, “Resignation,” in *Sämtliche Werke* (Stuttgart, 1877) I:46.

67. Von Schön: “If one does not take time as it comes, seizing the good within it and promoting it in its development, then time punishes.” “Woher und Wohin” (1840), in *Aus den Papieren des Ministers . . . Th. v. Schön* (Halle, 1875) III:239.

68. Diderot, article “Encyclopédie,” in *Encyclopédie* 12 (1781) 340.

69. Sieyès, *Was ist der dritte Stand?* (Berlin, 1924) 13 (extract from literary remains).

70. Macaulay later said that in France, where “the gulf of a great revolution completely separates the new from the old system,” the history of the period before 1789 could be composed in a sober and unprejudiced manner. “But where history is regarded as a depository of title deeds, on which the rights of governments and nations depend, the motive to falsification becomes almost irresistible.” In England the events of the Middle Ages retained their force. Decisions frequently were not reached in Parliament until “all the examples which are to be found in our annals, from the earliest times, were collected and arranged.” T. B. Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James II* (New York, 1849) I:24, 25.

71. Sieyès, “Histoire,” in *Nouveau dictionnaire historique* (1791).

72. Malchus, then *Staatsrat* to the Kingdom of Westphalia, 14 July 1808, cited in F. Timme, *Die inneren Zustände des Kurfürstentums Hannover 1806–1813* (Hanover, 1893) II:510.

73. Kant, “Der Streit der Fakultäten,” *Werke* VII:79–80.

74. See H. Taine, *Les origines de la France contemporaine* (Paris, 1878–94). See also Droysen: “The highest commandments determine what history has really occurred.” *Das Zeitalter der Freiheitskriege* (Berlin, 1917) 256.

75. C. T. Perthes, *Friedrich Perthes’ Leben* (Gotha, 1872) III:271 (between 1822 and 1825).

76. B. G. Niebuhr, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Revolution* (Hamburg, 1845) 41.
77. Cf. Luther, Tischrede September–November 1532 (WA *Tischreden*, 1913) II:636 ff., 2756b: according to Melanchthon, the world would last another 400 years, “But God would shorten these because of the chosen; the world is in a hurry, since in these ten years there has been almost a new millennium.”
78. Cf. Lessing, *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* para. 90. See also Robespierre, “Sur la Constitution, 10 May 1793”: “The time has come to call upon each to realize his own destiny. The progress of human reason has laid the basis for this great Revolution, and the particular duty of hastening it has fallen to you.” *Oeuvres complètes* IX:495. “Perpetual Peace” for Kant “is not just an empty idea . . . for we may hope that the periods within which equal amounts of progress are made will become progressively shorter.” *Political Writings* 130.
79. Chateaubriand, *Essai historique, politique et moral sur les révolutions anciennes et modernes . . .* (Paris, 1861) 249. Cf. Jauss, *Aspekte der Modernität* 170.
80. Kant, “Streit der Fakultäten” 2 Abschn. 7.
81. F. Ernst, “Zeitgeschehen und Geschichtsschreibung,” *Die Welt als Geschichte* 17 (1957) 137 ff.
82. See the discussion between Perthes, Rist, and Poel over the planning of the “europäische Staatengeschichte” after 1820 in Perthes, *Leben* III:23 ff.
83. Droysen, *Historik* 300 ff.
84. Savigny, *Zeitschrift für geschichtliche Wissenschaft* (1815) I:4.
85. T. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte* (Berlin, 1882) III:477.
86. “History [*Geschichtskunde*] belongs to the domains of science which cannot be acquired directly by teaching and learning. For this it is partly too easy, partly too difficult.” “Rektoratsrede, Berlin 1874,” in T. Mommsen, *Reden und Aufsätze* (Berlin, 1905) 10.
87. *The Education of Henry Adams, An Autobiography* (Boston, 1918) 497.

Historical Criteria of the Modern Concept of Revolution

First published under the title “Der neuzeitliche Revolutionsbegriff als geschichtliche Kategorie.” *Studium Generale* (1969) 22:825–38.

1. For the history of the word and concept the following can be consulted: H. Arendt, *On Revolution*; K. Griewank, *Der neuzeitliche Revolutionsbegriff, Entstehung und Entwicklung* (Frankfurt a.M., 1969); R. Koselleck, *Kritik und Krise* (Frankfurt a.M., 1975); E. Rosenstock, “Revolution als politischer Begriff,” in *Festgabe der rechts- und staatswissenschaftlichen Fakultät in Breslau für Paul Heiborn* (Breslau, 1931); F. W. Seidler, “Die Geschichte des Wortes Revolution, ein Beitrag zur Revolutionsforschung” (diss. phil., Munich, 1955).

The following will not provide a complete survey of the sources, since these can be found in the article “Revolution,” in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*. From the more recent literature, the following might be consulted: R. Reichardt, *Reform und Revolution bei Condorcet (Bonn, 1973)*; C. Dipper, *Politischer Reformismus und begrifflicher Wandel* (Tübingen, 1976); and K.-H. Bender, *Revolutionen* (Munich, 1977). For a summary of the state of current research that takes up questions of conceptual history, see T. Schieder, *Revolution und Gesellschaft* (Freiburg i.Br., 1973).

2. B. Hauréau, "Révolution," in *Dictionnaire Politique* (1868) 846.
3. H. Ryffel, *Metabolé Politeion* (Bern, 1949).
4. See Bender, *Revolutionen* 19–27, on Le Roy's concept of revolution and his hope, typical of the emergent consciousness of progress, that a renewed decline might be avoided in the future.
5. Hobbes, *Behemoth or the Long Parliament* (London, 1889) 204.
6. "Revolution, die Umwälzung, Veränderung oder Ablauf der zeit, Revolutio regni, die Veränderung oder Umkehrung eines Königreiches oder Landes, wenn nämlich solches eine sonderliche Änderung im Regiment und Policity-Wesen erleidet." Sperander, *A la Mode—Sprach der Teutschen oder compendieuses Hand-Lexicon* (Nuremberg, 1728).
7. L. S. Mercier, *L'An deux mille quatre cent quarante* (London, 1772) 328. The quote is one of the most pointed and is explained as follows: "The happiest of all revolutions has had its point of maturity, and we now (in 2440) are reaping its fruits." The notes refer to the year in which the book appeared: "In some states this is an epoch which has become necessary; a terrible, bloody, epoch, but nonetheless the signal of liberty. I refer to civil war."
8. C. M. Wieland, "Das Geheimnis des Kosmopoliten-Ordens," in *Gesammelte Schriften* (Berlin, 1909) Bd. 15, 223.
9. Reichardt, in *Reform und Revolution*, raises objections to this model (326); cf. Bender, *Revolutionen* 107 ff.
10. Leibniz, *Nouveaux Essais sur l'Entendement Humain*, Book 4, chap. 16 in *Philosophische Schriften* (Darmstadt, 1961) 3/2:504.
11. See above, "Modernity and the Planes of Historicity," note 19.
12. Haréau, "Revolution," in *Dictionnaire Politique* 846.
13. See above, "Historia Magistra Vitae," note 79.
14. *Dictionnaire de l'Academie Française* (Berlin, 1800) suppl. to vol. I, 411.
15. "... die Rechte marschiere immer links, aber die Linke niemals rechts." This is not fully translatable, containing as it does a play on "legal" right and right as opposed to left in the political domain. (Trans.)
16. "... aus der französischen Revolution eine Révolution sociale das ist, eine Umkehrung aller jetzt bestehenden Staaten zu machen." In the same year, A. F. C. Ferrand published in London *Considerations sur la Révolution Sociale*.
17. Marx, "Critical Marginal Notes on the Article 'The King of Prussia and Social Reform.' By a Prussian" (1844), in *Collected Works* 3:205.
18. H. Heine, *Französische Zustände* (article IX, 16 June 1832), in *Sämtliche Schriften* (Munich, 1981) Bd. 5, 215.
19. Robespierre, "Speech on 18 Floréal II" (17 May 1794), in Garaudy (ed.) *Les Orateurs de la Revolution Française* (Paris, 1940) 77.
20. K. W. Koppe, *Die Stimme eines preussischen Staatsbürgers in den wichtigsten Angelegenheiten dieser Zeit* (Köln, 1815) 45.

21. “The principle of movement presupposes as a given fact a preceding revolution, but it requires that the subsequent reorganization of the previously existing political system does not remain at the level of this fact, not merely restricting the restructuring of the totality to mere reforms which gradually enter political life with circumspection, caution, and effect. The principle of movement seeks rather to eternalize the actual revolution, declaring it actually permanent so that all the powers the revolution has promoted and extended to their utmost might bring about the complete ‘rebirth’ of the entire internal life of the state.” (Here the old metaphor of the cycle reemerges.) K. H. L. Pölit, “Die politischen Grundsätze der ‘Bewegung’ und der ‘Stabilität,’ nach ihrem Verhältnisse zu den drei politischen Systemen der Revolution, der Reaction und der Reformen,” *Jahrbücher der Geschichte und Staatskunst* (1831) H. I, 534 ff.
22. On Proudhon and Marx, see T. Schieder, “Das Problem der Revolution im 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Staat und Gesellschaft im Wandel unserer Zeit* (Munich, 1958) 37, 54; and H. A. Winkler, “Zum Verhältnis von bürgerlicher und proletarischer Revolution bei Marx und Engels,” in *Sozialgeschichte heute, Festschrift für Hans Rosenberg* (Göttingen, 1974) 326–53.
23. Marx, *The Class Struggles in France 1848 to 1850*, in *Collected Works* 10:47.
24. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, in *Collected Works* 11:106.
25. Marx, *Class Struggles* 127.
26. Kant, “Streit der Fakultäten” 88.
27. Condorcet, “Sur le sens du mot ‘révolutionnaire,’” *Journal d’Instruction sociale* 1 June 1793, *Oeuvres* (1847) 12:615–23; see Reichardt, *Reform und Revolution* 358.
28. F. Schlegel, “Athenäums-Fragmente,” in *Kritische Schriften* (Munich, 1964) 82.
29. W. Weitling, *Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit* (1842) (Berlin, 1955) 79.
30. F. J. Stahl, *Die Revolution und die constitutionelle Monarchie* (Berlin, 1848) 1.
31. L. von Ranke, “Tagebuchblätter, Unterhaltung mit Thiers 19.8.1841,” in *Weltgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1910) 4:729.
32. See H. Tetsch, *Die permanente Revolution* (Opladen, 1973).

Historical Prognosis in Lorenz von Stein’s Essay on the Prussian Constitution

First published in *Der Staat* 4 (1965) 469–81.

1. Lorenz von Stein, *Geschichte der sozialen Bewegung in Frankreich von 1789 bis auf unsere Tage* (1959) III:194.
2. Kornmann, *Die Sybille*; see above, “Historia Magistra Vitae,” note 63.
3. Hegel, *Lectures* 21. Hegel’s statement that no one can learn from history is not related, as was the case with many of his contemporaries, to the acceleration of history. The world spirit united in itself knows no acceleration of its historical realization.
4. For Stein, see *Sozialen Bewegung* I:84, 146, 502.

5. *Ibid.*, I:65.
6. Perthes, *Leben* II:146 ff., III:23 ff.
7. Lorenz von Stein, *Die Municipalverfassung Frankreichs* (Leipzig, 1843) 68.
8. See E. W. Bockenförde, “Lorenz von Stein als Theoretiker der Bewegung von Staat und Gesellschaft zum Sozialstaat,” in his *Staat, Gesellschaft, Freiheit* (Frankfurt a.M., 1976).
9. K. G. Specht (ed.) Lorenz von Stein, *Begriff und Wesen der Gesellschaft* (Köln, 1956) 21.
10. Stein, *Soziale Bewegung* III:216.
11. Lorenz von Stein, “Zur preussischen Verfassungsfrage,” *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift* (1852). See also C. Schmitt, “Die Stellung Lorenz von Steins in der Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts,” *Schmollers Jahrbuch* (1940).
12. Stein, *Sozialen Bewegung* I:139 ff.
13. Stein, “Verfassungsfrage” 24.
14. *Ibid.*, 36.
15. *Ibid.*, 4.
16. *Ibid.*, 35.
17. *Ibid.*, 30.
18. *Ibid.*, 12.
19. See the evidence in my book, *Preussen zwischen Reform und Revolution* (Stuttgart, 1975) 258 ff.
20. Stein, “Verfassungsfrage” 14.
21. E. R. Huber, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte seit 1789* (Stuttgart, 1963) III:635.
22. Stein, *Sozialen Bewegung* I:149.
23. Stein, “Verfassungsfrage” 23.
24. *Ibid.*, 21.
25. For details, see my *Preussen zwischen Reform und Revolution*.
26. Stein, “Verfassungsfrage” 35.

Begriffsgeschichte and Social History

First published as “Begriffsgeschichte und Sozialgeschichte,” in P. Ludz (ed.) *Soziologie und Sozialgeschichte*, Sonderheft 16 of *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* (1972) 116–31.

1. Epictetus, *Encheiridion* c. V.

2. The following thoughts are based on work associated with the editing of *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*. Further elaboration of these points can be found in the introduction to Bd. I. For an account of the evolution and present state of *Begriffsgeschichte*, see H. G. Meier, "Begriffsgeschichte," *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, ed. J. Ritter (Basel, 1971) I:788–808.
3. A clear and bibliographically comprehensive account of political semantics can be found in W. Dieckmann, *Sprache in der Politik* (Heidelberg, 1969). In the area of method and theory, special mention should be made of R. Koebner, "Semantics and Historiography," *Cambridge Journal* 7 (1953); M. A. Cattaneo, "Sprachanalyse und Politologie," in R. H. Schmidt (ed.) *Methoden in der Politologie* (Darmstadt, 1967); L. Girard, "Histoire et lexicographie," *Annales* 18 (1963), which is a review of J. Dubois, *Le vocabulaire politique et social en France de 1869 à 1872* (Paris, 1962); and R. Koselleck (ed.) *Historische Semantik und Begriffsgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1978).
4. G. Winter (ed.) *Die Reorganisation des Preussischen Staates unter Stein und Hardenberg* (Leipzig, 1931) Erster Teil, Bd. I, 316. The original reads: "Überhaupt gehört eine vernünftige Rangordnung, die nicht einen Stand vor dem anderen begünstigte, sondern den Staatsbürgern aller Stände ihre Stellen nach gewissen Klassen nebeneinander anwies, zu den wahren und keineswegs zu den ausserwesentlichen Bedürfnissen eines Staates." For the sociohistorical context, see my *Preussen zwischen Reform und Revolution* 158, 190 ff., and its App. II for the conceptual categorization of *Staatsbürger* and other related terms.
5. F. Meusel (ed.) *Friedrich August Ludwig von der Marwitz* (Berlin, 1908–13) II/1:235 ff., II/2:43.
6. Koselleck plays on the word *Recht* here: by writing (*Vor*) *Rechte*, running them together in the same way that Hardenberg does, he draws attention to the fact that the rights of the *Stände* were at the same time privileges. (Trans.)
7. See N. Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965) 161.
8. Cf. E. W. Böckenförde, *Die deutsche verfassungsgeschichtliche Forschung im 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1961).
9. Cf. M. Riedel, "Gesellschaft, bürgerliche," in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (Stuttgart, 1975) 2:719–800.
10. Cf. H. Lübke, *Säkularisierung* (Freiburg, 1965); and H. Zabel, "Verweltlichung—Säkularisierung. Zur Geschichte einer Interpretationskategorie" (diss., Münster, 1968).
11. Cf. my article "Bund," in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (Stuttgart, 1972) 1:582–671.
12. *Sachgeschichte* is "factual" or "material" history. (Trans.)
13. P.-L. Weinacht, *Staat* (Berlin, 1968).

History, Histories, and Formal Structures of Time

First published in R. Koselleck, W.-D. Stempel (eds.) *Geschichte, Ereignis und Erzählung* (Munich, 1973) 211–22.

1. St. Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* II, XXVIII:44.
2. Herodotus, *Historia* 3:80–83.

3. See G. Rohr, *Platons Stellung zur Geschichte* (Berlin, 1932); and the review by H. G. Gadamer in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* Heft 42 (1932) 1979 ff.
4. Plato, *Laws* 691 B, 692 B.
5. See A. Momigliano, "Time in Ancient Historiography," *History and Theory* Beiheft 6 (1966) 12.
6. Cf. K. Weidauer, *Thukydides und die Hippokratischen Schriften* (Heidelberg, 1954).
7. St. Augustine, *Confessions* II:14–27.
8. St. Augustine, *City of God* XIX:12.
9. *Ibid.*, IV:14 ff.
10. *Ibid.*, XIX:5, 7.
11. Bossuet, *Discours de l'histoire universelle* (Paris, 1681) pt. 3, chaps. 1, 2, 9.
12. E. Gilson, *Les métamorphoses de la cité de Dieu* (Louvain, 1952).
13. Bossuet, *Discours*, pt. 2, chap. 15.
14. A. L. Schlözer, *Weltgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1785) Teil I, paras. 36, 76 ff.; and Kant, "Idea for a Universal History," in *Political Writings*, Ninth Proposition.

Representation, Event, and Structure

First published as "Ereignis und Struktur," in R. Koselleck, W.-D. Stempel (eds.) *Geschichte—Ereignis und Erzählung* (Munich, 1973) 560–71. It is based on discussions at a 1970 conference of the research group "Poetik und Hermeneutik."

1. This essay is based to a great extent on the contributions of Fellmann, Greimas, Jauss, Lübke, Stierle, Stempel, Szondi, and Taubes. I would like to acknowledge the stimulation I drew from them.
2. St. Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* II, XXIX:45.
3. G. Simmel, *Das Problem der historischen Zeit* (Berlin, 1916) 29.
4. Kant, *Anthropology* (The Hague, 1974) 62.
5. Cf. K.-G. Faber, *Theorie der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Munich, 1971) 100 ff.
6. Montesquieu, *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence* (Paris, 1951) 475.
7. Here it seems that there is an analogy between historical event and the work of art which, in becoming an "event," contains at the same time more and less than what was included in its predecessors. This "at once more and less" defines the axiom of uniqueness. This does not, of course, exclude the possibility of an infinite number of factors actually entering unaltered into an event so that it might become reality: this is the domain of structural conditions, which

in the case of art, tend to be explained in terms of style. On the whole, I do not want to strain this analogy between event and the work of art, however much a hermeneutic frame might cover them both. On this, see the contribution of Jauss to this collection (“Zur Analogie von literarischen und historischem Ereignis,” in *Geschichte—Ereignis und Erzählung*). Every historical event contains temporal qualities in its execution and in its reception: duration, periodicity, and acceleration; but these are not relevant to a created work of art. The habit of referring to a work of art as timeless has, in comparison with historical events, an inescapable meaning. If all history is the history of effect and reception, this does not mean that everything that has an effect is constituted in the same way.

8. Cf. my “Einleitung” to *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* Bd. 1.

9. Stein, *Soziale Bewegung* III:194.

Chance as Motivational Trace in Historical Writing

First published as “Der Zufall als Motivationsrest in der Geschichtsschreibung,” in H. R. Jauss (ed.) *Die nicht mehr schönen Künste* (Munich, 1968) 129–41.

1. R. Aron, *Introduction to the Philosophy of History* 16. According to context, “chance,” “accident,” and “coincidence” are used interchangeably here to translate the original *Zufall*. (Trans.)

2. E. H. Carr, *What Is History?* (Harmondsworth, 1964) 98 ff.

3. Cf. the work produced by the school around Hugo Friedrich; K. Heitmann, *Fortuna und Virtus* (Köln, 1958); and H. Jansen, in *Kölner Romanistische Arbeiten* N.F. Heft 9. See also F. P. Pickering, *Literatur und darstellende Kunst im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1966) 112 ff.; and E. Köhler, *Der literarische Zufall und die Notwendigkeit* (Munich, 1973).

4. “Where then is the definition of Fortune? How does she receive her name from chance circumstances? If she be Fortune, all worship is in vain. . . .” St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* IV:18.

5. O. von Freising, *Chronica sive Historia de duabus Civitatibus* (Darmstadt, 1960) 10, 92 (a rare case in which “worldly fortune,” not *fortuitis casibus*, is at issue), 130, 210, 290, 446.

6. Cf. H. Löwe, “Regino von Prüm und das historische Weltbild der Karolingerzeit,” and H. Beumann, “Widukind von Korvei als Geschichtsschreiber und seine politische Gedankenwelt,” both in W. Lammers (ed.) *Geschichtsdenken und Geschichtsbild im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 1961) 123, 133, 154.

7. Zingref, *Emblematum Ethico-Politicorum Centuria* (Heidelberg, 1666) XCIV. See also the summary of the tradition, which is given in Zedler’s *Lexikon* Bd. 9, 1545 ff.

8. Gracian, cited in Jansen in *Romanistische Arbeiten* 191 ff.

9. Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiae* lib. 2 (Zürich, 1949) 80.

10. Gracian, *Criticón* 116.

11. Pascal, *Pensées* (Paris, 1948) 162.

12. Frédéric le Grand, *Oeuvres* VIII:151.

13. See J. H. Brumfitt, *Voltaire, Historian* (Oxford, 1958) 105 ff.
14. *Carl Duclos' geheime Memoiren* (Berlin, 1792) I:15.
15. Frédéric le Grand, *Oeuvres* VIII:149, and chap. 25 of his *Antimachiavell*.
16. *Ibid.*, 285.
17. Von Archenholtz, *Geschichte des Siebenjährigen Krieges* (Halle, 1791) 2.
18. *Ibid.*, 40 ff.
19. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologianium* I:40 ff.
20. While it has not been undisputed, the idea, which has existed since Aristotle, that inner probability is more convincing than reality, is an argument which rendered creative thought (*Dichtung*) superior to history. This is because the former concerned itself with probability and not with facticity. Von Archenholtz made use of this train of thought, which was made known to him through Lessing, to elevate history above creative thought with the classical arguments of poetics. This is one of the ways in which the revaluation of history with respect to poetry took place in the eighteenth century. Cf. Blumenberg, *Paradigmen* 96–105.
21. Von Archenholtz, "Eine Begebenheit, wie erdichtet," in *Geschichte* 254.
22. Montesquieu, *Considérations* 475. His dictum was well known in the eighteenth century (cf. Brumfitt, *Voltaire, Historian* 113). This train of thought was certainly known to von Archenholtz, since he introduced a variation according to which recent history provided no examples "which might connect the gain or the loss of a single city with the fate of an entire monarchy" (*Considérations* 342). Since Frederick's strategy was based on movement, it would have been possible for him to leave the most important fortress in his country, Magdeburg, relatively lightly defended. It was not possible for his enemies to force a conclusion to the entire war through a single encounter here. In his essay on the great powers, in *Historisch-Politische Zeitschrift*, Ranke argued that the Seven Years War distinguished itself from all previous wars between states in that "for such an extended period of time, the existence of Prussia was continually at stake." One bad day would have meant the end. In seeking to identify the general causes preventing the collapse of Prussia, Ranke suggested that Frederick was not a captive of the pleasurable philosophy of the French. Frederick "creates his own rules; he rests on his own truth." The primary cause was that he "upheld himself morally." Notwithstanding the accuracy of this observation, it can be said that for Ranke, the antithesis between general causes and chance is subsumed by the concept of individuality. The continued effectivity of Montesquieu's differentiation of general trends and chance occurrences is noted by Carr, *What Is History?* 101–2, with respect to Marx and Trotsky.
23. Von Archenholtz, *Geschichte* 241.
24. *Ibid.*, 44, 98.
25. Carr, *What Is History?* 99.
26. Ranke, article "Friedrich der Grosse," in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*.
27. Von Archenholtz, *Geschichte* 350.
28. The extent to which the consequences of such chance events is excluded in the modern world is demonstrated by Roosevelt's death in 1945. This led the National Socialists to draw a propagandistic parallel with the death of the tsarina in 1762 so that a historical-ideological

escape from an inescapable situation might be found. Roosevelt's death could not influence the course of the Second World War. The role of the hero had by this time been denaturalized in favor of historical structures which left ever less space for fortune, not only as a means of representation but also de facto.

29. Von Archenholtz, *Geschichte* 47, 174, 328, 350.

30. Von Humboldt, *Geschichtsschreibers* 24, 18.

31. See the critical review by H. G. Gadamer in *Philosophische Rundschau* 18 (1971) 61.

32. Leibniz, in Holz (ed.) *Metaphysische Abhandlung* Abh. 13, 1965:86; cf. *Theodizee* paras. 3 ff., and *Monadologie* paras. 31 ff. On the prehistory of theodicy with respect to the exclusion of chance, see Boethius, *De Consolatione* lib. 5.

33. C. M. Wieland, *Über die Behauptung, dass ungehemmte Ausbildung der menschlichen Gattung nachteilig sei, Sämtliche Werke* (Leipzig, 1857) 29, 311.

34. Hegel, *Lectures* 28.

35. Novalis, *Heinrich von Ofterdingen, Schriften* I:259.

36. Ranke, "Über die Epochen der neueren Geschichte" (1854), in Hoffmann (ed.) *Geschichte und Politik* (Stuttgart, 1942) 141.

37. Droysen, *Briefwechsel* II:282.

Perspective and Temporality: A Contribution to the Historiographical Exposure of the Historical World

First published as "Standortbindung und Zeitlichkeit. Ein Beitrag zur historiographischen Erschließung der geschichtlichen Welt," in R. Koselleck, W. J. Mommsen, J. Rüsen (eds.) *Objektivität und Parteilichkeit in der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Munich, 1977) 17–46.

1. Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften* 7:205. In this essay, "Standortbindung" is rendered variously by "perspective," "positional commitment" and "restriction to a particular position"; the term literally means "locational binding," but this rendering is not suitable for the different ways it is used by Koselleck. (Trans.)

2. Lucian, *How to Write History*, in *Works* 6 (London, 1959) chap. 39; and Cicero, *De oratore* 15:62.

3. Cf. C. Weymann, "Sine ira et studio," *Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 15 (1908); and J. Vogt, "Tacitus und die Unparteilichkeit des Historikers," *Würzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft* 9 (1936).

4. Lucian, *How to Write History* chap. 51.

5. G. J. Voss, *Ars historica* (1623) (Lugdunum Bat., 1653) V:27.

6. J. S. Halle, article "Geschichte," in *Kleine Enzyklopädie* (Berlin, 1779) I:522. Cf. Reichardt, diss.

7. Blumenberg, *Paradigmen* 47 ff.

8. Fénelon, "Lettre à M. Dacier sur les occupations de l'Académie," in *Oeuvres complètes* 6:639.
9. J. C. Gottsched, *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst* (Leipzig, 1742) 354.
10. Ranke, *Zur Kritik neuerer Geschichtsschreiber* (Leipzig, 1824) 28.
11. Blumenberg, *Paradigmen* 55.
12. Ranke, *Englische Geschichte* (Berlin, 1860) 2, 3.
13. Lucian, *How to Write History* chap. 41.
14. Ranke, *Geschichten der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1514, Sämtliche Werke* (1874) 33/34, VII.
15. Cited by Vogt, *Würzburger Studien* 1.
16. G. G. Gervinus, *Grundzüge der Historik* (Leipzig, 1837) 93 ff.
17. Ranke "Einleitung zu den Analekten der Englischen Geschichte," *Sämtliche Werke* 21:114.
18. Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Leipzig, 1881) I, x.
19. See the article "Geschichte, Historie," in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* 2:597 ff.
20. See Ernst, "Zeitgeschehen und Geschichtsschreibung," *op. cit.*
21. J. A. Comenius, *Das Labyrinth der Welt und das Paradies des Herzens* (1623), (Lucerne, 1970) 105 f f.
22. Zedler, *Universal-Lexikon* 13:286.
23. The following evidence does not pretend to present a strict chronology of the argument, which differs from country to country and from language to language.
24. Chladenius, *Allgemeine Geschichtswissenschaft*. See especially chap. 11, "On old and foreign *Geschichten*," and chap. 12, "On things of the future."
25. Chladenius, *Einleitung zur richtigen Auslegung vernünftiger Reden und Schriften* (Leipzig, 1742, reprinted 1969) 185 ff., and *Geschichtswissenschaft* 74 ff., 152.
26. Chladenius, *Einleitung* 188 ff., and *Geschichtswissenschaft* 100 ff.
27. Chladenius, *Geschichtswissenschaft* 127.
28. *Ibid.*, chaps. 6 and 7.
29. Chladenius, *Einleitung* 237.
30. Chladenius, *Geschichtswissenschaft* 166, 151.
31. *Ibid.*, 161 ff.
32. F. G. Klopstock, *Die deutsche Gelehrtenrepublik, Sämtliche Werke* 12:78 ff.
33. Fénelon, "Lettre" 638: "Projet d'un traité sur l'histoire."

34. Abbt, *Geschichte* (Halle, 1766) I:219.
35. J. C. Gatterer, "Abhandlung vom Standort und Gesichtspunct des Geschichtsschreibers oder der teutsche Livius," in *Allgemeine historische Bibliothek* (Halle, 1768) 5, .7.
36. J. G. Büsch, *Encyklopädie der historischen, philosophischen und mathematischen Wissenschaften* (Hamburg, 1775) 12.
37. A. L. von Schlözer, preface to Mably, *Von der Art, Geschichte zu schreiben* (Strasburg, 1784) 7.
38. G. J. Planck, *Geschichte der Entstehung, der Veränderungen und der Bildung unsers protestantischen Lehrbegriffs* (Leipzig, 1781) I, VII, and *Einleitung in die theologischen Wissenschaften* (Leipzig, 1795) 2:243.
39. Bengel, *Erklärte Offenbarung*.
40. J. S. Semler, *Neue Versuche, die Kirchenhistorie der ersten Jahrhunderte mehr aufzuklären* (Leipzig, 1787) 1 ff.
41. J. S. Semler, *Versuch einer freiern theologischen Lehrart* (Halle, 1777) 9.
42. Semler, *Neue Versuche* 3.
43. Semler, *Versuch* 33 ff., 8.
44. Semler, *Neue Versuche* 101.
45. Goethe, *Materialien zur Geschichte der Farbenlehre, Werke* 14:93.
46. F. Gentz, preface to Mallet du Pan, *Über die Französische Revolution und die Ursachen ihrer Dauer* (Berlin, 1794) 20 ff.
47. F. Schlegel, "Über Fox und dessen historischen Nachlass (1810)," *Kritische Ausgabe* 7:115 ff.
48. F. Schlegel, "Über die neuere Geschichte. Vorlesungen 1810–11," *Kritische Ausgabe* 7:129.
49. Schlegel, "Über Fox" 116.
50. Schlegel, "Neuere Geschichte" 129.
51. "Even to hear talk of a religious, Christian, Catholic party" gives rise to "inner uneasiness and embarrassment." F. Schlegel, "Signatur des Zeitalters (1820–23)," *Kritische Ausgabe* 7:519.
52. Hegel, *Lectures* 30.
53. Ibid.
54. Perthes, *Leben* 2:240.
55. Ibid., 3:24 ff.
56. F. C. Dahlmann, *Die Politik* (Leipzig, 1847) 291.
57. Stein, *Municipalverfassung* 68.
58. L. Feuerbach, "Todesgedanken (1830)," *Sämtliche Werke* 1:48.

59. Gervinus, *Grundzüge* 92 ff.

60. Ranke, "Georg Gottfried Gervinus. Gedächtnisrede vom 27.9.1871," *Historische Zeitschrift* 27 (1872) 142 ff.

61. It follows from this that wherever theoretical premises are pregiven party-politically, and are not themselves open to critical examination, even the criteria of the objectivity of source exegesis does not suffice for the scientific conduct of historical research.

The Historical-Political Semantics of Asymmetric Counterconcepts

First published as "Zur historisch-politischen Semantik asymmetrischer Gegenbegriffe," in H. Weinrich (ed.) *Positionen der Negativität* (Munich, 1975) 65–104.

1. Kant, *Metaphysics of Ethics*, pt. 2, para. 36 n.
2. R. J. Sattler, article "Barbaren," in *Grundbegriffe der Geschichte* (Gutersloh, 1964) 33–35.
3. J. Jüthner, *Hellenen und Barbaren* (Leipzig, 1923) 1–13.
4. Cf. *Ibid.*, 14.
5. Plato, *Politiea* 262 A.
6. J. Burckhardt, *Griechische Kulturgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1939) I:284 ff.; and Plato, *Republic* 471 B–E.
7. Plato, *Meno* 245 C.
8. Plato, *Meno* 242 G, *Republic* 269 B.
9. Aristotle, *Politics* 1252 B, 1327 B.
10. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1145 A.
11. Aristotle, *Politics* 1252 B, 1285 A, 1329 A, 1330 A.
12. Plato, *Politiea* 262 A.
13. Aristotle, *Politics* 1254 B, 1327 B.
14. Jüthner, *Hellenen und Barbaren* 16.
15. Aristotle, *Politics* 1255 A, B.
16. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1161 B.
17. Cf. A. Rüstow, *Ortsbestimmung der Gegenwart* (Erlenbach 1950) I:84 ff.
18. H. Nicolson, *Die Herren der Welt privat* (Frankfurt a.M., 1933) 174.
19. Thucydides I:3; Plato, *Republic* 452 D; and Aristotle, *Politics* 1257 A, 1268 B, 1269 B, 1295 A.

20. Thucydides I:6.
21. Cicero, *De republica* I:58.
22. J. Burckhardt, *Historische Fragmente* (Stuttgart, 1942) 4. Here he registers caution with respect to the usage, since the “concepts fluctuate too much.” “The use or nonuse of the word [Barbarism] ultimately becomes trying.”
23. E. Troeltsch, *Der Historismus und seine Probleme* (Aalen, 1961) 4.
24. Diogenes Laertius 6:38, 63. See the critique by W. W. Tarn, “Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 19 (1933) 125. He argues that the negation as used by Diogenes does not—contrasting here with the usual interpretation—involve a comprehensive community. *Kosmopolit* “is a horrible word, which he coined and which was not used again for centuries.”
25. Jüthner, *Hellenen und Barbaren* 34 ff.
26. J. Burckhardt, *Griechische Kulturgeschichte* I:296; and *ibid.*, 55.
27. H. Naumann, “Der edle und der wilde Heide,” in *Festgabe Gustav Ehrismann* (Berlin, 1925) 80–101.
28. R. Gonnard, *La légende du bon sauvage* (Paris, 1946).
29. Plutarch, *Moralia* 329 D. This was directed against Aristotle, *Politics* 1254 B.
30. M. Pohlenz, *Die Stoa* (Göttingen, 1948) I:153 ff.
31. Diodorus, II:6–8.
32. Tarn, “Alexander the Great” 135 ff.
33. J. Bidez, *La cité du monde et la cité du soleil chez les Stoiciens* (Paris, 1932). M. Hammond, *City-State and World-State in Greek and Roman Political Philosophy until Augustus* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951).
34. Stobaios, cited in Tarn, “Alexander the Great” 128. M. Manilii, *Astronomicon* (London, 1930) 5:733 ff. Diodorus I:1, 3. Epictetus, *Discourses* 2:5, 4 (on mimesis).
35. Abbreviation of the contrast can be found in E. Gilson, *Les métamorphoses de la cité de Dieu* (Louvain, 1952).
36. Cicero, *De Officiis* I:53 ff. Cf. J. Vogt, *Orbis Romanus* (Tübingen, 1929).
37. “Some pay attention to both of these republics at once, the greater and the lesser one, some only to the lesser, and some only to the greater. We are able to serve this greater republic even when we are not engaged in politics—maybe even better when we are not engaged in politics.” Seneca, *Ad Serenum de otio* c. 31.
38. Marcus Aurelius, *Commentaria* 6:44; cf. 3:11.
39. Epictetus, *Discourses* 2:5, 4.
40. *Ibid.*, 3:13.

41. U. Duchrow, *Christenheit und Weltverantwortung* (Stuttgart, 1970) 59 ff. See also Tertullian's expression: "The Romans, that is the non-Christians. . . ." (*Liber apologeticus* 35:9); and the interpretation of H. von Campenhausen, *Lateinische Kirchenväter* (Stuttgart, 1960) 21 ff.
42. Tertullian, cited in Jüthner, *Griechische Kulturgeschichte* 145, 93.
43. Cicero, *De republica* I:58.
44. Jüthner, *Griechische Kulturgeschichte* 60 ff.
45. H. Conzelmann, "Heidenchristentum," *RGG* (Tübingen, 1959) 3:128–41.
46. K. Barth, *Der Römerbrief* (Zürich, 1954) 59.
47. Cf. the linguistically nonparadoxical usage for the same idea in 1 Cor. 12, 13. The ideas advanced here stem from discussions with Jacob Taubes.
48. R. Bultmann, *Das Urchristentum im Rahmen der antiken Religionen* (Zurich, 1949) 200 ff.
49. H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies* (Princeton, 1957); and W. Berges, *Der Fürstenspiegel des hohen und späten Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1938).
50. J. Rupp, *L'idée de Chrétienté dans la pensée pontificale des origines à Innocent III* (Paris, 1939); and D. Hay, *Europe. The Emergence of an Idea* (Edinburgh, 1957).
51. See the many and varied references in Jüthner, *Griechische Kulturgeschichte* 87–121.
52. S. Stein, *Die Ungläubigen in der mittelhochdeutschen Literatur von 1050 bis 1250* (Darmstadt, n.d.) 17 ff., 22; and Hay, *Europe*.
53. *Origines*, c. Cels. 2:14, 8:72. See also A. Miura-Stange, *Celsus and Origines* (Giessen, 1926) 43 ff.
54. St. Augustine, *City of God* 15:18, 19:17.
55. *Ibid.*, 15:17.
56. *Ibid.*, 19:13.
57. *Ibid.*, 15:1.
58. *Ibid.*, 19:7–9.
59. St. Augustine, *Letters* 185, 11. See also Duchrow, *Christenheit* 297 ff.
60. St. Augustine, *City of God* 20:19.
61. *Ibid.*, 1:8.
62. *Ibid.*, 1:8 ff.
63. J. N. Figgis, *The Political Aspects of St. Augustine's City of God* (London, 1921).
64. Dawson, "St. Augustine and His Age," in *A Monument to St. Augustine* (London, 1930) 70 ff.

65. R. Schäfer, “Wesen des Christentums,” *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie* 1:1008 ff. B. Bauer shares the same premises on the irreversibility of the historical process in doubting the ability of the Jews to emancipate themselves as such; see “Die Judenfrage,” *Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst* (1842) 1093 ff.

66. “Where there is now paganism let there be Christianity.” Cited in Hay, *Europe* 30.

67. “Let the love of the land of his birth delay no one, since for the Christian in different ways the whole world is exile and the whole world is his native land. Thus exile is home, and home, exile.” William of Malmesbury, cited in Hay, *Europe* 32.

68. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* II, sect. 2, qu. 10, art. 8.

69. H. Kamen, *Die spanische Inquisition* (Munich, 1969) 41. The Papal Bull of 24 September 1449 directed itself, without success, against the division of Catholic members of the Church according to “racial” criteria.

70. Verse 1015, provided by H. Gumbrecht.

71. Hay, *Europe* 29, 35; and Rupp, *L'idée de Chrétienté* 99 ff.

72. Hay, *Europe* 14, 41 ff.

73. Stein, *Literatur* 24, 39; M. Villey, *La Croisade, Essai sur la formation d'une théorie juridique* (Paris, 1942); A. Noyer-Weidner, “Farbrealität und Farbsymbolik in der ‘Heidengeographie’ des Rolandsliedes,” *Romanische Forschung* (1969) 22–59.

74. Nauman, “Der Heide” 80.

75. Stein, *Literatur* 15.

76. Ambrosius, Letter 17. See also H. Lietzmann, *Geschichte der alten Kirche* (Berlin, 1950) 4:68; St. Augustine, *City of God* 5:24.

77. Cf. Figgis, *St. Augustine's City* 89.

78. 1 John 4, 6; and R. Hooker, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (London, 1954) I:104 ff.

79. For the sake of accuracy and to enable the reader to observe the formation of terminology around *Mensch*, the original German terms are retained in this section. (Trans.)

80. Cicero, *De Officiis* 1:3, c. 28–32.

81. Lessing, cited in W. Stammeler, *Kleine Schriften zur Sprachgeschichte* (Berlin, 1954) 82. See also Lessing, *Minna von Barnhelm*, Act 1, Scene 8: “No, there are no complete *Unmenschen!* We will stay together!”

82. “Alle Laster . . . sind inhuman, objektiv betrachtet, aber doch menschlich.” Kant, *Metaphysics of Ethics* pt. 2 “On Virtue” para. 36 n. With respect to the dualistic formulation, the Christian-Stoic doctrine of the two persons is continued by Kant’s philosophical anthropology, in which the concept of the *Mensch* is doubled; the empirical *Mensch* is subordinated to an inhering ideal *Menschheit*, the imitation of which is a postulate of historicophilosophical fulfillment.

83. St. Augustine, “Enarrationes,” in *Psalmos* 68:6.

84. Kant, “On Perpetual Peace,” in *Political Writings* 108.

85. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* Bd. 6, col. 2077 ff.
86. Cited in Stammer, *Sprachgeschichte*.
87. Ibid.
88. Kotzebue, *Theater* (Leipzig, 1840) I:31.
89. A. Blumauer, *Gedichte* (1782) I:228.
90. Salzmann, *Carl von Carlsberg* V:316.
91. Moritz, *Anton Reiser* 3:220, cited in Stammer, *Sprachgeschichte*.
92. “Der Fürst sei Mensch, der Sklave frei, dann eilt die goldne Zeit herbei”; cited by Stammer, *Sprachgeschichte*.
93. Rousseau, *Emile* I:3. See also my *Kritik und Krise* 204 ff., 116 ff.
94. Friedrich der Grosse, “Denkwürdigkeiten,” in *Werke* 5:51.
95. J. Harrington, “The Commonwealth of Oceana,” in *Political Works* (Cambridge, 1977) 229.
96. A. Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (Oxford, 1976) pt. I, section I, chap. 2.
97. J. Boswell, *The Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson* (London, n.d.) 198.
98. W. Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (Chicago, 1871) I:241.
99. Cited in O. Vossler, *Der Nationalgedanke von Rousseau bis Ranke* (Munich, 1937) 81.
100. C. F. D. Schubart, *Teutsche Chronik* 65.
101. R. Desèze, *Défense de Louis XVI* (Leipzig, 1900) 1.
102. St. Just, *Oeuvres* (Paris, 1946) 120.
103. In contrast to *Übermenschen*, the term *Untermensch* is only to be found in the German language from the end of the eighteenth century on. See Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*: “Übermensch” Bd. 11, 2 Abt., 417 ff.; “Untermensch” Bd. 11, 3 Abt., 1686 ff.
104. See F. Tricaud, “‘Homo homini Deus,’ ‘Homo homini lupus’: Recherche des sources des deux formules de Hobbes,” in R. Koselleck, R. Schnur (eds.) *Hobbes-Forschungen* (Berlin, 1969) 61 ff.
105. K. Burdach, “Rienzo und die geistige Wandlung seiner Zeit,” in Burdach (ed.) *Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation* (Berlin, 1913) Bd. 2, T. 1, 1 Hälfte. 211 ff., 269 ff.; see also F. H. Kantorowicz, “Mysteries of the State,” *Harvard Theological Review* 47 (1955); and E. Benz, *Der Übermensch* (Stuttgart, 1961).
106. Cited in Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* Bd. 11, Abt. 2, Col. 417.
107. H. Müller, “Vom Ohnmenschen, Kein Mensch/kein Christ,” in *Geistliche Erquickstunden* (Frankfurt a.M., 1673).
108. “He is an anomaly, not a man; he is a great foe, in human form.” Demonstration and interpretation in H. Lutz, “Zum Wandel der katholischen Lutherinterpretation,” in Koselleck, et al. (eds.) *Objektivität* 178 ff.

109. C. Hohberg, *Theologia mystica* (1730), cited in Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* Bd. 11, Abt. 2, col. 1174.
110. Herder, “Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität,” *Sämtliche Werke* Bd. 17, 142.
111. R. M. Meyer, *Vierhundert Schlagworte* (Leipzig, 1901) 6–24, on the history of the word “Übermensch.”
112. See D. Groh, “Cäserismus,” in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* Bd. I, 726 ff.
113. Herder, “Briefe” 17:115.
114. Cited in Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* entry for “übermenschlich.”
115. Goethe, *Gesamtausgabe* Bd. 1, 8.
116. “Man, who looked for a superhuman being in the fantastic reality of heaven and found nothing there but the *reflection* of himself, will no longer be disposed to find but the *semblance* of himself, will no longer be disposed to find but the semblance of himself, only an inhuman being, when he seeks and must seek his true reality.” Marx, “Contribution to the Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Law. Introduction,” in *Collected Works* 3:175.
117. Dostoevski, *Tagebuch eines Schriftstellers* (Munich, 1923) Bd. 4, 366.
118. Nietzsche, *Werke* Bd. 3, 628; Bd. 2, 279, 1166; Bd. 3, 440.
119. “Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des deutschen Berufsbeamtentums vom 7.4.1933,” para. 3, and “Schriftleitergesetz vom 4.10.1933,” paras. 5, 3, in U. Broderson, I. von Münch, *Gesetze des NS-Staates* (Bad Homburg, 1968) 30, 165. The term “Aryan” later gave way to “German and associated blood” and (negatively) “Jews.”
120. Cf. P. von Polenz, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* (Berlin, 1970) 169.
121. C. Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1976).
122. St. Augustine, *City of God* 19:12.

On the Disposability of History

First published as “Über die Verfügbarkeit der Geschichte,” in *Schicksal? Grenzen der Machbarkeit*. Symposium der Karl Friedrich von Siemens Stiftung (Munich, 1977) 51–67.

1. J. C. Eustace, *A Tour through Italy, Exhibiting a View of its Scenery, its Antiquities and its Monuments; particularly as they are objects of classical interest and education: with an account of the present state of its cities and towns; and occasional observations on the recent spoliations of the French* (London, 1813) 31 ff. This essay deals with the “making” of history, the belief that one has the power of disposition over it. Koselleck consequently makes use of the term *machbar*, substantive *Machbarkeit*, which has no strict equivalent in English. Where it seems important, I have used the literal translation “makeability.” (Trans.)

2. Cited in G. Bauer, “Geschichtlichkeit.” *Wege und Irrwege eines Begriffs* (Berlin, 1963) 2.

3. “If history were an exact science, then we should be in the position to reveal the futures of states. But we are not able to do this; everywhere, historical science runs up against the

puzzle of personality. It is persons, men, who make history; men like Luther, Frederick the Great, and Bismarck. This great, heroic truth will remain true forever; and it will always be a puzzle to we mortals how these men appear, the right man at the right time. Genius is formed by the times, but is not created by it." Treitschke then noted—keeping a space open for possibilities and freedom—that the combination of external circumstances was insufficient for the determination of a necessary historical course. His theory, which is here based on von Humboldt, does not, however, become involved with the overworked partial citation. H. von Treitschke, *Politik. Vorlesungen* (Leipzig, 1897) I:6.

4. Cf. article "Geschichte," in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* Bd. 2 647 ff.
5. J. T. Jablonski, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Künste und Wissenschaften* (Leipzig, 1748) I:386.
6. Böttinger, "Erinnerungen an das literarische Berlin . . .," in F. A. Ebert (ed.) *Überlieferungen zur Geschichte* (Dresden, 1827) 42.
7. F. W. G. Schelling, "Allgemeine Übersicht der neuesten philosophischen Literatur," *Philosophisches Journal* 8 (1798) 145.
8. Kant, "Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose," in *Political Writings* 42. (Slightly altered—Trans.)
9. Kant, *Anthropologie* para. 35.
10. Kant, "Idea for a Universal History" Seventh Proposition, and "Der Streit der Fakultäten" II:2, Abschn. 3c.
11. Kant, "Der Streit" 2, Abschn. 2.
12. Kant, "Über das Misslingen aller philosophischen Versuche in der Theodizee," *Werke* VIII:264.
13. Kant, *Anthropologie* para. 35.
14. Cf. R. van Dülmen, *Der Geheimbund der Illuminaten* (Stuttgart, 1975).
15. A. Weishaupt, *Geschichte der Vervollkommnung des menschlichen Geschlechtes* (Frankfurt, 1788) 29.
16. *Ibid.*, 15, 27, 61 ff., 217. This text is the most sociohistorically accessible of Weishaupt's works and in theoretical terms is his best work, written during his emigration in Gotha. For his earlier position, see my *Kritik und Krise* 49 ff.
17. Perthes, *Leben* 23.
18. *Ibid.*, 271 ff.
19. W. Schulz, *Die Bewegung der Production* (Zürich, 1843) 155 ff.
20. F. Engels, *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science* (London, n.d.) 318. (Translation modified—Trans.)
21. Marx, Engels, *The Holy Family, Collected Works* 4:79.
22. Marx, Engels, *The German Ideology, Part One* (London, 1970) 67.
23. Marx, *Eighteenth Brumaire* 103. (Revised—Trans.)

24. See the text that is still today referred to in the Soviet world: Plekhanov, *The Role of Personality in History*. Cf. J. Kuczynski, "Der Mensch, der Geschichte macht," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 5 (1957) 1–17.
25. Bismarck, *Werke in Auswahl* 4:309.
26. *Ibid.*, 330.
27. "Ansprache an eine Abordnung der Jenaer Universität, 20.7.1892," in H. Rothfels (ed.) *Bismarck und der Staat* (Stuttgart, n.d.) 86.
28. G. L. Weinberg (ed.) *Hitlers zweites Buch* (Stuttgart, 1961) 138.
29. Hitler, *Reden und Proklamationen 1932–1945* (Munich, 1965) I:1, 176. This is the text of his speech of 4 January 1933.
30. *F. D. Roosevelt: Public Papers and Addresses 1944–45* (New York, 1950), 616, 615. Message for 13 April 1945, written 11 April.
31. St. Augustine, *The City of God* 19:12. Cf. F. Fellmann, *Das Vico-Axiom. Der Mensch macht die Geschichte* (Freiburg, 1976). Despite a title which, from the point of view of conceptual history, is misleading, the book contains a systematic historicophilosophical analysis related to the points made here. This is likewise true for R. Specht, *Innovation und Folgelast* (Stuttgart, 1972). Cf. "Geschichte, Geschichtsphilosophie und ihr Subjekt," in Koselleck, Stempel (eds.) *Geschichte, Ereignis*.

Terror and Dream: Methodological Remarks on the Experience of Time during the Third Reich

Not previously published.

1. Alsted, *Scientarium omnium encyclopaedia* (Lyon, 1649) table, 619.
2. See A. Seifert, "Historia im Mittelalter," *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 21 (1977) 226–84, and "Cognitio Historica, Die Geschichte als Namengeberin der frühneuzeitlichen Empirie," *Historische Forschung* 11 (1976); and K. Heitmann, "Das Verhältnis von Dichtung und Geschichtsschreibung in älterer Theorie," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 52 (1970) 244–79.
3. Blumenberg, *Paradigmen* 88 ff.
4. Aristotle, *Poetics* 1451 B, 1459 A.
5. Lessing, "Briefe, die neueste Literatur betreffend, Nr. 63," *Sämtliche Schriften* 8:168.
6. See the discussion of Chladenius in the essay "Perspective and Temporality," 136 ff. above.
7. Goethe, "Schreiben an Ludwig I von Bayern vom 17. Dez. 1829," *Gesamtausgabe* 24, 316.
8. See 153 above.
9. Herodotus, *History* VII, c. 16 ff.; Cicero, *De divinatione*; and P. Burke, "L'histoire sociale des rêves," *Annales* 28 (1973) 329–43.

10. C. Beradt, *Das Dritte Reich des Traumes* (Munich, 1966) 25, 138.
11. For additional dreams which anticipated a coming situation not yet apparent at the time of the dream, see Beradt, *Dritte Reich* 29, 42, 45, 49, 61, 66, 72, 83, 85, 87, 90, 139.
12. G. Grosz, *Ein kleines Ja und ein grosses Nein* (Hamburg, 1946) 212–18.
13. Cf. V. von Wiersacker, *Der Gestaltkreis* (Stuttgart, 1950).
14. J. Cayrol, *Lazarus unter uns* (Stuttgart, 1959).
15. B. Bettelheim, *The Informed Heart* (London, 1970); V. E. Frankl, . . . *trotzdem Ja zum Leben sagen* (Munich, 1977); M. Buber-Neumann, *Milena, Kafkas Freundin* (Munich, 1977) 286, 289 ff.; on 278 the dream of a guard at Ravensbrück which has the unambiguous political content of anticipation of the Allied victory is reported.
16. Beradt, *Dritte Reich* 56.
17. This was reported to me by P. E. Schramm, who was passing on an officer's expression, made in the witness box at Nuremberg.
18. Frankl, . . . *trotzdem Ja zum Leben sagen* 122.
19. J. Gabel, *Ideologie und Schizophrenie* (Frankfurt a.M., 1967) 123, 227.
20. Cf. F. Pingel, *Häftlinge unter SS-Herrschaft* (Hamburg, 1978).
21. T. Lessing, *Geschichte als Sinngebung des Sinnlosen* (Munich, 1921) 15.
22. See H.-U. Wehler, *Geschichte und Psychoanalyse* (Köln, 1971).
23. Bettelheim, *The Informed Heart* 98–99.
24. On the last section, cf. E. Coseriu, *Synchronie, Diachronie und Geschichte* (Munich, 1974).

“Neuzeit”: Remarks on the Semantics of the Modern Concepts of Movement

First published as “‘Neuzeit’: Zur Semantik moderner Bewegungsbegriffe,” in R. Koselleck (ed.) *Studien zum Beginn der modernen Welt* (Stuttgart, 1977) 264–99.

1. Schulz, author of *Die Bewegung der Produktion* (Zürich, 1843).
2. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* Bd. 7, 689: “Neuzeit, die neue, jetzige Zeit, gegensatz zu vorzeit”; and Freiligrath, “ein kind der neuzeit, fiebernd und erregt. . . .”
3. Ranke, *Aus Werk und Nachlass* ed. W. P. Fuchs, T. Schieder (Munich, 1975) Bd. 4. Ranke distinguished “neuere” from “neueste” *Zeit* or *Geschichte*, the shift lying somewhere in the second half of the eighteenth century according to the problem at hand. He also uses *neue Zeit* as a way of marking the Middle Ages off, but does not use *Neuzeit*. *Neuzeit* appears once in a drafted afterword to *Epoche der Reformation und der Religions-kriege*, in Fuchs, Schieder (eds.) *Aus Werk und Nachlass* Bd. 2, 283–27; but the usage is not authentic.
4. Article “Geschichte,” in *Brockhaus’ Conversations Lexikon* 13th ed., 7:868; this distinguishes *neuere* (from 1492) from *neueste Geschichte* (from 1789), as had been done in the article of the

same name in *Allgemeine deutsche Real Encyclopädie* (Leipzig, 1820) 4:182. The division “Altertum—Mittelalter—Neuzeit” first appeared in the article “Zeitalter,” in *Brockhaus*, 16 (1887) 854. The earliest example that can be found, to my knowledge, was drawn to my attention by Helga Reinhart and involves a translation from the French: “Journalism. The human spirit flies in idea from one end of the world to the other; it fills the past with memory, the future with hope; even our bodies are provided by industry with a right to uniqueness; civilization seeks to disregard materiality and lend wings to intercourse, as with the ideas of men. For this reason the press, bringing all our intellects into contact and transforming our ideas and feelings with such enormous speed, is the achieved conquest of *Neuzeit*.” This source, which is currently the earliest discovered, fulfills all the criteria which will be developed below, especially in Section II, characterizing the new concept as one of an epoch and as one of periodization open to the future. E. Alletz, *De la démocratie nouvelle* (Paris, 1837), translated under the title *Die neue Demokratie* (Karlsruhe, 1838) 23.

J. Voss has drawn my attention to another source that comes from historical writing: C. Wernicke, *Die Geschichte der Welt* pts. 3–5 (*Die Geschichte der Neuzeit*) (Berlin, 1865–66, first ed., 1855–57). Wernicke distinguishes the transitions of the three periods so that he might attain a criterion of *neue Zeit*. Antiquity came to an end because new peoples had initiated the Middle Ages. This was not, however, the case for the transition to *Neuzeit*. “All the more powerful, therefore, the new creations which, laid down for centuries before, have since the beginning of the sixteenth century been created within each people in all areas of life, in Church and state, in art and science, such that the time since the beginning of the sixteenth century has to be treated as genuinely new.” (pt. 3, 2 ff.)

The following outline claims neither to be comprehensive nor novel. Reference should be made to the forthcoming article of J. Voss on *Zeitalter*, in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, Bd. 6.

5. See the detailed study of J. Voss, *Das Mittelalter im historischen Denken Frankreichs* (Munich, 1972) pt. I and the references 391 ff., which include non-French examples.

6. Until now, there has been no historical study of the term *Neuzeit*. On *Zeitgeschichte*, of interest in parts, but from this aspect inadequate, see O.-E. Schüddekopf, “Zeitgeschichte,” in *Grundbegriffe der Geschichte* (Gutersloh, 1964) 413–27.

7. See Voss, *Das Mittelalter* 40. See also T. E. Mommsen, “Petraarch’s Conception of the ‘Dark Ages,’” *Speculum* 17 (1942) 226–42.

8. C. Cellarius, *Historia universalis* (Altenberg, 1753). Cf. A. Klempt, *Die Säkularisierung der universalhistorischen Auffassung* (Göttingen, 1960) 78.

9. Ranke, *Vorlesungseinleitungen*, in Fuchs, Scheider (eds.) *Aus Werk und Nachlass* Bd. 4, 36.

10. See W. K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought* (Boston, 1948); and B. L. Ullmann, “Renaissance—The Word and the Concept,” *Studies in Philology* 49 (1952) 105–18; and F. Masai, “La notion de Renaissance. Équivoques et malentendus,” in C. Perelman, *Les catégories en histoire* (Brussels, 1969) 57–86. Even in 1718, Nicolo di Castelli was unaware of the expression *renascità*; neither did he use it as a translation of *Wiedergeburt*: *Dizionario italiano tedesco e tedesco italiano* (Leipzig, 1718).

11. K. Burdach, “Sinn und Ursprung der Worte Renaissance und Reformation,” in his *Reformation, Renaissance, Humanismus* (Darmstadt, 1963) 1–84.

12. See the dictionaries of early modernity. See also J. C. Adelung, “Reformation,” in his *Versuch eines vollständigen grammatisch-kritischen Wörterbuches der hochdeutschen Mundart* 3 (1777) col. 1336, in which the general usage is first noted. But note: “This term is most often used for the ending, on the part of Luther and his assistants, of the misuses and errors which had entered Church and doctrine; some refer to this in German as the improvement in belief (*Glaubensverbesserung*); others more correctly refer to the purification of belief (*Glaubensreinigung*).”

13. Müntzer, “Auslegung des zweiten Kapitels Danielis” (1524), in *Politische Schriften* (Halle, 1950) 20.
14. W. Maurer, “Reformation,” in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen, 1961) Bd. 5, 861.
15. Article “Zeit-Begriffe oder Zeitperioden,” in Zedler, *Lexikon* Bd. 61 (1749) 832.
16. Cited in P. Meinhold, *Geschichte der kirchlichen Historiographie* Bd. I (Freiburg, 1967) 377. Further references to this usage are to be found in this work, but there seems to be no historical treatment of the term “Reformation.”
17. A. Elkan, “Entstehung und Entwicklung des Begriffs ‘Gegenreformation,’” *Historische Zeitschrift* 112 (1914) 473–93.
18. H. Grundmann, “Die Grundzüge der mittelalterlichen Geschichtsanschauungen,” in W. Lammers (ed.) *Geschichtsdenken und Geschichtsbild im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 1961) 427.
19. W. Freund, “Modernus und andere Zeitbegriffe des Mittelalters” (diss., Münster, 1957); and H. R. Jauss, “Literarische Tradition und gegenwärtiges Bewusstsein der Modernität,” in his *Literaturgeschichte als Provokation* (Frankfurt a.M., 1970) 11–66. See also Gumbrecht, article “Modern, Modernität, Moderne,” in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*.
20. Ernst, “Zeitgeschehen”; and Seifert, “Cognitio Historica.”
21. “. . . to add to their work those new events which will have happened in the following ages until the end of the world.” G. Melville, “System und Diachronie. Untersuchungen zur theoretischen Grundlegung geschichtsschreiberischer Praxis im Mittelalter,” *Historisches Jahrbuch* 95 (1975) 313.
22. “. . . to epitomize history from the creation of the first man up to modern times.” Melville, “System und Diachronie.”
23. Alsted, *Encyclopaedia* Bd. 4, 37, 65, table on 619.
24. F. Bacon, *De dignitate et augmentis scientiarum* Book 2, chaps. 8, 9, in *Works* I:511–13.
25. J. Bodin, *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (Amsterdam, 1650) Prooemium, 4.
26. “Introduction to the Chronicle of Johann Carion,” in H. Scheible (ed.) *Die Anfänge der reformatorischen Geschichtsschreibung* (Gütersloh, 1966) 15.
27. Chladenius, *Geschichtswissenschaft*.
28. Cited in T. E. Mommsen, “Petrarch’s Conception” 163.
29. Quite confusing in the article “Neu, -er, -este,” in J. C. Campe, *Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache* (Brunswick, 1809) 483, where he compiles the series “neue, neuere, neueste, mittlere, alte, ältere, und älteste Zeit” or also *Geschichte*.
30. “He kept all historical records; not only ancient ones, but also those both old and modern of the intervening time up to our own age.” Cited in K. Borinski, *Die Wiedergeburtsidee in der neueren Zeiten* (Munich, 1919) 113.
31. “Because of this, holy men often call this age the last and the end of all ages.” Expression of N. von Cues, cited in Borinski, *Die Wiedergeburtsidee* 112.

32. “Ideas of History during the Renaissance,” in P. O. Kristeller, P. P. Wiener (eds.) *Renaissance Essays* (New York, 1968) 74–94.
33. See Voss, *Das Mittelalter* 422.
34. See Klempt, *Die Säkularisierung* 75 ff.; and the references in Voss, *Das Mittelalter*.
35. Article “Die Geschichte,” in K. Stieler, *Der teutschen Sprache Stammbaum und Fortwachs oder Teutscher Sprachschatz* (Nuremberg, 1691) pt. II, col. 1746.
36. Article “Zeit [neuel],” in Zedler, *Lexikon* 61 (1749) 797. In “Neue der Zeit [das]” Bd. 24 (1740) 139, there is an entry for *Novum temporis*, but this is only for the domain of the law covering questions about that which has been “Neither seen nor heard of by anybody” or has only been forgotten.
37. J. C. Adelung, *Versuch* Bd. 2, 488, on the other hand, uses *gegenwärtig* in the temporal sense, deriving it from the spatial meaning.
38. Article “Die Zeit, -en,” in Campe, *Wörterbuch* Bd. 5 (1811) 831.
39. Article “Neuwelt,” in Campe, *Wörterbuch* Bd. 3 (1809) 488.
40. Article “Welt,” in Campe, *Wörterbuch* Bd. 5 (1811) 668.
41. Article “Neuerthum,” in Campe, *Wörterbuch* Bd. 3 (1809) 484.
42. J. C. Gatterer, *Einleitung in die synchronistische Universalhistorie* (Göttingen, 1771) contents list, and pt. II, 3 ff. Here, *Epoquen* are described as “resting places” offering the opportunity to pause “so that at least from time to time, important parts of the whole might be surveyed.” This is only possible with epochs “whose influence in the whole is of the greatest.” The suggested four epochs are: the creation of the world in world-year 1, the origin of nations in world-year 1809, the migration of peoples in the fifth century A.D., and the discovery of America in A.D. 1492. In 1767, Gatterer inserted the reign of Charles the Great: “Vom historischen Plan und der darauf sich gründenden Zusammenfügung der Erzählungen,” *Allgemeine historische Bibliothek* 1 (1767) 43 ff. On the theory and conceptual history of “epochs,” see H. Blumenberg, *Aspekte der Epochenschwelle* (Frankfurt a.M., 1976); and M. Riedel, “Epoche, Epochenbewusstsein,” *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie* 2 (1972) 596–99.
43. Müller, “Wie sich der Übergang der mittleren Zeit auf die neue Gestaltung der Dinge nach und nach bereitete (1273 bis 1453),” and “Von denjenigen Revolutionen, welche die neue Ordnung der Dinge besonders veranlassten (1453–1517),” in *Geistliche Erquickstunden*.
44. H. M. G. Köster, “Historie,” in *Deutsche Encyclopädie* Bd. 12 (1787) 657.
45. J. G. Büsch, *Encyclopädie der historischen, philosophischen und mathematischen Wissenschaften* (Hamburg, 1775) 128. Büsch shares the view of Gatterer on the epoch: it is the resting place for great world affairs, “and the time between two such epochs is a period.” Considered from the point of view of the immanent course of history these are, without doubt, “the major events of the world, revolutions of great importance, which affect the human species as a whole, and which have gradually produced the present times and states.” (538 ff.) The usage *Neuesten Zeit* in Morhof is nonspecific, standing in opposition to *mittlere Zeit*; see his *Unterricht von der Teutschen Sprache und Poesie* (Kiel, 1682) 277, 308.
46. A. H. L. Heeren, *Handbuch der Geschichte des Europäischen Staatensystems und seiner Colonien* (Göttingen, 1822) XVII.
47. Ranke, *Vorlesungseinleitungen*, see fn. 3 above.

48. Cf. my “Geschichte,” in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* Bd. 2 (1975) 647–91.
49. Article “Zeitgeschichte,” in Campe, *Wörterbuch* Bd. 5 (1811) 833.
50. Kant, *Anthropologie* 62.
51. See the evidence for the seventeenth century in R. Eucken, *Geistige Strömungen der Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1920) 277. Also related is the programmatic statement by Clarendon that it is “more useful to posterity to leave a character of the times, than of the persons; or the narrative of the matters of the matters of fact, which cannot be so well understood, as by knowing the genius that prevailed when they were transacted.” *Selections from the History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars* (London, 1955) 7.
52. See W. Krauss, “Der Jahrhundert begriff im 18 Jahrhundert. Geschichte und Geschichtlichkeit in der französischen Aufklärung,” in his *Studien zur deutschen und französischen Aufklärung* (Berlin, 1963) 9–40; and J. Burckhardt, *Die Entstehung der modernen Jahrhundertrechnung* (Göttingen, 1971).
53. H. M. G. Köster, “Historische Erkenntnis,” *Deutsche Encyclopädie* Bd. 12 (1787) 670.
54. Cited in Burckhardt, *Die Entstehung* 88.
55. W. Wieland, “Entwicklung, Evolution,” in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* Bd. 2 (1975) 199–228.
56. J. G. Herder, *Metakritik zur Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (Berlin, 1955) 68.
57. On the following, see R. Koselleck, C. Meier, “Fortschritt,” in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* Bd. 2 (1975) 391–402.
58. “Not only a help and kindness, but also a model for comparison.” Bacon, *Novum organum* I:29, in *Works* I:222.
59. Cited in Ullmann, “Renaissance” 268.
60. Article “Zeit,” in Zedler, *Lexikon* Bd. 61 (1749) 725–34.
61. D’Alembert, “Discours préliminaire de l’Encyclopédie (1751),” and Diderot, “Encyclopédie,” in *Encyclopédie* 5 (1755) 635–49.
62. Marx, *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Law*.
63. See, for the following, the essay “Perspective and Temporality,” sect. II.
64. Abbt, *Geschichte*, I:219.
65. Gatterer, “Abhandlung” 7.
66. Büsch, *Encyclopédie* 12.
67. Goethe, *Farbenlehre* 93.
68. W. von Humboldt, *Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert*, in *Werke* I:401.
69. F. Ancillon, “Über die Perfectibilität der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft, ihre Bedingungen und Triebfedern,” in *Zur Vermittlung der Extreme in den Meinungen* (Berlin, 1828) I:192. The social and political structure of this transitional period is summarized by W. Conze in his essay “Das Spannungsfeld von Staat und Gesellschaft im Vormärz,” in W. Conze (ed.) *Staat und Gesellschaft im deutschen Vormärz 1815–1848* (Stuttgart, 1970) 207–69.

70. Humboldt, *Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert* 398.
71. G. G. Gervinus, *Einleitung in die Geschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1853) 174; and Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* 489 ff.
72. E. M. Arndt, *Geist der Zeit* (Altona, 1877) 76, 55.
73. “Über einige der gewissen Vortheile, welche die gesammte Menschheit durch die itzige politische Catastrophe schon erhalten hat, oder noch erhalten möchte,” *Schleswigsches Journal* St. 10 (October 1793) 222 ff., 242.
74. F. Schlegel, *Philosophie der Geschichte* (1828) *Kritische Friedrich Schlegel Ausgabe* 9:417.
75. Arndt, *Geist der Zeit* 53.
76. On a traditionalist’s scale of guilt attribution: “Nowadays one allows world history no time for birth; it is not permitted to develop; all at once a present that is no daughter of the past has to be there. What might possibly be brought about by several centuries is anticipated, should be created in months, which raises the question of whether centuries will suffice. . . .” T. Aclines, *Recht und Macht des Zeitgeistes* (Schleswig, 1824) 5.
77. Planck, *Einleitung* pt. 2, 243. Barely a century later, Jacob Burckhardt on 2 July 1871 wrote to Bernhard Kugler: “First, I wish you well in rejecting the proposal for a new German history. Nothing is less needed by advanced knowledge; nothing is more destructive for scientific life as the exclusive concern with contemporary events. We live in times that are quite different from those of Thucydides, who was able to command an overview of the situation and its conflicts and was familiar with everything. He who today seeks to describe contemporary history risks being outdated by a few secret documents published later; he also has to compete with a whole collection of fabricators who, with their *feuilleton* style, repeatedly reduce his public status.” *Briefe* (Leipzig, 1938) 355 ff.
78. Cf. G. G. Gervinus, *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung* (Leipzig, 1871) I:8: “Since the dissolution of the *Reich*, we have more than adequately completed the older time of our people; this must be, despite the estrangement of the nation from its older history, sufficient notice and challenge for historical writers to devote their whole energy to those times with which we must now come completely to terms, whose conditions are becoming clearer to us, the more that we are distanced from them.”
79. F. List, *Das nationale System der politischen Ökonomie* (Jena, 1928) 469.
80. F. Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning and the New Atlantis* (London, 1951) 86; and V. de la Popelinière, *L’Histoire des histoires* (Paris, 1599) 61.
81. Raleigh, *History of the World*, preface; cited in A. B. Grosart (ed.) *Choice Passages from the Writings and Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh* (London, 1893) 191 ff.
82. Büsch, *Encyclopédie* 123, 164 ff.
83. W. T. Krug, *Versuch einer systematischen Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften* (Wittenberg, 1796) pt. 1, 85.
84. J. S. Erhardt, *Philosophische Encyclopädie* (Freiburg, 1818) 52.
85. F. A. W. Diesterweg, *Beiträge zur Lösung der Lebensfrage der Civilisation* (Essen, 1837) XVIII:38 ff.
86. Perthes, *Leben* Bd. 3 (1872) 24 ff.

87. For example, see C. Strahlheim (i.e., C. Friederich), *Unsere Zeit oder geschichtliche Übersicht der merkwürdigsten Ereignisse von 1789–1830* (Stuttgart, 1826–30) 30 vols.; or Ernst Freymund (i.e., A. F. Gfrörer), *Die Geschichte unserer Tage* (Stuttgart, 1831–33) 8 vols. In his introduction (vol. I, 5–7), Freymund states: “Centuries in the political affairs of Europe have not brought about the changes that the single year of 1830 has effected. The spirit of the time has, like a torrent, broken its banks. . . . Liberalism and Royalism are the two magic words dividing European humanity into two camps . . . and this division is not just in the state; it divides civil life as well: society, literature and science. . . .” Further reference can be made to the “Gegenwarts-encyclopädien” of Brockhaus, which provide, for approximately the period 1830–40, a cross section, and which, after the Revolution, appeared in monthly installments.

88. In the conclusion to *Conversationslexikon der Gegenwart* Bd. 4 (1841) V ff., it is affirmed that “for the vast majority, it is impossible to follow the history of their time and clearly observe the course of events.” It is just this, in the opinion of the reviewers, which the lexicon does: “Reducing all party opinion to the standpoint of rigorous objectivity, projecting and completing in advance the significant development of circumstances not yet concluded by means of analogous combinations, comprehending on the basis of various symptoms events apparently accidental, and, with the perspicuous prospect of the historical writer providing them with a new form, showing how various aspects of progress are in fact different parameters of the same single movement.”

89. Cf. the entry on compounds of “Zeit,” in Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*. Note that the list of suffixes to “Zeit” that Koselleck provides here has been translated suffix by suffix. They do not form actual elements of compound words, since this would alter the point that is being made. (Trans.)

90. “Zeit,” in Zedler, *Lexikon* 749.

91. F. von Baader, “Über den Evolutionismus und Revolutionismus oder die posit. und negat. Evolution des Lebens überhaupt und des socialen Lebens insbesondere,” *Sämtliche Werke* 6:101.

92. C. von Clausewitz, *Politische Schriften und Briefe* (Munich, 1922) 179.

93. See Koselleck, “Demokratie IV.1,” in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* Bd. 1 (1972) 850.

94. F. Schlegel, “Versuch über den Begriff des Republikanismus veranlasst durch die Kantische Schrift zum ewigen Frieden (1796),” in *Kritische Friedrich Schlegel Ausgabe* Bd. 7, 12 and 17.

95. H. Heine, *Sämtliche Schriften* 1:450.

96. Marx, Engels, *The German Ideology, Part One* (London, 1970), 56–57.

97. Cf. R. Vierhaus, “Konservatismus,” in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* Bd. 3 (1982).

98. J. Burckhardt, *Historische Fragmente* (Stuttgart, 1942) 201. See also T. Schieder, “Das Problem der Revolution.”

99. K. G. Scheidler, “Emancipation,” in *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste* sect. I, pt. 34 (1840) 2. Prompted by the July Revolution, Immermann on 29 September 1830 stated skeptically: “The last great movement in history will certainly always present itself as a crisis of significance through which the world seeks its rebirth.” He did not, however, believe that the “reaction” (that is, the temporary victors of 1830) would be able to create anything durable in place of the previous order. “I rather believe that it is only one of the elements which will ferment and produce a new form in the future. The mere majesty of the people as a principle of support will not suffice; this is partly a lesson of world history (the emancipation of great peoples and states has always ended in a new devotion), and partly a lesson about the Revolution itself. . . .” M. Beer, *Briefwechsel* (Leipzig, 1837) 216.

100. K. Frantz, *Louis Napoleon* (Berlin, 1852) 59.

101. Cf. C. Schmitt, *Die Diktatur* (Berlin, 1964) especially 146, n. 2.

102. Stein, *Geschichte* Bd. I, 453; III:213. Cf. also G. Diezel, *Deutschland und die abendländischen Civilisation* (Stuttgart, 1852) 109: In France it was customary that “socialist theories became the programs of parties or factions aimed at the future ministry, or better, at dictatorship of the party; these diverse programs agree on one point only: they propose a far greater extension of state power for their realization than what had previously ever been allowed the bourgeoisie. This increase of governmental power and its extension to relations of property and social intercourse renders these socialist systems into forms of transition to communism, the uttermost consequence of the absolutist state.” See also Nolte, “Diktatur,” in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* Bd. 1 (1972) 900–924.

103. Adeling, foreword to *Versuch* I:xi.

104. See the article “Die Worte Rückschritte und Fortschritte in ihrer Anwendung im politischen Raisonement,” in *Ausserordentlichen Beilage zum Berliner politischen Wochenblatt* (1836) no. 3, 19 ff.

“Space of Experience” and “Horizon of Expectation”: Two Historical Categories

First published as “‘Erfahrungsraum’ und ‘Erwartungshorizont’—zwei historische Kategorien,” in U. Engelhardt, V. Sellin, H. Stuke (eds.) *Soziale Bewegung und politische Verfassung* (Stuttgart, 1976) 13–33.

1. F. Schlegel, *Kritische Schriften* (Munich, 1964) 51.

2. See my article “Geschichte, Historie,” in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*. The following reflections are based on work related to this historical lexicon of sociopolitical language in Germany. As a sign of my gratitude, they are dedicated to Werner Conze, without whose untiring encouragement the entire scientific enterprise could not have succeeded.

3. Novalis, *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* 258.

4. See St. Augustine’s analyses in Book 11 of his *Confessions*, in which the three dimensions of expectation, realization, and memory are related to the intellect, to *anima*. See also the analysis in Heidegger’s *Sein und Zeit*, especially chap. 5, “Temporality and Historicity,” in which the temporal constitution of human existence is demonstrated as a condition of possible history. Of course, neither St. Augustine nor Heidegger extended their questioning to the time of history. Here it remains an open question whether the intersubjective temporal structures of history can be adequately adduced from existential analysis. The following pages seek to use the metahistorical categories of experience and expectation as indicators for alterations in historical time. The historical implications of all experience were disclosed by Gadamer in *Wahrheit und Methode* (Tübingen, 1960) 329 ff.

5. Goethe and Reinhard, *Briefwechsel* 246.

6. A. Drozdynski, *Der politische Witz im Ostblok* (Düsseldorf, 1974) 80.

7. Cf. A. Gehlen, “Erfahrung zweiter Hand,” in *Der Mensch als geschichtliches Wesen* (Stuttgart, 1974) 176.

8. F. Bacon, *Novum Organum* I:94, in *Works* I:200.

9. On the following, see the individual analyses in the articles “Fortschritt” and “Geschichte,” in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* Bd. 2.
10. Leibniz, “De rerum originatione radicali,” *Opera philosophica* (Berlin, 1840) 150.
11. Lessing, “Brief an Moses Mendelssohn, 21. January 1756,” *Sämtliche Schriften* 17 (1904) 53.
12. See H. Blumenberg, *Die Genesis der kopernikanischen Welt* (Frankfurt, 1975).
13. Schlegel, “Condorcets Esquisse d’un tableau historique des progrès de l’esprit humain’ (1795),” in *Kritische Schriften* 236.
14. Kant, “Idea for a Universal History” 48–49.
15. Machiavelli, *Discourses* 3, 43.
16. Hume, *Theory of Politics* 162.
17. Kant, “Streit der Fakultäten,” 2 Abschn., Abs. 4 and 7.
18. *Geschichte und Politik* Bd. I (1800) 3.
19. G. F. Creuzer, *Die historische Kunst der Griechen in ihrer Entstehung und Fortbildung* (Leipzig, 1803) 232 ff.
20. Perthes, *Leben* Bd. 2, 240 ff., 146 ff.
21. Bacon, *Novum Organum* I:108, *Works* I:207.
22. L. Büchner, *Der Fortschritt in Natur und Geschichte im Lichte der Darwin’schen Theorie* (Stuttgart, 1884) 30, 34.
23. Kant, “On Perpetual Peace.”
24. Lamartine, *Histoire de la Restauration* (Paris, 1851) I:1.
25. J. A. Froude, cited in A. Briggs, *The Age of Improvement* (London, 1959) 3.
26. See my article “Bund, Bündnis, Föderalismus, Bundestaat,” in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* Bd. 1 (1972) 582 ff.
27. J. von Müller, *Teuschlands Erwartungen vom Fürstenbund (1788)* *Sämtliche Werke* 24:259 ff.; and Montesquieu, *Esprit des lois* 9:1.
28. Cf. the article “Demokratie,” in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* Bd. 1 (1972) 848 ff.

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