



Lichtenbergs MenschenBilder

Charaktere und Stereotype in der Göttinger Aufklärung

Herausgegeben von Demetrius L. Eudell und Dominik Hünninger

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Vorwort

Lichtenbergs Menschenbilder – Charaktere und Stereotype in der Göttinger Aufklärung

Die Wissenschaft vom Menschen und die Wahrnehmung und Konstruktion von Diversität gehören zu einem wichtigen Kapitel der europäischen Aufklärungstradition.

Die europäischen Handelsreisen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts hatten bereits zur europäischen Begegnung mit afrikanischen und amerikanischen Gesellschaften geführt. Mit den Schiffen kamen nicht nur Waren aus allen Teilen der Welt in Europas Metropolen, sondern auch Menschen. Diese allerdings nur in seltenen Fällen freiwillig. Im 18. Jahrhundert entstand eine neue Welle von Expeditionen zur See, die auch von wissenschaftlichem Interesse getragen war. Forschungsunternehmungen, besonders in den pazifischen Raum, hinterließen einen bleibenden Eindruck auf die europäischen Gesellschaften und ihre Wissenspraktiken. Reiseberichte über sie wurden zu Bestsellern und beeinflussten die entstehende »Wissenschaft vom Menschen.« Die Universität Göttingen hatte eine besondere Bedeutung für die Formierung dieses Themas, denn zahlreiche Göttinger Gelehrte rezipierten die internationale Literatur darüber und prägten gleichzeitig die weitere Entwicklung in Europa und Übersee.

An den Debatten über menschliche Varietät beteiligte sich auch Georg Christoph Lichtenberg. Besonders beeinflussten ihn seine eigenen Reisen nach London. Dort begegnete Lichtenberg den Grafiken William Hogarths, die ein ungeschöntes Portrait des Londoner Bürgertums

und des kolonialen Konsums zeichneten. Hogarths Arbeiten wurden schnell berühmt und Lichtenberg trug durch seine ausführlichen Kommentare zu Ihrer Popularisierung in Deutschland bei. Seine Kommentare fielen auf fruchtbaren Boden, da es ein großes Interesse daran gab, was den Menschen eigentlich ausmachte. Publikationen wie Johann Caspar Lavaters »physiognomische Fragmente«, die hierauf Antworten zu geben vorgaben, beeinflussten ebenfalls das Denken über menschliche Vielfalt. Die angenommene Übereinstimmung zwischen dem Aussehen einer Person und ihren charakteristischen Eigenschaften wurde viel diskutiert. Lichtenberg trat dabei als ironischer und hellsichtiger Kommentator auf.

Lichtenbergs Göttinger Kollege, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (Professor für Medizin und Aufseher am akademischen Museum in Göttingen), war genauso fasziniert von Bildern menschlicher Varietät. Er nahm die künstlerischen Talente des Zeichners und Kupferstechers Daniel Chodowiecki (1726–1801) in Anspruch, um seine Theorie der »Einheit des Menschengeschlechts« zu visualisieren. Blumenbach ist heute besonders für seine Sammlung menschlicher Schädel bekannt bzw. berüchtigt, die er für vergleichende Untersuchungen nutzte. Weniger präsent ist, dass Blumenbach auch sehr an Berichten von Reisenden in andere Erdteile und Abbildungen von deren Bewohnerinnen und Bewohnern interessiert war.

Lichtenberg und seine Kollegen haben visuelle Mittel verwendet und Bilder hergestellt, die eine lange Wirkung auf die europäische Fremd- und Eigenwahrnehmung hatten. Es ging um nichts weniger, als um die Frage, was es heißt, Mensch zu sein. Stereotype, Klischees und Hierarchisierungen wurden sowohl kritisiert als auch unreflektiert weitergetragen. Klasse, Rasse und Geschlecht sind drei wichtige Kategorien, die auch durch die Debatten der Aufklärung geprägt wurden und bis heute wirkmächtig sind.

Mit der Ausstellung »Lichtenbergs Menschen-Bilder,« die vom 12. April bis 5. Mai 2018 im Lichtenberg-Kolleg gezeigt wird, wollen wir erste Ergebnisse unserer Forschungen zum Thema präsentieren. Wir ergänzen damit die große Jubiläumsausstellung »Dinge Denken Lichtenberg« und hoffen, weitere Studien zur wichtigen Rolle von Bildern in den Wissenschaften der Aufklärung anzuregen.

Die Ausstellung wäre ohne die großartige Unterstützung vieler Personen und Institutionen in Göttingen nicht denkbar gewesen. Zunächst möchten wir dem Direktor des Lichtenberg-Kollegs, Martin van Gelderen, danken, der die Ausstellung anregte und unsere Beschäftigung mit dem Thema durch seine Einsichten wesentlich schärfte. Jan Stieglitz war mehr als »Hilfskraft« bei der Vorbereitung der Ausstellung. Er war Ko-Kurator und hat auch in der Redaktion dieses Katalogs Außergewöhnliches geleistet. Sein enormes Wissen zur Druckgraphik des 18. Jahrhunderts und seine umsichtigen Organisationsfähigkeiten haben wesentlich zum Gelingen der Ausstellung beigetragen. Ganz herzlichen Dank! Die Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeiter der Sammlungen der Universität Göttingen unterstützen uns großzügig, unkompliziert und kompetent. In der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen (SUB), waren das Rolf Roeper und insbesondere Martin Liebetruth. Seine Digitalisierungen von Hogarths Kupferstichen und den Büchern

der SUB sind eine Augenweide. Ebenfalls möchten wir uns herzlich bei Johannes Mangei, Christian Fieseler und Steffen Hölscher in der SUB bedanken, die institutionell und intellektuell ebenfalls wichtige Impulse gaben und Wege ebneten. In der Kunstsammlung der Universität gebührt Anne-Katrin Sors, Katharina Haase, Ingrid Rosenberg-Harbaum und Colin Reiss unser großer Dank. Michael Kraus vom Institut für Ethnologie und der Ethnologischen Sammlung danken wir herzlich für seine Unterstützung und die Möglichkeit, uns in den Beständen der ethnologischen Sammlung umzusehen. Nicole Zornhagen stellte die Digitalisate zur Verfügung. Den Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeitern der Zentralen Kustodie danken wir herzlich für vielfältige Unterstützung und Ermunterung. Wolfgang Böcker von der Forschungsstelle »Johann Friedrich Blumenbach – online« war ebenfalls eine große Hilfe für alle Fragen zu Blumenbach.

Martha Fleming, die kurz vor der Eröffnung der Ausstellung ihr Fellowship am Lichtenberg-Kolleg antrat, gab wichtige Impulse und war eine kongeniale Gesprächspartnerin.

Katalog und Ausstellung wären ohne das Know-How und den Einsatz von Gert Schwab, Liane Reichl und Heiko Dix von SchwabScan-technik nicht denkbar. Herzlichen Dank dafür, dass auch kurzfristig Wunderschönes geleistet wurde.

Schließlich ein großes Dankeschön an die Kolleginnen und Kollegen im Lichtenberg-Kolleg. Kora Baumbach, Heidi Hopf, Wilke Brandt und Philip Klostermeyer, die ebenfalls halfen, die Ausstellung möglich zu machen. Lutz Baucke, Manuela Jahn, Rudi Koch und Mathias Liefke haben die Ausstellung aufgebaut und standen uns auch sonst, wie immer, mit Rat und Tat zur Seite. Ihr seid die Besten!

Göttingen im April 2018

Demetrius L. Eudell und Dominik Hünninger

»A Language for the Eye«: Lichtenberg, Lavater, Hogarth and the Spirit of Observation in the 18th Century

Demetrius L. Eudell

In late March 1770, Lichtenberg accompanied two aristocratic students, for whom he had served as tutor (*Hofmeister*), home to England. This role was one that young scholars often undertook in the early stages of their careers before subsequently acquiring a permanent position or professional distinction. The trip lasted five weeks and had a seismic effect on his intellectual development and future professional trajectory. Indeed, he later wrote that after meeting King George III during his visit, he had experienced the happiest day of his life (*»den glücklichsten Tag meines Lebens«*).¹

Four years later, in fact almost to the day, he made another request to the Hanoverian authorities (*Gehemine Rats-Kollegium*) to travel to England, this time in order to visit friends in London, including Lord Boston, the father of one of the students whom he had previously joined, who had extended the invitation. In his 28 April 1774 letter, Lichtenberg noted that the previous visit in which he saw diverse works of art (*»die mannichfaltigen Werke der Kunst«*) and made scholarly contacts (*»der Umgang mit Gelehrten«*) created great expectations for him (*»läßt mich die größten Vorteile von dieser Reise erwarten«*). Among the artists and

scholars that he intended to meet during his second visit, would be members of the Royal Society, whose acquaintance he had the pleasure of making during his first trip.² Leaving at the end of August, Lichtenberg would spend the next fifteen months in England on a trip that certainly matched, if not exceeded, the expectations that he had acquired from the earlier journey.

Lichtenberg's English *séjour* formed part of the history of »the grand tour« that upper class men, and some women, as well as those (such as in his case) with connections to benefactors who could fund such trips, served as an important element of the *Bildung* tradition of self-exploration that functioned as part of one's educational development.³ Whilst Goethe's celebrated travels to Italy and his residence in Rome in the late 1780s represented for many the iconic example, Lichtenberg's trip followed more the pattern of his colleague Johann David Michaelis, who visited London from April 1741 until September 1742 (with a stopover in Leiden to meet the distinguished Arabist Albert Schultens). Also fondly remembered as »the most delightful time of my life,« during his trip Michaelis attended the second of Robert Lowth's lectures at Oxford on

the sacred poetry of the Hebrews, which not only provided insights to methodological approaches in his field, but also produced a »theological change« in him as well.⁴ Hence, in contrast to Goethe's more explicitly autobiographical rendering of his experience in his *Italienische Reise*, Lichtenberg's *englische Reise* followed more along the lines of Michaelis's encounters and in turn produce distinctive scholarship like that of the *Göttinger Taschen Calendar* (1778–1799).

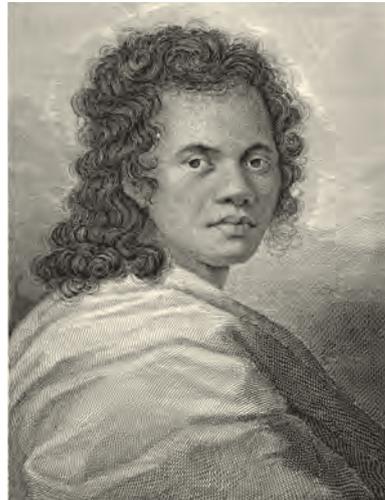
More generally, Lichtenberg travels to England can also be viewed in the wider history that emerged from the establishment in the early eighteenth century of the shared monarchy (*Personalunion*) between Great Britain and the House of Hannover (Braunschweig-Lüneburg Electorate), whereby, among others, merchants and craftsmen, including workers in sugar refineries (known as sugar bakers) migrated to Britain, and in London, created the *Little Germany* community with churches and schools in the East End district of the city.⁵ As well, his spirit for curiosity and intellectual exploration can, perhaps, also be related to the specifically »German«

tradition of scholarly exchange and expeditions, illustrated with the travels and work of Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt and Gerhard Friedrich Müller in Siberia as well as that of August Ludwig von Schlözer, in Russia and Scandinavia. Like Lichtenberg, before becoming a towering figure at Göttingen University, Schlözer began as Müller's assistant and tutor to his children.⁶

During his second visit, Lichtenberg made the acquaintance of a number of luminaries, including again King George III, Laurence Sterne, himself in addition to *Tristram Shandy*, the author of a paradigmatic work of travel writing,⁷ the Scottish Enlightenment thinker, Adam Ferguson, and several participants of James Cook's Pacific voyages. These included the famed botanist and president of the Royal Society, Joseph Banks, who along with the student of Linnaeus, Daniel Solander, accompanied James Cook on his first voyage, as well as the father and son pair, Reinhold and Georg Foster, who traveled on the second voyage. Natural scientists including mathematicians, astronomers and mineralogists were also among the personalities whom Lichtenberg

met, one of the most distinguished being the polymath Joseph Priestley.

The Cook voyages produced another significant encounter of Lichtenberg during his second memorable trip to England. Lichtenberg met Mai, known at the time as Omai von Ulieta, a young man from a middle-ranking landowning dynasty in Raiatea (formerly Ulieta), who in the wake of an attack, which perhaps killed his father, fled with his family to Tahiti. It was during Cook's



(left) Details from Johann Jacobé after Joshua Reynolds: *Omai, a Native of the Island of Utieta*, Cat. No. 1

(right) Details from James Caldwell after William Hodges: *Omai*, Cat. No. 2

second voyage in (1772–1775) when they met, and Mai expressed an interest in traveling to England, this as part of a strategy to acquire military assistance for a planned retaliation to reclaim his home land.⁸ During his two-year stay, Mai became something of a sensation in British high society, dining ten times with the Royal Society, traveling and botanizing with Banks, and meeting King George III, who took a personal interest in him. In fact, over time Mai was discoursed upon by scientists and philosophers and became the *Angelpunkt* in multiple genres from painting and poetry to pantomime and pornography.⁹

In these various contexts, Mai's own ambitions would be consistently overlooked while other intellectual preoccupations and priorities, literally in the case of the popular dramatic form and spectacle of pantomime, took center stage. In this instance, using the medium of laughter, the Theatre-Royal's 1785 production of *OMAI: Or, A Trip Round the World* undermined the idea that Britain civilized and humanized the peoples of the »new worlds« whom they encountered. Yet, at the same time, the performance was completely detached from the existential world of Mai, as the plot revolved around a love interest that Mai ostensibly came to London to pursue.¹⁰ With respect to iconography, portraits of Mai by Nathaniel Dance (1774), William Parry (1775–1776 juxtaposed with Banks and Solander), and most notably that of Joshua Reynolds (1775–1776), in which he is rendered in a classicizing manner with a »patrician pose,« also reflected the tremendous interest that his arrival sparked. In fact, the works of Dance and Reynolds would be later issued as engravings, thereby giving access to a wider public consumption of his presence. Mai's elegant dress in these paintings, once thought to be Roman, »Oriental«, or even African has more recently been identified as being situated within the normal range of Tahitian clothing for someone of his status, although in-

terestingly enough, whilst in London, he seemed to have adopted Western modes of dress.¹¹

The discourses surrounding Mai were infused with multiple assumptions, that as a »noble savage« he was »the personification of »natural man«,« whereas for natural history observers he »was a specimen to be described and classified,« and for some of the doctors and professors at the University of Cambridge, he expressed »many marks of natural religion.«¹² Some critics contended that during his visit he was not sufficiently christianized and Georg Forster insisted that he had not been taught any useful skills that he could employ upon his return home.¹³ Thus, in this context, the question can be posed as to the precise messages that these images of him were trying to convey. Mai's portrait by Reynolds assimilated him, in his own words, to the conventions of »that grand style of Painting, which improves partial representation by the general and invariable ideas of nature.«¹⁴ During a moment that saw the turn toward history painting, for Reynolds, this genre entailed a specific pedagogical purpose, one which was related to progress and excellence (terms he used extensively), and in the end, as he noted in his first presidential address to the Royal Academy, affirmation of the greatness of the British empire.¹⁵ Thus, despite the tremendous dignity that these portraits accorded Mai, as can be seen from being consistently pictured barefoot, he remained nonetheless, exotic and othered.

It is precisely this tension which can be utilized to elaborate Lichtenberg's *Menschenbilder*. Although he did not seek to build a systematic model of analysis of human population groups, in the classificatory vein of Carolus Linnaeus, or of a more historical and universal account like that of Comte de Buffon, or within medical anthropology like that of Johann Blumenbach, nonetheless, his commentaries whether *encountering* Mai or on the work of Lavater and

Hogarth, reflected a familiarity with the themes of eighteenth-century proto-anthropology, a field in which he was well read and actively corresponded with colleagues. Moreover, his descriptions of women, Jews and the non-middle classes illustrate that when it came to his observation on his social world, of which he could often offer clever witticisms, Lichtenberg's foray into this domain did not constitute a »risky adventure of the Enlightenment« (*Wagnis der Aufklärung*) in the way that he did in other intellectual contexts.¹⁶

According to his *Reise Tagebuch*, Lichtenberg first met Mai on the 24th of March 1775 at the British Museum, whilst the latter was speaking with Daniel Solander. Lichtenberg noted that Mai shook his hand in the »English manner« (*»nach englischer Art«*). In his physical description of Mai, Lichtenberg seemed to have wanted to pay him a compliment, but in so doing, not only utilized patronizing language, but reinforced profoundly negative attitudes toward Blacks: »He is fully grown, and his demeanor does not have the unpleasant and dog-likeness of Negroes (*»Hundemäßige der Negern«*), his color is a yellow brown, almost like children at Hedsor, whose Mother is a white woman.«¹⁷ He then queried Mai as to whether he preferred England to his homeland and whether the weather was agreeable with him. To the first question, his reply of yes, which though sounded more like »dis,« nonetheless suggested a certain command of the English language. In replying to the second question, Mai stated »cold, cold« and shook his head. Regarding whether he wanted to return to his home, Lichtenberg found that Mai's response, that he returns in five months, though he eventually understood what he meant, nonetheless rendered Mai's English unhearable (*»unvernehmlich«*). He then repeated that Mai's appearance was pleasant and modest and not compatible with an African dog-face (*»kein Africanisches Hundsgesicht*

fähig ist«). After noting the blue marks on Mai's hands, and the ring of his right hand which signified »wives,« Lichtenberg noted that it was not unpleasant to have his right hand in that of another, who had just come from the opposite end of the earth (*»Es war mir nicht unangenehm meine Rechte Hand in einer anderen zu sehen, die gerade vom entgegengesetzten Ende der Erde kam«*).¹⁸

Lichtenberg's description of his encounter with Mai can be quite revelatory with respect to understanding his *Menschenbilder*. His impression of Mai duplicated some of those expressed by members of English society who also encountered him. In writing to his brother about Mai's visit to the University of Cambridge in early October 1775, Richard Cumberland described Mai as »a stout well made Fellow: in Features & Complexion something betwixt the Negro & the Indian.« According to the botanist and antiquarian, Sir John Cullum, Mai with his »swarthy complexion« seemed to have »good natural Parts,« with a face that was »not disagreeable« although he had thick lips, a »somewhat flat nose« and ears »bored with a large Hole at the Tip.« He had even »learned a little English« and appeared »in general desirous of Improvement.«¹⁹ Echoing these impressions Lichtenberg also noted that Mai was pleasant, modest, and had some proficiency in a European language, though not mastery. His asking about the weather, on the one hand, could have simply been a nicety in making small talk, or on the other, it may also be related to Lichtenberg's adherence to the idea of the central role that climate played in shaping peoples, and especially with respect to their morals, a theme that reemerged in subsequent writings. It is also difficult to assess fully what lies behind the question of whether Mai preferred England to his homeland, a question that could also be posed of Lichtenberg himself. Perhaps, Lichtenberg was unaware of how determined Mai remained in returning home to avenge the attack on his peo-

ples. Yet, what remained unequivocally illuminating was that Lichtenberg, not once, but twice, felt compelled to oppose Mai to the ostensible physiognomy of the African, one which he analogized to an animal form of life. See also Cat. No. 9. Such becomes particularly interesting given his critique of Lavater's idea of physiognomy.

Lichtenberg first came into contact with Lavater's *Physiognomische Fragmente* (4 vols. 1775–1778) during his second trip to England, and in a letter to a friend, noted that it was the Queen who had loaned him a copy of the text that she herself had borrowed.²⁰ Although the Queen could certainly have afforded to purchase her own copy, Lavater unapologetically defended the high cost of his book, which was »[p]ublished in an oversize quarto format and lavishly illustrated with copperplate engravings made by the renowned artists of the time.« However, despite his insistence that the common man and masses were not the intended audience to read or purchase his book,²¹ the fervor that it quickly generated, led to societies being formed to buy a copy of the text in order to read and discuss it. It can thus be seen that Lavater had clearly tapped into a preoccupation of the public and scholarly audiences, which had existed since Aristotle's *Physiognomonika*. Not only was Lavater's book reviewed positively in local newspapers and prestigious journals, some prominent scholars also gave a nod of approval, including Göttingen's Albrecht von Haller, the President of the Royal Society of Sciences, who praised the book for reviving physiognomy as well as enriching the German language. Goethe, who before subsequently withdrawing his intellectual support, had in addition to mediating between Lavater and his publisher, contributed several articles to the first volume, including one on animal skulls and had allowed his portrait to appear in the third volume.²²

Goethe's ambivalence toward Lavater reflected the general tendency among scholars at the time

to be suspicious of the arguments put forth in *Physiognomische Fragmente*. As well, Lavater himself also seemed to have his own set of doubts, with him noting that he had neither the desire nor the strength to author a systematic work on the topic, and consequently, he could only offer some fragments on the subject matter.²³ Hence the name of the work, although these fragments would eventually extend to four volumes. However, despite whatever uncertainty may have existed, such as when Lavater admitted having made errors in judgment and lacking some knowledge in physiognomy, he nonetheless insisted that among a hundred who publicly oppose and laugh at physiognomy, there will always be more than ninety who still secretly believe in it.²⁴ And such was because, as he asserted, notwithstanding how poorly he might write about it, physiognomy could nevertheless become »a true science, grounded in nature.«²⁵ This nature, for the Swiss theologian, was one that remained divinely ordained, a perspective encapsulated his epigraph to *Physiognomische Fragmente*, one which also revealed Lavater's methodological approach: God created the human in the image. (Gott schuf den Menschen sich zum Bilde!)

Lavater defined physiognomy as the science (*Wissenschaft*) of discerning the character of a person from their facial features (in portraits and other representations), external factors, a contention, of course, based on the presupposition that a direct correlation existed between the internal and the external.²⁶ According to him, all humans, with eyes and ears, have the predisposition toward physiognomy, but out of 10,000 not one will become a good physiognomist.²⁷ This assertion raised important issues that would become also important to Lichtenberg – one of which concerned the ostensible universality that remained implicit in the physiognomic conceptual framework and the other being scholarly authority. The latter of these also raised another

Physiognomische Fragmente,
zur Beförderung
der Menschenkenntniß und Menschenliebe,
von
Johann Caspar Lavater.

Gott schuf den Menschen sich zum Bilde!

Erster Versuch.
Mit vielen Kupfern.



Leipzig und Winterthur, 1775.
Bey Weidmanns Erben und Reich, und Heinrich Steiner und Compagnie.

Johann Caspar Lavater, *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntniß und Menschenliebe*, 1. Versuch, Leipzig und Winterthur 1775

central thematic of the discussion, and one that defined the intellectual praxis of the Enlightenment, that of observation and comparison.²⁸

According to Lavater, »observation (or to discern with distinction) is the soul of physiognomy« and combined with an agile imagination and quick wit, the physiognomist must also possess »the most refined, rapid, definite and comprehensive spirit of observation« (*Beobachtungsgeist*). And it must be comprehensive as it comprised the complete human character, that is, the physiological, temperamental, medical, psychic, intellectual and moral, among others.²⁹ In this regard, Lavater's often dismissed conceptual scheme can be considered »a unified theory of the human subject,« one that he posited was based on revealing the original language of nature. This process was carried out through an analysis of silhouettes (of notable historical and contemporary figures) as well as of paintings, which constituted for Lavater »the mother and daughter of physiognomy.« It was precisely therefore within this frame that he suggested that Daniel Chodowiecki's »Adieux de Calas« (1767) represented the work of one of the most faithful and observant students of nature.³⁰ However, against the idea to which Lichtenberg would adhere, that facial expressions, gestures and movements of the body reveal the essential nature of a person, Lavater presumed that unchanging characteristics, including bone structure, shape of skull, as well as the placement of ears, eyes, nose and mouth provided unmediated access to real knowledge of a human, that is, the original language of nature.³¹

As he freely acknowledged, Lichtenberg's interest in physiognomy preceded his dispute with Lavater. Since his youth he was preoccupied with observing and interpreting human faces, which subsequently can be seen in the numerous entries in his *Sudelbücher* where he describes a hypocritical face, a Shakespearean face, as well as that

of a rascal.³² Moreover, one can also see some aesthetic affiliation in the *Göttinger Taschen Kalender* (1778) with the Berlin and the English coiffures, in which a schema of hairstyles accompany a tableau of faces, a style that Hogarth satirized in his *Five Orders of Periwigs as they were worn at the Late Coronation Measured Architectonically* (1761), Cat. No. 12. And, if one wanted to push this line of argument further, it could also be argued that Lichtenberg's fascination with aristocratic genealogies, which also appeared in the *Taschen Kalender*, signified a similar adoration of highly regarded, if not powerful, people. For these reasons, then perhaps, it is not surprising that despite what amounted to, in some instances, a trenchant analysis of the implications of Lavater's position, that Lichtenberg still maintained the possibility of a viable mode of scholarly physiognomy.³³ Such can be seen in the title »On Physiognomy: Against the Physiognomist.«

And, yet, at the same time, his subtitle »To Promote Human Love and Human Understanding« (*Zu Beförderung der Menschenliebe und Menschenkenntnis*), which reversed the subtitle of Lavater's *Physiognomische Fragmente*, i. e. *zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe*, essentially mocks the latter's formulation as not really delivering on what it claimed to offer. Indeed, not only was Lavater's approach neither an objective nor positivistic science, but were one to follow the implications of his argument, then as Lichtenberg suggested in *Sudelbücher*, society would be compelled to begin to hang children before they commit crimes.³⁴ In place of a limited definition of physiognomy, which privileges external features (especially of the face), to the exclusion of temporary signs of the emotions, Lichtenberg offered the concept of pathognomy, which comprises »the entire semiotics of affect or the knowledge of the natural sciences of emotions.« Such was because, despite an emphasis on the fixed and firm features of the body, these as op-

posed to »soft« features of the soul, physiognomy can nonetheless be deceiving, and thus, like the weather, very difficult to predict.³⁵

Yet, it remained precisely that which Lavater perceived to be arbitrary, that is the soul, versus that which he defined as the natural, the body, which Lichtenberg suggested was the more reliable basis upon which to understand a person's character. The body, he insisted, stood between the soul and the rest of world, and reflected the impact of both.³⁶ From Lichtenberg's perspective, within such a restricted physiognomic framework, it remained difficult to account for the flexibility of the body with its potential toward perfectibility or corruptibility. For this reason, he sustained much interest in gestures and behaviors, including pantomime and theater, the latter evidenced by his great appreciation of the British actor David Garrick. At the same time, pathognomy represented for Lichtenberg »a non-arbitrary language of gestures, one spoken throughout the world by the passions in all their shades,« and one that he insisted has lied to no one.³⁷ In fact, according to him, »the pathognomic modifications in a face constitute a language for the eye, one in which, as the greatest physiologist says, cannot lie.«³⁸ Thus, Lavater's problem stemmed from a methodology which remained primarily too textual and bookish,³⁹ as it was based upon portraits and abstract silhouettes without any actual knowledge of the persons depicted.⁴⁰ In other words, he did not employ the proper methods of observation.

This issue also became relevant with respect to understanding the position of Blacks. First, Lichtenberg refuted Lavater's assertion that Newton's soul could not sit in the head of a Negro. Then, whilst claiming that the profile of Blacks has rightly surpassed the ideal of stupidity and stubbornness – or come close to the European stupidity-malice line, he also noted that it is not a surprise given the situation of slavery, and thus

they cannot be compared to a candidate in belles lettres. However, when in good hands and respected like humans, then they will too become human. This he can attest to because he has seen them chatting in a bookstore in London with a rare bel-esprit not even found in Germany.⁴¹

As he noted in his introduction to the essay, for Lichtenberg, the craze of physiognomy was not a result of the expansion of the »spirit of observation,« and anyone who thought so, did not understand the concept, nor did they really understand the country (the Vaterland) itself.⁴² Though employing the same concept, Lichtenberg's and Lavater's understandings were meaningfully opposed. According to Lichtenberg, his mission therefore became to hinder the superstitious interpretation of Lavater, especially as it would influence those easily susceptible to its power such as women and youth (*Matronen und Jünglinge*). In looking for another path to investigate the human character, as with Lavater, Lichtenberg invoked Chodowiecki as a most skilled observer of humans. Another skilled observer whose work he greatly appreciated was William Hogarth, whose concept of aesthetics, he asserted, remained more content in deterioration than in beautification, an understanding which correlated with Lichtenberg's belief that beauty and virtue are often not found in predictable contexts.⁴³

Lichtenberg's commentaries on Hogarth's graphic works have received extensive treatment, including with respect to the context of natural history in which his interpretations should be situated. Whilst, as noted, his use of physiognomy as a heuristic device may have differed in ways from that of Lavater, at the same time, it is not completely certain that his viewpoint necessarily implied, as Michael Printy has suggested, »more complex and subtle views of human character and social interaction.«⁴⁴ Such can be detected from an extrapolation of what is admittedly

only one facet of his interpretations of Hogarth's works, but one that is nonetheless significant and yet one strategically overseen in Printy's analysis of the role of the »science of man« or what became known in the Enlightenment milieu of Göttingen as *Wissenschaft vom Menschen*. In fact, this theme, one described by David Dabydeen as the images of »Hogarth's Blacks,« can elucidate the politics of observation in the eighteenth century in which Lichtenberg's *Menschenbild* was enmeshed, and furthermore, can be equally revelatory with respect to issues of status, gender and sexuality as they are rendered by Hogarth and examined by Lichtenberg.

In describing his interpretive approach to Hogarth's works, Lichtenberg made a distinction between two methods of analysis, the prosaic and the poetic. The former is merely descriptive (*sagte man bloß mit kurzen and dürren Worten, was die Dinge bedeuten*), whilst the latter attempts to capture the essence of the work of the artist (*den durchaus eine gewisse Laune belebte, die mit der des Künstlers so viel Ähnlichkeit hätte, als möglich, und immer mit ihr gleichen Gang hielte*); and thereby to articulate what the artist has illustrated and perhaps would have written, if he had taken up a pen (*Was der Künstler da gezeichnet hat, müßte nun auch so gesagt werden, wie Er es vielleicht würde gesagt haben, wenn er die Feder so hätte führen können – original emphasis, 10*)⁴⁵. Admitting that also he may be ascribing aims to the work which Hogarth may not have intended, Lichtenberg insisted that he allows himself to perform comparisons (*Mir aber ist es verstattet, die Vergleichung zu machen ... 14*) to acquaint oneself with the particular brilliant mind within the totality of things (*Man mache sich erst mit dem Geist dieses sonderbaren Genies aus dem Ganzen bekannt, 14.*)

One mode of comparison on which Lichtenberg's commentaries often relied was the analogy of nature, a perspective influenced by the Linnaean revolution in natural history. Indeed, it

was proposed that the insights of this transformative paradigm could be extended not only to the wig of a clergyman (90–91), but as well to the »kingdom of furniture.« (*In dem ganzen Möbel-Reich, dem es, soviel ich weiß, noch bis diese Stunde an einem Ritter Linné fehlt, 159 original emphasis*). On the one hand, following this taxonomic method, the classification of types and kinds, not individuals, should then be the operative frame to understand Hogarth's works (*nur versteht sich, nicht aufindividua, sondern immer auf Klassen, 10*). However, on the other hand, Lichtenberg suggested that the life of individuals, like that of States, which had a natural cycle (*Naturumlauf*) (133) could also be instructive. Such is reflected in his analysis of the figures in the fourth plate of the *Harlot's Progress* series (Cat. No. 52).

Proposing that all organic matter follows similar processes to the three stages of fermentation in chemistry (wine, vinegar, putrid), Lichtenberg argued that such is also the situation with »poor Molly,« whose fermentation also occurs very quickly, arriving already at the second stage, though she is barely twenty (*Auch Deine Gärung geht geschwind vonstatten. Kaum zwanzig Jahre, und doch stehst du schon am Ende der zweiten, 134*). The scene takes place in Bridewell Prison where »the heroine« has been sentenced to hard labor, being forced to beat hemp, and while doing so, being reminded from the sign above that it is »Better to Work than Stand thus.« Moll is joined by a group, who together constitute a musical »Hammerspiel,« to whom Lichtenberg assigns the solfège Doh, Re Mi, Fa, Sol, La, Ti (Ut, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La, Si, 139). Next to Moll (Doh) is the professional card player (Re), and then Mi, the poor girl who has something good in her physiognomy (*Das arme Mädchen hat etwas Gutes in seiner Physiognomie, 142*). The fourth »note,« Fa, characterized as a short, round, globular thing and a real little Satan (*das kurze, rund, kuglig Dinge ... einen wahren kleine Satan, 143*), an appellation also

ascribed to the wife standing behind the master of ceremonies who has a Satanic physiognomy. Sol, next to Fa, is a »good looking girl« who, for lovers of passive obedience, one cannot get enough of looking at her (*ein ganz ansehnliches Mädchen, man kann sich, wenn man etwas Liebhaber von passivem Gehorsam ist, kaum satt an ihr sehen*, 143 original emphasis).

Then comes his well-known description of La, »poor devil,« a Black woman (*eine Negerin. Armer Teufel*) that has been discussed, among others, by David Dabydeen. Lichtenberg laments her situation, as she is pregnant, and thus »the embryo is incarcerated in a mother who sits in a penitentiary, in a world that is penitentiary for the

whole family.« (*Was für eine Einschachtelung von Gefängnissen für den Embryo! Eingekerkert in eine Mutter, die selbst im Zuchthause sitzt, in einer Welt, die wieder ein Zuchthause für die ganze Familie*, 144). This pointed critique is ironically followed by a »there but for the grace of God, go I« sentiment in which Lichtenberg remains thankful for being born with the color of innocence and the cloak of freedom (*Wohl uns, die wir mit der Farbe der Un-*



William Hogarth: *A Harlot's Progress* – Plate 4, Cat. No. 52



schuld und der Livree der Freiheit geboren werden! 144). Dabydeen has astutely noted that much more could be said regarding this scene, as the Black woman evokes Britain's history of slavery and colonialism as well as forecasts the destiny of the other transgressive women, who could be transported to the colonies where the sexual and economic exploitation of enslavement defined the social order.⁴⁶

Reference to the world-systemic context implied in Plate 4 also appears in Plate 2, where Moll, now the paramour of a Jewish merchant, kicks over a mahogany table, whilst exposing a breast, this in order to distract him from the presence of her young lover, who is being secret-

ly ushered out the boudoir by her female servant. The diversion causes the merchant and a small monkey to look in Moll's direction with the same expression, as Ronald Paulson has noted, whilst a young Black boy, wearing a turban and carrying a tea kettle reacts to the broken porcelain. Paulson's astute and meticulous reading of the print, which he pointed out »is packed with complicating detail« illuminates well the social and biographical context (father's imprisonment for debt, Colonel Charteris rape trial, role of prostitution and spread of venereal disease), the literary (Henry Fielding, Samuel Richardson) and as well as the Biblical and art historical intertextuality.⁴⁷



William Hogarth: *A Harlot's Progress*, Plate 2, Cat. No. 50

Although Lichtenberg provides perceptive analyses of the art work (Old Testament themes Uzzah and the Ark of the Covenant and Jonah in Nineveh) his interpretation also yields another kind of insight, as his analysis reflected then-current themes and perspectives, which provide additional commentary into the question of observation as well as that of alterity. For instance, in Plate 2, he noted that now Moll is supported by a Portuguese Jewish man, who »keeps her in Jewish splendor,« and whilst everything is somewhat rich and large, it is also somewhat, like the girl, second hand. (*Er unterhält sie, wie man sieht, mit Judenpracht; alles ein wenig reich, ein wenig schwer, auch mitunter, so wie das Mädchen, ein wenig aus der zweiten Hand*, 105). Presumably, such is precisely to be expected from someone of *secondary* human status. Here Lichtenberg's *Judenbild*, as an important component of his *Menschenbild* can be detected. As Frank Schäfer has demonstrated, despite expressing admiration for Jewish philosophers like Spinoza and Mendelssohn, or in a moment of satire and self-criticism as in *Sudelbuch* entry J-687 that »we are just like a sect of Jews,« in the end, the Jew remains the paradigm of evil.⁴⁸

In describing the reactions of the young boy to the table being turned over, he claimed that everything clinks and echoes and even the Torrid Zone, the Moor with his fellow countrymen, the monkey, quivers and is paralyzed or flees. (*Alles klingt und hallt und schallt, selbst Zona torrida, der Mohr mit seinem Landsmann, dem Affen, bebzt und erstarrt oder flieht*, 106). Here the simianization of the young boy forms part of the ongoing eighteenth-century debate concerning the border between humans and animals, and especially orangutans. Increasingly formulated as a scientific question, perhaps in the wake of Linnaeus, one of the consequences remained that the ostensible ambivalence and/or proximity of the African/Negro/Black to the ape became a constituent element in the »canon of dehumanization.«⁴⁹

Such a belief system, premised on the idea that hereditary variations necessarily imply the non-homogeneity within the species, a phenomenon to which the term race has been assigned,⁵⁰ wants to posit that racial (and other hierarchies) can, in actuality, be found in nature, and not in discursive and institutional practices.

Later commentary on Plate 4 provides an example of the way in which, to borrow a formulation, the »ape, man, apeman« theme became iconic in the eighteenth century.⁵¹ According to Lichtenberg, whilst the Europeans in the scene barely notice the falling tea-table, the »two love gods from the torrid zone,« the monkey and the Moor, apparently, do feel the sad movements of the lovers' hearts, with which they were entrusted. He then goes on to describe each one, the monkey, being imagined as Cupid with a bow and arrow in flight, meanwhile, the woolly hair of the »Black god of love« bristles. Perhaps, it was suggested, »in mourning of the fate of his West Indian brothers, as he is horrified, that he must here wash up.« (*Und nun der schwarze Liebes-Gott! Sein Wollenhaar scheint sich zu sträuben. In Natur-Trauer, vielleicht über das Schicksal seiner westindischen Brüder, sieht er mit Entsetzen, dass er auch hier – aufwaschen muß*, original emphasis, 111). It is revealing that whilst the animal, presumably snatched from its natural habitat and made into an object to affirm consumption, luxury and class status, can be imagined in classical mythological terms of passion and desire, but such is not the case with the servant boy. Though the collar he is wearing clearly evokes slavery and colonialism, his description remains at the level of the empirical and the tragic.

Equally illuminating, in this regard, the expression of the young boy, according to Lichtenberg has itself essentially become a byword. (*Diese Figur ist merkwürdig, und der Ausdruck derselben fast sprichwörtlich geworden*, 111). Next he recounts the experience of the Shakespearean ac-

tor David Garrick's attempt to play the »intense, passionate and thunderous« (*den starken leidenschaftlichen and donnernden*) Othello, the Moor of Venice, a roll without which a certain body mass would not be possible, even for the most agile mind. (*eine Rolle, die ohne körperliche Masse, der biegsamsten Seele zu spielen unmöglich ist*, 112). Moreover, none of the maquillage seems to have been convincing, especially that of the chimney sweep, which »simply made night of out of his day« (*Er mußte also notwendig bei jeder Maske verlieren, and vorzüglich, bei der vom Schornsteinfeger, die aus seinem Tag schlechtweg Nächte machte, original emphasis*, 112). When Garrick appeared, Lichtenberg relates, the comedic actor Quinn is supposed to have quipped: »Here is Pompey (Moor), where is the Tea-Kettle?« This exclamation is then alleged to have prevented Garrick from ever attempting again to play Othello.⁵²

Whilst it is not evident whether Lichtenberg felt that Garrick should have tried to step outside of the proscribed racial boundaries and assume the identity of a Moor, shortly after relating this incident, he did seem to fear that other modes of role-playing could produce harmful social effects. And, in this context, his *Menschenbild*, in which there is a clear allegiance to hierarchy, and therefore to what constitutes normative being and non-being, becomes inescapably clear. He noted that in this scene Moll had probably returned from a masked ball the previous evening with the new recruit (*Rekrut*) who must now abscond. In his estimation, such an episode proved there existed no greater warning against masquerades, at least those in London. (*Fürwahr eine größere Warnung vor Maskeraden, wenigsten vor London-schen, gibt es nicht*, 112–113). Indeed, he took much umbrage with the idea that such gatherings encouraged mingling among social unequals: »Solche Menschen (*Menschen möchte ich sagen*) mit Menschen bei vollkommener Gleichheit in dasselbe Spiel gebracht, durch einen leichten Überzug! Daraus kann nie was

Gutes werden.«, 113). Claiming that while one hopes for the idea of equality in the hereafter, yet to look for it here and now, and in masquerades (*Domino*) remains dangerous. Dangerous because the search never stops, and when the mask is thrown out, and such an ending is founded on the whole allure of the brief illusion. (*Wir hoffen alle auf Gleichheit in jener Welt. Sie hier schon zu suchen, ist überall, und selbst im Domino, gefährlich; denn sie hört nicht immer auf, wenn er weggeworfen wird, und auf ein solches Aufhören gründet sich doch allein der ganze Reiz der kurzen Illusion*, 113).

Similar themes are treated in *Marriage A-la-Mode*, which Hogarth described in a 1742 advertisement as »representing a Variety of Modern Occurrence in High Life.« A couple, compelled to marry, have taken up the sexual habits and the patterns of consumption that seem to be associated with this new life style. In succumbing to the temptations of luxury, as Paulson notes, »the costumes and art objects crowding their rooms, in effect take [sic] over both rooms and owners.«⁵³ This series is therefore firmly situated in the eighteenth-century »controversy between ›virtue‹ and ›corruption‹ and in the associated debate between ›landed interests‹ and ›monied interests‹ which was revitalized by the Financial Revolution.«⁵⁴ In a most revelatory manner, Lichtenberg's commentaries amplify and concentrate these very themes.

For instance, Plate 4, *Toilette/The Countess's Morning Levée*, Cat. No. 55, is set in the boudoir of the Countess, who is receiving visitors whilst preparing her morning toilette. The private event with a public audience includes an opera singer, a flutist, a Black servant, and a (presumably) non-European child wearing a turban, who is mischievously playing with a horned Actaeon doll, a symbol of marital infidelity. Lichtenberg's commentary begins with a critique of the Countess's lack of conforming to normative codes of domestic maternity: »The Lady is a Mother!

Regrettably! Not a trace of the sentiments of a mother's heart. (*die Dame ist Mutter! – Aber leider! Leider! Kein Spur von Empfindungen eines Mutterherzens*, 325). He then describes the lawyer, Silvertongue, with whom she is speaking, the topic is most likely the upcoming masked ball. According to him, the Countess cannot even appreciate the singing and the music being played, because she is so distracted by Silvertongue, who is »reclining on the sofa in oriental-weak idleness, as if it were in his harem« (*mit orientalisch-weiblicher Gemächlichkeit, als wäre es in seinem Harem, auf einem Sopha gegenüber ruht*, 325–326). Compressing representations of gender and cultural difference into a single thematic, Lichtenberg implies that the Countess and the lawyer are so distant from conceptions of true men and women, not only in intimate and marital practices, but also with respect to consumption and leisure, that they resemble non-European others.

This formulation, known as »Oriental despotism« and canonically rendered by Montesquieu in his *Persian Letters* (1721) appears also in Lichtenberg's analysis of *A Rake's Progress* (1732–1735), a visualized morality play, which depicts the downfall of the squanderer Tom Rakewell, whose *mode de vie* lands him in confinement in an asylum, where he eventually dies. In Plate 3, Cat. No. 51, the Tavern Scene, a wild party is occurring at a brothel, which led Lichtenberg to comment that »with money one can quickly make anything out of a room in London,« including »library, art gallery, museum or a harem« (*Mit Geld läßt sich in London aus jedem Zimmer alles machen, Bibliothek, Bildergalerie, Museum oder Harem, und das in kurzer Zeit*, 219). The inclusion of harem is neither arbitrary nor innocuous, as he further elaborated, the crew is virtually of oriental strength and size with ten girls against two males, or more properly two men (*Die Besatzung ist, wie man sieht, von fast orientalischer Stärke ... zehn Mädchen gegen zwei Männer, eigentlich jetzt bloß noch*

zwei Mann, 219 – and here a footnote that makes a distinction between *zwei Mann* und *zwei Männer*, like *zwei Buch* and *zwei Bücher*, 219). Lichtenberg insisted that those who only know country life from pastoral poetry should take this plate to heart, which depicts a Schrecksystem, a regime of terror. (*Dieses Blatt mögen diejenigen beherzigen, die das Landleben bloß aus Schäfergedichten kennen*, 220).

Whilst the »Orient«, together with the fallen women and the generally corrupted English classes, served as a behavioral foil to the represented cultural norms, the physiognomy of the figure of the Black served as the Other to the conception of being on which Whiteness would be constructed. Lichtenberg ascribed this racial dynamic to Hogarth in his depiction of the various women in this same Plate, when he asserted that one would not presuppose that behind the little face of the woman receiving the watch that her accomplice just lifted from Rakewell, had an acquaintance with crime. (*Man sollte hinter diesem Geschichtchen kaum so viel Bekanntschaft mit dem Verbrechen ver-*



Detail from William Hogarth: *Marriage A-la-Mode*, (Plate 4), Cat. No. 55

muten, 223–224). Furthermore, that Hogarth may have prided himself on this little face, according to Lichtenberg, can be apparently be discerned from the appropriate contrast with which he seeks to foreground it, that is, British milk and blood against the backdrop of African pine-soot. (*Das sich Hogarth etwas auf dieses Gesichtchen eingebildet haben mag, sieht man wieder aus dem angebrachten Kontraste, wodurch er es hervorzurücken sucht. Hier ist wieder britische Milch und Blut auf afrikanischen Kienruß getragen.* 224) Appealing to religious and natural heterodoxies, Lichtenberg proclaimed, that the little Black Satan had the most animated eyes which were focused on a shiny bowl (*Wie der kleine schwarze Satan dahinten nicht wetterleuchtet! Es sind die lebendigsten Augen auf dem gazen Blatte. Sie schlagen eigentlich in der Gegend der blanken Schüssel an der Tür ein,* 224). Just as the face and eyes of Jewish merchant in Plate 2 of *A Harlot's Progress* corresponded with the monkey, the eyes of the Black, which would be central to the panoply of stereotyped figurations, would also go on to have an extensive cultural life.⁵⁵



Detail from William Hogarth: *Marriage A-la-Mode*, (Plate IV), Cat. No. 55

In Plate 4 of *Marriage A-la-Mode*, Cat. No. 55, Lichtenberg perceptively detected Hogarth's derision of French and Italian cultural practices, and this critique/satire is partially effected with the use of the eyes and facial physiognomy of the figure of the Black. One sees, he noted, the Black servant standing behind the enchanted woman (*entzückte Dame*) listening to the Italian castrato, Carestini, whose head gawks at us, a head which is not the most handsome, but is the most telling of the whole party. (*erblicken wir einen Kopf, oder glotzt vielmehr ein Kopf gegen us, der freilich eben nicht der schönste, aber dafür einer der sprechendsten der ganzen Gesellschaft ist,* 336). Carrying more meaning on his shoulder than the Italian, the African, the axis of whose eyes, without affectation and with firm unadulterated human-animal instinct, focuses on the Italian. (*Affektation ist hier nicht; es ist reiner, derber, menschlich-tierischer Instinkt was seine Auge-Achsen so steif auf den Italiener hinspannt,* 336). Lichtenberg speculated that the reason for this was not the voice of the singer but rather the gestures that accompanied it and the opening out of which it crept. (*Vermutlich gilt es aber nicht sowohl der Stimme des Sängers, als vielmehr den Gebärden, die sie begleiten und der Mündung, aus welcher sie hervorkriecht,* 336). Continuing with a discourse of racialized geography, he further asserted that the Black servant laughs at the mushy little mouth that formerly washed itself in the soft, effeminate Tiber and shows one that has been washed in the Niger or the Senegal River, and a mouth that is of such an extent that neither the Senegal nor the Niger nor any other famous river gods would need to fear complaints about shortages, if he were to let his supply, which until now poured from his urn, in the future spout from such a head. (*Er lächelt über das Brei- und Lappen Mäulchen, das sich ehemals aus der weiblichen, weibischen Tiber wusch, und weist bei der Gelegenheit selbst eines, das sich aus dem Niger oder dem Senegal gewaschen hat, von solchem Umfang, daß*

fürwahr weder der Senegal noch der Niger noch sonst irgend ein berühmter Fluß-Gott Klage über Mangel zu befürchten haben würde, wenn er seinen Vorrat, den er bisher aus seinr Urne goß, künftig von einem solchen Kopf speien lassen wollte, 336). Therefore, the critique of Italian opera as culture must reify a specific conception of racial masculinity, that is, the effeminate Tiber in opposition to the infinite spout of the African.

Carl Niekerk has insightfully noted that although Lichtenberg vehemently protested against clichéd representations of non-Europeans, yet when it suited his purposes, he fell back on the same clichés.⁵⁶ Such would therefore call into question his notion of observation, especially as he attempted to distinguish it from Lavater or from his other Göttingen colleagues, such as Christoph Meiners, whose ideas he referred to as »water soup philosophy« (*Wassersuppenphilosophie*).⁵⁷ Indeed, the distinction can be un-

derstood as one of modality, in which Meiners attempted to systematize a series of negative representations and beliefs concerning non-Westerns, and especially of Africans. Lichtenberg's more liberal humanist viewpoint, to which racialized ideas were also central, may not have expressed itself in a systematic a manner as in the work of scholars such as Meiners or Samuel Thomas von Soemmerring. Nonetheless, like his contemporaries, he struggled with the issue of the origin of humans and the relationship between humans and animals.⁵⁸ Thus, in this context, his reflex anti-Black pronouncements, together with negative ideas expressed of other disregarded groups, illustrate the extent to which the »spirit of observation« remained heavily mediated by the »inner eyes«⁵⁹ that had been socially-conditioned by the governing conceptions of being and non-being that had come to define the late eighteenth century.

Notes

1 Lichtenberg made this statement in a letter of dedication (*Widmungsbrief*) to King George III in a Latin publication on the observations of the astronomer Tobias Mayer. See Joost: Lichtenbergs London, 109.

2 Lichtenberg to the Geheime Rats-Kollegium, 247, 28 April 1774, Joost und Schöne (ed.): Georg Christoph Lichtenberg Briefwechsel, Bd. 1, 456–457.

3 Joost: Lichtenbergs London, 101.

4 Lifschitz: Language and Enlightenment, 101–104.

5 Rössler: Germans from Hanover in the British Sugar Industry, 49–63.

6 Vermeulen: Before Boas.

7 See Sterne: A Sentimental Journey.

8 Hetherington: The Cult of the South Seas, 1–3 and McCormick: Omai, 116.

9 Ibid, 6 and Cook: The Art of Ventriloquism, 37.

10 Knellwolf: Comedy in the OMAI Pantomine, 17–21.

11 Turner: Images of Omai, 26. See also McCormick: Omai, 115, where he noted that »Omai was something of a dandy« having »expressed his anger to Cradock and Mr. Bates because his clothes were not as good as those of the gentleman next to him: his own suit was only of English velvet, while his neighbor's was from Genoa.«

12 Ibid., 116, 132.

13 Hetherington: The Cult of the South Seas, 4 and Guest: Omai's Things, 32.

14 Reynolds: A Discourse, 11.

15 Ibid., 2.

16 Rainer Herbster argues that Lichtenberg was a good handworker that produced quality work (ein guter Handwerker, der qualitative hochstehend gefertigte Arbeiten lieferte), but he was neither especially brilliant nor especially mediocre («Weder kann man Lichtenberg als einen besonders brillanten, noch als eine besonders mittelmäßigen Astronomen bezeichnen.»). Herbster: Lichtenbergs astronomisches Werk, 132.

17 »Er ist wohl gewachsen, und seine Miene hat nicht das unangenehme und hundemäßige der Negern, seine Farbe ist ein gelbliches Braun, fast wie die Kinder bey Hedsor, deren Mutter eine weise [Weiße] ist« in: Gumbert: Lichtenberg in England, 105.

18 Ibid., 106.

19 McCormick: Omai, 128–129.

20 Frey: Lavater, Lichtenberg, and the Suggestive Power of the Human Face, 64–103, qt. at 91.

21 Lavater: Physiognomische Fragmente, Versuch 1, paragraph 25: »Es ist durchaus nicht für den großen Haufen geschrieben. Es soll von dem gemeinen Manne nicht gelesen und nicht gekauft.« See also Frey: Lavater, Lichtenberg, and the Suggestive Power of the Human Face, 66–67.

22 Ibid., 65, 67, 83–85. Gray: About Face, 139–140. In a February 17, 1829 letter to Johann Peter Eckermann, Goethe insists that Lavater tended toward a religious bias, noting that what in the book was related to animal skulls came from him. See von der Helten: Goethes Anteil, 2. Evelyn K. Moore demonstrates that despite the ambivalent relationship that Goethe had with Lavater, the latter remained important for the former's thinking on visual culture. See Moore: Goethe and Lavater, 165–191.

23 Lavater: Physiognomische Fragmente, Versuch 1, Zugabe zur Vorrede, paragraph 1: »Man weiß es schon, daß ich weder Lust, noch Kraft habe, eine Physiognomik, oder irgend eine Art von physiognomischem System zu schreiben; – daß ich nur Fragmente zu liefern gedenke, die unter sich eben keine Verbindung haben, und kein Ganzes ausmachen werden.«

24 Ibid., 7, 17, where he states: »daß ich sehr wenige physiognomische Kenntniß besitze; daß ich mich unzählige male in meinen Urtheilen geirret habe, und noch täglich ire« and »Daß dieß geschieht – das wird wol keines Beweises bedürfen? Unter hundert, die darüber urtheilen, werden immer über neunzig seyn, die, obgleich sie insgeheim, wenigstens bis auf einen gewissen Grad, an die Physiognomik glauben, öffentlich darwider sich erklären, und darüber lachen.« See also Frey: Lavater, Lichtenberg, and the Suggestive Power of the Human Face, 67, 69.

25 Lavater: Physiognomische Fragmente, Versuch 1, Vorrede, paragraph 17: »Ich kann schlecht und schwach über die Physiognomik schreiben, und Sie kann dennoch eine wahre, in der Natur gegründete Wissenschaft seyn.«

26 Lavater: Von der Physiognomik, 146: »Physiognomik ist die Wissenschaft, den Charakter (nicht die zufällige Schicksale) des Menschen im weitläufigsten Verstande aus seinem Aeußerlichen zu erkennen.« And Lavater: Physiognomische Fragmente, Versuch 1, 33: »Dieß Aeußerliche und Innere stehen offenbar in einem genauen unmittelbaren Zusammenhange.«

27 Ibid., 170: »Alle Menschen in der Welt, die Augen und Ohren haben, haben Anlagen zur Physiognomik. Aber unter zehentausenden wird nicht Einer ein guter Physiognomist werden.«

28 Daston: Observation

29 Lavater: Von der Physiognomik, 146 and Lavater: Schluß der Abhandlung der Physiognomik, 190.

30 Ibid., 54: »Mahlerkunst, die Mutter und Tochter der Physiognomik ...« and 112: »... ist einer der treuesten und aufmerksamsten Schüler der Natur.«

31 Gray: About Face, xlv, 29, 340.

32 Lichtenberg: Über Physiognomik, 88–131, at 92: »Von meiner Jugend an waren Gesichter und ihre Deutung eine meiner Lieblings-Beschäftigungen.« For Sudelbücher references, see Craig: A Rigid Issue, 57–75, qt. at 60.

33 Niekerk: Zwischen Naturgeschichte und Anthropologie, 163.

34 Gray, *About Face*, 99.

35 Lichtenberg: Über Physiognomik, 97–98.

36 Ibid., 99: »So steht unser Körper zwischen Seele und der übrigen Welt in der Mitte, Spiegel der Wirkungen von beiden.«

37 Ibid., 99 and 112: »Ohnstreitig gibt es eine unwillkürliche Gebärden-Sprache, die von den Leidenschaften in allen ihren Gradationen über die ganze Erde geredet wird. ... Dieses hat noch niemand geleunet, und ihre Kenntnis ist was wir oben Pathognomik genannt haben.«

38 Ibid., 123: »Die pathognomischen Abänderungen in einem Gesicht sind eine Sprache für das Auge, in welcher man, wie der größte Physiologe sagt, nicht lügen kann.«