

Mind, Mountain, and History

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MIND, MOUNTAIN, AND HISTORY

BY WALTHER KIRCHNER

I. The Classical Spirit

In the course of history, man's attitude toward mountains has not been static; it has changed, perhaps in accord with the pulse of his development, and a Spengler might well have been able to trace parallel, "contemporary" feelings in man at given stages of each civilization. However, in our present study we shall not undertake the wider investigation, but confine ourselves to the rhythm in western civilization and in its chief ancestors, the Judaic, Hellenic, and Roman worlds.

For the Jews, as for Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Indians, and many other peoples, the early relations of man and nature must be traced against a religious background, and mountains must be considered within this general setting.¹ They are the seats of the Gods. The Cedar Mountain of the Assyrians, the Caucasus of the Persians, the peaks of the Himalayas on India's northern border, from the heights of which, as the Rig Veda tells, the Gods look down²—they all are understood as steps or ladders to what is immeasurable, unknown, and high above. Few would ever have thought of trying to grasp with mortal hands what might be dwelling on top of the mountains, close to heaven. Respect for the "holy" and fear of hidden terrors would forbid such an arrogant attempt. Not without cause were the mountains created arduous to approach, inaccessible on their flanks, and surrounded by clouds and storms. It was to separate man from the eternally holy which dwelt in solitude and serenity; and only he whose sincere longing to be close to God and whose own purity would be an armor against the dangers from above could dare set his foot on the heights.

Essentially, each separate religion had "its own group of sacred mountains."³ Even the Jews, who evolved a transcendental, monotheistic religion including a God whose image could

¹ Wilhelm Lehner, *Die Eroberung der Alpen* (Leipzig, 1924), 6-9.

² *Berglieder der Völker*, ed. by Max Rohrer (Munich, 1928), 79.

³ Will Hayes, "Men and Mountains," *Studies in Comparative Religion*, No. 3 (Dublin, 1929), 10.

not be conceived by man, have viewed mountains with special regard, lifting their eyes "unto the hills whence cometh my help."⁴ Only Moses could undertake to ascend Horeb of Sinai,⁵ could dare stand face to face with his God and in storm and thunder receive a law from above for the impious crowd below. Likewise Mount Hor, Mount Nebo, the mountain from which Jesus preached his sermon, Mount Calvary and others bear witness to the fact that in an age when religious expression is paramount in man's life, he has to find a place in his mind for mountains—a place in harmony with his fundamental attitude.

The exalted spirit shown by the old religious peoples in their mystical feelings toward mountains was not for the ancient Greek. He stands firmly, his feet on the ground, his eyes and attention centered on the worldly tasks before him, his inspiration directed toward social relationships and their philosophical interpretation. His preoccupation is with man on earth; and although not lacking in a feeling for demoniac forces, he affirms a rational approach toward his surroundings. His architecture with horizontal lines and firmly rooted columns emphasizes harmony with the world in which he lives; his literature sings of earthly men and sees in gods but a reflection and magnification of man's own desires. If mountains like Olympus and Pelion, Ossa, Ida, and Parnassus are seats of the divine,⁶ they are so in a rational way, as a necessary place of domicile. They therefore fail to inspire much awe; and if human feet do not tread them, it is not so much out of respect as for a prosaic fact. For unlike the sea, over which mastery is gained and whose dangers are overcome by man's indomitable spirit and his ever-praised enterprising genius,⁷ mountains incite little curiosity. Their difficulties prove the impracticability of ascending them—a task in itself essentially useless and without meaning for man; and little reason exists for developing the means and the spirit for their conquest. Actually, however, Parnassus was climbed, though it was not easy for those afoot; but "the major interest of the Greek [remained] his fellow man,"

⁴ Ps. 121, 1.

⁵ The peak itself is not definitely identifiable. John H. Summerbell surmises that it must have been a mountain at least 7500 feet high. *Mountains of the Bible* (Boston, 1912), 4.

⁶ Cf. Marcel Kurz, *Le Mont Olympe* (Paris-Neuchatel, 1923).

⁷ Sophocles, *Antigone*, v. 334 ff.

while "the love of the elemental, the unhumanized, the wild and savage, was . . . only embryonic with [him]."⁸

It is only in the period of the decline of Hellenic civilization, beginning in the fourth century B.C. with the invasion and dominance of the Macedonian semi-barbarian, that a change may be traced which finds its expression in a different perspective and in a new approach to the material world surrounding the Greeks. The existing harmony of the *καλὸς κάγαθός* and of the rational and ideal is gradually dissolved and the attitude towards nature, including mountains, is modified. If the classical Greeks "nourissaient à son [the mountain's] égard du mépris ou de la crainte, rarement de la curiosité, jamais de l'admiration,"⁹ this is no longer true after the period of Greek glory passes. A greater interest in nature and in mountains is traceable, and ascents, "eventually for scenic beauty," are undertaken.¹⁰ Means are quickly developed, and it is Alexander himself who, in 329 B.C., crosses with his troops the mighty Hindukush at an altitude of not less than 12,000 feet. Other ascents follow, among them the famous one reported by Livy for the year 181 B.C. At that time, Philip III of Macedon undertook to climb Mount Haemus in order to survey the land for his coming campaign. He combined this practical task with the expectation of the enjoyment of a view which, according to the exaggerated beliefs of the time, extended from the Alps to the Black Sea and from the Adriatic to the Aegean Sea. Through dense woods and fog he reached the peak on the third day where—although deprived of the view by the fog—he attended to sacrifices to Zeus and to the Sun.¹¹

The lack of appreciation of natural beauty characteristic of the Greek attitude towards the virginal and savage (which holds a very special attraction for modern "civilized" man) is passed on by them to their Roman successors who—more practical-minded even than they—share with them the lack of feeling for the romantic and are unacquainted with the attraction of the "soli-

⁸ Walter W. Hyde, "The Ancient Appreciation of Mountain Scenery," *Classical Journal*, XI (1915), 72. Cf. Norman E. Young, "The mountains in Greek poetry," *Oxford Mountaineering Essays*, ed. by Arnold H. M. Lunn (London, 1912), 59-89.

⁹ Jean Secret, *L'Alpiniste* (1937), 1.

¹⁰ Hyde, "Ancient Appreciation of Mountain Scenery," *loc. cit.*, 74.

¹¹ *Titi Livi ab urbe condita* Liber XI, 21-22; cf. reprint in William A. Coolidge, *Josias Simler et les origines de l'Alpinisme jusqu'en 1600* (Paris, 1904), Appendix.

tary.’’¹² They excel in the mastery of practical tasks, in perfecting an army, constructing highways, bridges, palaces, dominating an empire, and building a political system which, as Mommsen pointed out, was to allow them to perform extraordinary deeds with ordinary men.

But their feeling for natural beauty is weak. Mountains, and particularly the Alps, evoke in them no aesthetic response. Cicero declares how difficult it is to see anything agreeable in such wild surroundings;¹³ Livy speaks of their gruesomeness; Gaius Silius Italicus, referring to Hannibal’s expedition across the Alps, depicts their terrors. Never is there spring or summer, and awful glaciers, fogs, storms, and exhaustion await the traveller.¹⁴ Alexander von Humboldt has summed up this attitude, which is but one reflection of the Roman mental make-up, by stating that in all his reading of ancient literature, nowhere has he come across any description of the beauty of the Alps.¹⁵ They are a hindrance to the driving energy of a politically oriented society, an obstacle, barbaric and uncouth. They have to be subdued, overcome; and it is with such an objective in mind that the Romans develop means to conquer—not the peaks—but the passes which are to open the way to distant yet practical aims.

These passes, even up to the snow- and glacier-covered Theodul Pass below the upper walls of the Matterhorn, offer an adequate challenge to the inventiveness and energy of the Romans who, once the purpose is clear, do not suffer from awe, superstition, or fear of the mountain world. They well remember the feat of Hannibal and his troops who, late in the fall of 218 B.C., had traversed the western Alps. They do not fail to imitate the Germans, Gauls, and Carthaginians, who had repeatedly invaded the fertile Italian plains. Marius, Caesar, Tiberius, Drusus, and many other generals lead their troops beyond the passes; and with that disdain for obstacles typical of the conqueror and empire-builder, they develop the needed tools, master all difficulties, and construct roads, viaducts, bridges, stations—milestones each indicative of the Roman spirit that is at home in an exploitable world.

¹² Aloys Dreyer, *Geschichte der alpinen Litteratur* (Munich, 1938), 15.

¹³ John Grand-Carteret, *La montagne à travers les ages* (Grenoble, 1903-04), I, 8-10.

¹⁴ *Punica*, Third Book, as cited in Rohrer, 223-228.

¹⁵ Cited in Dreyer, 15.

But with all their expeditions and all their experiences, no trace can be discovered of a sense for the beauty, the majesty of the mountains surrounding them. Their eyes are fixed on the road and on the aim beyond; no record intimates that they are also lifted up to the lofty peaks, which (with a very few exceptions) are not even given names. The mountain world remains to them "terrifying, ugly, icy, deterring."

It is only when the Roman Empire begins to disintegrate that different tones are discernible. Long before, Lucretius is perhaps the first to demonstrate the new spirit which admires the mountains for their natural properties; he indulges in climbing the mountains for their own sake, "to watch the fleeting clouds."¹⁶ In the second century A.D., Strabo gives his reader an inkling of the landscape of the mountains—although his main interest is still concerned with the roads and the difficulties of their construction.¹⁷ In the same century, Hadrian undertakes to climb Mount Aetna. The mighty volcano had long been an attraction for the curiosity and scientific investigation of the Romans, but Hadrian's aim is not the rational object of its study, but the pleasure "ut solis ortem videret."¹⁸

II. Otherworldliness

It must be left to the speculation of the historian to decide if the further disintegration of Roman society, the craving for luxury that is significantly coördinated with a resurgence of Stoicism among the luckless defenders of old Roman virtue, might not have produced an atmosphere which could have brought about a new attitude toward life and nature and thereby toward the mountain scenery and life in the mountains. This might possibly have resembled trends in England in the nineteenth century, when out of urbanization, industrialization, and imperialism emerged a desire for refuge in the ascetic ideal, in "virile" sports, and in mountain climbing. As it was, vigorous, "young," barbarian peoples de-

¹⁶ Walter W. Hyde, *Roman Alpine Routes* (Philadelphia, 1935), 27.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹⁸ Reprint in Coolidge, *Josias Simler*, 140^r. The special rôle of Aetna is illustrated by the Empedocles myth, which lets the philosopher, in search of a mystic truth, precipitate himself into the crater. The actual date of the origin of the myth cannot be traced; its elements make it fit not too well into the concept of the unity of spirit in each given historical period.

stroyed the old empire and its spirit and brought fresh viewpoints and attitudes. But these were soon mixed, not only with those of the Roman civilization whose heirs the invading Germans became, but also with a very different *Weltgefühl* which was absorbed and assimilated together with the Christian faith.

The world of the barbarians which emerges and embodies the tenets of early Christianity believed that the joys and beauties of this world serve to bring man, through sin, to eternal perdition, and that it is renunciation and humility which bring light and salvation. With their life intimately interwoven with religious traditions, teachings, and institutions, there exists a definite relationship between the attractions of the material world which appeal to the senses and which appear in the guise of riches, power, and beauty, and the plans of devilish powers which lead away from the path of righteousness.

This suspicion and distrust of what the world has to offer is evidenced in the writings of St. Augustine, who stresses the fact that here on this earth man finds himself *in domo aliena* and that what is pleasant to the eye is created as a temptation to the Christian wanderer. Significantly, it is the same Augustine who deals with mountains as a specific danger and insists that their admiration is one of the ways which lead to a forgetfulness of God.¹⁹

Although the passage from Augustine may be a convenient quotation to support the argument, and although simple human emotions—pagan fear and terror thinly coated by a Christian veneer, and a dread of mountains in which evil spirits dwell, closely related to pixies, gnomes, and elves—may serve to explain medieval man's relationship to the mountain world, the other elements—fear of temptation, shrinking from the pride of the "conquest" of this world, and deference for the voice which calls for battles on another plane—cannot be denied either. It is true that the former barbarian and now triumphant and Christianized Germanic peoples, unlike the Greeks and Romans, took definite pleasure in mountains,²⁰ that Alboin, King of the Lombards—a heathen, however—did not hesitate to ascend Monte Maggiore, some five thousand feet high, from where he could survey a proposed campaign,²¹

¹⁹ As cited in Dreyer, 17.

²⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, *passim*. Also Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (New York, 1909), 298.

²¹ Hayes, 16.

and that the Christian bishops had difficulties in breaking the tradition of mountain adoration among German and French barbarians.²² Yet there were those others who for fear of damnation shrank from opening their eyes to the beauty of the world. They may on occasion have chosen—in Christendom as in India and Persia—to retire among the mountains and devote themselves to a life of renunciation, whence in due time they were to emerge to have their retirement “followed by a life of service on the plains.”²³ But essentially, they and the mass of people avoided the mountain world. The *Weltgefühl* of modern man was wanting with them; modern interest in size—as in speed—did not exist. Mountains are big, and bigness was forbidding. Height had no attraction, and consequently the desire to climb “higher” did not exist. So little interest was taken in height that, for a thousand years, Mount St. Gotthard was considered the supreme of all Alpine peaks, although the multitudes who crossed the Alpine range at its foot must have been aware of the other summits towering far above it. Thus one may almost be tempted to agree with Arnold Lunn, who in his *Oxford Mountaineering Essays* insists that “it is doubtful whether the mediaeval mind could have grasped the essentials of mountain scenery had it striven to do so.”²⁴

This orientation of the medieval spirit, this concentration on “humanity,”²⁵ is also evidenced in the arts of the period and their representation of the mountain world. The beauty and strange harmony of the mountains is lost to the eye of the medieval spectator. In paintings, just as man is reproduced without attention to his anatomy as the temporary dwelling place of the soul and as symbol of his inwardness, so are mountains depicted not as nature has made them, but with steep angular, non-naturalistic features, representing the idea of the forbidding rather than the joy of modern generations. In literature the approach is similar; in the Parsifal myth, a Holy Grail is preserved in a castle on the height of a mountain, guarded and served by knights who have

²² Lehner, 30.

²³ Hayes, 16.

²⁴ P. 6.

²⁵ To the ancients, it was society which encompassed humanity. *Humanitas* was the term coined by the Romans to express the scope and aspirations of Greek civilization. In the Christian era, humanity referred to the individual human being whose soul called for man’s attention, and this soul had to be guarded against temptation.

overcome the temptations of the natural world and are chosen to live now in a purer atmosphere above.

On the other hand, there are also pagan remembrances, wondrous accounts of treasures hidden in the mountains, of dragons and jealous giants watching over them, of evil spirits who choose mountainous regions in which to hide and from which to harass mankind. There is the famous medieval legend connected, not with plains or forests or seas, but with the Brocken, the highest summit of Germany's beautiful Harz mountains, where according to a curious mixture of pagan and Christian superstitions an annual meeting of Satan's armies gathered and where on Walpurgis night the witches from all lands convened in a fearful, awe-inspiring witches' sabbath. Some of these beliefs survived into the "enlightened" age of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, and the hope of certain mountain dwellers of finding crystals endowed with special healing or gain-bringing powers may serve to recall an attitude inherited from the Middle Ages.

But whatever beliefs, fears, and superstitions medieval people held, in practice they could afford as little as the Romans to avoid the mighty mountain ranges which separated them in their northern homes from the sacred places in the south, from the holy stations of the Apostles in Asia Minor, Italy, and Spain, and from the seat of the spiritual head of their church and the grave of their savior. Frightening and terrifying though the Balkan range, the Alps and the Pyrenees may have seemed on the way to Mediterranean lands and to Rome, they yet had to be surmounted and crossed. German emperors with their armies, kings from France and England, popes from Rome, traders, journeymen, crusaders, and pilgrims, men, women, and children—in a steady stream they were bound to traverse the mountain barriers.

In order to reduce the dangers of the trip as well as to provide spiritual comfort on the arduous way, inns were built on the passes. Louis le Débonnaire or his son sponsored an early hospice high in the Alps, on Mt. Cenis,²⁶ and others followed on the St. Gotthard,

²⁶ Walter W. Hyde, "The Alpine Passes in Nature and History," *Scientific Monthly* XLV (1937), 324. The passes were used in winter time as well as in the summer. Max Senger cites a number of famous examples (from Charlemagne to Emperor Henry IV on his way to Canossa, and to the Bishop of Liège who, on New Year's Day 1128, lost ten men in an avalanche on the Great St. Bernard) in *Wie die Schweizer Alpen erobert wurden* (Zürich, 1945).

the Great St. Bernard, and elsewhere. But no one in those days whose writings or sayings have been preserved has ever commented on the majesty, the beauty of the surroundings; no one seems ever to have felt an impulse to climb higher, to stand on a summit, to see the beauty of the rising sun, the fleeting clouds, the snow-capped shining peaks, the panorama of green valleys down below. The trip was purely a means to an end, with Compostella, Rome, or Jerusalem the beckoning aim. Robbers and smugglers may have known devious routes and may have climbed, out of necessity, this peak or that; but no record of their activities has been left, and the spirit of the time remained uninfluenced by them.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there comes a gradual change in men's approach to their surroundings; as evidenced by the end of the crusades, the activities in the universities and the political reorganization of Europe, a new spirit appears. It finds expression in a new sense of curiosity, in scientific discoveries, inventions, and explorations, and—most beautifully—in the Gothic Cathedral which lifts men's eyes up to the sky and causes them to reach toward the sublime. It is true, we cannot as yet speak of the striving for the unattainable that has prevailed since the Renaissance and Reformation; but we can discern a spirit of curiosity, of search for the truth beyond the established limits, of disregard for Christian authority which begins to pervade men's activities. It is the time when not only a St. Bernard but also an Abelard emerges, an Albertus Magnus as well as a Hugo of St. Victor, a St. Francis as well as a St. Dominic. Arabian writers are now seriously studied; and among them is Avicenna and his work *De congelatione et conglutinatione lapidum*,²⁷ a treatise which speaks of mountains no longer in terms of witches and hidden treasures, but in terms of science, of theories of their formation and disintegration.

Interest in investigation now finds a response in western thought and leads not only to the knowledge but also to the enjoyment of nature. Men look with different eyes up to the mountains; their urge to know and to see is commingled with the dying desire to believe and prepare for the real life which comes after death. They peruse Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*,

²⁷ *Avicennae De congelatione et conglutinatione lapidum*, ed. by E. J. Holmyard and D. C. Mandeville (Paris, 1927).

in which, along with other phenomena, the mountains of the known world are described from a viewpoint which, notwithstanding the preservation of many superstitions and myths, suggests a sincere desire for investigation and knowledge. In his account, Vincent marvels particularly at Mount Olympus, on the top of which not even birds are said to be able to live because of the rarity of the air; but as Vincent reports, man has succeeded in developing means for climbing the peak and surviving, using sponges filled with water through which he inhales and thereby condenses the air.²⁸

Along with the theoretical aspects of mountain lore one can find a practical interest, which is expressed through climbing expeditions. At first it is perhaps treasures that induce men to undertake the arduous task; in the eleventh century, according to a chronicler from the monastery of Novalesse, attempts are made on peaks in the vicinity. But the daring souls are forced back by ferocious animals, clouds, storms, and "stones hurled at them," so that the chronicler comes to the conclusion that "no man can ever climb [that mountain] howsoever fervently he desire it."²⁹ The next few centuries witness further attempts. In 1188, John de Bramble, a monk of Canterbury, undertakes a trip up the "Mount of Jove," and though the unknown narrator of his exploit makes him return with the prayer: "Lord, restore me to my brethren that I may tell them that they come not to this place of torment,"³⁰ others follow in his footsteps. In 1287, King Peter III of Aragon ascends Pic Canigou, and his achievement, as his chronicler says, "may be reckoned with those of Alexander."³¹ The record says that Peter and his companions met with thunderbolts (*tonitrua horribilia et terribilia valde*), lightning, tempests of hail, and weariness, and that the king alone went on to reach the top (where he met a *draco horribilis*, which flew away into the air and obscured the sky). But what is really significant is the desire

²⁸ Vincentius Bellocensis, *Speculum historiale* (Strassburg, 1473), Lib. I, cap. 84; fols. 44-45.

²⁹ Reprint in *Life in the Middle Ages*, ed. by G. G. Coulton (Cambridge, 1929), 3.

³⁰ Arnold Lunn, "Alpine Mysticism and 'Cold Philosophy,'" *For Hilaire Belloc* (New York, 1942), 49.

³¹ *Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 6; *Cronica Fratris Salimbene de Adam ordinis minorum; Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Hanover-Leipzig, 1905-13), XXXII, 599.

to experience and to see what there was atop the mountain which prompted the king to his undertaking.³² Here, indeed, is a key to the emerging temper of the age, which began with Peter Abelard's demand for a doubt that should lead to investigation, for an investigation that should open the door to truth. Here is the birth of an attitude which from that time on has possessed the western world, has permeated its thinking, and given direction to its aspirations.

III. The Renaissance

No wonder that from that time on, mountains, like other forbidden fields, begin to lose some of their dread, that more and more people undertake to ascend them, either to enjoy life and what views it offers, or to study nature. No wonder that the men most typical of the age turn their attention to this new attraction, that a Dante ascends a peak in the Apennines, the Prato al Saglio, of about 5000 feet elevation, and that in 1336 Petrarch makes his famous ascent of Mont Ventoux. His trip has ever since been regarded as one of the stepping stones to a new age, the Renaissance. "Sola videndi . . . cupiditate ductus," says Petrarch, he undertakes the climb; and although the thought of Augustine's doctrine haunts him, although his mind, when he reaches the summit, travels back to the teaching which insists that evil carnal corruption instead of the love of God tempts man to the enjoyment of nature on the mountain, yet he has his eyes open for the world around him, for the hills, the rivers, the sun, and the shadows.³³ All the lust for life of the Renaissance man is embodied, like a first blossom, in Petrarch's letter in which he tells of his joy of seeing and observing.

The conflict between the medieval and the modern attitude, between detachment from worldly affairs and zeal for them, between the world of God and that of nature and man, haunts later "wanderers between two worlds" no less than it preyed upon Petrarch's mind. It continues to be mirrored in men's relationship to nature and to mountains. When twenty-two years after Petrarch's

³² "Volens experiri atque cognoscere quid in montis cacumine haberetur," reprint in Coolidge, *Josias Simler*, 148^r.

³³ A lovely edition is that of the *Gesellschaft alpiner Bücherfreunde, Des Francesco Petrarca Sendschreiben die Besteigung des Mont Ventoux betreffend* (from *De rebus familiaribus*, IV), Munich, 1936.

ascent a nobleman, Boniface Rotario d'Asti, climbs the Roche-melon, a mighty peak well over 10,000 feet high, his anonymous chronicler concludes the account of his feat with the words: "Let us henceforward devote our pen to the narration of more worthy matters."³⁴ Yet the appeal of nature becomes stronger and stronger. By 1400, individual peaks in the Alps impress themselves sufficiently for men to name them,³⁵ and more ascents are undertaken on mountains which the medieval mind had peopled with awe-inspiring creatures and endowed with sinister forces.³⁶ As time goes on, climbing mountains to admire the scenery and investigate their secrets steadily increases.

The new feeling towards nature is evoked everywhere in Christendom. Jacob Burckhardt, it is true, insists that "the Italians are the first among modern people by whom the outward world is seen and felt as beautiful." He goes on to mention specifically Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II)—in whom, as in "few other men [are] the picture of the age and its culture so fully reflected,"³⁷—and he credits him with particular interest in mountain scenery, which the pope manifested by inciting his friends to climb peaks and report what they had experienced. Yet the German Emperor Maximilian I can be found hunting and climbing in the mountains where, as legend has it, his enterprising nature led him more than once into grave peril; and the French king Charles VIII, in the year of the discovery of America, induces a vassal, Antoine de Ville, to attempt the ascent of Mont Aiguille. The knight, together with companions, undertakes what has been termed the first real "grimpade."³⁸ He actually gains the summit where—as Dompjulien de Beaupré, one of the party, relates—mass is said and three crosses are set up.

Man's feeling for his surroundings now comes into its own. Paintings grow rich in pastoral scenes, full of flowers and animals, lakes and meadows; art and architecture, literature and music praise and admire the world of nature; and mountain scenery beckons. Leonardo da Vinci, foremost in the field of painting

³⁴ Francis Gribble, *The Early Mountaineers* (London, 1899), 5-7.

³⁵ E.g. the Eiger, the Balmhorn. Lehner, 39-40.

³⁶ Fazio degli Uberti seems to have climbed, around 1360, peaks of more than 10,000 feet. Burckhardt, 302.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 298, 303.

³⁸ Coolidge, *Josias Simler*, cxlix.

and a pioneer in scientific endeavors, climbs, in 1511, Monte Bo (Monboso),³⁹ to be followed by a host of others.

The most prominent among them were those who above all personify the Renaissance in its maturity, the humanists. Although the early humanists still show many traces of scholasticism and cherish the "ideal of tranquillity," and although "contempt for the world" makes them "flee from the arena into the timeless peace of antiquity," they develop, as Hajo Holborn in his biography of Ulrich von Hutten remarks, the sense for "gleaning, learning, seeing, and discovering."⁴⁰ Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini and Emperor Maximilian both stand out as significant examples, but they are followed by many others who are capable of appreciating the strange beauty of the mountain world and who combine their thirst for the knowledge and enjoyment of man's newly found or rediscovered abilities and perspectives with a desire for exploration and conquest.

In 1518, the Swiss humanist Joachim von Watt (Vadianus) and three companions undertake—as a protest against superstition—the ascent of Mont Pilatus near Lucerne. In defiance of terrifying tales about the storms and hail which the damned, restless soul of Pontius Pilate was supposed to stir up against whosoever dared set foot on his mountain, the intrepid humanists set out to conquer the peak. They are bent on disproving the beliefs which for hundreds of years had held captive their credulous compatriots and especially the wise council of Lucerne, which had forbidden the ascent because of the devilish machinations of the errant soul of the long dead Roman governor.⁴¹ It is true, Vadianus and his companions themselves succumb to fear and, after an unsuccessful attempt, seek in a quick withdrawal salvation from the vengeance of the mountain and its evil spirit. But the seed planted by them bears fruit. Another humanist, Konrad Gessner, succeeds in 1555 where they have failed. The myths, he insists, "have no foundation in the laws of nature." "Partly for botanical studies, partly

³⁹ Gribble, 25. Cf. Gustavo Uzielli, *Leonardo da Vinci e le Alpi* (Turin, 1890).

⁴⁰ *Ulrich von Hutten and the German Reformation* (Yale, 1937), 29.

⁴¹ A first ascent of Mount Pilatus is reported for the year 1387, when six clergymen, the prohibition of the town council notwithstanding, climbed the mountain. They are said to have been condemned to jail, but later ascents by special permit are supposed to have occurred. The authenticity of the expedition of 1387 is doubtful, though. Lehner, 43.

bodily exercise, and for [his] own satisfaction," he undertakes the trip.⁴² He suggests that "by beholding . . . the variety displayed in one mass among the mountains, delight of the mind should be added to the harmonious delight of all the senses."⁴³

Here indeed is the spirit which impelled the artists and writers, the politicians and discoverers of the age; here is expressed the humanistic view which, true to the classical heritage, praises the enjoyments of the mind and the harmony of the sensuous world. With an open eye and a receptive mind, Gessner describes the geography and botany of the region and carefully observes his surroundings. The joy of seeing possesses him as it does every modern man. As Petrarch writes that he is "sola videndi . . . cupiditate ductus," as Lynceus sings in Goethe's *Faust*: "Zum Sehen geboren, zum Schauen bestellt," as recent mountaineers—Schmid, Peters, and others of our own day—extol the sight, the view, the image,⁴⁴ so seeing imparts an essentially modern meaning to Gessner. What he had extolled some fifteen years earlier in his pamphlet *De montium admiratione* he practices on his famous ascent of Mount Pilatus.

One point in his writings is particularly notable. In a letter describing his reactions to the trip, he carefully distinguishes between the ancients and their feelings ("veteres divinitatem quandam in montes admirantos") and modern men with their interests ("omnium elementorum naturaeque varietatis admiratio summa continetur montibus").⁴⁵ His contemporary and successor, Josias Simler, who in 1574 published *De Alpibus commentarius*, follows his line of thought, distinguishing likewise between modern and ancient attitudes, and he himself stands out as a representative of the spirit of investigation and curiosity, of the daring and enterprise of the age in which he lives.⁴⁶

Simler describes and classifies the peaks, investigates their or-

⁴² E. G. Lammer, *Wie anders ist das Besteigen der Alpen geworden* (Wien, 1937), 9. Cf. Gavin R. de Beer, *Early travellers in the Alps* (London, 1930), 16.

⁴³ George D. Abraham, *The Complete Mountaineer* (New York, 1908), 7.

⁴⁴ "Im Auge fand der Stoff, der nach Entwicklung strebte, die höchste Form seiner Vollendung"; "Im Auge wurde das höchste Ziel erreicht . . . Umschau nach der Gottheit alles Seins." Franz Schmid, Rudolf Peters, *et al.*, *Gefährten am Seil* (Leipzig, 1934), 36.

⁴⁵ Coolidge, *Josias Simler*, vi, x.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 29. The volume contains an excellent collection of original documents of Simler in translation.

der and discusses the means of climbing the summits, the nature of the mountains and their use. It is during his life-time that many are identified and named (Mont Blanc, the Jungfrau, Wetterhorn, and Schreckhorn), that ascents occur more and more frequently, that further descriptions are published—in brief that the world of mountains is made an integral part of the Renaissance and of humanism. Josias Simler is also the first to speak of foreigners who are drawn to Switzerland⁴⁷ to admire a scenery which but a few hundred years before had meant nothing to man but temptation, terror, awe, and repulsion.

It is also in the sixteenth century that another of the outstanding military crossings of the Alps is undertaken. In June 1567, the Duke of Alba passes over Mont Cenis with about 20,000 men and women. Since the time of Hannibal nothing essential has changed; perhaps the roads are better known and more commonly used, but (leaving out Hannibal's elephants) horse and wagon are still the only auxiliary means, and the difficulties of the route have remained. Likewise, although the interest in this world, the joy of investigating, the love of knowledge—ancient and new—have come to life, the mass of the people are still in the grip of superstition. No doubt the army of the duke shares with its predecessors fear and awe of mountains; the majesty, warmth, and brilliance of the scenery are to them still overshadowed by its forbidding strength, its forces that lead man's soul into temptation. These soldiers and women find little enjoyment in observing snowy peaks colored by the setting sun; they do not delight in the sight of the blue, violet, and yellow of the flowers and of shining tipped chestnut blossoms fading in the dusk. Instead, they who are wont to brave far greater dangers on oceans, reefs, and waves, and who are willing to risk their lives in battle, hasten to their quarters to seek shelter from a deeply peaceful world, to whose high summits they but reluctantly lift their eyes.

IV. The Enlightenment

The movement which was started by an élite in the course of the sixteenth century lost its force in the subsequent era. A reaction to the youthful drive of the Renaissance period sets in; strong

⁴⁷ Walter W. Hyde, "The Development of the Appreciation of Mountain Scenery in Modern Times," *Geographical Review*, III (1917), 113.

convictions are tempered and the revolutionary spirit is subdued. The Baroque style with its multiplicity of ornamentation dominates in architecture, and the other arts as well as the sciences follow the same trend. A different aesthetic sense is developed during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, in which the elemental is subordinated to the rational and artificial. There prevails a playfulness, which is sweet, out of harmony with a cruel age, and—appealing to a privileged, courtly nobility—reveals insincerity of emotion. The energies and enterprising spirit of the contemporaries of Charles V, Ivan the Terrible, and Elizabeth of England are spent. At the palace of the Sun King, a different style is developed which trims the natural and elemental, like the trees and bushes in a baroque garden or the scenery and action in a French play, to the predilections and prejudices of a society in love with its own protective rules and in fear of the stronger emotions from the depth of nature.

Within such a framework, it is obvious that the sombre and resplendent majesty of the mountain world cannot appeal to the overrefined tastes of the period. Among painters, architects, poets, and travellers, we discern little appreciation for natural scenery. Even one of the greatest figures of the period, Milton, after returning via the Alps to England in 1639, seems rather unimpressed; no line reveals a reaction to the beauty of the glaciers, snow peaks, rocks, and green valleys, and no personal experience can be traced in *Paradise Lost*, even when the creation of the mountains is described.⁴⁸

Other travellers up to the time when essential changes are ushered in by the works of Jean Jacques Rousseau likewise seem to be hardly affected; the pastoral scene in the mountains may touch them, but the heights leave faint imprint. Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, may speculate on glacier formation, but his major attention while visiting the mountains is focused on the social conditions of the inhabitants.⁴⁹ Even Buffon, still later, insists that “la nature brute est hideuse et mourante.”⁵⁰ Here as in other fields the enormous fermentation of the Renaissance needs time

⁴⁸ Claire E. Engel and Charles Vallot, eds., “*Ces monts affreux*” (1650–1810) (Paris, 1934), 11. The book contains an interesting collection of Alpine descriptions.

⁴⁹ De Beer, 68 ff.

⁵⁰ As cited in Emile Javelle, *Souvenirs d'un Alpiniste* (Paris, 1929), 9.

to become an integral part of modern society. The contemplative nature of man is still giving battle to the driving spirit of Faust. Periods overlap; before one is exhausted, the elements of the next appear, and conversely the old still dominates while the new is in the making.

What appears on the surface may, however, be deceptive; in essence, the ideas of the Renaissance do continue to grow. Descartes, Leibniz, and Newton accept doubt as the starting point and through rational investigation usher in a dominantly scientific age. Lust for life brings appreciation of what this world has to offer and stimulates the modern desire for creative activity. Pride replaces humility and leads to self-affirmation and individualism. The style of the era of Louis XIV is soon rejected and the eighteenth century recaptures the vital forces and essential meaning of the revolution of the sixteenth.

This is the development evidenced in the age of the Enlightenment, in France as in Germany, in Italy as in England. Academies and banks are founded instead of cathedrals and knightly orders; pamphlets dealing with political freedom emphasize not the duties of the Christian but the rights of man; the scientific spirit searches into the mysteries of nature and does not hesitate to attack those fields which reverence or superstition had guarded from criticism. Halley and Boerhaave, Voltaire and Linnaeus, Bach and Wesley represent the varied longings of the then "modern" world.

Doubt, love of nature, pride, and faith in progress through rational activity increasingly stimulate also the interest in Europe's great mountain ranges. Science dominates. In 1648, Pascal has experiments carried out on Mont Puy de Dome in the Auvergne to test his theories of the weight of air. Around 1700, there appears the Swiss naturalist Jacob Scheuchzer. Though he may still tell tales of dragons and serpents, he and his compatriots attack the problems of nature, and specifically of mountains, with physical devices, with thermometers, barometers, and sound instruments.⁵¹ He returns to nature as a "source of understanding (*Erkenntnis*)" and, notwithstanding his own sedentary habits, may be justly called the first scientific Alpinist. He is followed by other scientists who, true to the tradition of Newton and his many fellow

⁵¹ Drever, 22.

workers of an enlightened age, take exact measurements and seek to penetrate the secrets of nature. They find a special attraction in mountains because they flatter themselves with the hope that here, where eruptions and erosion have laid bare inner layers of the earth, conclusive evidence for the theories of the origins of our planet may be found and the struggle between the Vulcanists and the Plutonists may be decided. They measure heights, the geographer Pierre Martel proving definitely that Mont Blanc is the highest peak of Europe; they theorize on the formation of the earth, on the rôle of fire and water and the effect of pressure, and they search for comprehensive natural laws. In a long stream they come, Marc Theodore Bourrit, J. A. de Luc, H. B. de Saussure, Michel Paccard, and many others, not infrequently using geology as a weapon in the struggle of the day against church doctrines, superstitions, and the other "black beasts" of the enlightenment.

But while the scientific and rational spirit prevails, other voices are heard too. Though the "eighteenth-century humanist may still regard natural beauty as uncouth"⁵² (Edmund Burke in his essay *On the Sublime and the Beautiful* insisting that "the large and gigantic, though very compatible with the sublime, is contrary to the beautiful"⁵³), and though thinkers may still show a "hostilité peu voilée" toward mountains, considering the peaks "effroyables, païennes, diaboliques,"⁵⁴ travellers, aesthetes, and poets come, drawn by the overwhelming appeal of the gigantic scenery. In 1732, Albrecht Haller publishes his long *épopée* praising the beauty of the mountain world and the people who inhabit it. In the following decade the fame of the village of Chamonix at the foot of Europe's highest summit is spread throughout Europe; and climbing with native guides, who themselves have succeeded in overcoming their fears, becomes a fashion.⁵⁵

No one represents the new age as well as Horace Benedict de Saussure. A child of his time, he might have represented it in almost any field—in banking or building, philosophy or political administration. As it happened, he chose science, and within this wider field he selected the exploration of mountains and the climb-

⁵² Lunn, "Alpine Mysticism," 50.

⁵³ Edition *Harvard Classics*, XXIV (New York, 1909), 133.

⁵⁴ Claire E. Engel, *La littérature alpestre en France et en Angleterre aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* (Chambéry, 1930), 6.

⁵⁵ Lehner, 78 ff.

ing of peaks, a branch as representative of the age as that of electricity or magnetism.⁵⁶ He was a disciple of Haller and his eyes were open to the beauty of the scenery. He was a contemporary of Bourrit who, "climbing, painting, describing,"⁵⁷ took an artistic delight in the mountain world. Like de Luc, he felt the appeal of the physical challenge; and as a scientist he became engrossed in the study of botany, archaeology, geology, and the influence of altitude on man. It is he for whom—for the first time in history—the word of Blake seems to have come true: "Great things are done when men and mountains meet."⁵⁸

In preparation for his career, Saussure first learns German. Again and again he visits the Alps, and he is credited with having introduced the potato in the valley of Chamonix.⁵⁹ In 1760 he offers a prize to the first successful climber of Mont Blanc, and after the dramatic success of Jacques Balmat and Dr. Paccard, just a few years before the outbreak of the French Revolution, he himself repeats the feat in August, 1787. His report of the expedition stands out as a typical example of the spirit of the enlightened century; it includes fourteen pages of descriptive material and twelve pages of scientific observation. They are compiled by him, "épuisé de fatigue en observant mes instrumens de météorologie," which his numerous guides had to drag up the icy slopes together with all his other accoutrements.⁶⁰

If feeling for the beauty of nature accompanied by interest in scientific investigation represents the humanistic heritage which comes to full bloom in the Enlightenment and connects Saussure so distinctly with the spirit of his age, this combination can be found among many of the leading thinkers of the era. Lessing, Herder, Pestalozzi, Gibbon, and Priestley are but a few examples. Goethe, who is led in 1779 by his scientific interests to visit Cham-

⁵⁶ Douglas W. Freshfield, *The Life of Horace Benedict de Saussure* (London, 1920).

⁵⁷ Gribble, 148 ff.

⁵⁸ Cited in Hayes, 18. The citation is used as a title by Harold W. Tilman, *When Men and Mountains Meet* (Cambridge, 1946).

⁵⁹ Stephen d'Avre, *Les Fastes du Mont Blanc* (Geneva, 1876), xxiii. Cf. Lammer, 18.

⁶⁰ H. B. de Saussure, *Relation d'un voyage à la cime du Mont Blanc. En Août 1787*. The lovely facsimile edition of the Universitäts Buchdruckerei München (1928) has been used, which also contains a facsimile of the first German translation of Saussure's report, made in 1788.

nix's glaciers, quickly succumbs to the great aesthetic impression. But for him as for others this aesthetic impression is not only a sentimental attachment; a special element is mixed into it which parallels men's reactions in other fields. Kant, speaking specifically of the overwhelming impression of mountains, describes it as "die Verwunderung, die an Schreck grenzt, das Grausen und der heilige Schauer."⁶¹ In the dramatic arts the corresponding reaction has been expressed by Lessing in his famous statement in the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, LXXVII, where—in the sense of Aristotle—he designates the evoking of *Furcht und Mitleid* as the means towards a purification of the spectator's heart and desires.

This "arousing of passion," as Burke sees the effect of the sublime, this purification, as Lessing expresses it, this overpowering amazement of which Kant speaks, is an essential quality of the impression which natural scenery is to exercise on men of the late eighteenth century, and it is most specifically heralded by Jean Jacques Rousseau. Influenced in his feelings for nature by Racine, who a hundred years earlier, in an age of artificiality, had shown evidence of genuine sentiments, Rousseau proposes an open-hearted and virile approach and abandon to nature. Although he himself is sentimental in many respects, he possesses a peculiar personal attachment to nature which may be philosophical and theoretical in most connections, yet in essence is deep and warm.

V. Romanticism

Rousseau opposes the pretensions of the enlightened age that finds its ultimate resources in the mind. He marks the transition to the Romantic period which embodies a desire for serene and detached peacefulness, full of the joy of life but tempered by a new contemplative spirit. This is expressed in the music of Schubert and Schumann; in the writings of Keats and Wordsworth, W. Schlegel and Hölderlin, Manzoni and Lamartine; in the political concept of the Holy Alliance; and in the economic system of the physiocrats. With regard to the mountain world, Romanticism shuns active struggle for conquest and leads to a quiet, emotional response to the scenery. The Romantic mind, "communing with nature" instead of struggling for the peaks, idealizing and keeping its distance, confines itself to the valleys and inviting, charm-

⁶¹ Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der Urteilskraft* (Leipzig, 1922), 116, §117.

ing foothills instead of the awe-inspiring peaks, rocks, and glaciers, whose aspect Kant had considered "desto anziehender je furchtbarer er ist."⁶²

Yet there is no reversion to the classical negation of the majestic in nature. The grandiose has too much of a hold on moderns. Their business enterprises are characterized by size and daring, their politics by far-reaching purposes, their daily life by ambition. Grandeur does not impress them as forbidding, as it did in ancient times, but it continues to elicit admiration, wonderment, and sometimes envy.

Within the mountain world, the savage parts reveal with all their overwhelming massiveness a picture of natural harmony whose special attraction is not lost on the romantic observer. Byron asserts that there is "a source of life" in the mountains—a concept far removed, indeed, from the feeling of classical antiquity, the Middle Ages, and also the Renaissance and the major part of the Enlightenment.⁶³ It has its roots in the teachings of Jean Jacques Rousseau, but it comes into its own only with Wordsworth and Shelley, Novalis and Tieck, Victor Hugo and de Musset.⁶⁴

The Romantic period cannot be measured in terms of centuries as are previous epochs. As the ages move from the static to the dynamic, the pace of the changes in man's outlook is quickened, and the development of his relationship with mountains follows in rhythm with more general changes. Within less than forty years of the beginning of the Romantic period, one of the most prominent figures, Châteaubriand, begins to detach himself from the movement and to deride the growing inclination to adore nature including the mountain world. Both Romantic feeling and the religious part of man, he insists, revolt against the prevailing inharmonious attitude.⁶⁵ Châteaubriand clearly recognizes the trends; in a Christian world which is moving toward a scientific outlook, the place which the Romantics have assigned to natural scenery is incongruous. The Augustinian view of nature as se-

⁶² *Kritik der Urteilskraft*, 107, §104.

⁶³ Even Saussure, as Kant indicates, found in certain regions of the Alps an "abgeschmackte Traurigkeit," *Kritik der Urteilskraft*, 124, §127.

⁶⁴ Myrtil Schwartz, ". . . et la montagne conquiert l'homme," (Paris, 1931), cites Byron, 33. Engel, *Litterature*, 105 ff.; Grand Carteret, II, 29.

⁶⁵ Grand Carteret, II, 14 ff.

ducer is a harmonious interpretation of the world; the Renaissance spirit of knowledge and enjoyment is consistent; and so is the rational attitude which has come down to us as the heritage of the Enlightenment and which becomes a goddess of the nineteenth century. But indefinite religious feelings, "communing with nature," fail to assign an adequate place either to the soul of man or to nature itself.

VI. Materialism

Thus when Romanticism passes from the general scene the Romantic outlook upon the mountain world is quickly lost too. The new generation has practical needs which are expressed even toward mountains, when the aesthetic, emotional enjoyment of scenery gives way to a rational, individualistic, and acquisitive approach. Industrialization and urbanization change the whole mode of living. Men find themselves caught between the possibility of a life with greater comfort and the necessity for more concentrated work and greater nervous exertion. They must adapt themselves to conditions which they had hoped to see eliminated through the advance of science, and a violent reaction is provoked. "Las de la vie intensive des villes,"⁶⁶ they seek relaxation, healthy and refreshing occupation, and escape from daily demands. For want of other relief they turn to what has since developed into modern sports, and it is but natural that in view of England's early industrialization it is there that this desire develops first.

Again, men's relationship to the mountains seems determined by the historical development of the period. But it would be an error to see in the economic reorganization the chief factor making for the change in men's attitude. Economics would explain as little as scientific endeavor or romantic longing the tired businessman's vacation in the mountain world; he might well have been satisfied with relaxing on the green meadows and at the blue lakes of the foothills, which offered enough attraction. What actually happens is an entirely new situation, which bears the stamp of the spirit of the time by bringing forth a new activity—mountaineering. This activity is in line not so much with mankind's desire for relaxation from a strenuous city-life as with the ambitious ventures of the age.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 324.

Once this connection is clear, statements such as Geoffrey Young's "It was fortunate that the discovery of mountaineering was made in the Victorian era and by the omniscience of the intellectual Victorians,"⁶⁷ lose all meaning. No "discovery" was made nor can anything particularly "fortunate" be connected with this British urge for mountaineering, which was necessarily felt first where industrialization hit hardest and ambitions were greatest. It is not "omniscience" but a materialistic impulse which directs attention to the mountains.

This impulse, preposterous in the eyes of a Saussure and Kant, who denounce the fools who, out of *Liebhabelei*, expose themselves to the dangers of the glaciers,⁶⁸ continues, at least up to the end of the nineteenth century, to play the essential rôle for the majority of those who have relations with the mountain world. But while it persists for the many, it is gradually superseded, at least among the leaders, by a different approach, just as the medieval spirit had been abandoned by those in advance (the Renaissance artists and humanists) long before it had disappeared among the masses (the soldiers of a Duke of Alba and their like).

The beginnings of this changed attitude, which Arnold Lunn describes as "systematic" mountaineering and which is not identical with the initial desire for sport, are recognizable, as the same author significantly points out, in the decade in which Darwin published the *Origin of Species*.⁶⁹ This is no accident, for the close connection between Darwin's thesis and many of the developments of the later nineteenth century exists also for the venture of mountaineering. With Darwin's theories, which are expressions of the new claim to live and of the desire to prove to oneself and to others one's fitness to survive, the difficult becomes a test. Each challenge is felt as a stepping stone to greater achievement; and obstacles are welcome, if for no other reason than that man can demonstrate his ability to overcome them. In a world where privilege, as it existed before the great French Revolution, has been abolished and the way is opened for every one to prove his fitness in any field, the struggle becomes both democratic and universal. On the economic plane, it leads to unbridled expansionist tenden-

⁶⁷ "Mountaineering and its prophets," *The Cornhill Magazine*, CXXVIII (London, 1923), 228.

⁶⁸ *Kritik der Urteilskraft*, 111, §111.

⁶⁹ Lunn, "Alpine Mysticism," 52.

cies, to the amassing of great individual fortunes, the building of vast corporations, and—indirectly—to Marxism. In the political field, it provides the psychological basis for imperialism. In philosophy, the work of Darwin strengthens liberal and individualistic views and a certain amoral position which enhances “the will to power.” In the private life of the individual it encourages competition, which finds one of its most spectacular expressions in the same field, to which industrialization and urbanization have led—the field of sports.

In the face of prevailing trends the Catholic Church published the *Syllabus of Errors* in 1864; it tried to answer the spirit of the time from which Darwin drew his inspiration, and to restate an older and forgotten picture of the world. But the extreme—and now scientifically founded—desire for self-assertion triumphed over other desires. The term “fittest” was soon identified with the term “best,” and nations and individuals, by overcoming obstacles, tried to prove to others and to themselves that they too belonged to this élite.

For the individual, few tests seem to be more appropriate—for they are harmless in themselves—than the ascent of difficult mountains, where the word “survival” can be taken in its most literal sense. The British are in the front. They have not only the most urgent need but also, as a result of their economy, the time and money. They can hardly be considered as “more conscious of the aesthetic attraction,” as they themselves may have sometimes imagined, nor is it possible to trace their interest, as has been attempted, exclusively to the fact that their appearance in the mountains is conditioned by “the history of English discoveries and political conquests in all parts of the world.”⁷⁰ Everywhere in western civilization the same attitude can be discerned which they possess, and in many places it finds its expression in the new “Darwinian” approach to mountain scenery.⁷¹

Only when we compare the spirit of Saussure’s ascent of Mont

⁷⁰ Lehner, 403 ff.

⁷¹ Among the foremost climbers are first of all the many native Swiss guides; then the English: Edward S. Kennedy, Charles Hudson, John Tyndall, A. F. Mummery, D. W. Freshfield, Edward Whymper, Leslie Stephen; the Germans: the brothers Zsigmondy, Paul Gnessfeldt, Ludwig Purtscheller, Georg Winckler; the American W. A. B. Coolidge “who takes the honor of being counted among the British.” Lehner, 432.

Blanc in 1787 with that which guided Edward Whymper on his conquest of the Matterhorn in 1865 does the difference become fully clear. In 1787, in the atmosphere of the Enlightenment and of the adoration of natural scenery, a huge party of guides, scientists, and nature lovers, equipped with instruments of all kinds, leisurely make their way up the slopes of the mighty Mont Blanc. They admire the view, stop for observations, and enjoy themselves while complaining of the difficulties and hardships of the trip. But in the period given over to the notion of "survival of the fittest," a lonely young man, driven by an indomitable will and intoxicated by the "struggle" for "his" mountain, fights his way up. The dangers which the fastnesses of the enormous peak offer only help to increase his obstinacy. No other purpose is served but that of triumphing; neither science nor pleasure are sought, but the satisfaction of achieving the impossible; and the elation of achievement cannot be subdued even by the realization that the price paid includes the lives of three companions who perish in the hour of success. From a staff on the top of the Matterhorn, Whymper's blouse is flying; a deed has been accomplished that elicits admiration as well as jealousy among his contemporaries in many lands.

It is true that in Whymper's time the scientific interest is not wholly buried; surveys are still going on and botany and orography play a considerable rôle. Among the great mountaineers, John Tyndall, one of the foremost pioneers of climbing, still seriously indulges in scientific investigation,⁷² but competitive sport is the main objective. Under such conditions, the scene is to a certain extent shifted to regions where not the beauty of the landscape or the interest of geological formations but the challenge of climbing constitutes the attraction and thereby illustrates man's approach to mountain scenery. The Dolomites, for instance, draw more and more mountaineers in the 1870's, offering few if any glaciers, but many challenging grimpades of the utmost difficulty. Railroads are put to the service of mountaineering, bringing people from all parts of the world to the spots where mountains expose their most majestic, their most indomitable flanks. Alpine

⁷² Tyndall's famous book is *The Glaciers of the Alps* (London-New York, 1896); cf. Sir Charles Lyell, *Principles of Geology* (11th ed., 2 vols., New York, 1887).

clubs are founded, first the English (1857), then the Austrian (1862), Italian (1867), and German Club (1869), all of them—a limited scientific program notwithstanding—devoted to the idea of mountain sportsmanship.

This idea of sport is transformed within a few decades, just as in the political world the nationalism of sincere, enthusiastic, and generous liberals develops toward the end of the nineteenth century into a sharp, competitive nationalism, or just as missionary imperialism deteriorates into a race for world domination and exploitation. “It seems to be a law of nature,” writes Lehner, “that every human activity fosters a spirit of soulless virtuosity after it has reached a certain final stage in its development.”⁷³ The triumph of the human body over forbidding natural obstacles no longer satisfies; in an age of mechanical ambition, the performance has to be connected with speed, and to the children of the period of materialism, the spectacular—so alien to early concepts of Alpine scenery and even of sport—holds a special attraction. A lost generation, holding fast to the ideals of the Romantic and liberal era, may deplore the days when they had to return “to the duties of everyday as to a strange country, leaving [their] heart behind in the hills;”⁷⁴ it may extol, at the burial of one of its members, “a life devoted to light, to freedom, to courage, and to friendship.”⁷⁵ The new generation possesses little of this feeling. Their way of life is adapted to the climate and the tempo of the new time, whose ambition they transfer to the mountain world. Leisurely, aesthetic enjoyment is not their purpose; it is danger that fascinates them. If in the heyday of the nineteenth century men went to seek peace and solitude, those of the later nineteenth and the early twentieth century look for struggle and victory. This is not only a combat with outside forces; a Faustian “lutte contre la montagne” becomes a battle of man with his own nature, with himself, and bears witness to the schism in modern man’s soul: the Faustian stage approaches its climax and a new age is in the making.

Nowhere but in western civilization can such a development be traced. Attempts to climb the mountains of other continents are made by Europeans exclusively; Alexander von Humboldt and a

⁷³ Lehner, 611.

⁷⁴ Sir Martin Conway, *Mountain Memories* (New York, 1920), 35.

⁷⁵ Arnold Lunn, ed., *The Englishman in the Alps* (London–New York, 1913), 214.

French expedition visit the South American peaks; Parrot goes to the Caucasus, Captain Gerard to the Himalayas. It appears, indeed, that it is the dominating temper of a society which drives men and that its growth is possible only within the framework of such a civilization. Only there can the means and instruments be developed which, while serving a material purpose, give living expression to the underlying spirit. Often the invention of instruments forces the development in a direction that seems deplorable to those who in an earlier period had conceived the idea. But whether gunpowder or printing presses, bombs or conveyor belts on assembly lines, or—in the field of mountaineering—pitons, *Seilzug*, or oxygen masks, the evolution in line with changing objectives is unavoidable; soullessness may be regretted, but the acquisitive and inquisitive spirit renders checks on mechanization at this stage of his development impossible.⁷⁶

During the first decades of the twentieth century, the development which the sixteenth initiated comes to a climax. Nietzsche may be regarded as the spokesman for a generation which, in losing its sense of proportion, overstates its belief in individual rights; though its trust in the capacities of the human mind may not equal that of the Enlightenment, it shows intellectual arrogance coupled with unlimited will. It believes in physical and mental powers, but, unlike the medieval world with its religious orientation, it lacks a transcendental faith and cherishes material welfare as an aim of society. Significantly enough, Nietzsche, many of whose ideas find correct or perverted expression in the political and social order of succeeding generations, once said: "Ich bin ein Wanderer und ein Bergsteiger."⁷⁷ Although he never was a mountaineer strictly speaking, the spirit of the age which is exemplified by the mountaineer is correctly diagnosed by him and accepted. This spirit is not devoid of an ethical element which has always accompanied the idea of sport; but in placing the emphasis on the will to win, Nietzsche's teachings, like those of Darwin before, are taken up in a sense not altogether intended. The courting of danger, disdain of luxury, emphasis on struggle and hardship in which the powers of the individual are taxed to the limit, are now connected with a ruthless expansion of man's powers of

⁷⁶ Lammer is among those who take the nostalgic view.

⁷⁷ Cited by Dreyer, 117.

energy; after 1900, the leaders in the economic and political world as well as the pioneers in the world of mountains are looking not only for a struggle to enhance life, but for a triumph to secure domination.

Höhenalpinismus is supplanted in the twentieth century by *Schwierigkeitsalpinismus*.⁷⁸ As peril is sought rather than avoided, guides are gradually dispensed with, and thereby a second element connected with the spirit of the time comes to light. It is the levelling process, which in some respects is in line with democratic forms. No longer is the possession of money decisive for success in difficult ascents; nor are scientific training and purpose desirable qualities, as they had been for the aristocrat, the wealthy and educated early mountaineer. The mountain world is opened to all; an interest in climbing is aroused among the young of every class and intellectual level, and physical ability becomes the determining factor. The period which sees the rise of the "common man" witnesses also the opening to everybody of a once exclusive and expensive sport. It is no longer the desire of a refined society which, disgusted, wishes to "s'évader . . . d'un monde mécanique, uniforme," but it is the spirit of a whole generation for which, as Jean Secret writes, "la joie de lutter et celle de connaître" exist as "des instincts fondamentaux de notre nature physique et morale."⁷⁹ Again, it is the Nietzschean attitude which is described by the same author under the formula: "L'esprit contre la matière,"⁸⁰ and which leads to arrogant book titles such as "Alpinismo Eroico"⁸¹ and to slogans such as "Eifer des Kampfes und der Wille zum Sieg."⁸²

Perhaps this entire attitude, with its lust for dangerous living rather than for life itself, demonstrates a perversion of the spirit of the Renaissance, which had been expressed so forcefully and joyfully in Ulrich von Hutten's famous words: "Es ist eine Lust zu leben!" Perhaps it is a manifestation of the decay of western civilization. Without even offering the consolation of another world, the preacher of pessimism and the slave of nihilism extol loss of life, not necessarily for an ideal, but out of disdain and possibly for the purpose of sport or play. It is true that some idealists have attempted—without however changing the direction—to

⁷⁸ Lehner, 426.

⁷⁹ *Op. cit.*, x.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 183 ff.

⁸¹ By Emilio Comici (Milan, 1942).

⁸² Schmid, Peters, *et al.*, 11.

give to the trend of the age a different meaning. Arnold Lunn, a Catholic convert, seeks to endow the twentieth-century relationship to mountains with a higher purpose, an ascetic ideal,⁸³ where man's will forces his physique to triumph over nature and free itself of the chains of this world. But without the religious end of overcoming the world for a higher life, the ascetic ideal in itself becomes idolatrous, reminding us of St. Augustine's bitter denunciations of the pagan attitude toward the physical world and its attractions.

VII. Nationalism

As the cry of danger, battle, and survival of the fittest is sounded and as the political leveling process is reflected, it is but natural that another element of the age should enter the world of mountains, that of nationalism. This national feeling is destined to follow the same course it takes in the political arena. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, it is of a generous, liberal kind, taking pride in the advance of all and not only of one's own nation. A Romantic feeling pervades it and in many essentials, as conceived by the idealists of the era of the French Revolution, it is akin to its opposite, internationalism. After the Napoleonic wars the national spirit, partly because it has been stifled for so long, takes on a more aggressive and exclusive character. Wounded French pride, unsatisfied Italian and German hopes, British colonial aspirations, and East European disappointment at the miscarriage of efforts to establish national states combine to increase its radicalism. It penetrates music, literature, art, and most of all politics, and likewise the world of mountains, which soon begins to offer a field of special attraction for competitive nationalism.

In this instance, however, its progress is slow, and only gradually does the nationalistic spirit make itself actively felt. Not until the middle of the century does it conquer the silent realms of rock and snow. The very calm and "eternity" of the mountain world, the rôle the mountains had played in a science in itself international, the general appeal their majestic forms exercised on the aesthetic sense of the admirer, and the location of the most beautiful European peaks in free, liberal, and cosmopolitan Switzerland—all these factors prevent their becoming an easy victim of

⁸³ Lunn, "Alpine Mysticism," 60.

national aspirations. What is reported of some nationalistic remarks of a French Comte de Tilly in 1835, of a Mademoiselle Henriette d'Angeville, the first woman who, to the satisfaction of her compatriots, climbed in 1838 Mont Blanc, seems harmless enough. Likewise, the climbing of the Gross-Venediger in Austria is correctly described as no more than a "pinzgauerische Nationalangelegenheit,"⁸⁴ a most innocent feeling of local patriotism. The planting of a Swiss flag in 1850 on top of the beautiful and mighty Bernina suggests, however, a different attitude; and an illustration of Gustave Doré in 1860, which shows guides from Chamonix carrying a French flag up Mont Blanc,⁸⁵ demonstrates the growth of a spirit which would have been inconceivable to a Saussure eighty years earlier.

The conquest of the Matterhorn in 1865 is the definite turning point. "An international race was on,"⁸⁶ writes Leonard H. Robbins, with the Italians the challengers and Swiss guides—under English leadership—their opponents. To be sure, the Swiss, professional in character, possess little of the ambitions which fire a nation that has just lost its Cavour and is still engaged in a fight for national unity and existence. Fittingly enough, when the Swiss reach the peak with their English masters, it is not a flag but a blouse that is raised as a banner, just as four years earlier Tyndall flew a red handkerchief from the summit of the Weisshorn. But "at Breuil [the station in Italy at the foot of the Matterhorn] the flag was taken as a signal that the Italians had triumphed, and there was loud rejoicing, to be succeeded by dense gloom when the truth was learned"⁸⁷—a gloom which would have perplexed a Schiller or a Voltaire, a Byron or a Humboldt.

In the following decade the nationalistic element becomes more pronounced. The French had suffered defeats, both overseas in Mexico, and in Europe during the war of 1870. Their foreign policies under Napoleon III had brought rebuffs and loss of prestige, and the urge to restore their reputation ran deep. No wonder that when they establish an Alpine Club—the last of the larger West European nations to do so—this general attitude finds par-

⁸⁴ Lehner, 111.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 332; Grand Carteret, II, 289.

⁸⁶ *Mountains and Men* (New York, 1931), 210.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 214.

ticularly strong expression. The statement of the reasons for the club's foundation includes the assertion: "Tous les hommes éclairés qui se préoccupent de l'avenir de la France . . ." ⁸⁸ thus coupling the whole future of the nation with mountaineering. Devices show similar trends; instead of "Pour Dieu" or "Ad astra" they read "Pour la patrie, par la montagne," and other such patriotic appeals. ⁸⁹

The nationalistic spirit of the time soon so engulfs men that they forget its presence. R. L. G. Irving, for instance, in his *Romance of Mountaineering* insists that "mountaineering is the least national of all sports," ⁹⁰ failing to note that he himself can no longer think in the same enlightened terms to which the great climbers of the time of Saussure were accustomed. A whole chapter of Irving's book is devoted to nationality in mountaineering, and in it he speaks of "British" mountaineering, as if it were different from others. He assigns its origin—as opposed to that of other nations—to "natural love of adventure." He basks in the thought that "our share of first ascents . . . really demands no apology, now we know what value some other nations attach to being first." ⁹¹

His statement on "German and Austrian" climbers, whose "contributions . . . measured by quantitative standards [are] perhaps greater than that of all other nations put together," is based on a character sketch of the Germans with their thoroughness, precision, careful scientific observation, and also a certain amount of "vulgarism" and an ideal of "self-exaltation." ⁹² As to the French, Irving cites a periodical which reports the vote of the French Alpine Club on a Himalaya expedition "qui doit revêtir le caractère d'une entreprise nationale et consacrer le prestige de l'Alpinisme français." ⁹³ He insists that Americans approach mountain scenery "in the spirit of acquisition," "dominating an obstacle," and he states that America "is the nation . . . that has most to learn from mountaineering on the contemplative side." ⁹⁴ Thus every nation is neatly classified according to preconceived notions of national characteristics, in this "least national of all sports," and the method applied by Irving is reflected in a recent American popular novel, *The White Tower* by James Ullman.

⁸⁸ Grand Carteret, II, 275. ⁸⁹ Secret, 36.

⁹⁰ *The Romance of Mountaineering* (London, 1935), 190.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 196. Italics mine.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 209.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 209.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 218, 220.

But even if the classification as such is superficial, the national element is not. In every country books appear that emphasize the general spirit of national rivalry in the particular field of man's relationship to mountains. The list is long, and the pertinent passages reach a climax with the words of the Italian Guido Rey who considers the "conquest" of mountains "henceforth the bounden duty of every good Italian."⁹⁵ In contrast to the aristocratic view of earlier periods, the whole approach may be typical for the democratic, nationalistic, bourgeois society that developed around 1900. The petty bourgeois view of the onlooker is summarized by W. H. Auden and Christopher Isherwood in their drama *The Ascent of F 6*: "There's more than a mountain at stake."⁹⁶

Nowhere is the spirit of nationalism so pronounced as in overseas ventures, in the fields of politics and economics as well as of mountaineering. Most of the exploration of the Alps occurred when other ideals dominated western civilization, and what was then being done overseas likewise bears the stamp of these other ideals: geographical knowledge, exploration, adventure. The great German scientist Gaus' ascent, in 1788, to the crater of Klyuchevsky volcano in Kamchatka (a feat not duplicated until 1935), Humboldt's expedition in the Andes in the early nineteenth century, the first attacks on the peaks of the Himalayas by the great geologists of the middle of the century, and even the enterprises of the sportsmen of the latter part of the century—each reflects the change of intellectual climate in Europe.⁹⁷ More recent efforts mirror the feeling of nationalism and finally competitive nationalism, which has captured the countries of western civilization and their mountaineering ventures everywhere. If, therefore, Claire Engel writes that in order to avoid national

⁹⁵ Cited by Irving, 212; cf. Schwartz, Dreyer, Lehner, *passim*. Also Heckmair, Voerg, *et al.*, *Um die Eiger Nordwand* (Munich, 1943). A recent example may be found in the report of the "great victory of French alpinism" in duplicating the feat of the Germans Heckmair, Voerg, and their comrades in ascending the north wall of the Eiger, as published in *Baseler Nachrichten*, No. 298 (1947), Beilage.

⁹⁶ Act II, Scene I.

⁹⁷ Claire Engel, *Les batailles pour l'Himalaya* (Paris, 1936), 31 ff. Some of the chief figures in the Himalayas are Charles S. Bruce, Paul Bauer, George Herbert Leigh-Mallory, Sir Francis Younghusband, Willo Welzenbach; in the Andes: A. von Humboldt, Edward Whymper; in the Caucasus: D. W. Freshfield.

rivalries, "a wise rule reserves the peaks [of the Himalayas] to the nations which have attempted them first,"⁹⁸ the wisdom of such a rule may not have seemed equally obvious to men in periods in which the spirit of exploration or knowledge dominated. For it may well be doubted that by equipping separate German, English, Swiss, Italian, and French expeditions much more is served than national vanity. The attitude is paralleled at great international commercial fairs, where a well-balanced place is allotted to each individual nation, so that each can try collectively to outdo and outshine the others.

One of the consequences of the rule has been that Mount Everest has been reserved for the British, and that, as the German Lehner's obviously regretful remarks indicate, "from the English national point of view, Mount Everest will be a feat that cannot be outdone for lack of higher mountains."⁹⁹ Even Paul Bauer, perhaps the most outstanding and most universally admired mountaineer and leader of international expeditions, which in themselves are indicative of the emphasis placed on national connections, a man to whom climbing has remained the ideal of "light, freedom, courage, and friendship," is not free of national prejudice. He acknowledges, to be sure, no "causes" for climbing and seeks no "profit"; the aesthetic and scientific appeal is the driving force within him. Yet, he too, writing during the war, sees a "Ziel," a "Krieg im Frieden," and he encourages expeditions for Germany to parallel those of the British on Mount Everest, which in turn have become a "national aim."¹⁰⁰

An illustration of the implications of this relationship of man to mountain is furnished by the first American Karakoram expedition to attempt the ascent of K 2.¹⁰¹ Some historians believe they have found in the development of the American people from their primitive settlements in a virgin country to their present entry into world affairs a recapitulation of the trends followed by the European nations over the course of many centuries, in their case compressed in time. More recent investigations, however, have shown rather that American developments parallel contemporary

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 144.

⁹⁹ Lehner, 699.

¹⁰⁰ Paul Bauer, *Kampf um den Himalaya (Das Ringen der Deutschen um den Kantsch . . .)* (Munich, 1943), 7, 11, 16.

¹⁰¹ Robert H. Bates *et al.*, *Five Miles High* (London, 1940).

European trends, which extends over all western civilization. The American expedition, therefore, exemplifies the general situation which necessitated negotiations for a British permit, a collection of funds to defray the expense, the selection of participants representative of the whole nation, and the cooperation of clubs and organizations and propaganda machines. To what lengths such a situation may lead is shown in other countries, where the value attached to the struggle for national prestige is evidenced by governmental authorization to relax currency regulations: Though the foreign exchange is lacking for butter or shoes, it is provided for Himalaya peaks.

VIII. Collectivism

This interest of governments, states, or nation-wide clubs is in itself of significance and reflects a tendency typical of the times. Instead of daring individuals, a Whymper, a Guessfeldt, a Mummery, or a Welzenbach, large organizations take a hand in giving direction to men's action. Science is provided with extensive funds and big laboratories, where the individual achievement is submerged in the collective effort; architects who cater to the specific tastes of a nobility or rich bourgeoisie make room for commercial enterprises in city planning and housing projects; the tradesman and artisan subjects his personal wishes to trade unions; collective farming spreads; and other features mark the transition from the sublimation of the individual to his subordination for the sake of society. The emergence of collective efforts is also illustrated in the mountain world and is marked by the departure from the quest for romantic solitude and from Nietzschean struggle. The large expeditions and the funds needed for their equipment for Himalaya ascents are but one evidence; climbing of difficult mountains by army detachments and whole battalions with all their accoutrement is another, and it foreshadows future trends.

Maxim Gorky, revolutionary spokesman for a new generation in Russia, indicates perhaps one direction of these trends when he writes that "socialist realism affirms life as an exploit, as a creative effort whose purpose is the uninterrupted development of the most valuable, individual abilities of man for the sake of his victory over the forces of nature, . . . for the sake of the great happi-

ness of living on the earth."¹⁰² Another direction may be indicated by Henry Hoek, who predicts that Alpinism will have disappeared long before the last peak has been climbed.¹⁰³ Certainly there is no reason to believe that ascending summits and triumphing over mountains, which in contrast to other ages expresses men's present ambitions in the mountain world, will remain the key to their relationship with it.

We have witnessed the correlation between the Greek outlook on life and their attitude toward mountains. We have followed the Roman with his notable lack of aesthetic enjoyment in the scenery on his roads over passes. We have observed medieval men as their distrust of this life and their longings for another world warn them against the temptations of nature; and we have contemplated the changes of the Renaissance, when men discover new beauty and meaning in mountains and in the entire world surrounding them. As ages in which men's attention is focused on worldly things and devoted to the search for rational meaning begin to succeed each other more rapidly, we have recognized similar quick changes in men's relationship to mountains. The Enlightenment, Romanticism, nationalism, and imperialism follow each other rapidly within the brief span of two hundred years, and the decline of the age of individualism has begun to leave traces on the modern approach to mountain scenery.

Attempts to find a pattern for men's relationship to mountains have been made. Myrtil Schwartz finds the pulse in the beat of first the "fervents," then the "savants," then the "explorateurs"¹⁰⁴—a sequence which he might readily admit for other fields as well. Another investigator, Jean Secret, likewise finds aims which are independent of historical patterns. He considers the modern urge toward the mountains as a unique experience of mankind. Inherent characteristics and desires such as the wish for physical exercise and escape or emotional effort, lust for danger, pride, aesthetic joy, search for an ideal, and asceticism are, according to him, the driving forces and are combined to explain, one by one, man's interest in the mountains.¹⁰⁵ Grand Carteret,

¹⁰² Cited by Vladimir Sheherbina, "Soviet Literature," *USSR Information Bulletin*, VII (1947), 23.

¹⁰³ Cited by Dreyer, 9, 146.

¹⁰⁴ "Et la montagne," 161.

¹⁰⁵ Secret, 47, 53, 65, 73, 81, 87, 95, 111.

dean of the historians of the mountains, almost as Romantic as Rousseau (“La montagne—le porte-drapeau vivant des grandes pensées sociales”¹⁰⁶) finds an explanation in still another direction. He acknowledges different purposes in different ages. He divides the history of men’s relations to mountains into four periods governed successively by “nécessités commerciales, raisons politiques, aspirations vers la hauteur, expansion.” With considerable poetic license he describes three forms which men’s approach to the mountain world may take: first “moyen,” next “désir,” finally “salut,” and the mountain’s response is, at the start, “oppressive,” then “accueillante,” ultimately “régénératrice.”¹⁰⁷ Another historian, Lehner, agrees with Grand Carteret that necessity was the origin of man’s approach to the mountain world; but from there he proceeds on sociological lines, describing all further relations as evidences of the character of different peoples. Words which exemplify attitudes, like *Naturnähe* or *Naturempfinden* in German and *sport* in English he thinks, indicate far better the approach of men to nature and to mountains than do historical trends.

A final though somewhat unfruitful effort to understand men’s relations with mountains may be recorded here; it is the limited, narrow, and scientifically utilitarian approach, which for all its schoolmasterly conscientiousness and persistence fails to solve any historical problem. From an old doctoral dissertation of 1761, which points out that mountains protect us against cold and thus save us from having to purchase more clothing,¹⁰⁸ to conscientious medical, sociological, economic, and even historical essays of recent times,¹⁰⁹ not much can be learned about the spirit in which man—so far—has approached the mountain world.

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¹⁰⁶ *La Montagne*, x.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ Johannes J. Wasander, *Dissertatio . . . utilitatem montium in oeconomia executiens* (Åbo, 1761).

¹⁰⁹ Dr. J. Buchheister, “Berechtigung des Bergsteigens,” *Ueber das Bergsteigen* (Hamburg, 1892); J. Monroe Thorington, “Physicians on Mont Blanc (1786–1854),” *Annals of Medical History*, Third Series, II (1940), 124–132; Erik E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn, “Plainsmen and Mountaineers,” *Thought*, XXI (March, 1946); Jules Blache, *L’homme et la montagne* (Paris, 1933); Edmund K. Alden, “Mountains and History,” *Annual Report of the American Historical Society* (1904).