

***Clutching the Other Through One's Own Finger:
Hölderlin, Marx, and the Aesthetic Prefiguration 'Pure Subjectivity'***

Intro:

“Es ist, als sähe ich, aber dann erschreck ich wieder, als wär es meine eigne Gestalt, was ich gesehn, es ist, als fühlte ich ihn, den Geist der Welt, aber ich erwache und meine, ich habe meine eignen Finger gehalten.”¹

“It is as if I saw, but then again I take fright, as if it were my own image I'd seen, it's as if I felt him, the spirit of the world, like the warm hand of a friend, but I awake and think it's my own fingers I've been holding.”²

The moment is emblematic; just as Hyperion feels he has grasped the World Spirit, the absolute he seeks collapses into a reflexive circle, first as his own image, then as his own corporeality. This misrecognition, at once emotionally resonant and philosophically poignant, contains the central tension of Hölderlin's only novel, *Hyperion*. At its core, *Hyperion* is the story of a consciousness desperate for unity with the objective world, from which it feels fundamentally severed. Through a series of mostly unanswered letters, the novel's protagonist chronicles a restless oscillation between an ecstatic merging (with nature, with spirit, with the other, and with the past) and the paralysing isolation of a modernizing world. The novel's prose incessantly swings between poles of unity and diremption (Entzweiung), never achieving sublation (Aufheben). *Hyperion*'s structure is one of recursive longing, marked by moments of premature elation, which in turn register each defeat as devastating as the last. This paper endeavors to read these formal and affective patterns as symptomatic expressions or textual traces of a historical contradiction that Hölderlin's text intuitively registers, but cannot yet

¹ Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, Letter 3, pp. 16

² Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, Letter 3, English edition pp. 11

diagnose. I propose that the novel's persistent, formal failure to dialectically overcome the subject-object split, in the aesthetic register, prefigures what we will call Marx's concept of 'pure subjectivity,' or the stripping of humanity of its objective component under capitalism, elucidated in Notebook V of his *Grundrisse*.³ While Hölderlin's moment is one of rising mercantilism, Marx, in *Capital Volume I*, argues that "merchant's capital and interest-bearing capital are derivative forms" of modern capital, despite their earlier appearance in history.⁴ By tracing the symptomatic oscillations of Hölderlin's *Hyperion*, we can locate the literary prehistory of a logic of alienation that would later find its full economic articulation. This paper maps Hyperion's unresolved longing, his struggle against the very 'pure subjectivity' he enacts, across three domains: identification, nature (often rendered as spirit), and time.

I: Estrangement from Self

Hölderlin's *Urtheil und Seyn* posits a primordial unity, rent from itself via the act of judgment (Urtheil). In this fragment, Hölderlin establishes Being (Seyn) as the juncture "where subject and object are absolutely, not merely partially unified," such that any division would alter the essence of that which is divided.⁵ Identity, as distinct from Being, is represented as an opposing of the self to the self. Hölderlin invokes the Fichtian expression of identity, "I am I," as an example of original, theoretical judgment, which breaks absolute unity into parts. In the assertion, "I am I," Hölderlin remarks that the subject (I) and the object (I) are not unified in the sense of absolute Being, as their division from one another still leaves the other intact. However,

³ Marx, The *Grundrisse*, pp. 496 "In bourgeois society, the worker e.g. stands there purely without objectivity, subjectively."

⁴ Marx, *Capital Volume I*, pp. 267 The unmediated M-M' formula of usurer's capital, for example, is incompatible with the nature of money from Marx's standpoint and thus inexplicable from the standpoint of commodity exchange (C-M-C). In this way, usurer's capital is rendered logically downstream of M-C-M' (the modern capitalist form of exchange). I invoke this point not only to justify the relevance of Hyperion to Marx's later political-economic analysis, but also to demonstrate the logical formality of historical causality in Marx's work, often misinterpreted as a simpler teleology.

⁵ Hölderlin, *Urtheil und Seyn*, p. 1

in order to assert “I am I,” an act of self-consciousness, Hölderlin offers that I must, in the first place, rend myself from myself, in order to then recognize the two selves as the subject (I) in the first place, and the object (I) in the second. This act of theoretical judgment does not merely describe identity, but figures the very structure of consciousness as a subject positioned against an object, including itself as object. For Hölderlin, the primordial unity of Seyn is lost in the earliest moments of conceptual delineation, relation, and mediation. The “I,” upon saying, “I am I” is already an alienated being. In this way, Hölderlin naturalizes alienation as the structure of self-consciousness itself and achieves unity or absolute Being as a retrospective outcome of division, rather than a primarily accessible original state.

This problem of diremption is one entry point into the veneration of silence that pervades *Hyperion*’s pages. The spoken word, and even the word unspoken, has a primary function of delineation. Syntax, at its most basic formulation, demands the opposition of subject and object. Language, as derived from the self-conscious mind, severs in order to then express a relation. Across Hölderlin’s novel, *Hyperion* demonstrates a romantic fixation on the quality of silence, even when the word contradicts the scene it describes, such as the “silent thundercloud”⁶ or the “silent breeze.”⁷ Silence often stands in for an unattainable ideal in *Hyperion*. It is attributed to each object of longing to which *Hyperion* temporarily attaches; “the silent earth,”⁸ the “silent temple pillar” of a bygone era,⁹ the “silent fullness” of the stars,¹⁰ “the silent gods,”¹¹ Adamas, Alabanda,¹² and perhaps most strikingly, Diotima, who, “only when she sang did one truly know

⁶ Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 90

⁷ Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 21

⁸ Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 105

⁹ Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 110

¹⁰ Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 127

¹¹ Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 127

¹² Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 28, 27

this lovingly silent being who was so loath to speak.”¹³ Diotima’s exalted silence returns throughout the novel, often with admiration and at other times, with a kind of upward-gazing frustration at the unobtainable. “We spoke very little together,” he writes, “You’re ashamed of your language. You’d like to become pure tone and blend with the other in one celestial song.”¹⁴ This idealization of Diotima echoes Hölderlin’s longing for a pure Being, unbroken by the assertion of the “I,” unbroken by the cleaver of language which he nevertheless wields.

The theme of Diotima’s pure, unknowable silence reappears in Hölderlin’s poetry, further elevating her as Platonic myth, wise prophetic outsider, and the embodiment of love. In “Diotima,” the poem, Hölderlin writes, “You are silent and suffer, and they do not understand you, You holy life! … But time hastens. My mortal song still sees – The day, Diotima! That calls your name next to the gods….”¹⁵ “Silence” and “song” may be read as gestures toward absolute Being, which attempt to transcend their estranged formulation as spoken or written word. With the invocation of “silence” and “song,” Hölderlin shifts emphasis to the pure sonorous material that carries articulation. Sound and its unified opposite, then, take on a being that stretches beyond the divisive act of meaning formulation. It is also worth noting that the lyrical poet’s late writings, produced in a state of increasingly fractured subjectivity, took on an even more overt musical quality. If Hölderlin’s early and middle-period writings were characterized by an obsessively iterative subjectivity, rendered through a collage-like style, his later work can be distinguished by its spontaneous, yet increasingly ‘objective,’ formal rhythmic style, often signed with pseudonyms. This further points to the subject-object split as an abiding theme of Hölderlin’s work, and possibly even a personal vexation that extended across his lifetime.

¹³ Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 48 Just before this, Diotima’s face contradictingly “unfolded before the breezes of heaven, became *pure speech and soul*… airy majesty..” but Hölderlin suffuses her exalted being with silence repeatedly across the entirety of the text (pp. 47).

¹⁴ Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 46

¹⁵ Hölderlin, *Diotima*. The Formatting is quite different in the original, lending a different rhythm.

Hyperion primarily relates to others as a mirror throughout the novel. Upon introducing Adamas, for example, he asks, “And I, was I not the echo of his quiet inspiration? Did the melodies of his being not reverberate in me?”¹⁶ In the sentences surrounding this quotation, Hyperion jumps to relate Adamas to the divine and to the peace of nature, which he so desperately seeks. Hyperion’s relational style seems to embody an extreme unity of opposites that ultimately collapses every object of his desire ontologically. The tragic figure’s efforts to merge with Adamas, Diotima, Alabanda, the past, nature, spirit itself, and the war effort all end in an unbearably lonely longing, spurring the cycle of sought unification over again.

“Who can withstand it, who is not floored by the terrible glory of antiquity, like young woods flattened by a hurricane, when it seizes him as I was seized, and when, like me, he lacks the element in which to gain a firming sense of self?”¹⁷

In this quotation, Adamas, Hyperion, the imagined past, and the sublime force of nature blur. Projection pervades Hyperion’s depiction of the other across his letters to Bellarmin, who, himself, readers learn almost nothing about. Hölderlin’s text not only thematizes but performs the rift between subject and object through its stylistic and structural instability. Hyperion repeatedly finds himself whole *through* the other, only to be fractured again, left yearning in ultimate abandon.

This ontological and aesthetic crisis of the subject, so acutely felt and formalized by Hölderlin, finds its systematic and material basis in the capitalist mode of production theorized by Marx. A mode of circulation founded on quantitative equivalence (M-C-M') economically renders all qualities exchangeable, in turn impacting their qualitative relations.¹⁸ Bourgeois

¹⁶ Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 12

¹⁷ Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 16, regarding Adamas

¹⁸ Marx, *Capital Volume I*, pp. 423: “...the correctness of the law of Hegel discovered in his Logic, that at a certain point merely quantitative differences pass over by a dialectical inversion into qualitative distinctions.” pp. 424, Footnote 5: “by the simply quantitative addition of CH₂ to the molecular formula, a qualitatively different body is each time formed.”

consciousness thus has a tendency to hollow out, abstract, and equivocate. The social systems that structure the material life of a subject at a given moment in history necessarily impact the subject's mode of relating. Despite the fact that labor is never mentioned in *Hyperion*,¹⁹ the "dot-like isolation" (Punktualität)²⁰ to which the novel so achingly returns, subtly situates it in an era of profound economic transformation; an era which, in turn, transformed the subject itself.²¹ It is characteristic of bourgeois writing to omit that "human beings become individuals only through the process of history."²² With the new modes of production and reproduction, "not only do the objective conditions change, but the producers change too."²³ Via his idealist philosophical abstraction and in his romantic poetic register, Hölderlin conjures the discordant spirit of his times.

II: Estrangement from Nature

To diagnose this spirit, moving from its aesthetic registration to its historically specific cause, we can turn to Marx's theory of alienation. What Hyperion experiences as an existential crisis, Marx identifies as a concrete socio-economic process. Spirit (Geist) is burdened with matter from the very beginning.²⁴ Hyperion's diffuse sense of metaphysical loss can be traced to a fourfold process of estrangement, entailing capital's forceful separation of the subject from (1) their labor, (2) themselves, (3) their species being, and (4) other human beings.²⁵ In this section, I will focus on species being. As shown by Marx's writing on so-called primitive accumulation,

¹⁹ Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 12. There is, however a line that reads, "How feeble is even the most honest human industry compared to the sheer power of unbroken inspiration."

²⁰ Marx, *The Grundrisse*, pp. 485

²¹ I say "despite," but it may be more accurate to read the lack of labor in the novel as a symptom of capital itself (a socio-economic system which takes both labor and private property for granted).

²² Marx, *The Grundrisse*, pp. 496

²³ Marx, *The Grundrisse*, pp. 494

²⁴ Marx, *The German Ideology*, pp. 50

²⁵ Marx, *The 1844 Manuscripts*, *Estranged Labour*

this severance begins each time with the soil. In all forms of social organization prior to private property, “in which landed property and agriculture form the basis of the economic order, and where the economic is hence the production of use values,” rather than the increase of sum, “the individual relates simply to the objective conditions of labor as being his, as the inorganic nature of his subjectivity, in which the latter realizes itself.”²⁶ Here, the human being has a “double existence, both subjectively as he himself, and objectively in these non-organic conditions of his existence.”²⁷ Where, under capitalism, the chief objective condition of labor appears as a *product* of labor, in prior systems, it “is already there as nature; on the one side the living individual, on the other the earth, as the objective condition of his reproduction.”²⁸ Through the capitalist mode of exchange, humanity’s original relation to the earth, along with its species-being (Gattungswesen) is dissolved. With this disruption, the subject, “as an individual, relates himself only to himself.”²⁹ This is a fruitful frame for Hyperion’s desire to “be at one with all that lives,”³⁰ for the “monstrous striving to be everything”³¹ that boils up inside of him. In bourgeois society, humanity’s “social existence” is robbed from itself, and nature is no longer experienced “as a bond with man.”³² Hyperion’s tireless compulsion to merge with the other, with nature, and with the past, can be read as an unconscious reaction to the nascent form of capitalism emerging in late 1700s Germany.

The abstract prior unity that Hyperion mourns aligns with humanity’s loss of nature as the “extended body” of the subject at the turn of the century.³³ Hölderlin’s romantic veneration of

²⁶ Marx, *The Grundrisse*, pp. 485

²⁷ Marx, *The Grundrisse*, pp. 491

²⁸ Marx, *The Grundrisse*, pp. 485

²⁹ Marx, *The Grundrisse*, pp. 496, Marx goes on to discuss the guild system on 497

³⁰ Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 9

³¹ Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 16

³² Marx, *The 1844 Manuscripts*, pp. 44

³³ Marx, *The Grundrisse*, pp. 496. The term “inorganic body” is often substituted for “extended body” and its use is clarified here.

nature as a proto-divine force throughout the novel also seems to grasp, intuitively, that this loss marks a devaluation of humanity's spiritual being into what Marx will call 'crude need.'

Hyperion's longing for an unalienated relation to the natural world is felt in his direct address of the elements throughout the novel. At the beginning of *Hyperion*'s second book, he writes, "I look out upon the sea and ponder my life, its rising and sinking, its bliss and its grief... throwing together discord and harmony in hidden order."³⁴ The natural body of water reflects Hyperion's oscillating devastation back to him. He sees his own emotional extremes in the "ebbing voice of the surging sea," despite humanity's waning ontological intimacy with the natural world.³⁵ This longing to see himself in nature, to find an external ground that is at once intuitively linked to his internal life, points to Hölderlin's understanding of the poet as a mediator between the divine and the human, even as human life descends into a night of godlessness.³⁶ Hyperion observes how in nature "all things age and renew themselves," and plaintively asks, "Why are we excluded from nature's beautiful cycle? Or does it hold for us too?"³⁷ This seed of contemplation grows into Hyperion's obsession with cyclical time, later resulting in a war effort in the name of a regressive historical ideal.

"From the happiness of plants men began and grew up, grew until they ripened; from then on they fermented forth unceasingly, both inwardly and outwardly, till now, the human race, in infinite dissolution, lies there like a chaos and all those who still feel are gripped by dizziness; but beauty takes flight from the life of men, up into the spirit; what was nature becomes the ideal... And it's by this ideal, this rejuvenated godhead, that the few shall know each other and that they are one, for oneness is in them, and from them, these few shall begin the second age of the world—"³⁸

³⁴ Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 41

³⁵ Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 17

³⁶ Phrase borrowed from Rolf Goebel

³⁷ Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 16

³⁸ Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 55

This passage reflects Hyperion's nostalgia for a relation to nature as humanity's extended body that Marx shows us dissolves with the capitalist mode of production. The "happiness of plants" from which men grew signifies a mystical, integrated past, when human life moved with nature's reproductive cycles. The present is rendered a dizzying chaos of "infinite dissolution," an ironically apt observation, as it is capitalism's ontological orientation towards infinite accumulation that clashes so violently with a finite earth. But Hyperion's perspective on the problem outlined here is limited. In German Idealist fashion, he reads the symptom, a *materially and economically alienated species being*, as an abstract crisis of time, which might be rectified by a "few" world-historical individuals. Hyperion feverishly reflects, "I often felt as if the things of the earth were purified and fused together in my fire like gold," but before long, "I felt ashamed for existing at all."³⁹ The individualist abstraction of Hölderlin's age creeps up on Hyperion, revealing how even his most expansive gestures towards unity are ultimately solitary and premature idealist performances. The structural weight of 'pure subjectivity' essentially collapses Hyperion's intuitive insight into a reactionary and emotionally driven politics of return.

III: Estrangement from Time

Hölderlin, of course, never made it to Greece, despite his zeitgeist idealization of its antiquity. And Hyperion's entanglement in the Greek War of Independence only serves to shatter the ideal. Hyperion's intended resurrection of "a second age of the world" instead exposes the violent futility of attempting to reclaim a historical ideal through force. As Marx makes clear in the *Eighteenth Brumaire*, revolutions must derive their poetry from the future, not some distant, constructed past from which they "tear single pages."⁴⁰ When history repeats itself, it does so as tragedy or farce; Hyperion's revolutionary endeavor collapses into the former. The failed tragedy

³⁹ Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 56

⁴⁰ Marx, *The 1844 Manuscripts*, pp. 44. The tense of "tearing" was adjusted to suit the sentence here.

of this return is structural. Marx insists that the "sensuous consciousness" of the capitalist subject "is different from that of the Greek, because his sensuous existence is different."⁴¹ The ideals and indeed, the very senses of an epoch cannot be abstracted from their socio-economic foundations. The Bourgeois notion of "equality," Marx notes, "is nothing but a translation of the German 'Ich=Ich' into the French, ie., the political form."⁴² Hyperion's entire political project is thus ensnared in the same recursive, idealist loop as his subjectivity. It seeks to found a collective future on an abstracted, fetishized past. From within this closed circuit, no dialectical transcendence is possible. Hyperion's logic is fatally contradictory; "all must be made anew," and yet his method is to retrieve what is irrevocably lost.⁴³

This abstracted past takes on a specifically aesthetic form. Hyperion idealizes an Athens where "their art and their religion are the true children of eternal beauty – of perfected nature."⁴⁴ The aestheticization of politics pushes Hyperion's already temporally conservative politics in the direction of a more overt proto-fascism, echoing Benjamin's later caution. For Hyperion, the state without Athens' supposed "love of beauty...is a shrivelled skeleton without a life."⁴⁵ His revolution is therefore less a material reorganization and more an attempt to force the world to conform to its distorted image.

The cost of this project is devastating. The war effort and Hyperion's zeal for 'reunification' with an untenable past tear him from Diotima, the one relationship that offered him a present-tense, living unity. Fleeing "Diotima's influence," where "more stability had come to" his "soul," Hyperion searches backwards for a lost Greece and a lost Greek brotherhood with

⁴¹ ibid

⁴² Marx, *The 1844 Manuscripts*, pp. 53
Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 97, "All for each and each for all!" Hyperion sings on the precipice of battle.

⁴³ Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 96

⁴⁴ Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 68

⁴⁵ Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 68

Alabanda.⁴⁶ Once at the warfront, ancient Greece slowly shifts to the periphery of what Hyperion is searching for. In his absence, Diotima feels her serenity slip. She writes, “I often shudder to see the gentle youth who wept at my feet transformed into this warlike being.”⁴⁷ With Diotima, Hyperion once felt “as if the old world had died and a new one were beginning with us.”⁴⁸ But in the words of Marx, “their momentary unity was only a chimerical illusion,” shattered by the pull of Hyperion’s alienated subjectivity.⁴⁹ In the letters just before he advises Diotima to leave him, Hyperion reflects on the superfluidity of language and admits defeat, “intend to take service for a while with the Russian fleet; I want nothing more to do with the Greeks... It’s grown so very dark around me.”⁵⁰

Ultimately, the self, having failed to transform the world, retreats entirely back into itself. Hyperion becomes the hermit in the novel’s final pages, resolving into a state of contemplative exile and resolving material failure into symbolic unity. While the novel’s epistolary form technically leaves the order of Hyperion’s letters to Bellarman inconclusive, the last letter reads:

“We are free, we don’t anxiously strive to be outwardly equal... deep in our innermost being we are all of us alike. We too, we are not parted, Diotima! and the tears for you haven’t grasped it. We are living tones, we are sound together in your harmony, nature! who can split that asunder? who will part lovers? —”⁵¹

This is the sort of conclusion where a material problem claims to be resolved by a cognitive solution. Hyperion compartmentalizes the devastation his body clearly renders in the form of tears, in order to proceed under the comfort of an ideal union; a union crafted from diremption at every turn. The ideal is treated as nature itself becomes and nature, as a material extension of humanity, remains lost. “The arteries part and return in the heart and one eternal glowing life is

⁴⁶ Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 66

⁴⁷ Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 99

⁴⁸ Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 64

⁴⁹ Marx, *The 1844 Manuscripts*, pp. 47

⁵⁰ Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 102

⁵¹ Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 136

All,” he writes as the last words we encounter, “So I thought. More anon.”⁵² This final circulatory metaphor closes the loop of Hyperion’s consciousness. Unity is asserted in thought, yet enacted in solitude. His ‘pure subjectivity’ has cycled through alienation from itself, from nature, from history, and from others, to arrive at an aestheticized unity with itself. The lines drip with wistful resonance for all those who ache for an absolute, though they celebrate too soon. On some level, Hyperion senses this, “So I thought. More anon.” But in vague promise, they suspend the future.

Conclusion:

For Marx, communism is “the *positive* transcendence of *private property* as *human self estrangement* and therefore as the real appropriation of the human essence by and for man.”⁵³ The historical conditions for revolution are cumulative and cannot be ushered in at will. The generations-long struggle against private property by and for humanity, is the only proposed path toward humanity’s reunification with its objective component. This, Marx offered, was the one true resolution to “the strife between existence and essence, between objectification and self-confirmation, between freedom and necessity, between the individual and the species.”⁵⁴

Here, we can return to where we began, with Hyperion’s moment of misrecognition, gripping his own fingers, under the fleeting impression that he held the spirit of the world. This gesture embodies the closed circuit of ‘pure subjectivity’ that Marx would later theorize; a system of economic organization through which the individual encounters the other (and itself) only by way of the alienated “I.” Hyperion’s concluding vision of an “eternal glowing life” is a solitary substitute for the primordial one; an echo reverberating in the empty hand. Hölderlin’s

⁵² Hölderlin, *Hyperion*, pp. 137

⁵³ Marx, *The 1844 Manuscripts*, pp. 43

⁵⁴ Marx, *The 1844 Manuscripts*, pp. 43

novel senses the slipping away of objective unity of its time and seeks to rebuild it from within the lonely borders of the self. Hyperion's spiritual pain of delineation does not offer a politics, but enacts the existential cost of a coming world whose logic would, in Marx's hands, find its full articulation. The "warm hand of a friend" Hyperion thought he felt remains for him his own detached appendage outstretched for soothing. The task Marx leaves us is to build a world beyond human self estrangement, where that hand can finally find the weighted presence of another's.

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Marx, Karl, and Martin Milligan, et al. Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1959.

- “The extend to which money, which appears as a means, constitutes the true power and the sole end – the extent to which in general the means which turns me into a being, which gives me possession of th alien objective being, is an end in itself... landed property...” (53)
- “Thus political economy – despite its worldly and voluptuous appearance - is a true moral science, the most mortal of all the sciences. Self-renunciation, the renunciation of life and all human needs, is the principle thesis... the less you express your own life, the more you have...” (51)
- “Subjectively, this appears partly in the fact that the extension of products and needs becomes a *contriving* and ever-*calculating* subservience to inhuman, sophisticated, unnatural and *imaginary* appetites. Private property does not know how to change crude need into *human* need.” (49)

Marx, Karl, and Engels, Fredrich, and C.J. Arthur. The German Ideology, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1974.

- “The cherry tree, like almost all fruit-trees, was, as is well known, only a few centuries ago transplanted by *commerce* into our zone, and therefore only by this definite society in a definite age it has become ‘sensuous certainty’ for Feuerbach” (62)***
- “But where would natural science be without industry and commerce?” (63)
- “It is nature which today no longer exists anywhere” (63)

Marx, Karl. Letter to Arnold Ruge in 1843. *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, 1844

- "It will become evident that it is not a question of drawing a great mental dividing line between past and future, but of *realizing* the thoughts of the past."